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Ceramic Dolls and Figurines, Citizenship and Consumer Culture in Market Street Chinatown, San Jose.

Abstract

This study provides a re-appraisal of ceramic dolls and figurines. This essay uses artifacts excavated from Market Street Chinatown, San Jose, California to demonstrate that ceramic dolls and figurines enhance our understanding not only of ideas associated with the categories of 'children' and 'childhood' but of the adults who purchased such objects. I suggest that analysis of the recovered doll and figurine fragments, rather than confined solely to Victorian ideologies associated with child's play, is also reflective of the tensions in the relationship between Overseas Chinese and White American society. Ceramic dolls and figurines, existing within the intersecting spheres of the Market Street Chinatown community and White society, expose a particular mixture of the politics of class, gender, race and ethnicity, as well as the citizenship claims-making that occurs through consumption by Overseas Chinese in nineteenth century Market Street Chinatown.

Introduction

Doll fragments are the most common artifact concerning Victorian childhood (Hume, 1969: 317) recovered from American historical sites, and whilst nineteenth century dolls have long been of interest to collectors, their significance for historical archaeology has been less well recognized. This research, through description and analysis of ceramic doll and figurine fragments recovered from Market Street Chinatown, San Jose in California, is an attempt to understand the ways in which the Market Street Chinatown community reproduced themselves as social actors, and explore if citizenship claims were made through consumption.

The 12 doll and figurine fragments, and 2 figurine stands were recovered from archaeological excavations undertaken in 1985 and 1986. A collection of more than 500,000 artifacts were recovered from the site, and the collection consists of artifacts as

diverse as stoneware and tableware to hair tonics, toothbrushes, hair dressing preparations, gaming pieces and domestic religious objects.¹

This essay is concerned with dolls and Overseas Chinese consumption practices. This is not at all what it started out to be, but at an early stage of induction into the archaeological record, that is what this research became. At the outset, I was drawn to reconstructing the presence of Market Street Chinatown children in interpretations of the past². Hence, I viewed dolls as a method for exploring notions of ‘children’ and ‘childhood’ (Jenks, 1996; Mergen, 1992). Whilst such categories and distinctions as separate life stages are complex and projecting and imposing social categories of the present back into the past requires caution, I argued such a stance was useful for the analysis of a more nuanced way of understanding the diverse and possible discourses and ideas around children and childhood bodily processes and subjectivities. Doubtless, the correlation between material culture patterning and the category of childhood is complicated³ (Buchli and Lucas, 2000; Lillehammer, 1989; Wilkie, 1994, 2001), yet I was determined to avoid presenting a monolithic historical conception of Victorian children and childhood, without due concern for the influence of class, race, ethnicity and gendered difference⁴. Child’s play has been the leading question for distinguishing children in the material record (Lillehammer, 1989) and the social life of non-white immigrant children was yet to be written. In short, I sought to understand the construction of female childhood⁵ according to the norms of the Market Street Chinatown community. More specifically, I suggested that the presence of dolls is

¹ For current CASA research of the collection see the following: Storage: J. Brabyn; Restaurant: J. Yuan; Toothbrushes: M. Douglas; Hair dressing preparations: S. Cruz; Domestic religious objects: M. Kane.

² Following from the work of Baxter, 2005; Kamp, 2005; Kamp et al, 1999; Schwartzman, 2005; Lillehammer, 1989; Voss, 2006 and Wilkie, 1994, 2001 I disagreed with the notion that children are unknowable since their behavior leaves behind few traces in the archaeological record² as well as the fact that archaeology has often depicted children in stereotypical ways that cast them in peripheral roles to the social, economic, religious and political spheres considered important in archaeological research (Baxter, 2005; Schwartzman, 2005).

³ Children may participate in activities that are also conducted and/or shared with adults, and thus may not leave distinct traces in the archaeological record. Thus, I am cognizant of the fact that the presence of children may be reflected in a number of artifacts that are not necessarily child-specific.

⁴ With the exception of recent US archaeological work such as Clement’s (1992) work on enslaved and freed African American children and toys, Wilkie’s (1994) work on plantation children and Yamin’s (2002) recent archaeological study of working class American children’s games and toys.

⁵ I acknowledge the fact that it is entirely possible that male children may also have played with female dolls. Calvert (1992) claims that many young boys from middle class and elite homes owned dolls. Whether or not this was the case in Market Street Chinatown is unknown.

essential to understanding the process of the development, maintenance, and evolution of the social categories of gender and ethnicity – what it means to be female child and Overseas Chinese in Market Street Chinatown.

Yet, as I proceeded with my research and looking at it through the eyes of a skeptical would be reader, I felt less easy trying to answer the questions I was posing. While it possessed overtones of contemporary race, ethnicity and gender discourse transplanted onto a small collection of doll/figurine fragments, I felt there was very little in terms of other evidence, in the archaeological record, archival or otherwise, for example oral history that I could draw upon within the time assigned. Further reflection on these artifacts soon led me in another direction. And so while I am still in agreement with the claim that child's play tells us much about the social lives of girls (Barthes, 1972; Burton, 1997; Calvert, 1992), I moved to a perspective that contends that the presence of dolls/figurines reveals more about the adults that purchase them, than the children themselves. In so doing, I quickly embarked from the position that beliefs and values are not necessarily directly accessible through archaeological data. In other words, I suggest that dolls/figurines do not necessarily reflect elite or middle class Victorian based ideologies. Of course, domestic reformers and society at large exerted pressure for the Overseas Chinese to assimilate or integrate (see Chen, 2002; Louie, 2004; Park, 2005; Wu, 2003) or accept non-Chinese Victorian values. But, rather than assume this as a given, I explore the ways in which dolls/figurines articulate the values of the nineteenth century Market Street Chinatown community. In so doing, I inquire as to whether archaeological interpretations of ceramic dolls/figurines can act an historical entrée into theorizing about the dynamics of consumer culture and citizenship in nineteenth century Market Street Chinatown.

Consumption can be understood as a distinct cultural, economic and political event. On the surface, one might interpret consumption as an essential part of the integration or assimilation process, or an element in the construction of identity or identity transformation. But there seems to be another point, namely, as has been recently noted by several scholars (Chin, 2001; Dávila, 2001; Park, 2005; Mullins, 2006), that citizenship claims-making occurs through consumption. With this in mind, I attempt to explore how Market Street Chinatown immigrants reproduced themselves as social

actors. Was it through consumption practices? It is in this line of analysis that I attempt to understand the politics of class, gender, race and ethnicity, and their interaction with consumption, within the context of nineteenth century Market Street Chinatown. In so doing, I emphasize that consumption practices are important sites for the exploration of the articulation of the interwoven tensions of racial inequality and unequal power relations. To that end, I utilize ceramic dolls and figurines as the materialization or embodiment of the ideology of the ‘American Dream’ and investigate as to what it can tell us on the subject of Overseas Chinese social life in Market Street Chinatown, San José, California.

Thus, my principle purpose in this somewhat long introduction has been to trace my earlier initial and revised approach to the subject of dolls/figurines from Market Street Chinatown. I shall now first, turn to a historical discussion of Market Street Chinatown. Second, I provide a theoretical background and research objectives. Fourth, I introduce the research questions. Fifth, I detail the methodology and results of doll/figurine analysis from fragments recovered from archaeological excavation of the site. Sixth, I interpret the results and identify the inadequacies and gaps in my analysis. And last, in my conclusion, I suggest the implications and directions for future research.

Site Location

Market Street Chinatown was located at the intersections of Market and San Fernando Streets in downtown San José, California between the 1860s and 1887.

