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**IN THE COLONIES OF TANG:
HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF CHINESE COMMUNITIES
IN THE NORTH CARIBOO DISTRICT,
BRITISH COLUMBIA
(1860s-1940s)**

By

Ying-ying Chen

B.A. (Equiv.), Beijing University, 1978

M.A., Beijing University, 1983

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Abstract

This study examines the history of Chinese communities in the North Cariboo District in British Columbia during the gold rush and its subsequent period, spanning eight decades from the 1860s to the 1940s. The study seeks answers to three questions: first, the reasons behind Chinese immigration to British Columbia in relation to the entire history of Chinese emigration, second, the cultural principles that determine the nature of the overseas Chinese community and settlement, and last, the effect of these principles on the survival and maintenance of Chinese communities through time.

The contextual approach is employed, amalgamating information from field archaeology, archival documents in both English and Chinese, and oral sources into a historical synthesis. The primary data of the thesis came from recent archaeological field projects conducted in the North Cariboo and extensive textual research with both Chinese and English sources.

The results show a history of emigration of Chinese from the Pearl River Delta, Guangdong Province of south China from the 10th century AD onwards. Immigration to the North Cariboo was part of a larger picture of new immigration waves to North America, Australia, New Zealand, and British Columbia taking place in the middle and late 19th century, which were accelerated by contemporary internal disturbances in China and the lure of gold outside of China.

Traditional values of family and clan, together with an unwillingness to acculturate, a prejudice steeped deeply in Chinese culture, acted to shape a unique outlook for the immigrants and their societies. Thus, most immigrants were male sojourners, leaving family and clan behind in China. In the case of the North Cariboo, the Chinese actively reinforced their identity through forming their own communities and building up isolated or semi-isolated settlements, regardless of whether or not there were anti-Chinese sentiments in the dominant communities.

A form of chain immigration involved people from 15 counties in the Pearl River Delta with a concentration on two counties of Kaiping and Taishan. The majority of immigrants belonged to two clans of Zhou (Chow) and Huang (Wong). Power assignment within the Chinese communities varied from area to area. In the Quesnelle Forks, Barkerville, and Stanley areas, the lack of a dominant clan, large family or extended family groups gave ascendance to the Hong-men societies. This contrasts sharply with the Quesnel area, where the Zhou clan made up more than half of the Chinese population and seems to be the leading institution in the

Chinese community. No matter how socio-political power was distributed, Chinese merchants were the real elites in all four communities.

Community life consisted of four categories of activities, the annual celebrations of traditional Chinese festivals and most society ceremonies, the occasional benevolent activities, and the daily gambling, opium smoking, and prostitution. These activities contributed to spatially define and culturally differentiate the Chinese communities.

Chinese communities in the North Cariboo went through periods of formative, full development, and decline and final disintegration. Although with each passing period, the Chinese communities had undergone changes, their social, political and cultural isolation remained unchanged. Their demise was primary determined by the decline in the gold industry and the Canadian government's policy toward Chinese immigrants.

Dedication

To my parents, Chen Xiang-qun (陳向群) and Liu Yu-huan (劉玉環).

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Significance of the Study

For most Canadians, the history of the Chinese immigration to Canada begins with the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880s. Few people know that earlier, in the 1850s, thousands of Chinese had already arrived in search of gold. Many returned home, after several years in the gold fields, while many others kept coming. As a whole, Chinese society existed in the gold fields for nearly eighty years before it vanished in the late 1940s. This story has been largely untold because the Chinese rarely left communicable records and their European neighbours did not understand them in the first place. Starting in the late 1960s, the public attitude towards Chinese-Canadians changed and some works on the Chinese in Canadian History, such as Dong-hai Lee (1967), James Morton (1974), Edgar Wickberg (ed. 1982), David Chuen-yan Lai (1988), and Lily Chow (1996; 2000), have been published. In spite of these important works, a poor understanding of the significance of the Chinese role in the gold rush still remains.

It is the goal of this study to reconstruct the history of Chinese immigrants in the North Cariboo District, once the main concentration of the early Chinese community during the gold rush in British Columbia. This study is based on both archaeological data and non-archaeological sources such as historical records, photographs and oral information.

Research Area - North Cariboo District

The area of this study includes an area between Quesnel Forks and Barkerville-Bowron Lake areas recognized at this early time as the Cariboo, and nearby areas. Together they fall into the northern portion of the modern Cariboo District in the Central Interior of British Columbia. The area covers an area of nearly 6,000 square kilometres (100 km from east to west and 60 km from north to south). The northern boundary was arbitrarily defined by the author at the Nazko and Kluskus areas and the Wells-Barkerville-Bowron Lake region. To the east, the district is bounded by Quesnel and Mahood lakes, and to the west, its boundary extends into parts of Tweedsmuir Park, encompassing the vast Chilcotin region. The southern border is Soda Creek and the Horsefly River (Figure 1).

It is a rugged and heavily forested upland area with elevations increasing from 500 meters in the east and southeast, e.g. the upper Fraser Valley, to over 2000 meters above sea level in the north and northwest (the Barkerville area). This region contains rich water sources including the Quesnel and Bowron Lakes; the Fraser, Quesnel, Cariboo, Swift, Blackwater, Willow and Bowron rivers; Keithley, Antler, Williams and Lightning creeks.

The climate here is characterized by cold winters and cool summers. High elevation, harsh climate and poor soil make most of this district unsuitable for agriculture and ranching, except in a limited area in the upper Fraser River Valley and its tributary areas in the south-eastern part of the district where elevation is less than 1000 meters above sea level.

It was in this agriculturally poor country that gold was discovered in the late 1850s. For a short period, people from all corners of the world poured into this district and mined along the large and small streams. Joining the rush were Chinese from the Californian mines and also directly from southern Mainland China. They built several Chinatowns and many mining camps. In the early 1880s, more than fifteen years after the peak of the gold rush, there were still more than 1,400 Chinese at work. When gold, almost the only economic resource in the district was exhausted, most Chinese departed, abandoning mines and houses, leaving an untold story behind them.

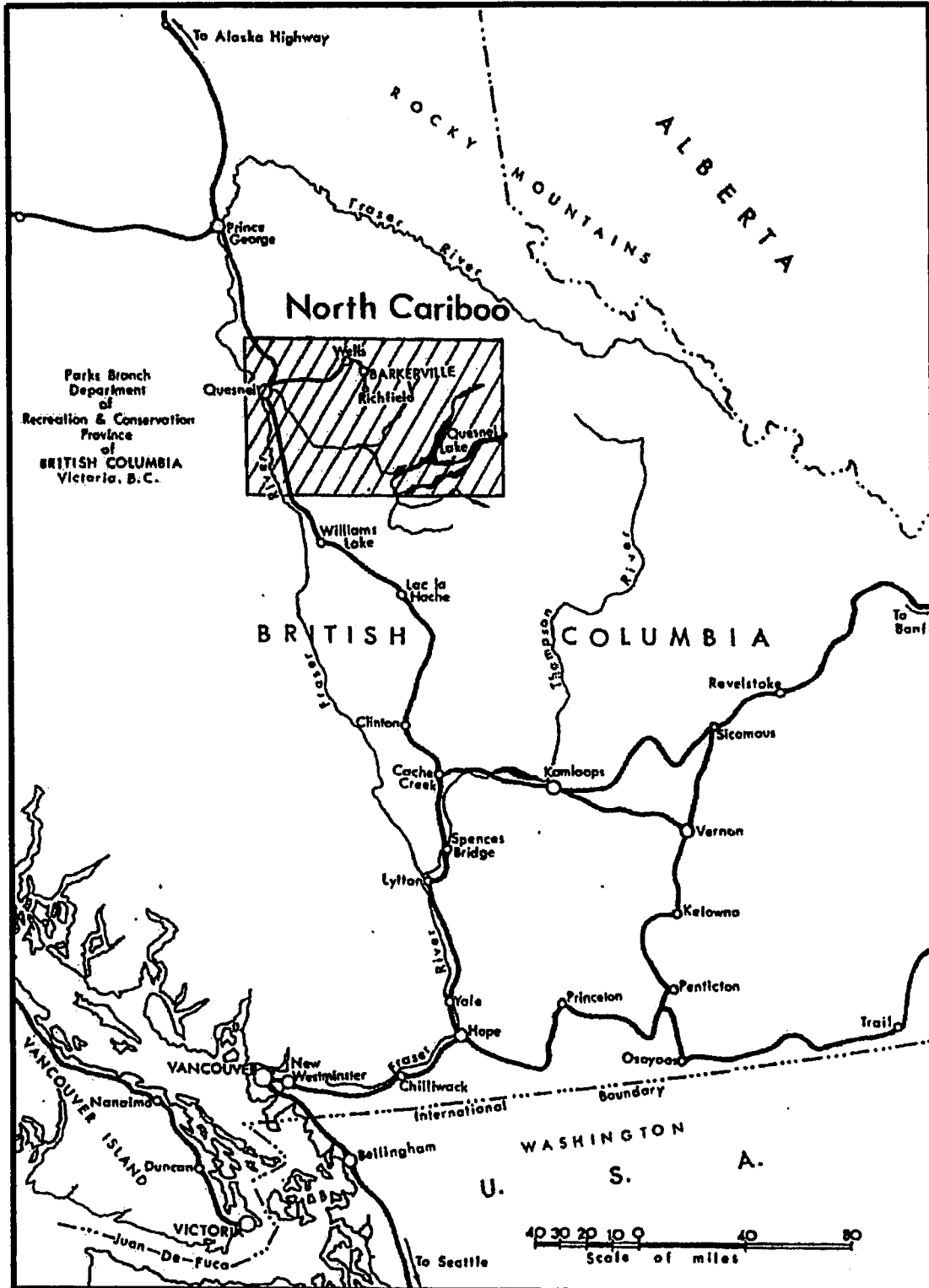


Figure 1. Location of the North Cariboo District in British Columbia (from Irvine and Montgomery 1983:7).

Theoretical Perspective

Three theoretical concerns are focuses of this study:

1. The reasons behind Chinese immigration to British Columbia,
2. The cultural principles which determined the nature of the Chinese community and their settlements
3. Whether or not these principles changed over time and what impact they had on the Chinese communities and settlements.

A contextual approach proposed by Ian Hodder (1982a, 1982b) is employed to address the questions raised here. Hodder proposed this approach in the early 1980s as a result of his long-term ethno-archaeological research in Kenya, Zambia, Sudan, and Africa during the 1970s (1982a, 1982b). This approach matured in the late 1980s when Hodder extended it to include concepts and methods drawn from his students' and his own studies of various pre-historical and historical archaeological projects (Hodder 1987a; b; c; d). By the 1990s, a contextual approach became one of the main strands in post-processual archaeology and was re-named 'contextual-interpretative archaeology' incorporating the concept of hermeneutics (Hodder 1991, 1992; Hodder et al. 1995a; Hodder and Shankey eds. 1995). The approach can be summarised as follows.

First of all, material culture is said to be meaningfully constituted and active. According to Hodder, 'ideas and concepts are embedded in social life, which influences the way material is used, embellished, and discarded' (1982a:12). In other words, they made materials culturally meaningful. Hodder further argues that there are two types of meaning in a given object, one functional, and one symbolic (1991:130, Shanks and Hodder 1995:17). The functional meaning tells of various human behaviours taking place in the society to which the object belongs, while the symbolic meaning, as an abstraction of certain concepts and ideologies, confirms, strengthens, weakens or hides various social, political, and economic relations of the society (Hodder 1982a:124). It is the symbolic meaning that gives objects and other material remains an active nature. Meanings of the object send messages not only to people in the same contemporary society but also to their successors.

Further, Hodder (1992:14) argues, 'if material culture was meaningfully constituted, and if the conceptual meanings were at least partly arbitrary, then material culture had to be studied contextually'. That material culture is arbitrary is meant that different people in different places and time-periods will give different meanings to the same objects. The meaning or meanings of

an archaeological object will be arbitrary, unless being understood within its context. Context has two aspects: a) a spatial context, including contemporary environment, settlements, houses, refuses, rituals, artefacts, regions, etc., within which an object is made and used (Hodder 1989:262), and, b) a historical context, referring to the use of the same or similar object in other time-periods. The context of an object will not be complete without both of these aspects. This is because 'any use of an artefact depends on the previous uses and meanings of that artefact or of similar artefacts within a particular context' (Hodder 1992:143). To all this was added the call by Bruce G. Trigger (1993:356) for the combined use of archaeological data with other non-archaeological data, such as historical linguistics, oral traditions, historical ethnography, and historical records, as he insists on the limitation of the purely archaeological approach.

Finally, the contextual approach is hermeneutics. This term was introduced into archaeology in the late 1980s (Shanks and Tilley 1987a) and was formally installed in the contextual approach by Hodder in the early 1990s (1991; 1992; 1995). It was the addition of hermeneutics that permitted the contextual approach to be called interpretive archaeology (Hodder 1992:183). In the contextual approach, hermeneutics refers to a method used for interpreting the text of material culture. Hodder (1991:150-151) argues that one can only understand the human world through asking questions of it. Nothing has meaning unless it is related to a question. The interpretation of the past is therefore a process of asking and answering questions and testing different theories to find the best fit for the data (Hodder 1991-150). This process is also known as a hermeneutic circle, which has three components:

1. Pre-understanding. According to Heidegger (1972), a question about a particular past always starts from some preconception of it, or pre-understanding, which will determine the research plan and field methods. Such pre-understanding consists of logical questions based on known data.
2. Hermeneutic circle is a spiralling circle, in that, an answer to a given question will never end up back at pre-understanding. It will lead to a new awareness of the existing pre-understanding, and modify it into a new understanding, which forms the basis of a new and higher-level circle of questioning and answering.
3. Hermeneutic circle is a never-ending process (Hodder 1995:238) as is the interpretation of the past. On the one hand, the complexity of human society precludes the possibility of an adequate interpretation of the past based on any one-step work. An interpretation is formed by a continuous movement between premises and data and between the present and the past, that is, by checking data against preconceived

premises, then forming new premises based on the data and checking the new premises against the data. On the other hand, interpretation coming from this movement is only relatively adequate because it is historically limited. Therefore no interpretation is the final and sole answer for the question asked. It needs to be open to critiques, encouraging new interpretations from different angles based upon different approaches.

The contextual approach guided this study in all aspects. First, this study is based on the premise that the early history of Chinese immigration can be understood by close examination of the materials left behind. All non-archaeological sources that the author was aware of were examined in order to limit each single source's bias for natural, cultural or socio-political reasons. An interpretation had to stand the test of various data, so the project consisted of several sub-projects in order to extract a variety of data on the North Cariboo.

Secondly, the study examines each specific event, against both its contemporary and historical contexts. It is hoped that the interpretation thus drawn is able to stand testing by the evidence, not only in the contemporary, but also in the historical context. The pitfall of lack of historical perspective is well understood. In fact, when examined in an historical context, several plausible explanations for Chinese emigration in the middle and late 19th century are found to be inappropriate. See details about this in Chapter 3 of the thesis.

Finally, conclusions drawn in this study shall remain open to criticism by other researchers as a result of the synthesis of new data from archaeological and other resources.

Outline of the Thesis

Chapter 2 introduces the North Cariboo project, conducted mostly in the 1990s, and aimed at widening the existing sparse history of Chinese immigrants in the study area. There are three main aspects. The first is the archaeology of the Chih Kung Tang building site in Barkerville's Chinatown. This includes an investigation of the building, an excavation underneath the building, and a conservation of wallpaper samples recovered in the building. This permitted the establishment of a chronological sequence for the construction and occupation of the building between the late 1870s and the late 1940s.

The second is the reconstruction of the Chinese settlement pattern in the North Cariboo based on both archival sources and field data. A typical settlement pattern is found to consist of

four clusters or sub-patterns in four areas of the North Cariboo. Each cluster consists of three or four types of sites: Chinatown, Chinese quarters in small towns, Chinese quarters in large mining camps, and single mining cabins. Beginning and ending at different times, these four clusters of settlements co-existed between 1871 and 1925.

The third is the investigation of Chinese demographics in the North Cariboo as recorded in contemporary Chinese and English documentary sources. Information has been gathered through examination of 231 account books left by the Hong-men Society and the Chinese communities in the areas of Barkerville and Quesnelle Forks, and 36 Chinese documents kept in the Canada Chinese Benevolent Association at Victoria. These works identify a total of 2,292 Chinese, 1,992 in North Cariboo and 300 in other places of British Columbia. These people stayed in British Columbia over a long time-period between the late 1850s into the late 1940s. Out of 1,992 Chinese, 1,366 of those who resided in North Cariboo in the 1880s were further examined in order to answer questions about the Chinese in the study area, such as home origin, family, extended family, and clan relationships. A study of Canada Census records with a focus on 1881, 1891 and 1901, and figures of the Chinese from other contemporary English records provides an understanding of the occupation, marriage status, household size, etc., of these people.

Chapter 3 reviews the history of Chinese emigration abroad. It starts with an introduction to the geological and cultural settings of the Guangdong Province with emphasis on the Pearl River Delta, origin of most Chinese immigrants in the North Cariboo. It discusses the Chinese attachment to family, ancestors, kinship and place of origin, central to traditional Chinese culture, and how this influenced their pattern of emigration. It reviews the history of contact between China's two southern coastal provinces, Guangdong and Fujian, and foreign cultures. The migration of Chinese people from these two provinces is traced from the tenth through the 19th century. By the mid 19th century, Guangdong province already had a thousand year history of emigration. Emigration was a long established local pattern despite central government prohibitions. Chinese immigrations to California, Australia, British Columbia and New Zealand in the mid to the late 19th century were a continuation of this long historical tradition. It points out that the acceleration of emigration during this period was caused by a number of contemporary factors, internal and external. The destinations had by this time ranged beyond Southeast Asia. It also argues that the long history of Chinese civilisation had bred a strong cultural identity, whose influence can be felt through all the Chinese emigration history, giving it uniqueness unparalleled by any other contemporary non-Chinese immigration movements.

Chapter 4 reviews the early history of Chinese immigrants in the gold rush to the Fraser Valley between 1858 and 1862 focusing on the discovery of gold and the development of major Chinese settlements in the Fraser River Valley and other places in British Columbia. It maintains that before entering the North Cariboo District, the Chinese had already reached most of the gold fields in the Fraser Valley below Prince George. In many of these places, the Chinese had their own settlements. Building up isolated or semi-isolated settlements was partly a voluntary act, as is distinct from patterns of Chinese settlement in other parts of the world. However, such voluntary activities were re-enforced by prejudice from non-Chinese communities, tense relationships with Natives, and fundamental changes in the environment.

Chapter 5 discusses the formative period of the Chinese communities in the North Cariboo between the 1860s and 1870s. It draws a general picture of gold discoveries, and development of Chinese settlements in the study area. It argues that the settlement pattern consisted of four clusters and/or sub-patterns, from large Chinatowns, Chinese quarters in small towns, mining camps to cabin sites, took shape in all areas of the district between 1861 and 1871. This settlement pattern is seen as a physical reflection of the formation of Chinese communities in the North Cariboo.

Chapter 6, 7, 8, and 9 form the main body of the thesis, examining the fully developed stage of the Chinese communities in the North Cariboo between 1876 and 1910.

Chapter 6 reviews the development of the gold industry and the Canadian government policy on Chinese immigration and its impact on Chinese communities in the study area. It argues that in spite of the general trend of general population decline in the 1880s, the Chinese people entered into a steady period of development. It then examines Chinese settlements with emphasis on site location, site type, settlement pattern, within site layout, and the pattern of material remains within houses. This chapter also argues that Chinese settlements in this period display a continued isolation and/or semi-isolation from the dominant community, reminiscent of the first period.

Chapter 7 examines the components of the Chinese community based on sex ratio, home origin, family, extended family and clan. It argues that the Chinese communities in the North Cariboo were almost all-male societies, whose families and womenfolk were left behind in China. This made the Chinese immigrants home-oriented and heavily dependent on their local community. These men came from 14 counties in the Pearl River Delta of Guangdong Province. Of these 14 counties, Kaiping and Taisan produced the majority of immigrants. In the case of Kaiping County, immigration to the North Cariboo appears to be limited to several neighbouring

villages in a particular area. This chapter then discusses the impacts of these social relations on the households and argues that in the same settlement, Chinese from the same family, extended family, and clan tended to live in the same household. This pattern was identified based on information gathered from the 1880s, but it most likely had been in existence since the early 1860s, when the Chinese first came to the district.

Chapter 8 examines the social establishments and their positions in the Chinese communities as revealed in archival and field data. Four types of institutions, the Hong-men society, clans, brotherhoods, and regional associations, were identified. It is argued that in the Barkerville area, where the majority of Chinese were members of the Hong-men society, a co-existence of these four types of institutions, with the Hong-men as a leading society, was established. A similar pattern is assumed to have also existed in the Quesnelle Forks and Stanley areas where the majority, or more than half of the Chinese population, were members of the Hong-men society. In the Quesnel area, most Chinese came from Kaiping and more than half of them came from the Zhou (Chow) clan. In Quesnel, the majority of Chinese were not members of the Hong-men society. The Zhou clan is assumed to be the leading group while the Hong-men society was only a notable alternative. This chapter further argues that the merchant class gained leadership in all institutions as a result of their economic power in the Chinese community and they formed powerful elites.

Chapter 9 examines how the Chinese communities were maintained. It starts with an examination of social activities as revealed in archival and field data. Such activities were found to be of four types. The first involves celebrations of various traditional Chinese festivals, which took place once a year. The second consisted of several ceremonies held by the Hong-men society once or several times a year. The third comprises charity events, for various reasons, which took place several times a year depending on need. The last consists of gambling, prostitution, and opium smoking, which took place on a daily basis especially in wintertime when mining activities were suspended. This chapter argues that the Chinese were associated with one another in the Chinese communities by holding activities. The Hong-men society and other institutions exercised their authority through direct and indirect control over these activities. Taking place at different times and mostly in Chinatown, these activities filled up the spare time of most of the miners and defined their after-work life in Chinatown, severely limiting the opportunity to communicate with the dominant, generally English speaking society. This, in turn, enhanced the Chinese identity and further deepened the degree of isolation of the Chinese.

Chapter 10 discusses the decline and final disintegration of the Chinese communities between 1910 and the late 1940s. It first examines the factors that contributed to the disintegration of the Chinese communities in the study area. It argues that the decline in gold mining in the study area and the negative attitude taken by the Canadian government towards Chinese immigration were responsible. In addition, the Second World War and opportunities provided in Chinatowns in the lower main land of British Columbia and eastern Canada also played a role in speeding up that process. It examines the process from decline to disintegration and argues that all four Chinese community types started declining in the late 1910s. But their final disintegration took place at different times between 1925 and the 1940s, depending on the degree of decline in the local gold industry. In all four areas, the decline of the Chinese community began with decreases in population and ended with depopulation. Related to the change in population was the decline of large households and a drop in other types of households, and cessation of the Hong-men society and other organisations. In the field, such changes were characterized by a decrease in the number of Chinese settlements and a change within the settlement centres. The total and partial abandonment of the Chinatown in each area was signalled by the discontinuation of the general Chinese settlement pattern.

The concluding chapter, Chapter 11, summarises the major arguments raised in the previous chapters. It states that immigration of the Chinese to the North Cariboo was part of the mass emigration of Chinese to foreign countries in the mid- and late 19th century, and was a continuation of a long tradition, accelerated by contemporary internal and external factors. The history of the Chinese in North Cariboo is an example of how Chinese immigrants stamped an impression on the land they mined and toiled over for over half a century.

Chinese immigrants, usually a homebound people averse to adventures, were nonetheless thrown to the wind by adversities at home and forced to seek a living in an unknown land. Unlike European immigrants coming in the wake of gunboats or cavalries, who could appeal to their respective governments for protection, the Chinese immigrants, without the same recourse, had clung to their kinsmen and clansmen and ultimately to their cultural identity for support. The life style they built tells of how their cultural pride had sustained them through their struggle to carve a new life in the new country and at the same time, tells how the same pride had deprived them of their chance to change and adapt to the new land. Their typical isolation, as revealed in this study, is a symbol of the overseas Chinese to struggle of pride at places out of China.

Chapter 2 North Cariboo Project

Introduction

This chapter introduces the North Cariboo District Project, which were mostly undertaken in the early 1990s. The project's aim was to increase the existing database for the history of early Chinese immigrants in the North Cariboo. It involved three aspects. The first was the archaeology of the Chih Kung Tang site in Barkerville's Chinatown. This included an investigation of the Chih Kung Tang building, an excavation underneath the building, and the recent work on wallpaper recovered in the building. The second was the reconstruction of the Chinese settlement pattern based on both documentary sources and archaeological data from field surveys. The third was the investigation of Chinese demography in the North Cariboo mostly recorded in contemporary Chinese and English documentary sources.

Archaeology at the Chih Kung Tang Site, Barkerville Chinatown

Barkerville is located in the northeast of the North Cariboo District in eastern central British Columbia. It is about 64 km west of Quesnel and 120 km northeast of William Lake (Figure 1). The major portion of the town site is situated on the west side of Williams Creek, which was the major gold producing creek in the Cariboo of the early 1860s. The Chinatown, located at the south end of Barkerville, is characterized by the Chih Kung Tang house, several Chinese business, and residential houses (Figure 2, 3).

Lot 69, the location of the Chih Kung Tang house, is on the west side of the main street. There are two houses on this lot: One is a two-story building called the Chih Kung Tang house and the other a single cabin known as the Tang Society's Hospital, also known as '太平房 (Sick Room)' (Figure 4).

Three field projects were carried out: The first was an investigation of the Chih Kung Tang house by the author in the summer of 1991. The second was an excavation under the house directed by Phil Hobler in the summer of 1993. The third was the conservation of a large part of the wallpaper recovered in the building by the author in 2001.

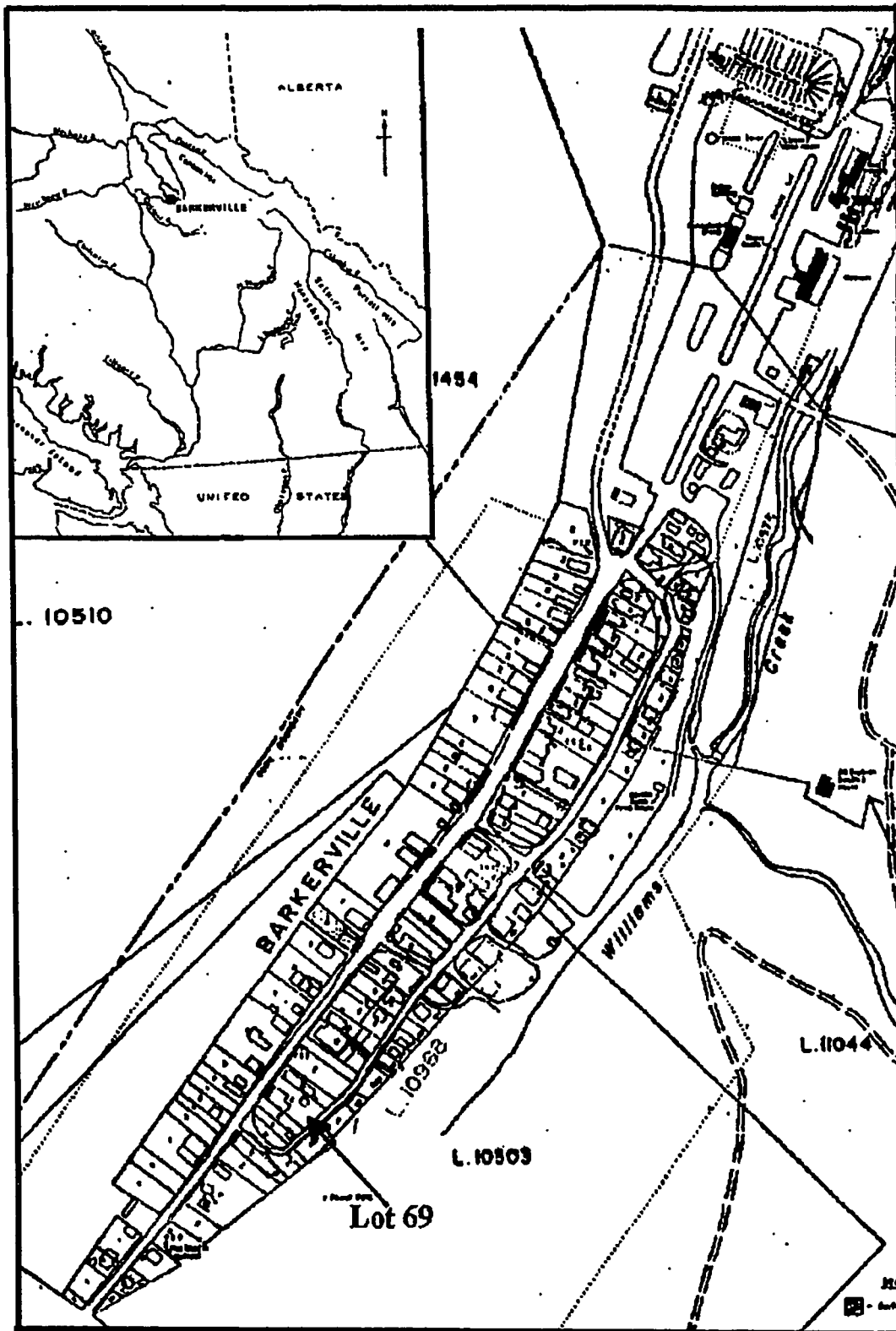


Figure 2. Location of Lot 69 in the Barkerville Historical Town (after Parks Branch Survey-Campbell 1975 with some alterations).

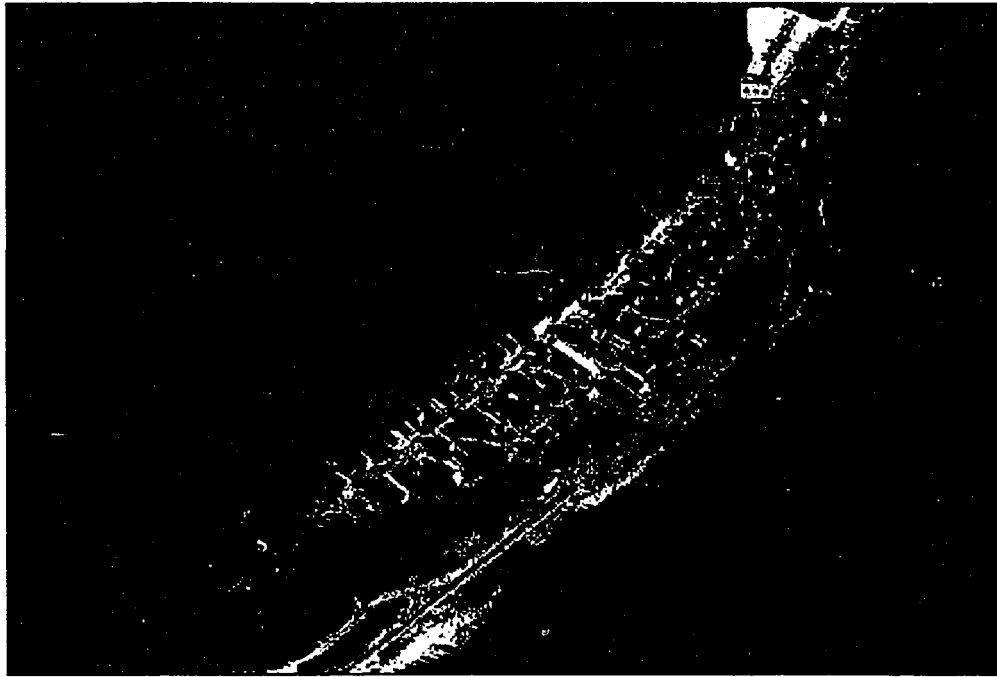


Figure 3. Aerial view of Barkerville from southeast to northwest (1993) (photographed by Philip Hobler in 1993).



Figure 4. View of the Chih Kung T'ang Building from northwest to southeast (ca. 1970s) (after the Barkerville Historical Town).

Investigation of the Chih Kung Tang House

Previous research and objectives of the 1991 work

In 1981 Susan M. Lambeth did a 'lot survey' of Barkerville's Chinatown. One of the discoveries was a newspaper fragment dating 1874 on the interior wall of the altar room upstairs in the main Chih Kung Tang structure (84A). Lambeth believes this dates the original construction of the main building. She further speculates that the east lean-to (84B) was added to the main structure around the turn of the century (Lambeth 1981.b:93). Thus, 1874 became the accepted construction date (Eversole 1981:6) and park officials have been using it as the date of construction ever since.

In 1978, Bill Hong, the son of a Chinese immigrant, who was born in Stanley in 1901 and lived in the Barkerville and Stanley areas since then, published his recollection of those areas. In his book, ... And So... That's How It Happened Recollections of Stanley-Barkerville 1900-1975, Hong mentions that the Chih Kung Tang building was used by the Hong-men society as a residential house (Hong 1978:191). In 1983, an excavation of the foundation in the east lean-to (84C) of the house took place but no report was produced (Irvine and Montgomery 1983:3). These separate observations are not enough for a full understanding of the Chih Kung Tang house. The 1991 project focused on the chronological sequences of building construction and occupation, and the factors that affected these two sequences.

Working procedure and methods in 1991

The fieldwork at the Chih Kung Tang house is organized in three stages:

The first involved an initial survey of the building and cataloguing of cultural remains found in it. The building sections were re-catalogued in order to set up a proper system for later recording (Figure 6). Under the system originally used by the park, the main structure of the building is designated as 84A, the lean-to on the north side is 84B and the lean-to on the east side, 84C. Rooms in each structure and doors and windows within rooms are also catalogued. All movable items, including 1,313 artifacts, 8 faunal material and two human teeth, found in the building are catalogued.

The second stage consists of an intensive examination of the building and the overlapping relationship among the three structures and the layers of interior wallpaper. Primary attention was paid to wallpaper since it provides the most precise dating sequence. Wallpaper including newspaper was applied to the house not only for decoration but also for insulation to resist the harsh winter wind in this area (Vinson Halverson 1991, pers. com.) (Figure 5). The first layer of

paper was usually applied soon after the completion of a house. A new layer of paper was added when the first looked old or worn and so on. Close observation of the wallpaper revealed that the oldest layers were never removed before applying new wallpaper. Typical examples are seen in the main hall (84A1) of the main structure. When a board wall was installed in the hall, it was simply attached to the existing wall with its old wallpaper. After the board wall was installed it was covered with a new layer of wallpaper (Appendix I). Wallpapers and other printed materials on the walls through time formed an often already dated stratified cultural deposit not unlike an archaeological site. As most wallpaper in this house is newspaper the dates on each layer provide a chronological sequence. Dates on the first layer are probably close to the date of building completion while the top layer dates the last occupation of the house.

Based on this assumption a sample of wallpaper, measuring 2.29 m (7.5') x 1.98 m (6.5'), on the east wall of a bedroom (84A3) on the main floor of the main structure was removed. It was brought back to the laboratory in the town and the layers separated. It consists of 15 layers, which were applied to the wall between 1877 and 1911 (Appendix I). In addition to this sample, the rest of wallpaper was recorded, with focus on those dates readable without peeling the sheets off the walls. All dates obtained are entered into a database and the time period of each layer established (Chen 1992:Appendix I).

The third stage is to examine the data recovered by the survey, research the archival sources and collect oral histories and information.

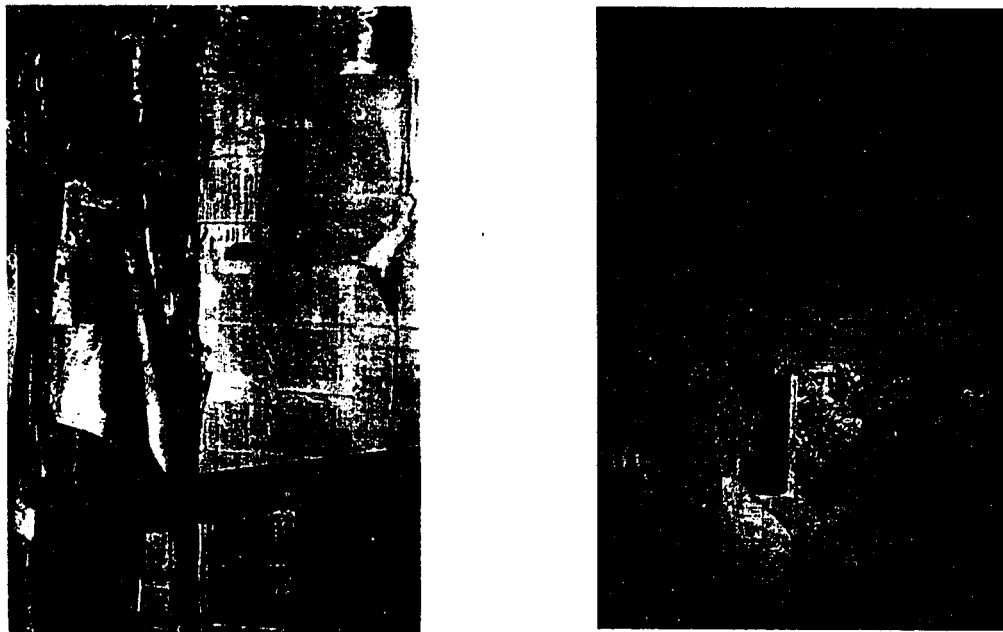


Figure 5. Part of wallpaper in the main structure of the Chih Kung T'ang building (84A) (1993). (Left) wallpaper in a bed room (84A3). (Right) wallpaper in the altar room (84A5).

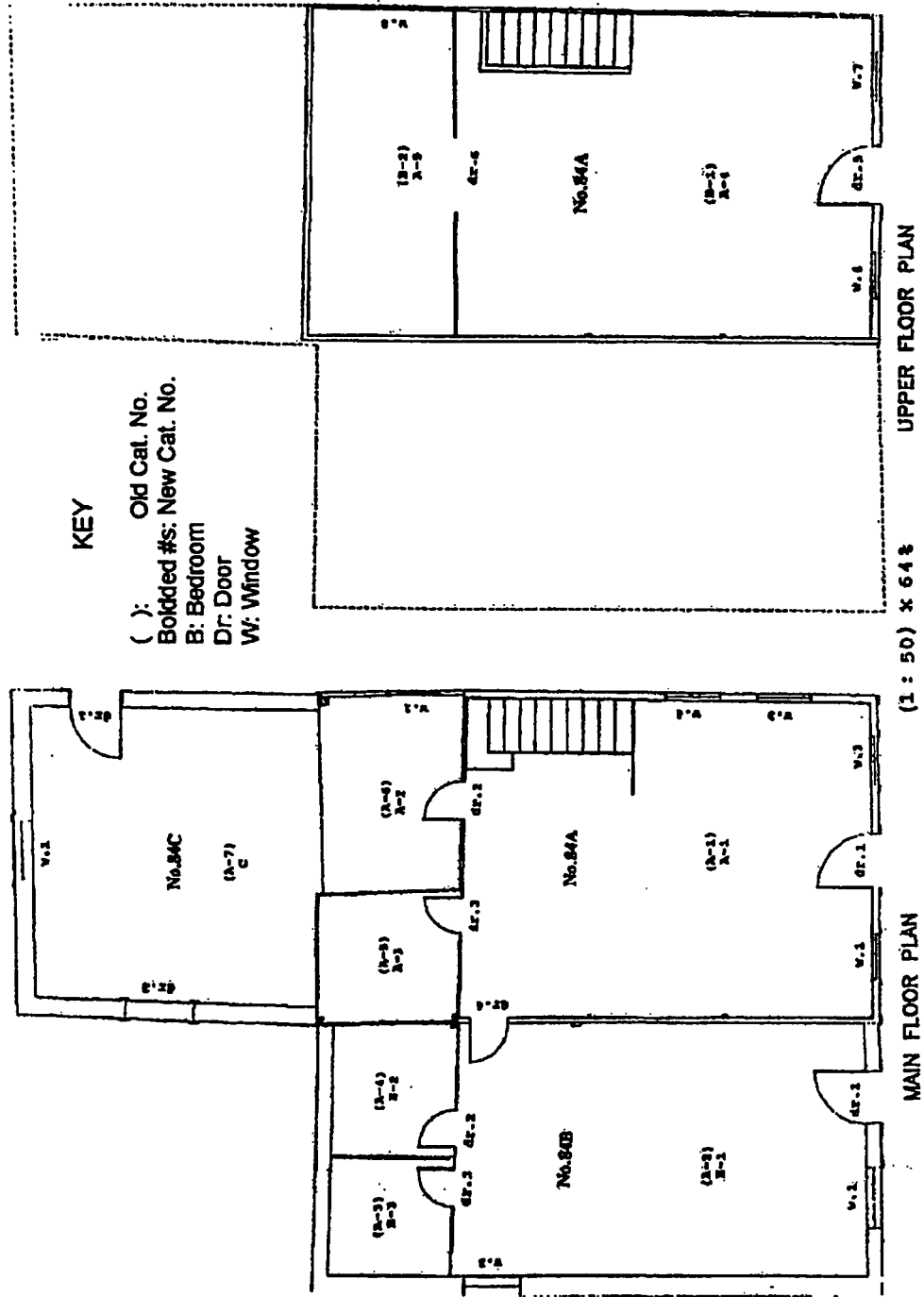


Figure 6. The Chih Kung Tang House (84): (Left) main floor plan, (Right) upper floor plan. (Drawn by Richard Caywood.)

Results of the Chih Kung Tang building investigation

The building consists of three structures, 84A, B and C, which were built at different times. The main structure (84A) was constructed around 1877; the east lean-to (84C) was next between 1883 and 1885; and the north lean-to (84B) was added around 1908. Some interior board walls were installed in 84A and 84B around 1914. A large scale re-roofing, replacing the original cedar-shakes with tin sheets, took place sometime prior to the 1930s. The last application of wallpaper to the building was around 1934.

From the late 1870s through the 1880s, the upstairs of the main structure (84A) was used as a ceremonial hall called Zhong Yi Tang (忠義堂). Downstairs was as a hostel run by the Hong-men society. The Hong-men society built a new ceremonial building on Lot 62 between 1883 and 1885. Building 84A was used as a hostel for the society. A kitchen, the east lean-to (84C), was probably added to the main structure at the same time. Added to the main structure around 1908, the north lean-to, 84B, was used as part of the hostel for the society. The entire house was used as the society's hostel till 1932.

In 1932, the Main Hall building on Lot 62 was sold by the Hong-men society and building 84 was reused as both the ceremonial hall (upstairs of 84A) and a hostel (the first floor of 84A, 84 B and 84C). Such a function was kept till 1947 when the building was abandoned by the society. During this period the north lean-to (84B) was rented by the society to a Caucasian named Pavitch. He and his family lived there for a short period during the 1930s (Halverson 1991, Ray Park Hong 1991, pers. com.). The final abandonment of the building was in 1950 when Dear Song, the last Master of the Hong-men society in Barkerville, died.

An examination of documentary sources, especially those Chinese accounts left by the Hong-men society and analysis of the archaeological data reveals the untold story of the society in Barkerville. The first Chinese society in Canada was established in Barkerville in 1864 by Hong-men members migrating from the California mines. Under the general title of Hong-men (洪門) or Triad (三合會), the Barkerville branch called itself Hung Shun Tang (洪順堂). Around 1882 or 1883, the society changed its name to Chih Kung Tang (致公堂) and in 1945, the society changed its name again to Chih Kung Party (致公黨). This name was continually used until 1947 when the branch was dissolved.

This two-story building, located in the central area of Barkerville's Chinatown, is a physical reflection of the Hong-men society, the most powerful society in the area during and after the gold rush. Alterations to the building and changes in occupation reflect the development and decline of the Hong-men society in this area. Both development and decline were conditioned by the general trends in the gold industry and also are affected by changing immigration policies of the various governments of British Columbia and Canada during this formative time.

Excavation under the Chih Kung Tang house in 1993

The excavation of the Chih Kung Tang house, Lot 69 was conducted by the Simon Fraser University 1993 archaeological field school headed by Philip M. Hobler (Figure 7). Beside this major work, the project carried out two other sub-projects, an excavation of an early mine shaft near the town entrance and a site survey 200 m in width on either side of the main road through the Barkerville town site. This review of the project focuses on the excavations at Lot 69 since the two other field projects were outside of the Chinatown area and produced no Chinese materials.



Figure 7. Excavation at the Chih Kung Tang Site, Lot 69, Barkerville in 1993 (photographed by Philip Hobler).

Objectives of the excavation

The excavation was expected to provide a better understanding of the site in terms of

- a) the time period of the site especially evidence of earlier building sequences
- b) site ethnicity,
- c) site function,
- d) relationship between site deposits and the present Chih Kung Tang building.

Working procedure and methods

a) Surface collection Field work started with surface materials collected after the house was removed from the site. A grid consisting of 192 1m x 1m units was set up at the site, measuring 16 m (E-W) x 12 m (N-S). Each item found was collected and recorded by unit (Figure 7, 8).

b) Excavation Using the same grid, an excavation area containing twenty-one 1m x 1m units was set up under the main structure (84A) and part of the west side of the east lean-to (84C). Excavation was carried out mainly with trowels and brushes. Bamboo sticks were used on more complex or delicate remains. A set of screens, 1/4 inch (0.64 cm) mesh on top and an 1/8 inch (0.32) one below, was set up at the site, the latter to catch smaller fragments. All finds, including natural stratigraphy and cultural remains in each 10 cm level, are recorded in individual notebooks and in the site catalogue, line drawings and photography.

After the completion of Level 3, the 1 m x 1 m units proved too cramped for the excavators. They were merged into ten 1.5 m x 1.5 m units. To accommodate these larger units, the overall size of the excavation had to be expanded by adding two small units, each 1 m x 0.5 m, on the east end of the excavation area.

c) Back-hoe test After the excavation reached Level 16 (1.6 m), a backhoe was employed to test for the depth of deposits. The backhoe test stopped at 5.00 m DBD, approximately Level 34 (3.4 m). At this level there were still some water worn glass fragments in the pre-house flood deposits.

d) Cultural materials Surface collected and excavated materials were field catalogued on site and further processed and analysed, including cleaning, labelling, and detailed cataloguing, in the laboratory at Barkerville Historic Town.

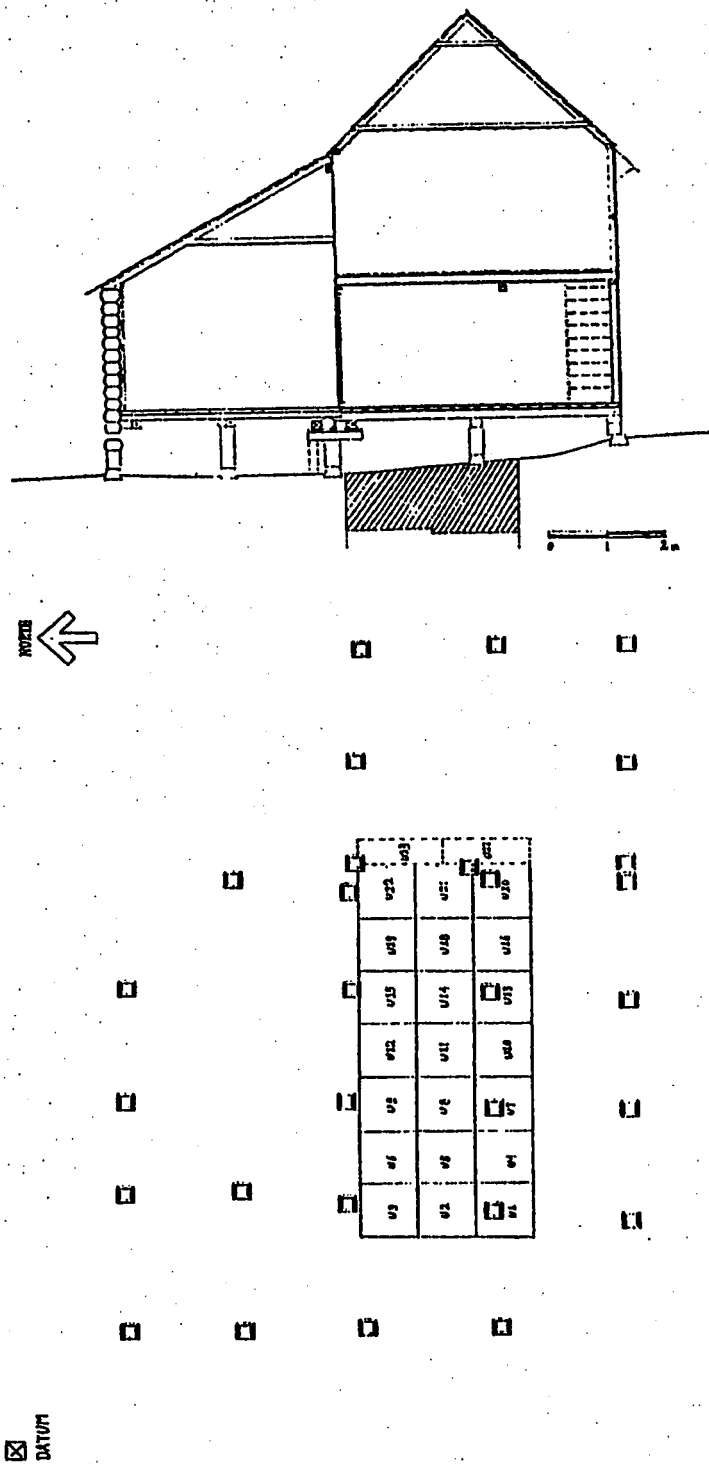


Figure 8. Location of the excavation area at Lot 69. (Above) cross section of the Chih Kung Tang house and the excavation Area. (Bottom) plan of the foundation of the building with the concrete footings installed by the town after the 1960s (after Richard Caywood with some alterations).

Results of the excavation

a) Site period Apart from the backhoe test, sixteen arbitrary levels were identified and grouped into six distinct strata by texture of stratum, patterning of footings and artifacts. All six strata contained cultural remains including features, artifacts and ecofacts, suggesting repeated or continuous site construction and occupation. These six strata were further grouped into three periods by the identification of four separate footing systems. Period I, II and IIIa are the main components of the site, associated with the construction and occupation of the standing Chih Kung Tang house from 1877 to 1947. Period IIIb represents a period after abandonment of the site by the Chinese from 1947 to 1958 and the town period after 1958 (Figure 9, 10).

Excavation did not find any evidence of the initial site construction or occupation earlier than the 1870s. Underneath Stratum I is a flood-tailing deposit, which is so thick that backhoe tests were not able to go through even at 5 m DBD. Considering that the Chinatown took shape in Barkerville by 1864 at the latest (Chapter 5 below) and that Lot 69 is in the central part of Barkerville's Chinatown, there must be nearby deposits formed in the 1860s. Due to the spatial limitation of the 1993 excavation it is very difficult to tell whether such early remains lie underneath the thick tailings or were washed away by floods prior to the 1870s.

b) Features recovered Four sets of footing systems are identified in the area of the excavation. They were installed one after another as the site was covered by tailings brought by floods necessitating the raising of the house. The first three sets of footings were constructed when the Chinese occupied the site and the fourth one was installed by the park sometime between 1960 and 1980. From the bottom to the top:

The first footing system consists of a set of log posts. It was installed within Stratum I to support the main structure and kept in use until Stratum II.

The second footing system consists of cribbed wooden footings. It was installed in Stratum III to support both the main structure (84A) and the north lean-to (84B) and in use through Strata IV and V. Apparently, the second footing system was built at the same time as the north lean-to, in 1905.

The third footing consists of a set of log posts. It was applied within the earlier Stratum IV to support both main structure and the north lean-to. This system can be seen in a photograph of the building taken prior to 1960 but did not exist in 1993 when the excavation took place since the park removed it during the installation of the fourth footing system sometime between 1960 and 1980.

The fourth footing system consists of a set of concrete blocks topped with wooden posts. It was installed within the late Stratum VI by the town to support the entire building.

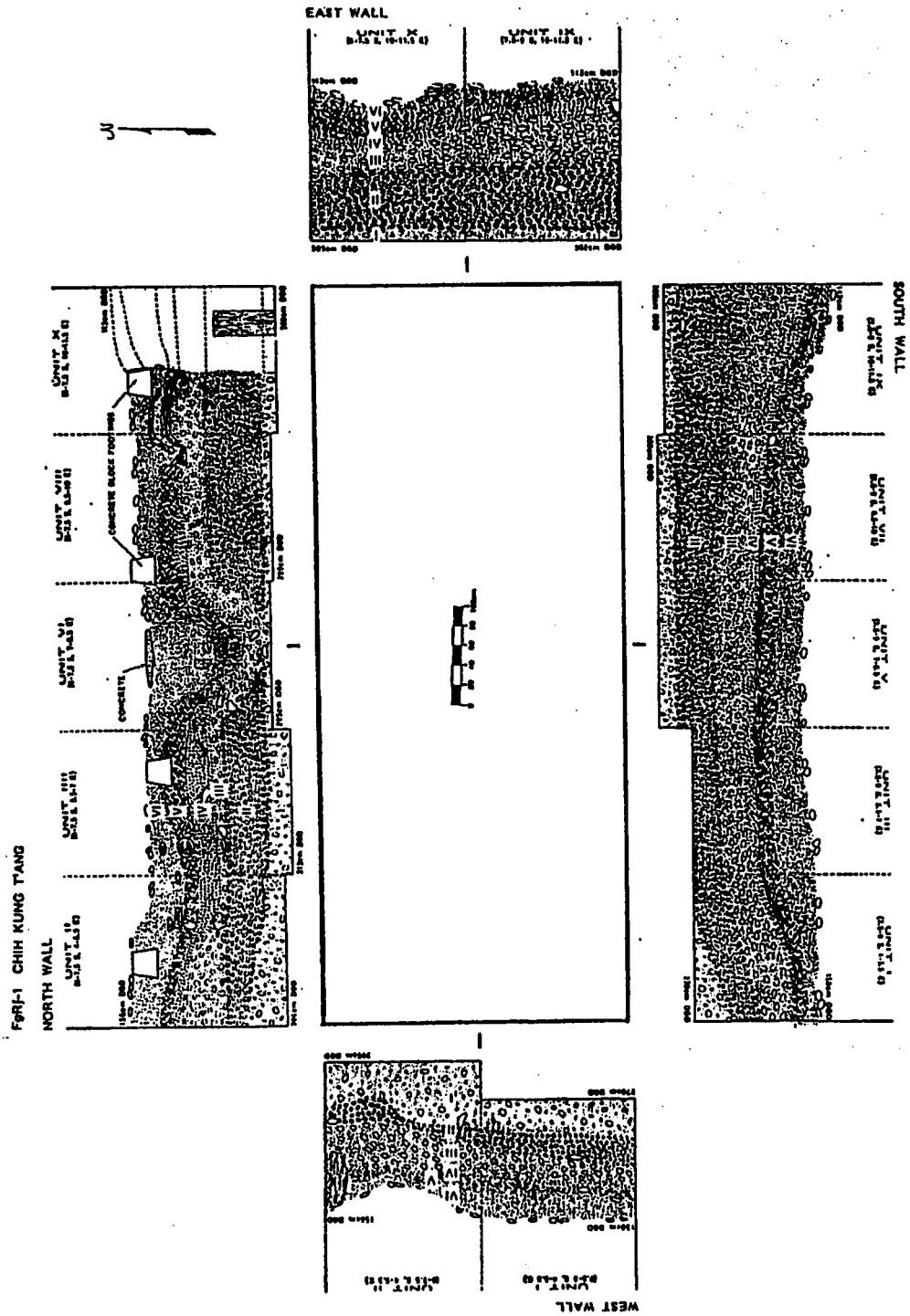


Figure 9. Profiles of the excavation area at Lot 69, Barkerville.

KEY

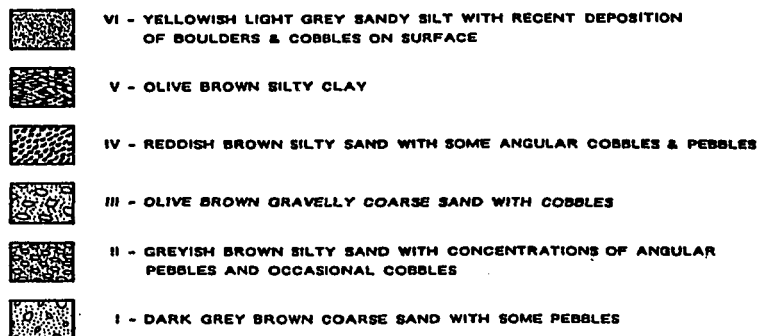


Figure 10. Key for the profiles of the excavation area at the Lot 69, Barkerville.

These four footings systems related to all materials from Stratum I to VI and were associated with the standing Chih Kung Tang building from the 1870s to the 1980s. Most of the undisturbed materials encountered predated 1950 and belonged to the time period between the 1870s and 1940s. The following table is a proposed chronological sequence of the construction of the site and the building based upon results from the 1993 excavation and the 1991 investigation of the standing building (Table 1).

Table 1: A proposed chronology of three periods of the cultural deposits of the site

DATE	PERIOD	STRAT.	SITE CONSTRUCTION	BUILDING 84 CONSTRUCTION
1940s-90s	III-2	VIb	1960&80-4th set of footings	1947-Abandonment
1930s-40s	III-1	VIa		1934-Last application of new wallpaper
1900s-30s	II	IV III	1914?-3rd set of footings 1905-2nd set of footings	1920s?-Tin roof added 1914-Board walls in Main structure (84A) & north lean-to (84B) 1905-North lean-to (84B)
1870s-00s	I	II I	1877-1st set of footings	1883 & 85-East lean-to(84C) 1877-Main structure (84A)

c) Artifacts and ecofacts 4,588 artifacts, (3,410 from the excavation and 1,178 from the ground surface of the entire site), 1905 faunal and 178 floral items were recovered.

Artifacts. While a few artifacts such as a Chinese coin dated 1622 AD and some from the 1940s are anomalous, the majority of artifacts date between the 1870s and the 1930s. Artifacts

were found in all six strata. Classification of these artifacts and their horizontal and vertical distributions allowed a further examination of the site from a different perspective.

Faunal Remains. Faunal materials were found in all six strata and on the surface. Fauna from the excavation can be roughly classified into four categories by morphology. The following table shows a meat consumption pattern with a preference for mammals (Table 2).

Table 2: Fauna recovered within the excavated area

SPECIES	QTY	%
Bird	254	13.33
Fish	21	1.10
Mammal	1485	77.95
Unidentified	145	7.61
Total	1905	100.00

Floral remains 178 floral samples were found during excavation (Strata II to VI) and 164 from the surface. The 178 samples from excavation included ten species (Table 3).

Table 3: Floral species identified

SPACIES	QTY.	%
Apricot	1	0.56
Cherry pit	12	6.74
Hazelnut	3	1.69
Lychee pit	21	11.80
Olive pits	93	52.25
Peach pit	10	5.62
Peanut shell	9	5.06
Plum pit	4	2.25
Sunflower Seeds	3	1.69
Watermelon seeds	8	4.49
Unidentified	14	7.87
Total	178	100.00

d) Site ethnicity 3,410 artifacts from the excavation can be roughly put into two groups:1,037 are China culture related and 2,373 Europe and North America cultures related. Table 4 shows the distribution of these two groups of artifacts.

Table 4: Distribution of artifacts in the excavation area by culture

STRATUM	CHINESE CULTRE		EUROPEAN-N. AMEIRCA CULTURE		TOTAL	
	QTY.	%	QTY.	%	QTY.	%
VI	681	20.0	1,661	48.7	2,342	68.7
V	101	3.0	290	8.5	391	11.5
IV	132	3.9	272	8.0	404	11.8
III	45	1.3	70	2.1	115	3.4
II	72	2.1	72	2.1	144	4.2
I	1	0.2	8	0.2	14	0.4
Total	1,037	30.4	2,373	69.6	3,410	100.0

Some Chinese items, such as teapots, may also have been used by Caucasians. Other artifacts identify Chinese ethnicity. These exclusively Chinese artifacts include the abacus, Chinese dominoes, fantan beads, and all items associated with opium smoking. Table 5 shows the distribution of these Chinese identifiers.

Table 5: Distribution of Chinese ethnic identifiers

STRATUM	ABACUS BEAD	FANTAN BEAD	DOMINO	OPIUM SMOKING	QTY.
VI	1	46	6	192	245
V	0	4	1	23	28
IV	0	5	2	42	49
III	1	4	2	16	23
II	3	3	1	32	39
I	0	0	0	5	5
Total	5	62	12	310	389

The fact that ethnic artifacts were recovered in all six strata suggests a continuing site occupation by Chinese.

e) Site function The 3,410 artifacts from the excavation can be also roughly divided into three groups by the type of activity each item was involved in. Table 6 shows the distribution of these three groups.

Table 6: Distribution of 3,410 artifacts in the excavation area

STRATUM	DOMESTIC		MINING & HUNTING		OTHER		TOTAL	
	QTY.	%	QTY.	%	QTY.	%	QTY.	%
VI	2,256	66.6	8	0.2	78	2.3	2,342	68.7
V	381	11.2	1	0.0	9	0.3	391	11.5
IV	395	11.6	0	0.0	9	0.3	404	11.8
III	110	3.2	0	0.0	5	0.1	115	3.4
II	138	4.0	0	0.0	6	0.2	144	4.2
I	13	0.4	1	0.0	0	0.0	14	0.4
ALL	3,293	96.6	10	0.3	107	3.1	3,410	100.0

According to Table 6, 3,293 (96.6%) of the excavated artifacts were related to domestic activity and they were recovered in all six strata. This means that the Chinese used the site principally for a residence. 3,293 artifacts in the group of domestic activity involve six sub-activities (Table 7):

Table 7: Classification of domestic related artifacts from excavation

ACTIVITIES	SUB-ACTIVITIES	QTY.	%
Domestic activities			
-----	Alcohol drinking	1952	59.3
-----	Opium smoking	310	9.4
-----	Tobacco smoking	2	0.1
-----	Gambling	75	2.3
-----	Eating and Beverage	635	19.3
-----	Others	319	9.7
ALL	-	3,293	100.0

Table 7 shows that artifacts related to alcohol drinking, opium and tobacco-smoking and gambling number 2,339 or 71% of the domestic artifacts. According to Chinese custom these four activities are exclusive to males. This, plus the fact that among the total artifacts excavated those related solely to females are almost zero (1 only out of 3,410), indicates that Chinese males occupied the site mostly all the time.

The average number of artifacts in each 1.5m x 1.5m unit excavated is 345. This is a very high density for a domestic site. This may suggest intermittent use of the site by a larger group of people than were permanent residents there. Such an interpretation is consistent with accounts of the use of the building by Chinese from outlying settlements for holidays, ceremonies, funerals, and other functions. It also may relate to the special depositional context beneath the house.

f) Relationship between the site deposits and the Chih Kung Tang House The site deposits and the standing building belong to the same cultural assemblage formed by the Hong-men

society between 1870 and 1940. The excavation clearly verifies the ethnic identity of the builders and occupants. It provides evidence of how the building was used and further indicates that the influence of the Chih Kung Tang house on the Chinese was far greater than its actual size implies.

Conservation of wallpaper samples recovered in the Chih Kung T'ang building

As mentioned earlier, during the investigation in 1991, the author took one wallpaper sample back the laboratory for an intensive investigation while recording the rest of wallpaper on the site without removing them off the walls of the building. In the summer of 2000, the Barkerville Historical Town removed all of the remaining for further conservation. The author studied and conserved nearly half of the wallpaper in the laboratory of the Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University in early 2001.

Objectives of the work

The objectives of the project are to separate selected samples of wallpaper, record all dates seen in newspaper and other material, annotate any English and Chinese materials associated with wallpaper, and summarize any knowledge gained through the examination of wallpaper and its associates (Chen 2001:5).

Working schedule and methods

The project involved five steps, each with different methods: sample identification, separating and collecting, cataloguing and recording, photographing, and storing.

a) Identifying samples Fourteen samples were selected by Bill Quackenbush, curator of the Barkerville Historical Park. These samples are from room A1, A3, and A5 of the main structure (84A), and room B1 and B2 of the north lean-to (84B) of the building. In addition, there were 69 wallpaper fragments. These fragments originally belonged to those large samples but were improperly cut off from them for various reasons (Chen 2001).

Sample identification increased the sample from 14 to 15A total of 69 fragments could be relocated back to the large wallpaper samples. Sixty-one fragments could be put back to their original spots while six others were too fragile to do so (Chen 2001).

b) Sample separation and collection This work involved three steps: soaking, separating, and drying the samples. In addition to two existing sinks in the Simon Fraser University Department of Archaeology laboratory, measuring 1.50 m x 0.85 m x 1.00 m sink and 0.80 m x 0.40 m x 0.60 m respectively, two other temporary sinks, one measuring 4.00 m x 1.80 m and another 1.20 m x 0.88 m, were built using plastic sheets and steel frames on the top of tables (Figure 11, 12). These four sinks were used for soaking samples of different sizes. After soaking samples were separated in water piece by piece and layer by layer. In doing so, palette trowels were used. As many samples have serious smoke damage and are mixed with sand and dirt, they needed further cleaning in clean water after separation.

Samples after cleaning were placed onto blotting paper respectively and dried in the air until half dry. Four to six blotting papers with samples were then piled up and topped with a heavy glass or wooden board for about 12 hours. Next, the pile of samples with blotting papers were separated and dried in the air till completely dry. Last, the dry samples were re-piled and topped with heavy boards until being catalogued. During this stage, provenience of each item was written down on both notebook and blotting paper, on which the item rested.

c) Cataloguing and recording Recording involved two parts. One was recording 735 items collected (Chen 2001:Appendix I). Another was recording 534 items, which were mostly newspaper fragments and not collected (Chen 2001:Appendix II).

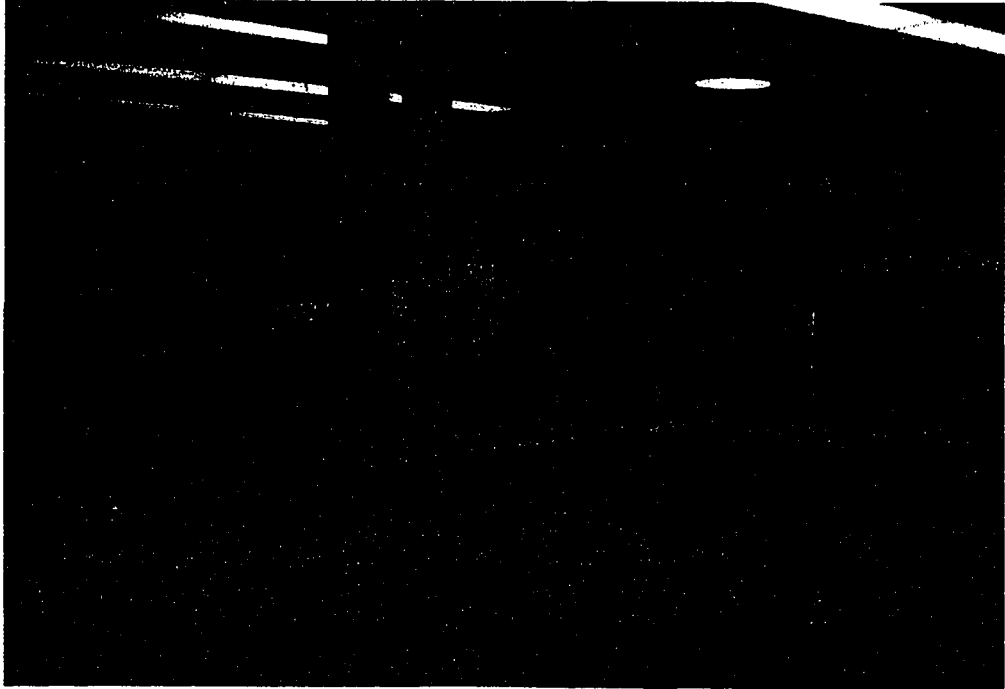


Figure 11. A sink built up in the Department of Archaeology library for soaking wallpaper samples.

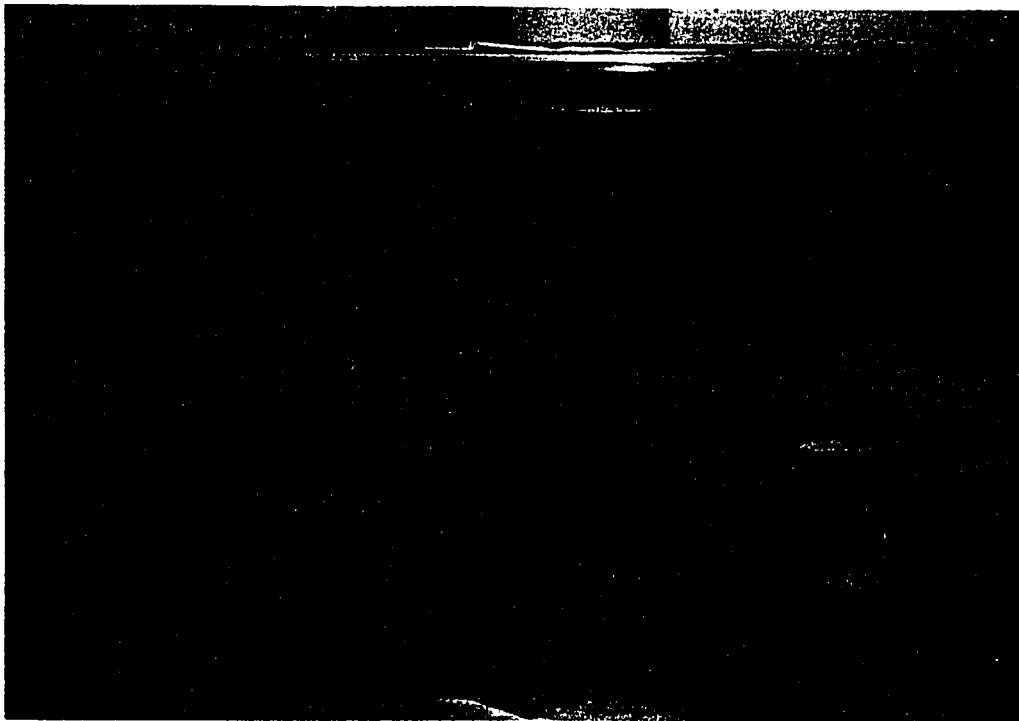


Figure 12. A wallpaper sample from the north wall, main hall (84A1) of the main structure (84A) was soaked in a sink before separating (2001).

Among 735 items collected, the majority, 698 were recovered in 2000 and 37 had been found and catalogued in 1991. The newly found ones were catalogued respectively under '84WP', '84' referring the building number while 'WP' meaning 'wallpaper'. Those found in 1991 were catalogued under '991.285' and these numbers were used in this report (Chen 2001 Appendix I).

d) Sample classification All 1,269 items including the 735 collected and the 533 not collected are divided into two general categories. Category I is European culture related and 967 items, 483 collected and 484 non-collected, fell to this category. Items in this category were mostly installed as wallpaper and are further divided into eight sub-groups by materials such as fabrics, cardboard, formal wallpaper, newspaper, etc. Category II are Chinese culture related and 302 items, 252 collected and 50 non-collected fall into this category. Items in this category were pasted on wallpaper layers for Chinese social, political or commercial purposes. They are further divided into eight groups by function such as the signs of the Chih Kung T'ang society, Chinese calendars, posts, gambling rules, etc. Category III comprises four bunches of human hairs probably left by Chinese.

e) Photography. Seven large samples (2, 8, 9, 10 11, 13, 14) were photographed before and/or during separation. Most diagnostics, and selected fabric materials were also photographed.

f) Storage. The 735 collected samples were put into four acid free boxes. Most items were separated from one another with a layer of interleaving paper while small or fragmented items were wrapped with interleaving paper. Other artifacts such as nails, nail-washers, coins, and human hair were wrapped with interleaving paper and then put into separate plastic bags.

Results

A total of 15 samples, measuring a total of 50.32 m², were processed. All samples were separated and recorded by name, date, type, and size. A total of 1,269 items were recovered, of which 735 items were collected while 534 were field recorded. These items were further classified and sub-classified for the further use.

Based upon dates revealed in various items, a chronological sequence for the installation of wallpaper in rooms A1, A3, A5, B2, and B3 between the 1870s and the 1930s was obtained (Chen 1992: Appendix III). Combining this sequence with the one drawn from the 1991 investigation, a chronological sequence for the installation of all wallpaper in the main building and north lean-to is proposed (Appendix I).

Our recovery of the Chinese culture related artifacts shed considerable light on the changes in house use by the Hong-men society through time.

Reconstruction of the Chinese Settlement Pattern in the North Cariboo

The work sought answers to two questions. First, what is the distribution of Chinese communities in the North Cariboo? Second, what is the chronology of the rise and fall of Chinese settlements in each area of the district?

Gold mining relied heavily on water sources and mining-related settlements existed, with few exceptions, near rivers or creeks. In theory, a systematic archaeological survey along each creek, river, and lake should be able to cover most Chinese mining settlements. However, there are 280 creeks, ten rivers and 147 lakes in the study area. It was impossible for our small survey crew to cover them all in two summers. Thus, the author employed a strategy for reconstructing a Chinese settlement pattern through combining historically recorded Chinese sites with archaeologically surveyed ones.

The work started with searching archival maps and documents for places worked on and lived in by Chinese. This allowed the study to draw a general picture from documents of distribution of the Chinese settlements in the study area between the 1860s and the 1940s. The work then was followed with consultation with local historians and others with knowledge of the early Chinese settlements in the area. These efforts indicated certain zones and drainages with known Chinese settlement and mining activity. Our archaeological field survey efforts were then focused on these areas. Following the acquisition of the archival and field data, the author conducted a general classification of sites and an analysis of the distribution of these site classes. The goal of these efforts was to determine patterns of settlement and possibly to infer from these patterns a distinctive Chinese settlement system.

Archival sources for places worked and inhabited by the Chinese

Sixteen documentary sources reporting Chinese settlements and places worked by the Chinese in the study area were selected. Following are brief descriptions of the nine major sources.

The Cariboo Cariboo Sentinel (called Cariboo Sentinel below). This is a district newspaper, which was published in Barkerville between 1865 and 1875. The newspaper reported Chinese settlements and mining activities throughout the said time span.

Barkerville Assay Office Records (1869-1895). The booklet contains information about names of Chinese individuals and store and names of the places where they were engaged in the gold mining between 1869 and 1895.

Amos Boman's maps. Boman undertook a geographic survey of the Cariboo focusing on the Barkerville-Stanley area. He produced a report and 11 maps between 1885 and 1886 (Boman

1885-86). On maps 5, 8, 9, 10 and 11, Boman plotted the Chinese settlements, which he came across during his survey.

Placer and Vein Godl Deposits of Barkerville, Cariboo District, British Columbia (1926) by W. A. Johnston, and W. L. Uglow. In 1924, Johnston and Uglow carried out a similar survey to the one done by Boman in Cariboo, also focusing on the Barkerville-Stanley area. A final report was produced in 1926. While concentrating on the current situation in the gold mines, the report mentions the history of the mining industry including places worked by the Chinese between the 1860s and early 1920s.

... And So... That's How It Happened Recollections of Stanley-Barkerville 1900-1975 by Bill Hong (1978). As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, Bill Hong was a son of Chinese immigrants. Born in 1901, Hong spent most of his life in the Barkerville-Stanley area until his death in 1985. His relates the local history from as early as the 1860s up to the 1950s. While focusing on the gold mining industry the book does cover numerous references to Chinese settlements and mines.

Canada Census. Records of the Cariboo district for the years 1881, 1891, and 1901 revealed place names of where Chinese lived and personal name data.

The Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, Report and Evidence (1885). It mentions the major towns in British Columbia, including those in the North Cariboo District, where most Chinese lived in the early 1880s.

Chinese account books kept in the Barkerville Historical Town. In the early 1960s, Barkerville Historical Town collected a number of Chinese artifacts from the Chinatown sites in Quesnelle Forks and Barkerville. Among these items were more than 200 Chinese account books. Most of them were produced by the Hong-men societies while some by the Chinese communities and companies between 1876 and 1943. The name of the Chinese settlements where these accounts were produced are recorded or indirectly recorded. Details of the work on these accounts will be introduced later in this chapter.

Receipt stubs kept in the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (called CCBA below). In 1884, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association was established in Victoria. It acted as the main representative for the Chinese in Canada until 1908 when the Chinese Consulate was established in Ottawa (Lai 1972:53). The preparation committee issued a notice to all Canadian Chinese communities asking for donations to establish the association and organized a campaign against discriminatory laws and taxes. Booklets were sent to Chinese stores in major towns across the country. The receipt stubs with each store's name on the cover were sent back to the association where they remain to this day. Among these stubs, 35 were sent back by stores in eight major Chinese settlements located in the North Cariboo.

In addition to these nine major sources, information scatted in other contemporary and later works known to the author was also used. The following table shows the numbers of the drainages inhabited or worked by the Chinese, which are mentioned in the documentary sources (Table 8).

Table 8: Chinese settlements and drainages worked by Chinese from archival sources

CHINESE SETTLEMENT	DRAINAGES WORKED	TIME PERIOD	SOURCES
5	51	1865-74	Cariboo Cariboo Sentinel (1864-1875)
-	21	1869-1895	Barkerville Assay Office Records, 1869-1895
6	10	1880s	Bowman 1885-86 Maps
-	15	1860s-20s	Johnson & Uglow 1926 Placer and Vein Gold Deposits of Barkerville, Cariboo District, British Columbia. Canada
9	33	1860s-40s	Hong 1978 ...And...That's How It Happened: Recollections of Stanley-Barkerville, 1900-1975.
16	8	1881-01	Canada Census 1881, 1891, and 1901
5	5	1880s	Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, Report and Evidence (1885)
6	4	1876-42	Chinese account books
8	5	1884-1895	Chinese receipt stubs
1	1	1863	Gillette (year and page number unknown) (as cited in Galois 1970:38)
5	5	188s	Lee 1967 加拿大華僑史 (A History of Chinese in Canada).
2	2	1864	The Colonist
1	1	1934	Vancouver Sun
1	1	1954	Williams Lake Tribune 1954
3	3	1860s-1920s	Elliott 1978 Barkerville, Quesnel & the Cariboo Gold Rush
1	1	1860s-1954	Wright 1987 Quesnelle Forks A gold Rush Town in Historical Perspective

Table 8 shows that a number of different sources provide direct evidence of settlements in the study area. That makes cross checking of dates of settlements possible. For example, Last Chance creek is a tributary of Lightning Creek in the Stanley area and Chinese mining activities on this creek were recorded in the following sources (Table 9).

Table 9: Documentary mining activities by Chinese in Last Chance creek

SOURCE	PAGE & DATE	SITE LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
Cariboo Sentinel	07/12/1866	Last Chance Creek	1866
Cariboo Sentinel	05/23/1868	Last Chance Creek	1868
Cariboo Sentinel	07/09/1868	Last Chance Creek	1868
Cariboo Sentinel	07/16/1871	Last Chance Creek	1871
Cariboo Sentinel	07/13/1872	Last Chance Creek	1872
Cariboo Sentinel	07/13/1872	Last Chance Creek	1872
Johnson & Uglow 1926	171	Last Chance Creek	1898-23
Hong 1978	15	Last Chance Creek	1885-10
Hong 1978	55	Last Chance Creek	1909-21
Hong 1978	15	Last Chance Creek	1912-...
Hong 1978	54	Last Chance Creek	1914a
Hong 1978	55	Last Chance Creek	1914a?-09
Hong 1978	16	Last Chance Creek	1921-23
Hong 1978	55	Last Chance Creek	1921-25
Hong 1978	18	Last Chance Creek	1925-26
Hong 1978	56	Last Chance Creek	1930s?
Hong 1978	56	Last Chance Creek	1930s?
Hong 1978	55	Last Chance Creek	1931-33
Hong 1978	56	Last Chance Creek	1933-37
Hong 1978	15	Last Chance Creek	?-1910

Table 9 indicates the Chinese explored this creek as early as 1866 and the last year they worked there was 1937. 1866-1937, then, is determined as the time span of Chinese operations in this creek.

As none of the sources listed in Table 9 describes the actual settlement or its location on the creek, the possible site and the type of site had to be inferred. The creek is not on the main communication line but it is very close to Stanley where there was a large Chinatown from 1870 to the 1930s. A large Chinatown like settlement is unlikely on Last Chance Creek. All records about the Chinese on this creek refer to gold mining by a small group of people. The site type for this creek was assumed to be one or two mining cabins. In the summer of 1993, an archaeological survey was conducted and three Chinese cabin sites were located. This confirms the assumptions about site type based on the documentary evidence.

Employing the same method, a documentary distribution of the Chinese is reconstructed for settlements in 88 drainages in the North Cariboo District between the 1860s and the 1940s (Appendix II).

Appendix II gives only a general distribution of the Chinese settlements, ignoring specific site quantity. However, minimum numbers of total sites can be inferred. The method suggests that there was at least one site on each river or creek and at least two sites on the district's main drainages such as Williams and Lightning creeks.

All rivers and creeks in the district are tributaries of five main rivers and these drainages can be divided roughly into four areas; Quesnel Mouth, Quesnelle Forks, Barkerville and Stanley. A general time span for Chinese settlement in each area can be inferred (Appendix II).

It is known that Chinese population concentrated in the four areas of the district in the following periods:

Quesnel Mouth 1860s-1925,

Quesnelle Forks 1861-1930,

Barkerville 1864-1947, and

Stanley 1871-1930s.

While revealing the general distribution of the Chinese settlements in the research area, most archival sources did not mention details of site layout, location, and relation to other sites. Archaeological fieldwork was required to answer these questions.

Archaeological field survey of the Chinese settlements

Survey methods

The archaeological survey of Chinese settlements was conducted in the summers of 1993 and 1994. Survey concentrated on seventeen selected creeks and rivers, which were largely in the Barkerville-Stanley area and covered by Borden numbers, FfRi, FgRi, FgRj, and FgRk (Figure 13). This area was chosen because Barkerville and Stanley were major centres of the gold industry in the North Cariboo and at the peak some 5000 to 8000 Chinese were reported working in this area (British Columbia Minister of Mines, Annual Reports, 1893:211). Another factor is that most documentary sources and oral information about the early Chinese comes from this area. In addition, a site survey of Quesnelle Forks (FdRk) on the Quesnel River in the southern area of the district was undertaken.

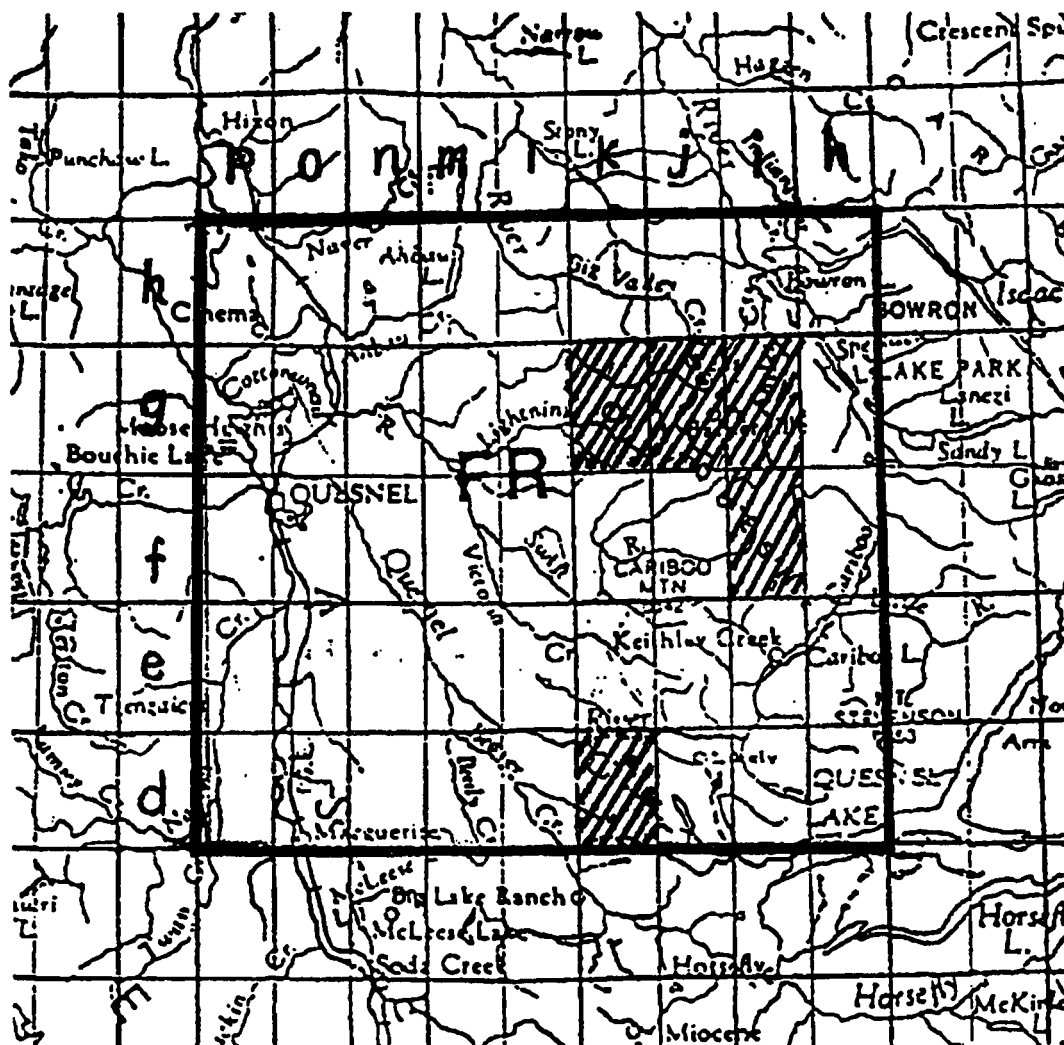


Figure 13. The North Cariboo District showing the Borden numbers. Note that the areas within FdRk, FfRi, FgRi, FgRj, and FgRk were selectively surveyed.

Criteria for identifying a Chinese settlement needed to be established since not only Chinese but also Occidental miners settled in the North Cariboo District. To establish such criteria, the Chinatown in Barkerville was first examined as it is relatively well preserved and historically recorded. In addition, data are available from the archaeological excavation, which took place at the Kwong Sang Wing Store Site in Barkerville. The material remains from Barkerville's Chinatown fall into three general categories (Table 10):

Table 10: Material remains found in Barkerville's Chinatown

<p>1. STRUCTURES & FEATURES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chih Kung Tang house Clan association house Hotel Hospital Stores Butcher shop Bakery Restaurant Tea house Gambling house Brothel Workshop Residential house & cabin Stable Root cellar Pen Pork Roaster Refuse Garden <p>2. CEMETERY</p> <p>3. ARTIFACTS (made in China or modified by Chinese)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Building furnishings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bedding (e.g. Chinese sleeping mat) Furniture (e.g. table of Chinese style) Temperature control device (e.g. Chinese kitchen range) Personal artifacts <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adornment (e.g. Chinese hairpin) Clothing (e.g. Chinese shoes) Personal (e.g. opium pipe, can) Toilet article (e.g. Chinese medicine bottle) Tools and equipment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Data processing (e.g. abacus) Food processing (e.g. Chinese wok) Food service (e.g. Chinese rice bowl) Musical (e.g. er-hu) 	<p>3. ARTIFACTS Cont.</p> <p>Communication</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Advertising medium (e.g. Chinese sign board) Documentary artifacts (e.g. Chinese account books) Writing equipment (e.g. brush pen, Chinese ink bar) <p>Weights & measures (Chinese steelyard)</p> <p>Transportation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transportation equipment (e.g. shoulder pole) <p>Art objects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Commercial decoration art (Chinese crafts) Original art (e.g. Chinese painting) <p>Recreational</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Game (e.g. fan-tan bead) <p>Social activities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ceremonial (e.g. Chinese incense burner) Exchange medium (e.g. Chinese coin) <p>Packages and Containers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Product package (e.g. Chinese rice sack) <p>Ecofacts (from China or processed by Chinese)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Preserved Chinese foods Animal bones butchered by Chinese.
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It was determined that a site would be considered Chinese if it was historically or orally recorded and if it contained at least two kinds of the material remains listed in the above table.

Seventeen selected creeks, gulches and rivers were surveyed. Each was surveyed from the confluence to its headwaters. Chinese sites encountered were first intensively examined with close to 100% survey coverage of the surface area of the site. It was then recorded in three ways: mapping, photography and written notes. While using tape and compass in most small site mapping, a transit was applied in mapping large sites such as the Stanley and Quesnelle Forks town sites. Each type of record had a different purpose. Mapping focused on the site area, distribution of structures, features, and roads. Photographs were taken of the general environs of the site and of details of each structure, feature and artifact patterns or clusters. Written notes provide a general description of the site and on-site catalogues of structures, features and of collected artifacts and ecofacts were maintained. Artifacts were selectively collected as diagnostics. They include Chinese and European and North American tin cans, glass bottles and ceramic containers with brands and various containers modified by the Chinese. Faunal remains with signs of Chinese processing, especially cleaver cut marks, were also selectively collected. In one site, Beggs Gulch-1 (FgRi-5), all artifacts and ecofacts found were collected for a future case study.

Results of the 1993 and 1994 site surveys

A total of 34 Chinese and two non-Chinese sites for future comparative study were located in the 1993-94 survey. Sixty-eight structures and structural remains and 83 other features associated with the structures were identified. 1289 artifacts, 87 faunal, and one floral sample were collected. The 34 Chinese sites are classified into four types by site size, structure and feature quantity, and complexity. Archival information about the site type is also considered (Table 11 and Figure 14).

Type I Chinatown. Chinatowns were the largest Chinese settlements in the North Cariboo. Two surveyed sites, Quesnelle Forks and Stanley, fall into this type. Two other unsurveyed Chinatown sites, Barkerville and Quesnel also fall into this type. All of these four Chinatowns are recorded in documentary sources and oral history. They are situated on or near the main drainage and beside the main road in each area. They have most structures, features, cemeteries and artifacts mentioned in Table 10. These four Chinatowns can be further divided into three types by their geographical relationship with the major towns.

Table 11: Thirty-six sites identified in the 1993 and 94 surveys

SITE RECT.	NO	SITE NAME	SITE TYPE	ARCH.	FEAT	ARCH& FEATS	ARTIF. (collected)	FAUNA (collected)	FLORAL (collected)	ALSm ₃
FgRk	-1	Quesnelle Forks	Chinatown	15	1	16	41	0	0	2200
FgRk	-1	Stanley	Chinatown	2	3	5	50	0	0	1372
FgRj	-1	Richfield Cemetery	Cemetery	0	1	1	1	0	0	1555
FgRi	-1	Antler Creek	Small town	1	2	3	17	0	0	1292
FgRj	-3	Cameron	Small town	3	3	6	41	0	0	1270
FgRk	-2	Van Winkle	Small town	0	2	2	14	0	0	1204
FgRk	-4	Bill Hong's Site	Mining camp	1	2	3	21	0	0	1189
FgRk	-5	Burns Mountain	Mining camp	2	0	13	39	0	0	1530
FgRk	-18	Eleven of England & La Fontaine Mine	Mining camp	2	2	4	18	1	0	1100
FgRk	-3	Slough Creek	Mining camp	3	6	9	48	1	0	1158
FgRk	-6	Ah Quay's Hydraulic Pit	Cabin	2	2	4	30	0	0	1170
FgRk	-8	Anderson Creek -2	Cabin	1	1	2	11	0	0	1260
FgRk	-9	Anderson Creek -3	Cabin	2	1	3	6	0	0	1250
FgRk	-7	Anderson Creek-1	Cabin	1	1	2	0	0	0	1210
FgRi	-6	Beggs Gulch -2	Cabin	1	1	2	10	0	0	1330
FgRi	-7	Beggs Gulch -3	Cabin	1	1	2	12	2	0	1295
FgRi	-5	Beggs Gulch-1	Cabin	2	7	9	187	46	1	1320
FgRk	-11	Burns Creek -2	Cabin	1	2	3	193	3	0	1302
FgRk	-12	Burns Creek -3	Cabin	1	2	3	68	1	0	1360
FgRk	-13	Burns Creek -4	Cabin	1	2	3	109	0	0	1390
FgRk	-14	Burns Creek -5	Cabin	1	3	4	52	1	0	1400
FgRk	-10	Burns Creek-1	Cabin	1	4	4	22	10	0	1270
FgRi	-9	California Creek	Cabin	1	5	6	13	0	0	1300
FgRk	-16	Davis Creek -2	Cabin	1	1	2	0	0	0	1360
FgRk	-15	Davis Creek-1	Cabin	1	2	3	19	1	0	1240
FgRk	-17	Devils Canyon	Cabin	1	5	6	16	0	0	1290
FgRj	-2	Jack of Clubs Creek	Cabin	3	8	11	27	0	0	1219
FgRi	-2	Jubilee Creek	Cabin	3	3	6	22	8	0	1341
FgRk	-19	Oregon Gulch-1	Cabin	1	3	4	19	2	0	1320
FgRk	-20	Oregon Gulch-2	Cabin	1	2	3	70	8	0	1390
FgRi	-4	Stevens Gulch -2	Cabin	4	2	6	13	0	0	1520

(Table 11 cont.)

SITE RECT	NO	SITE NAME	SITE TYPE	ARCH	FEAT	ARCH & FEAT	ARTIFACT (collected)	FAUNA (collected)	FLORAL (collected)	ALSm ₃
FgRi	-3	Stevens Gulch-1	Cabin	4	3	7	23	1	0	1372
FfRi	-4	Unnamed Site	Cabin	1	3	4	25	0	0	1430
FgRi	-8	Wolfe Creek	Cabin	2	2	4	22	0	0	1250
FgRk	-22	Anderson Creek -4 ₄	Cabin	1	1	2	10	0	0	1120
FgRk	-21	Burns Creek -6 ₅	Refuse	0	1	1	2	0	0	1360
Total	.	.	.	68	83	151-	1,271	85	1	-

Note:

1 and 2: In large settlements such as Chinatowns, village towns, and large camps only architecture and features with Chinese artifacts or archivally recorded being occupied by Chinese are listed in the table.

3. AL.Sim--Above sea level (m)

4 and 5: not Chinese sites.

Type Ia refers to Chinatown adjacent to the major town. Chinatowns in Quesnel and Barkerville are this type (Figure 2, 3, 13).

Type Ib refers to Chinatowns close to the major town but kept a certain distance from the major town. The Chinatown in Stanley belongs to this type. The site was destroyed by later mining activities and floods but the distance can be seen clearly in Bowman, Amos' map drawn in the 1880s (Appendix III-Map 14, Figure 16).

Type Ic refers to town where the Chinese were the majority of the population. The town of Quesnelle Forks between 1869 and the 1930s falls to this type (Appendix III-Map 1).

Each Chinatown has a cemetery. These three cemeteries can be further divided into two types by location.

The first type refers to the Quesnelle Forks and Stanley cemeteries, which are adjacent to the town and has a Chinese section in each cemetery (Appendix III-Map 2). There was no source to tell who, Chinese or non-Chinese, died first in these two areas and it is hard to tell who chose the cemetery location. Starting in 1869, Quesnelle Forks was dominated by Chinese (Church of England 1870:57), as was the cemetery until the 1920s. The second cemetery type refers to the one, which was mostly used by Chinese. The Richfield cemetery in the Barkerivlle area falls to this type (Appendix III-Map 11). It was called the Richfield cemetery since it was started by its residents. Richfield was a large settlement in the early 1860s, but was surpassed by Barkerville in 1864. The cemetery is located between Barkerville and Richfield about equally distant from both towns. It was situated next to the Catholic Church, as marked on Bowman's map of Williams Creek (1885-1888). It was first used in the early 1860s and Chinese buried their first deceased countrymen there in 1866 (Cariboo Sentinel July 19, 1866). After 1873, the cemetery was mostly used by the Chinese.

Chinese cemeteries today are characterized by a series of empty rectangular grave pits. The deceased Chinese remained buried in these graves for about seven years. Then they would be dug up and the bones shipped back to their home villages in China where they would be reburied in their clan or family cemetery (Hong 1978:69-72).

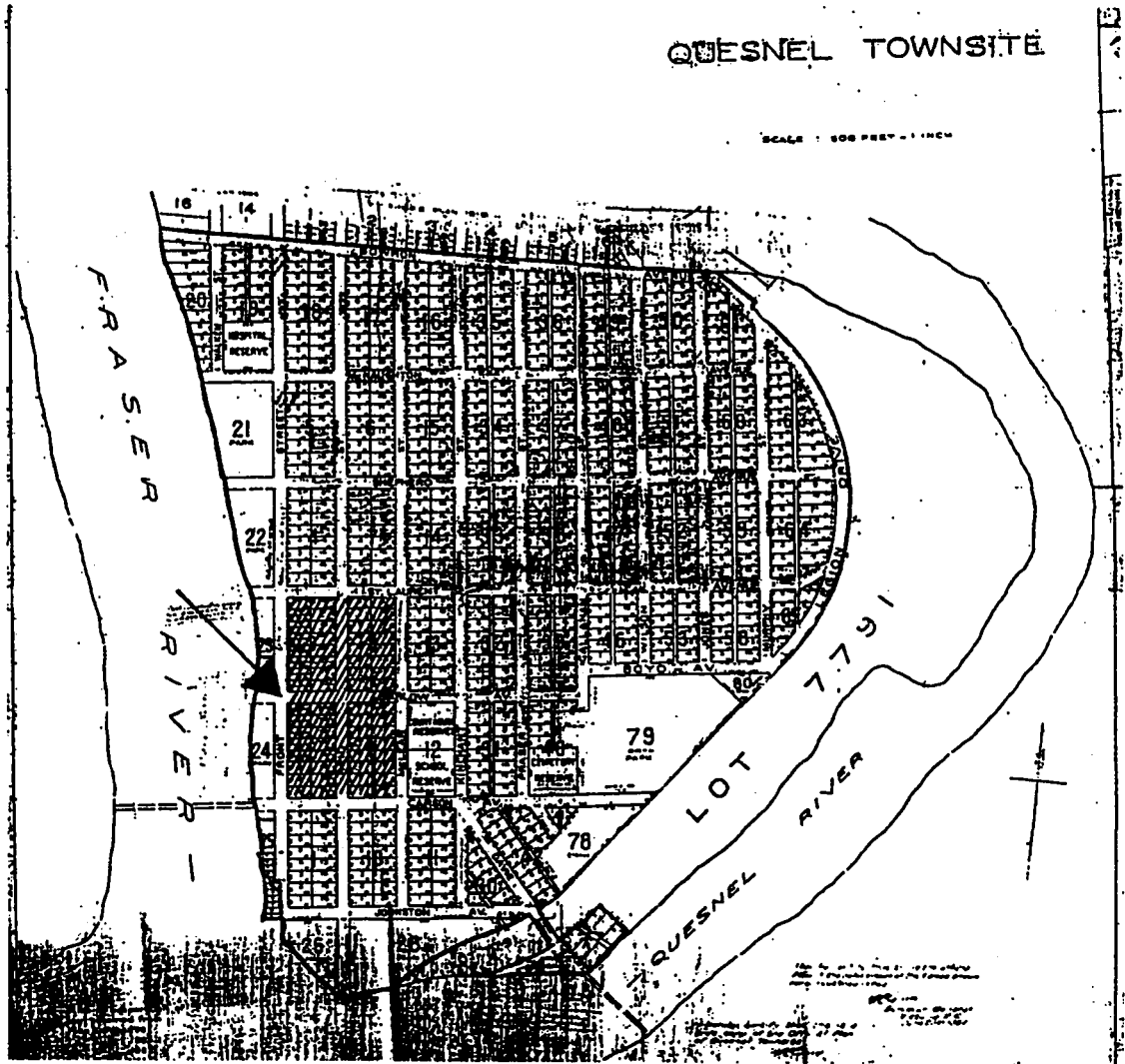


Figure 15. Plan of Quesnel townsite in 1937 (map was drawn by F. C. Green and location of the Chinatown is marked according to Lai 1989:16).

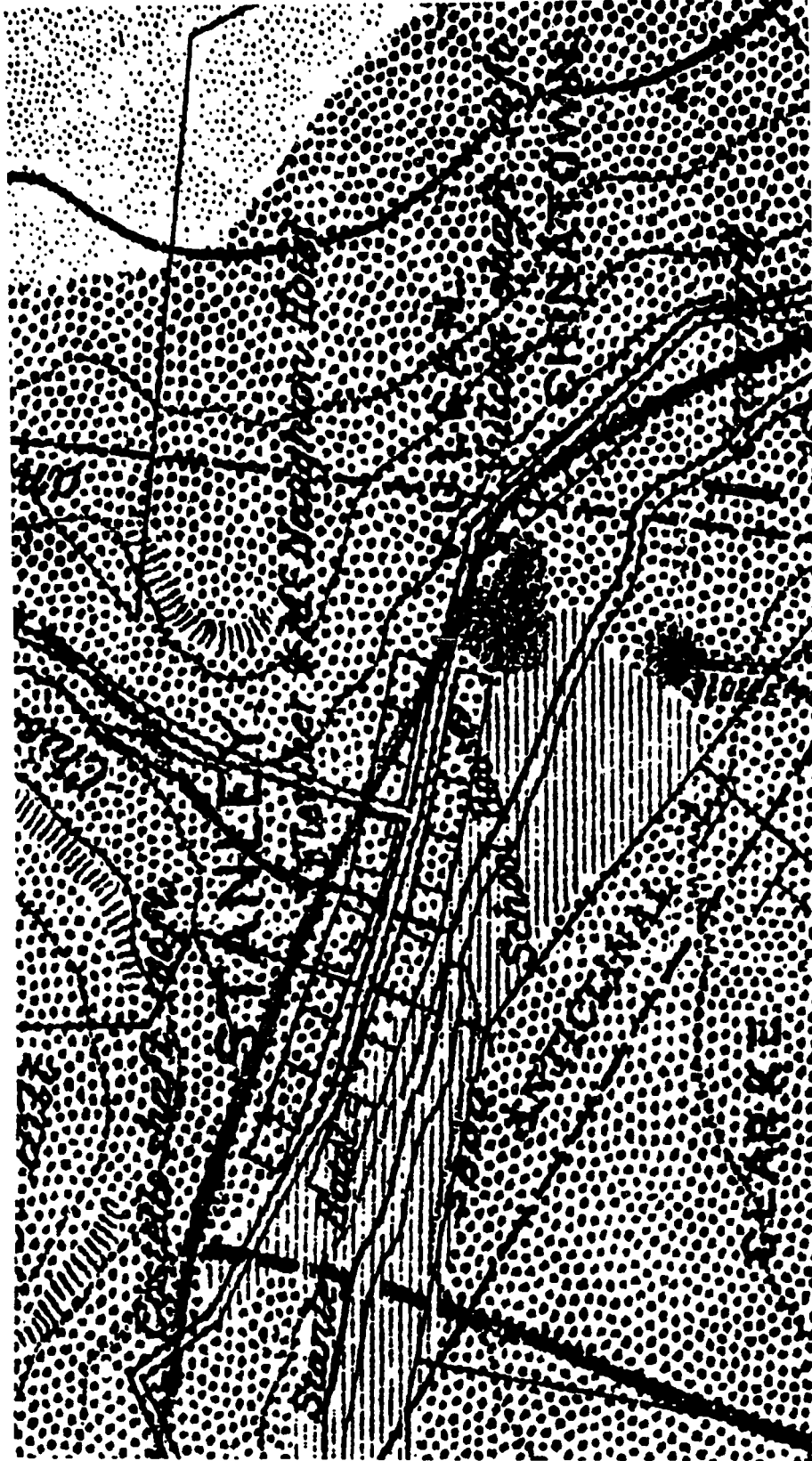


Figure 16. Layout of Stanley town in the early 1880s (from Bowman's Map 1885-1888 Map 11). Note that there is a distance between Chinatown and the major

Type II Small town. This refers to a Chinese quarter within a small town. Chinese quarters consisted of one or two Chinese owned stores and residential houses occupied by Chinese. In the field, it was very difficult to differentiate between the remains of the stores and residential houses. The principal information was recovered from the archival records. The town of Antler, Camerontown, and Van Winkle fall into this type. They were located on the major drainages and beside main roads. The primary architecture type in all these sites was log construction with the type of roofs unknown (Appendix Map 4, 13, and 15).

Type III Chinese mining camp. This type includes two sub-types:

Type IIIa refers to Chinese quarters at large mines owned by the Caucasians. Three sites, Slough Creek Mine, Bill Hong's Camp Site, and Eleven of England/La Fontaine fall to this type (Appendix III Map 16, 18, and 31). They were located on the major drainages and beside main roads. They are characterized by residential houses, workshops, garden, and pig (?) pens. The remains of structures bearing evidence of Chinese occupancy in these three sites were all of rectangular log houses. Garden remains were found at Eleven of England/La Fontaine and Slough Creek mines and they were all associated with structures occupied by Chinese (Appendix III Map 16, 17 and 18). A pig (?) pen was found at the Bill Hong's Site (Appendix III Map 18). Chinese artifacts recovered at these sites are ceramics, items associated with opium smoking and the tin cans opened in a distinctive Chinese way (Figure 17). Animal bones processed by Chinese using cleavers are also found at some of these sites.

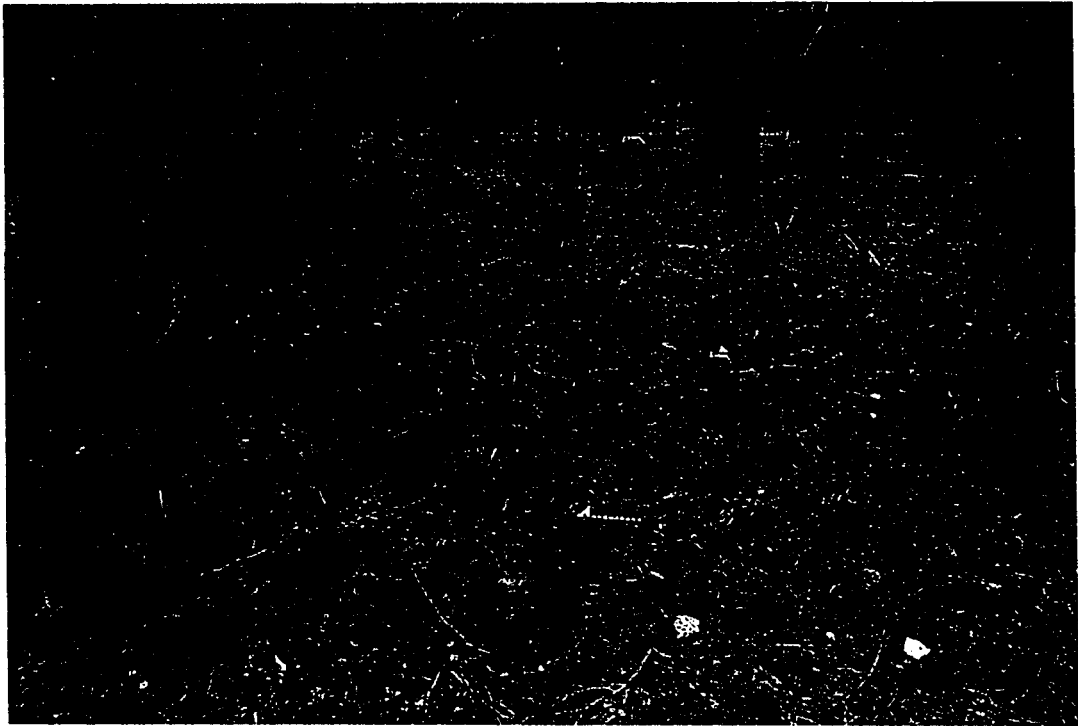


Figure 17. Chinese Artifacts recovered at Slough Creek Mine (FigR-3) (1993).

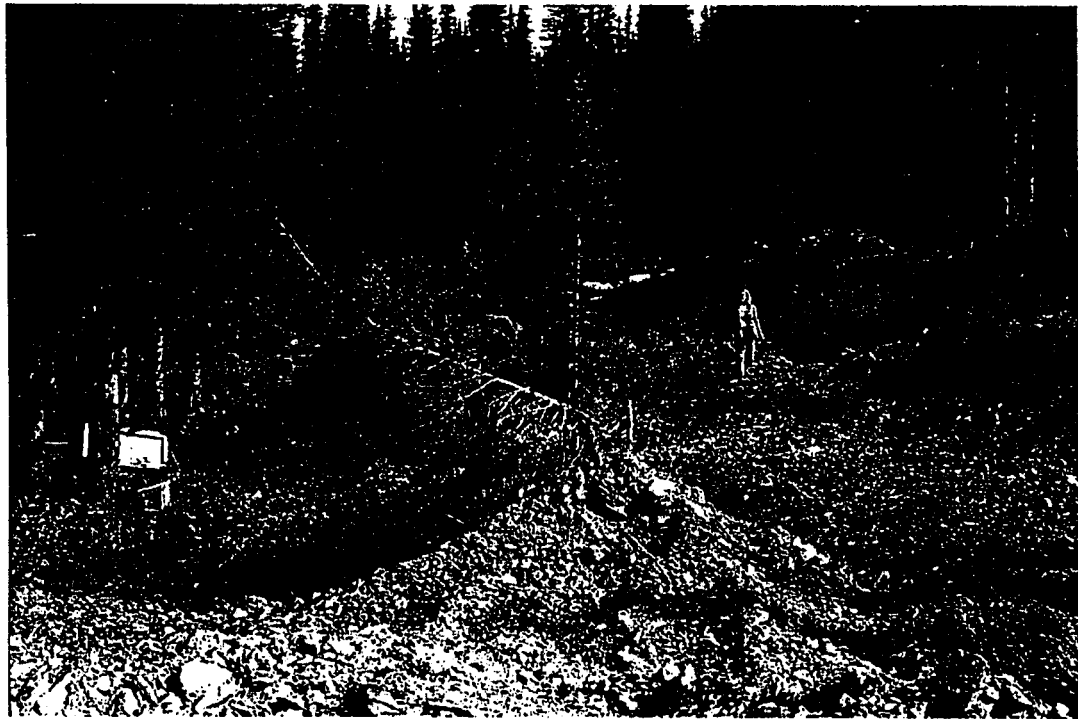


Figure 18. View of Burns Mountain (FgRk-5) (form south to north (1994).

Type IIIb is camp site, which was primarily occupied by the Chinese. Burns Mountain (FgRk-5) belongs to this type. This site was situated on the southern side of Burns Mountain and about one kilometre away from a road to the Cariboo Road. This site was largely destroyed by the later mining activities but the remaining site still had a major road running from north to south through the site and remains of five log houses. These houses were located on both sides of the main road but their doors or front doors all face south instead of the main road (Appendix III Map 19, Figure 18).

Type IV Cabin site. These are small mining camps consisting of one or two cabins plus associated refuse. In a few cases, there are three and even four cabins at one site, but only one or two of them were residences. Some cabin sites have a front yard and workshop. Twenty-six sites fall to this type (Appendix III-Map 3, 5-10, 12, 20-30, 32, 33). They are mostly situated on the branches of the main drainages and creeks and connected to the roads by foot trails. Identifiable remains, mostly bottom walls and foundations of cabins, all represent rectangular log structures, but roof construction techniques are not identifiable (Figure 19).

Chinese artifacts recovered at cabin sites include ceramics, items associated with opium smoking, Chinese herbal medicine bottles and tin cans opened with knife in what may be a distinctive Chinese way (Figure 20). Animal bones processed by the Chinese using cleavers were also found at these sites.

Settlement Pattern Among 34 surveyed sites, 33 fall to the Chinese settlement pattern and all bear the same ethnic identity. They have similar material remains and are all associated with the gold industry in the same area at the areas of Barkerville and Stanley during the same time period (1860s-1940s) although they are not all co-terminus.

This settlement pattern consists of two clusters or sub-patterns. One was in the Barkerville area along the Antler and Williams Creek watersheds and the other in the Stanley area including the Lightning Creek and Willow River watersheds. Each cluster comprises a Chinatown, several small towns, large mining camps, and many individual cabins.

Outside of the Barkerville-Stanley area, only one site, Quenelle Forks (FdRk-1), in the southern portion of North Cariboo, was surveyed. Artifacts recovered at this site are quite similar to ones seen in the Barkerville Chinatown, indicating a close relationship between these two large centres during the 1860s to the 1940s. It is reasonable to consider Quesnelle Forks to be the centre for another cluster of sub-settlements.

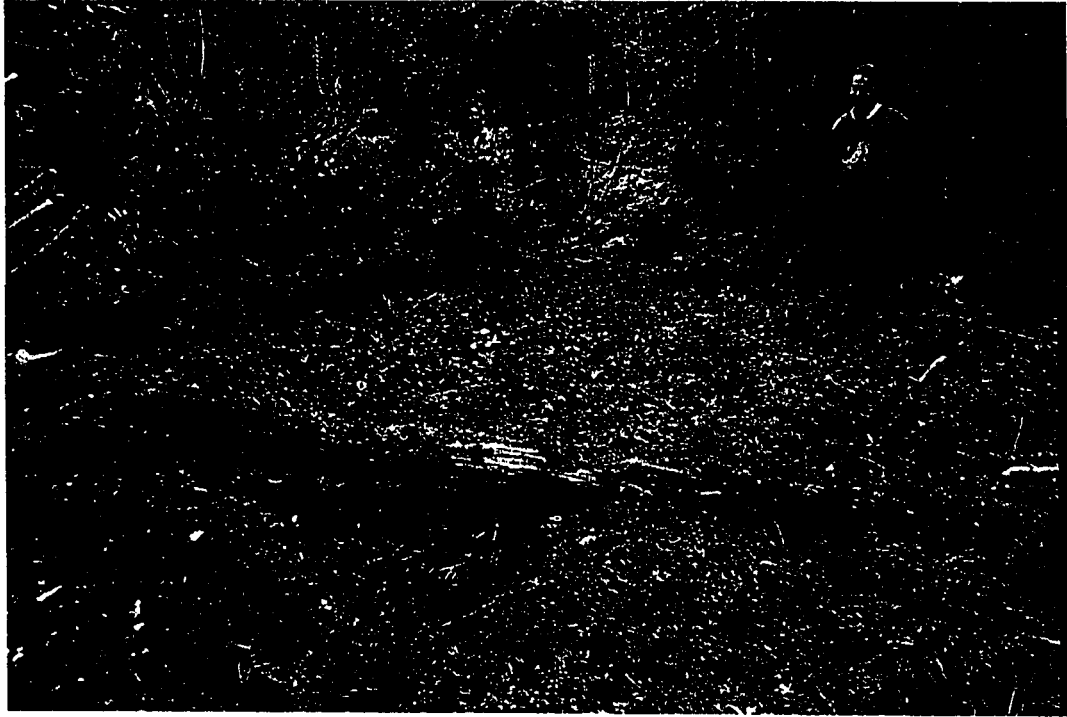


Figure 19. View of cabin site, Davis Creek-2 (FgRk-16), in the Stanley area (SW→NE) (1994).



Figure 20. Artifacts seen a refuse at the cabin site, Jack of Club Creek (FgRj-2) in the Barkerville area (1993).

During our survey at Quesnelle Forks in the summer of 1993, Dave Falconer showed the author two other sites. One was the Keithley Creek town site northeast of Quesnelle Forks. Nothing was identifiable on the surface, but archival sources indicate that there was either a Chinatown or a Chinese quarter from early times. Another site was a semi-pit house site south of Quesnelle Forks, opposite the Quesnelle River. Pot hunters have looted this site and no artifacts were found. Falconer indicated that the pot hunters had found Chinese medicine bottles at this site.

Our background work indicates that Keithley Creek is a Type II site, a Chinese quarter within a Caucasian town and the pit house is a Type IV site with a mining cabin similar to those identified in the Barkerville-Stanley area. Apparently, a Chinese settlement cluster consisting of the three types of settlements also existed in the Quesnelle Forks area.

Chinese settlement pattern reflected in archival sources and field

Both archival and archaeological information about settlements inhabited by the Chinese, report the same settlement pattern in the North Cariboo, but from different angles.

Archival sources reveal a general distribution of Chinese settlements and places where the Chinese worked. A total of 88 rivers and creeks were reported having Chinese settlements and/or having been worked by the Chinese. This is a much larger geographic distribution than the distribution of the Chinese settlements identified in the field, where only 17 drainages with Chinese settlements were identified. Archival sources sometimes show the time periods and the general types of settlements in use but seldom carry information regarding specific site location and numbers of settlements on each creek.

Chinese settlements were archaeologically located on 17 drainages. Sixteen of these drainages were also reported having Chinese settlements or Chinese mining activities in the archival sources. Thus the other 71 rivers or creeks listed in Appendix II should also have Chinese settlements that can be identified using archaeological techniques.

Confirmation of a site's presence was not the only task of our fieldwork. Archaeologically located settlements provide much more detail than information obtained from documentary sources. This includes layout within site, site location, site type, relations among sites, and overall settlement pattern. However, the archaeological settlement pattern is itself incomplete unless supplemented and supported by the archival sources.

that there were more Type IV sites in the Quesnelle Forks area. There is documentary evidence for either a cluster or a sub-pattern of Chinese settlements consisting of the four site types, plus an additional type, the farm, in the Quesnelle Mouth area where no archaeological assessment has been carried out (Appendix II).

It is safe to propose a Chinese settlement pattern consisting of either sub-patterns or four clusters in the North Cariboo District. Starting and ending at different times, these four sub-patterns co-existed between 1871 and 1925 (Figure 21). This settlement pattern, drawn based upon both archaeological data and documentary sources, is proposed to be close to the original settlement pattern.

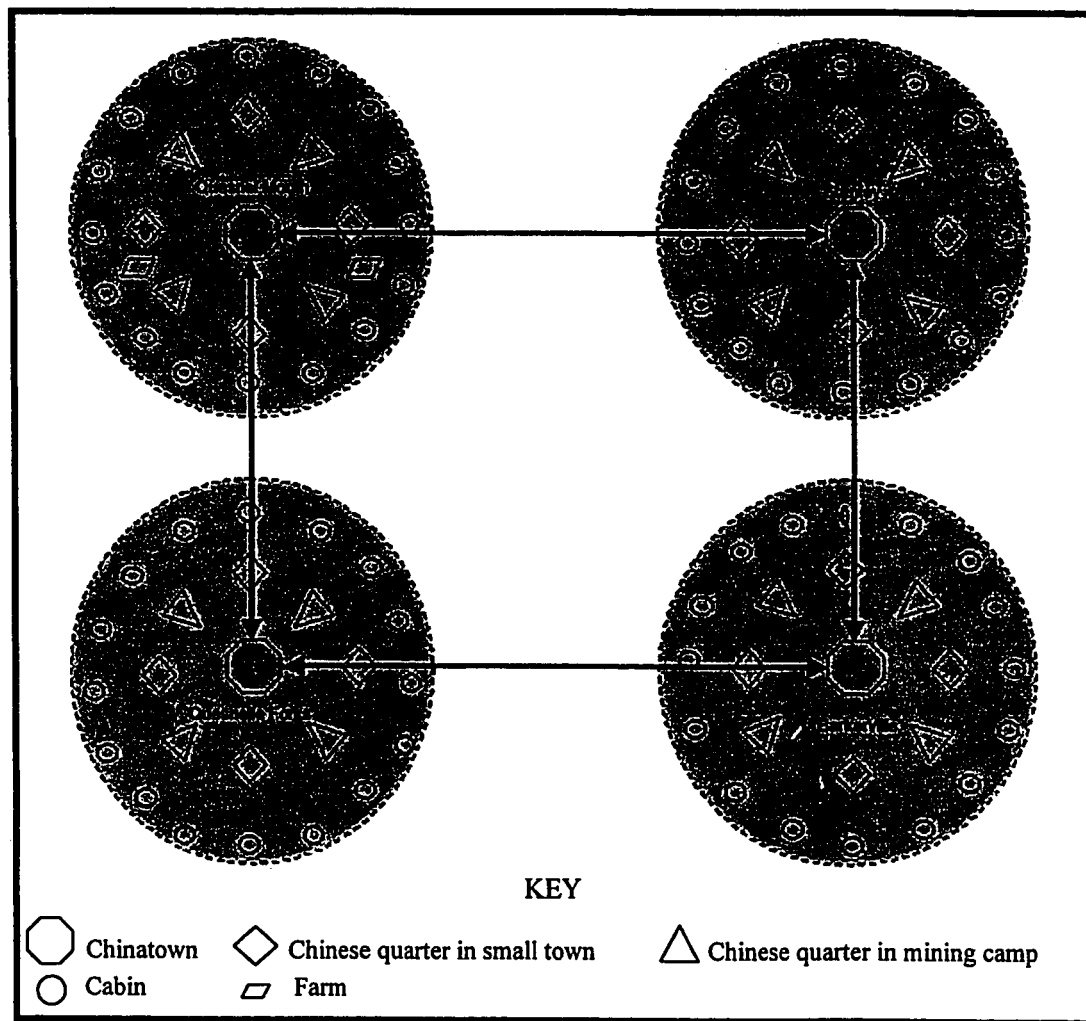


Figure 21. A diagram illustrating the Chinese settlement pattern in the four areas of the North Cariboo District between 1870 and 1925.

Researches on the Chinese Demography

This work aims at obtaining a series of countable and comparable databases relating to the Chinese demography in the North Cariboo by primarily examining the following eight documentary sources:

1. 230 Chinese account books (1876-1942), most of which are kept by the Barkerville Historical Town and one was provided by Dave Falconer.
2. Thirty-five Chinese receipt stubs and one account book selected in the Chinese documents kept in the archives of the Canada Chinese Benevolent Association in Victoria. These documents were mostly made by the Chinese storeowners in the North Cariboo between 1884 and 1889 while some in 1890.
3. *Richfield, British Columbia Gold Commissioner Mining Licences (1861-1871)*,
4. *Barkerville Assay Office Reports (1869-1895)*
5. *Canada Censuses* from 1871 to 1951 with focus on the 1881, 1891 and 1901 censuses,
6. Demographic Figures revealed in the *Report of Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, Report and Evidence 1885*.
7. Chinese individuals mentioned in *Hong's 1978 book, ... And So...Thats How It Happened Recollections of Stanley-Barkerville 1900-1975*.
8. Chinese individuals mentioned in *In a Strange Land: a Pictorial Record of the Chinese in Canada 1788-1923* written by Richard T. Wright in 1988.

Chinese account books left by Chinese societies in the North Cariboo

In 1958, the Barkerville Historical Town was established by the provincial government of British Columbia. To restore the former capital of the gold fields in British Columbia, the town conducted a project to collect diagnostic artifacts in the Barkerville town site and other sites in the district. Among these materials recovered were more than 200 books written in Chinese. They were discovered in Chinatown sites in Barkerville and Quesnelle Forks. These collections lack detailed field provenience and were placed in the town's archives in the 1980s.

In 1980, Perry Keller catalogued these books. He recognized they were accounts left by the Hong-men society, a secret society among the early Chinese immigrants in Cariboo (Keller 1980.b).

In the late 1980s, the Province contracted David C. Lai to examine the documentary Chinese collections, with a focus on the account books. Lai translated only the titles and a few

prefaces of the accounts. He confirmed that these books were left by the Hong-men society (Lai 1988b; 1989; 1990). As the Hong-men society was one of the main organizations among the early Chinese immigrants, these account books left by the society became an important object of this thesis research. This work was mainly conducted between 1993 and 1995.

After a thorough search in the archives of the town, a total of 231 accounts including a total of 3,425 pages were selected. Among these 231 accounts, 223 belonged to Hong-men societies and eight other accounts belonged to either Chinese companies or communities in Barkerville. They were catalogued by Keller with only limited translations by Lai. A copy of a Chinese account book from a store at Quesnelle Fork is also included. The original book was found in one of the remaining buildings in Quesnelle Forks by a resident who lived in Likely. Dave Falconer obtained a copy of the book from the collector and provided it to the author in 1993.

While bearing different dates, origins and titles, these accounts do have shared characteristics: Most complete account books have a similar format. Each book has a cover with a title (Figure 22). Some of them have prefaces stating to which specific event the account is related. The main body of each account has a list of people and/or store names, which participated the event. Beneath the names of these people are written the amount of money, telling how much these persons paid to or owed the society. Most accounts end with a shopping list, telling what kind goods and/or food were purchased from which stores, and how much was spent during that event. The following is a brief description of the methods applied and the results obtained.

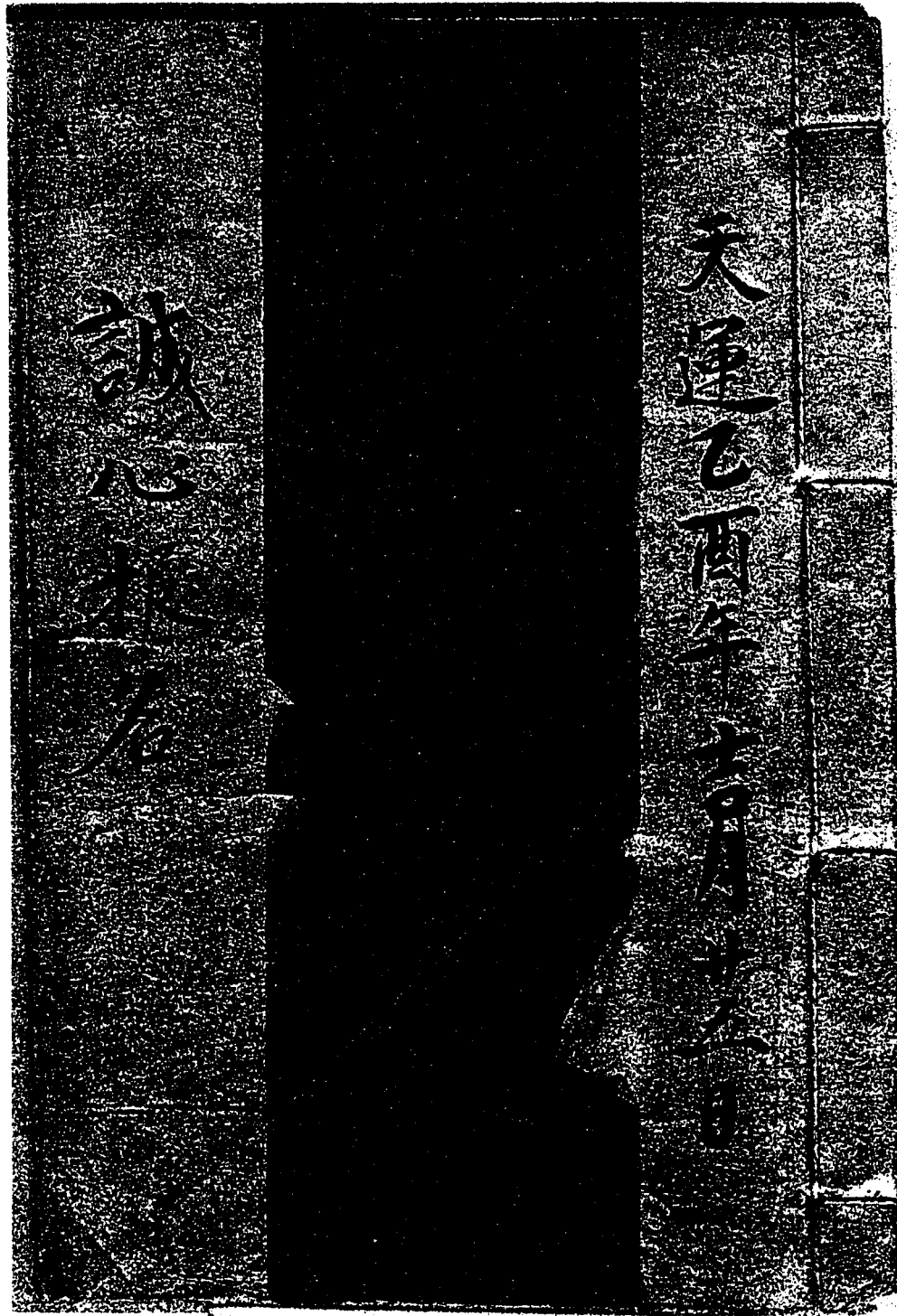


Figure 22. One account book (980.291.14) produced by the Chih Kung T'ang society in Barkerville in 1885. It is titled with 'Register for Participating in the Five-founder Festival on the 25th day of the 7th Lunar Month, the Year Yi You (1885)'.

Account recording

The author's account recording is focused on four aspects and each is put into a separate database. The first is general information on the 231 account books including title, name of producer, place where the account was made and date when the account was written (Appendix IV).

The second is individuals recorded in these account books with focus on name, sex, occupation, position in the Hong-men society, etc. In doing so, it was noticed that it was common for the same individual to be recorded in different account books with different names. That is, different names were used for different persons. A lot of time was spent in determining how many people were actually represented by those names. It was found that more than 350 people were recorded with alternate names. For example, the names of 'Wu Bai-feng (伍百逢)', Wu Bai-feng (伍柏逢), and 'Wu Feng (伍逢)' occurred on 44 Hong-men account books mostly produced in Quesnelle Forks between 1883 and 1908. As these three names never occurred on the same account they may refer to the same person. The accuracy of this approach is supported by evidence from other sources. The same Wu was recorded as Wu Bai-feng (伍柏逢) in a receipt stub dating 1884, kept in the Canada Chinese Benevolent Association at Victoria (CCBA), Ung Fong in the Census 1901, and Eng Fong by Hong (1978:186). The later two appear to be different transcriptions of the Cantonese for Wu Feng (伍逢).

Another example, three names, Zhen He-ling (甄鶴齡), Zhen He (甄鶴), and Zhen Xue-ling (甄學齡), were seen in 13 account books produced in Stanley between 1884 and 1902 but these names did not occur in the same account book. These three names actually referred to the same person. As Zhen He-ling (甄鶴齡) were seen in most account books (9 out of 13), it was believed that Zhen He (甄鶴) was a short alternative for Zhen He-ling (甄鶴齡). Zhen Xue-ling (甄學齡)'s xue (Ñ§) was a incorrect transcription of (鶴) since in Cantonese these two characters were both pronounced as 'hock'. That was further proved by the fact that in the CCBA files, the name of Zhen He-ling (甄鶴齡) was used.

As a result of this work, it can be concluded that the 231 account books recorded a total of 1,738 Chinese, 1,438 in the North Cariboo and 300 in other places of British Columbia.

The third is businesses recorded in these account books with focus on name, business nature, and location. Thirty-six businesses in the North Cariboo are identified. Combining the results of this work with information revealed in other Chinese and English sources more than 60 Chinese businesses in the study area can now be identified (Appendix VII).

The fourth item of interest in the account books is food and other goods recorded by name and quantity.

Account dating

The author's study of the account books also provides significant information about chronology including individuals and businesses.

Account dating. The 231 account books are divided into two temporary groups, A and B. Group A consists of 183 accounts bearing clear dates, expressed in the Chinese lunar calendar. Group B contains 48 accounts without dates. The 183 account books in Group A were first organized by date. The earliest in the series dates the year Bing-zi (丙子年), which is equal to 1876 and the latest reads 'the 31st Year of the Republic of China (中華民國三十一年)', which is equal to 1942. It is assumed that account books in group B were also produced within this time span of 1876 to 1942. The dates of the undated account books were inferred through comparison with ones in group A in terms of account nature, personal names, writing style, etc.(Appendix IV).

For example, account 980.407.1 is a one page account which recorded four people's names, Situ (You)-lian, Zhen He-ling, Zhou Cheng-chang, and Zhong Jin-hua with an incomplete date, 'the 8th day of the 6th lunar month'. These four names were seen on page 22 of account book 980.291.5, which stated that these four people and another Chinese were admitted by the Hongmen society on 'the 8th day of the 6th lunar month in the year jia shen (甲申)(1884)'. Thus, the date of account 980.407.1 is known.

Dating individuals and businesses. Individuals and businesses recorded in the account books are assumed to be between 1876 to 1942. Their dating employs a method similar to the principle of the contextual seriation (Petrie 1899). Those recorded in account books in Group A bearing clear dates were first dated. Following are two examples to show how an individual, business, and society were dated.

Example 1, a male adult called Zhong Qi-kang (鍾其康) was recorded in 43 account books in Group A (Table 12).

Table 12: Accounts with the name of Zhong Qi-kang

CAT. NO.	PAGE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	TIME PERIOD
980.291.14	7	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1885
980.291.15	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1885-86
980.291.17	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1887
980.291.19	6	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1887
980.291.20	6	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1887
980.291.21	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1887
980.291.22	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1887-88
980.291.18	2	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1888
980.291.23	2	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1888
980.413.5a	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1889
980.410.6	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1890
980.411.5	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1890
980.412.1	2	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1890
980.413.6	2	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1890
980.409.1a	10	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1891-92
980.411.6	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1891
980.412.11	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1891
980.412.7	2	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1891
980.408.2	66	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1892-93
980.410.7a	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1892
980.411.7	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1892
980.409.1a	22	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1893-95
980.410.8	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1893
980.411.8a	2	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1893
980.411.8b	2	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1893
980.412.2	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1893
980.417.5	4	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1893
980.410.9a	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1894
980.411.1a	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1894
980.412.4	29	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1894
980.413.14	8	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1894
980.410.10	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1895
980.411.9a	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1895
980.411.10	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1896
980.413.4	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1896
980.411.10	0	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1896
980.410.11	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1897
980.411.11	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1897
980.417.8	7	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1897
980.410.12	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1898
980.411.12	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1899
980.410.13	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1900
980.411.13	1	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1900-01
980.413.15	3	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1901
980.413.19	7	Zhongl	Qi2-kangl	1908

Table 12 indicates that the earliest account having the name of Zhong Qi-kang dates to 1885 and the latest one dates to 1908. This means that the time period of Zhong Qi-kang was from 1895 to 1908, which could possibly cover most, if not all, time when Zhong stayed in the North Cariboo. Employing the same method, time periods of all other people named in the accounts in Group A are estimated (Appendix VI).

Example 2, a Chinese store called Guang Chang Tai (廣昌泰) was featured in nine account books in Group A (Table 13).

Table 13: Accounts with the name of the Guang Chang Tai store

CAT. No.	PAGE	STORE	TIME PERIOD
980.291.11	1	Guang Chang Tai	1882
980.291.12	14	Guang Chang Tai	1882
980.415.1	1	Guang Chang Tai	1882
980.416.17	1	Guang Chang Tai	1883
980.417.13	36	Guang Chang Tai	1883-84
980.410.1	14	Guang Chang Tai	1884
980.417.13	38	Guang Chang Tai	1884
980.413.8	12	Guang Chang Tai	1885
980.413.9	80	Guang Chang Tai	1886

Table 13 shows that the earliest account in which the Guang Chang Tai store is mentioned dates to 1882 and the latest account in 1886. This suggests that the store was in business between 1882 and 1886, although it might have started earlier than 1882 and ended later than 1886. So, the time period of the Guang Chang Tai Store is considered to be at least between 1882 and 1886. Applying the same method, time periods of all other stores recorded by accounts in Group A are estimated (Appendix VII).

Time periods of accounts, individuals and business drawn from account books in Group A are then used for further cross dating account books in Group B. Results are shown in Appendix VI and VII of the thesis.

The time periods for individuals and businesses are inferred according to the Hong-men account books. They are only relatively accurate since people or businesses could have stayed or operated in the North Cariboo longer than the time period suggested in this analysis. Of course, the chronology of individuals and businesses may be subject to change based upon new evidence. Here are two examples:

Example 1, records in the account books indicate that Wu Bai-feng stayed in the town of Soda Creek, a town near North Cariboo, between 1883 and 1886 and in North Cariboo from 1887 and 1908. Records in CCBA files dating 1884 indicate that Wu lived in Soda Creek at that time.

The Census of 1901 reveals that Wu came to Canada in 1865 while Hong (1978:186) states that Wu lived in Barkerville from 1899 to 1915 when he returned to China. Thus, Wu's time period in British Columbia should be changed to 1865-1915 and his stay in the North Cariboo was 1887-1915 (Appendix VI).

Another example, the time period of the Fu Sheng (福生隆) store at Quesnelle Forks is proposed as 1889 to 1910 according to information revealed in account books. Falconer sent the author five pages of documents regarding Chinese stores at Quesnelle Forks, which he collected. One of them was a letter from the Fu Sheng Long store to the Victoria Wholesale Wine and Liquor Importers on 615 Fisgard Street, Victoria on June 15, 1916. It indicates that the store was still running in 1916. The store's time period was thus changed adjusted as 1889 to 1916 (Appendix VII).

Account origins

To determine account origin, all accounts are divided into two temporary groups of A and B: Group A consists of 92 account books with clear origins while Group B is made up of 139 account book without origins. To determine origins of the Group B accounts, several aspects of the accounts in Group A are used as reference points. They are Chinese businesses, personal names, and other details. The style of handwriting and seals of persons, businesses and societies are also considered. Following is an example to illustrate how origins of seven accounts are inferred.

First, a comparison of accounts with focus on writing style indicates that these seven, 980.416. 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 17, and 18, were written by the same person (Figure 23-25, 27-30). It suggests that these accounts might have been made at the same place.

Next, the text of these accounts are re-examined. It is found that account 980.416. 18 listed names of 58 persons who were central in the Hong-men society. The account does not tell when and where the account was made. A study on account writing indicates that these 58 persons consisted of three groups. The first group consisted of 27 names on the top row of the account. The second group refers to 18 names on the right portion of the bottom row. The last group comprises 13 names on the left portion on the bottom row, which was written in smaller characters than ones used in writing two other groups of names (Figure 23). These three groups of names might or might not be written in the account at the same time but the way they were listed differently suggests that they relate to the different events or similar events taking place at different times.

The first group of persons was seen in account 980.416.4 as 27 of 32 new members admitted to the society at a place on the 13th days of the 7th lunar month in the year kui wei

(1883). In addition to person names, the account reported what types of fees each new member handed to the society (Figure 24). The names of these 32 new members plus names of 13 sponsors were also recorded in account 980.416.17 with a title of 'List of the New Members Admitted on the 13th Days of the 7th Lunar Month in the Year kui wei (1883) (癸未年 吉月 十三日 新丁芳名列)'. This account reported each new member's birthday and types of fees they paid but were not mentioned in account 980.416.4 (Figure 24). Apparently, the first group of people in 980.416.18 and account 980.416.4 and 17 recorded the same event but with different focus. Thus, they should have been produced at the same place. As the previous two accounts, 980.416.17 did not list where the new members were admitted but it noted at the end of the account that '(Chen) Liang-jian paid Guang Chang Tai Store \$28 (廣昌泰, (陳)良儉 手交 \$28)' (Figure 25).

Among 231 account books, the name of Guang Chang Tai (廣昌泰 or 廣昌太) store occurred in ten account books. Among these ten account books, six had information of account origin. These six accounts were all made in Quesnelle Forks from 1882 to 1886. For example, account 980.415.2 is a bill addressed from the Guang Chang Tai store to the Chih Kung T'ang society on the 8th day of the 19th lunar month in the year Ren Wu (1882). There are two stamps on the bill, one reading 'Guang Chang Tai' and another 'Guang Chang Tai Quesnelle Forks (福士 間 郡 廣昌泰)' (Figure 26). On the basis of data from both Chinese and English sources, the Guang Chang Tai did not have a branch in any other Chinatown of the North Cariboo in the 1880s. So, it is safe to conclude that account 980.416.17 with notes of Guang Chang Tai was produced in Quesnelle Forks as were two other related accounts, 980.416.4 and 18.

Once the meaning of account 980.416.18 from Quesnelle Forks became clear, it was used to further trace origins of other accounts bearing similar records.

The second group of 18 names listed in 980.416.18 are also seen in account 980.416.2 and 8 as new members admitted to the Hong-men society on the 24th day of the 7th lunar day in the year kui wei (1883). Account 980.416.2 recorded names of 18 new members and seven sponsors, each new member's birthday, and what type of fees they paid (Figure 27). Account 980.416.8 reports the names of new members and types of fees they paid, which were not mentioned in account 980.416.2 (Figure 28). As account 980.416.8 was known from Quesnelle Forks, these two accounts should be also from the same place.

The third group of 13 names in account 980.416.18 and five other people were seen in two other accounts, 980.416.6 and 9 (Figure 29, 30). Titled with 'List of New Members Admitted on the 18th Day of the 8th Lunar Mouth in the Year Kui Wei (1883) (癸未年 八月 十八日 新丁芳名開列)', account 980.416.6 reported names of 18 new members and seven sponsors and what types of fee the new members handed in (Figure 29). Account 980.416.9 has no title, date or place name, but records the names of 18 new members seen in the above accounts. This

account gives details regarding what kind of fees each person should pay, how much was actually paid and still owed (Figure 30). The figure each person owed, listed in this account is exactly the same as those listed in account 980.416.18 (Figure 23). For example, account 980.418.9 reports that new member Mo Chang (莫長) was supposed to hand in a total of \$23, he actually handed in \$10, and owed \$13. The figure of '\$13' was listed under the name of Mo Chang, the first person in the third group of names in account 980.416.18 (Figure 23). Another example, account 980.416.9 reports that Wu Geng-you (伍庚祐) was supposed to hand in a total of \$22.50. He actually handed in \$10, and owed \$12.50. The same figure is listed under name of Wu Geng-you, the second person in the third group of people, account 980.416.18 (Figure 23). Apparently, the third group of names in account 980.416.18 and account 9890.416.6 and 9 are related to the same admission of new members which took place at the same place on the 18th day of the 8th lunar month in the Year Kui Wei (1883). As the 980.416.18 was known from Quesnelle Forks, these two other accounts should be also from Quesnelle Forks.

Through these comparisons it is confirmed that the seven accounts were regarding three new member admissions taking place at Quesnelle Forks on the 13th and 24th day of the 7th lunar month and the 18th day of the 8th lunar month in the year kui wei (1883), and that they were produced by the same person at Quenelle Forks on the said dates.

Applying the same method mentioned above, the origins of 130 accounts in Group B are inferred.

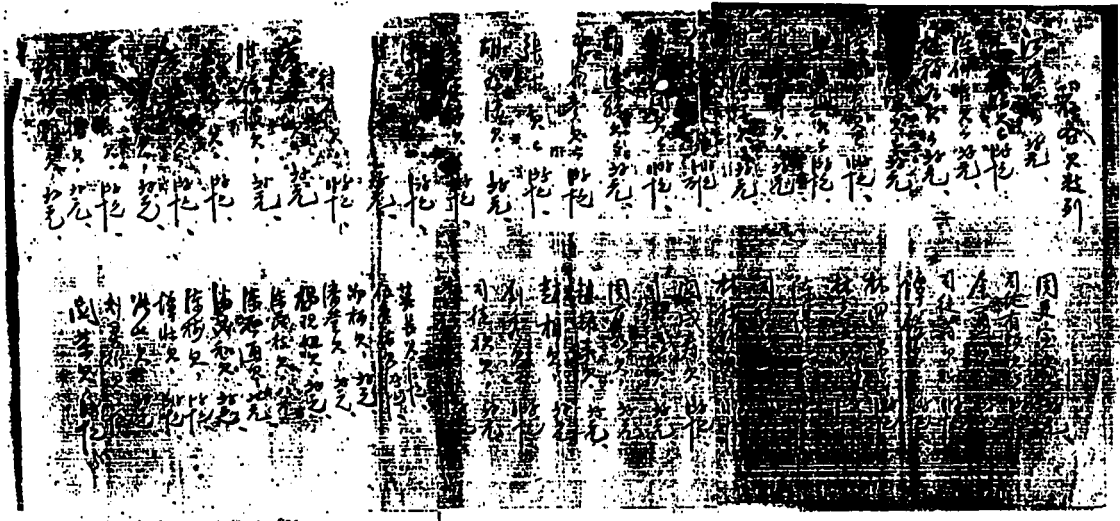


Figure 23. Account 980.416.18 lists three groups of people who owed the Hong-men society.

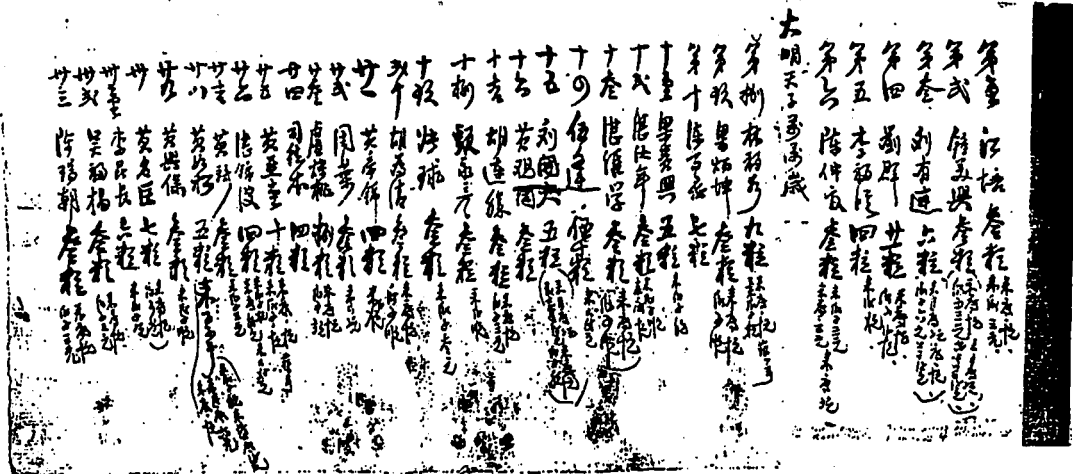


Figure 24. Account 980.416.4 listed 22 new members who were admitted by the Hong-men society on the 13th day of the 7th lunar month, the year kui wei (1883).

