STONEWARE FOR BODY AND SOUL
A SOCIAL INTERPRETATION OF
THE CHINESE STONEWARE RECORD IN BRITISH COLUMBIA
1858—1958
by
Trelle Arlen Morrow

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this study is on a social interpretation of the Chinese utilitarian stoneware container record that has been formed in British Columbia from the mid-19th century through to the mid-20th century. Questions posed in the study revolve around typology and diagnostics of utilitarian stoneware food containers, in association with the social constructs relevant to understanding artifact assemblages.

Food containers are found intact in abandoned Chinese habitation sites, museums, antique shops and in private collections. This material culture record is analyzed and interpreted in relation to both change and continuity in container design, manufacturing techniques, and application to specific food types. An extensive list of historical references is reviewed including writings of Western and ethnic Chinese researchers, documentation of pottery in ethnographic studies, and perspectives originating with current archaeological practitioners. Social constructs relevant to the research framework include merchandising and pottery intensification processes, transnational concepts, acculturation, and semiotics relating to the utilitarian stoneware product.

Artifact and archival data for this study originate from collections in British Columbia; however, comparisons are made with artifact collections resulting from archaeological excavations at other Pacific Region venues. Anthropological, economic, ethnographical and technological contexts enter into the research framework, and are considered essential elements in an interdisciplinary synthesis of utilitarian stoneware.

In order to arrive at the best possible understanding of utilitarian stoneware, a synthesis of all factors relative to the artifacts is essential. The provisioning practice of the merchant elite in both China and North America is seen to be the dominant social construct in understanding the stoneware artifacts. A co-dependence exists between the material and non-material cultural elements of utilitarian Chinese stoneware.
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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

In British Columbia, there is a fairly extensive record of Chinese utilitarian stoneware food and beverage containers resulting from 19th century migrations across the Pacific Ocean. This ethnic material culture provides an opportunity to gain an appreciation of pottery roles and social constructs relevant to provisioning a mass migration from China. The first 100 years of Chinese habitation in British Columbia, 1858–1958, is a period selected for examining utilitarian stoneware containers in the lifestyles of overseas communities. Contexts relevant to utilitarian stoneware include intensification of pottery manufacturing processes in China, ethnic subsistence habits, ethnicity preservation, and social constructs relevant to merchant-labour relations. Stoneware containers for some food and beverages, such as ginger and liquors, have maintained original form and have been used to the present day, providing clues to lifestyle and orientation in Chinese immigrant communities. In historical archaeology, images of the past are constructed through the behavior and belief aspects of a culture (Schuyler 1978:251).

Assimilation of Chinese immigrants into Western society in North America has been accomplished in most respects, apart from foodways. Even though Chinese Canadians have avoided in-depth acculturation processes relative to foodways, there is a danger of losing insight into traditional ways and means of overseas subsistence. Food types imported from the Chinese homeland are undergoing change, as are packaging processes. Therefore, research into the pragmatic and significant domains of 19th century utilitarian stoneware containers is timely, while examples of this material culture are still readily available for examination.

The goal of my thesis is to provide a social interpretation of the Chinese stoneware record in British Columbia through assessment of the material aspects of utilitarian stoneware containers and of relevant social contexts. I review both change and continuity
in the stoneware record and focus on commercialism and the role of the merchant elite in food supply for immigrants. Preservation of Chinese ethnicity through subsistence processes, and the role of morphology and symbolism in stoneware containers are considered worthy adjuncts relating to merchandising processes. These social constructs are considered in relation to a utilitarian pottery industry in China which became highly commercialized in the 19th century. Intensification of pottery production is seen to facilitate export of food and beverages to overseas Chinese communities. My thesis questions are formulated within these contexts and define the nature of my research.

I examine what characterizes the stoneware record physically, socially and historically, prior to attempting an explanation of the record. Therefore, the first question becomes what cultural variables have impacted the characteristics and formation processes of the Chinese stoneware record in British Columbia? I follow this initial concern about cultural variables with the question, why are social contexts of overseas Chinese subsistence patterns so relevant for an understanding of the extant stoneware container record? I suggest that answers and inferences resulting from the question format are conditioned by how overseas Chinese history, the material record, and social constructs have been perceived and recorded by earlier researchers. My research of social constructs is also conditioned by examination of diagnostics seen in existing typologies, contributions I offer towards an expanded utilitarian stoneware typology, and my own biases and research perspective relevant to a social interpretation of the database. I anticipate that such contextual research will provide an enhanced social perspective of the Chinese utilitarian stoneware record in the Province. Therefore, I now establish hypotheses, my theoretical perspective, and provide an overview of the social contexts relevant to the questions asked about the extant stoneware forming my database.
1.1 Hypotheses

First, I consider a framework for utilitarian stoneware assessment in terms of contexts relevant to change versus continuity in design. I hypothesize that social contexts in Chinese culture, 1850-1950, have produced a phenomenon of dominant continuity in the stoneware container record, as opposed to indications of change. These contexts include food and beverage types, and provisioning processes.

Second, I hypothesize that the overseas Chinese communities constituted a captive market for entrepreneurs who were able to expand immigrant provisioning through intensification of pottery production in China. A highly developed merchant elite had existed in China for several centuries prior to the 19th century exodus (Miller 2005:23). Merchant elite participated in a Hong Kong based Chinese trade network consisting of import-export firms playing a key role in providing subsistence and ancillary needs to overseas Chinese labour pools (Hsu 2006:23).

Third, a by-product of subsistence habits and merchant elite activities is found in overseas Chinese lifestyles. I hypothesize that ethnicity preservation is assisted through foodways and use of traditional stoneware container forms. To meet the overseas demand for ethnic food and beverages, pottery intensification in China through semi-mechanization of wheel assisted press mold processes provided an essential production increase over traditional hand methods. Such mass production of unchanging specified pottery forms satisfied merchant needs for food and beverage containers. Initial container design, and the repetition of specific functional container forms over the past 150 years, has been maintained by the Chinese food and beverage producers and the merchant elite.

The dichotomy of material and non-material stoneware constructs allows hypotheses evaluation using two sets of data (Cleland 1988:15), to provide the best possible understanding of the artifacts. This dichotomy is seen to exhibit a co-dependent relationship of data as advanced by Knappett (2005). The social contexts of continuity in
stoneware design together with merchant elite activity, and an ethnic preservation by-product, present variables to be assessed. Evaluating social constructs is not a matter of establishing absolute right or wrong, rather a determination of how valid the hypotheses becomes. Ultimately, the assessment must be measured against the questions posed initially, and the degree to which an understanding of the stoneware record has been achieved. The following section outlines my theoretical perspective for implementing an archaeological interpretation of the stoneware record.

1.2 Theoretical Perspective

The concept of a scientific method, an orderly investigative system for doing research, is employed as an appropriate research framework. This perspective is advanced as an excellent and cumulative process for acquiring knowledge in the context of material culture (Cleland 1988:14), and requires that questions be identified, relevant contexts be researched, hypotheses be established with respect to the material data, and that a theoretical perspective appropriate to the field of study be outlined.

Precedents have been established in recent social research for examining the relationship of ethnic constructs and material culture by researchers Praetzellis and Praetzellis(1997), Ying-ying Chen (2001), and Ross Jamieson (2004). More specifically, utilitarian pottery has been examined in terms of Chinese habitation contexts by Neville Ritchie (1986), and Anne Underhill (2003). The principle of synthesis is adopted to arrive at the best possible interpretation of the archaeological record. Developing an understanding through synthesis involves investigating as many external and internal factors as possible which affect the record (Trigger 1991:563; 2006b:254). Therefore, in addition to physical characteristics of the Chinese stoneware record, I assess subjective constructs relevant to the material record, such as humanism, ethnicity and semiotics.

In seeking interdisciplinary domains, I touch on history, anthropology, geography, economics, sociology, and archaeology. Such disciplines reveal commonalities in data and
research methodologies. A body of writing dealing with theoretical approaches in historical archaeology, and specifically with differentiation of non-material perspectives in societies, serves to validate my theoretical perspective.

Archaeologists in the forefront of theory for interpreting the archaeological record in terms of artifact contexts, particularly social contexts, include Robert Schuyler (1978), Ian Hodder (1991), Matthew Johnson (1999), Ross Jamieson (2000), Michael Shanks (2002), Carl Knappett (2005), and Bruce Trigger (2006b). Specifically, Knappett has placed the contextual approach quite succinctly into a relationship of the material and non-material, where “articulation of the pragmatic and significative can produce a cognitive archaeology, a full-fledged interdisciplinary venture” (Knappett 2005:170). The contextual approach is also extended through material frameworks including the social, behavioural and temporal correlates, and is highlighted by researchers such as James Skibo, Michael Schiffer and Nancy Kowalski (1989), Heather Burke (1999), Nicholas David and Carol Kramer (2001), Tim Murray and Alan Mayne (2001), and Charles Orser Jr. (2007).

The idea of artifacts having a function to communicate information through “stylistic behaviour” (Wobst 1977:335) has set the stage for later pronouncements on functional meaning. The study of material culture signs requires an understanding of how “the physical world is embedded within social and cultural meanings” (Hodder 1992:211), and a refined adjunct suggests that “symbolic meanings of objects can only be understood through knowledge of a culture’s symbolic codes.” (Knappett 2005:7).

Michael Shanks and Ian Hodder (1995) offer a perspective where contexts are seen to include “the cultural baggage of the interpreter, social practices to do with meaning, interpretation as an ongoing process, making sense of things never sure, and the multivocality of the data” (Shanks and Hodder 1995:5). A further consolidation of an overall perspective on social context is offered by Bruce Trigger in his discussion of theoretical convergence. He concludes that “Archaeological research, whatever its ultimate
goal, must embrace a social science component, and it is only through the study of human activities that archaeology can be linked theoretically to the social sciences” (Trigger 2006a:507). My view is not to necessarily denigrate our heritage of antiquarian collecting, culture history approaches, or the more recent processual dogma. Rather, we extract relevant contexts from previous research and build on what has gone before.

I therefore argue that the overseas Chinese stoneware assemblages in British Columbia can be interpreted in terms of social contexts that include terms of container quantity, quality, ideological reference, and marketing techniques. Whether they have been recovered archaeologically, or are housed in collections, stoneware container artifacts represent aspects of Chinese culture and ideology. I argue also that the provenance of stoneware container artifacts is found in the non-archaeological social fabric of the Chinese community. Such a phenomenological perspective, together with insights into material culture, provides inferences leading to a deeper understanding of provenance of the stoneware record. Assemblages, therefore, become simultaneously historic and transcendent (Shanks 2002:285). They are historic where the provenance is within the time period of research, and transcendent where the artifacts exhibit aesthetic and ideological values from ancient Chinese cultures. These foregoing theoretical perspectives provide an interpretive framework for my declared hypotheses relevant to Chinese stoneware container assemblages in British Columbia.

1.3 Stoneware Deposits and Collections

Chinese stoneware containers have been recovered from some archaeological excavations at habitation sites, but collections also originate from surface finds at both urban and rural venues. Consequently, containers are found in antique stores, open markets and Chinese family holdings, as well as in numerous museum collections. All collections form part of Chinese material culture in British Columbia. Surviving stoneware containers exhibited in local museums are usually accompanied by no explanatory text, or
occasionally with text providing inaccurate data. Therefore, contexts arising from differing deposit venues suggest a need for a much enhanced appreciation and understanding of the Chinese stoneware material record in the Province.

Locations of stoneware deposits cover a large territory in North America due to the relative mobility of Chinese work forces responding to labour demands of western development projects, such as railway and mining ventures. A delimiting of research areas for this thesis provides parameters for assessing the material record and past research documentation. The stoneware record of British Columbia, as illustrated in private collections, will be utilized as a material database in the thesis. However, historical contexts of stoneware container assemblages reveal research projects scattered over the western portion of the North American continent. Chinese settlements are notably found in the land mass from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Coast, including British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, California, and westerly parts of Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada and Arizona. I refer to this huge area as the Pacific Region. This identification is borrowed from geographer Wilbur Zelinsky (1980), since his terminology for the region coincides with the delimitation of my own research.

1.4 Historical Background

Much theory directed at explaining international migration is based on a ‘push-pull’ perspective. The ‘push’ originating with poverty, and ‘pull’ resulting from enticing economic opportunities and labour shortage elsewhere, challenge individuals and the social structures generally. A structural theory of immigration hinges on a dual labour market where a schism exists between high-paying and low-paying jobs. Immigrant labour has often been imported from countries with an excess in order to meet the need for low-skilled labour in another country (Stalker 2002:22).

The political situation in China at the time of the mid-19th century exodus to North America is illuminated by Rhoads Murphey (1999) in his discussion of the historical
context of contemporary China. Prior to the 19th century, several dynasties in China had prospered. The Song, Ming and early Qing Dynasties were able to supply fairly stable government, develop the nation culturally, and feed the masses through favourable agricultural production in the southern part of China. However, by the end of the 18th century, prosperity, trade development and urbanization had sponsored a huge increase in population in southern China, which food production on land could no longer support. Agricultural technology had not developed accordingly, and 19th century China experienced much poverty and rebellion (Murphey 1999:54).

With respect to Chinese migration overseas, many individuals acted in compliance with family wishes in light of a cost-benefit assessment. The family makes an investment in the migrating individual with the expectation of a return in the form of remittances from earnings overseas. Both the sponsored individual and structural theories of migration are applicable to the flow of Chinese overseas. However, official emigration restrictions for both male and female subjects were in place in China during the 19th century, but the degree of enforcement eventually hinged on internal priorities of the Qing regime, and the influence of Western powers in accommodating individuals wishing to emigrate (Wang 1978:128).

Externally, economic pressure by Britain resulted in the first Opium War of 1840-1842, in which Britain prevailed. Subsequently, in the Treaty of Nanking, five Chinese ports were opened for Western trade and for points of embarkation (Wang 1978:7). As well, Britain gained possession of Hong Kong as a Crown colony and this port became the embarkation point for migrants destined for California and British Columbia. Foreign access to the huge Chinese labour pool was now assured, resulting in a wave of emigration to colonial venues requiring cheap labour. Internally, China suffered several famines in the mid-19th century, and was involved with the lengthy Taiping uprising, 1850-1864, which caused many individuals to seek a new life. Coincident with these economic disasters,
foreign agencies located in Treaty ports were active in recruiting working class Chinese to fill requests for overseas contract labour. Due to the political isolation of Guangdong province during the Taiping uprising, and severe population growth in the delta region, migration restrictions on males leaving China were alleviated in 1859. Women were strictly prohibited from migrating since Confucian propriety demanded that women remain in the home (Ritchie 1986:11).

During 1858, emigration from China had become a flood which the Chinese government could not control, but actual repeal of emigration restrictions by the Qing regime did not occur until 1893 (Wang 1978:36). Meanwhile, Chinese officers had little interest in regulating emigration since the removal of surplus suffering population was seen as a benefit for China, particularly for the overcrowded counties in Guangdong. Although there had been nominal migration from China in the previous one thousand years, there was nothing compared to the scale of emigration by the hundreds of thousands from the Pearl River delta to points on the Pacific Rim in the mid-19th century (Chen 2001:374).

Chinese immigrants in North America in the mid-19th century consisted largely of contract labourers, a lesser number of indentured or ticket-credit labourers, plus a few individuals who had paid their own fare. The contract labourers were usually secured through sub-brokers operating in the villages (Wang 1978:304). Contracts required repayment of fares and involved obligations to work for the sponsor for a specified amount of time. Sample contracts (Wang 1978:321-325) are entered in Appendices A and B.

Transportation for free emigrants unable to pay their own fare was arranged by a credit-ticket, an arrangement between labour brokers and shipping companies for transport from China to a designated port (Wang 1978:91). Upon landing in North America, temporary lodging and provisions were arranged by the Consolidated Chinese Benevolent Association headquarter in San Francisco until new immigrants were placed into
employment. This association, an assembly of district associations spread over the Pacific
Rim region, provided needed protection and subsistence (Hoy 1942:10). In British
Columbia, a Chinese Benevolent Association was independently formed at Victoria in
1884 (Willmott 1970:47), and at Vancouver in 1889 (Anderson 1991:78), to primarily
support destitute ex-railway employees after completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway.
In addition to the Benevolent Associations, numerous clan associations have been formed
and are evident today by names on buildings in Vancouver’s Chinatown.

1.5 Transnationalism

The connective process of transnationalism is defined with respect to the ways
Chinese economic and cultural processes have served migrants in maintaining ties with
their homeland. These processes are manifest in both material and symbolic realms of the
everyday world of overseas Chinese through trans-Pacific movements of people, goods,
ideas and capital (Chan 2006:ix).

One effective mechanism that facilitated Chinese migration and the maintenance of
lifestyles was a merchant organization composed of Chinese import-export firms. This
organization, called the jinshanzhuang, was a well-organized business cartel with roots in a
group of Chinese grocery exporters initially supplying local foods to overseas Chinese, but
eventually providing postal services, remittance transfers, and banking needs to migrants
(Hsu 2006:22). Chinese nationals were known in California from 1770 onward, and during
the severe Guangzhou depression of 1847, a handful of Chinese businessmen established
themselves in San Francisco. By the time of the gold rush in the 1850s, a Chinese trade
network supplying a wide variety of food products and goods was already established
signaling the beginning of the jinshanzhuang cartel of Hong Kong based import-export
firms (Hsu 2006:23). Such a highly developed trade network was the lifeline for overseas
Chinese. Food and drink to which they were accustomed was available, family ties with
China were provided, and most importantly, reliable remittance services were available.
From the merchant elite perspective, the overseas Chinese presented a bounded captive market. Hong Kong was the focal point for shipping companies, labour recruiters, information about overseas venues, contacts for credit-ticket arrangements, and all of the merchandising functions of the *jinshanzhuang* (Hsu 2006:25). By 1867, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company had inaugurated monthly service from Hong Kong to San Francisco. Migrant traffic to North America benefited shipping companies from the demand for food stuffs and sundries, to the financing of fares. Return voyages to China facilitated the export of flour, dried foods, oil, furs and various sundries from North America, and also gained fares from returning nationals. Financial services provided by the *jinshanzhuang* were integrated with reliable delivery services in Hong Kong, such as the Wah Ying Cheong firm, to transfer mail and remittances to the villages (Hsu 2006:29).

