



WORTH A THOUSAND WORDS

A STUDY OF TRANSFER-PRINTED WARES FROM
THE MARKET STREET CHINATOWN COLLECTION

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Worth a Thousand Words

A Study of Transfer-Printed Wares from the Market Street Chinatown Collection

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For my beloved Aunt 三审 and Uncle 三叔;
and their boy Sammy

Introduction

History of the Market Street Chinatown

On May 4, 1887, arsonists burned down the second largest Chinese community in the United States. The fire that destroyed San Jose's Market Street Chinatown was the culminating event following decades of intensifying anti-Chinese policies and practices. Southern Chinese from Guangdong Province began arriving in the United States in large numbers after the discovery of gold in 1848; few struck it rich, but many stayed, finding work as low-wage laborers in the West's growing construction, mining, agriculture, manufacturing, and domestic work industries (Allen et al. 2002:12). Within less than 40 years, there were 105,000 Chinese in America; 75,000 of whom lived in California, comprising almost a tenth of the young state's population (Yu 1991:5).

The Market Street Chinatown officially began to form in 1866, when three Chinese men leased areas of Block 1 (Kane 2011:7). The Chinatown consisted of Market and San Fernando Streets and a long alley in the middle of the block running between San Fernando and San Antonio Streets on the east side of the City Plaza (Yu 1991:22). The Chinatown occupied only one city block, but it was densely packed with the amenities Chinese immigrant laborers needed to build a semblance of their traditional lifeways on a new continent: grocers, fish markets, a temple, restaurants, barber stands, clothing shops, and general Chinese merchandise stores. In 1887, over a thousand Chinese, primarily men, were living and working on Market and San Fernando Streets, with another 2-3,000 Chinese working throughout Santa Clara County who considered Market Street Chinatown their economic and social headquarters.

As a center of Chinese immigration in California, San Jose also became a center for anti-Chinese organizing and violence. The 1882 passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, the first federal law to limit immigration on the basis of ethnicity and class, only served to intensify impassioned calls, led by white labor, to eradicate the Chinese presence in the American West. Public harassment and even stoning became commonplace, leading Market Street residents to stick closely to the fragile security of Chinatown (Anthropological Studies Center 2009:21). In February 1886, the Workingmen's Party of California and the Anti-Coolie League organized the first statewide Anti-Chinese Convention in San Jose. Held in the height of an economic recession, the Convention became a platform to scapegoat Chinese immigrants for unemployment and low wages, and condone boycotts, evictions, and violence as strategies to drive out the Chinese (Voss 2012a).

On the day that Market Street Chinatown burned, the Chinese Fire Protection Association's water towers had been surreptitiously drained. San Jose's municipal firefighters valiantly saved non-Chinese homes and businesses but argued they could not withstand the blaze in Chinatown itself. In the aftermath of the fire, Chinese residents returned to the site to salvage what was left of their belongings. Meanwhile, the city district attorney instituted legal proceedings to force landowners to sever their leases with their Chinese tenants in order to prevent San Jose's Chinese from re-establishing a community on Market Street (Voss 2012a). The day's headline of the *San Jose Daily Herald* announced, "Chinatown is dead. It is dead forever" (Yu 1991:30).

The headline's certainty was premature, as the story of the San Jose Chinese does not end with the demise of the Market Street Chinatown. Within 10 days of the fire, Chinese merchants signed an agreement with local businessman John Heinlen to lease land at Fifth and Taylor Streets, which would become the Heinlenville Chinatown (Yu 1991:30). The descendants of the Market Street Chinatown were among the founders of the Chinese

Historical and Cultural Project (CHCP) in 1987, a group that was the major proponent of excavating, preserving, and researching the Market Street Chinatown Archaeological Collection. They would likely argue that the story of the Market Street Chinatown was defined by their immigrant predecessors' perseverance as well as the positive relationships between the Market Street Chinese and members of San Jose's European American community who condemned anti-Chinese racism, exemplified by John Heinlen; and not defined by the besmirching xenophobic act of a small group of extremists.

By introducing the story of Market Street Chinatown firstly through the arson fire, my intention is to frame the central tension in the material cultural systems of late-19th century San Jose. Although the Chinatown was bounded by Market, First, San Fernando, and San Antonio Streets, its residents were not; they worked all over the boomtown of San Jose, and beyond, in the lumberyards, orchards, mines, and elite private homes of Santa Clara County. In these capacities, the Market Street Chinese gained intimate entry into the material worlds of white-operated industries and white-owned homes. By the same token, Chinatown itself was not a sealed territory controlled by exclusive ethnic entry; in fact, the Chinese community developed at this location through leasing properties from Spanish-colonial/Mexican pueblo landholders and European American business owners, some of whom continued to operate businesses on Block 1 during the height of Market Street Chinatown. These were inextricably interwoven lives, social relationships, and material worlds.

Material *habitus* or lifeworld is an idea that culminates from the material culture studies literature of Bourdieu, Miller, and Tylor, and presents the idea of a material world constructed by us, yet which is equally shaping of human experience (Meskell 2005:3). The concept of material lifeworlds advances an approach to objectification “as a process of development in which neither society nor cultural form is privileged as prior, but rather seen as mutually constitutive” (Miller 1987:18). Interpreting Market Street Chinatown as a

lifeworld allows the researcher to interweave technologies, meanings, practices, and histories to move beyond purely functional or symbolic readings of material culture (Meskell 2005:2), and, I will argue, to approach the archaeological record through a lens that approximates the multiplicities, hybridities, and fluidities of the 19th century Chinese immigrant perspective.

My study of the almost 300 British-produced transfer-printed wares from the Market Street Chinatown site takes as its starting point that possessions are key in the project of self-construction (Meskell 2004:36) and that consumption is a process with the potential to produce “an inalienable culture” and provides “the single major means of living with the societal contradictions” (Miller 1987:17). The artifacts of my study are innately confusing as ethnic artifacts, and are indicative of processes of consumption that are global in scale and local in consequence: ceramics included images ranging from those borrowed from Chinese export porcelains to Romantic images of exoticized and fictive lands, oblique not only to the consumer but perhaps to even the producer; produced by bitterly competing potters in Staffordshire, England, each seeking to aggrandize his market share by lowering prices, improving quality, and laying claim to the most evocative prints; and consumed throughout the world, including in San Jose, California, by non-Chinese who called them “china,” and Chinese immigrants who integrated them into their own sets of ceramics, producing a mixed assemblage that refers to the material culture of home, as well as the material culture of their new land.

I argue that the Market Street Chinese' adoption of European-manufacture ceramics into their tableware sets endowed them with a new set of meanings distinct from the ceramics' place in a status-derived Victorian dinner service, because of Chinese immigrants' distinct habitus; and that these vessels were key to their owners' ever evolving construction of identities in the New World. The intentions behind transfer-printed ware consumption may have been various, but in each case, it was a means of materially coping with a foreign and

often hostile environment. Perhaps the arsonists did not consider, or would have loathed to consider, that in burning down Chinatown, they were eradicating a material culture that contained the trappings of their own European American one—trappings derived from and in dialogue with Chinese material culture. Material life was imbued with the same messiness of social and economic life in 19th century Santa Clara County, and unable to cope with the loss of boundaries, the arsonists acted to do away with them altogether.

History of Market Street Chinatown Archaeological Collection

In the 1980s, Block 1 became slated for an urban renewal project involving the construction of two new complexes, the Fairmont Hotel and the Silicon Valley Financial Center (Kane 2011:9). In 1985 and 1986, the San Jose Redevelopment Agency sponsored archaeological excavation on Block 1 during the early stages of these two major projects. In 1988, a third round of excavations were conducted when a project to install a statue in the adjacent plaza uncovered additional archaeological material related to the occupations of Block 1. The Archaeological Resource Service (ARS), a cultural resources management company, was contracted to do the excavation work for all three project periods (Kane 2011:9).

According to Megan Kane, the Collections Manager of the Market Street Chinatown Archaeological Project, ARS Project 85-31 was the 31st project undertaken by ARS in 1985 as a salvage archaeology project. This project was located on Block 1, primarily on Lots 5, 6, 7 and 8. ARS Project 85-31 was conducted due to the construction of the Fairmont Hotel in downtown San Jose.

When cultural material was uncovered by the construction team, ARS archaeologists came in to excavate the deposit. The deposits of cultural materials were referred to as “features” by ARS. In many cases, the entire feature, including the matrix and artifacts, were

excavated, bagged, and removed to the ARS offsite lab for screening and analysis. ARS excavations on this location began on July 22, 1985 and concluded on November 22, 1985. A total of 37 features were excavated as part of ARS Project 85-31, producing 9,806 catalogued entries of cultural material (Kane 2011:9).

ARS Project 86-36 was the 36th project undertaken by ARS in 1986. The project area included Lots 1, 2, 3, 4 and portions of Lot 9 of Block 1, the future site of the Silicon Valley Financial Center. The excavation methodology for ARS Project 86-36 was similar to that of ARS Project 85-31, but methods were better documented. When the construction crew uncovered cultural material, archaeologists undertook an excavation method referred to by ARS as “Rapid Recovery.” This method was considered by ARS to be particularly successful with single component or contained deposits, such as trash pits or privy pits. The Rapid Recovery method defers all of the screening and processing of recovered materials from the field to the laboratory, allowing for maximum time to recover material. ARS began excavating on December 11, 1986 and concluded their fieldwork on April 1, 1987. Twenty-one features were excavated in the field, with an additional four features assigned in the lab and one feature assigned in the field for general surface collections (Feature 86-36/0). ARS recorded 5,491 catalog entries from the cultural materials retrieved from Project 86-36 (Kane 2011:12-3).

At the time of excavation, several archaeologists described the artifacts excavated from the Market Street Chinatown as one of the most significant overseas Chinese assemblages ever recovered in North America (Voss 2005:431). In 1991, the Redevelopment Agency of the City of San Jose hired Archaeological Resource Management (ARM) to assess the artifact collections excavated by ARS, which served to re-emphasize the importance of the collections, but ultimately added little to our knowledge of the project and the site (Kane 2011:16). After ARM completed the inventory of the collection, official engagement with the archaeological materials came to an end. The collection sat in warehouses for 15 years after the excavation

was completed without ever being fully documented or analyzed.

In 2002, the Market Street Chinatown Archaeological Project (MSCAP) began to catalogue, analyze, curate, and publish research on the collection of artifacts. The project continues as a collaboration between 4 organizations: a university archaeology program (Stanford), a non-profit historical society (History San Jose), a cultural resource management firm (Environmental Science Associates), and a community cultural organization (Chinese Historical and Cultural Project) (Voss 2005:431). Barbara Voss, Professor Anthropology at Stanford University, serves as the Principal Investigator for the collaborative archaeology project. Presently, the collection is on loan from History San Jose to Stanford University and serves as a central component of Professor Voss' course on public archaeology.

Project Origins

In fall of 2011, I became involved in MSCAP as an auditor of Professor Voss' first iteration of the public archaeology course and as a student intern for the project, completing 3 hours of collections management work per week and volunteering at 2 public archaeology days during the quarter along with the rest of the formal course participants. My research arose directly out of my collections management work for the project. Every week that fall, I arrived at Professor Voss' Historical Archaeology Lab for open lab hours, with no great certainty as to what Megan Kane, the MSCAP Collections Manager, would pull out of the aging and tattered ARS boxes for my classmates and me to catalog. During one of my first weeks, Megan produced a bag consisting of British-manufacture transfer-printed wares. My curiosity was immediately piqued by the visual and sensual experience of the brightly-colored transfer prints, so distinctive from the muted tones of Asian porcelains and stonewares that dominate the ceramics collection. Somewhere between the catalog sheet and the half-dozen open pattern identification books spread out on the lab work table, I had

begun embarking on a nearly two year journey of researching Market Street Chinatown's transfer-printed wares.

I am not the first cataloguer whose academic research in the Market Street Chinatown collection arose out of collections management and curation work on the artifacts. In fact, my paper refers to other research projects that were developed by individuals who initially joined MSCAP as cataloguers themselves, including Michaels (2003, 2005), who conducted a study of the collection's peck-marked vessels, and Yuan (2007), who researched a possible restaurant assemblage from the collection. Voss' excellent article on curating orphaned collections describes the productive research outcomes of curation:

Nearly all research on the collection to date has been initiated either in response to curation needs or through interests that arose during the process of curation. As a group, these research projects have been dominated by inductive and hermeneutic methodologies. Cataloguers' fascination with and curiosity about the artefacts and documents they encounter has been incredibly productive, and suggests that the sensual experience of handling and caring for artefacts and archival materials may be an entry point for self-reflexive curation methodologies (cf. Weismantel 2011) (Voss 2012b:157-8).

Self-reflexivity has been an essential characteristic of my research process from the beginning, partially by design and partially due to necessity. I applied to the Masters in Anthropology program at Stanford in December 2012, at which point I also began systematically locating and cataloguing all transfer-printed wares from the collection with the intention of developing my Master's paper on the topic. The "system" included checking every box that ARS marked as containing ceramics over 20 years ago, and looking through them for transfer-printed wares. There was no guarantee that a box marked ceramics would contain transfer-printed wares, nor one that transfer-printed wares would be in a box marked ceramics, as I quickly learned from Megan Kane and other researchers' working coterminously with me, who encountered transfer-printed wares included with other materials. During this time, my research questions continued to evolve with each new transfer-printed ware that I catalogued

and entered into my database. By the time I accepted my admission into the program in March 2012, I was reasonably certain that I had pulled the vast majority, if not all, of the transfer-printed wares and was well on my way to cataloguing the 282 individual catalog numbers containing transfer-printed wares.

This collection continues to confound expectations for its researchers, as it undoubtedly did for me; but at least speaking for myself, this subversion of expectation has been productive and has motivated my own dogged pursuit for some semblance of insight into 19th century overseas Chinese life in San Jose. Encountering these objects in an archaeological site associated with Chinese immigrants—these sometimes Eurocentric (see 85-31/3/267, 85-31/18/829, 85-31/22/77, 85-31/23/21, 86-36/1/193, 86-36/3/21, 86-36/5/185, 86-36/5/478, 86-36/7/54, 86-36/7/358, 86-36/7/576, 86-36/7/751, 86-36/10/33, or 86-36/23/2, Cyrene pattern), distasteful (see 86-36/7/374 and 86-36/14/25, “Gathering Cotton” pattern), and downright tasteless (see 85-31/27/139, 86-36/1/162, or 86-36/13/269, Marble pattern) objects— is an initial subversion of expectation in itself, especially considering the availability and affordability of Asian porcelains.

That initial unexpected finding as a cataloguer, which set off the chain of events that led to this Master's paper, was just the first of many unexpected findings during the course of my research project; including the occurrence of the status-laden transfer-printed wares throughout the site rather than concentrated in more well-to-do merchant areas; the relative age of the wares at between two to three decades older than the Chinatown site itself; the relative lack of hollowwares, which are central to a traditional Chinese meal; and the almost absolute lack of matched sets, which are central to the Victorian use of transfer-printed wares. To some degree, my preconceptions of the Market Street Chinatown collection and the transfer-printed collection in general reproduce those of Market Street Chinese residents' contemporary Euro Americans, outsiders of the community—if not in content, then at least in

motivation, in order to simplify a very complex group of individuals living on the site over a period of twenty years. I hope that by collapsing some of my own research hypotheses in an attempt to make light of the true day-to-day realities for the Market Street Chinese, that I am part of the greater attempt that MSCAP represents to understand and undo some of the material, historical, and personal loss of the 1887 arson fire.

Paper Outline

In my next chapter, Chapter 1, I will discuss the traditional approaches to ethnicity in overseas Chinese archaeology, which are primarily derived from the culture-historical school of archaeological thought and equate material culture with ethnic identification. Such an equation fails to explain the presence of transfer-printed wares at the Market Street Chinatown site, where Euro American signature artifacts are indiscriminately interspersed with Chinese signature artifacts in the plurality of features, evading ethnic association classification. Moreover, scholars rarely acknowledge the roles of other attributes of identity in which individuals are embedded, including class, gender, kinship structure. I move beyond this conservative discourse on identity by introducing scholarship on integrating practice theory into the archaeology of ethnicity, and argue for the further contribution of postcolonial studies in understanding the ways that identity boundaries were being manipulated and transformed during the Market Street Chinatown period.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the methodologies of ceramic analysis that I primarily employ in this paper. I begin with a discussion of inheriting ARS' excavation and feature notes, and how I use their terminology in my analysis. Next, I discuss the pertinent characteristics of ceramics that I focus on in this study, which are: spatial distribution of transfer-printed wares, transfer-printed patterns and pattern types, transfer print colors, transfer-printed ware vessel forms, and presence or absence of matching or complementary ceramic sets. I situate each of

these analyses in light of archaeological case studies from historical contexts that comment on the same attributes.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the results from a spatial distribution analysis of catalog records of transfer-printed ware catalog records from the site. The major finding of this section is that based on transfer-printed wares' distribution throughout the site and constitution in features with significant quantities of Chinese signature artifacts, that transfer-printed ware use was fairly widespread in Market Street Chinatown. I use this chapter to conduct an in-depth analysis of 6 features which contain the most transfer-printed wares, either by frequency index or density index, and propose the different activities that may have produced each particular assemblage of transfer-printed wares. It is beyond the scope of this paper and present cataloguing progress to conclusively link each feature with specific groups or activities in Market Street Chinatown, but my detailed feature study demonstrates, as does some of the work of my previous colleagues including Clevenger (2004), that future research can ably move in this direction.

Chapter 4 discusses the analysis of transfer-printed ware patterns and pattern types, print colors, vessel forms, and presence and absence of matching and complementary sets at the site through the framework of community networks. This section draws connections between the transfer-printed ware assemblage and the individual and community values, aesthetics, and economic means that led the Market Street Chinese to acquire and use these particular wares. My analysis on community networks assumes that each activity occurs within a given *habitus*, and community norms may have guided the use of transfer-printed wares; some of the ways that these norms show up in the assemblage include the predominance of flatwares, suggesting the primary use of transfer-printed wares for serving communal dishes per traditional Chinese meal structures; the significant quantity of floral and blue prints, suggesting the acquisition of these transfer-printed wares in complement

with Chinese ceramic aesthetics; and the lack of any large matching sets of transfer-printed wares, suggesting the disinclination to replace Asian porcelains with British-manufacture transfer-printed wares or integrate transfer-printed wares into Chinese tableware assemblages in a significant manner. At the same time that some of these community norms become evident, this chapter calls attention to the heterogeneity of practice throughout the site.

The final body chapter is an attempt to understand how individual transfer-printed wares may have been integrated into daily life and to get at their “meaning” for their users. I say “meaning” so as to not suggest a monolithic or fixed meaning, but to call attention to the external and internal negotiations that changed how Market Street residents related to their material worlds constantly. I use a selection of transfer-printed wares from the collection as a jumping off point to access some of the negotiations that may have been taking place at the site. The result is a series of artifact-centered stories grounded in historical context. I hope that through these stories, my idea of “meaning” becomes more clear—and that transfer-printed wares may have mattered a good deal to some Market Street Chinatown residents and not have mattered very much at all to some others. Regardless, a rationalized or vocalized “meaning” does not equal an individual’s relationship with material culture; rather, material culture is deeply embedded in the construction of selves and the practice of identity. Transfer-printed wares may not have been integral to any one person or group’s lives in Market Street Chinatown, but they most likely were a ubiquitous and unavoidable part of everyone’s everyday life. By way of concluding, the final chapter looks at the multiplicities of meanings that may have surrounded transfer-printed ware use in Market Street Chinatown.

I: Towards a Practice Theory of Ethnicity in Market Street Chinatown

Introduction

One of the most distinct challenges in interpreting the transfer-printed wares from Market Street Chinatown is addressing the traditional approach to ethnicity in overseas Chinese archaeology, which ARS excavators and lab technicians largely utilized to equate material culture with ethnic identity. This chapter reviews the historical treatment of ethnicity in overseas Chinese archaeology and archaeology and anthropology more broadly, and further aims to problematize the formulation that material culture can be interpreted as an ethnic boundary marker. In the last part of the chapter, I advocate for the integration of practice theory and postcolonial theory into interpreting the transfer-printed ware assemblage from Market Street Chinatown.

Addressing ethnicity and the archaeological record

ARS, in the field and in the lab, both subscribed to an ethnic markers classification of material culture that predominated in early overseas Chinese archaeology. During artifact recovery, features were each assigned an ethnic association (American, Chinese, Spanish, or mixed), presumably based on the artifacts recovered from the feature, their origin, and their relative proportions in each feature (Kane 2011:16). ARM preserved these terms in their inventory and artifact analysis, likely based on a similar logic. Stanford researchers have found these designations to be empirically faulty, and moreover, ethnic markers systems represent a problematic theoretical approach to material culture.

Initial research questions in overseas Chinese archaeology involved how to identify ethnic markers that spatially separate Chinese spaces from Euro American and other ethnic spaces. The definition of ethnic markers was central to the first systematic study of overseas Chinese archaeology, led by Roberta S. Greenwood in Ventura, California. The conflation of using Chinese-manufactured goods with Chinese ethnic identity is problematic because ethnic markers are not necessarily indicators of ethnic identity as “one’s affiliation can depend upon a personal willingness to join a group... [and this] attitude... can change over time” (Orser 2007:8). A non-Chinese Venturan could certainly own Chinese ceramics, and a Chinese Venturan could own Euro American ceramics. Ethnic markers became a particularly tricky concept in the burgeoning towns and cities of the West where many overseas Chinese sites are located; overall, boundaries were less defined and different immigrant, native, and Euro American groups were more mixed than in industrial settings (Voss 2008a).

Another attempt to engage with ethnicity in problem-oriented overseas Chinese archaeology projects contemplates cultural conservation versus cultural change. Greenwood concluded that the Ventura Chinese archaeological assemblage suggests that traditional Chinese culture “remained essentially intact” (Greenwood 1980:120). In both the 1977 excavation of the Chinese quarter of Lovelock, Nevada and study of the Chinese workers' camp at the Harmony Borax Works in Death Valley, investigators noted the adoption of American goods as indications of acculturation (Praetzellis et al 1987:39). Praetzellis et al (1987:39) comment that a popular procedure in early overseas Chinese archaeology has been to take consumer artifacts, typically ceramic tableware, to represent the totality of the culture under transformation in the assessment of degree of acculturation. Hardesty has even devised an “index of acculturation” that consists of dividing the number of American artifact types by the total number of artifact types (Praetzellis et al 1987:39).

The application of acculturation theories in overseas Chinese archaeology relies on

dubious assumptions and has had the effect of limiting the kinds of research questions asked with overseas Chinese sites. Praetzelis et al (1987:40) argue that “the Chinese” cannot be treated as a monolith. The Chinese participated in cultural practices that were “varied, adaptive, sophisticated, and layered in meaning” (Praetzelis 2004:2). In their study of the Chinese community of Sacramento, Praetzelis et al show that there is a distinct Chinese merchant class material culture. Socioeconomic status is just one way that Chinese individuals differ categorically from each other, making blanket statements regarding acculturation problematic. In order to make meaningful statements about Chinese acculturation, non-archaeological evidence would be necessary to support the interpretation of the archaeological record (Praetzelis et al 1987:40).

Voss (2005:432) also elaborates on the problem of acculturation models as they have been applied to overseas Chinese archaeology. Acculturation theory assumes unidirectional change with Euro American culture as the endpoint. She points out that in Market Street Chinatown, Chinese residents had ceased wearing queues and the practice of footbinding by the end of the 19th century to show support for political change in China; it would be misguided, as an acculturation model might conventionally suggest, to interpret these cultural changes as conforming to Euro American norms.

Moving beyond the ethnic markers and acculturation models is critical to my approach of interpreting the use of transfer-printed wares in Market Street Chinatown. As Praetzelis and Voss effectively argue, overseas Chinese communities are internally varied and engage in multiple spheres of action. To equate the incorporation of new materials into a social practice with identity change omits the rich strategies Market Street individuals were selectively employing to *communicate* through artifacts (Hodder 1979:450) and style (Goffman 1959). In my next section, I will engage with literature that grapples with alternative approaches to the acculturation model, and how that may be applied to the use of transfer-printed wares in

Market Street Chinatown.

Moving away from acculturation theory

Studies that have resisted traditional applications of acculturation theory have made rich contributions to the historical archaeologies of marginalized groups in the United States. In the Sacramento Chinese site, Praetzellis et al (1987:47) argue that the Euro American assemblage reflects Chinese merchants' superior access to goods compared to the non-merchant population and served a stylistic function in boundary maintenance displays, further emphasizing the differences between themselves as a boundary people and the rest of the Chinese community. In this way, the Sacramento Chinese merchants are interpreted as conscious manipulators of the significance of Euro American goods, rather than unconsciously becoming less culturally distinct.

Praetzellis' study recognizes class as an important dimension of identity and identity performance. Wilkie's study of a Reconstruction-era Louisiana plantation also takes particular care to differentiate between the "intersecting oppressions" of race and class, with the intention of not privileging or essentializing a single facet of identity over another (Wilkie 2001:108). She found differences in material culture between adult siblings who were domestic servants and those who were sharecroppers, indications of the "fluidity and contestation that mark the negotiations of group identities within communal settings" (Wilkie 2001:109). It will be important to assess whether the distribution of transfer-printed wares in Market Street Chinatown varies between the assemblages associated with Chinese merchants and those associated with Chinese laborers, to evaluate the idea of Euro American ceramics as a strategy for the merchant class' "impression management" (Goffman 1959).

Non-Chinese historical archaeology studies also offer important insights. Brighton (2001:22) argues that working class Irish immigrants living in Five Points, New York

displayed fashionable ceramic vessels and figurines to create the outward appearance of Victorian gentility and temperance in opposition to mainstream society's prejudices, while at the same time maintaining their ethnic custom of having a dresser full of “delph” (ceramics). Mullins has also argued for this idea of the “bold and gorgeous front” in turn-of-the-century Annapolis, where African Americans used consumption in part to resist widely held racist assumptions about their lifeways (1999:25). In the same manner, Market Street Chinese may have consumed transfer-printed wares, one of the highest decorative styles of ceramics available, in order to contradict anti-Chinese prejudice that based its rhetoric, in part, on material cultural judgments. I can potentially access the merits of this application through evaluating the types of prints that were uncovered from Market Street, and whether those decorations represented the most popular styles of the period as an indication of the Chinese residents' attention to trends and appearances.

Leone argues that changes in ceramic use occurred during industrialization was a mechanism to train workers in the time routines and work disciplines of the new industrial society. While Leone's primary concern is Annapolis in the 18th and early 19th centuries, his understanding of tableware as a product of capitalist regimentation can still offer important insights into transfer-printed ware use in Market Street Chinatown. Leone is speaking broadly about the effects of selling one's labor in the capitalist market, a subject that is also of interest to David Harvey. Harvey points out that “what happens in the workplace cannot be forgotten in the living place” (Harvey 1985:48). Leone believes that the home became the site of production for children in preparation for an adult life of work, and that dishes and all attendant activities around dishes became “habits taught and learned as disciplines” (Leone 2005:202).

