

**Connections and Distinctions:
Historical Archaeological Analysis of Japanese Ceramics Recovered from Three Issei
Communities in the American West, 1903–1942**

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Master of Arts

with a

Major in Anthropology

in the

College of Graduate Studies

University of Idaho

by

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May 2017

Authorization to Submit Thesis

This thesis of Renae J. Campbell, submitted for the degree of Master of Arts with a Major in Anthropology and titled "Connections and Distinctions: Historical Archaeological Analysis of Japanese Ceramics Recovered from Three Issei Communities in the American West, 1903-1942," has been reviewed in final form. Permission, as indicated by the signatures and dates below, is now granted to submit final copies to the College of Graduate Studies for approval.

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Abstract

This thesis project examines Japanese ceramic collections from three West Coast archaeological sites. These sites, located in California's Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta; Mukilteo, Washington; and Gresham, Oregon; were all associated with communities of first-generation Japanese American immigrants (*Issei*) in the decades preceding World War II. The primary goal of this work is to contribute to archaeological identification and analysis of Japanese table and sake wares. Using a classification system based on Japanese language terms, this thesis explores the potential for a contextually-informed comparative analysis to answer research questions about Issei communities. Historical and archaeological data highlight some of the broad connections between transpacific communities, as well as the diverse and locally-distinct aspects of Issei experiences. Project results indicate the potential for this type of classification and analysis to contribute to interpretation of Japanese ceramics as part of the larger archaeological record of Issei communities.

Acknowledgements

The completion of this thesis project would not have been possible without the support and wisdom generously shared by a number of individuals and institutions. First, I would like to thank my thesis advisor Dr. Stacey Camp for her encouragement and guidance throughout this endeavor. Dr. Priscilla Wegars has also been instrumental in the completion of this project, both in her role as director of the Asian American Comparative Collection at the University of Idaho and as a punctilious editor of all my drafts. Dr. Mark Warner and Dr. Pingchao Zhu also deserve thanks for their encouragement, help, and council throughout this process.

Leland E. Bibb, Louise Allison Cort, and Yuumi Danner all provided information and expertise invaluable to this research. Their contributions are numerous and I am deeply indebted to all three of them. William A. White and Lorelea Hudson assisted greatly with background and insight into the Japanese Gulch Village collection. David V. Ellis, Paul Solimano, Todd Ogle, Kanani Paraso, and the rest of the WillametteCRA crew deserve credit not only for launching me into this research but also for their advice and support along the way.

This project was funded by the John Calhoun Smith Memorial Fund and facilitated through the helpful staff at the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture at the University of Washington, the Archaeological Curation Faculty at California State University, Sacramento; and the Asian American Comparative Collection at the University of Idaho. Finally, numerous other colleagues, friends, and family members supplied insight, encouragement, and patience, that was always much appreciated.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to Tim Nash, whose support and companionship invariably improve all of my adventures.

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Chronological List of Japanese Eras

Tokugawa Era: The years between 1600 and 1868. Named for the Tokugawa family, whose members served as the *shoguns*, or military rulers, during this era (Gordon 2009:11). Also referred to as the Edo Period.

Meiji Era: The years between 1868 and 1912. Named for the “enlightened rule” of the Meiji emperor who was restored to head of government at the end of the Tokugawa era (Gordon 2009:61). This era can be further divided into Early (1868–1885), Middle (1885–1895), and Late (1895–1912) periods.

Taishô Era: The years between 1912 and 1926. This era began with the death of the Meiji emperor and encompasses the rule of his son, the Taishô emperor (Gordon 2009:127).

Shôwa Era: In Japan, the years between 1926 and 1989. This era began with the death of the Taishô emperor and encompasses the rule of his son, the Shôwa or “shining peace” emperor (Gordon 2009:165). This thesis primarily address the Early (pre-1945) Shôwa Era.

Glossary of Japanese Terms

- Anagama:** Korean-style climbing kilns, which were fueled with wood and were popular in the Tokugawa era (Stitt 1974: 24–25).
- Chawan:** literally “tea bowl,” however, in general use this term can be applied to a variety of similarly shaped bowls used for tea, soup, rice, or other foods (Creuger et al. 2006:285; Leland Bibb 2015, elec. comm.).
- Dôban** or **Dôban Tensha:** transferprinted decoration; decoration applied with copper plates (Ross 2009a:156).
- Dobin:** a type of teapot that is round and has a detachable top handle. This type of teapot is traditionally used to serve tea at family meals (Cort 2000:230–231; Ross 2012:10–12).
- Donburi:** A large, deep bowl used for soup or a dish called *don* (Costello et al. 2001:35; Simpson et al. 1980:83).
- Etsuke:** hand painting, either over (*uwa-etsuke*) or under (*shita-etsuke*) a glaze. See **Uwa-Etsuke** and **Shita-Etsuke** for further information.
- Etsuke workshops:** ceramic painting workshops dedicated to decorating porcelain vessels that had been manufactured elsewhere. These workshops were popular in the Meiji era and often employed large numbers of crafts people to hand paint vessels in an assembly-line-style (Stitt 1974:78).
- Fukizumi:** a decorative stenciling method. Cobalt pigment is blown or sprayed over a stencil, which is then removed from the vessel to reveal voids in the pigment (Crueger et al. 2006:51,286; Ross 2009a:155).
- Futa:** the general term for a lid, including teapot or jar lids (Simpson et al. 1980:94).
- Gohan Chawan:** a rice bowl. Some researchers refer to these as rice/soup bowls because they could be used for both foods (Bibb 2013; Costello et al. 2001:34).
- Guinomi:** a large sake cup (Bibb 2013; Gorham 1971:185).
- Hajiki:** the general name for post-Yayoi (300 BC–300 AD) earthenware (Simpson et al. 2014:112). Unglazed earthenware is also known as *doki* (Crueger et al. 2006:284).
- Hanjiki:** a low-grade or half-porcelain made of a cleaned, white clay containing *toseki* (porcelain stone), whitening, and feldspar. *Hanjiki* is fired at the lower end of porcelain temperatures

(1200–1250° Celsius) and is described as “midway between porcelain and stoneware in appearance” (Crueger et al. 2006:287).

Hirabachi: a large, shallow dish or plate (Simpson et al. 2014:87,90).

Hirabuta: a flat (as opposed to domed) lid (Simpson et al. 2014:104)

Iro Dôban: polychrome pigments or pigment colors other than cobalt, which are transferprinted under a colorless glaze (Ross 2009a:156, 2012:8).

Iro-e Jiki: polychrome enamels hand-painted over a colorless glaze on porcelain. Although overglaze enamels are also used on stonewares, *iro-e jiki* refers specifically to hand-painted porcelain (Wilson 1999:114–15,139–42).

Iroyu: a colored glaze. A few examples are *seiji* (wintergreen), *kaki* (persimmon), or *kiseto* (pale yellow) (Simpson et al. 2014:73).

Janome: a circular impression on a vessel base, sometimes called a “bulls-eye” or “snake-eye” recess (Ross 2012:10).

Jiki: porcelain; a ceramic material type composed of kaolin clay, quartz, and feldspar that has been fired from 1250 to 1350° Celsius (Simpson et al. 2014:112).

Kaede: maple tree; a decorative element associated with the beauty of maple leaves (Dower 1971:62).

Kampin Tokkuri: a type of sake decanter with a round body and tall neck that was popular in the Meiji era (Cort 2000:231).

Katagami: decoration applied by rubbing cobalt-colored pigment through a stencil (originally made of paper) to create a pattern of dashed lines or dots under the glaze (Bibb 2001:5–6).

Kiku: chrysanthemum; a decorative element and a symbol of the Japanese Emperor (Walter 2012:125; Dower 1971:52).

Kikusui: an export mark that features a chrysanthemum over water, often paired with the English phrase “Trade Mark/Made in Japan.” This mark has been identified at sites throughout the West that were occupied between approximately 1900 and 1945 (Burton 2005:96; Costello et al. 2001:33–34; Costello and Maniery 1988:27,83; Ross 2012:25–26).

Kobachi: a small bowl (Ross 2009a; Simpson et al. 1980:83).

- Kohiki:** a method of applying slip by dipping the majority of an unfired vessel into white slip (Crueger et al. 2006:28,289).
- Koi:** carp; a decorative element that is associated with perseverance and success (Gorham 1971:206).
- Kozara:** a small, shallow dish or plate (Ross 2012:10; Simpson et al. 2014:87).
- Kurofuno:** “black ships;” a Japanese term for Western ships in the nineteenth century that alludes to their often coal-stained sails.
- Kyûsu:** a small teapot designed for individual use. This teapot has a hollow handle that projects from the vessel side at 90 degrees from the spout (Costello et al. 2001:35; Ross 2012:12; Walter 2012:111).
- Mamezari:** a very small, shallow dish used to hold condiments or sweets (Walter 2012:128).
- Matsu:** pine tree; a decorative element that is associated with strength, fidelity, and prosperity. Pine needle pairs also symbolize unflinching devotion (Gorham 1971:209–210; Ross 2012:20).
- Nakazara:** a medium-sized, shallow dish or plate (Ross 2012:10; Simpson et al. 2014:87).
- Namasu-Zara:** a shallow bowl with a wider rim and footring than a *gohan chawan* that is used to hold pickled foods (Ross 2012:10).
- Ochoko:** a small sake cup (Bibb 2013:[4]).
- Sakazuki:** the general term for a sake cup of any size (Bibb 2013:[4]).
- Sakura:** cherry; cherry blossoms as decorative elements represent the people of Japan (Walter 2012:123).
- Seigaiha:** a repeating decorative pattern that consists of overlapping semicircles and resembles the appearance of blue sea waves (Simpson et al. 2014:72).
- Seiji:** a blueish-green glaze similar to Chinese wintergreen that is applied to both porcelain and stonewares (Crueger et al. 2006:64,293; Ross 2012:19).
- Sekki:** a type of Japanese stoneware with a completely vitrified paste that is composed of colored clay and fired between 1200 and 1300° Celsius. These vessels are impervious to liquid and so are sometimes left unglazed (Crueger et al. 2006:287; Simpson et al. 2014:112).
- Shita-Etsuke:** hand-painted pigments applied under a colorless glaze. Historically, cobalt, iron, and copper were the most frequently-used compounds in underglaze pigments. Cobalt (either

naturally derived or chemically produced) is most common on porcelains and when used exclusively is known as *sometsuke*. Iron and copper compounds are most commonly applied to stonewares and produce brown to yellow (iron) or green (copper) decoration (Crueger et al. 2006:29,286; Simpson 2014:69).

Sho Chiku Bai: a design incorporating pine, bamboo, and plum. The design is also called the “Three Friends of Winter” because pine remains green all winter and bamboo and plum are among the first plants to leaf-out or flower in the spring (Gorham 1971:210; Ross 2009a:185).

Soba Choko: A small cup that traditionally holds sauce into which cold noodles are dipped (Costello et al. 2001:36).

Sometsuke: exclusively cobalt-colored pigment applied under a colorless glaze on porcelain vessels. *Sometsuke* is frequently applied through stenciling (*sometsuke katagami*) or transferprinting (*sometsuke dôban*) but unless otherwise specified refers to hand-painted decoration (Crueger et al. 2006:29,295).

Sometsuke Dôban: Transferprint using only cobalt-colored pigment, see *Sometsuke*.

Sometsuke Katagami: Stenciling using only cobalt-colored pigment, see *Sometsuke*.

Sorori Tokkuri: a type of sake decanter with a tall, slender shape and a “tulip”-shaped rim or straight neck (Cort 2000:231).

Sumi Hajiki: a decorative technique that uses areas of resist. It is created by applying ink, which burns off when the vessel is fired and leaves voids other pigments (Wilson 1995:118).

Tôki: a type of Japanese stoneware with a slightly porous paste that is composed of colored clay and fired between 1000 and 1300° Celsius. Because they are not impervious to liquid, *tôki* vessels are generally glazed (Crueger et al. 2006:287).

Tokkuri: the general term for a sake decanter of any size (Bibb 2013:[4]).

Tokin Kôdai: “helmet foot;” a type of vessel foot that has a raised cone in the center of its footring (Simpson et al. 2014:54).

Tsuru: crane; a frequently-used decorative element on Japanese ceramics. The crane is a symbol of good fortune, longevity, happiness, and friendship (Walter 2012:127; Dower 1971:90).

Tsutsu-Gata: cylindrical shaped; used to describe one type of a *yunomi* (teacup) (Simpson et al. 2014:94).

Ume: plum tree; a common decorative element that is a symbol of womanhood or strength in adversity (Gorham 1971:210–211; Ross 2012:20).

Uwa-Etsuke: hand-painted enamels applied on top of a glaze. Overglaze enamels are common in a number of colors, such as green, yellow, blue, purple, and black. Historically, red (*aka*) was the most frequent overglaze color and the term *akae* (red painting) can be used as a general term for enamel painting (Crueger et. al 2006:286; Simpson 2014:69).

Yoraku: a design that encircles the interior or exterior rim of a vessel. According to Ross (2012:21) variations include pendant *yoraku*, tassel *yoraku*, pendant-triangle *yoraku*, and *yoraku* made of tassels and chrysanthemums.

Yunomi: a teacup, either hemispherical or cylindrical (Ross 2012:10; Costello et al. 2001:36).

Day in and day out
I tread the human journey
All the way along. [Yusui in Ito 1973:446]

Chapter 1: Introduction

Standing in a fallow field that was once the historical home of the Tanaka family, Dick Sakurai gazed up at the silhouette of Mt. Hood looming across the eastern horizon. He recalled how his father, a first-generation Japanese American, or *Issei*, had selected a home with the front door oriented toward Mt. Hood because it reminded him of Mt. Fuji and his childhood in Japan. Later in life, Dick Sakurai also sought a home with a front-door view of Mt. Hood because, as his father had, Sakurai saw the mountain as a symbol of his childhood home (Sakurai 2013). Together with 1,750 other Japanese Americans in the years preceding World War II, that home was the greater Portland area. The Sakurai and Tanaka families both operated small truck farms in an agricultural portion of this area, now known as eastern Multnomah County. In 1920, they counted among their neighbors approximately 170 other Issei families (Toll 1997:23, 34). Yet, in 2012, the Tanaka Farmstead was the first archaeological site related to Japanese Americans to be recorded in the County.

Archaeological studies of Issei sites have been increasing in recent years (see Barna 2013; Bowden and Larson 1997; Costello et al. 2001; Dixon and Welch 2002; Dixon et al. 2000; Drolet 2015; Lewarch et al. 1996; Maniery and Fryman 1993; Paraso et al. 2013; Ross 2009a; Schaefer and McCawley 1999; Valentino et al. 2011; Walker et al. 2012; Welch and Daugherty 1993; White et al. 2009; Zepeda-Herman and Price 2012). However, this field remains vastly under-representative of the tens of thousands of Issei who lived along the West Coast in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Iwata 1992). As I will discuss in Chapter 2, this lack of scholarship is not unique to historical archaeology, but it does present historical archaeologists with specific challenges. Because large collections of Japanese-manufactured materials from West Coast sites are rare—fewer than ten curated ceramic collections contain more than 100 individual vessels—identification and analyses of these artifacts are often time-consuming and difficult. Site comparisons, already limited by the small number of documented sites, are further hampered by a lack of standardization in recording and reporting these assemblages. In my 2012 analysis of the Tanaka Farmstead assemblage (Paraso et al. 2013), I found this challenge most significant in my attempts to connect the collection of Japanese tablewares to the

particular experiences of the Tanaka family and to compare it to assemblages recovered from other Issei sites.

That challenge was the impetus for this thesis project. In the following document, I present an analysis and comparison of Japanese ceramic table and sake ware assemblages from three West Coast sites occupied by Issei between approximately 1900 and 1940. These sites are located in the California Delta; Mukilteo, Washington; and Gresham, Oregon. Though they are all situated along the West Coast and are all associated with late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Issei communities, they are far from homogeneous. Each site represents a somewhat different time period, community demographic, market access, and industry. Background research, particularly primary source documents, including interviews, oral histories, sociological surveys, and newspaper articles, explores the unique circumstances and diverse communities that inhabited each site. This informs the archaeological analysis and interpretation of Japanese ceramic vessels that are the focus of this project.

Japanese table and sake wares, manufactured for domestic consumption between the Meiji (1868–1912) and Shôwa (1926–1989) eras, serve to highlight transpacific connections and the ways that average Japanese consumers participated in the larger forces of globalization and capitalism. These often commonplace vessels traveled transpacific trade routes that often followed Issei, from small rural kilns and newly-formed urban factories to the isolated, swampy islands of the California delta; rural Oregon farmsteads; and a proudly self-governed community of Issei millworkers on the Puget Sound. They are a small window into the daily meals and daily lives of Issei individuals, families, and labor communities that in many ways mirror both the incredible diversity and interconnectedness of Issei in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century American West.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is organized into seven main chapters followed by one appendix. The first is a brief introduction to the project and the research that will follow. It includes an overview of document organization and language conventions. Chapter Two provides a historiography of historical and archaeological research on Issei communities, and discusses the approaches that various researchers have used to address this subject. My own research is situated within this discussion; project research questions and methods conclude this chapter. Chapter Three outlines two broad areas of historical background that are important to analyses of individual sites: the Japanese ceramics industry and Japanese emigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Chapters Four, Five, and Six, I summarize the historical and

archaeological record of individual sites, and present a reanalysis of ceramic table and sake wares in each assemblage. Sites are presented in rough chronological order of community (but necessarily site) development: Chapter Four examines George Shima's Labor Camp 1 in the California Delta; Chapter Five explores Japanese Gulch Village in Mukilteo, Washington; and Chapter Six investigates the Tanaka Farmstead in Gresham, Oregon. Chapter Seven concludes this thesis with a synthesis of archaeological assemblages, and a discussion of project research themes and outcomes. The appendix is an electronic document. It contains the full analysis catalog for this project, artifact photos, and a catalog summary report in an access database.

A Note on Language and Terminology

There are several language and terminology conventions to note before proceeding. The first have to do with Japanese language terms and names, which will appear frequently in this text. Most Japanese words other than names will be italicized and coupled with English translations at each use. The exceptions to this rule are two frequently-used terms: *Issei* and *chawan*. The term *Issei* is now relatively commonplace in the English language and so will be italicized and explained only at its first use. *Chawan* will be italicized and explained at its first use, and will be italicized but not coupled with an English translation thereafter. According to Japanese custom, names are presented in the order: surname given name. I use this order when referring to individuals living in Japan. For example, Yanagi Sôetsu will first be referred to by his whole name in this order, then by his family name, Yanagi. For *Issei* or their children living in America, I use the order they would have grown accustomed to in their American context: given name surname. Heyakutaro Tanaka, an *Issei* truck farmer living in Oregon, is referred to by his whole name first in this order, and then by his family name, Tanaka.

Although English measurements are standard in American historical archaeology, I preference metric in this document because it is more often used by the Japanese ceramics industry. For consistency, when I use English measurements, I follow them with metric in parentheses. Finally, for the purposes of accuracy and in accordance with the Resolution on Terminology adopted by the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund, I use the terms "incarceration" and "forced removal" when describing the experiences of Japanese Americans during World War II.

Bitter stories told...
 Issei lives as history
 Decorate the land. [Shiragiku in Ito 1973:454]

Chapter 2. Previous Approaches to Issei Scholarship and Project Methods

According to Dr. Sucheng Chan, professor emeritus of Asian American Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, one of the most notable things about Asian-American history is that it was largely ignored by professional historians for nearly a century after Asian immigrants began arriving in the United States. In a 2007 analysis of Asian American scholarship, Chan (2007:125,129–140) found that contemporary studies had only just begun to examine the breadth of Asian American history, and rarely address themes beyond Chinese exclusion and World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans. In order to fill the gaps in this scholarship, Chan (1996:363; 2007:125,129–140) advises researchers to take an “ecumenical approach,” synthesizing work from multiple disciplines. In this chapter, I follow Chan’s recommendation by first outlining the major historical trends in Japanese American scholarship from the fields of history, archaeology, Asian American studies, and sociology. This is followed by a more detailed examination of Issei scholarship within historical archaeology and a description of my own project methods.

Historical Approaches to Issei Scholarship

Sociologists were among the first scholars to systematically document Issei experiences. From the 1920s to 1940s, sociologists interested in culture history collected individual Issei accounts with the intent to explore the processes of ethnic identity formation and assimilation (Chan 1996:363–370). One of the most extensive examples of this is the Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast, conducted by the University of Chicago beginning in 1923. This survey consists of hundreds of interviews with Japanese immigrants and non-Japanese community members. Survey questions concentrated around themes of racial perceptions and acculturation (Chan 1996:336–337) and resulted in several books on these subjects (e.g. Bogardus 1928; Smith 1927, 1939). While certainly reflective of the racial prejudices of the time, many of the original interviews collected by the survey provide invaluable first-person accounts of Issei daily life that are not captured elsewhere. Survey of Race Relations interviews with Issei and non-Japanese farmers engaged in California agriculture are important sources for my discussion of daily life in George Shima Camp 1 in the California Delta.

The approach pioneered by sociologists set the precedent for many of the anthropological and historical studies that followed. Beginning in the 1960s, revisionist historians moved away from an emphasis on “assimilation,” instead publishing chronicles of Issei life that focused on responses to systemic nativism and racism. By the 1990s, agency and resistance had emerged as central themes in studies of the Issei experience (Chan 1996:371–373). Narrative of this era often emphasized the role of community in combating exclusion but continued to focus primarily on local influences and individual lives (Dirlik 2010:520; e.g. Masumoto 1987; Waltz 1998, 2001). Three early histories that are crucial to my own work are Kazuo Ito’s (1973) *Issei: A History of Japanese Immigrants in North America*; Yuji Ichioka’s (1988) *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1924*; and Masakazu Iwata’s (1992) *Planted in Good Soil: A History of the Issei in United States Agriculture*. Ito’s (1973) anthology consists of first-hand Issei accounts in the form of narratives, letters, photographs, and haiku. These accounts detail daily life in many industries and communities throughout the Pacific Northwest, including Japanese Gulch Village in Mukilteo. Ichioka (1988) draws on many Japanese language sources to illuminate the legal and social context of Japanese American immigration prior to 1924 and Iwata (1992) details Japanese immigrant experiences in California agriculture. Together, these three sources provide a broad overview of Issei experiences across the American West.

Archaeological studies in the 1990s also began examining themes of agency and resistance. Through a growing body of literature on World War II incarceration experiences, archaeologists in both cultural resource management and academia (e.g. Branton 2000, 2004; Burton 1996, 1998, 2002, 2005; Burton and Ferrell 2001, 2007; Burton et al. 1999; Camp 2016; Clark 2008; Kamp-Whittaker 2010; Ng 2014; Shew 2010; Skiles 2008) have brought attention to the racialization and imprisonment of Japanese Americans. Disciplines outside of archaeology have shown that racialization was also a major factor affecting the lives of Japanese Americans and Japanese immigrants well before World War II. For example, Fiset and Nomura (2005:17) highlight themes of “resistance and agency within the constraints of oppressive legalized racism...especially in the prewar era” in a collection of essays published in 2005. Some of the more subtle effects of racism are demonstrated in architectural analyses by Gail Dubrow. Dubrow (2002:327) suggests that many of the traditional cultural practices that remained most essential to Issei communities were those that were least publically visible. She argues that rather than signifying acculturation, this reveals a conscious strategy to combat racism and the “mounting anti-Japanese sentiment” in the early twentieth century (Dubrow 2002:327). Though

these studies of racialization and resistance often frame discussions in terms of American social and political structures, many also reflect a concern for individual agency and resistance.

In the last several decades, scholars interested in globalization and identity have adopted a transnationalist framework that examines the role of common historical origins in shaping migrant experiences (e.g. Azuma 2003, 2005; Chang 2007; Chen 2000). Transnationalism and diaspora frame Douglas Ross' (2009a) research in one of the most substantial archaeological investigations of an Issei community conducted to date. Within the field of Asian American studies, this shifting focus has resulted in tension between scholars who view Issei experiences as discrete narratives and those who define Issei as an interconnected diaspora. Historian and outspoken proponent of place-based politics Arif Dirlik (2010:517) explains this ongoing theoretical and ideological debate as a contradiction between global and local orientations. Dirlik (2010:531) advocates for a kind of middle ground that incorporates specific context into a diaspora framework, warning that not to do so risks inadvertently homogenizing a diverse group of people.

Interest in this type of analysis has been developing in some areas of archaeology as well. For example, many studies of Overseas Chinese communities now explicitly examine internal variability in social structure, class affiliation, and ethnic or gender identities (Mullins 2011:140). The marrying of this sentiment with an interest in transnationalism is exemplified by a 2008 article by archaeologist Barbara Voss. In this article Voss (2008:48) suggests that Overseas Chinese communities are uniquely suited for contextual analysis because they challenge traditional approaches to material culture interpretation that assume European American behavior norms, while simultaneously providing an opportunity for studying the multiscalar connections of transnational communities. These studies underscore the complexity of migrant identities that are simultaneously shaped by international origins, regional connections, local communities, and the specific choices of everyday life.

Previous Archaeological Studies of Pre-World War II Issei Communities

Though not always associated with Japanese individuals, Japanese-manufactured artifacts are frequently identified within archaeological collections. Some of the first projects to identify Japanese material culture were large-scale studies of Chinatowns or Chinese districts (e.g. Costello and Maniery 1988; Greenwood 1996; Greenwood and Schmidt 1993; Lister and Lister 1989; Thompson 1992). Many of these studies propose that Chinese stores were selling Japanese goods to customers that were either not Chinese or not local residents. For example, because historic documents did not reveal any Japanese residents in Los Angeles' Chinatown,

Greenwood (1996:79) suggests that Japanese ceramics were likely being purchased by people from outside the community. Lister and Lister (1989:114), by contrast, suggest that Japanese ceramics were being used by Hispanic Americans living within the historically Chinese district of Tucson, and Thompson (1992:463;548–549) associates Japanese ceramics with an area of “non-Chinese boarding houses” in Virginia City.

More recently, excavations of a Chinese-occupied area within the historic townsite of Sandpoint, Idaho, recovered 10 Japanese ceramic vessels and a *Kiseru*, or Japanese tobacco pipe (Camp 2014:75; Swords and Kisling 2014:180). A large percentage of the ceramics were identified as export wares—vessels featuring elements like the Hoo-o bird or Gisha design or European-style handles that were popular among non-Japanese consumers. For this reason, Camp (2014:74–78) interprets these “exotic” items as possible means to display socio-economic status or class. Other researchers to identify Japanese export wares include Felton and Schulz (1983:46,103–105), who recovered several fragments of a Japanese-manufactured plate from an elite Mexican American household in Monterey, California. They describe this item as a testament to the family’s wealth and status within their community. In other contexts, such as a 1983 salvage excavation of the historic McMinnville, Oregon, dump, interpretations are far more enigmatic. According to Scheans et al. (1983:3,21–22) the majority of the collection has been lost or sold, but included 28 fragments of Japanese ceramics that had been deposited by unknown residents of McMinnville between 1860 and 1900 (Scheans et al. 1983). Among the archaeological investigations of the 1980s and 1990s, Julia Costello and Mary Maniery’s (1988) research on the Asian community of Walnut Grove, California, stands out as one of the first investigations into an historically documented Issei community.

The number of studies on Japanese American or Japanese migrant communities increased in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Although most of these projects were carried out within the same timeframe as incarceration studies, few authors focus on themes of racialization, agency, or resistance. Instead, the majority of archaeological projects examining pre-World War II Issei sites concentrate research questions on cultural continuity and change. Authors vary their approaches to this theme, however. Maniery and Fryman (1993:102–104) explore cultural boundary maintenance between Issei farm workers and Chinese, Hindu, Filipino, and Mexican laborers at several temporary work camps in the California Delta. Walker et al. (2012:200–203), by contrast, interpret an assemblage from a single family residence in Oakland as evidence of the “dual identities” of the Orimoto household members. Benjamin Barna (2013:1–6) takes yet another approach to this theme, using the Hawaiian concept of *pili*, or connection, to examine

identity and community construction in rural Hawaiian ranching communities of Hawaiian, Chinese, Portuguese, Filipino, and Issei cowboys.

Many other authors (e.g. Costello et al. 2001; Paraso et al. 2013; Walker et al. 2012; White et al. 2009) have cited foodways, evidenced through ceramic collections or faunal remains, as expressions of this theme. Ross' (2009a:415–416) dissertation draws evidence from dining practices and beverage consumption patterns to examine foodways and consumption patterns of a community of Japanese fishermen and cannery workers living in British Columbia between 1885 and 1930. Other artifacts used to address this theme include clothing and personal items such as medicinal or beauty products (e.g. Paraso et al. 2013:6.9; Walker et al. 2012:202). Bowden and Larson (1997:10–11) cite architecture and garden features in the Selleck, Washington, Historic District as evidence of cultural continuity on the part of the 300 Issei who worked for the Pacific States Lumber Company Mill between 1908 and 1939.

Other popular research themes include access to Japanese products and material culture comparisons between Japanese and non-Japanese groups. Some authors interested in access to goods have focused on proximity of urban centers, while others have looked at community size and cohesion as creating demand for products in rural areas. Authors Bowden and Larson (1997:11), Maniery and Fryman (1993:39–40), Ross (2009a:390), and White et al. (2009:59) report that communities in California, Washington, and Vancouver ordered food and goods from traveling sales representatives of Japanese import/export companies. Questions about market access are also prominent in a 2001 report on a 1910 through 1927 Japanese-American farmstead near Bishop, California. Interpretation of this assemblage notes the dominance of European American ceramic forms, which the authors relate to the extremely rural character of the area and limited access to markets of Japanese goods (Costello et al. 2001:45).

Archaeological collections from Issei sites have been compared with collections from various other sites. Ross (2009a) compares the historical and archaeological record of Chinese and Japanese cannery workers, while Paraso et al. (2013:614–615) and Walker et al. (2012:200) attempt to compare domestic assemblages from Japanese families with their non-Japanese neighbors. Ross (2009a:415–416) suggests that Japanese migrants consumed more Western foods than their Chinese counterparts; the latter two studies found many similarities between the material remains of Japanese American households and their neighbors. In the case of the Orimoto assemblage, comparisons of ceramic tablewares led the authors to postulate “differences between Japanese and European American cultural attitudes towards status display through dining” (Walker et al. 2012:173).

Although labor relations and patterns of labor flow are natural subjects for many Issei studies, research questions related to these themes have only sporadically been addressed. Several authors mention labor contracting and White and colleagues (2009:21) include among their research design questions about the relationships between Japanese and non-Japanese workers and labor flow between the Mukilteo Sawmill and other mills and industries. Archaeological projects conducted on Tinian in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands in the early 2000s also feature distinct research questions, which include rural settlement patterns and socio-economic status in pre-World War II Japanese agricultural colonies (Dixon and Welch 2002:8; Dixon et al. 2000:8). In a subsequent article, Boyd Dixon (2004:281) analyzes archaeological collections and oral histories for evidence of economic class structure among these largely Okinawan settlements.

Finally, nearly all archaeological studies include attempts to identify and interpret collections of Japanese-manufactured products. The first archaeological publication to devote significant discussion to Japanese ceramics was Costello and Maniery's 1988 *Rice Bowls in the Delta*. This occasional paper provides an overview of Meiji-period ceramic production and a descriptive catalog of Japanese ceramics (Costello and Maniery 1988:1,19–30). Because little precedent existed for identifying these ceramics, Costello and Maniery (1988:19–30) use vessel terminology modeled on Chinese ceramic analyses. This seminal work has influenced many of the studies to follow. Independent Japanese ceramic expert Leland Bibb has been influential in further developing typologies. Priscilla Wegars, Volunteer Curator for the Asian American Comparative Collection (AACC) at the University of Idaho, incorporated Bibb's ceramic terminology into Chinese and Japanese artifact workshop at the 1999 Society for Historical Archaeology Conference. A revised version of the pamphlet from this workshop is now available through the AACC (Wegars 2012). Bibb has also collaborated on multiple archaeological projects (e.g. Costello et al. 2001; Schaefer and McCawley 1999; Paraso et al. 2013; Zepeda-Herman and Price 2012), and his work influenced Ross' (2009a) analysis of the Ewen Cannery assemblage. In recent years, Ross (2009a, 2009b, 2011, 2012) has published multiple guides to documentation and interpretation of Japanese artifacts.

