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NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES/
NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM

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HAS BEEN REDACTED**

REDACTION DATE 4/4/2024 (IF APPLICABLE)

NOTES:

FILE (PROPERTY) NAME: Summit Camp

LOCATION (STATE/TERRITORY): California

LOCATION (COUNTY/PARISH): Placer and Nevada

NRIS#:

NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK NOMINATION

NPS Form 10-934 (Rev. 03-2023)

OMB Control No. 1024-0276

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1. NAME AND LOCATION OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Summit Camp

Other Name/Site Number: CA-NEV-712H (P-29-946 /FS# 05-17-57-634), CA-NEV-714H (P-29-950/FS# 05-17-57-588), CA-NEV-1380H (P-29-2163 /FS# 05-17-57-234), CA-NEV-1715H (P-29-2746 /FS# 05-17-57-630), CA-NEV-1723/H (P-29-2766/Bill Evans Camp 3), CA-PLA-2002H (P-31-2910 /FS# 05-17-57-633), Bill Evans Camp 5 (Fs# 05-17-57-1006)

Street and Number (if applicable): Donner Pass Road

City/Town: Norden vicinity

County: Nevada and Placer

State: California

2. SIGNIFICANCE DATA

NHL Criteria: 1 and 6

NHL Criteria Exceptions: N/A

NHL Theme(s): I. Peopling Places: 3. Migration from outside and within
V. Developing the American Economy:
3. Transportation and communication; 4. Workers and work culture
VIII. Changing Role of the United States in the World Community:
4. Immigration and emigration policies.

Period(s) of Significance: 1865-1869, 1966-1969

Significant Person(s) (only Criterion 2): N/A

Cultural Affiliation (only Criterion 6): Chinese

Designer/Creator/Architect/Builder: N/A

Historic Contexts: *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Odo 2017); *Labor Archaeology of the Industrial Era National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Fracchia and Roller 2014); *Labor History in the United States: A National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Donaldson 2022).

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement. We are collecting this information under the authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (16 U.S.C. 461-467) and 36 CFR part 65. Your response is required to obtain or retain a benefit. We will use the information you provide to evaluate properties nominated as National Historic Landmarks. We may not conduct or sponsor and you are not required to respond to a collection of information unless it displays a currently valid OMB control number. OMB has approved this collection of information and assigned Control No. 1024-0276.

Estimated Burden Statement. Public reporting burden is 2 hours for an initial inquiry letter and 344 hours for NPS Form 10-934 (per response), including the time it takes to read, gather and maintain data, review instructions and complete the letter/form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate, or any aspects of this form, to the Information Collection Clearance Officer, National Park Service, 12201 Sunrise Valley Drive, Mail Stop 242, Reston, VA 20192. Please do not send your form to this address.

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3. WITHHOLDING SENSITIVE INFORMATION

Does this nomination contain sensitive information that should be withheld under Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act?

☒ Yes☐ No**4. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA**

1. Acreage of Property: 26.55 acres

2. Use either Latitude/Longitude Coordinates or the UTM system:

UTM References: NAD83

Zone: 10S

Northern Portion		
Label	Easting	Northing
1N	731001	4355513
2N	731359	4355627
3N	731373	4355441
4N	731293	4355360
5N	72 31080	4355351

Southern Portion		
Label	Easting	Northing
1S	730459	4355203
2S	730824	4355190
3S	730807	4355156
4S	730500	4355081
5S	730499	4355143
6S	730441	4355142

(Note: The labeled points above appear as yellow dots on Figure 2).

- Verbal Boundary Description:** The proposed Landmark is divided into two discontinuous areas separated by a strip of land owned by the Union Pacific Railroad. This strip is the original alignment of the transcontinental railroad; the railroad owns the land 200 feet from centerline for a 400-foot-wide corridor. The northern boundary of the Landmark is defined by a set of tight turns along Donner Pass Road (Old Highway 40). The southern portion of the Landmark is sandwiched between the railroad property and Old Donner Pass Road (Dutch Flat-Donner Lake Road). The western side of the Landmark is bounded by an unnamed road.
- Boundary Justification:** The boundary includes the primary archaeological deposits associated with the occupation of Summit Camp that are located on National Forest Service (NFS) managed public lands (USDA, Forest Service, Tahoe National Forest). The proposed landmark is bounded on the west by property held by private landowners. The former alignment of the transcontinental railroad roughly bisects the proposed landmark into north and south halves. This includes the railroad grade and tunnels, which are

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currently owned by the Union Pacific Railroad. While additional archaeological deposits and features associated with Summit Camp are present on both the adjacent private properties and the railroad alignment, neither the Railroad, nor the private property owners consented to including their properties in the Landmark. Archaeological deposits on adjacent private properties and the railroad alignment are therefore excluded from the Landmark nomination; the nomination only includes features and deposits located on NFS-managed lands.

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5. SIGNIFICANCE STATEMENT AND DISCUSSION**INTRODUCTION: SUMMARY STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE**

Summit Camp was the largest and longest occupied railroad construction camp for Chinese laborers on the transcontinental railroad. As such it is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 1 for the critical role Chinese workers played in the completion of the transcontinental railroad across the United States, one of the defining events of the nineteenth century, as well as its influence on the emergence of Chinese diaspora studies in the field of historical archaeology in the mid-twentieth century. Summit Camp is also nationally significant under NHL Criterion 6 for yielding, and the potential to yield, new information about the lifeways of Chinese immigrant laborers who were essential in the construction of the transcontinental railroad. The unparalleled density and duration of occupation by Chinese workers across an extended period, coupled with high archaeological integrity, is reflected in a site with unparalleled potential to address research questions with implications for affecting theories, concepts, and ideas regarding the material lives of the Chinese diaspora to a major degree. The proposed period of significance for Summit Camp NHL of 1865–1869, 1966–1969 encompasses the years the camp was occupied during construction of the railroad, and also key years in the 1960s for the influence of the archaeological investigations at Summit Camp on development of the field of historical archaeology.

Completion of the first transcontinental railroad in the United States was one of the most important American engineering feats of the nineteenth century, finally drawing together the east and west coasts and permitting the rapid and economical movement of people and goods across the country. Its economic, social, and political impact was profound, both for the expansion of European American-led settler colonialism across the American West and the further displacement of Indigenous peoples. Two railroad companies were selected to work towards an undetermined junction point before July 4, 1876, with the Central Pacific Railroad (CPRR) starting from the west and the Union Pacific Company (UPRR) from the east, starting at Omaha, Nebraska in 1865. The two lines officially united ahead of schedule on May 10, 1869, at Promontory Point, Utah. For the Central Pacific Railroad, and the overall success of the transcontinental effort, the Sierra Nevada Mountains proved to be the biggest physical hurdle, requiring difficult excavation of a series of tunnels. The highest and longest of these were situated at Donner Pass. To complete these tunnels, Summit Camp was established in 1865 so predominantly Chinese workers could live on site and continue their labor year-round. Completion of the CPRR portion of the railroad particularly depended on the contributions of a substantial Chinese immigrant labor force. Without the year-round occupation of the camp, the tunnel excavation, the construction of the grade, and the laying of the track would have taken years longer to complete. Summit Camp was essential to the successful completion of the transcontinental railroad, a watershed event in American history (Ambrose 2005:160-162, 199-202; Kraus 1969:135-136, 152-160; Signor 1985:21-22).

Because Summit Camp was the largest and longest occupied by Chinese laborers of the many temporary railroad construction camps, it represents an important opportunity to understand the lives of these workers.¹ While much has been written about the building of the railroad, the daily lives of the Chinese workers were completely overlooked by contemporary accounts. The archaeological features and artifacts at the Summit Camp district, coupled with previously collected artifacts, characterize the work, daily life, and hardships these

¹ Railroad construction camps were generally only occupied for a matter of days or weeks, moving along the route as the grade proceeded along its route (Furnis and Maniery 2015; Gardner 2005:23; Rogers 1997; Zier 1985). In contrast, Summit Camp was occupied for several years. Work on the tunnels began in August 1865, which would have roughly coincided with the establishment of Summit Camp. Summit Tunnel was holed-through two years later on August 30, 1867 (Signor 1985:21-22). However, work at the Summit, and consequently occupation of Summit Camp, continued for some time afterward, reportedly as late as 1869 (Lindström et al. 1999:32).

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men endured while overcoming the most challenging geographical obstacles the railroad faced. Summit Camp NHL provides one of, if not the most, comprehensive data sets for the archaeological study of Chinese railroad workers, a group about which little definitive historical information is known. In addition, Summit Camp was the subject of one of the earliest archaeological investigations of Chinese railroad worker camps in the U.S. That initial study produced several publications and paper presentations that set the stage for the archaeological study of the Chinese diaspora (Baxter and Allen 2015; Chace 2015; Chace and Evans 1969, 2015; Etters 1980; Evans 1980).

SUMMIT CAMP AND THE CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD (CPRR)

Summit Camp was established in 1865 by the Central Pacific Railroad (CPRR), approximately 105-miles east of Sacramento, and occupied until 1869. It was occupied during the period when multiple tunnels for the transcontinental railroad were built through the Sierra mountains.² Despite the relatively long period of occupation, there is little written history of the camp. The following narrative paraphrases and expands on an overview of the site by archeologist Susan Lindström et al. (1999:32-34).

Seven tunnels were constructed within two miles of Summit Camp, including Tunnel No. 6 (commonly known as Summit Tunnel), the longest tunnel on the transcontinental line. Summit Camp was established as the main staging area for tunnel construction around Donner Pass. The camp was strategically located [REDACTED] Improving upon existing trails, the Dutch Flat-Donner Lake Road was built in 1864 specifically to facilitate railroad construction. Summit Camp was established in 1865 and was primarily inhabited by Chinese workers. Exactly how many men lived there is unclear, but in early 1867 Charles Crocker claimed there were 1,500 Chinese workers at “the Summit,” presumably living at Summit Camp (Karuka 2019:90).³

There is no known map of the camp; however, a series of photos by famed photographer Alfred A. Hart depict portions of the camp, mostly [REDACTED] Hart’s photographs depict a widely dispersed assemblage of gable roof wood structures, of various sizes, oriented in a seemingly haphazard fashion. Given the period, the structures were probably single-wall construction, with some buildings clad with horizontal boards, while others had vertical siding. It is known from archaeological data that these photos represent only a small portion of the camp, with more residential structures [REDACTED] (see below), [REDACTED] More details concerning the camp are provided in Section 6 of this nomination.

Historical accounts indicate that the CPRR’s Chinese workers were organized into crews or gangs of 12–20 men, with one man designated as the leader, and a second man as a cook. The cooks prepared meals for their own crews. It is presumed that each of the structures depicted in Hart’s photos housed one of these crews, although some of the larger structures may have housed more than one crew. Since the CPRR did not provide housing for their Chinese employees, it is likely that each structure was constructed by its inhabitants. This would account for the wide variety of sizes, orientations, and methods of construction of these buildings. No stove pipes or chimneys are visible in the photos, so it is unclear how the buildings were heated.

² The tunnels at the Summit were completed in 1867, but several sources indicate the camp was occupied until 1869. It may be, that men stayed on there to finish up the grading, tracklaying, and snow sheds for some time after the tunnels were completed.

³ Charles Crocker was, with Mark Hopkins, Collis Huntington, and Leland Stanford, one of the founders of the CPRR. Collectively, they were known as the “Big Four,” so named for the power they held in the railroad. Crocker served as the construction supervisor for the railroad as well as serving as the president of Charles Crocker & Company, a CPRR subsidiary formed explicitly for the purpose of building the railroad (White 2011:18).

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Work began on Tunnel No. 6 in 1865 but halted that winter due to inclement weather. By 1866, the railroad had only made it as far east as the station at Cisco (Chang 2019:124).⁴ Supplies had to be hauled by wagon the remaining 12 miles to Summit Camp, an extremely difficult undertaking in the deep winter snow drifts at the crest of the mountains.

To speed up the project, the workers excavated the tunnel from both ends, working towards each other. Progress was still not meeting expectations, so to speed things up, the CPRR directed their workers to sink an 8×12×73-foot-deep shaft down at roughly the planned middle of the tunnel. Upon reaching the appropriate depth, they then began working east and west so that they had a total of four working faces at one time. Over the shaft, the railroad placed the old locomotive *Sacramento* to haul out the rock excavated from the middle of the tunnel.⁵ Over this was built a large shed to house the equipment. It was December 1866 before the central shaft was completed (Ambrose 2005:199). Historian Gordon Chang describes the organization of the work on Tunnel No. 6:

Thirty to forty men constituted a gang that worked under a white supervisor at each portal. In turn, the gang was divided into multiple teams of three. One member of the team would locate a seam, crack, or crevasse in which to start a hole and then position a three, five, or six-foot-long steel pole drill that had a flat, flared tip. The two other team members, wielding eight-pound sledgehammers, pounded the top of the drill. The bit would then be rotated a quarter turn to go deeper into the stone. Bang, bang, and another quarter turn. The process sometimes known as “Double jack” drilling, required close teamwork, skill, care, and endurance. It was unbelievably laborious; teams could drill just three holes, two and a quarter-inches in diameter, two and a half feet deep, in an eight-hour shift. The teams were on two staggered levels in the tunnel bore. Four or five teams of men worked at the rock face on the upper level, called the “heading,” while other teams below them stepwise on the roadbed level, the “bottom,” carried out the broken rock. Working on two levels made scaffolding unnecessary and removal of debris more efficient (Chang 2019:126).

Once the holes were drilled, they were packed with black powder, the workers cleared out of the tunnel, and the rock face blasted. Once the air had cleared the workers reentered the tunnels and mucked out the rock debris. This work went on 24 hours a day, in three eight-hour shifts (Chang 2019:127). During the winter of 1866-1867 work was not halted so this 24-hour schedule was carried on year-round.

In addition to the tunnels, the workers also had to cut the railroad grade. This work included varying degrees of rockwork. The most substantial manifestation of this rock work at Summit Camp is what has become known as the China Wall, a substantial retaining wall between Tunnel Nos. 6 and 7, which supported the railroad grade.

Aside from the work itself, weather was the most significant and persistent obstacle for the railroad construction to overcome in the high Sierra. Most notably, there were severe snowstorms on the summit that hindered the construction forces during the winter. The heaviest snowstorms occurred during the winter of 1866-1867, when no less than 44 separate storms hit the mountains, dumping as much as 10 feet of snow in a single event. At Summit Camp, the total snow fall added up to 40 feet, with 18 feet of packed snow. The Dutch Flat-Donner Lake Road east of Alta was abandoned for the winter, cutting off the camp from resupply from the west until March 18, 1867. Despite this, the railroad was not willing to abandon work on the tunnels for the winter. Workers dug 200-foot-long tunnels through the snow to get to the actual tunnel openings on which they were

⁴ Cisco was established as a station on the railroad during its construction. It is now a small unincorporated community, roughly 12 miles to the west of Summit Camp.

⁵ The *Sacramento* had been relieved of its wheels, axles, and cab and renamed the *Blue Goose*. Despite the removal of unnecessary components, it still weighed 12 tons. It took six weeks to haul the locomotive from Colfax to Summit Camp on a specially built wagon (Ambrose 2005:199).

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working (Signor 1985:21). These severe conditions proved deadly, and one source noted a particularly lethal event:

Near the summit, a gang of Chinese graders was caught in a snow slide and five died before they could be rescued. On the Friday night before Christmas the snow fell so heavily that a whole camp of Chinese laborers was buried and had to be dug out. In other instances, camps were carried away in avalanches, the men buried and not found until the snow melted the next summer (Myrick 1962).

In his memoirs, CPRR employee J.O. Wilder described the early months of the winter of 1866-1867 at his camp, which was probably Summit Camp:

At our camp, the snow was so deep we had to shovel it from the roof and make steps to get to the top of the snow. We were snowed in, and our provisions got down to corn meal and tea. Had it [the snow] lasted one week longer we would have been compelled to eat horse meat, for there were two hundred or more men in this camp. We broke a road to the main wagon road where there was a store known as the Donner Lake Post Office (Kraus 1969:136).

With the heavy fall of snow, the old barn collapsed and killed four Chinese (Kraus 1969:182).

Accounts by railroad engineer John R. Gillis further describe the extreme challenges and dangers of living and working at Summit Camp. Gillis' comments have also provided clues as to the structure and layout of the camp. One of the houses shown in Hart's photographs was inhabited by Gillis:

Our quarters were at the east end of Donner Pass, but still in the narrow part... About thirty feet from our windows was a large warehouse... (Gillis 1870:155).

Of course these storms make the road impassable even for sleighs. They are opened by gangs of men kept there for the purpose with heavy ox-sleds... The men were as regardless of themselves as of their animals. They took life easily in fine weather but were out nearly all the time when it stormed. Late at night they could be seen shoveling on a bad drift at the corner of the warehouse... (Gillis 1870:156).

We started with Canadian snow-shoes, but soon abandoned them for the Norwegian, each a strip of light wood ten to twelve feet long, four inches wide, and an inch and a quarter thick in the center... (Gillis 1870:156).

Snow-slides or avalanches were frequent... Near the close of one storm, a log-house with board roof, containing ... some fifteen or sixteen men in all, was crushed and buried... The event startled us, for at the top of the cliff, in front of the camp, was a snow-wreath forty or fifty feet long, projecting twenty feet, and of about the same thickness... We were uncertain when it would come down and where it would stop. A keg of powder was put down behind it next morning and fired...then the whole hill-side was in motion... (Gillis 1870:157).

They [snowslides] were so frequent across the trail leading to tunnel No. 9, that it had to be abandoned for some months. At tunnel 10, some fifteen or twenty Chinamen were killed by a slide about this time. The year before, two road repairers had been killed, and buried too, by a slide, as their bodies were not found until spring (Gillis 1870:158).

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As this period account shows, life at Summit Camp was hard and dangerous, and death capricious. The men spent 12 hours a day in the tunnels, leaving little time for anything but eating and sleeping. Although only speculation, working in the tunnels in the winter may have been preferential as the tunnels at least provided protection from avalanche and the freezing winds that rip through the pass. Due to the generally severe weather, most of the year the men had little to do when not working. Food and supplies were often limited, and communication with the outside world spotty. Death was a common occurrence from both accidents on the job and from natural disasters.

The crews finally holed through Summit Tunnel on August 30, 1867; just two months later in October the first locomotive passed through the tunnel. When completed, Tunnel No. 6 was 1,659 feet long (Chang 2019:126). That massive obstruction dealt with, many of the men were relocated eastward to continue tunneling, grading, and laying track. However, the camp was reportedly occupied until sometime in 1869. The remaining work crews may have been kept there to build snow sheds and finish other aspects of the grade in the Donner Pass area.

Summit Camp was unique in that it was by far the longest lived of the construction camps on the transcontinental railroad. While most camps were occupied for only a few days or weeks, Summit Camp was occupied for years (Polk 2015:68). This longevity led to the development of a more formal camp with semipermanent structures, the footprints of which are still visible on the landscape. With hundreds of men living there for an extended period of time, it also led the development of a more dense and diverse deposit of materials left behind by its occupants, materials now available for archaeological research and interpretation.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

This historical context is broken into several subsections. The first covers the history of the transcontinental railroad from inception to completion. Due to the fact that the Chinese experience in California began before the railroad, the second section provides an overview of the origins of the Chinese diaspora to the United States. The final section provides a general overview of the history of Chinese workers on the transcontinental railroad.

The Transcontinental Railroad

The following section relies on and expands upon an excellent overview of the railroad in the archaeological study of Summit Camp by Susan Lindström et al. (1999:28-30).

With the acquisition of the Oregon Territory in 1846 and California in 1848 the U.S. had become a bicoastal country. However, links between the two coasts were tenuous. For people, goods, or communications to travel from one coast to the other took months. Transportation options included an arduous, months long trip overland through lands unoccupied by European Americans, through deserts and over multiple mountain ranges. Another option was a dangerous boat trip through the Antarctic Ocean at the southern tip of South America, and back up the west coast. An alternative was to sail to Panama, travel overland there, catch a ship on the west coast, and sail back north. However, this added tropical diseases to an already long list of hazards. The U.S. government realized that to properly govern and develop their new territories, they needed to establish a better alternative for transportation and communication. While developing a road network would have been the most expedient, some were looking at the new railroads that were slowly branching out across the eastern U.S.

As early as 1853, Congress commissioned the U.S. Army to survey feasible routes for a railroad across the United States. Civil engineer Theodore D. Judah (in whose honor Mount Judah near Donner Pass is named) made his first examination of a potential route for the railroad over Donner Pass in the fall of 1860. Judah actually considered five different routes over the Sierra but found the route over Donner Pass the most favorable, because the route rose steadily from the Central Valley to the 7,000-foot summit and it avoided the

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drawbacks of crossing double summits. In order to maintain a manageable grade, Judah anticipated the blasting of tunnels and that sections of line would require fill. His critics emphasized the snow hazard, but Judah, having already assessed the snow situation on some of the higher rail crossings in the east, anticipated snow removal problems over Donner Pass and proposed that the railroad establish work camps of snow-shovelers along the route (Howard 1998:166, 170). Judah lobbied in Washington D.C., advocating a scheme to finance and build the line with private capital by the sale of stock in small amounts to many people. Construction was to take place from both ends and, as a preliminary measure, he prompted the government to build a wagon road parallel to the rail route (Howard 1998:165). After some limited financial backing was secured, Judah began more serious engineering studies on the route.

However, serious progress was stalled by a divide within Congress. The southern slave holding states desired a more southern route, while the northern states were desirous of a northern route, more in line with Judah's proposed route through Donner Pass. This loggerhead dissolved with the secession of the southern states and start of the Civil War in 1861. Now the South no longer had a voice in the choice of the route. The war also provided a sense of urgency in finally getting the railroad built. Some feared that the tenuous links to the west left California and its precious gold deposits open to being subverted to the South.

The California legislature called upon the federal government to build a railroad to the Pacific, resulting in passage of the Pacific Railroad Bill in 1862. The bill mandated the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean (Kraus 1969:7; McClain 1995:8). The idea was to have two railroad companies build simultaneously, one from the east and one from the west. Although a completion date was set, "before July 4, 1876," a junction point was not pre-determined (Kibbey 1996:18). The two companies were also required to build at least 50 miles of track by November 1864 (White 2011:18).

The CPRR was selected to build the rails eastward from the west coast and the Union Pacific Company (UPRR) was chosen to construct a railroad westward from the east (White 2011). Controlling partners of the CPRR were Leland Stanford as president, E.B. Crocker as company attorney, brother Charles Crocker as director in strategic planning and construction, Mark Hopkins as secretary-treasurer, Collis P. Huntington as vice president, and Theodore Judah as chief engineer. Stanford, Hopkins, Huntington, and Charles Crocker, known as "The Big Four," were to dominate most of the politics and commerce of California for the next three decades.

The terms of the railroad act provided that both the UPRR and the CPRR be allotted bonds in proportion to the miles of track they laid. The act also provided for timber and quarrying rights and for 20 sections of land for each mile of rail. Each company was granted a 200-foot-wide strip of land on both sides of the right-of-way and 640 acres (one square mile) for each mile of railroad completed, to be awarded in a checkerboard pattern on alternating sides of the track. The companies could then sell this land to raise more money. Apparently, the land and subsidies, which were more attractive to the Big Four than the railroad itself, led to differences between Judah and his partners (Kibbey 1996:18). However, soon after construction commenced, Judah contracted yellow fever while crossing the Isthmus of Panama; he died in November of 1863 at the age of 37. After Judah's death, the position of chief engineer was assumed by his 33-year-old former assistant, Samuel S. Montague (Signor 1985:19).

The first spike of the transcontinental railroad was driven in January of 1863 at the foot of K Street on the Sacramento waterfront (Kibbey 1996:22; McClain 1995:8; Steinheimer and Dorn 1989:10). Construction proceeded as planned through the Central Valley.

"The rails used are of the best quality of American iron, from 24 to 28 feet long, and weighing 60 pounds to the yard. The chairs are of wrought iron. The cross ties are 6 by 8 and 10 inches,

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and 8 feet long ... and number 2,400 to the mile. The culverts are all of granite or other hard rock.... The road is well ballasted with gravel and broken rock..." (CPRR 1865).

As the railhead advanced into the Sierra, it was the practice to run excursion trains from Sacramento so that the vitally interested citizens could view the latest construction efforts. After leaving the valley and adjoining foothills, progress slowed, as heavy snow and tunneling through granite rock near Donner Pass presented major obstacles. By the summer of 1867 the 22 miles of railroad between Cisco and Truckee was still not completed. To speed progress, a second phase of construction, east of the summit, was worked simultaneously with that at the summit. The work was facilitated by hauling locomotives, rails, cars, and parts over the Dutch Flat Donner Lake Wagon Road to Coburn's Station (Truckee).

Although the railroad was completed between Truckee and Reno by May of 1868, the final gap between Cisco and Truckee, with Donner Pass in the middle, was not officially open until June of 1868 (Myrick 1962:18; Signor 1985:22). It had taken a total of five and one-half years to construct the 188 miles from Sacramento to Wadsworth. The next 501 miles, built eastward to the junction with the Union Pacific line, took only nine months to complete (Signor 1985:22). On May 10, 1869, at a tent town called Promontory, Utah Territory, 690 miles from Sacramento and 1,086 miles from Omaha, the rails of the Pacific Railroad were officially united (Kraus 1969:9).

The Chinese Diaspora in California

Although a small population of Chinese immigrants lived in California prior to 1849-1850, most immigrated to California during the Gold Rush. Soon after their arrival, many found that selling their labor could provide a steadier source of income than hunting for gold. The following overview of the Chinese presence in California is largely adapted and excerpted from Baxter (2003:7-8 and 2008).

During the mid-nineteenth century, China was a land in turmoil. The 1840 defeat of China by Great Britain in the First Opium War led to concentration of land ownership, inflation in the value of silver, and increased importation of foreign goods. All this resulted in severe economic problems. Simultaneously, China experienced severe floods, droughts, and famine. When combined, these factors led to widespread starvation and civil unrest, including the Taiping Rebellion of 1851. This had led to increased migration out of the region to other parts of southeast Asia, a trend that had been increasing in recent centuries. This movement of people was facilitated by secret societies (e.g. The Hong-men societies) working at odds with official government policy blocking migration (Chen 2001:90-94).

The residents of Guangdong Province, on the south coast of China, were hardest hit by these challenges. The residents of Guangdong were known to westerners as Cantonese, named after the port city of Canton (Guangzhou) (Voss and Allen 2008:6). In 1844, the U.S. secured trading privileges in the Port of Canton through the treaty of Wang Hya. In contrast to the rest of China, the Cantonese were exposed to many western ideas and goods, as well as news of the outside world. Facing starvation and depredation by predatory landlords and widespread banditry, many impoverished villagers emigrated out of the province. In 1848, rumors of a gold discovery in a rich new land reached Canton. Soon the myth of "Gum San," or Golden Mountain, began to spread, supported by the return of sojourners with gold nuggets in their pockets.

Many residents of the Guangdong Province quickly arranged to leave for this mystical new land. Leaving one's village was a serious and risky decision. Yet while poverty and war caused many to leave China, ironically it was the Guangdong region's relative prosperity that allowed its residents to immigrate to other lands. Much of the nineteenth-century Guangdong region included a thriving "middle" class of skilled craftworkers, merchants, and professionals whose entrepreneurial skills were honed in Canton's international trade markets. It was their transnational connections and financial resources that enabled the mass migration from the region (Liu 2002).

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Many émigrés borrowed money from relatives or signed on as indentured servants to pay for the trip to California. The voyage, which lasted about eight weeks, gave them a taste of the struggles ahead of them. During the voyage, they were packed into the holds of ships, in terrible conditions (Ambrose 2005:151). To maximize profits, captains frequently exceeded passenger limits, squeezing 400 to 500 people into one ship. In unsanitary conditions, with poor provisions, and exposed to a host of diseases, many lost their lives enroute, never having seen the Golden Mountain.

In 1849 the first of these ships arrived in California. In 1848, there were only about 50 Chinese persons living in the Continental U.S., mostly in the port cities of the North Atlantic seaboard (Chang 2003:26, 103). That number increased to 25,000 by 1852, and 40,000 by 1854, virtually all in California. Like their non-Asian counterparts, hopes ran high for quick and easy riches and most were sadly disappointed. Cultural tradition bound women to the home, and because it was expected to be a quick trip, most of the Chinese immigrants that came to California were single men who planned to return home with newfound wealth (Voss and Allen 2008:9; Wegars 1993:230-231).⁶ Great quantities of gold were not easily found, and Chinese miners were often pushed to marginal areas by their European and American counterparts. Many Chinese miners soon turned to other pursuits, including several famous railroad projects, reclamation projects, logging, factory work, and agriculture.

Chinese immigrants were at first welcomed as clean, industrious workers in the labor-hungry American West. Due to racism and xenophobia compounded by lack of familiarity with Chinese culture among White residents, the initial acceptance began to change rapidly. In 1854, a legal decision found Chinese unable to testify against Whites in a court of law. As the productivity of many mining districts began to decline, so did the economy. Chinese were singled out as contributing to the situation because of their willingness to work for lower wages. It soon became common to limit Chinese from staking or holding mining claims. In addition, laws were passed limiting their freedom of movement and special taxes (such as the Foreign Miner's Tax) were levied against their wages (see Table 1). Anti-Chinese sentiment reached a crescendo in the 1870s as the state entered a severe economic depression. The voice of the Anti-Chinese movement finally reached such a pitch that in 1882 President Hayes signed the Chinese Exclusion Act. Despite this, more than 100,000 Chinese immigrants still arrived in California that year (Chen 2001:105). The Act blocked further immigration of Chinese into the U.S., creating the first race-based immigration exclusion law in the United States. The Geary Act, passed in 1892, required those of Chinese birth residing in the U.S. to carry Certificates of Residence (Ahmad 2007; Baxter 2008; Sandmeyer 1991). The Chinese community did not passively accept this legislation. They hired lawyers to fight them in court, and carried out actions of civil disobedience, often refusing to carry the required paperwork (Baxter 2008).

Table 1. Anti-Chinese Legislation from the Latter-half of the Nineteenth Century.⁷

1853	California State Foreign Miner's Tax forced non-citizen miners to be licensed.
1854	California Supreme Court decision of <i>People V. Hall</i> determines that Chinese people are not legally "white" and cannot testify against "Whites" in courts of law.
1855	"Act to Discourage the Immigration to this State [California] of Persons Who Cannot Become Citizens Thereof" imposing \$50 entry tax on every non-White immigrant.
1858	California passes law to bar immigration of Chinese and other "Mongolians."
1862	Chinese Capitation Tax of \$2.50 per month on all Chinese residents of the State of California, with the exception of business owners, those already paying the Foreign Miners' License Tax, and those working in the production of sugar, rice, coffee, or tea.

⁶ In reality only about 48% of Chinese immigrants to the U.S. ultimately returned to China (Yang 1999:62). This was a number equivalent to many European immigrant ethnic populations of the same time period (Voss and Allen 2008:9).

⁷ Chan (1991); Takaki (1998); Hsu (2000); Chang (2003); Lee (2005).

