SECTION IV.
OBJECTS FOR EXHIBIT, INTERPRETIVE CONTEXT, AND SUGGESTED TEXT

The Sonoma County Museum holds in public trust approximately 35,000 items (SCM Board of Trustees 2000:10). One of its most important and extensive collections includes photographs, artifacts, textiles, documents, and artwork bequeathed to the Museum by Song Wong Bourbeau in 1995. Song was the last remaining resident of Santa Rosa's former Chinatown, which used to stand near the section of Santa Rosa Creek that today flows under City Hall. The assemblage consists of family heirlooms and other household items, objects from a restaurant (in business for over a century), and artifacts from the local Chinese temple. The Song Wong Bourbeau Collection of 238 objects invite us to experience a vital part of our common past while highlighting ethnic identity and cultural history.

Our history as a nation is relatively short in years, which should make it easier for most of us to realize that we are a product of the past. Exposing the social institutions, beliefs, and lifeways of our diverse cultural heritage is the mission of history museums. That calls for elaborating on the way a community lives, works, plays, relates to one another, organizes to meet their needs and cope with daily living, along with recognizing their norms, values, and beliefs (King 2002:12). When an exhibit is specific to one affected community an effort needs to be made to involve them in the project. As this research proceeds, it will seek support and information from the Chinese American community. A draft manuscript will be presented to representatives of the Redwood Empire Chinese Association [RECA] and the Chinese Historical Society of America [CHSA] for their input. The relationship that follows allows for the elicitation of their ideas as to the theme of this display, and to emphasize that this is only a "model" for an

exhibit--the actual development of a plan for an exhibit ought to be in their hands. As museologist Scott Kratz (2004:54) said: "People who may be close to the original manufacture, use, or original understanding of a particular work of art should be consulted."

This exhibit concentrates on the Chinese Americans living in Sonoma County from approximately 1860 to the 1950s. It is told, in part, by unraveling the origins and use of cultural artifacts from the collection of Song Wong Bourbeau. Song was born into Santa Rosa's most prominent Chinese American family in 1909. Song's maternal grandfather, Poy Jam (1857-1957), opened the first Chinese restaurant in Santa Rosa, ca. 1877. Her father, Tom Wing Wong moved to Santa Rosa sometime before 1890. He was a merchant, labor contractor, caretaker of the temple, and purveyor of a boarding-house—he was known as "mayor." Song's Great Uncle, Ah Moon (1868-1937), worked in Glen Ellen as a winemaker, brandy distiller, and cellar boss at the old Chauvet winery before moving to Santa Rosa and becoming a bartender and steward for the Santa Rosa Elk's Club. Gaye LeBaron (1994) referred to Ah Moon as, "One of the best-known Chinese in Sonoma County." Song's Uncle Charlie Quong Sing also had a store and was the recognized leader of Chinatown's social set according to the *Press Democrat* 3 February 1905. Song's half brothers were also storekeepers in Santa Rosa's Chinatown; and another one, Bok Wong, had a washhouse on Second and D streets. She also had relatives living in Sebastopol.

Song was a luminary figure in our county having been an active participant in her family's restaurant business, Jam Kee, from her earliest days to its closure in 1988. Song was well known for her extreme generosity, public service, and business acumen and

received awards to honor her achievements. So respected was she that her funeral—with an anticipated overflowing attendance--was held at the Santa Rosa Veteran's Memorial Building.

The SCM has embraced the overarching theme of "a sense of place" as its organizing principle for its displays, with the goal of "connecting Sonoma County's rich history with contemporary artistic and cultural currents" (Konicek 2002:1; Eric Stanley, personal communication 2005). This idea comes from the observation that nearly all events in the history of the county relate in some measure to its "physicality." This model exhibit will demonstrate the influence of the land on the lives of Chinese immigrants. Displays will highlight an entire array of cultural resources: cultural landscapes, archaeological sites, historical records, social institutions, expressive culture, old buildings, religious beliefs and practices, industrial heritage, folklife, artifacts, spiritual places (King 2002:1). It will strive to incorporate the suggestion of museologist, Robert A. Baron (1996:203), who emphasizes the need for exhibits to deliver a sense of the issues that caused the protagonists to act and how they responded to their own past.

Public interpretation of history is not neutral in its message--it is thus an opportunity to convey tolerance for a plurality of perspectives and lived experiences in a respectful and verifiable manner. Because archaeology is the humanistic and scientific study of past lifeways or cultural heritage in material objects, it offers a high degree of objectivity through verifiable documentary evidence and ethnographic perspectives. Grounded in historical context and consideration of the archaeological literature, this investigative project endeavors to deliver as objective a study as possible. But choices alone in projected themes and subject material are clearly subjective. Speaking to

museum professionals, Ron Chew (2004:43), executive director of the Wing Luke Asia Museum in Seattle, said: "With our knowledge, we have the ability to awaken consciousness, deepen understanding, and enrich the public dialogue."

As keepers of the past, public museums are a public trust and are expected to defend an authoritative history. Public history presentations must impart authentic accounts of the past, but they must also reach a general audience. Having an array of stories that are authoritative, succinct, entertaining, and animated holds the promise of connecting to people's intellect and emotions, the cornerstone of awareness and positive social change. According to the most authoritative of public historians, Edwin Cole Bearss (2004:55), whether it's inside museums or outside on public tours, stories are most effective when "lively, fast moving, relevant, and site associated."

The techniques used to interpret exhibit items (which have been photographed and incorporated in this section) include: excerpts of oral histories, relevant autobiographies, poetry, and primary and secondary source material. These are used as supportive texts selected for the Chinese American voice. When written records are combined with family heirlooms and archaeological artifacts, vivid interpretations are made possible. Although oral histories are not always verifiable, they are nonetheless important to the people telling the story. A person's perspective gives witness to their culture's identity and the greater society in which they lived. Since historical analysis and archaeological interpretations are, to a degree, ambiguous—as it is impossible to know all aspects of the past--viewers to a museum should share this opportunity for fascinating reflections on the past and meaning in the exhibit. Indeed, as Barbara J. Little (2002:12) argues, "Citizens must be in a position to judge those stories for themselves."

This requires an interpretive plan whose style, content, and format of information available encourages involvement for all ages. As museum specialist Helen Reese Leahy (2003:5) suggests, such a plan would use new resources that would include: "an expanded system of textual interpretation."

There has been a debate in museum circles over the values, objectives, and effectiveness of art as the focal medium versus nature or history. This collection has many fine art pieces, and the display uses literary art in the form of prose and poetry; moreover, this representation of art is historically important. As art historian Paula Young Lee (1996:13) suggests, I attempt to merge the two instead of trying to escape "the critical tension between certainty and skepticism." This is an innovative approach, but, as Lee (1996:13) maintains: "The museum might be said to represent a socially embedded process through which paradigms become intelligible and acceptable—or not."

Interspersed in this section highlighting the SWB collection are recommendations for continuing the theme of Chinese American heritage through gift, purchase, and loan. The recommendations are in accordance with the goals of the Sonoma County Museum Plan (AMS Planning and Research 2002:III-2 and 11) and its long-term Sonoma history exhibition. Furthermore, this model exhibit features discussion on the connection between landscape and history, adhering to the concept of "Where Land meets Art."

The SCM envisions the expansion of its facility to include a variety of galleries and related spaces. The History Galleries, and consequently this investigative project to the extent possible, is designed for a variety of presentations organized around seven categories: (1) Picturing Sonoma-- selected photographs; (2) Sonoma History Timeline-- Images, Objects, and Oral Histories in an Interactive Setting Using Video Monitors; (3)

Sonoma Visionaries--Material Culture and Interpretive Text Displays; (4) Faces of Sonoma--Pictorial Gallery of County Inhabitants Across Time and Space (in the future this may be--Using Interactive Video Technology; (5) Sonoma Living Treasures--Contributions of Specific People in the Community Identified; (6) Competing Dreams--Land Use and Allocation Over Time and Space; and (7) Telecom Valley Today and Yesterday--Contribution to Science, Technology and Industry" (AMS Planning and Research 2002).

I will proceed now in catalogue fashion with a selection of objects from the Song Wong Bourbeau Collection. Complementary collections belonging to the SCM are also included, as are suggested objects to temporarily obtain by loan agreement. This portion will demonstrate the usefulness of supplementing history exhibits such as this with archaeological artifacts. It is sometimes necessary to elaborate on the text I have chosen for a particular object(s), this will be noted by the insertion of an asterisk * before the statement of edification and appear like footnotes after the object and text. An image of the object will be inserted above the objects accession number and descriptive nomenclature, or titled in the case of photographs. Selected photographs provide us with a visual history of the Chinese Americans where they worked and lived, as well as illustrate some of the earliest examples of the use of photography by this community. A text will follow these photographs and images of objects and will be either a mini-essay or creative narrative. An occasional "sidebar" offers the visitor a little more information pertinent to the subject. Borrowing from an exhibit currently on display at the Wing Luke Asia Museum in Seattle (Winter 2005), I suggest the title for this exhibit be "One Song—Many Voices.

