



Fraser Corridor Heritage Landscape Project Report 2014–2015

Assessing the potential heritage significance of placer gold mining and Chinese Canadian historical sites along the Fraser Corridor

Prepared for: BC Heritage Branch, Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations and Chinese Legacy BC, Ministry of International Trade and Responsible for Asia Pacific Strategy and Multiculturalism

Prepared by: Fraser Corridor Heritage Landscape Project, UBC & SFU

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Heritage Branch

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Executive Summary:

The Heritage Significance of Placer Gold Mining and Chinese Canadian Historical Sites in the Fraser Corridor

This Project began in early 2014 to assess the potential heritage significance of placer gold mining sites, particularly those associated with Chinese Canadians, along the Fraser Corridor. At many locations along the Fraser and connected river shorelines there is evidence of historic mining from the 1800s, in particular from Hope to Quesnel, spanning a distance of approximately 600 kilometers of the Fraser and Quesnel Rivers. Over 500 sites have been identified and mapped to date (Nelson and Kennedy 2012). These sites may have particular heritage significance for Chinese Canadian and First Nations communities, whose members often held and worked claims throughout the mid 1800s – 1900s. Recently, there have been requests from tenure holders along the Fraser River to re-mine and remediate the shoreline. As current and new mining tenures and related activities may impact historic character-defining elements that may have high heritage value, there is an urgent need for conservation policies that specifically address historic mining sites along the Fraser River. Rare and important evidence of ways of life and culture of these early claim holders is at risk, an issue raised in the recent British Columbia legislative apology for anti-Chinese historical legislation that is of particular concern to the Chinese Canadian community of British Columbia.

In the summer of 2014, the Heritage Branch of the BC Ministry of Forests, Lands

and Natural Resource Operations contacted leading researchers in BC geography, history and archaeology to conduct a pilot study of Fraser Corridor historic mining sites. The primary aim of this project is to develop heritage values assessment criteria based on exemplary sites examined in the pilot study. The criteria will be used to determine which of the 503 sites identified through historical records throughout the Fraser River have enough heritage significance to warrant consideration for provincial protection or heritage investment through conservation, cultural asset development, and/or heritage recognition. In order to achieve these goals, it is necessary to understand the heritage values of these places and create a priority metric that can systematically determine which site(s) would be the best representatives of gold rush mining activities by First Nations, Chinese Canadians and other immigrant prospectors whose mining activities have been largely unrecognized in historical assessments, and to determine where and how many sites fall into this scope.

This report details: 1) the history of these sites within the context of other Gold Rush era placer mining sites in California, Australia, and New Zealand, 2) the factors behind why they were ignored for so long and why they have contemporary heritage value within changes in how British Columbia history is understood more broadly, and 3) a rubric and a set of exemplary sites to illustrate how any particular site within the hundreds identified along the Fraser River Corridor might be interpreted and evaluated for heritage value and significance using the perspectives outlined in this report.

This report argues that the many such historic sites along the Fraser corridor,

including but not limited to the exemplary sites identified in this report, are framed by multiple perspectives for heritage value:

- 1) they are of historical significance for substantively embodying the presence of Chinese Canadians along the Fraser Canyon for two centuries,
- 2) they bespeak a history that has long been ignored or suppressed and which has strong community support for heritage recognition,
- 3) they exemplify as historical sites a contemporary desire and aspiration to reimagine and reclaim an inclusive, common history of British Columbia that reflects the diverse peoples in its past, present, and future,
- 4) they provide significant potential for memory-making and place-making both at the current moment and in the future, and
- 5) perhaps most obviously and detailed in the clearest fashion from an academic and scholarly perspective in this report, some of these sites are unique and outstanding within the broader context of gold rush placer mining sites around the Pacific and are invaluable assets that have high heritage value.

Prologue—Historical Background

Chinese migrants have been coming to the traditional First Nations territories that are now known as British Columbia since the very first moments that European migrants did. During the same period when expeditions led by Capt. James Cook and Capt. George Vancouver surveyed—and claimed for the British crown—the coastline of modern-day British Columbia, Chinese workers landed in Nu-chah-nulth territory in 1788 as part of Capt. John Meares' expedition to build the first year-round, non-indigenous settlement in the place the British named "Nootka Sound." Indeed, Chinese workers were the carpenters that built the fort, grew food, and performed much of the essential labour.

By the time that "Gold Rushes" in the mid-19th century drew migrants from around the world to alluvial deposits of gold around the edges of the Pacific basin (the California territory, the Australian colonies, Aoteroa/New Zealand, and what was then claimed by the British crown as the colony of British Columbia), Chinese migrants were a significant element both numerically and structurally. They often performed necessary functions such as growing food and building infrastructure, as well as importing goods drawn from their extensive trans-Pacific trade networks. Known for creating businesses that provided important services to miners and other migrants, the Chinese were entrepreneurial and able to make money in ways that extended well beyond finding gold. Indeed, in the Cantonese language that these migrants spoke, all of these locations came to be known as "Gum San 金山" (Gold Mountain) not just because of the iconic presence of gold, but also metaphorically for the tremendous wealth that could be created by young ambitious men crossing the seas to work in these places, a mythic name for trans-Pacific

migration in search of opportunity that long outlasted the gold rushes themselves.

A dream of wealth and a better life created a sustained process of migration—generation after generation—from a small number of villages in just eight counties in Guangdong province on the south coast of China. Often working alongside and sometimes marrying into First Nations communities up the Fraser River and throughout British Columbia, the mostly male migrants sought a better livelihood through building early industries such as market farming, logging, fishing, ranching, and mining, as well as providing services through businesses such as general stores, cafés, and laundries.

These Cantonese-speaking migrants came to British Columbia in a continuous, recurring process throughout the 19th and 20th centuries that was linked to a larger trans-Pacific network (Figure 1). Just as British imperial migrants from Scotland, Wales, and England moved around the Pacific along the same routes, Chinese migrants moved and settled and often moved again in similar ways, crossing paths with various migrants from Europe and other parts of the Americas as well as the diverse indigenous peoples upon whose land they lived and worked. The Chinese who both stayed, and moved on, are unquestionably a historically significant element of the rich, diverse history of British Columbia.

And yet, there has until recently been a relative lack of attention both by scholars and within popular histories to the enduring presence of Chinese Canadians in British Columbia. Other than noting their presence during the Gold Rush and as the workers who built the Canadian Pacific Railway in British Columbia, the significance of Chinese Canadians in everyday life and as an integral part of the social fabric of small towns throughout B.C. has often been overlooked.

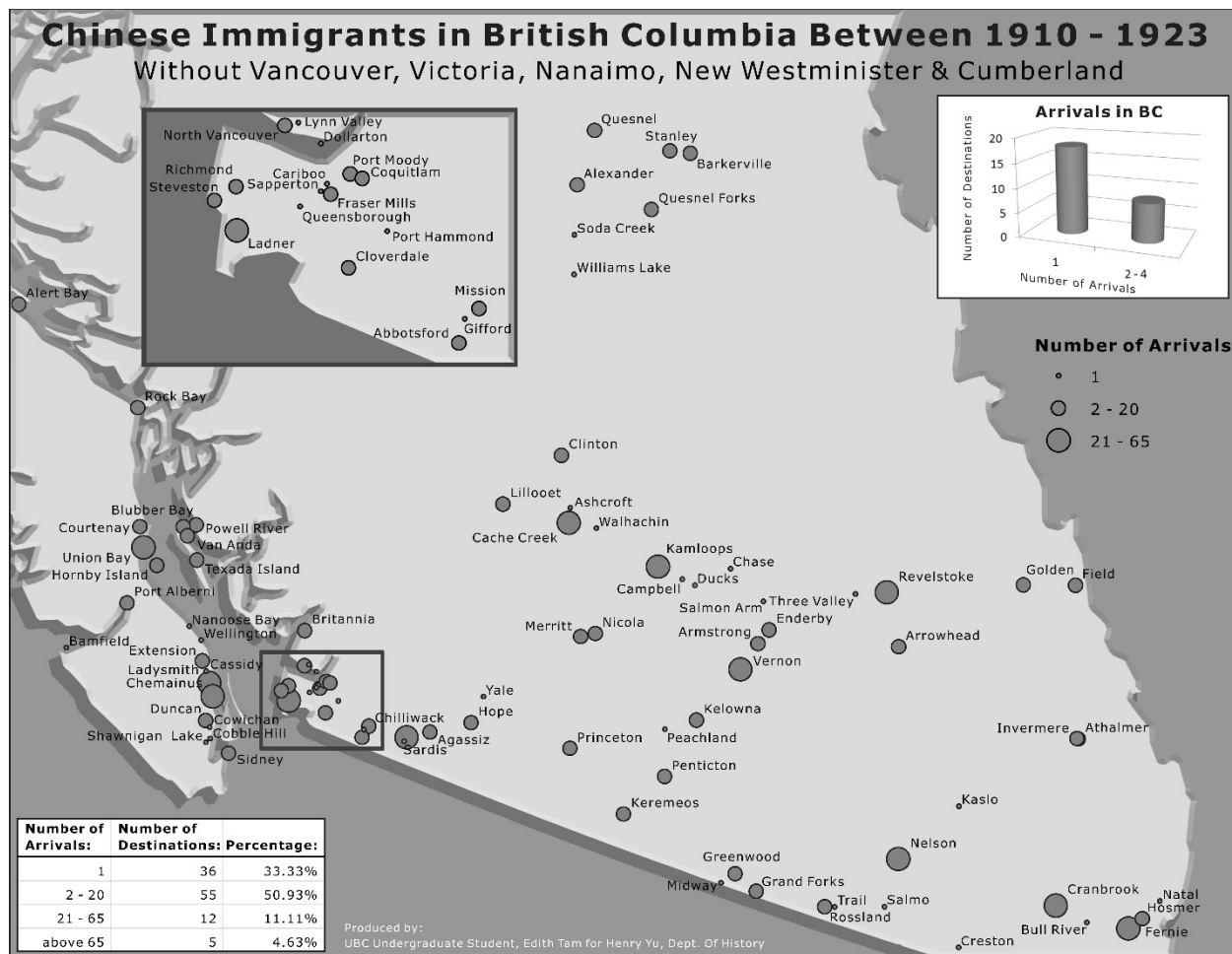


Figure 1. Chinese immigrants in British Columbia between 1910 and 1923.

