NEARLY NEIGHBORS

Archaeological Investigations for the High Street Seismic Retrofit Project in Oakland, California

Prepared for the California Department of Transportation

ASC
ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES CENTER
SONOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

Nearly Neighbors: Archaeological Investigations for the High Street Seismic Retrofit Project in Oakland, California

04-ALA-880, PM 27.4-28.0; EA 04-165424

Prepared for

District 4
Office of Cultural Resource Studies
California Department of Transportation
Oakland, California

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January 2012

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the results of archaeological excavations carried out in 2008 and 2010 by the Anthropological Studies Center at Sonoma State University and Caltrans archaeologists, in connection with Caltrans' High Street Overhead Seismic Retrofit Project, in Oakland, California.

The report analyses and interprets the content of several archaeological features with deposition dates ranging from 1893 to 1943. These materials are associated with three Euroamerican and Japanese/Japanese-American households: the Pryde family (4411 Clement), the Stephenson family (4425 Clement), and the Orimoto family (4501 Clement). The report includes a wealth of archaeological, artifactual, archival, and oral interview data that relate to these three addresses. Each of the report's primary authors approaches the data from a different perspective to address the project's research questions about consumer behavior, ethnicity and identity, and the household developmental cycle. The collection is permanently curated at the David A. Fredrickson Archaeological Collections Facility, Sonoma State University.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The High Street archaeological project has been in the works for nearly a decade. Many individuals participated in the project and their talents are reflected in the final product you see before you. We thank them all.

For the most recent endeavor, we thank ASC employees Erica Gibson, Sandra Massey, Robert Douglass, Maria Ribeiro, Bryan Much, Mike Konzak, Karen Reichardt, Mike Stoyka, Jessica Tudor, and Pat Paramoure for their help.

Caltrans archaeologists Benjamin Harris and Todd Jaffke provided invaluable assistance throughout the project.

We deeply appreciate the warm welcome we received from the local Japanese-American community. Ruth Shiraki, Jean and John Gize, Ann and Jim Farwell shared oral histories and family photographs. Ned Isokawa also shared family photographs that can be found throughout this report. Sachiko Kanenobu translated Japanese characters on artifacts.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

THE HIGH STREET SEISMIC RETROFIT PROJECT

The High Street Overhead Seismic Retrofit Project (Project; EA 16540K, CU 04248) involves retrofitting the overhead structure that is part of Interstate Route 880 from KP 43.6 to 45.5 (PM 27.4 to 28.0) in Oakland, Alameda County, California. Originally constructed from 1949 to 1950 as the East Shore Freeway, the overcrossing passed through a neighborhood first developed in the late-19th century. The existing High Street Overhead structure does not meet current seismic standards. Caltrans proposes to replace the existing overhead structure with a new wider structure that meets current design standards. In 1999 the proposed excavation depths for the new column footings were estimated to range from 2 to 3 meters (6 to 10 feet; Heidecker 1999:20). The final design depths were substantially greater. The State Route 77 interchange (at 42nd Avenue) will be reconfigured at grade, with frontage roads reconstructed as required. East Eighth Street will be realigned to the south through a parking lot. Oakport Street will also be realigned and will involve acquisition and demolition of buildings between Oakport and Jensen streets. A full description of the project is given in Heidecker (1999:1). Historically the block was bounded by High Street, Clement (Clark), Jensen (Commerce), and 46th Avenue. The project area lies south of High Street, beneath State Route 880, and straddles the new and former alignments of Oakport Street and includes five parcels where it was believed historic archaeological deposits may have survived.

THE HIGH STREET ARCHAEOLOGY PROJECT

This report documents investigations carried out in the archaeologically sensitive portion of the Area of Potential Effects (APE) for the Project (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). That sensitive area was identified in previous research as the only location within the APE likely to contain properties eligible for the California Register of Historical Resources (CRHR) (Heidecker 1999; Mc Ilroy et al. 2002). Advance study of that sensitive zone was not possible because it lies under existing buildings and city streets. For that reason, a Treatment Plan (TP) was prepared to guide the discovery, evaluation, and treatment of any eligible properties during project construction (Koenig and Mc Ilroy 2002).

Legislative Context

As a state-only funded project, the High Street Overhead Seismic Retrofit Project was required to achieve compliance with California Public Resources Code 5024. This was achieved by the implementation of an archaeological study that meets standards set by Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and its implementing regulations. Archaeologists investigated a portion of one city block that included portions of seven parcels (Figure 1.3). Archaeologists found eight features that appear to meet the requirements for potential eligibility to the CRHR under Criterion 4.

REPORT ORGANIZATION

The data from this investigation is presented in a format consistent with Block Technical Reports (BTRs) produced by the Anthropological Studies Center (ASC) for the previous Caltrans projects including the Cypress Freeway Replacement in Oakland and retrofit projects for Interstate 80 in San Francisco. While those projects spanned many blocks and had both

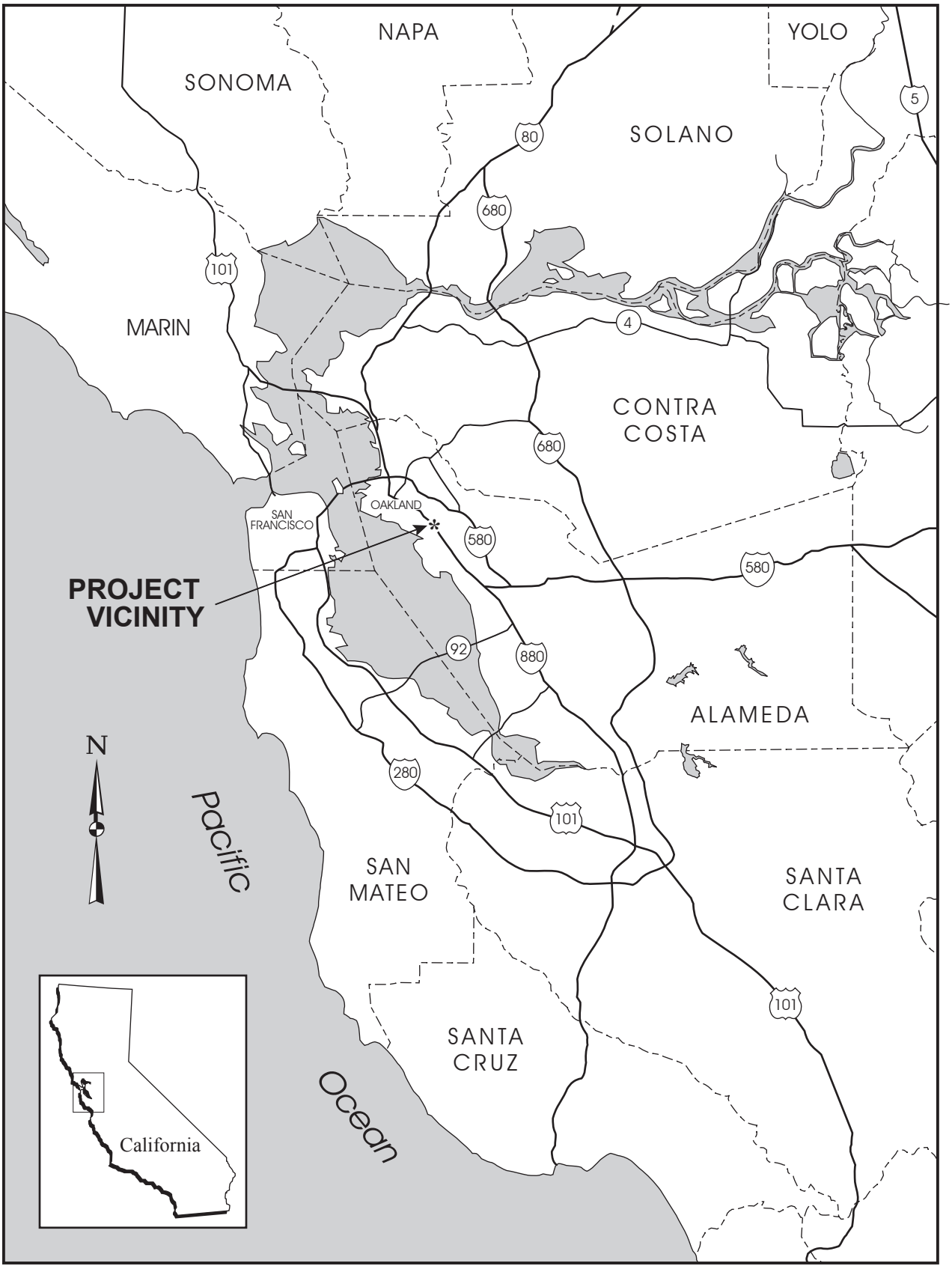


Figure 1.1. Project Vicinity

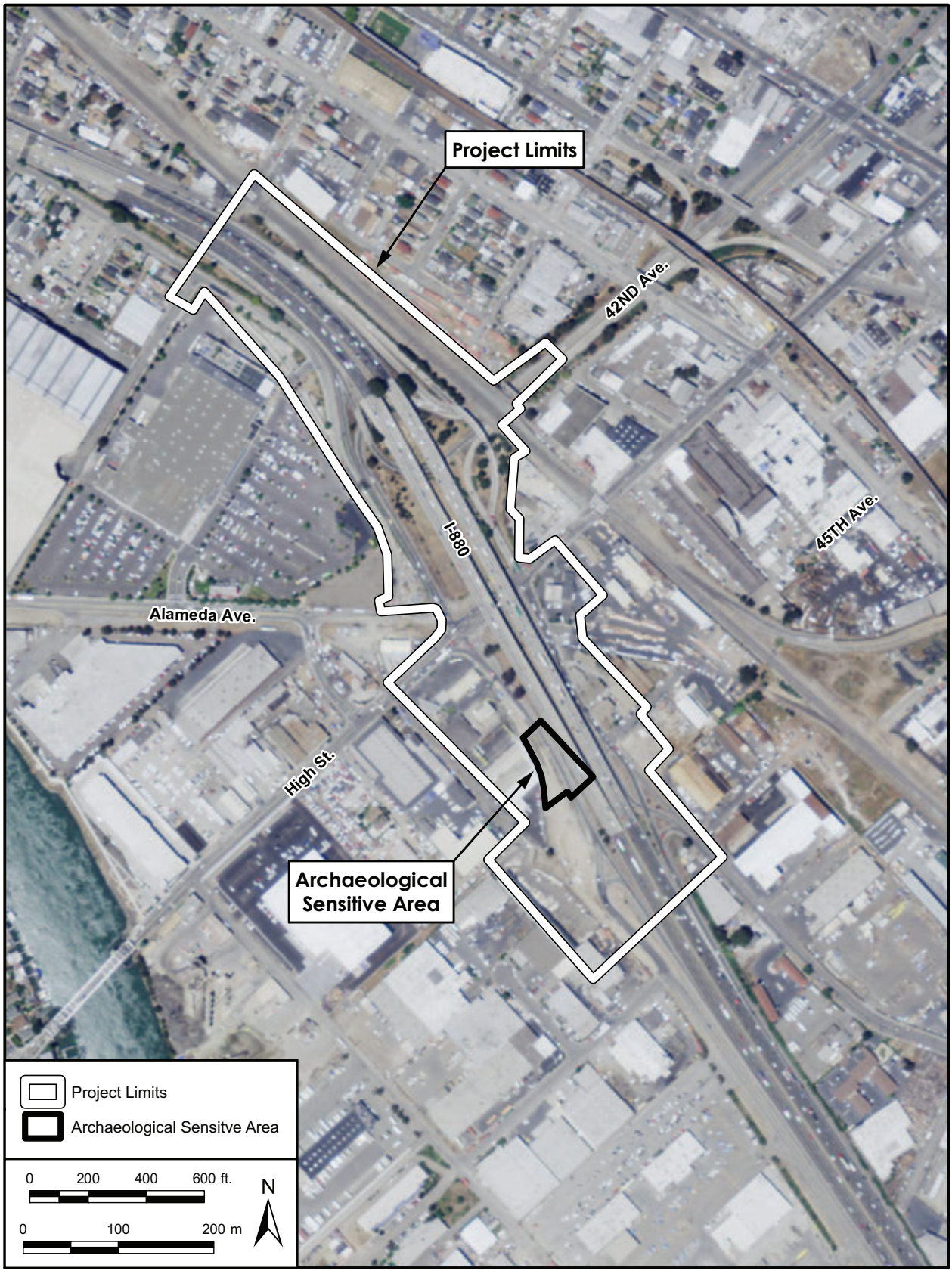


Figure 1.2. Project Limits and Archaeologically Sensitive Area

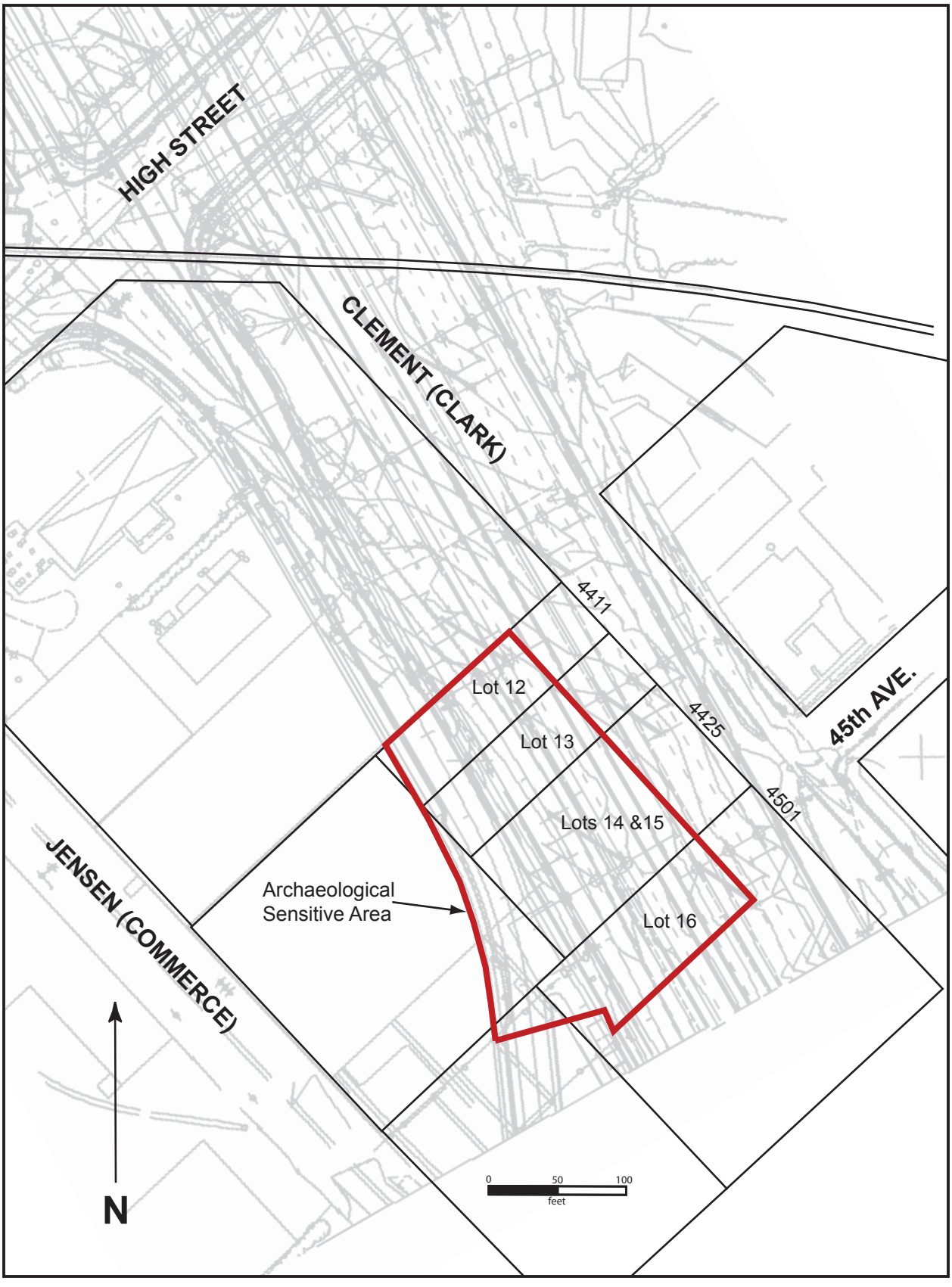


Figure 1.3. Archaeologically Sensitive Area with Historic Lot Lines

BTRs and Interpretive reports, this report contains both technical and interpretive elements. Data is presented in tables and graphics to reduce narrative.

The first chapter provides basic project information—description, legislative context, preliminary studies, and methods. Chapter 2 contains an historical overview of the neighborhood, including a brief history of the Japanese in the Bay Area. The research design, Chapter 3, covers archaeological formation processes and gives our theoretical orientation that spans three major research themes: Consumer behavior/strategies, Ethnicity/urban subcultures, and Household developmental cycles. Chapter 4 focuses down to our Oakland study area; it describes our two-phased testing program and findings and provides a block overview looking closely at the Stephenson family and the Japanese residents of High Street.

Chapters 5 through 7 provide the archaeological, artifactual, historical, and oral interview data for each of the three addresses on which archaeological deposits were found. The data are presented in a standard format to enhance comparative analyses. Three households are represented the Pryde family at 4411 Clement in the 1890s; the Stephenson family, related by marriage to the Prydes, at 4425 Clement ca. 1900–1941, and the Orimoto family at 4501 Clement from ca. 1930–1941. In Chapter 8 the report's primary authors each approach the data from a variety of perspectives to address the project's research questions. Each author was given the freedom to interpret the data according to their individual research interests in directions they felt appropriate. Hence, some interpretations—even of the archaeological site structure itself—may seem at odds with each other.

Much of the volume is a collaborative effort developed by the project team (see Appendix for personnel list) and previous researchers (e.g., Koenig and Mc Ilroy 2002; Mc Ilroy et al. 2002; Van Bueren 2008). Authorship is only credited for new, independently authored sections of the current report.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Consolidated Approach

A consolidated approach to Public Resources Code 5024 compliance was followed in this investigation. The Treatment Plan (TP [Koenig and Mc Ilroy 2002]) outlined a process in which resources would be identified, evaluated, and treated in a single episode of fieldwork. This approach was adopted because the sensitive portion of the project's Area of Direct Impact (ADI) is covered by modern development and it was essential to limit the duration of the fieldwork. In addition, construction sequencing made it necessary to carry out the archaeological investigation in two discrete phases of work.

Preliminary Studies

Sensitivity Studies

According to National Park Service (NPS) guidelines, archaeological sites in urban areas "are likely to be more or less invisible, buried under modern created land surfaces." For this reason, the discovery phase of urban archaeological research "consists of field-checking predictions made on the basis of archival research" (NPS 1985:36).

Guidelines issued by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP) in its booklet Identification of Historic Properties provide more detail, stating that the identification phase consists of using "available information to develop a 'predictive model' indicating where historic properties are likely to exist" (ACHP 1988:21–22). The ACHP's regulations for

Identification and Consideration of Archeological Properties in an Urban Context (36 CFR 801) also recognize the problems in identifying urban archaeological phenomena. The regulations require archival research to define the likelihood that (1) properties potentially eligible to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) may have been created on the site and that (2) subsequent disturbance would have destroyed them. Where potentially eligible properties are likely to be present, and may be adversely affected by a given project, the project proponent must "fund a professionally supervised and planned archaeological salvage program."

As most of the project area was covered with asphalt and buildings, and underneath the existing elevated freeway, an early objective of the archaeological component was to predict areas within the study area with the greatest archaeological sensitivity. Archaeological sensitivity is defined herein as the likelihood that legally important archaeological remains have survived to the present. This is a particularly important preliminary step since the 1950s freeway construction required realignment of historic streets. The intent of the preliminary studies was to enable archaeologists to concentrate their efforts in locations where the historic ground surface has remained unchanged or to which fill has been added, while avoiding potentially less productive areas, where the original ground surface has been removed or disturbed.

Several data sources were used to determine which portions of the project area have a high potential for intact archaeological resources. Historical maps provided clues to the topography of the project area during the period when potentially important historic-period archaeological deposits may have been created. These were compared to more recent maps and existing conditions to try and determine the extent of post-depositional disturbance on the potential archaeological remains.

Survey Reports

An Extended Phase I Survey by Mc Ilroy and others (2002) refined the sensitivity analysis of the APE and included the excavation of 31 test trenches. No intact prehistoric archaeological deposits, features, or materials were identified and the program was adequate to establish that the potential for encountering prehistoric resources in the APE was slight. Several test trenches uncovered historic-period archaeological materials and the researchers concluded that the area between High Street, Jensen Street, and the approximate extensions of Coliseum Way and 46th Avenue was likely to contain NRHP-eligible historic archaeological deposits and features. In particular, former residential occupations at 4327, 4331, 4411, 4425–4433, and 4501 Clement were considered likely to have produced eligible deposits and features. Koenig and Mc Ilroy (2002) then prepared the TP that guided the present investigation. That plan provided detailed parcel histories derived primarily from federal manuscript census records, city directories, and assessment maps.

Fieldwork

Archaeological investigations were carried out in open-area excavations of the block in two phases as joint efforts by Caltrans and the ASC. The first phase took place in June of 2008 after the Ameron building had been cut and refaced. The second phase took place in October of 2010 after Oakport Street had been realigned over the Phase 1 area. During Phase 1 a total of 10 features were identified, 5 fully excavated and the content of 4 determined to be potentially CRHR eligible (Van Bueren 2008). During Phase 2 a total of 6 features were identified and 3 determined to be potentially CRHR eligible and one kept as a contributor to a potentially eligible feature.

INVESTIGATION METHODS

Historical Research

Historical maps of Oakland were reviewed at the Bancroft and Earth Sciences Libraries of the University of California, Berkeley and at the Oakland History Room in the main Oakland Public Library. Early coast survey maps provided details on initial settlement of the vicinity, while assessment and Sanborn Company fire insurance maps provided more specific details on the development of the investigated neighborhood. Block Books provided information about property owners, tax assessments, and when improvements appeared or were no longer present on an annual basis. The first Block Book covering the sensitive portion of the APE was done in approximately 1880 when the area was part of the Brooklyn Township. Brooklyn Township was annexed into the City of Oakland in 1909 and from that date was included in Oakland's volumes, available through 1925. Original hand colored Sanborn Fire Insurance Company map books of Oakland from the years 1897, 1912, 1925, and 1951 were also examined. Those maps provided exact locations of buildings and details of their configuration and construction.

To uncover information about the specific residents of investigated lots, prior research surveyed Great Registers of Voters, city directories, and United States Bureau of the Census (U.S. Census) population schedules for the years 1880, 1900, 1910, and 1920. Newspaper articles about the 1898 explosion in the project area were found using the newspaper index in the Oakland History Room. Several previously written histories were fundamental for writing the historical overview section of this report, especially Heidecker (1999) and Olmsted and Olmsted (1994). That data provided an initial basis for identifying historical associations for deposits found during the field investigation. However, associations for some discovered features required additional research.

That additional historical research involved examining documents and conducting interviews with people knowledgeable about the families associated with discovered CRHR-eligible archaeological features. Some documents were reexamined and new sources were also perused. Research expanded to include the 1930 federal manuscript population census, city directories from the 1930s and 1940s, deeds establishing transfers of ownership, obituaries, and World War II internment records for the Japanese families associated with Feature 8. Genealogical research established that the Pryde, Stephenson, and Giblin families on this city block were related and helped identify descendants. From the 1920s through 1941, the block was also home to a growing population of Japanese immigrants who worked in the gardening and nursery trade.

Early photographic evidence of the neighborhood, named after the nearby Melrose Railroad Station, focused on the business district and did not cover the residences on this block. These images were reviewed at the Oakland History Room of the Oakland Public Library. Images of families associated with investigated features and this city block were also sought on the Internet from sources such as the Online Archive of California (http://www.oac.cdlib.org/search.image.html) with no results. However, George Stephenson kindly shared images of some of the people associated with the eligible features investigated here during an interview conducted by Elaine-Maryse Solari.

Additional documentary research was also conducted with the aim of refining dating information for artifacts recovered in the four CRHR-eligible archaeological deposits. That research involved examining published sources of information about when and where manufacturing companies operated.

Field Methods

For historic sites, the research design specified several types of archaeological resources that may contain the types of data that are necessary to address the research questions. The research questions fall into two general classes that have some correspondence with these types of archaeological phenomena: questions that require primary deposits and landscape features that are arranged horizontally (such as sheet refuse and gardens, and structural remains such as building footings) and questions that require secondarily deposited assemblages of artifacts that are often arranged vertically (such as are often found in hollow/filled features such as backfilled wells, refuse pits, and privies). Most areas recommended for investigation of historic-period resources are located in the backyards of building lots: from the structure itself to the rear lot line. With this rear-yard focus, refuse pits, privies, and wells constituted most of the archaeological work. Sheet-refuse deposits, landscape features, and structural remains were also encountered.

Hollow/filled features are potentially important sources of discrete refuse caches. These features, their contents, and deposition can often be accurately dated and assigned to a historically documented household or business. The contents often include household ceramics, glass containers, food bone, and personal accoutrements. Features that have documented associations and a range and quantity of artifacts are among the most important potential sources of data that can be used to address the research questions. These features were excavated in a strictly stratigraphic manner, that is, according to the physical layers of deposition. The strata were used as the primary provenience for artifacts contained in them. Cross-sectioning was employed both to view the feature's structure and to sample each layer without excavating the stratum in its entirety.

Sheet refuse, the second expected resource type, accumulates on living surfaces and may be the product of either primary or secondary deposition, or a catastrophic event. Such deposits may appear as either a relatively thin layer of debris located at an archaeological layer interface or as a series of superimposed layers of substantial thickness. Secondary depositions of sheet refuse tend to be relatively thick, reflecting their historic function as fill to raise low ground. Since primary deposits often occur at the interfaces of these layers, care is always taken when exposing these surfaces in areas such as domestic backlots. To the degree that the artifacts contained in a secondary deposition of this kind can be assigned to an identifiable historical unit at an interpretively useful scale, they are of potential value as sources of important data. Artifacts were not, however, recovered simply "because they are there," since the important information in such a deposit may often be recovered by simply recording its structure.

Several kinds of data were recovered from every property in order to realize its research potential. These include information on the deposit's structure, including stratification and features, areal extent and depth, and content including the nature and quantity of artifacts. In addition, the phenomenon was placed in its temporal and cultural/historical contexts.

All excavation was done stratigraphically, according to the physical layers of deposition. These layers were given context numbers and recorded on context sheets using the Harris Matrix (Harris 1979; Harris, Brown, and Brown, eds. 1993). As cultural features and stratification were identified during the test investigation, they were exposed in plan by hand, photographed, and mapped in relation to a permanent datum. The evaluation phase involves determining a feature's structure and stratigraphic integrity, its approximate date of deposition, and range and quantity of artifacts. To assess each feature's content and integrity, an appropriate portion of each were hand excavated. In the case of a refuse-filled privy, for example, the feature

was cross-sectioned and part of each layer excavated. The proper level of effort for each feature was determined as it was investigated by the field director. All units of excavation were recorded on detailed field forms on which the excavator and/or field supervisor noted site structure and/or content. Field forms are based on those developed by the Museum of London, Department of Urban Archaeology (Museum of London 1980, 1994).

Excavations were mapped in relation to permanent datum points and recorded in plans and cross-sections drawn to scale, as well as by photographs.

Excavated soils were passed through 1/8- or 1/4-inch screen, as appropriate, to document the presence of all classes of artifacts. Artifacts were initially identified and, when possible, dated in the field. Those belonging to features appearing potentially eligible were transported to the archaeological laboratory for verification of the initial description and subsequent cataloging. Materials from features appearing ineligible were reburied in the features from which they were excavated. To keep pace with the construction schedule, the matrix from some features was bulk bagged and taken to the lab for processing and later evaluation.

Laboratory Methods

The laboratory methods were developed for use on late-19th- to early-20th-century stratified urban deposits, in which the most common features to be excavated are privies, pits, and wells containing large quantities of artifacts. These hollow features are usually filled over a relatively brief period of time, often representing a single event. The sections below describe the methods used to process and catalog the collections.

Processing Procedures

For each context (numbered field stratum) from a potentially eligible feature, all recovered materials were taken to the laboratory facilities of the ASC at Sonoma State University, where they were cleaned, sorted by material type, permanently labeled with a number, and cataloged. A provenience-based numbering system that includes two elements was used: the main catalog number represents the context, or layer, from which the artifact was recovered, while the subcatalog number is an assigned sequential number, beginning with 1 for each artifact or lot (group of like artifacts), within a context.

At the lab, faunal bone was separated from the rest of the materials. If the condition of the avian and mammal bone was very good, it was lightly cleaned with water. When conditions permitted the fish bone was also rinsed.

Once labeled, the artifacts were grouped by feature and cataloged. As each material class (ceramic, glass, metal, and other) was laid out, artifacts were first crossmended within contexts and then throughout the feature. Information on crossmends between contexts and features was subsequently used, in conjunction with stratigraphic data, to interpret the history of the deposit. Ceramics were grouped by fabric and then sorted by form, function, and decoration. Makers' marks and identifiable patterns were researched to ascertain origin and date range.

Glass artifacts were initially sorted by color and then by form: tableware/serving/drinking use, bottles, lamp-related items, or windowpane. Tableware/serving/drinking items were cataloged by color, form, function, and decoration. Bottles were cataloged by color and function, where bottle shape, finish type, and embossment were used to determine original bottle contents. Temporally diagnostic manufacturing techniques were noted where applicable. Embossed and marked items were researched to identify manufacturer, contents, origin, and date range. Lamp-related items such as globes, shades and chimneys were cataloged by color,

function, and decoration. Embossed items were researched to identify manufacturer and date range. Window glass was counted, weighed, cataloged, and discarded.

Metal artifacts were identified by material and function. Complete nails were counted and measured while fragments were sorted, nail heads counted, and the lot weighed before being discarded. Marked items were researched, identified, and dated where possible. Nondiagnostic items were counted, weighed, cataloged, and discarded. Other artifacts—such as buttons, slate pencils, tobacco pipes, and game pieces—were identified by material and function.

Once the collection was processed, photography began. Artifacts were laid out and photographed as a group, and close-up vignettes were taken of selected artifact groupings. Both were photographed digitally and archived on compact disc.

Functional Categories

The artifacts are presented in the artifact catalogs and summary tables according to a general functional classification based on Stanley South's (1977) categories, which have been modified and expanded for use with mid-19th- to early-20th-century sites in the western United States. The materials are separated into broad Group divisions and then further split into Class and Subclass. For the purposes of analytical research and intrasite comparison, the Class division is the most versatile level, allowing a comprehensive range of functions while maintaining a manageable aggregate of categories. Table 1.1 is a list of the classifications used to define functional types for this project.

Minimum Number of Items (MNI)

When artifacts are quantified in a standard analytical manner, they can be used for intrasite and intersite comparison and analysis. MNIs are the minimum number of individual items (not the number of fragments) represented in an artifact collection (e.g., a bottle broken into 10 fragments is still only 1 bottle).

After crossmending was completed, the artifacts were cataloged and the MNI was determined. Each intact object (e.g., complete unbroken bottle) received an MNI of 1. Items that crossmended and were reconstructable, with no missing pieces, were also given an MNI of 1. The remaining artifacts were carefully studied to ascertain whether non-crossmending items could be from the same item. For example, saucer rim sherds that did not physically mend but were of the same material, curvature, thickness, glaze, and decoration were considered associated and given an MNI of 1 for the lot. Similarly, fragments representing unique decorative patterns or forms would each be given an MNI of 1. When it was determined that items conceivably could be from the same object, an MNI of 1 was assigned to the group. All items with markers' marks that could not be associated with other items in the feature received an MNI count. Unmarked/nondiagnostic fragments that conceivably could be associated with marked/diagnostic items did not receive an MNI. Artifact fragments that exhibited form, color, material, or function unique to a feature were assigned an MNI of 1 (e.g., a single cobalt-blue glass bottle body fragment where there was no other cobalt-blue glass in the feature).

Artifacts that always would have been used together also received on MNI of 1 (e.g., teapot and lid, lid with drainer and dish of a soap-dish set). Using this criterion, objects of different materials could be combined and given an MNI of 1 (e.g., a glass nursing bottle with its associated ceramic cap, a glass beer bottle and its associated ferrous crown cap). Items that are often considered a set but not always used or even purchased together, such as a cup and saucer or a washbasin and pitcher, were each given a separated MNI. Shoes were

Table 1.1. Artifact Catalog Categories

Group	Class	Subclass Examples
Activities	Advertising	pins, signs
	Animal Husbandry	horseshoes
	Collecting	stalactites, coral
	Commerce	coins, banks, scale pans
	Entertainment	music (e.g., harmonicas), games (e.g., checker pieces, dominos)
	Firearms	guns, ammunition
	Painting	paint brushes, paint cans
	Pets	bird feeders, dog collars
	Tools	axes, files, folding rulers
	Transportation	carriage parts, harness parts
	Writing	pens, pencils, ink bottles
Domestic	Clothing/Footwear Maintenance	needles, bluing balls, shoe polish bottles
	Food Prep/ Consumption	kitchen (e.g., baking pans, skillets), serving (e.g., platters, teapots), tableware (e.g., plates, forks), drinking vessels (e.g., tumblers, stemware, cups)
	Food/Food Storage	canning jars, crocks, retail food containers (e.g., pickle bottles, Worcestershire sauce bottles)
	Furnishings	furniture, flower pots, vases, pictures
	Heating/Lighting	lamps and chimneys, light bulbs, candle holders
Indefinite Use	-	identified items with more than one potential original use
	Misc. Beads	beads with more than one potential original use
	Misc. Closures	closures associated with contents of indefinite use
	Misc. Containers	bottles, jars, and cans with unidentified contents
	Misc. Metal Items	hardware metal artifacts (e.g., wire, sheet metal) items with more than one potential original use (e.g., bells)
Industrial	Machinery	spark plugs, gears
Personal	Accoutrements	purses, eyeglasses, jewelry
	Clothing	garments, buttons, clothing buckles
	Footwear	shoes, shoe eyelets
	Grooming/Health	toiletry items (e.g., perfume bottles, brushes, chamber pots), medicine bottles (e.g., patent/ proprietary, pharmacy, bitters, vials), syringes
	Social Drugs	retail alcoholic-beverage containers and closures (e.g., wine, beer, champagne, distilled beverages), spittoons, pipes, opium lamps
	Toys	dolls, tea sets, marbles
Structural	Fixtures	sinks, toilets
	Hardware	hinges, brackets, nails
	Materials	window glass, brick
Undefined Use	-	unidentified items (e.g., melted glass, amorphous metal), slag, coal

given MNIs based on pairs (e.g., 3 shoes of the same style and size, 2 left and 1 right, were given an MNI of 2); shoe-related paraphernalia, such as eyelets, were not given an MNI when located in contexts with shoes. Since eyelets were used with items other than shoes, they were each given an MNI when not found in a context with shoes. Similarly, individual buttons were given MNIs, as it was not feasible to assign button counts to separate items of clothing. Another artifact type for which it is difficult to determine MNI counts is beads: for example, a single lamp whimsy could contain hundreds of beads of various styles and colors. When a function could not be determined, each bead received an MNI of 1.

Building material was sampled in the field and, unless marked or of architectural interest, was not brought back for cataloging. Without knowing the original window size, it is difficult to establish an MNI for window glass; therefore, fragments were counted but not assigned an MNI. Finally, amorphous items (e.g., melted glass, rusted metal lumps) were not assigned MNIs. The proportion of Undefined items varies due to differential preservation within features; since they cannot be identified, they were not given MNI counts.

Dating Methods

All artifacts were studied to determine if they were temporally diagnostic. When present, ceramic makers' marks were noted and researched to ascertain manufacturers' dates of operation; named decorative patterns were also investigated and dated where possible. Where relevant, decorative techniques with known dates of production were noted (e.g., decalcomania became popular in the 1890s). As a result of the McKinley Tariff Act in 1891, all foreign-made items, including ceramics, were required to bear the name of the country of origin. Marks without country of origin must date before this act and were assigned an end date of 1891 or earlier. Ceramic Registry marks—assigned to ceramic patterns and shapes that were registered with the Patent Office in London—functioned as a form of patent protection and were good for a period of three years from date of issue. For dating purposes, when a Registry mark was present on a ceramic artifact, the date range assigned was three years from the date of Registry mark issue. Thus a Registry mark of 22 August 1856, would have a date range of 22 August 1856–1859. When makers' mark end dates were later than the date that the lot address was open for deposition, the date of lot closure should be considered the end date. For example, if an item with a ceramic mark utilized between 1885 and 1946 was found in a feature on a lot that was paved over in 1938, the date range would be 1885–1938. To avoid skewing mean ceramic dates, vessels with open-ended dates were not typically included in the calculations. In the case of Pit 6 and Privy 23 the number of open-ended dates required these be used in calculations. An end date of 1943 was used. For "circa" dates the listed date was used. For "late" an 8 was used and 5 for a mid-decade date. For example a begin date of late 1930s is 1938 and a 1930s date is 1935.

Glass artifacts with embossments and/or makers' marks were noted and researched to determine place of origin, contents, and production date ranges. Date ranges were based on when the company was formed, when it changed ownership or moved to a new address as listed in the embossment, and when the product was patented. By using both the bottle manufacturer and the bottle contents manufacturer, date ranges were refined. Temporally diagnostic manufacturing techniques were also used for dating. For instance, the crown cap was introduced in 1892; if a bottle company was in business from 1880 through 1920 and the bottle had a crown finish, a beginning date of 1892 would be assigned. Pressed-glass patterns were studied and identified where possible. Occasionally patterns could be dated or assigned a probable manufacturer. Finally, some glass items retain patent dates (e.g., glass illuminators), which were recorded.

The Latin phrase *terminus post quem* (TPQ; "limit after which") designates a relative archaeological dating technique. In the absence of disturbance or intrusion, the contents of an artifact-filled pit must have been placed there after the earliest possible manufacture date of the most recent artifact contained within it.

Artifact Tables

The artifacts from each analytical unit (either a single context or a group of related contexts) are described in several types of tables that focus on different descriptive attributes, such as function, decoration, and dating information, while specific functional types are presented in their own tables where appropriate. Some artifact types—such as building material, window glass, buttons, beads, and amorphous items—are not included in the artifact group summary tables, although they are mentioned in the MNI section. These types of items may help understand the circumstances of deposition, but are often otherwise meaningless and tend to skew comparisons between deposits. Likewise, each food-refuse subclass is summarized in its own individual table. Inclusion of counts from even relatively small assemblages of these remains can potentially multiply total counts manifold, reducing all other artifact types to a small percentage of the total. Further, the presence or absence of small ecofacts, such as fish bone or seeds, can be a function of differing preservation or varied sampling strategies among features, greatly reducing the comparative research value of this information.

Food Refuse Analysis: Faunal Remains

Food bones were identified using the ASC comparative collection. The Bone and Butchering Analysis System (BABAS) was used for data entry and analysis (Gust 2001). Only the combined analytic units of Features 6 and 23 (n = 132) and Features 1 and 2 (n = 103) had sufficient quantity (a number of individual specimens [NISP] of 100 or more) to be able to address statistical analysis issues or special studies.

The faunal specimens were received by the faunal lab in clean condition, labeled and sorted by context. Items that could not be labeled because of small size or poor condition were contained in bags labeled with the appropriate provenience information. As a statistical standard, 100 was chosen as the minimum number of identifiable specimens required for analysis. In the first step of the process, all of the labeled faunal material was removed from its packaging and spread out on a table. The initial sort involved grouping by general animal categories (avian elements, small and very small mammal, medium and large mammal, fish, shellfish). The medium-to-large dietary animals (cow, sheep, pig, and occasionally deer) were further divided by element during the first sort.

Information on provenience, taxon (cow, sheep, etc.), element (humerus, femur, rib, etc.), portion (part of an element), side, epiphyseal-fusion status (degree of bone-suture closure, to determine age at death), butchering cuts, tool marks (saw, knife, ax, etc.), taphonomic factors (burning, weathering, and gnawing), and cultural modification (shaping, polishing, etc.) were recorded for each specimen within the computerized BABAS data-entry form. In addition, specifics on meat type (beef, mutton, pork, etc.), retail cut (porterhouse, sirloin, brisket, etc.), and chunk (cuts appropriate for roasts, steaks, soups and stews, or indeterminate) and steak equivalents were recorded. The MNI was determined during the hands-on identification and data-entry process. The MNI is based on the quantity of a particular element or portion of an element, by side, while taking the age and size of the specimen into consideration. Whenever possible, identifications were made to at least class or family level. None of the specimens were weighed.

Discard Policy

Important Features. Some types of materials from important features were discarded after they were analyzed, catalogued, counted, and weighed. Identification of those materials was based on lack of long-term research values, excessive quantity, poor condition, and/or health and safety risks. The discarded types included the following:

- Window glass
- Undiagnostic glass lamp chimney and bottle body fragments
- Nails (after being identified by type and given MNI totals)
- All leather and textiles (after being analyzed by a specialist) (Leather requires treatment with potentially hazardous and flammable material in order to be preserved. Only leather artifacts with clear interpretive value would be treated in this way.)
- Metal scraps, sheets, strips, and wire
- Corroded, non-temporally diagnostic ferrous items including wire, pipes, cans and lids, bolts, tubes, pans, and straps
- Slag and amorphous metal and glass

Curation

All archaeological material from this investigation is the property of Caltrans. These artifacts, as well as field notes, drawings, special studies, and technical reports, are permanently curated and available for study at the David A. Fredrickson Archaeological Collections Facility at Sonoma State University.

CHAPTER 2: NEIGHBORHOOD OVERVIEW

This chapter sketches the historical circumstances of the people who occupied the Clement Street neighborhood in Oakland during the late-19th and early-20th centuries. Broad regional trends are first explored before narrowing the focus to the families who created the archaeological features analyzed in this report. This background delves into available historical documents and the memories of surviving descendants as a way to put archaeological discoveries in context and interrogate the meaning of surviving historical and archaeological evidence.

NATURAL SETTING

The San Francisco Bay area lies within the Coast Ranges geomorphic province, which is characterized by a series of nearly parallel, northwest-trending mountain ranges, and by similarly trending valleys and fault systems. The High Street Project area is situated along the east-central side of San Francisco Bay in the eastern part of Oakland, California. The bay is a large body of open water about 88 km long and 5 to 19 km wide (about 55 miles long and 3 to 12 miles wide) that is generally less than 3 m (10 ft.) in depth, although some deeper channels are present. The project area is adjacent to former marshlands along San Leandro Bay near Alameda.

The deepest bay channel lies at a depth of approximately 104 m (341 ft.) beneath the Golden Gate Bridge between the San Francisco and Marin peninsulas. The bay is surrounded by numerous tidal marshlands that lie at or near sea level. The marshlands are generally bordered by gently sloping landforms that form a series of broad alluvial fans and floodplains within the valleys that extend from the bay into the surrounding uplands. The uplands consist of rounded hills and relatively steep mountain slopes, with ridges that are more than 305 m (1,000 ft.) above mean sea level (amsl) and a few peaks that are more than 1,220 m (4,000 ft.) amsl.

The Oakland area enjoys a Mediterranean climate that is characterized by mild, wet winters and warm, dry summers. Temperatures generally range from 65 to 90 degrees Fahrenheit during the summer, and from 30 to 55 degrees Fahrenheit in the winter, with a mean annual temperature of about 56 degrees. During the second phase of fieldwork in October 2010 the temperatures rose to 100 degrees Fahrenheit. Precipitation generally occurs between October and April, with a mean annual precipitation of 65 cm (25 inches) or less. The prevailing winds are generally from the west-northwest, with a wind speed of 10 km (6 miles) per hour or less, more than 50 percent of the time (Welch 1981:1).

SPANISH AND MEXICAN PERIOD

In 1769 Gasper de Portola and his party were the first Spanish explorers in Alta California to see the San Francisco Bay. Realizing the strategic importance of the harbor, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza returned in 1776 to establish the San Francisco Presidio. The same year, Mission San Francisco de Asís (Mission Dolores) was established on a creek several miles southeast of the presidio. Other missions were established around the bay, including Santa Clara de Asís in 1777 and San Jose in 1797. During the Mission period (1776 to mid-1830s), the mission fathers were responsible for overseeing the vast areas of land that were allotted to each individual mission. With the help of the local Indians as a large labor force, the missions were leading producers of food and hides and tallow from their large herds of cattle. Life

in the missions was devastating for the Indian populations. At Mission San Jose, between the years of 1802 and 1822, 4,573 Indians were baptized, but 2,933 Indians died, and by 1822 only 1,620 Indians had survived (Baker 1914:449). Under Mexican rule after 1822, the mission population continued to decline.

After the secularization of the missions by the Mexican government in 1833, the vast tracts of mission lands were granted to deserving citizens. Before secularization the Spanish governments awarded only three individuals with large landholdings in what now constitutes the counties of Contra Costa, Alameda, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and San Francisco. One of these unusual land grants was given to Sergeant Luís María Peralta on 3 August 1820 by Governor Pablo Vincente de Sola. Peralta had been on the Anza expedition of 1776 at age 17. He enlisted in the Monterey Presidio, transferred to the San Francisco Presidio, and helped to found the mission in Santa Cruz in 1791. In 1807 he was appointed *comisionado* at Pueblo San José, a post he held until the transfer of leadership to the Mexicans in 1822 (Bagwell 1982:11–12).

Peralta's grant, which he called Rancho San Antonio, was 17,400 hectares (ha) (43,000 ac.) and included all of present-day Albany, Berkeley, Emeryville, Oakland, Piedmont, Alameda, and part of San Leandro. The rancho adobes, which were located at 2511 34th Avenue, have been a City of Oakland Landmark site since 1975. In 1842 Don Luís María Peralta divided the Rancho San Antonio between his four sons. The High Street Project is located in the 6070 ha (15,000 ac.) given to Antonio María Peralta, the third youngest son, and included the area that would later become Brooklyn Township and the Melrose District (Hoover et al. 1990:9).

Brooklyn Township supported the only timber in the East Bay that was suitable for building. "The Redwoods of San Antonio" was the location of a lumber camp until 1849, when the last trees were felled. The land of Rancho San Antonio was also used for grazing and farming, although the coastal portions were uninhabited prior to 1850 (Hoover et al. 1990:18). Like so many of the Californio ranchos throughout California, Rancho San Antonio was subject to squatters and land speculators during the beginning of the American period. The American annexation of California in 1846 prompted some Americans to immigrate, but it was not until the initial gold discovery in 1848 and the rush to San Francisco and the gold fields in 1849 that land-hungry Euro-Americans began to challenge the land rights of Californio rancheros.

AMERICAN PERIOD

Until the arrival of the Americans, land was abundant and settlers were few, so in 1850, when three squatters built a small house on what would become the foot of Broadway and claimed the surrounding 65 ha (160 ac.) of land, Vicente Peralta did little to stop them. Peralta eventually negotiated a lease with Edson Adams, Horace W. Carpentier, and Alexander J. Moon. The three men hired a Swiss engineer, Julius Kellersberger, to design a street grid for the new town they intended to form, and they began selling lots of land, although they did not own the land they were selling (Bagwell 1982:27). After an extended legal battle, Peralta sold almost all of his land to pay for legal fees. In 1852 Carpentier sponsored a bill incorporating the town of Oakland; two years later the bill was recognized and Oakland officially became a city.

Others leased land from the Peraltas, including Moses Chase and the Patten brothers, Robert, William, and Edward. They laid out the town of Clinton on a tract of 194 ha (480 ac.) leased from Antonio Peralta in 1853 and built a bridge across the San Antonio Slough to connect their new town with Oakland. Another small town, San Antonio, was surveyed in

1854. By 1856 Clinton and San Antonio were combined to form Brooklyn. In 1870 Brooklyn Township was incorporated (Hoover et al. 1990:18–19).

The growth of Oakland and its surrounding communities was linked to the success of San Francisco. Oakland was an early industrial center, supplying goods and services to those across the San Francisco Bay who had fewer natural resources to exploit as well as a more limited land base within which to operate. Oakland also became an ideal location for more inexpensive housing for working-class families. Oakland was a city reliant on good transportation methods for commuting and exporting products.

In 1863 a wharf was constructed at the foot of Seventh Street to provide ferry service to San Francisco, and a daily rail service along Seventh Street connected downtown Oakland to the ferry terminal. The following year the San Francisco and Alameda Railroad Company began service to Brooklyn Township and the Melrose District at 46th Avenue. Schooner service was also provided to San Francisco from Clark's Landing on San Leandro Bay.

Antonio Peralta sold the land that was to become the Melrose District of Brooklyn Township to Henry S. Fitch for $14,000 (Oakland Unified School District 1992:3). In order to serve the cattle ranching industry that was flourishing in the area, Fitch created Fitchberg and built a cattle-loading depot on Melrose Street near 47th Avenue in the 1870s. Melrose Station became the terminal point of the Southern Pacific Railroad local line. An 1871 historic map shows the area that would become the APE not yet divided into lots. The nearest structures were H. Clarke's House, Clark's Landing, and a barn. H.C. Clark had immigrated to California in 1850 from Ohio. In 1853 he moved to Brooklyn Township and established several business endeavors, including managing a line of schooners between his landing and San Francisco. He also owned the Pacific Reduction Works, a smelting and reduction plant, located southeast of the APE. By 1873 the Pacific Cordage Company began operations immediately southwest of the APE. At the time it was one of only two cordage manufacturers on the Pacific Coast. The block that is the focus of this investigation was subdivided in 1874 (Alameda County Recorder's Office [Alameda County] Maps 2:45).

The 1878 Thompson & West map (Figure 2.1) shows the APE as part of a tract owned by H. Robinson. The Block Book for the Township of Brooklyn from 1880 indicates that Lot 8 had improvements done in that year. Daniel Connor and his wife, Margaret, both from Ireland, owned the parcel. The 1880 census reveals that Margaret Connor was actually widowed, although the property remained in her husband's name until 1889. The 1880 census tells of neighborhood that included many farmers and dairymen. A large percentage of the residents were originally from the British Islands, Canada, and the United States. The population was relatively young and there were many children.

Despite the almost rural impression of the area from the census manuscripts, there were many industrial works operating in the neighborhood. The abundance of land and close proximity to the water made Melrose an ideal location for large factories and warehouses. The area was promoted in one of Oakland's newspapers as a model location for both industrial and residential use.

> With its background of gently sloping lands from the hills for residence purposes and a great stretch of level land for the accommodation of factories, warehouses, and other lines of business, it could hardly be possible to find a finer situation for the founding of a great city [*Oakland Tribune* 7 July 1907].

The "great stretch of level land" was also increasingly residential. At this time the population of Melrose continued to be primarily those of western-European descent, now

Figure 2.1. Archaeologically Sensitive Area on 1878 Thompson and West Map

including many from Germany, Switzerland, and the Low Countries. Occupations continued to be working class, but there was an increase in clerical and professional jobs such as clerks, teachers, and engineers. Norman Pryde and his family were the first to build a home in the sensitive portion of the APE in 1889. Pryde acquired the lot on May 24 from the Puget Sound Lumber Company (Alameda County Deeds 373:259) and was listed in an 1889–1890 City Directory as an employee of the Melrose Smelting Works residing in Melrose. By 1892–1893 he was listed more specifically on Clark Street.