ONE SONG—MANY VOICES

AN EXHIBITION FEATURING THE SONG WONG BOURBEAU COLLECTION OF CHINESE AMERICAN HERITAGE

Main Entrance—Photographs of Song Wong Bourbeau and Her Family

50 who shaped our century

Song Wong Bourbeau

Lived: 1909-1996
Legacy: A prolific philanthropist in small ways throughout her long life, whose greatest gift was sharing her memories and her family treasures as a permanent reminder of Santa Rosa's vanished Chinatown

Santa Rosa's Chinese community was squeezed into a small but bustling block of shacks and wooden sidewalks on Second Street between Santa Rosa Avenue and D Street when Song Wong Bourbeau was born in 1909.

Figure 1. Newspaper, Song Wong Bourbeau profile *Press Democrat*, 2000

* The text most appropriate for display alongside the several images of Song from childhood to late adulthood has previously been published. *The Press Democrat* ended the year 2000 with a special edition to the newspaper honoring the 50 most outstanding individuals from Sonoma County who shaped our century; among those distinguished was Song Wong Bourbeau. Displaying an enlarged reproduction of the paper's profile on Song adds stature to the overall exhibit while acknowledging her proper status.

Figure 2. 95.17.25a—Photograph, Tom Wing family portrait, ca. 1917

Song is eight years old in this family portrait. Sitting next to Song is her mother, Lun Moon Wing, who holds Song's baby brother, Harry, on her lap. Between Song's mother and father, Tom Wing Wong, who is also seated, stands Tom Wing's son, Bok, from a previous marriage. Bok's son stands next to his grandfather.

Figure 3. 95.17.13a—Photograph, young Song at the Santa Rosa Creek

> My mother cooked for the men. We had gardens in the back yards and we grew our own food. There was an apple dryer attached to the house. We raised chickens. I remember going down to the creek to catch fish and turtles. The water was clean and clear, cleaner than the water out of our faucets now. And we'd pick herbs that grew along the creek bank. We knew right where to go. We even grew tobacco in the back. My mother and I would roll cigarettes in that thin rice paper until our fingers were sore (Song Wong Bourbeau quoted in LeBaron 1994 [*Press Democrat* 20 November]).

Sidebar on Santa Rosa Creek

In its first forty years, the town used the creek as its sewer until a lawsuit by a downstream hop rancher resulted in the creation of a septic system which, in 1902, was considered a model for California cities. A 1900 ordinance to prevent Levin's Tannery from polluting the creek was the city's first zoning law (Gaye LeBaron 2005 [*The Press Democrat* 16 January]).

Figure 4. 95.17.5a—Photograph, Song, ca. 1920s, Santa Rosa's dilapidated Chinatown

Santa Rosa's Chinatown, a block of board sidewalks and wooden buildings on Second Street between Santa Rosa Avenue and D Street has been gone for 60 years (sic). It disappeared, piece by piece, in the 30s and 40s as the property sold to businesses that razed the faded wooden structures to build tractor showrooms and auto repair shops. Where Chinatown was, there is now a city parking garage, bank and office buildings along the urban alley known as the Comstock Mall (LeBaron 1994 [*Press Democrat* 20 November]).

Figure 5. Photograph, wedding portrait of Charles and Song Wong Bourbeau

> I think one very private part of her life she never shared with anybody, except possibly Charles, was what it meant to be a Chinese woman growing, living, and working in a very white and male Santa Rosa community . . . And the struggles, stereotypes, and challenges she faced. She and Charles wed twice secretly because there were laws prohibiting marriages between whites and Chinese. It was only in 1953, when the laws had finally been repealed, that they could finally openly wed. She was a radical before we even knew what the term meant (Anonymous narrative, SCM archives).


Figure 6. 95.17.27a--Song in the Third Street Jam Kee Restaurant

Song's maternal grandfather, Poy Jam, opened the first Chinese restaurant in Santa Rosa, Jam Kee, on Second and D streets in 1877. Historical research suggests that

Poy Jam's restaurant may have been a partnership initially. Song and her husband, Charles, inherited the restaurant in 1957. Below are objects from the restaurant.

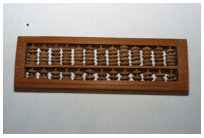


Figure 7. 95.58.6—Abacus

Figure 8. 95.58.17—Menu

Figure 9. 95.58.65c—Wok

Figure 10. 95.58.66d--Strainer

Figure 11. 95.58.66b--Spatula

Figure 12. 95.58.66c—Ladle

Figure 13. 95.17.69a—Photograph, Poy Jam, chef and owner of the Jam Kee restaurant

Poy Jam was born August 9, 1857 in Canton, China and died March 23, 1957 at the age of 99. He worked for the MJB Coffee Company of San Francisco, and for C. A. Wright before establishing Jam Kee restaurant in Santa Rosa in 1877.

Figure 14. 95.17.59a—Photograph, portrait of Poy Jam as a teenager

This is an undated portrait of Song's maternal grandfather, Poy Jam, as a teenager taken by the Toy and Bond Company of Oakland. Several factors suggest that the Toy and Bond Company may have been a Chinese owned business: the lack of reference in the Oakland city directories or the listing of California Photographers 1852-1920 typifies a pattern of exclusion of anything Chinese, the inclusion of the Chinese name Toy in the Company name, the fact that Oakland's Chinatown was located on Webster Street (Ma 2000:44), and Anthony Lee's (2001) compelling research that reveals the presence of numerous Chinese photographers in nearby San Francisco.

Lee (2001:32) explains that the first images of San Francisco's Chinatown appeared around 1856 with the large influx of photographers into the city. The Chinese clientele

took advantage of the opportunity to have a portrait taken. Although relatively expensive, the sitter received multiple copies, of which one could be sent home to China, and the others could circulate as a sort of social currency among family, friends, business associates, and acquaintance. Lee (2001:32) argues that portraits of some early Chinese spoke of their desires for the "manners and belongings of the non-Chinese" as a means of attaining a certain respectability.

Moreover, and quite remarkably, Lee (2001:29) accounted for nearly a dozen Chinese photographers among the early portraitists in San Francisco: "from Ka Chau in the 1850s to the more famous Lai Yong (who claimed to be a painter as well as a photographer, though no paintings survive) in the late 1860s to early 1880s to Wai Cheu Hin in the 1890s." Furthermore, according to Lee (2001:29), "from the majority of works that survive, the Chinese photographer's portrait styles did not differ from those of his non-Chinese competitors."

* Marcia Eymann, photography curator in the History Department of the Oakland Museum of California, dates the photo at around 1895 (personal communication December 2004). The Museum has one photo in the collection by the same studio that is identified as "Mr. Capwell and Chinese servant" and shows a small boy, which shows a well-dressed Chinese man posed next to a table.

<u>Sidebar on Chinese Restaurants and Markets in Santa Rosa</u>

Santa Rosa's Chinatown on Second Street had one Chinese restaurant—Jam Kee established in 1877—until On Chong's opened sometime between 1900 and 1910, followed by the China Café that opened in 1937. In 1941, the Yee's opened the Twin Dragons bar and restaurant on the southwest corner of Third and D streets. Rose and

Harry Lee opened the Chinese Kitchen restaurant on Mendocino Avenue in 1957. In 2005, there are seven Chinese restaurants in Santa Rosa listed in the phone directory (and several unlisted), and across America almost three times as many Chinese restaurants than McDonald's franchises (Jen 2005). The growth of Chinese-owned meat markets in the 1920s and 30s helped to establish more restaurants and eventually the proliferation of supermarkets. The Wing's Diamond Meat Market was located on Fourth Street where the downtown mall is today. The largest Chinese owned supermarket is in Santa Rosa--G & G founded in 1964 by Gee Kai Gong; there is now another location in Petaluma.

Temple Display

Figure 15. 95.58.141a-c—Incense burner

Figure 16. 95.58.143a-c--Close-up

Figure 17. 95.58.143—Vase, altar

Figure 18. 95.58.150—Bell

Figure 19. 95.58.146-147—Incense burner, candles, sticks

"Joss" is "China Coast" English or "pidgin English" derived from Portuguese in reference to Chinese gods (Bolton 2004:179-186). Hence the terms "joss house" for a temple and "joss stick" for incense. The incense burner 95.58.141a-c is adorned with a lion-dog, a symbol for blessings, and engraved with a message that reads: 16 people together gift the incense burner (Frances Lok, personal communication 2005).

Spiritual practice was a combination of Buddhism and Taoism with Confucian ethics. It was customary for a person to visit a temple as an individual rather than as part of a congregation, coming with an offering of incense and paper offerings to symbolically burn. Money, clothing, or questions on pieces of paper were common objects used in the offerings to be burned. Temples also provided social services where one might be able to find lodging. Song's merchant father was the caretaker of the temple and also ran a boardinghouse.