Much of this can perhaps be explained by the political use of white supremacyⁱ in the historical formation of the province of British Columbia. As with the reserve system and residential schooling for the indigenous First Nations, anti-Chinese legislation and racial discriminatory practices that disenfranchised “non-whites” and prioritized European migrants for government contracts, land ownership, housing, employment, and professional status, created a racial hierarchy that shaped every aspect of social and economic life. This racial hierarchy unfortunately also informed historical memory and storytelling about the “pioneer” history of British Columbia. The ubiquitous presence of both First Nations and Chinese Canadians was

ignored or marginalized as the history of B.C. was centered upon European settlement and what one prominent politician called the creation of a “white man’s province” (Roy 1989). Within historical storytelling, especially as versions of the 19th century “pioneer” past were nostalgically told in the 20th century and became adopted as the official history of the province, the “heritage significance” of those who had been assigned to the bottom of British Columbia’s racial hierarchy mirrored the broader social and political exclusion.

Despite the exclusion of non-whites from the best jobs and from unions, Chinese Canadians continued to be a crucial element of B.C. society. Even as officially sanctioned versions of historical memory

and heritage portrayed the building of a “white man’s province” and centered the valuation of historical significance around European settlement, this never reflected the reality of British Columbia history. For instance, when the discriminatory Head Tax between 1885 and 1923 was applied against Chinese migrants (lobbied for by the B.C. provincial government, which split the proceeds with the Federal government), 97,123 Chinese migrated to B.C. despite the hardship of being the only immigrants who had to pay the exorbitant fee of \$50, and then \$500, the equivalent of almost two years wages as a labourer. Even after the euphemistically named “Chinese Immigration Act” excluded new Chinese immigrants from Canada in 1923, Chinese Canadians formed an essential part B.C. society. A “white man’s province,” even as white supremacy wrought devastating effects, always remained an aspiration that could not totally remake a society whose continuing diversity belied the political dreams of exclusionists.

Even within historical memory—despite the narrow focus of scholarly and popular official histories that centered on European migration and British colonial heritage—the historical memories of individual British Columbians could acknowledge the continued presence of Chinese Canadian schoolmates or neighbours co-workers, or the beloved shopkeeper or café owner who formed a ubiquitous element of everyday life in B.C. The willingness of Chinese Canadian store and restaurant owners to welcome local indigenous peoples as customers, as well as commonplace marriages and Chinese-aboriginal families, was not forgotten within the local communities of First Nations. Perhaps most clearly and even though the historical existence of Chinese Canadians in B.C. might have been ignored by scholarly and popular histories--within the historical

memory of Chinese Canadians who lived, and endured, and overcame the challenges of British Columbia--they never forgot.

Shifts in Assessing Heritage Value: Why the Recognition of Chinese Canadian Heritage Sites Now?

Over the last four decades, two important shifts have occurred that have led to the conditions shaping this study: 1) a change in how British Columbian society understands the role of Chinese Canadians and other non-whites in its own history, and 2) a shift in how heritage value is assessed through value-based criteria.

As B.C. society began to dismantle legalized white supremacy and racial hierarchy in the last half of the 20th century, an increasing popular awareness of the significance of Chinese Canadians in the history of B.C. has gradually emerged. Historians provided new research scholarship, but more significantly the demographics of B.C. society changed with the end of racial exclusion in immigration policy in 1967, and a new British Columbia has also provoked the need for a more inclusive history that acknowledges the common history of all British Columbians across their diversity and in spite of the exclusions that existed for much of the first half of B.C. history (Yu 2009). Popularized by Pierre Berton’s insertion in *The Last Spike* (1971) of Chinese Canadians into the mythic moment of nation-making—the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway between 1881 and 1885—the significant role of Chinese workers in building the difficult stretch of the CPR up the Fraser Canyon and through the mountainous terrain of B.C. became widely known. What was less well-known was the significant role of Chinese in building the Cariboo Wagon Road and other early infrastructure that passed along almost the same route up the Fraser Canyon,

but as awareness of Chinese Canadians in B.C. history was popularized, the iconic moments became centred on the Gold Rush and the building of the CPR. The Fraser River, therefore, has become a central element of reimagining the historical heritage of British Columbia, along with the heritage renewal of the historical Chinatown districts of Victoria and Vancouver.

Perhaps no single figure has done more to advance the idea that Chinese Canadians were a significant part of the history of British Columbia's small towns and along the Fraser corridor than Lily Chow, a schoolteacher who spent her spare time and much of her retirement collecting the stories of Chinese Canadians across the interior of B.C. (Chow 1996, 2001, 2014). Raising the awareness of the place of Chinese Canadians in the everyday lives of small town B.C. communities, Chow helped raise the question of what Chinese Canadians were doing the rest of the time when they were not digging for gold or building the railroad.

Another figure who has helped raise awareness of Chinese gold rush mining sites along the Fraser corridor is Bill Chu, a retired engineer and community activist who has led annual expeditions and tours to many of the more accessible Chinese mining sites in the mid-Fraser region. Highlighting the long history of relations between Chinese Canadians and First Nations in B.C., Chu helped raise awareness of historical Chinese sites, especially within Chinese language media both in Canada and in China. Although an engineer by training, Chu's emphasis over the last decade upon oft-neglected aspects of Chinese Canadian history such as remote mining sites and cemeteries, as well the historical engagements between Chinese and indigenous peoples, has been a catalyst for a broad awareness of Chinese Canadian history. His use of Chinese language media

to promote his causes has also created high awareness in more recent Chinese Canadian immigrants who primarily consume information through Chinese language media whether newspapers, radio, or television.

Popular B.C. Chinese language stations such as Fairchild TV and Omni, as well as local daily newspapers such as Sing Tao and Ming Pao (whose daily circulations actually dwarf English language dailies such as the Province and the Sun), and Hong Kong television stations such as TVB as well as CCTV, one of the main stations in the Peoples Republic of China, have all featured in-depth the story of Chinese Canadians in British Columbia, in particular their role in the Gold Rush. A feature story in both Cantonese and Mandarin on Channel M (now Omni TV) in 2008 featured the story of the Chinese in the Fraser Canyon, highlighting Gold Rush mining sites as well as the long history of interaction with First Nations from the mouth of the Fraser all the way to Lytton and Lillooet. Chinese language media coverage over the last decade has created, ironically, an awareness of these stories among recent immigrant Chinese Canadians who primarily use Chinese language media sources that is likely more widespread than among other Canadians who rely exclusively on English language media sources.

One of the significant developments in terms of English language awareness of the historical engagement between Chinese Canadians and First Nations was the 2009 documentary *Cedar and Bamboo*, produced by Jennifer Lau and Karin Lee of the Chinese Canadian Historical Society of B.C. and directed by Diana Leung and Kamala Todd. One of the stories featured in this documentary was that of Howard Grant of the Musqueam band at the mouth of the Fraser. Of Musqueam descent on his mother's side, the father of Grant and his

siblings was one of over fifteen Chinese Canadian farmers on the Musqueam reserve. An awareness of the importance historically of Chinese Canadians along the Fraser corridor, in other words, has become more significant than ever before, and in some sense has finally come to reflect the long ignored or suppressed reality of British Columbia's history.

If we approach the heritage value of archaeological and historical sites along the Fraser River within this contemporary context of a reframing of British Columbia's history and heritage, the potential for remembrance, storytelling, memory making, and place-making at sites of significance up and down the Fraser is high. In a consultation in fall 2014 with the Board of the Chinese Canadian Historical Society of B.C. that presented the findings from the initial archaeological survey detailed in this report, several Board members expressed a passionate interest in the historical mining sites. More than historical curiosity about the form and functions of the sites themselves as mining operations, many of those we consulted understood the meaning of these sites within the broader context of an ignored or excluded sense of Chinese Canadian history in British Columbia.

The sites, in other words, achieve an iconic status as a symbol of remembering what has been forgotten or ignored, an act of memory-making that goes beyond mere recognition of historical authenticity or significance based upon uniqueness or rarity. Many of those we consulted expressed immediately the need for more British Columbians to know about these sites, not just in the sense of individual places of heritage significance, but as particular expressions of a broader assertion of significance and importance. Education about these sites, both in terms of students and of public education and knowledge transformation in general, was a high

priority identified repeatedly by those consulted. This priority of public education was also one identified in the public consultations led by Minister Teresa Wat that led to the formal apology in the British Columbia Legislature in May 2014 for historical anti-Chinese legislation.

Values-Based Approach to Heritage Conservation

BC Heritage Branch recommends a values-based approach in the first phase of the Conservation Decision-making Process, which is established on the concept of assessing a range of types of heritage value that the places to be recognized should embody. The Heritage Branch uses the Parks Canada definition for heritage values as found in the *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada (Second Edition): The aesthetic, historic, scientific, cultural, social or spiritual importance or significance for past, present or future generations.*¹ The heritage value of a historic place is embodied in its character-defining materials, forms, location, spatial configurations, uses and cultural associations or meanings, which are determined through consultation with broad groups of community members. As defined in BC Heritage Branch *Guidelines for Implementing Context Studies and Values-Based Management of Historic Places*, "Historic places are no longer recognized, protected, and conserved based on just their architectural superiority or historical associations. Instead, a values based approach considers all aspects of a community's development and evolution over time. It allows conservation of historic places to be an activity relevant to all members of a community, rather than an

¹ The Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada. Electronic document, <http://www.historicplaces.ca/en/pages/standards-normes.aspx>, accessed February 6, 2015

activity only understood by heritage “experts”. Understanding what a community values in terms of its heritage allows for a stronger justification for ensuring that historic places remain as a community develops and changes over time.”²

In this study, the sites along the Fraser corridor, including but not limited to the exemplary sites identified in this report, are framed by multiple perspectives for heritage significance: 1) they are of historical significance for substantively embodying the presence of Chinese Canadians along the Fraser Canyon for two centuries, 2) they bespeak a history that has long been ignored or suppressed, 3) they exemplify as historical sites a contemporary desire and aspiration to reimagine and reclaim an inclusive, common history of British Columbia that reflects the diverse peoples in its past, present, and future, 4) they provide significant potential for memory-making and place-making both at the current moment and in the future, and 5) perhaps most obviously and detailed in the clearest fashion from an academic and scholarly perspective in this report, some of these sites are unique and outstanding within the broader context of gold rush placer mining sites around the Pacific and are invaluable assets.

² Guidelines for Implementing Context Studies and Values-Based Management of Historic Places. Electronic document, http://www.for.gov.bc.ca/ftp/heritage/external/!publish/Web/Guidelines_for_Implementing_Context_Studies.pdf, accessed February 6, 2015

Background: Historical Archaeology of Placer Gold Mining

Australia and New Zealand

Gold mining is of historical significance to many aspects of society in Australia, including economics, settlement, immigration and ethnicity, and settler/indigenous interactions, and has consequently been subject to a number of historical and archaeological studies, in both academic and resource management contexts (Lawrence and Davies 2011: 147-148). Heritage legislation, including the requirement to evaluate the significance of mining and other historic sites, has resulted in development of considerable expertise in mining archaeology in Australia.

