

Gambling and Gaming Pieces in the Market Street Chinatown Community

I would go with my family downtown to Chinatown in New York on the occasionally Sunday morning for Dim Sum as a kid, and one of the strongest memories I had of Chinatown was of the off-track horserace betting place that was right next door to the restaurant we always ate at. When we waited outside the restaurant for a table, I remember always being bothered by the cigarette smoke that wafted downwind from the throngs of men who spilled out onto the sidewalks from the inside of the betting place and crowded outside, where the smoke hung in the air, stagnant and thick, enveloping and obscuring the faces of these middle-aged and elderly Chinese men. They stood around on the sidewalk in groups, looking a bit uneasy and on edge, talking amongst each other, as they dragged on their cigarettes and waited nervously for the results. The clothes they wore were indicative of the fact that most of them were probably of the working class. The windows of the betting place were tinted, so I never got a chance to see the inside, but when I passed by when the door was opening or closing, I could hear the din of countless voices screaming over one another, and partly see the packs of men, crammed together as tight as sardines, in the dark, smoky space.

Introduction

The popular notion of the history of Chinese in America often links their immigration with the gold rush of the mid-19th Century and the building of the transcontinental railroad in the 1860's. It is common, in describing the early Chinese immigrants to America's West, to discuss the *Gum San* ("gold mountain") dream. The 1848 discovery of gold in California in fact brought individuals from all over the world, coming with dreams of striking it rich and returning home with their gold. The Chinese from the Southern province of China, Guangdong, comprised one of the larger immigrant groups that came over during this gold rush period. It was primarily men (the majority of them single men in their teens or twenties¹), and ones under dire financial conditions, who traveled to America, leaving their homes and families to gain employment and make money to send back, with hopes of eventually returning home.

When they arrived here, the gold having quickly "dried up," the Chinese had to seek work in other fields. In the 1860's and 1870's, they worked as laborers on farms, in mines, and most notably, in the building of the transcontinental railroad. Their

employment in these various fields of work, along with the popular notion at the time that the Chinese were “cheap labor,” created great animosity and resentment among Anglo-Americans towards the Chinese. By 1870, after the completion of the railroad and at the onset of economic recession, Chinese laborers faced intense opposition from other workers in the Northern California region. By 1879, California’s second Constitution declared it illegal for any corporation or state, municipal or county government to employ Chinese.² During the 1880’s, anti-Chinese sentiment and hostility became strong throughout Northern California, and violent attacks and hate crimes against Chinese were quite common.³ Thus, the communities of Chinese that emerged, that came to be known as “Chinatowns,” were not merely of choice for the Chinese, but rather their enclosed borders were forced upon them, as unwanted outsiders.

It is in this historical and political climate that we must examine the Market Street Chinatown of San Jose, California. The Market Street Chinatown was founded in the late 1860’s in what is now downtown San Jose. For many of the Chinese people employed seasonally as agricultural, industrial and domestic workers throughout Santa Clara County, Market Street served as a part-time home.⁴ A fire in 1870 forced the residents to relocate to an area by the Guadalupe River, known as the Vine Street Chinatown. By 1872, residents were able to move back to the original Market Street location, which came to be comprised of a number of businesses such as grocery stores, restaurants, clothing shops and general stores over the next 15 years.⁵ More than a thousand Chinese people came to inhabit the Market Street Chinatown by 1887, when an arson fire burned it down.

The assemblage of artifacts that I examined for my research on the Market Street Chinatown collection comes from Project 85-31, feature 18 (A and B), the largest feature of 85-31. The focus of my research was the role of gaming and gambling in the Market Street community. My assemblage consisted of 2 wooden dominoes from 18B, 1 dice made of bone and 7 hemispherical glass “beads,” all from 18A (see Figures 1a and 1b, 2, and 3).

