INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we use archaeological finds, oral interviews, and archival information to address the research questions presented in Chapter 3. Focusing on one corner of an Oakland neighborhood (see Figure 8.1), we begin with Research Themes A and B – Consumer Behavior/Strategies and Ethnicity/Urban Subculture in which we look at the relationship between identity and social class, and the role of material culture in identity formation. The next section, which focuses on Research Theme C – Household Development Cycle, examines how the Stephenson family used material cultural to respond or adapt to events and processes at household, neighborhood, and national scales. The final section returns to Research Theme B – Ethnicity/Urban Subcultures with an examination of the archaeological assemblage of the Orimoto family, Japanese and Japanese Americans who lived in Oakland before being summarily packed off to an internment camp in 1942.

CONSUMPTION AND IDENTITY by Mark Walker

This section addresses Research Themes A and B – Consumer Behavior/Strategies and Ethnicity/Urban Subcultures. A particular focus is on the concept of class, and how it relates to the archaeological record.

“Class” is a term with multiple meanings. We use the term “working class” in this report in the generally understood sense of having a certain income and making a living through engaging in manual labor, and to refer to the overall character of the High Street neighborhood. Two of the three households studied in this work, however, fall at the fringes of some definitions of “working class.” Norman Pryde was a smelter and later a chemist, so he was probably skilled working class and moving into a position that could be considered professional and middle class. Charles Stephenson was a painting contractor. He owned his own business and operated it drawing on the labor of his family. If class is defined strictly as being based on ownership (or lack thereof) of the means of production, as in the structural-marxist sense, then the Stephenson family was not working class. They were small family business owners—petit bourgeois to use marxist terminology.

We consider the High Street assemblages in the context of two previous studies that address the topic of material culture and class in Oakland. The Economic Plight of the Working Class, by Thad Van Bueren, builds on a broad-scale quantitative study of bottles conducted by Bruce Owen (2004a). Owen used an occupational and income-based definition of class with four categories—Unskilled Working Class, Skilled Working Class, Professional, and Wealthy. “Skill” in Owens study is based on the degree of training or education required for a particular occupation.

Material Culture and Class Identity, by Mark Walker, builds on a study of working class divisions within a single industry in West Oakland, railroading. This study (Walker 2004, 2008) used a relational definition of class in which class has both objective and subjective components. Objectively, it is the place of the household within relations of production and exploitation; subjectively it is the experience and understanding of those relations by the household. This study also distinguished between skilled and unskilled workers, but made the distinctions based on contemporary understanding of skill within the railroad industry—“skilled” workers were those that belonged to craft unions.
Figure 8.1. Aerial photo from 1933 Showing Archaeologically Sensitive Area and Sanborn Maps from 1912 and 1925
Despite the passage of time chronicled in several archaeological deposits that mark specific events in the life course of the Stephenson household, available evidence paints a picture of a working class family that made due with limited means and relied heavily on their relatives for mutual support. Although the occupation of Charles F. Stephenson places the family in the ‘Skilled’ category when compared to other Oakland households sampled by archaeological investigations for the Cypress Freeway Replacement Project, the family's modest means and the persistent working class occupations of the sons diverge from broader patterns in American society that have as a rule demonstrated intergenerational social advancement (Blumin 1989; Hutchison 1976).

Jones (1974:462) pointed to the rise of a “working class culture which showed itself staunchly impervious to middle class attempts to guide it.” The archaeological investigation of that culture has identified specific types of activities, including public drinking and smoking that enhanced working-class solidarity and actively expressed resistance to the imposed structures of domination (Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1991; Paynter and McGuire 1991). Several analyses for the nearby Cypress Project in West Oakland have examined the role of occupation on various aspects of consumption (Owen 2004a, 2004b; Walker 2004). Owen's analyses focused on statistically significant patterns in bottle use and consumption of major meat animals among workers classified as wealthy, professional, skilled, and unskilled based on type of occupation.

Owen's (2004a) analysis of bottles from the Cypress Project found unskilled workers had significantly fewer whole bottles as a proportion of all bottles than households associated with other types of workers. Also, wine was significantly more common and food storage bottles were relatively rare in professional households when compared by minimum numbers of individual containers. Owen also found a weaker indication that lower occupational classes had more health and grooming containers than higher ranked classes. Walker focused on a wider array of behavior among households headed by skilled and unskilled workers. Those distinctions are made most explicit in Table 7.7 (Walker 2004), where a more diverse array of tableware vessel types correlated positively with increasing skill levels linked to advancing economic and social status.

Table 8.1 compares the proportions of various categories of recovered artifacts found in deposits associated with the Stephenson family to other Oakland families of different social classes. A number of factors warrant caution in this broad comparison of the class affinities of the Stephenson and Cypress samples. In the first place, the sampled features from households in the Cypress project area date are to the 19th century, while those associated with the Stephenson family pertain to the early 20th century. There were also the influential effects of the growing culture of disposability, spawned by the lowering costs of mass-produced retail containers. That may explain the greatly elevated proportion of food containers in the Stephenson assemblage, for example. There is also the impact of the World War I and Great Depression to consider, not that the 19th century lacked its own economic recessions.

With those caveats in mind, the patterns in the combined assemblages from the four analyzed features from the Stephenson parcel differ from those associated with their skilled peers of the late 19th century. Table 8.2 analyzes the general affinities among the different categories of artifacts presented in Table 8.1, a list that excludes structural, unidentified, and ecofactual materials. That gross measurement of correlation also considers the contents of Pit 6 separately from the combined contents of the four other features present on the parcel.
Table 8.1. Comparison of Stephenson Deposits with Other Sampled Oakland Households

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Type</th>
<th>High Street (Skilled)</th>
<th>Cypress Project (Oakland)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accoutrements</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beads</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing Maintenance</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collecting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firearms</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Storage</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Footwear</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnishings</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Games</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grooming/Health</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heating/Lighting</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pets</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Drugs - Alcohol</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Drugs - Tobacco</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tools</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toys</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Both Pit 6 and the entire Stephenson assemblage bear the strongest correlation with other households of skilled workers, but the degree of affinity is relatively low. Whether this is in large measure because such dramatic changes had taken place by the early 20th century is difficult to assess with such a simple statistical measurement. Other aspects of the family’s cultural conservatism, discussed in detail later, may contribute to the low correlation. The types of ceramic tablewares and other food consumption artifacts do reveal retention of some artifacts for lengthy periods. The dating of many artifacts in that category, however, also reveals the regularity with which new articles were purchased.

In the case of the Stephenson family, the early pattern of drinking seen in Pits 20 and 24 predated the onset of the Prohibition Era in 1920, while deposits dating after its repeal in 1933 fail to indicate a resumption of that earlier practice. Alcohol containers are less prevalent in both layers within Pit 6, despite the presence of more adult members of the household. Walter was likely temperate, if the YMCA badge belonged to him. He may have rejected the alcohol consumption pattern of his parents that is indicated in the content of Pits 20 and 24. The Prohibition Era (1920–1933) may have dampened the household’s alcohol consumption even more. The cessation in alcohol use departs from the pattern indicated among working class households, hinting perhaps that it was a deliberate choice not to follow in the footsteps of one or both of the parents.

The overall impression of the tablewares is a stylistically mixed assemblage, with new items progressively added as time passed. That practice led to a very diverse variety of patterns and styles that were not matched. Those purchases did not reflect the order and stylistic compatibility that was regarded as the preferable aesthetic by the dominant middle class culture. Instead, it appears to reflect frugal spending in keeping with the economic limitations of the household, as well as the practice of retaining items until they became unserviceable. Perhaps there was also an attachment to older tablewares that may have retained value as heirlooms. While it is possible some matching pieces were purchased as a set, the acquisition of single items or even used wares cannot be ruled out.

The varied tableware assemblage in Pit 6 is generally consistent with other working class assemblages that often contain mismatched wares with many older styles that were no longer fashionable. The diversity of tableware vessel forms in Pit 6 includes at least 10 general kinds of vessels; however, those general forms occur in different sizes that may increase their diversity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlation</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>Professional</th>
<th>Wealthy</th>
<th>Stephenson (All Features)</th>
<th>Stephenson (Pit 6 only)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>0.955</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>0.866</td>
<td>0.897</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wealthy</td>
<td>0.501</td>
<td>0.494</td>
<td>0.807</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephenson (All Features)</td>
<td>0.706</td>
<td>0.729</td>
<td>0.701</td>
<td>0.356</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephenson (Pit 6 only)</td>
<td>0.543</td>
<td>0.582</td>
<td>0.562</td>
<td>0.259</td>
<td>0.974</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Based on categories of artifacts listed in Table 8.1.
in relation to Walker’s (2004) analysis. It is thus unclear if this finding differs significantly from his analysis of the Cypress sample of late 19th century skilled workers.

Jones (1974:473) noted the working classes did not accumulate capital, but rather bought objects and clothing “to demonstrate self-respect.” According to Cohen (1986:274), the choices of working-class people in decorating their homes was not a “simple emulation of middle-class Victorian standards with a time lag due to delayed prosperity, but rather a creative compromise forged in making a transition between two very different social and economic worlds.” In defiance of domestic reformers, or perhaps as a compromise required by their limited economic circumstances, the choices reflected in the Stephenson assemblage diverged from the vanguard of middle-class taste. Although they operated their own painting business, the family’s circumstances remained modest throughout the occupation on this lot. That was initially due to a large number of children, and later resulted from the effects of the Great Depression. As a result, remains of their occupation reflect a conservative tendency comparable in many respects to the values found among skilled working class peers in Oakland from the late nineteenth century.

**Material Culture and Class Identity** by Mark Walker

Class identity is a complex phenomenon. It is invariably understood in terms of other experiences and identities, such as gender, race, and ethnicity. One may talk about working-class identity, but the actual content of that identity, the beliefs, ideologies, attitudes and aspirations are variable and dependent on specific historical and social conditions. Members of classes, structurally defined, do not share single ideologies.

The Stephensons were not wageworkers—they owned their own businesses (Charles’ painting contracting business and also a dairy). But to define them as “capitalists” or to lump them in with all business owners is to lose sight of important distinctions. While they may have had some hired employees, the bulk of the labor would have been family members. This access to free family labor (basically the ability of the family to self-exploit) is important in competing with larger better-capitalized operations, and was probably an important factor in Stephenson family’s close spatial proximity. Although they were small business owners, in terms of their social capital they were probably more working class. They were far from wealthy and engaged in manual labor. They lived in a working-class neighborhood and probably had working-class origins.

Small family-owned businesses are an American political icon, serving much the same function as the yeoman farmer of Jeffersonian democracy—the social and economic bedrock of the industrial nation-state. They are held to embody American values of thrift, entrepreneurialism, hard work, and property ownership. Yet like the yeoman farmer, small family-owned businesses are often marginal operations, undercapitalized and vulnerable to minor shifts in the economy.

The expectations and realities of being a small family-owned business in a working-class neighborhood may have led to distinct economic strategies and uses of material culture to signal identity.

**Table Settings and Identity**

In an earlier study of railroad workers in West Oakland (Walker 2004, 2008), the diversity of tableware settings (used as a proxy for Victorian dining) was compared to the relative status of workers within the railroad industry, along the categories of craft union membership (“skill”) and nativity (i.e., native-born and immigrant). The notion of “skill” is
highly variable and can be subjective. As a highly structured work environment with a strong division between craft-unionized (skilled) and unskilled laborers, and between native-born and immigrant workers, this dataset provided relatively straightforward class divisions that made it an ideal study. Other work settings maybe more complex or less structured, and with differing notions of what constituted “skilled” and “unskilled” (Walker 2009a). The railroad worker study is used here to provide a rough benchmark against which to assess the High Street households.

Victorian dining was bound up with identity and representation and, for the aspiring middle class household, could be a source of considerable expenditure and anxiety. Evidence of Victorian dining within working-class households can be interpreted as indicating either aspiration to, or assertion of, respectability. In the West Oakland study, the functional diversity (i.e., the number of different vessel types) and the kinds of vessel types present were used as proxies for Victorian dining. The more vessel types present, the more elaborate (“Victorian”) the dining ritual.

The overall tableware assemblage from the High Street households is basic compared to that of the West Oakland railroad workers (Table 8.3). The High Street assemblages contained a total of 13 vessel types as compared to the total of 38 vessel types from the West Oakland households. This difference in diversity is no doubt due in part to the large number of households in the West Oakland sample (n = 19) and the presence of some exceptionally rich assemblages in that sample. But the overall pattern is roughly the same between the two neighborhoods: a basic set of vessels that was present in all the households, and a few occurrences of more specialized vessels scattered across a number of different households. The basic assemblage consists of cups and saucers, plates, bowls, soup plates, and tumblers (Table 8.4). Only a single dish was identified at High Street, but this may reflect difficulty in identifying these vessels from small sherds.

The Orimoto family’s assemblage reflects cultural rather than class-based differences, and is not really comparable. There are more bowls in this assemblage, and fewer plates (n = 1) and no soup plates.

