CHAPTER 6
CONCLUDING REMARKS

AN ANOMALY? OR TIME FOR A REEVALUATION OF ASSUMPTIONS?

Most, although not all, of the collections of artifacts that we have reported on represent the daily refuse of a series of Chinese businesses and boardinghouses dating to the mid-1850s; this chapter will focus on these materials. Many of these artifacts are Chinese in origin and could be taken as evidence for the long-held view that this immigrant group was insular in its outlook and resisted pressures to assimilate into "mainstream" American culture. And to a degree, we believe that this view is correct. A closer look at the collection, however, reveals what at first glance seems to be an anomaly: a high proportion of the artifacts from these archaeological contexts are either British (in the case of ceramics) or were prepared in a standard Euroamerican fashion (in the case of food bones). What does this mean? Is it possible that the project historian could have misidentified the residents of the site? Or that the project archaeologist failed to recognize a disturbed site? Alternatively, had these Chinese pioneers become rapidly more "American" in their culture? Or is there some other explanation?

For years, historical archaeologists have looked for a correlation between the ratio of Chinese and American/European artifacts found on an archaeological site and the degree of cultural change on the part of the Chinese immigrants who were responsible for them. To this end, for example, Edward Staski (1993) compared the proportions of Chinese and non-Chinese ceramic vessels from a number of sites in order to understand the process of assimilation of the Chinese residents of El Paso, Texas. We have never found this approach satisfactory, believing that the taphonomic, historical, and cultural processes that create archaeological assemblages are far too complex to understand by merely comparing numbers of artifacts. We have also found this approach somewhat dehumanizing to the subjects of our study, who are given a largely passive role in the creation of their own culture. Considering the historical context of the present collection and what is known about the people who created it, this is far from accurate.

CHINESE MERCHANTS: VICTIMS OR PROTAGONISTS?

Although Charles McClain has pointed out that Chinese merchants often "reacted with indignation" to official mistreatment, "and more often than not sought redress in the courts" (1994:3), traditional scholarship has portrayed the Chinese in 19th-century California as the passive targets of racism who stoically bore their load. From the outsider's view, the Chinese population looked like victims who did not have the inclination to defend themselves against either the violence that was perpetrated against them by street bullies or the legal assaults from the State. Yet Overseas Chinese communities have flourished for centuries throughout the world in spite of these

difficulties and it would be naive indeed to think that the merchants—the traditional leaders of these groups—would not have developed some system for influencing their host community to improve their lot.

In previous work, we suggested that the Chinese merchants of Sacramento carefully created an exotic yet unthreatening impression of the Chinese district for the consumption of influential Americans. Part of this strategy was to carefully manipulate traditional displays co-joined with familiar American material culture (Praetzellis, Praetzellis, and Brown 1987). At banquets, festivals, boat races, and other public events, the merchants employed what Jane Lydon has termed a "cultural pidgin publicly uttered [in public events or] privately in individual encounters; it provided a basis for communication which could overcome cultural misunderstanding" (1996:222). Displays of traditional culture that contemporary journalists from the American press praised for their colorful and exciting performances were, on another level, exercises in tradition put on as part of the merchants' strategy to spread their influence beyond the boundaries of Chinatown. Dell Upton, writing of "Chinese" architecture created in U.S. Chinatowns, states that these "fragments of an idealized high culture serve very effectively in a multiethnic society as metonyms of identity. . . invented traditions reveal the process by which ethnic groups form themselves by *choosing* to commodify their identities" (1996:5, emphasis in original).

Although they were more fleeting expressions of identity put on parade for general consumption then was architecture, the same can be said of the events sponsored by the Chinese merchants of Sacramento.

The Importance of *Guanxi*

While colorful public celebrations in Chinatown attracted widespread attention, the key to the success of Overseas Chinese merchants has been their skill in developing what Lydon has termed a "cat's-cradle of business contacts and obligations" (1996:222). This system of interpersonal relationships, known as *guanxi,* is described by ethnographer Mayfair Mei-hui Yang as a network of family and social contacts tied together by bonds of obligation and reciprocity (Yang 1994). Significantly, this system is at the basis of traditional Chinese business relationships, whereby merchants develop long-lasting webs of reciprocity and trust with each other, their clients, and those in positions of power. Initially, many of these relationships are established on the basis of shared kinship, locality, and personal recommendations. They are, however, constantly reinforced by formal events such as, in the words of Yang's title, "gifts, favors, and banquets." While some have interpreted gift-giving as pure corruption (Lydon 1996:197), it assumes an important role in maintaining balance in reciprocal relations.

Josiah Gallup, Chinese Business Agent

Perhaps the most important business contacts of the Chinese companies of I Street were their American business agents. In the tradition of *guanxi* and out of necessity, the business agent was a trusted associate who represented the merchants' interests in a number of spheres. Josiah Gallup, who was from a family of Connecticut merchants who had traded in China, was an agent for the Yeung-wo and Sam Yap (Canton) District Associations. Gallup's papers provide a wealth of information about the role of this important cultural bridge in early Sacramento (Gallup Collection, California State

Library). Where there were permits to be obtained from City Hall, a bond to be posted, or legal representation for a Chinese individual accused of a crime, the American business agent would speak for his District Association. In 1855 an agent, a former Sacramento City judge, was even employed to lobby the State Legislature on behalf of Chinese merchants' and Associations' interests (McClain 1994:23). On a more mundane level—although one that has direct implications to archaeology—where supplies had to be purchased from an American source, the agent put in the order and was reimbursed. Receipts in Gallup's probate file and asides in his private correspondence show that he purchased everything from household supplies and vegetables to building materials for his clients.

If it should seem strange that a wealthy Chinese merchant or Chinese District Association agent would employ a go-between to make these simple purchases, the reader should bear in mind the realities of the 1850s: Language was a significant barrier to communication between the merchants and their potential suppliers. Josiah Gallup, however, was known to the Chinese as the "Chinese interpreter" (Gallup, 15 May 1854). Furthermore, at this time, commodity prices were not fixed and might vary considerably depending upon the perceived gullibility of the purchaser. An American agent would likely have been able to secure a better price for goods, most of which were bought on credit, than a Chinese with limited facility in English, however influential he might be within his own community. In addition to their American agent, the Yeung-wo Association designated a Chinese agent, Tong K. Achick, whose principal role was to facilitate "business with Americans" (*Oriental* 1 March 1855).

Although Tong spoke English fluently and might have carried out most of his duties unaided, he maintained a business relationship with Josiah Gallup. The most important factor that led to this continued relationship may have been the tenuous legal status of Tong and all the Chinese residents of California. The legislative session of 1855 has been described as "perhaps the high-water mark of anti-Chinese sentiment for the entire decade" (McClain 1994:17). The most invidious piece of legislation passed at that time prohibited Chinese from testifying in State courts. Thus, Chinese-owned property was potentially at the mercy of any swindler who cared to make a fraudulent claim. By involving City Alderman Josiah Gallup as middleman in important transactions—particularly those that concerned real estate—his Chinese *guanxi* partners ensured that their property was secure.

