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**RICE BOWLS AND RESISTANCE: CULTURAL PERSISTENCE AT THE  
MANZANAR WAR RELOCATION CENTER, CALIFORNIA, 1942–1945**

**By  
Nicole Louise Branton**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the  
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY  
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For the Degree of  
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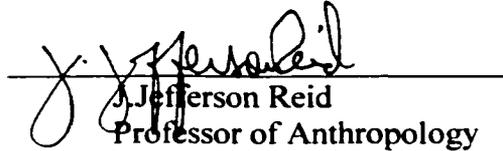
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## ABSTRACT

Evidence for everyday resistance by Japanese American internees can be identified at the Manzanar War Relocation Center, California through an archaeological analysis of refuse deposits left by the internees. The center landfill contains ceramic tablewares in traditional Japanese forms such as rice and tea bowls, Japanese "dishes," and tiny sake cups, indicating that internees maintained traditional Japanese foodways despite assimilation pressure from the War Relocation Authority and European American society. The cultural context of Japanese American internment and resistance is reconstructed using ethnographic, oral history, documentary, and archaeological data. This analysis of resistance at Manzanar suggests limitations of existing models of resistance and acculturation in historical archaeology and methods for exploring strategies of cultural persistence as resistance.

## MANZANAR AND THE PROBLEM OF RESISTANCE

The history of resistance to Japanese internment has long been dismissed with the mythology of *shikata ga nai*, a Japanese phrase and alleged “cultural disposition” best interpreted as “it can’t be helped” (Spickard 1996:101). While overt, organized acts of resistance to internment did occur, in this paper I explore the more common behavior of “everyday resistance” (Scott 1985), carried out by Japanese Americans within internment camps as a strategy of cultural persistence in the face of pressure to assimilate. This project identifies the practice of traditional Japanese foodways through the presence of distinctive Japanese tableware forms excavated from the Manzanar War Relocation Center landfill. By continuing to practice their own traditional foodways, internees actively resisted propaganda from the War Relocation Authority (WRA) and European American society in general that suggested that “American” cultural identity was a prerequisite to American civil rights.

In addition to enhancing the history of Japanese American responses to internment, the Manzanar ceramics provide a case study for testing the limitations of existing models of resistance and ethnogenesis in historical archaeology. Current frameworks overemphasize cultural adaptation and change, providing little interpretive guidance for chronologically discrete episodes such as internment. The Manzanar case study demonstrates the need to incorporate everyday resistance into the continuum of resistance behaviors addressed by archaeology. Strategies of cultural persistence, rather than adaptation, are essential components of such a continuum.

In his critique of the anthropological study of resistance, Marshall Sahlins suggests that “The new functionalism consists of translating the apparently trivial into

the fatefully political" (Sahlins 1993:17 [qtd. in Brown 1996:734]). In this paper I make the case that one of the most trivial of human behaviors — eating — can represent a political action, and more to the point, a political behavior that is best suited for examination through historical archaeology. Japanese American internees at the Manzanar War Relocation Center in the Owens Valley, California, actively defied the hegemonic construction of Japanese Americans as inherently “un-American” by participating in traditional Japanese foodways, a behavior reflected in the rice bowls, tea bowls, and other traditional Japanese tablewares recovered from the relocation center landfill. These food choices demonstrate internees engaged in everyday resistance (Scott 1985) to internment and pressure by politicians and the War Relocation Authority for internees to abandon their culture and assimilate into that of mainstream European Americans.

The particular choice of food preparation and consumption by internees at the Manzanar War Relocation Center are not "fatefully" political, as Sahlins suggests, but made so by the explicitly cultural nature of internment. A Japanese family enjoying a meal from Japanese cups and bowls in Japan is indeed engaged in a mundane act, which may serve to unite the family and even serve some function within the larger community, but has little chance of causing any political repercussions. A family of internees drinking tea from those same dishes in the Manzanar War Relocation Center, where at one time 10,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans were imprisoned for their culture in 1942, are making a political choice, one designed to effect a particular political result — cultural unity in the face of imposed factionalism. The practice of traditional Japanese foodways was one strategy by which internees expressed resistance to the dominant European American political ideology that equated the concept of “American” (with all its understood rights and freedoms) with

European American cultural traits and imposed restrictions both on internees' physical freedom and cultural expression.

As the self declared discipline of the "people without history" (Deagan 1982; Little 1994; Wolf 1982), historical archaeology concerns itself with the processes and impacts of modernization and the inequitable social relationships that are often their result. Where documentary sources are largely the voices of the dominant and ethnography yields analogies, archaeology provides an opportunity to observe "the forms taken by social inequalities in definite social practices" (Miller et al. 1989:3).

If historical archaeology can be used to address anthropological behaviors and large-scale processes (Deagan 1982; Leone and Potter 1988:19; Little 1994; Orser 1995), then we should seek models of resistance in the archaeology of domination in its many contexts. Archaeological models of resistance and domination have emerged most notably from the historical archaeology of slavery and colonization, as well as that of gender and labor relationships. Although the domination of African American slaves, colonized peoples, and Japanese American internees vary in their dates and details, they should be examined together as "the discourses of which the statements form a part are similar . . . because they are both part of the wider discourse of the expansion of European merchant capital" (Hall 1992:379). Such statements frequently include material culture and its manipulation in the defiant action of defining one's own community under cultural hegemony.

By considering the everyday resistance (Scott 1985; Weik 1997:84) of Manzanar internees through their material culture (following Majewski 1996:809) in the context of archaeological models of resistance in general, we may expose limitations of those frameworks. A number of criteria make the Manzanar case ideal for testing and refining the current model of resistance as it is used in historical

archaeology:

- It represents a discrete and known occupation period, March 21, 1942, to November 21, 1945, and highly datable artifacts (ceramic maker's marks on institutional ceramics from Manzanar often contain the day of manufacture).
- The history of Manzanar is available through several lines of evidence, including documentary, ethnographic, oral history, and archaeological sources.
- The everyday resistance proposed here has distinct material markers; the practice of traditional Japanese foodways employs diagnostically unique ceramic forms such as tea and rice bowls, Japanese "dishes," sake cups, etc., that are easily distinguished from European American forms and unlikely to have been used by people of non-Japanese ancestry during this time period.
- The Manzanar War Relocation Center was the site of several incidents of overt, organized resistance, including beatings, murders, and the famous Manzanar Riot.

That resistance to internment occurred at Manzanar is indisputable. Historical documents, ethnographic and oral history accounts, newspaper articles, and even the reports of the WRA itself document overt acts of resistance, organized and otherwise, by internees. The Manzanar Riot, in which anti-administration internees threw rocks and sent a driverless truck into a group of soldiers, demanding the release of an internee suspected in the beating of a pro-administration internee, resulted in the shooting deaths of two internees, the generation (by internees) of a "death list" of pro-administration internees, and a several-week work strike that shut down the camp's camouflage netting factory permanently (Burton 1996:69–72; Ueno 1984:194–204; Unrau 1996:477–521; Weglyn 1996:121–125.). Beatings and death-threats by internees against other pro-administration internees were common. The Manzanar (Nisei-, or second generation Japanese, run) cooperative store was burned down by

anti-administration activists. Anti-administration gangs known as the “Blood Brothers” and “Black Dragons” and the more mainstream Manzanar Welfare Association and Mess Hall Workers’ Union proliferated at Manzanar (Burton 1996:69; Weglyn 1996:121).

What archaeology can add to the study of internment resistance is a unique perspective on what Scott (1985:29) has called “everyday forms of resistance . . . the ordinary weapons of relatively powerless groups: foot dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so forth” that “typically avoid any direct symbolic confrontation with authority or elite norms.” Unlike historical documents and ethnography, archaeology has “access to the non-intentional material by-products of life” (Deagan 1988:8). Therefore, even those activities and behaviors that the actor may have wished to keep secret are available for archaeological analysis (Deagan 1991:109; Rathje 1984:24–25). Everyday resistance is such an activity (Scott 1985:278–284). The behavior of possessing and using Japanese cultural artifacts such as rice and tea bowls and the underlying meaning of such behavior to internees is only available through a combination of documentary research, oral history, and archaeology.

The Manzanar case offers an opportunity to test the potential and limitations of the standard model of resistance used in historical archaeology. Through these ceramics I demonstrate the necessity of expanding the model to include cultural persistence, in addition to cultural adaptation, as a strategy of resistance. The process of reconstructing cultural persistence at Manzanar also illustrates the problems that arise from linking everyday resistance to the material record and the essential role that historical archaeology’s “multi-evidentiary” (Deagan 1988:10) potential plays in interpreting the context of resistance behaviors.

## RESISTANCE IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The primary obstacle to interpreting the archaeology of resistance is the absence of an explicit universal model. Resistance is often used opportunistically as one framework for interpreting patterns at historical sites, with little effort to define the specific strategies employed by subordinated people, the cultural context of resistance, or how such behaviors are articulated to the archaeological record. As a body of work, however, these studies do suggest a model. While these studies vary in their actors and artifacts, they are unified by a focus on behaviors that undermine hegemony without directly engaging the dominators and the manipulation of material culture in the construction of an independent subaltern identity. They also overwhelmingly relate resistance to cultural change. The analyses of resistance and its material correlates below demonstrate these common themes and the use of the resistance model in the interpretation of historical archaeological sites.

The most easily recognized forms of resistance are of course overt, explicit, violent, and therefore unambiguous. These are rare in the archaeological literature, however. Singleton (1995:9) suggests that "Flight and rebellion were among the most aggressive forms of resistance" among African American slaves and as such "These extreme measures were attempted only when there were no other viable alternatives." It is with those other alternatives that the resistance model is concerned. While violent resistance did occur in slave and post-contact indigenous communities (Jahangir 1989; Orser 1988a, 1991; Pikirayi and Pwiti 1999; Taussig 1994; Weik 1997), as in the Manzanar War Relocation Center (Unrau 1996b:477–523; Weglyn 1996:121–25, 132–133), the majority of subaltern resistance utilized what Weik (1997:84, following Scott [1985]) has called "everyday resistance," including

“behaviors such as sabotage, feigned sickness, intentional tool damage, strikes, slowdowns, poisoning, and arson.” These are “the ordinary weapons of relatively powerless groups” (Scott 1985:29). It is this heterogeneity of resistance that Paynter and McGuire (1991) argue archaeology must begin to recognize.

The archaeology of resistance is a common theme in studies of the contact between indigenous peoples and Europeans. Here the behavior of resistance is most likely to be framed as part of the larger process of ethnogenesis. Hill (1996:1) distinguishes between acculturation and ethnogenesis by observing that the process of ethnogenesis “is not merely a label for the historical emergence of culturally distinct peoples but a concept for encompassing people's simultaneously cultural and political struggles to create enduring identities in general contexts of radical change and discontinuity.” Ethnogenesis emphasizes the creative processes by which new ethnic and other groups have emerged in the environment of cultural contact, but in application, archaeologists tend to depict indigenous people as the *receivers* of culture while Europeans remain largely unaltered. A striking exception is the body of research related to the introduction of indigenous material culture into the Spanish colonial household (Deagan 1983; Majewski and Ayers 1997; Van Buren 1999).

Such a model, however active in assigning agency, is dependent on change. The issue of authority and Eurocentrism in historical archaeology has been the subject of much recent criticism (see Leone 1995; Rubertone 1989; Orser 1996:66–71, 174–178; Lightfoot 1995). This debate is not simply polemical. While the concept of ethnogenesis allows us a more dialectical vocabulary for discussing the processes of colonialism, any model of acculturation is implicitly directional, implying that the movement toward more “Europeanized” Native Americans is logical and inevitable. Rubertone (1989:35) states that such “linearity makes the nature of the responses to

culture contact and colonialism seem entirely predictable" and "the end point to the transformations experienced by Indian societies...inevitable." The same ideology that justified colonialism are reproduced through Eurocentric archaeological models that assume linearity in the colonized's responses.

The majority of archaeological studies of European-indigenous contact rely on cultural change models of resistance (Crosby 1988; Goodby 1998; Schrire 1991; Staats 1996). Crosby (1988:183–184) describes how "European material culture could be so readily incorporated into the daily and ritual life" of southern New England Native Americans. European trade items, especially copper pots, iron ploughs, and objects of personal adornment such as beads and buttons were integrated into traditional burial practices as a means of controlling their *manit*, or spiritual power.

Models of cultural persistence as resistance exist, but they depend on some alteration of a "pure" culture. Goodby's (1998) study of technological patterning and style on 17<sup>th</sup> century Native American ceramics in New England argues that the continued production of ceramics despite the availability of European goods represents resistance to acculturation. He contends that "the very production of pottery can be viewed as a political act, used to express and defend traditional native identity and culture" (Goodby 1998:177). However Goodby's model appears to address cultural continuity, the objects of such a discourse are notably altered by the process of contact. Seventeenth century Pequot-Mohegan, Narragansett, and Wampanoag potters elaborated their pottery "in ways that blurred social boundaries, because the recognition and acceptance of these boundaries was strongly contested within native communities" (Goodby 1998:176). Although such elaboration "reflects an older cultural unity upon which the social boundaries of the seventeenth century

were imposed" (Goodby 1998:176), this should not be confused with an uninterrupted *continuation* of that culture in the face of European hegemony. Goodby lends to the study of colonialism a less processual model than most, in which resistance behavior and material culture emerges within a limited time frame.

Rubertone (1989) offers a rare analysis of a form of resistance that is not dependent on the pre-existing condition of culture change. In her analysis of wampum tribute between the Narragansetts and New England colonists, Rubertone (1989:41–42) identifies archaeological evidence of political resistance emerging in a single generation, in a cemetery used within the archaeologically discrete time period of 1650–1670. Compared to a cemetery utilized one generation or less earlier, the tribute-period cemetery contained a surprising quantity of wampum in a few of "the most richly endowed" (Rubertone 1989:42) adolescent burials. Rubertone (1989:42) proposes that this pattern reflects "the ritual consumption of wampum . . . as an unwritten statement of political resistance" that "symbolically upheld Narragansett tribal authority, and at the same time took quantities of wampum demanded as tribute by the colonial government out of circulation." It is important to note that the resistance that Rubertone proposes utilizes existing cultural structures. The act of burying wampum with members of the sachem lineage "*reaffirmed* Narragansett leadership and tribal authority via acts of negotiation with the ancestors" (Rubertone 1989:42, emphasis added). The act of burying the wampum itself, however, represents a new resistance behavior.