* According to archaeologist Priscilla Wegars (personal communication 2005), vases for sacred bouquets on a temple altar from the Song Wong Bourbeau Collection were wrongly accessioned as incense burners (95.58.144-146). Wegars explains that these are part of a five piece Chinese altar set for a temple or association altar, which is called a *wu-kung*. The altar is set placing the objects in a straight line parallel to the altar with the incense burner (a much larger vessel) sitting in the middle, with a candle holder (pricket-type, for non-burning "everlasting" candles) on either side and a vase on either side of that. Note the maker's mark on the inside of the top portion of the altar vase, (figure 19, 95.58.146), comprised of four characters. The translation in Mandarin (pinyin) of the four characters reads top to bottom, right to left: Chou (a popular family name); Chuan (means power, right); Long (means prosperity); Zao (means make)

([Translation courtesy of Grace Yang, University of Idaho] Wegars, personal communication 2005).


Figure 20. 95.58.74--Temple altar cloth

This altar cloth commemorates the dead—the calligraphy reads: "Go to heaven for a new life" (Chinese Cultural Center of San Francisco, personal communication March 11, 2005). Song (Bourbeau 1994) spoke of the temple, the altar cloth, and her experiences in an oral interview with Gaye LeBaron saying:

> We lived next door to where there was a Chinese temple, and my father was in charge of it. There wasn't a minister. The Chinese community would visit it and use it in traditional fashion, especially on the first of the month and the fifteenth of the month. I would help my father; we had to put chickens and oranges and food there for those who wanted to pray. It was customary for a person to go in and get down on their knees and pray in front of the altar. The beautiful altar cloth came from China. I'm glad to have saved it. At holiday time we hung it outside and other times it was inside (Song Wong Bourbeau 1994).

Children in Chinatown


Figure 21. 95.17.14 --Photograph, little girls in Chinatown

A little girl never questioned the commands of Mother and Father, unless prepared to receive painful consequences. She never addressed an older person by name -- it was always Older Brother, Oldest Sister, Second Older Sister, Third Older Sister (she had died at one month without a name, but still she held a place in the family), and Fourth Older Sister. Only her mother and father, or their generation of uncles and aunts, addressed them as Blessing from Heaven, Jade Swallow, Jade Lotus, or Jade Ornament. In short, a little girl was never casual with her elders. (Excerpted from the autobiography *Fifth Chinese Daughter*, 1950, courtesy of Jade Snow Wong).

Figure 22. 95.17.28a--Photograph, Daisy Wong

Figure 23. 95.17.68a--Photograph, Bessie Wong

Many Chinese adopted some measure of American style clothing. A few, who showed their willingness to acculturate, were duly noted in the press. The *Santa Rosa Republican* on 1 October 1885 saw fit to make a reference to a "genuine Chinese dude" in town all dapper with his cane and glasses. The *Santa Rosa Daily Democrat* on 27 October 1888 reported on the extent of Chinese acculturation as they saw it claiming that "a fellow named Mahoney, Sonoma County's only thoroughly Americanized Chinaman, put out a meat market fire in Guerneville, for which the merchants gave him a reward."

95.58.142--Slippers for bound feet (photograph unavailable).

These slippers for bound feet belonged to Song Wong Bourbeau's grandmother. The 1,000 year long oppressive practice of foot binding ended in 1911. The role of

women in Chinese society dictated that a woman have bound feet, for it was believed an achievement of beauty. It was widely accepted, and millions of women are said to have experienced the painful custom (Jackson 1997:24). If implemented, women were considered more desirable, eligible for marriage, and of a higher status; and undoubtedly submissive to the authority of men.

Chinese women here in America were liberated from this bondage and from customary social constraints for several reasons, as Judy Yung (1999:4) asserts: (1) back in China a strong nationalism and women's emancipation movement raised their consciousness for social and political change here; (2) the intervention of Protestant missionary women during the Progressive movement provided an alternatives to Chinese prostitution; (3) economic opportunities beginning in the 1920s and through World War II emerged providing new jobs to previously housebound women; (4) the acculturating effects of public education, social organizations, and popular culture; and (5) a more favorable view of Chinese Americans through their participation during labor shortages concurrent with World War II and because of China's stance as allies to the United States.

Racism Recedes from the Mainstream

World War II was a turning point for acceptance of Chinese in America. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt repealed the Chinese Exclusion Law on December 17, 1943. Though it gave the right of naturalization to be U. S. citizens to Chinese, it set a quota on the number that could enter the country. A vocal Chinese American citizenry were successful in lobbying for liberalizing the law to allow wives of American servicemen to immigrate. Since then females have been the most numerous of Chinese

immigrants, ushering in the change from a bachelor society to a family-based society (Lui 2004:22).

Instability in the Far East after the war incited a second large migration from China and a wave of Chinese saw America as an opportunity, despite its racist immigration policy. Six decades of exclusionary laws had caused a proliferation of fraudulent claims of acceptable immigration status. The American government, faced with the world watching and claiming "freedom" for its citizens, recognized its discriminatory anti-Chinese legislation of the past and, with leniency, enacted a "confession program" to readjust an individuals immigration status. Many Chinese reassumed their former identity without negative consequences and successfully requested immigration entry for family members abroad. The confession program and the quotas ended with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965--no longer was race, religion, or national origin the bases for entry into the country. With each passing decade since then, racism against Chinese Americans has receded while opportunities escalate.

Shiwan Ceramics

Figure 24. 95.58.12—Ceramic, figurine

Figure 25. 95.58.14—Ceramic. Figurine

Skilled Shiwan artisans produced art pottery figurines, or in Cantonese *gungjai*, such as these valued for their detailed modeling and colorful glazes. Shiwan sculpture held wide appeal in the late Qing and early Republican period. It was particularly appealing to the emigrants from that province who made their way to California. The local artistic tradition of using waste materials, everything from rust from watch springs to tiny mirrors found on textiles, when fired in their simple kilns created a variety of unique color to the glaze. In order to produce a wide range of human character and emotion, flesh areas were left unglazed. The details of the hands can vary and are thus distinguished by name—*jie shou,* if swiftly made by the use of a knife blade line; and *cuo shou,* if the hands and fingers were molded (Scollard 1994:20).

These earthenware figurines were popular household keepsakes, but Jam Kee restaurant displayed a variety for sale. As historian Gunther Barth (1971:181) explains, "Very few Chinese artists appeared in California although *objects d'art* were in vogue from the beginning of the contact." By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, China became a more widespread curiosity and quite in fashion for Euro-Americans. The Boxer Rebellion and the Japanese-American War and the U. S. conquest in the Philippines further piqued the interest of young American men for things Asian. Inexpensive replicas of older varieties of Mud Men are available today by Shiwan manufacturing in South China, in Kwangtung Province. In this family collection, there are 12 figurines depicting men, commonly known as "Mud Men;" although rare, there are four figurines depicting women. It is difficult to date Shiwan pottery because of the rise of fakes produced and discovered in the 1950s. Even during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many had fake maker's marks (Scollard and Bartholomew 1994:21).

The former district of Shiwan, known as *Shekwan* in Cantonese, now part of the city of Foshan near Guangzhou in Southern China, has exported earthenware dating back to the Song dynasty (Liu 1994:10). Most of the ceramics were utilitarian household wares such as pots, vases, and wine containers. Shiwan was the center for an array of crafts and settlers brought over furnishings for their temples from bronze bells to statues and altar necessities. At its height, over 300,000 were employed in handicraft arts and crafts including: "weaving, cast iron, bronze, fabric dyeing, sculpture and pottery, copperware, tinware, brassware, silverware, wood carving, limestone carving, stone carving, paper cutting, painting, and papier-mache" (Scollard 1994:17).

* Additional examples may be available for loan from the Chinese Culture Centre of San Francisco [CCC]. In 1994, CCC had an exhibition devoted entirely to displaying Shiwan ceramics. Lenders to that exhibition included J. M. A, Ozorio from Santa Rosa (Scollard and Bartholomew 1994:7).

Figure 26. 95.58.70—Vase, scene decoration

Figure 27. 95.58.70—Vase, calligraphy

Some sculptured vases have calligraphy of a rebuse (local saying), or poetic verse such as this that reads: the moon moving and the shadow of a flower moves; and with the moon, the precious lady is coming (Frances Lok, personal communication 2005).

Figure 28. 95.58.3c—Doll, boy figure

Figure 29. 95.58.3b—Doll, girl figure

These dolls depicting children appear to be made of clay and papier mache. A picture or dolls of a boy and a girl bring protection, luck, and happiness; the pair is commonly known as *Da A Fu* (Sung 2002:46). Shiwan potters were familiar with the local theater actors, which were often a subject of Chinese opera dolls (not shown).

* SWB Collection of dolls includes eight soft body types, four depicting children (two boys and two girls), and four opera dolls.

Figure 30. 95.58.5a-b—Porcelain, figurines

Shiwan crafts people also perfected the art of porcelain, although examples are quite rare. These figurines appear to have been produced by the Dehua porcelain factories in Fujian (Scollard and Bartholomew 1994:33 and 88). The two figures depict Quan Yin, goddess of Mercy. Full of compassionate kindness, she is believed to hear the prayers of every living soul. Quan Yin is often depicted with water flowing from a vase that is considered holy and with rice grains as a sign of fertility and sustenance.