The essence of transnational processes between China and North America is that ample opportunity arises for an extensive utilitarian stoneware container record to be formed archaeologically, as well as through surface collections. In promoting homeland subsistence products, Chinese merchants exercised a perspective of migrant adaptation to their new home rather than one of labour acculturation. An interdependent provisioning mode between merchant and worker became the norm.

Research by Robert Spier (1958) determined that Chinese stores in San Francisco, 1851-1854, were well stocked with imported foods. U.S. Custom House records indicate an extensive array of food products arriving from Hong Kong. Included in the listings are salt beans, oranges, pomelo, dry oysters, shrimps, cuttle fish, bean curd, bamboo shoots, mushrooms, greens, yams, ginger, sugar, rice, salt eggs, vinegar, tea, peanut oil, soy, chestnut flower, minced turnips, birds nests, taro, seaweed, tofu, various seeds, and brandy. In total, 131 distinct items were listed in the records (Spier 1958:80). Immigrant Chinese were not obliged to make many changes in customary eating habits.
In British Columbia, the first Chinese gold-seekers who arrived in Victoria in June 1858, illustrated the interdependence between merchant and labourer. The Hop Kee Company in San Francisco, upon learning of the Fraser River gold discovery, chartered a ship to carry 300 miners and 50 tons of merchandise to Victoria. Each miner was given 20 dollars cash compensation for use upon arrival (Chen 2001:143).

The gold rush trail in the Province followed the waterways into the Cariboo region, and distribution centres such as Lillooet and Barkerville catered to Chinese miners. Before the Cariboo Wagon Road was completed through the Fraser Canyon in 1865, traffic from the coast was routed via Harrison Lake, Lillooet Lake, Anderson Lake, and Seton Lake to the community of Lillooet (Barman 1991:81). Chinese stores operating at Lillooet in the 1870s and 1880s served miners in the Cariboo region, and include names such as Ho Sang, Yee Shing and the Wing Choy Company. Chinese foods listed in the Lillooet shipments include sugar, tea, lobsters, oysters, canned vegetables, lard, rice, salt fish, Chinese cakes, orange peel, salt cabbage, soap, tobacco, crude medicines, and Chinese wine. In the Yee Shing shipment of 977 pounds, 355 pounds constituted wine (liquors). The shipping invoice is provided in Appendix D.

In the mid-19th century, numerous Chinese merchants established outlets in the Pacific Region, some originating directly from China, some from their bases in the United States. An example is the Kwong Lee Company of San Francisco that had branch outlets in Victoria and New Westminster by 1860, and as far away as Barkerville by the mid-1860s (Chen 2001:512; Wright 1998:88). Several Chinese merchants were established in Barkerville in the 1860s, and businesses are recorded through to the 1940s. Names and operation chronologies for Barkerville are provided in Appendix I.

After completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway through British Columbia in 1885, Ashcroft became an embarkation point for freight and passenger traffic destined for the Cariboo. Further retail outlets for Chinese foods and beverages in the Province were
opened at Ashcroft, facilitated by the clearing house of W.B. Bailey Co. Ltd. Bills of lading, dated 1900 and 1909, are filed in Appendices C, D, and E. The shipment of food products from Wing Yee Cheong of Hong Kong, to Woo Lee in Ashcroft, constituted 105 boxes and included the following: crackers, nut oil, wine, cordial, salt fish, bean stick, oyster, abalone, rice flour, lichee, cake, soy, olive, salt nuts candy, sausage, and fruit.

The involvement of the merchant elite through transnational enterprises in the Pacific Region, regardless of economic motives, allowed the overseas working class contact with traditional foods, beverages and services. In essence, the worker was provided with a ready-made food resource, either for purchase, or as supplied under labour contracts. A context leading to the success of transnational enterprises in the 19th century, was the earlier porcelain trade experience between Chinese, Asian and European traders.

1.6 A Stoneware Epoch

Evidence of social constructs affecting pottery production are found in the 12th and 13th centuries of the Southern Sung Dynasty (Medley 1976:169). Financial demands resulting from funding armies to fight the Mogul threats from the north were met through government organizational incentives and sponsorships for overseas pottery trade. Chinese merchants were able to develop trade and take advantage of Near East markets in wealthy Muslim countries through Arab and Persian marine networks calling at Chinese ports (Medley 1976:170). The effect on the ceramic industry in China during the 13th and 14th centuries was huge. Private craft kilns were turned into industrial complexes under government sponsorship. A highly skilled labour force with specific divisions of labour fostered a mass production of high quality porcelains. Technical developments in this era included use of press molds for shaping, the use of the fast wheel with accompanying templates, and construction of large efficient kilns (Medley 1976:171).

By the 19th century, another incentive for pottery intensification developed, the need for shipping food and beverages to overseas Chinese communities. The technical
needs for intensification actually originated with the porcelain trade of the 13th century (Medley 1976:171) and now became integrated into utilitarian stoneware manufacturing processes.

Stoneware assemblages in British Columbia originate with the early Chinese immigration of miners in 1858, after gold was discovered in the Lower Fraser River. Miners initially came from the western United States where placer mining had been carried out for the previous ten years. As the Fraser River gold rush gained momentum, migration quickly originated directly from China resulting in several thousand Chinese miners and service industry workers entering British Columbia in the early 1860s as news of gold discovery spread (Chen 2001:142). Eventually some labourers were recruited and entered British Columbia as contract labour for large enterprises, such as mining operations and railway construction (Barman 1991:107).

With most of the Chinese immigrants originating in counties close to Canton in Guangdong Province, an ethnic unity prevailed in the overseas colonies initially, and still survives in British Columbia today. The Cantonese dialect, traditions of family and clan, and the guiding role of the merchant class, have fostered an independent Chinese identity in the population of British Columbia (Chen 2001:157). Commencing in 1858, ethnic food and beverage exports from China sustained immigrants surviving under a discriminatory British colonial regime. With no appreciable abatement in discrimination until after World War II in the mid-20th century, the supply of ethnic foods over time provides an opportunity to examine assemblages of specific stoneware container types. The title for my thesis, *Stoneware for Body and Soul*, suggests a perspective of container usage encompassing both practical and ideological objectives.

1.7 Thesis Outline

In the introductory chapter an historical background of Chinese migration and subsistence processes is provided, goals and questions are established with respect to the
utilitarian stoneware record, and utilitarian stoneware sources are identified. The historical research outlined in Chapter II provides insight into several contexts relevant to the material record. Utilitarian stoneware documentation in the Pacific Region is discussed in relation to recent archaeological research. Ethnographic studies of pottery manufacture in China add to an understanding of the stoneware data. Ethnic Chinese historians residing in the Pacific Region discuss the social context of immigrants, and this is followed by recent perspectives in archaeology addressing ceramic interpretations.

Chapter III discusses social constructs relevant to the stoneware record, including village life in China, pottery intensification processes, design continuity, and porcelain industry influences. Chapter IV presents a research methodology for gathering data that bears on material and archival constructs. In Chapter V, the characteristics of artifacts in the database are provided, along with discussion of the collections forming the database. The following Chapter VI provides a physical analysis of the stoneware database highlighting morphology, diagnostics and typological refinement.

Chapter VII elaborates on numerous social constructs affecting both change and continuity in the utilitarian stoneware record, and explores the co-dependence of social constructs and the stoneware record relevant to ethnicity links and acculturation processes. A critique of historical research is provided, provisioning contexts are discussed, semiotics and ideology inferences are outlined, particularly with reference to liquor and ginger containers. Conclusions drawn in Chapter VIII assess the degree to which findings have validated my hypotheses, and also suggest several opportunities for relevant future research.
CHAPTER II HISTORICAL RESEARCH

This historical review examines both material and non-material documentation relevant to overseas Chinese lifestyle and subsistence patterns, and to the stoneware record specifically. Much of this contextual material follows a chronological order, a pattern considered enlightening, since each researcher tends to reference work completed prior to his/her own. A chronological review also reveals occasions where early findings or viewpoints may not hold up when compared to later research. Analysis is not a strong point with most historical archaeological reports involving typology; rather documentation tends to be a descriptive inventory of recovered artifacts. However, there is a noticeable temporal shift in documentation, with the artifacts from recent excavations being recorded more fully than those recorded from excavations in earlier time periods.

2.1 Western Researchers

First, there is a group of archaeologists who have carried out excavations on Chinese sites in the Pacific Region, and have subsequently provided a descriptive documentation of stoneware findings. Nearly all stoneware container reports from the Pacific Region in the last three decades have been prepared from excavations in the United States. Paul Chace (1976) is credited with developing the first organized typology and adequate description of a Chinese stoneware deposit. His nomenclature is still used today for containers similar to those he excavated at San Buenaventura, California. John Olsen (1978) provides an early research paper with an emphasis on small stoneware containers recovered at a site in Tucson, Arizona. A large ceramic database at this site allowed Olsen to investigate pottery function, decoration, manufacturing techniques, and to apply his findings to overseas Chinese lifestyles. His report is largely a description of utilitarian stoneware containers, but his notes on the hexagonal ginger pots are valuable to the researcher, since these stoneware types are missing from most overseas Chinese sites.
Olsen also investigates pottery contexts such as food types, seriation of artifacts, and continuity in container design.

In the volume *Beyond the Seawall*, Pastron and Pritchett (1981) present a voluminous description of utilitarian stoneware recovered from the San Francisco waterfront. The work carried forth the Chace (1976) nomenclature with added descriptions of clay bodies, fabrication processes, dimensions and glazes in the final documentation. The 1987 research at the Riverside, California site by Clark Brott (1987) is well documented with photographs. Descriptions of food types and glaze variation are provided, plus the concept of assigning foods to specific vessel forms. In 1989, Florence and Robert Lister issued a report on another Tucson excavation. The recording is mainly photographic, illustrating five major stoneware types, with nominal seriation added. Usage was established through analogies with recent Chinese practices.

More recently, the Yang and Hellman (1997) research at a site in Sacramento, California, extends earlier typologies and incorporates markings and newly documented forms based on consultation with Chinese informants. All of these archaeologists listed above researched sites in the United States section of the Pacific Region. Although useful in establishing a typology, these listings pay little attention to social contexts.

In British Columbia, historian Carl Quellmaltz (1973) provided a rudimentary typology of stoneware containers recovered in the Cumberland area of Vancouver Island. This documentation included a brief historical background of stoneware manufacture in China, and does sort out common container types. However, no physical variations, statistics, seriation, or social interpretations were offered. Nevertheless, the Quellmaltz (1973) document remains the singular documentation of the British Columbia stoneware record. This matter in itself seems peculiar, considering the amount of utilitarian stoneware material in the Province.
2.2 Ethnographic Studies

Second, there is a group of Western researchers who have focused on Chinese pottery and carried out various ethnographic studies. These researchers have provided an insight into village life and artisan activities, including pottery manufacture. The comprehensive volume by Robert Hobson (1915) has traced pottery production to China back 2000 years to the Han Dynasty, with particular emphasis on the later Tang Dynasty when stoneware was developed into a sophisticated product. From this kind of documentation, the origins of certain techniques and styles evident in the 19th century became apparent. A village pottery at Shek-waan was examined by Clinton Laird (1918). Social contexts relevant to the commercialization of village potteries considered to be nineteenth century vintage are highlighted. Division of labour is examined from both technical and gender perspectives. Daniel Kulp (1925) researches village life in South China within a sociological perspective. He observed the static nature of most villages and provides in-depth study of one village. Traditional norms and the spiritual world were seen to hold a neighbourhood together, and ultimately affect migration. An emphasis on rural Chinese subsistence and craft works is found in the research of Rudolph Hommel (1937). Discussion revolves around food processing and associated mechanical devices, distilling liquors, and types of food containers.

After the cessation of World War II in 1945, Western researchers continued work in China. William Skinner (1964) researched marketing and village social structure in China. Moving beyond economics, Skinner took an anthropological view of the Chinese agrarian society, where marketing structure shapes social organization. Spatial patterns are held to be critical in establishing a marketing hierarchy where individuals can maintain a sense of belonging. Another large volume on Chinese pottery has been prepared by Margaret Medley (1976). This volume focuses on the potter and his materials, set upon a social and economic background. A comprehensive study of ceramic production is
provided to cover the development of pottery techniques, differing clay bodies, variation in decoration and finish, and kiln development. Robert Temple (1986) delves into contributions of Chinese material culture studies to Western society. Of particular note to my stoneware research is a reference to symbolic form, differentiation in typology, and food and beverage processing. Following through to the present day, Anne Underhill (2003) provides an ethnoarchaeological study of variation in intensification of ceramic production. Her focus is on social behaviour among family potteries and the use of the fast wheel, a technical enhancement for pottery manufacture. Emphasis is placed on variations in labour organization relative to production, with her assessment directed to material indicators such as spatial organization and variation in container uniformity. Underwood also examines the gender structure of Guizhou potteries in relation to family participation of specific tasks.

2.3 Ethnic Chinese Text

Third, a group of Chinese-Canadian and Chinese-American historians and sociologists have provided an ethnic perspective on social constructs of Chinese habitation in the Pacific Region. These researchers provide insight into matters of acculturation, enculturation, ideology, and subsistence processes. William Hoy (1942) investigates the operation of the Chinese Six Companies which formed a benevolent association for exercising social control and assessing needs of overseas Chinese communities. Accommodating new migrants, free or indentured, is considered an essential service in the Pacific Region. A dissertation by Rose Hum Lee (1947) investigates the growth and decline of Chinese communities in the Pacific Region. The value of a Chinatown in providing social, commercial and moral support to residents is stressed. A kinship structure acts initially to consolidate a community, but also contains the seeds of decline through population movements to different parts of the Pacific Region. Gradual acculturation and
assimilation into the dominant society dilute ethnic customs. Ethnic food services to both a Chinese and Western clientele is seen by Hum Lee as a cultural preservation measure.

K.C. Chang (1977) edits a volume pertaining to anthropological and historical perspectives of Chinese food. In the Introduction, he stresses the study of food variables is to be based on analysis and interpretation, not simply description (Chang 1977:5). The claim is made that food habits display diverse roles, one of which is the use of preserved foods, which in turn has sponsored the production of ceramic containers for transporting foods overseas. The development of trade routes over the centuries by the Chinese is researched by Gungwu Wang (2000). Trade is considered in terms of the Chinese Imperial State, migration, cultural values and family relationships. Sojourning emigrants are expected to maintain regular contact with home and have access to products from home, processes designed to ensure individuals remain Chinese.

Ying-ying Chen (2001) examines the cultural principles of Chinese communities in the northern Cariboo area of British Columbia. Her contextual approach suggests that the traditional family values and a position of unwillingness to acculturate are ethnic features influencing the desire for Chinese food types. A recent contribution to understanding ideology and symbolism in pottery production is provided by Jing Fang (2004) in both his delineation of symbols and his perspective on symbol significance in present day Chinese society. A comparison is drawn between ideologies and symbolism in 19th century China and that prevailing in overseas and mainland China today. Madeline Hsu (2006) offers important insight into the operation of the Chinese merchant elite organization *jinshanzhuang*, literally translated as gold mountain village, in provisioning overseas Chinese settlements in the 19th century. Kinship is seen to be fostered through an extensive merchandising campaign offered by Chinese merchants established in the Pacific Region of North America.
These literature references suggest a wide range of perspectives that relate to contexts of the stoneware container record, some of which specifically address stoneware containers, others which focus on various social constructs affecting the stoneware record. I draw upon this diverse literature pertaining to overseas Chinese lifestyle and subsistence patterns in implementing stoneware research methodology.

2.4 Current Perspectives on Interpretation

Fourth, several archaeologists and ethnoarchaeologists in the past decade have provided insight for approaching an interpretation of ceramic records. On the whole, these perspectives promote the need to combine material findings with social contexts in order to arrive at a meaningful understanding of the record. A common theme with these researchers is relating ceramic production to social boundaries of an ethnic group.

The contextual nature of human behaviour and its products is stressed by Dean Arnold (1999). In his view, the ethnographic context linking technology and the social aspects of culture must be understood. Technology exerts a causal pressure on socio-cultural phenomena through such aspects as the need for skilled labour and work spaces. Michelle Hegmon (1998) identifies social boundaries as social facts of the past or present, which are recognized by perceived identity, interests, and social constructs. Ethnicity, closely related to social boundaries, is seen to be established through self-conscious identification involving style and technology. “It is something people do” (Hegmon 1998:272).

The idea of co-dependence of mind and matter is explored by Carl Knappett (2005), where he calls for an integrated theoretical framework of an interdisciplinary nature for understanding material culture. Insights are derived from diverse fields, including cognitive science, ecology, anthropology, sociology and semiotics. Terms such as icon, index, and symbol are considered essential in researching material culture, where the meaning of objects arises in articulation of its pragmatic and significative dimensions.
There needs to be a coming together of the material and the mental, the functional and the symbolic (Knappett 2005:110). Such an interpretation overcomes the dichotomy of society and technology in our western culture. His volume is replete with case study examples of material interpretation directed towards such present day artifacts as tableware and stoneware bottles.