Main Questions

The personal experience in witnessing a certain type of gambling in a contemporary Chinatown in New York I described at the opening of this paper informed the types of questions I wanted to ask when encountering the gaming pieces of the Market Street Chinatown. Some of my initial questions in approaching my assemblage from the site and in attempt to build an understanding of the role of gaming and gambling in the Market Street community were:

- What is the cultural and societal role that gambling plays within China, historically and during the late 19th Century (when Chinese were immigrating to California)?
- What unique role did gambling have at the Market Street Chinatown site, that differs from or is similar to its role in China? How did daily cultural life change as an immigrant, as seen through the lens of gambling? To what extent did gambling serve as a form of cultural maintenance and pride?
- Who exactly engaged in gambling practices? Was it the poor laborers and seasonal farmers, or more well-off people like merchants and business people? That is, what is the socioeconomic class associated with those who gambled? Was it primarily men and was there a particular age-group that predominated?
- How did gambling influence the relationships between people in the community, as well as the relationships with people outside of the community? To what extent did gambling have an influence upon Anglo-American culture?

The Role of Gambling and Gaming in China: a Historical Perspective

It is critical before we move on to analyzing and interpreting the data from the gaming pieces recovered from feature 18 of the Market Street Chinatown, that we position the role of gaming and gambling in Chinese society, both historically as well as contemporary to the Market Street Chinatown of the late 19th Century. Throughout time, records and artifacts have demonstrated that gambling has existed in the culture of countless civilizations. Gambling artifacts have been recovered from sites in China dating as far back as 2300 B.C. ⁶ The idea of Blackjack and Poker supposedly sprouted from a gambling game of shuffling paper money that developed in China around 900 AD. Playing cards are also known to have their origin in China, where one anthropologist of

the late 19th Century claims that “there is no essential difference between cards and dominoes in China.”⁷ The world’s oldest playing card known from China is dated at around the 11th Century and is connected to divination practices. These precursors to the playing cards we are so familiar with today were eventually introduced into Europe during the 13th Century.⁸

Let us take a step back even further and explore some of the reasons why gambling might have taken a special place in Chinese culture and society. One likely theory is that gambling derives from the Confucian world-view, a philosophy and way of life that has largely dictated the cultural and societal progression of China from its conception around 500 B.C.⁹ Confucianism promotes the notion of luck and fortune in the emphasis placed on securing favors from higher forces, spirits and the gods by prayer and sacrifice. Indeed, the idea of and quest for luck and good fortune play a central role in Chinese culture and thus the place of gambling in the culture can be seen as following naturally from these notions of luck. Furthermore, evidence from Qin and Han dynasty tombs (from around 200 B.C to 200 A.D.) and the divination and gaming artifacts unearthed there (including dice, diviner’s boards and hexagram texts), has made strong connections between gambling and divination, a practice that can be directly tied to the Confucian worldview.¹⁰ Divination is defined as “the art of or act of foretelling future events or revealing occult knowledge by means of augury or alleged supernatural agency.”¹¹ The idea behind gambling and divination then was to gamble with the spirits in order to secure their powers for oneself, or gain power over them, and use this spirit power to secure good fortune within the mortal world. “The activities of divination and gambling were linked as methods by which people sought to secure some sense of mastery over the unknown forces or the blind fate that seemed to dominate their lives...one used the tools of gambling in certain forms of divination to find a path through the realm of uncertainty.”¹² These ideas will prove especially salient later on as we examine the role gambling had for Chinese immigrants in the U.S.

While gambling was prohibited in China throughout much of its history, it was nevertheless widespread by the 19th Century. During the Qing dynasty (1644-1912), gambling was particularly concentrated in coastal and port cities, which also served as enclaves for many foreign Westerners. It was especially prevalent in the coastal region

of Canton, one of the primary port cities that traded with the West, and where the greatest percentage of Chinese immigrants to the U.S. in the late 19th Century came from.¹³ The typical worker who came over to the U.S. was a young male, alone without friends or family, and often without much money and/or in debt. Facing linguistic and cultural barriers living in the U.S., he was also subject to intense racial discrimination and social isolation (as described earlier on).