Archaeological research in Australia and New Zealand includes studies of both the industrial aspects of mining, including a wide range of tools and equipment, sites, and landscapes, and the regional settlement patterns, mining communities, and individual camps of Chinese and European miners themselves (Lawrence and Davies 2011). The most substantial study conducted in the region is Ritchie's (1986, 1993, 2003) pioneering survey and excavation of hundreds of Chinese mining sites along the Clutha River in southern New Zealand between 1977 and 1987 in advance of hydroelectric development. Other work on Chinese mining sites in Australia and New Zealand has also been done (e.g., Jack et al. 1984; Piper 1988; Bell 1995; Comber 1995; Mitchell 1999; Fredericksen et al. 2001; McGowan 2003; Lawrence and Davies 2011). Of particular importance is Smith's (2003, 2006) settlement pattern study of Chinese miners in New South Wales, in which the author identified a series of hierarchical settlement systems, each centred on a village providing a range of goods and

services for the network of smaller work camps surrounding it.

Although mining heritage in Australia is under similar threats of damage or destruction as in Canada, the Australian government has made efforts to preserve some key heritage mining landscapes, including creation of the Palmer Goldfields Reserve, now the Palmer Goldfield Regional Park, in 1986 (Comber 1995). Furthermore, many mining-related sites within this reserve have been recorded and subject to field assessments for management purposes. Similar management-based documentation of mining landscapes has been conducted in New Zealand, where a significant number of archaeological surveys have been done on mining sites and a large proportion of all recorded historic sites are associated with gold mining (Ritchie 1991; Petchey 2002). One Chinese mining settlement at Arrowtown, excavated by Ritchie in the 1980s, was partially restored and is now a protected heritage site and a popular tourist attraction (Ritchie 2003).

Based on their research, archaeologists in Australia and New Zealand have developed typologies of alluvial tailings deposits and other features useful in identifying techniques associated with different types of mining operations (Ritchie 1981; McGowan 1996, 2003). This includes efforts to distinguish between operations run by Chinese and European miners. The literature also includes a guide to mining terminology for archaeologists (Ritchie and Hooker 1997) and critical discussions of standards and criteria for recording and significance assessment of mining sites (Ritchie 1991; Pearson 1995), which in Australia has resulted in the creation of a formal government sponsored assessment manual that provides guidelines for recording, analyzing, and assessing heritage mining sites (Pearson and McGowan 2000).

The United States

As in Australia and New Zealand, a large number of archaeological studies have been done on placer and hard rock mining sites in the United States, too many to cite here, some of them academic but most in the context of government mandated resource management. Much of this work was spurred by the need, rooted in heritage legislation, to inventory archaeological sites on public lands and evaluate historic mines and mining districts in response to a flurry of new mining activity in the 1980s (Hardesty 1988: ix). As in other countries, many historic mining sites and landscapes have been disturbed or are under threat by modern development or mining activity, although some like Empire Mine State Historic Park in California are protected sites (Selverston and Hilton 2013).

Notable studies include Kelly and McAleer's (1986) evaluation of a placer mining site in California that presents excellent descriptions and maps of mining features, and Lindström et al.'s (2000) and Newland's (2006) discussions of the information potential of placer tailings, including how to record them to recover details on mining techniques and sequences. Also important is Walker's (2013) comparison of archaeological assemblages from three residential sites in the Empire Mine Historic District in California to identify changes in living and working conditions. A recent edited volume on gold mining archaeology in Alaska and the Yukon covers a wide range of important topics apart from the industrial landscape, including regional settlement patterns, individual settlements ranging from major towns to small camps and bachelor cabins, transportation networks, transience, the role of aboriginal people, and issues of gender, class, food habits, and recreation in mining communities (Spude et al. 2011).

Although focused on hard rock mining, Hardesty's (1988, 2010) pioneering study of gold and silver mining in Nevada established a model for archaeological studies of mines and mining settlements, adopting a framework rooted in ecology and world systems and conceiving of mining landscapes as "feature systems" comprised of multiple interrelated domestic and industrial activities and processes.

A number of studies focus specifically on industrial and domestic sites associated with Chinese miners (Stapp and Longenecker 1984; Steeves 1984; Ritter 1986; Markley 1992; Striker and Sprague 1993; Fee 1993; Sisson 1993; Wegars 1995, 1996, 2001; Marmor 1998; Mires 1999; Valentine 1999; Merritt 2009, 2010; Norman 2012). One of the most important is LaLande's (1982, 1985) research on patterns of acculturation and adaptation and the industrial tools and techniques of Chinese miners in Oregon. Other key studies are Stapp's (1990) detailed historical ethnography of a Chinese gold mining community in Idaho that is innovative in its combination of a wide range of archaeological and archival data sources, and Ellis et al.'s (2011) examination of nutritional stress amongst Chinese miners in Montana. One debate in both the United States and Australia concerns whether Chinese-operated mines can be distinguished from those run by miners of European ancestry in the absence of diagnostic Chinese artifacts, for example, based on domestic architecture and the shape and size of tailings piles (LaLande 1985; Ritchie 1993; Valentine 1999; McGowan 2003).

In order to aid resource managers in evaluating the potential eligibility of archaeological sites for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), a principal basis for determining heritage significance in the United States, many government agencies

have sponsored thematic contextual studies of particular site types. For mining sites, the most important such document was published by the California Department of Transportation (Caltrans 2008), although a similar study was prepared for the Carolinas (Botwick 2012) and a brief national thematic study was published by the federal government (Noble and Spude 1997). In many ways, these documents are a response to Hardesty's (1988, 1990) call and suggestions for a uniform research design, including themes, questions, scales of analysis, recording methods, and measures of significance, for evaluating mining sites in the U.S to replace the ad hoc approaches then the norm. The Caltrans report offers a framework for interpreting and evaluating the information potential (Criterion D of the NRHP) of all types of placer and hard rock mining sites in California, and provides information on mining history and technology in the state as well as descriptions of artifacts and features associated with different types of mining activity drawn from a range of archaeological studies. It also includes information on identification and recording of mining landscapes, research themes and questions that can be addressed by mining data, and recommendations and criteria for making significance evaluations.

Like their counterparts in Australia and New Zealand, these thematic studies are focused on regional mining history and archaeology and offer guidelines for evaluating mining sites according to significance criteria specific to a U.S. context. Therefore, while such documents provide a useful model for creating significance frameworks for other jurisdictions like British Columbia, a separate study would have to be developed in the context of provincial heritage legislation and the unique history of gold mining in B.C. Furthermore, the California

and Carolina studies are based on decades of archaeological research on mining sites, and much more archaeological and archival work would have to be done in B.C. to produce a document of similar scope and detail.

British Columbia

In comparison to the United States and Australasia, very little archaeology has been conducted on the gold mining industry in British Columbia. Table 1 presents a brief timeline describing the historical context of gold rushes in British Columbia. A notable exception is the archaeological survey of Chinese mining settlements in the North Cariboo District near Barkerville as part of a Simon Fraser University archaeological field school in 1993 and 1994 (Hobler and Chen 1996; Chen 2001). The goal was to identify the regional distribution of Chinese communities and chart the chronological rise and fall of settlements in each area. Survey focused on seventeen creeks and rivers primarily in the Barkerville-Stanley area, resulting in identification of thirty-four Chinese sites, which were mapped and subject to surface collection of artifacts. Results indicated a settlement hierarchy of Chinese mining sites in each area, comprising four categories of site according to size, structure, and features: 1) large Chinatowns, 2) Chinese quarters in small towns, 3) mining camps, and 4) cabins.

In 1999 and 2000, archaeology was conducted at Fort Steele Heritage Town and Wild Horse Creek near Cranbrook that began in the 1860s as a gold mining settlements (Sauer 2000; Sauer and Pasacreta 2001). Focus was on the history of the communities, including a Chinatown and Chinese cemetery, with no explicit emphasis on gold mining or the lives of miners, although remains of mining ditches and cobble tailings are mentioned in the report.

One Chinese camp, possibly associated with railroad construction or mining along the Fraser River, was recorded at the mouth of Kwoiek Creek near Lytton, containing eleven rock-walled structures (Angelbeck and Hall 2008). Although only limited survey and testing were done at the site, it provides valuable comparative data for Chinese mining camps discovered elsewhere along the Fraser, including those at Browning's Flat and Mormon Bar.

Perhaps the most important study of placer mining sites in British Columbia is a recent survey of the Fraser River between Chilliwack and Quesnel, resulting in two published articles and a detailed series of maps identifying the location, approximate size, chronology, and type of mining technology used at each historic mine along this stretch of river (Kennedy 2009; Nelson and Kennedy 2012). Researchers also used archival data to reconstruct historic place names for many of these locations. This research provides a critical context for the current study, documenting the full range of sites in the area and identifying particular sites for further survey and evaluation, including the sites surveyed as part of the current study.

General

A central point arising from archaeological studies is that remains of mining activity should be viewed as cultural landscapes, rather than isolated sites, and that they are the product of complex overlapping occupations through time that need to be distinguished in order for the remains to be properly interpreted and evaluated (McGowan 2003; Caltrans 2008: 81; Lawrence and Davies 2011: 151; Botwick 2012: 80-82, 88). It is also important that archaeologists study the industrial and residential components of the mining landscape together rather than

separately, to gain a fuller picture of both work and domestic life (Caltrans 2008: 46-47; Praetzellis et al. 2008). Based on his work in Nevada, archaeologist Donald Hardesty coined the term "feature systems" to conceptualize the complex series of interrelated landscape features comprising the remains of many mining operations, a concept adopted by other archaeologists in the western U.S. (Caltrans 2008: 3, 81; Selverston and Hilton 2013).