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- 1875 Federal Page Law prohibits immigration of Chinese, Japanese, and ‘Mongolian’ prostitutes, felons, and contract laborers.
- 1879 California Constitutional revision prohibiting “non-Whites” from owning land.
- 1880 U.S. and China sign treaty giving U.S. right to limit Chinese immigration.
- 1880 California Act prohibiting aliens from fishing in State Waters
- 1880 California Anti-miscegenation Law, first in the U.S. to explicitly prohibit marriage between Whites and “Mongolians” in addition to “negros, mulattoes, or Native Americans.”
- 1882 Federal Chinese Exclusion Act restricting Chinese immigration of Chinese laborers for 10 years, allowing only professionals and merchants; also barred the wives and children of laborers.
- 1888 Federal Scott Act barred return of Chinese laborers.
- 1892 Federal Geary Act renewed exclusion act of 1882 required Chinese to carry I.D. papers.

Chinese resistance and counter measures took a variety of forms. In some instances, it was simply impromptu banding together. Perhaps the most well-known, and effective measures were the *hui guin* or District Associations. Most of the Chinese who immigrated into California came from either the Sze Yup, Heungsan, or Sam Yup districts within the Guangdong Province. Transplants from these districts gradually coalesced into District Associations, each representing its respective district. The District Associations helped Chinese immigrants adjust and survive in the rough world that was California (Karuka 2019:84-85). When a new arrival stepped off the boat, a representative from his respective district would meet him on the dock, provide him with a place to stay, and arrange for employment. Once settled in, the new arrival could look to his District Association for continued employment, physical and legal protection, social interaction and comfort from fellow countrymen, and ultimately the return of his remains to China if needed. It is unclear if the district associations were directly involved in the day-to-day operations of the railroad camps, but the community leaders did hold sway in larger issues such as strikes and rates of pay (Karuka 2019:93). As harassment, legal and illegal, increased, the role of the District Associations became more important. Other measures included work stoppages and strikes meant to counter anti-Chinese legislation and harassment. In some instances, they physically walled themselves off in exclusively Chinese communities. In rare instances, violent altercations, including running gun battles, broke out between Chinese people and their White antagonists (Baxter 2008). Despite the counter measures of the Chinese community, the various restrictions and exclusionary laws had the desired effect for White Americans. Between 1882 and 1892 the Chinese population in the U.S. dropped by nearly 82,000 (Tsai 1986:66).

Chinese Workers on the Transcontinental Railroad⁸

Up to 15,000 Chinese workers were employed during the construction of the transcontinental railroad; however, as railroad engineer John Gillis (1870:161) reported, the force at work on the railroad probably averaged from 6,000 to 10,000 at any given time during construction, nine-tenths of them being Chinese workers. Charles Crocker initiated the move to hire Chinese immigrants in order to meet a serious labor shortage, believing that “the race of people who built the Great Wall of China could certainly run a railroad over the mountains” (Ambrose 2005:150; Earl 1989:1).

Huntington, Stanford, and Hopkins, along with Construction Superintendent J.H. Strobridge, were originally opposed to employing the Chinese, resisting them due to their small size (with an average height of only four feet 10 inches and an average weight of 120 pounds) and no doubt, generally held racist anti-Asian sentiments. Strobridge further argued that the Chinese were “not masons” in spite of the example of the Great Wall of China (Earl 1989:1). Nonetheless, in 1865 a trial group of 50 Chinese laborers were hired to fill dump carts (Lee 2019:14). The men were reportedly recruited from the mining town of Auburn through which the vestigial

⁸ The following is paraphrased from Lindström et al. (1999:30-32) and expanded upon.

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railroad ran (Ambrose 2005:150; Brands 2020:292). This trial proved successful and thousands more were employed (Earl 1989:1).

As noted above, many Chinese immigrants came directly from Guangdong Province through labor exchanges set up by Crocker (Earl 1989:1):

We find them organized into societies for mutual aid and assistance. These societies, that count their numbers by thousands, are conducted by shrewd, intelligent business men, who promptly advise their subordinates where employment can be found on the most favorable terms. No system similar to slavery, serfdom or peonage prevails among these laborers. Their wages, which are always paid in coin, at the end of each month, are divided among them by their agents, who attend to their business, in proportion to the labor done by each person. These agents are generally American or Chinese merchants, who furnish them their supplies of food, the value of which they deduct from their monthly pay (CPRR 1865:8).

Because they were willing to work more cheaply, Chinese workers soon replaced most White workers on the CPRR. However, the railroad could not entice enough Chinese workers to join their labor force. Heading up into the Sierra they needed thousands more men. The CPRR contracted with labor contractor named Cornelius Koopmanschap to make arrangements to bring more men over from China to work exclusively for the railroad. By the summer of 1865 the first ships began to arrive from China. They landed in San Francisco, where the men disembarked, only to be put on a steamship to Sacramento. In Sacramento they were put on trains that would take them to the end of the tracks. From there they had to walk the rest of the way to their new jobs along the ever-lengthening railroad grade (Ambrose 2005:152, 161).

Summit Camp was occupied at a time when the American labor movement was just getting on its feet. Strikes and civil unrest were becoming more common as workers fought for better wages and better working conditions (Rostow 1958:57-63; Towne 1918:115-135). One of the perceived desirable traits that the Chinese held for the railroad employers was that they were perceived as less prone to labor unrest. Given this, it is interesting to note how differently the Chinese were treated than their European American counterparts. The latter were housed more formally, often in mobile bunk houses that were moved as the tracks were laid and were fed a fairly consistent diet of "beef, beans, bread, butter and potatoes" (Chinn 1969:44; Lindström et al. 1999:31).

In contrast, the Chinese were left to provide their own housing and provisions. This may have been a matter of indifference by the railroad, or of perceived value as non-Chinese workers had their food and lodging included on top of their wages. Regardless, the result was that the Chinese had much more autonomy over their living situation than did the non-Chinese workers. This may partially account for why the Chinese were willing to do jobs the non-Chinese workers avoided, while simultaneously making fewer demands on the railroad regarding pay or living situations (Chinn 1969:44).

Most Chinese CPRR employees worked from sunrise to sunset, six days per week. Workers were initially paid one dollar per day; later this wage was raised to \$35 per month, leaving \$20 to \$30 per man in gold, after deducting their living expenses.⁹ Non-Asian men were paid about the same, but with their board included (Gillis 1870:161). However, in spite of perceptions, there is at least one noteworthy example of Chinese CPRR workers engaging in collective labor action. About 2,000 Chinese workers engaged in tunnel work on the summit went on strike in June 1867. They asked for \$40 per month, with a shortened workday in the tunnels limited to eight hours and work outside limited to 10 hours, along with demands for better treatment. In response, the railroad cut off supplies to the workers. High in the Sierras, the Chinese workers were completely

⁹ Different sources provide different figures concerning what Chinese employees were paid.

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dependent on food and other supplies shipped to them by the railroad. Running out of food, and without support from other workers, the strike collapsed within a week (Brands 2020:293; Chinn 1969).¹⁰

One of the first great hurdles the Chinese workers had to tackle was Cape Horn, a massive rock outcrop roughly three miles east of Colfax. Despite efforts to find an alternative route, the railroad concluded that they needed to cut a grade around the 1,000 to 2,200-foot-tall rock outcrop, something they began in the July of 1865 (Duncan 2005:33; Strobridge 2003). A great deal of folklore has developed around this portion of the railroad project, much of it focused around the lengths the Chinese workers went to in completing the grade. Many sources claim it took up to 5,000 workers to complete, some hanging from a cliff face in baskets (Ambrose 2005:156-157; Brands 2020:293; Chinn 1969:45; Yu 1969). However, Edson T. Strobridge (2003) claims this is all myth. Strobridge conducted extensive research of primary sources to disprove most of this story, admitting that while building the grade around Cape Horn was difficult, there was nowhere near 5,000 men working there and that they never hung from baskets (Strobridge 2003).

Having accomplished one great feat, they were next faced with excavating the tunnels through the mountains. Still fighting the hard granite bedrock with hand drills and black powder, progress was measured in inches per day. Frustrated with the slow progress, the CPRR decided to give nitroglycerin a try as a substitute for black powder. Relatively new, supremely powerful, and inherently unstable, the CPRR had tried using it before with deadly consequences. Despite the danger, and likely lacking any concern for their Chinese workers, in 1867 the railroad insisted on giving it another try at the tunnels. Its use reportedly doubled their progress on the tunnels, but at a cost (Ambrose 2005:200-201; Brands 2020:298). As one CPRR engineer coarsely recalled about the use of nitroglycerine “many an honest John went to China feet first” (Brands 2020:298). In one instance, multiple nitro charges had been set off. Mucking out the rock afterwards a Chinese worker hit an unexploded charge with his pick. The resulting detonation killed him and several of his fellow countrymen (Ambrose 2005:201). The dangers the men faced were innumerable—just how dangerous is underscored by 13 burials recovered from Carlin, Nevada. All were Chinese and all are believed to have been railroad construction workers. All had bone fractures, 12 of the 13 had cranial fractures or depressions. Most of the injuries were interpreted as likely having resulted from their work (Harrod and Crandall 2015). As one source stated: “The feats of the Chinese railroad construction workers were remarkable and many were killed by avalanche or died of exposure or construction accidents (Earl 1989:1).”

Chinese workers were divided into gangs of about 12 to 20 each. Each gang had a “head man” who received from the foreman each evening an account of the time credited to his gang; he in turn divided that time among the individuals. The headman also bought and paid for all provisions used by his gang, and the amount due him being collected from each individual at the end of the month (Ambrose 2005:161; Chinn 1969).

Each group had a cook who not only prepared their meals but was required to have a large boiler of hot water each night so they could take a hot sponge bath and change into clean clothes before the evening meal (Chinn 1969). Most of the Chinese workers adhered to a fairly traditional diet, with many foodstuffs shipped over from China. Among the items shipped to the work crews were dried oysters, cuttlefish, finned fish, and abalone; dried bamboo, seaweed, and mushrooms; dried fruits, rice, crackers, vermicelli (noodles), salted cabbage, Chinese sugar, peanut oil, Chinese bacon, pork, and poultry (Ambrose 2005:161-162). Studying the faunal remains recovered from several Chinese work camps, Ryan Kennedy (2015:130) noted:

¹⁰ Chinese immigrants were not a docile group. They were perhaps willing to endure hardships others would not, and work for lesser wages for the sake of achieving their goals. However, when pushed too far they were fully willing to stand their ground through protest, legal actions, and even violence (Baxter 2008; Goldstein 1988; Hagaman and Cottrell 2008:38-39; Hoobler and Hoobler 1994:65-66; Laffey 1993:3; Yu 1991:1)

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Overall, railroad and lumber-camp data suggest that Chinese laborers enacted traditional food beliefs where possible but maintained flexibility; they readily incorporated beef into their diets, and also procured locally available animals for consumption. While economic constraints and the availability of ingredients may have had an impact on these decisions, food beliefs, such as the Chinese preference for fresh ingredients, may have motivated railroad workers to seek out wild fish and game when possible.

By contrast, the fare of their non-Asian counterparts consisted of beef, beans, bread, butter, and potatoes (Chinn 1969:44; Lindström et al. 1999:31). The Chinese workers also drank barrels of tea brought regularly by Chinese mess attendants. The company provided the Chinese workers with low cloth tents, but many preferred to live in dugouts or to burrow into the earth (Ambrose 2005:161-162; Chinn 1969; Earl 1989:1). Due to the weather and length of time the workers stayed at Summit Camp these accommodations were superseded by wood cabins.

When the Summit tunnels were opened in August 1867, many Chinese workers were relocated eastward to lay tracks to Nevada and Utah, before meeting up with the UPRR at Promontory Point (Cannon et al. 2016). Chinese gangs set an unequaled construction record, laying ten miles and 56 feet of iron on April 28, 1869 (Earl 1989:1).

Sue Lee (2019:14-15) provided the figures in Table 2 concerning the number of Chinese workers employed by the CPRR. Given the spotty records, the later figures should be considered estimates.

Table 2. Approximate number of Chinese CPRR Employees (after Lee 2019).

Date	Number of Chinese employees of the CPRR
January 1864	23
April 1865	1,200
June 1865	2,000
July 1865	4,000*
Fall 1868	10,000
April 1869	3,000

*Another source puts the 1867 figure at 7,000 (Ambrose 2005:152).

CRITERION 1 – THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD AND THE CHINESE DIASPORA

The Transcontinental Railroad

NHL Criterion 1 is used for properties that are associated with major events or broad patterns in American history. Summit Camp is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 1 for its strong association with the vital role of Chinese laborers in the construction of the transcontinental railroad. Critical to the European American settlement of the American West in the nineteenth century, completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 tied the country together, allowing, for the first time, the rapid flow of goods, people, and ideas from coast to coast. A primary engineering feat of this accomplishment was construction of the railroad tunnels through solid granite at the Sierra Nevada summit crossing where Summit Camp was established. This grueling and dangerous work was conducted by Chinese immigrant laborers living at Summit Camp.

Even in the mid-nineteenth century, California was a wealthy state blessed with rich gold deposits, expansive stands of timber, seemingly endless acres of fertile farmland, and ready supplies of water to irrigate this farmland. However, it was also an isolated place, cut off from the rest of the country to the east. The transcontinental railroad transformed California into a major economic and political force and contributed to the

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state's rapid growth. In the words of one source, "what the Transcontinental Railroad did was bring the West into the world, and the world into the West" (Ronda and Schwantes 2008).

At the time, the transcontinental railroad was the biggest collaborative infrastructure project in the United States. The proponents put up little capital, but provided the expertise needed to execute the project. Through loans, land grants, and bonds the Federal government paid most of the expenses for the construction of the railroad (White 2011:26-36). By 1880, the transcontinental railroad was transporting \$50 million worth of freight each year. In addition to transporting western food crops and raw materials to East Coast markets and manufactured goods from East Coast cities to the West Coast, the railroad also facilitated international trade. The first freight train to travel eastward from California reportedly carried, among other things, a load of Japanese tea. Henry Brands (2020) noted "The Constitution provided the legal framework for a single national market for trade goods; the Transcontinental Railroad provided the physical framework. Together they gave the United States the single largest market in the world, which provided the basis for the rapid expansion of American industry and agriculture to the point where the U.S., by the 1890s, had the most powerful economy on the planet."

The railroad also dramatically reduced the cost of travel. In 1865, a trip from New York to San Francisco cost approximately \$1,000 and could take months.¹¹ Once the railroad was completed in 1869, that same trip took only seven days and cost \$70 for "emigrant" and \$150 for first class (Ambrose 2005:369).¹² That is an 85 to 93 percent drop in cost at a fraction of the time. This made it cost effective and practical for Americans to travel long distances for business and/or pleasure.

The transcontinental railroad altered how Americans experienced time and space. Part of this was the adoption of standardized time zones to help keep trains on schedule (Schwantes and Ronda 2008:93-97).¹³ Prior to the railroad, it took months to cross the country, mostly on foot or horseback, where the travelers truly felt every mile of the trip. With the railroad, the travelers could sit in the relative comfort of a railcar and watch the miles rapidly pass by. Suddenly, the country was a much smaller place.

The railroad permitted the rapid dissemination of not just goods, but ideas as well. The railroad served as the perfect tool for the spread of Victorianism and the conspicuous consumption that came with it. Mail order businesses such as Montgomery Ward and Sears Roebuck soon gained prominence catering to this movement, using the railroad to swiftly deliver goods to customers across the country. Such businesses changed the way people shopped and what they purchased.

The transcontinental railroad forever altered settlement patterns across the United States, for both European settler colonialists and Native American tribes. During the construction of the railroad, temporary towns were erected along the route to provide living quarters for workers and as shipping points for materials. Most of these were abandoned as the rails moved forward, but others developed into towns that provided rail facilities or became rail junctions. More importantly, the transcontinental railroad, and subsequent feeder lines, made it easier, faster, and more cost effective for immigrants to spread across the nation. Twenty years after the

¹¹ This equates to roughly \$3,400 in 2022.

¹² "Emigrant" class passengers only got a bench seat, while first class passengers were provided a berth in a Pullman sleeper car.

¹³ In 1878, Canadian Sir Sandford Fleming proposed the system of worldwide time zones that we use today. He recommended that the world be divided into twenty-four time zones, each spaced 15 degrees of longitude apart. Since the earth rotates once every 24 hours and there are 360 degrees of longitude, each hour the earth rotates one-twenty-fourth of a circle or 15 degrees of longitude. Sir Fleming's time zones were heralded as a brilliant solution to a chaotic problem worldwide.

United States railroad companies began utilizing Fleming's standard time zones on November 18, 1883. In 1884 an International Prime Meridian Conference was held in Washington D.C. to standardize time and select the prime meridian. The conference selected the longitude of Greenwich, England as zero degrees longitude and established the 24 time zones based on the prime meridian (Rosenberg 2017).

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transcontinental railroad was completed, Union Pacific contractor Sydney Dillon stated “...none of us dreamed that the future of the Pacific [rail]roads depended on the business that would grow out of the peopling of the desert it traversed” (Schwantes and Ronda 2008:155).

While much traditional scholarship on the transcontinental railroad has celebrated its technological and social achievements through the lens of nation building, more recently some scholars have focused on a more complete context of the socio-environmental costs of this colonialist project. The railroad came with both immediate and long-term environmental impacts. The railroad’s need for timber and cordwood led to the clear cutting of massive tracts of forest. The rail lines cut across the migratory routes of bison and other animals. The railroad spurred the settlement of previously wild lands, which were soon urban settlements or fenced off and under the plow, both displacing wildlife and decimating habitat (Schwantes and Ronda 2008:80-82). The negative environmental impacts were felt most acutely by Native Americans whose traditional food sources and ways of life were profoundly disrupted by the arrival of the railroad through their lands (Karuka 2019; White 2011:59-62). Even more fundamentally, railroad land grants relied on claims of possession over Indigenous lands (Karuka 2019:43, 67-69).

Chinese Immigration

Precise figures for nineteenth century Chinese immigration are surprisingly difficult to verify. A U.S. Census Bureau report provides figures for the number of people of Chinese birth living in the U.S. (Gibson and Jung 2006:Table 4). A sample of these, selected for the period bracketing the time Summit Camp was occupied, is summarized below in Table 3. Numerous other sources indicate that these numbers may be low.¹⁴ However, if considered relative to each other, these figures provide a clear picture of the rapid pace of Chinese immigration.

Table 3. Persons of Chinese birth living in the U.S.

Year	Persons born in China and residing in the U.S.
1850	758
1860	35,565
1870	63,042
1880	104,408

In the 1840s there were less than 50 persons of Chinese birth residing in the entire country. With the discovery of gold in California many more joined the flood of would-be miners that formed the Gold Rush. Between 1849 and 1852 roughly 24,000 Chinese people immigrated to California, reportedly 20,000 in 1852 alone (Chan 1984). By 1860 Chinese immigrants made up more than nine percent of California’s population (Saxton 1971:3).

The 1849 Gold Rush was the original impetus for Chinese immigration to California, but by the mid-1860s that particular economic impetus was well in the past. In addition, anti-Chinese sentiment and its related legislation were increasing. As a consequence, Chinese immigration to the U.S. dropped off dramatically. There were reportedly 24,000 Chinese immigrants to California between 1849 and 1852, an average of 8,000 people per year. However, in 1860 there were less than 36,000 Chinese in the entire country, indicating that the average

¹⁴ One source puts the Chinese population in the U.S. in 1877 at 151,000, with 116,000 of those living in California (Norton 1924:283-296). The U.S. Census Bureau does not list a population that high until 1970.

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immigration had dropped to 1,500 people per year from 1852 to 1860.¹⁵ This downward trend was reversed, however, due to the transcontinental railroad. At the insistence of Charles Crocker, the CPRR began hiring Chinese workers in February 1865 (Lee 2019:14-15). However, they soon found they could not entice enough Chinese workers to come work for them. Crocker turned to a San Francisco labor contractor named Cornelius Koopmanschap to arrange for more men to be brought over from China specifically to work for the railroad. By the summer of 1865, the first boats began arriving from China, full of men whose next stop would be the end of the railroad line (Ambrose 2005:152, 161).

By 1868 the CPRR had approximately 10,000 Chinese workers in their employment (Lee 2019:14-15). That same year the Burlingame Treaty codified legal immigration from China to the U.S. (Gyory 1998:27-29), which likely helped the railroad bring over even more Chinese workers. The CPRR set the trend of using Chinese workers for railroad construction projects, and Chinese men would soon work on railroad projects all over the Western U.S., including the Fernley & Lassen (Baxter 2021:20), Great Northern (Ambrose 2005:378), Northern Pacific (Ambrose 2005:378), Oregon Short Line (Ambrose 2005:378), Virginia & Truckee (Furnis and Maniery 2015; Rogers 1997; Wroblewski 1996), and others. While the railroad was not the sole impetus for increased Chinese immigration, it was certainly one of the most important. As a consequence of the increased need for Chinese workers, by 1870 there were 63,042 people of Chinese birth in the U.S. (Gibson and Jung 2006: Table 4), a 77 percent increase, and an average of more than 2,700 a year between 1860 and 1870.

By 1870, some Chinese immigrants had been in California for more than 20 years and had no intention of returning to China. Instead, they stayed and settled into communities all over the state. Interracial marriage likely occurred during this time period, but the numbers would have been infinitesimally small. While women made up a small proportion of the Chinese immigrant population, after two decades, their cumulative numbers had grown.¹⁶ Priscilla Wegars (1993:236) noted that by 1880 there were 1,445 Chinese American housewives in California.¹⁷ This estimate does not consider the Chinese women employed outside the home. While Chinese men still far outnumbered Chinese women, some Chinese communities were approaching a point of being self-sustaining in regard to the births of children to Chinese parents.¹⁸ This was important to the perpetuation of an ethnically Chinese population in California, and the American West, as increasingly egregious anti-Chinese laws choked off most immigration by 1880. Without the CPRR actively bringing over more workers from China in the 1860s, sustainable Chinese communities probably would not have lasted beyond the turn of the century. Lee and Yu's (2019) *Voices from the Railroad* provide a compilation of stories concerning Chinese transcontinental railroad workers who stayed in the U.S., married, and had children whose descendants have retained their connections with the history of the railroad.

¹⁵ These figures are not entirely accurate and are recognized at approximations. A number of factors would affect these estimations: 1.) Some (probably a small number) Chinese immigrants returned to China between 1852 and 1860, 2.) I am comparing National and state level figures, 3.) The Federal Census figures underrepresented the number of Chinese residents in the U.S, 4.) There would have been a small number of births in the U.S. of people that would have been identified as Chinese, but it is unclear if they are included in these numbers.

¹⁶ The 1874 Page Act barred "...the importation...of women for the purposes of prostitution." While the language was generic, it was almost unilaterally applied to Asian women seeking to immigrate to the U.S., regardless of their intended employment (Gyory 1998:71). This effectively barred most Chinese women from entering the country.

¹⁷ The proper use of terminology referring to the historical Chinese community in the U.S. is an ongoing and fluid discussion. The terms Chinese, Chinese American, Chinese-American, Overseas Chinese, Chinese Transnationalism, Chinese Transmigration, etc. have all been used (Fong et al. 2022). In some respects, the terminology employed depends on the intent of the person or persons being discussed, their intent, and the time period being discussed. In this document the simple term Chinese is used for ease of reading and because the mindset of the men is unknown.

¹⁸ Gardner 2005:22 puts the ratio of men to women at more than 2.6 to 1.

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Summit Camp and the Development of Historical Archaeology

The archaeological research conducted at Summit Camp resulted in some of the earliest collections, scholarly presentations, and professional publications within the discipline of historical archaeology on the material culture of Chinese Railroad workers and, arguably, the Chinese diaspora as a whole. As a result, the remains of railroad worker's houses at Summit Camp served to define a kind of 'type site' for the study of material culture and settlement patterns of Chinese railroad workers in North America. Arguably, this early contribution to the field of historical archaeology broadened the scope of the field from a dominant focus on European colonization and contact with indigenous peoples and a geographic focus on sites on the east coast of North America. The transnational study of archaeological sites of Chinese immigrants has developed into a significant area of research among a body of scholars who agree on the early and significant role the site played (Ross 2013, 2017; Chang 2015; Praetzelis and Praetzelis 2015; Voss 2015:11; Kennedy and Rose 2020).

The Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) defines historical archaeology as "...the study of material remains of past societies that also left behind some other form of historical evidence" (SHA 2022). Most scholars trace the professional origins of the field back to the groundbreaking work done at Jamestown in the 1930s. The following decades saw the number of American archaeologists focused on this era grow slowly, and at the 1958 Annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, John C. Cotter organized a symposium titled the "Role of Archaeology in Historical Research" (Cotter 1993:9). Discussion during the symposium led to the establishment of the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA), officially incorporated on April 1, 1968. The establishment of the SHA led to the development of a professional journal, *Historical Archaeology*, as well as an annual conference, firmly institutionalizing the field of study as a distinct discipline within archaeology.

Early development of historical archaeology was firmly rooted in the study of European American sites and material culture. While the lives of enslaved Black persons were touched on, very little attention was paid to the racial and ethnic minorities that were a part of the U.S. since its inception. This disciplinary focus is reflected in the paucity of scholarly publications focusing on Chinese diaspora sites in the first couple decades of the discipline's founding.¹⁹ While *Historical Archaeology* was a bit slow in publishing on archaeological investigations of Chinese sites, that did not mean that such sites were not being investigated. Starting in the mid-1960s Santa Monica College professor Bill Evans began surface collecting artifacts from Chinese habitation sites throughout the Motherlode region (Central Sierra Foothills) and Nevada. The largest assemblage of Chinese artifacts was collected from Summit Camp. The collection included thousands of artifacts, primarily Chinese ceramics, but also opium cannisters, coins, gaming tokens, buttons and other clothing items, bottle/jar glass, and tools. Evans was assisted in his efforts by Paul Chace and Patricia Etters (a student of Evans).

In a 1969 presentation of their work at the second annual SHA meeting (Chace and Evans 1969 [2015]), the authors introduced their preliminary classificatory system for the material culture collected at Summit Camp as defining an archaeological "horizon style," a technical term for a broadly distributed, temporally constrained dispersal of materials. In the conclusion of their 1969 presentation, Chace and Evans elaborated on their vision for scholarly collaboration on defining the nature of this horizon, beginning with the typology derived from Summit Camp:

¹⁹ It would be 1979 before a short article on Chinese material culture was published in *Historical Archaeology*. This article focused on coins recovered during California State Parks excavations at the Yreka (CA) Chinatown. However, it did not discuss the remainder of the assemblage (Ferris 1979). The following year a second article on Chinese coins was published in *Historical Archaeology*, but it focused on the coins' association with Native American sites (Beals 1980). It would not be until 1985 that a broader discussion of Chinese sites and material culture would be published in the journal (Schulz and Lortie 1986).

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The horizon style defined from the 1865-1868 Donner Pass sites in California should be particularly useful in assessing archaeological materials throughout the Americas and elsewhere. We are looking forward to learning of materials from this horizon from other areas for comparative study. Several collections have already come to our attention. We are anxious to see more. We invite your communication. (Chace and Evans 1969 [2015])

The 1969 SHA meetings, which also included a display of Chinese ceramics collected in Langtry Texas and a paper by archaeologist Jim Ayers on opium smoking implements collected from Chinese sites in Tucson, led directly to the formation of the SHA's Overseas Chinese Research Group and a column devoted to the subject and edited by Chace in the SHA's quarterly newsletter (Chace 2015:24).

The pioneering work of Bill Evans in the 1960s and the subsequent presentations and publications on the site (Chace and Evans 1969 [2015], Evans 1980, Etters 1980) resulted in Summit Camp becoming a kind of type site or defining an archaeological horizon style for the study of Chinese railroad worker sites of the time and, in their own assessment, the global diaspora of Chinese immigrants across the nineteenth century. This early work served as the baseline for many seminal early studies of Chinese archaeological sites. Among these were Chace's (1976) study of the Chinese ceramics in *The Changing Faces of Main Street: San Buenaventura Mission Plaza Project Archaeological Report* (Greenwood 1976). Hattori et al.'s (1979) *Archaeological and Historical Studies at Ninth and Amherst, Lovelock Nevada*, referenced Etters' study of opium paraphernalia. The Lovelock study was one of the earliest studies of Chinese sites in Nevada.

Etters (1980) authored "The West Coast Chinese and Opium Smoking," and Evans (1980) "Food and Fantasy: Material Culture of the Chinese in California and the West, circa 1850–1900." Both appeared in Robert Schuyler's 1980 volume *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America, Afro-American and Asian American Culture History*, an early treatise on ethnicity in the field of historical archaeology. These were not definitive works, but the circulation of this volume meant Summit Camp was the first Chinese assemblage from a work camp to be described in detail in a published work.²⁰ Felton et al.'s (1984) *The Chinese Laundry on Second Street* referenced Evans (1980), Etters (1980), and Chace and Evans (1969). Neville Ritchie's (1986) pioneering work on Chinese sites in New Zealand referenced Evans (1980) and Etters (1980). In fact, the call for comparative analysis of Chinese material culture across the global diaspora presages the innovative transnational approach to such sites outlined by Ross in his 2013 volume, *An Archaeology of Asian Transnationalism*.

The importance of Summit Camp may be best summed up in the NPS publication *Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks* (Odo 2017) in which historical archaeologist Douglas Ross stated:

Among the earliest investigations at a Chinese site in the United States was a brief surface survey in 1966 and 1967 by Chace and Evans at Summit Camp near Donner Pass in California's Tahoe National Forest, where Chinese railroad workers spent four years blasting tunnels through the Sierra Nevada. The site, subjected to several subsequent surveys, is important because of its size and longevity, including substantial dwellings with stone foundations and hearths that help us understand how camps were organized. The pioneering work of Chace and Evans introduced the study of Chinese sites to the burgeoning field of historical archaeology, and their descriptions of Chinese artifacts from the site helped define the material signature of Chinese immigrant

²⁰ It should be noted these were not the first publications concerning the excavation of Chinese sites, but rather the first to focus on work camps. Olsen's (1978) "A Study of Chinese Ceramics Excavated in Tucson" predated Evans' and Etters' publication by a couple years. Two additional articles on the Chinese Diaspora were included in the volume, including works on archeology conducted in Ventura (Greenwood 1980) and a study of faunal remains from excavations at a Chinese store on Madera County (Langenwaller 1980)

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settlements and the degree to which they relied on imported consumer goods and maintained homeland practices (Ross 2017:61).

CRITERION 6 – ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT SUMMIT CAMP

Summit Camp Archaeological District is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 6 for yielding, and having the potential to yield, nationally significant information about the lifeways of Chinese immigrant laborers essential to construction of the transcontinental railroad. The density and duration of occupation by railroad workers across an extended period, coupled with high archaeological integrity, is reflected in a site with unparalleled potential to answer research questions with implications for affecting theories, concepts, and ideas regarding the material lives of the Chinese diaspora to a major degree.