When Gallup returned from his trip East, which he had undertaken in order to propose marriage to his cousin, the representative of a Chinese Association immediately engaged Gallup's services to buy a house for him in Sacramento: "The Chinaman heard I had arrived in San Francisco, the head man wrote a letter thinking he would not see me to buy him a house and lot in Sac City; the poor fellow were as glad to see me as you will be perhaps…" (Gallup, 29 September 1853). On 1 October 1853, Gallup sold a building and lot on the KL56 Block to "Aching & Tongkee (Chinamen)" of San Francisco; six local businessmen witnessed the transaction (Deeds L:582). It is interesting to note that among these men were E.L. Barber, the man who, two years later, published a view of the Chinese District (see Figure 3). Chun Aching, agent of the Sam Yap, and Tong K. Achick, of the Yeung-wo, were among the most important Chinese men in California. Aching and Achick both signed a petition letter to "his Excellency, Gov. Bigler" that was published in June 1852; this was the second such

document prepared by the District Associations representing the Chinese miners; Tong K. Achick also signed the first (Barth 1964:146-147).

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF MERCHANT AND COMPANY HOUSEHOLDS

There are no detailed enumerations of the residents of the I Street merchants' and District Association agents' households in the mid-1850s that are as informative as the decennial U.S. Census Schedules. We may, however, reconstruct these households by combining information from the 1860 census, the papers of Josiah Gallup, and brief published descriptions .

Gallup's biographical material show that he was the American agent for both the Yeung-wo and Sam Yap associations, both of which had boardinghouses on the HI56 Block. In addition to this role, Gallup also owned several teams of horses and wagons. His task was to arrange for the transportation of Chinese immigrants from San Francisco to the Associations' houses on I Street, where they would stay until work was found for them. As many as 300 were transported at one time. According to Gallup, the men's passage from China was paid and arranged by the Company; but Josiah Gallup was also a labor broker, arranging for the employment of the new immigrants as well as transporting them to the mines. In a letter to his cousin that was written over several days, Josiah commented that "about 300 Chinamen came up last night [and] the old dump is full... We had quite a rush last night about 200 Chinaman (sic) came up from the Bay [and] I have been up for 3 nights from 12 o'clock and we have to go to the boat and take them to the house . . . (Gallup, 30 June 1854). The "old dump" and the "house" are surely Chinese Companies' boardinghouses.

A description of the Yeung-wo's San Francisco house in 1855 is provided by an English language newspaper, The *Oriental*, that covered news relating to California's Chinese population:

> The smaller apartments below are occupied by the agents and servants of the company. . . The upper story, and the attic, with the out-building on the upper side are, it may be, filled with lodgers; nearly all of whom are staying but temporarily, on a visit from the mines, or on their way to or from China. A few sick persons lie on their pallets around . . .in the rear is the kitchen . . .There is a branch [of the Association] in Sacramento [and Stockton]. These houses are mere lodging places [15 January 1855].

In 1855 four of the five Chinese Companies that had a presence in California had offices and boardinghouses on the HI56 block—Ning Yeung, Sam Yap, Sze Yap, and Yeung-wo. The Sze Yap Association's house at 509/511 I Street was described as containing a "hospital" in 1855 (*Sacramento Union* 4 July 1855). While the house in San Francisco was said to provide "beds, fuel, and water to guests who remain but a short period; also a lodging place and medicines for the infirm, aged, and sick (*Oriental* 25 January 1855). This is consistent with the mutual aid function of the Chinese family associations that sponsored the California off-shoots. By the time that the 1860 U.S. Census was taken of I Street, the Gold Rush had been over for some time and with it, evidently, the need for most Association boardinghouses. The schedule does show several households of two or