The Role of Gambling and Representations of Gambling in America

It is important to take note of the Anglo-American perception of the Chinese, as well their cultural practices and Chinatown communities during the 19th Century, as a depraved, wretched, demoralized people (which is not to say such perceptions do not still persist today). In New York's Chinatown, "Chinese New Yorkers were increasingly represented as abject opium-smoking, rat-eating criminals who threatened public virtue."¹⁴ Chinatown became increasingly "othered" in the public eye, in which outsiders displaced negative attributes onto another culture in attempt to distance themselves and define themselves in opposition to this "Orientalized" community, which came to occupy the space of the shady, abject ghetto. "Chinatown, according to periodicals from that era, was an Oriental invasion of American residential areas, a secluded enclave immune to assimilation, a slum and hotbed for vice and filthiness,"¹⁵ that teemed with "opium and gambling dens, brothels, and murderous tongs (Chinese gangs)."¹⁶ James McCabe described the New York Chinatown in 1882 as "the most wretched haunt occupied by human beings in the New World," with "gaming houses and opium dens" for Chinese who are "inveterate gamblers, and one of their chief dissipations consists in stupefying themselves by smoking opium."¹⁷ Conceiving of the Chinese as vice-ridden gamblers was one popular means of furthering the notion of the depraved Chinese person and enabled Anglo-Americans to "other" the Chinese and distance themselves from them. Seen through the eyes of Anglo-Americans, gambling thus was just another self-indulging activity for the Chinese to engage in.

This wide-spread perception of Chinatown, the Chinese, and in particular, their gambling practices, is worlds away from the actual role gambling played in Chinese overseas communities. Gambling wasn't only about people in debt or without much

money trying to get some extra cash. Stewart Culin observed, “The habit of gambling among the Chinese laborers in the United States is often reinforced, if not actually acquired, during their residence here. The majority are principally poor country people, and...from their youth and lack of money...were unaccustomed to hazard their earnings in the manner” that is perceived as universal among Chinese in the United States.¹⁸ He went on to note that although “the custom of gambling is often looked upon as one of the distinctive traits of the Chinese.” It was his supposition that “[gambling] may be regarded as concomitant of their present state of culture, rather than as having any special ethnic significance.” In some ways, he was right, gambling took on a unique and prominent role in the Chinese overseas immigrant communities in America in particular, but there is also historic and cultural significance of it as well.

As we learned earlier, gambling has historical ties to ideas of divination and the Confucian philosophy of life, involving luck and good fortune. More importantly, it involved seeking to secure some sense of mastery over the unknown forces or the blind fate that seemed to dominate their lives, particularly as immigrants to a new place that proved hostile and unwelcoming. Gambling was about the attempt to secure good fortune from the spirit world, through the related practices of gambling and divination to “find a path through the realm of uncertainty.”¹⁹ Moreover, gambling provided Chinese a space of regularity (laborers often traveled into Chinatown on their one day off on Sunday each week²⁰), constancy and familiarity with others who engaged in gambling as well, during this period of tumultuous change and the unknown, in this foreign, antagonistic environment. Regularity and consistency were highly valued. As a man named “Big Pete” recalls from his days as a gambler in San Francisco’s Chinatown, “all Chinese people know, especially gamblers, they go to one place all the time. They don’t move around like they used to.”²¹ As one author describes, “the most popular Chinese gambling games are invariably played with certain tools; the participants sit in definite positions, know each other, and meet together regularly.”²² Importantly it was a way for immigrants to mitigate the difficulties encountered in immigration of social isolation and disconnection from family, by providing a space for participants to come together regularly and get to know each other. It fostered companionship, social cohesion, community and a sense of belonging.

Figure 1a: Chinese domino made of a dense, dark wood [85-31:18B-132]



Figure 1b: Second Chinese domino made of a dense, dark wood [85-31:18B-244]



Figure 2: An example of small Chinese dice (dice in the center), with recognizable single red spot*



*actual image was unavailable due to technical difficulties downloading picture to Word

Figure 3: 7 Chu pieces (3 hak chu, 4 pak chu)



Methods and Data Presentation

The artifacts from feature 18 were excavated on September 11, 1985, by Kathryn and Jeff Parsons.²³ After preliminary field analysis, these artifacts were boxed and put in storage, largely forgotten until they were “unearthed” from storage and catalogued in 2003 by Professor Voss’ archaeology students at Stanford University. The feature consisted of two redwood-lined cells adjacent to each other (around 4 by 6 feet in area and 2-3 feet deep in total size), separated by a bulging wood lining.²⁴ It is speculated that the feature might have been the site of a privy pit. Other prominent artifacts of note include European and Asian ceramics (cups, plates, bowls, spoons, etc.), soy pots, earthenware pots, shoes, opium pipes, pig mandibles and fish bones.²⁵

