ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDIES OF THE IJ56 BLOCK,
SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA: AN EARLY CHINESE COMMUNITY

by

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Cultural Resources Facility
Anthropological Studies Center
Sonoma State University

June 1982
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FINAL REPORT

June 1982
FRONTISPICE
The Excavation of Feature 5.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Numerous people contributed to the success of the IJ56 project. Preeminent among these individuals is James E. Henley, Executive Director of the Sacramento Museum and History Division. Mr. Henley's commitment to the proper management of Sacramento's historical and archaeological resources is commendable and farsighted. Other employees of the Museum and History Division aided us on numerous fronts, including Historian Steve Helmich, who located a number of rare project-area photographs, and Archivist Susan Searcy, who provided access to the Division's collection of historical documents.

The editors would like to acknowledge the Redevelopment Agency of the City of Sacramento for their recognition and encouragement of the development of both the scientific and the public values contained in archaeology. Bruce Pope, Ted Leonard, and Grace Freeborn expressed considerable interest in our work and provided an invaluable liaison with their Agency.

Thanks are also extended to the Traffic Engineer's Office for making the site available and for providing barricades for the protection of the public.

Special thanks are due to members of the field crew for their excellent work under hurried conditions.

Field Crew: Kathryn Crabtree
Jamie Deetz
Lynn Eisenman
Leslie Jang
Conrad Lopez
Andrew York

Field Photographers: Marley R. Brown III
Gene Prince
Scottie Thompson

In addition, three volunteer crew members worked throughout the entire three-day excavation, providing their unique expertise gratis:

Alan R. Hardy, Systematic Entomologist, Department of Food and Agriculture
Gene Prince, Senior Museum Photographer, Lowie Museum of Anthropology
Scottie Thompson, Photographer/Archaeologist, Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University
The editors also thank the post-excavation personnel for their diligent work, sometimes done on a volunteer basis.

Lab Crew: Carol Cope
Kathryn Crabtree
Julie Dinkins
Donna Little
James Quinn
Janet Robinson-Rocha
Julie Scott

Lab Photographer: Scottie Thompson
Technical Editor: Suzanne Stewart

The authors would also like to express their sincere thanks to the following people who contributed to the success of the project by sharing their knowledge on various subjects:

Vance Bente', Legion Archaeological Research
Ernest Chann, President, Chinese Historical Society of America
Roberta Greenwood, Greenwood & Associates
John Holson, Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University
Stephen Little, San Francisco Asian Art Museum
Stephen Norwick, Department of Environmental Studies, Sonoma State University
William Petry, Sonoma State University
Marsh Rose, Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University
Jeanette Schulz, California Department of Parks and Recreation
Julie Scott, Sonoma State University
Peter Schulz, California Department of Parks and Recreation
Mary Hilderman Smith, Legion Archaeological Research
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INTRODUCTION

This report details the results of a program of archaeological excavation on the I Street half of the IJ56 block in Sacramento, California (map 1). The investigation was conducted for the Sacramento Redevelopment Agency by staff of the Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University, in October 1981.

Project History

The present work represents the final stage in a four-phase investigation of the IJ56 block, in accordance with the City's Cultural Resources Plan, prior to the block's imminent development. The first stage of the overall study was undertaken in 1978-1979 by a team of historical researchers under the leadership of Joseph McGowan, working under contract with Sacramento's Housing and Redevelopment Agency and Museum and History Department. Using assessor's records and city directories, McGowan and his associates researched the historical development of 16 blocks in downtown Sacramento and produced a series of reports outlining the ownership and uses of the land from 1850 to 1920 (McGowan et al. 1979). It was intended that this research should form the basis for the second stage of the study: the preparation of block-specific, archaeological research designs.

Using the data assembled by McGowan, as well as census information and secondary sources, such a design was developed for the IJ56 block by the research firm of Brienes, West & Schulz (1981). Specific target areas were established on the block where it was believed important archaeological remains might exist. Brienes, West & Schulz described their work as follows:

The procedure used in this study is to review the historical development of the target area, with attention to the economic, social, and ethnic factors which provide a basis for understanding its role in the life of the city in the last century. The goals and procedures currently used in historical archaeological investigation are then reviewed, followed by an assessment of the potentials for the accumulation of significant archaeological deposits and their likelihood of survival to the present. Based on these considerations, guided by available cartographic detail on structural placement as well as experience with nineteenth century deposits in Sacramento, detailed recommendations for testing are proposed (1981:1).
The delineation of test areas within the block was based on "the potential productivity of sites in terms of contributions to the archaeological record, and our ability to discern the historical factors leading to such a contribution" (Brienes, West & Schulz 1981:28). Five areas within the block were recommended for test-trenching with a backhoe. The purpose of the proposed testing was to identify buried archaeological features and to preliminarily assess their research potential. The results of the study would determine whether further archaeological investigation was warranted.

In the third stage, test-trenching was carried out during the week of 5 July to 10 July 1981 by staff of the Anthropological Studies Center. The method of trenching was guided by the type of archaeological features which the research design had specified as the object of investigation, i.e., discrete refuse associations. As the abandoned privies, wells, and trash pits which were sought would have been cut from the plane of the original ground surface, the initial goal of each trenching operation was to establish the level of the buried A horizon and to expose its surface for the length of the trench. In this way, pit-fill--identified by dissimilarities between it and the native soil--was not disturbed by the backhoe's bucket.

When archaeological features were found, they were exposed by the machine to the degree necessary to assess their shape and volume. Generally, the edges of these pits were defined with a trowel, cleaned, and photographed. Artifacts were collected only to provide data--chiefly chronological in nature--with which the features' historic associations could be determined and, ultimately, their research value assessed. After each trench was completed, it was filled and thoroughly compacted by the backhoe, and the surface returned to grade.

Extra time permitted the excavation of additional trenches, and a total of seven trenches, exposing 10 discrete archaeological features, were excavated by backhoe. Seven of the features (map 2), because of their apparent integrity and research potential, were recommended for further investigation. In completion of the testing phase, a report (Praetzellis et al. 1981) was prepared for the Sacramento Museum and History Division, who acted on behalf of the Redevelopment Agency of the City of Sacramento in guiding this work. The report consisted of three elements: a description of the findings and their historical associations; recommendations for the disposition of the archaeological remains which were discovered; and a research design and technical specifications to guide the performance of the final stage of the block's archaeological investigation. Relevant portions of the testing report have been incorporated into the present effort to give the reader lacking access to the preceding document a fuller understanding of the site.
MAP 1
Project Area Location
MAP 2
Locations of Archaeological Features
The authors believe that the long-term future of public-financed archaeology will be decided on the basis of the public's interest. It is therefore essential to show the lay public that they are getting something worthwhile for their money. To pursue this end, a traveling exhibit depicting the results of the IJ56 project will be created by staff of the Anthropolgical Studies Center in consultation with James E. Henley of the Sacramento Museum and History Division.

**Project Goals**

Goals, like most everything else, change with time. The goal of the report on archaeological investigations at Sacramento's Golden Eagle site (Praetzellis et al. 1980), completed by the authors almost two years ago, was to show that a scholarly product could come from within the regulatory context. That report detailed the use of stratigraphic excavation techniques and the application of the Harris-Winchester Matrix to produce discrete artifact associations. Artifact typologies were developed which were sensitive to the elucidation of site chronology and function, as well as the occupants' demographic and behavioral characteristics. It was hoped that these discussions would provide the basis for future artifact identification and the evaluation of the potential usefulness of various artifact categories. Another goal of the Golden Eagle report was the creation of a city-wide research strategy. Combining the "formation process" as discussed by archaeologists with a model of urban development provided by geographers, the report outlined a general research strategy focusing on Sacramento's "transitional stage," which will be discussed in detail later in this report.

Moving from this foundation, the goal of the present study is to demonstrate that not only can scholarly products be achieved within the regulatory context, they can be achieved in a cost-efficient manner. Thus, detailed artifact descriptions and illustrations, such as those included in the Golden Eagle report, are not offered here. New types are fully described, while the reader is referred to other sources for those types already considered in the literature. The goal of the present effort is the integration of historical and archaeological data, infused with an anthropological perspective and amenable to a wide range of future research applications.
THE SOUTH SIDE OF I STREET
BETWEEN 5TH AND 6TH STREETS: 1850-1870

From 1848, Sacramento grew and prospered as the gateway to the
goldfields of the northern Sierra Nevada. During this time,
probably because the roads to the gold district fed into it, J Street
was the town's main thoroughfare and center of trade. Miners could
purchase supplies at general merchandise and specialty shops and
could find temporary lodging, food, and amusement in the many hotels,
restaurants, gambling halls, and saloons. During the mid-1850s, a
variety of goods and services were offered to those shopping on J
Street between 5th and 6th, including dry goods, groceries, fruit,
candy, hats, shoes, saddles, liquor, drugs, and doctor's care. One
block north, I Street between 5th and 6th streets appears to have
served the same supply and service function for prospective Chinese
miners and residents. In the 1850s, numerous Chinese stores, gaming
houses, and lodgings were located there, as well as a butcher shop and
a doctor's office, while a Chinese theater provided entertainment one
block to the west.

Unlike the line of J Street merchants who continued to supply
goods and services throughout the nineteenth century, the Chinese
merchants and the bulk of the Chinese residents disappeared from the
south side of I Street between 5th and 6th streets by 1870. Bordering
the slough on the north side of town and the site of the 1852 levee
(Brienes 1979:7), I Street was a less desirable neighborhood during
Sacramento's early period. Later as Sacramentans raised the city
streets to prevent further flooding, I Street frontage increased in
value as property suitable for businesses that required space for
storage and heavy traffic. With the increase in value of project-
area real estate came the departure of its Chinese residents. The
project area and vicinity circa 1860 are shown on map 3.

Background

Overpopulation, war, natural disaster, and generally unstable
living conditions in southeastern China prompted the migration of
large numbers of Chinese men to foreign lands during the nineteenth
century. Most of these men originated from rural areas, where this
turmoil had served to strengthen the traditional value of social
obligations to family and clan among the resident peasant groups. As
conditions made it increasingly difficult to support their families,
men were forced to emigrate to more favorable environs. Barth
described their goal as follows:
Devotion to family motivated the peasant to abandon land and family, home and friends, in exchange for the uncertain fortunes and the certain privations that awaited him in Burma, Siam, Indochina, Malaya, on Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the Philippines. There he planned to work until he was fifty or sixty when he would return to his native village, a wealthy and respected man, to enjoy the rest of his life venerated by the large family which he had kept intact with his earnings and savings during the long years overseas (1964:29).

Later, frontier California, with its lure of gold and demand for laborers, attracted a large proportion of these migrants. According to Barth (1964:55), the bulk of these immigrants traveled by the "credit-ticket system" as "indentured servants" to the Chinese merchants at San Francisco or Hong Kong who had paid their expenses. Until they had paid their debts, the immigrants were under the control of these brokers. The strong Chinese kinship system supplied the extra-legal mechanism for such control, as this arrangement was not recognized by United States courts. Through the adaptation of Chinese family associations, guilds, and secret societies to their needs, the Chinese merchant-creditors maintained tight control over their debtors. District companies traditionally supplied mutual aid and protection to their members; in California, they also supplied the means to control and oppress them (Barth 1964:78).

Chinatowns were both the symbol and the scene of that control. It was here that the Chinese sought aid, solace, news, and amusement. It was from here that they first ventured forth to employment and to here that the bones of the deceased sojourners were returned for shipment and reburial in China. Here, the Chinese spent their hard­earned gold on food and drink, gambling and fraternizing. Here, they received news from home and re-encountered old acquaintances. Here, also, was the source of the district companies' power; their agents ran the boarding houses and stores where the Chinese gathered.

In the 1850s, most Chinese immigrants worked as river miners in remote portions of the Sierra Nevada. They lived in mining camps, varying in size but usually containing 10 to 30 men, and owed allegiance and probably money to one of the district companies. In the mining district, old feuds between villages and clans were revitalized, as Chinese associations struggled to gain control of the profits attendant to mining claims and trade networks. Attempts by Chinese companies to stage pitched battles between hundreds of followers were not uncommon, but were never successfully engaged (Barth 1964:94). These disputes eventually subsided with the decline in river mining and the change in the predominant structure of the Chinese laboring force--from relatively small groups of independent miners to large gangs of contract laborers on railroad and irrigation construction projects. By the early 1860s, the Chinese Six Companies presented a solid front to the American
MAP 3
PART OF SACRAMENTO, CIRCA 1860, SHOWING LOCATION OF LEVEES
(Adapted from Brienes1979:12)
community and exercised more direct control over the Chinese contract laborers.

The economic dominance of gold mining through the early 1860s led to a "bifurcated social structure pattern" in the Chinese community (Chan 1981:8); here, large numbers of Chinese miners depended on a small group of entrepreneurs and providers of services for their subsistence and personal needs. At this time, there was no Chinese working class in rural California and only a relatively small group of cooks, servants, and laundrymen who were dependent upon the White community for their earnings (Chan 1981:11). The Chinese community as a whole was a fairly self-sufficient enclave. In the 1860s, demands for cheap labor in agricultural, light-manufacturing, and heavy construction projects broke down this structure and changed the composition of "Chinatown." Chinese districts no longer merely supplied goods and services to a population dominated by transient miners; they now housed a relatively permanent population of cheap manual laborers for use in "cottage industries." Compiled from census tabulations by Chan (1981), table 1 shows the changes in the occupational structure of both the urban and rural Chinese population of Sacramento County. The decline in independent entrepreneurs and miners and the rise in manual laborers in both the town and the countryside reflect the change in the economic orientation of both the Chinese community and the state as a whole. The decline in the number of bakers, merchants, medical practitioners, and musicians and the concomitant rise in the total Chinese population indicate that the Chinese community was also becoming increasingly less self-sufficient.

