

The High Lung Laundry in Santa Barbara

Archaeological, Historical, and Architectural Perspectives

Roberta S. Greenwood

When the Santa Barbara Foundation undertook seismic reinforcement at the Hill-Carrillo Adobe in 1992, a deposit of historical materials was encountered below one of the offices. This part of downtown Santa Barbara was once on the periphery of Chinatown. The removal of a concrete slab exposed a shaft with an average diameter of 5.9 feet, filled with Chinese artifacts, and the potential importance of the discovery was recognized. The fill was removed down to 16 feet, with as many as nineteen oversize cartons of cultural material recovered from each one foot of digging. In 1995 the Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation transferred eighty-two barrels of cultural material to the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California for analysis and curation in Los Angeles. The rock-lined feature was identified as a well and tentatively correlated to the structure depicted on the 1892 Sanborn map, about 36 feet in back of the adobe.

HISTORICAL SETTING

Many Chinese settled in Santa Barbara in the 1860s and 1870s, some having completed work on railroad or turnpike projects and others having given up on gold rush mining. The settlement was centered on Canon Perdido Street from State Street to Anacapa Street (Figure 1). As elsewhere, the Chinese were at first welcomed as workers in agriculture and domestic service, and many lived in the old adobes that surrounded the historic Presidio. Population figures are always open to question, but various accounts estimate that there were between 117 and 300 persons in the settlement in 1880. For the occupations listed in that year, forty-three were laundrymen, twenty-six were cooks or domestics, eleven were laborers, seven were merchants, and there was one herbal doctor. Living conditions were crowded, with groups of unrelated men sharing the eighteen "dwellings" (really addresses, and not separate structures), as well as many sublets and split living spaces, and with many individuals taking in boarders.¹ As the population increased, the newcomers spread beyond the original settlement farther east on Canon Perdido and even onto East Carrillo Street, one block to the north.

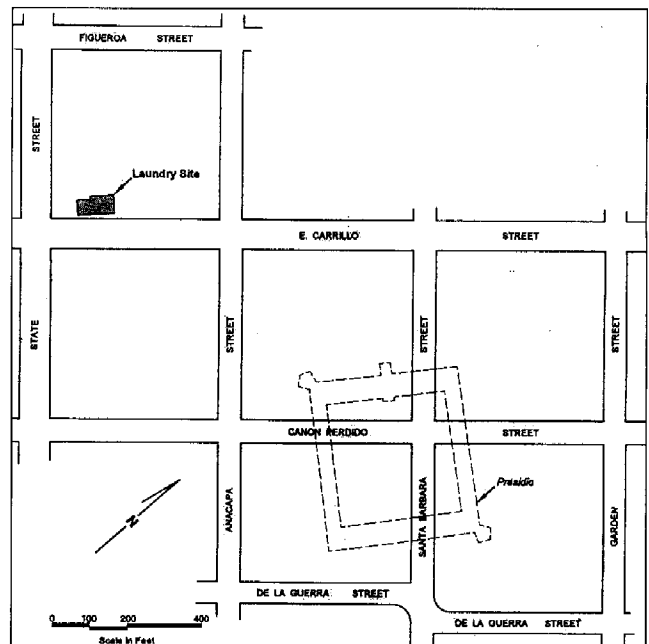


Figure 1. Historic Center of Santa Barbara

The Hill-Carrillo Adobe was designated as California Historical Landmark No. 721 in 1960 and is a City of Santa Barbara Landmark within the El Pueblo Viejo Historic District. The archaeological site is designated as CA-SBA-2725H. The adobe was not aligned parallel to the street, nor to the compass points, but its orientation reflected the older traffic pattern in the city as the increasing population outgrew the boundaries of the Presidio.

The adobe was built about 1825 by Daniel Hill of Massachusetts for his bride, Rafaela Luisa Ortega y Olivera, the granddaughter of José Francisco Ortega, founder and first comandante of the Royal Presidio of Santa Barbara. It was a traditional house of its period and was said to be the first adobe in Santa Barbara to have a wooden floor rather than the usual tamped earth or clay. The second part of its historic name goes back to 1860, when Guillermo and Joaquin Carrillo bought the adobe from Captain John Wilson and his wife, the former Ramona Pacheco.²

Some details remain unclear about when the laundry first moved to the adobe. There were at least two Chinese laundries in Santa Barbara by 1886, one operated by Sing Lee and the other unidentified; neither was listed in the city directory. Such underrepresentation is not unusual even though 49 percent of the Chinese men who were enumerated in the 1880 census gave their occupations as laundry men. Of the nine known laundries in the city by 1893, six were operated by Chinese, including those of Sing Lee and Hop Sing.³ If this is not an error, the city directory lists the Wah Hing Chung Laundry at 11 West [sic] Carrillo Street in 1897 and a High Lung Laundry at the corner of Canon Perdido and Chapala. The latter is also named Hung Lung Laundry in various sources.