The first part of my analysis consists of materials analysis of the gaming pieces. The two dominoes I examined from 18B are made of a dense dark wood. The first, [85-31:18B-132], measures 5.3 cm long, 2.2 cm wide, and .74 cm thick (Figure 1a). There are eight dot indentations that are each approximately 6.7 mm in diameter. It is assumed that the dots were once coated with white paint (as they are in the second domino examined), but there are no traces of paints left. It displays a considerable degree of burning. One end is chipped at the corner. The corners of both dominoes are slightly rounded, likely from age. The second domino examined, [85-31:18B-244], measures 5.4 cm long, 2.1 cm wide and .67 cm thick (Figure 1b). There are 11 dot indentations, with the same approximate diameter, and 8 out of the 11 dots are still coated with a discolored white paint. The dice in this assemblage [85-31:18-23] is made of bone and measures 8.7 mm (Figure 2). It is recognizable as a Chinese dice (rather than a Euro-American dice) by the presence of an oversized single spot concavity for the “1” face. The dice does not retain any paint. In feature 18, there were 7 glass hemispherical “beads,” known as *chu* in Chinese (Figure 3). Three are black (*hak chu*, meaning “black pearl”) and four are white (*pak chu*, meaning “white pearl”)²⁶. These glass *chu* measure 12 mm in diameter and 6 mm in thickness. They are slightly convex on the top, and flat on the bottom.

The second part of my analysis involved examining the frequency of various decorative types of the Asian porcelain ceramics in features 18A and 18B. The purpose in doing so was in attempt to draw a connection between the socioeconomic class represented by the frequencies of Asian porcelain decorative types in feature 18 (based

on costliness) and the socioeconomic class of the people associated with the gambling in the same feature. I chose to examine Asian porcelain ceramics solely, and not British ceramics as well, because of the lack of representation in variety in the assemblage of British tableware. In calculating frequencies of decorative types in tableware, the types of tableware I included comprised of plates, bowls, cups and hollowware of all sizes (tiny, small, medium and large). The three main decorative patterns I included were Bamboo, Four Flowers and Celadon. The Bamboo pattern is considered at the cheap end of the price differential among Asian Porcelain tablewares, while the Four Flowers and Celadon patterns are at the more expensive end.²⁷ In feature 18A, out of a total of 56 items, there were 25 items with the Bamboo pattern, and 31 with the Four Flowers and Celadon patterns. In frequency percentages, the Bamboo pattern comprised 45% of the Asian porcelain ceramics assemblage, while the Four Flowers and Celadon patterns comprised approximately 55% of the assemblage (Table 1). In feature 18B, out of a total of 23 items, there were 10 items with the Bamboo pattern, and 13 with the Four Flowers and Celadon patterns. Thus, the Bamboo pattern comprised 44% of the selected assemblage, while the Four Flowers and Celadon patterns comprised 56% of the assemblage (Table 1).

Discussion of Data Interpretation

I had initially begun this research project with the intent of conducting some detailed materials analysis of the wood in the dominoes recovered from feature 18B. I had hoped to determine what type of wood the dominoes were made of, the quality of the wood, and perhaps to trace them back to the manufacturers. Unfortunately, I ran into difficulties with this analysis, because of the scarcity of sources on wood material analysis, as well as the scarcity of resources on Chinese-in-origin dominoes. Based on the materials analysis of dominoes from two other California overseas Chinese sites (the L.A. Chinatown and the Riverside Chinatown), however, I am able to draw some conclusions about the dominoes found at the Market Street site. The Dominoes recovered from the L.A. Chinatown site were determined to be made of a dense dark wood. The dominoes ranged in size from 7.2 cm long, 2.4 cm wide, and .8 cm thick, to 7.7 cm long, 2.7 cm wide and 1.1 cm thick.²⁸ The corners on most domino pieces were

rounded as well. The dominoes recovered from the Riverside site measured on average 6.7 cm long, 2.4 cm wide and .85 cm thick.²⁹ Based on these measurements and previous research conducted on Chinese dominoes by anthropologist Stewart Culin, Mueller was able to place these dominoes within the size range of dominoes of Chinese origin. I was able to determine the size range of dominoes of American origin of approximately the same time period from a Sears Roebucks catalogue from 1900. In this catalogue, *The Stellar Hardwood Dominoes* are listed as measuring 3.8 cm in length and 2.2 cm in width.³⁰ Recall that the 2 dominoes recovered from the Market Street feature 18B site measured an average of 5.4 cm long, 2.2 cm wide and .7 cm thick. These measurements are closest to the measurements of the dominoes from the Riverside site. Based on these measurements and the average measurements of dominoes of Chinese and American origin, I conclude that these dominoes recovered from the Market Street site are most likely Chinese in origin, as the Riverside ones were determined to be.