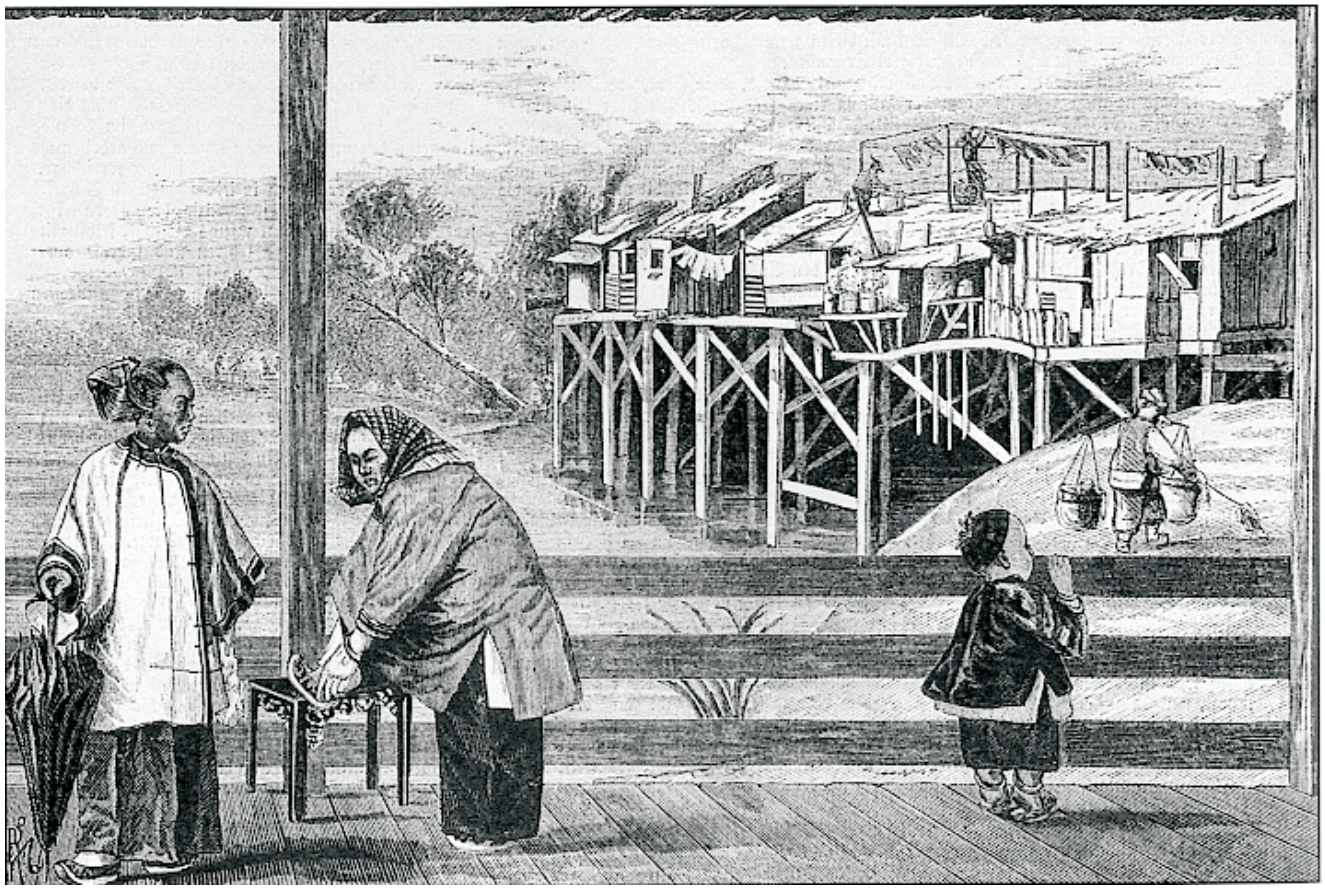

Figure 70. "Chinesen-Quartier in Sacramento, California." *This rather fanciful image shows the rear of buildings, probably between 3rd and 4th streets, that are supported on piers over China Lake. The sight of washing flapping in the wind on laundry roofs was not uncommon in the mid-19th century. In the foreground the artist depicts two Chinese women standing on the 3rd street bridge. (From Frank Leslie's* Illustrierte Zeitung*, 9 August 1878)*

three merchants, each who, in the custom of the time, were living at their place of business. Only one household was identified as a boardinghouse; here 17 laborers and the man who may have operated the house were listed together.

In summary, during the mid-1850s, it is likely that the Yeung-wo District Association office and boardinghouse at 525/527 I Street, as well as outbuildings behind the stores occupied by Yu Chung Co. at 513/515 I Street and Sang Lee Co. at 507 I Street, would have been home to three groups of people: merchants, who in some cases were the salaried agents of their Association; a permanent staff; and a variable number of transients on their way to or from the mines, or perhaps recuperating from sickness or injury.

Where Did the Artifacts Come From?

In earlier studies of the merchants of I Street, we pointed out that the Chinese population at this time was economically and socially diverse. Consequently, if one wishes to pursue anything other than a large-scale analysis, it is valuable to reconstruct the way in which each portion of the population contributed to the artifacts that are being studied and to suggest ways in which each group conceived and made use of them. In the sections that follow we will consider the respective contributions of the three distinct social groups—Chinese merchants and Chinese District Association agents, staff, and lodgers—who brought in and made use of the artifacts from the 1850s contexts on this site. Although these reconstructions are based on documentary sources to avoid circularity, the record is incomplete, making some of these reconstructions more conjectural than others. In addition, some classes of artifacts would have been used by all three groups.

The Lodgers

According to a contemporary account, the Yeung-wo had strict rules that defined the conduct and personal possessions of members who stayed at their boardinghouses.

> In the company's house there must be no concealment of stolen goods, no gunpowder or other combustible material, no gambling, no drunkenness, no cooking (except in the proper quarters), no burning of sacrificial papers, no accumulation of baggage, no filth, no bathing, no filching oil, no heaps of rags or trash, no wrangling and noise, no injury to property of the company, no goods belonging to thieves, no slops of victuals. . . . Baggage not allowed to remain longer than three years; nor more than one chest to each person [*Oriental* 1 March 1855].

Although they no doubt ate most of the food that was served at the houses, the lodgers' own decisions would not be represented in the food remains. The boardinghouses had an institutional structure in which tasks were segmented; the purchase and preparation of food was not part of the lodgers' role. Their personal possessions were limited to what could be fitted into a chest and stored at the Association's main house in San Francisco.

This arrangement is reminiscent of the company boardinghouses operated by the managers of the Boott Mills, in Lowell, Massachusetts (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1989). Here, too, there was relatively little opportunity for residents to affect the content of the archaeological record. Where they did so, however, the remains speak eloquently of the

lives of these working people. Using the archaeological discoveries at the Boott Mills boardinghouses as a model (Ziesing 1989), we assume that the lodgers' contributions would relate mostly to their leisure activities and personal habiliment. These categories contain the following varieties of artifacts: alcohol containers, opium-smoking materials, gaming pieces, personal adornments, and clothing parts and attachments.

The Staff

In the Associations' San Francisco houses, the staff consisted of "servants who take care of the building, cook the food, and attend the sick" and who lived on the premises (*Oriental* 8 February 1855). We assume that, although the staff was permanent, they had relatively low social status and that among their duties would be to order the house's day-to-day necessities that could be obtained locally and from Chinese sources. These materials would include vegetables grown by Chinese gardeners, fish netted by Chinese fishermen, meat from Chinese butchers, poultry from Chinese farmers, and game animals from market hunters.

The Chinese characters scored into the surface of several tablewares signaled ownership. Although it is not known whether these vessels were the personal property of lodgers or staff, or whether they were District Association property, the former seems likely as there is very little duplication among these marks.

The Merchants and District Association Agents

In the case of a store, we assume that individual merchants chose their stock on the basis of salability, availability, and their particular specialty. These materials would duplicate many of the items owned by lodgers and staff. In practical terms, however, merchants' stock can be identified by its extreme redundancy, such as the stash of 51 Double Happiness design bowls that was found in excavations of a merchant's backlot on the south side of I Street (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1982). In the same way that the officials at the Boott Mills were responsible for most of the contents of their boardinghouses, it is clear that the Chinese District Association agents made the decisions that determined the pattern of artifacts from the early contexts on this site. The Chinese Associations' own network would have supplied artifacts from China, such as ceramic tablewares to be used by all residents of the boardinghouse; specialty Chinese foods, such as oils, sauces, fish, and vegetables many of which were packed in ceramic vessels; and medicines.

The agents, however, could not supply all the needs of their house from their own resources; for the reasons described above, they would often employ American business agents to represent them in dealings with non-Chinese. Records show that these Americans purchased supplies that could not be obtained either from China, from local Chinese suppliers, or from a limited number of non-Chinese businesses. Thus, working with San Francisco wholesalers, the agents supplied such materials as lumber and building hardware, bulk foodstuffs such as potatoes, onions, and salted fish shipped in barrels from the Eastern United States, as well as tools, equipment, and wagons. It is unclear whether the agents arranged purchases of meat from local American butchers, but this seems likely. Gallup's probate listed the accouterments of a butchershop, including knives, scales, saws, and sausage machine, on his ranch along with cattle and hogs (Gallup, Probate File). Although table- and serving wares would have been a very

minor expenditure, the American agents would have supplied these items, when asked to do so, via their San Francisco contacts.

Since the Chinese District Association agents were salaried staff and some of the merchants were independent entrepreneurs of significant means, it can be assumed that their personal accouterments would have reflected their status. This subject will be discussed at greater length in the next section.

Why should the Chinese District Associations have instructed their American agents to buy tablewares for their boardinghouses? It is our belief that the supply network from China in the early and mid-1850s was so erratic that these materials were simply unavailable when they were needed. Chinese immigration to California grew dramatically at this time, taxing the supply network past its limit. By 1860 the Chinese Associations' supply conduits to California were well established and there would have been no need to go outside of it for these kinds of goods.