The richness (the count of vessel types within each household assemblage) of the assemblages from High Street is presented in Table 8.4 and compared with the assemblages from the West Oakland railroad workers and two Depression-era sites in Figure 8.2. The Depression-era sites are included since lack of adherence to standards of Victorian dining and table setting will also be a result of historical changes in fashion. The diversity of the 1940s Stephenson and Orimoto assemblages will obviously reflect Depression-era, rather than Victorian, mores. The later sites give us a contemporary benchmark for these assemblages.

The two Depression-era sites are the Caples Lake Tender’s Site (CA-ALP-532/H) in Alpine County, California (Walker 20094) and the Depression-Era Flats (20[35] Perry Street) in San Francisco. The Caples material is from a 1930s–1940 lake tender’s residence, while the Depression-Era flats was a roughly contemporary working-class household in San Francisco (Praetzellis 2007).

As richness is also a function of assemblage size, the MNI is given along with the richness. Figure 8.2 presents the results from the West Oakland railroad worker study, with the original regression line. In comparison with the railroad workers, the High Street assemblages have little diversity relative to their size.
### Table 8.3. Presence/Absence of Vessel Types, Compared to the West Oakland Class Segments (adapted from Walker 2004)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Function</th>
<th>Skilled U.S. (n = 10)</th>
<th>Unskilled U.S. (n = 2)</th>
<th>Skilled Immigrant (n = 2)</th>
<th>Unskilled Immigrant (n = 5)</th>
<th>Pryde 1905</th>
<th>Stephenson 1905</th>
<th>Stephenson 1940</th>
<th>Orimoto (n = 10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gravy Dish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slop Bowl</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alphabet Plate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butterpat Dish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter Dish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decanter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basket</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relish Dish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea Bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Dish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goblet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shot Glass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dessert Glass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoonholder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar Bowl</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compote</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oval Dish</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stemware</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teapot</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Platter</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dish</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumbler</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitcher</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soup Plate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saltcellar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mug</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creamer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dish Drainer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruet</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt/Pepper Shaker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celery Holder</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egg Cup</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juice Glass</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 1905 Stephenson assemblage is very simple, in the midrange of the unskilled railroad workers, with an MNI of 21 and 6 vessel types. The vessel types are basic types for a minimal table setting—plates, cups, saucers, etc. (Table 8.4).

The Orimoto collection also falls at the lower end of the scale. This is to be expected, as the cultural expectations expressed by dining vessels are probably not those of, for example, Victorianism or the aspiring Euroamerican middle class. The low functional diversity of the Japanese assemblage is a result of differences between Japanese and Euroamerican cultural attitudes towards status display through dining.

The Depression-era assemblages—1940s Stephenson, Orimoto, Caples Lake, and the Depression-Era flats—have little functional diversity relative to their size. The 1940s Stephenson assemblage is large (n = 70) but not particularly diverse (richness = 10). This pattern holds true for the other two Euroamerican Depression-era sites—Caples Lake and the Depression-Era flats (20[35] Perry Street). Both the 1905 Stephenson and Perry Street deposits are probably refuse from multiple families, which would explain the size of the assemblages: the MNI = 74 for Stephenson and 187 for Perry Street. The Caples Lake tender’s assemblage is from a single-family household and has an MNI of 39, which is still quite large given its limited diversity. The Stephenson, Caples, and Perry Street assemblages all have roughly the same diversity—10, 8, and 11 respectively. There are numerous factors to consider here, especially given the potential variety of occupations and statuses represented by the 1930s-1940s sites, but an overall simplification of the dining ritual from the Victorian period to the Depression should be considered an important factor. It is also a possibility that the growth of mass-production may have led to more complex table settings on the part of the poorer segments of American society.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel function</th>
<th>Pryde MNI</th>
<th>Stephenson 1905 MNI</th>
<th>Stephenson 1940 MNI</th>
<th>Orimoto MNI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soup Plate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serving Bowl</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumbler</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slop Bowl</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordial Glass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stemware</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teapot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berry Dish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea Bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juice Glass</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Platter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Richness</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 8.2. Complexity of High Street tableware assemblages compared to West Oakland railroad workers and two Depression-era sites.
It should be noted, however, that the Stephenson household table settings did not decline in complexity from 1905 to 1940. The 1940s assemblage has four additional vessel types—a berry dish, a stemware glass, a platter, and a teapot. The berry dish and stemware may suggest some additional refinement, but the increase is best explained as a result of the larger size of the 1940s assemblage, 70 vessels compared to 21. There is no reason to think that the change in complexity from 1905 to 1940 is anything other than a function of sample size.

In essence the Stephenson household set a simple unelaborated table throughout its life cycle. In 1905 this table setting was probably unusually simple, but may have been in-line with the standards of the 1930s and 1940s.

The Pryde assemblage is middling, falling between the skilled and unskilled railroad workers. It is on the regression line with a richness that is no higher or lower than expected given the assemblage size. It is a basic assemblage, with a cordial glass and stemware indicating some relatively refined consumption of alcohol at meals.

**Faunal Remains and Diet**

The seven features yielded a total of 272 bones. Of these, only Features 1 and 2 (Pryde), and Feature 6 and 24 (1940s Stephenson) contained enough faunal material to be meaningfully analyzed. The Pryde assemblage contained remains from a minimum of 15 animals, including 2 rodents and a frog. The major meat mammals were two cows, and one sheep and pig. An MNI of seven birds was identified, consisting of two chickens and five unidentified birds that may be from very juvenile and/or prenatal chickens, suggesting that poultry was being raised by the household.

The earlier Stephenson household (1905) contained only 27 specimens from an MNI of 2 cows, 2 sheep, 1 pig and a ground squirrel. The Orimoto family’s faunal assemblage came entirely from Feature 8 and contained only 10 specimens. The MNI was 3 animals—a cow, a pig, and a chicken.

The 1940s Stephenson assemblage contained 153 specimens from an MNI of 18 animals. These included 3 rodents (a gopher, a mole, and a vole), a turkey, 3 fish (Chinook salmon, a sardine or herring, and an indeterminate fish), along with 3 cattle, 5 sheep, 2 pigs, and a jackrabbit.

The meat-weight percentages from the quantifiable assemblages are listed in Table 8.5. Overall, judging from these assemblages, the Pryde household favored more expensive cuts of meat (47.8%), followed by lower quality cuts (38.6%), with moderate cuts coming last (13.5%). Possibly the food budget was spent by varying expensive and cheap cuts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8.5. Meat Weight Percent by Cost and Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Pryde’s investment in more expensive cuts is interesting given what appears to be relatively little investment in Victorian dining by this household. The pattern noted with the skilled and unskilled U.S. railroad workers in West Oakland was a high investment in moderate quality cuts with relatively little consumption of high and low quality cuts. The immigrant workers on the other hand consumed more expensive and moderate cuts, with few low quality cuts consumed (Walker 2004).

In contrast, the 1940s Stephenson household assemblage is more typical of U.S. workers. Most investment is in moderate cuts. The household does appear to have consumed more low quality cuts as was typical for the railroad workers. Those workers average 22 to 25 percent low quality cuts, while the Stephenson family averaged 33.4 percent. It is possible the economic conditions of the Depression resulted in greater household economy, but it should be noted that the 1890s were a period of economic depression as severe as the Great Depression of the 1930s. The Stephenson household, like the Pryde family, preferred expensive cuts of mutton. The proportions of mutton cuts are identical between the two households. Otherwise the preferences for beef and pork followed the overall pattern of moderate and cheap cuts being favored.

The faunal remains from the 1940s Stephenson assemblage reinforce the impression of careful conservatism. The faunal evidence suggests a concentration on moderate and low-priced cuts of meat. The Pryde family, on the other hand, preferred expensive cuts, but seems to have balanced the books by occasionally going with low-priced cuts.

**Alcohol, Temperance, and Class**

Alcohol consumption was, and remains, an arena of struggle in American life. In the late 19th century, the discourse of alcohol consumption was bound up with those of masculinity, domesticity, and respectability. In reference to male working-class drinking and its implication with constructions of masculinity, historians have discussed two “poles” in working class masculinity—“rough” and “respectable” masculinity (Bederman 1996; Dabakis 1995; Kessler-Harris 2002; Maynard 1989; Meyer 2002).

In the literature, rough masculinity is exemplified by the unskilled canal workers described by Peter Way (Way 1993a, 1993b). This culture is characterized by heavy drinking, physical competitiveness, homosociality, and an opposition and rejection to the genteel culture of supervisors and the middle class. We really know little about the historical context or changes in this kind of masculinity. It tends to be associated with unskilled workers, who have been little studied.

We know more about respectable masculinity since this is part of the claims of skilled craft workers, who have been lavishly studied by labor historians. For much of the 19th century, these workers had culture that emphasized what David Montgomery described as “manly bearing”—a bearing derived from work skill, autonomy of the shop floor, fraternal identification with others in his trade, and the ability to support his family. In relation to management, it was oppositional. Men were not deferential, and those who broke production rates were “willing to doff their manhood” (Montgomery 1979:13).

The shift to a “respectable masculinity” with a working-class identity grounded in domesticity, temperance, consumption, and leisure came with the gradual acceptance of wage-labor in the later part of the 19th century. Demands were no longer made on the basis of the workers’ rights as producers, but on the basis of their needs as consumers (Glickman 1993:224–226).
One would expect the impact of social debates over working-class drinking to be easily visible in the archaeological record. For one thing, fewer alcohol bottles should indicate less drinking. The situation is, of course, more complex than that. Most working-class drinking was public, taking place in saloons and similar public settings. The importance of saloons in working-class culture has been extensively studied (Blocker 2006; Dixon 2006; Holt 2006; Kingsdale 1973; Murdock 2001; Noel 1996; Parsons 2000; Reckner and Brighton 1999; Smith 2008; Taillon 2002; Way 1993b; Wilson 2005), but is not a kind of drinking that would be visible in the archaeological record of a house-site, nor is it a behavior that would result in good archaeological associations, since it would largely be visible in the aggregate assemblages of saloon and bars. Another factor is that there were also distinctions between acceptable and unacceptable kinds, as well as quantities, of drinking. A digestif cordial glass of liqueur carries a different symbolic loading than a tumbler full of whiskey.

The West Oakland railroad worker material shows that alcohol bottles are usually less than 10 percent of an assemblage, generally between 2 and 8 percent. The mean percentage is 6.4 percent (with a standard deviation of 5.8%; Figure 8.3). There is little statistical difference in alcohol consumption between skilled and unskilled workers. Unskilled workers may have drunk a little less at home—alcohol bottles in those assemblages ranged from 0 to 6 percent—whereas alcohol bottles among skilled workers ranged from 3 to 9 percent (27% if one includes two outliers).

Compared to the West Oakland railroad workers, the Pryde household, with an assemblage consisting of only 1.9 percent alcohol bottles (n = 2), falls at the abstemious end of the alcohol consumption spectrum. These bottles consisted of two unidentifiable alcohol bottles. However a cordial glass and a stemware glass suggest some refined drinking in the household.

The 1905 Stephenson assemblage falls in the midrange compared to the railroad workers (mean = 6.8%). The alcohol assemblage consists of a stoneware beer bottle, two wine/champagne bottles, a whiskey bottle, a decanter, and an unidentifiable bottle.

In contrast, the later (1940s) Stephenson assemblage shows little domestic drinking. Alcohol bottles are 0.9 percent of the assemblage. The alcohol assemblage (n = 6) consisted of a Chinese brown glazed liquor bottle, a wine/champagne bottle, two flasks, and two unidentifiable bottles.

The decline in alcohol bottles between 1905 and 1940 may have a number of causes. The historical documentation and the number of vessels in the table setting suggest multiple households or a very large household in 1905. There may also be, with the growth of mass production and cheap consumer goods, an overall increase in the number of objects people own; so alcohol consumption may remain steady but get statistically swamped by an increase in frequencies of other artifact classes. And it is also possible that there was less alcohol consumption. The presence of a Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) badge indicated that at least one member of the household, possibly Walter Stephenson, was active in the temperance movement (Figure 8.4).

**The Young Men's Christian Association**

The YMCA originated in 1841 in England, when a dry goods clerk, George Williams, established a reading room where he and his friends could spend evenings in more elevated surrounding free of the moral temptations of the surrounding metropolis. The idea was brought to the U.S. in 1851 by George M. Van Perlip, a divinity student, and George H. Petrie, a New York merchant, who had encountered the YMCA while in London for the Crystal
Figure 8.3. Alcohol Bottles from High Street Compared to West Oakland Railroad Workers
Palace Exhibition. The first YMCAs were established in Boston, Montreal, and New York City, and the first national convention held in Buffalo, New York, in 1854. By the turn of the 20th century, the YMCA was a familiar urban feature, with more than a 1/4 million members in roughly 1500 chapters (Boyer 1978:112–113).

Today the YMCA is a relatively innocuous institution. But its history is complex. The original intent of the YMCA was to provide safe Christian havens for young men alone among the temptations and vices of the city. But reformers also considered it a promising instrument of social control. As part of this mission, it began to take a militant stand against urban vices. For example the New York City YMCA established a “Committee for the Suppression of Vice” and YMCA lobbyists in Albany, New York, successfully campaigned for more stringent liquor laws and laws regulating obscene publications (Boyer 1978:120).