Historical Background of the Site

Market Street Chinatown

The Chinese Presence has existed in San Jose since the early 1850s. Most Chinese who came to the United States in the nineteenth century were in search of economic advancement. Lured by the Gold Rush of 1849 – the Chinese characters for California can be translated as ‘the Gold Mountain’ (Daniels and Kitano, 1970) and going to the Gold Mountains meant the opportunity to become rich – and improve one’s circumstances from that of those back in China. The majority of immigrants to

California were peasants from villages in the Kwangtung or Guangdong province in southern China. San Jose's agricultural and industrial economy relied on Chinese labor; Chinese workers were employed in agriculture, construction, mining, manufacturing, and as domestic help. Many Chinese also opened businesses that served their local community, such as laundries and provisional stores (Allen and Hylkema, 2002). Market Street Chinatown was just one of several Chinese communities founded in California, and existed from the late 1860s and until its destruction by an arson fire on May 4, 1887.

*'The Chinese Must Go!'*⁶

The first Chinese immigrants in California were well received; although objects of curiosity, they provided supplementary rather competitive labor and there was little or no objection to them⁷. But by 1852, an anti-Chinese sentiment that Daniels and Kitano (1970) describe as combination of race and class antagonism, was well developed. The economic competition that Chinese immigrants offered to white workers in the 1860s and 1870s, was quite consequential and resentment increased up until and during the economic depression of the 1870s. Not only were Chinese seen as lowering wages, and in turn, standards of living, but also as 'unassimilable' and that their 'heathen' customs were disgusting and tended to debauch others (Miller, 1969; Daniels and Kitano, 1970; Spoehr, 1973), well as their race associated with dirt and disease; "the Chinese live in filthy dwellings upon poor food, crowded together in narrow quarters, disregarding health and fire ordinances" ([Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration Report, 1877] Spoehr, 1973). Songs like 'John Chinaman', 'Hong Kong', 'Chinese Song', 'Get Out Yellowskins', 'Heathen Chinese' and 'Chinese Ball' (Lee, 1998) and publications such as the poem, 'The Heathen Chinese' and short stories as 'Wan Lee, the Pagan' and 'See Yup'⁸ reinforced anti-Chinese racism (Takaki, 1990). And of course, this was during the period, notably 1850 to 1882, when the pseudo-scientific rationale for modern racism appeared (Miller, 1969). It was against this backdrop, that the inhabitants of Market Street Chinatown lived.

⁶ The slogan of the anti-Chinese movement of the 1860s and 1870s.

⁷ In 1850, on two occasions, Chinese participated in San Francisco civic ceremonies (Allen and Hylkema, 2002).

⁸ Professed to be a 'protest' piece (Miller, 1969).

Thus, Market Street Chinatown residents faced a unique form of racism⁹ in White American social, political, legal and economic spheres. Thus, the creation of Market Street Chinatown was an immigrant response to an hostile environment in a climate that contained much anti-Chinese sentiment¹⁰ (Allen and Hylkema, 2002; Bonner, 1997; Chen, 2002; Daniels and Kitano, 1970; Foner and Rosenberg, 1993; Gyory, 1998; Lee, 1998; Louie, 2003; Lyman, 1974; Wong, 1982; Wu, 1958; Wu, 2002; Yu, 2001; Zhou, 1992). And so, although nineteenth century Market Street Chinatown was a complex, and highly organized community, it was to some degree an isolated community (Lyman, 1974).

The concept of the community (Ortner, 1997), is an approach worth exploring; “the importance of community studies ... is this: such studies have the virtue of treating people as contextualized social beings. They portray the thickness of people’s lives, the fact that people live in a world of relationships as well as a world of abstract forces and disembodied images” (Ortner, 1997:63-64). The social world of Market Street Chinatown was a community based on common experience, maintained through ethnicity, reinforced according to the ideals and values of life in China and adapted to a new American context.

So far as the study of Overseas Chinese life in Market Street Chinatown is concerned, it is worth making small mention of merchants at this point. Most of the families, and hence children that lived in Market Street Chinatown belonged to the merchant class. And merchants ([Praetzellis and Praetzellis, 1992] Hume, 1969)¹¹ attempted to create a traditional Chinese environment, and used ethnicity as a tool by which to maintain and enhance their influence on both the Chinese and White communities. Indeed, merchants encouraged the continued use of traditional Chinese goods, particularly since they themselves controlled the importation and distribution of such goods. Yet, Market Street Chinatown merchants also had access to non-Chinese goods, reflecting their privileged access to goods that the average resident did not possess.

⁹ Different to prior racisms faced by Native Americans and African Americans.

¹⁰ And within Chinatown itself, the media documented sensationalist stories of Chinese ‘tong wars’, popularizing and reinforcing the violent and mysterious image of the Chinese American experience that was also presented by social scientists (Chen, 2002).

¹¹ Report from Sacramento excavation (1992)

Research Objectives

Theoretical Background and Literature Review

Consumerism is an intricate social process¹² and adopts many forms (Carroll, 1999; Mullins, 1996; Seiter, 1993) and recent studies emphasize the recontextualization of objects (Appadurai, 1986; Chin, 2001; Kopytoff, 1986; Mullins, 1996; 2006, Miller and Tilley, 1996; Miller, 1987, 1995, 1997; Pearson and Mullins, 1999; Wurst and McGuire, 1999). For objects are the carriers of ideas, and “when we begin to analyze even the most commonplace artifacts in terms of race and class, we enter a fluid world where meanings, being temporally and even situationally mutable, defy easy interpretation” (Orser, 1998:664). Therefore, for the purpose of this paper, I ask if Chinese immigrants at Market Street Chinatown were engaged in consumption practices as a means through which to negotiate citizenship?

Indeed, consumption became equated with identity in the second half of the nineteenth century (Wurst and McGuire, 1999) and the working and underclass were distinguished by the fact that they did not have the resources to participate in the consumption culture; they could consume little beyond their immediate needs. True, Market Street Chinese faced opportunities for consumption unavailable to them back in China, but it would be more accurate to view such newfound access as theoretical in reality, rather than in practice. In actuality, many Market Street Chinese could afford little more beyond basic necessities.

The question of the relationship between social inequality and consumption is important since class, gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity, are often presented as individual consumer ‘choices’ – which trivializes human action, since choices are restricted by social relationships of dominance and subordination (Wurst and McGuire, 1999) – rather than seen as influenced by economics, history or politics. In fact, the influence of class, gender, race and ethnicity, are not the neutralized notions of product preference, shopping habits, or individual likes or dislikes but expressions or responses to structural oppression (Chen, 2001). In this way, I ask if Park’s (2005) discussion of

¹² Consumption has been analyzed as a feminized and gendered experience, yet in the Market Street Chinatown community context, it is unknown who purchased the dolls.

consumption in the twentieth and twenty-first century as a provocative symbol of social citizenship, familial unity, and community identity, can be applied to the nineteenth century Market Street Chinatown community?