San Jose's overseas Chinese, primarily rural peasants prior to immigration, likely experienced their first interaction with and integration into a capitalist labor system upon

arriving and working in the United States. The nature of work had changed, and the way Chinese workers organized themselves at home invariably also changed, particularly since most men came without their families—indeed, in 1890, there was approximately 28 Chinese men for every Chinese woman in the United States, which gives an indication of how drastically different the home had become for a Chinese immigrant (Yu 1991:5). Perhaps in this context, coupled with exposure to living modalities that had already been integrated into the system of home disciplines and routines, such as the labor camps and Victorian homes where Chinese immigrants worked, Euro American ceramics entered the Market Street Chinese table setting as a technology of self-construction. Capitalist regimentation may have even been as direct as employers' giving their workers secondhand Euro American ceramics, which Wilkie observed in the Louisiana plantation. In doing so, the white employers exposed their African American workers to the material trappings of the upper class, and encouraged children's play revolving around skills of domesticity and service (Wilkie 2001:118).

According to Leone, integrating consumers into the market and propagating the trappings of “possessive individualism” go hand in hand, best expressed through the emergence dinnerware sets. “The increasing complexity of the dining table—the number of types of tableware, the corresponding number of courses, and how the meal was structured by rules of etiquette—marks the trend towards possessive individualism” (Leone 2005:155). If Market Street Chinese immigrants were using Euro American transfer-printed wares because they were becoming further routinized at home and further integrated into the market, then I would expect to find more sets in the assemblage, rather than mismatched wares. To take a step back, I believe that the danger in overstating the totalizing power of capitalism is just as present as the danger of overstating the stability of cultural change in acculturation models. To respond with Miller: “This is not simply the product of a dominant ideology or control over cultural representation, nor a pure act of resistance, but the mutually constituted

relationship of two sets of interests and self-images” (1987:168). The worker/consumer is constantly negotiating and renegotiating her self-construction in a capitalist society, and this power relationship is always in flux. Integration into the market economy does not preclude resisting or reimagining the confines of the market relationship.

Acculturation models fail to account for the complexities of ethnic identity expression. Historical archaeologists in various contexts have proposed alternative approaches to understanding ethnicity and its relationship to material culture. Conducting an in-depth analysis of ware types, decoration types, vessel forms, and presence or absence of matching sets will allow me to engage with questions of how Market Street Chinese immigrants were negotiating their places in the social hierarchy of late 19th century California. That includes “cultural change”— but unpacked in its meanings, with an attempt to understand change as the Market Street Chinese themselves might have understood it.

Ethnicity in anthropology, archaeology, and Market Street Chinatown

Since the 1950s, ethnicity has emerged as a key issue within anthropology, starting with Edmund Leach's (1954) critique of the conventional assumption that societies and cultures can be used interchangeably; instead, Leach suggests that members of a social group need not share a set of distinctive cultural traits and social units are produced through the subjective processes of categorial ascription that do not necessarily relate to an outside observers' perceptions of cultural continuities or discontinuities (Bentley 1987:24).

The normative model that Leach criticizes is also an appropriate critique for archaeology of the time. The conflation of ethnicity (or society) and culture in archaeological interpretation is a central methodology of nationalist projects, with German archaeology prior to the rise of Nazism often offered as the classic example (Jones 1997:2). German philologist

and prehistorian, Gustaf Kossinna, who was active in German archaeology in the early 20th century, developed an ethnic paradigm that he termed “settlement archaeology”; the basic premise of which was that artifact types could be used to identify cultures and distinct material distributions reflect the discrete settlement by past tribes or ethnic groups. Further, Kossinna claimed a genealogy between historically known ethnic groups and archaeological cultures, using this method to insert the Aryan “race” into prehistory and justify its continuous territorial expansion through time (ibid:2). Despite the dubious and detrimental ways in which the Nazi regime employed Kossinna's ethnic paradigm, the equation of ethnicity, culture, and material culture remained largely intact in the dominant school of archaeology, the normative culture-historical approach, up through the time of Leach's critique. Gordon Childe, a leading culture-historical archaeologist of European prehistory argued that “Generation after generation has followed society's prescription and produced and reproduced in thousands of instances the officially approved standard type. An archaeological type is just that” (1956:8 in Jones 1997:34). For Childe and other culture-historical archaeologists, culture is governed by social conformity and generational transmission that results in a cumulative tradition.

Dissatisfied with the conservative depiction of culture, both anthropologists, breaking down along so-called primordialist and instrumentalist lines, and archaeologists under the banner of new or processual archaeology, moved away from the traditional approach by the 1960s. Following Leach, anthropologists debated as to, if ethnicity were a subjective ascription rather than observable cultural traits, whether this subjective claim is based on primordial attachments, advanced by scholars such as Clifford Geertz or the instrumental manipulation of culture for political or economic goals, which is Wallerstein's position (Bentley 1987:25). Although some anthropologists have tried to integrate the primordialist and instrumentalist

approaches, they offer fundamentally different visions of human agency, both with their own problematic assumptions. Jones criticized primordialists for romanticizing culture, depicting ethnicity as immutable, and ignoring the social-historical context in which ethnicities form (Jones 1997:71). On the other hand, instrumentalists too easily dismiss the affective, psychological, and cultural dimensions of ethnicity when they emphasize ethnic groups as rationally-minded interest groups (ibid 1997:79). Bentley attacks both camps for not questioning “how people recognize the commonalities (of interest or sentiment) underlying claims to common identity” (1987:26).

Within new or processual archaeology, which is roughly contemporary with the primordialist-instrumentalist debate, archaeologists sought to explain culture as an adaptive mechanism within a cultural ecology framework; ethnicity lost all bite as an explanation for observable phenomenon. In largely conceiving of culture as functionalist, they perpetuated a dichotomy between normative culture and functional utility (Jones 1997:116). Hodder (1982:4) has criticized functionalist approaches for failing to account for the ways in which cultural schemes structure reality: “all actions take place within cultural frameworks and their functional value is assessed in terms of the concepts and orientations which surround them.” Material culture is imbued with its social context of production, and further, material culture does not operate as stable symbols, but is subject to reinterpretation throughout its social life (Kopytoff 1986). Miller's (1985) study of pottery from the Dangwara village in the Malwa region of India puts forth the active and constitutive role material culture plays in the mediate of social relations and in the construction of identities (in Jones 1997:118). The pendulum had swung the other way, but not without exception. Within historical archaeology, because of the presence of historical documents identifying specific groups, “ethnic labeling” persisted of sites and objects (Jones 1997:27).

As Miller has said “context of objectification” matters (1987:129); for this project, it is true on multiple levels; the historic moment at which the British were producing Chinese-inspired wares; the moment at which the Chinese were settling in San Jose and acquiring said wares; and the moment that the site was excavated in 1987 as a salvage archaeology project. The contracted archaeologists, Archaeological Resource Service (ARS) in the field, and contracted collections managers, Archaeological Resource Management (ARM), in the lab, both subscribed to an ethnicity as culture and culture as ethnicity classification of artifacts that predominated in early overseas Chinese archaeology. During artifact recovery, features were each assigned an ethnic association (American, Chinese, Spanish or mixed), based on the artifacts recovered from the feature, their origin, and their relative proportions in each feature (Kane 2011:16). ARM preserved these terms in their inventory and artifact analysis, likely based on a similar logic. Stanford researchers have found these designations to be empirically flawed, as most features regardless of designation are “mixed” between artifacts originating from different cultures. Such a classificatory system perpetuates the idea of cultures as discrete entities, not a far removal from Kossinna's settlement archaeology, and falls into the same trap that primordialists are criticized for, which is considering culture as rooted in deep history with little room for transformation.

By the time ARS was excavating Market Street Chinatown, the ethnic makers and acculturation approaches had been widely recognized as problematic, not only because of the challenges previously raised of associating features with individuals or groups within dense, urban contexts, but also because it discounts the fluidity of identity. In direct contestation of the ethnic boundary methodology, Praetzellis and Praetzellis (1987) argued that Sacramento Chinese merchants consciously manipulated Euro American high-status objects, including transfer-printed wares, in order to emphasize their role as a boundary people between

Sacramento's Euro American and working-class Chinese communities (47). The resulting assemblage, which includes a mixture of European-manufacture and Asian-manufacture goods, would not be explicable through a strict ethnic boundary construction. Praetzellis and Praetzellis successfully call attention to the presence of divisions and subdivisions with the category of "ethnicity," reminiscent of Leach's early critique that ethnicity may be opaque to the outside observer.

Although Praetzellis and Praetzellis (1987) are moving towards a model of conceptualizing boundaries as flexible and manipulable, they do not address Jones' question of the changing subject positions that accompany cultural change in the form of a boundary crossing or boundary shift. Indeed, their interpretation feels instrumentalist in its emphasis on the Chinese merchants' buy-in and subsequent manipulation of European-produced ceramics as an unequivocal status good. There is no discussion on how these ceramics may have been influential to identity formation, but rather, the artifacts are relegated to the position of accessories. Nor is there a sense of the transformational potential of material culture—of how new material forms engendered new social relationships and created a new standard of comparison for subsequent generations.

Since Bentley wrote "Ethnicity and Practice" in 1987, practice theory derived from Bourdieu's *habitus* and Giddens' structuration theory, among other influences, has played a role in new approaches to ethnicity within anthropology and archaeology. In the next section, I will discuss Bourdieu's and Giddens' projects and how they can be useful for understanding transfer-printed ware use in Market Street Chinatown.

Towards a practice theory of ethnicity

Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens are sociologists interested in dismantling the duality of agency and structure, both arguing that the enactment of social practice requires the interpretation of a set of rules, which can be conceived of as structure (Cassell 1997:11). In *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu calls this structure *habitus*, defined as the internalized necessity that has been converted into a disposition and which generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions. Habitus is a structuring structure, which organizes the perception of practices; as well as a structured structure, the product of internalization of the division into social classes as an objective reality. In any position within the structure, the habitus is inscribed with the entire system of conditions, which is defined through difference (170-1). Rather than being an overt set of rules that are referenced however, habitus is an embodied wisdom that is experienced and reproduced starting early in life. Perceived social constraint is encoded not through rational interest-seeking behavior, but rather through habitual acts, or practice, that are circumscribed with the possibilities available to an actor based on her life, especially class, position. The development of “taste” reinforces these constraints through the conflation of necessity as choice: “Through taste, an agent has what he likes because he likes what he has” (174-5).

The concept of *habitus* has been criticized on the grounds of being conservative and overdeterministic, but Bourdieu does provide for the possibility of social change within the *habitus*: either through continuous transformation within its structured dispositions or through strategic agency that exposes the arbitrariness of the subconscious knowledge system that naturalizes real social divisions and reproduces that structure of domination, termed *doxa* (Jones 1997:89). The result of the latter is the emergence of other *conscious* knowledge systems, *orthodoxy*, which is the denial of alternative beliefs, and *heterodoxy*, which

acknowledges the existence of choice between different forms of knowledge (ibid:95). Jones (ibid) argues that Bourdieu's concepts of doxa versus orthodoxy and heterodoxy, originally applied to class consciousness, may also be applied to ethnic consciousness.

Like Bourdieu's *habitus*, Giddens' structuration theory also depicts agency and structure as mutually constitutive but differs in its emphasis on reflexivity. According to Giddens,

Continuity of practices presumes reflexivity, but reflexivity in turn is possible only because of the continuity of practices that makes them distinctively 'the same' across space and time. 'Reflexivity' hence should not be understood merely as 'self-consciousness' but as the monitored character of the ongoing flow of social life. To be a human being is to be a purposive agent, who both has reasons for his or her activities and is able, if asked, to elaborate discursively upon those reasons (1984:3)

Giddens' structuration then is reproduced through a conscious process that takes place through knowledgeable agencies over cumulative space and time—a departure from Bourdieu's subconscious *doxa*. This form of consciousness, distinct from discursive consciousness and the unconscious, called practical consciousness, is the routine, the day-to-day social activity that actors tacitly engage with but can rarely explain (1984:xxiii). The recursive nature of social activity, or routinization, is grounded in material life and leads to “a sense of trust and ontological security” (ibid). Giddens thus distinguishes between the reflexive monitoring of individual and others' actions and contexts from the discursive rationalization of action, often identified as intentionality. Because actions may have unintended consequences that change and feed back into the unacknowledged conditions of action, the outcome of reflexivity is not a given and there is potential for change within the system (1984:5).

Although practice occupies different positions within respective theories of agency, both Bourdieu and Giddens essentially argue it is the embodiment of habitus or structuration.

Within his archaeological site of the Cahokian mounds, Pauketat (2001:79) has used practice theory to argue that, because all people enact, embody, or re-present traditions in ways that continuously alter those traditions, that “practices are always 'negotiations' to the extent that power, the ability to constrain an outcome, pervades fields of action and representation” (ibid:80). Tradition is the medium of change and always in the process of becoming, as opposed to being in conflict with agency.

Jones argues that practice theory constitutes a useful approach to ethnicity because it breaks apart the dichotomy of ethnicity as either subjectively ascribed or objectively observable; rather, the two interact within a system of duality (1997:88). In his formulation of a practice theory of ethnicity, Bentley has said that ethnic identity “derives from situationally shared elements of a multidimensional habitus” and “it is possible for an individual to possess several different situationally relevant but nonetheless emotionally authentic identities and to symbolize all of them in terms of shared descent” (Bentley 1987:35). Jones is critical that this definition reinscribes the idea of identifiable and objective shared cultural traits into the definition of ethnicity and that Bentley does not acknowledge the production of ethnicity as not just as a consciousness of similarity, but also a consciousness of difference between oneself and another (1997:94). Colonialism provides a new context for the emergence of ethnicity, which Bentley also fails to mention (ibid:96). I believe that Jones is identifying a critical issue with applying practice theory to ethnicity, that was likely difficult for Bentley to avoid. Practice theory has its limitations because it is not concerned with the production of difference so much as the maintenance of difference. Giddens acknowledges the need for social theory to situate itself within a spatial and temporal context, that is history, but it is exceedingly challenging to connect the micro context of the daily routine and disposition with the macro context of habitus and structure without in some way overstabilizing and

essentializing the system in place.

The desire of practice theoreticians in archaeology however, is to emphasize the fluid and malleable (transforming and transformable by knowledgeable agents) nature of ethnicity. I argue that both the stability of structure that Jones was criticizing and the fluidity of ethnic identity can coincide in lived experience. According to Voss, “Although the residents of the Market Street Chinatown did not own the land on which they lived, it was broadly recognized by both Chinese and non-Chinese as the place where immigrant Chinese ‘belonged’—both through a positive feeling of association and through racial segregation” (2008:46). The conceit of a stable boundary and the real, lived messiness can be a productive tension for interpreting Market Street Chinatown. Ethnicity was likely conceived by many as immutable, including the anti-Chinese organizers who argued that the Chinese were incapable of acculturating. Yet, clearly, from Praetzellis and Praetzellis’ (1987) study, practice was not immutable. Overseas Chinese were adapting new technologies and material trappings in their new homeland, and these became part of their everyday—not a conceived “other.” As Silliman argues in regards to the changing material culture of reservation Eastern Pequot Indians, “What once was heterodoxy may have shifted more (although likely not completely) into the realm of doxa, the new way things are done.” (2009:223). The new doxa itself is unlikely to be arbitrary either, but reproduce the structures of meaning of people’s habitus. Wilkie proposes approaching immigrant material culture as a grammar, in which new words are integrated but the structures of meaning linger; this grammar becomes creolized in the New World through the intergenerational negotiation of group identity (2000:11)

Practice theory is a useful starting place for approaching ethnicity because it does break free from the ethnicity debate’s earlier iterations into the subjectivity-objectivity

dichotomy. As important are the limitations of practice theory and the limitations of *practice* itself. In the context of Spanish colonials in El Presidio de San Francisco, Voss argues against

... viewing hybridity, fluidity, and contingency as inherently liberatory strategies... In the case of Californio ethnogenesis, the transformation of social identities also served to stabilize the overall structure of colonial power while providing only modestly improved status to a small group of subordinated people that had been enlisted as colonizing agents" (2008b:425).

Variation in practice and heterodoxy are thus not necessarily democratizing, nor does it break down the perceived constraints on action for all. In fact, it might reify the structures in place, as it did in El Presidio for colonialism. Practice is a negotiation between agency and structure, but one in which neither side ever definitely wins. Similarly, Silliman argues that a doxic shift may never be complete and he is against equating material change or variations in practice with a value change: "none of this [incorporation of new material culture] necessitates that archaeologists interpret a creamware bowl potentially passed down from Native American grandparents to their children's offspring or given as a gift between cousins as having *equivalent* cultural value or memory potential as something like a woodsplint basket or bead necklace that might have also been passed down" (2009:225; emphasis in the original). The result of practice is necessarily nuanced, depending on context, as well as subject and observer positions. Such is the inherent nature of practice as outlined by Bourdieu and Giddens, for whom change is often in the ripples.

In my next section, I will briefly return to Jones' other criticism of Bentley, which is the lack of attention to the consciousness of difference as a structuring factor for ethnicity. On this issue, I believe that postcolonial studies can contribute to understanding the conditions on Market Street Chinatown, as well as a fuller, and more nuanced application of practice theory. Postcolonial studies is particularly salient because it is concerned with a moment of dramatic structural and doxic shifts for both colonizers and colonized. Although the Market Street Chinatown is not a colony, its development cannot be separated from imperial supply and

demand networks that were at new heights in the late 19th century. The colonial moment is one of dramatic changes in practice, which potentially led to a greater attachment to ethnicity as a defense mechanism—returning to one of primordialists' strongest arguments for the affective power of ethnicity.

Integrating postcolonial studies into practice theory of ethnicity

Postcolonial studies, which is interested in the production of the Other through discursive, visual, and other means, has the potential to make a significant contribution in theorizing boundary relations between subaltern (e.g. ethnic, working-class, female, queer) communities and a dominant group. Writing about the same period that formed the backdrop of the Market Street Chinatown's life and death, McClintock describes, "A characteristic feature of the Victorian middle class was its peculiarly intense preoccupation with rigid boundaries... As colonials traveled back and forth across the thresholds of their known world, crisis and boundary confusion were warded off and contained by fetishes, absolution rituals, and liminal scenes" (1995:33). Stoler describes one manifestation of boundary anxiety in the concern for bourgeois European children living in the colonized Indies over the question of whether it was possible to produce a European subject outside of the metropole (1995:155).

The anxieties of the dominant class no doubt affected how the negotiations over boundary were occurring between San Jose's Chinese and non-Chinese residents. The Market Street Chinese were working throughout Santa Clara County and California in white-operated and -owned mines, lumberyards, construction sites, and bourgeois domiciles, and acquiring the trappings of an elite Victorian life through transfer-printed wares. Their presence is implicated in white industry and domesticity of 19th century California, and likewise white industry and domesticity is implicated in the depths of the Market Street

Chinatown to create what Byrne has termed a “nervous landscape” (2003).

I do not presume that anxiety over cultural boundaries ends with the actions and adaptations of the dominating class, who may have exercised varying measures of control over and exclusion of Chinese access to goods prior to 1887. Instead, I use the framework of boundary anxiety to reintegrate the discourse within Chinatown and between differently positioned Chinese residents over the incorporation of material culture from their new environment. Michaels (2003, 2005) points to one potential source of cultural conflict within the Market Street Chinese community: differential class aspirations, which produced distinctions between merchants' and tenement residents' peck marking practices. Michaels contends that merchants' peck-marking of dishes with auspicious characters was a continuation of a traditional Chinese practice, whereas tenement residents altered the common practice by marking dishes with nicknames in order to invoke a new type of security in an unfamiliar environment (2005:132). Her conclusions imply that class was both lived and practiced in Market Street Chinatown; merchants may have felt more comfortable in their new environment than did tenement residents, and ethnicity alone fails to explain the perpetuation of the peck-marking practice, and why it took on a novel form in areas associated with working-class Chinese immigrants like tenements and restaurants.

Bourdieu might argue that the variation in peck-marking practices along class lines is a reification of perceived potential futures for the different classes. Whereas the petit-bourgeois want to escape from the common present to enable a greater individual payoff in the future, demonstrating as such through peck-marks that emphasize prospective fortunes; manual workers are seen as having no future or little to expect from the future, so instead embody practices that affirm living in the present and solidarity with each other (1984:183). Bourdieu's theory of class distinction, which admittedly refers narrowly to industrialized French society, has limitations within the Market Street Chinatown context, especially because it does not

theorize ethnicity or consider other aspects of identity as pertinent to consumption patterns. Nevertheless, Michaels and Bourdieu taken together point to the importance of class in daily practice, and my investigation of transfer-printed wares at Market Street Chinatown needs to account for class not only as the economical means that produced a certain commodity patterning, but also as a prescriptive psychology of consumption. Transfer-printed wares appearing in different contexts in the site cannot be assumed to be acquired through the same logic and for the same ends.

Class may have been internally divisive in material patterning in Market Street Chinatown, either as conscious strategy or an internalized set of acceptable possibilities, but it cannot be analyzed independent of gender and kinship structures. The Page Act of 1875 and Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 were severely biased against the immigration of Chinese women and laborers, with the result that the few Chinese women who were able to immigrate to the United States tended to be wives of merchants—who unsurprisingly were also more likely to have families in the United States. Ethnicity and class in Market Street Chinatown therefore are inextricably bound up with gender and kinship structures, and analysis of transfer-printed wares must further take into account the qualitative difference of a heterosocial versus a homosocial environment, as well as the possibility of creolization through generational change in merchants' families. Generational change and social forgetting are additional factors that played a role in incorporating transfer-printed wares into Chinese-associated ceramic assemblages, and are examples of how boundaries between “familiar” and “other” transformed incrementally through time, along with purposeful boundary manipulations in one's lifetime. Through a careful study of site stratigraphy and probable feature associations, I will investigate the changes in transfer-printed ware distribution from Market Street Chinatown's earliest context up to the 1887 *terminus post quem* to consider the role that generational change and social forgetting may have played at the site.

Importantly, incrementally changing attitudes towards new material culture should not be treated as a passive fact, but as an active struggle within an individuals and communities. Silliman encourages an approach to archaeologically visible material cultural change through the lens of social forgetting as an active state of engagement with the past, present, and future, and one that likely provoked individual and group reflection and contestation (2009). Loren (2012) also destabilizes the boundary between native and foreign material culture in her discussion of European-produced beads that the French traded to the Natchez, which she argues empowered Natchez women to manipulate French colonial desire. This power does not come without a cost however; she cites an interview with a Natchez elder from the 18th century, who expressed, “The wares of the French... debauch young women, and taint the blood of the nation, and make them vain and idle... the married must work themselves to death to maintain their families and please their children” (Le Page du Pratz 1975:76 in Loren 2012:118). Silliman and Loren both attend to the intergenerational negotiations of group identity that occur through material culture, which add another layer of complexity to the study of transfer-printed ware use in Market Street Chinatown. The “nervous landscape” of Market Street Chinatown is not just a product of outsiders' challenges and concessions to the Market Street Chinese, but is additionally made up of internally negotiated and inherently entangled concepts of ethnicity, class, gender, and intergenerational change; these multiplicities of identity form the crucial building blocks of my distribution analysis.

As these authors point out, material change is rarely just accepted as fact within a community, but frequently provokes disagreement and an active reworking of identity. Through the study of transfer-printed wares at the Market Street Chinatown site, I hope to access the fragments, formed through Euro American exclusion and alliance and Chinese American aspirations and hesitations, that may have structured the discourse around and

daily use of the wares. New and old practices involving transfer-printed wares left their trace at the site through a differential distribution of the discarded sherds. The spatial distribution of transfer-printed wares investigated in this paper will form the foundation for understanding the ways that boundaries were perceived and changing in the Market Street Chinatown.

A practice theory of ethnicity for Market Street Chinatown will need to be concerned with the greater context of objectification and the triangulation of ethnicity or race, gender, and class (McClintock 1995). Further, there needs to be a sensitivity to the multiple reflexivities that collided to create a very particular distribution of artifacts. Ethnicity is not discrete and the practices that embody it rarely are either. Postcolonial theory encourages practice theoreticians to linger more on the ambiguities of habitus and doxa, and consider liminal space, the boundary, as the place where negotiations were occurring between the agent and the structure.

Conclusion

Ethnicity defies a subjectivity-objectivity duality in a way that is unresolvable; but scholarship on ethnicity has been able to produce meaningful interpretations by changing the framing question from “does ethnicity exist?” to “how does ethnicity exist?” Practice theory, initially framed by Bourdieu to describe class relations and Giddens to broadly discuss society, has been productively applied to anthropological and archaeological contexts to discuss ethnicity. Ethnicity, as are all categorical distinctions, is an embodied knowledge system that is both the product and producer of that knowledge system.

A focus on practice allows for a rethinking of ethnicity as dynamic, but at the same time, does little to explain the origins of variation in practice. Focusing on a moment of dramatic change, that is, immigration to the American West as a result of the Gold Rush and

other economic development opportunities, and finding an analogy with the colonial moment, I draw from postcolonial scholarship to enhance and complicate the practice theory of ethnicity as it has been conceived so far. Ethnicity was just one of the constraining and enabling structures of meaning for Market Street Chinese residents, and the practice of it cannot be interpreted in isolation from gender, class, and other structures. Chinese immigrants in Santa Clara County were not just crossing and challenging boundaries of Gilded Age capitalist, Victorian society—they also engaged with the boundaries internal to their communities and their reflexivities. The practice, whether it is subconscious as for Bourdieu or semi-conscious as a practical consciousness as for Giddens, is never innocent of these conflictual relationships in which it is embedded.

2: Methodology

Methods of transfer-printed ware analysis

Ceramics are a popular subject of archaeological studies, in part because they are relatively inert, typically enduring the ravages of time while remaining more intact than organic artifacts such as woodwork, textiles, or food waste. They also offer major clues into how people lived and thought, as they are both utilitarian, and in some cultures, status objects. Deetz (1996) further identifies ceramics as a major source of information about foodways, a term used by the folklorist Jay Anderson to describe “the whole interrelated system of food conceptualization, procurement, distribution, preservation, preparation, and consumption shared by all members of a particular group.” (Anderson 1971:2 in Deetz 1996:73). Availability, need, function, and social status dictate the kinds of ceramics that are integrated into a foodways complex, and we would expect a change in ceramics to accompany a change in foodways (Deetz 1996:73).

Aside from their functional role within a foodways system, ceramics are also status and expressive artifacts. According to Hodder (1979:450), artifacts are a medium of communication between individuals and groups. Praetzellis et al (1987:42) elaborate on Hodder by discussing *style* as the crystallization of an artifact's message in a symbolic form. Ceramics, including transfer-printed wares, by nature of being long-lived and highly visible use objects (Sackett 1985:1855) and by exhibiting broad stylistic variation, transmit unique messages about personal and social value systems. Style is a social device with which users accomplish “impression management,” that is, to communicate how they would like others to perceive them (Goffman 1959).