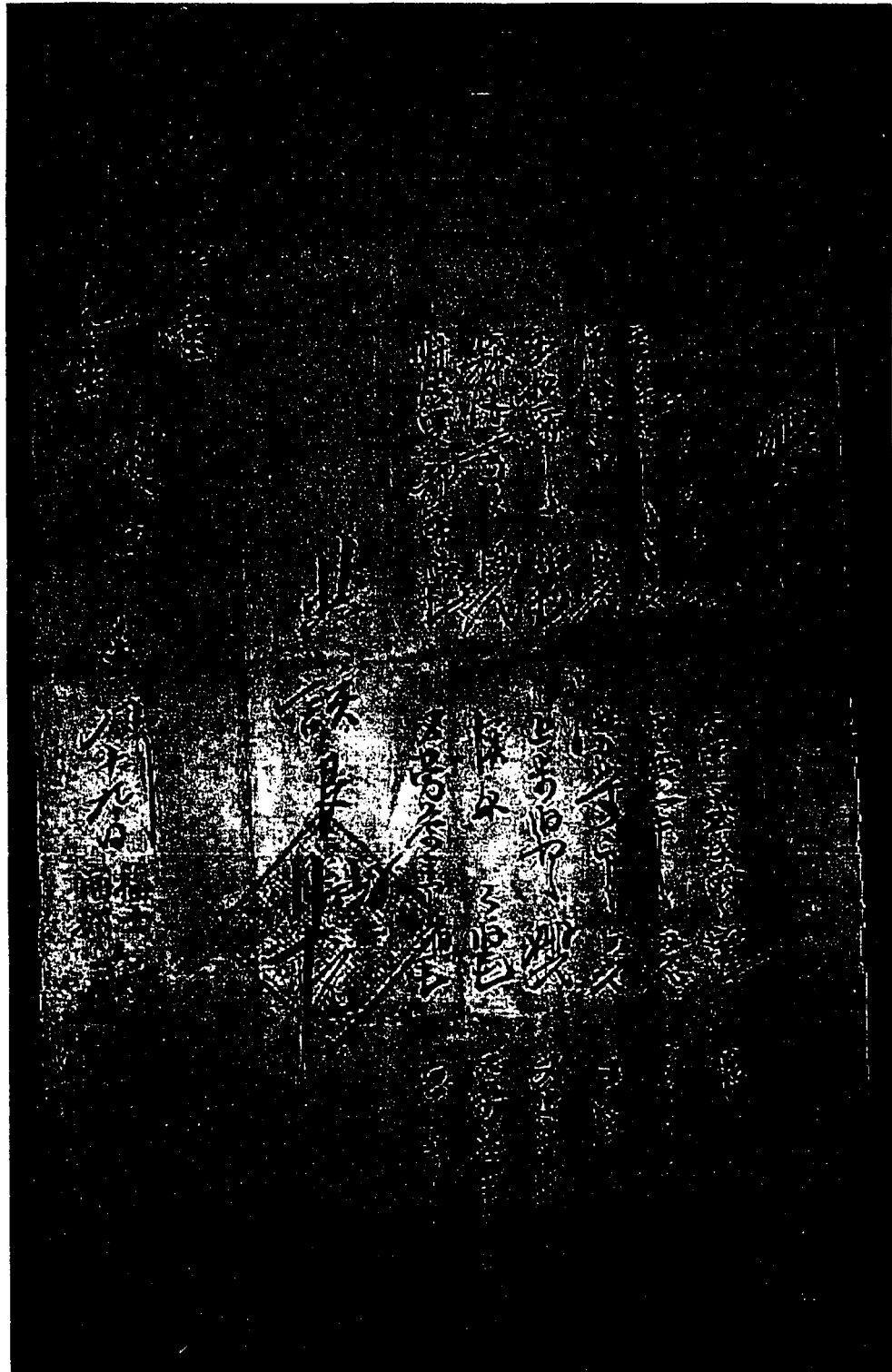


Figure 26. Account 980.415.2 is a bill issued by the Guang Chang Tai store at Qusenelle to the Chi Kung T'ang society in the year Ren Wu (1882). Note that there is a stamp of 'Qusenelle Forks Guang Chang Tai (廣昌泰)' on the account.

Nature of the account books

Account books are of interest because they help in understanding Chinese society in the research area. Among the 231 accounts, 201 bear titles stating the kind of activities to which they are related. These are grouped into Group A. The 21 books with no titles form Group B. All accounts in Group B are then compared with Group A. The following illustrates how account books in Group B are identified.

Account 980.291.13 has the title, *List of Members of the Chih Kung Tang, the 8th lunar month, 1883*. Lai, according to the preamble on the inside cover, interprets that the account is related to a fire offering ceremony and a banquet. Not satisfied with his interpretation, Lai calls for further research on this account (Lai 1989:32).

To find out to which particular ceremony an account is related, the first step is to determine how many other accounts bear the same date, the 18th day of the 8th lunar month, 1883. Account 980.416.6, has the same date as 980.291.13. 980.416.6 is the list of names of eighteen new members admitted and their five sponsors. A comparison between these two accounts reveals their close relationship. First, they bear the same date. Second, 291.13 records names of five sponsors seen in 416.6. It is likely the same person wrote these two accounts.

It is reasonable to believe that account book 291.13 is a list of members who participated in the admission ceremony on the 18th day of the 8th lunar month, 1883 and the banquet the next day.

Another account, 980.416.9 is identified as a record of the same event. This account records that all 18 new members owed membership fees when they were admitted. It is now clear now that 980.292.13, 416.6 and 416.9 are all related to the same event, new member admission in 1883.

Applying the same method, the nature of all accounts in Group B was examined. Summarized from Appendix IV, Table 14 identifies the classification of the 231 accounts.

Table 14: Classification of Chinese account books by activity

ACTIVITY	QTY.	%
Ceremony	177	76.3
Five Founders Festival (41)		
Wan Yun-long Festival (34)		
Flag Raising (2)		
Installation of the Guan Gong Statue (1)		
New Member Admitting (55)		
Chong-yang Festival (14)		
Qing-ming Festival (1)		
Yu-lan Festival-Income (2)		
Funeral (22)		
Membership	12	5.2
Grocery Purchases	14	6.0
Construction	10	4.3
Charity	8	3.4
Business	10	4.3
Business (6)		
Gold Mining (2)		
Company Rule (1)		
Opium Smoking (1)		
Patient File	1	0.4
All	231	100.0

Table 14 exhibits that the majority of these accounts (76.3%) fall into various ceremonies, which reflected how the Chinese societies were maintained.

Receipt stubs kept by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association

The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) was established in Victoria in 1884 and acted as the main representative for the Chinese in Canada till 1908 when the Chinese Consulate was set up in Ottawa (Lai 1972:53). In the establishment of the association and the campaign against the discrimination laws and taxes, a preparatory committee-like group consisting of the merchants of the major Chinese businesses in Victoria was struck. They issued a notice to Chinese in Canada, asking for donation:

A contribution of \$2 per Chinese must reach Victoria before October 3, 1884. If any miser failed to make this contribution, he would have to pay \$10 to the Association before being permitted to return to China. If anyone contributed more than \$3.00, his name and native place will be recorded on a notice board to be displayed in the Association (translated by Lai 1972:56).

As most Chinese immigrants tended to go back to China, and Victoria was the only harbour with steamers to China at that time, such a contribution was in fact compulsory (Lai 1972:56). Receipt booklets, each containing 50, 100 or 200 receipts, were created. Each receipt has two identical sections, one is a receipt and another a stub. Both read:

Victoria Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association. (Name of agency or agent) received from ... (full name and county origin of the donor) ... a donation of two dollars. If you plan to return to Guangdong Province bring this receipt to the association for scrutiny before permission to leave Canada is granted [translated by Lai (1975:4)].

On the middle part of the receipt was a red seal of the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association, half on the receipt and another half on the stub (Figure 32).

Booklets were sent to the Chinese stores in the major towns throughout British Columbia and other provinces of Canada. As most Chinese immigrants in Canada were in British Columbia during the 1880s, the majority of these receipt booklets were issued in the province (Lai 1975:3 and 5). Owners of these stores collected the money on behalf of the CCBA, issuing receipts to Chinese who contributed. They then sent booklets, including stubs and unused blank receipts, back to the association in Victoria. On the cover of each booklet were the name of the Chinese stores and/or the name of the storeowner, the number of total receipts contained in the booklet, and the figure of the actual donation made (Figure 31, 33).

These booklets had been kept in the archives of the CCBA and were rarely examined until the early 1970s when they were discovered by Lai (Lai 1975:4). Lai claimed (1975:4) that he had found a total of 220 such booklets. Under the efforts of Lai, the CCBA and the University of Victoria, an agreement was reached in 1973. The CCBA entrusted the Archives of the University to take care of these booklets and the associations other historical documents for twenty years so that these valuable materials could receive professional preservation. In 1994, both sides agreed to extend the agreement for another twenty years [明報 (*Ming Bao*) 03/01/1994].

At the end of 1998, the author examined these materials with a focus on receipts sent back to the CCBA by the Chinese stores in the North Cariboo District. Thirty-five booklets were selected. In addition, a donor list for legal proceedings produced by the Quesnel Mouth He Li Store dating 1885 was also selected (Appendix V). These stubs recorded a total of 883 individuals, their home county, current abode in the North Cariboo, donation amount, and date.

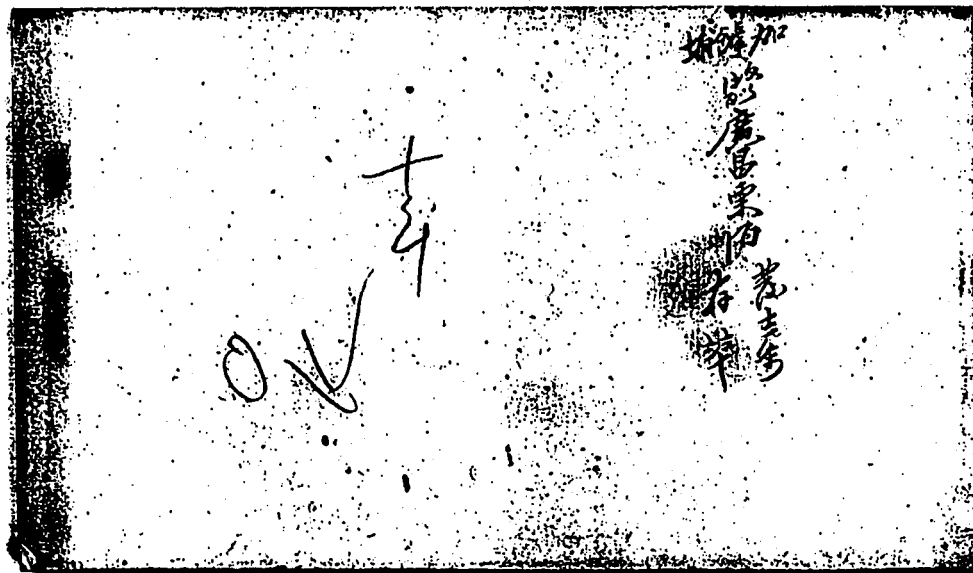


Figure 31. Cover of receipt booklet (CCBA 9.1 Box 2-a) issued from the Guang Chang Store in Cariboo (Barkerville).

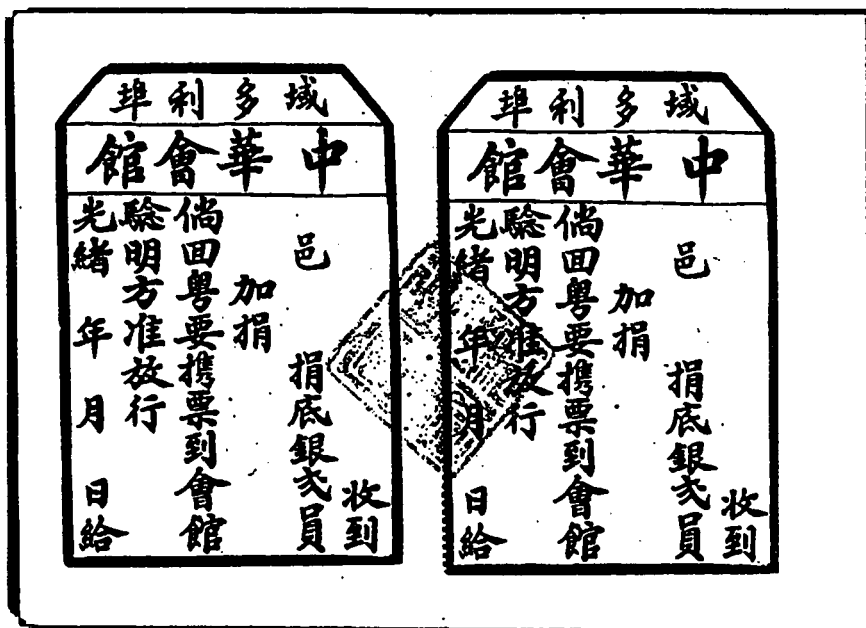


Figure 32. One page with two identical receipts in the same booklet showed in Figure 30. Under the title of the Chinese Benevolent Association at Victoria both receipt says: 'Received from ... (full name and county origin of the donor) ... a donation of two dollars. If you plan to return to Kwangdong (Guangdong) Province, bring this receipt to the Association for scrutiny before permission to leave Canada is granted' (translation by Lai 1975:4).

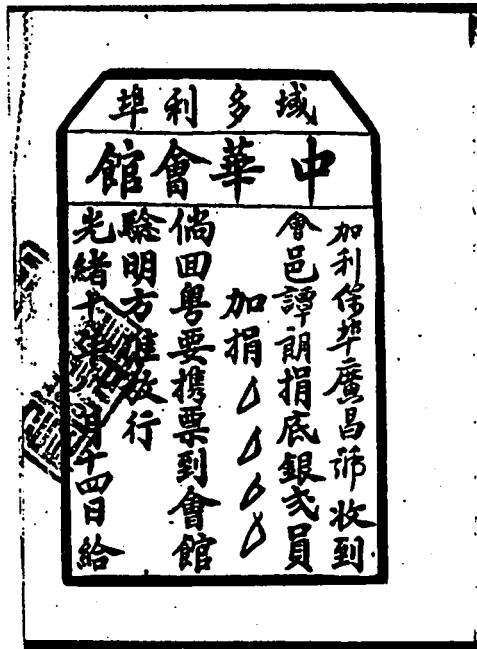


Figure 33. One of receipt stubs in the same booklet showed in Figure 30. It says that the Guang Chang store received \$2 from Tan Lang who came from Xinhui County on the 14th day of the 8th lunar month of the 18th year of Emperor Guangxu (1884).

Merging the Hong-men account books and CCBA files

This involved two steps. The first was merging two databases into one and the second was inferring the home county, family or extended family relation of those individuals. This work was done based upon the assumption that records in account books and the CCBA files stubs were both written in Chinese. Names of individuals recorded in two sources were, therefore, comparable. Records in the account books recorded the Chinese in the North Cariboo from 1876 to 1942 while the CCBA are primarily in the 1880s with some in 1890. Both covered the same population pool in the 1880s.

Records of 883 individuals from the CCBA files were merged with the data on 1,738 individuals drawn from the account books. A comparison of names in the new database indicated that 329 individuals were recorded in both sources and the total individuals revealed were 2292. Among these 2292 Chinese, 1992 were in North Cariboo and 300 in other places of British Columbia.

The next step was to identify the home county origins of the Chinese and where possible to trace relations of family and extended family. This focussed on the 1366 Chinese in the North Cariboo during the 1880s (Appendix VI).

Among these 1366 Chinese, 1,274 had information on surnames. These 1,274 were divided into 91 groups by surname. A total of 758 had home county information, which mostly came from the CCBA files and 589 had no such information. In each surname group, those with home county information were further divided into sub-groups. In this group, for example, there were 36 Chinese who bore the surname of Wu (伍) and 23 of them had home county information. These 23 Wu Chinese were further divided into four county groups of Taishan (19), Xin Hui (1), Shunde (1), and Zhengcheng (2).

In China, one of the ways of naming people is that people from the same family or extended family of the same generation bear the same character in their first names. That same character can be either in the first or second character of their first names. Accordingly, people bearing the same surname in each county group were sorted out alphabetically and ones bearing the same character of their first names were assumed to belong to the same family and/or extended family.

Among 19 Wu Chinese from Taishan County, for example, four of them shared the same character, Rong (榮) in their first names:

Wu Rong-chuan (伍榮傳)

Wu Rong-wei (伍榮偉)

Wu Rong-xiang (伍榮享)

Wu Rong-zhen (伍榮振)

and they most likely came from to the same family or extended family. Fifteen other Wu people from Taishan County are also compared in the same way but none of them bear the same character in their first name. They are, therefore, assumed to have no either family or extended family relationships. Two other Wu Chinese from Zhengcheng County had no character in their first names in common and they are assumed to have no relationship of either family or extended family. Two other Wu Chinese who came from Shunde and Xinhui respectively are not comparable.

People in each surname group without home county information are compared with those in county groups by first name. For example, the 14 Wu Chinese who had no information on home county are compared with the 23 who have home county information by either the first or second character of their given names. In doing so, four more people were found bearing the same character of their given name as ones in Wu Chinese from Taishan. These four Chinese are inferred to have come from Taishan and they, together with four known Taishan Wu Chinese form four more groups of either family or extended family relations.

Still, there are nine Wu people whose home county origins can not be inferred since they lack enough information. However, two Wu people who bear the same first character in their given name, Wu Xian-shu (伍賢書) and Wu Yin-shu (伍陰書), are assumed to belong to the same family or extended family even though their home county origins are not clear. Following table (15) shows the distribution of the 36 Wu Chinese by county based upon these comparisons.

Table 15: Distribution of 36 Wu Chinese in the North Cariboo in the 1880s by home county and possible family and extended family relationship

HOME COUNTY	SIR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SEX	F & E	F & E SIZE ₂	SOURCE	AREA
Shunde	Wu3	Man3-li4	伍	滿利	m	0	0	CCBA	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Geng1-you4	伍	庚佑	m	0	0	CCBA&HM	Stanley
Taishan	Wu3	Wan4	伍	萬	m	0	0	CCBA	Stanley
Taishan	Wu3	Wan4-an1	伍	萬安	m	0	0	CCBA	Stanley
Taishan	Wu3	Bang1	伍	邦	m	0	0	CCBA	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Guo2-qiu1	伍	國秋	m	0	0	CCBA&HM	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Mao4	伍	茂	m	0	0	CCBA	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Ren2-zi3	伍	千子	m	0	0	CCBA&HM	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Ying1	伍	英	m	0	0	CCBA	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Zi3-long2	伍	子龍	m	0	0	CCBA&HM	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Zong1	伍	宗	m	0	0	CCBA	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Bai3-feng2	伍	柏逢	m	√	3	CCBA&HM	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Bai3-song1	伍	柏松	M	√	0	Inferred	Q. Mouth
Taishan	Wu3	Bei3-xiang	伍	北祥	M	√	2	CCBA&HM	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Fu2-xiang2	伍	福祥	m	√	0	HM	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Rong2-chuan	伍	榮傳	M	√	4	CCBA	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Rong2-wei3	伍	榮偉	m	√	0	CCBA&HM	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Rong2-xian	伍	榮享	M	√	0	CCBA&HM	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Rong2-zhen	伍	榮振	M	√	0	CCBA&HM	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	She4-yue4	伍	社樂	M	√	3	CCBA&HM	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	She4-song1	伍	社松	M	√	0	Inferred	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	She4-zong1	伍	社宗	M	√	0	Inferred	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Qiu1-sheng	伍	秋盛	M	√	1	CCBA&HM	Q. Forks
Taishan	Wu3	Zong1-shen	伍	宗盛	M	√	0	Inferred	Q. Forks
Xinhui	Wu3	Yu2-nong2	伍	于濃	m	0	0	CCBA&HM	Q. Forks
Zengcheng	Wu3	Bing3-rong	伍	炳容	m	0	0	CCBA	Stanley
Zengcheng	Wu3	Lan2-fang1	伍	蘭芳	m	0	0	CCBA	Q. Mouth
?	Wu3	Chi2-bang1	伍	遲邦	m	0	0	?	Q. Forks
?	Wu3	Lian2-zong	伍	連宗	m	0	0	?	Q. Forks
?	Wu3	Shen2-lie4	伍	神烈	m	0	0	?	Q. Forks
?	Wu3	Xiang2	伍	祥	m	0	0	?	Q. Forks
?	Wu3	Rong2-guan	伍	容光	m	0	0	?	Barkerville
?	Wu3	Weng1	伍	翁	m	0	0	?	Barkerville
?	Wu3	Xue2-ji2	伍	學吉	m	0	0	?	Barkerville
?	Wu3	Xian2-shu1	伍	賢書	m	√	2	?	Barkerville
?	Wu3	Yin1-shu1	伍	陰書	M	√	0	?	Barkerville

Notes: 1. 'F' & 'E' refers to family or extended family.

2. 'F & E SIZE' refers to size of family or extended family.

Table 15 demonstrates that among the 36 Wu Chinese in the North Cariboo in the 1880s, 23 or 53% came from Taishan. Among 24 Wu Chinese from Taishan, 13 belong to five families or extended families. Among nine persons who have no home county information two seem to belong to the same family or extended family. So, there are 15 or 41% of the Wu Chinese in the North Cariboo that have family or extended family relationships. Table 15 also indicates that in the 1880s 26 or 70% of the total of 37 Wu Chinese that lived in Quesnelle Forks and 11 others were scattered in three other areas of the district.

Applying the same method the home origins of 83 other Chinese are inferred and possible relation of family or extended family are also traced. There are still 488 people who's home origins remain unknown due to the lack of comparable data (Appendix VI).

Canada censuses and other English sources

In attempting to examine Chinese demography from Canadian census data primary attention was paid to the 1881, 1891 and 1901 censuses as personal name details are now available for these years. All Chinese, who lived in the Cariboo District's four areas, Keithley (Quesnelle Forks), Quesnel, Barkerville and Stanley, were entered to a database.

Comparing the above mentioned Chinese data with information from the censuses, it is seen that census has its own unique features. It provides the distribution of the Chinese in the district by sex, age, family, household, religion, occupation and household . Such information is not available in the Chinese sources mentioned above.

Theoretically recording the same population in the same district, these two sets of data one from the Chinese sources and the other from the Census, should be capable of being merged into a single database. However, the Chinese names in the Canada census records are recorded in the same alphabet used for all other Canadian names. The attempts by census officials to represent the phonetics of Cantonese or dialects of Cantonese are crude at best. Furthermore, most Chinese only provided census workers with given names or even parts of given names. It is difficult if not impossible to correlate these incomplete names with the names seen in the Chinese sources.

In addition to the censuses Chinese demographic information from three other contemporary English sources were also examined and recorded. They are:

Richfield, British Columbia Gold Commissioner Mining Licences (shortly called RICGCML) (1861-1871),

Barkerville Assay Office Reports (shortly called BAOR) (1869-1895), and

Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, Report and Evidence (shortly called RCCIRE) (1885:363-365).

These additional databases allowed the examination of the Chinese in the study area from different angles. The following table shows the different characters of the four databases (Table 16).

Table 16: Similarities and differences in demographic information of the Chinese immigrants in the North Cariboo District revealed in five records

INFORMATION	CCBA&HM (1876-1942)	RICGCMML (1861-71)	BAOR (1869-95)	RCCIRE (1885)	CANADIAN CENSUS 1881, 91, 01
Demographic Fig.	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Person's Name	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Age or Birth Day	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Sex	Yes	No	No	Yes (General)	Yes (Detail)
Home County	Yes	No	No	No	No
Immigration Time	No	No	No	No	Yes
Current Living Area	Yes	Yes (by person)	Yes (General)	Yes (General)	Yes (Detail)
Clanship	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes (Indirect)
Family & Extended Family	Yes (Indirect)	No	No	No	No
Hong-men ship	Yes	No	No	No	No
Occupation	No	No	Yes (General)	Yes (General)	Yes (Detail)
Household size	No	No	No	No	Yes

In the above work five major sources for Chinese demography in the North Cariboo are established. None of them is perfect or complete but together they inform us of Chinese demography from the 1860s to the late 1940s and supplement one another through providing information from different angles.

Conclusion

The three projects conducted at the Chih Kung Tang building site, Barkerville Chinatown recovered 7,169 artifacts, 1913 faunal, and 186 floral items. A chronological sequence of building construction and house occupation between the late 1870s and the late 1940s are established based on both field and archival data. It is known that during this period, the house was mainly occupied by the Hong-men society and used as the society's ceremonial and residential house.

The work on settlements based on both archival sources and field data enables the reconstruction of a Chinese settlement pattern consisting of four clusters or sub-patterns distributed in four areas of the North Cariboo. Each cluster consists of three or four types of sites: Chinatown, Chinese quarters in small towns, Chinese quarters in large mining camps, and mining cabins. Beginning or ending at different times these four clusters of settlements coexisted in the North Cariboo from at latest 1871 to 1925.

The textual research on the account books left by the Hong-men societies and the Canada Chinese Benevolent Association at Victoria identifies 2,292 Chinese, 1992 in North Cariboo and 300 in other places of British Columbia. These people stayed in British Columbia over a long time period between the late 1850s and the late 1940s. Out of 2,292 Chinese, the 1,366, who resided in the North Cariboo in the 1880s, were further examined in terms of home county, surname and first name in order to find possible family and extended family relationships.

Information about Chinese demography in the Canada Censuses and other contemporary English sources was also examined. The resulting databases permit the research on the Chinese demography from different angles.

The combination of archaeological field data and archival work provides a broad and solid base for the reconstruction of an integrated story of the Chinese in the North Cariboo.

Chapter 3 History of Chinese Emigration from the Earliest Time to the 19th Century

Introduction

The history of the Chinese societies in the North Cariboo cannot be understood without an appreciation of their historical context. This chapter reviews the history of Chinese emigration abroad. It starts with an introduction to the geological and cultural settings of the Guangdong Province, emphasizing the Pearl River Delta where most Chinese immigrants in the North Cariboo came from. It introduces several cultural concepts central to traditional Chinese culture, which shaped Chinese attitudes and affected the process of emigration.

The chapter then shifts to a review of the history of contact between China's two southern coastal provinces, Guangdong and Fujian, and foreign cultures. Emigration of Chinese people from these two provinces is traced from the tenth through the 19th century. This leads to two arguments. The first is that by the middle 19th century, Guangdong province had already experienced a thousand years of emigration and this was a long established pattern despite official restrictions. Chinese immigration to California, Australia, British Columbia and New Zealand in the middle to late 19th century must be viewed as part of this long localized historical tradition. Emigration was accelerated by a number of contemporary internal and external factors. The second argument is that those traditional cultural concepts and their long history produced in the southern Chinese a unique view of emigration and distinct methods of developing their own settlements and social institutions. In practice, Chinese always developed their own communities and built up isolated or semi-isolated settlements wherever they migrated regardless whether or not there was racial discrimination in the surrounding area.

Guangdong

Geographic setting

Guangdong is located in the extreme south of China. Measuring 220,000 square km, it consists of mainland Guangdong, Leizhou Peninsula, Hainan Island and a series of large and small islands scattered in the South China Sea. From east to west, mainland Guangdong is surrounded by Fujian, Jiangxi, Hunan and Guangxi provinces, while its south faces the South China Sea.

In general, the terrain of mainland Guangdong is mountainous in the north, with platform plains and occasional hills and terraces in the south. Elevations range from 1900 m in the north to less than 100 m above seal level in the south. The largest plain in the province is the Pearl River Delta, which is situated in the middle of the province and measures 8,601 square km. The second largest plain is Chao-Shan Plain in the east of the province, measuring 4,771 square km. In addition to these two large plains, a series of small plains are found along the coast from east to west.

The Tropic of Cancer bisects mainland Guangdong, most of which is in the sub-tropical zone. The Leizhou Peninsula, Hainan Island and other islands scattered in the South China Sea fall into the tropical zone. Climate in Guangdong is characterized by high temperatures (19-26 C average per year) and rainfall (1,500 mm average per year). Most of the province has no snow and frost. Only the extreme northern part sees a few days of winter each year.

In the 19th century, Guangdong's economy was characterized by agriculture and fishing. The main crop was rice, and then sweet potato and wheat. Fruits such as banana, pineapple, orange and litchi were also important products. The tropical south, Leizhou Peninsula and Hainan Island, grew industrial and export crops including rubber, pepper and coffee. During the Ming Dynasty (AD 1368-1644), silkworm, tea and sugar cane became important crops.

Cultural setting

People

Population in Guangdong consists of the Han and seven other ethnic groups: Li, Miao, Yao, Zhuang, Hui, Man and She. In 1982 the Han people made up 98% of the total Guangdong population (Liu and Wei 1988:86). The Han people can be divided into three major groups by language. The first group consists of the Cantonese people who speak Cantonese or dialects of Cantonese. This group is the offspring of a long-term amalgamation of the Han people who came from northern China with the ancient Yue people, an aboriginal people who lived in Guangdong since the Neolithic Age. The Han people immigrated to Guangdong from north China along the Dong-ting Lake, Xiang-Li, Xijiang, and Bei-jiang rivers in four periods. The first migration took place between the Qin (221-207 BC) and Han (206-220 BC) dynasties; the second one during the late Western Jin Dynasty (AD 265-316); the third one at the end of the Tang Dynasty (AD 618-907), and the fourth one at the end of the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279). Arriving earlier,

this group of Han people occupied the best places in the province such as the Pearl River Delta (Liu and Wei 1988:98-99).

The second group comprises the people who speak Minnanese, which is also called Fujianese. Ancestors of the Fujianese moved to the Fujian Province from north China at the end of the Western Jin Dynasty (AD 265-316). In 1271, Mongolia established the Yuan Dynasty in Beijing and started conquering south China. Chased by the Yuan troops, the remaining royal family of the Southern Song Dynasty escaped from its Capital Linan (modern Hangzhou) in Zhejiang Province to Fuzhou, the capital of Fujian Province in 1276. Soon after the Yuan troops reached Fujian, the remaining Southern Song royal family fled southwest to Quanzhou and then entered Chaozhou and Huizhou in eastern Guangdong. About one million Song troops and civilians accompanied the royal family. These formed the majority of Fujian immigrants in Guangdong (Liu and Wei 1988). At the end of the Ming Dynasty (AD 1368-1644), a civil war in Fujian Province led to more Fujianese to immigrate to Guangdong. Coming from the east either along the shoreline or by boat, many Fujianese settled down in the Chao-Shan plain, the second largest plain in Guangdong, while many others kept moving west to the Leizhou Peninsula. Some of these Fujianese crossed the Qiongzhou Channel to Hainan Island. Eventually, the Fujianese dialect in Guangdong Province developed into three mutually unintelligible subgroups: Chao-Shan, Nanyang (Leizhou) and Qiongyia (Hainan) (Liu and Wei 1988:99).

The third group is the Kejia (Hikka) people (客家), the latest migration of Han people from north China. Kejia means the 'guest people', distinguishing them from the Cantonese and the Fujianese who immigrated to Guangdong earlier than the Kejia. The first group of Kejia people appeared in Guangdong in the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279). However, large-scale immigration of the Kejia people to Guangdong did not take place until the Ming-Qing Dynasties (AD 1368-1644). Most Kejia came to Jiaying County (now called Meixian) from western Fujian Province and some of them came from Jiangxi Province (northeast of Guangdong). Arriving last, Kejia people only had the hilly areas to settle. The majority of the Kejia lived in eastern Guangdong, in the upper Ganjiang River, Dongjiang River and Beijiang River Valleys with Meixian County as the centre. Some of Kejia people moved west to the Pearl River Delta, Hong Kong and the hill areas along the Xijiang River Valley in western Guangdong (Liu and Wei 1988:99-100).

Cultural traits

Cantonese (Cantonese here refers to all Han people in Guangdong) hold a very strong affinity to their remote northern China origin, calling themselves the people of Tang (唐人), one of the most powerful dynasties (AD 568-709) in the history of China. Coming from interior China, the Cantonese were bound by certain aspects of traditional Chinese culture.

The first aspect is Confucianism, which was central to Chinese culture, which are centred by three principles. The first one is a high appreciation of family. Of the five pairs of relations, which in Confucianism are primary in the social order, three, father and son, husband and wife, and older and younger brother, are family relationships. In each of these paired relationships there was a strong mutual responsibility for the latter to obey the former absolutely. Confucianism holds that people who are filial will be loyal to their country. Mencius or Mengzi, another creator of Confucianism, says that the root of the empire is in the state; the root of the state is in the family; and the root of the family is in the individual (*Mengzi*). He also believed that those who have filial piety will be loyal to their sovereign [*Xiaojing · Guang Yang Ming* (孝經·廣揚名)].

In everyday life, the sense of family is expressed in the context of a large multi-generation group, often three or four and even five generations living in one household. Each family member's position and duty is determined by age, sex and generation rank in the family. Everyone in a given family has to fulfil a certain duty, determined by his rank in the family. Within this system, emigration abroad was frowned upon.

The second principle is the concept of Ancestor. To the Chinese, family members include both ancestors and the living. Reverence for the ancestors in both rituals and daily life is therefore of great importance. Confucius says in *Doctrine of the Mean* (中庸) that the perfect filial piety is:

To remember the ancestors, to perform the same rites, and the same music which they performed when living, to reverence what they revered, to love what they loved, to serve them after death as they were served during their life, and to serve them though they have disappeared as if they still existed.

The third principle is an emphasis on kinship. In Guangdong, kinship is stronger than in other areas because the majority of the Cantonese ancestors emigrated from north China by clan or kin, and settled down in the province in the same pattern. It is noticed by many writers, such as Freedman (1965), Ng 1959, Wickberg (1982), and Johnson 1982, that villages in Guangdong are usually occupied by only one or a few clans. Each clan has its own surname, indicating a lineage from a common male ancestor. While families worship their direct ancestors, clans

worship their remote recognized common ancestor. Clans have their own cemeteries, which are protected by all clan members. People who belong to the same clan are buried in the same cemetery so their clan connections continue in the next world. To maintain a given clan, both living and in another world, a steady population base at a regular place is essential. Leaving family and clan behind is, therefore, strongly discouraged.

Related to these three principles is the fourth principle, a concept of native place. In China, leaving native place for whatever reason means that one will not be able to fulfil one's duty to family, clan and ancestor. If one has to leave his native place for some reason, he must finally find his way back there. Such a consideration is well expressed in two idioms, 'Fallen Leaves Will always Go back to the Root of the Tree (落葉歸根)', and 'Retire on Account of Old Age and Return to One's Native Place (告老還鄉)'. People who die and are buried outside of their native places are considered a huge detriment since their souls will become homeless in another world. Apparently, people who are under these cultural constraints excluded emigration.

Such an attitude was reinforced by government policy. Chinese emperors, especially in the early Ming and the Qing dynasties considered that the loss of subjects would not be compensated by any trade advantages. In the early Ming and most of the Qing, governments prohibited subjects from trading with foreigners and emigrating abroad.

The second aspect of Chinese culture is a strong sense of superiority. There is deep pride in the fact that China is the only country, which had several thousand years of civilization without interruption. The Chinese called their country 'Zhong-guo' (Central Kingdom) (Ö泄ú) or 'Zhong-hua' (Central Civilization) (中 華), and their emperor or Tian Zi (天子) meaning the Son of Heaven (Chesneaux et al. 1976:3 and Fay 1975:29). Until the 19th century the Chinese still believed that the world was square and heaven was round. Heaven projected its circular shadow onto the centre of the earth. This circle, the zone beneath heaven (tianxia 天下), was believed to be China itself. The outer pieces formed by the four angles of the square (four seas) (四 海) did not receive the celestial emanations, and the Chinese had therefore gained dominance over foreign barbarians, demons, and sea monsters (Chesneaux et al. 1976:9). In practice, China had been the cultural centre in the world, as far as she could see, for many thousands of years (Fay 1975:29). Relations between China and her neighbouring countries had been in the form of incoming tribute. That is that other countries paid China tribute and the latter guaranteed their safety (Chesneaux et. al. 1976:9-10). China's long-term civilization and its central position in East Asia contributed to the Chinese belief that their culture was superior to others.

Thus, when the British and other Europeans came to China, the Chinese logically considered them just another bunch of barbarians or fan gui (鬼佬), coming by ship instead of

horseback (Fay 1975:31). The Opium War (1840-42) forced the Chinese to recognize the power of those western fan gui, but did not change their basic view of themselves or of the outsiders.

The influence of these cultural traits on the Chinese is expressed in two ways. First, the Chinese as a whole, despised emigration. Throughout the history of most parts of China there is no major emigration abroad. On the other hand, Chinese in Guangdong and Fujian who later did emigrate hold a very different view of emigration from other contemporary non-Chinese immigrants. This view determined the unique structure of their society and settlements in foreign countries.

Pearl River Delta and its people

As the primary source of Chinese emigrants abroad in the middle and late 19th century, the Pearl River Delta in Guangdong needs to be discussed in more detail.

Located in the southern-middle part of Guangdong, the Pearl River Delta is the largest alluvial plain in Guangdong and the second largest one in China. It is the result of sediments from the Pearl River, and its tributaries in the West, North and East rivers. The Pearl River Delta is characterized by a large flat terrain with some hills, and river systems. Mostly south of the tropic of Cancer, the Pearl River Delta is marked by high temperatures and abundant rainfall. It is the most important agricultural and fishing base in the province. Products include rice, sugar cane, fruit, silkworms, and a variety of freshwater and saltwater fish.

In a broad sense, the Pearl River Delta includes the actual delta and its periphery areas. During the Qing Dynasty (1644-1910) there were 17 counties and the capital, Guangzhou Fu. Zengcheng, Dongwan, and Baoan (now called Shenzhen) lie in the eastern delta. Guangzhou, Nanhai, Panyu and Shunde are situated in the central delta. The western counties are Sanshui, Foshan, Xiangshan (now called Zhongshan), and Zhuhai. Further west are Gaoyao, Heshan and Doumen. On the extreme western delta were Xinhui, Xinning (now called Taishan), Kaiping and Enping. People who speak Cantonese or dialects of Cantonese are the main inhabitants of the delta, but some Kejia people also live there.

Among the 17 counties mentioned above, Nanhai, Panyu and Shunde are collectively called Sanyi (三邑) meaning 'three counties' and the majority speak Cantonese. Xinhui, Taishan, Kaiping and Enping counties are collectively called Si-xian (四邑), meaning 'four counties' and the majority speak a sub-dialect of Cantonese (Figure 34). The Pearl River Delta has been the main source of Chinese emigrants since the late 17th century.

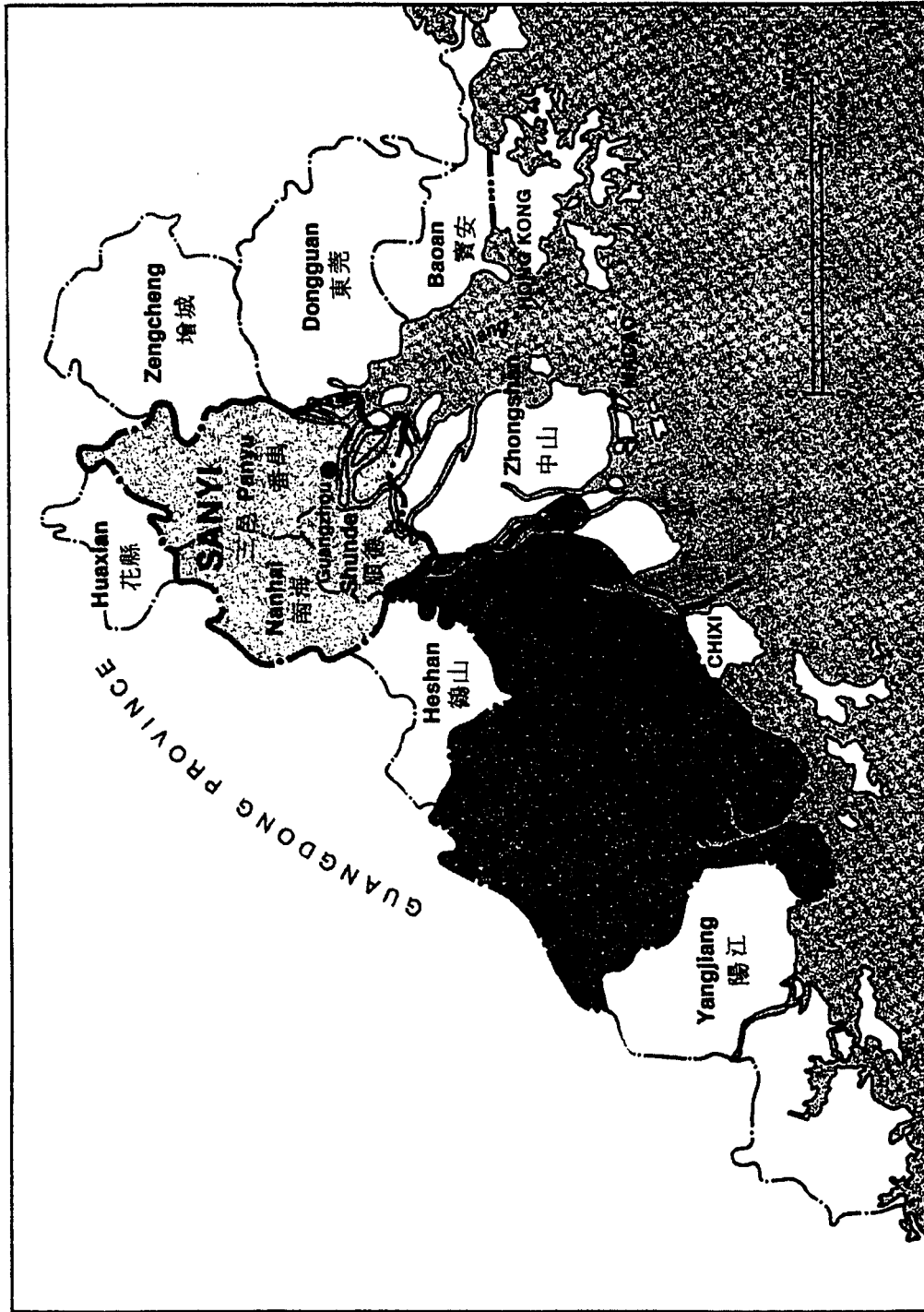


Figure 34. Division of the Pearl River Delta and source areas of Chinese immigrants to Canada in the 1880s (after Lai 1988:18 with some alterations).

Contact and Emigration Prior to the 1840s

Despite cultural and official limiting factors, large-scale immigration to America, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and other countries did take place from Guangdong and Fujian in the middle and late 19th century. To gain an understanding of the reasons and nature of this movement, one must examine its historic and contemporary contexts. For this purpose, the history of contact and emigration from the pre Han Dynasty (the 5th century BC) to the late 19th century is outlined below. The review focuses on migration by sea routes emphasizing the nature of contact, origins of immigrants, immigrant population size and the nature of immigrant society. The principal sources are works by Stephen William (1930), Li Chang-fu (1936), Victor Purcell (1965), Geoffrey Serle (1968), James C. Jackson (1970), Thomas W. Chinn (ed.) (1975), C. Y. Choi (1975), the Committee of General History of Overseas Chinese (ed.) (1978), Liu Wei-ping (1989), and Neville A. Ritchie (1989). All original sources mentioned in these works that were available to the author were checked. The major statements about emigration from original sources are listed in Appendix IX.

Li Chang-fu (1936) divides the history of Chinese emigration into four stages. The first stage is from pre-Han to the Tang Dynasty (5th cent. BC-AD 618), the second is from the Tang to the Ming Dynasty (AD 618-1644), the third is the early Qing Dynasty (AD 1644-1840), and the last one is the late Qing Dynasty in the middle and late 19th century (1840s-1900s).

Stage I Early contact prior to the Tang Dynasty (425-375 BC- AD 618)

Contact between China and foreign countries overland between northwest China and the eastern Mediterranean and sea routes from the Red Sea or Persian Gulf to south coastal China existed as early as the fifth century B.C. (Li 1936:24). These routes were continually used in the Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220) and other later dynasties. During the Han Dynasty, Hepu (閩浦) and Xuwen (徐聞) in eastern Guangdong were two major harbours at the east end of the sea route [漢書.地理志 (*Han Shu - Di Li Zhi*) and 後漢書.地理志 (*Hou Han Shu - Di Li Zhi*)]. *Han Shu* and *Hou Han Shu* state that starting from one of these two harbours, the sea route runs southwest to Duyan Kingdom (Pulaw Pisang Island southwest of Malay Peninsula), then past the Strait of Malacca north to three kingdoms, Yilum, Chenli, and Fugandulu in Burma. From Fugandulu, the route went to Huangzhi Kingdom (Pugandhara) in east India and then extended to Sichengbu Kingdom in Sri Lanka. During this period, westerners came to China from as far as the Red Sea or Persian Gulf but Chinese navigators limited their trips within East India and Southeast Asia. Contact between Han China and these southern countries were mostly

official exchange visits and private trade. Since the period of emperor Wudi (140-87 BC), the kingdoms mentioned above had paid tribute regularly to the Han court via Guangdong. Between AD 1 and 5, the Han court sent envoys to foreign countries in south of China by the same route, reaching as far as east India and Sri Lanka (*Han Shu-Di Li Zhi* and *Hou Han Shu-Di Li Zhi*).

During the Jin Dynasty (AD 265-420), Guangzhou became another major trading port [*Fo Guo Ji* (佛國記)]. Until the Tang Dynasty, there was no clear record of Chinese emigration abroad by sea. Such a long period of contact however, made the south coastal Chinese aware of the existence of foreign countries and the means to access them. It is possible that some Chinese traders and navigators might have stayed in these southern countries without returning to China (Li 1936:28 and HQZB 1978:6).

Stage II Contact and emigration from the Tang to the Ming Dynasty (AD 618-1644)

Chinese emigration in the Tang Dynasty (AD 618-907)

In the history of ancient China, the Tang is one of a few dynasties, which held positive attitude to foreign relations. Tang appointed Guangzhou (in Guangdong), Quanzhou (Fujian), Hangzhou (Zhejiang) and Yangzhou (Jiangsu) as trading ports. Of these four trading ports, Guangzhou, was the most prosperous. During the Tang, seven kingdoms in Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Sri Lanka paid tribute to the Tang court regularly through Guangzhou (Appendix IX). Guangzhou was a collecting and distributing centre for various foreign goods and animals such as elephant, rhinoceros, and hawks bill turtle (Li 1936:40). The development of trade came with an influx of various foreigners, scholars, artists, artisans, etc. to Guangzhou. By the late ninth century, there were more than 12,000 foreigners in Guangzhou (Li 1937:41).

While many foreigners continued to arrive in China, many Chinese traders went to Southeast Asia, coastal India and the Persian Gulf (HQZB 1978:16). In addition, some Buddhist monks went to India for study, staying there for a long time. For example, a monk called Yi Jing stayed in India for 30 years and another one called Meng Huiye stayed in Shilifoshi (south Malay Peninsula) after his study in India and never went back to China (Li 1936:16).

Apart from these traders and monks, Chinese immigration groups were recorded since the late Tang Dynasty (Appendix XI). Li (1936:60) mentions that an Arabian explorer called Abu-l-Hasan ali Elmasudi travelled Africa, Sri Lanka, South and Southeast Asia and China during the

10th century and wrote travel notes called in French *Les Prairies d'Or*. Elmasudi states that when he arrived in Sumatera in the year 943 he saw many Chinese farmers planting there with Palembang as the centre. Those Chinese escaped from Guangdong in the late Tang Dynasty during when the Huangchao rebellions were taking place (AD 847-884).

Yan Si-zong's *Nan Yang Li Ce* (南洋 蠡 測) states that there are Chinese graves in Singapore. Some gravestones have the titles of the Later Liang (AD 907-923) while some had Xianshun, the title of emperor Duzong (AD 1265-1274). This suggests that Chinese may have settled in Singapore during that time.

Campbell (1951 Vol. I: 138) states that in the year 924, the period of the Later Tang (後 唐) Dynasty (AD 923-936), a Chinese junk sank near Semarang, Java. Survivors drifted to Tegal at Javal, asking the king of Tegal for permission to stay that initiated the Chinese immigration to Java.

These records, though fragmentary, reveal that Chinese immigrants came from Guangdong and other places of south China. They were either traders or farmers. Reasons for them to go abroad were either social chaos or natural disasters. These occasional emigration episodes continued with increasing numbers in the later dynasties.

Chinese emigration in the Song Dynasty (AD 960-1279)

The overland road between China and the western countries closed in the late tenth century due to social and political chaos in West and Middle Asia. After taking over the country, the Song Dynasty (960-1279) continued communication with foreigners by sea routes. Song appointed Guangzhou, Mingzhou (modern Ningbo in Zhejiang), and Hangzhou (Zhejiang) as foreign trade ports, with Guangzhou still the largest one. During the period of the Northern Song (960-1127), taxes collected from foreigners in Guangzhou made up more than 90% of the entire annual customs duty (Li 1937:42). From the end of the Northern Song (960-1127) to the Southern Song (1127-1279), Quanzhou in Fujian Province turned out to be as important as Guangzhou due to its location close to the southern Song's capital Hangzhou (Li 1937:42).

During the Song Chinese traders went continually to Southeast Asia, India and the Persian Gulf, and some reached the Philippines (Appendix IX). When Mongolia took the country in the late 13th century, some Chinese went to Zhancheng (middle Vietnam) and Annam (northern Vietnam) for help. When these missions failed they stayed there and never returned to China [*Xin Shi* (心 史), *Tian Xia Jun Guo Li Bing Shu* (天下郡國利病書), and *Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu* (大越 史記 全書) cited in Li 1935:68].

Chinese emigration in the Yuan Dynasty (AD 1271-1368)

In the Yuan Dynasty, contact between south China and its nearby countries took three forms. The first was traditional tribute from foreign countries. The second was trade. Yuan assigned Quanzhou (Fujian), Qingyuan (Guangxi), Shanghai, and Hanpu (Zhejiang) as official trading ports. And Guangzhou was still one as well. Along with the development of interior trade, there was increasing trade extending further into Southeast Asia and India. The third consisted of Yuan's a series of conquering campaigns to Zhancheng, Cambodia and Java between 1275 and 1301. All these provided possibilities for Chinese immigration to southern countries of China (Appendix IX).

Appendix IX indicates that at least six large groups of Chinese immigrants were seen in Singapore (one), Kalimantan (one), Java (three), and Timor (one) respectively during the Yuan dynasty. Sizes of these immigration communities ranged from 100 to 2000. They came from Guangdong and Fujian. Most of them were traders while some were former Yuan soldiers.

In western Java, for example, there were three large Chinese villages at Duping (Tu Ban now Chumin), Sicun (Gressie) in Java, and Madural Island: there were some 1000 Chinese in Duping, most of whom came from Guangdong and Fujian. East of Duping is Sicun (Gressie), which was renamed as New Village (Xin Cun) by the Chinese after they moved to there. New Village had several thousand families, most of whom were traders from Guangdong. There was a large market in New Village where Chinese junks came from China regularly. Madura Island is a large island on the north side of west Java where many Chinese lived. These three settlements were in communication overland by road or by sea [*Yi Yu Zhi* (異域志), *Dao Yi Zhi Lue* (島夷志略), and *Xu Wan Xian Tong Kao* (續文獻通考)].

Except those in Golanshan, the other five Chinese settlements listed in Appendix IX were all occupied by Chinese traders, and they were all deeply involved in the Chinese maritime trade (Appendix IX). These settlements probably evolved from temporary trading ports. If that is true, trading posts in other places also had the potential of becoming permanent Chinese settlements if need be.

Until this time, few if any of Chinese came to foreign countries with the clear intent of immigration. To most people, longer stay in foreign countries resulted mostly from the economic necessity.

During the Yuan Dynasty, immigration mainly came from Guangdong and Fujian as in previous dynasties but with greater numbers. In the case of western Java, Chinese population in Duping and New Village reached as high as 2000. The fact that villagers in these two settlements came from Guangdong and the Zhangzhou-Quanzhou region in southern Fujian indicates that

emigration may have been organized by large groups of people in these regions mentioned. This pattern is clearer in the Ming and Qing Dynasties.

Chinese emigration in the Ming dynasty (AD 1368-1644)

During the first several years of Ming, the emperor Hongwu held a more active view of foreign relations than rulers in the previous dynasties. He sent envoys to countries in East and Southeast Asia, granting them Chinese seals and calendars, and promising never to invade them. While permitting the foreign countries to come to China to pay tribute, the Ming court assigned Ningbo in Zhejiang, Quanzhou in Fujian, and Guangzhou in Guangdong as trading ports (1368) [*Ming Tai Zu Shi Lu* (明太祖實錄)].

Starting in 1374, Ming's policy changed due to concerns for south China's safety. In 1374, the Ming court closed all trading ports, ending the official trade with foreigners (*Ming Tai Zu Shi Lu* Vol 93). It then stopped accepting foreign tributes [*Mingshi* (明史) Vol 323]. In 1381, the Ming court issued an act, forbidding common people to go to foreign countries, export horses, cattle, military equipment, iron items, bronze money, cloth, silk, and sell people to foreigners [*Huang Ming Shi Fa Lu* (皇明世法錄)].

In 1390, the Ming court issued another act, strictly prohibiting people in Guangdong, Guangxi, Zhejiang and Fujian from exporting gold, silver, coins, cloth, and weapons to foreign countries (*Ming Tai Zu Shi Lu* Vol 205). To stop importing foreign goods, the Ming court stipulated in 1394 that no common people were allowed to use foreign perfume and other goods (*Ming Tai Zu Shi Lu* Vol 231). In 1397, The Ming expressed the same attitude by forbidding common people to trade out of China without official permission (*Ming Tai Zu Shi Lu* Vol 252).

Such a closed door policy continued until the third Ming emperor, Chengzu (1403-1424) ascended the throne in 1403 when he re-opened three trading ports, restarting the official trade with foreigners [*Ming Cheng Zu Shi Lu* (明成祖實錄)]. In 1408, the Ming assigned two other trading ports at Jaozhi (Vietnam) and Yunan [*Ming Cheng Zu Shi Lu* (明成祖實錄) and *Ming Shi · Shi Huo Zhi* (明史·食貨志)].

To demonstrate the Ming's prosperity and strength, and develop foreign trade, the Ming court sent the eunuch Zheng He to explore the Xinyang (西洋) (the Chinese name of the large oceanic area between the South China Sea and the Arabian Sea). There were seven expeditions between 1406 and 1434. During these trips, Chinese flotillas reached more than 30 countries in Southeast Asia, South Asia, West Asia and East Africa. These voyages widened the existing

Southeast Asia, South Asia, West Asia and East Africa. These voyages widened the existing Chinese understanding of foreign countries, encouraging ongoing trade and immigration of common people to Southeast Asia and other regions (Figure 35).

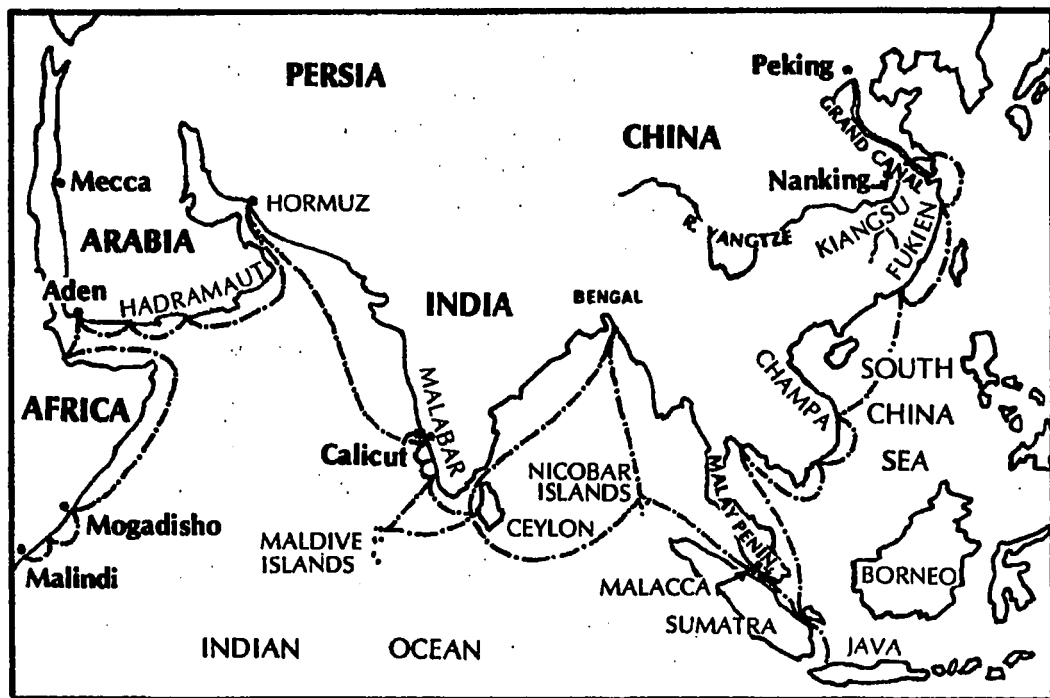


Figure 35. Admiral Zheng He's voyage between 1405 and 1433 (after Gittins 1981:6).

Starting in the late 15th century European trade stretched to the East. The Portuguese first opened the navigation line from Europe to India in 1448. They established the first factory at Cacut (called by Chinese as Guli) on the east coast of India in 1500 and then occupied Goa on the west coast of India in 1510. After conquering Malacca in 1511, the Portuguese began trading with other countries in East. In 1516, the Portuguese extended their trade to Guangzhou, Zhangzhou (Fujian) and Ningbo (Zhejiang), and 'rented' Macao in 1557 (Li 1937:130-133).

Next came the Spanish. A Portuguese called Fernao de Magalhaes and his fellows completed the famous explorations between 1519 and 1522 with support from Spain. That initiated Spanish exploration to East. In 1579, the Spanish conquered Luzon, establishing their governor-general at Manila (Li 1937:135-137).

Then came the Dutch who first came to Java in 1596. In 1602, the Dutch established the East India Company and built their governor-general house at Bantam, Java in 1609. In 1619, the

Dutch founded a new capital city at Batavia. The Dutch government granted the East India Company a monopoly of the perfume trade in the East, and right to set up treaty and declare war with the aboriginal people.

Based in Batavia, the Dutch established factories on the coasts of India, Sri Lanka, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. From 1640 to 1667, the Dutch seized Malacca, the Cape of Good Hope, and Kuala Lumpur one after another from the Portuguese, establishing trading supremacy from Malacca to the Cape of Good Hope (Li 1935:160, 161).

Between 1604 and 1609, the Dutch went to Guangdong and tried to trade with China, but were stopped by the Portuguese on Macao. After failing to take over Macao from the Portuguese in 1622, the Dutch occupied China's Penghu Archipelago. Two years later (1624), they occupied Taiwan where they stayed till 1660 when they were chased out by Zheng Cheng-gong.

The British came to the East in 1596, competing with the Portuguese for East India. In 1600, British merchants established a fur company, the Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies. The first British ship visited south China in 1620, but it did not lead to direct trade between these two countries throughout the rest of Ming Dynasty.

Under the above situations, Chinese traders and emigrants went to Southeast Asia in much larger numbers than during the Yuan Dynasty. While continuing the same pattern, Chinese emigration during the Ming Dynasty bore its own characteristics.

First, Guangdong and Fujian were still the two major origins of Chinese emigrants. In each province as in previous dynasties. However, emigration origins were narrowed to several districts or regions. The Pearl River Delta and Chaozhou-Shantou area became the two major origins of emigrants in Guangdong, while Zhangzhou and Quanzhou turned becoming two major sources of emigrants from Fujian Province (Appendix IX).

Second, emigration in these specific regions took on a much larger scale than during the Yuan Dynasty. Appendix IV displays 31 records of Chinese emigration during the Ming Dynasty and 15 of them bear emigrant figures by either settlement, region or country, ranging from 852 to 24,000. This suggests that during the Ming and especially the late Ming Dynasty, emigration to Nanyang (南洋) was well known to many people from those four regions mentioned above.

Third, there were changes in the components of emigrants. While traders and artisans kept going abroad, peasants joined emigration with increased number. Three factors were responsible for this. One was high population pressure, starting in the late 17th century. Another was the discovery of tin, lead, and gold in Southeast Asia and the native rulers invited Chinese to come over to mine these resources for them (Paucell 1965). The third factor was high demand for labour to develop the newly established European colonies in Southeast Asia.

Stage III Chinese emigration in the early Qing dynasty (AD 1644-1840)

Manchu, an ethnic group originated in northeast China, established the Qing Dynasty with Beijing as capital in 1644. As a newly established dynasty, the Qing rulers reasonably believed that those foreign countries south of China were sources of anti-Manchu. It was a well-known fact at that time that many Ming loyalists fled to Southeast Asia after Qing conquered south China. Another well-known fact is that Zheng, Cheng-gong (also known as Koxinga) held a rebellion in Fujian Province since 1649 and occupied Taiwan in 1660. After the rebellion was suppressed by Qing troops in 1681, Zheng's remaining fellows also fled to Southeast Asia. To cut off the relations between those outside Ming loyalists and those in south China, the Qing court issued a similar act to the Ming's 1374 one mentioned earlier:

All officers of government, soldiers, and private citizens, who clandestinely proceed to sea to trade, or who remove to foreign islands for the purpose of inhabiting and cultivating the same, shall be punished according to the law against communicating with rebels and enemies and consequently suffer death by being beheaded. The governors of cities of the second and third orders shall likewise be beheaded, when found guilty of combining with, or artfully conniving at the conduct of such persons (*Ta Tsing Leu Lee: being the Fundamental Laws of the Pental Code of China* (大清律例) translated by Sir George Thomas Staunton 1810).

To seal the possibility of emigration, the Qing court ordered that nobody was allowed to live within 50 li (25km) of the sea coast of Guangdong and Fujian (HQZ Committee 1978:95)

After suppressed the Zheng, Cheng-gong (1649-1680) and San Fan rebellions (1673-1681), the Qing government loosened its restriction on trade and emigration:

All Fujianese who emigrated abroad before the 56th year of Kangxi reign shall be allowed to come back and be collected by local magistrates or the family on production of guarantees by the family (HQZB 1978).

In 1727, Qing's attitude changed again, issuing another order:

We think those who are trading outside China are by nature rebels. If we give them easy passage in and out, they will become more daring and will leave home for good and stay permanently abroad. So we must set a deadline and order them to return to China by that date. Those who fail to return by the deadline shall not be allowed back in again. No recourse shall be possible. By the very act of not returning, they shall have expressly declared their wish to stay permanently outside [Committee of the History of Overseas Chinese (HQZB 1978)]

Next year, the Qing government stressed the same policy:

All those abroad are returning. Those who have stayed behind are staying on their own wish and shall not be allowed to come home [*Huang Chao Tong Dian · Xing Zhi* (皇朝通典·刑制)].

Related to this basic policy was the Qing's unconcerned attitude to existing immigrants in foreign countries. For example, a conflict took place between Chinese and the Dutch in Java in 1740. The Dutch killed some 9,000 Chinese, which was called Red River Event later since Chinese blood flowed like a river during that event (Li 1937:214). To this tragedy, emperor Qianlong's response was:

Our Qing court will never concern about whatever happened to those people who betrayed the country and their ancestors, going abroad for making money (HQZB 1978: 1976).

The Spanish, Dutch, and British were the major competing powers in Southeast Asia at the time. Dutch were conquered by Napoleon in 1810, and Java became a French colony accordingly. In 1811, Britain occupied Java and stayed there for six years. In 1819, Sumatra's governor Stamford Raffles took Singapore, rebuilding it as a general base of British power in Southeast Asia (Li 1937:203). In 1824, Britain and the Dutch signed an agreement: the Dutch yielded its colonies in India to Britain while Britain yielded theirs in Sumatra to the Dutch. After that, the British concentrated on developing the Malay Peninsula and North Borneo; the Dutch on Java and the outer Islands, and the Spanish on Luzon (Li 1937:203-204). In all these colonies, the high demand for cheap Chinese labour continued. Those existing Chinese merchant immigrants became reliable and energetic middlemen between the Europeans and the native Southeast Asians (Purcell 1965).

Under this situation, Qing government's harsh policy on emigration on one side and the lure of Southeast Asia on the other side, Chinese emigration to Southeast Asia continued throughout the early Qing Dynasty essentially without stop. Most of them made their trip successfully since the coastal line from Fujian to Guangdong was too long to block officially.

During this period, the Pearl River Delta and Chaozhou-Shantou area in Guangdong and the Zhangzhou and Quanzhou in southern Fujian were still the four main sources of emigrants as in the Ming Dynasty. Appendix IX reveals that among 31 records of emigration in the early Qing, 16 have emigrant figures based on either settlement, region or country, spanning from 20 to 100,000. Some records from the same place show that emigrants increased rapidly within a relatively short period. In Pinang (including Wellesley) of Malay Peninsula, for example, Chinese immigrants were 3,000 in 1786 and increased to 11,010 in 1833. In Singapore, Chinese immigrants were only 20 in 1819 and had increased to 13,749 by 1836. In West Borneo, estimates of the Chinese population in the 1790s were 30,000 and rose to 150,000 by 1837 (Purcell 1965:23, 425).

Most Chinese in Pinang and Singapore came from Guangdong and some from Fujian, while the great majority in West Borneo were Hakkas from eastern Guangdong. These figures indicate that emigration in the Pearl River Delta, Chao-Shan Plain, and southern Fujian had already become a locally recognized means to make a living even though it was prohibited by the Qing government.

Development of the Hong-men society

One of the most important matters at this stage was the development of the secret society [also known as Hong-men (洪門)] among the overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. Since this society was one of the major societies in Chinese communities in the gold fields in North America, Australia, and probably New Zealand during the middle and late 19th century, some details about this society need to be introduced.

Hong-men was also known as Tian Di Hui (天地會), San He Hui (三合會) or San Dian Hui (三點會). According to Hu Zhu-sheg (1996:100), the Hong-men society was established in the Yunxiao County, southern Fujian Province in July 1674, ten years after the Qing took over the country from the Ming. It then developed rapidly to Gaungdong, Gaungxi, and other southern provinces of China. At this stage, the society also used the various names, such as Tie Bian Hui (鐵鞭會), Fu Mu Hui (父母會), and Xiao Dao Hui (小刀會) (Hu 1996:118-124). With aims at overthrowing the Qing and restoring the Ming Dynasty, the Hong-men necessarily acted as a secret society. It created regulations, pledges, antithetical couplets, poems, dialogues, sign language, new characters, pictures and a sample of certificate, which collectively became a document called Huishu (會書) meaning 'the Collected Works of the Hong-men Society'. The document had different versions with different names, such as Shanzi (衫子), Haidi (海底), and Jinbuhuan (金不換). They were secretly distributed among society members (Hu 1996:30).

The Hong-men society worships Guan Yu as its remote ancestor. Guan Yu or Guang Yun-chang (?-AD 219) is a well-known symbol of loyalty and justice in China. The Hong-men society also worships the main founder of the society Monk Wan Yun-long (萬雲龍) [(also called 達宗公 (Da-zong Gong)], and five others, Wu Tian-cheng, Hong, Da-sui, Li, Se-do, Tao, Bi-da and Lin Yong-zhao, who helped Wan Yun-long establish the society, as 'Pre-five Ancestors' (前五祖). It also worships the five other persons who contributed to the development of the society in its initial stages as the society's 'Post-five Ancestors' (後五祖) (Hu 1996:104-111). The majority of members were peasants while people from other classes, artisans, merchants and scholars were also welcomed. In addition, the society admitted non-

Manchu ethnic people, such as Yao people in the Guangxi Province, who accepted the society's goal of overthrowing the Qing Dynasty [Institute of the Modern History, Sino Social Science Academy (IMSSSA) 1978:100].

During the late 17th and 18th centuries, the Hong-men society centred in south Fujian. Starting in the early 19th century, the society shifted its centre from Fujian to Guangdong (Hu 1996:188-204). By the late 1830s, the Hong-men society had established many branches in all southern provinces (Hu 1996:279).

From the late 17th to the early 19th century, the Hong-men society held a series of large and small rebellions in south China. For example, a Hong-men member called Lin, Shuang-wen led a rebellion of 100,000 followers in Taiwan between 1787 and 1788. [Institute of the Modern History, Sino Social Science Academy (IMHSSSA) 1978:141-158; Hu 1996:141-168]. After these rebellions failed, many Hong-men members fled to Southeast Asia to escape the Qing's punishment.

The earliest record of the Hong-men arrivals to Southeast Asia was Luo Fang (or Lo Fang) and his 100 followers to West Borneo in 1772 (Groot 1885 cited in Purcell 1965:421-422). Between the late 1790s and the 1850s, Hong-men societies developed one after another in other parts of Southeast Asia such as Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, Malay Peninsula, Singapore, Sarawak, Sumatra, and Java (Purcell 1965, Blythe 1969; Hu 1989:255-259). In most cases, Hong-men societies established colony-like polities under various names of companies (Kongsi or Gongsi) such as Yi Xing or Ghee Hin (義興), Haishan or Hasan (海山), and Lan Fang or Lan Fong (蘭芳). Among these numerous colonies were three major ones in West Borneo.

Chinese in West Borneo (1740s-1880s)

Population and distribution

Borneo was known to Chinese as early as in China's Sui Dynasty (AD 581-618) [*Sui Shu · Di Li Zhi* (隋書·地理志)]. Regular junk trade between ports in Guangdong and Fujian, and West Borneo had existed since the Song Dynasty (AD 960-1279) (*Zhu Fan Zhi*). In the early 18th century, a few Chinese traders had settled in the ports of Brunei, Sambas and Mampawah (the later two ports were within West Borneo) (Jakson 1970:19). However, there was no large influx of Chinese immigrants to this country until the middle 18th century when Malay rulers of West Borneo decided to increase their income by importing Chinese labourers to dig gold for them. Gold deposits in West Borneo had been recognized since the 13th century, but most of them had been barely touched (Jackson 1970:13-14). In the 1720s, the Malay rulers of

Palembang employed Chinese labour to working on the tin mines at Bangka, which greatly increased the Sultan's income (Jackson 1970:20). It is assumed that their success was spread through junk routes among the islands in Southeast Asia including West Borneo, which triggered the decision of the Sultan in West Borneo to import Chinese labourers to his country (Jackson 1970: 20)

In the 1740s, Panembahan of Mampawah (in southern Western Borneo) invited a small group of Chinese from Brunei to dig gold in the Doeri valley, a branch of the Mampawah River (Jackson 1970: 20) (Figure 36). A deal was probably made at the very beginning: the Panembahan Sultan granted the Chinese the right to work on the gold mines and provided them with tools, rice, fish and other provisions while the Chinese paid tribute to the Sultan in the form of gold. The Chinese were prohibited from engaging in any non-gold mining industry in that country. They were also not allowed to possess weapons or gunpowder. Moreover, the Sultan sent Dyak people, natives in West Borneo, to supervise the Chinese in the mining areas (Jackson 1970:22, 23).

The increase in profits was promising and Panembahan Sultan permitted more Chinese miners to enter his territory. Consequently, Chinese settlements emerged on the south side of the Mampawah River around Mingown and Senaman. Soon after that, some Chinese moved south to the upper reaches of the Mondor River, opening new mines there (Jackson 1970:22).

Around the early 1750s Chinese miners entered to Sambas territory in northern West Borneo, and were appointed by the Sultan to mine in the Benkajang region. At about the same time, the Sambas Sultan introduced other Chinese to other parts of his realm including the Upper Raja River (Jackson 1970:22).

At this stage (1740s-1750s), the Chinese population was small and people who came from the same clan or village in their homelands tended to stay in the same settlement or neighbouring settlements (Schaank 1893:524-525 cited in Jackson 1970:52). When the new comers arrived, their first task was looking for their closest countrymen by clan, village, etc. This shaped the distribution of the Chinese in the gold fields by home county. The majority of Hakkas in Montrado and Larah in central West Borneo were from several coastal counties, Lu-feng, Hui-lai, Jie-yiang and other counties, near Swatow (Shantou). The Hakkas in the regions of Mandor in the south were mainly from Mei-xian, Da-pu and other counties in the Upper Hanjiang River (Schaank 1893:515-516 cited in Jackson 1970:51).

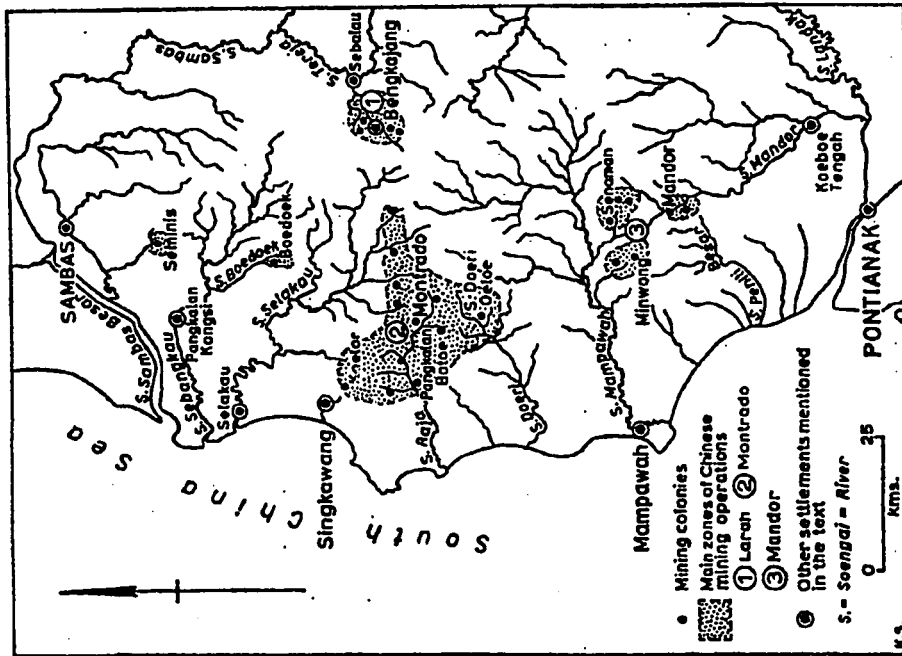
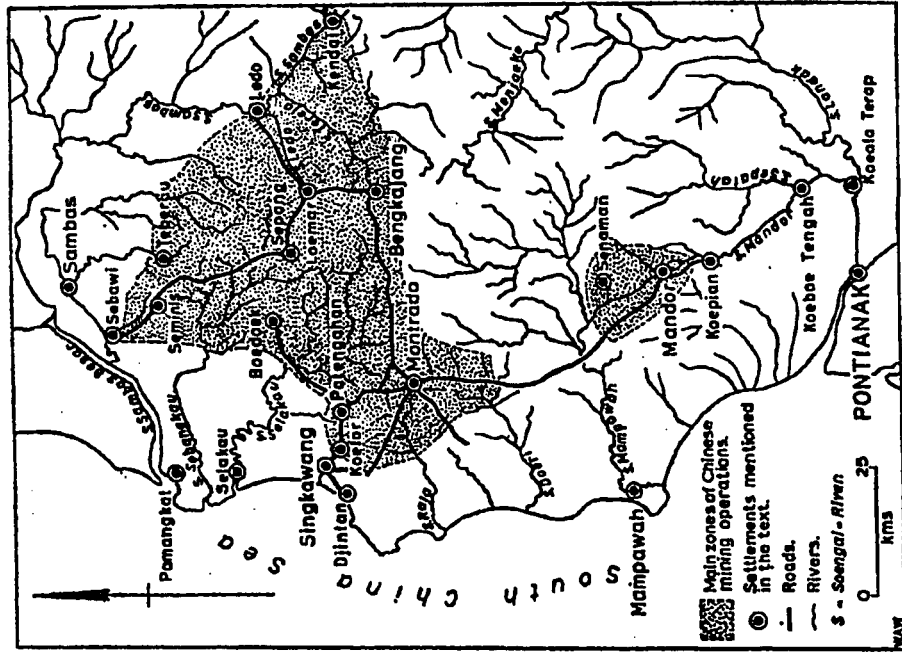


Figure 37. The West Borneo Goldfields in ca. 1775 (left) and 1850 (right) (after Jackson 1970:21, 27).

The Chinese in each settlement formed partnerships or became shareholders. Each group had a specific name, such as Shi-wu-fen (Sjip-ng-foen), meaning fifteen shares or Shi-san-fen (Sjip-sam-foen), meaning 13 shares. These establishments were collectively referred to unions by contemporary western writers (Jackson 1970:52-53). As settlements were clan or village based, unions were also based upon on these relationships. By the 1760s there were 24 unions in the vicinity of Montrado, 12 in Larah, and several others in the Mandor gold fields (Jackson 1970:53).

Success of these early pioneers spread among Chinese in other places of Southeast Asia and south China as well through the existing junk routes, which caused a growing influx of Chinese in the following two decades (Jackson 1970:22). During the first twenty years (1840s-1850s), Malay chiefs accumulated wealth rapidly through the help of the Chinese. The Sultan of Sambas, for example, received about 32,000 guilders a year from Chinese miners in his domain (Jackson 1970:23). However, certain changes that came with the increase of the Chinese population challenged the authority of the Malay rulers. In the early 1870s, for example, two agricultural unions emerged in the region of Montrado: Tian Di Hui or Tien Ti Hui (天地會) in west and northwest, and Lan Fang Hui or Lan Fong (蘭芳會) in northeast of the town of Montrado.

The Tien-di Hui was, as noted earlier in this chapter, another name of the Hong-men society. Lan-fang Hui, according to Li (1936:234, 235, 239-241) and Purcell (1965:422), was found by Luo Fang (羅芳) who was generally known as Uncle Luo Fang (羅芳伯). Luo was a Hakka from Mei-xian County and was a member of the Tian Di Hui when he was in China. He arrived in West Borneo in 1772, bringing 100 followers with him.

These two societies were the earliest recorded Hong-men societies in West Borneo and Southeast Asia (Hu 1996:141). Their appearance in West Borneo initiated the presence of the Hong-men society in the Chinese communities there.

There was a conflict between these two groups in the early 1770s, which led to the Lang Fang Hui being driven out of the Montrado territory to Mandor. However, the Tian Di Hui was not able to maintain this situation for very long. In the middle 1770s, a joint force of mining unions in Montrado defeated the Tian Di Hui. Survivors of this union merged into different mining groups but still engaged in food production (Schaank 1893:566-567, 1058-1059, Jackson 1970:54).

The common need for protecting their members and property, against the demands of the Malays and the pressures of rival Chinese groups led to the formation of a union alliance generally known as kongsi (company) in West Borneo some time in the 1850s. Each alliance

consisted of several unions from the neighbouring mines. During this process, clan, village and home county origins were still the main factors in forming an alliance. In Mandor, for example, Hakkas from coastal counties of Guangdong formed an alliance with its headquarters at Maoyien in the north of Mandor. Other Hakkas from Da-pu on the Upper Hanjiang River Valley of Guangdong formed another alliance at Minwong in was northwest of Mandor. Meanwhile, some Hakkas who also came from Da-pu but probably from different villages from those Da-pu Hakkas in Minwong formed the third alliance at Shan-hsin, south of Mandor (Ward 1954:363).

In Montrado, another example, the Dang Gang (大港) and San Tiao Gou (三條溝) were two large companies. Both consisted of Hakkas from the Hui-lai and Lu-feng of coastal counties in eastern Guangdong. Most members in Da-gang had the surnames Wu and Chang, while the ones in San-tiao-gou were Chu and Wen (Jackson 1970:52).

Compared with the unions, companies controlled more members, possessed more capital and had their own territories from which non-members were excluded. By 1776, there were 14 such companies in Montrado, seven in the Larah-Loemar area, one in Boedoek, and several others in Mandor (Jackson 1970:54).

In 1876, these companies merged into two federations: in central West Borneo, 14 companies headed by the Da-gang (Thaikong) company formed a federation called He-shun or Fo-sjore (和順) Company with in the Montrado as centre (Heidhues 1993:71). The majority of members in this federation were Hakkas who came from those coastal counties in Guangdong mentioned earlier.

In south West Borneo, Luo Fang's Lan-fang Company had achieved control of the Da-pu Hakka's company at Shan-hsin in the middle 1870s with Mandor as centre. It established a federation still under the name of Lan-fang in 1876 (Li 1937:239; Jackson 1970:56). This federation was soon joined by the Mao-yien and its satellite settlements. In 1795, the Lan Fang federation absorbed another Chinese company at Mingwong and its dependent settlements in northwest of Mandor (Ward 1954:362-363; van Meeteren Brouwer 1927:1062-1063; Lo 1960:671-673 cited in Jackson 1970:56).

From 1876 to the early 1810s, these two federations, Ho-shun and Lan-fang, controlled two major gold fields in central and southern West Borneo respectively. Each federation had its own territory, controlling a large Chinese population and military force, and possessing a large amount of capital (Jackson 1970:56, 57). By the 1790s, there were 30,000 Chinese in West Borneo (Veth 1854-56 Vol. I:314, 315, no. 6 cited in Jackson 1970: 23). The period of 1790 to 1820 saw a full development of gold mining in West Borneo. Chinese recovered the richest deposits in the main

fields, which were considered by a contemporary western writer, J. Crawford, one of the most productive gold mines in the world (1820 Vol 3:481).

Between 1818 and 1819, there was a fight for leadership between San-tiao-gou (Sam-thiao-kioe) and Da-gang, the two most influential companies in the Ho-shun Federation at that time. Defeated by Da-gang, San-tiao-gou and its two alliances withdrew from the He-shun Federation, moving north to a region the Sambas and Selakau rivers where they established a new federation called San-tiao-gou (Jackson 1970:58).

From 1819 to 1850, there were three major Chinese federations co-existing in West Borneo: San-tiao-gou was the authority in the north between the Selakau and Sambas rivers. He-shun, dominated by Da-gang, controlled the entire Montrado region and much of Larih in central West Borneo. In south, Lan-fang was the authority in the Mandor Region (Jackson 1970:58-59). In 1837, the total Chinese population of West Borneo was estimated at 150,000. Among these 150,000 Chinese, 90,000 lived in the gold fields controlled by these three federations while the rest in the districts controlled by Dutch (Earl 1837 cited in Purcell 1965:425). By the 1840s, Da-gang could mobilize 10,000 armed men, Lan-fang 6,000 and San-tiao-kou 5,000 (Jackson 1970:59).

In 1850, the Chinese population in West Borneo dropped to about 50,000 (Jackson 1970:28), initiating the decline of the Chinese federations in West Borneo. The decline of the gold industry, political conflict among the Chinese federations, and Dutch military intervention were together responsible for that.

The Gold industry in West Borneo started to decline in the 1830s. By the middle 19th century, deposits in the main gold fields had been exhausted. The abandonment of numerous mines saw many Chinese leaving for Dutch controlled districts or Sarawak (Posewitz 1892:367).

In the 1840s, there was a series of conflicts between San-tiao-gou and He-shun federations, which led to San-tiao-gou loosing its territory to He-shun (Jackson 1970:61). In 1850, two of three major companies in the San-tiao-gou Federation joined the He-shun Federation. This new alliance then attacked the remaining San-tiao-gou Federation, droving the federation to its final disintegration. Many members of San-tiao-gou fled east to Sarawak (Jackson 1970:61).

He Shun's hegemony over the north and the central West Borneo lasted only several years before it was dissolved with force by the Dutch in 1854. Many members of He-shun fled to Sarawak via Landak. The remaining members became subjects of the Dutch colonial government, which was established at Montrado in 1855, and were supervised by Chinese headmen approved by the Dutch (Jackson 1970:72).

The Lan-fang Federation in the south was the last Chinese government in West Borneo. It escaped Dutch military intervention since it accepted Dutch authority and occasional interference in its internal affairs. In 1848, the Dutch replaced the current headmen with Liu Ah Sin whom they favoured (Jackson 1970:72, 73). Liu was able to keep the Lan Fang within the Chinese organizational framework until he died in 1884. After Liu's death, the Dutch attempt to abolish the Lan-fang Federation but was resisted by the Chinese though holding a rebellion. The Dutch suppressed the revolt with force as they did to the Ho-shun Federation 30 years ago. After that, a formal Dutch government was introduced to Mandor, ending the 144-year Chinese colonial history in West Borneo (Jackson 1970:73).

Settlements

In West Borneo, Chinese settlements went through three stages in response to the increase of Chinese population and development of Chinese political powers discussed above.

In the stage of 'Union' (1840s-1850s), there were several Chinese settlements scattered in West Borneo's three mining regions: the Mandor-Minwong-Senaman region in the south, Montrado region in the middle, and the Sambas region in the north (Jackson 1970:20) (Figure 37). Chinese immigrants were bound to the Malay chiefs in this system of supply and tribute. Settlements were probably small and all related to the mining industry. In the 1760s, there were 24 of such unions in the area of Montrado, 12 in Larah mines while others just had emerged in Mandors gold fields (Jackson 1970). The distribution of unions can be considered the distribution of settlements if settlement is the basic unit of union. As the Chinese who came from the same clan or village tended to stay in the same settlement, union in each settlement probably developed based on clan or village ties.

During the 'Company' period (1860s to the early 1870s) the Chinese had achieved a certain degree of independence from the Malay rulers. There were two remarkable changes in settlements. First is the development of the large Chinese centres, which were also the locations of companies. The Maoyien Company, for example, was a large town with over two hundred shop-houses in its old town, and another store in its new town. Around the town of Maoyien were several Chinese mining camps (Groot 1885:8-10 cited in Jackson 1970:22).

The second change is development of agricultural and fishing settlements. The Tian-di Hui and Lan-fang Hui were two earliest agricultural groups to establish settlements in the region of Montrado in the early 1870s (Purcell 1965:422; Jackson 1970:54-55). The end of 18th and the early the 19th century saw many other large and small farming villages developing on the coastal alluvium and interior fields near the main towns (Jackson 1970:39-41).

During the stage of 'Federation' (the late 1870s to 1884), the Chinese settlements went from full development to decline. Between 1876 and 1819, the two major federations were the He-shun in Montrado and the Lan-fang in Mandor. In 1819, the San-tiao-gou Company and its alliances split from He-shun, forming a new federation in the north with Sepang as centre. These three federations co-existed until the early 1850.

The He-shun destroyed the San-tiao-gou in 1850 but itself was dissolved by the Dutch in 1854. Lan-fang, at the price of recognizing Dutch authority, lasted for another 30 years till 1884 when it was forcefully abolished by the Dutch.

The period of 1790-1820 was the golden age of gold mining in West Borneo and the time during which Chinese settlement was fully developed. Six major settlement types can be summarized according to the documentary sources.

Type I Large Chinese Centre. Three main Chinese settlements Montrado, Mandor and Sepang belong to this type. These settlements housed three federal Chinese governments mentioned above. Located near the main rivers in each region, they were created and inhabited mainly by Chinese. They were characterized by the company (Tong) house, stores, shops, restaurants, opium dens, gambling house, arak distilleries, many small residential houses, vegetable gardens, and pig sties (Jackson 1970:42-43). Montrado, for example, was the location of the Hoshun Federation government and the largest Chinese centre and in all of West Borneo. In the early 1830s, there were two parallel streets in the town. Chinese stores were well furnished with articles of Chinese manufacture. There were vendors of pork, salted fish and vegetables and workshops devoted to various crafts. In addition, there were several hundred small houses, built of wood and thatch (Earl 1836 and 1837 cited in Jackson 1970:42).

The company house or Tong building was probably the most distinctive feature in this type of Chinese settlements. Veth (1854-56 Vol. I:322-323 cited in Jackson 1970:69) states:

Often substantial structures built of ironwood (belian), surrounded by a rectangular earthen wall or palisade and heavily fortified, the kongsi-houses invariably lay a short distance from the town or village. Fulfilling a variety of functions they served as focal points for the entire organizational framework, É They were, in the first instance, the seats of government, either central or local, and housed the officials; they contained large rooms for general meetings of all kongsi members and for the transaction of public business; certain other rooms were set aside for the accommodation of visitors. All the common property of kongsi (company)-its weapons, tools, provisions, gold and other funds-were stored within the kongsi house, which occasionally served as a prison; it sometimes also provided sleeping quarters and eating facilities for part of the work force in the kongsi mines

Jackson also mentioned that all kongsi houses had altars where the figures of Guan-di were seated (Jackson 1970:69). Lan Fang Federation's Kongsi House at Mandor is an example of this

type of house, which is a reflection of the extent of the elaboration of the organizational framework of the Lan Fang Federation (Figure 38).

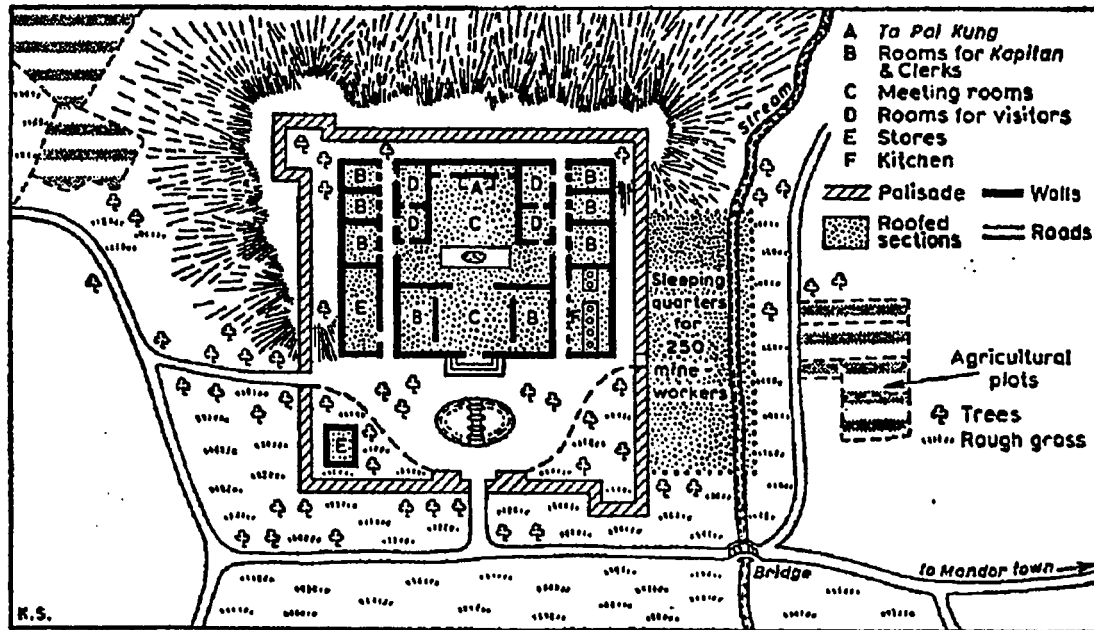


Figure 38. Lan Fang Company's Kongs House at Mandor, West Borneo (1882) (originally in Veth 1854, used by Jackson 1970:70).

Type II Chinatown or Chinese quarters. Chinese settlements in Sambas and Pontianak are under this heading. They were all built on one side of the Malay area, separated from it by a river. The main inhabitants in these settlements were merchants, traders, and artisans (Jackson 1972:42). They could be large in size but they primary functioned as distributing rather than socio-political centres.

Type III Chinese settlements. Chinese settlements where the Chinese companies were located belong to this type. They were reduced replicas of those large Chinese centres (Type I) mentioned above but with probably smaller sizes (Jackson 1970:42). Each such settlement was the centres of many small mining camps nearby.

Type IV Chinese mining camps. They were scattered in the gold fields and were characterized by large sheds, which were built of rough-hewn timber covered with thatch. Inhabitants in these sites were single or small groups of miners (Jackson 1970:41).

Type V Chinese settlements related to agriculture. According to Jackson (1970:39-41), this type involves three sub-types:

Type Va Large farming villages. These were located on the coastal alluvium. Inhabitants were engaged in planting rice on the banks of the lower Sebangkau and the lower Mampawah rivers. The coastal plains between Singkawang and Djintan were almost entirely occupied by rice fields (Jackson 1970:40, 41). Despite these very considerable developments, Chinese still needed to import rice from China due to the large size of population. In the late 1830s, for example, the Chinese communities in the Montrado area had to imported 12,000 Pikuls rice per year from China via Singkawang (Schaank 1893:567 cited in Jackson 1970:41).

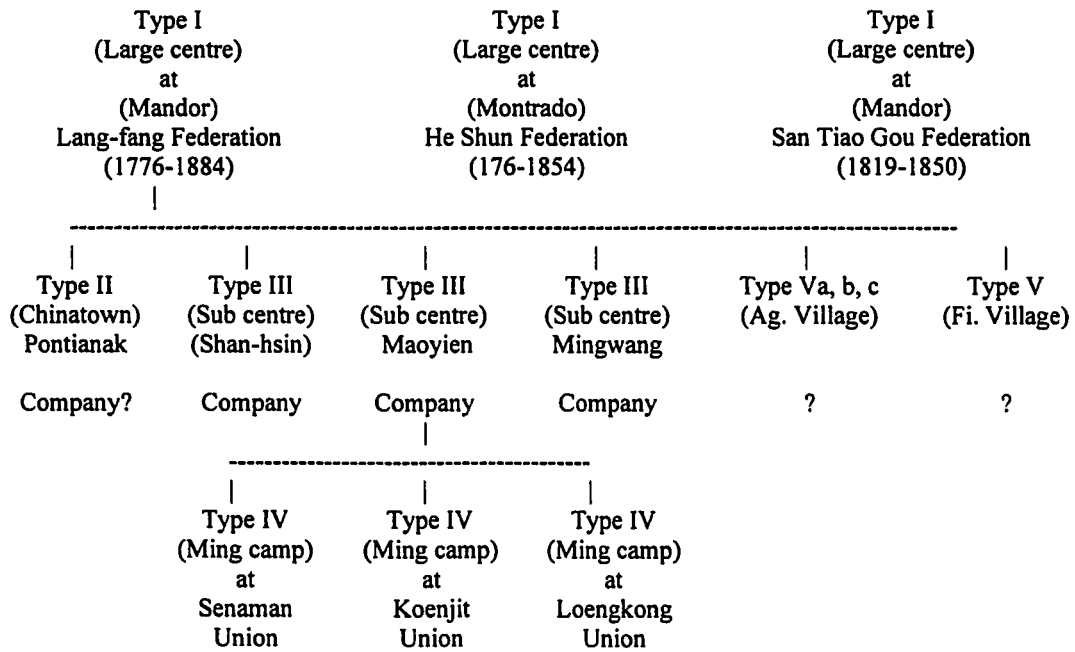
Type Vb Medium farming villages. They were associated with large towns. Mondtrado and Loemar had many vegetable gardens and rice fields run by Chinese. There were 1,300 Chinese at Loemar in 1838 and 300 of them were farmers, scattering in the suburbs (Doty and Pohlman 1839:225 cited in Jackson 1970:40).

Type Vc Small farming villages with a few dozen families. They were located along the roads connecting the main towns, such as Montrado, Singkawang, Larah and Mandor (Veth 1854-56 Vol. I:105-106; Doty and Pohlman 1839:1839:300-301, 306 cited in Jackson 1970:40).

Type VI Fishing villages or fisherman quarters. These sites seem to develop in all three federations. Located on the coast, there were either independent fishing villages or fisherman quarters in other Chinese settlements. For example, there was a Chinese settlement with a fishermen quarter in Pamangkat at the mouth of Sambas Besar River in northern West Borneo. Fishermen engaged in fishing, fish processing, and supplying salted fish to their countrymen in the mining areas (Veth 1854-56 Vol. I; 97-99, Engelhard 1900:251, Enthoven 1903:Vol. 2:817 cited in Jackson 1970:40).

These six types of settlements mentioned above formed hierarchies in three major mining regions at different times, each reflecting the extent of elaboration of the Chinese political powers in the region (Table 17).

Table 17: Chinese societies and settlement hierarchy in West Borneo (1770s-1880s)



State IV Emigration in the middle and late 19th century

Emigration from China during the middle and late 19th century is distinguished by three characteristics.

The first is that while many emigrated to Southeast Asia, many others turned to other areas of the world especially North America, Australia, and New Zealand where Chinese immigration was not previously known.

The second is that while immigrants to Southeast Asia were still mostly from the Pearl River Delta and Chao-Shan in Guangdong and Zhan-Quan region in southern Fujian, those going to non-Southeast Asian countries were primarily from the Pearl River Delta. In other words, the Cantonese of the Pearl River Delta formed the majority of the Chinese immigrants to these countries. Along with this majority were some Hakkas and a handful of Fujianese and Shanghainese. The latter two are only evident for a short time period in the early stage of immigration. For example, the first arrivals of Chinese to Australia were 3,056 Fujianese and 20 Shanghainese between 1848 and 1852, but Cantonese replaced them after 1853 (Serle 1968, Choi 1975:18, Liu 1989:29).

The third characteristic is that Chinese immigration into both Southeast Asia and other places of the world took place in much larger numbers than in earlier times (Appendix IX). In 1882, for example, there were a total of 290,417 Chinese immigrants in these newly accessed countries: 105,465 of them went to California, 132,000 to the rest of the United States, 4,883 in British Columbia, 38,533 in Australia, and 5,004 to New Zealand (Chinn 1975:22; *Canada Census* (1881); Liu 1989:40; Ritchie 1986:11). The great majority of these immigrants were from the Pearl River Delta (Appendix IX). Apparently, emigration abroad from the Pearl River Delta in the middle and late 19th century was a common activity. Such massive emigration from one specific area was an outgrowth of three factors:

The first factor is the long-standing tradition of emigration. By the middle 19th century when Chinese immigration to those non-Southeast Asia countries was taking place, emigration from Guangdong, especially from the Pearl River Delta, had already have a thousand year history. Emigration was recognized as a means of making a living as far back as the early Qing Dynasty. The force of such a tradition carried its own momentum. When a particular group behaviour develops to a certain level, it will create strong psychological pressures on others outside the group to follow suit. The larger the population size, the greater the scope of group behaviour, and hence the heavier the pressure, which in turn magnifies the scope of the group behaviour (Li 1997:35).

The second and the third factors are the contemporary internal and external factors, which are summarized by many writers, including Heidhues 1974:6, Ritchie 1986:9-11, and Lai 1988. These factors form a 'push and pull' model to explain Chinese emigration at the time.

'Push' refers to the internal factors such as population pressure, concentration of land ownership, high taxes, natural disasters, and socio-political chaos.

Population pressure has been a problem to China since the late 17th century. In Guangdong, the population was 16 million in 1787 and increased to 28 million in 1850, about 600 persons in each square kilometre (Lee 196:186; Wickberg and Johnson 1982:9). From 1661 to 1812, the population increased 20 times, but arable lands only increased by 27%. The average of arable land per person dropped from 1.7 hectares (25mu) in 1661 to 0.1 hectare (1.67 mu) in 1812 (Chen 1985:1). This factor alone had already caused much poverty and forced many peasants to become servants, vagrants or bandits. Mostly, they became emigrants (Xue 1993 Vol. 6:12-14).

The limitation of arable land was aggravated after the First Opium War (1840-1842). After the war, China was forced to trade with the western countries, which led China to change its traditional crop-cultivating pattern to meet the needs of the western markets. In the Pearl River

Delta, for example, many rice fields were changed to plant tea, mulberry, tobacco, sugar cane, and fruit (Liang 1956:21). The immediate result of such a change was food shortage and a high increase in the price of rice (Tsai 1986:3).

Natural disasters were another factor pushing people out of their homeland. Droughts plagued the reign (1821-1850) of emperor Dao-guang [*Dong Hua Lu* (東華錄)]. Low temperatures caused damage to crops every three or four years in Guangdong. These disasters aggravated the existing stresses caused by the massive population increases. Many bankrupt peasants lost mortgaged lands, houses, and livestock. Rural proletarians formed, far beyond the needs of industry newly emerging in Guangdong after the Opium war (Wickberg and Johnson 1982:4).

China political chaos in the 19th century was worsened by the invasion of foreigners after the first Opium War. A series of civil rebellions also contributed to destabilization. Located in extreme southern China, Guangdong deeply suffered from both of these situations.

In the modern history of China, the Opium War between 1840 and 1842 was the first step of the opening of China to western countries using new naval armaments. After the war, Hong Kong was ceded to Britain; China had to pay Britain an indemnity of 21 million silver dollars. Five ports, Canton, Shanghai, Ningbo, Xiamen (Amoy) and Fuzhou were opened as treaty ports (Jian and Zheng 1985 Vol 1:65-68).

After the war, the volunteers who came from all over south China to Guangdong to fight the British remained there. Unable to return home, many of them joined ranks with local vagrants. This aggravated the existing ranks of local vagrants and stress of food shortage, chasing people to joining the social revolts.

The Rebellion of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1851-64) led by Hong Xiu-quan was one of the largest peasant rebellions in the history of China. From the 1851 uprising to its final destruction in 1864, the Taiping State lasted for 13 years. Based in the capital Tianjing (now Nanjing), the Taiping once conquered the Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and other southern provinces along the mid-lower Yangtze River Valley. Taiping's northern expeditionary troops had crossed the Yangtze and the Yellow rivers, reaching as far as Tianjing, only one 100 km from Qing's capital Beijing (IMHSSSA 1978).

Aiming at overthrowing the Qing Dynasty, the Taiping Rebellion received support from the Hong-men societies in two ways. On one hand, many Hong-men members joined the Taiping's troops. For example, Luo Da-gang and Su San-niang (female), leaders of a Hong-men branch in Guangxi Province, brought several thousand Hong-men members to join the Taiping in Guangxi soon after Hong Xiu-quan declared the rebellion in 1851 (IMHSSSA 1978:116, 118, Hu

1996:286). Another example is that Zhou Pei-de and Ge Yao-ming, leaders of the Hong-men society in northern Guangdong, brought fellows of number tens of thousands to Jiangxi Province where they joined the Taiping troop led by Shi Da-kai around 1855 (IMHSSSA 1978:149).

The Hong-men societies, on the other hand, held rebellions independently in Guangdong, Guangxi, Hunan, Jiangxi and Fujian where the Hong-men had broad social bases. Guangdong and Guangxi were two main provinces where the rebellions led by the Hong-men took place most frequently. In Guangdong alone, seven large-scale rebellions took place while several hundred small-sized ones were reported between the 1850s and the 1860s (IMHSSSA 1978:147-159). The most influential one is the Hong-jin (Red Turban) Revolt led by Chen Kai and Li Wen-mao between 1854 and 1861. During this period, the Hong-jin troops had laid a half-year long siege on the capital Guangdong, while Hong-men's other chapters had occupied more than 40 county towns in the province (Hu 1996:308-312).

After being defeated by the joint force of the local militia and Qing troops, Chen and Li brought their remaining followers west to the Xunzhou in Guangxi Province where they established their own regime named Da Cheng State (大成國) in September 1855. The Da Cheng State reached its heyday in 1857, controlling most places in eastern Guangxi. Starting in 1858, the Da Cheng State declined and was finally suppressed by the Qing troops in 1861 (IMHSSSA 1978:227; Hu 1996:318-320). Lee Dong Hai (1967:230) believes that some remaining members of this rebellion joined immigration to North America where they established branches of the Hong-men society.

These rebellions were disastrous for Guangdong and China's other southern provinces. For example, the Hong-men led a revolt in the Bo-luo and the Yong-an counties, eastern Guangdong in 1802. While attacking the Qing government and the landlords, the revolt also severely impacted the common people. Up to eighty villages in Bo-luo County and more than 160 in Yong-an County were attacked and burned (*Tiandihui* Vol. 7:106-107). During and after the rebellion, the Qing government's suppression extended to the common people. During the campaign to the Red Turban Rebellion in 1854, for example, the local militia and government troops killed about 75,000 people, half of whom were innocent civilians (Rong 1915:35-36).

In 1864, another example, Qing's Xiang Jun troops led by Zeng, Guo-fan captured Taiping's capital, Tianjing (called Nanjing now). They killed the remaining people in the city including Taiping soldiers and local residents of men, women, and children within three days. Zeng Guo-fan himself admitted that in the cities and rural countries where his army passed no house escaped destruction, no rich family avoided being looted, and no poor people escaped being bullied and humiliated (*Complete Works of Zeng Guo-fan Vol. 20*)

This social chaos combined with population stress and natural disasters to form a pushing force, encouraging many to emigrate to foreign countries.

The external pull consisted of the discovery of gold in California, Australia, British Columbia and New Zealand, and other new opportunities in Southeast Asia and other places of the world. The discoveries of gold in these four major countries and their impact on Chinese emigration are described below.

Chinese immigration to California (1847)

Population and distribution

Before the California gold rush in the late 1840s, the records show occasional arrivals of Chinese from south China between 1746 and the early 1840s. They were brought by either Spanish or English shipmasters from south China to the west coast as shipbuilders, servants and etc. (Chen 1980:1-5).

Gold was discovered in California streams in 1847. The news spread rapidly to many places of the world including China. The first group of a few Chinese arrived in San Francisco that year. One of them was a young merchant named Chum Ming. He was lucky and his placer mining hit 'pay dirt' [(Huang Chao Tong Dian ([皇朝通典])]. Chum sent the news back to a village friend called Chang Yum in the Sanyi District of the Pearl Delta. The latter in turn spread the news to others before setting sail for the 'Gold Mountain'. The news did not stir up a large-scale emigration to North America right away because California was a strange unknown place to the Chinese. During the first two years of the gold rush, less than ten Chinese reached California, a few in 1847 and three in 1848. They were merchants and skilled craftsmen (Chen 1980:11-12). Up to 1849, a total of 43 Chinese entered California from the Atlantic and Gulf ports (Chinn 1975:8).

In 1850, Chinese began to arrive with increasing numbers. 785 men and two women arrived that year (Chinn 1975:9). In the next 30 years, the Chinese came with greater numbers. In California alone, there were 34,933 Chinese out of the total population of 379,994 in 1860, 49,277 out of 560,247 in 1870, and 75,132 out of 864,694 in 1880 (Chinn 1975:21; Chen 1980:16). By 1882 when the United States applied the Exclusion Act, there were 110,000 Chinese in California and 132,000 elsewhere in the United States (Coolidge 1909:498 cited in Chinn 1975:22). The great majority of these Chinese immigrants were from the Pearl Delta. Following table (18) shows the distribution of Chinese in California by district of origin in 1855.

Table 18: Distribution of Chinese in California by home district (1855) (from Chinn 1975:20)

DISTRICT GROUPING	No.	%
Siyi (Sze Yup) & associated districts	16,107	41.6
Zhongshan (Chungshan)	14,000	36.2
Sanyi (Sam Yup)	6,800	17.6
Hakkas	1,780	4.6
Total	38,697	100.0

During the first two decades (1850s-1850s), the Chinese in California were mostly in San Francisco and the nearby gold fields (Williams 1930:50). There was no Chinese in southern California until the 1870s (Coolidge 1909:503).

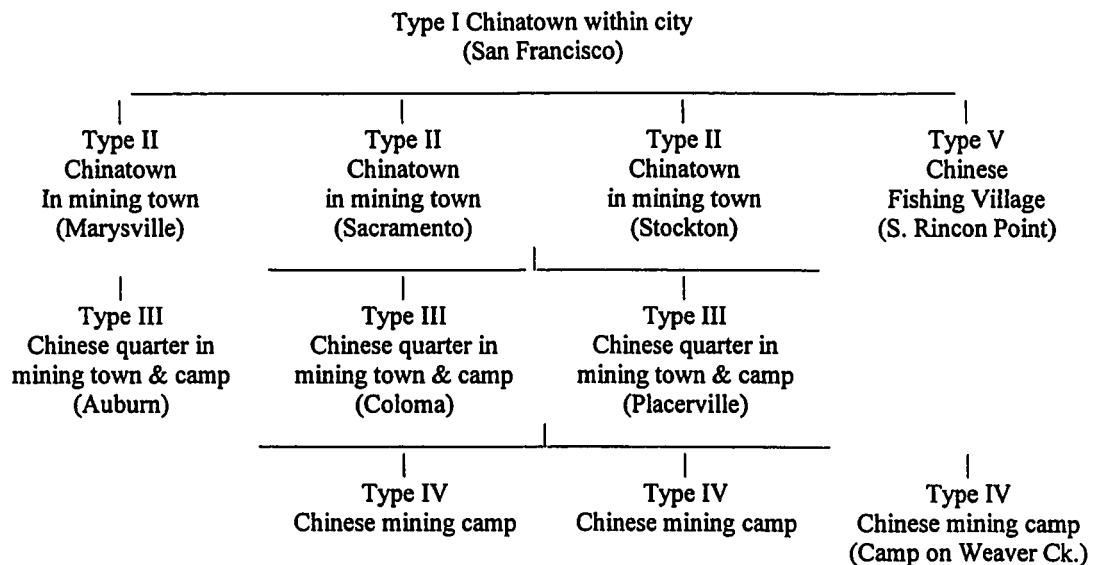
In the middle 1850s, 40 or 50 Chinese were brought from California to Nevada as ditch diggers where they remained (Chinn 1985:33). In 1852, gold was found in the Rogue and the Umpqua Valleys in southwest Oregon. Many Chinese went there in the middle 1850s. By 1858, there were more than a thousand Chinese in Josephine, the centre of the mining area (Chinn 1975:33). Gold was discovered in central Idaho in 1860 and western Montana in 1862. Many Chinese flowed into these mining areas. By the early 1870s, Chinese were living all over the western states working in mines or on construction. A few hundred found their way to the Midwest and the East (Chinn 1975:23).

Settlements

In northern California, there is an elongate area between the great central valley and the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada east of San Francisco. It is about 180 miles (290 km) long (north-south) and 25 miles (40 km) wide (east-west). It includes ten counties from north to south: Plumas, Sierra, Yuba, Nenville, Placer, El Dorado, Amador, Calaveras, Tuolumne and Mariposa. From north to south there are nine rivers, each having tributaries and all containing gold (Williams 1930:55).

In these areas, Chinese built up settlements of different types similar to ones in Southeast Asia. These settlements consisted of five types with functional relationships to one another (Table 19).

Table 19: A general Chinese settlement hierarchy in Northern California (primarily based upon Williams 1930; Chinn 1975:37)



Type I Large Chinatown. San Francisco's Chinatown was the first and also largest in North America. It is a town within the city. It took shape in the early 1850s mostly on Sacramento Street between Kearny and Dupont (now Grant Avenue) streets (Chinn 1975:10). In 1853, the Chinese established more buildings on Dupont between Sacramento and Jackson streets and on Jackson Street from Kearny to Stockton (*Daily Alta California* Nov. 21, 1853 cited in Chinn 1975:10). Borthwick (1857) provides a picture of the San Francisco Chinatown in the early 1850s:

The majority of the houses were of Chinese importation, and were stores, stocked with hams, tea, dried fish, dried ducks, and other ... Chinese eatables, besides copper pots and kettles, fans, shawls, chessmen, and all sort of curiosities. Suspended over the doors were brilliantly-coloured boards, about the size and shape of a headboard over a grave, covered with Chinese characters, and with several yards of red ribbon streaming from them; while the streets were thronged with ... Celestials, chattering vociferously as they rushed about from store to store, or standing in groups studying the Chinese bills posted up in the shop windows, which may have been pay-bills-for there was a Chinese theatre- or perhaps advertisements informing the public ...

By the middle 1850s, San Francisco's Chinatown had 33 general merchandise stores, 15 apothecaries, five restaurants, five butchers, five barbers, three tailors, three boarding houses, three lumber yards, two bakers, five herb doctors, two silversmiths, one wood engraver, one curio carver, and one broker for American merchants and a Chinese interpreter (Chinn 1975:10). In addition, Chinatown had Six Companies or Huiguan Houses, a number of Tong (secret society) houses, Joss houses, and a theatre (Chinn 1975:10; Chen 1980:28, 29). It also had many opium

dens, gambling houses, and brothels (Tsai 1986:38-41). A Chinese cemetery was under the charge of the district associations. The deceased Chinese were temporarily buried there, dug up several years later, and the bones were shipped back to China (Chen 1980:20, 121). The majority of the inhabitants in Chinatown were merchants and their families, as well as artisans, labourers, and some women most of whom were prostitutes (Wegars 1993:231-234).

Type II Chinatowns in mining towns. The Chinatowns at Marysville, Sacramento and Stockton fall into this type. Located on rivers emptying to San Francisco Bay, most gold prospectors who came from San Francisco had to pass through these towns, and so did their goods and supplies. They were important waypoints. Stockton was the supply centre for the Chinese communities in southern mines, Sacramento for the northern ones. Marysville served to supply the far northern mines (Figure 39).

These three Chinatowns had almost everything which San Francisco had, but on a smaller scale. Inhabitants probably represented a more transient population (Gust 1993:178).

Type II Chinese quarters within mining camps. Stephen Williams conducted a field survey of the Chinese settlements in the Sierra Nevada in 1929 (Figure 39). He located 11 such settlements on or near riverbanks in the region (1930). Each site had economic and social relationships to the Type II Chinatown to which it was closest. From north to south: Nevada City, Auburn, and Coloma were related to Marysville; Placerville related to Sacramento; and Mokelumne Hill, Angels Camp, Columbia, Sonora, Chinese Camp, Coulterville and Hornitos related to Stockton (Figure 39).

All Type III Chinese quarters, except Chinese Camps, where the major part of the camp belonged to Chinese, were located within or on one end of Occidental towns. They were characterized by Chinese stores and boarding houses. Inhabitants were merchants, labourers and miners. These Chinese quarters functioned as direct supply centres for the outlying Chinese mining camps (Williams 1930:68).

Type IV Chinese mining camps. Chinese mining camps distributed all over the gold fields of the Sierra Nevada. Locations of many of these camps have never been determined systematically yet. Information regarding this types of sites comes primarily from the notes of J. D. Brothwick, a contemporary traveller in his *Three Years in California* (1857), which is quoted by Stephen Williams (1930). These camps were located on the banks of streams near individual claims and appear to have been isolated from Occidental camps (Williams 1930:64-65). They were characterized by small tents, brush houses and refuse deposits. Following are two Chinese camps described by Borthwick during his trip. One is on Weaver Creek near Placerville, central Sierra Nevada:

... consisting of a dozen or so small tents and brush houses, (it) was near our cabin on the side of the hill-too near to be pleasant, for they kept up a continual chattering all night, which was rather tiresome till we got used to (Borthwick 1857:143).

Another one was at Mississippi Bar near Yuba River in northern Sierra Nevada:

I went down the river two or three miles to see a place called Mississippi Bar, where a company of Chinamen were at work. After an hours climbing along the rock banks, and having crossed and re-crossed the river some half-dozen times on pine logs, I at last got down among the Celestials. There were about a hundred and fifty of them here, living in a perfect village of small tents, all clustered together on the rocks ... Their camp was wonderfully clean (Borthwick 1857:67).

From north to south these Chinese camps may have had close relationships with some Type III Chinatown. For example, the one at Weaver Creek was probably associated with the Chinese quarter at Placerville while the one at Mississippi Bar near Yuba may have related to the Chinese quarter in Nevada City.

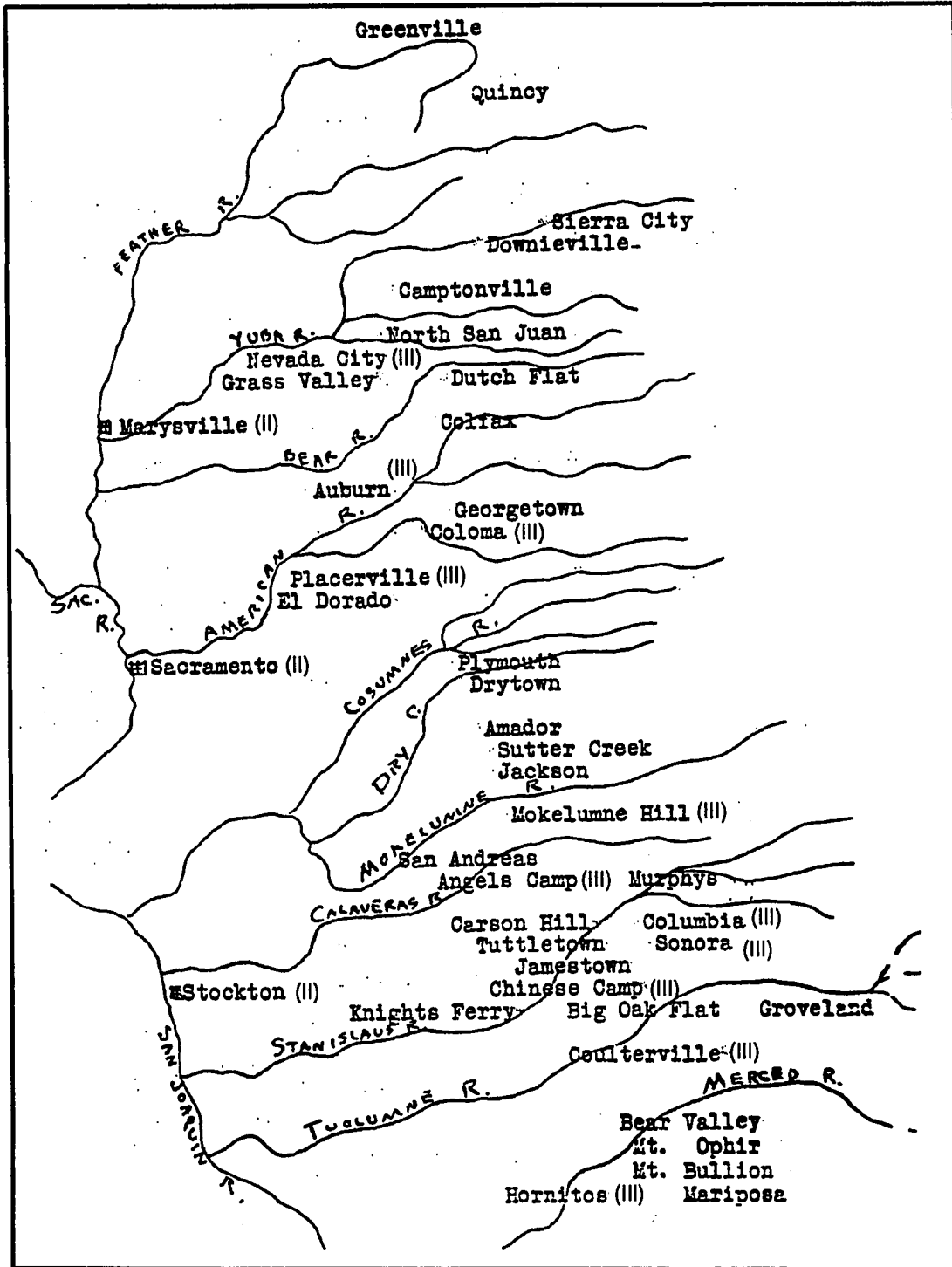


Figure 39. Distribution of three Chinatowns (Type II) and 11 major Chinese quarters (Type III) in the Sierra Nevada, northern California (after Williams 1930:57 with slight change).

Type V Chinese fishing villages. Fishing villages or camps were mostly located along San Francisco Bay and the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. According to Chen (1980:97-99), there were two fishing villages in San Francisco in 1852: one on the south side of Rincon Point near the mouth of Mission Creek, and another one at Monterey. There were about 150 inhabitants with 25 boats in the village at Rincon Point in 1854. Chinese fishermen caught about 3,000 pounds of various seafoods, processed them, and then sent them to town. From there, these seafoods were distributed to Chinese settlements in the mining fields [*Chinese Fisheries in California, Chamber's Journal* Vol. 1: 48 January 21, 1954 cited in Chinn 1975:36-37].

In summary, the Chinese settlement pattern in northern California consisted of five types of settlements. San Francisco Chinatown (Type I) was the centre of the pattern. Chinatowns at Marysville, Sacramento, and Stockton (Type II) were transfer stations between San Francisco and the gold fields. Under these Chinatowns were Chinese quarters within Caucasian mining towns or large camps (Type III), each acted as a direct supply centre for the outlying Chinese camps (Type IV). Chinese fishing villages (Type V) existed primarily for supplying the Chinese populations in the four types of settlements mentioned.

Societies

Chinese societies in California were numerous and complex. They can be roughly divided into four categories:

The first category consisted of the six district associations, which were collectively called the Six Companies or Huiguan (會館). The first Chinese company to be established in San Francisco was Gangzhou Huigan (崗州) around 1851, opening to Chinese from the Siyi District consisting of Taishan, Kaiping, Xinhui, and Enping four counties, and Heshan (Lyman 1961:197 and Lin 1995 pers. com.). In the same year, Sanyi (三邑) Huiguan emerged. In 1853 the Hakka people established Renhe (人和) Huiguan.

In 1862, the Six Companies, Gangzhou (Kong Chow) (崗州), Yang He (Yeong Wo) (陽和), Ning Yong (Ning Yeung) (寧陽), He He (Hop Wo) (合和) and Sanyi (Sam Yup) (三邑), and Ren He (Yan Wo) (人和), together formed a federal association called Zhong Hua Hui Guan (中華會館), which was translated into English as the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (Tsai 1986:47).

In the middle 1880s and late 1890s, two other companies, Zhaoqing (肇慶) and En Kai or Yin Hoi (恩開) were established. The latter existed only a few years. Thus, the Six Companies were actually eight after the late 1890s and then seven after the early 1900s. Despite changes in

actual numbers, these companies were still generally called the Six Companies (Chen 1975:66) (Table 20).

The Six Companies acted as unofficial institutions of Chinese communities in California until 1910 when the Chinese Chamber of Commerce was established. Chen (1980:28) summarized the Six Companies' functions in the Chinese community:

In its heyday, the Six Companies unofficially spoke for the Chinese of San Francisco and took action to promote the interests of the community and its general welfare, arbitrated disputes among individuals or groups, and organized educational courses for Chinese children. Cemetery associations arranged for burials of deceased immigrants and return of their bones to their native villages. In the early years, the Six Companies hired men to police the Chinatown area, fought cases up to the U.S. Supreme Court level in defence of Chinese rights, and ran a hospital. Until the formation of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in 1910 the Six Companies, together with the Merchants Guild, performed chamber of commerce functions. It also had an arrangement with the shipping companies whereby no Chinese could buy a passage back to China unless he had paid his debts in the United States and got the requisite clearance from the Six Companies.

The second category consisted of the benevolent associations. According to Liang Qi-chao (1901), there were at least nine of such associations in the 1900s and they had possibly existed since the 1850s. Based in one or two districts, each organizations was in charge of shipping their deceased countrymen bones back to China (Liang 1904).

The third category consisted of the associations of clans and joint clan associations. The later were actually clan-based brotherhoods, which will be discussed in Chapter 8 of the thesis. There were at least 34 such in the 1900s (Liang 1904), but they might have been in existence since the 1850s.

The fourth category consisted of secret societies in which the Hong-men society was included. In North America, secret societies were generally known as Tang (Tong). According to Chen (1980:29), the first Tang was established in San Francisco in 1852. According to Liang (1901), there were three major Hong-men societies, Guang De Tang or Kwong Duck Tong (廣德堂) from Siyi; Xie Yi Tang or Hip Yee Tong (協義堂) from Sanyi, and Dan Shan Tang (丹山堂) from Xiangshan later called Zhongshan in San Francisco. By the 1890s, the quantity of Tangs increased to 25 (Liang 1904).

Table 20: Evolution of the Chinese Six Companies from 1851 to 1910

1851	1853	1854	1862	1877	M-1890s	L-1890s	1910s	Origin	NOTES	Sources
Gangzhou (Kong Chow) 崗州	Gangzhou (Kong Chow) 崗州	Gangzhou (Kong Chow) 崗州	Gangzhou (Kong Chow) 崗州	Gangzhou (Kong Chow) 崗州 15,000	Gangzhou (Kong Chow) 崗州 15,000	Gangzhou (Kong Chow) 崗州	Gangzhou (Kong Chow) 崗州	a: All Chinese except Sanyi and Hikkas, b: Xinhui, Heshan		Gibson 1877, Liang 1904, Tsai 1986:47
	Siyi (Sze Yup) 四邑	Siyi (Sze Yup) 四邑						Xinhui, Heshan	split from Gangzhou.	Tsai 1986:47
	Yang He (Yeong Wo) 陽和	Yang He (Yeong Wo) 陽和	Yang He (Yeong Wo) 陽和	Yang He (Yeong Wo) 陽和 2,000	Yang He (Yeong Wo) 陽和 12,000	Yang He (Yeong Wo) 陽和	Yang He (Yeong Wo) 陽和	Taishan, Kaiping, Enping	split from Gangzhou.	Gibson 1877, Tsai 1986:47
		Ning Yong (Ning Yeung) 寧陽	Ning Yong (Ning Yeung) 寧陽	Ning Yong (Ning Yeung) 寧陽 75,000	Ning Yong (Ning Yeung) 寧陽 75,000	Ning Yong (Ning Yeung) 寧陽	Ning Yong (Ning Yeung) 寧陽	Zhongshan	split from Gangzhou.	Gibson 1877, Tsai 1986:47
		He He (Hop Wo) 合和	He He (Hop Wo) 合和	He He (Hop Wo) 合和 34,000	He He (Hop Wo) 合和 34,000	He He (Hop Wo) 合和	He He (Hop Wo) 合和	Taishan	split from Siyi.	Gibson 1877, Tsai 1986:47
								Yu clan in Taishan and others in Zhao Qing Fu (Gaoyao)	split from Siyi	Gibson 1877, Liang 1904, Tsai 1986:47
Sanyi (Sam Yup) 三邑	Sanyi (Sam Yup) 三邑	Sanyi (Sam Yup) 三邑	Sanyi (Sam Yup) 三邑 11,000	Sanyi (Sam Yup) 三邑 11,000	Sanyi (Sam Yup) 三邑 11,000	Sanyi (Sam Yup) 三邑	Sanyi (Sam Yup) 三邑	Nanhai, Panyu, Shunde		Tsai 1986:47

(Table 20 cont.)

1851	1853	1854	1862	1877	M-1890s	L-1890s	1910s	Origin	NOTES	Sources
				Zhao Qing (Shew Hing) 肇慶	Zhao Qing (Shew Hing) 肇慶 4,300	Zhao Qing (Shew Hing) 肇慶	Zhao Qing (Shew Hing) 肇慶	Major part of Zhao Qing Fu (modern Zhaoqing city), Gaoyao, Sihui, Guangning Enping, Kaiping (existed for only a few years) Hakkas	split from Gangzhou?	Liang 1904, Chinn 1975:66
Ren He (Yan Wo) 人和	Ren He (Yan Wo) 人和	Ren He (Yan Wo) 人和	Ren He (Yan Wo) 人和	Ren He (Yan Wo) 人和	Ren He (Yan Wo) 人和	Ren He (Yan Wo) 人和	Ren He (Yan Wo) 人和	En Kai (Yin-Hoi) 恩開		Chinn 1975:66
										Tsai 1986:47

The Hong-men society did not reach a leading position in San Francisco as the Six Companies did although in many ways it was an influential force. The impression the secret societies made on the public was complex. On the one hand, they provided assistance to its fellows in term of housing, boarding, and job finding as other Chinese institutions did. On the other hand, these societies were blamed for most, if not all, crimes taking place in Chinatown. Most illegal business such as gambling, prostitution and opium smoking were under control of, or had some relation to these societies.

The Hong-men society, however, had a unique feature, which other Chinese associations lacked. It opened all Chinese without limitation in clan, territory or dialect. Every one was welcomed as long as he or she accepted the society's rules. Such a feature enabled the Hong-men society to become a leading society in some places where the Chinese communities lacked large clan associations and regional companies.

Chinese in Victoria, Australia (1848-1853)

Gold was first discovered in the Bathurst area west of Sydney, New South Wales in late May 1851 (Serle 1968:9). Stimulated by the neighbouring colony's achievement, Victorians started prospecting for gold in their colony. In late August of that year, the first rich mine was uncovered at Ballarat, about 100 km west of Melbourne. By 1857, 11 major gold fields and many other small ones were established in central Victoria. From the later 1850s to the 1870s, there were six major centres: Ballarat, Castlemaine, Bendigo (middle), Beechworth (north), Ararat, and Stawell (west), in these gold fields (Figure 40).

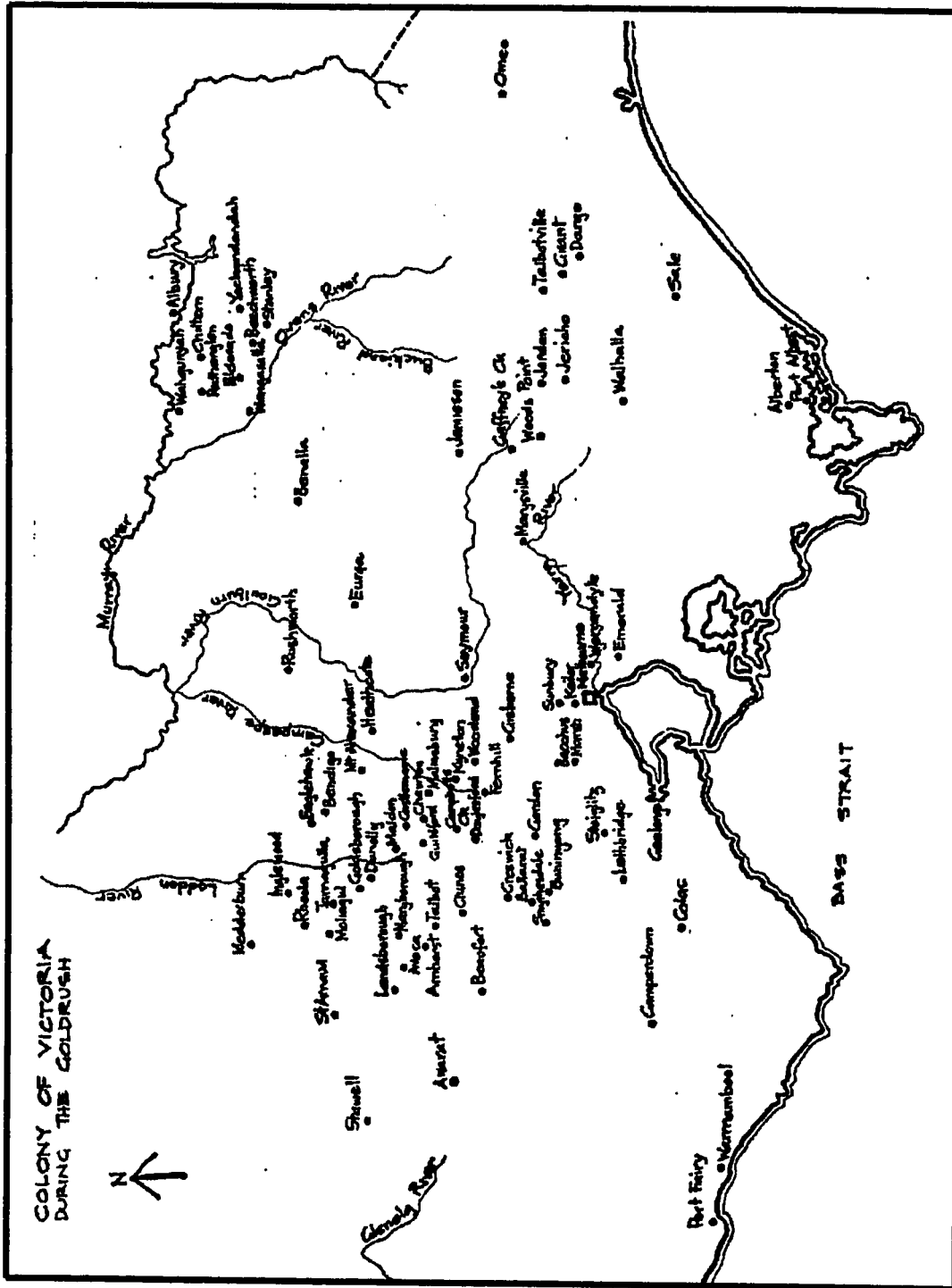


Figure 40. The Colony of Victoria showing the main towns and gold fields (1850s-1860s) (after Gittins 1981).

Population and distribution

Suggestions for importing Chinese coolies to Australia to develop the colony had been raised as early as 1783 (Choi 1875:18). The first presence of the Chinese labourers in the colony was in 1848 when a group of 120 Chinese males came to New South Wales from Amoy, Fujian Province. This was arranged by J. Tait, a coolie merchant in Amoy (Choi 1958:18). In 1849, 270 more came (Choi 1975:18). During 1851 and 1852, 2,666 Chinese arrived from Amoy (Willard 1966:951). All these Chinese were introduced to Australia as farm labourers and servants (Serle 1968:320, Choi 1975:18).

When gold was discovered in New South Wales most, if not all, Chinese coolies escaped from farms or house service to the gold fields. Every measure adopted by their employers to hold them proved useless (Choi 1975:19).

Starting in 1853, Chinese immigrants from the Guangdong Province began arriving in Australia. The first two groups arrived in January 1853 from Guangdong (Serle 1968:321). From that point until the 1940s, Guangdong especially the Pearl River Delta, was the major source of the Chinese immigrants to Australia. Unlike those early arrivals from Fujian or eastern China who came through the coolie system, most Cantonese came to Australia during the gold rush through the credit-ticket system much as their countrymen did in California at about the same time (Huck 1967:4; Serle 1965:320; and Choi 1975:19).

Chinese population increased rapidly. In Victoria, for example, there were only 2,341 Chinese in early 1854. By the middle of the year, the Chinese population in the Bendigo area alone reached 3,000 (Serle 1968:323). In early 1855, 10,000 Chinese entered the colony. By June of that year, the Chinese in Victoria reached 17,000. Along with this figure was a scarring rumour of all of China was coming (Serle 1968:323). In June of 1855, the Victoria Legislature passed an 'Act to Make Provisions for Certain Immigrants' to restrict the Chinese tide. The act stipulated that the number of Chinese to be brought on any vessel was limited to one in every ten tons of shipping and a poll tax of \$10.00 was imposed on every Chinese arrival (Serle 1968).

The 1855 act was only able to control the influx for a little while. Later in 1856, shipmasters and owners started bring their Chinese passengers to South Australia where there were no restrictions to Chinese. After walking several hundred miles, these new arrivals were able to join their countrymen in the gold fields in Victoria. By the middle 1857, the Chinese population in Victoria peaked at 25,421 (Liu 1989:31).

To check the situation, the Victoria government imposed a residence-tax of \$6.00 a year in addition to the existing entry-tax (Serle 1968:329-330). The Victoria government appealed to the South Australia government to take appropriate measures. Later in 1857, the South Australia

government issued a similar act to Victoria's 1855 one (*Victoria Hansard* Vol. II:727 cited in Serle 1965:329). New Chinese comers then turned to New South Wales and some 12,000 Chinese entered in 1858 (Serle 1968:330). Thus, the Chinese population in Victoria was kept at a steady level. The 1861 census indicates that there were 24,724 Chinese in Victoria, slightly lower than in 1851 (Liu 1989:31). The Chinese population dropped to 17,795 in 1871 and 11,795 in 1881. By 1891 there were only 8,355 Chinese in the province (Liu 1969:31). The decrease in Chinese population was a result for two factors. One was the depletion of the gold resource over time, which discouraged further immigration. Another was that many early arrivals were returning to China.

A similar pattern can be also seen in New South Wales. The 1856 census of New South Wales showed only 1,806 Chinese (Liu 1989:30). The situation changed after South Australia started to restrict Chinese immigration in 1857. Many Cantonese turned to New South Wales. Within four years (1858-1861), the Chinese population in New South Wales increased to 12,986 (Liu 1989:30). In 1861, New South Wales enacted restrictive legislation (Choi 1975:21). As three provinces now had similar acts, the Chinese influx was sufficiently checked. The Chinese population began to decrease in the 1860s.

In the early 1870s, gold was found in the Palmer River Valley, northern Queensland. The Chinese who had already been farming in Queensland since the 1850s left for the gold fields. Many other Chinese in Australia's other provinces also joined the rush. This rush was soon joined by the Chinese arrivals directly from Guangdong (Liu 1989:32).

In the late 1870s, gold was also discovered in the Northern Territory that led to several thousand Chinese entered the province. As the European population there was small, the Chinese made up more than half of the total non-aboriginal population in the province until 1909 (Ingilis 1967:21 cited in Choi 1975:34).

The Chinese did not appear in Tasmania until the early 1880s where the government already had restrictive legislation. Thus, the Chinese there did never exceed one thousand (Liu 1989:37).

By the early 1880s Chinese were seen in Australia's six provinces with concentrations in Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland.

In Victoria, the majority of Chinese who came after 1853 were from the Pearl River Delta. In New South Wales, the majority of Chinese were from Zhongshan, Gaoyao and Dongwan (Choi 1975:79). In Queensland, the majority (70%) of Chinese immigrants were primarily from Zhongshan (Huck 1967:21). While most came directly from China, some Chinese came from California in the early 1850s (Horsfall 1985:26). Their previous experiences of gold mining and

of dealing with white societies must form a valuable asset to the existing Chinese societies in Australia.

Settlements

As one of the main concentrations of gold mining in Australia, Victoria attracted the most Chinese immigrants in the first 30 years of gold mining. After the 1880s, it was still one of the two main concentrations of the Chinese in Australia. This situation continued till the 1920s (Liu 1989:31). Based on works of Serle (1968), Choi (1975), Gittins (1981), Cronin (1982), and Horsfall (1985), the main records of Chinese settlements in central Victoria are summarized in the following table (Table 21).

Settlements listed in Table 21 can be further developed to a betterment consisting of seven major types.

Type I Chinatown in Melbourne. Melbourne's Chinatown is the first large Chinese settlement in Victoria. It was developed in early 1853. In the early stage, there were stores and lodging houses on both sides of Little Bourke Street (Serle 1968:332). Various Chinese social organizations emerged and housed in Chinatown. In 1856, for example, the Siyi Association built a joss house in South Melbourne (Choi 1975:34).

Type II Chinatowns in gold fields. Among the 33 Chinese settlements listed in Table 21, ones at Ballarat, Guildford, Castlemaine, Bendigo, Beechworth, and Ararat are of this type. Each acted as a centre for Chinese settlements in the surrounding area. They were all characterized by stores, restaurants, gambling houses, opium dens, and residential tents. Most in this type had joss houses.

Chinatowns at Ballarat, Beechworth, and Ararat were within or adjacent to Occidental towns (Figure 41) while ones in Bendigo and Guildford seem to be isolated from the Occidental towns. The later two Chinatowns were reported in contemporary English sources.

Table 21: Chinese settlements in central Victoria, Australia (1850s-1850s)*

GOLD FIELDa	GOLD FIELDb	FIELD TIME	CHINESE SITES	C. SITE TYPE	NOETE
Melbourne	Melbourne	1834	E. 1853	Chinatown	1834 (Serle 1968:1-3). L. 1850s (Patterson 1862:132 cited in Serle 1968:331-332) retained small popularity (Serle 1968:85).
Ballarat	Creswick	1851			occupied by large numbers of Fujianese (Cronin 1982:22).
Ballarat	Ballarat	Aug. 1851	E. 1853	Chinatown	popular after 1852 (Serle 1968:85). 1858: one of four gold fields where Chinese concentrated (Serle 1968:331). 1861: one of six gold fields where Chinese concentrated (Choi 1975:28).
Ballarat	Golden Point	B. 1850?	B. 1850s?	Large camp	concentrated (Choi 1975:28).
Port Philip Bay	St. Kilda	1834	1854	Fishing village	1834 (Serle 1968:1-3). 1854: Chinese fishing village (Massary 1861:95 cited in Serle 1968:332).
Geelong	Gelong	1839	L. 1850s	Fishing village	1839 (Serle 1968:3). 1850s: fishing camp (Serle 1862:332).
Castlemaine	Mount Alexander (Castlemaine)	1851	1855	Large camp	1851-56 remains attractive (Serle 1968:85). 1855: Chinese there did well (Serle 1968:322). 1858: one of four gold fields where Chinese concentrated (Serle 1968:331). 1861: one of six gold fields where Chinese concentrated (Choi 1975:28). (Serle 1968:85)
Castlemaine	Maldon (Tarrangower)	E. 1854			
Castlemaine	Guildford	L. 1850s	L. 1850s	Chinatown	Later 1850s: (Patterson 1862:134, 135, 144 cited in Serle 1968:332-333).
Castlemaine	Campbell's Ck.	1857	1857	Large camp	1857: abandoned and was taken over by Chinese (Serle 1968:327). A concentration of Chinese of 5-6,000 near the junction of Campbells Ck. & the London Rr. (Gittins 1981:68).
Castlemaine	Daylesford (Jim Crow diggings)	1857	1857	Large camp	1857: abandoned and was taken over by Chinese (Serle 1968:327).
Bendigo?	Mt. Korong (Wedderburn)	Set. 1852			Serle (1968:84, 85).
Bendigo	Bendigo	May 1852	1854	Chinatown	1852-55 (Serle 1968:84). 1854: nearly 3,000 Chinese (Serle 1968:322). 1858: 1/4 fields where Chinese concentrated (Serle 1968:331). 1859: Bendigo Advertiser March 25, 1859 (cited in Horsfall 1985:90, 91). 1861: one of six gold fields where Chinese concentrated (Choi 1975:28).
Bendigo	Heathcote (McIvor Diggings)	1853			(Serle 1968:84).

Table 21 (cont.)

GOLD FIELDa	GOLD FIELDb	FIELD TIME	CHINESE SITE	C. SITE TYPE	NOETE
Bendigo	Rushworth (Waranga)	1853			(Serle 1968:85).
Bendigo	Emu Point	B. 1855?	B. 1855?	Large camp	Before 1855 (?): The Loueys from Taishan lived there (Choi 1975:79; Cronin 1982:22).
Bendigo	Little Bendigo	B. 1855?	B. 1855?	Large camp	Before 1855 (?): Chinese from Shanto and Shunde lived there (Cronin 1982:22).
Bendigo	Jackss Flat	B. 1855?	B. 1855?	Large camp	Before 1855 (?): The Amoy Chinese lived there (Cronin 1982:22).
Bendigo	Back Ck.	1855	1855	Large camp	One of nine Chinese camps formed in L. 1855 (Horsfall 1985:31).
Bendigo	Eagle-hawk- White Hills	1855	1855	Large camp	One of nine Chinese camps formed in L. 1855 (Horsfall 1985:31)
Bendigo	Eaglehawk	1855	1855	Large camp	One of nine Chinese camps formed in L. 1855 (Horsfall 1985:31).
Bendigo	Golden Gully	1855	1855	Large camp	One of nine Chinese camps formed in L. 1855 (Horsfall 1985:31).
Bendigo	Iron Bark	1855	1855	Large camp	One of nine Chinese camps formed in L. 1855 (Horsfall 1985:31). There was a Chinese Temple in the camp (Cronin 1982:24). Before 1885 (?): a village of pure Tartars who once formed part of the old Manchu garrison of Canton (Cronin 1982:22)
Bendigo	Long Gully	1855	1855	Large camp	One of nine Chinese camps formed in L. 1855 (Horsfall 1985:31).
Bendigo	Peg Leg	1855	1855	Large camp	One of nine Chinese camps formed in L. 1855 (Horsfall 1985:31).
Bendigo	Spring Gully	1855	1855	Large camp	One of nine Chinese camps formed in L. 1855 with two women (Horsfall 1985:31).
Bendigo	White Hills	1855	1855	Large camp	One of nine Chinese camps formed in L. 1855 (Horsfall 1985:31).
Bendigo?	New Bendigo (St. Arnaud)	1855	1855	Large camp	(Serle 1968:85).
Bendigo	Sandburst	1861	1861	Large camp	1861: one of six gold fields where Chinese concentrated (Choi 1975:28).
Bendigo	London Rr.	1863	1863	Garden village	near Bridgewater (<i>Inglewood Advertiser</i> Dec. 1863 cited in Horsfall 1985:119).
Beechworth	Eldorado	L. 1852	1856	Large camp	1852: (Serle 1968:84). 1856: Stanley and Eldorado each attracted a few thousand miners (Serle 1968:217).
Beechworth	Stanley	L. 1852?	1856	Large camp	1856: Stanley and Eldorado, each attracted a few thousand miners (Serle 1968:217).
Beechworth	Ovens	1852	1858	Large camp	(Serle 1968:85), 1858: one of four gold fields where Chinese concentrated (Serle 1968:331).
Beechworth	Omeo	1852	1861	Large camp	1861: one of six gold fields where Chinese concentrated (Choi 1975:28).

Table 21 (cont.)

GOLD FIELDa	GOLD FIELDb	FIELD TIME	CHINESE SITE	C. SITE TYPE	NOETE
Beechworth	Buckland Rr. behind Mt. Buffalo	1853	1857	Large camp	(Serle 1968:85).
Beechworth	Buckland	1853	1857	Large camp	1853, (Serle 1968:85). July 1857:2,000-2500 Chinese working there (Serle 1968:325), 1857: There was a Joss house in the camp (Gittins 1981:98)
Beechworth	Beechworth	1854	1854	Chinatown	1854-55: several thousands of Chinese (Serle 1968: 85). (Year unknown): a Chinese quarter in Beechworth (Gittins 1981:74). (Serle 1968:85)
Beechworth	Woolshed (Ovens)	1850s?			(Serle 1968:85)
Dunolly	Kingower	1853			(Serle 1968:85).
Dunolly	Moliagul	1853			(Serle 1968:85).
Dunolly	Sandy Creek,	1853			(Serle 1968:85).
Dunolly	Tarnagulla	1853			(Serle 1968:85).
Avoca	Avoca	L. 1854			(Serle 1968:85).
Maryborough	Maryborough	L. 1854			(Serle 1968:85). 1861: one of six gold fields where Chinese concentrated (Choi 1975:28).
?	Inkerman	1855			(Serle 1968:85)
Beaufort	Fierly Ck.	1855			(Serle 1968:217)
?	Forest Ck.	1857	1857	Large camp	1857: abandoned and was taken over by Chinese (Serle 1968:327)
?	Fryerstown	1857	1857	Large camp	1857: abandoned and was taken over by Chinese (Serle 1968:327)
Ararat	Ararat	1857	1857	Chinatown	1857 (Serle 1968:85, 217). May 1857: Chinese discovered the Canton lead-one of the richest shallow alluvial leads-thus began the great rush to Ararat (Serle 1968:325; Adcock 1912 cited in Horsfall 1985:79), 1861: one of six gold fields where Chinese concentrated (Choi 1975:28).
Stawell	Stawell	1857			1857 (Serle 1968:85, 217)
Talbot (Back Ck.)	Talbot (Back Ck.)	E. 1859			(Serle 1968:217)

* Based on works of Serle (1968), Choi (1975), Gittins (1981), Cronin 1982, and Horsfall 1985. In doing so, small scaled mining camps without stores are not included in this table.