Recent research on immigrants and late twentieth and twentieth century consumption practices assert that consumption plays a central role in the integration and ‘Americanization’ of new immigrants (Dávila, 2001; Park, 2005) and it is such work that informs this explorative study. American citizenship has been equated with consumption and the illusions of the American Dream. Park writes, “the American Dream, then, is a capitalistic, free market ideology in which only those who can pay the price of admission may enter” (2005:7). “By displaying evidence of American Dream, they hope to be finally treated as the Americans they are” (Park, 2005:112). It could be said that Market Street Chinese inhabited a political space where they were made to prove their loyalty to America, and in this way, their contribution to and acumen within the market economy or worth was measured according to an imposed economic value (Park, 2005). Yet, it is crucial to note that Overseas Chinese in Market Street Chinatown were in a precarious position that does not fit the dominant discourses surrounding the work of other studies (Dávila, 2001; Park, 2005). For, while many residents in Market Street Chinatown lived in America, oftentimes they were not full citizens, but rather retained a foreign citizenship status. Albeit, their children and they themselves did later acquire American citizenship status. But, the point is that while White Americans consume, it may not necessarily be for the same reasons as the Overseas Chinese. In this way, race, ethnicity, class and gender coincide with national ideology to create different relationships with the state. In so doing, those who fall outside the privileged categories of white mainstream American culture are made to justify their worthiness and presence (Park, 2005)¹³. Hence, my research questions whether the aforementioned discussion can be applied in the past to the nineteenth century Market Street Chinatown community? In other words,

¹³ Parks argues that Dávila’s (2001) ‘politics of worthiness’ and the promise of entitlement within politics of worthiness is an empty one. For the material pretension of consumption is a social mask that claims a power that does not exist (Wurst and McGuire, 1999). Moreover, Park adds, “no amount of consumption can erase one’s race. In fact, the actual act of conspicuous consumption works to highlight the differences that mark [the Overseas Chinese] as exotic and foreign” (2005:133).

are the 15 doll/figurine artifacts evidence of conspicuous consumption and striving for the ‘American Dream’?

Ceramic Dolls and Figurines

Dolls and figurines can be designed for decoration or for a child’s amusement, yet in both cases, do not have a molded base attached to it. Nineteenth century dolls and figurines are the subject of extensive connoisseurship, most of which focuses on the description of the appearance of various types of doll and figurine (Angoine, 1969; Fawcett, 1964; Kelley and Sherer, 1992; King, 1984; Patten, 2000)¹⁴. Although much of the specialist collector literature is well produced, little or none of this scholarship enters the academic arena and thus research can be difficult.

Doll making in the early days was often an industry of cottages or garrets, as opposed to factories (for detailed manufacturing processes see Angoine, 1968), which presents a difficulty for researchers (Burton, 1997). The earliest of these hollow glazed heads were composed of clay that had been pressed into a mold and subsequently luted together. But by the late 1860s, heads were slip-cast, which meant that no mold marks were created on the interior, and the inside contours of the heads followed the exterior more closely. The majority of dolls were not marked (King, 1984), although molds were registered to protect new designs (Sherer, 1992). Dolls and figurines were produced in Germany, France¹⁵ and England by the end of the nineteenth century tens of millions of ceramic dolls had been produced.

German Dolls and Figurines

In Nuremberg, the earliest production of clay dolls dates back to fourteenth century (Schwarz, 2000); exact details remain unclear but it is thought that they are baptismal gifts (King, 1984). Until the 1870s, the majority of dolls/figurines sold in the

¹⁴ For further reading, see: *English Dolls, Effigies and Puppets* (A.K. Early, 1955); *Some English Dolls and Dolls Houses* (V. Greene, 1955); *A History of Dolls Houses* (F.G. Jacobs, 1965); D. S. Coleman: *The Collectors Encyclopedia of Dolls* (D.S Coleman, 1968); *Dolls and Doll Makers* (M. Hillier, 1968); *A Treasury of Beautiful Dolls* (J. Noble, 1971); *Dolls* (M. U. von Boehn, 1972); *The Doll* (C. Fox, 1973) *Dolls in Color* (F. Eaton, 1975); *Dolls, Automata, Marks and Labels* (G.White, 1975); *A Collector’s History of Dolls* (C. E. King, 1977); *The Jumeau Doll* (M. Whitton, 1980).

¹⁵Due to lack of resources on English dolls/figurines, I shall confine my paper to a brief discussion of German and French made dolls/figurines.

United States were manufactured in Germany (Clement, 1997)¹⁶. The Thuringian doll industry produced more dolls than anywhere else (Angoine, 1969; Hamlin, 2004) due to large nearby clay deposits required to make porcelain. For example, in 1844, the German firm, Voit and Fleischmann reported producing 360,000 heads. Another unnamed company was reported in Harper's Bazaar as producing 1,000,000 dolls (Pritchett and Pastron, 1983). The German firm Simon and Halberg, founded in 1869 supplied heads to both German and French companies (King, 1984; Sherer, 1992) such as Jumeau and François Gaultier. Dolls/figurines were extremely heterogeneous in form and quality, varying in size, material, hairstyles and clothing (Hamlin, 2004). Made of glazed and painted porcelain, sizes ranged between three inches to much bigger dolls, around forty inches tall, dressed in fashionable dress of the time.

The Thuringian doll industry was dominated by domestic producers who employed fewer than five employees, often composed of family members (Hamlin, 2004; Pritchett and Pastron, 1983). Thuringian manufacturers enjoyed the advantages of flexible specialization, such as variety of products, responsiveness to consumer demands and low capital costs. Hamlin points out that, "Thuringian toy-makers, however, also thrived on the meager wages of the workforce, particularly for the numerous child labourers" (2004:34). Hamlin (2004) explains that although contemporary sociologists dispute the exact levels of Thuringian poverty, there is little doubt that incomes were well below the national average. Widespread use of unpaid child and family labor also served to keep production costs at a minimum. Ironically, child labor was commonplace and child laborers would not have been able to afford to purchase such dolls (Sherer, 1992). In addition, few communal institutions socialized risks or training costs, and in this way, the flexibility and low costs made business highly competitive (Hamlin, 2004). Composed essentially of work done by hand and dependent on subcontracting and the

¹⁶ Fawcett cites Hope Howard writing for St. Nicholas in May 1887, "Now Germany is really the Doll Country. We are told of the Paris doll as representative of 'its race'. It is true that the doll population of France and especially Paris is very large; but it is essentially a class race in the latter place. As you pass through the streets you see them dressed in the latest mode and looking at you out of their great eyes for approval of their style. But in Dresden and other German cities, you see dolls of every rank. You see them in every style of dress and undress. You encounter them in every nationality represented by its peculiar costume. You see establishments devoted entirely to the fashioning of their clothes; you go through an adjacent town to visit some manufactory of porcelain, or historical monument, and you find wholesale makers of dolls' bonnets and you become impressed with the importance of the position the doll occupies in the community of the world" (Fawcett, 1964: 60-61).

skills of their nominal competitors, they were highly export orientated. Schwarz (2000) argues that the extensive range can be accounted for by easy access to raw materials, the international market as well as the low costs associated with production. Cheap and ordinary dolls were produced in response to a consumer market that did not have the buying power for expensive and better quality goods, rather, it was paid moderately, badly or not at all (Hamlin, 2004:35). Thus, German toy-makers were able simultaneously to expand their customer circles both socially and geographically. They could sell to poorer and more distant consumers (Hamlin, 2004). The German firm J.D. Kestner from Waltershausen was one of the largest European manufacturers by the end of the nineteenth century, shipping dolls to South America and Australia.