I will address both the functional and status aspects of transfer-printed ware use through analysis of 5 different aspects of the transfer-printed ware collection:

- (1) spatial distribution of transfer-printed wares throughout the site;
- (2) ware body types;
- (3) pattern types;
- (4) vessel forms; and
- (5) presence or absence of complementary and matching sets.

The spatial distribution analysis, which is the central issue of Chapter 3, sets the stage for working with the other attribute data, which I build upon in Chapter 4. Considering spatial distribution is an essential starting point for the analysis of this collection because it begins to establish the period of occupation and the spatially associated activities for each feature's transfer-printed ware assemblage. In Chapter 3, I also begin bringing in the data on ware body types, a relatively reliable, if broad-ranging, ceramic dating methodology, to put in conversation with possible dates established through distribution analysis. The results from the distribution analysis are used to focus on specific features with a significant concentration of transfer-printed ware catalog records, which are further interpreted in Chapters 4 and 5.

Ware body type, pattern type, vessel form, and presence or absence of matching and complementary sets are the focus of Chapter 4, which discusses community networks. I use the analysis of these attributes in a few ways, firstly, to produce mean ceramic manufacture dates based on the time period in which the given ceramic technology was at its height of production. Mean manufacture dates does not equal mean acquisition or use dates—as I mentioned, ceramics are relatively inert and can be used for generations before breakage and discard. Still, these dates are a point of reference for determining how and based on what considerations Market Street Chinese residents were acquiring transfer-printed wares. A huge gap between mean production dates and the dates of Market Street Chinatown occupation

could indicate the acquisition of older styles of ceramics through secondhand or other non-retail means. These interpretations lead to my second major use of the results from analysis of these 4 attributes: consideration of how Market Street Chinese residents were using the transfer-printed wares, both functionally and socially. Vessel forms in particular can offer insight into functional use, while pattern types and matching or complementary sets provide insight into the latter dimension of use. Were the Market Street Chinese, for example, concerned with acquiring and displaying the latest styles of transfer-printed wares? And did they care to fulfill Victorian expectations of a matching set? These are some of the questions I will engage with in my attempt to understand the relationship between transfer-printed wares on Market Street Chinatown and the Market Street residents' awareness and execution of them as status symbols.

Finally, I will engage directly with selected patterns by interpreting them within their spatial, temporal, functional, social, and economic contexts. Chapter 5, written in third-person fictionalized narratives, is directly inspired by Deetz, himself, who in addition to bringing ceramic analysis to the forefront of historical archaeology, conducted and shared his archaeological study in such a way as to bring his subjects—both people and objects—to life. While this final section is occupied with the most micro-level of analysis of all three body chapters, typically addressing a single pattern in the collection at a time, it also aims to accomplish the most through its methodology. I hope it inspires further engagement with the heterogeneity of practice in Market Street Chinatown.

My next section will discuss the terminology I use throughout the rest of the paper; the terminology is very closely related to ARS' excavation and cataloguing practices and reflect both the opportunities and limitations of MSCAP's inherited data. Then, I will launch into individual discussions of the methodologies I use to analyze the 5 listed attributes of transfer-printed ware analysis.

Review of Terminology

My paper focuses specifically on transfer-printed ceramics of Euro American origin, referred to as transfer-printed wares throughout this paper, or TPW as a shorthand; although Chinese porcelain potteries also adopted transfer printing technologies, they appeared to have done so after the Market Street Chinatown period, in the early 20th century (Nilsson 2012), and all decorated Asian porcelains catalogued from the site to date are hand-painted. My specific project focus on transfer printing as a decoration type means that I exclude undecorated ironstones with transfer-printed maker's marks from consideration; I also exclude consideration of other Euro American ceramic decorative styles, including painted ware, sponge ware, edge ware, mocha ware, decal decorated ware, among others, all of which I encountered in the collection at some point during my cataloguing process.

My geographical area of focus is San Jose's Block 1, which is bounded by San Fernando and First Streets to the north and Market and San Antonio Streets to the south. Block 1 was the site of 3 Spanish-colonial/Mexican adobes and multiple Euro American businesses prior to the establishment of the Market Street Chinatown at this site; and it continued to be occupied by non-Chinese after the 1887 fire. As such, I refer to Block 1 when I am discussing the spatially bounded geographical area of the block itself, regardless of time period. I refer to the Market Street Chinatown when I discuss the community on Block 1 that existed between 1862 and 1887, which consisted of both Chinese and non-Chinese residents. Finally, I refer to the Market Street Chinese when I am specifically discussing Chinese residents of the Market Street Chinatown.

The unit of analysis employed throughout this study is the catalog record originally produced by the Archaeological Resource Service (ARS), and refined by the Market Street Chinatown Archaeological Project (MSCAP) and my cataloguing procedures. MSCAP preserved the format of the catalog number from ARS' convention, which begins with the last

two digits of the project year hyphenated with the ARS project number as a subset of that year (for the purposes of this paper, either 85-31 or 86-36); backslash feature number; backslash artifact or artifacts' assigned number. The goal of MSCAP and my cataloguing procedures was to systematically record diagnostic characteristics of the artifacts to which the catalog number refers, and in instances in which a catalog number contained more than one discernible minimum number of individuals (MNI) per our analysis, the number was split to produce a new catalog number for the artifact, with the ultimate goal of having each catalog number represent one MNI. For the purposes of my project and in concert with MSCAP's cataloguing procedures, notable variation in pattern, print color, vessel form, and ceramic body type were sufficient to split ARS' original catalog number to achieve one MNI per catalog number. There were, however, ARS catalog numbers that were determined to contain more than one MNI but were not split because it was not obvious which sherds catalogued under the number belonged to which vessel present. In these cases, the catalog number was kept intact and MNI was increased to reflect that multiple vessels were present. Therefore, catalog records are used in this paper as a proxy for the number of individual transfer-printed vessels represented in the collection, the true number for which is not known.

Spatial Distribution Analysis

An analysis of how transfer-printed ware catalog records are distributed throughout the Market Street site will offer insights into who was using them and during which periods of Block 1's occupation. I employ two different measures of significance: a frequency index, which measures the occurrence of transfer-printed wares in an individual feature compared with all transfer-printed ware catalog records from all features (N=282); and a density index, which measures the occurrence of transfer-printed wares in an individual feature compared with all ARS catalog records of all artifacts from the same individual feature. Taken together,

these two indices perform two important hermeneutic functions, namely to identify where transfer-printed wares were being used in the site and where they may have been central to daily life; and to form the foundation for interpretation for the coming chapters, which focus on community and individual levels of meanings.

Because MSCAP cataloguing is still ongoing, it is important to treat these indices for what they are—proxies for the total population of transfer-printed wares and material artifacts recovered from Market Street Chinatown, which itself is a subset of all artifacts used during the Market Street Chinatown period by its residents. One of the challenges of this collection is working with its origins as a salvage archaeology project in which excavation methods were not always precisely recorded and construction equipment may have disturbed the integrity of some features. Yet, as one of the largest, if not the largest overseas Chinese archaeological collection in the world, its sheer size is a partial equalizer for interpretive strategies. My paper attempts to be conscientious regarding what is not knowable about this collection—but even more conscientious about what we can know through careful analyses and interpretation.

A further challenge lies in associating features with specific households. As Voss has commented, although the household is typically treated as the unit of analysis in historical archaeology, it is a historically specific development that is problematic when applied to overseas Chinese sites, which tend to be incredibly dense, urban quarters, and where waste disposal can be organized on a community level (Voss 2008a:37). Rather than assume that research significance has been compromised by the practice of communal disposal without household affiliations, Voss argues that archaeological interpretation of the Market Street Chinatown site must broaden levels of analysis to a wider range of social units (individual, family, kin network, district association, temple membership, occupational groups, community) and archaeological units (artifact, feature, zone, block), through consideration of

both legal and cultural ownership (2008:47).

Broadening the scales of interpretation does not compromise the material lifeworld framework of analysis. The scale of action and consequence in the material lifeworld is also multiscalar, encompassing individuals, generations, societies, worlds. Culture is comprised of “processes, customs, opinions, and so forth, which have been carried on by force of habit” and constantly refashion society; and from these older habits newer understandings are constituted (Tylor 1977:16). A multiscalar approach in historical archaeology acknowledges the manifold relationships that define an individual and her community, and their constant internal and communal negotiations between older habits and new understandings.

Ware types and production dates

Determining ware type through paste and glaze composition provides broad reference dates and places the wares in their technological and economic context. In the second half of the 18th century, a revolution took place in the English ceramics industry, propelling it to global domination. During the course of just a few decades, transfer printing, calcinated flint, liquid glazes, Cornish clays, and calcinated bone technologies developed to produce a better, cheaper, and more varied ceramic product. At the same time, canals for transporting raw materials and finished products into and out of the potteries, steam power for working clay and pottery, tariffs against Chinese porcelain, favorable trade treaties with the Continent, and astute marketing of creamware reinforced English advantages in the trade. By the 1790s, British potters dominated the global ceramics market (Miller 1980:1).

In 1779, Josiah Wedgwood produced the first pearlware, which he called “pearl white,” by covering creamware with a blue-tinged glaze (Sussman 1977:105). The effect was to give the ceramic body a whiter appearance to more closely resemble the Chinese export porcelains that were in high demand in Europe; the change was in appearance only, as although

Wedgwood and other manufacturers claimed to have used a whiter, harder fabric, there was no discernible difference either in density or color between creamware and early pearlware (Sussman 1977:105). Pearlware dominated the British ceramics market between around 1780 and 1830.

In the 1820s, white earthenware, also called whiteware, was developed from pearlware technologies. White earthenware refers to opaque nonvitreous white-bodied wares, but is a term applied to the aesthetic *ex post facto* by ceramic scholars, and there is no set formula among different potteries for white earthenware. White earthenware became the ceramic body of choice for transfer print decoration, and transfer-printed white earthenwares were exported into large quantities to the United States from Britain (Majewski 1987:115). British-produced wares, including white earthenwares, are the most ubiquitous ceramic type in 19th century historic archaeology sites throughout the world including North America.

None of the ware types described thus far had set formulae or even set names—a testament to the competitive and innovative state of the British ceramics industry of the time. Perhaps the most confusing ware type is improved earthenware, also called stone china, ironstone, stoneware, and graniteware. Inclusions in the ceramic temper produced a semi-vitrified or vitrified hard, dense body in comparison to pearlware or unimproved white earthenware. British potters began producing improved white earthenwares in the early 18th century. Prior to the 1830s, improved white earthenwares known as stone china were often heavily decorated with a combination of painting or enameling and printing, and most decorations imitated Chinese designs and styles. Often, stone china was also “blued,” that is, contained cobalt in its glaze, giving it a blue tint (Miller 1991:10). “White granite” or “graniteware” developed out of stone china, and predominated from the 1840s until the end of the 19th century; the paste density and color resembled stone china, but graniteware tends to be plain white and undecorated or contains decoration only at the vessel border (Miller

1991:10).

Most of the transfer-printed wares in the Market Street Chinatown collection are earthenwares—pearlwares, white earthenwares, or improved white earthenwares—but there are also a few porcelains and at least one example of a Jackfield ware. Porcelain, which is fired at a higher temperature than earthenware to produce a totally vitrified ceramic body, was the highest status ware type throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Several types were in production in England beginning from the 1740s, but most were displaced by the introduction of Josiah Spode's bone china porcelain in 1794 (Miller 1991:11). Jackfield ware is a fine earthenware with a thin purplish to gray body covered with a lustrous black glaze; first introduced in the 1740s, it enjoyed a revival in the 1870s and 1880s (Samford 2003).

The chronology of ware types is quite messy, not least of all in the many overlapping periods of production for different “types.” In reality, wares were fluid categories, and potters were testing new inclusions in the paste and minerals in the glaze throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. “Advanced” ware types did not completely displace the less advanced ones, and less advanced types continued to occupy a share of the market. I treat the less advanced earthenwares—that is, pearlware and white earthenware—as less high-status. If unimproved earthenwares were still in the market in the late 19th century, I assume they were either older and purchased secondhand, or that they were produced and marketed specifically for the lower end of the market.

Decoration types

Decoration type is probably the richest category of analysis in transfer-printed ware analysis. Although identifying a transfer print to pattern can offer even more precise dates than ware type analysis, it is often much more difficult if one imagines a tiny ceramic sherd. While the fragment may contain only a tiny portion of the entire transfer print image, and

thus be impossible to recognize, practically any size fragment that can endure a “scratch test” can be identified to ware body type.

Transfer printing involves engraving a copper plate and transferring the image via a special tissue onto a ceramic vessel. The image plate itself could be reused again and again, a huge cost-saving measure compared to painting. Developed in the 18th century, transfer printing quickly became a cheap technique to produce decoration for mass consumption and by the 1790s, underglazed transfer printing was common in Staffordshire potteries. When they were first introduced, transfer-printed vessels were consistently 3 to 5 times more expensive than undecorated creamware vessels, but price differential decreased to 1.5 to 2 times by the mid-19th century (Miller 1980:12). Miller found that price lists do not indicate price differential based on color of transfer print. Transfer-printed wares are typically the highest status wares in most North American archaeological assemblages from first half of 19th century.

Miller's (1980, 1991) price lists are most applicable for the first half of the 19th century; since the Market Street Chinatown site dates to the latter half of the 19th century, there are other innovations in British pottery to consider apart from decoration. During the mid-19th century, fairly expensive white-bodied wares were marketed under names such as stone china and white graniteware; although these would be placed as the lowest level under Miller's decoration-based classification system, these vessels would often be more expensive than transfer-printed wares (Majewski 1987:133). Some of these wares have been found at the Market Street site but not completely catalogued. Transfer printing did not disappear from the ceramics market however; Samford has found that transfer printing enjoyed a revival beginning around 1870 until the early 1900s (1997:4), but it is unclear whether transfer-printed wares resumed the same high-status they held in the earlier part of the 19th century. My analysis of the Market Street Chinatown collection approaches transfer-printed wares as

an *option* among many different available wares—including Chinese porcelains, porcelaneous stonewares, and granitewares—while also acknowledging that transfer-printed wares had become a popular and economical option by the latter half of the 19th century.

Understandably, the most provocative aspect of transfer-printed wares is the printed images themselves. Through the course of the 19th century, transfer printing designs came to encompass a broad range of themes and styles. While some potteries retained full-time engravers on staff, many smaller potteries purchased their engraved plates from independent workshops, and popular designs were frequently sold to more than one manufacturer with small changes (Samford 1997:3). It was also not uncommon for some potters to trade or sell their used copper plates to other potteries. Ceramic transfer printing cannot be divorced from aesthetic and stylistic developments in other areas of decorative arts, and the imagery found on transfer-printed wares should be contextualized in the aesthetic world of 19th century Europe and America. The earliest transfer prints were direct copies and interpretations of Chinese painted designs, just as changes in ware body was perpetually attempting to recreate Chinese porcelain. Later, potteries also adopted prints from travel journals and patriotic illustrations of Great Britain and the United States until the 1842 Copyright Act outlawed copying book illustrations (Samford 1997:10). I would argue that these three kinds of prints—chinoiserie, orientalist, and British or American views—emerge out of the same project to exoticize the global in order to construct the local and the self in contrast.

As mentioned earlier, it is challenging to identify a print to pattern when only a small sherd is available. The project of pattern identification is additionally complicated by the fact that multiple potters could have produced the same print, and without a maker's mark, it is difficult to determine which pottery produced a given print. It is potentially more useful, as well as more executable, to identify the category of pattern that a print belongs to. Patricia Samford has identified 14 different categories of central designs on printed wares that occur

between 1800 and the early part of the 20th century: Chinese, British Views, Chinoiserie, Pastoral, Exotic Views, American Historical, American Views, Floral (Sheet Patterns), Floral (Central Floral), Classical, Romantic, Gothic, Japanese, No Central (1997:6). Further, she has found that the designs vary in their mean beginning and end production dates, allowing for rough dating based on changing styles.

I will be using the categories identified by Samford to produce a breakdown of the kinds of styles represented in the Market Street Chinatown collection. By using Samford's decorative categories as a framing research methodology, I can still extract data from sherds that may not be identifiable to pattern, but have recognizable aesthetic qualities. Further, Samford's identification of the different heights of production for each decorative type may be important in producing rough dates for transfer-printed wares, and in particular may speak to the question of whether Market Street transfer-printed wares are secondhand or revival pieces purchased new. Finally, it is important to note how such an approach relates to how the Market Street Chinese immigrants thought about their transfer-printed wares and transfer-printed ware consumption. Since they may have been illiterate in English, only partially literate, or read English as a second language, the names and name recognition of transfer-printed ware patterns may have mattered less than the pure aesthetic experience of the images themselves. By continuing with pattern identification where possible, as well as categorizing each vessel's broad decorative type, the most information possible can be extracted on how Market Street Chinatown transfer-printed ware consumption took decorative styles into account.

An interesting aspect of the collection, and the issue that certainly piqued my own early interest in the transfer-printed ware collection, is the presence of Chinese-derived and chinoiserie patterns. Smits has suggested that the presence of British-made ceramics with Chinese and chinoiserie patterns in a late 19th and early 20th century Portland Chinese

cemetery indicates that the ceramics were chosen according to Chinese aesthetic preferences (2008:117). Smits' conjecture is intriguing, and raises multiple other questions: did the Portland Chinese treat these wares as authentic Chinese wares in their dining practice? A more difficult question to access would be whether they consumed wholesale the Western-manufacture objectified Chinese landscape. Miller describes the oriental style as it developed in Europe as the estrangement from practiced Asian styles and the emergence of "a style embodying an image of what the European consumers thought the [Asian] manufactures ought to be making for themselves" (1987:123) . The objectification of the "dual notions of orientalism and primitivism... dominated the way the Occident has historically constructed its self-image" (Miller 1987:122). Miller is building on an emerging body of post-colonial critique in the 1980s, most notably Said (1979). The Staffordshire Chinese-copy and chinoiserie prints is a rich territory to explore questions of how objectified cultures interacted with and responded to orientalism, especially in the context of the encounter with orientalism occurring simultaneous with the objectification of Chinese immigrant labor in the Gilded Age capitalism of the American West.

Vessel form

Documentation and analysis of vessel form, where possible, can offer important insights into how the Market Street Chinese were using the transfer-printed wares. Smits argues that consistency in vessel forms including bowls, cups, plates, saucers, and storage vessels, between British- and American-produced ceramics and Chinese-produced ceramics in the Portland Chinese cemetery assemblage strongly suggests that at least some of the Euro American vessels were used to contain foods for Chinese ritual feasts and offerings (2008:117). Per Smits, if the Market Street Chinese were integrating British transfer-printed wares into their traditional foodways and ritual practices, we could expect to find strong consistency

between the British-produced and Chinese-produced vessel forms. If Chinese immigrant foodways were transforming in the American context, some change in vessel forms is to be expected.

Preserving traditional foodways and incorporating new food traditions are not mutually exclusive, and Henry's (2012) focused report on animal bone remains from a single feature of Market Street Chinatown indicates that Chinese immigrants continued practicing traditional foodways while incorporating Euro American foodways, producing a distinctly Chinese American foodway. I expect the transfer-printed ware assemblage to also exhibit evidence of hybridization, and am interested in how the Market Street Chinese acknowledged and negotiated the boundaries between traditional and novel foodways. As we all can attest to from our own experiences as cultural actors, we do not often consume a new cultural practice wholesale, but frequently select certain aspects to adopt, while being more apprehensive towards other aspects. What were the limits to Market Street Chinese residents' willingness to incorporate new aspects into their foodways complex? How were those limits expressed?

One potential area for exploration is whether the Market Street Chinese immigrants used transfer-printed wares in the vessels' intended, Euro American context, or whether they re-envisioned their uses according to Chinese food practices. For example, a significant number of flatwares occur in the transfer-printed ware collection, which is unusual in the traditional Chinese foodways context, which strongly favors hollowwares. One possibility is that the Market Street Chinese were using these flatwares in a manner distinct from typical Euro American use, which is as an individual plate scaled for a specific course; as I will discuss in more detail in that section, it is quite likely that the Market Street Chinese were actually using the flatwares as communal plates from which they all took food during the family-style meal. The Chinese were very likely viewing transfer-printed wares from a very

different perspective than their contemporary Euro Americans were, and their re-invention of prescribed uses is a rich territory for investigation.

Matching and complementary sets

Leone has argued that the elaboration of the table setting and the presence of matching sets is an indication of a household's integration into the market. Particularly by the time that the Market Street Chinatown was established, British-produced tableware had become quite affordable and "within reach of the poorest" (Samford 1997:3). Leone builds on this historical market development by proposing that sets "were so universally available that the presence or absence of sets reflects a cultural preference, in the long run, not wealth... My position, based on Deetz, is that the use of a set was the marker of how a person was defined, and therefore whether or not a household moved into or out of the code of the market economy" (2005:158). This argument has been quite influential, and in his study of ceramics in African American Annapolis, Mullins concluded that "the mix of ceramics suggests that these households felt little compulsion to reproduce the idealized material trappings of dining etiquette" (1999:182). Mullins interprets the lack of matching sets as a conscious choice to resist one aspect of incorporation into the material culture of the possessive individualism so defining of capitalism: genteel dining.

Wall proposes a different interpretation for the presence and absence of matching ceramic sets in a middle-class Anglo American home in New York City in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. She argues that as men started commuting to work during the day, dinner became the only time that the entire family would be together, and as a result, the meal became highly ritualized. The use of matching dinnerware sets served to emphasize the unity of the family, which became important in the ritual of the meal. On the other hand, teaware was not standardized at all. "The most popular pattern in teawares from each of the

households is depicted on an average of only about a third of the tea vessels in each assemblage, and very few of these patterns turn up in the assemblages from more than one household" (1994:146). A matching tea set was less important than a matching dinnerware set because family teas were more informal than dinner and extrafamilial social tea events did not need to emphasize the unity of the parties present.

Based on Leone's and Walls's arguments, the presence of a matching set could have two distinct but related meanings. One is the integration of ceramic set users into the dominant ideology of possessive individualism that defined Victorianism and capitalism. The other is the ritualization of the family dinner and the increasing desire to emphasize the family as a single unit. These two interpretations are getting at a similar idea, Leone's from the perspective of the external forces at play in early 19th century America, and Wall from the perspective of how women and families responded to those forces by sanctifying the domestic sphere. Matching sets have become largely normative and intuitive in the middle-class context, but this norm was produced and disseminated in the early 19th century. Whether market integration or domestic ritualization is the cause behind the proliferation of matching ceramic sets, we can assume that the Market Street Chinese were aware of this norm because of its totalizing influence throughout middle-class households, and the choice to consume or not consume matching sets was a choice.

The presence or lack-there-of of matching sets can also point to the source of the transfer-printed wares. Mullins concluded that the mismatched ceramics in the African American Annapolis context suggests that many ceramics were obtained through informal exchange forms, such as barter, gift-giving, and inheritance (1999:182). In the Reconstruction era Louisiana context, Wilkie found that employers supplemented low wages with gifts of hand-me-down housewares, made apparent by comparisons between the employers' and African American servants' ceramic assemblages, which revealed that items and patterns

found in the 1880s in the former's assemblage were duplicated in the 1890s and 1900s in the servants' assemblages (2001:118). To extrapolate on Mullins and Wilkie, the presence of matching sets of transfer-printed ware in the Market Street Chinatown collection could suggest that the Chinese residents had retail sources for their Euro American ceramics; on the other hand, if transfer-printed wares are mismatched, it could point to a more informal source, such as as a secondhand gift or purchase. Wilkie's method of dating the servants' assemblage as compared to the employers' assemblage could be useful in the Market Street Chinese context as well; if the Chinese were obtaining their ceramics secondhand, whether through employers or through consignment shops, then we would expect to find patterns that were popular in the early to mid-19th century.

I make an additional contribution to the analysis of presence or absence of matching sets by considering complementary sets in this analysis. From the sheer multitude of distinct patterns in Market Street Chinatown's transfer-printed ware collection, it is immediately obvious that matching sets do not appear in significant quantities, and most likely for the same reason that Mullins and Wilkie put forward, which is that mismatched ceramics were acquired secondhand—but that does not necessarily mean that matching sets were not desirable and striven for. I will look at possible cases in which the occurrence of different patterns of the same print color and pattern type may have been collected *ad hoc* in attempts to produce a complementary set. This transfer-printed ware attribute is the most difficult to get at within this fragmentary collection, but it can provide very rewarding insights into how the social deployment of transfer-printed wares in Market Street Chinatown differed from mainstream Victorian society.

Conclusion

Through employing multiple strategies that move between scales of analysis, including

the analysis of transfer-printed wares' spatial distribution, ware body type, pattern type, print color, and presence or absence of matching and complementary sets, I attempt to establish a context for the use of these wares in Market Street Chinatown. Each of these attributes, taken individually and together, have the potential to shed light on a different aspects of intra- and inter-community relationships in the Chinatown. In the course of analysis, a picture of an ever adaptive and agentful application of a set of cultural rules begins to emerge.

3: Spatial Distribution Analysis of Transfer-Printed Wares

Introduction

Historical archaeologists working in urban contexts have long commented on the challenge of associating the specific individuals of historical documentation (e.g. censuses, diaries) with the aggregated material record of dense communal activity and dumping within cities, particularly working-class neighborhoods (Murray and Mayne 2001:102). Murray and Mayne, who are writing about a working-class “slum” in Melbourne, respond to this challenge by advocating for the use of multiple scales of analysis that work to move between the scales in both directions, both to infer specifics from generalizations as well as global trends from specific contexts. Within the Bahaman plantation context, Wilkie has employed a multiscale approach that focuses the unit of analysis on the household, which she defines as an individual or multiple individuals who may or may not be biologically related, but have a spatially discrete relationship (1999: 284). By situating her analysis around the household, Wilkie is able to consider the types of material culture that appear in the archaeological assemblage as social negotiations between the individuals of the household as well as between the household and the greater social and economic contexts (1999: 285).

Voss (2008) however, has argued that the household is a problematic concept within an overseas Chinese context, among others, because it is “historically specific and produced through structured relations of power” and to accept the household as the unit of analysis is to privilege “normative, middle-class European American practices related to the family unit” (37). On the Market Street Chinatown, Chinese immigrants primarily slept in tenements and

stores, neither of which fit the socially and spatially discrete concept of a household as it has been applied in historical archaeology. Moreover, considering that highly mobile Chinese laborers only occupied the Market Street Chinatown for portions of the year, Voss argues that social belonging may have been more important to a Chinese migrant than a physical address was in creating a sense of home (44). De-centering the household does not mean that overseas Chinese archaeology cannot achieve a micro-scale in analysis, but rather, that interpretation must take into account the structures through which the Market Street Chinese created meaning, including “a wide range of social units (individual, family, kin network, district association, temple membership, occupational groups, community) and archaeological units (artifact, feature, zone, block), through measures of both legal and cultural ownership” (47).