By the 1900s the YMCA had become an advocate for “muscular Christianity” bringing the virtues of athleticism, sportsmanship, and Christian manliness to working-class men and boys (Boone 2005:137, 203, 204). In this the YMCA was one of a range of institutions intended to counter a much-discussed “feminization” of American, as well as British, manhood (Kimmel 2005:29, 64).

The focus of the YMCA on assimilating alienated working-class and immigrant men made it an important part of strategies for maintaining labor peace within corporations. Most company towns had a YMCA. For example, in Pullman, Illinois, the YWMA was considered an important part of establishing loyalty to the Pullman Company and acted as “common ground” where management and labor could mingle freely (Bates 2001:44). In the aftermath of the Ludlow Massacre in 1914, John D. Rockefeller placed the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company’s labor welfare activities under the YMCA, which had an entire department devoted to improving industrial relations at many companies (Rees 2010:76). Railroad companies experimented with subsidized YMCA branches in areas where railroad workers congregated (Boyer 1978:115).

It should be noted that although the YMCA was theoretically aimed at all young men, its base was almost exclusively “native-born Protestants of vaguely middle class standing . . . The typical YMCA member in the nineteenth century might be a clerk, student, or skilled craftsman, but rarely was he a common laborer or a factory worker” (Boyer 1978:115).

The YMCA badge recovered from Pit 6 does suggest an aspiration to middle-class status, and also suggests that the paucity of alcohol bottles may actually have been a result of commitment on the part of the household.

**Heritage and Identity: the Native Sons of the Golden West**

In addition to the YMCA badge, a delegate’s badge for the 1919 “Grand Parlor” (annual meeting) of the Native Sons of the Golden West (NSGW) was also recovered from Pit 6 (Figure 8.5). This badge indicates participation by a Stephenson family member in some of the broader efforts during the early 20th century to shape American memory and, by extension, American identity.
The NSGW was established in 1875 as an effort on the part of second generation Californians to preserve the Gold Rush memories of their parents (Glassberg 2001:175–176). The sister organization, The Native Daughters of the Golden West, was founded in 1886. Initially fraternal and sororal organizations, they later shifted to public and political action with the foundation of the California Historical Landmarks League in 1902 (Glassberg 2001:179). In the 1890s the Native Sons built the Marshall Monument in Coloma and began restoring Sutter’s Fort in Sacramento. They also placed historical markers at a number of Gold Rush sites (Glassberg 2001:181).

By the 1920s the NSGW functioned both as a heritage organization and an influential nativist political group. The linkage between preservation (i.e., heritage) and nativist politics is not coincidental. Heritage is the material component of national memory and identity. Commemorative markers and plaques at historical sites play an important part in the construction of the past and national identity, possibly as powerfully as museums and other more demarcated sites of memory. The messages are simple, unambiguous, and easily absorbed, and mark specific historical understandings on the everyday landscape of travel (Kammen 1991:202, 305–307; Schulten 2005).

This growth of interest in heritage in the U.S. is a complex phenomenon. It participated in international trends as nation-states solidified their boundaries and started to create national “peoples” with common memories and identities. Heritage was also part of national processes and effort to “fix” an American identity that increasingly appeared to be under threat from industrialization, rampant capitalism, class tensions, and, last but not least, massive waves of immigration. A turn to historical memory served to reinforce certain concepts of national identity, and also as a tool to assimilate immigrants. The third process was the growth of regionalism in the U.S. in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. As American regions solidified as political and economic power blocs within the nation, local elites emphasized the creation of coherent regional traditions and identities (Kammen 1991:271–274; Price 2005). This trend was reinforced as tourism became important with the growth of railroads, and later the automobile. Regions self-consciously defined themselves as distinct entities through local civic boosterism, and also through the efforts of national entities such as railroads and “See America First” associations (Schulten 2005).

The NSGW counted some powerful and wealthy men among its membership, and the organization became politically influential. Regardless of its founders’ intentions, like similar heritage organizations of the time such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, NSGW was by the 1920s, a nativist organization—intensely nationalistic, and influential in anti-immigrant and nativist politics. The Native Sons led state and local campaigns to restrict Chinese and Japanese immigration, and played an important role is passing the Alien Land Law Acts of 1913 and 1920 (Molina 2010:181). The Grizzly Bear, the organization’s monthly publication, published frequent denunciations of Chinese and Japanese immigration such as “Indisputable facts and figures proving California will become Japanized unless yellow peril stamped out” (McClatchy 1921:121) and in a six-point credo published in 1925 proclaimed the desire of the NSGW to “preserve the historic landmarks of our state” and “to hold California for the White Race” (Glassberg 2001: 193–194).
It is difficult to parse membership and participation in a group such as the Native Sons into attitudes. We do not know, for example, what the internal debates were within the organization. While the owner of the medallion may simply have been a Gold Rush “buff,” he certainly participated in a vociferously nativist organization that was, at the very least, concerned with marking the landscape as the preserve of a particular group—the White, native-born.

THE STEPHENSON HOUSEHOLD AND ITS TRANSITIONS by Thad Van Bueren

The main thrust of this section is Research Theme C – Household Development Cycle. It focuses on how the family used material cultural to respond or adapt to events and processes at household, neighborhood, and national scales. The Stephenson household at 4425 Clement Street in Oakland, California, was a dynamic system, and archaeological deposits found on their residential lot provide an opportunity to analyze household changes in concert with historical evidence. During the family’s residence on the parcel from the 1890s until 1943, new members were born and others moved out or died. Over the course of five decades, the occupants also aged and the household was influenced by external events, broad societal changes, and the ongoing presence of many members of their extended family on the same city block. All of those factors affected the character of social interactions within that household, its internal economy, the consumption practices of its members, and their organization and use of space.

Comparing the archaeological and historical evidence makes it possible to deepen interpretations of the household’s developmental cycle. Some aspects of the family's changing circumstances are revealed in the block and parcel histories provided earlier in this report, and relevant clues are reconsidered here as a context for approaching the archaeological analysis that follows. The archaeological investigation relies on the diachronic comparison of well-dated deposits from different periods in the occupation sequence. Four deposits reflect depositional events that correlate with specific periods; some also appear to correlate with significant transitional events in the family's history. The content of Pits 20 and 24 were likely deposited around 1906 around the time a powerful earthquake was felt throughout the region. Pit 6 contains two fill layers that appear to correlate with disposal events associated with the deaths of the mother Emily in 1936 and the father Charles F. in 1942, while use of Privy 23 terminated about the time the residential portion of the property was sold in 1943.

Household Changes in Context

The history of the family that occupied 4425 Clement Street is described in detail in the block and parcel histories earlier in this report. The life cycle evident during the lengthy occupation by Charles Fletcher Stephenson and his wife Emily Walker Stephenson extends from their earliest days raising six children in the 1890s and 1900s, through to their deaths in 1942 and 1936, respectively. During their middle years, the couple’s six maturing children began to contribute to the economy and maintenance of the household, with many eventually leaving to marry or find their own fortunes. Two sons (Walter and Charles junior), however, remained single and continued to live on the parcel until it was sold in 1943 following their father’s death.

It is uncertain when Charles and Emily Stephenson first took up residence on the lots that later bore the street address of 4425 and 4433 Clement Street. Although the San Francisco Savings Union was listed as the owner of the land prior to 1907, assessment records show clear evidence the family lived there long before that time. A residence and three other buildings
are shown on the parcel on a Sanborn Company map from 1897. The family clearly occupied the parcel because Charles was quoted in newspaper accounts of the explosion across the street on July 19, 1898. They likely acquired the lot with a mortgage that was eventually satisfied, although the title history was not researched. Charles F. Stephenson also owned adjoining Lots 27 and 28 by 1910, effectively extending the rear yard west to Jensen (formerly Commerce) Street.

Charles F. and Emily Stephenson had six children. Table 8.6 lists the dates of birth, marriage, and death of each member of the family, as well as their period of residence. Those arrivals and separations altered the dynamics and economy of the household. The only member separation date that remains uncertain is Charles junior. In 1930 he was still living on the parcel according to the federal census, single and employed in an automobile supply store. There is no later definitive evidence corroborating his presence on the property, nor do records indicate he lived elsewhere. He survived his parents according to his father’s obituary (Oakland Tribune, 29 December 1942:8).

It may be significant that the Stephenson lands, which encompassed four contiguous lots in the High Street Tract of Oakland’s Brooklyn Township, were transferred exclusively to eldest son Walter following his mother Emily’s death in 1936. His father’s failure to give Charles junior an interest in the family’s real estate holdings may imply that the son no longer lived at home. Yet no records of a separate residence, marriage, military service, or death were found for Charles junior despite a detailed search of local directories, voter registers, and the extensive databases available through Ancestry.com.

Walter’s inheritance of the family real estate holdings raises questions about whether any provisions were made for the other children. Although no probate record was recorded after Charles Fletcher Stephenson’s death, extra-legal provisions may have been made for Walter’s five siblings. The inheritance of the family’s real estate may have simply followed the common practice of primogeniture, and other meaningful possessions may have been distributed after the deaths of each parent. Walter also may have been bound by family obligations to share proceeds from the sale of the property. While those details remain a matter of speculation, it seems likely Charles junior remained on the property until it was sold in 1943.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>Birth</th>
<th>Death</th>
<th>Occupation Span</th>
<th>Separation Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles Fletcher Stephenson</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>11/8/1857</td>
<td>12/28/1942</td>
<td>1890s–1942</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emily (Walker) Stephenson</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>May 1869</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>1890s–1936</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter James Stephenson</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>12/20/1889</td>
<td>12/9/1972</td>
<td>1890s–1943</td>
<td>1943 sale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henrietta (Stephenson) Scheile</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Birth?–1920</td>
<td>Moved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Stephenson</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Birth–1943?</td>
<td>1943 sale?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladys (Stephenson) Whitcomb</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>4/12/1905</td>
<td>1/5/1946</td>
<td>Birth–1928</td>
<td>Marriage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The presence of many relatives on the same block and in the immediate neighborhood strongly influenced life within Charles Fletcher Stephenson’s household. His parents Robert and Elizabeth Stephenson and six siblings emigrated from England in 1873 and were living on the block at the corner of High and Commerce streets before 1878. They operated a dairy there, which later passed to his sister Mary Ellen and her husband George Giblin after Robert’s death in 1903. The dairy presumably required space and the undeveloped lands of J. D. Farwell to the west may have been leased for pasture. The area remained sparsely settled until after the turn of the 20th century, sharing the neighborhood with a few industries.

Most of Charles’ siblings continued to reside on or near the block for much of their lives. Some members of the extended family temporarily moved and then returned, underscoring the enduring importance of their family ties. For example, Charles F. Stephenson worked as a servant in the house of a San Francisco family in the early 1880s, until he met and married Emily Walker soon after her immigration in 1889. They returned to raise a family on the same block still occupied by his parents and many of his siblings and their families.

The extended family settlement pattern on the block implies a network of social interaction that is relevant to this analysis of transitional household events. Ongoing proximity encouraged regular interaction and mutual support that buffered the impacts of personal and broader societal calamities. That support included shared participation by members of the extended family in various businesses enterprises. Charles worked as a painting contractor throughout his life. His brother Stanley and sons Walter and Willie also worked in that profession for extended periods, suggesting it was a joint endeavor. The family dairy was likely another business that entailed mutual assistance throughout its operation, while also likely supplementing the sustenance of members of the extended family.

Familial bonds also ensured emotional support, provided flexibility in accommodating members of the extended kinship network. For example, Charles F. Stephenson’s sister Alice and her husband William Park rented a dwelling on his lot fronting on 4420 Jensen Street in 1920. The same year, Charles and Emily’s 23-year-old daughter Henrietta lived with her aunt and uncle, George and Mary Ellen Giblin, who had no children. That move reduced the crowding on the Stephenson parcel at 4425 Clement Street and also may have entailed work in the Giblin Dairy. That kinship network cushioned the economic setbacks of each family, which undoubtedly was essential during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Probate records often provide valuable insights into inheritance patterns at the death of the head of the household. Regrettably, no probate is recorded for Charles Fletcher Stephenson. The transfer of the family landholdings to the eldest son Walter took place following the mother Emily’s death in 1936. However, the instrument was not recorded until 19 December 1941, about a year before the immanent death of the father.

Charles F. Stephenson’s death certificate indicates that he suffered from debilitating arteriosclerosis for the last five years of his life (Figure 8.6). The illness progressed to severe myocardial insufficiency in his final year, with death resulting from hypostatic congestion. Presumably, he did not work after his wife’s death and in his final years he may have required care. The historical record is uninformative, leaving much of the interpretation up to the analysis of deposits associated with the deaths of the two parents.