**The Chinese Presence in Sacramento**

Considerable conflict exists regarding the number of Chinese in California during the early 1850s. Chinese were not counted in the 1850 census; in 1852, however, the Chinese Companies estimated the population in the state to be approximately 25,000. Chinese immigration peaked in 1854, when the San Francisco Customs House reported 16,084 new arrivals (Sandmeyer 1973:13-16).

As with other miners traveling to the goldfields, many Chinese stopped over in Sacramento. The Chinese were primarily engaged in river mining, an occupation which could not be undertaken during the rainy season. Thus, most Chinese miners spent a portion of the year living in town. At this time, Sacramento was called *yee fow* or 'Second City' by Chinese immigrants (Chan 1981:8). Although a large number of Chinese lived in town, their places of residence prior to 1854 are unclear and an initial date for the Chinese settlement of the project area has not been established. In 1852, when fire destroyed seven-eighths of the town of Sacramento, no fire damage was reported north of the alley on the I756 block (Askin 1978a:plate 6; Brienes, West & Schulz 1981:appendix A), indicating either that these
### Table 1

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE CHINESE POPULATION IN SACRAMENTO CITY AND COUNTY: 1860, 1870, and 1880

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Category</th>
<th>City 1860</th>
<th>City 1870</th>
<th>City 1880</th>
<th>Rest of County 1860</th>
<th>Rest of County 1870</th>
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<tr>
<td>PRIMARY EXTRACTION AND PRODUCTION</td>
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<td>Miners</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>633</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>Levee builders</td>
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1 Taken from Chan 1981: tables 4, 6 and 8. Tallied by Chan from manuscript population censuses.
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<td>2147</td>
<td>3278</td>
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### SUMMARY

| Percent in primary extraction and production | 16.3 | 3.5 | 5.7 | 88.1 | 43.7 | 49.2 |
| Percent in manual labor                     | 5.1  | 22.3| 27.1| 1.5  | 49.6 | 39.7 |
| Percent in personal service                 | 20.8 | 27.4| 25.3| 4.5  | 4.0  | 4.2  |
| Percent artisans, professional, entrepreneurs| 49.4 | 39.6| 36.0| 6.0  | 2.7  | 4.6  |
| Percent with no occupation                  | 8.4  | 7.2 | 4.3 | 0.0  | 2.4  |
structures survived, that no structures had been located on this half-block, or perhaps that the effects of the Chinese population camped here were thought of insufficient significance to be reported. By 1854, the Chinese had firmly established their occupancy within the project area, I Street between 5th and 6th being known as "Little China." This section was entirely destroyed on 13 July 1854 in the second most disastrous fire in Sacramento's history. At this time, the half-block had been covered with flimsy wood and canvas structures. The Sacramento Daily Union described the situation as follows:

The Chinese are literally left homeless. They had taken almost exclusive possession of I Street, between 5th and 6th, which they had built up almost solid of materials calculated to make a flaming fire. Had they been made of cotton, they could not have burned with more feverousness. The fire seemed to lick them up as it passed (14 July 1854).

As the fire started a number of blocks away, the Chinese had time to move some of their belongings to safety on an island in the nearby slough. Although the paper stated that the fire must have ruined "most of the Chinese merchants," only one merchant, Tuck Lung on K Street between 4th and 5th, was mentioned specifically in the "List of Sufferers." This list also included "about a dozen Chinese shanties" on the east side of Fifth Street between I and J, and a "number of frames occupied by Chinese" on I Street between 5th and 6th (Sacramento Daily Union: 14 July 1854).

A large portion of the Chinese section must have been rebuilt almost immediately. Between July and October of 1854, at least 11 business licenses were issued to Chinese concerns on I Street between 5th and 6th, including five markets, one merchandise store, one bar and boarding house, and four gaming houses (Sacramento Tax Collector 1854: 3rd quarter). The gaming houses paid 10 times the license fee paid by each market ($150 vs. $15), indicating the substantial profit made, or believed to have been made, in such places. Gaming houses were not consistently taxed, nor were they always legal. The 1859 and 1863 City License Books have no listings for gaming houses; although illegal by state law, gaming houses were again taxed in Sacramento during portions of the 1880s (Santa Rosa Democrat: 2 February 1884). Regardless of the legal situation, Chinese gaming establishments operated on I Street during the 1850s. The police made periodic raids of these "dens," but their conviction record was poor, and those arrested were often discharged due to lack of evidence (Sacramento Daily Union: 3 September 1857).

The Chinese section stood for a little less than one year before it was again partly destroyed by fire. On 3 July 1855, a fire began on the second floor of the Sze-Yap Company building. This small blaze, unchecked for want of a full bucket of water, spread rapidly within the canvas structure and consumed the entire half-block within half an hour. The fire was confined to a triangular area bounded by the levee and 6th and I streets--an area, with but only one exception, occupied
entirely by Chinese. Fire companies, initially hampered by lack of water, were aided by a shift in wind direction which blew the fire toward the slough at the rear of I Street and prevented it from spreading to other parts of town. Although the fire did not cross I Street to the project area, goods in buildings on the south side of the street suffered considerable water damage (Sacramento Daily Union: 4 July 1855).

The rapid spread of the fire prevented removal of goods and furniture, and losses from fire and from water damage were reported to be from $65,000 to $100,000. A Chinese company reported the following list of estimated losses to the local newspaper:

Shang Lee & Co., $10,000; Wah Fong, $6,000; Tu Tuck & Co., $10,000; Wing Lee, $6,000; Yu Chung, $10,000; Restaurant, $3,000; buildings $10,000 (Sacramento Daily Union: 4 July 1855).

The Shang Lee Company's loss was reported to have been primarily of opium, while other merchants lost, among other goods, a total of 85 tons of rice. Loss of life was also indicated, as the fire company expressed fear for the survival of a number of individuals confined in the Chinese hospital next door to Sze-Yap's building (Sacramento Daily Union: 4 July 1855).

Following the fire, the Sacramento City Council had an emergency meeting, in which they amended an ordinance fixing the limits wherein only fire-proof buildings could be erected to include the "Chinese burnt district." This law was to have a profound influence on the development of the half-block project area. Although the project area was already within the 1852 and 1854 fire limits, the ordinance had not been strictly enforced, and small wood-framed structures continued to be built there. The 1855 fire inspired a crackdown, and fire wardens could, and did, dismantle new attempts to build "combustible shanties" in the neighborhood (Sacramento Daily Union: 4 July 1855, 23 August 1855, 18 August 1857).

Within one week of the fire, "six substantial brick buildings" on both sides of I Street were in the planning stage. A.G. Tryon, who had recently purchased two lots in the project area formerly owned by the City, was one of these developers. An initial proposition to construct small frame buildings on these lots was rejected by the City Council in their new determination to enforce the fire-proofing of I Street. Chinese merchants who owned property on the north side of I Street outside of the project area, also planned to rebuild in brick. The Sacramento Daily Union expressed its editorial approval of these plans:

Aside from the unquestionable improvement which will ensue to that locality in this respect, the event may be regarded as singularly important in its bearing on the future relative condition of the Chinese population in California. It is an acknowledged trait of that singular people to be
tenacious of their customs—they do not readily depart from the beaten path in which they have been accustomed to tread, even though surrounded by the allurements of an active American life. When once some of their more influential countrymen shall have invested a proportion of their means in real estate and permanent brick improvements, the balance who have the ability will the more readily and surely seek similar investments. Should this view of the tendency of the movement prove correct, the objection hitherto frequently urged, that the Chinese accumulate wealth without employing it in advancing the prosperity of the State, must necessarily be quieted or be greatly modified (11 July 1855).

The burnt area remained vacant for a short time, as indicated by the following incident:

A flock of sheep numbering 1007, belonging to the proprietor of the City Market, arrived in the City from Dry Creek yesterday... The drivers were bothered with them around two hours in attempting "to make riffle" of Chinadom. Having ascended the grade they kept running to and fro over the burnt district, stirring up dust and ashes (**Sacramento Daily Union: 24 July 1855**).

By 1 August, however, work had commenced on three brick structures within the project area and two brick structures on the north side of I Street. The project-area structures included a two-story building on I Street, measuring 70 feet by 50 feet, and a 40 foot by 50 foot building on 6th Street, both owned by A.G. Tryon, as well as a two-story, 80 foot by 30 foot building on the north side of the alley built by D.O. Mills. Tryon leased his I Street building to a Chinese company for a number of years and used his 6th Street building as an office and residence; D.O. Mills subdivided his building into five rental units, apparently never occupied by Chinese (**Sacramento Daily Union: 20, 30 July 1855, 1 August 1855**). A photograph of the project area in about 1859 shows these three brick buildings and a number of wooden buildings on the block (plate 1).

Within one month, a number of brick buildings had been completed. These improvements evoked more praise from the local press:

The late fire in Chinadom has resulted advantageously to a portion of the Chinese population, in furnishing them with buildings at once safe, commodious, convenient and comfortable. Where before there was a heterogeneous mass of tenements replete with every element of disease and discomfort, are now erected a number of substantial brick buildings—cool and cleanly and well adapted for pleasant habitations. The main floor of these is, moreover, raised to the grade of the street, whereas, under the old arrangement, it was wholly below the level, and excluded
from the free circulation of air. As the manifest superiority of the new establishments commends itself to John's consideration, it needs no prophet to predict that the close of another year will witness the dissolution of the old shanties that still remain, and the erection of brick buildings in their stead. John must move along with the community generally. He has heretofore, in many ways, proven that he is inoculated with the spirit of progress (Sacramento Daily Union: 31 August 1855).

Ironically, "John" did "move along," but not in the spirit of progress indicated above. The increasing desirability of this property, in combination with the expansion of Sacramento, created a situation in which the Chinese "moved along" down I Street toward the slough. In 1855, the northern half of the IJ56 block formed the southern and the eastern boundary of the Chinese district. This district lay on low ground to either side of the I Street levee built around Sutter Slough; the north side of I Street from Front Street to 6th Street, where the levee turned north, was actually inside of this earthwork (Brienes, West & Schulz 1981: figure 1). Thus, the project area, being that quarter of the Chinese section nearest to the central business district and least liable to flooding, was the most favorable location for Chinese businesses. The north side of I Street between 5th and 6th streets was the focal point for the Chinese community, housing the Sze Yap Company building and the stores of the more successful Chinese merchants. These businesses and the number of Chinese merchants declined in the middle 1860s, as the occupational and residential patterns of their former clientele shifted from independent miners in the northern Sierra to wage laborers throughout the state. Meanwhile, the advantages of the area became apparent to other businessmen, who moved in as civic improvements and private endeavors upgraded the half-block area.

A lithograph of "I Street, 'Chinadom'" published in 1855 renders I Street and the project area as they appeared between the fires of 1854 and 1855 (Barber and Baker 1855:19; this report, cover). Although fanciful in some respects--including a man slipping in the street and two running dogs--this lithograph appears to accurately depict the placement and composition of buildings. Buildings on the north--left--side of the street were significantly more salubrious than those on the south side, which stood below the street's surface and had to be reached by walking down wooden plank bridges. Wood and canvas structures stood on the north side of I Street, while the composition of buildings on the south side could not be determined from the lithograph. These buildings, however, were probably constructed using a mixture of materials: wood, canvas, and iron. The lithograph and other historic records suggest that buildings on both sides of I Street were probably occupied by Chinese merchants, butchers, barbers, and restaurateurs at this time. Following the extension and enforcement of the fire ordinance, further construction in wood was severely controlled, and brick buildings became prominent on the block. Ad hoc wooden structures occupying the City's property would have been removed to make way for these new
constructions. George Baker's 1857 Birds-Eye View of Sacramento shows three 1855 brick structures and what appears to be a row of wooden buildings along the remainder of I Street to 5th. This period represents a transition in the half-block's occupancy. Brick structures facing 6th Street were occupied by the residences of successful businessmen. D.O. Mill's brick building facing the alley was also culturally aligned with the J Street community, and significantly possessed J Street addresses, although actually sited on I Street property. These tenements were apparently occupied by Caucasian working-class families and individuals, and not by Chinese. Tryon's I Street brick building housed a series of Chinese merchants until 1870, and the wooden buildings down I Street probably also housed Chinese businesses. These wooden buildings were replaced by a wood and coal yard by 1869. Occupancy data for 5th Street between the alley and I Street are unclear; but by 1870, this section was also no longer occupied by Chinese. Thus, within a 15-year period, the ethnic make-up and economic orientation of the half-block neighborhood had changed completely. Although due to the proximity of the Chinese community, which now stood between the "China (former Sutter) Slough" and I Street from 5th to 2nd, individual Chinese continued to live and work within the IJ56 block, but the neighborhood no longer was within the domain of "Chinadom." Plate 2 shows the neighborhood as it appeared in an 1869 "Bird's Eye View of Sacramento" (Britton and Rey 1870).