Project Research Design and Methods

In this thesis I use a comparative and contextual approach to examine assemblages of Japanese-manufactured table and sake wares from three West Coast sites occupied by Issei between about 1880 and 1940. Extra-site comparisons, frequently promoted by historical archaeologists as a means of moving between individual sites and broader perspectives, allow

the researcher to address important questions at a variety of scales (Camp 2011:15). I employ this approach because it also seems uniquely suited for the type of nuanced research questions concerning the internal diversity and multiscalar connections of transnational communities advocated by Dirlik (2010) and Voss (2008). Ceramic analyses provide one means to address these, yet also contribute another subset of research questions to my work. Specific research questions for this project can be grouped into the following three themes:

- **Multiscalar Connections:** What connections exist between site residents and their local neighbors, regional Issei communities, and/or Japan? Is there evidence of people, goods, or capital moving between sites? Are transpacific connections expressed in the archaeological collections or historic background of sites?
- **Diversity and Distinctions:** Is there evidence of diversity within or among communities? In what ways does each site's historical background or archaeological assemblage reflect the specific circumstances of this community?
- **Ceramic Identification and Analyses:** What vessels and wares appear common/rare? Are there discernable patterns of distribution or change over time? Are there diagnostic attributes that indicate likely dates or locations of manufacture? Are there diagnostic attributes that indicate likely forms, types, or vessel uses?

Site Selection Methods

The sites examined in this thesis are presented in Figure 1. Site selection was based on several factors. First, all are associated with known late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Issei communities. Importantly, however, these sites represent slightly different time periods, community demographics, market access, and industries, providing an estimation of the diversity that existed between Issei in the American West. In order to draw meaningful conclusions and compare sites, collection size and historic documentation needed to be relatively robust for each site. All three selected sites are documented through historical records and primary source materials. Collection availability and analysis status also influenced my selection. Particularly because so few archaeological collections of Japanese ceramics exist, it seemed important to select those that had been analyzed before more standardized classification systems became common.

My first step in selecting sites was to compile a reasonably complete list of previously recorded sites. Table 1 is the result of searching Oregon State Historic Preservation Office records, Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation's online archaeological database, and the University of Idaho's Asian American Comparative Collection

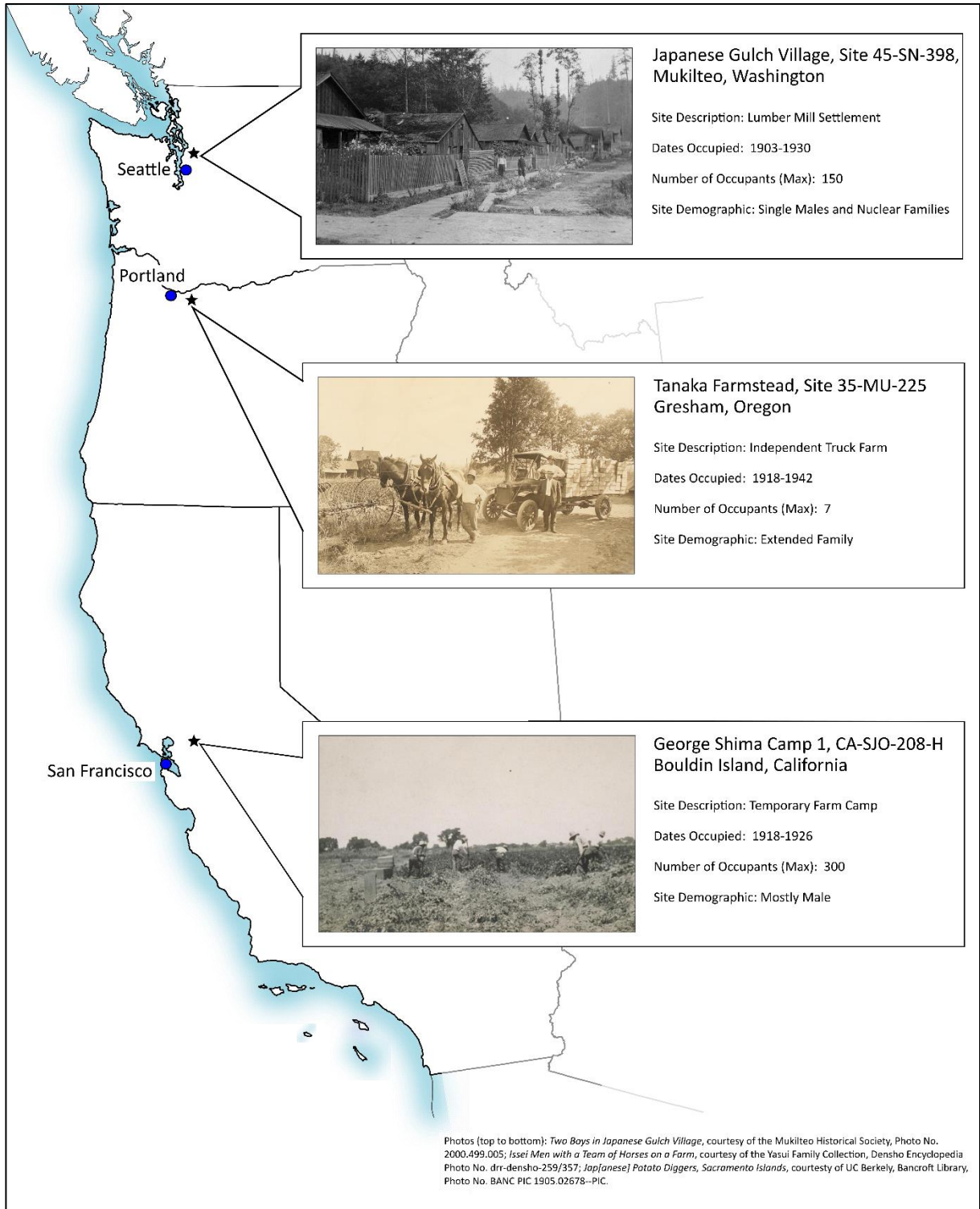


Figure 1. Overview of sites selected for research.

Table 1. Summary of West Coast Archaeological Sites with Evidence of Issei Occupation between 1880 and 1942.

State	Site Name	Site Number	Site Type	Date Begin	Date End	Japanese Ceramics (MNV)	Assemblage Status	Primary Reference
BC	Ewen Cannery	None	Labor Settlement (cannery)	1885	1930	379	Curated	Ross 2009a
CA	Wade Ranch	CA-SCI-310H	Temporary Labor (agriculture)	1880	1920	48	Unknown	Bard 1985
CA	Walnut Grove	Unknown	Chinese (Chinatown)	1880	1915	111	Curated	Costello and Manieri 1988
CA	The Dixon Site	CA-INY-5657/H	Rural Household (farmstead)	1910	1927	37	Not Collected	Costello et al. 2001
CA	Potential Shima Camp	CA-CCO-584-H	Temporary Labor (agriculture)	1921	1970	3	Curated	Manieri and Fryman 1993
CA	George Shima Camp 25	CA-SJO-206-H	Temporary Labor (agriculture)	1918	1960	Unk	Curated	Manieri and Fryman 1993
CA	George Shima Camp 1	CA-SJO-208-H	Temporary Labor (agriculture)	1918	1926	20	Curated	Manieri and Fryman 1993
CA	Mugu Fish Camp	CA-VEN-1239H	Labor Settlement (fish camp)	1910	1946	138	Curated	Schaefer and McCawley 1999
CA	Orimoto Family Residence	Unknown	Urban Household	1935	1942	13	Curated	Walker et al. 2012
CA	Fish Camp Kushimoto no Kyampu	CA-SDI-20,232	Labor Settlement (fish camp)	1925	1930	10	Curated	Zepeda-Herman and Price 2012
OR	Tanaka Farmstead	35-MU-225	Rural Household (farmstead)	1916	1942	18	Curated	Paraso et al. 2013
WA	Japanese Camp at Selleck	45-KI-447	Labor Settlement (mill)	1908	1939	Unk	Not Collected	Bowden and Larson 1997
WA	Port Blakely Mill/Yama Site	45-KP-105	Labor Settlement (mill)	1863	1930	Unk	In Progress	Drolet 2015
WA	Garibaldi Mill/Townsite	45-KI-283H	Labor Settlement (mill)	1900	1930	Unk	Not Collected	Lewarch et al. 1996
WA	Page/Bufalen Lumber Mill	45-KI-440	Temporary Labor (logging)	1900	1930	0	N/A	Lewarch et al. 1996
WA	Allentown Site	45-KI-431	Temporary Labor (agriculture)	1890	1930	≤25	Unknown	Lewarch et al. 1993
WA	Japanese Gulch Community	45-SN-575	Labor Settlement (mill)	1903	1930	Unk	Not Collected	Valentino et al. 2011
WA	Japanese Gulch Village	45-SN-398	Labor Settlement (mill)	1903	1930	100	Curated	White et al. 2009

database, as well as numerous personal requests to researchers in California and elsewhere. As can be seen in this table, although only a small number of previously recorded sites exist, they represent a relatively diverse array of site types and associated collections. Established labor settlements proved to be the most common site type. These established communities feature homes, gardens, stores, public buildings, or schools and reflect the types of industries that often hired Issei laborers, such as lumber mills in Washington State and canneries in Vancouver, BC. Of these sites, I chose Japanese Gulch Village because, although well documented, it was analyzed before standardized typologies were widely available. As one of the largest assemblages of Japanese ceramics recovered to date in Washington, it presents an opportunity to uncover new information through reanalysis and comparison with other assemblages.

Temporary labor settlements are the next most common site type. Most of these are agricultural work camps but one is a logging camp. Because occupation of these sites was often short-term or sporadic, they may be under-represented in the documentary record. Good examples of this potential invisibility are the Wade Ranch and the Allentown Sites, neither of which was known to have employed Japanese laborers until Japanese ceramics were discovered (Bard 1985; Lewarch et al. 1993). Temporary occupation of these sites likely also impact archaeological collections; temporary labor site assemblages in this sample are on average one fifth the size of established labor sites. Of the sites in this category, George Shima Camp 1 is the largest available assemblage with some degree of historic documentation (Maniery and Fryman 1993).

Three sites represent Issei households. Two of these are farmsteads (Costello et al. 2001; Paraso et al. 2013), while the third is a residential home in Oakland (Walker et al. 2012). National and state laws that restricted Issei land ownership and tenancy may help explain why these appear rare. Another possible explanation is offered by Walker et al. (2012), who note that only three percent of the Orimoto family assemblage was manufactured in Japan, well within the range seen at many contemporary European households in Oakland. They conclude that, “[w]ithout 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 401 Clement were Japanese” (Walker et al. 2012:200). Because of my previous work on the Tanaka Farmstead and the relative paucity of sites in Oregon, this site was my third choice for inclusion.

Historical Background Research Methods

My historical background research for this project covers two broad areas, the first being the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Japanese ceramics industry. This background

highlights the technological changes, aesthetic trends, and cultural movements that influenced the ceramics industry in the Meiji (1868–1912) through Shōwa (1926–1989) eras. I focus on the types of wares that would have been common on the Japanese domestic market in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century and those recorded at Issei sites in the West. Sources for this research include archaeological reports, art or pottery-manufacturing guides, dissertations, museum catalogs, and personal communications with ceramics experts. The second background subject is Issei immigration to the American West. A broad overview of this topic is presented in Chapter 3, and more specific research on communities represented by project sites begins Chapters 4, 5, and 6. The historical context of project sites relies on first-hand accounts, interviews, and oral histories and secondary sources from the fields of archaeology, history, and sociology. Historical research attempts to delineate the distinctive qualities of each community and trace some of the complex forces that shaped Japanese ceramic production and consumption in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Ceramic Analysis Methods

Collections were cataloged in a Microsoft Access database. This database, created for the specific needs of this project, contains fields identifying site number, name, and original catalog number for all analyzed ceramics. It also includes a field for new catalog numbers, assigned when grouped items were split in order to record distinctive characteristics. Other fields record physical characteristics such as material type; rim and footring diameters; vessel height and size class; decorative types and methods; and vessel form. If they could be determined, likely dates and location of manufacture are noted along with translations of all Japanese marks. All entries include a field for attaching artifact photographs.

The Tanaka Farmstead assemblage was analyzed in 2013 by WillametteCRA staff and is now curated in The Museum of Natural and Cultural History at the University of Oregon. I performed some of this work, but independent contractor Leland Bibb completed a more detailed analysis of selected ceramics from this collection. I transferred information from the original analyses into the current project database, but updated much of the terminology to match my classification system. The George Shima Camp 1 collection is curated at the Archaeological Research Center at the University of California, Sacramento, while materials from the Japanese Gulch Village collection are housed at the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture (Burke) at the University of Washington. Documentation of these two assemblages took place at their curation facilities. I photographed all Japanese ceramic table and sake wares and recorded their attributes in Excel spreadsheets; later I transferred this information into the

project database along with results of research on specific artifacts. A digital artifact catalog for all three sites is attached as an appendix to this document.

Although my reanalysis of these two collections seeks to maintain consistency with their original recording, several factors likely inhibit this. The George Shima collection appears to have been culled of some non-diagnostic artifacts, which may create discrepancies with counts presented in Maniery and Fryman (1993). More noticeable discrepancies from artifact totals in White et al. (2009) are the result of differing property ownership across the Japanese Gulch Village site. This has split the collection so that materials from only one parcel were available at the time of this project.

Overview of Classification System

The classification scheme I use was developed in collaboration with Leland Bibb. Bibb has helped analyze numerous Japanese ceramic collections (e.g. Costello et al. 2001; Ross 2009a; Schaefer and McCawley 1999; Zepeda-Herman and Price 2012) and I hoped that our collaboration would maintain a “common vocabulary” (Camp 2011:16) with these assemblages that would promote future comparisons. The major advantage of Bibb’s approach, however, is his incorporation of Japanese language terms for vessel forms and design concepts. By relying as much as possible on Japanese terminology, Bibb’s categories more closely approximate the way that Issei site residents would have understood the vessels that are the focus of this analysis.

To further contextualize classification, I have attempted to organize formal classification hierarchically according to Japanese dining practices and describe vessel attributes according to Japanese ceramic conventions. Table 2 presents vessel typology for forms. Other researchers have written extensively about Japanese dining practices (e.g. Ross 2009a:210; White et al. 2009:57) and place settings (e.g. Simpson 2014:88; Walter 2012:102). That research informs the following discussion but will not be repeated here. Instead, I focus on project classification methods. As can be seen in Table 2, ceramics are first divided into general tableware or sake categories. Tablewares are vessels that are regularly used for consumption of daily meals, though not every vessel in this category would necessarily have been used at every meal. These are distinguished from sake-related vessels, which are sometimes used in circumstances not accompanied by food (Simpson et al. 1980:83–85). The following “Vessel Type” and “Form” categories place similar types of vessels in groups based on common functions. The term *chawan* is used to describe the largest group of these. Although *chawan* literally translates to “tea bowl,” in general usage it can be applied to a variety of similarly shaped forms used for tea, soup, rice,

Table 2. Typology for Table and Sake Ware Vessel Forms by Hierarchical Category.

Category	Type	Form	Explanation and Remarks
Tableware	Bowls	<i>Chawan</i>	<i>Kobachi</i> come in a variety of shapes and sizes but are deeper than dishes and have smaller rims (Ross 2009a; Simpson et al. 1980:83). Examples in my project database have rim diameters of ~10 cm.
		Pickle Bowl (<i>namasu-zara</i>)	Used for pickled vegetables, these are shallower than rice bowls but have a larger footring (~6.7–8 cm) (Bibb 2013:[4]). They may have scalloped rims or <i>janome</i> "bulls-eye" recesses on the base (Ross 2012:10).
		Rice Bowl (<i>gohan chawan</i>)	Medium-sized bowls with a wide range of sizes and shapes. Some researchers refer to these as rice/soup bowls because they could be used for both foods. Typical dimensions are a 4–6 cm footring and 11–14 cm rim (Bibb 2013:[4]; Costello et al. 2001:34). Examples in my project database are 5–7 cm tall.
		Bowl Lid (<i>futa</i>)	<i>Futa</i> is the general term for a lid, including teapot or jar lids (Simpson et al. 1980:94). Bowl lids often have slightly smaller diameters than the rice or soup bowls they sit inside (Gorham 1971:185, 193). They are identifiable by their shallow profile (~3 cm tall) and placement of dominant decoration around the footring. Their footrings may be taller than usual, and thus easier to pick up (Leland Bibb 2015, elec. comm.).
		Teacup (<i>yunomi</i>)	These have a wide variety of sizes and shapes. The largest are only slightly smaller than rice bowls, while the smallest overlap with large sake cups. Typical rim diameters are 5.5–10 cm; shapes range from hemispherical to cylindrical (Ross 2012:10; Costello et al. 2001:36).
		Indeterminate Bowl (<i>chawan</i>)	Generic term for bowls smaller than a <i>domburi</i> and larger than a <i>sakazuki</i> . Used when a more specific form cannot be determined.
		Large Soup Bowl (<i>domburi</i>)	A large (~11–13 cm rim), deep (~9 cm tall) bowl used for soup or <i>don</i> (rice with a covering of egg and/or vegetable and meat) (Costello et al. 2001:35; Simpson et al. 1980:83).
		Cold Noodle Cup (<i>soba choko</i>)	A small cup for eating cold noodles with sauce. These are distinguishable by their flat bottoms and straight walls that expand at the rim. Typical rim diameter is ~9 cm (Costello et al. 2001:36).
	Dish/plate	Large Dish/Plate (<i>hirabachi</i>)	A serving dish with a shallow but still hollow profile; rim diameter is ~24cm (Simpson et al. 2014:87, 90).
		Medium Dish/Plate (<i>nakazara</i>)	Shallow serving dish or plate with rim diameters ~18–21 cm (Ross 2012:10; Simpson et al. 2014:87).

Table 2. Typology for Tableware Vessel Forms by Hierarchical Category (Cont.).

Category	Type	Form	Explanation and Remarks
	Dish/plate	Small Dish/Plate (<i>kozara</i>)	Small side or serving dishes, often with lids, that are used to hold small portions of specialty foods. Size range is 11–15 cm (Ross 2012:10; Simpson et al. 2014:87).
		Sauce Dish/Plate (<i>mamezari</i>)	A very small dish (~7–8 cm rim) for condiments or sweets. According to Bibb, the name means “bean dish,” an allusion to the vessel being “as small as a bean” (Walter 2012:128).
Teapots		Indeterminate Dish/Plate	Dish/Plate of an indeterminate size.
		Teapot (<i>dobin</i>)	A rounded teapot with a detachable top handle, traditionally used to steep <i>bancha</i> (green tea) for family meals. Often the major decorative elements are to the right of the spout so that they face guests as the tea is poured (Cort 2000:230–231; Ross 2012:10–12).
		Teapot (<i>kyūsu</i>)	Smaller than the <i>dobin</i> , these are designed for individual use and have rod-like handles projecting from the vessel side at 90 degrees from the spout (Costello et al. 2001:35; Ross 2012:12; Walter 2012:111).
Sake		Indeterminate Teapot	Teapot for which a type/function could not be determined.
	Cups	Large Sake Cup (<i>guinomi</i>)	Sizes and shapes are numerous, but sake sups are generally shallower and thinner-walled than teacups with everted rims (Ross 2012:10). Typical dimensions are 2–3 cm footrings, and 5–7.5 cm rims, <i>guinomi</i> are the largest of these (Bibb 2013:[4]; Gorham 1971:185).
Sake		Small Sake Cup (<i>ochoko</i>)	Many larger sake cups are within the size range for teacups and can be used for either beverage; <i>ochoko</i> are exclusively for sake (Leland Bibb 2015, elec. comm.). <i>Ochoko</i> are especially thin-walled and have a ~5 cm rim diameter.
		Indeterminate Sake Cup (<i>sakazuki</i>).	General sake cup; sake cup of indeterminate size/function.
	Decanters	Sake Decanter (<i>kampin tokkuri</i>)	The <i>kampin</i> has a round body, tall neck, and sometimes a separate spout. It is used to heat sake and was very popular in the Meiji era (Cort 2000:231 and Fig. 209, 210).
Decanters		Sake Decanter (<i>sorori tokkuri</i>)	These have a tall, slender shape with a “tulip”-shaped rim or a straight neck. They came in three sizes and were used for heating and serving “thick, unrefined sake” (Cort 2000:231).
		Indeterminate Sake Decanter (<i>tokkuri</i>)	General sake decanter; decanter of indeterminate size/function. Decanters often feature horizontal finger marks on their unglazed interiors.

or other foods (Leland Bibb 2015, elec. comm.). I use *chawan* to describe a set of versatile and frequently-used bowls larger than a *sakazuki* (sake cup) and smaller than a *donburi* (large soup bowl) that cannot be identified to a more specific form. Vessel identification next moves to specific forms that would have served different purposes and held different meanings for Issei. Functionally specific forms include *donburi* (soup bowls), *soba choko* (cold noodle cups), and side dishes of various sizes. Teapot types indicating whether tea was served communally (*dobin*) or individually (*kyûsu*) are illustrative examples, as are *ochoko* (small sake cups) (Cort 2000:230–231; Ross 2012:10–12; Walter 2012:111). *Ochoko* are significant because, while sake cups generally have thinner-paste walls, shallower forms, and everted rims, many large sake cups (*guinomi*) are within teacup size range and can be used for either beverage. *Ochoko*, by contrast, are almost exclusively used for sake (Leland Bibb 2015, elec. comm.; Gorham 1971:185; Ross 2012:10; Morse 1901:17).

An abbreviated decoration typology, based on the most frequently identified types and methods, is described in Table 3; Table 4 exhibits a selection of decorative elements compiled for analysis database source tables. The terminology in each of these attempts to match the way that the Japanese ceramics industry commonly describes their products. In classifying material types I also defer to Japanese custom. European distinctions about the type of ceramic paste (i.e. semi-porcelain, hard-paste or soft-paste porcelain, porcelaneous stoneware, earthenware, stoneware, etc.) do not have easy correlates in Japanese terminology. A kind of less expensive “half-porcelain” made of a cleaned greyish-white clay is known in Japanese as *hanjiki* (Crueger et al. 2006:287). *Hanjiki* is described as a third material type falling somewhere between the white, vitreous paste of porcelain and the buff, orange, red, or grey pastes described as stoneware (Bibb 2013:[12]). Additionally, Japanese potters distinguish two types of stoneware: porous (*tôki*) and vitrified (*sekki*). I attempt to use only these material types in my analysis, though distinctions between *doki* (earthenware) and *tôki* (porous stoneware) or *jiki* (true porcelain) and *hanjiki* are sometimes difficult. Lastly, I present Japanese vessel measurements in metric rather than the usual English measurements of American historical archaeology. These methods attempt to strike a balance between standardized analysis and contextually-informed interpretation.

Table 3. Typology for Tableware Decorative Styles by Type and Method.

Decoration Type Dominant Application Method	Explanation and Remarks
<i>Sometsuke Katagami</i> (Stencil Cobalt) <i>Katagami</i> (paper stencil)	One of the 3 main types of <i>sometsuke</i> to dominate Meiji- and Taishō-era domestic ceramics (Costello et al. 2001:32). This decoration is applied by rubbing cobalt-colored pigment through a paper stencil to create a pattern of dashed lines or dots under the glaze. Developed in the Tokugawa (1603–1868) period, <i>katagami</i> was popular on Meiji-era mass-produced porcelains (Bibb 2001:5–6) but was mostly replaced by transferprints by 1920 (Ross 2009a:156).
<i>Sometsuke Dōban</i> (Transferprint Cobalt) <i>Dōban</i> or <i>Dōban Tensha</i> (Transferprinted)	One of the 3 main types of <i>sometsuke</i> to dominate Meiji- and Taishō-era domestic ceramics (Costello et al. 2001:32). This method uses copper plates to apply cobalt pigments under the glaze and was patented by Mino-area potters in 1889 (Ross 2009a:156).
<i>Iro Dōban</i> (Transferprint colors other than cobalt) <i>Dōban</i> or <i>Dōban Tensha</i> (Transferprinted)	Transferprints using colors other than cobalt, or cobalt in addition to other underglaze pigments (developed in the 1880s); green transferprint did not peak in popularity until the 1920s–1930s (Leland Bibb 2015, elec. comm.; Ross 2009a:156, 2012:8)
<i>Sometsuke</i> (Hand-painted Cobalt) Hand-painted	One of the 3 main types of <i>sometsuke</i> to dominate Meiji- and Taishō-era domestic ceramics (Costello et al. 2001:32). The original application method for underglaze pigment; the term means hand-painted cobalt unless otherwise specified (Crueger et al. 2006:29,295).
<i>Iro-e Jiki</i> (Overglaze Enamel Porcelain) Hand-painted	Overglaze painting with polychrome enamels was developed for Japanese porcelain in Arita between 1643 and 1647 (Crueger et al. 2006:288). Although overglaze enamels are also common on stonewares, <i>Iro-e Jiki</i> refers specifically to hand-painted porcelain (Wilson 1999:114–15,139–42).
<i>Seiji</i> (Wintergreen) Colored Glaze	<i>Seiji</i> tends to be brighter green and glossier than Chinese wintergreen. Used on both porcelain and stonewares, <i>seiji</i> is often combined with other decorative techniques (Crueger et al. 2006:64,293; Ross 2012:19).
Undecorated Undecorated	While many entirely undecorated vessels exist, some of the undecorated sherds may actually be portions of larger decorated vessels. Particularly in the Taishō era, wares often included large areas without pigments (Bibb 2013:[12]).
Other	
<i>Sumi Hajiki</i> (Ink Resist)	Linear elements such as outlines or veins in leaves are hand-painted with ink and covered in a color wash. When fired, the ink burns off leaving thin linear voids. A newer resist technique uses wax instead of ink to create voids (Wilson 1995:118).
Washed	This application method produces thin, translucent areas of pigment. Pigments can be applied in a variety of ways, but most frequently are applied through hand-painting, brushing, or dipping vessels (Ross 2009a:159).
<i>Iroyu</i> (Colored Glaze)	There are many of these, but a few include <i>seiji</i> (wintergreen), <i>kaki</i> (persimmon), or <i>kiseto</i> (pale yellow) (Simpson et al. 2014:73). There are also a great variety of glaze techniques, including dipping, pouring, splashing, or brushing (Crueger et al. 2006:28).

Table 3. Typology for Tableware Decorative Styles by Type and Method (Cont.).

Decoration Type Dominant Application Method	Explanation and Remarks
<i>Kohiki</i> (Slip-Dipped)	Like glazes, slip can also be applied through a variety of methods, many of which have their own term. <i>Kohiki</i> consists of submerging an unfired pot in white slip that often covers the entire vessel with the exception of the base (Crueger et al. 2006:28,289)
Transferprinted and hand-painted	Technically two separate decoration methods, these are commonly combined in mass-produced wares. In the Meiji era, many industrialized <i>etsuke</i> workshops separated the processes of decoration and firing from manufacturing, often combining hand-painting and transferprinting in assembly line-style production (Ross 2012:8; Stitt 1974:78).
<i>Fukizumi</i> (spatter stencil)	This stencil technique is derived from Ming Chinese ceramics. Cobalt pigment is blown or sprayed over a stencil, which is then removed from the vessel to reveal voids in the pigment. Though stenciling declined in the Taishō period, some potting centers still use this technique (Crueger et al. 2006:51,286; Ross 2009a:155).
Indeterminate	Decoration type or method could not be determined from vessel sherd.
Indeterminate	

Note: these categories reflect only the decoration types and methods actually observed during analysis and so are not exhaustive of all the decoration types/methods on late nineteenth to early twentieth century Japanese ceramics.

Table 4. Selection of Decorative Elements Identified During Collections Analysis.

Decorative Element	Associations and Remarks
Bats (<i>Komori</i>)	Gorham (1971:200) claims the use of bats as a symbol of future happiness is based on Chinese ceramics. Dower (1971:88) explains that this is because the second ideograph in the word bat can be read as <i>fuku</i> , which “can be written with an ideograph meaning good fortune.”
Carp (<i>Koi</i>)	<i>Koi</i> , often pictured in motion, are frequent decorative elements that symbolize perseverance and success (Gorham 1971:206).
Cherry Blossom (<i>Sakura</i>)	A symbol of the people of Japan; when combined with chrysanthemums they represent the unity of the Japanese people and the emperor (Walter 2012:123). Cherry blossoms can be distinguished from plum blossoms by their heart-shaped petals (Dower 1971:50–51).
Chrysanthemum (<i>Kiku</i>)	A commonly-used symbol of the Japanese Emperor (Walter 2012:125; Dower 1971:52).
Coin (<i>Sen</i>)	Many types of coins can appear on decoration. The <i>Eiraku tsuho</i> and <i>Kan’ei tsuho</i> coins are both auspicious symbols that are also associated with specific historical time periods (Dower 1971:108).
Crane (<i>Tsuru</i>)	Symbol of good fortune, longevity, happiness, and friendship. Numerous examples on ceramics exist (e.g. Paraso et al. 2013; Costello and Maniero 1988:58,59; Morse 1979:8; Walter 2012:127).
Diapers (N/A)	Small, repeating geometric designs placed across an entire area of a vessel (Gorham 1971:220).
Fans (<i>Suyehiro</i>)	Because of their expanding shape, these are associated with good fortune (Gorham 1971:222).
Blue Sea Waves Diaper (<i>Seigaiha</i>)	Overlapping oval or rounded semicircles mimicking the appearance of waves or fish scales that repeat across an entire area of a vessel (Simpson et al. 2014:72).

Table 4. Selection of Decorative Elements Identified During Collections Analysis (Cont.).

Decorative Element	Associations and Remarks
Horizontal Band (N/A)	Often a hand-painted addition to transferprint or hand-painted wares. Placed on rims, bases, or footings. Incised (<i>senbori</i>) bands are also common (see Walter 2012:119–120).
Indeterminate	Decorative element could not be definitively identified.
Maple (<i>Kaede</i>)	Associated with the beauty of maple leaves; its ideograph is made of tree and wind elements that convey “a rather gentle image of rustling foliage” (Dower 1971:62).
Medallion (N/A)	Medallions can be centered on the interior (center medallion) or may appear on vessel walls; often circular, fan-shaped, or kidney-shaped (Cambridge Library of Ornamental Art 1991:plate 24).
Mountain (<i>Yama</i>)	Mountains are an active symbol associated with yang, ambition, and success (Dower 1971:42).
Pendant <i>Yoraku</i>	<i>Yoraku</i> border designs are frequent elements of stencil wares. According to Ross (2012:21) these border designs include pendants, tassels, pendant triangles, and tassels with chrysanthemums.
Peony Flower (<i>Botan</i>)	This element is sometimes hard to distinguish from the chrysanthemum or lotus. It can be pictured alone or paired with lions or butterflies (Gorham 1971:209; Ross 2012:20).
Pine (<i>Matsu</i>)	A common symbol of strength, fidelity, prosperity, and, when occurring in needle pairs, unfailing devotion. Depictions can be highly stylized (Gorham 1971:209–210; Ross 2012:20).
Plum (<i>Ume</i>)	Often pictured as a gnarled tree trunk with slender shoots and blossoms, this is a symbol of womanhood or strength in adversity. Plum flowers can be identified by their five almost circular petals (Gorham 1971:210–211; Ross 2012:20).
Seven Jewels (N/A)	Interlocking circles that repeat across an entire area of a vessel (Ross 2012:21–22).
Sparrow (<i>Suzume</i>)	According to Dower (1971:99), the sparrow symbolizes “the virtue of repaying one’s obligations.” It is often depicted with Bamboo because Sparrows frequent bamboo groves.
Three Friends (<i>Sho Chiku Bai</i>)	Pine, bamboo, and plum are also called the “Three Friends of Winter” because they thrive through winter. This design originated in China and symbolizes promise and the scholarly ambition of longevity (pine), flexibility (bamboo), and pure spirit (plum) (Gorham 1971:210; Ross 2009a:185).
Writing (<i>Kana</i>)	Writing on Japanese vessels can have many meanings. Some of the more common inscriptions historically were advertisements for tea houses/restaurants, comments on the use of a vessel, sayings, poetry excerpts, or comments on nature (Morse 1901:12).
Yin-Yang (<i>In and Yo</i>)	This symbol of complimentary opposites is popular in Chinese and Japanese symbolism, though there is also a version unique to Japan called the <i>mitsu tomoye</i> (Gorham 1971:220).