The evidence for this proposition comes from a qualitative and admittedly unscientific comparison of ceramic collections from overseas Chinese sites of different dates. Collections from 1850s contexts in California commonly contain examples of monochrome, underglaze decorated, Chinese porcelaineous stonewares of a quality and of various decorative styles that approximate the common "Longevity" type. On the basis of their relatively poor quality, it is assumed that the former were created for domestic Chinese and Overseas Chinese use in the same way as types such as "Longevity," "Double Happiness," and "Four Flowers," which are often found archaeologically on Overseas Chinese sites but rarely in the domestic refuse of Euroamericans. These porcelaineous stonewares usually occur archaeologically as one-of-a-kind items. The present collection contains at least half a dozen of these unique vessels (see Chapter 5; Figures 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, and 42). At the same time, the ceramics' basal marks on these and other vessels show that several different potteries supplied the wares. By the late 1850s, these one-of-a-kind items disappear from assemblages of utilitarian tableware ceramics from Overseas Chinese sites, which become relatively homogeneous. The majority consist of CBGS, "Longevity," "Double Happiness," "Four Flowers," and "Celadon" types. Based on the emic perception as an item used only by the poor (Yang and Hellmann 1996), the CBGS form known as the "pan" should be included in this group of low-status ceramics. The trend toward homogeneity is particularly noticeable in assemblages from working-class contexts and contexts with restricted sources of supply, such as work camps; it is less apparent in material from urban households. Where variation does occur in tableware on these later sites, it takes the form of the occasional porcelain vessel decorated in polychrome overglaze enamel.

We hypothesize that the relative heterogeneity of Chinese ceramic types from early contexts indicates that the companies and Associations had a problem with their supply networks, and that the increasing homogeneity of these materials indicates that this was solved by the late 1850s. This temporary problem forced the Chinese agents to turn to their American counterparts to purchase whatever tablewares were available from American wholesalers.

Two Sets of Chinese Merchants and Their Artifacts

At the same time that Chinese District Associations ran their boardinghouses on the north side of I Street, merchants Wing Lee and Quong Fat lived on the more desirable south side at the rear of their stores at 144/146 I Street (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1982). A comparison between archaeological collections from these sites on either side of I Street suggests some of the archaeological indicators of status differences within the Overseas Chinese population at this time. Historic records show that the independent businessmen at 144/146 I Street were quite well off. The archaeological record shows similarities with the artifacts from Pit 16 (early deposit), which may represent a Chinese District Association agent's household. In contrast, are deposits representing the boardinghouse residents.

The ceramic collection from Wing Lee and Quong Fat at 144/146 I Street, which is summarized in Table 69, is overwhelmingly Chinese in origin. It has a similar range of Chinese tablewares and storage vessels as the contemporary Chinese-associated context from the north side of I Street. There is also a subtle similarity between the British ceramics: both contain vessel forms that are not represented in a third collection, Context 903, which may be remains left primarily by boardinghouse lodgers. The British groups of all three collections consist mostly of flat forms, such as plates and soup plates. Of the three collections, Context 903, believed to be associated with Chinese lodgers, has by far the highest proportion of British wares of the three. Both 144/146 I Street and Pit 16 (early deposit), however, contain an anomalous transferprinted hollow form and a teapot, and a large basin, respectively. We suggest that the merchants used these items for display, and predict that archaeological collections from the households of Overseas Chinese merchants in other countries will contain artifacts from the local popular culture, since they too would have engaged in the same strategy. One "Willow" pattern plate from Pit 16 even bears the same kind of incised Chinese character that are relatively common on Celadon vessels (see cover).

The food remains from Pit 16 and 144/146 I Street, the presumed merchants' deposits, are quite different from those recovered from Context 903. The latter is made up overwhelmingly of inexpensive cuts of beef, with relatively little pork or imported Chinese meat or fish. Pork was both highly desired by Chinese immigrants and relatively expensive in 1850s California. In contrast, the remains from 144/146 I Street (Tables 70 and 71) and Pit 16 are dominated by pork and contain far more imported Chinese fish and reptile food remains (see Gust and Schulz, respectively, Chapter 5; Gust 1982; Schulz 1982). Although Schulz notes that some fish exported to California were "characteristic of very poor families" in China (1982:85), it may be that the relative scarcity and higher price of these items in California increased their desirability.

HOW CHINESE MERCHANTS AND ASSOCIATION AGENTS USED NEW ARTIFACTS TO CARRY OUT AN OLD STRATEGY

It was a complicated set of circumstances that led to thousands of artifacts from three continents being assembled at the edge of China Lake in Sacramento, then used, and eventually discarded there. We suggest that these artifacts functioned within two social dynamics that played out at this location. One was internal to the site and based on the relative wealth and power of the ethnic Chinese who lived there. The other was

Table 69. Ceramic and Glass, Tableware and Containers from 144/146 I Street, IJ56 Block Sacramento[1]

Features 4, 5, 11, and Layer 111

Decoration	Form	N/MNI
	Chinese Tableware and Serving Vessels	
Celadon	Medium Bowl	15/3
Celadon	Small Dish	2/1
Celadon	Spoon	1/1
Double Happiness	Medium Bowl	30/4
Four Flowers	Small Bowl	7/1
Four Flowers	Spoon	1/1
Underglaze Blue	Medium Bowl	42/5
Underglaze Blue	Small Plate	3/1
Underglaze Blue	Small Dish	1/1
Underglaze Blue	Wine Pot	26/2
Overglaze Polychrome	Tiny Cup	1/1
Underglaze Blue	Lid, Ginger Jar	3/1
Subtotal		*132/22*
	Chinese Containers	
CBGS	Liquor Bottle	20/16
CBGS	Straight-sided Jar	16/1
CBGS	Lid, Straight-sided Jar	9/2
CBGS	Wide-mouthed Jar	18/2
CBGS	Small Spouted Pot	4/3
CBGS	Pan	4/1
CBGS	Huge Gobular	6/1
CBGS	Stew Pot	1/1
CBGS	Recessed-Rim Jar	13/1
CBGS	Lid, Wide-mouthed Jar	31/6
CBGS	Jar	12/2
CBGS	Huge Barrel	15/1
CBGS	Lid, Huge Barrel	5/1
CBGS	Large Barrel	31/2
CBGS	Jar, Unglazed	54/2
CBGS	Miscellaneous sherds	743
Subtotal		*982/42*

[1] Sherds that mend counted as one. Taken from Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1982:Table 12