Table 1. Putting British Columbia Gold Rushes in Context: A Timeline

Event	Year	Description
Pre-Contact Period		
Maritime Exploration	1778 – 1792	Russian, British, American, French, Portuguese, and Spanish vessels were present on the coast of Northwest North America, including Cook (1778), La Perouse (1786), Martine/Haro (1788), Hanna (1785), Quimper (1790), Vancouver (1792), Galiano/Valdez (1792), and Quadra (1792).
Maritime Fur Trade	1780s – 1840s	1780s to 1810s was the peak period of trade by British and Americans; the Russian-American Company and Hudson's Bay Company (HBCo.) competed against American traders to dominate the trade, they were successful by the 1840's.
Early Exploration by Land	1792 – 1811	Notable explorers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alexander Mackenzie (NWCo.) (1792-1793) • Lewis and Clarke (United States Gov't) (1804-1806) • Simon Fraser (NWCo.) (1808) • David Thompson (HBCo. NWCo.) (1808-1811)
Land-based Fur Trade began on the Pacific Coast	1811 – 1821	Notable fur-traders: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pacific Fur Company (1811/1812) • Northwest Company (1813) • Hudson's Bay Company (1821) - Amalgamated with NWCo. This led to early settlement in Hudson's Bay Company's Columbia Department (southern region)
Oregon Boundary Settlement	1846	United States takes possession of the HBCo. administered Columbia Department south of the 49th Parallel following on from joint British/American administration
Colony of Vancouver Island	1849 – 1859	Crown colony was created and leased to the HBCo. for ten years
California Gold Rush	1848/49 – 1855	Gold Rush establishes the definite possibilities of auriferous deposits west of the Rockies in North America's Pacific territories, and also sets the stage for discoveries in HBCo. administered departments
Precursory small-scale gold discoveries made on Vancouver Island and mainland HBCo. territory	1833 – 1857	Notable sites: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mission Ck. (Okanagan) (1833) • Queen Charlotte Islands (1850-51) • Deadman River (1852) • Colville (1855-56) • Nicoamen River (1855-57) <p>First Nations were pioneers in the prospecting and mining activities. Had the Gold Rush not occurred, the HBCo. saw them as partners in what would have evolved into a full-blown placer gold industry. As it was, they played an active and largely unrecognized role throughout the era.</p>
Fraser River Gold Rush	1857 – 1858	Following on a season's mining near Nicoamen River (lower tributary of the Thompson), miners with recovered gold were trickling out to the American Pacific Territories and California. By late winter/spring of 1858, a 'rush' of world-class proportions gathers momentum on the US Pacific coast, much of it in California. The San Francisco paddle-wheeled steamer 'Commodore' arrives in Fort Victoria's harbour in late April to discharge over 400 adventurers. This initiated the process that ultimately saw over 30,000 would-be miners and hangers-on land in British territory. <p>An analysis of government records and Fraser Corridor toponyms serves to recreate something of the cosmopolitan nature of the gold</p>

		<p>rush: English-speakers (English, American, Canadian, Australian, Scottish, Cornish, and Irish), Chinese, French, Aboriginal, Spanish, Portuguese, Western European, Italian, Eastern European, and Hawaiian. Numerous miners and individuals who were identified as American by virtue of having arrived from California are assumed to have merely transited through that state as a feature of the 1849 California Gold Rush and not to be American citizens.</p> <p>The vision of 30,000 plus miners and hangers-on milling around in the goldfields from Fort Langley to Mormon Bar/Lillooet derives from a few poorly formed assumptions. Unpublished research based on eyewitness accounts suggests a much lower number due to a very high degree of transience/outflow/turnover. Numbers on the goldfields at any point-in-time may have been as low as 5000 and certainly no higher than 10,000.</p> <p>Californians, the so-called old '49ers' anticipated a river that responded like the Sacramento, with a seasonality that saw low flows exposing auferous bars by early spring. Instead, the prospectors watched the Fraser's crest pass and the flows stay over the bars well into summer. Many ran quickly through their 'grubstakes' and were forced to retreat. The Gold Rush of 1858 wound down as winter approached and by the end of the mining season as few as 3000 may have over-wintered.</p> <p>In other regions, 'world class' gold rushes would also see in-rushing populations numbering in the thousands, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australia (Ballarat) (1851) • New Zealand (Central Otago) (1861) • California (1848/1849) • Yukon (Klondike) (1898) • South America (Brazil, Tierra del Fuego) (1884) • South Africa (Transvaal) (1886)
Establishment of informal towns and beginning of settlement process		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forts Langley, Hope, Yale, and Dalles (Lytton) • Boston Bar, Cayoosh (Lillooet) • Fountain
Arrival of the Columbia Detachment of the Royal Engineers	1858 – 1859	The Engineers arrived equipped with all the material and administrative 'tools' to establish and then 'operate' the new gold colony. In the history of the Colonial Office, British Columbia was a late creation and the routines were well established.
Beginnings of early transportation infrastructure		Harrison/Lillooet route (R.E) and pack trails created in the canyons of the Fraser
Creation of Colony of British Columbia	1859	New Westminster designated as colonial capital. As a port develops the new settlement becomes the entrepot for the Fraser Corridor. The haphazard Gold Rush (1858) camps/settlements (Hope, Yale, Fort Dallas (Lytton), Cayoosh Flat (Lillooet), Port Douglas and others on the Harrison Lillooet Road) are surveyed and laid out as formal townsites by the Royal Engineers
Second Fraser River Gold Rush	1859 – 1860	Prospectors/miners reach Quesnelle River. The acquired wisdom of the California Gold Rush of 1849 was that as one progressed up the Sacramento river and its tributaries toward the headwaters, the quantity of gold and size of the particles would increase. With this in mind, bands of 'pioneers' prospected further upriver with each season and as word of successes drifted back. Miners working claims in the Fraser's canyons would abandon paying claims to rush off in pursuit of greater and easier riches. Not a few returned to their old claims when they were disappointed. Gradually, claims and unworked/

		<p>unclaimed grounds on the lower river were being increasingly sold on or vacated. This was the pattern in 1859-62.</p> <p>By 1862, much of it was being worked by an increasing number of Chinese miners who been arriving on the river. Ultimately most of the work on the main stem of the Fraser was being performed by Aboriginal and Chinese placer miners. This pattern, with some exceptions, remained the rule until 1910.</p> <p>The middle Fraser also experienced some smaller rushes to the Bridge River and Cayoosh Creek tributaries.</p>
Third Fraser River Gold Rush	1860	Prospectors/ miners reach Cariboo Lake/ Keithley Creek
Royal Engineers layout Governor's Mule Trail through the lower canyons of the Fraser	1860	Trail was constructed by contractors
The annual Fraser Rushes morph into the Cariboo Gold Rush	1861	Prospectors/ miners cross the 'Bald Mountains' beyond Keithley Creek
Official Cariboo Gold Rush	1862 – 1865	Mining (as differentiated from the 'rush') continues to the present day
Chinese & Aboriginal Placer Miners Arrive		As the focus shifts to Cariboo and elsewhere, major activity continues on the Fraser's 'main stem', largely in the hands of Aboriginal and Chinese miners
Royal Engineers begin construction of Cariboo Wagon Road from Yale and Lillooet	1862 – 1864	Initially terminating at Soda Ck., the road was mostly built by contractors and sub-contractors
Other Placer Gold Rush Sites Beyond the Cariboo		<p>By 1900, not much of the province had not been prospected at some level. In addition to larger placer gold rush sites listed below, a 'sprinkling' of minor sites cover the province:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thompson River (1857-1870) • Big Bend (Columbia River) (1865-69) • Rock Creek (Kettle River) (1860) • Similkameen (Granite Creek) (1861) • Wild Horse Creek (Kootenay River) (1863) • Mission Creek (Okanagan) (1859-60) • Peace River (1861) • Omenica (1868/9-present) • Cassier/Stikine (1861-77) • Atlin (1898)
<p>After the Gold Rush</p> <p>The gold rushes are interlocking with the land settlement process although with much smaller numbers as the majority of the rushers quit the goldfields upon failing to achieve success; but some stay and take up land. The gold rushes are also accompanied by a significant number of people who are attracted by opportunities in infrastructural and supply services. In this fashion, British Columbia acquires a substantially larger non-aboriginal population than existed before the rushes.</p> <p>Unlike California, which has passionately embraced the 1849 Gold Rush as the major element in that state's foundation myth, the modern province of British Columbia displays a marked reluctance to do likewise with its own gold rush experiences dating to 1858.</p> <p>A rich archival document collection exists in wait of willing researchers, having had but limited attention to this time. Relics from the gold rushes include hundreds of kilometres of placer mining produced landscape features and considerable remnant elements of the original road systems that were constructed to ease transport to the goldfields. At this scale they rank in the forefront of world mining heritage.</p>		

Methodology for Evaluating Heritage Significance

Significance Frameworks

As part of this project, we have been asked to develop preliminary statements of significance for placer mining sites studied in this report and for the Fraser corridor as a whole. However, so little research has been done on placer mining landscapes in B.C. that it is difficult to begin discussing significance because we lack a detailed understanding of the range of sites and features present along the Fraser Corridor or elsewhere across the province and the importance various stakeholders place in them. There is an urgent need to document all aspects of mining heritage, both industrial and domestic, at all scales from small prospecting sites to large landscapes mined over decades, as practiced by miners of European, Asian, and First Nations heritage. In the meantime, results of the 2014 survey and consultations in combination with existing significance frameworks from B.C. and other jurisdictions offer useful guidance in developing a basis for evaluating local placer mining heritage in relation to Chinese Canadian history in British Columbia.

Outside of designated parks and historic sites most historic period archaeological remains in B.C. are not granted protection under the law, with the provincial Heritage Conservation Act only granting automatic protection to sites pre-dating 1846. However, there are at least four main circumstances in which post-1846 sites are subject to heritage assessments: 1) they are on land protected by municipal, provincial, or federal legislation or policy; 2) they fall under federal jurisdiction for development projects that trigger the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (CEAA); 3) they are found in direct

association with pre-1846 artifacts or features; 4) they are flagged as significant by local communities or other relevant stakeholders. Consequently, it is important to establish frameworks and criteria for evaluating the potential significance of post-1846 sites in B.C. for when such circumstances arise.

As part of its Archaeological Impact Assessment (AIA) Guidelines, the B.C. Archaeology Branch presents a list of criteria for evaluating post-contact archaeological sites with respect to their scientific, historic, public, ethnic, and economic significance, as well as their integrity and condition. Associated with each criterion is a series of questions to guide resource managers in determining whether a particular site has significance with respect to that category (https://www.for.gov.bc.ca/archaeology/docs/impact_assessment_guidelines/appendix_e.htm).

Likewise, in its guidelines for writing significance statements under the Local Government Act, the BC Heritage Branch defines a similar set of general heritage values that can be associated with a historic property: aesthetic, historic, scientific, cultural, social, and spiritual. They also offer examples of ways particular places can have heritage value (e.g., association with important people or events) and list a series of defining elements that can be cited to support these values, including architecture, character, historic context, location, materials, planning, quality, technology, use, and patina or historic evidence of use (<http://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/DownloadAsset?assetId=7B9A474CA0DD42B1BFFD29DA2C959953>).

There exists, therefore, at least two established frameworks for assessing or characterizing heritage significance in B.C. that can be used individually or in hybrid form in examining placer mining sites,

although they do overlap in most respects. The Archaeology Branch's guidelines also explicitly allow for other significance criteria and it is important in evaluating mining sites to include mining-specific criteria in any evaluation framework. Among these criteria should be the following: clear and discernible feature systems, significant size and/or complexity of feature systems, discrete evidence for multiple mining techniques or occupations, and presence of domestic artifacts and features. To the categories of scientific significance and integrity should also be added presence of site-specific archival sources and intact sub-surface deposits.