Chopstick customs go
 Right with me, throughout my life
 In this knife-fork land. [Yukiko in Ito 1973:398]

**Chapter 3. Historical Background:
 Japanese Ceramic Production and Emigration in the Meiji (1868–1912) through
 Shôwa (1926–1989) Eras**

In July of 1853 four *kurofune*, or black ships, arrived in Uraga Bay at the head of the channel to Edo (later Tokyo) Bay. These vessels, under the command of U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry, were not the first to request trading rights with the seclusionist Tokugawa-era government. Japan had a long history of exchange with Korea and China, and had granted Dutch and Portuguese merchants limited access to the port of Nagasaki (Gordon 2009:19–20; Wilson 1995:17). In the decades preceding 1850, however, Western *kurofune*, called black ships for their coal-stained sails, increasingly appeared in Japanese waters. Among these encroachments Perry's message was singularly insistent; he returned one year later with nine warships intent on forcing trade negotiations (Gordon 2009:47–50). The unequal treaties that followed contributed to political and social instability that led to the crumbling of the 268-year Tokugawa rule and subsequent "restoration" of young Emperor Meiji in 1867–1868 (Gordon 2009:51–60). The decades that followed would usher in a series of changes for the people and industries of Japan.

Japanese Ceramic Production in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Historical Japanese ceramic production is rooted in exchanges with Korea and China. In the Tokugawa era (1600–1868), ceramic production methods and styles introduced from these countries were incorporated into a Japanese industry based around small, community-run potteries. Kilns, modeled on Korean-style *anagama*, or climbing kilns, were often built in clusters near clay deposits on the lower slopes of mountains and were shared under the oversight of the local *daimyo* (feudal lord) (Gorham 1971:39; Stitt 1974:25). Tokugawa-era laws restricted ceramic trade between towns until 1705 but even after these were lifted, trade primarily served the wealthier markets of daimyo castle towns (Hanley 1997:17). As a result, regionally differentiated styles developed that for the most part experienced only limited distribution. The exception to this were a few larger ceramic centers that produced wares for trade or purchase by the wealthy elite (Costello and Maniery 1988:26; Wilson 1995:17).

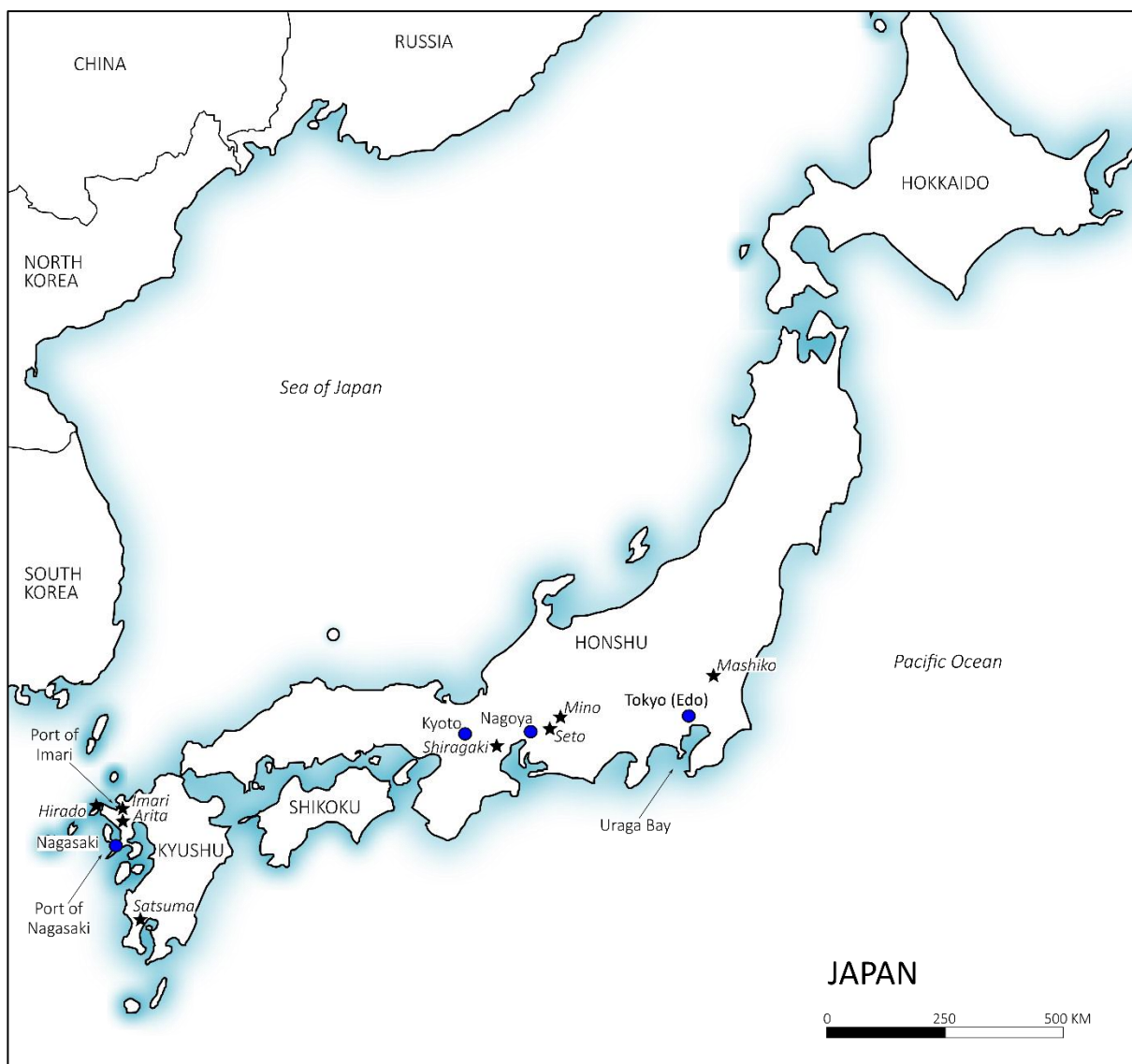


Figure 2. Map of historical pottery centers mentioned in the text.

Japanese porcelain production began in the early 1600s in one such center, the town of Arita, located in the western part of Saga Prefecture (Wilson 1995:31). Arita, known initially for stoneware production, gained substantially more fame when porcelain production techniques were introduced by Korean potters (Cort 1992:213; Ross 2009a:148). Porcelain was immediately popular among the daimyo class and in international markets (Gorham 1971:106). Arita porcelain was shipped by coastal routes to markets throughout Japan and came to dominate many markets formerly controlled by Seto-area stonewares. Arita enjoyed a monopoly over porcelain production until the late seventeenth century when other pottery centers with access to suitable clay deposits adopted the technique (Cort 1992:213).

Arita's proximity to the port of Nagasaki, the only port open to Western trade until the 1850s, made this area a focal point of early exports to Southeast Asia and Europe. Japanese porcelains of this era reached Europe in limited quantities through Portuguese and Dutch merchants or more indirectly through China and Korea (Gordon 2009:19–20; Gorham 1971:91). Despite these limitations, international sale of porcelain quickly became lucrative. Arita's potteries focused primarily on this export market but also produced a line of domestic wares. Year-round production and increasing specialization came to represent the beginning of a large-scale ceramics industry (Wilson 1995:31). Other kilns followed this model, and as early as 1829, Hirado potters were offering coffee services on commission to Dutch traders (Jahn 2004:90). The degree to which these wares were consumed by European markets has led to speculation that illegal ceramic trade also took place under Tokugawa rule. Gorham (1971:91) suggests that in addition to the sanctioned trade at Nagasaki, illegal trade was conducted through the port of Imari, located a short distance to the north of Arita.

In the early Tokugawa era, Arita's porcelains were heavily influenced by Chinese and Korean ceramics, but distinctively Japanese shapes and designs became more frequent by the seventeenth century (Wilson 1995:31). *Sometsuke* (underglaze cobalt blue) and *seiji* (wintergreen glaze), both adapted from Chinese wares, were some of the most popular decoration styles on the Tokugawa-era domestic market. *Sometsuke* is defined by the application of cobalt-colored pigment under a colorless glaze, which produces exclusively blue designs on the white ceramic background (Sanders 1973:187; Wilson 1995:31). *Sometsuke* was very popular in Tokugawa Japan, both on its own or as a backdrop to overglaze polychrome Imari (Gorham 1971:92; Ross 2012:148). Imari wares, initially a product of Arita, became popular exports in the Tokugawa era, and were eventually manufactured by kilns throughout North Kyushu (Gorham 1971:92). Other important ceramic centers of this period include the Seto-Mino region and Kyoto (Wilson 1995:31).

Although Meiji-era reforms would restructure the Japanese ceramics industry in numerous ways, many relied on conditions established during the Tokugawa era (Hanley 1997:156). Cultural economist Penelope Francks attributes the Tokugawa-era with establishing urban consumer markets, for example. According to Francks, by 1800 Japan had more large cities than any other country in the world, many of which enjoyed a wide range of consumer choices. The presence of government officials and rich merchants in Edo, along with the Tokugawa policy of *sankin kōtai*, or periodic attendance, which required daimyos to alternate residences between Edo and their own domain contributed to a flourishing urban economy that was consistently

dispersed along travel routes in and out of the capital. By the end of the Tokugawa period large cities were supplied almost entirely by outside markets (Francks 2009:142–143). Although more isolated areas continued to be economically self-sufficient into the Meiji period, the Tokugawa era saw a handful of kilns move beyond local production to take advantage of newly established domestic and international trade routes (Gordon 2009:31; Hanley 1997:156). By the nineteenth century, small-ware kilns throughout Japan provided the average consumer with access to ceramic vessels that, although still reflective of locally-distinct materials and styles, exhibited surprising uniformity of form and quality (Cort 2000:230).

Increasing Production and Promoting Industry: Ceramic Production in the Early Meiji Era (1868–1885)

Japan's transition from a feudal government to a constitutional monarchy in 1868 ushered in a series of changes that restructured many aspects of Japanese society. As Japan moved from an isolationist country into the global sphere, new policies emphasized cultivating economic and political strength to support the newly established government and its participation in a global market. These policies had mixed consequences for the modes of ceramic production and distribution established in the previous era. On one hand, the abolition of daimyo domains resulted in a loss of support and protection for many small potters for whom official gifts and tea ceremony commissions formed the majority of their income (Wilson 1995:32). As transportation networks grew, villages connected to trade routes faced increasing competition but even with increasing industrialization, some small potteries continued to prosper. These were often either rural kilns protected from outside competition or *noren* "name" potters with enough recognition and resources to maintain profits amid growing competition from cheaper mass-produced ceramics (Sanders 1973:54–55).

For larger potters, daimyo patronage was often supplanted by governmental oversight that advocated adoption of Western production methods and technology. In the early years of the Meiji government, Japan's hope to establish an autonomous global presence relied in part on economic initiatives expressed by the policy of *shokusan kogyo*, or "increasing production and promoting industry" (Amagai 2003:36). As part of this policy, the Meiji government offered support for arts and encouraged technological exchanges with Western nations (Jahn 2004:15; Wilson 1995:32). In the ceramics industry, some of the most dramatic technological changes included the replacement of wood-fueled *anagama* kilns with European-style kilns fueled by coal, oil, or electricity and the introduction of factory equipment, ceramic molds, and jiggering (Stitt 1974:24, 121–126). Mechanized clay production coupled with slip- and plaster-casting

made it easier to consistently reproduce forms, and molds allowed for faster production of standardized ceramic handles, spouts, lids, and feet, as well as European tableware forms (Jahn 2004:113–114). These techniques were disseminated through government-established training and research institutes in the ceramic production centers of Arita, Kyoto, Seto, and Tokyo. Many centers invited European specialists and advisers, known as *O-Yatotio*, to teach new technological production methods (Amagai 2003:35; Jahn 2004:113; Sanders 1973:54).

The most influential *O-Yatotio* within the ceramics industry was German chemist Gottfried Wagner. Wagner taught chemistry at the Imperial University in Tokyo and the Tokyo Industrial Training School. He also supervised ceramic workshops in Arita, Kyoto, and Tokyo, and introduced chemical analysis to porcelain and glaze production (Jahn 2004:112). Wagner's most noted contribution to the ceramics industry was the replacement of natural cobalt (*gosu*) with cobalt oxide. This chemically-produced substitute had to be imported from Europe or the United States but created a brighter, more intense blue that fueled international demand for Japanese porcelains. The accumulated effect of these innovations was the establishment of large, urban ceramic manufacturing companies. These companies often combined mechanized production with a division of labor by production stages and employed hundreds of workers to perform specialized tasks (Ross 2009a:152). The degree to which these changes were adopted differed widely; however, and at the same time that urban factories were producing as many as 350,000 uniform vessels per year, select small potteries continued to prosper. All of these wares were distributed across newly established transportation networks to reach expanding urban markets (Ross 2009a:152; Sanders 1973:54–55).

Particularly in the early Meiji era, export trade was viewed as an essential funding source for industry and infrastructure expansion. Encouraged by government promotion and Western demand, many Japanese potters in the early Meiji era focused their efforts on production of export wares (Ross 2009a:152). Numerous marketing and transportation companies emerged in this period and these big businesses collaborated with the government to ensure the success of the ceramic industry both at home and abroad. Beginning with the Vienna World's Fair of 1873, the government established two official state organizations, the Exhibition Bureau and the Design Bureau, to manage international exhibitions of ceramics. These exhibitions introduced Japanese ceramics to potential export markets, and were also viewed as an opportunity to promote the Meiji-era government to the international community (Jackson 1992:252).

The Design Bureau, initially established in preparation for the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, also took on a domestic role. The Bureau made stylistic and technical

recommendations to craft manufacturers and created design models (Jahn 2004:18–19; Wilson 1995:32). A selection of these designs was published in the book series *Onchizuroku* in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Many designs catered to Victorian tastes and featured elaborate or ornamental designs known colloquially as "Meiji" or "export" patterns (Yamamori 2008:97). The title of this series, translated in Jahn (2004:19) as “drawing on the treasures of ancient art and replenishing them with new ideas,” expresses the overarching concern in the early Meiji era with establishing export styles that could cater to Western markets while preserving elements of local Japanese styles.

Domestic markets also faced significant changes in this period. Meiji-era industrialization and class system reforms increased personal wealth and urbanization, accelerating the growth of domestic markets. At the same time, advances in production techniques and large-scale manufacturing provided urban markets with large quantities of mass-produced porcelain. Japanese consumers were increasingly exposed to Western ceramic forms and European imports, though acquisition of these products generally remained limited to wealthy or urban households in the early Meiji (Sanders 1973:54). Despite the growing export market, many kilns continued to produce ceramics specifically for domestic markets. These vessels featured a range of traditional forms and designs and varied considerably by location (Ross 2009a:152–153).

Representative Styles, Products, and Kilns of the Early Meiji (1868–1885)

Some of the earliest mass-produced ceramics featured *sometsuke* (exclusively cobalt-colored decoration) applied through hand-painting or *katagami* stencils. Stenciling methods had been developed in the Tokugawa period, but gained popularity during the Meiji era because they could easily be applied to mass-produced porcelains (Bibb 2001:5–6). *Katagami*, the dominant type of stenciling during this period, was produced by rubbing blue pigment through a series of small voids cut into a paper stencil. When this stencil was removed, it left behind a blue pattern punctuated by a white porcelain background (Ross 2009a:155, 2012:8). *Katagami* patterns often cover the majority of a vessel’s exterior with various medallions and diapers. Vessel interiors often feature a central medallion and/or *yoraku* (rim designs). On hastily decorated mass-produced porcelains, these designs can appear messy and stencils are sometimes ill-aligned (Bibb 2001:5–6). *Fukizumi*, or spattered designs, are also applied with stencils. This decoration was most often achieved by blowing pigment through a straw so it left a spattered pattern in the voids of the stencil. *Fukizumi* and *katagami* were most popular on the early Meiji domestic market and were largely abandoned by the end of the Taishō (1912–1926) period (Ross 2009a:155).

Many of the most popular early Meiji ceramics for export markets were Satsuma wares. Satsuma wares were initially intended for a local market but their presence in an 1867 Paris exhibition and at the 1873 Vienna World's Fair generated international interest that led to large-scale export. Kilns in Tadenno and Naeshirogawa expanded significantly, becoming the most important Satsuma workshops. As the popularity of Satsuma grew, however, their wares were imitated by potteries throughout Japan (Jahn 2004:107). Satsuma has a soft, cream-colored crackle glaze that allows enamels to adhere especially well. Blue Satsuma was prevalent around the turn of the century, but it was polychrome Satsuma, featuring ornate floral designs and raised enameling, that was most popular with Victorian-era European consumers (Stitt 1974:74–75).

Tokyo's potteries perhaps best embody the dramatic restructuring of the early Meiji era. As the home of the government and members of samurai elite, Tokyo (then Edo) was a major cultural and market center in the Tokugawa era. With the establishment of Tokyo as the new capital and center of foreign trade in the Meiji era, Tokyo was quick to adopt Western technologies and benefited from the presence of German chemist Wagner, who taught in the city for several decades in the late 1800s. Tokyo was home to many export and marketing companies, and it was common for potters from other areas of Japan to set up branch offices in the city (Jahn 2004:109–111). A distinctive aspect of Meiji-era ceramic production that took hold in Tokyo was the establishment of *etsuke* workshops that separated the processes of decoration and firing from the manufacture of ceramic forms. Under this extreme division of labor, porcelain vessels were brought to Tokyo "in the white" and then decorated in assembly-line-style factories and fired into their finished product. *Etsuke* workshops were responsible for a large proportion of the Satsuma-style export wares that gained popularity in the early Meiji era (Stitt 1974:78).

Japanese Spirit, Western Learning: Ceramic Production in the Middle (1885–1895) and Late (1895–1912) Meiji Eras

Although catering to Western markets increased early Meiji profits, a slump in export sales in the middle Meiji forced many manufactures to reevaluate their products. This decline was especially apparent in Western trading houses known as *Gaishô*, which saw their portion of export trade drop from 81 percent in 1895 to 49 percent by 1912. Several factors contributed to this decline, including the abolishment of extraterritoriality and the Treaty Port system in 1899. Having completed many early Meiji reforms, the pace of industrialization slowed and some

ceramic producers began to fear that mechanization and mass-production had reduced the quality of their wares (Jahn 2004:65–66, 81–82; Yamamori 2008:100).

Along with diminishing export sales, the middle and late Meiji experienced a resurgence of interest in traditional Japanese art. Fostered by the organization of craftsmen's affiliations and increasing confidence in international affairs, this pushed the ceramic industry to incorporate elements of historical styles and local traditions (Jahn 2004:65–66, 81–82). These sentiments were echoed in the European Arts and Crafts movement, which also promoted more subtle and historical styles. Western collectors like Edward S. Morse, whose large collection of stonewares is curated at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, took an interest in pre-Meiji works as early as 1868 (Morse 1901:2; Yamamori 2008:100–101). All of these factors encouraged late-Meiji ceramic manufacturers to focus on establishing individually distinct and domestically desirable styles (Jahn 2004:81–82).

Even mass-produced wares began to incorporate restrained aesthetics reminiscent of pre-Meiji styles. By the end of the Meiji, the slogan *wakon yosai*, or “Japanese spirit, Western learning” increasingly found expression in the application of hand-painted designs to mass-produced forms (Jones 2014:102). With attention returning to domestic ceramics, many craft shops gained popularity and a wide variety of individual styles, often named after specific production centers or families, spread across the domestic market. Expanding infrastructure and the availability of both craft and mass-produced wares meant that urban consumers enjoyed access to a wide variety of ceramic forms, styles, and price ranges. Most rural markets, however, continued to be served by local markets until the late Meiji or early Taishō era (Ross 2009a:152).

Representative Styles, Products, and Kilns of the Middle and Late Meiji (1885–1912)

Along with hand-painted *sometsuke*, transferprinting became increasingly popular in the middle and late Meiji eras. During this time period, *sometsuke dôban*, or exclusively cobalt-colored transferprint designs, gradually eclipsed stenciling as the primary method for decorating mass-produced domestic porcelains (Costello et al. 2001:32; Crueger et al. 2006:31; Ross 2009a:156, 2012:8). Most underglaze designs remained limited to cobalt until around the end of the nineteenth century when pigments in other colors were developed that could withstand the high temperatures required to fire underglaze wares (Ross 2009a:156). Transferprint could also be combined with hand-painting; this model fit easily into the assembly-line production of many *etsuke* workshops (Ross 2012:8; Stitt 1974:78). Examples of dominantly *sometsuke dôban* wares that feature one or more hand-painted bands around rims,

footrings, and bases are common in the ceramic collections from all three sites examined in this thesis. Although these bands are most commonly cobalt in color, *azuki iro*, or reddish brown, bands are also common in the Japanese Gulch Village collection.

Arita was one of the first centers to adopt the technology for transferprinting porcelains (Ross 2009a:156). Among the largest Tokugawa-period production centers, Arita also produced large amounts of ceramics throughout the Meiji although its prominent workshops changed. The Kakiemon workshop, for example, an innovator of the Tokugawa period, lost popularity in the Meiji era. Koransha and Kawahara, by contrast, became major producers of export ceramics during the Meiji by incorporating Western technology and catering to Western tastes. Directors from these companies secured their success through research trips to American ceramic production centers and through close ties with Expedition Bureau officials and members of the Ministry of the Imperial Household. Through these contacts Arita kilns received commissions for international exhibitions, from other ministries, and from the Imperial Household. Because the Imperial Household requested items both in traditional and Western styles, most Arita kilns maintained a small domestic line throughout the Meiji era (Jahn 2004:86–88).

Despite the rapid pace of industrialization, many aspects of Meiji-era ceramic production remained closely associated with industry traditions. Kyoto, home to the Emperor from the eighth to the nineteenth century, served as the cultural capital of Japan for most of its history. Imperial support of arts and craft production in this city established a legacy of small craft potters that endured throughout the Meiji era (Stitt 1974:50–51). Kyoto potters adopted some modern production methods and Western styles, but ceramic manufacture was typically still conducted in family-run kilns whose products remained more traditional than those in Arita. Imperial patronage and recognition at international exhibitions provided crucial support to Kyoto potters who in turn promoted the founding of craftsmen's associations and training schools such as the Kyoto Ceramic Research Institute (Jahn 2004:96–99).

The contrasting character of Arita and Kyoto illustrates the range of responses to increasing industrialization and the continued diversity within the Meiji era ceramic industry. Although loss of feudal patronage at the end of the Tokugawa era forced some small-scale kilns out of business, many others were maintained through government-sponsored industrialization and marketing in the early Meiji era. Simultaneously, although more emphasis was put on mass-produced export wares, this market ceased to be of central importance by the late Meiji era. By the early Taishō (1912–1926) era, the establishment of local craftsmen's associations and a revival of traditional Japanese art aesthetics, in part a reproach to growing uniformity and

Westernization within the ceramics industry, fostered an interest in the return to small-scale, individualized production methods for the Japanese domestic market (Jahn 2004:35–37, 65–66; Jones 2014:102).

Yo Soku Bi: Ceramic Production in the Taishô (1912–1926) and Early Shôwa (1926–1945) Eras

The Taishô era is often represented as a period of economic prosperity following the major industrialization movements of the Meiji. According to historian Andrew Gordon, the Taishô is more appropriately characterized as an era of “diversity and tension” (Gordon 2009:139). Although this era was punctuated by periods of rapid economic growth, a slow economic decline set in following World War I. Throughout the Taishô, economic and cultural conditions fluctuated and social segmentation increased across class, gender, and urban/rural divides (Gordon 2009:118,157,161; Kikuchi 1994:251). Increasing consumerism, diversity, and social movements all left their mark on the Taishô and Shôwa ceramics industry.

From 1880 to 1913, Japanese imports and exports nearly doubled each decade. Industrialism and trade opportunities fueled further economic growth during World War I (Gordon 2009:118,157). Corresponding growth in individual incomes, and employment opportunities for women, along with expanded availability of manufactured goods, all contributed to an overall rise in domestic consumption in the early twentieth century (Francks 2009:147–159). Table 5 illustrates this point, using data reproduced from Francks (2009:148, Table 4) that demonstrate the steady climb in household expenditures on domestic items. In her analysis of these data, Francks argues that although consumers were increasingly exposed to Western products, purchases of everyday domestic items such as kitchen and tablewares were at the heart of growth during these years (Francks 2009:152).

Beginning in the early teens, domestic products became a focal point for a number of emerging folk craft movements. These helped renew interest in traditional Japanese aesthetics and contributed to a shift away from the highly-decorated styles of the previous era (Kikuchi 1994:257–258). The *Mingei Undo* (Folk-Craft Movement) was founded around 1926 by writer and intellectual Yanagi Sôetsu and potters Hamada Shôji, Kawai Kanjirô, and Tomimoto Kenkichi (Brandt 1996:9; Crueger et al. 2006:19). Fueled by tensions about social changes, modernization, industrialization, and widening divides within Japanese society, this movement simultaneously engaged Japanese potters in the international Arts and Crafts movement and in a more local conversation about the role of tradition in an era of globalization (Jones 2014:105–

Table 5. Total Expenditure in Thousands of Yen on Ceramics and Household Items in 1934–1936 Prices, from Francks (2009:148, Table 4).

Year	Ceramics	Total Household Items
1910	19,395	77,707
1915	21,141	114,532
1920	33,234	171,583
1925	46,361	201,425
1930	43,687	226,304
1935	57,873	300,477

106,114–115). Among *Mingei Undo*'s founding goals were to reinvigorate rural craft traditions and integrate them into modern everyday objects (Brandt 1996:73; Jones 2014:143). *Mingei* advocates traveled to rural areas, offering support to potters engaged in production of mostly hand-made or traditional ceramics (Crueger et al. 2006:19). The Existing Crafts Art Society's adoption of the slogan "*Yo soku Bi*," or "Function equals beauty," taken from a 1926 article by Yanagi, expressed the growing support for his ideas in the late Taishō era (Brandt 1996:73; Kikuchi 1994:257–258).

The *Mingei* movement had a number of lasting impacts on the Japanese ceramics industry. Founders Hamada, Kawai, and Yanagi went on to found *Nihon mingei kyokai*, the Japan Folk Art Association, and *Mingei* magazine (still published) in 1931. Yanagi was also instrumental in the creation of *Nihon Mingeikan*, the Japan Folk Crafts Museum and served as its first director in 1936 (Brandt 1996:91; Crueger et al. 2006:19). On a broader scale, *Mingei* leaders helped popularize folk-craft products, which were sold to the general public in stores such as Takumi in Tokyo (Jones 2014:144). These efforts helped to preserve a diversity of traditional styles from local pottery centers, which sometimes makes it possible to trace archaeological ceramics to historical production centers (Crueger et al. 2006:19).

Representative Styles, Products, and Kilns of the Taishō (1912–1926) and Early Shōwa (1926–1945) Eras

Around the beginning of the Taishō era, transferprinting began to decline and minimalistic hand-painted designs came to dominate domestic porcelain production (Bibb 2013:[11]). This shift was in part a response to industrialization, in which simpler designs were more easily mass produced, but was also related to cultural and artistic movements such as *Mingei Undo* (Bibb 2013:[11]; Ross 2009a:152; Stitt 1974:50–51). Compared to previous *sometsuke* designs, Taishō and early Shōwa-era hand-painted elements were commonly abstracted, understated, and covered a smaller percent of a vessel's surface (Bibb 2013:[11–12]; Jones 2014 102).

Polychrome transferprints also briefly came into favor in the Taishō era. The development of

pigments in colors other than blue that could withstand high firing temperatures had lagged behind *sometsuke* (Ross 2009a:156, 2012:8), and green transferprints in particular did not reach peak popularity until the 1920s and 1930s (Leland Bibb 2015, elec. comm.).

Many pottery centers were producing porcelain by this time, but the three largest of the Taishô era were Arita, the Kyushu region, and the Seto-Mino region. North Kyushu and Arita tended to specialize in Imari and other export wares, though they also produced some more expensive domestic porcelain. The Seto-Mino region, by contrast, is known to have produced large quantities of inexpensive domestic porcelain (Bibb 2013:[12]; Sanders 1973:187). Seto enjoyed acclaim in the Tokugawa era for its production of official tea-ceremony utensils and utilitarian stonewares—so much so that in eastern Japan the term *Setomono*, or “Seto-ware,” was often synonymous with any glazed vessel (Cort 1992:174). In the early nineteenth century, Seto invested heavily in porcelain production and displaced Arita as its leading production center. Seto workshops industrialized rapidly in the Meiji era and formed lucrative partnerships with export and transportation companies to distribute a variety of mass-produced porcelain table and kitchen wares through-out the Meiji, Taishô, and Shôwa eras (Cort 1992:10,177; Crueger et al. 2006:167–171).

Numerous folk art kilns of the Taishô and Shôwa eras survive today. The pottery village of Mashiko, located in Tochigi Prefecture, is one example that became well-known for its ties with the *Mingei* movement (Crueger et al. 2006:19). Mashiko ceramic production began around 1853; initial products were simple domestic vessels and glazed stonewares. In the late nineteenth century, an influx of potters from the Shigaraki region introduced a style of *sansui dobin*, or landscape teapot, that became an iconic favorite of *Mingei* leader Yanagi (Brandt 1996; Cort 2000:230). Mashiko’s tie to the *Mingei* movement was cemented in 1924, when Hamada Shôji relocated to the village (Crueger et al. 2006:214, 220). The decorative style of Mashiko *sansui dobin* is exemplified by the work of Minagawa Masu, a ceramics decorator who traveled to regional workshops painting the linear landscapes characteristic of this style. Minagawa gained international recognition in 1938 when one of her *sansui dobin* received first place at the First International Craft Exhibit in Berlin. Today her granddaughter, Minagawa Hiro, continues to decorate *sansui dobin* in Mashiko, which has become the largest folk-craft pottery center in eastern Japan specializing in traditional domestic tableware (Crueger et al. 2006:220).

***Dekasegi* and *Issei*: Japanese Emigration in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries**

In the 1880s, the Meiji-era government began encouraging emigration as a means of facilitating economic growth and technological exchange with the West (Gordon 2009:118).

Fukuzawa Yukichi, a prominent intellectual and a vocal supporter of “entrepreneurial emigration” in the early Meiji, promoted emigration as a means of establishing overseas markets and positioning Japan alongside world colonial powers (Azuma 2005:20–21). For many Japanese citizens, motivations to work abroad were also economic, and were fueled by a rural depression, population growth, inflation, and falling crop prices in the 1880s (Ichioka 1998:42,51–52; Matsumoto 1993:21).

Immigration to the West began slowly and was subject to strict governmental oversight. In the early years, Japanese who ventured abroad to work were known as *dekasegi* (Azuma 2005:9), or migrant labor, and many of the first labor contracts were negotiated by the Japanese government itself. In order to qualify for passports, emigrants were expected to have explicit contracts in place, with wages, terms, and guaranteed passage back to Japan (Ichioka 1988:4,48). By 1890, only about 12,000 Japanese were living abroad; roughly 5,000 in Hawaii, 1,000 in California, and the rest in China or Korea. In the next two decades, the number of Japanese in Hawaii and the United States rose to nearly 65,000 and 60,000 respectively (Gordon 2009:118).

Beginning around 1891, private companies arose that facilitated a rapid expansion of labor immigration to the United States. Although no longer directly involved in labor contracting, the Japanese government passed the Regulations to Protect Emigrants in April 1896 and maintained strict oversight of passport issuance. Under these regulations, labor contracting companies recruited Japanese in various ways and funneled them into agricultural, railroad, mining, lumber, and fishing industries that extended along the Pacific Coast. In many cases, Japanese labor in these industries filled the void created by the passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act (Ichioka 1988:48, 57; Matsumoto 1993:21). In the Pacific Northwest, labor contractors established themselves early and often recruited large pools of labor directly from Japan. Contractors such as the Oriental Trading Company had Japanese agents who negotiated passports for laborers, paid their passage to Seattle, and sometimes even provided recruits with cash advances to “avoid being deported as paupers” upon entrance into the US (Ichioka 1988:65). Amid tightening restrictions and increasing labor demands, contractors sometimes resorted to elaborate or even illegal measures. In the early twentieth century, one Pacific Northwest company chartered a vessel to sail laborers from Hawaii. Agents promised \$1.10 to \$1.30 a day, a set of work clothes, and other goods including soy sauce, rice, and bean paste to potential recruits. In California, contractors more often recruited newly-arriving Japanese from inns and boardinghouses or through newspaper employment ads (Ichioka 1988:62–66).