The 150th anniversary of the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 2019 brought a renewed interest in the contributions of Chinese railroad workers by the public. While much has been written about the railroad, there are few contemporary accounts concerning the lives of the Chinese workers. Although Chinese immigrants made substantial contributions to the development of the United States since the nineteenth century, the written record is very sparse. Consequently, archaeology has much to contribute to the understanding of the lives these men lived during the building of the railroad. Most of the railroad construction camps were temporary, short-term occupations with little to no permanent architecture and scant artifact deposits. In contrast, Summit Camp was occupied for several years resulting in more permanent, if rudimentary, residential structures. As a result, the site retains extensive archaeological remains. Archaeological investigations of the site began in the 1960s and have continued, sporadically, to the present (2023). The site has yielded perhaps the most extensive assemblage of artifacts related to Chinese railroad workers, including evidence of tablewares, food storage vessels, woks, and other domestic items; clothing and personal items; gaming pieces; materials related to alcohol and drug use; and tools used in their work lives. Much of this assemblage is now housed at the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California (CHSSC), but additional materials and deposits remain at the site.²¹

Aside from the artifacts, the remains of the cabins occupied by Chinese laborers are scattered across the landscape, as are traditional Chinese cooking features used to prepare meals for the workers. Several of these feature types are unique to Summit Camp in comparison to other construction camps along the railroad. The structural foundations and cooking features point toward a level of permanence lacking at the other camps. One feature in particular is of a type generally used for cooking large quantities of food during festivals. Due the temporary nature of all other camps, and the effort required to construct these features, none are known to have been constructed elsewhere. In addition to the archaeological materials, Summit Camp was captured in several photos taken while the camp was occupied in the 1860s. This is a data set lacking from other sites of this nature and help to provide a better understanding of the composition and layout of the camp. Taken as a whole, the archaeological data offered up by the site lends itself to a comprehensive understanding of the daily lives of the men who lived here—a depth of understanding not proffered by other sites of this nature.

Summit Camp and Archaeological Research Potential

The site is nationally significant under Criterion 6 under the *Labor Archaeology of the Industrial Era National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Fracchia and Roller 2014) and *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study* (Odo 2017) as a site with the proven capacity to

²¹ The Evans collection is now housed at the CHSSC. This material has been analyzed and catalogued by R. Scott Baxter. As noted by a peer reviewer for this nomination, these artifact collections have protected the information potential of the site data given the fact that the Summit Camp site is well known to tourists, hikers, and history buffs. Correspondence (1 March 2024), Summit Camp NHL nomination file, NHL Program, WASO.

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yield data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree. Archaeological sites which fall under the Labor Archaeology theme study include places where workers extracted, processed, and distributed resources for industrial production, as well as places and structures associated with, and offering support for industry. Because the relationships that labor produces are understood to pervade all social forms, the homes and communities of those who perform labor, such as Summit Camp, are also significant in providing information to convey the significance associated with the themes of the theme study.

Archaeological data recovered at Summit Camp can answer questions within research domains encountered at work camps and company towns across the West throughout the industrial era. The waves of new labor entering the country in the mid to late nineteenth century were employed by companies to develop further previously uninhabited or sparsely inhabited areas of the country, playing an important role not only in manufacturing, mineral and other natural resource extraction, but also in expanding infrastructure development into American hinterlands. In the West, immigrants took part in railroad construction, dam building, agricultural labor, timbering, mineral extraction, commercial fishing and processing. The nature of this work: geographically isolated, often temporary or seasonal and largely unskilled, resulted in occupational and domestic settings reflective of the transient nature of this work (Hardesty 2002; Van Bueren 2002a, 2002b:1-7; Walker 2008).

Domestic arrangements in laboring towns, work camps, or industrial neighborhoods may reflect a particular ethnic group clustering around or dominating the labor in an industry. Some domestic occupations and worksites reflect the concentrated presence of solitary ethnic groups employed in a single industry, blurring the thematic boundaries of sites as ethnic enclaves, work camps, and company towns (Schulz and Lortie 1986, Ross 2013). Patently, they demonstrate characteristics of all three. In other cases, groups intermingled, sometimes reflecting the labor hierarchy inherent in industrial work processes. Elsewhere they occur in diachronic succession or accumulation, reflecting the history of global migration flows. Immigrant workers maintained their cultural traditions by forming ethnic communities that offered support and understanding for their beliefs, practices, and values (Boris and Lichtenstein 1991:171).

Archaeological scholarship has examined material culture for patterning that reflects the racial, racialized, or ethnic identification of laboring groups in ways that range from identities internally constructed to identities externally imposed (Epperson 2004; Orser 2007; Singleton and Bograd 1995). Many studies have broadened this analysis by recognizing the role ethnicity and race play in combination with multiple facets of identity including nationality, gender, class, and sexuality (Brighton 2008; Delle et al. 2000; Franklin 1997, 2001; Mullins 1999; Scott 1994; Voss 2008; Wall 1994; Wilkie 2001). Archaeology, informed by anthropological ideas, has been particularly adept at examining the ways material culture can be used to address social identities within a variety of conditions and social environments related to labor (Camp 2011; Duke and Saitta 1998; Lightfoot 2005; Mrozowski 2006; Reckner 2009; Wilkie 2001). Among the practitioners of the archaeology of the Chinese Diaspora, a lively debate surrounds the negotiation of ethnic identities, particularly in regard to observance of traditional continuity in the face of broader scales of economic and political power, racism, and pluralism (Rose and Kennedy 2020; Voss 2005, 2015; Voss and Allen 2008).

Archaeological datasets at Summit Camp include incomparable information about life and work for the Chinese railroad workers, as well as the Chinese Diaspora in North America. Furthermore, the information can address central debates in historical archaeology concerning identifications of class, race, ethnicity, plural labor forces, and power. Datasets identified from the years of archaeological study at the site include comparative data on hearths, architecture, diet, trade, recreation, cultural continuity, and camp organization and site location. This is not meant to be a comprehensive list, but rather a sample of the data potential the constituent archaeological components of Summit Camp possess:

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Chinese Cooking Hearths

Archaeologists have documented a variety of unique forms of cooking features at nineteenth-century sites across the western U.S. Their unique attributes often serve as ethnic markers identifying those that built and used them (Medin 2002; Wegars 1991). They can also provide data concerning diet, as well the maintenance of traditional foodways. Many Chinese communities maintained their own types of traditional cooking features. These were designed for specific types of cooking, with different types being used for specific purposes. Research questions concerning hearths include:

- What hearth types are present?
- Are these uniquely Chinese?
- What form of cooking do these represent?
- What does this tell us about their diet?

The term “hearth” is used here because it can be applied to several different types of features that may have been used for either cooking or heating, or in some cases for both purposes. Medin (2002) provides a good summary of the various types of cooking features found at urban Chinese sites including wok stoves, cylindrical cookers, and smokers.²² Although the urban variants are generally more substantial than those in rural settings, the basic forms are the same. Dixon and Smith (2017) identified such features at nineteenth century Chinese logging camps on the southern slopes of the nearby Tahoe Basin and similar examples have been found at Virginia & Truckee Railroad (V&TRR) camps in Carson City (Furnis and Maniery 2015; Rogers 1997), and at mining camps in Montana (Merritt 2017:220). At rural Chinese camps, the hearths are important as they served as focal points in the camps with most activities carried out near them (Furnis and Maniery 2015:72 Tordoff 1987).

There are obvious cooking hearths at Loci 8 and 11, as well as a possible hearth at Locus 10.²³ Most of these are typical U-shaped or key-hole “wok stoves.” The U-shaped stove allowed the cook to insert more fuel without removing the wok from the stove. The opening is traditionally at the back of the stove, requiring two persons to do the cooking, one to cook the food and the other to feed fuel to the fire (Hommel 1937:148). Lindström and Waechter (2007) identified a number of wok stoves at Grey’s Crossing (CA-NEV-880H), a charcoal production site near Truckee, California. They interpreted the wok stoves at the site as being used in this manner, providing a clear illustration of their usage.

It is interesting to note that if the wok stoves at CA-PLA-2002/H are interpreted correctly, the opening for feeding the fuel would seem to be toward the center of the related structures and the cooking side toward the outside of the structure. This seems unlikely since the topography around the wok stoves would generally not have allowed for operation from the side opposite the fuel opening. At Loci 8 and 10 the surrounding topography drops off dramatically and at Locus 11 the stoves are surrounded by cobbles and small boulders. It is more likely that they were being used in a non-traditional manner, both cooking and feeding the fire from the same direction. Several alternative explanations may account for this. It may have been a matter of necessity, as most literature notes that only one man on each crew was assigned as the cook, and it is unlikely the railroad would have been willing to pay for staff they would have deemed extraneous. It may also be that given the

²² It should be noted that there are other forms of cooking features found on rural Chinese sites. Withee (2001) describes stone cooking features associated with Chinese gold miners in Oregon. However, these created an elevated cooking platform. These are of a type not typically found on urban Chinese sites, nor are any examples of these found at Summit Camp, nor other railroad construction camps. Likewise, there are domed rock ovens often attributed to Chinese railroad workers, but in actuality were built by Greek and/or Italian railroad workers (Wegars 1991:49-51)

²³ A specific point in space; a discrete excavated unit or archaeological context (plural = loci). In this instance loci refer to discrete clusters of archaeological features and/or refuse scatters.

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confined space of many of the structures it was necessary to economize on space. Instead of having the stove set somewhere in the middle of the room so the cook could work from both sides, it was set against one side of the structure, providing more usable floor space. It may also be that after having witnessed the “western” style of cooking (where fuel and food preparation are dealt with from one direction) the Chinese cooks modified their techniques. Chinese cooks were widely employed in non-Chinese households, and quickly adapted to the use of Western style cook stoves, even in rural or outdoor settings (Eliassen 2004; Stapp 1993:15-16; Merritt 2017:7-8; Van Bueren 2008; Wegars 1993:239).

As described earlier, the hearth design allowed the wok to be kept close to the fire, allowing for minimal fuel use. The wok itself is designed for quick cooking of food stuffs. This type of cooking was well-suited to the many harsh environments the Chinese workers faced in building the railroad. Sites like Summit Camp would have provided little natural fuel wood, as its location was almost above the tree line and under snow much of the year. Similar situations would have been encountered across the scrubby valleys of the Great Basin as well. Even in China the use of brush and twigs for fuel was the primary method of cooking with such a feature (Hommel 1937:148). The wok was one of the most important, if not the most important, cooking utensil Chinese immigrants had, and like most cooking implements, it came in various sizes. A fragment of one wok was found at Locus 8 and several more are part of the Evan’s Collection at the CHSSC. Most wok stoves average two to three feet in diameter on the inside, as do those at Locus 11 at Summit Camp site CA-PLA-2002/H. The stove at Locus 8, however, is approximately five feet in diameter, and was likely used to serve groups of men, rather than individual servings. This seems logical considering the number of men residing there, and their communal living situation. Figures below show comparative photos of wok stoves from Summit Camp, as well as two other Chinese sites in the Tahoe area: FS-05-19-427 (Heavenly Ski Resort) and CA-NEV-880H (Gray’s Crossing).

A second type of hearth is present at Locus 11 of CA-PLA-2002/H. It is a large circular hearth, with an inside diameter of approximately six feet. It departs from the wok stoves in that it is several courses high. This appears to be a version of the large cylindrical cookers found at several urban Chinese sites in California (Fiddletown, Folsom, San Jose, San Luis Obispo, etc.). These were used for cooking whole pigs or strings of smaller animals (Baxter and Allen 2002:390-391). Such features were generally used for cooking for large groups of people, especially during festivals. With up to 1,500 Chinese men living at Summit Camp for several years, it is not entirely surprising that they would have taken the time to build such a feature to be used during the several Chinese holidays celebrated throughout the year. As far as is known at this time, this is the only example of this type of feature at a Chinese railroad construction camp. Since most camps were only occupied for a short period of time it is unlikely the occupants of most camps would have invested the time in constructing such a feature.

It is possible that the rock piles at either end of Feature A at Locus 10 of CA-PLA-2002/H were once similar features that have collapsed over time. These hearths appear to be parts of larger structures, rather than stand-alone features as some wok stoves are. At Locus 11 of CA-PLA-2002/H, this is evidenced by the presence of a quantity of nails, and at Locus 10 by the feature(s) proximity to a building foundation. Figure 14 shows similar examples from a Chinese mining camp in Idaho (10-IH-1328) as well as from the Walltown Mining District in Folsom where such features were interpreted as fireplaces or hearths for cabins (Baxter and Allen 2008b). Hearths like these probably served dual purpose as heating sources, as well as for cooking.

As described above, the distinctively Chinese stone cooking features are found at other Chinese occupation sites. However, they do not seem prevalent at other transcontinental railroad construction camps. Michael Polk’s work in Utah is one of the most comprehensive works on the subject. He looked at over 50 stations and section houses along the route, most of which had started as construction camps. While focused on Chinese occupation of these sites, he noted only one U-shaped stone hearth at any of the sites (Polk and Merritt 2021; Polk et al. 2016). However, these sites were occupied once the railroad was in operation (1869 and later). Polk

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(2015) also investigated four Chinese construction camps along the stretch of railroad in Utah, sites 42BO1060, 42BO1068, 42BO1070, and 42BO1134. He found hearths at two of these (42BO1060 and 42BO1134), but the details of their construction are unclear. China Kitchen (FS# 05-17-55-525) is another transcontinental railroad construction camp some 6.5 miles west of Summit Camp. The site was so named because of its numerous hearths. While the site contained five stacked rock hearths, these were simply described as circular (Gralia and Gralia 2004). The site was revisited by R. Scott Baxter and Douglas Wilson in the summer of 2021. Unfortunately, in the intervening years since the site was last recorded, it had been disturbed by the natural overturning of many dead trees and much of the site was buried in deadfall. No characteristically Chinese U-shaped hearths or circular stacked rock cookers were identified during that visit.

The quantity and good preservation of the Chinese cooking features at Summit Camp appear to be exemplary in comparison to other sites of this nature. Further study of the hearths at Summit Camp can contribute to several research themes including local environment and habitation, employee-employer relations (relating to subsistence), settlement patterns, subsistence patterns, and ethnicity.

Architecture

China had its own architectural traditions and the immigrants that came to the U.S. in the nineteenth century brought with them a mental template of what comprised a home. However, the environments they faced, the building materials available, and their intended length of stay at one location all led to deviations from that template. The archaeological study of the domiciles these immigrants created for themselves provide clues as to how the occupants adapted their mindset of what a home was and which elements of that mindset were immutable (Ritchie 1986:144-154, 1993; Sisson 1993). Research questions concerning architecture include:

- What methods and materials were used to build the structures?
- How did the construction methods, materials, and architectural style differ from those traditionally employed in China?
- Does it appear that *feng shui* played any part in the construction and layout of the structures?
- Do the structures at Summit Camp show any specific adaptations to the extreme climate there?
- Do the structures at Summit Camp reflect the (relatively) long occupation of the camp?
- How do the structures at Summit Camp compare with those at other railroad construction camps? Or other labor camps?

Sisson (1993) provided an extensive overview of Chinese domestic architecture, documenting a great diversity in layout, materials, and construction methods. Likewise, there does not seem to be a singular Chinese style of architecture in overseas Chinese urban sites, although buildings were sometimes used in a traditional Chinese fashion. In urban settings, many Chinese buildings would have been architecturally indistinguishable from the rest of the community (Allen et al. 2002: Chapter 5). In one instance a group of Chinese residents hired a local White man to build them a building. They sat and watched him until he completed the structure. They then paid him for his services and promptly copied the building several times over until they had built most of a new Chinatown based on his one example. The constraint on architectural style and building materials may have been imposed by locally available building materials, and perhaps what was acceptable to the larger community of non-Chinese neighbors. Other buildings, such as temples and theaters, may have retained a distinctly Chinese flair, if not wholly Chinese in the method and type of construction.

In rural settings, Chinese built their structures from the same materials as their European and Hispanic counterparts. Stone, logs, milled lumber, recycled cans, even rammed earth and adobe brick have all been identified as building materials at nineteenth century Chinese sites in California and elsewhere in the United States and throughout the world. Their building style seems to have mostly incorporated whatever materials

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were locally available. Ritchie's (1986) analysis underscores this point: he notes an almost infinite variability in the size, building material, and method of construction of structures occupied by Chinese miners in New Zealand.

There do appear to be some characteristically "Chinese" architectural elements in rural sites (Table 4). The most notable feature seems to be the placement of the hearth, which is typically off to one side, constructed in a corner. Both Ritchie (1993) and Sisson (1993) found such to be the case in New Zealand and Idaho, respectively. Past Forward found similar architecture at Walltown in Folsom (Baxter and Allen 2008b) and possibly at a Chinese lumber camp site in Tahoe National Forest (Baxter 2003). Lindström (1993) may have also identified a similar structure at Juniper Flat (CA-NEV-572H). It is interesting that at the last two examples a hearth was situated at the corner of the structure, but in both cases appeared to be just outside the building. It may be that the dimensions of the cabin were underestimated, or that the hearth was actually outside the building. Smith and Dixon (2005) found what appears to be a similar structure at a site at Heavenly Valley (FS#05-57-19-429).

Table 4. Summary of Chinese characteristics of selected residential sites.

<i>Site Number</i>	<i>Site Name</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Hearth Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Multiple	New Zealand	Averaged between 89.3 ft. ² and 67.3 ft. ²	Corner	Ritchie 1993
n/a	Union Pacific Coal Company, Rock Springs, WY	12 ft. x 16 ft. = 192 ft. ²	Unknown	Gardner and Brinkerhoff 1993:194.
10-IH-363	Lower Salmon River	FA.) 129 ft. ² FC.) 97 ft. ² FD.) 147 ft. ²	Corner Unknown Unknown	Sisson 1993:51
10-IH-750		F1.) 124 ft. ² F2.) 145 ft. ² F3.) 63 ft. ²	Unknown Unknown Unknown	Sisson 1993:51
10-IH-779		F2.) 192 ft. ² F3.) 73 ft. ² F4.) 168 ft. ² F5.) 70 ft. ² F6.) 53 ft. ² F7.) 125 ft. ² F8.) 100 ft. ²	Unknown Unknown Unknown Unknown Wall Unknown Wall	Sisson 1993:51
10-IH-780		F1.) 67 ft. ² F2.) 48 ft. ² F4.) 78 ft. ²	Unknown Unknown Unknown	Sisson 1993:51
10-IH-782		F1.) 113 ft. ²	Corner	Sisson 1993:51
10-IH-791		F1.) 56.5 ft. ²	Unknown	Sisson 1993:51
10-IH-1161		F1.) 145 ft. ²	Unknown	Sisson 1993:51
10-IH-1162		F1.) 89 ft. ²	Wall	Sisson 1993:51
10-IH-1187		F1.) 420 ft. ²	Unknown	Sisson 1993:51
10-IH-1208		F1.) 104 ft. ²	Unknown	Sisson 1993:51
10-IH-1222		F1.) 136 ft. 2	Unknown	Sisson 1993:51

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<i>Site Number</i>	<i>Site Name</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Hearth Location</i>	<i>Reference</i>
10-IH-1225		F1.) 76 ft. ²	Corner	Sisson 1993:51
10-IH-1260		F1.) 223 ft. ²	Unknown	Sisson 1993:51
10-IH-1279		F1.) 45 ft. ²	Unknown	Sisson 1993:51
10-IH-1328		F1.) 45 ft. ² F2.) 57 ft. ²	Unknown	Sisson 1993:51
P-34-1877	Walltown, Sacramento Co., CA	14 ft. x 11 ft. = 154 ft. ²	Corner	Baxter 2008
P-34-1880	Walltown, Sacramento Co., CA	F1.) 12 ft. x 10 ft. = 120 ft. ² F2.) 12 ft. x 11 ft. = 132 ft. ²	Corner	Baxter 2008
WQ 49	Walltown, Sacramento Co., CA	16 ft. x 8 ft. = 128 ft. ²	Corner	Baxter 2008
CA-PLA-1420H	Misery Whip, Placer Co., CA	10 ft. x 15 ft. = 150 ft. ²	Corner	Baxter 2003
CA-NEV-572H	Juniper Flat, Nevada Co. CA	16 ft. x 16 ft. = 256 ft. ²	Corner	Lindström 1993
FS# 05-57-19-429	Heavenly, El Dorado Co., CA	10 ft. x 16 ft. = 160 ft. ²	Corner	Smith and Dixon 2005
CA-PLA-2002/H	Summit Camp, Placer Co., CA	Locus 10 FA.) 18 ft. x 33 ft. = 594 ft. ²	None	Baxter and Allen 2008a
CA-PLA-2002/H	Summit Camp, Placer Co., CA	Locus 10 FB.) 18 ft. x 33 ft. = 594 ft. ²	None	Baxter and Allen 2008a
CA-PLA-2002/H	Summit Camp, Placer Co., CA	Locus 10 FC.) 8 ft. x 16 ft. = 128 ft. ²	None	Baxter and Allen 2008a
CA-PLA-2002/H	Summit Camp, Placer Co., CA	Locus 11) 10 ft. x 14 ft. = 140 ft. ²	Center wall short axis	Baxter and Allen 2008a

Ritchie (1993:362-363) noted that the average area of the structures he investigated ranged between 8.3 m² (89.3 ft.²) and 6.25 m² (67.3 ft.²). Ritchie (1993) indicated that the size of the structure was dependent on the number of occupants. Larger cabins generally housed more than a single person. Although structural orientation appeared to be random, Ritchie (1993:364) did note two distinct clusters in his work in New Zealand. At one camp the fronts of the buildings were almost all oriented to the northwest, while at another camp orientation seemed more random, but generally trended toward the east.

In summary, the archaeological remains of rural residential structures with a hearth, often curved, in the corner and of relatively small size (under 200 ft.²) are likely Chinese. This is not to say that all Chinese structures possess these characteristics, only that when found together these characteristics hint at their origin. According to Ritchie (1993:348), such cabins were usually sparsely furnished, and were outfitted with a fireplace, a sleeping platform (about 40 inches wide), recesses or box-cupboards for food storage, a meat safe, a wash basin or bucket, and water containers (often made from old kerosene cans).

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In contrast, the cabins at Summit Camp seem to differ from many of those documented elsewhere. Several of them appear to be larger (2-3 times larger) than the average Chinese cabins. This is probably due to the fact that they were housing a large work crew of 12-20 men (Chinn 1969:44) as opposed to a smaller work crew. Most of the structures also seem to lack a defined hearth. It may be that rather than hearths integral to the structure, they were using cast iron or sheet metal stoves within the confines of the buildings. The reasons for this are unclear, but it may have been as simple as the need for the heat a stove would generate over a simple open hearth particularly given the over winter living conditions at the site.

Perhaps more important is the presence of permanent structures at the camp. These are documented in historical photographs as well as by archaeological features (CA-PLA-2002/H Locus 10 and 11) and artifacts (nails, window glass, etc.). Permanent structures such as these are lacking from other railroad construction camps. Since most other camps were temporary, the Chinese workers lived in simple tents, the use of which were noted on the CPRR half of the transcontinental railroad (Polk 2015; Polk and Merritt 2021; Polk et al. 2016; Voss 2019:113-114) as well as the V&TRR (Furnis and Maniery 2016; Rogers 1997; Wroblewski 1996), NPRR (Merritt 2017:157), and others.

Diet

Dietary patterns have long been a focus of the archaeological study of both Chinese immigrants as well as labor camps. This genre can take several different approaches, alternately focusing on faunal remains (Fosha and Leatherman 2008: 102-103; Gard 1983; Gardner 2003:386-387; Greenwood 1996:127-133; Gust 1993; Kennedy 2015; Sunseri 2020); macrobotanical remains (Popper 2020); various soils analysis (Cummings et al 1998; Fosha and Leatherman 2008:103; Puseman 2008); the study of ceramic cookware, serving dishes, and tableware (Fosha and Leatherman 2008:102-103; Ross 2013:178-180); and on rare occasions documentary records (Van Bueren 2008). Regardless of the approach, this topic generally focuses on how “Chinese” their diet was. Potential research questions could include:

- What are they eating?
- Where did the food come from? The railroad? China? Locally?
- How was the food prepared?
- How traditional was their diet?
- How did it deviate from a traditional Chinese diet? Why?
- Did this change over time?
- How does the diet at this location compare with other overseas Chinese communities?

Due to the acidic nature of the soil, faunal bone old enough to have been deposited when Summit Camp was occupied has, for the most part, decomposed, thereby blocking one avenue of investigation into the diet of the occupants. However, remnants of ceramic and metal food storage vessels are plentiful at CA-PLA-2002/H. Numerous fragments of food cans were present at the site, indicating at least a partial reliance on canned goods. The successful canning of food in tin canisters, without much of the food rapidly spoiling, had only been recently perfected when Summit Camp was occupied in the 1860s (Rock 1993). Such preserved food stuffs would have served the residents well at this location. The presence of Chinese brown glazed stoneware (CBGS) artifacts throughout the site also indicates that the residents were consuming more traditional food stuffs as well. Although few exact vessel types could be identified in the field, these utilitarian food storage vessels were used to store and ship such varied products as tofu, bean paste, beans, dried or pickled fish and shellfish, shrimp paste, pickled fruits and vegetables, vinegar, peanut oil, soy and other sauces, and even liquor (Yang and Hellmann 1998:61). The Evans collection at the CHSSC contains over 3700 shards of CBGS representing a minimum of 84 vessels (and likely many more than that), including examples of all the basic vessel types identified by Yang and Hellman (1997). The large number of these vessels speaks to both the number of people

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being fed at Summit Camp as well as the length of the occupation. Comparative analysis of the CBGS assemblage at Summit Camp and other Chinese sites (both railroad and other site types) may speak to similarities and differences between the diets of the occupants. Written accounts indicate that some components of their diet included dried oysters and abalone, dried bamboo, seaweed, mushrooms, dried fruits, rice, crackers, vermicelli, salted cabbage, Chinese sugar, peanut oil, Chinese bacon, pork, and poultry (Lindström et al. 1999; Yu 1969). In some instances, workers were known to plant gardens and raise chickens and pigs. Their long stay at Summit Camp would have made this a worthwhile venture, but the harsh environment would have been prohibitive. They may have also augmented their diet with locally procured foods such as trout from local streams and lakes or deer and other game.²⁴ The presence of the wok stoves and wok fragments indicates the continued use of traditional cooking methods, although, as pointed out above, possibly modified in some fashion.

Most of what the Chinese workers ate was probably fairly regulated. Men were split into crews, each with one cook, and the members paid into a single pot for their provisions. The fare was likely limited by what they could afford, what was available, and what the railroad would allow. As part of Past Forward's 2008 study, soil samples were taken and sent to Paleo Research Institute (PRI) for micro and macro floral analysis. Results were not as informative as was hoped. Recovered were indigenous edible plants such as elderberry and bearberry, which although charred may have found their way into the sampled feature as something other than food. Also present was evidence of non-native food stuffs including rice, possibly barley, and an unidentified legume. Charred wood included pine, conifer, and pine, are all native to the surrounding environment. Also present was small quantities of oak, indicating the presence of at least some imported fuel wood (Puseman 2008:6). Further analysis of the soils from other parts of Summit Camp may yield further insights.

Trade

The archaeological study of trade networks spans virtually all genres of archaeological investigations across the globe. Modern consumers are well aware of the global supply chain we rely on, but inter-regional, national, and international supply networks have been documented going back thousands of years (Dillian and White 2010; Hardesty 1999; Klein 1973; Kohl 1975). International trade is one of the underpinning elements of the concept of Transnationalism (see Cultural Continuity below). Underlying this study of trade are two simple questions:

- Where were archaeological materials manufactured?
- How did those materials get to the site?

The answers to these questions can lead to further questions concerning cultural continuity and adaptation, trade networks, labor relations, diet, etc.

- Why was an item from far afield chosen rather than similar item locally available?
- Does this reflect some form of cultural continuity?
- How connected were the railroad workers with their homeland? Or urban centers in the region?
- Did the remote location, and the workers' dependence on the railroad for supplies, limit their options?

²⁴ Approximately 0.4 mi. north of Summit Camp is a small pond known locally as the Catfish Pond. It is, not surprisingly, populated with catfish. Local oral history indicated that this pond was stocked by the Chinese Railroad workers during the occupation of Summit Camp. However, the catfish species was identified by Forest Service biologist Dan Teater (2021) as Brown Bullheads (*Ameiurus nebulosus*). A native of the Eastern U.S. this species was not introduced to California until 1874, when Livingston Stone of the California Fish Commission planted 74 catfish from Vermont into sloughs and ponds around Sacramento, well after the railroad was completed and Summit Camp was abandoned (Fuller and Neilson 2022; SERC 2022; Smith 1896). The Donner Summit Historical Society (2019) identified a number of persons who planted fish in the area in the 1870s and suggest Catfish Lake was likely stocked with fish at that time. Point in fact, the completion of the railroad was what permitted the transplantation of the species.

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The trade networks at Summit Camp would have been largely circumscribed by the railroad. Most, if not all, goods would have had to come through railroad-approved provisioners. With this in mind, the railroad must have given their Chinese workers quite a bit of leeway in what goods they acquired. Numerous artifacts recovered at Summit Camp sites indicate acquisition of goods from China including food stuffs (CBGS), liquor (CBGS), and even opium (pipe bowls and opium cans). That the railroad would condone, or at least turn a blind eye, to the alcohol and opium is somewhat surprising considering such vices were largely discouraged at many work camps and company towns (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1988:19; Buckles 1983; Gutman 1976; Merritt 2017:158; Mrozowski et al. 1996; Orsi 2007; Rogge et al. 1995), or at least an issue of concern (Van Bueren 2002a:38-39). Augustus Ward Loomis, a Christian minister, noted that they did smoke opium on Sundays, their day off, but did not “stupify themselves with it. You do not see them intoxicated, rolling in the gutters like swine” (as quoted in Ambrose 2005:162). Perhaps, the railroad was willing to provide some allowances considering the harsh living conditions the men were living and working under. Other items of Chinese origin, including gaming pieces and coins, are nonperishable items that may have been curated by the owner prior to his arrival, and not acquired while at the camp. Unfortunately, little other material has been found that is geographically diagnostic, although there are many objects of obvious American or European origin including cans, bottles, buttons, and other items. Further study of the Summit Camp assemblage has implications for several research themes, including local economy, relationship between the Chinese workers and the local environment, and employee-employer relations.

Recreation

Recreation, like diet, is often closely tied with the ethnicity of the group engaged in it. The archaeological investigation of recreation has often focused on alcohol consumption, as it generally leaves a large footprint in the form of alcohol bottles (Baxter and Allen 2008c; Dixon 2006; McGovern 2009; Smith 2008). However, other forms of recreation can also be identified archaeologically including music (Baxter et al. 2019; Van Bueren et al. 2019), gaming (Hildebrand 2020; Jolly 2012), sports (Hardesty et al. 2006), and the recreational consumption of substances other than alcohol (Etters 1980; Felton et al. 1984; Sando and Felton 1993). What recreational activities are engaged in can reveal information concerning those who participated. Again, simple questions about what activities were engaged in can reveal more about those participating:

- What recreational activities were engaged in at the site?
- Are these particular to the ethnicity of the persons participating?
- What does this say about the occupants of the site?

There is ample evidence that the residents of Summit Camp found ways to enjoy their free time. Fragments of European American wine, champagne, ale, beer, and liquor bottles were found at the camp, and among the CBGS are the remains of Chinese liquor bottles, as well. There is also substantial evidence for the use of opium at virtually all of the loci, fragments of opium cans, fragments of at least five different opium pipe bowls, and a possible pipe bowl scraper were found. The can fragments are somewhat problematic, in that similar cans were used to ship both spices and opium, but when taken in conjunction with the pipe bowls, it is likely that at least some of them contained opium (Russell 2008). Opium usage among Chinese immigrants was common, and it was in effect a “social” drug (Yu 2007). In general, opium was consumed in a fashion more akin to having an after-work beer, rather than hardcore drug usage. It is doubtful that anyone with a serious drug addiction would have lasted long at the camp. Handling nitroglycerin and blasting rock are not activities well suited to someone under the influence. If they did not injure or kill themselves, their co-workers would likely have driven them out for fear of their own wellbeing.