Voss' differentiation of legal versus cultural ownership draws attention to another approach that needs to be recontextualized for an overseas Chinese site. Legal ownership, which forms the basis of association between deposits and individuals living in the past in historical archaeological practice, is complicated by the reality of daily life in the Market Street Chinatown, where the community did not own its land, nor were residents free to live elsewhere due to exclusionary laws. According to Voss, “Most residents did not own the building they lived in or even the furniture they used, the stove they cooked on, or the dishes from which they ate their meals. Use of such objects was often provided to tenants by tenement and store owners” (2008:46). She proposes the application of cultural ownership to make sense of group claims to property, be it land, material culture, or intangible heritage in cases where there may be little or no legal basis for the claim.

Cultural ownership in the Market Street Chinatown was exerted in diverse and nuanced ways; Michaels' (2003, 2005) research on peck-marked vessels from the collection found that Chinese tenement residents were more likely to personalize ceramic vessels with names and nicknames, whereas Chinese merchants marked vessels with auspicious

characters (Voss 2008a:47). The individuals who inscribed the vessels may not have been their legal owners or may not even have conceived of them within a framework of legal ownership, yet these distinct practices emerging from the same cultural tradition mark the objects as belonging to the Chinese in some way: to the subject who inscribes his nickname or the culture that appropriates the object into its practice. Cultural ownership is capable of acting on multiple and simultaneous scales: the individual, the tenement, the store, the community, the culture. Interpreting transfer-printed ware use from the site within a framework of cultural ownership requires a sensitivity towards Chinese immigrants' multiscale engagement with the objects, in which the primacy of the object does not rest in ownership, but rather in routinization (Giddens 1991) of the object in daily life and incorporation into cultural practices.

Decentering the household and framing transfer-printed ware distribution through a lens of cultural ownership together achieve a more nuanced approach to multiscale archaeological analysis through the interrogation of boundaries previously thought of as inviolate. As some of the brief feature studies in this chapter will demonstrate, the boundaries of Chinatown and Chinese cultural practice were constantly renegotiated prior to the 1887 fire; these negotiations were occurring not just between Chinese residents and collectivities, but between Chinese residents and Euro American or Spanish-colonial/Mexican neighbors, landlords, and employers; between these groups and the local, regional, and global networks of labor and commodity supply and demand; and not least of all between the Market Street Chinatown and Exclusion era politics. The outcomes of these negotiations had spatial and material effects that were constantly reforming structures of perception, or *habitus* (Bourdieu 1984), that in turn transformed the terms in the negotiations to come.

Methodology

Using the count of catalog records of transfer-printed wares by feature, the distribution analysis employs two indices of significance: a frequency index and a density index. The frequency index is the count of catalog records of transfer-printed wares recovered from each feature as an occurrence of all catalog records of transfer-printed wares recovered from Block 1 and that were produced through my analysis (N=282). The frequency index provides a useful starting point to draw connections between activities at the site, based on historical documentation such as the 1884 Sanborn map, and transfer-printed ware use and deposition. It is potentially useful to consider frequency within a cluster of features, rather than just within each individual feature, not only because of the proximity of features to each other, but also in consideration of the communal and cultural ownership over deposits that may account for multiple features within an area. I will further explore possibilities for clustering features in the results and discussion sections.

$$\text{Frequency Index} = \frac{\# \text{ of Catalog Records of Transfer-Printed Wares in Individual Feature}}{\# \text{ of Catalog Records of Transfer-Printed Wares in MSCAP Collection}} \quad (N=282)$$

The frequency index is a useful starting point but may be misleading in that it does not reflect the relative importance of the transfer-printed wares within the individual features or for associated activities because it does not account for feature size. Thirty transfer-printed wares found within a feature that produced eighty total artifacts would require a different interpretation than if they were recovered from a feature that produced a thousand artifacts. The density index is a proxy measure that attempts to take feature size into account when calculating the relative significance of transfer-printed wares. Because cataloguing is still ongoing for the Market Street Chinatown Archaeological Project, total artifact records produced during ARS' initial cataloguing is used as a proxy for the total population of

artifacts for each feature, which is not known. The density index is therefore produced from the number of catalog records of transfer-printed wares in a given feature as an occurrence of the total number of ARS catalog records for all artifacts in the given feature. While the density index does not provide a true percentage, it still offers a measure of transfer-printed ware densities by feature relative to each other.

$$\text{Density Index} = \frac{\# \text{ of Catalog Records of Transfer-Printed Wares in Individual Feature}}{\# \text{ of Total ARS Catalog Records for All Artifacts in the Individual Feature}}$$

Taken together, the frequency and density indices perform two important hermeneutic functions for understanding transfer-printed ware use at the site: first, they are a means to identify where and to whom transfer-printed wares may have been a central part of daily life, pointing out areas of further investigation; and second, they form the context of analysis for the coming chapters, which constitute the “micro” levels of interpretation, such as implications for commodity acquisition networks in Chinatown and the meanings individuals might have invested in these ceramics.

Table 1 Distribution of catalog records of transfer printed wares (TPW) at the Market Street Chinatown by feature number

| Feature | Total TPW Catalog Records for Feature | Total ARS Catalog Records for Feature | TPW Frequency Index (Red if ≥ 0.1) | TPW Density Index (Red if ≥ 0.25) |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| 85-31/1 | 1 | 178 | 0.004 | 0.006 |
| 85-31/2 | 11 | 235 | 0.039 | 0.047 |
| 85-31/3 | 12 | 288 | 0.043 | 0.042 |
| 85-31/4 | 0 | 0 | 0.000 | n/a |
| 85-31/5 | 0 | 0 | 0.000 | n/a |
| 85-31/6 | 0 | 160 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 85-31/7 | 4 | 135 | 0.014 | 0.030 |
| 85-31/8 | 0 | 0 | 0.000 | n/a |
| 85-31/9 | 4 | 65 | 0.014 | 0.062 |
| 85-31/10 | 0 | 49 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 85-31/11 | 0 | 2 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 85-31/12 | 0 | 17 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 85-31/13 | 8 | 367 | 0.028 | 0.022 |
| 85-31/14 | 0 | 44 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 85-31/15 | 0 | 0 | 0.000 | n/a |
| 85-31/16 | 0 | 0 | 0.000 | n/a |
| 85-31/17 | 0 | 15 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 85-31/18-18B | 29 | 1143 | 0.103 | 0.025 |
| 85-31/19 | 2 | 108 | 0.007 | 0.019 |
| 85-31/20 | 4 | 357 | 0.014 | 0.011 |
| 85-31/21 | 0 | 5 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 85-31/22 | 5 | 88 | 0.018 | 0.057 |
| 85-31/23 | 23 | 83 | 0.082 | 0.277 |
| 85-31/24 | 12 | 222 | 0.043 | 0.054 |
| 85-31/25 | 1 | 41 | 0.004 | 0.024 |
| 85-31/26 | 8 | 24 | 0.028 | 0.333 |
| 85-31/27 | 3 | 186 | 0.011 | 0.016 |
| 85-31/28 | 0 | 87 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 85-31/29 | 2 | 28 | 0.007 | 0.071 |
| 85-31/30 | 0 | 3 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 85-31/31 | 0 | 10 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 85-31/32 | 0 | n/a | 0.000 | n/a |
| 85-31/33 | 2 | 123 | 0.007 | 0.016 |
| 85-31/34 | 0 | 24 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 85-31/35 | 0 | 42 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 85-31/36 | 0 | 0 | 0.000 | n/a |
| 85-31/37 | 0 | 0 | 0.000 | n/a |
| 86-36/1 | 7 | 278 | 0.025 | 0.025 |
| 86-36/2 | 3 | 95 | 0.011 | 0.032 |
| 86-36/3 | 11 | 93 | 0.039 | 0.118 |
| 86-36/4 | 3 | 211 | 0.011 | 0.014 |
| 86-36/5 | 32 | 1712 | 0.113 | 0.019 |
| 86-36/6 | 3 | 224 | 0.011 | 0.013 |
| 86-36/6A | 0 | 35 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 86-36/7 | 35 | 921 | 0.124 | 0.038 |
| 86-36/8 | 2 | 67 | 0.007 | 0.030 |
| 86-36/9 | 0 | 213 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 86-36/10 | 17 | 65 | 0.060 | 0.262 |
| 86-36/11 | 3 | 38 | 0.011 | 0.079 |
| 86-36/12 | 1 | 22 | 0.004 | 0.045 |
| 86-36/13 | 10 | 254 | 0.035 | 0.039 |
| 86-36/14 | 3 | 139 | 0.011 | 0.022 |
| 86-36/15 | 0 | 16 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 86-36/16 | 2 | 67 | 0.007 | 0.030 |
| 86-36/17 | 0 | 170 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 86-36/18 | 4 | 455 | 0.014 | 0.009 |
| 86-36/19 | 6 | 228 | 0.021 | 0.026 |
| 86-36/20 | 2 | 303 | 0.007 | 0.007 |
| 86-36/21 | 2 | 27 | 0.007 | 0.074 |
| 86-36/22 | 0 | 49 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| 86-36/23 | 3 | 40 | 0.011 | 0.075 |
| 86-36/24 | 2 | 21 | 0.007 | 0.095 |
| 86-36/25 | 0 | 0 | 0.000 | n/a |
| TOTAL | 282 | 9872 | 1.000 | 0.029 |
| | | | | |
| TOTAL by Project Year | | | | |
| 85-31 | 131 | 4129 | 0.465 | 0.032 |
| 86-36 | 151 | 5743 | 0.535 | 0.026 |
| | | | | |
| *TPW = Transfer-Printed Wares | | | | |

Results

Sixty-six features were initially recorded during ARS excavations; however, during lab analysis, Features 85-31/18 and 85-31/18B were determined to be the same feature, and they were accordingly analyzed together. Feature 85-31/32 was assigned in error, and no archaeological feature exists with this designation. Of the remaining 64 ARS-designated features, only 54 features contained artifactual remains, and only those 54 are considered for the purposes of this paper.

Transfer-printed wares were used and discarded throughout the Market Street Chinatown. They are present in 37 of 54 features containing artifacts and catalog records of transfer-printed wares comprise 2.9% (282 of 9872 total recorded) of all catalog records generated by ARS from the Market Street Chinatown site in ARS Project Years 85-31 and 86-36. Notably, the top features for transfer-printed ware frequency differ completely from the top features for transfer-printed ware density. Three features contain more than one-tenth each of the site's total catalog records of transfer-printed wares: Feature 85-31/18-18B, Feature 86-36/5 and Feature 86-36/7, which together make up over a third of the site's catalog records of transfer-printed wares. Three features contain catalog records of transfer-printed wares as a quarter or more of the total ARS catalog records for that feature: Feature 85-31/23, Feature 85-31/26, and Feature 86-36/10. In the following sections, I will discuss the historical documentation available for these features in order to provide context for the possible ways to interpret each as a major transfer-printed ware deposit.

Overall, although Project 86-36, corresponding with the north side of the site, contains slightly more catalog records of transfer-printed wares, just over half of the total transfer-printed ware catalog records documented from the site; Project 85-31, corresponding with the south side of the site, contains a higher density of transfer-printed ware catalog records at around 0.032 of all catalog records documented from its features, compared to 0.026 of Project

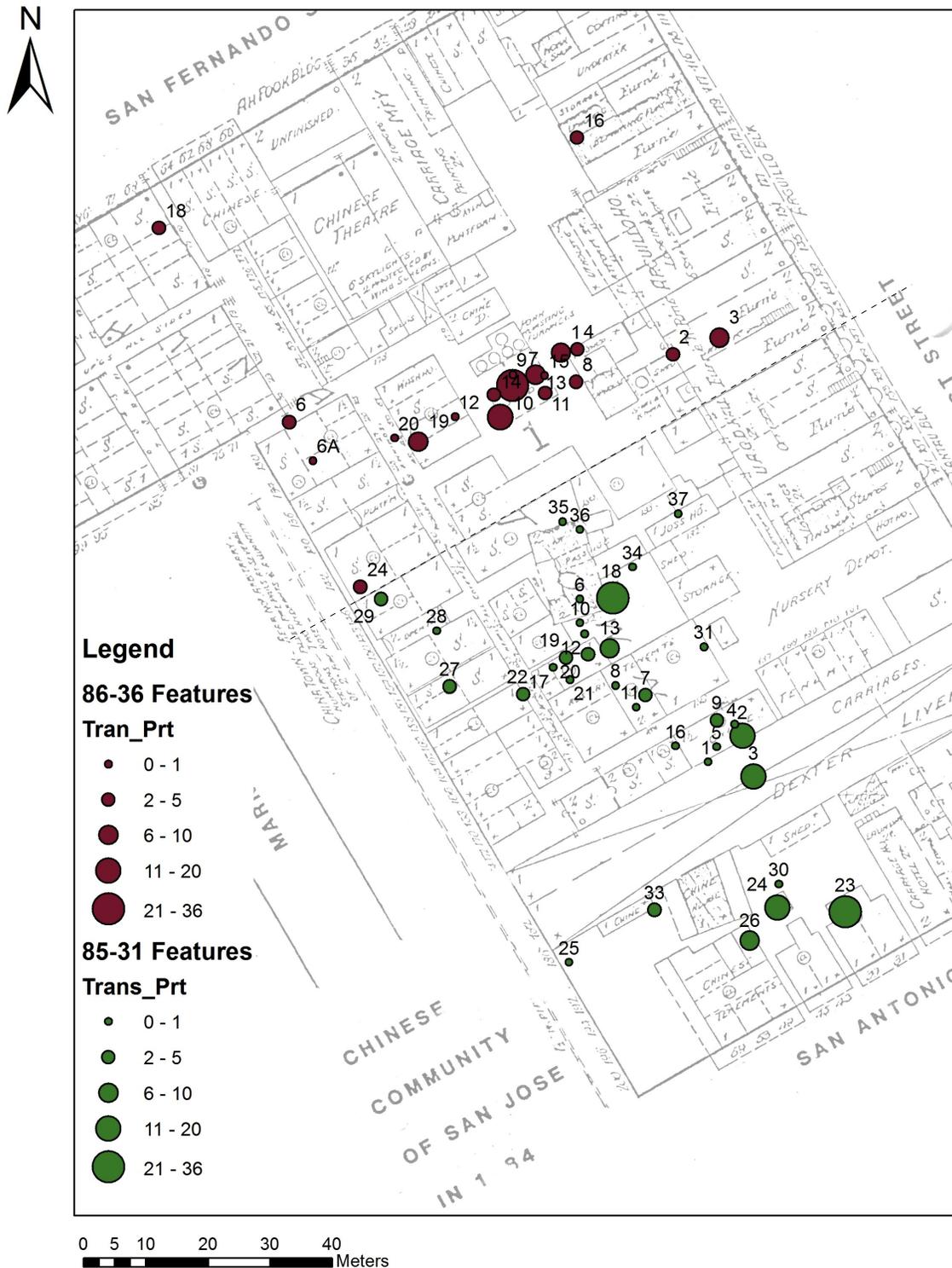
86-36 features' catalog records, and 0.028 of all catalog records from both projects.

The higher density index for Project 85-31 features might be misleading, however, because it could easily be interpreted to refer to a higher density of transfer-printed wares in all Project 85-31 features. However, Features 85-31/23 and Features 85-31/26 have an exceptionally high density of transfer-printed ware density in 85-31, as seen in the distribution of transfer-printed ware catalog records by feature in Table 1. Transfer-printed ware catalog records are more evenly distributed throughout the north side of the site than the south side. In Project 85-31, 12 out of 29 features (41%) containing artifacts contain no transfer-printed ware catalog records, twice the number of Project 86-36, in which only 5 out of 25 features (20%) containing artifacts have no transfer-printed ware catalog records at all. This example shows that the indices require contextualization to be meaningful, and for a site where temporal and spatial ambiguities are endemic, the context may be difficult to resolve and the meanings derived necessarily multiple.

High frequency measures: Feature 85-31/18-18B, Feature 86-36/5, Feature 86-36/7

The map below illustrates the count of transfer-printed ware catalog records by feature. Circles are sized according to the number of transfer-printed ware catalog records documented from the individual feature (see Legend) with the feature number adjacent to each circle. Project 85-31 features, numbered from 1 to 37, are shown in green, while Project 86-36 features, numbered from 1 to 24, are shown in red. The dashed line running through the center of the map divides Project 85-31 (below the line, south side of the site) from Project 86-36 (above the line, north side of the site). The features with the largest circles have the highest number of transfer-printed ware catalog records, and corresponding directly with the Frequency Index.

Figure 2 Number of transfer-printed ware catalog records documented from the Market Street Chinatown, by Feature. Courtesy of Guido Pezzarossi.



➤ *Feature 85-31/18-18B*

Although Features 85-31/18 and 85-31/18B was designated as separate features during excavation, it became clear during analysis that they were two parts of the same feature, and the artifacts from both are consequently considered together (Kane 2011; discussion of Feature 85-31/18-18B:1). Kane (ibid) further comments that the differences between the stratigraphy of various parts of the pit appear to be minor; as such, I not only refer to the two features collectively as Feature 85-31/18-18B, I also handle their ARS-designated strata associations together.

Feature 85-31/18 is a redwood-lined pit and the largest feature from the south half of the site by artifact count, with a total of 1143 ARS catalog numbers recorded. The feature was excavated stratigraphically in 3 layers with Layer 2 containing the majority of the transfer-printed wares recovered from this feature (14 out of 29 transfer-printed wares). According to Roop and Flynn (1993:12), “many of the ceramics were crushed in place” in Layer 2, where spouted jars, leather shoes, jade bracelet fragments, Asian and European stonewares, and Chinese gaming pieces were also recovered (Kane 2011). The predominance of artifacts strongly associated with Chinese foodways and lifeways in all three layers suggests Market Street Chinese residents' continuous use of Feature 85-31/18 since the feature was first used as a trash pit. It is however, worth considering, especially because the feature is redwood-lined, that trash was periodically removed from this pit to accommodate new refuse.

Until artifacts from the feature are completely cataloged, the feature's chronology cannot be fully assessed. For the time being, ARS' initial artifact inventory can offer a rough sense of what artifacts were uncovered from the feature. In particular, at least 3 coins, identified as dateable by ARS, were recovered from Level 3 and at least 1 coin was recovered from the “Level 2/3 Interface,” which if the layers have not been disturbed, should be a more recent deposit than the Level 3 coins. Excavated from Level 3, 85-31/18-578 is recorded by

ARS as an 1868 US dime; 85-31/18-579 is recorded as an 1854 US dime; and 85-31/18-708 is recorded as an 1853 Liberty quarter. Excavated from the Level 2/3 Interface, 85-31/18-641 is described by ARS as an 1876 American coin. Assuming no disturbance between layers, the *terminus post quem* available from the recovered coins is 1868 for Level 3, although this date may be made ambiguous by the presence of a coin recovered from the Level 2/3 Interface, dated 1876. By the same logic, Level 2 would date to or post-date 1876. These dates pend verification by the Market Street Chinatown Archaeological Project's cataloguing process.

According to Laffey (1994, discussion of Lot 3), Feature 18 falls directly adjacent to the southeast corner of the Bernal adobe, which was constructed by Joaquin Bernal in 1819 and owned by the family until 1870, when it was sold to George B. Rutherford. Rutherford leased the adobe to Chinese residents and merchants beginning in 1873, where several Chinese business including merchandise stores, a grocery store, and a restaurant, remained until the 1887 fire. Feature 85-31/18-18B is likely but not certainly associated with activities in the adobe or surrounding area, and Level 3 was possibly used by Chinese residents of the area within the first few years of their occupation or by the Bernal family in the last years of its occupation. Based on the evidence, it is most likely that Level 2 and Level 1 are Market Street Chinese period deposits, and I will interpret the ceramics recovered from these two layers within that framework, with particular attention to the possible impact of commercial establishments and a restaurant on the material record.

Twenty-six of 29 total transfer-printed ware catalog records recovered from Feature 85-31/18 have stratigraphic data associated with the record; of the 26, 3 are associated with "Surface and Disturbance," 6 are associated with Level 1, 14 are associated with Level 2, 1 is associated with the Interface between Levels 2 and 3, and 2 are associated with Level 3. All recovered transfer-printed wares are unimproved white earthenwares or pearlwares with the exception of 1 recovered from "Surface and Disturbance," 2 recovered from Level 2, and 1

recovered from Level 3. The lack of improved white and blued white earthenwares throughout all levels may indicate a lack of acquisition of new transfer-printed wares between the transition from the Spanish period and the Chinese period; the wares may have been continued to be reused from earlier periods, or may have been acquired through secondhand sources. Interestingly, Level 3 contains the fewest transfer-printed ware catalog records even though it is more likely to be associated with pre-Chinese occupation than the other levels; however, it is not known whether this level contains fewer total catalog records than the other levels because MSCAP cataloguing is ongoing, so it is difficult to say whether transfer-printed ware use increased or decreased over time.

Table 2 Stratigraphic Distribution of Catalog Records of Unimproved and Improved TPW for Feature 85-31/18-18B

| ARS-Designated Association for Feature 85-31/18-18B | Number of TPW Catalog Records | Number of Unimproved Earthenwares of all TPW Catalog Records (Whiteware or Pearlware) | Number of Improved Earthenwares of all TPW Catalog Records (Improved White Earthenware or Improved Blued White Earthenware) | Number of Other Material Wares of all TPW Catalog Records (e.g. Porcelain) |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|--|---|
| Surface and Disturbance | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Level 1 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Level 2 | 14 | 12 | 2 | 0 |
| Interface Between Levels 2 and 3 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Level 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| No Association | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 |

➤ *Feature 86-36/5*

Feature 86-35/5 is the largest feature of ARS Project 86-36 by catalog records, with a total of 1712 catalog records entered by ARS. It is also the feature with the most complex stratigraphy, including 10 identifiable levels with the majority of artifacts recovered from Layers 6 and 8; Layers 5 and 7 were virtually sterile (Kane 2011:discussion of Feature 86-36/5, 1). The feature, which is a wood-lined pit and possibly originally a privy pit, is located between two single-story wood-frame sheds at the geographical and cultural heart of the Chinatown, just steps to the southeast from the communal pork roasting furnaces. From the Sanborn map and available historical documentation, it is impossible to determine who were using these sheds and for what purpose but the area around Feature 86-36/5 appears to be a place used for trash disposal, judging by other proximal pits identified as features.

According to Laffey, Feature 86-36/5 could represent either of the two Chinatowns that occupied Block 1, either the 1866 to 1870 Chinatown or the 1871 to 1887 Chinatown. Within Level 6, ARS identified an 1874 Liberty dime (85-31/5-44), which suggests that this layer was formed during the second Chinatown. Further research of artifacts recovered from the feature may offer more insight into the dates associated with each layer, including to clarify whether any layers are associated with the first Market Street Chinatown. Even without those dates, the significant presence of Chinese cultural materials in both Layer 6 and Layer 8 is compelling evidence that the transfer-printed wares recovered from Feature 86-36/5 were used by Chinese residents of Market Street alongside Chinese material culture.

A comparison between Layers 6 and 8 does not show a clear transition from unimproved earthenwares to improved earthenwares through time—in fact, it skews towards the opposite. More than half of the transfer-printed wares recorded by ARS from Level 8 are improved earthenwares, whereas less than a third of those recorded by ARS from Level 6, a more recently formed deposit, are improved earthenwares; without knowing the total

population of artifacts or catalog records from each respective layer, it is impossible to contextualize these proportions within the relative importance that transfer-printed wares had in each layer. However, it is apparent that transfer-printed ware discard over time looks like a right-skewed bell curve, as with Feature 85-31/18-18B, with a peak in Level 6, and there did not appear to be a concerted effort to obtain higher quality transfer-printed wares over time.

Table 3 Stratigraphic Distribution of Catalog Records of Unimproved and Improved TPW for Feature 86-36/5

| ARS-Designated Association for Feature 86-36/5 | Number of TPW Catalog Records | Number of Unimproved Earthenwares of all TPW Catalog Records (Whiteware or Pearlware) | Number of Improved Earthenwares of all TPW Catalog Records (Improved White Earthenware or Improved Blued White Earthenware) | Number of Other Material Wares of all TPW Catalog Records (e.g. Porcelain) |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|--|---|
| Dozer | 4 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Upper Strata | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Level 1 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Level 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Level 3 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Level 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Level 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Level 6 | 16 | 12 | 4 | 0 |
| Level 8 | 7 | 3 | 4 | 0 |

➤ *Feature 86-36/7*

86-36/7 is a wood-lined cistern and discovered with intact south and west walls

constructed from redwood; the excavators described the construction as being to a high standard (Kane 2011:discussion of Feature 86-36/7, 1). Four strata were identified though not all were fully excavated. Layer 1 and 2 were disturbed, and Layer 3 was considered the first cultural layer. 921 artifacts in total were catalogued from this feature. ARS categorized the cultural remains from Feature 7 as “mixed”: the inventory records list diverse materials including jade bracelet fragments, British produced porcelains, porcelain drawer knobs, Chinese earthenwares, leather shoe heels, glass bottles, and Chinese porcelains. Kane (Kane 2011:discussion of Feature 86-36/7, 1). suggests a closer investigation of Layers 3 and 4, which were undisturbed, in order to establish a time frame for the feature.

According to the ARS feature map, Feature 7 is located south of the pork roasting furnaces, between the furnace and an L-shaped shed. According to Laffey, this feature can be associated with several possible occupations ranging from the 1850s to the 1880s. During the 1850s, this area of Block 1 was owned by two hotel keepers, Jean Vioget and Augustin Chat elle. The men ran the Eagle Hotel, which was located in the area by 1852. Chinese residents may have started moving into this part of the block by the 1860s, and by 1873, this entire lot was part of the second Chinatown (Kane 2011).

To date, Feature 86-36/7 has the most transfer print ceramics identified to pattern of any feature, but the number still remains woefully small: 6 out of 35 transfer-printed wares recovered from Feature 86-36/7 have been identified to pattern. Although the patterns identified originate from multiple strata in the feature, the table below presents a strategy for dating the layers using transfer-printed ware pattern identification once more patterns from each layer are identified.