Prudence Rice (1996b) emphasizes the need to concentrate on the validity or usefulness of data when analyzing artifacts. Inferences will only be as good as the analyses, the artifact samples, and the reality of a research design (Rice 1996b:168). Intentionality must be projected back to the period of artifact origin, with due care in positing analogies. Miriam Stark (2003) discusses the value of ethnoarchaeological studies to archaeologists doing ceramic research. A holistic research framework is seen to examine both technical and cultural factors. A comprehensive list of ceramic contexts extends from initial manufacture to production systems, distribution, consumption and disposal, all of which can be addressed from household to international levels.

A recent perspective advanced by Chinese national Yung-ti Li (2007) suggests craft producers become alienated from their own skills through pottery intensification processes. Li first visualizes a holistic process where the individual carries out practically all of the manufacturing stages in producing the pottery. This is contrasted with a prescriptive manufacturing process where work is divided into a multitude of isolated activities, and the individual specializes in one faction only. Li argues that such “alienation in the workplace can be detected archaeologically” (Li 2007:169).
CHAPTER III DISCUSSION OF SOCIAL CONSTRUCTS

In this Chapter, I examine constructs which provide insight into socio-economic influences on pottery production. The term production is taken to refer to all contexts of pottery: the initial needs, pottery manufacture, merchandising and final usages. In 19th century China, traditional domestic pottery enterprises expanded into a system for supplying containers for an overseas food and beverage market. Therefore, a focus on production contexts relevant to the stoneware record includes attitudes in village life, intensification of manufacturing processes, food and beverage consumption habits, and merchandising of products.

3.1 Village Life

The social context relating to survival, stability and prosperity of the overseas Chinese population can be observed daily in marketing processes of rural China. Peasant or traditional agrarian society in China has been researched by G. William Skinner (1964), which has resulted in an hypothesis illustrating a distinct marketing construct. Skinner has produced a typical stylized isometric grid (Figure 1), where initially six nucleated villages form a ring around an identified standard market town. Such marketing venues are common to all agrarian regions of China. Beyond this initial six are twelve more villages, also roughly equidistant from the standard marketing town. In the geographic area researched, the village and market town pattern has resolved into a scheme approaching a series of hexagons. This is a stylized representation by Skinner, and not every standard marketing area will be exactly the same. However, the ratio of villages to standard marketing area remains fairly constant, averaging eighteen villages per standard market (Skinner 1964:18). Daily and periodic walking cycles establish the relationship between villages and the market town. Distances between habitation units change as the size of the standard marketing area varies inversely with the density of population (Skinner 1964:32).
The essence of such a geometric pattern does not hinge on the actual shape of marketing areas, but on how social discourse progressed through such a pattern. Skinner hypothesizes that at least one person in a family of five or six will travel from the village to the standard market town regularly to take produce or purchase produce goods. The social ramification of this Skinner model for marketing is that the Chinese peasant lives in a self-contained world defined not by his village, but by the standard marketing community. The effective social field of the peasant is delimited in accordance with his standard marketing area, which is considered an intermediate social structure and a culture-bearing unit (Skinner 1964:32).

Figure 1. Model of Chinese standard marketing areas as stable spatial systems, and three models of intermediate markets (Skinner 1964:19).
The circle of acquaintances for the villager is extensive as he builds a network of patron-client relationships in the standard marketing area, and over time establishes interlinkage ties in the system (Skinner 1964:36). Further insight onto the characteristics of market towns is provided by Neville Ritchie (1986), where Canton area villages are deemed to be not only centres focused on business and trade activity, but centres for an information system. Peasants were linked to outside events, such as New World gold rushes, in part through their market towns that were considered investment venues for those who had prospered (Ritchie 1986:9).

Lifetime experiences of Chinese peasants under the market system outlined by Skinner (1964) and Ritchie (1986) have produced an astute perspective into daily living habits. This ingrained business viewpoint was carried by the Chinese into their overseas domiciles and acted to promote basic survival, business ventures, amenity development and interclass relations. Those workers not directly involved with merchandising were able to apply their entrepreneurial talents to market gardening, trade works, and food services catering to both Chinese and European populations in the colonies.

3.2 Pottery Intensification

In China, change in producing utilitarian stoneware occurred in the 19th century in order to meet demands for containers destined for overseas communities of Chinese nationals. Traditional utilitarian pottery making over centuries and millennia had catered to domestic markets in the villages and towns. Commercialization in the 19th century provided an opportunity for the potter to engage in enterprises focusing on intensification processes directed at the overseas market. In this expanded utilitarian pottery industry, social elements of both change and continuity occur in manufacturing techniques. Change is seen in division of labour, improvement of technical operations, and social adjustments in family-oriented businesses. Social constructs relevant to continuity of traditional pottery methods include maintaining pottery forms, enhancing manufacturing techniques, adapting
of labour specialization, and social attitudes towards the family in the workplace (Rice 1987:449).

In order to meet temporal requirements of food and beverage processors, the potter would now be involved in a full-time occupation. Complexities developed in all phases of pottery production. Clay procurement and processing for the potter involved expanded labour requirements and transportation contracts. The potter may engage helpers to assist at various stages of manufacture. Firing contracts were required with kiln operators since individual potteries would not possess their own kiln. Merchants and other investors built huge dragon-type kilns and operated them on a commercial basis (Underhill 2003:222).

Preferences of food processors for specific types of utilitarian pottery resulted in potters adhering to a particular food type morphology. Specific food and beverage types were assigned specific pottery forms. Some of the 19th century container types would have been in existence domestically prior to the commercial intensification period, since there are universal forms for such items as a simple jar or bottle. However, in the 19th century, very precise forms arose from the need for identification of foods and beverages; for example containers for liquors, soy sauce, and preserved ginger.

A second aspect of pottery intensification involved the numerous facets of actually manufacturing a pot. Specific forms require specific manufacturing techniques. Characteristics in the database indicate numerous manufacturing methods: hand coiling, hand pressing in molds, throwing on a potter’s wheel, using the fast wheel with a press mold attached, and slip casting in gypsum molds. Each technique dictates varying degrees of skill resulting in a complex division of labour: skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. Since utilitarian stoneware containers are considered disposable, not highly refined products, there is opportunity in the industry for engagement of workers where quality workmanship would not necessarily be a criterion of employment.
Figure 2. Morphology of soy sauce containers TAM collection. Common shape for soy sauce container; rounded or sharp high shoulder, small pouring spout, small corked rim.

Figure 3. Variation in soy container morphology TAM collection. Variations in form of soy sauce containers: left, a rough surfaced, poorly formed pot; centre, a larger than normal container; right, a narrow, slightly higher form showing finger marks from double dipping during the glazing process.

Small, individual potteries may experience fluctuations in labour expertise, whereas
intensification of manufacture through specialization of tasks usually results in uniform levels of product quality. Figure 3 illustrate huge variation in the manufacture of one pottery type, the soy sauce container, suggesting that artifacts may have been produced in a small, family-oriented pottery with variable skills.

Therefore, commercialization of traditional pottery production in 19th century China resulted in socio-economic changes for the potter. Large scale manufacture of utilitarian pottery resulted in the development of contracts for services and labour, and a cash economy. Increased liaison between manufacturer and buyer, plus improved transportation on the river systems, influenced overall pottery processes (Rice 1987:450).

The perceived need to introduce symbolism into pottery form arose in 19th century China. Merchandiser and potter revived a traditional hexagonal stoneware form. This became recognized in the international marketplace as a container for preserved ginger. This utilitarian form has persevered in overseas Chinese markets to the present day, although a highly decorated, globular, ginger container made of a porcelanous clay has intervened and caters to a sophisticated market worldwide.

3.3 Emphasis on Continuity

Although the utilitarian pottery industry in the 19th century experienced a commercial resolve and much intensification, the technology of manufacturing a pot remained much as it had for centuries. Intensification in manufacture did result in modifications to the fast wheel to allow mechanical use of press molds, and the industry did increase divisions of labour. However, many technical processes, clay procurement, most manufacturing stages, and kiln operations maintained their traditional stance.

Once corporate identity was established in utilitarian stoneware containers in the 19th century, specific pottery forms were maintained for the next 100 years or more. Although a few forms have been discontinued in this time period, some have been rigorously maintained, such as the ubiquitous liquor bottle, the hexagonal ginger pot, and
some small vegetable pots. Traditional utilitarian forms enjoyed continuity since usage and contents changed little, and also because the dominant colonial society saw utilitarian vessels to have little value or no symbolic meaning that was considered threatening (Rice 1987:460). A further perspective suggests that utilitarian containers retained their morphology over time due to demands and intentions in the market place. Primary users of stoneware containers were the food and beverage producers who maintained their preference for specific forms. Over time, there is evidence in the stoneware record of upgrading and manufacturing refinement through use of alternate clay bodies and refined glazes; however, the primary utilitarian forms remained constant through the rigors of 19th century commerce in China.

Therefore, social contexts relevant to maintaining traditional processes in utilitarian pottery manufacture can be varied. Traditional values and customs tend to counter innovation and cultural change. Technological improvements in pottery manufacture in the 19th century tend to be contingent on status and available investment. Incentives rest with the desire for intensification to meet merchant needs for exporting food products. Most phases of pottery making in China involve hard manual work, consequently potters usually occupy low socio-economic status. Although a potter’s expertise is recognized in the community, a lack of capital reserves to invest in new or upgraded equipment would hinder upward mobility. Commercialization and intensification of the pottery industry in the 19th century is also set upon traditional motor skills, those of habitual routine and posture, and those manual processes used in forming vessels (Rice 1987:462). Low on the socio-economic ladder, some potters in China at least were highly skilled in manipulating clay, and techniques were not likely to be abandoned readily.
3.4 Porcelain Contexts

The significance of the porcelain trade to my research of stoneware material culture relates to the record of Chinese merchants dealing with Western business agents for about 300 years prior to 1850. This business experience would place the Chinese merchants in a favourable position for catering to the 19th century emigrations from China. The references in literature to Chinese merchants already being established in North America (Lee 1947:22) at the time of the major emigration 1850 onwards, will be better appreciated within an entrepreneurial context. Overseas Chinese merchants were not setting a precedent in the mid-19th century; export porcelains had been circulating around the world to Asian and European destinations from the 14th century onward (Miller 2005:82).

A claim is made by Arlene Palmer (1976), curator of the Winterthur Museum located in the Brandywine Valley of Delaware, that over sixty million pieces of porcelain were sent from China to the West before 1800. Much of this product was manufactured for the Western markets. In the 16th century, exquisite porcelains found their way to Europe and established a prestigious standard for serving foods. The best foods had to be served in the best porcelain (Palmer 1976:7). Western trade in Chinese porcelain had begun in the early 16th century through the Portuguese colony at Macao, and by the Spanish traders operating between the Philippines and the North American coast. By the early 18th century, porcelain had found its way into British settlements on the east coast of North America. By the 19th century, American traders dominated the porcelain trade with China (Palmer 1976:11) prompting the settlement of Chinese merchants in the Pacific Region.

Most of the porcelain trade was handled by Chinese co-hong merchants, business houses that controlled the export trade usually under license from the Emperor. Some Chinese merchants even advertised their purchasing services in North American newspapers, and those maintaining shops in Europe or America would stock samples of porcelain to assist customers in placing orders (Palmer 1976:12).
The *jinshanzhuang* cartel referenced above was a merchant organization in the 19th century which was directed at food provisioning for immigrants in the Pacific Region. The export of food stuffs and liquors was coincident with the porcelain trade and supplied both the merchant class and working class exodus. Some merchants were involved with tongs, secret societies in both China and America, and these connections prior to 1850 provided an administrative format needed for accommodating immigrants in a foreign environment. Merchants were the prestigious class in overseas Chinese communities in the Pacific Region, quite in contrast to their low social status in homeland China (Chan 1991:66). This class differentiation provides the potential for examining the stoneware record in terms of food types and consumer clientele. For example, ginger would be shipped in decorated porcelain or embossed stoneware jars, depending on marketing strategy, while some food stuffs such as soy, peanut oil, preserves, sugar, liquors, were usually shipped in less expensive utilitarian stoneware containers.

In essence, there are several significant social practices bearing directly on the utilitarian stoneware record. Intensification of 19th century pottery manufacturing processes developed through shifts in the division of labour, mass production of specified forms, and extensive use of press molds mounted on the fast wheel. As well, the connective processes of transnational merchandising sponsored food and beverage exports from China to overseas consumers. Success in merchandising to Chinese nationals overseas is attributed to a background of international trade extending back centuries. Porcelain trade over past centuries is therefore used as a contextual backdrop for 19th century merchandising practices in meeting the needs of overseas Chinese.
CHAPTER IV RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter establishes methods for assessing the material database relevant to a social understanding of the utilitarian Chinese stoneware record. The methodology hinges on examining utilitarian stoneware artifacts, preparing a nominal refinement for typology, and examining archival documentation for the importation of foods and beverages. This research format is in line with that of pioneer historical archaeologist James Deetz, where his prescription for interpretation of the material record includes amalgamation with historical documentation (Deetz 1977:158).

4.1 Material Database

In selecting a database for researching Chinese utilitarian stoneware containers, I first consider my own TAM collection of 168 artifacts, and then examine other holdings which would supplement my own material. I settle on adding the RB collection of 80 artifacts now residing in the Cariboo, and the GK collection of 130 artifacts held on Vancouver Island. There are similarities and differences between the collections, and to my knowledge the three represent the largest holdings of utilitarian stoneware in British Columbia.

The three collection database consists of 378 whole vessels, and is validated by excavated artifacts at known overseas Chinese sites. Each stoneware type in each collection is identified as to type and entered into the total record. As well as serving for interpretive purposes locally, the physical attributes of artifacts and quantification of types allow comparisons with stoneware assemblages formed in other parts of the Pacific Region. I also incorporate photographic records of container types selected from my own collection where appropriate in the thesis.

I assess quality based on workmanship characteristics for given forms, and degree of variation within the form type. This assessment is illustrated in the photographic record.
accompanying the relevant text. Pastes are examined relative to manufacturing processes, and ultimately to pottery intensification. Coarse pastes are often employed for press molding and hand building of pots, while fine textured clays find application for wheel thrown, slip cast, and some press molded small vessels. Results of this research are manifested in my discussion of manufacturing techniques. I also examine seriation revealed among the artifacts with respect to physical attributes, provenance, and embossed dating. I record notions of seriation in Appendices F, G, and H.

4.2 Typology Refinement

Refining extant utilitarian stoneware typologies requires examining both qualitative and quantitative artifact attributes. The degree of typology refinement in this study is relevant to the questions asked, and to the extent typology may assist a social interpretation of the database. The first step in refining a typology is to record pottery types found in the database. I employ a similar nomenclature to that implemented by past researchers, with respect to physical attributes of stoneware artifacts. This past nominal terminology includes such terms as liquor bottles, ginger and soy pots, vegetable jars, globular and egg pots, plus a rather all inclusive category of miniatures.

My refinement establishes artifact characteristics relative to size, manufacturing technology, glaze color, and descriptive references such as embossed, shoulder detail, mouth size, and decoration. This nominal refinement highlights critical physical attributes of stoneware containers. Further refinement such as precise glaze composition or Munsell colour nomenclature, is not considered of relevance to my particular research framework. I consider the technology involved with the various manufacturing processes to be important in my research. This particular aspect of utilitarian stoneware is missing from documentation by earlier researchers previously referenced. Variation in finish, container style, morphology, label designation, and embossed endorsement can indicate departures within normal manufacturing processes.
With respect to quality of manufacture, some container types of similar function are much better crafted than others and exhibit fine surface finish with exquisite brush stroke designs, suggesting the contents are of a higher quality than the typical. Technology produces a recognizable style (Hegmon 1998:264) and it is style, together with function, that is bound up in a refined typology. Style and function provide support ultimately for an illuminated appreciation of the extant Chinese stoneware material culture.

In total, I extend the typology refinement beyond that recorded in previous archaeological documentation that has treated morphology, manufacturing processes and type variation rather lightly. Not only does this type of refinement contribute to seriation of pottery, but also to intensification processes which can have relevance to the social constructs of subsistence, merchandising practices and retention of Chinese ethnicity in overseas communities.

4.3 Archival Data

Shipping invoices for food and beverage products inform the utilitarian stoneware database, and are considered a valuable addition to the material record. Invoices for shipments of these products from Hong Kong to Chinese merchants in British Columbia illustrate the extensive food choice available to overseas Chinese inhabitants.

I examine three invoices from my own collection of stoneware data, and enter these as exhibits C, D, and E in the Appendices. I look to this supporting archival data to provide statistical information on product shipments, where an important feature of the invoices is the inclusion of wine listings with the foods. Observations of the three stoneware container collections forming my database reveal a fairly large percentage of Chinese wine bottles in each. Invoices are researched to corroborate this database characteristic.

The second reason for researching invoices is to assess the variety of food products imported for overseas Chinese consumption. The results of investigating the variety of
food stuffs, along with the ratio of foods to alcoholic beverages, are used to assess lifestyles relevant to consumption practices among the Chinese immigrants.

4.4 Compilation of Data

The research methodology prescribed in this chapter facilitates documentation of the physical attributes of stoneware record, and provides an appreciation of archival records that contribute qualifying information relevant to the artifacts.