Pikirayi and Pwiti (1999:78) link "the spread of mercantilism from Europe and its effects on indigenous societies" in the Zimbabwe Plateau interior to domination and resistance in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries. They offer a rare archaeological example of the material remains of violent confrontations between

Europeans and indigenous groups. The “Refuge Tradition” is marked by stone fortifications traditionally interpreted as temporary shelters used by women and children during attacks on villages, but may also mark “an important resistance frontier” (Pikirayi and Pwiti 1999:85). Pikirayi and Pwiti’s work is striking in that it does not employ enculturation as an explanation for defiance.

These examples demonstrate that historical archaeology retains a processual conception of resistance as cultural change. The majority of these studies base their treatment of resistance on the argument, however implicit, that the subordinated must adapt *toward* resistance behaviors in order to act against their dominators. The Manzanar study is most concerned with expanding the cultural change aspect of the resistance model in historical archaeology. In addition to the political implications of such models, a framework of resistance dependant on cultural change is insufficient for describing patterns of cultural persistence as they are manifest in the archaeology of Manzanar, as well as that of other subordinated groups.

Models of African American resistance are based on one of three paradigms, creolization (Ferguson 1992; Staats 1996; Weik 1997), persistence of African magico-religious beliefs (Ferguson 1991, 1992; Russell 1997; Thomas 1998; Stine et al. 1996), and the strategic withholding of labor through work stoppages, theft, or violent revolt (Orser 1988a, 1988b; Young 1997). Most also cite the perpetuation of a unique African American culture independent from that of European Americans as a form of strategic defiance.

Plantation archaeology is a problematic context in which to study cultural persistence as resistance because of disagreements as to what comprises African American culture through time. Singleton (1988:348) cites as one focus of plantation archaeology, “to examine the extent to which an African heritage prevailed in the

slave and later material culture” but at the same time admits that “there were insufficient data to document African influences in Afro-American life.” Here African American culture is defined as African. Ferguson (1991, 1992) frames African American slave culture as creolized, combining both African, European American, and original cultural traits. It is this creation, the “striving to build and live their own subculture” that demonstrates that slaves “resisted slavery by being themselves” (Ferguson 1991:28).

Creolization is "the result of a complex situation where a colonial polity reacts, as a whole, to external metropolitan pressures, and at the same time to internal adjustments made necessary by the juxtaposition of master and slave, elite and labourer, in a culturally heterogeneous relationship" (Braithwaite 1971, quoted in [Ferguson 1992:xlii]). Ferguson (1992:150) adds to this definition that creolization "recognizes free-will, imagination, and creativity of non-Europeans" in “the building of a new culture from diverse elements.” Under the creole model, resistance behaviors occur as the culmination of (or perhaps a moment during) the progression of cultural transformation. Most studies of the archaeology of African American slaves, even those that argue for the continuity of certain African religious forms, rely on some notion of creolization. Russell (1997:77), for example, points to the emergence of an African American profession, that of the healer, "wholly unrelated to plantation production", but still part of the process of "syncretisms between the African-American archaeological record and traditional West African religious practices" (Russell 1997:63).

Perhaps one reason that historical archaeologists rarely deal with non-creolized resistance is that American historical archaeological sites can rarely be associated with Africans who had just arrived in a state of slavery. Singleton

(1995:9) states that "From the very beginning of American slavery, Africans and their descendants resisted their bondage" in the form of "lying, stealing, breaking tools, feigning illness, refusal to work, rebellion, or taking one's freedom by running away." Such behaviors, however, may be ephemeral in the archaeological record.

Alternate explanations of plantation dialectics exist. One such approach is historical materialism. Orser applies to plantation dynamics Nowak's (1983, qtd. in [Orser 1988b]) interpretation of Marx's model of society. Orser (1988b) frames the "retention of certain Africanisms in material culture" as a kind of cultural continuity rather than creolization, suggesting that this, along with slave revolts and desertions "indicate that many slaves had not given the situation up as hopeless." His model of plantation production ownership across the ante-bellum slavery and post-bellum tenant farmer periods leaves little opportunity for consideration of nonprocessual behaviors.

Thomas' (1998) entire structure of the slave-planter dialectic is based on the idea that African American culture (and that of planters as well) evolved regularly as part of "the give-and-take that defined those power relations" (Thomas 1998:535). These Marxian perspectives necessarily focus on the processes and results of production ownership and manipulation rather than individual events.

A more dynamic approach to everyday resistance is found in Young's (1997:7) study of risk management strategies "as mechanisms of resisting oppressive Southern society" used by slaves at the Kentucky Locust Grove Plantation. Young's (1997:8) interpretation demonstrates that "slaves at Locust Grove actively worked to minimize some of the risks they faced" through strategies that included "forming strong family and community ties reinforced by generalized reciprocity, by producing surplus through raising their own livestock and gardens, and through religious

practice.” Rather than directly confronting the ideology of slavery through revolt or other physical resistance, Locust Grove slaves developed specific strategies to minimize the risk of such immediate dangers as physical abuse, being sold (and separated from family), starvation or malnutrition, etc. (Young 1997:14). Risk management strategies included slave control of their own resources (in the form of gardens, livestock, or hunting and fishing) (Young 1997:16–20), the use of rituals or religion to ward off misfortune (Young 1997:20–22), and storage of food and other possessions to prevent seizure by planters (Young 1997:22–25). Perhaps most important, slaves developed a cultural system of reciprocity and extended bonds of kinship that provided control over food shortages as well as support in cases of being sold away and, in the most extreme case, a community-wide reaction to instances of overwork or physical abuse considered too extreme by the slave community (Young 1997:25–31). In the case outlined for Locust Grove, slaves resisted not by confronting planters or the system of slavery itself, but by mitigating its impacts on a community level. Young (1997:32) explains that such behavior is not *necessarily* African in origin (representing cultural persistence), but that “there is ample evidence to support this conclusion.”

Orser’s (1991) description of the archaeology of free black resistance in the postbellum south includes the same continuum of resistance described by others for slaves. In addition, as sharecroppers, African Americans also resisted the unfair restrictions of the contract system “by moving from plantation to plantation, breaking each successive contract, in search of fair terms” (Orser 1991:46), a strategy that was particularly effective because the propertyless sharecroppers could not be sued. This widespread practice became known as “shifting.” For many freedmen, shifting was considered a test of freedom (Tebeau 1936:132, in Orser 1991:46). Orser’s (1991:50)

archaeology focuses on the material correlates of the decreasing alienation of African American tenant farmers through time, through “their movement out of the compact, uniform slave quarters and into single-family tenant dwellings . . . built some distance from the watchful eye of the landlord.” Orser claims that archaeological evidence of freedman resistance is “unknown and can now be only be guessed,” as such resistance was “short-lived and would leave little readily recognizable archaeological evidence” (Orser 1991:51). Although Orser (1991:45) acknowledges that free African Americans engaged in “daily resistance . . . expressed in songs, folk tales, and language” as a “verbal, non-violent form of protest [that] was a way for blacks to shut whites out of their world,” he excludes this everyday resistance from his consideration of the archaeological record.

The potential for cultural persistence can be found in studies of escaped African slave, or Maroon, settlements as well. Weik (1997:86) suggests that the artifact signature of African (or African American) artifacts alongside European, nearly universally read as a sign of acculturation, may indicate quite the opposite. Maroons may have acquired such goods through raiding, “an opportunistic type of resistance” (Weik 1997:86). Although this represents a new behavior, the fact that it is opportunistic contradicts the theory of creolization, that is, adaptive change over time. Weik’s continuum of resistance behaviors exist within the framework of a notion of African American slaves as creolized, but the behaviors themselves are synchronic; there is no indication that they are adaptations, but simply the same behaviors that any free person might engage in, made “resistant” by the circumstances of slavery.

Ferguson’s (1991, 1992) work on African American slave culture as resistance in South Carolina brings a new facet to the archaeological model of

resistance, ideology as active but unconscious resistance. Ferguson's (1991:29) emphasizes the separate cultures of slaves and planters (or other European Americans) that created a "resistance of incongruity" in which the "system of meaning and posture of attitude of slaves were at odds with the ideology of planters," with the result that "there could be no [common] ideology allowing slavery to operate as efficiently as the planters envisioned." If slaves and planters had shared a common culture, slaves would not have resisted, but submitted their labor willingly "because it was their accepted role" (Ferguson 1991:29).

Included in this framework is a warning against becoming academically distracted by direct power relationships between the subaltern and their dominators. While anthropologists traditionally fixate on structural power and its impact on the subordinated, Ferguson (1992:xliv) cautions that it is doubtful "that plantation slaves typically would identify their most important activity as producing the master's crops; nor would they see their most important relationships as those between themselves and their overseer or master." Rather, interactions within the community and shared culture of subordinated people provide the primary meaning and source of power for subordinated people.

Ferguson's is one of the most explicit models of resistance that historical archaeology offers. In addition to articulating forms of everyday resistance to the material record, Ferguson consciously addresses different forms of resistance and the motivations of their actors. He proposes that "another *unconscious* resistance must have been manifest in the content and structure of daily activities such as foodways that were controlled by slaves" [Ferguson 1991:28; emphasis in original]. It is also the most amenable to comparison with the Manzanar ceramics, focusing specifically

on the interpretive use of “pottery and foodways to demonstrate how parts of the material culture of slaves were actively creating resistance” (Ferguson 1991:28). He also suggests a broad profile of those artifacts that are likely to reflect resistance, “those things that slaves made for themselves, with or without their master’s knowledge” (Ferguson 1992:xljii). Finally, Ferguson demonstrates the domestic realm (foodways and ceramic tablewares) as the area in which subordinated people are likely to have the greatest control over their own environment. The similarity of colonoware pieces and their distinctness from European American ceramics “emphasized the similarities of slaves and reinforced their common heritage and their differences from whites” (Ferguson 1991:31).

#### *Material Culture and Community Identity*

The use of material culture to define the limits of a marginalized group's own identity is a perspective on resistance that allows the archaeologist to depart from considerations of “pure” and altered culture and address the perpetuation and expression of cultural identity in the context of domination. Plantation archaeology provides testimony of the world of slaves that existed out of sight of the planter (and thus the written record). Ferguson (1992:119) points to the distinctive material culture of African American slaves as “material symbols . . . [that] operate in the same way that oral tradition does — creating identity and molding values.” Although he espouses the idea of African American creolization, Ferguson argues that, once in place that culture resisted through cultural persistence within a sphere of everyday existence that was beyond the immediate influence of the planter. He explains that

"While many slaves may not have overtly resisted their enslavement on a day-to-day basis, most did ignore European American culture in favor of their own, and in doing so they also ignored and resisted the European American ideology that rationalized their enslavement" (Ferguson 1992:120).

Beyond the covert insurgency behavior of stealing from the planter and hiding the spoils, Hall (1992) indicates that it is the very secrecy of plantation slave's subterranean root cellars that lends itself to the discourse of slave resistance. Root cellars "show slaves creating a world for themselves within the daily brutality of plantation life" (Hall 1992:386). It is this act of creating, even within the structural community constructed by the planter, that embodies resistance; defining self and community.

Singleton (1995:9) hints at the persistence of culture as resistance when she writes that "Enslaved people's efforts to maintain a separate cultural identity also constituted a form of resistance," although it is unclear whether she refers to an identity separate from other Africans as well as from European Americans. In fact, she suggests as much when she offers that open rebellions "tended to be more prevalent in enslaved communities with large numbers of African-born slaves (Singleton 1995:9).

Praetzellis and Praetzellis (1992:81–82) come closest to the idea of cultural persistence as conscious resistance. In open defiance of Sacramento's codes for brick buildings as part of a planned Victorian landscape, the city's Chinatown residents "continued to build structures more in keeping with their own vision of

impermanence into the early 1860s" (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992:82) at considerable financial loss when such non-regulation structures were removed by the fire warden. This analysis assigns agency to both the dominators and resisters. They argue that "the 'brick-only' building regulations imposed on Sacramento's Chinese district was a step in the creation of an architectural orthodoxy for the commercial district, based on Victorian sensibilities" (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992:82), a contrived strategy for imposing order, specifically Victorian order, on the politically marginalized Chinese. For their part, the Sacramento Chinese responded to discriminatory anti-Chinese legislation and violence with a tendency to "invest less than their European-American counterparts in material improvements that could be torched by riotous 'anti-coolie' elements or legislated and taxed away by the state," an attitude that can be interpreted as "a considered and intelligent strategy of keeping their financial assets in liquid and readily negotiable forms" (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992:82).

Less explicit in Praetzellis and Praetzellis' interpretation is the fact that the Sacramento Chinese's selected form of resistance was a maintenance of traditional structures in an effort to mitigate the impermanence of their situation. The Chinese on I Street did not change their buildings in order to defy city ordinances for brick buildings, but actively and calculatedly continued to build them in traditional forms "an eclectic mixture of wood, brick, iron, and canvas" that "rejected the very gridiron plan of the city's streets in favor of an auspicious pattern derived from geomancy" (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992:82). Resistance here is achieved through cultural

persistence in defiance of the dominant order.

McGuire (1991) describes the emergence of working class solidarity through the construction of communities in the boroughs of late-nineteenth-century Binghamton, New York. Having been forced into class-segregated boroughs as part of the implementation of Social Darwinism by city planners, factory workers not only labored together but “at the end of each day they returned to a common neighborhood, so that class, work, and family networks all overlapped” allowing workers to organize strikes that “sprang from the informal networks of family and neighborhood” (McGuire 1991:113–114). Factory worker resistance is framed again as emerging from community and a shared culture that included not only a desire for fair wages but also for preventing their wives and daughters from being forced to work in factories (McGuire 1991:114).