A single game-related object was recovered from the CA-PLA-2002/H during the 2006 excavations. This was a small blob of black glass, convex on one side, and concave on the other. These objects are commonly white or

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black and are variously called *zhu*, *zi*, or *go* pieces (Lindström 1993:38; Praetzelis and Praetzelis 1997:201). Used in the board game *wéichí* (surround chess), the object was to surround the opponent's *zhu* with your own, thus preventing further moves, much like the European game of chess (Praetzelis and Praetzelis 1997:201). *Zhu* were also used as counting devices in the game of fantan. Lindström (1993:38) provides a detailed account of the use of *zhu* (described therein as "go") in the game of fantan:

The fan-tan layout consisted of a flat piece of tin, 12 by 16 inches square; a pile of Chinese money, of thin brass, the size of a two-bit piece, and with a square hole in the center; a china rice bowl about 4 inches in diameter; [and] a flat, white bone button. The banker heaped a double handful of Chinese money upon the center of the tin plate; capped the pile with inverted rice bowl; placed the button on top of the bowl. Why? Your guess is a good as mine. Bets were placed on the four corners of the tin. The banker removed the button, then the bowl, and by means of a thin wand of bamboo, began the removal of the coins, four at a time. The final count left upon the plate governed the winners. One, two, three, or four pieces remaining, paid three-for-one for bets laid on the one, two, three or four designated corners; those bets placed on the sidelines and covering two corners, paid two-for-one [Kellogg n.d.:90-91].

The players wagered actual cash, counters, or chips. Counters included Chinese cash (*wen*) representing 10 cents, white *go* pieces representing \$1, black *go* pieces representing \$5, "chessmen" at \$10, and "dominos" at \$50 [Hoffman and Zier 1979:501].

More artifacts relating to recreation remain at the sites within the Summit Camp NHL boundary. Further study of these artifacts has implications for the study of ethnicity, that is, what makes sites like this distinctly "Chinese." It is not that any of these artifacts are unique to this site, but more that their presence are unique indicators of a Chinese presence. Analysis of these materials from these and other sites, the patterns of their distribution, density, origin, manufacture, and other patterns may lead to a better understanding of the lives these people lived. Patricia Etter's (1980) study of the opium pipes from Summit Camp is just one example of the types of potential studies related to recreation. Others have looked at not only opium paraphernalia from Chinese sites (Merritt 2017; Ross 2013; Sando and Felton 1993; Wylie and Fike 1993), but also alcohol consumption (Merritt 2017; Ross 2013), gaming (Akin et al. 2015; Costello et al., 2008), etc.

Cultural Continuity

In the past, the term acculturation was frequently used in the field of historical archaeology to discuss the relationship between ethnic minority immigrants and the majority White culture of the U.S. One of the issues with this concept is the assumption of a dominate culture absorbing a lesser culture. In actuality, culture change is a two-way street, with two cultures living in close proximity influencing each other. Likewise, many immigrants chose to adhere to their traditional culture rather than "assimilate". Some archaeologists have begun to use the term "diaspora" to describe the movement of people from their homeland, a term that does not imply the assumption of assimilation (Kennedy and Rose 2020). Immigration is also not always a one-way movement, with many immigrants later returning to their homeland. In more recent years the concept of transnationalism has been employed to describe the complex experience of immigrants to the U.S., one where immigrant populations retained strong ties to, and often returned to, their homeland (Ross 2013; Ng 2020; Yu 2020). Related questions are:

- Are there distinctive ethnic markers at the site? Artifacts? Artifact patterns? Features?
- What traditions did they perpetuate? Diet? Architecture? Recreation?
- What traditions were they willing to adapt or let go completely?
- Did they adopt new modes of living at the site?

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The pattern revealed at Summit Camp is one of a continuation of traditional lifeways adapted to a non-traditional setting. The overall architectural style appears to adhere to a mental template of what a residence should look like, small rectangular floor plan, with curved hearth in one corner. This continuation of pattern persisted despite the lack of traditional building materials.

Food and food preparation also appear to adhere to tradition. Cooking features (wok stoves) and utensils (woks) were built and used in the same fashion in the Chinese homeland, albeit in a slightly modified way. The taste for traditional foodstuffs was also maintained by the shipping of preserved foods from China. The same can be said for recreation. Recreational drugs including opium and alcohol were imported from China, possibly consumed while playing games of *wéichí* or fan-tan.

The Chinese residents of Summit Camp were all first-generation immigrants. Many came straight from the ship in San Francisco to the railroad construction sites. Their adherence to traditional lifeways is not surprising, considering the new and unfamiliar, dangerous, and sometimes hostile environment they found themselves in. Intermixed with these new arrivals were men who had been in the U.S. for as much as 12 years before the Camp was established. These men would have been able to inform the new arrivals about the ways and customs of their new home, such as how to interact with the mostly European American population and what was expected of them by the railroad. With most of the men coming for the warm climate of the Guangdong Province, information on how to deal with the extreme cold would have been important to their health and wellbeing. Likewise, dealing with the explosives and machinery on the job were also hazards most likely never experienced before arriving in the U.S. More experienced men could also teach new arrivals how to get desired products from China and what locally available products they could substitute for items that were not available. This story plays out in the features and artifacts at these sites like traditional architectural footprints executed with western manufactured materials or diets showing strong trends of cultural continuation but augmented with western food stuffs. The same trend appears in recreational activities. Clothing is perhaps the most divergent from the traditional, and it may be that the environment necessitated the nearly complete adoption of western garb.

Camp Organization

The organization of space is one that lends itself to archaeological investigations, where various activity areas can be identified by the detritus left behind at a particular locale. Labor camps, like Summit Camp, are often laid out around the task they are there to accomplish, in this case the tunnels and railroad grade. In this instance as well, the rough terrain would limit where structures could be placed and where particular activities were engaged in. Potential research questions could include:

- Generally, how was the camp laid out?
- Were residential structures separated from the work locations in any way? By distance? By land form?
- Is there any evidence the residential structures were organized or clustered according to association with a particular cultural grouping or work gang?
- As a Chinese settlement, did *feng shui* or other cultural factors play any part in the layout?
- Did environmental factors play any part in the layout of the camp?
- Is there any evidence the railroad influenced the layout of the camp?
- How does the organization of the camp compare with other contemporaneous railroad camps?

At CA-PLA-2002/H, given the artifact assemblage, it is nearly certain that the structures archaeologically represented were residences. What is archaeologically noticeable at CA-PLA-2002/H as well as the other sites within the NHL boundary, is the paucity of work-related tools found at the sites. Several shovels were collected by Evans in the 1960s, but this would represent only a very small portion of the tools needed for the work here.

Several factors may account for this. The Chinese workers may have been required to check tools in and out when using them. It may also have been the desire of the workers to completely divest themselves of their labors once their shift was done, leaving every possible vestige of their work life at a different location before returning to their domicile.

Camp Location

Settlement patterns, or where people chose to live, is another mainstay of archaeology. Labor camps like Summit Camp introduce an added variable in that the individuals are only occupying this location at the behest of their employer. This has led to a subset of studies, including whole volumes, focused solely on labor camps (Caltrans 2013; Van Bueren 2002b). Despite the influence of their employers, workers were often afforded some leeway in where they placed their camp. When the Summit Camp was established, Donner Pass was a wholly undeveloped landscape, so the exact location of the camp was not limited by prior development or landholdings. The underlying research question related to this topic is: Why this particular location? In answering this question more questions arise about the factors involved in this decision:

- Was this location chosen by the railroad or the workers?
- Was this location chosen simply because it was closest to the work at hand? If not why?
- Were habitation locations situated to physically separate them from areas of work?
- Did this location provide added protection against the harsh environment here?
- As a Chinese settlement, did *feng shui* or other cultural factors play any part in its location?
- Did points of origin (birthplace) of the workers, connections to particular Benevolent Societies, District Associations, etc. influence the groupings of cabins?
- Were particular portions of Summit Camp abandoned, or others expanded as work progressed from one of the tunnels in the immediate vicinity to the next?
- Did the expected length of occupation influence the location of the camp?²⁵

In addition to the possible separation of work and residence, another factor that may have influenced the selection of the Summit Camp’s location and its layout is the concept of *feng shui*, a philosophy that, if adhered to, is believed to increase one’s fortunes. David Sisson (1993) looked at 19 Chinese cabins in Idaho and seemed to find a high correlation of cabin orientation with the principals of *feng shui*. John Molenda, whose dissertation covered aspects of Summit Camp including an analysis of its archaeological collections, has examined the possibility of the use of the concept of *feng shui* as a frame of analysis for archaeological studies of space through depictions of landscape on ceramics (2015, 2019). Heather Van Wormer (1994) studied 22 Chinese cabin locations in the nearby Lake Tahoe Basin. Van Wormer noted that 15 of these sites retained enough integrity to determine the exact location and orientation of the structures. She found that most of the cabins seemed to conform to the principals of *feng shui* but cautioned against being too eager to apply these characteristics to a site retroactively. Ritchie (1993) highlights six basic tenants required for a site to have good *feng shui*. By chance or design Summit Camp, despite its harsh environment, possesses several of these features. These are summarized in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Desirable features for a camp with good *feng shui*. After Ritchie (1993)

Desirable Characteristics	Summit Camp
Shelter (from the north wind in China)	Surrounding hills would have protected camp from prevailing winds from the west.

²⁵ It is unclear that the railroad or the workers knew beforehand how long they would be at Summit Camp. However, given the difficulties encountered in digging the tunnels, it must have become immediately clear the occupation would be measured in months or years rather than weeks.

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Desirable Characteristics	Summit Camp
Surrounding hills or slopes which provide a “protective armchair” formation	The cirque valley (as described by Lindström et al. 1999) in which the camp was located could be interpreted as such.
Fertile ground which is not excessively flood prone or swampy	Probably not overly important since the primary occupation was construction and not agriculture.
Watercourses that are “balanced” (not flowing too fast or too slow), and are not straight, “which threatens money, life, and property”	The small creek that runs along the southern edge of the camp could fulfill the requirement.
Trees, which protect against malign winds (or killing <i>ch’i</i>) and fostering good growing <i>ch’i</i>	This requirement could have been fulfilled by the surrounding forest.
A view of open ground or water	The camp provides a scenic view of Donner Lake in the valley below.

Summary

Summit Camp provides a unique opportunity to address research questions including those related to architecture, diet, culture change, and employer-employee relations as they pertain to the Chinese workers on the transcontinental railroad. Summit Camp was the longest occupied of any of the works camps along the railroad. Consequently, the site accumulated a quantity of artifacts not found at other camps. As will be described below, some of this material has been collected and now resides in a museum but remains available to researchers investigating the site.

Because of the length of occupation, the residents of the camp built features not found at other camps. These include permanent or semi-permanent structures, the remains of which are still evident at the site in the form of stone foundations as well as structural debris (nails, window glass, etc.). Another feature present at the site is a cylindrical cooker used for cooking whole animals or large quantities of food during festivals. While commonly found in urban Chinatowns, this type of feature seems to be absent from other construction camps along the route. In addition, the camp is fairly well documented in historical photographs of the camp which provide information concerning the location, form of construction, and orientation of the structures. This data set is almost completely absent for other camps along the railroad. Because of the size of the site, the physical integrity of the site, and the quantity of artifacts associated with the site, Summit Camp is the best example of a Chinese construction camp on the transcontinental railroad. Despite more than 50 years of research, the site has the information potential to address future research questions. Further analysis of the camp within the everchanging framework of archaeological theory and method will continue to provide new information.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

In addition to detailed comparative analysis supporting Criterion 6 presented below, comparative analysis of other National Historic Landmarks related to the history of the transcontinental railroad and the labor of Chinese immigrant workers indicates that Summit Camp NHL outstandingly represents the nationally significant intersection of these themes under Criterion 1. As noted in the NHL theme studies focusing on both labor history and Asian American Pacific Islander history, other NHLs related to railroad construction and labor do not include recognition of the critical role of Chinese immigrant laborers in completing the first transcontinental route (Donaldson 2022:13, 244-246; Odo 2017:61). Current NHLs related to the transcontinental railroad are designated for their architectural significance or association with the railroad executives. For example, the Union Pacific Railroad Depot NHL in Laramie, Wyoming was designated in 2006 under Criteria 1 and 4 for its architectural design. The Big Four House NHL in Sacramento, California is a

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reconstruction of the Central Pacific Railroad offices designated in 1961. The Grenville M. Dodge House NHL in Council Bluffs, Iowa was designated in 1961 for its association with the chief engineer of the Union Pacific Railroad. The Leland Stanford House NHL in Sacramento was designated in 1987 for its association with the “Big Four” railroad executive and politician. Another property deemed nationally significant for transcontinental railroad history, although not a designated NHL is Golden Spike National Historic Park. This unit of the National Park System established in 1965 at Promontory Point, Utah. Despite the initial focus on railroad technology and the ceremonial completion of the first transcontinental route, the park’s interpretative program has expanded over the years to incorporate the stories of railroad labor, including the Chinese.

In terms of its early role in defining artifact typologies and other material dimensions of Chinese diaspora, two other sites were presented to an audience of professional archaeologists at the 1969 Society for Historical Archaeology conference in Tucson, Arizona. Jim Ayres presented on Chinese opium-smoking implements recovered from Chinese sites in Tucson Arizona in 1967 and 1968 in advance of the total destruction of the sites by an urban renewal project that leveled 80 acres of the city (Lister and Lister 1989). The study included ethnoarchaeological study of scattered Chinese sites in an urban context quite different from that of Summit Camp. The presentation of Chinese Diasporic material culture during the 1969 conference certainly contributed to the professionalization of the field of study along with that of Summit Camp. However, the call to scholarly collaboration on the comprehensive study of Chinese immigrant material culture was unique to the presentation given by Chace and Evans. The total destruction of the sites during subsequent urban renewal, moreover, represents a total loss of integrity for the location of the work by Ayres. A display of artifacts collected from a Chinese Railroad worker site in Langtry, Texas between 1967 and 1968 was also presented at the 1969 meetings. The analysis of these artifacts was published in 1974 in a dissertation by Alton King Briggs (Briggs 1974). The present condition of the site is unknown.

Nearly 60 years since Evan’s initial investigations at Summit Camp, the archaeological study of Chinese sites in the U.S. has broadened to include a host of site types directly, or indirectly related to the railroad. The following is not a comprehensive review of archaeological investigations of Chinese sites in the U.S. Rather it is intended to be a representative cross-section of nineteenth-century Chinese habitation sites, labor camps, and railroad construction camps. This sampling of archaeological investigations is intended to provide a comparative framework within which to bracket the unique and important archaeological constituents of Summit Camp. The following discussion starts with Chinatowns, which served a key role in the employment and distribution of Chinese laborers, supplying the labor camps with both workers and supplies. The archaeological investigations of Chinatowns also added to the development of our current understanding and interpretations of Chinese assemblages. As will be elaborated upon below, Summit Camp also falls into something of a middle ground between a town and a camp. Chinese labor camps in general are included below as they should be roughly comparative with Summit Camp, only differing in the type of labor in which they were engaged. The final paragraphs of this section focus on Chinese railroad construction camps and how they compare with Summit Camp.

The highest profile sites are the Chinatowns that were once part of many communities small and large. Chinatowns are included here because the archaeological study of these settlements has contributed greatly to the understanding of Chinese material culture, especially in terms of what composes a “typical” Chinese assemblage, and what feature types are unique to Chinese sites. In addition, while Summit Camp was a labor camp, it was, in some ways, more similar to a Chinatown than a camp. Due to the long occupation and the large population, permanent structures and landscape features were constructed here (rather than tents) and the density of the deposit was greater than at a temporary camp. Notable archaeological studies of Chinatowns in California include those in Fiddletown (Russell 1991), Folsom (Baker and Maniery 1995), Fresno (ESA 2018, 2023), Los Angeles (Greenwood 1996), Sacramento (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1997), San Bernardino (Costello et al. 2008, 2010), San Jose (Allen et al 2002, Voss and Williams 2007), San Luis Obispo (Conway

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1995; Hamilton et al 2003), Stockton (Waghorn 2004), Ventura (Greenwood 1976, 1980), Walnut Grove (Costello and Maniery 1988), Weaverville (Brott 1982), Woodland (Felton et al. 1984), and Yreka (Heffner 2019). Numerous Chinatowns in other states and countries have been investigated as well (Ayers 1984; Fosha and Leatherman 2008, Gust 1993; Hattori et al. 1979; Jones et al. 1979; Lister and Lister 1989; Mires 1999; Olsen 1978; Staski 1993).

In California during the mid-nineteenth century virtually every town of consequence had a Chinatown. Chinatowns served multiple roles for the populations they served. The most obvious is that they provided services to the Chinese community. Chinatowns generally included stores selling food stuffs and materials imported from China or locally procured items that served as an appropriate substitute for traditional items. Apothecaries or herbalists were a common feature and were often just as popular among the Anglo population as an alternative to traditional western doctors. Gambling halls, temples ("Joss Houses"), and district offices were common and served as communal meeting places (Allen et al. 2002; Dotta and Brott 1982:4; Zorbas 2015). Boarding and bunk houses were often present, providing shelter for both permanent and transient residents. Present in some of these communities were large communal cooking features, often used for cooking large animals or large quantities of food for festivals (Allen et al. 2002). Generally operating out of the Chinatowns were any number of Chinese benevolent societies, Hongmen Freemason associations, and other organizations which served a number of purposes. They found work for the residents, often forming contracts for Chinese laborers with farms, mining outfits, and construction projects (including railroads). They also facilitated communications and the transfer of money between various Chinese communities and also with China. For those who died here they organized the return of the remains back to their homeland (Chen 2001:90-105; Hann 2021).

The role of Chinatowns changed over time. As the gold rush declined and California's economy diversified, some Chinatowns were established primarily to service a population working in a single industry (Allen et al. 2002). Others served as temporary quarters for men working seasonally in mining, construction, or agricultural pursuits in more rural parts of the state. Another trend over time was a reduction in the number of Chinatowns, but an increase in the size of those that persisted. This was a consequence of manifold factors, but the result was the same. By the twentieth century most Chinese residents were living in urban centers, including those noted above which have been the subject of archaeological study. Initially, Chinatowns were overwhelmingly populated by men, many of whom had intended on making their fortune and returning home to China. Most of these men lived in communal all-male households. By the 1880s, legalized discrimination precluded many women immigrating from China. Despite this, more traditional family units gradually replaced the all-male households. Due to this demographic shift schools also began to be integrated into some of the larger Chinatowns. Aside from the services provided, the Chinatowns provided a sense of community to a population surrounded by a larger population that viewed them negatively as "others." In the face of open, and sometimes violent, discrimination, some Chinatowns went so far as to erect walls around the community to provide security (Laffey 1993). Chinatowns provided their residents a relatively safe place to carry out their daily activities and interact with like-minded people of their own ethnicity.

Many Chinatowns were full-fledged towns with all the expected amenities of a nineteenth-century town in the American West. More comparable to Summit Camp are the rural sites occupied by Chinese workers; the mining camps, agricultural camps, camps associated with the timber industry, and most importantly railroad construction camps.

Chinese mining camps have received as much, if not more, archaeological attention as the Chinatowns. This is due partly to the number of sites still extant on the landscape, and the fact that many are located on public land with governmental oversight ensuring their documentation. The composition and complexity of these camps ranged widely. Some are little more than a sparse scatter of Chinese ceramics. Others are more complex with

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residential structures, cooking features, and extensive artifact deposits. One of the more complex examples is found in the work of Neville Ritchie (1986, 1993) in New Zealand. Ritchie found 77 cabins at one location alone, and estimated there were twice as many here before the area was flooded by a reservoir. As described elsewhere in this document, these were stone cabins from which he was able to glean extensive detail concerning their construction. Although outside the United States and its territories for the purposes of NHL comparative analysis, this study bears mentioning as the most comprehensive study of Chinese rural architecture to date. Accompanying these were extensive artifact deposits. Notably absent from his descriptions are any stand-alone cooking features (roasters or U-shaped hearths). A similar study was conducted by David Sisson (1993) in Idaho. He too identified a distinctively Chinese architecture, accompanied by extensive artifact deposits. Like Ritchie, he did not note any stand-alone Chinese cooking features. In both cases food preparation seems to have been done with the fireplaces built into the structures.

An interesting, intermediate example comes from Michael Striker and Roderick Sprague's (1993) work at site 10-IH-1961 near Warren, Idaho. This site reportedly started as a mining camp and later transitioned to housing agricultural workers. Here they found several dugouts and one larger (approximately 20 x 30 feet) log structure of indeterminate function. This had a stone fireplace at one end of the long axis of the building. Striker and Sprague postulate this building could have been used as a store, drinking establishment, or boarding house for the Chinese workers living here. The assemblage included a mix of Chinese tablewares, Chinese food storage vessels, food cans, alcohol bottles, opium paraphernalia, tools, and other materials. One interesting aspect of the site is the diversity of the tools indicating the residents were engaged in everything from mining, to farming, to lumbering or wood working, and hunting; apparently employed in a diverse site-specific economy. Excepting the diversity just noted, the assemblage appears fairly typical of Chinese sites from this period. However, there is an absence of any characteristically Chinese architecture or cooking features.

An agricultural example comes from the nineteenth-century Brown and Sanderson Farm in Amador County, California. Here a Chinese cook lived and worked on the farm, also cooking for the family. While investigating this site Van Bueren (2008) was afforded the opportunity to examine not just artifacts, but a rare circa 1857 written record kept by the farm's Chinese cook. This nameless individual kept an account of the groceries he purchased. Based on the contents of this account, these food stuffs were for the Chinese farm laborers rather than the Anglo family that owned the farm. While there were no distinctively Chinese features at the site, this ledger provides a rare first-hand account of what these men were eating (Van Bueren 2008).

Other rural Chinese sites are related to cordwood cutting, a critical support endeavor for the railroad that engaged many Chinese workers. California lacks any sizable deposits of quality coal commonly used to fire locomotives in the eastern U.S. However, California did have seemingly endless stands of timber. Overt and hostile discrimination kept Chinese immigrants from working in the lumbering-side of the timber industry. However, they were permitted to pick over what was left behind. Due to the method of high-cutting the trees for lumber, a good bit of wood was left in the stumps.²⁶ Cordwood cutters would use dynamite to blast the stumps out of the ground, then, using a combination of saws and axes, reduce the stumps to cordwood. Chinese cordwood cutters set up small camps throughout the forests, moving their camps to new locations as they exhausted the stumps in a particular location. Baxter (2005) excavated one of these cordwood cutting camps (CA-PLA-1420H [FS Site 05175700244]) near Truckee, California. This site included a number of tools for processing the wood including axes, sledge-hammers, a froe, and fragments of several "miser whip" saws, as well as a domestic assemblage of Chinese and Anglo artifacts. The primary feature at the site was the remains of a log cabin. While the cabin lacked any foundation, its general dimensions could be derived from the wooden

²⁶ Historically trees cut for lumber were often felled from a point 3-10 feet above the ground. The reasons for this included sap in the stump which stuck up the saws, uneven terrain, the swell of the stump causing transportation issues, as well as excess waste at the mill because the swell was not suitable as lumber. Regardless of the reasons, once the lumber had been removed, substantial amounts of wood remained in the stumps.

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remnants of the structure (see discussion of architecture above). Lindström (1993) investigated CA-NEV-572/H, another Chinese cordwood camp at Truckee. The site composition was similar to CA-PLA-1420H/FS Site 05175700244, but unfortunately the cabin's dimensions were vague. However, she was able to determine that the structure had a stone hearth integrated into one corner of the building. Additionally, Lindström (1993:57-59) notes prior research by herself and others indicating a wide variety of structure sizes at Chinese cordwood cutting camps in the Lake Tahoe area. These ranged from 130 to 612 square feet, probably reflecting a range in the number of persons residing in the cabin.

Similar to the cordwood cutters were the charcoal makers. As noted above, California lacks quality coal, generally a necessary component to the manufacture of iron products. A substitute fuel frequently used in metalworking was charcoal. Like the cordwood cutters, the charcoal makers would come into a location after the trees had all been felled for lumber. Instead of extracting the stumps the charcoal makers would collect the slash left by the timber operations. The slash was piled up and covered with soil, then ignited. Great skill was needed to control the burn, so the wood was burned enough to produce quality charcoal, but without burning it into ash. Susan Lindström and Sharon Waechter (2007) excavated a series of these sites north of Truckee, roughly 9 miles northeast of Summit Camp. At these nineteenth century sites they identified artifacts and features associated with charcoal production as well as the remains of structures and habitation debris. Notable at one site, CA-NEV-882/H they uncovered a three chambered wok stove, as well as a singular horseshoe-shaped stove. However, there was no clear evidence of a cabin or other structure at this site. At CA-NEV-884/H they were able to identify a partial cabin footprint, unfortunately this was truncated by a modern road cut, so the overall dimensions of the structure could not be determined. These two sites (as well as five less extensive sites) also produced an assemblage of Chinese, American, and European produced domestic artifacts and personal items left by their occupants.

Most pertinent to Summit Camp are the other intact archaeological sites associated with Chinese railroad workers. These are primarily in California (Gralia and Gralia 2004; Hildebrand 2020; Molenda 2015), Nevada (Furnis and Maniery 2015; Rogers 1997; Wroblewski 1996; Zier 1985), Oregon (Christian et al. 2021), and Utah (Polk 2015; Polk and Merritt 2021; Polk et al. 2016). These are discussed further in the following paragraphs.

In Nevada two sites associated with the V&TRR are relevant for this discussion. These sites date to the 1870s when the V&T was built to connect the Comstock mines with Carson City and then Reno where it connected with the transcontinental railroad. Lynn Rogers (1997) conducted excavations at 26Or214 just north of Carson City. There she found nearly a thousand artifacts, but a paucity of formal features. David Wroblewski (1996) conducted a surface survey of a site (his designation HS-27-03-05) near Gold Hill. There he identified 400+ artifacts and a single level platform and associated rock alignment he interpreted as a structure platform. The paucity of distinct features at these sites is likely directly correlated to the short-term occupation, a few days or weeks, of the camps.

Charles Zier (1985) looked at 26EU790, a Chinese railroad workers camp on the Eureka & Palisade Railroad in Central (Eureka County) Nevada. The camp was occupied briefly in 1875. There Zier identified three artifact clusters. Cluster A measured 90 × 100 ft. (9,000 sq. ft.), Cluster B measured 60 × 100 ft. (6,000 sq. ft.), and Cluster C measured 75 × 100 ft. (7,500 sq. ft.). These probably represent occupation by 12 to 20 workmen for one or two nights (Zier 1985:149). Artifact categories found at the site were similar to those at other Chinese railroad worker camps (tablewares, food storage containers, alcohol and opium containers, etc.), but relatively few in number.

More to the point are other transcontinental railroad camps. Examples of such have been recorded in California and Utah. Michael Polk documented four sites at the Golden Spike National Historic Site. Limited to surface investigations, he interpreted these as being associated with Chinese railroad workers based on the presence of

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Chinese artifacts. At 42BO1060, Polk identified two dugouts and two hearth remnants at the 60,500 sq. ft. (1.4 ac.) site. Another site, 42BO1068, encompassed 54,000 sq. ft. (1.2 ac.), was partially disturbed, and included no features. Site 42BO1070 encompassed 1,450 sq. ft. (0.03 ac.) and included one possible tent platform and two wooden posts. The last site, 42BO1134, covered 46,170 sq. ft. (1.1 ac.) and included three tent platforms and five limestone rock clusters. At each of these sites, scatters of Chinese artifacts were present, primarily ceramics. Polk (Polk and Merritt 2021; Polk et al. 2016) went on to expand his research to other Chinese occupied camps along the railroad, looking at over 50 sites. However, these were at actual stations occupied once the railroad was in operation (1869 and later) rather than construction camps. At these camps the workers were living in permanent bunk and boarding houses and eating at the boarding houses or cook houses.

Closer to Summit Camp is a site FS# 05-17-55-525 known as China Kitchen, which located [REDACTED]. The site was originally recorded in 2004 as a railroad construction camp occupied by Chinese workers. The site was composed of nine features including four stacked rock cooking features and several structure pads. Also present were dozens of artifacts including Chinese tablewares, CBGS, bottles, and hand tools (Gralia and Gralia 2004; Molenda 2019). China Kitchen was revisited by historical archaeologists R. Scott Baxter and NPS archaeologist Doug Wilson in the summer of 2021. During this visit it was found that much of the site had become buried in deadfall and uprooted trees. This deadfall had buried or destroyed several of the rock features and little evidence of the site was visible. Several of the artifacts were relocated, but no new artifacts were found. While China Kitchen may have been a substantial site at one point, in its current state it does not equal the data potential of Summit Camp.

John Molenda recorded the Windmill Tree Site (Camp 5) situated [REDACTED]. Molenda (2015:48-49, 2019) described the site as including “multiple visible structural remains and nearly 200 recorded surface artifacts” and that it was a “long term camp.” Unfortunately, he does not describe the history of the site nor its constituents further.

With the possible exception of the Windmill Tree Site, all of these sites were occupied for only a very short period of time (days or weeks). Consequently, little to no time was invested in improving the sites by the occupants, and the materials left behind are limited in quantity. Archaeologically, these sites tend to be ephemeral, generally lacking substantial features or notable quantities of artifacts. In contrast, Summit Camp was occupied for years. The occupants erected cabins and even a sizable cylindrical cooker for cooking feasts for festivals. After years of occupation, the residents left behind considerable artifacts of quantity and diversity at the sites. The extent of the deposit is underscored by the fact that Evans collected thousands of artifacts in the 1960s and yet significant archaeological resources remain at the Summit Camp sites.

The proposed period of significance for Summit Camp NHL of 1865–1869, and 1966–1969, encompassing the years the camp was occupied during construction of the railroad and also key years in the 1960s for the influence of the archaeological investigations at Summit Camp on development of the field of historical archaeology.

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6. PROPERTY DESCRIPTION AND STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY**Ownership of Property**

Private:

Public-Local: Nevada County

Public-State:

Public-Federal: Tahoe National Forest

Category of Property

Building(s):

District: Archaeological District

Site:

Structure:

Object:

Number of Resources within Boundary of Property:**Contributing**

Buildings: 0

Sites: 7

Structures: 0

Objects: 0

Total: 7

Noncontributing

Buildings: 0

Sites: 1

Structures: 3

Objects: 0

Total: 4

PROVIDE PRESENT AND PAST PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF PROPERTY

Summit Camp was established by the Central Pacific Railroad (CPRR), approximately 105-miles east of Sacramento in 1865 and occupied until 1869 during the period when the highest tunnels for the first transcontinental railroad were built through the Sierra mountains. Despite the relatively long period of occupation, there is little written history of the camp.

Seven tunnels were constructed within two miles of Summit Camp, including Tunnel No. 6 (commonly known as Summit Tunnel), the longest tunnel on the transcontinental line. Summit Camp was established as the main staging area for tunnel construction around Donner Pass. The camp was strategically located [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Improving upon existing trails, the Dutch Flat-Donner Lake Road was built in 1864 specifically to facilitate railroad construction. Summit Camp was established in 1865 and was primarily inhabited by Chinese workers. Exactly how many men lived here is unclear, but in early 1867 Charles Crocker claimed there were 1,500 Chinese workers at "the Summit," presumably living at Summit Camp (Karuka 2019:90).