Horsfall (1985:90, 91) mentions that an official party inspected the Chinatown of Ironbark Encampment in Bendigo early in 1859 and published a report in *Bendigo Advertiser* on March 25 of that year:

Reporting that the camp was one of the oldest and most permanent in the district, the journalist stated that it consisted of about 204 tents containing about 1,000 people, including one woman. The camp was described as being oblong in shape with a main street through the centre devoted to business, and with narrow cross and back streets; the widest being little more than 15 feet wide. The reporter was pleased to note that the streets and lanes were 'pretty clean', but mentioned collections of rubbish in some of the back slums and defective drainage. The inhabitants were stated to be 'very good humoured, and disposed to turn everything which possibly offered them food for merriment into jest.'

... The official party not only visited private houses, but also gambling, joss, eating, and opium houses. Most of these were said to be in 'a most creditable state of cleanliness and neatness', and special reference was made to the cookhouse which 'many European eating house keepers might take as an example'. They noted religious appliances on the sideboard, and they were offered some Chinese wine, of which 'a few sips perfectly satisfied us as to its quality'. Opium, they noted, seem to be smoked nearly everywhere, and they were fascinated by the strangeness of the instruments in a barber's shop, which included a razor for shaving the hairs inside the nostrils.

They visited a joss house where the interpreter, Ah Cheong, told them the deity was Koon-Yem (Kuan Yin) and they were disappointed to see she was not very imposing and only about six inches high and enshrined in a case decorated with much tinsel and crimson. They noted offerings of wine, eggs, cakes, and fancy ornaments before her.

Another observer J. A. Patterson (1862:139 cited in Serle 1968: 332) described the Chinatown at Guildford in the late 1850s:

The restaurants, the tea-houses, the gambling saloons, the cobbler stalls, the tailors shops, were as they are in Canton ... There were shops for literature and shops for art; there were scholars to write your letters and interpreters to read them; there were doctors with peculiar rules of practice.

Patterson (1862:144 cited in Serle 1968: 333) also noticed two temples in the town, which were marked with flags. Inside each temple was

a little wooden figure of Joss placed in his niche, with ornament of peacocks-feathers, pictures of battles ..., presents of tea, oil, opium, &c., spread around-with tapers of magic influence, and joss-sticks in their box carved with strange emblems of significance for good or evil fortune.

The Chinatowns at Castlemaine, Bendigo and Beechworth had cemeteries (Gittins 1981:115; Horsfall 1985:76-77). As in California, the Chinese in Victoria shipped their

countrymen's bones back to China after they were buried for a certain number of years. This practice began as early as 1863 and lasted till the 1920s (Horsfall 1985:76).

Type II Large Chinese camps. Among the 33 Chinese settlements listed in Table 21, 24 belong to this type. The actual figures should be more. These were mostly isolated from the Occidental sites. All have Chinese stores and some of them have Joss houses (Gittins 1981:98). These settlements seem to have been related to Chinatowns in the same area. For example, Buck Land Chinese camp was associated to Beechworth's Chinatown.

Type IV Small mining camps. There were many small and isolated Chinese mining camps in Victoria. They were characterized by miner's tents and shelters made from split wood, packing cases, bark, tin sheets, and sacking (Serle 1968:332).



Figure 41. Chinatown (Type II) in Beechworth, Victoria (after Gittins 1981:74). Note that there were three Chinese stores, Xin Guang Yuan (新廣源), Heng An Hao (恆安號), and Xi Zheng An (新正安), on the left.

Type V Garden Villages. Recorded Chinese garden village is only seen on the London River near the Bendigo. In December 1863, *Inglewood Advertiser* (cited in Horsfall 1985:119) reported:

The few acres of ground under cultivation by the Chinese on the banks of the London is but a fair sample of the many acres under the care of other Chinese all over Victoria. There is scarcely a town but is now well supplied with all kinds of household vegetables by these Celestial gardeners.

The report goes on to say:

The system of irrigation is most perfect, but requires a greater amount of labour than any European gardeners would feel inclined to bestow. By means of a common pump they raise from the London as much water as suits them, which is conveyed over the grounds in wooden piles, having openings at intervals, from which the water flows into tanks. From these the Chinese draw large watering cans full of water, and water each plant with its contents.

The number of cabbages or lettuces planted in the bed is perfectly marvellous. By the means they adopt of planting the above vegetables regularly and closely they avoid the necessity of tying them as they grow, and get a great deal more profit out of a small piece of ground than others do from a large quantity. They also use a large quantity of guano and other manure.

These clear descriptions of Chinese gardening help in understanding garden sites elsewhere such as California and British Columbia.

Type VI Chinese fishing village. The first Chinese fishing village was established in St Kilda near Melbourne in 1854 and others emerged later near Geelong and Mornington (Serle 1968:332). Fishing camps consisted of a number of tents and equipment for fishing and fish processing. Chinese fishermen dried or salted the fish for sale to their countrymen in the interior Victoria.

Type VII Stops (or Stations). These possibly existed only on the road between South Australia and Victoria. They are a series of stops along the routes from three harbours, Adelaide, Victor, and Robe to the gold fields in Victoria. The long journey (400-800 km) was made in order to escape the tax. Each stop consisted of crude hotels, wine shanties, and wells (Horsfall 1985:15, 26). These stops may or may not have been built by the Chinese but were used mostly by the Chinese between 1856 and 1858.

All these types of settlements except the trail stops (Type VII) formed a hierarchy. The Melbourne Chinatown (Type I) was on the first level as the general headquarters of the Chinese settlements. The Type II Chinatowns in each area were surrounded by several large Type III Chinese mining camps, many outlying Type IV mining camps and probably one or two Type V garden villages. Fishing villages (Type VI) were on the coast.

Societies

Three types of Chinese social-political institutions in Victoria were reported: the first are clan associations, which were mostly seen in the mining areas in the early stages of the gold rush (Gronin 1982:22). Chinese who came from the same village or clan tended to stay in the same mining camp whenever possible. For example, the Chinese camp at Emu Point, Bendigo was occupied by Chinese with the surname Louey. Louey Chinese came from Taishan with half of them from a village called Tang Mien Pao in northern Taishan (Choi 1975:22, 80). The Loueys were mostly seen in Bendigo and Vaughan Springs, the Poons in Horsam while Chens were in Ballarat (Gronin 1982:22).

The second was district association called Hui Guan (會館). They were similar to the Six Companies in San Francisco. There were Siyi, Sanyi, Guangzhou, Zhongshan, and Amoy associations in Victoria. Four of these existed by the early 1850s. The Siyi association was the largest one since the majority of the Chinese immigrants in Victoria came from the Siyi (Serle 1968:320; Cronin 1982:32),

Young (1868:17-21 cited in Serle 1968:322) mentions that there was a set of rules of the Siyi Association in Victoria dating to 1854. The nature of the society is expressed clearly in the rules:

All our country people who come to dig for gold must love and help each other. The strong must not oppress the weak, and the many must not injure the few. Any member who stupidly presumes to disregard this rule shall be fined.

The rule also says:

The product of the earth is to be found in these southern regions; the gathering of it together is for China. ... The gods alone are liberal and confer happiness and protection to bless men. Is not this really excellent? Is not this noble? ... All happiness centres here.

This is probably the earliest and most complete set of rules of any overseas Chinese district, which has been recorded. It brings insights into the nature of such Chinese associations in not only Australia but also other countries at that time.

The third was the secret society, which was called Triad society (another name of the Hong-men society) by most Australian writers. In Victoria, secret societies seemed to develop first in the mining areas and then in large cities such as Melbourne (Gittins 1981; Cronin 1982; Horsfall 1985). The physical expressions of these societies were their ceremonial halls. Horsfall (1985:94-95) mentions that there was an old Chinese Masonic Building (the English equivalent of the Hong-men society) in Bridge Street, Bendigo, which still existed in 1976.

In most places, functions of these three types of societies overlapped. When a Chinese came to Victoria, he was first a member of a certain clan, and then he had to register in a district association. Finally, he might want to become a member of the secret society if the camp in which he stayed was under its control (Cronin 1982:32).

Chinese immigration to Southern New Zealand (1866)

The discussion of Chinese immigrants in southern New Zealand in this section is primarily based on results from Neville A. Ritchie's historical archaeology of the Chinese between the later 1970s and early 1980s, which were presented primarily in his PhD thesis (1986).

Population and distribution

Gold was discovered in Otago, southern South Island, New Zealand in summer 1861. Some 10,000 European miners left for New Zealand from Australia in August and September of that year (Serle 1968:228). The Chinese were not involved in this new rush for the first five years. In the early 1850s, anti-Chinese sentiments and legislation flourished in Australia's gold fields. New Zealanders were well aware of the situation in Australia even before their gold rush started. In 1857, a meeting was held in Nelson to appeal to the provincial government to keep the Chinese out of New Zealand. An anti-Chinese committee was set up (*Nelson Examiner* August 12, 15, 1857 cited in Ritchie 1986).

The European population in the gold fields was 22,000 - 24,000 in 1864, but sharply dropped to 6,000 by 1866 that created an immediate need for miners. In 1865, the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce decided to welcome Chinese immigrants with a promise that the Chinese would receive the same treatment as Europeans in New Zealand's gold fields (Ritchie.1986:14).

On December 23, 1865, a Chinese merchant called Ho Ah Mei arrived in Otago with several other Chinese from Melbourne to inspect the potential for introducing Chinese labourers and establishing businesses there (*Otago Daily Times* June 8, 1871 cited in Ritchie 1986:15). In February 1866, Ho brought a group of 12 Chinese miners and supplies to Dunedin (Ritchie 1986:15). A few days later, the second group arrived in Dunedin (Ritchie 1986:15). By the end of that year, less than 200 Chinese had entered New Zealand. Chinese continued to come in the following years. In middle 1868, 1,270 Chinese had arrived (Ritchie 1986:15). In May 1869, the first group of Chinese directly from China arrived via Melbourne (*Otago Witness* May 8, 1869 cited in Ritchie 1986:17). Several months later, another group of 228 Chinese arrived from China

(*Otago Witness* September 18, 1869 cited in Ritchie 1986:17). In October, three Chinese women came to join their merchant husbands in Lawrence (*Otago Witness* October. 2, 1869 cited in Ritchie 1986:17). In 1871, 1,596 Chinese entered New Zealand that increased the total Chinese population in the country to 2,641 (*New Zealand Census* 1871 cited in Ritchie 1986:15). The heyday of the Chinese mining in New Zealand was between the 1870s and early 1880s, which was demonstrated by a peak Chinese population of more than 5,000 between 1878 and 1881 (Ritchie 1986:11).

Along with this increase, the long existing anti-Chinese feeling led to a series of official immigration restrictions in 1881, 1888, 1896, and 1908. In 1881, for example, the Chinese Immigrants Act was passed, enforcing a poll tax of 10 pounds per immigrant and limiting one Chinese passenger per ten tons of any ship to New Zealand. In 1896, the tax on Chinese was raised from 10 to 100 pounds while ships were limited to one Chinese passenger per 100 tons of cargo. In 1908, a new bill, which added an English literacy test, was passed (Ritchie 1986:24-26).

As in Australia, the Chinese in New Zealand seem to go through a coming and returning cycle. The balance between the numbers coming and returning was affected by change in the situation of the gold industry and government's policy to Chinese immigration. Within ten years (1877-1886), 3,325 Chinese entered New Zealand while 2,611 departed (*New Zealand Census* 1876, 1881, 1886 cited in Ritchie 1986:24). In 1891, the Chinese population dropped to 4,426 and to 2,885 in 1901 (*New Zealand Census* cited in Ng 1959:133).

According to Ritchie (1986:11), most Chinese immigrants who came to New Zealand in the late 19th century were from Pay Yu, Nan Hai, in the Sanyi District, Zeng Cheng in the east of Pan Yu Country, and the Siyi district.

Settlements

In 1866, there were than 200 Chinese immigrants in Otago, scattering all over the gold fields (Forrest 1961:92 cited in Ritchey 1986:29). In the rest of 1860s, Chinese arrived with increased number. By early 1870, 2,640 Chinese had distributed in Dunedin and 15 gold fields in Otago (*Otago Witness* Jan. 15, 1870:4 cited in Ritchie 1986:17) (Figure 42). During the heyday of Chinese mining (1870-1885), Dunedin had the largest Chinatown in Otago region.

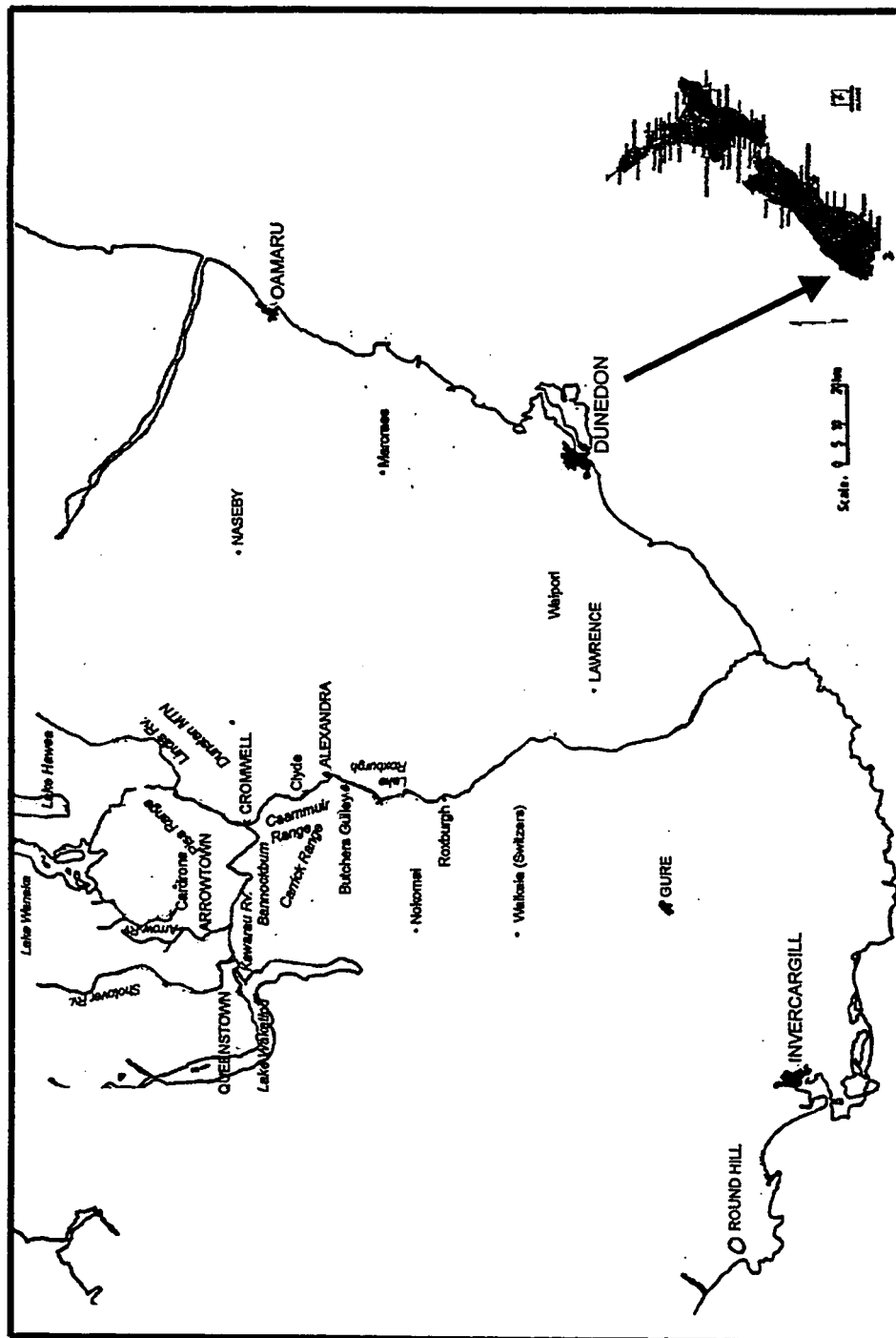


Figure 42. A sketch map showing the location of major Chinese settlements in central Otago, southern New Zealand (after Ritchie 1986:30 with some alternations).

In the gold fields were five major Chinese centres: Lawrence, Alexandra, Naseby, Switzers, and Queensntonwn, which possibly functioned as sub-centres for local Chinese mining camps. In addition, several large settlements developed between the late 1870s and the early 1880s. The distribution of Chinese settlements containing stores or other business houses in Otago between 1870 and 1885 is summarized in the following table (22).

Table 22: Distribution of documented large Chinese settlements in Otago, New Zealand (1870-1885) (based on Ritchie 1986 with slight alteration)

LACATION	TYPE	CHINESE		SU.	EX.	NOTES	REFERENCE
		1870	1880				
Dunedin	I	80	256			10 stores	Ritchie 1986: 17, 33, 704
Alexandra	II		150			1 store, 2 logging houses	Ritchie 1986: 29
Arrowtown	III	70		√	√	10 stores	Ritchie 1986: 17, 703
Bannockburn	III	300			√	1 store, 1 butcher shop	Ritchie 1986: 17, 703
Beaumont	III	40					Ritchie 1986: 17
Bendigo	III	40					Ritchie 1986: 17
Blacks (Ophir)	III	50				Store	Ritchie 1986: 17, 703
Butchers Gulley	III					Store	Ritchie 1986: 703
Cardrona	III					5 stores	Ritchie 1986: 703
Cromwell	III	60		√	√	5 stores	Ritchie 1986: 17
Clyde	III						Ritchie 1986: 32
Dunstan Ck.	III	30					Ritchie 1986: 17
Kyeburn	III					1 store	Ritchie 1986: 704
Lawrence	II	300	400			2 stores, 5 restaurants, 1 jeweller, 1 hairdresser, 1 carpenter, 1 baker	Ritchie 1986: 17, 29, 704
Macraes	III	150				Store	Ritchie 1986: 17, 704
Maori Point (Shotover)	III					1 store	Ritchie 1986: 704
Mt Ida	III	250					Ritchie 1986: 17
Naseby	II		150			2 stores	Ritchie 1986: 29, 704
Nevis	III	300		√√		3 stores, 1 blacksmith, 1 shoemaker, 2 butchers	Ritchie 1986: 17, 704
Nokomai	III			√		Store	Ritchie 1986: 704
Oamaru	III					Store	Ritchie 1986: 704
Queenstown	III	350	150			3 stores	Ritchie 1986: 17, 29, 704
Roxburgh	III					Store	Ritchie 1986: 32, 705
Shepherd's Ck.	III					store	Ritchie 1986: 705
Switzers (Waikaia)	II	20	100				Ritchie 1986: 17, 29
Tapanui	III					Store	Ritchie 1986: 705
Waipori	III	450				1 store	Ritchie 1986: 17, 705
Waitahuna	III	150				1 store, 1gardern	Ritchie 1986: 17, 705

These large settlements were surrounded by numerous Chinese mining camps. For example, there were 14 Chinese miners in eight places in Cardrona and 22 others in different places around Kirtleburn (the Roaring Meg) (Ritchie 1986:32). In each spot, the Chinese set up a single camp.

Ritchie's field survey in central Otago between 1876 and 1983 located about 70 Chinese settlements. All these sites, except ones at Arrowtown and Cromwell, were not recorded in the archival sources. These sites involved small camps, resting places, garden, gravesites, and sod fence site (Ritchie 1986:86, 692-694). Among these 70 sites, 21 located in the upper Clutha and Wakatipu basins were further fully excavated while 40 around Cromwell in the upper Clutha Basin were tested during a similar period (1978-1985) to the time of field survey mentioned (Ritchie 1986:85-141, 692-694).

Combining archival information with archaeological evidence revealed in Ritchie's work, a Chinese settlement pattern consisting of four major types is roughly drawn here.

Type I Large Chinatown. The Chinatown in Dunedin took shape within the first three years (1866-1869) the Chinese were in Otago. In 1874, there were 89 Chinese including one woman in Dunedin. By 1886, Chinese in Dunedin numbered to 256 including ten women, forming the largest Chinese urban population in New Zealand (*New Zealand Census* 1886 cited in Ritchie 1986:33). To contemporary European reporters, the most visible structures in Dunedin Chinatown were stores and residential houses. In the 1880s, there were at least ten Chinese stores in Dunedin: a draper, a fruit shop, two carpenter-cabinet makers, a small store, three opium-gambling places, and three large businesses, which were owned by merchants from Siyi, Zengcheng and Panyu respectively (Ng 1984:11 cited in Ritchie 1986:704).

As Melbourne's Chinatown, the Chinatown in Dunedin was the centre of the Chinese settlements throughout Otago. By 1889, there were 2,980 Chinese in Dunedin, of whom 110 were gardeners (Ritchie 1986:33). This indicates that there were gardens near Dunedin. Dunedin's Chinatown provided provisions and services to local and transient Chinese. It also supplied the interior Chinese communities with Chinese food and goods.

Type II Chinatowns in mining areas. Lawrence, Alexandra, Naseby, Switzers, and Quesntown fall to this type. They were built within or adjacent to the European towns. The main components of this type were similar to Dunedins Chinatown but with smaller overall size and fewer structures. The Chinatown at Lawrence, for example, was adjacent to the European town. In 1868,

It consists of a double row of houses built parallel to the government road and the Chinese there have subscribed, of themselves, 20 pounds for the formation of the main

street and two side tracks connecting it with that thoroughfare. Their dwellings are sufficiently comfortable, and are fitted up in a creditable manner. At the time the camp contained a gamble house, cook shop, several stores, one of which was called He Tie Company. The correspondent also noted that most (Chinese) spoke some English (*Otago Daily Times* July 8, 1868 cited in Ritchie 1986:17).

In 1869, another article reported the same Chinatown with more details (*Otago Daily Times* Oct. 1 1869 cited in Ritchie 1986:31):

A closer inspection brings out the foreign element in its broadest aspect-the hieroglyphically tracing on the sign boards ... The habitants are devoted to a variety of pursuits more or less intimately associated with the social and domestic instincts of the race ... they include one or two general stores, with stocks as large and well-assorted as any establishment of the kind under European supervision ... Among the other curiosities of the camp, the eating houses are, perhaps, the most inviting... Native artisans are few in number, still there are one or two ingenious tradesmen amongst them. There is a working jeweller, a carpenter, a baker and a hairdresser, all apparently doing a fair stroke of business. One building devoted to benevolent purposes is used as a refuge for new comers in destitute circumstances. Here lodgings and rations are provided, until such time as the inmate gets work, when he is expected to refund the cost ... There is only one female resident, a good stout South of Ireland wench, who is reported to have espoused one of these sons of Shem some years ago while residing in Victoria ...

Type III Large Chinese camp. Large Chinese camps were either adjacent to or isolated from the European camps. Twenty-one Chinese settlements in Table 22 can be put into this type. All large camps had stores, residential huts or rock-shelters in these camps while some, such as the one at Cromwell, had gardens. Among these 22 sites, ones at Cromwell and Arrowtown were tested by Ritchie (1986).

Cromwell Chinese camp was established in the late 1850s and functioned as a sub-centre of many small Chinese camps in the Upper Clutha River Valley (Ritchie 1986:32, 97). This camp consisted of two parts, residences and businesses, which were separated by a 30 m high bank. There were five Chinese stores or shops in the camp in the 1880s (Ritchie 1986:703). Excavations within and near the residence area recovered 20 structures, one pigpen feature, and a garden site (Ritchie 1986:97, 108) (Figure 43).

The Chinese in Otago also followed the custom of removing the bones of the deceased and shipping them back to China (Ritchie 1985:79-81). A few isolated Chinese cemeteries are known and a Chinese quarter built on a corner of the European cemetery seems to be a common pattern in Otago. Cemeteries at Dunedin, Clyde, Cromwell, and Arrowtown are found containing Chinese quarters. A least 700 pits within these quarters were identified as remains of later exhumation for shipping bones of the deceased back to China (Ritchie 1986:79).

Type IV Small camps or resting places. Ritchie found 71 small residential and resting sites. This type of types are found scattering on the peripheries of Chinatowns (Type II) or large

Chinese camps (Type III), and all are isolated from European camps. They are characterized by one to three huts or rock-shelters (Figure 44).

Such a Chinese settlement pattern consisting of four settlement types was established in Otago at latest by the early 1870s and continued till the 1900s when the Chinese presence declined sharply.

Societies

Nothing to date has been done on the Chinese societies in Otago from an either historical or archaeological perspective. However, it is safe to believe that the Chinese had developed various societies in Otago as their contemporary countrymen did in other countries such as California, Australia, and British Columbia

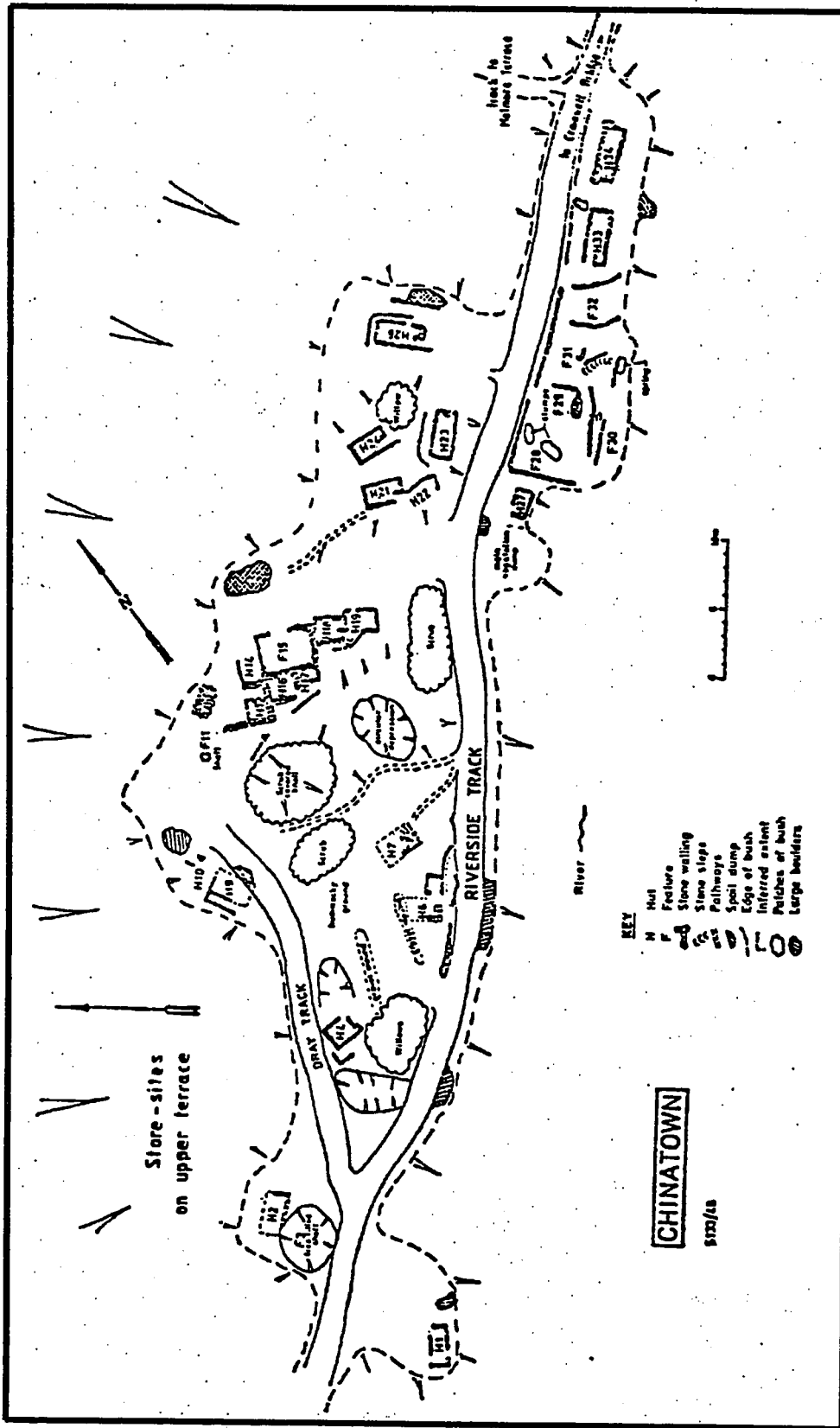


Figure 43. Residential section of a large Chinese camp at Cromwell, Otago (from Ritchie 1986:98). Note that Ritchie considers this site part of a Chinatown.

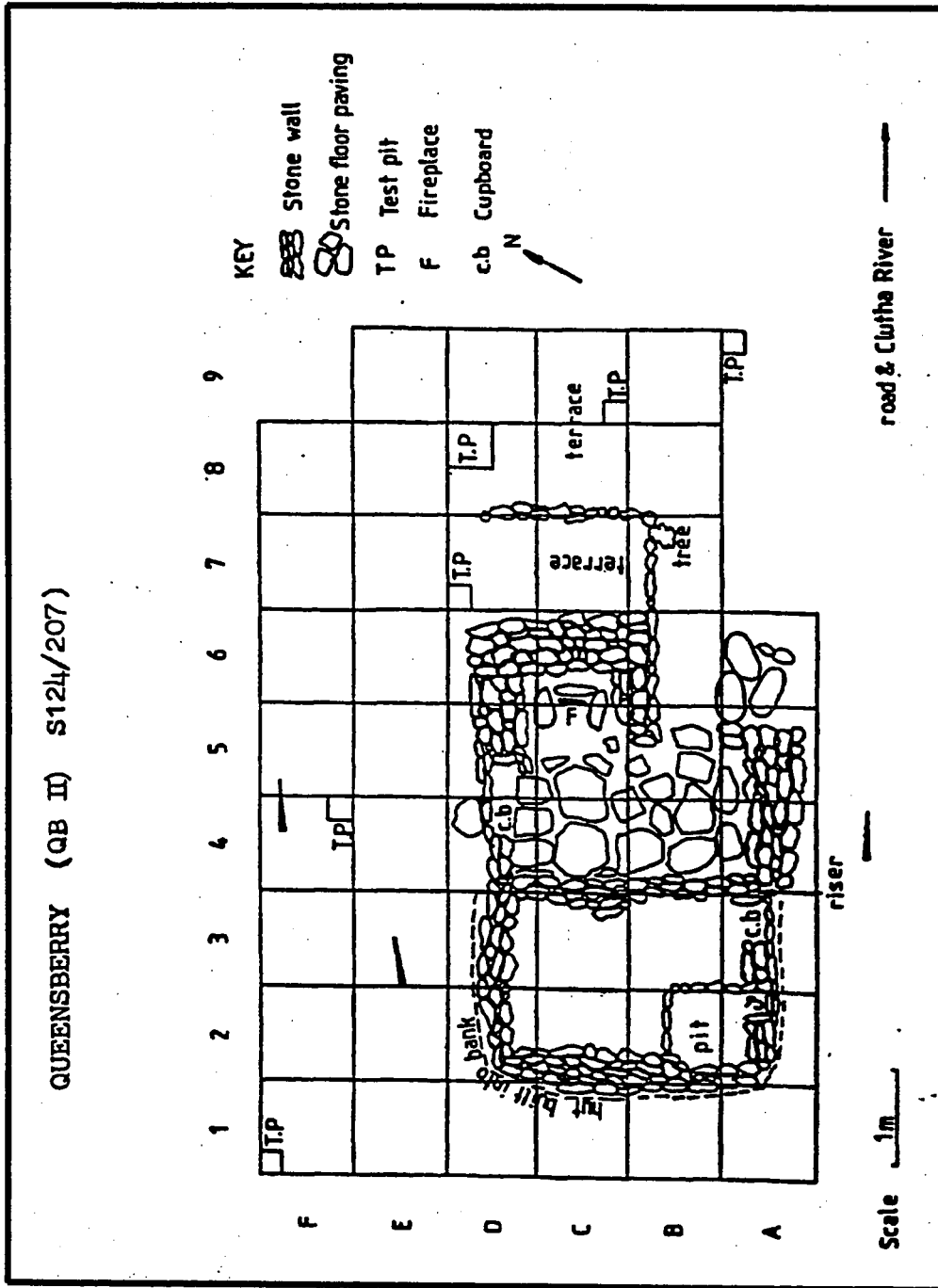


Figure 44. A small Chinese camp site (one hut) in Queensberry District, Upper Clutha River, Otago (Ritchie 1985:109). Note that this site was possibly related to the large Chinese camp at Cromwell.

Conclusion

This review of the history of emigration of the Chinese provides a background for understanding Chinese emigration to British Columbia in the late 19th century.

Chinese emigration was not simply an outcome of the contemporary push and pull factors as some writers have maintained. It was a movement within a long-standing historical tradition, which began in the 10th century if not before. It has been shown that many Chinese immigrants in Victoria (Australia) and Otago (New Zealand) were from neighbouring villages in one or two counties of the delta. Most Chinese immigrants in North America probably reflected similarly restricted areas of origin. That large-scale emigration emanated from limited geographic areas indicates that it was an established local tradition in those areas. Such an emigration occurred despite general Chinese official restrictions and strong cultural links to homeland, family and ancestors. In these limited areas, going abroad seems to have been recognized as an acceptable way to improve living standards. This movement was strengthened by the contemporary internal and external stresses (push and pull), especially overpopulation, and took place on a much larger scale and extended over much greater distances than previous emigrations.

While accepting emigration, the traditional cultural concepts of family, ancestor, clan and the superiority of Chinese culture were still deep rooted in the minds of the Cantonese. That resulted in a distinctive mind set among Chinese immigrants as compared with non-Chinese immigrants. Chinese immigrants, especial the first generation, saw themselves as sojourners instead of permanent settlers. They were almost all males, leaving their families behind. A sojourner's attitude and feeling for the superiority of Chinese culture induced a kind of self-isolation among the gold rush Chinese abroad. They kept their own company, developed their own social institutions, and confined themselves to their own settlements. While many contemporary Europeans thought the Chinese were incapable of assimilating, it is clear that most Chinese actually had no interest in doing so.

Chapter 4 Gold Rush to British Columbia

Introduction

In 1788, four years before Captain Vancouver's first visit to the Pacific Northwest and 20 years prior to Simon Fraser's discovery of the Fraser River in 1808, British Captain John Meares and William Tipping arrived in Nootka Sound from south China for trade. Among their 90-member crew were 50 Chinese. They were hired by Captain Meares at Macao, south China and most were craftsmen such as blacksmiths and carpenters while a small portion were sailors (Meares 1967:1-3, 104). Meares did not recount what happened to these Chinese sailors. A legend states that they were left in Nootka Sound to settle when Meares returned to China. Hearing the existence of a Chinese settlement at Nootka, the Spanish dispatched a fleet to destroy the fort. They then brought the Chinese captives to mines in Mexico where they worked them to death (Sien 1967:3). Some 70 years later, Chinese immigrants came in large numbers to British Columbia and many settled. They set up numerous settlements and re-established their own social organizations, later becoming a sizable ethnic group in the province and Canada.

This chapter reviews what happened to Chinese immigrants in the gold rush to the Fraser Valley between 1858 and 1862. It begins with the discovery of gold and development of the Chinese settlements in the Fraser River Valley and other places in British Columbia. It then discusses the factors that affected the formation of these settlements. It concludes that before moving on to the North Cariboo District, many Chinese immigrants had already worked in the gold fields in the Fraser Valley below Prince George where they had set up their own societies and settlements.

Fraser River

The Fraser River is the cradle of the history of the gold rush to New Caledonia, the early name for British Columbia. The Fraser River, the largest river in British Columbia, was named after Simon Fraser who discovered it in 1808 (Hutchison 1950:52). Originating in the central Rocky Mountains at latitude 52° 45, the river flows northwest, absorbing the McGregor and Bowron rivers. After reaching its extreme northern point at 53° 10, the Fraser turns south, starting its long journey to the Pacific Ocean. North of Prince George about latitude 52° 50, the Fraser meets its first large tributary from the west, the Nechako. On its way south, at latitude 52°, the Fraser absorbs the Quesnel River from the east, a large drainage system originating in the Cariboo region. At 50° 48 below Williams Lake, the Chilcotin, a river fed by coastal mountain

snows, joins the Fraser. At Lytton at latitude 49° 20, the Fraser merges with another major tributary, the Thompson River, which rises in the central Rockies near the source of the Fraser. Above Lytton, the Fraser cuts into the Coast Mountain Range running from the southeast to the southwest. Here it runs in a deep trench, the famous Fraser Canyon, with its rapid currents, whirlpools, back eddies and hidden caverns. Finally, between Hope and Yale it enters into a broad open valley. Turning southwest, it flows peacefully to the ocean at New Westminster, latitude 48° 20.

The Fraser River consists of four parts: the area from the Pacific Ocean to New Westminster is the multi-channelled Fraser Delta, and from New Westminster to Yale is the Lower Fraser Valley. The zone of rapids between Yale and a point well above Lytton is called as the Fraser Canyon. Above the canyon, north to its source, is the Upper Fraser Valley.

Gold Rush to New Caledonia and the First Chinatown in Victoria

In his book, *Gold Mining and Its Effects on Landscape of the Cariboo*, Robert M. Galois (1970:23-24) summarises the history of gold mining in the Western Cordillera in three stages:

Stage 1 This comprised of the discovery of gold and its recovery by individuals or small groups of miners from surface deposits and small claims. It is the period of the 'rush'.

Stage 2 The surface deposits are exhausted by this time and attention is focused upon deep workings, which necessitates changes in the nature of the industry. The requirements are more advanced machinery, outside capital, corporate organizations and adoption of large leases instead of the small claims.

Stage 3 This represents the movement away from placer deposits into hard rock mining. It requires the development of a new type of mining technology both in terms of recovering the ore body and extracting the gold from the ore body. Implicit in this is some understanding of bedrock and structural geology. Outside capital and a corporate structure on a larger scale than of Stage 2 is necessary.

Gold fields in British Columbia all went through the first and second stages, but only a few places, such as Barkerville, experienced the third phase. This chapter deals with the first stage that is characterized by surface placer mining through individuals and small groups.

Gold was first discovered in the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1850. In 1856, Natives found gold on the Thompson River, and a Scottish-born adventurer named James Houston struck gold on Tranquille Creek, east of Kamloops in 1857 (Howay 1914:1, 9, 10; Smith 1992:2). These discoverers did not seem to be aware of miners in California immediately. In February 1858, some 30 pounds of gold were brought to Victoria from the Fraser River Valley, which in turn spurred the initiation of gold fever: 'everybody is making arrangements to go to the mine' (Extract of letter to Governor Stevens, author unknown, in *Olympia Pioneer and Democrat* May 21, 1858 cited in Smith 1992:4). In March 1858, the Princess Royal steamboat left Victoria for London,

carrying some 800 ounces gold from the Fort Colville district and Thompson River mines (Smith 1992:3). In the same month, word of the excitement in Victoria spread to Puget Sound, Washington State by Captain Jemmy Jones, master of the trading schooner Wild Pigeon. The *Olympia Pioneer and Democrat* of March 5, 1858 reported:

We learn from Captain Jones ... that much excitement exists on Vancouver Island in consequence of the alleged discovery of rich gold deposits to the northward in the British Possessions ... Nearly all the French and half-breeds on the Island had either started for this new El Dorado or were proposing to start (cited in Smith 1992:4).

The news soon reached San Francisco by way of the bi-monthly mail steamer connecting with Port Townsend. On March 19, 1858, the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin* issued the news with a title of 'The Fraser River Gold Mines-Great Excitement'. On April 3, 1858, the same bulletin mentioned an account from the *Olympia Pioneer and Democrat* of March 20, which stated that the industry on Lower Puget Sound was slowing to a stand-still 'owing to the number of hands that have left, and are constantly leaving for the northern El Dorado' (cited in Smith 1992:4). These accounts were sufficient enough to stir up the enthusiasm of miners in California. Carrying the first major party of 800 miners, steamers Columbia and Commodore left San Francisco for Victoria on April 20, 1858. An international gold rush to the Fraser River thus started. From April to August many gold seekers left San Francisco for British Columbia (Howay 1914:16-17). In addition, many others in Oregon and Washington states, St. Paul, Salt Lake City and other western centres joined the new gold rush. By the end of the year, about 25,000 people had entered British Columbia (*Victoria Gazette* November 20, 1858).

The more cautious Chinese did not join the rush right away. Chinese merchants in San Francisco sent Ar Hong to the Fraser to ascertain the situation. Returning in May, Ar Hong confirmed the existence of the Fraser gold. His report was published in the *San Francisco Daily Globe* on May 15, 1858 (Howay 1914:567). The report states that there was marvellous richness in the Fraser Valley, where gold could be taken out even with a bucket. Ar Hong himself had been offered \$20 a day plus his board for working as a cook. He had to refuse this attractive offer because of his ambassadorial duties.

The picture drawn by Ar Hong was certainly much more optimistic than the situation in California at the time, where the gold in most areas was nearly exhausted, and few employment opportunities existed in other industries. Economic stress aggravated the prevailing hostility of the host community to the Chinese. White miners were starting to argue for legislation to make California as for Americans only (Chinn 1975:24). On April 28, 1855, the California legislature passed an act to discourage the immigration of 'persons who cannot become citizens', but it was

declared unconstitutional in 1857 (Chinn 1975:24). Another law was passed by the legislature in 1858 that prohibited Chinese and Mongolians from entering the state except when driven ashore by stress of weather or unavoidable accident (Chinn 1975:24). This law was later dropped, nonetheless anti-Chinese sentiments continued. To avoid increasing mistreatment and to better their fortunes, many Chinese joined the new rush to another Gold Mountain of the north.

On June 23, 1858, the first group of Chinese landed in Victoria, and they were followed by others (Lee 1967:59; Lai 1988a:184). On June 24, 1858, a Chinese company called Hop Kee in San Francisco signed a contract with Allan Lowe & Company, a shipping agent, agreeing to pay the latter \$3,500 to ship 300 Chinese and 50 tons of merchandise to Victoria, with 20 dollars for each additional passenger (An agreement signed between Hop Kee & Co and Allan Lowe & Co. on 24 June 1858 cited in Lai 1988a:15). In addition to those arrivals by boat from San Francisco, many other Chinese trekked in from Portland, walking across the border and then moving north to the mining areas (Lee 1967:60). The numbers of Chinese that arrived overland is not known.

While many Chinese continued on to the Fraser gold rush, others remained in Victoria where a Chinatown began to take shape in June 1858. This was the first Chinese settlement in the two colonies, Vancouver Island and New Caledonia (British Columbia (Lai 1988a:184). From the beginning, Chinese merchants played a leading role in the Victoria Chinese community, paralleling similar occurrences in San Francisco. Their leading position in the community can be partially seen in the land ownership of the Victoria Chinatown. The 1859 Chinatown map shows that most lots in Chinatown were under names of three Chinese business men, Loo Chuk Fan, Chang Tsoo, and Kong Hop Tong (Figure 45). Loo Chuk Fan was the owner of the Kwong Lee Store, one of the two largest Chinese businesses in the two colonies at that time (Lee 1967:89).

For a long time afterward the Victoria Chinatown functioned as a primary base for Chinese immigrants arriving in British Columbia. Most Chinese started their journey in British Columbia via Victoria, purchasing food and equipment and acquiring information before they left for the gold fields on the mainland. During winter and spring when gold mining was not possible, many Chinese miners returned to Victoria (Lai 1988a:186). They spent their time in Chinatown's restaurants, teahouses, gambling and opium smoking houses, exchanging information and rumours about both China and the gold fields.

The Victoria Chinatown was also the main port where the Chinese began or ended their journeys from China in two colonies. Chinese foods and goods were imported from China, or San Francisco, to Victoria, and then distributed to other Chinese settlements in the two colonies. Virtually, all Chinese settlements in the two colonies shared direct or indirect social, economical connections to Victoria Chinatown.

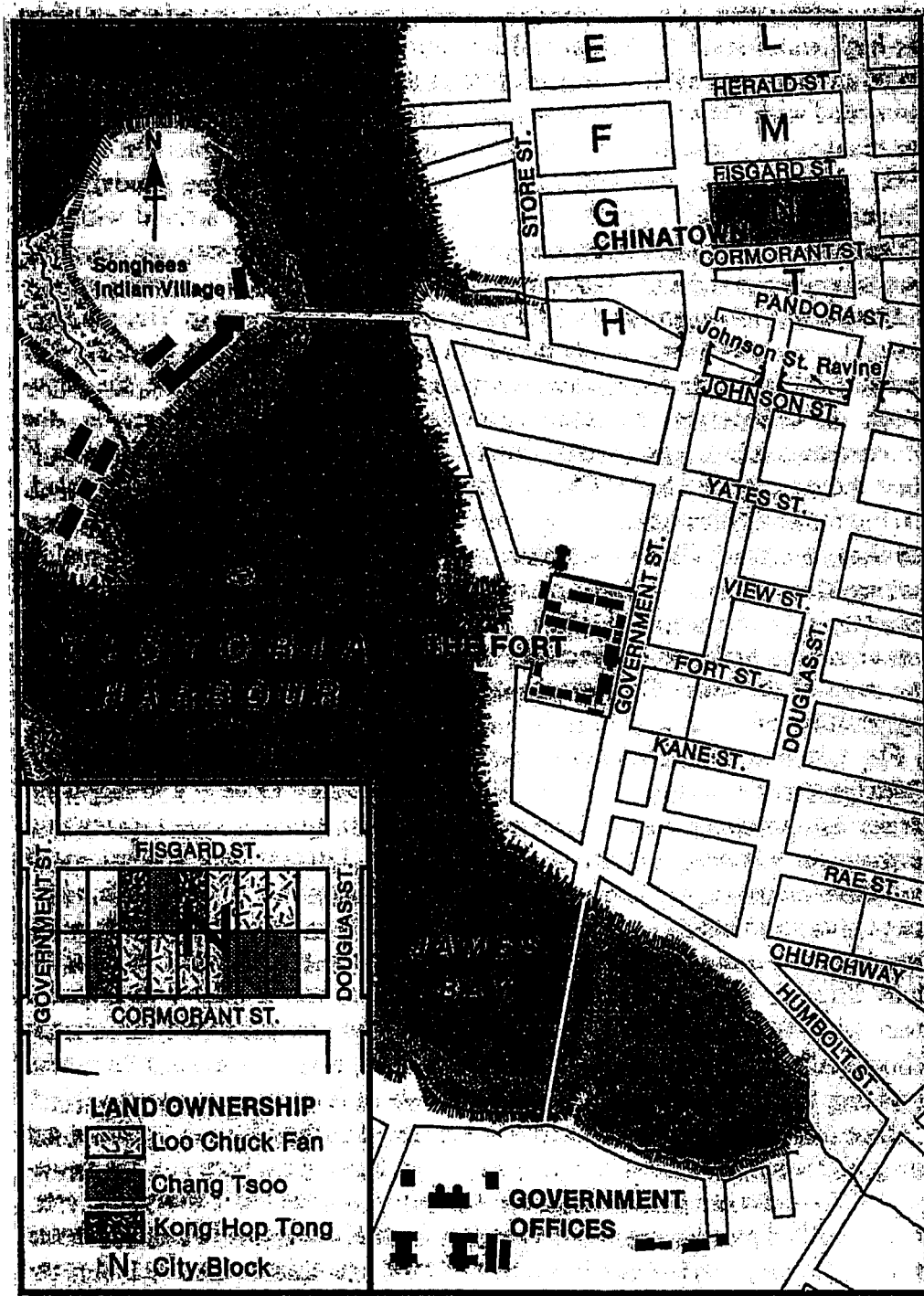


Figure 45. Location of Victoria Chinatown in 1859 (after Lai 1988a:185).

Chinese Settlements in the Fraser River Valley (1858-1862)

In the 1858 season, gold mining was mainly conducted at the lower end of the Fraser Canyon, concentrating in the area between Hope and Yale (Howay 1914:70). The first group of white miners, 450 in total, reached the area by the end of April. In early May of the same year, the number of white miners increased to 1000 (Howay 1914:16). Numerous miners arrived by way of steamboats. The first steam vessel, *Surprise*, reached Fort Hope on June 7, 1858 while *Umatilla*, arrived at Fort Yale on July 20, 1858 (*Victoria Gazette* September 8, 1858 and *Pioneer and Democrat* July 30, 1958 cited in Smith 1992:4). The Hope-Yale area was at the forefront of steamer navigation. Travel north of Yale was extremely dangerous if not impossible. Governor Douglas reported in November of 1858 that there were over 10,000 people engaged in gold mining with one-half of them based between Murderers Bar three miles (4.8 km) below Hope and Fort Yale (Howay 1914:41).

Miners soon discovered that ascending the Fraser River, gold became coarser, which convinced them that a richer country existed in the north (Howay 1914:32). Some miners started exploring the area beyond Yale and were very successful. In early May 1858, Aaron Post, a miner from California, went as far as the Mouth of the Chilcotin River, a tributary of the Fraser, some 120 km north of Lillooet. He found gold in all of the bars he prospected (*Victoria Gazette* July 14, 1858), triggering a great enthusiasm among the miners. However, the Natives who had lived in the north for many thousands of years resisted the movement to the Upper Fraser. Howay (1914:34) states:

Those (white miners) who saved their lives were robbed of tools and provisions, a serious loss. A few unfortunately were unable to make their escape, and their bodies, in some instances, scalped, came floating down the raging river.

To open the passage to mining, a group of 40 white men headed by Captain Rouse launched an attack on the Natives in Rancheria 20 km north Yale, on August 9, 1858. During the attack, seven Natives were killed and three villages were burned down (Howay 1914:35). On August 18, 1858, some hundred volunteer troops headed by Captain H. M. Snyder set out upriver from Yale to further illustrate their military prowess (Howay 1914:35). They achieved their goal:

Treaties of peace and amity were concluded with all chiefs between Yale and Lytton. ... The expedition under Snyder returned on August 25th, accompanied by five of chiefs, having established peace on that portion of the river (Howay 1914:36).

Many white miners ascended the Fraser Canyon north of Yale by canoe later that year. Most were able to make their way to Lytton (Howay 1914:41-42). As a result of this move, many claims between Hope and Yale were abandoned.

The first group of Chinese landed at Victoria on June 23, 1858 (Lee 1967:59, Lai 1988a:184). Possibility, they would have reached the mining area in the Lower Fraser Canyon some time in July of 1858. By that time, white miners had already been working there for two or three months. The Chinese had to be satisfied with toiling behind the white miners. After many European miners had moved upriver beyond Yale later that year, the Chinese began to take over their abandoned claims. By the end of the 1858 season, the Chinese had established settlements from the lower mainland to Yale. Among these settlements, Derby and Yale should be mentioned in detail.

Derby, also called Old Fort Langley in the late 1850s, was located on the south bank of the Fraser River, two and half miles (4 km) west of present-day Langley. It was chosen as a seaport town as well as the first capital of the colony of British Columbia in September 1858 (Howay 1914:60). By November of the same year, Derby had begun to take shape. It consisted of 183 blocks, each measuring 5 to 10 chains, containing 18, 64 feet x 120 feet (19.5 m x 36.6 m). Streets were 78 feet (23.8 m) in width, with an alleyway of 12 feet (3.7 m) in width through each block (*Victoria Gazette* November 25, 1858).

In an 1859 sketch of Derby drawn by Rev. W. B. Crickmer, an English Priest, there is a building with a sign of Hi Sing (Tai Xun) on the front (Figure 46). Beneath the sign is another sign reading 'restaurant'. Next to Hi Sing on the left is another structure with the sign 'Washing' indicating the probable existence of a Chinese owned laundry. These were possibly the first group of Chinese businesses to become established in the mainland colony (Figure 43). The first group of Chinese miners arriving in Victoria in June 1858 could have reached the Lower mainland in July. The Derby businesses recorded by Crickmer could possibly have been established by the middle of 1858.

The Tai Soong (Tai Xun) (泰巽), was one of the two largest Chinese businesses established in the two colonies at that time. Based in Hong Kong, the Tai Xun Company had large branches in San Francisco, Victoria and Derby. The company even had its own steamers travelling between Hong Kong and North America. The Tai Soong branch at Derby owned horses and mules, and one of their enterprises was transportation between the lower mainland and the interior gold fields (Lee 1967:89-90 and Lai 1988a:188).



Figure 46. Sketch of Derby drawn by Rev. W. B. Crickmer in 1859 (after Lee 1967:80a). Note that one of the buildings has the sign of 'Hi Sing' and another building on its left was a sign labelled 'Washing'. Lee (1967:70, 80a) believes that 'Hi Sing' refers to Tai Soong (Tai Xun) (泰巽).

Hope became a mining town after the first steam-powered riverboat arrived there on June 7, 1858 (*Victoria Gazette* September. 8, 1858). A group of Chinese journeyed to Fort Hope by steamer later in the year. White miners prevented them from disembarking until the staff of the Hudson Bay Company branch intervened (Marie 1976:10). They were probably the first Chinese to reach Hope. Howay (1914:34) mentions that the Chinese in Hope sold firearms and liquor to the Natives during the conflict between the white miners and the Natives in August of 1858. This suggests that some Chinese had already settled in Hope by August 1858. A larger Chinese settlement however, was established approximately 22 km upriver at Yale.

Yale is situated on the north bank of the Fraser River (Figure 47). On July 20, 1858, the arrival of the first steamer marked the transformation of Yale from a fur trading station to a mining town (*Democrat* July 30, 1958). In 1859, the Royal Engineers conducted a legal survey at Yale and a general town plan showing blocks and lots was produced. Unfortunately, the map does not show the location of the Chinatown.

In August 1885, Yale was surveyed for fire insurance and a new with more details was produced. The map shows the locations of structures or features on each lot. It also includes notes about the different structure types and ownerships (Figure 49). These notes indicate that the

Chinatown was located in the east end of the town. The main body of the Chinatown was within a triangular block (No. 3), measuring 230 feet (70.1 m) from north to south and 500 feet (152.4 m) from east to west. The northern extension of the Chinatown reached to Block 4 (Figure 49). It is assumed that the 1885 town pattern is consistent with the earlier 1858 town layout, at least as far as the location of the Chinatown. The Chinatown has its own cemetery, which is about one km southwest of the town on the west bank of the Fraser River.

Robin Hooper has been conducting research on the Yale Chinatown since 1994. He believes that Lot 4, with the remains of stonewall, is the site of the Kwong Lee Store, one of the two largest Chinese businesses in British Columbia between 1858 and 1885 (Hooper 1996:12). Based in San Francisco, Kwong Lee established its headquarters in Victoria in July 1858 (Morton 1973:8). In 1863, brothers Loo Chuk Fan and Loo Chew Fan, managers of the Kwong Lee purchased two lots (4 and 9 now Lot A) at Yale (*Land Registry Records, Kamloop* cited in Hopper 1996:3). That can be considered the time when the Kwong Lee Company opened a branch at Yale.

Yale was the social, political and economic centre of the Chinese in the Fraser Canyon. When the Cariboo gold rush brought some 5,000 Chinese to the Fraser River and its tributaries in the early 1860s, Yale's Chinatown became the transfer station for supplies, groceries and mining equipment. During construction period of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) between 1880 and 1885, Yale's Chinatown again acted as a centre for more than 6,500 Chinese who worked on that endeavour. In the mean time, it continued to supply the local Chinese gold miners (Figure 48). After the completion of the PCR in 1885, most unemployed Chinese railway builders left for the lower mainland British Columbia and eastern Canada. With their departure, the Yale Chinatown declined severely with only a few Chinese families remaining till the 1930s (oral information from Hooper 1997).

Early 1859 saw a continuous northern movement above Yale. Many white miners took boats up the rapids by poling and drag lining them along the bars, skirting the rapids. Many others made their way through the Douglas-Lillooet trail, which was completed in the fall of 1858 (Howay 1914:88). Consequently, the mining centre shifted from Hope-Yale to an area between Lytton and Lillooet in 1859 (Howay 1914:70). Meanwhile, some miners journeyed to the banks of the Thompson River where gold was found at Tranquille.

Rumours about gold were rampant. Miners believed that much richer spots were always somewhere beyond where they had reached. Encouraged by this belief, Alexandria was reached in the early 1859, and then Quesnel Mouth (Quesnel), in June of the same year (Elliot, 1978:21). This represents the first time that the North Cariboo district was reached. Some miners even went as far as 150 miles (241 km) north of Fort George (Prince George) (Howay 1914:71).



Figure 47. View of Yale from south to north in the 1860s (BCPA A-03585). Chinatown is satiated at the east end of town.



Figure 48. A picture of Yale's payday in the early time (Public Archives of Canada from Waite 1974:69). Note that there are some Chinese in the crowd.

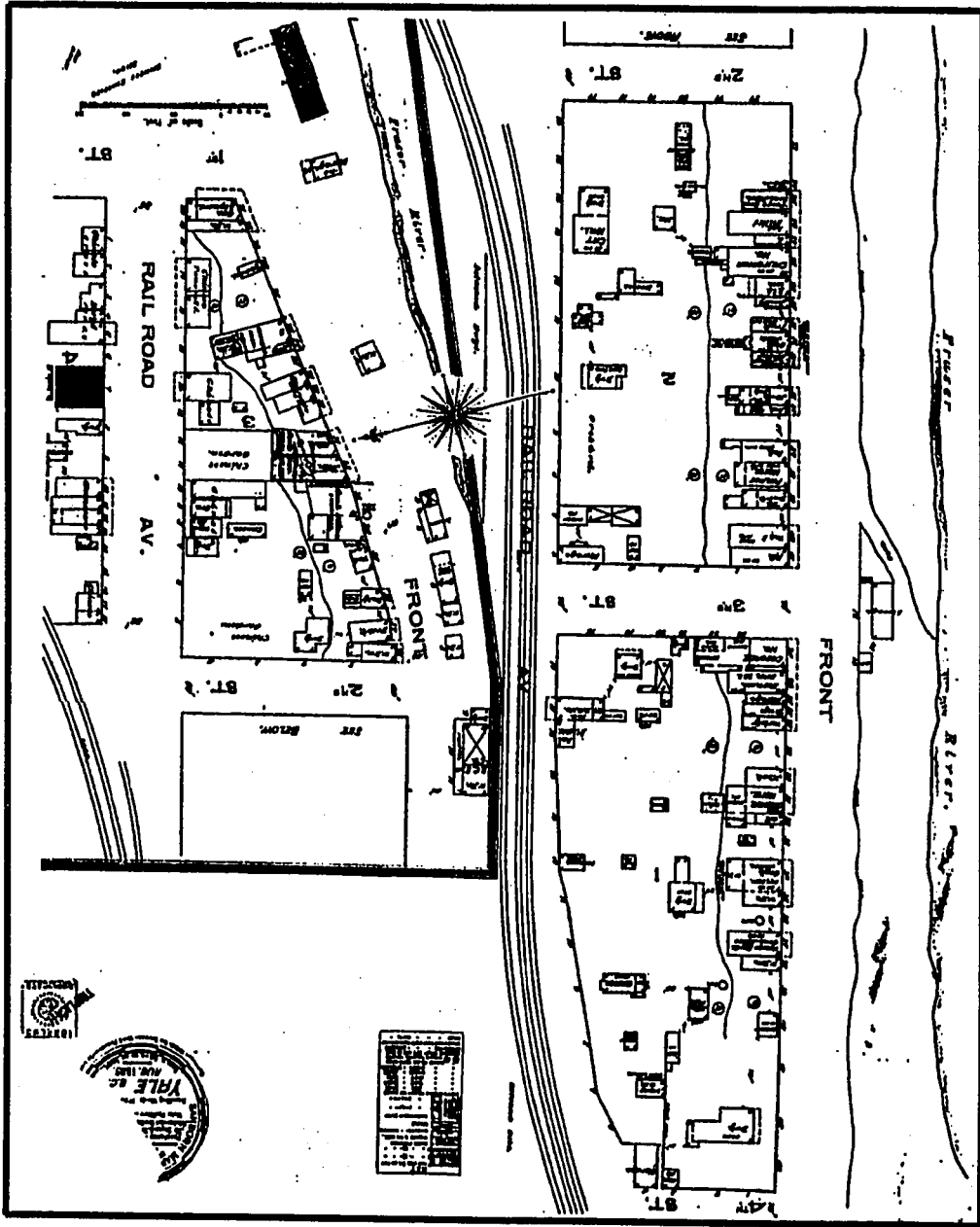


Figure 49. Section of Fire Insurance Plan of Yale (1885) (B. C. Provincial Archives).

soon after, the Horsefly River, a tributary of the Quesnel River in the south was also explored (Howay 1914:71). By late 1859, the population of miners between Alexandria, Fort George and Quesnel Lake shot up to 1,000 (Howay 1914:72). With this northward move, many claims in the Fraser Canyon and even the area around and above Yale were deserted. The population between Hope and Yale, for example, dropped sharply from 5,000 in 1858 to 600 of which 500 were Chinese (Howay 1914:41,72; Lai 1988a:21).

Down river in the lower mainland, the original Derby's location was proving unsatisfactory. It was too far upriver for seagoing vessels to berth and much of the town site was submerged in water during floods. Moreover, the town's location was poor for defence (Howay 1914:16; Ramsey 1970:17). In February 1859, a site on the high ground at the apex of the Fraser Delta was chosen as a new location of the capital of the colony of British Columbia. At this time Vancouver Island remained as a separate colony. The new capital, New Westminster, was formally declared on July 16, 1860 (Howay 1914:68). The government agreed to compensate people who had property at old Fort Langley (Derby) by a credit system for the amount paid, on any purchase in the new capital (Howay 1914:66). Following this policy, all businessmen and residents including numerous Chinese abandoned Derby, moving to New Westminster. The Chinese built a Chinatown in the city's southwest corner some time between 1859 and 1860 (Figure 50). In 1867, there was a population of about 1,000 in New Westminster and one-tenth of them were Chinese (Woodland 1973:14). From the 1860s to the 1890s, the Chinatown in New Westminster was the largest Chinatown in the mainland, 'functioned mainly as a "resort" for Chinese miners, who came down by river boat from Yale Hope, and other goldfields to spend the winter' (Lai 1988:40). It also functioned as a distributing centre, supplying goods to Chinese settlements in the interior British Columbia

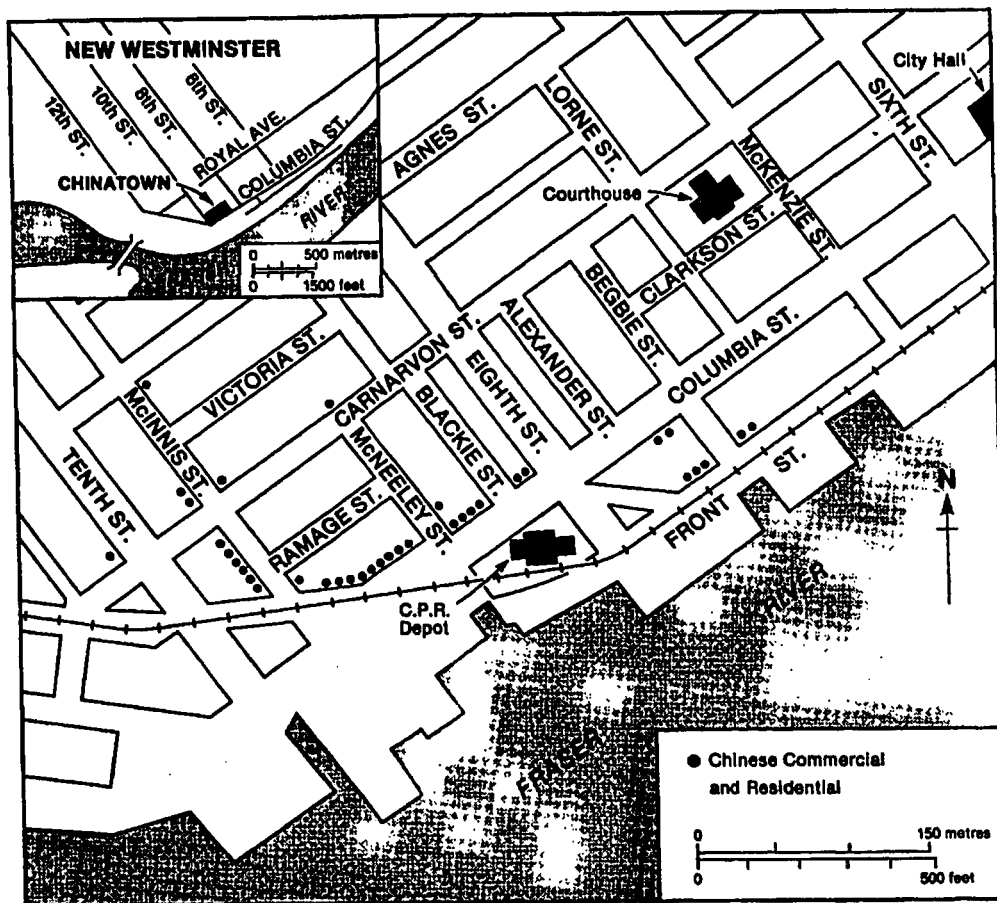


Figure 50. Location of the Chinatown in New Westminster (1921) (after Lai 1988a:78).

In the fall 1859, gold was found on the Similkameen in the boundary country, some 30 miles (48 km) southeast of Hope (Howay 1914:72). It did not cause an immediate new rush. To examine the potential, the government sent a group of nine experienced miners to the Skimilkameen. This group sent back a report in July, confirming the existence of rich deposits in that country (Howay 1914:72-73). About the same time, a young Canadian named Adam Beam discovered gold on Rock Creek, about 180 miles (290 km) east of the Skimilkameen. These events triggered a new rush to the boundary country not only from the Hope-Yale area, but also from the adjacent American northwest in 1860. Gold in those places was said to be nuggety, of extreme purity, and readily recovered without the use of quicksilver. In one case, two men made \$1,300 in six weeks. By October 1860, there were 80 to 100 men mining at Simikameen and 500 at Rock Creek (Howay 1914:73). This new small rush was another factor that resulted in white miners to abandon claims in the Lower Fraser to Chinese.

In the 1860 season, the primary attention of mining was focused northward. The Upper Fraser River, particularly the Quesnel area and the newly discovered Quesnelle Forks area, was the major one of interest. The mining population in British Columbia at this time reached 4,000, of whom, 3000 were working along the banks of the Fraser Canyon, the Upper Fraser, and its tributaries above Lillooet. Thus, those original spots on both bars and benches further downstream were practically given to the Chinese (Howay 1914:74).

In early 1860, Keithley and other neighbouring creeks in the North Cariboo district, such as Harvey and Cunningham creeks, were reached. The auriferous character of these creeks started an immediate rush to the North Quesnel River region (Howay 1914:75; Wright 1993:13). In the fall of 1860, miners discovered Antler Creek about 20 miles (32 km) north of Keithley and a rush followed from the Quesnelle Forks area to Antler.

On January 26, 1860, the *Daily Colonist* reports that there were 1,175 Chinese in the Fraser River Valley, 35 at Cornish Bar, 150 at Fort Hope, 200 between Hope and Yale, 80 between Yale and Boston Bar, 60 at Lytton, 40 between Lytton and Cayoosh, 65 in Pavilion, 80 between Boston Bar and Lytton, 200 between Fort Douglas and Lillooet, 100 at Big Bar, 100 at Long Bar, and 90 at Texas Bar. A few of Chinese did meet with good fortune. On January 28, 1860, the *Victoria Colonist* reported that a Chinese miner called Lee Wing (Li Rong) arrived in New Westminster from Fort Douglas, carrying gold sand worth of \$5000 with him. Apparently, some of the claims left by white miners to the Chinese still yielded large quantities of gold. (Howay 1914:78). The abandonment of productive claims by whites may explain why many Chinese stayed behind working the bars and benches of the Fraser Canyon. They must have seen these claims as more profitable than risking the possibly exaggerated rumours of the new Cariboo gold rush further to the north.

Starting in early 1860, Chinese from south China joined the gold rush to British Columbia. On February 8, 1860, a group of some 100 Chinese arrived in Victoria from Hong Kong. On April 26 of that year, another 264, including a woman and a child, arrived in Victoria after a 62-day journey (Lee 1967:61). The *Victoria Colonist* (March 28, 1861) estimates that a total of 4,000 Chinese arrived in Victoria in the 1861 season. The majority of them joined their countrymen on the Fraser River claims.

Lillooet became a mining town in 1859 and a Chinatown was set up there around 1860 (Ramsey 1970) (Figure 51, 52). According to Lee (1967:71), there were more than ten Chinese businesses in Lillooet during the gold rush. A mountain near Lillooet produced green jade. Chinese mined jade there and then shipped it back to Guangdong, China for further processing.

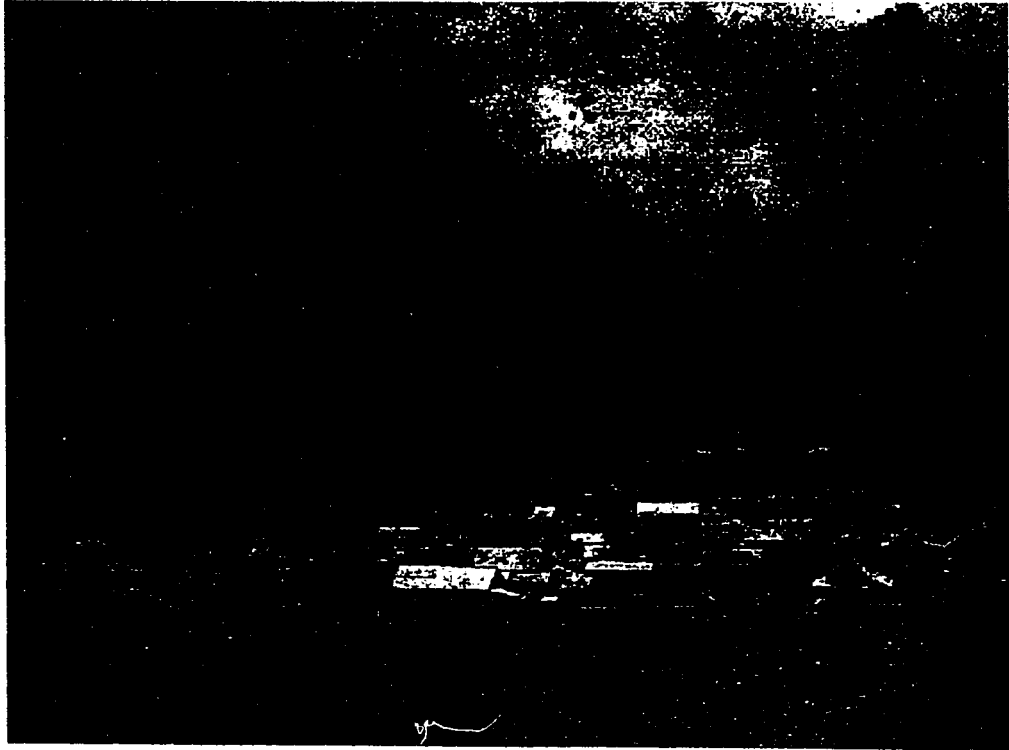


Figure 51. (Above) Lillooet in 1865 (BCPA A 09064). (Bottom) part of Lillooet Chinatown (ca. 1890s) (BCPA A 04281).

In early 1861, miners discovered Williams Creek, northwest of Antler Creek (Howay 1914:77). Later that year Lowhee and Lightning creeks were discovered (Howay 1914:77-78). These new gold prospects added further impetus to the rush. By the end of May 1862, about 6,000 miners had already entered the Cariboo (Howay 1914:82). As a result, the spots on Fraser, Thompson, and Rock Creek, which for some time had been gradually falling into the hands of the Chinese, were practically abandoned solely to them (Howay 1914:78). The *Victoria Colonist* reports on April 15, 1861 that there were 250 Chinese in Hope and more than 400 between Hope and Yale (Lee 1967:61). On April 26, 1861, the same newspaper claims that there were 1500 Chinese mining between Yale and Lytton. On May 9, 1861, more than 500 Chinese were reported to be working in Yale (Lee 1967:62).

In August 1862, Billy Barker struck rich gravels on Williams Creek (Wright 1993:24). This turned the local gold rush into a worldwide movement. Under the circumstances, Chinese population increased rapidly. Between 1862 and 1864, there were approximately 5-6000 Chinese mining between the two colonies. In a total population of 37,000 non-natives in British Columbia, one fifth was Chinese (Lee 1967:62). Beginning 1861, the Chinese in the Fraser Valley moved out in two directions while some Chinese remaining behind. The first of group of Chinese turned to the southeast and the areas of Simikameen and Rock Creek, taking over claims abandoned by white miners (Howay 1914:78; Lee 1967:62). Meanwhile, the second group of Chinese followed the white miners up the Fraser beyond Lillooet, reaching as far as Quesnel Mouth (Elliott 1978:21). Elliott (1978:46) states that in 1861 some 500 Chinese miners arrived in Quesnel. This was the beginning of the Chinese presence in the North Cariboo.

Combining information from Bruce Ramsey's *Ghost Towns of British Columbia* (1963) with the Chinese documents kept in the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (中華會館) in Victoria, Lee (1967:69-72) listed places reached by the Chinese miners in British Columbia during the gold rush, most of which are in the Fraser Valley. They are summarized in the following table (23).

Table 23: Distribution of Chinese settlements in the lower and upper Fraser River Valley between 1858-1862 (summarized from Lee 1967:69-74)

DIVISION	LOCATION	TYPE	TIME STARTED	REMARKS
Vancouver Island	Victoria	I	1858	
Lower Fraser	Derby (New Fort Langley)	?		
Lower Fraser	New Westminster	I	1859	
Lower Fraser	Johnson	?		(near New Westminster)
Lower Fraser	Mission	?		(near Johnson)
Lower Fraser	Harrison Hot Springs	?		north of Chilliwack
Lower Fraser	Fort Douglass	?	1	Li Rong brought \$5,000 gold from Fort Douglass in January 1860 (the <i>Victoria Colonist</i> 01/28/1860). In August 1860, Chinese had a settlement in the Fort Douglass region.
Lower Fraser	Big Bar	II?	1860	There were 200 Chinese in Big Bar in 1860.
Lower Fraser	Hope	?		Some 1,000 Chinese mined there in the 1860s.
Upper Fraser	Yale	I		Some 1,000 Chinese mined there in 1861
Upper Fraser	China Bar	II		North of Yale. The name was used after the Chinese discovered gold there.
Upper Fraser	Boston Bar	II		North of Yale
Upper Fraser	Lytton			North of Boston Bar, Chinese once worked there.
Upper Fraser	North Bend			The west bank of the Middle Fraser River, several hundred Chinese worked there.
Upper Fraser	Lillooet	I		A large town during the gold rush. There were ten Chinese stores in this town. A mountain nearby produced green jade which the Chinese mined and shipped to Guangzhou, China for further processing.
Upper Fraser	Soda Creek	I		50 km north of Williams Creek, it was a large town during the gold rush. There were several hundred Chinese mining there.
Upper Fraser	150 Miles	I		20 km south of Williams Lake. There was a Chinatown there.
Upper Fraser	Alexandria	?		Between Soda Creek and Quesnel.

Home Origins

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Lai's research on 220 booklets of Chinese donors' receipt stubs indicates that of 5,056 Chinese immigrations to British Columbia, most were from 14 counties in the Pearl River Delta (1975:3-29). Presumably, this pattern had been in existence since the early 1860s. The following table (24) shows a comparison of the home origins of the Chinese in California to the ones in British Columbia in the 1880s.

Table 24: Home county origins of Chinese immigrants in California in 1865 and British Columbia in the 1880s [based upon works done by Chinn (1975:20) and Lai (1975:6)]

REGION	CALIFORNIA 1865		B. C. Early 1880s	
	Qty.	%	Qty.	%
PEARL RIVER DELTA	38,697	100	4,992	98.7
Siyi District (四邑)	16,107	41.6	3,213	63.5
Taishan (Tai-Shan) (台山)			1,158	22.9
Kaiping (K'ai-P'ing) (開平)			949	18.8
Xinhui (Hsin-Hui) (新會)			615	12.2
Enping (En-P'ing) (恩平)			491	9.7
Sanyi District (三邑)	6,800	17.6	927	18.3
Panyu (P'an-yu) (番禺)			798	15.8
Shunde (Shun-Te) (順德)			78	1.5
Nanhai (Nan-Hai) (南海)			51	1.0
Western Delta			526	10.4
Heshan (Hao-Shan) (鶴山)			302	6.0
Xiangshan /Zhongshan) (香山 /中山)	14,000	36.2	111	2.2
Huaxian (Hua-Hsien) (花縣)			62	1.2
Yangjiang (Yang-Chiang) (揚江)			51	1.0
Eastern Delta			326	6.4
Baolan (Pao-An) (寶安)			81	1.6
Dongguan (Tung-Kuan) (東莞)			50	1.0
Zengcheng (Tseng-Ch'eng) (增城)			195	3.9
NON-PEARL RIVER DELTA COUNTIES ₁			64	1.3
HAKKA (客家) ₂	1,780	4.6		
TOTAL	38,697	100.0	5,056	100.0

Note:

1. In British Columbia OTHER COUNTIES includes Sanshui (San-shui), Sihui (Ssu-hui), Zonghua (Tsung-hua), Wuhua (Wu-hua), Xingning (Hsing-ning), Huiyang (Hui-yang), Gaoming (Kao-ming), Luozhang (Lo-chang), Meixian (Mie-hsien), Jingyuan (Ching-yuan), Xinxing (Hsin-hsing), Yangjun (Yang-chun) and unspecified counties.
2. Hikka (Kejia) refer to people who speak Hikkaness and they could be from all counties listed in the table.

Table 24 indicates that all recorded Chinese in California came from the Pearl River Delta. Similarly, almost all (98.7 %) Chinese in British Columbia came from the Pearl River Delta. There are however some minor differences between these two places. First, Chinese from the

Simi District formed the largest group of Chinese in both places but their percentages of total Chinese immigrants were different, 41.6% in California and 63.5% in British Columbia. In other words, more than a half of the Chinese immigrants in British Columbia came from the Siyi District.

Second, Chinese from Xiangshan (Zhongshan) County in the western Delta formed the second largest group (36.2%) of the total Chinese in California, with only 2.2% in British Columbia. Third, Chinese from the Sanyi District produced the third largest group of Chinese immigrants in California. The percentages of Sanyi Chinese in the Chinese population in both places are very close (17.6% vs. 18.3%). However, the Sanyi Chinese in British Columbia constituted the second largest group. Finally, the Hakka people accounted for a very small population (4.6%) in California. There is no information about Hakkas in British Columbia in receipt stubs, but the author's research on other sources indicates that a small number of Hakkas did enter British Columbia. For example, all stores named Ren He (人和) in British Columbia were probably run by Hakkas because these stores were possibly branches of the Ren He, one of the Six Companies in California, which was operated by the Hakkas (Lyman 1961). Another example is found on the *Townsite Map of Barkerville* (1970). On this map, two houses are marked being occupied by Hakka people (Figure 56). These differences indicate that when the gold rush to the Fraser took place, only part of the Chinese in California participated. There are unknown factors that led to some Chinese moving north to British Columbia while others remained in California or moved to other places in the United States. Those first Chinese arrivals in British Columbia set up a pattern of immigration where a specific region within Guangdong, the Pearl River Delta, contributed most of the immigrant population. This is a pattern that remained in place for decades due to the very nature of chain migration.

External Factors Affecting the Development of Chinese Settlements

In the years following the gold rush, the Chinese established a series of isolated or semi-isolated settlements along the Fraser. The Chinese deliberately set themselves apart from the white population. External factors responsible were prejudice from the white society, hostility from the Natives and the harsh weather. Prejudice was familiar to those Chinese who came from California mines, but the latter two factors were new to them.

When the first group of Chinese arrived in Victoria in June 1858, the colony showed a perplexed feeling toward their arrival. An article written by Kinahan Cornwallis, an Englishman

who had travelled the gold fields in British Columbia and passed through Victoria on his way back to England, was published on the *Republic* in June 1858:

One of the many curious sights visible in town after the arrival was the spectacle of the Danish Consul at San Francisco marching wearing up one of the streets - Johnson Street, ... and followed by a bunch of Chinese; but as to whether their efforts were to be devoted to the washing of gold or of shirts, I could not ascertain (1973:254).

On June 30, 1858, the *Victoria Gazette* published an article, *A Pioneer Chinaman*. It says:

We have not yet seen a Chinaman in Victoria, though a small number of citizens of the Flowery Kingdom are known to have left California in the Fraser River exodus. From a sign, which appears in our streets, however, it may be presumed that John is among us and bears the euphonious and suggestive legend, Chang Tsou.

Such a feeling quickly changed to hostility when large numbers of Chinese began arriving in the colony. From the view of the Occidental merchant class, the Chinese did not contribute much to the market economy since they limited their consumption to a minimum and sent most of their earnings back to their home country. Even such limited consumption was mostly within the trade system set up by Chinese merchants. The Chinese rarely purchased Occidental goods and almost never bought luxury items from Occidental stores (*British Columbia* March 14, 1861; *Royal Commission Report on Chinese Immigration* 1885).

In 1860, a public meeting in Victoria passed a resolution for a poll tax on Chinese men. Although this resolution was not officially approved of, the sentiments reflected a degree of animosity toward the Chinese (Marie 1976:11). On February 13, 1861, the first issue of the *British Columbia* was published. It had an article from the editor John Robson, which proposed the imposition of a special tax on Chinese miners. From that time, Robson acted as one of the main leaders of the anti-Chinese movement in British Columbia. On March 14, 1861, the same newspaper issued Robson's editorial article, the Celestial Tax. He attempted to apply organized oppression and persecution to resist the large number of Chinese entering the colony. He believed, in the same article, that by the end of the 1861 season there would be 20,000 Chinese in British Columbia. Drawing on the examples from California, Australia and British Columbia, Robson said that the Chinese miners had rapidly exhausted the surface diggings in all these places. They lived on rice, thus spending only half as much as Europeans on necessities, and nothing on luxuries. They returned to China taking their gold with them. In British Columbia they do not pay their fair of tariffs, yet they benefit from its expenditure. Since California and Australia had imposed a fifty-dollar tax, Robson proposed a similar tax in British Columbia. The government did not approve of the proposal, but the anti-Chinese movement continued.

In the gold fields white miners viewed the Chinese as a direct threat. In the spring of 1859, 12 Chinese men from the gold fields left Victoria Harbour to visit China. At that time, only those

who made substantial profits were able to go back to their home country. As it was mentioned earlier, a Chinese named Li Rong had arrived in New Westminster from Fort Douglas in January 1860, carrying gold sand worth of \$5,000 (*The Victoria Colonist* January 28, 1860). These pieces of occasional news were already enough to stir up white miners' jealousy. They complained of the Chinese:

The Celestials have pursued a most aggressive policy - jumping claims while the owners were in town buying provisions; pulling up stakes and tearing down notices; and behaving in an insolent manner generally, thereby meriting a sound trouncing (*British Colonist* Aug./08/1859).

At some places, hostility turned to physical attacks by group or individuals. In 1858 at Hope, for example,

a group of white miners from California prevented a steamer carrying Chinese miners from landing at Hope. They threatened the Chinese and the Captain as well with violence. Such a tension continued until the Hudson Bays trader and his son came over to intervene and the Chinese were permitted to disembark (Marie 1976:10).

In some instances, murder took place. In his thesis, *Attitudes Toward Chinese Immigrants to British Columbia 1858-1885*, Marie Gillian (1976:18) indicates that between 1858 and 1863, nine Chinese were murdered and none of these crimes was ever solved.

Those complaints and actions mentioned above were, of course, not able to keep the Chinese out of the gold fields, but they were strong enough to make the Chinese fearful of working alone or competing with white miners for new or rich claims. It was this factor that formed a mining pattern:

The white miner never content, always working with both ears open to catch the first vague whisper of richer ground to be found just under the fringe of the unknown, ever ready to abandoned the substance for the shadow; the Chinaman content, immovable, deaf to such rumours, clinging tenaciously to his ground so long as it continues to yield the scantiest profit (Howay 1914:567).

In addition to the economic reasons, the hostility toward the Chinese involved strong racial discrimination. The Occidental population considered the Chinese a threat to the cultural destiny of the new colony (Marie 1976:13). The Chinese, their yellow skin, pigtailed, language, costume, and way of life, all became the objects of prejudice. Such feelings seem to have been everywhere. In March 1859, the *Victoria Gazette* reports the departure of a group of Chinese from Victoria for the gold fields:

A procession of moon-eyed Orientals might have been seen yesterday afternoon on their way to the wharf of the steamer for Langley. The display consisted of sixteen individuals whose manoeuvres, although accomplished in Indian file, caused quite a scattering of bystanders on the line of the march. As each of the immigrating army was his own pack

animal and was loaded in true Chinese style, with a pole on his shoulder, dangling from each end of which were packages of provisions etc. In this instance, long-handled shovels were made to serve the purpose of poles, and it was cheering to witness the gay and airy manner in which the Johns, despite their burdens, bounded along the stony pavement as they passed...

Governor Douglas expressed his thoughts of the Chinese:

They are certainly not a desirable class of people as permanent part of the population but for the present, are useful as labourers and consumers of a revenue-paying character (*Chinatown News* July 3, 1958).

During an 1860 Victoria Public Meeting, some speakers used words like nuisance, moral scourge and pronounced a curse on the heads of the Chinese while others abused the Chinese for producing nothing and not even reproducing themselves (Marie 1976:11). In 1863 a white miner murdered a Chinese. His reason was: 'I did not like his face' (*Chinatown News* Aug. 18, 1958). In April 1865, a white man called Copeland cut off a Chinese man's pigtail, which was considered part of man's life in China at that time (*British Columbia* April 22, 1865:3). These events served to widen the existing cultural gap between the Chinese and the local society and strengthened the Chinese's tendency for self-isolation and the development of separate social institutions.

Another factor, which confined the Chinese to their own society, was the tension between the Chinese and Natives. An agreement of peace between white miners and the Natives was reached in August 1858 in Yale. However, it did not seem to apply to the relationship between the Chinese and Natives. Interestingly, all reported conflicts between Chinese and Natives took place after the agreement was concluded. In the spring of 1859, for example, Natives attacked Chinese miners at the Bridge River (*Victoria Gazette* May 28, 1859; June 7, 1859). In another incident, a Chinese miner called Pulingo (probably an incorrect writing of Pu, Lingo) hired a Native called Tachanack to take him by canoe from the Harrison River to a place eight miles (13 km) above Hope. Pulingo was never seen again but Tachanack was seen later, carrying gold and Pulingo's personal effects including his boots. Tachnack was sentenced to one-year in jail with hard labour. The charge of murder was not laid because Pulingo's body was never found (*British Columbia* May 7, 1864). These events, though infrequent, discouraged single or small groups of Chinese from exploring or entering new places where Natives lived. This, in turn, enforced the development of isolated Chinese communities.

The third factor, which enhanced the isolation of Chinese settlements, was British Columbia's harsh weather. Coming from south China, within the sub-tropical zone, Chinese faced a primary challenge in British Columbia's interior. The long harsh winters must have been a shocking contrast to south China with its year round summer. Weather made their already

tough life even more miserable. Chinese who had no intention to change their way of life had to rely on the Chinese goods supply system run by Chinese traders and that was available only in Chinese settlements.

A combination of these factors enforced the emergence of traditional Chinese social institutions and independence. Settlements formed wherever they went in British Columbia.

Conclusion

The arrival of Chinese in British Columbia in the late 1850s is part of a broad pattern of Chinese emigration to foreign countries in the mid-nineteenth century. In the first two years (1858-59), Chinese came from California, and starting in early 1860, they also began to arrive directly from south China. Following the same trend established in the 1840s gold rush to California, the majority of Chinese in British Columbia came from the Pearl River Delta in the province of Guangdong. People from the Siyi District of the Pearl River Delta were more common in British Columbia than in California. It seems that Chinese immigration to California and British Columbia was limited to certain groups of people from a narrowly limited home district. This is the base for the home county origin pattern seen in the early 1880s and reflects a form of chain immigration.

Before entering the North Cariboo District the Chinese were seen in most gold fields on the Fraser. In many of these places, the Chinese set up their own settlements, which became physical expressions of Chinese societies. Building up isolated societies and settlements came from Chinese' own willingness as their countrymen did in other places of the world historically or contemporarily. Such voluntary activities were enforced by external factors such as prejudice from non-Chinese societies, tense relationships with Natives, and significant climatic change.

Chapter 5 Formative Period (1860s-1870s)

Introduction

The Formative Period, from the 1860s to the 1870s, is a difficult period to discuss because archival sources and archaeological data are scarce. The chapter draws a general picture of the rise of Chinese social institutions in the North Cariboo during this period. It starts with the discovery of gold in the district and the technology of its extraction. Next, it discusses the chronology of Chinese settlement in the four main areas. It then shifts to an investigation of the major achievements of the Chinese societies during this time period. It concludes that a Chinese settlement pattern consisting of a large Chinatown, several Chinese quarters in small towns or mining camps, and cabin sites emerged in all four areas of the district between 1861 to 1871 and that this settlement system may be seen as a physical reflection of distinctive Chinese social institutions.

Gold Mining

Discovery of gold in the North Cariboo

It is mentioned in Chapter 4 that Galois (1970) divides the development of gold mining technology in the Western Cordillera into three stages. In the north Cariboo, these three stages took place one after another after 1860. The first one took place between 1860 and 1876; the second 1877 to 1931, and the third 1932 to 1968 (Galois 1970). In Galois' work Cariboo refers to the Barkerville and Stanley areas. However, the gold cycle he summarized should also apply to the areas of Quesnel and Quesnelle Forks, since they are connected to the Barkerville and Stanley areas.

The history of the Chinese in the North Cariboo can be also divided into three periods. The similarity and differences between these two time divisions are listed in the following table (Table 25).

Table 25: A comparison of mining technology and the phases of Chinese history in the North Cariboo

GOLD INDUSTRY IN CARIBOO		CHINESE IN CARIBOO	
Early period	1860-1876	Formative period	1861-1875
Hydraulic period	1877-1931	Developing period	1876-1910
		Declining and disintegrating period	1911-1947
Lode period	1932-1966	↓	

Table 25 shows that the first period in the history of the Chinese in the North Cariboo correlates with Galois' first period. The second and most of the third periods of the history of the Chinese in the Cariboo fall into Galois' second period, 1876 to 1930s. The rest of the third period, the 1930s-1940s, falls into Galois' third period. A difference between these two time divisions becomes clear after the early 1870s, in that the fate of Chinese work and social life was affected not only by the situation in the gold industry but also by other factors such as the Canadian government's policy on Chinese immigration and the affects of the First and Second World wars.

Located along the Fraser, the area of Quesnel Mouth was the first to be reached by white miners in the North Cariboo, in June 1859 (Elliot 1978:21). Later that year, some miners left the Fraser, ascended the Quesnel River to the east, and entered into the southern portion of the Cariboo region where Quesnel and Cariboo Lakes were discovered. Soon after, the Horsefly River, a tributary of the Quesnel River in the south Cariboo, was also reached. Gold found in these areas soon proved much richer than ones on the main Fraser River. Reports of \$200.00 per day per man in some grounds were made. On one creek, a group of five men took out 101 ounces with two rockers. Beyond these results was the discovery of the so-called Blue Lead around Quesnel and Cariboo Lakes, which was traced for 30 miles (48 km) with a lateral extent of nearly ten miles (16 km) (Howay 1914:71). Miners considered it a sign of a gold-bearing stratum because it looked similar to what they found in California (Howay 1914:71). During the rush to this area, the town of Quesnel Forks emerged in early 1860 at the place where the Quesnel and Cariboo rivers join. Miners kept prospecting further north and east.

In early 1860, Doc Keithley and his partners discovered Keithley Creek, a tributary of the Cariboo River. Soon after that, miners reached Harvey and Cunningham Creeks nearby. In the fall, the auriferous character of these creeks was confirmed causing an immediate rush to the area north of Quesnel Forks (Howay 1914:75; Wright 1993:13).

In the fall of 1860, a group of four men, in whom Doc Keithley was included, headed north to search for rich grounds. This time they discovered Antler Creek, about 20 miles (32 km) north of Keithley. That was the first time that the Barkerville area, in the central Cariboo, was reached.

Gold-bearing bedrock was beneath the surface only a short distance, and in many places, gold just trickled out. In addition, the group found a slate rock stratum beneath red gravel, which they believed similar to the gold-bearing bed that had been found in California (Howay 1914). A local rush from the Quesnel Forks area to Antler started right after the discovery, but large-scale mining did not start until the next spring. By May 1861, there were 1,400 miners on the creek and the town of Antler was quickly taking shape (Galois 1970:30).

Not contented with the finds on Antler Creek a group of miners went west to look for new grounds. In February 1861, they found and named Williams Creek, after 'Dutch' Bill Dietz (*Victoria Chronicle* November 5, 1863). A rush to Williams Creek took place right after its discovery similar to Antler Creek the previous year and a new town of Williams Creek was built along the creek (*Colonist* October 14, 1862). During the rush some miners went beyond the Willow River watershed to the southwest via Jack of Clubs Creek. They found Lightning Creek, one of the two major rivers in the Cottonwood River system (Galois 1970:31).

Deep digging was initiated in the vicinity above Richfield in 1861, but did not produce results until August 17, 1862 when William Barker and his partners sank a shaft below Richfield. They hit extremely rich deposits, recovering 124 ounces of gold within ten hours (Wright 1993:16). A few months later John A. Cameron's shaft, a mile (1.6 km) below Barker's shaft, also struck rich gravel. These discoveries provided another promising technology of mining to the existing surface mining and shifted the gold rush to Williams Creek to an international movement. Surface mining is impossible in winter season, but deep digging is not as affected by the cold weather (Galois 1970:34). By the end of May 1862, about 6,000 miners had entered the Cariboo region with 2,000 of them concentrated on Williams Creek (Howay 1914:82). In 1863, the gold rush to the Cariboo reached its peak. There were 4,000 miners on Williams Creek alone (Galois 1970:32). This rush continued until 1864.

The decline of the gold industry started in 1865 and continued into the early 1870s. There were both internal and external reasons for the decline. The internal factors included surface mining which declined in most places by 1865, and which drove many individuals and small partner companies away from the area. Secondly, the cost of living, for things such as food and mining equipment was high due to the lack of local agriculture and the difficulty in travel to Barkerville from the lower main land, where most supplies were obtained. A wagon road between Yale and Barkerville was completed in 1865, but the decline continued. The third internal reason was the failure of deep diggings at Meadows, downstream of Williams and Lightning Creeks below Van Winkle primarily because pumps available at that time were incapable of coping with large amount of underground water (Galois 1970:35). This resulted in

the abandonment of Meadows and Lightning Creek in 1865 and the town of Van Winkle in 1866 by hundreds of people (*Cariboo Sentinel* June 6, 1865; July 12, 1866).

An external factor in the decline was the discovery of gold in other places of British Columbia, such as in the Kootenays (1864), at Big Bend (1869), in the Peace-Omineca district (1869), Cassiar (1872), and on Vancouver Island in places such as the Leech River (1864) (Galois 1970:35). *Cariboo Sentinel* reports the impact of these outside discoveries to Cariboo:

100 men have left Williams Creek in about one week for the newer gold diggings of Kootenay and Big Bend (July 29, 1865)

and, again,

Several men have left Williams Creek for Omineca and others are leaving daily (March 11, 1869).

The decline was marked with a rapid decrease in population. In 1865, there were 2,000 miners in Cariboo, which was only half of the people there in 1864 (*Cariboo Sentinel* July 29, 1868). In June 7, 1866, the *Cariboo Sentinel* reports a more precise figure: white population 1,359, Chinese population 517, and arrivals continue. In the October 1, 1868 issue of the *Cariboo Sentinel* (October 2, 1868), there is mention again that the population has been constantly decreasing since 1862. By the end of 1876, the total population in the Barkerville area was only 1,190, including 544 Chinese and 646 others (*British Columbia Minister of Mines, Annual Reports 1876*).

The first gold rush to the North Cariboo petered out in 1865 but gold mining did not stop. Under the overall decline, several small rushes took place in the Barkerville and Stanley areas between 1865 and 1876. The first was a rush to Grouse Creek, a tributary of Antler Creek, in 1866 (*Cariboo Sentinel* July 1, 1866). That led to the birth of two small towns on Grouse Creek, Upper Town and Lower Town (Galois 1970). Mining on the creek was in operation until the early 1870s (Galois 1970:38). Another rush to Mosquito Creek and its tributaries took place in 1867 (*Cariboo Sentinel* July 8, 1867). A town called Centreville soon developed and became a rival to Barkerville in 1868 (*Cariboo Sentinel* May 28, 1868). After the early 1870s, the mining near Centreville declined and the town also vanished (Galois 1870:39). A third rush took place on Lightning Creek in 1869, which led to a revival of Van Winkle and the birth of a new town called Stanley. In addition to those three rushes, there were several smaller scale rushes: Burns Creek (1865), Hardscrabble Creek (1868), Concklins Gulch (1868), Stouts Gulch (1869), and Jack of Clubs (1871) (Galois 1970:39). These rushes kept the gold industry on a stable base instead of the frantic nature of the initial rush for gold in the early 1860s.

Lightning Creek was found to be gold bearing as early as 1861. It provided a new area for surface mining and a town called Van Winkle emerged at the junction of Lightning and Van Winkle Creeks in 1862 (Galois 1970:31; Wright 1993:16). However, the boom did not last long due to the rapid exhaustion of surface mining and failure of the deep digging mentioned earlier in this chapter. In 1865, the *Cariboo Sentinel* described Van Winkle as a nearly deserted village (from Wright 1993:137) and in 1868 the town was lying in ruins (*Cariboo Sentinel* May 21, 1870 Galois 1970:67).

Starting in 1869, deep digging was reapplied at Lightning Creek with improved machinery, and produced good returns. This caused a new boom on the creek in the early 1870s, which peaked in 1875. Exceeding Williams Creek, Lightning became the leading gold producing creek in the North Cariboo in the early 1870s (Galois 1970:83).

The new boom brought Van Winkle back to life and spawned a new town named Stanley downstream in 1871 (*Cariboo Sentinel* April 29, 1971). The later became a primary centre on the creek and its vicinity. With the development of Stanley, that section of Lightning Creek took on an identity that was separate from the area around Barkerville.

Methods and organization of gold mining

Methods of gold Mining

During the early period, placer mining was the main method of mining. It consisted of three methods: surface excavations, shaft and drift mining (both also called deep mining), and hydraulic mining, depending on the location of gold bearing gravel. Each technology required different tools or equipment. In most places, if not all, mining started with surface digging using pick and shovel. When surface digging declined, exploration turned to shaft and drift mining. Deep digging required shafts, tunnels, pumps to be constructed, flume, and the access to a power source, usually a water wheel. Hydraulic mining is where water is directed by means of a canvas or hose onto a gravel face. This washes the gravel down slope for gold recovery in sluice boxes. In the North Cariboo, it was employed as early as 1862 on Antler Creek and 1863 on Lightning and Williams Creeks, but did not become popular until later (Galois 1970:47).

In separating gold from gravel, a gold pan was the simplest and handiest tool. This made it the tool of choice for exploration and for winnowing down the concentrates left in sluice boxes. It has been used during the entire history of gold mining in the district and is still in use today. Other mechanisms for gold saving consisted of rocker boxes, long toms, sluice boxes, bedrock

flumes, and bedrock drains. They were used depending on the location and yield of gold in the gravel (Galois 1970).

Organization of the gold Mining

In this period, the basic form of organization for mining was the company of partnership. Each company consisted of four to eight members. Members took up their own claims, each 100 square feet (9.3 m²), which were adjacent to one another, and then worked as a whole (Palmer 1864:16 cited in Galois 1970:54). In addition to partners, a given company also hired additional labourers when there was such a need.

The size of a company was mostly determined by the nature of placer mining at the time. A small company of a few people, with a low cost, could work out surface excavations within a short time period. However, deep and hill diggings required a larger amount of money, more manpower and a longer duration to operate than surface digging (Gillette 1863 cited in Galois 1970:54). Hence, they need larger companies than the ones engaged in surface digging in order to obtain more cooperative or organized efforts. For example, when Dutch Bill Dietz explored Williams Creek with pick and pan in the early 1862, he had only a few partners with him. In August 1862 when he struck rich gravel by sinking shafts in the same creek, Dietz had eight partners (Wright 1993:15-16).

Development of Chinese settlements

Everyone was free to enter and mine during this period in British Columbia. However, there had been Anti-Chinese sentiment right from the beginning of the gold rush. In gold fields, white miners tried to keep the Chinese out of the newly discovered areas (Wright 1987:34). In Victoria, proposals for charging the Chinese head taxes ranging from \$10 to \$50 were put forwarded in the early 1860s and early 1870s respectively, but both were defeated by the government for economic reasons (Morton 1973). The for mentioned pressures might have slowed the speed at which the Chinese searched for gold to some degree, but did not stop them. Appendix II contains combined information from Galois' work (1970) and the author's research on other contemporaneous places worked by both White and the Chinese from 1860 to the 1940s.

Appendix II indicates that Chinese arrived at Quesnel Mouth in 1861, Quesnel Forks at least by early 1863, Antler 1863, Barkerville 1864, and the Stanley area 1866. They established various settlements in all four areas,

Quesnel Mouth Area

No archaeological work has been carried out in this area so far and documentary records about the Chinese in this area are also fragmentary. Only five drainages were reported as having Chinese working them, which obviously does not include all places worked by the Chinese (Appendix II).

Quesnel Mouth (Quesnel)

White miners reached Quesnel Mouth and its neighbourhood in June 1859. Elliott (1978:88) states that there were two Chinese stores in Quesnel as early as 1860. If that is true, Chinese merchants arrived in Quesnel Mouth earlier than Chinese miners. These businessmen were followed by their mining countrymen. In 1861, nearly 500 Chinese arrived in Quesnel Mouth (Elliott 1978:46). *Richfield, British Columbia Gold Commissioner Mining Licenses* (RBCGCML) (1862-1864) reveals that, in the 1861 season, 23 Whites and 31 Chinese miners obtained mining licenses from the Gold Commissioner.

One of those early Chinese arrivals was Zhou Nan-xing or Chow Nam-sing (周南星). His name was seen in RBCBCML as Nam Sing (No. 5252 August 12, 1861). Chow Nam-sing was born in the Kaiping County, in 1835, (CCBA 9.1 Box 2-8-d; *Canada Census* 1901) and probably went to California during the 1840s gold rush. He came to British Columbia as early as 1859 (*Canada Census* 1901) and arrived in Quesnel Mouth by at least 1861. Initially, Chow engaged in mining at first and later went into farming later. Chow Nam Sing was known to the major society as Nam Sing. His last name, Chow, was eventually dropped. Nam Sing stayed in the North Cariboo for more than 40 years until his death around 1904 at age 69. He and his family will be discussed in more detail later in this thesis.

The fact that there were two Chinese stores, in 1860, and 500 Chinese miners, in 1861, suggests that the Chinese may have constructed a settlement in Quesnel Mouth at that time. The white part of town did not seem to take shape until the spring of 1863, when the *Colonist* (cited in Elliott 1978:47) reported:

At the mouth of Quesnel there is a town springing up which bids fair to be the largest interior town in B. C. The entire business of the present routes and of the projected coast routes, must eventually centre there. ... a dozen buildings were in the process of erection ... and the machinery for a sawmill is on the way from Lillooet ...

Apparently, when the white town developed, the Chinese settlement became a quarters within the town.

Construction of the Cariboo Road started in 1862 and was completed in 1865. The road and the Fraser River contributed to Quesnel becoming a major river port and supply point for the interior Cariboo and other places in northern British Columbia (Wright 1993:133) (Figure 52). This attracted more businesses, including Chinese ones, to Quesnel Mouth. In 1865, the Kwong Lee Company, which was often referred to the Chinese Hudson's Bay Company, had a branch there (Hong 1978:185).

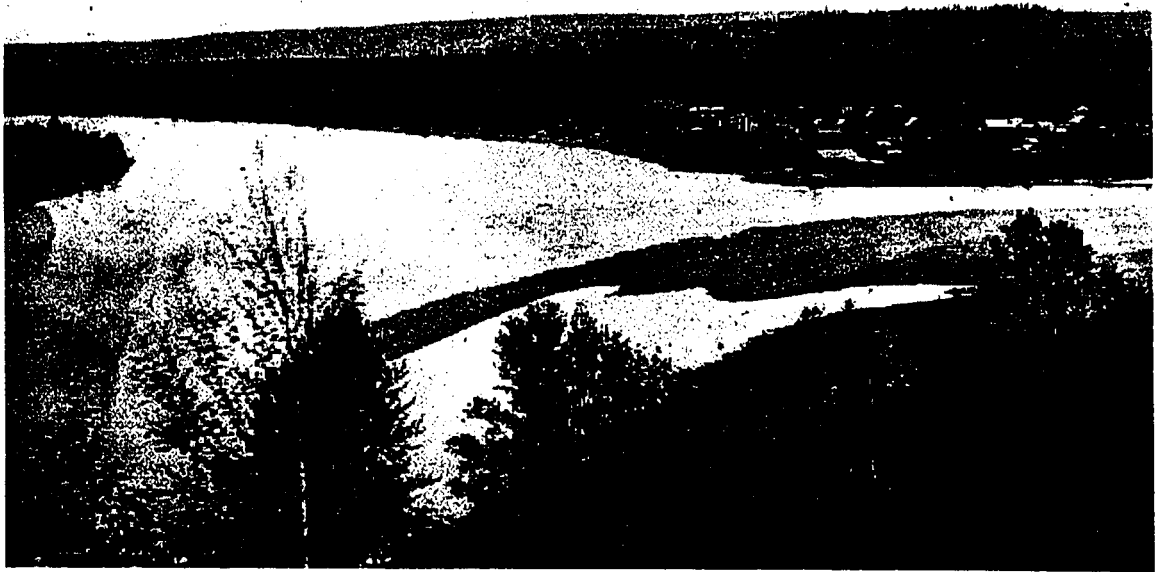


Figure 52. Quesnel Mouth in 1867 (BCPC 04032).

Information regarding Chinese settlers by contemporary European society is scarce. The only report came from the *Colonist* in October 1866:

A very serious riot took place here (Quesnel Mouth) yesterday between the Chinese inhabitants. ... The fight originated in a Chinese gambling house about some money, when the friends of each party adjourned to the street and fought it out. There must have been seventy-five in the fight at one time, using clubs, knives, hatchets, axes etc. None of them killed but about a dozen badly wounded. Had it not been for the great courage displayed by Chief Constable Trevor in quelling the riot, there would have been a greater many killed.

The news indicates that by the later part of 1866, the Chinese population in Quesnel Mouth had reached a considerable size and that they seemed to belong to different groups.

The *1871 British Columbia Guide* (p. 72) states that there were two Chinese businesses in Quesnel, also known as Quesnel Mouth: one was the Kwong Lee Company and the another was E Tie.

Quesnel Mouth's Chinatown was destroyed in a fire on June 25, 1925 and was not re-established (Elliott 1958:108). In 1989, Lai (1989:14, 15) found the rough location of Chinatown in the modern Quesnel on both sides of Barlow Avenue, close to east bank of the Fraser River (Lai 1989:16). The site is entirely covered by modern building and there has not been any archaeological work so far.

Cemetery

There was a cemetery in Quesnel Mouth with a Chinese quarter, but no work has been conducted on it yet.

Hixon Creek

Hixon Creek is nearly 5 km north of Quesnel Mouth and is situated on the east side of the Fraser. In the fall of 1867, 20 white men and 200 Chinese worked on this creek. A small town consisting of two stores and a boarding house served the population. One of these two stores was run by Chinese (*Cariboo Sentinel* September 9, 1867). Apparently, Chinese was the dominant population in this small town, and they would have had a close relationship with the Quesnel Mouth Chinatown.

In the summer of 1993, the author surveyed the creek but failed to locate any Chinese cultural remains since the majority of the creek changed physically during a mud-rock slide in the early 1990s.

Other creeks

Chinese also mined on three other creeks, and each creek had six, ten to 50 persons respectively. This suggests that they could have built either mining camps, such as at Terry Creek, or cabin sites, such as at Barry Creek and Government Creek.

Farms

In addition to these sites reported in Appendix II, there were also Chinese farm sites in this area, although their specific locations are not precise.

When surface digging was unavailable, some Chinese including Nam Sing mentioned above, turned to farming successfully. Their products were plentiful enough to supply the population in not only Quesnel Mouth, but also Barkerville. On September 16, 1865 *the Cariboo Sentinel* states:

Vegetables are getting very plentiful on the creek, the Celestial population at Quesnelmouth and Keithley Creeks keeping us well supplied. Potatoes are selling at 12.5 cents 1 lb. In previous seasons they never were sold at less than 30 cents per 1 lb.

The same newspaper reports again next year (*Cariboo Sentinel* July 8, 1867): A Chinaman brought in on Saturday a wagon load of fresh vegetables, consisting chiefly of lettuce, onions, radishes, etc., which were grown at Quesnelmouth. It is needless to say they went off like hot cakes at very good prices.

Coupled with the rise of farming was the development of a few farm settlements in the area. Nam Sing, for example, was recorded in the 1881 Census as a farmer as well as the head of a two-male household. However, he could have been in operation at least as early as the late 1860s.

A town site map of Barkerville produced in 1970 based on Bill Hong's memory reveals that Nam Sing had two properties in Barkerville. One was called Nam Sing Root Cellar (南星 土庫) on Lot 12, on the west side of the Main Street, and another, Zhou Nam Sing Hay Storage (周 南星 草房) on Lot 73, on the east side of the Main Street (Figure 54). These lots could also have been in existence in the town from 1865, after the opening of the Cariboo Road.

The above indicates that the Chinese established Chinatowns or Chinese quarters in at least two places: Quesnel Mouth and Hixon Creek. They could have built a large camp or cabin sites on three creeks, depending on the population size. In addition, Chinese set up farm sites in the area. These settlements could have formed a settlement pattern in which the Quesnel Mouth Chinatown was a centre.

Quesnel Forks Area

Chinese were reported to be working on 17 drainages in the area of Quesnel Forks during the first period (Appendix II).

Quesnel Forks

Located at the conjunction of the Cariboo and the Quesnel Rivers, Quesnelle Forks was the first town to be established in the area. Activities there began at least by the early 1860s. On September 14, 1860 the *Colonist* states:

A town has been started at the Forks of Quesnelle, and called the Forks City. It is the distributing point for that region of country, and is filled with miners and others every Sunday buying provisions.

By the end of 1860, there were a dozen stores, several boarding houses and saloons, twenty houses and a proliferation of tents in Quesnelle Forks. Houses and stores were built facing the river and a narrow levee, barely sufficient for pack trains to unload on, ran along the front of the town (*Colonist* May 19, 1861).

In March 1861, construction of a bridge over the South Fork was completed (*Colonist* April 16, and June 13, 1861). Another bridge over the North Fork was started in early 1862 and was completed in early 1864 (Wright 1987:16). These two bridges provided practical and safe access to and from the town.

On June 14, 1862, a Scot named James Thompson, visited the town and observed:

Quesnelle City, consisting of some 30 or 40 houses & shanties and 70 or 80 tents, stands on a small flat at the junction of the south and north Forks of the Quesnelle. It is surrounded by lofty thickly wooded mountains. A small space has been chopped and burnt off. The south fork is crossed by a very good wooden bridge. It is the depot where the Cariboo mines are supplied (Thompson 1874:291).

There is no record of when the Chinese first entered the area and when they started establishing a Chinatown in Quesnelle Forks. Wright (1987:34) believes that the Chinese came to the area only a couple of years after the settlement's founding when some of the whites moved north. White miners founded Antler Creek in the fall of 1860. An exodus from Quesnelle Forks to Antler Creek took place during the rest of that year and continued into the next year.

E. C. Gillette's *Notes on the Cariboo Country* (1863) states that Antler Creek was abandoned to the Chinese in 1863 (cited in Galois 1970:38). A newspaper account states that the Chinese only moved to Antler Creek in 1864, and before that, they probably only occupied Quesnelle Forks after the non-Chinese moved on (*Colonist* June 29, 1864). There is a one-year difference between these two records, but both tell that the Chinese had been in Quesnelle Forks at least by 1863.

The *Colonist* account is the earliest mention of Chinese at Quesnelle Forks. The *Cariboo Sentinel* mentions them there in June 15, 1868.

The Chinese presence increased near the end of the 1860s. In 1869, a visiting English missionary reported that there were nearly 3,000 Chinese men at the Forks (*Eleventh Annual Report of the Columbia Mission 1869:57*). The figure of 3,000 may be exaggerated, but it reflects a substantial Chinese population at Quesnelle Forks close to the end of the 1860s.

The 1873 *B. C. Directory* lists only four business or individuals at the Forks of Quesnel:

Barry, W. P. Lesse Ques. Br.
Hare, Oliver, Recor. & Const.
Watham, Thos, empl. A.S. Bate, and
Kwong Lee & Co. merchants.

It also lists four businesses or individuals at South Forks at an unidentified location:

Doak, Hugh
Gurey M.
Mitchell Capt.
E. Tie (怡泰), merchant (Chinese is added by the author)

Apparently, many other Chinese, especial those miners who lived there, were unrecorded.

An annual mining report written by Oliver Hare, Government Agent of Quesnelle Forks, on September 16, 1875 describes the situation.

The Chinese population is much reduced in this section of the district, a great many having left for Williams and Lightning creeks. Cedar, Duck and Goose creeks have been totally deserted by them this year, and very little has been done on Harvey...

As will be seen there are no white men engaged in mining, either on the Quesnelle River or Forks; therefore the Chinese have it all their own way, and will find pay, remunerative enough for them, for many years to come. On the whole I have found the Chinese more peaceable this year than usual, but to require the same amount of hunting up the license question as ever; many of them try scheme to avoid payment. ...

There are three well fitted up stores at the Forks, two of which are licensed to sell opium, and all for spirits. Judging from the vast quantity of goods brought in by pack trains, they must do a large business. There are also two butcher shops (*Report of the Minister of Mines 1875 1876:14*).

The report indicates though the Chinese population had decreased but it was still the dominant one at Quesnelle Forks.

South Fork

South Fork is reported in the *BC Directory of 1873* (Wright 1987:42). The directory listed four persons, two of whom, Thomas Watham and E Tie, were merchants. This suggests that there were two stores in South Forks and the Chinese owned one of them. The author's research on the

Chinese sources indicates that E Tie is not a person's name. Rather, it is instead the short form of the E Tie Tong Kee (Yi Tai Dong Ji) (怡泰東記) store. The store could have been in existence at least as early as the late 1860s when there was a large Chinese population in the area. The specific location of South Fork is unclear, but its name indicates that it should be somewhere across from Quesnelle Forks. It could be a separate small town, but it is also possible that it was an extension of the town of Quesnelle Forks. The name of E Tie Tong Kee is seen in the Hongmen account books produced in Quesnelle Forks from 1881 to 1885. This suggests two possibilities: that the store was still in existence in South Forks in the 1880s, or that the store moved to Quesnelle Forks from South Forks in the early 1880s.

Keithley

Keithley was built on north side of the mouth of Keithley Creek, in 1860. It is possible that the Chinese established a Chinatown or section in Keithley two years later, but the earliest report of the Chinese in Keithley is later than that. On September 16, 1865, the *Cariboo Sentinel* reported that the Chinese in Keithley and Quesnel Mouth supplied the Barkerville market with vegetables. From the late 1860s to the early 1870s, the *Cariboo Sentinel* had nearly 20 references to the Chinese companies mining activities on Keithley Creek. Most of these articles were positive.

In his *Report of the Minister of Mines 1875* (B. C. Session Papers 1876:14), Hare states that there were four stores in Keithley: three were owned by white men and one by Chinese. This indicates the existence of a Chinese quarter in the town, at least by the year 1875.

Mining camps

Appendix II indicates that groups of Chinese from 15 to nearly 100 were working in four rivers and creeks, such as Goose, Keithley, Spanish Creek and the Swift River. As these groups primarily worked on their own, they would have had their own isolated camps in all these places.

Among these camps, the one in Keithley Creek about five miles (8 km) above the mouth of the creek should be associated with Keithley's Chinatown.

Cabin sites

Small groups of four to ten Chinese were reported mining on their own in at least four creeks: China, Deacon, Harvey, and Snowshoe Creeks (Appendix II). In those places, they had to build cabins, each usually consisting archaeologically of a single structure with associated refuse.

In the summer of 1993, during the survey at Quesnelle Forks, Dave Falconer showed Philip Hobler and the author a mining cabin site on south bench of the Quesnel River. The site consists of a semi-depression house foundation and a refuse pit. It had been looted repeatedly in recent years and no artifacts remained. Falconer had heard that opium cans and Chinese herb bottles had been collected from the site, confirming that Chinese occupied the site. This site does not appear in any archival records. There were probably a great many such isolated cabin sites for which we have no written documentation.

Gardens

The Chinese in Keithley supplied Barkerville with vegetables as early as 1865. The Chinese must have started gardens or small-scale farms right after they settled in Keithley, at least by 1863.

No records about gardens in Quesnelle Fork in the first period are available. However, the map of *Town site of Quesnelle Forks* James Champion produced in 1893 displays a garden on the southeast corner of the town, the north bank of the South Forks. The same garden can be also seen in two photographs of the town taken in the 1880s and 1890s. This indicates that this garden existed in the 1880s. The *Cariboo Sentinel* (September 16, 1865) reports that the Chinese in Quesnelle Mouth (Quesnel) and Keithley sold vegetables in Barkerville. It is possible that Chinese had have gardens or small farms in the areas of Quesnelle Forks and Quesnel immediately after they settled in the town.

Though the archival records are incomplete, it is apparent that the Chinese had large and small settlements throughout the North Cariboo district in the first period. A settlement pattern consisting of a large Chinatown at Quesnelle Forks, smaller Chinatowns at Keithley and probably Cedar creeks, several large mining camps and many cabin sites had formed at least by the late 1860s.

Barkerville Area

The area of Barkerville covers both the Willow River and Lightning Creek watersheds during this period. The later did not form a separate sub-area, Stanley, in the North Cariboo until 1871.

Archival sources reveal that the Chinese had worked in 31 drainages during the first period. In this area, archaeological sites represented by Antler Town, on Antler Creek, Barkerville, Cameronton on Williams Creek, and Van Winkle and Stanley on Lightning Creek, were surveyed in the summers of 1993 and 1994 (Appendix II). In addition, field survey also located two Chinese sites: an unnamed cabin site near Antler Town and a Chinese quarter at Cameronton on Williams Creek. Both were not found in archival sources.

The Town of Antler

As the first town in the Barkerville area, Antler was formed at latest by early 1861 (Galois 1970:30). Later that year there were ten saloons, seven general stores, two blacksmith shops, a sawmill, a shoemaker and a butcher shop in the town (*Colonist* September 19, 1861). In 1862, the town reached its maximum size of 40 buildings (*London Times* October 21, 1862). After 1862, it declined because a new town on William Creek was booming. In 1863, Caucasians abandoned Antler to the Chinese (Gillette 1863 cited in Galois 1970:38). No early photographs of Antler are available. In his survey in the early 1880s, Bowman marked the town of Antler on his map.

The site of Antler (FgRi-1) was archaeologically surveyed in the summer of 1993. Later mining activities destroyed most of the site and only a house foundation with refuse on the west bank of Antler Creek and east side of the old road to Quesnelle Forks and Barkerville remained. The house was said to be an Assay office. Chinese ceramics such as liquor bottles were found in a nearby refuse. They could have been left by the Chinese who occupied the building after the non-Chinese abandoned it in 1863 (Gillette 1863 cited in Galois 1970:38).

Williams Creek (Richfield)

Williams Creek, in 1861, was the first town to be built up on Williams Creek. It is located in a canyon on the east side of Richfield Mountain, at the junction of Williams Creek and Walker Gulch. In late 1861, it replaced Antler Town as the major settlement in this area and was renamed as Richfield (*Colonist* October 14, 1862; *London Times* October 21, 1862). In early

1863, there were 60-70 houses including a courthouse and several government offices (*Victoria Daily Colonist* January 30, 1863). A visiting journalist commended on the town in the early 1860s (cited in Wright 1993:124):

The town comprised the ordinary series of rough wooden shanties, stores, restaurants, grog shops and gambling saloons. On a little eminence was the official residence tenanted by the gold commissioner and his assistants and policemen

By late 1863, the town of Barkerville downstream began growing rapidly. It soon came to be the leading town in the Cariboo and Richfield remained as a seat of government (Galois 1970:65) (Figure 53).

There are few records regarding the Chinese in Richfield. In 1991, Bill Quackenbush and the author examined Richfield prior to our archaeological survey. There were no traces of Chinese materials on the surface.

During the 1993 archaeological survey, ample evidence of Chinese occupation was found in the Williams Creek towns of Barkerville and Cameronton. There is no reason to believe that the Chinese would have skipped over nearby Richfield, only five km south of Barkerville. Evidence for Chinese occupation at Richfield may have been either disturbed by environmental factors or removed by later mining activity.

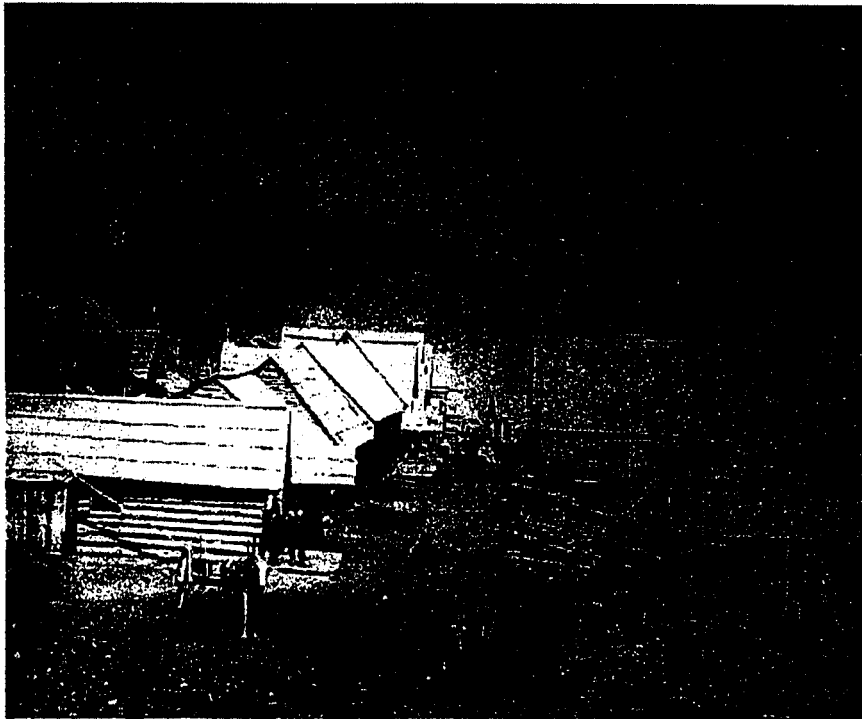


Figure 53. Richfield in 1866 (BCPA A-05958).

Williams Creek was renamed Richfield in 1862 (*Colonist* October 14, 1862 and *London Times* October 21, 1862). But the Chinese still preferred to call the town Williams Creek.

Among 232 Chinese account books four, 980.292.1 dating to 1881, 414.6 and 7 dating to 1885, and 291.27 dating to 1886, are related to the Chih Kung T'ang society on Williams Creek (Appendix IV). In these accounts, Williams Creek was written in Chinese as '委林士隙' or '威林士恤'. This reveals the existence of a branch of the Chih Kung T'ang society in the towns in the 1880s (Appendix IV). The Hong-men account books and the CCBA files further indicate that there were 99 Chinese and a Chinese store called Wa Lee (和利) in Richfield in the 1880s. These Chinese and the store could have been in existence in the town in the late 1860s when the Chinese first reached Williams Creek. In other words, there should be a Chinese quarter in Richfield by the late 1860s.

Richfield Cemetery

The Richfield Cemetery is located on the west side of Williams Creek, about 1 km northwest of Richfield and 1 km southwest of Barkerville. It is locally known as the Catholic and Chinese Cemetery. Archival sources in the park reveal that in addition to Chinese, several French Canadians men and a woman name Madame Bendixon are buried here. Our archaeological survey in 1993 identified 71 empty grave pits and one Caucasian grave. These figures do not cover those graves and pits, which left no trace on the surface (Appendix III Map 11). It is possible that the cemetery might at first have been shared by both whites and Chinese but later was occupied mostly by the Chinese. The non-Chinese might have had problems with the Chinese custom of burial and exhumation. Deceased Chinese were only buried for seven years and then their bones were dug up and shipped back to China, leaving numerous empty grave pits at cemetery. On July 19, 1866 *Cariboo Sentinel* reports:

A China wash man in Barkerville died in the morning last Monday. This is, we believe, the first instance of a Chinese death in Cariboo. His friends buried him in the Richfield graveyard after the fashion of his country.

Therefore year 1866 can be considered the year when the Chinese started burying their countrymen in the Barkerville area beginning first at the Richfield cemetery. As there seems to be no other Chinese cemeteries in this area during this period, the Richfield Cemetery may have been shared by all of the Chinese in this area after 1866.

Barkerville

The town Barkerville was built started in late 1862 (Ramsey 1970:62). Below the canyon, the town is about 1.3 km from Richfield and situated on a narrow long flat on the west side of Williams Creek. By the end of 1862, there were 60 to 70 houses in the town (Galois 1970:65). Barkerville became the leading town of the North Cariboo after 1863. (Ramsey 1970:62).

Of the four large towns, Quesnel, Quesnelle Forks, Barkerville, and Stanley, in the North Cariboo, Barkerville is best documented and physically preserved. To understand the development of the Chinatown in Barkerville properly, one must be aware of three site surveys and their resulting town site maps.

In the summer of 1863, Sergeant William McColl, R.E., and Lance Corporal J. Turnbull, R.E., of the Royal Engineers surveyed three towns, Richfield, Barkerville, and Cameronton on Williams Creek, producing a town site map of each. Because the towns were already in existence the surveyors did not have the luxury of laying out neat blocks and rectangular lots. Their task was to fit the random locations of existing buildings into a semblance of regular lots and streets (Wright 1993:65). The *Townsite Map of Barkerville* was completed on July 11, 1863. It shows a total of 61 lots and 40 buildings with notes, such as the location of shafts and streams (Figure 54). The main street ran through the town from north to south and all buildings were built on both sides of the main street.

On September 16, 1868, the town, except for one building in the Caucasian portion of town and parts of Chinatown, was destroyed by a fire. A new town sprang up soon after the fire. By the end of 1869, Barkerville had exceeded its former size (*Cariboo Sentinel* December 4 and 18, 1869).

In 1933 the British Columbia Underwriters Insurance surveyed the Barkerville town. All existing lots and buildings were renumbered and reallocated due to the fact that lot survey markers from 1863 had been buried by later mining debris. By doing so, a total of 113 lot and approximately 250 building were recorded, which were plotted on a new map produced after the survey (Figure 55). In the history of the Barkerville area, this 1933 survey is called the New Survey while the one done in 1863 the Old Survey (Wright 1993:61). In addition to the main street, the 1933 map shows a back street on the east side of the main street and new lots on east side of the back street. The map also plots a footpath parallel to the main street on the hilly, western edge of the town.

In 1970, the Barkerville Historic Town produced a town site map in co-operation with Bill Hong who was born in a Chinese merchant family in Stanley in 1901 and spent most of his life in the Barkerville-Stanley area before his death in 1985. Using the 1933 town site map as the

background, this map shows the locations of individual buildings on each lot with notes on the building function and owners. After that, a sub-map of Chinatown was made and the functions or owner's names of each building are marked in both Chinese and English (Figure 56). This map clearly shows the location of Chinatown. A total of 40 structures and one feature on 26 lots are attributed to the Chinese.

The lot system set up in 1933 is still used today, but the buildings have been given another set of catalogue numbers, separating them from the lot numbers due to the fact that some buildings have been moved to different lots.

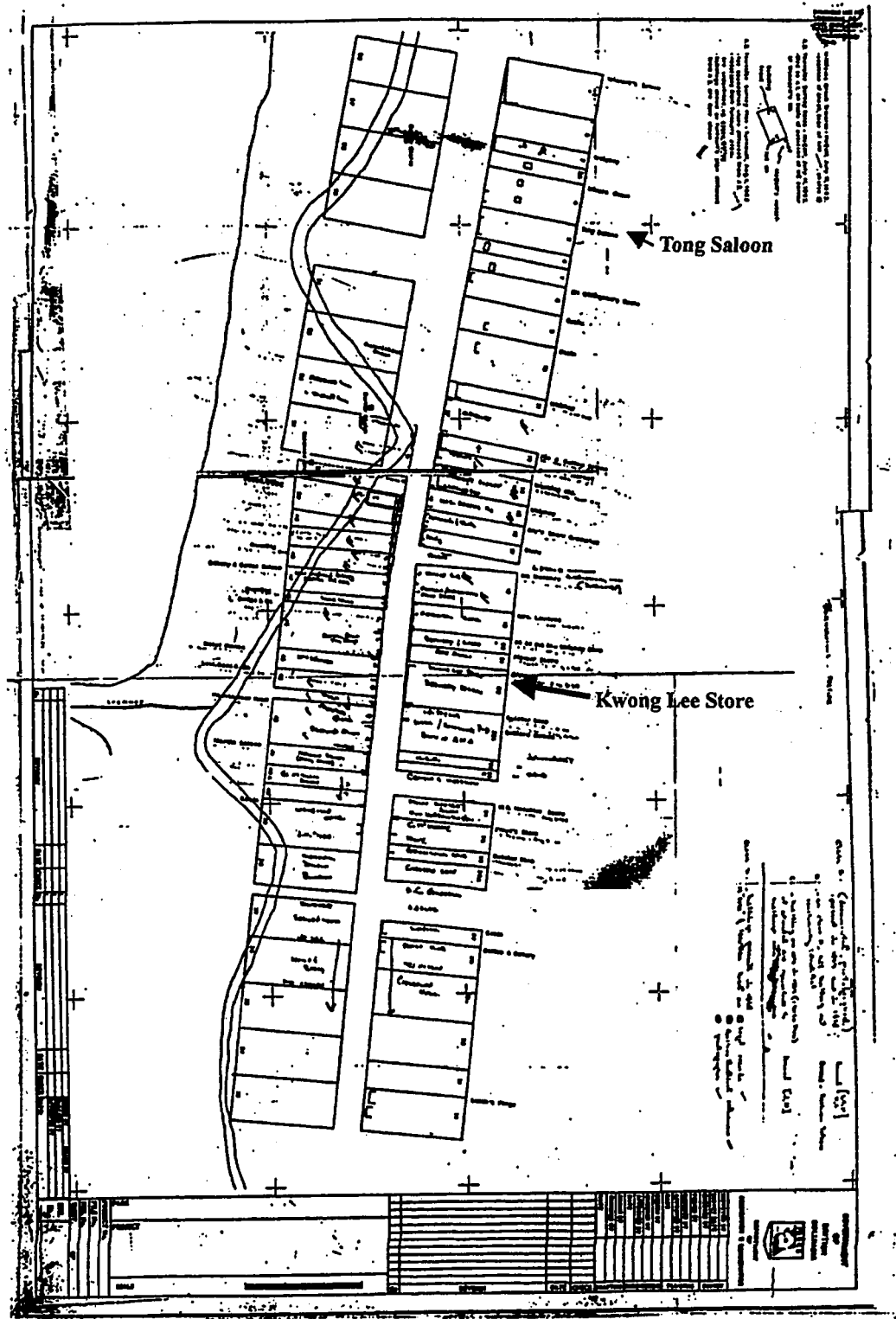


Figure 54. Town Site Survey Plan of Barkerville (by William McColl, R.E., and Lance Corporal J. Turnbull R. E. in 1863). Note that the Kwong Lee Store occupied lot 22.

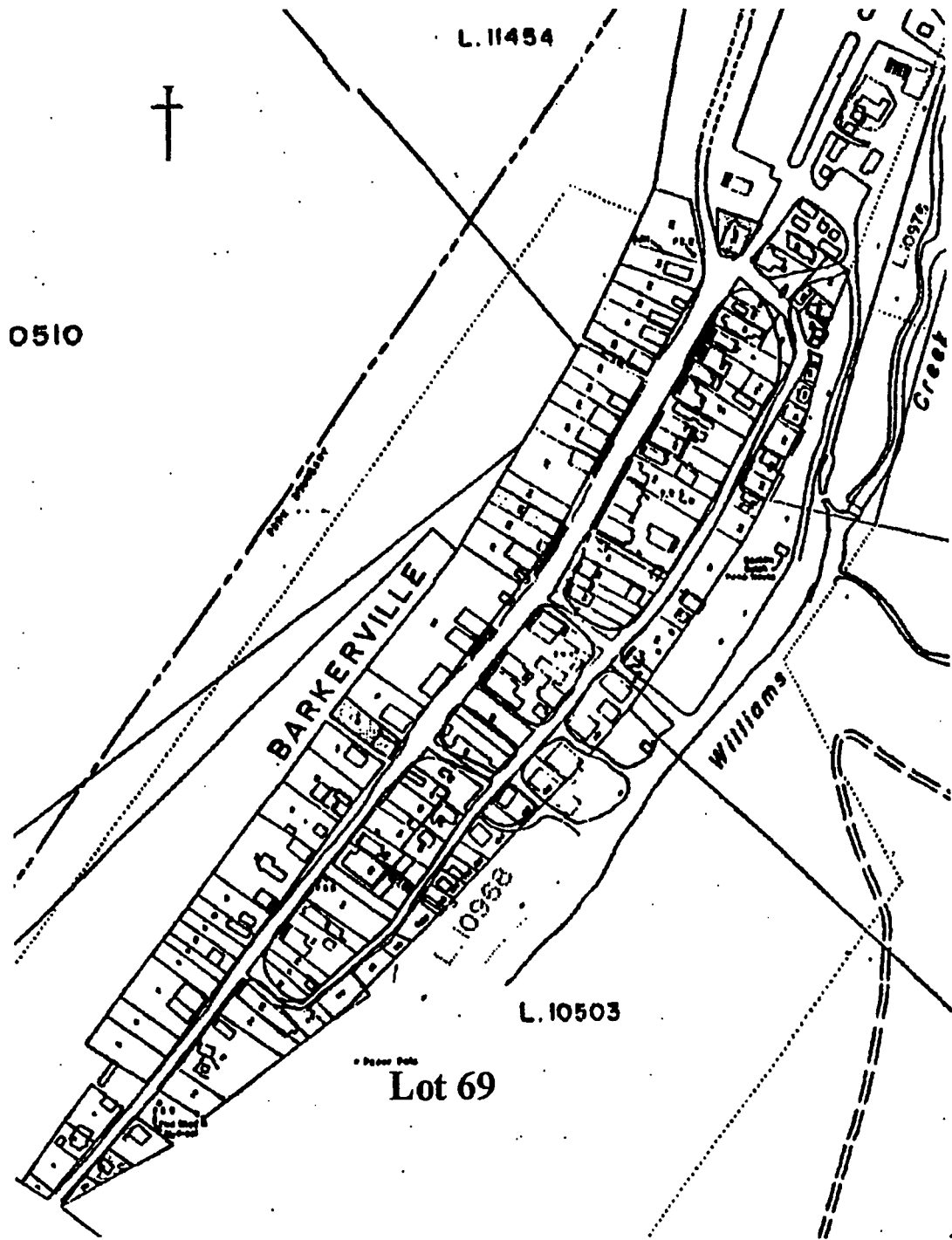


Figure 55. Town Site Plan of Barkerville (1933).

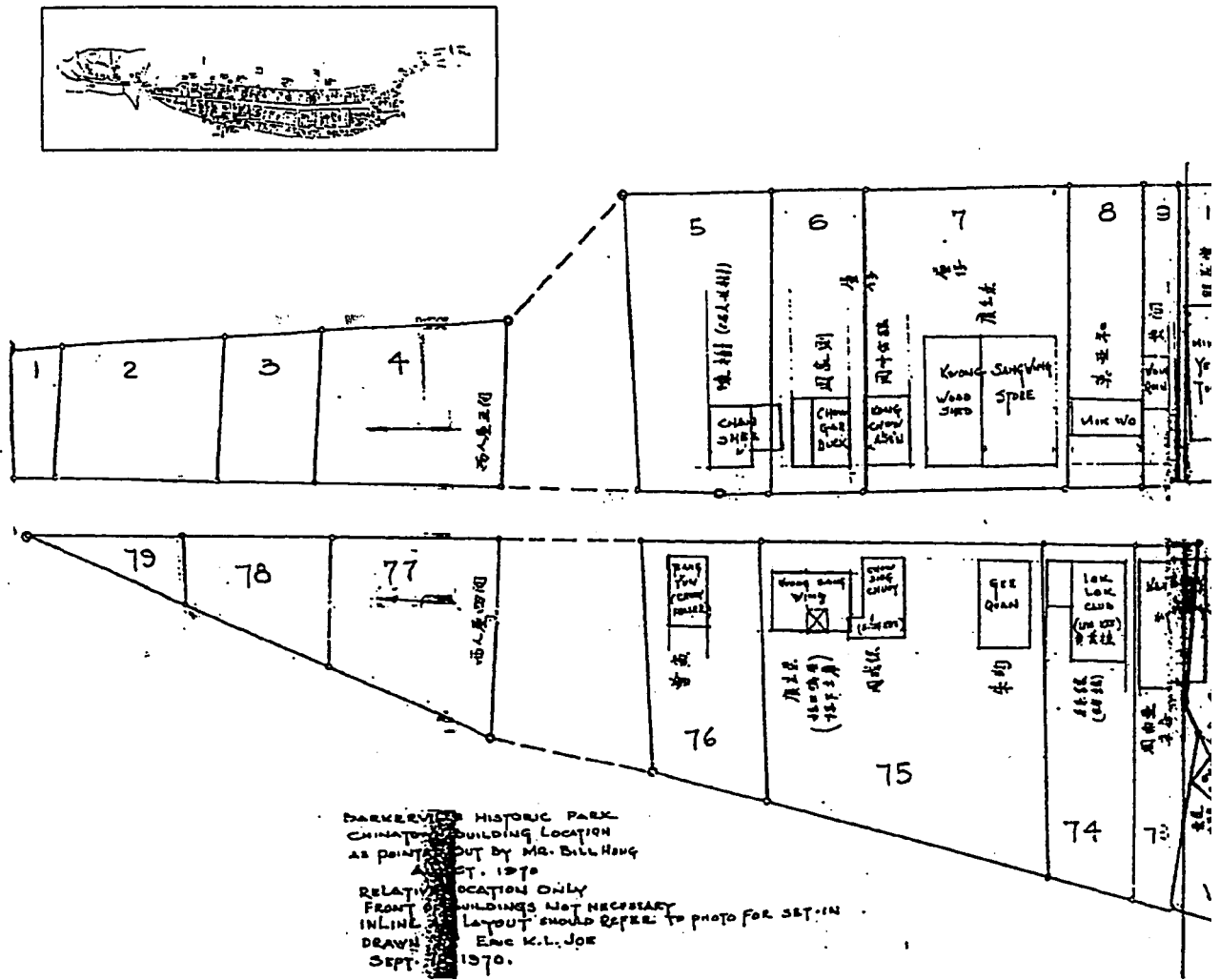
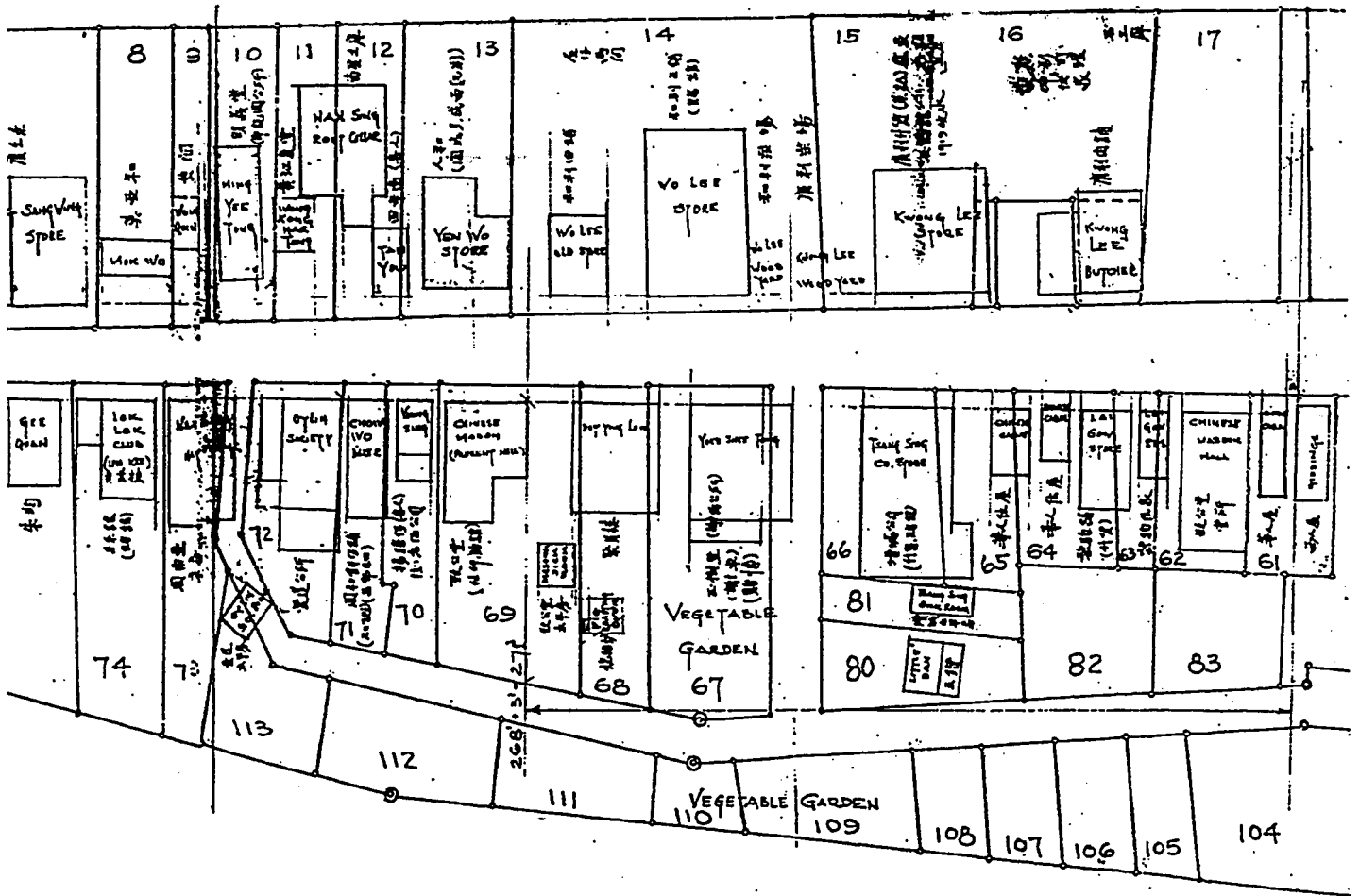


Figure 56. Town Site Plan of Barkerville (by the park based upon information provided by Bill Hong in 1970).





Bill



There is no clear record stating when the Barkerville Chinatown started. A comparison of the four maps mentioned above, historical photographs taken in the 1860s, and the preserved Chinatown indicates that the Chinatown did not develop in Barkerville until 1863 (Figure 54). However, a photo taken in the late 1860s shows the Chinatown on the south end of the town (Figure 57). Thus, the Chinatown could have formed some time between 1863 and 1868. It is proposed here that the Chinese started constructing the Chinatown in the later part of 1863 but that it might not have taken its shape until 1865, based upon three factors:

First, the 1863 Town Map indicates that construction concentrated in southern portion of the town was less developed. Among all the marked structures on the map, only the Kwong Lee store on Lot 22 clearly belonged to the Chinese with a possibility that the Tong Saloon on Lot 5 belonged to the Chinese (Figure 54). This suggests that the Chinese did enter the town in early 1863 and had some businesses there but a Chinatown had not formed by that time.

Second, a legend among the early Chinese states that the first branch of the Hong-men society was established by a Chinese man called Hung Shen-gui (黃深貴) and his colleagues in Barkerville on March 21, 1864 (Lee 1967:233). This suggests that by early 1864, the Chinese in Barkerville had reached a size large enough to support a new branch of the society.

Last, Morton (1974:16) mentions that an article in the *Cariboo Sentinel* in the fall of 1865 reported: 'a large number of Chinese are building houses close to Barkerville with the intention of becoming residents of Cariboo.' That indicates that the development of the Chinatown was still under way at that time.

When the Chinese started building a Chinatown in Barkerville, only the south end of the town, which was less developed, was available to them (Figure 57, 58). As an extension the existing Barkerville town, the Chinatown had to follow the existing site layout, developing their houses and features along the main and back streets.

During the 1868 fire, the white portion of Barkerville was destroyed, but at least part of Chinatown escaped from the fire, which can be seen in a photograph taken the next day after the fire (Figure 59).