Chinese Merchants on I Street

For many reasons, the reconstruction of the business and occupancy history for I Street suffers from limitations not encountered on neighboring J Street. The Chinese occupants did not own property on this part of I Street, but lived on land belonging at first to "City Hall," and later to three well-known, local landholders: Henry Robinson, D.O. Mills, and A.G. Tryon. Lease agreements between these landowners and the Chinese could not be located in the Recorder's Book of Lease Agreements; in fact, no Chinese names were noted in the early lease books. Furthermore, Chinese merchants did not advertise in English-language newspapers at this time. Thus, although contemporary newspaper accounts placed the project area solidly within the confines of "Chinadom," documentary references to specific activities and residences within the area are few.

City directories, city tax assessments, and city business license books were searched for references to Chinese merchants on I Street between 5th and 6th. The results of this work are summarized on table 2. A number of problems are involved in using these records. The handwriting on assessment and business license books varies between bold copper-plate and spidery scribbles; this, in combination with inconsistencies in the spelling of Chinese names, made a certain amount of interpretation by the researchers.
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D = Directory
A = Assessment Rolls
L = Business License Day Book
F = Fire of 1855 (Sacramento Daily Union: 4 July 1955)
N = North Side of I Street
S = South Side of I Street
a = $3500 improvements; $35325 personal property added in pencil to assessment
b = $2000 Lot; $1800 improvements; $1500 personal property added in pencil to assessment
W = Wells Fargo Directory
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inevitable. Records also did not always list street side, and rarely listed addresses; therefore, it is difficult to place these merchants within the block. Sacramento newspapers from the period 1855 to 1870 were scanned for references to the local Chinese community.

Quong Fat was the first merchant identified on the south side of I Street. In 1856, the value of his personal property was assessed at $1800. By 1858, his address was listed as 148 I, placing him in Tryon's brick building. It is probable that Quong Fat's business was the Chinese company referred to in the 1855 newspaper article as leasing the building. Quong Fat remained at that address until at least 1859; later Wing Lee, first noted in the 1854 tax assessment, was listed at 148 I in 1862. The 1859 tax assessment record listed five Chinese merchants on the south side of I, two of whom were probably located in the brick structure, with the remainder in the wooden buildings. By 1862, the number of merchants had decreased to two, both located in the brick building; one of these merchants, Ten Yuen, appeared in the records as late as 1870, when his address was listed only as I Street. The 1872 assessment record listed 21 Chinese merchants, none of whom gave addresses within the project area. An 1873 directory of Chinese merchants enumerated 29 merchants and four fish dealers in Sacramento. Twenty-six of these merchants had I Street addresses; three were located at the corner of I and 5th streets, with the remainder west of 5th Street (Wells Fargo 1873).

During this period, records indicate that I Street Chinese merchants prospered. The reported losses in the 1855 fire averaged around $8000 per merchant. Despite this financial blow, all five merchants recovered, two apparently even constructing their own brick structures. The 1856 tax assessments for Yu Tuck and Quong Chung were raised accordingly; the assessor added $3500 in improvements and $5325 in personal property to Yu Tuck's value; and $2000 in real estate, $1800 in improvements and $1500 in personal property were added to Quong Chung's worth. These figures represented considerable wealth at the time. Generally, those Chinese in brick buildings were more affluent and stable than their competitors in ephemeral frame structures. Along with the other influential Sacramento merchants, they received regular shipments of goods on the sloops docking in Sacramento (e.g., Sacramento Daily Union: 31 August 1858).

During this period, both Chinese and Caucasians often lived at their place of work. No firm documentary evidence, however, was found to show whether this pattern prevailed in the project area. That place of residence and occupation were not always the same is indicated by the case of a Chinese butcher who met with a fatal accident on the Sacramento Bridge. This man worked on I between 5th and 6th, but lived on I between 4th and 5th (Sacramento Daily Union: 2 July 1858). Census records do indicate that persons of like occupation tended to live together in the Chinese community. The 1860 census for the area listed 21 merchants spread over seven residences. These merchants appear to have lived in the same neighborhood, which also contained two doctors, four butchers, and 11
musicians. The 1857 assessments listed a butcher on the south side of I Street, while the Chinese theater was on I between 4th and 5th, supporting the identification of these enumerations as within and near our neighborhood. As the census enumerator recorded all Chinese as "Ah ______" (e.g., Ah Fong, Ah Fat, Ah Quong), it is nearly impossible to correlate this record with the names on table 2. Generally, three merchants lived together, sometimes accompanied by a clerk or cook, and in one instance by a doctor and a teamster. The merchants ranged in age from 20 to 50, and averaged about 34 years. No women or children lived in any of these, or neighboring, households. Three young Chinese women, with no listed occupation, lived on the outskirts of this Chinese enclave.

As the leading Chinese merchants within the community, these men were probably also influential members of the district companies. The Sze Yap Company appears to have been the main Chinese company in Sacramento during most of the period. This company formed late in 1851 and, by 1854, had an office in Sacramento. In the directory for that year, the "See Up Co." with "A. Thei" as "council" had its office on I Street between 5th and 6th streets. It was unusual for Chinese to own property at this time, but the "See Yep Co." was assessed for a parcel on the north side of I between 5th and 6th streets in 1856 and 1861; in the preceding and intervening years, no owner was shown on the city tax assessment maps (McGowan et al. 1979).

In the summer of 1854, members of four companies, including Sze Yap, banded together to fight the Yeong Wo Company (Barth 1964:94). One such battle, involving some six hundred warriors "armed with tin hats, bamboo shields, tin and iron swords and cutlass a la pick handles," transpired one hot September evening on I Street between 5th and 6th (Daily Alta California: 10 September 1854). Although the press described it as a free-for-all, it was more likely part of the struggle between "Canton" and "Hong Kong" companies which raged in Chinese California that summer. Marysville representatives of the "Canton" faction, of which Sze Yap was a part, sought the advantages of a favorable press and explained their differences to the local editors as follows:

The Hong Kongites have prepared weapons and are anxious to get up a fight with the Cantonians, who, on the contrary, prefer not going to war. The former are engaged in business avocations, while the latter frequent houses of bad repute, and after nightfall sallying out for purposes of provoking difficulty, and perhaps robbing or stealing (Daily Alta California: 10 September 1854).

The Sze Yap Company building was the site of the 1855 fire; the company probably also owned the hospital next door, as these companies provided dormitories, hospitals, and "joss houses" for the use of their members. It appears that at least one of the brick buildings constructed following the fire was financed by Sze Yap Company members. An 1860 census enumeration showed "Ah Cheong?" (Perhaps, Yu Chong?), "Ah Cow," and two other merchants living
together in what is believed to be the Sze Yap building in the middle of the north side of I Street between 5th and 6th. In 1862, emigrants from the Anping, Haiping, and Sinhwui districts separated from the Sze Yap and formed the Hop Wo Company (Barth 1964:96). Some street-fighting accompanied this split, and Ah Cow—a local "agent and business manager" for the "See Yup"—was assassinated in an I Street gambling hall in July of that year. The local newspaper described Ah Cow as "a Chinaman of great distinction of character--brave, fearless and active in putting down anything like rascality among his countrymen." (Sacramento Daily Bee: 16 July 1862). Ah Cow had been well acquainted with the American court system. He once received a $4500 reward for his part in the capture and conviction of a Chinese murderer. Later, he had won a Chinese lottery, which the house refused to pay him, whereupon he went to the authorities and complained against the offenders for running a gambling establishment (Sacramento Daily Bee: 16 July 1862). For these and other reasons, Ah Cow had not been a popular figure with some Chinese groups. Ah Cow's funeral procession was quite large: "21 carriages, containing Chinese and some Americans" (Sacramento Daily Bee: 21 July 1862).

A documentary reference connecting the study-area Chinese merchants and a Chinese district company was not found. A dinner given in 1861 by two leading Chinese merchants for a party of influential Sacramentans may indicate such a relationship, if "Ah Tai" can be taken to be "A. Théi"—the 1854 Sze Yap councilor—and "Ah Teen" can be taken to be "Ten Yuen"—a merchant at 152 I Street.

Problems and conflicts within the Sze Yap company may have been yet another factor leading to the changes in the socio-economic orientation of the project area. The Sze Yap Company parcel across the street was unoccupied in 1864 and was sold to a non-Chinese by 1866. Thus, numerous changes from both within and without the Chinese community resulted in a new geographic focal point for the area's Chinese: I Street between 5th and 2nd streets.
PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

During the past 15 years, Sacramento has been the scene of numerous large-scale archaeological excavations. In fact, Schulz et al. (1980a:1) suggest that it may be "the most intensively investigated nineteenth-century urban site in the western United States." Despite this vast amount of excavation, no materials have been recovered to date from discrete archaeological features correlated, through documentary research, with Chinese occupation. The presence of a Chinese community has been indicated archaeologically by the large amount of Overseas Chinese material, particularly ceramics (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1979b), recovered during these excavations. The volume of work done in Sacramento and the lack of a discrete type collection from a documented Chinese archaeological feature have increased the research value of the IJ56 block features.

Overseas Chinese material culture is quite distinctive; within the past few years, numerous archaeological excavations outside Sacramento have retrieved collections attributed to the Chinese on the basis of these distinctions. The degree to which these collections can be attributed to particular populations, activities, and dates vary. Some collections merely represent an anonymous Chinese at an unknown time past, while others are documented quite precisely. The following section will describe some of these collections and their associations.

Descriptive Reports

A 1967 archaeological salvage project in connection with Tucson, Arizona's urban renewal program yielded a large collection of Chinese ceramics representing nearly a century of occupation, beginning circa 1880. Olsen (1978) prepared a descriptive report on this collection, analyzing the wares according to their function, decoration, and mode of manufacture. The large sample size and long temporal range of the ceramics enabled Olsen to suggest a relative chronology for Chinese brown glazed stoneware wine bottles, to distinguish domestic and restaurant wares, and to reconstruct trade networks.

A large quantity of artifacts was recovered in 1969 from an abandoned Chinatown, occupied from about 1875 to 1930, in Yreka, California. Although preliminary work has been done on this collection (Helvey, n.d.), it has yet to be thoroughly analyzed. On
the basis of coins and tokens recovered here, Farris (1979:51) argued for the use of Chinese "cash" coins as small-value currency within the Overseas Chinese community.

One of the largest collections of Chinese ceramics from an archaeological deposit was recovered in 1979 during work on the San Francisco Wastewater Management Project. At least 560 vessels, believed to have been produced and deposited from 1880 into the early 1900s, were recovered from an area of fill on the San Francisco waterfront. On the basis of this large and diverse collection, Garaventa (1980, 1981) identified a number of varieties and sizes of vessels heretofore unrecognized within archaeological assemblages.

### Major Archaeological Investigation Reports

The preceding studies are descriptive. Due to the lack of adequate archaeological and historical controls, the recovered artifacts may be viewed only as representatives of a particular type and not as associations representative of a particular household or activity, at one point or numerous points through time. Ventura, California, provided the scene for the "first systematic archaeological study of Chinese culture in the United States," directed by Greenwood (1978). In this case, the "site" was a city block containing archaeological remains spanning the spectrum from prehistoric times through the Mission Period to the twentieth century (Greenwood 1975, 1976). Two features associated with Chinese occupation were excavated—a trash pit and a backfilled well. The trash pit apparently contained primarily domestic remains discarded in the 1890s by the residents of a laundry, while the well deposit appeared to have been filled with the refuse of a second Chinese laundry when it was demolished around 1907, to which the neighborhood Chinese added their discards to fill the remainder of the void (Bente' 1976). A result of this project is a documented collection of artifacts for use in comparative studies (e.g., Chace 1976). The investigation used a synthetic approach, combining archaeology and history to address the question of acculturation: "To what degree did the Overseas Chinese adapt to life in an American community and which aspects of their culture endured the transplant?" (Greenwood 1978:42). Greenwood concluded that the Chinese emigration pattern and employment situation were such that interaction with the host community was, at this time, limited to the economic sphere:

The Chinese culture thus remained essentially intact and it was Ventura which reacted—with hostility, fear, and overt actions which only served to reinforce the segregated settlement and the "foreign" ways (1980:120).

Their material goods, recovered archaeologically, indicated that the Ventura Chinese had maintained traditional ways (Greenwood 1980:121).
In 1977, the Nevada State Museum excavated a portion of a city block inhabited by Chinese from around 1900 until the 1930s in Lovelock, Nevada. This project recovered over 4500 identifiable artifacts, many of which are described and illustrated in a voluminous site report (Hattori et al. 1979). This collection, from a small Chinese enclave in the sparsely settled Great Basin, overlapped in time with the Ventura collection, providing good material for comparison. Based on comparative data from the two sites, Rusco (1979) suggested a differential rate in the acceptance and adaptation of American goods by the Chinese. Her conclusions included the following:

1. The use of predominantly Chinese ceramic tableware and food containers may have persisted longer among Overseas Chinese than the exclusive use of traditional cookware and eating utensils.

2. Traditional Chinese food preferences, adapted to locally available food supplies, also persisted longer than exclusive use of traditional cookware and eating utensils.