The evolving life of the household also was influenced by external events and broad changes in the society. Major events that impacted their family included an explosion that destroyed most buildings in the neighborhood including those on the Stephenson property on July 19, 1898. That explosion took place directly across the street at the Western Fuse Interpretation
and Explosive Company, killing Constable Koch, four deputy sheriffs, a neighbor, and the alleged perpetrator Gung Chang, while injuring many others in the neighborhood (Oakland Enquirer 19 July 1898:1–8; Oakland Tribune 19 July 1898:1–5). The 1906 earthquake was also widely felt throughout the region and two archaeological deposits on the Stephenson parcel (Pits 20 and 24) date to that general period. The analysis that follows explores the possible associations of recovered features with these events, as well as changes in the household’s composition.

Broader social influences also influenced the life course of the Stephenson household. On the neighborhood scale, the commingling of working-class residences and industrial and commercial businesses persisted, although residential uses intensified over time. A growing number of Japanese immigrants moved into the neighborhood following World War. They replaced the earlier dominance of the extended family on the northern portion of the block, implying adjustments to the shifting residential makeup of the neighborhood.

The Stephenson household also faced the impacts of the Great Depression in the 1930s and other consequential shifts in the larger society in which they were embedded. Deposits dating before and after the Prohibition era (1920–1933) have the potential to reveal the family’s attitudes toward temperance. As a working-class family that valued kinship ties and mutual aid, the historical record and archaeological deposits may together yield significant insights into their adjustments over time. Those adjustments are explored further below in separate sections that consider the architectural transformation of the property and the four significant archaeological features found there.

### Architectural Transformations

Architectural changes on the parcel occupied by the Charles F. Stephenson family residence offer insight into the life course of the household and how its members were accommodated. Those changes are benchmarked by a series of three Sanborn Company maps created in 1897, 1912, and 1925 (Figure 8.7). Although the boundaries and street addresses for that residential parcel changed, the doublewide lot was effectively used as an undivided domestic compound by the Stephenson family from the 1890s until 1943. That space originally had a street address of 32 Clark Street, although the 1897 Sanborn map labels it Parcel “A.”
The rear lot line was later redrawn to produce standard lot sizes after the turn of the century. The name of the thoroughfare changed to Clement Street, with the addresses 4425 and 4433 both applied to the lot in various years.

In 1897 the family consisted of the parents and four children living in a single-story dwelling with less than 600 square feet of interior space. The house had a ceramic tile chimney that implies wood or coal heating. To the rear was a small outbuilding that likely housed a privy, a single-story manufacturing building with a tile chimney, and a shed. A stable was located well behind the other structures. The manufacturing building may have been used to formulate paint, based on the known occupation of the father. Although efforts to mass produce durable house paints were well under way by the 1890s, small-scale home production may have taken place in the building enigmatically labeled with an “M.” The shed to the rear of it may have provided storage space for painting equipment and painting products.

The 1912 parcel configuration reflects the complete replacement of all earlier buildings, which were destroyed in the 1898 explosion. By this time the family consisted of the parents and six children. There were at least two, and possibly as many as four, inhabited buildings on the parcel to accommodate the growing needs of the household. By this date three adult offspring still resided on the parcel (Walter, age 23; William, age 21; and Amy, age 18). The other children consisted of Henrietta (16), Charles (10), and Gladys (7). Instead of enlarging the main residence, it is likely the maturing male and female children were accommodated in a number of separated rooms that may imply some degree of social and economic independence.
The single story main residence had 944 square feet of space with a tile chimney, while the other identified dwelling had nearly 200 square feet, also heated in some manner based on the presence of another tile chimney. A photograph of the front of the house, however, taken in the late 1910s suggests it may have had an attic room and a substantial basement (Figure 8.8). An ancillary structure with a porch between those two dwellings may have served as an extra room, providing about 135 square feet of additional space. That unidentified wood frame structure was likely built after 1905, based on the TPQ for Pit 20 found under it. The fact that the large stable had its own street address (4433-1/2) suggests the room at the rear with 165 square feet of space also may have been inhabited.

A one-story glasshouse shown behind the main dwelling in 1912 was likely used for gardening or the production of food crops. While no horticultural business is indicated in city directories or the listed occupations of family members in federal manuscript census records, this interest is consistent with the recovery of gardening materials in archaeological features discussed later. It may have provided an essential means for provisioning the family larder. The presence of the palm trees seen in Figure 8.8 underscores an interest in ornamental gardening. Gardening artifacts such as flowerpots were most heavily concentrated in Context 115 of Pit 6, a fill episode arguably linked with Emily’s death in 1936. The rear yard was also heavily vegetated, as shown in the 1933 aerial photograph in Figure 8.1.

By 1925, extensive alterations are again indicated on the Stephenson lot. It is significant that the only structure still occupying the same footprint shown on the 1912 Sanborn map is the stable, now used as a garage. Even that garage, however, was enlarged with a substantial addition on the north side. The magnitude of the changes to the residential buildings on the property implies, at the very least, substantial investments of time and money. The timing of those changes coincided with a period of growth in the regional and national economy, as well as the increasing economic contributions of the maturing children who still resided on the parcel. Four adult offspring still lived on the parcel in 1925: Walter (age 36); William (age 34); Charles (age 23); and Gladys (age 20).

It is quite possible some of sons constructed their own separate dwellings. Three dwellings are shown and listed with separate addresses. The main house was either extensively renovated into a split story residence, or completely replaced and had over 1400 square feet of interior space. A new one-story dwelling labeled 4425-1/2 contains 482 square feet, while the small building labeled 4425-1/3 contains about 135 square feet. Those
separate residences afforded privacy to some of the adult children. It also may be significant that the arrangement of the buildings on the lot by 1925 produces the semblance of an enclosed rear courtyard. The main residence, now oriented with its main axis parallel to the street, effectively screened the buildings and rear yard behind it. While that arrangement was clearly intentional, its meaning remains a matter of speculation. One possibility, however, is the increasing density of houses and changing residential composition of the surrounding neighborhood.

Although no subsequent mapping is available, historical records indicate William married and moved off of the premises in 1927, and the next year Gladys also married and left. Thus, by 1930 the US census reveals sons Walter and Charles are the only offspring still residing on the property with their parents. They remained single men and likely occupied the two smaller dwellings behind the main house. By 1936, their mother Emily died. Charles F. Stephenson was still listed in city directories as a painter living at 4425 Clement Street as late as 1938. The residential portion of property was sold by Walter in 1943.

Recognizing Events in the Archaeological Record

Four archaeological features provide assemblages useful for interpreting the developmental history of the Stephenson household at 4425 Clement Street. They include Pits 20 and 24 deposited around 1906 and Privy 23 and Pit 6 deposited close to the end of the family’s tenure on the parcel around 1943. Figure 8.9 depicts the positions of those features relative to the complex sequence of architectural changes described above. The contents of two other Pits (21 and 22) were too meager and poorly dated to meaningful inform this analysis. The general character and dating of the four analyzed features is discussed here before interpreting them in relation to the household transition research theme.

Pit 20 has a TPQ of 1905 for two ceramic tiles made by American Encaustic Tiling Company (Figure 8.10). It can be inferred that the structure shown covering Pit 20 on the 1912 Sanborn map was built between that time and 1912. The presence of terra cotta flue pipe fragments in Pit 20 suggests the deposit was created after the earthquake of April 18, 1906. Tall vertical features like flues would have been particularly susceptible to damage from such a temblor. Pit 24, found immediately adjacent to that structure, also may have been deposited during the same time interval, although only two temporally diagnostic glass bottles were recovered in its fill. The structure that covered Pit 20 by 1912, as well as the neighboring detached secondary dwelling appears to reflect the addition of inexpensive wood frame dwellings used to provide more room for the growing and maturing family, which included eight members by 1905. By 1910, the eldest sons Walter and Willie were both working as painters and presumably contributing to their father’s business. The other simple structures helped alleviate overcrowding in the main residence.

Although no map postdating 1897 shows a small structure that may have been used as a privy, it appears the family continued to rely on outhouses rather than an indoor toilet through the end of their occupation in 1943. The rectangular wood-lined pit designated in this study as Privy 23 contained datable artifacts that establish a TPQ as the late 1930s based on a mark identified by Lehner (1988:162–163, Mark 13). It was filled in six successive layers, with Context 31 the most recent and Context 36 the earliest. Figure 8.11 depicts date ranges for four layers with time-sensitive artifacts.

Several facts indicate that the privy was used over an extended period and emptied regularly. The TPQ for the earliest fill (Context 36) is 1905. The mean dates of manufacture for glass bottles in Context 31 was 1936, a figure that contrasts with the average age of 1920
in the earlier fill layers. The earlier fill layers also contain machine-cut nails and porcelain baby doll legs likely deposited when the girls were young. The youngest girl Gladys reached her majority by 1923 and most likely lost interest in dolls well before that time. It is also significant that artifact mends in Privy 23 were confined to Contexts 34, 35, and 36. Those patterns reveal distinctly separated eras of deposition in the feature.

That conclusion about Privy 23 is significant for several reasons. First, there is no structure depicted in that location on the 1912 or 1925 Sanborn maps, confirming the general finding from prior archaeological investigations that those maps did not systematically record every small structure. The 1897 does show a small building that may have been a privy, but no corresponding archaeological feature was discovered. Pit 20, deposited about 1906, contained a chamber pot that implies a privy was still in use at that time. The evidence from Privy 23 suggests it remained in use until the family abandoned the property in 1943.

Pit 6 consists of a circular refuse pit discovered at the rear of Lot 27, an empty parcel adjoining the rear yard of the 4425/4433 Clement Street residence. That lot was owned by Charles F. Stephenson between 1910 and 1943. While Lot 27 fronts on Jensen Street, it was never developed and remained vacant into the early 1940s.

The contents of Pit 6 and its period of deposition both imply a strong association with the Stephenson family. The feature averages 6 feet in diameter and has a maximum depth of 2.6 feet at the center of the depression. The pit was filled in two successive deposition
events, both containing large numbers of household artifacts and materials related to the family painting business. The upper layer (Context 113) capped Context 115, the basal fill deposited within the pit.

This pit contained many datable artifacts with a TPQ of 1941, closely coinciding with the final period of residential site use of the parcel and Charles F. Stephenson’s death in 1942 (Figure 8.12). The mean ceramic date is 1928 (n = 10), while the mean glass date is 1929 (n = 118) and the mean date for other materials is 1924 (n = 14). The TPQ for the lower fill (Context 115) is 1934, while the TPQ for the upper fill (Context 113) is 1941. That separation appears consequential and is interpreted here as two distinct episodes of deposition that are associated with the deaths of the mother Emily in 1936 and the father Charles F. Stephenson in 1942. The temporal separation between Contexts 113 and 115 is supported by the character of the interface between the layers, differences in their contents, and the dating of artifacts.

Heavy corrosion was evident in the cans at the interface between the two layers. The most convincing explanation for that condition was periodic filling of the open pit with rainfall after Context 115 was deposited around the time of the mother Emily’s death. Rainfall may have periodically collected in the large circular pit even if it was partially covered with boards. It appears significant that the lower fill contained a large collection of paint cans, among other materials. The father Charles F. may have already been in decline when his wife died, and perhaps Walter left the pit open anticipating further discards. The broad interface between Contexts 113 and 115 was difficult to accurately separate because of its irregular conformation and the fusion of materials due to heavy corrosion of ferrous metal artifacts along that boundary. These conditions may account for the 24 artifact mends between the two layers.

Two thirds of all datable items from Pit 6 were found in the lower fill (Context 115). The mean date for glass of 1928 predates the feature’s TPQ by a dozen years, suggesting longer retention of those disposable artifacts than was commonplace by the early 1940s. The lower
layer, however, also contained many closely dated artifacts including motor vehicle license plates from 1931 and 1933, six glass bottles made in 1932, two other glass bottles made in 1933, and four glass bottles made in 1934. The upper fill (Context 113) contained an Owens-Illinois bottle made in Oakland in 1941.

Perspectives on Household Dynamics

Combined with historical and architectural evidence, the archaeological features associated with the Charles F. Stephenson household offer a rare opportunity to examine changes in a single family over four decades. During this lengthy period, the composition of the household evolved and its members were affected by external events and broad social transformations. To facilitate interpretation of the family’s adjustments over time, care was taken in the preceding discussion to establish the periods of deposition of each archaeological feature, and indeed, even the sequence of fill layers within them.

Although the passage of time inexorably leads to change, diachronic interpretations are sometimes viewed with suspicion because they involve acts of comparison and generalization. Those acts hinge on foundational questions about whether the interpretive endeavor is objective or subjective. Opinion is divided over how to discern shared behaviors from those that differ “because of predicament, temperament, environment, and ideational factors” (Yentsch and Beaudry 2005:234). It involves negotiating a path between “the uniformitarian assumptions underlying efforts to generalize and the contrary notion that all comparisons are suspect because circumstances are infinitely varied and unique” (Van Bueren and Wooten 2009:109).
Focusing on the changes within a single family provides a reasonable way to straddle that theoretical divide. There can be little question that the members of a household have much in common. Thus, interpretations do not face the dilemma of comparing apples and oranges. A pervasive conservatism is in fact evident in the Stephenson household through time, though meaningful changes can also be discerned. The contents of the analyzed features are compared by general categories in Table 8.7 (excluding structural, indefinite, and faunal materials) to introduce the detailed interpretations that follow. Interpretations consider conservative trends, transitional events, and changes evident over the life course of the household.