A new white town was erected after the fire, but Chinatown still held its old appearance. The *Cariboo Sentinel* describes Chinatown on July 31, 1869:

Chinatown is universally voted a nuisance to Barkerville in every shape, sense of manner. Pigs are fed in the streets in front of the buildings; there is no regular sidewalk, the drainage is corrupted with animal and every kind of filth; in short, every inconvenience and disagreeable characteristic of a semi-barbarous race is present in Chinatown. Let the Grand Jury take the subject into consideration with a view to removing or modifying these evils. Pig feeding in the streets ought to be stopped forthwith. A great many

Chinamen have been sick lately, and no wonder. Let us compel them, however, for our own safety, to pay some attention to sanitary considerations. We have now a clean, neat looking town, but its neatness is marred by the causes above referred to.

The Chinese were actually not as evil or disagreeable as the report described, which can be seen on the occasion of governor Anthony Musgraves' visit to Barkerville two months later. The same newspaper reports on September 22, 1869:

The Chinamen Excited: on this occasion, the Chinamen having once commenced their part of the ovation, keep it up with much enthusiasm, as if the Celestial's Emperor himself had come to Barkerville. On Friday they commenced cleaning the streets in their part of the town and then hauled gravel to cover it. After the Governor had arrived, the Chinese merchants and householders tried to outdo each other in exploding firecrackers,

The Chinese population size in the Barkerville in the late 1860s was estimated by a few sources, 1871 *BC Guide*, *British Columbia, Minister of Mines, Annual Reports*, 1893:211, and *Cariboo Sentinel*, September 22, 1869, that gave a size range from 5,000 to 8,000.



Figure 57. View of Barkerville Chinatown from north to south (before the fire of 1868) (BCPA F-07769)



Figure 58. View of Barkerville from north to south in September 1868 (before the fire) (BCPA C-00355)



Figure 59. View of Barkerville from south to north in September 1868 (after the fire) (BCPA A-03750). Note that some houses in Chinatown still existed.

Cameronton

Cameronton was established in the spring of 1863 (Ramsey 1970:62) (Figure 60). Also located on Williams Creek, it is less than one km below Barkerville. The major part of the town was built on flats on both sides of Williams Creek. By the fall of that year, there were sixty or seventy buildings (Galois 1970:65). The town only lasted a few years due to deposition of tailings from floods upstream. In early 1867, the remaining larger buildings were moved to Barkerville (*Cariboo Sentinel* September 27, 1866 and April 15, 1867). That can be considered the final year of the town.

There is no documentary record regarding the Chinese settling in Cameronton, but the 1993 site survey found three log house foundations, a depression and two refuse deposits on a high bank east of the creek (Appendix III-Map 13) (Figure 61). A Chinese food jar and ceramic fragments were found in one of the refuses, suggesting a possible existence of a Chinese quarter in Cameronton. It is possible when Chinese came to Cameronton, the town's best area along the creek had already been occupied by the whites. The Chinese only had the hilly area to build up their quarter. This allowed them to escape from being buried by floods from upper Williams Creek and tailings from later mining.

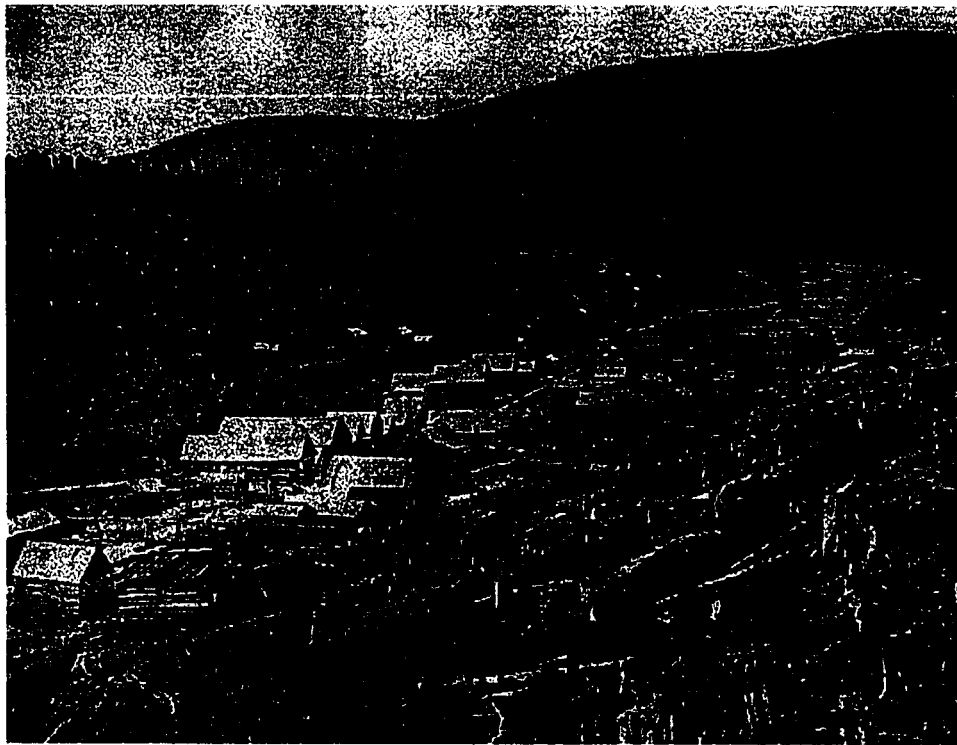


Figure 60. Cameronton in 1863 (BCPA A-00557).

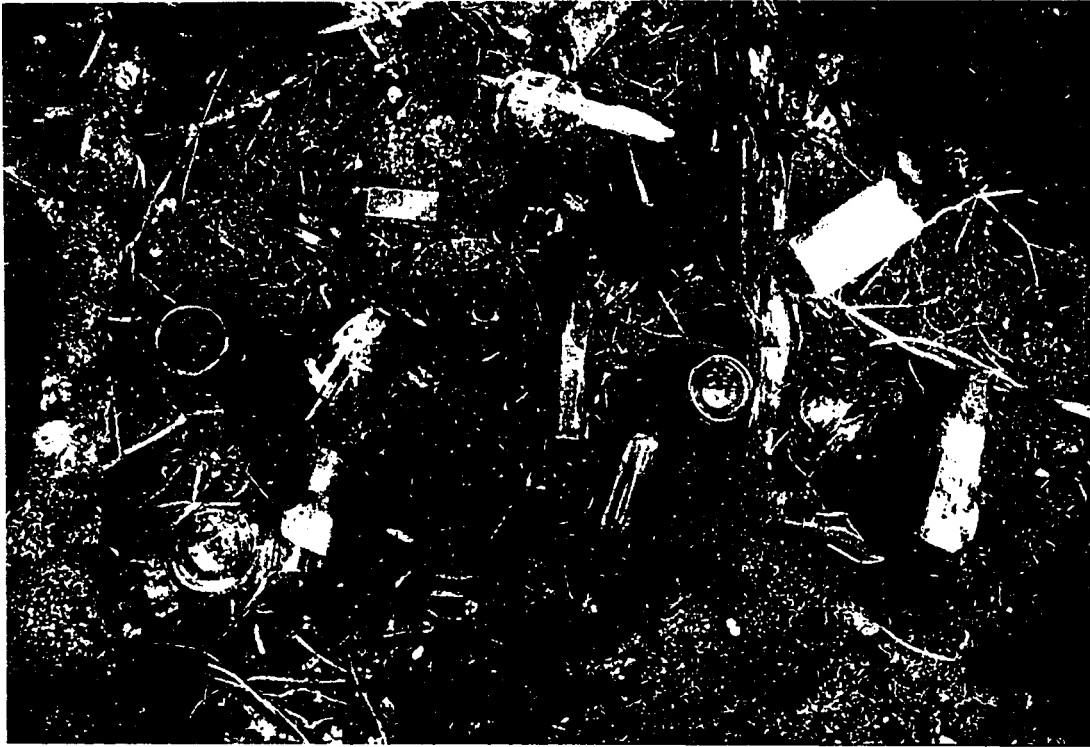


Figure 61. Artifacts found in the remaining site of Cameronton (FgRj-3) (1993).

Van Winkle

Starting in 1862, at the junction of Lightning and Van Winkle Creeks, the town of Van Winkle was formed as the first town on Lightning Creek (Wright 1993:16) (Figure 62, 63). In August 1862, a Caucasian named Harry Guillod visited Van Winkle. He states:

Van Winkle lies in a valley, shut in on all sides by high hills, Lightning Creek running through the centre; you have the sun only for a few hours during the day. The town is one street of wooden stores, restaurants, bakery etc. ... On the side of the hill at the right is the Government Encampment consisting of a few tents (cited in Wright 1993:137)

One year later, in 1863, there were 25 businesses in Van Winkle. However, they did not last long due to the rapid exhaustion of the surface mining and failure in deep digging. In 1865, the *Cariboo Sentinel* describes the town as a nearly deserted village (from Wright 1993:137). By 1868, the town was lying in ruins (*Cariboo Sentinel* May 21, 1870).



Figure 62. Van Winkle in 1868 (BCPA A-04054).



Figure 63. Van Winkle (FgRk-2) in 1993.

Yorkville and Edwardsville

Located along Lightning Creek between Van Winkle and Stanley, these two short-lived settlements grew with the Lightning Creek boom in the early 1870s (Galois 1970:67). Yorkville still existed when Bowman surveyed Lightning Creek (Bowman Map 1885-86 Map 11). Edwardsville must have disappeared sometime between 1874 and 1886 and was not on Bowman's map.

In the summer of 1993, the author surveyed the area between Van Winkle and Stanley, a distance of about 2.5 km. Except for the old road leading to the site, no remains of construction were found, probably because later hydraulic mining seriously modified the entire land surface. Chinese artifacts, such as a liquor cup, a food jar, and a Chinese coin, were found on the surface, indicating the likelihood of Chinese occupation.

Stanley

The town of Stanley was first mentioned in the *Cariboo Sentinel* on April 29, 1871 though it might have started earlier than that date. It was about 2.5 km downstream from Van Winkle and was built on both sides of Lightning Creek. By 1874, there were 27 service buildings and an unknown number of private dwellings in Stanley (Galois 1970:67). Stores and other businesses were mostly moved from Barkerville including a Chinese store called Wing Sing (Yong Sheng) (永盛) or new branches of the stores in Barkerville such as the branch of the Kwong Lee Company (Wright 1993:138).

On his Map 11 (1885-1888), Bowman marked the location of Stanley and its Chinatown. On the map, the Chinatown is at the southeast end of the town and there is a distance between the Chinatown and the main town. Such a physical separation is not seen in any of the other three Chinatowns in this district. By 1870, Chinese had already been mining Lightning Creek and its tributaries for at least four years (*Cariboo Sentinel* 07/02/1866). Thus, it is possible the Chinese were building Chinatown at the same time as the non-Chinese were building the rest of Stanley. Apparently, whenever having choice, Chinese would deliberately isolated Chinatown from the non-Chinese town by distance.

The development of a large town at Stanley enabled the Lightning watershed and neighbouring places, such as Slough Creek and its tributaries, a level of independence from the Barkerville area, forming a new area in the district. The Chinatown at Stanley became a new centre and all nearby Chinese settlements became its associates, forming a new hierarchical

settlement pattern consisting of a large Chinatown, several Chinese quarters, and many isolated mining cabin sites.

Cemetery

There is a cemetery at Stanley that is located on the northwest end of the town on the west side of the old Cariboo Road (Appendix III Map-13). The cemetery was recorded archaeologically in 1993. Seven empty grave pits were found in the west portion of the fenced area, where there were also some non-Chinese graves. Outside of the fenced area, to the north, were 14 empty pits. Apparently, whites and Chinese shared the cemetery at the beginning. Later, the Chinese moved outside of the fenced area, possibly due to the non-Chinese attitude toward digging people out.

Mining Camps

Archival sources do not provide significant description of mining camps and our field survey did not define any large camps during this period.

Cabin Site (FfRi-4)

Appendix II indicates that many groups of Chinese had mined on the Willow River and Lightning Creek and their watersheds during this period. Documentary records reveal that cabin sites formed the most popular settlement type during this period.

An unnamed cabin site (FfRi-4) is situated about 0.6 km west of Antler creek. It is about 150 m away from a small stream, a tributary of Antler creek on the east. Mike Will and Mike Rousseau recorded the site in June 1994 (Will and Rousseau 1994). In August of the same year, the author re-surveyed the site assisted by Will.

The site consists of a collapsed log house and three depressions. The log cabin measures 4.5 m (EW) x 4.5 m (NS) with the front door facing south. Chinese artifacts included squat shoulder food jars, Tiger whiskey or Ng ka Py bottles and opium cans. Tin cans, opened with a cleaver, were also found at the site. This suggests an early Chinese occupation. It is clear that the cabin is a residential house and it may have been associated with the town of Antler. However, it is not clear what industry the site was associated with, due to its unusual location.

An examination of artifacts recovered from the site by Will and Rousseau indicates a second later occupation by the Euro-Canadians in the 1920s to 1930s (Will and Rousseau 1994).

The number of such cabins in each drainage depends on the richness of the gold deposit. The *Cariboo Sentinel* (July 12, 1866) reports that 20 Chinese worked on Last Chance Creek and several Chinese companies worked in Four Mile Creek, in the summer 1866. In these cases, one would expect several cabin sites. The author's 1994 site survey on Beggs Gulch, Stevens Gulch, Oregon Gulch, and Burns Creek discovered that each of these creeks contained two, three to five cabin sites with one of them as a centre.

Indications of the Chinese settlements

The settlement pattern has been reconstructed based on fragmentary archival and archaeological records. It is, therefore, incomplete and would profit from further work. Still, we may draw the following conclusions.

First, settlements were in an unstable physical situation primarily due to the nature of placer mining. Miners extracted gold wherever they found it. They set up their settlements wherever they stayed and then abandoned them when the gold ran out. Small sites, especially cabin sites went through a process of rapid construction, use, and abandonment.

Large settlements, especially towns, changed in size and type through time. For example, three major Williams Creek towns, Richfield, Barkerville and Cameronton were all large in the early 1860s and all seemed to have an equal chance at survival. However, labour intensive gold recovery through deep shafts and tunnels first produced good returns at Barkerville. Also, the seven springs on the hills around Barkerville ensured good drinking water. Richfield had one spring and it was on the hillside opposite the town. Compared with surface mining, shaft and drift mining provided a stable resource, slow for exhaustion, but requiring more time to recover the original investment and show a profit. The shift in mining technology produced a relatively stable and large population in Barkerville. The town soon began to function as the main centre of not only Williams Creek, but of all the Cariboo gold fields.

Settlement pattern took time to form. What we know of this pattern is more about settlement types and their relationships than about specific numbers.

The Chinatown at the Mouth of the Quesnel River also became a primary Chinese centre because of its geographical location. There were Chinatowns in both Quesnelle Forks and Keithley in 1863, but Quesnelle Forks stood out, becoming the primary Chinese centre in the area after 1865. In the Barkerville area, there were Chinatowns or quarters in five major towns in the

1860s: Antler, Richfield, Barkerville, Cameronton, and Van Winkle. Theoretically, they all had the potential to become the largest Chinatown in the area. However, the Barkerville Chinatown soon began to stand out above the others, becoming a primary centre in 1864 and continuing its leading role for the rest of the period. Three were three reasons responsible for this.

First, when Chinatown took shape in Barkerville in 1864, the white section of the town represented the largest town in the area for two years. The Chinatown there reflects this trend. Secondly, Barkerville is located at the end of the Cariboo wagon road. It had easy access to other towns, mining camps and cabins by connecting trails or footpaths. In 1864, the first branch of the Hong-men society in the North Cariboo was established at Barkerville. This reflected in a way Barkerville's emerging status.

The situation in the Stanley area was different. Lightning Creek was discovered as early as 1861, and Van Winkle rose in 1862. Starting in at latest in 1866, the Chinese entered Lightning Creek and its tributaries (Appendix II). A Chinese quarter was established in Van Winkle, serving as a centre for numerous surrounding cabin sites. However, Van Winkle remained a small town, while Lightning Creek was considered part of the Barkerville area throughout the 1860s.

In the 1869-70 push to Lightning Creek and its vicinity, the town of Stanley emerged in 1871 and a Chinatown developed there probably around the same time. Supported by the existing settlements in Lightning and its vicinity, Stanley turned out to be the primary centre in the area and so did its Chinatown. The rise of Stanley in 1870 marked the separation of this area from the Barkerville area.

In all four areas, large Chinatowns, Chinese quarters in town, villages, mining camps and cabin sites developed, which formed the three main units in a settlement hierarchy. Large mining camps did not seem to develop during this period since the major mining unit during this period was the small company of a few partners.

Secondly, the formation of Chinese settlements reflects an inclination to isolation from the major society, similar to as their countrymen in other gold fields of the world.

Chinese settlements can be classified into three types by site size, number of architectural features and site complexity. They can be also classified into two categories by degree of isolation from White settlement. One category includes settlements, which were built within or adjacent to White settlements. Chinatowns in Quesnel and Barkerville and Chinese quarters in town, villages and mining camps fall to this group. The second category refers to settlements, which were geographically isolated from white settlements. Chinatowns at Quesnelle Forks (since 1869), and Stanley and all cabin sites fall to this group.

Chinese Communities

Mercantile establishments

In California, Chinese communities and Chinatowns all stemmed from the Chinese businesses. Stewart Culin (1887:10-12) described such a general course in the Chinese communities in the United States, which should apply to ones in the study area:

The store is the center around which life in a Chinese colony revolves. ...

In a short time this place became the resort to all the Chinese in the colony, many of whom may have a small money interest in the concern. They have provisions and clothes to buy; news of the outside world and of their own homes may be learned here; and, besides, there is a couch provided for opium smoking, which the immigrant, with newly acquired money to spend, really practices as the first dissipation at hand. In time the shopkeeper, knowing the advantage of increasing the attractions for this place, may procure a tolerably skilful cook and open a restaurant in an upper story of his building; but at first this will only be kept open on Sundays and holidays.

Other opportunities for making money will not be lost sight of. The cellar will be fitted up with bunks for opium smoking, and tables covered with matting for the convenience of those who desire to play dominoes; and the profit on the opium consumed and the portion of the winnings set aside for the use of the tables soon constitute a more important source of revenue than the store itself.

Thus many interests beside those of the dealer in clothes and provisions grow up under the roof of the little shop. Often a doctor, some poor and broken down student, dispenses medicines from a supply ranged along one side of the store; the itinerant barber, and indispensable personage, makes it a place of call; letters for the colony are directed in care of the store; public notices are written on tables of red paper and posted beside the door; Chinese newspapers, both San Francisco and the native ports, are received; and here, too, interpreters are to be found, who conduct negotiations and adjust differences with outside world.

A similar pattern also took place in the North Cariboo where Chinese merchants were founders of the Chinese communities and Chinatowns in the North Cariboo. For example, the *Sentinel* 09/22/1869 and 1871 *British Columbia Guide* reveal 20 Chinese businesses in Barkerville between 1869 and 1871 and most, if not all could have be in existence since 1864 (Table 26):

Table 26: The Chinese mercantile establishments (1864-1876)*

NAME (Mandarin)	NAME (Cantonese)	NAME	OWNER	PERIOD
Tai Li?	Tie Luey (or Loy), store keeper	泰利		1860s-1895
	Wuy Yung	?		1860s- ...
He Long (?)	Wa Lung, storekeeper	和隆?		1860s-71..
Yong Sheng	Wing Sing	永盛		1860s-71
Guang Chang	Kwong Chong	廣昌		1860s-86
Guang Li	Kwong Lee	廣利	(Owners)Loo Chow Fan, Loo Chuk Fan. (Agents) Chann Lunn, Kwing Chang, Wa Ying Low	1860s-85
He Li	Wa Lee	和利		1869-1913
A ?	Ah Law, provision dealer	阿?	Ah Law	.. 1871 ..
	Ning Sing			.. 1871 ..
Tai ?	Tai Song	泰?		.. 1871 ..
	Foo Seaang, watchmaker	?		.. 1871 ..
	Ha Law, bakery	?		.. 1871 ..
	Keng Kee	?		.. 1871 ..
	Ning Sing store	?		.. 1871 ..
	Sam Moo, bakery	?		.. 1871 ..
	Sam Sing, washing Co.	?		.. 1871 ..
	So Lang, washhouse	?		.. 1871 ..
	Tai Song, merchant	?		.. 1871 ..
	Yung Lee, washhouse and baths	?		.. 1871 ..

*: Based on *Sentinel* 09/22/1869 and 1871 British Columbia Guide p. 76.

As mentioned earlier, there were some twenty Chinese businesses in Barkerville within this period. During the welcoming ceremony for Governor Anthony Margrave held in Barkerville in September 1869, owners of seven major Chinese businesses in the town spoke on behalf the Chinese in the Cariboo (*Cariboo Sentinel* Sept 22, 1869):

To His Excellency Anthony Margrave, Governor of British Columbia & etc. We the Chinese merchants and inhabitants of Cariboo, beg to offer you a cordial welcome, and to assure you of our loyalty and devotion to the Government of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen. We further wish to express our satisfaction at the impartial and just manner which the laws and government of Her Majesty are administered affording equal privileges and protection to all.

Kwong Lee Co. (廣利) (by Loo Chah Fan)
 Kwong Chang (廣昌) Wuy Yung
 Wa Lee Tie (和利店) Wa Lung (華隆)
 Tie Luey (泰利) Wing Sing (永盛)*

Note: *Chinese characters are added by the author according to Chinese sources.

Apparently, these seven businesses and their owners formed a leadership in the Chinese community in Barkerville at that time. It is assumed that similar leaderships consisting of merchants also existed in Chinese communities of three other areas in the North Cariboo at that time.

A comparison between the leadership pattern in the Chinese community in Barkerville, North Cariboo and one of the Chinese community in San Francisco indicates that none of the Six Companies that existed in Barkerville was under name of clan, territorial or dialect associations. That indicates that the Chinese community in Barkerville was structured in a simpler system than the one in the Chinese community in San Francisco. These seven businesses, with owners probably primarily from the Siyi District, controlled many social political, and economic affairs within the Chinese community. Before the white community, they were the representatives of Chinese community.

Hong-men society

As mentioned earlier, the only information about the society during this period came from a legend spread in the Hong-men society, which states that a Chinese miner called Huang Shen-gui travelled from California to Barkerville where he established the first chapter of the Hong-men society with his colleagues. The society was also the first chapter of the Hong-men in British Columbia and Canada (Lee 1967). No direct information about the details of the society has been recovered. The *1871 B.C. Guide* reveals 685 Chinese in the North Cariboo. The Hong-men account books reveals that the society had 814 members in the 1880s (Appendix VI). Among these 814 members, 258 were admitted between 1876 and 1889 while 556 were already members before 1876. Except for the North Cariboo, there has been no record regarding the existence of any chapter of the Hong-men society in British Columbia before 1876. Many of these old members most likely joined the society in the North Cariboo before 1876 while many others could have already been members before they came to British Columbia.

Comparing the figure of 556 with the 685 revealed in the *1871 B.C. Guide* mentioned above, it is apparent that in the early 1870s the majority of the remaining Chinese in the North Cariboo were members of the Hong-men society. This suggests that the Hong-men society was probably only Chinese social political institution that existed in the early 1860s. However, it did become an influential society in the Chinese communities in the North Cariboo in the early 1870s.

Conclusion

The Gold rush led to an influx of Chinese the North Cariboo District. They entered the Quesnel Mouth area around 1861, Quesnelle Forks in 1862, and Barkerville in 1863. In each area, the Chinese established a Chinatown, Chinese quarters, and mining cabins, forming a distinct settlement pattern. The cluster of Chinese settlements formed in the Stanley area, in the early 1870s, was the last part of their settlement pattern to take shape.

In terms of their origins, the Chinese immigrants to the North Cariboo came mostly from two counties, Kaping and Taisan, of the Siyi District, a poor region in the Pearl River Delta. These people were imported or introduced by Chinese businesses, which might have been owned by people of the same origin. This formed a unique business and immigration pattern in the study area during this time period.

The first branch of the Hong-men society developed in Barkerville around 1864 but it did not become an influential institution until the early 1870s.

Chapter 6 Full Development Period (1870s-1910s)

(I) Settlement Elaboration

Introduction

This and the next three chapters form the main body of the thesis. They examine the social structure of Chinese immigrant communities in the North Cariboo, focusing on the 1880s, since most archival sources and archaeological data fall in this decade.

The chapter starts with a review of the history of the gold industry and then shifts to a discussion of the Canada government's policy on Chinese immigration, and its impact on the size of Chinese communities in the study area. It is argued that in spite of the general trend for population decline in the 1880s, the proportion of Chinese immigrants remaining in the study area actually increased and Chinese communities entered into a steady period of development.

Chinese settlements are examined in four areas: Quesnel, Quesnelle Forks, Barkerville, and Stanley. Emphasis is placed on site location, site type, settlement pattern, within site layout, and the pattern of material remains within houses. It is argued that Chinese settlements in this period, display a continued isolation and/or semi-isolation from the major society, reminiscent of the first period. In each area, settlements were elaborated to a hierarchy with a Chinatown on the top, a few Chinese quarters in the middle, and numerous cabin sites on the bottom.

Gold Industry

The history of gold mining in the North Cariboo District experienced its second stage, the hydraulic period, between 1877 and 1931. This period can be further divided into two sub-stages though changes that occurred in hydraulic mining. A boom in hydraulic mining characterizes the first stage, between 1877 and 1909. The second period between 1910 and 1931 is marked by a decline in hydraulic mining. The Chinese immigration history in the North Cariboo between 1876 and 1910, as defined by the author, overlapped with the first sub-stage 1877-1909 proposed by Galois (1970:23-24). Discussion of the gold industry, in this section, mainly focuses on the first sub-stage.

By the late 1870s, the first gold rush had severely declined, with the exhaustion of surface mining and decrease in deep digging at many places. In spite of a general decline, placer mining remained as the primary method and mining was mostly carried out on grounds worked in the previous period. To obtain a better return, large volumes of gravel needed to be removed.

Hydraulic mining, as a cheaper method, was adopted and soon became the dominant technique at this time. The majority of gold recovered in the North Cariboo, between 1877 and 1931, was through hydraulic mining (Galois 1970:82). 'It is for this reason that the period of 1877-1932 has been called the hydraulic period' (Galois 1970:82). While this became the primary technology, other techniques, such as sluicing, deep mining and dredging, were still employed on a small scale at some places (Galois 1970:82).

In addition to placer mining, interest in the quartz ledges began in 1877 and fluctuated throughout the period, and did not totally die out until the next period (Galois 1970:82).

Placer mining

Placer mining, in this period, was mostly conducted on old grounds worked in the earlier time. Nevertheless, a few new discoveries were made. In 1881, for example, some Chinese miners discovered bench deposits on Slough creek, a tributary of the Willow River, about 6 km north of Stanley. Within a short time, most bench mines were claimed by various Chinese groups (Johnson and Uglow 1926:151). The boom lasted four years (1880-1884), opening opportunities for simple digging and employment (Galois 1970:83). However, a general decline in the industry overshadowed nearly twenty years of this period (1876-1894). This is amply demonstrated by the gold yield in the North Cariboo (*British Columbia Minister of Mines Annual Reports 1879-1894*). The situation did not change until 1894 when large-scale hydraulic mining became popular.

Hydraulic mining was first introduced in Antler Creek in 1862 (*British Columbia* October 7; 11, 1862) and then employed on Lightning Creek and Williams Creeks in 1863 (Galois 1970:47). However its use was only at a few places on a small scale throughout the first period. In 1875, the year that saw the end of the first period, there were 91 companies in the Barkerville and Stanley areas and only 14% of them were engaged in hydraulic mining (Galois 1970:47).

By late 1879s, hydraulic mining was found to be employed in all four areas of the district (*Vancouver Province* February 11, 1893). However, its advantage received little appreciation. All of hydraulic operations were on 'a comparatively small scale' at the time (Dawson 1894:250).

In 1894, the first large-scale hydraulic mining operation appeared on the South Forks of the Quesnel River and gave a good return for money invested. This triggered the introduction of large-scale hydraulic mining technology in all other areas of the district (Galois 1970:85). By 1899, there were seven hydraulic operations in the Quesnel area, some 13 in Quesnelle Forks area, and 5 in the Barkerville and Stanley areas (*Gold Commissioner Bowron's Report of the Minister of Mines 1899*).

The largest hydraulic mine was the Bullion operated by the Cariboo Consolidated Hydraulic Mining Co. Ltd. on the South Forks of the Quesnel River in operation since 1894 (*British Columbia Annual Report of the Minister of Mines* 1894:732). Three miles (4.8 km) away from Quesnelle Forks, the Bullion Mine consisted of eight mining leases, covering 446 acres, 1.7 miles (2.7 km) along the west side of the South Forks of the Quesnelle River. The company set up its own mining town on the west shore of South Forks, which could be accessed by road from either the 150 Mile House or Quesnelle Forks (*British Columbia Annual Report of the Minister of Mines* 1894:476). There were houses, stores, bunk houses, eating houses, blacksmith, refining and retort house, stables, a powder house, and a saw mill in the town (*British Columbia Annual Report of the Minister of Mines* 1897:476, 480). The mine is said to have hired 100-200 men including Caucasians, Chinese and Japanese (Wright 1987:53; Elliott 2000: 131).

In the areas of Barkerville and Stanley, the best example was the one on Lowhee creek, which started in 1898 and operated till 1931 (Galois 1970:85). Four other large operations were documented on Slough, Grouse, Mosquito creeks, and Stouts Gulch (Mckay 1919:1040).

Hydraulic elevators were employed at two places, the vicinity of Marysville on Williams Creek, and a place where Amador Creek empties to Lightning Creek, where the standard hydraulic mining technology was unfeasible because of the terrain. In both locations, this technology was withdrawn shortly after its introduction as 'the equipment was able to recover gold but was not durable to prove economic' (Galois 1970:86). In addition to these large operations, a large number of smaller hydraulic operations were found on many other creeks (Galois 1970:86).

The success of hydraulic mining changed the nearly 21 years decline in gold industry in the district, which had been going on since 1865. In the Barkerville area, for example, the gold yield in 1894 was \$91,000, but it reached \$125, 000 in 1897, and \$340,000 in 1902, the peak of hydraulic mining in the area (*British Columbia, Minister of Mine Annual Reports* 1894, 1897, and 1902).

Even though hydraulic mining became the favoured method, other techniques such as deep digging remained in use. Shaft mining technique was in use in the Barkerville and Stanley areas between the 1890s and early 1920s. With improvements in pumps and power sources, getting to the 'bottom' of creeks became possible. Areas that had been inaccessible in earlier times could finally be reached. Among these major deep shafts were ones at:

Wing dam: 1898-1923.

La Frontaine (two km below Stanley): 1903 to 1907 and 1921to-1923.

Slough Creek (opposite Nelson Creek): 1892 to 1908.

Willow River (below Mosquito Creek): 1894 to 1908 (*British Columbia Minister of Mines Annual Reports* for the years mentioned).

Though gold was recovered, none of these operations was truly economically viable due to their high cost, low yield, and the difficulty in eliminating the ground water (Galois 1970:86-87).

Gold Quartz Mining

Interest in gold quartz mining started in 1877, and lasted till the end of the 1920s (Galois 1970:82 and 90). The boom was based on the testing of selected grounds in the Barkerville and Stanley areas, such as Island Mountain (1877-1890, 1925), Proserpine Mountain (1877-1890, 1925), the head of Lowhee Creek (1877-1930), Burns Mountain (1877-1890), the head of Grouse Creek (1877-1878), Barkerville Mountain (1886-1890, 1925), Stouts Gulch (1886-1890), Cow Mountain (1923), and Jack of Clubs Lake, (1925-1932) (Galois 1970:90-92).

However, hard rock mining did not become the primary method of gold mining in the North Cariboo until the early 1930s.

Methods and Organizations of Gold Mining

Methods of gold mining

Placer mines was the major focus of the gold industry in the North Cariboo throughout the period of 1876-1910, Hydraulic mining was the main technology to be employed while other methods such as hand, shaft and dredging were variously used on a limited scale in various areas.

Hydraulic mining Hydraulic mining involves three processes and requires different equipment and facilities. First and foremost, there is need for a reliable water source with large amount of water. The water is conducted by means of dams, reservoirs, ditches and wooden flumes to a pit where mining is conducted. The second requirement is the creation of a 'head' of water by way of a box, which helps to build the pressure that forces the water out of the monitor. A series of decreasingly narrow pipes lead from the box to the monitor. The monitor issues a jet of water at high pressure through a nozzle. The jet water churns up the gravel hillsides and sends the debris down through a wing dam. Larger rocks and boulders are pulled out and pushed to the side in order to let the smaller rocks travel out through the wing dam. If the miner could get to bedrock and still have gravels travel down stream by the force of the water, they could pick gold

off the bedrock as well as from the sluice box. The last process includes separating gold from the gravel in sluice boxes and riffles constructed of either wood or metal (Galois 1970:92-95).

Hydraulic elevator A hydraulic elevator is a modified form of hydraulic mining when standard hydraulicing was not feasible. 'The primary function of the hydraulic elevator is to lift the gravel to a height, rather than to run it all down hill, so that it could provide a suitable grade for the sluice boxes' (Galois 1970:95). The elevator consists of 'a pipe with a constricted part or throat and a jet which provides a high velocity column of water' (Holland 1942:32). Holland (1942:34) described how the elevator worked:

The mouth of the elevator is placed in a dump excavated to bedrock which should be 10 feet square by five feet deep and into this the gravel is worked by the giants. To prevent the throat of the elevator becoming choked and clogged with large boulders, it is necessary to place a grizzly (a metal grid) over the end of the sluice which delivers the material to the intake ... The elevator discharges upon a cover plate to take the wear in the head of a sluice.

Deep mining During this period, shaft and drift were still used as the primary methods. Small-scale operations still used the cheap but inefficient water powered machinery. Some improvement was seen in large-scale operations, which had adopted steam power (Galois 1970:98).

Organization of the Industry

The change in the pattern of gold mining in this period (1876-1910) inevitably affected the organization of the industry. While the traditional small companies were still scattered about, the rise of capital cost due to large-scale hydraulic mining, expensive shaft digging and the quartz excitement soon led to the formation of a series of large joint stock companies. Many stockholders were from outside Canada such as Great Britain and the United States (Galois 1970:99). For example, the Slough Creek Mines Limited of London operated the deep diggings on Slough Creek and spent approximately \$500,000 in operation cost on the mine (Johnston and Uglow 1926:44). The Cariboo Gold Fields Company of London put down \$1,500,000 in operation costs on the hydraulic elevator on Williams Creek. The Kafue Copper Development Co. paid \$200,000 for building the bucket dredge on Antler creek (British Columbia Minister of Mines, Annual Report 1924:114).

Hydraulic mining was comparatively inexpensive to the above-mentioned ventures, but by no means cheap, especially in terms of the start-up capital. With the development of hydraulic technology came the demand for the construction of ditches and dams, which in turn saw a rise in

the logging industry. Ditches, for example, were built at a cost of \$2,000 to \$5,000 per mile (Johnston and Uglow 1926:45).

The pattern of gold mining, as mentioned above, had two major impacts on the human population in this period. Primarily, there was a decrease in population. Hydraulic and deep mining both created new jobs but crew size in each mine was fixed. For example, the LaFontaine mine's working crew was limited to approximately 30 persons in the 1900s (Hong 1978:35, 36). Hydraulic companies had jobs constructing ditches, dams, and local roads, but this was primarily short-term work. Upon completion, only a few people were kept for maintenance while the most were discharged. So, job opportunities in this period dwindled, limited both in quantity and length of employment. Small-scale placer mining by individuals or partners using simple tools was still around, though mostly on old claims that had long been dug over. The gains were low and could not support a large population. These factors combined to drive the size of the population down, especial the whites in this area. There was a brief revival in the early 1880s when gold was discovered on Slough Creek. However, the downward slide in population resumed as soon as gold was exhausted (*Canada Census* in the respective years of 1871-1911).

The second impact was a change in settlement type. While large towns and small cabin sites continued to be built, large mining camps first appeared on the scene, with the development of large-scale hydraulic and deep mining companies. They are characterized by clusters of structures and the sole aim to 'serve only those people engaged in a particular mining operations' (Galois 1970:111). Most of these camps, such as the Slough Creek and La Fontaine mines in the Stanley area (Hong 1978:34-38, 107-130), had Chinese quarters. Chinese population

In 1871, 1,548 Chinese were recorded in British Columbia and 685 (44%) of them were in the North Cariboo District. That is barely 14% of the 5,000 Chinese in the Barkerville area in the 1860s (*BC Guide 1871, British Columbia Minister of Mines, Annual Reports 1893:211; Cariboo Sentinel* September 22, 1869). These 685 Chinese made up nearly 42% of the total population of 1,637 in the district (Table 27). So, the general decrease in population in the area saw an increase in the percentage of Chinese in the total population.

Table 27: Chinese population in the North Cariboo (1871 to 1911) (based on Censuses of Canada in the respective years)

AREA SOURCE	QUESNEL MOUTH	QUESNELLE FORKS	BARKER-VILLE	STANLEY	TOTAL CHINESE	TOTAL CHINESE %	TOTAL POPULATION	REMARKS
Census 1871	-	-	-	-	685	0.4	2,207	Natives are not included in the total.
Census 1881	402	413	260		1,075	0.3	3,516	Total incl. 1,700 Natives, 741 Whites & coloured people, and 1,075 Chinese.
Census 1891	246	212	133	← ¹	668	0.5	3,507	
Census 1901	80	82	210	57	429	-	3,506 ²	*Total Population includes all races in the entire Cariboo.
Census 1911	-	-	-	-	371 ³	-	5,993 ⁴	*Total Population includes all races in the entire Cariboo.

Note:

1. '←' In the 1881 Census the Stanley area was considered a part of Richfield, sub-district of Cariboo, which is called the Barkerville area in this thesis.
2. The figure, 3,506, includes all races in the entire Cariboo district.
3. The figure, 371, includes Chinese in the entire Cariboo district.
4. The figure, 5,993, includes all races in the entire Cariboo district.

Anti-Chinese sentiment was widespread in this period. The reasons may be both economic and racial-cultural. At the end of July 1878, the provincial government passed a bill, excluding Chinese from provincial works (Morton 1974:61). Two month later the government passed another bill, levying a \$30 license fee every six months for all Chinese, leading to a general strike of Chinese in Victoria (Morton 1974:61, 62).

In April 1880, construction of the Canada Pacific Railway (CPR) started, triggering another influx of Chinese immigrants to British Columbia from San Francisco and south China. The 1881 Census reports that there were a total of 4,383 Chinese in Canada and 4,350 (99%) of them were in British Columbia. Out of 4,350 Chinese 1,075 (25%) were in the North Cariboo, making up 31% of the total of 3,516 non-Native population there. In addition to the 1881 Census three other contemporary sources give some indication of the Chinese population in the study area (Table 38).

Table 28 :Chinese population in the North Cariboo in the 1880s seen in four sources

AREA SOURCE	QUESNEL MOUTH	QUESNELLE FORKS	BARKER- VILLE	STANLEY	TOTAL	REMARKS
Census 1881	402	413	260	← ¹	1,075	
The 9th MRMM 1882	140	238	214	208	800	Only employees
RCCIRE ² 1886	506	141	321	68	1,036	
CCBA&HM 1880-89	381	428	293	264	1,366	Wives and children are not recorded

Note:

1. The Chinese population in the Stanley Area in 1881 was included in the Barkerville Area.
2. RCCIRE refers to Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration Report and Evidence (Ottawa, Government Printer 1884)

Extracted from two contemporary sources, the figure 1,366 listed in the above table should be closer to the real figure of the unmarried adult Chinese population in the 1880s than the ones given in the three other sources listed above.

The *Ninth Annual Report of the Ministry of Mines 1882* reveals that that proportion of the Chinese in the mining fields was even higher than recorded in the Census:

The Chinese, who now out-number the white population of the district about two to one, very naturally again make the best showing, as, while many of the white men are either prospecting or erecting new and elaborate to work their mines, the Chinaman, on the contrary, is busy with his sluice-box or rocker, every day adding something to the general output.

The report lists the ratios of Chinese and White mining population in four areas of the district (Table 29).

Table 29: Mining population in the North Cariboo 1882 (from *the Ninth Annual Report of the Ministry of Mines 1882* with some change in format)

DRAINAGE NAME	CAUCASIAN	CHINESE
Quesnellemouth Division	8	140
Cottonwood River (below the bridge)	..*	15
Fraser River [from 6 mile (9.7 km) below Quesnelle to 40 miles (64.4 km) above]	5	85
Hixson and Government Creeks	3	15
Quesnelle River from mouth 20 miles (32.2 km) up]	..	25
Keithley Creek (Quesnelle Forks) Division	61	238
Cunningham Creek (lower end)	..	8
Fraser River [from 6 miles (9.7 km) below Quesnelle to Soda Creek]	..	30
Harvey	25	..
Horsefly River	..	16
Keithley Creek	13	40
North Fork, Quesnelle River	..	43
Quesnelle River (upper)	..	40
Snowshoe	23	21
South Fork	..	40
Barkerville Division	147	214
Antler Creek	15	60
Conklin Gulch	8	..
Cunningham Creek	2	24
Desultory Mining on other Creeks & Gulches	..	35
Grouse Creek	12	20
Jack of Clubs Creek	9	8
Lowhee Creek	7	7
Mosquito Creek	10	5
Stouts Gulch	8	10
Williams creek	62	45
Sugar Creeks	14	..
Lightning Creek (Stanley) Division	60	208
Alder Creek	4	..
Burns Creek	..	14
Cottonwood Rivers (above the bridge)	..	14
Davis Creek	..	8
Doolwood Creek	..	10
Dragon and New Creeks	10	..
Lightning Creek	26	30
Nelson Creek	..	25
Peter's Creek	2	9
Ruchon and Canon Creeks	7	8
Slough Creek	2	35
Drainage name	Caucasian	Chinese
Swift River	4	25
Burn's Mountain
Desultory Mining on other creeks and gulches	5	30
Total	276	800

Note: * '..' means no record was available.

In 1882, a total of 8,083 Chinese entered British Columbia, creating a peak year for Chinese arrivals since 1858. This caused a general panic over the Chinese in the province. In 1893, Shakespeare proposed a \$50 head tax on Chinese in the Federal House of Commons, which was rejected (Morton 1974:263). In 1884, a Provincial Chinese Regulation Act was passed but was recalled later. The same act was passed in 1885 and then disallowed again. However, the Dominion passed the first \$50 head tax on Chinese in that year.

The head tax and the completion of Canadian Pacific Railway in the same year put a stop to the Chinese immigration influx. From September 1, 1885 when the Restriction Act came into effect to the end of the year, 158 Chinese entered the country and only six entered in the whole year of 1886 (Morton 1974:141).

In 1888, the United States suddenly passed an absolute exclusion of Chinese bill that caused an increase in Chinese immigration to British Columbia. By the 1891, Chinese in the country increased to 9,129 (*Canada Census* 1891). Such a change, however, did not seem to have any impact on the Chinese population in the study area where only 668 Chinese were recorded in the 1891 (*Canada Census* 1891). Apparently, the exhaustion of the gold fields did not attract new Chinese. Many of them were satisfied with staying in the lower mainland of the province and many others headed to eastern Canada.

The general increase in Chinese immigration stirred up the already strong undercurrent of anti-Chinese feelings. A series of bills and acts regarding Chinese immigration were proposed from 1890 to 1900. These included proposals to raise the head tax to \$100 or to \$500 (Morton 1974:165-213, 263). None of these bills and acts was passed, but they demonstrated how anti-Chinese sentiment had accumulated through time.

In 1900, Laurier increased the head tax from \$50 to \$100, effective in 1901 (Morton 1974:196, 264), though it failed to check the on-going immigration sufficiently. In 1903, Laurier increased the head tax from \$100 to \$500, which went into effect in 1904 (Morton 1974). It did monitor Chinese immigration for a few years. In 1904, for example, only 300 Chinese entered British Columbia (Morton 1974:199). However, Chinese immigration increased again in the early 1910s: 7,705 Chinese entered to this century, 7,705 1912 and some 10,000 in 1913 (Morton 1974:224).

While the new arrivals pushed the Chinese population higher on the provincial and national levels, the decline of the Chinese population in the North Cariboo continued after the 1880s. The 1901 Census indicates that the Chinese in Canada had reached 17,312, of which 14,885 were in British Columbia. The Chinese population in the study area was recorded as 429 (*Canada Census* 1901). By 1911, there were only 371 Chinese in the entire Cariboo district (*Canada*

Census 1911). Apparently, the exhaustion of gold industry was primarily responsible for the decline during this period.

Chinese Settlements

Quesnel Area

The available demographic distribution of the Chinese and their proportion to the total population in this area are listed in the following table (Table 30).

Table 30: Population in the Quesnel area from 1871 to 1901 (summarized from the Census in the respective years)

YEAR	CHINESE		CAUCASION		TOTAL	
	QTY.	%	QTY.	%	QTY.	%
1870	170 ¹	?	?	?	?	?
1881	402	51%	395	49%	799	100%
1891	246	35%	460	65%	706	100%
1901	80	?	?	?	?	?

Note: 1. '170' is inferred.

Comparing the figures of the Chinese population listed in Table 30 with the 1860s census, it is clear that the general trend of Chinese population in this period is marked by a downward turn with a relative upturn in the 1880s.

Archival records indicate that the Chinese worked on nine drainages in this period. They mainly worked on both sides of the Fraser River above and below Quesnel and on a few other rivers and creeks (Appendix II).

Quesnel Chinatown

Information about the Quesnel Chinatown in this period is fragmentary and primarily from archival sources.

A rule board of the Chih Kung T'ang society states that the first branch of the Chih Kung T'ang society was established in Quesnel in 1876 (Lyman et al. 1964:536 and Plate III). As the Chih Kung T'ang was represented by a Tang building, in other Chinatowns, such as Quenelle Forks and Barkerville, there must have been a Chih Kung T'ang building in the Quesnel Chinatown from 1876. Lai identified a photo of the Chih Kung T'ang building in Quesnel Mouth Chinatown in the collections of the Quesnel Museum. He found the location of this building in

the modern city of Quesnel. It was situated on the northwest corner of the crossroads of Reid Street and Barlow Avenue, where the Toronto Dominion Bank is currently located (Lai 1989:13, 15, and 16). The photo was taken some time between 1911 and 1918, but the building was probably erected as early as 1876 and would have been one of the largest structures in Chinatown (Figure 64).

The author's study on the Hong-men account books and the Canada Chinese Benevolent Association files indicates that the Zhou Clan Association was a dominant clan among the Chinese in Quesnel Mouth. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7 and 8. The Zhou Clan Association building should therefore be another large structure in Quesnel's Chinatown.

A third major component of Quesnel's Chinatown involves the various general stores. Archival records show no less than five major Chinese stores, Kwong Lee, Dong Xing, Ren He, He Lee, and Yi Xing, in Quesnel Mouth in the 1880s and most of them, including Kwong Lee and He Lee, had been in operation since the 1860s. In the 1890s, four stores were still in operation, though there was no indication of what had happened to Kwong Lee. Another store, Yi He Sheng, can be added to the list in the town sometime during the same period. It may be a branch of the same store that is known to have existed in Stanley. Or alternatively the store had moved to Quesnel from Stanley sometime in the 1890s, as the Hong-men file had no record of a store of the same name in Stanley after 1889, though there is mention of it in Quesnel in 1901 (HM 980.413.12). By the 1900s, there were only three stores, two old stores, Ren He and Yi Xing, C. D. Hoy's general store that was opened in 1912 (Hong 1977:198; Appendix VII). This suggests a decline in the business sector of the Chinese activities following the general decline in population in the district.

Until further fieldwork is done, this is all we know of Quesnel Mouth Chinatown, including a series of large buildings occupied by the Zhou Clan Association, Chih Kung T'ang society, and various Chinese stores. Future field research is inhibited by the fact that Quesnel is a prosperous modern town whose buildings have all but obliterated its earlier history.



Figure 64. The Chih Kung Tang building in Quesnel Mouth Chinatown, ca. 1920 (BCPA A-04041).

Mining sites

The *Ninth Annual Report of the Ministry of Mines of 1882* refers to 140 Chinese working in this area. More than half of those were on both sides of the Fraser River from six miles (9.7 km) below to 40 miles (64.4 km) above Quesnelle Mouth. Twenty-five were on the lower Quesnelle River, 15 on Hixson and Government Creeks, and 15 on the lower Cottonwood River. This is obviously an incomplete record of the real mining population, for the 1881 *Canada Census* recorded a total of 402 Chinese in this area, with 335 (83%) of them as miners (*Canada Census 1881*). Yet in contrast to the census, the report succeeds in giving a good indication of the general distribution of the Chinese mining population and the settlements inhabited by Chinese at that time.

Farm sites

Small Chinese farming communities had been in existence since the 1860s and continued into this period. In 1881, seven Chinese farmers were recorded, belonging to four Chinese farm households (*Canada Census 1881*). In 1891, there were 20 Chinese associated with farming. Fifteen of them worked on three Chinese farms and five worked on three Caucasian farms

(*Canada Census* 1891). In 1901, there were nineteen Chinese engaged in farming. Eighteen of them belonged to three Chinese farms and one worked on a Caucasian farm (*Canada Census* 1901). The Chinese farms constitute a specific type in the Chinese settlement pattern.

Among these Chinese farms, Nam Sing's farm seems to be the only one that operated non-stop from the 1860s to the 1940s. Archival documents in the Barkerville Historic Town mention three separate deals of land purchase by Nam Sing in 1875, 1882, and 1905 respectively. One of the pieces he purchased in 1875 was about 4 1/2 miles (7.2 km) north of Quesnel and about one mile (1.6 km) east of the Fraser River (Gijmare 1887). One factor contributed to the farm's continued existence. By 1880, Nam Sing, aged 42, was finally able to bring an 18-year-old wife over from China to end his more than 20-year bachelorhood in British Columbia. As Chow Nam-sing was known to the locals as Nam Sing. His wife was called Mrs. Nam Sing upon her arrival. Mrs Nam Sing was recorded as Noey Sing, probably a misnomer on the pronunciation of Nam Sing, in the 1891's Census and as Lam Paint, probably her own name, in the 1901 Census.

Ten years later, Nam Sing's family extended to seven heads that included the couple and their five children, Too Cook, a daughter born in 1882, Ah Chee, a daughter born in 1883, Kong Sing, a son born in 1886, May Noui (?), a daughter born in 1887, and Kong Him, born in 1889. In addition to the immediate family, Nam Sing's household also included five others, a 50-year-old female domestic called Susan, and four adult males. These people were apparently Nam Sing's farm workers (*Canada Census* 1891) (Figure 65).

Between 1893 and 1899, three more children were born: Kong Why, a son born in 1893, Wahy Yune, a daughter born in 1897, and Toe Yew, a son born in 1899. In 1899, Nam Sing became a Canadian Citizen, but Mrs. Nam Sing retained her Chinese citizenship (*Canada Census* 1901). By 1901, Nam Sing was head of a large household of 12, which included his eight sons and daughters, a Chinese teacher called Dock Why, and four male farm labourers (*Canada Census* 1901). A comparison between Nam Sing's household in 1891 and one in 1891 indicates some changes:

First, Nam Sing's first two daughters Too Cook and Ah Chee, recorded in the 1891 Census, failed to appear in the 1901 Census. According to Louis Lebourdais's 1934 article (*Province* February 3, 1934), the Nam Sing couple gave birth to a total of thirteen children before his death in 1904, but only four of them survived by 1934. The two girls probably died young.

Second, Nam Sing had a Chinese teacher in residence, an indication of his intention to have his Canadian born children educated in Chinese.



Figure 65. Nam Sing (Zhou Nan-xing) and his three children, Too Cook, Ah Chee, daughters, and son Kong Sing ca. 1887 (BCPA G-03059)

Third, the heyday of Nam Sing's farm showed a farm team of seven adults, including Nam Sing, his elder son Kong Sing, and four other adults. An article written by Lebourdais (*Province* February 3, 1934) tells of Nam Sing operating a freight team, transporting his own products to Barkerville, an activity probably initiated by Nam Sing in the 1860s.

Around 1904, Nam Sing made a trip to Vancouver and died there at the age of 69, leaving his many children and the farm to Mrs. Nam Sing (Figure 66).



Figure 66. Mrs. Nam Sing (Lam Paint). No date (Quesnel Museum: 78-125 after Wright 1988:55).

Discussion

No archaeological work has been carried out in the Quesnel area so far and archival sources are scarce. However, the population figures revealed in the Censuses and from other sources allow a general understanding of the Chinese settlements during this period.

The Chinese mined on the Fraser River above and below Quesnel, Hixson and Government creeks, and probably the lower Quesnel River as well. While the drainages covered by the Chinese was similar to ones in the 1860s, there were fewer Chinese miners during this period. As a result, there must have been a sharp drop in the number of settlements and change in their variety.

In 1881, 402 Chinese were recorded in the area, the highest during this period. Out of the 402, 335 (83%) were miners and 95 (18%) were engaged in other pursuits (*Canada Census* 1881). In addition to working in the same area as in the 1870s, the Chinese were reported working on the lower Cottonwood River, a place where their presence had not been known previously (Table 29). During the 1880s, the rise in Chinese population must have allowed more

Chinese miners on each of these locations. There should therefore be a corresponding increase in the number of settlements.

Though the Chinese population increased in the 1880s, it was still much lower than in the 1860s. Consequently the number of settlements could not be expected to remain at the same level to one of the 1860s.

For example, Hixson was a sizeable town with a Chinese quarter, supporting 200 Chinese in the late 1860s (*Sentinel* September 09, 1867). In the early 1880s, there were still Chinese working there, but the group size had decrease to less than ten people (Table 29). Apparently, there were an abundance of cabin sites on the creek in the 1860s, but many must have been abandoned long before the 1880s. Hixson was probably still inhabited, but it did not function as a town. The same can be said of other Chinese settlements in this area.

Settlement pattern in the Quesnel area in the 1880s probably comprised a Chinatown, a number of cabin sites and a few Chinese farms.

The Chinese population shrank to 246 in 1891 and dropped to only eighty in 1901. Out of the 80 only a half seems to be engaged in the gold mining along the Fraser River and lower Quesnel River. Mining-related Chinese settlements fell sharply in both number and size in the decade. Among the other 40 non-mining Chinese, nearly a half (19) were engaged in farming, belonging to three households headed by Chinese (*Canada Census* 1901). A small settlement pattern consisting of a Chinatown, a few cabin-sites, and a few farms would be the case during the period of 1900-1910.

Quesnelle Forks Area

The population figures for the area are listed in the following table (Table 31).

Table 31: Population in Quesnelle Forks area from 1871 to 1901 (summarized from Census in the respective years)

YEAR	CHINESE		CAUCASION		TOTAL	
	QTY.	%	QTY.	%	QTY.	%
1870	170 ¹	?	?	?	?	?
1881	413	41%	602	59%	1,015	100%
1891	212	76%	68	25%	280	100%
1901	82		?	?	?	?

Note: 1. '170' is inferred.

Comparing the figures listed in this table with the 3,000 Chinese recorded in 1869 in the town (*Eleventh Annual Report of the Columbia Mission, 1869:57*), it is clear that the drop in Chinese population is a continuing trend, in spite of the temporary pickup in the 1880s.

In the 1890s, large-scale hydraulic mining was widely in use in the Quesnelle Forks area, which brought more Caucasians, though it did not change the Chinese dominance in distribution in the overall population (Table 31). However some changes were detectable by the way the shrinking population affected their community.

The Chinese were working on seven drainages in the Quesnelle Forks area during this period (Appendix II), a significantly reduced number compared to the 17 of the first period.

Quesnelle Forks Chinatown

The Chinese continued to dominate the town of Quesnelle Forks during this period. A few whites remained. In 1876, Government Agent Oliver Hare remarks:

The whole of trading (in Quesnelle Forks) is done by Chinese; there are several good stores there, also two butchers, a blacksmith and a watchmaker; three of the storekeepers have liquor licenses, and two of them opium ditto (*Third Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1876:420*).

Hare also indicates that the Chinese had a life that can be enviable to many contemporary whites:

... Many persons suppose that Chinaman can afford to work for less wages because his style of living is so much cheaper, but let me tell those persons that John is as fond of good living as they are. When I go to a Chinese cabin I can tell nearly at a glance if the claims pays by the number of oyster, lobster, and sardine tins, also China wine and Hennesay brandy bottles lying around their domicile (*Third Annual Report of the Minister of Mines, 1876:420*).

In May 1877, a Barkerville miner, William Stephenson, became government agent and constable at Quesnelle Forks. 'He, his wife and his two sons were the only white people living in a purely Chinese town' (*Harrison to Temple Letter 1877:3* cited in Wright 1987: 48). In the 1890s, large-scale hydraulic mining was introduced in the Quesnelle Forks area. It brought more Caucasians to this area and led to a birth of new mining town called Bullion (*Report of the Minister of Mines 1897-1898*). In spite of this, Chinese remained the dominant group in the area (Table 31).

Town site layout The layout of the town during this period can be roughly reconstructed based on archival and field sources. Two early photographs of Quesnelle Forks, one dating to the 1880s and another 1894, were taken from a similar angle from the southeast (Figure 67). Both

indicate that most of the structures concentrated on the south portion of the site while the northern portion was almost unoccupied. Most structures in the southern portion were built in a north-south direction, while those in the southwest corner appear varied in direction: three in a southwest-southeast direction and four in an east-west direction. The similarity displayed in these two photographs indicates that between the 1880s and the 1890s, there was little change in house layout in this town. Such a layout can be still seen partially in the early 1990s (Figure 68, 69).

The Chinese sources indicate that there were 15 Chinese businesses in the town during the 1880s, servicing more than 400 Chinese (Appendix VI, VII). If each business had one structure, then there should be at least 15 structures dedicated to such purposes.

In addition to the Chinese stores, a Chih Kung T'ang society's building would most likely have been in existence in the town by the early 1880s, as the branch of the Chih Kung T'ang is said to have been established in 'this town' in 1882 (Lyman et al. 1964:536, Plate III). The Chinatown at Quesnel Forks featured a Chih Kung T'ang building and a number of Chinese business in the 1880s.

In the 1890s, the Chinese population in Quesnel Forks shrank to 200, yet it still stood at 76% of the total population in the area, a percentage even higher than the 41% in the 1880s. There were still 15 Chinese businesses in town in the 1890s. Ten of them were already in existence in the 1880s, and five others, such as Guang Mao Long and Xin Tong Chang seem to be new in the early 1890s. The Chih Kung T'ang society was still very active in the 1890s, a fact attested by the existence of 72 Chinese account books produced in Quesnelle Forks during the period, or 31% of a total of 231 account books (Appendix IV). Added to the 15 major structures housing various Chinese businesses, was the structure associated with the Chih Kung T'ang society. In terms of the within-site patterning, it appears that the 1890s showed no major changes from the previous period.

In the early 1890s, Quesnelle Forks was officially surveyed. James Champion produced a town site map in 1893 (Figure 70). During the 1993 survey at Quesnelle Forks, Dave Falconer showed the author a copy of field notes taken by Champion during his survey in the early 1890s (Figure 71). In addition, Falconer provided the author with a sketch map of the town site without a title and date (Figure 72). A comparison of the sketch map with Champion's field notes and his 1893 map suggests that the sketch was not included in the main body of the survey results. Champion was not its author, as the handwriting is different from the one in Champion's filed notes. Yet the combined information from the sketch map and survey notes enabled the author to plot houses and put owner's names to specific lots and blocks in Champion's 1893 town site map, thus obtaining a general site layout of Quesnelle Forks in the early 1890s (Figure 73).

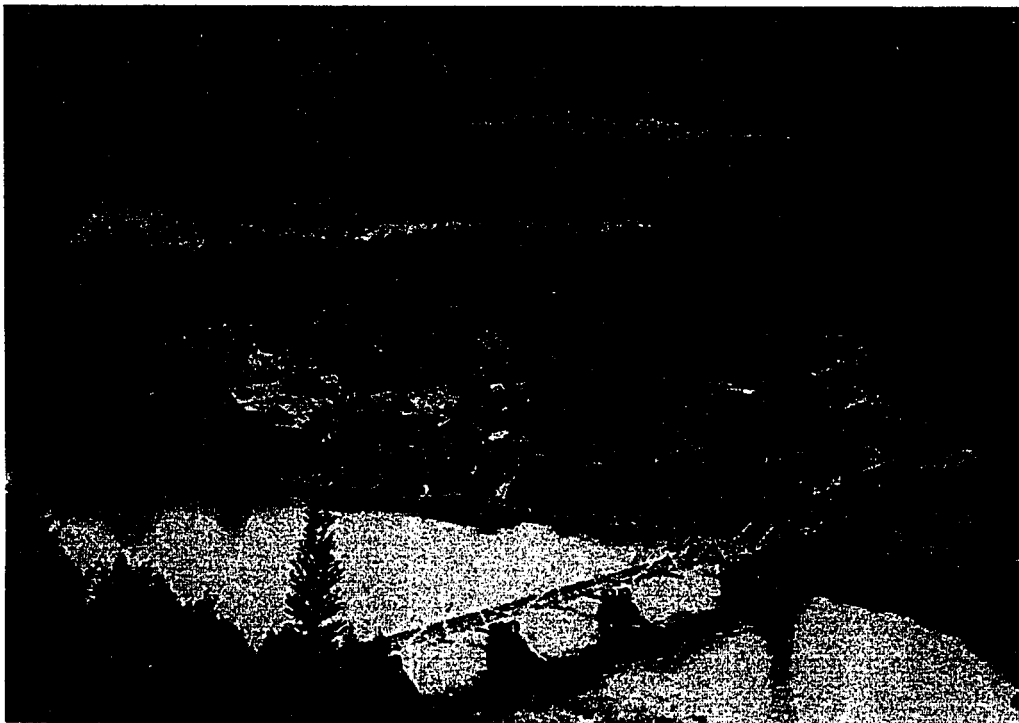


Figure 67. Two photographs of Quesnelle Forks taken from a similar angle, southeast to north west, at different times. (Above) Quesnelle Forks in the 1880s (BCPA A-04045). (Bottom) the town between 1899-1900 (Photo by J. H. Blome. City Archives Vancouver: Out.N.538 P. 994 after Wright 1988:67).



Figure 68. View of Quesnelle Forks in 1993. Note that the photograph was taken at a similar angle to the one used in the 1880s and 1899 photographs.

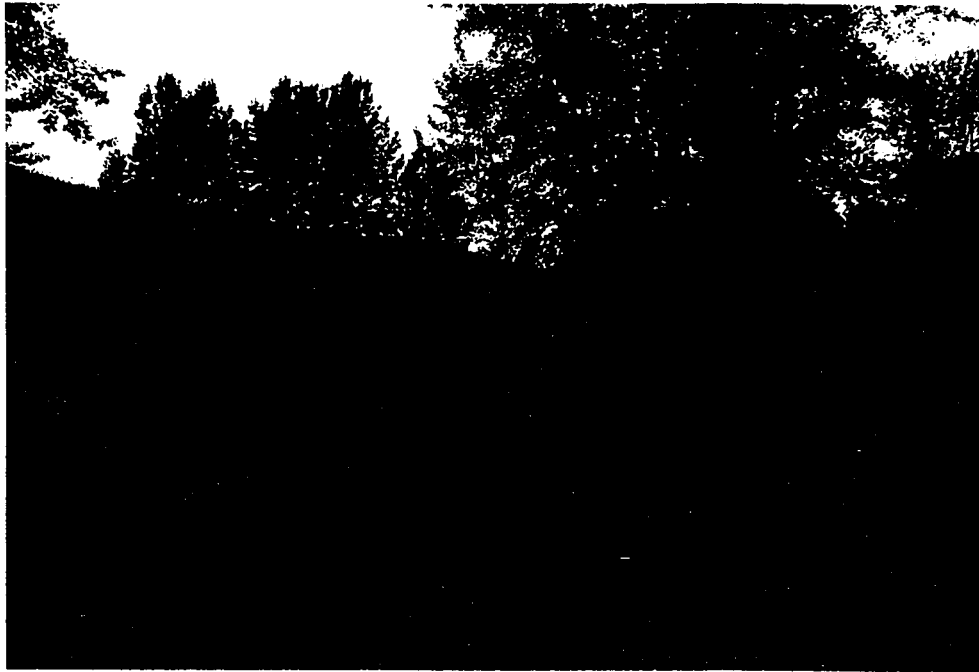


Figure 69. View of the remaining buildings in the south-western portion of Quesnelle Forks from east to west (1993).

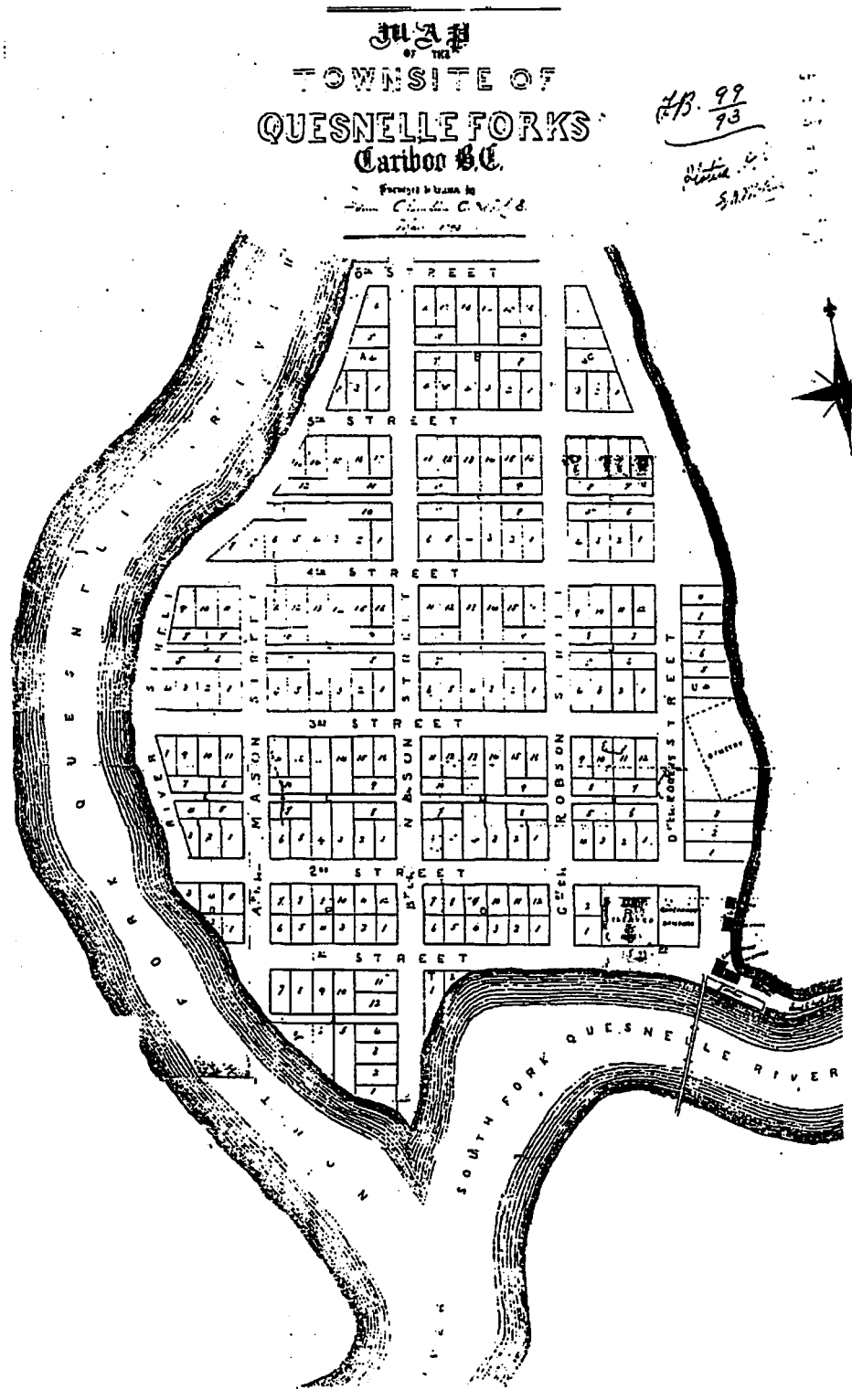


Figure 70. Townsite Map of Quesnelle Forks by James Champion in 1893.

	<p>Survey of the South side of Second Street. Commencing at the stake set by previous Survey Thence N. 83° 10' W.</p>	1892
2.0	To fence of Government lot. Thence through the lot	
85.0	to the western side of fence	
1100.0	Set Stake 12.7' west of fence. Said Stake is directly opposite the South eastern Corner Stake of Block. No. 60 feet distant therefrom Thence on the North line of Reserved Ground	
250.0	Set Stake Stake in front of Little's Cabin 60' South of the same.	
300.0	" " marked 2nd & C.S. being the N.W. Cor. of Block. No. 60 Thence N. 83° 10' W.	
460.0	Set Stake marked 2nd & C.S. being the N.E. Cor. of Block. No. 2. Thence N. 83° 10' W.	
123.0	To the eastern end of Fook Sang Lung's Sleeping house. line Passing through the Centre of house.	
150.0	Set Stake in front of door of Sleeping house. Thence the line Pass through the Centre of the eastern end of Store and Corridor at the N.E. Corner of the building. The 200 feet Stake will come in the Store 3.5' from the N.W. Cor. thereof.	
300.0	Set Stake marked 2nd & P.S. being the N.W. Cor. of Block. No. 2. Said Stake is set in the S.E. Cor. of Loo Chew Fan's Garden 19.6' North of house known as the Chinese Masons house.	

Figure 71. Part of page 2 of the survey notes taken by James Champion at Quesnelle Forks in 1892 and 1893. It mentions locations of the Fook Sang Lung, Loo Chew Fan's garden, and Chinese Masons (namely, Chih Kung T'ang) house in the town.

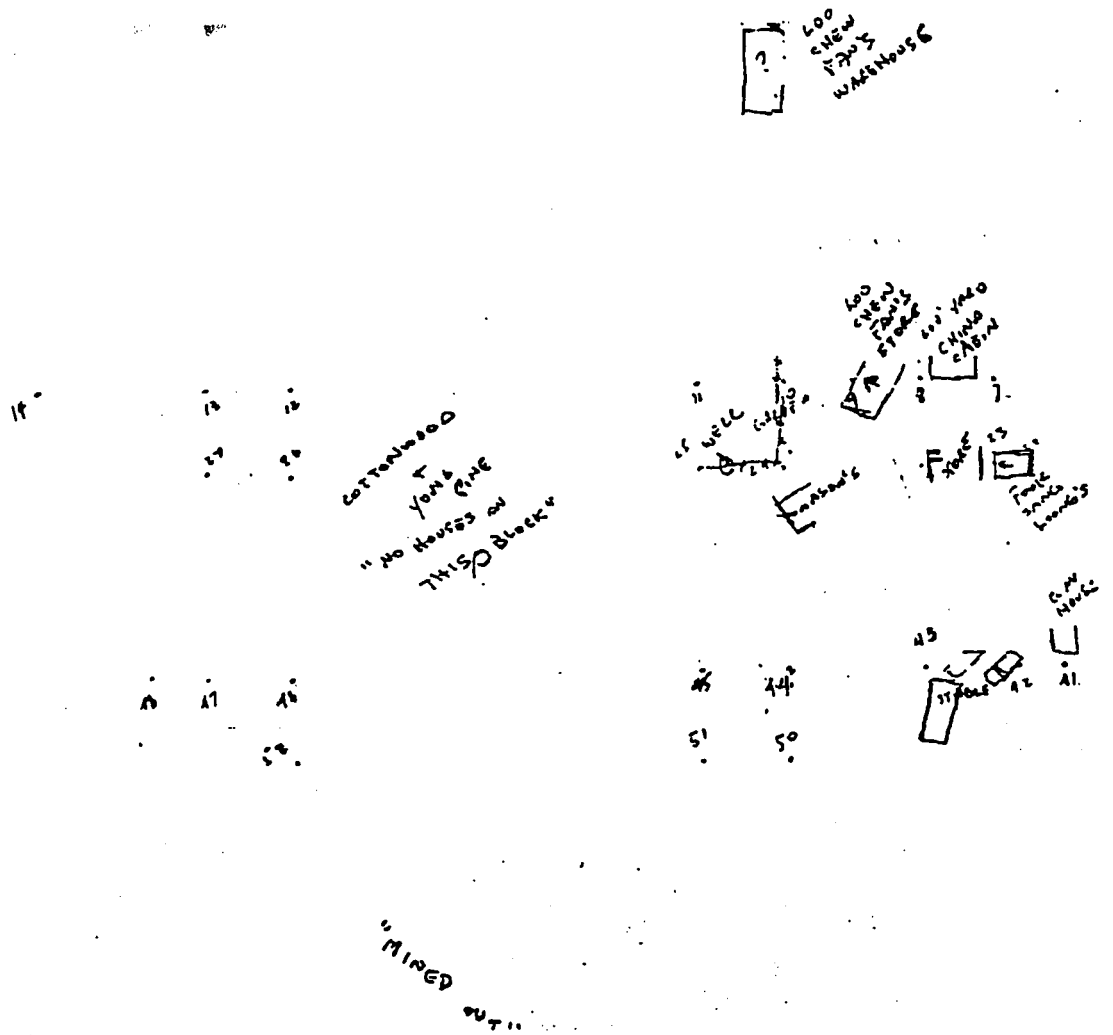


Figure 72. A sketch of Quesnelle Forks town site (Dave Falconer's collection).

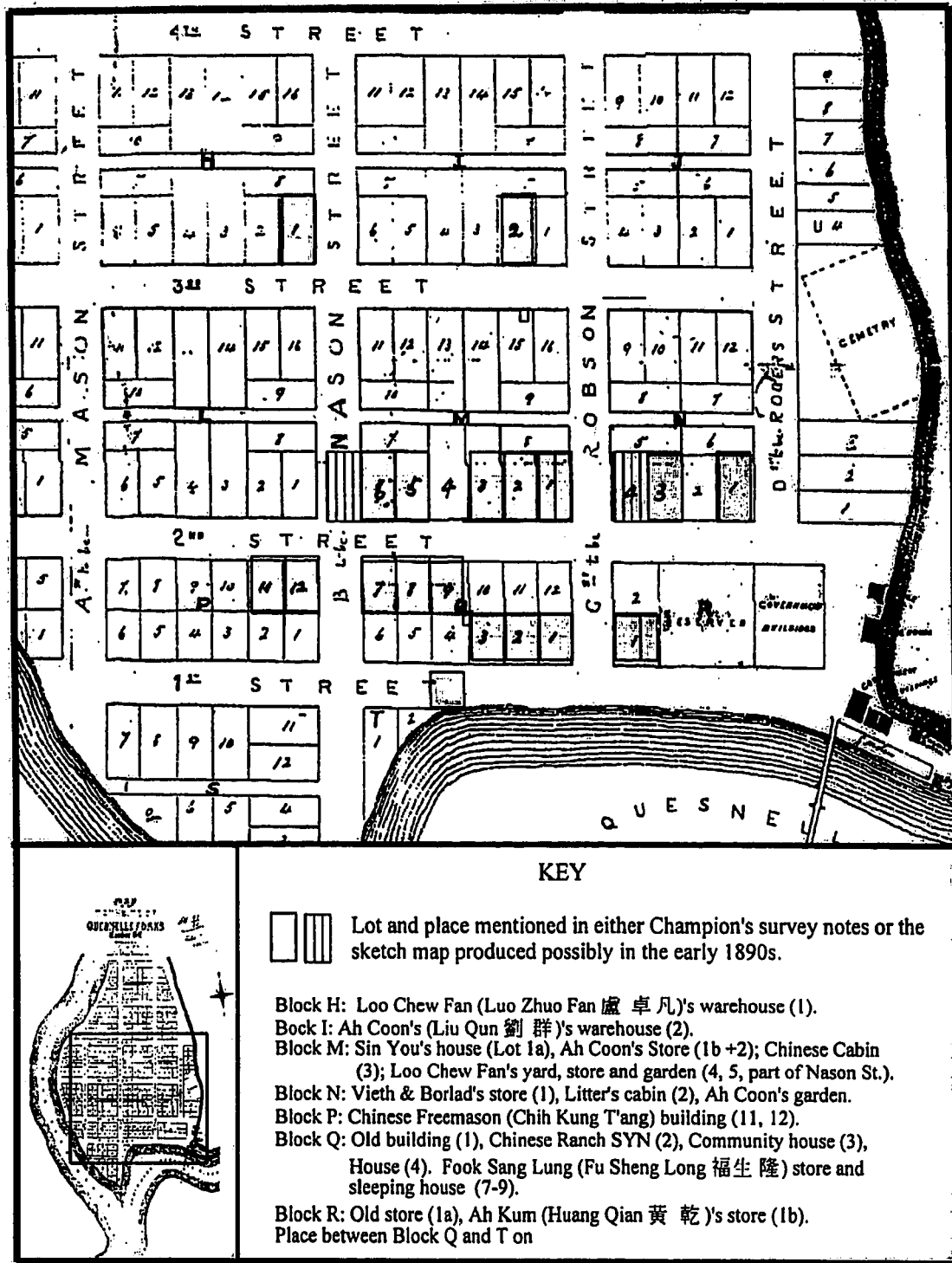


Figure 73. A proposed layout of the southern portion of the town of Quesnelle Forks in the early 1890s (based on the Townsite Map of Quesnelle Forks, field survey notes taken by Champion, and the sketch map drawn by someone in the early 1890s).

This layout provides more information about the town than is contained in the two photographs mentioned earlier. First, it confirms that most inhabitants in the early 1890s were Chinese. This is consistent with the fact revealed by the Censuses. It needs to be pointed out, though, the structures shown on the map fail to corroborate with the figure shown in the Census of the early 1890s. Some Chinese immigrants seem to have been left off the town map, with no structure associated with them. Perhaps they owned neither the land nor the property. Second, it indicates that the structures were concentrated in six blocks, (M, N, P, Q, R and T) on the south of Third Street. The large north portion of the site, from Third to Sixth Streets was uninhabited, confirming what is shown in the two photographs.

This raises the question as to when the large north portion of the site was abandoned. The 1880s witnessed the peak of Chinese involvement in the area and there appears to be no reason for the abandonment to have taken place at a later date. The only possible time when the abandonment could have taken place was the early 1870s when the Chinese population saw a sharp drop from 3,000 in the 1860s to less than 200. In other words, the layout given by the 1893 map and the two photographs may have actually been in existence since the early 1870s. In the 1880s, the Chinese population went up again, but did not attain the level of the 1860s. It is possible that the Chinese inhabitants had added some new houses in the southern area of the town, but did not have enough men and material resources to reconstruct the northern portion of the site.

In 1986, David Suttill and D. Fawthorpe of the Heritage Conservation Branch surveyed the site, located and catalogued 20 buildings. Their report stimulated further work by the Friends of Barkerville Cariboo Goldfields Historical Society in the following year. A further 17 house foundations were located. Wright subsequently did more research, based on events documented in contemporary English sources and oral information from Mrs. Murry who had been resident in Likely, a town near Quesnelle Forks, since the 1930s. She commented on the functions of the various buildings and features at the site, which were recorded in Wright's report (1978:78, 79) (Figure 74).

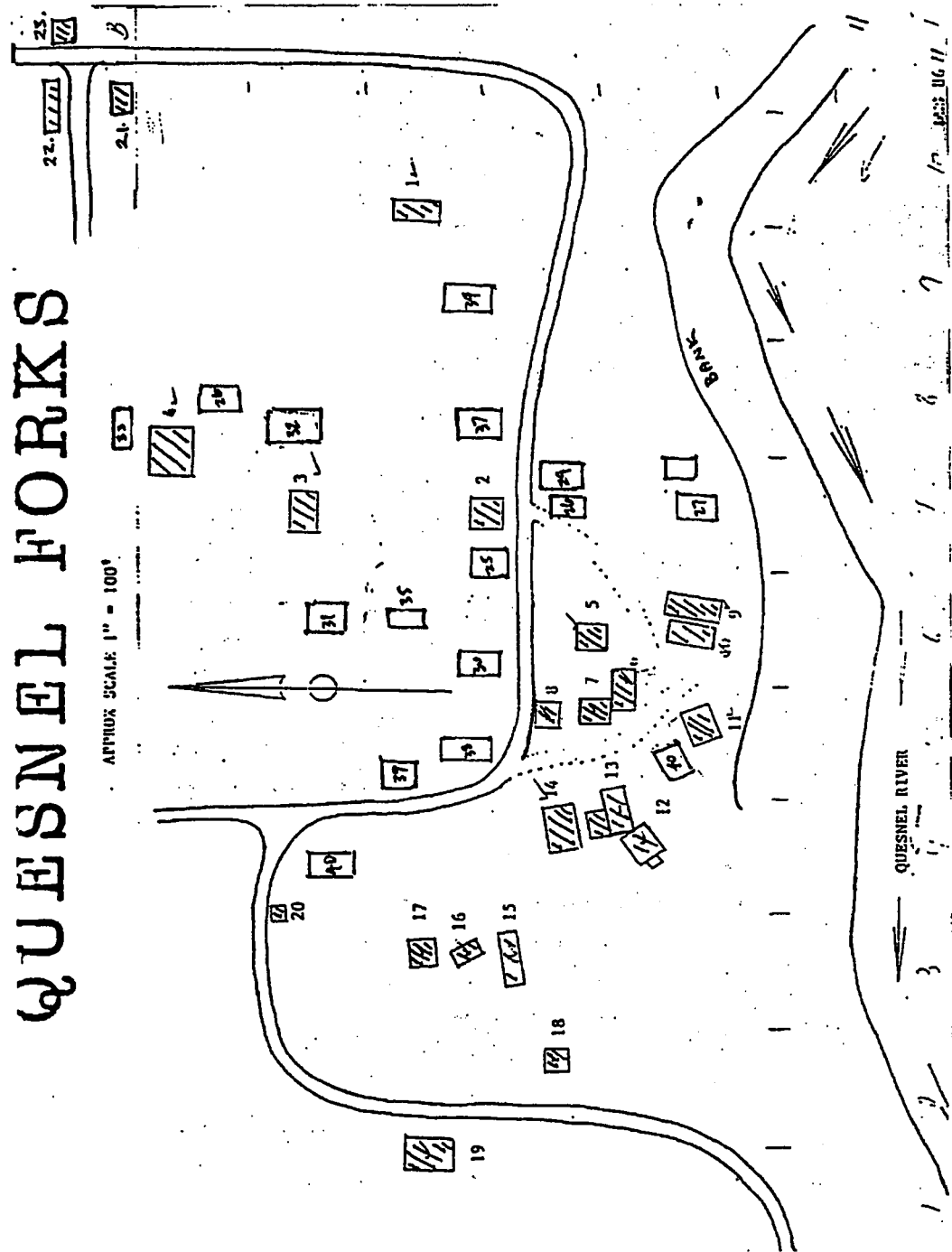


Figure 74. A sketch map of the Quesnelle Forks site drawn in 1987 (after Wright 1987:84).



Figure 75. Plan of Quesnelle Forks town site (1993).

During the summer of 1993, a century after Champion's survey, the author surveyed the Quesnelle Forks town site. Twenty-four buildings, six building foundations, 22 various features, all visible roads and paths, and a cemetery were located and mapped (Figure 75).

A comparison of the 1993 map with Champion's 1893 town site map indicates that the remaining site is smaller in area than in the 1890s and the road system has also undergone substantial change. Of the six streets running north-south featured in the 1890s map, only Second and Third Streets have survived. Of the five east-west streets, only B, Nason, and D, Rogers Streets still exist. The western edge and the First Street at the river front, and structures on the south edge of the site, featured in the 1893 map as well as detectable in the two photographs, have been eroded away by the two rivers and no longer existed in 1993. Second, the 1993 map indicates that the majority of the structures, 18 out of 24, were located in the southern portion of the site, with a concentration of 10 buildings and one foundation in the southwest corner. The area occupied by the ten houses is equal to Block Q on the 1893's map. The number of remaining structures in 1993 may or may not be the same as those seen in the 1880s or 1890s, but their orientation indicates that they continued the pattern prevailing at that time. To the north of these ten buildings across the road, were one structure and two house foundations. This area is equal to the southern portion of Block M marked on the 1893 map. There is little doubt that the 1993 layout is a continuation of what had been in existence since the late 1870s right through to 1910 with only minor changes in the ownership and number of houses.

Chinese artifacts, such as sign-boards, paper scrolls with Chinese characters, furniture, a Chinese style stove, and tin cans probably modified by Chinese were found in structures in Block Q, M, and other blocks. The one exception where no material remains were found was structure A1, which was built at a later time. All signs show continued occupation by Chinese immigrants after the early 1870s.

Both maps and photographs mentioned above show Block Q as containing a concentration of Chinese houses. The 1993 map and four photographs mentioned above all show a small square in the eastern portion of the block with the front doors of the surrounding structures opening onto it (Figure 67, 68, 69, 75). The functions of the ten structures and a house foundation in Block Q, during the 1930s are summarized in the following table (Table 32).

Table 32: Functions of some buildings in southwest portion (Block Q) of Quesnelle Forks in the 1930s (Wright 1998:78-82 and the author's research on other sources)

HOUSE No.	FUNCTION	SOURCES
A5	?	
A6	Residence house lived by Won Kuey Kim, son of Mr. and Mrs. Kims	Wright: according to Murray
A7	'sporting house (brothel)	Wright: according to an article by Bill Barley Canada West, February 1969 article.
A8	?	
A9	?	
A10	?	
A11	Guang Mao Long store*	It is generally referred as the 'Tong house' but the author's study indicates that this is a store called Guang Mao Long (廣茂隆).
A12	Residence house lived in by Mrs. Kim	Wright: according to Murray.
A13	Chinese store	Wright: according to Murray.
A14	Chih Kung T'ang house	Wright: according to Murray this is a temple. According to Champion's 1893 field notes and the sketch map of the town, this was the Chih Kung T'ang house.
A24 (40)	Lim Sing's store	Wright: according to Murray. The store was closed in 1949. The store in the 1930s is seen in Stangoe (1994:47).

The above list shows traces of the site layout formed at an earlier time. The Chih Kung T'ang house and a series of Chinese stores and other business surround a square. Residential houses are located behind these major buildings at a distance from the square. Such a layout was probably formed as early as the early 1870s, if not earlier, and continued till the disintegration of the Chinese community in the area, sometime prior to the 1930s. During this entire period, the drop in Chinese population may have triggered various changes in the number of houses, their location and ownership, but the basic layout remains.

Cemetery Quesnelle Forks' cemetery is on the west side of the town, separated from the residential quarters by a road known as 'D' or Rogers Street. It has an irregular rectangular shape and is surrounded by a fence. Chinese graves, identifiable by the empty pits, concentrated on the southern portion of the cemetery, forming a separate section. In the 1993 survey, a total of seventy-three pits were identified (Appendix III Map 2). The Chinese may or may not have been the first to be buried in the cemetery, but they definitely constituted the majority of the deceased buried there after 1869. Since there is not another Chinese cemetery in this district, it is possible that the Quesnelle Forks cemetery was a burial ground for all the Chinese in this area.

Small towns

Keithley Keithley was the only recorded town to have a Chinese quarter in this period. The only photograph of the settlement dates to the 1890s (Figure 76). The photograph indicates the existence of a Chinese quarter in the town, though it fails to give a clear indication of the relationship between the Chinese quarters and the Caucasian part of town, in terms of location. In the summer of 1993, the author visited the site but did not see any material remains on the ground.

The Chinese documents label Keithley as 'Yun Shi Xi (雲 士 隙)'. During this period the Chinese community in this town was headed by Liu Qun, the owner of the Liu Qun store in town. Liu was a very influential member of the Hong-men society, having appeared in 66 Hong-men account books procured between 1883 and 1901. Liu also had a store and garden on Block M and N, in Quesnelle Forks during the 1890s (Figure 72, 73).



Figure 76. Keithley Chinatown in the 1890s (BC AB C 1999 A-05191).

Bullion Mine Large-scale hydraulic mining started on the South Forks by the Cariboo Consolidated Hydraulic Mining Company Ltd in 1894, which stimulated other large-scale operations in the area and three other areas of the district. Accompanying the new boom was the rise of the new mining town of Bullion, on the South Fork of the Quesnel River, opposite Quesnelle Fork in the 1890s. In 1901, the camp was relocated to allow further expansion of the Bullion Pit (Elliott 2000:131). As the Chinese constituted the majority of the population in this area in the 1890s, the Bullion Mine inevitably employed some Chinese. It is quite possible that there was a Chinese quarter in the town. The town was abandoned after the Bullion Mine closed in 1907 (Gold Commissioner Bowron's Report of the Minister of Mines 1897-98).

Other sites

The *Ninth Annual Report of the Minister of Mines* (1882) lists 238 Chinese in the area. Although it is an incomplete record, a general picture can be drawn of the distribution of the Chinese population in the early 1880s. Together with information from other sources, a general distribution of the non-Chinatown Chinese settlements can be drawn.

In the early 1880s, the majority of Chinese, 123 of 238, mined on the North and South Forks and upper Quesnelle River. Forty-three were on the North Forks, 40 on the South Forks and another 40 on the Quesnelle River (*The Ninth Annual Report of the Minister of Mines* 1882). After large-scale hydraulic mining came into vogue in this area the 1890s, a possibility is that the majority of Chinese were working with the new technology

Chinese were also scattered on five creeks. Sixteen Chinese were recorded in the *Ninth Annual Report of the Minister of Mines* (1882) as working on Horsefly Creek in the early 1880s, though the nature of mining is not clear. There were forty Chinese on Keithley Creek in the early 1880s according to the *Ninth Annual Report of the Minister of Mines* (1882). Bowman's map lists two Chinese hydraulic mines on the east and west sides of the creek respectively, and two 'Chinese bridges' (Map 5 1885-1888). There were only eight Chinese on Cunningham Creek in the early 1880s. Several Chinese hydraulic companies mined in the creek and had constructed a ditch (Bowman Map 1885-1889; Johnson and Uglow 1926:75, 76). Mining camps and cabins can be expected to be in existence on the creek. The Chinese on French Snowshoe Creek are not listed in the *Ninth Annual Report of the Minister of Mines* (1882), but Bowman's map, 1885-1888, identified Chinese excavation work on the creek, which were said to yield fine gold. In the 1880s, Chinese miners dug the benches on both the east and west sides of the upper Snowshoe

Creek (Bowman Map 1885-1888). The Ninth Annual Report of the Minister of Mines (1875) records 21 Chinese on that creek.

In each area mentioned above, one would expect a large mining camp or one to several individual cabins, depending on the scale of mining. As the majority of the population in the area during this period were Chinese, the settlements would very likely have been built by the Chinese.

Discussion

Caucasian miners had largely abandoned the area of Quesnelle Forks after 1869, which left the Chinese as the dominant group. Through the adoption of large-scale hydraulic mining in the 1890s and the establishment of the new mining town, Bullion, some Caucasians returned to the area. However, Chinese still constituted the majority of the population in the area. This allowed the Chinese settlement pattern to continue, with Quesnelle Forks, almost a pure Chinese town, as the centre.

Barkerville area

The available population figures for the Chinese and their proportional distribution in the total population in the area are listed in the following table (Table 3).

Table 33: Population in the Barkerville area from 1871 to 1901 (summarized from Census in the respective years)

YEAR	CHINESE		CAUCASIAN		TOTAL	
	QTY.	%	QTY.	%	QTY.	%
1870	170 ¹	?	?	?	?	?
1881	260 ²	15%	1,422	85%	1,702	100%
1891	133	42%	183	58%	316	100%
1901	210	?	?	?	?	?

Note:

1. '170' is inferred and that includes ones in the areas of Barkerville and Stanley.
2. The population of 260 in 1881 includes the population in both Barkerville and Stanley, but they are not complete records (the relevant discussion in this chapter).

Tale 33 shows that there were approximately 170 Chinese in the Barekerville-Stanley area in 1870 and 260 in 1881. The figure 260 is, however, an incomplete record. For example, *The 9th Annual Report the Ministry of Mines 1882* shows 214 Chinese miners in 1882 in the

Barkerville area alone and 208 in the Stanley area. The Hong-men accounts and CCBA files for the 1880s reveal 301 Chinese in the Barkerville area and 275 in the Stanley area, which is possibly close to the actual Chinese population at that time. In 1891, the Chinese population in the area dropped to 133 and climbed back to 210 in 1901(*Canada Census* 1891; 1901). Hong (1978:185) believes that the average Chinese population in Barkerville between 1910 and 1915 was 150.

A comparison of the above mentioned figures with 5,000 and 8,000 Chinese in the area in the late 1860s estimated in *BC Guide* 1871, *British Columbia, Minister of Mines, Annual Reports*, 1893:211, and *Cariboo Sentinel* (September 22, 1869) confirms the general trend of a decreasing Chinese population during the period, in spite of two temporary resurgences in the 1880s and 1900s.

Archival sources reveal that the Chinese worked on 14 drainages in the Barkerville area during this period (Appendix II). The area covered is basically the same as during the first period but in each place the average number of Chinese miners would have been much lower than in the 1860s.

The 1993-1994 field survey located a total of 13 Chinese sites in the area, 9 of which either belong to this period or were continuous in use during this period (Appendix Map 4; 11). These 13 sites were situated on eight drainages, which are mentioned in archival records as having Chinese activities and settlements. In other words, these eight drainages, which are archivally recorded as having Chinese activities or settlements, are proven archaeologically as having Chinese settlements.

Barkerville Chinatown

The Barkerville Chinatown was the centre of the Chinese settlements in this area during the Hydraulic period. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the *Townsite Map of Barkerville* (1970) based upon Hong's information gives a total of 40 structures and one feature on 26 lots in Chinatown. Among these structures, the time periods for the use and/or construction of seven major buildings were known, based on information culled from the early documentary sources such as *Barkerville Assay Office Records* (1869-95), the Hong-men account books and the CCBA files, Lee (1967), and Hong (1978.)

The He Li (Woo Lee) (和利) store was on Lot 14, from as early as 1869, if not earlier, and continued till 1913 when it was sold to Sing Kee (ASSAY 1869-95:9; Hong 1978:187). The Chih Kung T'ang Resident Hall building on Lot 69 was built in the late 1870s and abandoned by

the Hong-men society in the late 1940s (Hong 1978:191; Chen 1992:209). The Ren He or Yen Wo (人和) store on Lot 13, was in existence from no later than 1882 and continued until 1909 when it was sold to Sing Kee (ASSAY 1869-95:171; Hong 1978:187). The Chih Kung Tang Main Hall on Lot 62 was used as the main hall from the early 1880s (1883-85) until 1932 when it was sold by the society. The new owner moved the house to another lot and changed its name to the Prince George restaurant (Hong 1978:191; Chen 1992:200-202, 206). The Lai Gow (Li Gou) (黎苟)'s store on Lot 64 had been in operation as a store since 1885, if not earlier, and closed down in 1912 when Lai and his family moved to Prince George (Hong-men account files; Hong 1978:187). The Kwong Lee Wing Kee (廣利榮記) store on Lot 15 was resurrected from the Kwong Lee store in 1887 (Hong-men account files) and kept running until 1913 (Hong-men account books; Wright 1988:87) (Appendix VII). The Kwong Sang Wing (廣生榮) store on Lot 7 was established by Wu Bai-feng around 1902 (Irvine and Montgomery 1902). Around 1914 or 1915, Wu sold the store to either the Lun Woo or Lian He (聯合) Company and the later renamed the building as the Lun Woo Company (Hong 1978:186) (Table 34).

Table 34: Time periods of the Chih Kung Tang main building and five major Chinese stores in Barkerville (based on ASSAY Report 1869-95, Hong-men accounts, and Hong 1978)

STRUCTURE NAME	LOT #	TIME STARTED	TIME ENDED
He Li (Woo Lee) (和利) store	14	1869	1913
Chih Kung Tang (Resident Hall) building	69	1877	1947
Ren He (Yen Wo) (人和) store	13	1882	1909
Chih Kung Tang Main Hall building	62	1885 (?)	1932
Lai Gow (Li Gou) (黎苟)'s store	64	1885	1912
Guang Li Rong Ji (Kwong Lee Wing Kee) (廣利榮記) store	15	1887	1913
Kwong Sang Wing (廣生榮) store	7	1900	1914/15

Table 34 indicates that among seven structures the Kwong Sang Wing store was built last in the early 1900s. The Ren He store was the first to close in 1909. The period in which all seven businesses co-existed in the town is roughly between 1900 and 1909.

The earlier layout of the Chinatown in the 1880s and 1890s can be further inferred. Table 34 indicates that, except for the Kwong Sang Wing store, six other structures co-existed in the 1880s and 1890s. In addition, archival sources and artefacts from the Barkerville Chinatown reveal that there were three other Chinese businesses called Kwong Chong, Qian Tai, and Yi Xing in the Barkerville Chinatown in the 1880s and 1890s. Apparently, the Barkerville Chinatown in the 1880s and 1890s was distinguished by two Chih Kung Tang buildings and seven major Chinese business buildings.

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Table 34 demonstrates that out of the seven buildings, only the Hi Li store and the Chih Kung Tang (Resident Hall) buildings existed in the 1870s. The Hong-men account books indicate two other Chinese businesses, one by the Kwong Lee and Kwong Lee Wing Kee's predecessor before 1885, and one by Kwong Chong operating in the 1870s. Both had started back in the 1860s. It is mentioned in Chapter 5 that the *1871 British Columbia Guide* (p. 76) shows 16 Chinese business establishments in Barkerville at the beginning of the 1870s. All these businesses, except the Kwong Lee and Wa Lee, listed in the guide have not seen in other sources. Among these 12 businesses were six stores, two bakeries, four washhouses, and one watchmaker shop. In 1871, less than 200 Chinese resided in this area. If these businesses were still in operation at that time, they must have continued into the late 1870s when the Chinese population remained relatively stable (*Canada Census* 1881). This shows that in the 1870s, there were seven major stores and seven other businesses such as bakeries, a laundry, and watchmaker shops in Barkerville's Chinatown.

In addition to the Chih Kung Tang houses and Chinese stores, the 1970 *Barkerville Town Site Map* reveals six other Chinese establishments. Their various natures and locations in Chinatown are listed in the following table (Table 35).

Table 35: Association buildings marked on *Townsite Map of Barkerville* (1970)

NATURE	NAME	LOCATION	REMARKS
Clan	Yu Shu Tang (Yoke Shee Tong) Association	✓ (Lot 67)	Xie clan
	Zhou Ai Lian [(Chow) Or Lin] Society	✓ (Lot 72)	Chow clan
Joint Clan	Ming Yi Tang (Ming Yee Tong) Association	✓ (Lot 10)	(also called) Long Gang Association (***) Joint clan of Liu, Guan, Zhang, Zhao
	Huang Jiang Xia Tang (Wong Kong Har Tong)	✓ (Lot 11)	Joint clan of Huang, Jiang, and Xia people
County			
	Zheng Cheng (Tsang Sing) Company	✓ (Lot 66)	Association for people from the Zeng Cheng County
Region	Gang Zhou (Kong Chow) Association	✓ (Lot 7)	Association for people from the Siyi district and He Shan County

Apart from the Kong Chow association started in the early 1900s, there were five other establishments that could have been in existence from the late 1860s, when a much larger

Kung T'ang buildings, the associations' buildings, and the major Chinese store buildings. While the number of structures within each component changed over time, the three basic components remained unchanged throughout this period (Figure 77). The existence of these three components is a reflection of a fully developed stage of Chinatown and the local Chinese society. We can safely assume that the same applies to the three other Chinatowns in the district, although scarcity of archival records and archaeological finds prevents a more detailed study.



Figure 77. Upper end of Barkerville's Chinatown in the 1890s (BCPA C-09748). 'Along the left side are: a Chinese cabin; the Yan Wo Store; the old Wah Lee Store; the new Wah Lee; and the Kwong Lee Store. Along the right side: a Chinese cabin; an old hay barn; the Chow Association building; a building belonging to the Chinese Masonic Hall; a Chinese restaurant; the Tsang Sang District Association; the Lai Cow Store; and last-with high flag pole-the man Chinese' Masonic Hall (Hong 1978:186).

Small towns

Archival sources reveal that three other settlements, Antler, Grouse Creek, and Richfield fall into this type during the period of 1876-1910 and each had a Chinese quarter.

Antler On Bowman's Map 9 (1885-1888), the town was marked as 'Old Antler Town (destroyed)'. The Ninth ARMM report puts the population at 60 Chinese and 15 whites in 1882

Antler On Bowman's Map 9 (1885-1888), the town was marked as 'Old Antler Town (destroyed)'. The Ninth ARMM report puts the population at 60 Chinese and 15 whites in 1882 (Table 29). This suggests that Antler be not a large town, but a smaller town dominated by the Chinese in the early 1880s.

Grouse Creek Various companies conducted hydraulic and deep mining on the creek during this period (Johnston and Uglow 1926:82-87). The Ninth Annual Report of the Minister of Mines (1882) reports 20 Chinese and 12 White men on Grouse Creek in 1882 (Table 29).

Ludditt (1980:57) makes mention of an Anthony MacAlindon store in Grouse Creek, which survived until the late 1880s. It is therefore quite possible that a Chinese general store was also in operation in the 1880s, considering that more than half of the mining population on the creek was Chinese.

Richfield (Williams Creek) Richfield was the largest town in the area between 1861 and the early 1863. It was replaced by Barkerville in 1863 and the town went into decline. According to information available in the British Columbia Directories, Richfield does not seem like a thriving community during the Hydraulic Period (Table 36).

Table 36: Records of the population in Richfield from 1882 to 1904*

YEAR	PEOPLE
1882	29
1885	22
1895	4
1904	1

* (Galois 1970:113 summarized from *British Columbia Directory* 1882-83; *Williams British Columbia Directory* 1892, 1920-31; *Hendersons British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory* 1900-1910)

These figures seem to suggest an abandonment of the town, however, the construction of the Court House in 1882 indicates that Richfield still provided some government functions. Information from the Chinese sources reveals a different story. The town referred to Williams Creek (委林士隙 or 威林士恤) in the Hong-men account books and the CCBA files. These two types of Chinese sources give a total Chinese population in the 1880s of nearly 100 (99), with a Chinese store, Wa Lee (和利), and a branch of the Chih Kung Tang society (Figure 78). Apparently, the town had become an almost exclusive Chinese settlement, apart from the courthouse and a few Caucasians, possibly representatives of the government. Archaeological work might help overcome the lack of information, as there is no information in contemporary English sources.

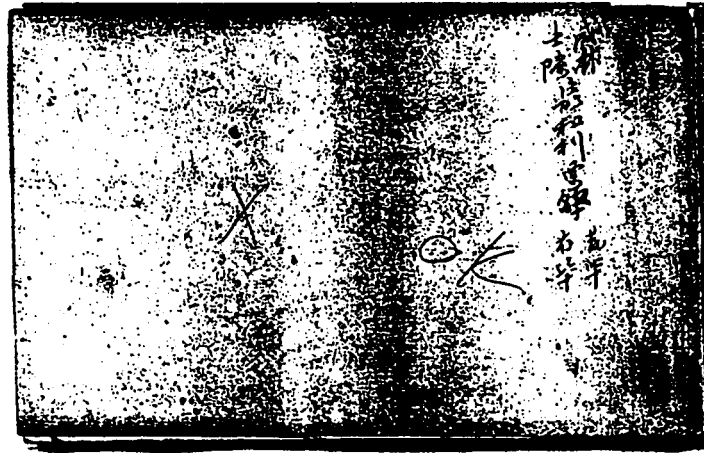


Figure 78. Receipt booklet (CCBA file 9.1Box-WC-a) with the name of 'Williams Creek Wa Lee Store (威廉士隙和利號)' on cover. All records in the booklet were written in 1884.

Mining camps

Development of the large-scale hydraulic mining and mining companies also saw the development of large mining camps in this area in the 1890s. By 1899, there were 13 such large mining camps (*Gold Commissioner Bowman's Report of the Minister of Mines 1897-98*). It is possible that most of these operations, if not all, hired Chinese, as more than 40% of the population in the Barkerville area in the 1890s were Chinese. Their camps should therefore contain Chinese quarters. However, information regarding Chinese camps in the area is scarce and the surveys in 1993 and 1994 failed to uncover any sites of this type. Two mining camp sites in the Stanley area with Chinese quarters, however, were well documented and verified archaeologically during the 1993-93 survey (details in the section of Stanley area of this chapter). Results from the Stanley area should prove helpful for an understanding of the mining campsites in the Barkerville area.

Cabin sites

Archival sources report that the Chinese had mined on 14 drainages in the area during the period of 1876-1910. Out of these 14 drainages, five (17%) have been archaeologically surveyed and eight cabin sites were identified. In addition, the field survey in 1993 located a cabin site (FgRi-2) on Jubilee Creek, which was not listed in either English or Chinese sources known to

the author (Appendix III Map 5). These nine cabin sites were scattered in six drainages with an average of two each (Appendix II; III; Figure 79).

An examination of archival records and the patterning artifacts displayed at the sites shows that all of these sites were occupied by Chinese miners during the period of 1876-1910, with the possibility that some of the cabins had been erected earlier and occupied for longer (Appendix II). However, the occupants being Chinese are irrefutable. A strong possibility is that the same conclusion can be drawn of the eight other un-surveyed creeks. In other words, there were probably some 30 Chinese cabin sites within 15 drainages in this area during this period.

The Hong-men account books and CCBA files reveal a Chinese population of 301 in the Barkerville area in the 1880s. It is proposed that a minimum of 85% or 264 of them were miners. If true, these 264 Chinese miners should scatter in the 15 drainages, where three small towns, several large camps and some 30 cabin sites are located.

Sites on Beggs and Stevens gulches suggest that if several sites are clustered on the same drainage, there should be one primary site. Presumably, this is verifiable by location and size of the site, and complexity of the patterning of artifacts and other cultural items.

While the size and quantity of cabins were conditioned by the amount of gold deposits on that drainage, the people living in the cabin could be determined by technical factors and social factors. The relationship between family, extended family, village and county might have played a role in determining who worked and lived together. The phenomenon of a primary cabin among a cluster of lesser cabins is therefore an indication of the existence of a settlement hierarchy on the drainage. It suggests a closer social or blood relationship between occupants of cabin sites situated on the same drainage than with those Chinese occupying cabins in other drainages. A similar phenomenon is also seen on Stevens Gulch where two Chinese cabin sites were situated.

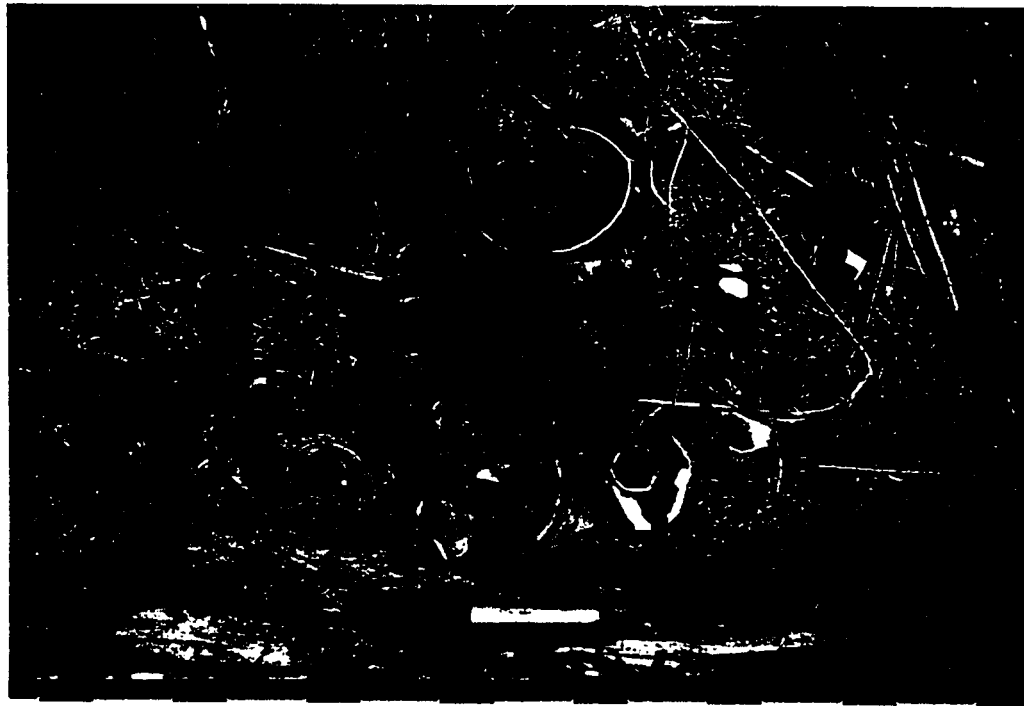


Figure 79. Cabin site, Beggs Gulch-1 (FgRi-5) in 1994. (Above) a cabin foundation (A1). (Bottom) part of artifacts seen at the site.

Discussion

In the 1880s, a more elaborate Chinese settlement pattern emerged. Four major types are identified by archival and archaeological data: Chinatown, Chinese quarters in small town, Chinese quarters in large mining camps, and cabin sites. They distributed in 15 drainages in the area. While the starting and ending dates may vary from site to site, more than 300 Chinese worked and lived around these sites in the 1880s.

Barkerville's Chinatown is the best example of a large Chinatown in the stage of steady development. Situated on the south end of the white town, the Chinatown consisted of various structures, which housed the Chih Kung Tang society, associations, and Chinese businesses. The same might apply to three other Chinatowns in the district, but scarcity of information prevents us from drawing a clearer picture.

Distribution of the cabin sites indicates a difference in the number of sites per drainage. As in the case of Beggs and Stevens gulches, it appears that a hierarchy existed among cabins situated on the same drainage.

Stanley area

Stanley did not become an independent area until 1870, when deep digging continued on Lightning Creek and the town emerged. This new centre was strengthened after the discovery of bench mines on Slough Creek and its tributaries in 1881 (Johnston and Uglow 1926: 151).

The available demographic figures for the Chinese and their distribution within the total population of the area are listed in the following table (Table 37).

Table 37: Chinese population in the Stanley area from 1871 to 1901 (summarized from *Canada Census* in the respective years)

YEAR	CHINESE		CAUCASIAN		TOTAL	
	QTY.	%	QTY.	%	QTY.	%
1870	170 ¹	?	?	?	?	?
1881 ²	-	-	-	-	-	-
1891	77	62%	48	38%	125	100%
1901	57	?	?	?	?	?

Note:

1. '170' is inferred and that is included in figure 340 in the Barkerville area.
2. The numbers of people in the Stanley area is included in the Barkerville area (the relevant discussion in this chapter).

In the 1881 Census, the Chinese population in the Stanley area was amalgamated with the Barkerville area and a total of 260 Chinese were recorded. This is obviously an incomplete record. For example, the Ninth Annual Report the Ministry of Mines, 1882, tells of 238 Chinese mining in this area in the year 1882. The Hong-men account books and CCBA files, on the other hand, record 275 Chinese in the 1880s. The Chinese population in the area dropped from 77 in 1891 to 57 in 1901 (*Canada Census* 1891; 1901). In 1911, no information is available for the Chinese population in this area. But another source, *Hendersons British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory 1910* show the 1910 population in Stanley as 42 inclusive of Caucasian and Chinese.

In the 1880s, the Chinese population increased through the relative boom in the area and then dropped sharply in the next two decades. Reflection of such a change in settlements was changes in not only number, variety, and size, but also within-site layout..

Archival sources show that Chinese miners worked on 22 drainages in this area during the period of 1876-1910, covering a slightly larger area than in the first period (Appendix II).

The 1993-94 field survey located 20 sites in this area and 19 of them belonged to this period and/or were continually in use during this period. These sites were distributed on nine rivers and creeks, which are mentioned in archival records as having Chinese activities and settlements. In another words, nearly half of the archivally recorded river and creek settlements were verified archaeologically as having had Chinese settlements.

Stanley Chinatown

Stanley's Chinatown was the largest centre of Chinese settlements in the Stanley area throughout the hydraulic period.

The site was surveyed in the summer 1993. The Chinatown has been severely flooded by Lightning Creek and/or buried by later tailings from hydraulic mining. All that remained of the former site are three houses, a refuse feature, a mining feature and a depression on the east side of the road (Appendix III Map 14). A few Chinese artifacts such as a sauce jar and a serving dish were found in a refuse feature (R1), suggesting the area belonged to the former Chinatown. For a better understanding of this Chinatown, other sources need to be reviewed.

In addition to the 1970 Barkerville Town Site Map mentioned earlier, a sketch map of the Stanley town site is also available, which was drawn up in 1970, according to information supplied by Bill Hong (Figure 80).

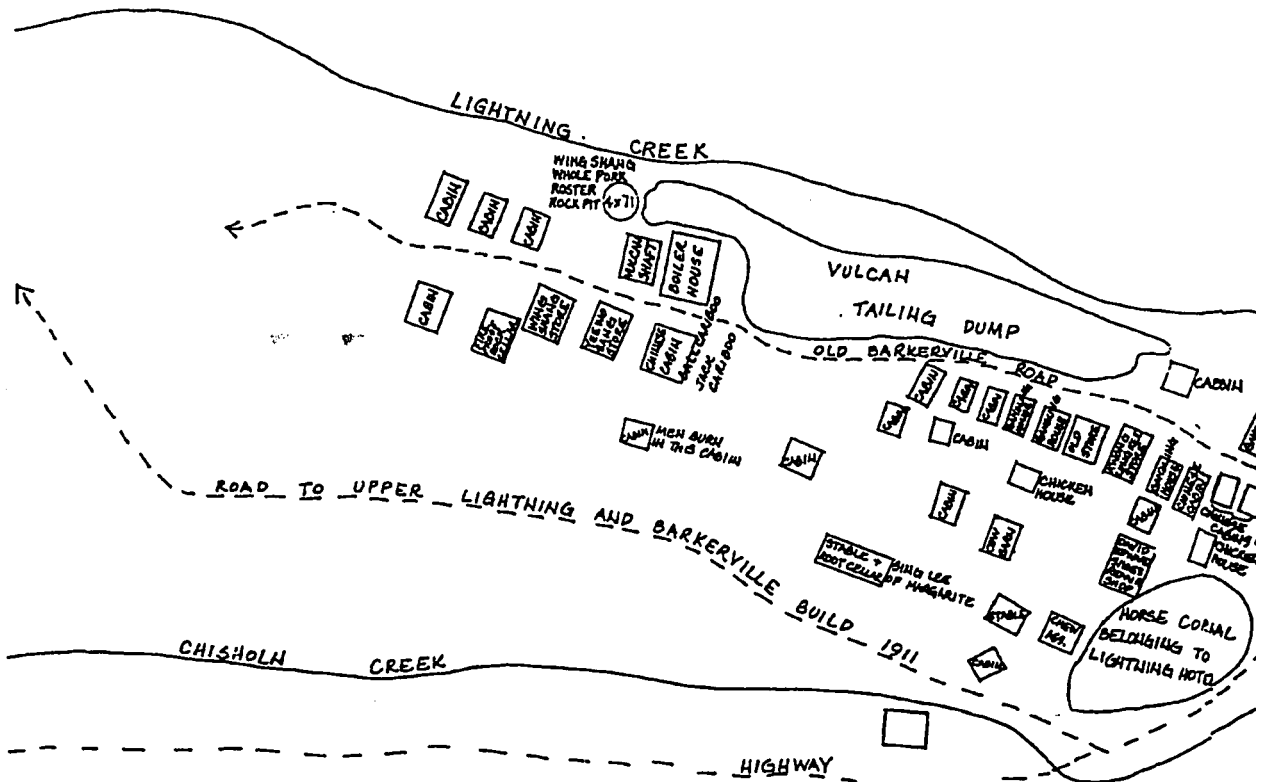


Figure 80. Sketch Map of Stanley Chinatown (1970) (based on information provided by Bill Hong).



On the map, locations of structures with the names of buildings and/or building owners are plotted along the road. The Chinatown is on the southeast end of the town, identical to what is shown in Bowman's map. However, the space separating the Chinatown from the rest of the town, evident on Bowman's 1880s' map, is filled up with various structures owned by Caucasians. This change must have taken place after Bowman's survey of the town.

On the 1970 map, the Chinatown is to contain a total of 44 structures or features, with the names of the buildings and/or owner names, as well as two roads running from north to south. One of the two roads is the old Cariboo Wagon Road to Barkerville, constructed in 1865 prior to the construction of the town. The majority of the structures are situated on either side of the Old Road. Another road, also leading to Barkerville, was built in 1911. However, only a few structures were shown near the new road. This indicates that the layout in Hong's sketch map was formed in the 1870s when the town was under construction. It stayed more or less the same till the 1910s with some changes in the number of structures and the road system (Figure 81).



Figure 81. View of Stanley Chinatown from west to east (around 1910s) (Barkerville 4-4-144-0-7). Note that Bill Hong was born in house A, B is Kwong Lung Kee store owned by the Hong family, C is Hock Kee store, and D is Chow Oylin (Chow clan) association (information from notes associated with the photograph which is assumed from Bill Hong).

Among the 44 structures in Hong's sketch map, for example, eight housed businesses: Hock Kee (He Ji), Yee Wo Sang (Yi He Sheng), Wing Shang (Yong Sheng), Kwong Lung Kee (Guang Long Ji), an old store, and three gambling houses. According to Lee (1967:96), one of the Chinese stores in Stanley in the early 1880s was called Kwong Lee Wo (Guang Li He) (廣利和). It is possible that the old Store mentioned above refers to this store. According to Hong (1878:194), the Kwong Lee store had established a network of outlets in six other settlements in British Columbia and Stanley was one of them. Kwong Lee Wo' was probably the specific name of the Kwong Lee branch in Stanley. As mentioned earlier, Kwong Lee made its appearance in Barkerville as early as 1863. When Stanley was established in 1870, Kwong Lee would not have been far behind other Chinese businesses in setting up a branch in the new town. The company went bankrupt in 1885 and was resurrected in 1888 as the Kwong Lee Wing Kee (Guang Li Rong Ji) and continued till probably 1913 when the manager, Tsang Quon moved to Nanaimo, Vancouver Island (Wright 1988:81). The branch of the Kwong Lee in Stanley probably closed after being declared bankrupt in 1885.

There are no records of these gambling houses for the length of their operation in Stanley. However, they must have been in existence during the rise of the Chinatown since gambling was an indispensable component of Chinatown at that time.

The time periods of business operation of these businesses revealed in the archival sources are listed in the following table (Table 38).

Table 38: Time periods of eight Chinese businesses in Stanley's Chinatown (based upon ASSAY Report 1869-95, Hong-men account books, Lee 1967, and Hong 1978)

STRUCTRUE NAME	TIME STARTED	TIME ENDED
Hock Kee (He Ji) (鶴記) store	1870s	1915
Kwong Lung Kee (Guang Long Ji) (廣隆記) store	1870s*	1926
Yee Wo Sang (Yi He Sheng) (義和生) store	1870s	1889
Wing Shang (Yong Sheng) (永盛) store	1870s	1887...
Kwong Lee Wo (Guang Lee He) (廣利和) store	1870s?	1885?
Gambling House-a	1870s?	?
Gambling House-b	1870s?	?
Gambling House-c	1870s?	?

Note:

* The starting time of the Kwong Lung Kee store is inferred. Hong (1978:13) states that his father arrived in Stanley in the 1880s and purchased the Kwong Lung Kee store in 1885. This suggests that the store may have been running since the early 1870 as three other Chinese stores were in operation at that time.

Table 38 indicates that the early 1870s saw the start of five major Chinese stores. Among these stores, the Kwong Lee Wo store was probably the first one to close down around 1885. The

time period when these five stores co-existed in Stanley's Chinatown therefore stretched from the early 1870s to 1885 (Figure 82).

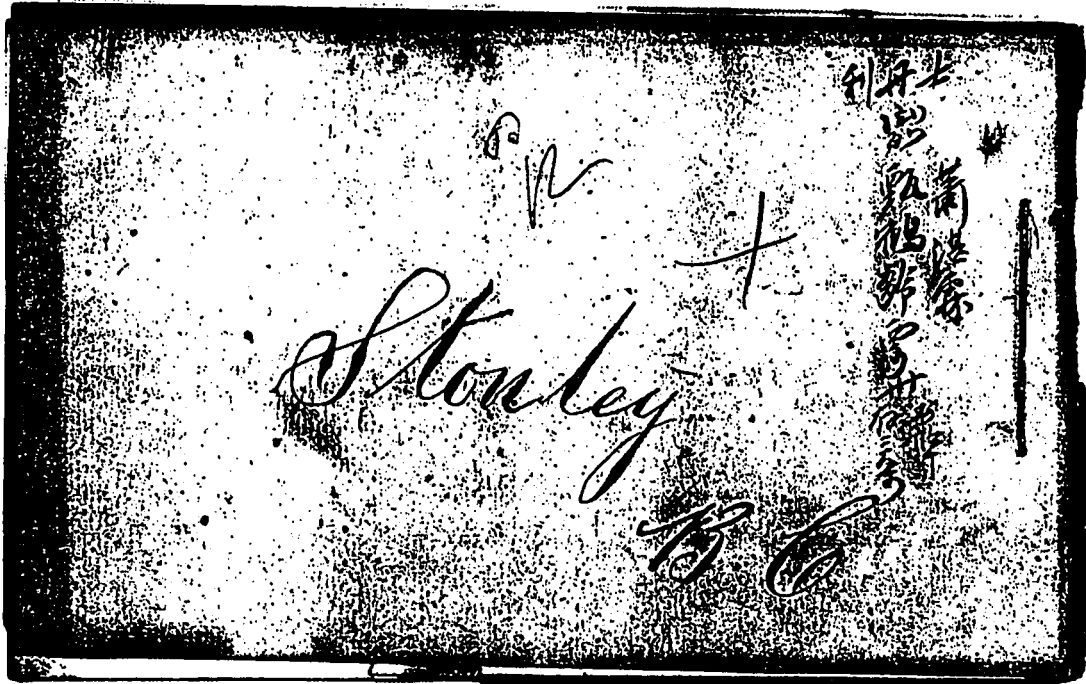


Figure 82. A receipt booklet (CCBA file 9.1Box 2-a) procured in Stanley in 1884. It is titled with 'Xiao Zhan-lin and Zhen He-ling in Stanley, British Columbia'. Xiao and Zhen (Gin) were two major Chinese merchants in the Stanley area in the 1880s. Zhen He-ling was the owner of the Hock Kee (He Ji) store and probably also the leader of the Zhen (Gin) association in Stanley.

In addition to the above listed stores, there were two Chinese clan association structures listed on the sketch map: One belonged to the Zhou or Chow (周) Association and another to the Zhen or Gin (甄) Association. Because the four major stores had been in existence in the town since the 1870s, these two associations could possibly had been in existence in the town since the same time.

Starting in the 1890s, the Chinese population in this area was in a decline. The size of its community dwindled from 77 in 1891 to 57 by 1901. The Zhou and Zhen clans would be similarly affected by this general trend. Though there is no specific record of the Chinese in this area in 1911, the total number of residents in Stanley in 1910 was reported at 42 including both Caucasians and Chinese (Archival sources in the Barkerville Historic Town; *Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory* 1910). These two clan associations were in all likelihood only

in town for three decades during the boom and the heyday of the 1880s. In Hong's time, both associations must have been long gone. Yet it is quite possible that the structures or the location of these two associations still stood at the site or remained in oral history. That is why Hong was able to mark them on the map in 1970.

It needs to be pointed out here that there was no Chih Kung T'ang building listed on the sketch map. The Hong-men's account books, such as account 980.291.4 and 5, indicate the existence of the Hong-men society in Stanley between 1876 and 1886. If an independent T'ang building had ever existed, it would have been one of the main buildings in town and Hong would not have missed placing it onto the map. However, it is quite possible that the society in Stanley never had to build an independent Tang building. Records in the Hong-men account books show that four of the above-mentioned stores in Stanley and their owners were involved in the Hong-men society and took part in its activities in the area and the surrounding district as. A Chinese store may have served as its headquarters, similar to the society's offices of the Zeng Cheng Company in Barkerville. The assumption remains to be proven by evidence from further work.

Now, a better picture of the Stanley's Chinatown in the 1870s and 1880s can be drawn. It was isolated from the white town and featured Chinese stores, gambling houses and two clan association buildings. One of the Chinese stores was probably also used as the Chih Kung T'ang office. After the 1880s, the number of stores dropped with the decline in population. There is possibly a similar drop in clan associations. In 1910, less than 50 Chinese remained in the area. The Hong-men society ceased its activity and there were only two stores, the Kwong Long Kee and He Ji, in operating.

Small towns

During this period, Van Winkle and Dunbar Flat seem to be two small towns containing Chinese quarters.

Van Winkle Van Winkle was, as mentioned in Chapter 5, nearly deserted by the late 1860s due to the exhaustion of the surface mining and failure in deep digging at that time.

The 1869 to 1870 rush to Lightning Creek brought Van Winkle back to life, but it never regained its former glory because the town of Stanley downstream rose in 1871 from nothing to the leading settlement on the creek and area centre at that time (Galois 1970:67). During this period, Van Winkle acquired township status, but records tell us little about it.

The town came to an abrupt end in 1910 when L., A. Bonner, manager of the Lightning Creek Hydraulic Mine purchased the town of Van Winkle and burned it down in order to obtain

more tailing space. Residents in town were forced to move to either Stanley or Barkerville (Hong 1978:1910). There are no documentary records about the Chinese in Van Winkle, but the author's 1993 survey of the site uncovered evidence of a Chinese quarter in the northwest corner of the remaining site (Appendix III Map 15).

Chinese artifacts found at the sites included liquor bottles, bowls, and opium and fish cans were found during the survey. Tin cans opened with a cleaver were also found at the site. Most artefacts were found in a depression (D1) within a tailings pile (Figure 83, 84). The only exception was an opium can, which was retrieved from a square depression with log remains out of the tailing pile. A refuse (R1) near the main shaft was found on the edge of the tailings pile. Four house remains (A2-4 and 6) were found on the top of the tailings pile. No Chinese artifacts have been found in these structures. Apparently, the area was occupied twice. The refuse and shaft and/or cabin belonged to the earlier period, prior to 1910. The four houses were built after the decline of hydraulic mining in this area.

Dunbar Flat Dunbar Flat was a small town on the upper Lightning Creek. Situated on the north side of the Lightning Creek, it was about 1 km east of Amador creek and 4 km east of Stanley. The site was destroyed by tailings and floods and nothing was found during our survey in 1993. The only material proof of its existence is a map in Johnston and Uglow's 1926 report and a photograph in Hong's 1978 book (Figure 85). In the same book, Hong (1978:84) observes:

Dunbar Flat was the site of a handful of houses, a store and a saloon. Old timers worked on the shafts or the hydraulics, and on other general mining activities on the north bank of Lightning Creek. On the flats, only a few hydraulics worked the shallow ground, while on the south side of Lightning Creek, numerous shafts and tunnels were driven—many by Chinese.

Though Hong's account fails to make it clear whether the operations were run by Chinese or not, a Chinese quarters can however be assumed to have existed, since most nearby hydraulic mining was run by Chinese. One of the Chinese residents of Dunbar Flat was Chew Tung. Chew was an old timer and a once-active miner. He lived at Dunbar Flat with a retired Stanley sporting girl (prostitute). After the woman died, Chew lived on his own in Dunbar Flat for a while before moving to Stanley in 1918. Miners from Stanley and Barkerville raised money for his fare to return to China. However, Chew only managed to make his way as far as Victoria, where he contracted an illness and died shortly after. Chew had never gone any further than Quesnel before his return trip to China (Hong 1978:84).



Figure 83. Part of artifacts seen in a refuse (R1) at Van Winkle (1993).



Figure 84. Part of artifacts seen in a refuse (R1) at Van Winkle (1993).

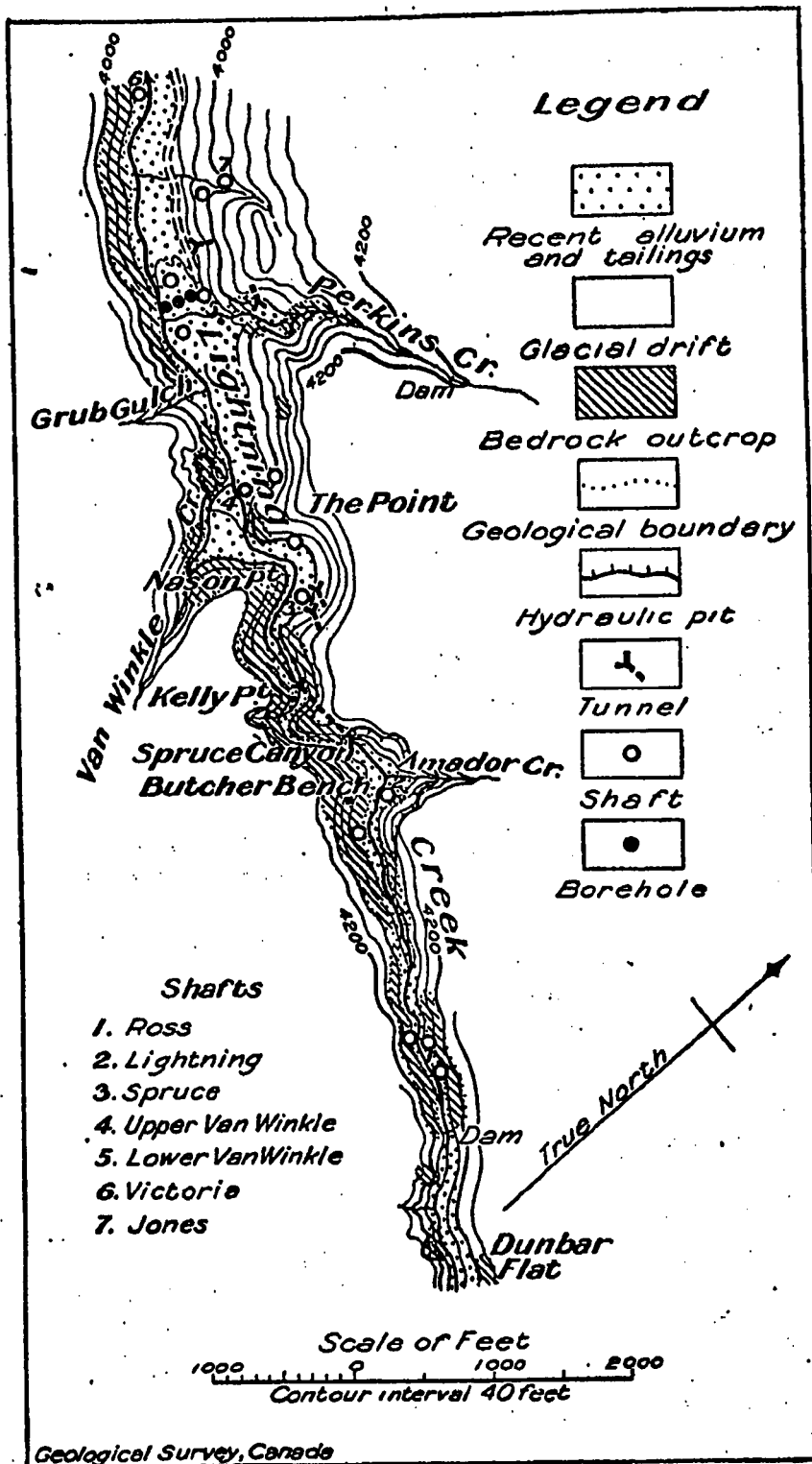


Figure 85. Part of Upper Lightning Creek where Dunbar Flat was located (early 1920s) (after Johnston and Uglow 1926:159)

Mining camps

During this period there were three large mining operations, the Eleven of England and La Fontaine mines, Slough Creek mine, and Wing dam in this area. They all hired large groups of Chinese. Among the three mines, the Eleven of England and La Fontaine and the Slough Creek mines were archaeologically surveyed.

Eleven of England and La Fontaine Mines The site is about 2 km southwest of the Stanley town site and between Davis and Jawbone Creeks. According to historical sources, such as Johnston and Uglow (1926:167-170) and Hong (1978:35-38), there were two companies operating on the creek between 1876 and 1909. One was the Eleven of England Mine, which was in production from 1876 to 1903, and the other, the La Fontaine mine, was run by the Cariboo Consolidated Limited, between 1903 and 1909. Both mines were engaged in large-scale deep digging. They set up their working base on the south side of Lightning Creek and living quarters on the north bank of the creek beside the Cariboo Road now called Highway No. 26. To fuel the boilers used to power the pumps, both mines hired Chinese as woodcutters and a Chinese quarter consisting of several cabins was set up in both mining camps. Hong (1978:35) describes the camp of the Eleven of England mines:

The Eleven's camp was located on the north side of Lightning Creek, and included an office, cookhouse, foreman's residence, two bunkhouses, a stable, carpenter shop, four family homes, plus a number of Chinese woodcutter cabins.

Hong (1878:35, 36) also mentions the La Fontaine mine's camp:

In 1903, the Eleven of England was amalgamated with Cariboo Consolidated and re-named the La Fontaine Company. Under the management of a man named Bailey were his foreman Jack Fraser and a crew of some thirty miners and muckers. Included in the group were the families of Jack Roddick, Williams McArthur, L. McCarthy and John Houser—as well as miners such as George Swanson, Willie House, John Butts, Ed Brunnell, Jim Joe, Bob Buchanan, Don Beaton, W. Armstrong and Gee Coon, Chew Sam Tay, Mok Woo, Chew Dick Woo, Seto Gin, Wong Yem, Lee Wing, Gin Wing Yung, Hom Ken Kee and cook Tommy Wong were some of the Chinese in camp.

This statement indicates that no less than ten Chinese lived in the camp in the 1900s. Hong (1978:38) also tells that there was a Caucasian owned store and three woodcutting camps in the mine. Here, 'three camps', probably refers to three cabins. The site of the La Fontaine mine in the 1920s can be seen in Johnston and Uglow's report in 1926 (Figure 86).

In the summer of 1994, the author surveyed the site, focusing on the north bank of Lightning Creek where the living base of the La Fontaine mine was situated. The remaining site

was found on the north bank of the Lightning Creek, south of Highway No. 26. It was approximately 914 m northwest of Davis creek, 2 km northwest of the Stanley town site, and 920 m southeast of Jawbone creek (Appendix III Map 31).

A ditch runs through the site from east to west. Nine rectangular house foundation, three refuse pits and a garden site are situated along both sides of the ditch (Figure 87).

Being close to the highway, this site has been looted many times before our survey. Chinese artifacts were recovered from two house structures (A1 and A2) and from four refuse pits that were associated with structure A1 and A2 respectively. They included a liquor bottle, a food jar and brass and copper opium cans.

A comparison between the site map drawn in 1994 and the map of the La Fontaine mine in Johnston and Uglow's 1926 report reveals that the site surveyed in 1994 lies in the south-eastern portion of the La Fontaine mine where three houses are marked (Figure 86). In other words, it is in a portion of the Chinese camp at La Fontaine. An examination of the distribution of structures and other features at the site indicates that the site is also where the Chinese quarters were located for the Eleven of England mine.

Among the six house foundations near the two bridges surveyed in 1994, three (A1, 2, 3), have clear shapes of log house, while three others (A4, 6, 8, 9) were only rectangular shallow depressions. Furthermore, Log house A1 was partially built on the top of Foundation A9. The rest part of Foundation 9 was used as a refuse associated with A1 (Appendix III Map 31). This indicates two periods of site occupation, which is supported by the literature. The fact that three early house foundations (A4, 6, 8, 9) are situated on both sides of the ditch suggests that the ditch has already in existence when the Eleven of England mine was in operation.

The 1926 map identifies another group of eight houses on the northwest side of the Chinese quarters, presumably, the major camp mentioned by Hong (1978:34-38). Apparently, the Chinese quarters was deliberately built at a distance from the Caucasian camp. This camp would have come into existence in 1876 when the Eleven of England mine went into production.

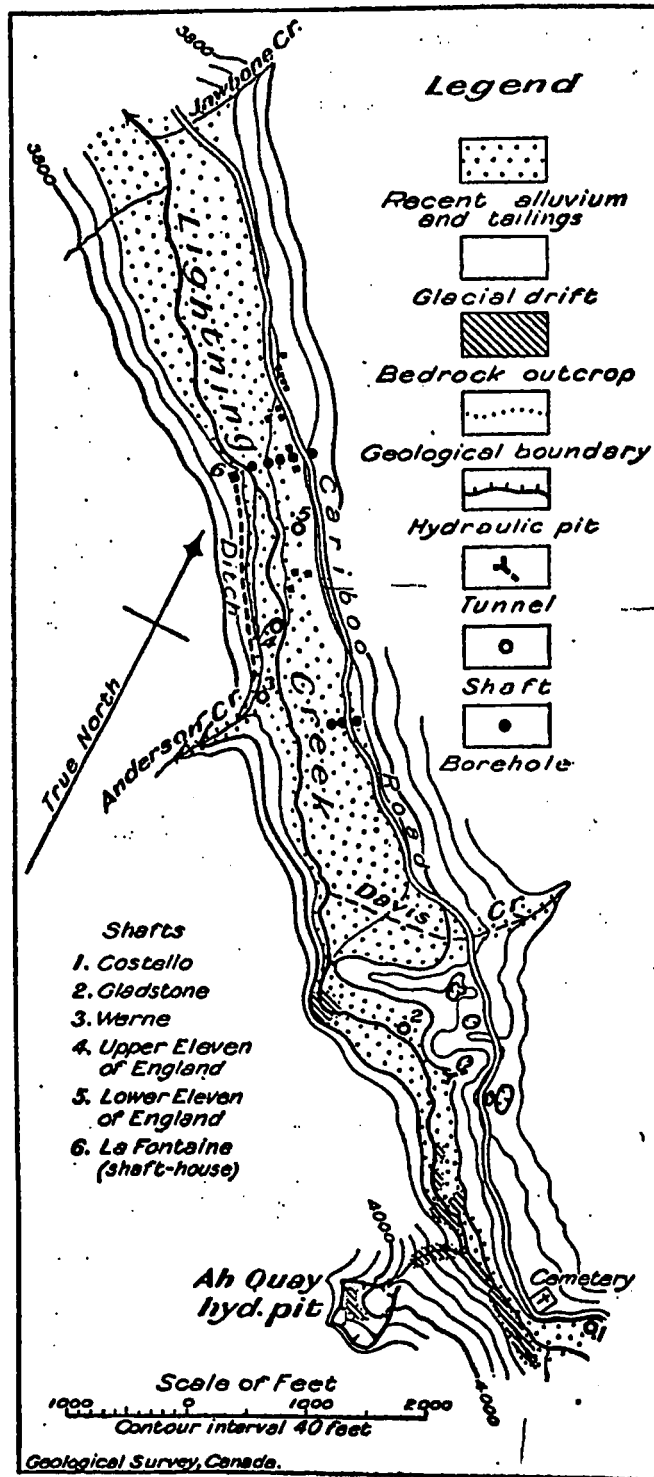


Figure 86. La Fontaine mine on Lightning Creek (early 1920s) (after Johnston and Uglow 1926:167).



Figure 87. Garden remains at the site of Eleven of England and La Fontaine mines (1994).

Slough Creek Mine About 6 km northeast of Stanley is Slough creek, a tributary of the Willow River. In 1881, Chinese miners found rich bench mines on Slough creek and the discovery caused a local rush of the Chinese to that creek. Within a short period, Chinese of different groups and individuals claimed all spots along the creek (Johnston and Uglow 1926:151-153; Hong 1978:107-113). Five major Chinese companies under names of Sang Dang (Sing Dang), Tong Sing Tong (Dang Sing Dang), and Point Claim operated on the creek. The Point Claim was owned by the Kwong Lee Store (Hong 1978:110). No archival sources were available to tell where these Chinese built their camps. An initial survey along the Slough Creek in 1994 failed to find any remains related to Chinese. The only site with Chinese remains falling into this period is the Slough Creek mine, which was situated on a flat place on south Slough Creek, opposite the mouth of Nelson Creek. According to Johnston and Uglow (1926:143-151) and Hong (1978:122), Slough Creek mines was also a deep digging mine as the La Fontaine mine on Lightning Creek, and was operated by five different major companies between 1892 and 1908: Slough Creek Deep Lead Mine (1892 to 1895); Slough Creek Mining Company Cariboo (1895-1898); Incorporated Exploration Company, Limited of London, England, which later became known as Slough Creek Limited (1898-1905); Slough Creek Gravel Gold, British Columbia (1905-1906); and Slough Creek Limited (1906-1908).

Hong's book (1978) shows two photographs of the mine in the 1890s while Johnston and Uglow's 1926 report illustrates the site of the mine in the 1920s, which places the camp in the southern portion of the site between the Slough Creek road and Slough Creek (Figure 88, 89).

Similar to the La Fontaine mine, the Slough Creek mine also employed a number of Chinese as woodcutters. In the late 1890s, for example, W. H. Fife, president of the Slough Creek Mining Company, Cariboo, which operated the mine then, hired a crew of 35 Chinese labourers at \$1.65 per cord to supply wood for the boilers (Hong 1978:125). In addition to woodcutters, Chinese were also hired as cooks in the camp (Hong 1978:126). Accordingly, there was a Chinese quarter at the mine as the one at the Eleven of England and La Fontaine mines.

The field survey of the site in the summer of 1993 provided more details about the camp. A residence section was identified within the site. It consisted of ten house foundations with log remains, eight refuse pits, and five gardens. Chinese artifacts recovered at the site include liquor bottles, food jars, ginger jars, bowls, and opium cans. They were mostly found in two house foundations (A1, A2) and five refuse pits (R1-R5), all in the eastern section of the camp, indicating the location of the Chinese quarter. The Chinese quarter comprised houses, refuse pits and gardens, which is similar to that seen at the Eleven of England mines (Appendix Map 16, 17). This may be the general pattern of the Chinese quarters in other contemporary large mining camps in the district.

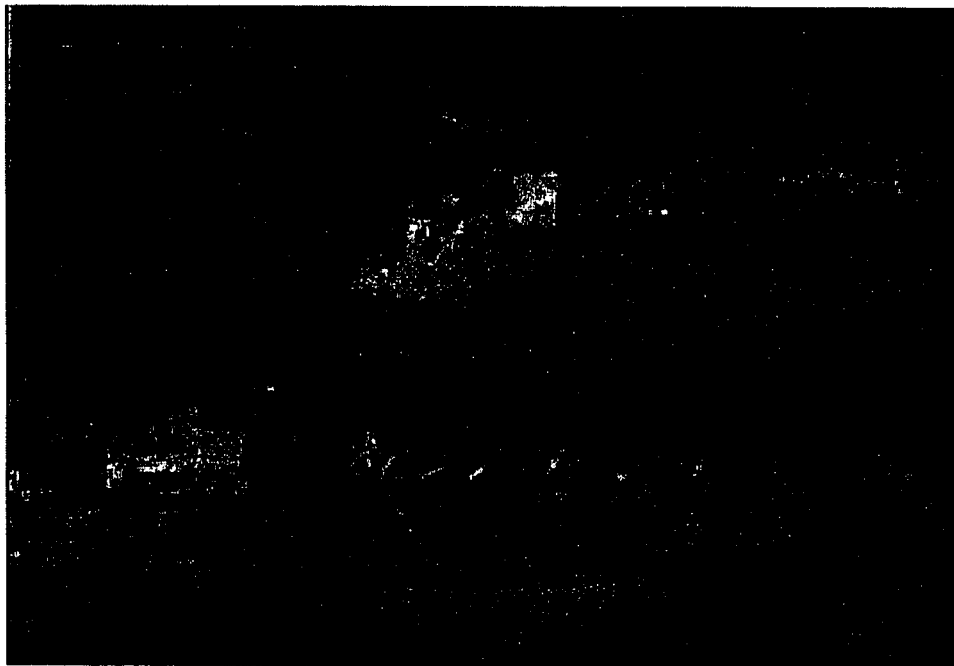


Figure 88. View Slough Creek Mine from south to north (ca. 1895) (after Hong 1978:112).