The labor contracting system peaked between 1902 and 1907, during which time private emigration companies recruited over 98,000 Japanese workers (Ichioka 1988:48). Contracting agents played a crucial role in connecting Japanese laborers to initial employment opportunities and in helping navigate unfamiliar circumstances, but could also be quite exploitive. In addition to a daily commission withheld from worker's wages, many contracting firms formed *zaibatsu*-like partnerships with import companies and shipping lines that supplied Japanese food and goods to labor communities and with Japanese banks that held workers' pay, offered credit, or sent money to family members in Japan. Translation fees, medical fees, retail fees for foodstuffs, and remittance fees were also common (Ichioka 1988:57,73; Ito 1973:142). When the flow of new laborers started to slow, many contracting firms shifted their interests to import companies that continued supplying immigrant communities with Japanese goods.

Both the Japanese and American governments started imposing restrictions on Japanese immigration to the United States around the turn of the century. Japan began denying laborers passports in 1900, and in 1907 US Executive Order 589 officially prohibited secondary immigration from Hawaii, Mexico, and Canada (Ichioka 1988:69–70). This was followed by the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908, under which the Japanese government stopped issuing passports except to a limited number of merchants, students, diplomats, and family members of farmers and businessmen. This reduced overall Japanese immigration but resulted in a short-term increase in the number of women and children entering the United States in the years before the US Immigration Act of 1924 ended all further immigration from Japan (Daniels 1988:126–127; Ichioka 1988:5,71–72). The diverse group of Japanese laborers, families, and American citizens that arrived in North America between roughly 1880 and 1924 are collectively known as Issei, or first-generation Japanese immigrants, by their descendants (Densho Encyclopedia 2017).

Although Issei experiences varied widely, nearly all Issei in the American West were connected by their citizenship status. All three Western states passed Alien Land Laws restricting non-citizens from purchasing or leaseing land: California in 1913, Washington in 1921, and Oregon in 1923 (Maniery and Fryman 1993:32–33; Ito 1973:157–159). California's Land Acts initially outlawed Issei land ownership and lease tenures over three years, but eventually prohibited Issei from leasing or sharecropping at all (Daniels 1988:144–145; Maniery and Fryman 1993:32). As a result, Issei were required to relocate every few years and were increasingly relegated to laborer positions. Oregon and Washington Issei faced less strict laws that allowed them to rent but not own property. Even so, Issei risked losing investments and

facing unanticipated upheaval if landlords severed contracts. Issei in these states, therefore, contended with Alien Land Laws in different ways (Ichioka 1988:211,226–235). The basic tenet of all of these laws, however, that immigrants ineligible for citizenship could not own land, was set by a federal standard that restricted naturalization rights to “free white persons, and to aliens of African nativity” (*Hidemitsu Toyota v. United States*, 6 F.2d 1021, 1st Cir. 1925). Because Issei were not considered white, they could not be granted citizenship. This standard established a national legal basis for exclusion that was often compounded by local manifestations of racism and prejudice. Within this overarching context the following communities provide examples of the distinctive ways that Issei navigated local and individual circumstances, maintained transpacific connections, and experienced their everyday lives.

Spades in the dark soil
 Spirit of the pioneers
 Burning on the earth. [Katsuko in Ito 1973:494]

Chapter 4. George Shima Labor Camp 1: Issei Farm Labor in the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta, California, 1918–1926

Today the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta contains some of California's most productive agricultural lands. When Kaiso Naka visited the area in 1912, however, he described it as, "the most unattractive place in California farms from the point of view of climate, of transportation, facilities, of hygienics and of surrounding scenery" (1913:48). Naka, a graduate student studying Japanese farming communities, complained that research in the area was frustrating and the conditions objectionable. Not only was it often necessary to charter a boat to reach interviewees, but the mosquitoes were abundant; typhoid and malaria were common; and the scenery was "barren and deserted, [with] nothing but 'tule' grass and willows covering the land" (Naka 1913:51,48). In his 1913 thesis, Naka characterized Issei farmers in the San Joaquin River Delta as more isolated and migratory than those living anywhere else in California.

Initial reclamation of the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta, also known as the California Delta, drew a few Japanese laborers in the mid-nineteenth century but their presence increased dramatically during a second wave of reclamation. This second wave, driven by improvements in dredge and pump technology, coincided with immigration policy changes that restructured labor dynamics in the early twentieth century (Maniery and Fryman 1993:23–29). The Chinese Exclusion Act of the 1880s cut off Chinese immigration, while Hawaii's annexation in 1898 made it easier for Issei to immigrate to the mainland. Following these changes, the number of Japanese immigrants arriving in San Francisco increased sharply but by the turn of the century nearly 70 percent of California Issei were rural and 60 percent worked in agriculture (Naka 1913:18–19). Issei employed throughout California's farming industry faced legal and social exclusion that made permanence and financial security elusive. The primitive infrastructure and distinctive geography of newly reclaimed Delta lands, however, created an environment unlike any other (Hansen 1924:[1]; Maniery and Fryman 1993:23–29). To contend with these conditions, Issei in the Delta developed specific strategies to increase their likelihood of economic success and personal well-being. One of the most notable Issei successes in this region was a man local newspapers dubbed the "Potato King" (*San Francisco Call* 16 December 1910) (Figure 3).

In the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys				
<p>CHICO NORMAL TO GET NEW PLUMBING</p> <p>Trustees Agree to Ellery's Proposal to Have Contractor Make Good Deficiencies</p> <p>Everything About Building to Be Made Satisfactory Without Cost to State</p> <p><i>[Special Dispatch to The Call]</i></p> <p>CHICO, Dec. 15.—Local members of the Chico State Normal board of trustees say that neither the new Normal training school here nor the plumbing in the building will be condemned, as was threatened. This will save State Engineer Nat Ellery much embarrassment. The blame for many defects about the structure, but more particularly the unsatisfactory plumbing, is laid at his door.</p> <p>Then Ellery's promise to see that everything about the building is put in satisfactory condition at no further expense to the state, and his agreement to have the improvement work undertaken immediately, the condemnation will not be made, according to the understanding of Chico members of the board of trustees. While admitting that the plumbing is inadequate and admitted to the purpose intended, those in charge of the building of the school are of the opinion that it will be better to make no more money over the repair than is necessary, if Ellery lives up to his promise and induces the contractor to do the plumbing work over again. It is said that Contractor Gray has agreed to this.</p> <p>BATHS WITHOUT DRAINAGE</p>	<p>George Shima, the "Potato King" of San Joaquin Delta</p>  <p>JAPANESE GROWS RICH ON "SPUDS"</p> <p>4,000 Acres Yield 500,000 Sacks of Tubers and Show \$200,000 Profit</p>	<p>WOMAN STRUCK IN HOTEL IMBROGLIO</p> <p>Solicitor Angered Because Given Milk Instead of Cream With His Coffee</p> <p><i>[GRASS VALLEY, Dec. 15.—] A</i> Fellow, a solicitor from San Francisco, became involved in a fight in the Holbrook hotel this morning and will have to answer to the justice court to the charge of striking Miss Emaline Dulmaire, clerk at the hotel.</p> <p>Fellow demanded cream instead of milk in his coffee this morning. The waitress told him he would have to go to the clerk. He accused Miss Dulmaire and she told him he could pay his bill and leave. He refused and an altercation between Fellow and Frank Dulmaire, proprietor of the hotel, followed.</p> <p>During the fight Fellow, it is alleged, struck Miss Dulmaire and a traveling man shoved him. Miss Dulmaire swore out a complaint against Fellow in a local justice court.</p> <p>COURT'S ORDER TO OUST RECORDER IS IN VAIN</p> <p>Kroh's Term Will Expire Before Date of Enforcement</p> <p><i>[Special Dispatch to The Call]</i></p> <p>STOCKTON, Dec. 15.—Judge J. A. Plummer today denied a motion for a new trial and an arrest of judgment in the accusation against County Recorder and Auditor James H. Kroh and issued an order that he be removed from office.</p> <p>The judgment will not go into effect for 30 days, and by that time Kroh's present term of office will have ex-</p>	<p>EASTERN CAPITAL WILL BUY RANCHES</p> <p>Large Acreage at Chico Will Be Divided Into Small Farms</p> <p><i>[Special Dispatch to The Call]</i></p> <p>CHICO, Dec. 15.—Negotiations for capital at Washington, D. C. to buy the Bidwell rancho, consisting of 10,000 acres, some of which lies in the heart of Chico, are under way. If the deal goes through the rancho will be subdivided and sold in small tracts to eastern farmers.</p> <p>CHINA IS UNABLE TO ARRANGE LARGE LOAN</p> <p>Government Refuses to Accept Terms of American Syndicate</p> <p>PEKING, Dec. 15.—The government has not come to terms with the American financial syndicate with regard to the proposal of a loan of \$10,000,000 to be used by China in furthering currency reforms and other interests of the empire. The final difficulty in the two appears to be in the matter of the appointment of a financial adviser to China who will be in a position to influence the expenditures.</p> <p>When the tentative agreement for the loan was made the Chinese evidently assumed that the adviser would be a squarehead, the acceptance or rejection with them.</p> <p>There is no doubt that some suspicion was aroused by the alliance of the Americans with European banking groups.</p>	<p>PRISON INDUSTRY DRAINS TREASURY</p> <p>Convict Support Costs 50 Cents a Day and Earnings Are but 5 Cents</p> <p><i>[Special Dispatch to The Call]</i></p> <p>SACRAMENTO, Dec. 15.—That the two California state prisons as industrial possibilities are a pair of white elephants that drain heavily on the treasury of the state, is the assertion of State Controller Nye in his biennial report filed with the governor today. Until the prisons are supplied with industries which can be operated at a profit, Nye contends they will be absurdities.</p> <p>The report points out that it costs 50 cents a day to support a prisoner and under the present system the prisoner earns but 5 cents a day. More than \$1,000,000 has been expended in two years for the maintenance of the two prisons.</p> <p>The report also shows that but three millionaires in the state died in the last two years. Their estates netted the state \$20,000 each in inheritance taxes.</p> <p>ALEXANDER IRWIN MAY BECOME YUBA RECORDER</p> <p>Death of S. O. Gunning Gives Supervisors Appointment</p> <p><i>[Special Dispatch to The Call]</i></p> <p>HEAVYWEIGHT, Dec. 15.—Alexander Irwin, state railroad commissioner, who was defeated for re-election by Alexander Gordon, may become recorder of Yuba county after January 1. The sudden death yesterday of S. O. Gunning makes the appointment of</p>

Figure 3. Article in the *San Francisco Call* (1910) proclaiming Shima the "Potato King" of the San Joaquin Delta.

"Make[ing] a Success of These Delta lands:" Historical Accounts of Issei Farm Labor in the California Delta

Shima was born in Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan, as Ushijima Kinji. He arrived in San Francisco in 1889, then followed temporary labor positions to the California Delta. For several years Shima labored alongside other Issei in temporary tent camps on the small and swampy islands of the Delta (Iwata 1992:240–241). By the turn of the century, he had become a labor contractor and began leasing land with other Issei partners. By 1920, Shima and his associates had reclaimed over 100,000 acres of land, employed thousands of laborers (Figure 4), and controlled 85 percent of California's potato crop. Shima's remarkable success is linked to several factors. He and his associates were among the first to make Delta marshlands productive and in these pioneering efforts he relied heavily on partnerships formed with other Issei (Daniels 1988:134–135; Iwata 1992:246–249).

Such partnerships were a common strategy for Delta Issei engaged in costly land reclamation. Once levees and channels had been constructed, land had to be cleared and readied for crops. Pumps, levees, and draining systems often required continual maintenance (Maniery and Fryman 1993:31). According to statistics compiled by Naka in 1913, Delta lands required the most capital to farm in the state. To come up with this essential capital, Delta Issei frequently turned to financial partnerships. Of the 562 Japanese farmers on San Joaquin Delta islands in 1912, 529 were engaged in partnerships with up to 11 other farmers. Naka calculated that an



Figure 4. Japanese potato diggers in the California Delta, unknown date. *Jap[anese] potato diggers. Sacramento Islands.* [Japanese laborers working a field. Islands in the Sacramento River Delta?], Photographs of agricultural laborers in California [graphic], BANC PIC 1905.02678—PIC. Courtesy of The Bancroft library, University of California, Berkeley.

average of 3.7 men partnered in each Delta enterprise, whereas the state-wide average was only 1.4 (Naka 1913:22,54). Interviews conducted by the Survey of Race Relations also indicate how common farming cooperatives were among Delta Issei. Carson C. Cook, a landholding company manager with a 21-year history of working with Japanese farmers, was interviewed in 1924. His comments highlight the benefits of Issei partnerships in the Delta:

One man will rent a piece of land and then he will get maybe nineteen others to come in with him; and they form a company, which is a sort of partnership. Shares may be valued at \$500.00 and each man puts up money for from one-half to two or three shares. In this way they are able to raise a considerable sum of money and they are then in a position to raise additional funds through credit at a bank. They all work the land, which makes them practically independent of outside labor. [Cook 1924:[4-5]]

The cooperative relationships formed between Issei to secure capital were also a pragmatic source of labor. The cost of Delta land maintenance meant only labor-intensive crops such as potatoes, onions, or celery would sell for enough money to make a profit (Hansen 1924:[2]; Maniery and Fryman 1993:23-29; Mendenhall 1924:[1]). Some landholding companies worked their own land, but many preferred to lease to others and avoid the risk and hard work involved in raising these types of crops. According to one such landholder, Mr. J. V. Mendenhall (1924:[1]), Issei farmers were particularly valuable to Delta landholding companies because

their cooperatives advanced a portion of the capital to reclaim land, provided the labor to clear and plant land, and handled all worker supervision.

George Shima's labor camps are an example of the communal living arrangements in the Delta. Because of the 1913 Alien Land Law limiting Issei lease tenure and the difficulty in accessing Delta islands in the years before bridges and roads were built, Shima's camps were self-sufficient, but temporary, establishments. These camps, which could house from 20 to 400 people, contained a mixture of single laborers and families who lived and worked in one place for a period of up to three years (Iwata 1992:246; Maniery and Fryman 1993:36–38). Issei in Shima's camps lived in roughly built houses that were constructed two stories tall because of frequent flooding. Small houses accommodated from five to six Issei per room and large houses could hold up to 60 tenants. About half of the residences in Shima's camps contained women and children (Maniery and Fryman 1993:238). As such, they were neither traditional nuclear households nor male-only bunkhouses and divisions between social, labor, and gender roles were more fluid than in other contexts. An Issei woman who worked in Delta farm camps in the 1930s described her experience as follows: "I have to go out to work with the men at the same time, taking my baby with me. When we finish work at supertime, I have to do the cooking and wash the dishes. At night when the baby cries, I have to be extremely careful because we live in a rooming house, and the partition has thin walls" (McBane and Winegarden 1979:179). Interpersonal relationships permeated almost every aspect of daily life in these camps where there was very little privacy and where, particularly for women, there was very little division between work and home life.

Accessing land was another challenge that many Issei navigated through partnerships. California's Alien Land Law of 1913, the first in a series of exclusionary laws passed by West Coast states, not only prohibited Issei from purchasing land but also limited leases to a period of three years. In order to circumvent this law, some Issei purchased land under the name of an American-born child or formed corporations under the name of an American citizen (Maniery and Fryman 1993:32–33). Putting land in the name of a child was preferable but was not an option available to many Issei. When questioned about this practice in 1924, the secretary of the Stockton Japanese Association, U. Uyeda, claimed that there were fewer than 20 American-born children in his community. As a result, Uyeda (1924:[1–2]) felt "the possibility of owning land [was] very small." Issei without citizen children were left dependent on American land owners. Despite increasingly exclusionist legislation, interviews with California agriculturalists in the 1920s suggest that some landholders were willing to illegally lease land for periods longer than

three years. Larger landholders, like the ones with whom Shima partnered, were able to maintain long-term contracts by swapping out parcels every three years (Maniery and Fryman 1993:34–35). All of these partnerships provided Issei with a day-to-day means of challenging the structures that limited their access to property and opportunities for settlement.

Although often dispersed among water-bound islands, Issei made up a large portion of the Delta's inhabitants and established several community resources. An Issei account reproduced in Iwata (1992:233–234) describes the early years in the Delta as "*kawashimo*" or "down-river" life, recalling "unless they had urgent business [Issei] remained on the farms for from one-half to a year at a stretch without emerging from their isolation." When their contracts ended, many Issei laborers traveled to Walnut Grove's "Japantown," which featured Japanese restaurants, merchants, boarding houses, and possibly a bordello, among other businesses (Costello and Maniery 1988:3). Archaeological collections recovered from Walnut Grove provide examples of the Japanese-manufactured goods available in this community. Some accounts also suggest traveling salesmen visited islands and supplied Japanese goods to labor camps (Maniery and Fryman 1993:39–40).

Issei farmers could also take advantage of services provided by the Japanese Producers Association (JPA). This organization, formed in 1908, operated throughout the California Delta. Although its initial purpose was to help Issei lease land, the JPA also distributed a monthly agricultural journal in Japanese. This journal published information on farming techniques and reported on current market prices for produce. As a special feature, it included a questionnaire that asked Issei to send in questions about agricultural problems to be answered in subsequent issues (Iwata 1992:236–237; Naka 1913:60–62). This service would have been especially advantageous in the dense, waterlogged peat of the Delta region that defied traditional farming techniques (Hansen 1924:[1]). Even amidst the exclusionist atmosphere of the early twentieth century, this specialized knowledge caused many farmers to acknowledge that Issei were "the only people who know how to make a success of these Delta lands" (Hansen 1924:[1]).

Previous Archaeological Investigations of George Shima Camp 1

Site CA-SJO-208-H was first recorded in 1989 as several agricultural features and a scatter of historic-era artifacts. Its location corresponds with one of George Shima's Bouldin Island farm camps, labeled on a 1926 map as Camp 1 (Maniery and Fryman 1993:45–46,79). In 1992 PAR Environmental Services conducted a second phase of work at the site that included excavation, background research, oral histories, and evaluation of National Register of Historic Places

(NRHP) significance. Results of these investigations indicate that Camp 1 was constructed by Shima around 1918 and occupied by Japanese farm laborers until 1926 (Maniery and Fryman 1993:iii,99). Excavations consisted of three trenches, which contained two refuse concentration features, and one 1x1-meter unit. According to report authors, artifacts collected from the site are likely from the Japanese farm laborers living in Shima's Camp 1 and include a high percentage of porcelain tablewares, food storage jars imported from China or Japan, glass containers, and historical farming equipment. Maniery and Fryman (1993:iii,98) recommended site CA-SJO-208-H as eligible for listing on the NRHP and the assemblage has been curated at the Archaeological Curation Faculty at California State University, Sacramento.

Reanalysis of Japanese Ceramics in the CA-SJO-208-H George Shima Camp 1 Assemblage

I reanalyzed 54 ceramic sherds in the CA-SJO-208-H George Shima Camp 1 assemblage. These included both table and sake wares (Table 6). I did not reanalyze brown-glazed stoneware sherds in the collection, as they were thought to represent food storage containers and so are beyond the scope of this analysis. Table 7 summarizes sherd size, providing an estimation of fragmentation within the assemblage. This table indicates that the majority (60 percent) of sherds have diameters in the 3 in. (7.6 cm) to 4 in. (10 cm). range, though some are up to 6 in. (15 cm) in diameter and three represent complete vessels (Table 8). Taken together, these data demonstrate that the collection has experienced less breakage than the other two examined. Notations in the original catalog suggest that some non-diagnostic artifacts were culled before curation, which may explain why there are so few small sherds in the reanalyzed assemblage. The larger average sherd size is likely responsible for a relatively high instance of measurable attributes. Rim portions are most common and rim size could be determined for almost three quarters of the assemblage. Slightly less than a quarter of sherds have measurable footings and one third provide accurate vessel heights.

Table 6. Material Type of Sherds in the CA-SJO-208-H George Shima Camp 1 Assemblage.

Material Type	Count of Sherds	Percent of Total
Porcelain (<i>Jiki</i>)	49	91
Vitrified Stoneware (<i>Sekki</i>)	5	9
Grand Total	54	100

Table 7. Size Class of Sherds in the CA-SJO-208-H George Shima Camp 1 Assemblage.

Size Class	Count of Sherds	Percent of Total
Maximum 1 in. diameter	4	7
Maximum 2 in. diameter	8	15
Maximum 3 in. diameter	16	30
Maximum 4 in. diameter	16	30
Maximum 5 in. diameter	4	7
Maximum 6 in. diameter	6	11
Grand Total	54	100

Table 8. Attributes of Sherds in the CA-SJO-208-H George Shima Camp 1 Assemblage.

Attributes of Sherds	Count of Sherds	Percent of Sherds
Vessel Is Complete	3	6
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Rim (<i>kôen</i>)	46	85
Rim Diameter Was Measured	40	74
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Base (<i>soko</i>)	30	56
Base Diameter Was Measured	-	0
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Footring (<i>kôdai</i>)	26	48
Footring Was Measured	26	48
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Body (<i>dô</i>)	42	78
Vessel Height was Measured	18	33

Note: If a vessel footring could be measured, the base diameter was usually omitted, resulting in the lower percentage of measured bases. Because sherds often contained multiple measurable attributes, percentages do not add up to 100. Japanese vessel portion terms from Simpson et al. 2014:55.

CA-SJO-208-H George Shima Camp 1 Forms

Minimum number of vessel (MNV) calculations suggest a minimum of 25 different vessels in the CA-SJO-208-H George Shima Camp 1 assemblage. Table 9 demonstrates that the majority of these vessels can be classified into either tableware or sake categories; only four percent (one vessel) lacked the necessary diagnostic attributes to identify vessel type or form. This unidentified vessel was assigned to the Indeterminate category and is represented by a sherd less than 1 in. (2.5 cm) in diameter for which a footring but not a rim diameter could be determined. Although a large percentage of vessels could be identified to at least general forms, these table and sake wares include only 6 of the 22 categories, or just 27 percent of possible forms (Table 9).

Table 9. Japanese-Manufactured Ceramic Vessel Forms in the CA-SJO-208-H Assemblage.

Category	Type	Form	Count of MNV	Percent of Total
Tablewares				
Tablewares	Bowls	<i>Chawan</i>		
		Small Bowl (<i>kobachi</i>)	2	8
		Pickle Bowl (<i>namasu-zara</i>)	-	-
		Rice Bowl (<i>gohan chawan</i>)	8	32
		Bowl Lid (<i>futa</i>)	-	-
		Teacup (<i>yunomi</i>)	7	28
		Indeterminate Bowl (<i>chawan</i>)	5	20
		Large Soup Bowl (<i>donburi</i>)	-	-
	Cold Noodle Cup (<i>soba choko</i>)	-	-	
		Subtotal Bowls	22	88
	Dish/plate	Large Dish/Plate (<i>hirabachi</i>)	-	-
		Medium Dish/Plate (<i>nakazara</i>)	-	-
		Small Dish/Plate (<i>kozara</i>)	1	4
		Sauce Dish/Plate (<i>mamezara</i>)	-	-
Indeterminate Dish/Plate		-	-	
	Subtotal Dish/Plates	1	4	
Teapots	Teapot (<i>dobin</i>)	-	-	
	Teapot (<i>kyûsu</i>)	-	-	
	Indeterminate Teapot	-	-	
	Subtotal Teapots	0	0	
	Subtotal Mealtime	23	92	
Sake Wares				
Sake Wares	Cups	Large Sake Cup (<i>guinomi</i>)	-	-
		Small Sake Cup (<i>ochoko</i>)	-	-
		Indeterminate Sake Cup (<i>sakazuki</i>).	-	-
		Subtotal Sake Cups	0	0
Decanters	Sake Decanter (<i>kampin tokkuri</i>)	-	-	
	Sake Decanter (<i>sorori tokkuri</i>)	-	-	
	Indeterminate Sake Decanter (<i>tokkuri</i>)	1	4	
	Subtotal Sake Decanters	0	0	
	Subtotal Sake	1	4	
Indeterminate Wares				
Indeterminate Wares	Indeterminate	Indeterminate Hollow	-	-
		Indeterminate Flat	-	-
		Indeterminate	1	4
		Subtotal Indeterminate	1	4
	Grand Total	25	100	

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. See Chapter 2 for form descriptions and Japanese language term references.

Bowls in the *chawan* category unmistakably dominate this assemblage, and account for 88 percent of forms. As explained in Chapter 2, *chawan* is used to denote a group of similarly-shaped forms that are used for individual servings of rice, soup, vegetable, and/or meat dishes, or tea. These highly versatile forms are the core of traditional Japanese mealtime place settings, and are often accompanied by more specific forms such as side dishes, serving vessels, condiment dishes, soba noodle sauce cups, or large soup bowls. *Chawan* in the CA-SJO-208-H assemblage include two *kobachi* (small bowls), seven *yunomi* (teacups), eight *goshan chawan* (rice bowls), and five *chawan* that could not be assigned to a more specific form. Many of the rice bowls in this collection, such as the one pictured in Figure 5, have semi-straight or “v”-shaped walls rather than a round profile and slightly everted rims. According to a personal contact, this is currently the most common shape for rice bowls because it makes it easier to scoop rice up the side of the bowl toward one’s mouth with chopsticks (Yuumi Danner 2016, elec. comm.).

Although *yunomi* (teacups) come in a wide variety of sizes and shapes, all of those identified in this collection are cylindrical (*tsutsu-gata*), similar to the one pictured in Figure 6. No teapots are present in this assemblage. Only one side dish was identified. This rim sherd exhibits the shallow profile typical of dishes and has a 14-cm diameter, placing it in the size range for a small *kozara*.



Figure 5. *Gohan chawan* (rice bowl) with soft *fukizumi* stencil carp and hand-painted details. Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Curation Facility at the University of California, Sacramento.



Figure 6. Cylindrical *yunomi*, or teacup, with transferprint landscape. Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Curation Facility at the University of California, Sacramento.

Only one sake-related form was found within the assemblage: a single *tokkuri* (decanter) sherd. At just four percent of the overall assemblage, sake-related forms are notably less frequent in this assemblage than in the Japanese Gulch or Tanaka Farmstead collections, which contain 14 and 18 percent respectively. It is possible that sake was a less frequent indulgence at George Shima's Camp 1 or that it was consumed in *yunomi*.

CA-SJO-208-H George Shima Camp 1 Decoration Types and Methods

Decoration on Japanese ceramics often differs by material type, as do application methods (Crueger et al. 2006:29). For this reason the following discussion addresses porcelains (*jiki* and *hanjiki*) separately from earthenware (*hajiki*) and stoneware (*sekki* and *tôki*). Table 10 summarizes the decorative types and application methods identified on porcelain sherds in the George Shima Camp 1 assemblage. Porcelain decoration is classified into eight general types. Six of these groups represent distinctive Japanese wares. These are “*Sometsuke Katagami* (Stencil Cobalt),” “*Sometsuke Dôban* (Transferprint Cobalt),” “*Iro Dôban* (Colored Transferprint),” “*Sometsuke* (Hand-painted Cobalt),” “*Iro-e Jiki* (Overglaze Enamel Porcelain),” and “*Siji* (Celadon).” Decoration that did not match the specifications of these six types was classified into the “Other” or “Undecorated” categories. All of the sherds in the “Undecorated” category are less than 2 in. (5 cm) in diameter. These sherds may represent entirely undecorated vessels, but their size leaves open the possibility that they may actually be undecorated portions of larger decorated vessels, especially considering that many of the vessels in this collection have large

Table 10. CA-SJO-208-H Porcelain (Jiki) Sherds by Decoration Type and Application.

Decoration Type	Decoration Application Method (Exterior/Interior)	Count of Sherds	Percent of Total
<i>Sometsuke Katagami</i> (Stencil Cobalt)	Paper Stencil (<i>Katagami</i>)/Paper Stencil (<i>Katagami</i>)	6	12
<i>Sometsuke Dôban</i> (Transferprint Cobalt)	Transferprinted (<i>Dôban</i>)/Undecorated	7	14
<i>Iro Dôban</i> (Colored Transferprint)	Transferprinted (<i>Dôban</i>)/Undecorated	11	23
<i>Sometsuke</i> (Hand-painted Cobalt)	Undecorated/Hand-painted (<i>Etsuke</i>)	1	2
<i>Iro-e Jiki</i> (Overglaze Enamel Porcelain)	Hand-painted (<i>Etsuke</i>)/Undecorated	1	2
<i>Seiji</i> (Celadon)	Colored Glaze (<i>Iroyu</i>)/Colored Glaze (<i>Iroyu</i>)	7	14
Other	Faceted (<i>Mentori</i>)/Undecorated	2	4
	Hand-painted (<i>Etsuke</i>)/Undecorated	4	8
	Ink Resist (<i>Sumi Hajiki</i>)/Undecorated	1	2
	Spatter Stencil (<i>Fukizumi</i>)/Undecorated	4	8
	Subtotal Other	11	23
Undecorated	Undecorated/Undecorated	5	10
	Grand Total	49	100

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. See Chapter 2 for decoration descriptions and Japanese language term references.

areas devoid of decoration. The “Other” category contains sherds that feature a mix of decorative methods, unusual applications, or identifiable decoration that doesn’t fit into one of the other categories.

Some of the earliest ceramics in this collection are likely the six sherds decorated in *sometsuke katagami*, or exclusively cobalt pigment applied through a paper stencil. These six sherds are thought to represent three individual vessels and all feature the same decorative pattern (Figure 7). Because one vessel has a slightly smaller rim diameter than the others and an inverted rather than everted rim, the set may be composed of several rice/soup bowls and a lid. These *chawan* have *katagami* on both interior and exterior surfaces. The interior contains a central medallion and a *kirin* (or *qilin*), a hooved creature that symbolizes good luck or prosperity in many Chinese and East Asian cultures. This decoration is interesting for several reasons. First, because *katagami* stenciling methods had largely been abandoned by the



Figure 7. *Katagami* stenciled bowl with a *kirin* in the central medallion. Three similarly decorated vessels occur in this collection. Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Curation Facility at the University of California, Sacramento.

occupation date of Camp 1 (Ross 2009a:156), suggesting that they were already falling out of fashion by the time the camp was occupied. Second, although a vessel with the same exterior pattern was among the Japanese ceramics recovered from Walnut Grove (Costello and Maniery 1988:57, Figure 70a), one of the experts I consulted felt that this vessel was more likely a Chinese product (Louise Allison Cort 2016, elec. comm.). On-going communications with ceramics museums in Seto, Japan, may clarify the latter issue.

Sometsuke dôban, or exclusively cobalt pigment applied through transferprint methods (see Figure 6) appears on 14 percent of the porcelain in this assemblage. A larger portion (23 percent) of the collection, however, features transferprint decoration in additional colors (Figure 8). Green is the most common transferprint color in this assemblage other than cobalt. This is significant because green transferprints did not reach peak popularity until the 1920s or 1930s (Leland Bibb 2015, elec. comm.; Louise Allison Cort 2016, elec. comm.). Unlike the *katagami* sherds, all of the transferprint in this collection is decorated on only one surface—the vessel exterior.

Sometsuke hand-painted under the glaze was identified on one porcelain sherd. This rim features a single hand-painted band on the interior and the distinctly shallow profile of a dish. A single porcelain example of *iro-e jiki*, or colored enamel painted over the glaze, also occurs in the collection. This sherd is likely from a *tokkuri* (sake decanter) and features a red-headed crane painted in black, red, and gold enamels as well as a white slip.



Figure 8. *Kobachi* (small bowl) decorated in cobalt, green, and brown transferprint *kaede* (maple) leaves under the glaze. Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Curation Facility at the University of California, Sacramento.

The assemblage also contains seven sherds of *seiji*, or wintergreen porcelain. These are likely from three bowls. *Seiji* glazes are frequently found on Japanese ceramics (Ross 2012:19), yet these are the only sherds identified in any of the collections I examined. The glaze on these sherds has a dull appearance and their paste contains multiple inclusions, suggesting that they are either low-grade *jiki* or perhaps *hanjiki*. Each vessel also includes a hand-painted mark on the base in the style of a seal or reign mark. In an elemental analysis of a sample of wintergreen glazes, Stenger (1993:325–330) suggests that many wintergreens identified as Chinese may have been manufactured in Japan; however, these results have not been substantiated by other studies and the vessels in this collection appear to match Chinese examples more closely than Japanese. Marks, paste, and glaze are similar to examples in Costello and Maniery (1988:35, Figure 4) and in the Asian American Comparative Collection (AACC) at the University of Idaho.