Gin Hoo, who became the sole owner of the High Lung Laundry in 1905 after his brother, Gin Fong left the business, came to America in about 1881. He was born in Sing Chung village in the Sun Ning district of China in 1866. One or both brothers began the Hung Lung Laundry on the corner of Chapala Street and Canon Perdido in 1883. The immigration files of 1896 and 1907 state that the laundry moved to 13 Carrillo Street in 1885—which conflicts with both the city directories and the Sanborn maps. In 1891 Gin Hoo was reported to be farming in Ventura, where he claimed a partnership owning leaseholdings of three hundred acres, raising lima beans, hay, and barley. He did not claim interest in a laundry, although a witness to his immigration interview in 1896 stated that Gin Hoo was “involved” in a Santa Barbara laundry.

Some immigration files record that the laundry moved to 13 Carrillo Street in 1897, although the 1896 file listed the laundry already at that location. City directories list the High Lung Laundry at 13 Carrillo Street for all subsequent years that are available from 1901 to 1917, with a single enigmatic reference to a High Lung Laundry located at 16 East Victoria in 1903 and 1904. When Gin Hoo became sole proprietor in 1905, the value of the laundry was assessed at \$1400, and it employed two washers and six ironers. The washers earned \$12 per week and the ironers, \$10. The laundry rented the premises for \$25 per month and earned a net income of \$60 to \$100 per month. Called the second largest laundry in Santa Barbara at the time, it occupied a space of 75 by 25 feet in the adobe, with other tenants at the westerly end. It had a telephone, listed as 1247. Gin Hoo returned to China temporarily from 1907 to 1909, leaving his brother Gin Fong to run the business in his absence.

In 1918 both the laundry and the residence apparently moved to 908 Santa Barbara Street, where it operated in the Flores Adobe until that structure was damaged or destroyed in the 1925 earthquake. The High Lung laundry was still in business in the 1930s, on Canon Perdido Street between Anacapa and Santa Barbara streets.⁴

MAP DATA

On a city map drawn in 1853 small structures near the corner of Carrillo and State Streets are identified as properties of

Joaquin Carrillo and “Juan” Wilson, and a shaded line outlines the adobe. The rear property line is oblique across the block, parallel to the walls of the old Presidio, while the street follows the newly surveyed town grid gradually established after the city was incorporated in 1850.⁵

The structure is defined on the 1888 Sanborn map (Figure 2) as a dwelling approximately 100 feet long and 27 feet wide, with an “awning” 11 feet wide across the frontage. The north, or rear, side has a shorter and shallower awning or porch, approximately 75 feet long by 9 feet wide. Map symbols identify a tile roof, with shingles covering the rear porch. The interior had three rooms, two larger ones at the ends with a narrower chamber in the middle. The lot size at this time was 175 feet along Carrillo Street by about 180 feet on State Street. On the 1888 Sanborn map, the adobe is labeled as “dwellings.” The overall dimensions, configuration, and lot size are the same as depicted on the 1886 Sanborn map.

By 1892 the lot has apparently been divided, with a north-south boundary roughly parallel to the historic oblique land pattern of the Presidio. It seems that there has also been an east-west division, with the boundary coinciding with the rear wall of the adobe. Perhaps reflecting the new ownership concerns, a six-foot-high adobe wall has been built on the easterly property line, extending from the front corner of the adobe for about one hundred feet to the rear. The roof is no longer keyed as hipped. The rear porch has been reduced to a small square structure at the east corner, and on the front porch a two-room frame addition has been enclosed partially under the roof overhang at the southwest corner. It is likely that these modifications reflect a change in ownership, occupation, usage, or all three.

Each of the two larger end rooms illustrated in 1886 and 1888 Sanborn maps had been partitioned in half, and there were six rooms across the back, with connecting doors to the front portion. The eastern three sections, all of the structure east of the new property line, were occupied by the Natural History Society Museum. The westernmost section contained a dentist’s office, and the space between his office and the museum is labeled as the dentist’s dwelling. Of possible significance to the archaeology, there are two small rectangular, one-story, shingle-roofed outbuildings at the rear of the