Documentation of an extended typology of utilitarian stoneware illustrates ranges of variation in several categories of physical attributes, such as container sizes. This extended typology is not intended to be all inclusive with respect to physical attributes. Rather, it is intended to highlight the numerous categories of variation that may impinge on an understanding of the utilitarian stoneware record. Particularly noticeable in the database summary are the specifics of size, manufacturing method, glaze color, and a description of features relating to shape and decoration. Quantification is recorded with respect to the numbers of each stoneware type represented in each collection in the database. An Excel spreadsheet, Table 1 Summary of Database, is used for recording purposes.
# TABLE 1 Summary of Database Artifacts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Technology</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>RB</th>
<th>GK</th>
<th>TAM</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Type No.</th>
<th>Base %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liquor Bottles</td>
<td>press mold</td>
<td>Ok Brown</td>
<td>Base Incision</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>27.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>press mold</td>
<td>Dk Brown</td>
<td>Some with symbols</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>slip cast</td>
<td>Yellow-Brown</td>
<td>Flat top on rim</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger (small)</td>
<td>10 cm dia</td>
<td>press mold</td>
<td>Green &amp; Grey</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 cm dia</td>
<td>press mold</td>
<td>Small Mouth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger (large)</td>
<td>14 cm dia</td>
<td>press mold</td>
<td>Wide Mouth</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger (large)</td>
<td>14 cm wide</td>
<td>press mold</td>
<td>Embossed panels</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>122</td>
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<td>Global Jars</td>
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<td>Ok Brown</td>
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<td>10 cm dia mouth</td>
<td>Cell &amp; Pattle</td>
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36
TABLE 1 (continued).

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<th>63 cm</th>
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<th>7 cm high</th>
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<th>Applique pattern</th>
<th>Applique pattern</th>
<th>Artist Brown</th>
<th>Red-Brown</th>
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CHAPTER V THE NATURE OF STONEWARE

The kinds of data required for a social assessment of Chinese utilitarian stoneware containers are material, contextual, and interdisciplinary. In this chapter, I discuss the relevance of clay bodies to stoneware food containers, to typologies, and to collections forming my database. I examine the utility of stoneware containers, historical contexts of food consumption, validity of stoneware collections, and discuss collections and collecting habits which have formed the database in this thesis.

5.1 Stoneware Utility

The value in using stoneware clays for manufacturing food containers becomes apparent when considered in conjunction with food and beverage types, and food marketing overseas. The first material parameter concerns clay selection. Stoneware is a product made from a particular type of clay fired at a relatively high temperature. From my experience as a potter, I summarize characteristics of stoneware clays. In a quality classification, stoneware is fired in a kiln at a temperature at a point above the low fired earthenware range and just under the high fired porcelain range. In terms of kiln temperatures required for producing ceramic wares, the firing range appears as follows:

- Earthenware matures at about 1000 deg. Celsius
- Stoneware matures at about 1200 deg. Celsius

With respect to physical properties, earthenware is a relatively soft porous product when left unglazed. Earthenware clay bodies, or pastes, contain numerous melting agents called fluxes, and these cause the clay to turn into a molten mass if fired much over 1000 deg. Celsius. Stoneware clays contain fewer fluxes than earthenware clays and the resulting ceramic product is very hard, durable, and vitrified when fired in the mid-range temperature. Porcelain clay, sometimes described as kaolin, is basically a chemically pure
clay body composed of alumina, silica, very little fluxing agent, and chemically combined water. The result upon firing kaolin at 1300 deg. Celsius is a white, often translucent, very hard ceramic product. This high temperature firing range requires more fuel than the lower firing ranges, and contributes to the expense of producing porcelain relative to earthenware and stoneware.

Stoneware clays are found in abundance in China, and can often be used in natural form without adding temper or undergoing extensive processing. Simple industrial manufacturing processes could be instigated through form repetition, and the use of coarse textured stoneware clays, thereby allowing the engagement of some semi-skilled labour to produce containers ready for firing (Shai-Kwong 1933:60). The stoneware end product is therefore a relatively inexpensive, durable container. When glazed, the containers are assured of a waterproof condition and usually an enhanced appearance. In my database, I observe variations in the clay bodies used for containers, and considerable variation in workmanship quality in manufacturing the vessels, a reflection of the Shai-kwong thoughts about the use of semi-skilled workers. Well-known classic references on clays and pottery technology include Daniel Rhodes (1957) and Bernard Leach (1960).

The second qualification with respect to material parameters lies with the availability of artifacts. Stoneware container collections, large and small, are scattered over numerous small museums in British Columbia, and are available for observation. The large collections of stoneware in the Province are in private hands, and I discuss these below. None of the private collections to my knowledge have been analyzed in terms of social constructs. Likely sources of stoneware containers include Chinese archaeological sites, random surface finds, antique stores, open markets and personal contact with users. Collections may therefore be site specific, be relatively free of duplication, or simply random accumulations.
The third concern with respect to material parameters is the correspondence between overseas Chinese subsistence processes and the stoneware container record. The selected collections forming my database have historical contexts with respect to the role of food in Chinese culture, provisioning processes, and merchandising of food. These social constructs relevant to types of foods and beverages represent contexts applicable to forming an interpretation of the stoneware record

5.2 Subsistence Context

The utility of stoneware containers is relevant to subsistence needs in Chinese lifestyles, and I refer to foodways established in the homeland and brought by the immigrants to North America. The merchant class was well established in China and Southeast Asia venues long before the exodus of Chinese to North America (Gamer 1999:142). Hence, from the beginning of immigration across the Pacific Ocean, Chinese merchants experienced with overseas trade and the need for durable containers were able to establish retail outlets and carry out provisioning through their Hong Kong and Guangzhou connections (Gamer 1999; Yee 1988). Locations of overseas Chinese occupation in British Columbia were spread throughout the Province, as was the stoneware container record. Initially, habitation sites were located according to the quest for gold, and followed the rivers and streams. But as mining waned, other opportunities in wagon road construction, vegetable farms, fish processing, telegraph line construction, laundries and food services provided a livelihood (Yee 1988:12).

In Chinese culture, the role of food ranks close to the importance of kinship and family relations. The Chinese experienced a richly varied diet in North America, initially based on importation of preserved and packaged foods directly from China, but soon was supplemented by their own locally grown vegetables. On large construction projects, ethnic food was usually supplied by the labour contractors, but self-employed entrepreneurs were left to their own resources. Often foods would be a blend of Western
and Chinese products depending on availability of each (Spier 1958:129). Bare essentials such as liquors for leisure time, and soy sauce to temper rice and vegetables were used extensively, judging by the regular occurrence of these container types in the stoneware record. On a comparative basis temporally, the Chinese immigrant labourers are purported to have experienced a better bill of fare than non-Chinese in a similar type of work (Spier 1958:131). In effect, the early Chinese immigrants did not radically alter their eating habits in crossing the Pacific Ocean. Factors contributing to reluctance for change suggest inherent conservatism, personal pride, social isolation, and limited acculturation opportunities (Spier 1958:133). Isolated as they were in Western society, the Chinese were not cut off from China, and consequently a rich archaeological ceramic record exists in British Columbia and the Pacific Region today.

5.3 Validation of Database

Collections of Chinese stoneware containers in British Columbia can be authenticated through comparisons with artifacts from numerous documented stoneware excavations in the Pacific Region. Documentation in the United States section of the Pacific Region ranges temporally at least from Chace (1976) to Yang and Hellman (1996). In this period, Chinese stoneware artifacts have been recovered, listed, photographed and included in archaeological reports, some of which are referenced in this thesis. The recording of Chinese utilitarian ceramic containers by Quellmaltz (1973) remains the singular typological reference for British Columbia stoneware. He provides an elementary typology of stoneware artifacts found on Vancouver Island, which is similar to types found in numerous holdings around the Province. He provides a brief history of Chinese immigration and an outline of pottery characteristics.

A key stoneware container assemblage, the largest known in Canada to date, was uncovered in 1987 at the Johnson Street ravine in Victoria, B.C. The assemblage, well known among both professional and amateur researchers was not documented, and the
artifacts have become scattered among interested volunteers participating in recovery operations on the site.

Figure 4. Map of downtown Victoria showing location of Johnson Street ravine (Lai 1987:185).

During building construction at this particular site in the Chinatown of Victoria, a huge assemblage of Chinese artifacts, including utilitarian stoneware containers, glass and old wood, was uncovered. The archaeological site (Figure 4) was a Chinese refuse dump dating to the 1860s. Chinese occupation was restricted to the north side of the ravine by legislators in Victoria in 1863 (Pearson1988:44). Although no professional archaeological supervision was available during building construction, volunteers negotiated with the contractor, Campbell Construction Ltd., for access to the excavation and roughly 1,000 artifacts were salvaged. Examples of artifacts are shown in Figure 5. Regardless of whether these volunteers might be classified as “pot hunters” or simply “scavengers”, a point is reached where some of these salvaged artifacts do become available to researchers through collections. Artifacts not recovered by volunteers were simply trucked away with other excavated material destined for land fill.
Figure 5. Johnson Street construction site photo showing excavated stoneware and glass artifacts (Pearson 1988:45).

This huge deposit of artifacts caught the attention of Dr. Ban Seng Ho of the Museum of Civilization in Hull, P.Q. Several pieces of utilitarian stoneware, illustrated in Figure 6, were selected from the salvaged artifacts by Dr. Ho and shipped to the Museum.

Subsequently, with the scattering of artifacts from the Johnson Street ravine, both the TAM and GK collections received contributions which enhance and provide validation for the material database assembled for this thesis. The segment of the TAM collection shown in Figure 7 contains a large globular container and a smaller vegetable vessel salvaged and donated by an individual working as a volunteer at the Johnson Street ravine.

Stoneware artifacts with known provenance are not often found in museums, and with most museums possessing limited knowledge of pottery, any researcher of museum holdings would usually be left to his/her own resources in examining artifacts.
5.4 Collecting Habits

Perspectives on collecting habits have been advanced by psychoanalyst Werner Muensterberger (1994) in which he emphasizes collection processes to be the selective
gathering and keeping of objects of substantive value. The emphasis is on subjective value, since the ardor attached to collecting is not necessarily commensurate with the commercial value or usefulness of the objects assembled (Muensterberger 1994:4).

Collecting practices for utilitarian Chinese stoneware in British Columbia have hinged on the desire to associate oneself with the material culture of migrants in the 19th century. Interest in heritage value is heightened if the utilitarian ware can be associated with an early Chinese habitation site. Regardless of acquisition processes, the collecting emphasis is on retrieval, a measure beyond the usual pottery life history of manufacture, use and discard. Where there is collector urge to categorize and put things in order, specific attributes of Chinese stoneware containers do attract collectors. Reasons for collecting differ and the importance of motives varies with each collector.

First, the aesthetics of the vessels provides incentive to collect on the basis of form, pattern and colour. The shape of some containers, particularly the liquor bottles, presents a sense of elegance to some collectors. Exotic glazes such as ‘hare’s fur’ achieved more through firing conditions than planned glazing options, do appeal to an aesthetic sense. Through decoration, the exquisite brush strokes outlining stylized designs on ginger pots can appeal to the most discriminating collector. Therefore, apart from a need to produce a serviceable container, there have been subjective spin-offs through manufacturing processes, and the context of these spin-offs reinforces our understanding of utilitarian wares.

Second, a sense of completion grasps some collectors who try to present a total picture of a particular stoneware container type. Completion can be related to monetary value, although the market value for any of the Chinese utilitarian stoneware containers is relatively small compared to some ceramic collecting fields. Stoneware containers are after all ‘disposable tin cans’ in both Western and Chinese terms. Monetary considerations are usually not a factor in collecting stoneware container artifacts.
Third, the desire to connect with the past by owning a piece of the past is a prominent motive with many collectors. Ownership of the exquisite not only gives a personal connection with the past, it can also increase one’s status among other collectors and the appreciating public. Allied with ownership is the thrill of hunting down additions to a collection, an activity which gives personal satisfaction and opportunities for socializing in the collecting world.

Finally, affiliation with pottery may spur the interest in collecting. The collector may be a potter, or have interests in craft work generally. Such an affiliation can prompt research into both technical and social contexts of Chinese stoneware containers.

Each of the British Columbia stoneware collections contributing to this study have been formed with whole containers, under collector biases, and with external circumstances affecting the collecting process. These biases or motivations have produced patterns in the collections. At this point it is important to distinguish between a collection and an accumulation. In my view, collecting on a serious basis infers a degree of curatorial work involving sample selectivity and some kind of sorting, whereas accumulating simply represents building a store of artifacts without any pursuit of research, curatorial concerns, or other investigative indulgence. Since the collections represented in my database have each been formed through differences in sourcing and collector intent, each collection contributes data towards a comprehensive coverage of the stoneware container record in British Columbia.

The TAM collection is my own holding of about 168 Chinese stoneware containers resulting from collecting activity over a 30 year period. The causality of my drive to collect hinges on my pottery avocation. My years of producing pots have stirred an interest in collecting the work of ethnic potters. Chinese stoneware pottery has provided an insight and interest in clay bodies, fabricating processes, and finish. I am intrigued by the disciplined adherence to container style, a production characteristic which can be
occasionally high-lighted with an unpredicted, aesthetically pleasing temmoku glaze. Artifacts have been acquired mainly through the open market of antique stores and from donations by Chinese-Canadian households. An attempt has been made to avoid duplication, and consequently the collection consists of many varieties within each container type. Acquisition has been made primarily from British Columbia venues, with a few samples obtained from United States sources in the Pacific Region. Chinese stoneware container records in British Columbia and the United States tend to be largely parallel, the context of which is illuminated in other sections of this study. The TAM collection represents a large variety of liquor bottles and generic ginger pots. In lesser quantities, the collection includes vegetable containers, soy pots and a few large globular-shaped vessels representing bulk shipments. The collection bias is not from personal attraction to certain forms or types; rather it reflects an attraction to variation in the container types I have acquired.

The GK collection consists of about 130 stoneware subjects. This collection has been formed over some years from retrievals made at Chinese occupation sites on Vancouver Island. Historical contexts for these sites are known; consequently the GK collection is valuable in determining stoneware seriation. The types represented in this collection are similar to those found in the TAM and RB holdings, but there are several variations in the GK collection which are not represented in the other two collections.

The RB collection also represents a holding formed over a fairly lengthy time period and is limited to findings throughout British Columbia. However, the Cariboo region of the Province has contributed a substantial number of Chinese containers to this collection. About 80 stoneware subjects constitute the collection, and although the smallest holding in the database, the collection includes several type variations not represented in the two collections referenced above. On the whole, the stoneware types represented are similar to the two larger collections.
Factors entering into collecting habits forming a material database include geographical sources of artifacts, degree of collection redundancy, major emphasis in the collections, quality differences in collections, all of which bear on the intentions of the collector. Each collection will have its own character based on such matters as opportunities of the collector, completeness of types in the collection, financial means, and type variation. The collector fully engrossed in a particular field will often become an expert in the applicable history, technology, variation and social implications of the subject. Collecting is usually a process of decontextualizing the artifact. The initial or primary use of the stoneware container is changed into a social or ideological function when placed into a collection.

In summation, the nature of artifact assemblages is seen to embody fairly coarse-textured clays requiring little refinement before usage. The pottery produced was durable and appropriate for transporting many preserved foods and beverages. Utilitarian stoneware container assemblages are validated as being contemporary with 19th century overseas Chinese habitation patterns. Various manufacturing processes are outlined which reveal relationships of method and pottery type. The nature of collecting is discussed and indicates how biases of the collector affect the character of a utilitarian stoneware database.

An analysis of the material database is provided in Chapter VI, and focuses on the physical variables in manufacture, social aspects of labour, and quality of products.
CHAPTER VI ANALYSIS OF DATABASE

Data analysis involves formulating and reformulating the research problem with a view to making it more amenable to investigation (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995:31). This is not to negate the original research questions, but to closely observe data characteristics which will contribute to the direction of research. In determining an approach to analysis of the material database compiled for study, I give priority to my initial research goal, namely to determine a socially oriented understanding of the stoneware container record. This chapter presents the analysis of the artifacts assembled for my research of Chinese stoneware containers. With respect to my declared research framework, I examine the physical attributes of these containers. Features relevant to morphology, seriation, diagnostics and a refined typology are observed. An approach to material analysis is qualified by Henry Glassie (1975) wherein the compilation of data attributes is to be guided by the research hypotheses, which are continually tested and refined (Glassie 1975:14).

6.1 Parameters of Analyses

Traditionally, ceramic artifact classification by pre-historians has been based primarily on material of manufacture. The discipline of historical archaeology has shifted the emphasis in ceramic classification to that of artifact function (Ritchie 1986:155). Although dominant artifacts can be classified on material initially, such as metal, glass and ceramic, the analysis format in historical archaeology is based on function and social roles. Stoneware container artifacts help to explain the activities within the Chinese social network (Ritchie 1986:156). Specific analysis in this chapter expands the research format of form and function of containers, manufacturing techniques, and artistic merits in order to arrive at an indication of pottery intensification and social differentiation.
Past recording of ceramic artifacts has followed a typology based on morphology and known or inferred function. I extend this approach to record type variation, manufacturing technique, color, decoration, size and quantities. Variables occurring with respect to measurements stipulated for quality assessment follow guidelines established by Carla Sinopoli (1991:66), and recognize previously recorded typologies of Chace (1976), Olsen (1978), Praetzellis and Praetzellis (1997), and Pastron and Garaventa (1981).