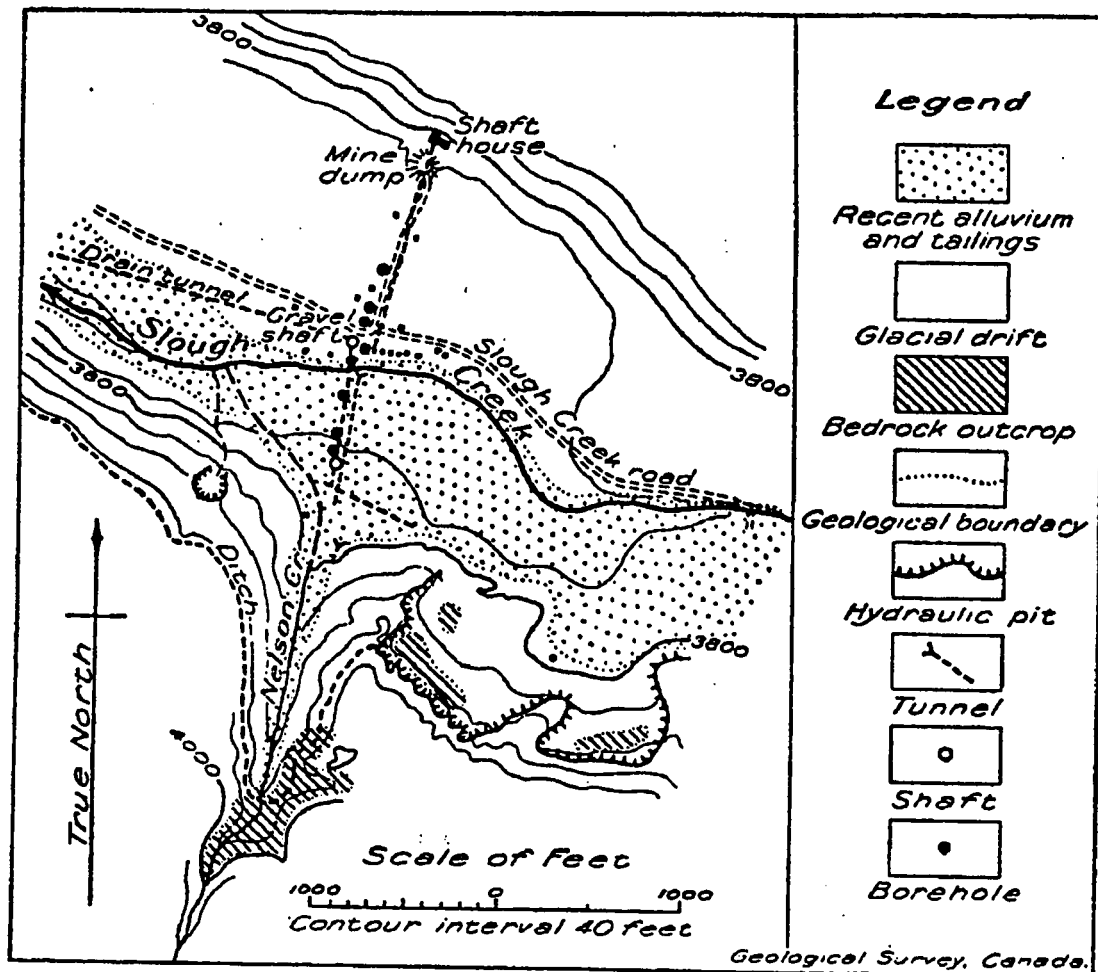


Figure 89. Slough Creek Mine (early 1920s) (after Johnston and Uglow 1926:144).

Cabin sites

Archival sources indicate that there was a Chinatown, two small towns and a large mining camp with a Chinese quarter on Lightning Creek. In addition to Lightning Creek, the Chinese were reported as mining or living on 21 other rivers and creeks in the Stanley area. Among the 20 drainages seen in the archive sources, six or 29% were archaeologically surveyed and a total of 15 cabin sites were located. Each creek had from one to five cabin sites with an average of 3 cabins each.

Though archival records indicate that the sites varied in the period of their occupation, Chinese settlers were known to have operated on all these six creeks in the four decades between the 1870s and 1910 (Appendix II). This gives a possible time range for these cabin sites.

Considering the number of Chinese in this area (Table 37), it is safe to assume that these sites were all in use by the Chinese in the 1880s. If the same were to apply to the other 15 creeks, which remain to date un-surveyed, it would be an estimated total of 45 Chinese cabin sites in this area in the 1880s.

The Hong-men accounts and CCBA files give a figure of 275 Chinese in the area in the 1880s. As in the case of Barkerville, the author assumes that at least 85% or 234 of them were engaged in gold mining. Based on the fact that 10 to 35 Chinese were known to belong to the large camps (Hong 1978:35, 36, 5), with a total of 3 large camps in the area, each averaging approximately 23 Chinese per camp, there could be approximately 68 Chinese working at the large camps. The rest of the 166 Chinese miners would have to be working on 22 other creeks in the 1880s, with an average of 8 per creek. If they were set up in two or three cabins, that would give us an approximation of 3 to 4 persons per cabin, a probable living pattern during this period.

Discussion

The rise of the Stanley, in 1870, marks the time when the area became separate from Barkerville. Unlike the Chinese in other areas of the district, the Chinese in Stanley built up the Chinatown at the same time as the Caucasian town and they seemed to have been given an equal opportunity in the choice of the locations within the town. The result was that the Chinese settlers built a Chinatown totally isolated from the white section. The discovery of gold on Slough Creek by Chinese miners in 1880 boosted the existing Chinese community in town as well as ones in other Chinese settlements. In the 1880s, the heyday of the Chinese settlement in this period saw an elaborated settlement pattern, with the Stanley Chinatown at the centre, surrounded by Chinese quarters in two smaller towns and in two or three large mining camps, and more than 40 cabins. Combining field data with the archival records, it is assumed that this pattern encompassed a population of 275. Approximately 15% (41) of these Chinese lived in the Chinatown and/or Chinese quarters in small towns regularly while the majority, 234 (80%), were distributed in large camps and cabin sites.

When working in the Barkerville Historical Town in 1995, the author identified two wooden boards pasted with paper scrolls of Chinese characters in the storage with other Chinese artifacts. These boards were collected from Chinatown sites at either Barkerville or Quesnelle Forks.

One of the boards bears the characters '本鋪 (this store)', indicating that it once was installed in a store. The other bears the characters '本堂 (this T'ang)', suggesting it belong to

either a clan association or a similar type of institution. Possibly, they were originally installed in the main room of a store and society building respectively.

Both boards have the characters 'Colony of Tang (唐番地)' on them (Figure 90). 'Tang' refers to the Tang Dynasty (AD 618-907), one of the most powerful dynasties in the history of China. The fact that they both came from two functionally different structures, and both reference 'Colony of Tang', indicates that it was a standard phrase regularly applied to memorial plates used by all large communal establishments at that time. Furthermore, it is likely that this was a popular practice in all Chinese communities in the North Cariboo. In other words, 'Colony of Tang' was a deeply rooted concept in the Chinese mind in the study area.

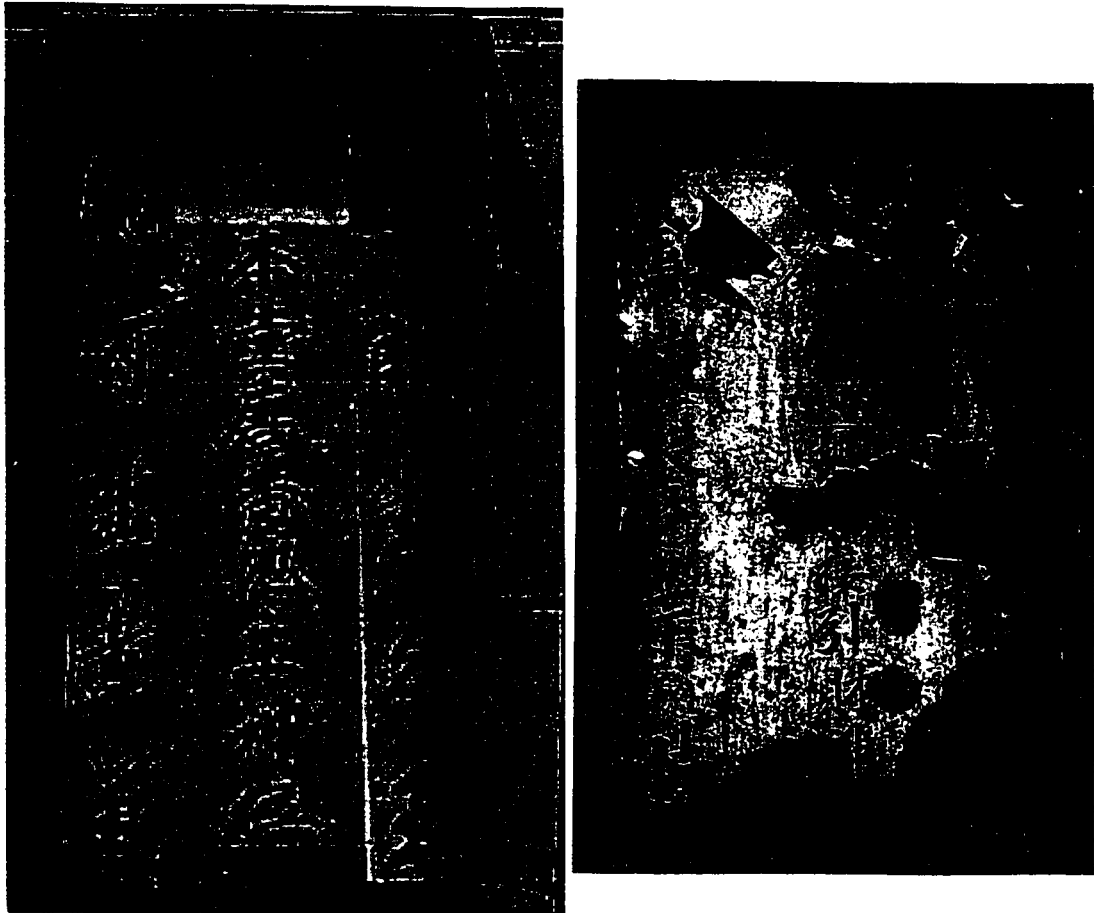


Figure 90. Two signboards with 'Colony of Tang (唐番地)' from Chinatown sites of either Barkerville or Quesnelle Forks, kept in the Barkerville Historical Town. The left one (no catalogue number) came from a social-political institution and the right one (980.280.1) from a Chinese store (photographed by Bill Quackenbush).

Conclusion

The settlement pattern consisting of four types, a Chinatown, Chinese quarters within a town, and within mining camps owned by non-Chinese, and cabin sites, are fully developed in all four areas during this period. Most of the details have been acquired for the settlements in the Barkerville and Stanley areas, where the archaeological work has been concentrated. In all four areas, Chinese settlements display an inclination for non-involvement with the major community wherever it was possible, resulting in either total isolation or semi-isolation. The semi-isolation situation resulted mostly from economic and/or geological limitations. Settlements displayed a clear cultural and social-political isolation from the major society. The discovery of the two signboards with writings of 'Colony of Tang' reveals that Chinese believed that the places they stayed were colonies of Tang China.

Chapter 7 Full Development Period (1870s-1910s) (II) Society Structure

Introduction

This chapter examines the components of the Chinese societies in the study area from four different but related levels.

It starts with an examination of the sex ratio. It maintains that Chinese societies in the North Cariboo were made up almost exclusively of Chinese males, who had their left families and clanship behind in China. This made them home oriented and heavily dependent on Chinese society. Next is a discussion of how the home county origins of the Chinese migrants affected the distribution of Chinese in the study area. It states that Chinese in the North Cariboo came from 14 counties in the Pearl River Delta of Guangdong Province. Of these 14 counties, Kaiping and Taishan produced the majority of immigrants. In the case of Kaiping County, immigration to the North Cariboo appears to be limited to several nearby villages in a certain area. It then investigates the relationships between family, extended family, and clan. It is argued that Chinese who came from the same family, extended family, clan, or county tended to stay in the same area. Finally, it discusses the impact of these social relationships and households. It maintains that in each large settlement, Chinese from the same family, extended family, and clans tended to live in the same household.

Sex Ratio

The bachelor nature of the overseas Chinese societies in the middle and late 19th century is a well-known fact and the North Cariboo is no exception. The sex ratio of the Chinese population in the study area in the 1881, 1891, and 1901 are recorded in Canada censuses of those years (Table 39).

Table 39: Distribution of the Chinese in the North Cariboo by sex from 1881 to 1901
(summarized from *Canada Censuses* 1881, 1891, and 1901)

SEX	1881		1891		1901	
	QTY.	%	QTY.	%	QTY.	%
Male	1,031	96.1	644	96.4	523	94.6
Single	686	63.8	403	60.3	202	36.5
Married	345	32.2	223	33.4	317	57.3
Widow	1	0.1	18	2.7	4	0.7
Female	32	3.0	17	2.5	15	2.7
Single	17	1.6	7	1.0	4	0.7
Married	15	1.4	10	1.5	11	2.0
Child	9	0.8	7	1.0	15	2.7
Ml. Child	3	0.3	2	0.3	8	1.4
Fl. Child	6	0.6	5	0.7	7	1.3
Total	1,073	100.0	668	100.0	553	100.0

Table 39 indicates that for three decades, 95% or more Chinese in the study area were males, single or married. It is plausible that in the early 1860s, the percentage of males in the Chinese population would have been even higher than in 1881. The bachelor nature of Chinese society had three major effects:

First, the Chinese in the North Cariboo were home country oriented. Going back to China with wealth was the goal of most, if not all, Chinese. This is expressed in slogans (Figure 91). During their sojourn here they kept more extensive and closer contacts with Chinese in China than they did with other groups in the Cariboo.



Figure 91. Two scrolls, WP294 (left) and 991.285.603.1 (right), recovered in wallpaper in the altar room (84A5), the Chin Kung Kung T'ang building (84) in the Barkerville Chinatown. Both displayed the same expectation of going back to China with wealth.

Second, as with other contemporary overseas Chinese societies mentioned in Chapter 3, the Chinese societies in the North Cariboo persisted only through a regular shift in memberships due to the constant two-way traffic of returning veterans and new arrivals. That is, old men returned home after a certain period while their sons or relatives travelled to Canada to take their place. There were some exceptions: a few Chinese mostly merchants, such as Wu Bai-feng and Bill Hong's father Wong Gar Won, brought their wives over, establishing families in the study area. However, family did never become the major household type throughout the time period of 1860s to the 1910s.

Third, Chinese from the same family, extended family and clan members tended to stay in the same area and district for moral and personal support. They also had a high dependency on the societies, to which they temporarily belonged, for cultural, socio-political, and economic reasons.

All of these formed a solid foundation for the continued isolation of Chinese societies from the surrounding Euro-Canadians in the study area.

Home County Origins

As mentioned in Chapter 2 of this thesis, Lai's analysis of 220 receipt stubs kept in the CCBA in 1975 reveals that almost all the Chinese (99%) in Canada in the early 1880s came from 14 counties in the Pearl River Delta, Guangdong: 64% came from the Siyi District, 23% from the Sanyi District, 12% from other delta counties, and only 1% from non-Pearl Delta counties.

Among these 220 receipt stubs, 35 were produced by the Chinese stores in the North Cariboo primarily in the 1880s. Records from these 35 stubs were merged into the database of the account books that together produced 2,292 Chinese, 1,992 in North Cariboo and 300 in other places of British Columbia, between 1876 and 1942. Among the 1,992 Chinese in the North Cariboo, 1,366 remained there in the 1880s. The 1,366 people were further examined in terms of home origin. Among these 1,366, 758 had home county origin information. A comparative study between Chinese who had home county information and ones who had no such information helped to traced 83 more people's home county origins. The total figure of people who had information on home county thus increased to 878. From combined result from Chinn (1975), Lai (1975), and the author's study, a comparison of the home county origins of Chinese in California, Canada, and the North Cariboo is shown in the following table (Table 40).

Table 40 indicates that the majority 874 (99.5%) of 878 Chinese who had home county information came from 14 counties in the Pearl River Delta and only four from four non-Pearl

Delta counties. This falls into the general trend, formed originally in California and continued through to Canada. Within this general trend, the distribution pattern in the North Cariboo had its own characteristics:

First, among of those Chinese from the Delta, the majority, 741 (84.4%), were from Siyi, 41 (4.7%) from Sanyi, 21 (2.4%) from the western delta, and 71 (8.1%) from the eastern delta. In California, Canada, and the North Cariboo, Chinese from Siyi all formed the first largest group. But the percentage of the Siyi Chinese in the total population varied, increasing from 41.6% in California, 63.5% in British Columbia to 84.4% in the North Cariboo. It seems that there were more Siyi immigrants destined to the North Cariboo than to California and other places of Canada.

Second, Chinese from Kaiping County in the Siyi District formed the second largest group (18.8%) in Canada, but they were the largest group, 49.4%, in the North Cariboo. Chinese from Taishan County formed the largest group, 1,158 out of 3,213 or 22.9%, in Canada but they were the second largest group, with a much lower percentage, 26.7%, than the Kaiping Chinese (49.7%). These two groups made up the majority, 76.1%, of the total Chinese population from Siyi. Such a pattern observed in the 1880s is most likely to have been in existence as early as the 1860s, when the first gold rush took place.

Within this district pattern, the distribution of the Chinese in the four areas of the district varied among areas (Table 41).

Table 40: Home county origins of Chinese immigrants in California in 1865, and Canada, and the North Cariboo in the 1880s [based upon work done by Chinn (1975:20), Lai (1975:6), and the author]

REGION	CALIFORNIA (1865)		CANADA (Early 1880s)		N. CARIBOO (1880s)	
	QTY	%	QTY.	%	QTY.	%
PEARL RIVER DELTA	38,697	100.0	4,992	98.7	874	99.5
Sivi District (四邑)	16,107	41.6	3,213	63.5	741	84.4
Taishan (T'ai-Shan) (台山)			1,158	22.9	234	26.7
Kaiping (K'ai-p'ing) (開平)			949	18.8	444	49.4
Xinhui (Hsin-Hui) (新會)			615	12.2	66	7.5
Enping (En-p'ing) (恩平)			491	9.7	7	0.9
Sanyi District (三邑)	6,800	17.6	927	18.3	41	4.7
Panyu (P'an-yu) (番禺)			798	15.8	10	1.1
Shunde (Shun-Te) (順德)			78	1.5	30	3.4
Nanhai (Nan-Hai) (南海)			51	1.0	1	0.1
Western Delta			526	10.4	21	2.4
Heshan (Hao-Shan) (鶴山)			302	6.0	1	0.1
Xiangshan / Zhongshan (香山 / 中山)	14,000	36.2	111	2.2	20	2.3
Huaxian (Hua-Hsien) (花縣)			62	1.2		
Yangjiang (Yang-Chiang) (揚江)			51	1.0		
Eastern Delta			326	6.4	71	8.1
Baoan (Pao-An) (寶安)			81	1.6	19	2.2
Dongguan (Tung-Kuan) (東莞)			50	1.0	8	0.9
Zengcheng (Tseng-Ch'eng) (增城)			195	3.9	44	5.0
NON-PEARL DELTA COUNTIES ¹			64	1.3	4	0.5
HIKKA (客家) ²	1,780	4.6	-	-		
TOTAL	38,697	100.0	5,056	100.0	878	100.0

Note:

1. In Canada, OTHER COUNTIES includes Sanshui (San-shui), Sihui (Ssu-hui), Zonghua (Tsung-hua), Wuhua (Wu-hua), Xingning (Hsing-ning), Huiyang (Hui-yang), Gaoming (Kao-ming), Luozhang (Lo-chang), Meixian (Mie-hsien), Jingyuan (Ching-yuan), Xinxing (Hsin-hsing), Yangjun (Yang-chun) and unspecified counties. In the North Cariboo, OTHER COUNTIES refers to Guizi, Huiyang, and Sihui counties.
2. Hikka (Kejia) refers to people who speak Hikkness and they could be from all counties listed in the table.

Table 41: Home county origins of 878 Chinese immigrants in the North Cariboo in the 1880s (based on the Hong-men account books and the CCBA files)

REGION DISTRICT COUNTY	N. CARIBOO			QUESNEL			QUESNELLE FORKS			BARKERVILLE			STANLEY		
	QTY.	%		QTY.	%		QTY.	%		QTY.	%		QTY.	%	
PEARL DELTA	874	99.5		330	99.7		236	99.6		108	99.1		201	100.0	
Sivi District (四邑)	741	84.4		288	87.0		196	82.7		88	80.7		169	84.1	
Taishan (T'ai-Shan) (台山)	234	26.7		33	10.0		89	37.6		13	11.9		99	49.3	
Kaiping (K'ai-P'ing) (開平)	444	49.4		230	69.5		83	35.0		64	58.7		57	28.4	
Xinhui (Hsin-Hui) (新會)	66	7.5		23	6.9		23	9.7		11	10.1		9	4.5	
Enping (En-P'ing) (恩平)	7	0.9		2	0.6		1	0.4					4	2.0	
San District (三邑)	41	4.7		10	3.0		16	6.8		7	6.4		8	4.0	
Panyu (P'an-yu) (番禺)	10	1.1		1	0.3		2	0.8					7	3.5	
Shunde (Shun-Te) (順德)	30	3.4		9	2.7		13	5.5		7	6.4		1	0.5	
Nanhai (Nan-Hai) (南海)	1	0.1					1	0.4							
Western Delta	21	2.4		4	1.2		14	5.9		1	0.9		2	1.0	
Heshan (Hao-Shan) (鶴山)	1	0.1					1	0.4							
Xiangshan / Zhongshan (香山 / 中山)	20	2.3		4	1.2		13	5.5		1	0.9		2	1.0	
Huaxian (Hua-Hsien) (花縣)															
Yangjiang (Yang-Chiang) (揚江)															
Eastern Delta	71	8.1		28	8.5		9	3.8		12	11.0		22	10.9	
Baoan (Pao-An) (寶安)	19	2.2		8	2.4		3	1.3		4	3.7		4	2.0	
Dongguan (Tung-Kuan) (東莞)	8	0.9		4	1.2		1	0.4		1	0.9		2	1.0	
Zengcheng (Tseng-Ch'eng) (增城)	44	5.0		16	4.8		5	2.1		7	6.4		16	8.0	
NON-PEARL DELTA COUNTIES ₁	4	0.5		1	0.3		2	0.8		1	0.9				
TOTAL	878	100.0		331	100.0		237	100.0		109	100.0		201	100.0	

Note:

1. In the North Cariboo, OTHER COUNTIES refers to Guizhi, Huiyang, and Sihui counties.

Table 41 indicates that in all four areas of the district, almost all Chinese, 99.5 to 100%, came from the Pearl River Delta and the majority, 80.7% to 87%, came from the Siyi District, which conforms to the general trend of Chinese immigrants to Canada. In all four areas, Chinese from Kaiping and Taishan formed the two major groups, but their percentages of the total Chinese population varied from area to area:

In the Quesnel area, the majority of the Chinese, 230 of 331 (nearly 70%) were from Kaiping County. The Taishan Chinese formed the second largest group next to the Kaiping Chinese, with a much lower percentage (10%) than that of the Kaiping Chinese. The rest of the Chinese came from nine other counties in the Siyi and Sanyi districts and other non-Pearl River Delta region with an average of nearly eight people per county.

In the Barkerville area, more than half, 64 out of 108 (58.7%) of the Chinese were from Kaiping County. Thirteen Taishan Chinese formed a second group with a much lower percentage (11.9%) than that of the Kaiping Chinese. The rest of the Chinese came from seven other counties in the districts of Siyi and Sanyi and other non-Pearl River Delta regions with an average of nearly five people from each county.

In the Quesnelle Forks area, 89 (37.6%) people from Taishan and 83 (35%) Kaiping formed the two major groups but none of their figures exceeded 40% of the total Chinese population (237) there. Chinese from Xinhui County, one of four counties in the Siyi County, formed the third major group at 10.1%. The rest of the Chinese came from 11 other counties in the Siyi and Sanyi districts and other non-Pearl River Delta regions with an average of nearly four people from each county.

Among the 201 Chinese in the Stanley area, 99 or 49.3% people from Taishan County formed the largest group and 57 or 28.4% from Kaiping County formed the second largest group. The rest of Chinese came from eight other counties in the Siyi and Sanyi districts and other non-Pearl River Delta regions with an average of four people from each county.

On the district level, Chinese from Kaiping County were the largest group and those from Taishan County the second. However, such a general pattern is not replicated in all four areas. In Quesnel and Barkerville, the Kaiping Chinese formed the dominant group or the first largest group while the Taishan Chinese were a secondary group. In the areas of Quesnelle Forks and Stanley, the pattern was reversed and Taishan Chinese took the dominant position and those from Kaiping the secondary position.

These distribution patterns should have also been in existence in the early 1860s, when the gold rush to the North Cariboo took place.

Family, Extended Family, and Clan

Chinese people used to believe that people bearing the same surname were offspring from a common, remote ancestor, and they, therefore, belonged to the same clan. Lai (1975:6, 7) indicates that the 5,056 Chinese in Canada in the early 1880s belonged to 129 clans. He considers clans with one hundred members or more, which made up 2.2% or more of the total Chinese population, a large clan. Applying the criteria, Lai identified ten large clans and 119 small clans in the early 1880s. The large clans had members from 100 to 400 while the small ones had from one to 99 (Table 42).

Table 42: Distribution of the Chinese in Canada by clan
(after Lai 1975:8, with some changes in format)

CAT. ₁	CLAN	NO. OF PERSONS	% OF TOTAL
1	Zhou (周)	534	10.6
2	Li (李)	523	10.3
3	Huang (黃)	415	8.2
4	Chen (陳)	250	4.9
5	Lin (林)	235	4.6
6	Liang (梁)	205	4.1
7	Xie (謝)	193	3.8
8	Ma (馬)	171	3.4
9	Liu (劉)	132	2.6
10	Wu (伍)	112	2.2
11-129	119 small clans	2,286	45.3
Total	-	5,056	100.0

Note:

1: The author added this column.

Results from the author's comparative study on the receipt stubs, also called CCBA files in this thesis, and the Hong-men's account books indicates that among the 1,366 Chinese in the North Cariboo in the 1880s, 1,347 had surname information and belonged to 91 clans (Appendix VI). Following the criteria set up by Lai (1975:8), the author considers a given clan large or major when its members make up 2.0%, or more of the total Chinese population in each area of the North Cariboo. Accordingly, a total of 21 large clans were identified. Distribution of these 21 large and other small clans in the North Cariboo is listed in the following table (43).

Table 43 shows that there were six to 16 large clans in each area. In all four areas, Zhou and Huang were two largest clans. The total number of people from these 21 large clans is 999, accounting for 73.1% of the total Chinese population in the North Cariboo in the 1880s. The home county origins of these 21 large clans are listed in Table 44.

Table 43: Distribution of the large Chinese clans in the North Cariboo by clan in the 1880s

QUESNEL			QUESNELLE FORKS			BARKERVILLE			STANLEY		
CLAN	QTY.	%	CLAN	QTY.	%	CLAN	QTY.	%	CLAN	QTY.	%
1. Zhou	203	53.3	1. Huang	73	17.1	1. Zhou	35	11.9	1. Huang	39	14.8
2. Huang	29	7.6	2. Zhou	40	9.3	2. Huang	31	10.6	2. Zhou	25	9.5
3. Xie	25	6.6	3. Guan	29	6.8	3. Chen	16	5.5	3. Chen	21	8.0
4. Chen	13	3.4	4. WU3	25	5.8	4. Zhang	16	5.5	4. Zhu	17	6.4
5. Liu	11	2.9	5. CHEN	24	5.6	5. Xie	13	4.4	5. Liu	16	6.1
6. Liang	8	2.1	6. Li3	24	5.6	6. Liu	11	3.8	6. Li3	15	5.7
-			7. Lin	22	5.1	7. Zhu	10	3.4	7. Xu3	12	4.5
-			8. Liu	17	4.0	8. Liang	9	3.1	8. Qiu	11	4.2
-			9. Liang	14	3.3	9. Lu	8	2.7	9. Lin	9	3.4
-			10. Lu	14	3.3	10. Cen	7	2.4	10. Cao	8	3.0
-			11. Zhao	14	3.3	11. Li2	7	2.4	11. Liang	8	3.0
-			12. Cen	10	2.3	12. Lin	6	2.0	12. Sifu	8	3.0
-			13. Sifu	9	2.1	13. Guan	6	2.0	13. Zhen	7	2.7
-			-			14. Mo	6	2.0	14. Lu	6	2.3
-			-			15. Pan	6	2.0	-		
-			-			16. Wu2	6	2.0	-		
41 S. clans	92	24.1	41 S. clans	107	25.0	46 S. clans	89	30.4	35 S. clans	60	22.7
Total	381	100.0	[]	6	1.4	[]	11	3.8	[]	2	0.8
			Total	428	100.0	Total	293	100.0	Total	264	100.0

Note:

1. 'S. clan': Small clans.
2. []: People without surname information.

Table 44: Home county origins of 21 large Chinese clans in the North Cariboo in the 1880s based upon the CCBA files and Hong-men account books

RANK→	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	Total
CLAN→	Zho	Huang	Chen	Liu	Xie	Lin	Guan	Liang	Wu	Lu	Zhu	Zhang	Sifu	Cen	Zhao	Li	Xu	Cao	Mo	Pan	Zhen	-
COUNTY	周	黃	陳	劉	謝	林	關	梁	伍	盧	朱	張	司徒	陳	趙	黎	許	曹	莫	潘	甄	-
Siyi																						
Enping			1							1	2		3									7
Kaiping	272	27	2	3	36	2	24	4	4	10	21	1	8				3			1		414
Taishan		60	16	18	1	18	1	8	23		1		1		1	1	10	11			8	178
Xinhui	14	15	5	1		3			1			2			8							49
Sanyi																						
Panyu	1		1								2	1										6
Shunde				6	1			1	1					19								28
E. Delta																						
Baoan																				2		13
Dongguan	1																1					2
Zengcheng				12					2	9		1										32
W. Delta						1	2	2														
Heshan																						1
Zhongshan	1	5								1												7
Other																						
Sihui								1														1
?	14	58	36	19	7	17	13	23	9	11	6	22	9	1	11	15						286
Total	303	172	74	55	44	41	40	39	36	32	32	28	21	20	20	17	13	11	9	9	8	1,024

Table 44 demonstrates that most of the clans came from the Siyi District with the majority from the two counties of Kaiping and Taishan. Among 303 Chinese from the Zhou clan, for example, 290 had home county information. These 290 were almost exclusively from the Siyi County with the majority 272 (89.8%) and 14 (4.8%) from Xinhui. This indicates that choice of the destinations of emigrants were restricted for some unknown reasons for the Chinese in those counties especially the four counties in the Siyi District in the Pearl River Delta. In Kaiping county, for example, people lived in a village dominated by clan A would mostly go to the North Cariboo, those in the village dominated by clan B might go to other places in British Columbia, and those in villages dominated by either C or D, etc. might just continue to go to California despite the lure of the discovery of gold in the Fraser River and other places of the world. The distribution pattern of clans seen in the North Cariboo was probably a reflection of dictates from the home counties.

A comparison of the surnames and first names identified 126 families and extended families in 27 clans respectively. These families and extended families contained 359 Chinese or 25.6% of the total 1,366 recorded Chinese in the North Cariboo in the 1880s (Table 45).

Table 45: Distribution of families or extended families in the North Cariboo in the 1880s (summarized from the CCBA files and Hong-men account books)

AREA	SUB-TOTAL	ONES WITHOUT F&EF ₁		ONES IN F&EF		FAMILY & EXTENDED FAMILY SIZE		
		QTY.	%	QTY.	%	QTY.	RANGE	AVE.
Q. Mouth	381	203	53.3	178	46.7	52	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 16, 18	3
Q. Forks	428	327	76.4	101	23.6	42	2, 3, 4, 5	2
Stanley	264	221	83.7	43	16.3	20	2, 3	2
Barkerville	293	270	92.2	23	7.8	9	2,3, 6	3
Total	1,366	1,020	-	346	-	123	-	3

Note:

*. F&EF means Family & Extended family.

Table 45 shows that the distribution of numbers and sizes of families and extended families varies from area to area, which can be roughly grouped into two types. Type A is seen in the Quesnel area where family or extended family relationships joined nearly half of the total Chinese population to one another. For example, 203 people from the Zhou clan alone made up more than half of the total Chinese population of 381, which made Zhou become a dominant clan (Table 43). Next to the Zhou clan were five other large clans, but none exceeded 8% of the total Chinese population in that area. The distribution of the 203 Zhou Chinese in the area by home county and their relationships to family and extended family is showed in the following table (Table 46).

Table 46: Quesnel area-home counties of 203 Chinese from the Zhou (Chow) clan and their relationship to the Hong-men society in the 1880s (summarized from the CCBA files and Hong-men account books)

HOME COUNTY	F&EF ₁	F&EF SIZE ₂	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SEX	POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP	HONG MEN
?	0	0	Zhou1	Lian2?-yu4	周	連煜	m	-	N
?	0	0	Zhou1	?-yuan	周	[]沅	m	-	N
?	0	0	Zhou1	A1-quan2	周	阿全	m	-	N
Dongguan	0	0	Zhou1	Nian2-sheng4	周	年勝	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Wu4-chang2	周	戊長	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Shu4-ruan3	周	述阮	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Yu4-shu4	周	玉樹	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Shuai4-wei4	周	帥渭	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Shi2-wen3	周	石穩	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Sheng1-xi1	周	升錫	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Zhi4-xian2	周	智賢	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Zhao4-xiang2	周	兆祥	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Ri4-sheng1	周	日勝	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Xiang3	周	享	m	-	Y
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Gong1-xing1	周	公興	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Ming2-hui4	周	明惠	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Yi4-xuan2	周	益璇	m	-	Y
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Xiong2-yao4	周	熊耀	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Qiong2-fu2	周	瓊福	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Gui4-you1	周	桂優	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Gou3-yuan2	周	狗元	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Da2-zhen1	周	達楨	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Shen2-she4	周	神社	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Guo2-chi4	周	國熾	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Wan4-de2	周	萬德	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Nan2-xing1	周	南星	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Song1-die2	周	松疊	m	-	Y

(Table 46 cont.)

HOME COUNTY	F&EF	F&EF SIZE	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SEX	POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP	HONG MEN
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Mu4-qing1	周	沐清	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Bo2-chen2	周	伯臣	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Ju4-bao3	周	聚寶	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Huan1-guang1	周	歡光	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Xiang2-kuan1	周	祥寬	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Zun1-yan3 ?	周	遵 [演]	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Sheng4-lai2	周	盛來	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Wan3-chun1	周	晚春	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Shun4	周	順	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	San1-nuu3	周	三女	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	De2-li4	周	得利	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Gong1-lie4	周	恭烈	m	-	N
Kaiping	0	0	Zhou1	Zu3-ling2	周	祖靈	m	-	N
Kaiping	1	0	Zhou1	Bing3-cai3	周	炳才	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	1	2	Zhou1	Bing3-wen2	周	炳文	m	Brother&Cousin	Y
Kaiping	2	0	Zhou1	Chang2-zhuo2	周	常灼	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	2	0	Zhou1	Chang2-xi3	周	常喜	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	2	3	Zhou1	Chang2-ai4	周	常愛	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-han4	周	成翰	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-jiu1	周	成樛	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-lu4	周	成錄	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-miao2	周	成苗	m	Brother&Cousin	Y
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-shen1	周	成參	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-ban3	周	成板	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-zhan4	周	成棧	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-zhou4	周	成宙	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-cheng2	周	成程	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-zhong4	周	成仲	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-zhi2	周	成植	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-wei1	周	成威	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-yin2	周	成寅	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-you3	周	成有	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	0	Zhou1	Cheng2-zong1	周	成宗	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	3	16	Zhou1	Cheng2-bai3	周	成柏	m	Brother&Cousin	N

(Table 46 cont.)

HOME COUNTY	F&EF	F&EF SIZE	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SEX	POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP	HONG MEN
Kaiping	4	0	Zhou1	Chuni-xi3	周	春喜	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	4	2	Zhou1	Chun1-cheng2	周	春成	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	5	0	Zhou1	Dao4-xing2	周	道型	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	5	0	Zhou1	Dao4-yi2	周	道貽	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	5	3	Zhou1	Dao4-yan2	周	道彥	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	6	0	Zhou1	Feng2-sheng1	周	逢生	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	6	2	Zhou1	Feng2-chun1	周	逢春	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	7	0	Zhou1	Fu2-yan3	周	福衍	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	7	0	Zhou1	Fu2-shan1	周	福山	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	7	0	Zhou1	Fu2-bao3	周	福保	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	7	0	Zhou1	Fu2-xing1	周	福興	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	7	0	Zhou1	Fu2-cheng2	周	福成	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	7	0	Zhou1	Fu2-yang3	周	福養	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	7	0	Zhou1	Fu2-zhao4	周	福照	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	7	0	Zhou1	Fu2-shan4	周	福善	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	7	9	Zhou1	Fu2-he2	周	福和	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	8	0	Zhou1	Geng1-yin2	周	庚寅	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	8	0	Zhou1	Geng1-tao2?	周	庚[桃]	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	8	0	Zhou1	Geng1-lai2	周	庚來	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	8	0	Zhou1	Geng1-nuu3	周	庚女	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	8	5	Zhou1	Geng1-jiao1?	周	庚椒	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	9	0	Zhou1	Ji2-sheng4	周	積勝	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	9	2	Zhou1	Ji2-he2	周	積和	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jia1-run4	周	家潤	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jia1-shen1	周	家參	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jia1-xi1	周	家錫	m	Brother&Cousin	Y
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jia1-xie4	周	家燮	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jia1-xing1	周	家星	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jia1-yan2	周	家彥	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jia1-yi2	周	家宜	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jia1-yu4	周	家遇	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jia1-li4	周	家利	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jia1-keng1	周	家鏗	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jia1-kang1?	周	家康	m	Brother&Cousin	N

(Table 46 cont.)

HOME COUNTY	F&EF	F&EF SIZE	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SEX	POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP	HONG MEN
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jial-ju1	周	家駒	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jial-ji2	周	家積	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jial-huang3	周	家晃	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jial-rang4	周	家讓	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jial-er4	周	家貳	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	0	Zhou1	Jial-bing3	周	家炳	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	10	18	Zhou1	Jial-gan1	周	家旰	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	11	0	Zhou1	Jiang1-jin1	周	江筋	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	11	2	Zhou1	Jiang1-cheng2	周	江成	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	12	0	Zhou1	Jiu4-sheng4	周	就勝	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	12	2	Zhou1	Jiu4-nuu3	周	就女	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	13	0	Zhou1	Lai2-de2	周	來得	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	13	2	Zhou1	Lai2-sun1	周	來孫	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	14	0	Zhou1	Lian2-cai3	周	連彩	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	14	0	Zhou1	Lian2-xi4?	周	連 [綑]	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	14	0	Zhou1	Lian2-shou4	周	連受	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	14	0	Zhou1	Lian2-nuu3	周	連女	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	14	5	Zhou1	Lian2-qiu2	周	連球	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	15	0	Zhou1	Nuu3-yuan2	周	女元	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	15	2	Zhou1	Nuu3-xing1	周	女興	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	16	0	Zhou1	Qi2-fang1	周	齊芳	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	16	0	Zhou1	Qi2-tian1	周	齊添	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	16	0	Zhou1	Qi2-song1	周	齊嵩	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	16	0	Zhou1	Qi2-zhi4	周	歧秩	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	16	0	Zhou1	Qi2-xiang4	周	岐相	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	16	0	Zhou1	Qi2-dun4	周	岐墩	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	16	7	Zhou1	Qi2-ren4	周	岐任	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	17	2	Zhou1	Rong2-zuo4	周	榮作	m	Brother&Cousin	Y
Kaiping	17	2	Zhou1	Rong2-xian4	周	榮現	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	18	0	Zhou1	Ru2-yi4	周	如意	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	18	0	Zhou1	Ru2-chang2	周	如敞	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	18	0	Zhou1	Ru2-ji2	周	如吉	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	18	0	Zhou1	Ru2-xiang2	周	如祥	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	18	0	Zhou1	Ru2-song1	周	如松	m	Brother&Cousin	N

(Table 46 cont.)

HOME COUNTY	F&EF	F&EF SIZE	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SEX	POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP	HONG MEN
Kaiping	18	6	Zhou1	Ru2-yun4	周	如運	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	19	0	Zhou1	Rui4-hong2	周	瑞洪	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	19	2	Zhou1	Rui4-xiong2	周	瑞熊	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	20	0	Zhou1	Tian1-zi3	周	添仔	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	20	2	Zhou1	Tian1-nuu3	周	添女	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	21	0	Zhou1	Wen2-yang3	周	文養	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	21	2	Zhou1	Wen2-jun1	周	文均	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	22	0	Zhou1	Xian2-yi4	周	賢益	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	22	2	Zhou1	Xian2-jiu4	周	賢就	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	23	0	Zhou1	You3-lai2	周	有來	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	23	2	Zhou1	You3-fa1	周	有發	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	24	0	Zhou1	Yuan2-nuu3	周	元女	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	24	0	Zhou1	Yuan2-bao3	周	元保	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	24	0	Zhou1	Yuan2-ming2	周	元茂	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	24	4	Zhou1	Yuan2-feng2	周	元逢	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	25	0	Zhou1	Zai4-tian1	周	在添	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	25	0	Zhou1	Zai4-yuan2	周	在元	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	25	3	Zhou1	Zai4-rong2	周	在榮	m	Brother&Cousin	Y
Kaiping	26	0	Zhou1	Zhao4-you4	周	照祐	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	26	0	Zhou1	Zhao1-hui4	周	昭惠	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	26	3	Zhou1	Zhao1-gui4	周	昭貴	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	27	0	Zhou1	Zhen4-xian2	周	振賢	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	27	0	Zhou1	Zhen4-yi2?	周	振[疑]	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	27	0	Zhou1	Zhen4-yue4	周	振樂	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	27	0	Zhou1	Zhen4-su4	周	振溯	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	27	0	Zhou1	Zhen4-ban3	周	振板	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	27	0	Zhou1	Zhen4-yun2	周	振雲	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	27	7	Zhou1	Zhen4-dong4	周	振棟	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	28	0	Zhou1	Zi3-sheng4	周	子盛	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	28	0	Zhou1	Zi3-yuan2	周	子元	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	28	3	Zhou1	Zi3-shi4	周	子仕	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	29	0	Zhou1	Zi4-hui1	周	駒輝	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	29	0	Zhou1	Zi4-yuan2	周	自元	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	29	3	Zhou1	Zi4-hou4	周	自厚	m	Brother&Cousin	N

(Table 46 cont.)

HOME COUNTY	F&EF	F&EF SIZE	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SEX	POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP	HONG MEN
Kaiping	30	0	Zhou1	Zun1-qiu1	周	遵秋	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	30	0	Zhou1	Zun1-huai2	周	遵徊	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	30	0	Zhou1	Zun1-chao2	周	遵潮	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	30	4	Zhou1	Zun1-zhao4	周	遵韶	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	31	0	Zhou1	Zuo4-[]	周	作 []	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	31	2	Zhou1	Zuo4-heng2	周	作恆	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	32	0	Zhou1	Huan4-chang2	周	煥常	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	32	2	Zhou1	Xiang1-chang2	周	相常	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	33	0	Zhou1	Niu2-zi3	周	牛仔	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	33	2	Zhou1	Yang2-zi3	周	楊子	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	34	0	Zhou1	Zhi4-de2	周	之德	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	34	2	Zhou1	Shun4-de2	周	順德	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	35	0	Zhou1	Sheng1-mao4	周	聲茂	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	35	2	Zhou1	Kuai4-mao4	周	快茂	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	36	0	Zhou1	Long2-jin4	周	龍進	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	36	2	Zhou1	Liang3-jin4	周	兩進	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	37	0	Zhou1	Zong1-qiu2	周	宗球	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	37	2	Zhou1	Guang3-qiu2	周	廣球	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	38	0	Zhou1	Xian4-xiang4	周	憲相	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	38	2	Zhou1	Wang2-xiang4	周	壬相	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	39	0	Zhou1	Wei3-yi4	周	偉益	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	39	0	Zhou1	Bao4-yi4	周	抱益	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	39	0	Zhou1	Huai2-yi4	周	懷益	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	39	4	Zhou1	Chuan2-yi4	周	傳益	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	40	0	Zhou1	Yong3-zhen4	周	永振	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	40	2	Zhou1	Hui1?-zhen4	周	[輝]振	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	41	0	Zhou1	Meng4?-zun1	周	夢遵	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Kaiping	41	2	Zhou1	Quan2-zun1	周	銓遵	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Xinhui	0	0	Zhou1	Di4-chang2	周	帝長	m	-	Y
Xinhui	0	0	Zhou1	Yi2?-xing1?	周	[疑][興]	m	-	N
Xinhui	0	0	Zhou1	Quan2	周	全	m	-	N
Xinhui	0	0	Zhou1	Xian2-huan4	周	賢奐	m	-	N
Xinhui	1	0	Zhou1	Gao1-han4	周	高漢	m	Brother&Cousin	N

(Table 46 cont.)

HOME COUNTY	F&EF SIZE	F&EF NAME	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SEX	POSSIBLE	HONG
Xinhui	1	2	Zhou1	Gao1-xian4	周	高 蒺	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Xinhui	2	0	Zhou1	Sheng1-cao1	周	升 操	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Xinhui	2	0	Zhou1	Sheng1-cheng2	周	升 逞	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Xinhui	2	0	Zhou1	Sheng1-yi1	周	升 揖	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Xinhui	2	0	Zhou1	Sheng1-jin4	周	升 燼	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Xinhui	2	0	Zhou1	Sheng1-xuan1	周	升 萱	m	Brother&Cousin	N
Xinhui	2	6	Zhou1	Sheng1-weng1	周	升 翁	m	Brother&Cousin	Y

Note:

1. F&EF— Number of groups of family or extended families identified.
2. F&EF SIZE—size of family or extended family.

Table 46 indicates that the majority, 187 (92.1%) of the 203 Zhou people came from Kaiping County. Out of these 187 Kaiping Zhou Chinese, 151 (80.1%) belonged to 41 families or extended families respectively. Among these 41 families and extended family groups, two large and five medium families and extended families stood out:

- Zhou Jia .. (周家 ...) (18)
- Zhou Cheng .. (周成 ..) (16).
- Zhou Fu .. (周福 ...) (9),
- Zhou Qi.. (周齊 / 岐 ...) (7),
- Zhou Zhen .. (周振 ...) (7),
- Zhou Ru .. (周如 ...) (6),
- Zhou Lian.. (周連 ...) (5)

These seven families and extended families contained 68 people and made up nearly 36% of 187 Kaiping Zhou Chinese.

Among 16 other Zhou Chinese who were not from the Kaiping, 12 came from the Xinhui, one Dongguan, and three unknown counties. Among the 12 Xinhui Zhou Chinese, there were two families or extended families, which together contained eight Zhou people:

- Zhou Gao .. (周高 ...) (2)
- Zhou Sheng .. (周升 ..) (6)

Apparently, the Chinese population in the Quesnel area, in the 1880s, was a result of intensive chain immigration from a specific area in the Kaiping County of Guangdong, where the

Zhou was a significant clan. It is quite possible that those large and medium families and extended families seen in the Quesnel area were also the largest to medium sizes ones in their home county, Kaiping. One of the results of such an intensive chain immigration could have been that the Zhou clan became the dominant clan in the Quesnel area and that the clan itself was probably dominated by two large and several medium families and extended families. This can be partially proven by the fact that the overwhelming majority, 193 or 95.1% of the 203 Zhou Chinese in the Quesnel area, did not join the Hong-men society and that seems to have influenced the attitudes of other non-Zhou Chinese towards that society. Out of the 178 Chinese in 46 other clans, 110 (61.8%) did not join the society. This shows why the majority, 303 (79.5%) of the total 381 Chinese in Quesnel were outside of the Hong-men society.

Type B is seen in three other areas where the cross-relationships between the Chinese with family or extended family ties were much less extensive than in the Quesnel area. In these areas, Zhou and Huang were the two large clans, but none of their figures exceeded 18% of the total Chinese population (Table 43). Within these large and medium clans there were some families and extended families, but their numbers and sizes were smaller than the ones in the Quesnel area. The following table shows the distribution of the Chinese in the Barkerville area by clan and possible family and extended family relationship (Table 47).

Table 47: Barkerville area-home county origins of 293 Chinese and their relationship to the Hong-men society in the 1880s (summarized from the CCBA files and Hong-men account books)

SUR NAME	IST NAME	SUR NAME	IST NAME	SEX	F&EF ₁	F&EF SIZE ₂	POSSIBLE RELATION	QTY	HOME COUNTY	HONG-MEN MEMBER
Zhou1	Hua2	周	華	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Zhou1	Lu4-gen1	周	鹿根	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Zhou1	Jin3a	周	進福	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	Y
Zhou1	Kuan1	周	寬	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Lian2-de2	周	連德	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	Y
Zhou1	Xie2-yi4	周	協益	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	Y
Zhou1	Zai4-an1	周	在安	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	Y
Zhou1	Ru3?-bang3	周	[汝]榜	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Ying2-cai2	周	英才	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	He4-cheng2	周	賀成	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Jia1-guan3	周	家管	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Jiang1-jin3	周	江錦	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Jin1-fu2	周	金福	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Shen2-jiu4	周	神就	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Ming2-kuan1	周	明寬	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Rui4-liu3	周	瑞柳	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	Y
Zhou1	Fu2-long2	周	福隆	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Yu3-lu4	周	雨祿	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Shuang1-man3	周	雙滿	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Qun2-sheng4	周	群勝	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Long2-yan2	周	龍炎	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	Y
Zhou1	Yuan2-zhen1	周	元貞	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Wei2-zhi4	周	維智	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Cheng2-chang3	周	成昶	m	1	0	Brother&Cousin	1	Kaiping	Y
Zhou1	Cheng2-jian4	周	成健	m	1	0	Brother&Cousin	1	Kaiping	N

(Table 47 cont.)

SUR NAME	IST NAME	SUR NAME	IST NAME	SEX	F&EF ₁	F&EF SIZE ₂	POSSIBLE RELATION	QTY	HOME COUNTY	HONG-MEN MEMBER
Zhou1	Cheng2-meng2	周	成	m	1	0	Brother&Cousi	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Cheng2-sui2	周	成	m	1	0	Brother&Cousi	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Cheng2-wu3	周	成	m	1	6	Brother&Cousi	1	Kaiping	Y
Zhou1	Dao4-jun1	周	道	m	2	0	Brother&Cousi	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Dao4-bo2	周	道	m	2	2	Brother&Cousi	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Zhen4-qiz	周	振	m	3	0	Brother&Cousi	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Zhen4-sen1	周	振	m	3	2	Brother&Cousi	1	Kaiping	N
Zhou1	Gao1-qiong2	周	高	m	0	0	-	1	Xinhui	N
Zhou1	Sheng1-wan1	周	升	m	0	0	-	1	Xinhui	N
Zhou1	Yun4-cheng2	周	運	m	0	0	-	1	Zhongshan	N
Huang2	A14	黃	愛	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Chong2	黃	崇	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Gen1	黃	根	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Huan1	黃	歡	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Jin3a	黃	錦 ^a	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Jing1-yuan2	黃	經	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Liang4	黃	亮	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Lu4a	黃	鹿	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Song1	黃	松	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Song4	黃	宋	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Yang2	黃	楊	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Xun4-bo1	黃	遜	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Kuo4-fu4	黃	擴	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Qiu2-jie2	黃	求	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Qiz-rui4	黃	齊	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Qing4-tian2	黃	慶	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y
Huang2	Sul-yang2	黃	蘇	m	0	0	-	1	?	Y

(Table 47 cont.)

SUR NAME	IST NAME	SUR NAME	IST NAME	SEX	F&EF ₁	F&EF SIZE ₂	POSSIBLE RELATION	QTY	HOME COUNTY	HONG-MEN MEMBER
Huang2	De2-lu4	黃	德路	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	Y
Huang2	Wei2-man3	黃	為滿	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	Y
Huang2	Yue4a	黃	樂 a	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	Y
Huang2	Zhi4	黃	志	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	Y
Huang2	Wu3-fan1	黃	五番	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Huang2	Long2-huai2	黃	龍槐	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	Y
Huang2	Yue4-ling2	黃	悅齡	m	0	0	-	1	Kaiping	N
Huang2	Qun2-ying1	黃	群英	m	0	0	-	1	Taishan	Y
Huang2	Bai3-xing1	黃	百興	m	0	0	-	1	Taishan	Y
Huang2	Nan2-dou3	黃	南斗	m	0	0	-	1	Xinan	N
Huang2	Geng1-xiu4	黃	庚秀	m	0	0	-	1	Xinan	Y
Huang2	Nan2	黃	南	m	0	0	-	1	Xinhui	N
Huang2	Rong2-kang1	黃	榮康	m	0	0	-	1	Xinhui	Y
Zhang1	Medium Clan	張	-		1			16	?	Y
Chen2	Medium Clan	陳	-					16	?	Y
Xie4	Medium Clan	謝	-		1			13	Kaiping	N
Liu2	Medium Clan	劉	-					11	?	Y
Zhu1	Medium Clan	朱	-		1			10	?	Y
Liang2	Medium Clan	梁	-					9	Taishan	Y
Lu2	Medium Clan	盧	-					8	Zengcheng	Y
Cen2	Medium Clan	岑	-					7	Shunde	Y
Li2	Medium Clan	黎	-					7	?	Y
Lin2	Medium Clan	林	-					6	?	Y
Guan1	Medium Clan	關	-					6	?	Y
Mo4	Medium Clan	莫	-			1		6	?	Y
Pan1	Medium Clan	潘	-					6	?	Y

(Table 47 cont.)

SUR NAME	1ST NAME	SUR NAME	1ST NAME	SEX	F&EF ₁	F&EF SIZE ₂	POSSIBLE RELATION	QTY	HOME COUNTY	HONG-MEN MEMBER
Wu2	Medium Clan	吳						6	?	Y
46 clans	Small Clans	-	-	-	1	-	-	89	?	-
[]	Surname (?)	[]	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	-
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	293	-	-

Note:

1. F&EF—Number of groups of family or extended families identified.
2. F&EF SIZE—size of family or extended family.

Table 47 indicates that out of 293 Chinese, 282 had surname information. These 282 Chinese belonged to 62 clans respectively. These 62 clans had only eight groups of family or extended family relations, three in the Zhou, one Zhang, one Xie, one Zhu, one Mo, and one Wu clan. The group size ranges from two to six members with the average a two. These eight groups contained only 23 people, which made up 8.2% of the 282 Chinese with surname information, or 7.8% of the total 301 Chinese in this area. Comparing the family, extended family, and clan pattern in the Barkerville with the one in the Quesnel area, it is clear that in the Barkerville area, the family and extended family relationships were much less developed than in the area of Quesnel. Also, the relationship of large extended family did not seem to develop in this area.

In the Quesnelle Forks and Stanley areas, there were more family or extended family groups than in the Barkerville area still much less than in Quesnel. In both areas, the size of the family or extended family group tended to be small, ranging from two to five with an average of two each.

In the Quesnelle Forks area, 42 families and extended families were recorded in 15 clans including the two large clans of Huang (10) and Zhou (7), seven medium clans of Guan (5), Wu (4), Chen (3), Li (2), Lin (1), Lu (1), Cen (2), and Guo (1), and six small clans of Shen (2), Wen (1), Xie (1), Ye (1), and Zhao (1). These 42 families and extended families contained 101 people, which made up 23.6% of the total 327 Chinese in the Quesnelle Forks area (Appendix VI).

In the Stanley area, 20 families and extended families were found in 12 clans including Huang (5), Zhou (3) two large clans, Chen (1), Liu (2), Li (1), Zhu (1), Xu (1), Qiu (2), Cao (1) and Zhen (1), Liang (1) nine medium clans, and Ruan (1) one small clan. These 20 families and extended families contained 43 people, which made up 16.3% of the total of 264 Chinese in the area (Appendix VI). Apparently, Chinese communities in these three areas lacked large family or extended group. This ensured that no single clan could become a dominating force in the Chinese communities. Chinese in these areas had greater potential than in the Quesnel area to be organized into a more general society based on territory or dialect relationships other than families, extended families, and clans.

Household

The *1871 B. C. Guide* gives a total of 685 Chinese in the North Cariboo without details. The Canada censuses of 1881, 1891, and 1901, based on individuals, contain information about the numbers, sizes, and components of Chinese households, but the 1871 Census has no such information. The 1901 Census based on individuals had not been released while the author's

thesis was in progress. However, it is still possible to trace Chinese households by combining information revealed in the censuses of 1881, 1891, and 1901 with information carried in the 1871 and 1911 general censuses (Table 48).

Comparing the population figures given in Table 48 with the estimations of the Chinese population in the last period, 5,000 in Barkerville in the early 1860s and 3,000 in Quesnelle Forks in 1869 (Wynne 1964:140 cited in Lai 1988:40; Church of England 1870:57 cited in Wright 1987:35), it is seen that the Chinese population between the 1870s and 1910s was in a general trend of decline with a temporary pick up in the 1880s. Accordingly, the number of Chinese households in this district also decreased through time with a temporary increase in the 1880s.

The change in the size of the Chinese population corresponded to changes not only in the number of households but also in their type and size. According to the censuses, Chinese households consisted of four major types. Each household type was headed by brothers, family, male or female. Under each major type were several sub-types, which can be seen as additional components in households. In addition, a few Chinese lived in households headed by the non-Chinese. These households are considered as the fifth household type, but will not be discussed here (Table 49).

Table 49 shows that Type I and II were headed by brothers and families respectively. Other people in these two household types were probably related to the household head by either extended family ties, clan or county.

Type III refers to households headed by males, containing mostly males. As discussed earlier, Chinese from the same family, extended family, clan, and county tended to stay in the same settlement. Hence, it is safe to believe that the Chinese in type III households were related to one another by the social relationships mentioned above.

Type IV refers to the household headed by females. Only 14 such households containing a total of 24 females were recorded and they made up only 2.0% of the total Chinese households. The possible social relationship between household and household members in this type of household will be discussed in Chapter 8 of the thesis.

Lee (1967: 203) mentions that before the 1910s, Chinese immigrants in Canada primarily lived together in the households called Fangkou (房口). Fangkou collected members based on clan, village, county, or multi-county relationship. People in the same Fangkou shared living cost and helped one another socially and financially. Lyman (1961) informed the existence of the similar household type in the Chinese societies in California. A combination of these accounts with author's work on Canada Censuses allows a further argument. That is that Fangkou household developed in the Chinese societies in California first and then was brought by Chinese

from there to British Columbia when gold rush to the Fraser Valley took place. Fangkou households developed not only in large Chinatowns at large cities such as Victoria, Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal (Lee 1967: 203) but also Chinese settlements in the mining countries such as the North Cariboo. Among the four types of households in the North Cariboo listed in Table 49, Type II, III, and part of I can be roughly grouped to the Fangkou household. Chinese housed in these three types of households held the majority of the Chinese population in the North Cariboo from the 1880s to the 1900s.

Table 48: Distribution of the Chinese by household in the North Cariboo in 1881, 1891, and 1901 (summarized from the 1871 B. C. Guide, and Canada Census 1881, 1891, 1901)

Area	Total Chinese	Ones in Chinese Household	No. of Chinese Households	Chinese Household Size Range	Avg. of Chinese Household Size	Ones in Non-Chinese Households	No. of Non-Chinese Households	Avg. of Non-Chinese Household Size
1 Q. Mouth	402	402	70	1-21	6	0	0	0
8 Q. Forks	413	411	134	1-12	3	2	2	1
8 Barkerville	258	256	87	1-15	3	2	2	1
1 Stanley	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
Total	1,073	1,069	291	1-21	4	4	4	1
1 Q. Mouth	246	238	72	1-19	3	8	8	1
8 Q. Forks	212	212	79	1-8	3	0	0	1
9 Barkerville	133	130	47	1-5	3	3	3	1
1 Stanley	77	76	34	1-5	2	1	1	1
Total	668	656	232	1-19	3	12	12	1
1 Q. Mouth	80	71	24	1-13	3	9	8	1
9 Q. Forks	82	81	11	1-21	7	1	1	1
0 Barkerville	210	191	28	1-50	7	19	11	2
1 Stanley	57	55	27	1-4	2	2	2	1
Total	429	398	90	1-50	4	31	22	1

Note:

*. In the 1881 Census, the areas of Barkerville and Stanley were counted in the same sub-division of the Cariboo.

Table 49: Distribution of the Chinese by household type in the North Cariboo in 1881, 1891, and 1901 (summarized from the *Canada censuses* in the respective years)

HOUSEHOLD TYPE SUB-TYPE	YEAR→			
	1881 QTY% SUB-QTY	1891 QTY% SUB-QTY	1901 QTY% SUB-QTY	TOTAL QTY% SUB-QTY
I. Brothers	0 0.0	5 2.1	1 0.7	6 0.9
Brothers			1	1
Brothers+male			2	2
Brothers+males			2	3
II. Families	12 4.1	9 3.7	9 6.0	30 4.4
Family		5	3	2
Family+child+male				1
Family+child+males				2
Family+children		1	1	
Family+children+male				1
Family+children+males				1
Family+female+children +males			1	
Family+female+male		1		
Family+male		2	2	1
Family+males		3	2	1
III. Male(s)	273 92.5	212 87.2	115 76.7	600 87.2
Male		62	63	26
Male+female		1		1
Male+females		1		1
Males		205	148	85
Males+female		3	1	
Males+females+child		1		
Male+white male				1
Males+whie males				2
IV. Female(s)	6 2.0	6 2.5	2 1.3	14 2.0
Female		4	4	2
Female+male			2	
Females		2		2
V Male in non-Chinese household	4 1.4	11 4.5	23 15.3	38 5.5
Whites+Ch. male		4	10	16
Whites+Ch. Males]			1	7
Total	295 100.0	243 100.0	150 100.0	688 100.0

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Chinese immigrant population was made up primarily of males and most of them came as sojourners instead of settlers. Chinese immigrants were home oriented so that while the Chinese society persisted, the within-society members kept changing with the constant flow of veterans returning home to China and contra flow of young replacements coming out.

Chinese immigrants gave greater emphasis to the existing social relationships within their society than they did with any non-Chinese societies. They preferred staying with those from the same family, extended family, or clans for moral, social and economic support.

The Chinese in the North Cariboo in the 1880s were divided into 90 clans, almost all of whom came from 14 counties in the Pearl River Delta. There was a large contingent from Kaiping and Taishan counties of the Siyi District in the Pearl River delta. Among these 90 clans were 16 large clans with Zhou and Huang as the two largest clans. Most of these clans came from the Kaiping, Taishan, and Xinhui counties in the Siyi District. In each clan, there were several families or extended families. All this combines to show that the Chinese migration to the North Cariboo can be traced back to the movements of the 16 clans located within the narrow confine of the Siyi counties, particularly the counties of Kaiping and Taishan. Thus, the formation of the Chinese population pool in the study area was a result of intensive chain immigration from several nearby areas in these two counties.

Within the study area, Chinese who came from the same family, extended family, clan, and county tended to stay together in the same areas. In each area, a few large clans made up the majority of the Chinese population. Zhou and Huang were the two largest clans in all four areas though their percentage in the total population varied from area to area. In the Quesnel area, the Zhou clan from Kaiping County alone formed the dominant clan. In three other areas, Quesnelle Forks, Barkerville, and Stanley, either the Zhou or Huang clan was the first or second largest clan, but not one of their percentage of the total populations exceeded 17.1% of the total Chinese population.

This pattern was identified from information gathered from the 1880s, but it most likely had been in existence since the early 1860s when the Chinese first came to this district.

Chapter 8 Full Development Period (1870s-1910s)

(III) Institutions and Authority

Introduction

This chapter examines the social institutions and their positions in the Chinese communities during this period. It starts with an examination of institutions in the Quesnelle Forks, Barkerville, and Stanley areas, which are revealed in archival and field data. Four major institutions: the Hong-men society, clan, brotherhood, and territorial associations, are identified. It is argued that the Hong-men society came to occupy the leading position in most Chinese communities in the North Cariboo. It then examines the three other types of establishments: clan, brotherhood, and territorial associations, in the Barkerville and Stanley Chinese communities. Last, the chapter discusses the Chinese community in the Quesnel area where most Chinese came from one county, Kaiping, and more than half of them came from one clan, Chow (Zhou). Based on the fact that the majority of the Chinese in Quesnel were not Hong-men members, it is likely that the Chow clan association was the leading society in the Chinese community of that area.

Chinese communities in the Quesnelle Forks, Barkerville, and Stanley Areas

Archival sources and field data reveal that there were at least four types of social institutions, Hong-men society, clan, brotherhood, and territorial association, in the areas of Quesnelle Forks, Barkerville, and Stanley during the period of 1876-1910.

Hong-men society

The Hong-men society entered into a full development phase that displayed in two aspects: The first was the extension of the organization and the second was an increase in membership. These two facets made the society become the leading society within the Chinese communities in these three areas.

Extension of organization

Under the name of Hung Shun Tang (洪順堂), the Hong-men society established chapters in four large Chinatowns and one small Chinatown (Richfield) in the North Cariboo between 1876 and the early 1880s (Table 50).

Table 50: Records about the development of the Hong-men societies in the North Cariboo seen in four different sources

TOWN	LEGEND (LEE 1967:233)	ACCOUNT BOOKS BY THE HM SOCIETIES	SIGN BOARD FROM GUANG CHANG STORE	RULE BOARD FOUND IN QUESNELLE FORKS
Barkerville	1864 Hong Shun Tang	1883 Chih Kung Tang	1882/83 Chih Kung Tang	
'This town' (Barkerville?)		1876-1882 Hong Shun Tang		
Quesnel (Mouth)		1880 Yi Xing Company 1881 Hong Shun Tang		1876 'The 1st tang'
Williams Creek (Richfield)		1881 (?) Hong Shun Tang 1886 Chih Kung Tang		
'This Town'				1882 'The 2nd tang'
Quesnelle Forks		1882 Hong Shun Tang 1882 Chih Kung Tang		
Stanley		1886 Chih Kung Tang		

In addition to these chapters of the society, the Hong-men established a Yi Xing (義興) Company in Quesnel in 1880. In doing so, the society compiled a set of rules for the company accompanied by an account book with a list of names of the Hong-men members who invested in the company (HM 980.291.1). This book was collected from either the Quesnelle Forks or Barkerville Chinatown site in the early 1960s and has been stored in the archives of the Barkerville Historical Town since then. Its importance remained unclear until the early 1990s when the author examined it (Appendix VIII).

Soon after, the Hong-men society in Quesnelle Forks established a branch of the Yi Xing (HM 980.408.1a). Other chapters in the Barkerville and Stanley areas probably also had local branches later. For example, a Yi Xing Company at Williams Creek (Richfield) was in existence around 1891 (HM 980.408.1). However, the one at Quesnel Mouth was in continual operation as the society's outlet, probably due to its location on the Cariboo Road. An account book (HM 980.413.9) made by the Hong-men society in Quesnelle Forks reveals that when a new member entered the society, he had to pay six different fees including investment in the Ying Xing Company at Quesnel and at the company's local branch in Quesnelle Forks (Figure 92). These Yi Xing companies are assumed to have gained the society a better economic standing.

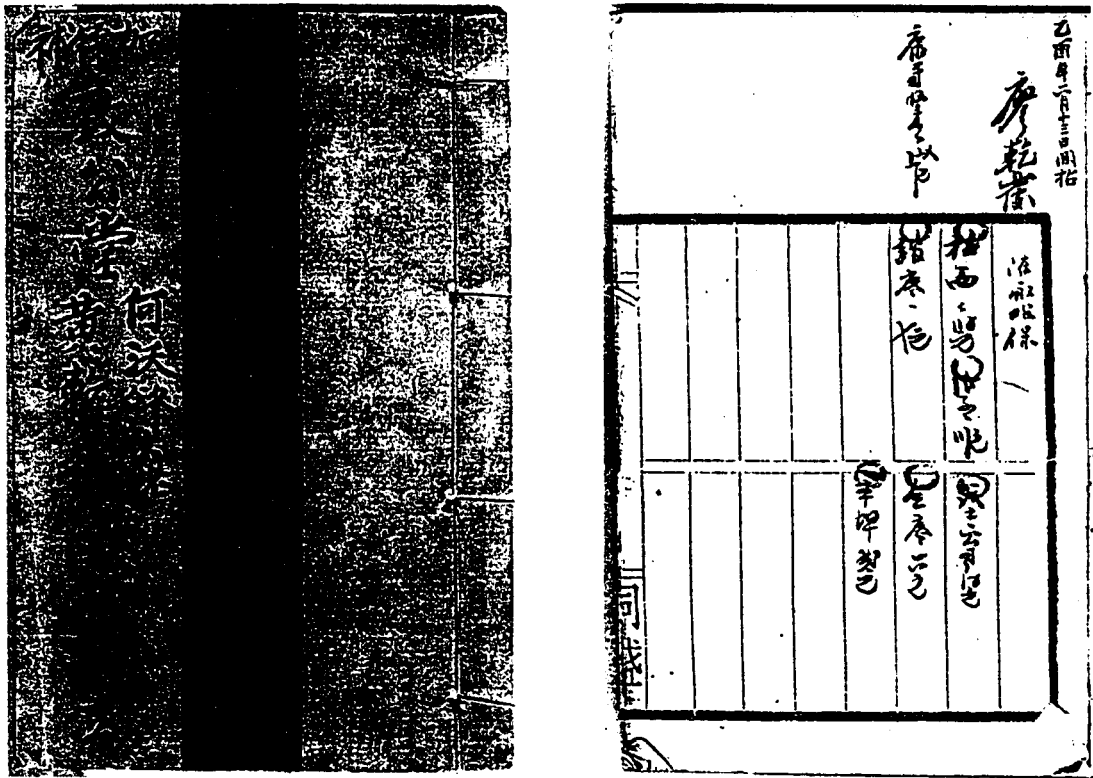


Figure 92. (Above) the cover of account book 980.291.29 dating to 1890. It was sent from the Chih Kung T'ang to master He Wo-feng (何沃鋒) and counsellor Wong Kim (Huang Qian) (黃乾) of Cariboo Chih Kung T'ang. (Bottom) one of the pages in account book 980.413.9 dating to 1885. It exhibits that new member Liao Qian-fa needed to pay six different kinds of fee including one dollar for the Yi Xing Company in Quesnel (茂士公司) when entering the society.

Between 1882 and 1883, the society changed its name from Hong Shun T'ang to Chih Kung T'ang corresponding with the name change of the Hong-men society that was taking place in California in the early 1880s (Liang 1904:42, Suydam 1936:145; Barth 1964:106-107; Chen 1992:195-197). As part of this event, a set of rules was made some time after 1882 (Lyman et. al. 1964).

The rule board was discovered by a provincial parks ranger in the Chih Kung T'ang house in Quesnelle Forks around the end of the 1950s. It was brought back to Barkerville with other finds such as ceremonial robes and a Chinese book of codes and signs recovered in the same building. They were labelled as 'unidentified materials', left in storage and not examined until 1961 when Stanford M. Lyman, W. E. Willmott, and Berching Ho, who were carrying out a research on the Chinese social organizations in the Cariboo region, recognized their significance.

Ho identified the characters inscribed on the board as a set of rules of the Chih Kung T'ang society and made this valuable item known to the world (Lyman et al. 1964:530). Unfortunately, this ten foot (3.1 m) wide object disappeared from Barkerville some time between early 1964 and the late 1980s. Photographs of the board published in Lyman et al.'s article are now the only source for this board (Figure 93). Lyman, et al. (1964:533-534) summarized the framework and main points of the rules:

The rules ... consist of a preamble and 42 regulations governing the conduct of the members of the society. The regulations are divided into three sets. The first set contains 24 items, the second, 9; and the third, 9.

The preamble is an attempt in classical grandiloquent language to justify the promulgation of the rules. ...

The first 24 rules are concerned with fiscal policies and revenues, the rights, privileges, and obligations of dues-paying members, and the conditions under which novices might be instructed, arbitration carried out, and disputes settled. ...

The second set of 9 rules is of a more specific and local nature, and as the seventh item suggests, indicates that separate chapters adopted regulations suitable to the conditions at hand. Five of the regulations concern mining, setting out the areas beyond which mining might be carried out, the size of a mine allotted to each person, and the offences for which punishments would be imposed. The rest of the rules govern the manner in which disputes will be settled, the conditions under which the society will render financial aid to individuals, the limitations on the use of the T'ang hostelry, and the requirements of secrecy.

The final 9 rules are not those of the whole society but a set of house rules adopted by the lodgers in the T'ang hostelry. The 9 rules set out in precise and detailed instructions the domestic arrangements under which fellow-members shall live together.

Even though there were four chapters in the North Cariboo, the Hong-men society still acted as a whole on some occasions, especially in the financial realm and in affairs concerning the other chapters of the society outside of the North Cariboo. An account book (HM 980.291.29) dating 1890, was sent by the Chih Kung T'ang to master He Wo-feng (何沃 鋒) and consultant Wong Kim (黃 乾) of the Cariboo Chih Kung T'ang to solicit donations for shipping the former master Zhen Zhang-zhao of the Chih Kung T'ang in Victoria and his son's bodies back to China (Figure 93). He Wo-feng was master of the Barkerville chapter while Wong Kim was one of the heads of the chapter in Quesnelle Forks at that time. The fact that Wong Kim's name was addressed as one of leaders of the Cariboo Chih Kung T'ang suggests that the Hong-men society in the North Cariboo probably had a headquarters in Barkerville by at least since 1890.

蓋聞欲治終期謀理莫安全在慎始慎始以早平慮以
 析揚而測旅舍以和睦為首航海風清美之於謀
 於始方無時於終修諸己而後安諸人總思我等建
 立致公堂皆欲和睦梓里遵大道以生財忠諸同
 人效居奇而樂利是以任勞任力矢慎矣公共成此
 舉近見謗流日熾鼓惑播揚惟願同志堅守不事滌
 岸東丹心以維持運用自信晉嫌疑而不避務求立幅
 齊修仍蓋更新故以再設規條伸明事例毋至半途而
 廢大器晚成欲使樑造高所以應司辦堂務之區但想
 通都作客無分誰主誰負有志同者原情度理毋受謗
 惡見義則趨避是堂冠冕遍旅舍以安寧潔凜守規
 約里衢而樂業生財有道樂利居奇柯坊金龜之不滿
 而遊子之不歸乎

Figure 93. Part of Rule Board found in Quesnelle Forks in 1964 (after Lyman et al. 1964, Plate I).

The period, 1876-1886, also saw development of the Hong-men societies in other places of British Columbia and other provinces of Canada (Table 51). The Hong-men societies in the North Cariboo also contributed to the movement. Between 1883 and 1890, they held 18 ceremonies admitting new members at five places out of the North Cariboo, Soda Creek, 150 Mile House, Dog Creek, and two other places with location unknown, admitting a total of 424 new members (HM 980.408.1; 3h; 3j; 3k; 413.1; 10a; 11; 27; 413.2b; 3; 9; 414.8; 9; 416.4; 11; 15; 17; 18). Apparently, these new members were the first in the chapters of the society in these places.

Table 51: A list of the Hong-men societies developed in British Columbia between 1864 and 1886 [based on Lee (1978:233) and Chien (1989:13-14)]

#	REGION	LOCATION	LOCATION	PERIOD	SOURCE
1	Upper Fraser	Williams Creek (Richfield)	委林士隴	1864-1876	Chien 1989
2	Upper Fraser	Quesnelle Forks*	干尼路福士	1864-1876	Chien 1989
3	Upper Fraser	Keithley*	曲士化利	1864-1876	Chien 1989
4	Upper Fraser	Quesnel*	干尼路	1864-1876	Chien 1989
5	Upper Fraser	Stanley*	士丹利	1864-1876	Chien 1989
6	Upper Fraser	Lytton	冽吾	1877-1881	Chien 1989
7	Lower main land	New Westminster	紐委斯緬士打	1877-1881	Chien 1989
8	Lower main land E.?	Johnson	參臣	1877-1881	Chien 1989
9	Fraser Canyon	Boston Bar	波士頓巴	1877-1881	Chien 1989
10	Vancouver Island	Nanaimo	乃磨	1877-1881	Chien 1989
11	?	Chum Ber Land	卜巴倫	1877-1881	Chien 1989
12	Fraser Canyon	Yale	雅利	1882-1885	Chien 1989
13	Lower main land	Chiliwack	車梨域	1882-1885	Chien 1989
14	Vancouver Island	Victoria	域多利	1877-1881	Chien 1989
15	Vancouver Island	Chemainus	佔美利士	1882-1885	Chien 1989
16	?	Union Mine	天寅咪	1882-1885	Chien 1989
17	?	Bevan	比尹	1882-1885	Chien 1989
18	Vancouver Island	Duncan	當近	1882-1885	Chien 1989
19	?	Lander	蘭拿	1882-1885	Chien 1989
20	Vancouver Island	Cobble Hill	甲巴喜路	1882-1885	Chien 1989
21	Lower main land	Vancouver	雲高華	1882-1885	Chien 1989
22	?	Port Hammond	鉢坎文	1882-1885	Chien 1989
23	Upper Fraser	Ashcroft	埃市卡笠	1882-1885	Chien 1989
24	Upper Fraser E.	Kamloops	錦錄	1882-1885	Chien 1989
25	Upper Fraser E.	Vernon	穩寧	1882-1885	Chien 1989
26	?	?	典爾比	1882-1885	Chien 1989
27	Fraser Canyon E.	Armstrong	暗士黨	1882-1885	Chien 1989
28	Upper Fraser E.	Salmon Arm	沙問騰	1882-1885	Chien 1989
29	Upper Fraser E.	Revelstoke	笠巴士篤	1882-1885	Chien 1989
30	Vancouver Island	Courtenay	葛爾	1882-1885	Chien 1989
31	Lower Fraser E.	Nelson	尼路慎	1882-1885	Chien 1989
32	Upper Fraser	Prince George	片士佐治	1882-1885	Chien 1989
33	Upper Fraser W.	Prince Rupert	片士魯別	1882-1885	Chien 1989
34	Fraser Canyon	Merritt	馬力	1882-1885	Chien 1989
35	Lower Fraser. S.	Trail	始路	1882-1885	Chien 1989
36	Fraser Canyon E.	Kelowna	企倫打	1882-1885	Chien 1989
37	Lower Fraser E.	Crankbrook	[]布碌	1882-1885	Chien 1989
38	Lower Fraser E.	Princeton	片市頓	1882-1885	Chien 1989
39	Vancouver Island	Port Alberine	鉢亞板爾	1882-1885	Chien 1989
40	Lower Fraser E.	Fernie	款汝	1882-1885	Chien 1989
41	Lower main land E.	Rossland	老士倫	1882-1885	Chien 1989
42	Lower Fraser. S.	Grand Fork	加蘭福	1882-1885	Chien 1989
43	Lower main land E.	Kekemeos (Keromeos)	加拉貓士	1882-1885	Chien 1989

Note: Places marked with '*' are in the North Cariboo District and the dates for the Hong-men society in these places have been altered by the author according to other sources.

During this period, the societies in the North Cariboo maintained a close relationship with the chapters in Vancouver and Victoria. In 1885 and 1886, for example, the society donated funds to help to reconstruct the Chih Kung Tang house in Victoria (HM 980.291.27; 28). In

1892, they donated to the construction of a Chih Kung T'ang building in Vancouver (HM 980.413.12). The recovery of the signs of the Chih Kung T'ang society in San Francisco and Victoria in the Chih Kung T'ang building at the Barkerville Chinatown suggest that the Hong-men society in Barkerville also had contact with the general headquarters of the Hong-men society in these two cities Chen (1992) (Figure 94).



Figure 94. The sign of the Chih Kong T'ang in Victoria, British Columbia (991.285.610) found on the north wall of the altar room (A5), the main structure of the building in the Chih Kung T'ang building, Barkerville

Increase in membership

Related to organizational extension was an increase in membership. In the 1880s, for example, there were approximately 1,366 Chinese adults, excluding wives, in the North Cariboo and 814 or 59.6% of them were members of the society. The majority, 736 or 90.4%, of these members were concentrated in the Quesnelle Forks, Barkerville and Stanley areas (Table 52).

Table 52. Distribution of Chinese in the North Cariboo in the 1880s with relationship to the Hong-men society (based on information from the Hong-men account books)

AREA	Non-Hong-men Member		Hong-Men Member		TOTAL	
	QTY.	%	QTY.	%	QTY.	%
Barkerville	57	19.5	236	80.5	293	100.0
Quesnelle Forks	77	18.0	351	82.0	428	100.0
Quesnel	303	79.5	78	20.5	381	100.0
Stanley	115	43.6	149	56.4	264	100.0
Total	552	-	814	-	1,366	-

Records in the Hong-men account books indicate that the society recruited members of all kinds of people in the Chinese communities, merchants, miners, labourers, and prostitutes (Table 52).

Table 53: Distribution of the Hong-men members by occupation (based primarily on information from the Hong-men account books)

OCCUPATION	QTY.	%
Merchant	44	5.3
Miner and Labourer	777	92.8
Prostitute	16	1.9
Total	837	100.0

Table 53 shows that the merchant class made up only 5.3% of the total members in the 1880s but their power within the local group was greater than their percentage would indicate. With the aid of economic power in the Chinese communities, merchants gained leadership in all chapters of the Hong-men society. This can be seen in the positions of the merchants held in the society as recorded in the Hong-men account books (Table 54).

Table 54: Officials of the Hong-men societies in the North Cariboo in the 1880s (based on records in the Hong-men account books)

AREA	SUR NAME	1ST NAME	SUR NAME	1ST NAME	POSITION	OCCAPATION	HOME COUNTY	HOME DISTRICT	BUSINESS NAME
Q. Mouth	Liu2	Zan4	劉	贊	Member	Merchant	?	?	Dong Xing
Q. Forks	Cen2	Run4-bing3	憐	閩炳	Fund colle	Merchant	Shunde	Sanyi	Yi Tai Dong Ji
Q. Forks	Chen2	Liang2-jian3	陳	良儉	Fund colle	Merchant	Taishan	Siyi	Yi Tai Dong Ji, Ru Yi Guan
Q. Forks	Deng4	Bing3-run4	鄧	炳閩	Fund colle	Merchant	Kaiping	Siyi	Yi Tai Dong Ji
Q. Forks	Guan1	Shou4	關	壽	Fund colle	Miner&Labourer?	?	?	Li Rui Lin
Q. Forks	Guan1	Tong2-li4	關	同利	Member	Merchant	Kaiping	Siyi	Restaurant?
Q. Forks	He2	Qi2-zhong1	何	其忠	Fund colle	Merchant	Shunde	Sanyi	Yi Tai Dong Ji
Q. Forks	Huang2	Fu2	黃	福	Member	Merchant	?	?	?
Q. Forks	Huang2	Jie2	黃	杰	Fund colle	Cook?	?	?	-
Q. Forks	Huang2	Li4-nan2	黃	麗南	Accountant	Merchant	?	?	Guang Chang Tai, Qian Feng
Q. Forks	Huang2	Ming2-ju4	黃	明巨	Member	Merchant	Xinhui	Sanyi	Restaurant?
Q. Forks	Huang2	Qi2	黃	其	Fund colle	Merchant	Xinhui	Siyi	He He, Yong Feng He
Q. Forks	Huang2	Qian2a	黃	乾	Fund colle	Merchant	Panyu	Sanyi	Qian Feng, Fu Sheng Long
Q. Forks	Huang2	Sheng4	黃	勝	Fund colle	Merchant	?	?	Restaurant?
Q. Forks	Huang2	Ting2-nuan3	黃	廷暖	Member	Merchant	Taishan	Siyi	?
Q. Forks	Huang2	Ting2-zhen	黃	廷鎮	Member	Merchant	Taishan	Siyi	Yi Tai Dong Ji
Q. Forks	Li2	Gou3	黎	苟	Fund colle	Merchant	?	?	?
Q. Forks	Li3	Reng2	李	仍	Member	Merchant	?	?	Yong Feng He
Q. Forks	Li3	She4-ying2	李	社盈	Member	Merchant	?	?	Restaurant?
Q. Forks	Liang2	De2-zou1	梁	德鄒	Fund colle	Merchant	?	?	Guang Chang Tai
Q. Forks	Lin2	Guo2-bang1	林	國邦	Fund colle	Miner&Labourer?	?	?	?
Q. Forks	Lin2	Lian2-fu4	林	連富	Fund colle	Merchant	Taishan	Siyi	Yi Tai Dong Ji
Q. Forks	Liu2	Qun2	劉	群	Member	Merchant	Xinhui	Siyi	Liu Qun
Q. Forks	Lu2	Dong1-shou	盧	東壽	Member	Merchant	Kaiping	Siyi	Tong Chang
Q. Forks	Shen3	Xi1-ning2	沈	錫寧	Member	Merchant	?	?	Restaurant?
Q. Forks	Wu2	Fu2-yang2	馮	福揚	Member	Merchant	?	?	Qian Feng

(Table 54 cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	IST NAME	SUR NAME	IST NAME	POSITION	OCCUPATION	HOME COUNTY	HOME DISTRICT	BUSINESS NAME
Q. Forks	Wu2	Zi3-jian4	吳	子見	Fund colle	Merchant	Zengcheng	Other	Guang Chang Tai, Yi Tai Dong Ji, Yi He, Yong Feng He
Q. Forks	Wu3	Bai3-feng2	伍	百逢	Member	Merchant	Taishan	Siyi	?
Q. Forks	Wu3	Fu2-xiang2	伍	福祥	Member	Merchant	Taishan	Siyi	?
Q. Forks	Chow1	Cheng2-yao	周	成堯	Fund colle	Merchant	Kaiping	Siyi	He He
Q. Forks	Chow1	Jian3	周	簡	Member	Merchant	?	?	?
Q. Forks	Chow1	Wen2-guang	周	文廣	Fund colle	Merchant	Kaiping?	Siyi	Guang Ji4
Barkerville	Fu4	Mei3-chen2	傅	美臣	Member	Merchant	?	?	Fu Mei Chen Restaurant?
Barkerville	Huang2	Rong2-kang	黃	榮康	Member	Merchant	Xinhui	Siyi	Guang Chang
Barkerville	Li2	Jin3-ran2	黎	錦然	Fund colle	Cook?	?	?	-
Barkerville	Li2	Rui4-lin2	黎	瑞林	Member	Merchant	?	?	Li Rui Lin?
Barkerville	Liu2	Ken3-sheng	劉	肯生	Fund colle	Miner&Labourer?	?	?	?
Barkerville	Lu2	Lian2-chang2	盧	連長	Member	Merchant	?	?	?
Barkerville	Lu2	Yu4-cheng2	盧	玉成	Fund colle	Merchant	Kaiping	Siyi	?
Barkerville	Wen1	Yu3-kui2	溫	羽遠	Member	Merchant	?	?	?
Barkerville	Zhong1	Qi2-kang1	鍾	其康	Fund colle	Merchant	?	?	?
Stanley	Huang2	Lian2-zi3	黃	連子	Accountant	Merchant	Zhongshan	Other	?
Stanley	Qiu1	Lian2-chan	邱	連長	Member	Merchant	Taishan	Siyi	Yong Sheng
Stanley	Xiao1	Zhan4-lin2	蕭	湛林	Fund colle	Merchant	Kaiping?	Siyi	?
Stanley	Wu3	Geng1-you4	伍	庚佑	Member	Merchant	Taishan	Siyi	Yong Sheng
Stanley	Zhen1	He4-ling2	甄	鶴齡	Member	Merchant	Taishan	Siyi	Hock Kee
Stanley	Chow1	Ru2-fu4	周	如富	Member	Merchant	Kaiping?	Siyi	?
Stanley	Chen2	Bing3-nuan	陳	炳暖	Member	Merchant	Taishan	Siyi	-
Barkerville	Zhong1	Kong3-dat4	鍾	孔岱	Master	Miner&Labourer?	Taishan	Siyi	-
Barkerville	He2	Wo4-feng1	何	沃豐	Master	Miner&Labourer?	Xinhui	Siyi	-
Q. Mouth	He2	Huan2	何	還	Master, Accountant, Fund collector	Merchant	?	?	?

Table 54 indicates that among 51 Hong-men officials, 43 were merchants, holding positions ranging from fund collector, accountant, counsellor, to master, and fund collector. Apparently, the merchant class held leadership of all chapters of the Hong-men society in the North Cariboo in the 1880s. This process could have started in the early 1870s and continued into the 1910s, when the society started to decline.

Clan association

Clans have been in existence in China for thousands of years, but overseas clan associations developed at a much later time. In China, clans were lineages that were territorially based, such as in villages or towns (Freeman 1958). People in the same clan worshiped their direct ancestor whose story was documented in either written or oral clan history. Such clan associations were continued in some overseas Chinese settlements where most immigrants came from the same clan in the same or nearby villages. However, many overseas clan associations were only surname based, regardless of the territorial boundary. This type of clan association worships a remote symbolic ancestor with the same surname. Usually, the ancestor was a famous man in local or national history.

Information regarding clan associations in the study area came from town site maps of Barkerville and Stanley produced in 1970 by Bill Hong, from his memory of these two towns, (Chapter 5 above).

The *Townsite Map of Barkerville* (1970) shows three clan associations. One is the Chow Oy Lin Tong (Chow Ai Lian Tong or Zhou Ai Lian Tang) (周愛蓮堂) association, which was located on Lot 72, on east side of the main street. In addition to the main building, the association had a sick room in a house on Lot 113, the east side of the back street behind the association building. Both buildings are long gone, leaving the lots empty. Chow Oy Lin Tong joined in with the people of the Chow clan to become the largest clan in the Barkerville area.

Another clan was the Wong Kong Har Tong (Huang Jiang Xia Tang) (黃江夏堂) association on Lot 11, on the west side of the main street. This association housed the Chinese bearing surnames of Wong (Huang) (黃). On either the district or area level, the Wong clan was the second largest in the Chinese community (Appendix VI).

The third clan association was the York Shee Tong (Yu Shu Tang) (玉樹堂), which was situated on Lot 70, on the east side of the main street. The association's building is also long gone (Figure 56).

The York Shee Tong association joined Chinese from the Xie (謝) clan. Xie was the sixth largest clan in the North Cariboo and the fifth largest one in the Barkerville area. All Xie Chinese who had home county information originated in Kaiping County (Appendix VI).

In addition, the *Townsite Map of Stanley* (1970) provides locations for two clan associations, Chow (Chow) (周) and Gin (Zhen) (甄), in the north portion of the Chinatown. Both were destroyed by floods and tailings from hydraulic mining (Figure 78).

The Chow clan was the second largest in the Stanley area. The majority, 22 out of 27, came from Kaping County in China. One came from Panyu County and four others' county origins are unknown (Appendix VI).

The Gin clan was one of the 14 major clans in the Chinese community of the Stanley area. All Gin Chinese came from Taishan (Appendix VI). The *Town Site Map of Stanley* (1970) reveals that the Gin association building was close to a store called Hock Kee (鶴記), one of the four major Chinese stores in the Stanley Chinatown during this period. A merchant called Gin Hock-ling (Zhen He-ling) (甄鶴齡) and his brother owned the store. Zhen came to British Columbia in 1864 at age 16 (Canada Census 1901). He arrived in the North Cariboo around 1884 and stayed till the early 1900s before he returned to China (Appendix VI; Hong 1978:65). He possibly may have been a leader of the Zhen clan.

In the United States, clan associations arose mostly around stores of merchants who came to North America first and then informed their relatives in China about the opportunities (Lyman 170, 178). By 1852, there were at least four major associations, the Wong, Chin, Lee, and Yee in San Francisco (Lyman 1961:235). In British Columbia, clan associations did not seem to develop until the late 1870s and did not reach a mature stage until the early 1880s (Lee 1967:174). In 1885, there were at least 16 clan associations in Victoria, of which, Huang Jiang Xia, Chow Ai Lian Tang, Xie Yu Shu Tang were included, along with two brotherhoods, the Ming Yee Tong and Zhen Tang Zhong Shan Tang (Lee 1967:174). It is assumed that clan associations in the North Cariboo did not exist until some time after 1885.

Brotherhood

In the study area, only one brotherhood, the Ming Yee Tong (Ming Yi Tang) (明義堂), also known as the Long Gang Gong Suo (龍崗公所), or Four Brother Association (四兄弟會), in Barkerville has been identified. It is on Lot 10, on the west side of the main street and the tong building still stands. The Ming Yee Tong housed Chinese from four clans, the Liu (劉), Guan (關), Zhang (張), and Zhao (趙) clans. The tong worshiped Liu Bei, Guan Yu,

Zhang Fei, and Zhao Yun. Liu, Guan, and Zhang who formed the famous Peach Garden Oath in order to save the Han Dynasty ca. 180 AD. Zhao Yun joined their brotherhood later. Guan, Zhang, and Zhao were three key contributors to the establishment of Liu's kingdom of Shu Han (蜀漢) (AD 221-263) [*San Guo Zhi* (三國志)].

In the Barkerville area, Liu, Guan, Zhang, and Zhao accounted for only 3.8%, 2.0%, 5.5%, and 0.7% of the total Chinese population in the area respectively (Table 43; Appendix VI). After merging into one association, their joint percentage of the total 293 Chinese reached as high as 12%, only slightly lower than the Chow Clan, and by doing so, became a stronger force in the Chinese community in the area. Brotherhoods provided a way for small clans to attach to a major clan. It also enabled several small clans to form a larger force.

In the United States, the Ming Yee Tong, also known as the Four Brother Association, was in existence at least by 1852 (Lyman 1961:235). The earliest record of the existence of the Ming Yee Tong in Victoria dates to 1885 (Lyman 1967:174), though the association was probably established earlier than that, possibly in the early 1880s. It is assumed that clan associations in the North Cariboo did not exist until some time after 1885.

Territorial association

Unlike clans, territorial associations developed at a very late stage in China. Generally known as hui guan (hui kuan) (會館) or gongsi (kongsi) (公司), this kind of association first emerged in Beijing, the capital of China, around the end of the Ming Dynasty in the early 16th century and then developed in other large cities during the Qing Dynasty. They were formed for the housing of students, for merchant association, and for artisans who temporarily migrated to these cities, especially those from the southern provinces of China. Within hui kuan, members helped one another mutually and received protection from powerful merchants from the same region and support from people who spoke the same dialect (Lyman 1961:183-184). As clan associations and brotherhoods, Chinese immigrants brought hui guan or kongsi to North American and other places of the world in the middle and late 19th century.

The *Townsite Map of Barkerville* (1970) shows two such associations. One is the Tsang Sing (Zengcheng) Company (增城公司) on lot 66, east side of the main street (Figure 56). In addition to the main building, the company had a sick room on lot 81, east of lot 66. The company building is gone and the current building on the lot is called the Lung Duck T'ang Restaurant.

Tsang Sing County is located in the eastern Pearl River Delta. In the 1880s, there were 44 Chinese who came from Tsang Sing, in the North Cariboo. They account for nearly one fourth of the total 195 Tsang Sing Chinese in Canada. In the North Cariboo, it formed the fourth-largest county-based group, next to the Chinese from Xinhui County, but with a low percentage of (4.9%). These 44 Zengcheng Chinese came from 15 clans and were scattered in four areas, seven in Barkerville, 16 in Stanley, five in Quesnelle Forks, and 16 in Quesnel. Apparently, no clan from Zengcheng had enough people to form a clan association on either an area or district level. To these people, it was both wise and practical to establish a county-based association in order to become a noticeable force in the Chinese community. It is possible that the association established in Barkerville was open to all Tsang Sing Chinese in the North Cariboo.

Another group constructed the Kong Chow (Gang Zhou) (崗州) Association building, which shared the same lot 7 with the Kwong Sang Wing store building on west side of the main street of Barkerville (Figure 56). The association building is long gone but the Kwong Sang Wing building still remains at the site.

Kong Chow is the collective name of five counties: Taishan, Kaiping, Xinhui, Enping, and Heshan. Chinese of these five counties speak a similar dialect of Cantonese. The Cantonese also called the region where the five counties located Wuyi (五邑), which means 'Five-county District'. In the overseas Chinese community, the Kong Chow Association was essentially open to all Chinese who came from these five counties.

As clan associations grew, territorial associations grew along with stores (Lyman 1961:195). In the United States, the first Chinese territorial association to be established was the Kong Chow association, which was established in San Francisco in 1851 (Lyman 1961:197). In Canada, however, territorial association did not emerge until 1893 when the first association, the Ning Yang (Taishan) association, was established in Victoria (Lee 1967:174). The Kong Chow and Zeng Cheng associations were established in Victoria some time after 1893 (Lee 1967:204, 205). On the basis of current data, it is assumed that these two associations did not develop in Barkerville until some time after 1893.

The fact that the Kong Chow association building shares the same Lot (7) as the Kwong Sang Wing store suggests a close relationship between the association and the Kwong Sang Wing store, that was owned by Wu Bai-feng (伍百逢) between 1902 and 1915 (*Canada Census* 1901; Hong 186). The Canada census of 1891 and 1901, the CCBA files, the Hong-men account books, and Hong (1978:186) indicate that Wu was a Quesnelle Forks based merchant between 1877 and 1902. Wu had owned lot 7 since 1884 but the lot was kept undeveloped till he moved to Barkerville around 1902 (Irvine and Montgomery 1983:23, 206). Wu operated the Kwong Sang

Wing store on Lot 7 and continually ran it till 1915 when he went back to China. The fact that lot 7 was undeveloped before Wu's move to Barkeville around 1902 indicates that the building for housing the Kong Chow Association would not have been built on or moved to lot 7 until 1902 or some time thereafter. In other words, the Kong Chow Association might have been in existence until 1902 or after 1902. Furthermore, Wu Bai-feng, who came from Taishan, one of five counties within the Kong Chow District, could be one of the major founders of the association.

Power and authority

Hong-men society - power holder

Though recruiting members from different sources, the three types of associations mentioned above showed some in common. First, all these associations were of a benevolent nature, providing mutual help to their people through donation and income from association owned businesses. Around the 1900s, for example, the Tsang Sing Company raised funds for helping an innocent fellow, Tsang Sing, whom his fellow Chinese called Ng Yam, and later was known as Dynamite Jim, get out of jail (Hong 1978:166). Among seven associations, the Tsang Sing company had a grocery store. The Tsang Sing, Yore Shee Tong, and Ming Yee Tong in Barkerville, and the Gin clan had gambling establishments (Figure 56). Apparently, it was popular for an association to operate a business at that time.

Second, merchants were leaders in all these associations due to their economic strength. On one hand, merchants maintained all businesses owned by the associations. On the other hand, they had close relationships with the other Chinese businesses that were operated by merchants from these associations. In the field, that is seen in the close proximity the association buildings had with the major Chinese stores in the Chinatowns. In Barkerville, for example, the Kong Chow association shared the same lot with the Kwong Sang Wing. The Zhou Ai Liang Tang (Chow Oy Lin Tong) was right beside the Zhou He (Chow Woo)'s bakery (Figure 56). In Stanley, the Gin Clan association was located near the Hock Kee, one of the four major Chinese stores there at this time (Figure 56). Two brothers, Zhen He-ling (Gin Hock-ling) (甄鶴齡) and Zhen Song-ling (Gin Soon-ling) (甄嵩齡), started the store at the latest by 1884 and continued until 1915 (Hong-men account books and Hong 1978:65). It is quite possible that they were leaders of the Zhen (Gin) clan.

It appears that in these three areas, clan and brotherhood associations probably did not develop until the late 1880s and territorial or dialect associations probably did not develop until

the early 1900s. Furthermore, distribution of these three types of associations does not seem to be even. There were clans, brotherhoods, and Kong Chow Associations in the Barkerville Chinatown, only two clan associations in Stanley Chinatown, and probably no such associations in Quesnelle Forks. Taken together this information produces a pattern that the clan, brotherhood, and territorial associations in these three areas of the North Cariboo were much less developed than ones in the large Chinese communities such as the one in San Francisco and Victoria. The Hong-men society was an influential society, but it did never become an influential society in large urban communities. However, it became the leading society in all three areas of the North Cariboo.

The major reason for the existence of such a pattern in the North Cariboo is more understandable once we appraise the components of the Chinese population and their relation to the Hong-men society in the North Cariboo and California from whence the early Chinese arrived in the North Cariboo.

As mentioned in Chapter 7, 41.6% of the Chinese in California came from the Siyi District in 1865. In the 1880s, 63.5% of the Chinese in Canada, primarily in British Columbia, and 84.4% Chinese in the North Cariboo came from the Siyi (Table 40). That indicates that along with the development of the gold rush to the far north, where the environment was harsher and more challenging than California, Chinese from those non-Siyi districts were much less involved than ones from the Siyi. Within British Columbia, more Siyi Chinese were in the North Cariboo than other non-Siyi Chinese, making the North Cariboo a concentration of the Siyi Chinese.

In San Francisco, clan, territorial, dialect associations, and secret societies all developed in the early 1850s. From the 1850s to the 1860s, political power in the Chinese community was composed of two major parts: clans and territorial or dialect associations represented by the Chung Wah Kung Saw (中華公所) or Chung Wah Kongsai (中華公司), generally known in America as the 'Six Companies' on one side while various secret societies on the other side (Hoy 1942). Hoy (1942:114) states:

In the early years of the Six Companies there was an unwritten law that no member of a fighting Tong may become president of the organization, or a member of the board of presidents. This unwritten law was adhered to throughout the history of the organization, except for one period in the eighties when the fighting Tongs, then at the height of their power, succeeded in breaking this rule by conniving with the district associations. This rule remained broken for about a quarter of a century before the district association gained it back. Today this unwritten law is still in effect.

These two parties gained fellowship in the Chinese community through different ways. The Chung Wah Kongsai enrolled nearly all Chinese when they first entered the country and

maintained their authorities through providing their members financial, social, legal, benevolent, and political services (Lyman 1961:207, 329). The secret societies, on the other hand, 'gained their adherents by providing equally indispensable services to the Chinese in the form of prostitution, and gambling' (Lyman 1961:329). In addition, the secret societies also attracted people through providing benevolent services that was not known to outsiders until the discovery of the Rule Board of the Hong-men society in Quesnelle Forks at the end of the 1950s (Lyman 1977).

The Siyi Association was established in San Francisco around 1850 (Dillon 1962:81), but it soon fragmented after many people from Taishan, and some clans from Kaipng and Enping withdrew from the association, forming their own county associations, Ning Yeung and Hop Wo in the early 1850s (Dillon 1962:82, 83). Meanwhile, the Siyi association had some conflicts with other kongsis (companies) in the federation, and was declined by the Chung Wah Kongsis (Lyman 1961:247).

The dissociation of the Siyi Association with the Chung Wah Kongsi and its own fragmentation produced an opportunity for secret societies to enlarge their membership within the Chinese from the Siyi. In doing so, the secret societies gathered their members from the large single linguistic or territorial groups among Chinese immigrants from the Siyi (Lyman 1961:247). This led to the Chinese from Siyi comprising almost the entire membership of the secret societies (Culin 1890:192).

There is another possibility that the dissociation of the Siyi District within a short time period might be a continuing pattern existing in the Siyi District in south China where the secret societies were probably influential before the gold rush to the North America took place in the late 1840s. Freedman (1966) has suggested that there is a relationship between the degree of lineage and clan solidarity vis-à-vis the state and the strength of the secret societies in south China. The Chinese in the Siyi were possibly an example of such, which needs to be tested in further research.

Lyman (1977:87) maintains: 'the secret societies in rural British Columbia bound together the solidarities of clan, language, and district of origin'. This was especially true in the North Cariboo as the majority of Chinese in the North Cariboo came from the Siyi and the early arrivals came from California where the Siyi formed the main membership of the secret societies. Similar to San Francisco, the Hong-men societies recruited adherents from the major clan groups with most members coming from Kaiping and Taishan counties. For example, 113 or 79% of 143 Huang, 52 or 85.2% of 61 Chen Chinese, and 25 or 73.5% of 34 Chinese in the areas of Quesnelle Forks, Barkerville, and Stanley areas in the 1880s were members of the Hong-men

society. The attitude of these large clans towards the Hong-men society must have affected the decision making of the Chinese from other smaller clans, which resulted in 735 or 74.2% of the 986 Chinese in these areas in the 1880s to become members of the Hong-men society (Appendix VI). Apparently, the Chinese communities in these areas were controlled by the Hong-men society.

Power and Authority

The Hong-men's power and authority are partially reflected in two sets of rules and account books produced by the society and can be divided into social-political, economic, and benevolence.

Within the Chinese community the Hong-men society acted as a government on some levels and exerted political control. The mechanism was through the society meeting held by the master and counsellors and attended by all available members. Disputes and conflicts taking place within the society and in the Chinese community in general could be brought to the society meeting to receive judgment (Lyman 1964; Appendix VIII). Meanwhile, the society still considered 'overthrowing the Qing and Restoring the Ming Dynasty' its final goal, exhibiting a major interest in change relating to the socio-political climate in China. There is no evidence to suggest that the Hong-men society had an interest in participating in the political affairs of Canada on a district, provincial, or national level.

There is no evidence that the Hong-men society directly ran the gold mining, but it did have some power over the miners' activities, which affected the economy of the Chinese. The society stipulated:

Hung-men brothers who engage in gold mining must mine beyond the boundary line. Anyone who mines within the boundary line will be considered as invading private property and will be prosecuted. ...

Any members who have found good mines are limited to 100 feet for mining for each person. If both sides of the border-line are marked but the person mining has not yet had the time to go to the Land Office to register his claim, and another member, aware of this, secretly rushes to the Office to register the claim, the latter will be considered as having invaded the property of another member and will be prosecuted (Lyman et al. 1964:537, 538, Plate V, VI):

The Hong-men society also had a policy towards gambling, opium, and prostitution, the three major recreation businesses in Chinatown:

If any member makes trouble in the brothel or gambling house and if complaints have been made to the Tang, he will be brought back to the Tang for severe punishment without clemency (Lyman 1964:535 and Plate II).

Information from the Hong-men's account books indicates that all prostitutes in the 1880s were associated with the Hong-men society through being a member, but there is no evidence indicating the directly ownership by the society of brothels.

Evidence from the Barkerville Chinatown indicates that the Hong-men society operated gambling houses and probably an opium-smoking den in the society owned houses. It is also true that other institutions such as clan and territorial associations and the major Chinese stores such as the Kwong Lee Wing Kee were all engaged in gambling and they probably all sold opium as well. This is proven by the fact that a Chinese business at Quesnelle Fork operated a grocery store, opium den and gambling house (Account 231 dating to 1891).

Benevolence was one of the major concerns of the society. The Hong-men society, as mentioned earlier, established a Yi Xing Company and produced a set of rules in 1880 (Appendix VIII). The preamble states that the company was set up to meet the society's financial and residential needs. Rules explain how the company would be run and how the income would be spent. The company accumulated its funds through requiring each company member to pay one dollar per month, collected twice a year on the sixth and tenth lunar months. Funds would be spent to build and/or buy a company building. Remaining and future funds handed in would be taken care of by a reliable person or deposited in a local bank to accrue interest. Funds could also be lent upon which the society would draw interest from the loan. Funds would be used for helping sick and poor brothers by covering medical costs and in assisting old and poor members with traveling expenses for returning to China. The funds would be also be expended for court costs, for example, the meetings held by the society to deal with conflicts that took place in the Chinese community (Account 231).

The Hong-men's account books indicate that they not only spoke about mutual assistance for members, but also practiced it. In the winter of 1885, for example, Cui Zhao (崔兆) was caught in an unexpected big snowstorm on the way from Williams Creek (Richfield) to Keithley and his feet froze. The Hong-men society in Quesnelle Forks helped Cui Zhao with the expenses associated with medicine and food by sponsoring a donation drive (HM 980.413.23, 24) (Figure 95). The Quesnelle Forks group also collected funds to prepare their brother Zhong Pan's grave, in 1908 (HM 980. 980.413.19). Moreover, members of the Society who were 60 years and older were not required to hand in money for participating in festivals and other events (Figure 96).

In each Chinatown, the Hong-men society had a hotel for its members who were recent arrivals to the area and for those who spent time in town during the long winter. The society in

Barkerville had a 'hospital' where their sick brothers could stay [Hong 1978:191; *Town Site Map of Barkerville* (1970)]. They would look after brothers who were old, poor, or sick. 'When a sick member is in good health and started working again, medical expenses paid by the T'ang must be refunded or shared by members through donation in order to keep the society funds in a good balance (Lyman 194:538; Plate VI).

In addition to local mutual services, the society was involved in raising funds for their brothers outside of the North Cariboo. In 1890, for example, the societies in the North Cariboo made donations towards the cost of shipping the bones of Zhen Zhang-zhao, master of the Victoria Chih Kung T'ang, and his son Zhen Yong-yan, back to China (HM 980.291.29).

To those Chinese who had no family and were far away from home, this help and associated services were obviously important. It was probably one of the main features that attracted many Chinese to the Hong-men society. This, in turn, enhanced the Hong-men society's leading position in the Chinese communities.

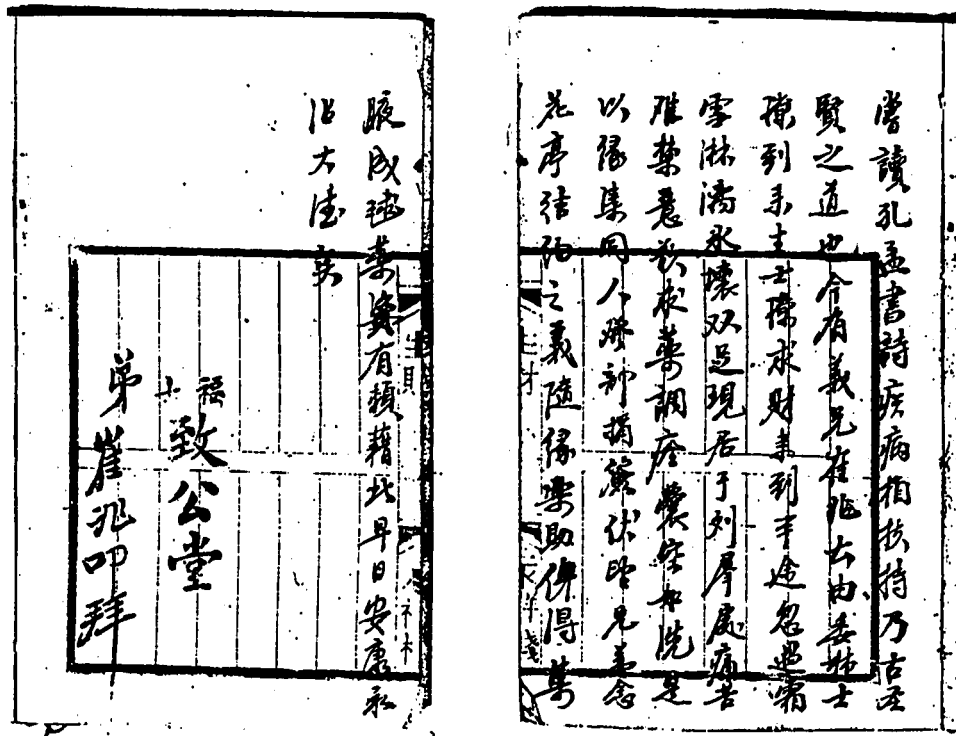


Figure 95. An appeal from the Chih Kung T'ang in Quesnelle Forks for donation to Cui Zhao (HM 980.413.24) dating around 1884.

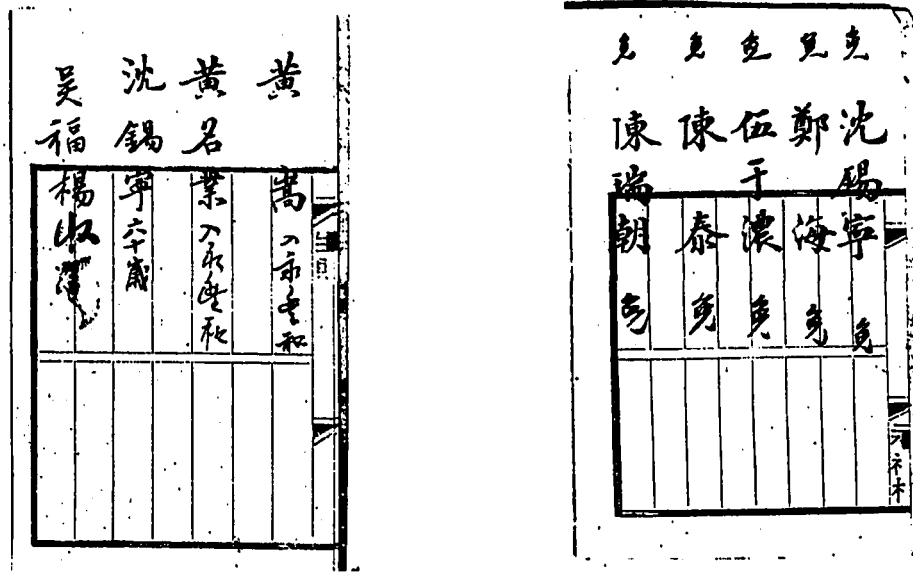


Figure 96. Two pages of record made by the Chih Kung T'ang society in the Quesnelle Forks. (Left) page 4 in account book 980.410.5 records names of four individuals who registered for participating in the Five-founder Festival in 1889. The third person, Shen Xi-ning, from right is marked with '60 years old'. (Right) page 2 in account 980.410.6 records names of Shen Xi-ning and four other seniors who registered for participating in the Five-founder Festival in 1890, and were waived from payment.

Chinese Community in the Quesnel Area

As mentioned earlier, the Chinese society in this area consisted of one large clan of Chows (203 out of 381), five medium clans with an average of 17 in each, and 41 smaller ones with an average of two in each (Table 55).

Table 55: Distribution of clanship and Hong-men membership in the Quesnel area in the 1880s

CLAN	N	%	Y	%	TOTAL	%
1. Chow	193	95.1	10	4.9	203	100.0
2. Huang	21	72.4	8	27.6	29	100.0
3. Xie	25	100.0	0	0.0	25	100.0
4. Chen	8	61.5	5	38.5	13	100.0
5. Liu	9	81.8	2	18.2	11	100.0
6. Liang	3	37.5	5	62.5	8	100.0
41 S. clans	44	47.8	48	52.2	92	100.0
Total	303	79.5	78	20.5	381	-

Note:

1. 'S clans' means small clans.
2. '[']' refers to people without surname information.

The Chow clan, as described earlier, came primarily from Kaiping County, possible from a large village or a few nearby villages in a specific area of the county. The majority, 193 or 95.1% of the 203 Chow Chinese did not join the Hong-men society.

A comparison between the Hong-men account books and the CCBA files indicates that the majority of the Chow clan were not members of the Hong-men society. The Chow clan was the largest in Quesnel and that may be the reason why the majority (79.5%) were not Hong-men members, as they may have rejected the Hong-men, collectively. The reasons for the Chow clan's negative attitude to the Hong-men society might have deep historical roots that may have formed in California or in Kaiping County, where the clan originated. In southeastern China, some clans prohibited members from associating with or developing secret societies (Liu Hui-Chen 1959:175).

There is no direct information about the leading society in the Chinese community in the Quesnel. However, it is reasonable to believe that the Chow clan association would have been the dominant society and merchants from the Chow clan would form the core of that group. In this area, the Hong-men society was barely a visible institution.

Conclusion

Social institutions and their positions in Chinese communities are examined with a focus on Quesnelle Forks, Barkerville, and Stanley. Archival evidence indicates that the Chinese population in these areas were mostly comprised of people from the Siyi District. Early arrivals from California were familiar with secret societies in which the Hong-men were dominated by Siyi people. A similar political pattern continued in the North Cariboo and constituted a dominance of the Hong-men in all three areas with Barkerville as the headquarters. In these areas, Hong-men societies exercised their power in social, political, economic and recreational aspects of the community, based on two sets of society rules that were developed in the North Cariboo.

Three other institutions: clans, brotherhoods, and territorial associations appear to have only developed in the Barkerville and Stanley areas, but at a much later time than the Hong-men society. There is no evidence that any of these associations had ever been able to challenge the Hong-men society's authority.

In the Quesnel area, more than a half of the Chinese population was from the Chow clan with the majority from one county, Kaiping. Most Chow clan members were not members of the Hong-men society and this appears to have affected other non-Chow Chinese's attitude towards

the Hong-men society. As a result, the majority of the Chinese in the area were not members of the society. Apparently, the Chow clan was a powerful institution in the Chinese community in the area.

Chapter 9 Full Development Period (1870s-1910s) (IV) Community Life

Introduction

This chapter examines how Chinese communities were maintained through various social and cultural activities reflected in archival and field data. Four types of activities are identified. The first are celebrations of traditional Chinese festivals, with each held once a year and participated in by all Chinese. The second are various ceremonies held by the Hong-men society. They were either yearly events or events occasioned by the need of particular ceremonies and attended by all members of the Hong-men society. The third involves various charity events such as donations for people who need help or for funerals of deceased fellow Chinese. The last are in the general category of leisure pursuits that happened almost on a daily basis, consisting mainly of gambling, prostitution and opium smoking. They increased significantly in the wintertime when mining generally did not occur. The Hong-men society, clan associations, and owners of the major Chinese stores and large Fangkou households were presumably all involved in sponsoring or hosting these activities.

These activities possibly consumed all the spare time of the Chinese miners, limiting the opportunity for them to communicate with the dominant society. In turn, they reinforced Chinese identity socially, politically and culturally, further strengthening the Chinese community.

Evidence from archaeological data and archival sources suggests that the Chinese communities in the North Cariboo were maintained with four categories of social activities.

Traditional Festivals

There are nine major traditional festivals in China, dividable into two categories, those centred on the family and ancestors and those devoted to the gods (Table 56)

\Table 56: A list of nine major traditional festivals in China (based on Zeng et al. 1998)

NAME	NAME	DATE (LUNAR CALENDAR)	NATURE
New Year	春 節	The 1st day of the 1st lunar month	Celebrating festival
Yuan Xiao	元 宵 節	The 15th day of the 1st lunar month	Celebrating festival
Qing Ming	清 明 節	The 5th day of the 4th lunar month	Offering sacrifices to gods, ancestors, etc.
Duan Wu	端 午 節	The 5th day of the 5th lunar month	Celebrating festival Commemorating festival
Yu Lan	盂 蘭 節	The 15th day of the 7th lunar month	Offering sacrifices to gods, ancestors, etc
Zhong Qiu	中 秋 節	The 15th day of the 8th lunar month	Celebrating festival
Chong Yang	重 陽 節	The 9th day of the 9th lunar month	Celebrating festival
La Ba	臘 八 節	The 8th day of the 12th lunar month December	Offering sacrifices to gods, ancestors, etc
Ji Zao Jie	祭 灶 節	The 24th of the 12th lunar month	Offering sacrifices to gods, ancestors, etc

The Chinese New Year, also called the Spring Festival, is held on the first day of the first lunar month of the year. This is the most important festival to the Chinese. It starts on the eve of New Year and lasts till the 3rd or 4th day of the New Year. It involves a series of activities before and during the festival such as house cleaning, decorating houses with New Year scrolls and pictures, having elaborate feasts, setting off firecrackers, paying a new year call to one another, worshipping the wealth god, playing lion dance, and adults' giving money to children. Eating is one of major activities and the most elegant and important meal is the one given on the eve of New Year eve, which is called family reunion dinner.

The Yuan Xiao, also called Shang Yuan (上元) festival, takes place on the 15th day of the 1st Lunar month, which is the first day in a year when the moon turns to round. This day is also believed to be the birthday of the heaven god Yu Di (天官玉帝) who grants people happiness. This is one of five major celebrating festivals in China. During the day, people admire lanterns, solve lantern riddles, and eat yuan xiao (sweet dumplings made of glutinous rice flour).

The Qing Ming, one of four major events commemorating the dead and offering sacrifices to the ancestors, is on the 4th or 5th day of the 4th month in the Chinese lunar calendar. People are supposed to visit their dead ancestors, family members and friends, weed and clean the tombs and offer sacrifices. During the festival, there is also a special feast at home.

The Duan Wu festival is on the 5th day of the 5th month in the Chinese Lunar calendar. There are various stories about the origin of this festival, with the most popular affirming that it is in commemoration of Qu Yuan (ca. 342-277 B.C.), a famous poet and patriot of the Chu kingdom, who drowned himself on the 5th day of the 5th month of 277 B.C. The main attraction

of this festival is the dragon-boat race, with the stated purpose of dredging for the dead body of the poet. During the day, people eat Zongzi, a pyramid-shaped dumpling made of glutinous rice wrapped in bamboo or reed leaves, so that they will spare the body.

The Yu Lan Festival, also called Zhong Yuan (中元) or Ghost festival (鬼節), is on the 15th day of the 7th month in the Chinese lunar calendar. It is one of four major festivals for offering sacrifices to gods and ancestors but it is also the date for dispersing ghosts and expiating the sins of the dead. The festival involves various activities, such as burning fake money, sending river lanterns, grave visiting, and having special dinners.

The Zhong Qiu (Mid-autumn) festival is one of the five major celebrations in China. It happens on the 15th day of the 8th lunar month of the Chinese lunar calendar when the moon is seen most clearly from earth. This is another important occasion for family reunion. It is characterized with family's having a sumptuous dinner, admiring the moon, and sharing moon cakes.

The Chong Yang festival is on the 9th day of the 9th month in the Chinese lunar calendar. As winter is coming, it is supposed to be the last day of the year when the sky is free from overcast and the weather is still pleasant. Outdoor activities are the feature of this festival. Just like the first day of the spring, Qing Ming, when people are called to trample on the green or Ta Qing, to visit their deceased families, Chong Yang is the day when travellers are encouraged to climb up hills to look into the distance for far away families and friends, wearing a special plant called Zhu Yu (茱萸). They will feast by the side of chrysanthemums whose dead flowers cling to the stalk, like their own clinging feeling for home. A special alcohol containing realgar is also drunk on the day to warn off bad spirits and disasters.

The La Ba, one of four major festivals for offering sacrifices to gods and ancestors, is on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. This festival is also the time for dispersing ghosts. During the festival, people eat a special gruel called La Ba Zhou (臘八粥), gruel made of rice, millet, bean, water chestnuts, sunflower-seeds, almonds, peanuts, and pine nuts.

The Ji Zao festival takes place on the 24th day of the 12th lunar month. It is a commemorative festival devoted to the kitchen god Zao Wang Ye (灶王爺), who is symbolized by his picture hung above the kitchen stove. A bizarre tradition is the farewell given in his honour for the year-end trip he is supposed to make to the heaven god Yu Di (玉帝) to report on the household's behaviour during the year. Because one cannot be sure what the kitchen god has found out about the family during his reign, honey, glutinous sweets, and alcohol are handed out for his benefit. People hope that the sweets will make Zao Wang Ye's mouth sticky and alcohol will make him drunk so that he won't be able to speak ill of them in front of the heaven god.

All these festivities give us a glimpse into the core of the Chinese soul. A most important theme of these festivities revolves around the family. Six of the nine festivals listed are centred on family values and ancestor worship. Duan Wu illustrates that the Chinese value intellect, but need serious encouragement to show respect for their gods. The only god with a festival truly devoted to him is the kitchen god. But, in this case, cheating is the rule. This is a sharp contrast to the deeply religious Christian tradition, with major festivals associated with religious events from Bible.

Archival sources reveal that the Chinese in the North Cariboo held at least five of fore mentioned festivals: New Year, Qing Ming, Duan Wu, Yu Lan, and Chong Yang. In China, celebrations were mostly family based. In the North Cariboo, where most Chinese were without family, these activities were held by the Hong-men society, clan and/or other association, and Fangkou household heads, most of whom were merchants in the major Chinese stores.

Records in the Hong-men account books reveal that the Hong-men held celebrations for the New Year, Duan Wu, and Chong Yang festival during this period (Appendix IV). The society would admit new members on the day of Duan Wu, while memorizing Wan Yun-long, one of the founders of the Hong-men society during Chong Yang (Appendix IV).

Information regarding these activities derives primarily from this period (1876 to 1910), but the celebrations were most likely conducted by the Chinese from the very beginning. The *Cariboo Sentinel* reported on February 12, 1869:

The celestial population have been having a gay time this week celebrating their New Year, which was inaugurated on Tuesday night with firing an unlimited quantity of crackers, and kept up for the next two days with much noise and festivity, and a plentiful consumption of pork, chickens, Chinese nondescript luxuries, old Tom and 'blandy'.

Information from non-Hong-men society account books indicates that as far as the Chinese existed as a community, celebrations of these festivals continued (Appendix IV). In 1942, for example, the Chinese community in Barkerville celebrated the Duan Wu, Yu Lan, and Chong Yang festivals in the form of feasts (Chinese account book B20.1.E1.2; B20.1.E2.2; B20.1.E3.1). Held on a regular basis, these festivals were one of most important social activities in the Chinese community, joined the Chinese to the different establishments that sponsored these festivals.

Society Ceremonies

Ceremonies of various kinds were held by specific societies, clans, and groups once or several times a year depending on the nature of the activity. The only available information comes from the Hong-men account books, which reveal that the society held five different ceremonies between 1876 and 1910 (Table 57).

Table 57: Within-society activities recorded in the Hong-men's account books

TYPE	DATE
Five-ancestor Festival	The 25th day of the 7th lunar month
Wan Yun-long Festival	The 9th day of the 9th lunar month (Chong Yang)
New Member Admitting	-
Flag Raising	-
Installation of Guan Gong Statue	-

Wan Yun-long (also known as Wan Wu Da Zong) and five-ancestors, as discussed in Chapter 3, were the main founders of the Hong-men society (Hu 1996:104-110). They have been worshiped by all branches of the society since the early 18th century. According to Hu (1996: 110-111), the society was established on the 25th day of the seventh lunar month, year Jia Yin (1674). Records in the Hong-men account books indicate that the Hong-men societies in the North Cariboo took this date to commemorate the five founders (Appendix IV).

The Hong-men society admitted new members several times each year and there were no fixed dates for the associated festival.

The Flag Raising festival and the installation of Guang Gong's statue were only recorded once in the Hong-men account books and they do not seem to have been a regular activity compared with other activities.

Details of these four ceremonies are unclear, but it is known that they all involved a feast with attendants sharing the cost. For example, during the Five-founders Festival held in Barkerville, in 1885, 181 members of the Hong-men society attended the ceremony and donated a total of \$323.25. \$300.59 was spent for purchasing various goods including one whole pig, some beef, a sack of rice, ten chickens, and vegetables in Chinese stores and restaurants in the Barkerville and Stanley areas (HM 980.291.14).

Charitable Activities

Fund raising for charity was a major concern of the Chinese societies at that time. This consisted of various donations to both living and deceased fellow Chinese. To the living,

donations were sought to help them deal with temporary difficulties. To the deceased, funeral cost, tomb maintenance and shipping bones back to China would all be the society's expense (HM 980.413.19; Hong 1978:69-72).

Donation was important to all of the Chinese. Living in the harsh mining community, danger was a constant threat that everyone was subject to and for which the primary, if not the sole source of help, was the society or association to which they belonged. The society's treasury acted as a pool of funds, which could be redirected as donations to various destinations.

Records in the Hong-men account books and Hong's 1978 book recorded donations to its members for various reasons. In the winter of 1885, for example, the Hong-members in Quesnelle Forks donated to Brother Cui Zhao who got frostbite on his feet on his journey from Williams Creek (Richfield) (980.413.23; 24). Around 1920, Chinese, as well as some non-Chinese in the Barkerville and Stanley areas, donated to Low Shong Howe, who was over 80 at that time, for his fare back to China. The donation covered not only the ticket but also the cost for Low to re-establish himself in Hong Kong (1978:66-67).

Apart from the New Year celebration, funerals were probably the most important event that characterized the Chinese community. The earliest recorded death of a Chinese immigrant was in 1866 when a Chinese died in Barkerville (*Cariboo Sentinel* July 19, 1866). That probably started the practice of Chinese funerals in the study area. The *Cariboo Sentinel* reported a funeral held by the Chinese in Barkerville on August 16, 1872:

Yesterday afternoon our Canton neighbours had a grand celebration in the rear of the Chinese Restaurant in the upper part of Barkerville. An immense lot of firecrackers were set off and a collation in the shape of roast pig and other Celestial delicacies was spread in the open air. Drums were beaten, gongs sounded and cymbals clashed, genuflexions and prostrations ... were indulged in, the air resounded with discordant noise and was permeated with the smell of sulphur and other Celestial odors. The cause of all this excitement was variously stated. ... Our own impression was that the feast was in celebration of the memory of some great luminary, now dead; that the edibles were provided for the purpose of assisting him on his way to some Paradise, where flowers abounded and Celestial beauties luxuriated. That the drums were beaten, the cymbals clashed, and the gong sounded for the purpose of calling the magnate's attention to the sumptuous provision that had been made for his assistance in another world, but that for some reason unknown to us, that distinguished inhabitant of the spirit-world would not availing himself to the kind invitation of his friends on earth, they considered they had performed their duty, and accordingly took advantages of the same feast which they had provided for their friend in the other world, to prolong their own life in this.

The Hong-men account books recorded 21 funerals, which were held by the society for its 22 deceased members between 1887 and 1910. There are records of 19 funerals in Quesnelle Forks, two in Barkerville, and one possibly in Stanley (Appendix V). All available members attended and shared the cost of the funerals. Each funeral involved consumption of a large

amount of food and beverages served to both dead and living. For example, a Chinese named Guan Wu-xu (關戊戌) died in Quesnelle Forks in 1889. A total of 130 Hong-men members attended the funeral and donated a total of \$130. \$109.28 was spent for purchasing goods, including one pig, some pork, three chickens, vegetables, rice, and firewood, as well as payments for three kitchen workers (HM 980.412.5). Two historical photographs record an on-street funeral by the Hong-men society for two nameless deceased brothers in Barkerville (Figure 97). Apparently, such occasions served as a bonding element to the Chinese community, enhancing the Chinese identity.

The three types of activities discussed above share one thing in common, namely, consumption of food and beverages. In the Quesnelle Forks, Barkerville, and Stanley, Hong-men societies are known to have sponsored most of these activities. In doing so, the Chih Kung T'ang building in each Chinatown was the main place where these activities took place. This can be seen in both historical photographs and archaeological data.

An early photograph taken in the 1910s shows leftover food on several tables, which were laid on the main street in front of the Chih Kung T'ang society's main hall building, suggesting a feast had taken place (Figure 98). The 1993 excavation at the Chih Kung T'ang site recovered 3,410 artifacts in the 36 square meters of excavation area, each square meter containing an average of 95 items. Among these 3,410 artifacts 2,587 or 75.9% were food or alcohol consumption related. Such a high density of artifacts related to food and alcohol consumption would have come at least partially from feasts taking place during the above-mentioned activities.



Figure 97. Funerals held in the Chinatown at Barkerville. (Above) a funeral held around 1880 [BCPA-09552. Date was inferred by Hong (1978:710)]. (Bottom) a funeral held prior to 1911 (BC Archive C 1999 P-1406).



Figure 98. Left over food on tables in front of the Chih Kung T'ang main hall building in Barkerville (ca. 1910) (British Columbia Archives C-09659).

Daily Activities

In addition to the celebration of traditional festivals and society ceremonies that took place either once or a few times a year, the Chinese social life consisted of three major activities, gambling, prostitution and opium smoking.

Gambling

Chinese started gambling business in Victoria in 1861 at the latest (*Colonist* 01/11/1861). In the North Cariboo, it might have developed in the late 1860s, but the earliest documentary record comes from the *Cariboo Sentinel* on May 13, 1867:

The Chinese are passionately addicted to gambling, and the endless variety of games of chance in common use among them does credit to their ingenuity and invention, for it is not likely that they learned anything from their neighbours. The respectable merchants, who devote the hours of daylight assiduously to his business, sparing no labour in adjusting the most trifling items of account, will win or lose thousands of dollars overnight, with improbable complacency. Every grade of society is imbued with the passion.

...

In games of skill, the Chinese are no less completed. Dominoes, draughts, chess, and such-like, are to be seen in full swing at every teahouse, where the people repair to gossip and while away the evening. The little groups one sees in these places exhibit intense interest in their occupation; the victory is celebrated by the childlike exultation of the winner, and any pair of Chinese draught-players may have sat for Wilkie's celebrated picture.

Distribution of gambling dens

The *Town Site Map of Barkerville* (1970) indicates that Chih Kung T'ang house (84A) was used for gambling purposes. Gambling related artifacts were found in the Chih Kung T'ang building (Figure 99). The excavation underneath the building recovered gambling related artifacts from stratum II to VI, indicating the existence of continuing gambling activity in the building between the late 1870s to the 1930s. Gambling related objects used by the Chinese were also found in the hands of local collectors (Figure 100). An initial identification of these artifacts indicates that fan-tan, dominos, and playing cards were the three major games played by Chinese gamblers.

The author's recent work on wallpaper recovered in the Chih Kung T'ang house (84A) provides more information about the activity. Among the 15 wallpaper samples, sample 1 and 2 are from the main hall downstairs in the main structure (84A1). Sample 1 was taken from the left portion of the south wall of the main hall. It consists of 16 layers, which were put up on the wall during four periods, the late 1870s, the 1880s, 1890s, and 1900s (Chen 2001). Gambling rules and gambling related slogans and bills are found in eight layers, belonging to the later three periods respectively. Nine bills, for example, are pasted on layer 11 of the sample. They were produced by a gambling house named Chang Sheng (長勝館), and four Chinese stores named Kwong Lee Wing Kee (廣利榮記), Li Rui-lin (黎瑞林), Tai Li (泰利), and He Li (和利), in 1895. Another gambling rule written by a gambling house called Chuang (?) Li [創(?)利廠] was found on layer 5 dating to the 1890s (Chen 2001; Appendix IV of this thesis).

Sample 2, another example, was taken from the left portion of the north wall in the main hall. Again, it consists of 12 layers put up during the four periods as mentioned above for sample 1. Gambling rules and gambling related slogans and bills are found in eight layers, placed on the walls one after another between the late 1870s and the 1900s (Figure 101, 102). Gambling rules were produced by gambling houses called Chang Sheng (長勝館), Chuan (?) Li [(創?)利廠], and Jiu Li Chang (就利廠) (Figure 103). In addition, a cloth slogan bearing 'Yong He Chang (永和廠) was found in a bedroom (84A3) on the main floor in the main structure in 1991 (Chen 1992). It is felt to be the name of another gambling house (Chen 1992).

The recovery of these items indicates that the main hall downstairs of the main structure of the Chih Kung T'ang building was run as a gambling house under different names, Chang Sheng, Jian Le, Jiu Li, and probably Yong He respectively from the late 1870s to the 1900s.

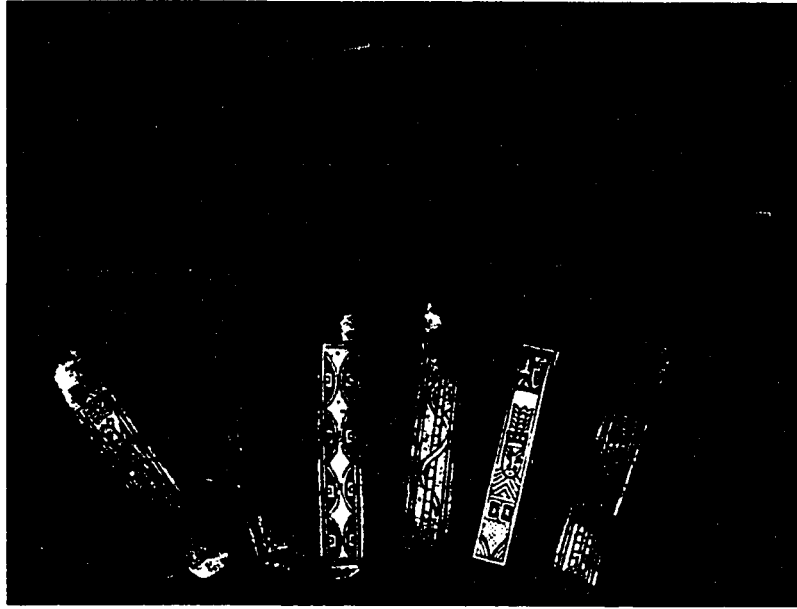


Figure 99. Artifacts related to gambling recovered in the Chih Kung T'ang building in Barkerville.

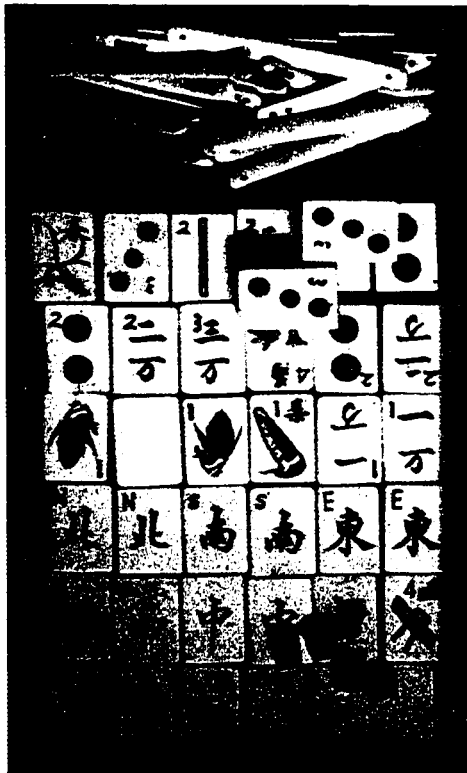


Figure 100. A set of mahjong left by the Chinese who once lived in the Barkerville-Stanley area (Ray Blaine's personal collection).



Figure 101. Scrolls regarding gambling recovered in wallpaper layer dating the 1890s on the north wall of the main hall, the Chih Kung T'ang building in Barkerville.

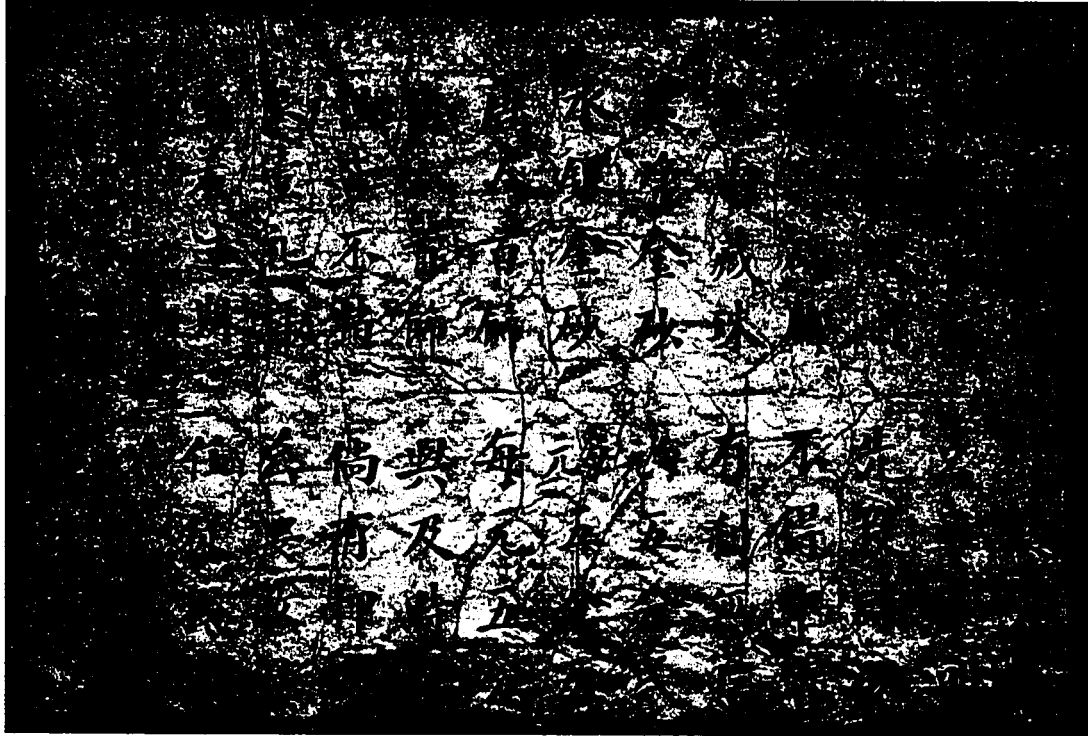


Figure 102. A gambling rule (84WP 217) made by a name unknown gambling den around the early 1890s (recovered in wallpaper on the north wall of the main hall, the Chih Kung T'ang building at Barkerville).

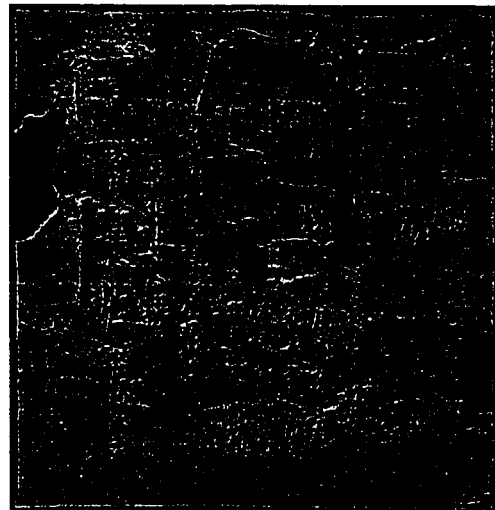


Figure 103. Two documents recovered in wallpaper on the north wall of the main hall, the Chih Kung T'ang building at Barkerville). (Left) a gambling rule (84WP 151) made by the Jiu Li (就利) gambling den around the 1900s (Left) (Right) a bill (84WP 60) produced by the Chang Sheng (長勝) gambling den in 1895.

In addition to the Chih Kung Tang building, the *Townsite Map of Barkerville* (1970) marks five other structures either used or partially used as gambling houses by various institutions and stores:

East side of the Main Street:

Lot 66-The Zeng Cheng Company, a county association, ran a grocery store and gambling house.

Lot 67-The Yu Shu Tang, the Xie clan association, ran a gambling business.

Lot 74-A gambling house called Le Le Guan.

West side of the Main Street:

Lot 14-Wo Lee (He Li) store ran both a store and gambling house.

Lot 15-Kwong Lee Wing Kee ran both a store and gambling house (Figure 56).

Gambling related items such as fan tan beads were found on lot 7 (Irvine and Montgomery 1983:129). As mentioned earlier, the Kwong Sang Wing store and Kwong Chow association shared this lot between 1902 and 1915. This suggests that either one or both have operated gambling businesses.

A scroll of rules of mah-jong and a gambling-related slogans were also found on the interior wall of the Ming Yee Tong Association building on lot 10, suggesting that the Ming Yee Tong was also engaged in a gambling business. In addition, gambling services were provided in brothels discussed below.

Gambling houses also provided services at Chinese quarters in large camps where there were no permanent facilities. Gaming could last as long as a few days in one camp before shifting to another camp (Hong 1978:185).

In addition, some Chinese stores sold lottery tickets to those who did not want to spend time on the gambling table but also hoped for large winnings (Hong 1978:189). The origin of the lottery has remained unknown. In North America, it seems to have developed in California first and then was brought by the Chinese to the North Cariboo. On December 10, 1870, the *Cariboo Sentinel* reports that three Chinese, Ching Sing, Chisng Dong and Ah Tie, were accused of keeping a lottery house in Barkerville. A court hearing did not take place until January 14, 1871. According to the report of the hearing by the same source, it is know that the lottery house in Barkerville had some relation to the similar institutions in California.

Known as 'White Pigeon Ticket (白鴿票)', the lottery was played using Chinese characters instead of numbers popularly used in Western lotteries (Lee 67:105; Lin 2001 pers. com.). Such a unique ticket was created through borrowing the 80 Chinese characters on the first page of *Qian Zi Wen* (One Thousand Chinese Characters) (千字文), a children's Chinese textbook created in

the late sixth century. These 80 characters were printed on a square-shaped Xuan paper in red, green, or blue colour that suggests different printing sources in south China. In his book, 'Pigtails and Gold Rush', Alexander McLeod (1948:160b, 167-170) illustrates a ticket found in the San Francisco Chinatown and further explained how the lottery was played (Figure 105). Tickets of a similar kind were found on the floor and in the wallpaper on the Chih Kung T'ang building (84), Barkerville (Chen 1992 and 2001) (Figure 106). Some tickets had printing information, indicating that they were printed in Fushan (佛山), a city in west of Guangzhou, the capital of Guangdong Province (Chen 1992:130).

Evidence listed above indicates almost all institutions and major stores in the Barkerville Chinatown were engaged in gambling. The pattern seen in Barkerville area also existed in other areas of the North Cariboo. For example, the *Town Site Map of Stanley* (1970) marks four gambling houses (Figure 78). Another example, account book 231, was produced by a Chinese business in Quesnelle Forks between 1890 and 1891 (Appendix IV). It reveals that the business sold meat, lent money, and provided services of gambling and opium smoking. It is quite possible that mixing gambling and other business was a common pattern shared with other Chinese stores in Quenelle Forks and other Chinatowns in the North Cariboo.

Thirty-four bills were recovered from the wallpaper in the Chih Kung T'ang building at Barkerville, of which 33 were from samples in the main hall (84A1) of the main structure of the building. These bills provided the names of people who owed gambling debts between the late 1870s and 1890s (Chen 2001:Appendix IV). They reveal that in addition to men, women were also involved in gambling (Figure 104). Hong (1978:91, 183) mentioned Chinese miners were willing to walk several miles into town from the mining camps in order to gamble after work. They would gamble till midnight and then walk back to camp early the next morning.

Social indication

Gambling works only when it is involved by a group of people. It is, therefore, a group or social event. Historically one could find it in almost every Chinese business and Society houses in large Chinese settlements. It was, therefore, a highly important social activity. Lyman (1961:329) argues:

Gambling and prostitution held a special attraction for Chinese males. In no other activity open to them at this time could Chinese labourers achieve a name for themselves on the basis of individual performance. ... But in the gambling den or the brothel he discovered for himself or demonstrated to others his personal luck or his own individual talent. In the brothel not only could he judge himself and be judged by others on the basis of his own performances, but he could even win a real sign of personal worth. A particular girl might become so attracted to him that he could have her as his own

concubine and purchase her freedom if he so desired. In short, the Chinese labourer entered the 'dens of iniquity' as an individual, and perhaps only in these places was it possible for him to obtain a sense of his personal worth.

To the social establishments such as the Chih Kung T'ang society and other associations, gambling also served as a means to achieve social cohesion.