The final 23 percent of porcelain falls into the Other category. Four sherds in this category are hand-painted with cobalt and green or brown under the glaze which, like transferprints in these colors, indicate a manufacture date in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Other notable decorative techniques in this category include two sherds with incised bands (*senbori*) and four sherds of *fukizumi* stenciled ware (Figure 9).

In addition to the porcelain discussed above, the George Shima Camp 1 assemblage includes five sherds of vitrified stoneware (*sekki*) that are likely from two *yunomi* (teacups) (Figure 10). These *yunomi* are covered in an opaque slip, which exhibits crazing (*kannyu*) on one vessel



Figure 9. Cherry blossom, based on petal shape, formed by the void left by a stencil and *fukizumi*, or spattered pigment. This sherd is similar to vessels in Ross (2012:7, Figure 2) and Costello and Maniery (1988:77, Figure 114). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Curation Facility at the University of California, Sacramento.



Figure 10. Stoneware *yunomi* (teacup) decorated with opaque slip and hand-painted pine under a colorless glaze. This vessel may be from a small kiln in the Kyoto region. Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Curation Facility at the University of California, Sacramento.

(Simpson et al. 2014:71). Cobalt pine needles and iron-brown branches are hand-painted over the slip but under a colorless glaze. Though the original catalog describes these sherds as Chinese products, both experts I consulted agreed that they are “unproblematically” Japanese;

and Louise Cort, curator of Asian Art for the Smithsonian Museum's Freer and Sackler Galleries, suggests that they are stylistically reminiscent of the small stoneware workshops in the Kyoto region (Louise Allison Cort 2016, elec. comm.).

CA-SJO-208-H George Shima Camp 1 Marks

Nine different marks were identified in the CA-SJO-208-H George Shima Camp 1 assemblage. Figure 11 presents a representative sample of these. As illustrated in this figure, marks include two seal or reign marks (A), three possible potters' signatures or restaurant addresses (B, C, D, G), one export mark (F) and two examples of decorative marks (E, H). Two translators attempted to decipher each of these marks, but several marks are too incomplete or stylized to produce definitive results. Because of the profusion of Japanese potters using individualized marks during the Meiji and Taishô eras and the relative scarcity of comparative archaeological examples, my ability to find references for many of these marks was also limited. Hopefully future exchanges with ceramics museums in Seto can provide further information and sources for some marks.

The mark depicted in Figure 11-A is one of two such marks found on *seiji* (wintergreen) bowls in this collection. These rectangular marks are sometimes referred to as seal or reign marks, and are frequently found on Chinese wintergreen bowls in North America (Ross 2012:19). Although the examples in this collection proved too stylized to decipher, the one pictured in Figure 11-A closely resembles marks on bowls recovered from the Chinese section of Walnut Grove (Costello and Maniery 1988:34–35, Figure 4) and is an exact match to an example in the AACC (AACC no. 98–112). Both the pale green glaze and the somewhat thick and grainy porcelain of these bowls are reminiscent of wintergreen ceramics recovered at Chinese sites.

The marks pictured in Figure 11-B, 11-C, and 11-D all occur on vessel side walls. Although the mark in Figure 11-B is incomplete, more can be said about Figure 11-C and 11-D. The first of these translates to "*Kayama*" or "*Kazan*" (華山), a Japanese family name, and is followed by a stylized framed seal. The second is missing part of the seal but includes two characters that translate to "*Momokawa*" or "*Hyakusen*" (百川). These characters could also indicate a Japanese surname (Yuumi Danner 2016, elec. comm.) but according to Cort (2016, elec. comm.), more likely refer to restaurant names and locations.

The hand-painted mark in Figure 11-E is too incomplete to identify but the transferprint base mark in Figure 11-F is a known export mark. This mark features a *kikusui*, or chrysanthemum on water, and the English phrase "Trade Mark/Made in Japan." This mark also appears on a vessel in the Japanese Gulch Village collection (see Figure 21) and has been

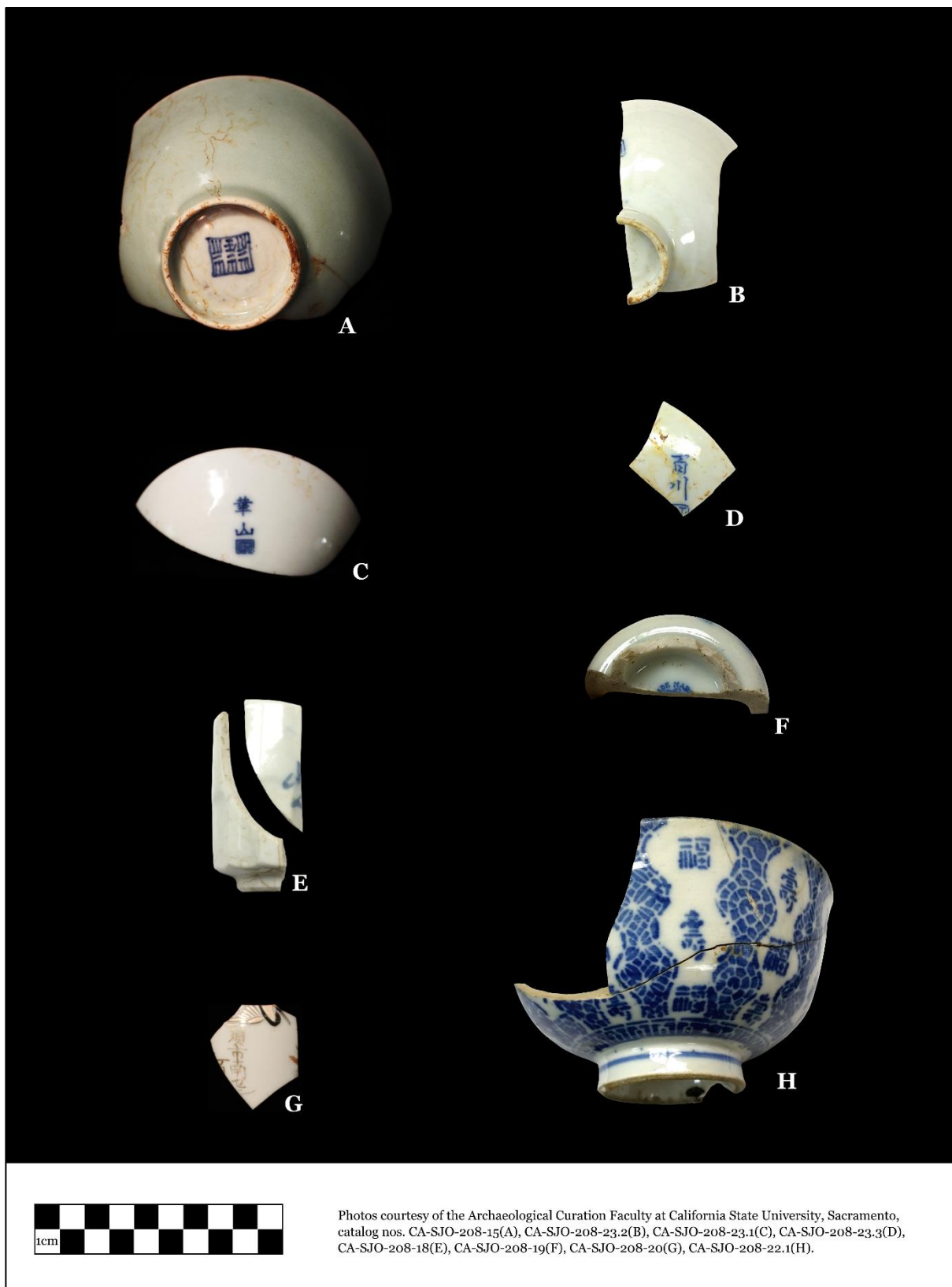


Figure 11. Decorative, export, and possible potters' marks identified within the CA-SJO-208-H George Shima Camp 1 assemblage.

found on Japanese ceramics recovered from archaeological sites in Vancouver, British Columbia; Bishop and Walnut Grove, California; Reward Mine, Arizona; and the Minidoka Relocation Center dump in Jerome, Idaho (Burton 2005:96; Costello et al. 2001:33–34; Costello and Maniery 1988:77,83; Ross 2012:25–26). This export mark was applied to wares made throughout Japan and was initially thought to indicate post-1921 manufacture, but Costello and Maniery's (1988:27) recovery of examples from pre-1915 deposits in Walnut Grove demonstrates that it was in use at least a decade prior than previously thought. One of the only well-documented marks on Japanese ceramics, it seems to have a wide geographic and temporal dispersal.

Figure 11-G shows a *tokkuri* (sake decanter) sherd with several characters in gold enamel. These characters are part of an address from which the beginning and ending characters are missing. The portion present reads "...*su-shi Minami Sen...*" (須南) (Yuumi Danner 2016, elec. comm.; Louise Allison Cort 2016, elec. comm.). Much like the marks in Figure 11-B, 11-C, and 11-D, this could indicate a restaurant ware. According to Cort (2016, elec. comm.), "sake bottles, teapots, teacups, and rice bowls were made to order for restaurants bearing their names and addresses. Sometimes they were given out to customers; sometimes the leftover pieces could have been sold cheaply." Like their European-American counterparts, these Japanese restaurant wares may have been an inexpensive way to supply labor camps.

The last vessel pictured in Figure 11 is one of three *katagami* bowls in the George Shima Camp 1 assemblage that feature the same decorative pattern. This vessel, a *gohan chawan*, or rice bowl, is the most complete example. The exterior has decorative characters that translate to "something to celebrate" and "good luck/fortune" (Yuumi Danner 2016, elec. comm.). These characters echo the symbolism of the *kirin* on the bowl's interior (see Figure 7) and would have made this vessel an appropriate item to be given as a gift (Wegars 1993:[1]).

Conclusions

Japanese-manufactured ceramics in the CA-SJO-208-H George Shima Camp 1 collection reveal several aspects of Issei daily life in the California Delta. Identifiable forms within the assemblage establish the predominance of individual place settings but include few sake-related items. Historical accounts of Shima's camps indicate that food was purchased and prepared in bulk by a camp cook. Meals were served in a dining hall and regularly consisted of rice and tea, sometimes accompanied by fish from local waterways, fresh or pickled vegetables, or stew (Maniery and Fryman 1993:38–40). Some Delta labor camps are known to have purchased kegs of sake and Japanese beer, while others were dry (Maniery and Fryman 1993:30; Iwata 1992:233–234). The combination of communal meals and isolation of camps may have limited

the number of vessels used to the most basic and versatile forms. Lister and Lister (1989:48), for example, found that in temporary labor contexts overseas Chinese often used just one bowl, sometimes interchangeably for food and drink. Yahachi Suzuki, an Issei farm laborer in Washington state in the early twentieth century, recounts limiting his possessions because of frequent migration, “I used an empty can for a cooking pan, and carried only chopsticks and a fork to eat with” (Ito 1973:425). That various *chawan* account for 88 percent of the George Shima Camp 1 assemblage probably indicates similar considerations and communal mealtime practices in the Delta.

Decoration on CA-SJO-208-H sherds span an array of types and application methods. Many represent common late nineteenth and early twentieth-century domestic Japanese wares, yet several examples of Chinese-manufactured wares and European American design elements also appear to be present. Three *seiji* bowls have characteristics of Chinese wintergreen (Thompson 1992:499). Cort (2016, elec. comm.) also suggests a Chinese origin for three *katagami* bowl sherds. Additionally, this assemblage includes a vessel with transferprint cornucopia elements. The bowl has a snake-eye recess (*janome*) on the base (Ross 2012:10) and is likely of Japanese manufacture. The imperfectly applied blue and green transfer suggests that this was not an expensive ware intended for export, but instead is an example of Western design elements incorporated onto Japanese domestic porcelain in the Taishō era.

More definitive connections to Japanese domestic ware are provided by marks in the George Shima Camp 1 collection. Possible restaurant marks on *chawan* and a *tokkuri* (sake decanter) suggest twentieth-century manufacture in the Seto or Mino area and two stoneware *yunomi* (teacups) have possible ties to the Kyoto region (Louise Allison Cort 2016, elec. comm.). Several vessels in this assemblage also have connections to local sources. Decoration and marks on the vessels pictured in Figure 7, Figure 9, Figure 11-A, and Figure 11-F are similar to archaeological ceramics recovered from Walnut Grove.

Transferprints and minimally-decorated *sometsuke* place manufacture ranges for a large portion of the collection within the late Meiji and Taishō eras, coinciding with the occupation dates of Camp 1. However, several *katagami* sherds may represent earlier Meiji era products. The combination of outdated styles, restaurant wares, and Chinese wintergreen bowls seem to point to expedient procurement of inexpensive vessels, while vessel forms may indicate communal dining practices, both of which are consistent with the isolation and mobility of temporary labor camps in the Delta.

Still talk with my hands,
 Though I'm years out of sawmills!
 Stubborn old habit. [Ryuka in Ito 1973:398]

Chapter 5. Japanese Gulch Village: Issei Sawmill Employees in Mukilteo, Washington, 1903–1928

Nearly 830 miles north of the California Delta, the Mukilteo sawmill was established in 1903. Named for the small community it neighbored, the original mill encompassed 20 acres of land overlooking Puget Sound and consisted of a sawmill, planing mill, and dry kilns. These facilities produced up to 200,000 board feet of rough green lumber a day that, because of an adjacent deep-water channel, could be exported by cargo ship directly from the sawmill (Kaiser 1990:1–4). In 1909 the mill changed hands, becoming the Crown Lumber Company. Under new management, the company added a gang mill, increased production to 225,000 board feet per day, and began producing surfaced lumber for East Coast markets (Kaiser 1990:1–4). These additions made the Crown Lumber Company one of the largest sawmill facilities on the West Coast, producing over 1.7 billion feet of lumber before it closed in 1930 (Kaiser 1990:1,17).

From the beginning, it was clear that sawmill operations would require more labor than was available in the burgeoning town of Mukilteo and like many other Pacific Northwest sawmills in the early 1900s, the Mukilteo Lumber Company turned to labor contracting as a way to fill out its workforce. Although the local European American community and some Everett labor unions tried to pressure mill management not to hire Japanese labor, by 1905 the mill employed 150 Issei laborers. Testimony of former Japanese Gulch Village residents suggest labor contractors were responsible for recruiting many of these early employees. For example, Lorette Matsuoka, whose father was hired as a bunkhouse cook in 1910, recalls that bunkhouse residents were contracted as a group from an agricultural area of Japan (Matsuoka 2007:[2]). Another former resident Sawano Makai suggests that as many as sixty residents were from the same town in Wakayama Prefecture (White et al. 2009:66). This recruitment of large groups of laborers from a single area is characteristic of labor contracting.

By the time the mill became the property of Crown Lumber in 1909, labor contracting had begun to decline (Ichioka 1988:71–72; White et al. 2009:10–12). Issei who arrived in Japanese Gulch after 1908, therefore, were more likely to have been recruited by personal contacts already employed at the mill. This was the case for Mas Odoi's father, who came to Mukilteo to join an older brother working at the sawmill (Odoi 2007:[12]). Compared to the harsh

conditions faced by Issei working in isolated railroad camps or as migrant agricultural laborers in California, Pacific Northwest sawmills tended to offer a degree of stability. This relative stability, which allowed some workers to bring additional family members from Japan, along with the higher wages of the lumber industry, tended to attract Issei from other Pacific Northwest industries and from California (Dillingham 1910; Ito 1973:412).

While most of the approximately 100 European American Crown Lumber Company employees lived in the town of Mukilteo, Issei employees and their families lived in the segregated community of Japanese Gulch Village (Figure 12) (Kaiser 1990:3-4; White et al. 2009:10-12). This village was located in a steep-sided drainage carved by Japanese Creek as it passed through mill property. A central plank-and-dirt road ran adjacent to this drainage, around which employees constructed a number of buildings, including unpainted, one-story family homes; a dormitory-style bunk house for single male laborers; a community hall; a boys' club; and a playground (Kaiser 1990:23-25; White et al. 2009:14-15,54).



Figure 12. Japanese Gulch Village at the base of the ravine. Two boys stand along the central plank road. Photo courtesy of the Mukilteo Historical Society, photo no. 2000.499.005.

The “Ideal Japanese Sawmill Camp:” Historical Accounts of Life in Japanese Gulch Village

Although *Issei* worked long hours at the Crown Lumber Company and in positions that were often underpaid, physically demanding, and dangerous, accounts of life in Japanese Gulch Village generally describe this community as one of relative freedoms. This reputation was a source of pride for Odoi, who was born in family housing in 1921 and remembers others referring to Japanese Gulch as “the ideal Japanese sawmill camp in the whole Northwest,” largely because residents were allowed to elect their own bookman (Odoi 2007:[6]). Bookmen, common features of Japanese labor groups, acted as the liaison between *Issei* and management. They served as a communal representative in all matters related to labor recruitment, job assignments, working conditions, company housing, food supplies, and pay (Kaiser 1990:23; Ito 1973:397). Tokuichi Maeda, a sawmill employee between 1910 and the late 1920s, describes working in other sawmills under power-hungry or domineering bookmen as an oppressive experience compared to Crown Lumber (Ito 1973:397). His account demonstrates the impact of bookmen in labor communities, and suggests that democratically electing a bookman had far-reaching effects on communal well-being in Japanese Gulch Village.

This emphasis on well-being seems to have been reinforced through a variety of options for purchasing food and goods. According to oral histories, Japanese Gulch families had the option of ordering food from regional merchants, purchasing items locally from the community- or company-run store, and many people fished, gathered clams and seaweed, and grew their own vegetables (Matsuoka 2007:[3,13–14]; Odoi 2007:[1, 7–8]). Because the Great Northern Railroad passed by the village, additional supplies could be purchased from nearby cities. A depot was located adjacent to the lumberyard, and daily service connected Mukilteo with Everett, a 15-minute ride to the north, and Seattle, an hour ride to the south (Ito 1973:396–397; Kaiser 1990:31). Shigagero Tanabe, the bunkhouse cook, took this train once a month to purchase supplies for the bunkhouse and for a small store that he operated within the village (Matsuoka 2007:17). Some accounts also suggest that *Issei* obtained alcohol from Japanese boats that moored alongside the Crown Lumber wharf when loading lumber. This practice appears not to have been limited to *Issei* employees and, at least during Prohibition, accounts indicate European American employees also took advantage of the opportunity to purchase illegal alcohol (Ito 1973:396; Kaiser 1990:11,24). All of these options were likely refreshing for *Issei* who had worked in other circumstances such as rural railroad camps where meals were notoriously monotonous and access to goods limited.

Local stores did not offer Japanese products, so Japanese Gulch residents often purchased food and household items from regional import companies (Matsuoka 2007:[13–14]; Odoi 2007:[7]; Ito 1973:397–398,399). According to former village resident Masa Fujie, salesmen from the M. Furuya Company and Asia Company, both in Seattle, visited the village at least once a month (Ito 1973:399). The M. Furuya Company was one of the largest Japanese import/export companies in the Pacific Northwest and catered specifically to Japanese communities. A partial list of goods available through this company from a 1919–1920 export trade directory includes tablewares, Japanese and Chinese cotton, personal hygiene products, rice, beans, tea, potato flour, and other foods (Hough 1919–1920:306). Ordering from the Furuya Company provided village residents with familiar Japanese goods, but also relied on communal pooling of resources to order in bulk. These orders were a cooperative effort because, as Mas Odoi remembers, “If the men came to take their orders, they wanted to give them something to make it worth his while” (Odoi 2007:[22]).

Although most recollections of Japanese Gulch Village emphasize that Issei maintained a relatively good relationship with their non-Japanese neighbors, life in the village was not without conflict. Several newspaper articles from 1904 mention hostility toward Japanese millworkers in Mukilteo (*Idaho Statesman* 1904:1; *Morning Olympian* 1904:3). One article reports uncovering a plot to dynamite Japanese Gulch Village (*Idaho Statesman* 1904:1) and former residents remember Everett labor union organizers or their supporters attempting to attack the village one night, even firing several shots in the direction of Japanese Gulch. Mukilteo Lumber Company officials did not let these incidents change their hiring practices, however; instead they purchased guns to arm Issei community members (Ito 1973:396–399; White et al. 2009:64).

Later, ordering from out-of-town salesmen became a point of contention. In 1910, the Sea View Improvement Club of Mukilteo sent several petitions to the Crown Lumber offices requesting that the Japanese workforce be replaced by “white” labor. An editorial in the February 18 *Labor Journal* of Everett, Washington, outlined the complaints against Japanese Gulch Village, which included concerns about labor competition, community prosperity, and even the possibility of Japanese spies. Prominent among these was the accusation that Japanese Gulch residents did not contribute to the local economy by shopping at local stores (*Labor Journal* 1910). Maeda remembers Mukilteo store owners complaining that merchants from Seattle and Tacoma took local business but did not pay local taxes. According to Maeda, village residents responded by purchasing more of their supplies locally, and “the anti-Japanese

atmosphere gradually cleared” (Ito 1973:397–398). This story is echoed in accounts by Fujie and Odoi (Odoi 2007:[7]; Ito 1973:399). Odoi (2007:[7]), in particular, notes that village members “went through some pains to build a good relationship” by patronizing the Mukilteo stores. These accounts illustrate some of the deliberate choices and shifting consumption patterns that structured daily life in this community.

Previous Archaeological Investigations at Japanese Gulch Village

Archaeological materials related to Japanese Gulch Village were first discovered in March of 2006. The resource was recorded as an intact trash deposit bisected by a property boundary. In 2007, deposits on one land parcel were threatened by a construction project (White et al. 2009:1–5). NWAA was contracted to perform site-evaluation excavations on both portions of the site and data recovery excavations on the portion threatened by construction. Because property ownership divided the site, however, the single resource was given two designations: 45-SN-398A and 45-SN-398B. NWAA’s combined investigations recovered a total of 8,405 artifacts (White et al. 2009:1–5). Report authors describe these materials as domestic refuse from the former Japanese Gulch Village that had been secondarily deposited in an industrial area of the Crown Lumber Company mill. Although not in their original context and disturbed by demolition of the mill, NWAA found these deposits to be significant based on their association with Japanese Gulch Village, and recommended the site for listing on the NRHP (White et al. 2009:20–21,51,67). This recommendation, along with the results of archaeological excavations, historical research, and oral histories are summarized in White et al. (2009). Archaeological materials recovered from the 45-SN-398B portion of the site are currently curated at the Burke Museum.

Reanalysis of Japanese Ceramics in the 45-SN-398B Japanese Gulch Village Assemblage

My reanalysis of the 45-SN-398B Japanese Gulch Village assemblage identified 194 ceramic sherds likely to be of Japanese manufacture. Basic attributes of these sherds are summarized in Table 11 through Table 13. As illustrated by Table 11, the assemblage is dominated by porcelain but also includes 11 earthenware and stoneware sherds. Although only a small portion of the overall assemblage (8 percent), this number is perhaps unusually high—it is over twice the total count of these wares in the Tanaka Farmstead or George Shima Labor Camp 1 collections.

Table 12 is intended to estimate of the degree of fragmentation in the assemblage. This table reveals that nearly 85 percent of sherds have a maximum diameter of 3 in. (7.6 cm) and no sherds have a diameter greater than 5 in. (12.7 cm). Table 13 summarizes vessel portions

Table 11. Material Type of Sherds in the 45-SN-398B Japanese Gulch Village Assemblage.

Material Type	Count of Sherds	Percent of Total
Earthenware (<i>Hajiki</i>)	1	2
Porous Stoneware (<i>Tôki</i>)	5	2
Vitrified Stoneware (<i>Sekki</i>)	5	3
Subtotal Stoneware	10	5
Half Porcelain (<i>Hanjiki</i>)	4	2
Porcelain (<i>Jiki</i>)	178	92
Subtotal Porcelain	182	94
Indeterminate	1 ^a	1
Grand Total	194	100

^a Paste was burned and type could not be determined.

Table 12. Size Class of Sherds in the 45-SN-398B Japanese Gulch Village Assemblage.

Size Class	Count of Sherds	Percent of Total
Maximum 1 in. diameter	31	16
Maximum 2 in. diameter	72	37
Maximum 3 in. diameter	58	30
Maximum 4 in. diameter	22	11
Maximum 5 in. diameter	11	6
Maximum 6 in. diameter	-	0
Grand Total	194	100

Table 13. Attributes of Sherds in The 45-SN-398B Japanese Gulch Village Assemblage.

Attributes of Sherds	Count of Sherds	Percent of Sherds
Vessel Is Complete	0	0
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Rim (<i>kôen</i>)	114	59
Rim Diameter Was Measured	86	44
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Base (<i>soko</i>)	82	42
Base Diameter Was Measured	18	9
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Footring (<i>kôdai</i>)	60	31
Footring Was Measured	54	28
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Body (<i>dô</i>)	144	74
Vessel Height Was Measured	42	22

Note: If a vessel footring could be measured, the base diameter was usually omitted, resulting in the lower percentage of measured bases. Because sherds often contained multiple measurable attributes, percentages do not add up to 100. Japanese vessel portion terms from Simpson et al. 2014:55.

represented by the sherds in the assemblage. The majority are partial body or rim fragments, while between a half and just under a third of the assemblage includes bases or footrings. Just because these portions of a vessel were present, however, did not mean that they were complete enough to accurately measure. For example, in order to determine vessel height, a sherd has to include portions of both the base and rim. The relative rarity of this is reflected by the fact that height could be determined for just 22 percent of sherds. Rims were the most frequently measured attribute, but even these could only be determined under half of the time. The data indicate that the assemblage has experienced a moderate to high degree of fragmentation.

45-SN-398B Japanese Gulch Village Forms

The sherds in this assemblage represent a minimum of 58 vessels. As demonstrated by Table 14, the majority of these are table or sake wares but the assemblage also contains one *suribachi*, or grinding bowl, and 13 unidentified vessels. These unidentified vessels, assigned to the Indeterminate category, represent approximately one-fifth of the overall collection. Eighty-three percent of indeterminate sherds measure less than 2 in. (5 cm) in diameter and 36 percent are body sherds with no rim or base present.

The vessels in Table 14 include a broad cross section of forms and 17 of the 22 (77 percent) form categories included in my classification system. This variety suggests access to an array of Japanese ceramics and supports historical accounts describing the multiple purchasing options available to Issei living in Japanese Gulch Village. Tablewares are the most prevalent ceramics, accounting for 62 percent of the total assemblage. While bowls are the dominate forms, specific types of bowls indicate a diversity of uses. This is particularly true for *chawan*. These versatile and frequently-used vessels make up over half the tableware assemblage. Of these, *goshan chawan*, or rice bowls, are the most frequent specific form, accounting for 44 percent of *chawan* and 41 percent of bowls overall. Other *chawan* include at least two *yunomi* (teacups) and two *futa* (bowl lids) (Figure 13). These bowl lids were the only ones identified in any collection. This assemblage also contains the only *soba choko* identified (Figure 14). *Soba choko*, recognizable by their distinctive shape, are intended to hold sauce for cold noodles (Costello et al. 2001:36).

Of four identified dishes, two are within the size range for *kozara* (small dishes), and one is likely a *mamezara* (Figure 15). *Mamezara* are very small dishes traditionally used for condiments or sweets (Walter 2012:128). The *mamezara* in this collection has a greyish-white paste that appears consistent with *hanjiki*, a material type described by the Japanese ceramics industry as a low-grade porcelain that is fired at lower temperatures than true porcelain (Crueger et al. 2006:285-287).

Table 14. Japanese-Manufactured Ceramic Vessel Forms in The 45-SN-398B Collection.

Category	Type	Form	Count of MNV	Percent of Total	
Tablewares					
	Bowls	<i>Chawan</i>	Small Bowl (<i>kobachi</i>)	-	-
			Pickle Bowl (<i>namasu-zara</i>)	-	-
		Rice Bowl (<i>gohan chawan</i>)	11	19	
		Bowl Lid (<i>futa</i>)	2	3	
		Teacup (<i>yunomi</i>)	2	3	
		Indeterminate Bowl (<i>chawan</i>)	10	17	
		Large Soup Bowl (<i>donburi</i>)	-	-	
		Cold Noodle Cup (<i>soba choko</i>)	2	3	
			Subtotal Bowls	2	3
		Dish/plate	Large Dish/Plate (<i>hirabachi</i>)	-	-
	Medium Dish/Plate (<i>nakazara</i>)		-	-	
	Small Dish/Plate (<i>kozara</i>)		2	3	
	Sauce Dish/Plate (<i>mamezara</i>)		1	2	
	Indeterminate Dish/Plate		1	2	
		Subtotal Dish/Plates	4	7	
	Teapots	Teapot (<i>dobin</i>)	1	2	
		Teapot (<i>kyûsu</i>)	1	2	
		Indeterminate Teapot	3	5	
		Subtotal Teapots	5	9	
		Subtotal Mealtime	36	62	
Sake Wares					
	Cups	Large Sake Cup (<i>guinomi</i>)	-	-	
		Small Sake Cup (<i>ochoko</i>)	1	2	
		Indeterminate Sake Cup (<i>sakazuki</i>).	4	7	
		Subtotal Sake Cups	5	9	
	Decanters	Sake Decanter (<i>kampin tokkuri</i>)	-	-	
		Sake Decanter (<i>sorori tokkuri</i>)	1	2	
		Indeterminate Sake Decanter (<i>tokkuri</i>)	2	3	
		Subtotal Sake Decanters	3	5	
		Subtotal Sake	8	14	
Indeterminate Wares					
	Indeterminate	Indeterminate Hollow	10	17	
		Indeterminate Flat	-	-	
		Indeterminate	3	5	
		Subtotal Indeterminate	3	5	
Other Vessels					
Kitchen Wares	Cooking	Grinding Bowl (<i>suribachi</i>)	1	2	
Grand Total			58	100	

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. See Chapter 2 for form descriptions and Japanese language term references.

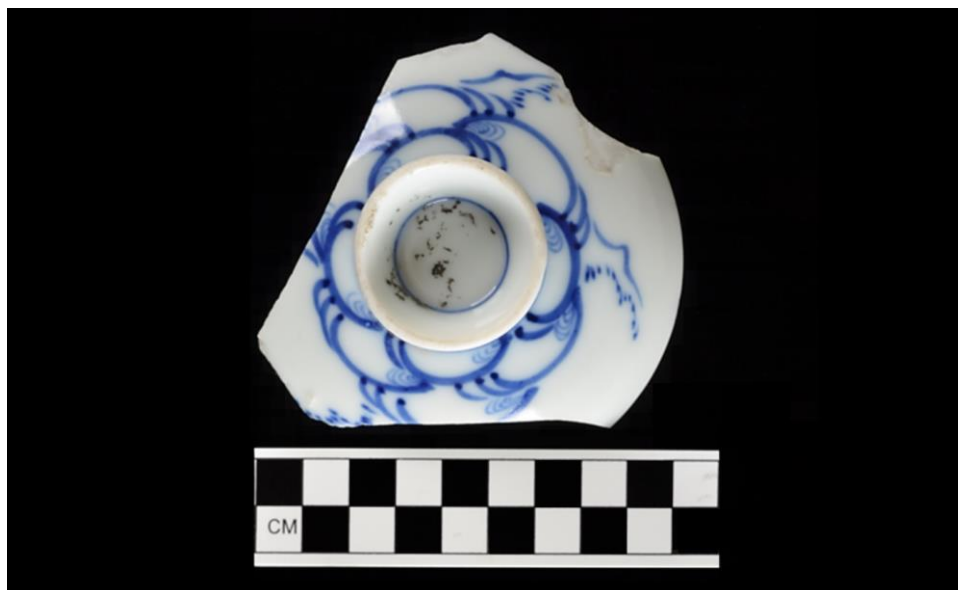


Figure 13. *Futa*, or bowl lid, with *sometsuke* decoration that may represent abstracted fish circling footring. Photo courtesy of the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, catalog no. 45SN398B/2007/234], US Air Force Collection, held in trust at the Burke Museum, Seattle, WA.