Residential development was present by 1897 on all three of the city lots where eligible archaeological features were later found. The Sanborn (1897) fire insurance map shows houses and outbuildings on Lot C (later 4411 Clement), Lot A (later 4425 Clement) and Lot B (later 4501/4513 Clement) (Figure 2.2). Just two years later the 1899 Block Book indicates a local disaster that occurred in the APE and surrounding area. All properties on the block had been damaged or destroyed by an "explosion." Further research led to an amazing story about the explosion and the destruction it caused.

On the evening of 18 July 1898, so the story goes, a Chinese man by the name of Gung Ung Chang, or Gong Wong Chang, killed another Chinese man named Ham Si Sing due to a quarrel over a $48 lottery ticket. In order to evade the police, Chang fled to his place of work, the Western Fuse and Explosive Company located on the corner of Clark (Clement) and A (45th) streets (across from the APE). He barricaded himself in the magazine building, which contained at least five tons of gunpowder. Chang threatened to blow up the building if anyone came near.

Several deputy sheriffs and other law enforcers took turns guarding the magazine, while they repeated demands for surrender throughout the night. At 5 am the following morning, Chang said he wanted to speak with the officers. As they approached, the explosion took place. Constable Koch, four deputy sheriffs, a neighbor, and Chang died in the blast. The buildings of the fuse company were completely destroyed, along with four houses on Clark Street. Forty nearby houses were also severely damaged, as was the Pacific Cordage Company buildings, which were long abandoned by this time. Newspapers headlined the event (Figure 2.3) and flags were requested flown at half-mast.

The aftermath was horrific. Neighbors were injured and homeless; the explosion was felt as far as San Jose. Body parts were reportedly found several blocks away. The neighbors threatened to sue the fuse company for damages. Most rebuilt their houses. The Western Fuse and Manufacturing Company did not plan to rebuild in that location according to newspaper accounts (*Oakland Enquirer* 1898; *Oakland Tribune* 1898).

Anti-Chinese sentiment during this period was strong, and the story must be viewed with caution. The series of Chinese Exclusion acts that began to be passed in 1882 were still in effect. The height of terrorism against the Chinese population that had occurred in the late 1880s had subsided, although by no means were they free from discrimination at the end of the 19th century.

Businesses advertised that they operated without the help of Chinese labor. Being denied most amenable employment, many Chinese were forced to work in dangerous occupations, such as at the fuse manufactory.

Newspaper articles about the 1898 explosion were unforgiving, although some attempt was made to pardon the many other Chinese men who lived and worked for the company. Only one interview with neighbor Charles Stephenson offered another possible explanation of the event. Stephenson reported that he saw a plank fall outside the door to the magazine

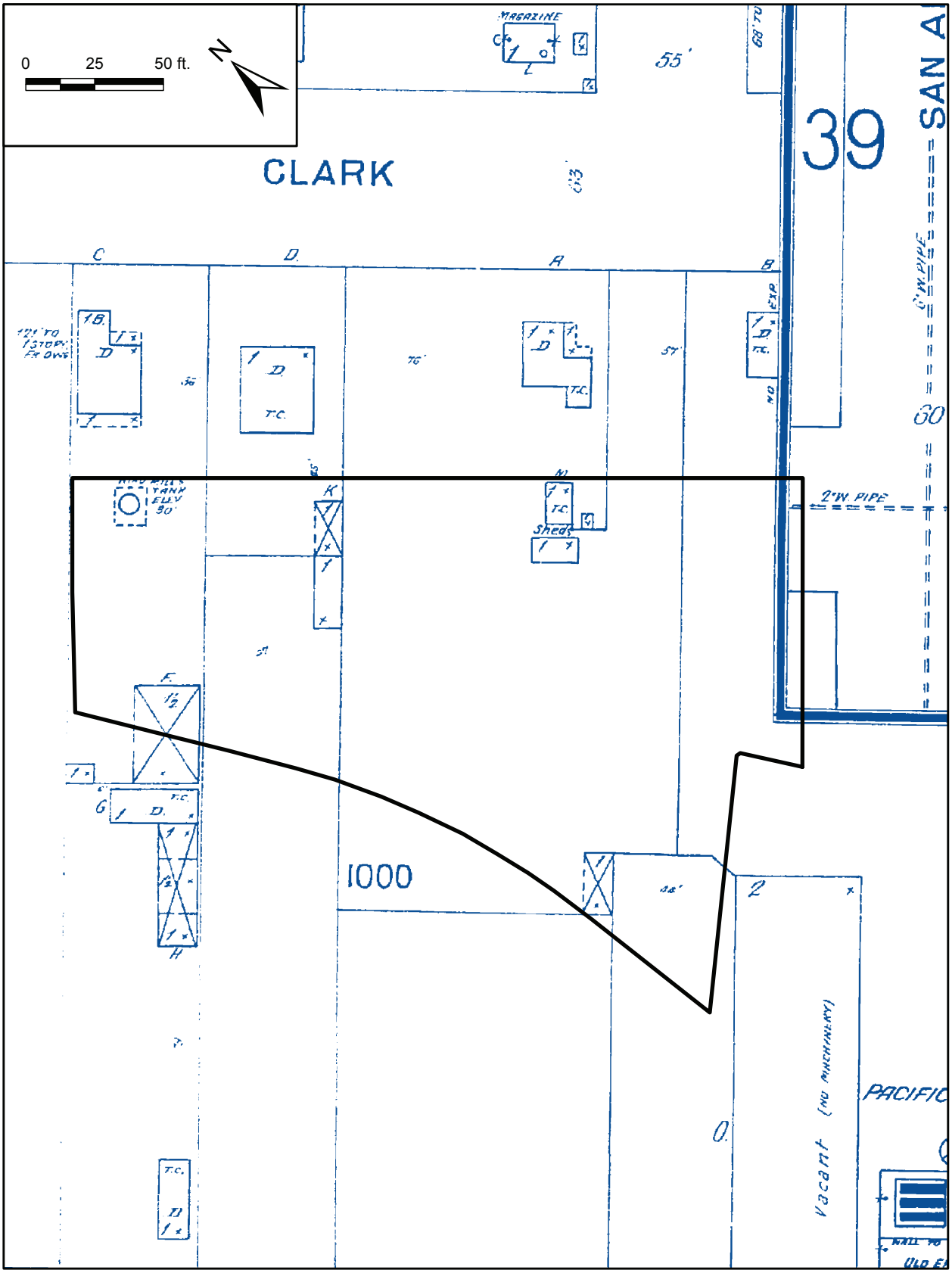
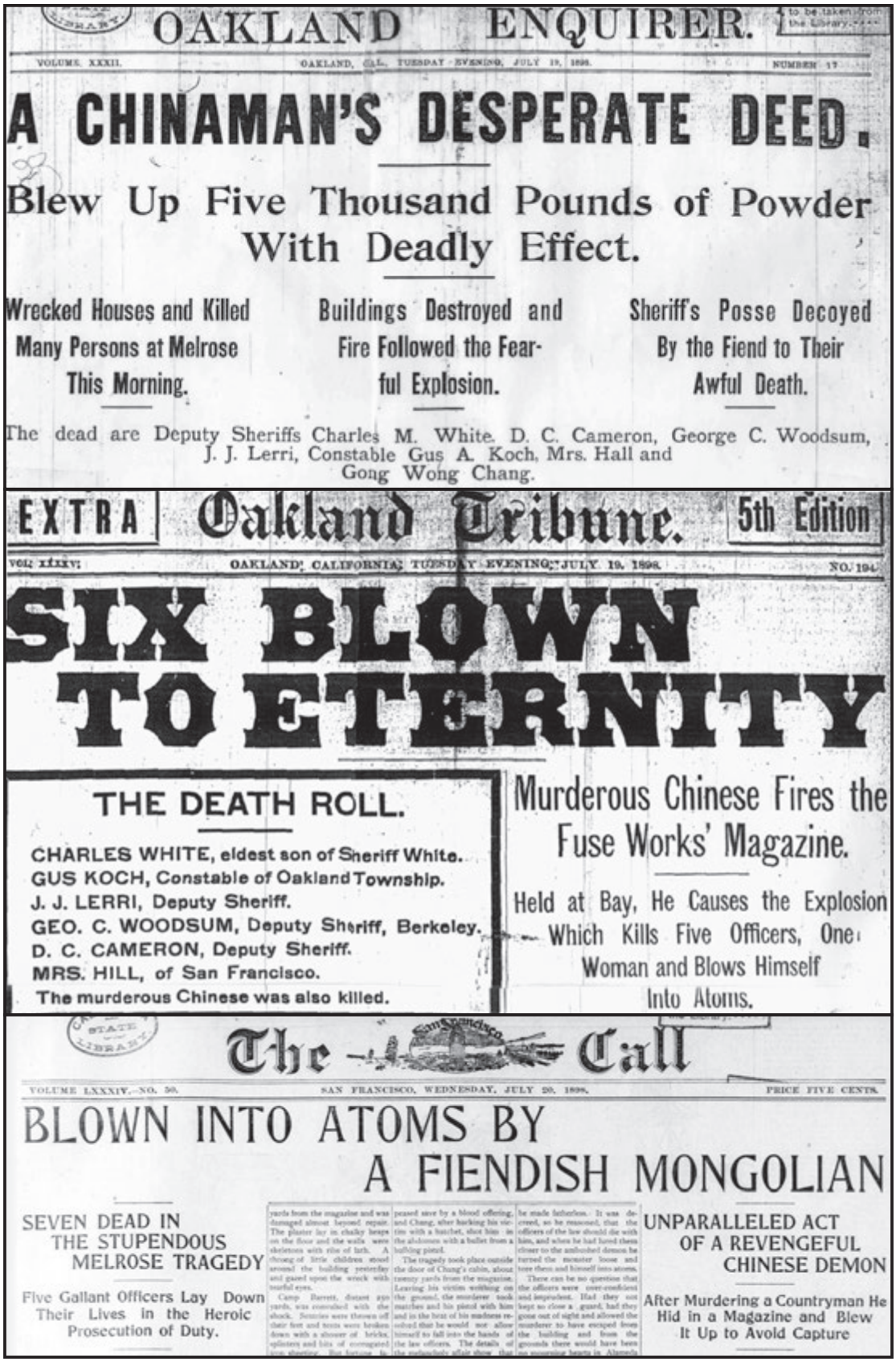


Figure 2.2. Sanborn Map from 1897 Showing Archaeologically Sensitive Area



OAKLAND ENQUIRER.

VOLUME XXXII. OAKLAND, CAL., TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 19, 1898. NUMBER 17

A CHINAMAN'S DESPERATE DEED.

Blew Up Five Thousand Pounds of Powder With Deadly Effect.

Wrecked Houses and Killed Many Persons at Melrose This Morning.

Buildings Destroyed and Fire Followed the Fearful Explosion.

Sheriff's Posse Decoyed By the Fiend to Their Awful Death.

The dead are Deputy Sheriffs Charles M. White, D. C. Cameron, George C. Woodsum, J. J. Lerri, Constable Gus A. Koch, Mrs. Hall and Gong Wong Chang.

EXTRA Oakland Tribune. 5th Edition

VOL. XXXVI. OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 19, 1898. NO. 194

SIX BLOWN TO ETERNITY

THE DEATH ROLL.

CHARLES WHITE, eldest son of Sheriff White.
GUS KOCH, Constable of Oakland Township.
J. J. LERRI, Deputy Sheriff.
GEO. C. WOODSUM, Deputy Sheriff, Berkeley.
D. C. CAMERON, Deputy Sheriff.
MRS. HILL, of San Francisco.
The murderous Chinese was also killed.

Murderous Chinese Fires the Fuse Works' Magazine.

Held at Bay, He Causes the Explosion Which Kills Five Officers, One Woman and Blows Himself Into Atoms.

The Call

VOLUME LXXXIV.—NO. 50. SAN FRANCISCO, WEDNESDAY, JULY 20, 1898. PRICE FIVE CENTS.

BLOWN INTO ATOMS BY A FIENDISH MONGOLIAN

SEVEN DEAD IN THE STUPENDOUS MELROSE TRAGEDY

Five Gallant Officers Lay Down Their Lives in the Heroic Prosecution of Duty.

UNPARALLELED ACT OF A REVENGEFUL CHINESE DEMON

After Murdering a Countryman He Hid in a Magazine and Blew It Up to Avoid Capture

Figure 2.3. Newspaper Headlines after the Early Morning Explosion at the Western Fuse and Explosive Company

just prior to the explosion and believed that the plank was being used to force the door open. This account was repudiated by the deputies who said "no force was used on the barricade" (*Oakland Tribune* 1898). The truth may never be known since it was far easier to blame a Chinese scapegoat already accused of murder than to admit that deputies may have precipitated the devastating blast.

THE NEW CENTURY

In 1901 the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers completed a project that created the island of Alameda. The "U.S. Tidal Canal" became a navigable channel that joined San Leandro Bay with Oakland Inner Harbor, and made the Oakland shoreline more valuable. Several years later the 60-year monopoly on the use of Oakland's waterfront was finally broken, and new railroads were constructed that connected Oakland and its outlying communities. Industries were attracted to the newly created shore, accelerating growth in the Clement Street neighborhood.

The Melrose District received a huge influx of home-seekers after the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire. Three years later, Oakland annexed 7855 ha (30.33 sq. mi.) of Brooklyn Township, including Fruitvale, Melrose, and Fitchburg. The population in our study area remained remarkably stable after the 1898 explosion, perhaps because the Western Fuse Company relocated. Most owners rebuilt and stayed in the neighborhood. Most were primarily western European and American-born until the 1920s. The neighborhood remained mixed industrial/residential, as seen in the 1912 Sanborn map (Figure 2.4).

Municipal utility services greatly improved following the turn of the century. Oakland's first sewer was installed in 1864 from Fourth and Broadway to San Antonio Creek. By 1872 the city's growth prompted the initial planning of an expanded system that included approximately sixty miles of drainage pipes that would empty into Lake Merritt. The system was constructed between 1874 and 1875, although it could not handle both storm runoff and the volume of sewage, and caused severe pollution in the lake.

Finally, beginning in the mid-1890s, the city installed a sewer system that carried waste out into the San Francisco Bay. The system was expanded and modernized, connecting the newly annexed areas of Brooklyn and Melrose (Bagwell 1982:131). Water pipes were installed beneath High Street and San Leandro Road by 1903 (Sanborn 1903). By the early part of the mid-20th century, water, sewer, electrical, and gas lines had been constructed throughout what would become the High Street APE (Heidecker 1999:8).

Several new companies opened near the study area during the first two decades of the 20th century. The Leona Chemical Company operated a chemical manufacturing business out of several buildings located on a large parcel of land to the west of High Street between Clement Street and the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks. The company was in business from at least 1910 until 1921 (Heidecker 1999:16). In 1913 the Electro-Alkaline Company began its operations at 809 High Street. In 1914 the company officially changed its name to the Clorox Chemical Company. The Clorox buildings are still located on 0.8 ha (2 ac.) of land between Wattling Street, High Street, 42nd Avenue, and the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks.

Clorox was one of the first companies in the United States to commercially produce liquid chlorine bleach. In 1916 Clorox developed a less-concentrated solution for domestic use and the product became a household name. Production at this location stopped in 1992 and the buildings are currently used for storage (Heidecker 1999: Attachment B; Krase 1998). Also near the APE were several smaller businesses, such as Gilbin's Dairy on the corner of

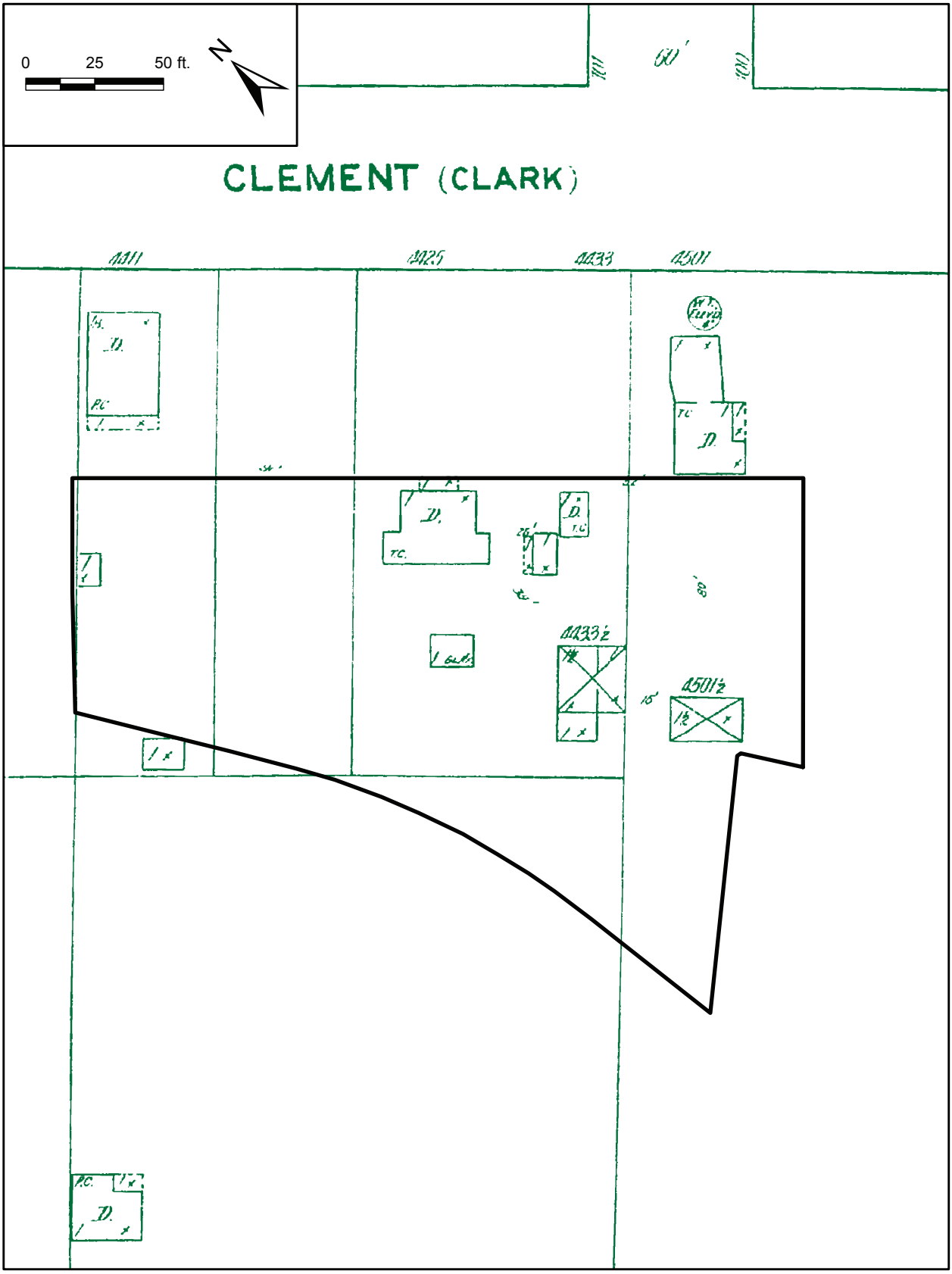


Figure 2.4. Sanborn Map from 1912 Showing Archaeologically Sensitive Area

Commerce and High streets, the Standard Oil Company on High and Clement streets, and Murata Nursery on High Street.

The 1920 US census population schedule provides the first indication of a change in the demographics of the study area. The 1925 Sanborn map shows ongoing use of the three parcels investigated in this study, with the addition of several small residences on the Stephenson lot at 4425 Clement (Figure 2.5). Although most residents were of western-European descent, Japanese families and a Portuguese family occupied residences, while Italians and Mexicans moved into the surrounding area. The proportion of Japanese residents on the study block increased over the next two decades. By 1930 the population of Blocks 2241 and 2242 was almost half Japanese in origin. Most of these people were renters who worked in the gardening and nursery trades. Their internment by the War Relocation Authority in 1942 coincided with conversion of the block to industrial and public uses during World War II.

Completion of the Bay Bridge in 1936 affected the use of the railroad and consequently the surrounding neighborhoods. With increased automobile transportation and a new route to San Francisco, living near a railroad depot became less important. The result was an exodus of middle- and upper-income families to more distant suburbs. At the same time, Oakland's population soared with the influx of military personnel and recruitment of factory workers from the south during World War II. The High Street Homes, built in 1944 southeast of the study area, consisted of 540 "temporary" residential units to house white wartime workers. Although considered temporary, they were used as low-income housing into the early 1960s.

The last trains served Melrose Station in 1941. Increased auto traffic resulted in the construction of the East Shore Freeway (now Interstate Route 880) in 1949 to 1950. The freeway included the High Street Overhead structure whose retrofit was the impetus this archaeological project. Construction of the freeway included right-of-way acquisition that encompassed the last home still occupied in the sensitive portion of the study area (4425 Clement) by 1943 (Alameda County Official Records 4452:461). The owners of the steel fabrication business at 4411 Clement successively acquired the remainder of the Rodda property (the entire south end of the block including 4501 Clement) in 1945 and the rest of the Stephenson property by 1951 (Alameda County Official Records 6421:437–438). The 1951 Sanborn map shows these new developments (Figure 2.6).

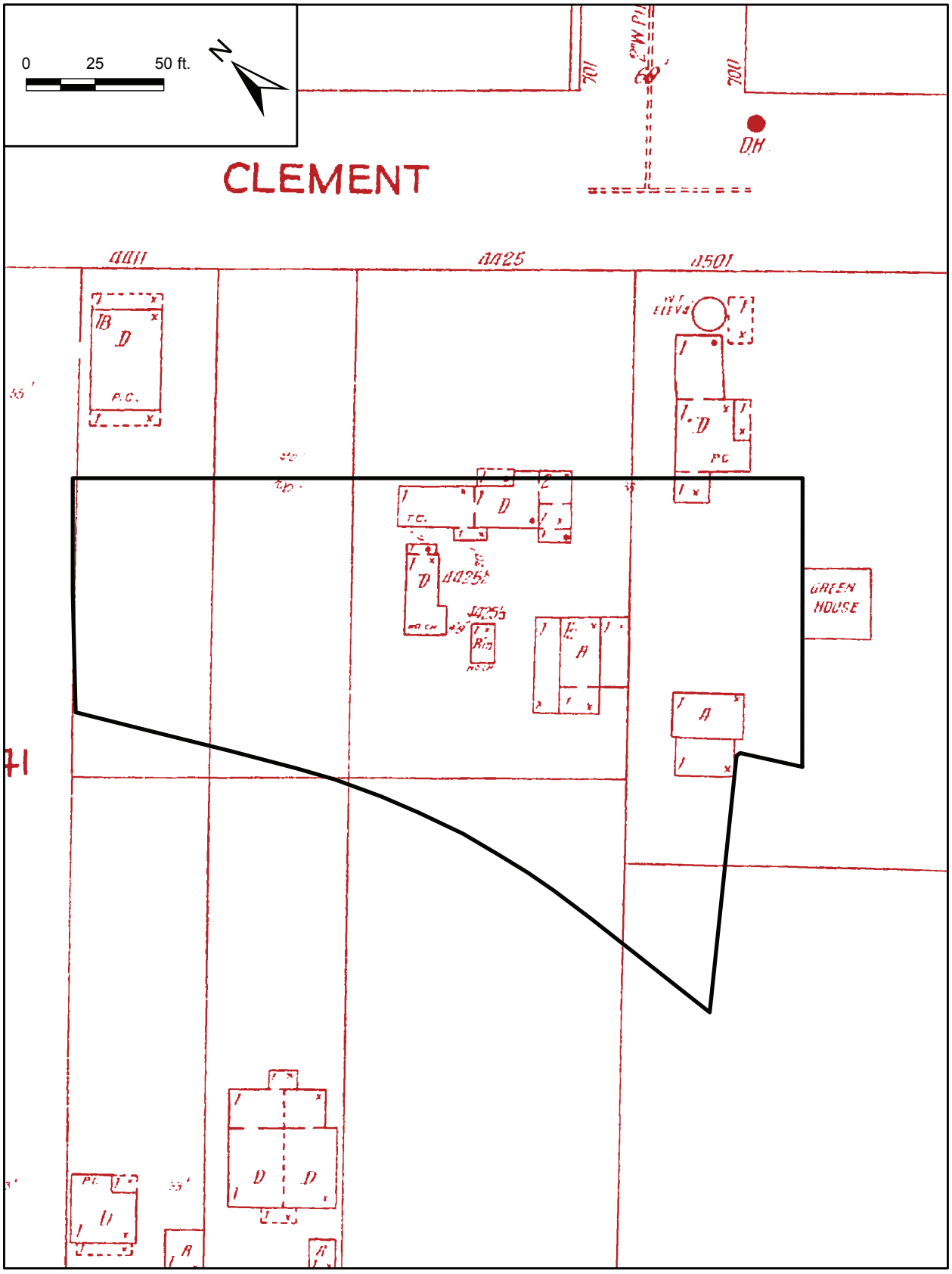


Figure 2.5. Sanborn Map from 1925 Showing Archaeologically Sensitive Area

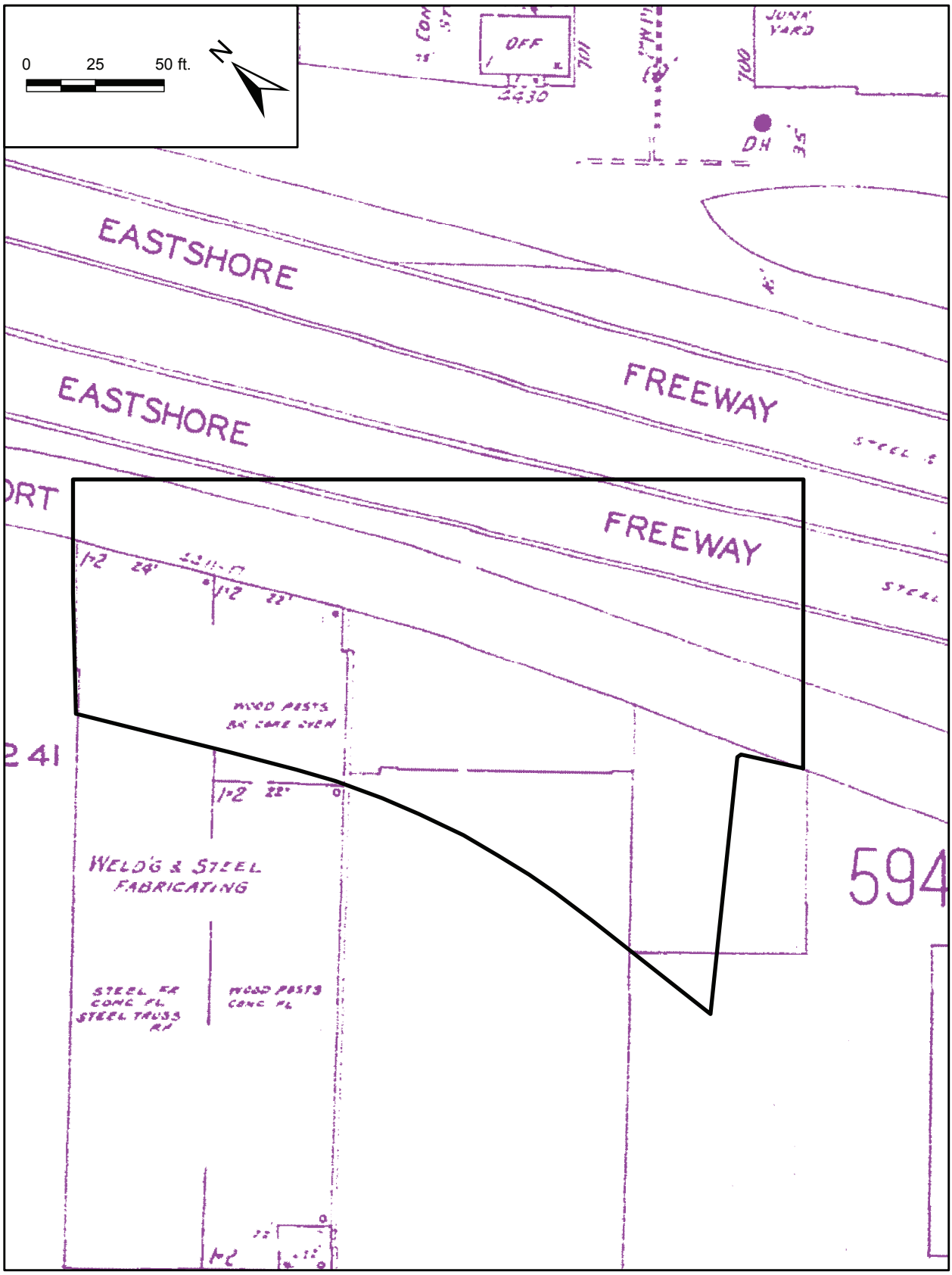


Figure 2.6. Sanborn Map from 1951 Showing Archaeologically Sensitive Area

HISTORY OF THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA AND THE BAY AREA
by Dana Ogo Shew

By the time Japanese families began living on the 2241 Block of Clement Street in Oakland, the Japanese had been living, working, and establishing communities within the United States for over 30 years. Japanese first came to the United States in significant numbers in the late-19th century to escape high land taxes and reforms of the Meiji government in Japan. Most of these immigrants worked as laborers in agriculture, railroad, timber, manufacturing, and service industries, and were concentrated in Hawaii and the West Coast (Ng 2002). By 1900 42 percent of the continental Japanese population was in California; by 1930 it had risen to 70 percent (Takaki 1998). Japanese immigrants arrived in America amidst a climate of anti-Asian sentiment largely focused on the Chinese who had come before them. They endured much of the same discriminatory treatment as the Chinese including name calling, violence, segregation, and laws that aimed to thwart upward mobility.

Many Japanese immigrants were upwardly mobile, finding success particularly in agriculture. As many came from farms in Japan, their experience and skills made occupations in the agricultural industry a natural fit. More than half of the immigrant population in California was engaged in agriculture in 1915, mostly as farm laborers (Ichihashi 1915; Strong 1933). The number of Japanese who owned land and ran independent farms, however, was steadily growing. Japanese Californians operated 29 farms on 1,901 ha (4,698 ac.) in 1900; this increased to 1,816 Japanese-run farms on 4,166 ha (99,254 ac.) of land by 1910 (Iyenaga 1921).

Fearing a Japanese takeover of the agricultural industry, anti-Japanese organizations like the Oriental Exclusion League—established by a coalition of labor unions in 1905—began to form across California. The four main organizations that formed the backbone of anti-Japanese propaganda were the Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West, the American Legion, the California Federation of Labor, and the California State Grange (Daniels 1962). These organizations aimed to spread fear of the Japanese, popularizing terms such as "Yellow Peril" (Uyeda 1987). The newsletter of the Native Sons of the Golden West, first published in 1907, included at least one anti-Japanese article in every issue (Daniels 1962).

The fear campaigns of the anti-Japanese organizations were successful enough to give them significant influence over legislation at city, state, and even national levels. The Asiatic Exclusion League, mostly concerned with excluding Japanese and Koreans from the United States, successfully pressured the San Francisco Board of Education to force Korean and Japanese students to attend a segregated Oriental school (Waugh, Yamato, and Okamura 1988). Pressure from anti-Japanese groups in California led President Theodore Roosevelt to negotiate the Gentleman's Agreement of 1907–1908 in which Japan agreed to stop issuing passports to laborers and the United States agreed to allow the immigration of laborers that had already been to America as well as parents, wives, and children of laborers already in here (Waugh, Yamato, and Okamura 1988).

The Gentleman's Agreement did not help diminish the Japanese presence on the West Coast but instead encouraged the establishment of families and growing communities. Only 410 of 24,326 Japanese immigrants were female in 1900 (Waugh, Yamato, and Okamura 1988). In the first two decades of the 20th century over 20,000 Japanese women came to the United States (Ng 2002). By 1920 the Japanese population in the continental United States had grown to 111,010, with over sixty percent living in California (Daniels 1985; Waugh, Yamato, and Okamura 1988). In northern California, the highest concentration of Japanese lived in Fresno County with 5,732, San Francisco County with 5,358, and Alameda County with 5,221 (Waugh, Yamato, and Okamura 1988).

Alien Land Laws were passed in California in 1913 that took advantage of the fact that the Japanese and other Asians could not become citizens based on the Naturalization Act of 1798. The former prevented Japanese and any non-citizen from owning land and limited leases to "aliens" to three years. Many Japanese found loopholes around the Alien Land Laws by transferring the titles of their land to their American-born children and by incorporating their businesses in order to purchase land as a single entity. One agricultural sub-industry that, because of its long history, was largely able to work around the Alien Land Law was the nursery business.

The Japanese Nursery Industry in the Bay Area

The history of the Japanese flower business in the Bay Area goes back nearly as far as the beginning of Japanese history in the United States. Beginning in 1884, the Japanese nursery industry in Oakland was an important part of a thriving community in economic and political aspects as well as in cultural and familial ways. Japanese involvement in floriculture had influences far beyond the Japanese community and the Bay Area, affecting the flower industry across the nation. The Japanese were able to find a niche market and dominate it. As Gary Kawaguchi says of the Japanese in the nursery business: "They left their indelible stamps on the industry worldwide, Issei, men and women, had the farthest ranging vision of how the industry would grow, the greatest love of challenge and risk and the luck to start at the bottom floor" (Kawaguchi 1993:ix).

The flower industry in the San Francisco Bay Area began during the 1850s when successful prospectors and other nouveau riche had an excess of wealth and an eagerness to spend. Flowers were no longer luxury items but instead expected adornments in hotels and restaurants (Kawaguchi 1995). Flowers also played an important part in funerals, weddings, and births, rituals that spanned all classes of people. Ornamental plants also gained popularity over the years, increasing after the development of Golden Gate Park that was lauded by the *San Francisco Chronicle* as "the inspiration of the people toward what is beautiful in outdoor life" (Kawaguchi 1995:31). Also according to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, at the turn of the century San Franciscans spent more on flowers per capita than anywhere else in the U.S. (Kawaguchi 1995:31).

It was during the rise of flower popularity that the Domoto brothers first arrived in California from Japan. The first brother landed in San Francisco in November 1884 and three of his brothers soon followed (Kawaguchi 1993). The brothers were renting land in Oakland by 1885 and had built nurseries to grow chrysanthemums, carnations and garden plants and trees. The Domotos are credited for being the first in northern California to commercially produce a variety of different garden plants such as camellias, wisterias, azaleas, and lily bulbs imported from Japan (Yagasaki 1978). Their business continued to grow and, in 1892, the brothers bought 0.8 ha (2 ac.) in the Melrose district on Central Avenue and East 14th Street, possibly making them the first Japanese to own land in the United States (Kawaguchi 1993; Murase 2001). In the next few years the Domotos expanded their business, adding several new flower species to their production and buying the parcel of land next to their nursery.

The Domoto Nursery expanded with the growing popularity of ornamental plants and flowers in the Bay Area. The nursery grew again in 1902, this time to a larger site in the Oakland foothills on Krause Street. The new nursery increased production to 16 ha (40 ac.) and became the first large-scale Japanese nursery in the United States. The Domoto brothers' success was encouraging to those they knew in Japan, and many friends and relatives eventually came to the United States to learn from them and follow in their footsteps. The brothers actively recruited workers from their home prefecture of Wakayama and the large number of Japanese

nurserymen trained by the brothers earned their nursery the nickname "Domoto College," (Kawaguchi 1993:14). The brothers encouraged their trainees to start their own businesses, which many did in the local area, creating a concentration of Japanese nurseries in Oakland and the greater East Bay. Eventually most of the large Bay Area nurseries were owned and operated by nurserymen trained at "Domoto College."

The original Domoto Nursery was located not far from the High Street Tract. The first reference found to a nursery in our project area was a 1912 city directory listing for T. Katoh at 4501 Clement Street. By 1917 the Block Books show a greenhouse at this location and in 1920 T. Yoshioka operated a vegetable farm on the property. Within a few years numerous Japanese families operated nurseries in the area and did so until their forced relocation in 1942.

Most nurseries were concentrated in the East Bay, including Oakland, Berkeley, and Richmond and eventually expanding to San Leandro and San Lorenzo, and on the San Francisco Peninsula including San Mateo, Belmont, Redwood City, and Mountain View. One significant reason for this concentration was the East Bay climate, advertised in the 1870 Oakland City Directory as ideal for growing trees, shrubs, and bulbous roots (City Directory [Oakland] 1870). The cool breezes and fog of East Bay mornings partnered with afternoon warmth and sunshine made perfect conditions for growing roses (Slater 1997). Property values were also lower in the East Bay than in San Francisco. As the cut flower industry does not require the extensive acreage of agricultural industries, Japanese immigrants were able to buy small plots of land on city outskirts for relatively low prices. The concentration of nurseries in Oakland, Berkeley, and Richmond was also the result of easy access to markets. Transportation was relatively well developed in the East Bay so the growers located their nurseries in the affordable suburbs along railroad lines and the Key System, which provided streetcars, rail lines and buses for Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda, Richmond, El Cerrito, Emeryville, Albany, Piedmont, and San Leandro. Every morning the growers would transport their flowers from their nurseries in the East Bay along varying transit lines to ferries that would take them to San Francisco where they would sell to retailers.

At first the growers would sell outdoors. A spot on the corner of Kearny and Market streets in San Francisco gradually became an unofficial gathering place for growers and retailers to do business. The Japanese flower growers eventually organized and, in 1906, the California Flower Growers Association was formed with 42 charter members. The Association's initial objective was to establish an indoor market site where Japanese, Italian, and Chinese flower growers could come to sell their products. After three years of searching a building was finally found at 31 Lick Place in an alley between Kearny and Montgomery, Sutter and Post streets (Kawaguchi 1993).

Italian and Chinese were also large players in the Bay Area's cut flower industry, but production by Japanese growers steadily dominated production. In the 1930s it was estimated that Japanese flower growers produced $2 million annually compared to $700,000 to $800,000 by Italians and $200,000 to $300,000 by Chinese (Yagasaki 1982). In 1912 the California Flower Market incorporated with 54 Japanese flower growers as shareholders becoming one of the earliest corporations owned by Japanese in the United States (Murase 2001). In 1924 the flower market moved to a larger location at 5th and Howard streets, and later to a still a larger site on 6th and Brannan streets where it still operates as the San Francisco Flower Mart.

Though the center of the wholesale and retail flower business remained in San Francisco, nurseries continued to be concentrated in the East Bay. One event that increased the number of people, including growers, in the East Bay was the great San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906. Immediately following the earthquake many Japanese found refuge in Japanese

churches, temples and nurseries in the East Bay (Kawaguchi 1993:23). The sturdily built East Bay nurseries did not suffer damage from the earthquake and even in the midst of San Francisco's devastating crisis, the flower business continued as people bought flowers for funerals, hospital visits and to raise spirits.

The 1906 earthquake was one of many setbacks that the flower industry survived. Because of their role in rituals of celebration as well as tragedy, flowers were essential during all seasons of life. World War I and the influenza epidemic that immediately followed saw a spike in flower sales and prices. The Japanese flower growers enjoyed continued success in the years after the war, producing 70 percent of the major greenhouse flowers and chrysanthemums in Northern California in 1929 (Kawaguchi 1993). Japanese nurseries were at the height of their success when the stock market crashed on October 28, 1929.

The Great Depression affected the entire nation, including Japanese flower growers. However, the flower growers were more fortunate than many other Japanese businessmen, especially farmers. Because the Japanese nursery industry had been established so long ago a great number of flower growers owned land they had purchased before the Alien Land Laws. Japanese farmers, on the other hand, more frequently leased land and were more susceptible to debt. Overall, the flower growers were less indebted because they relied less on credit and leases. But the ripple effects of the stock market crash reached them as well and the depression years were full of frugality and lean living that not all were able to sustain.

The flower industry along with the nation's economy struggled with recovery in the 1930s as business slowly got back to normal. The completion of the Bay Bridge in 1936 made it more efficient for the East Bay growers to transport and sell their flowers in San Francisco. The industry also experienced a small boom as a result of the Golden Gate International Exposition in 1939.

Business was steadily improving when Japanese flower growers—along with all people of Japanese descent in the U.S.—had their lives turned upside down by the aftermath of the bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941. In the months that followed the nation was taken over by panic and hysteria. This resulted in President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 that allowed for the forceful removal and internment of over 110,000 people of Japanese descent, two thirds of whom were U.S. citizens.

People were first rounded up into assembly centers before they were transferred to one of ten relocation camps in seven states. Evacuees were given between two weeks to only a few days to settle their businesses, pack only what they could carry, and leave their homes for an unknown destination for an unknown amount of time. Nursery owners frantically tried to find either buyers or caretakers for their businesses, losing substantial amounts of money as they sold greenhouses, equipment, and land at staggeringly low prices (Taylor 1993:55). Many flower growers who wanted to keep their businesses entered into bad contracts or leased their nurseries to untrustworthy caretakers. Oftentimes these caretakers would neglect their obligations, leaving the nurseries in disrepair, crops unsalvageable, and equipment and personal property missing (Kawaguchi 1993:58). Many nurseries, however, did survive the internment of their owners because of the generous efforts of neighbors, friends, and fellow nursery owners who maintained the nurseries for the Japanese growers while they were interned.

The relocation camps stayed in operation throughout the war, most closing in 1945. As the camps closed the internees had to begin the difficult task of returning to the West Coast. Internees who did not own property had no homes to return to, and found temporary shelter at churches and temples. Many returned to find their property vandalized or missing. The

Federal Reserve Bank estimated that Japanese American losses in the West Coast and Hawaii amounted to $400 million (Taylor 1993). For the flower growers of the East Bay the future looked bleak but not impossible. In a 1945 report, Oscar F. Hoffman, the Topaz Community Analyst, concluded that the flower growers had a better chance than any other occupational group in reestablishing their businesses upon their return to the West Coast (Hoffman 1945).

The fact that 75 percent of the flower growers owned their own property gave them a huge advantage over many other business owners. Most had houses on their nursery properties and did not have to find somewhere to live once they returned. The growers were also returning to a market that had felt their absence and the demand for flowers was greatly exceeding the supply. There were also many problems for flower growers in reestablishing their businesses: damaged greenhouses and equipment that had to be rebuilt or replaced, nurseries that had not been restocked with plants and, therefore, not profitable until stocks were built back up, and the lack of reliable labor. The original nursery owners were all Issei, first generation immigrants who were mostly into their 50s by the time the war was over. The period of reestablishment was a time of rebuilding in a new market as well as a time during which the reigns of the industry were gradually being passed down to the American-born Nisei generation. After the war the Nisei controlled not just the flower industry but all Japanese economic activity in California (Yagasaki 1982).

Under Nisei management the flower industry successfully recovered after the war. Advances in shipping, greenhouse technology, and floriculture techniques contributed to the industry's success and aided in continued expansion and growth. The Bay Area remained a major center of the industry with Alameda County reaching 10.11 million square feet of greenhouses in 1980 (Ferris 1997). It was not until the 1990s that the once booming Bay Area flower industry began to gradually wilt. As the Bay Area population grew and suburban housing began its sprawl the nurseries once on the outskirts of cities became unwanted neighbors in the middle of suburban communities. To escape the many problems of operating in highly populated areas flower growers began moving south, all the way into the Monterey Bay peninsula. The East Bay eventually lost its position as the focal point of Northern California floriculture.

The Bay Area and California flower industry faced an even more serious problem beginning in 1991 with the passage of the Andean Trade Preference Act. As part of the "war on drugs" the U.S. attempted to reduce the amount of cocaine produced in South America by encouraging Colombian, Peruvian, Bolivian and Ecuadorian farmers to replace cocaine with flowers and import them to the U.S. tariff-free (Slater 1997). The South American growers, already at an advantage with lower labor costs, lower operation costs, and the perfect climate for growing roses, could now export to America free of charge. American flower growers could not compete with the bigger, cheaper South American flowers.

Northern California nurseries began rapidly closing and, by 1995, greenhouse footage in Alameda County had dropped to 1.95 million with only 30 or 35 nurseries still in operation (Ferris 1997). In 2009 only a little over a million square feet were under glass in Alameda County (Bray 2010). Demolition on the last of the Japanese nurseries in Richmond began in March 2011. The 5.7 ha (14 ac.) of the Sakai, Oishi, and Maida-Endo nurseries will soon become the 150-home Miraflores housing development (Tam 2011). As a tribute to the past two greenhouses, two homes, and a water tower are being preserved and an interpretive exhibit will be erected to explain their significance. Preserving the once-lush greenhouses of the Japanese nurseries as historic structures validates their importance to the development of the flower industry in the Bay Area but also sadly signifies the end of a very long and influential history.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN

The TP that was prepared to guide evaluations of archaeological resources in the High Street APE assumed that the undertaking had a federal nexus and was thus subject to compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and its implementing regulations (36 CFR Part 800). Under those circumstances, the legal significance of resources is determined by applying the NRHP Criteria for Evaluation described at 36 CFR 60.4. When it was established that the project was not subject to these regulations, the criteria to be applied during this investigation were those of the CRHR, found at Section 5024.1 of the California Public Resources Code. In practice, the two sets of criteria are virtually identical and the evaluation process described in the TP (Koenig and Mc Ilroy 2002) remained relevant.

While archaeological resources may be found eligible under any criterion, the significance of these properties is usually assessed in terms of their research importance as determined by applying Criterion 4 of the CRHR. This criterion stresses the importance of the information contained in an archaeological site rather than its intrinsic value as a surviving example of a type or its historical association with an important person or event. To assess whether a property is likely to contain important information, the investigator must define the important questions that may be addressed with the kind of data a property is likely to contain. That entails establishing a general theoretical orientation, identifying important research themes relevant to the types of resources that may be encountered, defining the data those resources need to contain, and establishing the condition or integrity necessary for the resource to yield those important insights.

FORMATION PROCESSES & INTEGRITY

It is essential to understand the processes by which cultural and natural strata are formed in order to interpret archaeological data and to evaluate their importance. When working in complex urban contexts, it is especially important to understand archaeological deposits in terms of the events that created them, not merely through the artifacts they contain. The excavation and recording system developed by Edward Harris (1979) aids in interpreting these events. Under this system, archaeologists must take note not only of solid features (such as walls) and negative features (such as pits), but also of contiguous interfaces that are created where stratigraphic units come into contact with one another. Thus, Harris recognizes layer interfaces, feature interfaces, and period interfaces—the latter defined as "a surface composed of a number of layer and feature interfaces" (1979:47). Writing at an earlier era, Leonard Wooley provided another definition of this concept: "the sum total of the ground surfaces which were ground levels in use at one and the same time" (1961:24).

Archaeological deposits reflect either periods of continuity or intervals of transition in site occupation or use. Continuous deposits are archaeological layers or living surfaces that become recognizable and distinct when buried by natural strata (i.e., flood silt, ash) or cultural strata (i.e., fill, roadway, building). Continuous deposits can form over periods of thousands of years, as on some California prehistoric sites, or in just a few years, as in the sequence of fire, flood, and fill found in Sacramento. It is a transition, natural or cultural, that results in a layer interface and the sealing of a continuous deposit into an archaeological layer. A process of continuous discard produces "sheet refuse" or gradually fills hollows and negative features. Because they accumulate gradually, these strata are highly susceptible to depositional and post-depositional disturbance. Archaeologists employ assemblages recovered from stratified,

continuous archaeological layers to examine a variety of research problems concerning changes through time.

Archaeological strata formed during incidents of transition accumulate very quickly, often through a single depositional event in response to an abrupt change in the nature of site occupation and use. Activities such as the creation of a new feature interface (the removal of strata: hole digging) or the deposition of materials within a previously existing feature interface (the addition of strata: hole filling) often mark intervals of transition. Such deposits are more likely to retain their integrity than are continuous deposits and, therefore, possess greater visibility and focus in the archaeological record. In addition, deposits formed during intervals of transition may often be associated through historical research with specific households.

In urban areas, transitional feature interfaces and the strata that create them are often the result of changes on two levels: (1) those that result from the new use of a particular parcel due to the presence of a different commercial enterprise, occupant, or owner, or from modifications made by a continuing one; and (2) those produced by widespread responses to either natural disaster, such as floods or fires, or to municipal regulations governing sanitation practices, water delivery and storage, or street and lot improvements. More broadly, the latter transitions may be viewed as the movement by City government away from unplanned growth and development toward urban planning.

Integrity refers to the degree to which a property has retained qualities that it possessed during its period of significance. The NRHP recognizes seven types of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. These are also applicable to CRHR evaluations. Unlike built resources that must visually evoke an event, person, or process, archaeological properties do not need to meet every one of the seven aspects of integrity to be judged eligible for the CRHR. They simply need to be "sufficiently intact to yield the expected important information" (NPS 1991:23).

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

This research design adopts a contextual approach to the analysis properties. Contextual archaeology emphasizes the specific historical, social, and cultural context of behavior rather than the supposed universal influences sought by the practitioners of processual archaeology. This approach parallels the trend in the social sciences in general toward problems of "contextuality, the meaning of social life to those who enact it, and the explanation of exception and indeterminants rather than the regularities in phenomena observed" (Marcus and Fischer 1986:8). Structuralism, symbolism, critical theory, and "meaning" (Leone 1986) are stressed in interpretation. Contextualists also recognize the active role of both material culture and the archaeologist in the creation of the past. Some of the broad concepts that support the framework of this research are Modernism, Victorianism, and Working-class Culture.

The first of these is concerned with the processes by which people from traditional, nonindustrial cultures—both immigrant and native-born—adapted to life in an industrial society (Gutman 1977). Victorianism works together with modernism, as it is said to have been a "homogenizing force" (Hardesty 1980) upon the cultures of immigrants and native-born working class alike, which attempted to replace traditional mores with modern values and patterns of behavior better suited to an industrial society. Archaeological research is in a unique position to measure the influence of these two factions: the relative pervasiveness of Victorianism and the degree of resistance to the values of the emerging industrial society of a distinctive working-class culture.

RESEARCH THEMES

This research design details a series of research themes and relevant questions that might be addressed by the archaeological property types that the preceding historical, archival, and archaeological research had identified. Summarized below are some of the applicable research themes and questions raised for these property types.

The research themes outlined below are currently being studied by historical archaeologists working in urban Bay Area projects. These broad themes are applicable to most urban areas, given an adequate archaeological and documentary record. Some of the questions require the analysis of only one deposit; others must be viewed at the parcel, block, neighborhood, city, or even inter-city level. While the questions are phrased to address a resource's significance, they can also be viewed as avenues to follow out in formulating site interpretation.

The research questions were phrased so that they could be used to evaluate the importance of archaeological deposits as they were encountered in the field. Within a contextual approach, questions have built upon each other as new data are gathered from the ground, from the archives, from maps and photographs, and from oral-history informants. The answers, when woven together, will provide a richer human history of Oakland and promote a deeper understanding of the middle- and working class people who once lived there.

Theme A: Consumer Behavior/Strategies

Question 1: Does this resource enable us to describe the consumer practices and disposal behavior of a household or business with specific social, occupational, economic, and/or ethnic characteristics?

This is one of the core questions of the research design. It identifies archaeological deposits created by the disposal of refuse. As in the present day, refuse includes the remains of food preparation and consumption (containers, leftovers, bones, seeds, spoiled food, etc.), as well as broken and unwanted household paraphernalia. Archaeologists study refuse deposits associated with specific households to understand the way of life of people in the past at a level that could never be achieved through the written record: What did they eat? How did they allocate their money? Where did they shop? How was food prepared and served? Was dining formal or informal? How were they influenced by fashion, mass marketing, and/or social movements? What household items did they consider disposable or unwanted? What medicines did they use and how do they correlate with gender, age, or occupation-specific epidemiology?