Spencer-Wood’s (1991:231) investigation of the material aspects of domestic reform illustrates another case in which “adhering to minority cultural patterns is viewed as an expression of resistance rather than as a failure to assimilate to the dominant culture.” Domestic reformers successfully professionalized women’s domestic work and thereby “resisted the male-dominated cultural categorization of women’s work as inferior to men’s work” to the degree that work traditionally defined as feminine gained an equal status to that of men (Spencer-Wood 1991:233). Yet this strategy “worked within the normative cultural framework to indirectly undermine male dominance” and “was successful precisely because it did not directly attack male dominance” but instead “used accepted beliefs about women’s innately

superior domestic abilities to expand women's roles both in the home and in the public realm" (Spencer-Wood 1991:234). Spencer-Wood demonstrates how subordinated people are able to manipulate perceptions of their traditional identities in order to elevate their status within the dominant ideology.

Spencer-Wood's interpretation of female resistance is particularly amenable to archaeology, as domestic reform was accompanied by technological innovations "as a primary strategy for professionalizing aspects of housework" (Spencer-Wood 1991:233). As a framework for the study of resistance, it explicates how resistance may be accomplished within the ideology of domination, but while using the cultural strengths of the subordinated (in this case, women's expertise in domestic skills). The material expression of this particular form of resistance is not dramatically different than that of the dominant (male) culture, but reflects an intensification of the existing minority culture, as well as material innovations that express that identity more efficiently.

An example of food choice specifically as an expression of resistance to structural power comes from Paul Mullin's (1999) study of class and African American consumption behaviors in 1850 – 1930 Annapolis, Maryland. Archaeological assemblages from two African American communities are dominated by national brand product containers, a pattern that transcends class differences between communities. Racist local merchants frequently overcharged African American customers, a practice that was enabled by the selling of loose merchandise that was measured and bottled by the merchant on demand for each customer.

Purchasing national brands assured the African American consumer of a standard quality and quantity, and actively selected racially neutral (if only through the anonymity of the customer) national purchasing in resistance to local institutionalized racism. While this behavior does not represent changes in the kinds of food eaten, it demonstrates the manipulation of foodways in order to actively create a definition of African Americans as part of consumer culture.

A second pattern of food consumption found in the Annapolis households was a marked decrease in consumption of locally caught fish following Reconstruction, when African American fishermen and oyster hucksters became widespread racist caricatures. Instead, “many African Americans may have willingly shifted to genteel foods and market venues, eager to play out the possibilities of their new consumer citizenship” (Mullins 1999:32). In the case of fish consumption, African Americans abandoned traditional foodways as an ethnic stereotype imposed from outside the community in favor of a new identity as class-conscious consumers. Mullins frames African American consumer resistance as a choice of foodways among a diversity of food options, which marks a group’s power to define itself despite a racist infrastructure that would appear to dictate otherwise.

Paynter and McGuire (1991:1) propose that the dialectic of power has specific strategic correlates, which they model as a binary opposition of “those who use structural asymmetries of resources in exercising power, known as domination, and those who develop social and cultural opposition to this exercise, known as resistance” (Paynter and McGuire 1991:1). By this definition, a common cultural

foundation is essential to any act of resistance. Paynter and McGuire's conception of resistance ties it closely to cultural structures, and almost limits its expression to everyday resistance. They suggest that "Subordinates act in a compliant manner in those social spaces where they encounter dominators, but quickly become more defiant and critical when in their own social arena" (Paynter and McGuire 1991:11). The studies above, and my own study of resistance at Manzanar described below, suggest that the social space of resistance is not so neatly delineated. It is the very *existence* of independent social arenas, cultures and identities beyond the influence of dominators, that represent resistance. Furthermore, elements of these arenas may be introduced into those of the dominators, as when workers use their common culture and desires to organize a strike or slaves' kinship networks mitigate a planter's selling family members "down the river." It is the construction (or in the case of indigenous peoples and Japanese Americans, persistence) of a cultural identity that is independent of or even contradicts that imposed by the dominator that comprises the foundation of resistance, "by beclouding and sometimes contradicting hegemonic power" (Paynter and McGuire 1991:11) or preventing a common ideology that justifies the unequal power structure (Ferguson 1991).

Rubertone (1989:37) has suggested that "quiet" forms of resistance should be addressed as part of the repertoire of empowerment behaviors. She argues that "it is possible to detect actions taken to express frustration, dissatisfaction, and even contempt of the systems of inequality being imposed" upon subordinated groups, and that, because such covert behaviors have predictably not been recorded in

documentary history, archaeology is the tool by which we may receive "an Indian commentary on the events and developments that affected native peoples' lives, work, and relations with others" (Rubertone 1989:37).

Rubertone's language is significant. The behavior which she articulates is expression, not violence or confrontation. Moreover, she does not suggest that archaeologists address the gross scales and processual nature of resistance that have caught the attention of history, such as revolution and acculturation. Where acculturation suggests that only an altered Native American could respond to colonialism, expressions of "frustration, dissatisfaction, and . . . contempt" (Rubertone 1989:37) can occur immediately, and without cultural change.

Beaudry et al. (1991:277) observe that "The power of material symbols to communicate often lies in their use 'out of context' — that is in contexts other than those in which the dominant cultural tradition would apply them." We must therefore see Japanese rice bowls and sake cups as more than tablewares and the practice of traditional Japanese foodways inside the Manzanar War Relocation Center as a symbol of community and cultural continuity. For internees, the practice of the same foodways that had been practiced in their own homes would have represented a very real statement that, despite relocation and active campaigns to equate Japanese American culture with disloyalty, the Japanese American community would persist. By extension, such persistence in the environment of massive cultural domination must be read as resistance.

I suggest that many resistance models in historical archaeology are too narrowly focused on cultural change. In addition to what such studies imply about the inevitable nature of acculturation (or even ethnogenesis), they provide little guidance for the archaeological study of short-term, non-adaptive events, such as the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. In the absence of time for cultural change, can we not see material signs of resistance? Building on the theoretical background of cultural identity as resistance constructed in the studies above, I offer the Manzanar ceramics as an example of how historical archaeology may move toward a more synchronic model of resistance, through cultural persistence.

## PERSISTENCE AS RESISTANCE AT THE MANZANAR RELOCATION CENTER

The models discussed above demonstrate the precedent established within historical archaeology for the recognition of resistance behaviors in the archaeological record. Although the relations of dominance and resistance are a process of negotiation and reaction, cultural change is too coarse grained to characterize the kinds of resistance that may have occurred over archaeologically short periods of time. Indeed, artifacts may be "integral parts of the statements through which people create and re-create themselves" (Hall 1992:396), but the creation of such statements need not be culture inventive, but simply culture preserving. The practice of traditional Japanese foodways at the Manzanar War Relocation Center will demonstrate how pieces of the diachronic models of resistance may be applied to a theory of cultural persistence as resistance.

### *History of Japanese American Internment, 1941–1945*

Following the Japanese military attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the United States designated secure areas along the Pacific coast from which all "persons of Japanese ancestry" were forbidden under Executive Order 9066. A total of 117,000 people, many United States citizens, were interned in relocation centers in desolate areas of the continental interior. The forced relocation was publicly justified on the grounds of "protection against espionage and against sabotage" (Executive Order 9066:1), but recent studies (Garrett and Larson 1977, Unrau 1996a, 1996b, Weglyn 1996) argue that the true motivations were economic and cultural. Japanese Americans were easy targets for internment because of well-established anti-Japanese prejudice on the West Coast, the alleged inability of the United States government to

penetrate their culture in order to distinguish loyal versus disloyal individuals, and the economic threat they posed to European Americans (Unrau 1996a, 1996b; Weglyn 1996).

The Manzanar War Relocation Center was the first of 10 permanent internment camps, and was occupied between March 21, 1942 and November 1945 with a peak population of over 10,000 people (Unrau 1996a:xxvi). Since internees are supposed to have taken their meals at the camp's 36 mess halls (Unrau 1996a:397–401), ceramics in the landfill should consist of only institutional-style hotel wares (Majewski 1996:795–796) supplied by the U.S. Army Quartermaster. However, many noninstitutional, generally Japanese-made tablewares in traditional Japanese forms (such as rice bowls, straight-sided cups, sake cups, and Japanese "dishes" [Costello and Maniery 1987:32–33]) occur in the landfill collection, suggesting that internees may have practiced traditional Japanese foodways away from the mess halls. This pattern coincides with evidence of similar behavior at the Butte Camp relocation center in Gila, Arizona (Tamir et al. 1993). I suggest here that, in the environment of cultural punishment represented by Japanese internment, such acts of covert cultural persistence can be interpreted as resistance.

Although in the models of resistance examined above I have selected to discuss only the resistance portion of the dominance-resistance dialectic, in order to explicate resistance among internees, I must address the motives and strategies of the dominators as well. If, as Hall (1992:385) has insisted, "resistance is seen as part of a discourse, a statement set against and intertwined with the statement of dominance," it may only be understood within the context of the entire discourse (cf. Weik 1997:88–89; Ferguson 1992:119). Therefore, the motivations and strategies of the American dominators deserve attention as well.

Anti-Asian prejudice in the Western United States was based in labor tensions beginning in the late nineteenth century. Chinese-, rather than Japanese Americans were the first targets. Initially filling a labor shortage, especially in the construction of the transcontinental railroads, Chinese workers quickly became the victims of resentment by American laborers who perceived them as competing unfairly for employment by accepting low wages and menial jobs (Unrau 1996a:1).

The later-arriving Japanese immigrants tended to seek agricultural employment. As their numbers increased and families began to acquire land, European American labor organizers, ranchers, and politicians agitated existing anti-Asian sentiments, and "the Japanese became the inheritors of California's persistent animosity toward Asians" (Unrau 1996a:4). This cultural prejudice took many structural forms. A 1906 San Francisco law and eventually a 1921 state-wide law ordered Asian children to attend separate schools from European American children (Unrau 1996a:5). The 1913 Webb-Heney Law limited the amount of land a person of Japanese ancestry could lease or own in the state of California. The 1922 Supreme Court case *Takao Ozawa c. United States* made Japanese aliens ineligible for naturalized American citizenship (Unrau 1996a:7), and finally, the Immigration Act of 1924 barred Japanese (and Chinese) immigration.

Thus Weglyn (1996) has argued that Japanese internment was a national extension of this local prejudice, made viable by World War II and the Japanese military attack on Pearl Harbor. Internment may have been officially explained as defensive, but "For the myriad anti-Oriental forces and influential agriculturists who had long cast their covetous eyes over the coastal webwork of rich Japanese-owned land, a superb opportunity had thus become theirs for the long-sought expulsion of an unwanted minority" (Weglyn 1996:36).

For the United States government, the motivation for interning Japanese Americans was explicitly cultural. The differences between Japanese and the dominant European American culture was cited repeatedly as the reason for both the likelihood of espionage (Weglyn 1996:43; Munson 1946 in [Weglyn 1996]), and investigators' inability to determine potentially traitorous individuals. In his argument against interning German- and Italian Americans, Assistant Chief of the Civil Affairs Division Lieutenant Colonel William A. Boekel (quoted in Unrau 1996a:66) stated that Japanese internment had been justified by "their oriental habits of life, their and our inability to assimilate biologically, and, what is more important, our inability to distinguish the subverters and saboteurs from the rest of the mass made necessary their class evacuation on a horizontal basis." Boekel's accusations of the Japanese American unwillingness to assimilate and the U.S. intelligence community's inability to distinguish among individual Japanese Americans verifies that it was their very "Japanese-ness," their cultural distinctness from other Americans, that led to their internment. This point was not lost on Japanese Americans.

The cultural nature of internment is seen in the specific regulations imposed on internees, and it was these to which internees were most likely to resist directly. Japanese language newspapers were forbidden, as were meetings conducted in Japanese and classes to teach the Japanese to children (Western Defense Command and Fourth Army Wartime Civil Control Administration 1942:6-9, 14; Tsuchiyama 1942:38). Of all religions, "only Shintoism [was] barred" (Nash 1996:117). Internees were also forced to participate in "Americanization" programs (Unrau 1996a:451). Significant to this study, hotplates were also considered contraband (Davis 1982:79-80) and "The possession of and the serving of foods which require heating or cooking will not be allowed in the quarters of evacuees" (Western Defense

Command and Fourth Army Wartime Civil Control Administration 1942:15).

*Conflicting ideologies of who is "American"*

Weik (1997:88) poses the rhetorical question, "when does the reproduction of cultural difference in material culture, be it old-world continuity or new-world adaptation, become resistance and not cultural resiliency?" I suggest that the question is overly simplistic. Cultural resiliency *is* resistance under the circumstances in which a cultural hegemony encourages or forces the abandonment of that subaltern culture. Little imagination is required to see the very targeting of Japanese Americans for internment, in addition to the regular separation of families in the camps and the camp "Americanization" programs as encouraging acculturation.

An irony of internment is that Japanese Americans and their oppressors suffered from an inability to resolve their ideologies of what it was to be "American." The official explanations given by the WRA and those politicians who designed internment clearly indicate that, for politicians and perhaps most European Americans at the time, to be American was to be of European ancestry and cultural practice. The reactions of Japanese Americans, however, demonstrate that their own definition of "American" was more idealistically tied to civil rights and citizenship (Burton et al. 1999:34; Matsuda and Nomura 1998:16-17). Several Nisei violated curfews and evacuation orders in order to argue for their legal rights as citizens in court, including Mitsuye Endo, who successfully sued for habeas corpus in 1944 (Spickard 1996:103). The greatest affront to this ideology came when Nisei began to be drafted from inside the internment camps. Ben Takeshita (1984:245) expresses a widespread feeling that "it was absurd for people to answer those [loyalty] questions yes-yes and volunteer for the U.S. Army when our citizenship meant nothing." With the threat of internment growing, Japanese Americans attempted to persuade

European Americans and the U.S. government to accept this non-cultural definition of “American.”