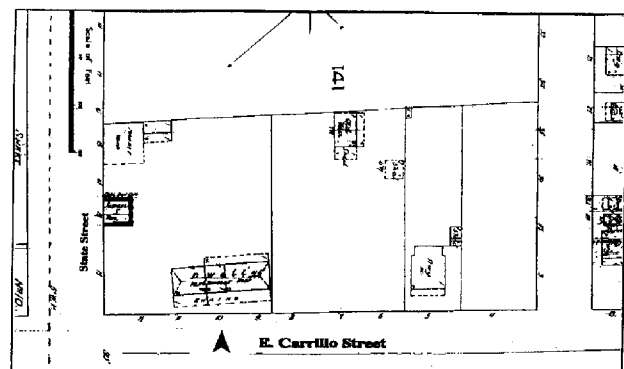


Figure 2. Portion of Sanborn Map, 1888

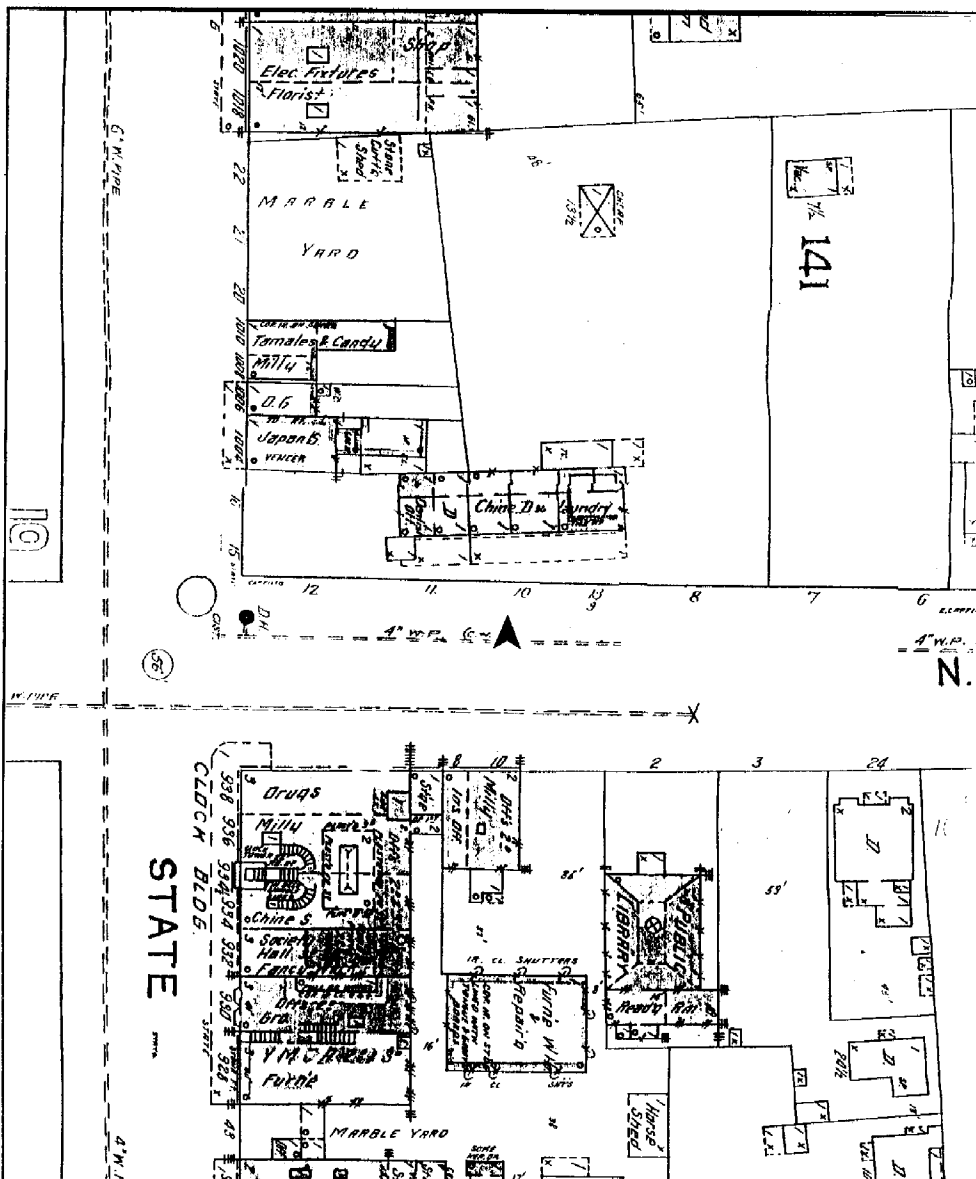
adobe, 45 and 35 feet behind the back wall. The function of these is not identified, and they are depicted on no other map.

By the time the 1892 Sanborn map was updated to 1903 (Figure 3), the two small outbuildings and the adobe wall had apparently been removed. The enclosed addition on the front porch was the same, but the appendages at the rear had changed. There was a new porch at the northeast corner and a one-story frame addition with a terra cotta chimney extending from the north wall. The internal configuration was the same, but for the first time the easterly two-thirds of the structure formerly occupied by the museum was identified as a Chinese dwelling and laundry, with the other end still occupied by the dentist's office and a dwelling.