Archaeological studies within the project area should attempt to elucidate the material correlates of working-class culture as this might have varied by ethnicity and over time. Given the documented resistance to and modification or acceptance of middle-class values and material culture on the part of urban working people of various ethnicities, the consumer and disposal practices of Oakland residents would provide a wealth of comparative data from a wide range of households that could make important contributions to the understanding of this important issue. Did households purchase new or used goods? Did they shop in junk stores or from mail-order catalogs? Were dwellings decorated with items that were currently fashionable among middle-class consumers or with outmoded items? Was cost, quality, fashion, or efficiency the prime influence on consumer choices?

Question 2: Does this resource add to our knowledge of adaptive behavior in urban settings associated with the acquisition and consumption of foodstuffs or the organization and use of space?

Although limited by factors of cost and availability, 19th-century urban dwellers had potentially good access to a variety of commercially supplied foodstuffs. The choices made by individual households in these and other purchasing decisions can be reconstructed through archaeology. The contribution to the urban diet through the efforts of individual householders can help gauge the level of reliance on commercial versus self-procured food resources.

While the yards of the merchant class may have been used more for aesthetic than economic purposes (Mrozowski 1987), those of artisans were sometimes used to produce food for the family (e.g., Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1989, 1992). Pollen studies can often contribute to this work on a parcel level by providing evidence of vegetable gardens (Kelso and Beaudry 1990); whereas the discovery of the remains of noncommercially taken fish or evidence of animal husbandry could allow statements to be made about the food-acquisition practices of individual households. These approaches could contribute data to address Theme B by examining the data on a neighborhood level.

How did working-class households of Oakland balance their economic strategies? Did all available family members work outside the home or did some members contribute to the family livelihood by working at home (e.g., taking in laundry) or through backyard agriculture? How did households use their yard space? Did this vary by ethnicity or occupation? What can be learned about the daily diet from the assemblages recovered from various backlots? Did residents fish in the nearby San Francisco Bay or hunt? Were any animals butchered on site? Did the use of backyards change through time? How do the patterns observed in the High Street study area compare to those identified in other parts of Oakland, San Francisco, or Sacramento for the same time period?

Question 3: Does this resource provide information on changing standards of living as a result of the Great Depression? Does it provide information on strategies used by households to mitigate the effects of the Depression? These strategies might include drawing on family or ethnic networks, curation of material culture, and changing consumption patterns.

The Great Depression saw a massive increase in poverty and homelessness. In 1933 a conservative estimate of the number of homeless people in the U.S. was 1.5 million (Kusmer 2003:194). Those who were typically on the edge of homelessness went over the edge, but so did many white-collar professionals who had hitherto been safe. Financially strapped municipalities were unable to cope with the increase in people seeking relief work or shelter. Oakland was no exception. In 1932 more than 14,000 unemployed people applied for relief work in a program that only had openings for 250 (Rhomberg 2004:75). In the winter of 1932-33 200 homeless men set up a camp by the waterfront with shelter consisting of unused sections of sewer pipe. This encampment "Pipe City" was the largest homeless encampment in the Bay Area (Curl 2009:169; Rhomberg 2004:75). The Depression caused a sea-change in U.S. society and had a deep impact on the material culture of U.S. life. For many Americans, the Depression was characterized by mobility, loss of community, and a transient lifestyle.

There has been little published archaeological study of Depression-Era urban residential sites, although there has been work on rural sites such as CCC camps as well as some informal camps. For example, Bryce Barker and Lara Lamb studied a historical documented 1932 camp

of unemployed men in Toowoomba, Australia, examining efforts within the camp to maintain a semblance of respectability and a status as "deserving poor"(Barker and Lamb 2009).

The ASC has conducted archaeological data recovery at two Depression-era residential sites. One is a rural site, the residence of the lake tender for the Caples Lake reservoir (CA-ALP-532H [Walker 2009a]). The other is working class household at 20[35] Perry Street in San Francisco (Praetzellis 2007). Comparison of these two sites by Walker (2009a) showed surprisingly little difference in the material culture even though one was a very isolated cabin in the Sierra Nevada and the other an urban residence. This raised the question of whether the Spartan material culture of the lake tender was a general feature of working-class life during this period rather than being simply a product of isolation.

In addition to the archaeological sites, another potential comparative dataset is the USDA surveys of family expenditure in the 1930s and 1940s (Monroe et al. 1939, 1941; USDA 1944, 1948, 1949). The categories used in these studies have been used in archaeological analysis of three Depression-era farm sites in South Carolina (Crass and Brooks 1995).

Data Requirements:

- Archaeological: feature and/or layer interfaces
- Historical: associated with specific households
- Oral history: interviews with representatives of various ethnic groups to establish relevance of foodways and yard use in traditional behavior
- Faunal remains: economic scaling and ranking of butchering cuts (Lyman 1987; Schulz and Gust 1983); frequencies of types—domestic/wild; presence/absence of types
- Botanical remains: frequencies of types—domestic/wild; presence/absence of types
- Ceramic and glass function: MNI frequency/proportion
- Social science: explicit social, economic, and status categories
- Household demography: size, composition, life-course
- Documentary: Mail-order catalogs, advertisements, commercial inventories, merchants' and householders' accounts, family expenditure surveys.

Theme B: Ethnicity/Urban Subcultures

Question 1: Does this resource reflect the rise or relative influence of Victorianism as a class-based ideology? Does this resource reflect resistance to Victorian or post-Victorian tastes and mores?

As a multifaceted set of values that influenced the lives of its predominantly middle-class participants in many ways, Victorianism (and post-Victorianism) found its way into artifacts, behavioral patterns, and specific historical events and processes on many levels—from municipal public works, to children's toys and decorations in ordinary families' homes, to archaeological site structure and content (Praetzellis 1991).

Archaeological deposits associated with late-19th-century households can be examined for evidence of their respective degrees of participation in or rejection of Victorian and post-Victorian patterns of domestic behavior. In particular, artifacts associated with formal entertaining can be examined for evidence that these practices became more important through time. The archaeological remains of landscape values and disposal practices of individual

households can be viewed within their backlots. The survival of ethnic foodways and other practices can be studied in deposits associated with Oakland's various ethnic groups, who lived in close proximity to each other at this time.

Question 2: Can this resource help us to understand the dynamics of cultural pluralism and social stratification during the 19th and early-20th centuries? Does this resource possess material remains that could elucidate the relative influences of economic distinctions and the development of mass production and world trade on the material manifestations (i.e., artifacts) of ethnic and subcultural distinctions?

To see the variation (or lack thereof) requires tying together the ceramic, faunal remains, and other artifact classes by means of a contextual analysis. Considering the major artifact classes individually, combining these data to establish an archaeologically derived spectrum of Oakland lifeways, then checking for inter-block and intra-block similarities or differences, would illustrate how study-area households were like others in northern California (e.g., San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles), in the West (Phoenix, San Diego, Seattle), in the Midwest, the South, or in the East (Boston, New York). It is also a way to see whether the city's public facade was paralleled by a similar unifying kinship through objects—household furnishings, utensils, daily foods—kept and used inside family homes.

Question 3: Does this resource possess artifacts and/or faunal remains that could be used to elucidate the role of symbols in defining and maintaining boundaries between groups?

Scholars have suggested for some time that archaeologists could make a contribution to the study of ethnic-boundary maintenance. Social boundaries are marked by material symbols of ethnic differences—style-bearing artifacts. The historic record of the Asian communities of the West, for example, shows that style was expressed through differences in landscape, public display, dress, and language. Although the latter two characteristics have left little or nothing for the historical archaeologist to work with, historical studies of landscape and ethnically specific public display have been rewarding. The varied ethnicities of Oakland households may be expressed in material form on the landscape as gardens, fences, and in other forms of public display. This theme builds on an understanding of the data analyzed for Theme A.

Data Requirements:

- Archaeological: period interface composed of feature and layer interfaces; many households
- Historical: specific historical associations for each stratum
- Documentary: understanding of ethnic foodways, style-bearing artifacts, etiquette books, fashion magazines
- Archival: ethnic identification, historical background
- Oral history: interviews with representatives of various ethnic groups to explore the relevance of traditional material culture, foodways, and community life
- Ceramic, glass, metal containers: MNI frequency/proportion
- Faunal Remains: frequencies of types/domesticates/wild; presence/absence of types; butchering cuts
- Botanical remains: frequencies of types—domestic/wild; presence/absence of types

Theme C: Household Developmental Cycles *by Thad Van Beuren*

Question 1: Does this resource possess features created at different periods in the life cycle of a family or other household that elucidate changes in that residential unit's consumer practices, intergenerational dynamics, and the negotiation of familial or household economic priorities?

Protracted occupation of a residence by the same family or household provides an opportunity to explore its evolution and internal dynamics from a diachronic perspective. Hardesty (1988:15) has defined households as a family or group of unrelated people "sharing domestic activities such as consumption and production." As discrete social and economic units, households reflect patterns of behavior that are a microcosm of broader societal interactions (Deetz 1982:724). Domestic units comprised of families are of particular interest because their developmental cycle is reflected in the material record.

All families change over time. New members are added through birth and marriage, while others are removed by death, emigration, and divorce. In the past, family units often consisted of three or more generations housed in a single dwelling. Changes in the size, age composition, health, and economic contributions of family members all profoundly affected their internal dynamics and relations with the outside world. Illness or death among primary members often significantly impacted the household's economic circumstances, while the addition of children and elderly members required accommodation and adaptation. As the composition and circumstances of families changed, so did their use of material goods and the material world. Yet, despite the centrality of family life course in the formation of the archaeological record at domestic occupation sites, archaeologists have only recently devoted specific attention to that topic.

The developmental cycle of families have been widely recognized by anthropologists for some time. A volume edited by Goody (1971) pioneered initial investigations on the topic when it was first published in the late 1950s. Those initial efforts considered each phase of the family's life cycle from the perspective of internal dynamics and outside pressures. Goody (1972) later focused on the evolution of families as units of production, reproduction, and consumption.

Historical archaeologists have taken an interest in this topic for several decades. An early example is Mrozowski's (1984) analysis of the ratios of producers to consumers within families, birth spacing, and larger external kin networks that mediated the economic activities of households in Newport, Rhode Island. He also discussed how gender roles and productive labor were defined and valued differently (Mrozowski 1984:43). The ascension of industrial capitalism in the late 19th century restructured gender and class relations, with consequences that strongly impacted household dynamics.

Feminist perspectives have shaped much of the discourse concerning household dynamics. Beaudry observed that

> not all household members contribute to the household economy in the same way, and that the presence of some goods in the household context have more to do with production than with consumption. It is important, therefore, to consider income strategies (e.g., domestic production for outside sale vs. domestic production for internal household consumption and survival; piecework and outwork; taking in boarders; etc.) and the overall household economy, including contributions made by women, servants, slaves, boarders and other inmates, and, potentially, by children [Beaudry 1999:119].

The competing ideologies of the cult of domesticity, the domestic reform movement, and equal rights activists contributed to changes in both urban and rural households of the period (Giele 1995). The cult of domesticity postulated separate public and private spheres of activity, relegating women to the home (Wall 1994, 1999). That notion contributed to the gradual segregation of workplaces and living quarters that were previously comingled (Spain 1992:124). Houses and yards became predominantly private spaces, with order and hierarchy stressed in the ideal home. Even within residence, spaces were divided into public and private spheres. The use of ceramics in those different realms has been considered by Yentsch (1991), Wall (1991, 1994), and others. However, others have cautioned against rigidly dualistic models of behavior (Wurst 2003:226–227).

The domestic reform movement countered the separate spheres philosophy by professionalizing domestic work, as well as redefining women's roles in the workplace (Spencer-Wood 1996, 2004). The intent was to increase the status and economic independence of women by carving out niches in accord with the natural proclivities of women for child rearing, education, and other professions. The equal rights movement, in contrast, stood in direct opposition to domesticity. The cult of domesticity was considered oppressive and activists sought reform in the public arena. Equal rights proponents sought liberation from dependence on men, as well as political equality (suffrage rights). As Rotman (2005:5) noted, "the adoption and implementation of each of these ideologies (and others), varied, however, according to time and space, financial and social circumstances, and the abilities and desires of human agents."

Against that social backdrop, evidence of the negotiation of gender roles played out in individual residences through the developmental cycles of families. New generations or new marriage partners adopted ideas and practices that sometimes differed from earlier family practices. Those changes are typically analyzed at two scales. Architectural and landscape features reveal not only the outward appearance a family presents to the world, but also how daily activities are organized within the domicile (Glassie 1975; McMurry 1988). Houses are most commonly renovated to accommodate new residents or express changing ideals associated with household transitions (e.g., succession events).

House renovations have been linked to transitions in property ownership through inheritance by Brown (1987). Expanding on that work, Wheeler (2000) not only studied architectural refurbishment linked to changes in female household heads; she was also able to associate sheet refuse deposits with those episodes of reconstruction, demonstrating the coincident replacement of ceramic assemblages. However, Barber (1994:75) observed that the house more commonly "becomes the conservative factor, encouraging inhabitants to continue the types of organizations of activities in a way similar to those current when the house was built." Within the working class neighborhood examined here, most homes were modest owner-built residences that emphasized practicality and economy over stylistic considerations.

Question 2: Does this resource possess artifacts and/or faunal remains from closely dated features that can be used to elucidate the changing roles of family members during the life cycle of that household?

While archaeological investigations of historic sites routinely attempt to establish periods of deposition for recovered features and associate them with the households responsible for producing them, relatively little attention has focused explicit attention on the analysis of transitional events in their own right. Inheritance, marriage, divorce, and infirmity can each lead to succession events that instigate dramatic changes in the archaeological record.

Other types of events such as the arrival of children may also produce distinct archaeological assemblages associated with particular stages of family life.

Several studies have focused on assemblages associated with families facing particular events in their life course. Transitional events such as the inheritance sometimes precipitated sweeping changes in amenities, furnishings, and artifacts within households. One example was analyzed by Van Bueren (2004) on the Carnduff farm property in southeastern San Mateo County. In that case, a shallow refuse deposit on the grounds of the farm with a TPQ of 1915 was closely tied to the death of the matriarch of the family in 1917. The deposit revealed changes in priorities and tastes, with many older heirloom ceramics discarded, an unusually high proportion of medicinal containers likely reflecting use by the deceased mother, evidence of home renovations, and a relaxation of thrifty spending practices apparent during the mother's reign as the head of household. Even deposits with less temporal specificity can convey transitional events within households. For example, Groover (2003, 2004) explored deposits that reveal transitions at the Gibbs Farmstead in Tennessee.

The role of a household's developmental cycle on consumer choices has also been investigated. Miller and Hurry (1983) studied the initial household purchases of durable goods and furnishings made by newly married couples, for example. Probate inventories have long been used to understand how families accumulated and passed along goods at the end of their lives (e.g., Carson 1990; Friedlander 1991). Others have focused on families at specific stages of development. A recent example is Rotman's (2005) comparison of assemblages and houses associated with a newlywed family, a struggling family in its child rearing years, and a household occupied by two elderly upper class spinsters. Another example includes assemblages associated with an African-American woman in Mobile, Alabama who turned to midwifery to support herself and her children following the death of her husband in 1884 (Wilkie 2003). These are just a few of many recent studies that have begun to tackle the issue of family life course and its influence on the archaeological record.

Data Requirements:

- Archaeological: Closely dated features reflecting different periods in the occupation of a site by the same family or household; assemblages that reflect transitions or continuities in familial relations, ideologies, and consumption patterns over time.
- Historical: Specific historical associations for each feature/stratum.
- Documentary: Understanding of the family or household's historical context including class, ethnicity, gender composition, life course, religious and fraternal affiliations, ideological leanings, foodways, family relationships, inheritance pattern, and other relevant details. Sanborn maps and photographs showing the architectural and landscape features present at different periods of time.
- Oral History: Interviews with members of the family or household, and perspectives offered by neighbors.
- Artifacts: MNI frequency/proportion within specific features/contexts.
- Faunal and Botanical Remains: Frequencies of types/domesticates/wild; presence/absence of types; relative prices and butchering patterns for meat cuts.

CHAPTER 4: CITY OF OAKLAND BLOCK 2241

ARCHAEOLOGICAL TESTING SUMMARY

Archaeologists carried out open-area excavations in two phases coinciding with construction activities. The project area is both under the elevated freeway and beneath the southbound onramp (Figure 4.1). During both phases the project area was cleared mechanically. Historic disturbed layers were removed to expose the tops of features.

Phase 1

The initial phase of archaeological investigation in June 2008 concentrated on the sensitive portion of the new right of way (ROW) acquired along the west side of Oakport Street. This phase began when control of the new ROW for the project was transferred to Caltrans. Prior to that transfer, the front of the Ameron building was first cut back to the new edge of the ROW. That included removal of the building foundation, slab, and exterior paving present within the new ROW. A USA underground alert was then activated, and safety considerations were reviewed. No buried utilities other than a new water line were identified in the planned excavation area. Hazardous waste assessments carried out for the project identified no issues in the new ROW and thus, work was carried out using standard Caltrans safety procedures.

An archaeological crew composed of Caltrans and ASC staff was assembled to carry out the work in June 2008 under the direction of Caltrans archaeologist Thad Van Bueren. K-rail was installed along the west side of Oakport Street to protect the crew working below grade in the archaeologically sensitive area adjacent to this busy street. Security for the work area was provided by the installation of a six-foot high chain link fence and locked gates. Provisions were also made to cover any exposed archaeological features with steel trench plates at night, if required. A tailgate safety meeting was convened the first morning of the fieldwork to review safety considerations and ensure safe practices, especially important since modification of the Ameron building was still underway.

The sensitive portion of the new ROW was mechanically stripped with a backhoe equipped with a smooth bucket. Although sensitivity predications highlighted the potential for archaeological features in certain specific locations, the whereabouts of other features could not be accurately anticipated. For that reason, the entire sensitive area was systematically explored. Work started at the north end of the sensitive portion of the new ROW and continued south. Prior investigation under the adjacent raised freeway revealed that the historic land surface was buried under a massive and uniform landfill layer two to three feet thick (Mc Ilroy et al. 2002). Foundation trenches for the new front of the Ameron building confirmed the presence and depth of that modern fill in the area where archaeological work was planned.

Mechanical excavation proceeded rapidly down through the fill until the excavation approached the contact with the original historic ground surface. As the work neared that depth, excavation continued in a more cautious manner. Attention focused on identifying any former living surfaces and closely-dated sheet refuse layers such (e.g., fill from the 1898 explosion) that might be superimposed on the original ground surface, as well as historic cuts penetrating down into the underlying Holocene alluvial deposit (e.g., privies, wells, and refuse pits).

The gross stratigraphy of the investigated area was uniform, with the uppermost modern fill varying from 2.3 feet in depth in the north to 1.5 feet in the south. The fill was found to postdate 1941 based on the TPQs of features buried beneath it. It consists of medium reddish

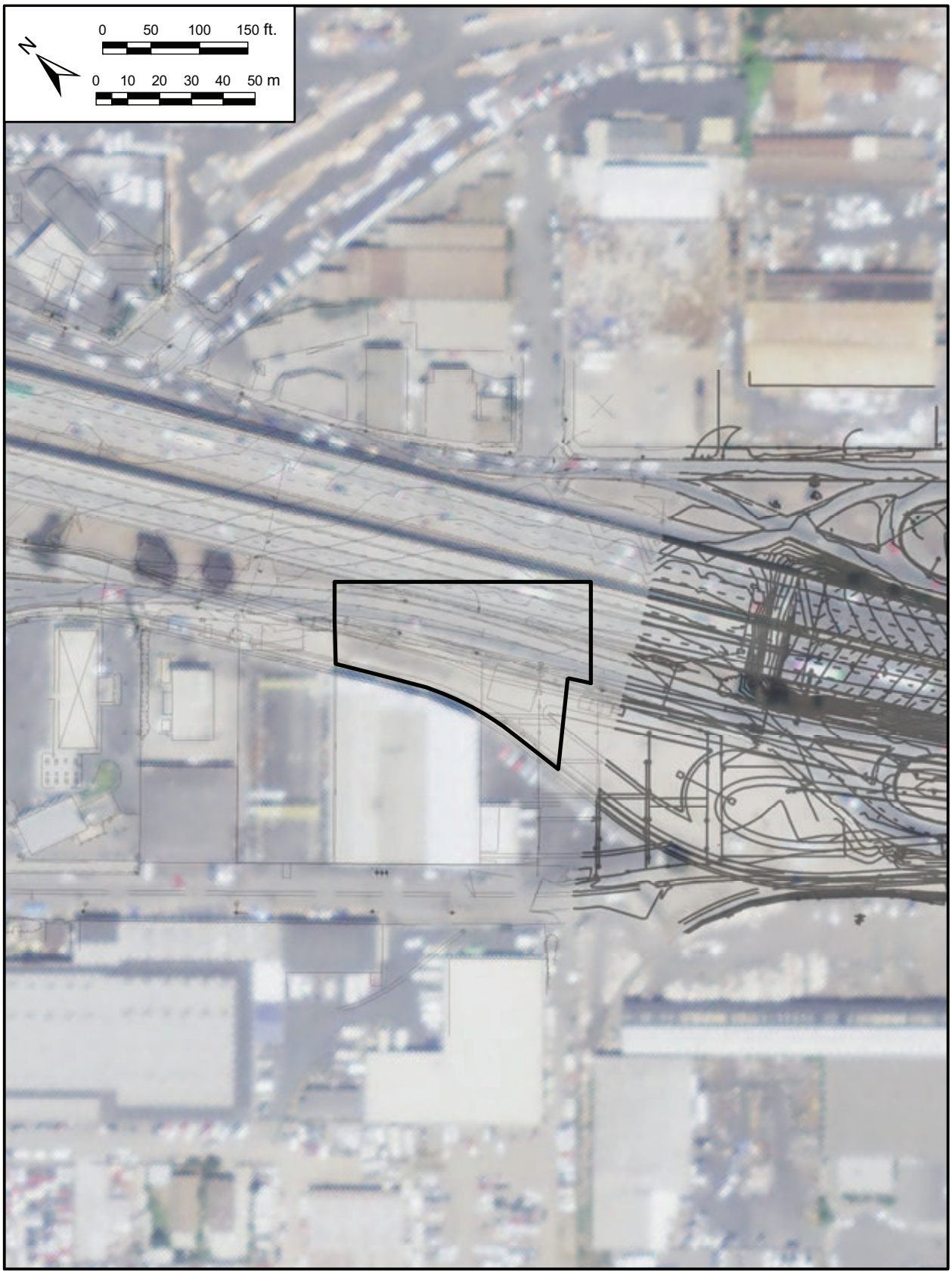


Figure 4.1. New Construction Drawing and Archaeological Sensitive Area

brown silty clay containing subangular pebbles and virtually no artifacts. Phase 1 fieldwork identified a total of 11 buried archaeological features (features 1 through 11) capped and thus effectively sealed by the uppermost landfill and either cut into or superimposed on the surface of the underlying and visually distinct layer of dark brown silty clay (Context 105). Figure 4.2 depicts the locations of these buried features, as well as the features found subsequently during Phase 2, described below.

Deeper excavation of two concrete vaults, designated together as Feature 11, revealed that Context 105 was 3 feet thick. Mc Ilroy et al. (2002:28) refer to this soil layer as Stratum IV and consider it a "naturally deposited alluvium of the Historic Period." This layer likely represents the massive sedimentation of the San Francisco Bay resulting from hydraulic mining activities in the Sierra Nevada foothills in the period before that practice was banned in 1884 by the outcome of the Sawyer decision (JRP and Caltrans 2000:48).

Context 105 in turn caps an early Holocene deposit of olive brown silty clay that represents middle to late Holocene alluvium deposited as the San Francisco Bay and its surrounding marshlands developed. That Holocene alluvium has a thickness exceeding three feet. The southernmost concrete vault in the complex designated as Feature 11 cuts down 2 feet into this Holocene deposit for a total depth of 7 feet below the modern ground surface.

Table 4.1 lists the 11 features discovered and assessed during the Phase 1 fieldwork. The six sampled features consisted of filled pit features and a shallow trench filled with refuse. Half of each feature was initially sampled by hand according to stratigraphic layer. Four of the sampled features were sufficiently intact and contained closely dated material of sufficient quantity and variety to justify determinations that they were CRHR-eligible resources. Features 3 and 4 did not meet that threshold and sampled materials were thus discarded. The remaining portions of the four eligible features were then sampled to recover their important data.

Phase 2

Phase 2 of the project was excavated in September 2010. This area was within the historic ROW both under the elevated freeway and beneath the southbound onramp adjacent to and east of the Phase 1 area (see Figure 4.1). This phase began as soon as the new alignment of Oakport Street was completed with Michael Meyer of the ASC as field director and Ben Harris, Caltrans archaeologist. The Phase 2 archaeologically sensitive area (ASA) was protected with concrete K-rail along Oakport Street and 6-foot fence panels around the entire ASA. Once traffic had been switched to the new alignment of Oakport Street the asphalt surface and most of the base rock was removed prior to clearing. A gasoline line under the former street was removed prior to any archaeological work.

The Phase 2 area had been severely disturbed by underground utilities and roadway construction. There were several underground utilities running through the Phase 2 ASA including a storm sewer beneath the sidewalk that separated Phase 2 from Phase 1. The soil conditions in Phase 2 were markedly different than those encountered in Phase 1. During the original construction of Oakport Street most of the ground surface had been graded away. The asphalt and base rock sat on about 1 foot of clean light brown sand overlying alternating layers of sand and clay to about 30 inches below the surface. Where the ASA continued beneath the freeway, trench cuts for the bent footings had disturbed at least 5 feet to each side of the bent columns.

Within the bays between freeway bents the historic ground surface was more intact. There was typically about 1 foot of redeposited soils from freeway construction. Brick footings

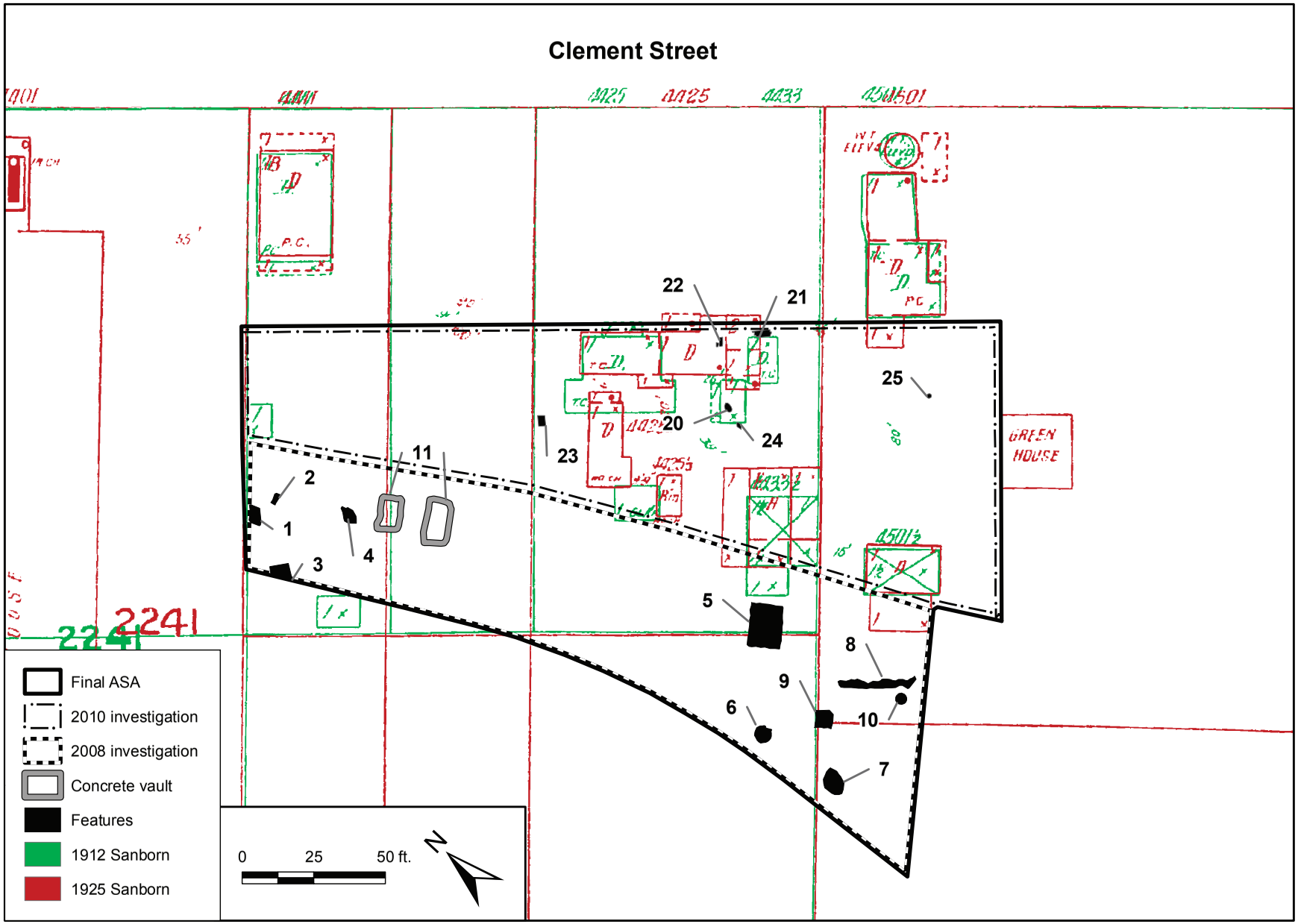


Figure 4.2. Archaeological Site Plan

Table 4.1 Phase 1 Features

Feature No.	Sampled?	Integrity	Contents	Age/TPQ	Association	Status
Pit 1	Yes	Truncated	Variety of artifacts	TPQ 1892	Pryde Family	Eligible
Pit 2	Yes	Truncated	Variety of artifacts	TPQ 1884	Pryde Family	Eligible
Privy? 3	Yes	Truncated	Negligible	Uncertain	4411 Clement	Ineligible
Pit 4 (refuse)	Yes	Compromised	Variety of artifacts	1920s–1940s?	4411 Clement	Ineligible
Feature 5 (industrial)	No	Truncated	Negligible	post-1941	Ameron	Ineligible
Pit 6 (refuse)	Yes	Intact	Variety of artifacts	TPQ 1941	Stephenson Family	Eligible
Pit 7 (refuse)	No	Intact	Industrial	post-1941	Ameron	Ineligible
Trench 8	Yes	Intact	Variety of artifacts	TPQ 1940	Orimoto Family	Eligible
Pit 9	No	Intact	Gravel	Modern	Ameron	Ineligible
Feature 10 (post hole)	No	Intact	Fence post	Uncertain	4501 Clement	Ineligible
Feature 11 (concrete pits)	No	Intact	Casting sand	1920s–1940s?	Ameron	Ineligible

(features 21 and 22) were found associated with buildings at 4425 Clement. Excavation began within the bay between existing bent rows 4 and 5. The excavation extended to the builders' trench fill for the bents. The historic ground surface between the bents was not as disturbed as under the street. A total of six features (features 20 through 25) were identified during the Phase 2 fieldwork (see Figure 4.1 above).

Table 4.2 lists the six Phase 2 features. They consisted of three filled pit features, a privy, and two brick footings. Half of each hollow feature was initially sampled by hand according to stratigraphic layer; they were sufficiently intact and contained closely dated material of sufficient quantity and variety to justify determinations that they were CRHR-eligible resources. The remaining portions of those four eligible features were then sampled to recover their important data.

Mapping

The excavation area, archaeological features, and modern landmarks discovered during Phase 1 were mapped with Global Positioning System (GPS) equipment. GPS files were later corrected to a precision generally less than 1 foot accuracy. Plans and photographs were made for all sampled features except the posthole designated as Feature 10. A site record was prepared to document the locations of discovered features after fieldwork was complete. That record was assigned the number P-01-10921. During Phase 2 the archaeological features, other landmarks, and the ASA boundary were mapped with a total station for precise positioning.

Table 4.2. Phase 2 Features

Feature No.	Sampled?	Integrity	Contents	Age/TPQ	Association	Status
Pit 20 (refuse)	Yes	Disturbed by grading	Variety of artifacts	Ca. 1905	Stephenson Family	Eligible
Feature 21 (Brick pad)	N/A	Partially intact	N/A	Unknown	Stephenson Family	Ineligible
Feature 22 (brick footing)	N/A	Partially intact	N/A	Unknown	Stephenson Family	Ineligible
Privy 23	Yes	Truncated	Variety of artifacts	TPQ 1941	Stephenson Family	Eligible
Pit 24 (refuse)	Yes	Disturbed by grading	Variety of artifacts	Ca. 1905	Stephenson Family	Eligible
Pit 25 (refuse)	Yes	Intact	Sparse artifacts	?	Japanese tenants	Eligible

BLOCK OVERVIEW

The area that would later be designated as Oakland Block 2241 is shown on a map in the 1878 Thompson and West Atlas as the H. Robinson Tract (Figure 2.1 above). It was first used by the Pacific Cordage Company in the 1870s, followed by mixed residential and commercial uses starting in 1880 and gaining momentum by the 1890s. The archaeologically sensitive portion of the project area was converted to residences by the late 1890s. While specific lot histories are detailed below in Chapter 6, a noteworthy finding of this research involves the patterns of immigration over time. During initial settlement many related people purchased lots or resided in rental housing on the block, forming a closely-knit social aggregate. Then, in the period between the two world wars, Japanese immigrants came to comprise another significant population on Block 2241, as well as in the surrounding neighborhood.

Following the devastating 1898 explosion that destroyed most of the housing on Block 2241, many houses were rebuilt, as a 1912 Sanborn Company map reveals (Figure 2.4 above). A bird's eye view of the Melrose neighborhood shows dense urban development throughout the surrounding area (Figure 4.3). While most of this block remained residential until the onset of the Great Depression, stables were converted to garages or secondary residential units and additional dwellings were added on some parcels like the Stephenson's doublewide lot at 4425 Clement. This resulted in a higher population density on the block over time.

Genealogical research and oral history confirmed that several former residents of this city block were related. One of the first families to take up residence was the Stephenson family. Robert and Elizabeth Stephenson and seven of their children—Margaret, Alice, Stanley, Charles F., William, Mary Ellen, and Thomas—immigrated to America from England in 1873. They purchased and settled on their property on the High Street block frontage by 1878 and operated a dairy there, according to the City Directory ([Oakland] 1878). By 1880 their three youngest children still lived at home (Mary Ellen, William, and Thomas), while Charles Stephenson was a servant in a San Francisco household. Margaret Stephenson married Norman J. Pryde in 1880 and by 1889 the couple purchased the lot around the corner at 4411 Clement, where they lived (Figures 4.4 and 4.5).

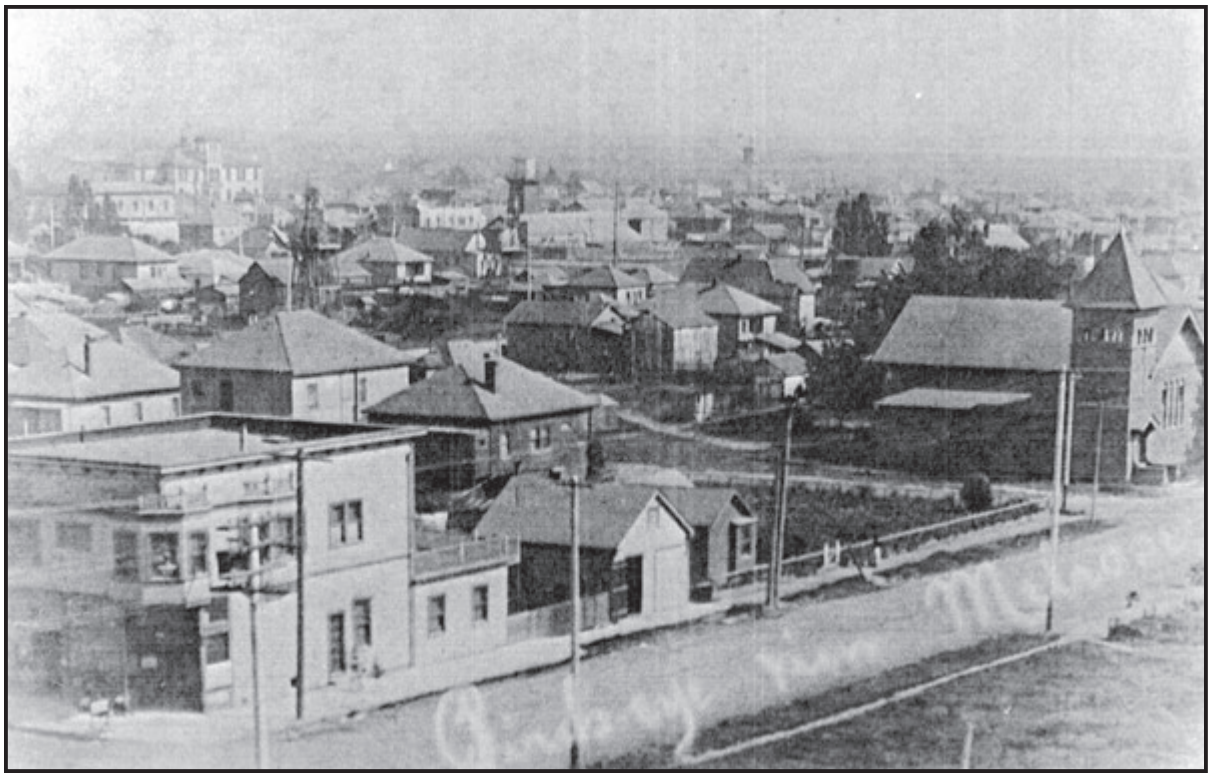


Figure 4.3. Birdseye View of the Melrose Neighborhood in 1909. (Courtesy Oakland Public Library, Cat. No. F-1896)

By 1900 Robert Stephenson was a 75-year-old widower and Stanley, Charles, William, and Margaret were listed in his household on Block 2241. However, Margaret and her husband Norman Pryde and their children moved away from their former home at 4411 Clement (destroyed by the explosion in 1898) and were living in San Francisco by that time. Thus, she was just visiting her father. When the census was taken, Charles lived with his family at 4425-4433 Clement and was also visiting at that time. Stanley was divorced and lived in Berkeley, but William was single and may have lived with his father in 1900. Alice lived at the south end of the block with her husband, William Park, and their children while Mary Ellen was married to George Giblin and lived next to her father on the corner of High Street and Commerce.

Robert Stephenson resided in his home on High Street in Melrose until his death at age 77 in mid-December 1903 (*Oakland Tribune* 1903:6). His wife preceded him in death six years earlier according to the 1900 U.S. Census. Many of the family members continued to live on Block 2241 well into the 20th century. Alice married William Park around 1878 and had nine children born from 1879 to 1902. Over the years William worked as a bookkeeper and a stationary engineer, while the family rented premises at 24 (4420) Commerce from her brother Charles Stephenson. George and Mary Ellen Giblin never had children. They owned lots including 808 High Street in 1910 and 630 High Street in 1920 and 1930. In 1900 George worked as a clerk, but by 1910 he owned a dairy that was perhaps inherited from his father-in-law. The Giblin Dairy encompassed much of the corner of High and Commerce (*Oakland Tribune* 1913).

Margaret and her husband, Norman J. Pryde, had three children by the time they moved to 4411 Clement in 1889. At that time Margaret E. was 8, Donald E. was 6, and Georgina A. was just 4 years old. Norman worked as a smelter and later a chemist. Although the family

Figure 4.4. Margaret Stephenson Pryde ca. 1880s (photo courtesy George W. Pryde).

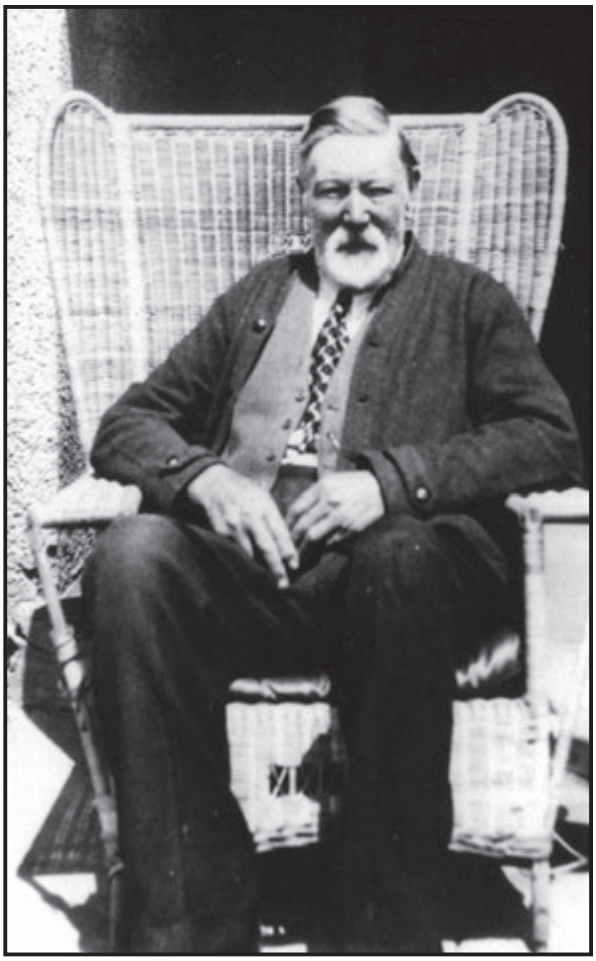


Figure 4.5. Norman J. Pryde ca. 1930 (photo courtesy George W. Pryde).

moved to San Francisco in 1900, they returned to a nearby neighborhood of Oakland just a few years later, taking up residence on Bellevue in 1903 according to city directories. Margaret operated a bakery on the premises and lived there with her two youngest children Georgina and Donald. Her husband Norman was not listed in the Oakland City Directory for that year, so it is uncertain if the couple were still married.

Charles F. Stephenson lived on the block for over five decades. He lived near his parents at the corner of High and Railroad Avenue by 1887. By 1899 he and his family lived on Clark, later designated 4425 Clement, in a house he owned, initially subject to a mortgage. Both Charles and Emily were born in England. Charles had immigrated in 1873 and Emily in 1889 just about when they would have married. They had four children by 1900: Walter, age 10; William, age 9; Amy, age 6; and Etta [Henrietta], age 3. The family grew to include Charles, born in 1902, and Gladys, born in 1905. In 1920 all of the children still lived at home except the two eldest daughters Amy and Henrietta. Amy married Elmer Criger, a box maker, in 1915 and they had a daughter May. Henrietta married Robert C. Scheile, a bank teller, around 1920 and they had two sons, Robert C. Jr. and Gordon Stanley. In 1930 only two children still lived at home, Walter J. and Charles. All the males in the family, when listed as working, were painters. Charles F. Stephenson lived on his Clement street property until his death in late December 1942 (*Oakland Tribune* 1942). His wife Emily preceded him in death in 1936 and the property passed to Walter (Alameda County Official Records 4128:453). By 1943 the inhabited

area on the property was acquired by Caltrans for the East Shore Highway (Alameda County Official Records 4452:461).

The Stephenson siblings were likely a tight knit group living on the same block for decades. The census records indicate the various families were interdependent. In 1910 George Giblin, likely a relative of Mary Ellen's husband George Giblin, Jr., boarded with the Park family (U.S. Census 1910). In 1920, Charles F. Stephenson's 23-year-old daughter Henrietta lived with her aunt and uncle, George and Mary Ellen Giblin (U.S. Census 1920). The Stephenson clan remained close for generations.

Japanese Residents on the High Street Tract *by Dana Ogo Shew*

Although the Japanese floral industry was established in the 1880s it was not until after World War I that Japanese families began setting up small nurseries on Blocks 2241 and 2242 in Oakland's Melrose neighborhood. The 1910 U.S. Census shows that the residents of the High Street Tract were predominantly of European descent including Swedish, Danish, German, Scottish, and English. By 1920 the demographics of the tract were slowly becoming more diverse. The 1920 U.S. Census lists two Japanese families and one Portuguese family on the tract; two more Japanese families were living on surrounding blocks.

Figure 4.6. Shiraki family at Clement Street nursery, 15 June 1941. Pictured from left to right: Jackie, the dog, George Shiraki, Ruth Shiraki, Pal, the dog, June (Nakayama) Shiraki, Mary Shiraki and Jean Shiraki (photo courtesy Jean Shiraki Gize).

The Isokawa family lived on the High Street Tract in 1920. Tatsujiro and Yoshio Isokawa immigrated to the United States in 1909, bound for Oakland. By 1912 the couple was renting a home at 4331 Clement. Two years later on November 6, their son Ichiro was born. Yoshio stayed home to care for Ichiro while Tatsujiro worked as a clerk in a grocery store and eventually got into the import/export business. Although Tatsujiro passed away in 1930, Yoshio and Ichiro stayed in the house until forced to relocate to the Topaz Relocation Center in 1942. The Isokawas lived at 4331 Clement for 30 years, probably making them not only the first Japanese family to live on the High Street Tract but also the one that lived there for the longest amount of time. As one of the first Japanese families in the neighborhood they witnessed the transformation of the neighborhood, first building relationships with their mostly white neighbors and then welcoming the increasing number of Japanese families. The photographs provided by the Isokawa family reveal their attachment to their home and surroundings and give glimpses of life on Clement Street during the early part of the 20th century.

Another Japanese family who lived on Clement, just past 46th Avenue, was the Shirakis. The Shiraki family moved to 4601 Clement in 1924. From this address they operated the Shiraki Nursery, which they had moved from Alameda. The nursery was a family-run business, started in 1915 by the head of the family, Shinzo Shiraki (Figures 4.6 and 4.7). Shinzo was born in Japan in 1873 and immigrated to the United States in 1890. He held a variety of jobs including handyman, farm laborer, chef on the Southern Pacific Union, and clerk for a

Figure 4.7. Shinzo Shiraki watering flowers at his nursery on Clement Street, 15 June 1941 (photo courtesy Jean Shiraki Gize).

mercantile store owned by one of the Domoto brothers, where he was evidently influenced and guided towards starting his own nursery. Shinzo returned to Japan in 1909 to marry Miyomo Matsushima who immigrated to the United States two years later. They had four children: Kiyonobu (George) in 1911, Kiyotane (Harry) in 1913, Kiyoka (Mary) in 1915, and Michiko (Ruth) in 1929. The nursery stayed in business on Clement Street with the help of the three older Shiraki children for almost 20 years. The family grew dahlias, chrysanthemums, peonies, and many other types of flowers that Shinzo would deliver by bicycle to retailers around Oakland. The memories shared by the Shiraki's youngest daughter, Ruth, give great insights into the relationships between Japanese and their neighbors on Clement Street as well as the work, sacrifice, and struggle involved with running a nursery (Ruth Shiraki, Jean Gize, and Ann Shiraki Farwell 2011, pers. comm.).

On Clement Street alone there were at least three families involved in the labor-intensive operation of the nursery business. In the surrounding neighborhood there were several other large nurseries including the Murata Nursery and Sunnyside Nursery & Florist, and probably many other backyard greenhouses. The Domoto Brothers' original nursery was located in the Melrose district not too far from the High Street Tract but after 1920 it moved further southeast and other nurseries followed suit.

The families in the High Street Tract were on the outskirts of the area most densely populated with Japanese nurseries but this did not keep them from being actively involved in the Japanese American community. The Japanese community in the East Bay was largely based around the Oakland Buddhist Church located near Chinatown and the Japanese Methodist Church in West Oakland. Japanese immigrants built a strong, united, and active community in the Bay Area that established groups and clubs and organized activities and events relating to religious, cultural, and political aspects of life. The Japanese American children of immigrant parents also found a dual identity, participating in both Japanese cultural activities and being involved in American organizations such as the Boy Scouts. Pictures of Ichiro Isokawa in his

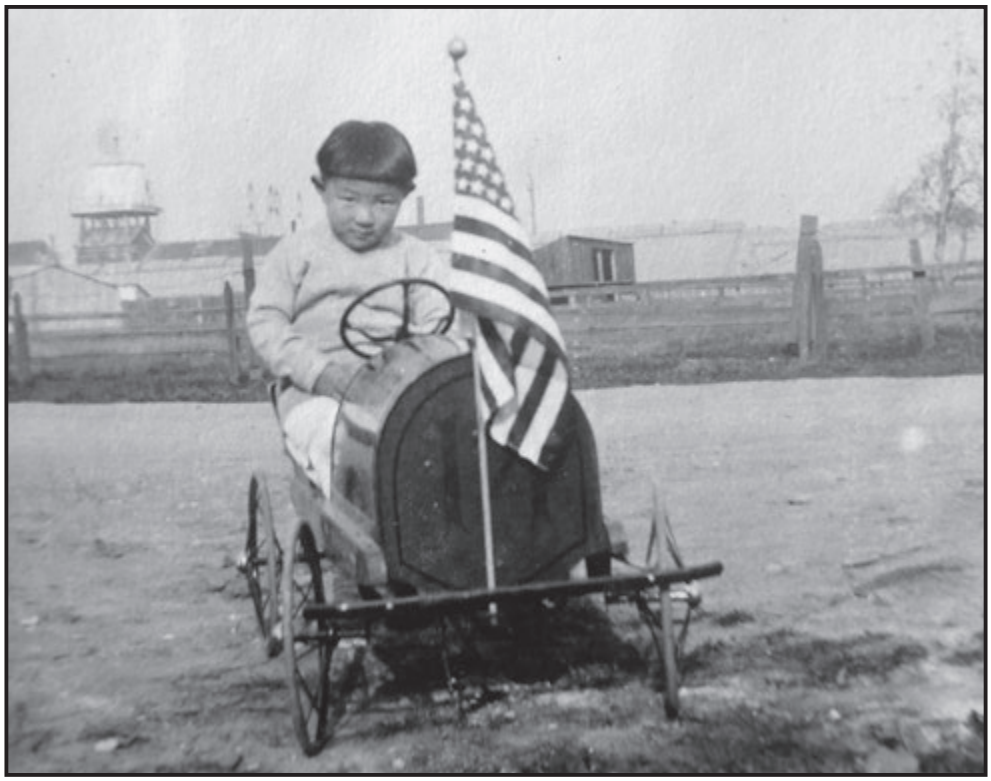


Figure 4.8. Ichiro Isokawa on Clement Street ca. 1919 (photo courtesy Ned Isokawa).

Boy Scout uniform and with an American flag illustrate the pride many Japanese Americans and their first generation parents felt about United States citizenship (Figures 4.8 and 4.9).

Despite their involvement in the Japanese American community, the Japanese residents of the High Street Tract also had strong connections and relationships with their non-Japanese neighbors. Ruth Shiraki has many fond memories of the Caucasians who lived near her family home. Her childhood boyfriend, Peter Johnson, lived across the street and his nanny would generously offer food and treats when Ruth visited (Ruth Shiraki 2011, pers. comm.). Mrs. Segula also lived across the street and was everybody's German "tunta" or auntie. Jessie Swingle eventually moved in after the Johnsons left and risked getting in trouble by the authorities when she insisted that she drive the family to the assembly center during relocation. Ichiro clearly also had friendly relationships with his neighbors as evidenced by a photograph of Ichiro and two non-Japanese girls standing on Clement Street (Figure 4.10). During excavation of the Stephenson property at 4425 Clement a delegate's badge from the 42nd session of the Native Sons of the Golden West was

Figure 4.9. Ichiro Isokawa in Boy Scout uniform ca. 1925 (photo courtesy Ned Isokawa).