**Conservative Trends**

There is a conservative trend throughout the occupation of the property at 4425/4433 Clement Street by the Stephenson family. The persistence of their limited circumstances may have been the primary contributing factor. The fact that many of the children remained in the household long after they reached their majority is consistent with other evidence that the extended family remained a close-knit group. That emphasis likely fostered the persistence of traditional values. Rather than striking out on their own, several sons worked in the family house painting business and two remained single and lived at home until the parcel was sold in 1943. Another daughter moved in with her aunt and uncle and may have helped them operate their dairy at the corner of High Street and Commerce. The household remained in the working class through two generations.

**Figure 8.12.** Dated Materials from Privy 23

There is a conservative trend throughout the occupation of the property at 4425/4433 Clement Street by the Stephenson family. The persistence of their limited circumstances may have been the primary contributing factor. The fact that many of the children remained in the household long after they reached their majority is consistent with other evidence that the extended family remained a close-knit group. That emphasis likely fostered the persistence of traditional values. Rather than striking out on their own, several sons worked in the family house painting business and two remained single and lived at home until the parcel was sold in 1943. Another daughter moved in with her aunt and uncle and may have helped them operate their dairy at the corner of High Street and Commerce. The household remained in the working class through two generations.
While it must be recognized that the archaeological samples reflect periods when the household likely faced its greatest economic challenges, historical information suggests the family’s means remained modest despite the growing contributions of mature children who remained on the property well into their adult lives. It is noteworthy that the aggregate value of the improvements on the property remained unchanged at just $250 as late as 1925, in spite of several episodes in which extensive reconstruction occurred. Indeed, the stable/garage building was consistently valued higher than the various groups of residential structures present at different periods of time. The stable/garage was persistently assessed at $150; while the combined value of all other structures remained at just $100 from the 1890s until 1925 (the last year assessment map books are available at the Oakland Public Library).

That low value assigned to the residences combined with their frequent rearrangement implies they were inexpensive vernacular buildings likely constructed by the family. Although some artifacts such as tools and building materials are present, it is difficult to attribute home improvements to the family. But the preponderance of available evidence points to that conclusion. An adjustable square and bastard file in Pit 6, combined with the family’s business in the building trade, show their familiarity with construction. Pit 20, interpreted here as deposit postdating the 1906 earthquake, contained two ceramic tiles (Catalog 30-24) marked with a pencil that may be related to reconstruction of the family’s damaged residence. There is also a one-inch diameter wooden dowel typically used to hang clothes in a closet that has been customized with an ornate metal wrap (Catalog 115-164).

It is also possible that building materials were scavenged from construction projects where members of the family worked. For example, a highly decorative window glass fragment (Catalog 113-111) features one side with an impressed wavy pattern and the other with a red glass layer with a flower-like pattern cut out. Red glass is expensive to produce because the color is created using gold. This lavish item is out of keeping with other building materials. Other direct evidence of scavenging includes a railroad spike found in Privy 23. The practice of reusing found materials could be more widespread, but is difficult to discriminate.

The archaeological samples reflect periods when the family had six dependent children in 1906 (Pits 20 and 24) and when they were coping with the economic privations of the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature No.</th>
<th>Context No.</th>
<th>Accoutrements</th>
<th>Beads</th>
<th>Cleaning</th>
<th>Clothing</th>
<th>Clothing/Maintenance</th>
<th>Collecting</th>
<th>Communication</th>
<th>Firearms</th>
<th>Fishing</th>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Food Prep/Consumption</th>
<th>Food Storage</th>
<th>Footwear</th>
<th>Furnishings</th>
<th>Gardening</th>
<th>Grooming/Health</th>
<th>Heating/Lighting</th>
<th>Misc. Containers</th>
<th>Painting</th>
<th>Social Drugs/Alcohol</th>
<th>Social/Recreation</th>
<th>Social/Leisure</th>
<th>Social/Transportation</th>
<th>Social/Communication</th>
<th>Writing</th>
<th>Tools</th>
<th>Transportation</th>
<th>Writing</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>635</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Great Depression (Pit 6 and Privy 23). Neither were auspicious times. It is, therefore, not particularly surprising that the overall trend in the archaeological record is conservative and suggests restrained economic circumstances. The growing contributions of the sons to the family painting business in the 1920s and 1930s, however, did lead to some modest improvements in the family’s economic situation. For example, the 1925 Sanborn map implies a motor vehicle was owned, and license plates from 1931 and 1933 were present in the earliest fill layer (Context 115) within Pit 6. That same fill layer also contained a horseshoe, reflecting the transportation mode relied upon earlier in time.

Connections to utilities underscore the conservative trend. During the first quarter of the 20th century water, sewer, electrical, and gas services all became available throughout the High Street area (Bagwell 1982:131; Heidecker 1999:8). A water main was present before 1903 on High Street. Sanborn maps do not show a well on the property and complete archaeological investigation of the rear yard failed to reveal one. Thus, municipal water was likely tapped from the onset of occupation on the parcel. A sink, copper valve, and faucet from Pit 6 verify running water was installed. Other utilities were apparently introduced later, if at all.

While the residential buildings on the property were radically reconfigured several times, amenities such as an indoor toilet were probably never installed. Indeed, the evidence from Privy 23 suggests it remained in use until the family abandoned the property in 1943. No archaeological evidence of a sewer line or septic system was found during complete exposure of the footprints of all known residential structures and the rear yard. While rural properties still commonly used privies into the 1940s and beyond, the use of a privy on the Stephenson’s urban lot as late as 1941 is unusual.

The evolution of waste disposal practices in American cities during the late 19th and early 20th centuries was influenced by a number of factors including changing understandings of disease trajectories, a desire to address unsanitary conditions in urban centers, and altering perceptions of the economic value of garbage (Melosi 1981, 2000; Miller 2000). As Louis Pasteur’s germ theory of disease gradually replaced early concepts of ‘miasmas,’ greater emphasis was placed on removing refuse to the outskirts of cities, dumping it offshore, and other solutions. Municipal sewerage systems began to be widely promoted by the close of the 19th century and extended into the Melrose neighborhood by the 1910s (Heidecker 1999:8).

It is less certain when other utility services were tapped. The contents of the most recent fill layer in Privy 23 (Context 31, TPQ=late 1930s) and both fill layers in Pit 6 (TPQs of 1934 for Context 115 and 1941 for Context 113) reveal that lamp chimneys and lamp burners rival the number of light bulbs and other electrical artifacts. Electrical power poles were present along the west side of Clement Street in front of the Stephenson house by the late 1910s (see Figure 8.8 above). A photograph taken in 1920 or 1921 by their neighbors (Ned Isokawa 2011:pers. comm.), however, show no power lines connected to the Stephenson house at that time. Whether the fuel-burning lamps remained in use into the terminal period of occupation is uncertain, but suggestive.

The same conservative trend is also evident in the heating and cooking appliances the family used. The most recent Sanborn map from 1925 still shows a tile chimney in use. That ceramic flue implied the house was probably heated with a wood or coal stove, rather than a gas furnace. The recovery of coal from Pit 20, deposited circa 1906, suggests that fuel may have remained in use into later decades. No artifacts indicating the use of piped natural gas were recovered, nor was a utility trench exposed during archaeological investigations.
Another practice that reflects a conservative tendency when compared to other urban sites of the period is the refuse disposal pattern reflected by Pit 6. The neighborhood was by the 1940s densely developed and most city dwellers either used organized garbage collection companies and cooperatives or took their trash to designated dumping sites. *In situ* disposal was atypical. The history of refuse disposal reform followed a similar course in most urban areas. The general pattern in Oakland followed other major cities like New York, with materials first taken to marginal areas like the bayshore and later dumped offshore (Melosi 1981, 2000; Miller 2000).

In the Bay Area in the period before World War I “competition was fierce and aggressive between the independent scavenger entrepreneurs” (Perry 1978:15). Prior to the turn of the 20th century a large part of the waste stream was typically reused or recycled. Food waste was often sold as livestock feed, manure was used as an agricultural amendment, and some discarded junk was resold as second-hand goods or recycled into new products. Refuse disposal became more systematic in the early 20th century. By 1920 the first scavenger cooperative was formed in San Francisco, followed shortly thereafter by similar arrangements in the East Bay. Most disposal took place along the shores of San Francisco Bay, but offshore garbage disposal began taking place via barges by the 1930s (Hyde et al. 1941). Those services came at a price, however, and back yard discard remained a free alternative for the Stephenson family.

Another conventional pattern that was rapidly eclipsed in most urban settings in the early 20th century was the practice of home production and reuse. Advances in retail container manufacture combined with social reform movements stressing the cult of domesticity brought about a shift from a system grounded in reuse to what Strasser (1999:18) has called a “throwaway culture.” The resulting pattern of conspicuous consumption and discard came to dominate American life, but it was not embraced uniformly by all sectors of society. Among working-class people like the Stephenson family, home production and reuse remained important ways to cope with limited means.

Evidence of sustained home production is implied by artifacts prevalent in all of the analyzed archaeological features. Food storage items found in deposits dating to 1906 and after 1934 include stoneware crocks and abundant canning jars and canning lid liners. Many other wide mouth jars may have been reused for canning. Significant evidence of gardening is indicated by over two dozen terra cotta planting pots recovered in the post-1934 fill layer (Context 115) in Pit 6, a disposal event likely associated with the death of Emily Stephenson. Her interest in gardening may also explain the presence of a glasshouse in 1897 that was destroyed the following year by the explosion across the street. A kitchen garden may have supplied some of the subsistence needs of the family. A glass jar modified into watering container (Catalog 115-172) nicely illustrates the themes of home production and artifact reuse. It is less certain if the family planted any fruit or nut trees, although the very limited number of walnut, peach/nectarine, and plum/apricot seeds imply they were purchased.

Other subsistence needs were met in part through the pursuit of wild food. Evidence of fishing is supplied by a lead sinker from Pit 20 and the remains of salmon and other fish in Features 6 and 24. A 12-gauge shotgun shell in Privy 23 implies the family may have gone fowling along the proximate shores of the bay; and a jackrabbit present in the faunal assemblage may also have been eaten. There is also limited evidence that local bay and open rocky coast shellfish were eaten. The presence of one abalone in the Pit 20 deposit implies travel to the coast ca. 1906. Faunal remains reported earlier (see Table 8.5) indicate investments in middle to low value cuts of beef and pork, while higher value cuts of sheep were also eaten. This pattern is consistent with other U. S. workers, and tends to contrast with middle
class meat purchasing practices. The Stephensons were also likely the beneficiaries of surplus dairy products produced by their relatives living on the block. It is uncertain how long that business persisted as the area surrounding the block was developed. By the 1930s, two milk bottles bearing the Alameda County Milk Dealers Association mark were recovered from Pit 6 with a listed address of 695 37th Street, Oakland.

Transitional Events

Having exposed some of the conservative tendencies visible in the archaeological and historical records of the Stephenson family through time, it is now appropriate to delve into transitional events where changes are also evident. The three analyzed archaeological pit features (Pits 6, 20, and 24) mark discrete moments in the life of the family, while Privy 23 reflects an enduring use marked by successive fill layers that are widely separated in time. Those successive fill events signal repeated emptying and reuse of the privy pit likely starting before 1905 (Context 36) and continuing after the late 1930s (Context 31), perhaps until site abandonment in 1943. The temporal assignments for the three Pit features have been explored in some detail above and they will be considered here in chronological order. Privy 23, because of its broad period of use, does not signal a transitional event. The sequence of its fill layers, however, does offer some additional insights into changes in the household over time.

Before characterizing the distinctive nature of each deposit, it is first useful to consider their general affinities. Table 8.8 examines the correlation among the analyzed features, treating the two discrete fill layers within Pit 6 (Contexts 113 and 115) as separate analytical units. The correlation is based on the MNI counts for all categories of artifacts and ecofacts in an effort to gain perspective on their differences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlation</th>
<th>Context 113</th>
<th>Context 115</th>
<th>Feature 20</th>
<th>Feature 23</th>
<th>Feature 24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Context 113</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context 115</td>
<td>0.494</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature 20</td>
<td>0.857</td>
<td>0.390</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature 23</td>
<td>0.796</td>
<td>0.116</td>
<td>0.895</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature 24</td>
<td>0.870</td>
<td>0.078</td>
<td>0.869</td>
<td>0.987</td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Calculated for MNIs of All Artifact Categories.

It is immediately evident that the two fill layers in Pit 6 have a weak correlation, supporting the other evidence discussed earlier that they represent discrete fill events separated in time. Indeed, the earlier fill layer in Pit 6 (Context 115) is demonstrably different from all other deposits recovered from the site in the proportions of different categories of recovered material. That unique complexion arguably reflects more selective discard than the other deposits. The corollary observation is that the other deposits have much in common, which corroborates some of the conservative tendencies mentioned earlier.