The dice recovered from the Market Street site measured 8.7 mm and was made of bone. As mentioned earlier, it is recognizable as a Chinese dice (rather than a Euro-American dice) by the presence of an oversized single spot concavity for the “1” face. Dice recovered from the L.A. Chinatown site were present in two size ranges. The larger group measured between approximately 10 mm-12 mm, while the smaller group measured between approximately 7-8 mm.³¹ They too were made of bone and recognized as Chinese in origin from the oversized single spot on one face. At the Riverside Chinatown site, the dice of the smaller group (again, two size groups were present), fell between 6.5-8 mm and were also made of bone.³² It was concluded that 90% of the 10 dice found came from China, again based on the same recognizable trait. Interestingly, one American dice (measuring 14 mm) was recovered from this site.

The last group of gaming pieces from feature 18 that I interpret here are the 7 glass hemispherical “beads,” or *chu*. There are 3 black *hak chu* and 4 white *pak chu*. These *chu* measure 12 mm in diameter and 6 mm in thickness. *Chu* serve as markers or counters in a variety of games. With the same approximate measurements (about 11 mm in diameter and 5 mm in thickness), they were pervasive throughout the L.A. site, with 1377 samples recovered, a little more than half of them white or clear, and the rest of them dark.³³ At the Riverside site, there were 659 *chu* (accounting for 95% of the total

gaming assembled recovered at the site). They averaged 13 mm in diameter and 5 mm in thickness.³⁴

The two most popular gambling games among laborers at California overseas Chinese sites in the late 19th Century were *Fan Tan* and *Pok Kop Pew*.³⁵ *Fan Tan*, translated as “repeatedly spreading out,” is a game based on pure luck and randomness and involved using hak-chu and pak-chu as counters (where the white pieces are worth one-fifth the value of the black pieces). Dominoes were used as counters in *Fan Tan* as well, valued at \$50 dollars.³⁶ *Fan tan* was a simple, low stakes game based on predicting a number, which was selected by chance.³⁷ *Pok Kop Pu*, translated as “white pigeon ticket”, is a lottery game that was more respectable than *Fan Tan*, but shared equal popularity among the Chinese.³⁸ In addition, it had great appeal for Anglo-Americans surrounding the overseas Chinese sites, who commonly patronized the gambling rooms and houses in Chinatowns to play the lottery. Coming into Chinatown specifically to play the lottery, gambling provided a space for interactions between Chinese and Anglo-Americans to take place. It also gave Anglo-Americans a space in which to engage in the culture of “the other,” and possibly enabled them to distance themselves even more from the Chinese as they occupied the same spaces. “The lottery, perhaps, was the most colorful and alluring game for the stranger...His doom or making was contained in the sing-song voice of an Oriental, who read the winning tickets.”³⁹ *Pak kop pu* was supposedly invented by a governor in China during imperial times, and the historical account surrounding the origin of the game is well known.⁴⁰ Playing this game as an immigrant in China, might therefore be interpreted as one way Chinese immigrants engaged in cultural maintenance and maintaining ties to their homeland.

Dice could be used to play a number of different gambling games. Small dice were often used in the game *Mah-Jong*, which, Stewart Culin notes, was frequently played by Cantonese laborers in America.⁴¹ *Mah-Jong* is one of those games that involves structure and sitting in specific positions (the cardinal directions). *Mah-Jong*, in fact, won great popularity among non-Chinese when it was introduced to them beginning in the late 19th Century, and today is a popular game among Anglo-American circles. Some of the other games played with small dice are *Chak Tin Kau* (“Thawing heaven nine”) and *Pat Cha* (“handful of eight”). Many of the games played with dice have their

own origin story of invention that often reaches back far into China's history. It should be noted as well that wooden dice were found in the excavation of the Qin dynasty tombs, and are thought to have been used in divination practices.⁴² Culin observed that, while the Chinese laborers in the United States play several games with dice, "they are not a popular mode of gambling, and are generally neglected for fan tan and Chinese dominoes."⁴³