Decoration	Form	N/MNI
Features 4,5,11, and Layer 111 continued		
	Non-Chinese Tableware and Serving Vessels	
Porcelain, Floral	Saucer	1/1
Blue Transfer Print "Temple"	Plate	3/1
Blue Transfer Print, Scenic	Teapot	6/1
Blue Transfer Print	Miscellaneous Sherds	6/4
Flow Blue	Plate	1/1
White Earthenware	Miscellaneous Sherds	14/
Subtotal		*31/8*
	Non-Chinese Containers	
Stoneware	Crock	1/1
Stoneware, bottle		1/1
Glass, bottle	Liquor	8/2
Glass, bottle	Wine	38/18[2]
Glass, bottle	Porter/ale	9/5
Glass, bottle	Brandy	1/1
Glass, bottle	Champagne	3/2
Glass, bottle	Food	1/1
Glass, bottle	Ketchup	1/1
Glass, bottle-stopper	Lea & Perrins Sauce	1/1
Glass, bottle	Soda	2/1
Glass, bottle	Medicine	1/1
Subtotal		*67/35*
Total		1212/107

[2] Count includes rims and bases only

Table 70. Fauna Represented by Number of Identified Specimens for 144/146 I Street, IJ56 Block Sacramento

Features 4, 5, 11, and Layer 111

Common Name	Scientific Name	Number
Major Meat Animals		
Cattle	*Bos taurus*	21
Pig	*Sus scrofa*	622
Sheep	*Ovis aries*	17
Incidental Animals		
Dog	*Canis*	2
Rat	*Rattus sp.*	15
Domestic Poultry		
Chicken	*Gallus gallus*	3
Turkey	*Meleagris gallopavo*	1
Wild Game Birds		
Coot	*Fulica americana*	1
Goose	*Anser spp.*	3
Mallard	*Anas spp.*	3
California Fishes		
Sturgeon	*Acipenser sp.*	1
King Salmon	*Oncorhynchus tshawytscha*	9
Minnows or suckers	*Cyprinoidea*	5
Thicktail Chub	*Gila crassicauda*	2
Sacramento Blackfish	*Orthodon microlepidotus*	1
Rockfish	*Sebastes sp.*	3
Sacramento Perch	*Archoplites interruptus*	15
Petrale Sole?	*Eopsetta jordani*	5
Chinese Fishes		
Yellow Crocker	*Pseudosciaena crocea*	163
Chinese Cephalopod		
Cuttlefish	*Sepia sp.*	11

Table 71. Meat Weight by Economic Status for IJ56 Block Sacramento

	Meat Wt. in lbs.	Percent within type	Percent within price	Percent of Total
BEEF				
high			8	
porterhouse	-			
sirloin	-			
prime rib	1.4	7.6		
moderate			12	
round	-			
rump	-			
chuck	2.2	11.9		
rib	-			
low			81	
hindshank	12.5	67.6		
brisket	-			
foreshank	-			
neck	2.4	13		
TOTAL	18.5	100.0	100	4
MUTTON				
high			11	
loin	0.8	10.7		
sirloin	-			
leg	-			
moderate			15	
rib	-			
shoulder	1.1	14.7		
low			75	
hindshank	-			
brisket	-			
foreshank	-			
neck	5.6	74.7		
TOTAL	7.5	100.0	100	1
PORK				
high			29	
sirloin	57.4	11.9		
loin	19.3	4.0		
ham	64.4	13.4		
moderate			37	
rump	142.0	29.5		
shoulder butt	13.3	2.8		
picnic	24.0	5.0		
low			33	
belly	-			
neck	4.4	0.9		
jowl	11.8	2.5		
shank	137.0	28.5		
feet	7.6	1.6		
TOTAL	481.2	100.0	100	95
GRAND TOTAL	507.2			

external and involved the relationship of the Chinese merchants and Chinese District Association agents to the California political establishment.

First, we have shown that the site was home to at least three Chinese social groups: merchants/Chinese Association agents, their staff, and transitory lodgers. We hypothesize that the relationship between these groups—the internal dynamic—was based on their relative wealth and their social roles, and that part of this dynamic will be reflected in the archaeological remains. Although relatively few artifacts would have been actually purchased by the lodgers themselves, differences in diet imposed by the District agents on the low-status lodgers may be seen archaeologically. Faunal remains from contexts that represent boardinghouses show a relatively high proportion of meats that were less than desirable in traditional Chinese cooking. In a culture that prizes light-colored meats, such as pork and chicken, the majority of meat utilized was low-priced beef, mutton, and even wild game (see Chapter 5). It is postulated that the contrast between highly desired and less-desired meats reflects the eating habits of merchants and lodgers, respectively. From this perspective, the presence of a substantial quantity of food bone that was butchered in typical "American" fashion has some behavioral significance in that it shows that the boardinghouse staff was purchasing meat from Americans but does not suggest a change in traditional Chinese cultural mores.

In addition to better food, the merchants and Chinese Association agents would also have had greater access to the imported specialty items that are represented at the site. These would include fine porcelains (e.g., Figure 44) and imported foods such as turtle and Asian fishes, which were represented in Pit 16 (early deposit). In contrast, lodgers would have eaten from standard utilitarian ceramics and would have been fed the less expensive products of local Chinese fisheries and market hunters—thus the heavy representation of several freshwater California fish species.

The sheer number of British utilitarian ceramic forms (plates, soup plates, and bowls) supports the idea that they were used in the boardinghouses by lodgers and staff—although not exclusively so—on a day-to-day basis. Again, we do not believe that using British transferprinted ceramics had much significance to the Chinese lodgers. Their world was very Chinese, and ceramics—especially ones that they did not chose themselves—would have played a tiny role in creating and re-creating it.

We emphasize that this model of interpretation is only relevant to this particular historical context: the co-residence of a transient population of poor individuals and a permanent group of higher-status people at a time when trade networks were erratic. No one should assume there is an absolute correlation, across time and regardless of historical context, between these patterns of artifacts and the status differentiations that we suggest existed on this site.

The second dynamic concerns the relationship between the merchants and Chinese Association agents and the non-Chinese elements of their *guanxi* network—men like Josiah Gallup, local business leaders, government officials, and opinion makers. In this sphere, artifacts were among the tools used by merchants and Chinese agents to enhance their relations with non-Chinese. Table ceramics played a small but essential role in this cultural drama both in public banquets and as symbolic objects—such as the large transferprinted basin from the Yeung-wo's refuse (Pit 16, early deposit)—in the public rooms of District Association houses.

In the 1850s and 1860s, Chinese merchants held regular banquets for influential members of Sacramento's establishment. One such event, which may have taken place in the brick building at 144/150 I Street occupied by Ten Yuen and other Chinese merchants, was recorded by a reporter from the *Sacramento Bee* (7 December 1861). This banquet is an example of *guanxi* par excellence. Here, public officials and prominent businessmen were treated to a 26-course Chinese meal, which subtly fused Chinese food and environment with the familiar symbols of Euroamerican popular culture. The event took place in a room behind a store, decorated with Chinese paintings, sculptures, and hangings. The dining table was set with a cloth, knives, forks, and celery in glasses "very much like ordinary tables." The newspaper correspondent had looked forward to the pleasure of eating with chopsticks, but there were none to be seen. Champagne was served several times, and "the brands were all different and all first rate."