Table 4* Mean Production Dates for Identified transfer-printed wares from Feature 86-36/7¹

| Catalog Number | Depth/ Association | Pattern | Maker | Start Date | End Date | Mean Production Date |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|------------------|-------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 86-36/7-59 | Level 1 | Lozere | Challinor | 1842 | 1867 | 1854.5 |
| 86-36/7-358 | Upper Disturbed | Cyrene | Adams | 1829 | 1861 | 1845 |
| 86-36/7-374 | Upper Disturbed | Gathering Cotton | Unknown | 1860 | 1860 | 1860 |
| 86-36/7-576 | Disturbed West | Cyrene | Adams | 1829 | 1861 | 1845 |
| 86-36/7-577 | Disturbed West | Rustic Scenery | Clementson | 1838 | 1864 | 1851 |
| 86-36/7-598 | Disturbed West | Toothpaste Jar | Glosnell & London | 1840 | 1898 | 1869 |
| | | | | Mean Production Date for all ID'd Transferwares from 86-36 Feature 7 | | 1854.1 |

Although I will reiterate that the production dates generated above are not diagnostic because of the overrepresentation of more recent layers in the dateable patterns, dates produced thus far favor the earlier period of the site's occupation rather than dates that are associated with the second the Market Street Chinatown. Further areas for research include analysis, as Kane (2011) recommends, of Layers 3 and 4 of the feature, to attempt to establish dates for those deposits. If ceramics and other artifacts from Layers 3 and 4 suggest a time frame that dates closely with or postdates Layer 1 and 2 or the Upper Disturbed strata, it may not necessarily point to excavation inconsistencies, but potentially, to the circulation of older models of transfer-printed wares in the Market Street Chinatown, possibly through

¹ All production dates were taken from the Transferware Collectors Club, with the exception of the Glosnell toothpaste jar, the dates for which were obtained from the Museum Victoria in Victoria, Australia. According to the Jefferson Patterson Park & Museum, molded rim alphabet plates may have later production dates, with a mean of 1868-1894 (Maryland Archaeological Conservation Lab 2002). In future iterations of this table, those dates will be more rigorously considered.

secondhand means. If Layers 3 and 4 antedate the time frame established for Layers 1 and 2, as it logically should, then it is possible that the feature overall is an older deposit that is most closely associated with Euro American occupation and the activities of Vioget and Chat elle prior to the 1860s. The deposit may represent a limited time frame in the 1860s when the Chinese were just beginning to move into the lot. Interpretation of the transfer-printed wares from Feature 86-36/7 should account for these multiple possibilities: Euro American procurement and use prior to or simultaneous with Chinese entry into the area; Chinese procurement and use during the first few years of establishment in this area, possibly associated with the first the Market Street Chinatown; and Chinese secondhand procurement and use during the second the Market Street Chinatown.

A further note regarding Feature 86-36/7 is that the “Gathering Cotton” alphabet plate sherd included in Table 4 mends with another sherd recovered from Feature 86-36/14 (86-36/14-25), which is located directly west of Feature 7. The mend between the two features may point to post-depositional disturbance, but the proximity of these two features would be one reason to consider the two together as a single or temporally coterminous deposition. Further research and comparison of the two features could shed more light into the relationship between these two features.

From Table 5 below, it becomes clear that unlike with Features 85-31/18-18B and 86-36/5, Feature 86-36/7 does show a trend of a higher proportion of improved earthenwares to unimproved earthenwares through time, although this interpretation is complicated by the noted disturbances in the upper layers that likely extend all the way down to Levels 1 and 2. Overall however, in a total catalog record view in which improved earthenwares are less common than unimproved earthenwares (105 catalog records to 173 catalog records), the significant number of improved earthenwares recorded from this feature may be significant. One possible explanation that takes mean production dates into account is that the groups

using this pit, be they Euro American or Chinese, were buying new wares with dated patterns.

Table 5 Stratigraphic Distribution of Catalog Records of Unimproved and Improved TPW for Feature 86-36/7

| ARS-Designated Association for Feature 86-36/7 | Number of TPW Catalog Records | Number of Unimproved Earthenwares of all TPW Catalog Records (Whiteware or Pearlware) | Number of Improved Earthenwares of all TPW Catalog Records (Improved White Earthenware or Improved Blued White Earthenware) | Number of Other Material Wares of all TPW Catalog Records (e.g. Porcelain) |
|---|--------------------------------------|--|--|---|
| Upper Disturbed | 10 | 1 | 9 | 0 |
| Disturbed West | 6 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| South Side | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Level 1 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 0 |
| Level 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Level 3 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Level 4 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 0 |
| No Association | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |

High density index measure: Feature 85-31/23, Feature 85-31/26, Feature 86-36/10

➤ *Feature 85-31/23*

Feature 85-31/23 is an unlined trash pit that ARS excavators catalogued as disturbed and ethnically American based on cultural materials recovered from the feature (Kane 2011). Bottle glass and European-manufactured ceramics predominate in Feature 85-31/23, but the presence of several Chinese porcelains, stonewares, ritual objects, and opium paraphernalia suggests Chinese use of this pit as well. An analysis of this feature's transfer-printed wares must seriously consider the possibility that it may be associated with Market Street Chinese

residents' activities, such as historically documented Chinese commercial activity near the feature including the operation of a gambling house, a shoe store, a "fancy goods store," and a wood yard (Laffey 1994). Although it is also possible that the transfer-printed wares predate the Market Street Chinatown and were used exclusively the Spanish-colonial/Mexican period, the presence of 9 catalog records of improved earthenwares out of a total of 23 transfer-printed ware catalog records from Feature 85-31/23 indicate that this pit may have been used into the middle of the 1800s. Older styles of ceramics, including creamware, yellowware, and majolica, were catalogued by MSCAP for Feature 85-31/23, but they did not appear in such significant quantities as to in themselves account for the daily needs of early 19th century individuals who were living on the site before the Chinese. Therefore this feature may span several periods, which likely includes early Chinese occupation.

➤ *Feature 85-31/26*

The coordinates ARS recorded for Feature 85-31/26 places the feature underneath the northeast corner of the Chinese tenement at the corner of San Antonio and the Market Street Chinatowns; however, because it is entirely possible that the coordinates are slightly off, interpretation of Feature 85-31/26 need not be bounded by the *terminus ante quem* suggested by the erection of the architectural structure. Feature 85-31/26 is a brick-lined well or cistern, from which only 24 catalog entries were recorded, and considered together led ARS excavators to believe that the well was not intentionally used as a trash pit (Kane 2011). The well's deposits may be associated with several periods of activity within Lot 7 starting from the mid-19th century: the Washington Inn (1846-1860); American and Hispanic residential use (1860-1875); Chinese gambling, woodyard, and residential use (1876-1887); vacant or unknown uses (1887-1900) or the Borchers Brothers' woodyard and agricultural implements yard (1900-1920) (Laffey 1994).

To date, MSCAP has catalogued at least one Asian porcelain from this feature, which may suggest some Chinese use of this deposit. The 8 transfer-printed wares recovered from Feature 85-31/26 are all unimproved white earthenwares with the exception of 1 pearlware, potentially dating the assemblage closer to the early or mid-19th century rather than late 19th century or 20th century. Isolating pattern trends is also difficult for this feature as 3 of the 7 recorded transfer-printed wares have ambiguous patterns or recovered sherds are too small to determine the patterns presented conclusively. A closer examination of the transfer-printed wares and other artifacts from Feature 85-31/26 would be helpful in determining a time frame for the deposit; as with Feature 85-31/23, more precise dating does not necessarily resolve what activities were associated with the deposit, and transfer-printed wares from the feature should be interpreted in the multiple potential contexts of American, Spanish-colonial/Mexican, and Chinese users.

➤ *Feature 86-36/10*

Although located in Lot 3 in the heart of Chinatown, adjacent to the southern corner of the wood-frame shed that is adjoining the pork roasting furnaces, Feature 86-36/10 surprisingly contains very few cultural artifacts typically associated with Chinese occupation. Almost all MSCAP catalog records to date and the ARS inventory records describe European- or American-manufactured or “Anglo” artifacts, with the potential exception of a bone toothbrush (86-36/10-46). The feature itself is quite small; the unlined trash pit only produced 65 ARS artifact records, within a spatial context that is comparable to that of Feature 86-36/7 (see analysis above).

As with Feature 86-36/7, multiple possibilities have to be considered with a sensitivity towards the small feature size composed largely of Euro American-manufactured artifacts, in the middle of Chinatown and proximal to other larger features containing Chinese cultural

materials.

The deposit may be associated with Euro American occupation and possibly the Eagle Hotel prior to the 1860s; or the deposit could be associated with either the first or second Chinatown, but for whatever reason, is organized through a logic of a larger disposal system that results in only Euro American-sourced objects deposited in Feature 86-36/10. Considering the presence of mixed Euro American-manufactured and Asian-manufactured materials in other features, the latter possibility does not seem as likely. A closer analysis of transfer-printed ware production dates from Feature 86-36/10, as well as the content of surrounding features, may shed more light on this question.

Although not excavated stratigraphically, the patterns found in this feature bear remarkable similarities to patterns recorded from Feature 86-36/7. Due to the proximity of the two features, it may be worthwhile to consider them together. Compare for instance, 86-36/7-1036 and 86-36/10-36, a floral purple underglaze printed bowl; 86-36/7-591 and 86-36/10-31, Chinese-inspired pagoda printed bowls that compare favorably enough that the two may have been used as a set; and 86-36/7-577 and 86-36/10-7, which are both hollowware fragments with Clementson's Rustic Scenery pattern. Considering Feature 86-36/7 and Feature 86-36/10 as having closely related if not the same deposition dates would date Feature 86-36/10 to mid-19th century and later, per the dates determined for Feature 86-36/7.

It is also worth noting that a transfer-printed sherd from this feature (86-36/10/53) mends with another sherd recovered from Feature 86-36/3 (86-36/3/15), which is over 100 feet away to the east and in 1884, was covered by Euro American stores. The mend may point to post-depositional disturbance, possibly during construction of the Silicon Valley Financial Center in the 1980s.

Discussion

The profiles for the three features with the highest transfer-printed ware frequency and the three features with the highest transfer-printed ware density index show that the boundaries between Chinese and non-Chinese and Chinatown and not-Chinatown are difficult to separate. Although each feature's association is a complicated issue, by adapting the concept of cultural ownership, the contents of the feature can be discussed as products of the negotiations that were happening between different individuals and groups of the community across space and time. At least two major opportunities arise from reframing the research strategy away from conceiving of Market Street Chinatown as an internally homogenous or demographically consistent community: first, the opportunity to analyze features as clusters, which Voss (2008:45) terms zones – that is, spaces where there is historical and archaeological evidence that buildings of similar functions were grouped together. ARS used an alternative measure – proximity – to identify two major clusters of features from the site: one from the north side, and one from the south side (Figure 2). Four of the six high frequency index or density index features containing transfer-printed wares fall within one of these two clusters identified by ARS.

While individual feature profiles are important for contextualizing the transfer-printed wares contained within each feature, the context of the larger surrounding assemblage will also be important as MSCAP's research progresses. It is evident that the original ARS excavators also thought about the greater assemblage in terms of concentrations of deposits, although there is no evidence that they employed these zonal designations diagnostically. The ARS-produced map of the main loci of historical deposits for Block 1, shown in Figure 3, designates a northern concentration of historical deposits, which includes Feature 86-36/1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 17; and a southern concentration of historical deposits, which includes 85-31/1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14/15, 16, 17, 18-18B, 19, 20, 21, and 22.

Figure 3 ARS Map, Archaeological Features of Block 1, 1985-7 ("zones" are in rectangles) (Kane 2011)

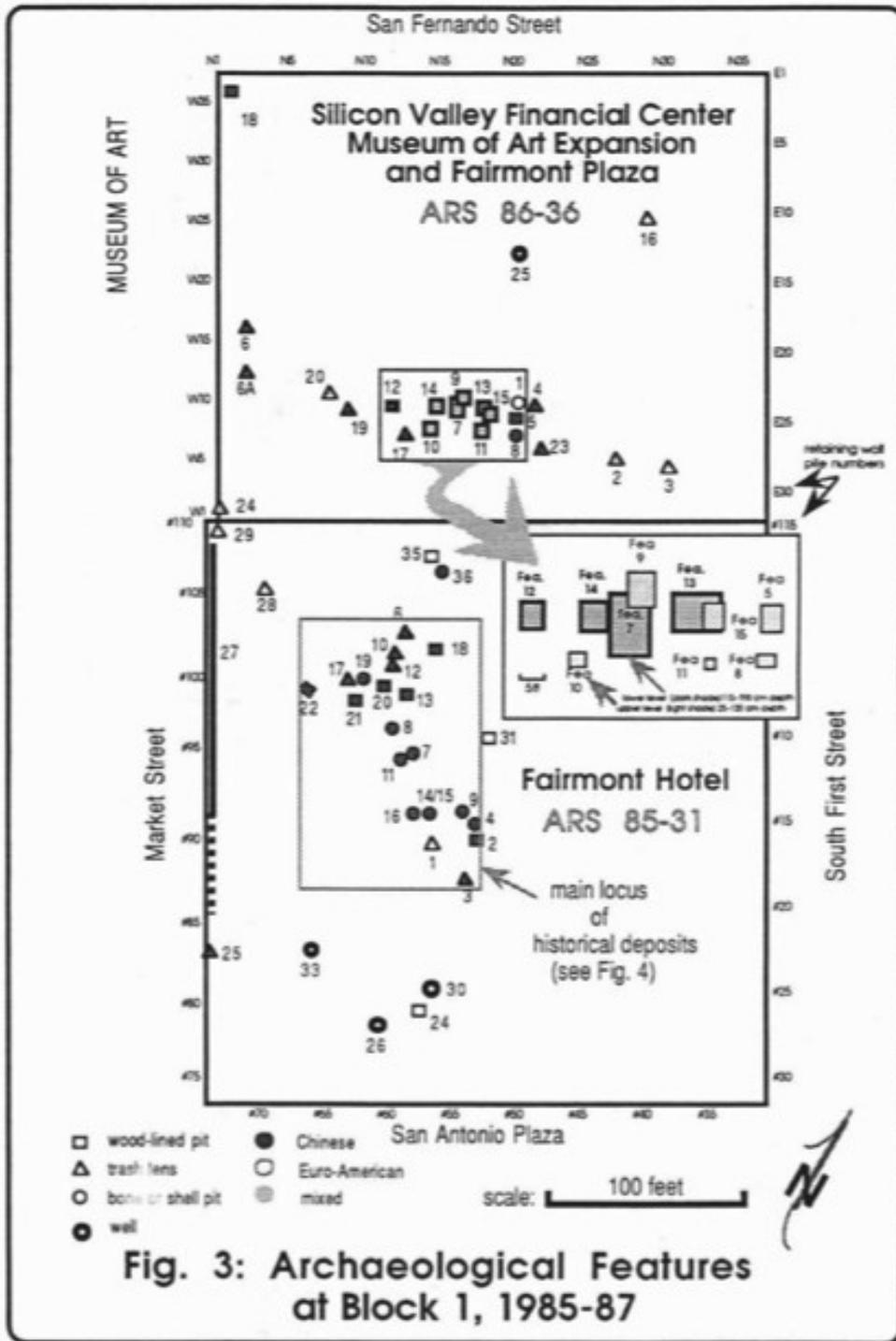


Table 6 Frequency and Density Indices for Projects 85-31 and 86-36, Filtered for ARS-Designated “Main Loci of Historical Deposits”

| Main Loci of Historical Deposits | Total TPW Catalog Records for Feature | Total ARS Catalog Records for Feature | TPW Frequency Index | TPW Density Index |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 85-31 | 80 | 3256 | 0.2836879433 | 0.0245700246 |
| 86-36 | 108 | 3828 | 0.3829787234 | 0.0282131661 |

By rerunning the frequency and density indices for just the features identified by ARS as main loci of historical deposits, a more disparate image begins to appear between the northern and southern parts of the Market Street Chinatown. The visual data conveyed in ARS' map is immediately striking; whereas almost all of the features designated as part of the main locus of historical deposits from Project 85-31 have also been designated by ARS as being of Chinese ethnic origin, more than half of the features designated as part of the main locus of historical deposits from Project 86-36 were designated as of mixed origin. Both the frequency and density indices for transfer-printed ware catalog records corroborate the visualization of a greater presence of Euro American artifacts in the northern concentration of deposits than in the southern concentration of deposits. While the features included in each of ARS' zones have not been assessed for deposition dates, thereby limiting our ability to associate them in time at this point in the research process, they do show a strong spatial relationship that undoubtedly partially reflects activities in dense space the way that Market Street Chinese residents living and working within those immediate areas experienced them. These zones begin to paint a strong picture of difference in material cultural expression between those living in the north side of the site—predominantly merchants, families, and light industrial workers—and those living in the south side of the site, including tenement dwellers and some merchants.

A second opportunity that arises from this project is the potential to conduct a diachronic analysis of material cultural change between the Spanish colonial/Mexican period,

early American period, and the establishment of the first Market Street Chinatown, as well as between the two Market Street Chinatowns. Transfer-printed wares that can be strongly associated with Spanish colonial/Mexican and Euro American occupation can be used as points of references for interpreting transfer-printed wares that can be associated with Chinese occupation and activity. Although not owned or used by the Chinese, these wares did not exist in isolation from Chinese subjectivities. Particularly the first Chinese immigrants to move into Block 1 may have seen these wares in the block's trash pits or in tenement or hotel china cupboards, and began integrating this novel material into their *habitus*. Transfer-printed wares belonging to a the pre-Chinatown period on Block 1 are thus very likely in dialogue with the transfer-printed wares that the Chinese would come to acquire and use.

Conclusion

The archaeological site of Market Street Chinatown, like its constitutive features and artifacts, in many ways resists being bound into a single identity: Chinese or non-Chinese, Chinatown or not-Chinatown. The bleeding through the boundaries is very much typical of a diverse working-class urban site, as Murray and Mayne (2001) have demonstrated. It also signals to the nature of practice itself at the Market Street Chinatown. Familiar cultural practices were being negotiated and renegotiated constantly at the site, and between its residents, and between residents and non-residents. Using the spatial distribution of transfer-printed wares as a starting point, this study investigates the ways that the boundaries between Chinese and non-Chinese were challenged and reformed either consciously or unconsciously. The boundary is a starting point for thinking through relationships within and without Chinatown, but ultimately, it may be the case that the boundary is a discursive device rather than the perceived reality; and the hybrid reformulations of identity had destabilized the original bounds of culture beyond return.

4: Community Networks of Transfer-Printed Ware Acquisition & Use

Introduction

When transfer-printed wares were first widely introduced in the last decade of the 18th century, they were high-status goods, selling for about 4 times more than undecorated creamware; during the course of the 19th century, that figure would steadily fall to only twice as expensive by the mid-19th century (Miller 1991:22); and because the price of creamware had also fallen during that period, the cost of transfer-printed wares was lower still. By 1842, a group of New York pottery dealers considered transfer-printed wares from Staffordshire so cheap that they were within reach of even the poorest (Ewin 1990:8 in Samford 1997:3).

Transfer-printed wares were firmly established in the American ceramics market by the time the Market Street Chinatown was established in 1862. Their status had become partially eclipsed by minimally decorated white earthenwares and white ironstones, but transfer-printed wares were revived around 1870 and enjoyed another period of popularity until the early 1900s (Samford 1997:4). This historical and aesthetic evolution of European-manufactured ceramics serve as the backdrop for the analysis of transfer-printed wares catalogued from Market Street Chinatown, but it does not tell the whole story. As the previous chapter began to show, the use and distribution of transfer-printed wares in Market Street Chinatown reflect the dynamic negotiations of mapping Chinese immigrant values, aesthetics, and economic means onto global market trends and local availabilities in the American West. The result is a transfer-printed ware assemblage that reflects multiscalar choices and compromises of the individuals who used the vessels.

Whereas the previous chapter provides a macroscale view of where and by whom transfer-printed ware use was occurring in Market Street Chinatown, this chapter investigates transfer-printed wares at the level of acquisition, consumer choice, and identity negotiations. Based on the dates for the site and the histories of Staffordshire production, one would expect the majority of British-produced ceramics catalogued to be undecorated white ironstones, along with some, but not as many, transfer-printed wares in contemporary late 19th century patterns, such as those in the Japanese Aesthetic style. According to Gibson, three California Bay Area urban archaeology sites with feature deposition dates of 1868 and later had more than 370 MNI of transfer-printed wares each compared to more than 1300 MNI of white ironstones for the same period (2012; personal correspondence). The ratio Gibson cites of roughly 1:5 transfer-printed wares to ironstones speaks concretely to the declining popularity of transfer-printed wares in the latter half of the 1800s.

Because the MSCAP's cataloguing is still ongoing, the comparison of the number of ironstones to transfer-printed wares is at present unavailable; however, even without that comparative figure as context, I argue that Market Street Chinatown residents were acquiring British-produced ceramics based on motivations in which aesthetic trends in the Euro American market comprised just one factor of consideration. Rather than treating transfer-printed wares as a predecessor to minimally decorated ironstones, as a middle-class white American consumer living in Victorian society might have done, I believe Market Street Chinese immigrants treated the two as different categories of commodity altogether. One example of this different treatment is the lack of peck marks on any catalogued transfer-printed ware, whereas peck marks have been found on catalogued ironstones (Michaels 2003, 2005). The surface of the vessel seems laden with meaning for its Chinese user, but perhaps not in the same sense that it is meaning-laden for its Euro American user; more apart from than within the Victorian aesthetic worldview, Market Street Chinese users were conceiving

of their ceramics differently, and different ceramic surfaces were allowing them to do different things.

Rather than seem outdated to their Market Street Chinese users, I believe that transfer-printed wares were valued for precisely what meets the eye: their decorations. For Chinese immigrants who are accustomed to the decorated or color glazed Chinese utilitarian porcelains, an ironstone would have been a jarring sight, with none of the political relevance or positive aesthetic connotations of abstinence valued by contemporary Victorians. Without knowing the total number of British-produced ceramics, my hunch is that if the number of ironstones from the site exceed the number of transfer-printed wares, which based on the timeframe, they reasonably should, they will not exceed them to the extent that they did at Gibson's sites, and that transfer-printed wares may be as popular as white ironstones at the Market Street Chinatown site.

Just as the transfer print as a decorative style needs to be situated into the overseas Chinese context, so too do the individual decorative patterns themselves. Market Street Chinese may have been referring to mainstream views of the patterns in their selection and deployment of transfer-printed wares, but they were just as likely to have been reimagining them to refer to their own life experiences, community values, and aesthetic worldview. In the following sections, I will address four questions centered around what transfer-printed ware characteristics reveal about the ways in which the Market Street Chinese used transfer-printed wares to broker identities and community relationships. My questions are:

- What are the dates for the transfer-printed ware assemblage and what do they reveal about acquisition networks and the relative importance of status in transfer-printed ware use for the Market Street Chinese?
- How were transfer-printed ware vessels being used in Market Street Chinatown?
- What is the relationship between British-produced ceramics and Chinese-produced ceramics in Market Street Chinatown?
- What is the relationship between British-produced ceramics and a Euro American lifestyle or worldview in Market Street Chinatown?

By analyzing data on pattern type, print color, vessel form, ware body type, and presence and absence of matching sets, I will interpret the choices that Market Street Chinese residents were making in their ceramic consumption and how transfer-printed wares became integrated into their tableware and their worldviews.

Dating the transfer-printed ware assemblage

Dating the transfer-printed ware assemblage is an important first step in interpreting the source of Market Street Chinese residents' transfer-printed wares. Because the dates for the Market Street Chinatown site are well-established through historical documentation, the primary use for the transfer-printed ware dates will not be to date the site; but rather, to access how and from what sources Chinese residents were obtaining their transfer-printed wares, and what that might reveal about the networks available to them to obtain Euro American goods. For example, in the Reconstruction-era Louisiana context, Wilkie found that employers supplemented low wages with gifts of hand-me-down housewares, made apparent by comparisons between the employers' and African American servants' ceramic assemblages, which revealed that items and patterns found in the 1880s in the former's assemblage were duplicated in the 1890s and 1900s in the servants' assemblages (2001:118). Contemporary transfer-printed ware decorative styles, colors, and bodies could suggest that the Chinese residents had retail sources for their Euro American ceramics; on the other hand, if transfer-printed wares are older, it could point to a more informal acquisition source, such as as a secondhand gift, barter, or consignment purchase.

The tables below present on 3 different approaches to dating the transfer-printed ware assemblage from the Market Street Chinatown. All 3 use the ARS projects 85-31 and 86-36 as categories of analysis, although this split is by no means natural or self-evident; however, splitting the analysis by project may serve to further illuminate the different material culture

patterning seen in Table 6 between the northern and southern concentrations of historical deposits, which correspond roughly to Project 86-36 and Project 85-31, respectively. Further, on a data management level, using the projects as the basis for analysis offer several benefits: the two projects have roughly the same number of transfer-printed ware catalog records (129 in Project 85-31 versus 151 in Project 86-36), meaning any comparisons between the two projects would be within comparable significance levels; interpreting the project as the spatial unit as opposed to the archaeological feature (2 units versus 54 units) allows for more in-depth and thoughtful comparisons; and finally, interpreting the data based on the 2 project units rather than the site as a single unit provides more detail and nuance.

I have calculated the dates for the transfer-printed ware assemblage separately based on 3 datable traits: pattern type, print color, and ware body type. The first two sets of date ranges were published in Samford's 1997 article "Response to a Market: Dating English Underglaze Transfer-Printed Wares"; through her study of 3,250 pottery vessels produced by 176 different British pottery firms, Samford used seriation to determine the mean production dates for ceramics based on their decorative attributes (1997:5). The final set of date ranges associated with ware body types were obtained from Brown's 1982 report entitled "Historical Ceramic Typology with Principal Dates of Manufacture and Descriptive Characteristics for Identification," submitted for the U.S Department of Transportation and the Delaware Department of State. Brown's work compiles published and peer-reviewed sources on ceramic dating.

Because the mean production dates are tied to the most intensive period of production, one outcome is that the dates that are specific to transfer-printing technology strongly favor the first half of the 19th century, when those technologies were perfected and transfer-printed ware market share reached its peak; which describes the dates calculated based on pattern type and print color. On the other hand, dates calculated based on ware body type span the

19th century because they are not restricted to the height of transfer-printed ware production, but also encompass minimally decorated ironstones, which became popular in the latter half of the century. Another notable trait of the production dates is the narrow date range of the height of production associated with pattern type and print color versus the longer range associated with ware body type. This discrepancy speaks to the faster rate at which style evolves over function, particularly in an industrial and post-industrial context in which advertising and other print media play a role. With these limitations in mind, in the next three subsections, I will discuss dating results for the transfer-printed ware assemblage from the Market Street Chinatown based on print color, pattern type, and ware body type.

➤ *TPW dating based on print color*

Mean production dates for all print colors fall within a narrow window between 1825 and 1841, with flow blue being the major outlier with a mean production date of 1860; regardless, it is important to note that none of the mean production end dates encompass the life of the Market Street Chinatown with the exception of mulberry and flow blue. Once again, this production range points heavily to the decline of transfer-printed wares as a popular ceramic type by the latter half of the mid-19th century, and although transfer-printed wares experienced a revival in the 1870s, it appears that their later production did not match earlier output. The mean production date calculated for both Project 85-31 and Project 86-36 is 1831, a solid 30 years prior to the establishment of the Market Street Chinatown.