Pit 20 was deposited between 1905 and 1912 with an MNI of 67 artifacts other than structural materials, unidentifiable items, and ecofacts, as detailed earlier in Table 8.7. Based on the presence of a broken ceramic flue pipe and two tiles that may have been discarded after building repairs, a case was presented earlier that the fill in this pit reflects the aftermath of the earthquake of April 18, 1906. Just a year prior to that event, the young family reached...
its maximum size, with six dependent children. The possibly related Pit 24 is a very modest assemblage, with only 20 artifacts (Table 8.7). It contained just two datable glass bottles that suggest deposition around the same time as Pit 20. One of those bottles went out of production about 1903. Pits 20 and 24 contain a high ratio of hardware, particularly when compared to Pit 6. This tends to support the theory that house repairs were required following the earthquake.

Collectively, Pits 20 and 24 are clearly linked to the young family by the presence of toys and a writing slate. The highest proportion of alcoholic beverage containers was also recovered in those features. It is reasonable to assume they reflect consumption by the parents, since all of the children were under 17 years of age. In addition to seven containers reflecting consumption of ale, wine or champagne, whiskey, and unspecified alcohol served in a pressed glass decanter and a flask, at least three bottles included in the Miscellaneous Containers category are likely Schiedam Schnapps. An exotic cowrie shell, ammunition, and a fishing weight also distinguish the contents of these features from Pit 6.

Pit 6 reflects two separate fill events. The earlier fill (Context 115) with a TPQ of 1934 closely coincides with the death of Emily Stephenson in 1936. The later fill (Context 113) with a TPQ of 1941 then closely coincides with Charles F. Stephenson’s death in 1942 and sale of the residential portion of the Stephenson lands to Caltrans in 1943. Both deaths led to cleaning events that provide insight into household succession. The contents of the two fill layers are distinctively different insofar as the earlier fill is markedly more selective than any other deposit analyzed. The distinct separation of the fill into two deposits is consequential because it appears to reflect the cessation of some activities probably associated with the mother of the family, as well as a radical reorientation of the household.

The distinctive character of the earlier fill (Context 115) bolsters its probable association with Emily’s death in 1936. Although some of the contents are probably associated with her life, the deposit contains other materials that instead suggest the broader scope of the upheaval her departure instigated. Among other items likely associated with Emily’s life, the most noteworthy are a large group of materials associated with gardening that suggest such activities were abandoned. Those gardening artifacts include a birdbath and 26 flowerpots, including an elaborate example featuring a Greek key and grape leaf design and a bonsai container.

The bonsai pot intimates that Emily may have shared her gardening interest with some of the Japanese neighbors that began to move onto the block in the 1910s. That impression is amplified by three saucers of Japanese origin that may have been used during social visits by those friends.

Context 115 also contains more health and grooming articles than any other deposit, although those materials were not solely articles used by women. For example, a Burma Shave container tends to imply a masculine contribution to the fill layer. The absence of accoutrements, beads, or feminine clothing reflecting the discard of Emily’s personal belongings may seemingly defy expectations, but for the likely distribution of such mementos to her bereaved daughters. A large and diverse collection of food preparation and consumption artifacts are also potentially significant, since the household became a solely male domain after Emily died. It is difficult, however, to interpret the meaning of these discards. While fewer cooking and tablewares would have been needed, the substantial assortment also seems to imply reduced visitation by the extended family.
The contents of Context 115 also reflect a large assortment of materials associated with the family’s house painting business. Charles F. Stephenson was diagnosed with arteriosclerosis around the time of his wife’s death in 1936, although he was still listed in city directories as late as 1938 as a painter. His eldest son still worked in the business in 1930 according to the federal manuscript population census, but it is uncertain how long Walter continued to pursue that line of work. Emily’s death in 1936 at the height of the Great Depression, combined with Charles F. Stephenson’s declining health and the contents of this fill layer, conspire to give the impression the family business may have been abandoned.

Items directly attributable to Charles’ livelihood include 42 paint cans, brushes, and pails. There is also a sizable group of Miscellaneous Containers that may also reflect bottles and cans used or reused in the painting business. Over 30 percent (23 of 76) of the datable glass containers in Context 115 predate 1930, while another 25 percent (n = 19) were made after that date and the rest were manufactured over a lengthy period. That pattern implies lengthy retention in a period when automatic bottle-production sharply reduced reuse. The early fill in Pit 6 also included the only tools recovered on the parcel, which consisted of a file and adjustable square. Motor vehicle license plates from 1931 and 1933 are also present, and the possession of a means of transportation would have been essential for a painting contractor.

The later fill in Context 113 of Pit 6 shares broad similarities to other deposits found on the Stephenson parcel, reflecting a disposal event that was less selective. The fact that it constituted a final housecleaning activity after the father’s death is bolstered by a fairly high number of cleaning articles and the diverse array of other materials incorporated in the layer. The most evocative materials contained in the layer are two badges, one from the YMCA and one from the Native Sons of the Golden West (NSGW), that appear to be associated with one of the family’s adult children (see Figures 8.4 and 8.5). The most likely association is with the eldest son Walter, for reasons elaborated below. The badges are one of the most revealing items in the collection because they reflect the social milieu and interactions of the family. The YMCA’s welfare mission evolved in the U.S. to include running military canteens during World War I and addressing unemployment during the Great Depression with various welfare and leisure programs (YMCA 2008). Walter was a World War I veteran who may have come into contact with this organization during his service. Its association with Walter is also suggested by the second badge described below and the fact that Walter owned the property at the time of his father’s death when Context 113 was deposited.

Since NSGW membership was (and is) restricted to those born in the State of California, the badge likely belonged to one of the Stephenson’s adult sons, two of whom, Walter and Charles, continued to live on the parcel into the 1930s. The badge, however, is more likely associated with Walter who was 30 in 1919, as opposed to Charles who was only 17 and less likely to travel to Yosemite on his own. This group was active in stirring anti-immigrant sentiments in California, particularly targeting Chinese and Japanese arrivals (Chan 1991; Takaki 1998).

The abandonment of these items is significant. It is unlikely that treasured mementos belonging to eldest son Walter would have been discarded lightly. Their disposal also coincides with the internment of the family’s Japanese many neighbors, a history that is covered elsewhere in this report by Dana Shew. Walter was a veteran of World War I and may have joined the NSGW shortly after returning from service in Europe. His anti-immigrant tendencies may have been stirred by his military service, as well as the influx of Japanese immigrants who began to arrive in substantial numbers in the late 1910s. This NSGW badge
seems to imply strong differences within the household, when compared with artifacts arguably associated with his mother Emily in Context 115. A bonsai container and teacup saucers made in Japan seem to imply that Walter’s mother engaged in friendly interactions with their Japanese neighbors. Perhaps as a naturalized immigrant herself, Emily had more empathy than her son.

The topic of cultural pluralism has been approached from various scholarly perspectives that initially stressed cultural assimilation, but later recognized immigrants and subaltern groups did not in fact abandon their cultural roots, instead adapting to the shifting influences of a plural society. These adaptations, initially conceived in terms of acculturation, have been more recently seen as a process of accommodation that assigns a more active stance to ethnic groups, recognizing identities in a plural society are subject to continual negotiation and adjustment. There is no consensus on how ethnic groups adapted to life in America, particularly in cities where “tensions between old and new social structure were sharpest . . . [and where] immigrant and working-class subculture was most vital” (Gutman 1977:273). As Raymond Mohl observed:

> Ethnic groups in industrial America fought to preserve their old cultures and traditions, but the struggle itself forced them to accommodate to new ways of thinking and behaving. . . . Communal traditions and beliefs persisted, but they also evolved in the new land. Some aspects of the old communal culture modernized more slowly than others [1985:189].

THE ORIMOTOS: THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF DUAL IDENTITY

by Dana Ogo Shew

The Orimoto family who lived and worked at 4501 Clement between 1935 and 1942 exemplifies the Japanese American family of pre-WWII America. The head of the household, Shigemi Orimoto, was a first generation immigrant, or Issei. His wife, Michiko, was born in Seattle, Washington but educated in Japan before returning to the U.S. in 1930. Sending American-born children to Japan to receive a traditional education and learn proper customs was common practice in the Japanese community. These Japanese-educated children were known as kibei and though born in the U.S. often held dual citizenship (Takaki 1998:216). Shigemi and Michiko’s children were American citizens by birth and part of the second generation of Japanese in the U.S., known as the Nisei.

The generational and cultural divides that characterize many of the Japanese families during the early 20th century can be seen in the archaeological remains at pre-war and wartime Japanese and Japanese American residential sites. The cultural remains found in association with 4501 Clement clearly reveal a dual identity through consumer behaviors that reflect selective cultural preservation as well as adoption of American values.

Foodways are often the most effective avenues for cultural preservation and the expression of ethnicity. Anthropologists have long studied the role that foodways play in the construction of ethnic identity. The Orimoto family’s assemblage is an example of the power of food to perpetuate cultural beliefs and behaviors. All but three items found in Trench 8 and Pit 25 (the features associated with the Orimoto family) are related to food preparation or consumption. The Japanese ceramic food related objects make up 69 percent of the total of food preparation/consumption artifacts in the entire assemblage. The Orimotos clearly placed great emphasis on the importance of traditional Japanese foodways.

198
Mealtime plays a significant role in preserving Japanese family unity and emphasizing traditional familial structure. Daisuke Kitagawa refers to this as the Japanese “family table” around which, “the life of the family as a unit is centered. It is where children ‘eat and drink’ their parents’ love and care for them, as materially symbolized in the meals earned by the father and prepared by the mother” (1967:86). These traditional ideals were part of a strict national attitude demanded by the Meiji government in late nineteenth century Japan. According to Meiji doctrine fathers acted as providers, mothers as caregivers and educators, and children as obedient, contributing members of the family unit. Shigemi Orimoto’s perspectives and values were very likely influenced by the Meiji policies that governed life in Japan by the late 1860s. Educated in Japan for most of her life, Michiko started a family only a year after her return to America. Her decision to adhere to the strict traditional behaviors and principles to which she had recently been exposed in Japan is not surprising.

Although the food-related Japanese artifacts in the assemblage are only represented by 11 objects, this is almost double that of non-Japanese food related artifacts Table 8.9. The most common vessel type is the medium sized ceramic bowl, used for food consumption. This vessel type evidences an adherence towards a Meiji “family table.” The bowls not only reveal that the Orimotos were using Japanese bowls as part of their table setting but also points to the consumption of specifically Japanese foods such as rice.

In Japanese culture, rice is not only a staple around which meals and rituals are based but is also inextricably linked to identity and is used as a “metaphor of self” (Ohnuki-Tierney 1994:4). Ohnuki-Tierney claims that development of a rice-based identity stems from a variety of historical processes that have their roots in agrarian Japan. Because most Japanese immigrants came to the U.S. from rural areas they would have identified with Ohnuki-Tierney’s “rice as self” metaphor. Japanese immigrants in America continued to use rice as an expression of self and as a way to preserve their cultural identity. Rice and other staples such as tea are necessarily served in hollowware vessels like the ceramic rice bowls and tea bowl found in Trench 8 and Pit 25.

In Japanese culture proper food practices also include an emphasis on presentation. Attention to aesthetics has been part of Japanese cuisine for centuries and can still be seen in the attitudes of modern Japan. Even children’s lunchboxes are put under scrutiny in a culture that places just as much importance on the container or vessel as the food it contains (Allison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Type</th>
<th>Japanese MNI</th>
<th>Non-Japanese MNI</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bowls</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cups</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lid &amp; Handle</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk Pan</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plates</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saucers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea Bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Percent</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.9. Trench 8 – Food Preparation/Consumption by Ceramic Origin, (Orimoto Family)
Based on the type of Japanese ceramics found in the assemblage it is clear that the Orimoto family placed great value on traditional tableware.

Only three artifacts in the assemblage are stamped with “Made in Japan.” This stamp was used after 1893 on ceramics made exclusively for import to the U.S. and were likely purchased within the country (Costello and Maniery 1988:27; Schiffer 1986:40–42). The rest of the ceramics in this collection have no marks or are painted with Japanese characters. These objects would have been either brought to America at the time of immigration or sent as gifts from Japan. These ceramics were important enough to bring on a journey across the ocean and were deemed necessary for starting a life in America. The choice to bring tableware was wise as American and European style tableware does not duplicate the basic forms of Japanese vessels (Skiles 2010:185). The Orimotos’ use of Japanese tableware was motivated by cultural preservation as well as the poor availability of Japanese forms in the U.S.

OAKLAND AND AMACHE

The assemblage from 4501 Clement, though differing in scope and quantity, has strong resemblances to the collection from Colorado’s WWII internment camp, Amache. Although most of the internees at Amache were from Southern California, a small percentage was from Northern California. Thus, the material culture found at Amache is representative of Japanese families much like the Orimotos.