6.2 Stoneware Morphology

Food and beverage products imported to the Pacific Region from China were available to expatriates through supply houses established by Chinese labour contractors, and through Chinese merchant outlets in numerous communities. Shipping invoices for 19th century Chinese merchants operating in British Columbia illustrate the extensive variety of imported ethnic foods. Examples of invoices are filed in Appendices C, D, and E. With respect to container morphology, researchers have compiled lists of products shipped in specific container forms, verification of which has been obtained from Chinese elders when required (Diehl, Waters and Thiel 1998:23).

Following up on a typology based on function, the container types identified represent a resolution of specific forms. Liquor containers are manufactured from press mold sections into a bulbous shape, in sizes of 175 to 1000 ml capacity. This form allows easy corking and sealing at the small cone-shaped rim, and the varying sizes facilitate merchandising to differing consumer needs.

Large bulk wine containers have a 10 cm mouth at the top for easy hand access and sealing, and a similar narrow 10 cm base to facilitate tipping and pouring from the large container. Soy sauce containers have a narrow neck and rim which is easily corked, and a small independent pouring spout.

Ginger pots are traditionally round, and have been produced in numerous sizes with a fairly wide rim opening. The hexagonal ginger pot, also a traditional Chinese form, is a
departure from the round shape and is discussed below with respect to social contexts of contents and morphology.

Shouldered vegetable containers are found in various sizes with fairly wide rim openings to allow easy access to contents. The highly stylized straight-sided containers appear in numerous sizes, and are attributed to usage for various medicines and salves. Container lids are a hand-held type, full width of the container, and have no knobs.

### 6.3 Artifact Seriation

Seriation is inherent in an archaeological assemblage that has been formed over time. It is a phenomenon waiting for discovery by the archaeologist. This thesis limits seriation of utilitarian Chinese stoneware containers to importation in the Pacific Region of North America, circa. 1850 and onward. The occurrence of similar stoneware container types in China prior to 1850 has not been researched. In establishing a progression of manufacture and usage, artifacts can be arranged in a series with regard to similarity and difference. Although establishing manufacturing progression of utilitarian stoneware containers is difficult to formalize, some shifts in morphology and technological processes are observed. The revelation of seriation is not an end in itself, but an anthropological tool to be used in explanation and evaluation of observed differences (Binford 1978:247).

An early venture with seriation of Chinese utilitarian stoneware containers was made by John Olsen (1978). In this Tucson study, temporal differentiation was made primarily on the basis of glaze decoration, and no absolute dates were projected. I offer slightly advanced research regarding technology and surface finish based on morphology refinement, embossed patterns, and manufacturing quality.

One group of stoneware container types to be analyzed temporally consists of the stoneware round and hexagonal ginger pots. The round utilitarian pots usually lack embossed symbols or characters, and the limited seriation has been established from dated assemblage in excavations. The small round ginger pots are found with wide-mouth and
small-mouth rim openings, with the wide-mouth samples considered to be the earlier. All round ginger pots, large and small, are considered 19th century vintage, and exhibit extreme simplicity and no endorsements (personal communication Grant Keddie 2006, archaeologist with Royal B.C. Museum, Victoria). This observation is in contrast to the hexagonal ginger pots which possess continuity in design, and are much more formal in design and more informative temporally.

Seriation indicators in hexagonal pots hinge on side-wall and collar embossing, as illustrated in Appendices F, G, and H. The 1-pound pots are difficult to seriate due to lack of classificatory embossings. The glaze finish and collar designs render only a suggestion for temporal classification. Glazes on earlier hexagonal pots are quite varied quality wise, sometimes red spots in the glaze reveal evidence of oxygen reduction in the kiln atmosphere. Recent hexagonal ginger pots usually have a uniform thick green glaze resulting from improved glazing and firing techniques. Over time, the collar designs on the 1-pound pots have shifted from a series of fairly tight involute patterns to those of larger scale, simplified involutes, plus geometric patterns such as the 12-point and 17-point serrated collar embossing. The hexagonal pots with the asymmetrical 17-point embossed collars were recovered from a 1914 Chinese work camp on the Kettle Valley Railway, thus establishing a partial time frame for manufacture. The 12-point embossed collar illustrated in Appendix F is found on numerous hexagonal 1-pound ginger pots, and has been available up to the present in Chinese markets.

The 2-pound hexagonal ginger pots can be seriated to some degree, both from the collar designs and embossed side-wall panels. Again, the earlier pots display the small tight involutes in the collar design, and more recent pots have large, loose, simple curves coinciding with the six points of the hexagonal form. The significant temporal marker on the large hexagonal pots is the side-wall panel design. The oval side-wall panels are attributed to 19th century manufacture, based on historical records of the Princessehof
Museum in Leeuwarden, Holland, which records a ginger pot with oval panel designs in their collection to 1920 or earlier (personal communication A.V. Borstlap 1991, curator, Princesshof Museum, Netherlands). The trapezoidal panel frame with no notched corners dates from 1912 and later, according to an embossed Chinese Republic designation on the base of one sample in the database. The notched corner design in the trapezoidal panel frame is attributed to the late 20th century, and has been available in Chinese grocery stores at least into the 1990s. This reasonably accurate seriation for ginger pots arises from detailed examination of samples, translation of texts, and archival data.

A second seriation in stoneware typology can be illustrated by examining characteristics of liquor bottles, which hinges largely on the technology of bottle manufacture, glaze types and on embossed inscriptions. In the late 1860s, the liquor bottle rim section was quite thick, and was finished with a flat top with a cylindrical hole to receive a cork. Samples originating from the Johnson Street ravine in Victoria reside in the GK and TAM collections. Soon after the 1860s, the rim design was changed to a funnel shape manufactured by the press mold technique, and remains a feature to the present day.

Various embossings are integral with several vessel types manufactured by the press mold process. Abstract symbols appear embossed on bottle side-walls and base of some bottles estimated to be 19th century vintage. The name of the liquor manufacturer is occasionally embossed on the base of the bottles. One significant side-wall endorsement is the United States Federal requirement enacted in 1933 for a re-use warning to be integral with the container. Repeal of prohibition laws in 1933 resulted in a demand for glass and ceramic containers for liquor in the United States, and the Federal authorities were concerned about the re-use of imported stoneware bottles. The embossing directive, “Federal Law Forbids Sale or Re-Use of this Bottle”, was therefore integral with the molding of Chinese wine bottles entering the United States after 1933 (personal communication Leland Bibb 1999, long time collector, El Cajon, California). Many of
these endorsed bottles have found their way to British Columbia due to flexible travel by overseas Chinese in the mid-19th century.

Many container types have no temporal indicators of style. One such example is the soy sauce container. These containers have been recovered from overseas Chinese camps and communities active in the 1860s, which closed soon after initial occupation due to movements of labour forces. The same style of soy container was recently acquisitioned from a purchaser of soy sauce in the 1990s (personal communication May Reid 1995, food retailer, Prince George)). While temporal indicators in this container type are extremely difficult to determine, there is a sense of improved workmanship in container manufacture into the 20th century. Certainly the soy sauce container type reinforces the perspective of design continuity. My general observation is that containers known by their provenance to be of 20th century manufacture, tend to exhibit better workmanship than those estimated to be of 19th century vintage. Reference to soy sauce container variation has been made in Section 3.2 Pottery Intensification with respect to alienation of skills in manufacture. Other manufacturing methods, such as the relatively new slip casting technique, have also produced refined container forms, especially noticeable in liquor bottle artifacts.

6.4 Artifact Diagnostics

Artifact diagnostics, the specific traits assisting identification, have been alluded to in the previous sections discussing clay bodies, manufacturing processes, glazes, morphology, and seriation. This section references physical characteristics of artifacts in the database, in addition to previous identity inferences. The artifacts making up the database are nearly all whole units rather than sherds; therefore, the numerous physical diagnostic traits suggesting artifact ethnicity can be readily observed. In addition, some whole units have paper labels attached which assist in establishing quality differentiation of foods and beverages.
6.4.1 Materials

The paste, or clay body, forming 19th century Chinese utilitarian stoneware containers is usually a grey, non-iron bearing, coarse textured clay, suitable for firing in the stoneware and porcelain temperature range. My research does not delve further into chemical analyses or crystallography of clay bodies, except to say there is an abundance of stoneware clay deposits in China which can be used in the natural state, or be easily modified with tempers or feldspar fluxes as needed (Rhodes 1958:42). In the 20th century, a shift appears towards slip casting requiring a fine textured paste that can be made from either iron bearing or non-iron bearing clay.

Glazes for utilitarian wares are relatively simple and are exemplified in the dark brown iron-bearing glaze, the green copper-bearing glaze, and the clear or white glazes formed from a feldspar base. Again, my research will not delve into glaze composition, but for comparison purposes, it is important for a researcher to recognize common glazes, particularly the ubiquitous dark brown variations. One especially exotic iron-bearing glaze found on a few stoneware bottles is the Temmoku, or “hare’s fur” glaze. This glaze, with a universal name originating from Japanese sources, shows warm brown colors streaked with black, and is made from clay bodies with wood ash incorporated as a flux (Rhodes 1958:187). The effect is difficult to predict or reproduce, since results depend on the mineral content of the paste from which the containers are made, and a particularly high kiln temperature with an oxidizing atmosphere. Underglaze lines and patterns, brushed on under clear or white glazes, are commonly found in two colors. Brown indicates an iron or manganese coloring agent, while blue colors are produced by native cobalt, an element widely used in China through several dynasties (Leach 1960:40).
6.4.2 Manufacturing Technology

There are several distinct techniques employed to manufacture utilitarian stoneware containers. These fabrication methods are outlined briefly to foster an appreciation of how the various container classes have been manufactured.

An age-old method of building pots is by employing a coiling process, where long strings of moist clay are coiled in a circular fashion to form the container. This process is particularly suited for large vessels a meter or more in height, and is still used today. After the initial coiling is undertaken, an anvil and paddle process is used to smooth out the interior and exterior surfaces of the vessel. Often the paddling does not conceal the coils completely, and the coiled layers are still in evidence of the pottery surface. In addition, some of the large vessels indicate a combination of processes, where a thrown base a few centimeters high is allowed to become leather hard, and have coils added to form the body of the vessel. The rim of the vessel is formed from a clay coil placed and thrown to detail in situ as the vessel rotates on the potter’s wheel.

Another age-old technique for reproducing pottery is using the fingers to press clay into the feature of a mold. Molds were made by manufacturing a model in clay, then firing this clay model to a bisque state. Moist clay is then formed around the bisque model to produce a negative form, which in turn was fired to produce a master mold. Bisque molds are strong, do not deteriorate readily, and are quite appropriate for press molding processes.

An advanced idea for producing additional copies of circular wheel made forms was instituted by attaching the mold to the potter’s wheel, an idea implemented by the Greek, Roman and Chinese cultures (Frith 1985:25). A bat of clay would be deposited into the mold, the wheel and mold would then be set in motion, and while spinning the clay would be pressed into the mold features while it revolved. This molding process simplified
the throwing process, since the outer surface of the model being formed was established by
the walls of the mold, while the inner surface was worked with fingers or wooden rib.

By the 18th century, the idea of imposing some mechanical advantage over the
finger and rib processes was established. A mechanical assemblage incorporating a
moveable arm was installed adjacent to the potter’s wheel, and could be brought down
over the bat of clay in the mold to perform a pressing operation much more effectively than
the use of fingers alone. This assemblage known in Western terms as a ‘jigger and jolly
system’ has been implemented by European, Near East and Oriental cultures (Frith
1985:27). Much of the stoneware in my material database appears to be fabricated with
mechanical press molding processes.

An adjunct process to press molding is luting, where two or more molded sections
of a vessel are joined. The luting technique for joining three separate moist clay sections
has been used for the manufacture of utilitarian stoneware liquor bottles over a 100 year
period or more, 1850s to mid-20th century. A lower half bottle, an upper half bottle, and a
third small rim section were produced in separate press molds, and while the pieces were
still damp were pressed together with clay slip applied to the edges to ensure a firm
connection. Clean-up on the luted sections was done with a fettling tool and sponge in
order to provide a seamless appearance to the vessel. Other container types, including soy
sauce pots and hexagonal ginger pots, are also fabricated from press mold sections.

Fabrication of press mold sections reveals a huge range in workmanship. Some artifacts
are skillfully assembled and finished, while others are fabricated in a poorly executed
fashion and reveal sections not true to line, or lacking a quality finish. Overall, much of the
utilitarian container production appears to be carried out by semi-skilled labour, possible
by the use of young members in a family pottery enterprise, or simply by those new to that
phase of the pottery industry.
The slip casting methodology for repetitive pottery manufacture also extends back hundreds of years, and involves pouring a liquid clay blend into gypsum molds. This is an alternative to pressing clay into bisque molds to form vessels. These gypsum molds were one or two-piece, not unlike some used for casting glass bottles. Gypsum has an affinity for moisture and readily absorbs water out of the clay slip leaving a leather-hard clay model in the mold after excess slip is decanted. Historically, slip casting has been hampered by lack of suitable gypsum mold development, and by lack of knowledge of deflocculants (alkali additives) to keep the clay particles in suspension while pouring (Frith 1985:25).

Slip casting of liquor bottles started at least in the early 20th century, possibly earlier, and continued through to the late 20th century. Diagnostics of slip casting reveal a paste of fine-textured white or red clay, exacting shapes, thin uniform sections, very smooth glaze surfaced, and usually traces of the vertical seam from using a two-piece bottle mold. The resulting mold seam is usually smoothed over on the exterior of the bottle, although fettling knife marks occur occasionally on these bottles. Embossed symbols or characters, common on press molded containers, have not been observed in slip cast artifacts. Only a few samples of slip cast vessels are seen in extant stoneware container collections in British Columbia.

A combination of fabrication techniques is evident on the large vegetable pots and globular containers. The base and lower four to six inches of large containers is often thrown on a potter’s wheel, and allowed to set up for a few hours until the clay stiffens. The upper section of the container is then constructed from clay coils and smoothed by a paddle and anvil technique inside and out, while being turned slowly on a decorating wheel. To provide a neat finish at the top, a rim is then thrown in situ from a wet coil set on top of the coiled section. Fabrication time is controlled to some extent by the moisture content of clay and the required drying of each phase.
None of the manufacturing processes referenced above, coiling, press molding or slip casting discredit throwing processes on a wheel. The type of wheel used in 19th century China is sometimes referred to as a ‘fast wheel’. I define a fast wheel as one activated by some motive power, such as foot, stick or endless rope. Two distinct manufacturing stages are required in using the potter’s wheel to throw containers. First, the vessel is thrown, or shaped on the wheel and set aside to become firm, or leather hard. The second stage is called turning, where excess clay is trimmed off from the vessel base, smoothed, and set aside for drying. Manufacturing vessels by throwing on the wheel is relatively time consuming due to the wet nature of the clay used. Throwing speed is advantageous for open vessels, such as bowls or other tableware. However, throwing also requires skilled labour, and regardless of the work supplied by assistants, the success of manufacture depends on a potter’s skill.

Relatively small containers such as the 19th century round ginger pots and medium sized vegetable pots, are thrown on the potter’s wheel. Evidence of throwing practices is found on the base where the pot has been cut off the wheel with a bamboo knife, or piece of cord. Finger rilles, or grooves, are found on the interior and exterior surfaces of side walls, and finely crafted rims at the mouth of the pot indicate skill in throwing processes.

6.4.3 Surface Finish

In considering the significance of decoration in container design, temporal qualification, merchandising strategy, and personal choice enter the analysis. The visual character of liquor bottles varies from a plain dull surface with dark brown glaze, to bright shiny glaze of differing tones, including the temmoku patterning.
Figure 8. Glaze variations on the 750 ml liquor bottles in TAM collection.

Vegetable containers, large globular forms and soy sauce pots usually have no decoration apart from the standard iron glaze; however, occasionally a stenciled inscription on the container shoulder is observed. Small round vegetable containers do have variety in finish and glaze, running from matt dark brown through to shiny red-brown glazes. These small round containers are currently found in Chinese grocery stores.

The large tub-type containers, traditionally used for shipping eggs preserved in a dry clay, usually exhibit clay appliqué as illustrated in Figure 9. A floral leaf pattern is shown in the left photo, and a four-toe dragon design is shown on the right. Applique is common, although time consuming, and created by applying thin moist clay sections made in a sprig mold to the moist container wall during fabrication. These large tub-like containers are fully glazed on the interior, often with a turquoise color, and on the exterior with clear glaze over the container body, appliqué, clay slip lines, or sprig mold sections.
Ginger pots present considerable variation in embellishment and design. The large round ginger pots often show one or two narrow horizontal bands of cobalt blue or patterns formed with a blue or iron underglaze. Occasionally large ginger pots display exquisite brush stroke designs on the sidewalls as illustrated in Figure 10. Such designs are rare on small round ginger pots.

The forms illustrated in side wall decoration are representations from nature that the Chinese artist wishes to convey. An aesthetic experience is provided to the consumer that could well enhance the feeling towards the contents of the pot.

Hexagonal ginger pots have a special relationship to Western trade. The contents are particularly appealing to Westerners, but the form of these ginger pots also is appealing and provides collectors with an incentive to preserve. These ginger pots are commonly found in a small 1-pound size, and a larger 2-pound size illustrated in Figure 11.