Table 7 Mean production dates for transfer-printed ware assemblage based on print color²

| | 85-31 | 86-36 | Grand Total | Mean Beginning Production Date | Mean End Production Date | Mean Production Date |
|--|-------|-------|-------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Black | 11 | 8 | 18 | 1825 | 1838 | 1831.5 |
| Blue | 64 | 89 | 150 | 1817 | 1834 | 1825.5 |
| Blue or Gray | 1 | 2 | 3 | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| Brown | 2 | 8 | 10 | 1829 | 1843 | 1836 |
| Dark Blue | 15 | 1 | 16 | 1819 | 1835 | 1827 |
| Flow Blue | 6 | 8 | 14 | 1840 | 1880 | 1860 |
| Gray | 1 | 1 | 3 | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| Green | 6 | 19 | 25 | 1832 | 1850 | 1841 |
| Light Blue | 4 | 0 | 4 | 1833 | 1848 | 1840.5 |
| Mulberry | 12 | 6 | 18 | 1814 | 1867 | 1840.5 |
| Polychrome | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1831 | 1846 | 1838.5 |
| Purple | 6 | 6 | 12 | 1834 | 1848 | 1841 |
| Red | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1829 | 1842 | 1835.5 |
| Red or Brown | 1 | 0 | 1 | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| Yellow | 0 | 1 | 1 | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| Grand Total | 131 | 151 | 282 | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| Mean Production Date for Project 85-31 | | | | | 1831 | |
| Mean Production Date for Project 86-36 | | | | | 1831 | |

While acknowledging that the dates calculated from print color are skewed towards the height of production in the early 19th century, they are still grounds to investigate whether transfer-printed wares in Market Street Chinatown were obtained secondhand. Interestingly, both project years produced the same mean production date. That is likely due in part to both project's predominance of Blue transfer-printed wares, which has a mean production date of 1825.5, and which comprise about half of the transfer-printed wares catalogued from both Projects 85-31 and 86-36. In fact, when Blue prints are taken out of the calculation, the mean production date for Project 85-31's transfer-printed wares is 1837, and the mean production date for Project 86-36 is 1841. Whereas, taken at face value, the convergent calculated production dates point to no apparent differences between the two projects, a closer

² All dates were obtained from Samford (1997:20) with the exception of the flow blue production date range, which were not included in Samford's article and were found in Miller (1991:8). I found no mention of gray or yellow print colors in either Samford or Miller, and thus excluded those transfer-printed wares from consideration. I also excluded indeterminate colors, such as those categorized as "Blue or Gray" and "Red or Brown" from consideration. The final calculation of the mean production date only considers vessels with listed date ranges.

examination reveals that the transfer printed ware assemblage catalogued from Project 86-36 may be somewhat more recent in manufacture than the one catalogued from Project 85-31.

A closer review of the breakdown of print color by project also reveals notable differences in the two assemblages. Dark Blue and Mulberry are much more common of the transfer-printed wares catalogued from Project 85-31, whereas Green is much more common of those catalogued from Project 86-36. Table 8 looks at the distribution of these three print colors throughout all features as a means to ascertain whether the print color is concentrated in just one feature of the project or distributed throughout the project. For clarity, Project 85-31 is shown in white and Project 86-36 is shown in gray. The table shows that Dark Blue is highly concentrated in Feature 85-31/18-18B, with 7 of the 15 Dark Blue prints catalogued from the project; as well as in Feature 85-31/23, which has another 4 of the project's Dark Blue prints. Green is strongly concentrated in Features 86-36/10 and 86-36/7, which together have 10 of the 19 catalogued Green transfer-printed wares from Project 86-36. These strong concentrations may point to the presence of matching sets within the features, and these features will be important to return to during that discussion. It is also important to note that Dark Blue has one of the earliest mean production dates of all print colors (1827), while Green has one of the latest mean production dates (1841). The discrepancy in differentiation of these two print colors is not accidental, but confirms an overall older transfer-printed ware assemblage associated with Project 85-31 and a younger one associated with Project 86-36.

Table 8 Breakdown of Dark Blue, Green, and Mulberry Transfer-Printed Wares by Feature

| Feature | Dark Blue | Green | Mulberry |
|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 85-31/1 | | | 1 |
| 85-31/18-18B | | 7 | 2 |
| 85-31/2 | | 2 | 1 |
| 85-31/22 | | 1 | 1 |
| 85-31/23 | | 4 | 1 |
| 85-31/24 | | | 2 |
| 85-31/26 | | 1 | 1 |
| 85-31/27 | | | 1 |
| 85-31/29 | | | 1 |
| 85-31/3 | | | 1 |
| 85-31/7 | | | 1 |
| 86-36/1 | | | 1 |
| 86-36/10 | | | 5 |
| 86-36/12 | | | 1 |
| 86-36/13 | | | 1 |
| 86-36/14 | | | 1 |
| 86-36/16 | | | 1 |
| 86-36/18 | | | 1 |
| 86-36/19 | | | 1 |
| 86-36/2 | | | 1 |
| 86-36/23 | | | 1 |
| 86-36/24 | | 1 | |
| 86-36/3 | | | 2 |
| 86-36/5 | | | 2 |
| 86-36/6 | | | 2 |
| 86-36/7 | | | 5 |
| Total Result | 16 | 25 | 18 |

Mulberry transfer-printed wares are not strongly concentrated in any feature, but occur more frequently throughout Project 85-31. Rather than pointing to the presence of matching sets, the high rate of mulberry prints catalogued from Project 85-31 may instead point to different aesthetic preferences manifested in consumer choice. While beyond the scope of this section and the current data available from MSCAP, future directions could involve more in-depth research of the mulberry prints through investigating the groups most strongly associated with their use.

➤ *TPW dating based on central pattern type*

Mean production date ranges for central designs were also obtained from Samford's 1997 article. For Table 9, I only considered transfer-printed ware catalog records for which I had visible elements of the central design; all other catalog numbers, primarily those that are rim fragments only, are listed as N/A. Transfer-printed ware catalog numbers that contain central design fragments but could not be identified to a pattern type are listed as indefinite; and finally, all other pattern types not described in Samford's article are listed as other.

Table 9 Mean production dates for transfer-printed ware assemblage based on central pattern type³

| Pattern Type | 85-31 | 86-36 | Grand Total | Mean Production Start Date | Mean Production End Date | Mean Production Date |
|---|--------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| British Views or American Views | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1813 | 1839 | 1826 |
| Chinoiserie | 2 | 10 | 12 | 1816 | 1836 | 1826 |
| Classical | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1827 | 1847 | 1837 |
| Exotic Views | 3 | 5 | 8 | 1820 | 1842 | 1831 |
| Floral | 21 | 17 | 38 | 1833 | 1849 | 1841 |
| Japanese | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1882 | 1888 | 1885 |
| Pastoral | 2 | 8 | 10 | 1819 | 1836 | 1827.5 |
| Romantic | 34 | 37 | 71 | 1831 | 1851 | 1841 |
| Other | 10 | 13 | 23 | | | |
| Indefinite | 29 | 15 | 44 | | | |
| N/A | 26 | 39 | 65 | | | |
| Grand Total | 131 | 151 | 282 | | | |
| Mean Production Date for Project 85-31 | | | 1839 | | | |
| Mean Production Date for Project 86-36 | | | 1839 | | | |

As with the calculated mean production dates based on print color, the mean production dates based on pattern type by project converge, but at a somewhat later date of 1839. The mean production date of 1839 is very close to the dates obtained through print

3 All dates were obtained from Samford (1997:6). Samford lists British Views and American Views as different central pattern types with a different mean production range (1813-1839 for the former and 1826-1838 for the latter), but because it is unclear from the fragments available whether the transfer-printed ware was a British Views pattern or an American Views pattern, I combined the categories in my analysis and used the British Views dates, the more inclusive dates, to calculate the mean production date for the category.

color, excluding blue, of 1837 for Project 85-31 and 1841 for Project 86-36. Based on print color and central pattern type alone, there is strong evidence that the production dates for Market Street Chinatown's transfer-printed ware assemblage is around 1840, about two decades before the Chinatown was established.

Table 9 also serves to draw attention to the difference in distribution of central pattern types between Projects 85-31 and 86-36. Most central pattern types are distributed fairly evenly between the two projects, with the exception of Chinoiserie, Japanese, and Pastoral pattern types, which are all disproportionately concentrated in Project 86-36. All 3 of these pattern types also occur in some of the highest transfer-printed ware frequency and density index features from the site: Feature 85-31/23 (Chinoiserie prints), Feature 86-36/5 (Japanese prints), Feature 86-36/7 (Chinoiserie prints and Pastoral prints), and Feature 86-36/10 (Pastoral prints). I am particularly interested in the significant concentration of chinoiserie prints in Feature 86-36/7, and will return to that discussion in my later section on the relationship between British-manufacture transfer-printed wares and Asian porcelains.

Table 10 Distribution of Chinoiserie, Japanese, and Pastoral Prints by Feature

| Feature | Chinoiserie | Japanese | Pastoral |
|---------------------|-------------|----------|-----------|
| 85-31/13 | | | 1 |
| 85-31/23 | 2 | | 1 |
| 85-31/29 | | 1 | |
| 86-36/10 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 86-36/11 | 1 | | |
| 86-36/13 | | 1 | 1 |
| 86-36/19 | | | 1 |
| 86-36/20 | | | 1 |
| 86-36/3 | 1 | | 1 |
| 86-36/5 | 1 | 2 | |
| 86-36/6 | 1 | | |
| 86-36/7 | 5 | | 2 |
| Total Result | 12 | 5 | 10 |

➤ *TPW dating based on ware body type*

˘ In my final dating approach, I analyzed ware body type. By comparison with dating through print color or central pattern type, the date ranges based on ware body type provide a much less narrow window of production. That said, there may also be an opportunity to achieve more accurate dates; as I previously argued, because the height of transfer-printed ware production was in the first half of the 19th century, mean production dates will strongly favor an earlier period than the dates for the Market Street Chinatown. Because ware body type is not tied to and is less ephemeral than decorative style, the dates calculated through this approach may productively eliminate the bias towards the early 19th century, when transfer-printed wares were most heavily produced.

As predicted, the mean production dates achieved through ware body type dating are later for both Project 85-31 and Project 86-36, with a mean production date of 1843 for the Project 85-31 transfer-printed ware catalog records and of 1852 for the Project 86-36 transfer-printed ware catalog records. These dates vary significantly from those calculated through print color and pattern type, by a few years for Project 85-31 and by more than a decade for Project 86-36. The dates for the two projects also differ from each other, which was not the case with the other two dated attributes. I have a twofold interpretation for these discrepancies: firstly, for reasons that I mentioned at the beginning of the section, I believe ware body type provides a more accurate production date range because it does not tie production dates to the major period of production, which may or may not have been when transfer-printed wares from the Market Street Chinatown were produced. All 3 of the datasets corroborate a late 1830s or early 1840s mean production date for Project 85-31. As for Project 86-36, although the dates calculated through print color and pattern type correspond closely with Project 85-31's production dates, I believe that ware body type dating analysis produces the most accurate date of 1852. Project 86-36 contains the vast majority improved white

earthenwares and blued improved white earthenwares—roughly 75% of catalog records from the entire site—which were decisive in calculating the later production date for the assemblage. Secondly, I do not think the convergence of dates based on print color and pattern type is misleading; in fact, I think it says something important. While Market Street Chinatown residents associated with the Project 86-36 assemblage appear to be buying newer wares than those associated with the Project 85-31 assemblage, they were not so concerned about the trendiness of the patterns or print colors they were purchasing. Their tastes, with a few exceptions remarked in the preceding two sections, are remarkably similar.

Table 11 Mean production dates for transfer-printed ware assemblage based on ware body type⁴

| | 85-31 | 86-36 | Grand Total | Production Start Date | Production End Date | Median Production Date |
|--|-------|-------|-------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Jackfield ware | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1870 | 1890 | 1880 |
| Pearlware | 23 | 15 | 38 | 1787 | 1840 | 1813.5 |
| Porcelain | 0 | 3 | 3 | 1750 | present | 1881.5 |
| Whiteware | 80 | 55 | 135 | 1830 | 1860 | 1845 |
| Whiteware - Improved | 22 | 59 | 81 | 1840 | 1885 | 1862.5 |
| Whiteware - Improved - Blued | 6 | 18 | 24 | 1840 | 1885 | 1862.5 |
| Grand Total | 131 | 151 | 282 | | | |
| Mean Production Date for Project 85-31 | | | 1843 | | | |
| Mean Production Date for Project 86-36 | | | 1852 | | | |

The production dates are not an end, but a means to interpreting the assemblages. The ca. 1840 dates associated with the Project 85-31 assemblage suggest associations with pre-

4 All dates were obtained from Brown (1982) with the exception of Jackfield ware, which was not mentioned in Brown; dates for Jackfield ware were obtained from the Maryland Archaeological Conservation Lab (2002), and I chose to use the revival dates given (1870 and 1880s), rather than the date range for the ware's initial period of popularity, 1750s-1760s for two reasons: (1) transfer-printing technology was not yet developed in the mid-18th century and (2) the ware body for 86-36/1/114, the only Jackfield ware in the collection, is best described as terracotta; while the 18th century Jackfield body was described as a “purplish to gray body,” the revival ware body was “terracotta or white earthenware.” For categories “Whiteware – Improved” and “Whiteware – Improved – Blued,” I used Brown's dates for ironstones, stone china & granitewares, which all refer to a harder white ceramic earthenware body that does not scratch with a knife. The ceramic paste can be stark white, or tinted blue or gray, encompassing both the “Whiteware – Improved” and “Whiteware – Improved – Blued” categories.

Chinatown occupation and/or Market Street Chinese residents acquiring and using transfer-printed wares that were already about one generation old. Family-based inheritance is unlikely since 1860s Chinatown residents were the first generation of Chinese to live on Block 1; but there are examples in which Chinese businesses and tenements moved directly into a formerly Spanish American or Euro American space, as with the adobes, and it is possible that they directly inherited used wares from their predecessors. Alternately, these decades-old wares may have been purchased at consignment stores by tenement and store owners for their residents and employees; or acquired by Market Street tenement residents during their employment outside of Chinatown, as a gift, a secondhand purchase, or rescued from the trash.

The production dates for the Project 86-36 assemblage is somewhat more recent, calculated at ca. 1850. Market Street residents associated with this assemblage were likely still acquiring secondhand or older types of transfer-printed wares, but may have had access to slightly better and more current goods, which could be due to higher socioeconomic status. Still, it appears that their collection of transfer-printed wares is still as haphazard as the working-class tenement dwellers associated with Project 85-31, and there was no concerted effort to acquire an entire transfer-printed dinnerware set. I will discuss this attribute of the assemblage in a later section on presence and absence of matching sets.

Vessel form and size analysis and how transfer-printed wares used

Vessel form analysis constitutes an important component of understanding how transfer-printed wares were used in Market Street Chinatown and how they were integrated into Chinatown residents' tableware assemblages. Vessel form is of particular interest in an overseas Chinese setting, in which traditional Chinese foodways differ from Euro American

ingredients and frequency of appropriate vessel forms differ accordingly. Smits has argued that consistency in vessel forms such as bowls, cups, plates, saucers, and storage vessels, between British and American-produced ceramics and Chinese-produced ceramics in the Portland Chinese cemetery assemblage strongly suggests that at least some of the Euro American vessels were used to contain foods for Chinese ritual feasts and offerings (2008:117). By Smits' logic, if the Market Street Chinese were integrating British transfer-printed wares into their traditional foodways and ritual practices, we could expect to find strong consistency between the British-produced and Chinese-produced vessel forms. If Chinese immigrant foodways were transforming in some way in the American context, some change in vessel forms is to be expected. Preserving traditional foodways and incorporating new food traditions are not mutually exclusive, and Henry's (2012) focused report on animal bone remains from a single feature of Market Street Chinatown indicates that Chinese immigrants continued practicing traditional foodways while incorporating Euro American foodways, producing a distinctly Chinese American foodway.; similar, I would expect the transfer-printed ware assemblage to exhibit evidence of hybridization.

The reality remains that comparison of British-produced and Chinese-produced ceramic vessel forms at Market Street Chinatown is as yet inaccessible, because cataloguing is still in progress. Without that context, the most productive use of vessel form analysis is to call attention to the similarities and differences between the transfer-printed ware assemblage catalogued from Market Street Chinatown and the "ideal" tableware assemblage that would be most appropriate for serving and eating a traditional Chinese meal. In an ideal assemblage, hollowwares, namely bowls, should predominate; it is the only vessel that every diner has in front of them, and the one used to consume all of the most important components of the traditional Chinese meal: rice, broth, even drinks such as tea. Meals are traditionally taken family-style, and larger diameter flatwares at the center of the table may act as serving

platters for *tsai*, or the meat and vegetable accompaniments to the rice (Kennedy 2013, SCA presentation). These ideal dining conditions for a Chinese meal may have been just that on Market Street Chinatown—they are normative within a family setting, but within a tenement

Table 12 Distribution of transfer-printed ware vessel forms by feature

| Feature | Drinking Vessel | Flatware | Hollowware | Indefinite | Other | Serving Platter | Serving Vessel | Total Result |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------|------------|------------|----------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| 85-31/1 | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| 85-31/13 | | 2 | 4 | 2 | | | | 8 |
| 85-31/18-18B | 1 | 14 | 12 | 2 | | | | 29 |
| 85-31/19 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 2 |
| 85-31/2 | | 3 | 7 | 1 | | | | 11 |
| 85-31/20 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | | | 4 |
| 85-31/22 | 1 | 3 | 1 | | | | | 5 |
| 85-31/23 | 2 | 12 | 7 | 2 | | | | 23 |
| 85-31/24 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 1 | | 2 | | 12 |
| 85-31/25 | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| 85-31/26 | | 2 | 4 | 2 | | | | 8 |
| 85-31/27 | | 1 | | | 1 | | 1 | 3 |
| 85-31/29 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 2 |
| 85-31/3 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 2 | | | | 12 |
| 85-31/33 | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 |
| 85-31/7 | | 3 | 1 | | | | | 4 |
| 85-31/9 | | 2 | 2 | | | | | 4 |
| 86-36/1 | | 3 | 3 | 1 | | | | 7 |
| 86-36/10 | 1 | 4 | 10 | 2 | | | | 17 |
| 86-36/11 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | | | 3 |
| 86-36/12 | | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| 86-36/13 | | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 10 |
| 86-36/14 | | 1 | 2 | | | | | 3 |
| 86-36/16 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 2 |
| 86-36/18 | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | 4 |
| 86-36/19 | | | 5 | 1 | | | | 6 |
| 86-36/2 | | 1 | 2 | | | | | 3 |
| 86-36/20 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 2 |
| 86-36/21 | | 2 | | | | | | 2 |
| 86-36/23 | | 1 | | 1 | | | 1 | 3 |
| 86-36/24 | | 2 | | | | | | 2 |
| 86-36/3 | 1 | 4 | 2 | | | 1 | 3 | 11 |
| 86-36/4 | | | 2 | | | | 1 | 3 |
| 86-36/5 | 1 | 15 | 7 | 9 | | | | 32 |
| 86-36/6 | | 3 | | | | | | 3 |
| 86-36/7 | 2 | 14 | 11 | 6 | 1 | | 1 | 35 |
| 86-36/8 | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 2 |
| Total Result | 13 | 112 | 103 | 40 | 3 | 3 | 8 | 282 |

setting of bachelor men, conditions may have varied considerably. For example, if the tenement owners were providing meals for its residents, they probably forwent the formality of table service and had residents serve themselves with *tsai* directly from the cooking vessels in the kitchen. Table 12 above shows the breakdown of vessel forms for transfer-printed ware catalog records by individual features. For clarity, the features of Project 85-31 are in white and the features of Project 86-36 are in gray.

A few vessel forms are conspicuously sparse throughout the assemblage: drinking vessels, serving platters, and serving hollowwares. The absence of drinking vessels may be due to a quality of traditional Chinese dining I previously mentioned, which is that drinks are sometimes consumed from bowls. Drinking vessels are also very important to Chinese rituals, including pouring tea for ancestors and for welcoming guests; it may be that Market Street Chinese residents felt that traditional Asian porcelains were most appropriate for this role.

The relative lack of serving platters and vessels is also interesting, particularly considering the family-style nature of the traditional Chinese meal. The features with the greatest concentration of serving platters or vessels are Features 85-31/24 and 86-36/3, the former possibly and the latter strongly associated with Euro American occupants of Block 1. Feature 85-31/24 was designated as associated with “American” ethnicity by ARS excavators, but MSCAP researchers have catalogued several artifacts traditionally associated with Chinese occupants within this feature, including gaming pieces, Asian porcelain tableware, and Asian stoneware (Kane 2011; discussion of Feature 85-31/24, 1). If Chinese occupants were the owners of these two serving platters, they may have lived and worked in the area's Chinese gambling house, shoe store, “fancy goods store,” or wood yard; and their use of transfer-printed serving platters could indicate the integration of these Euro American ceramics into Chinese occupants' communal meals either in a family setting or a work setting. If Chinese occupants were using these serving platters, they would be somewhat unusual in

doing so; serving platters were not catalogued in association with any other Chinese merchant areas, with the possible exception of one associated with Feature 86-36/13, which is a dwelling of either Spanish or Chinese origin. Serving platters may have been infrequent in Market Street Chinatown, even in family-centered merchant areas, because they are overly large for the purposes of a traditional Chinese meal; unlike a traditional Euro American meal, which has a main course, a traditional Chinese meal typically has several dishes called *tsai* which are presented side-by-side on the table; larger diameter flatwares may have easily served that purpose for Market Street Chinese residents.

The fourth and final platter of the assemblage is associated with Feature 86-36/3, which is also associated with two serving vessels and is of probably Euro American origin. Following the coordinates provided by ARS, Feature 86-36/3 was likely associated with the Euro American residents on Block 1 between 1860 and 1880, and possibly with Dr. and Mrs. Stutzbach who lived on the block circa 1870 (Kane 2011; discussion of Feature 86-36/3, 1). Although this feature is not associated with Chinese residents, it offers important insights into the difference in food service for different groups in day-to-day life on Block 1. As diZerega Wall has also observed in 18th-19th century middle-class New York households, Dr. and Mrs. Stutzbach, a bourgeois, Euro American couple, may have been motivated to create a more standardized, ritualized family dinner because it was the only daily occasion when the entire family was together (1994:138-9). Employing serving platters and vessels may have been one way to reinforce the family ritual. As Dr. and Mrs. Stutzbach were likely living side-by-side with Market Street Chinese residents, their use of serving platters and vessels highlights the lack of those vessel forms in Chinese contexts from the same period.

In an overseas Chinese context, the main question regarding vessel form pertains to the breakdown of hollowwares compared to flatwares. As Table 6 shows, there are actually *more* flatwares than hollowwares catalogued from Market Street Chinatown. There is not a clear

trend as to where hollowwares are distributed as opposed to where flatwares are distributed, and ethnicity does not seem to be a strong predictor in the ratio of flatwares to hollowwares catalogued for the associated feature. Whereas some features containing a higher number of hollowwares than flatwares, including Feature 85-31/2 and Feature 86-36/19 are both associated with Chinese activity by ARS excavators and Laffey (Kane 2011), Feature 86-36/10, which also has a higher proportion of hollowwares, is designated as mixed ethnicity. Meanwhile, Features 85-31/23 and 86-36/5, both of which have a higher occurrence of flatwares compared to hollowwares, are also designated as mixed ethnic deposits. When MSCAP cataloguing is complete, a potential direction for research could be to compare ethnic group associations of a feature with its breakdown of flatwares versus hollowwares, to ascertain whether this ratio is tied to ethnic foodways, and if so, how strongly.

Viewing the transfer-printed flatware and hollowware assemblages as wholes, rather than broken down by feature, also provides important insight. At this point in MSCAP's cataloguing process, Asian porcelains from Project 85-31 have been completely catalogued and entered into the database, and Asian porcelains from Project 86-36 have also almost all been catalogued as well with a few catalog records awaiting database entry. Comparing the breakdown of flatwares versus hollowwares in the Asian porcelain collection serves to further illuminate the unusual over-representation of flatwares in the transfer-printed ware collection: from Project 85-31, of 624 catalogued Asian porcelains, 430 are catalogued as bowls, hollowwares, small bowls, medium bowls, large bowls, and extra-large bowls; whereas only 52 by comparison are flatwares. From Project 86-36, of 936 catalogued Asian porcelains, 382 are hollowwares and 95 are flatwares. In the two collections, flatwares comprise 8-10% and hollowwares comprise 40-70% of the total Asian porcelain assemblage; and the ratio of flatwares to hollowwares is between 1:4 and 1:8. By stark contrast, flatwares are represented at a 4 times greater rate in the transfer-printed ware assemblage than in the

Asian porcelain assemblage, and transfer-printed flatwares to hollowwares compare at about 1:1. Interestingly, whereas the proportions of hollowwares and flatwares compare favorably between Project 85-31 and Project 86-36 for the transfer-printed ware assemblage, within the Asian porcelain assemblage, there does appear to be fewer flatwares and a higher flatware to hollowware ratio in Project 86-36 than in Project 85-31, when scaled for Asian porcelain assemblage size.

These comparative figures make it immediately clear that Market Street Chinese residents were using transfer-printed wares differently than they were using Asian porcelain wares. An analysis that considers vessel size distributions within both Asian porcelain wares and transfer-printed wares further corroborates that the two wares types were being employed differently.

Table 13 Vessel Size Distribution for Asian Porcelain Flatware Catalog Records⁵

| | 85-31 | 86-36 | Total |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Small Plate / Saucer | 16 | 19 | 35 |
| Medium Plate | 15 | 40 | 55 |
| Large Plate | 5 | 23 | 28 |
| Extra Large Plate | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 36 | 82 | 118 |

⁵ Table 13 and Table 14 both use standard vessel size categories derived from MSCAP. MSCAP defines a Small Plate as under 10 cm in diameter; a Medium Plate as between 10 cm and 15 cm in diameter; and a Large Plate as over 15 cm in diameter. These categories are based on the standard sizes of Asian porcelain flatwares, which rarely include plates with diameters greater than 20 cm; however, in comparing transfer-printed wares and Asian porcelains, I found that there was a notable number of transfer-printed plates with a diameter greater than 20 cm. In order to better document the degree to which it exceeded large Asian porcelain plates in diameter, I redefined a Large Plate as between 15 and 20 cm and created a new category, Extra Large Plate, defined as over 20 cm in diameter, for the purposes of the count above. I recorded no transfer-printed plates with a diameter smaller than 10 cm, but all saucers fit that description and may have been used as small plates; as such, I included saucers under the category of Small Plates in Table 14. No Asian porcelain saucers were recorded; all records counted under the “Small Plate / Saucer” category in Table 13 are small plates.