Through staged events and by decorating their public rooms with items of popular Victorian material culture, Chinese merchants fostered the impression of themselves as "men of intelligence, ability, and cultivation" (California Legislature 1853:5, cited in McClain 1994:26). For although xenophobic attitudes were common among populist politicians, a significant minority of influential Californians—who were their agents, landlords, and customers—saw Chinese merchants as quite Victorian in their devotion to hard work and frugality. Encouraged by ritual performances such as the dinner that we have described above, this group was encouraged to recognize the class divisions within the Chinese population and the high cultural sophistication of the wealthy.

But the Chinese agents' attempt at *guanxi* was limited in its effectiveness. Sadly, only a few years later the anti-Chinese movement had gathered so much steam that virtually no elected official or newspaper editor would support Chinese interests nor represent them. Soon it was commonly held that only the "dregs" of Chinese society had made their way to California. In 1882 the influence of the Overseas Chinese population reached its nadir with the passage of the so-called Chinese Exclusion Act.

CONCLUSION

The Chinese pioneers of mid-19th-century California were not a socially, economically, or even culturally homogeneous group. By the same token, their artifacts do not have fixed meanings that can be deduced without reference to the contexts in which they were used. Thus we conclude that various segments of the Overseas Chinese population used similar-appearing types of artifacts in different ways and for different purposes.

In this chapter we have attempted to show that California's Chinese population used non-Chinese artifacts both out of practicality and as part of a traditional strategy. Far from demonstrating cultural change or accommodation on the part of the overseas Chinese, when employed as a component of *guanxi*, British Chinoiserie and other Victorian artifacts became part of an extremely conservative cultural tactic that is embedded in traditional Chinese values. Ironically, these early Chinese businessmen chose the icons of Victorian popular culture—such as the "Willow" pattern plate shown on the cover of this report—to advance this decidedly Asian strategy.

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Appendix A

HI56 Oral History Project Summary

by Karana Hattersley-Drayton

Raymond Young
Chinese American; Cantonese/English
Interviewed: 5 March 1996

Raymond Young was born in 1921 in Sacramento's Historic Chinatown. At that time his family lived with his maternal grandparents above their tailor shop at 421 I Street. Around 1925 the Youngs moved out of Chinatown to what was then the edge of Sacramento. Through the help of a Caucasian friend, they purchased a residence at 2115 16th Street. Mr. Young attended William Land School, California Junior High, and C.K. McClatchy High School. He is retired from Mather Air Force Base, where he worked as a civilian Aircraft Maintenance Supervisor.

Young's father, Harry Kee Young, emigrated from Kwangtung Province in China around the time of the San Francisco earthquake. He first lived in Canada and then came to the Sacramento Delta where he picked fruit. Ultimately, he was able to work his way up to be a head chef at the Brown Hotel in Walnut Grove. Upon arrival in Sacramento, he became a butcher at the Fulton Market.

Raymond Young's mother, Rose Boune Au, was born in Sacramento. Due to her fluency with English, she served as a cultural broker, helping newly-arrived Chinese women to acculturate, and translating for Chinese emigrants in general. As in many immigrant communities, her father's tailor shop served as a nexus for the working community. Itinerant Chinese workers often picked up their mail at the shop. Her mother [a Mar] was born around 1858 in California and was the daughter of early immigrants to Monterey.

This interview includes questions about Chinese American foodways and medicines. Mr. Young also describes his general memories of Sacramento's Chinatown in the 1920s and 1930s.

Eddie Chan, 82
Chinese American; Cantonese (Heungshan)/English
Interviewed: 5 March 1996

Eddie Chan was born in 1913 at 414 I Street, in Sacramento's historic Chinatown. At the age of 5, he moved with his family to 526 I Street, across from the site of the new federal courthouse project.

Eddie Chan's mother, Lin Leong, was born in Madera, California, of immigrant parents. Chan's father, Chan Tai Oy, was born near Canton in the village of Cha Sei around 1887. He immigrated to California when he was 10 years old, although he did not satisfy the immigration officers who questioned him at Angel Island and was sent back to China. He stayed with a family friend in Yokohama, Japan, for two years before returning successfully to the United States. Chan Tai Oy worked for his brother in the wholesale produce business and eventually became a managing partner. The Tong Sung Co. was located at 916 3rd Street. The business went bankrupt during the Depression and Mr. Chan started a new wholesale produce company with his father, the General Produce Company, which is now one of the largest in Northern California.

This interview includes family history, fascinating descriptions of the infrastructure of Sacramento's Chinatown (prior to 1920), and a candid discussion of the Tong Wars of the 1930s. Mr. Chan also describes his father's village and family home, from his visits to China in 1929 and 1973.

Stanley Chun, 72
Chinese-American; Cantonese/English
Interviewed: 19 December 1995

Stanley Chun was born in Sacramento in 1924 of Chinese parents. His father, Chin Wing [Chin Yim Chee] was born in the village of Saar Gow in Kwantung Province, China, in 1867. He immigrated to America in the late 1880s or early 1890s and settled in Sacramento. Chin Wing eventually opened a worker's clothing store and tailoring shop, the Wing-Lung at 206 I Street in Sacramento's Chinatown. The store catered to both the local Chinese community and the multi-ethnic work force at the Southern Pacific railroad yard. The store was so successful that eventually the family opened two others: the Stanford Store and Wing and Sons.

Well educated in China, Mr. Chin became a pivotal figure in the local Chinese community. He was a founder of the Chinese Language School, an original investor in the Merchant's National Bank, and a founder of the Chinese Hospital. He married Nellie Ow circa 1902, and the couple had nine children, including Mr. Chun. Mrs. Chin was a

second-generation Chinese-American and grew up in a farming community in the Sacramento Valley. The Chins formally changed their name to "Chun" as Chin was such a prevalent and popular name.

Stanley Chun attended local schools, including C.K. McClatchy High School. Following military service during World War II, he attended a variety of universities including the University of Chicago where he did graduate work. Mr. Chun had his own dental practice in Auburn for 35 years. He and his wife, Ruth [Kekina] Chun, who is also a dentist, worked for several years in Guam.

This interview focuses on the earliest history of the Chinese settlement in Sacramento, but also includes valuable information about Mr. Chun's memories of the 1920s and 1930s.

Margaret [Wong] Lim, 70
Chinese-American; Cantonese/English
Interviewed: 19 December 1996

Margaret [Wong] Lim was born in 1925 in Sacramento and has worked for the past 48 years for Franklin Life Insurance Co.