Figure 31. SCM Anderson Coll.—Vase

Figure 32. SCM Anderson Coll.—Vase, bottom

Sidebar on the Chinese Practice of Producing Replicas

The characters on the bottom of the vase read: made in the prosperous year of 1600-1700 (Frances Lok, personal communication 2005); is it an original?

In Shiwan, during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, economic conditions were so terrible that some potters faced starvation. At this time, many pieces

were stamped with fake marks of famous potters; this may be an example. Alexander Stille (2002), in *The Future of the Past,* explains China's long history of producing replicas of art and artifacts with government approval. Even the impressive army of terra-cotta soldiers protecting the Emperor's tomb in Lintong was reproduced to look as if it had just been carefully excavated. China is unique in its appreciation of copies. Living by the precept that their material culture will not last forever, students learn to replicate as a sign of respect to the original artisan. The attitude is in stark contrast to the Western view of conservation--make the work: recognizable, reversible, and compatible.

Stille (2002:65) tells us that in China there are local museums where "copies and original pieces are intermingled without any indication." From books to monuments, collective work through time is valued over individual genius. Western notions of authenticity, individual expression, art conservation, and cultural resources management may usher in a new way of thinking in China of how to preserve the richness of their past.

Carved Ivory Artwork

Figure 33. 95.58.16g—
Ivory, horse

Figure 34. 95.58.16f--
Ivory, turtle

Figure 35. 95.58.16a
Ivory, monkeys

Figure 36. 95.58.16k—Ivory, deer

Figure 37. 95.58.16h—Ivory, 6 men in dragon boat

Figure 38. 95.58.16(m)—Ivory, warrior

Figure 39. 95.58.16(h)—Ivory, God of Longevity

Song's collection of 14 carved ivory figurines exemplifies the Chinese cultural belief in auspicious motifs to bring blessings. The God of Longevity (Shou Xing) has a distinguishing forehead, smiling face, dragon-headed staff, and the peach of immortality in one hand (Scollard and Barthalomew 1994:36 and 105; Liu 2002:107). Blessings, wealth, and longevity are the three principle wishes; but a warrior may bring peace and harmony; a deer, prosperity; a horse, quickness; a turtle, longevity; and a monkey, prosperity. The dragon protects and brings good fortune; when it is depicted as a boat on

the seas and with six people (numbers are symbolic too), it is a wish for "everything in life flowing smoothly" (Liu 2002:53 and 83).

Textiles

Figure 40. 95.58.73—Hat, children's dragon

Figure 41. 95.58.72a--Screen,wood, fabric

A dragon motif in a child's hat will protect and bring good luck. The landscape on fabric has many meanings: the clouds, when repeated, mean eternal good luck. Chinese culture takes great pleasure in the many homophones in the language such as cloud (yun) and luck (yun); likewise, chrysanthemum (ju) sounds similar to forever (jiu). Evergreen trees are symbolic for longevity as well. Peach blossoms signify springtime and beauty. (Liu 2002:112,127,145).

Chinese Gaming

Figure 42. SWB Coll. No number. Game—Chinese *pai-gow*

The history of Chinese gambling in the United States has been well established in contemporary chronicles and through archaeological excavations. Archaeologists Flynn and Roop found deposits of gaming artifacts in nearly every corner of San Jose, California's Market Street Chinatown, except near tenements and the center of commerce (Camp 2004:15). An excavation of a feature associated with a gambling facility in San Bernardino's Chinatown in 2001 revealed over 3,000 gambling related items (Costello 2004:16). Archaeologists recovered *zhu* pieces (used in a game that is similar to the Japanese *go*), domino-type tiles (*kwat p'di*), and non-currency metal coins. Bingo and Keno have their origins in these Chinese games. Besides the *pai-gow* game shown above, the SWB collection has a fortune telling set with 84 joy sticks (95.58.134).

Pai-gow was a popular pastime and continues to provide entertainment today. It is generally played with eight people and a dealer. It begins with a set of 32 domino "cards" divided in two sections. Cards are divided up in pairs depending on the array of dots displayed, the "civil" side gets 22 cards and the "military" side gets 10 cards. Eight stacks of four cards each are placed in front of the dealer, who then tosses the dice to see who goes first. Each player has their own four cards and discreetly divides them into two pairs. The aim is to hold the highest score possible with each set. Bets are made at this point and must be done before the dealer quickly plays his hand (Ma 2000:50).

The game *Mah Johg* was a favorite among Cantonese laborers in America (Chang 2000:12); members of the local organization Redwood Empire Chinese Association still regularly engage in the game. Song (Bourbeau 1994) recalled the social gaming scene in Santa Rosa when she was growing up: "In the winter time, when there's no work they'd start to have *fan-t'an* and all the lotteries, and everything going, all the little shacks . . .

and each little place they had a little dominos. They all took turns to have their little dominos and *Mah Johg* games."

Fan-t'an is played using a copper-coin that had little monetary value or round, white buttons. The coin has a hole in the middle convenient for stringing many together. It is also imprinted with the name of the reigning dynasty and could be use for gambling if it was not stamped with the name of the present emperor (Ma 2000:49).

Historian L. Eve Armentrout Ma (2000:49) explains the object of *fan-t'an*:

> The object of the game in *fan-t'an* is to determine whether or not a random handful of coins (or button) can be divided into four equal piles; or if not, in which of the four numbered piles the last coin will fall. The coins are placed in the piles by a game-keeper. The latter picks up a handful of the coins, places them in the center of a square, then moves them one at a time to consecutive piles numbered one to four, starting over again with the first pile after he has placed a coin in the last one.

<u>The Chinese Lottery</u>

The Chinese Lottery was popular in Chinatowns across America from about 1870 through the 1930s. Oakland was one of only a few primary centers for the activity ((Ma 2000:52). The game begins by selecting 20 or less characters from a card displaying 80 characters, which are taken from a morals and etiquette Chinese textbook for schoolchildren. This is an excerpt of Song Wong Bourbeau [SWB] remembering the lotteries in Santa Rosa's Chinatown with Gaye LeBaron [GLB] (Bourbeau 1994):

> SWB: They had a regular Chinese lottery. And a lottery . . . it's like . . . I guess you call it the beginner Chinese, its all words, they're not numbers. In fact, the first word is God, the first word in the lottery ticket. And you go up and down, you read it up and down, you don't go sideways.
> GLB: How did they pick the numbers?
> SWB: With four bowls. There are 80 words, each word means something. They play the lottery like superstition. Somebody's birthday, well they go and play. In fact, my name's on there. If they want to play, like . . . it's going to rain. It's superstition, they play by hunches.
> GLB: When they choose what words, how do they choose?

SWB: The four bowls. They take those 80 words and they stir them up. They put them in the four bowls and they pick. And they have dice and they roll the dice and whatever bowl that comes out of they take those bowls and those are the ones that are the winners.
GLB: How much money were we talking about Song? If you went down to Chinatown and played the lottery and all my words came up, how much would you win?
SWB: At first it was only about a hundred dollars that they could win. But, as time went on, well, it was more. In fact, there were two or three lotteries.
GLB: Would people come from outside Chinatown to play?
SWB: They were mostly Chinese people, who played it, but once and awhile a Caucasian would come in and play a 10-cent ticket, but they have to win all nine numbers to win a big amount of money. It would be 90 dollars anyways; they wouldn't get very much, but, they'd have regulars that go and play.

Sidebar: The Roll of the Restaurant in Chinese Gaming and Lotteries

A gaming establishment often kept a cook on hand to prepare meals free of charge for the gamers. The gaming house, however, recouped such operating expenses by collecting seven percent of the money placed in bet (Ma 2000: 49-50). Chinese gaming and lotteries were a boon for the restaurant business because it was customary courtesy for a winner to invite friends, family, or fellow workers out to dinner. Moreover, it was common for gaming establishments to operate either in the back or upstairs' rooms of a restaurant or nearby business and pay rent to do so. A lottery house would sell tickets, as did independent solicitors who circulated Chinatown restaurants and various businesses. Men and women both enjoyed playing the lottery, which might take place as often as twice daily (Ma 2000:49-50).

"Destiny Beckons"- Basket (photograph unavailable)

Babies are sweet and simple, and yet full of unknown potential. Some traditional Chinese parents would try to see into their baby's destiny. They would arrange herbs and symbols around a large, flat basket like this one. The baby was placed in the center and allowed to choose their own direction. The symbolic items that the baby showed interest in were thought to give indications about the child's future. This particular basket was used in just such a ceremony (Sonoma County Museum 1994 Chinese Exhibit drawer).

Newly Translated Calligraphy on SWB Collection Objects

Figure 43. 95.58.147—Kettle, tea

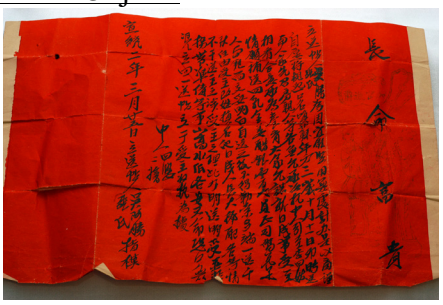


Figure 44. 95.58.139b—Document, red paper

The two Chinese characters on this kettle read "fragrant water." The document on red paper is an official adoption paper for a three-year old child from China, son of Ng Sing and Cheung. It is written in the parent's hand and signed by a witness dated 1909-1910, three years before San Yat-sin. It specifies that there be no further contact with the witness or the biological parents (Frances Lok, personal communication January 2005).