Figure 14. *Soba choko* (cold noodle cup) fragments with green and pink transferprint, which likely dates this vessel to the 1920s or 1930s (Leland Bibb 2015, elec. comm.). Photo courtesy of the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, catalog no. 45SN398B/2007/1692, US Air Force Collection, held in trust at the Burke Museum, Seattle, WA.



Figure 15. *Mamezara*, or sauce dish, sherds (refit), likely made of *hanjiki*. Photo courtesy of the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, catalog no. 45SN398B/2007/232, US Air Force Collection, held in trust at the Burke Museum, Seattle, WA.



Figure 16. Fragment of a *kyûsu* teapot handle. Photo courtesy of the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, catalog no. 45SN398B/2007/270. US Air Force Collection, held in trust at the Burke Museum, Seattle, WA.

Five teapots complete the tableware assemblage. At least one of these is a *dobin* and one is a *kyûsu*. The *dobin* was identifiable by its rounded body shape, and the *kyûsu* by its characteristic projecting handle (Figure 16). Sake cups and sake decanters are also relatively frequent within this assemblage, indicating that Japanese Gulch residents consumed sake, either before or during

Prohibition. These vessels proved difficult to identify to specific forms because of their fragmentation, but at least one sake cup falls within the size range for an *ochoko* (small sake cup). The small size of this *ochoko* points to it having been used exclusively for sake (Leland Bibb 2015, elec. comm.).

45-SN-398B Japanese Gulch Village Decoration Types and Methods

Table 15 presents decorative types and methods identified on 45-SN-398B Japanese Gulch Village porcelains. Because decoration methods often differ according to material type, the following discussion addresses porcelain (*jiki* and *hanjiki*) separately from stoneware (*tôki* and *sekki*) and earthenware (*hajiki*). Japanese Gulch Village porcelains contain decorative types from all eight categories. The majority fall into five main categories (*Sometsuke Katagami*, *Sometsuke Dôban*, *Iro Dôban*, Hand-painted *Sometsuke*, and *Iro-e Jiki*) that broadly encompass the most prevalent technological and stylistic approaches of the Meiji (1868–1912), Taishô (1912–1926), and Early Shôwa (1926–1945) eras.

Sometsuke decoration, applied through stenciling, transferprinting, or hand painting, appeared on the majority of domestic porcelain during the Meiji and early Taishô eras (Costello et al. 2001:32). These three types of *sometsuke* are also the most frequent decorative types in the 45-SN-398B assemblage, accounting for just over 70 percent of porcelain sherds. The earliest ceramics in the collection are likely those classified as *sometsuke katagami*. These three sherds represent one vessel: a *chawan* of indeterminate size. This *chawan* has *katagami* on the interior and exterior of the vessel. The interior contains a central medallion with depictions of *Sho Chiku Bai*, or the three friends of winter (pine, bamboo, and plum) and a pendant *yoraku* rim. Because *katagami* stenciling methods were largely abandoned by the early twentieth century (Ross 2009a:156), the relatively small amount of *katagami* (two percent of porcelain) compared with transferprinted sherds (36 percent of porcelain) indicates that the majority of the 45-SN-398B collection dates to the later Meiji after this shift had taken place. *Sometsuke dôban* (transferprint cobalt) decoration was identified on just over one fifth of the sherds in this assemblage. The majority of these have transferprinted exteriors and undecorated interiors, but several have decoration on both surfaces. Sherds of two small dishes (*kozara*) feature cobalt transferprint interiors and hand-painted bands on their exteriors.

An additional 12 percent of the assemblage exhibits transferprint designs in colors other than cobalt (*iro dôban*). All of these sherds are decorated only on the exterior. One sake cup (*sakazuki*) features green transferprint and hand-painted bands on the exterior; the rest contain only transferprint decoration. Green was the most common transferprint color (see Figure 14)

Table 15. 45-SN-398B Porcelain (*Jiki* and *Hanjiki*) Sherds by Decoration Type and Application.

Decoration Type	Decoration Application Method (Exterior/Interior)	Count of Sherds	Percent of Total
<i>Sometsuke Katagami</i> (Stencil Cobalt)			
	<i>Katagami</i> (Paper Stencil)/ <i>Katagami</i> (Paper Stencil)	3	2
<i>Sometsuke Dôban</i> (Transferprint Cobalt)			
	<i>Etsuke</i> (Hand-painted)/ <i>Dôban</i> (Transferprinted)	1	<1
	<i>Dôban</i> (Transferprinted)/ <i>Dôban</i> (Transferprinted)	3	2
	<i>Dôban</i> and <i>Etsuke</i> (Transferprinted and Hand-painted)/Undecorated	5	3
	<i>Dôban</i> (Transferprinted)/Undecorated	34	19
	Undecorated/ <i>Dôban</i> (Transferprinted)	1	<1
	Subtotal <i>Sometsuke Dôban</i>	44	24
<i>Iro Dôban</i> (Colored Transferprint)			
	<i>Dôban</i> (Transferprinted)/Undecorated	20	11
	<i>Dôban</i> and <i>Etsuke</i> (Transferprinted and Hand-painted)/Undecorated	1	<1
	Subtotal <i>Iro Dôban</i>	21	12
<i>Sometsuke</i> (Hand-painted Cobalt)			
	<i>Etsuke</i> (Hand-painted)/ <i>Etsuke</i> (Hand-painted)	2	1
	<i>Etsuke</i> (Hand-painted)/Undecorated	56	31
	Undecorated/ <i>Etsuke</i> (Hand-painted)	2	1
	Subtotal <i>Sometsuke</i>	60	33
<i>Iro-e Jiki</i> (Overglaze Enamel Porcelain)			
	<i>Etsuke</i> (Hand-painted)/Undecorated	4	2
	Undecorated/ <i>Etsuke</i> (Hand-painted)	2	1
	Subtotal <i>Iro-e Jiki</i>	6	3
Other			
	<i>Chôka</i> (Carved)/Undecorated	1	<1
	<i>Etsuke</i> (Hand-painted)/ <i>Etsuke</i> (Hand-painted)	1	<1
	<i>Etsuke</i> (Hand-painted)/ <i>Sumi Hajiki</i> (Ink Resist)	1	<1
	<i>Etsuke</i> (Hand-painted)/Undecorated	3	2
	<i>Dôban</i> (Transferprinted)/Washed	1	<1
	Undecorated/ <i>Iroyu</i> (Colored Glaze)	1	<1
	Undecorated/ <i>Etsuke</i> (Hand-painted)	2	1
	Washed/Undecorated	1	<1
	Washed/Washed	1	<1
	Subtotal Other	12	7
Indeterminate			
	Indeterminate/Undecorated	1	<1
Undecorated			
	Undecorated/Undecorated	35	19
Grand Total		182	100

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. See Chapter 2 for decoration descriptions and Japanese language term references.

followed by cobalt blue, which appeared on approximately half of these sherds in combination with another color. Pink and brown comprise the rest of the transferprint colors. The presence of green transferprints point to a production date in the 1920s or 1930s (Ross 2009a:156, 2012:8; Leland Bibb 2015, elec. comm.).

Hand-painted *sometsuke* makes up nearly one third of the porcelain assemblage and the largest decorative category. Although hand-painted *sometsuke* appeared on porcelains throughout the Meiji, its popularity on domestic wares rose around the beginning of the Taishô era as part of a stylistic movement that promoted simplicity and traditional decorative elements (Bibb 2013:[11–12]; Stitt 1974:50–51). Much of the hand-painted *sometsuke* in the 45-SN-398B assemblage appears to reflect this restrained aesthetic, often featuring abstracted decorative elements (see Figure 13) or sometimes merely cobalt bands. The vast majority of hand-painted sherds have decoration only on the exterior, but several have decoration on both surfaces. This includes two sherds with hand-painted bands on both surfaces and several sherds of an indeterminate-sized dish with *sometsuke* bamboo elements on the interior surface (Figure 17).

The last of the five main decorative types is composed of a small collection of *iro-e jiki*, or enameled porcelain. These make up approximately three percent of porcelain sherds and are easily distinguished by their multicolored enamels applied over the glaze (Crueger et al. 2006:288; Gorham 1971:94–97). Many of the most popular export ceramics, particularly in the early Meiji, featured this type of decoration, although many domestic vessels also featured *iro-e jiki* decoration. Unfortunately, none of the sherds in this collection were large enough to determine an overall pattern or indicate a likely export vs. domestic market.

Roughly 25 percent of the assemblage falls into the Undecorated or Other categories. The majority (94 percent) of the sherds in the Undecorated category are less than 2 in. (5 cm) in diameter. Although these sherds may represent entirely undecorated vessels, their size leaves open the possibility that they may also represent undecorated portions of larger decorated vessels. Particularly during the Taishô era, minimally decorated wares often included large areas without applied pigments. The Other Category contains sherds that feature a mix of decorative methods, unusual applications, or that are so small as to hinder identification of an overall type. Several of the notable vessels within this category are a rice bowl decorated only with incised horizontal bands (*senbori*) and a small dish (*kozara*) with hand-painted pink and cobalt maple leaves that have veins created through an ink resist (*sumi hajiki*) technique (Figure 18).

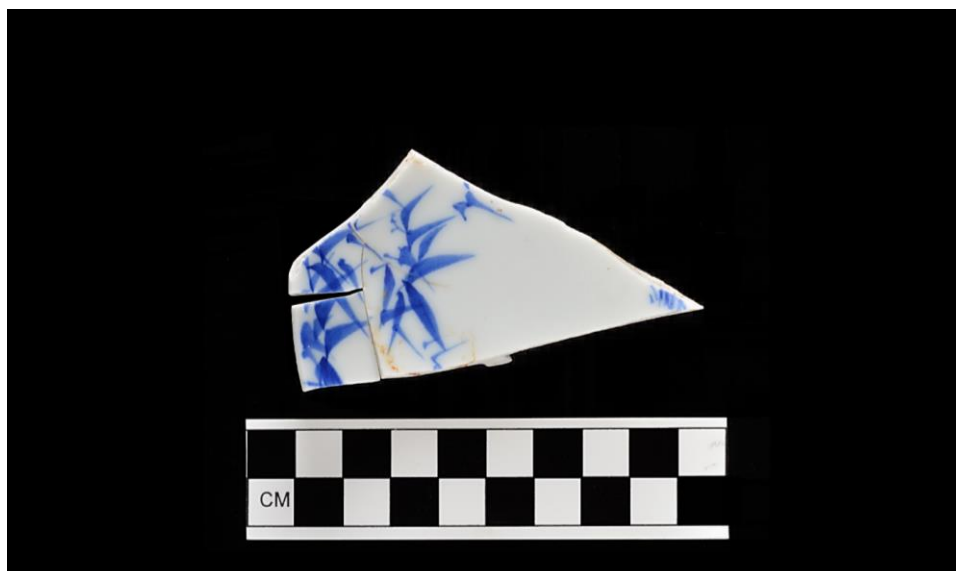


Figure 17. *Sometsuke* dish (unknown rim diameter) with hand-painted bamboo (*take*) on interior surface. Photo courtesy of the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, catalog no. 45SN398B/2007/222, US Air Force Collection, held in trust at the Burke Museum, Seattle, WA.



Figure 18. *Kozara* (small dish) with hand-painted maple leaves and resist (*sumi hajiki*) veins. This dish contains a pontil-like cone in the center of its footring called a 'helmet foot' or *tokin kôdai*. Photo courtesy of the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, catalog no. 45SN398B/2007/236, US Air Force Collection, held in trust at the Burke Museum, Seattle, WA.

Table 16 reveals that hand-painted elements, colored glazes, and slip dipping were the most common decorative techniques identified on non-porcelain sherds. Japanese stonewares and earthenwares are less frequently recovered from archaeological sites than porcelains and so are

Table 16. 45-SN-398B Earthenware (*Hajiki*) and Stoneware (*Tôki* and *Sekki*) Sherds by Decoration Type and Application.

Decoration Type	Decoration Application Method (Exterior/Interior)	Count of Sherds
Earthenwares (<i>Hajiki</i>)		
Other	Colored Glaze (<i>Iroyu</i>)/Undecorated	1
Stonewares (<i>Tôki</i> and <i>Sekki</i>)		
Slip Dipped (<i>Kohiki</i>)	Undecorated/Slip-Dipped (<i>Kohiki</i>)	2
Other	Colored Glaze (<i>Iroyu</i>)/Colored Glaze (<i>Iroyu</i>)	2
	Hand-painted (<i>Etsuke</i>)/Colored Glaze (<i>Iroyu</i>)	3
	Hand-painted (<i>Etsuke</i>)/Indeterminate	1
	Hand-painted (<i>Etsuke</i>)/Undecorated	1
Undecorated	Undecorated/Undecorated	1
Grand Total		11

Note: See Chapter 2 for decoration descriptions and Japanese language term references.

rarely discussed in archaeological literature. These vessels within the 45-SN-398B collection, therefore provide an opportunity to contribute to this limited knowledge. Although consisting of only 11 sherds and just 16 percent of the overall assemblage, stoneware and earthenware decorative styles establish several important geographic and temporal connections. The decorative methods used on these sherds are also quite different from those most frequently found on porcelains, and offer further evidence of the variety of decorative techniques being used in the Meiji and Taishô eras.

This variety is exemplified by two stoneware teapot fragments. One is a complete lid, made of a grey-bodied *sekki* (stoneware) and decorated in overlapping splashes of yellow, brown, blue, green, and grey lead glazes (Figure 19). This decorative technique, inspired by Chinese Qing-dynasty glazes and the three-color glaze of Tang China, was popular at various kilns in Kyushu (Cort 2000:252). The vibrant character of this lid is in contrast to the more neutral tones of a second teapot, depicted in Figure 20. This sherd has a porous paste, described as *tôki*, a type of stoneware (Cort 2000:230; Louise Allison Cort 2016, elec. comm.). The interior is left undecorated and unglazed and the exterior is dipped in white slip (*kohiki*) then hand-painted with splotches of copper-green glaze and an iron-brown linear landscape, all under a colorless glaze.

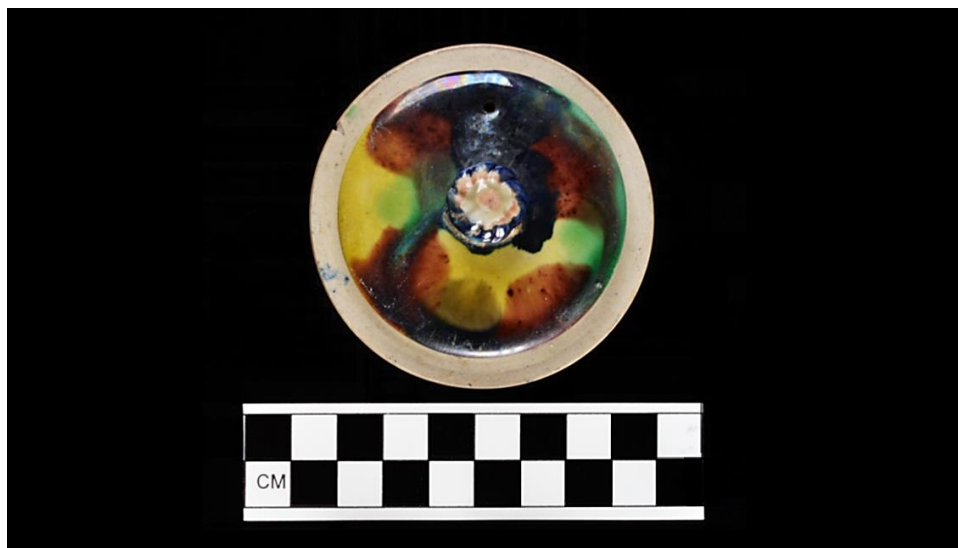


Figure 19. *Hirabuta* (flat lid), likely for a teapot, decorated with colorful lead glazes, which were popular at various kilns in Kyushu. Photo courtesy of the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, catalog no. 45SN398B/2007/254. US Air Force Collection, held in trust at the Burke Museum, Seattle, WA.



Figure 20. Rim sherd of *sansui dobin*, or landscape teapot, likely produced in Shigaraki or Mashiko. Photo courtesy of the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, catalog no. 45SN398B/2007/1605. US Air Force Collection, held in trust at the Burke Museum, Seattle, WA.

According to Louise Cort, Ceramics Curator for the Freer and Sackler Smithsonian Museums of Asian Art (2016, elec. comm.), the decorative style of this sherd can be traced to one of two late nineteenth to early twentieth-century pottery centers: either the Koyama village in the Shigaraki region or the Mashiko pottery village in the northern Kantô region. The potteries of Koyama specialize in teapots, which are made of a local coarse-grained clay that gives their unglazed

interiors a desirable porosity. The most iconic teapot style from this area was the *sansui dobin*, or landscape teapot, which was “dipped in white slip and decorated in iron brown and copper green with fanciful, abbreviated landscapes, using various arrangements of the elements of mountains” (Cort 2000:230). These teapots were widely distributed on the domestic market and became an iconic favorite of *Mingei* co-founder Yanagi Sōetsu in the 1920s and 1930s (Brandt 1996; Cort 2000:230). A similar style teapot was also a specialty of the Mashiko Village in the late Meiji era, and may have been introduced to the area by potters relocating from Koyama (Louise Allison Cort 2016, elec. comm.). The decorative style of these teapots is exemplified by the work of Minagawa Masu, who traveled to various workshops throughout Mashiko and specialized in painting the brown and green linear landscapes characteristic of this style. Examples of her work are captured in a 1934 film by Bernard Leach and look strikingly similar to the sherd in this collection (Gross 1984).

45-SN-398B Japanese Gulch Village Marks

Just eleven vessels in the 45-SN-398B Japanese Gulch Village collection contained marks. These include two decorative marks and seven different export or possible potters’ marks, two of which appear twice within the assemblage. Figure 21 presents a selection of the most complete marks. As illustrated in this figure, most are hand-painted (21-A, 21-B, 21-C, 21-E, 21-F, and 21-H) and many are heavily stylized (21-A, 21-B, 21-C, and 21-F) or incomplete (21-A, 21-C, 21-D, and 21-H). As a result, my attempts to translate, identify, or date these have been only moderately successful.

The mark depicted on the *chawan* in Figure 21-A is likely incomplete but the portion present translates to *Arashi-yama* (嵐山), which is both a place and a family name. The district of Arashiyama is located on the outskirts of western Kyoto, and shares its name with a nearby mountain (Yuumi Danner 2016, elec. comm.). This mark perhaps suggests manufacture in this district or by a potter of the same name. Marks B and C occur on cup bases and are somewhat stylized. The mark in Figure 21-B could not be translated, but the character in Figure 21-C is likely *kaze/fu* (風) or wind.

Figure 21-D shows the only non-porcelain mark. Because not all of the lines in this mark are deeply incised, however, this character is likely incomplete and neither translator could decipher it. This small, porous stoneware (*tōki*) cup has an everted rim and is likely a sake cup (*sakazuki*). The exterior is unglazed and undecorated; the interior is coated in a white slip that exhibits crazing, or *kannyu* (Simpson et al. 2014:71). Figure 21-E also depicts a possible sake

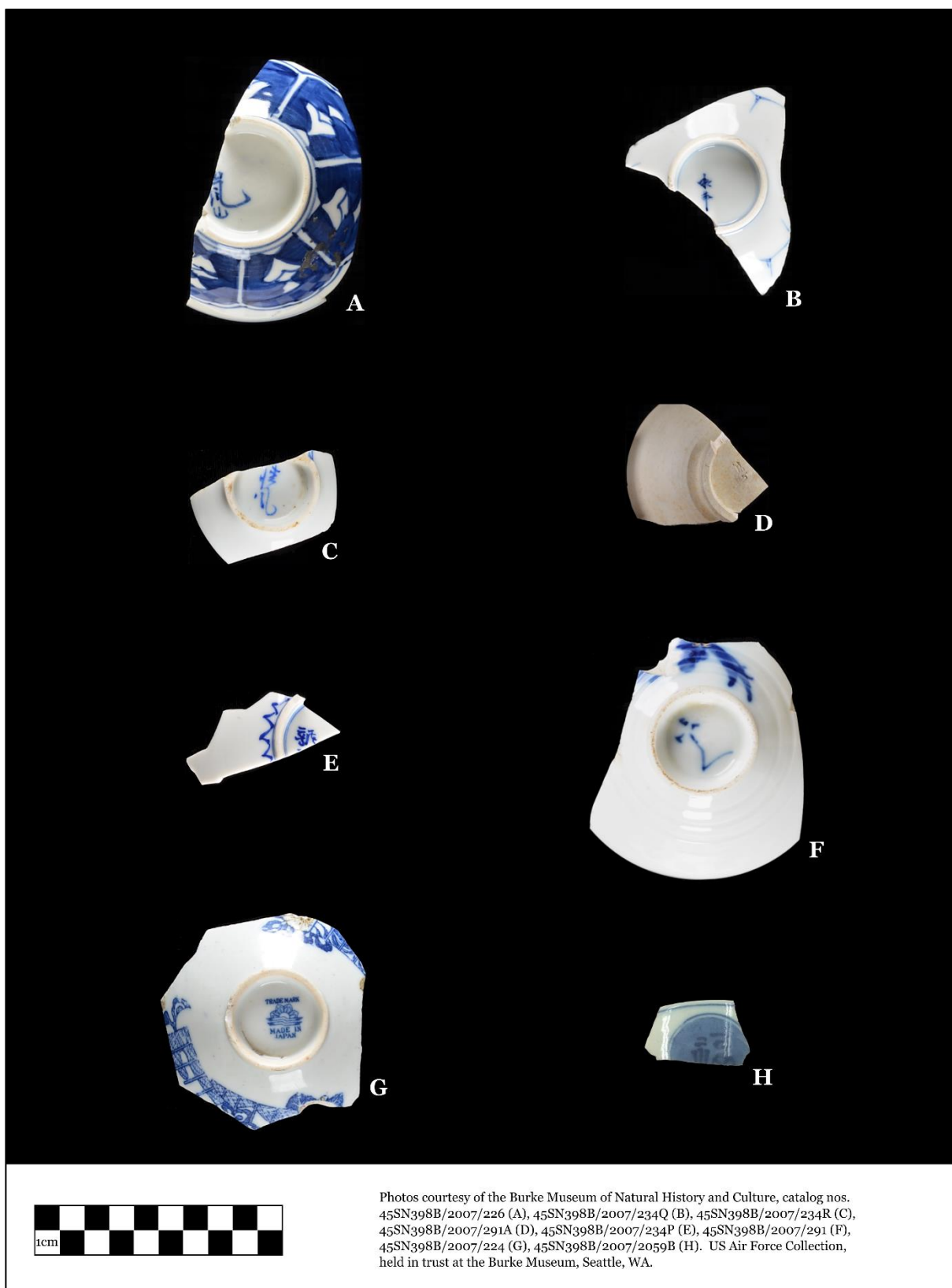


Figure 21. Decorative, export, or possible potters' marks identified within the 45-SN-398B Japanese Gulch Village assemblage.

cup. While the character on this sherd is possibly *gi* (祇), this character alone does not have a definitive meaning (Yuumi Danner 2016, elec. comm.).

The minimalistic hand-painted decoration on the small *gohan chawan* (rice bowl) in Figure 21-F, along with the marks on 21-A, 21-B, and 21-C, are characteristic of Seto-Mino area domestic wares and according to Cort (2016, elec. comm.), their quickly brushed marks likely identify small workshops from this region. The stylized mark resembling a three-petaled flower in Figure 21-F appears on a second vessel in this collection, both of which feature the *senbori* (incised bands) depicted here. Photographs of a selection of these marks have been sent to ceramics museums in Seto, Japan, which may be able to provide more information on their likely place and period of manufacture.

Two identical transferprinted marks appear in this assemblage. This mark features a graphic element of a *kikusui*, or chrysanthemum on water and the phrase "Trademark/Made in Japan." One of these marks appears on the base of a vessel (Figure 21-G) while the other is placed on the exterior body surface. A version of this mark was also identified in the George Shima Labor Camp 1 assemblage and is discussed further there (see Figure 11). Figure 21-G is one of two decorative marks that were translated. This mark is part of the character 福, which means luck or *fuku*. The final mark identified in this assemblage is a transferprinted bowl with the character 雪 (*yuki* or snow) on its interior surface (Yuumi Danner 2016, elec. comm.).

Conclusions

The vessels in the 45-SN-398B Japanese Gulch Village collection provide a number of insights into daily life for Issei millworkers and their families. Identifiable forms within the assemblage suggest the composition of daily meals. *Chawan*, the most numerous vessels, together with *kozara* and *mamezari*, offer evidence that traditional Japanese meals of rice, accompanied by side dishes and sauces, may have been common. The versatility of *chawan*, however, mean that they could be used to serve a variety of foods. The number of teapots and sake vessels suggest that Japanese Gulch residents also regularly consumed sake and tea. The sake-related vessels may support claims that Issei purchased alcohol from Japanese boats visiting the Crown Lumber wharf during prohibition. This, among other choices for acquiring food and goods, highlights the maintenance of purchasing options that, importantly, included networks of Japanese goods.

The porcelain vessels in this assemblage include an array of decorative types available to the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Japanese consumer. A few *katagami* vessels

were probably manufactured in the early or middle Meiji, but most of the assemblage likely dates from the late Meiji through Taishô eras. Many pottery centers were producing porcelain vessels at this time, but the three largest were Arita, Kyushu, and the region around Nagoya, Seto, and Mino (Bibb 2013:[11]). North Kyushu and Arita tended to specialize in Imari and other export wares, though they also produced smaller lines of domestic products. The Nagoya-Seto-Mino region, by contrast, supplied far more inexpensive domestic porcelain (Bibb 2013:[12]; Sanders 1973:187). Decorative styles and several potters' marks suggest that this region may have produced many of the vessels in the 45-SN-398B collection.

Japanese Gulch Village stonewares and earthenwares provide even stronger evidence of specific ties to pottery centers. These include the Kyushu region and the villages of Koyama or Mashiko. Although only a small portion of the overall assemblage and despite their infrequent presence in archaeological studies, these sherds suggest connections to distinctive cultural and artistic movements, specific pottery centers and artists, and evidence of the continued variety of Japanese ceramics in the Taishô era. That these vessels belonged to Japanese Gulch Issei illustrates not only the diversity of domestic ceramics available in in the early twentieth century but also the way that transpacific connections played out in the daily lives of *Issei* millworkers and their families. Cumulatively, these vessels highlight that, although they shared many experiences, Issei in Japanese Gulch Village were neither a homogeneous nor isolated group. The residents of this "ideal sawmill camp" appear to have overcome hostilities from labor organizers and local community members, fostered a degree of choice in daily life, and maintained access to a relatively broad array of Japanese ceramics.

Flowers among brambles.
They tell me this road leads to
Oregon country. [Toichi in Ito 1973:460]

Chapter 6. The Tanaka Farmstead: Issei Truck Farmers in Eastern Multnomah County, Oregon, 1918–1942

Standing in a fallow field about 200 miles directly south of Mukilteo, Washington, the silhouette of Mt. Hood extends across the eastern horizon. This is the view that Dick Sakurai remembers seeing out the front door of his childhood home. Sakurai's father, an Issei, immigrated to Oregon in 1914 and established a small, family-run truck farm in an area of eastern Multnomah County (Sakurai 2013). Issei settled in Oregon somewhat later than in California or Washington and in smaller numbers. In the first part of the twentieth century, over half the Japanese population in Oregon was living in the Portland area. Although this population grew steadily in the first few decades of the twentieth century, the 1920 census identified only 1,751 Issei living in the greater Portland area. Census figures for the same year record 7,874 Issei in Seattle and 5,358 in San Francisco. Census statistics also indicate that Oregon Issei pursued a wider variety of employment strategies than Issei in other Western states (Toll 1997:23,34). Farming was among the most common occupations, but compared to California where 60 percent of Issei were employed in agriculture, only 19 percent of Oregon Issei worked on farms (Naka 1913:20; Toll 1997:27). As a result, Issei agricultural communities like the one in eastern Multnomah County tended to be smaller and more dispersed than those in other states.

“Flowers among Brambles:” Historical Accounts of Gresham Truck Farmers

When Sakurai's father moved to Oregon, he joined a community of around 170 Japanese families living in an agricultural area that had been pioneered by Italian truck farmers several decades earlier (Figure 22). Census records for the 1920s show clusters of three or four Issei families interspersed with Italian and American-born farmers consolidated along arterial roads to Portland (Toll 1997:29). Located approximately 15 miles east of Portland, the eastern Multnomah area now known as Gresham was close enough for farmers to make weekly trips to town to sell their produce but rural enough to support farms. Within this context of small truck farms, the well-being and economic success of many Gresham Issei depended on family support, access to land, and support from communal marketing associations.



Figure 22. Issei farmer and truck on the Toyooka Farm, Troutdale, sometime before World War II. “Toyooka Farm” (drr-densho-258-197) Densho, courtesy of Satoru Ichikawa.

Truck farmers in the Gresham area tended to farm small tracts of land and specialize in a few intensive crops. This type of agriculture required far less labor than large-scale reclamation efforts in the California Delta. Occasionally, a few additional laborers were necessary at peak times of the year but family members generally supplied the bulk of farm labor. This reliance on family is reflected in 1920s census data, which show that Oregon Issei truck farmers were on average slightly older and more likely to be living in family units than Issei in other professions. Almost 90 percent of Japanese farmers in eastern Multnomah County were over the age of 30 and over 60 percent were married (Toll 1997:29, 36).

While families formed the economic core of most Issei truck farms, not all of these were similar. Families were often dynamic units influenced by changing personal, economic, and legal circumstances. The Sakurai family, for example, immigrated in stages beginning with Sakurai’s maternal grandparents, who settled in downtown Portland and founded a Buddhist temple. Sakurai’s father was 16 when he arrived from Japan. He met and married Chiyoko Takeuchi in Portland, then moved with her parents to a farm in eastern Multnomah County. There, the couple had six children. After Sakurai’s grandparents returned to Japan in the 1930s, the Sakurai family occasionally employed two to four Japanese laborers but family members completed most tasks on their farm. Sakurai remembers that the whole family would get up at 4:30 a.m. on

market days to help pick produce to sell at the Portland Saturday market (Sakurai 2013; Mershon 2006:30).

Several miles from the Sakurai farmstead, the Tanaka family operated a truck farm along Baseline Road. This multigenerational Issei family immigrated to the United States separately but once reunited settled in Gresham. Heyakutaro Tanaka, the first family member to immigrate, arrived in the United States in 1898, leaving his wife and two sons in Japan. After working for a few years, he sent for his wife, Hesa, and their eldest son, Fusaichiro, in 1905. In 1906 the family sent for their younger son, Fukushiro. Shimaye Nakano immigrated in 1914 and married Fukushiro in Seattle before joining the rest of the family in Gresham (Bibb 2013:[2]). United States census data from 1920 and 1930 describe the Tanaka family as self-employed truck farmers and laborers. The 1930 census lists four male “lodgers” also residing at their address, suggesting that they too occasionally hired laborers (Paraso et al. 2013:5.5; US Bureau of the Census 1920; 1930). Although statistically typical of Portland-area Issei farmers in many aspects, the Sakurai and Tanaka families provide insight into the variation possible within families.

Access to land was crucial for all truck farming families. Some Issei, such as Sadaji Shiogi, an eastern Multnomah County farmer in 1911, were lucky enough to find an “extremely pro-Japanese” landlord who was eager to lease to Issei and even willing to front the money for clearing farm land (Ito 1973:453). This situation was not typical, however. Even though Oregon was the last of the western states to pass an Alien Land Law in 1923, most Oregon Issei leased their land even before its passage. According to statistics gathered by the Japanese American Association in 1919, approximately 80 percent of Japanese farmers in Oregon leased their land (Davey 1920:13). An investigation of Japanese settlement in 1920 found only one farmer in Gresham who owned his land (Davey 1920:5). Scholars attribute this lack of land-ownership to various factors. Some suggest that many Oregon Issei probably intended to return to Japan (Toll 1997:32) as Dick Sakurai’s grandparents did. Many others cite newly arriving Isseis’ lack of capital, inability to get bank loans, and resistance from white farmers that benefited from the higher rents Issei were willing to pay (Azuma 2003:10; 2005:63–64; Ichioka 1988:154–155; Toll 1997:29–30).