3. The use of Western condiments, prepared medicines, and alcoholic beverages preceded the extensive use of other Western bottled and canned products (Rusco 1979:648-649).

Summarizing the historical and archaeological studies of the Lovelock Chinese community, Rusco concluded:

The archaeological remains at Ninth and Amherst reflect the historical information about Lovelock's small Chinese population. Material culture remains indicate a traditional Chinese domestic pattern adapted to rural western United States. Locally obtainable food, selected and prepared to Chinese taste, in western cookware, was usually served in Chinese dishes. There are indications that the occupants of the small cottages on the "wrong" side of the tracks in Lovelock practiced the virtues of industry and thrift, and were rewarded by a relatively comfortable standard of living (1979:652).

A study of railroad labor camps has provided a view of non-urban Chinese. Two camps, separated by a few miles and occupied simultaneously—one primarily by Chinese, and the other by Western Europeans—allowed Briggs (1974) to examine the similarities and differences in the material culture and in the settlement and subsistence patterns of these two groups. Using data from site mapping, surface collection, and the historic record, Briggs (1974:203) found that while maintenance activities at the two camps were, of necessity, similar, the "different cultures and constraints resulted in dissimilar social organization." In the realm of material goods, one group's artifacts came via the West Coast and China, while the other's originated on the East Coast and Europe.
These artifacts represent an "index fossil or horizon" for the year 1882, when, upon project completion, the camps were abandoned.

In their study of Death Valley's Harmony Borax Works, staffed by Chinese laborers during its period of operation from 1883 until 1888, Teague and Shenk have suggested that although isolated geographically, Harmony was an "urban satellite, dependent upon San Francisco for its survival" (1977:216). Most of the site's food and material goods, including orders from Chinese merchants, was shipped from San Francisco via railroad and supply wagons. Through this network, the Chinese maintained traditional foodways and did not depend upon locally available natural resources to any measurable degree (Teague and Shenk 1977:200). Many of the ingredients of these traditional meals, eaten in Chinese bowls, were shipped in brown glazed stoneware vessels; over 99 percent of the ceramics recovered from the site were Chinese in origin (Teague and Shenk 1977:98). Chinese laborers at Harmony did, however, adopt American tools and, to a lesser degree, American clothing and food (Teague and Shenk 1977:216).

Recent and On-Going Work

The Chinese were an integral part of western mining frontier settlements. Archaeological testing in connection with the construction of a water line in Idaho City uncovered a feature related to Chinese participation in the Boise Basin Gold Rush beginning about 1865 (Jones et al. 1979). As the presence of easily mined gold diminished around the Boise Basin and elsewhere in 1880, Chinese began to settle in Boise's Chinatown. In 1979, a portion of this area was excavated by the University of Idaho. One of their main research goals was to investigate the "process by which the Chinese became acculturated in American society" (Jones 1980:5). To date, a preliminary report has been completed on this work (Jones 1980), while a final report is in progress which will provide an "in-depth description of the artifacts... a chronology of Chinese ceramic pattern use and a view of economic acculturation among the Chinese at the site" using ceramic and faunal remains (Sprague 1981a:24). Specifically, the researchers will attempt to show that economic conditions may speed the acculturation process.

Recent archaeological surveys in the gold districts of the West have produced considerable data on Chinese mining and miners. D.L. Felton, of the California Department of Parks and Recreation, has inventoried the prehistoric and historic cultural resources of the Malakoff Diggins State Park, which includes a large portion of the former town of North Bloomfield (Schumacher 1977:57). This hydraulic mine, the largest in the state, employed hundreds of Chinese laborers before it was closed down by a court injunction in 1884. The Sawyer Decision of that year banned the dumping of mining debris into waterways, and thus made hydraulic mining illegal. Many Chinese, however, continued to operate small, remote hydraulic
endeavors. To the north, during reconnaissance in the Shasta-Trinity Forest, J. Baxter discovered two Chinese cemeteries: one intact and dating to the 1850s, and one vandalized and dating to the 1850s-1860s (Schumacher 1979:2).

Perhaps the most exciting piece of work in this domain is a recent thesis on Chinese mining in the Siskiyous (Sprague 1981b:43). In this study, Lalande integrated the results of archaeological survey and excavation with data contained in records of a merchant who had supplied the Chinese miners at one of the sites. The study looked at three areas of material culture changes:

- The subsistence pattern (food preference, personal grooming, wearing apparel),
- the settlement pattern (characteristic locations of habitation sites, construction materials and techniques, siting of structures relative to the cardinal directions),
- and the technological pattern (gold extraction methods as evidenced by hydraulic mining sites) (Sprague 1981b:43).

Lalande found little evidence of cultural change in food preferences or grooming habits; ready adoption of Western clothing; and a mixture of relaxation modes combining opium, Western liquor, and, to a lesser degree, Chinese "wines." The settlement pattern showed the adoption of American construction techniques and materials, combined with a tendency to maintain the native Chinese patterns of architectural siting. In the sphere of mining technology, Lalande found no difference in the hydraulic methods of Chinese and non-Chinese miners; tailings were found to be related to environmental factors and not to ethnic behavior patterns.

A recent study has taken a different approach. Tackling the question of acculturation and attacking the Ventura, Tucson, and Lovelock studies as supporters of the "obsolete and insidious 'sojourner thesis,'" Whitlow (1981:2, 63) proposed a "settlers theory." According to Whitlow (1981:15-17), the "sojourner thesis"—that the Chinese came to the United States only to make their fortune, at which time they would return to China—was initiated in the 1870s by political opportunists and reactionaries, as well as by economic factors. Whitlow claimed that the presence of many Chinese families in this country for generations negates the "thesis" and supports the notion that some Chinese, at least, came as "settlers." The archaeological recovery of American bottles and tin cans along with artifacts of Chinese origin in a trash pit associated with a twentieth-century Chinese bunkhouse was proposed as an example of "extrinsic acculturation" by the Chinese (Whitlow 1981:63).

Faunal analysis has become increasingly important to archaeological studies of the Chinese. Two approaches to the study of ethnicity have been developed by archaeologists analyzing faunal remains from Overseas Chinese cultural deposits. One of these is a "holistic" approach, best typified by Langenwalter's (1980) account of late nineteenth-century Chinese subsistence at the Lower China
Store, Madera County, California. Taking all relevant variables from this site into account, he concluded that both the faunal and artifactual data strongly supported the descriptive model of late nineteenth-century Far Western Chinese developed by Spier (1958a, 1958b). Langenwalter noted that considerable effort was expended by nineteenth-century Far Western Chinese to maintain their traditional diet, albeit with variations resulting from the replacement and/or supplementation of less easily obtained foods.

The other zooarchaeological approach to the study of Overseas Chinese ethnicity is a more particularistic one, which can be subdivided into two areas of study. One of these is faunal spectrum analysis, which consists of calculating the quantities of remains representing various types of animals and/or determining the presence of animal species unique to the diet of Chinese-Americans. Study of the animal remains from cultural deposits associated with late nineteenth-century Chinese-American communities in Ventura, California, and Lovelock, Nevada, has revealed the presence of high proportions of pig and domestic fowl (i.e., chicken and duck) remains (Dansie 1979; Simons 1980a, 1981b; S. Gust, unpublished data). Recent analysis of the bird remains from the late nineteenth-century Chinese community in Woodland, California, has also disclosed that domestic fowl make up the majority of these remains (D. Simons, unpublished data). Examination of the Lovelock, Nevada, fauna has also revealed the presence of various specialty items associated with traditional Chinese cooking and medicine, including turtle, bobcat, cuttlefish, and Asiatic pit viper (Dansie 1979).

The other particularistic approach to the study of Overseas Chinese ethnicity which has been utilized by zooarchaeologists is analysis of butchering practices and patterning. Recent study of the poultry remains from Lovelock, Ventura (Simons 1980a, 1981b), and Woodland (D. Simons, unpublished data) has revealed the presence of butchering patterns which can be directly correlated with present-day Chinese-American poultry-butchering practices. Examination of the butchering patterns characterizing the remains of large animals (i.e., cattle, sheep, pigs) from these sites, however, has not revealed any distinctive patterns which can be directly attributed to Chinese food-preparation practices (A. Dansie and S. Gust, personal communication 1981).

Currently, a number of promising archaeological studies of nineteenth-century Chinese are in the preliminary stages. Peter Schulz of the California State Department of Parks and Recreation is working on two late nineteenth-century Chinese fishing camps situated in Marin County. Thus far, the work has included initial documentary research, oral history, and test excavations of both sites (Schulz 1981). Recent archaeological work in the northern Sierras discovered several 1880s Chinese mining habitation sites (Praetzellis, in progress). In the southern Sierras, Greenwood (personal communication 1982) has located what may be the earliest archaeological site associated with Chinese gold miners discovered in the West to date. In Silver Reef, Utah, during the initial stages
of a long-term project conducted by the University of Pennsylvania, archaeologists tested a portion of that town's Chinese quarter and found a mixture of Chinese and Anglo-American items (Ayres 1981:40). Further afield, in New Zealand, Ritchie (1980) has been studying the archaeology of the Chinese mining era—circa 1865 to 1910— in Central Otago. The associations of Chinese material culture found in New Zealand are in many ways similar to those found in the Western United States (Ritchie, personal communication 1981).

A number of reports on the archaeology of the Overseas Chinese are available; these possess varying degrees of sophistication in their use of excavation methods, documentary research, and theoretical orientation. Some of them are helpful as identification aids in materials analysis, while others provide the basis for comparative studies within a critical, well-defined theoretical perspective. The large number of recent projects soon to reach fruition should result in a major breakthrough in the integrative archaeological study of the Overseas Chinese.
RESEARCH DESIGN

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General Considerations

The preceding review of archaeological work on Chinese sites in the Western United States indicates the current interest in the general problem of acculturation, that is, the extent to which the immigrant Chinese population began to accept the values, beliefs, and attitudes which characterized American culture during the second half of the nineteenth century (Jones 1980; Whitlow 1981). Thus far, historical archaeologists have successfully demonstrated the persistence of distinctive foodways patterns among Chinese immigrants in both rural and urban areas. This concern with the processes of cultural and social change affecting the Chinese is but one aspect of a more widespread interest on the part of archaeologists in the dynamics of cultural pluralism and social stratification within American society from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries.

Much archaeological research has focused on segments of the population which, because of their cultural and social backgrounds or limited economic means, were not fully incorporated into the mainstream of American society. Singling out Blacks, Chinese, and other ethnic and social minorities for study is most often justified by the argument that these groups are not represented in the conventional historical record, or are presented in an extremely biased light. As one of the few objective sources of data available for reconstructing the social and cultural life of these people, archaeological remains become very significant (e.g., Schuyler 1976, 1980).

Still, the archaeological study of cultural pluralism, and specifically of the Chinese in nineteenth-century America, has been fraught with simplistic assumptions about what archaeological data can reveal about the social and cultural life of these people. In preparing a research design for Chinese habitation sites in Sacramento, it is thus necessary to formulate questions which are (1) sensitive to the complexity of such processes as urbanization,
ethnicity, acculturation, and assimilation, and (2) realistic in terms of the known advantages and limitations of the archaeological and historical records. In addition, the research chosen for the features encountered on the IJ56 block should be structured to represent one specific application of the more general research strategy, proposed for the city of Sacramento as a whole, which has as its major goal:

coordinating the archaeological sampling of households representing different ethnic, minority, and economic groups within urban residential neighborhoods with a detailed reconstruction of the process of residential differentiation during the transitional stage of urban growth... (Praetzellis et al. 1980:111).

As noted in the study of the Golden Eagle site (Praetzellis et al. 1980), the beginnings of the transitional stage in a city such as Sacramento are characterized by the lack of clear spatial separation between commercial and domestic land-use and the close proximity of residential groups composed of individuals and families from widely divergent cultural, occupational, and class backgrounds. It is a stage which may be viewed as intermediate between the pre-industrial city and the fully modern one. In a study of personal identity and social behavior in urban public spaces, Lofland (1973) observed that the limited spatial segregation of pre-industrial cities should result in "overt heterogeneity" or the dominance of "appearential ordering" as expressed through costume, body markings, and language. With industrialization, the growth of modern cities has been accompanied by the decline of appearential ordering and the use of locational ordering as the basis for social interaction.

The modern urbanite, then, in contrast to his pre-industrial counterpart, uses location rather than appearance to identify strange others who surround him. In the pre-industrial city, space was chaotic, appearance ordered. In the modern city, appearances are chaotic, space is ordered. In the pre-industrial city, a man was what he wore. In the modern city, a man is where he stands (Lofland 1973:82).

Although the dichotomy between these two types of identification and social action is somewhat overdrawn in the above statement, it is clear that appearential ordering was an important basis of interaction in early Sacramento, as well as in other Western frontier cities.