OTHER SCM COLLECTIONS TO DISPLAY ALONGSIDE SWB COLLECTION

Chinese Musical Instruments

Figure 45. Drum, SCM (Collection Unidentified).

* This painted drum from the SCM was on display at a previous exhibition of a portion of the SWB collection in 1994 alongside the following instruments that were on loan: Chinese two-string, bowed instrument, or "ur-hu," George Yu Collection; Chinese flutes, or "dishe, George Yu Collection; Painted rattle, Lou Dana Collection.

Sidebar: Background Chinese Music by Professor Liu Zhenyu

The traditional music of China is played on a number of different instruments, which are subdivided into categories according to how the sound is produced –- either by blowing, plucking, or bowing. Professor Zhenyu is an accomplished musician. His mastery on the six instruments can be heard in this recording. Professor Zhenyu takes the liberty of embellishing some of the tunes he plays with more Westernized scales and techniques. He truly bridges cultures to make beautiful, extraordinary music. His greatest facility is with the traditional lute or Pipa.

The history of the Pipa dates back 2,300 years. It is played upright at a slight angle, as it rests on one side of the upper lap. The Pipa has four strings along the course of a fretted neck. The left-hand fingers push a string down at a given fret to change the melody, as the right hand either plucks or tremolos the same string or strums or tremolos two or more accompanying strings. The effect can be quite similar to mandolin techniques, Spanish flamenco guitar, or North American bluegrass banjo techniques. The execution of the left hand at times is reminiscent of blues guitar with its slides and bending of notes. According to J. A. Van Aalst (1996:84), "Chinese melodies are never definitely major nor minor; they are constantly floating between the two."

Professor Zhenyu plays the bamboo flute or Di (a replica of a pre-historic bone flute), the two-string fiddle or Erhu, the clay flute or Xun, the seven-string zither or Qin, and the vertical flute or Xiao. The Xun is a tiny round flute, a "closed pipe" having the same hole for an inlet and outlet of air. This type of instrument dates back to the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-184 A.D.). It stands straight and tall and produces a lonely, haunting sound. The Qin is also from this time period, about 2,000 years ago. This instrument is played rested on a table about waist high in front of a seated musician. The musician then slides from one note into the next or plucks single, double, or triplet notes; the right hand strums like a dulcimer player would or plucks the strings. The songs played on the Di tend to have a lilt to them similar to a variety of Celtic music, from airs to jigs and reels. The Erhu is bowed at the base of its neck and is about 28 inches long; it is played rested upright on one's lap. The people of northern Mongolia adopted this instrument.

> The subject matter conveyed through these instruments are many -- one folk tune may be about spicy food, lots of chili peppers; another about the Hunan River. A tune played on the Erhu may recall a "nice evening" like New Year's Eve. The theme for another tune may be reminiscent of driving cattle across the Gobi Desert. The "Song of Harvest" is about a parent's happiness. A tune entitled "A Herdsman on Horseback" sounds remarkably like a western cowboy tune. Other tunes tell the story of a woman buying something to beautify herself.

Immigration and Citizenship

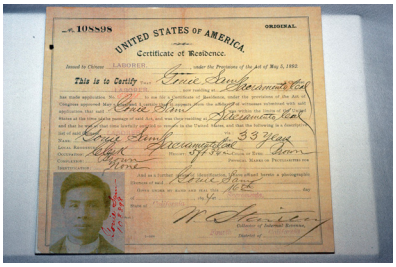


Figure 46. Document, SCM Lok Coll. Figure 47 Document, SCM Coll. Unaccessioned

Between 1852 and 1890 California's population grew faster than anytime in its history. The Chinese immigrant was instrumental in the growth of this new market economy. In 1852, the number of Chinese in California rose to about 25,000. Concentrated in the mining regions and in San Francisco, they were now by far the largest of the foreign minorities. By1870, California was home to nearly 50,000 Chinese, by 1890, there were over 72,000, but by 1900 the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and its extension in 1892 had caused a rapid decline in their numbers. Congressman Thomas Geary, resident of Sonoma County, drafted the extension of the Exclusion Act of 1892. This extended the law, which prohibited Chinese from entering the United State, for another 10 years and mandated the need for proof of residence for all Chinese living in the United States. Legislated discrimination continued for decades; it wasn't until 1943 that Chinese immigrants were allowed to become naturalized citizens, and thus had the right to vote, own property, testify in court, or hold public office despite paying taxes and contributing significantly to the state and national economy.

For over 60 years, until 1943, immigrants from China were limited to certain classes; in the process many relied on loopholes in the law and devised means to enter under fraudulent pretenses. Merchants were allowed to enter, those in this category often would claim they had a new born son or daughter, which would allow a relative from China to immigrate at a later date under a false name. Speaking of her family's immigration experiences Song said, "They all used each other's papers when they came from China" (LeBaron 20 November 1994). Judy Yung's (1999:11) historical research allowed her to make the astonishing claim that: "Based on a number of sources, I estimate that 90 percent of the Chinese immigrants were fraudulent, 25 percent failed the

interrogation, and 70 to 80 percent of those ordered debarred managed to enter the United States by appealing their cases in federal court."

* Figure 47 are Idaho immigration papers, the history of the family members of which is well known by archaeologist Priscilla Wegars of the Asian American Comparative Collection at the University of Idaho. She has requested this document and any other comparable documents to preserve the cultural heritage in its rightful place.

Angel Island

Between 1910 and 1940 approximately 175,000 Chinese immigrants were detained on Angel Island, about 350 at any given time. They awaited medical examinations and immigration papers to be approved before they could step ashore. This port of entry also detained those waiting for a ship to depart for the homeland. In the first two decades, this waiting period on Angel Island lasted months; by the mid-1920s, the lingering lasted for two or three weeks (Lai et al. 1991:20). Many inscribed poetry on building walls that expressed their feelings and impressions of their voyage—here are two translated by Him Mark Lai and Genny Lim (Lai et al. 1991:40 and 64).

Instead of remaining a citizen of China, I
willingly became an ox.
I intended to come to America to earn a
living.
The Western styled buildings are lofty, but I
have not the luck to live in them.
How was anyone to know that my dwelling place would be a prison?

The male eagle is also easy to tame.
One must be able to bend before one can
stretch.
China experienced calamities for a thousand
years.
Confucius was surrounded in Chen for seven
days.

Great men exhibit quality,
Scholars take pride in being themselves.
Gains and losses are entangled in my bosom.
My restlessness is a sign of self-illumination.

Opium Pipe and Water Pipe

Figure 48. 84.3.74—Pipe, tobacco

Figure 49. 84.3.75—Pipe, bowl for opium

British companies seeking a market for the opium they grew in India introduced opium smoking to China. As much as China protested and tried prohibition, China could not stem the incoming tide of this substance, nor prevail in the Opium Wars that ensued. The use of opium by the Overseas Chinese was similar to alcohol use among Europeans in the West; it was used socially, and the gift of opium was a common custom and a sign of courtesy (Bockhorst 2003). Indeed, opium paraphernalia is nearly ubiquitous in any archaeological site associated with the Chinese. It is important to note that Chinese water pipes used for tobacco are frequently inaccurately associated with opium smoking (Wegars 2004:20). Opium was shipped in small, thin, single sheets of brass, rectangular in shape and stamped with the brand name on the lid (Felton 1984:64-67; Praetzellis, personal communication 2005). Song (Bourbeau 1994) remembers how the opium would arrive from China in these little cans - the black tar like substance was routinely shipped over in pound quantities, she said, " . . . just like you'd ship a dozen eggs or any thing."

Although opium for smoking was never produced in the United States, it was

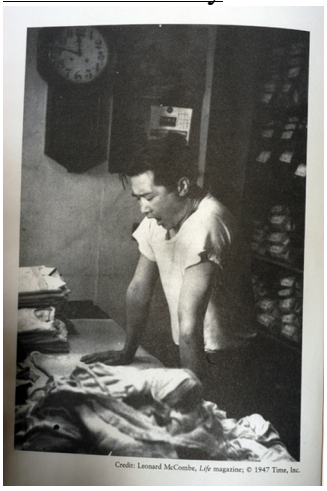
widely used here in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Whites were legally permitted to import opium (until 1909) and to sell it to the Chinese, who were prohibited from importing it (Wegars 2004:19). According to historian David T. Courtwright (2001:54), "During the Civil War nearly 10,000,000 opium pills and over 2,841,000 ounces of other opium powders and tinctures were issued to Union forces alone."