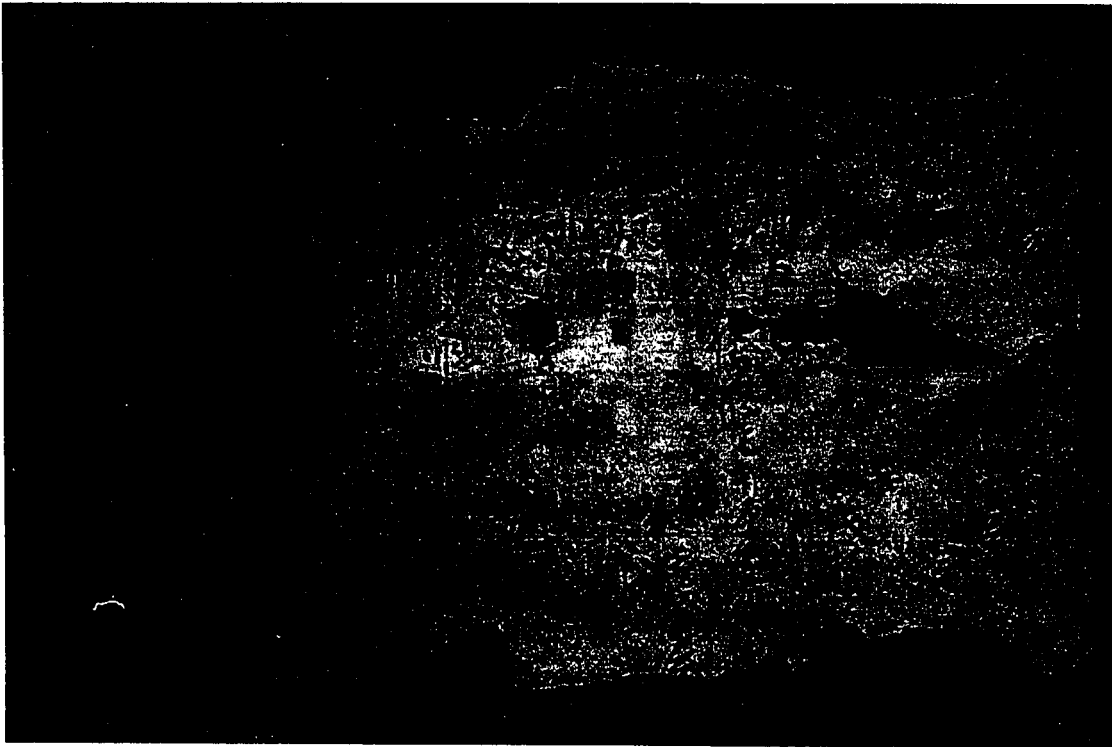


Figure 104. A fragment of a bill (84WP 794) recovered in wallpaper pasted on the south wall of the main hall, the Chih Kung T'ang building in Barkerville. The bill was made by a gambling house in the late 1870s. It says that on the evening of the 27th ... seven people including a female named Jin Feng (金鳳) owed for their gambling.



Figure 105. A used lottery ticket found in San Francisco. The stamp on the ticket reads: 'He He November, 28, 1940' (after McLeod 1948:160b).



Figure 106. One of unused lottery tickets recovered in the Chih Kuntg T'ang house at Barkerville in 1991.

Prostitution

Prostitution was another business drawing the lonely Chinese males to the various centres of their community. In California, the Hip Ye Tong (協義堂), one of the major secret societies in San Francisco's Chinatown, was recognised to be the one that started prostitution in 1854. It was soon followed by other societies. In China, young women were brought on board ships bound for North America by three major means: lies, kidnapping and indentures. After arriving in San Francisco, some girls were kept in society-owned brothels while many others were sold to non-society-owned brothel keepers in Chinatown and other major Chinese settlements throughout California. Contracts were made between the women and brothel keepers who purchased them. Contracts seized by police or acquired by missionaries reveal that these women had to serve four to five years in return for the cost of passage and were paid a small stipend after the indenture period expired (Gibson 1877:139, 140). For more detail about this, see works of McLeod (1948:171-186), Lyman (1961:320-333), and Dillon (1962:223-239).

According to Lee (1967:106), prostitution in the Chinese societies in Canada started in the early 1860s and grew rapidly in the early 1880s. In the North Cariboo, it probably started in the late 1860s but there is no documentary record until 1871 when the 1871 *BC Guide* reports that there were several brothels in Barkerville's Chinatown. A year later, the *Cariboo Sentinel* (August 10, 1872) reported:

We understand that a Celestial lady from the Flowery Kingdom changed hands during the week in Barkerville at the handsome figure of \$7,000. It is said that the lady, who is a votary of the Cyprian goddess, feels highly elated that her entrancing charms and wonderful fascinations should have realised such a satisfactorily price. ...

The florid sentence is a meagre attempt to disguise the cruel fact that a woman could be bought and sold for a price. It is very probable that women were imported to the North Cariboo under a similar system as observed in San Francisco and that it could have started in the late 1860s. Accordingly, the business of brothels was most likely to have been in existence in the area at least by the late 1860s.

The *Canada Census 1881*, the *Report of Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration, Report and Evidence 1885* (RRCCIRE), the Hong-men account books, and CCBA files dating to the 1880s reported the number of Chinese females in the North Cariboo in the 1880s in conflicting terms (Table 58).

Table 58: Figures of adult females seen in the English and Chinese sources dating to the 1880s

SOURCE	CENSUS (1881)		RRCCIRE (1885)		HM ACCOUNTS & CCBA FILES (1880s)	
	Qty.	Occupation	Qty.	Occupation	Qty.	Occupation
Barkerville	13	8 married, 2 washwomen, 5 unknown	11	3 married, 8 prostitutes	10	Prostitute?
Stanley	↑ ₁	-	-	-	2	Prostitute?
Quesnelle Forks	12	2 married, 10 unknown	2	Prostitutes	5	Prostitute?
Quesnel	7	5 married, 2 washwomen	2	Prostitutes	-	Prostitute?
Chist Creek ₂	-	-	4	Prostitutes	-	Prostitute?
Total	32	-	19	-	17	Prostitute?

Note:

1: In the 1881 Census the area of Stanley was considered part of the Barkerville area.

2: The specific location of the Chist Creek in the North Cariboo has not been found.

The 1881 census recorded 32 adult Chinese females. Among these 32 females, 17 had marital status the rest had occupations that are not known and were most likely prostitutes. The *Report of Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration* (1885) recorded 19 female Chinese adults, 16 of which were clearly recorded as prostitutes. The Hong-men account books and CCBA file recorded 17 names of adult Chinese females. These 17 females were most likely prostitutes by occupation. As mentioned in Chapter 2 of this thesis, such an inference is based on two facts: firstly, none of these female names occurred regularly under one male's name, suggesting that none of them were really married to the men they were living with. Secondly, all these females, except one, registered themselves without full names. Even their given names were probably only their prostitute names. The reason for these women to hide their true name is obvious: they did not want to bring shame to their families and clans in China (Table 59).

Table 59: Names of 17 women who were in the North Cariboo in the 1880s
(based on the Hong-men account books and CCBA file dating 1880s)

TOWN	SUR NAME	IST NAME	SUR	IST NAMEI	TIME PERIOD
Barkerville	?	Ah Cai	-	阿彩	1884
Barkerville	?	Cai-jin	-	彩金	1885
Barkerville	?	Dai-xi	-	帶喜	1884-90
Barkerville	?	Dai-yin	-	帶銀	1885-90
Barkerville	?	Gui-jin	-	桂金	1885-88
Barkerville	?	Gui-rong	-	桂容	1884-87
Barkerville	?	Jin-feng	-	金鳳	1885-90
Barkerville	?	Shuang-ke	-	雙可	1885
Barkerville	?	Xi3-cai	-	喜彩	1884-87
Barkerville	?	Yin-feng	-	銀鳳	1877-91
Stanley	?	Gui-feng	-	桂鳳	1884
Stanley	Wang ₁	You-jin	王	有金	1886-95
Quesnelle Forks	?	Lian-you	-	連有	1886-90
Quesnelle Forks	?	Sheng-jin	-	勝金	1884-95
Quesnelle Forks	?	Wan-hao	-	玩好	1886
Quesnelle Forks	?	Dai-cai	-	帶彩	1870-01 ₂
Quesnel (?)	?	Gui-you	-	桂有	1886 (?)

Note: 1. The name of You Jin is recorded in both the Hong-men's account books and the CCBA files but her surname of Wang is only seen in the CCBA file.

2. The time period of Dai Cai is drawn based on information in Census 1881, 1891, and 1901.

The 17 women identified in the Hong-men account books matches the number of unmarried women recorded in the 1881 census and is close in number to the 16 prostitutes recorded in the 1885 *Report of Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration*. It should be noted that the distribution of these prostitutes in the district were recorded differently in the three sources. Therefore, it is safe to assume that there were 17, more or less, prostitutes in the North Cariboo in the 1880s. The ratio between these 17 prostitutes and 1,377 Chinese male adults is 1 for every 81 men.

Rare as treasures, these women's favours were coveted and fought for by the Chinese men. Hong (1978:168) mentions:

It was common place for one woman to serve several men, each of whom was continually trying to establish prior right to her affections.

The fact that the Hong-men society instituted a severe code of punishment for people who caused trouble in brothels and gambling houses (Lyman et al. 1964:535, Plate II) suggests that fights were not an infrequent occurrence in such establishments. Between 1865 and 1872, for example, the *Cariboo Sentinel* reported nine violent cases that resulted in severe physical injury

or death for either the men or prostitutes, in Barkerville Chinatown. Four of these incidents either took place in brothels or brothel-like houses. One of these cases occurred on December 17, 1870, in which a Chinese male, Chong Lee, stabbed two Chinese males in a house where a prostitute and one of the wounded lived (*Cariboo Sentinel*). In other words, violence related to prostitution was an underlying current in the male-dominant Chinese community, often flaring up over women's favours.

There is no information as to whether the Hong-men society in the North Cariboo owned brothels or levied charges on brothels in the same way as has been documented for San Francisco (Lyman 1961). However, records in the Hong-men's account books reveal that all prostitutes were associated with the society. The names of the seventeen women mentioned above were recorded in 35 Hong-men account books. These books recorded various activities, such as the Five-founder festival, funerals, new member admitting ceremonies, the Wan Yun-long festival, building construction, and grocery purchasing. Some women's names were seen in the list owing membership fees (980.291.3 dating to 1877; 7 dating to 1881). That suggests that they were formal members of the society.

Among the new members admitted by the Hong-men society between 1876 and 1889, none of them were women, indicating that these prostitutes joined the society before 1876. That further suggests that most of them came to the North Cariboo before 1876. If most of prostitutes seen the 1880s came to the North Cariboo in the 1870s as indentured slave women, they would be free of the bond the four to five years stipulated by the contracts. This holds true for those that went to San Francisco at the same time period. The fact that they were still prostitutes in the 1880s suggests that they probably continued the business on their own accord. It is possible that these women hoped to receive protection from the Hong-men society as its members.

According to the *Cariboo Sentinel* and Hong's 1978 book, prostitution is known to have operated in different ways:

Formal brothels that were separate houses, such as the one at the upper (south) end of the Barkerville's Chinatown as reported in the *Cariboo Sentinel* on August 16, 1873.

Informal brothels were run by women who had completed their contracts. These women would live with one Chinese male but still run the business. The existence of this type is seen in reports in the *Cariboo Sentinel* on December 17, 1870 and December 14, 1871, which reveals that a Chinese woman called Ti Choon lived with a Chinese male named Ah Sing and still ran the business. In the same house, opium smoking was also offered. The *Cariboo Sentinel* reported another case on May 18, 1872 under a title '*Regina vs. Charley (a Chinaman)*':

The accused was brought up on a charge of attempting to extort money by false pretences from one Ah Moye, a China woman.

Ah Moye said: -She knew Charley, and on last Saturday, the 11th inst., he tried to get money from her; he wanted \$5 for each woman in the house per month; the house was one of ill-fame; the accused wanted the money for a licence for each woman; he said if the money was not paid he would bring them into trouble; there were ten women in the house.

Say Moy deposed to the same effect, and said she paid the \$5 demanded to her. The accused was committed for trial.

According to this item, there were at least ten Chinese prostitutes in Barkerville's Chinatown at that time. In addition, gambling was also a part of the activities of the brothels. The *Cariboo Sentinel* reported an existence of such a service on August 16, 1873:

One of the inmates of a Chinese brothel at the upper end of Barkerville was badly cut on the head last night by countrymen and robbed of \$300 in coin. The assassin made good on his escape.

On December 17, 1870, the *Cariboo Sentinel* reported that a Chinese named Chong Lee was charged with assaulting two other Chinese males with a knife in a house in Barkerville on a Saturday evening. The event took place in a house where a Chinese male called Ah Sing and a prostitute called Ti Choon lived:

Ti Choon, a Celestial beauty, testified that on Thurs. prisoner came to Ah Sing's house and wanted to sleep there; she told him he owed money and could not stop; on Sat. he came back and threatened to kill her; she ran into the kitchen and he followed her with the knife in his hand; prisoner caught hold of Ah Sing, who was there, and cut him; witness ran to the door and raised an alarm; ran back and saw prisoner cut Ah Sam.

On January 7, 1871, the *Cariboo Sentinel* reported the hearing of this case:

Chong Lee was brought up on remand charges with a murderous assault on Ah Sing and Ah Sam at Barkerville on the 10th Dec.

Ah Sing, sworn through through an interpreter, testified as follows: Prisoner came to this house about 7 o'clock; a woman ran into the kitchen where witness and Ah Sam were lying smoking on a bed; prisoner followed her with a knife; witness asked prisoner what he wanted to cut the woman for; he said he would cut him up too; prisoner then caught hold of witness and stabbed him in the shoulder, arm, and hand; ...

Ah Sam, examined in English-was lying down on Ah Sing's bed smoking opium on Sat night ...; prisoner came in; saw prisoner killing Ah Sing with knife. ... Witness tried to take the knife from prisoner, when the latter struck backwards at him and stabbed him in the side, and then ran out of the house. ...

These two articles indicate the existence of an informal brothel run by the prostitute herself. It also reveals that prostitution and opium smoking were part of the business of the same house.

Opium smoking

When the gold rush to the Fraser River and its tributaries took place in 1858, opium smoking had already widely spread in south China, especially in the province of Guangdong. Along with gambling and prostitution, Chinese brought opium pipes with them to British Columbia.

Legislation

In British Columbia, opium smoking was legal until 1907 and so were opium import and distribution. Its recreational use was by no means restricted to the Chinese community. Before 1862, opium was mostly imported to British Columbia from Hong Kong via San Francisco. Starting in 1862, opium was shipped directly to British Columbia from Hong Kong. In 1880, the United States imposed restriction on opium imports from China. Opium users in the States turned to British Columbia to get their supply, which accelerated the existing opium business. In 1883, for example, there were 11 major opium businesses in the Victoria's Chinatown, importing opium from either India or Hong Kong. The combined trade volume of the 11 businesses reached as high as \$3,000,000, reflecting the spread of the habit at the time. In 1898, the United States passed an act banning opium imports. Opium users in the States then smuggled opium from Victoria. This gave further stimulus to the existing opium industry in Victoria. In 1907, the Canadian government passed an act, prohibiting opium smoking, import and production in Canada (Lee 1967:103, 104).

In the North Cariboo, the period of legal opium use encompasses both the formative (1860s-1876) and full development periods (1876 -1910). In other words, opium smoking and related artifacts became one of the main characteristics of the Chinese communities throughout these two periods.

Smoking equipment

The equipment for opium smoking includes an opium pipe, which is called Yan Qiang (煙槍) in Chinese, meaning opium pistol, a needle, and a glass lamp. Opium pipes consist of a pipe stem made of bamboo or other material, a pipe bowl of stoneware and other connecting parts. Lamps consist of a round base and a globe made of glass. The needle is made of steel. These items, especially the pipe and pipe bowl, were imported from China. Lamps are easy to

break and they can be replaced by a local equivalent, produced by modifying glass bottles (Figure 107).

Opium was packaged in rectangular cans made of copper and brass. Each box lid bore the name of the Chinese store that imported and distributed the opium. A paper brand produced by the same store was often pasted on the front and back walls of the can, telling the quality of the opium and the time when the business was started. Quantity and price were written directly on the sidewall in Chinese by using a brush pen.

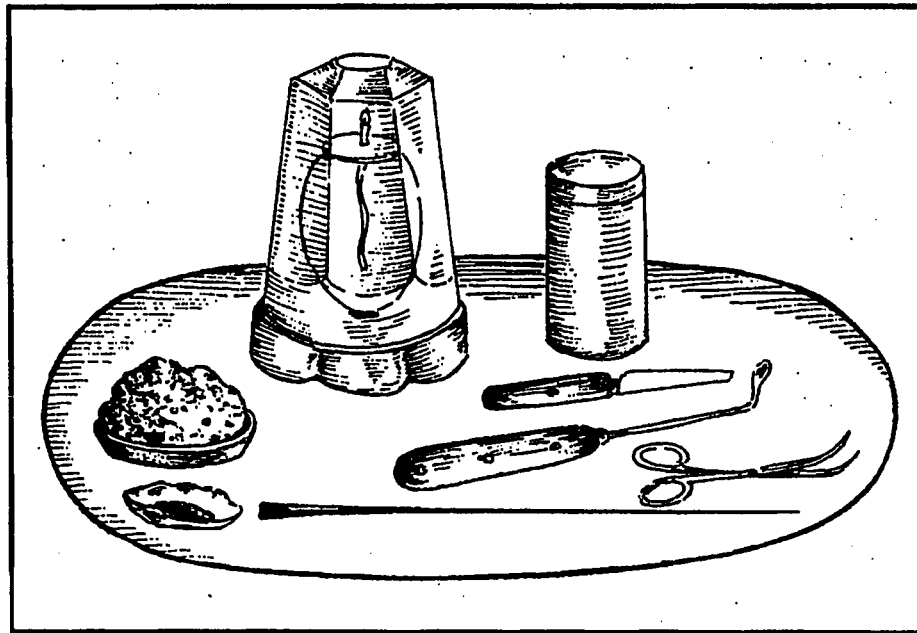


Figure 107. Opium paraphernalia including lamp, sponge, shell with opium, bowl cleaners, scissors, needle, horn box for opium, and try (After Wylie and Richard 1993:263).

Opium was smoked lying down, usually with other smokers (Figure 108). It involved two stages, preparation and smoking, which were time-consuming and required a special skill. Ball (1904:336) states:

It is a great waste of time, as the process of smoking is a slow one and requires long preparation, and, as the habit increases, more has to be smoked to produce an effect, and consequently longer time spent over it: from a quarter, or half an hour, as first it increases till hours are required, and a great part of the night is wasted in it instead of being asleep.

For example, the preparation of each pipeful of opium took 5-10 minutes, and the actual smoking about 30 seconds (Holems 1884:794).

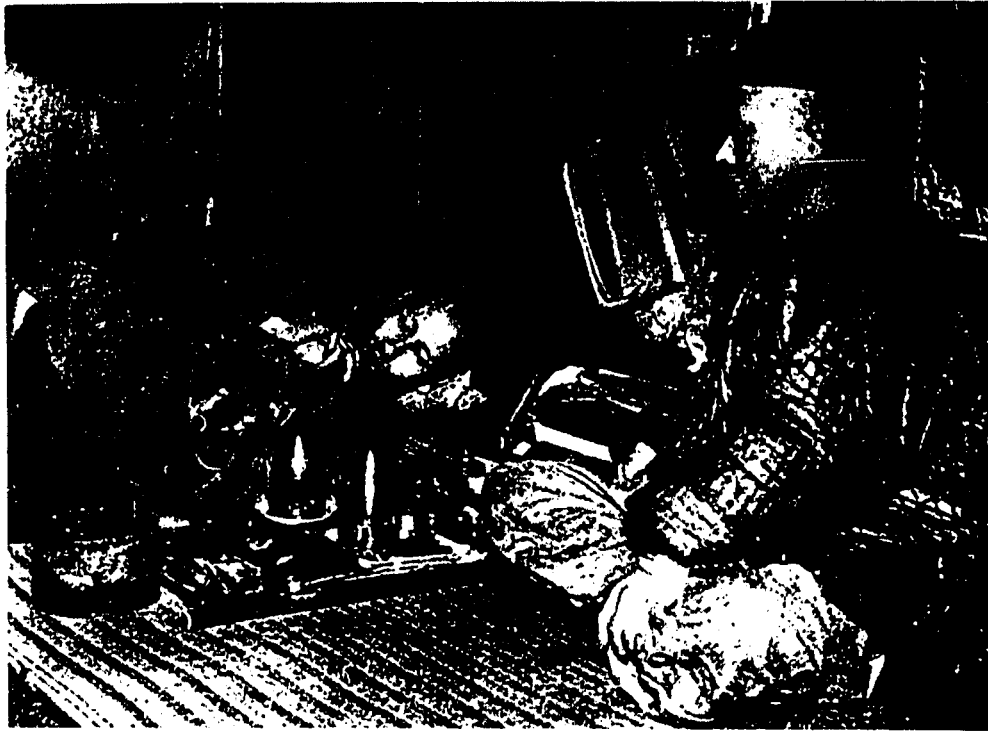


Figure 108. Two Chinese smoked in an opium den in California (Sellman Collection, California State Library 10, 536a in Wright 1988:57).

There are several contemporary observations of the technique, such as Huc (1871), Harper's Weekly (1880), Kane (1881); Holems (1884); and Dobie (1936). Of these, the one given by H. H. Kane, a New York physician who specialized in the treatment of opium addicts, is the most detailed and often quoted:

The smoker entering a joint usually removes his coat, collar, and shoes, hangs them upon a peg, and stretching himself transversely across the bunk beside a tray containing the necessary apparatus, calls for a pipe and some opium ... Having the necessary articles and opium brought to him by the keeper of the joint, the smoker settles himself comfortably upon his side, takes up a little of the treacle-like opium, which is brought to him in a small shell, upon a long steel needle ... and holding it above the flame of the lamp, watches it bubble and swell to eight or ten times its original size. In doing so it loses its inky hue, becomes a bright golden brown colour, and gives off a creamy odour, much admired by old smokers. Poor opium does not yield so pleasant an odour, is liable to drop from the needle into the lamp, and rarely gives so handsome a colour, the golden brown being streaked here and there with black. This process is known as 'cooking' the opium. Having brought it to a proper consistence, the operator, with a rapid, twirling motion of the fingers, rolls the mass, still upon the (needle), upon the broad surface of the bowl, submitting it occasionally to the flame, catching it now and then upon the edge of the bowl and pulling it out into strings, in order to cook it through more thoroughly ... Rolling it again upon the bowl until formed into a pea-shaped mass, with the needle as a

centre, the needle is forced down into the small hold in the bowl, thus levelling off the bottom of the pea ... Then grasping the stem of the pipe near the bowl in the left hand, the bowl is held across the flame of the lamp to warm it, the bottom of the opium hams being at the same time heated, the needle is thrust into the aperture in the centre of the bowl, and withdrawn with a twisting motion, leaving the opium, with a hole in its centre, upon the surface of the bowl. Inclining the body slightly forward, the smoker tips the pipe bowl across the lamp until the opium is just above the flame. Inhaling strongly and steadily, the smoke passes into the lungs of the operator, and is returned through the mouth and nose. This smoke is heavy, white, and has a not unpleasant fruity odour ... Having finished this bolus, which requires but one long or a few short inhalations, the habitué cools the bowl of the pipe with a damp sponge, and repeats the operation of cooking, rolling, and smoking until the desired effects are obtained (Kane 1881 as cited in Wylie and Higgins 1987:321-322)

Smoking distribution and level

Archival and field data indicate that most Chinese males in the North Cariboo smoked opium. Hong (1978:188) recalled:

In these early times, most of the Chinese smoked opium. The drug sold for \$4 per 12-ounce tin, but was also available in smaller quantities for 25 cents, 50 cents, or a dollar-making it more affordable for the older users. Opium smoking produced a foul taste in the mouth, and regular users always looked for something sweet to eat before retiring later and sleeping until noon of the next day.

In Chinatowns, such as the one in Barkerville, social establishments, gambling houses, brothels, and merchants' houses and their stores all offered opium smoking services, evident from both archival and field data.

The excavation of the Chih Kung T'ang site in Barkerville's Chinatown yielded 400 opium smoking related artifacts including pipe bowls, smoking lamps, pipe fittings, opium needles and opium cans. A similar assemblage of artifacts was found beneath the Kong Sang Wing store in the same Chinatown (Irvine and Montgomery 1983:92 and 134). Taken together, these artifacts suggest other Chinese associations in the town also operated opium related businesses.

The *Cariboo Sentinel* (December 17, 1870) reports that opium service was provided in a brothel in Barkerville's Chinatown. Nothing seems to preclude the possibility that the same was true for other brothels and similar settings in the town.

Account book 231, produced by a Chinese store in Quesnelle Forks between 1890 and 1891, gives 52 names of Chinese males who owed for smoking either in business or consumption elsewhere. These people included merchants, such as Wu Bai-feng and Ling De-zou, miners and other labourers, indicating that Chinese of all ranks were engaged in opium smoking (Figure 109).



Figure 109. Page 14 in account book (231) produced by a Chinese store at Quesnelle Forks between 1890 and 1892. From right to left, it says that Zhou Tong-de (周同德) who was in debt for smoking and gambling in the store owned gambling den and three others, Zhou Wen-guang (as Wen-guang) (周文廣), Lin Lian Fu (as Lin Fu) (林富), and Wu Bai-feng (as Wu Feng) (伍逢) had borrowed opium from the house.

In addition to Chinatown, opium smoking also took place in all other types of Chinese settlements. This is revealed by the fact that among the 34 surveyed Chinese settlements in the North Cariboo, 21, including one Chinatown, three Chinese quarters in mining camps, and 17 cabins, yielded opium smoking related artifacts (Figure 110).

Wylie and Higgins (1987:361-364, 367) identified four types of opium smoking (1987). The first is recreational, which is equivalent to after-work alcohol drinking in modern American culture (LaLande 1981:260 as cited in Wylie and Higgins 1987:362). Opium would produce 'an immediate release' from the emotional, economic and social stresses. 'Smoked in the company of others and frequently involving gambling, such intensive socializing probably played an important role in reinforcing group identity, ethnicity, and male-bonding' (Wylie and Higgins 1987:362). Wylie and Higgins (1987:367) presumed that most opium smoking of the Chinese in the Riverside Chinatown, southern California were for recreational reasons.

In the North Cariboo, opium smoking, which took place in the Chih Kung T'ang building, other association houses and brothels, should be considered as recreational in nature.

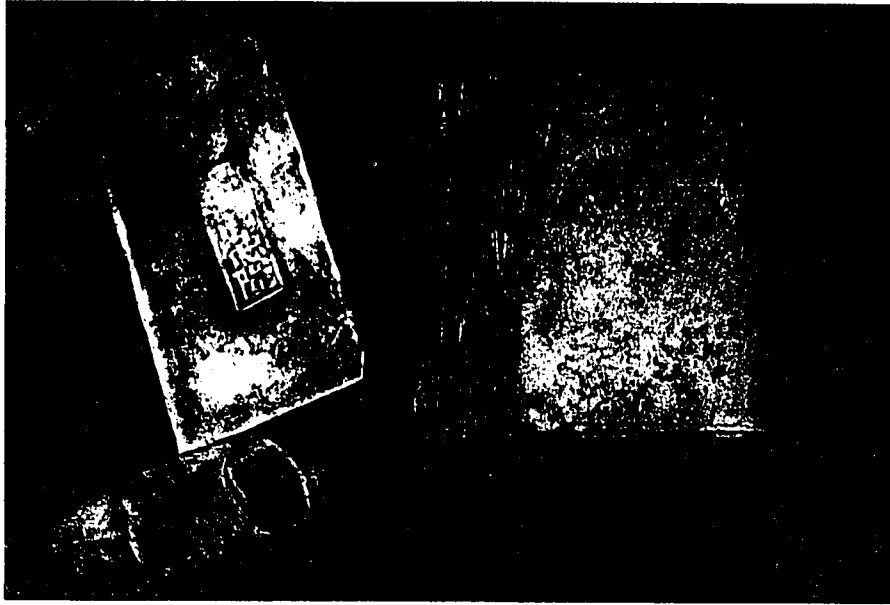


Figure 110. An opium can found in Quesnelle Forks (donation from Dave Falconer to the Anthropology and Archaeology Museum at Simon Fraser University). (Above) the brand on can lid bears 'Victoria Guang De Long Store (域多利廣德隆)(above). (Bottom) the paper brand on the front side (right) reads '... the seventh lunar month of the 11th year of emperor Tong Zhi (1872)'.

The second is work-related or medical smoking, as a response to heavy physical work and severe working environment. Opium could be used to treat 'pain, spasm, inflammation of mucous membranes of the nose and throat, diarrhea, local and general nervous disorders, and insomnia. Homes (1884:793) was quoted as saying (Wylie and Higgins 1987:363):

Opium smoking may be regarded in much the same light as the use of alcoholic stimulants. To the majority of smokers who use it moderately, it appears to act as a stimulant, and to enable them to undergo great fatigue and to go for a considerable time with little or no food. According to reports given by authorities on the subject, when the smoker has plenty of active work it appears to be no more injurious than smoking tobacco.

It was observed contemporarily that Chinese smokers understood the risk associated with opium and most used it without developing a dependency on the drug and were free from serious negative side effects (Culin 1891:501; Dobie 1936:250-253). 'While illness was frequently a primary reason for the initial use of opium, the benefits of moderate opium were widely recognized and used to advantage by workers in the most arduous occupations or severe working conditions ... (Felton, Lortie, and Schulz 1984:102-105 cited in Wylie and Higgins 1987:363).

Wylie and Higgins (1987:365) believe that smoking taking place at work camps is more work-related than in urban settings. In the North Cariboo, opium smoking related artifacts recovered in mining camp and cabin sites were assumed to be remains of work-related smoking. Pure medical use of opium by the Chinese, in the study area, is seen in an account book, B20.1.E4.1, produced in Barkerville in 1918. It carries a prescription for using opium residue called Yan Shi (煙屎) to save people who swallowed opium.

The third was social smoking, which is mostly observed in the upper class Chinese and merchants in the overseas Chinese communities, 'as a token of hospitality at social gatherings and as a part of conducting business' (Harper's Weekly 1880:566 cited in Wylie and Higgins 1987:364). In the late 19th century, it was very popular in China and overseas Chinese communities for Chinese of the upper class to offer their friends and guests opium (Ritchie 1986:266). This kind of smoking also existed in the merchant class in the North Cariboo. As mentioned earlier, account book 231 records 52 names of Chinese males who were in debt to a Chinese business for opium. Among these 52 Chinese, two were merchants in debt for opium purchased on a credit basis. The two may have used the opium at either their own homes or stores and for special social occasions. There is nothing suggesting that what they did was out of the ordinary. Therefore, such facilities must have been commonly in use in Chinese communities.

Incidence of opium smoking in different Chinese settlements

Wylie and Higgins's (1987:364, 365) comparison of tableware and opium smoking related artifacts recovered in the six non-urban sites and eight urban sites in the United States and New Zealand identifies several patterns:

- 1) Opium bowls are somewhat less common in urban sites and non-urban sites, and are lowest in large urban sites;
- 2) Opium bowls appear more common when numbers of minimum specimens are compared; and
- 3) A 'high' ratio of opium bowls in both urban and non-urban sites is 23% of tableware shards counts or 50% of minimum specimens.

They further suggest (1987:365):

The difference between urban and non-urban patterns reflects greater levels of opium use at work camps, primarily work-related smoking in response to arduous jobs and working conditions, as well as greater emphasis on tablewares in urban settings.

A similar pattern is found among the Chinese population in the North Cariboo. In the Barkerville area, for example, the Chih Kung Tang and Kwong Sang Wing sites were excavated and a cabin site identified as Beggs Gulch-1 (FgRi-5) were intensively surveyed and all surface artifacts at the site were collected. Classifications of artifacts from these three places, based on activity nature, are listed in Table 60.

Table 60: A comparison of artifacts recovered from the Chih Kung Tang and Kong Sang Wing sites in Barkerville's Chinatown and Beggs Gulch-1 (FgRi 5), a cabin site in the Barkerivlle area

SITE TYPE	CHINATOWN				CABIN SITE	
	Chih Kung Tang		Kung Sang Wing Store		Beggs Gulch-1	
ACTIVITY	QYT.	%	QTY	%	QTY.	%
Alcohol drinking	2,605	56.78	730	38.38	87	46.2
Food & Beverage	879	19.16	382	20.08	36	19.25
Gambling	87	1.90	14	0.74	0	0
Opium smoking	400	8.72	129	6.78	47	25.13
Tobacco smoking	2	0.04	0	0.0	0	0
Mining	15	0.33	0	0.0	12	6.42
Other	600	13.08	647	34.02	5	2.67
All0	4,588	100.00	1,902	100.00	187	100.00

Table 60 indicates that opium smoking related artifacts from the Chih Kung Tang and Kwong Sang Wing sites make up only 8.7 and 6.8% of the total artifact assemblages respectively, while at Beggs Gulch-1 they make up 25% of the total artifacts recovered. Similar patterns are assumed to apply to the other 16 Chinese cabin sites located in the study area. This may substantiate that in the mining country, opium smoking was more common among Chinese who were directly engaged in mining, than among merchants and others resident in the Chinatowns themselves. One possible reason is the remote location of these cabins, which made life more difficult for the Chinese miners, cut off from fellow countrymen during the mining season. This further suggests that opium smoking in mining camps was more work-related and medical, as Wylie and Higgins have proposed (1987:363 and 365).

Despite the different motives of opium users and their relative geographical distribution in the Chinese settlements, one needs to realise that such distinctions are blurred on particular occasions 'as a smoker could take up the pipe for more than one reason' (Wylie and Higgins 1987:362).

Social indications

Opium smoking in some measure contributed to the survival of the Chinese community as a whole. To the smokers, no matter where they smoked and for what reason, they usually conducted it in a group. The fussy preparation process involving 'cooking' and then the smoking provided a context for social interchange and the exchange of information of all kinds. In addition, the availability of opium and the physical and social context of its use further tied the users to the Chinese community.

Conclusion

Chinese communities were maintained by four types of social activities: a) traditional Chinese festivals and celebrations; b) ceremonies of the Hong-men society; c) benevolent activities; and, d) leisure activities, including gambling, prostitution and opium smoking. All these four activities derived from China but were reinstated in exaggerated forms in the North Cariboo because of the existence of largely male, often illiterate Chinese population there. These were organized activities under direct or indirect control of the Hong-men society and other social or economic establishments in Chinatown. Taking place primarily in Chinatown at different times and seasons, these activities provided support for the often-lonely Chinese labourers. These

activities took place within the Chinese communities and in turn, confirmed Chinese identity and reinforced the Chinese community.

Chapter 10 Decline and Final Disintegration Period (1910s-1940s)

Introduction

The period between the 1910s and the 1940s saw the Chinese communities in the North Cariboo going from gradual decline to final disintegration. This chapter discusses the process, with a focus on two aspects. It starts with a discussion of the factors contributing to the disintegration of the Chinese communities in the study area and ends with an argument that the decline in gold mining in the study area and the negative attitude taken by the Canadian government towards Chinese immigration were two major contributors to the events. Eruption of the Second World War and opportunities provided in new urban Chinatowns in the lower mainland of British Columbia and eastern Canada also played a role in speeding up that process.

The chapter then examines the process as it took place in each area of the North Cariboo. It argues that the decline started in all four Chinese communities in the late 1910s, but the final disintegrations struck different areas at different time between 1925 and the 1940s, depending on the degree of decline in the local gold industry. It further argues that all four communities went from population drop to decline and to final disintegration. The final disintegration came as a consequence of a decline in large households, and a drop in other types of households and cessation of the Hong-men society and other organizations. In the field, such changes were witnessed by a decrease in the number of Chinese settlements and change within the settlement centre, Chinatown. The total and partial abandonment of the Chinatown coincided with the discontinuation of the Chinese settlement pattern.

Factors for depopulation of the Chinese

Gold mining

During this period, gold mining was characterized by the decline of hydraulic mining and the development of quartz mining, which started in 1932 and reached its peak in 1941, generally known as the second gold rush.

The gold industry, however, continued on its downward slope from 1910 to 1930. Rivers and creeks were worked one after another and hydraulic mining declined. The only achievement during this period was the successful application of a bucket dredge on Antler Creek between

1924 and 1927. However, it ceased after 1927, due to lack of suitable ground for the operation (*British Columbia Minister of Mines Annual Reports 1924-1927*). In 1930, the gold yield of the Barkerville area dropped to \$42, 483, the lowest recorded in the hydraulic period (*British Columbia Minister of Mines Annual Report 1930*).

However, 1932 saw placer mining taking on an upswing because of the Depression and a rise in gold price. In the Barkerville and Stanley areas, the boom reached its peak in 1937 with gold yield at \$469,865. After 1937, placer mining was back on the decline with falling gold yield and decreasing number of the operations. In 1943, the gold yield dropped to \$87,103 and only 19 companies continued in placer mining in these two areas (Galois 1970:129).

The primary technology employed was hydraulic mining. In the Barkerville and Stanley areas, for example, large scale mines were seen on Slough, Lowhee, Mosquito, and Grouse creeks. They were operated by older companies, which had existed since the 1890s. In addition to these large mines, operation of smaller hydraulic and ground sluicing were scattered on 50 large and small creeks (Galois 1970:130-132). Deep digging was rarely used during this period, but the application at the Wingdam of the Stanley area enjoyed moderate success (Galois 1970:129).

The second gold rush to the North Cariboo was centred in the Barkerville and Stanley areas. It started on December 15, 1932 when the Cariboo Gold Quartz Mining Company (CGQM) commenced its production at Cow Mountain of Barkerville (Galois 1970:124).

In November 1933, a large mill was established by Island Mountain Mining Company (IMM) on Island Mountain, overlooking Jack of Clubs Lake opposite the CGQM plant (Galois 1970). These two companies became primary and enduring enterprises throughout the period of quartz mining. Besides these two major companies 15 other companies were engaging in quartz mining at following places respectively (Table 61).

Table 61: Locations of 17 companies engaged in quartz mining in 1933 (based on Galois 1970:124)

BARKERVILLE AREA	STANLEY AREA
Cow Mountain	Van Winkle Mountain
Island Mountain	Nelson Mountain
Proserpine Mountain	French Creek
Cornish Mountain	Devils Canyon
Bald Mountain	Eagle Nest Mountain
Barkerville Mountain	
Jack of Clubs Creek	
The watershed between Stouts Gulch and Lowhee Creek	

In 1934, the number of companies still in operation dropped to six. In 1941, only two large companies, CGQM and IMM, remained. Yet the year saw the peak of the second gold rush in terms of the gold yield. The combined total of \$2,821,396 gold produced by these two operations was nearly 18 times of the total of \$158,346 gold produced by 17 companies the year 1933 (Galois 1970:126). After the war, quartz mining in the study area attracted more interest. Six companies were registered in 1946. However, few survived and the number quickly dropped and by 1949 only two, CGQM and IMM, remained. Both companies carried on into the 1950s with CGQM going right up to 1967 (Galois 1970:125), which is beyond the time scope of the current study.

Organizations of the industry after 1932 were of two major types, both of which had already existed in the Hydraulic Period. The primary difference between the two is in size. One type consists of the large limited company, supported by the sale of shares, and mostly in the operations of quartz and large-scale placer mining (Galois 1970:137-138). The other refers to those traditional small companies maintained by partners or individuals, engaged in placer mining. The Great Depression in the 1930s led to a rise in small-scale placer mining and, as a consequence, an increasing number of these kinds of companies going into production (Galois 1970:138).

To the Chinese engaged mostly in placer mining since the 1860s, little had changed except that the long-term decline set in soon after the boom of the first gold rush had accelerated, which in turn led to the decline in Chinese communities during this period. Compared to the previous period, the decline affected all communal activities and ended with the final disintegration of Chinese communities in all areas of the North Cariboo between the late 1920s and the 1940s. Apparently, some other factors accelerated the ongoing change.

Canadian Government's policy to Chinese immigration

Anti-Chinese sentiments in Canada became more widely spread after the turn of the century, which led to constant changes in government policies towards Chinese immigration. The head tax for Chinese immigrants increased from \$50 imposed in 1885 to \$100 in 1901 and \$500 in 1904. In On June 30 1923, an act of complete exclusion of new Chinese immigrants to Canada was passed and went into effect the next day (*An Act Respecting Chinese Immigration* 1923). This effectively cut off Chinese immigration, the circle of old leaving and new coming, which was the primary means by which the overseas Chinese maintained their population. Old men were still returning to China on a one-way ticket, but there were no new young blood coming

out to take their place when they left. The passage was barred first by the high tax imposed and then by the complete exclusion act. It also worsened the already disproportional sex ratio in the Chinese population, which had never been favourable to the increase in the Chinese population (Lai 1988:58-61). Together, they caused a sharp drop in Chinese population in Canada. In the North Cariboo, they accelerated the ongoing decline of the Chinese communities and drove them to final disintegration.

Other Factors

In addition to the two major reasons mentioned above, some other factors also played a minor role in the decrease in Chinese population in the study area:

In the early 1920s, Prince George became a booming town, attracting people from all over the neighbouring areas. Some Chinese moved causing a further drop in the Chinese population in the North Cariboo.

During the Second World War, many people including Chinese and non-Chinese left for the lower mainland, working in various operations to serve the war. This was a further cause for depopulation. After the war, only a few Chinese, the few with business or families in the North Cariboo, such as Hong, returned. Many remained in the lower mainland or headed for Eastern Canada without coming back. During and after the war, the remaining Chinese population consisted mostly of a few merchants, their family members, and several retired old men.

Quesnel Mouth Area

Information is scant and fragmentary regarding the Chinese community in its last stage in this area. Some Chinese were known to be working in the mines along the Fraser River in the 1910s and 1920s (Appendix II). In 1918, at the First American Chih Kung T'ang Conference in San Francisco, the chapter from Quesnel Mouth was present (Chien 1989:42). That was the last time the Chih Kung T'ang society in this area, and the entire North Cariboo, was known to the outside world.

There are no reports of gold mining by Chinese in this area after the 1920s, suggesting how badly depopulation affected the area. What was left was the Chinatown in Quesnelle and a few farms and ranches. This was the end of the Chinese settlement pattern in this area.

In 1925, a large fire destroyed Chinatown (Lai:1989:13-15) and no new Chinatown was rebuilt afterwards. Apparently, there was not a large enough Chinese population to warrant it. After the 1920s, the remaining Chinese may still have had some contact with one another to keep

their cultural identity but there was no sign they still acted as a single community. The story of Chow Nam Sing (Zhou Nan-xing) and Chow Dong Hoy (Zhou Dong Hai) and their families in this period tells the direction the remaining Chinese went.

Nam Sings

It was mentioned in Chapter 6 that in 1904, Nam Sing made a trip to Vancouver and died there, leaving his many children and the farm to Mrs. Nam Sing. According to Louis Lebourdais (*Province* February 3, 1934), Nam Sing died in 1904. His wife Mrs. Nam Sing carried on with their farm business. Nam Sings raised 13 children and only four were still alive in the 1930s. No detailed information is available regarding how she managed on her own. Of her more than a half century of life (1880-1934) in Quesnel, only two facts are known about her: She left the area once for a two-day trip to Soda Creek, a small town about 45 miles (72.4 km) south of Quesnel; and, that she had never seen a train before 1934.

Kong Sing, the family's eldest son was one of the four children still alive in the 1930s. He became a teamster, a good helper with Nam Sing's freight team on the Cariboo Road. He was also a well-known blacksmith, making 'beautiful knives out of hand-hewn steel and decorated the handles with flattened coins or deer antlers' (Moosong 1994:154).

C. D. Hoy

The story of Chow Dong Hoy (周東海) is primarily reconstructed according to information gathered from Faith Moonsang's 1999's book, *First Son, Portraits by C. D. Hoy*, as well as other sources (Figure 111). Chow was born on August 16, 1883 in a village called Sui Soon Lee, Kaiping County. He was the second child and first son. Chow received a three-year education at a private village school and started working at age 12, first in an opium den, and then in a few of silk and cotton factories, but none of these jobs had helped him out of poverty. Hearing of the opportunities waiting for the young and daring in Canada, through the traditional channel, Chow's father encouraged Chow to follow the steps of many young Kaiping Chinese who had preceded him.

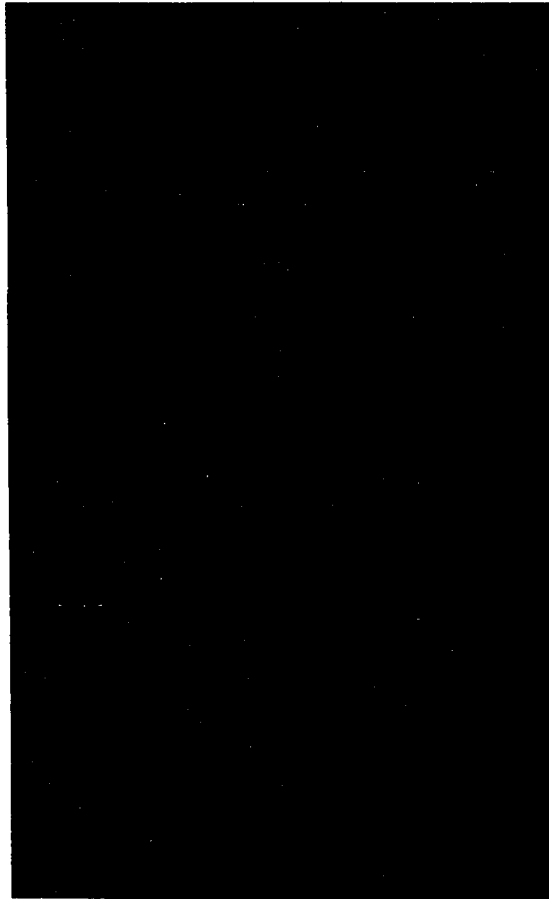


Figure 111. C. D. Hoy (Barkerville Historical Town P 1655 after Mossang 1999:1).

At the end of 1902, Chow arrived in Vancouver at age 19 and paid \$100 head tax before entering into Canada. In the immigration office, he was wrongly recorded as Chow Dong of the Hoy family, due to the number of other Chinese immigrants. From that point onward he was known as Mr. Hoy instead of Chow.

Hoy stayed with Chow Do Lai who came from the same village where Hoy came from and had a store in Vancouver's Chinatown. Chow Do Lai got Hoy a houseboy job at a salary of five dollars a month. During his stay in Vancouver, Chow learned English by going to church with his employers and paying for an English tutor, which exhausted all he earned. This set Chow Hoy apart from his countrymen, most of whom did not bother to learn English. The English he had learned provided him a potential for having a future different from his countrymen.

However, Vancouver was not Hoy's destiny. He headed for the North Cariboo where he his two cousins had set up a house. The two cousins were siblings. One named Chow Dick Woo worked for the LaFontaine Company, in the Stanley area in the early 1900s (Hong 1978:35).

Another named Chew Doy Foo generally known as Charlie came to Canada as early as 1873 (*Canada Census* 1901). By 1903, when Hoy arrived in Quesnel, Charlie was already established, having a store and a ranch at Quesnel, as well as a hydraulic mine at Burns Creek near Stanley. In addition, Charlie also ran a transport service with horses traveling back and forth between Quesnel and Barkerville (Hong 1978:197-98).

For nine years (1903-1912) after his arrival, Hoy tried his luck in various trades, working as dish washer, cook, fur trader, axe-man, surveyor, miner, and photographer in a numbers of places in the North Cariboo and surrounding areas.

In February 1910, Hoy went back to China to marry, but he was unable to bring his wife back to Canada because of the high cost of traveling and head tax.

In 1912, Charlie decided to go back to his roots in China and look after his sick wife, whom he sent back a year before. Hoy purchased Charlie's store and horse team. From there, Hoy started his journey of becoming a businessmen and professional photographer (Figure 112).

In 1917, Hoy made a second trip to China and brought his wife, Lim Foon Hai, back to Quesnel. The Hoy family numbered fourteen including, the couple, ten daughters and two sons (Figure 113).

In the 1930s, there were only two Chinese families left in Quesnel and Hoy's was one of them. In 1934, Hoy built the first stucco house in Quesnel. Also in the 1930s, Hoy operated the Wells Light and Power Company, as well as the Lode Theatre in Wells.

Hoy not only survived the depression but also helped a Caucasian rancher named Joe Spehar back from nearly bankruptcy to become one of the most successful ranchers in the area, in the early 1940s (Hobson Jr. 1996:28-31). Hoy's sharp eye for business and his 'big-heart' gained him high prestige in the local community. 'Many other ranchers were not as lucky as Joe during that tough period, for there were no Chinese in their neighbourhood (Hobson Jr. 1996:31).

Before his death in 1973, Hoy said that he had a good life and had done everything that he ever wanted to do, the words that most people, Chinese and otherwise, who came to the North Cariboo, were unable to say.

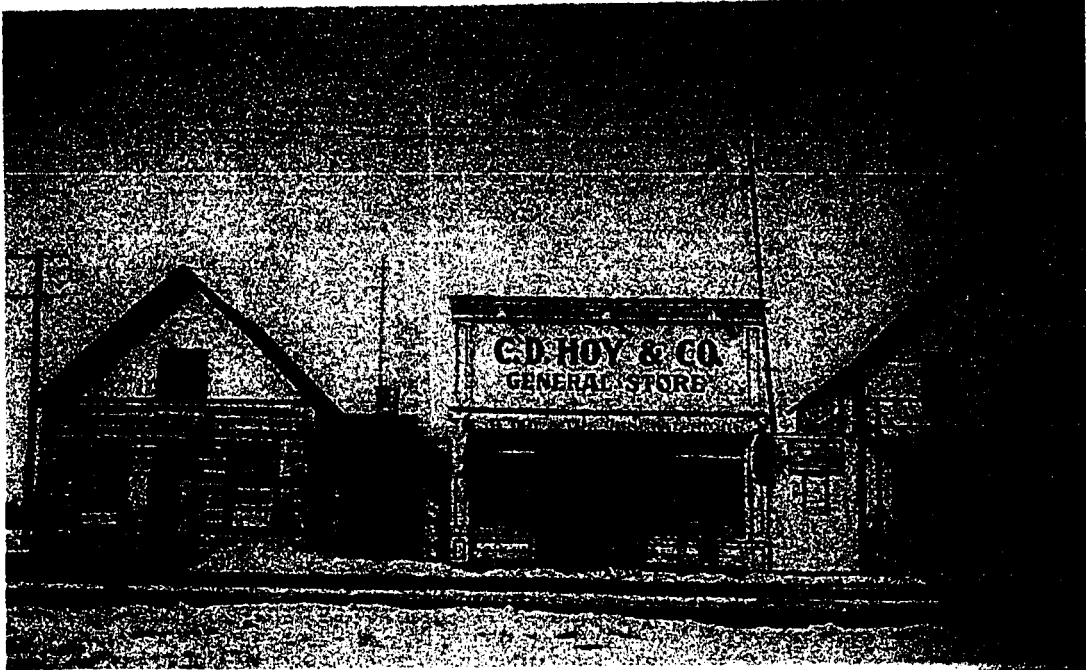


Figure 112. C. D. Hoy & Co. General Store in Quesnel (ca. 1930) (Barkerville Historical Town P 1811 after Moosang 1999:124).



Figure 113. C. D. Hoy, his wife Mrs. Hoy, Irene, and their children (ca. 1940) (Barkerville Historical Town P 1790 after Moosang 1999:123).

Quesnelle Forks area

In 1907, the Bullion Mine, the primary gold mining enterprise in the Quesnelle Forks area, was closed (Wright 1987:58). This caused the abandonment of the Bullion town and decline of Quesnelle Forks (Wright 1987:59). During the rest of 1910s and the 1920s, Chinese mined in only two drainages, Quesnel River and Cunningham Creek. In the 1930s, some Chinese miners worked around the town of Quesnelle Forks and their activities were probably concentrated in the Quesnelle River, near the Forks (Appendix II). By the 1940s, no Chinese mining activities in this area were reported.

The decline in gold mining and area depopulation resulted in disruption of the Chinese settlement pattern with the abandonment of cabin sites, campsites, and Chinese quarters in small towns. All this was accomplished within the first two decades of the century. In the 1920s, only Quesnelle Forks and probably Keithley could still be counted as Chinese settlements.

In 1920 Rupert W. Haggen surveyed the area and wrote a report to the Minister of Lands. In that report, Haggen says:

Quesnel Forks, a deserted village, lies at the junction of the North and South Forks of the Quesnel River. The hills are high and deep, but the soil on the bottom is of good quality and good crops can be grown without irrigation. Grain vegetables, and hay do well. Clearing is expensive, costing about \$100 per acre. There is a limited local market for produce, chiefly at Keithley, where one mine is being worked by R. W. Harrison. Several trappers make Quesnel Forks, or the dam at Quesnel Lake, seven miles distant, their headquarters.

A road runs to Quesnel Forks from 150-Mile House, fifty-seven miles distant, and a weekly stage service is maintained. A sleigh-road extends to Keithley, eighteen miles farther, on Cariboo Lake. Mail is conveyed to Keithley weekly by saddle horse. There is a telephone-office, connected with the 150-Mile House, at Quesnel Forks (*Report of the Minister of Lands 1920:50*).

As the latest of the Hong-men account books produced in Quesnelle Forks dates back to 1910, it is quite possible the society ceased its function in the 1920s. After that, the remaining Chinese population seemed to be headed by two Chinese businesses in the town.

According to one source, there were approximately 30 persons and a couple of stores in Quesnelle Forks in 1934. Chinese operated both stores. Lim Sing ran one store and the Kim family including Ah Kim, his wife, and their three sons, one named, Quey had the other (1987:67). Another source (Elliott 2000:176) states:

In 1935, 45 residents petitioned the provincial government to repair two piers and the southern approach to the South Fork Bridge. Names on the petition included Heng Lung Co., merchant, Mrs. May Kim, and 12 Chinese miners.

This seems to be the last time the Chinese in Quesnelle Forks were seen to act as a community. After that, the remaining Chinese in the town and surrounding areas might still have contact with one another, but they did not act as a community any more.

In 1948, an American, Pearl Debolt, and her husband, moved from Montana to Quesnelle Forks where they found 30 people, including three Chinese still in residence (Wright 1987:6; Stangoe 1994:49). These Chinese would have included: Mrs. Kim, her son Wong Kuey, and Lim Sing (Wright 1987:67). Mrs. Kim died in 1948 and Lim Sing closed his business in 1949. Wong Kuey, as the only Chinese resident in town, remained till his death in 1954.

A comparison of the information mentioned above with records in the Canadian Census, the CCBA files, and the Hong-men account books provides more details about these two Chinese merchant families.

Lim Sing and his family

Lim Sing is Cantonese spelling of 林勝, 林星, or 林興. Lim Sing's father was named Lim Lin Fook (Lin Lian-fu) (林連富), who was called Lim Fook (林富) by both Chinese and Caucasians. The 1881 and 1891 Canada censuses recorded him as 'Lim Foo', while in 1901 'Lem Foo'.

Lim Lin Fook was born in Taishan County, Guangdong, in 1846. He came to Canada in 1865 at age 19. The first time his name appears in the Hong-men account book was 1882, but he could have been in the area much earlier.

The three censuses recorded Lim Fook as a businessman under the category of either 'trader' or 'general merchant'. A similar merchant occupation was given in the Hong-men account books. For example, he sold chickens to the society in the ninth lunar month, 1884, when the society held the Five-Founder Festival (HM 980.410.1:21). In the seventh lunar month of 1886, the Hong-men society purchases \$13.55 goods from Lim Fook during a new-members initiation ceremony in July 1886 (HM 980.413.10b:1).

Lim Fook had become a member of the Hong-men society no later than 1882 and acted as the society's fund collector between 1889 and 1896 (HM 980.408.1:41; 408.2:43). He also sponsored many new members to the society between 1882 and 1900.

Lim Fook's personal life seems complicated. In the early 1880s, he lived with a 28-year old unmarried woman named Toy (*Canada Census* 1881). In the 1891 census, Lim Fook is recorded to be living with a 29-year old single male cook in the same household. Under Lim's household

is listed another household headed by a single unmarried woman with the name Tai Choye aged 38.

In the 1901 Censes, Lem Fook was reported as a 55-year old husband with two wives. His first wife was called Toy Choy, aged 47, and was born in China in 1854. She arrived in Canada in 1870. Apparently, Toy Choy is the same one in the 1891 Census recorded as 'Tai Choye' and in the 1881 Census as 'Toy'. The 'Toy Choy' and 'Tai Choye' are probably different renditions of the same Chinese name, 'Dai Cai (帶彩)', a name of a prostitute recorded in the Hong-men's account books dating from 1884 to 1890. Toy Choy seems to have been associated with Lim Fook for a long time before they finally got married, sometime before Lim's second marriage. Lim Fook's second wife was called See Leung and was 20 years old in 1901. It is unclear when she married Lim but the census reports that she was born in 1881 and came to Canada in 1894 at the age of only 13.

The last time Lim Fook is recorded in the Hong-men account book was around 1903. No more information was available as to what happened to Lim Fook and his wives after that. Lim Sing must have been born sometime after the 1901 census was done and he, most likely, came from Lim Fook's second wife.

The business Lim Fook founded in the early 1880s was known as 'Lim Lin Fook (林連富)' or 'Lim Fook (林富)' as evident from the records in the Hong-men's account books mentioned earlier. In addition, an account (HM 980.415.1) dating to 1882 states that the society 'had purchased \$0.72 candles from Lim Fook (支林富洋燭七毛二分)' on the 21st day of the eighth lunar month, 1882. Another account (HM 980.409.1a) states that the society purchased \$1.00 from Lim Fook (支林富兄茶資壹元)' on the 26th day of the 7th lunar month of 1895.

As late as 1934, Lim Sing was running the business in Quesnelle Forks, as mentioned earlier. In it, there was a store and a restaurant in the same building under a title of 'HENG LUNG KEE CO. RESTRAURANT' (Stangoe 1994:47). According to Mrs. Murry, a long-term resident in Likely (Wright 1987:81), Lim Sing also had chickens and a garden in the fenced area behind Buildings 12 and 13. He also grew potatoes on the flat across the Cariboo River. She also claimed that Lim Sing owned a stable on the extreme west edge of the current site. In 1949, Lim shut down his business and left, putting an end to the Lim family's more than 60-year history in the town (Stangoe 1994:47).

Lim Sing's restaurant was located between Building 11, known as the Chih Kung T'ang house (but was actually the Kwong Mao Lung Store), and Building 13, known to have been a store (Appendix III Map 1). Sometime between the 1950s and 1980s, the restaurant seemed to have closed down and the building went to ruin. The survey conducted by the Friends of

Barkerville Historical Society in the late 1980s marked the foundation of the building as No. 40 (Wright 1987:84) (Figure 74). In the summer of 1993, the foundation was hardly recognizable, but the stable and the garden site remained.

Ah Kim and his family

Ah Kim's full name was Wong Kim (Huang Qian) (黃乾). The same person was recorded as 'Ken Wong' in the 1881, 'Wong Ken' in the 1891, and 'Wong Kin' in the 1901 census. Wong Kim was born in the Panyu County, Guangdong in 1843. He came to British Columbia in 1872 at age 29 (CCBA 9.1.Box 1.11h; *Canada Census* 1901). The fact that his name occurs in the Hong-men account books as early as 1877 suggests that he could have come to the North Cariboo soon after he arrived in British Columbia. Officially, he was recorded with his full name, but in daily life, probably both Chinese and Caucasians had called him Ah Kim soon after his arrival.

Ah Kim was recorded as a 'trader' in the 1881 census, a 'general trader' in 1891, and a 'general merchant' in 1901. Apparently, he had been involved in commercial activities as early as 1881. The 1881 census says that Wong Kim was a single trader with two other male single traders, in the same household. Records in the Hong-men's accounts reveal that in the 1880s, Wong was associated with a Chinese store called Qian Feng (乾豐), one of the major Chinese stores in Quesnelle Forks at that time (HM 980.411.4a:1; 413.4:1).

In 1866, when Ah Kim was 43, he was married to a girl named Quey Young who was only 15 years old. Quey Young came by boat from China to San Francisco first, and then travelled up the coast to New Westminster, where she transferred to a stagecoach to Alexandria. From Alexandria, she was carried in a covered litter into Quesnelle Forks where she met her future husband for the first time (Stangoe 1994:49). As Wong Kim was called Ah Kim locally, Quey Young became Mrs. Kim after arrival.

The 1891 census indicates that Wong was a general trader and head of a three-person household including his wife, a 52-year old single man and himself. Champion's 1893 survey notes recorded 'Ah Kim's store' (1893:3). The combined result of these two records gives Wong Kim to be in possession of a business concern of his own in the early 1890s at the latest. To the non-Chinese, the store was simply called, Ah Kim's store, but the store did have its specific Chinese name, Kwong Meu Lung (Guang Mao Long) (廣茂隆).

Politically, Ah Kim was heavily involved with the Hong-men societies in Quesnelle Forks and the entire North Cariboo. He became a Hong-member in 1877, if not earlier. Between 1883 and 1891, he was the society's fund collector (HM 980.413.7:10; 417.13:46; 408.1:38). In 1890,

he was military counsellor (先生), second only to the master of the society (HM 980.291.29:1). Wong Kim's high position in the Hong-men society was also featured in the oral history (Wright 1987:67 based on the *Vancouver Sun* February 14, 1953; *Williams Lake Tribute* October 31, 1978).

The Kim couple gave birth to nine children, five daughters and four sons between 1891 and 1911. Their first two daughters were sent back to China for marriage, their youngest daughter, Wong Ting How, nicknamed 'Topsy', married and lived in Quesnel. All other children but one son moved away after they grew up [(Oral information provided by Mrs. June Wall, granddaughter of May Kim in December 1998) Elliott 2000:114, 187].

Ah Kim was still alive in 1934 but his name was not on the petition list in 1935. He possibly died some time between the 1934 and 1935. Ah Kim's two sons moved to Kamloops and Vancouver eventually, leaving Mrs. Kim and one son, Wong Kuey, behind (Stangoe 1994:49). As mentioned earlier, Mrs. Kim died in 1948 and Lim Sing closed down his business in 1949 (Elliott 2000:114; Stangoe 1994:48). Wong Kuey became the only Chinese resident in the town (Figure 114).

In February 1954 Wong Kuey, at age 59, was found frozen to death on the road between Quesnelle Forks and Likely (*Williams Lake Tribute* June 28, 1954; Stangoe 1994:48). His death drew an end to the history of the Chinese in the area of Quesnelle Forks.

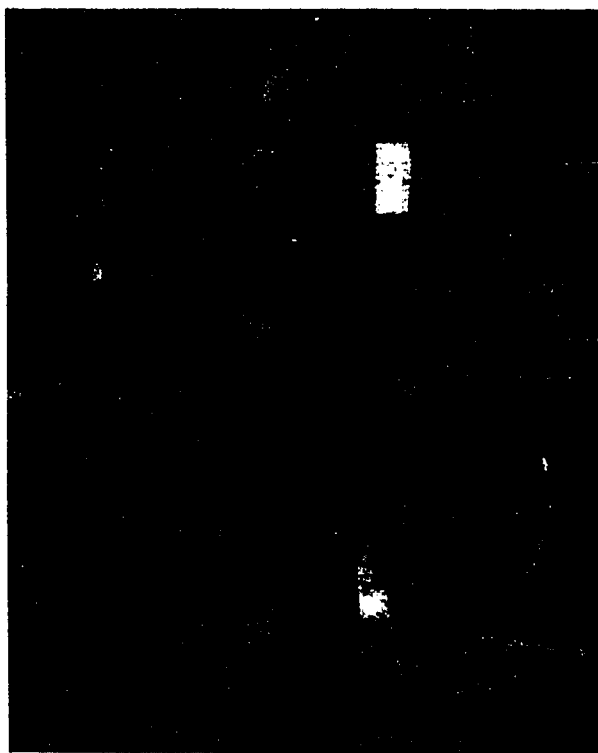


Figure 114. Wong Kuey, the last Chinese resident in Quesnel Forks, was standing in front of his house, which he lived until his death in 1954 (Stangoe 1994:47).

Stanley Area

No information is available about the size of the Chinese population in the Stanley area during this period, but the list of residents, including all races as revealed in directories from 1910 to 1948, give a general idea of the population in the area during this period (Table 62).

Table 62: Number of directory listings for Stanley between 1910 and 1948*

YEAR	POPULATION
1910	42
1920	21
1930	11
1931	4
1936	100
1941	134
1946	14

Note:

* Figures were drawn by Galois (1970:113, 150) from *Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory 1900-10*, *Wrigleys British Columbia Directory 1920-31*, 1931, and *B. C. and Yukon Directory 1941 and 1946*.

Chinese mining activities were seen in 14 drainages in the 1910s, 11 in the 1920s, nine in the 1930s, and four in the 1940s (Appendix II), suggesting a decreasing number of settlements and a particular sharp fall in the last two decades.

Depopulation necessarily led to disintegration of the Chinese community, though there is no clear indication as to when the Hong-men society and the Chow and Gin clan associations had ceased to function. One possibility is that it happened some time in the 1910s.

Decline in Chinatown started in the 1910s. A decrease in major Chinese business through time stood witness to this. In early 1910, there were two major Chinese stores, Hook Kee another Kwong Lung Kee, in Stanley. The Hook Kee closed around 1915 (Hong 1978: 65). After that, Kwong Lung Kee was probably the only store left in the declining Chinatown. Wong Gar Won and Hong kept the store running till the end of the 1920s (Hong 1978:20) and they probably closed it some time before 1933, when the town of Stanley including both the Chinatown and white town, become referred to as a ghost town (Wright 1993:138).

The second gold rush in the late 1930s brought the population size back to 100 in 1936 and 134 in 1941. This boom failed to regenerate the dwindling Chinese population, due to the reason mentioned earlier and did not revive the dying Chinatown. In fact, even the white Stanley did not take shape due to the eruption of the Second World War. Within a few years the population dropped back to 14 (1946) (*B. C. and Yukon Directory* 1936; 1941; 1946).

After the abandonment of the Stanley Chinatown, the remaining Chinese became associated with the Chinese community in Barkerville. Their settlements, a Chinese portion of Slough Creek with a few cabins, became associated with a Chinese settlement pattern in the Barkerville area.

Barkerville Area

Population and mining activities

According to Hong (1978:185), the Chinese population in Barkerville averaged 150 between 1910 and 1915. Many Chinese miners worked in 11 drainages in this area while some worked on Slough Creek (Appendix II). Some of them worked on their own placer claims, such as the ones on Beggs Gulch and Stevens Creek, but many others worked for large companies with large mines and camps (Hong 1978:185). One of these large operations was at the Point Claim of Slough Creek. Loo Gin Wing owned the mine, a Kwong Lee store based Chinese merchant (Hong 1978:110). Most of his employees were Chinese (Figure 113).

In the 1920s, only 35 Chinese remained in Barkerville (Hong 1978:191). Chinese mining activities narrowed to six drainages (Appendix II). As before, some of them still worked on their own, such as the group in Beggs Gulch, while others worked for large mines such as the Lowhee, which was owned by John Hopp (Hong 1978).

The rise of quartz mining and the opening of the Slough Creek Mine by Bill Hong in 1933 caused a slight increase in Chinese population to 60 in that year (Hong 1978:21). A Chinese account book (989.413.1) produced in Barkerville around 1939 gives a list of donors to the fund in support of the fight against the Japanese who had invaded the Siyi District. One hundred and twenty four Chinese names are listed, which should be close to the total population size in Barkerville at that time. Chinese mining activities were seen on thirteen drainages, four near Barkerville and nine in the Stanley area with the Lowhee Mine and the Slough Creek Mine forming two concentrations (Figure 115, 116).

During the war, the Chinese population dropped sharply. Four Chinese account books (B20.1.E.2.1; E2.2; E1.2; E3.1) produced in Barkerville in 1941 and 1942 listed Chinese who registered for attendance of feasts at traditional Chinese festivals. They give 51 names in 1941 and an average of 35 in 1942, which should cover most Chinese male adults, namely, close to the total Chinese population in the Barkerville area in these years. After the war, only a few Chinese who had family and business in the area, such as Bill Hong, came back. Chinese mining activities were seen on four drainages, three in Barkerville and one in Stanley, along with Lowhee Gulch and Slough Creek (Appendix II; Hong 1978). It is quite possible that in the late 1940s a few merchants, their families and a few old timers were all that were left of the once buzzing Chinese community in this area.

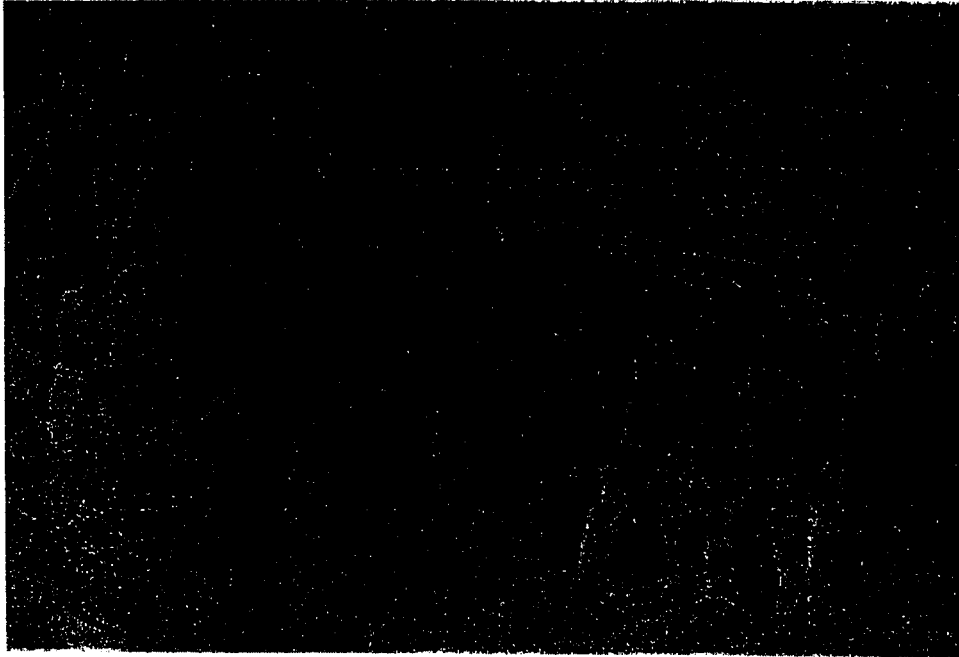


Figure 115. Mining crew in Lowhee Camp around 1929. Three Chinese on left are Chow Gar Nok, Chow Gar Choy, and Tsang Fatt. The Chinese on second right is W. Kim (according to Hong 1978:169).

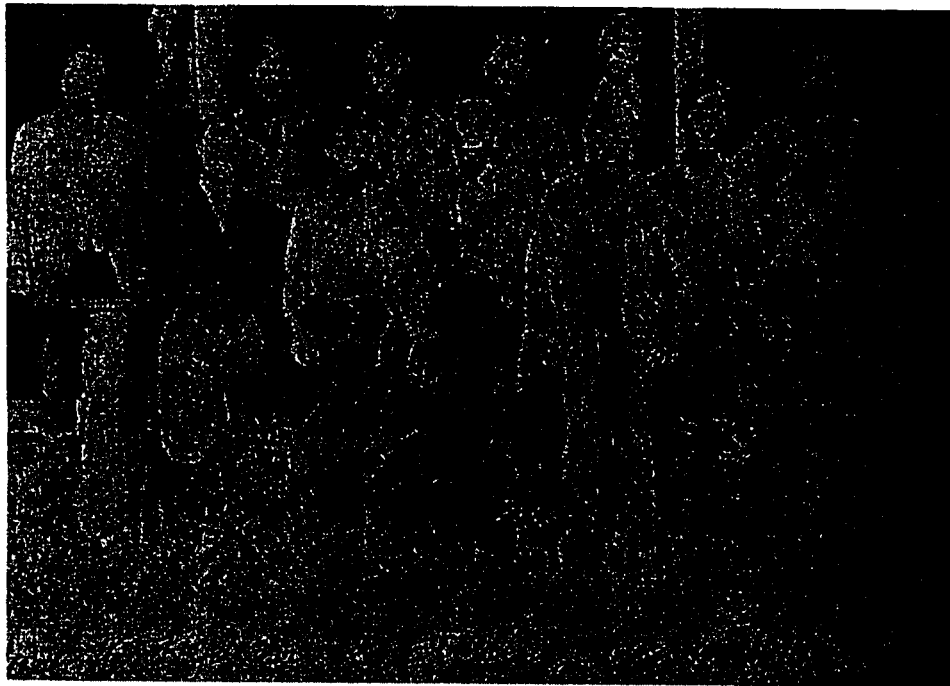


Figure 116. Part of crew of the Slough Hydraulic Mine in front of the Mine's office in 1916 (from Hong 1978:119). The one on the back row on left is Loo Gee Wing, owner of the mine and the one on the front row on left is his son (According to Hong 178:119).

Chinese community

Home origin pattern

A Chinese account (989.413.1) produced in Barkerville around 1939 is a donor list for donation to the Chinese in the Siyi District in Gaungdong to fight against the invasion of the Japanese. The fund was initiated by the Siyi Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong (香港四邑商會) and associated with the Siyi Association Headquarters at Victoria [域埠(四邑)總會館]. In the North Cariboo, there were four initiators: Li Yun Xie (李雲協), Li Zhang (李璋), Huang Sui-ye (黃穗業), and Huang Ji-ye (黃稽業). A total of 77 Chinese contributed. This list recorded each donor's county origin and amount of contribution. Considering the nature of the fund, it is assumed that the figure of 77 covered most Chinese adult males in the Barkerville-Stanley area at that time (Table 63).

Table 63 indicates that the majority, 70 or 91% of 77 donors came from the Siyi district and more than half, 42, of the Siyi Chinese came from Taishan County. These 77 Chinese came under 19 family names. Among the 19 family names, three large families are identified, Huang (31.2%), Chen (14.4%), and Zhou (13.0%). Among 77 persons, only three groups of a total of seven persons seem to be brothers or cousins to each other.

Compared with the pattern of the 1880s displayed in Table 44 of Chapter 7 of this thesis, it is seen that in spite of the much smaller size, the Chinese population in the late 1930s retained all the features of the 1880s in terms of the distribution of their county and district origin and clan association.

Table 63: Distribution of 77 Chinese who lived in the Barkerville-Stanley area in 1939 by clan and home county (summarized from account 989.413.1)

SUR NAME	SUR NAME	ENPING	HESHAN	KAIPING	PANYU	SHUNDE	TAISHAN	XINHUI	ZENGCHENG	ZHONGSHAN	UNKNOWN	TOTAL	%
Chen	陳	1		3			6		1			11	14.4
Feng	馮						1					1	1.3
He	何	1										1	1.3
Hu	胡						1					1	1.3
Huang	黃			4			18				2	24	31.2
Jiang	梁				1							1	1.3
Li	李		2				3	1				6	7.8
Liang	梁	1										1	1.3
Lin	林						3	2		1		6	7.8
Ma	馬						1					1	1.3
Peng	彭						1					1	1.3
Wu	伍						3					3	3.9
Xie	謝			2	1							3	3.9
Ye	葉						1					1	1.3
Zeng	曾					1						1	1.3
Zhao	趙						1					1	1.3
Zheng	鄭	2										2	2.6
Zhou	周			9				1				10	13.0
Zhu	朱			1								1	1.3
Total	-	5	2	19	2	1	42	4	1	1		77	100.00

Associations

No information is available on when these clan, brotherhoods, territorial and dialectal associations ceased their function, but it is quite possible that none of them existed in the early 1920s when the total population in Barkerville only was 35 (Hong 1978:191).

Hong-men society

Information about the Hong-men society in the Barkerville in this period is fragmentary. The latest account book (HM 980.291.25) produced by the Hong-men society dates 1902, but the society is believed to have been still alive after that date. The author's study of wallpaper in the Chih Kung T'ang building reveals that wallpaper consisted of four to 17 layers, which was pasted on walls between the late 1870s and early 1930s. The top layer consists of mostly cardboards and was put up around 1934 (Appendix I). The second layer consists of mostly newspapers, stuck up around 1916 (Chen 1992; 2001). There is a near 20-year time gap between these two layers, suggesting the building was unused or less used during this time period. This may be a sign of the decline of the society in the 1910s. In the early 1920s, the Chinese population in Barkerville dropped to only 35 (Hong 1978:91), suggesting a considerable decrease in the society size.

In 1932, the Hong-men society sold its main hall building on Lot 62 to a Caucasian, who later moved the building out of Chinatown to the white portion of Barkerville and renovated it to house the Prince George Restaurant (Hong 1978:191). After that, the society redecorated the inside of the Chih Kung T'ang building (84) by installing a layer of cardboard and used the building as both a ceremonial hall and hotel (Chen 1992).

In March 1944, the America Chih Kung T'ang Conference was held in New York. In the conference, the society changed the society name from Chih Kung T'ang (致公堂) to Chinese Chih Kung Tong (中國洪門致公黨), declaring that the Hong-men society transformed itself from a secret society into an open political party (Chien 1989:41).

In November 1945, the 12th Canada Chih Hung T'ang Conference was held in Victoria. It was decided at the conference that the Chih Kung T'ang societies in Canada change their name to the Chih Kung Tong in response to the name change made in the New York conference (Chien 1989:41:73).

There is a horizontal signboard on the front wall of the second floor of the main structure of the Chih Kung T'ang building (84) in Barkerville, which reads 'Branch of the Chinese Hong Men Chih Kung Tong (中國洪門致公黨分部), indicating the chapter in the Barkerville also made a corresponding change.

Earlier in 1945, the Hong-men society at Vancouver appealed for donation to redeem the society's building at Vancouver, which was used as a pledge for raising fund to support Mr. Sun Yi-xian's 1911 revolution. A donor list was produced on September 1, 1945, which shows that in the North Carbioo, Dea Song (Xie Shuang) (謝雙), master of the Hong-men society in the Barkerville area, and three other Hong-men members, Huang Yu-xing (黃玉星), Wu Fu-xiang (伍福祥), and Zhou Qi-shan (周其山) contributed to the fund in the names of individuals instead of the society. (The donor list is displayed in their memory in the main hall of the Chinese Freeman's National Headquarters of Canada in Vancouver.) It indicates that there were still several Hong-men members in Barkerville, but the society had ceased most of its activities. The new signboard and the Chih Kung Tang building probably only possessed a symbolic meaning.

In July 1946, the International Hong-men conference was held in Shanghai, China. The conference decided to change the party's name from Chinese Hong-men Chin Kung Tong (中國洪門致公黨) to Chinese Hong-men Min Chih Tong (中國洪門民治黨) with its English name as Chinese Freemasons (Chien 1989:41). In July 1947, the 13th Canada Chih Kung Tong conference was held in Calgary. The society decided to change its name to Chinese Hong-men Chin Kung Tong (中國洪門民治黨) in response to the Shanghai Congress' decision (Chien 1989:74).

However, no similar change was seen in Barkerville. The sign board saying 'Branch of the Chinese Hong Men Chih Kung Tong (中國洪門致公黨分部) has been hanging on the front wall of the Chih Kung building without any change since 1945. It is safe to believe that the Hong-men society in Barkerville ceased in 1947.

So, the Hong-men ceased some of its authority in the Chinese community in the late 1910s and discontinued its functions around 1947.

Merchant elite

As the Hong-men society and other associations became less active in the 1910s, the merchant class reasserted its power over the remaining Chinese community. Among 223 Chinese account books, five were made in this period, one in 1938, one in 1941, and three in 1942. Most of them are registers for attendance at feasts held by the community for the Qing Ming, Yu Lan, and Chong Yang Festivals. These activities were all sponsored by merchants, Lee Chong (Li Chang) (利昌), Huang Wen-hong (namely Bill Hong) (黃文洪), and Li Huan-zhang (李煥章), suggesting their leading role in the Chinese community. However, such a role did not seem

to exist during and after the war since many people, including Hong himself left to serve the war and only a few of them returned to Barkerville after the war (Hong 1978). There were some Chinese in the Barkerville area during and after the war but they did not act as a community.

Lee Chong and his family left Barkerville in 1942. Bill Hong and his family and a few old timers such as Dea Song, Wong Sai Art and Wong Kee Tong stayed on. Dea Song died in 1949 and Hong moved to Wells in the early 1950s. No information is available for what happened to the other men.

Disintegration of settlement pattern

By the 1910s, the small towns with Chinese sections such as Antler and Richfield had vanished completely and Chinese settlements in the Barkerville area consisted of three major types: Chinatown, a Chinese section in large camps, and small cabins. The second gold rush in the late 1930s created a new town, Wells, in the area. Some Chinese moved to Wells and set themselves up in businesses as storeowners and restaurateurs. But these limited operations and houses did not form a separate Chinatown or Chinese section physically and the Chinese did not organize themselves into an isolated community.

The settlement pattern changed in two ways during this period, by abandonment of cabin site and mining camps with Chinese sections: There is no specific information about of these two types of sites in each decade, but their decreasing number can be felt, by looking at the numbers of the drainages where the Chinese mines worked in each decade (Appendix II). Another change within the Barkerville Chinatown is the continuing abandonment of the major structures, owned by social or political organizations and major businesses. All association buildings were probably standing vacant in the early 1910s. One of the two major buildings of the Hong-men society was moved out of the Chinatown in 1932 as mentioned earlier. The other building, the Chih Kung T'ang building, was abandoned in 1947.

In the 1910s, there were still six major Chinese businesses in Barkerville: Kwong Lee Wing Kee (Guang Li Rong Ji) (廣利榮記) owned by Loo Gee Wing with Tsang Quan (Zeng Kun) as bookkeeper; Wah Lee (He Li) (和利) owned by five Chinese with Chow Doo Soot as manager; Yen Woo (Ren He) (人和) owned by three brothers in the Chow (Zhou) family; Kwong Sang Wing (Guang Sheng Rong) (廣生榮) owned by Eng Fong (Wu Bai-feng), and two others businesses under the title of the owners, Lai Gow and (Chow) Dick Woo (Hong 1978:186-187).

In 1909, Sing Kee and his partners bought the Yan Woo. Four years later, they bought Wah Lee. These two stores were destroyed in a fire in 1914 and Sing Kee was able to rebuild. Around 1912, Lai Gow shut down his store, moving his family to Prince George. The Kwong Lee Wing Kee store probably closed around 1913 (Wright 1988:81). Wu Bai-feng (Eng Fong) sold his store to a group of Chinese and they changed the store name to the Lun Woo Company around 1915, and Sing Kee sold his stock to the Lun Woo in 1918 (Hong 1978:186, 188). In the early 1920s, the Lun Woo was the only Chinese store in Barkerville. In 1926, Bill Hong and his partner, Lee Chong, bought the Lun Woo Company and changed its name to Lee Chong Company. They operated the company till the 1946 when their partnership discontinued. By the end of the 1940s, the Chinatown had become deserted to a large extent (Figure 117).



Figure 117. View of Barkerville Chinatown from south to north (ca. 1946) (BCPA I-33442).

Change in household

Census information about the household after this period is not accessible. Discussion of the issue can only be on a very general level.

The decrease in population in the 1910 and discontinuation of the major stores such as the Kwong Lee Wing Kee (1913) and Kwong Sang Wing (1915), led to disintegration of the large households, a combination of merchant family and Fangkou household. After that nuclear

families and single men were probably the two major types of household, while there might have been some small Fankou households formed by people who were once in large households. Each household type decreased in number through time for the same reason.

In Barkerville, single households consisted of retired males. Wong Dan's cabin was a typical example of this type: a single-room cabin containing a bed, table, chair, stove, and other utensils to meet one man's general indoor needs.

Family households were mostly occupied by merchants. After the 1920s, there were probably only two families left headed by Hong and Lee Chong in the Barkerville Chinatown.

In the early 1930s, these two families shared the Lee Chong Company building, one of the few good buildings in town, for both business and living purposes. They created a new type of household, based on a partner relationships. While using the main floor as a store, the two families, Hong's family of seven and the Lee family, lived on the second floor. Each couple and Hong's children had their own bedrooms, and two families shared the kitchen, dining and living rooms. The Hong's left for China in 1936 only to return because of the Japanese invasion of China in early 1937. The Lees continued to live in the building until 1942. Hong and his family lived across the street when they returned due to the fact that the Lee family was increasing in number with the births of their six children. Bill Hong further developed his interests in Wells and eventually moved there. Pat Hong, Bill Hong's son, in a written agreement with Lee Chong, took over responsibility of the Barkerville store in 1946.

Individuals

Among the last residents in the Barkerville's Chinatown, Dea Song and Bill Hong should be mentioned here.

Dea Song

Dea Song is a Taishan Cantonese call of Xie Shuang (謝雙). According to Hong (1978:195-197), Dea Song came to Canada in 1884 after nearly two-month voyage on sea. In the first six years, Dea Song worked primarily as a cook on a farm and later on a steamboat along the Fraser River. In early 1890, he came to Barkerville ditch-digging for a month. He quit unhappy with the low income (\$1.65/10 hours each day) and went back to the steam boat to continue his catering career.

In 1916, Dea Song came back to Barkerville. He secured a job as chef at Kelly's Hotel and worked there till his retirement in the late 1940s. During his 30 years in Barkerville, Dea Song only went back to China once. As all his fellow countrymen, Dea Song loved Chinese liquor such as Mu-Kya-Lou (玫瑰露) and opium. He also liked buying lottery tickets to try his luck.

It is unclear where and when Dea Song became a member of the Hong-men society but he was the master, the last one, of the chapter in Barkerville from 1917 to 1949 before his death. He died in the Wells Hospital and was buried at the old Quesnel cemetery. Hong commented Dea Song was 'a fine old man' (Hong 1978:197) (Figure 118).



Figure 118. Dea Song, the last master of the Hong-men society in the Barkerville area, was a cook at the Mckinnon Hotel, Barkerville in ca. 1929 (BCPA C-07674).

Bill Hong

The story about Bill Hong provided here was primarily based on his 1978 book, *...And So... That's How It Happened Recollections of Stanley-Barkerville 1900-1975*.

Bill Hong's father, Wong Gar Won (黃家旺) was born in 1852 in Guangdong, China. He came to the United States in 1862 with two his two older brothers, staying with them for several years at Silver City, Nevada. He came to Stanley in 1880s and became a gold miner. Then he purchased the Kwong Long Kee (廣隆記) Store. In 1885, he went back to China and got married. It is unclear when Wong Gar Wong brought his wife back from China but she must have arrived in Stanley no later than 1901, as Wong Mon Hong (黃文洪) (Bill Hong) was born then. Similar to the story of Nam Sing, C. D. Hoy and many other Chinese, whose names started with the family names, the Caucasians believed 'Wong Mon' was the first name and 'Hong' the surname of the child. The initials of 'Wong Mon' formed the abbreviation for William, which was simplified as 'Bill' in English. So, Bill Hong became Wong Mon Hong's legal name later and his original surname was dropped.

Wong Gar Wong couple raised a family of five, four sons and one daughter. In 1910, Wong Gar Wong took the whole family back to China. His wife became sick and died in 1911. Wong Gar Wong married a woman in Hong Kong a year later and brought her back to Stanley in 1912. Bill Hong stayed for two years in China and became immersed in Chinese culture before returning to Canada in 1912. His two brothers came back to Canada in 1919 and 1921, respectively, while one brother and sister stayed behind and got married.

Between 1912 and 1917, Hong attended school at Victoria first and Barkerville later. In 1918 at age 17, Hong started working to support his family. Hong worked as a miner, factory worker, cook, ditch line builder, hydraulic pipe man in a number of companies in the North Cariboo and Prince George, experiencing hardship other Chinese did.

In 1923, Hong married Fay. They lived with his parents at their Stanley home. In 1924, Hong worked at Ella Lake Dam in charge of ditch-lining the dam in mining season and sawing wood in Barkerville all winter. During that year Hong's stepmother got sick and died in Vancouver. The family experienced both emotional and economic loss.

In early 1925, Hong went back to Stanley, mining on his own claim on Last Chance Creek. The Hong couple raised a family of five, three sons and two daughters, who were born in 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, and 1933 respectively.



Figure 119. Bill Hong (ca. the 1970s) (after Hong 1978).

The year 1926 was a turning point in Hong's life. In September, Hong moved his family to Barkerville where he and his partner Lee Chong (利昌) purchased the Lun Wo (聯合) Grocery Store and changed its name to Lee Chong (李昌) Company. Also, in the late 1920s Hong opened a café in Barkerville and had two trucks on the road for public transport.

At the same time as working in the stores in both Barkerville and Stanley, Hong turned his eye to large-scale hydraulic mining. In 1928, he took the Point Claim on Slough Creek and put it into formal operation in 1932 after a few years of testing. In 1933, he built a new camp with an office and houses for 26 men including both Chinese and whites on Slough Creek. In 1934, he bought the Sang Dang Mine, also on Slough Creek, and added a blacksmith shop and a tool storage room to the camp he built a year previously.

In order to have enough water to feed his monitors, Hong decided to channel water from Jack of Clubs Lake to the Slough Creek mine by a more than an eight-mile (12.9 km) long channel consisting of the old Burns Creek ditch, rebuilt trestles and new ditches. The enterprise started in 1935 and completed in 1936. The return on this project was much better than Hong expected which encouraged him to start another large water conservancy project, rebuilding the Pickerton Dam in 1936, completing it in 1939.

In the early 1930s, Hong and several partners established the Barkerville Light and Power Company and ran it till 1948. In 1934, Hong purchased and renovated the Deluxe Café in Wells, which was later converted into a store and run by his two sons (Editor Notes in Hong 1978:20, 21).

Following his father's example, Hong decided to send his children back to China to learn Chinese. In 1936, he brought the whole family back to China and built a house in Guangdong, expecting that his wife and children could stay there for two or three years. Hong returned to Canada in early 1937. The invasion of the Japanese to China later in the year destroyed Hong's plan. Mrs. Hong brought their children back to Barkerville in the same year (Editor Notes in Hong 1978:23).

During the Second World War, the gold industry stagnated due to the shortage of labourers and because the Canadian government took gold off the protected industries list in 1942. Hong went to Vancouver and worked on aircraft. After the war, he returned to Barkerville, continuing his hydraulic mining on Slough Creek till 1970.

Between the late 1920s and the 1940s, Hong was one of leading members of the Chinese community. Records in the Chinese account books, such as account B20.1.E3.1 and B20.1.E4.1 (Appendix IV), indicate that he and Lee Chong were the two main initiators of community feasts celebrating traditional Chinese festivals in the early 1940s. Hong was also enthusiastic in public service for the entire community of Barkerville. 'He was an active member of the Barkerville Fire Brigade for many years from the 1920s on, and served as Fire Chief in the 1940s and 50s. He retired from active service in 1958' (Editor Notes in Hong 1978:26).

In the early 1950s, Hong moved from Barkerville to Wells. After his retirement from mining around 1970, Hong developed his interest in photography, bottle and coin collecting, and recording local history. From Wells, Hong and Fay would travel to Quesnelle and Vancouver, visiting old friends, sons, daughters, and grandchildren (Editor's Note in Hong 1978:26). In 1971, Hong and Fay went back to China to visit their old home in Guangdong. Hong even made a trip to visit Beijing on his own in 1976 at age 77 (Figure 119). In 1985, Hong died in Vancouver, ending his challenging and colourful life.

Conclusion

The period between the 1910s and the 1940s witnessed the Chinese communities in the North Cariboo go from decline to final disintegration. Decline in placer mining and Canadian government's exclusion policy towards Chinese immigration were two major factors causing this change. Other factors, such as the Second World War and opportunities provided in other cities in British Columbia and other places in Canada, also played roles in this change.

Chinese communities in the four areas of the North Cariboo District came to an end between the late 1920s and the late 1940s. Each was marked by a decrease in population followed by discontinuation of various social, political organizations, and destruction of the settlement pattern.

Decrease in the Chinese population started in the 1910s and speeded up in the following 30 years. In the 1930s, hydraulic mining saw a revival and the second gold rush took place in the Barkerville-Stanley area and led to a slight increase in the population. In two other areas, Quesnel and Quesnelle Forks, the Chinese population continued to decline in the 1930s, as the second gold rush did not affect these areas. During the 1940s, the Chinese population in all areas dropped sharply and a community of any sort was no longer tenable.

Along with population decrease there were changes in households. Large Fangkou household declined in the 1910s, leaving nuclear families and single households as the two major types. Meanwhile, Fangkou, with a smaller size than the previous period, probably came into existence in either Chinatown or the mining camps in the 1920s and 1930s. During the 1940s, Fangkou household became extinct, leaving a few families and single households in each area.

The Hong-men society ceased its leading function in Quesnelle Forks and Stanley, between the late 1910s and the early 1920s. The chapter of the society in the Quesnel area became defunct probably after 1918. In the Barkerville and Stanley areas, other organizations, such as clan, regional and dialectal associations probably stopped activities in the 1910s. After that, major merchants in Chinatown became the leaders of the remaining Chinese community in each area, but their authority did not last long. The Chinese community disintegrated in the Quesnel area in the late 1920s. The one at Quesnelle Forks disintegrated in the late 1930s. The Chinese community in the Stanley area disintegrated in the early 1930s and the remaining Chinese merged with the Chinese community in the Barkerville area. Though some community activities persisted as late as the early 1940s, for the rest of the 1940s, the remaining Chinese in each area were too few to form any organization and act as a whole any more.

The decline and disintegration of the Chinese community are detectable by the decrease in Chinese settlements, within site changes in Chinatowns, and abandonment of the entire settlement

pattern in each area. A decrease in settlement numbers can be also be detected from examination of the number of drainages worked by Chinese through time. The change within Chinatowns was reflected by continuous abandonment of major structures ending with the final desertion of town. Under this general trend, the settlement pattern in the four areas ended differently.

In the Quesnel area, the settlement pattern probably was disintegrating even before the Chinatown fire of 1925. After that, the remaining Chinese residents merged into the white Quesnel society no new Chinatown re-emerged. There were a few Chinese ranch or farms in this area in the rest of the period, but they did not form a pattern any longer.

In the Quesnelle Forks area, the Chinese settlement pattern began to disintegrate as early as the 1910s. Quesnelle Forks, as a single Chinese settlement in this area, was continued by two merchant families and several miners in the 1920s and 1930s, who restricted their activities to the southwestern portion of the town. In the 1940s, there were only three Chinese and the remainder of the two merchant families in the town. They lived in a few structures at the southwestern corner, leaving the most of the town standing empty.

In the Stanley area, Chinatown experienced a similar process. In the early 1910s, there were still two Chinese stores left, but only one survived into the late 1920s. After the Chinatown was abandoned in the early 1930s, the remaining Chinese settlements merged into the one in the Barkerville area.

In the Barkerville area, Chinese settlements kept decreasing in number through time. Within Chinatown, houses and buildings became abandoned over time. Eventually, the Hongmen society ceased functioning and so did other organizations and Chinese businesses. In the late 1940s, there were only one family and a few retired single men left in Chinatown. They occupied one or two buildings and a few cabins, leaving the rest of Chinatown deserted.

Chapter 11 Conclusion

This study employs the contextual approach proposed by Hodder, who argues that the past is best understood in the broadest spatial and historical context. Note is also taken of the limitations of the purely archaeological approach pointed out by Trigger, who emphasizes the use of all relevant non-archaeological sources together with the archaeological data for the purpose of the reconstruction of historical events. In the thesis, the emergence and demise of Chinese communities in the North Cariboo is reconstructed by an amalgamation of information from field archaeology, archival documents in both English and Chinese, and oral sources. It is hoped that the reconstruction will facilitate the understanding of the history of the early Chinese settlements in British Columbia.

Four arguments are put forward by way of a review of the background of Chinese immigration in the study area: First, Chinese emigration to other parts of the world started long before the middle and late 19th century. As early as the Han Dynasty (B.C. 206-220 A.D), the local population on the south coast of China, currently Guangdong and Fujian provinces were known to have had contact with travelers from other parts of the world. By the 10th century, large-scale emigration to Southeast Asia, known to the Chinese as Nan Yang (南洋) or the South Sea, had already begun. By the middle 19th century, the two coastal provinces had nearly a thousand year history of emigration. Though official government prohibitions and a deep rooted cultural aversion had held many bound to their birth place for the rest of their life, there were many others from these two provinces who had seen emigration as a means to escape economic ruin and political disasters. Emigrations taking place in the middle and late 19th century were, therefore, continuations of this long historical tradition.

Second, though part of a long tradition, the emigration in the middle and late 19th century was accelerated by the 'push and pull' factors, internal disturbances in China and North American gold rushes. This gave it certain distinctive features: a) It was on a greater scale than at any other previous points in the history of China, affecting more people and families and taking them further from the home country to more varied destinations; b) the gold rush seems to have drawn immigrants almost entirely from the Pearl River Delta, a small portion of the whole of Guangdong, to the exclusion of the rest of Guangdong and the whole of Fujian province; c) further, people from different areas of the delta appear to have been bound to different gold rush destinations, giving each destination an exclusive pool of people, associated by either clan, village, area or county. The origin of the immigrants by clan or geographic associations neatly divides the map of their destinations, suggesting strongly chain immigration.

Third, the Chinese traditional concepts of family, clan and native place, strengthened by China's long civilization and its central role in East Asia, had a profound hold on the Chinese immigrants' psyche and played a prominent role in the shaping of the Chinese immigrant community. Another ancient concept, all lands and people on the earth belong to the king of China, was not only part of the upbringing of the Chinese rulers but also deeply embedded in the minds of its people. These concepts exerted such an influence over the Chinese emigration history that it evolved features unparalleled by any other contemporary non-Chinese immigration movements. Most of the Chinese immigrants, especially the first generation, whose community were made up almost exclusively of males with family and clan left behind in China, thought of themselves as sojourners instead of settlers. 'Coming back rich' was the goal for their temporary sojourn. Such short-term goals combined with their cultural pride, gave the immigrants no incentive to merge with host communities nor encouraged them to acclimatize or acculturate. While resisting pressure of acculturation, they actively cultivated their own identity wherever they stayed and built their shelter, regardless of whether or not there were anti-Chinese sentiments in the community.

Fourth, the merchant class rose to the top of immigrant community. Back in the home country China, a continued government policy to discourage commercial activities so as to keep down what was called the 'non-productive' population, managed through the ages to keep the merchant class at the bottom of social ladder and a well organized administrative and tax system had kept business activities small-scale. Yet as the Chinese government, especial the Qing government, forfeited its rights over overseas Chinese communities, emigration to foreign countries allowed merchants, once on the bottom of the social ranking in China, to move to the top, becoming the powerhouse in the development of the immigrant community. This class was more active than any other components in the immigrant communities in constructing and maintaining an independent identity socially, politically and economically. Usually, Chinese merchants would show up in foreign countries earlier than Chinese labourers. Chinese social organizations would usually find their first stop in a foreign country in a major Chinese store.

When the Chinese arrived in the North Cariboo with their mining kits, they inevitably brought this heritage along.

The period between 1861 and 1876 started with the first gold rush and ended with the subsequent decline in the North Cariboo. A corresponding population explosion was followed by a sharp drop. The Chinese first showed up in the Quesnel area around 1861 and arrived at the Quesnelle Forks and Barkerville-Stanley areas within the next two years. Chinese settlements emerged in all three areas each with a Chinatown as centre. The local decline after 1864 saw

many Chinese and non-Chinese abandoning the district. Proportionally, more Chinese stayed. As a result, despite the general depopulation trend, the percentage of Chinese in the remaining population increased. Under these conditions, Chinese settlements took on the appearance of 'unofficial colonies' or colony-like settlements. In the Quesnelle Forks area, for example, the Chinese became by far the most dominant culture group in the population and occupied almost the entire the town. The few remaining non-Chinese residents virtually became an ethnic minority.

The first social structure to emerge in the Chinese settlements at this time was the chain of command with major merchants on the top, who controlled miners and other labourers through economic, social and political means. No formal organization, apart from the Hong-men society, appears to have developed. In the eyes of the dominant community, these unofficial Chinese 'chambers of commerce' were spokesmen for Chinese immigrants. The only formal organization, which could have been in existence during this period, was the Hong-men society. Founded by a group of miners in Barkerville in 1864. The local expression of this society does not, however, seem to have accorded it immediately with a role of leadership or influence.

The period from 1876 to 1910 saw continued decline in the gold industry except for a temporary rise with the introduction of hydraulic mining techniques. The Chinese population shows a slow increase, reaching its peak in the 1880s. After the 1890s, the population decreased slowly until the 1940s when virtually all of the remaining Chinese population left. Archival sources, oral history and archaeological field data show that it was in this period that the full social structure of the Chinese immigrant community developed.

A settlement pattern consisting of a large Chinatown, several small towns, and a large mining camp with Chinese quarters and isolated mining cabins developed in the four main areas of the North Cariboo. Chinese from 14 counties in the Pearl River Delta occupied these settlements. The majority came from two counties, Kaiping and Taishan, in the Siyi District. In fact, many of the immigrants seem to have come from limited areas in these two counties. The Chinese who came from the same family, extended family, clan, or county tended to stay in the same area, the same settlement and even same household once they reached the North Cariboo. This co-residential pattern is not seen in sources until the 1880s but it surely was in existence from the 1860s. Such a pattern could have been initiated by the first Chinese arrivals from California and then developed as a rule or pattern in their home counties, as dictated by the very nature of chain immigration.

Compared with the first period of Chinese settlement in the district, this period saw a smaller but probably more stable Chinese population, as reflected in changes in social structure.

One of the major changes seems to have been a power re-assignment. Merchants' direct power over miners and other labourers became confined to the economic realm such as supplying room and board and finding jobs. Social leadership began to be taken over by formal organizations. Two leading, non-merchant organizations are identified for this period. In the Quesnelle Forks, Barkerville and Stanley areas, the Hong-men societies became social leaders. Since the majority of the Chinese in these three areas were Hong-men members, the Hong-men's rule was pervasive. In the Barkerville and Stanley areas, there were several associations based upon clan, territorial and dialect proximity, but none of them seems to have been strong enough to challenge the Hong-men society's authority.

In the Quesnel area, the Chow clan association appears to have been in a more prominent position, due to the fact that the main body of Chinese here was from Kaiping County, of whom the majority belonged to the Chow clan, dominated by several large extended families. In this area, the Hong-men society was the only other visible social organization.

These changes did not, however, imply a downgrading of the merchant's elite position, evident from the fact that most major Chinese storeowners were Hong-men society members and probably leaders, too. Some merchants held positions as high as military consul, second only to the master.

The existence of two sets of authorities, the Hong-men society and the clan associations in the North Cariboo during this period shows that the Hong-men society was not the sole power in position in Chinese communities. It appears that the position attained by the Hong-men society in a given Chinese community depended on a) whether or not it answered the needs of the majority, b) whether the merchant class was involved, and c) whether it had the support of the major clans in the community.

Community life consisted of mainly two categories of activities. The Hong-men society was involved with the celebration of traditional Chinese festivals, taking care of funerals and various ceremonies. The other type of activities was mainly social-or business-related, such as gambling, opium smoking and prostitution. All these activities took place in the centre of community, if there happened to be one, within the Chinese settlements.

Throughout the history of the Chinese community in the study area, Chinese kept their traditional lunar calendar and traditional Chinese weight and measure system in use. This, together with the language, costume and food, enhanced the distance between the Chinese and the host society and set them apart from the dominant culture. Even constant contact with the host culture over the years failed to diminish the unique Chinese identity, due to the constant flow of

young blood coming out to replace the veterans returning home. It can be argued that the Chinese substantiated their claim that the settlements were colonies of Tang, by making them in practice.

The period from the 1910s to the 1940s witnessed the gradual decline and final disintegration of Chinese communities from the North Cariboo. A decline in the gold industry and the Canadian government's change in policy towards Chinese immigration were primary contributors to this. Other factors such as the rise of the city, Prince George, eruption of the Second World War and the development of Chinatowns in the lower mainland and eastern Canada also played their roles in the event.

The end saw Chinese communities in all four areas of the North Cariboo go through a similar process. Depopulation led to the disruption of social and political institutions. Outside of the main Chinese settlements, cabins, mining camps and small towns were being abandoned. Even the large Chinatowns suffered the same fate. Quesnel was destroyed in a fire in 1925. The few remaining Chinese families were scattered throughout the rest of Quesnel as a result, never again able to form a close-knit community. The Stanley Chinatown was virtually deserted by the early 1930s. The once impressive Quesnelle Forks Chinatown was largely abandoned in the early 1940s. The last Chinese resident there died in 1954. Barkerville's Chinatown was practically a ghost town by the late 1940s. The few remaining residents consisted of a merchant family and a number of old timers, whose stay did not carry further than the early 1950s.

In conclusion, the history of the Chinese immigrants to the North Cariboo spans a period of more than 70 years, catalyzed by the gold rush and ended with the decline of the gold industry and the Canadian government's policy of exclusion of Chinese. The settlement pattern of immigration that followed, enables us to gain a glimpse into the strong values the Chinese embraced: family, clan, and place of birth, which were inextricably woven into the fabric of their new life. The community life the immigrants developed, often culminating with the establishment of Chinese settlements, 'colonies of Tang', in the new land, showed more of a pride in cultural superiority than territorial ambition. Chinatowns are more reflections of the immigrants' desire to replicate the life style of the old country than staking territorial claims. The life and society the immigrants created in the North Cariboo revealed in this study provides a template for such changes, which may be tested with other Chinese mining societies in other regions of British Columbia and the United States.

Appendix I. Distribution of wallpaper on the walls of the Chih Kung T'ang Building

ROOM 84A1 (MAIN HALL)								
PERIOD	LAYER	North Left portion (Sample 2) ¹	North Right Portion	North Left Portion	South Right portion (Sample 1)	East Right portion (Sample 13)	West	Ceiling (Sample 4)
I	Plank&Board wall	Plank wall	Plank wall	Plank wall	Plank wall	Board Partition	Plank wall	Plank&board
	Canvas&Cloth	Canvas	-	-	No ¹	No	No	No
	Gauze&Cloth	No	-	Gauze	No	No	Gauze	No
	1873	1873	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1874	1874	-	-	1874	No	-	No
	1875	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1876	No	-	-	1876	1876	-	No
	1877	1877	-	-	No	1877	-	No
	1878	No	-	-	1878	No	-	No
	1879	1879	-	-	No	No	-	No
II	Wallpaper	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1880	1880	-	-	1880	No	-	No
	Log&Board wall	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1881	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1882	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1883	1883	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1884	No	-	-	1884	No	-	No
	1885	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1886	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	Gauze	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
III	1887	1887	-	-	No	1887	-	1887
	1888	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1889	1889	-	-	1889	No	-	No
	Brown paper	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1890	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1891	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1892	1892	-	1892	No	1892	-	No
	1893	1893	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1894	1894	-	-	1894	No	-	No
	1895	1895	-	-	1895	1895	-	1895
IV	1896	1896	-	-	1896	No	-	No
	1897	1897	-	-	1897	1897	-	1897
	1898	1898	-	-	1898	1898	-	No
	1899	1899	-	-	1899	No	-	1899
	1900	1900	-	-	1900	No	-	No
	1901	1901	-	-	1901	1901	-	No
	1902	1902	-	-	1902	1902	-	No
	Log&Board wall	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	Textile	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1903	1903	-	-	1903	1903	-	1903
V	1904	1904	-	-	1904	No	1904	No
	1905	No	-	-	No	1905	-	1905
	1906	No	-	-	No	No	-	1906
	1907	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1908	1908	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1909	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	Board wall	Board wall	Board wall	Board wall	Board wall	No	Board wall	No
	Gauze	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1910	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1911	No	-	1911	No	1911	-	1911
VI	1912	No	-	-	No	No	-	1912
	1913	No	-	-	No	No	-	1913
	1914	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1915	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	Plastic sheet	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1916	No	-	-	No	1916	-	No
	1917	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1918	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1919	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1920	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
VII	1921	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1922	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1923	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1924	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1925	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1926	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1927	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1928	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1929	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1930	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
VIII	1931	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1932	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1933	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
	1934	No	-	-	No	No	-	No
↓	Card board & paint	Cardboard + paint	Cardboard + blue paint	Blue cardboard + blue paint	Cardboard + blue paint	Cardboard + paint	Blue paint	Blue Paint

(Appendix I cont.)

ROOM 84A2 (DINNING ROOM)						
PERIOD	LAYER	North	South	East	West	Ceiling
↑	Plank&Bard wall	Board partition	Plank wall	Plank wall	Board partition	Board ceiling
	Canvas&Cloth	-	-	-	-	-
	Gauze&Cloth	-	Gauze	-	-	Gauze
	1873	-	-	-	-	-
I	1874	-	-	-	-	-
	1875	-	-	-	-	-
	1876	-	-	-	-	-
	1877	-	-	-	-	-
	1878	-	-	-	-	-
↓	1879	-	-	-	-	-
↑	Wallpaper	-	-	-	-	-
	1880	-	-	-	-	-
	Log&Board wall	-	-	(Removed)	-	-
	1881	-	-	-	-	-
	1882	-	-	-	-	-
	1883	-	-	-	-	-
	1884	-	-	-	-	-
	1885	-	-	-	-	-
	1886	-	-	-	-	-
	Gauze	-	-	-	-	-
	1887	-	-	-	-	-
	1888	-	-	-	-	-
II	1889	-	-	-	-	-
	Brown paper	-	-	-	-	Brown paper
	1890	-	-	-	-	-
	1891	-	-	-	-	-
	1892	-	-	-	-	-
	1893	-	-	-	-	-
	1894	-	-	-	-	-
	1895	-	-	-	-	-
	1896	-	-	-	-	1896
	1897	-	-	-	-	-
	1898	-	-	-	-	-
	1899	-	-	-	-	1899
	1900	-	-	-	-	-
	1901	-	-	-	-	-
↓	1902	-	-	-	-	-
↑	Log&Board wall	-	-	-	-	-
	Textile	-	-	-	-	-
	1903	-	-	-	-	-
	1904	-	-	-	-	-
	1905	-	-	-	-	-
	1906	-	-	-	-	-
	1907	-	-	-	-	-
	1908	-	-	-	-	-
III	1909	-	-	-	-	-
	Board wall	-	-	-	-	-
	Gauze	-	-	-	-	-
	1910	-	-	-	-	-
	1911	1911	-	-	1911	-
	1912	-	-	-	-	-
	1913	-	-	-	-	-
	1914	-	-	-	-	-
	1915	-	-	-	-	-
	Plastic sheet	-	-	-	-	-
	1916	-	-	-	-	-
↓	1917	-	-	-	-	-
↑	1918	-	-	-	-	-
	1919	-	-	-	-	-
	1920	-	-	-	-	-
	1921	-	-	-	-	-
	1922	-	-	-	-	-
	1923	-	-	-	-	-
	1924	-	-	-	-	-
	1925	-	-	-	-	-
IV	1926	-	-	-	-	-
	1927	-	-	-	-	-
	1928	-	-	-	-	-
	1929	-	-	-	-	-
	1930	-	-	-	-	-
	1931	-	-	-	-	-
	1932	-	-	-	-	-
	1933	-	-	-	-	-
	1934	-	-	-	-	-
↓	Card board & paint	Blue cardboard	Blue cardboard	-	Blue cardboard + pink paint	Blue cardboard

(Appendix I cont.)

ROOM 84A3 (BEDROMM)						
PERIOD	LAYER	North	South (Sample 6)	East (Sample 16)	West	Ceiling
↑	Plank&Bard wall	Plank wall	Board partition	Plank wall	Board partition	Board ceiling
	Canvas&Cloth	-	No	No	-	-
	Gauze&Cloth	Gauze	Gauze	Gauze	Gauze	Gauze
	1873	-	No	No	-	-
I	1874	-	1874	No	-	-
	1875	-	No	No	-	-
	1876	-	1876	No	-	-
	1877	-	1877	1877	-	-
	1878	-	1878	1878	-	-
↓	1879	-	No	No	-	-
↑	Wallpaper	-	Wallpaper-a, b	No	-	-
	1880	-	1880	1880	-	-
	Log&Board wall	-	No	No	-	-
	1881	-	No	No	-	-
	1882	-	No	No	-	-
	1883	-	No	No	-	-
	1884	-	No	1884	-	-
	1885	-	1885	1885	-	-
	1886	-	1886	1886	-	-
	Gauze	-	No	No	-	-
	1887	-	No	No	-	-
	1888	-	No	No	-	-
II	1889	-	1889	No	-	-
	Brown paper	-	No	No	-	-
	1890	-	1890	No	-	-
	1891	-	1891	No	-	-
	1892	-	1892	1892	-	-
	1893	-	1893	No	-	-
	1894	-	No	1894	-	-
	1895	-	No	No	-	-
	1896	-	1896	No	-	-
	1897	-	1897	1897	-	-
	1898	-	No	No	-	-
	1899	-	1899	1899	-	-
	1900	1900	1900	1900	-	1900
	1901	-	1901	No	-	-
↓	1902	-	1902	No	-	-
↑	Log&Board wall	-	No	No	-	-
	Textile	-	No	No	-	-
	1903	-	1903	No	-	1903
	1904	-	1904	No	-	-
	1905	-	1905	No	1905	-
	1906	-	No	No	-	-
	1907	-	No	No	-	-
	1908	1908	No	No	-	-
III	1909	-	No	No	-	-
	Board wall	-	No	No	-	-
	Gauze	-	No	No	-	-
	1910	-	No	No	-	-
	1911	1911	1911	1911	1911	1911
	1912	-	No	No	-	-
	1913	-	No	No	-	-
	1914	-	No	No	-	-
	1915	-	No	No	-	-
	Plastic sheet	-	No	No	-	-
	1916	-	No	No	-	-
↓	1917	-	No	No	-	-
↑	1918	-	No	No	-	-
	1919	-	No	No	-	-
	1920	-	No	No	-	-
	1921	-	No	No	-	-
	1922	-	No	No	-	-
	1923	-	No	No	-	-
	1924	-	No	No	-	-
	1925	-	No	No	-	-
IV	1926	-	No	No	-	-
	1927	-	No	No	-	-
	1928	-	No	No	-	-
	1929	-	No	No	-	-
	1930	-	No	No	-	-
	1931	-	No	No	-	-
	1932	-	No	No	-	-
	1933	-	No	No	-	-
	1934	-	No	No	-	-
↓	Card board & paint	No	No	Blue cardboard	No	No

(Appendix I cont.)

PERIOD	LAYER	ROOM 84A4					
		North	South	East	West	Ceiling	
↑	Plank&Bard wall	Plank wall	Plank wall	Plank wall	Plank wall	Board ceiling	
	Canvas&Cloth	-	-	-	-	-	
I	Gauze&Cloth	Gauze	Gauze	Gauze	Gauze	Gauze	
	1873	-	-	-	-	-	
	1874	-	-	-	-	-	
	1875	-	-	-	-	-	
	1876	-	-	-	-	-	
	1877	-	-	-	-	-	
	1878	-	-	-	-	-	
	1879	-	-	-	-	-	
	↓	Wallpaper	-	-	-	-	-
	↑	Log&Board wall	-	-	-	-	-
	1880	-	-	-	-	-	
	1881	-	-	-	-	-	
	1882	-	-	-	-	-	
	1883	-	-	-	-	-	
	1884	-	-	-	-	-	
	1885	-	-	-	-	-	
	1886	-	-	-	-	-	
	Gauze	-	-	-	-	-	
	1887	-	-	-	-	-	
	1888	-	-	-	-	-	
II	1889	-	-	-	-	-	
	Brown paper	-	-	-	-	-	
	1890	-	-	-	-	-	
	1891	-	-	-	-	-	
	1892	-	-	-	-	-	
	1893	-	-	-	-	-	
	1894	-	-	-	-	-	
	1895	-	-	-	-	-	
	1896	-	-	-	-	-	
	1897	-	-	-	-	-	
↓	1898	-	-	-	-	-	
	1899	-	-	-	-	-	
	1900	-	-	-	-	-	
	1901	-	-	-	-	-	
	1902	-	-	-	-	-	
	↑	Log&Board wall	-	-	-	-	
	Textile	-	-	-	-	-	
	1903	-	-	-	-	-	
	1904	-	-	-	-	-	
	1905	-	-	-	-	-	
III	1906	-	-	-	-	-	
	1907	-	-	-	-	-	
	1908	-	-	-	-	-	
	1909	-	-	-	-	-	
	Board wall	-	-	-	-	-	
	Gauze	-	-	-	-	-	
	1910	-	-	-	-	-	
	1911	-	-	-	-	-	
	1912	-	-	-	-	-	
	1913	-	-	-	-	-	
1914	-	-	-	-	-		
↓	1915	-	-	-	-	-	
	Plastic sheet	-	-	-	-	-	
	1916	-	-	-	-	-	
	1917	-	-	-	-	-	
	↑	1918	-	-	-	-	
	1919	-	-	-	-	-	
	1920	-	-	-	-	-	
	1921	-	-	-	-	-	
	1922	-	-	-	-	-	
	1923	-	-	-	-	-	
IV	1924	-	-	-	-	-	
	1925	-	-	-	-	-	
	1926	-	-	-	-	-	
	1927	-	-	-	-	-	
	1928	-	-	-	-	-	
	1929	-	-	-	-	-	
	1930	-	-	-	-	-	
	1931	-	-	-	-	-	
	1932	-	-	-	-	-	
	1933	-	-	-	-	-	
↓	1934	-	-	-	-	-	
↓	Card board & paint	Blue cardboard + paint	Blue cardboard	Blue cardboard + paint	Blue cardboard	Blue paint	

(Appendix I cont.)

ROOM 84A5 (ALTAR ROOM)									
PERIOD	LAYER	North (Sample 11)	South (Sample 8)	East Left portion (Sample 3)	East Cntrl portion (Sample 15)	East Right portion (Sample 7)	West Left portion (Sample 10)	West Right portion (Sample 9)	Ceiling
↑	Plank&Bard wall	Plank wall	Plank wall	Plank wall	Plank wall	Plank wall	Board partition	Board partition	Board ceiling
	Canvas&Cloth	No	Linen	Canvas&Cloth	No	Canvas&Cloth	No	No	-
	Gauze&Cloth	Gauze&Cloth	No	No	No	No	Gauze&Cloth	No	Gauze
	1873	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
I	1874	No	1874	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1875	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1876	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1877	No	No	No	No	No	1877	No	No
	1878	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
↓	1879	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
↑	Wallpaper	Wallpaper-b	Wallpaper-b	Wallpaper-b	No	Wallpaper-b	No	No	Wallpaper-b
	1880	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	Log&Board wall	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1881	1881	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1882	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1883	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1884	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1885	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1886	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	Gauze	No	No	No	No	Gauze	No	No	No
	1887	1887	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1888	No	No	No	No	1888	No	No	No
II	1889	1889	No	No	No	1889	No	No	No
	Brown paper	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1890	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1891	No	No	1891	No	No	1891	No	No
	1892	No	1892	1892	No	1892	No	No	No
	1893	No	1893	1893	No	1893	1893	No	No
	1894	No	1894	1894	No	No	1894	No	No
	1895	1895	1895	1895	No	1895	1895	No	No
	1896	No	1896	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1897	No	1897	1897	No	No	1897	No	No
	1898	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1899	No	No	1899	No	No	No	No	No
	1900	No	No	1900	No	1900	No	No	No
	1901	No	No	1901	No	No	No	No	No
↓	1902	1902	No	1902	No	No	No	No	No
↑	Log&Board wall	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	Textile	Linen&Gauze	No	No	Linen&Gauze	No	No	Can&Gau&Clo	-
	1903	1903	1903	1903	1903	No	No	No	No
	1904	1904	1904	1904	1904	1904	1904	No	No
	1905	1905	1905	No	No	No	1905	No	No
	1906	No	No	No	No	1906	No	No	No
	1907	No	1907	No	No	No	1907	No	No
	1908	No	1908	No	No	No	1908	No	No
III	1909	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	Board wall	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	Gauze	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1910	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1911	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1912	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1913	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1914	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1915	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	Plastic sheet	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1916	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
↓	1917	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
↑	1918	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1919	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1920	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1921	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1922	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1923	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1924	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1925	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
IV	1926	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1927	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1928	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1929	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1930	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1931	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1932	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1933	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
	1934	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
↓	Card board & paint	Blue cardboard	Blue cardboard	Blue cardboard	Blue cardboard	Blue cardboard	Blue cardboard	Blue cardboard	Blue paint

(Appendix I cont.)

ROOM 84BI (LIVING ROOM)							
PERIOD	LAYER	North	South	East	West	Ceiling	
↑	Plank&Bard wall						
	Canvas&Cloth						
	Gauze&Cloth						
I	1873						
	1874						
	1875						
	1876						
	1877						
	1878						
	↓	1879					
↑	Wallpaper						
	1880						
	Log&Board wall						
	1881						
	1882						
	1883						
	1884						
	1885						
	1886						
	Gauze						
	1887						
	1888						
	1889						
	II	Brown paper					
		1890					
1891							
1892							
1893							
1894							
1895							
1896							
1897							
1898							
1899							
1900							
1901							
↓		1902					
↑	Log&Board wall	Log wall	Plank wall	Board partition	Log wall	Board ceiling	
	Textile	-	-	-	-	No	
	1903	-	-	-	-	No	
	1904	-	-	-	-	No	
	1905	-	-	-	-	No	
	1906	-	-	-	-	No	
	1907	-	-	-	-	No	
	1908	-	-	-	-	No	
	1909	-	-	-	-	No	
	III	Board wall	Board wall	-	-	Board wall	No
		Gauze	-	-	-	-	No
		1910	-	-	-	-	No
		1911	-	-	-	-	No
		1912	-	-	-	-	No
		1913	-	-	-	-	No
		1914	-	-	-	-	No
		1915	-	-	-	-	No
		Plastic sheet	-	-	-	-	No
		1916	-	-	-	-	No
↓	1917	-	-	-	-	No	
↑	1918	-	-	-	-	No	
	1919	-	-	-	-	No	
	1920	-	-	-	-	No	
	1921	-	-	-	-	No	
	1922	-	-	-	-	No	
	1923	-	-	-	-	No	
	1924	-	-	-	-	No	
	1925	-	-	-	-	No	
	IV	1926	-	-	-	-	No
		1927	-	-	-	-	No
		1928	-	-	-	-	No
		1929	-	-	-	-	No
		1930	-	-	-	-	No
		1931	-	-	-	-	No
		1932	-	-	-	-	No
		1933	-	-	-	-	No
		1934	-	-	-	-	No
	↓	Card board & paint	Blue cardboard	Cardboard	Card board + pink paint	Blue cardboard	Yellow paint

(Appendix I cont.)

ROOM 84B2 (BEDROOM)								
PERIOD	LAYER	North	South (Sample 12)	East	West	Ceiling (Sample 14)	Floor	
↑	Plank&Bard wall							
	Canvas&Cloth							
	Gauze&Cloth							
I	1873							
	1874							
	1875							
	1876							
	1877							
	1878							
	↓	1879						
↑	Wallpaper							
	1880							
	Log&Board wall							
	1881							
	1882							
	1883							
	1884							
	1885							
	1886							
	Gauze							
	1887							
	1888							
	II	1889						
		Brown paper						
		1890						
1891								
1892								
1893								
1894								
1895								
1896								
1897								
1898								
1899								
1900								
1901								
↓	1902							
↑	Log&Board wall	Board partition	Plank wall	Log wall	Log wall	Board ceiling	Board floor	
	Textile	Gauze	Gauze	Gauze	Gauze	Gauze	No	
	1903	-	1903	-	1903	No	No	
	1904	-	1904	-	-	No	No	
	1905	1905	1905	1905	1905	1905	No	
	1906	1906	No	-	-	1906	No	
	1907	-	No	-	-	No	No	
	1908	-	No	-	-	No	No	
	III	1909	1909	1909	-	-	No	No
		Board wall	-	No	Board wall	-	No	No
		Gauze	-	No	-	-	No	No
		1910	-	No	1910	1910	1910	No
		1911	-	No	-	-	1911	No
		1912	-	1912	1912	1912	1912	No
		1913	1913	1913	1913	1913	1913	No
		1914	-	1914	-	-	No	No
		1915	-	No	-	-	No	No
		Plastic sheet	-	No	-	-	No	No
	↓	1916	-	No	-	-	No	No
1917		-	No	-	-	No	No	
↑	1918	-	No	-	-	No	No	
	1919	-	No	-	-	No	No	
	1920	-	No	-	-	No	No	
	1921	-	No	-	-	No	No	
	1922	-	No	-	-	No	No	
	1923	-	No	-	-	No	No	
	1924	-	No	-	-	No	No	
	1925	-	No	-	-	No	No	
	IV	1926	-	No	-	-	No	No
		1927	-	No	-	-	No	No
		1928	-	No	-	-	No	No
		1929	-	No	-	-	No	No
		1930	-	No	-	-	No	No
		1931	-	No	-	-	No	No
		1932	-	No	-	-	No	No
		1933	-	No	-	-	No	1933
		1934	-	No	-	1934	No	-
↓	Card board & paint	Blue cardboard	Blue cardboard	Card board	Blue cardboard	Cardboard	Blue cardboard	

(Appendix I cont.)

ROOM 84B3 (BEDROOM)							
PERIOD	LAYER	East W.	West W.	North W.	South (Sample 5)	Ceiling	Floor
↑	Plank&Bard wall						
	Canvas&Cloth						
	Gauze&Cloth						
	1873						
I	1874						
	1875						
	1876						
	1877						
	1878						
↓	1879						
↑	Wallpaper						
	1880						
	Log&Board						
	1881						
	1882						
	1883						
	1884						
	1885						
	1886						
	Gauze						
	1887						
	1888						
II	1889						
	Brown paper						
	1890						
	1891						
	1892						
	1893						
	1894						
	1895						
	1896						
	1897						
	1898						
	1899						
	1900						
	1901						
↓	1902						
↑	Log&Board	Log wall	Board partition	Log wall	Board partition	Board ceiling	Board floor
	Textile	Gauze	Cloth	Gauze/Blanket	Gauze	No	No
	1903	-	-	-	1903	-	No
	1904	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1905	1905	-	-	1905	1905	No
	1906	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1907	-	-	-	1907	-	No
	1908	-	-	-	1908	-	No
III	1909	-	-	-	No	-	No
	Board wall	-	-	-	No	-	No
	Gauze	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1910	-	1910	1910	No	-	No
	1911	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1912	-	-	-	1912	-	No
	1913	-	-	-	1913	-	No
	1914	-	-	-	1914	-	No
	1915	-	-	-	No	-	No
	Plastic sheet	-	-	Plastic sheet	No	-	No
	1916	1916	-	1916	1916	1916	No
↓	1917	-	-	-	No	1917	No
↑	1918	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1919	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1920	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1921	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1922	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1923	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1924	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1925	-	-	-	No	-	No
IV	1926	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1927	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1928	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1929	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1930	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1931	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1932	-	-	-	No	-	No
	1933	-	-	-	No	-	1933
	1934	-	-	-	No	-	-
↓	Card board & paint	Blue cardboard	Cardboard	No	Blue cardboard	Blue cardboard	Blue cardboard

(Appendix I cont.)

Note:

1. Records showed in normal font came from the general investigation of wallpapers in the Chih Kung Tang building and ones displayed in bold font came from in-depth investigation. Most samples (1-15) was worked in 2001 and only one sample (16) was done in 1991.
2. "-" refers to wallpaper layer or layers which has not been worked yet.
3. "No" means that wallpaper samples which were worked have no the specific layer.

Appendix II. A Comparison between archivally recorded drainages where the Chinese mined and the ones where the Chinese settlements were archaeologically located

<u>AREA</u>	<u>DRAINAGE NAME</u>	<u>1861-75</u>	<u>1876-09</u>	<u>1910-49</u>	<u>TIME PERIOD SURVEYED</u>	
Quesnel						
	Barry Ck.	1			1866	
	Cottonwood Rr. (below the bridge)		1		1882	
	Fraser Rr. (from 6 mile below Quesnel to 40 miles above)	1	1	1	1860s-25	
	Government Ck.	1			1867	
	Hixon Ck.	1			1867	
	Quesnel Rr.		1		1882-1901	
	Taylor Ck.*	1			1872	
	Terry Ck.	1			1867	
Quesnelle Forks						
	Cedar Ck.	1			1867-74	
	Cunningham Ck.	1	1	1	1865-22	
	Dancing Bills Bar	1			1872	
	Deacon Ck.	1			1865	
	French Bar	1			1872	
	French Snowshoe Ck.		1		1885-86	
	Goose Ck.	1			1866	
	Harveys Ck.	1			1868-73	
	Horsefly Rr.	1			1872	
	Kangaroo Ck.	1			1869-71	
	Keithley Ck.	1	1		1867-95	
	Little Lake Ck.	1			1868-73	
	Morehead Ck.		1		1887	
	Quesnel Rr. (upper)	1	1	1	1861-48..54	1
	Rose Gulch	1			1872-73	

(Appendix II cont.)

AREA	DRAINAGE NAME	1861-75	1876-09	1910-49	TIME PERIOD SURVEYED	
	Snowshoe Ck.	1	1		1868-86	
	Spanish Ck.	1			1866	
	Swift Rr.	1			1866-73	
	Young's Ck.	1			1872	
Barkerville						
	Antler Ck.	1	1		1863-86	2
	Beggs Gulch	1	1	1	1872-24	3
	Big Valley Ck.		1		1885-97	
	Black Jack Gulch	1			1871	
	California Gulch	1			1871-73	1
	Cooper Ck.	1			1869	
	Grouse Ck.	1	1	1	1866-20	
	Guyet Ck.			1	1910-17	
	Jack of Clubs Ck.		1	1	1901-24	1
	Jack of Clubs Ck.- Burns Ck.		1	1	1935-36	
	Jubilee Ck.*					1
	Little Valley Ck.		1	1	1902-14	
	Lowhee Ck.	1	1	1	1860s-46..	
	Mosquito Ck.		1	1	1807-17	
	Pinkerton Ck.		1	1	1936-38	
	Stevens Gulch	1	1	1	1871-17	2
	Stouts Gulch	1	1	1	1870s-25	
	Sugar Ck.	1			1869-72	
	Summit Ck.			1	1910-26	
	Summit Ck.	1			1869	
	Walker Gulch	1			1871-72	
	Williams Ck.	1	1	1	..1865-45	2
	Willow Rr.		1	1	1934-59..	

(Appendix II cont.)

AREA	DRAINAGE NAME	1861-75	1876-09	1910-49	TIME PERIOD SURVEYED	
	Wolfe (China) Ck.	1			1868-73	1
Stanley						
	Anderson Ck.	1	1	1	1870?-18	4
	Bassford Ck.				1871	
	Beaver Pass Ck.		1	1	1900-20	
	Big Swift River		1		1800-00	
	Bourns Mountain				1880s	
	Burns Ck.	1	1	1	1860s-36	5
	Burns Ck., Jack of Clubs Ck.		1	1	1935-36	
	Campbell Ck.	1			1865	
	Chisholm Ck.	1	1		1867-00	1
	Cottonwood Rr. (above the bridge)		1		1882	
	Coulter Ck.	1			1870-17	
	Devils Canyon	1	1	1	1870?-90s	1
	Devils Lake Ck.	1	1	1	1866-28	2
	Doolwood Ck.		1		1882	
	Dragon Ck.	1	1	1	1872-36	
	Eagle Ck.		1		1877	
	Fountain Ck.	1			1866-74	
	Four Mile Ck.	1			1869-72	
	Grub Gulch				1937	
	Kee Khan Ck.		1		?-1915	
	Last Chance Ck.	1	1	1	1866-37	
	Lightning Ck.	1	1	1	1866-32	2
	Montgomery Ck.			1	1923-39	
	Nelson Ck.	1	1	1	1869-30s	
	Oregon Gulch		1		1890?-00	2
	Perkins Gulch	1	1	1	1872-39	

(Appendix II cont.)

<u>AREA</u>	<u>DRAINAGE NAME</u>	<u>1861-75</u>	<u>1876-09</u>	<u>1910-49</u>	<u>TIME PERIOD SURVEYED</u>	
	Peters Ck.	1			1872-01	
	Ruchon and Canon cks.		1		1882	
	Slough Ck.	1	1	1	1870-46	2
	Tregillus Ck.			1	?-1909	

Note:

- * Chinese mining activity on Jubilee Creek in the Barkerville area is not recorded in the archival records known to the author but a Chinese cabin site was archeologically located there.

Appendix III. Site Maps of Chinese Settlements in the North Cariboo

The 1993 and 1994 field survey in the North Cariboo District located 34 sites and 31 of them were mapped. Distribution of the total 34 Chinese settlements is provided in the following figure. Appendix III contains 33 maps from 31 sites. Maps are in orders of both Borden Number and map number as listed in a table on next page. Standardized symbols are listed in each map. In the captions for each map, the Borden number is given first, then the site name and area where the site is located.

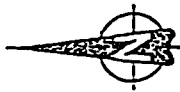
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QUESNEL FORKS (FDRK-1)

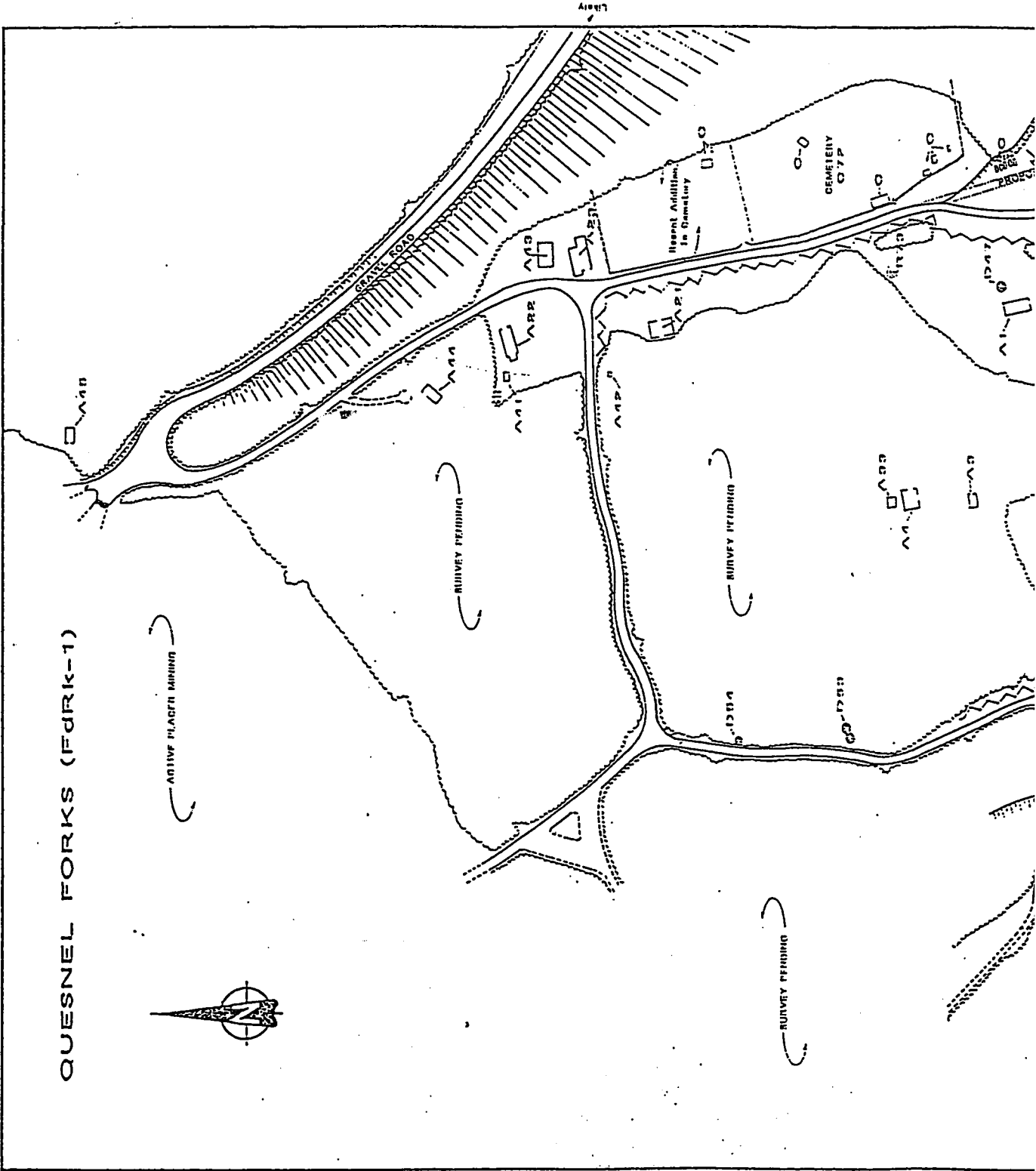


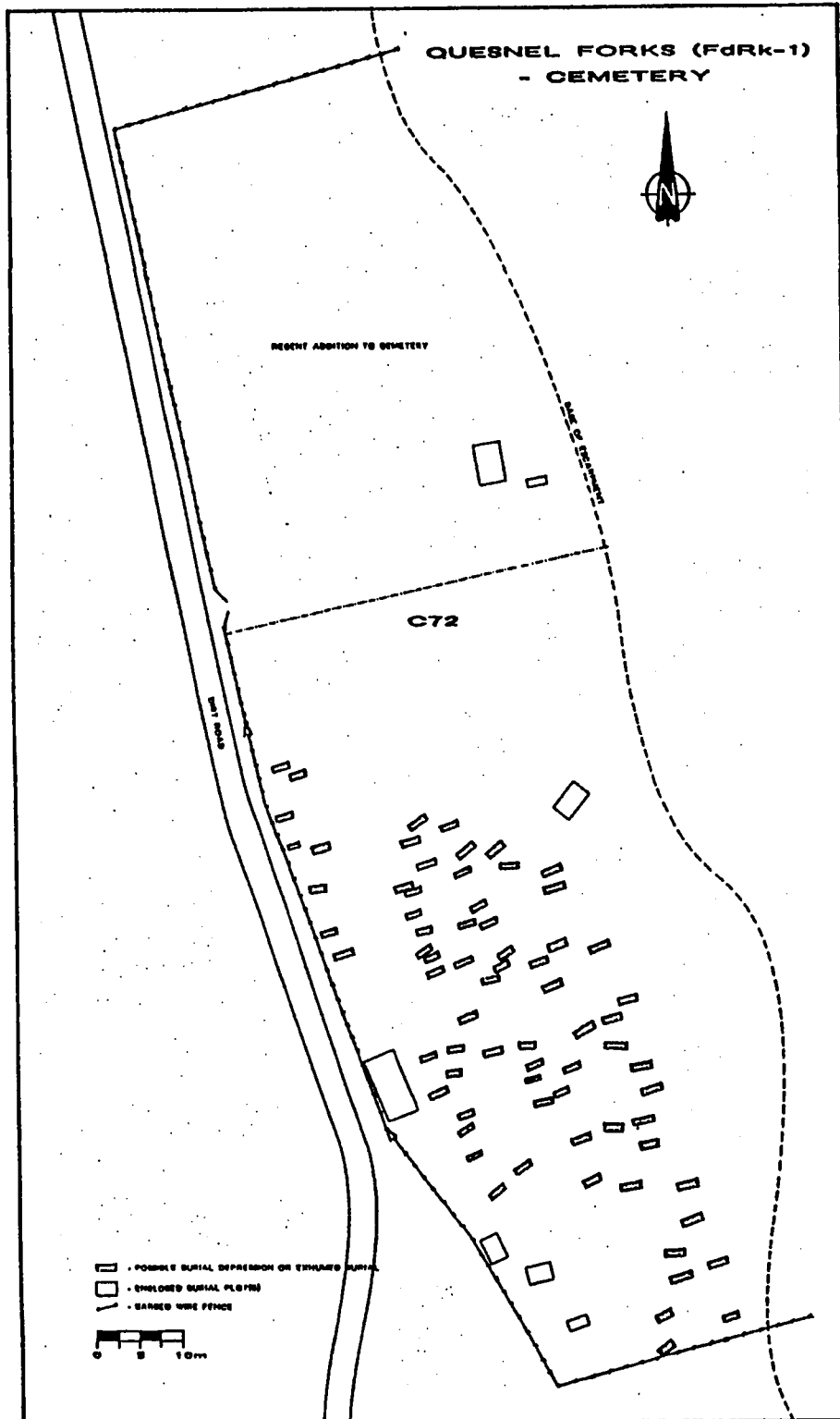
ACTIVE PLASTER MINING

SURVEY PENDING

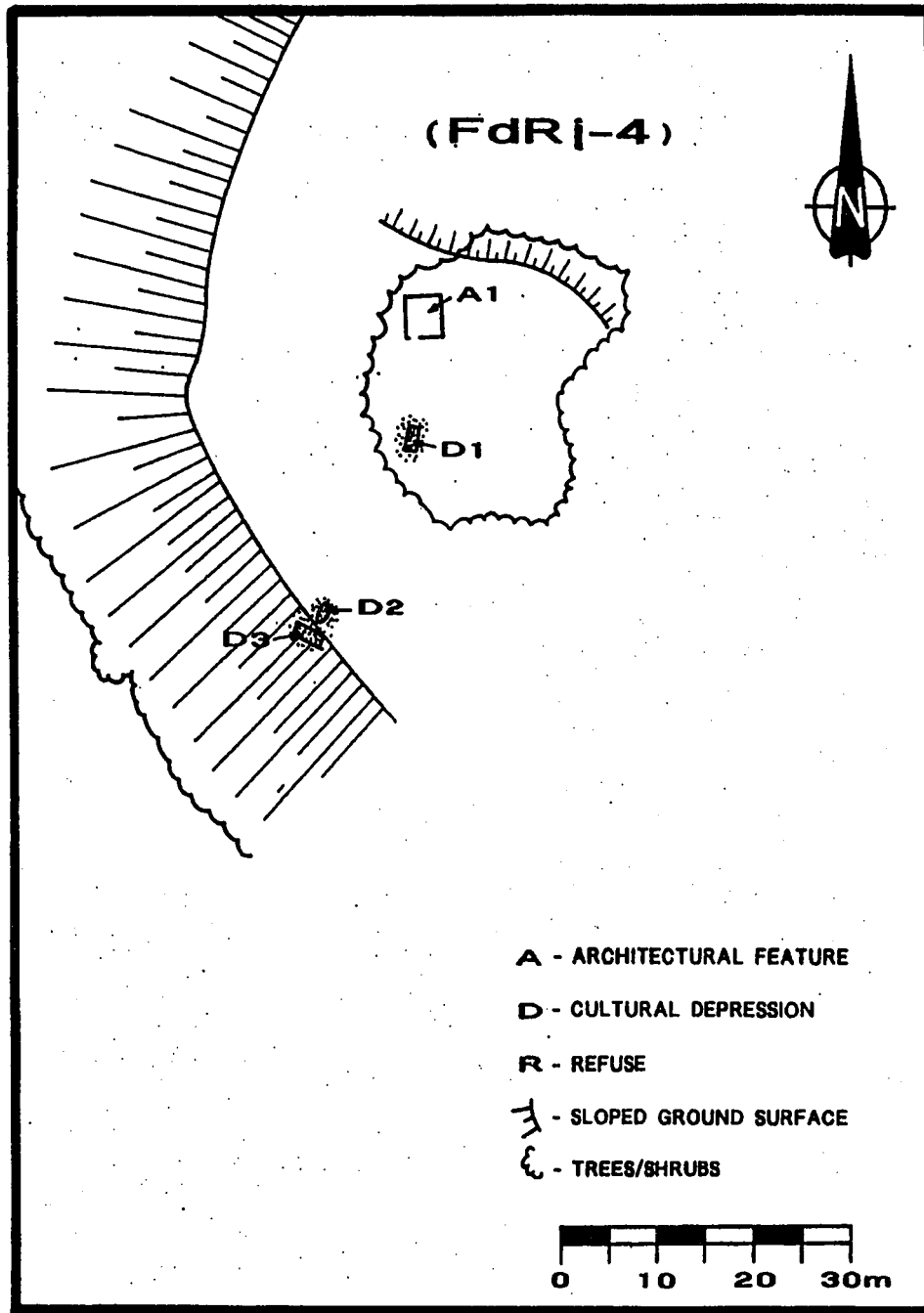
SURVEY PENDING

SURVEY PENDING

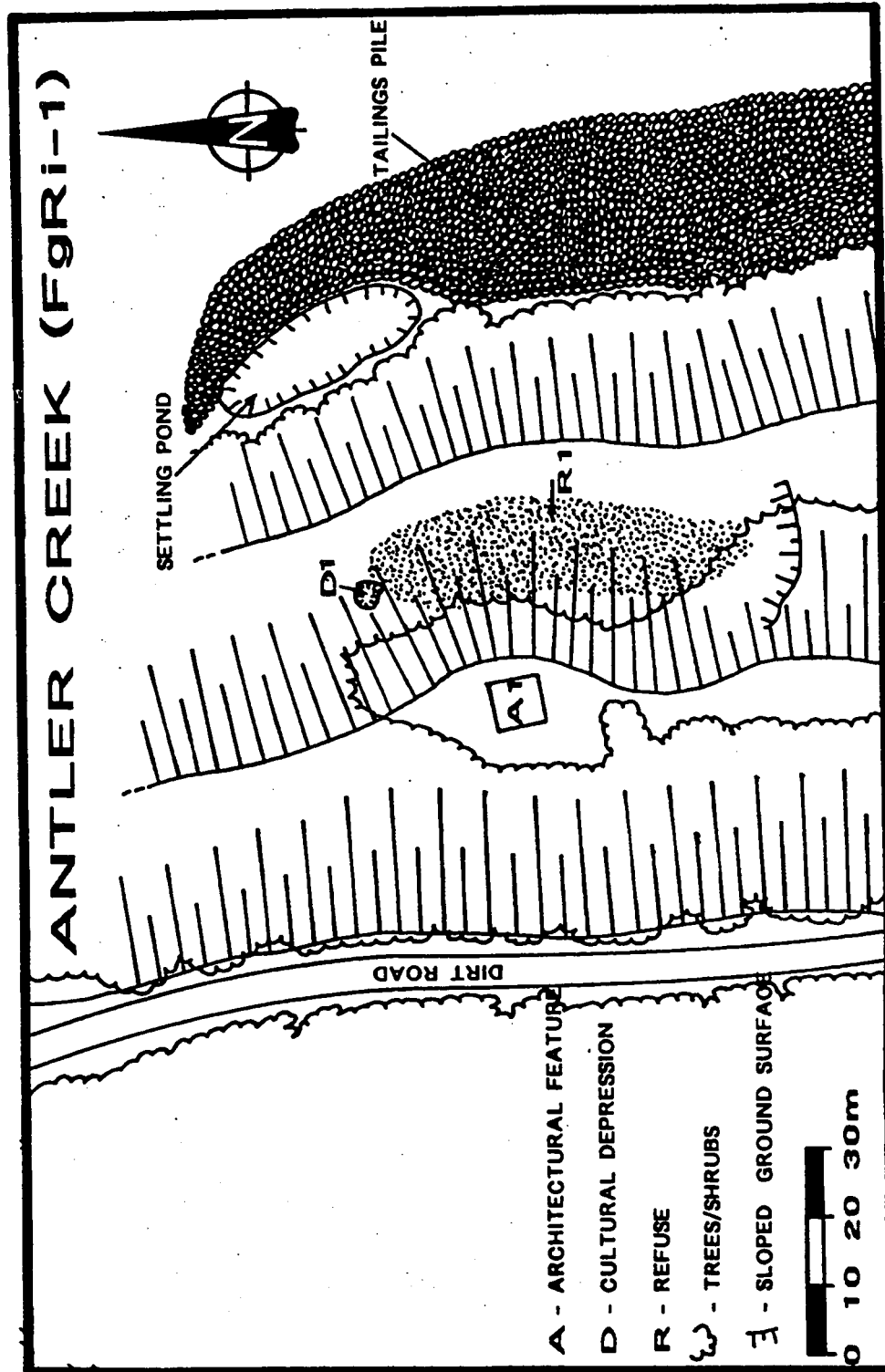




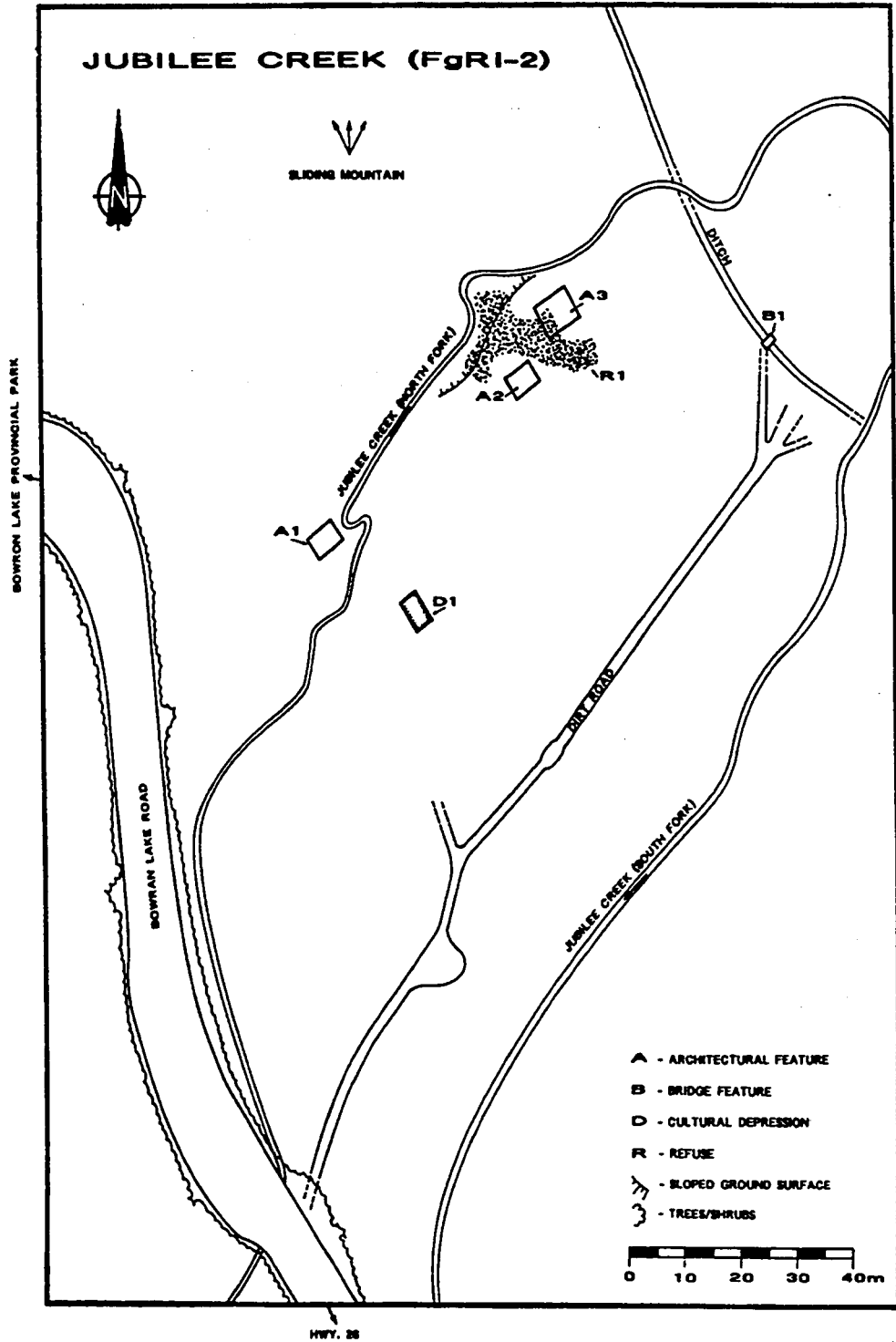
Map 2. Quesnelle Forks Cemetery (FdRk-1), Quesnelle Forks area.