**Figure 9.** Applique patterns on large tub containers in TAM collection (photos by author).
Figure 10. Free hand embellishment on the large round ginger pots in TAM collection is typical of aesthetic discrimination in Chinese brush work (photos by author).
The small 1-pound ginger pots are fairly consistent in design, although quality of fabrication varies as referenced above. Glazes also vary, from light yellow-green to a definite turquoise or blue-green. Each of the six sidewall panels on the pot exhibits a different plant or flower in relief, with but one exception noted to date. One container is found to use only three flower designs on the pot, thereby repeating each design once in filling out the six panels. Lids are usually unglazed, and of the typical hand-held Chinese design. The early style lids such as seen on the Choy Heong pots originating in the 1880s and recorded in the database, have concave edges with the top of the lid slightly larger in diameter than the lower edges of the lid. The recent lids are narrow at the top and have a sloping profile to a slightly wider diameter at the bottom.

The larger 2-pound ginger pots have a fairly uniform width, but the heights vary from about 5 ½” to 6 ½”, including the lid. Glazing is generally green, but varies from a bright green with white blends, to a very dark matt green on modern pots. Whereas the panel format is fairly constant on the 1-pound pots, the 2-pound pot show a variety of panel layouts (Figure 11).

One of the features of Oriental design is that decoration will often be applied in a series of panels on the object. The six-sided pots are ideally suited for arranging a series of different panel designs. Motifs usually consist of plants and flowers such as peony, lotus, prunus, and chrysanthemum. Sidewall designs on the hexagonal pots are created from a relief design integral to the mold. Figure 11 illustrates three common styles, the oval panel, the plain trapezoid, and the notched corner trapezoid. Usually there are six different plant or flower designs assigned to each pot, with the exceptions noted above.

However, the same flower arrangement is not common to all pots; at least seven different series of flower designs are observed in the database.
a. 19th century oval panels on sidewall

b. 1911 Republic trapezoid, no corner notch

c. 20th century trapezoid, corner notches

d. 21st century trapezoids, stylized collar

**Figure 11** Seriation of sidewall and collar designs on 2-lb ginger pots in TAM collection. (photos by author).
Two basic collar designs are recorded in the inventory entered in Appendices F and G. The typical collar design on a hexagonal pot is a garland of scroll shapes laid out symmetrically with respect to the six sides of the pot. The garland design is located between the shoulder and the rim of the opening. This common scroll pattern appears to originate from earlier foil designs from Song Dynasty sherds. The foil design was also used in the Ming period by the eminent potter, Shi Dabin, as shown in Figure 12. The common denominator in the scroll is the ogee, or reverse curve. In my database, the early pots have fine tightly formed involute scrolls, compared to the later loose less detailed scrolls.

![Image](image.png)

a. Reconstructed Song Dynasty teapot  
b. Shi Dabin teapot, 1597

**Figure 12.** Hexagon and O-Gee designs (Lo 1986:16, 54).

The second collar design is different to the scroll, and consists of a saw toothed, or serrated pattern, also illustrated in Appendix F. The earlier 17-point collar is relatively scarce, while the 12-point collar is found on ginger pots in grocery stores today.
CHAPTER VII DISCUSSION AND ANALYSES

In this chapter, I discuss the extant documentation of the stoneware record in the Pacific Region. This is followed by discussion of the significance of utilitarian stoneware data, social aspects of provisioning, the physical nature of stoneware artifacts, and notions of acculturation. The issue of semiotics is raised with respect to the physical stoneware record and prospects for ethnicity preservation. Also, discussion is submitted relevant to collection evaluation and pottery transformation from a utilitarian object to that of an object of art.

7.1 Critique of Historical Research

The review of historical data in Chapter II has outlined perspectives by various researchers, who have documented material findings and offered non-material observations pertinent to utilitarian stoneware research. In the Pacific Region, artifact documentation reveals a recording methodology based almost entirely on descriptive processes. Archaeologists are basically listing types of artifacts recovered during excavation projects. In these reports, there is very little attempt to provide social interpretation for the existence of the artifacts, other than occasional reference to food products. However, I do find commonalities in the methods of recording ceramic types. The introduction in most archaeological reports provides a brief historical context to establish ethnicity of the habitation site along with the nature of the deposits. The nominal description of stoneware forms recovered, together with quantification, usually follows the introduction. Most reports include photographs of the stoneware artifacts, or drawings illustrating container morphology. The amount of text varies in reports, and can include brief descriptions of manufacturing techniques, container use, and occasional mention of food types.

An example of early Western research documentation is illustrated in the pioneering work of Paul Chace (1976), where his text of the excavated Chinese utilitarian
assemblage at San Buenaventura consists of a nominal type review and list of stoneware containers. No attempt at analysis or interpretation is made in the Chace documentation. Some of his description is ambiguous; for example, the term ‘hand-shaped’ is used with respect to the artifact without clarifying which of several hand-shaped methods apply. However, Chace established a nomenclature which served to benefit later researchers. His terminology, such as ‘shouldered food jars’ and ‘straight-sided jars’, is meaningful and carried out in typological nomenclature today.

Variation in documentation of the stoneware material record is quite evident in archaeological reports. In one recent reference, stoneware from a Sacramento site was classified by Yang and Hellman (1997:155) with an emphasis on stoneware artifacts unique to the site, or previously undocumented. Their records from this site exhibit high quality scale drawings, and detailed reproduction of embossed characters found on the artifacts. Since the 1976 reporting period, I observe a steady increase in the quality of photography and drawings in typological documentation.

I also highlight a cadre of Western researchers who have resided in China, and have documented societal functions, such as village lifestyle, local economic and political circumstances, and craft processes relating to provisioning of Chinese populations. The obvious value of such research to Westerners is that their reports are based on first hand observation and close informants. Both the ethnic Chinese historians and Western ethnographic researchers provide social and technological contexts which arise in China, but subsequently reflect on overseas Chinese stoneware container deposits.

A group of ethnic Chinese authors in the Pacific Region possessing first hand knowledge of overseas subsistence and settlement issues highlight contexts for stoneware containers. Biases in writings are anticipated and observed in most of the ethnic literature references and tend to hinge on discrimination issues, isolation, and inequalities practiced by the dominant Western society. Regardless, ethnic
literature written in the English language is essential to the researcher in providing insight into transnational contexts relevant to Chinese immigration, settlement, and lifestyles.

References to current theoretical perspectives relative to understanding material culture serve to embrace my declared theoretical perspective. Over the past decade contextual approaches in understanding material culture have become well entrenched in the discipline of historical archaeology. In a time frame ranging from Prudence Rice (1996) to Knappett (2005) and Yung-ti Li (2007), archaeologists have outlined a range of social concerns adhering to ceramic production methodologies. These resource texts illustrate current perspectives useful in arriving at a social understanding of Chinese utilitarian stoneware containers.

7.2 Data Significance

A synthesis of the Chinese utilitarian stoneware container record is yet to be written. However, one point of contention that can be raised in a study of utilitarian stoneware containers is the manner by which artifacts are deemed to be significant, and which are not. The word significant has been debated prior to my study. In *Behind the Seawall*, Pastron and Pritchett (1981) have addressed the matter as it relates to a large number of Chinese ceramic artifacts recovered at a San Francisco site. Recognizing that no universal measure of worth exists for judging cultural material, the Pastron team adopted a site specific approach recognizing the local standards of significance in which the Chinese artifacts yield information important to local and regional history (Pastron and Pritchett 1981:15). My submission is that in assessing British Columbia utilitarian stoneware with a perspective similar to that of Pastron and Pritchett, the Chinese container record is also seen as a significant part of local cultural material. Equally important is the significance of contextual research in light of this highly focused cultural subject within the discipline of historical archaeology.
Out of the numerous underlying social constructs that arise in this study is the desire of Chinese nationals to preserve identity. Several Chinese researchers with anthropological and archaeological perspectives have reiterated this element in Chinese culture (Bamo 2007; Chen 2001; Hsu 2006; Lee 1978).

7.3 Provisioning Context

Social actions considered to affect the material record hinge largely on the numerous aspects of merchandising practices. Provisioning enters into all aspects of self-preservation, migration processes, settlement options in a colonial society, availability of products, and the non-material values in having access to ethnic material culture. These investigative processes involve the co-dependence of material and non-material data.

Attitudes of Chinese merchants dealing with Western enterprise have been formed over the centuries. Foreign trade experiences have prompted a protectionist policy responsible, in part at least for the dominance of Chinese merchants in provisioning migrant nationals. International trade extends back centuries importantly to the Sung Dynasty, in which silk and porcelain were the exports in demand by other Asian countries and western contacts. Trade became centered around Guangzhou (Canton) through two western colonies, Portuguese Macao (1557) and British Hong Kong (1841), situated on opposite sides of the Pearl River delta.

Consumer demand in China for Western products allowed merchants to prosper, but soon trade favoured the west and the plight of working class Chinese worsened (Orser 2007:134). The opium trade with China by Western traders played a large part in this imbalance. By the year 1757, China closed all ports except Canton to Europeans, and access to Chinese markets was not regained until five Treaty Ports were opened in 1842.

The Chinese upper class did not favour Europeans encroaching on their territory, nor did they favour European culture. Leaders did not trust their own merchant class to curb business activity with Europeans in China. Chinese elites sought to control Chinese
culture by keeping their citizens and Europeans apart. By 1844, rules were enacted to regulate foreigners. Governor General Li Shih-Yao instituted stiff regulations to restrict Chinese-European contact. For example, foreigners were restricted to the waterfront, and entry into Canton City was strictly regulated (Orser 2007:135). The regulations allowed Chinese elite to control trade and culture with foreigners inside China. Governor Li Shih-Yao also stated that “foreigners are outside the sphere of civilization” (Orser 2007:135).

7.4 Materiality

An insight into the socialness of artifacts in China, Korea, and Japan has been provided by Soetsu Yanagi (1972) with his perspective on folk craft. Beauty is identified with use, with usage exceeding a materialistic sense. Mind and matter must not be thought of separately, pottery is to be looked at and used with a feeling of pleasure. Beauty is not so much lofty as it is warm and familiar, and good pattern adds to the function of the vessel, it becomes an indispensable part of use (Yanagi 1972:198). The artist craftsman points the way with an original work which dies away and leaves a greater beauty belonging to traditions of a nation (Yanagi 1972:202). I suggest that the co-dependence of use and aesthetic appeal is evident in utilitarian stoneware, even if intensification processes interrupt pursuit of beauty.

In the analysis of the utilitarian stoneware database, the physical aspects that appear to have social context are technology, quantification of container type, morphology, and embellishment. Manufacturing processes, although varied and directed to specific forms, are labour intensive and traditional. There is evidence of social contexts in the intensification processes, particularly with press molds being adapted to potter’s wheels operated by the application of a type of motive power, manual or mechanical.

Towards the end of the 19th century and into the 20th century, there appears to be an improvement in the quality of workmanship, perhaps due to refinements in manufacturing processes. Some pottery markings such as the 1912 Republic insignia and
the embossed 1933 directive “FEDERAL LAW FORBIDS SALE OR RE-USE OF THIS BOTTLE” provide social markers for establishing artifact chronology. Changes in technology, although relatively minor in comparison to the dominance of form continuity, allow some sorting directed at understanding stoneware artifacts.

Statistics of container types provide a basis for assessing availability of common ethnic foods, and beverages of high alcohol content. Fortunately, surviving paper labels contribute to the appreciation of food types, liquors and medicines. In my database totaling three collections, 27 percent of artifacts are liquor bottles, and this percentage must be considered relatively low for collections because of the abnormally large number of ginger pots residing in the TAM collection. A comparable statistic to my database is noted in the Los Angeles Union Station excavation of Chinatown, where 31 percent of identifiable stoneware vessels recovered were stoneware liquor bottles (Greenwood 1996:79).

Another container type prevalent statistically is the hexagonal ginger pot. In the three collection database, 32 percent of the artifacts are ginger pots. Bias in the TAM collection arises from research into shoulder and side panel design variations. The relatively large number of ginger pots still in circulation as collector items arose from the appeal of preserved ginger to Western tastes. Hexagonal stoneware containers are found often in surface assemblages, but are not common in archaeological excavations, likely due to relatively high cost to early Chinese workers.

Continuity of form provides a basis for assessing social elements relative to ethnicity and symbolism. There is a high degree of workmanship variability within given forms, thus suggesting many pottery suppliers and levels of competence in adhering to purchaser`s specifications. With respect to quality of manufacture, my findings again compare somewhat with the observations by Greenwood (1996:80) that the liquor bottles exhibit the finest craftsmanship in utilitarian stoneware. Also, I find the brush stroke
designs on the large round ginger pots to be exquisite beyond any expected decoration of utilitarian containers.

7.5 Acculturation

The concept of overseas Chinese acculturation in the British colonial regime runs counter to the social cohesion and positioning of most Chinese immigrants. Numerous references have indicated the temporary nature of the early Chinese migrations to the Pacific Region, (Lai 1988:20; Greenwood 1993:337). Colonization was not an objective of the overseas Chinese communities in the Pacific Region. The purpose in coming to the Pacific Region was specifically economic, and there was no intention to adopt or integrate, according to these references. Therefore, with the full intent of these early migrants to seek wealth and return home, much of their culture and lifestyle remained intact. There are several socio-cultural factors contributing to the minimal social interaction with Western culture. The language barrier was certainly significant; whereas the merchant class usually had nominal English, the working class possessed very little English, if any. There was also strong resentment towards the Chinese by the white working class who were fearful of job loss, and any thoughts by the Chinese of assimilation would suffer a setback under such hostile feelings. Domination by Whites would only serve to consolidate the immigrant settlements. Within Chinese communities, many workers shared room and board out of economic necessity. Economic hardship was alleviated slightly by opportunities to engage in wage labour with Western employers (Perry 2001:132).

The labour shortage in colonial British Columbia prompted nominal racial mixing. Colonial elites were focused on resource industries, the emerging middle class on retailing and education, and the working class was employed in transportation, logging, mining and various trades. Economic opportunity in Chinese market gardening served to allow both employer and employee opportunities in the colonies, and filled a void where few European colonials were interested in pre-empting agricultural land or engaging in
associated wage labour (Perry 2001:130). The scarcity of female labour in the Colonies provided an opportunity for Chinese house boys to take responsibilities normally assumed by English housemaids (Perry 2001:141).

In summation, the stoneware archaeological record appears to substantiate the social isolation and lack of assimilation of the overseas Chinese. Some archaeological evidence exists for a sporadic acculturation with liquor consumption, where Euro-American glass liquor bottles accompany Chinese stoneware bottles. This phenomenon has been attributed to the possibility that Chinese liquor was in limited supply at a given site, and also the possibility of preference for Western liquors. “Chinese like Canadian whiskey” (personal communication Don Yip 1997, food retailer, Prince George). Acculturation tends to be mosaic in nature and will vary from site to site. The following sections exemplify in a limited degree the integration Chinese population experienced in Western society.

7.5.1 Working Class

In this thesis, the degree of acculturation of Chinese immigrants is founded on a utilitarian stoneware container record arising from food consumption patterns. The overseas Chinese population tended to be selective in acculturating to Western ways; thus enculturation processes were dominant in preserving their homeland lifestyle in the Pacific Region. Although reliance on western food would be an alternative in emergencies, acculturation processes of immigrant Chinese, particularly in the 19th century, were modest and evident mainly when supplementary food and clothing were required. Archaeological data from overseas Chinese sites in the Pacific Region consist of large amounts of Chinese ceramic material, suggesting very little assimilation into Colonial lifeways. Reliance on imported foods has been evaluated through container quantification studies outlined by Roberta Greenwood (1993). Low levels of acculturation can be attributed to both aggregative forces from within the socially isolated settlements, and the
external socio-cultural barriers to expansion on the part of the host community (Greenwood 1993:377).

As referenced above, the initial large scale influx of Chinese workers to British Columbia in 1858 occurred complete with provisioning and financial assistance. This set the tone for a merchant-worker relationship that continued over a century. The merchant was capable of catering to a ready-made market. By July of 1858, the international Kwong Lee Company was established in Victoria, again providing an illustration of the close liaison between merchant and working class to meet daily food needs. By 1862, the Kwong Lee Company was the largest supplier of foods in Barkerville, B.C., the centre of the Cariboo gold rush. An interesting anecdote illustrating the ties between merchant and worker serves as an initial exercise in assimilation. In Victoria, during August 1858, a month after arrival of the Chinese miners, a Chinese individual was caught boot-legging some of the Chinese high-alcohol medicinal wine to the indigenous people, and a member of the merchant class was called upon to interpret at court (Lai 1988:190).

### 7.5.2 Households Today

In the present day, 150 years after the first Chinese immigration of miners, and with a background of several generations of Canadian and American-born Chinese, an assessment can be made of the degree of change in food habits. Outwardly, one may conclude that the current North American population had adapted to western customs and that acculturation is basically in place; not so with food habits. Acculturation processes involving food appear to be minimal at best, with the controlling context being the availability of ethnic food products for preparing meals.

There is a strong loyalty to a Cantonese diet as evidenced by the current 14 Chinese restaurants catering to both a Chinese-Canadian and western clientele in Prince George, a city of about 80,000 inhabitants. However, there has been for some time only one Chinese grocery store catering to the local Chinese-Canadian population.
My fraternization with Chinese-Canadian families in Prince George over many years suggests there is only partial acculturation food-wise. My considered opinion is that with some Chinese-Canadian families at least, over half of daily food consumption is ethnic Chinese cuisine, with the remaining food being classified as western. Chinese-Canadians face an availability problem with ethnic foods, particularly in communities with limited supply of Chinese products, such as in Prince George. Consequently, assorted western foods are consumed by those with no access to suppliers of Chinese restaurants. Conversely, where a large range of Chinese groceries and fresh produce is available, there would be a much higher percentage of Chinese cuisine. One only needs to walk through Chinatown in Vancouver to appreciate the preponderance of imported Chinese foods in grocery stores, and the amount of Chinese fresh produce grown in the Province.