According to local newspapers, Issei in eastern Multnomah County consistently paid higher rents for farmland than other tenants (*Sunday Oregonian* 1911). This extra financial incentive likely helped convince landowners to lease to Issei, but establishing productive farms required long-term relationships with landowners. The Tanaka family, for example, rented their roughly

50-acre farmstead between approximately 1918 and 1942 (Metsker Maps 1927; USC&GS 1947; USGS 1918). Their landlord, Clara Smith, was a single mother of five who had inherited the land from her husband (US Bureau of the Census 1910, 1920). The decision to lease her land to a Japanese family was likely based on economic necessity, but she and the Tanakas maintained this relationship for over 25 years and would probably have continued it longer had the Tanakas not been forced to relocate during World War II. This is indicated by a line on the younger Tanaka brother's World War II draft card, which identifies Smith as the "person who will always know your address" (Selective Service System 1942). Because the draft card was issued after Executive Order 9066 had authorized forced evacuation and incarceration of West Coast Japanese residents, it suggests either an intent to return after World War II or at least a continued correspondence between the Tanakas and Smith. But whether they kept in touch or not, the Tanakas did not resume their lease after World War II. Based on his draft card, Fusaichiro Tanaka appears to have been incarcerated at Tule Lake, California. None of the other Tanaka family members are listed in the Japanese American incarcerated database, suggesting that they may have moved or are missing from the records. Census records from the decades after the war show that they did not return to Baseline Road (Paraso et al. 2013:5.5).

A final key to many truck farmers' well-being was the creation of a local farmers' association. As early as 1911, the *Sunday Oregonian* (1911) reported that Japanese farmers had established a network of "peddlers" who maintained licenses to sell produce at the Portland Market. Initially this system was somewhat informal but after 1918 it was overseen by the Gresham-Troutdale Farmer's Association. This Issei organization purchased supplies in bulk at discounted rates, sold products collectively, and established formal business relationships with brokers to insure that Issei were not taken advantage of (Davey 1920:5; Azuma 2003:i). Testimony from Sakitaro Takei of Wapato, Washington, demonstrates how important these associations were for Issei:

In the early days there were no farmers' marketing co-ops or central packing places, nor were there any means of knowing the market conditions. As vegetable growers in Japan had done, the Japanese growers in America also loaded their produce on a two-horse wagon and clopped off to the broker in town. The sales were all left to the brokers.

Therefore if the brokers were dishonest, the farmers suffered greatly. [Ito 1972:456]

These accounts illustrate some of the strategies that Gresham Issei used to establish an independent truck farming community that by 1930 was supplying 75 percent of the vegetables sold at the Portland Market (Azuma 1993:315-367).

Previous Archaeological Investigations of the Tanaka Farmstead

Willamette Cultural Resources Associates (WillametteCRA) first recorded site 35-MU-225 in 2012. The resource was recorded during an inventory survey as a surface scatter of historic artifacts in a recently plowed field. Although not initially identified as a Japanese-American farmstead, the original recording notes an unusually high proportion of porcelain sherds (Paraso et al. 2013:4.4–4.6). WillametteCRA subsequently performed Phase II testing and Phase III data recovery excavations at the site, all of which are summarized in a 2013 report by Paraso et al., along with oral history interviews and historical background research. Excavations recovered 6,088 historic artifacts. These primarily consisted of domestic and architectural refuse from a former farmstead occupied by the Tanaka family between about 1918 and 1942. All artifacts were recovered from within the plow zone with the exception of those found in Feature 1, which was determined to be a bulldozer pit associated with demolition of the farmhouse (Paraso et al. 2013:6.1–6.6). Due to property clearing and subsequent decades of plowing, the ceramic assemblage is small and very fragmentary. According to report authors, the 395 domestic ceramic fragments recovered represent a minimum of 63 individual vessels (Paraso et al. 2013:6.10). Japanese ceramics expert Leland Bibb analyzed a selection of these and determined that they were likely relatively inexpensive Japanese domestic wares from the 1920s to 1940s. WillametteCRA recommended The Tanaka Farmstead site 35-MU-335 as eligible for listing on the NRHP and all archaeological materials recovered from the site are curated at the Oregon Museum of Natural and Cultural History in Eugene (Paraso et al. 2013:7.3).

Reanalysis of Japanese Ceramics in the 35-MU-225 Tanaka Farmstead Assemblage

I reanalyzed 65 ceramic sherds from the Tanaka Farmstead site 35-MU-225 assemblage that were recorded as being manufactured in Japan. Table 17 through Table 19 summarize several basic attributes of these sherds. Table 17 reveals the homogeneity of materials types represented: all but one artifact are composed of porcelain. Table 18 estimates the degree of fragmentation in the assemblage, but because project methods evolved over time, size class could not be determined for all the sherds in this collection. Based on available photographs and descriptions, however, this assemblage appears more fragmented than the others. More than 90 percent of sherds are less than 3 in. (7.6 cm) in diameter. None have a diameter greater than 4 in. (10.2 cm) and none are complete (see Table 18, Table 19). In addition, the majority of the sherds in this assemblage are vessel body fragments and none were complete enough to determine vessel height. Almost a third of sherds

Table 17. Material Type of Sherds in the 35-MU-225 Tanaka Farmstead Assemblage.

Material Type	Count of Sherds	Percent of Total
Earthenware (<i>Hajiki</i>)	1	2
Porcelain (<i>Jiki</i>)	64	98
Grand Total	65	100

Table 18. Size Class of Sherds in the 35-MU-225 Tanaka Farmstead Assemblage.

Size Class	Count of Sherds	Percent of Total
Maximum 1 in. diameter	6	16
Maximum 2 in. diameter	15	42
Maximum 3 in. diameter	13	36
Maximum 4 in. diameter	2	5
Maximum 5 in. diameter	-	0
Maximum 6 in. diameter	-	0
Grand Total	36 ^a	100

^a size class was not assigned for 29 sherds.

Table 19. Attributes of Sherds in the 35-MU-225 Tanaka Farmstead Assemblage.

Attributes of Sherds	Count of Sherds	Percent of Sherds
Vessel Is Complete	-	0
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Rim (<i>kôen</i>)	20	31
Rim Diameter Was Measured	13	20
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Base (<i>soko</i>)	20	31
Base Diameter Was Measured	1	1
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Footring (<i>kôdai</i>)	18	28
Footring Was Measured	15	23
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Body (<i>dô</i>)	54	83
Vessel Height Was Measured	-	0

Note: If a vessel footring could be measured, the base diameter was usually omitted, resulting in the lower percentage of measured bases. Because sherds often contained multiple measurable attributes, percentages do not add up to 100. Japanese vessel portion terms from Simpson et al. 2014:55.

include a rim portion though few of these could be measured. Interestingly, footrings were measured more frequently than rims although they occurred on a smaller percentage of sherds. The smaller diameter and thicker, less fragile paste of footrings might explain this discrepancy.

35-MU-225 Tanaka Farmstead Forms

The Tanaka Farmstead assemblage likely represents a minimum of 27 different vessels. As can be seen in Table 20, however, relatively few vessel forms could be definitively identified. The assemblage contains only 6 of the 22 (27 percent) possible table and sake ware forms; over 40 percent of vessels could not be assigned to a vessel type or category. This likely due to the high fragmentation of sherds and a correlating lack of diagnostic or measurable attributes. Eighty-three percent of indeterminate sherds measure less than 2 in. (5 cm) in diameter and 42 percent are body sherds with no rim or base present. One possible storage vessel was identified. This is a small *chinmi tsubo* (jarlet) with a somewhat bulbous body that is decorated in a *sometsuke* transferprint landscape. A jarlet of this size may have held pickled items (Simpson et al. 2014:89) or possibly condiments (Bibb 2013:[9]).

The small collection of table and sake wares in this assemblage consists of nine tableware vessels, representing one-third of the total assemblage, and five sake-related items, which represent just under one-fifth of the overall assemblage. All of the tableware vessels are bowls. These include one large bowl base that is likely from a *donburi* (soup bowl) and at least three *yunomi* (teacups). Over half of the bowls could be classified only as *chawan*, indicating that their size or shape was too uncertain for identification of a specific *chawan* type.

Despite the presence of teacups, no teapots were identified in the assemblage. Sake-related forms consist of one *ochoko* (sake cup) and four *tokkuri* (sake decanters). The *ochoko* in this collection is a small, thin-walled vessel base and footring fragment with no visible decoration (Figure 22). The vessel footring measures just 3.2 cm in diameter and the overall size suggests that it would have been used exclusively for sake (Leland Bibb 2015, elec. comm.). Most *tokkuri* in this collection have unglazed interiors that feature cordoned-like horizontal finger marks. Only one of these was complete enough to determine its profile, which corresponds to the tall, cylindrical shape of a *sorori tokkuri* (Figure 24). These limited vessels, which include few side dishes or specific forms, seem to suggest that the Tanaka family dined very simply but, based on the high proportion of unidentified vessels, it is also likely that they represent only a small portion of the ceramics owned by the Tanaka family.

Table 20. Japanese-Manufactured Ceramic Vessel Forms in the 35-MU-225 Collection.

Category	Type	Form	Count of MNV	Percent of Total	
Tablewares					
Tablewares	Bowls	<i>Chawan</i>	Small Bowl (<i>kobachi</i>)	-	0
			Pickle Bowl (<i>namasu-zara</i>)	-	0
		Rice Bowl (<i>gohan chawan</i>)	-	0	
		Bowl Lid (<i>futa</i>)	-	0	
		Teacup (<i>yunomi</i>)	3	11	
		Indeterminate Bowl (<i>chawan</i>)	5	19	
		Large Soup Bowl (<i>donburi</i>)	1	4	
	Cold Noodle Cup (<i>soba choko</i>)	-	0		
			Subtotal Bowls	9	33
	Dish/plate	Dish/plate	Large Dish/Plate (<i>hirabachi</i>)	-	0
Medium Dish/Plate (<i>nakazara</i>)			-	0	
Small Dish/Plate (<i>kozara</i>)			-	0	
Sauce Dish/Plate (<i>mamezara</i>)			-	0	
Indeterminate Dish/Plate			-	0	
		Subtotal Dish/Plates	0	0	
Teapots	Teapots	Teapot (<i>dobin</i>)	-	0	
		Teapot (<i>kyûsu</i>)	-	0	
		Indeterminate Teapot	-	0	
		Subtotal Teapots	0	0	
		Subtotal Mealtime	9	33	
Sake Wares					
Sake Wares	Cups	Large Sake Cup (<i>guinomi</i>)	-	0	
		Small Sake Cup (<i>ochoko</i>)	1	4	
		Indeterminate Sake Cup (<i>sakazuki</i>).	-	0	
			Subtotal Sake Cups	1	4
	Decanters	Decanters	Sake Decanter (<i>kampin tokkuri</i>)	-	0
Sake Decanter (<i>sorori tokkuri</i>)			1	4	
Indeterminate Sake Decanter (<i>tokkuri</i>)			3	11	
		Subtotal Sake Decanters	4	15	
		Subtotal Sake	5	18	
Indeterminate Wares					
Indeterminate Wares	Indeterminate	Indeterminate Hollow	8	30	
		Indeterminate Flat	-	0	
		Indeterminate	4	15	
		Subtotal Indeterminate	12	44	
Other Vessels					
Kitchen Wares	Storage	Jarlet (<i>chinmi tsubo</i>)	1	4	
Grand Total			27	100	

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. See Chapter 2 for form descriptions and Japanese language term references.



Figure 23. Small, undecorated *ochoko* (sake cup) base with partial footring. Catalog no. 35-MU-225/01/11. Photo courtesy of WillametteCRA and the Port of Portland.

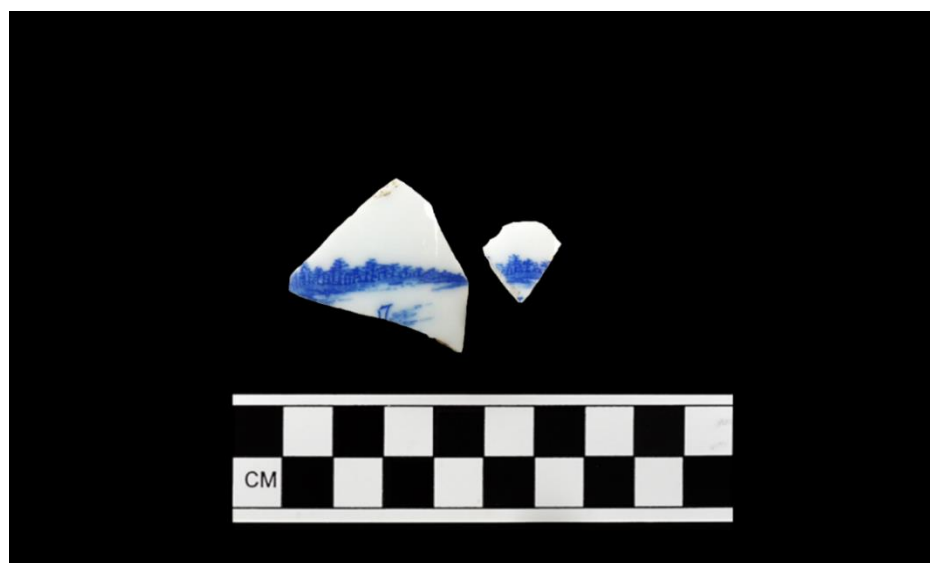


Figure 24. Mending sherds of a *sorori tokkuri*, or sake decanter, with transferprint landscape and possible boat in the foreground. Catalog no. 35-MU-225/39/01 and 35-MU-225/39/07. Photo courtesy of WillametteCRA and the Port of Portland.

35-MU-225 Tanaka Farmstead Decoration Types and Methods

Table 21 summarizes decorative types and application methods identified on Tanaka Farmstead porcelains. In addition to the sherds in this table, the assemblage also includes a single earthenware sherd. This single sherd is composed of a porous reddish-brown paste and features a textured exterior surface covered in a colorless glaze (Figure 25). My research

Table 21. 35-MU-225 Porcelain (*Jiki*) Sherds by Decoration Type and Application.

Decoration Type	Decoration Application Method (Exterior/Interior)	Count of Sherds	Percent of Total
<i>Sometsuke Katagami</i> (Stencil Cobalt)			
	Paper Stencil (<i>Katagami</i>)/Paper Stencil (<i>Katagami</i>)	1	1
	Paper Stencil (<i>Katagami</i>)/Undecorated	1	1
	Undecorated/Paper Stencil (<i>Katagami</i>)	1	1
	Subtotal <i>Sometsuke Katagami</i>	3	5
<i>Sometsuke Dôban</i> (Transferprint Cobalt)			
	Transferprinted (<i>Dôban</i>)/Undecorated	15	23
	Transferprinted and Hand-painted (<i>Dôban</i> and <i>Etsuke</i>)/Undecorated	1	1
	Undecorated/Transferprinted (<i>Dôban</i>)	1	1
	Subtotal <i>Sometsuke Dôban</i>	17	27
<i>Iro Dôban</i> (Colored Transferprint)			
	Transferprinted (<i>Dôban</i>)/Undecorated	2	3
<i>Sometsuke</i> (Hand-painted Cobalt)			
	Hand-painted (<i>Etsuke</i>)/Undecorated	30	47
	Undecorated/Hand-painted (<i>Etsuke</i>)	1	1
	Subtotal <i>Sometsuke</i>	31	48
<i>Iro-e Jiki</i> (Overglaze Enamel Porcelain)			
	Hand-painted (<i>Etsuke</i>)/Undecorated	2	3
Other			
	Colored Glaze (<i>Iroyu</i>)/Undecorated	1	1
	Hand-painted (<i>Etsuke</i>)/Undecorated	2	3
	Subtotal Other	3	5
Undecorated			
	Undecorated/Undecorated	6	9
	Grand Total	64	100

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. See Chapter 2 for decoration descriptions and Japanese language term references.

did not identify any comparative ceramics or descriptions of Japanese decoration matching the characteristics of this sherd. This sherd's manufacture origin, form, and decoration have therefore been classified as indeterminate. Tanaka Farmstead porcelains, by contrast, contain decorative types from seven decorative categories. The majority (86 percent) fall into five main categories: *Sometsuke Katagami*, *Sometsuke Dôban*, *Iro Dôban*, Hand-painted *Sometsuke*, and *Iro-e Jiki*. Just under half of the assemblage is decorated in hand-painted *sometsuke* and another quarter is transfer-printed *sometsuke*. These decorative types, and the frequently understated designs they are used to create, suggest that the majority of these wares date to the late Meiji (1895–1912), Taishô (1912–1926), and Early Shôwa (1926–1945) eras.

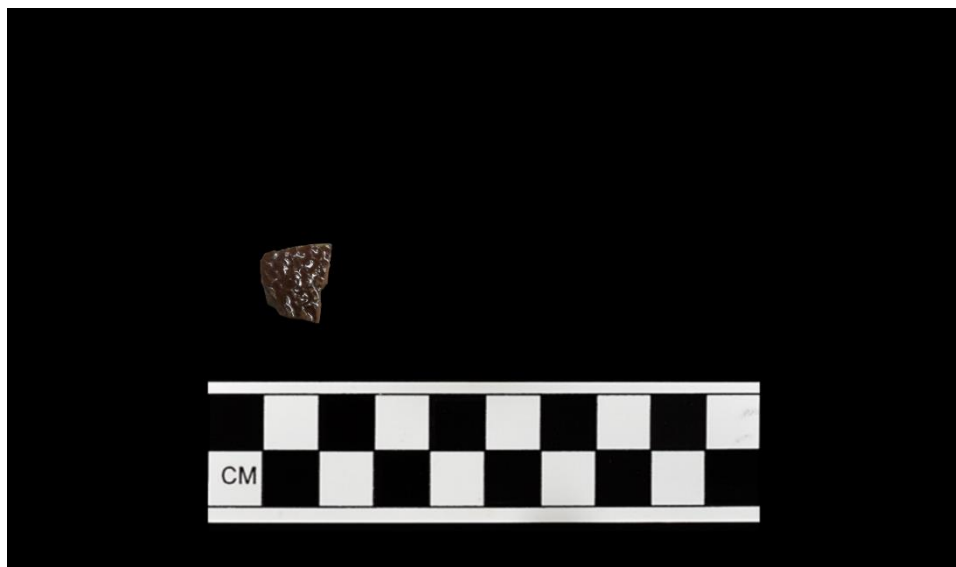


Figure 25. This unidentified vessel is the only earthenware sherd in this assemblage. It has a colorless glaze over reddish-brown paste and a textured exterior. Catalog no. 35-MU-225/48/01. Photo courtesy of WillametteCRA and the Port of Portland.

The exception to this are three *sometsuke katagami* sherds, representing just five percent of porcelain, that are more likely of late Meiji manufacture (Ross 2009a:156). All three sherds are less than 2 in. (5 cm) in diameter and may represent just one vessel. One sherd features a plum blossom on a diaper background that is similar to *katagami* cherry blossom designs pictured in Ross (2012:7, Figure 3) and Costello and Maniery (1988:55, Figures 60–61). Another is a rim fragment with a pedant *yoraku* (border design) (Ross 2012:21) (Figure 26). This *yoraku* is also similar to other archaeological examples, including Ross (2012:21, Figure 29) and Costello and Maniery (1988:55, Figure 64a), and a Three Friends of Winter bowl recovered from Japanese Gulch Village (catalog nos. 45-SN-398B/2007/278 and 45-SN-398B/2007/295). Because these sherds are small and *katagami* vessels tend to be decorated on the vessel interior and exterior (Ross 2012:21), the undecorated surfaces of these sherds may actually just be undecorated portions of an otherwise decorated vessel.

Sometsuke dôban (transferprint cobalt) is the second most common decorative type in the Tanaka Farmstead assemblage (see Figure 24). This decoration was identified on 17 individual sherds, accounting for 27 percent of porcelain. The majority have transferprinted exteriors and undecorated interiors, but one *chawan* features a hand-painted band along its exterior rim and one small sherd has an unidentifiable transferprint design on its interior surface that may be a written character. Transferprint decoration in colors other than blue occur on two additional sherds. Both are teacups with decoration only on their exterior surface. One is a green botanical

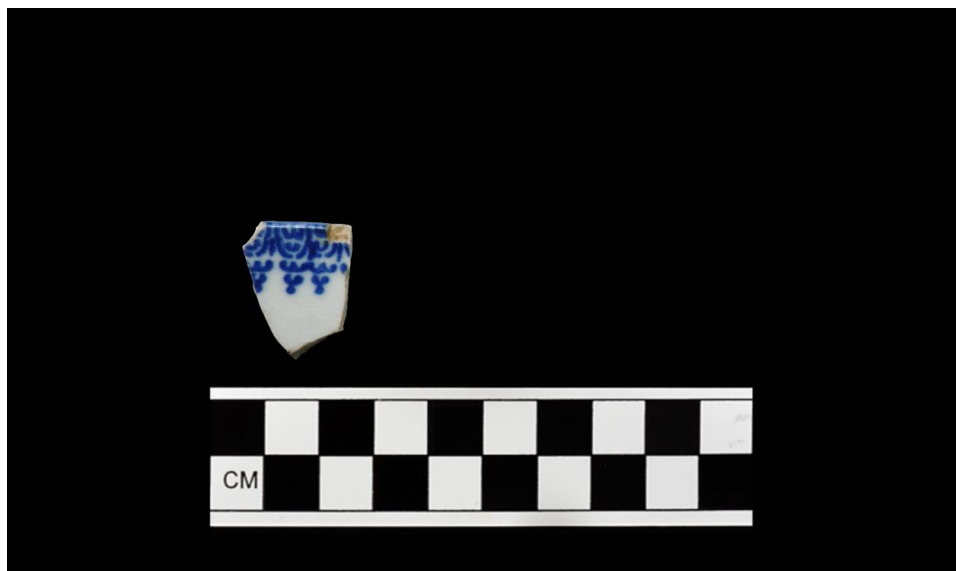


Figure 26. Rim sherd of a *katagami* stencil bowl with pendant *yoraku* (border design) on interior. This rim portion was too small to determine a diameter. Catalog no. 35-MU-225/18/03. Photo courtesy of WillametteCRA and the Port of Portland.

transferprint design that likely dates from the 1920s or 1930s (Leland Bibb 2015, elec. comm.); the other is a thin-walled rim sherd with pink elements that may be partial flowers, black leaves, and pine needles (Figure 27).

Hand-painted *sometsuke* makes up the clear majority of this assemblage, occurring on 31 sherds and 48 percent of porcelain. Nearly all of the hand-painted designs in the Tanaka farmstead collection cover only a small portion of a vessel's interior or exterior surface. Designs are frequently abstract botanical motifs (Figure 28), landscapes, or geometric bands. These designs reflect an aesthetic most popular in the late Meiji and Taishô eras (Bibb 2013:[11]; Stitt 1974:50–51). Most of this decoration occurs on the exterior of hollow forms. Only one sherd, a very small rim fragment, features interior decoration. Although this vessel is too fragmentary to determine shape or form, the placement of decoration only on the interior could suggest that it is a dish of some kind.

Two sherds were classified as *iro-e jiki*; these are decorated in red, green, brown, and grey enamels applied over the glaze. Both of these sherds are very small (less than 1 in. [2.5 cm] in diameter) and no definitive elements or decorative motif could be determined. The remainder of the sherds in this assemblage fall into the Undecorated or Other categories. Due to the small size of sherds and the minimalistic design noted on many porcelains, the six undecorated sherds may represent undecorated portions of larger decorated vessels rather than completely undecorated vessels. The sherds classified into the Other Category include one *tokkuri* (sake

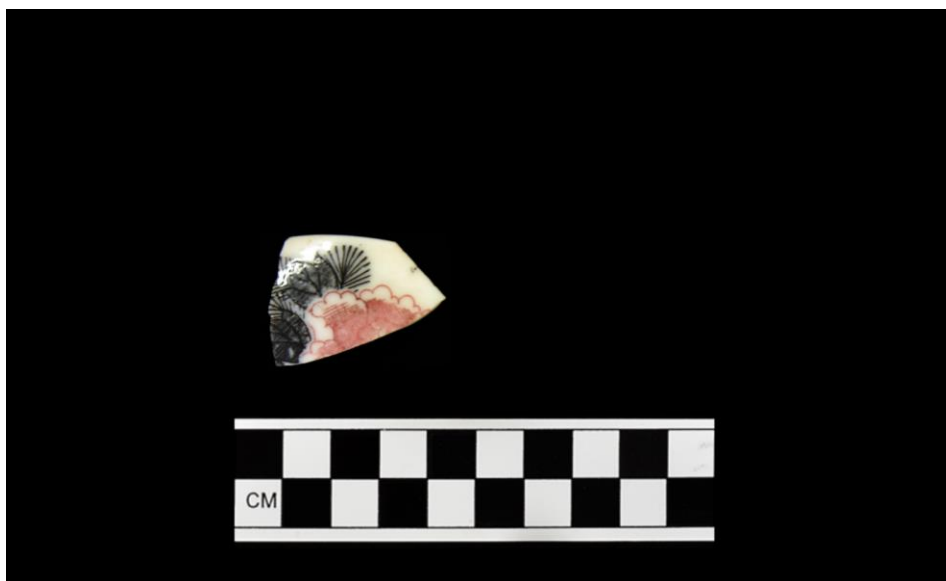


Figure 27. Rim sherd of a *chawan* decorated in pink and black transferprint. Catalog no. 35-MU-225/01/25. Photo courtesy of WillametteCRA and the Port of Portland.



Figure 28. Bowl base and body sherds from what is likely a *gohan chawan* (rice bowl). This hand-painted and abstracted design is typical of porcelains in this collection. Catalog no. 35-MU-225/01/16. Photo courtesy of WillametteCRA and the Port of Portland.

decanter) with a light yellow glaze and two porcelain fragments with designs that combine both underglaze cobalt and overglaze enameling. An example of this pictured in Figure 29. This thin and straight-walled rim sherd is possibly from a tea or sake cup based on its size and shape. Several cranes in flight are hand-painted in underglaze cobalt, one of which has the remnants of

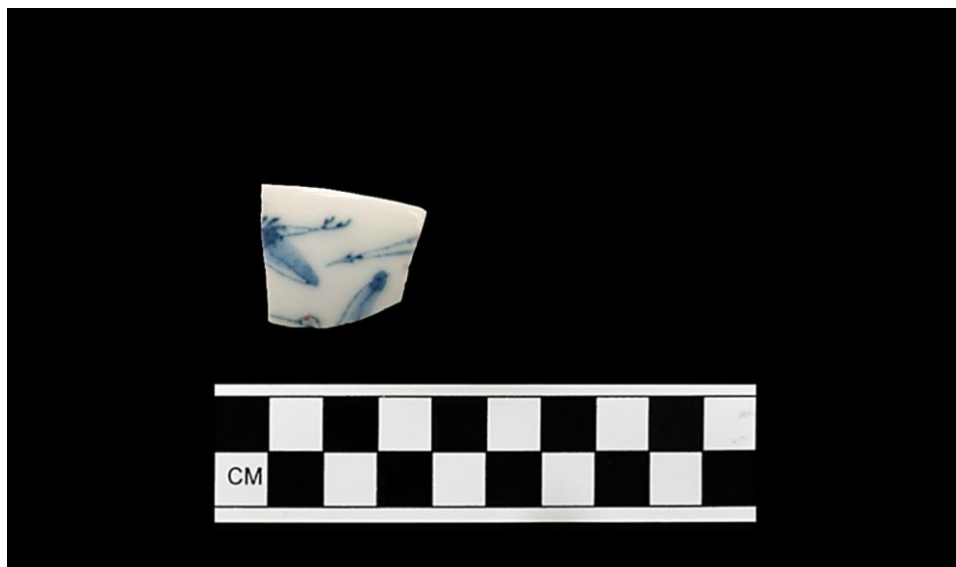


Figure 29. Tea or sake cup with cranes, or *tsuru*, hand-painted in underglaze cobalt. The remnants of red enamel can be seen on the head of the lowest crane. Catalog no. 35-MU-225/07/24. Photo courtesy of WillametteCRA and the Port of Portland.

an enameled red head. Cranes, or *tsuru*, can be symbols of good fortune, longevity, happiness, and friendship. They appear to be frequent elements on Japanese ceramics, both in these collections (see Figure 11-G) and in other archaeological (e.g. Costello and Maniery 1988:58,59; Costello et al. 2001:34; Ross 2009a:185; Walter 2012:127) and museum (e.g. Morse 1901:8) collections.

35-MU-225 Tanaka Farmstead Marks

Only three sherds in the 35-MU-225 Tanaka Farmstead collection contained marks (Figure 30). All of these are incomplete, and only one contained legible characters. This mark is presented in Figure 30-A and consists of two complete kanji characters that read *bango* (number) under a partial character that is perhaps *shi* (four). Together, these marks could form an address or telephone number. Like the decanter in the George Shima collection, this address may refer to a restaurant, maker, or distributor of the *sake* vessel (Bibb 2013:[8]). The other two vessels in this figure both contain transferprint elements, which may or may not be some sort of mark. Figure 30-B depicts one of these placed on the interior of an unidentifiable hollow vessel and Figure 30-C shows the other, which is inside the footring on the base of the likely rice bowl pictured in Figure 28.



Figure 30. Possible marks identified within the 35-MU-225 Tanaka Farmstead assemblage.

Conclusions

The small collection of Japanese ceramics recovered from site 35-MU-225 have been highly fragmented by processes likely including initial discard, demolition of the farmhouse occupied by the Tanaka family, and decades of plowing. These few and fragmented sherds can still provide some information about the daily lives and habits of the Tanaka family, however. Identifiable forms within the assemblage include a number of *chawan* typically used for individual servings of rice, soup, or tea as well as several sake decanters and cups. These vessels represent core mealtime place settings, yet the assemblage contains few side dishes or specific forms. While it may be that the Tanaka family dined simply, it is also probable that the reanalyzed assemblage represents only a small portion of the ceramics owned by the family. More Japanese, European, or American-made vessels doubtless remain unidentified within the 395 domestic ceramic sherds that complete this collection. Given that we do not know what happened to the Tanakas during World War II (Paraso et al. 2013:5.5), it is also possible that they relocated in advance of Executive Order 9066, either returning to Japan or moving inland, and were able to take a portion of their tableware with them.

Lack of complete marks or patterns prevents tracing specific vessels to manufacturing centers, but like the Japanese Gulch Village collection, much of the Tanaka Farmstead

assemblage likely came from inexpensive porcelain-producers in the Seto-area (Bibb 2013:[12]; Sanders 1973:187). Decoration and material types within the assemblage are relatively uniform suggesting a limited temporal and/or geographical provenience for most of the assemblage. The somewhat sparse hand-painted designs that appear on the majority of the collection are reminiscent of late Meiji- and Taishô-era aesthetics and may have been familiar to the Tanaka family, who are documented as traveling back and forth to Japan several times while living in Gresham (Bibb 2013:[3]) and who had access to Japanese markets in Portland (Paraso et al. 2013:6.14). The homogeneity of the Tanaka farmstead assemblage may also simply reflect the aesthetic preferences and purchasing habits of a single family unit and so exhibit less diversity than collections recovered from Japanese Gulch and California Delta Issei communities. For the Tanaka family and other Issei truck farming families, purchases of household goods were no doubt but one aspect of a larger strategy to manage resources, support family units, and establish economic security in a context that was often further complicated by exclusion from financial resources and land ownership.

Mine a Meiji voice...
Crossing the Pacific sea
It has grown husky. [Hojo in Ito 1973:49]

Chapter 7: Synthesis and Conclusions

The number of archaeological studies focused on Issei communities have increased in recent decades and this thesis project is an attempt to contribute to that growing body of research. In it, I hoped to explore three broad research themes. Through a comparative and contextual analysis of three West Coast archaeological sites occupied by Issei between approximately 1900 and 1940, I intended to highlight some commonalities and divergences among Issei experiences. With collaboration and contributions from other experts in the fields of archaeology, history, and ceramic studies, I have also endeavored to integrate classification and identification of Japanese ceramic vessels into this project. This chapter offers a synthesis of the historical and archaeological evidence from previous chapters, framed in terms of project research themes.