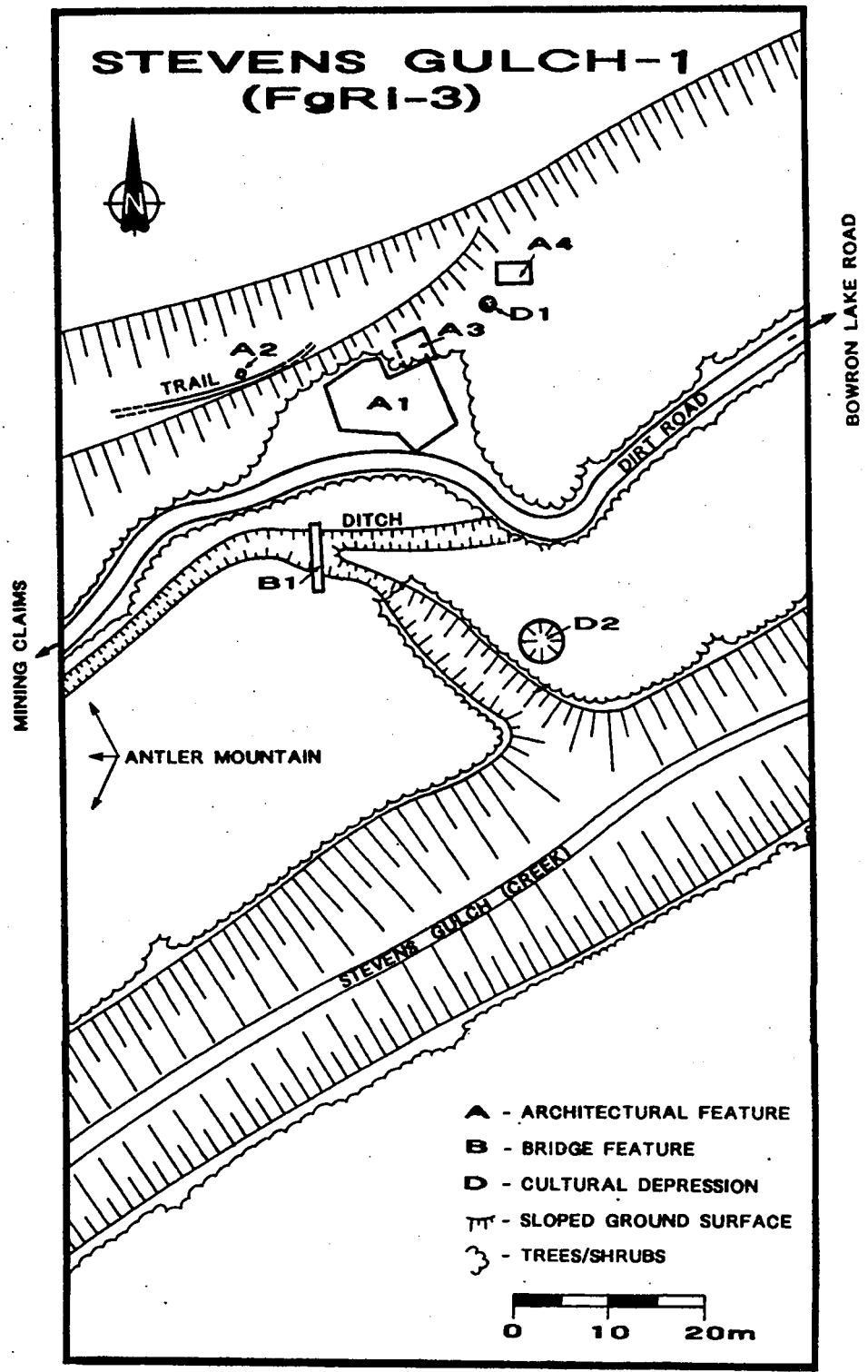
Map 3. Unnamed site (FdRi-4), cabin, Barkerville area.



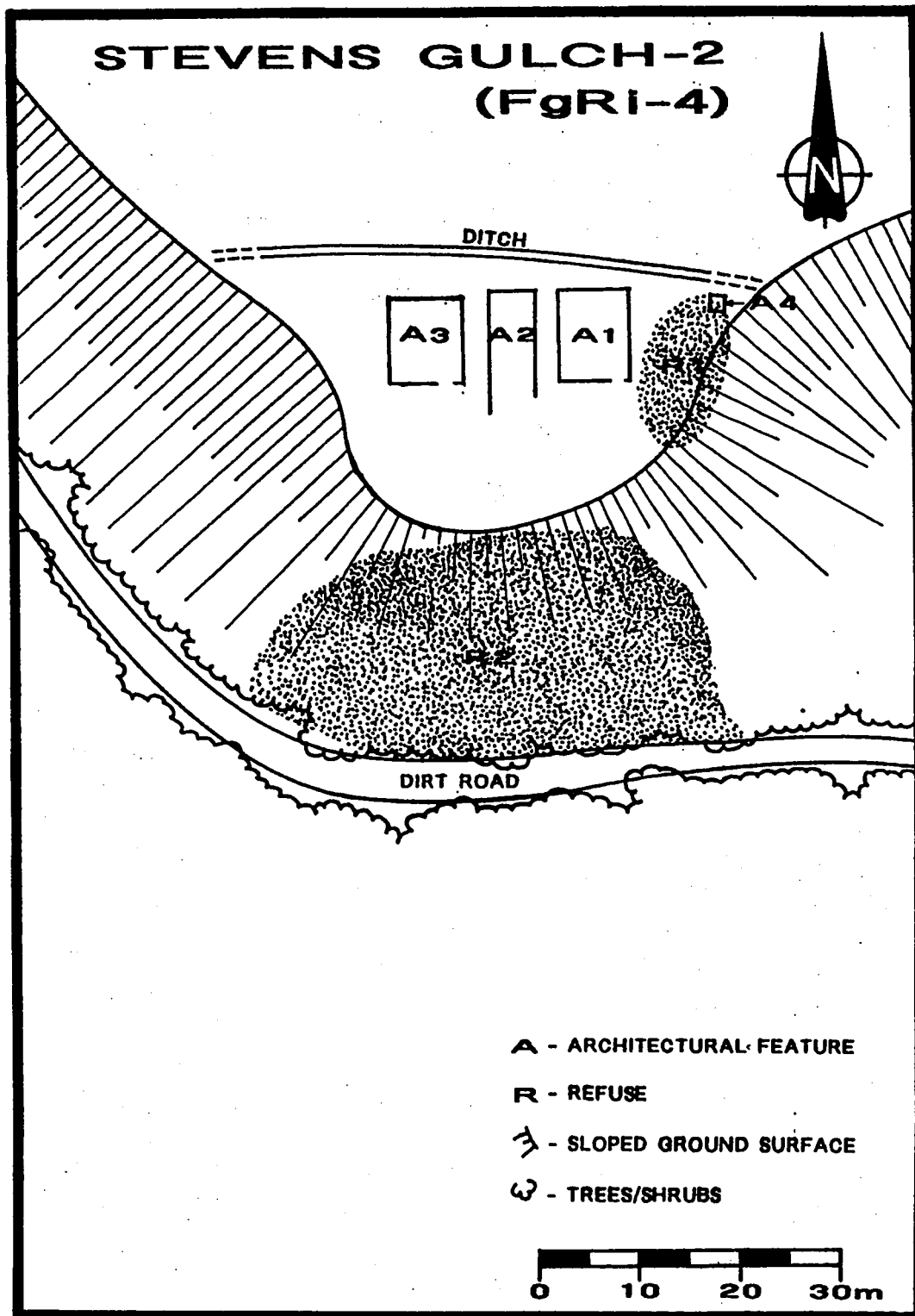
Map 4. Antler Creek (FgRi-1), Chinese section in small town, Barkerville area.



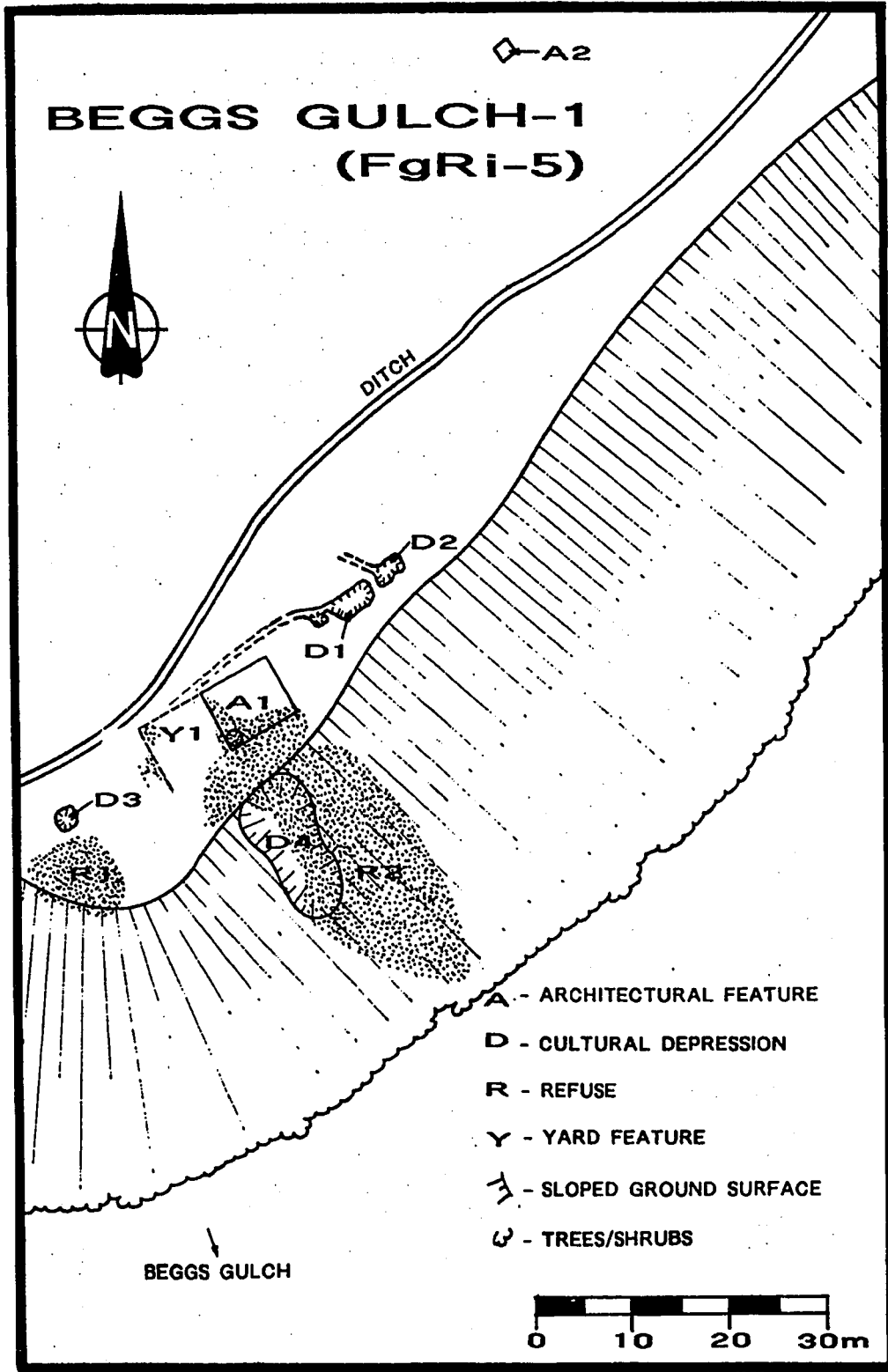
Map 5. Jubilee Creek (FgRi-2), cabin, Bakerville area.



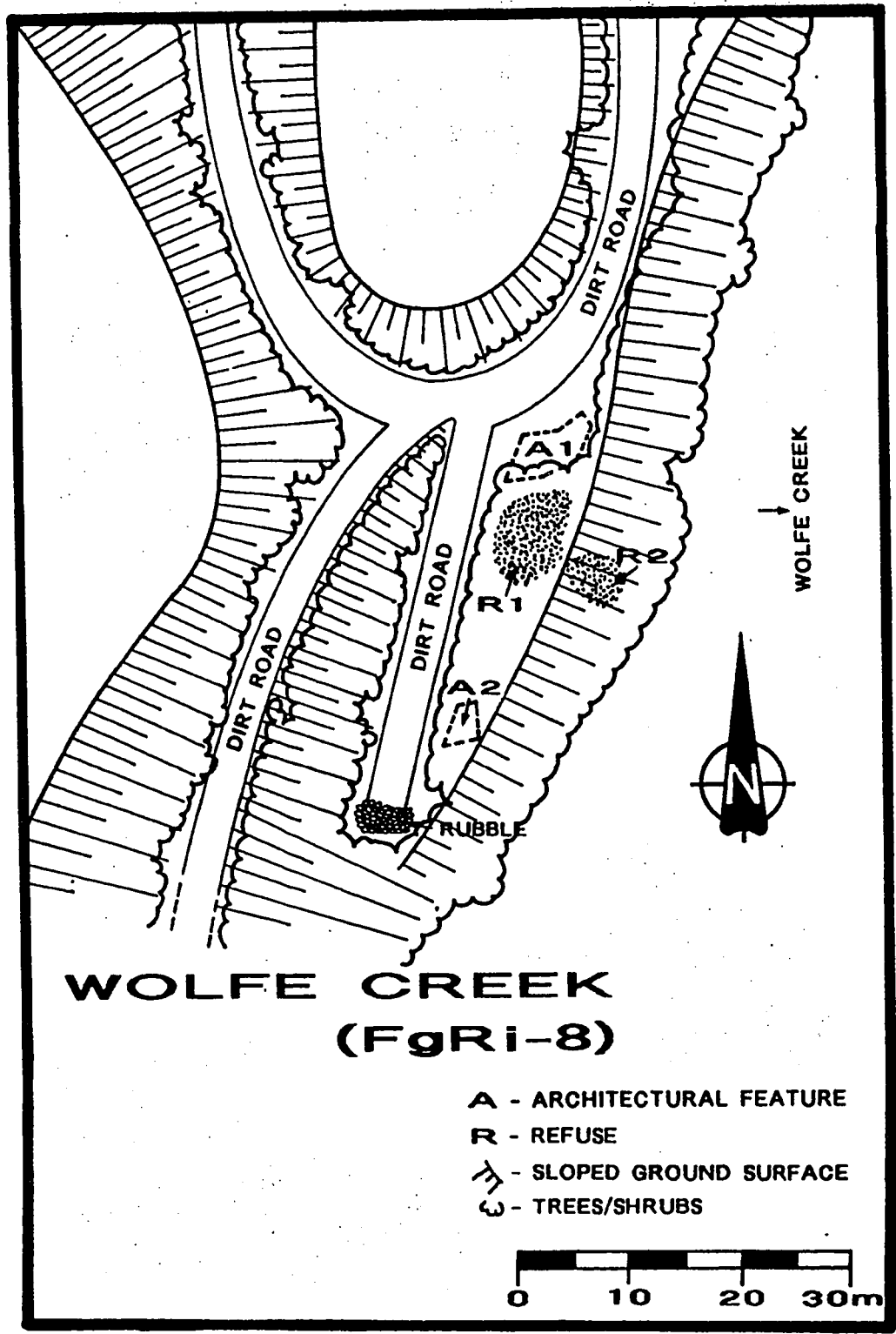
Map 6. Stevens Gulch-1 (FgRI-3), cabin, Barkerville area.



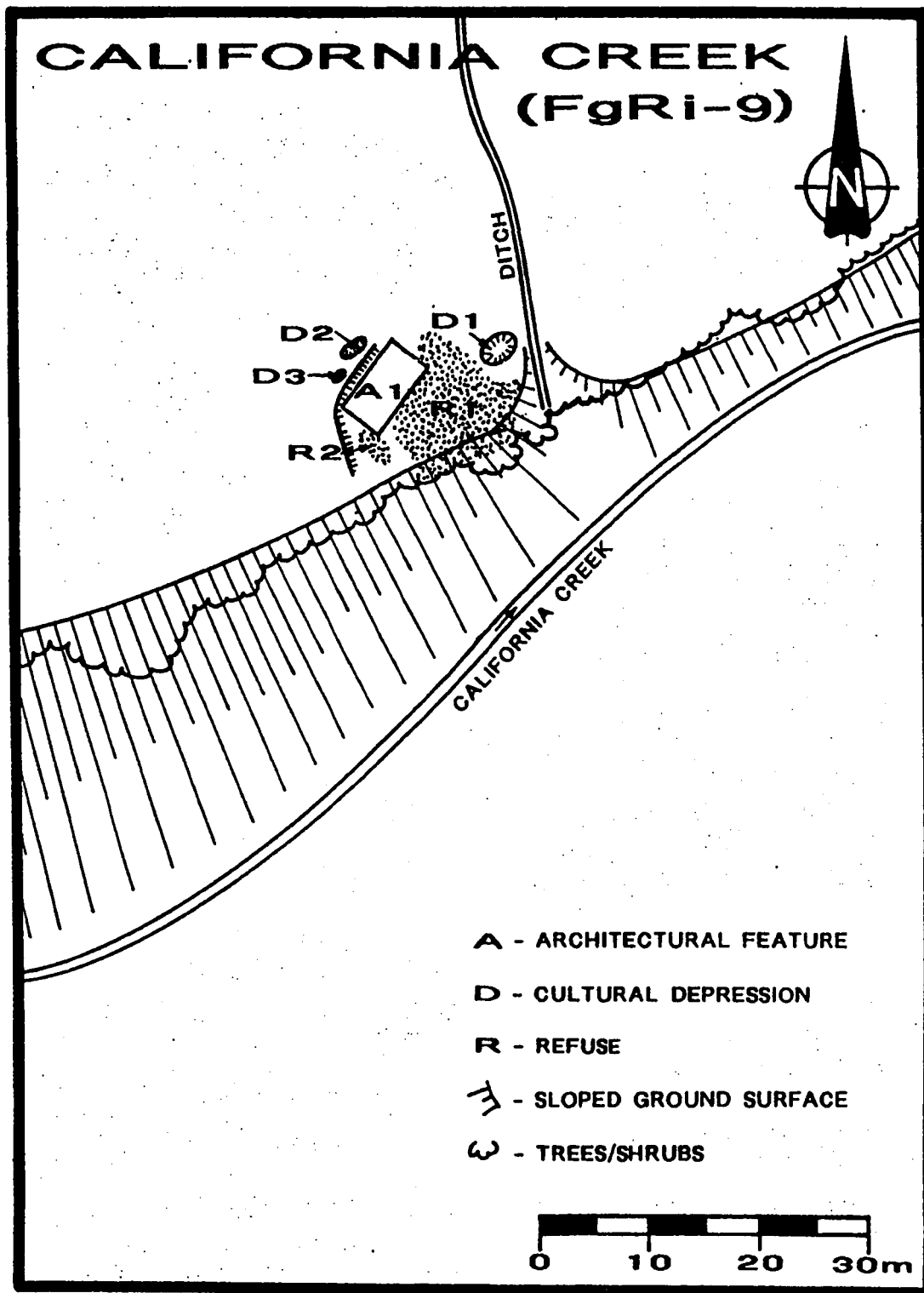
Map 7. Stevens Gulch-2 (FgRI-4), cabin, Barkerville area.



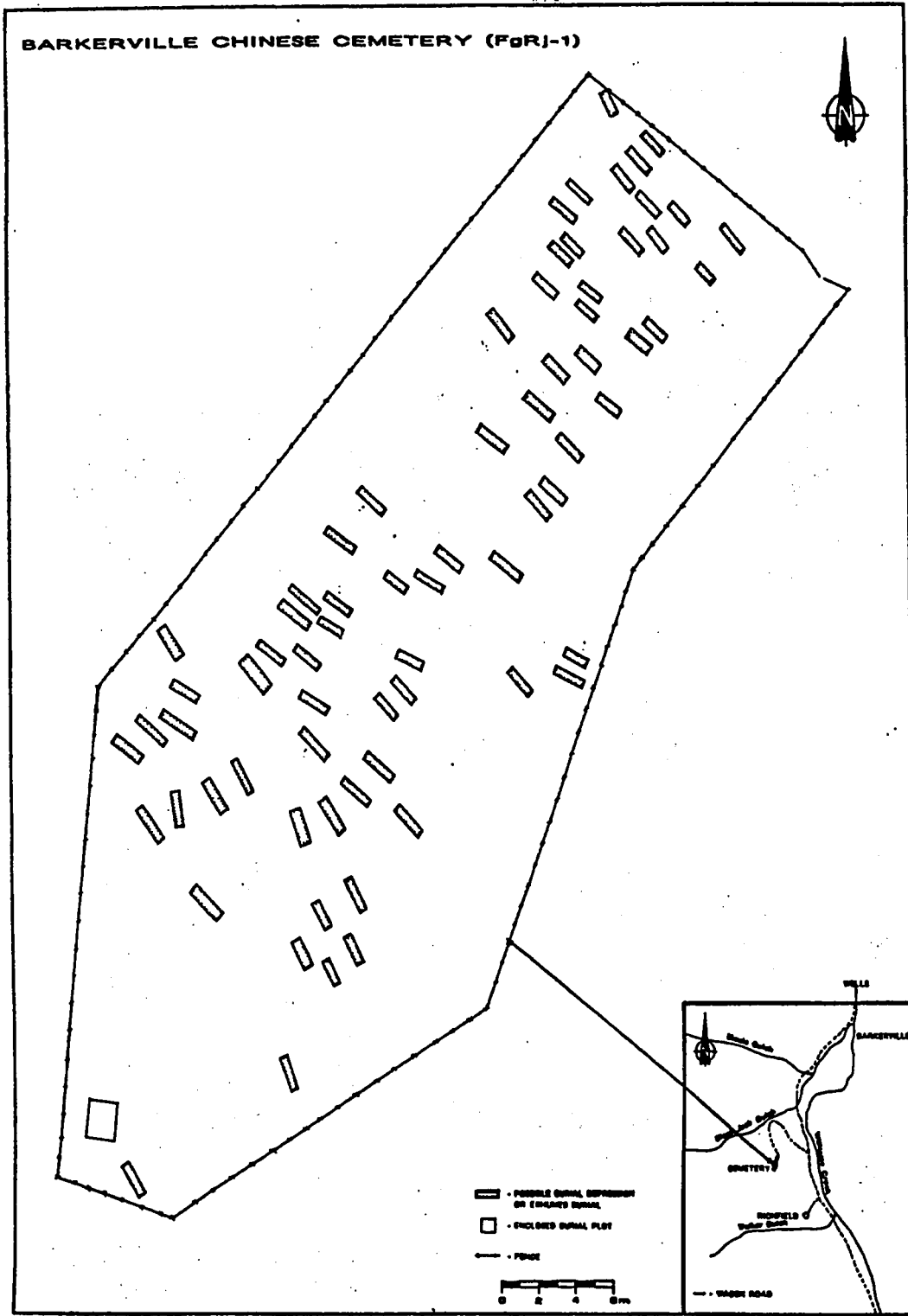
Map 8. Beggs Gulch-1 (FgRi-5), cabin, Barkerville area.



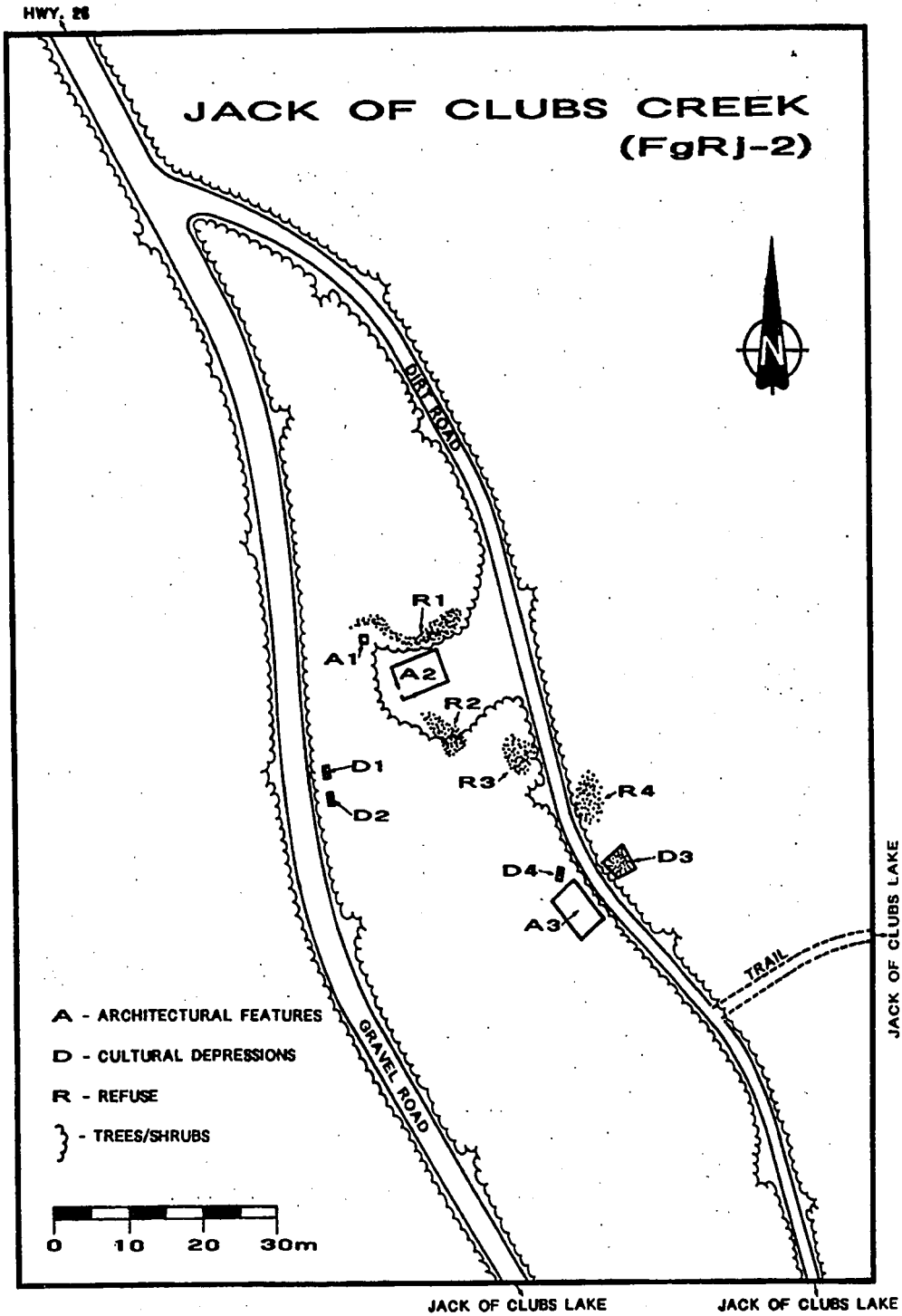
Map 9. Wolfe Creek (FgRi-8), cabin, Barkerville area.



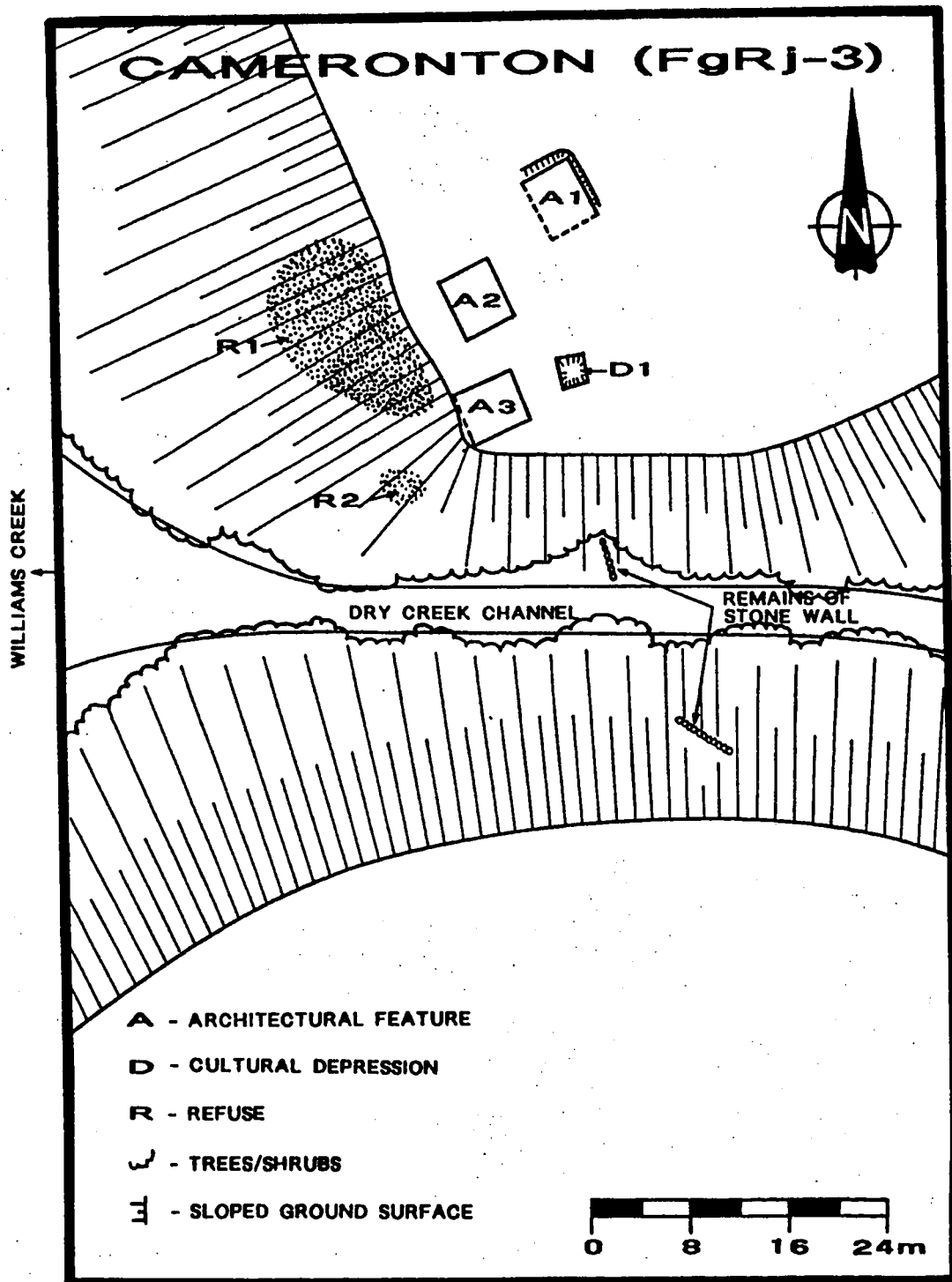
Map 10. California Creek (FgRi-9), cabin, Barkerville area.



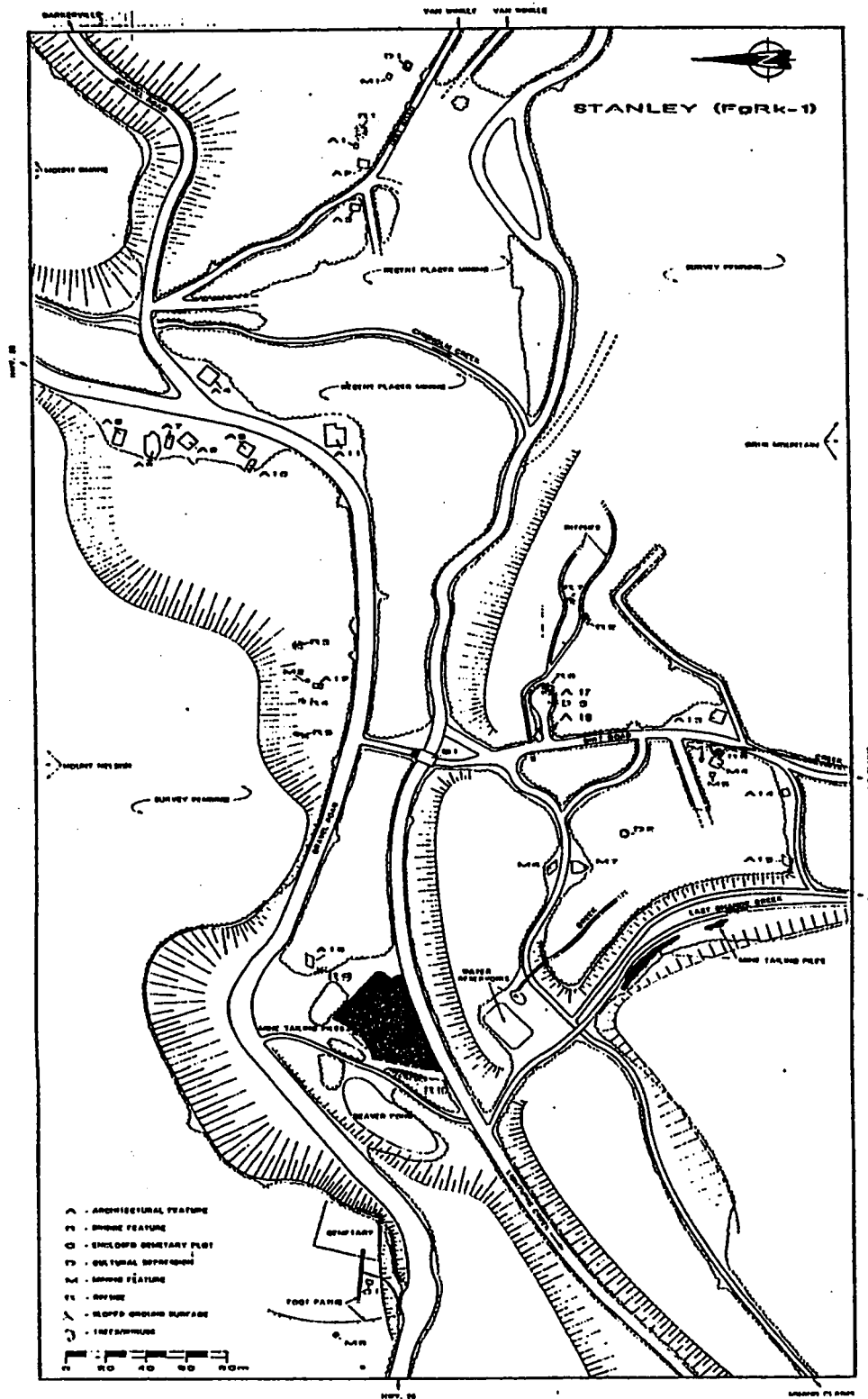
Map 11. Richfield Cemetery (FgRj-1), Barkerville area.



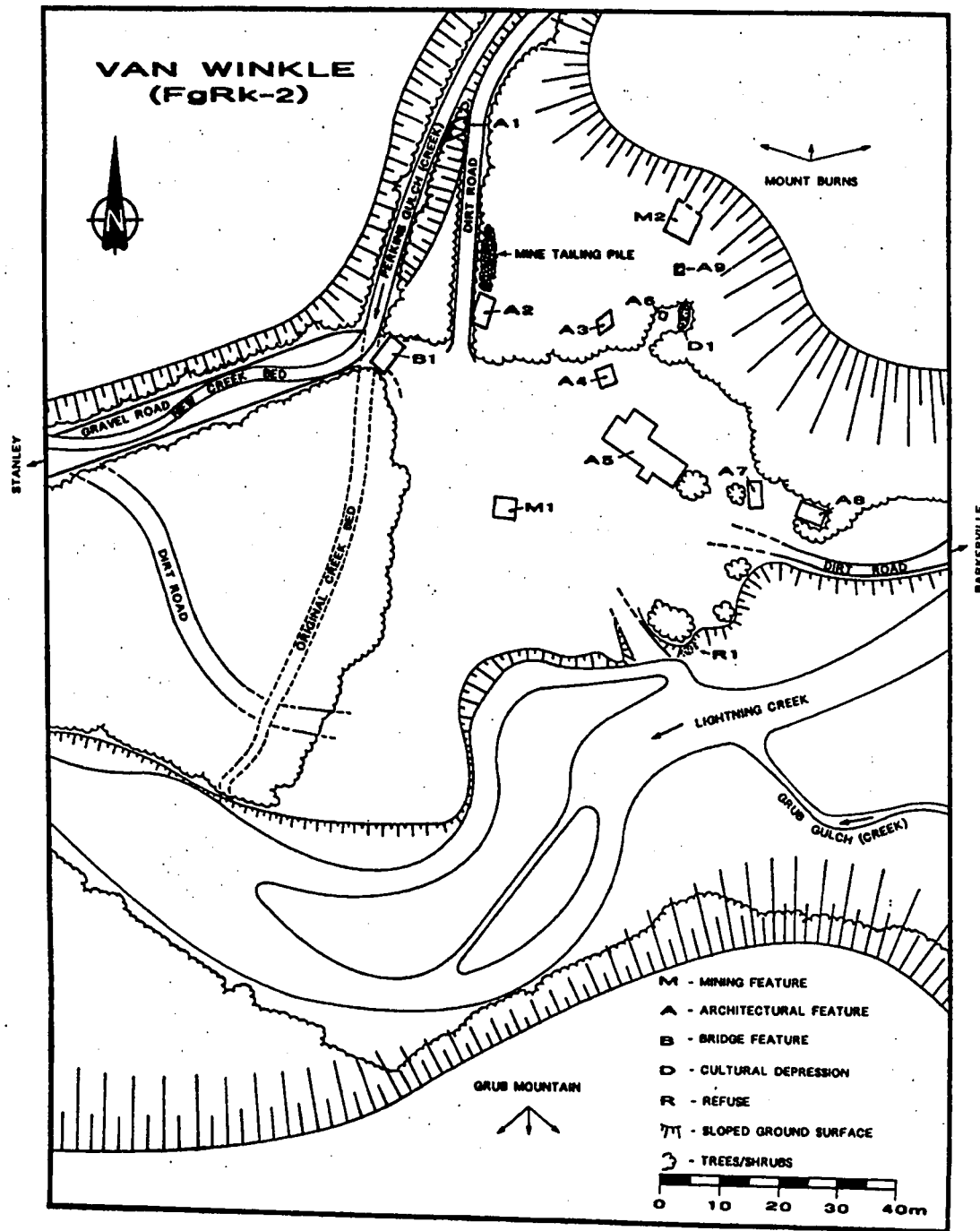
Map 12. Jack of Clubs Creek (FgRj-2), cabin, Barkerville area.



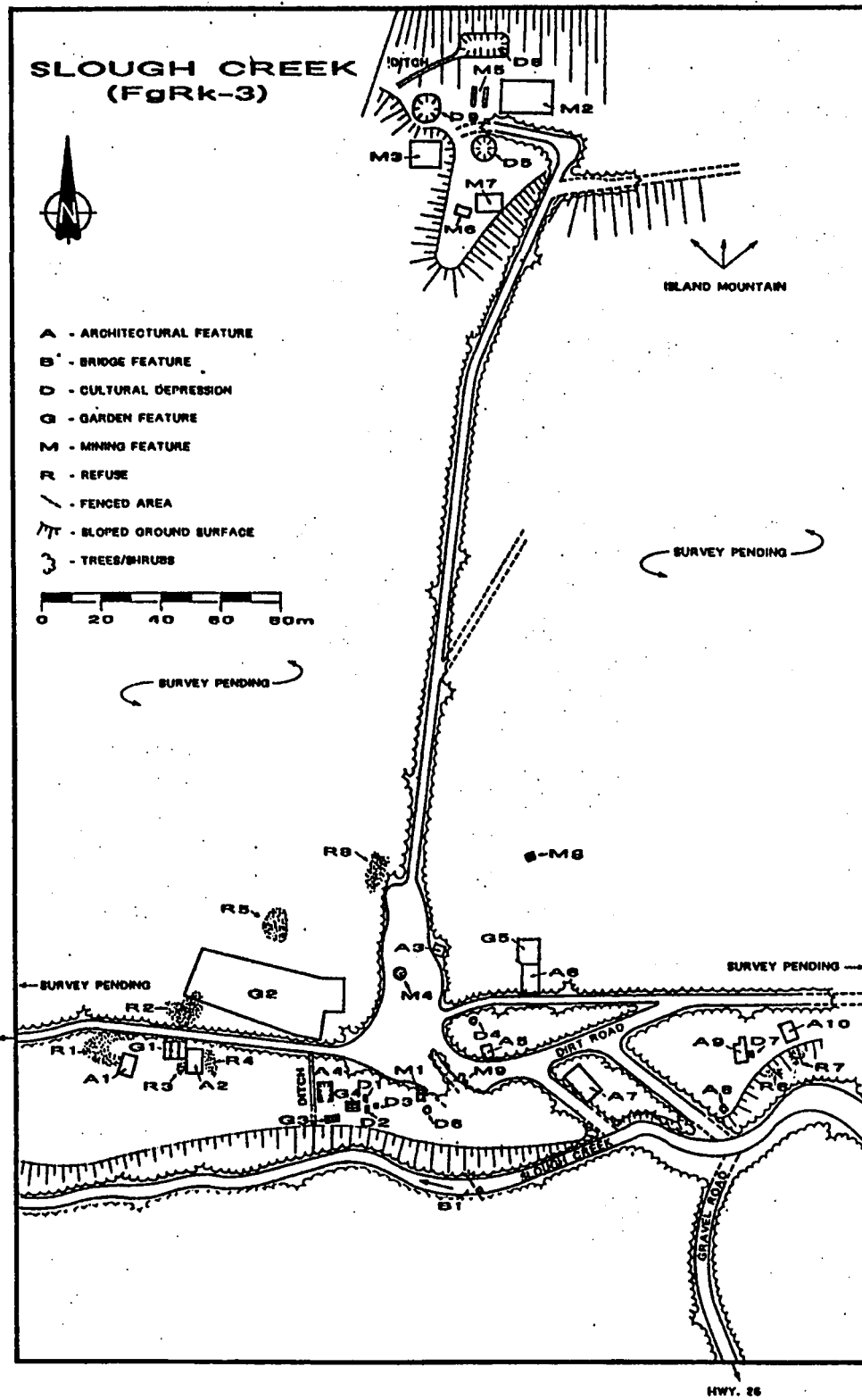
Map 13. Cameronton (FgRj-3), Chinese quarter in small town, Barkerville area.



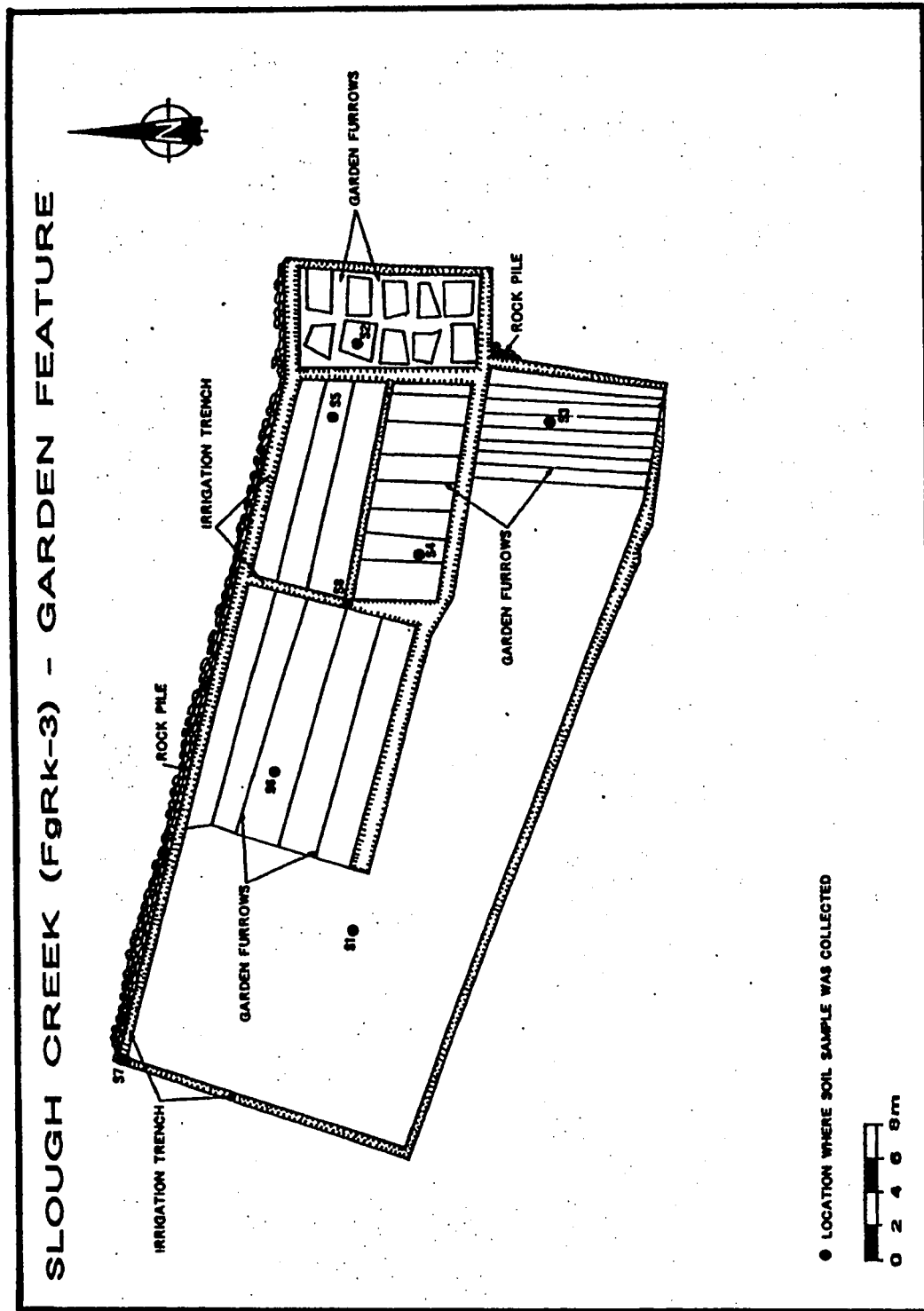
Map 14. Stanley (FgRk-1), Chinatown, Stanley area.



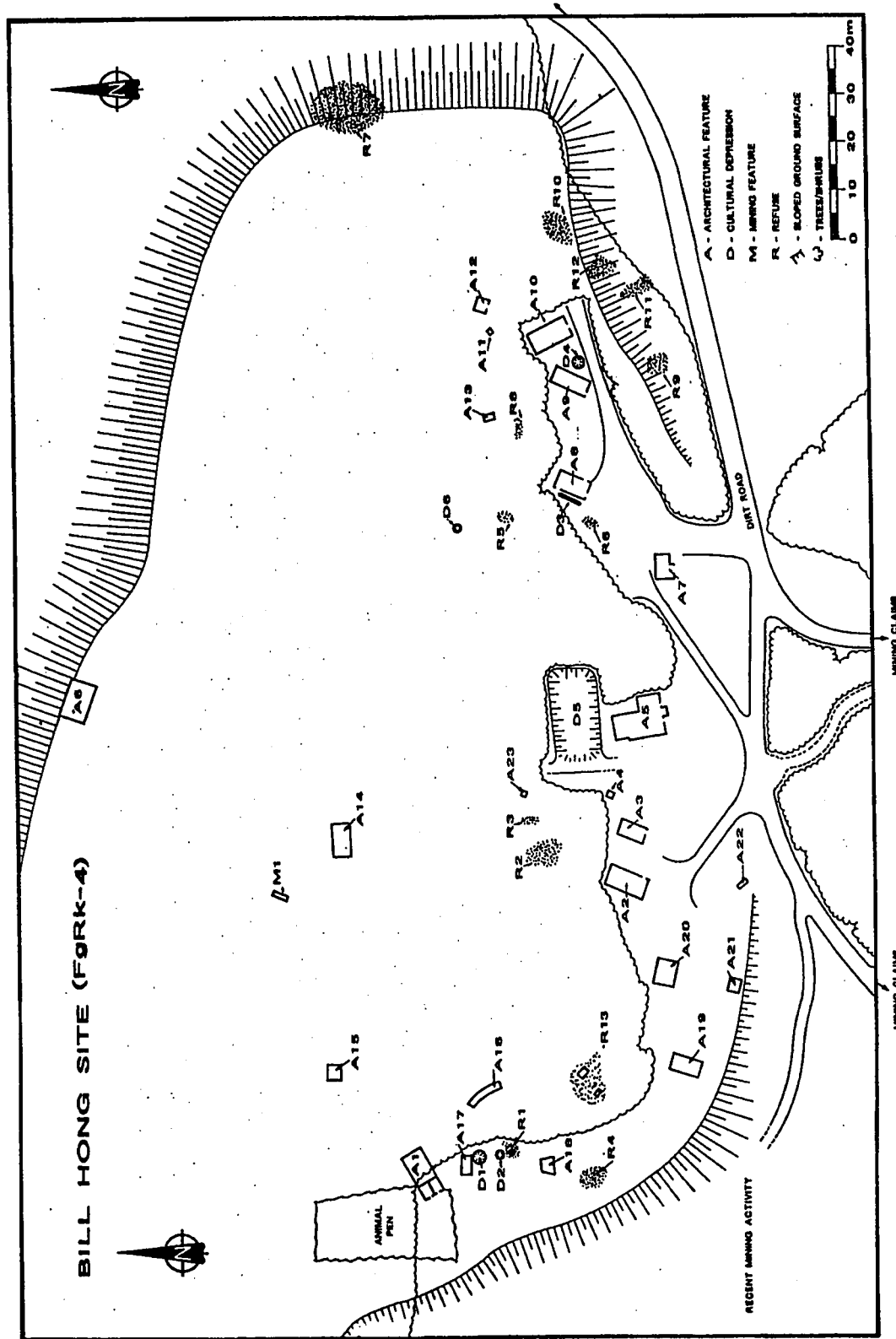
Map 15. Van Winkle (FgRk-2), Chinese quarter in small town, Stanley area.



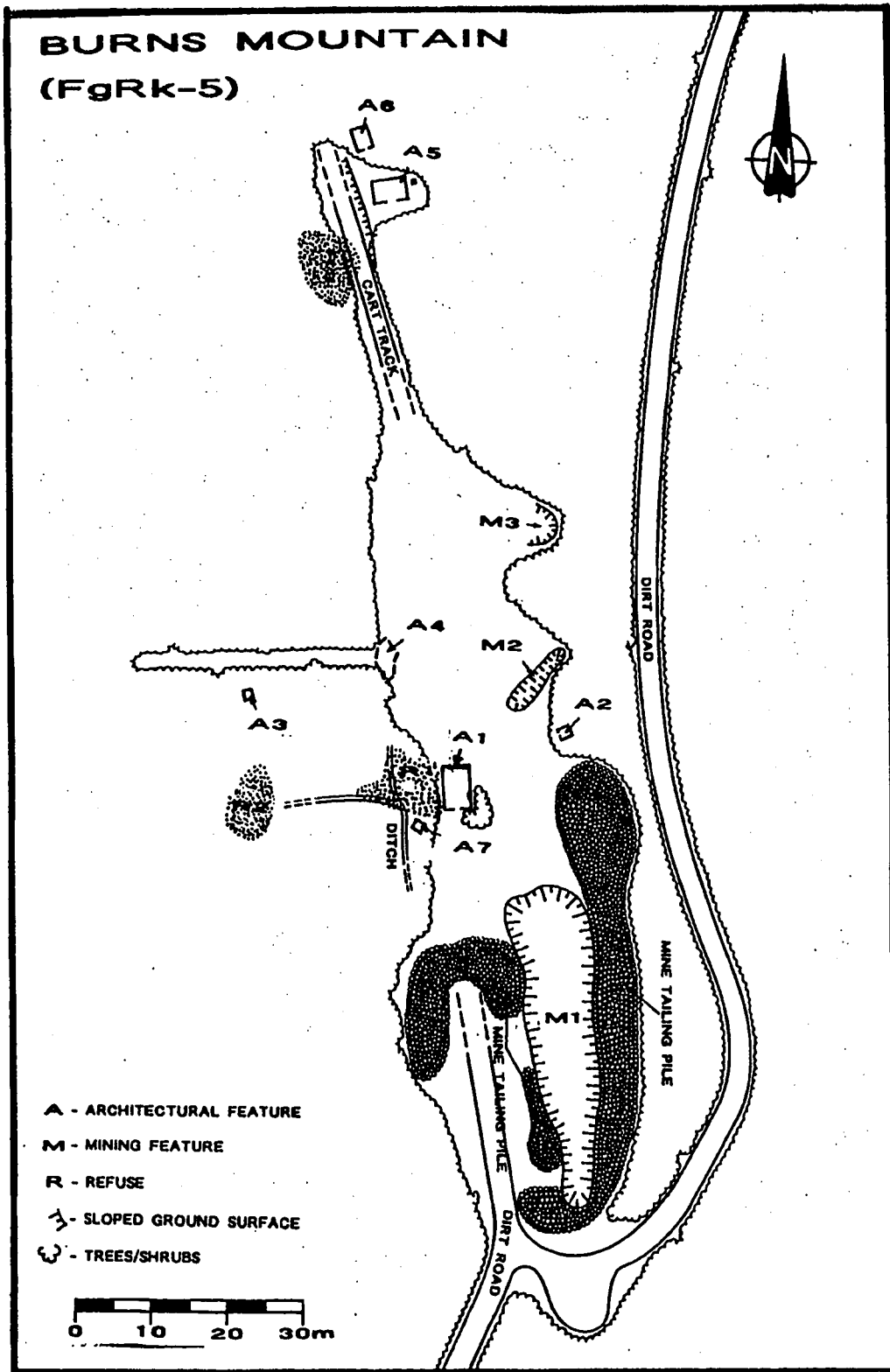
Map 16. Slough Creek Mine (FgRk-3), Chinese quarter in large camp, Stanley area.

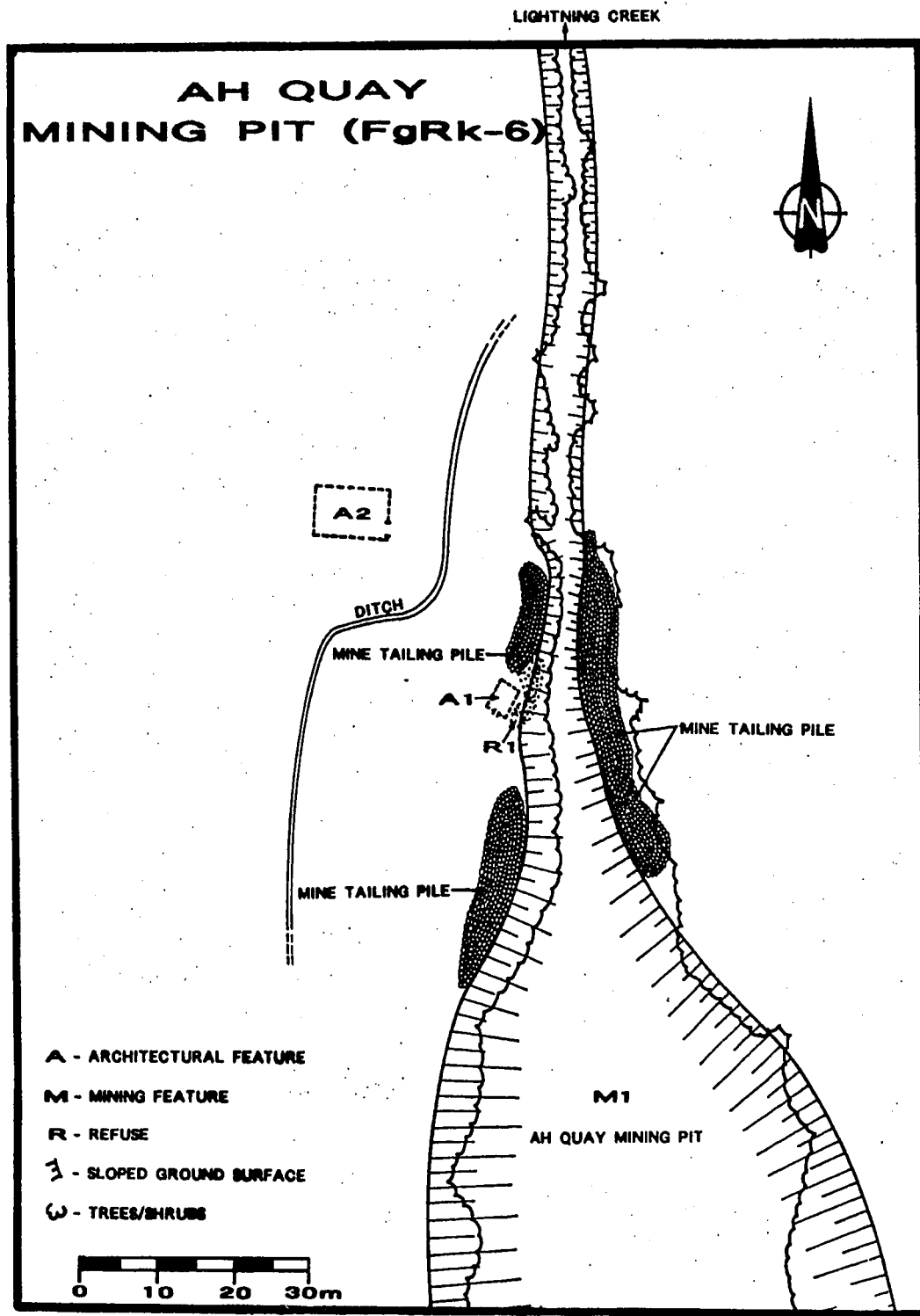


Map 17. Garden remains at Slough Creek Mine (FgRk-3), Stanley area.

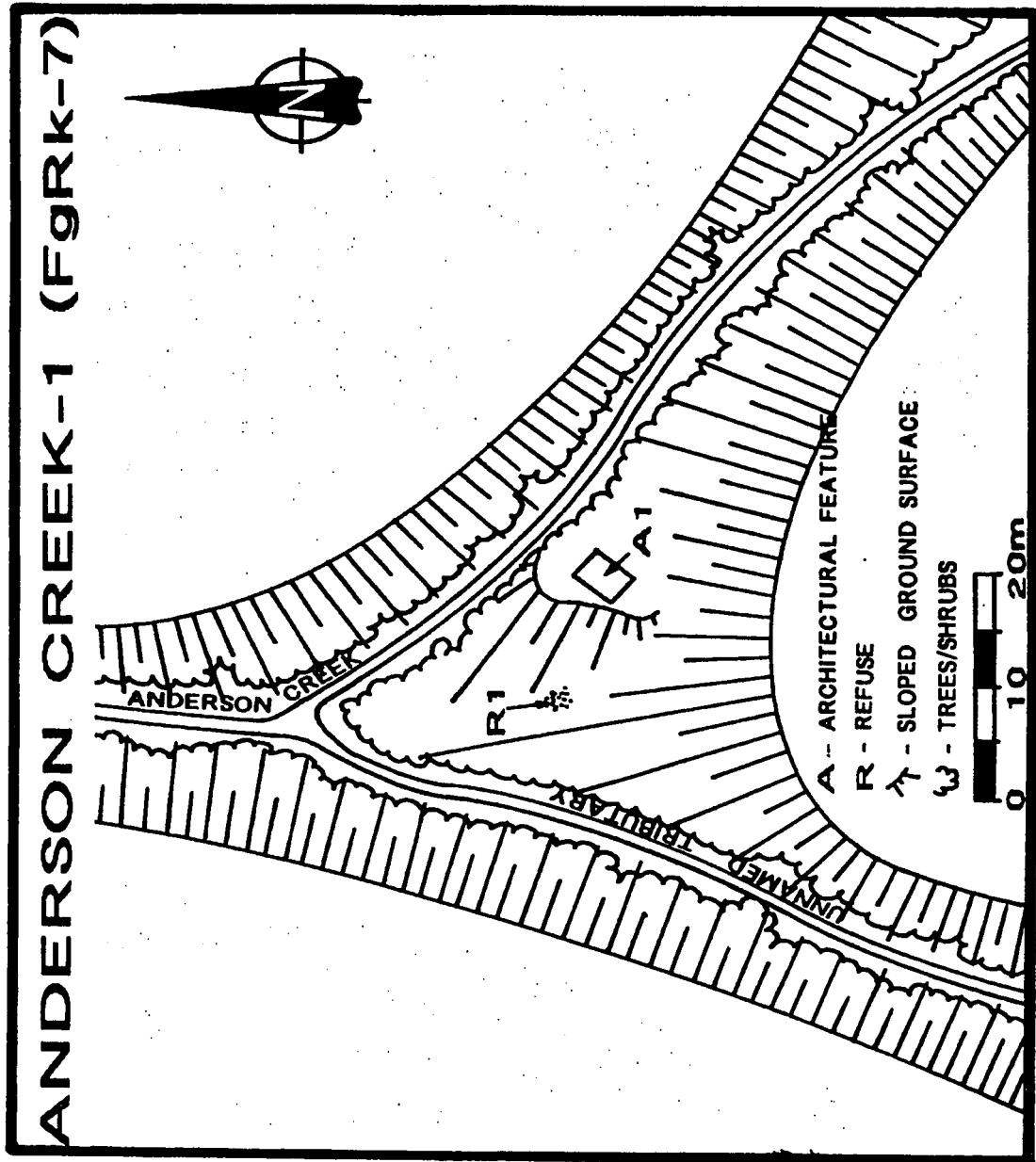


Map 18. Bill Hong's camp (FgRk-4), Stanley area.

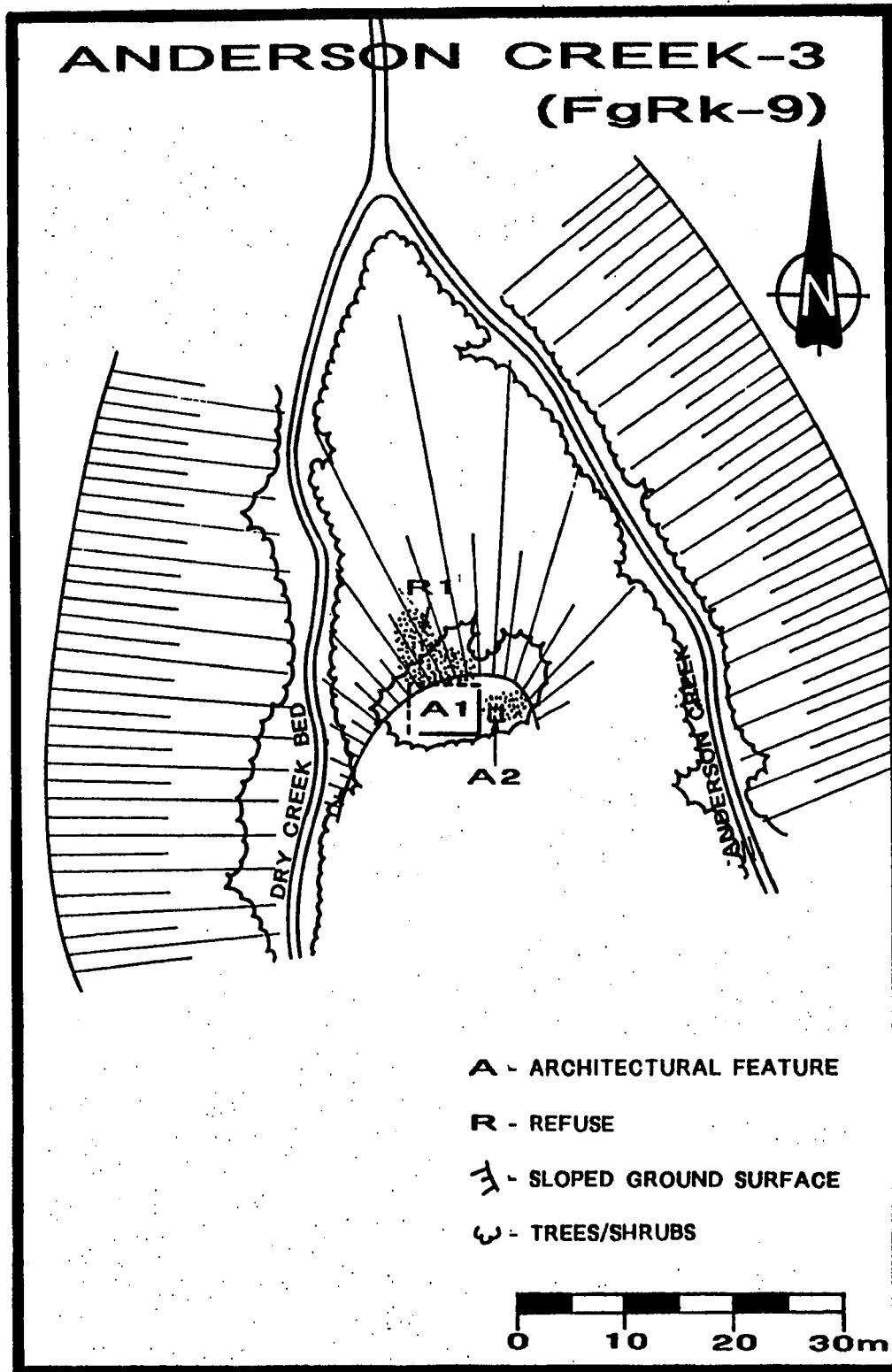




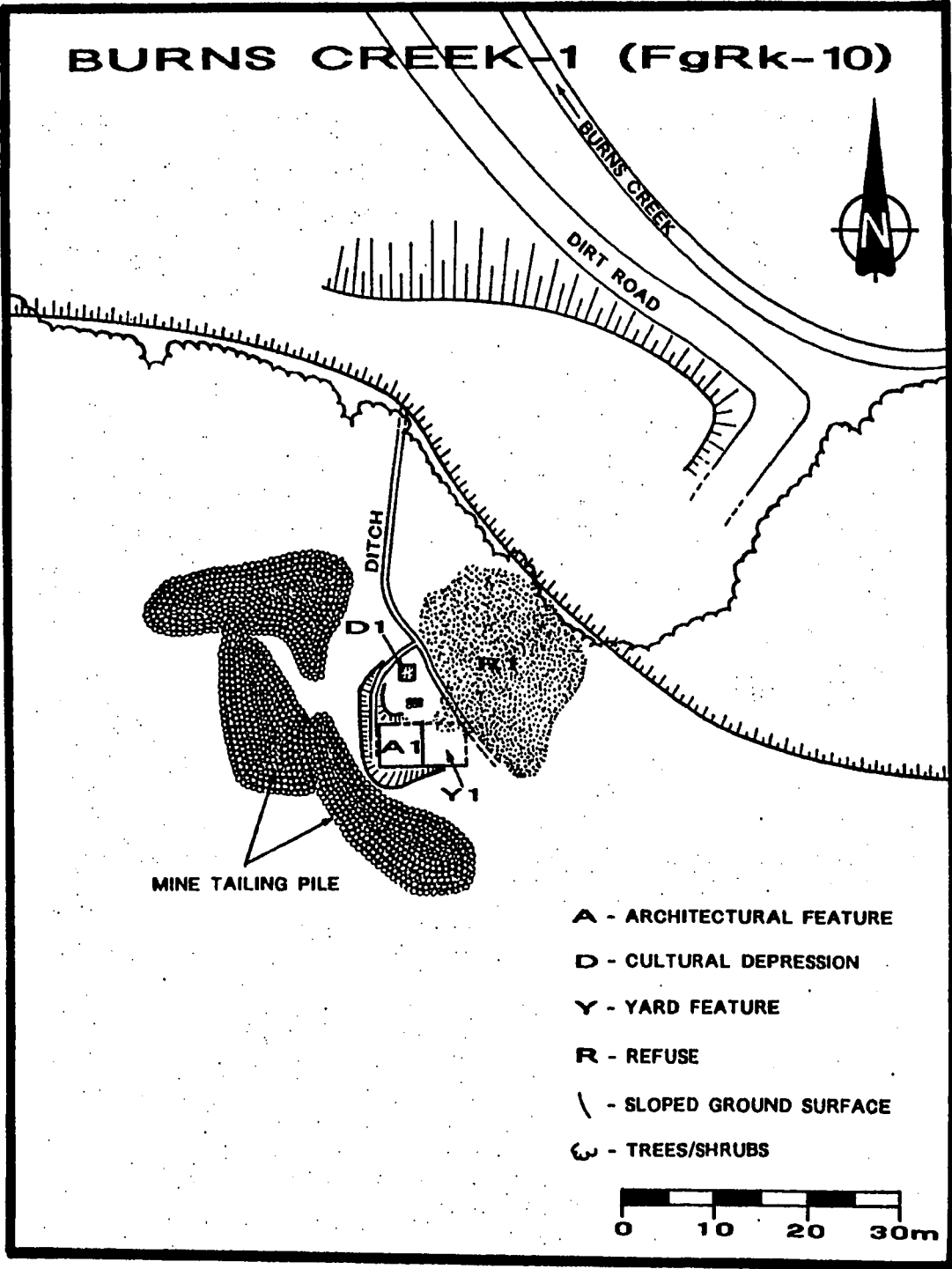
Map 20. Ah Quay's Hydraulic Pit (FgRk-6), cabin, Stanley area.



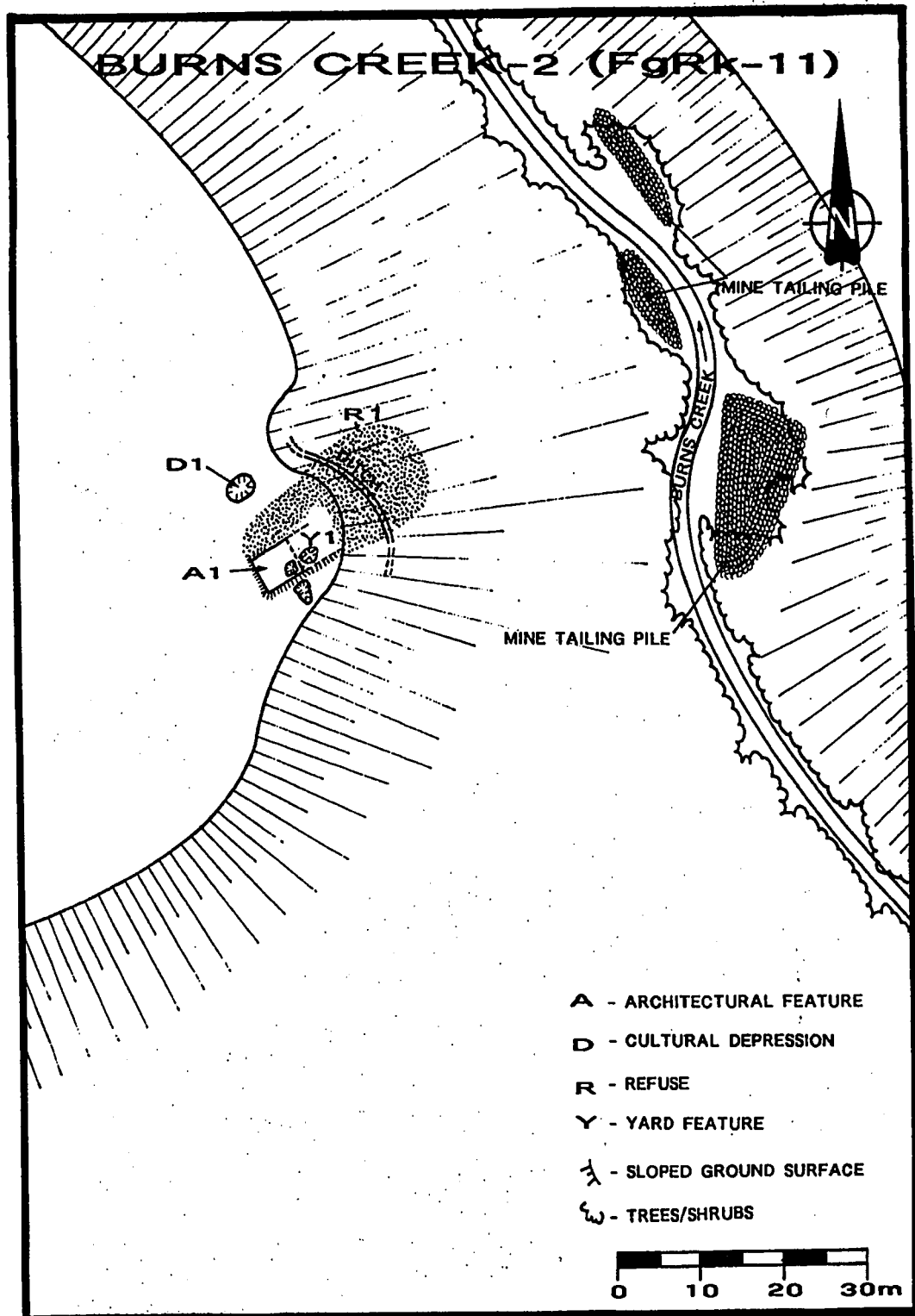
Map 21. Andersons Creek-1 (FgRk-7), cabin, Stanley area.



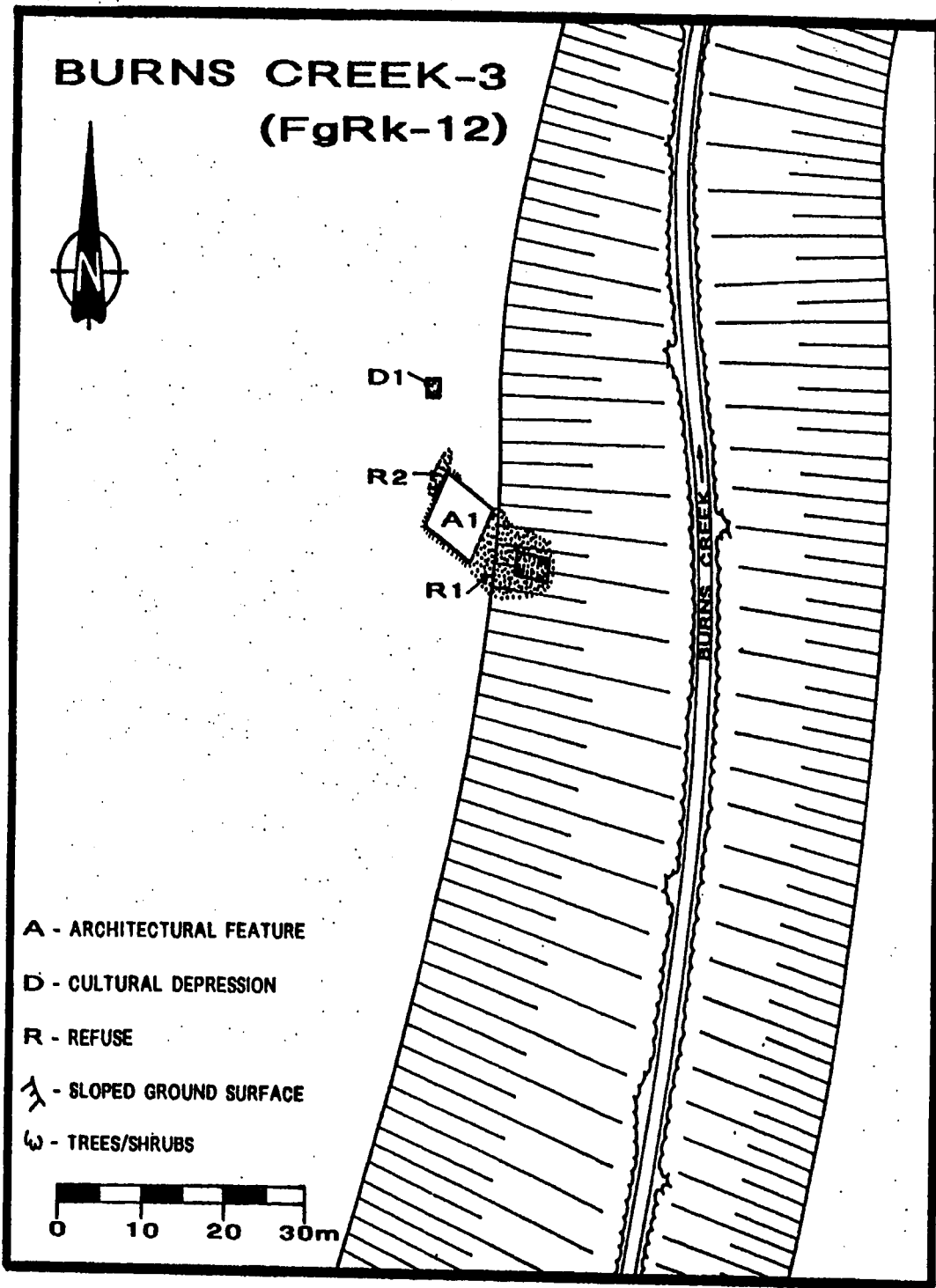
Map 22. Andersons Creek-3 (FgRk-9), cabin, Stanley area.



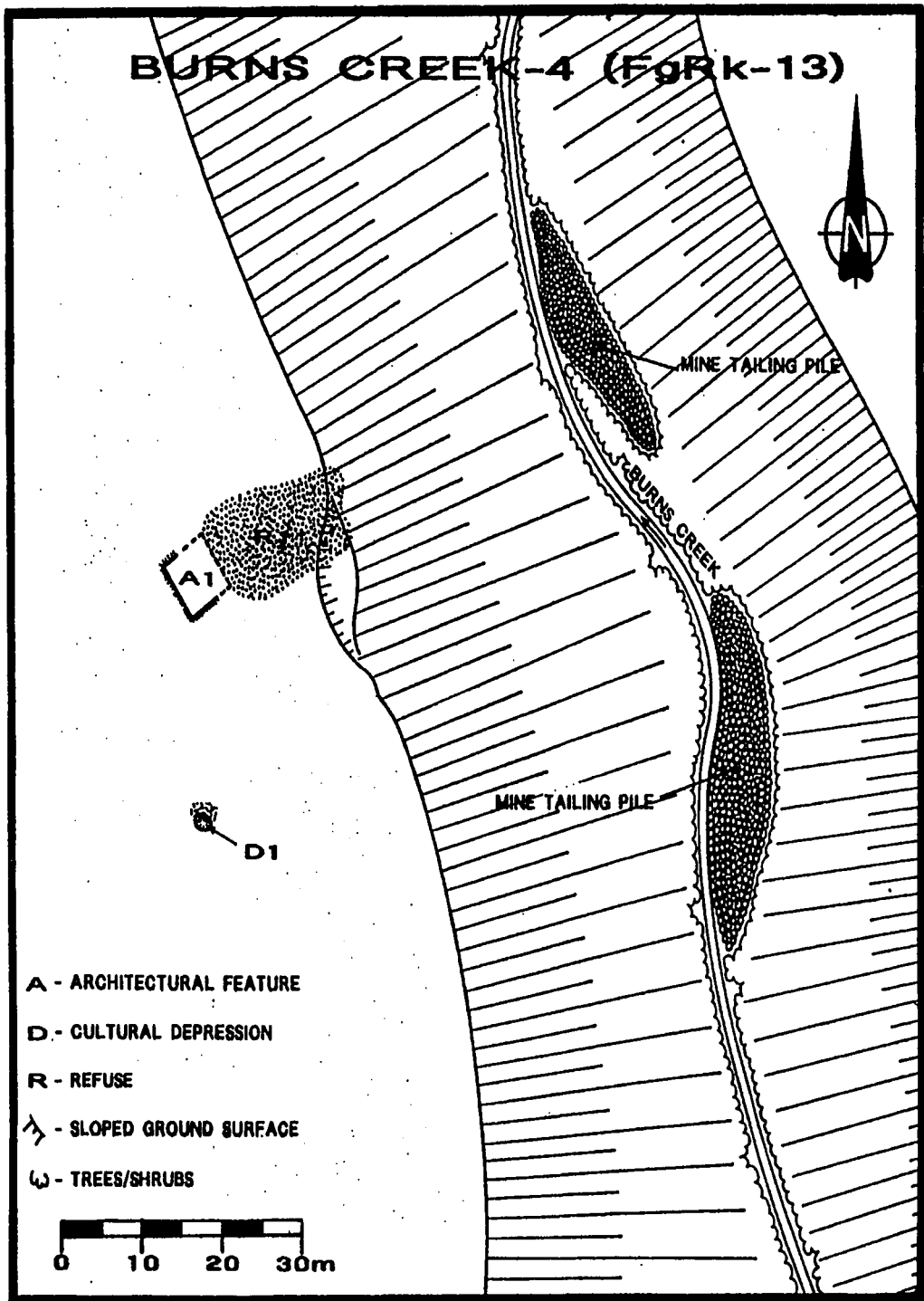
Map 23. Burns Creek-1 (FgRk-10), cabin, Stanley area.



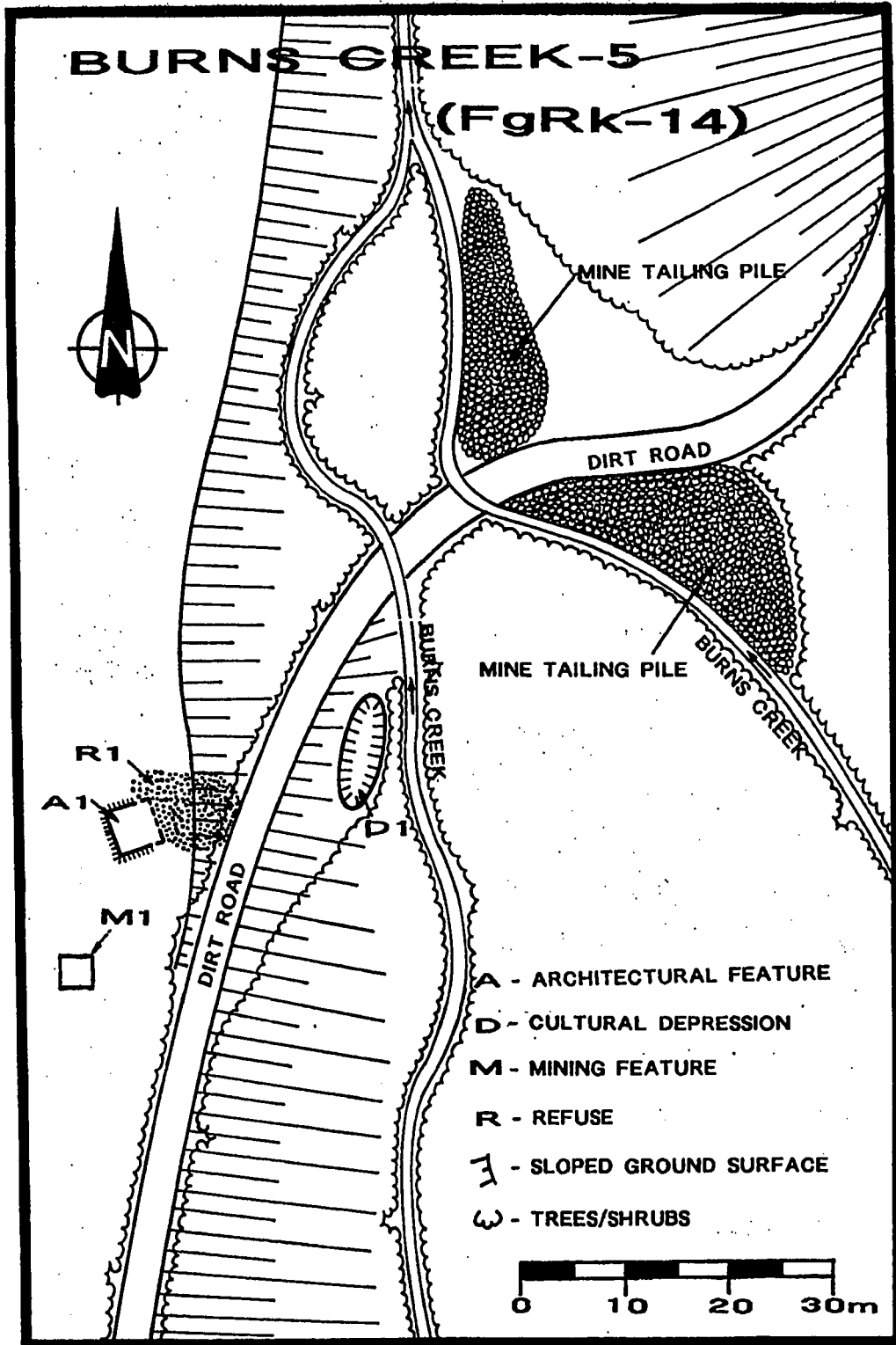
Map 24. Burns Creek-2 (FgRk-11), cabin, Stanley area.



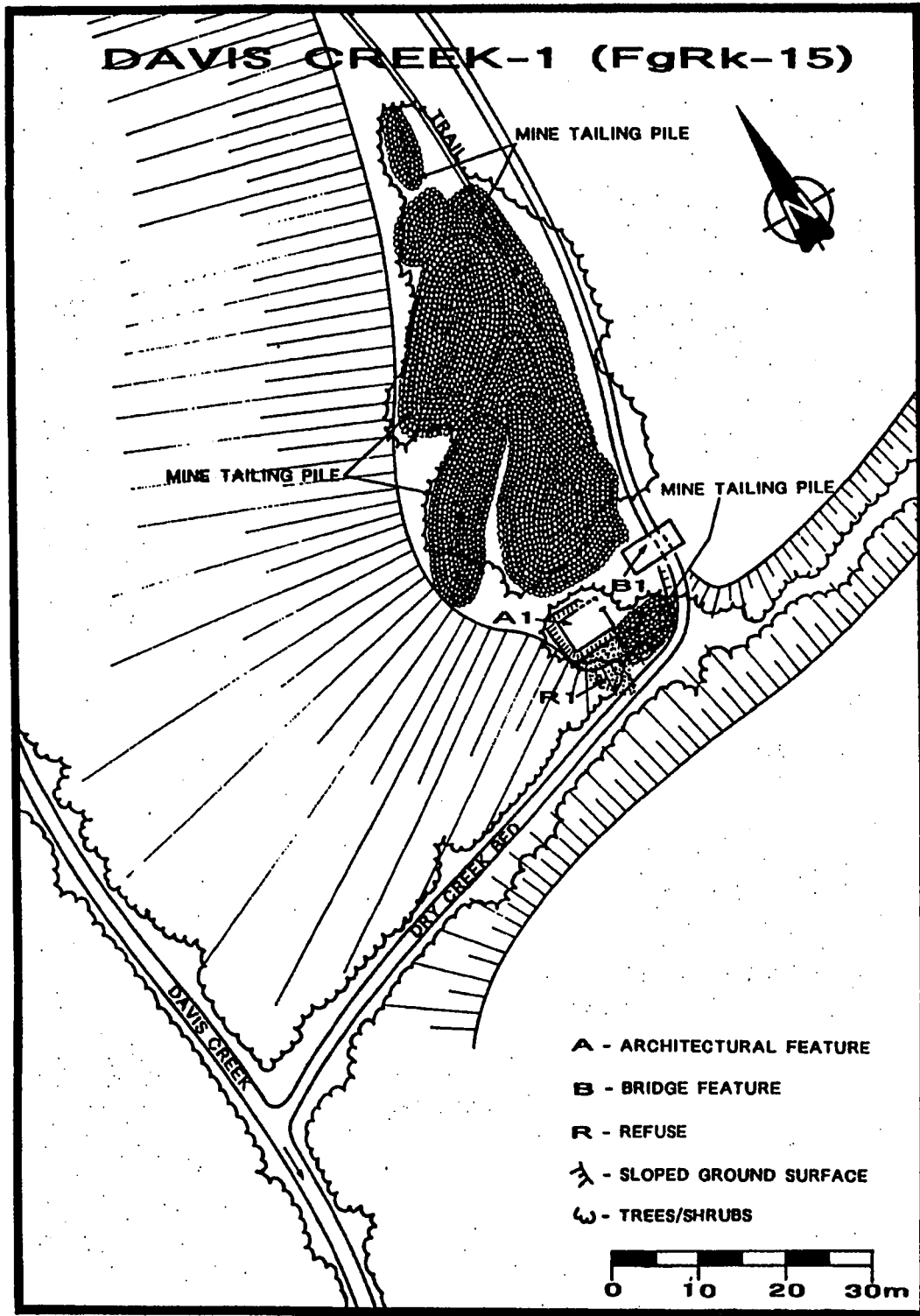
Map 25. Burns Creek-3 (FgRk-12), cabin, Stanley area.



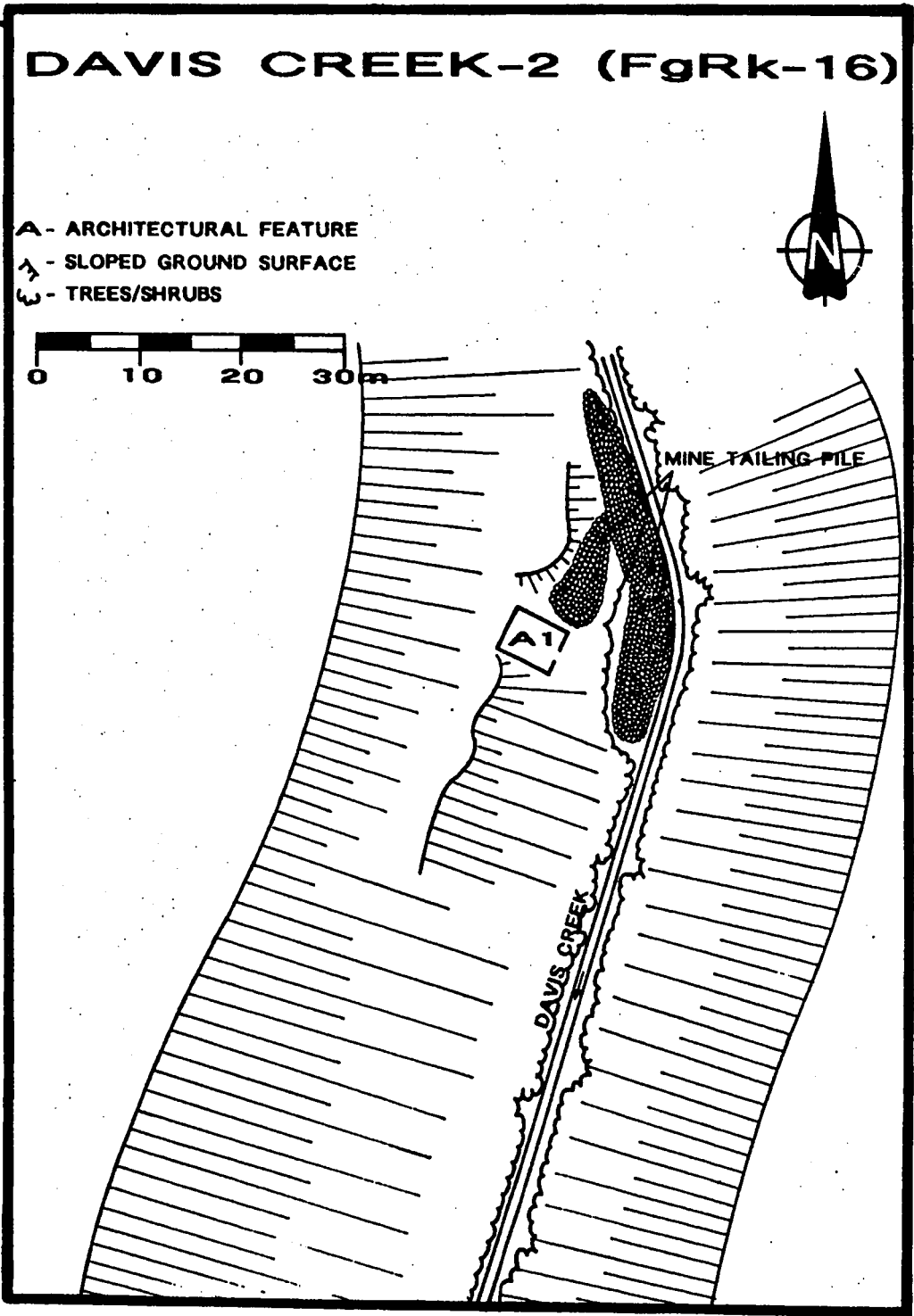
Map 26. Burns Creek-4 (FgRk-13), cabin, Stanley area.



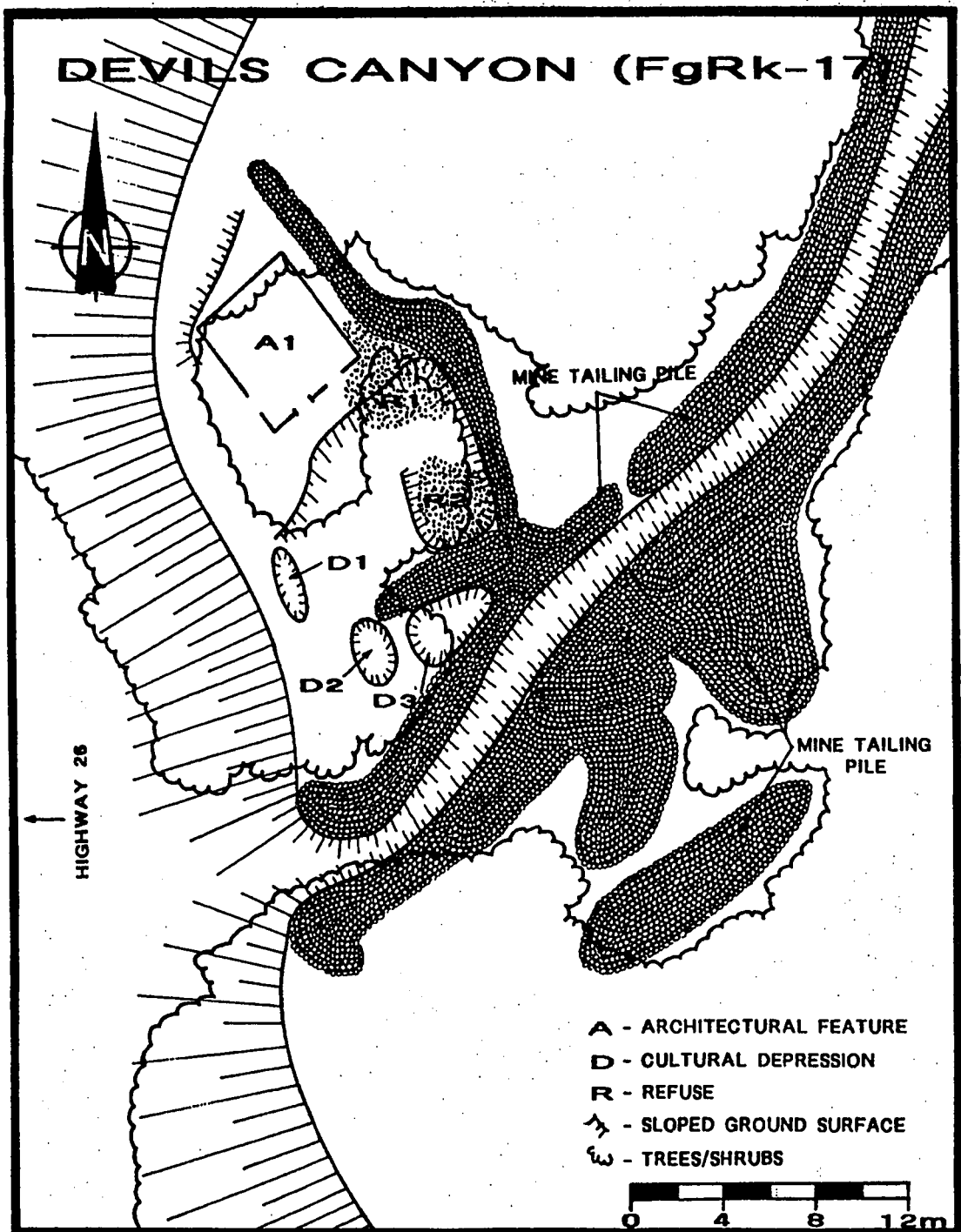
Map 27. Burns Creek-5 (FgRk-14), cabin, Stanley area.



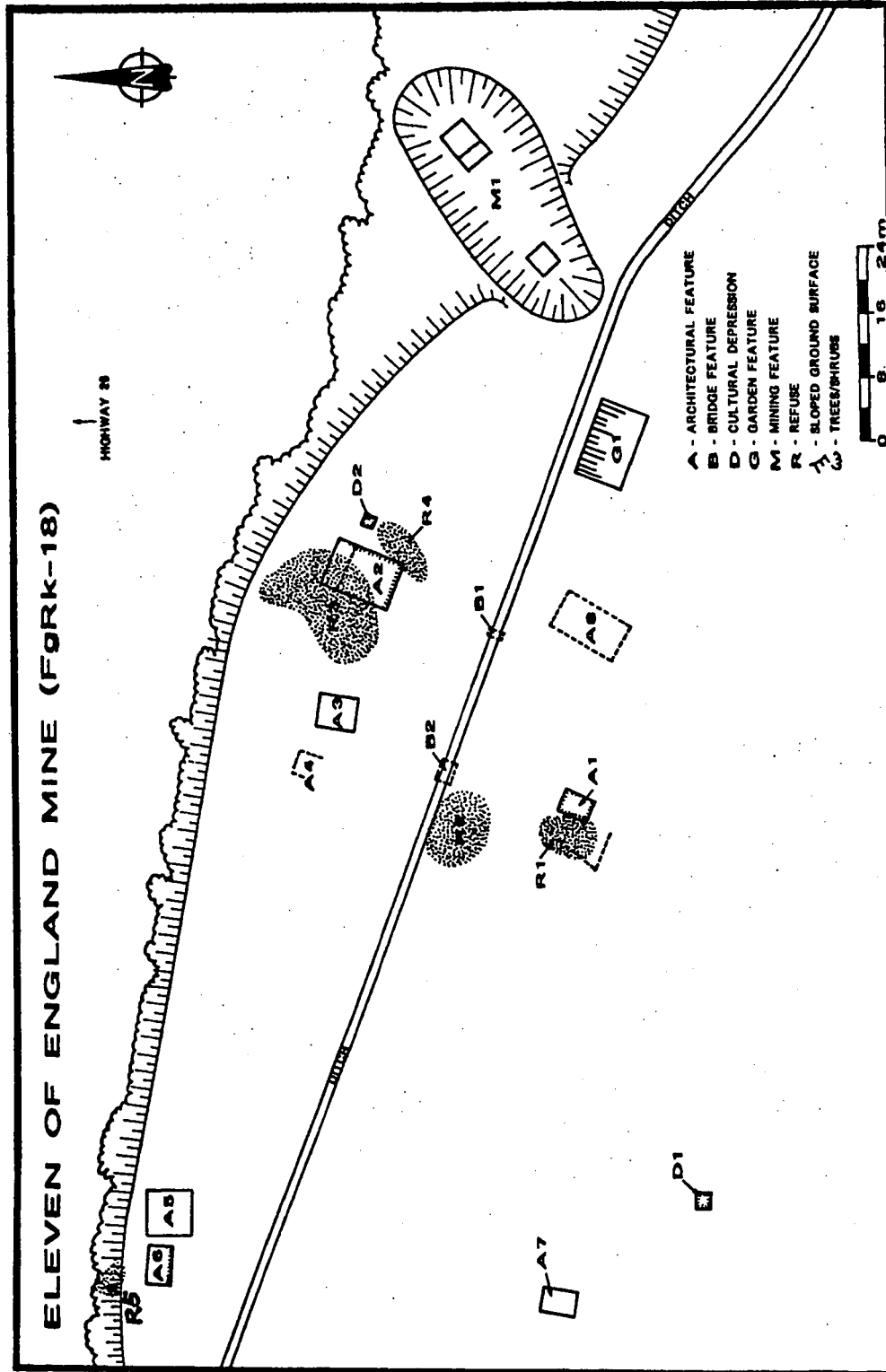
Map 28. Davis Creek-1 (FgRk-15), cabin, Stanley area.



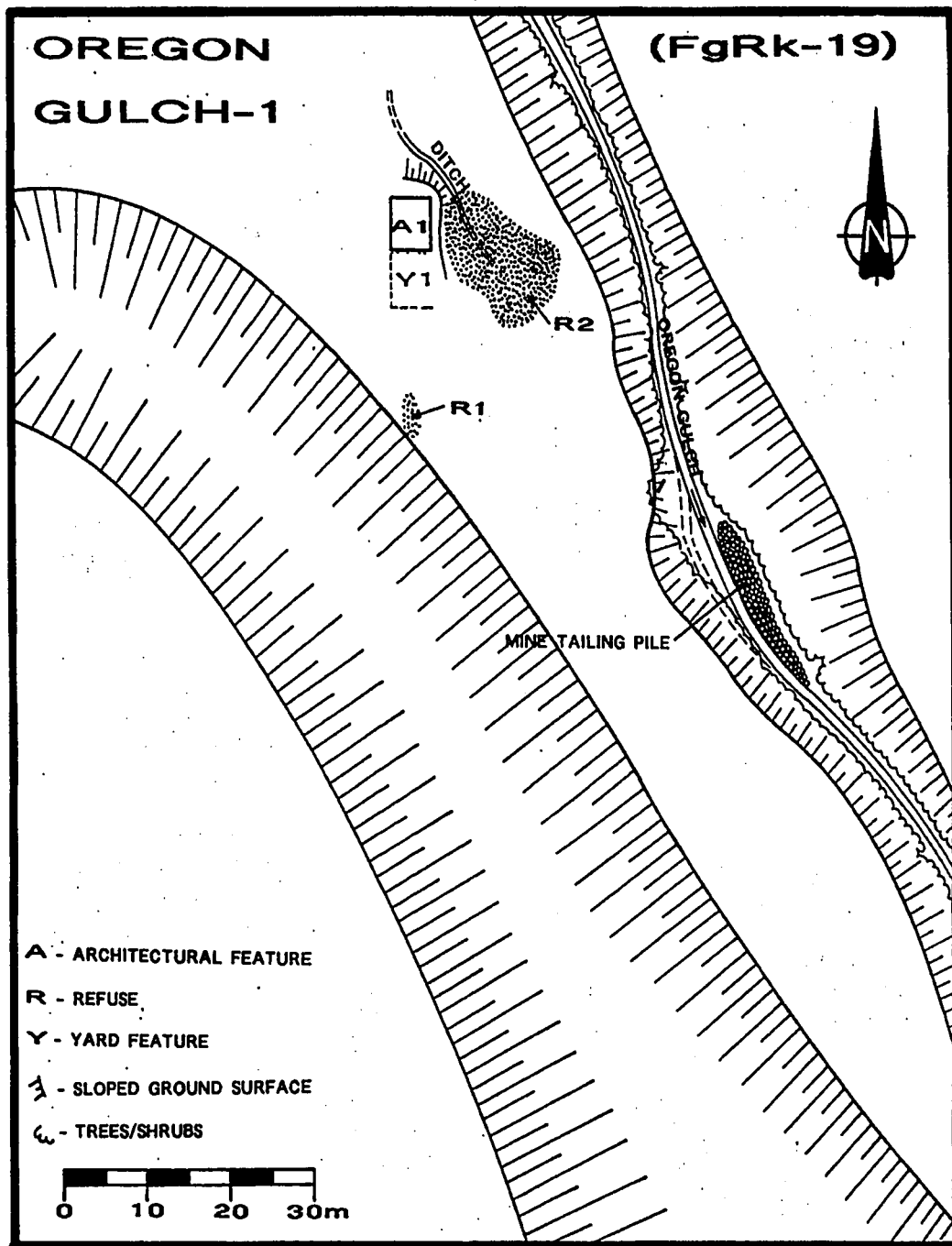
Map 29. Davis Creek-2 (FgRk-16), cabin, Stanley area.



Map 30. Devils Canyon (FgRk-17), cabin, Stanley area.

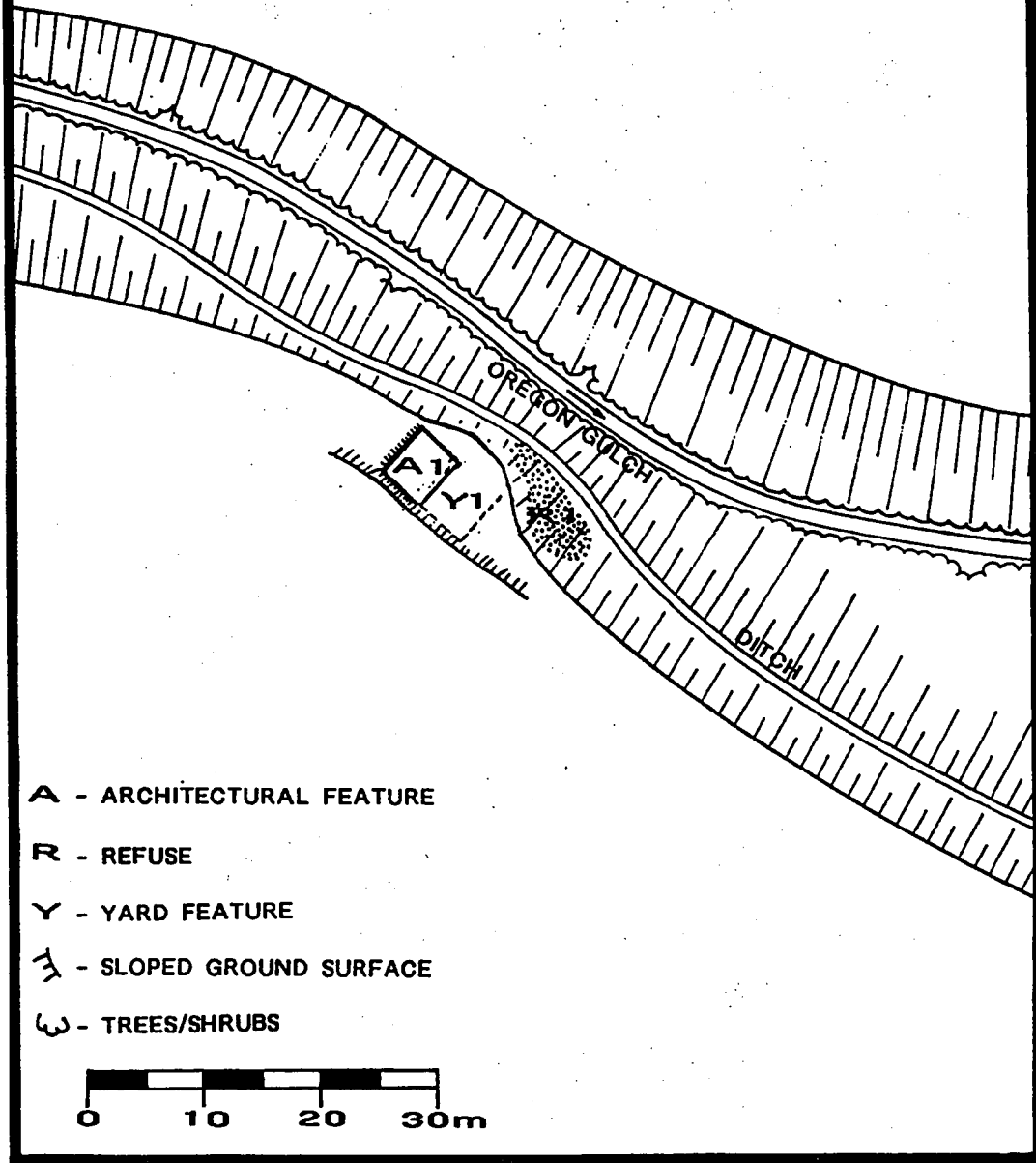


Map 31. Eleven of England & La Fontaine Mine (FgRk-18), Chinese section in mining camp, Stanley area.



Map 32. Oregon Gulch-1 (FgRk-19), cabin, Stanley area.

OREGON GULCH-2 (FgRk-20)



Map 33. Oregon Gulch-2 (FgRk-20), cabin, Stanley area.

Appendix IV. 231 Chinese Accounts Books Left by the Chinese Societies in the North Cariboo District, British Columbia (1876-1942)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.291.1	42	洪順堂 孟冬吉日立 洪順堂 [A Register of Hong-men Members' Donation to the Establishment of a Yi Xing Company in Quesnel Mouth* (1880*)]	Hong Shun Tang	Barkerville based?	1880*-81*
980.291.2	34	為捐建立公司緣部義興公司立 [A Register of Hong-men Members' Donation to the Establishment of the Yi Xing Company in Quesnel Mouth (1880*)]	Yi Xing Company	Barkerville based?	1880-81
980.291.3	20	洪順堂加捐會底[部] Hong Shun Tang A Register of Hong-men Members who Paid Additional Membership Fee	Hong Shun Tang	Barkerville based?	1877
980.291.4	36	丙子年九月初八日立 [A List of New Members (1876)]	Hong Shun Tang*	Stanley based	1876-80
980.291.5	32	丙子年九月初八日新丁芳名部 A List of New Members (1876)	Hong Shun Tang*	Stanley based	1876-86
980.291.6	11	天運七年十月十三日立 祭禮部 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended a Sacrifice (1881)	Hong Shun Tang	Barkerville*	1882
980.291.7	76	洪順堂兄弟欠數部 辛巳年新月孟春立收單 A Record of Hong Shun Tang Membership Dues (1881)	Hong Shun Tang	Q. Mouth based	1881
980.291.8	13	萬福攸同 洪順堂辛巳年八月二十五日神誕報名部 Hong Shun Tang A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1881)	Hong Shun Tang	Barkerville*	1881
980.291.9	12	萬福攸同 辛巳九月 [A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Chong Yang Festival (1881)]	Hong Shun Tang*	Barkerville*	1881

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.291.10	10	辛巳年建廚房記 工支數部 記數部 A Record of the Expenses in the Constructing of a Kitchen (1881)	Hong Shun Tang*	Barkerville?	1881
980.291.11	13	萬歲千秋 壬午年吉月念伍日 [A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1882)]	Hong Shun Tang*	Barkerville*	1882
980.291.12	15	恭祝千秋 壬午[年]九月初九日 [A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Chong Yang Festival (1882)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville*	1882
980.291.13	19	致公堂芳名部 癸未八月 A Register of the Chih Kung Tang, Members who Attended the Ceremony of Admitting New Member (1883)	Chih Kung Tang	Barkerville*	1883
980.291.14	25	恭祝五祖先師寶誕 誠心報名 天運乙酉年吉月二十五日 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1885)	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville*	1885
980.291.15	17	福有攸歸 天運乙酉十壹月二十八日 升旗芳名 Ceremony (1885)	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville*	1885-86
980.291.16	30	恭祝五祖先師寶誕 誠心報名 天運丙午年吉月念五日 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1886)	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville*	1886*
980.291.17	14	萬雲龍先師寶誕 天運丁亥九月初日 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival (1887)	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville	1887
980.291.18	13	隨緣樂助 天運戊子年四月初三日 祭禮盧炳先兄 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of Lu Bing (1888)	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville	1888

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.291.19	29	隨緣樂助 丁亥年七月二十五日 五祖寶誕 誠心 報名部 A Register of Hong-men Members for attending the Fiver Founders Festival (1887)	Chih Kung Tang*	Chih Kung Tang*	1887
980.291.20	29	隨緣樂助 丁亥吉月 念五修整公司 每名捐底銀 五毛 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to Reparation of the Company House of the Hong-men Society 1887)	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville*	1887-88
980.291.21	13	獲福無疆 祭廖洪祖 丁亥年十一月念八日 祭禮報名部 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of Liao Hong (1887)	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville*	1887-88
980.291.22	13	丁亥年十二月十二日 祭禮芳名 祭莫如南 禮社 順祖 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of Mo Ru-nan and Tan She-shun (1887)	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville*	1888
980.291.23	24	天運 戊子年吉月念五日 五祖寶誕 芳名部 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1888)	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville	1888
980.291.24	23	天運 庚寅吉月念五日 五祖寶誕 恭祝千秋 誠心 報名 福有 攸歸 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1890)	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville*	1890
980.291.25	21	光緒 貳拾捌年各人 [] 福食 [A Record of the Share-holders of a Company in Quesnelle Fork (?)(1902)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville*	1902
980.291.26	36	天運 甲申歲吉月念五日 恭祝五祖寶誕 芳名部 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1884)	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville*	1884-85

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.291.27	5	威林士伽致公堂 士丹利埠捐域多厘神樓簽署題部 A Fund-raising Register Set up by the Chih Kung Tang in Barkerville and Stanley for Donating an Alter to the Chih Kung Tang in Victoria (1886) Victoria Chih Kung Tang (1885)	Chih Kung Tang*	Williams Ck., Stanley	1886
980.291.28	3	首緣加盧補盧蔭兄 陳暖大佬 黃康兄 域多利埠重建致公堂勸捐緣部 Appeal for Donation to the Re-construction of the Chi Kung Tang Building in Victoria, Addressed to Cariboo Chih Kung Tang's President Chen Nuan and Brothers Huang Kang and Lu Yin from the	Chih Kung Tang	Victoria, Barkerville	1885
980.291.29	4	福有攸貴 加盧補致公堂何沃鋒大佬 黃乾先生執 域多利埠致公堂立 A Fund-raising Register Addressed to the Cariboo Chih Kuong Tang's President He Wo-feng and Secretary-general Huang Qian from the Victoria's Chih Kung Tang	Chih Kung Tang	Victoria, Barkerville	1890
980.292.1	15	地字四號委林士隙埠緣首鍾孔岱 域多利正埠創建義興公司勸捐緣部 準擬九月三十日繳部 域多利埠公信堂 Appeal for Donation to the Establishment of a Yi Xing Company in Victoria, Addressed from the Victoria Gong Xin Tang to the Master Zhong Kong-dai, Williams Creek Chih Kung Tang (1881?)	Gong Xin Tang, Hong Shun Tang	Williams Ck. Based	1881?
980.320.1	17	庚辰年十二月念三日立 茂士埠公司 芳名部 A List of Membership of the Quesnel Mouth Company (1880)	Hong Shun Tang*	Q. Mouth based	1881
980.407.1	1	(No title) [A List of New Members Admitted in Barkerville (?)] (1884*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville*	1884*
980.407.2	1	(No title) [A Record of Expenses by the Chih Kung Tang in the Chong-yang Festival (1886*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville*	1886*
980.407.3	1	(No title) (A Record of Expenses by the Hong-men Society during the Ceremony of Admitting New Members in Williams Creek (1886*))]	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville	1886*

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.408.1	82	致公堂各兄弟欠數部 福士致公堂 A Record of the Chih Kung Tang Membership Dues	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1889-01
980.408.2	88	致公堂各兄弟欠數部 福士致公堂 A List of the Chih Kung Tang Membership Dues	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1890-01
980.408.3a	1	鄭忠紀兄 台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of Membership Fee Addressed to Zheng Zhong-ji from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1889-95
980.408.3b	1	林榮兄 台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of Membership Fee Addressed to Lin Xian from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1889-95
980.408.3c	1	伍國秋兄 台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of Membership Fee Addressed to Wu Guo-qi from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang ((1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1889-95
980.408.3d	1	伍神烈兄 台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of Membership Fee Addressed to Wu Shen-lie from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang ((1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1889-95
980.408.3e	1	周家許兄 台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of Membership Fee Addressed to Zhou Jia-xu from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang ((1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1889-95
980.408.3f	1	謝珍兄 台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of Membership Fee Addressed to Xie Zhen from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1889-95

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CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.408.3g	1	周雙益兄台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of Membership Fee Addressed to Zhou Shuang-yi from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1889-95
980.408.3h	1	黃揖桂兄台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of Membership Fee Addressed to Huang Ji-gui from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1890-95
980.408.3i	1	周元棟兄台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 兄 A Bill of Membership Fee Addressed to Zhou Yuan-dong from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1890-95
980.408.3j	1	周百子兄台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of Membership Fee Addressed to Zhou Bai-zi from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1890-95
980.408.3k	1	周彩兄台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of Membership Fee Addressed to Zhou Cai from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks	1890-95
980.408.3l	1	馮纘兄台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of the 1891 Chong-yang Festival Fee Addressed to Wen Zuan from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1891-95
980.408.3m	1	周連勝兄台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of a number of Fee Addressed to Zhou Lian-sheng from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1891-95
980.408.3n	1	盧常兄台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of the 1894 Five Founders Festival Fee Addressed to Lu Chang from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1894-95

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.408.3o	1	黃運女兄台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of Membership Fee Addressed to Huang Chi-nuu from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1895
980.408.3p	1	黃四盛兄台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of Membership Fee Addressed to Huang Si-sheng from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1895
980.408.3q	1	司徒連兄台鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill Addressed to Situ Lian from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1890-95
980.408.3r	1	梁貴興兄鑒 乙未五月十五日 福士致公堂單 A Bill of a Number of Fee Addressed to Liang Gui-xing from the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1891-95
980.409.1a	31	致公堂進支總部 福士致公堂 A Record of the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang's Revenue and Expenditure between 1889 and 1897	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1889-97
980.409.1b	1	(No title) [A Record of the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang*'s Revenue and Expenditure in Certain Events (1891)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1891
980.410.124	24	福士致公堂 五祖寶誕芳名開列 天運甲寅歲 福有攸歸	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1884
980.410.2	25	[請?]登芳名 天運丙戌吉月念五日 五祖寶誕 福有攸歸 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1886)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1886
980.410.3	23	天運丁亥歲 五祖寶誕芳名列 福士致公堂 A Register of Chih Kung Tang Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1887)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1887

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.410.4	25	天運 戊子年五祖寶誕芳名列 福士致 公堂 A Register of Chih Kung Tang Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1888)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1888
980.410.5	29	恭祝 五祖寶誕 天運己丑吉月 念五日 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1889)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1889
980.410.6	24	天運 庚寅 五祖寶誕 芳名開列 恭祝 千秋 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1890)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1890
980.410.7a	29	天運 壬辰歲 五祖寶誕 芳名開列 福士致 公堂 謹識 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1892)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1892
980.410.7b	1	壬辰年七月二十五日 各欠數 A Record of Hong-members Owning the Fee of the Five Founders Festival (1892)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1892
980.410.8	25	天運 癸巳年 五祖寶誕 名列 福士致 公堂 立 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1893)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1893
980.410.9a	30	甲午年吉月 念五日 五祖寶誕 福士致 公堂 啓 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1894)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks*	1894
980.410.9b	1	甲午重陽 福生隆 A Record of Hong-men Members Working in the Fu Sheng Long Store, who Paid for Attending the Chong Yang Festival (1894)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1894
980.410.9c	1	甲午七月二十五日 和生人數 A Record of Hong-men Members Working in the He Sheng Store, who Paid for Attending the Five Founders Festival (1894)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1894

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.410.9d	1	甲午重陽 義和 A Record of Hong-men Members Working in the Yi4 He2 Store, who Paid for Attending the Chong Yang Festival (1894)	Chih Kung T'ang*	Q. Forks*	1894
980.410.9e	1	甲午重陽 乾豐 A Record of Hong-men Members Working in the Qian Feng Store, Who Paid for Attending the Chong Yang Festival (1894)	Chih Kung T'ang*	Q. Forks*	1894
980.410.9f	1	甲午七月二十五日 二和 A Record of Hong-men Members Working in the Er He (He He) Store, who Paid for Attending the Five Founders Festival (1894)	Chih Kung T'ang*	Q. Forks*	1894
980.410.9g	1	(No Title) [A Record of Grocery Purchasing by the Chih Kung T'ang Society from Seven Stores in Quesnelle Forks for the Chong Yang Festival (1894*)]	Chih Kung T'ang*	Q. Forks*	1894*
980.410.9h	1	欠甲午七月二十五日 A Record of Hong-members Owning the Fee of the Five Founders Festival (1894)	Chih Kung T'ang*	Q. Forks*	1894
980.410.9i	1	祭禮各人欠數 A Record of Hong-members Owning the Fee of a Certain Festival (1894*)	Chih Kung T'ang*	Q. Forks*	1894*
980.410.10	35	天運乙未年吉月念五日 恭祝五祖先師寶誕芳名列 致公堂立 A Register of Chih Kung T'ang Members Attending the Five Founders Festival (1895)	Chih Kung T'ang	Q. Forks*	1895
980.410.11	21	恭祝五祖先師寶誕芳名開列于左 天運丁酉年吉月念五日 福士致公啓 A Register of Chih Kung T'ang Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1897)	Chih Kung T'ang	Q. Forks*	1897
980.410.12	27	五祖先師寶誕芳名簿 天運戊戌年七月念五日 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1898)	Chih Kung T'ang*	Q. Forks*	1898

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.410.13	19	恭祝五祖先師寶誕芳名列天運庚子年吉月念五日 福士致公堂啓 A Register of Chih Kung Tang Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1900)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks*	1900
980.410.14	18	二十七年天運辛丑年吉月念五日立五祖先師寶誕芳名 Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1901)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1901
980.410.15	19	二十八年五祖先師寶誕奉天運壬寅年吉月念五日 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1902)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks	1902
980.410.16	11	五祖寶誕恭祝千秋...癸卯二十九年 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1903)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1903
980.410.17	20	天運三十年吉月念五日五祖寶誕 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1904)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1904
980.410.18	17	五祖寶誕恭祝千秋天運三十一年 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1905)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1905
980.410.19	29	五祖寶誕恭祝千秋芳名天運丙午年吉月念五日 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1906)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1906
980.410.20	12	天運三十三年五祖寶誕數部吉月念五日 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1907)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1907
980.410.21	7	天運庚戌年吉月念五日立五祖寶誕 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1910)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1910

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.410.22	13	天運 戊申年 吉月 念伍日 五祖 寶誕 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Five Founders Festival (1908)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1908
980.411.1a	39	萬雲 龍 先師寶誕 天運 甲午九月初九日 福士致 公堂 A Register of Chih Kung Tang Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival in Quesnelle Forks (1894)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1894
980.411.1b	1	甲午九月初九日 欠數 A Record of the Hong-men Members Owing the Wan Yun-long Festival Fee (1894)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1894
980.411.2	19	乙酉歲 萬雲 龍 先師寶誕 列 致 公堂 A Register of Chih Kung Tang Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival (1885)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks*	1885
980.411.3	22	丙戌年 萬雲 龍 爺 先師寶誕 九月初九日 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival (1886)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1886-87
980.411.4a	34	己丑年九月初九日 萬雲 龍 先師寶誕 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival (1889)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1889
980.411.4b	1	(No title) [A Record of the Expenses during the Wan Yun-Long Festival (1889*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1889
980.411.5	25	天運 庚寅 萬雲 龍 先師寶誕 芳名 恭祝 千秋 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival (1890)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1890
980.411.6	34	辛九月重九 萬雲 龍 先師寶誕 恭祝 千秋 列 位 義 兄 鴻發 致 公堂 謹 啓 A Register of Chih Kung Tang Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival (1891)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks*	1891
980.411.7	27	壬辰重陽 萬雲 龍 仙師寶誕 致 公堂 謹 識 A Register of Chih Kung Tang Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival (1892)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks*	1892

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CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.411.8a	33	天運 巳年 萬雲 龍 先師寶誕 芳名 部 福士 致 公堂 啓 A Register of Chih Kung Tang Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival in Quesnelle Forks (1893)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1893
980.411.8b	17	(No title) [A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Ceremony of Admitting New Members in Quesnelle Forks* (1893)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1893
980.411.9a	26	天運 乙 未年 九 月 重 陽 恭 祝 萬 雲 龍 先 師 寶 誕 福 士 致 公 堂 立 A Register of Chih Kung Tang Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival in Quesnelle Forks (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1895
980.411.9b	1	(No title) [A Record of the Chih Kung Tang's Grocery Purchasing from the Qian Feng Store in Quesnelle Forks (1895)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1895
980.411.9c	1	(No title) [A Record of the Chih Kung Tang's Grocery Purchasing from the Yi He Store in Quesnelle Forks (1895)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks	1895
980.411.9d	1	(No title) [A Record of the Chih Kung Tang's Grocery Purchasing from the Guang Ji Store in Quesnelle Forks (1895)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks	1895
980.411.10a	41	恭 祝 千 秋 萬 雲 龍 先 師 寶 誕 芳 名 天 運 歲 次 丙 申 開 列 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival (1896)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1896-97
980.411.10b	1	(No title) [Unidentified]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1896*
980.411.10c	1	(No title) [A List of Hong-men Members Working in the Fu Sheng Long Store who Participated in the Wan Yun-long Festival in Quesnelle Forks (1896*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks	1896*
980.411.10d	1	(No title) [A List of Hong-men Members Working in the Ye He Store who Participated in the Wan Yun-long Festival in Quesnelle Forks (1896*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1896*

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CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.411.10e	1	(No title) [A List of Hong-men Members Working in the Xin Tong Chang Store who Participated in the Wan Yun-long Festival in Quesnelle Forks (1896*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1896*
980.411.11	23	恭祝 萬雲 龍 禪師寶誕 芳名列 天運 丁酉年九月重九日 福士致公堂 啓 A Register of Chih Kung Tang Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival in Quesnelle Forks (1897)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1897
980.411.12	25	萬雲 龍 寶誕 芳名簿 己亥年九月初九日 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival(1899)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1899
980.411.13a	17	恭祝 萬雲 龍 先師寶誕 芳名 天運 庚子年九月重九日 福士致公堂立 A Register of Chih Kung Tang Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival in Quesnelle Forks (1901)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1900-01
980.411.13b	1	(No title) [A Record of Two Hong-men Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival in Quesnelle Forks (1901)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1900
980.411.14	17	二十七年九月重陽 萬雲 龍 先師寶誕 簽部致公堂 焯動手 Register of Chih Kung Tang Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival (1901)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks*	1901
980.411.15	13	二十八年壬寅 萬雲 龍 大哥寶誕 恭奉 福士致公堂 A Register of Chih Kung Tang Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival in Quesnelle Forks (1902)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1902
980.411.16	15	天運二十九年雲 龍 大哥寶誕 恭祝 千秋 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the (Wan) Yun-long Festival (1903)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1903
980.411.17	15	雲 龍 仙師寶誕 天運 甲辰年九月初九日進支數部 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the (Wan) Yun-long Festival and the Expenses in the Festival (1904)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1904

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.411.18	17	雲龍大哥寶誕 恭祝千秋 天運三十壹年乙巳 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the (Wan) Yun-long Festival (1905)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1905
980.411.19a	30	龍鼎丙午年 重陽萬雲龍寶誕芳名簿 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival (1906)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1906
980.411.19b	1	(No title) [A Record of Grocery Purchasing by the Chih Kung Tang from the Guang Mao Long Store and Huang Lian-zi for the Wan Yun-long Festival in Quesnelle Fork (1908*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks	1908*
980.411.19c	1	致公堂列位叔父均鑒 戊九月九日 福士福生隆英記單 A Bill Addressed to the Chih Kung Tang from the Fu Sheng Long Ying Ji Store in Quesnelle Forks, Regarding the Society's Grocery Purchasing for the Wan Yun-long Festival (1908*)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1908
980.411.19d	1	致公堂列位先生叔父均鑒 戊申九月初九日 福士奕記號單 A Bill Addressed to the Chih Kung Tang from the Huan Ji Store in Quesnelle Forks, Regarding the Society's Grocery Purchasing for the Wan Yun-long Festival (1908*)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1908
980.411.19e	1	(No title) (A Record of Hong-men Members who Made Payment for Attending the New Year, Five Founders and Chong-yang Festivals (1906?))	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1906?
980.411.20	12	天運戊申年九月初九日 萬雲龍大哥寶誕 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Wan Yun-long Festival (1908)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1908

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CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.412.1	27	義兄不幸喪歸陰，眾兄扶柩上山林，萬望齊臨相來助， 陰靈庇佑 眾 洪英 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of (Li Wan-tong) (1890)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1890
980.412.2	33	義兄不幸喪歸陰，眾兄扶柩上山林，虔備齋筵來祭奠 陰靈保佑 眾 洪英 天運癸巳吉月初三 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of a Deceased Hong-men Member (1893)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1893
980.412.3	31	黃英不幸喪歸陰，眾兄扶柩上山林，虔備齋筵來祭奠 陰靈保佑 眾 洪英 天運甲午年正月十四日 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of Huang Ying (1894)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1894
980.412.4	33	義兄不幸喪歸陰，眾兄扶柩上山林，虔備齋筵來祭奠 陰靈保佑 眾 洪英 天運甲午年七月拾參日 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of Lu Lian and Lu Chang (1894)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1894
980.412.5	42	義兄不幸喪歸陰，眾兄扶柩上山林，萬望齊臨相幫助， 陰靈保佑 眾 洪英己年祭戊戌部 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of [Guan Wu-xu 1889*]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1889*
980.412.6	20	義兄不幸喪歸陰，眾兄扶柩上山林，虔備齋筵來祭奠 陰靈保佑 眾 洪英 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of a Deceased Hong-men Member (1887*)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1887

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CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.412.7	37	共同和合 結萬為記 義兄不幸喪歸陰,眾兄扶柩上山林,度備齋筵來祭奠陰靈保佑眾洪英,茲因黃興保先兄身故,謹具齋筵祭奠[請?]扇棍鞋列位職員叔父義兄親臨 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of Hung Xing-bao (1891*)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1891
980.412.8	35	何還大佬 命歸陰,結月十九日上山林,萬望眾兄相幫助,陰靈庇佑福祿深 扇棍鞋列位職員叔父高發陽居致公堂啓 [] A List of Chih Kung Tang Members who Donated to the Funeral of He Huan (1893*)	Chih Kung Tang*	Gao Fa Yang Ju, Q. Forks*	1893*
980.412.9	31	義兄不幸喪歸陰,眾兄扶柩上山林,萬望齊臨相幫助,陰靈保佑眾洪英 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of a Deceased Hong-men Member (1887)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1887
980.412.10	33	岑沃不幸喪歸陰,眾兄扶柩上山林,虔備齋筵來祭奠陰靈保佑眾洪英 [甲午年正月初十日 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of Cen Wo (1894)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1894
980.412.11	38	義兄不幸身早喪,本月初四送柩藏,須念同氣香一枝,親臨祭奠拜墳堂,茲因黃春勝先兄身故,謹具齋筵祭奠敢請扇棍鞋列位先生親臨 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of Huang Chun-sheng (1891)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1891
980.412.12	27	先兄陳濃 義兄不幸命歸陰,眾兄扶柩上山林, [] 弟義兄相幫助,陰靈庇佑眾洪英 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of Chen Nong (1903?)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1903?

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CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.412.13	34	義兄不幸喪歸陰，衆兄扶柩上山林，萬望 ^齊 臨相幫助，陰靈保佑衆洪英 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of a Deceased Hong-men Member (1889?)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1889?
980.412.14	29	義兄不幸喪歸陰，衆兄扶柩上山林，虔備齋筵來祭奠陰靈庇佑衆洪英 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of a Deceased Hong-men Member (1887*)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1887*
980.413.1	64	茂士埠致公堂賬目 福士致公堂立 Quesnel Mouth Chi Kung Tang Account Set up by Quesnelle Forks Zhi Gong Tang	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Mouth, Q. Forks	1883*-88*
980.413.2a	45	列位財源地字號[?]取福食數部 福士福英隆發立 A Record of the Chih Kung Tang Members' Food Purchasing from the Fu Ying Long Store in Quesnelle Forks (1887-88?)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	(1887-88)?
980.413.2b	1	作隙四月十八晚開膳 A List of New Members, and Income and Expenses during the Ceremony of Admitting New Members in (Dog Creek?) (1888*)	Chih Kung Tang*	Dog Creek	1888*
980.413.3	62	丁亥年各新丁芳名部 A List of New Members (1887)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks based	1887-93
980.413.4	25	天運丙申年九月十日新丁三朝拜義赴[?]列 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Ceremony of Admitting New Members (1896)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1896
980.413.5a	21	蘭亭結義... 天運己丑年十一月八日 [A List of New Members and a Register of the Hong-members who Participated the Ceremony of Admitting New Members in Quesnelle Forks* (1889)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1889
980.413.5b	1	(No title) [A Record of the Total of Nem Members, and Income and Expenses in the Ceremony of Admitting New Members in Quesnelle Forks* (1889)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1889

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CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.413.6	32	蘭亭結義 ... 天運庚寅年十月二十三日 [A List of New Members and a Register of the Hong-members who Participated the Ceremony of Admitting New Members in Quesnelle Forks* (1890)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1890
980.413.7	36	洪順堂 萬福攸同 A Fund-raising Register of Hong Shun Tang Members who Donated to Purchasing a Company Building (1883?)]	Hong Shun Tang*	Q. Forks based	1883?-85
980.413.8	22	萬福攸同 天運乙酉歲二月初四陞旗立 A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Flag Raising Ceremony (1885)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1885
980.413.9	82	(No title) (A Record of New Members, their Sponsors and Expenses in the Ceremonies of Admitting New Members in Quesnelle Forks and Zhu Shi Xu between 1885 and 1886)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks based	1885-86
980.413.10a	57	(No title) [A Record Consisting of Three Lists of New Members, Their Sponsors and the Expenses in Zhu Shi Xi (1886), Quesnelle Forks* (1888) and 150 Miles (1889)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks based	1886-89
980.413.10b	1	(No title) [A Record of the Total of New Members and Expenses in the Ceremonies of Admitting New Members in Zhu Shi Xi (1886*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Zhu Shi Xi	1886*
980.413.10c	1	(No title) [A List of New Members Admitted in Zhu Shi Xi (1886*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Zhu Shi Xi	1886*
980.413.10d	1	(No title) [A Record of the Chih Kung Tang Society's Income and Expenditure and Some Personal Dues (1886*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Zhu Shi Xi	1886*
980.413.11	20	天運戊戌吉月十三日立 關公陞座 A Register of Hong-men Members Who Donated to the Installation of Guan Gong Statue (1886)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1886

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CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.413.12	3	宿字號 咸水埠倡建致公堂勸捐緣簿 貓士勸捐緣簿 義和生寶號,致公堂列位何選先生限六月二十日繳簿 Appeal for Donation to the Construction of a Chih Kung Tang House in Vancouver, Addressed from the Vancouver Chih Kung Tang to the Secretary-general He Huan, Chih Kung Tang and the Yi He Sheng Store in Quesnel Mouth (1901*)	Chih Kung Tang	Vancouver, Q. Mouth	1892
980.413.13	3	福田廣種 [An Appeal for Donation to Shipping Deceased Two Hong-men members, Lu Lian-chang's and his Brother, from a Certain Place back to Quesnelle Forks (1894)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks	1894
980.413.14	11	廣種 福田 [An Appeal for Donation to Shipping Deceased Two Hong-men members, Lu Lian-chang's and his Brother, from a Certain Place back to Quesnelle Forks (1894)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks	1894
980.413.15	29	福士埠致公堂重修勸捐緣部同聲相應 錦記手 Appeal for Donation to the Reparation of the Chih Kung Tang House in	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1901
980.413.16	17	天運癸卯年十月初五日新丁入圈部 A List of New Members and Their Sponsors (1903)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1903
980.413.17	23	天運丙午八月初六日 [A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of Lin De-wei (1906)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1906
980.413.18	30	丙午年周澤堂不幸 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to Zhou Ze-tang's Funeral (1906)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1906
980.413.19	8	戊申九月吉日修整鍾泮先兄之墳勸捐部 Appeal for Donation to the Reparation of Zhong Pan's Tomb (1908)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1908
980.413.20	10	天運庚戌重陽立 [A Register of Hong-men Members who Attended the Chong Yang Festival (1910)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1910

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CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.413.21	14	庚戌九月十五日 林德先兄歸西 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of Lin De (1910)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1910
980.413.22	7	重陽節 洪順堂 [A Record of Hong Shun Tang Members who Attended the Chong Yang Festival (1883*)]	Hong Shun Tang	Q. Forks*	1883*
980.413.23	20	獲福無疆 [Appeal for Donation to a Hong-member Cui Zhao whose Feet were Severely Frost-bitten during a Snowstorm 1884*]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks	1885*
980.413.24	12	獲福無疆 [Appeal for Donation to a Hong-member Cui Zhao whose Feet were Severely Frost-bitten during a Snowstorm (1884*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks	1885*
980.413.25	17	司徒本生仙遊部 A List of Hong-men Members who Donated to the Funeral of Situ Ben-sheng (1896?)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1896?
980.413.26	3	準期十二月二十一日 [一] 繳部 福緣普慶 福士埠致公堂 均鑒 天字一號 (Appeal for Donation to Supporting the Chen Lian-zhong Case, Addressed from the Chih Kung Tang in Victoria, Vancouver and New Westminster to the Quesnelle Forks Chih Kung Tang	Chih Kung Tang	New-Van-Victoria, Q. Forks	1886?
980.413.27	45	致公堂各欠月底數 A Record of Zhi Gong Tang Membership Dues [Set up by Chen Nuan and He Wo Feng (1897)]	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks based	1887-92
980.414.1	1	天運乙酉年六月十三日 新丁芳名 A List of New Members (1885)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1885
980.414.2	1	天運乙酉年六月十三日 新丁芳名 A List of New Members (1885)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1885

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CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.414.3	1	天運乙酉年六月十三日新丁芳名 (1885)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1885
980.414.4	1	天運乙酉年六月 貳十壹晚新丁芳名列 Members (1885)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1885-86
980.414.5	1	天運乙酉年七月初壹晚新丁芳名列左 New Members (1885)	Chih Kung Tang*	Keithley	1885
980.414.6	1	天運乙酉年十壹月二十六日新丁芳名列 New Members (1885)	Chih Kung Tang*	Williams Ck.	1885
980.414.7	1	天運乙酉年十壹月二十六日新丁芳名列 New Members (1885)	Chih Kung Tang*	Williams Ck.*	1885
980.414.8	1	丙戌吉月十三 [A List of New Members Admitted in Quesnelle Forks* (1886)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks based	1886
980.414.9	1	天運丙戌年吉月十三日新丁芳名 (1886)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks based	1886
980.414.10	1	天運丙午年吉月念八日新丁芳名開列 Members (1886)	Chih Kung Tang*	Keithley*	1886
980.414.11	1	天運癸巳年新丁芳名開列 A List of New Members (1893)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks?	1893
980.415.1	1	蕭湛霖先生壬午八月二十八日代總理溫羽達單 A Record of the Income and Expenses of the Hong-men in a Certain Event, Addressed to Secretary-general Xiao Zhan-lin from the Acting Vice-manager Wen Yu-kui (1882)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1882

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.415.2	1	致公堂列位先生均鑒 壬八月十九日 福士問郡 廣昌泰單 A Bill of Grocery Purchasing, Addressed to the Chih Kung Tang from the Guang Chang Tai Store in Quesnelle Forks (1882*)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks*	1882*
980.415.3	1	洪順堂列位叔台鑒 壬八月十九日 福十問郡 怡泰東記單 A Bill of Grocery Purchasing, Addressed to the Hong Shun Tang from the Yi Tai Dong Ji Store in Quesnelle Forks (1882*)	Hong Shun Tang	Q. Forks	1882*
980.415.4	1	同城叔父列位大人統鑒 癸未拾月初十日 作 滬遂來單 A Bill of Grocery Purchasing, Addressed to the Chih Kung Tang from the Sui Lai Store in Dog Creek (1883)	Chih Kung Tang*	Dog Creek	1883
980.416.1	1	天運癸未十貳月初三日 新丁芳名 A List of the New Members (1883)	Chih Kung Tang*	Stanley?	1884
980.416.2	1	癸未年吉月念四日 新丁芳名開列 A List of New Members (1883)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks based	188
980.416.3	1	天運癸未年十貳月初 日 新丁芳名 A List of New Members (1883)	Chih Kung Tang*	Stanley?	1884
980.416.4	1	癸未年吉月十三日 新丁芳名列 A List of New Members (1883)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1883
980.416.5	1	壬午八月十八日 新丁芳名列 A List of New Members (1882)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1882
980.416.6	1	癸未年八月十八日 新丁芳名開列 A List of New Members (1883)	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville?	1883
980.416.7	1	天運癸未十貳月初三日 新丁芳名 A List of New Members (1883)	Chih Kung Tang*	Stanley?	1884
980.416.8	1	癸未年吉月念四日 新丁芳名開列 A List of New Members (1883)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks based	1883
980.416.9	1	(No title) [A Record of the Late Handed in New Membership Fee (1883*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville?	1883

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.416.10	1	壬午八月十八日瓜子芳名列 A List of New Members (1882)	Hong Shun Tang*	Q. Forks*	1882
980.416.11	1	天運癸未年十月初八日新丁芳名開列 A List of New Members (1883)	Chih Kung Tang*	Dog Creek	1883
980.416.12	1	(No title) [Gold Mining and Expenses]	?	Q. Forks?	(1881-83)?
980.416.13	1	(No title) [Gold Mining and Expenses]	?	Q. Forks?	(1881-83)?
980.416.14	1	(No title) [A Record of the New Membership Fee Dues (1882*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*	1882*
980.416.15	1	天運癸未年十月初八日新丁芳名開列 A List of New Members (1883)	Chih Kung Tang*	Dog Creek*	1883
980.416.16	1	(No title) [A Record of New Membership Fee Dues (1883*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Stanley?	1884*
980.416.17	1	癸未年吉月十三日新丁芳名列 A List of New Members (1883)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks*, Barkerville*	1883
980.416.18	1	(No title) [A Record of New Membership Fee Dues (1883*)]	Chih Kung Tang*	Barkerville*, Q. Forks* based	1883*
980.417.1	21	本埠各號來貨部致公堂立 A Record of Grocery Purchasing by the Chih Kung Tang from Stores in Quesnelle Forks	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks*	1891-92
980.417.2	22	本埠各號來貨總部 [福士]致公堂 A Record of Grocery Purchasing by the Chih Kung Tang from Stores in Quesnelle Forks	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks*	1890-91
980.417.3	20	壬辰癸巳年各號來貨部福士致公堂立 A Record of Grocery Purchasing by the Chih Kung Tang from Stores in Quesnelle Forks (1892)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1892-94

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.417.4	9	致公堂取貨部 光緒十九年七月二十二日立 福士間郡義和號發 A Bill of Grocery Purchasing, Addressed to the Chih Kung Tang from the Yi He Store in Quesnelle Forks (1893)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1893-97
980.417.5	11	致公堂取貨部 光緒十九年七月二十三日立 福士 乾豐號發 A Bill of Grocery Purchasing, Addressed to the Chih Kung Tang from the Qian Feng Store in Quesnelle Forks 1893)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1893-95
980.417.6	24	致公堂取貨部 光緒十九年七月二十三日立 福士和 生號發 A Bill of Grocery Purchasing, Addressed to the Chih Kung Tang from the He Sheng Store in Quesnelle Forks (1893)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1893-97
980.417.7	7	光緒二十壹年致公堂取貨部 福士乾豐號發 A Bill of Grocery Purchasing, Addressed to the Chih Kung Tang from the Qian Feng Store in Quesnelle Forks (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1895-97
980.417.8	8	光緒乙未丙申歲 致公堂取貨登記數部 福士福生隆發 A Bill of Grocery Purchasing, Addressed to the Chih Kung Tang from the Fu Sheng Long Store in Quesnelle Forks (1895)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1895-97
980.417.9	20	天運甲辰年正月十八日發致公堂各鋪取香油部 福士 致公堂 A Record of Grocery Purchasing by the Chih Kung Tang from the Stores in Quesnelle Forks (1904)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1904-07
980.417.10	6	天運戊申年二月初貳日 致公堂各鋪取油香部 福士 致公堂發 A Record of Grocery Purchasing by the Chih Kung Tang from the Stores in Quesnelle Forks (1908)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks	1908-09
980.417.11	10	天運丁未年二月初貳日 致公堂各鋪取香油簿 福士 致公堂發 A Record of Grocery Purchasing by the Chih Kung Tang from the Stores in Quesnelle Forks (1907)	Chih Kung Tang	Q. Forks	1907-08

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
980.417.12	7	天運己酉年二月初貳日 致公堂各鋪取香油簿 福士致公堂發 A Record of Grocery Purchasing by the Chih Kung T'ang from the Stores in Quesnelle Forks (1909)	Chih Kung T'ang	Q. Forks	1909
980.417.13	46	各號來貨工項部 福士致公堂 A Record of Grocery Purchasing by the Chih Kung T'ang from the Stores in Quesnelle Forks	Chih Kung T'ang	Q. Forks	1882-86
989.412.1	0	天運壬午年冬季吉日 置 騰抄總部 茂士致公堂立 A General Account Set up by the Quesnel Mouth Chih Kung T'ang (1882)	Chih Kung T'ang	Q. Mouth	1882
989.413.1	18	(No title) [A Fund-raising Register for Supporting Fighting against Japanese's Invasion to the Four Counties in Guangdong, China (1940s?)]	Community	Barkerville	1940s?
B5.E1.1	1	致公堂列位兄 台何沃鋒大佬 照 庚七月二十五日 加利保人和棧單 A Bill Addressed to the Master He Wo-feng, Chih Kung T'ang from the Ren He Zhan Store in Cariboo, Regarding the Society's Grocery Purchasing for the Five Founders Festival (1890)	Chih Kung T'ang	Barkerville	1890
B5.E1.2	1	致公堂列位先生 照 庚七月二十五日 加利寶乾泰棧單 A Bill Addressed to the Chih Kung T'ang from the Qian Tai Store in Cariboo, Regarding the Society's Grocery Purchasing for the Five Founders Festival (1890)	Chih-Kung T'ang	Barkerville	1890
B5.E1.3	1	致公堂列位先生 照 庚寅七月二十五日 [城] [谷] [士] [際] 和利號單 A Bill Addressed to Chih Kung T'ang from the He Li Store in Cheng Gu? Shi Xi, Regarding the Society's Grocery Purchasing for the Five Founders Festival (1890)	Chih Kung T'ang	Cheng Gu Shi Xi	1890
B5.E2.1	1	天運庚寅年吉月念五日 [A Record of the Hong-men Society's Grocery Purchasing from the Stores and the Restaurants in Barkerville for the Five Founders Festival (1890)]	Chih Kung T'ang*	Barkerville*	1890

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
B5.E3.1	1	致公堂列位叔台照 七月二十六日 加利寶 乾泰棧單 A Bill Addressed to the Chih Kung T'ang from the Qian Tai Store in Cariboo, Regarding the Society's Grocery Purchasing for the Five Founders Festival (1890)	Chih Kung T'ang	Barkerville	1890?
B5.E3.2	1	致公堂列位兄 台辛吉月念五日 黎瑞林單 A Bill Addressed to the Chih Kung T'ang from the Li Rui-lin Store Regarding the Society's Grocery Purchasing for the Five Founders Festival (1891)]	Chih Kung T'ang	Barkerville*	1891*
B5.E3.3	1	致公堂列位兄 台辛吉月念五日 黎瑞林單 A Bill Addressed to the Chih Kung T'ang from the Li Rui-lin Store Regarding the Society's Grocery Purchasing for the Five Founders Festival (1891)]	Chih Kung T'ang	Barkerville*	1891*
B20.1.E1.1	11	重陽佳節 各梓里誠心 報名部 中華民國貳拾捌年 A Register for Attending the Chong Yang Festival (1939)	Community	Barkerville	1938
B20.1.E1.2	5	重陽佳節 各梓里誠心 報名部 中華民國三十一年 A Register for Attending the Chong Yang Festival (1942)	Community	Barkerville	1941
B20.1.E2.1	1	孟蘭佳節 各梓里誠心 報名部 中華民國三十一年 A Register for Attending the Yu Lan Festival (1941)	Community	Barkerville*	1941
B20.1.E2.2	5	孟蘭佳節 各梓里誠心 報名部 中華民國三十一年 A Register for Attending the Yu Lan Festival (1942)	Community	Barkerville*	1942
B20.1.E3.1	6	清明佳節 各梓里誠心 報名部 中華民國三十一年 A Register for Attending the Qing Ming Festival (1942)	Community	Barkerville*	1942
B20.1.E4.1	35	一九一八千零六年六月二十貳號英屬北加 [委路] ... 各梓友 ... [Patient File and Prescription Set up by a Chinese Hospital in Barkerville (1918)]	Community	Barkerville*	1918

(Appendix IV cont.)