Opium smoking did tend to attract some members of different ethnic groups to opium dens within Chinatowns throughout the West. In 1875, San Francisco passed the first anti-drug law in the United States, a city ordinance forbidding whites to smoke opium or visit opium dens. Smoking opium was prohibited in the United States in 1909. Here in Santa Rosa, the activity continued without much criticism according to long time resident and past city council member and mayor (1951-55) Larry Zuur (1999). He recalled the different cultures that mingled within the city limits in the early 1920s:

> Down on Second Street where, as kids, we'd buy our fire-crackers for the Fourth of July, there were opium dens down there, and we'd go in there. There were a bunch. Guys would be lying out three bunks high all over the place. Chinatown was perhaps two blocks long in those days. There was no commotion about it, because they were quiet enough.

SUGGESTED DISPLAY OBJECTS TO ACQUIRE BY LOAN AGREEMENT

<u>Chinese Laundry</u>



Credit: Leonard McCombe, *Life* magazine; © 1947 Time, Inc.

Figure 50. Laundry Worker, Leonard McCombe, Life Magazine; © 1947 Time, Inc

In 1880, Chinese operated laundries accounted for 80 percent of the entire states laundry workers (Felton et al. 1984:12). The low level of initial capital necessary to start a laundry business allowed Chinese to participate in the otherwise mostly limited entrepreneurial opportunities for them at the time. Laundry work was a common occupation for Chinese men in the United States, which developed out of competitive necessity.

Song Wong remembered the laundries in Chinatown in an oral history interview with Gaye LeBaron (Bourbeau 1994):

> SWB: And then they tore my brother's laundry down and built a house there on the corner of D and Second streets.
> GLB: What was the name of your brother's laundry?
> SWB: He didn't have a name for the laundry, but his name was Bok. He's in the family picture that they have here. But, you know, there were no dryers in those days you know; they hung everything outside - up on strung wires all over. I don't know how they did dry the clothes in the wintertime. In fact, he was saying that he was the largest packing laundry there was.
> GLB: And Caucasians brought their laundry there?
> SWB: Yes. And then there was a laundry some relatives had, seeing my brother doing so well. Over there where the Topaz Room was, there was a laundry there.
> GLB: Right on the plaza.
> SWB: Yes, so, they were the two Chinese laundries.

Examples of Chinese Silk Goods and Frolic Items from the Mendocino County Museum

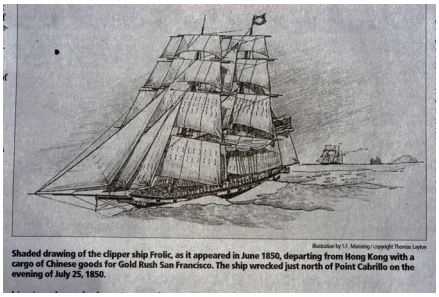


Figure 51. Illustration by S. F. Manning, copyright Thomas Layton

In 1850, American clipper ship, Frolic, sailed the seas between India and China with cargos of opium. On its voyage back it headed for San Francisco loaded with silks,

ceramics, a prefabricated house, and thousands of bottles of Edinburgh ale—cargo to soothe the desires of Gold Rush Californians. The story of the Frolic shipwreck reached Major Isaac Sullivan, an early settler in the mid 1800s in Green Valley, today's Graton. He quickly journeyed to Mendocino in the hopes of returning with treasures. The following account of his trip appears in *Patriarch of the Valley,* written by his relative, Emma Street-Hively, in 1977.

> During the winter of 1851-52 a vessel laden with silk and tea from China and Japan to San Francisco had been driven ashore at the mouth of the Noyo River.
> A great amount of the rich cargo was floated to shore and salvaged. In the waterproof wrappings were beautiful silks and other treasures, a great treat for these people so far from good stores.
> The major made several trips to the location of this wreck, as did everyone who could. The goods he brought home accounts for the lovely heavy silk that his daughters wore for many years.
> Polly (Maj. Sullivan's wife) had never dreamed of possessing so many fine silk dresses as she had now in this out of the way place. The durability of this silk is shown by the fact that many pieces of this silk, with some of Polly's dresses, are still kept among the family heirlooms.

Chinese Traditional Medicine

Figure 52. Cat. No. 321-156—Chinese Stoneware, apothecary jar, [ACF, SSU]

95.58.136—Label, Chan Fun Kee, Chinese herb (SWB Collection, photograph unavailable)

Chinese medicine sees the body as having meridians or lines of influence, each organ having its own line with points all along its course that help to "balance" a subtle life force, chi (Qi), radiating energetic material to the interconnected organs and systems. According to Chinese medicine principles, it is a substance in between energy and matter. Chi is said to protect the body and be the source of all movement, voluntary or

involuntary, and any transformation such as food to blood and fluid to urine, as well as influence the retention of things be it blood in the vessels, warmth in the body, or keeping our organs in place.

Much archaeological evidence and historical research documents the use by the Overseas Chinese of traditional medical practices, such as vials for herbal remedies. Chinese medicine and acupuncture treatments require more than the quick insertion of very thin needles. A typical visit may last one and a half to two hours. Needles are placed in 10 to 30 or more points from head to toe. When heat therapy is needed to aid circulation or energy an herb, mugwort, is placed on the needles and lit with a match. Also at this time, warm herbal pillow wraps are tucked under or placed on various parts of the body for the same purpose. The treatment is complete after a massage and specific instructions for proper diet, movement, and meditation or thoughts that better calm the mind. Often a specific herbal preparation will be given to take home to be drunk as therapeutic tea throughout the day, tablets and tinctures are used as well.

* The Anthropological Studies Center [ASC] at Sonoma State University excavated a Chinese laundry that was once located in Stockton's waterfront district. The assemblage recovered included a small, straight, cylindrical, blue vial with rounded shoulders that had contained traditional Chinese medicine. Chinese characters written in gold paint are visible on the vial.

* A display of both photographs and bonsai specimens of the ailanthus tree (the so-called "Tree of Heaven") and the Chinese "wedding plant," both of which the Chinese brought over as medicinal remedies for arthritis, is recommended.

Chinese Export Tableware

Figures 52 and 53. Jadyne Buchholtz Family Collection of Chinese porcelain given to her by her Godmother, Song Wong Bourbeau

This tableware from China is known as "Famille Rose," for its polychrome enameled decoration. It was commonly exported to the West. There are variations in forms, pattern, and quality--this is Rose Mandarin, distinguished by the people in the panels. Rose Medallion China depicts landscapes without people. The height of production for these exports was between 1840 and 1880, however, both the Rose Mandarin and the Rose Medallion are still being produced (Jadyne Buccholtz, personal correspondence 2005; Wegars, personal correspondence 2005).

Domestic and Restaurant Tableware

Figure 54. 95.58.126--Bowl, Magpie and Peony

Figure 55. 95.58.124 Platter, Peony

Figure 56. 2000.110.1—CBGS, SCM

Figure 57. 84.3.56, CBGS, SCM Lok Coll

Figure 58. Cat. No. 321-124—Bowls, Celedon [Figures 58 & 59 ACF, SSU]

Figure 59. Cat. No. 317-031—Bowls, Four Flowers

These items reveal the domestic practices of the residents of the early California Chinatowns. Displayed here are some examples of ceramic wares that were commonly used by the Chinese in Sonoma County. All the Chinese Brown Glazed Stoneware (CBGS) types were easily obtainable from Chinese merchants who catered to clients preferring to retain their traditional foodways. These CBGS, in either globular or cylindrical form, were used for the containment of soy sauce and peanut oil, vegetables, wine, or distilled spirits. Thin bluish-green glazed porcelain used in manufacturing small vessels such as teacups or rice-soup bowls is known as Celedon or Winter Green. The most common Chinese tableware appears to have been porcelain decorated with a polychrome flora pattern known as the Four Flowers pattern or Four Seasons. This type of tableware was used for serving dishes, plates, bowls, and saucers. An overglaze enamel depicts four flowers in shades of green, pink, and red, which are representative of

the four seasons: prunus (winter); lotus (summer); tree peony (spring); and chrysanthemum (fall).

Learning Calligraphy and Studying Chinese

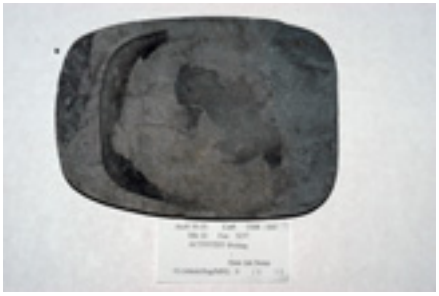


Figure 60. Cat. No, 5508-063--Slate Ink Stone [ACF, SSU] Figure 61. 95.58.61a.Brush

This slate ink stone for writing was excavated from West Oakland at a site where a Chinese laundry operated. The following excerpt from the autobiography *Fifth Chinese Daughter* by Jade Snow Wong describes the art and technique of calligraphy:

> "When holding the brush, you must not pull your fingers tightly against your palm. Your fingers should be relaxed, curved outward with a hollow space between their graceful line and your palm," Daddy admonished. Thus, Jade Snow, with her brush held correctly, dipped its tip upon her inkpad and began the stroke to her first word, pronounced "wing," which means "forever" and looks like this:
>
> 
>
> A long time was spent on this word. It embodied the elementary stroke technique of starting her brush in a point at the tip, applying pressure for strength and stroke expansion, and then gradually decreasing the pressure toward the end of the stroke in order to end with the tip of the brush in a point again. The criteria for skilled calligraphy included not only proper placement of the strokes, but also "power," which was the soul of the character (Excerpted from the autobiography *Fifth Chinese Daughter*, 1950 (pp.16 & 17), courtesy of Jade Snow Wong).