Her paternal grandfather, Wong Chong, was born in Hoisan, Kwangtung Province, China, around 1865. He came to the Sacramento area in about 1878 and worked initially for a local tobacco company. Wong had a dry goods store, Quong Yuen Lung, at 324 I Street that sold Chinese-made goods, as well as American work clothing to Southern Pacific railroad workers. He also owned a popular restaurant, the Chinese Republic, that was located on 3rd between I and J Streets.

Mrs. Lim's maternal grandfather, T. Wah Hing, was a prominent herbalist who had a shop at 725 J Street. During an influenza epidemic, perhaps that of 1918, he apparently saved many lives. Hing acquired a great deal of property in south Sacramento.

Mrs. Lim's father was a banker with the American Trust in San Francisco (now Wells Fargo) and died when he was only 30. Her mother then moved the young family back to Sacramento and went to work as a bookkeeper for the General Produce Co. Mrs. Lim attended U.C. Berkeley and Stanford University before her marriage.

The interview includes information about Chinese customs and foodways, traditional beliefs, and family history.

Appendix B

Context Concordance for HI56 Block Excavations

Area 1 Context Numbers

Number	Address	Type	Description
1	820-828 6th	Wall	brick building
2	525-527 I	Wall	back of brick building, abuts Wall 1
3	523 I	Wall	Union Iron Works, abuts Wall 2
4	525-527 I	Layer	historic surface surrounded by Walls 1,2,3
5	525-527 I	Layer	1855 burn layer
6	525-527 I	Layer	A horizon
7	525 I	Privy	ineligible, too recent
8	527 I	Privy	ineligible, too recent
9	525 I	Layer	top layer of Privy 7
10	527 I	Layer	layer in Privy 8, clean sand
11	525 I	Layer	thin layer in Privy 7
12	525 I	Layer	layer in Privy 7
13	812-814 6th	Trench	test trench excavated 1994
14	812-814 6th	Trench	test trench excavated 1994
15	812-814 6th	Trench	test trench excavated 1994
16	527 I	Pit	rectangular pit almost 5' deep
17	527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 16
18	527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 16
19	527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 16, ash and charcoal lens
20	525-527 I	Layer	layer on top of Layer 5
21	527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 16, sand
22	525-527 I	Layer	3-4' fill layer, sand
23	525-527 I	Layer	demolition layer connected with Wall 1
24	525-527 I	Layer	lens of plaster, demolition of Wall 1
25	527 I	Layer	layer in Privy 8, full of brick bats
26	525-527 I	Layer	demolition of Wall 1
27	527 I	Post mold	probably supported back porch
28	527 I	Post mold	probably supported back porch
29	527 I	Pit	small, not excavated
30	527 I	Post	
31	527 I	Post	
32	525 I	Post mold	probably supported back porch
33	525 I	Post mold	probably supported back porch
34	525 I	Trench	foundation trench for Wall 2
35	525 I	Post mold	probably supported back porch
36	525 I	Post mold	probably supported back porch
37	525 I	Post mold	probably supported back porch
38	527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 41
39	527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 41, thin
40	527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 41
41	527 I	Pit	refuse pit
42	527 I	Trench	test trench excavated 1994

Number	Address	Type	Description
43	525 I	Trench	wood-lined trench
44	525 I	Trench	foundation trench for Wall 3
45	525 I	Pit	cut Privy 7, not excavated
46	525 I	Pit	not excavated
47	525 I	Pipe	cast iron pipe, cuts Wall 2
48	525 I	Pit	shallow pit, not excavated
49	525-527 I	Layer	same as Context 20
50	525-527 I	Trench	test trench excavated 1994
51	527 I	Layer	thin layer
52	527 I	Layer	possible flood layer
53	525-527 I	Layer	
54	527 I	Layer	lens in Layer 4
55	820-828 6th	Trench	test trench excavated 1994
56	block wide	Layer	native soil
57	527 I	Layer	almost sterile flood deposit
58	527 I	Layer	layer above Layer 5
59	527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 16
60	527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 16
61	527 I	Post hole	post is Context 31
62	527 I	Layer	Fill of post Hole 61
63	527 I	Layer	18” deep, silt with sand
64	525-527 I	Layer	black silty sand layer
65	525-527 I	septic tank	capped by Context 22, not excavated
66	820 6th	septic tank	not excavated
67	818 6th	septic tank	not excavated
68	525-527 I	Layer	refuse lens
69	525-527 I	Pit	
70	525-527 I	Post	
71	525-527 I	Post	
72	525-527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 69
73	525-527 I	Post hole	post is Context 70, cuts Pit 79
74	525-527 I	Layer	fill of post hole Context 78
75	527 I	Layer	fill of post hole Context 73
76	525-527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 79
77	not used		
78	525-527 I	Post hole	post cut for Post 71,
79	525-527 I	Pit	16” deep, not many artifacts
80	525-527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 69, burned, charcoal
81	525-527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 69
82	525 I	Layer	possibly same as Context 6
83	525-527 I	Pit	22” deep refuse pit
84	525-527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 83
85	525-527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 83
86	525-527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 16, soil screened at lab
87	527 I	Trench	possible drainage trench

Number	Address	Type	Description
88	527 I	Layer	layer in Pit 16, evidence of burning, wood lining
89	527 I	Fill	fill in Trench 87
90	527 I	Layer	native soil, same as Context 56
91	527 I	Trench	possible pipe trench
92	527 I	Layer	layer in Trench 91
93	527 I		possible wood-lined basement
94	527 I	Layer	possible fill of basement
95	527 I	Trench	test trench excavated in 1994
96	527 I	Layer	same as 1101
97	527 I	Fill	fill of builders' trench for basement 93
98	527 I	Wood	wood-lining of Context 93
99	527 I	Layer	possibly the same as 1100
100			same as Context 68
101	527 I	Layer	same as 1100
102	527 I	Layer	plaster lens, possible demolition
103	527 I	Layer	same as Context 104
104	527 I	Layer	layer in Basement 93
105	527 I	Layer	
106	527 I	Layer	probably 1855 burn layer, same as Context 5
107	527 I	Layer	same as Context 6
108	527 I	Layer	fill of Basement 93
109			same as Context 61
110	527 I	Layer	probably the same as Context 107
1100	822 6th	Layer	probably the same as Contexts, 99, 101, 49, 53, 4, 25, and 10
1101	822 6th	Layer	burn layer
1102	822 6th	Layer	
1103	822 6th	Layer	
500	818 6th	Privy	
501	818 6th	Pit	cuts Privy 500
502	818 6th	Ell	outbuilding attached to main house
503	818 6th	Layer	layer in Pit 501
504	818 6th		3'x3' test unit in Ell 502
505	818 6th		3'x3' text unit in Ell 502
506	818 6th	Layer	layer in Privy 500
507	818 6th	Layer	layer in Privy 500
508	818 6th	Layer	layer in Pit 501
509	818 6th	Wood	wood lining of Pit 501
510	818 6th	Layer	layer in Ell 502
511	818 6th	Wood	wood lining of Privy 500
512	818 6th	Layer	layer in Pit 501
513	818 6th	Layer	layer in Privy 500
514	818 6th	Layer	layer in Privy 500