4.10. Ichiro Isokawa and friends on Clement Street ca. 1922 (photo courtesy Ned Isokawa).

uncovered. Because the Native Sons took a very strong and vocal anti-Japanese stance in the years leading up to and during WWII, it may indicate that the Stephenson family was not one of the families on Clement Street that had friendly and amicable relationships with their Japanese neighbors. However, no oral accounts indicate that the Stephenson family shared the anti-Japanese sentiments espoused by the Native Sons or how their involvement in the organization affected their relationship with their neighbors. Ruth Shiraki's memories of other non-Japanese neighbors are so poignantly positive it is easy to imagine that the whole neighborhood shared the same amiable and friendly relationships that her family did with its neighbors.

The Japanese families in this community also shared friendly relationships with each other. The Isokawa photographs show Ichiro playing with other Japanese American children in the neighborhood (Figure 4.11). A few of the photographs were likely taken in the neighbor's yard in front of their greenhouses; the house on the other side of the fence may be the Isokawa residence. Ruth Shiraki also remembers the kindness of other Japanese families in the area. Mrs. Mizoguchi of the Mizoguchi Nursery on High Street would always have canisters of cookies and Japanese crackers on hand to share with Ruth. She remembers Mrs. Orimoto and her sister, Mrs. Fujimori growing green onions on the Orimoto farm next door and riding on the big wooden board pulled by a horse to flatten the fields after plowing (Ruth Shiraki 2011, pers. comm.). Though there was undoubtedly a sense of support and unity between Japanese families in this neighborhood, Ruth felt a closer bond between herself and the non-Japanese neighbors across the street, which reveals intriguing aspects of identity construction.

The Japanese families who lived on the High Street Tract not only played a significant role in shaping the history of the neighborhood but also reflected trends and truths about the larger Japanese population in the East Bay. They exemplified the predominant occupations of the Japanese, sharing many of the same struggles and obstacles, and they were part of the strong support network of the Japanese community. But the families on this street also created their own story. The families on Clement Street lived at different levels of wealth from shack like dwellings next to greenhouses to well kept two story homes. They developed strong friendships with their neighbors. They shared the street with manufacturing companies, mills and oil yards. Their children played in open fields near the railroad tracks and PG&E storage tanks, the Clorox Factory never too far from view (Figure 4.12).

The High Street Tract was undoubtedly an interesting place to live. Founded as a commercial and industrial zone, it transitioned to a residential neighborhood that evolved into a diverse district of Japanese families and nurseries, and was eventually reclaimed by

its industrial roots and the expansion of transportation. Though the Japanese chapter of this neighborhood's history was a brief 30 years, it is important in the history of Japanese and Japanese American settlement, and provides a revealing glimpse into the lives of Japanese Americans from before WWI to the time of internment.

Figure 4.11. Ichiro Isokawa and next door neighbor ca. 1922 (photo courtesy Ned Isokawa).

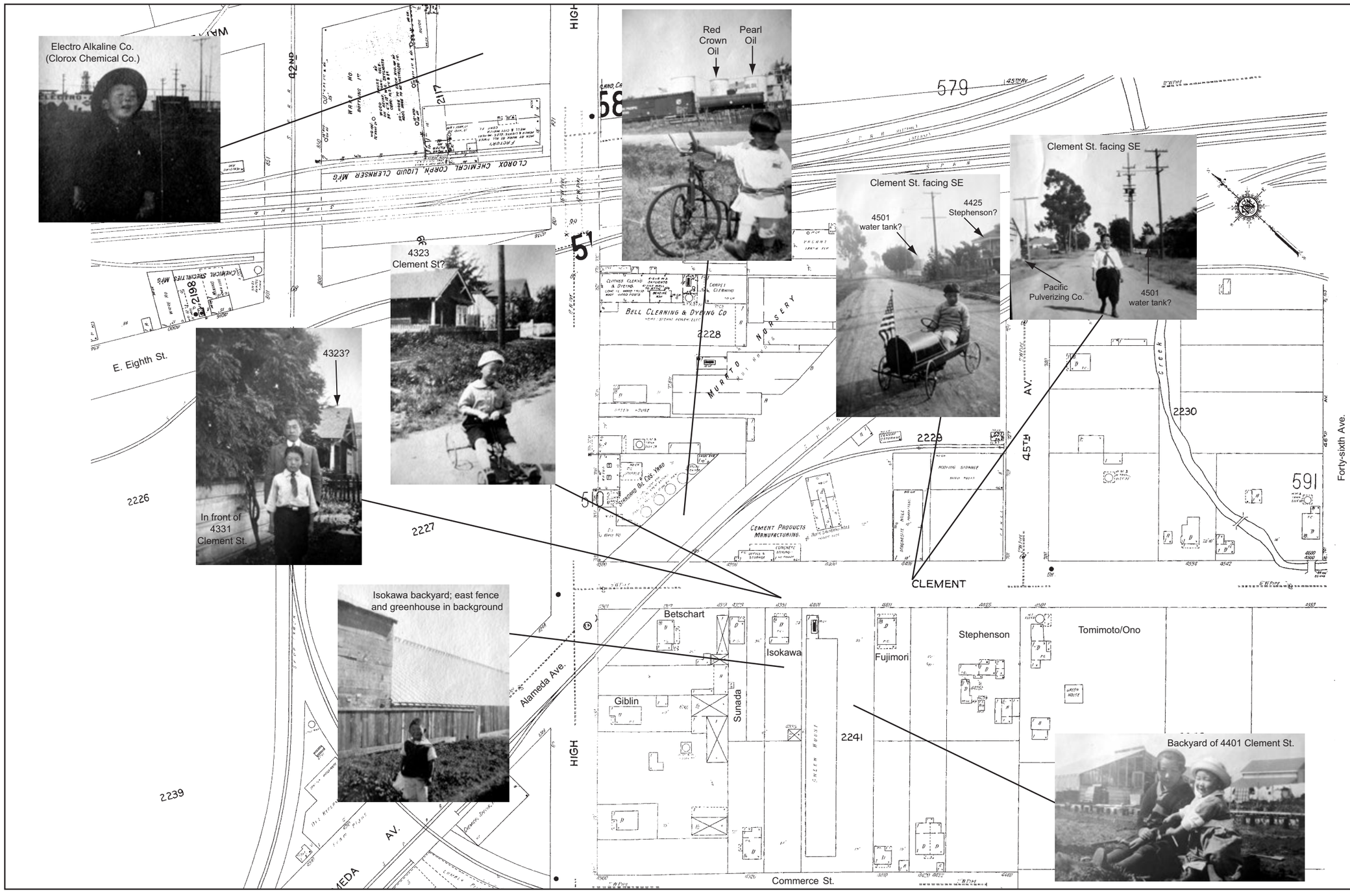


Figure 4.12. Isokawa family photos ca. 1917 to 1922 plotted on Sanborn maps (1925). *(Photos courtesy of Ned Isokawa)*

CHAPTER 5: PRYDE FAMILY

PARCEL OVERVIEW
4411 Clement Street, Oakland
Pryde Family Residence

The 1880 Block Book lists the San Francisco Savings Union as the owner of Lot 12, at that time designated as 24 Clark Street. By the late 1880s it was owned by the Puget Sound Lumber Company. In May 1889 it was purchased by Norman J. Pryde and that same year the assessment Block Book first indicates a building on the property (Alameda County Deeds 373:259; Block Book 1889). Pryde also owned the adjacent Lot 30 facing Commerce Street. Norman Pryde was listed in the 1889 Oakland city directory as an employee at the Melrose Smelting Works.

The improvements on this lot remained constant in value at $300 during the period that the Pryde family resided on the lot. By 1897 Antonio J. de Silveira was listed as the owner in the assessment Block Books and the value had doubled to $600, suggesting additional improvements. However, no deed transfer was recorded. Given the lag time between title transactions and changes in the annotation of the Block Books, the transfer from Pryde to Silveira likely took place ca. 1895 or 1896. When the property was destroyed by the June 1898 explosion, the ownership reverted back to Norman J. Pryde, possibly indicating that he held a mortgage and the property was repossessed from Silveira for non-payment. Pryde is again listed in assessment Block Books as the owner in the 1899 and 1901 Block Books.

By 1909 Antone S. Esperance had purchased both Lot 12 and the adjacent Lot 30 from Norman Pryde. Antone Esperance was living in the one-story house with a basement that is shown on the 1912 Sanborn map (Figure 22). Two small sheds were located in the rear yard. Mr. Esperance had immigrated to the United States in 1886 from France. The 1910 U.S. Census listed him as married, although no wife was listed. In 1910 Esperance was the owner of a laundry (City Directory [Oakland] 1910). The 1915 City Directory listed him as a laborer, and also listed Germaine Esperance (no employment) at the same address (City Directory [Oakland] 1915).

Mr. Esperance owned the property until at least 1923, but appears not to have been living there by 1920. The 1920 U.S. Census lists Jessie Silva and his family as renters at 4411 Clement Street. Jessie and Margaret Silva had emigrated from Portugal in 1905. Jessie worked as a blacksmith for an engine company. The census also lists four children. The 1925 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company map shows the same one-story house still standing. By 1930 the house was rented for $20 per month to Japanese immigrant Tamaki Fujimori and his family (U.S. Census 1930). A 1936 reverse directory no longer lists a residential occupant at 4411 Clement.

Dean Scott (2008, pers. comm.) recalled that this lot (4411 Clement) and the adjoining Lot 13 immediately south of it were developed as an industrial iron working facility in the early 1930s. His father purchased that existing operation in 1948 and retained a controlling interest in the facility when it was transferred to Ameron in 1969. The facility eventually expanded across the lots designated as 4425 and 4501 Clement between 1945 and 1951. Greg Hart (2008:pers. comm.), the current Ameron plant manager, confirmed those details of the plant expansion. Greg's father and grandfather both worked at the plant in its early period of operation.

DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH TABLE
4411 Clement Street, Oakland
Pryde Residence

ABSTRACT

Building:

1897	One-story L-shape dwelling with basement, small front porch, and full rear porch. Windmill and tank to the rear. One-and-one-half-story stable and small outbuilding at back fence.
1898	Property destroyed by explosion.
1912	One-story dwelling with basement and rear porch. Two small sheds on west and rear fence lines.
1925	Same one-story dwelling with basement. Large front and rear porches.

Residents/Occupation/Use:

1889–1897	Norman J. Pryde, smelter
1897–1898	Antonio J. de Silveira
1898	Property destroyed by explosion
1909–1917	Antone S. Esperance, laundry, laborer
1920	Jessie Silva and family (renters), blacksmith
1930	Tamaki Fujimori and family (renters), gardener
1930s	Iron works (predecessor to Ameron)

Ownership:

1880+	San Francisco Savings Union (owned several lots on the block)
+1889	Puget Sound Lumber Company
1889–1896	Norman J. Pryde (also owned adjacent lot facing Commerce – Lot 30)
1896–1899	Antonio J. de Silveira
1899–1909	Norman J. Pryde
1909–1923	Antone S. Esperance (also owned adjacent Lot 30 facing Commerce)
1930s	Iron works (predecessor to Ameron)

DOCUMENTARY TIME LINE

1880	**Block Book** – San Francisco Savings Union
1889	**Block Book** – Puget Sound Lumber Company
1889	**Deeds** – transferring ownership to Norman J. Pryde on May 24, 1889(373:259)
1889	**City Directory** – Norman J. Pryde, employee Melrose Smelting Works, Melrose
1892	**Block Book** – Puget Sound Lumber Company, $300
1892–1893	**City Directory** – Norman J. Pryde, smelter, res. Clark nr High, mail Melrose
1893	**Block Book** – Norman J. Pryde, $300
1897	**Block Book** – A. J. de Silveira, $600, pp $100 [?]
1898	**Block Book** – Antonio J. de Silveira, $600, pp $100
1899	**Block Book** – Norman J. Pryde, RE $125, pp $100

Documentary Research Table, 4411 Clement Street *(continued)*

1900	**U.S. Census** – No listing at this address *Off Site San Francisco – Pryde Family:* ***Head:*** *Norman J., 40, married 20 years, Scotland, immigrated 1880, naturalized, chemist, rents house;* ***Wife:*** *Margret S., 40, 4 of 4 children living, England, immigrated 1880;* ***Son:*** *Donald E, 17, brass polisher, California;* ***Daughters:*** *Margret E., 21, California; Georgina A., 14, at school, California; Rebecca, 12, at school, California*
1901	**Block Book** – Norman J. Pryde
1903	**City Directory** – *Off site – Mrs. Margaret H. Pryde, bakery, Miss Georgiana A. Pryde, Donald E. Pryde, student, Fruitvale at Hopkins*
1905	**City Directory** – *Off site – Norman J. Pryde, chemist SF, Bellevue near Fruitvale*
1909	**City Directory** – Antone Esperance, r. 24 Clerk, Melrose
1910	**Block Book** – Antone S. Esperance, $300
1910	**U.S. Census – Head:** Antone Esperance, 46; married but no wife listed, France, immigrated 1886, owner of house, laundry owner
1912	**Block Book** – Antone S. Esperance, $300
1915	**Block Book** – Antone S. Esperance, $300
1915	**City Directory** – Antone Esperance, laborer, r. 4411 Clement; Germaine Esperance, b. 4411 Clement
1917	**Block Book** – Antone S. Esperance, $300
1920	**U.S. Census** – Silva Family. **Head:** Jessie Silva, 28; Portugal, immigrated 1905, rents, blacksmith engine company; **Wife:** Margaret, 28, Portugal, immigrated 1905; **Sons:** Jessie, 11, Frank, 9; **Daughters:** Lilly, 10, Josephine, 4-1/2
1921	**Block Book** – Antone S. Esperance, $300
1923	**Block Book** – Antone S. Esperance, $300
1925	**Block Book** – Antone S. Esperance, $300
1930	**U.S. Census** – Fujimori family. **Head:** Tamaki Fujimori, 32, Japan, naturalized 1914, rents for $20/month, gardener; **Wife:** Tama T., 27, Japan, naturalized 1923; **Son:** Iwao, 5, California; **Daughter:** Teruye, 1-1/2, California.
1930s	Personal Communication (Dean Scott 2008) – Iron works predecessor to Ameron

PITS 1 & 2 – FEATURE SUMMARY
4411 Clement Street (24 Clark Street), Oakland
Pryde Family

Pit 1 may be the remains of a severely truncated privy. The pit was unlined, but there were wood fragments in the fill. The south half was rectangular and 30 × 15 inches. The northern half had been disturbed. It was an irregular 38 × 22z in. and contained construction debris including concrete. The remaining layer of fill, Context 101, was only about 6 to 8 in. thick, consisting of a mixed and mottled medium-brown and gray-brown clay loam. The artifacts were concentrated in the southwest corner.

Pit 2 was unlined, measuring 39 × 42 in. and roughly square with rounded corners. Like Pit 1 it appeared truncated with only 14 in. remaining. There were two layers of fill. The upper fill, Context 102, appeared to be from a stove cleanout and was a mix of ash, slag, charcoal, and dark brown clay. The bottom layer was mottled lighter brown to yellow clay loam with higher clay content toward the bottom of the pit. This is likely due to partially excavated soils mixing with fill at the bottom of the cut.

Pit 1 has a TPQ of 1892 based on a crown cap. The mean ceramic date based on 9 marked pieces is 1886.7. Pit 2 has a TPQ of 1884 based on a ceramic registry mark. The mean ceramic date based on 7 marked pieces is only two years apart at 1882.6. Both features are probably associated with the Norman J. Pryde family. Pryde worked at the Melrose Smelting works and owned the property from 1889 to 1897. He sold the property, but regained ownership after the explosion in 1898 until 1909 during which time he was apparently living in San Francisco. The Pryde family may have moved a year or so prior to selling in 1897. Both features were likely filled during clearing out of the house for sale between 1893 and 1897. One or both may have previously served another purpose or the first pit may have proved insufficient for the volume of material. The combined assemblage is discussed below.

Tableware makes up 45 percent of the Pits 1 and 2 food preparation and consumption vessels, followed by serving vessels (23%), with drinking vessels split evenly between stemware and tumblers (15%) and cups and mugs (15%). The only kitchen item was an undecorated yellowware milk pan (3%). The majority of ceramic vessels (78%) were white improved earthenware (WIE). Of those 68 percent were undecorated. An opaque porcelain cup and two porcelain serving vessels were also undecorated. Only one of the WIE bowls had a scalloped edge, indicating that the Prydes

could have set a very uniform-looking table. While some of the vessels were rather new, the variety of manufacturers suggests that the wares were acquired piecemeal rather than as a set. There were two pairs of matching transferprint vessels, two blue Victoria plates, and two black Gem saucers. A black floral-printed cup may have been used as a close match to the Gem saucers. The other transferprinted vessels included a blue plate, blue slop bowl, and a mulberry Persian Rose soup plate. A porcelain mustache cup was both molded and painted. A photograph of Norman J. Pryde circa 1930 (Figure 4.6) shows the man sporting a substantial mustache and beard.

Of the seven glass vessels, two tumblers and a piece of stemware are undecorated. One bowl is press decorated in Diamonds and Teardrops, a cordial glass in Huber pattern, and the remaining two tumblers in short flutes. There were only two alcoholic beverage bottles recovered.

Grooming and health toiletry items included three chamber pots of CC ware, WIE and annular yellowware, and a WIE basin. These items may have become obsolete in anticipation of moving to a dwelling with a full bathroom and flush toilet. The eight containers found were either unlabeled generic or standard medicines such as Vaseline, Castor Oil used as a laxative, and cough syrup.

Other personal items included a piece of a fan and toys including two dolls, a marble, and cup and two saucers from a tea set. Both doll parts and the teacup were broken. The saucers may have been the surviving pieces of a set not worthy for Rebecca or Georgina, two years older, to keep. The writing slate, also broken, was likely used by the Pryde children.

The ceramic assayer's cup probably is likely from Norman Pryde's work at the Melrose Smelting Works. Due to Mr. Pryde's later employment as a chemist, it is likely that his work at the smelter involved processing control samples for determining the value of ore or similar skilled work.

Pits 1 & 2 – FEATURE SUMMARY TABLE
4411 Clement Street (24 Clark Street)
Pryde Family

HOUSEHOLD

Name:	Norman J. Pryde Family
Birthplace:	Scotland
Ethnicity or Race:	White
Occupation:	Smelter
Period of Residence:	1889–1897
Terminus Post Quem/Basis:	1892/Crown cap
Mean Ceramic Mark Date/N:	1884.9/16
Estimated Date of Deposition:	1893–1897

REAL ESTATE

Assessed Value:	$300 (1892)
Dwelling Size:	854 sq. ft. (1897)
Per Occupant:	142 sq. ft.
Lot Size:	5,000 sq. ft. (+ adjoining Lot 20 at rear 5,000 sq. ft.)
Personal Property Assessed:	N/A

ANALYTICAL UNIT

Context Numbers:	Pit 1: 101; Pit 2: 102, 104

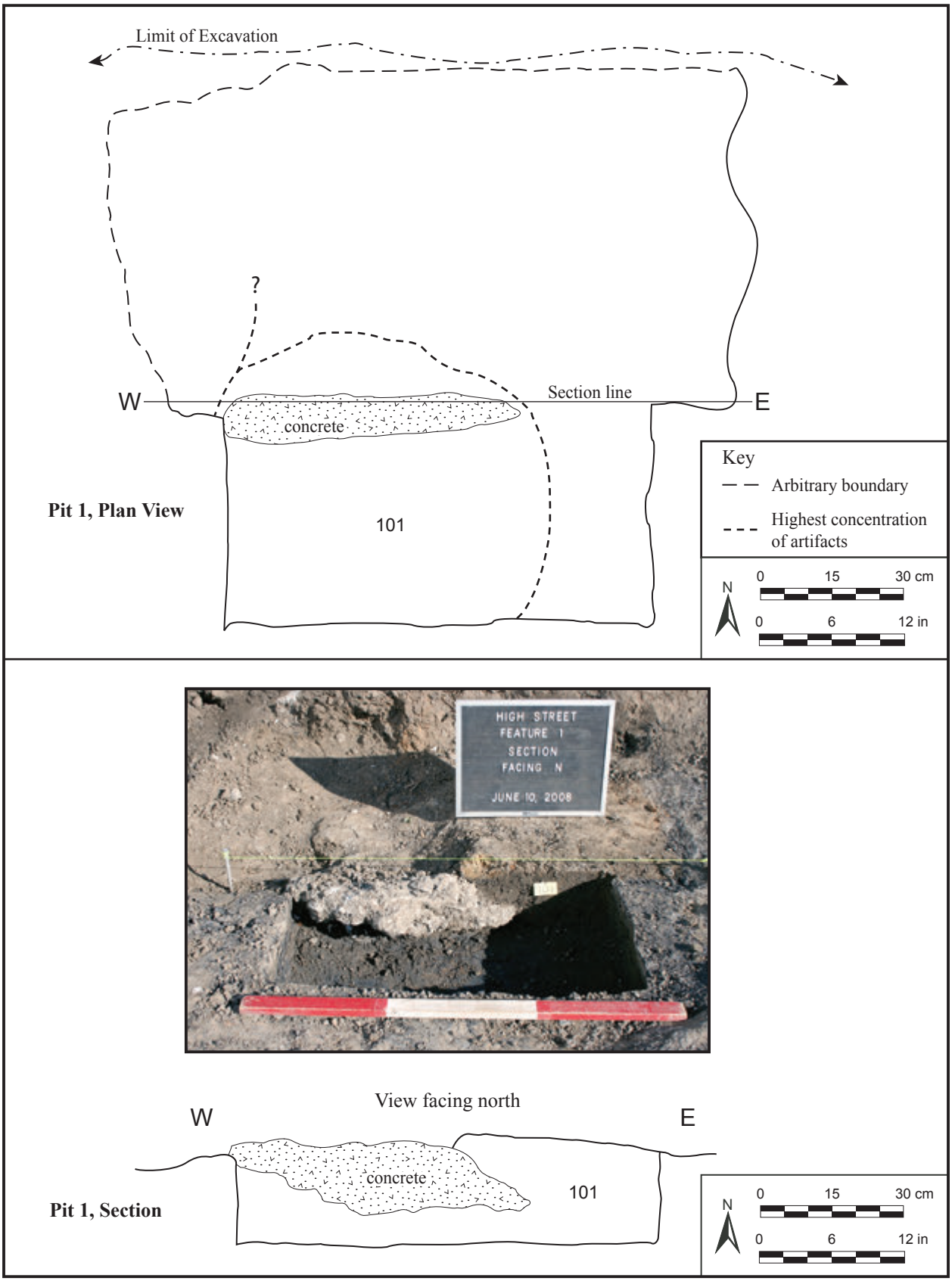


Figure 5.1. Pit 1 Section and Plan Drawings, 4411 Clement Street, the Pryde Family.

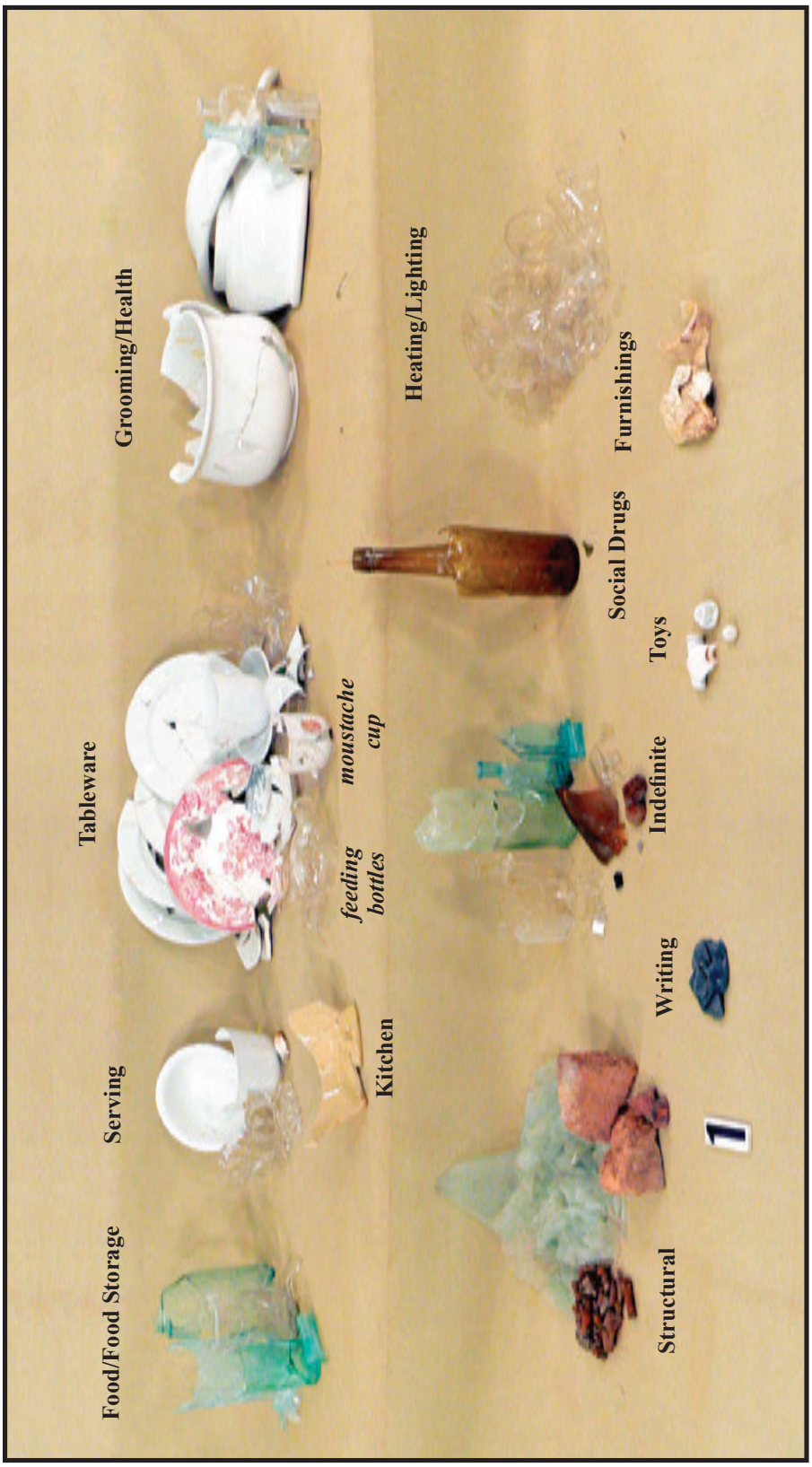


Figure 5.2. Pit 1 – Artifact Layout Photograph, 4411 Clement Street, the Pryde Family.

Pit 1 – ARTIFACT DESCRIPTIONS BY GROUP AND CATEGORY
4411 Clement Street (High Street)
Pryde Family

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
ACTIVITIES			
Writing			
-	Slate Tablet	6	1
Subtotal Writing		6	1
DOMESTIC			
Clothing Maintenance			
Sewing	Copper-alloy Safety Pin	2	1
Subtotal Clothing Maintenance		2	1
Food			
Container	Aqua Glass Worcestershire Bottle	4	1
Subtotal Food		4	1
Food Prep/Consumption			
Container	Colorless Glass Feeding Bottle	25	2
Drinking Vessel	Colorless Glass Cordial Glass	5	1
Drinking Vessel	Colorless Glass Tumbler	13	4
Drinking Vessel	Opaque Porcelain Cup	6	1
Drinking Vessel	Porcelain Moustache Cup	20	1
Drinking Vessel	White Improved Earthenware Cup	6	2
Kitchen	Yellowware Milk Pan	13	1
Serving	Colorless Glass Bowl	5	1
Serving	White Improved Earthenware Bowl	9	2
Serving	White Improved Earthenware Slop Bowl	7	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate	1	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate, 10"	1	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate, 8-1/2"	9	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate, 9"	33	3
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Saucer, 6"	13	2
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Saucer, 6-3/4"	13	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Soup Plate, 9-1/2"	42	1
Subtotal Food Prep/Consumption		221	26
Food Storage			
Container	Aqua Glass Canning Jar	55	2
Container	Colorless Glass Canning Jar	20	1
Subtotal Food Storage		75	3
Furnishings			
Decorative Item	Earthenware Vase	36	1
Subtotal Furnishings		36	1
Heating/Lighting			
Lamp	Colorless Glass Chimney	175	5
S*ubtotal Heating/Lighting*		175	5
INDEFINITE USE			
Misc. Closures			
-	Ferrous Crown Cap	2	2
-	Lead Cap?	1	1
Subtotal Misc. Closures		3	3

Pit 1 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
Misc. Containers			
-	Aqua Glass Bottle	33	3
-	Brown Glass Bottle	4	2
-	Colorless Glass Bottle	19	6
Subtotal Misc. Containers		56	11
PERSONAL			
Accoutrements			
-	Bone? Fan	1	1
Subtotal Accoutrements		1	1
Footwear			
-	Copper-alloy Shoe/Boot Eyelet	1	1
Subtotal Footwear		1	1
Grooming/Health			
Container	Aqua Glass Castoria Bottle	8	1
Container	Colorless Glass Bottle	16	1
Container	Colorless Glass Medicine Bottle	1	1
Container	Colorless Glass Vaseline Bottle	1	1
Toiletry	White Improved Earthenware Basin	16	1
Toiletry	White Improved Earthenware Chamber Pot	39	1
Subtotal Grooming/Health		81	6
Social Drugs – Alcohol			
Container	Amber Glass Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	27	1
Container	Olive Glass Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	1	1
Subtotal Social Drugs – Alcohol		28	2
Toys			
-	Porcelain Doll	2	2
-	Porcelain Marble	1	1
Tea set	Porcelain Cup	1	1
Tea set	Porcelain Saucer	2	2
Subtotal Toys		6	6
STRUCTURAL			
Hardware			
Fastener	Ferrous Nail	26	14
Fastener	Ferrous Wire Nail	1	1
Subtotal Hardware		27	15
Materials			
-	- Brick	4	2
-	Glass Window	217	0
Subtotal Materials	221	2	
UNDEFINED USE			
-	Glass Amorphous	1	1
Subtotal Undefined Use		1	1
TOTAL		944	86

Pit 1 – SUMMARY OF ARTIFACTS BY GROUP
4411 Clement Street (High Street)
Pryde Family

Description	Total Count	MNI	Percent of MNI
Activities	6	1	2
Domestic	513	37	68
Personal (other than clothing)	117	16	30
Subtotal	636	54	100
Indefinite Use	59	14	
Structural	248	17	
Undefined Use	1	1	
TOTAL	944	86	

Pit 1 – SUMMARY OF ARTIFACTS BY CATEGORY
4411 Clement Street (High Street)
Pryde Family

Description	MNI	Percent
Accoutrements	1	1.5
Clothing Maintenance	1	1.5
Food	1	1.5
Food Prep/Consumption	26	38.2
Food Storage	3	4.4
Footwear	1	1.5
Furnishings	1	1.5
Grooming/Health	6	8.8
Heating/Lighting	5	7.4
Misc. Closures	3	4.4
Misc. Containers	11	16.2
Social Drugs – Alcohol	2	2.9
Toys	6	8.8
Writing	1	1.5
TOTAL	68	100.1

Pit 1 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL FUNCTION
4411 Clement Street (High Street)
Pryde Family

Function	MNI	Percent
Serving (platters, covered dishes, etc.)	4	17
Tableware (plates, bowls, saucers, etc.)	10	42
Stemware and Tumblers	5	21
Cups and Mugs	4	17
Kitchen (mixing bowls, bakers, etc.)	1	4
TOTAL	24	101

Pit 1 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL FABRIC
4411 Clement Street (High Street)
Pryde Family

Fabric	MNI	Percent	Total MNI	Total Percent
Ceramic			18	75
Porcelain	1	6		
Opaque Porcelain	1	6		
White Improved Earthenware	15	83		
Yellowware	1	6		
Subtotal	18	101		
Glass			6	25
TOTAL			24	100

Pit 1 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL DECORATION
4411 Clement Street (High Street)
Pryde Family

Fabric	Description	Type of Decoration	Decorated MNI	Undecorated MNI
Ceramic				
Porcelain	Moustache Cup	Molded basket, Hand painted floral	1	
Opaque Porcelain	Cup			1
WIE	Bowl			1
WIE	Bowl	Scalloped	1	
WIE	Cup			2
WIE	Plate			1
WIE	Plate, 10"			1
WIE	Plate, 8-1/2"			1
WIE	Plate, 9"			3
WIE	Saucer, 6"			1
WIE	Saucer, 6"	Black floral transfer print – Gem	1	
WIE	Saucer, 6-3/4"			1
WIE	Slop Bowl			1
WIE	Soup Plate, 9-1/2"	Mulberry transfer print – Persian Rose	1	
Yellowware	Milk Pan			1
Ceramic Subtotal			4	14
Glass				
Colorless Glass	Bowl	Pressed – diamonds and teardrops	1	
Colorless Glass	Cordial Glass	Pressed – Huber	1	
Colorless Glass	Tumbler			2
Colorless Glass	Tumbler	Pressed – short flutes	2	
Glass Subtotal			4	2
TOTAL			8	16

Pit 1 – DATE AND ORIGIN OF MARKED/DATABLE ITEMS

4411 Clement Street (High Street)

Pryde Family

Catalog No.		Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Ceramic Items									
101	1	White Improved Earthenware	Saucer, 6″	1	Printed mark: [GEM (upper arch)/ SEMI-PORCELAIN (upper arch)/ (crown/] shield/ laurels)/ MELLOR, TAYLOR [& CO.] (lower arch)/ ENGLAND	Mellor, Taylor & Co.	Staffordshire	1880 – 1904	Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:283
101	2	White Improved Earthenware	Soup Plate, 9-1/2″	1	Mulberry printed mark: PERSIAN ROSE (upper arch, in scrollwork)/ BAKER & CO.	Baker, William & Co.	Staffordshire	1860 ca – 1891	Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:99–100
101	3	White Improved Earthenware	Plate, 9″	1	Printed mark: (crown/ shield/ laurels)/ WARRANTED STONE CHINA/ MELLOR TAYLOR & CO./ ENGLAND	Mellor, Taylor & Co.	Staffordshire	1880 – 1904	Praetzellis et al. 1983:59, mark 190; Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:283, mark B1606
101	8	White Improved Earthenware	Saucer, 6-3/4″	1	Printed mark: ROYAL IRONSTONE CHINA (upper arch)/ (standing Royal Coat of Arms)/ JOHNSON BROS./ ENGLAND	Johnson Brothers	Staffordshire	1883 ca –	Godden 1991:355
101	10	White Improved Earthenware	Plate, 8-1/2″	1	Printed mark: THOMAS [FURNIVAL & SONS] (upper arch, in ribbon)/ TRADE (Furnival crest) MAR[K]/ ENGLAND (lower arch, in ribbon)	Furnival, Thomas and Sons	Staffordshire	1876 – 1890	Praetzellis et al. 1983:36–37, mark 119; Godden 1999:245; Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:201
101	11	White Improved Earthenware	Plate, 9″	1	Printed mark: [(crown/ shield/] laurels)/ WARRANTED [STONE CHINA]/ MELLOR TAY[LOR & CO.]/ ENGLAND	Mellor, Taylor & Co.	Staffordshire	1880 – 1904	Praetzellis et al. 1983:59, mark 190; Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:283, mark B1606
101	16	White Improved Earthenware	Slop Bowl	1	Printed mark: ROYAL IRONSTONE CHINA (upper arch)/ (standing Royal Coat of Arms)/ A.J. WILKINSON/ ENGLAND	Wilkinson, A.J.	Staffordshire	1882 – 1896	Praetzellis et al. 1983:79–80, mark 234
101	17	White Improved Earthenware	Bowl	1	Printed mark: WARRANTED (upper arch)/ STONE CHINA (upper arch)/ (Prince of Wales feathers)/ TRADE (angled down) MARK (angled up)/ JOHN EDWARDS	Edwards, John	Staffordshire	1880 – 1891	Praetzellis et al. 1983:33–34, mark 108
101	20	White Improved Earthenware	Basin	1	Printed mark: ROYAL IRONSTONE CHINA (upper arch)/ (standing Royal Coat of Arms)/ [CH]ARLES MEAKIN/ ENGLAND	Meakin, Charles	Staffordshire	1876 – 1889	Praetzellis et al. 1983:54–55,mMark 179 (cf)
101	21	White Improved Earthenware	Chamberpot	1	Printed mark: ROYAL IRONSTONE CHINA (upper arch)/ (standing Royal Coat of Arms)/ A.J. WILKINSON/ ENGLAND	Wilkinson, A.J.	Staffordshire	1882 – 1896	Praetzellis et al. 1983:79–80, mark 234

Pit 1 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.	Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Glass Items								
101 22	Amber Glass	Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	1	(turn mold)			1870s – 1920s	Jones and Sullivan 1985:31
101 25	Aqua Glass	Canning Jar	1	MASON'S (upper arch)/ PATENT/ NOV. 30TH/ 1858// CFJCO (monogram)/// T/ A379	Consolidated Fruit Jar Co.	New Brunswick, NJ	1871 – 1882	Toulouse 1969:60–63
101 26	Aqua Glass	Canning Jar	1	[MA]SON'S (upper arch)/ [PATEN]T				
101 27	Colorless Glass	Canning Jar	1	CFJCO (monogram/ MASON'S (upper arch)/ PATENT/ NOV. 30TH/ 1858/// 4	Consolidated Fruit Jar Co.	New Brunswick, NJ	1871 – 1882	Toulouse 1969:60–63
101 34	Aqua Glass	Worcestershire Bottle	1	[WORCESTERSHIRE SAUCE (around shoulder)/ LEA & PERRIN[S] (up side)/// J 44 D/ S	Duncan, John & Sons		1877 – 1920	Lunn 1981:np; Zumwalt 1980:269; Toulouse 1971:277
101 35	Colorless Glass	Feeding Bottle	1	[A]CME NURSING BOTTLE (upper arch)/ (8-pointed star circle around) .. & CO (monogram)/ [NURSING BOT]TLE// FLUID OUNCES (upper arch)/ (graduated measurements)			1800s late –	
101 36	Colorless Glass	Feeding Bottle	1	.. [FE]EDER (lower arch, in circle)// (graduated markings)			1800s late –	
101 39	Aqua Glass	Bottle	1	(turn mold)			1870s – 1920s	Jones and Sullivan 1985:31
101 41	Aqua Glass	Bottle	1	(2-piece keyed mold)			– 1880 ca	Jones and Sullivan 1985:26–27
101 42	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// MC (C superscript, underlined) C	McCully, William (& Co.)	Pittsburgh, PA	1832 – 1886	Toulouse 1971:351–353
101 43	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// A (in circle)				
101 44	Aqua Glass	Castoria Bottle	1	DR. S. PITCHER'S// CASTORIA/// 1			1869 – 1948 (adv)	Fike 1987:77; Wilson and Wilson 1971:72,132–133
101 45	Colorless Glass	Medicine Bottle	1	B & S/ HOMEOPATHIC/ COUGH & CROUP/ SYRUP	Boericke & Shcrenk	San Francisco	1882 – 1890	Schulz and Schulz 1990:307–308
101 46	Colorless Glass	Vaseline Bottle	1	CHESEBROUGH MFG. CO. (upper arch)/ VASELINE	Chesebrough Mfg. Co.		1880 – 1908	Fike 1987:56
101 47	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// I.G.CO.	Illinois Glass Co.		1880 ca – 1911 ca	Lockhart et al. 2005:54–55, figure 1
Marked Other Items								
101 61	Ferrous	Crown Cap	2	(crown closure)			1892 –	

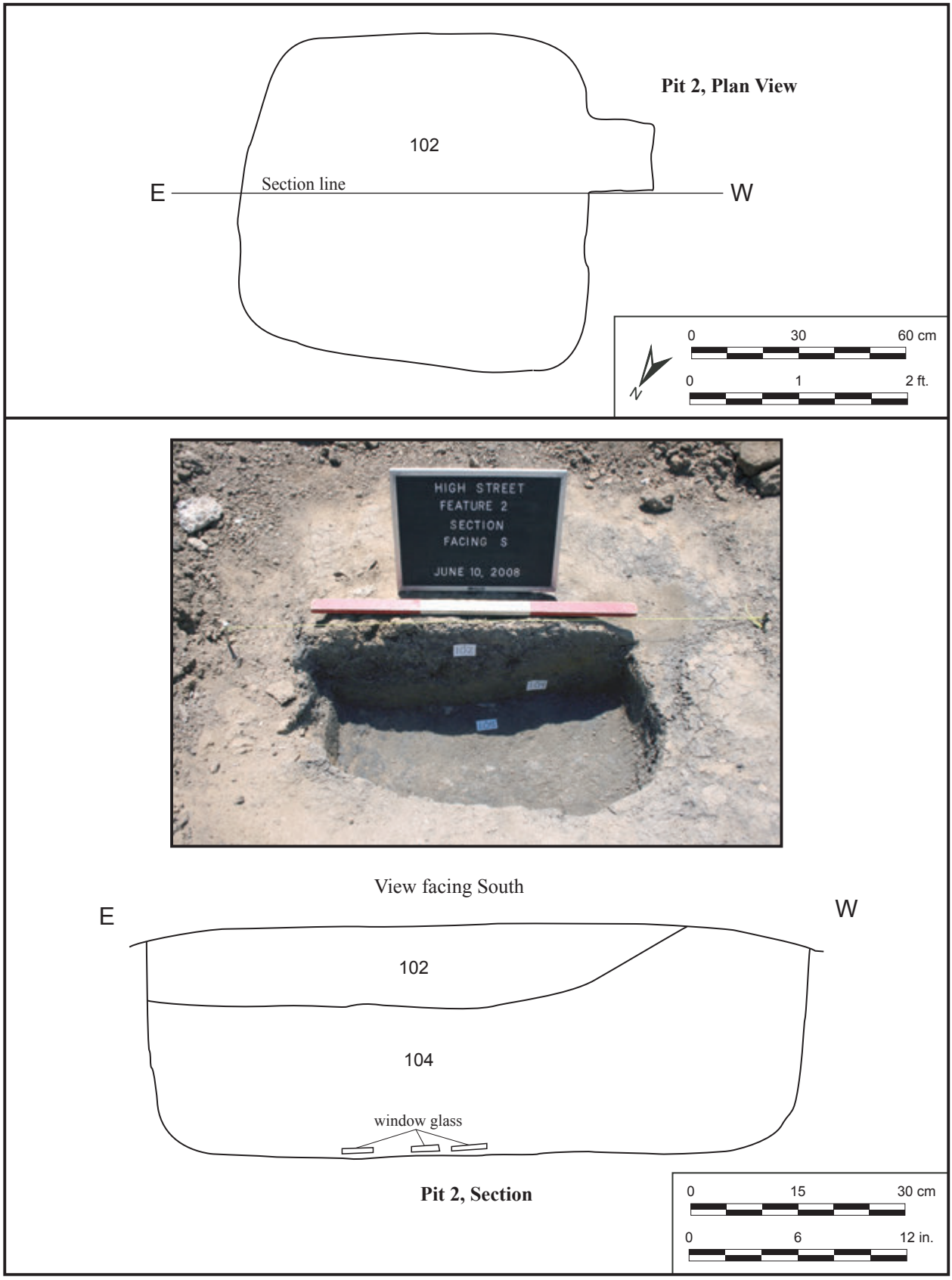


Figure 5.3. Pit 2 Section and Plan Drawings, 4411 Clement Street, the Pryde Family.

Figure 5.4. Pit 2 – Artifact Layout Photograph, 4411 Clement Street, the Pryde Family.

Pit 2 – ARTIFACT DESCRIPTIONS BY GROUP AND CATEGORY

4411 Clement Street (High Street)

Pryde Family

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
ACTIVITIES			
Tools			
-	Ceramic Assayer's Cup	1	1
Subtotal Tools		1	1
Writing			
-	Slate Pencil	1	1
Subtotal Writing		1	1
DOMESTIC			
Clothing Maintenance			
Sewing	Copper-alloy Safety Pin	1	1
Subtotal Clothing Maintenance		1	1
Food Prep/Consumption			
Drinking Vessel	Colorless Glass Stemware	1	1
Drinking Vessel	White Improved Earthenware Cup	12	2
Kitchen	Ferrous Pot/Pan Handle	1	1
Serving	Porcelain Oval Dish Lid	7	1
Serving	Porcelain Tureen Platter?	1	1
Serving	White Improved Earthenware Platter	25	2
Serving	White Improved Earthenware Slop Bowl	6	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate, 8-1/2"	9	2
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate, 8-3/4"	7	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate, 9"	1	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate?	1	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Saucer	1	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Saucer, 6"	7	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Saucer, 6-3/4"	7	1
Subtotal Food Prep/Consumption		86	17
Food Storage			
Container	Colorless Glass Canning Jar	18	1
Subtotal Food Storage		18	1
Heating/Lighting			
Lamp	Colorless Glass Chimney	141	5
Subtotal Heating/Lighting		141	5
Indefinite			
-	Clay Stove Liner	1	1
Subtotal Indefinite		1	1
INDEFINITE USE			
Misc. Containers			
-	Aqua Glass Bottle	1	1
-	Colorless Glass Bottle	3	1
-	Colorless Glass Jar	6	2
Subtotal Misc. Containers		10	4
PERSONAL			
Clothing			
Fastener	Porcelain Button	3	3
Subtotal Clothing		3	3

Pit 2 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
Grooming/Health			
Toiletry	Cream-colored Earthenware Chamber Pot	13	1
Toiletry	Yellowware Chamber Pot	3	1
Subtotal Grooming/Health		16	2
STRUCTURAL			
Hardware			
Fastener	Ferrous Cut Nail	13	11
Fastener	Ferrous Nail	15	11
Fastener	Ferrous Wire Nail	2	2
Subtotal Hardware		30	24
Materials			
-	Brick	1	1
-	Glass Window	170	0
Subtotal Materials		171	1
TOTAL		479	61

Pit 2 – SUMMARY OF ARTIFACTS BY GROUP
4411 Clement Street (High Street)
Pryde Family

Description	Total Count	MNI	Percent of MNI
Activities	2	2	7
Domestic	247	25	86
Personal (other than clothing)	16	2	7
Subtotal	265	29	100
Indefinite Use	10	4	
Personal Clothing	3	3	
Structural	201	25	
TOTAL	479	61	

Pit 2 – SUMMARY OF ARTIFACTS BY CATEGORY
4411 Clement Street (High Street)
Pryde Family

Description	MNI	Percent
Clothing	3	8.3
Clothing Maintenance	1	2.8
Food Prep/Consumption	17	47.2
Food Storage	1	2.8
Grooming/Health	2	5.6
Heating/Lighting	5	13.9
Indefinite	1	2.8
Misc. Containers	4	11.1
Tools	1	2.8
Writing	1	2.8
TOTAL	36	100.1

Pit 2 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL FUNCTION
4411 Clement Street (High Street)
Pryde Family

Function	MNI	Percent
Serving (platters, covered dishes, etc.)	5	31
Tableware (plates, bowls, saucers, etc.)	8	50
Stemware and Tumblers	1	6
Cups and Mugs	2	13
TOTAL	16	100

Pit 2 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL FABRIC
4411 Clement Street (High Street)
Pryde Family

Fabric	MNI	Percent	Total MNI	Total Percent
Ceramic			15	94
Porcelain	2	13		
White Improved Earthenware	13	86		
Subtotal	15	100		
Glass			1	6
TOTAL			16	100

Pit 2 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL DECORATION
4411 Clement Street (High Street)
Pryde Family

Fabric	Description	Type of Decoration	Decorated MNI	Undecorated MNI
Ceramic				
Porcelain	Oval Dish Lid			1
Porcelain	Tureen Platter?			1
WIE	Cup			1
WIE	Cup	Black floral transfer print	1	
WIE	Plate, 8-1/2"	Pale Blue transfer print – Victoria	2	
WIE	Plate, 8-3/4"			1
WIE	Plate, 9"			1
WIE	Plate?	Blue transfer print	1	
WIE	Platter			2
WIE	Saucer			1
WIE	Saucer, 6"	Black floral transfer print – Gem?	1	
WIE	Saucer, 6-3/4"			1
WIE	Slop Bowl	Pale blue geometric transfer print	1	
Subtotal Ceramic			6	9
Glass				
Colorless Glass	Stemware			1
Subtotal Glass			0	1
TOTAL			6	10

Pit 2 – DATE AND ORIGIN OF MARKED/DATABLE ITEMS

4411 Clement Street (High Street)

Pryde Family

Catalog No.		Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Ceramic Items									
104	1	White Improved Earthenware	Saucer, 6"	1	Printed mark: GEM (upper arch)/ SEMI-PORCELAIN (upper arch)/ (crown/ shield/ laurels)/ MELLOR, TAYLOR & CO. (lower arch)/ ENGLAND	Mellor, Taylor & Co.	Staffordshire	1880 – 1904	Kowalksy and Kowalsky 1999:283
104	2	White Improved Earthenware	Slop Bowl	1	Blue printed marks: CHINE; (in circle) illegible				
104	6	White Improved Earthenware	Cup	1	Printed mark: Rd. 1721?			1884 – 1884	Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:593
104	7	White Improved Earthenware	Plate, 8-1/2"	2	Blue printed mark: (crown)/ A. BRO/ VICTORIA (in ribbon); Impressed mark: (crown)/ ASHWORTH	Ashworth, G.L. & Bros.	Staffordshire	1880 ca – 1883	Transferware Collectors Club 2008; Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:95–96
104	8	White Improved Earthenware	Platter	1	Printed mark: TRADE MARK (upper arch)/ (shields)/ STONE CHINA (lower arch)/ EDWARD CLARKE/ BURSLEM, ENGLAND	Clarke, Edward	Staffordshire	1880 – 1887	Praetzellis et al. 1983:20–22, mark 67; Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999:147
104	9	White Improved Earthenware	Saucer, 6-3/4"	1	Printed mark: ROYAL IRONSTONE CHINA (upper arch)/ (standing Royal Coat of Arms)/ A.J. WILKINSON/ ENGLAND	Wilkinson, A.J.	Staffordshire	1882 – 1896	Praetzellis et al. 1983:79–80, mark 234
104	12	White Improved Earthenware	Plate, 8-3/4"	1	Printed mark: IRONSTONE CHINA (upper arch)/ (standing Royal Coat of Arms)/ J. & G. MEAKIN/ HANLEY/ ENGLAND	Meakin, J. & G.	Staffordshire	1875 –	Praetzellis et al. 1983:56–57, mark 184
104	13	Cream-colored Earthenware	Chamber Pot	1	Printed mark: (standing Royal Coat of Arms)/ BAKER & CO.	Baker & Co.	Staffordshire	1839 – 1891	Praetzellis et al. 1983:10–11
Marked Glass Items									
104	18	Aqua Glass	Bottle	1	///18..				
104	19	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	///4				
104	22	Colorless Glass	Canning Jar	1	CFG CO. (monogram)/ MASON'S (upper arch)/ PATENT/ NOV 30TH/ 1858	Consolidated Fruit Jar Co.	New Brunswick, NJ	1871 – 1882	Toulouse 1969:60–63
Marked Other Items									
104	28	Clay	Stove Liner	1	..E 6				

CHAPTER 6: STEPHENSON FAMILY

PARCEL OVERVIEW
4425 & 4433 Clement Street, Oakland
Stephenson Family Residence

The San Francisco Savings Union owned Lots 14 and 15 fronting on Clark Street (later Clement) from at least 1880 until the late 1890s. By 1897 a single-story dwelling, two small sheds, an outhouse, and a stable were present on Lot 15 at 32 Clark Street. It is likely the property was owned by Charles F. Stephenson and his family by that time, although the early title history was not researched. Charles was quoted in newspaper accounts of the explosion that took place across the street on July 18, 1898 and is listed in an 1899 directory as residing on Clark Street (later 4425 Clement). The fact that the 1899 assessment Block Book still lists the property as owned by the Savings Union is likely due to a time lag in updating those records. The 1900 U.S. Census confirms Charles F. Stephenson was the owner of this property and lived there with his wife Emily and four children.