At both Amache and the Orimoto household food preparation and consumption are the most visible activities in the archaeological record (Shew 2010:124). Another similarity is the overwhelming presence of hollowares—both collections contain only one Japanese plate. The rest of the Japanese ceramics are bowls, a saucer, lid and handle, and a teapot (Shew 2010).

At Amache, the Japanese food that was prepared and consumed within internee barracks served as a reminder of home and brought familiarity and comfort to an otherwise dismal living situation. The Japanese families on Clement Street may have shared these motivations, using food to remember where they came from and to firmly establish a space they could call home. The familiar tastes, smells, textures, and appearance of Japanese food helped Japanese immigrants recreate the “sensory landscape” of Japan (Skiles 2010:189). Cooking familiar food and using Japanese ceramics was also a way for the Issei to expose their American-born children to traditional customs and beliefs. In accordance with Meiji doctrine, Michiko Orimoto would have been responsible for preparing and serving the family’s meals. Her use of Japanese ceramics helped Michiko instill her daughters with Japanese values, fulfilling her role as educator and cultural custodian in the Meiji tradition.

The seemingly simple Japanese ceramics reveal a complex process of identity construction, expression, and retention amongst immigrant families and they also function as indicators of their users’ ethnicity. Without the presence of Japanese food related artifacts within the assemblage it would be impossible, based solely on material culture, to tell that the residents of 4501 Clement were Japanese. The same is true at Amache. The distinctly Japanese artifacts represent a tiny percentage of the total assemblage (Shew 2010:210). At 4501 Clement the percentage of Japanese artifacts is also small, only 17 Japanese artifacts, representing 3 percent of the total assemblage (Figure 8.13). Most of the artifacts at Amache and the Orimoto household would not look out of place in the home of many urban American families of the 1930s and 40s.

The juxtaposition of traditional Japanese ceramics with unmistakably American cultural icons like Coca Cola bottles provides a visually evocative representation of the two cultures straddled by families like the Orimotos. The mass-produced, factory made soda bottles,
applesauce jars, condiment bottles, and canning jars stand in stark contrast to the handmade and hand painted porcelain bowls from Japan. Although these artifacts differ greatly in manufacturing processes and in representative ideals, combined they are testament to a Japanese American dual identity.

Issei parents faced the task of bringing up children steeped in Japanese tradition and culture while also making sure they understood the values and beliefs of the country where they lived. Parents wanted to prepare their children for a successful future in America without losing the perspectives and sensibilities of their Japanese roots. The Orimotos’ consumer choices reveal decisions that were likely guided by the welfare, wants, and needs of their children. A nursing bottle, milk bottles, and applesauce bottles can easily be associated with the needs of the two young Orimoto girls. The Disney Snow White glass tumbler and the glass marble can be attributed to the girls’ wants and reveal the active role children play in consumer choices of their parents. Marbles were one of the most common artifact type found during surface survey at Amache. Not only do they speak of children’s agency in consumer culture but they also illustrate participation in American pastimes. The toys recovered at Amache could not be identified as being of Japanese origin but they did reveal behaviors and preferences for American toys, especially those with military themes (Kamp-Whittaker 2010:210). The Orimoto household similarly lacks evidence of Japanese themed toys or children’s games.

The Orimoto children may have also expressed identification with American culture by food tastes that differed from the traditional Japanese foods offered by their parents. The ketchup bottles and other condiments show that Euroamerican foods were part of the Orimoto diet. Euroamerican food eaten by the household may have been quite limited. Many of the internees at Amache reacted with confusion and distaste for the unfamiliar foods such as hot dogs and cottage cheese offered in the mess halls (Skiles 2010:185). Japanese mothers like Michiko would have had little experience cooking with many Euroamerican foods.

A fork and part of a knife found in Trench 8 also show that Euroamerican styles of eating were also employed in the Orimoto household. To be successful in American society, it would have been important for the Orimoto children to be familiar with essential aspects of American culture such as eating with a knife and fork. Coca Cola and other American food and drinks consumed by the Orimotos may have been enjoyed by any or all members of the family. However, consuming these foods helped the Orimoto children participate in the mainstream culture of the society in which they were born.

Nisei children like Fusae and Kimiko Orimoto were part of a generation that truly lived with dual identities. Because immigration from Japan was controlled by restrictive laws, Japanese
migration to America was broken up into relatively distinct migration periods that led to clear distinctions between generations (Waugh 1988:2). For this reason most of the Nisei were pre-teens or teenagers in the 1930s and 40s when they experienced the Great Depression and WWII internment. For the American born Nisei, internment made the struggle for a Japanese American identity even more difficult and complex. They were the first to face the challenge of creating distinctly Japanese American identities that combined their Japanese heritage with American influences, ideas, and citizenship. The Orimoto children were subject to influences that helped strengthen both sides of their dual identity. If their experience was like that of their neighbor, Ruth Shiraki, the Orimotos would have had very positive relationships with their non-Japanese neighbors. They also likely had close, supportive relationships with their Japanese neighbors. Before WWII many Japanese American children participated in cultural activities such as Japanese dancing, judo, and Buddhist Church events while also being part of very American institutions like the Boy Scouts and baseball.

The two cultures did not necessarily work in opposition. Many beliefs and attitudes were in harmony and shared similar perspectives. Hard work and frugality, for example, were traits that characterized the majority of American families who were struggling to survive the Great Depression. The Orimotos and the other working class families on Clement Street were no exception. Farming and flower growing are labor-intensive practices. The shovel, hayfork, and pest control objects found in Trench 8 are reminders of the many hours of physical labor and planning that went into the maintenance of even small agricultural ventures made even harder by the exigencies of the Depression. All the families in the Clement Street neighborhood shared the priorities of supporting and providing for their families. Even wealthier families like the Stephensons engaged in long hours and manual labor. The principles of sacrifice and hard work are common to both Japanese culture and American society of the 1930s and 40s.

The two cultures were also melded by the repurposing of American made objects for Japanese uses. The six canning jars among the Trench 8 assemblage were likely used to make traditional pickled Japanese side dishes. Pickling cabbage (tsukemono) and plums (umeboshi) are common practices that started before WWII and are still practiced by many Japanese Americans. Numerous canning jars were found during surface survey at Amache and oral history accounts even recall mothers bringing jars of umeboshi with them to camp (Shew 2010:122). The vinegar and salad oil bottles found in Trench 8 also may have been reused to hold Japanese foods such as rice wine vinegar or Japanese sauces or dressings in the same way as the internees at Amache appropriated the heavy Quartermaster gravy boats issued to the mess halls for use as soy sauce dispensers (Skiles 2010:185). Repurposing the American objects for Japanese uses was part of the process of adapting to American society and learning to redefine identity. It was a necessary step in the process of making a foreign place feel like home and a way to acknowledge one’s immediate context while retaining part of the familiar society that has been left behind.

Japanese immigrants also began solidifying ideas of cultural identity by creating strong and unified communities, in part through the use of specific consumer products. Pond’s brand cold cream seems to have been the dominant Japanese American skin care product from the 1930s onward. Although other brands were also used, as evidenced by the assemblage at 4501 Clement and at Amache, the Pond’s brand is the most widely remembered amongst former internees. At least one of the cold cream jars from Trench 8 was Pond’s and at least one was Woodbury. Both of these brands and Jergen’s were present at Amache, but Pond’s was the most common. The reason why Japanese women initially preferred Pond’s is unclear. Price was likely not a factor as a 1943 Sears, Roebuck, & Co. catalog shows that the prices between the three aforementioned brands were very similar; in fact the large jar of Woodbury was
actually $0.01 cheaper than that of Pond's (Shew 2010:146). These Japanese women turned an American beauty product into a Japanese American tradition passed down through the generations, illustrating not only the power of brand loyalty but the strength of parental and community influence on consumer choice.

Community and family influences on consumer choice was significant but American news media and advertising also had their role. The effectiveness of American advertising campaigns on the Nisei at Amache illustrates generational divisions. Artifacts such as hair curlers, lipstick tubes, and nail polish bottles indicate that the young Nisei women in camp were subscribing to American ideals of beauty and appearance. Advertisements for beauty products intertwined ideals of patriotism and romance into alluring campaigns (Shew 2010:136). The older Issei women, on the other hand, did not use these American products, indicating their cultural conservatism. The absence of American beauty and grooming artifacts at 4501 Clement Street suggest that Michiko Orimoto was as conservative as the Issei women at Amache. Generational divisions are exposed through the artifacts associated with her American born children. The Disney tumbler, representative of an iconic American brand, exemplifies the influence of American media and popular culture on the young Orimoto children. Nisei children like the Orimotos negotiated their way through two oftentimes, conflicting cultural worlds, learning to balance the influences from each in order to define their roles in society.

The Orimotos’ story, their struggles and evolving identities, would have been familiar to many Japanese American families of the era. Although each family’s story would have been different, the themes of cultural preservation and identity creation were the same. The Orimoto family’s archaeological assemblage gives us a glimpse into a way of life of struggle and overcoming obstacles that exemplifies many Japanese families in Northern California. The Orimotos retained aspects of Japanese culture, most prominently through food, while also incorporating American products and ideals into their daily lives. Their children were part of a generation that began the on-going task of defining Japanese American identity. The artifacts from Trench 8 and Pit 25 are tangible reminders that living a dual identity involved balancing the influences of two cultures and making them work together.

NEARLY NEIGHBORS

The historical archaeology of the Stephenson, Pryde, and Orimoto families has delved into these past lives through a careful combination of the documentary and oral accounts, and material remains. Although each source has contributed types of information, our method has been unlike the mechanical process of assembling a jigsaw puzzle. Rather, we have worked between sources to identify themes that are reflected in all, creating a common thread of interpretation. Here, we conclude with the image of three households of similar economic standing that held similar values of thriftiness, the importance of work, and independence. And yet in spite of their common ideals there is evidence that two of these families were caught up in national and class-based ethnic divisiveness.

Our analysis of the Stephenson and Pryde assemblages suggests that these were frugal and temperate households. Norman Pryde was at the upper end of the working class, a skilled worker who eventually ended in a professional position. Considering class as an occupational category, he worked his way to a middle-class position. The Pryde table setting was not extravagant in comparison to the West Oakland railroad workers, falling roughly between craft-unionized workers and laborers in its size and complexity. The vessel types themselves comprised a basic table setting, with at least some evidence of refined drinking in the form
of stemware and a cordial glass. The small number of alcohol bottles recovered indicates minimal domestic alcohol consumption. The faunal remains suggest some indulgence in diet—with expensive cuts of meat predominating in the assemblage—but the extra expense may have been compensated for by buying the cheapest cuts at other times.

The Stephenson household assemblages speak of frugality and temperance, but also of a long-term material conservatism. With the benefit of two sets of deposits from different times in the household’s life course (ca. 1905 and 1940), we have attempted to discern long-term patterns in the household’s strategies. While economically working class, the Stephensons were largely self-employed, owning their own businesses. Their material culture reflects the values and strategies of small family-owned business people, rather than a more encompassing and undifferentiated notion of working class.

The assemblages are unostentatious, with little investment in elaborated dining or diet. The 1905 assemblage showed moderate alcohol consumption, with a decline by the 1940s. This may have been due to the intervening period of prohibition, but the presence of a YMCA badge indicates participation in temperance. The YMCA’s appeal was strongest among workers of “vaguely middle class standing” (Boyer 1978:210), which might well describe the class position of the Stephensons. With its emphasis on temperance, muscular Christianity, and self-improvement, participation in the YMCA is consistent with the conservative, thrifty, and family-oriented Stephenson household.

Small family-owned businesses are usually undercapitalized and vulnerable to economic fluctuations and competition. The long-term extended family network this research revealed would have been an important factor in the survival of the family businesses. As needed, the business could draw on unpaid family labor to hold costs down and compensate for lack of capital.

The vulnerability and anxieties of this class seems also to be expressed by at least one family member’s participation in the Native Sons of the Golden West. This is evidenced by a delegate’s badge to the 1919 “parlor” (annual meeting) of the Native Sons. By the 1920s, this organization’s nativist agenda was explicit. While not a working-class group, its rhetoric of nativism had strong appeal to native-born working-class (and middle-class) people who felt immigration posed an economic threat to their standard of living though low-wage competition.

Interethnic conflict had been the norm in California since Gold Rush days. Archaeology suggests that in spite of their common core values, this tension existed in relations between some of the families on Clement Street in the early 20th century. Unemployment and the ever-increasing membership of socially conservative groups exacerbated the racist tendencies of some white men. The cultural norms of the era stressed manly sociability outside the family home. The politics discussed in these male environments were increasing conservative.

The Orimoto family was anathema to the Native Sons, which sought to create a White historical landscape in California. There is a grim irony in the fact the terminus ante quem for the Orimotos’ archaeological collection can be established by the signing of Executive Order 9066 in February 1942, which authorized the internment of all Japanese and Japanese Americans on the West Coast. The culmination of post-Pearl Harbor hysteria, this action was in part due to the pervasive nativist feeling fostered by groups such as the Native Sons. It is interesting to contrast this rhetoric of separation with the realities of the domestic realm of the home. Oral accounts suggest and family photographs document that Japanese and non-Japanese children played freely together. Neighborliness, at least among the women, was the norm.
REFERENCES CITED

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP)  

Alameda County Recorder’s Office (Alameda County)  

Allison, Anne  

Bagwell, Beth  

Baker, J.E. (editor)  

Barber, Russell, J.  