In its guidelines, the BC Heritage Branch notes that such statements should not establish a site's significance but simply outline heritage values local communities already associate with it and describe the character defining elements that exemplify these values. In contrast, heritage assessments administered by the Archaeology Branch under the Heritage Conservation Act seek to determine a site's significance using a set of predefined criteria regardless of whether or not it has existing value for local communities (although community value is among these criteria).

The challenge in this case is that most placer mining sites along the Fraser do not have previously articulated community values, and so a significant component of this study should be to work towards establishing a framework for defining potential significance. This process will include community consultation, but should also articulate with existing provincial standards for assessing significance. As a first step, we have adapted the Archaeology Branch's criteria along the lines discussed above, with a series of core themes/values each incorporating a series of related topics (Appendix 1). This table can be used to identify and tabulate heritage characteristics

for each mining site as a graphic means of displaying heritage values and establishing relative significance in a manner currently used by many professional archaeologists for pre-contact sites in the province. This tool can serve the purposes of both the Arch Branch's AIA process and the Heritage Branch's approach to statements of significance. To aid in this process, Appendix 2 lists important archival and field survey data necessary in making such determinations. Both appendices should be considered provisional and subject to revision, including incorporation of Heritage Branch and other criteria.

Also valuable in characterizing the significance of B.C. placer mining sites, both on a local and regional level and on an international level, are evaluation frameworks developed in the United States and elsewhere. For example, Caltrans (2008: 113) identifies six research themes relevant to historic mining sites, along with a series of questions associated with each. These themes are technology, historical ethnography and cultural history, ethnicity, women and family, economy, and policy, and they can be adapted to help develop a historical context in which to evaluate and interpret B.C. placer mining sites and identify the information potential they contain. The steps outlined by Caltrans in making significance evaluations are also valuable, as are their recommendations for categorizing mining sites based on complexity (Caltrans 2008: 169-176). More work needs to be done here in developing an interpretive and evaluation framework for placer mining sites in B.C. incorporating elements of provincial and international models.

Preliminary Significance Statements for Fraser Corridor Placer Mining Sites

Information contained in the prologue and consultation summary in this report point toward some subjective heritage values associated with B.C.'s placer mining landscapes. Drawing on criteria discussed in this section, the following points suggest additional elements of significance that should be considered. Based on our preliminary surveys, it is possible to come up with an overall subjective assessment of the potential significance of each of the three sites, although each should be subject to a more systematic evaluation using the criteria in Appendix 1. Browning's Flat appears to have high overall significance given its size, physical integrity, and the scale and diversity of mining artifacts and features that clearly document various mining processes, along with the existence of one or more mining camps associated with Chinese miners. It also has automatic protection under the HCA by virtue of the datable pre-contact lithic scatter located just downslope from the Chinese camp.

Mormon Bar is not as large in geographic extent as Browning's, but is more easily accessible for interpretive purposes and has remains of standing architecture and features, and extensive artifact scatters that testify to the domestic lives of miners. These artifacts and features indicate that some of this data relate to Chinese miners and extend from the 19th century well into the 20th. Thus, it provides a picture of the evolution of the mining landscape over the long term. The site is therefore also of high significance and complements data from Browning's rather than overlapping with it.

Foster's Bar is large in geographic extent, but has experienced recent mining activity that has damaged much of the historic landscape. Heritage features are

present in the form of ground sluices and the site is easily accessible, but there is little in the way of substantial tailings or domestic activity. Now, this site has not been surveyed completely but it can tentatively be categorized as of low to moderate significance. Of course, little archival work has been done at any of the three sites, and details from such sources could reflect the relative significance of each.

For the Fraser corridor as a whole, placer mining sites can potentially contribute to a number of historical themes at the local, regional, national, and international levels. Placer mining played a significant role in the settlement of the interior by European, Chinese, and other immigrant communities. The multiethnic nature of the mining industry can also contribute to understanding interethnic interaction and the development of multiculturalism in the province. Consumer goods and technological hardware documented on mining sites can help clarify merchant networks in the region. Furthermore, remains of the industrial process can contribute to understanding the evolution of the mining industry in terms of labour organization and technological innovation. Fraser River gold mining is an extension of gold rushes elsewhere in the Americas and worldwide and details from B.C. placer sites help tell the story of an industry with international ramifications. This is especially true given the grand scale of the local industry in global terms.

An important caveat is that this report does not constitute a full evaluation of any of the three sites examined in 2014 nor of the mining heritage of the Fraser Corridor as a whole. Any proposed development or ground-altering activity on these three sites or any other placer mining landscapes should be preceded by detailed impact assessments and significance evaluations to relevant standards.

Preliminary Fraser Corridor Survey

Introduction

In August 2014, researchers associated with the Fraser Corridor Heritage Landscape Project, led by Douglas Ross and Michael Kennedy, conducted a brief field survey of three historic placer mines along the Fraser River between Lytton and just north of Lillooet (Figure 2). These three locations were known historically as Browning's Flat, Mormon Bar, and Foster's Bar and were selected to capture some of the diversity in scale and heritage characteristics present on the hundreds similar mining landscapes located along the Fraser. The goal of these preliminary surveys was to gauge the integrity and range of preserved artifacts and features associated with these mines as a first step toward developing statements of significance for these sites and

for the placer mining heritage of the Fraser Corridor as a whole. In particular, these sites are intended as case studies to exemplify aspects of what is important and unique about this aspect of the heritage landscape and present examples of sites with varying kinds and degrees of heritage value.

All three sites are located on provincial Crown land and work was conducted under a Heritage Inspection Permit (No. 2014-0222) issued by the BC Archaeology Branch. Fieldwork consisted of judgemental pedestrian surveys of portions of all three sites, accompanied by digital photography and GPS coordinates of all artifacts and features encountered on the surface. No subsurface testing was conducted and all artifacts were left in place except for a small number of pre-contact lithic artifacts collected from Browning's



Figure 2. Map showing the locations of placer mines discussed in this report.

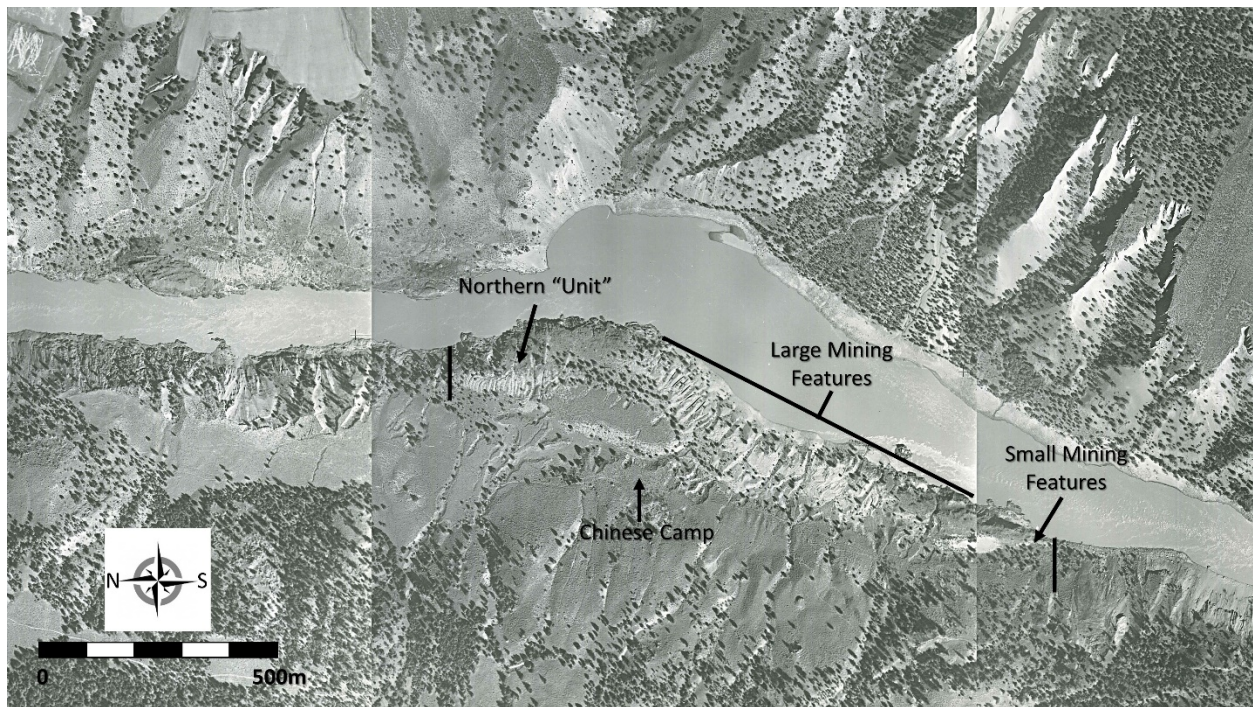


Figure 3. 1950 air photos of Browning's Flat showing locations of concentrations of mining features (unlabelled black bars denote approximate site boundaries).

Flat and a small quantity of historic artifacts associated with a cobble hearth at Mormon Bar.

Brief Summary of Findings

Browning's Flat

Browning's Flat is the largest of the three sites and is located on the west side of the Fraser River approximately midway between Lytton and Lillooet and is easily accessible only by boat. It extends for more than a kilometre on a series of terraces above the river and consists of a series of large and small mining features, a range of surface artifacts, a camp occupied by Chinese miners, and a pre-contact lithic scatter (Figure 3).

Beginning at the southern end of the mine, mining features include low piles of cobble tailings, a boulder undercut by removal of gold-bearing deposits, and a modern machine prospect pit (Figures 4 and

5). Also present are the remains of a possible dugout structure near the terrace edge, lined with cobbles in a u-shaped pattern. Adjacent to this feature is a metal washtub that has been modified for some other purpose, possibly related to mining or associated domestic activity (Figures 6 and 7).

Further north are the remains of one or more dendritic mines, a series of long linear cuts into gold-bearing deposits that join together in a central drain like the branches of a tree. The drains here are known as "bedrock drains" because miners had to cut through bedrock to create a channel to the river for tailings material (Figures 8-10).

In the central part of this mining landscape are a dozen or more sludge chutes comprised of linear piles of vertically stacked tailings cobbles with deep channels between them to allow waste water and sediment from mining activity to flow downslope to the river (Figure 11). These chutes are the largest and most visually

arresting mining features at Browning's, easily visible in aerial photographs and among the first thing encountered when approaching by boat.