French Dolls and Figurines

While “the toys of Germany are the more commonly found, because they are the least expensive, and because the German makers leave no stone unturned to popularize their wares none the less the toys of France, of Paris ... occupy the first rank ... by reason of their artistic merit, their ingenuity, and their attractiveness ([Cremer, 1873] Burton, 1997). King (1984) suggests that the white porcelain did not continue to please children, hence the creation of unglazed porcelain called bisque. Early bisque heads were untinted, although later dolls were tinted in a soft pink color. As a result, bisque heads were fragile. The construction of doll bodies was almost identical to that of glazed porcelain dolls but the heads were given additional details, which was easy to achieve in this medium. Jeweled tiaras, plumed turbans, flowers and pearls were all designed in detail and with great artistry. The finest examples were given pierced ears and large inset glass eyes (King, 1984). In order to set eyes and teeth, heads were molded open (Sherer, 1992). Artificial hair was attached. Childlike in appearance, features are clearly idealized, rather than striving to be realistic (Angoine, 1969; King, 1984; Sherer, 1992). Bodies made of papier-maché, cloth or wood, these dolls were faster and cheaper to produce (Sherer, 1992). Buying an undressed doll or bisque head alone was an option for those that could not afford to buy the entire dressed doll. Black dolls and dolls described as ‘Oriental’ (Angoine, 1969) were also produced.

The most famous producer of bisque dolls was Jumeau¹⁷, established in 1842; at first the company produced dolls with heads obtained from other companies, circa 1873, they manufactured their own heads at Montreuil-sous-Bois. Jumeau Medaille d'Or stamps can be found on doll bodies related to a gold medal award at the 1878 Paris Exhibition (King, 1984), as well as their leather shoes (Sherer, 1992). The company staged numerous exhibitions of their dolls across Europe and the United States, as a publicity strategy (King, 1984)¹⁸. Early records are not available but Jumeau recorded manufacturing 85,000 dolls in 1881 and 115,000 in 1883. Fawcett (1964) claims that it is likely that Jumeau bought porcelain heads from a M. Petit, who was granted a patent in 1843. Others such as M. Richard in 1853, Marie A. L. Rohmer in 1857 and 1858, M. Dumerey in 1848 obtained patents for heads and legs¹⁹ (Fawcett, 1964). Marked Jumeau heads have also been found on stockinette-covered metal bodies and others of leathered covered wood. Another company and strong competitor of Jumeau was Bru Jeune et Cie (Sherer, 1992)²⁰.

Prior to 1860, most dolls and figurines were not marked; date, country of origin, factory, patent, serial or size number were not indicated, although there are some exceptions to this rule (Angoine, 1969; Fawcett, 1964).

Companies such as Montgomery Ward and Sears, Roebuck carry and describe dolls and figurines in their advertisements. Fawcett claims that in 1879, “a ten or twelve inch doll could be purchased for a dime, and tiny ones for a penny apiece. A dollar for a fine, big head was considered a good price, although the ‘fancies’ brought more” (1964:34). Albeit dolls and figurines were not marketed in the same manner as other children’s toys²¹, from the sixteenth century onwards dolls were definitely embedded in a discourse of social aspiration, and used by parents to communicate to children notions

¹⁷ For further detailed information, including listed awards won by Jumeau and Bru, see Fawcett (1964:82-102).

¹⁸ After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, in 1880-84, Jumeau included a booklet, that was in part, a note from the doll to the child owner but was also an astonishing diatribe against the Germans and their dolls: “They are ugly and ridiculous enough, these German babies, with their stupid faces of waxed cardboard, their goggle eyes and their frail bodies stuffed with hemp threads...” (Angoine, 1968:58).

¹⁹ Alexandre N. Theroude in 1850 and Francois Guillard in 1853 obtained patents for dolls that could walk and talk, and open its eyes respectively. In 1858, Francois Emile’s Roberts’ doll was able to cry. Whether or not these bisque pieces were from dolls such as these, is unknown (Fawcett, 1964).

²⁰ Bru manufactured dolls that were two-faced, one awake, one asleep; the head was able to turn in its socket without disturbing the wig, which remained rigid, the hair falling over the hidden face.

²¹ Such as jigsaw puzzles, card games, mechanical toys, toy theatres, and miniature presses.

concerning the future (Seiter, 1992). Dolls and figurines emphasize the values and skills that were deemed necessary for the future wife, mother and hostess²². Their popularity rested on their visual appeal; “with their round faces, rosy cheeks, oversized eyes, and long curls, they were the epitome of the Victorian ideal of the beautiful unspoiled, innocent child” (Calvert, 1992:118), also epitomizing bourgeois luxury (King, 1984). While commemorative figures with a likeness to famous women were occasionally produced, and reference is made to dolls named ‘Dolly Madison’, ‘Mary Todd Lincoln’ and ‘Jenny Lind’, according to Pritchett and Pastron (1983) it is more likely the resemblance was perceived by the owners, as opposed to the doll makers themselves.

Research Questions

My research question centers around issues related to the complex relationship between commodities and communities. Using Market Street Chinatown as a case study I address the relationship between consumption and social inequality. Barthes (1972) reasons that the meaning of toys is always socialized, and so this research explores whether dolls and figurines can be interpreted as indicators of social structures and interactions. Using nineteenth century ceramic dolls and figurines as my objects of analysis, I also draw from the work of Bourdieu who argues that the study of the toy industry should examine “the meaning and function of which the different classes consciously or unconsciously confer onto toys according to their own schemes of perception and appreciation” (1984:223). In conceptualizing the consumption of ceramic dolls/figurines in the Market Street Chinatown context, I problematize archaeological inquiries that have regarded consumption as defining socio-economic status or part of assimilation practices. Yet, I do inquire whether or not it can be viewed as part of an integration practice. By focusing on the ways in which consumption is embedded in socially meaningful action (Chin, 2001; McGracken, 1998; Miller, 1987, 1995, 1997; Mullins, 1986), I attempt to understand how objects become invested with different meanings in when placed in different contexts, and try to make a conceptual interpretation of the manner by which material culture is manipulated by social actors.

²² Calvert (1992) reports of children’s fictional stories that describe the careless little girl who broke her ceramic toy or left her wax doll in the sun to melt.

More specifically, influenced by ethnographies of Chinese American communities (Park, 2005; Zhou, 1992). In this research I ask: Did citizenship claims-making occur through consumption in nineteenth century Market Street Chinatown? To test this, I ask the following questions:

What is the spatial distribution of ceramic dolls and what can it tell us about consumption practices?

What/Is there a relationship between the dolls/figurines and other kinds of European or non-Chinese manufactured objects?

Can these artifacts be differentiated in terms of cost? In other words, is it possible to discriminate between cheaper or more expensive objects? And if so, how?

Are there Chinese manufactured dolls/figurines?

Methodology

Artifact analysis was conducted on objects that had already been excavated in 1985 and 1986, as part of an environmental studies project conducted in preparation for a vast redevelopment venture of downtown San José. These objects are now housed in the Archaeology Center at Stanford University.

Given the fact that the sample derives from project numbers 86-36 and 85-31, the sample is representative of the site as a whole. However, I was unable to locate all artifacts, and so 5 more objects need to be located. This is not an insignificant percentage of the collection, but that said, the data does provide a valid base for analysis not only on its own terms but also for comparison with data from other sites.

Since my interest lies in the question that the collection could exhibit pieces indicative of conspicuous consumption, I sought out several approaches that would lead me to acquire an understanding of whether or not these pieces were of the more expensive or cheaper variety. To that end, I examined the composition of the collection and the various doll/figurine parts: I looked at the ratio of bisque wear to porcelain. I also looked at piece size – were pieces indicative of small or large dolls/figurines? And, what was the relationship between bisque wear and porcelain in comparison to size? For example, were the more expensive porcelain dolls/figurines large or small? Since the more expensive dolls/figurines illustrate greater detail, did these pieces depict detail such

as in the faces, hair, feet or accessories? Looking at advertisements, what was the pricing of such dolls/figurines? Were there other artifacts associated with the play of dolls and figurines, such as doll's houses or tea sets? Were these fragments from an object that was likely to be played with or admired? Were there manufacturer's marking to indicate where these dolls originate?