There is no known historic map of the camp; however, a series of photos by famed photographer Alfred A. Hart depict portions of the camp, [REDACTED]. Hart's photos show a widely dispersed assemblage of gable roofed, wood structures, of various sizes, oriented in a seemingly haphazard fashion. Given the period, the structures were probably single-wall plank construction, with some buildings clad with horizontal boards, while others had vertical siding. It is known from archaeological data that these photos represent only a small portion of the camp, with more residential structures [REDACTED]

Historical accounts indicate that the CPRR's Chinese workers were organized into crews or gangs of 12-20 men, with one man designated as the leader, and a second man as a cook. The cooks prepared meals for their own crews. It is presumed that each of the structures depicted in Hart's photos housed one of these crews, although some of the larger structures may have housed more than one crew. Since the CPRR did not provide housing for their Chinese employees, it is likely that each structure was constructed by its inhabitants. This

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would account for the wide variety of sizes, orientations, and methods of construction of these buildings. No stove pipes or chimneys are visible in the photos, so it is unclear how the buildings were heated.

Summit Camp was, in actuality, a conglomeration of individual habitation sites and/or use areas. Considering the length of time that the camp was occupied, it is unlikely that all locations were inhabited during the entire life of the camp. These habitation sites are scattered across the landscape from the top of Donner Pass down the eastern side of the pass for almost half a mile. These locations are near the railroad corridor.

Due to the spread-out nature of the camp, its various components have been documented in a piecemeal fashion. To fully understand the following documentation, a short history of the archaeological investigations of the area is provided here. Summit Camp was first investigated by Evans, Etters, and Chace in 1966–1967 as a research project. They identified 12 sites at Donner Pass that they believed were associated with Chinese railroad workers.²⁷ At that time, formal state-wide archaeological site records had not been adopted by California. Instead, they prepared Pacific Coast Archaeological Society (PCAS) site records. These records are rather rudimentary by today's standards and generally include a few short sentences concerning the site constituents. At the time, there were no formal clearing houses at which to file the records for Summit Camp, and so they were retained by the authors. During the course of their fieldwork, researchers surface collected thousands of artifacts from the locations they investigated at Summit Camp. Provenience for the artifacts was limited to site level. Site locations were derived from a sketch map completed by Etters (1966).

The early Evans, Etters, and Chace Summit Camp records and artifacts were ultimately turned over to the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California (CHSSC). This collection has been recently catalogued by consulting historical archaeologist R. Scott Baxter. Some of the sites identified during the 1960s research have been correlated with sites that have since been formally recorded on modern site forms and have been assigned site numbers by the State of California and/or Tahoe National Forest. However, several of the sites identified in the 1960s have not been formally recorded. These are referred to by the designations given by Evans, Etters, and Chace. Data concerning artifacts collected from specific sites are provided in tables below. Further information concerning the work of Evans, Etters, and Chace is provided in Section 5 of this nomination.

Subsequent investigations were primarily driven by National Historic Preservation Act Section 106 compliance work for Tahoe National Forest, primarily to address impacts from a petroleum pipeline that runs through the area. These studies included Bennet et al. (1997), Lindström et al. (1999), Baxter and Allen (2008a), and Arrigoni et al. (2013). Each of these efforts documented portions of Summit Camp as individual archaeological sites. During the summers of 2021 and 2022 R. Scott Baxter revisited many of these sites to confirm existing data, assess their current condition and to acquire GPS mapping data.

The various contributing sites of the proposed Summit Camp NHL are summarized in the table below. Each component is described in subsequent paragraphs. For the sake of organization, the following section is organized by state Trinomial, then Forest Service site number, and finally the numbers assigned by Evans, Etters, and Chace.

Four previously recorded cultural resources fall in, or partially within, the NHL, but do not contribute to its significance. These include a Native American Petroglyph site (P-29-62) which predates the railroad, Donner Pass Road/Old Highway 40 (P-29-950) which postdates the construction of the railroad by several decades, Rainbow Bridge (P-29-945/FS# 05-17-57-675) part of old Hwy 40 and which postdate the construction of the railroad by several decades, as well as a utility line of indefinite history (CA-NEV-1724H/P-09-2769/CA-PLA-

²⁷ Not all of these locations are included in this NHL nomination. Several sites are located on private property and are not included in this nomination.

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2005H/P-31-2914H). None of these resources have any direct connection to the railroad or Summit Camp and are not included as elements of the NHL. These will not be discussed further.

Table 6. Summary of Contributing Resources - Summit Camp NHL.

Trinomial	Primary No.	Forest Service No.	Bill Evans Camp No.	Name	Description	Documented by
CA-NEV-712H	P-29-946	05-17-57-634	n/a	Chinese Hairpin		Arrigoni et al. 2013
CA-NEV-714H	P-29-950	05-17-57-588	n/a	Dutch Flat Donner Road	Dutch Flat Donner Road	
CA-NEV-1380H	P-29-2163	05-17-57-234	7/8	Lower China Camp		Evans, Etters, and Chace 1966-67; Arrigoni et al. 2013
CA-NEV-1715H	P-29-2746	05-17-57-630	4	China Garden		Evans, Etters, and Chace 1966-67; Arrigoni et al. 2013
CA-NEV-1723/H	P-29-2766		3	SFP-IF-2		Bloomer et al. 1997
CA-PLA-2002/H	P-31-2910	05-17-57-633	n/a	Summit Camp Locus 7		Bennet et al. 1997; Lindström et al. 1999; Baxter and Allen 2008a
CA-PLA-2002/H	P-31-2910	05-17-57-633	n/a	Summit Camp Locus 8		Bennet et al. 1997; Lindström et al. 1999; Baxter and Allen 2008a
CA-PLA-2002/H	P-31-2910	05-17-57-633	n/a	Summit Camp Locus 9		Bennet et al. 1997; Lindström et al. 1999; Baxter and Allen 2008a
CA-PLA-2002/H	P-31-2910	05-17-57-633	n/a	Summit Camp Locus 10		Bennet et al. 1997; Lindström et al. 1999; Baxter and Allen 2008a
CA-PLA-2002/H	P-31-2910	05-17-57-633	2	Summit Camp Locus 11	Cooking Feature?	Bennet et al. 1997; Lindström et al. 1999; Baxter and Allen 2008a
CA-PLA-2002/H	P-31-2910	05-17-57-633	n/a	Summit Camp Locus 12		Bennet et al. 1997; Lindström et al. 1999; Baxter and Allen 2008a
CA-PLA-2002/H	P-31-2910	05-17-57-633	n/a	Summit Camp Locus 13	Cabin	Bennet et al. 1997; Lindström et al. 1999; Baxter and Allen 2008a
CA-PLA-2002/H	P-31-2910	05-17-57-633	12	N/A		Bennet et al. 1997; Lindström et al. 1999; Baxter and Allen 2008a
		05-17-57-1006	5	Bill Evans Camp 5		Evans, Etters, and Chace 1966-67

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CA-NEV-712H (P-29-946/FS# 05-17-57-634/Chinese Hairpin) – Contributing

This site was originally recorded by Bennett et al. in 1997 as part of the Santa Fe Pacific Pipeline, Donner Summit Spill Incident Project. The site was recorded as a sparse historic artifact scatter mixed with modern refuse. Bennet et al. (1997) noted two concentrations of materials at the site, which were recorded as Loci 1 and 2. The historical materials were interpreted as a Chinese railroad construction camp. Bennet indicated that the location correlated with the location of wooden structures in historic photos of Summit Camp (Arrigoni et al. 2013:11). WSA updated the site record in 2010, at which time they identified Bennett's two loci, as well as a third they designated Locus 3.

Bennett et al. (1997) recorded Locus 1 as including 57 fragments of glass (amethyst, aqua, olive green, and very dark olive [black?]), 80 white-glazed earthenware [white improved earthenware (WIE)?] sherds, two CBGS sherds, 15 cut nails, 3 pieces of bailing wire, and 6 pieces of leather. Arrigoni et al. (2013:11) relocated this material with the exception of one WIE fragment with a maker's mark on it. They also noted a can lid along with 30 metal fragments they believed were can fragments.

Bennet et al. (1997) recorded Locus 2 as consisting of 28 bottle glass fragments, 30-40 can fragments, 30 cut nails, and a piece of flat, folded metal. Bennet indicated that this material was washing downslope towards a drainage. WSA (Arrigoni 2013:11) resurveyed the area in July 2010 and found it much as Bennett described, with about half the number of nails still present as well as two green glass beads not previously identified.

Arrigoni et al. (2013:11) noted a small scatter of artifacts in a pocket of colluvium between Loci 1 and 2. This scatter included 13 aqua glass fragments, 1 amethyst glass fragment, and 2 pieces of very dark olive [black?] glass.

Arrigoni et al. (2013:12) recorded Locus 3 as an artifact scatter measuring 36 by 42.6 ft. (11 by 13 m). The scatter included 41 CBGS fragments, 13 bottle glass fragments (amethyst, aqua, colorless, and olive), 12 cut and wire nails, telegraph wire, and a chain link.

Arrigoni et al. (2013:11-12) noted artifacts between the concentrations, primarily CBGS fragments and bottle glass. They indicated that the site had been impacted by vehicular traffic from old Hwy 40 and that the Dutch Flat/Donner Lake Road runs through the site, but that the site retained good integrity. Despite the presence of some modern refuse scattered over the surface of the site, this material is easily distinguished from the historic materials that compose the site and do not detract from its data potential.

Arrigoni et al. (2013:13-14) recommend the site as eligible for the NRHP under Criteria A and D.

CA-NEV-714 (P-29-950/FS# 05-17-57-588) – Contributing

This resource is the historic Dutch Flat Donner Road, recorded by Susan Lindström (1999). It runs along the southern edge of Summit Camp from its southwest corner. East of Tunnel No. 6, the road curves north and crosses under the railroad. From there it snakes along the east slope a granite cliff face. Here rock cribbing was used to form the roadbed. Below the cliff face the road meanders over an exposed granite outcrop, then down along a small stream paralleling the south side of old Highway 40 (Donner Pass Road). The segment through the NHL has not been evaluated for potential eligibility of the NRHP, but may be eligible under Criterion A. The segment of the road that runs through the NHL boundary has been marginally impacted by the construction of Old Highway 40/Donner Pass Road, but it is still obvious and visible on the landscape and continues to be used as a foot path by hikers. The road has been extensively reused but retains physical integrity.

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CA-NEV-1380H (P-29-2163/FS# 05-17-57-234/Lower China Camp/Evans Camp 7 & 8) – Contributing

This location was first identified by Chace, Evans, and Etters in 1966–1967 as Camps 7 and 8. Chace (1966:7) noted that Camp 7 was located “ [REDACTED] ”

He described the site as “Scattered sherds and metal on flat overlooking valley...about 100’ in diameter.” Chace noted “Scattered china and some culinary ware, nails, non-descript metal, old bottle glass...All sherds collected...Large china sherds-apparently never collected before.” This information was documented on a PCAS site record form on file at the CHSSC.

Evans collected a number of artifacts from the site that are part of the CHSSC collection. These are summarized below in Table 8. This included a diverse assemblage of domestic, personal, structural, and other items. It is unclear if the material Chace collected was integrated into Evans’ collection.

Table 7. Artifacts collected by Evans from Camp 7.

Group	Class	Description	Whole	Fragment	MNI
Activities	Ammunition	Cartridge	3	1	4
	Tools	Scale	0	1	1
		Shovel	0	1	1
	Total Activities		3	3	6
Domestic	Drinking Vessel	Stemware	0	1	1
		Bottle, extract	0	11	1
		Bottle/Jar	0	1	1
		Can	0	3	2
		Jar	0	108	1
	Food Container	Jar, barrel	0	11	2
		Jar, globular	0	3	1
		Jar, large	0	36	0
		Jar, medium	0	7	0
		Jar, small	0	69	1
		Lid	0	8	1
		Lid	0	23	2
	Food Storage	Jar	0	2	0
	Kitchenware	Handle	0	1	0
		Wok	0	2	0
		Bowl	0	1	1
	Tableware	Bowl, medium	0	96	4
		Knife	0	1	1
	Tableware/Serving	Bowl	0	20	1
	Total Domestic		0	404	20
Multiple Use	Fuel	Coal	0	1	0
	Total Multiple Use		0	1	0
Personal	Accessory	Change Purse	1	0	1
	Clothing	Button	0	2	2
		Suspender buckle	4	0	1

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Group	Class	Description	Whole	Fragment	MNI
	Health	Bottle, Jamaica-ginger	0	1	1
		Bottle, medicine	0	7	5
	SD - Alcohol	Bottle, alcoholic beverage	0	3	1
		Bottle, ale/beer	0	5	3
		Bottle, liquor	0	4	3
		Bottle, wine	0	1	1
		Bottle, wine/champagne	0	1	1
	SD - Opium	Can, opium	0	6	3
		Pipe bowl flange	0	3	1
	Total Personal			5	33
Structural	Fastener	Nail, cut	2	44	2
	Total Structural			2	44
Unknown	Misc.				
	Containers	Bottle	0	1	1
	Unknown	Handle	0	1	0
		Undefined	0	2	0
	Total Unknown			0	4
Total artifacts from Camp 7			10	489	52

Camp 8 was first identified by Chace, Evans, and Etters in 1966–1967. Chace (1966:8) noted the site's location as “

This appears to be the northern portion of CA-NEW-1380H. He described the site as “Widely scattered sherds on flats among pines overlooking valley...” covering an area “N/S 150 [feet]/ E/W 50 [feet]...” and “Another structure apparent 75 NE where sherds are evident only in gross number of nails & wire & sherd, possible leveling of site, rough stone foundation.” He further detailed “Scattered china culinary ware—lots of nails and metal at site; old bottle glass noted, copper [illegible], culinary ware piece with spout (tea pot?), shovel blade...All sherds collected—not near house flat 50 to 100 NE.”

Table 8. Artifacts collected by Evans from Camp 8.

Group	Subclass	Description	Whole	Fragment	MNI
Activities	Ammunition	Bullet	0	1	0
	Games	Gaming piece	1	0	1
	Tools	Shovel	0	3	2
	Total Activities		1	4	3
Domestic	Food Container	Can	0	3	3
		Jar	0	83	0
		Jar, barrel	0	70	2
		Jar, globular	0	4	1
		Jar, small	0	227	5
		Jar, spouted	0	3	1
		Lid	0	3	1
	Furnishings	Cap	0	2	0
		Caster	0	1	0

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Group	Subclass	Description	Whole	Fragment	MNI
Personal	Tableware	Bowl, medium	0	120	7
		Plate	0	37	2
	Total Domestic		0	553	22
	Clothing	Button	5	2	7
		Chain	0	2	1
		Suspender buckle	0	4	3
	Footwear	Heel guard	0	1	1
	Health	Bottle, medicine	0	5	1
	SD - Alcohol	Bottle, ale	0	1	1
		Bottle, bitters	0	1	1
		Bottle, wine/champagne	0	1	1
		Jar, liquor	0	4	2
	SD - Opium	Can, opium	0	30	2
		Pipe bowl	0	5	1
	Total Personal		5	56	21
Structural	Fastener	Nail, cut	0	1	0
		Total Structural		0	1
Unknown	Unknown	Cup	0	1	0
		Hollowware	0	1	0
		Indefinite	0	8	1
	Total Unknown		0	10	1
Total artifacts from Camp 8			6	624	47

Evans Camps 7 and 8 were formally recorded in 1990 by Sutherland and Harper (1990) as part of CA-NEV-1380H. They described the site as two artifact concentrations and a tent flat associated with a Chinese railroad workers' camp. They divided the site into Area A (north end) and Area B (south end). Within Area A was a 13 by 9 ft. (4.0 by 2.75 m) depression approximately 1 ft. (0.3 m) deep. This depression was surrounded by a small artifact concentration and a mound of rock with a hole-in-top can in it. They also noted a probable tent flat (Locus 3), a rock cairn (Locus 4), and a second artifact concentration (Locus 1). The tent flat was described as a 28 by 6.66 ft. (8.8 x 2 m) cleared dirt platform. It was slightly raised, with the east side bound by a single course of rocks and the west side backed up to a large boulder. A mound of rocks at the north end of the flat was interpreted as representing rocks cleared from the flat. Rotted and possibly milled wood and unidentifiable metal fragments were observed atop the platform. The artifact concentration within Area A contained a large number of structural and domestic artifacts, including Chinese ceramics.

Area B included an artifact scatter and two utility pole stumps in rock cairns as well as galvanized wire (which was probably strung on the utility poles). The artifact scatter included CBGS, earthenware [WIE?], Chinese porcelain, colorless bottle glass, fragments of a medicine bottle, a coin, and a "glass disk wick support from an opium lamp."

In August 2010, WSA visited the site, conducted limited excavations, and updated the site record (Arrigoni et al. 2013). They noted that Area B appeared as described by Sutherland and Harper (1990). They further added that the artifact concentration here measures 85 by 82 ft. (26 by 25 m) and they updated the boundary of Area B to reflect this. Artifacts included 79 cut nails (1-2 in. long), 51 cut nails (2-4 in. long), a single wire nail, 43 pieces of bailing wire, 35 indeterminate metal fragments, a barrel hoop, 4 paint can handles, a bed spring, telegraph wire, an aqua glass insulator fragment, colorless medicine bottle fragments, a black glass applied

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finish, a black glass kick up [both probably from a single alcohol bottle], as well as 81 non-diagnostic glass fragments (amber, black, colorless, and olive).

Arrigoni et al. (2013:9) did not find the opium lamp fragment but did find an opium can lid and “a tool used for applying malleable opium to the small hole of an enclosed pipe bowl.” They noted that the opium can lid was stamped with Chinese characters for the “Li Yun” or “Beautiful Origin” brand of opium and that two of the characters translate as “Superior Quality” and “Royal.” According to WSA, Beautiful Origin was one of the two most common brands of top-grade opium in the U.S. in the late nineteenth century. The opium tool was described as 13 cm long and similar to a darning needle, pointed at one end and flattened on the other.

Arrigoni et al. (2013:9) identified a number of Chinese porcelain fragments in Area B, including one fragment of Double Happiness pattern, as well as some CBGS fragments. “Earthenware,” presumably American or English WIE or ironstone, included one fragment that apparently had an English maker’s mark on it, although this was not further elaborated upon. A single friction lid can with a crimped side seam [baking powder or soda?] was observed as well as numerous non-diagnostic can fragments. Clothing items included a single metal, 4-hole, sew-through button, and a boot/shoe heel plate.

In 2010, WSA excavated two shovel test pits (STPs) at the site. The results of these excavations are summarized below.

Table 9. Summary of STPs excavated at Camp 7/CA-NEV-1380H/FS# 05-17-57-234 by WSA in 2010 (WSA 2013:10).

STP#	Depth Below Surface	Soil Description	Cultural Material*
1	Surface Scatter	10YR 4/3 brown, dry gravelly silt containing decomposed granite gravels	Clear bottle glass (2 frags); black bottle glass (1 frag); aqua insulator glass (1 frag); porcelain rice bowl sherd (1); brownware sherd (1); cut nails (12); wire nail (1); wire (2 pieces)
1	0-10 cm	10YR 4/3 brown, dry gravelly silt containing decomposed granite gravels	Aqua bottle glass (1 frag); green bottle glass (5 frags); black bottle glass (4 frags); amber bottle glass (2 frags); brownware sherd (1); cut nails (30); wire nails (2); white button (1); possible opium bowl (1 frag); threaded hex bolt (1); wood (1 piece)
1	10-20 cm	10YR 4/3 brown, dry gravelly silt containing decomposed granite cobbles, root disturbance	Cut nails (6); pin nails (5); burned wood (4 pieces); indeterminate metal (1)
1	20-25 cm (bedrock)	10YR 4/3 brown, dry gravelly silt containing decomposed granite cobbles, root disturbance	No artifacts
2	Surface Scatter	10YR 4/3 brown, dry gravelly silt	Chinese coins (2)
2	0-10 cm	10YR 4/3 brown, dry gravelly silt	Clear bottle glass (8 frags); black bottle glass (1 frag); amber bottle glass (1 frag); porcelain rice bowl sherd (1); cut nails (6); wire (2 pieces)
2	10-20 cm	10YR 4/3 brown, slightly moist gravelly silt, root disturbance	Clear bottle glass (1 frag); cut nails (2); butt of a cigar (1)

*Artifact counts are provided in parentheses.

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CA-NEV-1715H (P-29-2746/FS# 05-17-57-630/China Garden/Evans Camp 4)

This location was originally documented by Evans, Etters, and Chace as Camp 4. Chace (1966:4) indicated that this camp was located [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]²⁸ He described the site as “Large amounts of sherds scattered in soil on knoll overlooking creek, cut by road and spread both ways.” Chace gave no indication that the site had been surface collected. Evans did, however, collect a number of artifacts from the site, which are part of the collection at the CHSSC. These are summarized below.

Table 10. Artifacts collected by Evans from Camp 4.

Group	Subclass	Description	Whole	Fragment	MNI
Domestic	Food Container	Jar	0	1	1
		Jar Lid	0	3	3
		Jar, barrel	0	12	4
		Jar, ginger	0	2	1
		Jar, globular	0	17	4
		Jar, large	0	17	0
		Jar, small	0	25	3
	Kitchenware	Wok	0	7	1
		Bowl	0	3	1
	Tableware	Bowl, medium	0	26	3
		Bowl, small	0	6	1
		Cup, tiny	0	4	1
		Plate	0	5	2
		Total Domestic		0	128
Personal	SD - Opium	Pipe, opium	0	1	1
	Total Personal		0	1	1
Unknown	Unknown	Indefinite	0	4	1
	Total Unknown		0	4	1
Total artifacts from Camp 4			0	133	27

In 1999 the site was formally recorded by local historical archaeologist Susan Lindström (1999:61-62) as FS# 05-17-57-630, also referring to it as “China Garden.” Lindström described the location as:

...a narrow granite bench [REDACTED]. It comprises an extremely sparse and diffuse scatter of historic Chinese ceramics and non-diagnostic glass and metal fragments. Historic artifacts are intermixed with 20th century and modern trash cast from adjoining Old Highway 40 and debris discarded from a sequence of modern pipeline and utility line construction and maintenance projects. Artifacts observed include: Chinese brownware [CBGS] and porcelain fragments, pieces of amethyst glass, cut nails, and small lead solder fragments.

²⁸ It is unclear what “OP” stood for.

She noted that a metal detector survey of the site recovered a few cut nails, numerous fragments of unidentifiable metal, and modern refuse. She indicated that no artifacts were collected. Lindström (1999:62) interpreted the site as a “satellite railroad construction camp, which was associated with Summit Camp...”

The site was again documented by WSA (Arrigoni et al. 2013:6-7) in 2009 and 2010. In 2009, WSA monitored the excavation of an “integrity dig” [pipeline related] but observed no artifacts. The site was revisited in 2010 and a site record update prepared. At that time, they noted the site as covering an area 29 x 161 m (95 x 528 ft.). They confirmed Lindström’s description of a sparse scatter, with artifacts concentrated at the eastern end of the site. They noted CBGS including body, lip, and neck sherds, a “decorated rice bowl fragment,” earthenware, solder top and sanitary cans, a cut nail, bottle and jar fragments (amber, aqua, clear, cobalt, and green), flat [window] glass, glass insulator fragments, sheet metal, wire, and a bolt. WSA noted that although the site had been impacted by the pipeline and recreational hikers, the “artifact scatter has not been substantially diminished since it was recorded in 1997” [by Lindström].

While this location seems to lack the structural features found at some of the other sites, the composition of the artifact assemblage (collected and *in situ*) point towards this being a habitation site. The lack of structural features may indicate the residents here were living in tents rather than the cabins found at other portions of Summit Camp. This, in turn, likely points towards a “seasonal” occupation of the site rather than the year-round occupation at the cabin locations. As such, this location helps provide a fuller picture of the occupation and activities carried out at the camp overall. It is possible that more men were brought up in the warmer months to work on projects outside the tunnels (e.g. the China Wall, the grade, and/or laying track), while others continued work underground on the tunnels.

CA-NEV-1723/H P-29-2766/Evans Camp 3

This is a small scatter of Native American stone tool debitage as well as a scatter of historic period artifacts located [REDACTED] Recorded by Bloomer et al (1997), they noted the historic artifacts included amethyst and olive glass, CBGS, telegraph wire, and cut nails. This location correlates with Camp 3 which was recorded and surface collected by Chace, Evans, and Etters (Chace 1966). Evans collected a number of domestic and person items which are summarized below. This location was visited by R. Scott Baxter in 2023. During that visit 15-20 cut nails, can fragments, approximately 6 Chinese porcelain fragments, 4-5 CBGS fragments, 3-4 amethyst glass, 5-6 colorless glass, and approximately 10 olive bottle glass fragments were observed. Other than the nails, this assemblage was composed of small fragments. The artifacts are scattered over what appears to be a thin layer of coarse sand deposited in a shallow basin of granite.

Like site CA-NEV-1715/H, this location seems to lack the structural features found at some of the other sites, however the composition of the artifact assemblage (collected and *in situ*) point towards this being a habitation site. This has the same implications as described above for CA-NEV-1715/H. As such, this location extends the footprint of camp occupation.

Table 11. Artifacts collected from Camp 3 by Evans.

Group	Subclass	Description	Whole	Fragment	MNI
Domestic	Tableware	Hollowware	0	8	1
	Tableware	Hollowware	0	1	1
	Tableware	Bowl, medium	0	4	1
	Food Container	Lid	0	1	1
	Food Container	Jar, small	0	11	4
	Food Container	Lid	0	3	1

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		<i>Subtotal Domestic</i>	0	28	9
Personal	Clothing	Button	2	1	3
	SD - Opium	Can, opium	0	3	1
		<i>Subtotal Personal</i>	2	4	4
		Total Artifacts from Camp 3	2	32	13

CA-PLA-2002/H (P-31-2910/FS# 05-17-57-633)

Portions of CA-PLA-2002/H were originally investigated by Evans, Chace, and Etters circa 1966. At that time, they surface collected artifacts from several locations within the site (Evans Camps 2, 3, and 12). They also prepared some rudimentary notes on PCAS forms, but these were never filed with the State nor the Forest Service. It was not until 1999 that the site was formally recorded by Susan Lindström who identified 13 loci, mostly habitation locations (Lindström et al. 1999). In 2006 the site was re-recorded and selected locations tested by Past Forward to determine the site's potential eligibility for listing in the NRHP. Past Forward recommended the site as eligible for the NRHP under criteria A and D (Baxter and Allen 2008a). The following is a loci by loci description of the site. Portions of the site are situated on private property and outside the NHL. These are not included in this discussion.

Locus 7

In 2006, CA-PLA-2002/H was revisited and the site record updated (Baxter and Allen 2008a). At that time Locus 7 consisted of an artifact scatter measuring approximately 25 by 30 ft. (7.62 x 9.1 m). It is located at the base of a large granite outcrop. Artifacts include can fragments, bone, opium or spice can fragments, leather, wire, slag, window glass, cut nails, olive, amethyst, and aqua bottle glass.

Based on the presence of window glass and nails, this location appears to have been the site of a structure. The domestic material (food containers), personal items (drug related items), and artifacts of Chinese origins (opium can fragments) indicate it was one of the small cabins occupied by the Chinese railroad workers.

Locus 8

Bennett et al. (1997) noted here a stone hearth, and an artifact scatter including opium can fragments, a metal spike, 40+ brown ware fragments (CBGS), celadon fragments, 200+ cut nails, a horseshoe nail, lamp chimney glass, window glass, olive and aqua bottle glass, can fragments, and a kerosene can. During the course of Past Forward's 2008 investigations, archaeologists found the same types of material at this locus, as well as an opium pipe bowl fragment, a Prosser-type button, wine or champagne bottle glass, WIE ceramic fragments, and bamboo pattern Chinese porcelain fragments.

In 2008, CA-PLA-200/H was revisited, subjected to limited subsurface testing, and the site record updated (Baxter and Allen 2008a). At that time, the hearth noted by Bennett et al. (1997) at this location was recorded as a U-shaped feature built up against several large boulders. The hearth is constructed of 3-4 courses of dry-laid native granite, and measures approximately 8 ft. (2.4 m) in diameter by approximately 3 ft. (0.9 m) high. A single shovel test probe (STP) (STP-5) was excavated at the opening of the hearth. STP-5 hit bedrock almost immediately and measured only 2 ft. (0.6 m) in diameter by 3 inches deep. Despite the shallowness of the STP, excavation recovered several can fragments, cut nails, and wire fragments. The soil appeared to contain burned wood and other organics in the matrix. A soil sample was taken and sent to Paleo Research Institute (PRI) for analysis. This analysis found indigenous edible plants such as elderberry and bearberry, which, although charred, may have also found their way into the feature as something other than food. Also present was evidence of non-native food stuffs including rice, possibly barley, and an unidentified legume. Charred wood

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included pine, conifer, and pine, all native to the surrounding environment. Also present were small quantities of oak, indicating at least some imported fuel wood (Puseman 2008:6). Further soils analysis at other locations may yield further information concerning food stuffs consumed at the site and the fuels used to cook them.

Based on the presence of window glass and the profusion of nails, this location appears to have been the site of a structure. The domestic material (tablewares and food containers), personal items (buttons, pipe fragments, alcohol and drug related items), and artifacts of Chinese origins (opium pipe fragments, opium can fragments, CBGS, and Chinese porcelains) indicates it was one of the small cabins occupied by the Chinese railroad workers. The U-shaped hearth is of a type typical of rural Chinese sites, commonly referred to as a “wok oven” or “wok stove,” a small hearth built specifically for cooking with a wok. The low, U-shaped design served two purposes. It allowed for cooking with a minimum of fuel by having the wok close to the fire, while the opening allowed additional fuel to be added to the fire without removing the wok from the hearth. It is unclear if the hearth was inside or outside of the structure and historic photos of similar structures show them occurring in both locations.

Locus 9

Bennett et al. (1997) noted this location as an artifact scatter located on a bench down-slope from Loci 8 and 10. The scatter was approximately 10 ft. (3 m) in diameter. Artifacts included cast iron stove parts, Double Happiness pattern Chinese porcelain, aqua panel bottle fragments, olive bottle glass, amethyst glass, brownware [CBGS], opium can fragments, and food can fragments. When this location was revisited by Past Forward in 2006, only limited quantities of the material identified by Bennett was relocated, although archaeologists found previously unrecorded cast iron wok fragments. The decrease in artifacts may be due to the fact that the area has been subject to erosion and soil movement, likely redepositing the material noted by Bennett further down slope or burying them *in situ*. This locus has not been excavated, but it is believed that additional materials may be buried at this location.

Based on the position of the material, down-slope from two habitation sites, this locus was probably composed of materials discarded from those two locations. The materials at this locus likely tie back to activities carried out at those other loci.

Locus 10

Bennett et al. (1997) noted this locus as a “...large and primary locus ...of three adjoining structure pads....at least two hearths and associated trash scatter.” In 2008, CA-PLA-2002/H was investigated by Baxter and Allen. At that time limited testing was conducted at Locus 10. The locus is situated [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] It is a series of adjoining rock alignments designated Features A, B, and C. Feature A is a leveled, and slightly raised pad, bound by a single course of dry-laid, native granite cobbles on three sides. The cobbles may have served as a foundation and/or something of a retaining wall for the terrace. It measures approximately 33 ft. by 18 ft. (10 by 5.4 m). At the southern corner was a small depression surrounded by a pile of cobbles. This was probably the remains of a hearth. Just outside the northern corner of this feature was a second pile of cobbles, probably another hearth, used for outdoor cooking. Two STPs were excavated at Feature A. STP-6 was excavated in the northern end of the feature. Excavation recovered cut nails, wire, and aqua and olive bottle glass. STP-7 was excavated immediately adjacent to and outside Feature A. and returned CBGS, opium can fragments, food can fragments, cut nails, olive, colorless, and aqua bottle glass.