By 1910 Charles F. Stephenson is listed in assessment Block Books as the owner of Lots 14 and 15 (4425 Clement), as well as the adjoining Lots 27 and 28 that fronted on Jensen (formerly Commerce). As discussed earlier, many members of the Stephenson family lived on this block (Block 2241) at various times. Lot 5 facing High Street was owned by Charles' father Robert Stephenson from 1878 until 1903. Many of Robert's children lived on the block at various times including: Margaret (Norman Pryde's wife) at 4411 Clement, Alice (William Park's wife) who lived on Charles F. Stephenson's Lot 27 (4420 Jenson) in 1920, Mary Ellen (George Giblin's wife) who lived on the corner of High Street and Jensen, and his sons Charles F., Stanley, Thomas, and William.

Inconsistencies in documentary records and the presence of two Charles Stephensons on the same city block in the 1900 U. S. census initially created some confusion that was later resolved with additional genealogical research and a death notice (*Oakland Tribune* 1942). Charles Fletcher Stephenson was born 8 November 1857 in England and married Emily in 1889 upon her arrival from England at age 20. The couple had five children by 1900: Walter James born in 1889; William born in 1891; Amy born 27 December 1894; Etta (Henrietta) born in 1896. Two additional children were born shortly thereafter: Charles in 1902; and Gladys in 1905. Charles F. Stephenson and his family resided on Lots 14 and 15 until 1943 when the residential portion was acquired by Caltrans for the planned East Shore Highway (Alameda County Official Records 4452:461, 5291:419–420).

Charles worked as a painting contractor throughout the time he lived on Clement Street. His brother Stanley and son Walter also worked in that profession for lengthy periods of time, evidence that the strong social ties among the family included working together. The second eldest son, William, was a clerk in the post office. While the family history was not comprehensively researched, the two eldest daughters married and continued to live in the county for much of their lives. Amy married Elmer Floyd Criger in 1915 and had two daughters, Nay born in 1916 and Elmira born in 1926, Gladys married Robert C. Scheile in 1920 and had two sons, Robert C., Junior born 1925 and Gordon Stanley born in 1929.

The Stephenson home was initially designated as 32 Clark, but the addresses of the two adjoining lots changed to 4425 and 4433 Clement sometime shortly after the turn of the century. The 1912 Sanborn Fire Insurance Company map shows several buildings on the property in a

different pattern from the 1897 edition. That change was the result of the complete destruction of the original structures in the July 1898 explosion discussed earlier. The main house at 4425 Clement was a one-story dwelling with a small front porch in 1912. A small one-story building was located to the rear of this house. Two other buildings were also located on the adjoining Lot 15: a small oddly shaped dwelling numbered 4433 and a large converted stable numbered 4433-1/2. Although the buildings labeled 4433 and 4433-1/2 were not listed on the census, it is likely they were used as additional residential units occupied by family members (probably the elder sons).

The main house and the two smaller outbuildings appear to have been either replaced or moved and renovated by 1925. The main residence was a wide split-level house. In the rear was a smaller one-story dwelling (4425-1/2 Clement) and a very small building labeled 'room' (4425-1/3 Clement). Both ancillary structures apparently served as residences, again likely occupied by the elder sons. The stable had by this time been converted into a garage with additions and improvements. The 1930 U.S. Census reveals sons Walter J. and Charles both still lived on the lot and were single. Charles F. Stephenson was listed in city directories as a painter living at this address as late as 1938, and he was registered to vote as a member of the Republican Party.

The 1941 City Directory is the last year Charles F. Stephenson is listed as residing at 4425 Clement and corresponds with the TPQ for Feature 6 described below. He died 28 December 1942 in Alameda, California. His wife Emily preceded him in death by six years. Upon her death, Charles deeded the four adjoining lots he owned to his son Walter. However, the deed was not recorded until 1941, shortly before Charles died (Alameda County Official Records 4128:453). The residential area was presumably vacant after Caltrans acquired that portion of the property in 1943. The neighboring industrial steel fabricating facility then acquired the residual portion of the property from Walter Stephenson in 1951 (Alameda County Official Records 6421:437–438).

According to Dean Scott (2008: pers. comm.), whose father acquired the steel facility in 1948, the plant also expanded across the neighboring lot designated as 4501 Clement in the 1950s. Dean's father retained a controlling interest in the facility when it was transferred to Ameron in 1969. Greg Hart (2008:pers. comm.), the current Ameron plant manager whose father and grandfather both worked at the facility in its early period of operation (which began in the early 1930s), confirmed those details of the plant expansion.

DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH TABLE
4425 Clement Street, Oakland
Stephenson Residence

ABSTRACT

Building:

1897	One-story, L-shaped, with rear addition and L-shaped front porch. Two sheds and a small outbuilding behind house; stable at rear fence line.
1898	Property destroyed by explosion.
1912	One-story T-shape dwelling with small front porch set back 70 feet from the street; one-story outbuilding at rear. Small one-story building (4433 Clement) abuts at corner with one-story building with side porch. Large one-and-one-half-story stable with one-story rear addition (4433-1/2 Clement). .
1925	L-shape dwelling with small porch at the inside angle of the L and small enclosed porch at rear center; adjoining two-story and one-story additions along south side. Perpendicular L-shape building with enclosed porch at front and no chimney (4425-1/2 Clement). One-story building without chimney listed as Room (4425-1/3). Former stable is a garage with one-and-one-half story center and one-story wings and rear.

Residents/Occupation/Use:

1898–1942	Charles F. Stephenson and family
1942	Iron works predecessor to Ameron

Ownership:

1880–1897	San Francisco Savings Union
1907–1936	Charles F. Stephenson (also owned adjacent Lots 27 & 28 facing Commerce)
1936–1951	Walter Stephenson (also owned adjacent Lots 27 & 28 facing Commerce)
1943	Caltrans acquires developed portion of lots
1951	Scott and Burges (steel plant owners) acquire residual land

DOCUMENTARY TIMELINE

1880	**Block Book** – San Francisco Savings Union
1889	**Block Book** – San Francisco Savings Union
1893	**Block Book** – San Francisco Savings Union
1897	**Block Book** – San Francisco Savings Union, $150
1898	**Block Book** – San Francisco Savings Union, $150
1898	***Oakland Enquirer* & *Oakland Tribune* 19 July** – Charles Stephenson's house destroyed in explosion 18 July
1899	**Block Book** – San Francisco Savings Union
1899	**City Directory** – Chas Stephenson, r. Clark, Melrose
1900	**U.S. Census** – Stephenson Family. **Head:** Charles F. Stephenson, 41, married 11 years, NY, not employed 4 mos., painter, owns house, mortgaged; **Wife:** Emily, 31, 4 of 4 children living, England, immigrated 1875; **Sons:** Walter, 10, at school, California; William, 9, at school, California; **Daughters:** Amy, 6, California; Etta H., 3, California.
1901	**Block Book** – San Francisco Savings Union, $25
1902	**Block Book** – San Francisco Savings Union, $25
1904	**City Directory** – Charles F. Stephenson, Clark Street

Documentary Research Table, 4425 Clement Street *(continued)*

1908	**City Directory** – Charles Fletcher Stephenson, painter
1909	**City Directory** – Chas F. Stephenson, paints, 1338 High, r. Alameda
1910	**Block Book** – Chas F. Stephenson, barn $150, $100
1910	**City Directory** – Chas F. Stephenson, paints, 1338 High, r. 32 Clark
1910	**U.S. Census** – Stephenson Family. **Head:** C. F. Stephenson, 50, England, immigrated 1872, fully employed, owner, painter; **Wife:** Emily, 40, 6 of 6 children living (all born in California), England, immigrated 1889; **Sons:** Walter, 20, painter; Willie, 19, painter; Charles, 8; **Daughters:** Amy, 16; Henrietta, 15; Gladys, 5.
1912	**Block Book** – Chas F. Stephenson, barn $150, $100
1915	**Block Book** – Chas F. Stephenson, barn $150, $100
1916	**City Directory** – Charles F. Stephenson, 4425 Clement
1917	**Block Book** – Chas F. Stephenson, barn $150, $100
1920	**U.S. Census** – Stephenson Family. **Head:** Charles Stephenson, 51, England, immigrated 1880, naturalized, owns home free of mortgage, painter, own account; **Wife:** Emily, 52, England, immigrated 1888, naturalized; **Sons:** Walter, 29, painter, own account, California; William, 27, clerk in post office, California; Charles, 18, California; **Daughter:** Gladys, 14, California.
1920	**City Directory** – Charles F. Stephenson, 4425 Clement
1921	**Block Book** – Chas F. Stephenson, barn $150, $100
1921	**City Directory** – Chas F. Stephenson, contract painter 4425 Clement, res. same
1922	**City Directory** – Charles F. Stephenson, 4425 Clement
1923	**Block Book** – Chas F. Stephenson, barn $150, $100
1924	**City Directory** – Charles F. Stephenson, 4425 Clement
1928	**City Directory** – Charles F. Stephenson, 4425 Clement
1930	**City Directory** – Charles F. Stephenson, 4425 Clement
1930	**U.S**. **Census** – Stephenson Family: **Head:** Charles F., owns home unknown value, no radio, white, 73, England, immigrated 1850, naturalized, painter paint contractor; **Wife:** Emily, white, 62, England, married at age 23, immigrated 188_, naturalized; **Sons:** Walter J., white 38, California, single, painter paint contractor, veteran WWI.; Charles, white, 28, California, single, clerk retail auto supply.
1936	**Official Records** – Charles F. Stephenson single (wife Emily deceased)
1938	**Great Register** – Charles F. Stephenson, painter, 4425 Clement, Republican
1940	**Great Register** – Charles F. Stephenson, painter, 4425 Clement
1941	**City Directory** – Charles F. Stephenson, h. 4425 Clement
1942	**Death Certificate** – Charles F. Stephenson 28 December
1942	**Obituary** – Charles F Stephenson deceased 28 December, husband of late Emily; father of Walter J. Stephenson, Charles Stephenson, Mrs. Amy Criger, Mrs. Etta Schelle, Mrs. Gladys Whitcomb, and late William Robert Stephenson; brother of Mrs. Mary E. Gilbin, and Mrs. Alice Park; charter member of Fruitvale Camp No. 431 Woodmen of the World; internment Sunset View Cemetery, El Cerrito.
1942	**Personal Communication** (Dean Scott 2008) – Iron works predecessor to the Ameron
1943	**Official Records** – Caltrans acquires developed portion of lots (4452:461)
1951	**Official Records** – Scott and Burges (steel plant owners) acquire residual land (6421:437–438)

PITS 20 AND 24 – FEATURE SUMMARY
4425 Clement Street, Oakland
Stephenson Family

Pit 20 was unlined and measured 44 × 24 in. × 5 in. deep. It had been disturbed by grading for highway construction. Initially Pit 20 appeared much larger, but once investigated another discreet feature, Pit 24, was identified. Earlier grading had smeared fill from both pits together. There was a single fill layer in Pit 20, Context 30, consisting of dark-brown silty loam with clay.

Pit 24 was unlined and measured 40 × 14 in. × 4 in. deep. Like the adjacent Pit 20 it had undergone some disturbance from highway construction. There was a single layer of fill, Context 32, brown silty clay. Artifacts collected near the two pits are included in the analytical unit as Context 39.

Both pits date to about 1905. These pits were likely deposited due to a disruption of garbage collection after the 1906 earthquake. Pit 20 has a TPQ of 1905 based on 2 tiles from the American Encaustic Tile Company. Pit 24 has a TPQ of 1871 based on a J.H. Cutter bourbon bottle. The Cutter bottle and a Whitall Tatum bottle from Pit 20 both stopped manufacture in 1903. Two plates from Context 39 were not manufactured after 1906. When the pits were filled the Stephenson family had rebuilt since the explosion of 1898 and would continue to live at this address until the 1940s.

The two artifact categories with the most items are Food Preparation and Consumption at 24.5 percent and Miscellaneous Containers at 20.6 percent. Tableware makes up 46 percent of the food preparation and consumption vessels followed by cups and mugs (29%). Two tumblers and 2 indefinite vessels each account for 8 percent. Serving is represented by a single spoon and kitchen by a yellowware bowl. The only porcelain items are a hand-painted plate and an undecorated small cup. The 5 opaque porcelain vessels are all undecorated. Of 14 WIE vessels, 10 are undecorated. The decorated WIE is all transfer printed and include a brown Sitka plate; a blue floral scalloped saucer, and cup; and a black floral and geometric cup.

There were only 3 food containers. An oil bottle was imported from France, while another jar came from the San Jose Fruit Packing Company. Food storage included a stoneware crock and two canning jars. Seven alcoholic beverage bottles of various types were recovered including 2 wine or champagne bottles, a whisky, a flask, a decanter, and an ale or beer. The only tobacco item was a spittoon. As a painter it would have been easier to chew tobacco while working rather than have hands occupied with a pipe, cigar, or cigarette, and prudent to avoid a flame near combustibles.

Grooming and health items include a chamber pot, a dresser box lid, and 5 bottles. A Herbine Bitters bottle came from Canada. Peptonoids was meat-based protein for those having difficulty eating. Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup was advertised for calming teething

babies, but as laudanum, a mixture of opium and alcohol, it could be lethal. Clothing is represented by 9 fasteners. The hooks, rivet, and buttons could have come from clothing recycled as painter's rags. The women's garter buckle likely was not.

Domestic furnishings consist of 2 flowerpots and lighting 3 lamp chimneys. With the exception of a bolt and two staples, most of the structural hardware is nails. There are several different structural materials; the most interesting are two small tiles that date from 1905 or later. These have letters written on them in pencil like Scrabble tiles. They may have been residual materials from a project that were used as playing pieces. Actual toys included a lead soldier, lead handle, and a porcelain doll.

Pits 20 & 24 – FEATURE SUMMARY TABLE
4425 Clement Street (32 Clark)
Stephenson Family

HOUSEHOLD

Name:	Charles F. Stephenson Family
Birthplace:	New York
Ethnicity or Race:	White
Occupation:	Painting Contractor
Period of Residence:	1897–1943
Terminus Post Quem/Basis:	1905/Ceramic tile
Mean Ceramic Mark Date/*n*:	1898 (*n* = 2)
Estimated Date of Deposition:	1906

REAL ESTATE

Assessed Value:	Barn $150, $100 (1910)
Lot Size:	10,000 sq. ft. (Lots26 & 27 10,000 sq. ft.)
Personal Property Assessed:	N/A

ANALYTICAL UNIT

Context Numbers:	Pit 20: 30; Pit 24: 32; 39

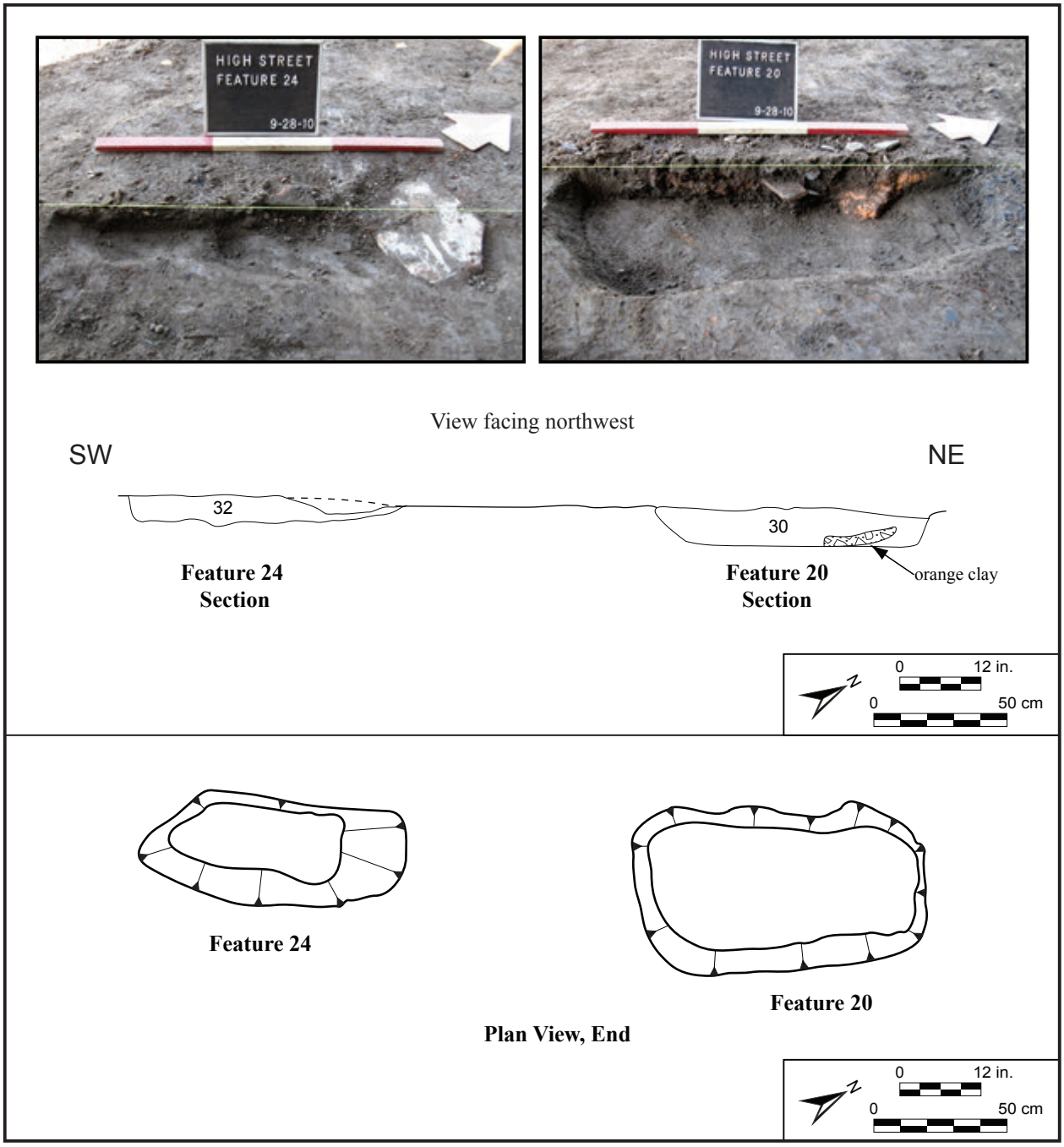


Figure 6.1. Pits 20 & 24 Section and Plan Drawings, 4425 Clement Street (32 Clark), Stephenson Family.

Figure 6.2. Pits 20 & 24 – Artifact Layout Photograph, 4425 Clement Street (32 Clark), Stephenson Family.

Pits 20 and 24 – ARTIFACT DESCRIPTIONS BY GROUP AND CATEGORY
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
ACTIVITIES			
Collecting			
-	Cowry Shell	1	1
Subtotal Collecting		1	1
Firearms			
Ammunition	Copper-alloy Shell Casing	1	1
Subtotal Firearms		1	1
Fishing			
-	Lead Weight	1	1
Subtotal Fishing		1	1
Writing			
-	Slate Tablet	1	1
Container	Brown Glass Ink Bottle	4	1
Subtotal Writing		5	2
DOMESTIC			
Clothing Maintenance			
Ironing	Ferrous Sad Iron Plate	1	1
Sewing	Copper-alloy Safety Pin	1	1
Subtotal Clothing Maintenance		2	2
Food			
Container	Aqua Glass Oil Bottle	1	1
Container	Colorless Glass Bottle	2	1
Subtotal Food		3	2
Food Prep/Consumption			
Drinking Vessel	Colorless Glass Tumbler	5	2
Drinking Vessel	Opaque Porcelain Cup	5	3
Drinking Vessel	Porcelain Small Cup	1	1
Drinking Vessel	White Improved Earthenware Cup	8	3
Indefinite	White Improved Earthenware Bowl	1	1
Indefinite	White Improved Earthenware Hollow	2	2
Kitchen	Yellowware Bowl	1	1
Serving	Copper-alloy Spoon	1	1
Serving	White Improved Earthenware Platter?	2	1
Tableware	Opaque Porcelain Saucer	1	1
Tableware	Opaque Porcelain Saucer, 6"	1	1
Tableware	Porcelain Plate	1	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate	11	3
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate, 9"	1	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Saucer	2	2
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Soup Plate	2	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Soup Plate, 9"	7	1
Subtotal Food Prep/Consumption		52	26
Food Storage			
Closure	Opaque-white Glass Canning Jar Lid Liner	1	1
Container	Aqua Glass Canning Jar	14	2
Container	Stoneware Crock	3	1
Subtotal Food Storage		18	4

Pits 20 and 24 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
Furnishings			
-	Earthenware Flowerpot	2	2
Subtotal Furnishings		2	2
Hardware			
-	Ferrous Door Lock	1	1
Subtotal Hardware		1	1
Heating/Lighting			
Lamp	Colorless Glass Chimney	65	3
Subtotal Heating/Lighting		65	3
INDEFINITE USE			
Indefinite			
-	Slate	2	1
-	Colorless Glass Hollow	2	2
-	Layered Glass Hollow	4	2
-	Marble Slab	2	1
-	Porcelain Hollow	6	1
-	White Improved Earthenware Hollow	1	1
Subtotal Indefinite		17	8
Misc. Containers			
-	Aqua Glass Bottle	10	5
-	Colorless Glass Bottle	28	8
-	Colorless Glass Jar	3	1
-	Sun-tinted Amethyst Glass Bottle	5	2
Subtotal Misc. Containers		46	16
Misc. Metal Items			
-	Copper-alloy Decorative Trim?	5	1
-	Copper-alloy Trim	6	1
Subtotal Misc. Metal Items		11	2
INDUSTRIAL?			
Hardware			
-	Ferrous Large Hook	1	1
Subtotal Hardware		1	1
PERSONAL			
Clothing			
Fastener	Copper-alloy Hook	3	3
Fastener	Copper-alloy Rivet	1	1
Fastener	Copper-alloy Women's Garter Buckle	1	1
Fastener	Porcelain Button	2	1
Fastener	Shell Button	4	3
Subtotal Clothing		11	9
Grooming/Health			
Closure	Opaque-blue Glass Dresser Box Lid	4	1
Container	Aqua Glass Bitters Bottle	4	1
Container	Aqua Glass Bottle	1	1
Container	Aqua Glass Syrup Bottle	1	1
Container	Brown Glass Peptonoids Bottle	1	1
Container	Colorless Glass Syrup Bottle	1	1
Toiletry	Yellowware Chamber Pot	31	1
Subtotal Grooming/Health		43	7

Pits 20 and 24 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
Misc. Containers			
-	Brown Glass Bottle	11	5
Subtotal Misc. Containers		11	5
Social Drugs – Alcohol			
Container	Brown Glass Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	2	1
Container	Brown Glass Whiskey Bottle	5	1
Container	Colorless Glass Decanter	2	1
Container	Colorless Glass Flask	1	1
Container	Olive Glass Wine/Champagne Bottle	4	2
Container	Stoneware Ale/Beer Bottle	1	1
Subtotal Social Drugs – Alcohol		15	7
Social Drugs – Tobacco			
-	Earthenware Spittoon	3	1
Subtotal Social Drugs – Tobacco		3	1
Toys			
-	Lead Soldier	1	1
-	Porcelain Doll	1	1
Tea set	Lead Handle	1	1
Subtotal Toys		3	3
STRUCTURAL			
Hardware			
Fastener	Ferrous Bolt	1	1
Fastener	Ferrous Cut Nail	2	2
Fastener	Ferrous Nail	42	42
Fastener	Ferrous Rod/Nail	1	1
Fastener	Ferrous Staple	2	2
Fastener	Ferrous Wire Nail	36	44
Subtotal Hardware		84	92
Materials			
-	Brick	4	3
-	Brick Cap	1	1
-	Sewer Pipe	2	1
-	Ceramic Tile	2	2
-	Glass Window	38	0
Subtotal Materials		47	7
UNDEFINED USE			
-	Clay Sample	1	0
-	Coal	6	0
Subtotal Undefined Use		2	1
TOTAL		450	204

Pits 20 and 24 – SUMMARY OF ARTIFACTS BY GROUP
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Description	Total Count	MNI	Percent of MNI
Activities	8	5	7
Domestic	143	40	59
Personal (other than clothing)	75	23	34
Subtotal	226	68	100
Indefinite Use	74	26	
Industrial?	1	1	
Personal Clothing	11	9	
Structural	131	99	
Undefined Use	7	1	
TOTAL	450	204	

Pits 20 and 24 – SUMMARY OF ARTIFACTS BY CATEGORY
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Description	MNI	Percent
Clothing	9	8.7
Clothing Maintenance	2	1.9
Collecting	1	1.0
Firearms	1	1.0
Fishing	1	1.0
Food	2	1.9
Food Prep/Consumption	26	25.2
Food Storage	4	3.9
Furnishings	2	1.9
Grooming/Health	7	6.8
Hardware	1	1.0
Heating/Lighting	3	2.9
Indefinite	8	7.8
Misc. Containers	21	20.4
Misc. Metal Items	2	1.9
Social Drugs – Alcohol	7	6.8
Social Drugs – Tobacco	1	1.0
Toys	3	2.9
Writing	2	1.9
TOTAL	103	99.9

Pits 20 and 24 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL FUNCTION

4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Function	MNI	Percent
Serving (platters, covered dishes, etc.)	1	4
Tableware (plates, bowls, saucers, etc.)	11	44
Stemware and Tumblers	2	8
Cups and Mugs	7	28
Kitchen (mixing bowls, bakers, etc.)	1	4
Indefinite	3	12
TOTAL	25	100

Pits 20 and 24 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL FABRIC

4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Fabric	MNI	Percent	Total MNI	Total Percent
Ceramic			23	92
Porcelain	2	9		
Opaque Porcelain	5	22		
White Improved Earthenware	15	65		
Yellowware	1	4		
Subtotal	23	100		
Glass			2	8
TOTAL			25	100

Pits 20 and 24 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL DECORATION
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Fabric	Description	Type of Decoration	Decorated MNI	Undecorated MNI
Ceramic				
Porcelain	Plate	Hand painted	1	
Porcelain	Small Cup			1
Opaque Porcelain	Cup			3
Opaque Porcelain	Saucer			1
Opaque Porcelain	Saucer, 6"			1
WIE	Bowl	Red cut sponge	1	
WIE	Cup			2
WIE	Cup	Black floral/geometric transfer print	1	
WIE	Hollow			1
WIE	Hollow	Blue floral transfer print	1	
WIE	Plate			2
WIE	Plate	Brown transfer print – Sitka pattern	1	
WIE	Plate, 9"			1
WIE	Platter?			1
WIE	Saucer			1
WIE	Saucer	Scalloped, Blue floral transfer print	1	
WIE	Soup Plate			1
WIE	Soup Plate, 9"			1
Yellowware	Bowl	Annular	1	
Ceramic Subtotal			7	16
Glass				
Colorless Glass	Tumbler			1
Colorless Glass	Tumbler	Short pressed panels (9)	1	
Glass Subtotal			1	1
TOTAL			8	17

Pits 20 and 24 – SUMMARY OF SOCIAL DRUGS
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Social Drug	Description	MNI	Percent
Alcohol			
	Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	1	
	Ale/Beer Bottle	1	
	Decanter	1	
	Flask	1	
	Whiskey Bottle	1	
	Wine/Champagne Bottle	1	
	Wine/Champagne Bottle	1	
Subtotal		7	88
Tobacco			
	Spittoon	1	12
TOTAL		8	100

Pits 20* and 24 – DATE AND ORIGIN OF MARKED/DATABLE ITEMS
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Catalog No.		Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range		References
Marked Ceramic Items										
30	3	White Improved Earthenware	Cup	1	Printed mark: .. / S..					
39	1	White Improved Earthenware	Soup Plate, 9"	1	Brown printed mark: TRADE [MARK (upper arch)/ (crown/shield)/ ROYAL] PREMIUM/ [SEMI-POR]CELAIN/ [T. & R. BO]OTE/ [ENGLA]ND	Boote, T&R	Staffordshire	1890	– 1906	Praetzellis et al. 1983:12–14, mark 36
39	2	White Improved Earthenware	Plate, 9"	1	Brown printed mark: TRADE MARK (upper arch)/ (crown/shield)/ ROYAL PREMIUM/ SEMI-PORCELAIN/ T. & R. BOOTE/ ENGLAND	Boote, T&R	Staffordshire	1890	– 1906	Praetzellis et al. 1983:12–14, mark 36
39	3	Opaque Porcelain	Saucer, 6"	1	Printed mark: (arch of rays)/ (bird or eagle with spread wings)/ C.. (or) O..		Probably United States			
Marked Glass Items										
30	28	Aqua Glass	Oil Bottle	1	A. DURAND & FILS/ BORDEAUX	Durand, A. & Son	Bordeaux, France		– 1891	Zumwalt 1980:126
30	30	Brown Glass	Peptonoids Bottle	1	[P]EPT[ONOIDS/ THE A]RLINGTON [CHEMICAL CO.]/ YONKERS[, N.Y.]	Arlington Chemical Co.	Yonkers, NY	1881	–	Fike 1987:45
30	31	Brown Glass	Bottle	1	..M					
30	32	Brown Glass	Bottle	1	..ED..					
30	34	Aqua Glass	Canning Jar	1	..N ..					
30	38	Aqua Glass	Syrup Bottle	1	(down sides) [MRS. WINSLOW'S/ SOOTHING SYRUP/ CURTIS & PERKINS/ PROPRIE]TORS			1859	–	Fike 1987:231
30	40	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	// W.T.& CO. (upper arch)/ B/ 64	Whitall Tatum & Co.		1868	– 1903	Griffenhagen and Bogard 1999:30
30	41	Sun-tinted Amethyst Glass	Bottle	1	(sun-tinted amethyst glass)			1870s	– 1920 ca	Lockhart 2006:54
30	47	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// [SAN J]OSE (upper arch)[/ FRUIT PACKING C]O. (lower arch)	San Jose Fruit Packing Co.	San Jose	1878	–	Zumwalt 1980:363–364
30	50	Sun-tinted Amethyst Glass	Bottle	1	(sun-tinted amethyst glass)			1870s	– 1920 ca	Lockhart 2006:54

Pits 20* and 24 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items

Catalog No.		Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range		References
Marked Glass Items (continued)										
30	57	Opaque-white Glass	Canning Jar Lid Liner	1	[CONSOLIDATED FRUIT JAR COMPANY] NEW YORK.	Consolidated Fruit Jar Co.		1869	– 1908	Toulouse 1971:123–125
32	9	Brown Glass	Whiskey Bottle	1	(in circle) J.H. [CUTTER (upper arch)/ OLD/ BOUR]B[ON]/ (crown)/ ..	Cutter		1871 ca	– 1903 ca	Barnett 1991:48–51, figures 199, 200
32	10	Brown Glass	Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	1	(in circle) MA.. (upper arch) ..					
32	11	Brown Glass	Bottle	1	..AM..					
32	14	Colorless Glass	Syrup Bottle	1	.. [S]YRUP ..					
32	16	Aqua Glass	Bitters Bottle	1	[DR. WILSON'S/ HERBINE BITTERS/ THE BRAYLEY DRUG] CO./ [LIMITED/ ST. JOHN N.]B. ..	Brayley Drug Co.	St. John, New Brunswick, Canada	tc	– 1925	Ring 1980:496–497; Oster Library; Canada's Historic Places
Marked Other Items										
30	24	Ceramic	Tile	2	A.E.T. CO.	American Encaustic Tiling Co.	Zanesville, OH	1905	–	Lehner 1988:21–22, mark 2
30	62	Copper-alloy	Shell Casing	1	W R A (upper arch)/ ..	Winchester Repeating Arms Co.				

*includes "clearing near Pit 20" Context number 99 (needs to be reassigned new context number)

PIT 6 AND PRIVY 23 – FEATURE SUMMARY
4425 Clement Street, Oakland
Stephenson Family

Pit 6 is a large circular, trash pit 6 ft. diameter and 43 in. deep. The top of the feature had been smeared prior to scraping when the top was truncated by about 6 in. to expose the outline of the feature. There were two fill layers, Context 113 and 115. There was a higher proportion of domestic artifacts within the upper layer, Context 113, a dark gray-brown sandy loam. Artifacts in the lower fill, Context 115, were more concentrated and the sandy loam fill was lighter in color at the top transitioning to wetter fill with higher sand content at the bottom of the pit.

Privy 23 was wood-lined and 27 × 42 in. × 18 in. deep. The privy was impacted by freeway ramp construction in the 1950s and had been truncated. There were five layers, Contexts 31, 33, 34, 35, and 36. Layer 33 was a pocket of yellowed tan lime with some gravel inclusions about 3 in. thick on the southeast side of the privy. It was overlying a concentration of cans in Layer 31 below. Layer 31 was a mixture of brown-gray sand and clay loam. It was loosely compacted 2-1/2 to 9 in. across the entire privy. There was a concentration of shell and faunal bone at the bottom of the layer with the cans and glass above. Layer 34 was thicker in the southwest corner. It appeared that this layer was thicker due to either filling from this side or a mucking out prior to the filling of layers 31 and 33. It was a dark gray-brown clay loam 2 to 5 in. thick. Layer 35 was similar in composition to Layer 34, but contained pockets of berry seeds. It went from 3 in. thick to a thin lens of seeds. Layer 36 was gray-brown clay loam 2 to 7 in. thick across the entire feature and slightly higher in the southwest corner. Layer 37 was a mix of gray primary fill and the blue-green clay subsoil.

Excavation profiles of Pit 6 and Privy 23 are presented in Figures 6.3 and 6.5.

Pit 6 has a TPQ of 1941 based on an Owens Illinois bottle from Oakland. Privy 23 has a TPQ of late 1930s based on a plate from the W.S. George Pottery Company of Pennsylvania. There are also numerous marked bottles dating from the early to mid-1930s in both features. The filling of Pit 6 and of Privy 23 likely date to 1943, after the death of Charles Stephenson. The Stephenson family had lived on the property since at least 1898. These deposits appear to be a major cleanout of the buildings. They included numerous paint cans from the painting business that included Charles and sons Walter and William. Due to the volume of material discarded, it appears that Privy 23 was of insufficient size requiring excavation of the massive Pit 6.

Tableware comprises 33 percent of the food preparation and consumption vessels followed closely by stemware and tumblers (30%) and cups and mugs (25%). The remaining vessels are serving (6%), indefinite use (4%), and kitchen (2%). Two-thirds of the vessels are ceramic (68%) and most of those WIE (72%). Porcelain (12%) and Opaque Porcelain (9%) are the only

vessel fabrics with multiple examples. The individual items are a Japanese porcelain saucer, a yellowware mixing bowl, a banded earthenware mixing bowl, and a refined red earthenware teapot lid. Two of the WIE saucers are also marked "MADE IN JAPAN."

In addition to the 2 ceramic mixing bowls within the kitchenware there were 11 enamelware kitchen items including a kettle, a skillet and pots, pans, an iron kettle and pot, and a galvanized pot. The metal items also included a thermos top.

Most of the 57 ceramic vessels (58%) were decorated. Of 7 porcelain vessels only 3 were decorated including a motto mug. One of the 6 opaque porcelain vessels was decorated with a blue transfer, of the remaining 5 undecorated vessels 3 cups were a matched set. Thirteen of the 41 WIE vessels were undecorated. The remaining 28 vessels displayed a variety of decoration including gilding, hand painting, decal, and molding both alone or in combination. Two pairs of cups were matching, one set gilt, the other ribbed.

Two of the glass vessels other than the 20 commercial tumblers were colored, one each pink and amethyst. The remaining 2 tumblers had pressed panels. The lone piece of stemware was etched. A dish or bowl and another hollow vessel were undecorated. There were only six alcoholic beverage containers including a Chinese brown-glazed stoneware liquor bottle. In addition there were 2 colorless bottles, a flask, and 2 wine or champagne bottles. A single wooden pipe was the only tobacco item.

There were 98 food items not including the 20 commercial tumblers discussed above. An Asian ginger jar may have been a decorative piece. A total of 64 bottles and jars (65%) and 9 cans plus a 1 can key (10%) were non-specific food items. The remaining bottles included condiments,

cream, mayonnaise, milk, mustard, pepper sauce, soda, syrup, and vinegar. One of the condiment bottles had been reused and contained gold paint. Some of the tableware vessels were found with paint residue, but it was not clear if these items had been used in the painting business or more likely been contacted by paint leaking from discarded cans. Food storage vessels consist of 7 canning jars and a stoneware crock lid.

Most of the furnishings were garden related, including 25 flowerpots (81%) and a bonsai dish. These could have been used indoors or out. There was also a pottery garden birdbath. The other furnishing items found are 2 clocks, window shade hardware, and a furniture caster and spring. Lighting items included both light bulbs and oil lamp parts. The vacuum tube from a radio was also discarded. According to the 1930 census, the Stephensons did not own a radio. A radio would have been a significant investment, although during the 1920s they had gone from luxury to a common item found in more than half of California households in 1930. The 1934 Sears Roebuck catalog lists radios from $13.95 to $89.95 and a gallon of exterior paint at $1.69 to $2.49. In 2011 the paint would cost $18.99 to $34.99.

The only toys found were the legs of two separate dolls. These may have been left in a closet or outbuilding from earlier times or may have belonged to children of a younger generation.

The largest category of artifacts in the two features were miscellaneous containers (19.4%) including cans, bottles, jars, buckets, and a drum. Many of these items may have been associated with the paint business. Painting items included 3 brushes and 42 cans at 6.4 percent of the entire collection. Like the reused condiment bottle, there were numerous items in other categories that could have been part of the business or for home use, such as cleaning supplies, steel wool, and fasteners.

Grooming and health items account for 4.7 percent of the collection. There are 6 toiletry items, 4 toothbrushes, a comb, and a hair pin. One of the toothbrushes was made in England, but sold by Darling's Pharmacy in Oakland. Grooming containers include a Burma-Shave jar, a cold cream jar, a powder can, and a Listerine bottle. Most of the patent medicine bottles were non-specific. A mange treatment was for human dandruff or dogs. The other bottles included liniment, magnesia, syrup, and Vaseline. Some of the other medicine bottles were from the Owl Drug Company.

Among the 19 clothing fasteners, 4 shell buttons were the most of any single type followed by 3 copper snap buttons. Other buttons were bone, ceramic, porcelain, ferrous, and rubber. Two buckles, one for sock garters, were also recovered. The only shoe parts recovered were an eyelet, tack, and part of a rubber boot.

Accoutrements consisted of a coin purse, a pinback, and parts of a medallion and 2 badges. These items reflect membership in community organizations.

Item 113-190 is made of low-grade gold with a stamped design of the Greek letters *chi* and *rho* overlaid by an upside-down triangle. Then triangle contains a tree and the words "SP[IRIT]/ M[IN]D/ B[OD]Y" appear on the sides. This item has a small loop at top for hanging at the bottom of a ribbon. This badge is the insignia for the Young Men's Christian Organization, a fraternal group originally formed in 1841 in London to address the unhealthy social conditions arising in cities during the Industrial Revolution.

Item 113-191 is a brass badge that hung from a ribbon: the (bear)/ DELEGATE/ GRAND PARLOR/ 42ND SESSION N.S.G.W. [YOSEMITE FALLS/ GLACIER POINT/ YOSEMITE/ 1919]. The reverse side indicates it was made by the ALBERT S. SAMUELS CO/ SAN FRANCISCO. This item indicates membership in the Native Sons of the Golden West (NSGW), a fraternal organization founded in 1875 ostensibly to preserve, teach, and celebrate the history of Alta California.

Charles Stephenson's obituary mentioned that he was a founding member of the Fruitvale chapter of Woodmen of the World. The organization is a fraternal benefit society with open membership providing life insurance and active in volunteer efforts to help the needy. It was formed in Omaha Nebraska in 1890. The Fruitvale Camp No. 431 is no longer active.

Pit 6 & Privy 23 – FEATURE SUMMARY TABLE
4425 Clement Street (32 Clark)
Stephenson Family

HOUSEHOLD

Name:	Charles F. Stephenson Family
Birthplace:	New York
Ethnicity or Race:	White
Occupation:	Painting Contractor
Period of Residence:	1897–1943
Terminus Post Quem/Basis:	1941/Owens Illinois bottle Oakland
Mean Ceramic Mark Date/*n*:	1929 (*n* = 12)
Estimated Date of Deposition:	1943

REAL ESTATE

Assessed Value:	Barn $150, $100 (1923)
Lot Size:	10,000 sq. ft. (Lots26 & 27 10,000 sq. ft.)
Personal Property Assessed:	N/A

ANALYTICAL UNIT

Context Numbers:	Pit 6: 113, 115; Privy 23: 31, 33, 34, 35, and 36

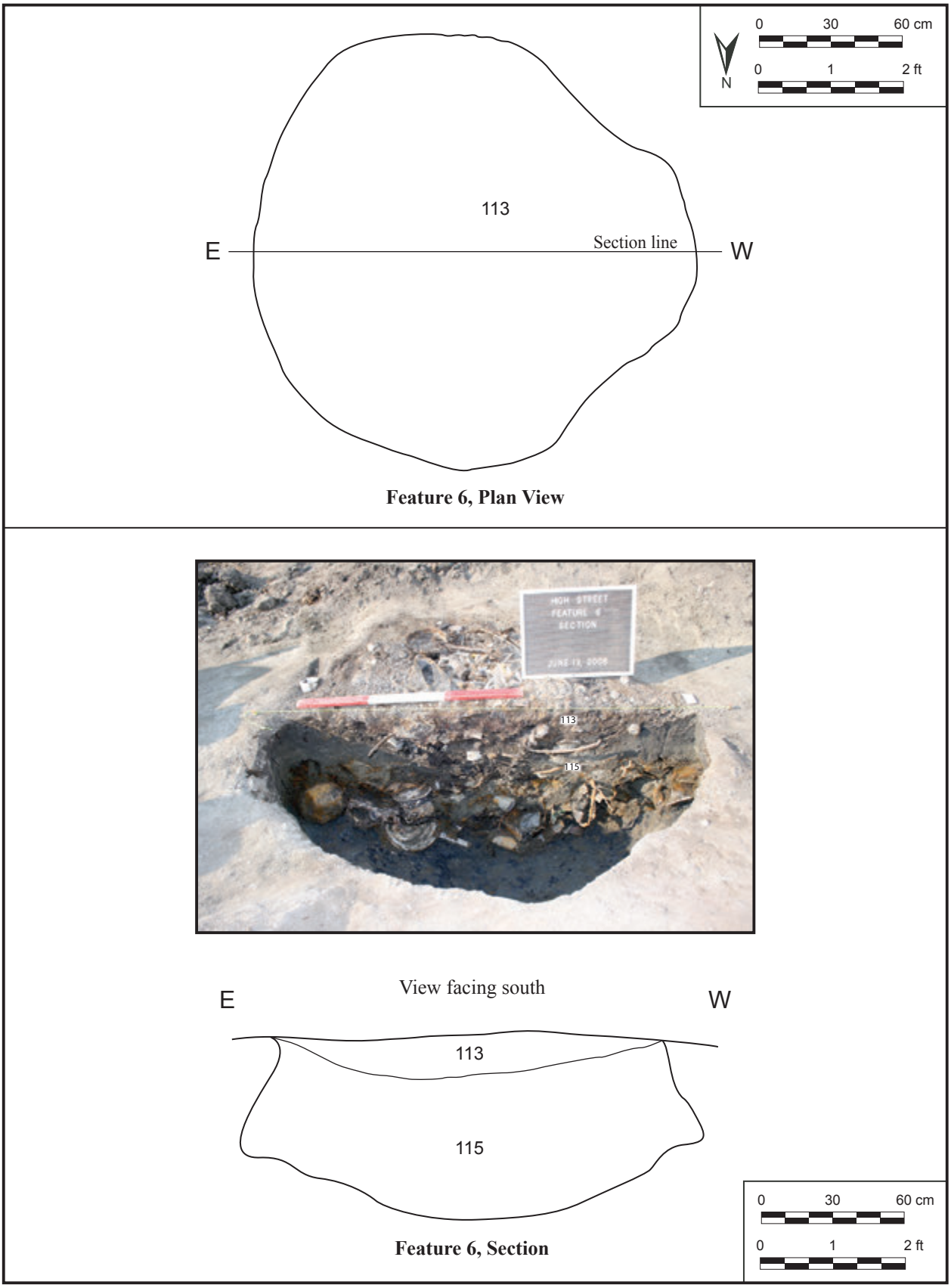


Figure 6.3. Pit 6 Section and Plan Drawings, 4425 Clement Street (32 Clark), Stephenson Family.

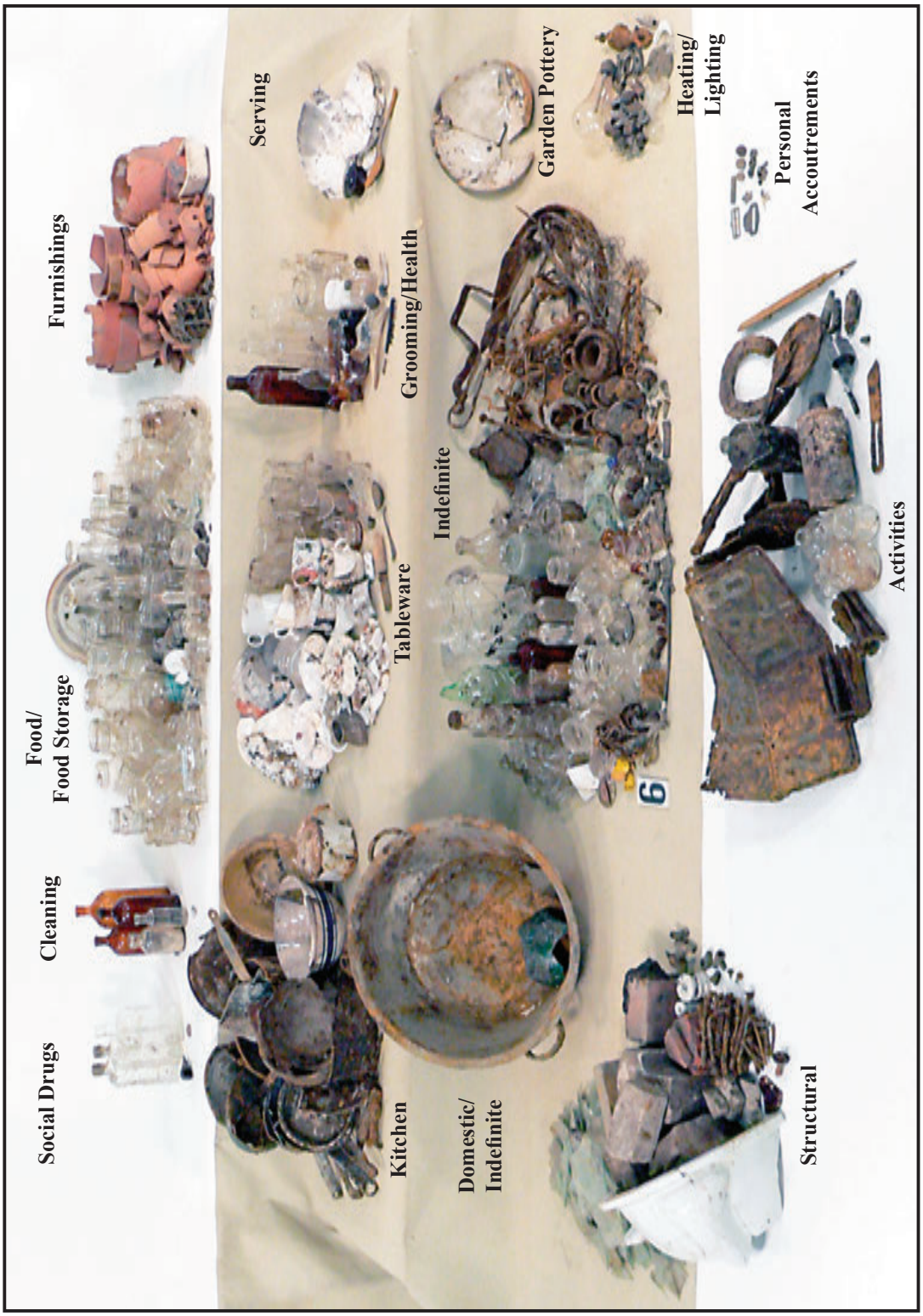


Figure 6.4. Pit 6 – Artifact Layout Photograph, 4425 Clement Street (32 Clark), Stephenson Family.