The crowding of large numbers of immigrants in Sacramento into multi-household dwellings, surrounded by various commercial enterprises, makes it extremely difficult to correlate discrete refuse deposits with specific social groups or businesses identifiable from city directories and censuses. But it is within this transitional urban settlement stage that the potential for archaeological expression of ethnicity and class among the urban
residential population appears to be greatest. It is proposed that, in the absence of social distancing measures based primarily on spatial separation, individuals and groups in frequent face-to-face contact during the transitional stage would have depended heavily on the conscious manipulation of extrinsic symbols for group-boundary maintenance—symbols which often find their referents in behavioral and material form. Such boundary-maintenance mechanisms would have been especially pronounced among those groups, such as the Chinese, who were singled out for discrimination and persecution for reasons of their physical or obvious cultural distinctiveness in addition to their perceived position as an economic threat. Symbolic boundary maintenance would have been grounded in either the aggressive perpetuation of traditional behavior or in the adoption of non-traditional behavior to create new symbols of traditional identity. The latter may have involved varying degrees of participation in non-traditional activities.

The above general proposition is based on several assumptions about the nature of ethnic group formation and the social dynamics of ethnicity. Much recent thinking on the subject of ethnicity has emphasized the contextual basis of its definition; particularly in urban situations, ethnicity develops as an adaptive strategy for coping with conflict resulting from competition for valued and often limited resources and the unequal distribution of political power (A. Cohen 1969; R. Cohen 1978:391). This perspective has already been applied by at least one historical archaeologist to rural frontier contexts in the Far West (Hardesty 1980); it has been elaborated upon by others as part of a formal model of ethnic differentiation based upon the explicit use of ecological principles (Hannan 1979; Lauwagie 1979; Abruzzi 1982). These efforts have been directed toward the goal of explaining the conditions, rather than the specific processes by which they are maintained. Other scholars have focused on the latter problem, particularly the role of symbols in defining and maintaining group boundaries in situations of real or perceived environmental stress (i.e., Siegel 1970; Rowntree and Conkey 1980).

Although the development of a general model which integrates ecological principles, such as niche diversification (Abruzzi 1982), with those relating stress-response and symbolization to selective pressure (Rowntree and Conkey 1980) is beyond the scope of this study, many of the elements of such a model are especially appropriate to understanding ethnicity within the transitional period of urbanization in nineteenth-century Western American cities.

The above approach stresses the situational and selective nature of ethnicity and acculturation and particularly emphasizes the fact that the economic and political structure of the urban contact situation often results in the strengthening or reaffirmation of traditional identities, redefined in new institutions and symbolic forms. In the case of Overseas Chinese communities, one anthropologist has labeled this process "conservative change": "A dynamic process by which traditional institutions are modified or given new form but their functions
remain the same" (Watson 1975:200). In this view, the process of change affecting urban immigrant groups is no longer seen as a progressive, unidirectional phenomenon which ultimately results in the abandonment or loss of cultural traditions and full acceptance and participation in the social institutions of the larger society.

In considering the archaeological implications of this general proposition, it must be recognized that participation in non-traditional activities, or the pronounced lack thereof, is not necessarily related to these ethnic boundary-maintenance or resource-competition strategies. More importantly, while such evidence may be indicative of social change, it cannot be directly related to the broader processes of cultural change (i.e., acculturation). Archaeologists have long recognized that, given the nature of their data, they cannot directly observe such cultural phenomena as beliefs, attitudes, and values, but they can at least partially reconstruct patterns of behavior which were differentially participated in by particular social groups (Binford 1962, 1965). Thus, only those adaptive strategies of ethnic and class boundary maintenance and economic adaptation which find behavioral expression in material form are appropriate subject matter for historical archaeologists concerned with cultural pluralism and social stratification.

In the case of Sacramento and other nineteenth-century urban sites in the West, the definition of these behavioral patterns is complicated by several factors which relate mainly to the broad economic context of urban settlement, as well as to the more specific economic conditions of the social and cultural groups whose households are being sampled. As recently noted in an evaluation of the archaeological potential of the transitional phase of San Jose's urban development,

Archaeological remains from households of this period will provide partial evidence of consumer behavior, that is, the participation of different social groups in the local expression of a national economic system. Depending on the availability and cost of different categories of manufactured goods, patterns of acquisition and disposal at the household level may, indeed, be related to factors of ethnicity and class, but the latter can only be demonstrated once the assimilative pressures contained in consumer products and marketing practices have been adequately considered. In order to define these assimilative pressures it is necessary to examine the consumer tastes of the predominantly middle class European-Americans who made up the great majority of the residential population (Theodoratus Cultural Research 1980:79).

In other words, aspects of the consumer behavior of households representing different ethnic and class backgrounds have to be firmly connected through a broad comparative study with the processes of ethnicity, class boundary maintenance, and other adaptive strategies
occurring in the urban context. Only then will it be possible to draw generalizations about such phenomena as cultural and social change. To make such connections, furthermore, it is necessary to control the economic factors which determined what consumer goods could be acquired and at what cost by individual households, as well as the character of their change through time (i.e., cycles of economic depression and recovery). Archaeological data which partially provide such controls have been forthcoming from Sacramento. Specifically, the inventory of the Warren and Cothrin stores, which burned in 1852, provide at least a partial index of available ceramics at that time (Praetzellis, unpublished data). Similarly, materials dating to the 1860s and attributed to the prestigious Golden Eagle Hotel can be thought of as the results of middle-class consumer behavior, albeit in an institutional setting (Praetzellis et al. 1980).

Other important variables must also be adequately considered in order to isolate ethnic and other boundary-maintenance strategies during the transitional period, as these processes are reflected in patterns of divergence in household consumer behavior. Some of these variables are demographic in nature, such as the age and sexual composition of households, or relate to dominant forms of social organization present, such as nuclear versus extended family structures. Other factors more immediately affect the economic situation of households, such as occupation of household members and the nature of property- and other wealth-holding.

Most of these variables can be identified, at least in general terms, from city directories, censuses, Sanborn fire insurance maps, city plats, and probate and tax records. Such information is often not exploited by historical archaeologists, either because the necessary research has not been done or, more commonly, because many archaeologists do not recognize the essential role such data must play in their research. Instead, many workers in this field are content to define statistical patterns in their artifactual and faunal material, label these patterns, and then search for them anew on other sites of the same period. In the absence of a detailed reconstruction of the demographic, economic, social, and cultural context of the households being observed archaeologically, such "pattern recognition" can shed little light on the manner in which consumer choices reflect the processes of ethnic boundary maintenance and other adaptive strategies which developed in Western cities during the transitional stage. Only by controlling these variables to the extent that the surviving documentary record allows will it be possible to isolate the archaeological correlates of significant adaptive strategies undertaken by culturally and socially constituted residential groups within the transitional zone of cities such as Sacramento.
Implementation of the research strategy which has been proposed for Sacramento will require the sampling of archaeological deposits known to belong to households whose members were of distinctly differing cultural backgrounds and differing occupational and economic levels. One obvious group present in many Western cities during the transitional stage were the immigrant Chinese. While this group has been subjected to archaeological study in a variety of contexts, little systematic correlation of detailed historical data on Overseas Chinese household and community composition with discrete and tightly dated archaeological deposits has been accomplished. Given the association of most of the features identified on the IJ56 block with a small group of Chinese merchants residing on the property during the period 1850 to 1870, these deposits may afford an opportunity to investigate incipient adaptive strategies employed by a very important and widespread type of Overseas Chinese settlement, "the sojourning community."

In spite of the growing corpus of research on Chinese sites in North America, few efforts have been made to correlate materials recovered from such sites with specific Overseas Chinese settlement-types or with specific segments of such communities. Recent radical criticism notwithstanding (Whitlow 1981:2), most early Chinese settlements in the Far West have been identified as "sojourner" communities, a settlement-type common to the Chinese emigration pattern for many centuries (Barth 1964:50; Omohundru 1978:114). The sojourner "clings to the culture of his own ethnic group...unwilling to organize himself as a permanent resident in the country of his sojourn" (Siu 1952:34). According to a study of a Chinese immigrant community in the Philippines,

Sojourning involves periodic returns to the hometown, and for the Chinese, establishing organizations as bases in the overseas local[el] for receiving, placing, and dispatching migrants and their money (Omohundru 1978:113).

While the sojourner model has guided most archaeological interpretations of Chinese sites in North America, little attention has been paid to the specific components of Chinese sojourner-communities, most notably the Chinese merchant-middlemen, frequently connected with immigrant communities. A general model has been suggested which outlines the development and perpetuation of the middleman minority position; here, the decision to sojourn or to settle is influenced by several variables, including host hostility, minority group solidarity, economic position, and conditions in the homeland (Bonacich 1973). From the onset of Chinese settlement in North America, the merchant held a position of great influence. Although of relatively low status in traditional Chinese society, in America sojourning Chinese merchants "combined the prestige of mandarins, the wealth of the gentry, the authority of family heads, the status of scholars, and the power of creditors" (Barth 1964:81).
Furthermore, the control by the merchants of the Chinese secret societies—particularly the "Six Companies," which was responsible, among other things, for representing the Chinese communities in American courts—led many Americans to judge all Chinese by what they knew of these merchants (Sandmeyer 1973:12).

In his position as middleman, the Chinese sojourner-merchant acted as a sort of "culture broker" and, hence, a potential source for culture change as either a mediator or an innovator (Press 1969:207). It is likely, however, given the dynamics of Chinese ethnicity in America discussed above, that the Chinese merchant represented a conservative force, manipulating ethnicity for economic advantage, as well as to maintain his social position within the immigrant community. For example, in his study of more recent Chinese merchant communities in the Philippines, Omohundru (1978:129-133) suggested that the economic success of sojourning Chinese middlemen has been the result of a deliberate emphasis on cultural differences between the Chinese and their Filipino customers. Thus, incipient Chinese urban ethnicity in Sacramento may well reflect the economically motivated strategies common to other overseas merchant communities. Background historical data on the composition of these merchant households and on their economic status has been noted in an earlier section of the report. These data, together with more detailed information on the relative cost and availability of both imported Chinese and Euro-American-manufactured goods of the period, would, if available, permit a more refined view of the consumer behavior of these individuals. Aspects of the patterning evident in this behavior may then be evaluated in terms of the extent to which it suggests the manipulation of ethnicity for political and economic purposes.

Such an evaluation will, of course, depend in part on the broad comparative base referred to previously, consisting of discrete archaeological samples derived from deposits tied directly to other households residing immediately adjacent to Chinatown. It will also require more specific comparisons with other segments of the Chinese community, as their composition and economic position varied through time. These comparisons should involve the archaeological remains of other exclusively male households, such as those of laborers and other occupational groups, as well as materials from families residing within the community in the latter part of the century. In this way, it will be possible to critically examine the following conclusions regarding the process of cultural and social change affecting Sacramento's Chinatown during the period 1850-1900:

Those areas in American life to which the early immigrants seemed most adaptable are precisely the areas in which adoption of American practices permitted retention of a fundamentally Chinese way of life. Valley City's Chinese residents were accommodating themselves to some American institutions; they were utilizing American religious and judicial processes, but primarily to further Chinese ends. This type of accommodation does not demand shifts in value
orientation, nor does it signify a desire to embrace the ideology of the host nation (Weiss 1974:64-65).

The recovery and analysis of materials associated with the earliest sojourning middleman population represents a promising beginning for the archaeological study of the Chinese community in Sacramento, revealing the processes by which these people adjusted themselves to the physical, economic, social, and political context of the city's development during its transitional stage. Such archaeological research must necessarily focus on the behavioral aspects of ethnic boundary maintenance (i.e., the archaeological correlates of varying degrees of participation in American consumer practices on the part of the Chinese), rather than on the broader institutional and cultural dimensions of Chinese life which were essential to preserving identity in the midst of various assimilative pressures. But, in combination with extensive analysis of primary historical sources pertaining to this community, archaeology should provide at least a partial test of the statement that, during the period 1850 to 1900, "acculturation...did not occur" among Sacramento's Chinese (Weiss 1974:65).

Research Questions

Based on the preceding research design, the following site-specific research problems were identified prior to fieldwork:

1. The use and occupancy of lots facing on 5th Street and on I Street are poorly documented for the period prior to 1870. The archaeological features appear to date from this early period and may supply data on the demographic and economic character of the neighborhood's residents. Further study could also address the occupancy and land use of this half-block area prior to the 1854 fire, when reports specifically mention Chinese dwellings.

2. Each of the features containing Chinese material appears to have been deposited over a short time period, during which households of exclusively male merchants resided on the block; thus, they represent tightly datable assemblages associated with a significant Overseas Chinese settlement-type which may be used as a basis for comparison with Chinese sites throughout the West. Such comparisons could profitably be made with assemblages recovered from railroad, mining, and other rural sites, as well as with those from urban sites dating to a later period. To our knowledge, no pre-1860 Overseas Chinese collection has been excavated and analyzed by archaeologists working in the West. This factor vastly increases the research potential
of the IJ56 block features. A number of previously unrecorded Chinese ceramic forms were noted, during testing, as were a wide variety of basal marks, further indicating the potential of the features as comparative collections.

3. The early date of these features is also important to studies focusing on the adaptive boundary-maintenance and economic strategies employed by Chinese immigrants in their effort to adjust to Western urban environments. These features apparently date to the earliest period of Chinese immigration, when the first settlers, including sojourning middlemen, established a pattern of survival tactics and coping techniques which was passed on to the following waves of immigrants. These features may thus provide data on early Overseas Chinese patterns of consumption, spatial organization, and health and sanitary conditions during the first years of their adjustment to the urban West. The features may also supply information on early trade connections with China and the availability of Chinese goods, as well as the consumption of non-Chinese products. It has been suggested that the Chinese relied on domestic poultry as opposed to wild game birds at an earlier date than did other urban Californians. Bird bones from features on the IJ56 block could be used to test this proposition. It may also be possible to distinguish Chinese butchering practices and speciality items associated with traditional Chinese cooking and/or medicines on bones from these documented early Chinese features.