7.6 Semiotics and Ideology

A method for assessing symbols in the ceramic record has been suggested by Robert Preucel (2006) where a pragmatic archaeology is constituted by meaning-making practices of the past. Evaluation of the archaeological record is provided through consideration of historical engagement and semiotics, which can then be incorporated into an interpretive framework leading to an understanding of the record (Preucel 2006:248). Therefore, with reference to the continuous merchandising of some utilitarian forms over long time periods, I examine the potential of a semiotic role for containers. Artifacts have an inherent pragmatic and significative dimension, that is, a coming together of the material and the mental (Knappett 2005:110). I adopt this perspective and explore the non-material dimension of stoneware containers through the cultural constraints of icon, index, and symbol. Form can be seen as an index for homeland diet and lifestyle. Maintaining product and container image is seen essential for successful marketing (Arnold 1999:73).

Symbols are an accepted mode of communication and are present in all countries and societies, and may appear as a depiction, word, object, or sound. Over time, symbols in
Chinese culture have been impacted by language, wars, folklore, economics, life expectancy, and environmental factors. Symbolism in the material culture is found in visual representations of an object and the form of an object (Fang 2004:3).

The role of symbolism in 19th century Chinese lifestyles is delineated through several contexts. One example depicts ecological elements as being beyond control by humans, and the Chinese imparted significance to an all-powerful being or creature. Another example is a resurgence of old symbols seen in 19th century decorative arts as a means of trying to overcome current hardships of the day (Fang 2004:6). The crane, a bird symbolic of longevity and superhuman wisdom, dwells on the Penglai Islands, the home of immortals. The image of a crane is illustrated on the wine bottle labels of the Wing Lee Wai Company to promote the values of its liquor products. Flower symbols embossed on the hexagonal ginger pots depict the four seasons, each with its own attribute of life qualities such as generosity, joviality, endurance, beauty, good fortune, and prosperity. Other common traditional symbols are described in Appendix J.

Up until the termination of the Qing dynasty in 1911, symbols played a significant role in Chinese culture. Since the formation of the Republic in 1912, the Chinese have gradually lost the knowledge of symbols, although some have retained significance such as in ceremonial contexts. Visually, the dragon remains a prominent identifier of Chinese culture, but much present-day acknowledgement of symbols is seen simply as abstract design with no attachment of understanding (Fang 2004:5). However, during the 19th century, the symbols of prior generations were used profusely on ceramics, textiles, and painting. The need was perceived in a China plagued by severe famine, an exploding population, corruption, civil unrest, and the forced opening of trade with Western countries. Ultimately, the Communist government is seen to have greatly impacted the decline in understanding symbols by prohibition of symbol use and deprivation of knowledge about the ancients. While a few decorative motifs remain, a new materialistic
“global symbolism” is arising from countries and cultures that have direct trade with China (Fang 2004:6).

7.6.1 Database Inferences

I examine the context of semiotic inferences with a view to enhancing a social interpretation of the utilitarian stoneware record. By definition, semiotics is the study of how humans make and use signs in mediating their lifestyle (Preucel 2006:248). The idea of a pragmatic archaeology with respect to material interpretation has been advanced by 19th century scientist and philosopher Charles S. Peirce, and is cited by Robert Preucel as a method useful in researching icons, indexes, and symbols. Peirce has provided a perspective on semiotics that finds an application in present day archaeological interpretation. He offers a definition of sign as “something which stands to somebody for something in some respect” (Preucel 2006:54). The notion becomes more complex when it is viewed as triadic in nature, and consists of the sign, the object, and the interpretant. Moving this notion into the present day, Peircian semiotics are seen to provide an understanding of how, in cultural specific ways, sign relations mediate social being. Signs are held not only to represent social reality, but also to create and effect change in that reality (Preucel 2006:89). This perspective supports the concept of symbols having practical or functional value.

Peircian semiotics offers qualified support for a “cable” metaphor, where archaeological reasoning is composed of numerous fibres that are intimately connected. Each strand may be a diverse type of evidence used to support an hypothesis or theory. Although there may be a weak supporter of a theory, collectively the strands provide a stronger warrant for rational belief than a single line of argument (Preucel 2006:252). This perspective is also seen by Alison Wylie as re-conceptualizing archaeological understanding, where interpretation involves the tacking of accounts between “their experience-near” and “our experience-distant” (Preucel 2006:253).
In the matter of evaluating and verifying artifacts, Peircian views suggest that truth is not absolute, rather a never-ending social enquiry. Alison Wylie applies the tacking model to suggest that archaeological truths are really interpretive statements, constructed of multiple strands of evidence and different lines of argument. Thus grounds are established for accepting some interpretations as true, even though we cannot conclusively prove them to be so (Preucel 2006:254).

A similar perspective is advanced by Carl Knappett (2005) in his volume *Thinking Through Material Culture*, where he suggests symbolic and functional meanings are very much interdependent, and are only understood with a knowledge of the symbolic codes of a culture (Knappett 2005:7). Following this dictum with respect to utilitarian stoneware containers, decoration in the form of a symbol can be seen as an adjunct feature invested with a communicative role. Thus the symbol enters the realm of the functional. In the absence of knowledge that the artisan knowingly encodes information in an artifact for consumer interpretation, a visual depiction must be acknowledged as sign without necessarily being communicative. A sign can have a meaning without communicating a message. The dualism of function and symbolism can be overcome by thinking in terms of a co-dependency of mind and matter (Knappett 2005:131).

Until recent times, archaeologists have endorsed the Western perspective of dichotomizing culture into the social and technical, mind and matter, or human and machine (Knappett 2005:167). In implementing Knappet’s cognitive perspective as a means of overcoming dualism, the utilitarian stoneware containers can be seen to fit into a co-dependent approach to interpretation. With respect to integral or implied symbols in utilitarian Chinese container design, interpretation can acknowledge this co-dependent dictum, where “archaeologists should always have been cognitive in their work” (Knappett 2005:170).
Therefore, I consider the use of symbols in the Chinese stoneware record from two perspectives, the incorporation of individual symbols on the container, and the use of the whole container as a symbol of prestige and pride in ownership. I illustrate how flower symbols can be incorporated into side wall patterns; a schedule of symbol interpretations are entered in Appendices H and J. In combining a Peircian perspective on semiotics with communicative modes of symbols delineated by Fang (2004), an appreciation of form and pattern enhances an understanding of 19th century utilitarian stoneware containers.

I suggest that the morphology of a container allows a sense of owner pride, a social awareness, when shared visually with third parties. Tea bowls, for example, materialize the maker’s desire for beauty and “await use as a tool to forge social affinity” (Glassie 1999:42). In assessing the value of material culture relative to class, status and ethnicity, one considers that “people use domestic material culture to create an image of themselves that they project to others who live in, or visit, their homes” (Jamieson 2004:431).

7.6.2 Hexagon Contexts

This section examines contexts relevant to symbolic inferences associated with the use of hexagonal form. The Chinese have recognized the hexagonal nature of a snowflake at least since the second century BC. Han Ying writing in 135 BC referred to apparent common knowledge of nature, where “flowers of plants and trees are generally five pointed, but those of snow, which are called ‘ying’, are always six pointed” (Temple 1986:161). The hexagonal symmetry of snowflakes was accepted by the Chinese as an inherent part of nature which catered to their traditional interest in number mysticism and their cosmic scheme of nature. Today, the unfailing consistency of the snowflake design is confirmed by the use of electron microscopes to examine snow crystals (BARC 2005). The hexagon has appeared prominently in Chinese material culture since the Song dynasty, but particularly in the 14th century. An example of geometric form patronage is seen in the artifacts recovered at Yixing, a centuries old pottery centre west of Shanghai. The most
celebrated potter at the Yixing pottery during the 16th century, Shi Dabin, produced hand
built hexagonal teapots for the scholar class (Lo 1986:54) as illustrated in Figure 13.

![Image of hexagonal teapot](image)

**Figure 13.** Continuity in hexagonal design (Lo 1986:50,195); left a Shi Dabin teapot AD
1616; right a He Daohong 1954 design, Yixing.

Manifestations of the hexagon in Chinese material culture in the 19th century are
found in several ceramic artifacts, particularly with the export of preserved ginger.
Ubiquitous dark green hexagonal stoneware containers for ginger represent an elite form
found in the early traditions of pottery extending back at least a millennium. Martin Wobst
(1977) has demonstrated that style supports cultural processes, such as cultural integration
and differentiation, and interprets stylistic behaviour as a process of information exchange
(Wobst 1977:335). This information exchange has been directed at the non-Asian market
through the use of hexagonal forms which establish prestige and ethnicity of the ginger
product. The six-sided ginger pot has proven to be a mark of distinction for an elite food,
and a successful marketing technique in both overseas Chinese and Western societies.
Several Chinese groceries in British Columbia currently offer preserved ginger packaged
in hexagonal stoneware jars.
7.7 Ethnicity Preservation

The value of a non-archaeological context relative to ethnicity preservation is demonstrated through Chinese liquor consumption and the continuity of container design. As with hexagonal ginger pots discussed above, visual presentation is a strategy of information exchange in the life of an artifact. Enculturation is seen to occur with the visual presentation of style (Wobst 1977:319). I argue the ideological use of Chinese liquors and continuous use of container forms over time, contributes to the preservation of Chinese ethnicity and social solidarity in the colonial atmosphere of 19th century British Columbia and Vancouver Island.

Alcoholic beverages have accompanied Chinese immigrants to British Columbia since the influx of gold-seekers in 1858. The preponderance of stoneware liquor bottles in circulation comprises approximately 30 percent of the total utilitarian stoneware artifacts in assemblages, and warrants attention to the bottle contents. Apart from the aesthetic appeal to collectors, which is likely the reason for so much bottle preservation, I consider the contents of these bottles and the possible effects on lifestyles.

Liquor containers designed for merchandising to individuals have taken the well-known bulbous form in varying sizes up to 1000 ml. Bulk shipments of alcoholic beverages for restaurants or other large consumer groups were accommodated in large globular vessels. Most of the liquor brands in stoneware bottles will have been labeled as wines, or medicinal wines. The Chinese use the term wine for all types of liquor, regardless of whether it has been manufactured by fermentation or distillation, and the medicinal terminology applies to wines containing a large variety of herbs intended to alleviate all manner of illness (Morrow 1997). The various herbs are listed on the liquor bottle labels, so that an accurate assessment of contents is available to the consumer.

The liquors exported from China can be divided into two main categories, those
distilled from fruit wines, and those distilled from rice wines or sorghum. Paper labels remaining on liquor bottles provide data about additives, but some divergence of opinion exists relating to liquor bases. A literal translation of Ng Ka Py into English is five melon skin wine (personal communication Wayne Chow 1996, restaurant owner, Prince George). Orange peel is also used as one of the skins (personal communication Si Yu 1996, housewife, Prince George). Translation of the liquor bottle label Ng Ka Py, indicates five-skin flavouring with additions of orange peel and herbs (personal communication T.K. Ho 2005, retired businessman, Vancouver). Prof. Shiu-Ying Hu, at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (personal communication 1997) advises that the liquor base varies from region to region, and although rice is commonly used as a base, fruit wines are common to the Sichuan area of southeast China.

Labels from some alcoholic beverages indicate herbs were added for medicinal purposes. These medicinal wines distilled from fruit wines are commonly known in western terms as brandies. These same liquors are sometimes referenced as liqueurs, and this terminology fits into the western definition of a liqueur being a flavoured brandy. Imported wines from China often display labels indicating a very high alcohol content, approximately 50 percent pure alcohol (TAM collection). The shipping of low alcohol wines would not be too practical, as simple wines of five to ten percent alcohol could easily be duplicated in the Pacific Region. The question remains as to whether most Chinese liquor was consumed as a herbal remedy for ills, or whether it primarily served as a palliative in the context of the widespread use of opium, which was legal in Canada up to 1908. Herbal contents of wines are identified in Appendix K.

7.8 The Ginger Connection

The ginger plant appears to prefer a specific environment on earth, and is found around the world in the Philippines, China, India, the west coast of Africa, and in the Caribbean. The first known contact between China and the western countries was at
Parthia in Iran (Persia), during the second century BC. This was the period when Rome began to annex Greek territory: subsequently, the Rome-Parthia-China route developed as the main overland caravan connection to the Orient (Vollmer and Nagai-Berthrong 1983:24). Ginger was well known, along with such spices as pepper, cardamom, cinnamon, and cloves.

The real impetus in the ginger trade came at the beginning of the 19th century. Sea-going trade between China and European countries had become well established and also at that time, preserved ginger in a syrup was developed. A Cantonese citizen, Li Chy, is credited with discovering a method of preserving ginger in syrup about 1823. Chy acquired partners and formed the Chy Loong Ginger Factory. In 1846, the ginger factory moved from Canton to Hong Kong, a location closer to the developing international sea-going traffic. The Chy formula opened huge commercial markets overseas, especially in England where Queen Victoria became enamoured with preserved ginger and served it as dessert at many official banquets (personal communication Naomi Szeto1991, assistant curator, Hong Kong Museum of History). The fashion established by Queen Victoria was instrumental in establishing extensive market demand. The flavour of ginger attracted consumers worldwide, and this elite food has fostered a rather unique phenomenon in the archaeological record of utilitarian Chinese stoneware containers. Also, the popularity of preserved ginger was a boon to a segment of the pottery industry in China, and the prestigious hexagonal-shaped stoneware containers became readily identifiable by ginger consumers.

The significance of preserved ginger is that it was available in Western markets, and readily accepted by Western cultures, and is still in Chinese groceries marketed in the same green hexagonal stoneware containers as were produced in the 19th century. This phenomenon has produced a reverse acculturation process where Western consumers developed a particular fondness for a prestigious Chinese food. Therefore, the majority of
hexagonal stoneware containers found in the Pacific Region are recovered in non-excavated assemblages, often in Western collections and antique stores, due to the appeal of preserved ginger to Western tastes. Overseas Chinese archaeological sites have produced only a few hexagonal ginger pots in comparison to other utilitarian stoneware containers. Preserved ginger represents a relatively expensive food, and serves as a luxury item compared to the tuberous ginger root which is commonly used in daily Chinese cooking. Economic dictates suggest that the dominant overseas Chinese consumer of preserved ginger would be the merchant elite rather than the labouring class.

7.9 Evaluating Collections

The difference between connoisseurship and mere accumulation as discussed earlier in Section 5.4, leads to an assessment of cultural values bound up in manufacturing technology, aesthetic impact, and historical context which can draw collectors to the vessel. Ceramic artifacts can have both a material and social existence. The life history of pottery has been characterized as possessing three primary stages: manufacture, usage and discard (Skibo 1999:2). It is the discard stage that can often draw the attention of collectors; therefore, I add a fourth stage to the Skibo listing, that of retrieval in order to recognize the new life of utilitarian pottery as an art object. This phenomenon of metacommunication provides an added dimension to collecting and to collections.

An analogy to the life history of utilitarian Chinese stoneware containers is found in the Bourbince Valley of the Saone-et-Loire region of France. Carl Knappett (2005) relates the transition of stoneware containers manufactured in mid-19th and early 20th century, from utilitarian value to art-object status by the 1980s. Initially, large quantities of stoneware bottles were needed to meet the burgeoning consumption of beer, spirits, and mineral water throughout the country. However, by the 1950s, stoneware containers were being replaced by industrial glass, fibre cartons, and aluminum cans. Remainders of
stoneware containers were discarded or found their way to attics and cellars, but resurrection was soon to take place in the same area of manufacture.

Thierry Bonnott, French anthropologist and museum curator, has been credited with analyzing the stoneware vessels of the Bourbince Valley, not only in terms of production, exchange, and consumption, but also in terms of the materiality of objects (Knappett 2005:118). Emerging second-hand markets in the 1980s provided new life for stoneware bottles, not for their original function but as pieces valued for aesthetic appeal. A further statement of enlightenment from Bonnett about stoneware significance suggests, “the real beauty comes more from knowledge of the antiquity of the artifact and its local heritage” (Knappett 2005:119). I suggest that utilitarian Chinese stoneware containers also serve as a catalyst for heritage recognition and preservation.

Chapter VII has focused on the broad range of social contexts relevant to the stoneware record forming a database for this thesis. These contexts are vital to providing a synthesis of all factors affecting the utilitarian stoneware record.
CHAPTER VIII CONCLUSIONS

The initial questions posed for this thesis have been addressed throughout the research process. I have examined what cultural variables have impacted the stoneware record in British Columbia. Physical aspects of the utilitarian stoneware record have been examined with respect to typology and specific diagnostics. As well, I have examined relevant contexts in migration, provisioning practices, semiotics, ethnicity preservation, acculturation and database provenance. Determination of why the social contexts become important to understanding the stoneware record is assisted by revelations of historical contexts illuminated in Chapter II Historical Research. Both Western and ethnic Chinese researchers contribute to an understanding of the social constructs pertinent to the overseas utilitarian stoneware record.

8.1 Social Constructs

Hypotheses relating to continuity in design, merchandising practices, ethnicity preservation, and pottery intensification processes have been validated through examination of material and non-material constructs. I conclude that cultural variables pertinent to the stoneware record are valid, and the relevance of the variables to understanding the record has been established.