Feature B was adjacent to the southwest side of Feature A. It was identical to Feature A in size but was bordered on all sides by cobbles. There was no evidence of a hearth within the perimeter of this feature. Feature

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C was a third terrace adjacent to the southwest edge of Feature B. It measured approximately 16 by 8 ft. (4.9 by 2.4 m). There was a hardly discernable rock alignment along the upper edge of the terrace.

Feature D was a patch of very dark soil that extends further to the southwest. Soil at this location appeared to be rich in burned wood. A single STP (STP-8) was excavated into this deposit to collect a soil sample. No artifacts were observed. The soil sample was submitted to PRI for analysis. Unfortunately, the only data this analysis provided was the use of native trees and shrubs as fuel (Puseman 2008:4-5). Considering the remote nature of the site shipping a preferred firewood to the site would not be practical. A light scatter of artifacts covered the locus, including cut nails, window glass, opium or spice can fragments, aqua and olive glass fragments, can fragments, CBGS, Double Happiness-pattern porcelain, leather fragments, an opium pipe bowl fragment, a coin and a Chinese gaming piece often referred to as a “go piece.” These latter two items were collected. The coin could not be precisely matched with any examples of known Chinese coins in the literature. It may be one minted during the Chien Lung (Quin Long) Reign (1736-1796) in *Chihli* (Hopei Province) (Kingsbury 1995:6).

Locus 10 appeared to be the remains of a second Chinese railroad workers’ cabin location, as evidenced by the structural remains (stone foundations, nails, and window glass), domestic material (can fragments, bottle fragments, and tablewares), and Chinese artifacts (coin, go piece, Chinese ceramics, and opium pipe bowl). Although only limited quantities of material were noted on the ground surface, and there is limited depth to the cultural deposit, there still appeared to be substantial amounts of remaining cultural material at this locus.

Locus 11/Evans Camp 2

This location was first identified by Chace, Evans, and Etters in 1966–1967. Chace (1966:2) described this location as including multiple “house pits”²⁹ measuring 15 by 65 ft. (4.6 by 19.8 m), a circular rock fireplace measuring 3 ft. (0.9 m) in diameter by 3 ft. (0.9 m) high, lots of square nails, a screw, pottery, leather, tin cans, bottle glass, three-tined forks, and an 1853 U.S. dime. One bottle fragment was embossed “J.L. POLHEMUS/DRUGGIST/190 J ST. COR. 7TH/SACRAMENTO CAL.” Evans collected a number of artifacts from this location, which are now housed at the CHSSC. These are summarized in the table below.

In 1997, Bennet et al. formally recorded this location as part of CA-PLA-2002/H. Locus 11 is situated [REDACTED]. Bennett et al. (1997) recorded this locus as a “rocky flat south of and below a large granite outcrop, one that contains ... a stone hearth and a scatter of artifacts.” Artifacts noted on the ground surface included 50+ fragments of CBGS, two Bamboo pattern Chinese porcelain bowl fragments, brown and olive bottle glass, five opium or spice can fragments, an opium pipe bowl fragment, a two-hole button (post-dates 1851 based on Goodyear patent), portions of a large cast iron wok, 100+ cut nails, and numerous can fragments.

Table 12. Artifacts collected by Evans from Camp 2.

Group	Class	Description	Whole	Fragment	MNI
Activities	Commerce	Token	1	0	1
		Total Activities	1	0	1
Domestic	Food Container	Bottle, condiment	0	2	2
		Can, modified	0	1	0
		Jar, ginger	0	8	1
		Jar, large	0	1	1

²⁹ This is a residue of the PCAS form used and likely meant either structure pads or stone foundations. Elsewhere in the record Chase noted “stone foundation [s]” and “level dirt floor [s]”.

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Group	Class	Description	Whole	Fragment	MNI	
Domestic		Jar, small	0	243	5	
		Jar, spouted	0	13	2	
		Jar, wide-mouth	0	6	1	
		Lid	0	2	2	
	Kitchenware	Pot/pan	0	1	1	
		Wok	0	2	1	
	Tableware	Bowl	0	1	1	
		Bowl, medium	0	733	38	
		Bowl, small	0	72	4	
		Cup, tiny	0	1	1	
		Hollowware	0	10	7	
		Plate	0	115	1	
	Total Domestic			0	1211	68
	Personal	Beverage				
		Container	Bottle, soda-water	0	1	1
		Clothing	Button	3	2	5
		Health	Bottle, medicine	0	21	1
Misc. Containers		Bottle/Jar	0	1	1	
		Bottle, ale/beer	0	20	1	
SD - Alcohol		Bottle, bitters	0	2	2	
		Bottle, liquor	0	1	1	
		Bottle, wine	0	8	3	
		Bottle, wine/champagne	0	24	3	
		SD - Opium	Can, opium	0	4	3
Pipe, opium			0	101	4	
SD – Tobacco		Can, tobacco	0	3	2	
		Water pipe	0	1	1	
Total Personal			3	189	28	
Unknown	Misc. Containers	Bottle	0	1	1	
		Bottle/Jar	0	2	2	
	Unknown	Undefined	0	1	0	
Total Unknown			0	4	3	
Total artifacts from Camp 2			4	1404	100	

Locus 11 was investigated again by Baxter and Allen in 2006, when the site record was updated and several STPs excavated. At that time the hearth noted by Lindström as Feature 1 was found to be a circular feature approximately 10 ft. (3 m) in diameter and 3 ft. (0.9 m) high. It was constructed of dry-laid native granite cobbles and boulders. It was built up against a granite outcrop on the south facing slope of the hillside. “Ashy-looking” soil fills the hearth and was scattered about the outside of the feature as well. An STP (STP-2) was excavated inside the feature. Recovered from this small unit were a hand-tooled, brown-glass ale bottle finish, cut nails, and several can fragments that had been flattened. The latter were often used for roofing, siding, or repairing structures. A soil sample was collected from this feature, which was sent to PRI for analysis. Results

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showed that locally available trees and shrubs were used for fuel but did not provide further information (Puseman 2008:7) (note the soil sample is misidentified by PRI in the attached report as STP-1).

Another STP (STP-1) was excavated at the “front” of the feature. It measured approximately 2 ft. (0.6 m) in diameter and 1.5 ft. (0.45 m) deep. Artifacts recovered from this unit included cut nails, can fragments, fragments of a bitters bottle, burned wood, a fragment of a medium sized Chinese porcelain bowl (commonly called a rice bowl), and colorless glass fragments. This feature appeared to be a large hearth, possibly for cooking, providing warmth, or both. It may have been part of a larger structure, although there is no evidence of any foundations. It may also be related to the feature described below.

Also noted at this location was what appeared to be the foundation for a small structure (Feature 2). It was composed of a single course of dry laid native granite cobbles. They were laid out in a roughly rectangular fashion measuring approximately 10 by 14 ft. (3 by 4.26 m). Associated with this was a small U-shaped rock feature at the northeast end of the feature (Feature 2a. This feature was likely another wok stove. A single STP (STP-3) was excavated in the center of the wok stove. It measured 1.5 ft. (0.45 m) in diameter by 1 ft. (0.3 m) deep. Excavation recovered two opium pipe bowl fragments (from different pipes), 10 cut nails, wire, a melted aqua glass fragment, colorless glass, and what appears to be a homemade pipe scraper.

At the southwest end of the terrace was what may be a second wok stove (Feature 2b). A single STP (STP-4) was excavated into this feature. It measured 1.5 ft. (0.45 m) in diameter by 1.5 ft. (0.45 m) deep. Recovered were six cut nails, burned wood, mammal bone, and two fragments of a Double Happiness pattern medium bowl. The overall dimensions of the structure fall within the range of typical rural Chinese cabins noted elsewhere in the American West (Ritchie 1993; Sisson 1993). The small hearth was somewhat unique in that the cabins of this size generally had a more substantial hearth. Such small wok stoves were generally outdoor cooking features. If the second feature (2b) was actually a second hearth, it would be even more unique, in that the structure had a hearth at either end.

The site is a residential location related to the Chinese railroad workers. It includes the remains of at least one cabin location, and several hearths. The large hearth at the locus (Feature 1) may have been part of a larger structure or possibly a type of cylindrical cooker often used for communal cooking for feasts and festivals.

The locus has been impacted by an underground AT&T communications cable and an overhead utility line. A pole for the utility line is positioned within the locus, adjacent to Feature 1. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] There is ample evidence of substantial foot traffic around the locus. Despite the disturbances in the area, this locus remains mostly intact, with ample intact archaeological features and deposits to address potential research questions and add to the overall sense of feeling of the landscape of the camp.

Locus 13/Evans Camp 3

This location was first identified by Chace, Evans, and Etters in 1966–1967. Chace (1966:3) indicated that this location was [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Chace stated “Probably has been previously collected at least for china...all sherds collected.” He noted that the site also included square nails and nondescript metal, a collected pile of old square nails, and cans. Evans collected a small quantity of artifacts from the site. These are now housed at the CHSSC and are summarized below.

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Table 13. Artifacts collected by Evans from Camp 3.

Group	Class	Description	Whole	Fragment	MNI
Domestic	Food Container	Jar, small	0	11	4
		Lid	0	4	2
	Tableware	Bowl, medium	0	4	1
		Hollowware	0	9	2
	Total Domestic			0	28
Personal	Clothing	Button	2	1	3
	SD - Opium	Can, opium	0	3	1
	Total Personal			2	4
Total artifacts from Camp 3			2	32	13

This location was formally recorded by Bennet et al. in 1997 and investigated again by Baxter and Allen in 2008. At that time Locus 13 was an artifact scatter situated on a circular level terrace. Artifacts included wire, opium or spice can fragments, CBGS, Double Happiness pattern Chinese porcelain, slag, and unidentified metal. A rubber button identical to that at Locus 11 was reportedly collected by Bennett et al. (1997). Although there are no foundation remains, this would have been an ideal location for a cabin at Summit Camp.

Evans Camp 12

This location was originally identified by Chace, Evans, and Etters in 1966–1967. Chace (1966:13) noted the site location as [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He described the site as “Scattered sherds in soil among [illegible] granite are on top of Mt. totally exposed—no large trees...about 60' diam.” Chace tallied some specific artifacts including “copper boxes [opium/spice cans], coins, some bottle glass, some scrap tin & iron, button, shovel parts...brown ware & rice bowl sherds, Chinese coin, 2 bottle necks.” Chace went on to note “Bill [Evans] dug there a bit of the topsoil and got a relatively high proportion of porcelain [illegible] & surface collection.” This material is now housed at the CHSSC and summarized below. This location falls within the boundary of CA-PLA-2002/H but has not been documented as a distinct locus.

Table 14. Artifacts collected by Evans from Camp 12.

Group	Class	Description	Whole	Fragment	MNI
Activities	Gaming	Gaming piece	2	0	2
	Total Activities		2	0	2
Domestic	Food Container	Can	0	1	1
		Jar	0	200	0
		Jar, ginger	0	6	1
		Lid	0	25	4
	Total Domestic		0	232	6
Personal	Boot/shoe	Grommet	1	0	1
	Clothing	Button	3	1	4
		Suspender buckle	1	2	2
	Health	Toothbrush	0	1	1
	SD - Opium	Can, opium	0	18	1
		Pipe, opium	0	35	2

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Group	Class	Description	Whole	Fragment	MNI
Total Personal			5	57	11
Structural	Fastener	Nail, cut	0	16	0
	Total Structural		0	16	0
Unknown	Unknown	Misc. Container	0	3	1
	Total Unknown		0	3	1
Total artifacts from Camp 12			7	308	20

Bill Evans Camp 5/FS Site 05-15-57-1006

This location was originally identified by Chace, Evans, and Etters in 1966–1967. Chace (1966:5) indicated that the site was located [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He described the site as “A few scattered sherd[s] concentrated in roadway.” That there was limited material may be due to Evans having already surface collected the site. The material Evans collected is now housed at the CHSSC and is summarized below in Table 16.

This location was investigated by the author in the summer of 2022. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED], were found 150-200 artifacts. These were concentrated [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was densely covered with manzanita which may have obscured artifacts and/or features there. This assemblage is composed primarily of CBGS, but also includes Chinese porcelain, bottle glass, and cut nails. This material, combined with the artifacts collected by Evans include food storage, food serving, alcohol containers, and structural remains. All of this points to an occupation site. While a structure would obviously not have been built in an active road, such a building may have been built adjacent to the road. Unfortunately, the later construction of Old Donner Pass Road, led to the dumping of substantial rock debris adjacent to the uphill (west) side of the road, the most likely location for such a structure.

Table 15. Artifacts collected by Evans from Camp 5.

Group	Class	Description	Whole	Fragment	MNI
Domestic	Food Container	Jar, barrel	0	18	2
		Jar, globular	0	6	2
		Jar, large	0	33	0
		Lid	0	7	2
	Tableware	Bowl	0	13	1
		Bowl, medium	0	6	2
		Hollowware	0	1	1
		Undefined	0	14	1
	Total Domestic		0	98	11
Personal	SD - Opium	Can, opium	0	1	1
	Total Personal		0	1	1
Unknown	Unknown	Undefined	0	1	0
	Total Unknown		0	1	0
	Total artifacts from Camp 5		0	100	12

STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

Despite a variety of site impacts including environmental stressors, archaeological excavation, artifact collection, and pipeline construction, repair, and destruction, Summit Camp retains archaeological integrity

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relative to the extraordinary significance of the site. The extraordinary data potential of this rare resource, reflecting a broadly distributed occupation of extended duration by nearly universally ephemeral Chinese labor forces means remains at the site, in combination with data already collected, has potential to yield nationally significant information. Intact hearths and cabin foundations remain, providing insight into camp layout and activity areas. Test excavations have demonstrated that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The value of the data potential inherent in yet-unidentified features, artifacts, and deposits is likely to be compounded by its study in the context of previously collected or documented materials and features in adding to a better understanding of the archaeological record and historic cultural landscape of Summit Camp.

The area around Summit Camp is little changed from when the camp was occupied. Other than the construction of Donner Pass Road/Old Highway 40 and a few ski-industry structures, the immediate vicinity has not been developed. Due to this lack of development, the archaeological remains at the site have been subject to only limited human impacts. Artifacts and features remain and viewshed around the camp looks much as it did 150 years ago. As a whole Summit Camp retains a high degree of integrity.

Summit Camp retains a high degree of integrity of location. It is situated at Donner Pass in California's Sierra Nevada mountains, at the highest point of the railroad, and is flanked by a series of tunnels excavated through expansive granite bedrock. Its geographic location, at the nexus of the biggest impediment to the railroad, is what made the camp so important.

Summit Camp retains a high degree of integrity of design. Spread across the landscape are discrete refuse scatters, building foundations, and cooking features dating from the historic period. Each of these represents a separate locus of occupation. Several of these can be tied directly to structures depicted in period photos of Summit Camp. Taken as a whole, they provide insights into the layout of the camp and the various activities carried out there.

Summit Camp retains a sufficient degree of setting. The surrounding area still presents native vegetation and is, in large part, unchanged. However, certain twentieth century alterations and intrusions have impacted the setting. Most notable is the old Highway 40 alignment (Donner Pass Road) which runs along the northern edge of the district. This includes Rainbow Bridge (Caltrans Bridge # 17C-52), built circa 1925–1927. Itself an NRHP eligible resource, the bridge does impact the viewshed from Summit Camp. A secondary impact is related to a petroleum pipeline which is owned and operated by Kinder Morgan. The pipeline was built in 1957 and, by Federal standards, is historic, although it has not been recorded as a resource. The pipeline runs along (within) the railroad right of way in the western portion of the site and outside the proposed NHL boundary. Just east of Summit Tunnel (Tunnel No. 6), the pipeline diverges from the railroad and cuts northeast through the NHL District. The pipeline is subterranean, and provides little visual impact, other than the scar of the cut built for the installation of the pipeline. The visibility of the scar varies from obvious in vegetated areas to nearly invisible where it cuts through areas of barren rock. A utility line runs along the railroad right of way. Still in use, the wooden poles are modern, but several abandoned poles, indicate that the line has been in use for some time. The railroad may have originally installed the line for its use. Although no firm evidence has been identified to assert this, the alignment of the line may date back to the construction of the railroad. Locus 11 has been marginally impacted by an underground AT&T communications cable and the previously mentioned overhead utility line. A pole for the utility line is positioned within the locus, adjacent to [REDACTED]. The route of the cable is unclear but does not appear to have impacted any surface features or buried deposits.

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The railroad right of way itself, while outside the proposed NHL, runs between the north and south halves of the district. The original wooden snow sheds have long been gone from the railroad, replaced, in part, by concrete slab structures at the eastern portal of Tunnel No. 6 and the western portal of Tunnel No. 7. While UPRR retains ownership of the right of way, the tracks and ties have been removed. Despite this, the railroad retains key features including the tunnels and the China Wall.

The site retains a high degree of integrity of materials. While a substantial quantity of artifacts was collected from the district in the 1960s, much more remains at the Summit Camp locality. As described in the previous section, visible on the ground surface at the various sites and loci are an assortment of artifacts related to the 1860s occupation of the Camp. These are mostly found in discrete scatters representing individual habitation loci. Also present are leveled pads and stone foundations from the structures that once stood at the site. In addition, there are stone cooking features associated with the Camp. These include traditional key-hole or U-shaped wok stoves, as well as at least one example of a large cylindrical cooker likely used for cooking large quantities of food for festivals. It should be noted that the artifacts collected in the 1960s have been catalogued and are being held at the CHSSC, so the data this assemblage holds have not been lost. Although no longer physically present at the Camp, the data manifested by this assemblage and other materials still included *in situ* can be used to interpret the lives of the men who lived there.

As defined for the NPS's NHL program, integrity of workmanship has only limited applicability to Summit Camp. The assemblage is mostly composed of industrially produced material culture. The archaeological features are simple stone foundations and cooking features that required no special skill or materials in their construction.

Summit Camp retains a high degree of integrity of feeling. The Camp is situated at Donner Pass, surrounded by the rugged Sierra Nevada Mountains on three sides and an unimpeded view of Donner Lake to the east. The Camp is located in a rugged subalpine biome with coniferous forests giving way to sparsely vegetated granite outcrops. The location is often referred to as ruggedly beautiful. This whole scene is bisected by the massive works of the transcontinental railroad. The contrast of this engineering feature and natural beauty of the surrounding area is stark. The foundations of the cabins and the artifacts scattered across the landscape provide subtle hints of the Chinese workers that once inhabited this landscape. While the cabins the workers occupied are no longer present, the feeling imbued by the location has likely been little changed since the 1860s.

Summit Camp retains a high degree of integrity of association. The Camp was intimately intertwined with the transcontinental railroad and the Chinese men who built it. While no longer in use, the railroad line still runs through the middle of the Camp. The key features of the railroad, including the tunnels, China Wall, and the grade, remain intact and in good repair. They are visible from many vantage points within the Camp and serve as its focal point. The various archaeological features and artifacts scattered across the Camp provide key indicators as to who its occupants once were. The Chinese residents of the Camp left an indelible mark on the landscape. The connection of the Camp to its Chinese occupants and the railroad has remained distinct so that the location has long been the target of heritage tours highlighting the contributions of the Chinese workers to the railroad (California State Parks, the Sierra Club, and the 1882 Foundation).

Over the last 150 years Summit Camp has experienced minor alterations to the surrounding environment and incremental impacts to the archaeology at the site itself. However, taken as a singular inclusive entity, Summit Camp retains sufficiently high integrity to be considered for NHL designation. Moreover, the intrusions of communications, pipelines, and roads should be assessed within the patterns of neglect, both benign and overtly racist, that have impacted sites related to Chinese and Asian American history. Historically, much greater emphasis has been given to preservation of sites related to White immigrants at the expense of other important ethnic/racial groups. The nearby camps of the Donner Party received a large monument by 1918, became the

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focus of a State Park, and was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1961. There is no monument or museum for the Chinese immigrants that built the railroad at Summit Camp. The tunnels and wall that do stand as the products of their labor are privately owned and only haphazardly interpreted. Recognition of Summit Camp as a National Historic Landmark acknowledges the national significance of its role within the history of transcontinental railroad construction by Chinese workers and our understanding of their hidden experiences as revealed by archaeology.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):☐ Previously listed in the National Register (fill in 1 through 6 below)☒ Not previously listed in the National Register (fill in **only** 4, 5, and 6 below)

1. NR #:
2. Date of listing:
3. Level of significance:
4. Applicable National Register Criteria:
5. Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):
6. Areas of Significance:

A ☒ B ☐ C ☐ D ☒
A ☐ B ☐ C ☐ D ☐ E ☐ F ☐ G ☐
Central Sierra Nevada Mountains

☒ Previously Determined Eligible for the National Register:

Date of determination: 2008

☐ Designated a National Historic Landmark:

Date of designation:

☐ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey:

HABS No.

☐ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record:

HAER No.

☐ Recorded by Historic American Landscapes Survey:

HALS No.

Location of additional data:

State Historic Preservation Office:

Other State Agency: North Central [Archaeological] Information Center, 7667 Folsom Blvd #2042,
Sacramento, CA 95826: archaeological reports and site records

California State Railroad Museum Library, 111 I St, Sacramento, CA 95814: historical records

Federal Agency: Truckee Ranger District, Tahoe National Forest, 10811 Stockrest Springs Rd, Truckee, CA
96161: archaeological reports and site records

Local Government:

University:

Other (Specify Repository): Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, 415 Bernard St, Los Angeles,
CA 90012: Bill Evans' Collection and Notes

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FIGURE LOG: SUMMIT CAMP, TAHOE NATIONAL FOREST (PLACER CO. AND NEVADA CO.), CALIFORNIA

Figure 1. Location map for Summit Camp National Historic Landmark. *Pacific Legacy 2024.*

Figure 2. Map showing boundary of proposed Summit Camp Archeological District National Historic Landmark and its various contributing sites. *Pacific Legacy 2024.*

Figure 3. Boundary of proposed Summit Camp Archeological District National Historic Landmark shown on USGS map. *Pacific Legacy 2024.*

Figure 4. “Shaft House over Summit Tunnel, American Peak in distance,” Photograph no. 196, A.A. Hart for Central Pacific Railroad Company, c. 1865-1869. Note shaft building at far right in photo. *Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University.*

Figure 5. “Camp near Summit Tunnel – Mt. King in the Distance,” Photograph no. 116, A.A. Hart for Central Pacific Railroad Company, c. 1865-1869. View facing northwest with Dutch Flat Donner Lake Road in foreground and Summit Camp at the left. *Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University.*

Figure 6. “East Portal of Summit Tunnel” (Tunnel No. 6), Photograph no. 199, A.A. Hart for Central Pacific Railroad Company, c. 1865-1868. View looking west with portal at center right, freight wagons on Dutch Flat Donner Lake Road, and Summit Camp at upper left. *Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University.*

Figure 7. “East Portals of Tunnels No. 6 and 7 from Tunnel No. 8,” Photograph no. 202, A.A. Hart for Central Pacific Railroad Company, c. 1865-1868. Overview of Summit Camp area taken facing west from above Tunnel No. 8 showing the east portals of Tunnels No. 6 (back center) and No. 7 (center), China Wall (foreground), Dutch Flat Donner Lake Road, (upper right), and Summit Camp (upper left). *Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University.*

Figure 8. Chinese laborers working on railroad grade at unknown location. *Courtesy of Connie Young Yu.*

Figure 4. “Laborers and Rocks Near Opening of Summit Tunnel,” Photograph no. 119, A. A. Hart for Central Pacific Railroad Company, c. 1865-1868. *Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University.*

Figure 10. Postcard image of Chinese laborers Building the Transcontinental Railroad over the Sierra Nevada Mountains *Courtesy of Connie Young Yu.*

Figure 11. View of camp cook at a Chinese railroad construction camp, originally printed in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (1877). The original caption read “...a cook fried fish in giant woks while in the background three laborers ate morning rice.” *Reproduced in Hoexter 1976:80.*

Figure 12. “Heading [out] of East Portal, Tunnel No. 8,” Photograph no. 204, A.A. Hart for Central Pacific Railroad, c. 1865-1868. Delivering tea to the Chinese workers. *Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University.*

Figure 13. Three examples of a wok stove. Top left from FS-05-19-427 (Heavenly Ski Resort); top right from CA-NEV-880H (Gray's Crossing); and bottom at CA-PLA-1420H, Locus 8, Summit Camp. *R. Scott Baxter 2006.*

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Figure 14. Three examples of a hearth. Top left from site 10-IH-1328, a Chinese mining camp in Idaho (Sisson 1993:48); top right hearth is from Walltown Mining District in Folsom, CA.; and bottom at CA-PLA-1420H, Locus 11, Summit Camp. *R. Scott Baxter 2006.*

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Figure 18. Example of Chinese cabin location from Heavenly Ski Resort site FS# 05-57-19-429. *Reproduced from Smith and Dixon 2005.*

Figure 19. Map of CA-NEV-712H/FS# 05-17-57-634. *Reproduced from WSA 2010c:14.*

Figure 20. Map of CA-NEV-1380H/FS# 05-17-57-234. *Reproduced from WSA 2010b:17.*

Figure 21. Map of CA-NEV-1715H/FS# 05-17-57-630. *Reproduced from WSA 2010a:9.*

Figure 22. Map of CA-PLA-2002/H as recorded by Baxter and Allen (2008a:29).

Figure 23. Plan view of hearth at CA-PLA-2002/H Locus 8. *Reproduced from Baxter and Allen 2008a:31.*

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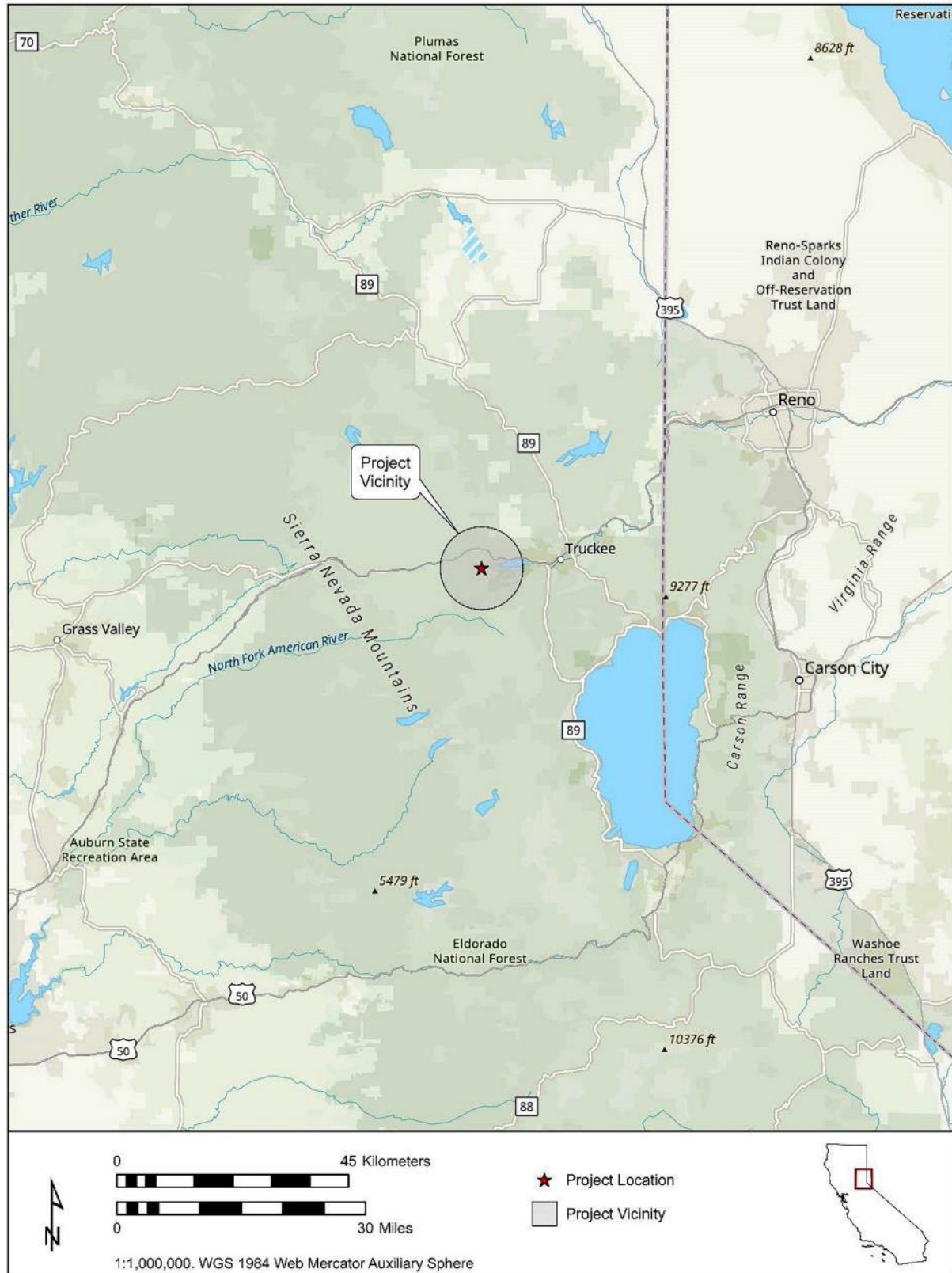
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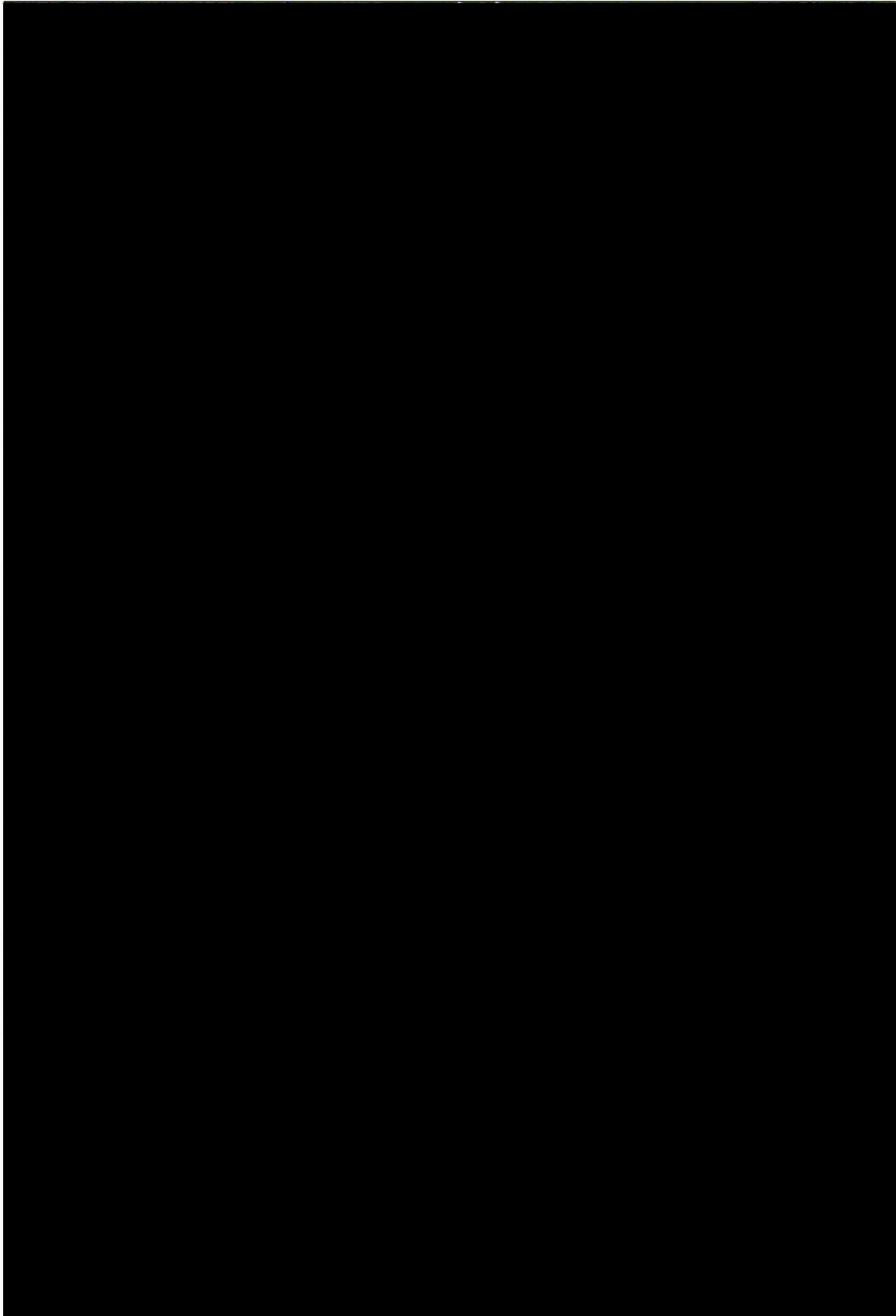