Special Representative of the State Curtis B. Munson, in his 1941 intelligence report (carried out and written prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor and the United States' subsequent entry into World War II) on the loyalty of the Japanese Americans on the west coast, reported that Japanese Americans demonstrated "a pathetic eagerness to be Americans" (quoted in Weglyn 1996:45). In the political climate just prior to and during World War II and internment, Japanese Americans actively campaigned for acceptance as Americans. Overt signs of patriotism inside the camps included "red, white and blue service flags with one, two or even three stars to signify sons serving in the United States Army" according to one internee (quoted in Unrau 1996a:211). Internees repeated the Pledge of Allegiance and were employed in producing camouflage netting and other materials for the American war effort (in which many had relatives fighting). They publicly reinforced their commitment to what they considered American values while de-emphasizing their culture. The Nisei (second-generation, American born Japanese American) organization, the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) creed demonstrates such a public declaration of the Japanese American belief in American citizenship and its compatibility with Japanese culture:

I am proud that I am an American citizen of Japanese ancestry, for my very background makes me appreciate more fully the wonderful advantage of this nation. Although some individuals may discriminate against me . . . . I shall do all in my power to discourage such practices, but I shall do it in the American way — above board, in the open, through the courts of law, by education, by proving myself worthy of equal treatment and consideration. I am firm in my belief that American sportsmanship and attitude of fair play will judge citizenship and patriotism on the basis of action and achievement, and not on the basis of physical characteristics. . . . I pledge to defend

[America] against all enemies, foreign and domestic . . . in the hope that I may become a better American in a greater America. (quoted in Burton 1996:14)

Clearly, Japanese Americans were anxious to portray their loyalty to the United States and detachment from the empire of Japan in the most convincing of terms. It is in this climate that the practice of traditional Japanese foodways takes on its meaning. When even Japanese American-run organizations were admitting that compliance with the U.S. government meant repressing cultural tradition, internees were apparently practicing just the opposite, out of sight of the War Authority.

The presence of personal tablewares in the Manzanar assemblage represents a significant contradiction to the standard histories of Japanese internment. Internees are thought to have brought little material culture with them. One internee who arrived at his relocation train with a box of medical supplies in addition to his hand baggage reported that "at the train the M.P. wanted to throw [the box] out because he said the rule was that nothing but hand baggage was allowed on the train . . . many people who brought wooden boxes to the train had them thrown off" (quoted in Unrau 1996a:200). Another reported that "they were told to bring only what they absolutely needed at the time" (quoted in Unrau 1996a:201). The presence of Japanese and other noninstitutional ceramics in the Manzanar landfill collection suggest that internees brought more than just the functional necessities with them, despite restrictions. The choice of traditional Japanese ceramics demonstrates that while internees were anxious to be identified Americans, they did resist the WRA's attempts to suppress their culture, as well as incarceration itself. Internees engaged in a variety of resistance strategies, many of which were documented by ethnographers.

## ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA ON OVERT RESISTANCE

Extensive anthropological fieldwork was conducted in internment centers during their occupation. The ethnographers included European Americans who lived in the administrative areas of the camps as well as Japanese Americans who were interned themselves. The Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study (JERS) was conducted by the Department of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley under the administration of Dorothy Swaine Thomas. The results of the study were first published in two volumes by Thomas (1952) and Thomas and Nishimoto (1946). Hirabayashi (1999:64) criticizes the study's research design, best represented in letters between Thomas and fieldworkers, as naturalizing categories such as Nisei/Issei (second- and first-generation) and Christian/Buddhist into an equation that Hirabayashi reduces to "American : Japanese :: loyal : disloyal." The formal assignment of disloyal, or resistant, categories to cultural characteristics predisposed the JERS work toward recording overt forms of resistance such as violence and political acts.

The official products of JERS (Thomas 1952; Thomas and Nishimoto 1946), as well as JERS ethnographers Rosalie Wax's (1971) and Tamie Tsuchiyama's (Hirabayashi 1999) published field notes focus on factionalism at the Tule Lake Relocation Center in California. The Tule Lake camp was designated for concentration of those internees who refused to deny loyalty to Japan and/or were unwilling to serve in the American military, a group that became known as "No-

Noes.” Many “Yes-Yeses” (i.e., willing to formally declare themselves loyal to the United States) who had been original residents of Tule Lake, however, chose to remain in that camp despite the WRA’s intentions for segregation. Wax (1971) reports a tense community, in which each faction was stigmatized by the other as alternately disloyal to the United States or to the Japanese American community, and every internee feared being labeled an *inu* (literally “dog”) for cooperating with the camp administration or European American visitors.

The means of determining “Yes-Yeses” and “No-Noes” were formal surveys administered by the WRA including the following questions (qtd. in Thomas and Nishimoto 1946:57):

Question 27: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?

Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?

Such explicit delineation between “loyal” and “disloyal” led to an oversimplification of resistance in the work of JERS researchers. The official loyalty status of any given informant was known to the ethnographers. Arrests, beatings (by staff and internees alike), murder, riots, and political activism are the overwhelming focus of the JERS ethnographies, leaving little information about traditional cultural practices such as

the preparation and serving of tea, rice, and sake, and their function in reaffirming community identity.

However, suggestions of other forms of resistance can be found in these ethnographies. Hirabayashi (1995:163-164) refers to “the practice of ‘borrowing’ needed supplies, . . . various forms of humor, protests over objectionable construction plans, and even drunkenness” recorded in Nishimoto’s field notes and correspondence as potential forms of “popular resistance to mass incarceration.” Okihiro (1973) suggests that the revival of traditional Japanese forms of art, religion, medicine, and other cultural practices as one form of resistance among internees.

Wax’s reports of her informants’ preoccupation with the risk of being labeled *inus* for associating with the European American ethnographer reveals another facet of everyday resistance. Hirabayashi (1995:164) refers to resisters who “decided to identify and beat the spies and informers whom Poston’s [an Arizona internment camp] appointed personnel and FBI investigators on special assignment had deployed to identify the ‘troublemakers’ they believed must be behind the labor slowdowns and strikes.” The labeling and subsequent ostracism of *inus* represents a form of resistance to the WRA’s structural power that likely went undetected by the WRA, but which nonetheless operated to stunt the administration’s effectiveness in uncovering punishable offenses within the internee barracks. In addition, by demarcating acceptable Japanese behaviors and enforcing community-wide sanctions for their violation, internees reaffirmed Japanese American community authority and membership. This may be interpreted as the practice of what Wolf (1990:586) calls

“tactical power,” in which “operating units’ circumscribe the actions of others” within the “determinate setting” of internment. While the U.S. government may have controlled structural power over internment, internees maintained their own power through the control of the “inside meaning” (Mintz 1985) of daily interactions.

Mintz (1985) provides a useful vocabulary for unpacking meaning in the use of everyday behaviors such as food consumption for the negotiation of power. He differentiates between “outside meaning” as “the environing economic, social, and political (even military) conditions” and “inside meaning” as the “interior embedding of significance in the activity of daily life” constructed by consumers “imparting additional meaning to the material world, employing and creating significance at the most humble levels” (Mintz 1985:20-21). Such distinctions allow us to differentiate between the politically-motivated (embedded in outside meaning) behaviors of the JACL, and the lived resistance behaviors of internees with few political aspirations. The risk of how their behavior would be perceived by the WRA was less important to internees practicing traditional Japanese foodways than the “inside meaning” of self- and community identity represented in the eating of rice and drinking of tea.

#### *Relocation Center Foodways*

A more mundane explanation for the Japanese tablewares may be simple proclivity, that internees preferred Japanese foods over those served in the European American-run mess halls. However, attempts were made to provide rice in mess services. Joseph Winchester, Chief Project Steward at Manzanar, blamed much of the food difficulties at the camp on “conflict in food tastes between the desires of the

first-generation Japanese and their American-born children. The older people were accustomed to, and desired, larger amounts of rice and Japanese food than were acceptable to the younger people" and in the end, "the older people [had] things more nearly their way, for Japanese food is economical" (qtd. in Unrau 1996a:399).

The quality of this rice is uncertain, however. Tule Lake center internee and mess hall employee Tee Norikane (personal communication 1999) explains that the rice that was served was long grain rice, not the white rice preferred by Japanese Americans, and was fried in meat fat on griddles, giving it a "dirty" look. Masumoto (1987:117) describes the significance of white rice to Japanese American families, "a special meaning . . . that seemed to go beyond nutritional differences," concluding that "to be Japanese American you eat white rice."

Thomas and Nishimoto (1946:41) report rice as one of the foods hoarded by Tule Lake internees when rumors of food shortages spread. The quality of mess hall food was repeatedly reported to JERS by Tamie Tsuchiyama (Hirabayashi 1999:24-25, 35, 54, 175) and other field workers, and the subject of several strikes. The first WRA director of Manzanar, in a 1942 address to the San Francisco Commonwealth Club (reprinted in Burton 1996:109-119), reported that when rumors of food shortages circulated around Manzanar "we find sack after sack of rice hidden away in the frightened man's apartment," and that there was considerable evidence of a "frenzied desire of some families to hoard dozens of sacks of rice" (Nash 1996:118-119).

The taste for rice and traditional Japanese foods is not a simple means of

dismissing food choices as a form of resistance at Manzanar, however. In his study of the political construction of food choices, Mintz (1985:13) illustrates several cases in which “eating particular foods serves not only as a fulfilling experience, but also as a liberating one — an added way of making some kind of declaration.” That internees preferred traditional foods is not significant; that they *chose* them despite external pressures to appear “American” (in the WRA definition) is. It is “this act of choosing to consume” that “apparently can provide a temporary, even if mostly spurious, sense of choice, of self, and thereby of freedom” (Mintz 1985:13).

## CERAMIC ANALYSIS

This analysis approaches the study of the material culture of resistance through the practice of traditional foodways in an environment of immense physical and psychological pressure to acculturate. The ceramic analysis identifies the presence of Japanese domestic tablewares in a collection from one of the Manzanar Relocation Center landfills in order to answer two research questions: 1) did internees possess their own ceramic tablewares at the relocation center, and 2) did internees practice traditional Japanese foodways inside the camp? Results are presented below and in Table 1.

**Table 1: Summary of Ceramic Analysis Results**

Classification	N	%
Institutional tablewares	31	3.8
Noninstitutional tablewares	794	96.2
Traditional Japanese forms	154	N/A
Nontablewares	10	1.1
<b>Total ceramics</b>	<b>853</b>	

The presence of noninstitutional ceramics in traditional Japanese forms in the Manzanar collection can be linked to behaviors of what Scott (1985) has called “everyday forms of resistance,” best explicated archaeologically in the material culture of African American slaves, contact-period Native Americans, and other historically marginalized groups. The maintenance of Japanese foodways despite the targeting of such cultural traits as “un-American” demonstrates that internees were actively engaged in the construction and perpetuation of their own community identity.

The Manzanar War Relocation Center was one of 10 permanent internment camps, and was occupied between March 21, 1942, and November 1945, with a peak population of over 10,000 people (Unrau 1996a:xxvi). The sample examined here is the result of surface collections and partial excavation of a relocation-period landfill (Burton 1998:2) investigated under Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act by the National Park Service (NPS). Fieldwork included "surface inventory, mapping, and subsurface testing" with diagnostic and distinctive artifacts collected (Burton 1998:1-2). Eight hundred fifty-three ceramic artifacts were analyzed, including whole and partial vessels and sherds and nontableware forms such as dolls, insulators, and pipes. Eight hundred forty-three artifacts were tablewares. Vessel form and portions, ceramic body, decoration, thickness, rim diameter, base (or footring) diameter, height, footring height and form, and maker's mark and date were recorded during analysis (following Majewski 1996). Quality of data varied according to artifact size and completeness and degree of postdepositional alterations.

An alternate explanation of the contents of the Manzanar landfill could be that the traditional Japanese ceramics found there represent a single episode in which contraband Japanese artifacts were seized and disposed of by the camp administration. However, the Manzanar ceramics cannot represent a single depositional episode. Maker's marks on the ceramics include manufacturing dates of 1941, 1942, 1943, and 1945, spanning the full occupation of the relocation center [Majewski (1996:Table D.2) found the same time range represented in the ceramics excavated from relocation center room blocks and landfills during initial

archaeological testing]. Other, nonceramic artifacts from the landfill corroborate these dates, including newspaper fragments from November and December 1942 (Burton 1998:12).

The following description of the sampling, excavation, and collection of the Manzanar landfill is taken from a NPS Trip Report for WACC Project No. MANZ 1998A (Burton 1998). The landfill (CA-INY-4905) covers nearly 20 acres (80,000 square meters) (Figure 1). Thirty-seven individual artifact concentrations (Features 1–37) were identified, and nine of these were selected for subsurface testing or clean-up in compliance with the excavation's research objectives of "(1) complete detailed surface recording, (2) clean-up vandalism, and (3) recover a controlled sample of the undisturbed subsurface deposits" (Burton 1998:10). Each of these features had been disturbed by looting. In total, four backhoe trenches and one 1-by-2-m excavation unit were excavated, and several features were "cleaned up" (work primarily included raking dirt and nondiagnostic artifacts into place, with diagnostic artifacts recorded in the field or collected).

Feature 1 is about one acre (4,250 m<sup>2</sup>) in size, cut on the southern side by an overflow drainage of Bairs Creek and is further divided into areas A–E. Feature 1 contains three separate trash trenches. Areas A–C are part of a large (850 square meters), shallow pit that was never completely covered, which may have been used after the relocation center closed. A second, smaller trash trench was identified within Area B (indicated with a separate field number and yielding 14 ceramic artifacts), but most of its contents had eroded into the drainage. The third trash trench

is located further west and contained only construction materials. Feature 1 yielded the largest number of ceramics.

Feature 2 consists of two buried trash trenches measuring 135 m and 140 meters long, respectively, and a 40-m-square scatter of trash at the end of one trench. Three disturbed areas (2A–C) covering 170 square meters were cleaned up, with diagnostic artifacts recorded or collected, and a backhoe trench representing 0.5 percent of the total trench excavated through each (backhoe trenches 3 and 4).

Feature 3 is a portion of a buried trash trench measuring over 40 feet in length. Two areas were cleaned up within this feature; Area A measured 225 square meters and Area B measured 45 square meters.

Feature 19 is composed of a trash scatter and two looters' pits. A 1-m-by-2-m unit was excavated to 70 cm. In addition to the ceramic tablewares reported here, several ceramic molds and clay were recovered from Feature 19.