Number	Address	Type	Description
515	818 6th	Layer	layer in Privy 500, sample processed at lab
516	818 6th	Layer	upcast from the excavation of Pit 501 into Privy 500
517	818 6th	Layer	layer in Privy 500, no artifacts
518	818 6th	Layer	layer in Privy 500, no artifacts
519	818 6th	Layer	layer in Privy 500, sample
520	818 6th	Layer	equivalent to Context 6 at 525-527 I

Area 2 Context Numbers

Number	Address	Type	Description
900	513-515 I	Layer	probable demolition layer
901	513-515 I	Layer	thin layer
902	513-515 I	Layer	layer of alluvium, flood layer
903	513-515 I	Layer	1855 burn layer
904	513-515 I	Wall	brick foundation
905	513-515 I	Trench	foundation trench for Wall 904
906	513-515 I	Fill	fill of foundation trench for Wall 904
907	513-515 I	Pit	pit cuts Layer 902
908	513-515 I	Layer	layer in Pit 908, lots of brick
909	513-515 I	Layer	thin layer of mortar over Layer 903
910	513-515 I	Layer	brick pavement
911	513-515 I	Layer	sand bedding for brick pavement 910
912	513-515 I	Trench	builders' Trench for Pier 916
913	513-515 I	Fill	fill of builders' trench, Trench 912
914	513-515 I	Cut	cut for sand bedding 911
915	513-515 I	Wall	brick wall, substantial
916	513-515 I	Pier	brick pier, set in Trench 912
917	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench
918	513-515 I	Fill	fill of builders' trench, Trench 917
919	513-515 I	Pit	shallow pit, truncated
920	513-515 I	Layer	layer in Pit 919, cuts Layer 903
921	513-515 I	Pier	brick pier, same construction as 916
922	513-515 I	Pier	brick pier, same construction as 916
923	513-515 I	Pier	brick pier
924	513-515 I	Pier	brick pier, same construction as 923
925	513-515 I	Pier	brick pier, same construction as 923
926	513-515 I	Pier	brick pier, same construction as 923
927	513-515 I	Pier	brick pier, same construction as 923
928	513-515 I	Pier	brick pier, same construction as 923
929	513-515 I	Pier	brick pier, same construction as 923
930	513-515 I	Pier	brick pier, same construction as 923
931	513-515 I	Pier	brick pier, same construction as 923
932	513-515 I	Pier	brick pier, same construction as 923
933	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench for Wall 915
934	513-515 I	Fill	fill of construction trench, Trench 933
935	513-515 I	Pier	brick pier, same construction as 923
936	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench for Pier 922
937	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench for Pier 921
938	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench
939	513-515 I	Fill	fill of builders' trench, Trench 937
940	513-515 I	Fill	fill of builders' trench, Trench 936
941	513-515 I	Fill	fill of builders' trench, Trench 938

Number	Address	Type	Description
942	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench for Pier 923
943	513-515 I	Fill	fill of builders' trench, Trench 942
944	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench for Pier 927
945	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench for Pier 926
946	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench for Pier 925
947	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench for Pier 930
948	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench for Pier 929
949	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench for Pier 928
950	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench for Pier 931
951	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench for Pier 932
952	513-515 I	Trench	builders' trench for Pier 935
953	513-515 I	Pit	pit cut by Walls 915 and 904
954	513-515 I	Layer	A horizon beneath 1855 burn 903
955	513-515 I	Layer	overburden, fill, demolition debris
956	513-515 I	Layer	sand layer, possibly late flood deposit
957	513-515 I	Layer	brick concentration, possibly demolition
958	513-515 I	Layer	layer in Pit 953, sample wet-screened
959	513-515 I	Layer	layer in Pit 953
960	513-515 I	Layer	layer in Pit 953, wet-screened
961	513-515 I	Layer	layer in Pit 953, wet-screened
962	513-515 I	Pit	highly disturbed pit
963	513-515 I	Layer	layer in Pit 962
964	513-515 I	Pit	small pit under Layer 903
965	513-515 I	Pit	small pit
966	513-515 I	Layer	layer in Pit 965
967	513-515 I	Layer	layer in Pit 964
968	513-515 I	Layer	Native soil
969	513-515 I	Trench	construction trench for pipe 970
970	513-515 I	Pipe	lead pipe in Trench 969
971	513-515 I	Pit	small pit with mortar lining
972	513-515 I	Layer	fill of Pit 971, many bricks
973	513-515 I	Layer	layer in Trench 969
974	513-515 I	Box	sheet metal box
975	513-515 I	Fill	fill of Box 974
976	513-515 I	Layer	demolition layer
977	513-515 I	Layer	alluviation prior to demolition of building
978	513-515 I	Layer	isolated burn layer
979	513-515 I	Pit	pit for metal Box 974, beneath Burn 903
980	513-515 I	Fill	fill of Pit 979

Area 3 Context Numbers

Number	Address	Type	Description
700	507 I	Layer	possible flood deposit
701	507 I	Layer	brick basement
702	507 I	Layer	1855 burn layer
703	507 I	Trench	pipe trench
704	507 I	Fill	fill in Trench 703
705	507 I	Pipe	lead pipe in Trench 703
706	507 I	Layer	
707	507 I	Wall	brick foundation
708	507 I	Layer	native soil
709	507 I	Wall	W and N wall of building with Floor 701
710	507 I	Wall	brick wall, cuts Floor 701 and Wall 709
711	507 I	Layer	demolition of brick building
712	507 I	Layer	concrete floor, associated with Walls 710 and 714
713	507 I	Layer	demolition debris
714	507 I	Wall	brick wall
715	507 I	Layer	possible flood deposit
716	507 I	Trench	builders' trench for Wall 710
717	507 I	Fill	fill of builders' Trench 716
718	507 I	Layer	wood floor
719	507 I	Pit	large pit
720	507 I	Layer	layer in Pit 719
721	507 I	Trench	builders' trench for Wall 723
722	507 I	Fill	fill of builders' Trench 721
723	507 I	Wall	brick wall
724	507 I	Layer	burn layer
725	507 I	Layer	burn layer
726	507 I	Layer	sand bedding for Floor 701
727	507 I	Pit	under Floor 701
728	507 I	Pit	under Floor 702
729	507 I	Layer	layer in Pit 728
730	507 I	Layer	layer in Pit 728
731	507 I	Layer	layer in Pit 727
732	507 I	Layer	layer in Pit 719
733	507 I	Layer	
734	507 I	Drain	brick drain
735	507 I	Fill	fill of brick Drain 734
736	507 I	Layer	layer in Pit 719
737	507 I	Layer	layer in Pit 719
738	507 I	Layer	layer in Pit 719