6.17 Dorothea Lange, *School in Chinatown*, 1945. The Dorothea Lange Collection, Oakland Museum of California, City of Oakland, Gift of Paul S. Taylor.

Figure 62. Dorothea Lange, *School in Chinatown*, 1945. The Dorothea Lange Collection, Oakland Museum of California, City of Oakland, gift of Paul S. Taylor

After 1870, Chinese children were legally restricted from enrolling in California public schools (Lai 2004:273). Santa Rosa's Presbyterian Church's Chinese Mission School was established in 1876, it closed its doors in 1911. Towards the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Chinese communities in San Francisco, Oakland, and Fresno began to establish their own modern schools with an emphasis on Chinese subjects. Whether because of a lack of population or funds, the local Chinese community did not open their own school for decades. Song attended Fremont School and was the only Chinese student at the time. In 1940, a dozen or so students began attending a Chinese school located in a farmhouse near Santa Rosa's downtown. Albert Yee was among those in attendance; in 1955, he was the first Chinese to become a certified teacher in Sonoma County.

Today the Redwood Empire Chinese Association, a non-profit organization established in 1988, offers language classes in both Mandarin and Cantonese, for beginning, intermediate and advanced students; it also offers a two-week long Children's Chinese Culture Camp, and Chinese dance, music, cooking, and painting and calligraphy classes.

Author Jade Snow Wong recalled her experiences and how things change with the times in this excerpt from the *Fifth Chinese Daughter*:

> Instead of opening on the left-hand side and reading from right to left in vertical rows like Chinese books, the new American books with gay, colored pictures opened on the right-hand side and were read horizontally from left to right.
>
> Daddy spoke, "From this day until I see fit to place you in the Chinese evening school, I shall continue to give you half an hour of Chinese instruction every morning before you go to the American public classes. Years ago, when your Oldest sister Swallow was a child like you, the Chinese schools in China town were not open to girls. Your sister rose daily at six in the morning, washed her face, combed her braids, and studied Chinese with me for an hour before breakfast. Now she knows enough Chinese to write a learned letter to China.
>
> "So you see, the peace and stability of a nation depend upon the proper relationships established in the home; and to a great extent, the maintenance of proper relationships within the home depends on intelligent mothers. Now I do not want you ever to question why you should study Chinese," finished Daddy (Excerpted from the autobiography *Fifth Chinese Daughter*, 1950 [pp.13-15], courtesy of Jade Snow Wong).

<u>Chinese Labor in the Wine Industry</u>

Figure 63. Paul Frenzeny, *The Vintage in California*

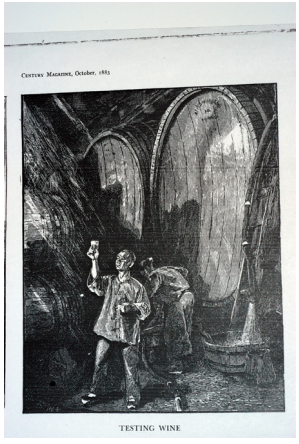


Figure 64. Paul Frenzeny, *Testing Wine*

The Bohemian Club was founded in San Francisco adjacent to Chinatown in 1872. The groups of writers, painters, poets, and journalists rented rooms for meetings and for theatrical performances (Lee 2001:63). Included in this emerging elite class was

Frenchmen Paul Frenzeny. *Harper's Weekly* commissioned him to sketch and paint images of the West and San Francisco. The *Vintage in California, at Work at the Wine Presses* (*Harper's Weekly*, October 5, 1878) shows Chinese laborers employed in the industry. The other image, *Testing Wine* (*Harper's Weekly* October 1883), may be of Song's uncle, Ah Moon. He worked in Glen Ellen as a winemaker, brandy distiller, and cellar boss at the old Chauvet winery. When Ah Moon moved to Santa Rosa he became a bartender and steward for the Santa Rosa Elk's Club. Gaye LeBaron (1994) calls him "one of the best-known Chinese in Sonoma County."

The National Park Service's (1980:135) publication, *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California,* sums up the contribution made by the Chinese working in the winery industry saying:

> It is estimated that viticulture in California would have been set back 30 to 50 years without Chinese vineyard workers. Although grape vines are now pruned to waist height, they were originally pruned to a foot and a half above the ground. This forced the picker to kneel or to bend his back to a painful angle. Many non-Chinese laborers could not or would not perform stoop labor. About 1890, pruning customs changed, and there was much agitation to replace Chinese workers with white laborers.

* As the goal of SCM is to connect Sonoma County's rich history with contemporary artistic and cultural currents, it is suggested that contemporary artists be invited to participate in a display. For instance, local East Bay author and artist, Belle Yang, and Bay Area painter, Zhao Zhunwang. Similarly, as a means of preserving the historical authenticity of Paul Frenzeny's *The Vintage in California,* it is recommended that local artist Jimmy Zimmerman, known for his contemporary rendition of Latino vineyard workers, be commissioned to reproduce Frenzeny's Vintage in California.

Chinese Stonemasonry

Figure 65. Photograph, by Sue Doherty--Stonework by Chinese labor, Buena Vista winery cellar

Cellar walls and tunnels at wineries such as Buena Vista were constructed of volcanic ash, or tuff, by Chinese labor. Note the smooth surface of these walls--this construction technique differs from that of Italian stonemasons who preferred to lay the stones in a convex manner. Stylistic comparisons can be seen at Jack London State Historic Park; the buildings were constructed of a variety of volcanic tuff and basalt blocks (Terry Wright, personal communication 2005). A large source of the volcanic outcrops and basalt prized for construction projects, especially San Francisco roadwork, was found in the area of present day Annadel State Park, where many Chinese worked in the quarries.

* Obscure reference to a Chinese stonemason's contract may be fruitful to pursue as an interesting item for exhibition (see F. Soule, *The Annals of San Francisco and History of California* [1855], pp. 414-415). There may be a copy of this contract in the

Wells Fargo History Room, San Francisco. It should be noted that signage at Buena Vista Winery inaccurately states that cellar and walls were made of "limestone."

Figure 66. Photograph, by Sue Doherty--Stone Fence, Southwest view at Two Quarry Trail in Annadel State Park

Many stone fences, like the ones in the Sonoma Valley along Bennett Valley Road and in Annadel State Park, can be found elsewhere in the state. Many are said to have been built by Chinese workers in the nineteenth century, the best documented are on the Quick Ranch in Mariposa County (Wey 1980:110) and those in Butte County (Chartkoff and Chartkoff 1984:292). Drylaid stone fences and property boundaries in Annadel constructed between the 1860s and 1930s represent an important feature of agricultural landscapes in California at the time.

* Museum displays and educational materials on Chinese heritage in Sonoma County need to emphasize the natural landscape and, therefore, should include a discussion and images on introduced flora from China. The Chinese brought with them

the ailanthus tree (the so-called "Tree of Heaven") and the Chinese "wedding plant, "--these species are indicators of a Chinese presence, are there more?

POSSIBLE ACQUISITIONS FROM BARBARA DUGGAN

Figure 67. Photograph, Barbara Duggan family collection--Song at Johnson's Beach, Guerneville

Song's long time friend, Barbara Duggan, believes this bathing shot taken at Johnson's Beach on the Russian River shows Song's "wit and humor because she was the epitome of modesty."

* Barbara Duggan (of Santa Rosa) and her family received many gifts from Song—vases, teacups, a jade Buddha statue, a Japanese jewelry box of carved black teakwood, and a number of Chinese chests in various sizes. Barbara still has the tiny two-inch by one-inch red, paper pouch revealing two coins, a 1917 nickel and a 1918 dime, she received at the cemetery following Song's mother's funeral in 1939. Barbara has a few more photographs, one depicts her parents in Chinese clothing (see Figure 68), the mandarin robe her father is wearing remains in Barbara's possession.

Figure 68. Photograph, Barbara Duggan family collection--Ada and Limm Applegate (Barbara Duggan's parents) dressed in Chinese clothing from Song, ca. 1930

Charles Bourbeau, Song's husband, worked for Barbara Duggan's father, Limm Applegate, who owned the Santa Rosa Garage and Storage on B and Third streets. Charles was the night manager. The garage was next to a connecting alley behind Jam Kee restaurant. Song, or a relative, had a car that was stored there.

Ada, looking at her husbands trademark goatee, got the idea to dress up in Chinese clothes for an annual parade. She knew they could look so authentic, as Song could certainly outfit them—and Song did, providing a Mandarin for Limm and a headdress and fan for Ada.