Several other trash scatters (Features 33, 35, 36, and 37) and a vandal hole (Feature 28) were cleaned up and determined to be postrelocation center target shooters' debris.

The method of collection places certain limitations on the ceramic analysis. Only diagnostic artifacts were collected, and for those artifacts not collected, only maker's marks and general vessel form were recorded in the field. Because institutional wares are generally undecorated, and because their occurrence in the landfill was expected, relatively few institutional wares were collected. As a result, the Manzanar collection is considerably biased toward distinctive Japanese forms and

highly decorated sherds, and away from the less attractive, but no less significant, institutional ceramics.

In addition to tablewares, ceramic components of the Manzanar assemblage include kitchen wares (used in food preparation but not table service), toys, and electrical porcelains such as insulators. Other construction-related ceramics include floor tiles and sanitary porcelain. The ceramic analysis addresses only ceramic tablewares. The hierarchical categorization scheme used in the analysis is summarized in Figure 2.

Internees are supposed to have taken their meals at the camp's mess halls (Unrau 1996a:397–401); therefore ceramics in the landfill should consist of only institutional-style hotel wares (Majewski 1996:795–796) supplied by the U.S. Army Quartermaster. However, other noninstitutional, generally Japanese-made tablewares in traditional Japanese forms (such as rice bowls, straight-sided cups, sake bottles and cups, and Japanese "dishes" occur in the landfill collection, suggesting that internees may have practiced traditional Japanese foodways away from the mess halls. I suggest here that, in the environment of cultural penalization of Japanese internment, such acts of covert cultural persistence can be interpreted as resistance.

*Institutional and Noninstitutional Wares: Research Question 1*

The first question that this ceramic analysis addresses is whether domestic ceramic tablewares were brought to (and presumably used in) the Manzanar War Relocation Center. Therefore the primary classification of ceramics is (once nontablewares have been excluded) institutional versus noninstitutional ceramic

bodies. This research question classifies artifacts by technological characteristics (after Majewski and O'Brien 1987) of the ceramic body, which "reflects what prehistorians often refer to as 'paste', and is roughly equivalent to 'ware' as understood by historical archaeologists" (Majewski 1996:795). Because most ceramics produced for use in institutional settings (McNamara 1948:488) and all those issued by the U.S. Army Quartermaster Corp (Unrau 1996a:400) were hotel ware (vitreous whitebodied earthenware), the units of observations for the first research question are hotel ware versus all other ceramic bodies.

"Hotel ware" or "hotel china" refers to a group of highly vitreous whitebodied earthenwares (firing range 1250–1520 degrees centigrade, with absorbency of 0–0.3%) that grew out of the American ceramic competition with English "ironstones" during the late nineteenth century (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:115). Hotel ware is a "rather unique type of ware developed and made only in the United States" (McNamara 1948:488) for use in military mess halls, restaurants, hospitals, hotels, and other public eating places, although thinner domestic tableware varieties were eventually developed. The ceramic body is composed of "clay, flint, and feldspar fired to complete vitrification and then covered with a fairly hard, resistant glaze" (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:124). Hotel ware vessels are rarely decorated and highly datable by their maker's marks, which often indicate the day of their firing.

Hotel wares are further classified by thickness into grades. They include double thick (5/16" – 3/8"), for the most severely handled service (including military messes), single thick rolled edge (5/32" – 1/4"), and single thick without rolled edge

(less than 1/4") manufactured for household use and "high class eating places"(Newcomb 1947:489). Majewski and O'Brien (1987:124) note that this grade may be decorated more elaborately when produced for domestic tableware use.

In order to avoid biasing the number of government "mess" wares by assuming all hotel wares to be government-issued, measurements of vessel wall thickness are taken (as an average of three caliper measurements). Those measuring less than 1/4" thick are considered domestic tablewares representing individual possessions and are included as noninstitutional, but definitively non-Japanese vessels. Hotel ware sherds in the Manzanar collection measure between 0.08 and 0.45" in thickness, with a mean thickness of .23 inches. One sherd measuring only 0.2" is classified as institutional due to its U.S. Quartermaster Corp base mark. The low thickness is attributed to the vessel portion represented; bases are notably thin, and Newcomb's (1947:489) thickness grades are based on vessel walls. Vessels recorded in the field as having U.S. Quartermaster (U.S.Q.M.C.) marks are assumed to be institutional-grade hotel ware (indicated with an asterisk in Table 2).

In addition to the thin (less than 1/4") medium-weight varieties of hotel ware produced for commercial sales, noninstitutional ceramic tablewares in the collection included hardpaste porcelain, semivitreous and nonvitreous whitebodied earthenware, and stoneware bodies.

Porcelain in this study refers to "true" or hardpaste porcelain, "a variety of dense, highly vitreous and translucent whitebodied wares" (Majewski 1996:797) containing a combination of kaolin, feldspar, and flint (McNamara 1948:477-478).

The majority of porcelains recovered from the Manzanar assemblage are Japanese hardpaste, but those of undetermined origin are represented as well.

Hardpaste porcelains have "a clear, thick, glassy glaze that is absent on the bottom of the basal [foot] ring" (Majewski and O'Brien 1987:127). While Continental porcelains are stark white, Asian porcelains are milkier to grayish in appearance (Majewski 1996:797). The Manzanar collection includes 520 porcelain tableware artifacts. Porcelain tablewares in the Manzanar collection include cups, bowls, plates, saucers, rice bowl lids, sauce dishes, tea pots, a sugar or mustard container, a toy cup, "dishes," and a decanter.

Some examples of nonvitreous and semivitreous whitebodied earthenwares also occur in the Manzanar collection. These ceramics are composed of earthenware, fired at lower temperatures than those of hotel wares. The result is softer, coarser bodies with greater decorative possibilities. The low glost firing temperature allows for a variety of decorative methods, which may be applied under the glaze, directly on the biscuit. This results in decoration that is very likely to persist in the archaeological record and remain recognizable (Majewski 1996:795). Nonvitreous and semivitreous Manzanar tablewares include cups, bowls, plates, saucers, sugar or mustard containers, a figurine, and several fragments of Old Spice cologne bottles.

A small number of stoneware artifacts were recovered from the landfill, including flower pots, jugs, jars, crocks, a cup, and a bottle. Stoneware is made of coarse white fine-grained clays (often ball clays), vitrified at high temperatures. Vessels may be glazed or not, although all Manzanar stoneware examples are glazed

on at least part of the vessel. Decoration on these vessels included varying colored slips, relief molding, and underglaze stamping. Stoneware vessels are generally kitchenwares rather than tablewares, used in food preparation and storage.

Both institutional and noninstitutional ceramics were found at Manzanar (Table 1). From this highly selective sample ( $n = 825$ , with nondiagnostic artifacts and those that were field recorded for marks only eliminated from the total), 31 (3.8%) sherds or vessels were identified as institutional (see Table 2) and 794 (96.2%) were identified as noninstitutional. Institutional ceramics included plates, cups, and bowls. Four pieces were decal marked with the words “United States Army Medical Department,” and were most likely used in the camp hospital. Thirty-one artifacts of hotel ware body were identified by thickness as noninstitutional.

Because of the method of field collection, the Manzanar collection does not represent a true sample of ceramics in the landfill. There is no way to know what proportion of the true assemblage is represented in these numbers. We can only know that some internees used private tablewares, most likely to consume meals in addition to or instead of those served in the mess halls. This practice has been noted in ethnographies from the period of occupation and is discussed above.

#### *Traditional Japanese Forms: Research Question 2*

The second research question addressed by this ceramic analysis is whether traditional Japanese foodways were practiced in the camp. The units of observation for this question are ceramics in traditional Japanese forms. The forms are described below. Diagnostically Japanese forms include rice and tea bowls, tiny and straight-

sided cups, sake cups and bottles, and "dishes" (Costello and Maniery 1987:32).

Saucers are diagnostically European-American. Plates may not vary in form between Japanese and non-Japanese varieties, and, as were any bowls, cups, serving dishes (tea pots, sugars or mustards, creamers, tureens, etc.) or indeterminate sherds that did not fit one of the diagnostic categories, were not considered in counts of traditional Japanese forms, even where decorative resemblance to other (diagnostic) pieces in the collection suggested they were part of a set of Japanese dishes.

Typical vessel forms used in the practice of traditional Japanese foodways have been established by Costello and Maniery (1987) in their study of assemblages excavated at a northern California "China town" representing occupations by both Chinese- and Japanese Americans from the 1860s through 1980. These classifications are considered highly reliable as a combination of Japanese Americans, Asian historians, and art historians were consulted in their identification. The following classifications used in this analysis are taken from Costello and Maniery (1987:25–29; 32–33).

Bowls are identified by their open form and steeply raised sides. Decorations on bowls tend to be concentrated on the vessel exterior. Decoration placement therefore can be useful in identifying sherd forms. Japanese bowls have a relatively small base with more steeply angled bodies than European American forms. Distinctions are made between Japanese rice and tea bowls based on rim diameters; Rice bowls are those with diameters between four and six inches, and tea bowls those with diameters between three and four inches.

Although Costello and Maniery's categories of rice and tea bowls are somewhat broad (and notably overlapping), these forms tended to fall into more discrete categories in this analysis. Fifty-seven complete or mostly complete (containing all diagnostic components — rim, body, and footring) rice bowls were identified, with a maximum rim diameter range of 4.0–5.5" and mean rim diameter of 4.5". Thirty-two of these bowls had rim diameters of 4.5". Only two diagnostically complete tea bowls are found in the Manzanar collection, with rim diameters measuring 3.5 and 4.0", respectively.

Cups share a similar form with bowls in Japanese tablewares, and it is often difficult to distinguish between the two vessel types. In general, cups are defined as having steeper sides and a rim diameter smaller than 3 inches. Japanese cups do not have handles. "Tiny cups" are defined as having a rim diameter of less than 3 inches. Straight-sided cups have the same rim diameters of 3–4", with characteristically vertical straight sides. Sake cups are small bowl forms with wide-flaring, flat sides and rim diameters of up to 4 inches.

Any open vessel form "not obviously a cup, bowl, or plate" (Costello and Maniery 1987:32), with unusually-shaped sides is defined simply as a dish. This is a category designated in the Walnut Grove, California, assemblage for the purpose of describing a Japanese or Chinese vessel. The individual Japanese examples of dishes in the Costello and Maniery (1987:72) catalog for Walnut Grove are six- or eight-sided dishes. Six diagnostically complete Japanese dishes are found in the Manzanar collection (at least 50% of the rim was required to estimate number of sides in the

completed vessel). These were oval or rectangular in shape, with four sides.

Of 843 artifacts analyzed, 154 are traditional Japanese forms, overwhelmingly represented by rice bowls (Table 3). The collection contains portions of rice and tea bowls, sake, straight-sided, and tiny cups, dishes, and rice bowl lids. The Manzanar collection may contain fragments of additional Japanese ceramics, but these were too small or incomplete to be identified as traditional Japanese forms.

This ceramic analysis has identified the presence of personal tablewares and vessels used in the practice of traditional Japanese foodways in the landfill assemblage of the Manzanar War Relocation Center. Further analyses of more representative samples of internment camp landfills are necessary to understand the pervasiveness of traditional Japanese food consumption in relocation centers. Oral histories conducted with former internees may provide more data about how frequently traditional meals were eaten, whether vessels were brought to the camp or bought at the Manzanar cooperative store, and whether internees perceived participating in traditional Japanese cultural activities as resistance.

## CONCLUSIONS: POTENTIALS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF RESISTANCE

In addition to enriching the history of the responses of Japanese Americans to forced internment during World War II, the analysis of the Manzanar landfill ceramics illustrates the necessity of a broader model of resistance in historical archaeology, one that includes cultural persistence, even within a brief time period, in defiance of cultural suppression. The Manzanar case has also shed light on a number of limitations of the current model.

The analysis of these ceramics has demonstrated the practical difficulties of evaluating the formation of even short-lived occupation/deposition periods. The method of excavation and collection, as well as the impact of looting, posed a not uncommon challenge to verifying the temporal limits of the collection. No ethnographic or documentary evidence was found that described how the landfill was used or over what period of time. The question of whether the Japanese ceramics actually represent a single episode in which contraband was seized could only be disproved by the fortuitously detailed dating codes of institutional ceramics (which are often as specific as the day of manufacture).

Majewski's (1996) analysis of the ceramics recovered from Manzanar during initial archaeological testing at the site offers an informative comparison to this study.

Her analysis included ceramics recovered from 13 central room blocks, four perimeter trash features, and the airport, as well as two landfills (Majewski 1996:806). Ceramics from the 1996 excavations resembled those found in this analysis, a combination of “Japanese porcelains made in traditional Japanese forms (and some definite and probable Japanese stonewares) and vitreous, American-made hotelwares” (Majewski 1996:806). That this pattern was found in association with internee room blocks, and not only in the anonymous center landfill, supports the argument presented here that internees practiced their own foodways in and around their quarters. Furthermore, the location of traditional Japanese ceramics near internee rooms rather than in the center landfill suggests that internees themselves may have chosen when and how to dispose of these valued cultural symbols. Although the analysis presented here is limited by the cumulative nature of a landfill context, Majewski’s (1996) work suggests that traditional Japanese tablewares can be associated with individuals (or at least internees or groups of internees exclusively), and further excavations near room blocks at the camp may provide further evidence for cultural persistence at Manzanar.

A unifying framework for the study of resistance and material culture must clearly articulate everyday resistance to the archaeological record. For such a model to be applied requires a data set that is “temporally diagnostic, spatially discrete, and functionally defined” (Wilson 1990). While the first two of these conditions will be determined by the type of material or spatial pattern particular to the site and research question being investigated, any artifact that is a true indicator of the endurance of a

subordinated culture in an environment of cultural hegemony is likely to be discretely defined functionally as expressing that culture alone. Rice and tea bowls, sake cups, and “dishes” are ideal units of observation for internee resistance because they are unique in form and were not used in European American foodways at the time investigated, while barbed wire and guard towers are unmistakable artifactual evidence of oppression.