Dominoes were, and still remain, one of the most popular gaming pieces for the Chinese. Writes Stewart Culin in 1893 "according to a tradition current among the Chinese laborers in the United States, dominoes were invented by Hung Ming," a great counselor to the emperor of the late 2nd Century AD, for the amusement of his soldiers. There are, however, a number of conflicting stories that Culin reports relating to the origins of dominoes. But all stories reach back to China's early history in explaining dominoes' origin, and so due to this connection to their rich history, playing dominoes (like playing Fan Tan or games with dice) could again be seen as a way of maintaining cultural connections with the homeland and expressing cultural pride for the Chinese immigrants. Some of the popular games played with dominoes include Kwat Pai, Nau Tin Kau ("turning heavens and nines"), and Ta Tin Kau ("To play heavens and nines"). The names of these games is indicative of the role fortune and the spiritual world played in such gambling games. Dominoes are notably also associated with divination practices.⁴⁴

In interpreting the frequency data from the Asian Porcelain ceramics in features 18A and 18B, I drew upon an article by Ruth Sando and David Felton on a 19th Century Chinese store in California, which described a price differential among Chinese tablewares.⁴⁵ They determined 17 different types of decorative styles in Chinese ceramics. Among these types, Celadon (or Winter green), Four Flowers and Bamboo were some of the more common decorative types. Celadon, a light bluish-green glaze color, was among the most costly of ceramics, the wholesale value estimated at 6.6-8.7 cents per piece. Four Flowers (or sometimes referred to as Four Seasons), determined as one of the most costly ceramics as well, also valued in the same price range. Bamboo valued at the cheaper end of the price scale, at around half that of Celadon or Four Seasons, but not the cheapest. It valued at around 2-5 cents per piece. Such economic

scaling was based in part on similar successful price scaling on British ceramics conducted by George Miller.⁴⁶ Such price differentials in decorative types of Chinese ceramics and percentage frequencies have proven useful before in evaluating relative wealth of overseas Chinese communities and/or households. Sando and Felton concluded, based on archaeological remains from different overseas Chinese sites, that post-1870 railroad and other labor camps are dominated by cheap Bamboo pattern ceramics (one 1880's railroad campsite showed a predominance of 80% of the Bamboo pattern), while urban, permanent settlements usually produced more Celadon and Four Flowers designs (some post-1870 urban sites displayed 95% costly Celadon and Four Flowers patterns).⁴⁷ At the specific site they were examining, a Chinese general store, 59% of the bowls lay at the cheaper end, while 41% lay at the more costly end. They concluded from their data, (which consisted of a store inventory of ceramics over several years), that the market being served by the store was changing as the population changed.

At the Woolen Mills Chinatown site, features 501 and 502 (1887-1902), as reported by Rebecca Allen, Celadon, Four Flowers and Bamboo were expectedly the most commonly found decorative types. More than half (57%) of the Chinese ceramics (medium bowls and rice bowls) from feature 501 were Bamboo, with the remainder (43%) comprised of Celadon and Four Flowers. In feature 502, Bamboo made up a significantly larger percentage of the assemblage, 70%.⁴⁸ As a permanent, urban, well-established settlement, Allen remarked that the Woolen Mills site produced the reverse of what was expected.

For features 18A and 18B of the Market Street site, the frequency of the three main decorative types similarly displays an interesting, unexpected mix. From features 18A and 18B, nearly half of the Chinese ceramics had the Bamboo decorative pattern (45% and 44%, respectively), while a little more than half (55% and 56%, respectively), were of the more costly Celadon and Four Flowers design. This is contrary to what might be expected of an urban, permanent, fairly well-established community like Market Street, where one would expect to find a much greater prevalence of Four Flowers and Celadon. This data suggests that the sector of the population that is represented in feature 18 was not at all represented by a homogeneous group of people of the same socioeconomic class (as might be indicated by a large percentage of Celadon and Four

Flowers at an urban settlement site). Instead, the frequency ratios reflect rather a heterogeneous mixing of this sector of the population, with a significant presence of poor laborers and migrant workers (with nearly 50% Bamboo), as well as well-off residents (such as merchants or business people). I argue that this data suggests a presence of both sectors of the community, those of lower socioeconomic status, as well as those of a higher socioeconomic status. It is possible that gambling created a time and space for these two divergent sectors of the community to come together and interact. Perhaps the more recent immigrants who worked as laborers and migrant workers, and were typically young men, were interacting with men who had immigrated earlier on, had become more established in the United States and were now better off. Perhaps the gambling spaces provided a climate for the younger immigrant generation to learn from the older, more established immigrants.