Research Theme 1: Multiscalar Connections

Previous researchers such as Barbara L. Voss (2008) and Douglas Ross (2009a) have emphasized the role of multiscalar connections in transnational Asian American communities. Historical and archaeological evidence from the California Delta; Mukilteo, Washington; and Gresham, Oregon reinforce the role that such connections played in these Issei communities. All three sites provide examples of the multi-layered movements of people and labor. For example, many of the first Issei to arrive in the United States were recruited directly from Japan by labor contractors who supplied industries throughout the West (Ichioka 1988:65). This practice likely brought many of the first Mukilteo Lumber Company employees to Japanese Gulch (Matsuoka 2007:[2]; White et al. 2009:66).

Once in the United States, shifting opportunities and constraints inspired movement of people between industries and communities. Shigagero Tanabe was a ship's cook in Alaska before settling in Japanese Gulch Village and sending for his family; when the mill closed many families went to work at a cannery in Nahcotta, Washington, but Tanabe found private employment in Bellingham, Washington (Matsuoka 2007:[26]). The Tanaka family history also demonstrates the diverse migration patterns of individuals and families. This extended Issei family arrived in four stages through various ports between 1898 and 1914, settling in Gresham

once united (Bibb 2013:[2]). California's agricultural jobs drew many Issei first from Japan or Hawaii but once arrived, labor dynamics and exclusionist legislation kept migrant workers in the Delta so mobile that their movements were reported in the Japanese Producers Association's monthly journal as a service to regional farmers (Naka 1913:60–62).

Historical and archaeological evidence also provide examples of international capital and commodities connecting Issei residents of these three sites. The large import/export business M. Furuya Company had international offices in Seattle; Portland; Vancouver, Canada; Yokohama and Tokyo, Japan and supplied regional and local markets all along the West Coast (Hough 1919-1920:306; Ito 1973:699). In 1904 M. Furuya also established the Japanese Commercial Bank in Seattle and salesmen from his company made deliveries to Issei communities as far away as North Dakota (Ito 1973:700,710). Salesmen from such companies are known to have visited Japanese Gulch Village and George Shima's labor camps (Maniery and Fryman 1993:39–40; Odoi 2007:[7]). There is also evidence that Issei traveled to regional market centers. The Tanaka family likely made trips to Portland to sell produce where they would have encountered more than 100 Japanese-owned stores and fruit stands (Paraso et al. 2013:6.14). Shigagero Tanabe reportedly took the train to Everett once a week for foodstuffs, some of which he resold at his small store in Japanese Gulch Village (Matsuoka 2007:[17]). For residents of the California Delta, Walnut Grove provided many Issei with a reprieve from their *kawashimo* ("down-river" life) and access to the offerings of Japantown (Costello and Maniery 1988:3; Iwata 1992:233–234).

Transpacific connections are also evident in the Japanese-manufactured vessels present in each assemblage and in the broad similarities between collections. Analysis reveals that over 90 percent of the sherds in all three assemblages are porcelain (Table 22). Of the 19 different forms identified at these sites, rice bowls and teacups are by far the most common forms and *chawan* represent 50 percent of the total assemblage (Figure 31, Table 23). All three assemblages contain decoration spanning stylistic and technological changes within the Meiji- and Taishō-era Japanese ceramics industry (Figure 32, Table 24). With the exception of several ceramics in the George Shima Camp 1 collection, no obviously Western motifs, export designs, or Chinese goods occur in these assemblages. From this it appears that residents of all three sites acquired ceramics that would have been common in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Japan.

Although only a very small percentage of ceramics contained marks, one occurs in both the Japanese Gulch Village and George Shima Camp 1 assemblages. This *kikusui* (chrysanthemum on water) export mark has been recovered from other Issei sites (i.e. Burton 2005:96; Costello and Maniery 1988:77,83; Costello et al. 2001:33–34; Ross 2012:25–26) that have a wide temporal

Table 22. Material Type by Sherd Count and Percent of Assemblage for All Examined Sites.

Material Type	George Shima Camp 1		Japanese Gulch Village		Tanaka Farmstead		Grand Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Earthenware (<i>Hajiki</i>)	0	0	1	2	1	2	2	1
Porous Stoneware (<i>Tôki</i>)	-	-	5	2	-	-	5	2
Vitrified Stoneware (<i>Sekki</i>)	5	9	5	3	-	-	10	3
Subtotal Stoneware	5	9	10	5	0	0	15	5
Half Porcelain (<i>Hanjiki</i>)	-	-	4	2			4	1
Porcelain (<i>Jiki</i>)	49	91	178	92	64	98	291	93
Subtotal Porcelain	49	91	182	94	64	98	295	94
Indeterminate ^a	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
Grand Total	54	100	194	100	65	100	313	100

^a Paste was burned and type could not be determined. See Chapter 2 for Japanese language term references.

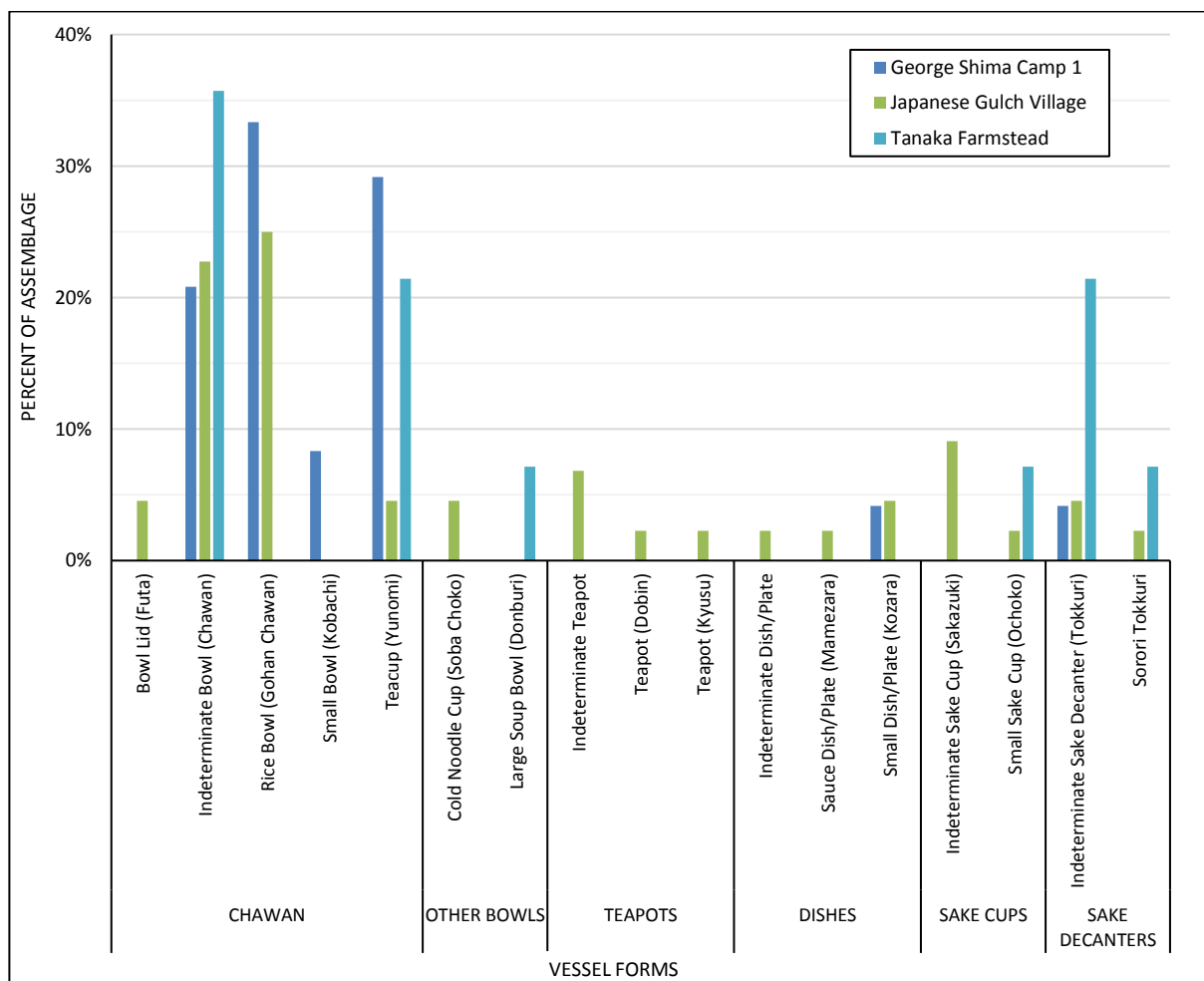


Figure 31. Histogram of vessel forms by percent of assemblage (by MNV) for all examined sites (Indeterminate category and non-tableware or sake vessels excluded).

Table 23. Vessel Forms by MNV and Percent of Assemblage for All Examined Sites.

Form	George Shima Camp 1		Japanese Gulch Village		Tanaka Farmstead		Grand Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Tablewares								
<i>Chawan</i> Small Bowl (<i>kobachi</i>)	2	8	-	-	-	-	2	2
Pickle Bowl (<i>namasu-zara</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rice Bowl (<i>gohan chawan</i>)	8	32	11	19	-	-	19	17
Bowl Lid (<i>futa</i>)	-	-	2	3	-	-	2	2
Teacup (<i>yunomi</i>)	7	28	2	3	3	11	12	11
Indeterminate Bowl (<i>chawan</i>)	5	20	10	17	5	19	20	18
Large Soup Bowl (<i>donburi</i>)	-	-	-	-	1	4	1	0
Cold Noodle Cup (<i>soba choko</i>)	-	-	2	3	-	-	2	2
Subtotal Bowls	22	88	27	45	9	33	58	53
Large Dish/Plate (<i>hirabachi</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Medium Dish/Plate (<i>nakazara</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Small Dish/Plate (<i>kozara</i>)	1	4	2	3	-	-	3	3
Sauce Dish/Plate (<i>mamezara</i>)	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	0
Indeterminate Dish/Plate	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	0
Subtotal Dish/Plates	1	4	4	7	0	0	5	5
Teapot (<i>dobin</i>)	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	0
Teapot (<i>kyûsu</i>)	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	0
Indeterminate Teapot	-	-	3	5	-	-	3	3
Subtotal Teapots	0	0	5	9	0	0	5	5
Subtotal Mealtime	23	92	36	62	9	33	68	62
Sake Wares								
Large Sake Cup (<i>guinomi</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Small Sake Cup (<i>ochoko</i>)	-	-	1	2	1	4	2	2
Indeterminate Sake Cup (<i>sakazuki</i>)	-	-	4	7	-	-	4	4
Subtotal Sake Cups	0	0	5	9	1	4	6	5
Sake Decanter (<i>kampin tokkuri</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sake Decanter (<i>sorori tokkuri</i>)	-	-	1	2	1	4	2	2
Indeterminate Sake Decanter (<i>tokkuri</i>)	1	4	2	3	3	11	6	5
Subtotal Sake Decanters	0	0	3	5	4	15	8	7
Subtotal Sake	1	4	8	14	5	18	14	13
Indeterminate Wares								
Indeterminate Hollow	-	-	10	17	8	30	18	16
Indeterminate Flat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indeterminate	1	4	3	5	4	15	8	7
Subtotal Indeterminate	1	4	13	22	12	44	26	24
Other Vessels								
Grinding Bowl (<i>suribachi</i>)	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	0
Jarlet (<i>chinmi tsubo</i>)	-	-	-	-	1	4	1	0
Subtotal Other Vessels	0	0	1	2	1	4	2	2
Grand Total	25	100	58	100	27	100	110	100

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. See Chapter 2 for form descriptions and Japanese language term references.

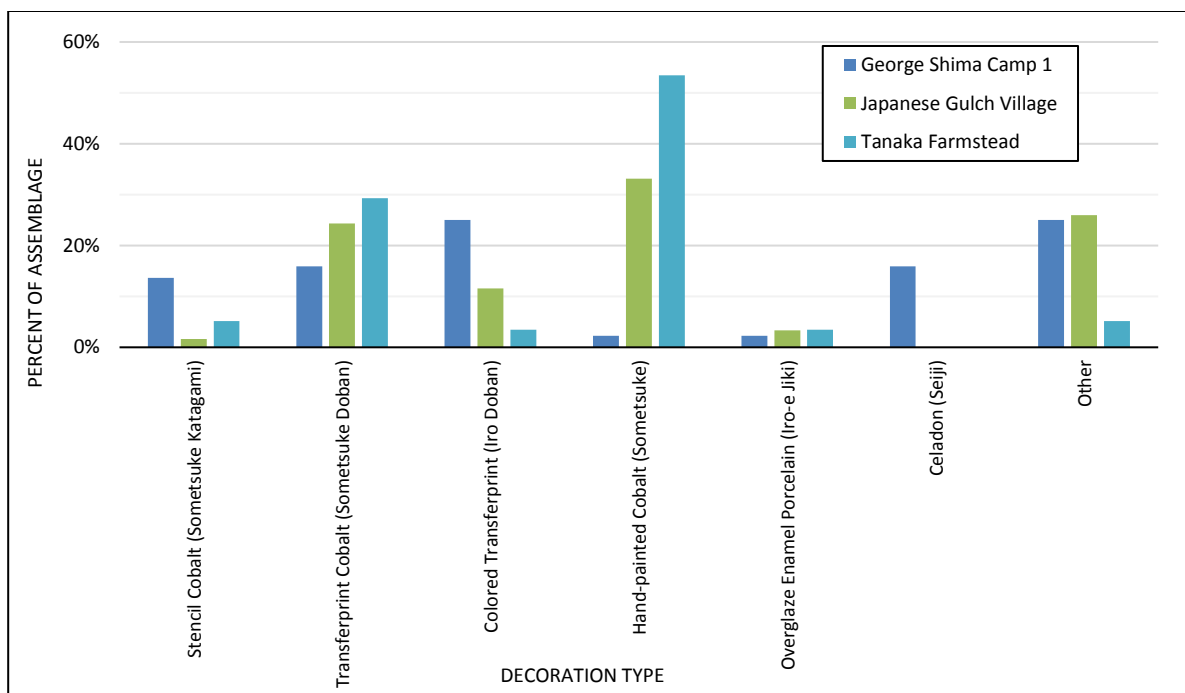


Figure 32. Histogram of vessel decoration by percent of assemblage (by sherds) for all examined sites (Other and Indeterminate categories excluded).

Table 24. Decoration Type by Sherd and Percent of Assemblage for All Examined Sites.

Decoration Type	George Shima Camp 1		Japanese Gulch Village		Tanaka Farmstead		Grand Total	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
<i>Sometsuke Katagami</i> (Stencil Cobalt)	6	12	3	2	3	5	12	4
<i>Sometsuke Dôban</i> (Transferprint Cobalt)	7	14	44	24	17	27	68	23
<i>Iro Dôban</i> (Colored Transferprint)	11	23	21	12	2	3	34	12
<i>Sometsuke</i> (Hand-painted Cobalt)	1	2	60	33	31	48	92	31
<i>Iro-e Jiki</i> (Overglaze Enamel Porcelain)	1	2	6	3	2	3	9	3
<i>Seiji</i> (Celadon)	7	14	-	0	-	0	7	2
Other	11	23	12	7	3	5	61	21
Carving (<i>Chôka</i>)	-	0	2	1	-	0	2	1
Colored Glaze (<i>Iroyu</i>)	-	0	-	0	1	2	1	0
Faceted (<i>Mentori</i>)	2	4	-	0	-	0	2	1
Hand-painted (<i>Etsuke</i>)	4	8	5	3	2	3	11	4
Ink Resist (<i>Sumi Hajiki</i>)	1	2	-	0	-	0	1	0
Spatter Stencil (<i>Fukizumi</i>)	4	8	-	0	-	0	4	1
Transferprinted (<i>Dôban</i>)	-	0	1	1	-	0	1	0
Washed	-	0	2	1	-	0	2	1
Subtotal Other								
Undecorated	5	10	35	19	6	9	46	15
Indeterminate		0	1	1	-	0	1	0
Grand Total	49	100	182	100	64	100	295	100

Note: Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number. See Chapter 2 for decoration descriptions and Japanese language term references.

and geographic range. Connections to more specific pottery centers suggested by marks and decoration types include the Seto-Mino, Kyoto, and Kyushu region, and kilns in Koyama or Mashiko. One *sansui dobin* (landscape teapot) can be linked to specific pottery centers and artists involved with the *Mingei* movement. This movement connected Taishô-era potters and intellectuals to the international Arts and Crafts movement and conversations about the role of industrialization and tradition in an era of globalization (Jones 2014:105–106,114–115). While this evidence certainly suggests that residents of all three sites participated in transnational exchanges, project sites also provide examples of the distinctive ways that Issei navigated their specific circumstances, accessed resources, and used ceramics in their daily lives.

Research Theme 2: Diversity and Distinctions

All Issei faced some form of exclusion. Whether this was from citizenship, land ownership, labor organizations, business associations, financial institutions, or was expressed through local manifestations of racism and prejudice, Issei navigated this exclusion in myriad and often locally and individually-specific ways. Issei living in Japanese Gulch Village consciously shifted their purchasing habits to appease the business community of Mukilteo and democratically elected a bookman to act on their behalf in labor negotiations (Odoi 2007:[6]; Ito 1973:397–399). Truck farming families in Gresham organized a farmers' association to protect their interests and collectively sell products, yet leases required individual contracts with landlords (Davey 1920:5;13). In the California Delta, farming partnerships were more common and often formed the basis for financing reclamation efforts, supplying labor for intensive crops, and even disseminating agricultural knowledge or techniques (Cook 1924:[4–5]; Naka 1913:60–62). To circumnavigate Alien Land Laws, many Issei purchased land under the name of an American-born child, formed corporations under the name of an American citizen, or illegally leased land from receptive landlords. All of these strategies increased Issei's likelihood of security, well-being, and financial success.

Japanese ceramic collections also reveal distinctive details of everyday life in these three communities. Figure 31 and Table 23 illustrate the overall variety of forms recovered from project sites, yet the unique composition of each assemblage. Though *chawan* make up over half of the cumulative collection, they are most prevalent in the George Shima Labor Camp assemblage. The relatively complete vessels in this assemblage are dominated by *gohan chawan* (rice bowls) and *yunomi* (teacups) with few unidentifiable forms. These staple tablewares appear to reflect the conditions in Delta labor camps, where meals were served communally and

Issei moved from one isolated camp to another every six months to three years (Iwata 1992:246; Maniery and Fryman 1993:36–38). In this context the versatility of *chawan* may have meant that a single vessel could serve many purposes and minimize the amount of goods that needed to be transported from place to place.

Vessels in the Japanese Gulch Village and Tanaka Farmstead collections are notable for their more specific uses. *Chawan* together with dishes like *kozara* (small side dishes) and *mamezari* (sauce dishes), offer evidence that traditional Japanese meals of rice, accompanied by side dishes and sauces, may have been common. At sites like Japanese Gulch Village and the Tanaka Farmstead, specific vessels such as *soba choko* (cold noodle sauce cups) and *donburi* (large soup bowls) may reflect better market access or perhaps hint at personal food preferences. Though they were not the focus of this analysis, vessels like the *suribachi* (grinding bowl) from Japanese Gulch Village and *chinmi tsubo* (jarlet) identified in the Tanaka Farmstead assemblage point to Japanese vessels being used for food preparation and storage as well.

Tokkuri (sake decanter) fragments were recovered from all three sites and at least two cups in the Japanese Gulch Village and Tanaka Farmstead assemblages fall within the size range for an *ochoko* (small sake cup). Because site occupation dates overlap with American Prohibition, acquisition of sake may have required extra effort on the part of Issei. The historical record suggests several ways that Issei thwarted this law. Accounts indicate that Japanese Gulch residents obtained alcohol from Japanese boats moored at the Crown Lumber wharf (Ito 1973:396; Kaiser 1990:11,24). Dick Sakurai remembers his father brewing sake in large wooden vats in the basement of the family home with supplies purchased from Portland (Sakurai 2013). According to another Portland resident, Frank M. Tomori, in the 1920s a 100-pound bag of polished rice, the main ingredient in sake, cost about \$3.75. Tomori remembers many farmers trying their hand at homebrewing, adding “If one failed in the brewing, it turned to vinegar, and then by distilling it could be made into *shochu* (a cheap liquor)” (Ito 1973:496). All this signifies that maintaining access to familiar Japanese products was a priority for many Issei who took advantage of local resources to so.

Ceramic decoration types also occur in variable proportions at project sites. Although some decorative types and methods can be associated with general production or popularity ranges, these do not seem to have direct correlation with the occupation dates of sites, perhaps suggesting more nuanced distinctions between communities and among assemblages. The George Shima Camp 1 assemblage, for example, contains the most decorative types and the most even dispersal across type categories despite having the shortest occupation period (see Figure

32, Table 24). *Sometsuke katagami*, a stenciling method thought to have been largely abandoned in favor of transferprint techniques by the first decades of the twentieth century, makes up a larger percentage of this assemblage than either of the others. Additionally, this assemblage includes the only obviously Western design elements (a cornucopia and grape transferprint) and the only possibly Chinese wintergreen (*seiji* if Japanese). This breadth of decorative types and methods is in marked contrast to the limited array of forms and the temporary occupation of the camp, which lasted just eight years between 1918 and 1926. The possible Chinese wintergreen and *katagami* stencils, which may be Chinese or Meiji-era products, perhaps point to recycling of vessels from previous work camps on other Delta islands (which before the 1880s were largely Chinese) or to purchasing out-of-date and therefore less expensive vessels. Marks on several vessels reinforce that inexpensive ceramics may have been desirable. At least two *chawan* and a *tokkuri* (sake decanter) contain restaurant marks that suggest they could have been given out as promotions or sold cheaply by these establishments (Louise Allison Cort 2016, elec. comm.).

Decorative types in the Japanese Gulch Village assemblage are also relatively diverse and include all but one porcelain type and several distinctive non-porcelain styles. Stoneware decorative types can be sourced to pottery centers in the Kyushu region, the villages of Koyama or Mashiko (Louise Allison Cort 2016, elec. comm.), and one porcelain mark perhaps refers to the Arashiyama district on the outskirts of Kyoto (Yuumi Danner 2016, elec. comm.). The variety of decorative styles, sources, and materials seem to reflect both the range of vessels and the diversity of purchasing options within this relatively stable Issei community. This is easily contrasted with the more homogeneous Tanaka Farmstead assemblage. The small collection of Japanese ceramics recovered from this site has been highly fragmented, yet decoration and material types within the assemblage seem relatively uniform. All but one ceramic sherd is porcelain and over 50 percent of the decoration is hand-painted *sometsuke* (see Table 22, Figure 32). This homogeneity suggests a more limited temporal and/or geographical provenience for the Tanaka Farmstead assemblage. The often hand-painted designs that appear on the majority of the collection are reminiscent of late Meiji- and Taishô-era designs that prized a sense of restraint but also may reflect the aesthetic preferences and purchasing habits of a single family unit, illuminating yet another important distinction between the Tanaka Farmstead and the Issei communities of Japanese Gulch Village and the California Delta.

Research Theme 3: Ceramic Identification and Analyses

Because so few archaeological assemblages from Issei sites have been recovered, Japanese ceramic collections have not received the kind of detailed analysis that, for example, Chinese or

American ceramics have. Beginning with Costello and Maniery's (1988) analysis of Japanese wares recovered from Walnut Grove, California, greater attention has focused on identifying and interpreting these ceramics. Most recently, work by Bibb (e.g. 2001; 2013) and Ross (e. g. 2009a, 2012) has moved towards analyses incorporating Japanese language terms. This project proposes a formalized typology based on this approach and strives to identify Japanese ceramic wares and characteristics in contextually-meaningful way. The final section of this chapter addresses this research theme, and attempts to answer the following questions: What vessels appear common/rare? Are there patterns of distribution or change over time? Are there diagnostic attributes that indicate likely dates or locations of manufacture? Are there diagnostic attributes that indicate likely forms, types, or vessel uses?

Table 22 indicates that porcelain is the most common material type recovered from project assemblages; however, all three collections contained a small number of non-porcelain wares also manufactured in Japan. Bowls, especially *chawan*, were the most commonly identified forms at all three sites, though sake vessels and a small number of specific use vessels also occur at each site. The limited number of specific forms at George Shima Camp 1 compared to Japanese Gulch Village suggests the range of vessel forms one might expect to find in different contexts, and analysis of forms from all three sites provide examples of the type of information these can tell us about mealtime practices and community dynamics.

Distribution patterns across geographic and temporal contexts proved hard to discern from project sites. In both instances, the sites probably represent too small a sample to make any meaningful inferences, but the composition of project assemblages clearly differ. At least in these three sites, differences do not appear to be strictly tied to chronological changes in the Japanese ceramics industry. Predominantly Meiji-era *katagami* and the later popularity range for green transferprints are useful as general dating criteria but the relatively equal amounts of these two decorative types in in the George Shima Camp 1 assemblage demonstrates that these alone cannot indicate the overall age of an site. A slew of factors are likely at work here, including the loose dating of styles based on popularity, the non-uniform adoption of technological innovations across a ceramics industry that supplied sites occupied for at most 30 years, depositional lag time, and the specific circumstances of each site. Though difficult to date discretely, a variety of Meiji- and Taishô-era ceramics appear to have been available to Issei consumers even in North American contexts.

Surprisingly, stonewares (*tôki* and *sekki*) provided the strongest ties to individual production centers despite their relatively infrequent recovery or discussion in archaeological

literature. The irony of this is that the very thing that makes them easier to source, the long manufacture ranges of specific styles, makes them more difficult to date. The most frequently identified mark was the *kikusui* export mark (found on three vessels) which appears on ceramics manufactured throughout Japan and has been recovered from sites spanning almost half the period of Issei immigration (Burton 2005:96; Costello and Maniery 1988:77,83). Relatively little is known about other inscriptions found on Japanese ceramics. The marks within the George Shima Camp 1, Japanese Gulch Village, and Tanaka Farmstead collections often provided information when translated; however, and even when incomplete often suggested locations of manufacture or sale. More research on stoneware styles and marks may help pinpoint more specific dates and locations of manufacture. Similarly, although the general porcelain decoration categories of *Sometsuke* (stencil, transferprint, or hand-painted cobalt), *Iro dôban* (colored transferprint), and *Iro-e Jiki* (enameled porcelain) were widely used in the Meiji through Taishô eras, more specific porcelain decoration types may provide links to discrete pottery centers or manufacture dates. The Other category used in this analysis includes a mix of decoration. Within the George Shima Camp 1 assemblage, this category contained a significant portion of sherds (23 percent), suggesting that more identification of specific styles could be done.

Identifying forms proved to be more successful than sourcing or dating wares. Over 75 percent of analyzed ceramics by MNV and 65 percent by sherd count could be assigned to at least a general form category. Because of the similar shapes and often overlapping rim diameters of *gohan chawan* (rice bowls), *younomi* (teacups), and *futa* (bowl lids), the assignment of these forms to a general *chawan* category when more specific distinctions were not possible decreased the amount of vessels classified simply as indeterminate forms. Increasing size class and ability to determine vessel rim diameter, footring diameter, or height all increased the success rate of form identification. As can be seen in Table 25, over half of sherds two inches in diameter could be assigned a form and by 5 inches all sherds were identifiable. Measurements for vessel rims, footrings, and height all have high correlations with form identification (Table 26), although vessel height may not actually be as definitive as it appears from these data since vessels whose height can be measured necessarily also include both rim and footring portions.

Table 27 presents the average dimensions for vessels cataloged from project sites. Although there is a fair amount of overlap between rim, footring, and height of different vessel forms, this information along with average measurements suggested by other researchers may help to establish general guidelines. Project data also suggests that placement of decoration can sometimes be associated with vessel forms. Dishes featured interior decoration 73 percent

Table 25. Size Class and Identifiable Forms by Sherd Count and Percent of Cumulative Assemblage.

Size Class	Count	Percent	Identifiable Forms (Count)	Identifiable Forms (Percent)
Maximum 1 in. diameter	41	14	5	12
Maximum 2 in. diameter	95	33	50	53
Maximum 3 in. diameter	87	31	74	85
Maximum 4 in. diameter	40	14	39	98
Maximum 5 in. diameter	15	5	15	100
Maximum 6 in. diameter	6	2	6	100
Grand Total	284	100	189	67

Table 26. Attributes and Identifiable Forms by Sherd Count and Percent of Cumulative Assemblage.

Attributes of Sherds	Count	Percent	Identifiable Forms (Count)	Identifiable Forms (Percent)
Vessel Is Complete	3	100	3	100
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Rim (<i>kôen</i>)	180	58	140	78
Rim Diameter Was Measured	136	76	123	90
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Base (<i>soko</i>)	132	42	115	87
Base Diameter Was Measured	19	14	16	84
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Footring (<i>kôdai</i>)	104	33	92	88
Footring Was Measured	92	88	84	91
Sherd Includes a Portion of Vessel Body (<i>dô</i>)	240	77	158	66
Vessel Height Was Measured	60	19	60	100

Table 27. Average Size of Vessels in Project Database.

Vessel	Average Base Diameter	Average Footring Diameter	Average Rim Diameter	Average Vessel Height	Count (MNV)
Tablewares					
<i>Chawan</i> Small Bowl (<i>kobachi</i>)	-	3.5	10.5	5.0	2
Rice Bowl (<i>gohan chawan</i>)	-	4.4	11.6	5.6	19
Bowl Lid (<i>futa</i>)	-	4.3	9.5	3.0	2
Teacup (<i>yunomi</i>)	-	4.2	8.2	6.7	12
Indeterminate Bowl (<i>chawan</i>)	-	4.5	10.9	5.1	20
Large Soup Bowl (<i>donburi</i>)	-	4.0	-	-	1
Cold Noodle Cup (<i>soba choko</i>)	5.5	-	-	5.5	2
Small Dish/Plate (<i>kozara</i>)	-	7.8	13.5	2.5	3
Sauce Dish/Plate (<i>mamezara</i>)	-	2.6	7.4	2.0	1
Sake Wares					
Small Sake Cup (<i>ochoko</i>)	-	3.2	4.5	-	2
Indeterminate Sake Cup (<i>sakazuki</i>)	-	3.0	7.4	4.2	4
Indeterminate Sake Decanter (<i>tokkuri</i>)	5.0	-	3.5	-	6

Note: table includes only vessels for which measurements were available. See Chapter 2 for form descriptions and Japanese language term references.

of the time, while bowls and other hollow forms featured interior decoration only 15 percent of the time. Exceptions to this generalization exist, however. For example, all but one *katagami*-stenciled sherd had interior decoration regardless of form. Placement of decoration may also be helpful in identifying *futa* (bowl lids). The examples identified in this project both have decoration concentrated around the footring rather than the rim, so that when being used as a lid the decoration would be most visible.

Conclusions

This thesis is an attempt to better understand Japanese ceramics recovered from late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Issei archaeological sites. Comparisons of three sites, located in the California Delta; Mukilteo, Washington; and Gresham, Oregon, focused on historical accounts of life in these communities and analysis of Japanese table and sake wares. Although Japanese table and sake wares represent only a portion of the overall archaeological assemblage recovered from each site, their reanalysis is significant for several reasons. Large collections of Japanese ceramics are still rare, and unlike Chinese or European-American ceramics, standardized typologies, references, and terminology for many of vessels in these collections are only just emerging. This limits the amount of information that can be gleaned from these artifacts when compared to other materials recovered from Issei sites. It also makes site comparisons difficult and too often obscures important connections between the vessels found in Issei sites and their local, regional, or international context.

In this thesis I propose a classification system for Japanese forms and decoration that was developed in collaboration with Japanese ceramics expert Leland Bibb. The Japanese language terms incorporated into this classification system attempt to describe vessels in a way that would have been familiar to both the Japanese ceramics industry that produced them and the Issei site residents that used them. Reanalysis of Japanese ceramics using this classification system revealed further information about the vessels in each assemblage and provided a way to synthesize and compare ceramic data across assemblages. Research questions surrounding transpacific connections and local diversity serve as examples of broader research questions that could be addressed by more completely analyzing Japanese ceramic assemblages as part of the larger archaeological record of Issei communities.

These results highlight that although Japanese ceramic collections are only one piece of the archaeological record of Issei communities, they are an important piece. The vessels reanalyzed in this thesis are testaments to the effort put forth by Issei communities to retain access to these familiar products. Clearly, these vessels were an important aspect of Issei daily life. Examining

Japanese ceramics in a more systematic way so that they can be compared across sites and connected to their production context furthers archaeological interpretation of Issei assemblages and, ultimately, adds to a greater understanding of the complex forces that connected and distinguished the everyday experiences of Issei in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century American West.

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