Results

Ceramic dolls in Market Street Chinatown are of two main types: Figurines are single piece representations, stamped from a mold, with unmovable limbs and features. Clothes are represented ceramically as part of the figure, or as in the case of 'Frozen Charlottes', absent altogether or made of cloth. Jointed dolls have composite parts, whereby a ceramic head, legs and arms are attached to cloth, leather or ceramic bodies. Clothing is usually made of cloth and may be changed according to the owner's wishes. These ceramic dolls/figurines are made of porcelain or bisque wear.

A number of fashion attributes of fragments found in the archaeological record can be used to date doll or figurine manufacture. Dolls and figurines can be dated through several methods: dressed according to the styles of the time, clothing, jewelry, fan and other accoutrements provide useful indicators. Hairstyles also reflect the changing fashion trends; in the more common mass produced models, hair fashions were stylized, reflecting dominant characteristics rather than intricate details. A high forehead, with hair parted down the center is characteristic of the hairstyles from the 1820s to 1840s. From the 1880s onwards, hairlines were designed much lower and dolls and figurines from the 1890s are depicted with bangs. Indeed, it is important to stress that variation according to manufacturer's designs means that hairstyles must be considered in conjunction with other features. Footwear also, is another distinguishing chronological trait: feet portrayed wearing shoes or flat-soled slippers indicate that the doll dates prior to 1860, while those produced that depict shoes with heels are post 1860. Pritchett and Pastron (1983) suggest that whilst this attribute is dichotomous, indicating only approximate dates, it is apparently quite useful. Less reliable than the aforementioned methods, is the chestplate; heads of the 1840s and earlier have long, sloping shoulders and chest portions to allow for the low-cut dresses in fashion at the time. Later dolls and

figurines have shorter chest plates since the chest and shoulder portions were intended for exposure.

The 12 artifacts²³ analyzed from project numbers 86-36 and 85-31 are all ceramic, of which 8 are porcelain, the remaining 4 being bisque ware. While ceramic dolls were extremely popular during the late nineteenth century, the lack of doll parts constructed of other materials, such as wood, cloth or paper, is most likely due to the issue of preservation. Thus, the sample discussed here is not intended as representative of nineteenth century doll/figurine types in its entirety.

Figurines

This Frozen Charlotte (86-36/18/445) measures 37.1mm and is of solid glazed porcelain (see figure 1). Both feet are slightly broken, as are the arms from just below the elbow. Hair, eyes and eye-lashes are black in color. The high forehead, with hair parted down the center is characteristic of hairstyles from the 1820s to 1840s. The body is ambiguous in terms of gender, though it is most likely female. Angoine (1969) suggests that most of the better-made Frozen Charlottes are hollow; yet this specimen appears to be solid. Pouring holes cannot be seen in the head, and since the feet are broken, cannot be seen. In addition, mold seams are not visible, which is uncommon since manufacturers were unconcerned with fine finishing. So, although there are some rough areas around the head, it is unclear which method was used in its manufacture ie pouring into molds or two molds pressed together. Ascertaining manufacturing techniques would be useful since unset slip poured into molds is recognized as an older method (Angoine, 1969). Compared to the dolls catalogued by Angoine (1969) and Fawcett (1964), this artifact is very simple in design; other dolls have intricate details such as hair with comb marks and curls, hair accessories, such a hats, caps and bonnets, more detailed facial features, socks, shoes and slippers. Thus, it is likely that this porcelain figurine is of the cheaper variety.

Frozen Charlottes were the cheapest and most widely sold figurine; a one-piece unjointed type, it was also known as the 'penny' or 'pillar' doll, or as in the United States

²³ Excluding one Frozen Charlotte presently housed in the San Jose Museum.

as the Frozen Charlottes²⁴. Frozen Charlottes were made in Germany and England from ca1840 until the early 20th century and imported into the United States. Typically 4 to 6 inches in height, and ranging from 3/4s to 18 inches in height, these nude figurines were cast in molds and adorned with a ribbon or wrap of cloth (Pritchett and Pastron, 1983). Sold for pennies, they were plump in form. It is believed that the appellation comes from a popular 1860s melodrama or from the ballad 'Fair Charlotte' that described the story of a thinly-clad young girl frozen 'as cold as stone' during a long winter sleigh ride on her way to a ball (Huey, 2005).

Such a night as this I never knew,
The reins I scarce can hold,
Fair Charlotte said in a feeble voice
"I am exceeding cold".
Away they rode through frozen air
In the glittering starry night
Until at length the village inn
And the ballroom were in sight
They reached the door, Young Charles stepped out
And held his hand to her
"Why sit you there like a monument
that hath no power to stir?"
he called her once, he called her twice
She uttered not a word
He held his hand to her again
And still she never stirred
Then swiftly through the lighted room
Her lifeless form he bore
Fair Charlotte was a stiffened corpse
And word spoke nevermore²⁵

Artifact (85-31/24/137) is a whole porcelain head, broken at the neck. It measures 21.4 mm (see figure 2). The face is perfectly modeled with fine features, with cheeks a light pink blush. Eyes and mouth are not colored. It does not exhibit makers' marks, neither can a mold mark be identified; but this object could dated by its hairstyle. The hair is not colored, but is molded with a knot bun at the back, dating ca 1840-1880.

²⁴ Pritchett and Pastron (1983) also mention 'Charlies', presumably the male version.

²⁵ www.ohiokids.org

Generally, the more elaborate the hairstyle and decoration, the more expensive the cost, thus it is possible that this doll was of the more expensive variety.

Artifact (86-36/5/465) is a porcelain leg from below the knee to foot, that measures 76.1 mm. It does not depict footwear, yet it does reveal a pink bow ribbon around the knee (see figure 3). Sometimes, delicately painted garters were painted just below the knee (King, 1984), which is what this in all likelihood is but I have been unable to locate a design of this kind, thus further resources need to be sought in order to date this fashion accoutrement. Made of good quality porcelain, and of a medium to large size, it is likely that this artifact was from a moderate to expensive figurine.

Jointed Doll Parts

This collection contains bisque wear. The majority of bisque wear dolls made before 1870, represent women²⁶ and the traditional type of construction, is of a fabric body with porcelain arms, legs and head. King (1984) argues that this style of doll meant that heavy limbs tended to crash together, accounting for the large amounts of dolls found damaged.

Heads.

Artifacts (86-36/18/439.1; 86-36/18/439.2) are 2 fragments of a facial feature. One part is probably the cheek, slightly blush pink in color and measures 43.2 mm, the other fragment is mostly hair, with molded black curls and measures 29.6 mm. It would appear that these fragments derive from fairly large doll. The ceramic is quite thick. This doll was likely to be moderate in price.

Artifact (86-36/7/387) is the front of a head. It is not certain, but it is speculated that this fragment is part of a jointed doll (see figure 4). Since the inside of the doll is exposed, one can see 'scratched' rough grooves, probably from manufacturing technique. This artifact measures 36.2 mm. Hair is colorless and flat on the cranium with a minimum of head modeling, apart from the molded ringlets. Since broken it is difficult to say but it is possible to say that it could be 'wagon' style, and if this were the case, it could be dated to the period circa 1840s. This object also possesses a high forehead and

²⁶ Very few male dolls were produced.

flushed pink cheeks. Eyes and mouth are not colored. It is speculated that this doll was moderate in price.

Artifact (86-36/7/914) consists largely of a nose and measures 18.9 mm. There are three red dot markings; one under what would have been the eye and the other two in both nostrils, including although a fraction of seem to be three eyelashes (see figure 5). The entire piece is a fairly distinct pink color. It is possible that this was a Jumeau doll; Jumeau was awarded a prize for his flesh colored tints in 1844 at the Paris Industrial Exposition, thus, such a date is a good approximation. It is possible that this doll was fairly expensive.