4. Historical archaeologists are attempting, often without success, to address the question of acculturation. It is possible that the study of refuse discarded by these early Chinese merchants in Sacramento may shed some light on the problem, if not on the acculturation process itself, by providing evidence of consumer behavior that can be linked to conscious strategies of ethnic boundary maintenance. Reconstructing the consumer context of these goods, such as their cost and availability, is essential to these studies. The question of cost and availability of both Chinese and Euro-American consumer goods for this period is a difficult, if not impossible, one. Archaeology, however, can give an index on availability, while relative costs may be inferred from the documentary record for some classes of artifacts. As place of residence and place of business are assumed to have been the same for most I Street merchants, it may not always be possible to distinguish domestic refuse from commercial refuse. Nonetheless, the choice by such a merchant to either stock or purchase for personal use certain Euro-American items (for instance, English ceramics) may be a good indicator of conscious participation in non-traditional activities, for the merchant had the access and the means to purchase
traditional Chinese ceramics. Such participation may, in turn, be related to mechanisms of identity maintenance employed by Sacramento's early Chinese immigrants.

The City of Sacramento Redevelopment Agency, and the Museum and History Division are in the initial stages of an on-going program of archaeological investigations. For this reason, research questions of a larger, neighborhood scale are particularly appropriate. It has been suggested elsewhere that on-site refuse disposal in discrete units--such as is exemplified by features 1, 4, and 5--would have occurred mainly during the city's "transitional" stage (Praetzellis et al. 1980:107-109). The nature of these features make it possible to use them to investigate refuse disposal at this period in Sacramento's development. By studying deposits of this type, correlations between patterns of disposal behavior and cultural and socio-economic affiliation can be determined, and change in the behavior of these groups can be measured through time. What were the functions of features 4, 5, 6, and 7? How did the residents of our study area cope with flood, trash and sewage disposal, and fire before these problems were managed by government officials? Did our area's differ from other neighborhoods' residents in their coping mechanisms? What are the archaeological manifestations of changes in neighborhood values, for instance, the "J-ification" of I Street?
ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD INVESTIGATIONS

Field Methods

The criteria by which areas to be excavated were chosen are outlined in the Project History section. In this section, the techniques used in the field are described so that the reader may be able to judge the status of the artifact collections as behaviorally discrete assemblages and the validity of interpretations made elsewhere in this report. Two procedures were used: trenching with heavy equipment, and exposing and excavating the features by hand.

The entire half-block was overlain by mixed soils and demolition rubble, which presumably had been trucked in as leveling for the parking lot. A backhoe/loader with a 24-inch trenching-bucket was used to strip 3 to 5 feet (.9 to 1.5 m) of the overburden from the areas to be investigated. Although the upper 2 to 3 feet (60 to 90 cm) of fill were heavily compacted as a result of this use of the lot for nearly 20 years, the nineteenth-century archaeological deposits did not appear to have been adversely affected by compaction. In the area of the main cluster of archaeological features, the backhoe carefully removed the overburden in two broad swaths. Here, the machine excavated down to a scattering of surveyor's flagging which had been placed just above the archaeological deposits during the testing phase to allow easy relocation. For safety reasons—and for convenience—an area around each feature was excavated to this level. To the west of the main complex, two privies (features 2 and 3) were exposed in a similar way and the trench which had been cut through part of Feature 3 during testing was re-excavated. In general, the aim of the backhoe work was to expose the nineteenth-century ground surface in plan, so that features could be excavated from the top down. This approach contrasts with techniques that call for the machine trenches to cross-section shallow archaeological deposits, which are then dug from the walls of the trench, and with methods in which hollow features are pedestaled—i.e., the layers of fill are left hanging in the trench, the surrounding soil having been removed—and excavated without reference to the relationship of the surrounding soil to the fill.

Next, the remaining few inches of imported soil were removed by shovel to reveal the undisturbed native soil stratum. Significantly, no trace of a developed A horizon soil was seen at this level. It is inconceivable that soil development had not occurred preceding the abandonment of this surface, since the marshy conditions in the pre-1850s era would have encouraged the formation of A0 and Al horizons. Consequently, it seems likely that some
topsoil had been removed from the site, possibly during demolition clearance. If this was the case, it is likely that most, if not all, archaeological features were truncated. Next, the surface of the features and the surrounding soil were carefully trowel-scraped—not brushed—so that distinctions between native and fill soils could be seen. As a result, multiple phases of deposition of certain feature complexes were identified.

All the archaeological features were excavated stratigraphically, that is, according to the units in which they were deposited and in reverse order of their deposition. The deeper features—numbers 4, 5, and 7—were cross-sectioned: By removing half of the fill only, a sectional view of the remainder was exposed which could be used to interpret the fill pattern and guide the excavation of the remaining part. Although the authors agree with Harris' (1979) view that vertical control should be available from plan drawings alone, the old method of sectioning was used as a time-saving expedient in this case. Feature 1, a shallow ditch-like feature, was not excavated in this way because of its shallowness and the presence of horizontal, rather than any complex vertical, stratification. Here, each layer of soil was removed in its entirety before excavation of the next was begun.

Methods used to extract cultural material from the deposits also varied somewhat from feature to feature. All soil which could be assigned to a particular feature was screened. In an attempt to identify the presence of tiny artifacts or dietary debris in a layer—in particular, fish bones—1/8-inch (3-mm) screen was used on the first buckets of soil. When the initial screening did not yield significant materials, as was the case in most of the features, 1/4-inch (6-mm) screen was used for the remainder of the soil. Fish bone was observed in the fill of features 3, 4, and 5; about 40 percent of those layers in features 4 and 5 which contained this material was passed through 1/8-inch screen. As soil conditions in Feature 3 made dry-screening quite difficult, about 65 pounds (143 kg) of the matrix was saved and later wet-screened through 1/16-inch (1.5-mm) mesh; this sample constituted about 15 to 20 percent of the available volume of the feature's fill. In retrospect, it would have been profitable to have taken similar samples for intensive extraction from the other fishbone-bearing strata, and this procedure is recommended to other workers.

A method of numbering archaeological layers for easy recognition was employed. All strata were given two or three digit numbers. In the case of the former, the first digit indicates the number of the feature of which the layer is a part, while the second refers to the layers in consecutive order, e.g., Layer 53 is the third layer recorded in Feature 5. (In the case of three digit numbers, the first two digits refer to the feature number.)
Excavation and Historical Associations of Archaeological Features

The goal of the IJ56 archaeological fieldwork was to obtain assemblages of materials which could be reliably associated with identified social units at a particular time in the past (Praetzellis et al. 1981:34). In this section, the structure and contents of each archaeological feature will be described; these data are then used in combination with documentary evidence in order to establish the historical associations of each feature and collection of artifacts. Analysis indicates that the two clusters of features investigated on the IJ56 block--numbers 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 111; and 2 and 3--have sufficiently dissimilar behavioral associations to warrant treating them separately in some of the following discussion. Feature locations on the block are shown on map 2. Figures 1 and 2 give a more accurate representation of their forms.

Feature 1

A 22-foot (6.7 m) section of this shallow, ditch-like feature was exposed and excavated. This feature's width averaged about 18 inches (45 cm); its depth varied between 4 to 12 inches (10 to 30 cm) in the drain proper. A roughly square depression was located at one point along the drain. This approximately 2-foot 6-inch (75 cm) square hole (ca. 25 inches--12.5 cm--in depth) may have been excavated as a trap to catch water-borne sediments. Its sandy fill--designated Layer 15--contained sherds from a minimum of two Double Happiness design bowls, as well as a single piece of a Chinese brown glazed stoneware vessel. It is unclear whether the fill was indeed the result of siltation, although its sandiness supports this possibility. Much of the rest of the feature contained an homogeneous sandy-silt fill--Layer 12--which, like Layer 15, was part of the trench's primary fill. This layer contained the greatest variety and number of artifacts of any stratum of the feature. The ceramic collection included a very large number of Double Happiness bowl sherds; other decorated, Chinese porcelain fragments and brown glazed stoneware sherds; and sherds of some white improved earthenware tableware forms. Glass artifacts included fragments of a proprietary medicine bottle and food containers. Faunal remains in Layer 12 included beef, pig, and sheep bones, as well as rat bone. Summarizing the artifacts from these fill layers, sherds of at least 40 Double Happiness design bowls dominated numerically; a domestic component is represented by glass and ceramic storage vessels and food bone.

Dug into this fill were two shallow scoops--layers 13 and 14--which contained similar materials to those from the primary deposit. Layer 14 was a sandy silt, very similar to Layer 12, about 8 feet by 2 feet by as much as 8 inches deep (2.4 m by 60 cm by 20 cm). The depression filled with this material was itself cut by another small hollow--containing Layer 13--which was approximately 2 feet wide by

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11 inches deep (60 cm by 27.5 cm); part of this layer extended outside the excavated area.

The structure of this feature indicated that layers 12 and 15 were primary deposits, possibly laid down by water or even by intentional back-filling. The internal homogeneity of Layer 12 argues for natural deposition, since unless it were filled with redeposited native soil, one would expect some variation in the fill resulting from the different components in the soils used. Since the fill of Feature 1 proper had but two components and was not heavily stratified, it is believed to have been filled over a relatively short time. Had the trench lain open for several seasons, one would expect laminated sediments to have formed as the result of differential seasonal runoff. Dating the primary fill (layers 12 and 15) of this feature on the basis of artifacts alone is problematic because of the small quantity of datable artifacts. In addition, there is a likelihood that undetected intrusions were present, given the feature's large surface area and its seal of mixed overburden.

With these caveats in mind, the artifactual evidence provides a terminus post quem of about 1854 for this deposit. This date is based on the presence of two sherds of a Trent Shape saucer (1854–?) and an embossed fragment of an "Ayer's Pills" bottle (1853–?) (Freeman 1954:72; Wilson and Wilson 1971:18). The only tightly datable artifact from layers 13 and 14—the fill of two hollows which intruded into Feature 1 proper—was part of an embossed medicine bottle produced for druggist Charles Langley of San Francisco, probably between 1854 and 1862. Given the phenomenon of time-lag in archaeological artifacts—the difference between an artifact's date of manufacture and the point at which it finally enters the archaeological context—it can only be said that a "likely" date of deposition is the 1850s and 1860s. Fortunately, the documentary record can be used to refine this estimate.

Lot 3 on the IJ56 block—the area in which Feature 1 was located—was purchased from the City by A.G. Tryon before the fire of 1855. On 28 May 1855, Tryon sold part of this lot to Martha "English" (a.k.a., French, Smith). The boundaries of this parcel, which encompassed Feature 1, were described as follows: Commencing on the alley at the southwest corner of the city lot, running north 80 feet, east 20 feet, south 80 feet, and then west along the alley back to the place of beginning (Deeds P:401). As with many land transactions during this period in California, the sale was not recorded until some months later—13 August 1855. Significantly, this was after the fire of July 1855, which damaged part of the block, and after Tryon had begun construction on a large brick building facing I Street, at the north end of Lot 3. Martha "English" may have recorded the document to insure that the new construction did not impinge on her newly purchased plot. The City Tax Roll for 1856 listed "Martha French, widow," as possessor of "improvements" and "real estate" worth $100 and $200, respectively; the legal description of the parcel shows it to be the same as that purchased from Tryon the preceding year. The low value which was assigned to Martha French's dwelling (the
FIGURE 1
Features 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, II, 12, aLayer III; plan and sectional views
Figure 2
Features 2 and 3 plan view

Feature 2

Feature 3

Redwood planking

Edge of concrete wall (also parcel line)

Edge of concrete wall (also parcel line)
"improvements"), strongly indicates that it was a wood-framed building rather than brick. The City's newly imposed building materials ordinance which specified the use of brick in this part of town was evidently selectively enforced. While some "combustible shanties," especially those occupied by Chinese, were dismantled by fire wardens as soon as they appeared, violations by Euro-Americans, like Martha French, were often overlooked. Several wood-framed buildings can be seen within the I Street half of the block on Weed's circa 1859 photograph (plate 1); unfortunately, the site of Martha French's house is obscured by an adjacent building on this photograph. Similarly, George Baker's 1857 Bird's Eye View does not show this particular spot clearly (Brienes, West & Schulz 1981:Figure 5).

The preceding discussion leads to certain interpretations of Feature 1, as well as the date of and possible reasons for its filling. There is little doubt that Feature 1 was constructed as an ad hoc drain. Such features have been identified archaeologically elsewhere in Sacramento (Praetzellis et al. 1980:70). Writing of an "Intolerable Nuisance" in San Francisco, a Daily Alta California (9 September 1854) correspondent described a drain which discharged its contents into a hole dug into the mid-block alley. Delicately avoiding an offensive level of specificity, the reporter stated that most of this waste water from the Chinese dwelling "...properly belongs to a receptacle of a different description." Several findings indicate that Feature 1 had been excavated and filled prior to Martha French's construction on the parcel and her subsequent occupation of it. The feature is assumed to have been dug out during the same period of the lot's development as another drain--Feature 6--which was certainly abandoned by late 1855. Both shallow trenches were of similar size, shape, and orientation to the block. It is likely that they would have run parallel to one another, approximately 20 feet apart, possibly defining the edges of a land-tenure unit recognized before surveyed brick construction began.