Figure 6. Map showing boundary of proposed Summit Camp Archeological District National Historic Landmark and its various contributing sites. *Pacific Legacy 2024.*

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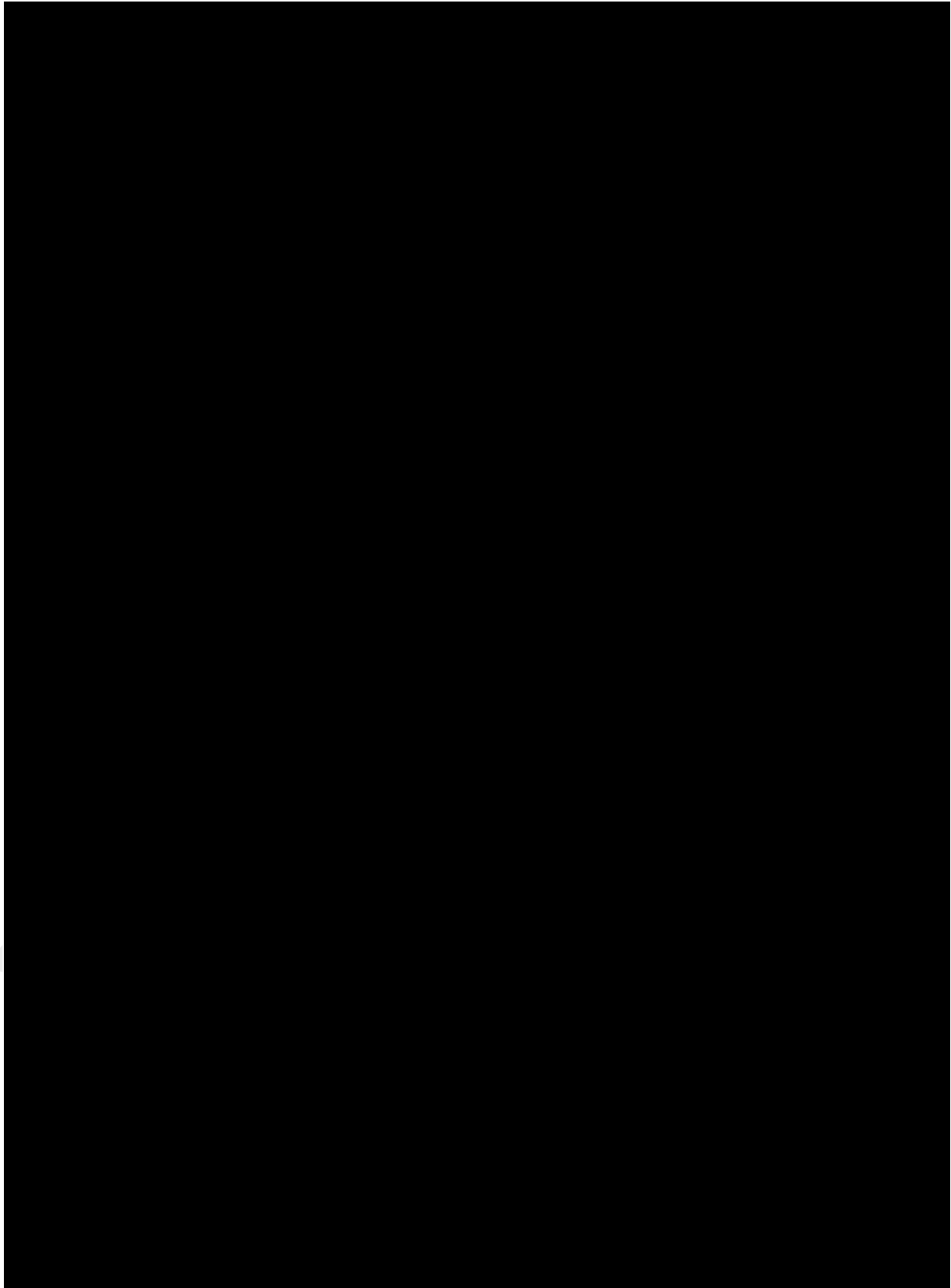


Figure 7. Boundary of proposed Summit Camp Archeological District National Historic Landmark shown on USGS map.
Pacific Legacy 2024.

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Figure 8. “Shaft House over Summit Tunnel, American Peak in distance,” Photograph no. 196, A.A. Hart for Central Pacific Railroad Company, c. 1865-1869. Note shaft building at far right in photo. *Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University.*

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Figure 9. “Camp near Summit Tunnel – Mt. King in the Distance,” Photograph no. 116, A.A. Hart for Central Pacific Railroad Company, c. 1865-1869. View facing northwest with Dutch Flat Donner Lake Road in foreground and Summit Camp at the left.
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Figure 10. “East Portal of Summit Tunnel” (Tunnel No. 6), Photograph no. 199, A.A. Hart for Central Pacific Railroad Company, c.1865-1868. View looking west with portal at center right, freight wagons on Dutch Flat Donner Lake Road, and Summit Camp at upper left. *Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University.*

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Figure 11. “East Portals of Tunnels No. 6 and 7 from Tunnel No. 8,” Photograph no. 202, A.A. Hart for Central Pacific Railroad Company, c. 1865-1868. Overview of Summit Camp area taken facing west from above Tunnel No. 8 showing the east portals of Tunnels No. 6 (back center) and No. 7 (center), China Wall (foreground), Dutch Flat Donner Lake Road, (upper right), and Summit Camp (upper left). *Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University.*

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Figure 12. Chinese laborers working on railroad grade at unknown location. *Courtesy of Connie Young Yu.*



Figure 13. "Laborers and Rocks Near Opening of Summit Tunnel," Photograph no. 119, A. A. Hart for Central Pacific Railroad Company, c. 1865-1868. *Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University.*

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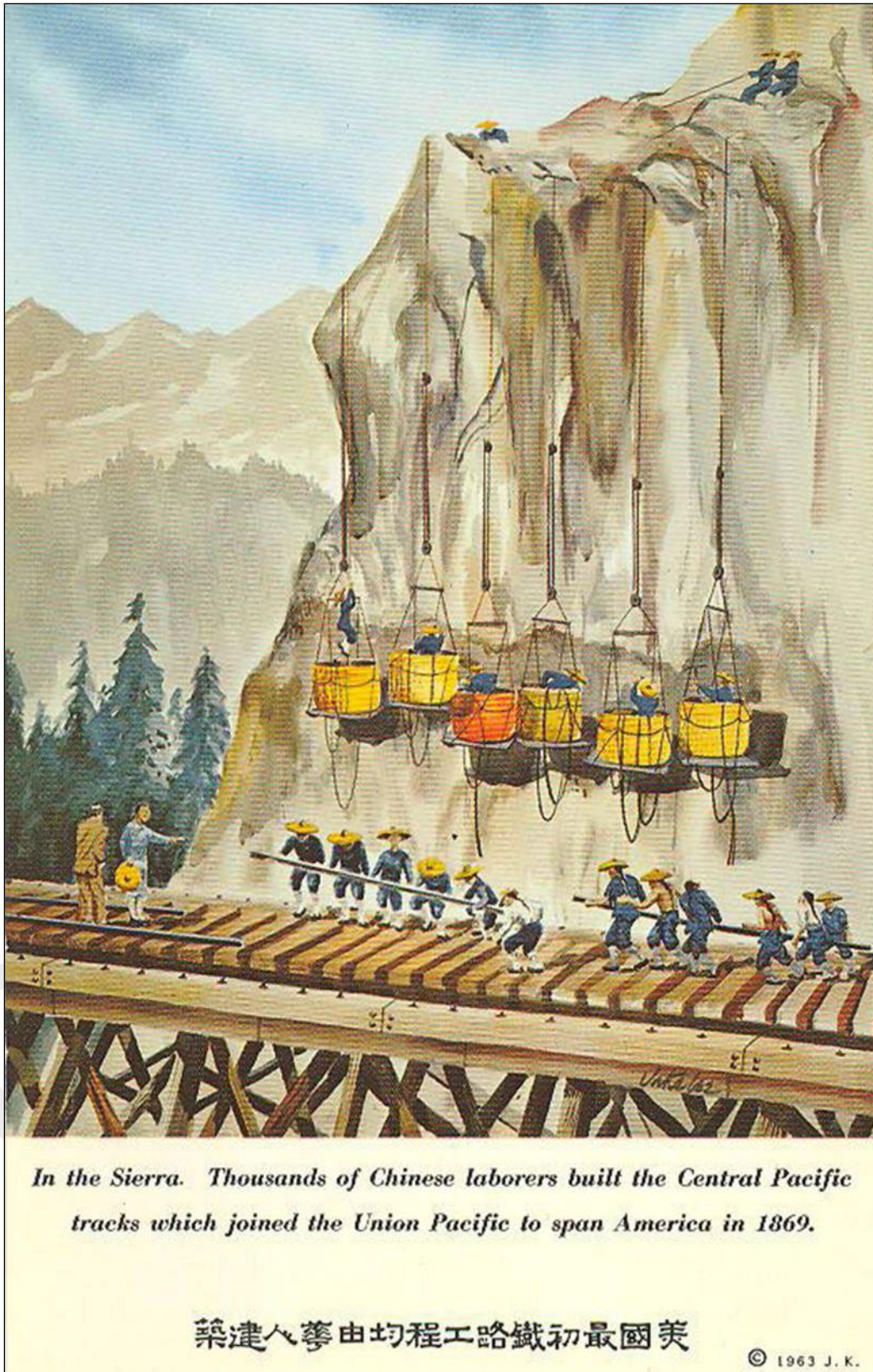


Figure 14. 1960s postcard image of Chinese laborers building the transcontinental railroad over the Sierra Nevada Mountains
Courtesy of Connie Young Yu.

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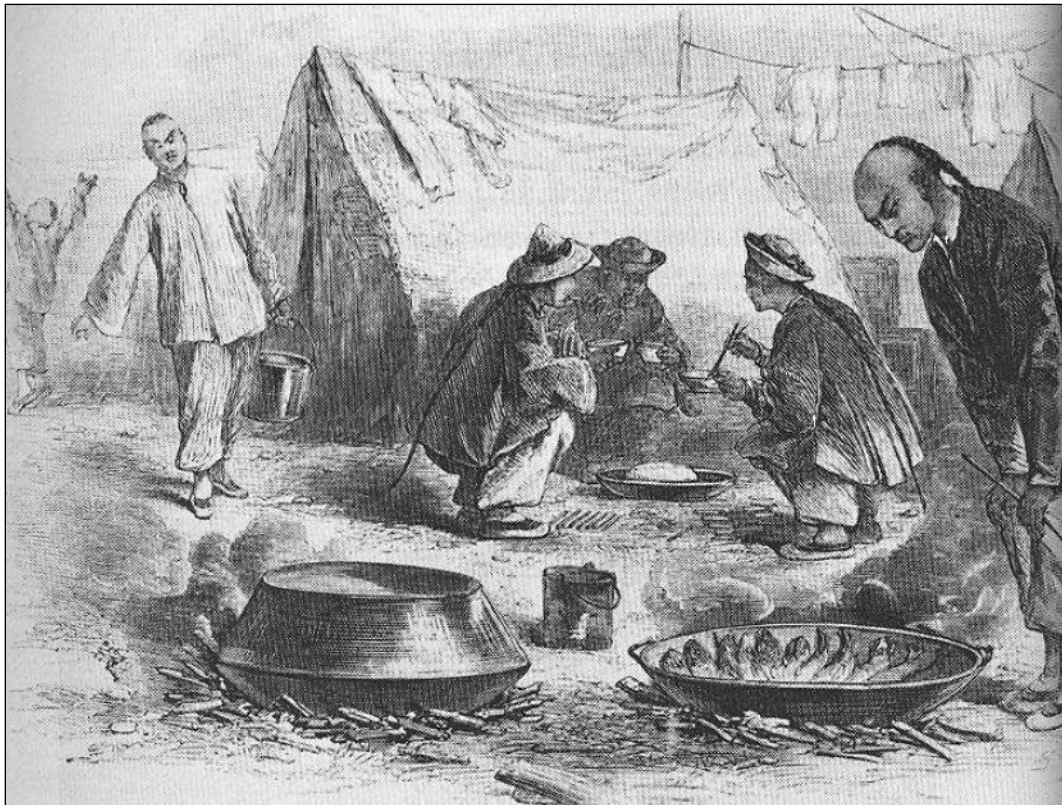


Figure 15. View of camp cook at a Chinese railroad construction camp, originally printed in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (1877). The original caption read "...a cook fried fish in giant woks while in the background three laborers ate morning rice." Reproduced in Hoexter 1976:80.

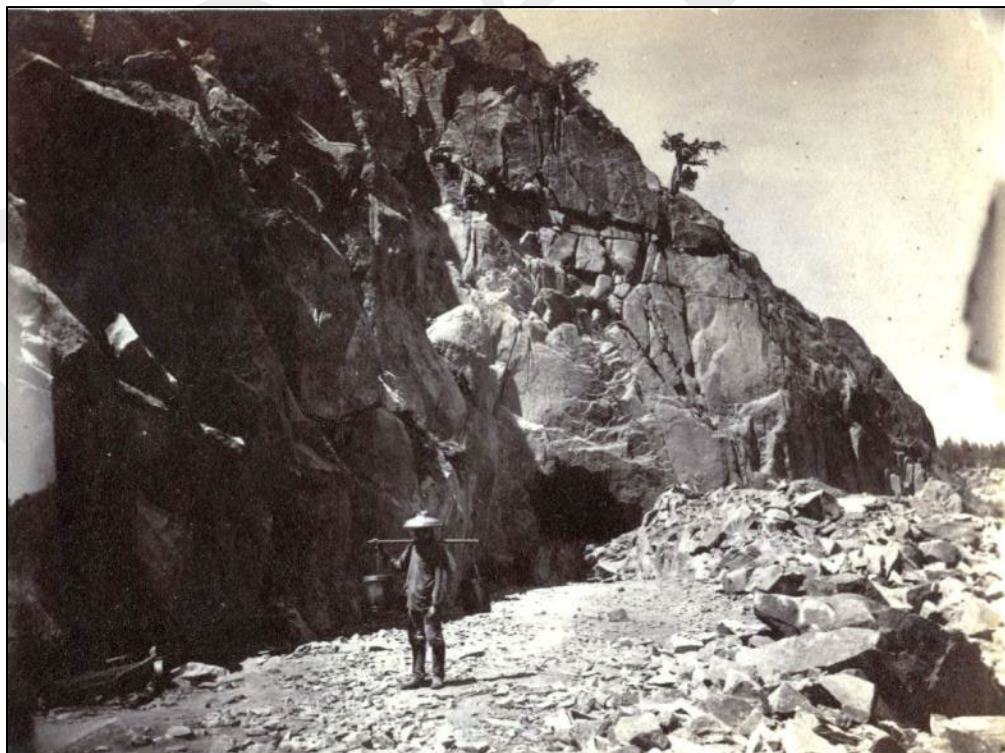


Figure 16. "Heading [out] of East Portal, Tunnel No. 8," Photograph no. 204, A.A. Hart for Central Pacific Railroad, c. 1865-1868. Delivering tea to the Chinese workers. *Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University.*

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Figure 17. Three examples of a wok stove. Top left from FS-05-19-427 (Heavenly Ski Resort); top right from CA-NEV-880H (Gray's Crossing); and bottom at CA-PLA-1420H, Locus 8, Summit Camp. *R. Scott Baxter 2006.*

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Reproduced from Ritchie 1993:343.



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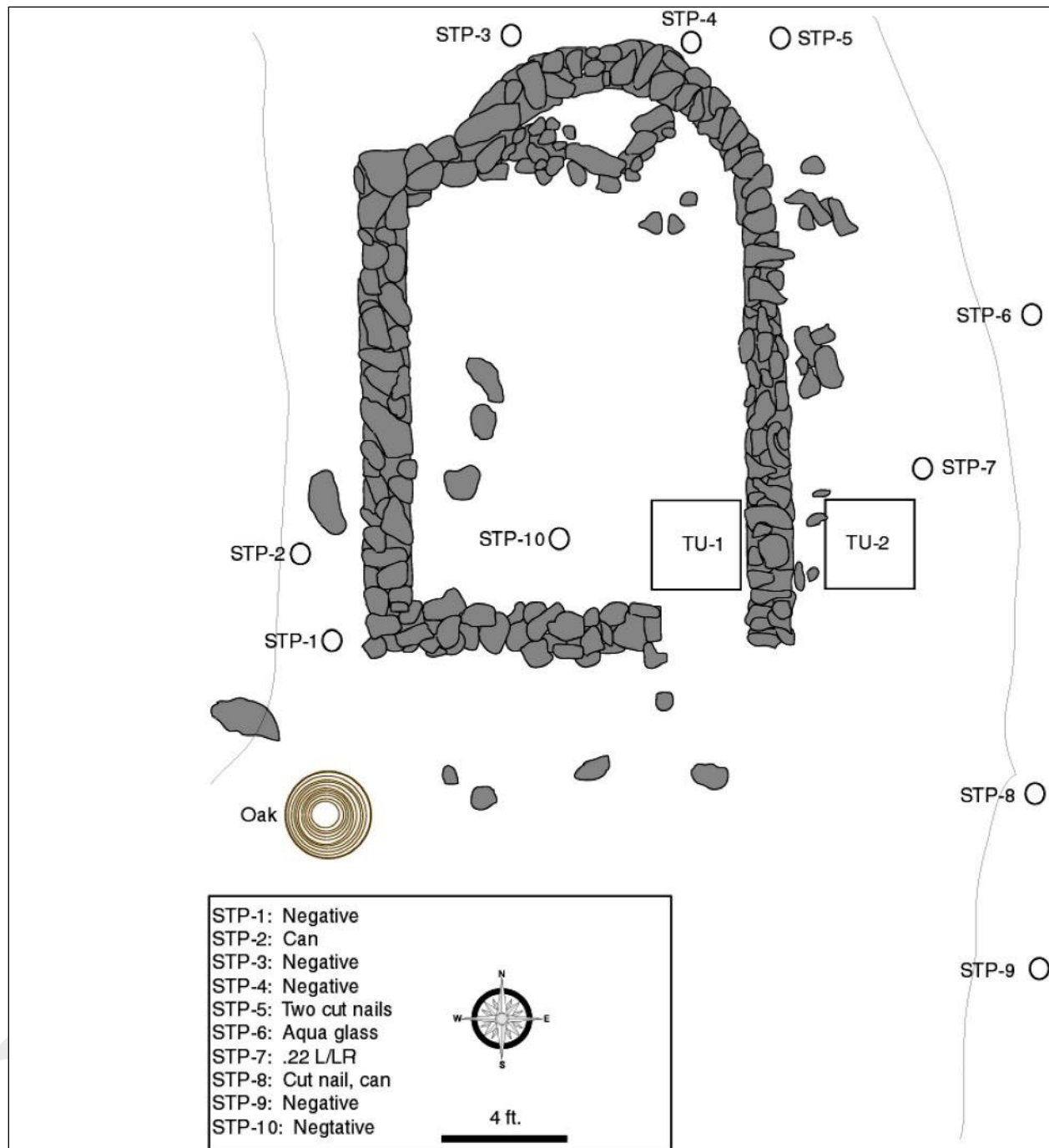


Figure 21. Map of cabin foundations at Walltown (CA-SAC-1031H/P-34-1877). *Reproduced from Baxter and Allen 2008b.*

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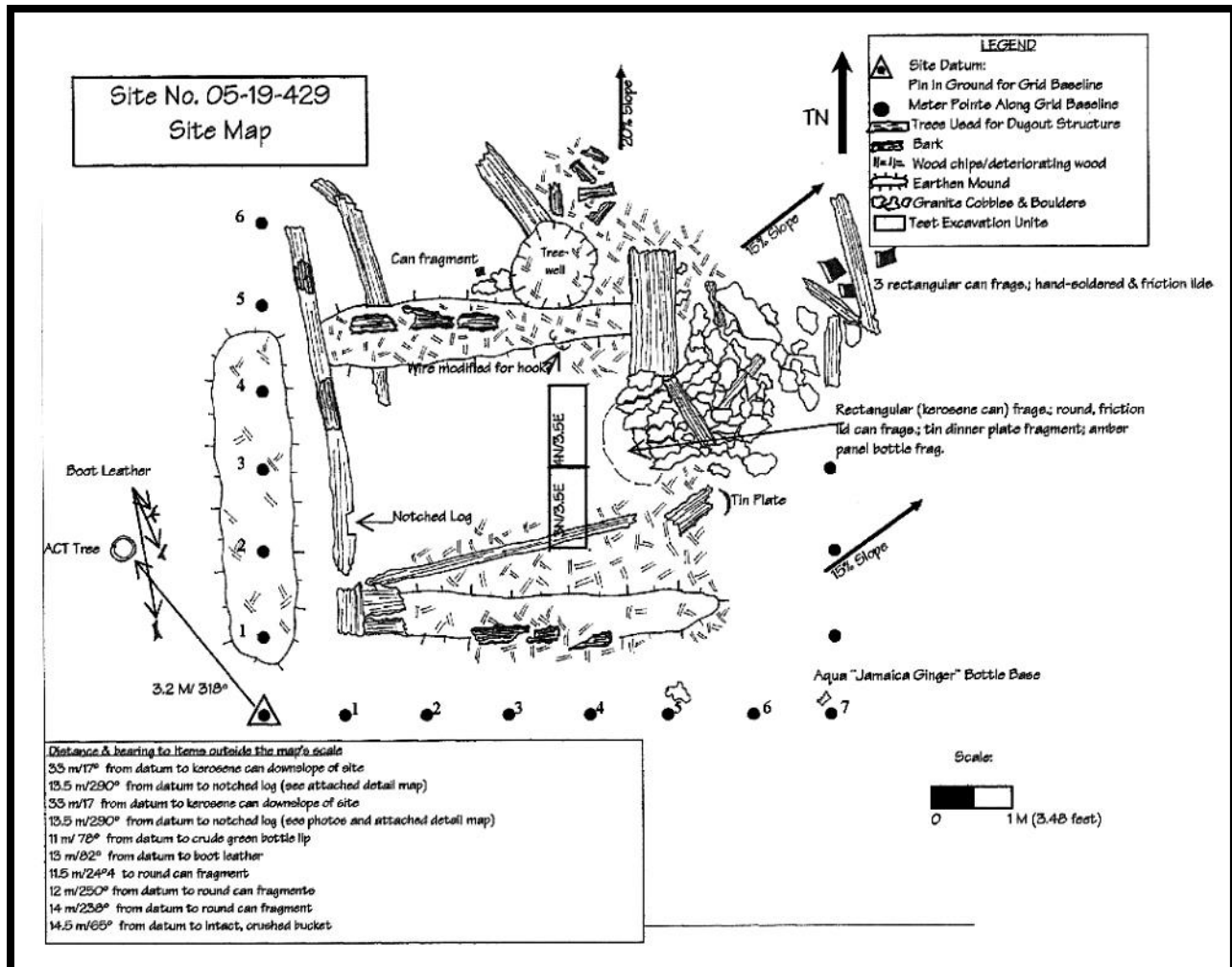


Figure 22. Example of Chinese cabin location from Heavenly Ski Resort site FS# 05-57-19-429. Reproduced from Smith and Dixon 2005.

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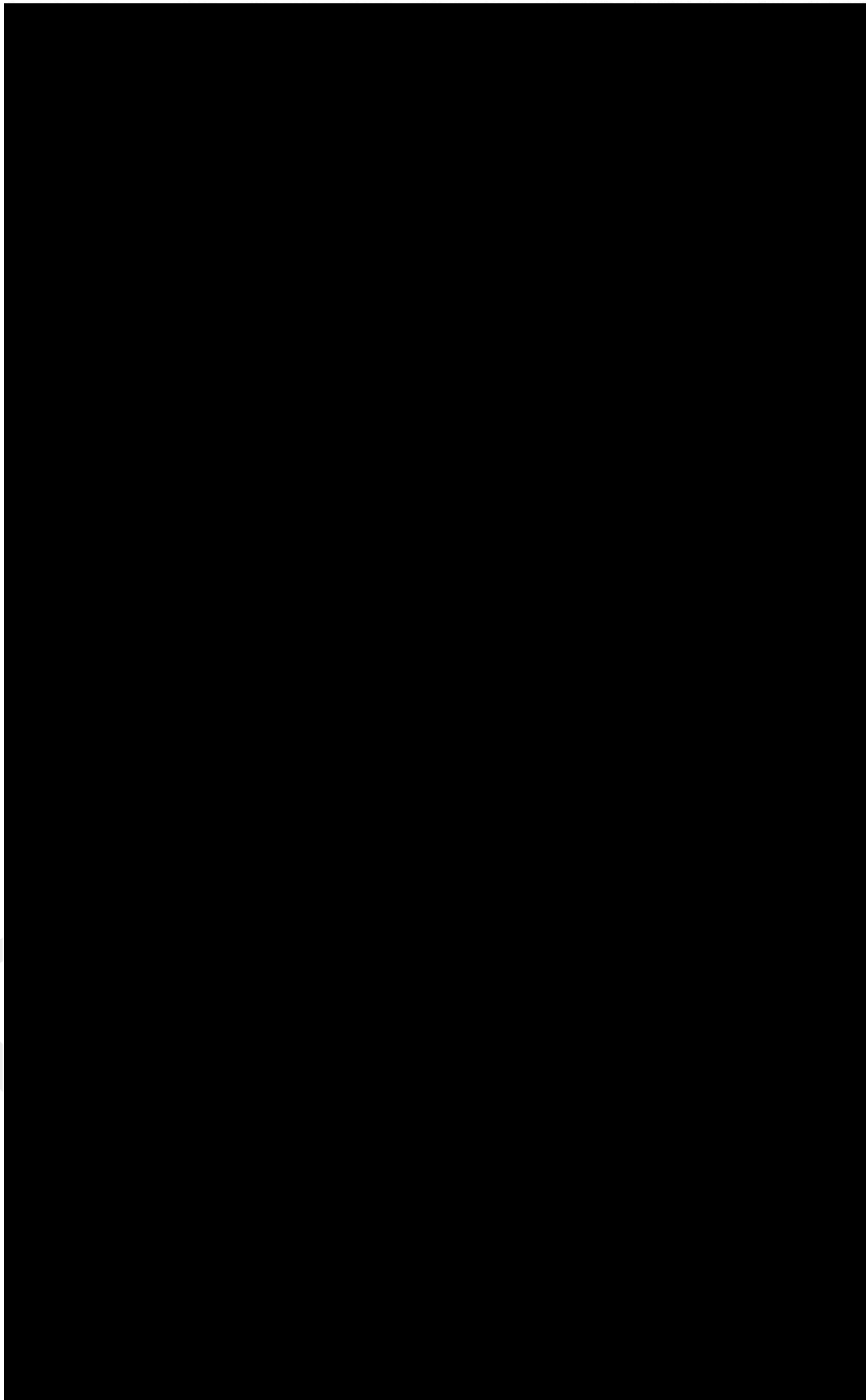


Figure 23. Map of CA-NEV-712H/FS# 05-17-57-634. *Reproduced from WSA 2010c:14.*

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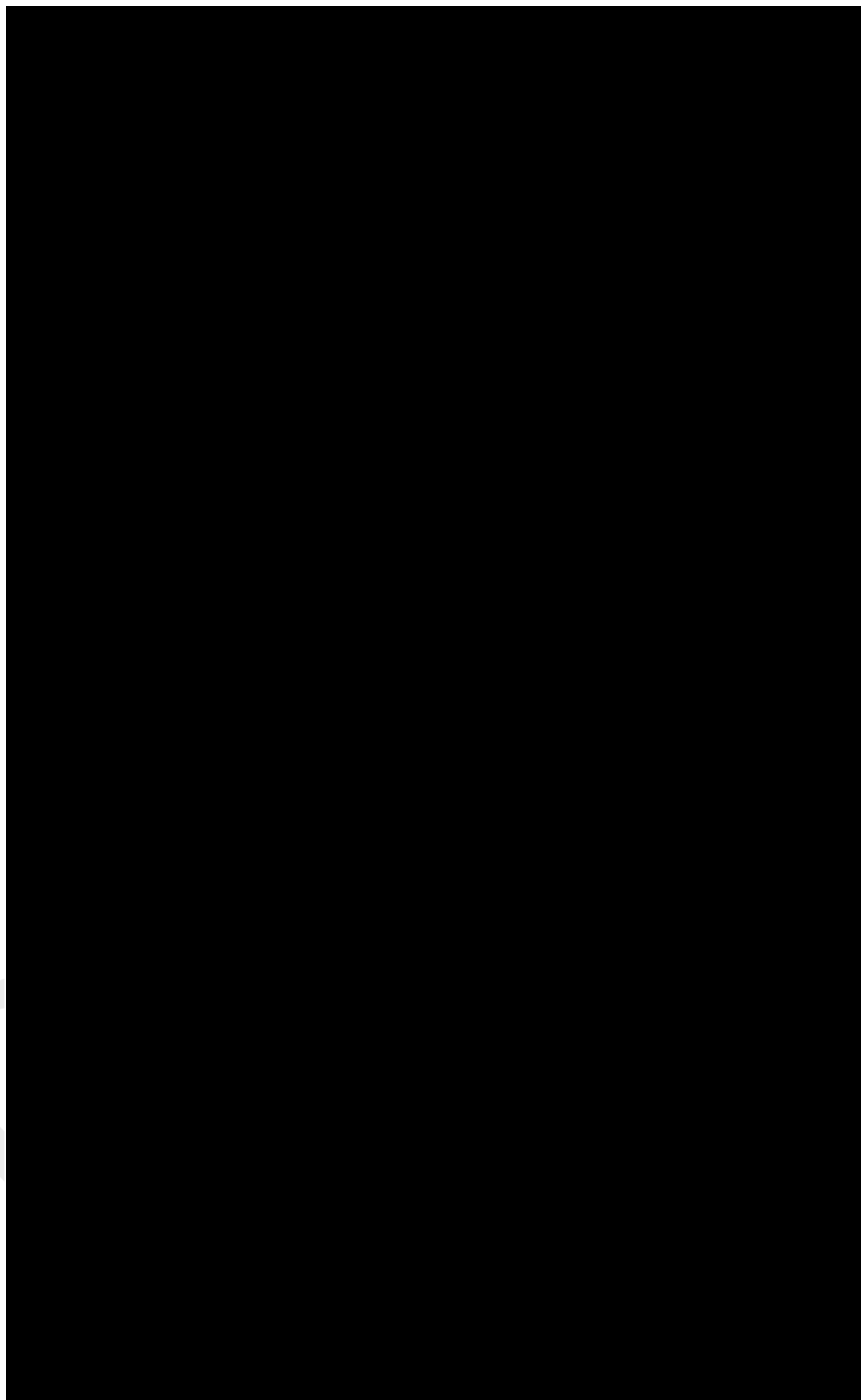