Figure 4. Mined boulder on Browning's Flat (rod is 2m long).



Figure 5. Modern machine prospect pit on Browning's Flat.



Figure 6. U-shaped cobble feature on Browning's Flat (c. 2.9 x 4.5m interior).



Figure 7. Repurposed washtub on Browning's Flat adjacent to u-shaped cobble feature.

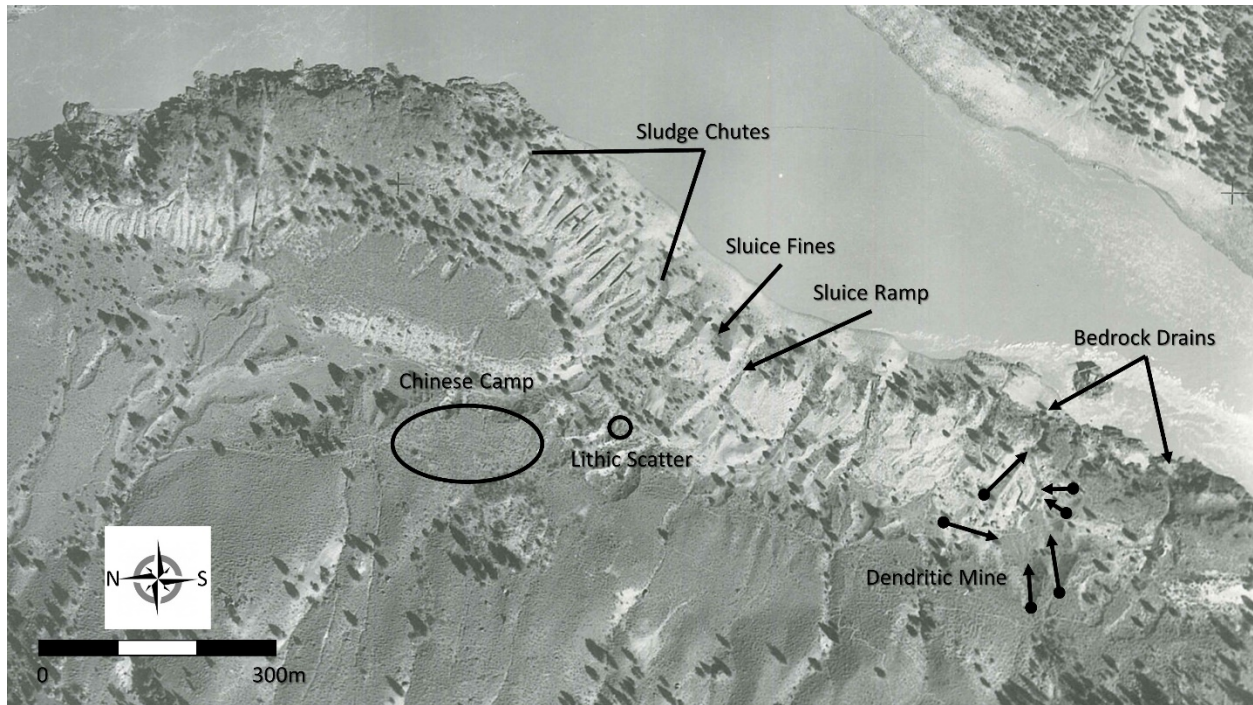


Figure 8. 1950 air photo of the central part of Browning's Flat showing the range of mining features present.



Figure 9. Portion of a dendritic mine on Browning's Flat.



Figure 10. Bedrock drain on Browning's Flat.

Directly south of the sludge chutes is a 65m long gently sloping linear pile of tailings cobbles that likely served as a ramp for a sluice box, a piece of equipment used for processing sediment to recover gold (Figure 12). Between this sluice ramp and the sludge chutes old the slope leading down to the river are two large conical piles of fine tailings likely the product of sluicing activity (Figure 13).

Scattered among the mining features are a number of surface artifacts, including metal cans (including those for condensed milk), a metal cup, a metal plate from a possible grizzly (used to separate coarse and fine sediment), and numerous Tenderflake and Fairbank lard pails (Figure 14). These artifacts, including the pails, were found in the industrial rather than domestic part of the



Figure 11. Cobble sludge chute on Browning's Flat.



Figure 12. Sluice ramp on Browning's Flat.



Figure 13. Conical pile of files tailings on Browning's Flat.



Figure 14. Chinese camp at Browning's Flat (facing N).

site and it is possible miners were reusing them for as yet unknown purposes.

Time did not allow the crew to document the northernmost part of Browning's flat in detail, however, photos indicate that this area was actively mined and contains substantial piles of linear tailings and perhaps other mining artifacts and features.

On a gently sloping terrace above the principal mining features in the northern third of the site is the remains of a camp likely occupied by Chinese miners (Figure 15). Its geographical extent is marked by a surface scatter of artifacts, including fragments of Chinese porcelain tableware and stoneware food containers, along with

remains of metal food cans, glass beverage bottles, and substantial remains of a cast iron stove (Figures 16 and 17). No clearly identifiable structural remains were visible, although near the northern end of the terrace is a roughly rectangular depression 7 to 7.5m on a side and 1.5m deep that could be the remains of a structure, residential or otherwise (Figure 18).

Southeast of the Chinese camp there is a surface scatter of pre-contact lithic flakes, including one identified projectile point, dating to the Plateau Horizon, c. 2400-1200 BP (Figure 19). This material is located on the terrace and slope immediately inland from the rear scarp of the mine (the



Figure 15. Surface artifacts in industrial areas of Browning's Flat (clockwise from top left): condensed milk can, grizzly plate, lard pail, cup.



Figure 16. Cast iron stove parts at the Chinese camp on Browning's Flat.



Figure 17. Surface artifacts from the Chinese camp at Browning's Flat.

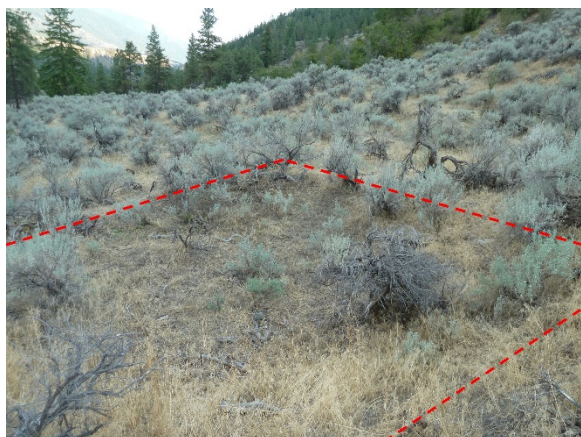


Figure 18. Depression at the Browning's Flat Chinese camp.



Figure 19. Pre-Contact lithics from Browning's Flat.

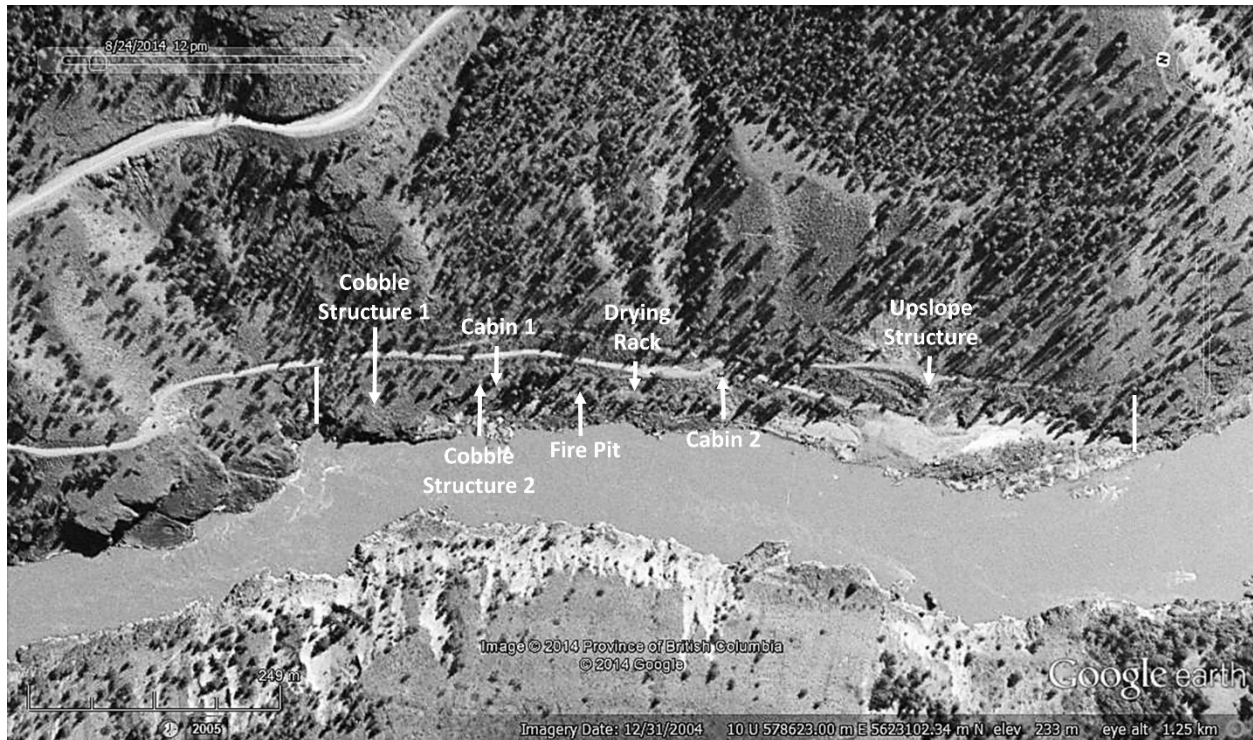


Figure 20. 2004 air photo of Mormon Bar showing mining and other features (unlabelled white bars denote approximate site boundaries).

leading edge of mining activity) and is actively eroding from the scarp edge. This surface material covers an area approximately 20m² or more and was partially disturbed by mining activity. These remains of a possible First Nations camp confirms the long-term use of this location along the river over thousands of years by multiple groups, and, because they pre-date 1846, grant automatic protection for Browning's Flat under the B.C. Heritage Conservation Act.

Mormon Bar

Mormon Bar is located on the "west" side of the river 10km north of Lillooet just outside of the Bridge River reserve and is easily accessible by vehicle. It is situated on a bend in the Fraser River and so is technically on the east side in this location. It is smaller in horizontal extent than Browning's but contains a large volume of

surface artifacts and a series of standing log cabins and cobble structures and features located on a narrow terrace just above the river (Figure 20).