Table 14 Vessel Size Distribution for Transfer-Printed Flatware Catalog Records

| | 85-31 | 86-36 | Total |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Small Plate / Saucer | 7 | 9 | 16 |
| Medium Plate | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Large Plate | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| Extra Large Plate | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| Total | 18 | 16 | 34 |

Small and medium plates comprise 90 of 118 (76%) of all Asian porcelain flatwares with measurable rims from Projects 85-31 and 86-36, but only 18 of 34 (53%) of all transfer-printed flatwares with measurable rims recorded from the same project areas. Large and extra large plates are much more common of transfer-printed flatwares than of Asian porcelain flatwares. I argue that these dramatically different breakdowns of vessel sizes indicate that Market Street Chinese residents were using transfer-printed wares differently from Asian porcelains. When transfer-printed flatwares did become integrated into a Chinese tableware assemblage, they were most likely used to hold large, communal dishes from which everyone took food, whereas Asian porcelain plates were more all-purpose, possibly holding smaller, communal dishes or serving as individual plates. Considering the maximum diameter of British-manufacture wares tended to be larger than that of Asian porcelain wares, perhaps Market Street Chinese residents even actively sought transfer-printed flatwares to use for serving large, communal dishes.

Comparing transfer-printed ware vessel form and size distribution with Asian porcelain vessel form and size distribution provides a useful overview of how the two types of wares might have been used differently on a sitewide level. Still, it is important to recognize that there is significant variation when moving between features that alludes to a heterogeneity of practice rather than a standardized treatment of transfer-printed wares

versus Asian porcelains. I believe the inconsistent patterning of the flatware to hollowware ratio strongly hints that different Market Street Chinese residents were practicing different strategies involving transfer-printed wares. For the Chinese residents associated with Feature 85-31/2, who, judging by ARS' coordinates may be associated with Chinese tenements possibly prior to 1875, when the Dexter Livery would have been constructed to cover the feature based on the given coordinates, they may have been using whatever they could get, including transfer-printed wares. Tenement owners may have found little need to purchase other vessel forms if they served tenement dwellers out of cooking vessels, and so bowls were the primary vessel form accumulated. Perhaps the transfer-printed wares were so cheaply available by consignment that they undercut prices for Asian porcelains—a cost-cutting measure tenement owners may have appreciated; perhaps the transfer-printed wares were even free; salvaged from refuse or Euro American acquaintances in the vicinity who were discarding outdated wares.

What about Feature 86-36/5, also designated by ARS as ethnically Chinese and contains a significant number of traditional Chinese cultural materials? Feature 86-36/5 contains more catalogued transfer-printed flatwares than hollowwares; it is also located in the heart of Chinatown, near the pork roasting furnace. It is possibly that the Chinese residents associated with this area were of a higher socioeconomic status and more likely to be merchant families. Perhaps they felt a stronger desire to use matching or non-matching Asian porcelains as their individual rice bowls in order to emphasize their common familial identity and ethnic roots; but for *tsai* dishes, which everyone partook from, it was less important to emphasize cohesion, and perhaps even desirable to show off the diverse decorative styles from their new land. This interpretation is just one possibility among many that attempts to make sense of the high number of transfer-printed flatwares associated with a Chinese deposit in the heart of Chinatown.

Relationship between transfer-printed wares and Asian porcelains

In the previous section, I began discussing how British-manufacture transfer-printed wares may have been used differently from Asian porcelains in Market Street Chinatown; in this section, I will build on that discussion to consider how Chinese residents may have viewed transfer-printed ware use as complementary to Asian porcelain use. All of the Asian porcelains from the site that have been catalogued by MSCAP to date are decorated in one of four styles, found throughout overseas Chinese sites: Bamboo, Four Seasons, Double Happiness, and Celadon. Because a significant sample of the total population of Asian porcelains has been catalogued, the set of Asian porcelain decorative styles that the vast majority of Market Street Chinese residents were exposed to are known to a high confidence level. Thus, while comparing the relative numbers of British transfer-printed wares and Asian porcelains in the collection is not presently possible, comparing aesthetic styles of transfer-printed wares catalogued from the site with Asian porcelain aesthetic styles is, and has the potential to illuminate the role that transfer-printed wares played in overseas Chinese tableware assemblages. From his work in a Chinese Portland cemetery, Smits has suggested that the presence of British-manufacture ceramics with Chinese-style patterns, such as Willow, indicates that the ceramics were chosen according to Chinese aesthetic preferences (2008:117). In this section, I will investigate whether his claim holds for Market Street Chinatown residents through an analysis of pattern types and print colors catalogued from the site. For clarity, the features of Project 85-31 are in white and the features of Project 86-36 are in gray.

➤ *TPW pattern types and Asian porcelain aesthetics*

Table 15 Distribution of central pattern types of transfer-printed wares by feature

| Feature | British Views or American Views | Chinoiserie | Classical | Exotic Views | Floral | Indefinite | Japanese | N/A | Other | Pastoral | Romantic | Total Result |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| 85-31/1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| 85-31/13 | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | 1 | 2 | 8 |
| 85-31/18-18B | | | | | 6 | 6 | | | 7 | 2 | 8 | 29 |
| 85-31/19 | | | | | | 2 | | | 2 | | | 2 |
| 85-31/2 | 1 | | 1 | | 2 | 4 | | | 1 | | 2 | 11 |
| 85-31/20 | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 2 | 4 |
| 85-31/22 | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 3 | 5 |
| 85-31/23 | | 2 | | 1 | 2 | 6 | | | 4 | 2 | 1 | 23 |
| 85-31/24 | | | | | 2 | 3 | | | 1 | 3 | 3 | 12 |
| 85-31/25 | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| 85-31/26 | | | | | 2 | 3 | | | 1 | | 2 | 8 |
| 85-31/27 | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | | 3 |
| 85-31/29 | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 2 |
| 85-31/3 | | | | | 2 | 3 | | | 4 | 1 | 2 | 12 |
| 85-31/33 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | 2 |
| 85-31/7 | | | | | | | | | 2 | | 2 | 4 |
| 85-31/9 | | | | 1 | | 2 | | | | 1 | | 4 |
| 86-36/1 | | | | | | 1 | | | 3 | 2 | 1 | 7 |
| 86-36/10 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 6 | 1 | 2 | 17 |
| 86-36/11 | | 1 | | | 2 | | | | | | | 3 |
| 86-36/12 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| 86-36/13 | | | | | 3 | | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 1 | 10 |
| 86-36/14 | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | | 3 |
| 86-36/16 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | 2 |
| 86-36/18 | | | | 2 | | | | | 1 | | 1 | 4 |
| 86-36/19 | | | | | 1 | | | | 3 | | 1 | 6 |
| 86-36/2 | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 1 | 3 |
| 86-36/20 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 86-36/21 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 86-36/23 | | | | | | | | | | | 3 | 3 |
| 86-36/24 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 2 |
| 86-36/3 | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | 3 | 1 | 1 | 11 |
| 86-36/4 | | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 1 | 3 |
| 86-36/5 | 1 | 1 | | | 3 | 6 | 2 | | 8 | 2 | 9 | 32 |
| 86-36/6 | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | 3 |
| 86-36/7 | | 5 | 1 | | 2 | 6 | | | 9 | 3 | 2 | 35 |
| 86-36/8 | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | 2 |
| Total Result | 3 | 12 | 3 | 8 | 38 | 44 | 5 | 65 | 23 | 10 | 71 | 282 |

The most common type of central pattern identified for catalogued transfer-printed wares from the collection are Romantic patterns; however, this pattern type is possibly over-represented in pattern count results due to the discrepancy between my pattern categories and Samford's (1997) pattern categories. My pattern categories cite Romantic as the broader category for all landscape patterns, including classical, oriental, pastoral, and other romantic landscapes, with the exception of chinoiserie landscape patterns. My logic is that rendering the landscape and the desire to consume the landscape in an image emerges in the 19th

century from a Romantic worldview. An outcome of this classificatory system is that for patterns that are clearly landscapes but do not contain revealing visual elements that would indicate what type of landscape it was—classical, oriental, pastoral, or another type of romantic—I would list its pattern category as the broadest determinable grouping, which was “Romantic-Landscape.” When I converted my own pattern categories to match Samford's categories in order to use the mean production dates that she calculated to date the Market Street Chinatown assemblage, I converted all “Romantic-Landscape” and “Romantic-Landscape-European” designations to “Romantic.” Of the 70 transfer-printed ware patterns designated as “Romantic” in the table above, 44 were initially categorized as “Romantic-Landscape” in my database; meaning only 26 of the patterns belong squarely in the category that Samford has named “Romantic,” and the other 44 patterns may be divided among her categories of “Classical,” “Exotic Views,” “Pastoral,” and of course, “Romantic.”

With that methodological clarification in mind, Romantic patterns still constitute a significant pattern category, but Floral patterns unquestionably stand out as a leading central pattern type of catalogued transfer-printed wares from the assemblage. Floral patterns are as, if not more pervasive than Romantic patterns after adjusting for the possible variation within the Romantic pattern category. After Floral and Romantic patterns, Chinoiserie and Pastoral patterns constitute the next most represented pattern types. The “Other” category is also worth noting; all patterns that were identified as non-floral and non-landscape in their central design and did not fit neatly into Samford's categories were designated as “Other”; this category encompasses 11 botanical designs that do not contain florals but do contain foliage, vines, or other vegetal elements; as well as some abstract patterns, including 2 faux Marble patterns. Aside from the Floral category, “Other” is the major category for patterns that are not representing people or scenes.

The presence of non-representational floral and botanical patterns, which together

make up almost one-third of the catalogued transfer-printed wares that include an identifiable central pattern sherd, suggests a strong consideration for Asian aesthetics in the selection of transfer-printed wares. Floral and Botanical patterns resonate with well-known Four Seasons and Bamboo decorations found on Asian porcelains. Japanese Aesthetic patterns, which are not present in significant numbers among transfer-printed wares catalogued from the site, also largely fall into the same non-representational category as Floral and Botanical patterns, and may also have appealed to Chinese users on that basis.

The other two-thirds of the catalogued transfer-printed wares that include an identifiable central pattern sherd are scenes that do show people, places, and activities, including British Views or American Views, Chinoiserie, Classical, Exotic Views, Pastoral, and Romantic patterns. Even adjusting for methodological biases, Romantic patterns are by far the most popular pattern type of the representational designs. Without knowing the details of the local supply market for the different pattern types, it is difficult to determine why Romantic pattern transfer-printed wares were such a significant part of the Market Street Chinatown collection. Romantic patterns have the latest mean production date of 1841 (Samford 1997:6), a decade after the mean production dates of all other pattern types apart from Floral and Japanese patterns. Their more recent production date could mean that there were more Romantic patterns in the local market at the time the Market Street Chinese were acquiring transfer-printed wares in the late 1800s.

Although Smits found a notable collection of chinoiserie wares in the Portland cemetery assemblage, the number of chinoiserie pattern transfer-printed wares catalogued from the Market Street Chinatown is not remarkable, with the exception of a concentration of chinoiserie patterns (5) catalogued from Feature 86-36/7, seen in Table 10. Similarities between 86-36/7/55 (originating in Level 1) and 86-36/7/753 (originating in Level 4) in print color, ware body type, and vessel form, potentially indicate asynchronous disposal of an

originally matched set of brown Willow pattern plates. Overall however, there is not strong evidence that the accumulation of the other chinoiserie prints associated with Feature 86-36/7 was deliberate or done by the same actor. Market Street Chinatown residents did not seem to especially prize chinoiserie pattern transfer-printed wares amongst all transfer-printed wares; if anything, they were acquiring patterns that were most likely to be in the secondhand market at the time, including Floral and Romantic pattern wares; and exercised a moderate preference for Floral patterns over Romantic patterns, potentially alluding to Asian porcelain aesthetics.

➤ *TPW print colors and Asian porcelain aesthetics*

My initial speculation is that Market Street Chinese residents were selecting transfer-printed wares based on a variety of criteria, some of which may be acculturated or socially enforced aesthetic standards. These standards may include kinds of imagery, such as imagery that does not represent human figures, scenes, or activities, which is the case for all four popular types of Asian porcelains catalogued from the site; I believe that the Market Street Chinese residents' preference for floral patterns, which I discussed in the previous section, is one way that aesthetic standards were exercised. Another possible standard may be print color, and a desire to match or complement colors traditionally found in Asian porcelains. If Market Street Chinese residents were acquiring transfer-printed wares based on the latter standard, I would expect to see print colors in muted tones, including blue, brown, and possibly green (which is an important color in both Four Seasons and Celadon wares).

Table 16 below shows the distribution of print colors of transfer-printed ware catalog records by feature. For clarity, the features of Project 85-31 are in white and the features of Project 86-36 are in gray.

Table 16 Distribution of print colors of transfer-printed wares by feature

| Feature | Black | Blue | Blue or Gray | Brown | Dark Blue | Flow Blue | Gray | Green | Light Blue | Mul-berry | Poly-chrome | Purple | Red | Red or Brown | Yellow | Total Result |
|---------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|
| 85-31/1 | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| 85-31/13 | | 1 | 6 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | 8 |
| 85-31/18-18B | 3 | 9 | | | 7 | 4 | | 2 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | | | 29 |
| 85-31/19 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| 85-31/2 | 1 | 4 | | 1 | 2 | | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 11 |
| 85-31/20 | 2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 4 |
| 85-31/22 | | 2 | | | 1 | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | 5 |
| 85-31/23 | | 12 | | | 4 | | | 1 | | 2 | | 2 | 2 | | | 23 |
| 85-31/24 | 2 | 8 | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | 12 |
| 85-31/25 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| 85-31/26 | | 4 | | | 1 | | | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | 8 |
| 85-31/27 | | 1 | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | 3 |
| 85-31/29 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 2 |
| 85-31/3 | 1 | 6 | | 1 | | | 2 | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 12 |
| 85-31/33 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 2 |
| 85-31/7 | | 3 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 4 |
| 85-31/9 | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 4 |
| 86-36/1 | | 2 | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | 1 | 7 |
| 86-36/10 | | 8 | 1 | | | | | 5 | | | | 3 | | | | 17 |
| 86-36/11 | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| 86-36/12 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| 86-36/13 | 2 | 6 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 10 |
| 86-36/14 | 1 | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 3 |
| 86-36/16 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 2 |
| 86-36/18 | | 3 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 4 |
| 86-36/19 | | 3 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | 6 |
| 86-36/2 | | 2 | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | 3 |
| 86-36/20 | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | 2 |
| 86-36/21 | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| 86-36/23 | | 2 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 3 |
| 86-36/24 | | 1 | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| 86-36/3 | | 9 | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | 11 |
| 86-36/4 | | 1 | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| 86-36/5 | 3 | 23 | | 3 | | | | 2 | | | | | 1 | | | 32 |
| 86-36/6 | | 1 | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | 3 |
| 86-36/7 | 2 | 20 | | 4 | | 1 | | 5 | | | 1 | 2 | | | | 35 |
| 86-36/8 | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| Total Result | 19 | 153 | 3 | 10 | 16 | 14 | 2 | 25 | 4 | 18 | 1 | 12 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 282 |

Blue is by far the most common print color transfer-printed ware in the collection, representing over half of the catalogued transfer-printed wares. Although blue is also the most common and popular print color for transfer-printed wares throughout the 19th century, by the time the Market Street Chinatown was established, potteries had perfected nearly

every color imaginable and were producing transfer-printed wares in a variety of colors. That traditional blue transfer-printed wares show up so prominently in this assemblage, particularly during a period in which flow blue and mulberry were some of the most popular print colors for transfer-printed wares (Samford 1997:4), is evidence of the Market Street Chinese's exercise of a strong aesthetic preference for blue.

Apart from revealing aesthetic preferences, a study of print color may lead to insight into the presence and absence of matching or complementary sets. Green, black, and mulberry print colors, which I suspected could have affinities with Asian porcelain aesthetics, also occur with some frequency in the collection, but are not evenly distributed. Black and mulberry concentrated more in Project 85-31 features and green concentrated more in Project 86-36 features. In the previous chapter, I suggested the potential for analyzing Features 86-36/7 and 86-36/10 together because of the similarities between the two transfer-printed ware assemblages, possibly indicating same or matching vessels without mends. Considered together, the 10 catalog records of green transfer-printed wares from Features 86-36/7 and 86-36/10 could indicate attempts of one Chinese resident, family, or group, to produce a complementary set, which I will further discuss in my next section.

Relationship between transfer-printed wares and Euro American lifestyles and practices

An analysis of presence or absence of matching sets in Market Street Chinatown could provide insight into Chinese residents' integration into the capitalist market that Leone (2005) describes and their exposure and complicity with the Victorian ritualization of the family that diZerega Wall (1994) describes. The task of doing so however is daunting and riddled with potential errors. The greatest risk for error lies in the possibility of confusing multiple catalog records from a feature as a matching set of transfer-printed wares based on the same or similar pattern and print color, when the evidence does not rule out the possibility that the

multiple catalog records represent different fragments of the same vessel. The only groups of transfer-printed ware catalog records that can be confidently considered parts of matching sets of ceramics are those that either (1) contain catalogued sherds that show a repetition of the pattern that could not have occurred within a single vessel, indicating that there is more than one vessel with the same pattern or (2) if the same pattern appears on unmistakably different vessel forms, ruling out the possibility that the two catalog records could constitute a single vessel.

By the criteria given above, I have only identified two sets of transfer-printed ware catalog records that are matched wares: (1) 85-31/23/23 and 85-31/23/24, a blue underglaze transfer-print cup and saucer, and (2) 86-36/3/43, two scalloped mulberry underglaze transfer-print plates. If Features 86-36/7 and 86-36/10 are considered the same or related depositions, there is also a likely possibility that 86-36/7/591 and 86-36/10/31, two blue underglaze chinoiserie transfer-printed cups or bowls, are also part of a set.

Based on my experience with the Market Street Chinatown collection and knowledge of comparative collections, my informed hypothesis is that matching sets are quite rare in the assemblage. diZerega Wall considered teaware assemblages across households in which the most popular pattern is depicted on an average of only about a third of the tea vessels in each assemblage to be an indication that teawares were not standardized and teatime was not ritualized (1994:146). By comparison at Market Street Chinatown, no single pattern comes even close to representing a third of any feature's assemblage. Feature assemblages are best characterized by their eclecticism and the Chinese associated with them were not primarily concerned with acquiring matching sets of transfer-printed wares, which had been a status symbol, an indication of market integration, and a gesture towards family ritualization; of course, I cannot comment on their inclination or disinclination to acquire matching sets of

undecorated ironstones, or other British-manufacture wares.

Apart from these matched ware “smoking guns,” there are instances in which a strong case can be made for the existence of an improvised complementary set, based on commonalities in print color or pattern type, such as the example given earlier with the presence of 10 catalog records containing green underglaze transfer-printed wares from Features 86-36/7 and 86-36/10. Unfortunately, print color is rarely enough evidence to go by to establish the presence of a complementary set, and patterns are not always identifiable based on the catalogued sherds. To illustrate, there are 54 ARS features containing artifacts; each feature has an average of 5 transfer-printed ware catalog records and an average of 3 different transfer print colors represented. Transfer-printed wares catalogued in the same feature are more likely to be different colors than they are to be the same, once again, re-emphasizing the haphazard nature of the majority of the transfer-printed ware collection.

Still, examples such as the green transfer-printed wares from Feature 86-36/7 and 86-36/10 offer additional insight into the heterogeneity of practice in Market Street Chinatown; whereas some residents may have valued matching sets and had the means to obtain them, others were improvising based on the convention, and others yet were accumulating transfer-printed wares piecemeal, without emphasis on matched or complementary sets. For those who were consciously collecting transfer-printed wares to produce complementary sets, their motivations may represent the liminality of the Market Street Chinatown experience: Market Street Chinese residents are at once giving a nod to the Victorian tradition of the uniform set, as well as to their own traditional aesthetic preference for a consistent color palette. The Chinese tradition of a matched set may have very different connotations from the Euro American Victorian tradition of a matched set, and these motivations should not be conflated; Yuan (2007:35) found that Feature 85-31/14, a probable restaurant assemblage, had a higher

rate of “twinning,” that is, identical match in ware type, size, and form, than Feature 85-31/20, which was a non-restaurant assemblage. Leone (2005) and diZerega Wall (1994) suggest that Victorianist matching sets' symbolic potency was exercised and strongly felt in the domestic sphere; however, based on Yuan's restaurant research, I would suggest that matching sets in an overseas Chinese context were more important in commercial environments than in private homes.

Based on the transfer-printed ware assemblage alone, Market Street Chinese used transfer-printed wares in a manner distinct from the Victorian dinner service. A lack of attention towards acquiring matching sets reveals a resistance to the gentrifying potential of these Victorian status symbols, and may indicate the origin of Market Street Chinatown's transfer-printed wares. Mullins found that the mismatched ceramics in the African American Annapolis context suggests that many ceramics were obtained through informal exchange forms, such as barter, gift-giving, and inheritance (1999:182). Informal exchange networks for transfer-printed wares is consistent with the mixture of ages, patterns, and vessel forms catalogued from the collection. Chinese residents were most likely obtaining these transfer-printed ceramics piecemeal, quite literally piecing together patterns and ideas that were not designed to be conversant with each other, and forming new meanings from mixing.

Conclusion

The analysis of pattern type, print color, vessel form and size, and matched or complementary sets yields rich data that illuminates relationships between people, objects, and ideas in Market Street Chinatown. There is strong evidence that Market Street Chinese residents were acquiring transfer-printed wares through secondhand sources, possibly including consignment shopping, barter, and gift. The resulting assemblage exhibits very few

obvious matched sets and wares that date between 10-30 years prior to the the establishment of Market Street Chinatown.

At the same time, even though Market Street Chinese residents may have been acquiring most of their transfer-printed wares through secondhand sources, they still discerned between what was available in the market based on their traditional and socially-maintained aesthetic norms. The significant presence of both floral patterns and blue transfer-printed wares reveals a preference for transfer prints that complement the Asian porcelains traditionally found on the Chinese table. The elaborate image of the transfer-printed ware, not found on utilitarian Asian porcelains, must have had a very different effect on Chinese immigrants than did the minimally decorated ironstones; no catalogued transfer-printed ware has been peck-marked, which is not true for the latter category. The transfer print may have performed some of the roles that the peck mark on an ironstone did for the Market Street Chinese—that is, Chinese users may not have felt the need to peck mark a transfer-printed ware because transfer-printed wares were selected based on cultural connotations, and no further mark of cultural ownership was needed to integrate them into a Chinese tableware assemblage.

Transfer-printed ware vessel size and matched sets analysis reveal the ways in which Chinese use of transfer-printed wares may have differed from both their use of Asian porcelains and from Euro American use of transfer-printed wares. The transfer-printed ware assemblage has a higher occurrence of flatwares than the Asian porcelain assemblage, and within the flatware category, transfer-printed wares also have a higher occurrence of large-diameter flatwares than the Asian porcelain assemblage. I argue that this discrepancy is evidence that many Market Street Chinese residents were integrating transfer-printed wares as communal serving plates from which diners all took food, and that there may have been hesitations about integrating transfer-printed wares completely into the meal, and perhaps a

particular hesitation about using them as individual rice bowls.

The lack of a significant number of matched transfer-printed ware sets indicates that Market Street Chinese residents were largely integrating the wares piecemeal into their tableware rather than as complete sets, which directly resists the Victorian ideal of standardization and ritualization within the domicile. There is some evidence that some Market Street residents cobbled together transfer-printed wares to produce complementary sets, but I argue that this practice cannot be equated with the connotation of acquiring a matching set in a Euro American Victorian context; rather, matching or complementary sets may have separate connotations for immigrant Chinese users, as Yuan (2007) hints at in her paper on a possible restaurant assemblage from Market Street Chinatown. As Voss (2008a) raises, home has very different connotations in the Euro American Victorian context than it does in the Chinese immigrant context, and the relationship of tableware to the home undoubtedly reflects that difference.

5: Thinking Through Patterns

*Minna*⁶

Minna Stutzbach lifted the steaming tureen of stew by its familiar, molded handles. She smiled faintly to herself as she set it down gingerly on the set table; her husband, Moritz, would be home any minute from his final doctor's call of the day. They had been in San Jose scarcely a year, and yet, Dr. Stutzbach had not been in want of patients after just their first month in the growing city. Minna, who still felt pangs of loneliness for Baltimore, which the Stutzbachs had made their home for the first 10 years of their marriage, had thrown herself into creating a perfect home for Moritz and their son Theodore, their respite from the chaotic and often filthy streets outside. She felt glad that she had insisted they bring this tureen, a wedding gift from Moritz' parents, 3,000 miles across the country with them. She felt more at home with it here; and besides, the dishes for sale at the shops in San Jose were unattractive and overpriced compared to those in Baltimore.

6 The fictional account of Minna Stutzbach's story is based on my interpretation of Feature 86-36/3, which itself is based on the transfer-printed wares catalogued from this feature and Kane (2011; discussion of Feature 86-36/3, 1), which proposes, "Following the coordinates provided by ARS, this feature was likely associated with the EuroAmerican residents on Block 1 between 1860 and 1880 if the deposit predates the Auzeais construction, and possibly with Dr. and Mrs. Stutzbach who lived on the block circa 1870."

Figure 4



would be home any minute from his final doctor's call of the day. They had been in San Jose scarcely a year, and yet, Dr. Stutzbach had not been in want of patients after just their first month in the growing city. Minna, who still felt pangs of loneliness for Baltimore, which the Stutzbachs had made their home for the first 10 years of their marriage, had thrown herself into creating a perfect home for Moritz and their son Theodore, their respite from the chaotic and often filthy streets outside. She felt glad that she had insisted they bring this tureen, a

wedding gift from Moritz' parents, 3,000 miles across the country with them. She felt more at home with it here; and besides, the ceramics for sale at the shops in San Jose were unattractive and overpriced compared to those in Baltimore, at least in her humble opinion.

Figure 5



86-36/3/53 Willow pattern serving platter

Minna returned to the kitchen to prepare their serving platter for the roast; she would not put this out yet, because she worried it would grow cold while they had soup. The platter was a source of pride for her, an enduring example of her family's educated and cultured position. She had never thought much of this familiar pattern when she saw it in Baltimore; China had been as far from her reality as California was. Now she was in California, living

amongst the Chinese. All she could think, as she paused to study the image in front of her, was that Chinatown doesn't seem to look much like China at all. The China of the platter was orderly, clean, peaceful; whereas Chinatown was crowded, loud, unsanitary. Moritz insisted to her that the Chinese were not as bad as she thought though; he had made an emergency house call last week to a Chinese dwelling just down the street, where a Chinese man who suffered a bad fall was staying. When Moritz returned, he said the house was clean, and the men there were appreciative of the German American doctor's help. Minna wondered if he asked them what China looks like.

Ah Yen⁷

Ah Yen wondered idly, as he always did with this plate, what the characters around the border meant. They were starting to look familiar to him, but he wasn't sure if it was because he had seen the plate so many times, or if he was actually starting to recognize the characters from the English-language signs around town.