Sidebar on "Orientalism"

Edward Said (1995:88) defined Orientalism as: "Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient . . . is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism . . . a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient." Nineteenth century scholars who translated books from the East into English

were the first Orientalists. Claiming knowledge of the subject lead to an unjustified authoritative power and the construction of a single area called the Orient and a stereotype identity for its inhabitants. One may wish to believe that this narrow view of cultural difference is a thing of the past, but current Western depictions of "Arab" cultures is proof to the contrary. What does it take to erase Orientalist thinking?

This image of the Applegates conjures up the concept of cultural difference—Euro Americans in Chinese clothing. It projects "dress" as a "signifier "of cultural boundaries, where meanings and values are (mis)read (Bhabha 1995:206). But cultures are not static or homogenous, nor reducible to essential qualities—such notions of cultural identity are too restrictive. We are compelled, then, to resist taking this image as a cultural text sufficient unto itself, rather, we must locate it in a specific time and place. By intervening in this way, we are forced to grapple with the interpretation of its meaning from an intervening vantage point that is, by its nature, ambivalent—for how can we know the whole story? In the end, there is no clear picture of cultural knowledge. There is a story of the participants, ideally by the participants, that demonstrates the hybrid quality of cultures. This is not to deny cultural differences; it is to give the act of enunciating differences to those closest to the specific empirical instances presented.

When this photograph was taken, ca. 1939, Chinese Americans were still denied citizenship, except for Asian veterans who served in the United States Armed forces during World War I. Santa Rosa's Chinatown was being razed to make room for new Euro American owned businesses; a process simplified by its dilapidated condition that resulted from inadequate enforcement of building codes, absentee landowners, and a dwindling Chinese population. Song and her family not only survived the relocation, but

also went on to have a prosperous life and business here. The importance of friendships in such matters is undeniable--the Applegates were welcomed guests of the Song family and shared with them intimate cultural exchanges. This photograph speaks to the very essence of the taking in and exchange of cultural traditions contrary to ones own, it solidities the notion that there is only a mysterious unknowing of any established "true" cultural identity. Thus, we "enter" into a space of "inter"-national culture marked by histories of the "people" (Bhabha 1995:209).

AUDIO AND VIDEO DISPLAY COMPONENT

The following are suggestions for the audio and video component of the exhibit. An audio portion may be heard next to the display of Chinese instruments. The previously discussed sidebar on the music of Professor Liu Zhenyu describes the six instruments that can be heard in the recording. Additional folk songs are available which may be heard by having an audio station with headphones available for visitors. A unique touch would incorporate sounds of a kitchen in a Chinese restaurant for that portion of the display. Likewise, video station(s) can display the suggested videos and images.

<u>Chinese Folk Songs</u>

Chinese Folk Songs are available through the Archives Center at the National Museum of American History. Miscellaneous ethnic songs, ca. 1902-1915 comprise part of the Sam DeVincent Collection of Illustrated American Sheet Music, ca. 1790-1987, #300. See Container List - Series 4: Songwriters, 1847-1975 by: Robert S. Harding & Cooby Greenway, 1994. Subseries 8.68: China, 1883-1959: A--includes: "All Aboard

for Chinatown," "Buddha," and "China, We Owe a Lot to You." B--includes: Multiple editions of "Chinatown, My Chinatown."

Videotape Interview with Song Wong Bourbeau; Date 19 November 1994; interviewed for Sonoma County Museum by Gaye LeBaron.

Video Excerpts from "Privy to the Past—Historical Archaeology in West Oakland"

An important addition to the display would be several excerpts of "Privy to the Past—Historical Archaeology in West Oakland," a 28-minute video produced for Caltrans District 4 in 1999 by the Anthropological Studies Center staff and edited by Mary and Adrian Praetzellis, as a component of the Outreach and Academic Products of the Cypress Archaeology Project. The following sections are particularly pertinent: archaeologist, Dr. Adrian Praetzellis, introduces the subject of artifacts, historical archaeology, and the value of a privy to understanding the past and, later in the video, he discusses the cultural heritage of the Chinese in California. Historian, Elaine Maryse-Solari, explains the use of historical documents, such as Sanborn Insurance maps, to gather necessary pre-field data and an historical context statement. Florence Wong speaks about her parents living in a self-sufficient community. Sonoma State University graduate student Jeanne Yang speaks about and shows the excavated artifacts associated with a Chinese laundry in West Oakland. Jack McIlroy summarizes the number of features excavated and artifacts recovered.

Photographs for a Slide Show

The California Department of Parks and Recreation's California State Museum Resource Center's CASMRC Collections (2004) has several glass plate negative photographs in the Harry C. Peterson Collection. Peterson was the first curator of the

Pioneer Museum at Sutter's Fort in Sacramento. He also produced documentary photographs between 1906 and 1940. The following photographs in this collection document California Chinese and, if copies are obtainable, their incorporation into a video slide show would add a regional dimension to the exhibit.

080-11-4898: People in Chinese costumes walk the grounds of the California International Midwinter Exposition, in San Francisco, CA, in 1894, with a view of the Administration Building.

080-11-5377: An unidentified elderly man seated at a table with possibly Chinese artifacts on the table before him, ca. 1923.

080-11-0531: A display of artifacts from a Chinese mill site, ca. 1930.

080-11-1141.1: Stereograph showing a Chinese man panning for gold beside a creek, with small cabins in the distance, ca. 1880.

080-11-4936: An unidentified man (possibly Harry Peterson) posing as a Chinese miner walking by a stream and carrying a pole which supports all his mining supplies, ca. 1900.

080-11-1004.7: Photograph of the Chinese section of the town in Michigan Bar, 1850.

080-11-1006: Two men posing for the camera standing in front of the Joss House, built in 1874 and located in Weaverville, California, ca. 1920.

080-11-4639: View of the interior of the Joss House in the Chinatown area of Marysville, California, ca. 1930. This view depicts the same type of twelve-inch high joss house vases as those in the Song Wong Collection.

080-11-5827: An unidentified woman poses for a formal studio portrait with three children, ca. 1900.

080-11-2903: Exterior view of the stone Chinese store in Coloma, California, ca. 1920.

Angel Island Immigration Station – 10 lantern slides (3 1/4 x 4 in) to display on video monitor as adjunct to the Song Wong Bourbeau exhibit. The following content copyright © 2002-2003 California State Museum Resource Center can be requested. Information can be obtained online at: http://www.smrc.parks.ca.gov/searchCASMRC4/request/

231-18-013: European and Asian immigrants leaving ship, ca. 1925.

231-18-058: View of the Immigration Station at Angel Island, ca. 1925.

231-18-017: Chinese women walking at Angel Island with umbrellas, ca. 1925.

231-18-019: Immigrant woman of different nationalities with American missionary women (Deaconess Katherine Maurer) in a group, ca. 1925.

231-18-100: Group of Chinese women in traditional dress. One woman is holding a baby, ca. 1925.

231-18-024: Portrait of two Chinese women in traditional clothing, ca. 1925.

231-18-027: Group portrait of Chinese children in San Francisco's Chinatown, ca. 1925.

231-18-030: Portrait of small Asian child standing in front of a wire fence, ca. 1925.

231-18-005: View of Immigration Station from San Francisco Bay. The boat "Calypsa" is in foreground, ca. 1925.

231-18-054: View of sunset at Marin County, California, ca. 1925.

INTERACTIVE COMPUTER STATION

Photographs of objects in the SWB collection are displayed in specific context and may be manipulated 360 degrees--temple accoutrements are displayed in an image of a temple, restaurant ware in a kitchen—to learn when, how, why, and by whom it was used. Maps allow the viewer a chance to see changes in the streetscape over time and to walk the neighborhoods of the day. Local history questions quiz the visitor's knowledge.

HANDS ON ACTIVITY CENTER

Children and adults have the opportunity to recreate their own versions of objects in the SWB collection display. Learn about Chinese cultural heritage while crafting your own Chinese lantern, lucky red money envelope, mud-men and –women figurine, animal figure, doll, and New Year's Eve banner. All the necessary art materials are provided: shoes boxes, colored construction paper, scissors, crayons, markers, calligraphy pens, ribbons, glitter, crepe paper, glue, and clay. To inspire participation, examples of reproductions are made handy, as well as templates and written instructions; simple explanations for the meaning of the objects is also provided.

FAMILY DAY AT THE MUSEUM

Redwood Empire Chinese Association begins a family day with Chinese cultural activities such as Lion Dance, tai chi, singing, arts and crafts, and Chinese language lessons. Children will be able to make their own dragon hats, Chinese dolls, practice calligraphy, and much more. Learn the arts of writing and illustrating children's books from author and artist Belle Yang, resident of the East Bay. Hear an "immigrant story" from her children's book *Hannah is My Name* (belle@belleyang.com). Novelist and public speaker, Pam Chun of Alameda, is also a storyteller (PamChun@cal.berkeley.edu). Enjoy the culinary traditions of Chinese New Year from author and chef, Martin Yan, or any one of a number of talented local chefs willing to share their secrets. Traditional Chinese music performance by Melody of China or solo performances by any of the members culminates the day. Multi-instrumentalist member of the ensemble, Hong Wang, of San Francisco, has an extraordinary reputation as a

performer, composer, and music educator

(http://www.melodyofchina.com/members.html).