Barker, Bryce, and Lara Lamb  

Barnett, R.E.  

Bates, Beth Tompkins  

Bederman, Gail  

Beaudry, Mary C.  
Beaudry, Mary C., Lauren J. Cook, and Stephen A. Mrozowski

Bellis, Mary

Bender, Nathan E.

Bernas, Barry L.

Block Books, Township of Brooklyn

Block Books, City of Oakland

Blocker, Jack S.

Blumin, Stuart

Boone, Troy

Boyer, Paul

Brand Names Foundation, Incorporated
1947 43,000 Years of Public Service: A Roster of Product-identifying Names Used by the American Public for 50 Consecutive Years or More. Brand Names Foundation, Incorporated, New York.

Bray, Dennis F.

Brown, Marley R.

Canada’s Historic Places

City Directory
v.d. Oakland and Alameda City Directories, various dates, various publishers. On file, Oakland Public Library, Oakland History Room, Oakland.


Coke Girl


Devner, Kay  

Dixon, Kelly J.  

Farwell, Ann Shiraki  
2011 Granddaughter of Shinzo Shiraki who operated the Shiraki Nursery at 4601 Clement Street. Interview with Dana Shew on 20 June 2011, at Ruth Shiraki’s home in San Leandro. Ruth Shiraki (Ann’s aunt) and Jean Gize were also present.

Ferris, David  

Fike, Richard E.  

Friedlander, Amy  
1991 *House and Barn; The Wealth of Farmers, 1795–1815.* *Historical Archaeology* 25(2):15–29

Gates, William C. Jr., and Dana E. Ormerod  
1982 The East Liverpool, Ohio, Pottery District: Identification of Manufacturers and Marks. *Historical Archaeology* 16(1–2).

Giarde, Jeffrey L.  

Giele, Janet Zollinger  

Gize, Jean  
2011 Granddaughter of Shinzo Shiraki who operated the Shiraki Nursery at 4601 Clement Street. Interview with Dana Shew on 20 June 2011, at Ruth Shiraki’s home in San Leandro. Ruth Shiraki (Jean’s aunt) and Ann Shiraki Farwell were also present.

Glassberg, David  
2001 *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life.* University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst.

Glassie, Henry  
1975 *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts.* The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Glickman, Lawrence  

Godden, Geoffrey A.  

References Cited

Good Housekeeping

Goody, Jack (editor)

Goody, Jack

Google Patent Search

Griffenhagen, George and Mary Bogard

Groover, Mark D.

Gust, Sherri

Gutman, Herbert

Hardesty, Donald L.

Harris, Edward C.

Harris, Edward C., Marley R. Brown III, and Gregory J. Brown.

Hart, Greg
2008 Son and grandson of Ameron employees, and 2008 Ameron plant manager. Communication with Thad Van Bueren.
Heidecker, Kelly

Hoffman, Oscar F.

Holabird Associates

Holt, Mack, editor,

Hoover, M. B., H. E. Rensch, E. G. Rensch, and W. N. Abeloe

Hutchison, E. P.

Hyde, Charles Gilman, Harold Farnsworth Gray, and A. M. Rawn

Ichihashi, Yamato

Isokawa, Ned
2011 Son of Ichiro Isokawa, who was a former resident of 4331 Clement Street. Interview with Dana Shew on 28 March 2011 at Ned Isokawa’s home in Piedmont.

Iyenaga, T., and Kenoske Sato

Jones, Olive, and Catherine Sullivan

Jones, Gareth Stedman
References Cited

JRP Historical Consulting Services (JRP) and California Department of Transportation (Caltrans)


Kammen, Michael


Kamp-Whittaker, April


Kawaguchi, Gary


Kelso, Gerald K., and Mary C. Beaudry


Kessler-Harris, Alice


Kimmel, Michael S.


Kingsdale, Jon M.


Kitagawa, Daisuke


Koenig, Heidi, and Jack Mc Ilroy

2002 Archaeological Treatment Plan for the High Street Overhead Seismic Retrofit Project. Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California. Submitted to the California Department of Transportation, Oakland.

Kowalsky, Arnold A., and Dorothy W. Kowalsky


Krase, Elizabeth

Nearly Neighbors: Archaeological Investigations for the High Street Retrofit Project

Kusmer, Kenneth L.  

Lehner, Lois  

Leone, Mark P.  

Lockhart, Bill  


Lockhart, Bill, Michael R. Miller, Bill Lindsey, Carol Serr, and David Whitten  

Lunn, Kevin  

Lyman, R. Lee  

Marcus, George E., and Michael J. Fischer  

Maynard, Steven  

McClatchy, Valentine Stuart  

Mc Ilroy, Jack, Jack Meyer, Elaine-Maryse Solari, Heidi Koenig, and Maria Ribeiro  
McMurry, Sallie  

Melosi, Martin  

Meyer, Steve  

Miller, Benjamin  

Miller, George L., and Silas D. Hurry  

Miller, George L., and Tony McNichol  

Mohl, Raymond  

Molina, Natalia  
2010  “In a Race All Their Own”: The Quest to Make Mexicans Ineligible for U.S. Citizenship. *Pacific Historical Review* 79(2):167–201

Monroe, Day, Helen Hollingsworth, Margaret Perry, and Maryland Y. Pennell  

Monroe, Day, Dorthy S. Martin, Margaret Perry, and Kathryn Cronister  

Montgomery, David  

Mrozowski, Stephen A.  

Murase, Kenji

Murdock, Catherine Gilbert

Museum of London


National Park Service (NPS)


National Archives and Records Administration (NARA)

Ng, Wendy

Noel, Thomas J.

Oakland Enquirer
1898 A Chinaman’s Desperate Deed. 19 July 1898:1, 6, 8.

Oakland Tribune
1898 Six Blown to Eternity, 19 July 1898:1–5.
1907 ADD 7 July 1907 article cited in chapter 2
1942 Obituary, for Charles F. Stephenson, 29 December 1942:8.

Oakland Unified School District
Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko

Olmsted, Nancy, and Roger W. Olmsted

Oster Library

Owen, Bruce


Parsons, Elaine Frantz

Paynter, Robert, and Randall H. McGuire

Perry, Stewart E.

Peterson, Arthur G.
1968 400 Trademarks on Glass. L-W Book Sales, Gas City, Indiana.

Powers Manufacturing Company

Praetzellis, Adrian
Praetzellis, Mary (editor)
2007 *Block Technical Report: Historical Archaeology of the San Francisco–Oakland Bay Bridge West Approach Project, Edge of Rincon Hill Neighborhood (Blocks 5, 7, and 9).* Two volumes. Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California. Prepared for California Department of Transportation, District 4, Oakland.

Praetzellis, Mary, and Adrian Praetzellis
1989 *Carriage Maker to Undertaker or the Redmonds Clean House: Archaeology of an 1870s Family.* Report prepared for Days Inn, Inc.

1992 *Archaeological Studies of the Newman Hem House, 1423 K Street, Sacramento.* Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California.

Praetzellis, Mary, Betty Rivers, and Jeanette K. Schultz
1983 *Ceramic Marks from Old Sacramento.* California Archaeological Reports No. 22. Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, California.

Price, Jay

Pryde, George Wilbur
2008 Grandson of Norman J. and Margaret (Stephenson) Pryde, who were former residents of 4411 Clement Street. Telephone interview with Elaine-Maryse Solari on 27 October 2008.

Reckitt Benckiser, Inc.

Reckner, Paul E., and Stephen A. Brighton

Rees, Jonathan H.

Rhomberg, Chris

Ring, Carlyn

Rotman, Deborah

Sanborn Fire Insurance Company (Sanborn)

Sanborn Fire Insurance Company (Sanborn) [continued]


San Francisco Call

1898 “Blown into Atoms by a Fiendish Mongolian,” 20 July 1898:1

Schiffer, Nancy N.


Schulten, Susan


Schulz, Peter D., and Sherri M. Gust


Schulz, Jeanette, and Peter D. Schulz


Schulz, Peter D., Betty Rivers, Mark M. Hales, Charles A. Litzinger, and Elizabeth McKee


Scott, Dean


Shew, Dana Ogo


Shiraki, Ruth

2011 Daughter of Shinzo Shiraki and former resident of 4601 Clement Street where the Shiraki Nursery was located. Interview with Dana Shew on 20 June 2011, at Ruth Shiraki’s home in San Leandro. Ruth Shiraki’s nieces Ann Shiraki Farwell and Jean Gize were also present.

Slater, Dashka

1997 Where Have All the Flowers Gone? East Bay Express, 19(47):8–12.

Skiles, Stephannie and Bonnie Clark

Smith, Frederick H.  

South, Stanley  

Spain, Daphne  

Spencer-Wood, Suzanne M.  


Steinhauer, Carl  

Strasser, Susan  

Strong, Edward K.  

Taillon, Paul Michel  

Takaki, Ronald  

Tam, Katherine  

Taylor, Sandra C.  

Thompson & West  

Toulouse, Julian Harrison  

Toynton, Bob
1977 California Drug Stores and Pharmacists. Privately Published by Author, Santee, California.

Transferware Collectors Club

Unilever

United States Bureau of the Census (U.S. Census)
1880 Alameda County, Manuscript census, population schedule.
1900 Alameda County, Manuscript census, population schedule.
1910 Alameda County, Manuscript census, population schedule.
1920 Alameda County, Manuscript census, population schedule.
1930 Alameda County, Manuscript census, population schedule.

United States Department of Agriculture (USDA)
1948 How Families Use Their Incomes. United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

Uyeda, Clifford I. (editor)

Vacuum Tubes, Inc.

Van Bueren, Thad M.

Van Bueren, Thad M., and Kimberly Wooten
Walker, Mark


2009a Data Recovery of Historical Refuse Pits at CA-ALP-532/H, (Caples Lake Tenders Site), Alpine County, California FERC Project 184. El Dorado Irrigation District, Placerville, California. Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California.


Wall, Diana DiZerega


Waugh, Isami Arifuku, Alex Yamato and Raymond Okamura

Way, Peter


Welch, L.E.
1981 Soil Survey of Alameda County, California, Western Part. United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, in cooperation with the University of California Agricultural Experiment Station. N.p.

Wheeler, Kathleen L.

Whitten, David

Wilkie, Laura
Wilson, Bill, and Betty Wilson  

Wilson, Thomas M. (editor)  

Woodhead, Eileen  

Wooley, Sir Leonard  

Wurst, LouAnn  

Yagasaki, Noritaka  


Yentsch, Anne  

Yentsch, Anne E., and Mary C. Beaudry  

Young Men’s Christian Organization (YMCA)  

Zumwalt, Betty  
APPENDIX

Personnel List 2010–2011
# PERSONNEL LIST 2010–2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Qualifications</th>
<th>Responsibilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adrian Praetzellis</td>
<td>Principal Investigator</td>
<td>Ph.D., Anthropology, RPA</td>
<td>Field visit, report review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Praetzellis</td>
<td>Project Manager</td>
<td>M.A., CRM; RPA</td>
<td>Project management and design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Meyer</td>
<td>Field Director</td>
<td>M.A., CRM, RPA</td>
<td>Field director, report writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erica Gibson</td>
<td>Lab Director</td>
<td>M.A., Archaeology, RPA</td>
<td>Lab director, table development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark Walker</td>
<td>Archaeologist</td>
<td>M.A., Archaeology</td>
<td>Report writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thad Van Bueren</td>
<td>Archaeologist</td>
<td>M.A., Anthropology</td>
<td>Report writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dana Ogo Shew</td>
<td>Archaeologist</td>
<td>M.A., Archaeology</td>
<td>Research, oral history, report writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Konzak</td>
<td>Archaeologist</td>
<td>M.A., Archaeology</td>
<td>Fieldwork, graphics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandra Massey</td>
<td>Archaeologist</td>
<td>M.A., CRM, RPA</td>
<td>Lab work, photography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryan Much</td>
<td>Specialist</td>
<td>M.A., CRM</td>
<td>Graphics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patricia Paramoure</td>
<td>Specialist</td>
<td>B.A., CRM graduate student</td>
<td>Lab work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessica Tudor</td>
<td>Specialist</td>
<td>B.A., CRM graduate student</td>
<td>Lab work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elaine-Maryse Solari</td>
<td>Historian</td>
<td>M.A., CRM</td>
<td>Historical research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Stoyka</td>
<td>Specialist</td>
<td>M.A., CRM</td>
<td>Faunal analysis, illustrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karen Reichardt</td>
<td>Specialist</td>
<td>B.A., CRM graduate student</td>
<td>Lab work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Douglass</td>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>M.A. CRM</td>
<td>Editing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria Ribeiro</td>
<td>Graphic specialist</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>Report format/graphics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>