Torsos.

No torso parts are evident in the collection. This could be due to the fact that oftentimes, bodies were made of cloth, wood or composition bodies, and as a result, organic matter would have decomposed. Indeed, it is true to say that torsos were also made of ceramic (whereby mold marks down the sides of the body would have been pared down). Fixed or movable limbs were attached to torsos.

Arms.

Arms were fairly straight and anchored in much the same manner as the legs. Rarely colored, thumbs were often recognizable, and the earliest examples dating to the nineteenth century often held a clenched fist through which a hole was pierced, in order to hold a stick. Some hands simply had grooves to suggest the fingers. In the case of movable limbs, arms and legs were pierced with and attached to the body by wires, pegs or rubber string that passed through holes in the torso. No arms are present in this collection.

Legs.

Legs are the most frequently encountered doll parts found at archaeological sites. Three jointed legs (85-31/24/135; 85-31/136; 86-36/20/64) can be found in the Market Street Collection. Legs were anchored to the body by threads sewn around a groove at the tops. All the legs in this collection are bulbous; it is suggested that earlier legs dating

from the 1860s and '70s had calves less bulbous and more naturalistic in appearance (Hume, 1969). Legs of these types were often fitted into shoes. Flat soled shoes are said to be earlier than 1860 and high heels post 1860 (Fawcett, 1964). It is not possible to tell if footwear was a part of these dolls.

Two artifacts (85-31/136; 85-31/24/136) measure 37.7 mm and 32.3 mm respectively (see figure 6). It is entirely possible that these two parts are from the same doll. These thick bulbous legs are hollow cast at one end. There are faint hints of color in the white colored glaze, which appear to be accidental tinting, rather than an intended use of color. Since the quality appears to be not the best, it is likely that this doll was less expensive.

The smaller leg (86-36/20/64) is solid in appearance, and measures 27.3 mm. This leg is bulbous. Very small and made of poorer quality ceramic, this piece is also rough in quality. It is suggested that this fragment was part of a doll not expensive in cost.

Figurine Stands

2 artifacts (85-31/1/13; 85-31/1/15) are figurine stands. One is 42 mm in measurement and brown, green and yellow in color. The other is yellow and green and measure 18 mm. Both pieces look as if made of cheaper quality ceramic. It is hard to tell what these fragments depict but it could be earth and grass, from where a figurine stand could have stood in an outdoor setting. Fragment 86-36/19/126 has 3 parts, measuring 20.6 mm, 21.1 mm and 13.5 mm respectively. These are white and charcoal in color, and made of thick ceramic. Their quality is not the best, but since it is unclear what the rest of the object looked like, it is difficult to estimate how much this object would have cost.

Other Doll Parts in the Collection

One Frozen Charlotte (85-31/2/100) is presently housed in the museum at History San José. 5 doll/figurine fragments listed in the ARS catalogue could not be analyzed because they could not be found in this current collection; and may have been misplaced or lost (86-36/7/772; 85-31/0/9; 85-31/0/262; 85-31/2/495). One of these is described as in the ARS catalogue as 'Chinese doll part fragment' (85-31/13/263). It would be useful

to understand in what way it is ‘Chinese’ – from a doll made in China, or bisque ware made to appear ‘Oriental’ as described by Angoine (1969).

Interpretations

Although I have discovered no written evidence on ceramic dolls/figurines in Market Street Chinatown, I suggest that much useful information can be gathered from the dolls themselves as well as their spatial distribution. But, before I continue, it is important to make one salient point: throughout this paper, I have equated dolls with the idea that dolls and figurines were female, thus described the qualities of dolls and figurines associated with nineteenth century females. Yet, it is important to note that nineteenth century dolls and figurines were also depicted with ‘male’ qualities. Although much of the doll/figurine fragments are decidedly ‘female’, I must point out that it is entirely possible that the two bisque legs (85-31/24/135; 85-31/24/136) could be male. It is also important to note that, Frozen Charlottes, at a first glance that appear to be female, ie painted eyes, lids and mouth, as well as hair with wisps or ringlets, are in fact actually male (see Angoine, 1969), their bodies can be deceiving since they are sexless.

The number of doll/figurine fragments could indicate a number of things. First, that these objects were merely too expensive to be purchased, since money was scarce, it was largely confined to the purchase of basic necessities. Or, secondly, that such objects were not appealing to the Overseas Chinese Market, that *if* Overseas Chinese were concerned with assimilation – which I suggested earlier is *not* necessarily the case – and these objects were representative of a material culture illustrative of assimilation, then their scarcity indicates that assimilation was not a concern but rather, another social act is at play. Moreover, other artifacts that are highly represented in terms of number in the collection would perhaps be more useful for analysis into the investigation of assimilation. I do acknowledge that dolls of wood, cloth and/or paper could have been popular, and simply not survived in the archaeological record.

I am still open to the idea the presence and diversity of doll/figurines represents more than simply child’s play, bearing in mind the contribution of Camp’s (2004) research that recognizes marbles, dominos and so forth as objects associated gaming practices, as well as child’s play. The lack of other objects associated with dolls, such as

doll's houses and doll's tea sets, eg white porcelain doll's saucer (85-31/14.5-3) could suggest that what is at stake is more than just child's play, or alternatively that such purchases were beyond affordability.

Two artifacts (85-31/1/13; 85-31/1/15) are figurine bases that would have had decorated purposes, rather than for child's play; whether or not these were ornaments meant for adults or children remains unknown.

There are no makers' marks on any of the objects, and since I am unqualified to date according to style of doll/figurine, dating is difficult. Of course it is also possible that if these objects were manufactured prior to 1860, there would be no makers marks. Yet, it also possible that marks did exist but on other parts not recovered and in the collection. Given that it is possible that some artifacts may be much older than others, two interpretations can be made; the first interpretation is that newer more expensive dolls/figurines were less affordable, and the second is that older dolls/figurines represented collecting and curating practices, thus were indeed a luxury. There appears to be more fragments from dolls/figurines moderate to expensive in cost than those that are less expensive.

The equal spatial distribution between doll and figurine fragments is found in areas that contain assemblages of objects that are Chinese only, mixed Chinese and EuroAmerican and EuroAmerican only (figure 7). The features with the highest number of doll parts lie in 7 and 24, in 86-36, which contains mixed Chinese and EuroAmerican assemblages. This implies that Overseas Chinese were incorporating a number of EuroAmerican objects into their daily lives of which, dolls and figurines were just one element.

Close examination reveals that the dolls are distributed in lots 85-31 and 86-36 in the central business area of Market Street Chinatown. Although, it must be noted that in Market Street Chinatown the distinction between the domestic and commercial realm are not clear cut, in other words, people both lived and worked here. There are several possible explanations for the presence of artifacts: it is where merchant families, and thus children lived; since an alleyway ran through the center, it is where mothers and children would have passed in running errands for the household, shopping, visiting and so on.

We do not know if or what percentage of the dolls recovered in the archaeological excavation were bought outside Chinatown, or in fact, if bought from Chinese merchants themselves. It is entirely possible that some of the retrieved dolls were not those that were in use but for sale. One would imagine that if the dolls were sold on the premises themselves, there would be more doll fragments in the archaeological record; yet again, we would need to have access to written documentation of record accounts. Of course, it is entirely possible that the dolls were gifts from white employers to Overseas Chinese children²⁷.