Pit 6 – ARTIFACT DESCRIPTIONS BY GROUP AND CATEGORY

4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
ACTIVITIES			
Automotive			
-	Ferrous Axle Roller Bearing	8	2
Subtotal Automotive		8	2
Communication			
Radio	Composite Vacuum Tube	2	2
Subtotal Communication		2	2
Indefinite			
-	- Dry Cell Battery	2	2
Subtotal Indefinite		2	2
Misc. Metal Items			
-	Ferrous Cart? Scooter?	2	1
-	Ferrous Horseshoe	1	1
Subtotal Misc. Metal Items		3	2
Painting			
-	Copper-alloy Paintbrush	1	1
-	Wood Paintbrush	1	1
-	Wood and Ferrous Paintbrush	1	1
Container	Ferrous Can	64	42
Subtotal Painting		67	45
Tools			
-	Ferrous Flat File	1	1
-	Ferrous T-level Blade	1	1
Automotive	Ferrous License Plate	2	2
Subtotal Tools		4	4
Transportation			
Automotive	Ferrous Roller Bearing	1	1
Subtotal Transportation		1	1
Writing			
-	Copper-alloy Pencil	1	1
Container	Colorless Glass Ink Bottle	9	4
Subtotal Writing		10	5
DOMESTIC			
Cleaning			
-	Ferrous Mop Head	1	1
Closure	Rubber Stopper	1	1
Container	Brown Glass Clorox Bottle	3	3
Container	Colorless Glass Bottle	1	1
Subtotal Cleaning		6	6
Clothing Maintenance			
Laundry	Colorless Glass Bluing Bottle	1	1
Sewing	Copper-alloy Safety Pin	3	3
Subtotal Clothing Maintenance		4	4

Pit 6 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
Food			
Closure	Fabric Can Key	1	1
Container	Aqua Glass Bottle	5	2
Container	Colorless Glass Beverage Bottle	5	1
Container	Colorless Glass Bottle	140	25
Container	Colorless Glass Condiment Bottle	11	4
Container	Colorless Glass Cream Bottle	2	2
Container	Colorless Glass Jar	166	31
Container	Colorless Glass Milk Bottle	35	5
Container	Colorless Glass Mustard Bottle	5	1
Container	Colorless Glass Pepper sauce Bottle	1	1
Container	Colorless Glass Soda-pop Bottle	11	1
Container	Colorless Glass Syrup? Bottle	6	1
Container	Colorless Glass Vinegar Bottle	14	1
Container	Ferrous Can	5	4
Subtotal Food		407	80
Food Prep/Consumption			
Drinking Vessel	Amethyst Glass Tumbler	2	1
Drinking Vessel	Colorless Glass Commercial Tumbler	59	18
Drinking Vessel	Copper-alloy Thermos Top	1	1
Drinking Vessel	Opaque Porcelain Cup	15	3
Drinking Vessel	Pink Glass Tumbler	9	1
Drinking Vessel	Porcelain Cup	3	3
Drinking Vessel	White Improved Earthenware Cup	51	9
Indefinite	Colorless Glass Dish/Bowl	2	1
Indefinite	Colorless Glass Hollow	5	1
Indefinite	Wood and Ferrous Knife	3	1
Kitchen	Earthenware Mixing Bowl	11	1
Kitchen	Enamelware Baking Pan	1	1
Kitchen	Enamelware Bowl/Pan	2	2
Kitchen	Enamelware Kettle	1	1
Kitchen	Enamelware Lid	2	0
Kitchen	Enamelware Pan	4	3
Kitchen	Enamelware Pot	1	1
Kitchen	Enamelware Pot Lid Finial	1	0
Kitchen	Enamelware Saucepan	2	2
Kitchen	Enamelware Skillet	2	1
Kitchen	Ferrous Kettle	1	1
Kitchen	Ferrous Pot	8	1
Kitchen	Galvanized Ferrous Pot	1	1
Kitchen	Yellowware Mixing Bowl	7	1
Serving	Ferrous Spoon	1	1
Serving	Refined Red-earthenware Teapot Lid	1	1
Serving	White Improved Earthenware Bowl, 8"	15	2
Serving	White Improved Earthenware Platter	15	1
Tableware	Japanese Porcelain Saucer, 6-1/2"	1	1
Tableware	Porcelain Plate	1	1
Tableware	Porcelain Saucer	1	1
Tableware	Silver-plate Spoon	2	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Berry Dish	2	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Bowl, 5-1/2"	7	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Bowl, 6"	8	2

Pit 6 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
Food Prep/Consumption *(continued)*			
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate	6	2
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate, 7"	7	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate, 7-1/2"	31	4
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate/Saucer	19	0
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Saucer	28	5
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Soup Plate, 8-1/2"	17	1
Subtotal Food Prep/Consumption		356	81
Food Storage			
Closure	Opaque-white Glass Canning Jar Lid Liner	7	0
Closure	Stoneware Crock Lid	18	1
Closure	Zinc and Opaque-white Glass Canning Jar Lid and Lid Liner	1	0
Container	Aqua Glass Canning Jar	9	1
Container	Colorless Glass Canning Jar	24	4
Subtotal Food Storage		59	6
Furnishings			
-	Common-pottery Flowerpot	229	24
-	Copper-alloy Clock	11	2
Decorative Item	Earthenware Bonsai Dish	2	1
Subtotal Furnishings		242	27
Garden Pottery			
-	Earthenware Bird Bath	5	1
Subtotal Garden Pottery		5	1
Heating/Lighting			
-	Copper-alloy and Glass Light Bulb	2	2
-	Glass Light Bulb	1	1
-	Glass and Copper-alloy Light Bulb	45	9
Lamp	Colorless Glass Chimney	1	1
Lamp	Copper-alloy Burner	1	1
Lamp	Copper-alloy Burner Ring	1	0
Lamp	Copper-alloy Shade Holder	4	2
Lamp	Ferrous Finial/Hanger	1	1
Lamp	Opaque-white Glass Shade	1	1
Subtotal Heating/Lighting		57	18
Indefinite			
-	Earthenware Hollowware	5	1
-	Enamelware Tub/Pan	1	1
Subtotal Indefinite		6	2
INDEFINITE USE			
Indefinite			
-	Mica Sheet	6	1
-	Aqua Glass Plate Glass	3	1
-	Asbestos Indefinite	9	1
-	Clay Pedestal?	1	1
-	Cobalt Glass Hollow	2	1
-	Colorless Glass Lid?	1	1
-	Colorless Glass Plate Glass	3	1
-	Cotton Fabric	2	1
-	Ferrous and Wood Metal-wrapped Dowel	2	1
-	Glass Flat	1	1

Pit 6 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
Indefinite *(continued)*			
-	Glass Mirror	3	2
-	Opaque Porcelain Hollow	2	1
-	Opaque-yellow Glass Body	5	1
-	Rubber Strip	1	0
-	Rubber Tube	1	1
Subtotal Indefinite		42	15
Misc. Closures			
-	Cork Stoppers	4	0
-	Ferrous Cap	9	0
-	Ferrous Crown Cap	1	0
Subtotal Misc. Closures		14	0
Misc. Containers			
-	Aqua Glass Bottle	41	2
-	Aqua Glass Jar	4	1
-	Brown Glass Bottle	8	4
-	Colorless Glass Beverage Bottle	4	1
-	Colorless Glass Bottle	364	21
-	Colorless Glass Jar	55	8
-	Colorless Glass Large Jar	28	1
-	Colorless Glass Waterer?	1	1
-	Ferrous Bucket	7	7
-	Ferrous Can	45	39
-	Ferrous Can Handle	43	0
-	Ferrous Drum	2	1
-	Opaque-white Glass Jar	1	1
-	Sun-tinted Amethyst Glass Bottle	1	1
Subtotal Misc. Containers		604	88
Misc. Fasteners			
-	Copper-alloy Staple	1	1
Subtotal Misc. Fasteners		1	1
Misc. Metal Items			
-	Copper-alloy Collar	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Cup Hook	2	2
-	Copper-alloy Decorative Plate	3	2
-	Copper-alloy Flap Hinge	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Grommet	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Latch	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Medal? Badge?	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Nut and Threaded Rod	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Pin Back?	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Pipe/Curtain Bracket	4	4
-	Copper-alloy Plate	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Post	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Rod	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Steel Wool	3	1
-	Copper-alloy Strip	3	2
-	Copper-alloy Tab	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Thumbwheel Rod	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Wire	3	0
-	Ferrous Base	1	1

Pit 6 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
Misc. Metal Items *(continued)*			
-	Ferrous Cable	6	3
-	Ferrous Disk	3	3
-	Ferrous Frame? Cage?	2	1
-	Ferrous Handle	1	1
-	Ferrous Hoop	1	1
-	Ferrous Knob/Finial	1	0
-	Ferrous Lattice? Grill?	24	1
-	Ferrous Lock Plate	1	1
-	Ferrous Mesh	1	1
-	Ferrous Plate	1	1
-	Ferrous Rd	1	1
-	Ferrous Ring	1	1
-	Ferrous Rod	12	8
-	Ferrous Sheet Metal	1	1
-	Ferrous Strap	2	2
-	Ferrous Strip	5	3
-	Ferrous Washer	2	2
-	Ferrous Wire	13	5
-	Ferrous Wire Frame	1	1
-	Lead Knob	1	1
-	Lead Ring	1	1
Subtotal Misc. Metal Items		112	63
PERSONAL			
Accoutrements			
Jewelry	Brass Badge/Medal	1	1
Jewelry	Copper-alloy Celebration Badge	1	1
Jewelry	Copper-alloy Pin Back	1	1
Jewelry	Gold YMCA Pendant/Badge	1	1
Subtotal Accoutrements		4	4
Clothing			
Fastener	Copper-alloy Rivet	2	2
Fastener	Copper-alloy Snap Button	3	3
Fastener	Ferrous Button	1	1
Subtotal Clothing		6	6
Clothing/Footwear			
-	Copper-alloy Eyelet	10	1
Subtotal Clothing/Footwear		10	1
Grooming/Health			
-	Colorless Glass Eyedropper	2	2
Container	Brown Glass Bottle	12	2
Container	Brown Glass Mange Medicine Bottle	20	1
Container	Colorless Glass Bottle	22	5
Container	Colorless Glass Burma Shave Jar	8	1
Container	Colorless Glass Jar	5	1
Container	Colorless Glass Liniment Bottle	7	1
Container	Colorless Glass Magnesia Bottle	1	1
Container	Colorless Glass Syrup Bottle	4	2
Container	Colorless Glass Vial	1	1
Container	Ferrous Powder Can	1	1
Container	Opaque-white Glass Cold-cream Jar	1	1

Pit 6 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
Grooming/Health *(continued)*			
Container	Opaque-white Glass Jar	1	1
Container	Opaque-white Glass Listerine Bottle	1	1
Toiletry	Bone Toothbrush	2	2
Toiletry	Plastic Comb	1	1
Subtotal Grooming/Health		89	24
Misc. Containers			
-	Colorless Glass Bottle	1	1
-	Olive Glass Bottle	1	1
Subtotal Misc. Containers		2	2
Social Drugs – Alcohol			
Container	Chinese Brown Glazed Stoneware Liquor Bottle	1	1
Container	Colorless Glass Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	23	2
Container	Colorless Glass Flask	8	1
Subtotal Social Drugs – Alcohol		32	4
Social Drugs – Tobacco			
-	Wood Pipe	1	1
Subtotal Social Drugs – Tobacco		1	1
STRUCTURAL			
Electric			
-	Porcelain Fence Insulator	2	2
-	Porcelain Tube Insulator	1	1
Subtotal Electric		3	3
Hardware			
-	Copper-alloy Cock	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Faucet	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Pipe Elbow	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Valve	1	1
-	Ferrous Doorknob Shaft	1	1
Fastener	Ferrous Eyescrew	1	1
Fastener	Ferrous Nut and Bolt	4	4
Fastener	Ferrous Screw	2	2
Fastener	Ferrous Spike	2	2
Fastener	Ferrous Tack	2	2
Fastener	Ferrous Washer	5	5
Fastener	Ferrous Wire	59	59
Fastener	Ferrous Wire Nail	15	15
Subtotal Hardware		95	95
Materials			
-	- Mortar	3	1
-	Clay Brick	2	1
-	Composite Roofing Shingle	3	1
-	Concrete Block	6	0
-	Glass Decorative Window	2	1
-	Glass Window	538	0
Subtotal Materials		554	4
Plumbing			
-	Porcelain Sink	12	1
Subtotal Plumbing		12	1

Pit 6 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
UNDEFINED USE			
-	Glass Amorphous	68	0
-	Plastic Amorphous	1	0
-	Slag Waste	1	1
Subtotal Undefined Use		70	1
TOTAL		2,890	601

Pit 6 – SUMMARY OF ARTIFACTS BY GROUP
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Description	Total Count	MNI	Percent of MNI
Activities	97	63	19
Domestic	1,142	225	69
Personal	138	36	11
Subtotal	1,378	324	99
Indefinite Use	773	167	
Personal	6	6	
Structural	664	103	
TOTAL	2,820	600	

Pit 6 – SUMMARY OF ARTIFACTS BY CATEGORY
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Description	MNI	Percent
Accoutrements	4	0.8
Automotive	2	0.4
Cleaning	6	1.2
Clothing	6	1.2
Clothing Maintenance	4	0.8
Clothing/Footwear	1	0.2
Communication	2	0.4
Food	80	16.1
Food Prep/Consumption	81	16.3
Food Storage	6	1.2
Furnishings	27	5.4
Garden Pottery	1	0.2
Grooming/Health	24	4.8
Heating/Lighting	18	3.6
Indefinite	19	3.8
Misc. Containers	90	18.1
Misc. Fasteners	1	0.2
Misc. Metal Items	65	13.1
Painting	45	9.1
Social Drugs – Alcohol	4	0.8
Social Drugs – Tobacco	1	0.2
Tools	4	0.8
Transportation	1	0.2
Writing	5	1
TOTAL	497	99.9

Pit 6 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL FUNCTION
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Function	MNI	Percent
Serving (platters, covered dishes, etc.)	4	6
Tableware (plates, bowls, saucers, etc.)	20	32
Stemware and Tumblers	20	32
Cups and Mugs	15	24
Kitchen (mixing bowls, bakers, etc.)	2	3
Indefinite	2	3
TOTAL	63	100

Pit 6 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL FABRIC
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Fabric	MNI	Percent	Total MNI	Total Percent
Ceramic			41	65
Porcelain	5	12.2		
Japanese Porcelain	1	2.4		
Opaque Porcelain	3	7.3		
White Improved Earthenware	29	70.7		
Refined Red-earthenware	1	2.4		
Yellowware	1	2.4		
Earthenware	1	2.4		
Subtotal	41	99.8		
Glass			22	35
TOTAL			63	100

Pit 6 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL DECORATION
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Fabric	Description	Type of Decoration	Decorated MNI	Undecorated MNI
Ceramic				
Earthenware	Mixing Bowl	Blue banded	1	
Japanese Porcelain	Saucer, 6-1/2"			1
Opaque Porcelain	Cup			3
Porcelain	Cup			2
Porcelain	Cup	Ribbed	1	
Porcelain	Plate			1
Porcelain	Saucer	Gilded	1	
Refined Red-earthenware	Teapot Lid			1
WIE	Berry Dish			1
WIE	Bowl, 5-1/2"			1
WIE	Bowl, 6"	Molded, Decal	2	
WIE	Bowl, 8"	Molded	2	
WIE	Cup			3
WIE	Cup	Gilded	2	
WIE	Cup	Molded	1	
WIE	Cup	Ribbed	3	
WIE	Plate			1
WIE	Plate	Floral Decal	1	
WIE	Plate, 7"	Molded	1	
WIE	Plate, 7-1/2"			1
WIE	Plate, 7-1/2"	Gilded	1	
WIE	Plate, 7-1/2"	Molded	1	
WIE	Plate, 7-1/2"	Scalloped, Floral Decal, Hand painted	1	
WIE	Platter	Molded	1	
WIE	Saucer			2
WIE	Saucer	Molded	1	
WIE	Saucer	Molded, Floral Decal, Hand painted	2	
WIE	Soup Plate, 8-1/2"			1
Yellowware	Mixing Bowl			1
Ceramic Subtotal			22	19
Glass				
Amethyst Glass	Tumbler			1
Colorless Glass	Commercial Tumbler			18
Colorless Glass	Dish/Bowl			1
Colorless Glass	Hollow			1
Pink Glass	Tumbler	Glass Color	1	
Glass Subtotal			1	21
TOTAL			23	40

Pit 6 – SUMMARY OF SOCIAL DRUGS
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Social Drug	Description	MNI	Percent
Alcohol			
	Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	2	
	Flask	1	
	Liquor Bottle	1	
Subtotal		4	80
Tobacco			
	Pipe	1	
Subtotal		1	20
TOTAL		5	100

Pit 6 – DATE AND ORIGIN OF MARKED/DATABLE ITEMS
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Catalog No.	Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Ceramic Items								
115 1	White Improved Earthenware	Plate, 7-1/2"	1	Green printed mark: (in shield) ARGOSY/ W.S. GEORGE/ IVORY/ (below shield) 138 C	W.S. George Pottery Co.	PA	1920s – late	Lehner 1988:162–164
115 2	White Improved Earthenware	Bowl, 8"	2	Green printed mark: (urn) VITREOUS (across urn)/ EDWIN M. KNOWLES/ CHINA CO./ 26-3-8	Knowles China Co.	PA	1926 –	Debolt 1994:68; Gates and Ormerod 1982:99, mark a
115 4	White Improved Earthenware	Bowl, 6"	2	Green printed mark: ../ 32 ..				
115 5	White Improved Earthenware	Saucer	2	Red printed mark: (butterfly) MADE IN JAPAN (across wings)/ HANDPAINTED (lower arch)		Japan	1907 ca –	Costello and Maniery1988:27
115 7	White Improved Earthenware	Plate, 7"	1	Green printed mark: (rays?)/ ../ U.S.A.				
115 8	White Improved Earthenware	Plate, 7-1/2"	1	Green printed mark: (urn) VITREOUS (across urn)/ EDWIN M. KNOWLES/ CHINA CO./ 18-1-3	Knowles China Co.	East Liverpool, OH	1918 –	Debolt 1994:68; Gates and Ormerod 1982:99, mark a
115 9	White Improved Earthenware	Platter	1	Green printed mark: [(urn) VITREOUS (across urn)/ ED]WIN M. [KNOWLES]/ CHINA CO./ 24-3-8	Knowles China Co.	East Liverpool, OH	1924 –	Debolt 1994:68; Gates and Ormerod 1982:99, mark a
115 11	White Improved Earthenware	Bowl, 5-1/2"	1	Green printed mark: DERWOOD/ W.S. GEORGE/ 1 .. 3 (or 8) D (or B)	W.S. George Pottery Co.	PA	1930s –	Lehner 1998:162–163, mark 163:12
115 12	Japanese Porcelain	Saucer, 6-1/2"	1	Blue printed mark: MADE IN/ JAPAN		Japan	1907 ca –	Costello and Maniery1988:27
115 13	White Improved Earthenware	Soup Plate, 8-1/2"	1	Printed mark: ROYAL IRONSTONE CHINA (upper arch)/ (standing Royal Coat of Arms)/ [JOHNSON] BROS. [?/ ENGLAND]	Johnson Brothers	Staffordshire	1883 –	Godden 1991:355
115 31	Yellowware	Mixing Bowl	1	Impressed mark: 12				

Pit 6 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.	Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Glass Items								
113 21	Brown Glass	Mange Medicine Bottle	1	(around shoulder) 6 1/2 FL. OZ./ GLOVER'S IMPERIAL/ MANGE MEDICINE// [H. CLA]Y GLOVER CO// [NEW YORK]/// O (in square)	Owens Bottle Co.; Glover Co.	New York	1929 – 1929	Giarde 1980:76; Fike 1987:98
113 22	Brown Glass	Bottle	1	/// 7 (Owens Illinois logo) 6/ 10.	Owens Illinois Glass Co.	Alton, IL	1936 – 1936	Lockhart 2004:24–27; Giarde 1980:97
113 31	Colorless Glass	Condiment Bottle	1	(around heel) .// .. (Owens Illinois logo) 5/ 4 /// BEST FOODS/ REG/ DESIGN/ PATENT/ 80918	Owens Illinois Glass Co.; Best Foods		1935 – 1935	Lockhart 2004:24–27; Google Patent Search; Brand Names Foundation 1947:16
113 32	Colorless Glass	Jar	3	(around heel) 1647// ../ 23/// BEST FOODS (upper arch)/ REG/ DESIGN/ PATENT/ 80918; 1647// ../// BEST FOODS (upper arch)/ REG/ DESIGN/ PATENT/ 80918; 1647// ../// [BEST FOODS (upper arch)/ REG/ DESIGN/ PATENT/] 80918	Best Foods		11056 –	Google Patent Search; Brand Names Foundation 1947:16
113 34	Colorless Glass	Syrup Bottle	1	(around heel) .. CC				
113 35	Colorless Glass	Syrup Bottle	1	(on shoulder) (scroll, circle, scroll)// (scroll) 2 (in circle) (scroll)// (graduated markings down sides)/// ILLINOIS (upper arch)/ 6 (dot) (Owens Illinois logo) (dot) 4	Owens Illinois Glass Co.	Charleston, WV	1932 – 1932	Lockhart 2004:23–27
113 36	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	(on shoulder) (in circle) [N]YAL/ QUALITY[/ (wing) A (in circle) (wing)]/// F 898 7	Nyal Company	Detroit, MI	1906 ca – 1944	Fike 1987:161; Devner 1968:69
113 37	Colorless Glass	Liniment Bottle	1	SLOAN'S/ LINIMENT/// I (in diamond) 16	Illinois Glass Co.		1915 – 1929	Lockhart et al. 2005:55–56, figures 4 and 5
113 38	Sun-tinted Amethyst Glass	Bottle	1	/// A A; (sun-tinted amethyst glass)			1870s – 1920 ca	Lockhart 2006:54
113 39	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// .. DES. PAT./ 85925			1932 –	Google Patent Search
113 40	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// A-S ..				
113 41	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// 2 GC (interlocking) 3962	Glass Containers, Inc.	CA	1934 – 1967	Giarde 1980:45
113 43	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	(Design Patent 86565)			1932 –	Google Patent Search
113 44	Aqua Glass	Bottle	1	/// 4				

Pit 6 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.	Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Glass Items (continued)								
113 45	Colorless Glass	Milk Bottle	1	THIS BOTTLE NEVE[R SOLD]/ USED ONLY UN[DER]/ LICEN[SE FROM]/ ALAME[DA COUNTY MILK DEALERS ASSOCIATION]/ A.C./ OAKLAND/ REG. CAL.// [ONE Q]UART/// A	Alameda County Milk Dealers Asso.	Oakland, CA	1911 ca –	Oakland Tribune 1911
113 47	Brown Glass	Bottle	1	/// (in upside down triangle) W/ T/ (below triangle) 21	Whitall Tatum Glass Co.		1922 ca – 1969	Lockhart et al. 2006:67–68
113 48	Brown Glass	Bottle	1	/// 20 (Owens Illinois logo) 1/ 2914-O-2	Owens Illinois Glass Co.	Oakland, CA	1941 – 1941	Lockhart 2004:24–27; Giarde 1980:95–96
113 49	Colorless Glass	Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	1	FEDERAL LAW FORBIDS SALE/ OR REUSE OF THIS BOTTLE/// D-125../ 4 G (in diamond)/ DES. PAT../ 1012			1933 – 1964	
113 50	Colorless Glass	Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	1	/// 1012/ 23				
113 51	Colorless Glass	Soda-pop Bottle	1	(around shoulder) WHISTLE/ 6-1/2 [FL.] OZS.// WHISTLE/ REGISTERED (around base) WHISTLE/ BOT. PAT. APPLIED FOR// WHISTLE/ REG. U.S. PAT. OFF./// OAKLAND			1926 ca –	Coke Girl 2008
113 52	Colorless Glass	Magnesia Bottle	1	(in shield, angled up) CITRATE/ OF/ MAGNESIA/// GC (interlocking) 1994/ 1	Glass Containers, Inc.	CA	1934 – 1967	Giarde 1980:45
113 55	Colorless Glass	Commercial Tumbler	1	/// (Hazel Atlas mark)/ 64 (through base)	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1923 – 1963	Whitten 2005
113 58	Colorless Glass	Commercial Tumbler	1	/// (Hazel Atlas mark)/ 58	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1923 – 1964	Whitten 2005
113 59	Colorless Glass	Commercial Tumbler	1	/// (Hazel Atlas mark)/ 682 (through base)	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1923 – 1963	Whitten 2005
113 60	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// GENERAL FOOD PRODUCTS CO. (upper arch)/ DES. PAT./ 20 (Owens Illinois logo) 6/ LOS ANGELES (lower arch)	Owens Illinois Glass Co.; General Food Products Co.	Oakland, CA; Los Angeles, CA	1936 – 1936	Lockhart 2004:24–27; Giarde 1980:96–97
113 62	Colorless Glass	Canning Jar	1	ATLAS/ STRONG [SHO]ULDER/ MASO[N]	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1915 ca –	Toulouse 1969:26
113 63	Colorless Glass	Canning Jar	1	BALL (no underline)/ PERFECT/ MASON	Ball Bros. Co.	Muncie, IN	1920 ca –	Toulouse 1969:38
113 64	Colorless Glass	Canning Jar	1	KERR/ "SELF-SEALING"/ TRADEMARK REG. (in ribbon)/ MASON/// KERR GLASS MFG. CO. (upper arch)/ 9/ PAT/ AUG. 31/ 1915/ SAND SPRINGS OKLA (lower arch)	Kerr Glass Mfg. Co.	Sand Springs, OK	1915 – 1919	Toulouse 1969:169–170

Pit 6 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.	Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Glass Items (continued)								
113 65	Colorless Glass	Canning Jar	1	KERR/ "SELF-SEALING"/ TRADEMARK REG. (in ribbon)/ MASON	Kerr Glass Mfg. Co.	Sand Springs, OK	1915 –	Toulouse 1969:169–170
113 67	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	/// 4 (through base)				
113 68	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// GC (interlocking)/ 3176	Glass Containers, Inc.	CA	1934 – 1967	Giarde 1980:45
113 72	Colorless Glass	Vinegar Bottle	1	/// H.J. HEINZ CO. (upper arch)/ 20/ 211/ PATD. (lower arch)	Heinz, H.J. Co.	Pittsburgh, PA		
113 73	Colorless Glass	Commercial Tumbler	1	/// P C (in bisected rectangle)/ (3 diamonds in a row) (read through base)	Pacific Coast Glass Co.	San Francisco	1925 – 1931	Giarde 1980:99
113 77	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// ..6/ ..				
113 79	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// DESIG[N] .. (upper arch)				
113 81	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// [I]PGCO (in diamond, increasing then decreasing in size)	Illinois Pacific Glass Co.	West Coast	1902 – 1926	Lockhart et al. 2005:74, figure 3
113 83	Colorless Glass	Mustard Bottle	1	(around shoulder) [?FRENC]H'S ..				
113 84	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	(around heel) H/// H. J. HEINZ CO. (upper arch)/ 143/ PAT.D.	Heinz, H.J. Co.	Pittsburgh, PA		
113 86	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	(around heel) P [C] (in bisected rectangle)	Pacific Coast Glass Co.	San Francisco	1925 – 1931	Giarde 1980:99
113 87	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// P C (in bisected rectangle)	Pacific Coast Glass Co.	San Francisco	1925 – 1931	Giarde 1980:99
113 88	Colorless Glass	Jar	2	/// H.J. HEINZ (upper arch)/ 303/ (Hazel Atlas mark)/ 1; /// H.J. HEINZ (upper arch)/ 303/ (Hazel Atlas logo)/ 8	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.; H.J. Heinz	Wheeling, WV; Pittsburgh, PA	1923 – 1964	Whitten 2005
113 90	Colorless Glass	Bottle	2	/// (Hazel Atlas mark)/ 4K-5852 (lower arch); /// 4/ (Hazel Atlas logo)	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1923 – 1964	Whitten 2005
113 91	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	(around heel) 300-1 IPG (in triangle)	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
113 94	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// IPG (in triangle) 1759/ 8	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
113 95	Colorless Glass	Condiment Bottle	1	/// BEST/ FOODS/ REG.	Best Foods		1912 –	Brand Names Foundation 1947:16
113 98	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	C[HES]EBROUGH (upper arch)/ MA[NUFACTURING] CO. CD./ NEW [YO]RK (lower arch)	Chesebrough Mfg. Co.	New York	1908 –	Fike 1987:56
113 99	Colorless Glass	Jar	2	/// 446/ 4; /// 446/ 6				
113 100	Colorless Glass	Ink Bottle	1	(around shoulder) [W]ATERMAN'S ..	Waterman's Ink			
113 102	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// BLACK/ 80/ EAF				

Pit 6 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.		Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Glass Items (continued)									
113	103	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// (Owens Illinois logo)/ 4	Owens Illinois Glass Co.		1929 – 1956	Giarde 1980:77
113	110	Opaque-white Glass	Canning Jar Lid Liner	0	BOYD'S [GENUINE PORCELAIN] LINED [CAP]/ 1				
115	38	Aqua Glass	Canning Jar	1	BALL (in script)/ [P]ERFE[CT/ M]AS[ON]/// 5	Ball Bros. Co.	Muncie, IN	1920 ca –	Toulouse 1969:38
115	40	Colorless Glass	Jar	4	(around heel) 1646// 22 (Owens Illinois logo) 4/ 22/// BEST FOODS (upper arch)/ REG./ DESIGN/ PATENT/ 80918	Owens Illinois Glass Co.; Best Foods	San Francisco	1934 – 1934	Google Patent Search; Brand Names Foundation 1947:16; Lockhart et al. 2004:24–27; Giarde 1980:96–97
115	41	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	(around heel) 1642// 22 (Owens Illinois logo) 2/ 22/// BEST FOODS (upper arch)/ REG./ DESIGN/ PATENT/ 80918	Owens Illinois Glass Co.; Best Foods	San Francisco	1932 – 1932	Google Patent Search; Brand Names Foundation 1947:16; Lockhart et al. 2004:24–27; Giarde 1980:96–97
115	42	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	(around heel) 1646// 22 (Owens Illinois logo) 2/ 4/// BEST FOODS (upper arch)/ REG./ DESIGN/ PATENT/ 80918	Owens Illinois Glass Co.; Best Foods	San Francisco	1932 – 1932	Google Patent Search; Brand Names Foundation 1947:16; Lockhart et al. 2004:24–27; Giarde 1980:96–97
115	43	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	(around heel) IPG (in triangle)/ BEST FOODS (upper arch)/ REG./ DESIGN/ PATENT/ 80918	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.; Best Foods	West Coast	11056 – 1930	Google Patent Search; Brand Names Foundation 1947:16; Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
115	46	Colorless Glass	Flask	1	(around shoulder) FULL PINT				
115	49	Colorless Glass	Bottle	4	/// (capstan)/ 5520	Capstan Glass Co.	South Connellsville, PA	1930 ca – 1938	Toulouse 1971:548–549; Bernas 2007a:32–38
115	50	Colorless Glass	Milk Bottle	1	(around shoulder) ONE Q[UART]/ [GO]LDEN ST[ATE] (upper arch)/ (in shield) GOLDEN STATE/ BRAND/ (below shield) [COM]PANY LT[D] (lower arch)// (around heel) CREAM TOP/ PAT. MAR. 3, 1925/// GS	Golden State Co. Ltd.	Oakland, CA	1925 –	
115	51	Colorless Glass	Milk Bottle	1	(on lip) 2// 8/ (around shoulder) ONE QUART (upper arch)// AC/ STORE BOTTLE/ (around heel) OAKLAND CALIF// P C (in bisected rectangle)/// AC	Pacific Coast Glass Co.	San Francisco	1928 – 1928	Schulz et al. in press

Pit 6 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.		Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range		References
Marked Glass Items (continued)										
115	54	Colorless Glass	Milk Bottle	1	HALF PINT (upper arch)/ (in circle) JERSEY, MILK, CREAM (upper arch)/ &/ BUTTER CO./ 695 37th ST./ OAKLAND, CAL. (lower arch)// (around heel) I IPG (in triangle)/// CJM (monogram)	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.; Jersey Milk Cream & Butter Co.	San Francisco; Oakland	1926	– 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
115	55	Colorless Glass	Cream Bottle	1	1/4 PINT (in circle) JERSEY MILK (upper arch)/ CREAM & BUTTER (upper arch)/ CO./ OAKLAND (lower arch)/ (around heel) 5// PC (in bisected rectangle)/// P.C.G.W. (in circle)	Pacific Coast Glass Works	San Francisco	1902	– 1924	Giarde 1980:100
115	56	Colorless Glass	Cream Bottle	1	1/4 PINT/ (around heel) I.P.G.CO. 485	Illinois Pacific Glass Co.	West Coast	1902	– 1926	Lockhart et al. 2005:74, figure 1
115	57	Colorless Glass	Commercial Tumbler	1	/// 303 (read through glass)					
115	58	Brown Glass	Clorox Bottle	1	(2x around neck) CLOROX/ (2x around shoulder) CLOROX/ (6x around shoulder) CLOROX/ (around heel) 21 (Owens Illinois logo) 2 (4x around heel) CLOROX /// REG (angled up) US (angled down)/ CLOROX (in diamond)/ PAT (angled up) OFF (angled down)	Owens Illinois Glass Co.; Clorox	San Francisco; Oakland, CA	1932	– 1932	Lockhart 2004:24–27; Clorox n.d.
115	59	Brown Glass	Clorox Bottle	1	(around shoulder) SANI-CLOR// SANI-CLOR/ (around heel) 2 IPG (in triangle)/// CROWN PRODUCTS CORP. (upper arch)/ SANI-CLOR/ SAN FRANCISCO (lower arch)	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp; Sani-Clor	West Coast	1926	– 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
115	60	Brown Glass	Clorox Bottle	1	(around shoulder) - SANI// - CLOR/// CROWN PRODUCTS CORP. (upper arch)/ 6/ SANI-CLOR/ L (in O)/ SAN FRANCISCO	Latchford Glass Co.; Sani-Clor	CA	1925	– 1938	Giarde 1980:142
115	61	Brown Glass	Bottle	1	/// 14 (Owens Illinois logo) 0	Owens Illinois Glass Co.	Bridgeton, NJ	1930	– 1930	Lockhart 2004:24–27
115	65	Aqua Glass	Bottle	1	/// 51					
115	68	Colorless Glass	Commercial Tumbler	1	/// (shield with 3 stars at top, stripes at bottom)					
115	70	Colorless Glass	Commercial Tumbler	1	/// (3 diamonds in a row)/ P C (in bisected rectangle)	Pacific Coast Glass Co.	San Francisco	1925	– 1931	Giarde 1980:99

Pit 6 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.		Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range		References
Marked Glass Items (continued)										
115	71	Colorless Glass	Burma Shave Jar	1	BURMA/ SHAVE/// BURMA VITA COMPANY MINNEAPOLIS, MINN (upper arch)/ (Hazel Atlas mark)/ MADE IN U.S.A./ ONE POUND/ NET 12	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.; Burma Vita Co.	Wheeling, W.V.; Minneapolis, MN	1932	– 1964	Whitten 2005
115	72	Opaque-white Glass	Cold-cream Jar	1	POND'S// POND'S	Ponds	New York	1914	–	Unilever 2008
115	73	Opaque-white Glass	Jar	1	/// (Hazel Atlas mark)	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1923	– 1964	Whitten 2005
115	74	Aqua Glass	Bottle	1	/// (in triangle) W/ T/ (below triangle) 26	Whitall-Tatum Glass Co.		1922 ca	– 1969	Lockhart et al. 2006:67–68
115	76	Colorless Glass	Condiment Bottle	1	/// PATENTED SEPT 15 1925 (upper arch)/ A.E. WRIGHT CO/ CHICAGO/ 3 O (in square) 9 (or) 8	Owens Bottle Co.	Toledo, OH	1925	– 1929	Giarde 1980:76
115	77	Opaque-white Glass	Listerine Bottle	1	(around shoulder) LISTERINE/ (around heel) LAMBERT/ PHARMACAL COMPANY/// N (in square) 15	Obear-Nester Bottle Co.	East St. Louis, MO	1915	–	Toulouse 1971:373–375
115	78	Colorless Glass	Peppersauce Bottle	1	3 FL. OZS./ JUMBO/ BRAND/ (elephant head)/ PEPPERSAUCE/ THE FRANK TEA/ & SAUCE CO./ CINCINNATI O.	Frank Tea and Sauce Co.	Cincinnati, OH	1920 ca	–	Reckitt Benckiser, Inc. 2008
115	79	Colorless Glass	Large Jar	1	/// 6 O (in square) 9/ 10	Owens Bottle Co.	Toledo, OH	1911	– 1929	Giarde 1980:76
115	80	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// 6 (or) 9 (in circle)					
115	81	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	[THE] OWL DRUG CO.	Owl Drug Co.	San Francisco	1910 ca	– 1933 ca	Fike 1981:72
115	85	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	(around heel) S-939-../// 23 (Owens Illinois logo) 2/ 2	Owens Illinois Glass Co.	Los Angeles, CA	1932	– 1932	Lockhart 2004:24–27; Giarde 1980:98
115	86	Colorless Glass	Syrup? Bottle	1	/// (Hazel Atlas mark)/ 3-0-9056 (lower arch)	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1923	– 1964	Whitten 2005
115	87	Colorless Glass	Beverage Bottle	1	/// 6					
115	88	Colorless Glass	Bottle	3	/// (Hazel-Atlas logo)/ 1-0-612; /// (Hazel Atlas mark)/ 8-0-38..; /// (Hazel-Atlas logo)/ 4-0-386	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1923	– 1964	Whitten 2005
115	89	Colorless Glass	Bottle	2	(around heel) IPG (in triangle); /// IPG (in triangle)/ 4	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926	– 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
115	90	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// BEST/ FOODS/ REGISTERED	Best Foods		1912	–	Brand Names Foundation 1947:16
115	93	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	(around heel) IPG (in triangle)// 1152	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926	– 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9

Pit 6 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.	Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Glass Items (continued)								
115 94	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// (Hazel Atlas mark) 0-8 117	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1923 – 1964	Whitten 2005
115 95	Colorless Glass	Bottle	2	(around heel) 318/// IPG (in triangle)/ 4; (around heel) 318/// IPG (in triangle)/ 3	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
115 96	Colorless Glass	Commercial Tumbler	1	/// P C (in bisected rectangle)	Pacific Coast Glass Co.	San Francisco	1925 – 1931	Giarde 1980:99
115 98	Colorless Glass	Beverage Bottle	1	(around heel) P/C (in bisected rectangle) NET CONTENTS// 10 FLD. OZ	Pacific Coast Glass Co.	San Francisco	1925 – 1931	Giarde 1980:99
115 99	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// 5520				
115 106	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	/// H.J. HEINZ (upper arch)/ 303/ (Hazal Atlas mark)/ 5	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.; H.J. Heinz	Wheeling, WV; Pittsburgh, PA	1923 – 1964	Whitten 2005
115 107	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	(around heel) 7 IPG (in triangle)// 365	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
115 108	Colorless Glass	Bottle	2	(around heel) 1077/// 29 55/ 22 (Owens Illinois logo) 2; /// 29 55/ 22 (Owens Illinois logo) 2	Owens Illinois Glass Co.	San Francisco	1932 – 1932	Lockhart 2004:24–27; Giarde 1980:97
115 109	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	/// P C (in bisected rectangle)	Pacific Coast Glass Co.	San Francisco	1925 – 1931	Giarde 1980:99
115 110	Colorless Glass	Jar	2	(around heel) 300-8 IPG (in triangle)/// 8; (around heel) 8 IPG (in triangle)	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
115 112	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	(around heel) IPG (in triangle) 1-1192	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
115 117	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	/// BEST/ FOODS/ REGISTERED	Best Foods		1912 –	Brand Names Foundation 1947:16
115 118	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	JAF & CO. (monogram)/// 4 IPG (in triangle)	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.; Folger, J.A. & Co.	West Coast	1926 – 1929	Zumwalt 1980:153; Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
115 119	Colorless Glass	Ink Bottle	1	(around neck) 2 OZ. /// SHEAFFERS (upper arch)/ (circle with flattened base)/ SKRIP/ (Hazel Atlas logo)	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.; Sheaffer Ink	Wheeling, WV	1923 – 1964	Whitten 2005
115 121	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// IPG (in triangle)/ 6	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
115 122	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	/// 22 (Owens Illinois logo) 3	Owens Illinois Glass Co.	San Francisco	1933 – 1933	Lockhart 2004:24–27
115 123	Colorless Glass	Condiment Bottle	1	/// BEST/ 3748/ FOODS/ 2/ REG.	Best Foods		1912 –	Brand Names Foundation 1947:16

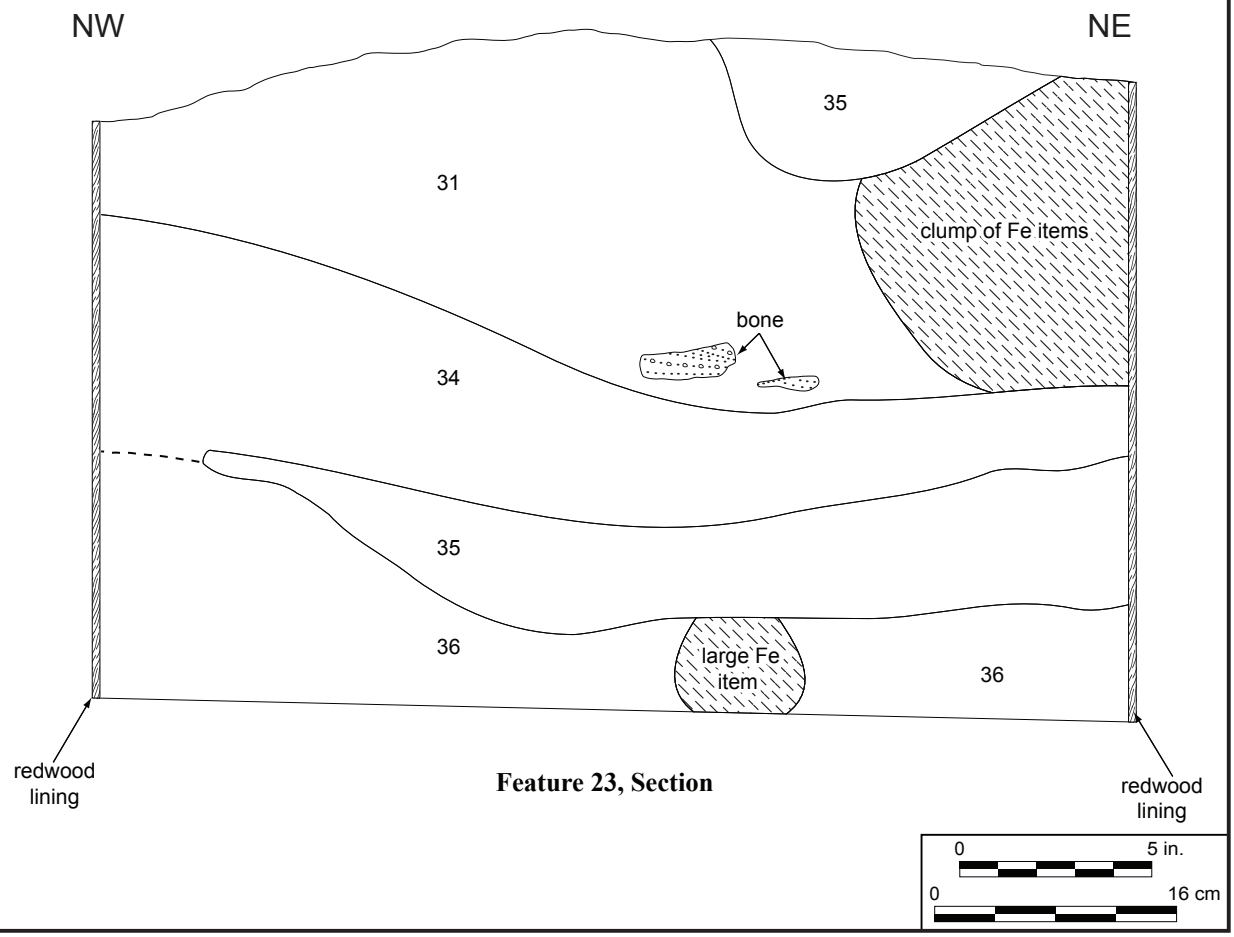
Pit 6 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.	Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Glass Items (continued)								
115 124	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	(around heel) P C (in bisected rectangle) 6/// BEST/ FOODS/ REGISTERED	Pacific Coast Glass Co.	San Francisco	1925 – 1931	Giarde 1980:99
115 125	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// 21 (Owens Illinois logo) 3/ 4	Owens Illinois Glass Co.	San Francisco	1933 – 1933	Lockhart 2004:24–27
115 126	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	/// (Hazel Atlas mark) ..	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1923 – 1964	Whitten 2005
115 127	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	/// 531-1				
115 128	Colorless Glass	Bluing Bottle	1	(around shoulder) THIS CONTAINS MRS.// STEWARTS BLUING/// IPG (in triangle)	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
115 129	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// P C (in bisected rectangle) 2	Pacific Coast Glass Co.	San Francisco	1925 – 1931	Giarde 1980:99
115 130	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// S.C. JOHNSON & SON (upper arch)/ 17/ IPGCO (in diamond, increasing then decreasing in size)/ RACINE/ WIS.	Illinois Pacific Glass Co.; Johnson & Son	San Francisco; Racine, WI	1902 – 1926	Lockhart et al. 2005:74–75, figure 3
115 131	Glass and Copper-alloy	Light Bulb	9	(tungsten)			1910 ca –	Bellis 2008
115 134	Zinc and Opaque-white Glass	Canning Jar Lid and Lid Liner	0	BOYD'S GENUINE PORCELAIN LINED CAP/ 8				
115 170	Colorless Glass	Milk Bottle	1	(on lip) 2// 0/ (around shoulder) [O]NE QU[A]RT/ A C/ STOR[E] BOTTLE/ OAKLAND, CALIF./ (around heel) ../// A	American Creamery	Oakland, CA	1920 – 1920	Schulz et al. n.d.
115 171	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	(on shoulder) (in circle) [N]YAL/ QUALITY/ (wing) A (in circle) (wing)/// 2	Nyal Company	Detroit, MI	1906 ca – 1944	Fike 1987:161; Devner 1968:69
115 172	Colorless Glass	Waterer?	1	(around heel) 14 IPG (in triangle)// 431	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
115 174	Brown Glass	Bottle	1	/// (diamond) 10				

Pit 6 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.	Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Other Items								
113 115	Silverplate	Spoon	1	AMERICAN SILVER CO.	American Silver Co.	Waterbury, CT	1901 – 1935	Woodhead 1991:6
113 116	Copper-alloy	Snap Button	3	POWERS (upper arch)/ MFG. CO. (lower arch)	Powers Mfg. Co.	Waterloo, IA	1920s late –	Powers Manufacturing Company 2008
113 118	Copper-alloy	Shade Holder	1	HUBBELL/ PAT'D/ JUL 23 03 - FEB 23 04			1515 –	Google Patent Search
113 124	Porcelain	Tube Insulator	1	BRUNT	Brunt Porcelain Co.	East Liverpool or Worthington, OH	1895 – 1925	Tod 1977:73–75
113 190	Gold	YMCA Pendant/Badge	1	/// XGOLD/ N (in shield)				
113 191	Copper-alloy	Celebration Badge	1	(bear)/ DELEGATE/ GRAND PARLOR/ 42ND SESSION N.S.G.W. [YOSEMITE FALLS/ GLACIER POINT/ YOSEMITE/ 1919// THE ALBERT S. SAMUELS CO/ SAN FRANCISCO/ LUCKY]		San Francisco	1919 –	Holabird Associates 2002
115 140	Rubber	Stopper	1	CLOROX	Clorox	Oakland, CA		
115 142	Bone	Toothbrush	1	M (at handle base)/ (down side) REAL ENGLAND DARLING'S PHARMACIES OAKLAND	Darling's Pharmacies	England/ Oakland, CA	1907 ca – 1921 (at least)	Toynton 1977:33; Oakland City Directory 1921
115 150	Composite	Vacuum Tube	2	CUNNINGHAM/ CX380	Cunningham Co.		1915 – 1933	Vacuum Tubes, Inc. 2008
115 152	Porcelain	Fence Insulator	1	BRUNT	Brunt Porcelain Co.	East Liverpool or Worthington, OH	1895 – 1925	Tod 1977:73–75
115 176	Ferrous	License Plate	1	3F 549/ 19 CALIFORNIA 33		CA	1933 –	
115 185	Ferrous	License Plate	1	2G 7028/ CALIFORNIA 31		CA	1931 –	
115 207	Ferrous	Crown Cap	0	(crown closure)			1892 –	

View facing north/northeast



Feature 23, Section

Figure 6.5. Privy 23 Section Drawing, 4425 Clement Street (32 Clark), Stephenson Family.

Figure 6.6. Privy 23 – Artifact Layout Photograph, 4425 Clement Street (32 Clark), Stephenson Family.