The 1907 Sanborn map shows that the adobe had clearly lost all of its west end beyond the new property line created

by a lot division between 1881 and 1892. The adobe lost about 35 feet, including the space that formerly housed the dentist's office and adjacent dwelling. The reduction in size probably occurred before the existence of the county directory of 1905, by which time both the dentist and the museum had moved to Anacapa Street. The front porch extends the full width of the surviving structure, but the frame addition on the southwest corner is missing. At the rear the square corner porch is gone; the frame addition remains, but there are no outbuildings.

By 1930 the entire block had changed dramatically. Acquisitions expanded the parcel to a single holding extending about 275 feet east along Carrillo from the corner of State Street and about 210 feet north on State Street. The adobe is now flanked by large new constructions. The historic core of



1892 Sanborn Map, Updated to 1903.

Figure 3. Portion of Sanborn Map, 1892-1903

the adobe is the same size, but divided approximately equally into two stores. The major changes are the two large wings added at the corners on the north side, forming a central courtyard. The 1945 Sanborn shows no changes.

PHOTOGRAPHIC INTERPRETATION

Photographs from about 1900 to 1903 show a one-and-one-half-story, side-gabled adobe with a tile roof and a porch extending the full visible width of the structure. The gable is eccentric, with the rear slope extended, giving it a "saltbox" profile. Photos confirm that the porch was roofed with shingles, perhaps covered with tar, tar paper, mud, or clay as they disintegrated, which might explain the dark and fairly smooth surfaces. The porch is reached by at least two sets of plank steps with five risers, and the deck rests on a foundation of rough-dressed stone (Figure 4). The porch roof is supported by slender square posts with a hitching rail toward the west end. Discerned in the shadows are two doorways, one at the east end and the other nearer the center.

What looks like a wooden platform, one-half-story high, is barely visible behind the northeast corner. It is heavily framed with cross bracing; in the opinion of the excavators, it coincides with the closer outbuilding shown on the 1892 Sanborn, would have been buried below the eastern wing added after 1907, and may represent the feature excavated.⁶ A roof sign reads "High Lung Laundry" and a pole sign reads "High Lung First Class Laundry." Although still vacant in 1903, the adjacent lot on the east is bordered by a white picket fence that has a double-hung wagon gate adjacent to the adobe property.

Another view, from the west side, reveals the same roof profile, an eight-light window or glazed panel door, a glazed doorway toward the rear of the western end wall, and an opening to the loft (Figure 5). Although the Sanborn maps consistently keyed the structure as one story, there is obvi-



Figure 4. The High Lung Laundry, ca. 1903. (Courtesy Santa Barbara Historical Society)



Figure 5. West Side of the High Lung Laundry, "1880s." (Courtesy Santa Barbara Historical Society)

ously a loft or *tapanco* under the ridgeline. It is likely that before these photographs were taken the adobe originally had outside stairs to reach the upper space since the loft has a recessed doorway centered directly below the gable peak. An irregularity in the pattern of adobe bricks along a vertical line suggests a splice where the rear shed section was added or other major modification occurred.

Affixed to the west wall next to the door is a sign lettered "Yates" over "Dentist." The career of Dr. Lorenzo Gordin Yates, "Dentist and Scientist," provides some clues about the dates of the photos and the co-occupation by the museum. In or by 1880 Dr. Yates already had his office at the adobe, although he then lived on Haley Street between Anacapa and Santa Barbara. By 1893 and until 1901 he maintained both his office and his residence in the adobe. From 1903 to 1904, he was president of the Natural History Society at the same address. In 1905 he still maintained his dental office, residence, and the museum in the adobe, while also serving as the county horticultural commissioner. By 1906 he was president of the Horticultural Commission, then based at 926 Anacapa, but had moved his home to Montecito. There was no further business reference to him as a dentist. In 1908 the County Horticultural Commission was back at the adobe, with Yates as both president and secretary. Dr. Yates died at the age of seventy-two on January 30, 1909. The photographs showing his sign must have been taken between 1880 and 1905, while the Sanborn maps confirm that Dr. Yates was living, practicing dentistry, and maintaining the Society Museum in the adobe by 1892.

THE CULTURAL MATERIALS

Ceramics

Most of the discards in the well are ceramic artifacts, almost all of Chinese manufacture. The Euro-American items

amounted to little more than a handful of small fragments. According to the few makers' marks that were present (one dated between 1833 and 1857, and the other, between 1828 and 1853), the British imports might have belonged to any of the non-Chinese residents of the adobe before the laundry. Other than the assemblage attributed to Gin Hoo and Gin Fong, there was one small porcelain fragment decorated in the typical Canton pattern of Chinese export ware made primarily for export to Europe and America, not for the daily use of Chinese living overseas. Although not datable, it is thin and well executed and resembles others commonly asso-

ciated with Mission period and other early sites, usually suggestive of high status.