Figure 24. Map of CA-NEV-1380H/FS# 05-17-57-234. *Reproduced from WSA 2010b:17.*

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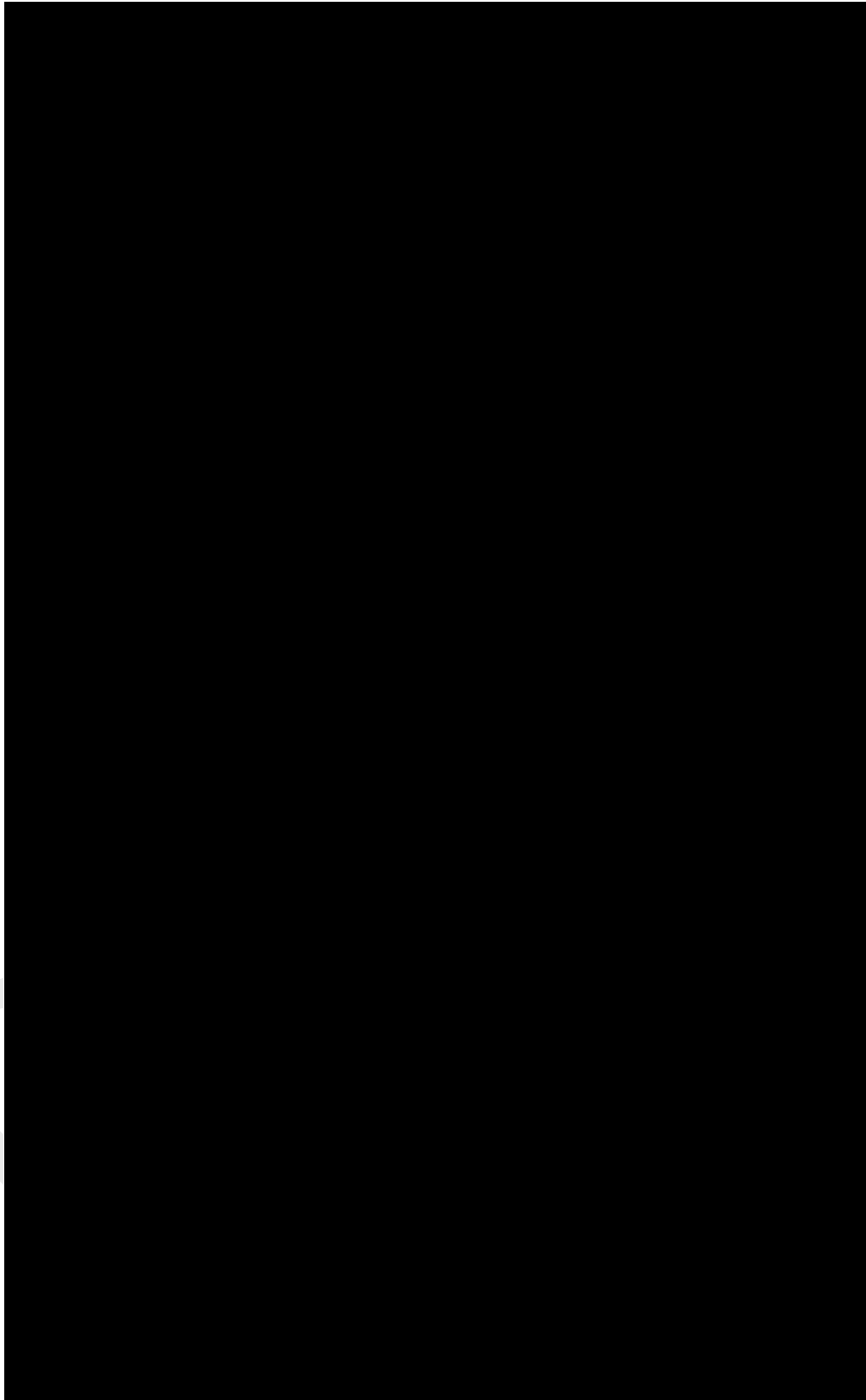


Figure 25. Map of CA-NEV-1715H/FS# 05-17-57-630. *Reproduced from WSA 2010a:9.*

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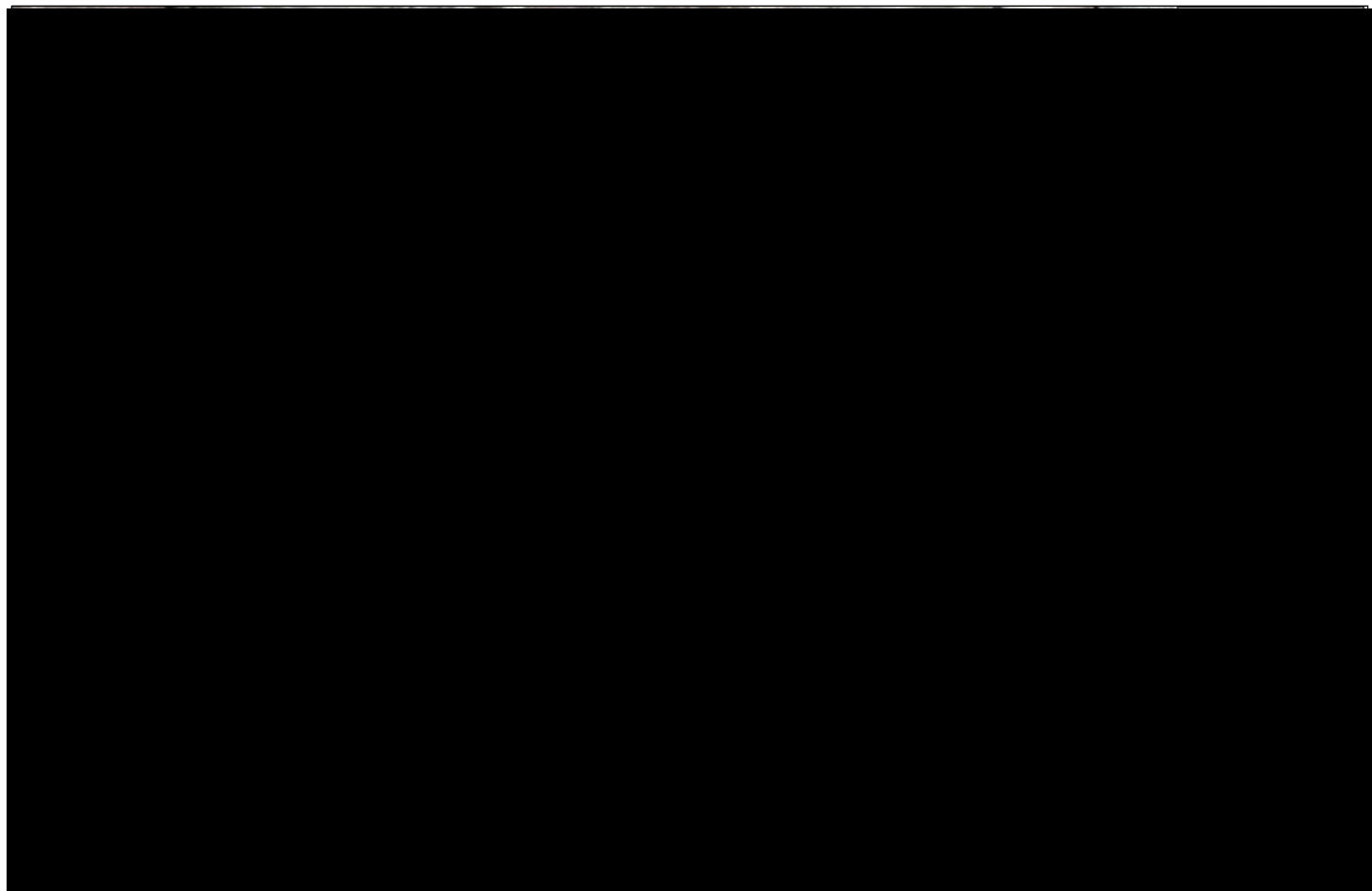


Figure 26. Map of CA-PLA-2002/H as recorded by Baxter and Allen (2008a:29).

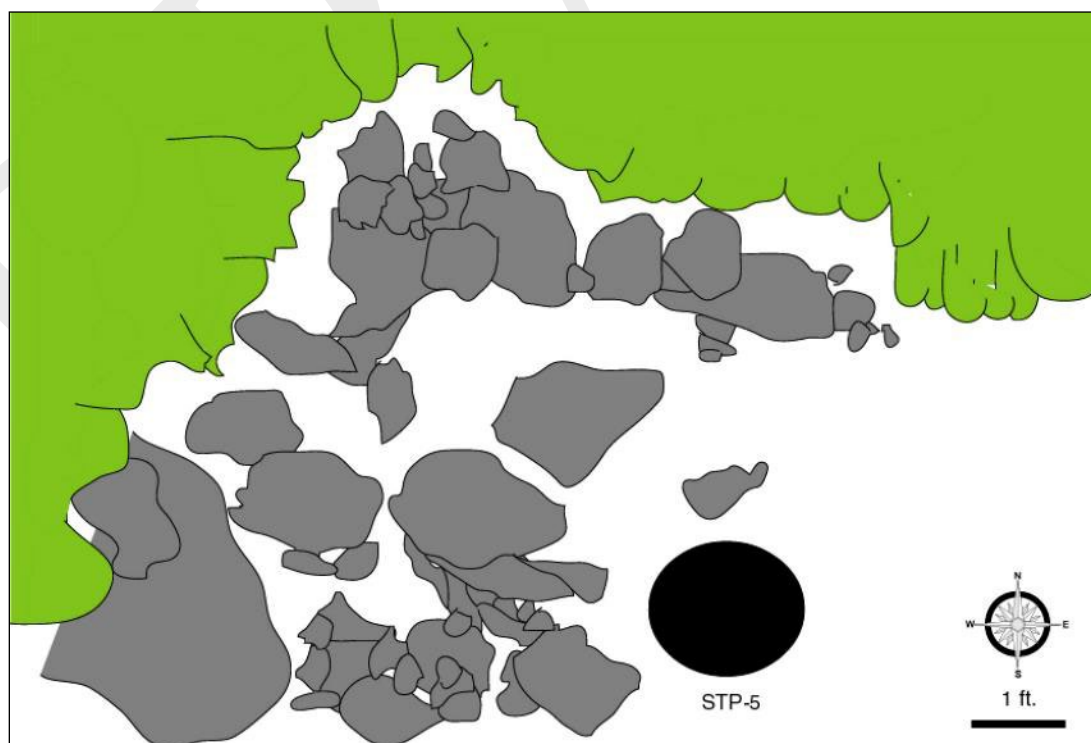


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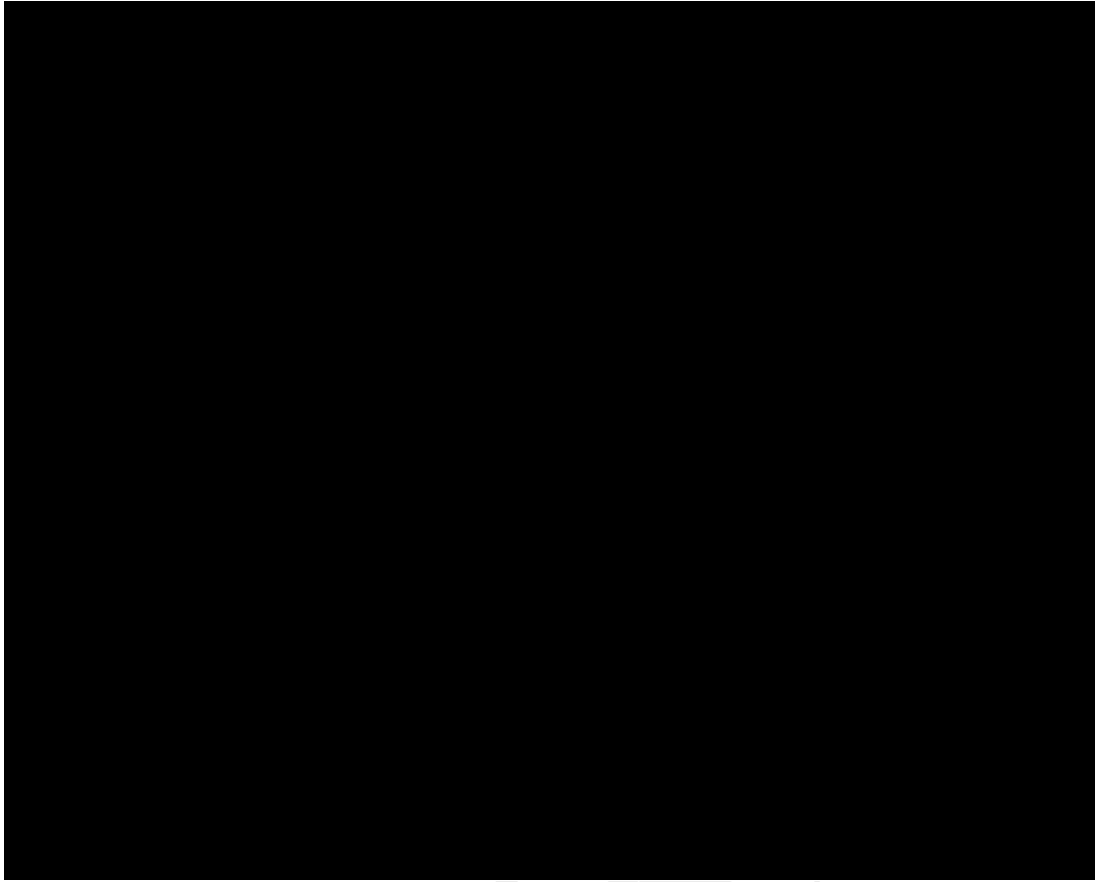


Figure 28. Map showing proximity of Loci 8, 9, and 10 at CA-PLA-2002/H. *Reproduced from Baxter and Allen 2008a:38.*

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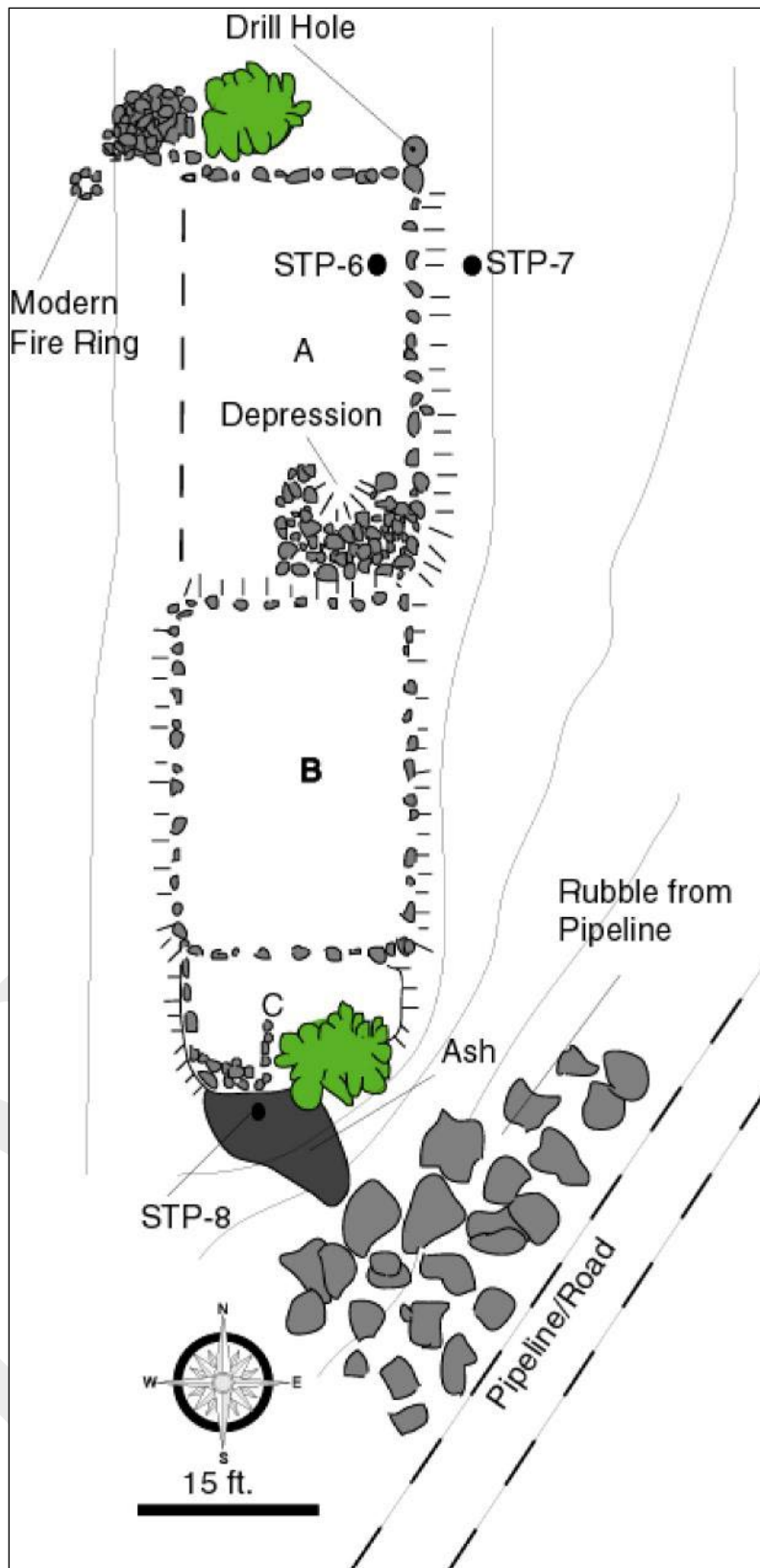


Figure 29. Map of Locus 10 CA-PLA-2002/H showing locations of STP excavated by Past Forward in 2006. *Reproduced from Baxter and Allen 2008a:35.*

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Figure 30. Coin and gaming piece from Locus 10 of CA-PLA-2002/H. Example of coin minted during Chien Lung Reign (1736-1796) in upper left corner. *R. Scott Baxter 2006.*

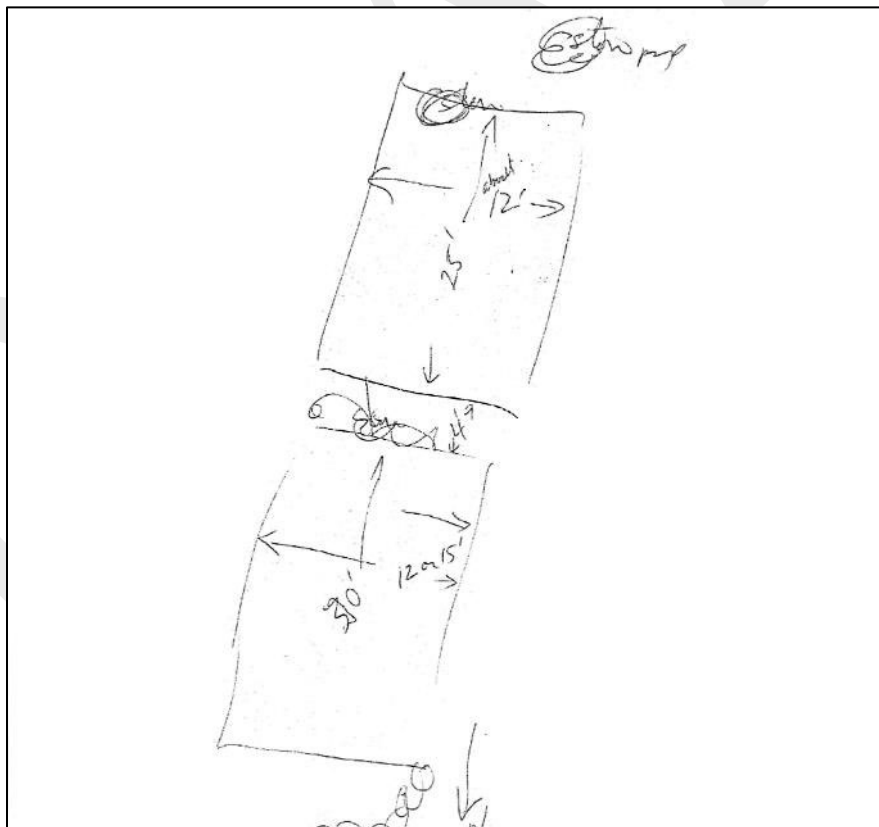


Figure 31. 1966 sketch map of Camp 2. *Reproduced from Chace 1966:2b.*

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Figure 32. Artifacts from ground surface of Locus 11. From left to right: CBGS fragments, Bamboo pattern bowl fragments, “Hotelware” cup fragment, rubber Goodyear button, opium pipe bowl fragment, green beer/ale bottle, cast iron wok fragment, opium or spice can fragments. *R. Scott Baxter 2006.*

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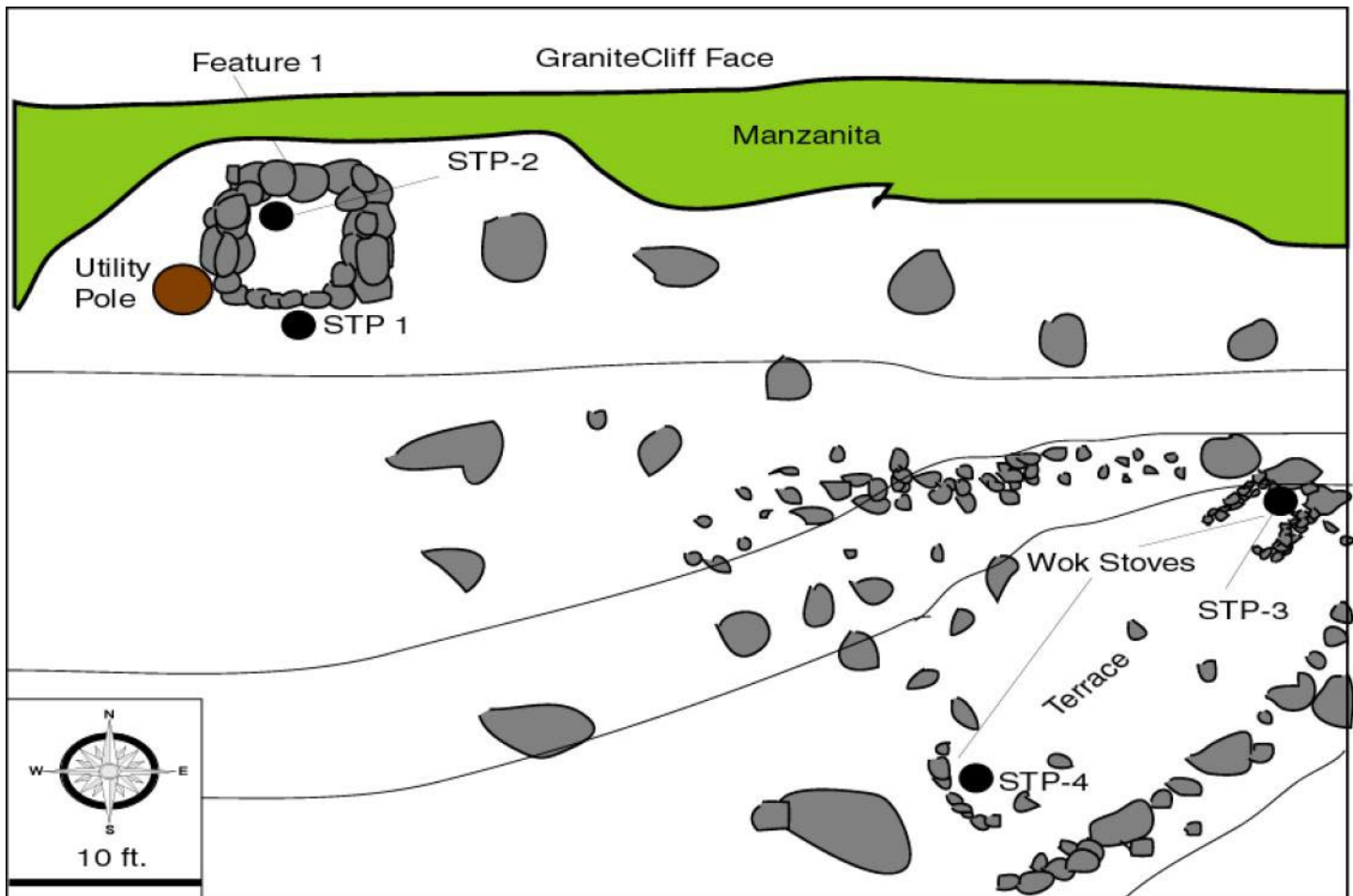


Figure 33. Map of CA-PLA-2002/h Locus 11. *Reproduced from Baxter and Allen 2008a:38.*

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PHOTO LOG: SUMMIT CAMP, TAHOE NATIONAL FOREST (PLACER CO. AND NEVADA CO.), CALIFORNIA**Photographer: R. Scott Baxter, Pacific Legacy**

Photo 1. Overview of railroad, China Wall, and Summit Camp site CA-PLA-2002/H looking south from site CA-NEV1380H, September 2021.

Photo 2. View looking northeast of Donner Lake from upslope north of Summit Camp site CA-PLA-2002/H (Locus 8, 9, and 10), September 2020.

Photo 3. View of Feature 1 (hearth) at Locus 11 of CA-PLA-2002/H, looking northeast, June 2021.

Photo 4. Overview of Locus 11 of CA-PLA-2002/H, looking southeast, June 2021.

Photo 5. Overview of Locus 3 of CA-NEV-1380H, looking north, September 2021.

Photo 6. Chines brown glazed stoneware shard at Evans Camp 5, October 2022.

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Photo 1. Overview of railroad, China Wall, and Summit Camp site CA-PLA-2002/H looking south from site CA-NEV1380H. *Photo by R. Scott Baxter, September 2021.*

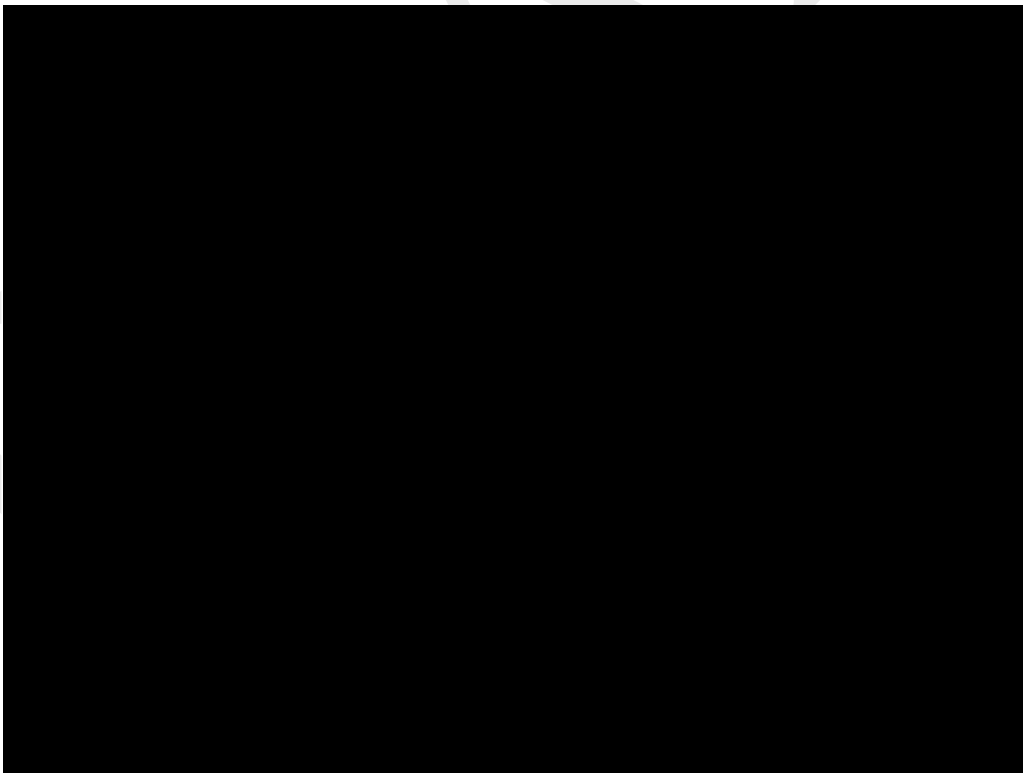


Photo 2. View looking northeast of Donner Lake from upslope north of Summit Camp site CA-PLA-2002/H (Locus 8, 9, and 10). *Photo by R. Scott Baxter, September 2020.*

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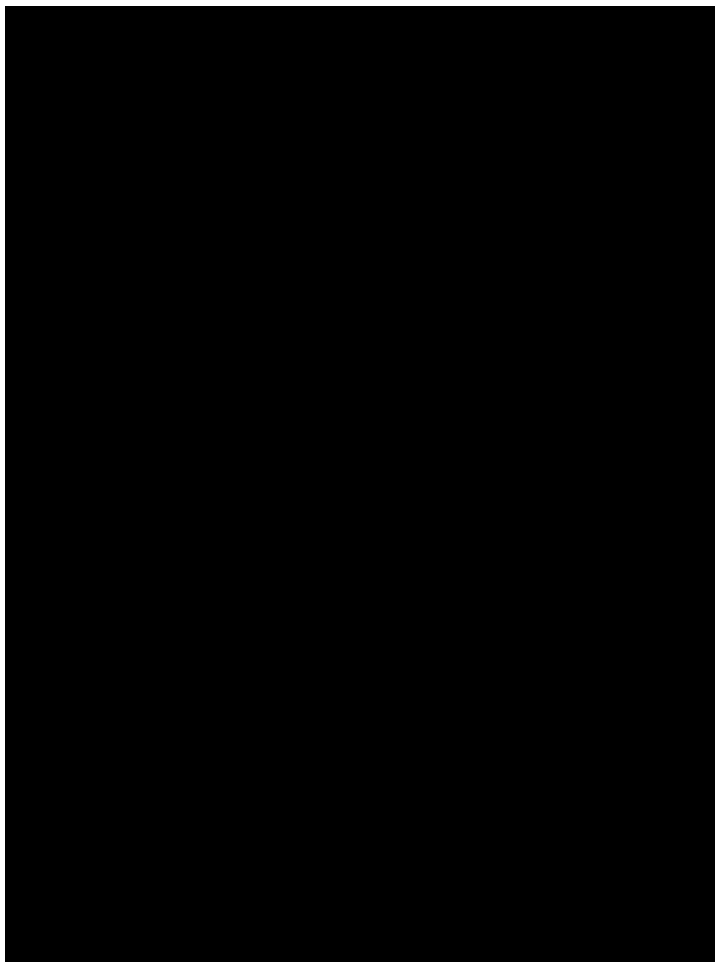


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