Both drains were oriented approximately to true north, that is, slightly less than 20 degrees west of the magnetic axis of Sacramento's street grid system. The artifacts contained in the feature's fill also give a clue to the date of deposition. Here, termini post quem are of less interpretive use than the nature of the collection itself. Although some of these materials were probably contributed by several inhabitants of the half-block, the preponderance of sherds from Chinese Double Happiness design bowls indicate that at least this component had a single source. The volume of duplication of this ceramic type suggests that the pieces were part of a storekeeper's damaged stock. Historic research reported elsewhere in this report has shown that this part of the block was occupied by Chinese merchants--who would have stocked these kinds of wares--from the early 1850s through most of the 1860s. On the assumption that neighboring residents would not have disposed of refuse on the parcel after its purchase in 1855 and subsequent occupation by Martha French, it seems reasonable to speculate that the primary fill of Feature 1 was deposited before this date. If this
deduction about the date of deposition is accurate, it could be speculated that the broken merchandise was an indirect result of the July 1855 fire, in which the loss of much commercial stock was reported (Sacramento Daily Union: 4 July 1855).

Feature 6

This shallow trench is considered here because of its deduced association with the preceding feature. Like Feature 1, Feature 6 was a shallow linear depression believed to have been an ad hoc drain. Only a 5-foot (1.5 m) section of its length was excavated. However, this sample was sufficient to determine that the angle of its alignment—15 to 20 degrees west of magnetic north—was the same as that of Feature 1. If extended, this trench would have run parallel to Feature 6, about 20 feet (6 m) to the east. The archaeological cross-section spanned a point where the drain had been widened and deepened, probably to form a sediment trap similar to the one identified in Feature 1. The ditch proper was 20 inches wide (50 cm) and 6 to 9 inches deep (15 to 22.5 cm). The portion believed to have been a silt trap was 36 inches wide (90 cm) by as much as 12 inches deep (30 cm). The feature contained a layer of silty sand, whose average grain size was significantly larger at the bottom than at the top of the fill. This arrangement indicates that the ditch filled up due to a natural process—probably inundation by flood water. It is important to note that the feature may have been truncated by a few inches during site leveling.

There was a roughly even occurrence of Chinese and Euro-American artifacts in the fill of this feature. The former included a Double Happiness bowl sherd and two whole, brown glazed stoneware storage vessels, as well as several sherds of unassignable forms of this type. The remaining ceramics were all British, transfer-printed, tableware fragments. One of these bore W. Adams and Son's "Damascus" pattern, produced around 1840 (Freeman 1954:85). Another early artifact was the base of an ale or porter bottle marked "Ricketts, Bristol". Smith (1981:151-152) reported that this mold mark was replaced in 1853. This is not to say that the bottle was necessarily made before this date, as it is conceivable that the mold's use could have continued until it became unserviceable or redundant. Faunal remains in Feature 6 consisted of bones from a local freshwater fish, the Sacramento perch; this animal was caught commercially during the nineteenth century.

The artifact distribution within this feature may reflect the way in which the trench was filled and abandoned. Excavation notes show that all the large and whole artifacts were positioned near or on the surface of the ditch, while the lower reaches contained but a few small items. From these data and inferences drawn from the soil structure, it is concluded that this shallow drain had been in regular use up until the time it was inundated. After this, the hollow, which
had remained partially unfilled, was used for refuse disposal. This pattern is in contrast to the distribution of materials in the primary fill of Feature 1, where there was no clustering at any particular elevation. Thus the abandonment and subsequent filling of the two features occurred in rather different ways, although the actual process by which Feature 1 was filled is unknown. The date by which Feature 6 had gone out of use is known accurately, however, as it is overlain by a brick footing constructed in 1855, which provides a terminus ante quem for the feature.

The land on which this drain was situated was part of Lot 3, purchased from the City by A.G. Tryon some time before the fire of 1855. It was the same lot on which Feature 1 was located. Shortly before the fire, Tryon had sold part of the southern end of the lot to Martha English (a.k.a., French). Following the fire of 1855, which destroyed several wood-framed structures occupied by Chinese on I Street, Tryon constructed a brick building 70 by 50 feet (21.3 by 15.2 m) on a northern portion of Lot 3 fronting I Street. This structure can be seen clearly on Weed's circa 1859 photograph (plate 1), and George Baker's 1857 Bird's Eye View, and the 1869 Bird's Eye-View (plate 2); it was still depicted on Sanborn Insurance Maps from 1895 to 1953. Measurements taken from the alley centerline to the wall footing which overlay Feature 6 leave little doubt that this was the southern (rear) wall of Tryon's building.

Feature 7

This small pit contained evidence in the form of superimposed soil strata to indicate at least three different phases of filling, one of which was produced by partial re-excavation. The original pit was rectangular, about 5 feet 3 inches by 2 feet 8 inches at the top, by 22 inches deep (1.6 m by 80 cm by 55 cm deep). The presence of some ash, charcoal lumps, and darkened soil in the bottom layer of fill--Layer 73--may indicate that the pit had been originally used as a fire receptacle. Since the feature's walls were not altered by heat, it seems more likely that the fire-related materials were secondary deposits. Layer 73 also contained some brick and mortar fragments and Chinese and Euro-American ceramic sherds. Layer 74--the upper stratum of this earliest phase of pit fill--contained even fewer artifacts than did 73: a bone, some Chinese stoneware sherds, and a button. Stratigraphically superior to this early fill, and cutting into it, was a small roughly circular pit 3 feet (90 cm) in diameter and 1 foot 4 inches (40 cm) deep. This intrusive excavation, which destroyed the symmetry of the earlier pit, was filled with a layer of sandy silt--Layer 75--very similar to the matrix of the remainder of the feature. In addition to some pieces of Chinese porcelain, glass sherds, and some iron fragments, this layer contained a relatively large number of brick and mortar lumps. Overlaying both this intrusive pit and the earlier deposit was a final cap of sandy silt mixed with clay lumps, which filled the upper few inches of the
rectangular pit. More iron lumps and bottle glass sherds were recovered here than from previous layers, but few ceramics, primarily Chinese stoneware, were present. Brick and mortar fragments were also present.

Unfortunately, no artifacts were taken from this feature which would permit a reliable estimate of its date of filling. Although almost all the ceramics are Chinese storage and tablewares of the same types common to features independently assigned to the 1850s, no such verification could be established for Feature 7. For this reason, and because of the multi-phased filling of the pit, its contents cannot be reliably assigned to any particular residential or commercial population. It is possible, however, to deduce the purpose of the original pit. The paucity of artifacts indicates that the pit was not dug for refuse disposal—or at least it was not used principally for this purpose. Its shape—rectangular, with three sides vertical and one sloped—suggests some specialized purpose. The feature was situated about 8 feet (2.4 m) south of Tryon's 1855 building. Unlike ditch features 1 and 6, Feature 7 was oriented at 90 degrees to the rear wall of this structure. Plotting its position onto the 1895 Sanborn Map, one can see that the pit would have been set west of the narrow alley which separated Tryon's building on Lot 3 from an adjacent structure on Lot 4. Considering this location, it is likely that the pit was excavated to bear the end of a support post for a lean-to or porch attached to the rear wall of Tryon's building.

Feature 4

This feature was a broad, shallow depression with an irregular base, about 5 feet in diameter by as much as 1 foot 6 inches deep (1.5 m by 45 cm). The fill, excavated as a single stratum, was designated Layer 41. It consisted of a mixture of mostly grey sandy silt, with occasional areas of pale yellow-orange silty sand. The grey soil was probably a secondarily deposited alluvium, possibly part of the A horizon, while the sandier unit strongly resembled the local sub-A stratum soil. Such a mixing could have occurred if the pit had been dug through the A horizon into the substratum, and subsequently backfilled with a combination of these soils. Another similar explanation, and one which is more favored by the authors, is that the depression was formed when a tree rootball was removed from the ground. This would also have caused the mixing of soils observed and would better account for the feature's broad but shallow form and the irregular contours of its base.

Most of the artifacts from this feature are Chinese, including a wide variety of decorated and undecorated porcelain tableware and brown glazed stoneware storage vessel forms, as well as part of an opium pipe bowl. In contrast, there are few Euro-American materials: some plain white improved earthenware, stoneware, and porcelain sherds, and transfer-printed earthenware. Of the latter,
two sherds are roughly datable: fragments of the "Temple" (circa 1850) and "Italian Garden" (1833-1847) patterns (Laidacker 1951:62; Sussman 1979a:202). Two glass liquor bottle bases have been dated to the 1850s or 1860s by their technological attributes. Faunal remains include bones from six species of fish, some of which originated locally, some from the San Francisco Bay, and one from China. In addition, pig, cow, sheep, and rat bones occurred.

It is believed that Feature 4 was filled at about the same time as the construction of the brick building on Lot 3. Part of the evidence for this involves the existence of 10 ceramic crossmends between this feature and Feature 5, a nearby trash pit whose filling apparently spanned the 1855 sequence of fire and rebuilding. If this interpretation is correct, it is possible that Feature 4 was created when a tree was removed to make room for the construction of the 1855 brick building's south wall, which passed immediately to the north. During the original excavation of Feature 4--regardless of the process by which this was achieved--an earlier refuse pit, Layer 111 (see below) had been disturbed and some of its contents brought to the surface. Some of these materials were then redeposited in Feature 4. This scenario would account for the similarity of fish remains between the two features, as well as a ceramic crossmend.

Feature 5

This pit was situated in the same part of Lot 3 as features 4 and 7. Feature 5 was 5 feet 6 inches in diameter and nearly 3 feet deep (1.65 m by 90 cm). It contained at least six distinct layers and many lenses, representing three phases of the feature's use as a refuse pit. As with all the hollow-filled features on the site, Feature 5 had been truncated to an unknown depth. Furthermore, a few inches of the uppermost layer were removed by the archaeologists to avoid possible contamination by the mixed overburden layer.

The top layers--51, 52 and 53--were composed of brick rubble and mixed soils to a depth of 8 to 10 inches (20 to 25 cm). Within these layers was a large quantity of food bone--mostly pig--as well as Chinese table and storage wares, and fragments of glass from wine, liquor, soda, condiment, and ale bottles. The next phase was represented by a single layer, up to 6 inches thick (15 cm), designated Layer 54. This stratum contained a small quantity but wide variety of domestic refuse, in a matrix of mostly wood ash. Pieces of corrugated sheet iron and nails comprised most of the artifacts from this layer; no brick was present. The lowest fill consisted of tan and brown silt strata--layers 55 and 56. Apart from the absence of brick and the presence of fish remains, the artifacts from this phase resembled those from the uppermost layers: much ceramic--mostly Chinese--bone, including most of the feature's fish remains, and wine, liquor, and food bottle fragments.
The contents of this pit appear to have been deposited within a year, since no evidence of clay lamination— the usual product of water-borne deposits— was found in the fill. Consequently, artifacts from all phases can be used to determine the date of deposition. Transfer-printed ceramic sherds of the "Temple" and "Italian Garden" patterns were produced in about 1850 and 1833–1847, respectively (Laidacker 1951:62; Sussman 1979a:202, 1979b:65). These sherds, however, may have been secondarily deposited in Feature 5, and consequently would skew any estimate of the pit's date which took them into account. Glass bottle fragments include an embossed Lea and Perrins stopper produced circa 1840 to 1877 and a black glass (dark olive) liquor bottle embossed "H.R./Bristol" which was made in a pre-1853 Rickett's mold (Smith 1981:151–152). A second base, also produced in a Rickett's mold, bore a central ring and dot pattern which commonly occurs in 1850s to 1870s contexts. In summation, assigning an early (1850s) date to this feature on the basis of the artifacts alone is conceivable, although as much of the argument would rest on the absence of common later types of material as on the presence of patently earlier pieces.