With respect to merchandising practices, I suggest that mercantile domination by Chinese elites in their homeland influenced the 19th century provisioning of overseas Chinese labour. Although the merchant in China was not all-powerful, the elite did have grounds based on the Li Shih-Yao dictums for influencing merchandising practices overseas. The overseas Chinese were a captive market that merchants could exploit for their own ends as well as for the spirit of Chinese superiority. An inference for social sorting of imported food products can be derived from these merchandising processes.
examples of food invoicing provided in the Appendices C, D, and E allows a cross-referencing of working class food products with the utilitarian stoneware record.

Social constructs relevant to ethnicity preservation are also found in captive market merchandising. High on the list of channels through which ethnicity could be fostered in the 19th century overseas settlements were merchandising processes. The *jinshanzhuang* played a huge role in provisioning and providing services to overseas Chinese, and also in maintaining their contact with the homeland. Ethnicity preservation is seen in the stoneware database through continuity of ethnic forms, labeling, and types of foods and beverages distributed. Evidence of social support of the *jinshanzhuang* is manifest in the extensive selection of subsistence products imported to the Pacific Region, and in the homeland contacts provided for family mail and financial services.

In the realm of semiotics, I conclude that stoneware bottles for Chinese liquors can take on a social role beyond appreciation of the contents. Liquor bottles have maintained their morphology for at least 150 years. They possess an elegant form in most eyes, and some bottles exhibit embossed symbols, or exotic glazes. The liquor bottle can serve as a status symbol in any company and is truly an unadulterated Chinese icon. Similar cognition can apply to the green-glazed hexagonal jars for preserved ginger, a container form known world-wide through Western consumption of this prestigious food product over the past 100 years or more.

### 8.2 Evaluation of Previous Research

The historical research provided in Chapter II illuminates social and material constructs relevant to utilitarian stoneware artifacts much beyond initial expectations. Consequently, four divisions of social researchers have been identified in the historical research: Western, ethnographic, ethnic Chinese and current perspectives. However, I find that documentation of Chinese utilitarian stoneware comes up short in several respects. Typologies prepared from assemblages in the Pacific Region are quite scant, lack
diagnostic specifics, and display little artifact variation. There has been very little attempt to relate the stoneware record to social contexts, nor to focus on ethnic morphology insofar as tradition, semiotics and ideology are concerned. Fortunately, the ethnographic studies carried out in China do provide essential data on manufacturing processes. Social contexts of Chinese habitation and subsistence in the Pacific Region have been well documented in ethnic Chinese texts.

A second weakness in Chinese stoneware research and documentation in the Pacific Region is illustrated by a failure to associate manufacturing technology and merchandising processes to the stoneware container assemblages. I satisfy this deficiency partially at least in Chapters V and VI, and therefore acknowledge the co-dependence of pragmatic and substantive cultural elements as essential for working within my theoretical perspective and for understanding the stoneware material culture.

From the refined stoneware typology I advance in this thesis, it is possible to discover nominal seriation for some of the container types, particularly with ginger pots and more generally with liquor bottles, as demonstrated in this study. The longevity of certain form usage is the main deterrent to seriation processes. However, longevity of form contributes to the understanding of utilitarian stoneware ethnicity and maintenance of connections to the homeland environment.

In essence, my historical and archaeological research has produced an enhanced understanding of the relationship between the utilitarian stoneware record and associated social constructs. Specifically, I have achieved an appreciation of continuity in utilitarian stoneware morphology through technological, ideological and aesthetic considerations.

8.3 Future Research

Research objectives in the field of ethnic cultural material hinge on the idea of providing an enriched understanding of particular group lifestyles. The archaeological record of an ethnic group will be formed through enculturation and acculturation practices
both of which determine the degree of assimilation into a dominant society. Research into these social constructs relevant to the archaeological record is thus warranted. Post-colonial archaeology will do well to investigate the hybrid nature of colonial society comprising the immigrant Chinese and the early British settlers in British Columbia. Research in this format embraces the indigenous history of both the Chinese and British subjects, insofar as respecting the idea of a layered knowledge and plurality of interests referenced above.

The working class of the overseas Chinese population has not been well studied as far as foodways and stoneware records are concerned. Stoneware containers can speak volumes on foodways, social habits, and economic patterns. The irony is that the Chinese did not consider these stoneware artifacts to be significant materially, and disposed of food containers as refuse. The first well-documented and quantified site was in Ventura California in 1976, a relatively late date for archaeological involvement. Prior to this date, reports relating to Chinese sites did not include the quantification necessary for determining foodways and associated lifestyles, particularly as far as the working class was concerned. A problem faced by the Western researcher is that much of the archival data regarding importation of food and beverage products are written in Chinese language.

Interest in subsistence processes and related food contexts for overseas Chinese immigrants has not been exemplary with museums and heritage conservation agencies. In the past twenty five years in British Columbia there has been an increase in interest in ethnic sites and objects. However, the concern is whether appropriate documentation can be achieved before sites and artifacts are lost completely to development.

Food supply processes, relationships to the stoneware container manufacturer, pricing, consumption practices and transportation implications affecting the distribution of imported foods remain to be researched in depth. The resolve of Yung-ti Li (2007) in addressing craft alienation in labour performance through holistic and prescriptive
production methodology provides a framework for researching social constructs in manufacturing processes. I suggest that alienation of artisans from traditional skills presents a research opportunity in 19th century utilitarian stoneware. I draw attention to finely crafted liquor bottles, likely resulting from prescriptive (stock pattern) production methods, which are in contrast to the huge variation in craftsmanship due to holistic (individual artistic license) production methods. Reading the degree of craft alienation in utilitarian stoneware products is a challenge prompting further research into relevant social constructs.

Scenarios for heritage conservation and cultural legislation in British Columbia suggest an opportunity to re-appraise the 1994 Heritage Conservation Statutes Amendment Act with respect to protection of ethnic properties, whether site-specific or artifactual. Legislation can play a key role within the parameters of historical archaeology, particularly as the realm of public archaeology is addressed.

The archaeological record can be researched with regard to changes in employment venues, the demographics of rural-urban populations, Chinese service industries and professional practices. In British Columbia, there have been major population shifts by overseas Chinese since 1858, and a host of contexts can act as a spring board into further utilitarian stoneware container research.

Several stoneware contexts appropriate for future research in the Pacific Region have therefore been delineated. Fortunately, most ceramic artifacts endure the ages, and much of our Chinese utilitarian stoneware remains for future researchers.
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APPENDICES

Appendix A – Labour contract, Hsiang Hsing Co. 1849

Agreement for California between A Chinese Emigrant and Hsiang Hsing Co., 1849

Memorandum of Agreement made and entered into this ___ day of ___ in the year of one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine between ______ and ______. The American ship named Thomson _____ hired by the Hsiang Hsing Co. is taking ______ to San Francisco, California. All necessary money for passage and food on board have been paid for ______ by the Hsiang Hsing Co. in Shanghai. The Hsiang Hsing Co. will help seek a job when ______ arrive at the port of destination. After ______ is employed in California, he should arrange with his employer to pay $125.00 back to the Hsiang Hsing Co. by way of deducting monthly from his wages until his debt is refunded, which the Hsiang Hsing Co. has paid for him. This Agreement has been agreed by both parties, and either of the parties has no objection to it. For the purpose of future checking, this Agreement is signed by both parties and each of the parties keeps one copy of it.

Wang (1978:321)
Appendix B – Labour contract, for British Colonies, 1852

Form of Agreement for British Colonies, 1852

Memorandum of Agreement made and entered to this day of _______ in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty _______ between _______ of _______ in the colony _______ of _______ of the other part, witnesseth that the said _______ agrees to serve the said _______ his executors, administrators, and assigns, and such person or persons whom he or they may place in charge over the said _______ in the capacity of shepherd, farm and general servant, and labourer in the said colony, for the term five years, (to commence from the date of this Agreement,) and to obey all his or their lawful orders, and the orders of such persons as may be placed in charge over him. And the said _______ agrees to pay the said _______ , at the end of every three months, wages at the rate of _______ dollars per month, at the exchange of four shillings per dollar. And also to provide the following weekly ration, namely, _______.

1 lb. of sugar.
8 lbs. of flour, or 10 lbs. of rice, at the employer’s option.
8 lbs. of meat.
2 oz. of tea.

The wages to commence fourteen days after the arrival of the said _______ in the said colony. And the said _______ agrees to pay to the said _______ out of the first monies or wages to be received by him, by four equal quarterly payments, the sum of six dollars now advanced to him. Signed in the presence of _______.

Wang (1978:324)
Appendix C - Grocery imports of Woo Lee, Ashcroft

This manuscript of contents for the 105 packages shipped to Woo Lee appears on the back of the original CPR invoice.

A copy of the original shipping invoice is folded and manually filed in the thesis following this page.

Author’s Collection
Appendix D - Grocery imports of Yee Shing, Lillooet

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<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>China cakes</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Salt</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Crude medicine</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Billy rockers</td>
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Author's Collection
Appendix E - Grocery imports of Ho Sang, Lillooet

Memo of Goods shipped from Hastings San Mill, Burrard Inlet for Messrs. Nelson Hope, for B. Moody to be forwarded as directed:

To: Ho Sang
Lillooet

By J. H. McIntyre
Liston

1 Bag Dry Goods
3 Bags Sugar
2 Bty of Tobacco
2 Bty Soap
1 Chest Tea
4 lbs Potatoes
4 lbs Oysters
4 lbs Canned Vegetables
2 qts Lard
100 lbs Rice
1 Bag Dry Goods
2 Bty Watches
2 Bty China Ware
4 Bty Sack Salt Fish

Author’s Collection
Appendix F - Small hexagon collar designs

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<td>1880 onward</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shape of Symbols</td>
<td>Varies in this collar design</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Point Collar</td>
<td>Circa 1914</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Symbol Impression Varies</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Point Collar</td>
<td>Late 20th Century</td>
<td>3</td>
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Author’s Collection
**Appendix G - Large hexagon collar designs**

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<th>Collar Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>T.A.M.</th>
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<td>Oval Panel Design</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Rectangular Panels</td>
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<td>Late 20th Century</td>
<td>Notched Rectangle Panels</td>
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*Author's Collection*
### Appendix H - Sidewall panel designs, large hexagon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ginger Pot - Sidewall Design</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Panel Design</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 lb hexagon</td>
<td>Notched corners in trapazoid 3 and 6 different panels</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td></td>
<td>All Historic Periods</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 lb Hexagon Pot</td>
<td>Oval Panels 6 Different Flowers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19th Century Production</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 lb Hexagon Pot</td>
<td>Trapazoid panels, no notches, 1 and 2 panels with characters, 4 and 5 panels</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with flowers</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1911 Republic Production, Early 20th Century</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 lb Hexagon Pot</td>
<td>Panels with notched corners, 6 different flowers</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Mid and Late 20th Century</td>
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Author’s Collection
## Barkerville

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<th>STORE (Mandarin)</th>
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<th>60s</th>
<th>70s</th>
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<th>90s</th>
<th>00s</th>
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<td>Lee, Chung, Bill Hong</td>
<td>1926-1940s</td>
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Appendix J - Traditional Chinese symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chrysanthemum</td>
<td>Emblematic of a pleasant life, generosity, joviality and patience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plum (Prunus)</td>
<td>Represents Winter. The five-petal blossoms appear before leaves, and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>represents endurance, perseverance. Use as a symbol of long life arises from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>blossoming of old trees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lotus</td>
<td>Symbolizes summer, beauty and purity. Lotus is an all-encompassing symbol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduced into Chinese art and folklore by Buddhism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peony</td>
<td>Symbol for Summer. An omen of good fortune. Symbolizes affluence and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prosperity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Animals and Birds**

The Deer: The deer symbolizes immortality since it is the only animal capable of finding and consuming the fungus of immortality. It is also associated with the God of Longevity. Deer horn and Tortoise shell is pulverized to produce medicine to prolong life.

The Dragon: Permeates Chinese history, folklore, religion and art. Seen as a positive creature, depicted on objects as a controller of the earth and heavens, notably the rains. Symbol initially used in circles of the emperor. Five claws represent the emperor, four claws represent nobles and high officials, three claws represent the emperor’s family and lesser officials. The dragon symbolizes goodness, power and the is the guardian of treasures. Became simply a decorative motif by the end of the Qing Dynasty, evident in export wares. Found in appliqué on stoneware containers.

The Crane: The most common symbol of longevity. It is the emblem of superhuman wisdom, since the crane dwells on the Penglai Islands, the home of the immortals. The crane at rest is in the contemplative mode. The Wing Lee Wai Company has chosen the crane to promote the values of its liquor products. Found on the designs of paper labels for liquors.

**Geometric Patterns**

Endless Knot: Symbolizes the duration of one’s spiritual life. A visual symbol representing Buddha’s entrail, associated with lungs, which receive and give abundance. Used extensively during the Qing dynasty, on ceramics, textiles, semi-precious stones.

Swastika (Wan): This symbol has numerous connotations, believed to have Hindu-Buddha roots. In Chinese folklore it symbolizes good luck and eternal abundance. Also a symbol of infinity.

Fang (2004:8-38)
# Appendix K - Chinese medicinal wines

## INTERPRETATION OF INGREDIENTS LISTED ON CHINESE LIQUOR BOTTLE LABELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Botanical Name</th>
<th>Common Name</th>
<th>Name of Liquor</th>
<th>Application</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Acanthopanax spinosum</em></td>
<td>shrub with black berries</td>
<td>Ng Ka Py Medicinal Wine</td>
<td>Root used for tonic, an analgesic, for colic, gastralgia (stomach pain), impotence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Eleutherococcus</em> (Deane et Planch)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cnidium officinale</em> (Mak)</td>
<td>Annual herb (cnidium)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Seeds used as aphrodisiac, anti-rheumatic, for renal disorders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Glycyrrhiza uralensis</em></td>
<td>Chinese licorice</td>
<td></td>
<td>Root used as a demulcent, an expectorant, emollient in peptic ulcers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cydonium sinensis</em></td>
<td>Chinese quince</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fruit used as an astringent in diarrhea, an analgesic, for gout and cholera.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Citrus japonica</em></td>
<td>Japanese citrus</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fruit used as a stomachic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Angelica polymorpha</em></td>
<td>Perennial herb [angelica]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Root used as an emmenagogue (promotes menstrual flow), sedative, analgesic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mentha piperita</em> (Arvensis)</td>
<td>Peppermint (Fieldmint)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Leaves used as a stomachic, carminative (gas-expelling), diaphoretic (sweat), and a stimulant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cinnamomum cassia</em> (Cinnamomum)</td>
<td>Chinese cinnamon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dried bark used as a stomachic, astringent, tonic, analgesic, stimulant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Amomum villosum</em></td>
<td>Cardamom</td>
<td></td>
<td>Seeds used as a stomachic with antiemetic [anti-vomiting] action.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Botanical Name</th>
<th>Common Name</th>
<th>Name of Liquor</th>
<th>Application</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Rosa chinensis</em></td>
<td>Chinese [tea] rose</td>
<td>Mui Kwe Lu Medicinal Wine</td>
<td>Tonic, a circulatory stimulant, an emmenagogue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chrysanthemum</em> [sp.]</td>
<td>Chrysanthemum</td>
<td></td>
<td>Flowers used as digestive. Juice of herb is a bactericide and an anti-inflammatory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rumex crispus</em></td>
<td>Curly, sour, or yellow dock</td>
<td></td>
<td>[Root used as tonic, astringent, or ointment; iron-rich].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Lilium brownii</em> (Japonicum)</td>
<td>[Lily]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Angelica anomala</em></td>
<td>[Chinese angelica]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Glycyrrhiza glabra</em> (Uralensis)</td>
<td>Chinese licorice</td>
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</table>
### Name of Liquor: Man Lee Heung Medicinal Wine; Pak Moy Kwai Medicinal Tonic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Botanical Name</th>
<th>Common Name</th>
<th>Application</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Fritillaria roylei</em></td>
<td>Lily family</td>
<td>Bulbs used for expectorant, bronchitis, asthma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dioscorea</em></td>
<td>Chinese yam</td>
<td>Tubers used for tonic, diarrhea, enteritis [intestinal inflammatory disease].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Astragalus hoangtchy</em></td>
<td>Legume</td>
<td>Root used as diuretic [promotes urine flow], tonic, antipyretic [fever cure or preventive].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Euryale ferox</em></td>
<td>Aquatic plant</td>
<td>Seeds used for tonic, an astringent, for diarrhea and arthralgia [joint pain].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dried rose petals</td>
<td>Chinese [tea] rose</td>
<td>Flowers used as tonic, circulation stimulant, emmenagogue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Rosa chinensis]</td>
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### Name of Liquor: Wai Sang Medicinal Wine

<table>
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<th>Application</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Polygonum multiflorum</em></td>
<td>Knotweed</td>
<td>Root, stem, and leaves used as a tonic, hematogenic [blood-producing].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Glycine hispida</em></td>
<td>Chinese licorice</td>
<td>Root used as a demulcent [soothing substance], expectorant, emollient.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Zizyphus vulgaris</em></td>
<td>Chinese jujube</td>
<td>Fruit used as tonic, sedative, and for neurasthenia [neurotic condition characterized by worry as well as digestive and circulatory disturbances].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Aralia cordata</em></td>
<td>Ginseng family</td>
<td>Root used for tonic, stimulant, aphrodisiac, dyspepsia, asthma, impotence, palpitation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Rosa laevigata</em></td>
<td>Cherokee rose</td>
<td>Fruit used as an astringent for enteritis, diarrhea, peritonitis, and as tonic for enuresis [bed-wetting].</td>
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