Privy 23 – ARTIFACT DESCRIPTIONS BY GROUP AND CATEGORY
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
ACTIVITIES			
Firearms			
Ammunition	Copper-alloy Shotgun Shell, 12 g	1	1
Ammunition	Lead Sot	1	1
Subtotal Firearms		2	2
Tools			
-	Ferrous Steel Wool	4	1
Subtotal Tools		4	1
Writing			
-	Graphite Pencil Lead	2	2
Subtotal Writing		2	2
DOMESTIC			
Clothing Maintenance			
Laundry	Bluing Ball	0	1
Sewing	Copper-alloy Safety Pin	6	4
Sewing	Ferrous Straight Pin	2	2
Sewing	Ferrous Straight Pit	3	3
Subtotal Clothing Maintenance		11	10
Food			
Closure	Ferrous Condiment Jar Lid	2	0
Closure	Ferrous Jar Lid	4	0
Closure	Rubber Gasket	3	0
Container	Asian Stoneware Ginger Jar	8	1
Container	Colorless Glass Bottle	20	2
Container	Colorless Glass Commercial Tumbler	18	2
Container	Colorless Glass Condiment Bottle	3	3
Container	Colorless Glass Condiment Jar	9	3
Container	Colorless Glass Jar	22	3
Container	Colorless Glass Mayonnaise Jar	1	1
Container	Ferrous Can	5	5
Subtotal Food		95	20
Food Prep/Consumption			
Drinking Vessel	Colorless Glass Stemware	5	1
Drinking Vessel	Colorless Glass Tumbler	6	2
Drinking Vessel	Porcelain Cup	3	1
Drinking Vessel	Porcelain Motto Mug	1	1
Drinking Vessel	White Improved Earthenware Cup	31	3
Drinking Vessel	White Improved Earthenware Cup?	2	1
Indefinite	White Improved Earthenware Hollow	2	1
Serving	White Improved Earthenware Large Bowl?	1	1
Tableware	Opaque Porcelain Saucer	2	2
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Dish, 6"	13	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Indefinite	1	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate, 6-1/2"	12	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Plate, 7"	6	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Saucer	2	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Saucer/Dish	1	1
Subtotal Food Prep/Consumption		88	19

Privy 23 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
Food Storage			
Container	Aqua Glass Canning Jar	14	1
Container	Colorless Glass Canning Jar	16	1
Subtotal Food Storage		30	2
Furnishings			
-	Common-pottery Flower Pot	1	1
-	Ferrous Window Shade Hardware?	1	1
Furniture	Ferrous Caster	1	1
Furniture	Ferrous Spring	2	1
Subtotal Furnishings		5	4
Heating/Lighting			
-	Colorless Glass Light Bulb	2	1
Lamp	Colorless Glass Chimney	38	1
Subtotal Heating/Lighting		40	2
INDEFINITE USE			
Indefinite			
-	Asian? Porcelain Hollow	1	1
-	Celluloid? Pocket?	2	1
-	Colorless Glass Hollow	1	1
-	Earthenware Hollow	1	1
-	Leather Disk	1	1
Subtotal Indefinite		6	5
Misc. Beads			
-	Black Glass Bead	1	1
-	Blue Glass Bead	1	1
-	Colorless Glass Bead	1	1
-	Green Glass Bead	1	1
-	Pink Glass Bead	1	1
Subtotal Misc. Beads		5	5
Misc. Closures			
-	Ferrous Can Lid	9	5
-	Ferrous Crown Cap	1	1
-	Lead Cap	1	1
Subtotal Misc. Closures		11	7
Misc. Containers			
-	Aqua Glass Beverage Bottle	1	1
-	Aqua Glass Bottle	10	2
-	Brown Glass Bottle	1	1
-	Brown Glass Chemical? Bottle	19	1
-	Colorless Glass Bottle	27	1
-	Colorless Glass Bottle/Jar	62	0
-	Ferrous Can	87	41
Subtotal Misc. Containers		207	47
Misc. Fasteners			
-	Copper-alloy Tack	1	1
-	Ferrous Can Key	1	1
-	Ferrous Small Tack	15	15
-	Ferrous Tack	23	23
Subtotal Misc. Fasteners		40	40

Privy 23 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
Misc. Metal Items			
-	Copper-alloy Boning?	31	1
-	Copper-alloy Wire Loop	2	1
-	Ferrous Disc	2	2
-	Ferrous End Cap?	1	1
-	Ferrous Half-tube	2	1
-	Ferrous Rod and Plate	2	2
-	Ferrous Wire	9	4
Subtotal Misc. Metal Items		49	12
PERSONAL			
Accoutrements			
-	Copper-alloy Coin Purse	2	1
Subtotal Accoutrements		2	1
Clothing			
Fastener	Bone Button	1	1
Fastener	Ceramic Button	1	1
Fastener	Copper-alloy Buckle	1	1
Fastener	Copper-alloy Snap	1	1
Fastener	Ferrous Sock Garter Buckle	1	1
Fastener	Porcelain Button	1	1
Fastener	Porcelain Collar Button	1	1
Fastener	Rubber Button	9	2
Fastener	Shell Button	7	4
Subtotal Clothing		23	13
Footwear			
-	Copper-alloy Shoe/Boot Tack	1	1
-	Ferrous Shoe/Boot Eyelet	3	1
-	Rubber Shoe Part	4	1
Subtotal Footwear		8	3
Grooming/Health			
Container	Cobalt Glass Bottle	2	1
Container	Colorless Glass Bottle	1	2
Container	Colorless Glass Medicine Bottle	23	2
Container	Colorless Glass Vial	5	1
Toiletry	Bone Toothbrush	8	2
Toiletry	Ferrous Hair Pin	1	1
Subtotal Grooming/Health		40	9
Social Drugs – Alcohol			
Container	Olive Glass Wine/Champagne Bottle	3	2
Subtotal Social Drugs – Alcohol		3	2
Toys			
-	Porcelain Baby Doll Leg	2	1
-	Porcelain Doll Leg	1	1
Subtotal Toys		3	2

Privy 23 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
STRUCTURAL			
Hardware			
-	Ferrous Bracket	2	2
-	Ferrous Strap Hinge	1	1
Fastener	Ferrous Bolt/Rod	1	1
Fastener	Ferrous Cut Nail	38	35
Fastener	Ferrous Railroad Spike	1	1
Fastener	Ferrous Screw	12	12
Fastener	Ferrous Wire Nail	542	513
Subtotal Hardware		597	565
Materials			
-	Brick	5	5
-	Glass Frosted Window	1	1
-	Glass Window	15	0
Subtotal Materials		21	6
UNDEFINED USE			
-	Burned Wood	4	1
-	Glass Amorphous	1	1
-	Lead Slag Waste	1	1
Subtotal Undefined Use		6	2
TOTAL		1,298	782

Privy 23 – SUMMARY OF ARTIFACTS BY GROUP
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Description	Total Count	MNI	Percent of MNI
Activities	8	5	6
Domestic	269	57	72
Personal (other than clothing)	56	17	22
Subtotal	333	79	100
Indefinite Use	318	116	
Personal Clothing	23	13	
Structural	618	571	
Undefined Use	6	3	
TOTAL	1,298	782	

Privy 23 – SUMMARY OF ARTIFACTS BY CATEGORY
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Description	MNI	Percent
Accoutrements	1	0.5
Clothing	13	6.3
Clothing Maintenance	10	4.8
Firearms	2	1.0
Food	20	9.6
Food Prep/Consumption	19	9.1
Food Storage	2	1.0
Footwear	3	1.4
Furnishings	4	1.9
Grooming/Health	9	4.3
Heating/Lighting	2	1.0
Indefinite	5	2.4
Misc. Beads	5	2.4
Misc. Closures	7	3.4
Misc. Containers	47	22.6
Misc. Fasteners	40	19.2
Misc. Metal Items	12	5.8
Social Drugs – Alcohol	2	1.0
Tools	1	0.5
Toys	2	1.0
Writing	2	1.0
TOTAL	208	100.2

Privy 23 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL FUNCTION
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Function	MNI	Percent
Serving (platters, covered dishes, etc.)	1	5
Tableware (plates, bowls, saucers, etc.)	8	42
Stemware and Tumblers	3	16
Cups and Mugs	6	32
Indefinite	1	5
TOTAL	19	100

Privy 23 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL FABRIC
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Fabric	MNI	Percent	Total MNI	Total Percent
Ceramic			16	84
Porcelain	2	13		
Opaque Porcelain	2	13		
White Improved Earthenware	12	75		
Subtotal	16	88		
Glass			3	16
TOTAL			19	100

Privy 23 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL DECORATION
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Fabric	Description	Type of Decoration	Decorated MNI	Undecorated MNI
Ceramic				
Porcelain	Cup			1
Porcelain	Motto Mug	Gilded	1	
Opaque Porcelain	Saucer			1
Opaque Porcelain	Saucer	Blue transfer print	1	
WIE	Cup			1
WIE	Cup	Gilded	1	
WIE	Cup	Ribbed	1	
WIE	Cup?			1
WIE	Dish, 6"	Scalloped, Molded, Gilded	1	
WIE	Hollow			1
WIE	Indefinite	Hand painted	1	
WIE	Large Bowl?	Molded	1	
WIE	Plate, 6-1/2"	Gilded	1	
WIE	Plate, 7"	Gilded	1	
WIE	Saucer	Scalloped, Molded, Decal	1	
WIE	Saucer/Dish	Scalloped, Molded, Decal	1	
Subtotal Ceramic			11	5
Glass				
Colorless Glass	Stemware	Etched	1	
Colorless Glass	Tumbler	Pressed panels	1	
Colorless Glass	Tumbler	Short pressed panels (9)	1	
Subtotal Glass			3	0
TOTAL			14	5

Privy 23 – DATE AND ORIGIN OF MARKED/DATABLE ITEMS
4425 Clement Street (High Street)
Stephenson Family

Catalog No		Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Ceramic Items									
31	27	White Imp roved Earthenware	Dish, 6"	1	Green printed mark: (vertical lines)/ (bottle) EMPIRE (upper arch)/ CHINA (bottle)/ (horizontal line/ vertical lines)/ LA USA	Empire China	Burbank	1924 ca –	Lehner 1988:88:138
31	32	White Improved Earthenware	Plate, 6-1/2"	1	Green printed mark: DERWOOD/ W.S. GEO[RGE]/ 213B	George, W.S. Pottery	Ohio/Pennsylvania	1930s late – 1940s	Lehner 1988:162–163, mark 13
31	33	White Improved Earthenware	Plate, 7"	1	Green printed mark: (vase) VITREOUS (on vase)/ EDWIN M. KNOWLES/ CHINA CO./ 18-1-7	Knowles, Edwin M. China Co.	East Liverpool, OH	1918 – 1918	Gates and Ormerod 1982:99–114, mark 82a
Marked Glass Items									
31	1	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	THE OWL DRUG CO.	Owl Drug Co.		1905 ca – 1933 ca	Fike 1987:72; Miller and McNichol 2002:3
31	2	Colorless Glass	Medicine Bottle	1	(on shoulder, in circle) NYAL/ QUALITY/ (wings on either side of triangle in circle)	Nyal		1906 ca –	Fike 1987:161
31	3	Colorless Glass	Mayonnaise Jar	1	(on lid) .. MAYONNAISE WITH ../ .. COOKED POTATOES RUBB.. / ..SIEVE. SEASON & TASTE ../ .. PEPPER AND ONION ../ FOLD IN THE ../ WHITE OF AN ..; (on jar) /// BEST FOODS (upper arch)/ REG/ DESIGN/ PATENT/ 80918	Best Foods Co.		1930 –	US Patent Office
31	4	Colorless Glass	Condiment Jar	1	(around heel) IPG (in triangle) 4// 1123/// BEST/ FOODS/ REG	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.; Best Foods Co.		1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:73–80
31	5	Colorless Glass	Condiment Bottle	1	(around heel) 3// 811/// IPG (in triangle)	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.		1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:73–80
31	6	Colorless Glass	Condiment Bottle	1	(around heel) LB (B inside L) 3	Long Beach Glass Co.		1920 – 1933	Giarde 1980:63
31	7	Colorless Glass	Condiment Bottle	1	(around heel) 7 IPG (in triangle)/// BEST/ FOODS/ REG.	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.; Best Foods Co.		1926 – 1980	Lockhart et al. 2005:73–80
31	8	Colorless Glass	Medicine Bottle	1	/// OWEN'S (upper arch)/ 2 O (in square)	Owen's Bottle Co.		1911 – 1920	Griffenhagen and Bogard 1999:126
31	9	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// IPG (in triangle)	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.		1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:73–80
31	12	Colorless Glass	Jar	1	(around heel) P C (in bisected rectangle)/// BEST/ FOODS/ REGISTERED	Pacific Coast Glass Works; Best Foods Co.		1919 – 1930	Giarde 1980:99; Peterson 1968:49

Privy 23 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.		Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range		References
Marked Glass Items (continued)										
31	13	Colorless Glass	Condiment Jar	1	/// BEST/ FOODS/ REGISTERED	Best Foods Co.		1912	–	Brand Names Foundation 1947:16
31	15	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// 6 (or) 9					
31	52	Colorless Glass	Canning Jar	1	KERR/ ["SELF]-SEALING"/ [TRADE]MARK REG. (in ribbon)/ MASON	Kerr Glass Co.		1919	–	Toulouse 1969:169–170
35	6	Cobalt Glass	Bottle	1	..R?O..					
36	1	Aqua Glass	Beverage Bottle	1	(around heel) I.P.G.CO. 78	Illinois Pacific Glass Co.		1902	– 1926	Lockhart et al. 2005:73–80
36	2	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// I.P.G.CO.; (Owen's scar)	Illinois Pacific Glass Co.		1905	– 1926	Lockhart et al. 2005:73–80; Miller and McNichol 2002:3
Marked Other Items										
31	40	Rubber	Shoe Part	1	MEN'S/ S-8/ R					
31	42	Ferrous	Jar Lid	0	(in blue and gold) ONE OF THE (upper arch)/ BEST FOODS/ (in oval) TESTED & APPROVED (upper arch)/ .. (star) ../ BUREAU OF FOOD SANITATION & HEALTH/ (line)/ GOOD HOUSEKEEPING MAGAZINE	Best Foods Co.		1912	– 1941	Good Housekeeping 2011; Brand Names Foundation 1947:16
31	44	Ferrous	Jar Lid	0	(Phoenix type)			1900	–	Bender 1986:30–32
33	1	Ferrous	Condiment Jar Lid	0	(in blue) ONE OF THE/ BEST FOODS/ ..	Best Foods Co.		1912		Brand Names Foundation 1947:16
33	2	Rubber	Shoe Part	0	MEN'S/ S-8/ R					
35	32	Copper-alloy	Snap	1	MADE IN (upper arch)/ FRANCE		France			
36	32	Porcelain	Baby Doll Leg	1	C016; C016					
36	39	Copper-alloy	Shotgun Shell, 12 g	1	WINCHESTER (upper arch)/ NO 12/ BLUE RIVAL (lower arch)	Winchester		1894	– 1904	Steinhauer 2011

CHAPTER 7: ORIMOTO FAMILY

PARCEL OVERVIEW
4501 Clement Street, Oakland

This parcel (Lot 16) was the north end of a large property that encompassed the entire south end of the block down to 46th Avenue, for a total of nearly 3 acres. It encompassed Lots 16–26 on Block 2242, an area adjoining Block 2241 and numbered in the same sequence because the two areas are not separated by street or alley and were subdivided together as the High Street Tract (Alameda County Maps 2:45). The 1880 assessment Block Book lists Henry P. Wood as the owner of this group of lots, although no improvements were present. By 1889 Mary C. Wattles owned the land, although there were still no improvements. Between 1892 and 1897, Stewart Crevling was listed as the owner. Improvements worth $75 were assessed on Lot 16 for the first time in 1897. The 1897 Sanborn Company map indicates that structure was a small one-story dwelling.

Just prior to the 1898 explosion, the San Francisco Fuse Manufacturing Company purchased all of the lots from Crevling. The explosion destroyed the structure located on this lot. By 1910 the lot was rented to T. Raton and improvements included a tank and engine house valued at $200. The San Francisco Fuse Manufacturing Company owned the property until ca. 1917-1918. By 1912 the Sanborn map shows a dwelling, tank house, and stable. The stable had its own address (4501-1/2 Clement), implying it was used as a residence by that time. The 1912 Oakland City Directory lists nurseryman, T. Katoh at 4501 Clement. He continues to be listed through 1913.

Annie F. Rodda purchased the entire group of lots encompassing the south half of the block around 1917 or 1918. By 1917 the assessment Block Book shows a greenhouse had been built toward the rear of 4501 Clement. In 1916 S. Yoshioka was listed as the resident of 4501 Clement. There are no directories for the years between 1917 and 1921 but the 1920 U.S. Census lists Tao Yoshioka and his wife at 4501 Clement. Although Yoshioka told the census enumerator he owned the parcel, assessment Block Books continue to list the owner of record as Annie F. Rodda through 1925. Passage of the California Alien Land Law in 1913 prohibited Japanese aliens from owning property and imposed a three-year limit on leasing of land. Mr. Yoshioka emigrated from Japan in 1908 and operated a vegetable farm on the property in 1920. His wife was listed in the census, but her name was not recorded. She was also from Japan and immigrated in 1913. They had no children and were classified as aliens.

By 1923 the Yoshiokas no longer lived at 4501 Clement. The City Directory lists an insurance agent, Heikichi Terui. The next year the directory lists florist, Frank M. Asai. By 1925 the stable/barn at the rear of the property had been converted to a garage and was no longer listed with a separate address. There are no listings for 4501 Clement or 4501-1/2 Clement in the city directories between 1925 and 1929. Then in 1930 the U. S. Census lists two Japanese couples living on the parcel, Katsukichi and Asako Tomimoto and boarders Tosaku and Haruno Ono. Katsukichi Tomimoto was listed as the property owner and a railroad laborer who immigrated in 1918. The census lists a land value of $1000. However, Mr. Tomimoto did not in fact hold title because of the 1913 law mentioned earlier, which barred property ownership and restricted leases of property to three years. The boarder Tosaku Ono was listed as a mushroom grower. Ono and his wife likely occupied the separate structure near the rear property line close to Feature 8. Neither the Onos nor the Tomimotos are listed in city

directories for 1930, but Arthur (Hareuno) Ono is listed at 4501 Clement in the 1933 directory. Arthur may have been the American name used by Tosaku as evidenced by a WWI draft registration card which he filled out as Arthur Tosaku Ono. City directories fail to list either family at 4501 Clement after 1933. In 1935 the Onos moved across the street to 4514 Clement.

The same year, Shigemi and Michiko Orimoto moved into 4501 Clement. The Orimoto family is listed several times in the City Directory. The last time they are listed is in 1941, though they probably stayed in the house until forced to relocate in 1942. The Orimotos were likely the last inhabitants of the property, living at 4501 Clement a total of about seven years. The neighbors at that time consisted of the Stephenson family at 4425 Clement immediately to the north and Arthur T. Ono and Haruno Ono, across the street at 4514 Clement. The three parcels to the south of 4501 Clement on the west side of Clement were vacant until 1924, when Shinzo Shiraki operated a plant nursery at 4601 Clement (the third lot south of 4501). 4411 Clement was occupied by the Fujimori family in 1930; the wife of this family was likely Michiko's sister (Ruth Shiraki 2011, pers. comm.). Another Fujimori family lived on the other side of the street at 4534 Clement and were possibly related to the Fujimoris at 4411 Clement. All Japanese residents of this neighborhood were interned under the terms of Executive Order 9066 issued February 19, 1942 following the US entry into World War II, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941.

Tosaku A. and Haruno Ono may be early contributors to Feature 8. According to the 1930 U.S. Census, they were born in 1882 and 1899, respectively, and married in 1924. A 1935 passenger list documents Haruno Ono returning to her Oakland residence from a visit to Yokohama on December 5. She is listed as working in a poultry business. In 1942 they were interned at the Central Utah Internment Camp at Abraham, commonly known as Topaz (NARA 1946). Internment records list their primary occupation as poultry farmers, while Tosaku Ono had a secondary occupation as a gardener and groundskeeper at parks and cemeteries. Tosaku and Haruno Ono had no children. Tosaku died in Alameda in 1961 and Haruno died in Alameda in 1983.

The primary donor to Feature 8 is the Orimoto family. Shigemi and Michiko Orimoto, born in 1904 and 1912 respectively, had two children born a few years before they moved to the house on Clement. Fusaye Orimoto was born in 1931 and her sister, Kimiko, was born in 1934. According to the city directories, Shigemi was a car washer, an engine washer, and a laborer. The Orimotos, like their other Japanese neighbors, were forced into the Topaz internment camp in 1942.

Rodda's heirs owned Block 2242 including 4501 Clement until Caltrans acquired most of the parcels fronting on Clement in 1942 (Alameda County Official Records 4289:207–213, 4322:152–153). The remainder was acquired by Evans and Quick in 1945 (Alameda County Official Records 4748:179–182). The land was incorporated into the operations of the steel manufacturing facility in the 1950s according to Dean Scott (2008: pers. comm.), whose father acquired that plant in 1948. As previously discussed, Dean's father retained a controlling interest in the facility when it was transferred to Ameron in 1969. Greg Hart (2008: pers. comm.), the current Ameron plant manager whose father and grandfather both worked at the facility in its early period of operation (which began in the early 1930s), confirmed those details of the plant expansion.

DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH TABLE
4501 Clement Street, Oakland
Orimoto Family

ABSTRACT

Building:

1897	Small one-story dwelling.
1912	One-story L-shaped house with porch facing south. One-story addition toward Clark Street; elevated water tank between addition and street. One-and-one-half story stable near center of block 4501-1/2. Double lot with no center fence, lot extends to Jensen St.
1917	Greenhouse added in rear
1925	Main building same as 1912 with one-story addition west side. One-story open structure south of water tank. Former stable now garage with rear addition. Greenhouse between house and garage. Back lot extends past centerline of block.
1951	Side yard for "Welding & Steel Fabricating" 4411–17 Oakport Street.

Residents/Occupation/Use:

1898	Property destroyed by explosion
1910–1917	Pump house
1912–13	T. Katoh, nurseryman
1916–20	Tao Yoshioka and wife
1923	Heikichi Terui, insurance
1924	Frank M. Asai, florist
1930	Katsukichi Tomimoto and wife, plus boarders Tosaku and Haruno Ono
1933–34	Tosaku and Haruno Ono
1935–41	Shigemi and Michiko Orimoto, car washer, laborer, engine washer
1942	Caltrans acquisition for freeway

Ownership:

1880	Henry P. Wood
1889	Mary C. Wattles
1892–1897	Stuart Crevling
1898–1917	San Francisco Fuse Manufacturing Company
1918–1925	Annie F. Rodda $400
1926–1942	Rodda Family
1942	Caltrans

DOCUMENTARY TIME LINE

1880	**Block Book** – Henry P. Wood
1889	**Block Book** – Mary C. Wattles
1892	**Block Book** – Stuart Crevling, $150
1893	**Block Book** – Stewart Crevling
1897	**Block Book** – Stewart Crevling, $75
1898	**Block Book** – San Francisco Fuse Manufacturing Company
1901	**Block Book** – San Francisco Fuse Manufacturing Company

Documentary Research Table, 4501 Clement Street *(continued)*

1910	**Block Book** – San Francisco Fuse Manufacturing Company, leased ground to Raton, Tank and Engine House for pump in water, assess engine for $200
1912	**Block Book** – San Francisco Fuse Manufacturing Company, improvements on leased ground to T. Raton, tank and pump house $200
1912–13	**City Directory** – T. Katoh, nursery, 4501 Clement
1915	**Block Book** – San Francisco Fuse Manufacturing Company, Pump Station improvements on Leased Land pp $200
1916	Oakland, Alameda, Berkeley Telephone Directory – S. Yoshioka, Res 4501 Clement
1917	**Block Book** – San Francisco Fuse Manufacturing Company, improvements on leased land, House, Tank, Barn, Hothouse $400
1918	**Block Book** – Annie F. Rodda $400
1917–20	no City Directories
1920	**U.S. Census** – Yoshioka Family. **Head:** Tao, owns home mortgaged, 40, married at age 26, Japan, immigrated 1908, doesn't speak English, able to write, owner, vegetable farmer; **Wife:** no name given, 35, Japan, doesn't speak English, illiterate, immigrated 1913
1921	**Block Book** – Annie F. Rodda $400
1923	**Block Book** – Annie F. Rodda $400
1923	**City Directory** – Heikichi Terui, ins 412 8th, h. 4501 Clement
1924	**City Directory** – Frank M. Asai, florist 1418 23d adv, h4501 Clement
1925	**Block Book** – Annie F. Rodda $400
1930	**U.S. Census** – Tomimoto Family. **Head:** Katsukichi, owns home $1,000, does not own radio, 31, married at age 26, Japan, immigrated 1918, literate, laborer railroad; **Wife:** Asako, 26, married at age 18, Japan, immigrated 1924; illiterate; **Boarders:** Ono Family. **Head:** Tosaku, 48, married at age 42, Japan, immigrated 1903, literate, owner mushroom grower; **Wife:** Haruno, 31, married at age 25, immigrated 1924, illiterate.
1930	**City Directory** – *Off Site – No listing for Tomimoto or Ono families*
1933	**City Directory** – Arthur Ono at 4501 Clement; no listing for Tomimoto.
1935	**City Directory** – *Off Site – Ono family is listed in City Directory across the street at 4514 Clement. According to City Directory they resided there at least through 1941 but most likely lived there until internment in 1942.*
1935	**City Directory** – Shigemi (Michiko) Orimoto, car washr, h. 4501 Clement
1936	**Reverse City Directory** – no listing for 4501 Clement
1937	**City Directory** – Shigemi Orimoto, engine washr, h. 4501 Clement
1939	**City Directory** – *Off site – Fusae Orimoto (daughter of Shigemi), gdnr h4534*
1935–1941	**City Directory** – *Off site – Ono family 4514 Clement*
1940–1941	**City Directory** – *Off site – 4601 Clement Shinzo Shiraki, nurseryman*.
1941	**City Directory** – Shiz[g]emi Orimoto, lab h4501 Clement
1936–1941	**City Directory** – *Off site – Ono family 4514 Clement*
1940–1941	**City Directory** – *Off site – 4601 Clement Shinzo Shiraki, nurseryman*.
1942	**Official Records** – Caltrans

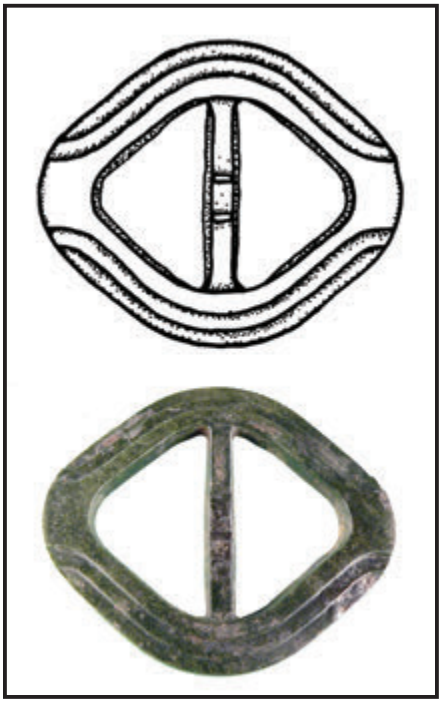
TRENCH 8 FEATURE SUMMARY
4501 Clement Street, Oakland
Orimoto Family

Trench 8 was not an excavated trench, but a swale at the back of the lot that was filled with refuse. Trench 8 was 26 ft. long × 4 ft. wide × 3 in. deep. Lot clearing above the domestic artifact deposit uncovered a large pile of metal support cable from a power pole, fence posts rolled in barbed wire, and large flat sheets of metal that may have been signs. Those items of modern debris were removed by the backhoe and not catalogued. The domestic artifacts layer, Context 114, was capped and disturbed by about 12 in. of modern compacted clay fill. Context 114 was a mottled mix of medium and dark brown sandy clay with some blue-gray clay lumps and pockets of yellow clay. The blue clay may have come from the Oakport Street area during construction suggesting that this area may not have been covered until construction began in the late 1940s. The artifacts tended to be found in concentrations, possibly from multiple events of emptying a refuse container.

Trench 8 has a TPQ of 1940 based on a Clorox bottle, a ketchup bottle, and two DuraGlass jars. Many artifacts have beginning dates between 1931 and 1940. The fill appears to be from a cleanout associated with the removal of the Orimoto family to the Topaz internment camp in central Utah in 1942.

Many artifacts in the Trench 8 collection are of Japanese or Asian origin. The only marked ceramic items are a saucer, bowl, and figurine all of which bear "MADE/IN/JAPAN" marks. The hand painted bowl's decoration includes Japanese characters translated as a personal name – "Hiro Matsu." Other items include a serving vessel lid, 6 medium porcelain bowls, a medium porcelain plate, and a stoneware bonsai dish. A stoneware grinding bowl similar to those sometimes found on overseas Asian sites was also recovered. The collection also includes a single whole abalone shell. Although abalone is widely eaten in the San Francisco Bay Area, it is particularly favored by contemporary Japanese Americans and holds ancient religious significance.

Vessels of White Improved Earthenware (WIE) are conspicuous by their absence. Plates for food preparation and consumption that are ubiquitous on Euroamerican sites of the period are entirely absent here; only 2 WIE (13%) vessels, a cup and saucer, were recovered. Significantly, this is the same proportion of Japanese earthenware, and earthenware from this feature. Japanese porcelain (44%) is the most common ceramic type. Single vessels of porcelain, Asian stoneware and stoneware are also represented. Tablewares makeup 40 percent of the collection's food preparation and consumption vessels followed by stemware and tumblers (28%), serving vessels (12%) and kitchen items (8%). There are only single examples of cups



and mugs, tea bowl, and indefinite (4% each). The only ceramic plate in the collection is a medium-sized example of Japanese porcelain.

All of the Japanese porcelain is decorated. The only undecorated ceramic food preparation and consumption vessels are a porcelain saucer, WIE cup, grinding bowl, and milk pan. Only 2 tumblers (22%) of 9 glass vessels are undecorated. A pressed glass bowl is the only non-drinking vessel. Of the remaining 6 tumblers, 5 were paneled or sided. One is decorated with a decal of Disney's version of Snow White that was released in 1937.

Several metal kitchen items are in the collection, stove parts, a cake pan, a tart or pie pan, pot handle, and an enamelware handle.

Food containers include 4 cans and 29 bottles. The identified bottles include 2 Coca-Cola, 1 other soda, 6 condiment, 5 applesauce, 3 each ketchup and milk, vinegar, salad oil, and a nursing bottle. The nursing bottle may have been used by the Orimoto family for one of their young children. A tiny clear glass bottle bears an impressed mark in Japanese that is translated as

"Essence of Hollyhock." Hollyhock extracts are a common folk remedy in Asia. Food storage items include 6 canning jars and 2 crocks. Six alcoholic beverage bottles were recovered, but their contents could not be determined.

Besides the bonsai dish and figurine previously discussed, the only other furnishings are a clock, 4 flowerpots and a curtain rod holder. Electrical service cable and 8 light bulbs indicate that the house was electrified. Part of a gas-heating element was also found.

Artifacts in the personal accoutrements, clothing, and footwear categories are a copper alloy chain, Bakelite and brass belt buckles, and a single leather shoe. Only 11 grooming and health containers (5%) were found. Three cold cream and 2 cream containers make up nearly half the collection. The remaining identified bottles contained cold remedies Vaporub, Va-Tro-Nol Nose Drops, and Pectoral.

The most plentiful category is that of miscellaneous containers, which constitute 22 percent of the collection. Only 2 of 47 containers are cans. The rest are bottles and jars of various colors and sizes.

Transportation items are limited to a DeSoto Chevrolet hubcap of a type make from 1928 to 1960 and an East Bay Transit Token used from 1936 to the 1940s.

Tools include a shovel, hayfork, flat file, and a bottle capper. Pest control was represented by a gopher trap, rattrap, and a can of powdered lice killer. With the exception of the bottle capper, all of these items would have been useful for farming.

Trench 8 – FEATURE SUMMARY TABLE
4501 Clement Street
Orimoto Family

HOUSEHOLD

Name:	Shigemi Orimoto and family
Birthplace:	Japan/Washington/California
Ethnicity or Race:	Japanese
Occupation:	laborer/engine washer
Period of Residence:	1935–1941
Terminus Post Quem/Basis:	1940 Clorox bottle, ketchup bottle, Duraglass jug
Mean Ceramic Mark Date/*n*:	1917.5 (*n* = 3)
Estimated Date of Deposition:	1930 to early 1940s

REAL ESTATE

Assessed Value:	$400 (1925)
Lot Size:	43,000 square feet
Personal Property Assessed:	N/A

ANALYTICAL UNIT

Context Numbers:	114

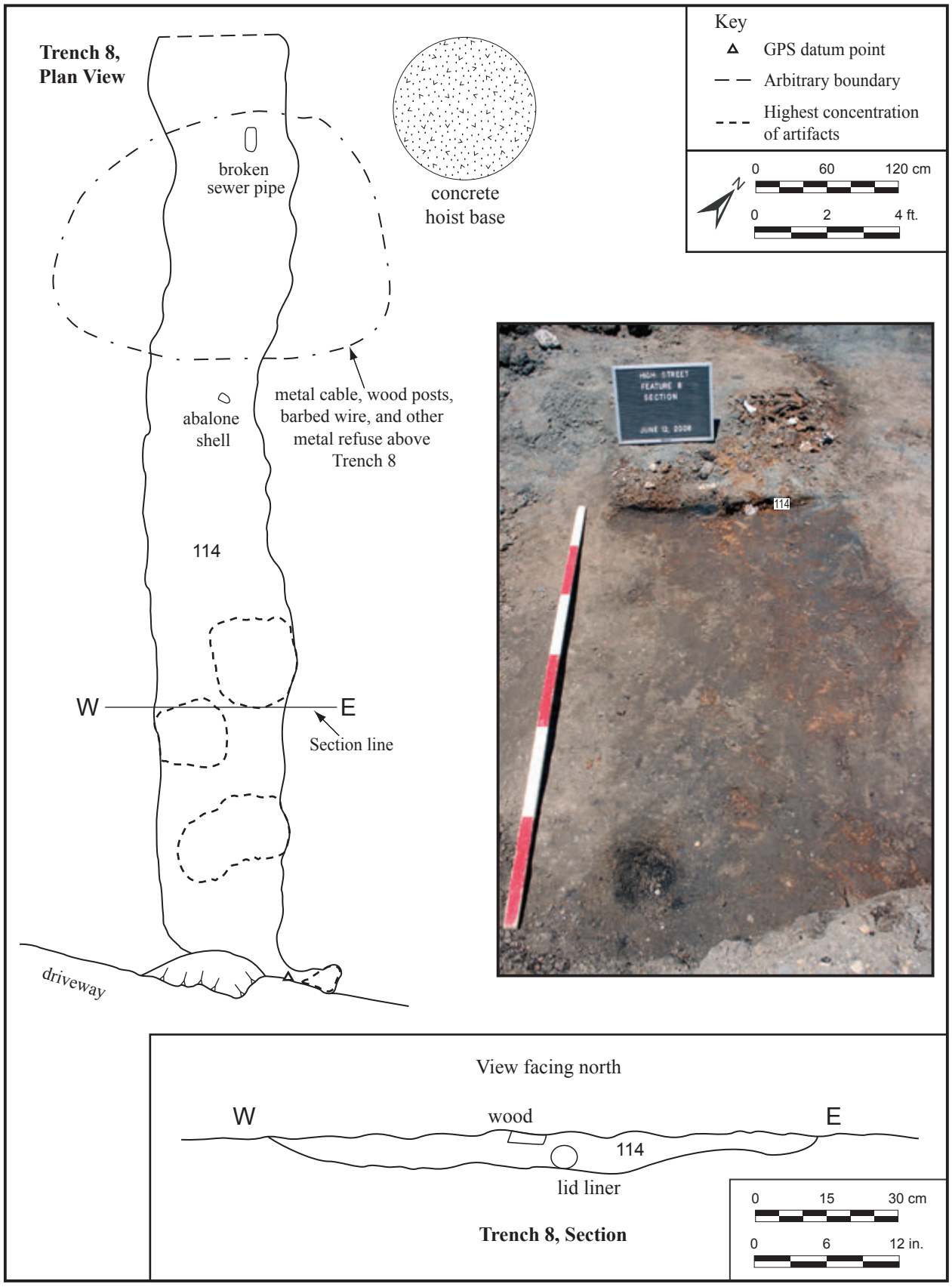


Figure 7.1. Trench 8 Section and Plan Drawings, 4501 Clement Street, the Orimoto Family.

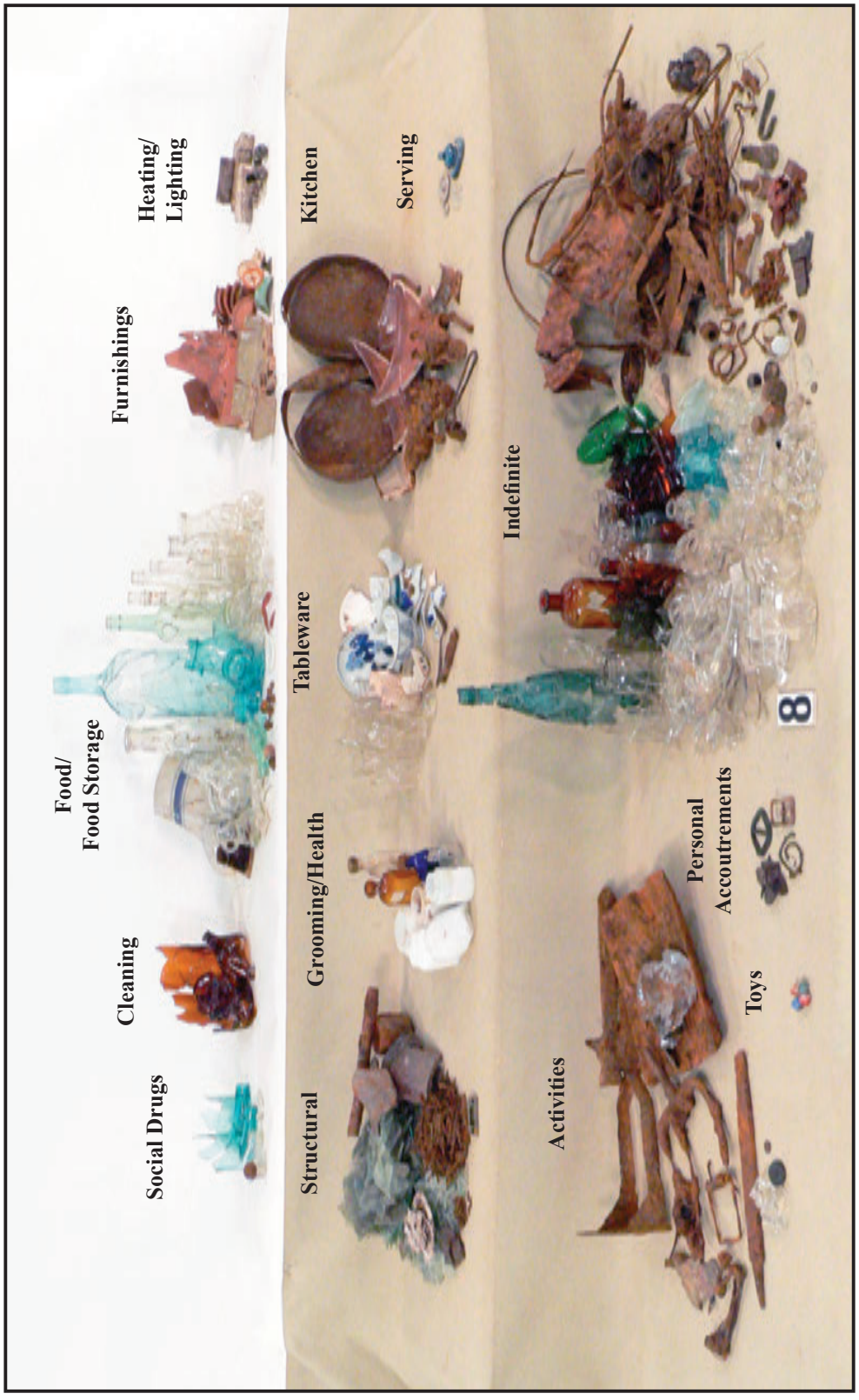


Figure 7.2. Trench 8 – Artifact Layout Photograph, 4501 Clement Street, Orimoto Family.

Trench 8 – ARTIFACT DESCRIPTIONS BY GROUP AND CATEGORY
4501 Clement Street (High Street)
Orimoto Family

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
ACTIVITIES			
Commerce			
-	Copper-alloy Token	1	1
Subtotal Commerce		1	1
Pest Control			
-	Ferrous Gopher Trap	1	1
-	Ferrous Rat Trap	1	1
Container	Ferrous Powdered Lice Killer Can	1	1
Subtotal Pest Control		3	3
Tools			
-	Ferrous Bottle Capper	1	1
-	Ferrous Flat File	1	1
-	Ferrous Flat Shovel	1	1
-	Ferrous Hay Fork	1	1
Subtotal Tools		4	4
Transportation			
Automotive	Chrome Hub Cap	4	1
Subtotal Transportation		4	1
Writing			
Container and Closure	Colorless Glass and Plastic Ink Bottle and Cap	7	1
Subtotal Writing		7	1
DOMESTIC			
Cleaning			
Container	Brown Glass Clorox Bottle	90	3
Container and Closure	Brown Glass and Plastic Clorox Bottle and Cap	36	1
Subtotal Cleaning		126	4
Food			
Container	Aqua Glass Coca-Cola Bottle	12	2
Container	Aqua Glass Salad Oil Bottle	17	1
Container	Colorless Glass Applesauce Jar	65	4
Container	Colorless Glass Applesauce? Jar	13	1
Container	Colorless Glass Bottle	19	1
Container	Colorless Glass Condiment Bottle	23	6
Container	Colorless Glass Jug	58	3
Container	Colorless Glass Jug/Bottle	5	3
Container	Colorless Glass Ketchup Bottle	12	3
Container	Colorless Glass Milk Bottle	29	2
Container	Colorless Glass Nursing Bottle	7	1
Container	Colorless Glass Soda-pop Bottle	1	1
Container	Colorless Glass Vinegar Bottle	3	1
Container	Ferrous Key and Key Wind Strip	4	4
Subtotal Food		268	33

Trench 8 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
Food Prep/Consumption			
-	Aqua Glass Tumbler	8	1
Drinking Vessel	Colorless Glass Footed Tumbler	20	2
Drinking Vessel	Colorless Glass Juice Glass	14	2
Drinking Vessel	Colorless Glass Snow White Tumbler	2	1
Drinking Vessel	Colorless Glass Tumbler	19	1
Drinking Vessel	Japanese Earthenware Tea Bowl	8	1
Drinking Vessel	White Improved Earthenware Cup	15	1
Indefinite	Colorless Glass Tumbler?	27	1
Kitchen	Cast-iron Stove	8	1
Kitchen	Earthenware Milk Pan	9	1
Kitchen	Ferrous Cake Pan	2	2
Kitchen	Ferrous Camp Stove Pot Handle	1	1
Kitchen	Ferrous Tart/Pie Pan	1	1
Kitchen	Gray Enamelware Handle	1	1
Kitchen	Stoneware Grinding Bowl	28	1
Serving	Asian Stoneware Lid and Handle	3	1
Serving	Colorless Glass Dish	1	1
Serving	Earthenware Lid and Handle	4	1
Tableware	Copper-alloy Spoon	1	1
Tableware	Ferrous Knife Handle	1	1
Tableware	Japanese Earthenware Saucer, 5-1/2"	5	1
Tableware	Japanese Porcelain Medium Bowl	41	6
Tableware	Japanese Porcelain Medium Plate	5	1
Tableware	Porcelain Saucer, 6"	3	1
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Saucer	1	1
Subtotal Food Prep/Consumption		228	33
Food Storage			
Closure	Opaque-white Glass Canning Jar Lid Liner	1	1
Closure	Red Rubber Gasket	2	0
Container	Aqua Glass Canning Jar	66	3
Container	Colorless Glass Canning Jar	30	3
Container	Stoneware Crock	25	2
Subtotal Food Storage		124	9
Furnishings			
-	Brass Window Curtain Rod Holder	1	1
-	Common-pottery Flowerpot	67	3
-	Earthenware Flowerpot	6	1
-	White Metal Clock	1	1
Decorative Item	Japanese Earthenware Figurine/Vase	16	1
Decorative Item	Stoneware Bonsai Dish	22	1
Subtotal Furnishings		113	8
Heating			
-	Ceramic? Gas Heater Radiating Element	6	1
Subtotal Heating		6	1

Trench 8 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
INDEFINITE USE			
Indefinite			
-	Black Rubber Strip	6	1
-	Colorless Glass Disc	1	1
-	Colorless Glass Hollow	2	1
-	Colorless Glass Vial-like Tube	1	1
-	Earthenware Base	1	1
-	Pale-yellow Glass Hollow	2	1
-	Red Rubber Scraps	7	1
Subtotal Indefinite		20	7
Lighting			
-	Glass/Copper-alloy Light Bulb	33	8
Subtotal Lighting		33	8
Misc. Closures			
-	Black Plastic Cap	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Cap	1	1
-	Ferrous Amerseal Cap	1	1
-	Porcelain Lightning Stopper	2	2
Subtotal Misc. Closures		5	5
Misc. Containers			
-	Aqua Glass Beverage Bottle	51	1
-	Aqua Glass Bottle	92	4
-	Aqua Glass Demijohn	89	1
-	Brown Glass Bottle	166	6
-	Colorless Glass Bottle	535	31
-	Colorless Glass Jar	4	1
-	Ferrous Can	4	2
-	Green Glass Beverage Bottle	17	1
Subtotal Misc. Containers		958	47
Misc. Fasteners			
-	Copper-alloy Rivet	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Washer	1	1
Subtotal Misc. Fasteners		2	2
Misc. Metal Items			
-	Aluminum Spout	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Hose Coupling	2	2
-	Copper-alloy Wire	1	1
-	Copper-alloy Wire Coil	2	1
-	Ferrous Chain	13	1
-	Ferrous Circular Clamp	2	1
-	Ferrous Coil	4	1
-	Ferrous Frame	4	1
-	Ferrous Handle	1	1
-	Ferrous Scrap	3	1
-	Ferrous Strap	30	3
-	Ferrous Strap Handle	1	1
-	Ferrous Wire	13	4
-	Ferrous Wire Handle	5	5
-	Lead Hook-like Item	1	1
Subtotal Misc. Metal Items		83	25

Trench 8 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
INDUSTRIAL			
Electric			
-	Ferrous and Ceramic Guy Wire Strain with Johnny Ball	3	1
Subtotal Electric		3	1
PERSONAL			
Accoutrements			
-	Copper-alloy Chain	1	1
Subtotal Accoutrements		1	1
Clothing			
Fastener	Bakelite Belt Buckle	1	1
Fastener	Copper-alloy Belt Buckle	1	1
Subtotal Clothing		2	2
Footwear			
-	Leather Shoe/Boot	4	1
Subtotal Footwear		4	1
Grooming/Health			
Container	Brown Glass Bottle	9	1
Container	Cobalt Glass Vaporub Bottle	1	1
Container	Cobalt Glass Va-Tro-Nol Nose Drops Bottle	1	1
Container	Colorless Glass Nose/Throat Drops Bottle	1	1
Container	Colorless Glass Pectoral Bottle	1	1
Container	Opaque-white Glass Cold Cream Jar	12	3
Container	Opaque-white Glass Cream Jar	4	2
Container	Opaque-white Glass Jar	2	1
Subtotal Grooming/Health		31	11
Misc. Containers			
-	Olive Glass Bottle	50	1
Subtotal Misc. Containers		50	1
Social Drugs – Alcohol			
Container	Aqua Glass Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	34	2
Container	Colorless Glass Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	5	3
Container	Colorless Glass Flask	1	1
Subtotal Social Drugs – Alcohol		40	6
Toys			
-	Glass Marble	4	4
Subtotal Toys		4	4
STRUCTURAL			
Hardware			
-	Copper-alloy Deadbolt Lock Plate	1	1
-	Ferrous Chicken Wire	2	1
-	Ferrous Pipe	1	1
-	Ferrous Pipe Coupling	1	1
Fastener	Ferrous Roofing Nail	11	11
Fastener	Ferrous Staple	25	25
Fastener	Ferrous Wire Nail	218	216
Subtotal Hardware		259	256

Trench 8 – Artifact Descriptions by Group and Category *(continued)*

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
Materials			
-	Asbestos Lining	3	1
-	Composition Tar Paper	2	1
-	Glass Window	1,075	0
-	Stoneware Sewer Pipe	5	1
Subtotal Materials		1,085	3
UNDEFINED USE			
-	Slag Waste	7	0
Subtotal Undefined Use		7	0
TOTAL		3,471	478

Trench 8 – SUMMARY OF ARTIFACTS BY GROUP
4501 Clement Street (High Street)
Orimoto Family

Description	Total Count	MNI	Percent of MNI
Activities	19	10	8
Domestic	865	88	72
Personal (other than clothing)	130	24	20
Subtotal	1,014	122	100
Indefinite Use	1,101	94	
Industrial	3	1	
Personal Clothing	2	2	
Structural	1,344	259	
TOTAL	3,464	478	

Trench 8 – SUMMARY OF ARTIFACTS BY CATEGORY
4501 Clement Street (High Street)
Orimoto Family

Description	MNI	Percent
Accoutrements	1	0.5
Cleaning	4	1.8
Clothing	2	0.9
Commerce	1	0.5
Food	33	15.1
Food Prep/Consumption	33	15.1
Food Storage	9	4.1
Footwear	1	0.5
Furnishings	8	3.7
Grooming/Health	11	5
Heating	1	0.5
Indefinite	7	3.2
Lighting	8	3.7
Misc. Closures	5	2.3
Misc. Containers	48	22
Misc. Fasteners	2	0.9
Misc. Metal Items	25	11.5
Pest Control	3	1.4
Social Drugs – Alcohol	6	2.8
Tools	4	1.8
Toys	4	1.8
Transportation	1	0.5
Writing	1	0.5
TOTAL	218	100.1

Trench 8 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL FUNCTION
4501 Clement Street (High Street)
Orimoto Family

Function	MNI	Percent
Serving (platters, covered dishes, etc.)	3	12
Tableware (plates, bowls, saucers, etc.)	10	40
Stemware and Tumblers	7	28
Cups and Mugs	1	4
Tea Bowl	1	4
Kitchen (mixing bowls, bakers, etc.)	2	8
Indefinite	1	4
TOTAL	25	100

Trench 8 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL FABRIC
4501 Clement Street (High Street)
Orimoto Family

Fabric	MNI	Percent	Total MNI	Total Percent
Ceramic			16	64
Japanese Porcelain	7	44		
Porcelain	1	6		
White Improved Earthenware	2	13		
Asian Stoneware	1	6		
Stoneware	1	6		
Japanese Earthenware	2	13		
Earthenware	2	13		
Subtotal	16	101		
Glass			9	36
TOTAL			25	100

Trench 8 – FOOD PREPARATION/CONSUMPTION VESSEL DECORATION
4501 Clement Street (High Street)
Orimoto Family

Fabric	Description	Type of Decoration	Decorated MNI	Undecorated MNI
Ceramic				
Japanese Porcelain	Medium Bowl	Hand painted	1	
Japanese Porcelain	Medium Bowl	Hand painted – geometric	2	
Japanese Porcelain	Medium Bowl	Hand painted – scenic	3	
Japanese Porcelain	Medium Plate	Hand painted – floral	1	
Porcelain	Saucer, 6"			1
WIE	Cup			1
WIE	Saucer	Molded	1	
Asian Stoneware	Lid and Handle	Body color	1	
Stoneware	Grinding Bowl			1
Japanese Earthenware	Saucer, 5-1/2"	Decal – floral; Hand painted	1	
Japanese Earthenware	Tea Bowl	Handpainted	1	
Earthenware	Lid and Handle	Blue luster glaze	1	
Earthenware	Milk Pan			1
Ceramic Subtotal			12	4
Glass				
Aqua Glass	Tumbler			1
Colorless Glass	Dish	Pressed – geometric	1	
Colorless Glass	Footed Tumbler	Paneled	2	
Colorless Glass	Juice Glass	Sided	2	
Colorless Glass	Snow White Tumbler	Adhesive Decal	1	
Colorless Glass	Tumbler	Pressed	1	
Colorless Glass	Tumbler?			1
Glass Subtotal			7	2
TOTAL			19	6

Trench 8 – DATE AND ORIGIN OF MARKED/DATABLE ITEMS
4501 Clement Street (High Street)
Orimoto Family

Catalog No.	Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Ceramic Items								
114 1	Japanese Earthenware	Saucer, 5-1/2"	1	Red printed mark: (butterfly) MADE IN JAPAN (across wings)/ HANDPAINTED (lower arch)		Japan	1893 –	Schiffer 1986:40–42; Costello and Maniery 1988:27
114 4	Japanese Earthenware	Tea Bowl	1	/// MADE IN JAPAN		Japan	1893 –	Schiffer 1986:40–42; Costello and Maniery 1988:27
114 21	Stoneware	Crock	1	Printed in blue: (in circle) ..O/ .. CO.				
114 34	Japanese Earthenware	Figurine/Vase	1	/// MADE IN/ JAPAN		Japan	1893 –	Schiffer 1986:40–42; Costello and Maniery 1988:27
Marked Glass Items								
114 16	Brown Glass and Plastic	Clorox Bottle and Cap	1	(on cap) CLOROX; (around shoulder) CLOROX (large letters) 32 (arrow up) OZ. (2 times)/ CLOROX (6 times)/ (around heel) CLOROX (4 times)/// (Owens Illinois mark) 10/ REG (angled up) U.S. (angled down)/ CLOROX (in diamond)/ PAT (angled down) OFF (angled up)	Owens Illinois Glass Co.; Clorox	Oakland, CA	1940 –	Clorox n.d.
114 17	Brown Glass	Clorox Bottle	2	(around neck) CLOROX (2 times)/ (around shoulder) CLOROX (2 times, large letters)/ CLOROX 32 (arrow down) OZ. (2 times)/ (around heel) CLOROX (6 times)/// REG (angled up) U.S. (angled down)/ CLOROX (in diamond)/ PAT (angled down) OFF (angled up)	Clorox	Oakland, CA	1939 –	Clorox n.d.
114 18	Brown Glass	Clorox Bottle	1	(around heel) [CL]OROX/ [CLOROX]/ CLOOX/ [CLOR]OX/ 20 (Owens Illinois mark) 8 4/// [REG (angled up)] U.S. (angled down)/ CLOROX (in diamond)/ PAT (angled down) OFF (angled up)	Owens Illinois Glass Co.; Clorox	Oakland, CA	1938 – 1938	Lockhart 2004:24–27
114 20	Brown Glass	Bottle	1	/// P D & CO/ 27	Park, Davis & Co.	Detroit, MI	1875 – 1915 ca	Toulouse 1971:417–418; Lindsey 2008
114 24	Brown Glass	Bottle	2	/// IPGCO (in diamond, increasing then decreasing in size)	Illinois Pacific Glass Co.	West Coast	1902 – 1926	Lockhart et al. 2005:74–75, figure 3