Fortunately, there are other methods available by which the fill can be dated—by its inferred relationship to other elements of the site and by the very structure of the feature itself, which may reflect historically documented events. The discovery of 10 ceramic crossmends between features 4 and 5 indicates that the pits had been open at about the same time. Similarly, one crossmend links features 5 and 6; this is an important temporal association, as Feature 6 had undoubtedly been filled by late 1855 and probably during a previous wet season. The sequence of events represented by Feature 5's three phases of fill may correspond with documented elements of the block's history. The earliest phase—layers 55 and 56—contain the by-products of domestic activities; i.e., the consumption of fresh meat and bottled preserves, condiments, and beverages, as well as the use of mostly hollow tableware vessels. The next phase, which was represented by Layer 54—a stratum of wood ash, charcoal, nails and sheet metal fragments, and few domestic artifacts—suggests that a fire and possibly the demolition of an iron building occurred at this time. The contents of layers 51, 52, and 53 include much brick construction rubble, as well as a domestic component similar to the earliest deposit in the pit. A likely interpretation of this sequence is that domestic occupation, followed by fire and reconstruction in brick, occurred. Historic records document an identical succession of incidents in the years 1854 to 1855. On the assumption that the filling of Feature 5 dates to this period, it is likely that the refuse it contained was deposited by one of the Chinese merchants' households which occupied this part of Lot 3 both before and after landowner Tryon's 1855 construction of a brick building on the lot.
Feature 11

After the fill of Feature 5 had been removed, signs of an earlier deposit were seen in the pit's sides. On further investigation, it became clear that most of the contents of an older refuse pit--Feature 11--had been cleaned out to make room for what became the trash fill of Feature 5. This older pit would have been of a similar size and shape as Feature 5: about 5 feet in diameter by 3 feet deep (1.5 by 90 cm). It contained several soil layers representing two phases of use. The uppermost part consisted of several, superimposed layers of silty clay, separated by thin bands of humus. This material, which was up to 1 foot (30 cm) thick, contained no artifacts whatsoever. Below it, however, was a stratum of grey, sandy silt, Layer 112, which contained numerous food bones and some bottle glass and Chinese ceramic sherds. This sequence indicates that the pit had been originally used for refuse disposal and, after it was abandoned, it had filled up by natural processes before being re-excavated (Feature 5). No datable artifacts were present in the fill. Consequently, all that may be said of the age of Feature 11 is that it pre-dates Feature 5. If our assignment of Feature 5 to circa 1855 is correct, then Feature 11 is probably associated with Chinese households whose use of the immediate area has been documented to at least as early as 1854.

Layer 111

In spite of its prefix, Layer 111 was not part of the same deposit as Feature 11. Layer 111 was the fill of a shallow (no more than 1-foot [30 cm] deep) depression covering an area of up to 3 feet (90 cm) in diameter, situated between features 4 and 5. Its fill was an homogeneous grey sandy silt. Most of the artifacts it contained were sherds of Chinese brown glazed stoneware vessels. Euro-American manufactured artifacts included some British flow blue decorated earthenware sherds, sherds of three beverage bottles, and some nails. Faunal remains consisted of some pig, cow, and rat bones, and bones from four fish species. Of the latter, the most numerous were remains of the Chinese yellow croaker.

Once again, no tightly datable artifacts were forthcoming from the deposit. Nonetheless, stratigraphic data allow some conclusions to be made. Layer 111 was stratigraphically inferior to Feature 4 and Feature 11; it underlay the former and was cut by the latter. The existence of crossmends between ceramics from Layer 111 and features 4 and 5 suggest that the latter features received upcast created when Layer 111 was disturbed. It was suggested that this disturbance may have occurred when a tree was up-rooted, creating the Feature 4 hollow. In addition to the ceramic association, the fish-bone collections from Feature 4 and Layer 111 are very similar in terms of both the species represented and their proportional occurrence.
Significantly, yellow croaker elements were found in both contexts—the only appearances of bones from this species on the entire site.

Layer III is believed to represent the earliest domestic occupation uncovered on this part, perhaps all, of the site.

Feature 12

The last of the hollow, refuse-filled features from this part of the site was Feature 12, a shallow, rectangular depression, 1 foot 6 inches by 2 feet by 4 inches deep (45 cm by 70 cm by 10 cm deep), dug into the native soil. It is certain that this feature had been truncated during site leveling, although the extent of this is unknown. Its fill was an homogeneous, grey sandy silt. Several sherds of Chinese brown glazed stoneware and porcelain, some nails, and several pig bones were recovered from the fill.

On the basis of the artifacts present, it is not possible to determine the deposition date of the fill. In addition, no stratigraphic relationships can be inferred between Feature 12 and any other site component. Consequently, any speculations about the original function of the pit must come from inferences drawn from its structure and physical placement. Feature 12 was rectangular and its orientation was consistent with the shape of the lot. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that it was excavated intentionally—in contrast to Feature 4—and that its shape and alignment was purposefully designed. The pit was situated about 8 feet (2.4 m) south of the rear wall of Tryon's 1855 building, and several feet east of the structure's western edge. This location mirrored almost exactly the site of Feature 7, which is believed to have been a post pit associated with a porch which had been built at the rear of Tryon's building by 1869 (Britton and Rey 1870). Furthermore, the size and shape of Feature 12 approximated that of the bottom of Feature 7, although the latter was about 6 inches (15 cm) larger in both width and length. It is likely that both Feature 7 and Feature 12 were post pits. That no similar pits were found between these two does not argue against this position, as much of the intervening space was not cleared.

Feature 2

This feature was a redwood plank-lined privy, situated two lots to the west of the main complex of features. It was 6 feet 8 inches by 3 feet 8 inches (2 m by 1.10 m); the plank sides were as much as 3 feet (90 cm) high. The planks themselves, which had been milled but not planed, averaged 6 feet long by 1 foot 2 inches wide and 3/4 - 1 inch thick (1.8 m by 35 cm by ca. 2.5 cm). They were positioned
horizontally along the long axis and vertically at each end of the pit. The fill was a grey clay/silt mixture containing brick rubble, charcoal, ash, and numerous broken artifacts. Recent disturbance of the pit fill was indicated both by the mixed soils and the presence of very modern artifacts--aluminum beer cans and a flashlight battery, for example--throughout. It seems likely that the privy had been rifled by bottle hunters during the demolition of the block in the 1960s, and that these people had subsequently redeposited the unwanted artifacts back into the hole. Although the resulting collection is of little use for most archaeological purposes, the date of the feature's abandonment may be determined from it using the principle of terminus post quem, which in this case is likely to bias the date toward the present.

Three datable glass bottle fragments and one marked ceramic sherd were recovered. The former were: "Waltham and Bell, Sacramento" (1871-1879); "Owen Casey/Eagle Soda/Works/ Sac City" (1867-1873); "J. Doherty/ Boston Drug Store/ Sac" (1859-7) (Peter Schulz, personal communication 1982). The ceramic sherd was marked "E. and C. Challinor;" this device was used 1862-1891 (Godden 1964:137). On the basis of these dates, the feature could not have been filled before 1871 although contamination by later artifacts may have advanced this date somewhat.

According to City Assessors plats, Lot 1--the location of Feature 2--was the property of H. E. Robinson from 1851 until 1864, when it was sold to real estate entrepreneur D. O. Mills. In January 1865, Mills sold the south quarter of the lot, an area 40 by 80 feet (12 m by 24 m) to Joseph Browner (Deeds 36:513). This transaction is of particular importance, since the northern side of Feature 2 was found to be contiguous to the subdivision line created by this sale in the northeastern corner of Browner's property. This placement suggests that the privy was installed after this date.

As the archaeological collection from Feature 2 was seen to have little interpretive potential, no documentary research was carried out regarding Lot 1 during this period.

Feature 3

Immediately to the south of Feature 2 was another, earlier, privy, whose unobtrusiveness probably saved it from the predations of the bottle hunters who so completely devastated Feature 2. This privy, although situated adjacent to Feature 2, was remarkable for its dissimilarities to that feature: Whereas Feature 2 was lined, Feature 3 was not; while Feature 2 was sited in accord with the 1865 parcel line, Feature 3 straddled the line; and while Feature 2 had at some time contained a large number of semi-complete artifacts, Feature 3 yielded only a small number of fragments.
Most of Feature 3 was situated to the east of Feature 2, although part of its fill had been removed when Feature 2 was originally dug. Its fill was an homogeneous clay-silt; the grey-black color of this material was created by the recent infusion of a petrochemical product, which also gave the soil an unpleasant and pungent smell. Feature 3 was not completely excavated, as part of the fill extended north under a concrete wall which ran along the parcel division line. About 6 feet 8 inches (2 m) of the kidney-shaped pit was exposed; its maximum width was 2 feet 8 inches (80 cm), and its depth was 2 feet (60 cm).

A large variety, although a small quantity, of artifacts was recovered from the fill. Most of the ceramics were Chinese; both brown glazed stoneware and decorated porcelain sherds were present. Several improved earthenware sherds, probably from Britain, were also found. Glass sherds included pieces from condiment, mustard, and soda-water bottles. The condiment container was English and bore a registry mark which dated its production to the years 1845-48 (Zumwalt 1980:458). The mustard bottle was made in France after 1838 and bore the embossed mark "Louis Freres and Co." (Zumwalt 1980:285). The only other datable artifact was a hard rubber button marked "Goodyear's P=1851..." As this patent was valid for 14 years (Jones 1971:18), the button would have been made between 1851 and 1865. Other artifacts included two slate markers, several buttons, ball clay "TD" pipe fragments, and a gold finger ring of mid- to late-nineteenth century design. The faunal remains included food bones representing the use of pig, cow, sheep, and rabbit, as well as remains from five local fish species and one turtle bone. Seeds of 17 plant species, including some which are distinctive of southern Chinese cuisine, were extracted; other seeds represented locally available, native species. Parasitological study revealed the presence of numerous whipworm and Chinese liver fluke ova. A similar analysis of a sample from Feature 2 had negative results.

The approximate date of use of this feature can be estimated through artifact dates and the feature's location and stratigraphic position. From the manufacturing dates of the artifacts, an earliest possible date of deposition of 1851 can be determined. That the pit straddled a parcel line established by 1865 suggests that it was excavated before this subdivision occurred. In addition, the fill was cut by Feature 2, which must, therefore, post-date that privy.

Tenancy of this parcel is unclear for much of the period researched. Newspaper reports of the 1854 fire suggest that the area had been occupied by Chinese at that time. City directories provided the only data before 1860. The 1855-56 directory listed the "Hamberger Beer Saloon" on 5th Street, although the nearest cross street was not given. In the following year, the directory mentioned the "Old Fifth Street Lager Beer Saloon;" once again, the exact location of the establishment was not given. The earliest definite reference to the parcel's occupants was found on the 1860 census by following the enumerator's route down 5th Street past a number of
individuals whose precise place of residence is known from other sources. Saloon keeper Frank Blane and family were apparently residents of the parcel at this time. Mrs. Blane's tax assessment for the same year noted $100 in personal property only. A photograph taken of the area by C.L. Weed in about 1859 shows the Blane's single story, wood frame house/saloon on the corner of the parcel, although the area of Feature 3 is not shown clearly. At this time, Mrs. Blane took out a business license for the bar, which was described as being on 5th Street between I and J. The 1861-62 directory lists Frank Blane as proprietor of the "All Nations Saloon" at 17-5th Street. The next mention of this location was in the directory for 1866-67, in which Joseph Browner, the parcel's new owner, announced his "Lager Beer Saloon" at 15-5th Street. The discrepancy in numbering between 1861 and 1866 can be accounted for by an inferred change in the application of the city ordinance which controlled numbering. The original system prescribed which side of the street was to be odd-numbered and which even, and how numbers were to be assigned to parcels within a block (Sacramento Bee: 7 June 1860). In the following years, however, it was reported that the numbering system was not being followed. Specifically, houses were being numbered consecutively, without leaving a number for intervening vacant parcels. Consequently, as more structures were built, the system became unworkable and numbers had to be reassigned for the sake of consistency (Sacramento Bee: 25 October 1861).

The documentary evidence indicates that, at least after 1860 and possibly as early as the mid-1850s, the parcel was occupied by a series of saloons. The artifacts, however, indicate a domestic rather than a commercial pattern, as evidenced by a variety of materials with little duplication and a notable lack of liquor containers or other artifacts which one would necessarily associate with a saloon. Consequently, it is believed that Feature 3 had been filled during the 1850s, before the parcel's use as a saloon, and probably by Chinese.

Summary: The Features and their Historical Associations

Feature 1

A slit trench dug as an ad hoc drain. The feature was probably filled prior to 1856 with a combination of broken stock from a nearby Chinese store and domestic refuse from unknown sources.

Feature 6

Another trench, which would have run parallel to the first, and was presumably constructed for the same purpose. The two would have been about 20 feet (6 m) apart; both were oriented about 15-20 degrees west of magnetic north (i.e., ca. true north), the line on which the
lot divisions were established. This feature was undoubtedly abandoned by 1855.

**Feature 7**

A rectangular pit believed to have been excavated as a post pit for the construction of a porch which was built between about 1860 and 1869.

**Feature 4**

A shallow crater, perhaps formed when a tree was uprooted in 1855 to make way for a brick building. It contained refuse believed to have been associated with the block's Chinese residents, as well as upcast material from an earlier pit (Layer 111).

**Feature 5**

A refuse pit whose use may have spanned the period in 1855 during which major construction occurred on the lot. Much of the material from this pit is believed to have been associated with Chinese merchants' households.

**Feature 11**

The remnant of a refuse pit, most of which had been removed when Feature 5 was dug. Materials from this context are believed to have been associated with Chinese.

**Layer 111**

A refuse-filled hollow, earlier than features 4, 5, and 11. Materials from this stratum are believed to have been deposited by members of Chinese households.

**Feature 12**

A small, rectangular pit. Possibly a post pit associated with the same porch as Feature 7.
Feature 2

A wood-lined privy, possibly dating to the 1870s, although heavy disturbance makes almost any statement about this feature highly speculative.

Feature 3

An unlined privy. It contained a probable domestic assemblage of artifacts and faunal materials, possibly dating to the mid-1850s or before and associated with Chinese.