

ied perishable material culture. Room inventories recorded types ranging from traditional Chinese clothing, surviving paper account books, and wooden artifacts to 39 colorful religious-political banners.

Continuity in Chinese everyday material culture, already indicated on purely 19th-century sites, is demonstrated by many artifact types. Stoneware wine and spirits bottles, for example, recovered in Tucson both from the ground and in the rooms of the Ying On Compound, are almost identical in form and style between 1880 and 1960. The well-known ceramic triad of food serving vessels (Three Circles and Dragonfly, Celadon, and Four Seasons) produced by sites across the West dating between 1860 and 1900 also dominates in Tucson. However, because of the ethnoarcheological setting, an extension of both Celadon and Four Seasons wares up to the mid-20th century is indicated.

Two familiar components of the Chinese "sojourner" pattern (young males seeking temporary employment but not permanent residency in America) are drug and gambling paraphernalia. On most "sojourner" sites opium pipe bowls and fragments of shipment cans are visible even on the surface; in Tucson these categories (120 pipe bowls and perhaps 100 opium cans) are contextualized in a much more complete behavioral setting. Full smoking kits were found, including scales for weighing raw opium, specialized opium lamps, dried poppy pods, and needles, hooks, and tampers for servicing the pipes. As international trade networks were disrupted by the revolutions and wars that afflicted China between 1912 and 1948 and as legal pressure intensified in the United States, local Anglo-American items were substituted for hard-to-obtain elements within the opium complex. Perforated doorknobs, which are quite similar in general form to the traditional bowl, replaced ceramic pipe bowls, and cut-off soda bottle tops replaced the opium lamps. Gambling items, normally found only in residual form at archeological sites (black-and-white fantan glass counters) are surrounded in Tucson by full decks of Chinese playing cards, ivory dominoes, Keno slips, and gambling record books. Behavior repeatedly discussed in 19th-century newspapers and indicated archeologically on most sites comes to life in the more complete Ying On Compound materials. And this ethnoarcheological part of the Tucson collection is truly an archeological assemblage—a constellation of artifacts demonstrably associated, down to one structure if not an individual room, in time and space.

As the authors point out, there are many shortcomings in the Tucson assemblage.



"Charley Lee's grocery, as it appeared about 1899, was at 633 South Meyer Street in a flat-roofed adobe building typical of the Hispanic barrio. Serving a diverse clientele typical of territorial Tucson, Charley posted bunting-draped signs in Spanish and in English advertising non-Chinese foodstuffs. A man, perhaps the father, engages in some construction work, while two hispanic boys lounge. The upturned pottery jar near the store was Tohono O'odham Indian earthenware used by most residents to cool drinking water." [From *The Chinese of Early Tucson*; courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society, Tucson]

Chinese artifacts were selectively removed, especially with the ethnoarcheological materials, from much larger Anglo-American trash piles. Thus it is impossible to discuss degrees of acculturation quantitatively. Yet considering the pioneering nature of this project, the field archeologists did make the correct decisions within the limitations of funding, scheduling, and available labor. They are to be praised for saving, with adequate provenience, what may well be the most complete sample of common Chinese material culture from the first half of the 20th century either outside of or inside

China. *The Chinese of Early Tucson*, with its impressive 160 figures (photographs and line drawings), 5 tables, and 3 appendixes, now makes this singular collection available to all researchers. The book is a significant descriptive contribution to general historical archeology, anthropology, and Asian American culture history.

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