Overseas Chinese ceramics include the stoneware vessels that came to Santa Barbara as containers for foods or other goods imported from China, and the porcelain and porcellaneous stonewares used daily for the preparation and consumption of the traditional diet. The stonewares outnumbered the porcelains by 532 to 153; this is not unexpected because the imported foods came in their own stoneware containers so there would be no need to save them for re-use. On the other hand, the family would not tend to replace its

TABLE 1. CHINESE CERAMICS

Pattern	Item	Diameter (cm)	Height (cm)	Total
Porcelain				
Bamboo	rice bowl	15.0-16.0	6.3-7.1	25
	spoon			9
Celadon	rice bowl	15.0-16.0		27
	tea bowl	7.0-7.2	3.1-4.5	17
	wine bowl	4.7	2.3	3
	spoon			13
Double Happiness	rice bowl	15.0-16.0	6.3-7.1	21
	bowl			1
	cup/bowl			1
Eight Treasures	bowl			1
Floral overglaze	plate			1
Four Seasons	rice bowl	15.0-16.0	6.3-7.1	4
	tea bowl	7.0-7.2	3.1-4.5	1
	wine bowl	4.7	2.5	1
	spoon			3
	large bowl	18.5-23.0	6.5-8.0	17
	condiment dish	8.0-9.8		4
Canton	sherd, plate			1
Blue on white, misc.	teapot lid			1
White	teapot lid			1
				153
Stoneware				
	shipping jar, large	12.2	12.5-14.5	132
	shipping jar, small	8.5-9.0	9.5-10.0	43
	wine jar	12.0	16.0	140
Four lugs	storage jar	25.0	31.3	24
	soy sauce jar	12.2-15.3	1.3-13.9	13
Green glaze	ginger jar	7.1-8.2	7.1-9.0	19
	jar/jarlet	5.7	4.2	20
	lid, large	8.9-9.5		92
	lid, small	6.1-6.5		31
	cooking pot	18.0	4.5	18
				532

porcelain tableware unless it was broken. Table 1 includes only the whole and near-whole cataloged items. However, since all of the recovered material was examined, the types and proportions of items are representative of the total assemblage. The collection is noteworthy for the written inscriptions on many of the stoneware containers. When translated, these may reveal valuable information about the contents, makers of the containers, and places of origin.

Tableware

Tableware comprises the porcelain and porcellaneous items that would be anticipated on the Chinese table. The typical household inventory includes bowls of four sizes: rice bowls, larger serving or soup bowls, tea bowls, and the small wine bowls (see Table 1). At least six of the spoons were seemingly a set, painted with red-orange carp in green foliage. According to store inventories and price lists of 1870 to 1884, the Bamboo pattern of rice bowls was one of the cheapest available, averaging from 2 to 5 cents each, while the Four Seasons and Celadon bowls ranged in value from 6.5 to 8.7 cents apiece. The Double Happiness pattern was not only among the cheapest, even less costly than Bamboo, but it was one of the earliest and was not abundant in archaeological sites after about 1880.⁷ The distribution among the four dominant patterns, Four Seasons, Celadon, Bamboo, and Double Happiness, differs from the proportions seen at many other sites and contributes to conclusions both about dating and about the relatively modest economic status of the laundry householders. There were two plain teapot lids, but no recognizable fragments of the teapots.

Stoneware

The stoneware items were strictly utilitarian vessels, most of them containers for foodstuffs and a few related to cooking. The shipping containers were essentially globular forms with a wide mouth and a dull brown, pitted glaze. At least twenty-five of the jars had marks painted on the bases that may signify the product contained. The dish-shaped, unglazed lids clustered in two size ranges, reflecting the differential in the vessels. A different, smaller form, often called "ginger jar," has a green glaze on the upper half. Although frequently found in hexagonal form at other sites, these are exclusively globular.

The 140 wine jars are, as usual, the most carefully made of the stoneware containers. In contrast to the food or soy sauce jars, the bases of this group are glazed. The highly iridescent and fine-grained glaze is saturated with iron and ranges in color from glossy brown to blue-black. At least thirty-two have marks embossed or applied under the glaze.

The very large storage jars were wheel-made globular types with a folded collar, as much as 0.5 centimeters thick. They were glazed both inside and out; the exterior might be either matte or glossy, but always pitted. Two groups of asso-

ciated fragments had four lugs each. There were thirteen spouted soy sauce containers and one unglazed clay plug that would have sealed the mouth.

From the fragments of the cooking pans, or braziers, it is likely that at least eighteen examples were present. Although thin-walled and fragile, this clay body has good resistance to heat. Two other forms that were abundant in Los Angeles were rare in this collection. There were only traces of a small, very thin hemispherical form and its unglazed lid, and a few fragments of a straight-sided jarlet with a very smooth glossy brown glaze and matching lid. A green straight-sided type, which occurred in Los Angeles, was probably present in Santa Barbara since one green lid of appropriate size was recovered. These small, well-made containers probably held a cosmetic or medicinal product of relatively high value.