In 85-31, lie features 1, 2, and 13; feature 13 contains 1 doll/figurine fragment and features 2 and 1 contains 2 doll/figurine fragments. Features 2 and 1 are associated with tenement housing; although it is believed that merchants lived at the same spaces at which they worked, it is possible that also lived here or, that the children/families visited other children/families here. The assemblages found at the tenement housing can be interpreted as bought by parents or as gifts/donations to employees that worked outside Chinatown for EuroAmerican employers. Therefore, there is a distinct relationship here between artifacts found and the fact that these features are areas where children would have been present.

85-31 contains artifacts that are domestic, structural, personal, indefinite and those associated with activities. Aside from 2 dolls/figurines, feature 1 contains 178 objects. A combination of objects consisting of tableware, containers, decorative items, a lamp and indefinite objects, the origins of a piece of tableware and structural tile have been traced to England; 2 dolls/figurines in feature 2 represent a total of 235 objects. A combination of objects consisting of tableware, containers, storage, health, games, jewelry, drinking vessels, and indefinite objects, none of which have identified place of origin; and 1 doll/figurine in feature 13 contains a total of 367 objects. A combination of social drugs, health, writing, games, jewelry, drinking vessels, storage, containers, hardware, clothing and indefinite articles, 2 whiteware food containers have been cited as of English or US manufacture. Dolls/figurines form a very small proportion of total objects excavated.

²⁷ See Wilkie's (1994) work on African American households at Louisiana plantations, where White planters gave toys to servant's children, in order to cultivate particular gender and status related behavior.

In 86-36, features 5, 7, 18, 19, 20 and 24 lie; features 5, 19 and 20 contain 1 doll/figurine fragment, feature 18 contains 2 fragments and features 7 and 24 contain 3 doll/figurine fragments. There does not seem to be any corresponding relationship between the busier areas and number of artifacts found ie the busier the area does not necessarily mean the more artifacts found and vice versa. Thus, it is interesting to note that features 18 and 24 are away from the less crowded business area, yet have more than one artifact (2 & 3 respectively). There are two possible reasons for this: first, they are depositional pits and so materials from another area could have been transferred here or, second, which is entirely speculation, but it is possible that perhaps this was an area away from the center of town where children played. It is worth pointing out that feature 18 is a Chinese wood-lined pit, whereas feature 24 is mixed Chinese and EuroAmerican trash lens/pit. The implications of this need to be investigated further.

86-36 contains artifacts that are domestic, structural, personal, indefinite and those associated with activities. The collection of objects is similar in nature to 85-31, though while a significant number are Asian in origin, none have been analyzed as European in nature. Thus, from 85-31 and 86-36, one cannot conclusively account for a proportion of artifacts European in nature, nor infer that European dolls/figurines were one category of a number of selected European objects, or, an exception.

Although artifacts were found in depositional areas, they were not found in all trash pits. No artifacts were found in wells. Of course, as with all archaeological investigations, there many further ceramic fragments that are difficult to identify as once dolls/figurines.

Conclusions and Directions for Future Research

Dolls and figurines (as well as doll related objects²⁸) were fragile objects that required quiet careful handling and often encouraged solitary play indoors. Some dolls and figurines, were collected simply to be viewed and admired²⁹. My intention was to understand whether the dolls/figurines in the archaeological record could be

²⁸ A white porcelain doll's saucer exists in the collection.

²⁹ Large numbers of doll heads were also sold loose not only for home assembly but also as pincushions, since pins were an expensive item in the eighteenth century. Often identifiable by their two faces, unlike play dolls, these are rarely found in archaeological excavations.

representative of conspicuous consumption. The artifacts in the collection contain both cheaper and more expensive fragments, and thus I cannot describe this as ‘conspicuous consumption’. Moreover, I am not decided in that the idea of objects of European manufacture are enough to claim conspicuous consumption; there could be other objects of Chinese origin, that acted as symbols of conspicuous consumption, for example that were highly visible in the public arena or cultural signs or symbols that were immediately recognizable by the entire community as Market Street Chinatown. I also hesitate to draw firm conclusions from such a small data sample. Moreover, my preliminary analysis reveals that my questions remain merely speculations rather than concrete conclusions, especially in the absence of statistics and the further information that I shall now turn to.

Trying to identify the doll/figurine pieces with the resource materials was far harder than I been aware of when looking at the descriptive catalogue information alone. Since the world of dolls/figurines is a vast and specialized one, and far more complex than I had anticipated, it would be extremely useful to have ceramic doll/figurine specialist review the collection. Expert analysis would assist in informing the findings of this current research.

Directly related, the fact that I have been unable to conduct investigation into other evidence such as the economic dimension of doll/figurine production in Europe, through business archives and trade periodicals would be an obvious area from which to start. Toy museums would also be another area that would be worth pursuing. The work of toy historians (see Hamlin, 2003, 2004; Schwarz, 2000) is valuable for it would be interesting to know who and under what social conditions were these dolls/figurines produced. For example, since domestic production is often predicated on high levels of labor exploitation (Hamlin, 2004), was there labor exploitation at sites of production and if so, could these be compared to the exploitation that the Overseas Chinese faced? In addition, details of importation, possibly through customs duties or newspaper reports would be useful. It would also be interesting to discover with the advent of the American based doll/figurine industry, whether or not American produced dolls/figurines were preferred, or if Overseas Chinese continued to purchase European manufactured goods. And if so, why?

A detailed comprehensive study of the other EuroAmerican objects recovered would be useful in order to understand whether dolls/figurines were unique or part of larger social processes at work. It would also be useful to have an understanding of the socioeconomic stratifications of society, in terms of living areas, thus, aside from merchants who else had their families living with them? And of the children who were brought from China, were they mostly male or female?

Locating the remaining artifacts (85-31/14.5/3; 85-31/0/9; 85-31/0/262; 85/-31/2/495; 86-36/7/772) would create a larger sample size, which could confirm or contradict research findings. It is interesting that only one of these dolls parts, is described as 'Chinese' (85-31/13/263). It would be particularly helpful if this doll were recovered in order to employ it for comparative work, in terms of visual appearance and in order to try and ascertain what kind of cost such a doll would have. It is interesting that in a collection of nineteen pieces in total, thirteen of which I have discussed, only one object is 'Chinese'. Whilst I recognize that it is entirely possible that Chinese dolls could have been made of organic matter such as cloth, wood or paper, and thus not survived in the archaeological record, it would appear from the work of Angoine (1969) that bisque dolls that looked 'Chinese' in appearance ie with bald head with a hole for a single plait, color, almond eyes were also produced. Since there was a constant influx of immigrants and Chinese merchants controlled imports from China, I suggest that had there been a demand for Chinese dolls, such could have entered the community. This would suggest the idea that it is entirely possible that Caucasian- looking dolls were sought after.

Fawcett (1964) describes Chinese 'doctor dolls' composed of bone or ivory that entered their way into the United States. These dolls were used in China and were in keeping with ideas of modesty, and used rather than disrobing. According to custom, the area of affliction was pointed to on the anatomy of the doll. It would be interesting to discover whether any of the fragments not discussed in this paper, were part of such a doll.

Archaeological analysis from other Overseas Chinatown's in the United States would be useful, as well as other urban immigrant sites from the nineteenth century. Ethnography, oral history and archival research would be very helpful, as well theoretical

insights drawn from other disciplines such as anthropology, psychology, sociology and material culture studies which could inform this project.