One final potential of a more encompassing model of resistance is to satisfy the need for more nomothetic models in historical archaeology (Cleland 1988; Lees 1995; Mrozowski 1988). The studies described at the beginning of this paper demonstrate that it is indeed possible (contrary to Cleland 1988) for historical archaeologists to be involved in research of disparate sites and events, and yet produce behavioral models that apply beyond the individual plantation, household, or internment camp. The discourse of resistance is especially appropriate for this challenge as it functions across many contexts and time periods allowing historical archaeology to be historical, anthropological, and relevant.

An understanding of the everyday resistance of Manzanar internees would not have been possible without the use of ethnographic, documentary, and oral historical data. Ethnography and documents were critical to reconstructing the context of resistance as a conflict between the cultural nature of anti-Japanese prejudice and Japanese Americans’ expectations of their civil rights. Similarly, multiple lines of evidence for violent resistance provided the entrée for seeking additional, less easily observed forms of everyday resistance. Without this background, the meaning of the

Japanese ceramics and the nature of *what* internees were resisting would be highly speculative.

Ethnographic and oral history data about the significance of rice to Japanese Americans fulfilled the same role in this study as Ferguson's (1992) extensive search for syncretisms between South Carolina and West African foodways, religion, and ceramics. Clearly a rigorous background and linking arguments are essential to demonstrating that cultural practices were strategically perpetuated through time.

The use of multiple lines of evidence also allowed the eating of traditional Japanese foods by internees to be explicated from simple proclivity by demonstrating the availability of similar foods in the Manzanar mess halls and the ways in which WRA propaganda created an environment in which rice could become a food of freedom. This "proclivity argument" will always be germane to cases of cultural reproduction as resistance, and can only be dispatched with a detailed description of the context of resistance.

Although ethnography and documents have been critical to the interpretation of the Manzanar ceramics, it is only through archaeology that the specific material expressions of internee resistance could be proven. Deagan (1988:109) describes historical archaeology's potential for investigating illicit activities in the past. Everyday resistance, like opium use and smuggling, is unlikely to be described in standard documentary histories and may be hidden from ethnographers. Historical archaeology, however, "may have a special access to the resistance of day-to-day-

life” as “we have access to the sanctuaries of the weak, the barrios and isolated villages” (Paynter and McGuire 1991:13).

Ferguson (1991:28) poses another advantage that archaeology has in the investigation of resistance, that of unconscious resistance. He writes that in their daily lives, African American slaves “unconsciously distanced themselves from the kinds of rationalizations that would have helped make slavery work” (Ferguson 1991:28), with the unintentional result that their own ideologies could not be easily resolved with that of their oppressors. Ferguson seems to suggest that resistance is inevitable in such circumstances.

The system of Japanese internment suffered from a similar conflict of ideologies; Nisei internees could not resolve their own concept of themselves as citizens with that of European Americans, who conceived of culture and ethnicity as disempowering internees of their status as “Americans.” Similarly, Orser (1991:48) describes a “disparity between what slaves received versus what they had a right to expect [that] partly accounts for slave resistance.” Despite the Japanese “cultural predisposition” against resistance known as *shikata ga nai* (“it can’t be helped”), (Spickard 1996:101) internees did not believe that their culture precluded them from citizenship, so they resisted. Resistance that is unconscious, as Ferguson suggests, may not even be included in accounts by the actors themselves, but an independent cultural identity will leave certain material traces in the archaeological record.

As the historical archaeological examples at the beginning of this study indicate, the resistance model still offers some challenges to archaeologists. Historical

archaeology must move away from cultural change as a prerequisite to resistance. For relatively brief time periods such as that of internment, such a framework offers little guidance and obscures the importance of strategies of cultural persistence, as well as denies agency to those marginalized people who are immediately confronted with domination.

The Manzanar case illustrates the potential for a more inclusive model for interpreting unique instances of resistance. Change is of course easier to interpret in the archaeological record than continuity; however, as Hall (1992:386) has argued, "evidence for resistance should be far wider than artifacts that recall, iconographically, a condition prior to domination and, conversely, that possibilities for resistance are not surrendered once the subservient are forced to live within the material world of their overlords." The examination of cultural persistence in the face of pressure toward and perhaps even evidence of acculturation is challenging, but holds great potential for the interpretation of the material culture of social inequality on smaller time scales than have previously been addressed. The historical archaeology of gender empowerment, of ethnic minorities in enclave situations, of consumer choice, and of workers hold great potential for such a model.

A synchronic model of resistance to hegemony can be particularly informative in the interpretation of the material culture of domination and resistance in the twentieth century. While models of resistance based on colonialism, ethnogenesis, or creolization are dependent on growth periods spanning the hundreds of years that European Americans have occupied the "New World," the last one hundred years require a finer lens. The twentieth century has witnessed the empowerment in the United States of ethnic and sexual minorities, the unique economic subjugation of

children and young women in industrial settings across the world by multinational corporations, and numerous instances of ethnic cleansing throughout the modern world. A model of resistance based on cultural *persistence* rather than adaptation can inform on all of these chronologically discrete domination and resistance behaviors.

**APPENDIX A: CERAMIC ANALYSIS RESULTS**

Table 2: Institutional Tablewares†

Provenience (Field No.)	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	Remarks	Mark
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	plate ba	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.2		tp cbli "U.S.Q.M.C / Q.M.-C2V-- 47[7] / 3/14/40 / SHENANGO / NEW CASTLE PA]"
MANZ 1998A-1535	2	cup rim-bdy-flrg-ba	v, hw	int undec; ext tp red bands (2) at rim; tp red seal "UNITED STATES ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT" w/ medical symbol	0.25	flrg worn; brnd	dec green "TEPCO USA"
MANZ 1998A-1535	3	cup rims-bdy	v, hw	int undec; ext tp red thick and thin bands to .3" blw rim; 1 piece has medical seal tp red "UNITED STATES ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT"	0.25	coffee cup; brnd	
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	plate rim-mrly-flrg	v, hw	int dec flower band yellow/green; ext undec	0.25	rid lip; brnd	
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	2 NR	plate rim-mrly-flrg	v, hw	int tp pink cornucopia/scroll band at rim; ext undec	0.25	rolled lip	
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	indet ba	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.26		stamp cbli uglz "U.S.Q.M.C. / W431-QM-4627 / (O.I. 5205) / MAR. 17, 1941"
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	plate rim-mrly-flrg-ba (30%)	v, hw	int tp bands red thick and thin to .3" blw rim; ext undec (prob matches above)	0.26	rid lip; brnd; rstd	
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	cup flrg-ba	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.27 5		dec green Shenango Indian
MANZ 1998A-1535	3	cup rim-bdy-flrg-ba (30%)	v, hw	ext dec bands to .3" blw rim; "UNITED STATES [ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT]"	0.28	very brnd	
MANZ 1998A-1535	3	bowl bdy-flrg-ba	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.3		tp blue "SHENANGO / NEW CASTLE PA / "CHINA" / U.S.Q.M.C. / W-431 QM OV-BB / A-14-38"; prob manufactured 1/14/1938

Table 2: Institutional Tablewares—Continued

Provenience (Field No.)	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	Remarks	Mark
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	cup	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.3	hl	dec green "STERLING CHINA COMPANY"; 1940s-50s (Lehner 1994:440)
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	cup rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.3	hl; brnd	dec green "STERLING CHINA COMPANY"; 1940s-50s (Lehner 1994:440)
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	cup rim-bdy-ftg-ba (95%)	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.3	ftg worn; brnd	enam cblt "TEPCO USA CHINA"
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	owl rim	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.35	brnd; rstd	
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	owl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (15%)	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.35	brnd	tp cblt ". . 17 . . / [SHE]NANGO C [HINA] / NEW CASTLE [PA]"
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	owl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (20%)	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.35	brnd; rstd	tp cblt "U.S. [Q.M.C.] / W431- QM-195.. / 4-1-37"
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	owl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (90%)	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.35	rstd	stamp uglz blue "TEPCO / U.S.A. / CHINA"
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	cup bdy-ftg-ba	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.35	hl; ftg worn; brnd	dec green "STERLING CHINA COMPANY"; 1940s-50s (Lehner 1994:440)
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	cup rim-bdy-ftg-ba	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.35	brnd	dec green "STERLING CHINA COMPANY"; 1940s-50s (Lehner 1994:440)
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	cup rim-bdy-ftg-ba (60%)	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.35	w/ ha; brnd; rstd	enam cblt "TEPCO USA CHINA"
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	cup rim-bdy-ftg-ba (75%)	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.38	brnd	enam cblt "TEPCO USA CHINA"
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	cup ftg-ba	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.4	brnd; rstd	dec green "BUFFALO CHINA / MADE IN U.S.A. / C-12"
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	cup rim-bdy-ftg-ba (80%)	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.4	hl; ftg worn; rstd	dec green "STERLING CHINA COMPANY"; 1940s-50s (Lehner 1994:440)
MANZ 1998A-1535	1	owl rim-bdy-ftg-ba	v, hw	int/ext undec	0.45	very brnd	tp cblt "U.S.Q.M.C. / W431-QM- 4627 / (O.I. 5205) / MAR 17, 1941"
4905 Fea 1 Area A surface*	1	owl?	v,hw				"U.S.Q.M.C. / W431-QM-4027 / (O.I. 5205) / MAR. 17, 1941" blue

Table 2: Institutional Tablewares—Continued

Provenience (Field No.)	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	Remarks	Mark
4905 Fca l Area A surface*	1	saucer	v, hw				"... Q.M.C. / CIV 477 / 3/14/40 / SHENANGO CHINA / NEW CASTLE, PA", blue
4905 Fca l Area A surface*	1	saucer	v, hw				"...U.S.Q.[M.C.] / O.I. .../S"
4905 Fca l Area C, Surface	1	bowl ba	v, hw				"[U]S.Q.M.C. / 5322-P-34 / ...RCELIER"
4905 Fca l Area C, Surface*	1	bowl ba	v, hw				"[U.S.]Q.M.C. / ...-431-QM-4631 (O.I. 5268) / MAR 20, 1941", blue
4905 Fca l Area C, Surface*	1	bowl ba	v, hw				"U.S.Q.[M.C.] / W431-QM-4622 / (O.I. 5205) / MAR. 17, 1941", blue
4905 Fca l Area C, Surface*	1	bowl ba	v, hw				"U.S.Q.[M.C.] / SHENA[NGO] / NEW CAS[TLE, PA.]", blue

\*Adapted from Majewski 1996:Table D.1.

Table 3: Traditional Japanese Tablewares†

Provenance	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	RD	Remarks	Mark	Form
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	bowl rim	nv	ext dec yellow/pink/green roses w/ yellow scroll; int undec	0.15	3.5	brnd; rstd		rb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	bowl rim	nv	ext enam cblt tree or flower	0.15	5	brnd		rb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	cup rim-bdy-ftrg-ba (45%)	nv	int undec; ext enam cherry/plum tree w/ red berries on 1 side	0.15	2.5	glzd; crzd; outcurving rim		sake
MANZ 1998A-1541 AREA B - SURFACE	1	cup rim-bdy	nv	int slip glz white; ext rm conc bands; slip glz white; enam blue to .6" blw band	0.16	3.5	crzd		ss
MANZ 1998A-1543 AREA A - RAKING	1	cup rim-bdy	nv	int/ext cobalt slip		3.5	scratched; matches above		ss
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	cup rim-bdy-ftrg	nv	int undec; ext rm conc bands; blue enam patches	0.17	3	ftrg worn; prob 2 vessels		ss
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	cup rim-bdy-ftrg-ba (40%)	nv	int/ext buff glz; ext rm conc bands w/ enam brown over	0.12	3	unglzd or worn	stamp uglz black "JAPAN"	ss
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim	nv	ext tp green dshd line w/ abstract brids, trees; int undec	0.16	3.5	little vert curvature; rstd		tb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	decanter rim-neck-bdy-ftrg	p	ext dec tree/ocean lndscpe w/ cranes w/ enam blue/green/brown fill in; dec blue band ext ftrg; int unglz/undec	0.13	~7	1 liter; lip diam 1.2"; smooth sides compared to Costello and Maniery (1988:78-79)		decanter
MANZ 1998A-1544 AREA C - SURFACE	1	plate/dish rim-bdy-ftrg-ba (40%)	p	int enam cblt shoreline w/ bridge, waves; gilt accents; ext enam cblts band int ftrg	0.14	5	ftrg ground; prob J (form); rstd		dish
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl	p	int undec; ext dec pine, blue bands int (3)/ext (1) ftrg	0.15	4.5	bvld; glz brnd off; rstd		rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3(3)	1	bowl	p	int undec; ext enam cblt band at rim, 1 int/3 ext ftrg; int undec	0.1	4.5	bvld	dec red "MADE / IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl bdy	p	int undec; ext airspry cblt stencil pine/branches	0.21				rb

Table 3: Traditional Japanese Tablewares—Continued

Provenance	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	RD	Remarks	Mark	Form
MANZ 1998A-1544 AREA C - SURFACE	1	bowl bdy-ftg	p	int undec; ext hp blue bands ext (3)/int (1) ftg; dec red band on bdy; enam blue waves, brown sand, cbt above	0.22		ftg bvid; ext ba unglz		rb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl bdy-ftg	p	int undec; ext tp cbt lndscpe/dshd lines, 2 bands ext ftg/l int	0.12		ftg ground		rb
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	bowl bdy-ftg-ba	p	int undec; ext cbt airpsry stencil lndscpe; enam 2 bands ext ftg; design on 1 side	0.1		bvid; rstd		rb
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	bowl bdy-ftg-ba	p	ext tp cbt plum tree branches/leaves w/ hp cbt fill in; red enam berries w/ gilt accents	0.11		bvid; sloppy tp; brnd		rb
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	4 NR	bowl bdy-ftg-ba	p	ext low rm pine trees w/ black/grey enam fill in; dec red pine; gilt accents; enam cbt 3 bands ext/l int ftg	0.12	4.5	bvid	dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	bowl bdy-ftg-ba	p	ext tp blue conc bands, 2 bands ext ftg/l int	0.15		bvid; rstd	dec red "[MA]DE IN / JAP[AN]"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	bowl bdy-ftg-ba	p	int undec; ext opaque green glz	0.14		bvid; rstd; int glz brnd off		rb
MANZ 1998A-1541 AREA B - SURFACE	1	bowl bdy-ftg-ba	p	int undec; ext hp uglz cbt floral w/ acrog real ground	0.15		bvid	tp blue "MADE IN JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl bdy-ftg-ba	p	int undec/ ext dec grey abstract stems/leaves, bround band ext ftg	0.15		ftg bvid; brnd	dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	bowl ftg-ba	p	ext dec cbt angular lines	0.16		bvid; rstd	dec red "MADE / IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	bowl ftg-ba	p	int undec; ext tp blue lines, 3 bands ext ftg	0.14		bvid; rstd	enam cbt "MADE IN JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1543 AREA A - RAKING	1	bowl ftg-ba	p	int dec oglz orange-green floral in center and red band at bdy; ext undec	0.12		ftg = double bead uglz	dec red "[MAD]E IN [JAPAN]" (typical of Japanese marks)	rb