Future Directions for Research

A great deal more can be investigated into on this topic of gambling at the Market Street Chinatown site, and at overseas Chinese sites in America more generally. Previous research in regards to gambling practices of the Chinese in America is very limited and has not been critical enough of the popular notions of gambling among non-Chinese during the 19th century. Importantly, it has also not attempted to position the practice of gambling historically in China. Some further areas that remain to be explored include: determination of what type of site feature 18 was—could it have been a restaurant or general store with a gambling room in the back or upstairs? ; further examination of the conditions of the interactions between Chinese and Anglo-Americans, who came into Chinatown specifically to play the lottery, in the gambling spaces. Did these interactions widen or narrow the divide between the Chinese and Anglo-American communities? Did Anglo-Americans come to interact with Chinese in other aspects of the community at Market Street? ; further exploration of the heterogeneous mix of those of lower and higher socioeconomic classes, and the interactions (or lack of) between these two sectors of the community. Did the Chinese display signs of classism within their community that might have served to create divisiveness within the community? As is always necessary with projects of anthropological and archaeological explorations, this topic of gambling

in the Market Street community reminds us that we must always be vigilant about and resist the “othering” of another culture we may not be very familiar with. I know that my research has certainly greatly informed my conception of gambling in Chinese and Chinese-American culture, historically as well as today, and I will see the men who stand on the sidewalks outside the betting place on those Sunday mornings in a whole new light from now on.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Young Yu, 2001: 5.
- ² Tam, 2001: 8.
- ³ Ibid.: 9.
- ⁴ Yu, 2001: 21.
- ⁵ Ibid.: 22.
- ⁶ <http://www.casinoratingcenter.com/history/gambling-history.html>
- ⁷ Wilkinson, 1895: 61.
- ⁸ Blanchard, 2003
- ⁹ Nepstad, 2002.
- ¹⁰ Lewis, 2002: 4
- ¹¹ American Heritage Dictionary, 1993: 249.
- ¹² Lewis, 2002: 17.
- ¹³ Yu, 2001: 2.
- ¹⁴ Tchen, 1999: xxiii.
- ¹⁵ Tam, 2001: 13.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.: 21.
- ¹⁷ Tchen, 1999: 277.
- ¹⁸ Culin, 1891: 14.
- ¹⁹ Lewis, 2002: 17.
- ²⁰ Lydon, 1985: 206
- ²¹ Nee, 1973: 90.
- ²² Hsu, 1987: 317.
- ²³ Voss, 2004.
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ ARS Project 85-31 Notes for Feature 18.
- ²⁶ C.E. Smith Museum of Anthropology. 1993.
- ²⁷ Allen, 2002: 136.
- ²⁸ Greenwood, 1996: 95.
- ²⁹ Wong, Ho, Leun, 1987: 390.
- ³⁰ Sears Roebucks 1900 Catalogue.
- ³¹ Greenwood, 1996: 94.
- ³² Wong, Ho, Leun, 1987: 390.
- ³³ Greenwood, 1996: 94.
- ³⁴ Wong, Ho, Leun, 1987: 387.
- ³⁵ Culin, 1891: 1.
- ³⁶ Wong, Ho, Leun, 1987: 391
- ³⁷ Lydon, 1985: 205
- ³⁸ Culin, 1891: 6
- ³⁹ Lydon, 1985: 205.
- ⁴⁰ Culin, 1891: 12.
- ⁴¹ Culin, 1924: 154.
- ⁴² Lewis, 2002: 4.
- ⁴³ Culin, 1889: 6.
- ⁴⁴ Wong, Ho, Leun, 1987: 391.
- ⁴⁵ Sando and Felton, 1993, 152.

⁴⁶ Miller.

⁴⁷ Sando and Felton, 1993: 151-176.

⁴⁸ Allen, 2002: 136.

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