At the northern (downstream) end of the site on a narrow level platform is a u-shaped cobble feature approximately 1.4m high with its "arms" facing downstream that was probably used as a hearth by Chinese miners (Figure 21). It closely resembles similar Chinese cobble features recorded by archaeologists in Montana and other western states (e.g., Merritt 2009), and likely sat outside one end of a canvas tent to heat the interior while not filling it with smoke. Its association with Chinese miners is supported by the presence of Chinese porcelain tableware fragments, along with a hatchet head, fragments of glass beverage and pharmaceutical bottles and other surface artifacts (Figure 22). Also found next to the feature were several pre-contact lithic flakes, which are not closely datable but pre-date

1846 and grant automatic legal protection to Mormon Bar under the Heritage Conservation Act.



Figure 21. U-shaped Chinese hearth at Mormon Bar (“Cobble Structure 1”).

Near this feature are several parallel rows of linear placer tailings, a low pile of fine tailings that could be from a rocker and a boulder undercut by removal of underlying sediment (Figure 23). In fact, the entire terrace is largely (and artificially) devoid of fine sediment, consisting largely of cobbles and boulders left behind following mining activity.

Further upstream (c. 100m) are two structures located side by side (c. 11m apart) with entrances facing the river, one built of cobbles and the other a log cabin. The cobble structure is low (1m tall) and roughly square (4m on a side) and was built into the slope at the rear of the terrace (Figure 24). There are remains of notched logs on top of the cobbles that may have formed part of a wooden roof, and this structure could have been used as a dwelling or for storage. The adjacent cabin, made of sawn and hewn logs with plank flooring and door/window framing and a gable-shaped sod roof, also abuts the slope at the rear of the terrace and is approximately 3.1m on a side and 1.5m tall (Figure 25). Downslope and in front of each of these two structures is a large scatter of surface artifacts, dominated by metal

cans. The dump in front of the cobble structure contains cans for things like meat, sardines, condensed milk, and tobacco, while the dump fronting the cabin contains similar cans but also fragments of beverage bottles, ceramic tableware, and footwear, along with fuel cans, a toothpaste tube, and several rifle cartridge casings (Figures 26 and 27). Dates from the bottles suggests that at least some of this material was discarded as late as the 1940s, although more work is required to confirm when the structures were built.



Figure 22. Surface artifacts associated with the U-shaped hearth at Mormon Bar, including Chinese ceramics.



Figure 23. Mining features near the U-shaped hearth at Mormon Bar (clockwise from top left): linear cobble tailings, possible rocker dump, mined boulder.



Figure 24. Cobble Structure 1 at Mormon Bar.



Figure 25. Cabin 1 at Mormon Bar.



Figure 26. Surface artifacts in front of Cobble Structure 2 at Mormon Bar.

Moving south, remains of a cobble fire pit were encountered, probably recent, along with a modern fish drying rack actively in use (Figures 28 and 29). Beyond the drying rack are remains of two more log structures, one a cabin and the other likely used for storage. The cabin (6.4 by 3.9m in horizontal dimensions) was built into the slope at the rear of the terrace on a cobble

platform, and consists of sawn and hewn logs with plank flooring and door/window framing but now missing its roof (Figure 30). The possible storage structure (1.8 by 2.8m in horizontal dimensions and 1m tall) is located 5.5m downslope from the cabin and was built of similar materials and is also partly dug into a slope with a door facing the



Figure 27. Surface artifacts in front of Cabin 1 at Mormon Bar.

river, but is less substantial and has a plank roof of what looks like reused materials (Figure 31). Downslope from these structures and extending upstream and down is an extensive can dump that also contains fragmentary bottles and other artifacts, including remains of a small shovel possibly used in recovering gold-bearing deposits

from beneath an adjacent boulder (Figure 32). One dated bottle was manufactured in 1957, indicating that the cabin was likely occupied as late as the 1950s, but the original construction date is not clear based on current evidence.

The southernmost surviving structure at Mormon Bar is a collapsed timber



Figure 28. Modern fire pit at Mormon Bar.



Figure 29. Modern fish-drying rack at Mormon Bar.



Figure 30. Cabin 2 at Mormon Bar.



Figure 31. Storage structure in front of Cabin 2 at Mormon Bar.



Figure 32. Surface artifacts associated with Cabin 2 at Mormon Bar.





Figure 32 continued.



Figure 33. Upslope mining structure at Mormon Bar.

building and associated can dump upslope from the access road that was likely connected with 20th century mining activity, although it was not examined in detail (Figure 33).

Foster's Bar

Foster's Bar is located on the east side of the river approximately 2.5km north of Browning's Flat and is accessible by vehicle. It is large in horizontal extent and contains some historic placer mining features, but has been subject to intermittent mining activity up to the present and much of the heritage landscape has been disturbed (Figures 34 and 35).

Most of the current mining activity is

concentrated on a low terrace immediately above the river, which has erased part of the rear scarp from earlier mining activity and likely other mining artifacts and features (Figure 36). However, on a higher terrace are remains of a series of linear ground sluices created by using water to erode parts of the terrace edge and direct the resulting sediment into a sluicing system to recover the gold (Figure 37). This site was not surveyed in detail and access to southern portions of Foster's Bar was restricted, so there may be additional traces of historic placer mining as yet undocumented.

In sum, all three sites exhibit evidence of historic mining activity, with Browning's Flat possessing extensive and visually impressive piles of cobble tailings

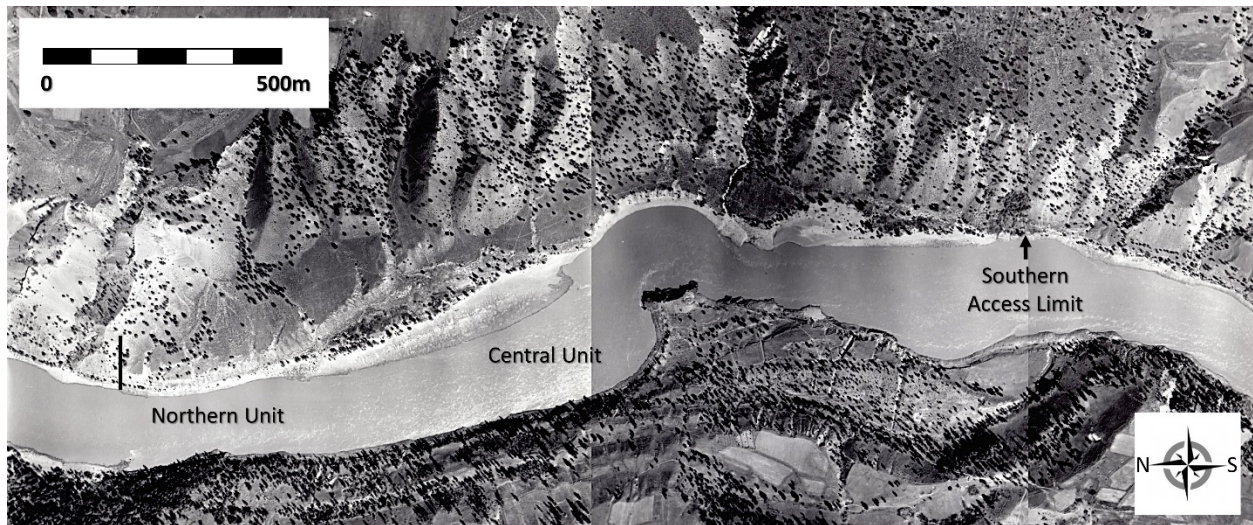


Figure 34. 1950 air photo of Foster's Bar showing major areas of mining activity (unlabelled black bar indicates approximate northern limit of site).

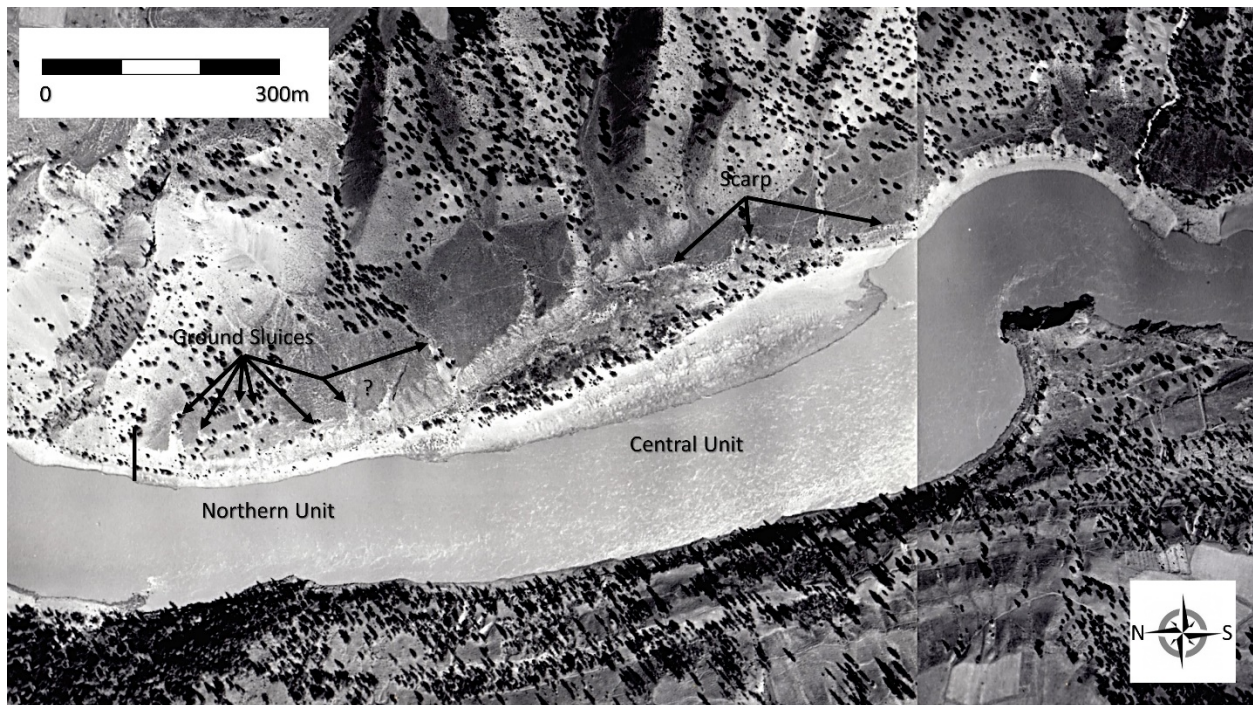


Figure 35. Historic mining features visible in 1950 air photo of Foster's Bar.

and numerous other mining features covering a large horizontal area, plus the remains of one or more miners' camps and a pre-contact camp site as much as two thousand years old. Mormon Bar exhibits fewer large-scale mining features, but has clear evidence of placer mining throughout and has the remains of a number of standing

wooden and cobble structures plus extensive artifact deposits on the surface associated with each. Foster's Bar has experienced ongoing mining activity and has fewer surviving heritage features, but remains an impressive cultural landscape that exhibits long term use as a placer mine for over a century and a half.