Table 3: Traditional Japanese Tablewares—Continued

Provenience	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	RD	Remarks	Mark	Form
MANZ 1998A-1544 AREA C - SURFACE	1	bowl frg-ba-bdy	p	int undec; ext hp blue horiz bands on bdy, 2 ext frg	0.15		frg bvld; rstd	dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1544 AREA C - SURFACE	1	bowl frg-ba-bdy	p	int undec; ext airspry/stencil cbt/teal tree; bamboo	0.16		frg bvld	enam cbt "MADE IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim	p	ext tp cbt/blue dshd lines and flowers, band at rim; int undec	0.1	4.5	rstd		rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim	p	int undec; ext airspry cbt moutain lndscpe	0.1	4.5			rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim	p	int tp cbt 2 bands at rim; ext tp cbt dshd line, coins, cranes; enam red accents	0.1	4.5			rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim	p	ext airspry cbt leaves w/ gilt accents; int undec	0.11	4.5			rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim	p	ext hp cbt leaves w/ enam dots; int undec	0.14	4			rb
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	bowl rim	p	ext blue lustre band at rim; orange lustre blw; dec black band dividing; int lustre	0.06	4			rb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	bowl rim	p	ext dec grey leaves; int undec	0.1	~4.5			rb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	bowl rim	p	ext tp cbt abstract floral, dshd lines; int undec	0.12	4.5			rb
MANZ 1998A-1542 AREA A - SURFACE	1	bowl rim	p	ext tp blue band of lines at rim; int undec	0.13	4.5	brnd		rb
MANZ 1998A-1543 AREA A - RAKING	1	bowl rim	p	int undec; ext dec black pine branches	0.15	4			rb
MANZ 1998A-1544 AREA C - SURFACE	1	bowl rim	p	int undec; ext tp blue bands (10) at rim; hp cbt crane w/ enam red and gilt accents	0.1	4.5	rstd		rb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl rim	p	int tp cbt vert lines/dots and trangle band at rim to 1.3" blw; dec red flowers w/ gilt accents ext tp cbt flowers/scrolls	0.15	4	irreg rim		rb

Table 3: Traditional Japanese Tablewares—Continued

Provenience	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	RD	Remarks	Mark	Form
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy	p	int tp blue square spiral diaper band at rim w/ enam band on rim; ext tp cbt dshd line w/ plum tree center	0.1	5			rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy	p	ext rm conc bands; int red enam lobster w/ black enam eyes	0.11	4.5			rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	2 NR	bowl rim-bdy	p	ext dec pink/red leaf/berries (plum tree?); int undec	0.11	4.5			rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy	p	int/ext undec	0.12	4.5			rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy	p	ext dec pink/green/black/red/brown abstract flowers and band ext frg; int undec	0.13	4.5	brnd; rstd	dec red "[MA]DE IN / [JAP]AN	rb
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy	p	ext dec black mountain lndscpe w/ red sun	0.2	4.5			rb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	bowl rim-bdy	p	int dec blue/green scroll band at rim; ext dec floral garland; buff glz to frg	0.1	3.5	outcurving rim		rb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	bowl rim-bdy	p	int undec; ext airspry cbt/brown stencil mountain lndscpe	0.11	4.5			rb
MANZ 1998A-1541 AREA B - SURFACE	1	bowl rim-bdy	p	ext airspry cbt ground w/ enam cbt fill in and dec red flower; int undec	0.15	~4.5	rstd		rb
MANZ 1998A-1543 AREA A - RAKING	2(RE)	bowl rim-bdy	p	int undec; ext enam cbt pine branches/insect w/ light blue fill-in	0.1	4			rb
MANZ 1998A-1543 AREA A - RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy	p	int undec; ext hp cbt branches, light blue band at rim; enam red berries, gilt accents	0.15	4			rb
MANZ 1998A-1543 AREA A - RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy	p	int hp uglz cbt 2 bands at rim, 1 at base; ext cbt hp uglz band at rim; abstract leaves, flowers	0.2	d=4.5			rb

Table 3: Traditional Japanese Tablewares—Continued

Prevalence	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	RD	Remarks	Mark	Form
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy	p	int undec; ext enam cblt bamboo	0.16	4.5	rstld		rb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy	p	int enam cblt double bands at rim, single at base int; ext enam cblt branch	0.2	5			rb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy	p	int/ext buff glz; airspry blue band at rim; ext enam blue line	0.21	6	brnd		rb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftrg	p	ext buff glz; hp cblt leaves/stem w/ green/pink/red enam fill in; gilt accents; int undec	0.13	4.5	bvld		rb
MANZ 1998A-1543 AREA A - RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftrg	p	int undec; matches above + blue band	0.1	4.5	ftrg bvld		rb
MANZ 1998A-1543 AREA A - RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftrg	p	int undec; ext cblt-brown airspry/stencil bird; enam accents/feathers; gilt accents and dhand ext ftrg	0.12	d=4.5	ftrg bvld; rusted		rb
MANZ 1998A-1543 AREA A - RAKING	2	bowl rim-bdy-ftrg	p	int hp uglz cblt 2 bands at rim; 2 center ba; ext hp uglz cblt pine branches/flowers	0.18	d=4.5	ftrg uglz		rb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	2 NR	bowl rim-bdy-ftrg	p	int undec; ext airspry cblt stencil floral w/ orange enam and dec details; gilt details; gilt band ext ftrg	0.14	4	ftrg bvld		rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftrg-ba	p	int tp cblt bands (2) blw rim and ext ftrg; hp characters (kanji?) cblt on ba; ext tp cblt band blw rim; double band ext ftrg; hp cblt egg plants and brown mts	0.2	4.5	ftrg ground; glz pitted	enam cblt "MADE / IN * JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1541 AREA B - SURFACE	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftrg-ba	p	int undec; ext rim ocnc bands every 6.5 inches; dec black cranes/lnscape w/ enam red sun and accents; gilt details	0.15	4.5	bvld	dec red "MADE IN JAPAN"	rb

Table 3: Traditional Japanese Tablewares—Continued

Provenience	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	RD	Remarks	Mark	Form
MANZ 1998A-1543 AREA A - RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (25%)	p	int undec; ext enam black/yellow leaves, pink berry; gilt band ext ftg	0.14	4.5	ftg bvlid	dec red box w/ characters; matches marked J pieces in collection	rb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (25%)	p	int hp blue band (double) at rim, int ba; ext hp blue band at rim; airspry cbt stencil bird	0.2	4.5	ftg ground		rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	2	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (30%)	p	ext tp cbt dshd line floral/bands at rim, 2 bands ext ftg; int undec	0.13	~4.5	ftg bvlid	no mark	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (30%)	p	ext dec blue/yellow/red abstract floral/leaf pattern w/ enam yellow/red accents; dec red band ext ftg; int undec	0.14	4.5	bvlid	dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (30%)	p	int enam cbt bands at rim, circle and kanjii on base; ext enam airspry cbt fruit w/ enam band at rim, 2 ext ftg	0.2	~4.5	ftg unglzd	enam cbt "MADE / IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (40%)	p	ext enam cbt crossing lines/flowers/crane and hands   int/3 ext ftg; dec accents on flowers; int undec	0.1	4.5	bvlid	dec cbt "MADE / IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (40%)	p	ext hp cbt bands   int/3 ext ftg, leaves; enam red berries; gilt accents; int undec	0.1	~4.5	bvlid	dec red "MADE IN JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (40%)	p	ext enam blue band of lines, indet pendant on 1 side; dec red flowers	0.13	4.5	bvlid; hrnd	dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	ext dec band on rim, floral pattern worn off; int undec	0.08	4.5	ftg ground; rstd; glz worn	dec black "MADE IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	int undec; ext tp blue/cbt bands at rim, 1 int/6 ext ftg; enam cbt fillin flowers	0.1	4.5	bvlid; rstd	dec red flower outline w/ "MADE IN JAPAN"	rb

Table 3: Traditional Japanese Tablewares—Continued

Prevalence	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	RD	Remarks	Mark	Form
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	int hp square spiral diaper at rim; ext hp arch motif ext ftg, branch/leaf; enam red grapes; gilt accents	0.1	4.5	ftg unglz; brnd		rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	int/ext celadon glz	0.15	5	ftg ground; outcurving rim	dec red "MADE / IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	int dec black indet pattern; ext rm conc bands; dec red/black floral one side	0.18	4.5	bvld		rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	ext airspry blue/green/red delicate floral w/ dragonfly; dec 3 bands ext ftg, accents	0.2	4.5	ftg ground; rstd	dec black "MADE I[N] / JAP[AN]"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	ext airspry cblt stencil mountain w/ leaves/branches; enam red berries; gilt accents; int undec	0.13	-4	rstd	dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	ext dec black band ext ftg, 2 center, red/yellow/black large flowers/leaves w/ enam green/yellow/white fill in; red dec diamond design between flowers at rim	0.16	4	bvld; rstd; brnd		rb
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	int enam cblt stencil pine w/ kanjii center int; teal crossed lines sides; brownband rim; ext enam teal vert crossed lines	0.19	5	ftg unglzd		rb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	int undec; ext airspry cblt/brown stencil mountain/clouds/cranes w/ dec orange birds and orange enam fill in on one panel	0.1	4	ftg bvld	dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	int undec; ext dec red grapes one side, band ext ftg	0.12	4.5	bvld; rstd	dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN"	rb

Table 3: Traditional Japanese Tablewares—Continued

Provenience	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	RD	Remarks	Mark	Form
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	int dec red indet design, ext ftg conc bands; dec red indet design and squiggles; dec very worn off	0.15	4.5	bvld; brnd	dec black "MADE IN JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	int enam cbt double bands at rim, single at base int; character (Kanji?) int ba; ext airspray/stencil cbt clouds, brown mountains; enam band cbt at rim	0.2	4.5	ftg bvld	stamp uglz blue "MA[DE] / IN / JAPA[N]"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	2	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (60%)	p	ext hp blue band of lines blw rim, pendant/flower 1 side; dec red flowers; int undec	0.13	4.5	bvld; brnd; mtches above	dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (60%)	p	int undec; ext hp blue squiggles/leaves w/ dark splotches; very low rm conc bands	0.1	4	bvld	enam blue "MADE IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (65%)	p	ext hp cbt leaf 1 side w/ gilt accent veins; int undec	0.15	4.5	bvld	dec red "MADE IN * / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (75%)	p	ext airspray stencil cbt ocean/sky, brown mountain, green tree 1 side; int undec	0.15	4.5	bvld	dec red "MADE IN * / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (75%)	p	int/ext sam as above	0.19	4.5	ftg bvld	stamp uglz blue "MADE / IN / JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (90%)	p	ext thk hp cbt leaves/branches w/ enam fill in cbt/red over some leaves; hp blue band int ftg; ext undec	0.1	4.5	bvld; glz pitted	dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN" over impressed cartouche	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (90%)	p	ext airspray stencil blue branches w/ green pine on 1 side; int undec	0.15	4.5	bvld	dec green "MADE IN JAPAN"	rb

Table 3: Traditional Japanese Tablewares—Continued

Provenience	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	RD	Remarks	Mark	Form
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (90%)	p	int tp cbt diaper design band at rim w/ enam brown band at rim, ext tp cbt lndscpe and dshd line w. crossed line band at rim, 3 bands ext/1 int ftg	0.09	4.5	ftg bvld	tp/hp uglz cbt characters (6)	rb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (90%)	p	int undec; ext tp cbt band of crossed lincs around center, band at rim, 2 ext ftg; hp thk cbt stenciled flowers (3) in 3 places; dec red flower above w/ enam yellow accents	0.1	4.5	ftg bvld	dec black "MADE IN JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl/dish rim-bdy-ftg-ba	p	int hp cbt leaf/berries; dec leaf red/green w/ enam orange fill in; ext undec	0.15	6	ftg unglzd	dec orange "MADE IN JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl/plate ba	p	int airspry/stencil teal/blue moutain lndscpe; ext undec	0.12		ftg bvld; rstd	dec red "MADE IN * JAPAN"	rb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	lid	p	int undec; ext tp cbt/blue flowers/stems	0.16	5	base ring glzd		rb lid
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	lid rim-bdy-ba (40%)	p	int undec; ext dec grey/orange w/ enam yellow accents, floral abstract	0.09	2.5	hole in top; ext sides unglz; rstd		rb lid
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	rice bowl lid rim-bdy	p	int undec; ext hp green grass, blue clouds/flowers; enam red fill in; gilt accents	0.2	5	rstd		rb lid
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	2	bowl rim-bdy	p	ext yellow slip; dec red/blue/black/orange floral and red hatching at rim; enam fill in yellow/blue; int undec	0.15	4	brnd		rb/th
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	cup rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	ext dec leaves w/ enam blue/green/black fill in; gilt band at rim w/ light green enam rim to gilt; int undec	0.08	2.5	very translucent; scalloped rim; flaring rim; ftg unglz; very granular grey paste; bdy bvld toward ftg		sake
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	2	cup rim-bdy-ftg-ba (70%)	p	int/ext celadon glz; ext enam/silver gilt stylized flowers 4 panels	0.1	3	ftg ground; rstd; glz worn off; outcurving rim	no mark	sake