Glass

The collection is remarkable for the number of unbroken bottles. Since most of them lacked embossing to denote either the bottle maker or the contents, the beverage bottles were grouped by shape and technology. Twenty-eight bottles were classed as champagne-type, 39 grouped as Bordeaux-type, and 147 square brown bottles were either embossed or recognized as bitters.

Dr. Hostetter's Stomach Bitters was by far the most popular brand, represented by 110 examples. This predominance was also true at the Chinatowns in Los Angeles, Ventura, and elsewhere. The bottles would have been made between 1858 and 1895. Other brands represented by from one to nine examples each include Botanic Stomach Bitters, California Fig Bitters, Climax Bitters, Lash's Kidney and Liver Bitters, Reed's Gilt Edged Tonic, Dr. Renz's Herb Bitters, St. George's Rheumatic Bitters, and Wait's Kidney and Liver Bitters. These were essentially hard spirits flavored with bitter plants. The only bottles recognized as containing hard liquors are three flasks from local purveyors T & A Coux and Leon Levy.

The residents apparently relied primarily on the traditional medicinal powders and small pills imported from China in the fifty-two small hand-blown aqua glass vials. Homeopathic vials, presumably of American manufacture, were five, and there were eleven patent remedies, tonics, or nutritive supplements. There was only a single prescription bottle from a local pharmacy, the Collins-Walton-Crane Co., in business before 1903.

There was a great abundance in every level of broken lamp chimney glass, tops, and bases that testified to the lack of electricity.

Clothing and Personal Possessions

The sheer quantity of buttons, studs, cuff links, and pins would suggest the presence of a laundry, even without the documentary and photographic evidence. There were 492

buttons and 120 collar buttons, as well as numerous other clothing fasteners such as snaps, rivets, and at least 61 straight pins and 315 safety pins. Other haberdashery, not typical of the Chinese workman's clothing, included 83 studs and 9 cufflinks, some of them gold-plated.

While most of the clothing fasteners probably arrived in the deposit through the laundry process, the presence of at least one woman and one or more children is suggested by jewelry items and eleven toy marbles. Among the leather scraps were fragments of either two or three women's shoes and several broad heels from men's or boys' shoes or boots. Also observed were the charred remains of two black socks, and at least one individual wore eyeglasses. Personal possessions included six bone toothbrushes, four of Chinese manufacture and two Euro-American, one made in France.

Recognizable as parts of Chinese tobacco pipes are three thimble-size metal bowls and one mouthpiece. In use, these would have been attached to a long stem, often of bamboo. In the entire collection, there was only a single artifact that is probably related to smoking opium. A clear glass fragment seven feet down in the well was likely the broken fuel reservoir portion of an opium lamp.

Subsistence

Food remains included mammal, bird, and fish bone, turtle shell, cuttlefish, eggshell, and shells of Pismo and other clams, abalone, and mussels. Scraps of tin can metal were present. One seed was identified as the Chinese olive (*Canarium album*); the dried pulp and its stony seed would have been imported preserved with salt. Two canning jar lids and one fragment of a Mason fruit jar constituted the limited evidence of food preservation in the home.

Rusted remains of two iron woks were recovered, both 18 inches (45.7 cm) in diameter, and a base metal ladle or skimmer 27 centimeters long. At least some cooking was done in enamel pans, since there were two round gray pots, a mottled gray kettle, and three detached gray handles. It is likely that much of the other cooking, aside from stir-frying in the wok, was accomplished in the shallow stoneware pans used for moist braising.

The diet certainly included an abundance of the fresh produce grown locally, which would have left no evidence, and all of the imported foods that arrived in the stoneware jars. The shipping jars would have contained such products as cabbage, radish, or other vegetables; shrimp or fish; sorghum; and other foods that were dried, pickled, or salted, and a variety of sauces. The large containers would have held any dry or liquid product shipped in bulk. Eggshells and bird bone in the well suggested that the residents may have been raising chickens in the rear yard, as confirmed in Los Angeles. The Chinese were also active early in fishing off Santa Barbara, and many fish vertebrae, scales, jaws, and other elements were present.