Figure 36. Modern placer mining at Foster's Bar with evidence of historic mining on upper terrace in background.



Figure 37. Historic ground sluices at Foster's Bar.

Summary of Community Consultations and Next Steps

Subsequent to the preliminary Fraser Corridor survey, the FCHLP team held two community consultation sessions in October 2014. The first session took place in Vancouver, B.C. with the Chinese Canadian Historical Society of B.C. (CCHSBC) board members. The second session involved a dinner and presentation hosted in partnership with Christine Brown (Manager, Lands and Natural Resources Department) and John Haugen (Councillor) of the Lytton First Nation who invited members of their community and many guests to learn about FCHLP. A third community consultation with members of the Bridge River First Nation (Xwisten) is being planned for the Spring of 2015 in consultation with Gerald Michel (Land and Resources Coordinator and Xwisten Councillor).

Approximately sixty people attended the Lytton community consultation and it was very well received. There is a strong interest amongst Lytton administration as well as the community in terms of documenting and preserving the history of Chinese Canadian sites along the Fraser Corridor.

The CCHSBC board emphasized the importance of continuing to disseminate research and stories from the preliminary field survey, in ways that are meaningful and accessible to the general public. It is committed to supporting the FCHLP team's goals regarding the development of educational resources and conducting more public outreach beyond the survey. This would include developing a strategy to sustain and support the *Cedar-Bamboo Fraser River Rafting Expedition*.

Cedar-Bamboo Fraser River Rafting Expedition

The communities we have consulted with have also responded enthusiastically to the *Cedar-Bamboo Fraser River Rafting Expedition* that was held in conjunction with the preliminary field survey from August 22 to 24, 2014. Organized and facilitated by FCHLP Project Assistant and Community Liaison Sarah Ling, the expedition took place between Lillooet and Yale.

Knowledge keepers John Haugen (Nlaka'pamux) from the Lytton Nation and Elder Larry Grant (Musqueam-Chinese) from the Musqueam Nation participated in the rafting expedition, sharing stories and historical context along the way as participants witnessed integral parts of Chinese Canadian and First Nations history in B.C. Both Haugen and Grant brought a young member of their family on the trip with them. Participants on the raft expedition were guided through Browning's Flat by the field survey team, which shared historical and archaeological insight. Haugen also guided the participants through Van Winkle Flat, highlighting both Chinese Canadian pictographs at the site, and First Nations petroglyphs along the river. They also enjoyed incredible views as they rafted and camped along the Corridor, and experienced the renowned white rapids of Hell's Gate and Sailor's Bar.

For future rafting expeditions, we would like to create a platform for involving more members of the Lytton and surrounding communities in the rafting expedition. We are hoping to create a subsidized-cost model specifically to support and encourage both local First Nations and Chinese Canadian youth to participate in the expedition and learn more about their heritage.

Further Dialogue and Partnerships

While we, members of the FCHLP team, raised interest and awareness of Chinese Canadian mining history, and



Figure 38. “Fraser Corridor Heritage Landscape Project: A Showcase of Old Chinese Mining Sites in Lytton Territory” on October 10, 2014.

addressed questions specific to early Chinese Canadian-First Nations relations in B.C., this is just the beginning of the meaningful and ethical community consultation we need to conduct in order to continue and strengthen our work. To respectfully engage and converse with advisors and other community members from our current stakeholders, we need to coordinate further gatherings to share our work back to these communities, and discuss potential partnerships as the project expands. One type of partnership we could develop is working with First Nations communities along the Corridor and organizations such as the Aboriginal Tourism Association of B.C., to enhance their cultural heritage and tourism initiatives.

From our preliminary consultations, we think that members of the broader

Chinese-Canadian and First Nations communities, and the general public, will find the history of early Chinese mining sites in B.C. and the rich intercultural stories that accompany this history interesting and worth protecting for future generations. Many people from these communities and the general public do not know how to recognize the sites. Accordingly, the FCHLP is playing a vital role in raising awareness of the existence and value of many Chinese Canadian historical sites along the Corridor.

Educational Resource Development

In the next phase of the project, we will create short films and supporting lesson plans and educational resources that highlight the many contributions of early Chinese-Canadians to B.C. heritage. We will

enter into documented agreements with the following community groups for consultation on the development and distribution of these learning resources targeting K-12 students:

- Chinese Canadian Historical Society of B.C.
- Bridge River Indian Band
- Musqueam Indian Band
- School District No. 74 (Gold Trail)
- UBC/ SFU Chinese Canadian Stories project.

Project Summary and Next Steps

This preliminary study of historic mining sites along the Fraser River corridor is the first step towards creating a better understanding of the Chinese Canadian history along the Fraser River Corridor in British Columbia. The pilot study incorporates knowledge from multiple sources of information, including geographical and archaeological data, historical documents, as well as input collected from community consultations held in Fall 2014 with Chinese Canadian and First Nations representatives.

This report is the initial product of a two-stage process. The analysis within this report has determined the larger heritage significance of historical placer mining sites with strong Chinese Canadian connections along the Fraser Corridor. A number of exemplary sites have been chosen to illustrate in detail the range of the types of such sites along the Fraser River. These examples are not meant to be comprehensive nor are they representative of all the kinds of sites that exist; they are meant as illustrations and as heuristic devices that show how we might interpret the heritage significance and development potential of any particular site within the geographic and historic parameters identified in this study.

Looking forward, the next step of this project will use the knowledge produced about these sites as part of a pilot project to expand and promote knowledge about them more widely. We hope that initial conversations and consultations with several First Nations along the Fraser River upon whose territory key sites are located, as well as with other key stakeholders, will lead to pilot agreements to explore how to develop and enhance these sites in terms of creating public education resources that enhance and promote wider awareness and knowledge about the important value of historic placer

mining and Chinese Canadian sites along the Fraser Corridor. Additional consultations with stakeholders, including First Nations and local historians and collectors will be coordinated in Spring 2015. Initial agreements between stakeholders will be confirmed by the end of spring 2015 and the implementation of the pilot projects by the end of 2015.

Our next steps will also involve further development of the significance assessment framework. Additional research focusing on water management systems associated with placer mining, which often extend for many kilometres along the river and sometimes serviced multiple mines, and one or more small prospect sites will aid in expanding our coverage of the range of mining sites along the Fraser.

Based upon the findings of this study, consultations with community stakeholders are substantive expressions of the value that they have already placed upon some of the sites identified in our report. Many of the community members expressed a passionate belief that these sites are worthy of recognition, appreciation, and enhancement, as well as further research and analysis. Many individual sites along the Fraser will likely have value not only for recognition as well as further research and analysis, but potentially also for conservation, development, and enhancement as destination sites for visitation and appreciation.

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Appendix 1: Recording Log for Fraser Corridor Mining Sites and Landscapes

Site Information

1. **Name(s):**
2. **Location/Coordinates:**
3. **Dates Mined:**
4. **Date Surveyed/Recorded:**
5. **Current Ownership:**
6. **Current Claims/Tenure:**
7. **Values Checklist:**

Aesthetic Values	Yes	No	Insufficient Data	Comments
Good typical example of a common structure or device				
Limited natural or cultural disturbance				
Original location				
Original surface structure and materials				
Presence of intact subsurface deposits				
Representative of a particular architectural style or pattern				
Cultural/Social Values				
Commonly acknowledged landmark				
Contribution to a sense of continuity or identity				
Current visitation by tourists, local residents, or school groups				
Ease of interpretation				
Positive community attitude toward preservation or development				
Protection against vandalism				
Proximity to established recreation areas				
Reasonable visitor travel costs				
Representative or unique				
Sense of a different historical time and place				
Traditional, social, or religious importance to a particular group				
Visible and accessible				
Visitors willing to pay				

Historic Values				
Association with a significant figure, group, organization, or institution				
Association with a significant individual event				
Association with a significant recurring event				
Association with settlement, land use or other cultural development				
Feasible reconstruction, restoration and maintenance				
Scientific Values				
Contributions to the disciplines of archaeology or history				
Contributions to other disciplines or industry				
Site-specific archival sources				
Mining-Specific Criteria:				
Clear and discernible feature systems				
Evidence of multiple mining techniques or occupations				
Presence of domestic artifacts and features				
Significant size and/or complexity of feature systems				
Spiritual Values*				
Ceremonial or spiritual site				
Evidence of burial or cemetery				

***Note:** In the context of this assessment, the term *spiritual values* applies to those values which fall outside of Section 4 Agreements under the Heritage Conservation Act.

Appendix 2:

Proposed List of Archival and Archaeological Data Necessary in Evaluating Historic Placer Mining Sites in BC

1. Historic Site Name(s)
2. Geographic Location
3. Owners/Operators
4. Dates of Operation
5. Type(s) of Mining Practiced
6. Present Ownership and Uses
7. Previous Documentation
8. Site-Specific Archival Sources
9. Current Fieldwork Dates
10. Field Crew
11. Survey Strategy
12. Site Size
13. Environmental Context
14. Archaeological Remains
 - i) Mining Infrastructure
 - a) Prospection
 - b) Water Conveyance
 - c) Topography
 - d) Channels/Ditches
 - e) Tailings
 - f) Diagnostic Surface Hardware
 - g) Subsurface Industrial Deposits
 - ii) Habitation
 - a) Domestic Structures
 - b) Domestic Features
 - c) Domestic Artifact Deposits
 - d) Domestic Landscapes
 - iii) Ancillary Facilities
 - a) Structures
 - b) Transportation
 - c) Utilities
15. Multiple Sequential Occupations
16. Adjacent/Overlapping Operations
17. Ethnic Affiliation
18. Site Disturbance
 - i) Looting
 - ii) Land Development
 - iii) Recent Mining Activity
 - iv) Environmental
19. Diagnostic Artifacts
20. Additional Details

ENDNOTES

ⁱ In Patricia Roy's introduction to *A White Man's Province* (1989), she notes about British Columbians referring to "white" British Columbians and following their own definitions of belonging that did not include First Nations, Chinese, Japanese or other non-whites in the category of "British Columbian": "...there is no doubt that they were racists who believed in 'making invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races.' In many respects their concept of 'a white man's province' reflected the notions of white supremacy then common throughout the western world..." (p. viii). The term white supremacy appears in the title of Timothy Stanley's *Contesting White Supremacy School Segregation, Anti-Racism, and the Making of Chinese Canadian* (2011), and is also cited in Constance Backhouse's *Colour Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950* (1999).