Trench 8 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.	Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Glass Items (continued)								
114 27	Olive Glass	Bottle	1	(Owens scar)			1910 ca –	Lindsey 2008
114 28	Cobalt Glass	Vaporub Bottle	1	/// VICKS (upper arch)/ VVV (stacked in circle)/ VAPORUB (lower arch)	Vicks Chemical Co.		1915 ca –	Lindsey 2008; Periodical Publishers Association 1934:88
114 29	Brown Glass	Bottle	1	(around heel) 2/// IPG (in diamond)	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
114 30	Opaque-white Glass	Cream Jar	2	/// 7/ WOODBURY'S (script)/ 7	Jergens Co.		1929 –	Periodical Publishers Assoc. 1934:52
114 32	Brown Glass	Bottle	1	/// (Hazel Atlas mark)/ K4052/ 5	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1923 – 1964	Whitten 2005; Peterson 1968:49
114 33	Cobalt Glass	Va-Tro-Nol Nose Drops Bottle	1	/// VICKS (upper arch)/ (triangle)/ 10/ VA-TRO-NOL (lower arch)	Vicks Chemical Co.		1931 –	Periodical Publishers Association 1934:88
114 35	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// F (in hexagon)/ 12 4/ 2	Fairmount Glass Works/Corp.	Fairmount, IN	1933 – 1968	Whitten 2005
114 36	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// (Hazel Atlas mark)/ 5 5792	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1923 – 1964	Whitten 2005; Peterson 1968:49
114 37	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	(around neck) 2-1/2 OZ./// 721/ 9				
114 38	Aqua Glass	Canning Jar	3	BALL (script/underlined)/ PERFECT/ MASON	Ball Bros. Co.	Muncie, IN	1915 ca – 1935 ca	Toulouse 1969:38; Leybourne 1997:44–45
114 39	Colorless Glass	Pectoral Bottle	1	AYER'S PECTORAL// AYER'S PECTORAL/// A (in circle)/ 40	Armstrong Cork Co. Glass Division	Lancaster, PA	1938 – 1969	Toulouse 1971:24–25
114 40	Colorless Glass	Ketchup Bottle	1	/// 25/ (Hazel Atlas mark) 9 (in circle)/ 0-547	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1927 ca – 1964	Bender 1986:109; Whitten 2005; Peterson 1968:49
114 41	Colorless Glass	Condiment Bottle	1	(around heel) P C (in bisected rectangle)/// BEST FOODS/ REG	Pacific Coast Glass Co.; Best Foods	San Francisco, CA	1925 – 1931	Giarde 1980:99
114 44	Aqua Glass	Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	2	(turn mold)			1880s – 1920s	Jones and Sullivan 1985:30–31
114 47	Aqua Glass	Salad Oil Bottle	1	(around finish base) REGISTERED PATENT-PRIOF/ (down 3 sides) PRIMROSE (script with loop beneath)/ REGISTERED (in loop)/ BRAND/ SALAD OIL/ WESTERN MEAT COMPANY/ IPG (in diamond)/// WMC	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.; Western Meat Co.	West Coast	1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77; Zumwalt 1980:341; Lindsey 2008

Trench 8 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.		Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Glass Items (continued)									
114	48	Aqua Glass	Coca-Cola Bottle	2	COCA-COLA (script)/ TRA[DE MARK REGISTERED]/ B[OTTLE PAT. D-1055]29// [TRADEMARK REGIS]TERED/ [MIN CONTENTS 6] FL. OZ.	Coca-Cola		1938 – 1951	Antique Bottle Collectors Haven 2008
114	50	Colorless Glass	Ketchup Bottle	1	(around heel) 26/// H.J. HEINZ CO. (upper arch)/ 255/ (triangle)/ PATD (lower arch)	Heinz, H.J. Co.		1927 ca – 1947	Zumwalt 1980:214,225; Toulouse 1971:236–237; Bender 1986:109
114	51	Colorless Glass	Nose/Throat Drops Bottle	1	(on shoulder) MISTOL/// 4 (Owens Illinois mark) 0	Owens Illinois Glass Co.; Mistol	Clarksburg, WV	1930/ 1940 – 1930/ 1940	Lockhart et al. 2005:24–27
114	52	Colorless Glass	Condiment Bottle	1	/// 21 (Owens Illinois mark) 6	Owens Illinois Glass Co.	San Francisco, CA	1936 – 1936	Lockhart 2004:24–27; Giarde 1980:96–97
114	53	Colorless Glass	Condiment Bottle	1	(Japanese characters around shoulder and heel)				
114	55	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// THIS CONTAINER (upper arch)/ MADE IN/ U.S.A.				
114	56	Colorless Glass	Condiment Bottle	1	/// BEST FOODS/ REG	Best Foods	San Francisco	1912 –	Brand Names Foundation 1947:16
114	57	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// IPG (in triangle)	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
114	58	Colorless Glass	Condiment Bottle	1	/// BEST FOODS/ REG/ DESIGN/ PATENT/ 80918	Best Foods		1930, Apr 8 –	Google Patent Search; Brand Names Foundation 1947:16
114	59	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// GC (interlocking)/ 3976	Glass Containers, Inc.	Los Angeles, CA	1934 – 1967	Giarde 1980:45
114	60	Opaque-white Glass	Cold Cream Jar	3	/// POND"S	Pond's		1914 –	Unilever Website 2008 (unilever.com/ourbrands)
114	66	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	(around neck) 2 1/2 OZ./// (Hazel Atlas mark)/ 5K-5862	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1923 – 1964	Whitten 2005
114	67	Aqua Glass	Tumbler	1	/// */9 (or) 6/* (read through bottom)				
114	68	Opaque-white Glass	Jar	1	/// D[AGGETT & RAMSDELL (upper arch)]/ d and r/ MADE IN U.S.A. NEW YO[RK].. (lower arch)	Daggett & Ramsdell	New York	1910 ca –	Periodical Publishers Association 1934:29
114	72	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// 3 GC (interlocking) 2250	Glass Containers, Inc.	Long Beach, CA	1934 – 1967	Giarde 1980:45
114	73	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// 779/ 3				

Trench 8 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.	Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Glass Items (continued)								
114 75	Colorless Glass	Milk Bottle	1	THIS BOTTLE NEVER SOLD/ USED ONLY UNDER/ LICENSE/ ALAMEDA COUNTY MILK DEALERS (upper arch)/ ASSOCAITION/ AC (large letters)/ (around heel) 17121 ML OAKLAND/ REG. CAL.// ONE QUART/// 23 (Owens Illinois mark) 9/ A (large letter)	Owens Illinois Glass Co.; Alameda Milk Dealers Assoc.	Oakland, CA; Los Angeles, CA	1939 – 1939	Lockhart et al. 2005:24–27; Giarde 1980:98
114 76	Colorless Glass	Ketchup Bottle	1	/// 20 (Owens Illinois mark) 0/ 16/ 4011-E	Owens Illinois Glass Co.	Oakland, CA	1940 – 1940	Lockhart 2004:24–27; Giarde 1980:77–96
114 77	Colorless Glass	Canning Jar	1	PRESTO (angled up)/ S[UP]REM[E M]ASON/ (around heel) MANUFACT[U]RED BY/ [ILLINO]IS PACIFIC GLASS [CORP]	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1927 – 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:77–78, figure 11; Toulouse 1969:248
114 78	Colorless Glass	Jug	1	(around heel) DURAGLASS (script)/// 20 [(Owens Illinois mark) ..]/ 2-..	Owens Illinois Glass Co.	Oakland, CA	1940 –	Lockhart 2004:24–27; Toulouse 1971:403
114 79	Colorless Glass	Jug	1	(around shoulder) ONE HALF G[ALLON]/// 3934-E (upper arch)/ 20 (Owens Illinois mark) 8	Owens Illinois Glass Co.	Oakland, CA	1938 – 1938	Lockhart 2004:24–27
114 80	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	(around heel) B 1162 /// .. (Owens Illinois mark) 9	Owens Illinois Glass Co.		1939 – 1939	Lockhart 2004:24–27
114 81	Colorless Glass	Milk Bottle	1	..RE BOTTLE/ (around heel) OAKLAND CALIF/// A		Oakland, CA		
114 82	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// 1244 GC (interlocking) 6	Glass Containers, Inc.	Los Angeles/San Francisco, CA	1934 – 1967	Giarde 1980:45
114 83	Colorless Glass	Soda-pop Bottle	1	(around heel) ..ERED// NET. CON[TENTS] ..				
114 84	Colorless Glass	Jug	1	/// 1-0-406 (upper arch)/ (Hazel Atlas mark)	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1923 – 1964	Whitten 2005; Peterson 1968:49
114 85	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// CROWN PROD. CORP. (upper arch)/ 122?/ LM (in circle)/ 12/ S.F. - L.A. (lower arch)	Latchford-Marble Glass Co.; Crown Prod. Corp.	Los Angeles, CA	1939 – 1956	Giarde 1980:142
114 86	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// (Hazel Atlas mark)/ O-9344	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.	Wheeling, WV	1923 – 1964	Whitten 2005; Peterson 1968:49
114 88	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// 265-A-1/ 21 (Owens Illinois mark) 7/ 5	Owens Illinois Glass Co.	San Francisco, CA	1937 – 1937	Giarde 1980:96–97; Lockhart 2004:24–27

Trench 8 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.		Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range		References
Marked Glass Items (continued)										
114	89	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	(around heel) 1-1990 C/// DES. PAT. (upper arch)/ 21 (Owens Illinois mark) 7 (upside down)/ D-86565	Owens Illinois Glass Co.	San Francisco, CA	1937	– 1937	Giarde 1980:96–97; Lockhart 2004:24–27; Google Patent
114	92	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	.. QUAR[T]; [QUA]RT					
114	95	Colorless Glass	Snow White Tumbler	1	(adhesive decal) [Sneezy] / [S]NOW WHITE AND THE SEVEN [DWARFS/ ..]	Disney		1937	–	
114	96	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// (Japanese characters)					
114	97	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	(around heel in script) .. SR. * HILAM (?)/// ..0-23../ M..					
114	98	Colorless Glass	Vinegar Bottle	1	/// H.J. HE[IN]Z CO. (upper arch)/ 3/ 211/ (Hazel Atlas mark)/ PATD (lower arch)	Hazel Atlas Glass Co.; H.J. Heinz	Wheeling, WV; Pittsburgh, PA	1923	– 1964	Zumwalt 1980:225; Whitten 2005
114	99	Colorless Glass and Plastic	Ink Bottle and Cap	1	(on cap) WATERMAN'S (upper arch)/ INK (lower arch); (around shoulder) WATERMAN'S I[NK]	Waterman's Ink				
114	100	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// 182/ P (in circle)/ 4	Pierce Glass Co.	PA/NY	1905	– 1980s	Whitten 2005
114	104	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	/// IPG (in triangle)	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926	– 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9
114	105	Colorless Glass	Alcoholic-beverage Bottle	1	(around shoulder) [FEDERA]L LAW [FORBIS SALE/ OR RE]USE OF [THIS BOTTLE]			1933	– 1964	
114	106	Colorless Glass	Bottle	1	(around heel) 8					
114	107	Colorless Glass	Flask	1	/// .. (capstan) 13-6	Capstan Glass Co.	Connellsville, PA	1919	– 1938	Bernas 2007b:15–19
114	111	Colorless Glass	Applesauce Jar	3	(around heel) [D]URAGLASS/ [D]URAGLASS (script); /// ..F/ 3762-C	Owens Illinois Glass Co.		1940	– 1963	Giarde 1980:77
114	112	Colorless Glass	Canning Jar	2	.. [WIDE MO]UTH..; .. [MASO]N ..					
114	113	Colorless Glass	Applesauce? Jar	1	/// ..03/ 6					
114	117	Colorless Glass	Bottle	0	(around heel) 348; ///..S20..; /// ..CO..; /// ..S T..; /// (illegible);					
114	178	Colorless Glass	Condiment Bottle	1	(around heel) IPG (in triangle)	Illinois Pacific Glass Corp.	West Coast	1926	– 1930	Lockhart et al. 2005:76–77, figures 8 and 9

Trench 8 – Date and Origin of Marked/Datable Items *(continued)*

Catalog No.	Material	Description	MNI	Mark	Maker	Origin	Date Range	References
Marked Other Items								
114 132	Black Plastic	Cap	1	/// (around cap interior) 68 (Owens Illinois mark) 18-400 16	Owens Illinois Glass Co.		1929 – 1954	Toulouse 1971:403
114 152	Ceramic?	Gas Heater Radiating Element	1	D. PT./ 86151// D. PT./ 86151			1932, Feb 2 –	Google Patent Search
114 157	Copper-alloy	Token	1	EAST BAY (upper arch)/ TRANSIT/ COMPANY (lower arch)// GOOD FOR (upper arch)/ ONE/ FARE (lower arch)	East Bay Transit Co.	Oakland	1936 – 1942/ 1946	Online Archive of California 2008
114 161	Chrome	Automobile Hub Cap	1	DESOTO	DeSoto Chevrolet		1928 – 1960	
114 163	Copper-alloy	Spoon	1	/// ..LD FOR SIMEON L. & GEORGE H. ROGERS COMPANY (+..?)	Rogers, Simeon L. & George H. Co.	Hartford, CT	1900 ca – 1929	Woodhead 1991:208
114 177	Ferrous	Powdered Lice Killer Can	1	PRATTS [POWDERED] LICE [KILLER]	Pratts Food Company		1905 (adv) – 1947 (adv)	Newspaper Online Archive

PIT 25 FEATURE SUMMARY
4501 Clement Street, Oakland
Orimoto Family

Pit 25 was unlined and measured about 12 in. diameter × 3 in. deep. The top of the pit was about 6 in. below the remaining historic disturbed ground surface. The feature contained a single layer of fill, Context 38, which contained primarily Asian ceramics. The pit was found during early stages of block clearing. It was located between the front and rear dwellings on the lot and is taken to be associated with the main dwelling and the Orimoto family. Due to the feature's small size, the artifacts were collected without being formally recorded.

The entire collection consists of 8 items. Food preparation and consumption include a large bowl, 2 medium sized bowls and a dish of Japanese porcelain, and a WIE bowl. There is also part of a colorless glass bottle, a graphite arc-lamp rod, and an earthenware tile. The Japanese porcelains from this pit do not appear to have been made for export, in contrast to those found in Trench 8. The only markings are in Japanese indicating that these items bore a paper label or more likely were brought to the United States as personal effects. A bowl base (lower right in Figure 7.3) bears four Japanese characters translated as "Garden/Valley/Joy/mountain."

Figure 7.3. Pit 25 – Artifact Layout Photograph, 4501 Clement Street, Orimoto Family.

Pit 25 – ARTIFACT DESCRIPTIONS BY GROUP AND CATEGORY

4501 Clement Street (High Street)
Orimoto Family

Group and Category	Description	Count	MNI
DOMESTIC			
Food Prep/Consumption			
Serving	Japanese Porcelain Dish?	11	1
Serving	Japanese Porcelain Large Bowl	1	1
Tableware	Japanese Porcelain Medium Bowl	4	2
Tableware	White Improved Earthenware Bowl/Dish	13	1
Subtotal Food Prep/Consumption		29	5
INDEFINITE USE			
Heating/Lighting			
-	Graphite Arc-lamp Rod	1	1
Subtotal Heating/Lighting		1	1
Misc. Containers			
-	Colorless Glass Bottle	1	1
Subtotal Misc. Containers		1	1
STRUCTURAL			
Materials			
-	Earthenware Tile	1	1
Subtotal Materials		1	1
TOTAL		32	8

CHAPTER 8: INTERPRETATION

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

The Economic Plight of the Working Class *by Thad Van Bueren*

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

Household Type	*High Street*		*Cypress Project (Oakland)*							
	Stephenson (Skilled)		Unskilled (n=19)		Skilled (n=30)		Professional (n=10)		Wealthy (n=3)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Accoutrements	5	1.0	60	1.45	63	1.34	20	0.96	10	0.96
Beads	5	1.0	60	1.45	19	0.40	262	12.59	332	31.89
Cleaning	6	1.2	4	0.10	1	0.02	1	0.05	0	0.00
Clothing	28	5.7	627	15.19	716	15.20	264	12.69	100	9.61
Clothing Maintenance	16	3.3	318	7.71	71	1.51	12	0.58	3	0.29
Collecting	1	0.2	1	0.02	6	0.13	1	0.05	0	0.00
Commerce	0	0.0	12	0.29	10	0.21	3	0.14	2	0.19
Firearms	3	0.6	15	0.36	44	0.93	36	1.73	3	0.29
Food	100	20.4	188	4.56	181	3.84	102	4.90	27	2.59
Food Prep/Consumption	125	25.6	953	23.09	1262	26.79	538	25.85	216	20.75
Food Storage	12	2.5	81	1.96	106	2.25	47	2.26	26	2.50
Footwear	4	0.8	110	2.67	116	2.46	56	2.69	7	0.67
Furnishings	8	1.6	223	5.40	157	3.33	64	3.08	12	1.15
Games	0	0.0	3	0.07	4	0.08	1	0.05	2	0.19
Grooming/Health	40	8.2	346	8.38	549	11.66	185	8.89	54	5.19
Heating/Lighting	23	4.7	252	6.11	327	6.94	125	6.01	82	7.88
Indefinite	32	6.5	211	5.11	260	5.52	100	4.81	19	1.83
Painting	45	9.2	20	0.48	23	0.49	4	0.19	0	0.00
Pets	0	0.0	5	0.12	8	0.17	7	0.34	0	0.00
Social Drugs - Alcohol	13	2.7	338	8.19	285	6.05	107	5.14	96	9.22
Social Drugs - Tobacco	2	0.4	69	1.67	73	1.55	26	1.25	5	0.48
Tools	2	0.4	27	0.65	37	0.79	9	0.43	3	0.29
Toys	5	1.0	105	2.54	196	4.16	48	2.31	26	2.50
Transportation	5	1.0	6	0.15	14	0.30	16	0.77	0	0.00
Writing	9	1.8	93	2.25	182	3.86	47	2.26	16	1.54
Grand Total	489	100.0	4127	100.0	4710	100.0	2081	100.0	1041	100.0

Table 8.2. Correlation among Stephenson and Cypress Households*

Correlation	*Unskilled*	*Skilled*	*Professional*	*Wealthy*	*Stephenson (All Features)*	*Stephenson (Pit 6 only)*
Unskilled	1.000					
Skilled	0.955	1.000				
Professional	0.866	0.897	1.000			
Wealthy	0.501	0.494	0.807	1.000		
Stephenson (All Features)	0.706	0.729	0.701	0.356	1.000	
Stephenson (Pit 6 only)	0.543	0.582	0.562	0.259	0.974	1.000

*Based on categories of artifacts listed in Table 8.1.

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

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)

Vessel Function	Skilled U.S. (n = 10)	Unskilled U.S. (n = 2)	Skilled Immigrant (n = 2)	Unskilled Immigrant (n = 5)	Pryde	Stephenson 1905	Stephenson 1940	Orimoto
Gravy Dish	2							
Slop Bowl	2				1			
Alphabet Plate	2							
Butterpat Dish	2							
Butter Dish	1							
Decanter	1							
Basket	1							
Medium Bowl	1				1		1	
Relish Dish	1							
Tea Bowl	1							1
Small Dish	1							
Goblet	1							
Shot Glass	1							
Dessert Glass	1							
Spoonholder	1		1					
Cordial	1		1		1			
Sugar Bowl	2			1				
Compote	1			1				
Oval Dish	7	1		2				
Bowl	6	1		2		1		1
Stemware	8	1	1	1	1		1	
Teapot	7	1	1	4			1	
Platter	6	1	2	1	1			
Saucer	10	2	2	4	1	1	1	1
Cup	9	2	2	5	1	1	1	1
Dish	9	2	2	4				1
Plate	9	2	2	3	1	1	1	1
Tumbler	8	2	1	2		1	1	1
Pitcher	3	2	1	3				
Soup Plate	4	2		1	1	1	1	
Saltcellar	2	1						
Mug		1	1	1				
Creamer	1	1						
Dish Drainer	1	1						
Cruet	2	2						
Salt/Pepper Shaker	1	1						
Celery Holder		1						
Egg Cup		1						
Juice Glass								1

Table 8.4. Tableware Vessel MNIs and Richness

Vessel function	Pryde MNI	Stephenson 1905 MNI	Stephenson 1940 MNI	Orimoto
Plate	11	5	10	1
Soup Plate	1	2	1	
Cup	6	7	18	1
Saucer	6	4	10	3
Serving Bowl	3		3	
Tumbler		2	24	5
Slop Bowl	2			
Cordial Glass	1			
Stemware	1		1	
Teapot			1	
Bowl		1		6
Berry Dish			1	
Dish				1
Tea Bowl				1
Juice Glass				2
Platter	2		1	
Total	33	21	70	19
Richness	9	6	10	8

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.

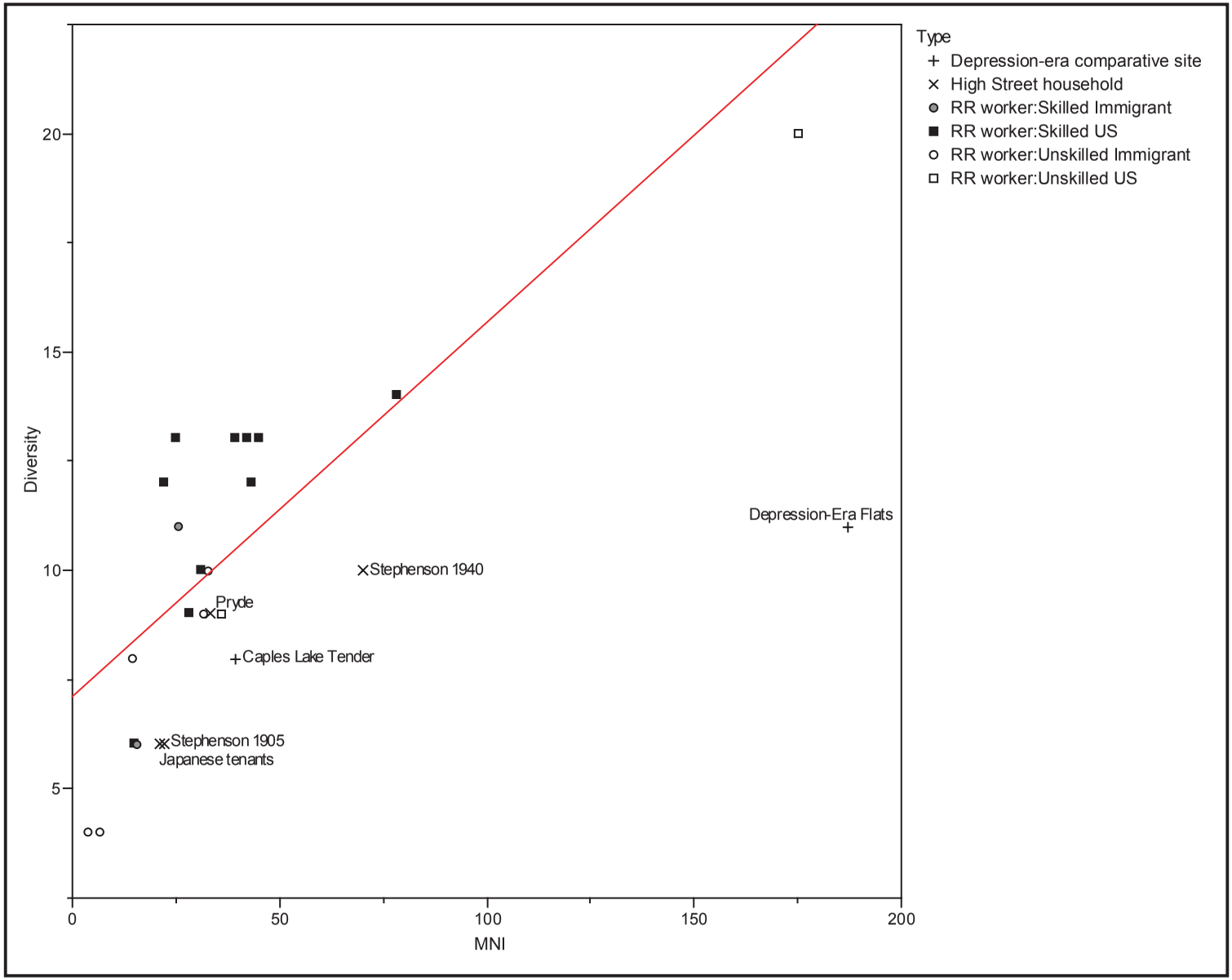


Figure 8.2. Complexity of High Street Tableware Assemblages Compared to West Oakland Railroad Workers and Two Depression-era Sites.

Table 8.5. Meat Weight Percent by Cost and Type

	Pryde				Stephenson 1940			
Cost	**Beef %**	**Mutton %**	**Pork %**	**Mean %**	**Beef %**	**Mutton %**	**Pork %**	**Mean %**
High	16.0	62.4	0.0	47.8	7.7	62.4	3.5	22.8
Medium	14.8	13.3	0.0	13.5	59.4	13.3	47.3	43.9
Low	69.2	24.2	100.0	38.6	32.9	24.2	49.2	33.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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.

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 competiveness, 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

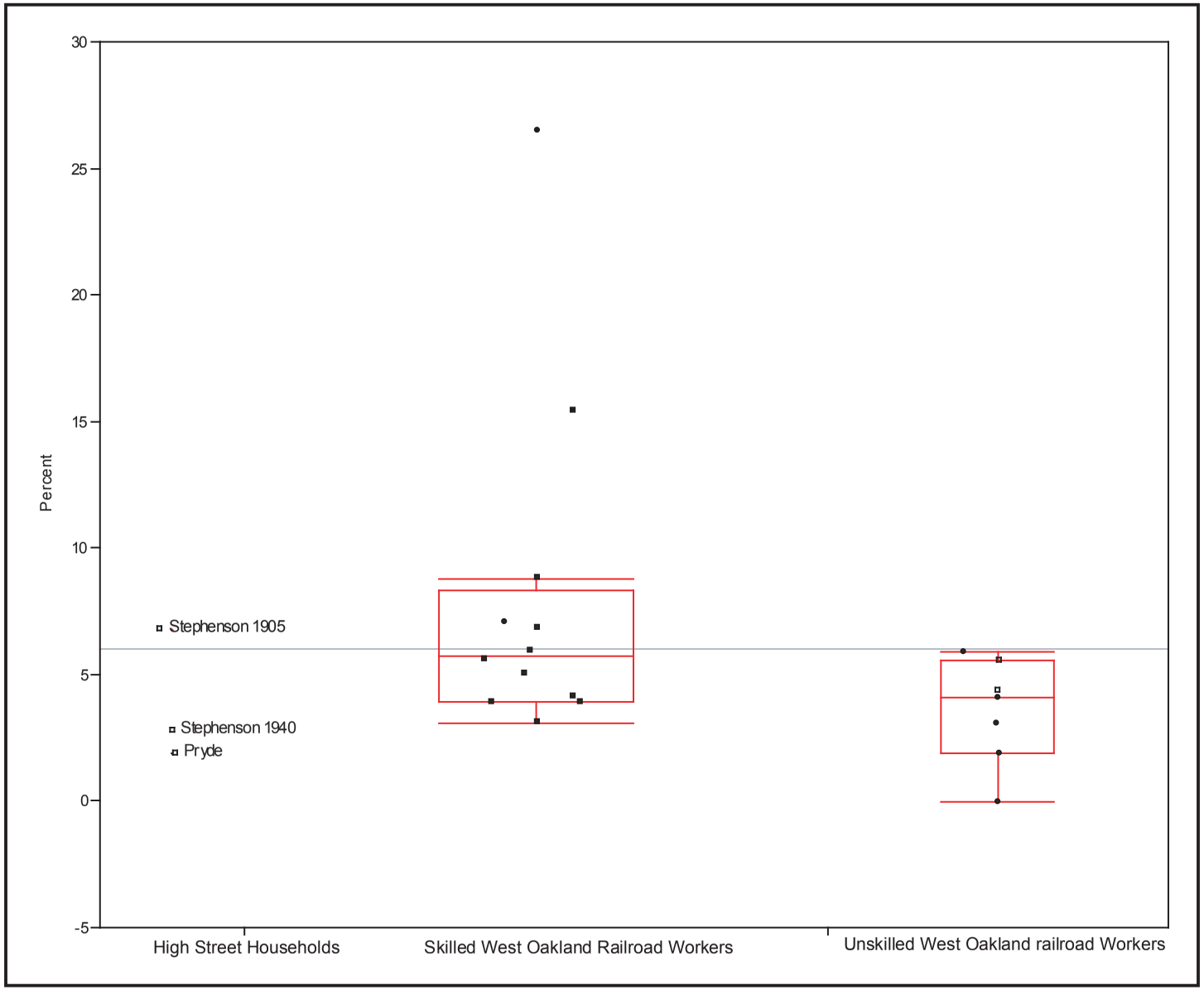


Figure 8.3. Alcohol Bottles from High Street Compared to West Oakland Railroad Workers

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).

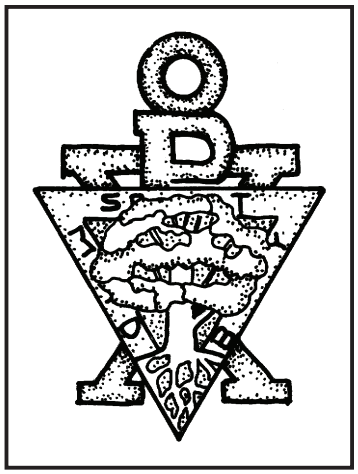


Figure 8.4. Insignia for the Young Men's Christian Association. (Pit 6, scale 2:1)

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.

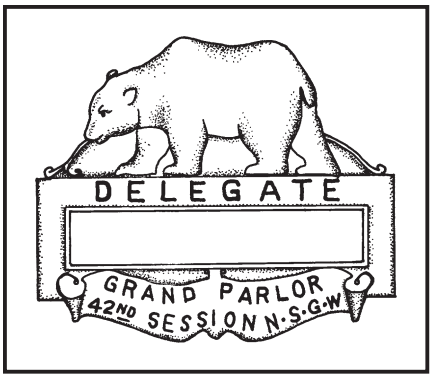


Figure 8.5. Delegate badge for the Native Sons of the Golden West. (Pit 6)

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

Table 8.6. Occupation Spans by Members of the Charles F. Stephenson Household

Name	Relation	Birth	Death	Occupation Span	Separation Event
Charles Fletcher Stephenson	Father	11/8/1857	12/28/1942	1890s–1942	Death
Emily (Walker) Stephenson	Mother	May 1869	1936	1890s–1936	Death
Walter James Stephenson	Son	12/20/1889	12/9/1972	1890s–1943	1943 sale
William Robert Stephenson	Son	3/4/1891	Unknown	1890s–1927	Marriage
Amy (Stephenson) Criger	Daughter	12/27/1894	12/27/1972	1890s–1915	Marriage
Henrietta (Stephenson) Scheile	Daughter	1896	Unknown	Birth?–1920	Moved
Charles Stephenson	Son	1902	Unknown	Birth–1943?	1943 sale?
Gladys (Stephenson) Whitcomb	Daughter	4/12/1905	1/5/1946	Birth–1928	Marriage

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.

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 be 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

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
CERTIFICATION OF VITAL RECORD
COUNTY OF ALAMEDA

1. FULL NAME Charles F. Stephenson
101 3864
2. PLACE OF DEATH: (a) County Alameda
(b) City or town Oakland
4425 - Clement
70yrs. 70yrs.
70yrs.
3. USUAL RESIDENCE OF DECEASED:
(a) State California
(b) County Alameda
(c) City or town Oakland
(d) Street No. 4425 - Clement
20. DATE OF DEATH: Month December 28
Year 1942 Hour 8 Minute 05 P.M.
NO
none
4. Sex Male
5. Color or race White
Widowed
Emily
no
21. MEDICAL CERTIFICATE
Jan. 28 42
Dec. 28 42
Dec. 24 42
22. CORONER'S CERTIFICATE
7. Birthdate of deceased November 8, 1857
8. Age 85 1 20
9. Birthplace England
10. Usual occupation Retired Contractor
11. Industry or business Painting & Decorating
12. Name Robert Stephenson
13. Birthplace England
14. Maiden name Elizabeth
15. Birthplace England
16. (a) Informant Walter J. Stephenson
(b) Address 4425 - Clement - St.
17. (a) Burial (b) Date 12-31-42
Clarence N. Cooper Mortuary
Oakland, California
DEC 29 1942
Hypostatic congestion of lungs 1 wk
Myocardial insufficiency 1 yr
Arteriosclerosis 5 yrs
- 30th St. 12/29/42
STATE OF CALIFORNIA
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH
CERTIFICATE OF DEATH
U. S. DEPT. OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

001918517 CERTIFIED COPY OF VITAL RECORD
STATE OF CALIFORNIA, COUNTY OF ALAMEDA
DEC 05 2008

Figure 8.6. Death Certificate for Charles F. Stephenson Dated December 28, 1942.

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."

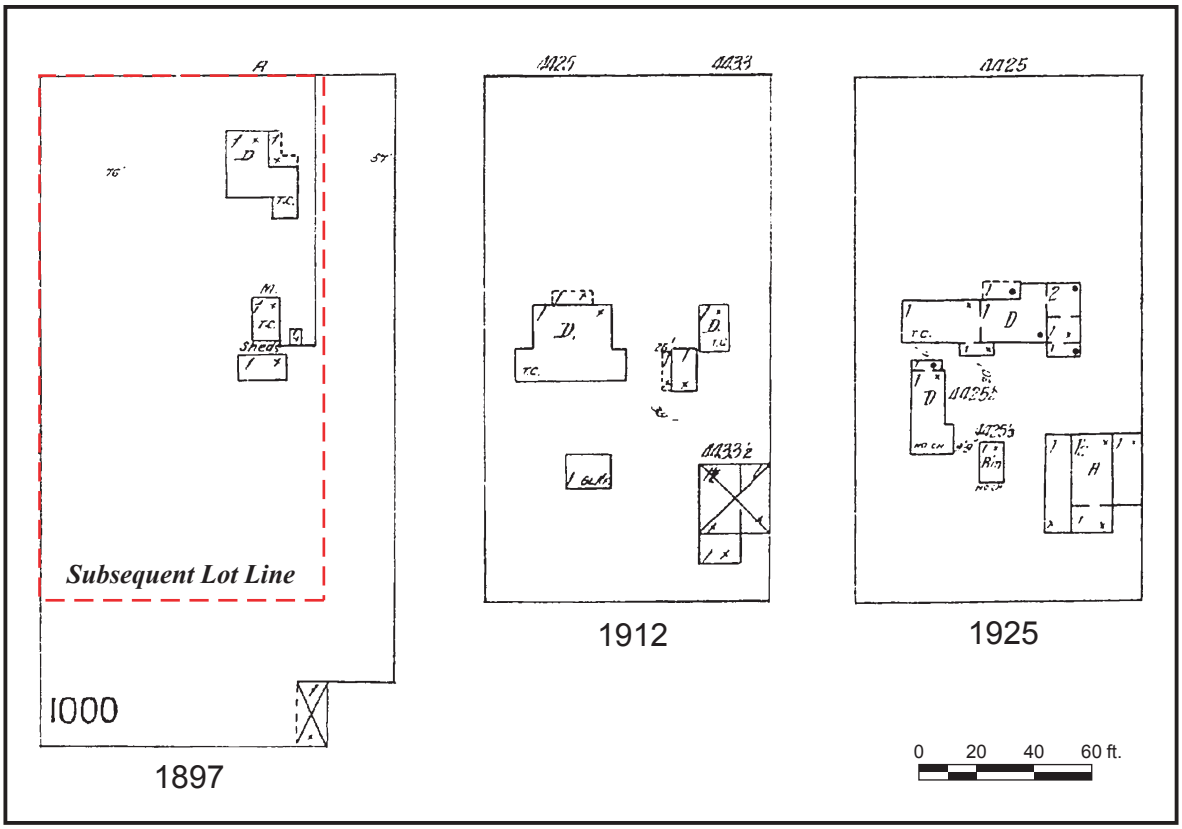


Figure 8.7. Architectural Snapshots of the Stephenson Residence from the 1897, 1912, and 1925 Sanborn Maps.

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).

Figure 8.8. The Stephenson House, ca. 1920. (Photo courtesy of Ned Isokawa)

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

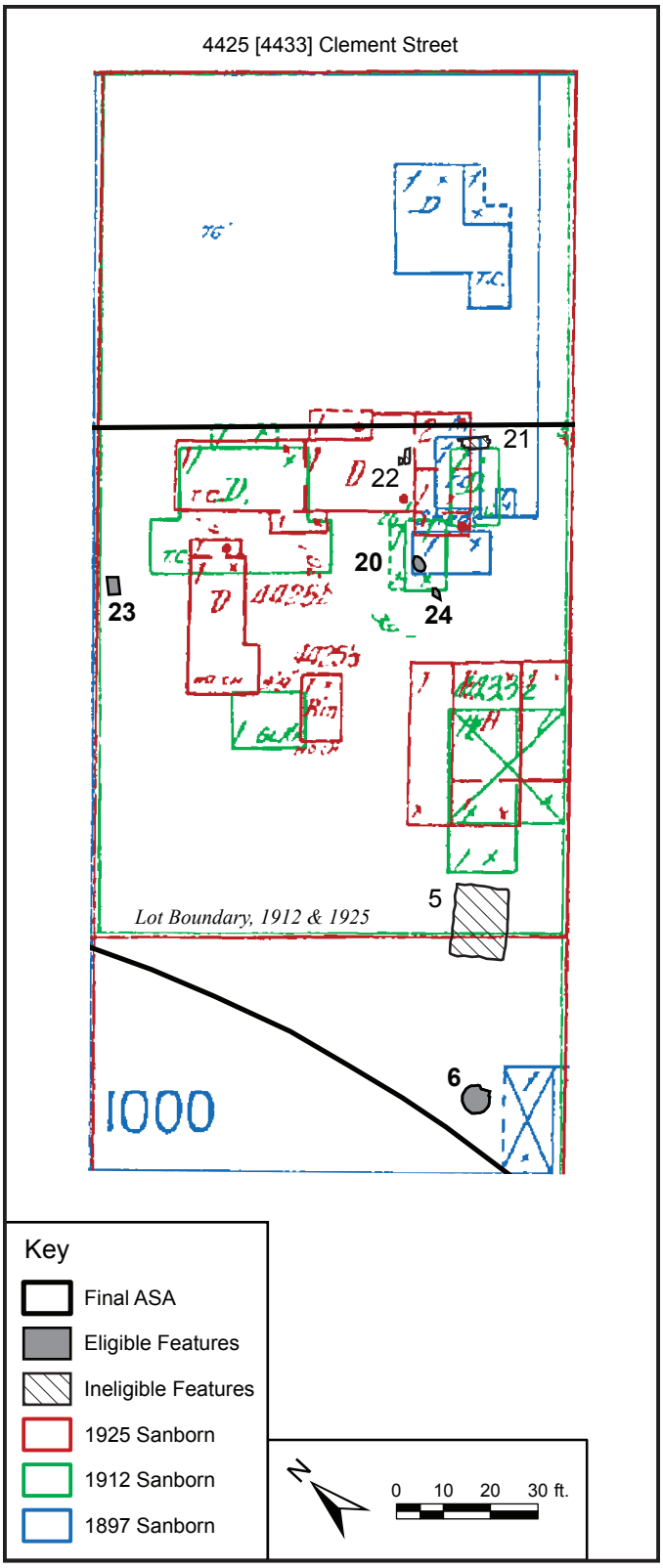


Figure 8.9. Sanborn Composite for 4425 Clement Street with Archaeological Features

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

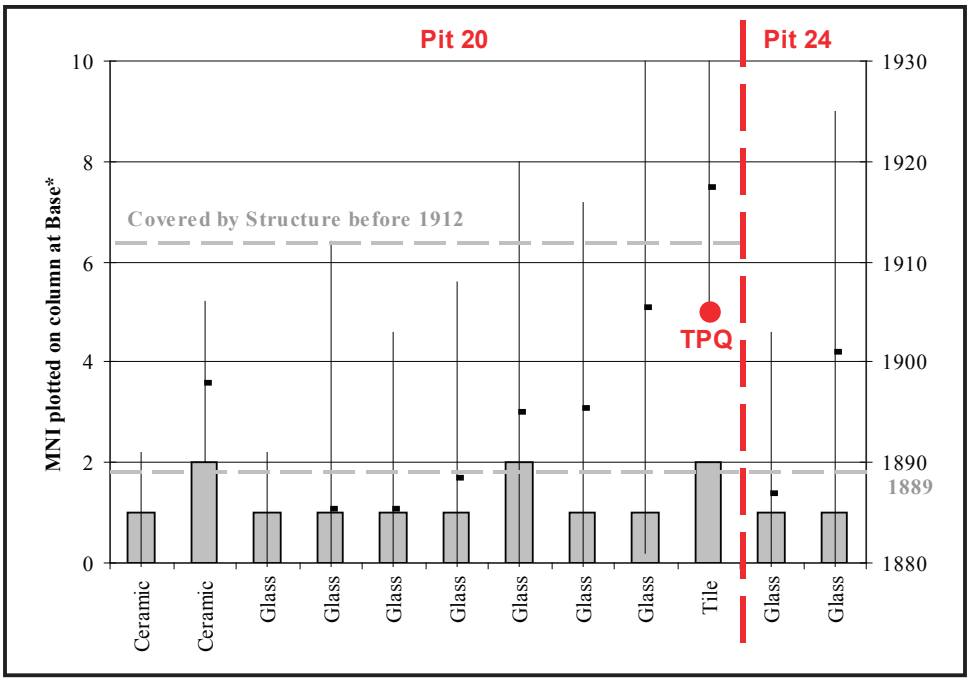


Figure 8.10. Dated Materials from Pits 20 and 24

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

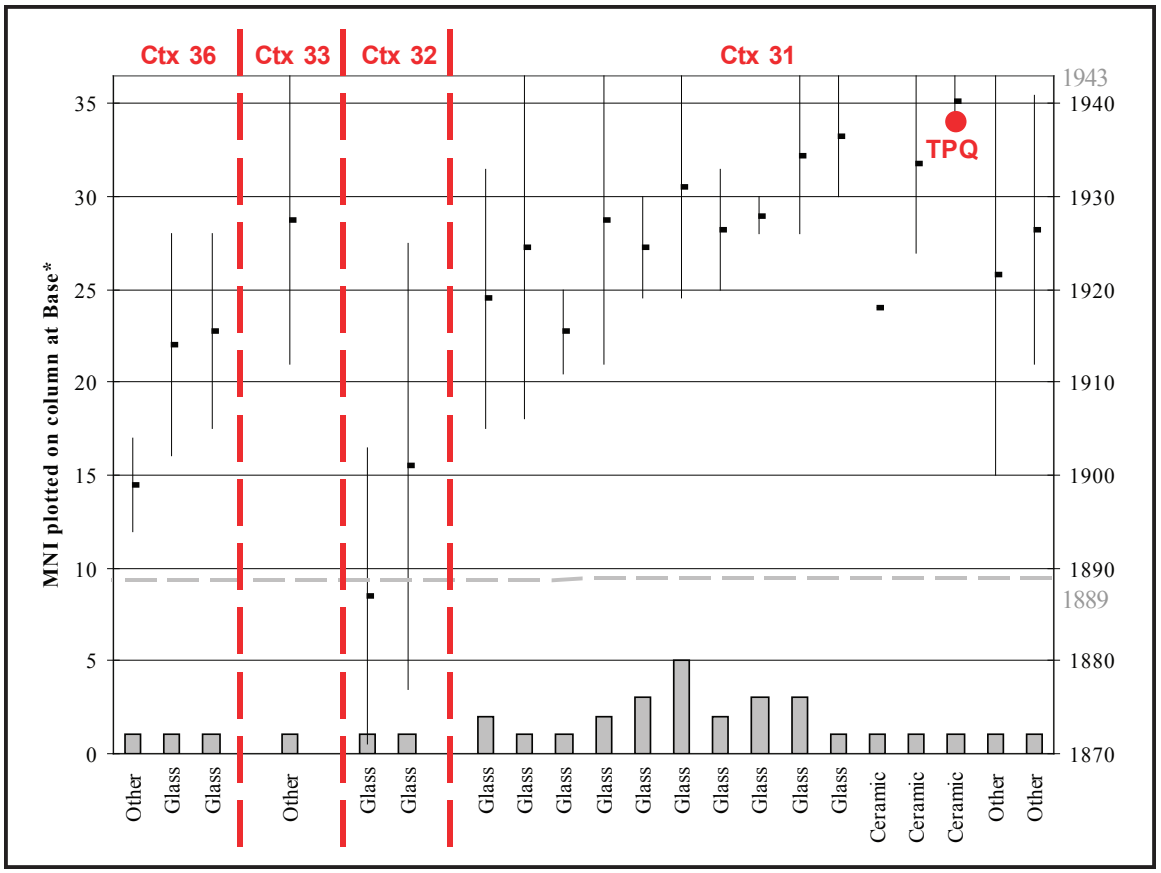


Figure 8.11. Dated Materials from Privy 23

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).

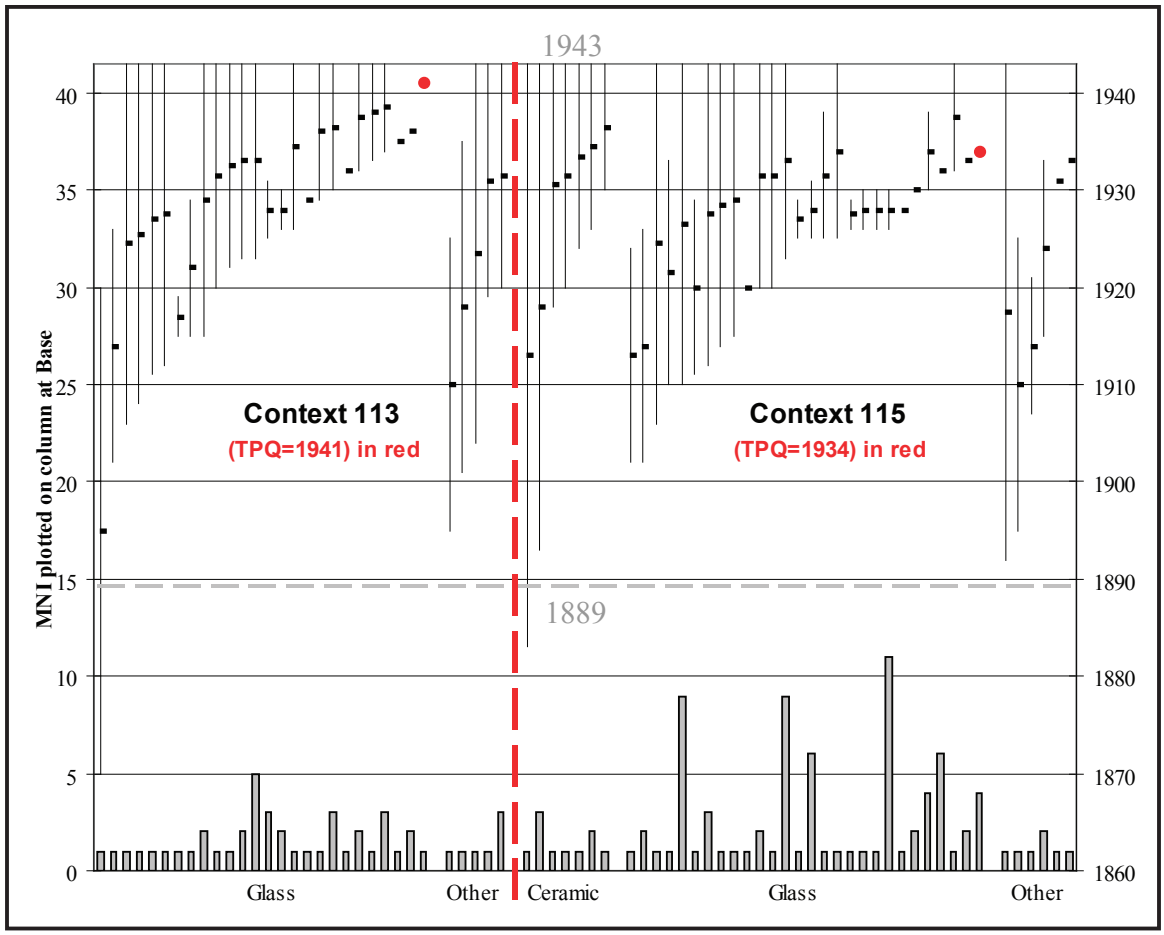


Figure 8.12. Dated Materials from Privy 23

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.

Table 8.7. Comparison of Assemblages Recovered from Stephenson Parcel by MNI

Feature No.	Context No.	Accoutrements	Beads	Cleaning	Clothing	Clothing Maintenance	Collecting	Communication	Firearms	Fishing	Food	Food Prep/Consumption	Food Storage	Footwear	Furnishings	Gardening	Grooming/Health	Heating/Lighting	Misc. Containers	Painting	Social Drugs-Alcohol	Social Drugs-Tobacco	Tools	Toys	Transportation	Writing	Grand Total
6	113	4		1	6	2					23	33	4	1	1	0	10	8	27	3	2				3	3	**128**
6	115			5		2		2			57	48	2		1	26	14	10	63	42	2	1	2		2	2	**279**
20	30				1	2	1		1	1	2	20	3		2		5	2	19		4	1		3		2	**67**
23	All	1	5		13	10			2		18	21	2	3	4		9	2	47		2			2		2	**141**
24	32				8							3	1				2	1	2		3						**20**
Total		5	5	6	28	16	1	2	3	1	100	125	12	4	8	26	40	23	158	45	13	2	2	5	5	9	**635**

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

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

Table 8.8. Correlations among Deposits*

Correlation	*Context 113*	*Context 115*	*Feature 20*	*Feature 23*	*Feature 24*
Context 113	1.000				
Context 115	0.494	1.000			
Feature 20	0.857	0.390	1.000		
Feature 23	0.796	0.116	0.895	1.000	
Feature 24	0.870	0.078	0.869	0.987	1.000

*Calculated for MNIs of All Artifact Categories.

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.

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.

Table 8.9. Trench 8 – Food Preparation/Consumption by Ceramic Origin, (Orimoto Family)

Vessel Type	Japanese MNI	Non-Japanese MNI	Total
Bowls	7	0	7
Cups	0	1	1
Lid & Handle	1	1	2
Milk Pan	0	1	1
Plates	1	0	1
Saucers	1	2	3
Tea Bowl	1	0	1
Total	11	5	16
Total Percent	69	31	100

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

1997). 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.

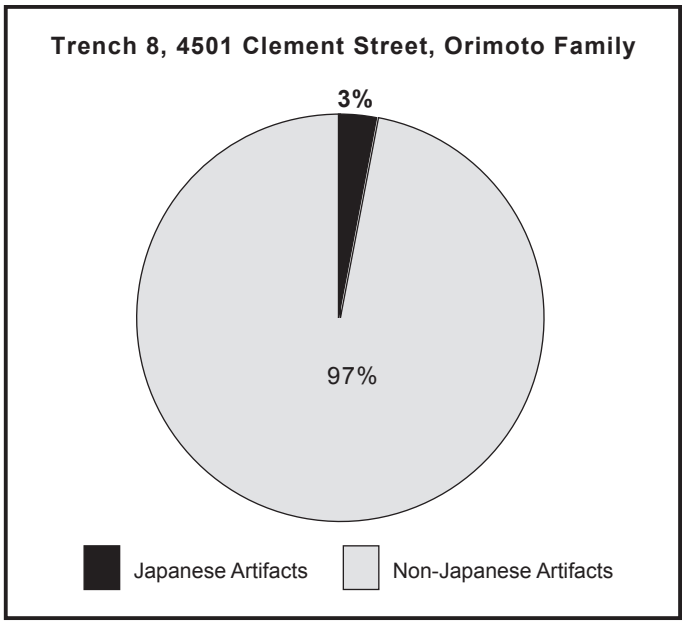


Figure 8.13. Japanese artifacts in Trench 8, 4501 Clement Street, Orimoto Family

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.

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APPENDIX

Personnel List 2010–2011

PERSONNEL LIST 2010–2011

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