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Appendix



Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4

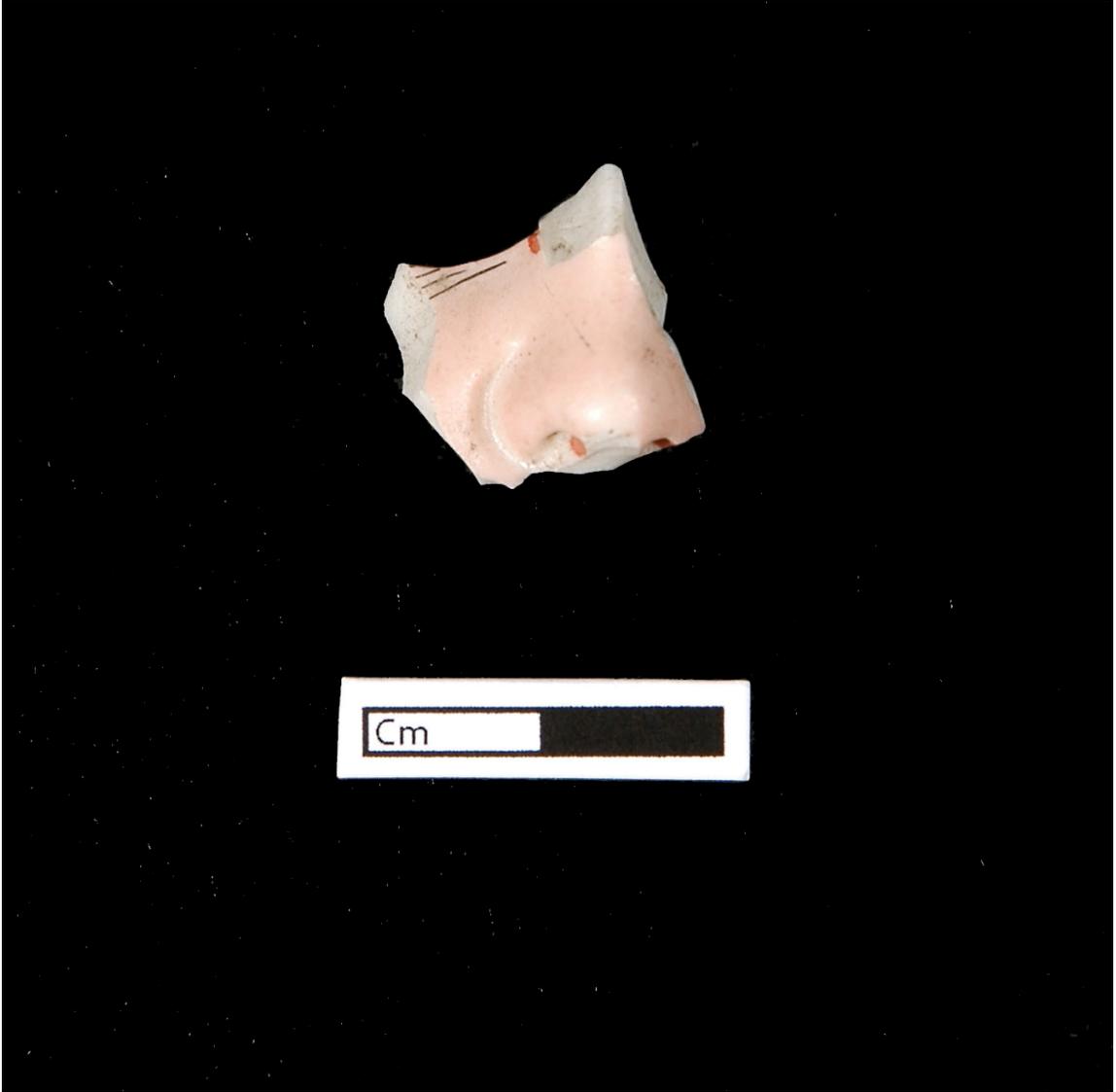


Figure 5



Figure 6

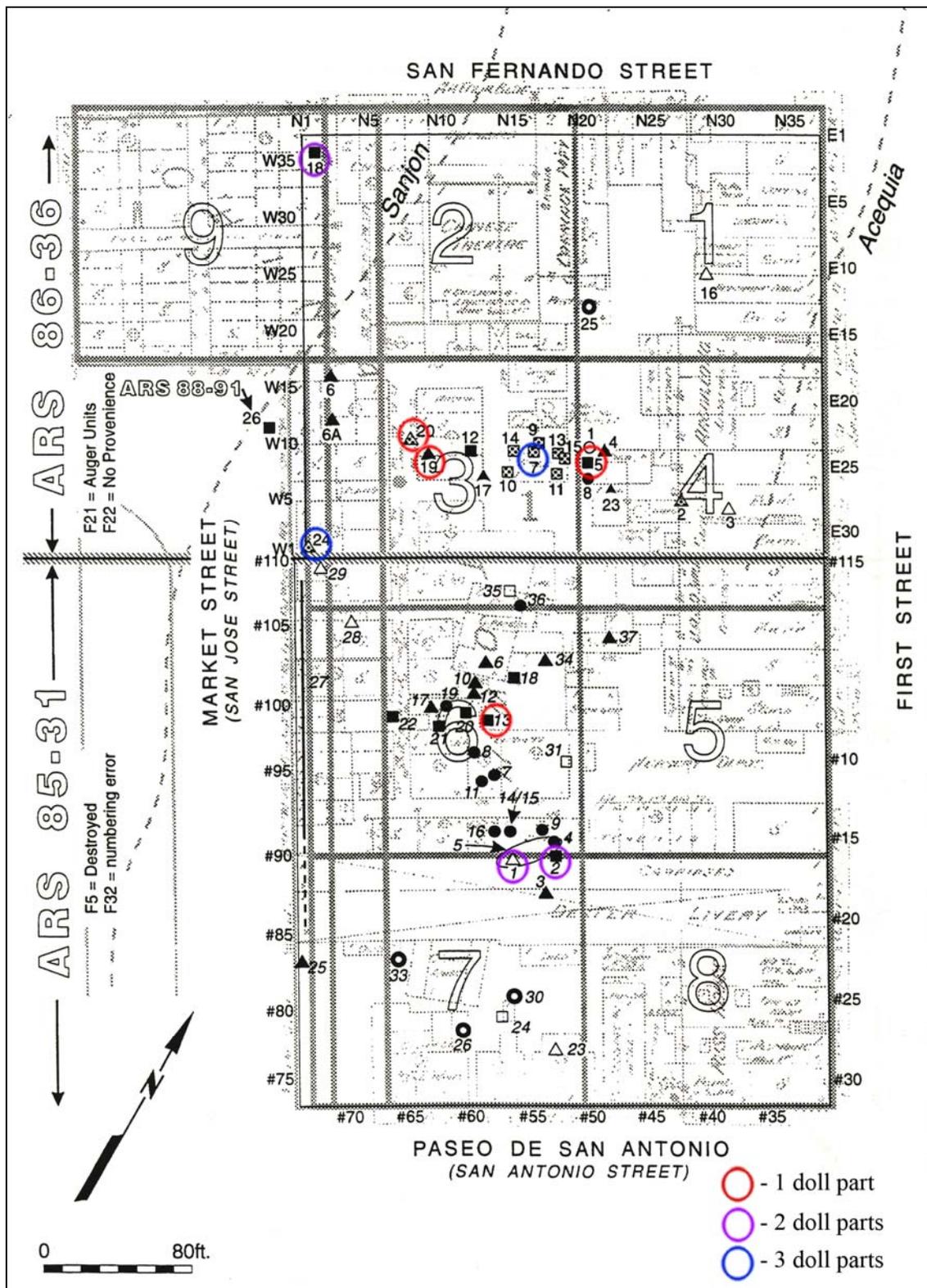


Figure 7