He must have been staring for a while because even Ah Keung, who they all called Fat Boy, noticed. "Never see that before, have ya, Yen boy? Mrs. Lee is always whipping up something new for us in those stir-frys. Who knows, one of these days, she won't understand what those Mexicans are trying to sell her, and end up cooking a poisoned root for us! Wouldn't that be something? To die full in America!" Fat Boy laughed, and quickly returned to shoveling food into his mouth from a rice bowl matching Ah Yen's, both decorated with the bamboo pattern.

Ah Yen made a noise, halfway between agreement and non-commitment. He hadn't been staring at the *tsai* on the plate, but the actual plate itself. Still, he felt the need to be

⁷ My fictional account of Ah Yen's story is based on my interpretation of Features 86-36/7 and 86-36/14, which are both located near the pork roasting furnace in an area with many Chinese businesses. Both features were designated by ARS as "mixed ethnicity" (Kane 2011).

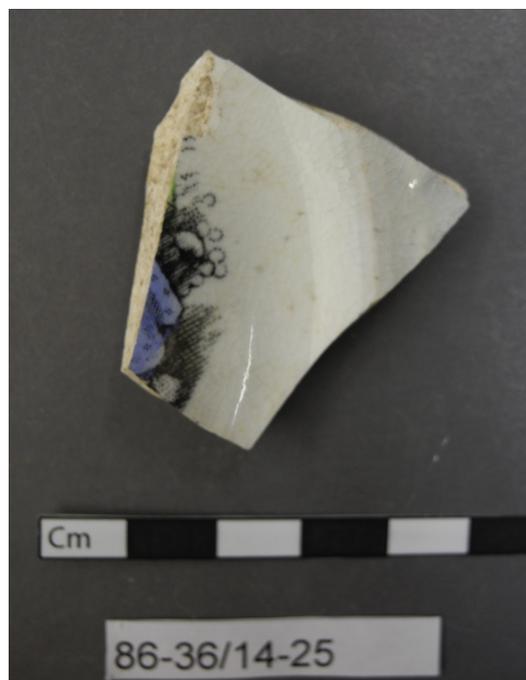
polite. “What’s this vegetable called?” he asked Fat Boy. “Tomato,”⁸ Fat Boy said with his mouth full. “Get used to it, you country bumpkin,” Fat Boy said, not without affection. “Mrs. Lee cooks this one a lot.”

Even though Fat Boy and Ah Yen were from the same village in Toisan, and although he had only been in America two years longer than Ah Yen, it sometimes felt like there was a lifetime between them. Since Ah Yen arrived in San Jose four months ago to work at Lee’s Chinese Merchandise Store, Fat Boy, technically Ah Yen’s third cousin, had taken to advising Ah Yen on all aspects of American life. Ah Yen would listen, but he rarely initiated asking for Fat Boy’s advice, with the tomatoes today being an unusual case. His still wasn’t so sure how much he cared to know about America. Before he came, he heard his uncles, his male cousins, all talking about striking rich in California and not having to work for the rest of their lives. Fat Boy had been one of those men before he left, and hard work in America hadn’t dulled his ambition; he still talked about opening his own general merchandise store like Mr. Lee had, maybe out west near the mountains where there was less competition from other Chinese merchants. Ah Yen knew better; neither he nor Fat Boy could read nor write. How would he order goods to stock his shelves, or keep a book? Ah Yen never deluded himself into thinking he would stay, only that he would make enough money and leave—go home to his young wife in Toisan, and the son who had not been born yet when Ah Yen left, who would be celebrating his one-month red-egg birthday in a week.

My son’s life will be different, Ah Yen thought. I will save enough money from work in America to pay for him to go to school. The tomatoes were almost all gone from the plate now, and Ah Yen saw the familiar image at the center once again. Mrs. Lee served him and Fat Boy *tsai* on this plate almost every day for lunch, after she, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Lee’s son, had

⁸Tomatoes are a New World crop that appears to have been introduced into China in the 19th century through the Philippines, so there is a good chance that Chinese immigrants would have encountered them for the first time in America. There are two words for “tomato” in Chinese: *xī hóng shì* (western red persimmon), or *fān qié* (foreign eggplant) (Parkinson 2013).

Figures 6-8



already eaten their share. The women working in the front always made Ah Yen think of his wife and his mother, toiling away in their small plot of land. The boys made him think of his son, and the other sons he hoped for when he reunited with his wife.

Fat Boy, many lunches ago, told him that the people shown on the plate were black folks, and that someone had told him that black folks worked alongside Chinese men in the orchards. Ah Yen had seen black people in the streets of San Jose and even in Chinatown before, but he didn't think the people in the plate looked black. To him, their black hair made the figures look Chinese, like him—and the figures almost looked leisurely at work, not as toilsome as his work at the merchandise store. He worked from 6 in the morning until 7 at night, 6 days a week. Mr. Lee gave him one day off to “go have a drink, go to the gambling house or opium den”—but Ah Yen never did, not wanting to spend any of his hard-earned money, every penny of which he had promised to himself would go to his struggling mother and wife in Toisan. He went to the temple instead, and sometimes to the tenement to watch other men play dice.

“Boss says back to work,” Mrs. Lee said as she came into the back room. She stacked the empty plates, with the lettered one on top, and took them with her behind the store.

The Little Father⁹

“Hey, Mr. Gee, Little Father!” the younger man caught up to him from a few feet back in Ah Toy Alley. “Little Father, come out to town for a good rest?” Gee smiled warmly at Ah Choy, a 20 year-old who worked in the strawberry fields during the growing season. Gee had met him a year and a half back, when Ah Choy was still working at the lumberyard where

9 My fictional account of the Little Father's story is based on my interpretation of Feature 85-31/25. Artifact ID 85-31/25-36 was the only catalogued transfer-printed ware from this feature; all other catalog records refer to a Chinese signature artifact, leading me to believe that the feature is associated with the Chinese tenement house on San Antonio Street. The peck-marked celadon bowl refers to catalog record 85-31/25-8, which was the subject of Michaels' (2003, 2005) papers on peck-marked vessels from the site. Details regarding dining institutions and etiquette in Market Street Chinatown were based on Yuan's (2007) research on informal dining arrangements and restaurants at the site.

Gee continued to work. Ah Choy only stayed for 6 months before his kin found him a field hand job at the strawberry farm, which was a bit less arduous and paid just as well. Although they had only known each other for a short time, Gee took a liking to the gregarious young man, who almost immediately began calling him “Little Father” like the rest of the Chinese lumberyard workers did.

“That's right, Ah Choy, my boy. Foreman told all the men to take two days off from the lumberyard, said we'd done a fine job getting this last shipment out and we weren't due for the next one for another week. I haven't been back to Chinatown in almost two months, and a man needs some liveliness after that long.” Out of instinct, Gee reached for the package he slung across his back again to make sure it was there. The weight of the small sack comforted him. Inside were all the things he had in the world: another shirt, a pair of die, his celadon rice bowl, and of course, the little money he had left from his last payday, which will go towards a bed in the tenement and a little debauchery that night.

“I hear that, Little Father. I'm off from the farm for a few days too and went straight to the gambling house. I'm all out of money now so I guess I know to go back to work!” Ah Choy laughed. “Where you headed now? Let's get out of the street and catch up. Good luck running into you.”

They headed out of Ah Toy Alley and around the livery together, avoiding other men making their way through the streets of Chinatown, finally making their way to the tenement on San Antonio. The two men had an easy rapport and talked about work on the way, whether it had been more or less toilsome lately, how many new workers had been hired, and news from home. Gee reveled at how quickly Ah Choy had matured; when he first met the boy at 17, Ah Choy had been hot-tempered and distracted, with a divided heart, as they said in Cantonese. Now, Ah Choy seemed to have grown more into himself—or perhaps he has just grown more accustomed to life in America, Gee thought. Just thinking about Ah Choy's

age made Gee feel old. Everyone called Gee "Little Father," but he rarely stopped to acknowledge the source of the nickname; nearing forty, and with a decade under his belt in America, Gee was frequently the father figure that young men and boys turned to when they first started at the lumberyard.

They arrived at the tenement within minutes, and both realizing they hadn't eaten dinner yet, went straight for the kitchen. Gee pulled out his celadon bowl. His finger inadvertently ran over the character he marked on the bowl surface: "Father." "No way," Ah Choy exclaimed when he saw Gee pull out the bowl. "You still have that, Little Father? I remember you with that bowl two years ago at the lumberyard. You're a real careful sort aren't you? As for me, I don't know how many bowls I've broken and lost since then." Ah Choy pulled out his own bowl, a common bamboo pattern bowl.

"Can't lose this, Ah Choy. It's got my name on it so it knows who its owner is," Gee grinned. "I'll get this one, young man. Running into you was good fortune." Gee handed the tenement manager at the front of the kitchen enough coin to pay for both their meals, and Ah Choy only made a little bit of a fuss. They helped themselves to rice. "Plate?" the cook at the stove barked as they came to him. "No, none, give us one!" The cook grumbled something before reaching into a lower cupboard with two plates, piling each with the day's dish, pork and bitter melon stir-fry. Gee's mouth watered at the sight of it; he knew the pork wouldn't be the best quality but that hardly seemed to matter. Bitter melon was difficult to get all the way out by the lumberyard, and was the real treat.

Figure 9



They brought their plates over to the communal table, where most men seemed to have just finished eating and were clearing out. “Now you see,” Ah Choy said, studying the plates even as he shoveled rice into his mouth. “One or both of these plates could have been mine at some point and I wouldn’t remember it. I can barely tell the right from the left. They both look exactly the same to me.” Gee laughed out loud at the comicality of Ah Choy’s statement. “Are you playing a joke on me? Come on, these look completely different. This one’s a Chinese

plate with blue painted flowers and bamboo. The other one's a white person plate with straight blue lines and circles, maybe not painted at all."

"You said it yourself! They're both blue!" Ah Choy exclaimed in response. The two laughed together and Gee felt strangely at home in the tenement dining room, sharing a meal with his young friend and intermittently greeting tenement residents who he knew as they passed by. He shoveled the last mouthful of rice into his mouth with his chopsticks, and as he put his bowl down with a satisfied finality, he saw his peck mark again out of the corner of his eye. I am their Little Father now, he thought. My own son and daughters in China wouldn't know me anymore. No more than Ah Choy knows the difference between blue plates.

*Tom*¹⁰

Tom Wai Chiu checked one last time that he had everything to stay the night in Chinatown; satisfied, he put on his hat, and left out of the servant's door. It was still light out, but he was no less anxious about getting to Chinatown as quickly as he could. He subconsciously picked up his pace as he rounded the corner from the Sutherland home, where he had been the head servant and cook for the past 5 years.

"Tom! Hold on a minute, Tom!" Tom turned around to see Mrs. Sutherland walking quickly behind him. "Yes, Mrs. Sutherland?" He immediately stopped, worried that she was angry at him for forgetting to tend to some task before taking off for the night. As she approached and her kindly face became clear, his fears quickly dissipated. While Mrs. Sutherland could be stern with her daughter Jane, she rarely so much as raised a voice to Tom

¹⁰ The fictional account of Tom's story is based on my interpretation of Feature 86-36/5, located near the pork roasting furnace in an area with many Chinese businesses. Both the catalog records discussed in this section, 86-36/5-441 and 86-36/5-248, were catalogued from the same stratigraphic level in the feature, Strata 3. Tom's background as a servant for a white family is based on an account in Young Yu (1991:27) of an anti-Chinese city councilman who himself employed Chinese labor, including a servant who raised his children from infancy.

and the other servants.

Figure 10



"I'm glad I caught you before you left," she said when she reached him. Mrs. Sutherland was wearing a house dress and no coat, suggesting that she had been inside the house and seen Tom leaving through the window when she ran out. "Is something the matter, Mrs. Sutherland?" Tom inquired. She shook her head. "Not at all. I just remembered..." she paused, momentarily losing her train of thought. She held up a porcelain teacup and saucer with delicately outlined flowers in red, green, and yellow. "I remembered you said your brother has a daughter, and thought she might like to play with this tea set. Jane has outgrown it, you see, and it's still perfectly nice so there's no reason to throw it out."

Instinctively, Tom immediately began to protest. "Mrs. Sutherland, you are too kind but I cannot possibly take Ms. Sutherland's tea set. It is too nice; we have no need..." She interrupted. "Please, Tom, I insist. Jane won't miss it at all, and your brother's daughter will get some good play out of it." Tom knew her well enough to know her tone meant she would not accept no for an answer. He bowed his head in appreciation. "Thank you, Mrs. Sutherland. You are too courteous." Mrs. Sutherland finally smiled for the first time since she caught up with him. "You're very welcome, Tom. I hope you have a nice time this evening with your brother and his family." She started to leave and paused to say, "And be careful. I heard just last week of some ungodly malicious act against a Chinaman, and outside a church no less. Stay by the back roads, Tom... I know Jane would be worried if you encountered any trouble." Tom bowed his head again. "Thank you, Mrs. Sutherland, you are very kind."

They said goodbye, and after putting the cup and saucer away in his satchel, Tom turned to leave. Even without Mrs. Sutherland's warning, he had already planned to take the backcountry roads, where he was unlikely to encounter anyone, to get into town. The sun would set in an hour, which was only just barely enough time to make it to Market Street. Tom might have been able to get a ride from one of the deliverymen from town that came through this afternoon, but he wanted to wait until after preparing the Sutherland's dinner to

leave. Besides, he had looked forward to this walk. It wasn't often that he went into town; in fact, it had been 6 months since his last visit. Although he liked to visit his brother, sister-in-law, and niece who lived in Chinatown, Tom disliked almost everything else about the place. Chinatown was crowded, noisy, full of open-air trash pits and scandalous gambling houses where brawls broke out. Rather than jockeying his way through the narrow Chinatown streets, Tom preferred to relax at the Sutherland estate on his days off, sometimes walking over to the creek to go fishing, other times taking pleasure in cooking a meal for himself in the servant's cottage he shared with the gardener, Mr. Mak.

He knew this was not a trip he could avoid, however. Tomorrow was the one year anniversary of their mother's death, and they had a lot of preparations to make for the day before they went to the temple. Tom still felt pangs of guilt recalling their mother's death the previous year; neither of her sons had been with her in China, where her aggressive illness took her life within a month of her taking to her bed. They received a letter from their mother's sister three weeks later. Tom tried to shake the feelings of shame he felt for not having been with his mother at the end of her days. She will have everything she needs, and more, in the afterlife, he promised himself.

He had only planned to stay for two days, as he was eager to return to work as quickly as possible. His only regret was that he wouldn't spend more time with his niece, Bing Yee, a clever, quick-to-laugh 4-year-old girl who had been born in California. Without a family of his own, Tom found it easy to spoil his young niece. He knew that Bing Yee would be delighted by the tea set, which made him feel better about accepting Mrs. Sutherland's gift. It was true that Tom was very affectionate with the Sutherlands' 10 year-old daughter, Jane, frequently having long conversations with the inquisitive girl and playing games with her at her insistence, but he would immediately revert back to formalities with Mr. and Mrs. Sutherland; he was still their employee, after all, and he didn't want to give them any reason to mistrust

him.

Figure 11



86-36/5/248 Aesthetic decorative style large plate, about 22 cm. diameter

The sky was dimming, and Tom was getting close to town. As he picked up his pace, he thought happily of the other presents he had in store for his niece and brother's family. The previous week, while out running errands for the Sutherlands, Tom had stopped into an

American merchandise store, the owner of which is a no-nonsense man named Keeley, who, while not the friendliest personality, never gave Tom any trouble for being Chinese. He carefully picked out a girl porcelain doll for Bing Yee, and a large white plate with stylish floral decorations, similar to what he had seen on the Sutherlands' tableware, for his sister-in-law Ah Bek. That will look good on their table at family dinners, Tom thought with a smile. It's not every day in Chinatown you can find a plate like this. He didn't mind spending a day's wage on the gifts. Bing Yee will grow up in a different world from Tom and his brother, with every comfort and opportunity Tom could provide for her. Like Jane, he thought, as he entered the paved streets of San Jose's city center.

Interpreting “meanings” of transfer-printed wares for Market Street Chinatown residents

As I attempted to demonstrate in these fictional vignettes based on historical and archaeological data, each transfer-printed ware had a complex life cycle in which use and discard in Block 1 of San Jose was only one aspect. I chose just a handful of the most individually and contextually evocative transfer-printed wares to extrapolate upon, but each pattern beckons with its own story of how it arrived in Market Street Chinatown, how it became integrated into daily life, and how it was disposed. Through the exercise of producing fictional vignettes, I reaffirmed two important contributions that studying transfer-printed patterns can offer for understanding daily life in Market Street Chinatown : (1) that the meanings of each pattern were not stable and the users of transfer-printed wares were reinterpreting them constantly, as with Mrs. Stutzbach's character after her family moved from Baltimore to Block 1 of San Jose, and (2) that Market Street Chinatown residents had diverse interactions with and expectations of transfer-printed wares. The range of possibility is quite large, from Ah Choy dismissing the transfer-printed plate as a blue plate like any other blue plate, to Tom, who invested hopes for upward mobility and material comfort in his

transfer-printed ware acquisition.

At the same time, this exercise calls attention to the fundamental uncertainties of interpreting the transfer-printed wares, which at its bedrock is the uncertainty of who used the wares. This is no small question for this project, which, since its excavation in the 1980s, has relied upon ethnic signature artifacts to associate features with the potential groups who produced them. While determining these associations remains important moving forward because they allow MSCAP researchers to produce the best archaeological interpretations possible, I argue based on the example of transfer-printed wares that ethnicity is an incomplete proxy for complex collective and individual identities that make archaeological associations rich and meaningful analytical units. Ethnicity cannot explain why a Euro American home such as the Stutzbachs' would contain transfer-printed wares decorated with Chinese-inspired patterns; nor could it explain the difference in reactions to transfer-printed wares that Ah Yen, Ah Choy, and Tom represent. Ethnicity as a stable precept is lacking in explanatory weight when it comes to Market Street Chinatown's transfer-printed wares, but holds relevance when reimagined as a *term* of identity negotiations and as just one of the many privileges and burdens that the inhabitants of Market Street Chinatown exercised.

Ethnicity as a term of negotiation changes over time as perceived and desired outcomes of the negotiation change. Chinese residents of San Jose were living on Block 1 for 25 years before the 1887 fire, and during that time, the negotiation undoubtedly changed: many more Chinese arrived up until 1882, when the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed, and social exclusion became legal exclusion. Although dating various features throughout the site is an ongoing project for MSCAP, it is clear from my study that traverses multiple features representing multiple time periods that relationships to material culture were heterogenous and multiple. In that vein, transfer-printed wares were unlikely to have been treated categorically by Chinese residents, but were differentiated, dismissed, or appreciated based

on their dynamic *habitus*. The pervasiveness of transfer-printed wares throughout the site, from merchant areas to tenement areas to Euro American domiciles, indicates a broad engagement with these provocative images and artifacts as part of a dynamic landscape in which ethnicity constituted just one dimension of action.

Conclusion

I began this paper by discussing the fire that destroyed Market Street Chinatown and disrupted, but did not destroy the Chinese immigrant and Chinese American communities of San Jose. Ultimately, as I hope my paper demonstrates, I am more interested in thinking about Market Street Chinatown in terms of continuity, rather than rupture. The arrival of Chinese immigrants to the United States in the 19th century produced a distinct material culture, one that integrated and informed, and continues to inform, broader American culture. The mutually constitutive relationship between Chinese immigrant culture and the Euro American context is never so obvious as it is in the presence of British-produced transfer-printed wares from Market Street Chinatown. An analytical approach towards transfer-printed wares in the overseas Chinese assemblage that moves away from ethnic boundary marker and acculturation models provides new insights into how Chinese immigrants were negotiating their place in the social hierarchy of late 19th century Santa Clara County.

Employing a multiscale analysis that incorporates historical documentation of site change and theories of negotiated identities, cultural ownership, and postcolonial conceptualizations of boundary crossing and maintenance, I examine the ways in which the Market Street Chinese may have integrated Euro American transfer-printed wares into their material culture without necessarily consuming the prescribed ideals that these wares represent in a wholesale fashion. The differential distribution of different types of transfer-printed wares throughout the site points to a heterogeneity of practice that cannot simply be summed up into ethnic or class terms. These distributions do reveal some of the ways in which Market Street Chinese residents may have been discerning in their acquisition of these

wares; for instance, integrating them selectively, primarily as communal serving dishes, and selecting them based on strong culturally-derived aesthetic connotations, resulting in a significant presence of floral patterns and blue transfer-printed wares. The Chinese were not mindlessly consuming transfer-printed wares—far from it. My study reveals the shape and the limits of their engaged transfer-printed ware consumption, and how their practices evolved to include transfer-printed wares in their self-construction without defining them as an “other.”

I sincerely hope that as MSCAP's knowledge of the collection progresses, that future researchers return to some of the questions I raise and build upon my findings. In seeking the continuities through cultural, temporal, and spatial disruptions, an incredibly valuable approach, which was beyond the scope of this paper, would be to trace the path of the material lives of Market Street Chinese residents to Heinlenville and Woolen Mills. Based on deposits primarily formed in a 20 year period during the life of the Market Street Chinatown, the internal and external community negotiations that resulted in the selective entry of certain Euro American transfer-printed wares are beginning to become evident. Future researchers might illuminate the continued evolution of these negotiations in the post-1887 Chinatowns.

Furthermore, as knowledge of the collection improves, I hope researchers explore the broader role of Euro American artifacts in this overseas Chinese assemblage, and vice versa of Chinese or Chinese-inspired artifacts in non-Chinese sites contemporary with the Market Street Chinatown. My study of a narrow yet rich selection of Euro American artifacts from the Chinatown begins to expose the intertwined material cultural worlds of late 19th century Santa Clara County, and the deep involvement of diverse material cultures in Chinese American identity formation. I have no doubt that future researchers of the Market Street Chinatown and surrounding, contemporaneous non-Chinese communities will only further reveal how deep the rabbit hole goes.

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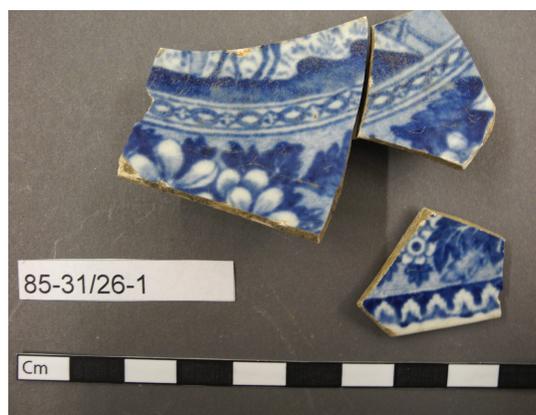
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Appendix

The appendix is intended to be a reference for readers and a resource for researchers interested in further investigating this subject or this site. My catalog builds upon the conventions of the Market Street Chinatown Archaeological Project's cataloguing procedures, while integrating categories that are especially pertinent to the study of transfer-printed wares. The catalog is organized numerically, first by project year, then by feature, then by artifact ID. Please see below for a full explanation of the terms used in the catalog.

Sample Catalog Record



| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Object ID | 85-31/26/1 |
| Material | Pearlware |
| Pattern – Border Decoration | Botanical-Floral |
| Pattern – Central Decoration | Romantic-Landscape-European |
| Pattern Name | N/A |
| Print Color | Dark Blue |
| Manufacturer | N/A |
| Manufacture Dates | N/A |
| Vessel Form | Medium Bowl (15 cm diameter) |
| Glaze | Underglaze |
| Description | Central image shows a horse; band around center image containing laterally oriented ovals and quatrefoils intermingled; border has white flowers, possible peonies, on dark leaves, on a blue field. |
| Additional Notes | |

Description of Catalog Record Terminology

At the left is an image of the transfer-printed ware being described. If vessel is printed on both sides, images of both sides are shown. If vessel is hollowware, interior and exterior of the vessel are noted in caption under the image. If curvature does not allow for the diagnosis of interior and exterior faces, then “Side 1” and “Side 2” are used to describe the two decorated sides.

At the right is the catalog record containing 12 fields of data: Object ID, Material, Pattern – Border Decoration, Pattern – Central Decoration, Pattern Name, Print Color, Manufacturer, Manufacture Dates, Vessel Form, Glaze, Description, and Additional Notes.

- **Object ID** is the ARS-assigned or ARS-derived and MSCAP-assigned catalog number for the artifact or artifacts.
- **Material** is the artifact's primary material. I use “ware body type” throughout this paper to refer to material.
- **Pattern – Border Decoration** is the ware's border decoration pattern. This field is structured from the broadest category of decoration to the most specific category of decoration. If “Indefinite,” the border decoration is visible on the sherd, but the decorative theme is indeterminate from what is available. If “N/A,” the border decoration is not visible on the sherd.
- **Pattern – Central Decoration** is the ware's central decoration pattern. This field is structured from the broadest category of decoration to the most specific category of decoration. If “Indefinite,” the central decoration is visible on the sherd, but the decorative theme is indeterminate from what is available. If “N/A,” the central decoration is not visible on the sherd. Although I named the categories myself based on the Market Street Chinatown collection, I collapse them with Samford's (1997) central decoration categories in the body of this paper in order to utilize her derived ceramic dates.
- **Pattern Name** is the pattern's name, either given by the pottery or by a contemporary peer-reviewed ceramics source if the pattern was not named by the original pottery. A pattern name is only listed if the transfer-printed ware has been identified to pattern. All other records have “N/A” in this field.
- **Print Color** is the transfer print color. Any hand-applied decorative details that are in addition to the transfer print are listed under **Additional Notes**.
- **Manufacturer** is the manufacturing pottery's name. A manufacturer is only listed if the transfer-printed ware has been identified to a maker based on pattern or maker's mark. All other records have “N/A,” in this field.
- **Manufacture Dates** are the dates of the identified pattern's production based on peer-reviewed ceramic sources. All dates are from the Transferware Collectors Club Database, unless otherwise noted. Manufacture dates are only listed if the transfer-printed ware has been identified to a maker based on pattern or maker's mark. All other records have “N/A,” in this field.
- **Vessel Form** is the vessel form in as specific terms as discernible or measurable. Where rims are part of the catalog records and measurable, a diameter is also provided based on rim chart measurements. If the sherds are insufficient to determine the vessel form, then the field is “Indefinite.”

- **Glaze** describes the transfer print in relation to the ceramic glaze. If the transfer print is under the glaze, then "Underglaze." If the transfer print is over the glaze, then "Overglaze."
- **Description** is a description of the sherd's decoration.
- **Additional Notes** includes information about the catalog record that does not fit in the other categories. Some types of information in this field can include mends, favorable comparisons, MNI count (if not 1), ferrous corrosion, heat affected, and more. If no additional noteworthy information is available, then nothing is listed in this field.

Full appendix available either in digital copy or print copy to follow.