DISCUSSION

The excavators believed that the Chinese proprietors of the laundry deposited trash in this feature, which they interpreted as one of the wells depicted on the 1892 Sanborn map. The timing was estimated as after the Gin brothers' arrival and before the well was abandoned, but there was still uncertainty about when the laundry was first established in the adobe. The immigration files of 1896 and 1907 claim that one or both brothers moved their laundry to Carrillo Street in 1885. Analysis suggests that all of the securely dated artifacts could have been manufactured by about 1905. The coins provide a date after which the deposit must have occurred. The seven examples include three of the Vietnamese zinc coins most abundant in American sites between the 1880s and the 1890s⁸; one coin embossed "Hong Kong 1865" in English on one side and in Chinese on the obverse; one brass Chinese coin; and two United States Indian head pennies, dated 1898 and 1901. There is no saying how long the older coins could have been kept, but the most recent date indicates that the feature was filled in or after 1901. The dates from marked items suggest that the artifacts were made and used between 1870 and 1905, and were thrown into the well shaft between 1901 and 1905, possibly when Gin Hoo became sole owner in 1905. The family was living in or behind the laundry, as was so often the case, and it is safe to assume that the domestic articles were theirs and that at least one woman and child were present.

The collection is valuable because of its context; it is an undisturbed, discrete deposit that can be associated with a known family and a specific function. It differs in many ways from the assemblage recovered from the broad community of Los Angeles Chinatown.⁹ The Santa Barbara feature contained no gambling tokens, dice, dominoes, ceremonial candlesticks and incense burners, and only a single fragment of one item associated with opium smoking; all of these are traditionally used in a communal setting, rather than at home. However, the Santa Barbara assemblage contains many matching spoons such as a single family might possess, rather than the many different patterns recovered in Los Angeles. There are also considerably more household-sized food containers and fewer of the large bulk shipping jars, further suggesting a single family unit. There are no examples of the high, footed serving pieces often called presentation bowls, porcelain spittoons, the spouted pots used to decant soy sauce or wine from the stoneware shipping jars for table service, or the hollow-centered cup holders used as saucers with more elaborate tea bowls. Each of these would be regarded as more costly items suggestive of higher economic status.

The Santa Barbara feature yielded no embossed whiskeys, other than three flasks of a local Santa Barbara purveyor, but illustrated heavy consumption of bitters and wines. There were proportionately many fewer bottles of American

medicinal products, but greater reliance on the imported remedies contained in the little aqua vials. Los Angeles revealed a greater diversity of more costly porcelain items, more tea and spirits bowls, and many well-glazed small jarlets as well as bowls marked with owners' names suggesting boardinghouse occupation or a communal kitchen. The laundry site contained more than twice as many stoneware containers as porcelain table items.

All lines of evidence point to the discards of a single household where fewer sets of table service would be needed, and there would be more matching items, as opposed to the great variety and abundance of unique one-of-a-kind items in Los Angeles. The distribution of rice bowl types further suggests that this household was both relatively early and of low economic status. The array here is comparable to that from the Chinese fishing camp on Ballast Point in San Diego, which was also a small working-class settlement, separated from the main Chinatown population center.

One regularity observed in the Chinese communities at Santa Barbara, Ventura, and Los Angeles was the reoccupation of the old Mexican adobes as property values decreased. This location was somewhat outside the historical core of Santa Barbara's Chinatown, which was centered on Canon Perdido from Anacapa to State Street. Thus, this was perhaps a "purer" deposit from a single household or enterprise, but restricted in the sense that the proprietors and employees of the laundry most likely did their shopping and participated in social, recreational, organizational, and ceremonial activities in the Chinatown core. The peripheral location was a product both of increasing density in the main settlement and perhaps a wish to be more accessible to prospective customers. This deposit was thus narrowly focused, as opposed to the many activities and broad dispersion of the Los Angeles features. The nursing bottle and tonic, toys, fragments of shoes and jewelry, and perhaps the few more decorative buttons are presumptive evidence that one or more women and children lived or worked at the adobe.

SYNTHESIS

The dates of artifact manufacture are concentrated in the years between the 1880s and 1905. Abandonment of the well may have taken place soon after the installation of municipal water services on Carrillo Street around 1903. Presumably this service would have lessened dependence on the well, which may have been abandoned soon after and filled around 1905.

Still unresolved is the actual year when the Gin brothers moved to the Hill-Carrillo property and the possibility that a laundry was there as early as 1885 under their management or some other. The contents of the well may represent the primary deposit of contemporary trash, plus a secondary clean-up of materials that may have been scattered behind

the structure over a period of time. At a laundry in Sacramento, the back lot was used for drying and perhaps even for washing¹⁰; many of the alterations and remodelings of the rear porch may reflect laundry operations.

The deposit is interpreted as the remains of a residential unit and the economic enterprise that supported it. Factors pointing to a household include the presence of one or more women and children; lack of artifacts related to opium smoking or gambling, which took place away from the home; and absence of any individual owners' names scratched into the table ceramics. That the family lived at a relatively low economic level is evidenced by the cost values of the ceramics, the proportion of porcellaneous stonewares to true porcelain, the absence of the more elaborate table service accessories, the relatively rare occurrence of jarlets, and the strictly utilitarian nature of the entire assemblage. Within the collection as a whole, there was little variety or diversity, although this uniformity is attributed as much to the essential conservatism of the society as to the status of the residents. While the people may have possessed little economic power, the collection illustrates that they were tied to the broad market system with consumption of goods and foods imported from the homeland, most likely through San Francisco. They were isolated from the Euro-American population of greater Santa Barbara, yet tied to the international network that supplied them with the familiar, traditional foods and other products related to cooking, table service, consumption, and health care.