Table 3: Traditional Japanese Tablewares—Continued

Provenience	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	RD	Remarks	Mark	Form
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	cup rim-bdy-ftg-ba (90%)	p	int hp cblt dshd line band at rim, 3 bands int ba, flower center ba int; ext dshd line band at rim, band center, triangles ext ftg; int/ext cut out areas in bdy filled w/ glz; small ovals form flowers/stars	0.14	3	bvld; outcurving rim; no handle	hp cblt characters	sake
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	plate rim-mrly-ftg-ba (90%)	p	int cblt bamboo, band at rim; rm flower w/ hp fill in; enam orange/red flowers; ext enam cblt band int ftg	0.15	4	sauce plate; ftg unglzd	dec red "MADE IN JAPAN"	dish
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	cup	p	ext dec grape/vine red/black 2 sides; int undec	0.1	2.5	bvld; rstd	dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN"	ss
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	cup	p	ext dec floral black w/ enam red details; dec red band ext ftg; int undec	0.15	2		enam red "KB" in triangle, "MADE IN JAPAN / HAND PAINTED"	ss
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	cup	p	ext enam cblt flowers w/ enam red pine, white petals on 2 sides	0.1	3		dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN"	ss
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	cup	p	ext rm vert bands to 1.35" blw rim; horiz band em; enam brown/green on rim; tp lndscpe cblt w/ hp cblt fill in; enam details brown; int undec	0.15	2.5	bvld;	enam orange "MADE IN JAPAN"	ss
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	cup	p	ext dec green/red/black floral line 1 side, band ext ftg; int undec	0.15	2.5	bvld	dec red "KS" in triangle; "MADE IN JAPAN", "HAND PAINTED"	ss
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	cup bdy	p	ext airspry stencil leaf cblt; int undec	0.21				ss
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	2	cup bdy	p	int undec; ext tp black dshd line	0.09				ss
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	cup bdy-ftg	p	int undec; ext hp cblt branch/flowers	0.16		bvld; brnd		ss
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	cup bdy-ftg	p	int/ext undec	0.14		double bead		ss
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	cup bdy-ftg-ba	p	int undec; ext dec grey leaf, band ext ftg			double bead unglzd	dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN"	ss

Table 3: Traditional Japanese Tablewares—Continued

Provenience	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	RD	Remarks	Mark	Form
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	cup ftg-ba	p	ext dec black/turquoise bamboo/leaves; rim low band at ftg; int undec	0.13		ground	enam turquoise "362", dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN" over	ss
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	cup rim	p	ext dec band on rim brown, wreaths brown/black and diamond diaper ground orange; int undec	0.1	3.5			ss
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	cup rim	p	ext enam green leaves; int undec	0.11	2	brnd		ss
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	cup rim-bdy	p	ext dec orange/green floral abstract; int undec	0.15	2.5			ss
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	cup rim-bdy	p	ext dec purple/blue chrysanthemum; int undec	0.18	2.5			ss
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	cup rim-bdy	p	ext dec orange/grey/brown/black abstract flowers/stems; enam red berries	0.2	3	rstd		ss
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	cup rim-bdy	p	int undec; ext dec blue angular flowers	0.15	2.5	rstd		ss
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	cup rim-bdy	p	ext dec bamboo/flowers red/grey	0.16	2.5			ss
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	cup rim-bdy	p	int undec; ext dec red bands on rim; grey vert lines forming arches at rim, green stems/leaves, enam blue/yellow flowers; maybe lustre at bottom	0.1	3.5			ss
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	cup rim-bdy	p	int undec; ext hp thk green/brown/pink flowers (raises glz)	0.16	2.5			ss
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	cup rim-bdy	p	int undec; ext dec black/red/yellow overlapping floral/thistles; black band at rim	0.2	2.5			ss
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	cup rim-bdy-ba	p	int undec; ext dec black/brown crane/pine w/ enam green/brown fill in; dec black band at base	0.17	2.5			ss
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	cup rim-bdy-ftg-ba	p	ext dec blue bands on rim and ext ftg; dec crane light blue	0.2	2.5	bvld; rstd	impressed kanji and enam blue "MADE IN JAPAN"	ss

Table 3: Traditional Japanese Tablewares—Continued

Prevalence	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	RD	Remarks	Mark	Form
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	cup rim-bdy-ftg-ba (80%)	p	ext tp cbtl dshd line circle, pine, bands around ftg and 1.25" blw rim; hp pink details	0.2	2.5	ftg ground	enam black "MADE IN JAPAN" in circle	ss
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	bowl bdy-ftg-ba	p	ext cbtl hp vert panels crossed lines/dots; thk swirls, bottom sides overlapping arches, 2 bands ext ftg	0.16		ftg ground; rstd		tb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl bdy-ftg-ba	p	int undec; ext hp cbtl bamboo/stems, thk white leaf outlines w/ gilt accents, band ext ftg; dec red flowers; hp cbtl 3 bands ext ftg/1 int	0.15		ftg bvld	dec red "MADE IN JAPAN"	tb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl bdy-ftg-ba	p	int undec; ext tp cbtl leaves, double band at center, 3 ext ftg, 1 int	0.16		ftg bvld	dec red "MADE IN [JAP]AN"	tb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl ftg-ba	p	int undec; ext airspry cbtl ground, brown branches; gilt accents (plum tree)?	0.15		ftg bvld	dec red "MADE IN / JAPAN"	tb
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	bowl rim	p	ext dec blue at rim; int undec	0.04	3.5	brnd		tb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy	p	ext dec red berries and purple leaves	0.19	3			tb
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl rim-bdy-ba	p	int undec; ext hp blue bands ext ftg/1 int; hp cbtl leaf w/ gilt accents	0.15		ftg bvld; rstd		tb
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (40%)	p	int/ext celadon glz; ext enam asian characters cbtl 2 panels	0.2	3.5	ftg ground		tb
MANZ 1998A-1544 AREA C - SURFACE	1	bowl rim-bdy-ftg-ba (50%)	p	int dec orange hall/flower, remains of flower; ext undec	0.08	2.5	ftg bvld; rstd		tb
MANZ 1998A-1542 AREA A - SURFACE	1	cup/bowl rim-bdy	p	ext dec blue/red chrysanthemums/branch; gold dec bands at rim, center	0.2	3.5			tb
MANZ 1998A-1541 AREA B - SURFACE	1	cup rim-bdy-ftg	sv	int undec; ext dec floral pink/green/blue/red	0.12	2.5	J.		SS

Table 3: Traditional Japanese Tablewares—Continued

Provenience	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	RD	Remarks	Mark	Form
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	bowl lid	p	int/ext undec	0.1		unglz		rb lid
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	bowl lid (50%)	p	int undec; ext tp cbll dshd line/floral	0.12	2.5	hole in top; ext sides unglz; rstd		rb lid
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	2 NR	bowl lid rims	p	ext tp cbll vert lines, horiz squiggle/dots at rim; int undec	0.1	4			rb lid
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	lid	p	ext dec blue/pink/green lily	0.11	3			rb lid
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	1	lid	p	int undec; ext enam flowers, tree or building; very abstract w/ thk enam accents blue/pink/yellow	0.1	2.5	paste is dark celadon green; w/ handle rm; base ring unglz	enam red characters (kanjii?)	rb lid
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4	2	dish	p	int hp cbll large flowers w/ hp fill in and grounds on sides, flower/pendants in center int ba; ext hp cbll crossed lines in 4 places; greyish glz	0.11		oval/diamond w/ steep sides (6.75x4.63"); outcurving rim; frg unglz; prob J.		dish
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	dish ba	p	int enam cbll band at ba; ext undec	0.26				dish
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	dish bdy-ftg	p	int thk hp w/ flower w/ blue fill in; ext hp band int frg cbll	0.14		frg broken		dish
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	dish frg-ba	p	int tp grey pine branches, bands at sides; ext tp scrolls	0.15		bvld; bmd	tp grey character (kanjii?)	dish
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	2 NR	dish rim	p	int tp cbll lndscpe	0.1	5.5			dish
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	dish rim	p	int enam blue band at rim	0.12	4	irreg rim		dish
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	dish rim	p	int tp blue scrolls	0.11	6			dish

Table 3: Traditional Japanese Tablewares—Continued

Provenience	#	Vessel Form	Body	Decoration	T	RD	Remarks	Mark	Form
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	dish rim	p	int hp cblt band at rim; indet deisgn; ext undec	0.16	~8			dish
MANZ 1998A-1537 4905 AREA B RAKING	1	dish rim-bdy-ftrg	p	int tp boat cblt ba, spirals on rim	0.17	rect	ftrg unglzd; brnd; grey; prob J.		dish
MANZ 1998A-1539 T-4 (2)	1	dish rim-bdy-ftrg	p	int dec black/brown branches/leaves w/ dshd line design; enam green fill in; dec blue band at rim	0.18	5.5	ftrg unglz		dish
MANZ 1998A-1543 AREA A - RAKING	1	dish rim-bdy-ftrg	p	int tp uglz cobalt mountain landscape q/ hp uglz cblt fill-in, hp uglz thk band 1.3" green w/ tp uglz floral/scroll design; ext same band; hp uglz cblt thin bands (3) ext ftrg	0.2	d=12	ftrg grmd; vertical sides; rusted		dish
MANZ 1998A-1545 AREA C - RAKING	1	dish rim-bdy-ftrg-ba (25%)	p	int dec black tree; ext dec black band int/ext ftrg	0.1	4.5	ftrg ground		dish
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	dish rim-bdy-ftrg-ba (80%)	p	int undec; ext enam cblt scroll/pine needle	0.08	5	ftrg ground; rstd		dish
MANZ 1998A-1535 T3	1	dish rim-bdy-ftrg-ba	p	int enam leaf/vine/bird pattern on sides, dragon central base cblt; ext enam vine on one end cblt	0.14	indet	oval; ftrg bvld	enam cblt kanjii	dish

<sup>1</sup>Adapted from Majewski 1996:Table D.1.

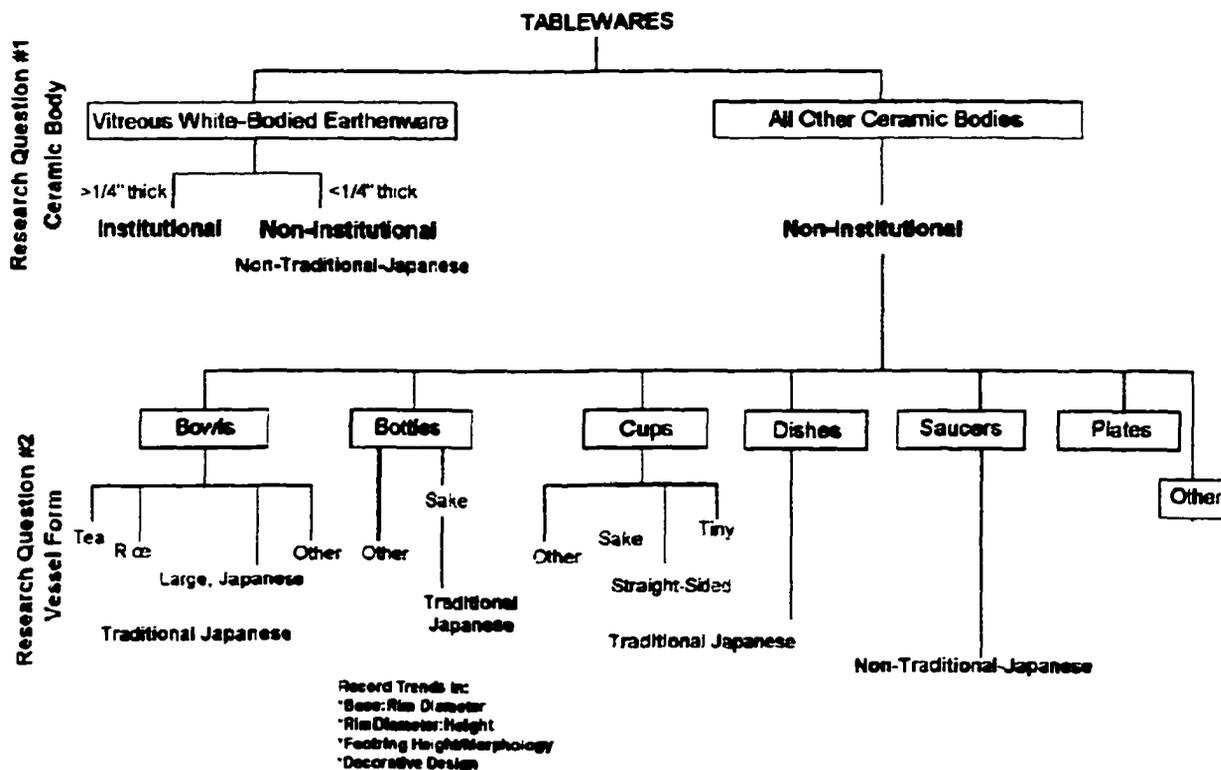
Table 4: Key to Abbreviations

acrog	acrography	hw	hotelware
airspry	airspray	indet	indeterminate
ba	base	int	interior
bd	base diameter	irreg	irregular
bdy	body	J	Japanese
bi	bisque	lndscp	landscape
blw	below	lt	light
bnd(s)	band(s)	misc	miscellaneous
brk	break	mrlly	marly
brnd	burned	NR	not refit
bvld	bevelled	nv	nonvitreous
ca.	circa	p	porcelain
cblt	cobalt	prob	probably
conc	concentric	rb	rice bowl
crzd	crazed	rd	rim diameter
d	diameter	RE	refit
dec	decal (overglaze)	rid lip	rolled lip
dk	dark	rm	relief molded
dshd line	dashed line	rstd	rusted
emb	embossed	sg	salt glaze
enam	enamel (overglaze)	ss	straight sided cup
ext	exterior	sv	semivitreous
ft	foot	sw	stoneware
ftg	footring	t	thickness
gl	glass	tb	tea bowl
glz	glaze	thck	thick
ha	handle	tp	transfer print (underglaze)
h/l	handless	undec	undecorated
horiz	horizontal	vert	vertical
hp	handpainted (underglaze)	*	recorded from field notes

**APPENDIX B: FIGURES**



Figure 2: The hierarchical classification scheme used in the ceramic analysis.



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