CATA NO.	TOTAL PAGES	TITLE	SOCIETY NAME	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
B20.1.E5.1	8	民國歲次甲寅八月初陸日立 Company in Barkerville (1914)]	Lun Wo Co.	Barkerville	1914
231	16	(No title) [A Record of Opium Purchasing Dues by the Chinese in Quesnelle Forks (1890-91*)	Chih Kung Tang*	Q. Forks	1890*-92

Note:

* Account origin, date, and producer followed with star sign mean that they are inferred.

Appendix V. Thirty-five Receipt Stubs and One Account Book Selected From the Chinese Documents Kept in the Archives of the Canada Chinese Benevolent Association in Victoria

NO. CATA NO.	TITLE	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
1	9.1 Box 2-8a 茂士人和號 發出票底三十九條 Ren He Store at Quesnel Mouth (Total 39 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	茂士	Quesnel Mouth 1884-90
2	9.1 Box 2-8b 茂士人和號 發出票底三十九條 Ren He Store at Quesnel Mouth (Total 39 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	茂士	Quesnel Mouth 1885
3	9.1 Box 2-8c 茂士和利棧 票一百發九十九存五條 He Li Store at Quesnel Mouth (95 out of 100 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	茂士	Quesnel Mouth 1885
4	9.1 Box 2-8d 茂士和利棧 票一百發四十六存五十四條 He Li Store at Quesnel Mouth (46 out of 100 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	茂士	Quesnel Mouth 1885
5	9.1 Box 2-8e 茂士和利棧 票三十張完 He Li Store at Quesnel Mouth (Total 30 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	茂士	Quesnel Mouth 1885
6	9.1 Box 2-8f 茂士和利棧 票三十張 He Li Store at Quesnel Mouth (Total 30 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	茂士	Quesnel Mouth 1885
7	9.1 Box 2-8g 茂士和利棧 票三十張 He Li Store at Quesnel Mouth (Total 30 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	茂士	Quesnel Mouth 1885
8	9.1 Box 2-8h 茂士和利棧 三十 He Li Store at Quesnel Mouth (Total 30 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	茂士	Quesnel Mouth 1885
9	9.1 Box 2-8i 茂士和利棧 三十 He Li Store at Quesnel Mouth (29 out of Total 30 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	茂士	Quesnel Mouth 1885
10	9.1 Box 2-8j 茂士和利棧 三十 He Li Store at Quesnel Mouth (Total 30 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	茂士	Quesnel Mouth 1885
11	9.1 Box 2-8k 茂士和利棧 票三十張 He Li Store at Quesnel Mouth (12 out of Total 30 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	茂士	Quesnel Mouth 1886
12	9.1 Box 2-8l 茂士和利棧 票發三十四條存十條 He Li Store at Quesnel Mouth (34 Receipts were Signed)	茂士	Quesnel Mouth 1885
13	9.2 Box 5-1 茂士和利棧號 光緒十一年十月二十三日發為駁斥苛收孔臣訟費勸捐部 (城多力埠中華會館) Register of Donors in Quesnel for Fighting against Unreasonable High Charge for the Legal Proceeding Fee for the (Kong Chien) Case (Issued by the He Le Zhan Store in Quesnel on the 23rd Days of the 10th Lunar Month of the 11th Year of Emperor Guang Xu (1885))	茂士	Quesnel Mouth 1885
14	9.1 Box 2-13a 福士怡泰棧記 票一百發六十二存三十八 Yi Tai Dong Ji Store at Quesnel Forks (62 out of Total 100 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	福士	Quesnel Forks 1884

(Appendix V cont.)

NO.	CATA NO.	TITLE	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
15	9.1 Box 2-13b	福上怡泰東記票一百發十九存八十八 181 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	福上	Quesnelle Forks 1884
16	9.1 Box 2-13c	福上怡泰東記三十發完 Issued)	福上	Quesnelle Forks 1885
17	9.1 Box 2-13d	福上怡泰東記三十發完 Issued)	福上	Quesnelle Forks 1885
18	9.1 Box 2-13e	福上怡泰東記三十發八存二十二 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	福上	Quesnelle Forks 1885
19	9.1 Box 2-13f	福上和合票一百發十七存八十八 were Signed and Issued)	福上	Quesnelle Forks 1884
20	9.1 Box 2-13g	福上和合三十發十七存十四 Signed and Issued)	福上	Quesnelle Forks 1885
21	9.1 Box 2-13-YSXa	雲上陸劉群票三十發二十九存一條 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	雲上陸	Keithley 1884
22	9.1 Box 2-13-YSXb	雲上陸劉群票三十發三十存一條 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	雲上陸	Keithley 1885
23	9.1 Box 2-?-Caribo-a	加里埔廣昌票一百發十二條存八十八條 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	加里埔	Cariboo 1884
24	9.1 Box 2-?-Caribo-b	加里埔人和棧票三十張 and Issued)	加里埔	Cariboo 1886-87
25	9.1 Box 2-?-Caribo-c	加里埔人和棧票三十張 Signed and Issued)	加里埔	Cariboo 1887
26	9.1 Box 2-?-WC-n	威林上陸和利票九十九發三十二存六十八 Of Total 99 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	威林上陸	Williams Ck. (Richfield) 1884

(Appendix V cont.)

NO. CATA NO.	TITLE	LOCATION	TIME PERIOD
27	9.1 Box 2 Sty-a 士丹利 滿漢票 甄鶴齡 票三十二存三條 發完 (Merchants) Xiao Zhan Lin and Zhen He Ling at Stanley (27 out of Total 30 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	士丹利	1884
28	9.1 Box 2 Sty-b 士丹利 永盛 票三十 發完 Yong Sheng Store at Stanley (Total 30 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	士丹利	1884
29	9.1 Box 2 Sty-c 士丹利 永盛 票三十 發完 Yong Sheng Store at Stanley (Total 30 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	士丹利	1885
30	9.1 Box 2 Sty-d 士丹利 永盛 票三十 發完 Yong Sheng Store at Stanley (Total 30 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	士丹利	1885
31	9.1 Box 2 Sty-e 士丹利 永盛 票三十 發十八存十二 Yong Sheng Store at Stanley (18 out of Total 30 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	士丹利	1885
32	9.1 Box 2 Sty-f 士丹利 永盛 票三十 發完 Yong Sheng Store at Stanley (Total 30 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	士丹利	1885
33	9.1 Box 2 Sty-g 士丹利 永盛 票三十張 發完 Yong Sheng Store at Stanley (22 out of Total 30 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	士丹利	1886-87
34	9.1 Box 2 Sty-h (No Writings on the cover) (11 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	士丹利	1886-87
35	9.1 Box 2-?-LSZ-a 士丹利 廣利和 永盛 號三十 -- 發完 Zhen He Ling and Yong Sheng Stores at Lu Shi Zhang (Total 31 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	士丹利 (Slough Ck.?)	1885
36	9.1 Box 2-?-LSZ-b 士丹利 廣利和 永盛 號三十三 發完 Guang Li He and Yong Sheng Stores at Lu Shi Zhang (Total 33 Receipts were Signed and Issued)	士丹利 (Slough Ck.?)	1885

Appendix VI. 1,366 Chinese in the North Cariboo District in the 1880's (summarized from the Hong-men Account Books and the CCBA Files)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Barkerville	?	Lao3-hao4	[]	老浩	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888
Barkerville	Cao2'	Mei3	曹	美	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Barkerville	Cen2	Fu2	岑	福	m	?	Shunde?	順德?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Cen2	Jila	岑	緝	m	?	Shunde?	順德?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-89
Barkerville	Cen2	Ling2	岑	玲	m	?	Shunde?	順德?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Cen2	Lun2-gao4	岑	倫	m	?	Shunde?	順德?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Cen2	Qiao2	岑	橋	m	?	Shunde?	順德?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-95
Barkerville	Cen2	Qiu1-hong2	岑	秋洪	m	?	Shunde?	順德?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-06
Barkerville	Cen2	She4-quan2	岑	社銓	m	?	Shunde?	順德?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-82
Barkerville	Che1	Lin2	車	林	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81*2
Barkerville	Chen2	Cheng2	陳	成	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Chen2	Chong2-shi4	陳	重是	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-90
Barkerville	Chen2	Geng1	陳	庚	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Chen2	Gou3	陳	苟	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-87
Barkerville	Chen2	Heng1	陳	亨	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-81
Barkerville	Chen2	Hual-sheng1	陳	花生	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-90
Barkerville	Chen2	Kui2-si4	陳	魁四	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Chen2	Liang2-zhu3	陳	良褚	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Chen2	Mao4-zhi1	陳	茂枝	m	1844	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-87
Barkerville	Chen2	Nan2-wu4	陳	南戊	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Chen2	Shu4-mao4	陳	樹茂	m	1852	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-06
Barkerville	Chen2	Su1-lin2	陳	蘇倫	m	1844	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-83
Barkerville	Chen2	Tian1-lai2	陳	添來	m	?	Xinan	新安	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-88
Barkerville	Chen2	Yong3-zhao1	陳	永昭	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-91

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Barkerville	Chen2	Zhan4-wei2	陳	占維	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Chen2	Zi1-rong2	陳	滋榮	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-87
Barkerville	Cui1	Shao4	崔	紹	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Barkerville	Cui1	Zhao4	崔	肇	m	1861	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-85
Barkerville	Dai4	Da4-fa1	戴	大發	m	1841	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-91
Barkerville	Deng4	Run4-zhi1	鄧	閏枝	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-85
Barkerville	Deng4	Sun17-zhi1?	鄧	孫枝	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Dong3	Ji2-hou4	董	積厚	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880*-81
Barkerville	Feng2	Qi1-jie2	馮	七結	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-90
Barkerville	Fu4	Mei3-chen2	傅	美臣	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1885-88
Barkerville	Gan1	Jia1	甘	佳	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Gan1	Qun2	甘	群	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Barkerville	Gao1	Liang2	高	良	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-86
Barkerville	Gu3	Liu2-sheng4	古	劉勝	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-94
Barkerville	Guan1	Chao2-rong2	關	朝榮	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-90
Barkerville	Guan1	Da4	關	大	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881?
Barkerville	Guan1	Long2-guang3	關	龍廣	m	1856	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-88
Barkerville	Guan1	Run4-fu2	關	閏福	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Barkerville	Guan1	Song1-gen1	關	松	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-90
Barkerville	Guan1	Yuan2-fu3	關	元輔	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81*
Barkerville	He2	Wo4-feng1	何	沃鋒	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-93
Barkerville	He2	Xiao3	何	曉	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-88
Barkerville	Hu2	Ke1	胡	科	m	1859	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-91
Barkerville	Hu2	Yi4	胡	義	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880*-86
Barkerville	Huang2	Ai4	黃	愛	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-00
Barkerville	Huang2	Bai3-xing1	黃	百興	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-87

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN COUNTY1	MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Barkerville	Huang2	Chong2	黄	崇	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886*
Barkerville	Huang2	De2-lu4	黄	德路	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81*
Barkerville	Huang2	Gen1	黄	根	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Barkerville	Huang2	Geng1-xiu4	黄	庚秀	m	?	Xinan	新安	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-90
Barkerville	Huang2	Huan1	黄	歡	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-85
Barkerville	Huang2	Jin3a	黄	錦 ^a	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-03
Barkerville	Huang2	Jing1-yuan2	黄	經元	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-87
Barkerville	Huang2	Kuo4-fu4	黄	擴福	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881?
Barkerville	Huang2	Liang4	黄	亮	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-88
Barkerville	Huang2	Liu4	黄	六	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Huang2	Long2-huai2	黄	龍槐	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881?-93
Barkerville	Huang2	Lu4a	黄	鹿	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-90
Barkerville	Huang2	Nan2	黄	南	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Huang2	Nan2-dou3	黄	南斗	m	?	Xinan	新安	N	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Huang2	Qi2-rui4	黄	齊瑞	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Huang2	Qing4-tian2	黄	慶田	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-94*
Barkerville	Huang2	Qiu2-jie2	黄	求傑	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881?
Barkerville	Huang2	Qun2-ying1	黄	群英	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-93+
Barkerville	Huang2	Rong2-kang1	黄	榮康	m	?	Xinhui	新會	Y	Y	Merchant	1880-98
Barkerville	Huang2	Song1	黄	松	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-94
Barkerville	Huang2	Song4	黄	宋	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880*-81*
Barkerville	Huang2	Sui-yang2	黄	蘇揚	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-83
Barkerville	Huang2	Wei2-man3	黄	爲滿	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-85
Barkerville	Huang2	Wu3-fan1	黄	五番	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Huang2	Xun4-bo1	黄	遜撥	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-90
Barkerville	Huang2	Yang2	黄	楊	m	?	?	?	Y	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-84

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME NAME	FIRST NAME	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG COUNTY	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Barkerville	Huang2	Yue4-ling2	黃悅齡	Yue4-ling2	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Huang2	Yue4a	黃樂 a	Yue4a	m	1860	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-06
Barkerville	Huang2	Zhi4	黃志	Zhi4	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Jian3	Ding1	簡丁	Ding1	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81*
Barkerville	Lai4	Wu3	賴五	Wu3	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-90
Barkerville	Lao2	Jie2	勞杰	Jie2	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-90
Barkerville	Li2	Cheng2	黎成	Cheng2	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-96
Barkerville	Li2	Chun1	黎春	Chun1	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Li2	De2-hui1	黎德輝	De2-hui1	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Barkerville	Li2	Jin3-ran2	黎錦然	Jin3-ran2	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-90
Barkerville	Li2	Mao4-song1	黎茂松	Mao4-song1	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-85
Barkerville	Li2	Rui4-lin2	黎瑞林	Rui4-lin2	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1881-92
Barkerville	Li2	Run4-ming2	黎閏明	Run4-ming2	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-92
Barkerville	Li3	She4	李社	She4	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81*
Barkerville	Li3	Shi4-huo4	李足獲	Shi4-huo4	m	1843	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-80
Barkerville	Li3	Xian2-hu4	李賢護	Xian2-hu4	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Li3	Yi2-he2	李怡和	Yi2-he2	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-88
Barkerville	Li3	You3-lian2	李有連	You3-lian2	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881?
Barkerville	Li4	Nian4-zu3	李念祖	Nian4-zu3	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-90
Barkerville	Liang2	Jie2-zh3	梁結子	Jie2-zh3	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-90
Barkerville	Liang2	Ju4	梁聚	Ju4	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-91
Barkerville	Liang2	Qi3-zh3	梁杞子	Qi3-zh3	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-87
Barkerville	Liang2	Si4	梁嗣	Si4	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880*-81*
Barkerville	Liang2	Tian1-huo2	梁添活	Tian1-huo2	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881?-85
Barkerville	Liang2	Wen2-hong2	梁文洪	Wen2-hong2	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Liang2	Xiu4	梁秀	Xiu4	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Barkerville	Liang2	Yan2-kai1	梁	顏開	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-87
Barkerville	Liang2	Zhu1-zi3	梁	珠子	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-83
Barkerville	Lin2	Bang1-long2	林	邦龍	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Lin2	Cheng2	林	成	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Barkerville	Lin2	De2-zhu4	林	德助	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888
Barkerville	Lin2	Kang1	林	康	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881?-06
Barkerville	Lin2	Ting2-gui4	林	廷貴	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Lin2	Yuan2-you3	林	元有	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Liu2	Cheng2-he2	劉	成合	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Barkerville	Liu2	Ding1-xiu4	劉	丁秀	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-86
Barkerville	Liu2	Guan1-quan2	劉	觀銓	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880*-04
Barkerville	Liu2	Hai3-tang2	劉	海棠	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-82
Barkerville	Liu2	Ken3-sheng1	劉	肯生	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1881
Barkerville	Liu2	Ling2-yan3	劉	靈衍	m	1850	Zengcheng?	增城?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-90
Barkerville	Liu2	Lun2-yan3	劉	倫衍	m	1859	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Barkerville	Liu2	Qian1-kui2	劉	仟魁	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Barkerville	Liu2	Ru2-kui2	劉	儒魁	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Liu2	Wen2-ben3	劉	文本	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-95*
Barkerville	Liu2	Yue4-zhi1	劉	月枝	m	?	Zengcheng?	增城?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Lu2	Bing3-[]	盧	秉 []	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-88+
Barkerville	Lu2	Ci4-liu2	盧	賜	m	1857	Zengcheng	增城	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886
Barkerville	Lu2	Gou3	盧	苟	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888
Barkerville	Lu2	Lian2-chang2	盧	連長	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1882-93
Barkerville	Lu2	Shao4-tang2	盧	紹棠	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Lu2	Xi4-nu2	盧	細奴	m	1856	Zengcheng	增城	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-88
Barkerville	Lu2	Yu4-cheng2	盧	玉成	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Merchant	1881-88

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Barkerville	Lu2	Zhang1	盧	章	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888
Barkerville	Lu4	Guo2-chao2	陸	國超	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Luo2	Jing4-qiu1	羅	敬秋	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Luo3	Qi2-ying1	呂	祺英	m	1859	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-95
Barkerville	Mao2	Ji4-chang1	毛	繼昌	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-82*
Barkerville	Mao2	Xiu4	毛	秀	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Barkerville	Mo4	Chang2	莫	長	m	1842	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883
Barkerville	Mo4	Da4-en1	莫	大恩	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886*
Barkerville	Mo4	Da4-nuo4	莫	大諾	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1870s-90
Barkerville	Mo4	Da4-yan3	莫	大衍	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-87
Barkerville	Mo4	Jian4	莫	劍	m	1837	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-90
Barkerville	Mo4	Ru2-nan2	莫	如南	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-87+
Barkerville	Pan1	Bao3-kang1	潘	保康	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-87
Barkerville	Pan1	Gou3	潘	苟	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Barkerville	Pan1	Hai3-deng1	潘	海登	m	1846	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-89
Barkerville	Pan1	Hui4-ding1	潘	匯丁	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-88
Barkerville	Pan1	Mao4-he2	潘	茂和	m	1840	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-85
Barkerville	Pan1	Zhao4-ji2	潘	兆吉	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-86
Barkerville	Qin2	Rong2-xian4	秦	容線	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Qin2	Zhou4-xing1	秦	宙興	m	?	Zengcheng?	增城?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-90
Barkerville	Qiu1	Qi1	邱	七	m	?	Xinan	新安	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-90
Barkerville	Qiu1	Yao2-rui4	邱	堯瑞	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-88
Barkerville	Qiu1	Zhen1	邱	真	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-86*
Barkerville	Qiu1	Zi3-qiong2	邱	子瓊	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-82
Barkerville	Shen3	Ren2-zhu1	沈	壬珠	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-90
Barkerville	Shen3	Ting2-zhou1	沈	廷舟	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-87

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	H HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Barkerville	Situ2	Zou1-lai2	司徒	聯來	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Song4	He2	宋	和	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881?
Barkerville	Su1	Zhen4-wang4	蘇	振旺	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881?
Barkerville	Sun1	Huo3-xiu4	孫	火秀	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881?
Barkerville	Sun1	Jue2-hong2	孫	爵宏	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-86*
Barkerville	Tan2	Lang3	譚	朗	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Tan2	Lian2-zhuang4	譚	連壯	m	1846	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-88
Barkerville	Tan2	She4	譚	社	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Tan2	She4-shun4	譚	社順	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-87+
Barkerville	Tan1	Xin4	湯	信	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-88
Barkerville	Tang2	Liang4	唐	亮	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-90
Barkerville	Tang2	Zu3-jiang2	唐	祖良	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-88
Barkerville	Wen1	Xiang3	溫	想	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Wen1	Yu3-kui2	溫	羽遠	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1881-83
Barkerville	Wen2	Qi2-zhong4	文	齊仲	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-90
Barkerville	Wu2	Gou3-sheng4	吳	苟勝	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1870s-28
Barkerville	Wu2	Lian2	吳	連	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-08
Barkerville	Wu2	Nan2	吳	南	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-87
Barkerville	Wu2	Nuu3	吳	女	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Barkerville	Wu2	Sheng4	吳	勝	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-85
Barkerville	Wu2	Yie4-wang4	吳	業旺	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881?
Barkerville	Wu3	Rong2-guang1	伍	榮光	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-90
Barkerville	Wu3	Weng1	伍	翁	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883
Barkerville	Wu3	Xian2-shu1	伍	賢書	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-90
Barkerville	Wu3	Xue2-ji2	伍	學吉	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Wu3	Yin1-shu1	伍	蔭書	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-91

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1 MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Barkerville	Xiao1	De2-tian2	蕭	德田	m	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Xie4	Da2	謝	達	m	?	Kaiping	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Xie4	Lin2	謝	林	m	?	Kaiping	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Xie4	Qiu1	謝	秋	m	?	Kaiping	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Xie4	Qiu2	謝	球	m	?	Kaiping	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Xie4	Rong2	謝	榮	m	?	Kaiping	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Xie4	Sheng4-sen1	謝	聖森	m	?	Kaiping?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-88
Barkerville	Xie4	Shu4-sheng4	謝	述聖	m	?	Kaiping	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Xie4	Wen1-sheng4	謝	溫聖	m	?	Kaiping	N	Miner & Labourer	1884?
Barkerville	Xie4	Ye4	謝	葉	m	?	Kaiping	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Xie4	Yi4	謝	奕	m	?	Kaiping	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Xie4	Zhong4	謝	仲	m	?	Kaiping	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Xie4	Zhuo2-sheng4	謝	灼聖	m	?	Kaiping	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Xie4	Zuo3	謝	佐	m	?	Kaiping	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Xu3	Yue4	許	樂	m	?	Taishan?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-88
Barkerville	Xue1	Hua2	薛	華	m	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Barkerville	Yang2	Guan1-zhe3	楊	觀者	m	1834	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-90
Barkerville	Yang2	Gui4-bao3	楊	桂保	m	1823	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-94
Barkerville	Yang2	Sheng4-zi3	楊	勝仔	m	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888
Barkerville	Yang2	Yong3-fang1	楊	永芳	m	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-90
Barkerville	Ye4	Bing3-jing1	葉	炳經	m	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Ye4	Cheng2-mei3	葉	成美	m	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-07
Barkerville	Ye4	Gui4	葉	貴	m	?	Huiyang	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Ye4	Ping2-xu4	葉	平續	m	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-88
Barkerville	Ye4	Run4	葉	潤	m	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-38
Barkerville	Yuan2	Wu4-chou2	袁	悟酬	m	1841	Dongguan	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-90

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Barkerville	Yuan2	Zhao1	袁朝	Zhao1	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zeng1	Fang1	曾芳	Fang1	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-95*
Barkerville	Zeng1	Lian2-si4	曾連四	Lian2-si4	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-90
Barkerville	Zeng1	Yi4	曾義	Yi4	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-90
Barkerville	Zhang1	Bing3-hao2	張炳豪	Bing3-hao2	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-01
Barkerville	Zhang1	Bing3-tao2	張炳桃	Bing3-tao2	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zhang1	Bing3-zhou1	張炳舟	Bing3-zhou1	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-02
Barkerville	Zhang1	Chun1-qian2	張春潛	Chun1-qian2	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-03?
Barkerville	Zhang1	Er2	張二	Er2	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-83?
Barkerville	Zhang1	Fu4-xiang1	張富香	Fu4-xiang1	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-82
Barkerville	Zhang1	Geng1	張庚	Geng1	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Zhang1	Guan1-hou4	張官厚	Guan1-hou4	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Zhang1	Guo2-chao1	張國超	Guo2-chao1	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-87
Barkerville	Zhang1	Guo2-lu4	張郭陸	Guo2-lu4	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-86
Barkerville	Zhang1	Huan4-qin2	張煥芹	Huan4-qin2	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886*-90
Barkerville	Zhang1	Li4	張利	Li4	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-87
Barkerville	Zhang1	Qi1	張七	Qi1	m	1865	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-86
Barkerville	Zhang1	Yi2-si4	張乙巳	Yi2-si4	m	1836	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-91
Barkerville	Zhang1	Zhao1	張朝	Zhao1	m	1852	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-06
Barkerville	Zhang1	Zhuang4	張壯	Zhuang4	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Zhao4	Guan1-nuu3	趙觀女	Guan1-nuu3	m	1847	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-95
Barkerville	Zhao4	Nuu3	趙女	Nuu3	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zheng4	Fan1	鄭番	Fan1	m	1854	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-96
Barkerville	Zheng4	Tian1-xuan3	鄭天選	Tian1-xuan3	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Merchant	1884
Barkerville	Zheng4	Ya4-qi2	鄭亞其	Ya4-qi2	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zhong1	Kong3-dai4	鍾孔岱	Kong3-dai4	m	?	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Barkerville	Zhong1	Kong3-xie4	鍾	孔燮	m	?	Xinhui?	新會?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-82
Barkerville	Zhong1	Li4	鍾	立	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Barkerville	Zhong1	Qi2-kang1	鍾	其康	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1885-08
Barkerville	Zhong1	Xian3-xiang2	鍾	顯祥	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-10
Barkerville	Zhong1	Xiang2-zi3	鍾	祥仔	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-07
Barkerville	Zhou1	Cheng2-chang3	周	成昶	m	1839	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-92
Barkerville	Zhou1	Cheng2-jian4	周	成健	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zhou1	Cheng2-meng2	周	成檬	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1886
Barkerville	Zhou1	Cheng2-sui2	周	成隨	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zhou1	Cheng2-wu3	周	成五	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Zhou1	Dao4-bo2	周	道薄	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zhou1	Dao4-jun1	周	道均	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zhou1	Fu2-long2	周	福隆	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zhou1	Gao1-qiong2	周	高瓊	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Merchant	1887-02
Barkerville	Zhou1	He4-cheng2	周	賀成	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Barkerville	Zhou1	Hua2	周	華	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zhou1	Jia1-guan3	周	家管	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1883-88
Barkerville	Zhou1	Jiang1-jin3	周	江錦	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zhou1	Jin1-fu2	周	金福	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-87
Barkerville	Zhou1	Jin3a	周	進福	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zhou1	Kuan1	周	寬	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-06
Barkerville	Zhou1	Lian2-de2	周	連德	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Barkerville	Zhou1	Long2-yan2	周	龍炎	m	1858	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	Zhou1	Lu4-gen1	周	鹿根	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-02
Barkerville	Zhou1	Ming2-kuan1	周	明寬	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-87
Barkerville	Zhou1	Qun2-sheng4	周	群勝	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zhou1		周		m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Barkerville	Zhou1	Ru3?-bang3	周	[女] 榜	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zhou1	Rui4-liu3	周	瑞柳	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Barkerville	Zhou1	Shen2-jiu4	周	神就	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zhou1	Sheng1-wan1	周	升灣	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zhou1	Shuang1-man3	周	雙滿	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zhou1	Wei2-zhi4	周	維智	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zhou1	Xie2-yi4	周	協益	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-90
Barkerville	Zhou1	Ying2-cai2	周	英才	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zhou1	Yu3-lu4	周	雨祿	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zhou1	Yuan2-zhen1	周	元貞	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zhou1	Yun4-cheng2	周	運成	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zhou1	Zai4-an1	周	在安	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Barkerville	Zhou1	Zhen4-qi2	周	振奇	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zhou1	Zhen4-sen1	周	振森	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884?-85
Barkerville	Zhu1	Bai3-huan4	朱	百煥	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-06
Barkerville	Zhu1	Bai3-zhen1	朱	柏珍	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zhu1	Dong4	朱	棟	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zhu1	Guang3-ying1	朱	廣英	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zhu1	Guang3-yuan2	朱	廣源	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zhu1	Ming2	朱	名	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zhu1	Run4-de2	朱	閩德	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-86*
Barkerville	Zhu1	Yi4-hong2	朱	裔宏	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-88
Barkerville	Zhu1	You4	朱	祐	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	Zhu1	Yuan2-xing1	朱	元興	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Barkerville	Zhuo1	Zhang1	卓	章	m	?	?	?	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Barkerville	?	A1 cai3?	?	亞 [彩]	f	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Barkerville	?		?			?	?	?	Y	Prostitute	1884

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Barkerville	?	Cai3-jin1	?	彩金	f	?	?	?	Prostitute	1885
Barkerville	?	Dai4-xi3	?	帶喜	f	?	?	?	Prostitute	1884-90
Barkerville	?	Dai4-yin2	?	帶銀	f	?	?	?	Prostitute	1884-90
Barkerville	?	Gui4-jin1	?	桂金	f	?	?	?	Prostitute	1885-88
Barkerville	?	Gui4-rong2	?	桂容	f	?	?	?	Prostitute	1884-87
Barkerville	?	Jin1-feng4	?	金鳳	f	?	?	?	Prostitute	1885-90
Barkerville	?	Shuang1-ke3	?	雙可	f	?	?	?	Prostitute	1885
Barkerville	?	Xi3-cai3	?	喜彩	f	?	?	?	Prostitute	1884-87
Barkerville	?	Yin2-feng4	?	銀鳳	f	?	?	?	Prostitute	1877-91
Q. Forks	?	Master	?	大佬	m	?	?	?	Miner & Labourer	(1887-93)?/?/?
Q. Forks	Bao1	Sheng1	鮑生	生	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Q. Forks	Cai4	Jie2	蔡杰	杰	m	?	?	?	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Cao2	Chang2-geng1	曹長庚	長庚	m	?	Taishan	台山	Miner & Labourer	1879-08
Q. Forks	Cao2	Meng2?	曹 [棟]	[棟]	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Cen2	Ji1-xi1	岑緒熙	緒熙	m	?	Shunde?	順德?	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q. Forks	Cen2	Run4-bing3	岑潤炳	潤炳	m	1861	Shunde	順德	Merchant	1884-18
Q. Forks	Cen2	Run4-dai4	岑潤帶	潤帶	m	?	Shunde	順德	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Cen2	Run4-qj2	岑潤祺	潤祺	m	1842	Shunde	順德	Miner & Labourer	1884-97
Q. Forks	Cen2	Tong2-wo4	岑桐沃	桐沃	m	1844	Shunde?	順德?	Miner & Labourer	1882-94+
Q. Forks	Cen2	Tong2-yu4	岑桐煜	桐煜	m	?	Shunde	順德	Miner & Labourer	1884-88
Q. Forks	Cen2	Xin1	岑新	新	m	?	Shunde?	順德?	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q. Forks	Cen2	Ying1	岑英	英	m	?	Shunde?	順德?	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Cen2	Yu4	岑郁	郁	m	?	Shunde?	順德?	Miner & Labourer	1886-93
Q. Forks	Cen2	Yuan2	岑源	源	m	?	Shunde	順德	Miner & Labourer	1880-84
Q. Forks	Chen2	Bai3-chang2	陳百長	百長	m	1843	Taishan?	台山?	Miner & Labourer	1883-89?
Q. Forks	Chen2	Bai3-nong2	陳百農	百農	m	1853	Taishan	台山	Miner & Labourer	1885-03+

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Chen2	Chang2	陳	長	m	1843	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-88
Q. Forks	Chen2	Da4-fa2	陳	大伐	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886
Q. Forks	Chen2	Dao4	陳	道	m	?	Xinan	新安	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Chen2	Guo2-zhao1	陳	國昭	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Chen2	Hua2	陳	華	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Q. Forks	Chen2	Hua2-lan2	陳	華蘭	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883*-01
Q. Forks	Chen2	Jiu4-mei4	陳	就妹	m	?	Xinan	新安	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-93
Q. Forks	Chen2	Jue2	陳	爵	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Chen2	Liang2-hu2	陳	良瑚	m	1855	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-89
Q. Forks	Chen2	Liang2-jian3	陳	良儉	m	1824	Taishan	台山	Y	Merchant	1882-88
Q. Forks	Chen2	Lun2-dian3	陳	倫典	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880*-(87-88)?
Q. Forks	Chen2	Ou3-ran2	陳	偶然	m	1833	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-89?
Q. Forks	Chen2	Rui4-chao2	陳	瑞朝	m	1828	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-97?
Q. Forks	Chen2	She4-hua2	陳	社華	m	1849	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-08
Q. Forks	Chen2	Xi3-shou4	陳	喜受	m	?	Xinan	新安	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Chen2	Zhong4	陳	仲	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-06
Q. Forks	Chen2	Zhong4-guan1	陳	仲官	m	1839	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-89
Q. Forks	Chen2	Zhong4-huan1	陳	仲歡	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-99
Q. Forks	Chen2	Zhong4-kuan1	陳	仲歡	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-05
Q. Forks	Chen2	Zhong4-kun1	陳	仲昆	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?-85*
Q. Forks	Chen2	Zhong4-xin1	陳	仲欣	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Chen2	Zhuo2-liang2	陳	灼樑	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-89?
Q. Forks	Cuil	Shun4-qiu2	崔	舜求	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Deng4	Bing3-run4	鄧	炳潤	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Merchant	1884-03?
Q. Forks	Deng4	Chi2-ji4	鄧	遲驥	m	1861	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-05
Q. Forks	Deng4	Tong2-jiu4	鄧	同就	m	1860	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-97

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	H HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN COUNTY1	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Du4	Bai3-you3	杜	百有	m	1854	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-10
Q. Forks	Fang1	Li4	方	利	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Q. Forks	Fang1	Ren3	方	忍	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Fang1	Yin3	方	陸	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Feng2	Shu4-huai2	馮	樹槐	m	1843	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-94
Q. Forks	Feng2	Xi1-da2	馮	錫達	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-88
Q. Forks	Feng2	Xie4-fang1	馮	燮芳	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?
Q. Forks	Guan1	Bing3-chen2	關	丙辰	m	1855	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-90
Q. Forks	Guan1	Ding4-hui4	關	定會	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Guan1	Ding4-liang2	關	定良	m	1841	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-10
Q. Forks	Guan1	Ding4-peng2	關	定麟	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?-03
Q. Forks	Guan1	Fu4	關	福	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887*
Q. Forks	Guan1	Hui1	關	輝	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887
Q. Forks	Guan1	Lian2-fu3	關	連輔	m	1844	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-06
Q. Forks	Guan1	Lian2-kuan1	關	連寬	m	1830	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-94
Q. Forks	Guan1	Mao4-guang3	關	懋廣	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Guan1	Qi2-ye4	關	其業	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Guan1	Ren2-xu1	關	壬戌	m	1861	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-88
Q. Forks	Guan1	Rong2	關	榮	m	1857	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-93
Q. Forks	Guan1	Sen1-guang3	關	森廣	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Guan1	Shi4	關	士	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Guan1	Shou4	關	壽	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?-97
Q. Forks	Guan1	Shou4-xu1	關	壽戌	m	1849	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-06
Q. Forks	Guan1	Si4	關	四	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-91
Q. Forks	Guan1	Si4-nuu3	關	四女	m	1856	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-88*
Q. Forks	Guan1	Song1-shou4	關	松壽	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883*-90

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Guan1	Song1-xi3	關	松喜	m	1839	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-94
Q. Forks	Guan1	Tong2-1i4	關	同利	m	1850	Kaiping	開平	Y	Merchant	1883-90
Q. Forks	Guan1	Wu4-xu1	關	戊戌	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-89+
Q. Forks	Guan1	Xu1-shou4	關	戌壽	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-06
Q. Forks	Guan1	Ye4	關	葉宏	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Guan1	Yi4-hong2	關	英	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q. Forks	Guan1	Ying1	關	英	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Guan1	Zhao1-hui1	關	朝輝	m	1859	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-06
Q. Forks	Guan1	Zhi4	關	秩	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?-03?
Q. Forks	Guan1	Zhi4-nuu3	關	志女	m	1864	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-88*
Q. Forks	Guo1	Yan4-fang1	郭	燕芳	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Guo1	Yan4-hui1	郭	燕輝	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Q. Forks	He2	Bai3-si4	何	百四	m	1853	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-89
Q. Forks	He2	Huan4-shui1	何	煥春	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885*-87
Q. Forks	He2	Qi2-zhong1	何	其忠	m	?	Shunde	順德	Y	Merchant	1884-85
Q. Forks	He2	Sheng4	何	勝	m	?	Dongguan	東莞	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-94
Q. Forks	He2	Si4	何	四	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	He2	Ying3-hui1	何	穎輝	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q. Forks	Hui2	Gao1	胡	高	m	1858	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-92
Q. Forks	Hui2	Lian2-sheng4	胡	連勝	m	1840	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-03
Q. Forks	Hui2	San1	胡	三	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-95
Q. Forks	Hui2	Sheng4a	胡	勝 ^a	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-97
Q. Forks	Hui2	Wei2-qing1	胡	維清	m	1845	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-97
Q. Forks	Hui2	Zhen1	胡	珍	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Huang2	[]	黃	[]	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Huang2	An1-yu4	黃	安郁	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-86

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN COUNTY1 MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Huang2	Bai3-jiu4	黃	百 桑	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883*-07
Q. Forks	Huang2	Bai3-mao4	黃	百 茂	m	1860	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-93+
Q. Forks	Huang2	Bai3-sheng4	黃	百 勝	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?-00
Q. Forks	Huang2	Bai3-wu3	黃	百 五	m	1861	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-01
Q. Forks	Huang2	Bai3-zi3	黃	百 子	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-04
Q. Forks	Huang2	Cai3	黃	彩	m	1855	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-07
Q. Forks	Huang2	Chang1-wang4	黃	昌 旺	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Q. Forks	Huang2	Chi2	黃	遲	m	1856	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-95
Q. Forks	Huang2	Chi2-de2	黃	遲 得	m	1856	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Huang2	Chi2-nuu3	黃	遲 女	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-95
Q. Forks	Huang2	Chi2-sheng4	黃	遲 勝	m	1843	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-89
Q. Forks	Huang2	Chun1	黃	春	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Huang2	Chun1-sheng4	黃	春 勝	m	1846	Zhongshan?	香邑?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-91+
Q. Forks	Huang2	Dal	黃	搭	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886
Q. Forks	Huang2	De2-cou4	黃	德 湊	m	?	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?-02
Q. Forks	Huang2	Di4-jin3	黃	帝 錦	m	1841	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-06
Q. Forks	Huang2	Di4-jin4	黃	帝 進	m	1862	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-10
Q. Forks	Huang2	En1	黃	恩	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-90
Q. Forks	Huang2	Fu2	黃	福	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1877-00
Q. Forks	Huang2	Fu2-yao4	黃	福 耀	m	1833	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888-95
Q. Forks	Huang2	Fu4	黃	富	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-97
Q. Forks	Huang2	Guan1-tong2	黃	觀 同	m	1844	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-89
Q. Forks	Huang2	Hong2-yue4	黃	洪 榮	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-01
Q. Forks	Huang2	Hua2-qian1	黃	華 仟	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Huang2	Jie1-cheng2	黃	接 成	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-95
Q. Forks	Huang2	Jie2	黃	傑	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-10

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Huang2	Jin3-zi3	黃	錦仔	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Huang2	Jin4	黃	進	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887*-00
Q. Forks	Huang2	Jiu3-ci4	黃	九賜	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886
Q. Forks	Huang2	Jiu3-si1	黃	九思	m	1848	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-98
Q. Forks	Huang2	Jiu4-sheng4	黃	就勝	m	1835	Zhongshan?	香邑?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-06
Q. Forks	Huang2	Kong3?	黃	[孔]	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Huang2	Kun1	黃	坤	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Huang2	Lan2-ying3	黃	蘭穎	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Huang2	Li4-nan2	黃	麗南	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1883?-10
Q. Forks	Huang2	Lian2	黃	連	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Huang2	Lian2-jiu4	黃	連就	m	1848	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-97
Q. Forks	Huang2	Lie4	黃	列	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-83
Q. Forks	Huang2	Long2-de2	黃	龍德	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Huang2	Long2-fu4	黃	龍福	m	?	kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-94
Q. Forks	Huang2	Lu4b	黃	祿	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Q. Forks	Huang2	Ming2-ju4	黃	名徵	m	1827	Xinhui	新會	Y	Merchant	1883-88
Q. Forks	Huang2	Ming2-ye4	黃	名業	m	1849	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-06
Q. Forks	Huang2	Pei2	黃	培	m	1839	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Huang2	Peng2	黃	彭	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Q. Forks	Huang2	Qi2	黃	祺	m	1847	Xinhui	新會	Y	Merchant	1883-91
Q. Forks	Huang2	Qian2a	黃	乾 ^a	m	?	Panyu	番禺	Y	Merchant	1877-34*
Q. Forks	Huang2	Ru2-song1	黃	如松	m	1845	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-87
Q. Forks	Huang2	Run4-cheng2	黃	閩成	m	1840	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-89?
Q. Forks	Huang2	Sheng4	黃	勝	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1883*-95
Q. Forks	Huang2	Shi4-xuan2	黃	世璇	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-02
Q. Forks	Huang2	Shun4	黃	順	m	1857	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-01

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Huang2	Si4-sheng4	黃	四盛	m	1846	Taishan?	台山?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-10
Q. Forks	Huang2	Si4a	黃	四 a	m	?	Taishan	台山		Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-10
Q. Forks	Huang2	Song1-yue4	黃	松樂	m	1859	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1888
Q. Forks	Huang2	Tang2	黃	堂	m	1841	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-88
Q. Forks	Huang2	Ting2-gen1	黃	廷根	m	?	Taishan	台山		Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-87
Q. Forks	Huang2	Ting2-nuan3	黃	廷努	m	1838	Taishan	台山?		Y	Merchant	1882-04
Q. Forks	Huang2	Ting2-zhen4	黃	廷振	m	1830	Taishan	台山		Y	Merchant	1882-87
Q. Forks	Huang2	Tong2-le4	黃	同樂	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-91
Q. Forks	Huang2	Wang4	黃	旺	m	?	Taishan	台山		N	Miner & Labourer	1884-95
Q. Forks	Huang2	Wen2	黃	文	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-06
Q. Forks	Huang2	Wen3a	黃	穩	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1882
Q. Forks	Huang2	Xing1-bao3	黃	興保	m	1835	Kaiping	開平		Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-91+
Q. Forks	Huang2	Xing1a	黃	興 a	m	?	Kaiping	開平		Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-91+
Q. Forks	Huang2	You3-zang4	黃	有藏	m	?	Taishan	台山		Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-92
Q. Forks	Huang2	Yu4	黃	裕	m	?	Xinhui	新會		Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-87
Q. Forks	Huang2	Yue4-wen2	黃	悅文	m	1864	Kaiping?	開平?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-06
Q. Forks	Huang2	Zhi2	黃	職	m	?	Kaiping	開平		N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Huang2	Zi3-qin2	黃	子勤	m	1861	Taishan?	台山?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-07
Q. Forks	Huang2	Zu3-dia2	黃	祖達	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1883*
Q. Forks	Huo4	Qi3	霍	啓	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?
Q. Forks	Jiang1	Pei2	江	培	m	1859	Panyu	番禺		Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-88
Q. Forks	Jiang1	Ru2	江	如	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-06
Q. Forks	Jiang1	Yu4	江	遇	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1887
Q. Forks	Kuang4	Wei4	鄭	位	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Lei2	En1	雷	恩	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-83
Q. Forks	Li2	Ai3	黎	霽	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1885

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Li2	Gou3	黎	苟	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1884-12
Q. Forks	Li2	Run4-yin2	黎	閩銀	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	18837-95
Q. Forks	Li2	Wan3-tong1	黎	晚通	m	1843	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-90+
Q. Forks	Li3	[]	李	[]	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Li3	Bai3-ying1	李	百英	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Li3	Bao3	李	保	m	1850	Nanhai	南海	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-96
Q. Forks	Li3	Chang2-jiu4	李	常就	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Li3	Chang2-yu4	李	長煜	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-05
Q. Forks	Li3	Cheng2b	李	成b	m	1844	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-08
Q. Forks	Li3	Chi2-bao3	李	持保	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887
Q. Forks	Li3	Chuan2-xiu1	李	傅休	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Li3	Fu2-lin2	李	福臨	m	1858	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-92
Q. Forks	Li3	Fu2a	李	福a	m	?	Huiyang	惠陽	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Li3	Geng1	李	庚	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Li3	Guang3	李	廣	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-88
Q. Forks	Li3	Jun1-chang2	李	均長	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	18837-99
Q. Forks	Li3	Kun1-chang2	李	昆長	m	1860	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-95
Q. Forks	Li3	Li3-tian1	李	理添	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Li3	Niu2-zh3	李	牛仔	m	1843	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-95
Q. Forks	Li3	Reng2	李	仍	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1886-95
Q. Forks	Li3	San1	李	三	m	?	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-97
Q. Forks	Li3	She4-jin4	李	社進	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Li3	She4-ying2	李	社盈	m	1844	?	?	Y	Merchant	1882-02
Q. Forks	Li3	Wang4-sheng4	李	旺盛	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Li3	Wang4a	李	旺a	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Li3	Zhao1-fai	李	釗發	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Li3	Zu3-zuo3	李	炬 爵	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?-96+
Q. Forks	Liang2	Bao3	梁	保	m	?	Sihui	四會	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85?
Q. Forks	Liang2	Bing3-kun1	梁	炳坤	m	1851	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-05
Q. Forks	Liang2	Chang2-qing4	梁	長慶	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-89
Q. Forks	Liang2	De2-zou1	梁	德鄒	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1876-00
Q. Forks	Liang2	Gui4-Xing1	梁	貴興	m	1847	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-95
Q. Forks	Liang2	Hai3	梁	海	m	1842	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-92
Q. Forks	Liang2	Jiu4-hui1	梁	就輝	m	?	Shunde	順德	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-90
Q. Forks	Liang2	Lian2	梁	連	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Liang2	Qing4	梁	慶	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-89
Q. Forks	Liang2	Wei3	梁	偉	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q. Forks	Liang2	Xi1-cai2	梁	錫財	m	1848	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888-93
Q. Forks	Liang2	Xu4-qing1	梁	旭清	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888-91
Q. Forks	Liang2	Yu4-qing1	梁	郁清	m	1855	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888-91
Q. Forks	Liang2	Zhang1-bu3	梁	章補	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-91
Q. Forks	Liao4	Fai-zhi3	廖	發仔	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-93*
Q. Forks	Liao4	Qian2-fa1	廖	乾發	m	1843	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-95
Q. Forks	Lin2	De2-jun4	林	德俊	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Lin2	De2a	林	德 ^a	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-10+
Q. Forks	Lin2	Dian3	林	典	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Lin2	Ding3	林	鼎	m	?	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883*-88*
Q. Forks	Lin2	Fang1	林	芳	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Lin2	Fo2	林	佛	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Lin2	Fu2-ru2b	林	福如 ^b	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-88
Q. Forks	Lin2	Gui4	林	貴	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886
Q. Forks	Lin2	Guo2-bang1	林	國邦	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-02

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Lin2	Hu4	林	護	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q. Forks	Lin2	Jia1-rang4	林	家讓	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883*-06
Q. Forks	Lin2	Ju3-pan4	林	學泮	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-86
Q. Forks	Lin2	Jun1?	林	[均]	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Lin2	Lian2-fu4	林	連富	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Merchant	1882-03?
Q. Forks	Lin2	Lian2-jun1	林	連均	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Lin2	Nan2	林	南	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Lin2	She4-nuu3	林	社女	m	1861	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-95
Q. Forks	Lin2	Shi4-bao3	林	仕保	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-98
Q. Forks	Lin2	You3-si4	林	有四	m	1847	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-92
Q. Forks	Lin2	You4	林	祐	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Lin2	Zhi4-nuu3	林	志女	m	1847	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-06
Q. Forks	Lin2	Zi3-gui4	林	子貴	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Liu2	Ding1-shou4	劉	丁壽	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Q. Forks	Liu2	Hua2-sheng4	劉	華盛	m	1854	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-02
Q. Forks	Liu2	Ji2	劉	吉	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Liu2	Jing1-lun2	劉	經倫	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Liu2	Kai1-dae4	劉	開大	m	1850	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-83
Q. Forks	Liu2	Kui2-xiu4	劉	葵秀	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Liu2	Liang2	劉	良	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Liu2	Liang2-ji4	劉	良濟	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-94
Q. Forks	Liu2	Qun2	劉	群	m	1843	Xinhui	新會	Y	Merchant	1883-01
Q. Forks	Liu2	Tong2	劉	同	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Liu2	Wei2-lun2	劉	維倫	m	?	Heshan?	鶴山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?-95
Q. Forks	Liu2	Xi3-rui4	劉	喜瑞	m	1852	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-06

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN COUNTY1	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Liu2	Xian2-guang1	劉賢光	賢光	m	?	Zengcheng?	增城?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-95
Q. Forks	Liu2	Xiu4	劉秀	秀	m	1836	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-89+
Q. Forks	Liu2	You3-lian2	劉有連	有連	m	1841	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-06
Q. Forks	Liu2	Yuan2-guang1	劉元光	元光	m	1848	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q. Forks	Liu2	Zhao4	劉照	照	m	1845	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-06
Q. Forks	Lu2	Cai2	盧才	才	m	1837	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-87
Q. Forks	Lu2	Can4-tao2	盧燦桃	燦桃	m	1849	Zengcheng	增城	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-88
Q. Forks	Lu2	Cheng2-fa1	盧成發	成發	m	1847	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-97
Q. Forks	Lu2	Dong1-shou4	盧東壽	東壽	m	1841	Kaiping	開平	Y	Merchant	1889-06
Q. Forks	Lu2	Fa1	盧發	發	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887*-08
Q. Forks	Lu2	Hu4	盧護	護	m	1857	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-89
Q. Forks	Lu2	Rong2	盧榮	榮	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-89
Q. Forks	Lu2	Rui4	盧瑞	瑞	m	1844	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-97
Q. Forks	Lu2	Shi4-gao1	盧式高	式高	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?
Q. Forks	Lu2	Song1-fa1	盧松發	松發	m	1860	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-08
Q. Forks	Lu2	Wan4-wei2	盧萬桅	萬桅	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-05
Q. Forks	Lu2	Xi1-gao1	盧錫高	錫高	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-87
Q. Forks	Lu2	Xian2-xun1	盧賢勛	賢勛	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Q. Forks	Lu2	Yin2-ju2	盧寅爵	寅爵	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Q. Forks	Lu04	Shun4	盧順	順	m	1860	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q. Forks	Ma3	Tian1-xiu4	馬天秀	天秀	m	1836	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-83
Q. Forks	Ma3	Xian4	馬現	現	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Mo4	Pei2	莫培	培	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-98
Q. Forks	Qin2	Run4-qi1	任潤秋	潤秋	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Ren2	Bai2-you3	任柏有	柏有	m	?	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-95
Q. Forks	Ren2	Song1	任松	松	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Rong2	Lian2	容	廉	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Q. Forks	Ruan3	Bei3-ye4	阮	北葉	m	1845	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888
Q. Forks	Ruan3	Ben3-sheng4	阮	本勝	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Q. Forks	Shen3	Jin3-ming2	沈	錦茂	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Q. Forks	Shen3	Jin3-wen2	沈	錦文	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?-88*
Q. Forks	Shen3	Ming2-xiao3	沈	明曉	m	1837	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-88*
Q. Forks	Shen3	Ming2-zhu1	沈	明珠	m	1837	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Shen3	Xi1-ning2	沈	錫寧	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1882-04
Q. Forks	Siltu2	Ben3-sheng1	司徒	本生	m	1847	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-95+
Q. Forks	Siltu2	Gong1-kuan1	司徒	公寬	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?-88*
Q. Forks	Siltu2	He4	司徒	賀	m	1843	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-83?
Q. Forks	Siltu2	Hong2	司徒	宏	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?-96
Q. Forks	Siltu2	Huan1	司徒	歡	m	1847	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-88
Q. Forks	Siltu2	Long2-gou3	司徒	龍苟	m	1845	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-95
Q. Forks	Siltu2	Qiang2-you4	司徒	強祐	m	1848	Enping	恩平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-96*
Q. Forks	Siltu2	Sheng4-yue4	司徒	勝樂	m	1849	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-06
Q. Forks	Siltu2	You3-huan4	司徒	有煥	m	1878	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-91
Q. Forks	Tan2	Duan1-kai3	譚	端楷	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Q. Forks	Tan2	Qin2	譚	勤	m	1855	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-97
Q. Forks	Tan2	Wan4-yi4	譚	萬鎰	m	1843	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-91
Q. Forks	Tan2	Yu4	譚	郁	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Wang2	Bai3-song1	王	柏松	m	1864	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888-06
Q. Forks	Wang2	Bao3	王	保	m	1852	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q. Forks	Wang2	Hong2-ding1	王	宏丁	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-03
Q. Forks	Wen1	Jin4	溫	進	m	1858	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888-94
Q. Forks	Wen1	Ming2-cong1	溫	明聰	m	1840	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-90

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	H HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Wen1	Ming2-yi4	溫	明 養	m	1843	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-86
Q. Forks	Wen1	Peng2	溫	朋	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Wu2	Chang2-sheng4	吳	敬 盛	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-83
Q. Forks	Wu2	Fa1	吳	發	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?-95
Q. Forks	Wu2	Fu2-yang2	吳	福 楊	m	1845	?	?	Y	Merchant	1883-06
Q. Forks	Wu2	Guang3-fa1	吳	廣 發	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-89
Q. Forks	Wu2	Tao2-xi3	吳	桃 喜	m	1855	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-01
Q. Forks	Wu2	Wan3-jiu4	吳	晚 就	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-92
Q. Forks	Wu2	Zi3-jian4	吳	子 見	m	?	Zengcheng	增 城	Y	Merchant	1883?-01
Q. Forks	Wu2	Zu3-jie2	吳	祖 杰	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?
Q. Forks	Wu3	Bai3-feng2	伍	柏 蓬	m	1847	Taishan	台山	Y	Merchant	1887-15
Q. Forks	Wu3	Bang1	伍	邦	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Wu3	Bei3-xiang2	伍	北 祥	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-96
Q. Forks	Wu3	Chi2-bang1	伍	遲 邦	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-95
Q. Forks	Wu3	Fu2-xiang2	伍	福 祥	m	1869	Taishan	台山?	Y	Merchant	1889-45
Q. Forks	Wu3	Guo2-qiu1	伍	國 秋	m	1855	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-06
Q. Forks	Wu3	Lian2-zong1	伍	連 宗	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-06
Q. Forks	Wu3	Man3-ji4	伍	滿 利	m	?	Shunde	順 德	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Wu3	Mao4	伍	茂	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Wu3	Qiu1-sheng4	伍	秋 盛	m	1858	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-06
Q. Forks	Wu3	Ren2-zi3	伍	壬 子	m	1852	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-01
Q. Forks	Wu3	Rong2-chuan2	伍	榮 傳	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Q. Forks	Wu3	Rong2-wei3	伍	榮 偉	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-91
Q. Forks	Wu3	Rong2-xiang3	伍	榮 享	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-87
Q. Forks	Wu3	Rong2-zhen4	伍	榮 振	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-88*
Q. Forks	Wu3	She4-song1	伍	社 松	m	1860	Taishan?	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-04

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Wu3	She4-yue4	伍	社樂	m	1857	Taishan	台山		Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-00
Q. Forks	Wu3	She4-zong1	伍	社宗	m	?	Taishan?	台山?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-07
Q. Forks	Wu3	Shen2-lie4	伍	神烈	m	1858	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-95
Q. Forks	Wu3	Xiang2	伍	祥	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-96
Q. Forks	Wu3	Ying1	伍	英	m	?	Taishan	台山		Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Wu3	Yu2-nong2	伍	于濃	m	?	Xinhui	新會		Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-92
Q. Forks	Wu3	Zi3-long2	伍	子龍	m	?	Taishan	台山		Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-97
Q. Forks	Wu3	Zong1	伍	宗	m	?	Taishan	台山		N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Q. Forks	Wu3	Zong1-sheng4	伍	宗盛	m	?	Taishan?	台山?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q. Forks	Xie4	Kai1-wo4	謝	開沃	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1888-41
Q. Forks	Xie4	Kai1-yu4	謝	開	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-01
Q. Forks	Xie4	Xi3	謝	喜	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	18837-96
Q. Forks	Yao2	Shi2-zi3	姚	時拘	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-93
Q. Forks	Yao2	Zuo3-shi2	姚	爵時	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-95
Q. Forks	Ye4	Jia1-zeng1	葉	家增	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-91
Q. Forks	Ye4	Jia1-zhen1	葉	家珍	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q. Forks	Yu2	Bai3-ji1	余	百基	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Yu2	Chang4-mei2	余	暢梅	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Q. Forks	Yu2	Dong1-cheng2	余	東成	m	1830	Taishan	台山		Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-91
Q. Forks	Yu2	Ji2-xi3	余	積璽	m	1847	Taishan	台山		Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-91
Q. Forks	Yu2	Zhen1	余	珍	m	1836	Taishan	台山		Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-92
Q. Forks	Yuan2	Sheng4-xiang3	袁	勝想	m	1848	Taishan	台山		Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-96
Q. Forks	Yuan2	Yi4-yao2	袁	奕堯	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?
Q. Forks	Yue4	Nuu3-song4	岳	女宋	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q. Forks	Zeng1	Hui1	曾	輝	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	1888-89
Q. Forks	Zeng1	San1-de2	曾	三德	m	?	?	?		Y	Miner & Labourer	(1887-88)?

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q, Forks	Zhan4	Bing3-qiu1	湛	炳秋	m	1848	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888-89
Q, Forks	Zhan4	Hong2-hui4	湛	洪惠	m	1867	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888-89
Q, Forks	Zhan4	Jin3-bo1	湛	錦	m	1856	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-93
Q, Forks	Zhan4	Ru3-nian2	湛	汝年	m	1853	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-10
Q, Forks	Zhan4	Wei2-xuc2	湛	維學	m	1865	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-93
Q, Forks	Zhang1	Bing3-zhao4	張	炳照	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q, Forks	Zhang1	Qiu2	張	球	m	1851	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-98
Q, Forks	Zhao4	Bao3-sheng4	趙	保勝	m	1854	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-89
Q, Forks	Zhao4	De2	趙	德	m	1843	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-88
Q, Forks	Zhao4	Guan1-dai4	趙	觀帶	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-87*
Q, Forks	Zhao4	Guan1-di4	趙	觀帝	m	1836	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-89?
Q, Forks	Zhao4	Guo2-an1	趙	國安	m	1850	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-07
Q, Forks	Zhao4	Hui4	趙	會	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?7-86
Q, Forks	Zhao4	Ju1	趙	駒	m	1862	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886
Q, Forks	Zhao4	Ju4	趙	據	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886
Q, Forks	Zhao4	Jun1-he2	趙	均和	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q, Forks	Zhao4	Reng2	趙	仍	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q, Forks	Zhao4	She4-jin4	趙	社進	m	1839	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-06
Q, Forks	Zhao4	Xiang4	趙	相	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q, Forks	Zhao4	Yao4-hua2	趙	耀華	m	1838	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-88
Q, Forks	Zhao4	Zhong4-xiang1	趙	重相	m	1846	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-95
Q, Forks	Zhen1	Yong3-yan2	甄	永彥	m	1844	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-90
Q, Forks	Zheng4	Chang1-shang4	鄭	昌尚	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887
Q, Forks	Zheng4	Kai1	鄭	開	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883*-95
Q, Forks	Zheng4	Shan4-he2	鄭	善和	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-92
Q, Forks	Zhong1	Hua2-zi3	鍾	華仔	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-94

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Zhong1	Jin3-ying1	鍾	錦英	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889
Q. Forks	Zhong1	Mei3-xing1	鍾	美興	m	1849	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-05
Q. Forks	Zhong1	Run4-de2	鍾	閻德	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883?-97
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Ao2	周	爻	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889-95
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Bai3-chun2	周	百純	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Bai3-ji1	周	百基	m	1842	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-95
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Bai3-ru2	周	百如	m	1842	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-95
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Cheng2-ji4a	周	成齊	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-87
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Cheng2-ji4b	周	成驥	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-87
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Cheng2-yao2	周	成堯	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-87
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Chun2	周	純	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Merchant	1877-93
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Dai4-fa2	周	大伐	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Fu2	周	福	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Fu2-an1	周	福安	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Guang3	周	廣	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-92
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Ji4	周	記	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-86
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Jia1-xu4	周	家煦	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-91
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Jian3	周	儉	m	1850	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883*-95
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Kai1-zhi1	周	開枝	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1888
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Lian2-sheng4	周	連勝	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Q12-shan1	周	其山	m	1862	Kaiping?	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-95
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Q12-shi2	周	其石	m	1864	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888-50+
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Q12-wen1	周	岐溫	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Q12-ye4	周	其業	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Zhou1	San1	周	三	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885*
Q. Forks	Zhou1	She4-si4	周	社四	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887
Q. Forks	Zhou1		周		m	1852	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1889?-10

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Sheng4-you4	周	勝右	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-94
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Shi2	周	石	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Shuang1-yi4	周	雙益	m	1864	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-06
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Ting2-bao3	周	廷保	m	1844	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-06
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Ting2-shuo4	周	廷碩	m	1850	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-89
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Wan4-zi4	周	萬字	m	1844	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-06
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Wen2-guang3	周	文廣	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Merchant	1876-95
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Xi3	周	喜	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Yan1-xiang2	周	炎祥	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Ye4	周	葉	m	1828	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-89?
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Ying2-fu2	周	迎福	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Zhou1	You3-sheng4	周	有勝	m	1860	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-07
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Zai4-zhi2	周	在職	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Zhen4	周	振	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887-91
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Zhen4-xian1	周	振選	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Zhen4-zun1	周	振遵	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	Zhou1	Zi4	周	自	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Q. Forks	?	Dai4-cai3	?	帶彩	f	?	?	?	Y	Prostitute	1884-90
Q. Forks	?	Lian2-you3	?	連有	f	?	?	?	Y	Prostitute	1886-90
Q. Forks	?	Qiu1-hua1	?	秋花	f	?	?	?	N	Prostitute	1885
Q. Forks	?	Sheng4-jin1	?	勝金	f	?	?	?	Y	Prostitute	1886-95
Q. Forks	?	Wan2-hao3	?	玩好	f	?	?	?	Y	Prostitute	1886
Quesnel	Cai4	Da2	蔡	達	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Cai4	Feng2-ke1	蔡	逢科	m	?	?	?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Can2	He2	岑	和	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880
Quesnel	Can2	Jiu4	岑	就	m	?	Shunde	順德	N	Miner & Labourer	1885

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	Chen2	Xii-he2	岑	錫和	m	?	Shunde	順德	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-85
Quesnel	Chen2	Bo2-miao2	陳	伯苗	m	?	Shunde	順德	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Chen2	Chi2-sheng4	陳	遲盛	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Chen2	Guang3	陳	廣	m	?	Shunde	順德	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Chen2	Lian2-tai4	陳	連泰	m	?	?	?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Chen2	Liang4-cheng2	陳	亮承	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Chen2	Ming2-tai4	陳	明泰	m	?	Enping?	恩平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883*-90
Quesnel	Chen2	Qin2	陳	勤	m	?	Shunde	順德	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Chen2	She4	陳	社	m	?	Shunde	順德	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-85
Quesnel	Chen2	Suo3	陳	綬	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Quesnel	Chen2	Wei2	陳	惟	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880*-81*
Quesnel	Chen2	Xue2	陳	學	m	?	Xinan	新安	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-85
Quesnel	Chen2	Yuan2-wo4	陳	源沃	m	?	Shunde	順德	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Chen2	Zhang1	陳	章	m	?	Shunde	順德	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-90
Quesnel	Dai4	Xin1-mei4	戴	幸妹	m	?	Dongguan	東莞	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-85
Quesnel	Dan1	Zi3-qi2	單	子琪	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-81
Quesnel	Deng4	Yong3-dong1	鄧	永冬	m	?	Dongguan	東莞	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-90
Quesnel	Dong3	Song1-hou4	董	松厚	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-84
Quesnel	Fang1	Bang1-fu3	方	邦輔	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Fu4	Si4	傅	四	m	?	Xinan	新安	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-90
Quesnel	Gu3	Lin2	古	林	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-85
Quesnel	Guan1	Ding4-tain2	關	定連	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Guan1	Fu2-xiu1	關	福修	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1870s-20s?
Quesnel	Guan1	Wang4	關	旺	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Guo1	Jin3-tun2	郭	錦倫	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-90
Quesnel	He2	Huan2	何	還	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-93+

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	He2	Neng2-shou4	何	能壽	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	He2	Yong3-chang1	何	永昌	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Quesnel	He2	Yong3-hui1	何	永輝	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883*-88*
Quesnel	He2	You3	何	有	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-85
Quesnel	Hu2	Fu2-xuan3	胡	福還	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Huang2	[]	黃	[]	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Huang2	Ang2-xi3	黃	昂喜	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Quesnel	Huang2	Biao1-jiu4	黃	彪就	m	?	?	?	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Huang2	Dong4-xian2	黃	棟賢	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Huang2	Dong4-yi2?	黃	棟煥	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Huang2	Du4	黃	杜	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-14
Quesnel	Huang2	Hui4-ting2	黃	惠廷	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-87
Quesnel	Huang2	Jian1?-fu2	黃	[堅]夫	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Huang2	Jin1-she4	黃	金舍	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Huang2	Lan2-xian4	黃	蘭羨	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Quesnel	Huang2	Lian2-deng1	黃	連登	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Quesnel	Huang2	Lian2-qi1	黃	連七	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Quesnel	Huang2	Lian2-si4	黃	連四	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Quesnel	Huang2	Qi3-lu4	黃	啓祿	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Huang2	Ri4-sheng4	黃	日勝	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879.-10
Quesnel	Huang2	Rui4	黃	瑞	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-86
Quesnel	Huang2	Shi4a	黃	帥	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Huang2	Tai4-kuan1	黃	泰寬	m	?	Xinan	新安	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Huang2	Ting3-shi4	黃	挺世	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Huang2	Xian2-fu2	黃	賢扶	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Huang2	Xiang3	黃	享	m	1840	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81*

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN COUNTY1 MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	Huang2	Xiu4-huai2	黃	秀淮	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Huang2	Yi2	黃	怡	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Quesnel	Huang2	Yuan2-xing1	黃	元興	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Huang2	Yun2-sheng4	黃	雲勝	m	?	Zhongshan?	香邑?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Quesnel	Huang2	Zhi1	黃	枝	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Quesnel	Huang2	Zhu2-kui2	黃	竹達	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Huang2	Zi3	黃	仔	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Huang2	Zi3-yuan2	黃	子元	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Huo4	Rui4	霍	瑞	m	?	Shunde	順德	N	Miner & Labourer	1888
Quesnel	Jiang1	Cheng2	江	成	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Quesnel	Jiang1	Cheng2-fu4	江	成福	m	?	Xinan	新安	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Jiang1	Shu4-lun2	江	樹倫	m	?	Xinan	新安	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-85
Quesnel	Li2	Huai2	黎	懷	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-81
Quesnel	Li2	Ren2-yan3	黎	仁衍	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Li2	Shao4-tai4	黎	紹泰	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-83
Quesnel	Li2	Xiang2	黎	祥	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Quesnel	Li3	Dong1	李	東	m	?	Dongguan	東莞	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-85
Quesnel	Li3	Guan1-chang2	李	觀長	m	?	Guizhi?	貴子?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883*-88
Quesnel	Li3	Guo2-jing4	李	國敬	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Li3	Jie1-lun2	李	接倫	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-85
Quesnel	Li3	Tian1-zhen1	李	天禎	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Li3	You3	李	有	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-81
Quesnel	Liang2	[]	梁	[]	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Liang2	Shuang1	梁	雙	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Liang2	Ting2-guang1	梁	廷光	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Quesnel	Liang2	Xian3-sen1	梁	顯森	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	Liang2	Zhi1-huan4	梁	枝煥	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Quesnel	Liang2	Zhu1-huan4	梁	珠煥	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-83
Quesnel	Liang2	Zhu4-he4	梁	柱賀	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Quesnel	Liang2	Zi4?	梁	[自]	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Quesnel	Liao4	Hong2-zu3	廖	洪祖	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-87+
Quesnel	Lin2	Qi2	林	其	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-06
Quesnel	Lin2	Tian2	林	田	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883*-88*
Quesnel	Lin2	Xing1-zi3	林	興仔	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Lin2	Ze2	林	澤	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Quesnel	Liu2	Cai2-jin4	劉	財進	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Liu2	Gong1-li3	劉	公理	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Liu2	Hua4-yao4	劉	華耀	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Liu2	Huan4-zhang1	劉	煥章	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Liu2	Mao4-zhi1	劉	茂枝	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Liu2	Nai3-bao3	劉	乃保	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Liu2	Shi4-pin4	劉	士聘	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Liu2	Tong2-zhi1	劉	同枝	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1888
Quesnel	Liu2	Xue2-liang4	劉	學諒	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1880
Quesnel	Liu2	Ya4-[]	劉	亞 []	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-85
Quesnel	Liu2	Zan4	劉	贊	m	?	?	?	Y	Merchant	1880-85
Quesnel	Lu2	Ci4-pu2	盧	賜蒲	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-85
Quesnel	Lu2	Wen2-lai2	盧	文來	m	1857	Enping	恩平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-87
Quesnel	Lu2	Xian4-zhang1	盧	憲章	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Lu2	Xue2-qin2	盧	學勤	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-90
Quesnel	Luo4	Bing3	駱	柄	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Ma3	Bing3-xing1	馬	柄興	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1889

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	Ma3	Zi4-qiu2	馬	自求	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Mai4	Yao4-wen2	麥	耀文	m	?	Xinan	新安	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-87
Quesnel	Mo4	Zi3-zhu4	莫	子柱	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-81
Quesnel	Pan1	Jin4-nuu3	潘	進女	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Quesnel	Qin2	Hong2-zi3	秦	洪仔	m	?	Xinan	新安	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Qin2	Jiu4-xing1	秦	就興	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-88
Quesnel	Ruan3	Mao4	阮	茂	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Si1tu2	Long2-zheng4	司徒	陸正	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Si1tu2	Ru2	司徒	如	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-06
Quesnel	Si1tu2	Yi4-shi4	司徒	懿適	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1888
Quesnel	Su1	You3-lian2	蘇	有連	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Tan2	Hong2-jiao1	譚	鴻蛟	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Tan2	Yao4-he2	譚	耀和	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Tang2	Fa1	唐	發	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-87
Quesnel	Wang2	Fu2	王	福	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Wang2	Shou4	王	壽	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-95
Quesnel	Wang2	Zhang3-daa4	王	長大	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-1890
Quesnel	Wen1	Ling4-yi2	溫	令儀	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-83
Quesnel	Wu2	Hou4-zhao4	吳	厚照	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1888
Quesnel	Wu2	Huan1-sheng4	吳	歡勝	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Quesnel	Wu2	Lai2-you3	吳	來有	m	1852	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Quesnel	Wu3	Bai3-song1	伍	柏松	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-94?
Quesnel	Wu3	Lan2-fang1	伍	蘭芳	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	An1-yun4	謝	安運	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Chi2-zong1	謝	連宗	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Chun1-yan2	謝	春彥	m	?	?	?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	Xie4	Dong1-chang2	謝	冬長	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Kuan1	謝	寬	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Quesnel	Xie4	Lai2-xi3	謝	來喜	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Lian2-zhao4	謝	連罩	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Long2-yuan2	謝	龍元	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Mei3-sheng4	謝	美聖	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Qi2-zhao4	謝	齊照	m	?	?	?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Ren4-xi3	謝	認喜	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Ri4-chao2	謝	日潮	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Shen3-xi3	謝	神喜	m	?	Kaiping?	平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Sheng1-ji4	謝	升濟	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Sheng4-de2	謝	聖德	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Sheng4-kuan1	謝	聖寬	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Sheng4-sui4	謝	聖穗	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Song1-xing1	謝	松興	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Tian1	謝	添	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Tian1-qiu2	謝	天球	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Ting2-ji2	謝	常愛	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Wei2-zhi3	謝	維 光	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Wu3-chang2	謝	五長	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Xu4	謝	煦	m	?	?	?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Xie4	Yun4	謝	運	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Yu2	Shuang1	余	雙	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Quesnel	Zhang1	Bing3-mou2	張	炳謀	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Quesnel	Zhang1	Guang3	張	廣	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888-90
Quesnel	Zhang1	Run4-chun1	張	潤春	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	H HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	Zhang1	She4	張	社	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Quesnel	Zhang1	Shui3-xiu4	張	水秀	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Quesnel	Zhang1	Yi4-zhi4	張	儀治	m	?	Xinan	新安	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-85
Quesnel	Zhao4	Shu1	趙	樞	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883*-89?
Quesnel	Zhao4	Yun4-fang1	趙	運芳	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Zhao4	Zc2-quan4	趙	則勸	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1889
Quesnel	Zheng4	Mao4-chang1	鄭	懋昌	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-81
Quesnel	Zheng4	Qi3	鄭	啓	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Quesnel	Zhong1	Bing4-chao1	鍾	並超	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhong1	Dao4-shi4	鍾	道鈔	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhong1	Yi4-qun2	鍾	毅群	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhong1	Yuan2	鍾	元	m	?	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-82
Quesnel	Zhong1	Zhuang1-chao1	鍾	莊超	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	? -yuan	周	[] 沅	m	?	?	?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	AI-quan2	周	阿全	m	?	?	?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Bao4-yi4	周	抱益	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Bing3-cai3	周	炳才	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Bing3-wen2	周	炳文	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Quesnel	Zhou1	Bo2-chen2	周	伯臣	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Chang2-ai4	周	常愛	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Chang2-xi3	周	常喜	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Chang2-zhuo2	周	常灼	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-bai3	周	成柏	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-ban3	周	成板	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-cheng2	周	成程	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-han4	周	成翰	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-jiu1	周	成鈔	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-lu4	周	成錄	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-miao2	周	成苗	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-90
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-shen1	周	成參	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-wei1	周	成威	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-yin2	周	成寅	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-you3	周	成有	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-zhan4	周	成棧	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-zhi2	周	成植	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-zhong4	周	成仲	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-zhou4	周	成宙	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Quesnel	Zhou1	Cheng2-zong1	周	成宗	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Chuan2-yi4	周	傳益	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Quesnel	Zhou1	Chun1-cheng2	周	春成	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Chun1-xi3	周	春喜	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Da2-zhen1	周	達楨	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Quesnel	Zhou1	Dao4-xing2	周	道型	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Dao4-yan2	周	道彥	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Dao4-yi2	周	道詒	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	De2-li4	周	得利	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Di4-chang2	周	帝長	m	?	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-85
Quesnel	Zhou1	Feng2-chun1	周	逢春	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Feng2-sheng1	周	逢生	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Fu2-bao3	周	福保	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Fu2-cheng2	周	福成	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Fu2-he2	周	福和	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	Zhou1	Fu2-shan1	周	福山	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Fu2-shan4	周	福善	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Fu2-xing1	周	福興	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Fu2-yan3	周	福衍	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Quesnel	Zhou1	Fu2-yang3	周	福養	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Fu2-zhao4	周	福照	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-95
Quesnel	Zhou1	Gao1-han4	周	高漢	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Gao1-xian4	周	高羨	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Quesnel	Zhou1	Geng1-jiao1?	周	庚[椒]	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Geng1-lai2	周	庚來	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Geng1-nuu3	周	庚女	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Geng1-tao2?	周	庚[桃]	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Geng1-yin2	周	庚寅	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Gong1-lie4	周	恭烈	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Gong1-xing1	周	公興	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Gou3-yuan2	周	狗元	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Guang3-qiu2	周	廣球	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Quesnel	Zhou1	Gui4-you1	周	桂優	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Guo2-chi4	周	國熾	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-87
Quesnel	Zhou1	Huai2-yi4	周	懷益	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Huan1-guang1	周	歡光	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Huan4-chang2	周	煥常	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Hui1?-zhen4	周	[輝]振	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Quesnel	Zhou1	Ji2-he2	周	積和	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-94
Quesnel	Zhou1	Ji2-sheng4	周	積勝	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-94
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jia1-bing3	周	家炳	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN COUNTY1 MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-er4	周	家貳	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-gan1	周	家杆	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-huang3	周	家晃	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-ji2	周	家積	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-ju1	周	家駒	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-kang1?	周	家康	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-keng1	周	家鏗	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-ji4	周	家利	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-rang4	周	家讓	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-run4	周	家潤	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-shen1	周	家參	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-87
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-xi1	周	家錫	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-95
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-xie4	周	家雙	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-xing1	周	家星	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-yan2	周	家彥	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-yi2	周	家宜	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jial-yu4	周	家遇	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jiang1-cheng2	周	江成	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jiang1-jin1	周	江筋	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jiu4-nuu3	周	就女	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Jiu4-sheng4	周	就勝	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-37+
Quesnel	Zhou1	Ju4-bao3	周	聚寶	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Kuai4-mao4	周	快茂	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Quesnel	Zhou1	Lai2-de2	周	來得	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Lai2-sun1	周	來孫	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Lian2-cai3	周	連彩	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885

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AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	Zhou1	Lian2-nuu3	周	連女	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Quesnel	Zhou1	Lian2-qiu2	周	連球	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Quesnel	Zhou1	Lian2-shou4	周	連受	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-87
Quesnel	Zhou1	Lian2-xi4?	周	連[細]	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Lian27-yu4	周	連煜	m	?	?	?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Liang3-jin4	周	兩進	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Quesnel	Zhou1	Long2-jin4	周	龍進	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Quesnel	Zhou1	Meng4?-zun1	周	夢遵	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Quesnel	Zhou1	Ming2-hui4	周	明惠	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Mu4-qing1	周	沐清	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Quesnel	Zhou1	Nan2-xing1	周	南星	m	1835	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1859-04
Quesnel	Zhou1	Nian2-sheng4	周	年勝	m	?	Dongguan	東莞	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-95
Quesnel	Zhou1	Niu2-zhi3	周	牛仔	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Nuu3-xing1	周	女興	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Nuu3-yuan2	周	女元	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Qi2-dun4	周	岐墩	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Qi2-fang1	周	齊芳	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Quesnel	Zhou1	Qi2-ren4	周	岐任	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Qi2-song1	周	齊嵩	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Quesnel	Zhou1	Qi2-tian1	周	齊添	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Qi2-xiang4	周	岐相	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Qi2-zhi4	周	岐秩	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Qiong2-fu2	周	瓊福	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Quan2	周	全	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-41
Quesnel	Zhou1	Quan2-zun1	周	銓遵	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Quesnel	Zhou1	Ri4-sheng1	周	日勝	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885

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AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	Zhou1	Rong2-xian4	周	榮現	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Rong2-zuo4	周	榮作	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-95
Quesnel	Zhou1	Ru2-chang2	周	如敝	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Quesnel	Zhou1	Ru2-ji2	周	如吉	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Ru2-song1	周	如松	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Ru2-xiang2	周	如祥	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Ru2-yi4	周	如意	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Ru2-yun4	周	如運	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Rui4-hong2	周	瑞洪	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Rui4-xiong2	周	瑞熊	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	San1-nuu3	周	三女	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1886-86
Quesnel	Zhou1	Shen2-she4	周	神社	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Sheng1-cao1	周	升操	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Quesnel	Zhou1	Sheng1-cheng2	周	升逞	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Sheng1-jin4	周	升燼	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Sheng1-mao4	周	聲茂	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Sheng1-weng1	周	升翁	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Sheng1-xi1	周	升錫	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-88
Quesnel	Zhou1	Sheng1-xuan1	周	升萱	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Sheng1-yi1	周	升揖	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Sheng4-lai2	周	盛來	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Shi2-wen3	周	石穩	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Shu4-ruan3	周	述阮	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Shuai4-wei4	周	帥渭	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Shun4	周	順	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Shun4-de2	周	順德	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885

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AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	Zhou1	Song1-die2	周	松疊	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-06
Quesnel	Zhou1	Tian1-nuu3	周	添女	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Tian1-zì3	周	添仔	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Wan3-chun1	周	晚春	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Quesnel	Zhou1	Wan4-de2	周	萬德	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Wang2-xiang4	周	壬相	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Wei3-yi4	周	偉益	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Wen2-jun1	周	文均	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Wen2-yang3	周	文養	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Wu4-chang2	周	戊長	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Xian2-huan4	周	賢奐	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Xian2-jiu4	周	賢就	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Xian2-yi4	周	賢	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Xian4-xiang4	周	憲相	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Xiang1-chang2	周	相常	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Xiang2-kuan1	周	祥寬	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Xiang3	周	享	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Xiong2-yao4	周	熊耀	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-10
Quesnel	Zhou1	Yang2-zi3	周	楊子	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Yi2?-xing1?	周	[疑][興]	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Yi4-xuan2	周	益璇	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-87/88?
Quesnel	Zhou1	Yong3-zhen4	周	永振	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	You3-fa1	周	有發	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	You3-lai2	周	有來	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Yu4-shu4	周	玉樹	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Yuan2-bao3	周	元保	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885

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AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	Zhou1	Yuan2-feng2	周	元逢	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Yuan2-ming2	周	元茂	m	?	Kaiping?	阴平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Quesnel	Zhou1	Yuan2-nuu3	周	元女	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zai4-rong2	周	在榮	m	1855	Kaiping	阴平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-41?
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zai4-tian1	周	在添	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zai4-yuan2	周	在元	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zhao1-gui4	周	照貴	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-86
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zhao1-hui4	周	昭惠	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zhao4-xiang2	周	兆祥	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zhao4-you4	周	照祐	m	?	Kaiping?	阴平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zhen4-ban3	周	振板	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zhen4-dong4	周	振棟	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-06
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zhen4-su4	周	振湖	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zhen4-xian2	周	振賢	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zhen4-yi2?	周	振[疑]	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zhen4-yuc4	周	振榮	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zhen4-yun2	周	振雲	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zhi4-de2	周	之德	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zhi4-xian2	周	智賢	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zi3-sheng4	周	子盛	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zi3-shi4	周	子仕	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zi3-yuan2	周	子元	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zi4-hou4	周	自厚	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zi4-hui1	周	鞠輝	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zi4-yuan2	周	自元	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zong1-qi2	周	宗球	m	?	Kaiping	阴平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885

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AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zu3-ling2	周	祖靈	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zun1-chao2	周	遵潮	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zun1-huai2	周	遵徊	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zun1-qiul	周	遵秋	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zun1-yan3?	周	遵[演]	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zun1-zhao4	周	遵詔	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zuo4-[]	周	作[]	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhou1	Zuo4-heng2	周	作恆	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhu1	Bai3-zi3	朱	百子	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Quesnel	Zhu1	Guang3-yan2	朱	廣言	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-87
Quesnel	Zhu1	Ji2	朱	吉	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-81
Quesnel	Zhu1	Long2	朱	龍	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1888
Quesnel	Zhu1	Yun2-he2	朱	雲河	m	?	Panyu	番禺	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	?	Guang3	[]	廣	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Cao2	Chang2-ling2	曹	長靈	m	1850	Taishan	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-88
Stanley	Cao2	En1	曹	恩	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Cao2	Liang2	曹	良	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Cao2	Long2-rui4	曹	龍瑞	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-88
Stanley	Cao2	She4-xiang3	曹	社享	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-87
Stanley	Cao2	You1	曹	優	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-87
Stanley	Cao2	Yuan2-de2	曹	元德	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Cao2	Yuan2-en1	曹	元恩	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1886
Stanley	Chen2	[]	陳	[]	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Chen2	Bing3-nuan3	陳	丙暖	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-89
Stanley	Chen2	Cai2-xing1	陳	才是	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Stanley	Chen2	Chi2-wei1	陳	遲威	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-85

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AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN COUNTY1 MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Stanley	Chen2	De4-ye4	陳	大業	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81*
Stanley	Chen2	He2-jun2	陳	和倫	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Stanley	Chen2	Mai3	陳	買	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-95
Stanley	Chen2	Qi3-tong1	陳	啓通	m	1832	Xinan	新安	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-85
Stanley	Chen2	Qiong2-da4	陳	瓊大	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81*
Stanley	Chen2	Rong2	陳	榮	m	?	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-90
Stanley	Chen2	Rong2-ji1	陳	容基	m	?	Panyu	番禺	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Chen2	Ru2-cai3	陳	如彩	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-84
Stanley	Chen2	Ru2-song1	陳	如松	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Chen2	Rui4-sheng1	陳	瑞生	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-97?
Stanley	Chen2	Run4-sheng1	陳	閩生	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-90
Stanley	Chen2	She4-nuu3	陳	社女	m	?	Taishan?	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-82
Stanley	Chen2	Shou4	陳	壽	m	1853	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Chen2	Tian1-sheng4	陳	添盛	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-86
Stanley	Chen2	Tian1a	陳	添	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-10
Stanley	Chen2	Wei4	陳	慰	m	1844	Xinan	新安	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-85
Stanley	Chen2	Yu4	陳	遇	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-88
Stanley	Dai4	Xiang1-zhao4	戴	鄉兆	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Deng4	Hao4-rong2	鄧	浩容	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Feng2	Bing3	馮	炳	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Stanley	Guan1	Fu2	關	福	m	1852	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-06
Stanley	Guan1	Hong2-li4	關	洪利	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	He2	Yun2-xi1	何	有	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81
Stanley	Hu2	Bai3-fu2	胡	百福	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Stanley	Hu2	Wei2-xuan2	胡	維宣	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85

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AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Stanley	Hu2?	Ci4-he2	[胡]	賜和	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Huang2	An1-yan2	黃	安彥	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1878-95
Stanley	Huang2	Cai3-xian2	黃	彩賢	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Huang2	Cheng2-xiang3	黃	成享	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Huang2	De2-jing2	黃	德靈	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-95
Stanley	Huang2	De2-yu4	黃	德鈺	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Huang2	Ding4	黃	定	m	1858	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-90+
Stanley	Huang2	Fa3-xian2	黃	法賢	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Huang2	Hong2-bing3	黃	宏炳	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Huang2	Huai2	黃	懷	m	?	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-96
Stanley	Huang2	Hui1-de2	黃	輝德	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Stanley	Huang2	Jia1	黃	家	m	1858	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-10
Stanley	Huang2	Jing1-shou4	黃	京壽	m	1828	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81*
Stanley	Huang2	Jing4-jian3	黃	敬簡	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Huang2	Kai1-zhi1	黃	開枝	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81*
Stanley	Huang2	Kuan1	黃	寬	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-87
Stanley	Huang2	Lian2-di4	黃	連帝	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81
Stanley	Huang2	Lian2-zi3	黃	連子	m	1842	Zhongsshan	香山	Y	Merchant	1877-10
Stanley	Huang2	Long2	黃	龍	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Huang2	Nai3-xian2	黃	埤賢	m	1841	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-96
Stanley	Huang2	Pan4-xi3	黃	泮楷	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Stanley	Huang2	San1-da4	黃	三大	m	?	Zengcheng?	增城?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880*-81*
Stanley	Huang2	San1-di4	黃	三弟	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-85
Stanley	Huang2	Shi4-shun4	黃	世順	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Huang2	Shi4-yue4	黃	世月	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Huang2	Tao1	黃	滔	m	1830	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Stanley	Huang2	Wan4-ding1	黃	萬丁	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-28...30+
Stanley	Huang2	Wei4	黃	渭	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-97
Stanley	Huang2	Wen2-jin3	黃	文廩	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Huang2	Wen2-long2	黃	文龍	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Huang2	Wu3-qin1	黃	戊親	m	?	Xinhui	新會	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Huang2	Xian3-song4	黃	顯宋	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-88
Stanley	Huang2	Xiang2-guang1	黃	祥光	m	1865	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Huang2	Yi4c	黃	奕 b	m	1839	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-36...40s+
Stanley	Huang2	Ying1-fu2	黃	英福	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-90
Stanley	Huang2	Ying1a	黃	英 a	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-94+
Stanley	Huang2	Yue4c	黃	悅	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Stanley	Huang2	Zhao4-wen2	黃	照文	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Huang2	Zhu4	黃	柱	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81*
Stanley	Huang2	Zi3-jing1	黃	子經	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Ju1	Shi4-jin2	居	士林	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-88
Stanley	Li2	He2	黎	和	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-90
Stanley	Li2	Jin1-ming2	黎	金茂	m	?	Dongguan	東莞	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-92
Stanley	Li3	Cai2	李	才	m	1846	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-06
Stanley	Li3	Chang2a	李	長 a	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-87
Stanley	Li3	Cheng2-hao4	李	成好	m	?	Taishan?	台邑?/	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-87
Stanley	Li3	Cheng2a	李	成 a	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-88
Stanley	Li3	He2a	李	和 a	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-94
Stanley	Li3	Hong2-shu4	李	洪樹	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887
Stanley	Li3	Nuan3-xian2	李	暖賢	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Li3	Pl2	李	皮	m	?	Panyu	番禺	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-90
Stanley	Li3	Qi2-nai3	李	祺	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-94

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Stanley	Li3	Qun2-zong1	李	群宗	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-87
Stanley	Li3	Tong2-shu4	李	桐樹	m	1848	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-90
Stanley	Li3	Yi4-xian4	李	義羨	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Li3	Zhen4-cai2	李	振才	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1886-88
Stanley	Li3	Zi3-cheng2	李	子成	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Li3	Zuo4	李	作	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-90
Stanley	Liang2	Bai3-xia1	梁	百蝦	m	1840	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876
Stanley	Liang2	Chao2-you3	梁	超有	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-88
Stanley	Liang2	Qin2	梁	芹	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Stanley	Liang2	Sheng4	梁	勝	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-89
Stanley	Liang2	Wen2-kang1	梁	文康	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1887
Stanley	Liang2	Wen2-tang1	梁	文湯	m	?	Taishan	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-89
Stanley	Liang2	Yin2	梁	銀	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-90
Stanley	Liang2	Zhu4-xing1	梁	柱興	m	1848	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-94
Stanley	Liao4	Bing3-zhan1	廖	炳沾	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-04
Stanley	Lin2	Bai3-shun4	林	百順	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Lin2	Mao4	林	茂	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Lin2	Rong2-xi3	林	榮禧	m	1830	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-06
Stanley	Lin2	San1-jing4	林	三安	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Stanley	Lin2	Shou4	林	壽	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Stanley	Lin2	Tian1	林	添	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Lin2	Wu4-chen2	林	戊辰	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-83?
Stanley	Lin2	Xian3-biao1	林	顯標	m	1848	Xinhui	新會	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-88
Stanley	Lin2	Yi4-yue4	林	義榮	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Stanley	Liu2	Chi4-chang1	劉	熾昌	m	?	Shunde	德	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-90
Stanley	Liu2	Chong2-hou4	劉	崇厚	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Stanley	Liu2	Chun1-jing4	劉	春敬	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Liu2	Guan1-cai3	劉	觀彩	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Stanley	Liu2	Guan1-zhen1	劉	觀真	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81
Stanley	Liu2	Guan4-tu2	劉	灌圖	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Liu2	Kuan1	劉	寬	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81
Stanley	Liu2	Kun1-yao4	劉	昆耀	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Liu2	Nuan3	劉	暖	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Liu2	Ran2-kui2	劉	然魁	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81*
Stanley	Liu2	Sheng4-he2	劉	勝合	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1879-95
Stanley	Liu2	Shi3-hao4	劉	始浩	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-90
Stanley	Liu2	Xian2-jiang1	劉	賢江	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Liu2	Yuan2-de2	劉	元德	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-88
Stanley	Liu2	Zao3-guang1	劉	早光	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Liu2	Zhu1-ming2	劉	朱明	m	1851	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-97
Stanley	Lu2	Chang2a	盧	長 ^a	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-94+
Stanley	Lu2	Ci4-qiu2	盧	賜球	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-90
Stanley	Lu2	Ji2-yin1	盧	積蔭	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-85
Stanley	Lu2	Jiu3	盧	九	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	Y	Miner & Labourer	1882-88
Stanley	Lu2	Run4-gui4	盧	潤桂	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Lu2	Ying1	盧	英	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Luo2	Feng4	羅	鳳	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Stanley	Luo2	Tong2-guang1	羅	同光	m	1852	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-90
Stanley	Luo4	Sheng1	駱	生	m	?	Panyu	番禺	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Mo4	Bao3	莫	保	m	1844	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Ning2	Zhao1-de2	寧	招德	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Pan1	Ni2-ding1	潘	倪丁	m	?	Xinan	新安	N	Miner & Labourer	1885

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Stanley	Pan1	Rong2-gui4	潘	容桂	m	?	Xinan	新安	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-85
Stanley	Qin2	Yin1-cheng2	秦	蔭成	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-85
Stanley	Qiu1	Gui4-chang2	邱	貴長	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Qiu1	Lai2-fu2	邱	連福	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-10
Stanley	Qiu1	Lian2-chang2	邱	連長	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Merchant	1876-88
Stanley	Qiu1	Lian2-fu3	邱	連輔	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Qiu1	Lian2-wu3	邱	連五	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-86
Stanley	Qiu1	Qi2-hao4	邱	齊好	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1886
Stanley	Qiu1	Sheng1	邱	生	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-88
Stanley	Qiu1	Xing1	邱	興	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-90
Stanley	Qiu1	Xiu1-dong4	邱	修棟	m	?	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-87
Stanley	Qiu1	Xiu1-yan3	邱	修演	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Qiu1	Zheng4-quan2	邱	正權	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Stanley	Qu1	Ji2-chun1	區	積春	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-90
Stanley	Ruan3	Hua2-ji2	阮	華積	m	1850	Taishan?	台山?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-90s..
Stanley	Ruan3	Hua2-zhi2	阮	華職	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884?-88
Stanley	Ruan3	Wan4-you4	阮	萬祐	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81*
Stanley	Shao4	Bai3	邵	柏	m	1850	Panyu	番禺	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-88
Stanley	Situ2	Hua2-rui4	司徒	華瑞	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-88
Stanley	Situ2	Jin1	司徒	金	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-00
Stanley	Situ2	Lai2	司徒	來	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-06
Stanley	Situ2	Sen1-you4	司徒	森祐	m	?	Enping?	恩平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-88*
Stanley	Situ2	Wan4	司徒	萬	m	1847	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81?
Stanley	Situ2	Wen2-shuo4	司徒	文碩	m	1843	Enping	恩平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-10
Stanley	Situ2	Zhen4-nuu3	司徒	振女	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Situ2	Zu3-lian2	司徒	祖連	m	1856	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-03?

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AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Stanley	Sun1	Yi4	孫	義	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-86
Stanley	Tan2	Fu2-jun1	譚	福均	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-86
Stanley	Tan2	Guan1-yi2	譚	關怡	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Stanley	Tang1	Ru3-tian1	湯	汝添	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Tang1	Song1	湯	松	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81*
Stanley	Wu2	Bai3-sheng4	吳	百剩	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-87
Stanley	Wu2	Li4-dong4	吳	麗棟	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-94
Stanley	Wu2	Ling2	吳	靈	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1877-81
Stanley	Wu3	Bing3-rong2	伍	炳容	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Wu3	Geng1-you4	伍	庚祐	m	1850	Taishan	台山	Y	Merchant	1883-06
Stanley	Wu3	Wan4	伍	萬	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Stanley	Wu3	Wan4-an1	伍	萬安	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Xiao1	Hai3	蕭	海	m	?	Zhongshan	香山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1880-06
Stanley	Xiao1	Zhan4-jin2	蕭	湛霖	m	1846	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Merchant	1877-91
Stanley	Xie4	Dong1	謝	東	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Xie4	Lai2	謝	來	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Xie4	Tong2-De2	謝	同德	m	1861	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-91
Stanley	Xu3	Bao3-zong1	許	保宗	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Xu3	Bing3-yao4	許	炳耀	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Xu3	Can4	許	燦	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Xu3	Gui4-ying1	許	貴英	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-90
Stanley	Xu3	Hu4	許	護	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-06
Stanley	Xu3	Long2	許	龍	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Xu3	Wan4	許	萬	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Xu3	Wei2-hui4	許	維匯	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-06
Stanley	Xu3	Xiang4-ren2	許	相仁	m	?	Taishan	台山	Y	Miner & Labourer	1883-85

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AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Stanley	Xu3	Xiang4-zhong4	許	相仲	m	?	Taishan	台山	Miner & Labourer	1884-86
Stanley	Xu3	Xing1	許	興	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Xu3	Zhang1-fa1	許	章發	m	?	Taishan	台山	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Stanley	Yang2	Guang3-kai1	楊	廣開	m	1853	?	?	Miner & Labourer	1884-04
Stanley	Yang2	Sheng4	楊	勝	m	?	?	?	Miner & Labourer	1876-87
Stanley	Ye4	Hua2	葉	華	m	?	?	?	Miner & Labourer	1876-82
Stanley	Zhai2	Chen2-gui4	翟	陳貴	m	?	Zengcheng	增城	Miner & Labourer	1881-85
Stanley	Zhang1	Cheng2	張	成	m	?	?	?	Miner & Labourer	1876-81*
Stanley	Zhang1	Hu4	張	護	m	?	Panyu	番禺	Miner & Labourer	1879-90
Stanley	Zhang1	Xian3	張	顯	m	?	?	?	Miner & Labourer	1876-84
Stanley	Zhang1	Zai4-feng4	張	在奉	m	?	Xinhui	新會	Miner & Labourer	1881-88
Stanley	Zhao4	Song1	趙	松	m	?	Xinhui	新會	Miner & Labourer	1880-90
Stanley	Zhen1	Chang2-fu2	甄	長福	m	?	Taishan	台山	Miner & Labourer	1884-20
Stanley	Zhen1	Fu2-ru2	甄	福如	m	?	Taishan	台山	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Stanley	Zhen1	He4-ling2	甄	鶴齡	m	1848	Taishan	台山	Merchant	1870-02
Stanley	Zhen1	Liang2-jie2	甄	良傑	m	?	Taishan	台山	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Zhen1	Song1-ling2	甄	嵩齡	m	?	Taishan	台山	Miner & Labourer	1870s-00
Stanley	Zhen1	Wu3-wen3	甄	戊穩	m	?	Taishan	台山	Miner & Labourer	1884-86
Stanley	Zhen1	Yi4-xiang3	甄	奕享	m	?	?	?	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Stanley	Zheng4	Ling2	鄭	苓	m	?	?	?	Miner & Labourer	1876-81
Stanley	Zheng4	Ren4	鄭	任	m	?	?	?	Miner & Labourer	1876-81*
Stanley	Zheng4	Tian1-yao2	鄭	天堯	m	?	Taishan	台山	Miner & Labourer	1881?-90
Stanley	Zhong1	?	鍾	[]	m	?	Dongguan	東莞	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Zhong1	Jin3-hua2	鍾	錦華	m	1850	?	?	Miner & Labourer	1885-94
Stanley	Zhong1	Wen3	鍾	穩	m	?	?	?	Miner & Labourer	1876-87
Stanley	Zhong1	Yao4-nan2	鍾	耀南	m	1854	?	?	Miner & Labourer	1884-90

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AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	HONG MEN COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Stanley	Zhou1	Bai3-zi3	周	百子	m	1845	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-10
Stanley	Zhou1	Chang2-jin4	周	長進	m	1855	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-91
Stanley	Zhou1	Cheng2	周	成	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Zhou1	Cheng2-shi4	周	成仕	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-86
Stanley	Zhou1	Cheng2-tai4	周	成泰	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Zhou1	Da2	周	達	m	?	Panyu	番禺	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881-06
Stanley	Zhou1	Fu4-zi3	周	富仔	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1881
Stanley	Zhou1	Guo2-xi1	周	國錫	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-07
Stanley	Zhou1	Hong2-zhen4	周	宏振	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Zhou1	Hui4	周	惠	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Zhou1	Jia1-jie2	周	家結	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-90
Stanley	Zhou1	Jia1-zu2	周	家足	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-87
Stanley	Zhou1	Jie2-cheng2	周	杰成	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Zhou1	Li3?-yong3	周	[禮]用	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Zhou1	Liang4	周	亮	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Zhou1	Quan2-zhen4	周	銓振	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Zhou1	Rong2	周	榮	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Zhou1	Ru2-fu4	周	如奮	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Merchant	1877-95
Stanley	Zhou1	Wei2-yuan2	周	維元	m	1853	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-87
Stanley	Zhou1	Wen2-chang2	周	文長	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81
Stanley	Zhou1	Xian4	周	現	m	1850	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1884-95
Stanley	Zhou1	Xian4-zhen4	周	羨振	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1887
Stanley	Zhou1	Yuan2-cheng2	周	元成	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Zhou1	Zong1-qin1	周	宗親	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Zhou1	Zong1-yao4	周	宗耀	m	?	Kaiping?	開平?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-90
Stanley	Zhu1	Ben3	朱	本	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-93

(Appendix VI cont.)

AREA	SUR NAME	FIRST NAME	SUR NAME1	FIRST NAME1	SEX	BIRTH YEAR	HOME COUNTY	H HOME COUNTY1	HONG MEN MEMBER	OCCUPATION	TIME PERIOD
Stanley	Zhu1	Cai3	朱	彩	m	?	Kaiping	開平	Y	Miner & Labourer	1885-00
Stanley	Zhu1	Fu3	朱	輔	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Zhu1	Gou3-zi3	朱	苟子	m	?	Taishan	台山	N	Miner & Labourer	1884-85
Stanley	Zhu1	Guang3-fu2	朱	廣福	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-20s..L20s+
Stanley	Zhu1	Guang3-pei2	朱	廣培	m	?	Kaiping?	開平 ?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-90
Stanley	Zhu1	Guang3-yang2	朱	廣楊	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Zhu1	Liu3-xi1	朱	柳西	m	?	Panyu	番禺	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Zhu1	Ming2-chang1	朱	明昌	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1886
Stanley	Zhu1	Qi2	朱	琪	m	?	?	?	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Zhu1	Sheng4a	朱	盛	m	?	Enping	恩平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885-87
Stanley	Zhu1	Song1-jiang1	朱	松江	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Zhu1	Wen3	朱	穩	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1884
Stanley	Zhu1	Yi4-wci3	朱	義偉	m	?	Enping	恩平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Zhu1	Yuan2	朱	源	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-92
Stanley	Zhu1	Zhen1-ji2	朱	貞吉	m	?	Kaiping	開平	N	Miner & Labourer	1885
Stanley	Zhu1	Zhuo1	朱	卓	m	?	?	?	Y	Miner & Labourer	1876-81
Stanley	?	Gui4-feng4	?	桂鳳	f	?	?	?	Y	Prostitute	1884
Stanley	Wang2	You3-jin1	王	有金	f	?	Zengcheng	增城	Y	Prostitute	1885-95

Note:

1. Chinese names are pronounced in Pinyin system. Number 1, 2, 3, and 4 after the last and first name refer to Chinese tones.
2. Inferred Time Period is marked with star sign.
3. Full name shared by two persons is marked with "a" and "b" respectively after the first name.

Appendix VII. Distribution of the Chinese Businesses in the North Cariboo District (1860s-1940s)

Quesnel Mouth (Quesnel)

NAME (Mandarin)	NAME (Cantonese)	YEARS→ (Chinese)	60s	70s	80s	90s	00s	10s	20s	30s	40s	OWNER	PERIOD
Guang Li	Kwong Lee	廣利	√									Loo Chow-fan	1865-?
Dong Xing	Tong Hing	東興			√								..1880-86
Yi Xing	Yee Hing	義興			√	√							..1880-96
Ren He	Yan Woo	人和			√	√							..1883-90
He Li	Wa Lee	和利			√	√	√						..1888-1924
Yi He Sheng	Yee Wo Sang	義和生				√		√	√	√	√		1892
C. D. Hoy & CO.	C. D. Hoy & CO.	-						√	√	√	√		1912-1940..

Quesnelle Forks

NAME (Mandarin)	NAME (Cantonese)	YEARS→ (Chinese)	60s	70s	80s	90s	00s	10s	20s	30s	40s	OWNER	PERIOD
Fu Ying Long	Fook Ying Lung	福榮隆			✓								1887-88
Yi Tai Dong Ji	Yee Toy Tung Kee	燮泰東記			✓								1881-85
Guang Chang Tai	Kwong Chong Tai	廣昌泰			✓								1882-86
Ru Yi Guan		如意館			✓								1886-89
Yi Xing	Yee Hing	義興			✓	✓							1882-95
Cen Ren Bing		岑閩炳			✓	✓						Cen, Run-bing	1887-93
Cheng Ji	Sing Kee	成記			✓	✓	✓						1886-1901
Guang Ji	Kwong Kee	廣記			✓	✓	✓					Loo Chow Fan	1887-1908
He Sheng	Wo Sang	和升			✓	✓	✓	✓					1889-1904
Fu Sheng Long	Fook Sang Lung	福生隆			✓	✓	✓	✓					1889-1916
He He	Wo Wo	合和			✓	✓	✓	✓					1883-1910
Yi He	Yee Wo	義合			✓	✓	✓	✓					1883-1910
Qian Feng	Kin Fung	乾豐			✓	✓	✓	✓					1887-1910
Yong Feng He	Wing Fung Wo	永豐和			✓	✓	✓	✓					1889-1910
Tong Yi Tang	Tang Yee Tong	同義堂				✓	✓	✓					1891-1916
Heng Xing	Heng Hing	恆興				✓							1893-95
Tong Chang	Tang Chong	同昌				✓							1896-98
Xin Tong Chang	Sen Tang Chong	新同昌				✓							1896-98
Guang Mao Long	Kwong Meu Lung	廣茂隆				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Huang Qian	1893-1940S
Huan Ji	Wun Kee	煥記					✓	✓					1900-10
(?0 Long Ji	Heng lung Kee	[] 隆記								?	✓	Lim Sing	...-1949

(Appendix VII cont.)

Barkerville

STORE (Mandarin)	NAME (Cantonese)	YEARS → (Chinese)	60s	70s	80s	90s	00s	10s	20s	30s	40s	OWNER	PERIOD
Tai Li?	Tie Luey	泰利	√	√	√	√							1860s-95
	Wuy Yung	?	√										1860s
He Long (?)	Wa Lung (?)	[華隆]	√	√									1860s-71
Yong Sheng	Wing Sing	永盛	√										1860s-70
Guang Chang	Kwong Chong	廣昌	√	√	√								1860s-86
Guang Li-Guang Li (Rong Ji)	Kwong Lee- Kwong Lee Wing kee	廣利 廣利榮記	√	√	√	√	√	√				Loo Chow Fan, Loo Chuk Fan Tsang Quan (Magager)	1863-13
He Li	Wa Lee	和利	√	√	√	√	√	√					1869-1913..1914
A ?	Ah Law	阿?	?	√								Ah Law	..-1871
Ning Xing	Ning Sing	[寧新?]	?	√									..-1871
?	Tai Song	泰[?]	?	√									..-1871
Gambling House	?	?		√									1876
Watch Shop	?	?		√									1876
Laundry	?	?		√									1876
Bath	?	?		√									1876
Ren He	Yan Wa	人和			√	√	√	√					1882-1909..1914
Li Gou	Lai Gow	黎苟		√	√	√	√	√				Lai, Gow	1884-1912
Qian Tai	Kin Toy	乾泰		√	√	√							1885-1990
Li Rui-lin	Lai Soey-lem	黎瑞林		√	√	√							1887-95
Yi Xing	Yee Hing	義興				√	√	√					1891

Appendix VII (cont.)

(Barkerville cont.)

STORE (Mandarin)	NAME (Cantonese)	YEARS→ (Chinese)	60s	70s	80s	90s	00s	10s	20s	30s	40s	OWNER	PERIOD
Zhou De He	Chew Dick Woo	周 (德和)					√	√				Chew, Dick Woo	1900s-15
Sheng Ji	Sing Kee	勝記					√	√				Lin, Pu-iu	1909-18
Guang Sheng Rong	Kwong Sang Wing	廣生榮					√	√				Wu, Bai-feng	1901-14
Chang Sheng Guan	-	長勝館				√							1892?-95
Chuang (?) Li Chang	-	[創?]利廠					√						1900's
Yong He Chang	-	永和廠											
Quan Li Chang	-	勸利廠					√						1904?
Le Le Guan	Lock Lock Kuan	樂樂館					√	√					1910's-20's
Lian He	Lun Wo	聯合						√	√				1914-1926
Li Chang	Lee Chong	利昌							√	√	√	Lee, Chong, Bill Hong	1926-1940s

(Appendix VII cont.)

Stanley

STORE (Mandarin)	NAME (Cantonese)	YEARS→ (Chinese)	60s	70s	80s	90s	00s	10s	20s	30s	40s	OWNER	PERIOD
Yong Sheng	Wing Sing	永盛		√	√								1870-87
Yi He Sheng	Yee Wo Sang	義和生		√	√								186-89
He Ji	Hook Kee	鶴記		√	√	√	√	√				Zhen, He-ling	1870s-15
Guang Long Ji	Kwong Lung Kee	廣隆記			√	√	√	√	√				1885-26
Guang Li He	Kwong Lee Wo	廣利和				√							1890
Gambling House1	?	?											
Gambling House2	?	?											
Gambling House3	?	?											
Gambling House4	?	?											

Note: Information is drawn from the Hong-men account books, the CCBA files, artifacts recovered in the Chih Kung Tang building at Barkerville, the *Cariboo Sentinel*, ASSAY, 1871 *British Columbia Guide*, Champion 1893, Lee 1967: 196, *Town Site Map of Barkerville* (1970), *Town Site Map of Stanley* (1970), Hong 1979, Wright 1988, and Moosang 1999.

Appendix VIII. Rules of the Xi Ying Company in the North Cariboo District, British Columbia

This set of rules is in an account book HM 980.291.1 dating 1880. The book contains the rules and a list of names of the Hong-men members who donated to the going-to-be Yi Xing Company in the winter of 1880. The account books was found in Chinatown site in either Barkerville or Quesnelle Forks in the later 1950's and has been kept in the archives of the Barkerville Historical Town since then. In his archival research on the Chinese documents in the archives of the town in 1889, David Chuenyuan Lai (1889: 26) recorded this account book by title. The nature of the rules of the Yi Xing was recognized by the author in the early 1990's. This appendix shows the preamble and eight regulations. Liu Zi-an translated them to the modern Chinese and Liu Yuan translated the modern version to English.

Rules of the Yi Xing Company

by

Hong Shun T'ang

The Seventh Day of the Tenth Lunar Month of the Year of Gengchen (1880)*

Memoranda of Association

All of us who have come from the old country with friends and relatives are gathered here to seek to make a living in this land. We, brothers of the Hong-men, among us the good have gone into farming and the studious have gone into study, have followed the instructions of the sages of the past in sharing everything we own, from horses, carts to cotton quilts and cotton padded clothes. We have sustained ourselves in the new country for years by mutual help. However, to date we have not built a public building, a place open to everybody, a place for visitors to stay, a place for discussion of public affairs. The purpose of today's gathering is the discussion of a proposal for the setting up of a charity fund and a brotherhood society with the purpose of building a society hall open to all brothers, who need a temporary place to stay while passing through the area. All those who agree to this purpose must make a contribution for the realisation of the proposed enterprise.

No body is required to make a great deal of sacrifice. If we start with a small monthly contribution (blurred in the original), and accounted for the income every month, hopefully everybody will be happy. Everybody is enthusiastic about the proposal. The rich have pledged money, the poor have promised to help to their best ability and those away doing business have also expressed their total support. When there is a will there is a way. From the support received, we can anticipate the revival of the glory of the Hong-men brotherhood and it will not take long for the charity fund and our brotherhood to be set up.

The following are the terms and conditions:

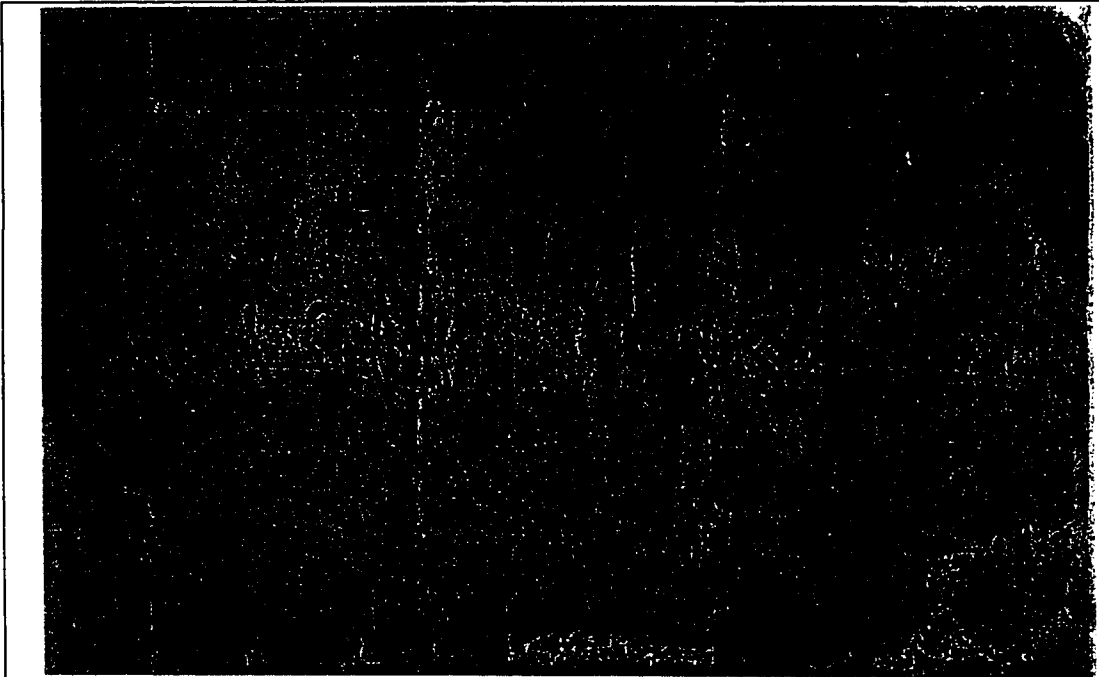
1. We Hong-men brothers have decided to set up a charity fund. Membership fee is one yuan (dollar) per month. The collection period is every 18 months. The fund will be entrusted to an honest and rich person chosen by general agreement, or be entrusted to a bank. Anybody who proposes to borrow from the fund must call for a general meeting for the interest payable on the loan to be decided. No single person has the authority over such a matter. Anybody found to steal from the fund and proven guilty will be punished according to Rule 21, without redress.
2. Membership fee must be paid each month on the designated date to the trustee without being urged. Delay in payment will amount to voluntary withdrawal from the fund and forfeit of the appropriate share. If distance is a cause of concern, a 6-10 day delay will be allowed. But in no case can the paid up contribution, be it large or small, be returned.
3. The fund is committed as a priority to the building of the society hall. When the accumulation of the fund after its completion has exceeded 100 yuan (dollar), it will be lent out to generate interest. After the collection period expires, and the fund has accumulated to a certain extent, help should be given to those who are sick or in difficulty. To those who are no longer able to work to earn a living, because of age or sickness, help should be given to send them back home to the old country, so that nobody is left in this country in loneliness without the chance of going home and dying in their own bed.
4. The primary purpose of the fund is for the general good of the brothers. If the fund is generating good interest, depending on the profit, it will be used to lower the contribution allocated to each brother for festival celebration of the year. If a brother claims to be hurt or insulted by an outsider, help must be given him. But the society must not gang up against the accused without proper deliberation of the claim to decide its truth. Any brother trying to use

the society's name to bully anybody else and being brought up to court, is punishable under the rule and regulation of the society.

5. Any brother who cannot pay his membership fee in total or on time, but promises to compensate the society for the loss of interest on an equivalent amount will not be considered to have forfeited his share in the fund.
6. A person who has not paid his fee in full for several months running before departing for China is not considered to have forfeited his share. But anybody not paying his fee in full on time and only pays up in arrears, for several months running, will be considered to have forfeited his share. If he however agrees to pay the full amount outstanding on the book, his share will be considered to be reinstated.
7. The contribution for the yearly festival celebration must be registered and paid within a month of the allocation, in order for one to avoid being ridiculed. But if by the end of the month, the allocated contribution is not paid, his share in the fund will be considered to be forfeited.
8. The lasting success of our society depends on the total commitment of all brothers. First and foremost is the commitment to being loyal to all brothers, to helping all in sickness and difficulty, and to fighting the bad and strong in aid of the weak and poor. This memorandum will be amended in case any new or better suggestions come up later.

Note:

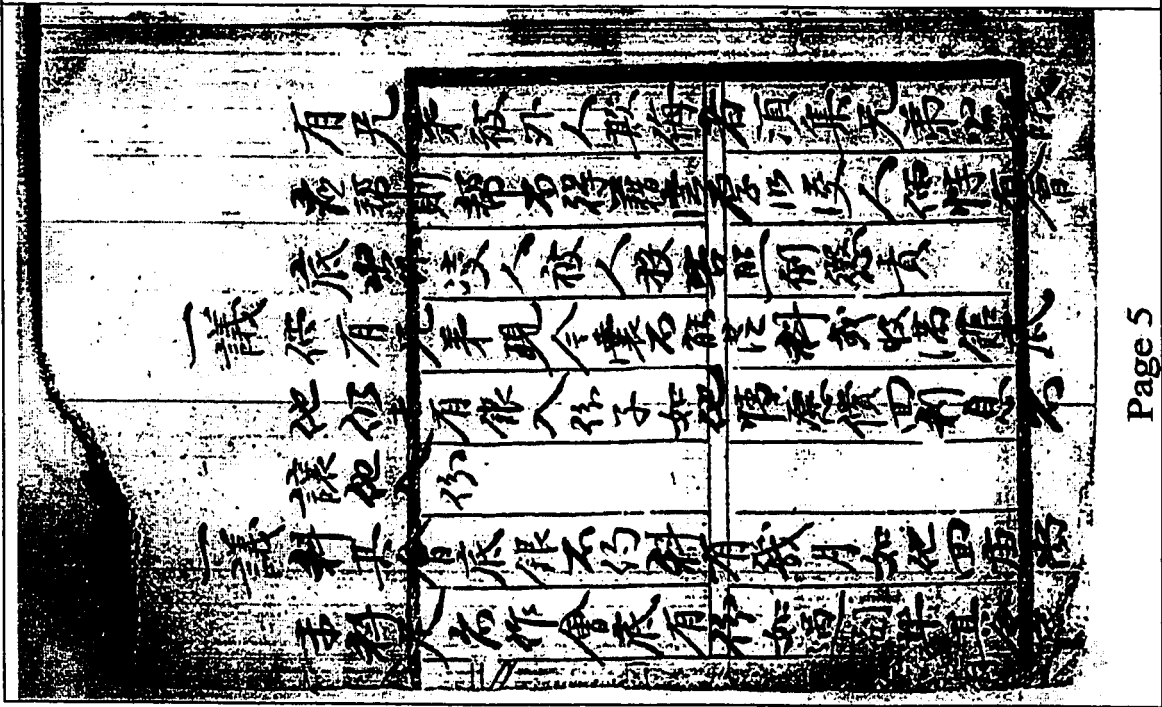
- * The year 1880 was inferred according to a comparative study between this account and another account , HM 980.291.2, dating 1880, which was produced during the same event of establishing a Yi Xing Company at Quesnel Mouth by the Hong-men societies in the North Cariboo.



Cover



Page 1



Appendix IX. Major Records of Contact and Emigration of Chinese from Guangdong and Fujian to Foreign Countries from the Han to the Early Qing Dynasty

Han Dynasty (206 BC-AD 220)

PLACE	REGION	COUNTRY	NATURE	QTY.	ORIGIN	DATE	SOURCE
Chenli	Burma	Burma	Tribute & trade				漢書·地理志 (Han Shu ·Dili Zhi)
Fugandulu	Burma	Burma	Tribute & trade				諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi)
Yilumu	Burma	Burma	Tribute & trade				諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi)
Pizong	Mouth of Pakchan Rr., Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Tribute & trade				諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi)
Duyuan	W. Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Tribute & trade				諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi)
Huangzhi (Conjevoran)	E. India	India	Tribute & trade				漢書·地理志 (Han Shu ·Dili Zhi), 後漢書·地理志 (Hou Han Shu ·Dili Zhi)
Sichengbu	Sri Lanka	Sri Lanka	Tribute & trade				漢書·地理志 (Han Shu ·Dili Zhi)

Tang and Five Dynasties (AD 618-AD 979)

PLACE	REGION	COUNTRY	NATURE	QTY.	ORIGIN	DATE	SOURCE
Zhenla (Cambodia)	Cambodia	Cambodia	Tribute				隋書(Sui Shu) Vol. 81, 82, 唐書·南蠻列傳 (Tang Shu · Nan Man Lie Zhuan)
Linyi (Zhangcheng)	Vietnam	Vietnam	Tribute				隋書 Sui Shu Vol. 81, 82.
Shilifoshi (Sriwijaja)	S. Malay Pen	Malaysia	Tribute & immigration			L. 9th cent.	唐書·南蠻列傳 (Tang Shu · Nan Man Lie Zhuan), Elmasudi. 10th cent.
Chitu	S. Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Tribute				隋書 (Sui Shu) Vol. 81, 82, 通典 (Tong Dian) Vol 188, 唐書·地理志 (Tang Shu · Dili Zhi)

(Appendix IX cont.)

Tang Dynasty and Five Dynasties (618-AD 979)(cont.)

PLACE	REGION	COUNTRY	NATURE	QTY.	ORIGIN	DATE	SOURCE
Singapore	Singapore	Singapore	Immigration			L. 9th cent.	南陽蠡測 Nan Yang Li Ce
Kelin (Shepo) (Java) Poli	Java Kamimantan	Indonesia Indonesia	Tribute Tribute				唐書·南蠻列傳 (Tang Shu · Nan Man Lie Zhuan) 隋書·南蠻列傳 (Tang Shu · 唐書·南蠻列傳 (Tang Shu · Nan Man Lie Zhuan)
Shizi (Sri Lanka) Zhige (Tegal)	Sri Lanka Java	Sri Lanka Indonesia	Trade Immigration			924	唐書·南蠻列傳 (Tang Shu · Nan Man Lie Zhuan) Campbell 1915, Vol. I: 138

Song Dynasty (AD 960-1279)

PLACE	REGION	COUNTRY	NATURE	QTY.	ORIGIN	DATE	SOURCE
Zhenlar (Cambodia) Linyasika (Lengkasuka) Zhancheng	Cambodia Patani, Pen. Malay Pen. Vietnam	Cambodia Thailand Vietnam	Trade Trade Trade				諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi) Vol. 1 諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi) 諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi) Vol. 1 宋史 (Song Shi) Vol. 418, 天下郡國利病書 (Tian Xia Jun Guo Li Bing Shu) Vol. 120 (cited in Zhuo, Ying-Ting Notes), 大越史記全書 (Da Yue Shi Ji Quan Shu) Vol. 5 諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi) Vol. 1
Foluoan Guo (Bernanag) Dannaling (Tambralinga) Boni (Brunei)	Langat, Malay Pen. Malay Pen. Brunei	Malaysia Malaysia Brunei	Trade Trade Trade				諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi) Vol. 1 諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi) Vol. 1 諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi)

(Appendix IX cont.)

Song Dynasty (AD 960-1279) (cont.)

PLACE	REGION	COUNTRY	NATURE	QTY.	ORIGIN	DATE	SOURCE
Shepo (Jova)	Java	Indonesia	Trade				宋書 (Song Shi) Vol. 489, 嶺外代 答 (Ling Wai Dai Da), 諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi)
Sanfoqi (Srividjaja)	S. Sumatera	Indonesia	Trade				諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi)
Lanwuli (Lamuri)	SW Sumatera	Indonesia	Trade				諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi)
Sanyu	Luzon	Philippines	Trade				Ibid.
Mayi (Mindoro Is.)	Mindoro Is.	Philippines	Trade & Immigration				Ibid. Vol. 1
Zhulian	Coromandel Coast	India	Trade				Ibid. Vol. 1
Jubadan (Negapatam)	India	India	Immigration?			1297	宋史·外國列傳 (Song Shi·Wai Guo Lie Zhuan), 諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi) Vol. 1
Nampi	Malabar Coast	India	Trade & Immigration?			1088	島夷志略 (Dao Yi Zhi Lue)· Pagoda
Gulin (Kulam)	SW India	India	Trade				嶺外代答 (Ling Wai Dai Da), 諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi) Vol 1
Xilan (Sri Lanka)	Sri Lanka	Sri Lanka	Trade				諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi) Vol. 1 Ibid.

Yuan Dynasty (AD 1271-1368)

PLACE	REGION	COUNTRY	NATURE	QTY.	ORIGIN	DATE	SOURCE
Meiluoju (Maluka & Molucca)	Molucca Ar.	?	Trade				島夷志略 (Dao Yi Zhi Lue)
Burma	Burma	Burma	Invasion				元史 (Yuan Shi), 新元史 (Xin Yuan Shi)
Cambodia	Cambodia	Cambodia	Trade?				Zhen Lia Feng Tu Ji
Zhancheng	M. Vietnam	Vietnam	Invasion				元史 (Yuan Shi), 新元史 (Xin Yuan Shi)
Minduolang (Fanlang*)	Vietnam	Vietnam					Dao Yi Zhi Lue

(Appendix IX cont.)

Yuan Dynasty (AD 1271-1368)(cont.)

PLACE	REGION	COUNTRY	NATURE	QTY.	ORIGIN	DATE	SOURCE
Danmaling	Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Trade				島夷志略 (Dao Yi Zhi Lue), 諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi)
Dingjialu (Treganu)	Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Trade				Ibid.
Jilandan (Kelantan)	Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Trade				Ibid.
Pengkeng (Pahang)	Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Trade				Ibid.
Suluonan	Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Trade				島夷志略 (Dao Yi Zhi Lue),
Boni (Brunei)	N. Borneo	Malaysia	Trade				Ibid.
Boni (Brunei)	Brunei	Brunei	Trade				Ibid.
} Tumasik (Singapore)	Singapore	Singapore	Trade, Immigration			14th cent.	Ibid.
Longyamen (Lingga Ach.)	Singapore?	Singapore?	Trade & Immigration				Ibid.
Puben (Tana Bumbu)	Borneo	Indonesia	Trade				Ibid.
Jalimada (Karimata Is.)	Kalimantan	Indonesia	Trade				Ibid.
Goulanshan (Gelang Is.)	Kalimantan	Indonesia	Immigration	100	Fujian?		Ibid.
Nanyali (Lamuri)	Achin, Sumatera	Indonesia					島夷志略 (Dao Yi Zhi Lue), 諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi), 元史 (Yuan Shi)
Huamian	Sumatera	Indonesia	Trade				島夷志略 (Dao Yi Zhi Lue)
Sanfoqi (Sruwidjaja)	Sumatera	Indonesia	Trade				島夷志略 (Dao Yi Zhi Lue),
Xuwendala (?)	Sumatera	Indonesia	Trade				島夷志略 (Dao Yi Zhi Lue), 元史 (Yuan Shi)
Chongjialuo (Janggala)	Java	Indonesia	Trade				島夷志略 (Dao Yi Zhi Lue), 諸番志 (Zhu Fan Zhi)
Duping (Chumin*)	Java	Indonesia	Trade & Immigration	1,000	Guangdong, Fujian		島夷志略 (Dao Yi Zhi Lue), 續文獻通考 (Xu Wen Xian Tong Kao), 異域志 (Yi Yu Zhi)

(Appendix IX cont.)

Yuan Dynasty (AD 1271-1368) (cont.)

PLACE	REGION	COUNTRY	NATURE	QTY.	ORIGIN	DATE	SOURCE
Java	Java	Indonesia	Invasion				元史(Yuan Shi), 新元史(Xin Yuan Shi)
Madura Is.	Java	Indonesia	Immigration				續文獻通考(Xu Wen Xian Tong Kao), 異域志(Yi Yu Zhi)
New Village (Gressie)	Java	Indonesia	Immigration	2,000	Guangdong		續文獻通考(Xu Wen Xian Tong Kao), 異域志(Yi Yu Zhi)
Timor	Timor	Timor	Trade & immigration	100	Guangdong		島夷志略(Dao Yi Zhi Lue)
Mailu (Manila)	Luzon	Philippines	Trade				Ibid.
Sanyu	Luzon	Philippines	Trade		Fujian		Ibid.
Mayi (Mindora Is.)	Mindora Is	Philippines	Trade				Ibid.
Sulu	Sulu Arch.	Philippines	Trade				Ibid.

Ming Dynasty (AD1368-1644)

PLACE	REGION	COUNTRY	NATURE	QTY.	ORIGIN	DATE	SOURCE
Meiluoju (Maluka & Molucca)	Molucca Ar.	?	Trade & Immigration			1640s	東西洋考(Dong Xi Yang Kao) Vol. 5
Cambodia	Cambodia	Cambodia	Immigration			1426-1456	明史·真臘傳(Ming Shi · Zhen La Zhuan)
Limuzhou	Cambodia	Cambodia	Immigration				東西洋考(Dong Xi Yang Kao) Vol. 3
Dani (Pattani)	Pattani	Thailand	Immigration	2,000	Guangdong	1566-..	明史(Ming Shi), 暹羅記(Xian Luo Ji)
Xianluo (Thailand)	Thailand	Thailand	Immigration			1373-1497	HQZB 1978: 69
Xianluo (Thailand)	Thailand	Thailand	Official trade				瀛涯勝覽(Ying Ya Sheng Lan)
Malacca	Malacca	Malaysia	Official trade & Tribute				明史(Ming Shi), Huang 明史(Ming Shi) Fa Lu Huang 明史(Ming Shi) Fa Lu
Jilandan (Kelantan)	Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Trade & Immigration				東西洋考(Dong Xi Yang Kao) Vol 3

(Appendix IX cont.)

Ming Dynasty (AD1368-1644)(cont.)

PLACE	REGION	COUNTRY	NATURE	QTY.	ORIGIN	DATE	SOURCE
Pengheng (Pahang)	Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Trade				Ibid. Vol. 4
Roufu (Johor)	Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Trade			1495-1678..	明史(Ming Shi) Vol. 325
Malacca	Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Trade & Immigration	852	Fujian		明史(Ming Shi), 瀛涯勝覽(Ying Ya Sheng Lan), and Hai Yu, Fen 1936, Purcell 1965: 241.
Brunei	Brunei	Brunei	Trade & Immigration			1520-..	東西洋考(Dong Xi Yang Kao) Vol. 5, 明史(Ming Shi) Vol. 323
Borneo	Borneo	Indonesia	Immigration		Fujian	1573-1620..	明史(Ming Shi), Li 1936: 141-142
Wenangmashen (Banjarmasin)	Kalimantan	Indonesia	Trade & Immigration?				東西洋考(Dong Xi Yang Kao) Vol. 4
Jiugang	Palembang, Sumatera	Indonesia	Immigration		Guangdong	..1405-1424..	明史·鄭和(Ming Shi · Zheng He), 明成祖實錄(Ming Chen Zu Shi Lu) Vol. 56, 永樂實錄(Yong Le Shi Lu) Vol. 128, 瀛涯勝覽(Ying Ya Sheng Lan), Li 1935: 114, 122
Jiugang (Sanfuqi)	Palembang, Sumatera	Indonesia	Immigration		Guangdong, Fujian	1557-1578..	瀛涯勝覽(Ying Ya Sheng Lan), 明史(Ming Shi) Vol. 324, 東西洋考(Dong Xi Yang Kao) Vol. 3
Sanfuqi (Sriwidjaja)	Sumatera	Indonesia	Immigration	3,000	Guangdong, Fujian	L. 1400s-1405..	明成祖實錄(Ming Chen Zu Shi Lu), 明史(Ming Shi) Vol. 3243, Li 1936: 126
Bantam	Java	Indonesia	Trade & Immigration			1590s	Purcell 1965: 393.
Batavia	Java	Indonesia	Immigration	400-2,000		1619-1629..	Purcell: 1965: 397)

(Appendix IX cont.)

Ming Dynasty (AD1368-1644) cont.

PLACE	REGION	COUNTRY	NATURE	QTY.	ORIGIN	DATE	SOURCE
Djakarta (Jacatra)	Java	Indonesia	Immigration			1590s	Purcell 1965: 393
Duping & Duban (Tuban)	Java	Indonesia	Immigration	2,000	Guangdong, Fujian		瀛涯勝覽 (Ying Ya Sheng Lan)
Grissé	Java	Indonesia	Immigration		Guangdong	1411	Purcell 1965: 18
Java	Java	Indonesia	Trade & Immigration			..1617-	Purcell 1965: 391
Lombok	Java	Indonesia	Immigration			..1820s	HQSB 1978: 114-115
Madura	Java	Indonesia	Immigration				東西洋考 (Dong Xi Yang Kao) Vol. 3
New Village (Gressie & Geresik)	Java	Indonesia	Immigration	3,000	Guangdong		Li 1936: 126
Sujidan	Java	Indonesia	Trade				明史 (Ming Shi) Vol. 324
Surabaya	Java	Indonesia	Immigration	2,000	Guangdong, Fujian		瀛涯勝覽 (Ying Ya Sheng Lan), 明史 (Ming Shi) Vol. 324, 東西洋考 (Dong Xi Yang Kao) Vol. 3
Wandan*, Pekalongan, Toeban Jelidimen (Timor)	Java Timor	Indonesia Timor	Immigration Trade			1590s-1602..	Li 1936: 162-163
Calamba, Malia, etc. Luzon	Luzon Luzon	Philippines Philippines	Trade	20,000 10,000	Fujian	1639 1472-..	東西洋考 (Dong Xi Yang Kao) Vol. 4 Li 1936: 154-155 東西洋考 (Dong Xi Yang Kao) Vol. 5, 明史 (Ming Shi) 212, 323, 閩書 (Min Shu) Vol. 319.
Luzon	Luzon	Philippines	Immigration	3,500		1574-..	Li 1936: 143-144
Manila	Luzon	Philippines	Immigration	24,000		1639	Purcell 1965: 502
Manila	Luzon	Philippines	Immigration	60,000		1620	Li 1936: 152-153
Manila	Philippines	Philippines	Immigration	2,000		1662	Purcell 1965: 502
Maolihu (Burias Is.)	Luzon	Philippines	Trade				明史 (Ming Shi)
Tando, Quiapo.	Luzon	Philippines	Immigration	24,000		1603	Li 1936: 150-152

(Appendix IX cont.)

Ming Dynasty (AD1368-1644)(cont.)

PLACE	REGION	COUNTRY	NATURE	QTY.	ORIGIN	DATE	SOURCE
Philippine	Philippine	Philippines	Immigration	40-20,000		..1570-1639..	Purcell 1965: 494-496, 500, Blair & Robertson 1903-09 Vol. 3: 167-168, Li 1935: 150
Sulu	Sulu Ach.	Philippines					明史 (Ming Shi)
Guli	India	India	Official trade				藏涯 勝覽 (Ying Ya Sheng Lan)
Ke Zhi Guo (Cochin)	India	India	Official trade				Ibid.

Early Qing Dynasty (AD1644-1840)

PLACE	REGION	COUNTRY	NATURE	QTY.	ORIGIN	DATE	SOURCE
Ava	Burma	Burma	Immigration?	1,000		1658-1667	Li 1936: 172-175
Ava	Burma	Burma	Immigration				Li 1936: 176-177
Bhamo	Burma	Burma	Immigration	500	Yunnan		Pemberton 1835: 258
Burma	Burma	Burma	Immigration				Li 1936: 178-183
Maolong Factory	Burma	Burma	Immigration	10,000		E. 1700s-1750	Li 1936: 175-176.
Moulmein	Burma	Burma	Immigration		Guangdong	1836	Malcom 1839: 58
Near Ava	Burma	Burma	Immigration			1823	Malcom 1839, I: 125
Polong Mountain	Burma	Burma	Immigration	10,000	Guangdong, Guangxi, Yunan	E. 1700s	Li 1936: 175
Sagaing	Burma	Burma	Immigration			1823	Malcom 1839, I: 125
Umerapura (Amarapura),	Burma	Burma	Immigration			1823	Malcom 1839, I: 125
Hatien	S. Vietnam	Vietnam	Immigration			1660s-1790	Li 1935: 196-197
Thailand	Thailand	Thailand	Immigration			..1766-1782	Li 1936: 185-195
Songkhla	S. Thailand	Thailand	Immigration			1766-1782	Li 1936: 199
Thailand	Thailand	Thailand	Immigration			1824-1851	Li 1936: 237-238
Xianluo (Thailand)	Thailand	Thailand	Immigration			1724	Valentyn 1724 Vol. 3)

(Appendix IX cont.)

Early Qing Dynasty (AD1644-1840)(cont.)

PLACE	REGION	COUNTRY	NATURE	QTY.	ORIGIN	DATE	SOURCE
Malacca (Melaka)	Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Immigration	426-4,143	Fujian	1640-1834 ..	1947 Census Report, HQZC 1978: 101-104
Malay Pen.	Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Immigration	1,159		1821-1836	Li 1936: 213-214
Sembilan	Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Immigration	200		1824	Li 1936: 247
Pahang	Pahang, Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Immigration				HQZC 1978: 109
Pinang	Pinang	Malaysia	Immigration	3,000- 11,010	Guangdong	1786-1833..	1947 Centus Report
Tanjong,	Pinang, Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Immigration	3,000-8,595	Guangdong	..1804..	Braddie 1861
Wellesley	Wellesley, Malay Pen.	Malaysia	Immigration	325		1800-1818..	1947 Census Report, Braddie 1861
Sandakan	N. Boneo	Malaysia	Immigration			1864..	HQZB 1978: 112.
Singapore	Singapore	Singapore	Immigration	20-13,749	Guangdong, Fujian	1819-1836 ...	Li 1936: 211, 1947 Census, HQZC 1978: 107-108
Singapore	Singapore	Singapore	Immigration		Guangdong, Fujian	1824-31	Li 1936: 235
Pontianak	W. Borneo	Indonesia	Immigration			1772-1884	Li 1935: 234, Purcell 1965: 422
W. Borneo	W. Borneo	Indonesia	Immigration	50,000	Guangdong	1740/45-1810..	Purcell 1965: 387, Jakson 1970: 2
Banda Aceh	Sumatera	Indonesia	Immigration			1688	Dampier 1931: 195
Java	Java	Indonesia	Immigration			19th cent.	Li 1936: 214
Batavia	Java	Indonesia	Immigration	100,000		1641-1740	Li 1936: 166, 169, Voyage 1687.
Guagua	Bampanga, Luzon	Philippines	Immigration	6,000		1762	Li 1936: 156-157
Philippines	Philippines	Philippines	Immigration	6,000- 10,087		..1678-1828..	Li 1936: 156, Purcell 1965: 502- 503.

Note:

* This appendix is produced primarily based upon works by Li 1935, Purcell 1965, and HQZB 1978.

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