They were isolated not only in space but probably also by language. Laundries were typically a family enterprise, requiring little capital to operate and providing small incentive to acquire much more than the rudimentary phrases needed for the daily commerce. The long hours that had to be invested to operate the business would have minimized both the time and the opportunity to participate in local groups or events.

The interpretation shows how a combination of historical, architectural, photographic, and archaeological information can be combined to illustrate and recreate a way of life that is beyond first-person recall and poorly documented in the literature. Since the physical evidence is disappearing so rapidly from the historical landscape, future research will rely increasingly on any archaeological sites that survive.

NOTES

1. Richard Piedmonte, "The Chinese Presidio Community," in *Santa Barbara Presidio Area, 1840 to the Present*, ed. Carl V. Harris, Jarrell C. Jackman, and Catherine Rudolph (Santa Barbara: University of California and Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation, 1993), 119–22.
2. Barbara Henzell, "Historic Resources Inventory, Architectural and Historic Resources Survey," (DPR Form 523, Santa Barbara).

3. James G. Williams, "Old Town Santa Barbara, a Native History of State Street from Guterez & Ortega 1850–1975" (research paper, Graduate Program of Public History, Dept. Of History, University of California, Santa Barbara).
4. Piedmonte, "The Chinese Presidio Community," 127.
5. Christi Broach, "The Presidio Area since 1950," in *Santa Barbara Presidio Area*, ed. Harris et al., 150.
6. Michael Imwalle, Archaeological site record, CA-SBA-2752H (primary record, DPR Form 523A).
7. Ruth Ann Sando and David L. Felton, "Inventory Records of Ceramics and Opium from a Nineteenth Century Store in California," in *Hidden Heritage: Historical Archaeology of the Overseas Chinese*, ed. Priscilla Wegars (Amityville, N.Y.: Baywood Press, 1993), 160, 163.
8. Margie Akin, "Dong, Wen, and Mon: Asian Coins Recovered from the Los Angeles Chinatown," in *Cultural Resources Impact Mitigation Program: Los Angeles Metro Red Line Segment One*, by Roberta S. Greenwood (Los Angeles: Metropolitan Transportation Authority, 1993), 314.
9. Roberta S. Greenwood, *Down by the Station: Los Angeles Chinatown, 1880–1933* (Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, 1996).
10. Mary Praetzelis and Adrian Praetzelis, *Archaeological and Historical Studies at the San Fong Chong Laundry 814 I Street, Sacramento, California* (Rohnert Park, Calif.: Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University, 1990), 29.

REFERENCES

- Akin, Margie. "Dong, Wen, and Mon: Asian Coins Recovered from the Los Angeles Chinatown." In *Cultural Resources Impact Mitigation Program: Los Angeles Metro Red Line Segment One*, by Roberta S. Greenwood, 305–317. Los Angeles: Metropolitan Transportation Authority, Los Angeles, 1993.
- Broach, Christi. "The Presidio Area since 1950." In Harris, Jackman, and Rudolph, *Santa Barbara Presidio Area, 1840 to the Present* 143–150.
- "Foundation Part of Santa Barbara's Living History." Los Adobes, vol. 14, no. 1:1–2. Santa Barbara Foundation, 1992.
- Gin Hoo Files. Chinese Exclusion Act Case Files, 1894–1965, Gin Hoo File 197 and 851, Los Angeles District, Record Group 85. National Archives, Laguna Niguel.
- Greenwood, Roberta S. *Down by the Station: Los Angeles Chinatown 1880–1933*. Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles, 1996.
- Harris, Carl V., Jarrell C. Jackman, and Catherine Rudolph, eds, *Santa Barbara Presidio Area, 1840 to the Present*. Santa Barbara: University of California and Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation, 1993.
- Henzell, Barbara. "Historic Resources Inventory, Architectural and Historic Resources Survey." DPR Form 523. Santa Barbara, 1978.
- Immigration Files. Chinese Partnership Case Files, 1891–1944. Record Group 85, San Francisco District of Immigration and Naturalization Service. National Archives, Pacific Sierra Region, San Bruno.
- Imwalle, Michael. Archaeological site record, CA-SBA-2752H. Primary record, DPR Form 523A, 1995.
- Piedmonte, Richard. "The Chinese Presidio Community." In Harris, Jackman, and Rudolph, *Santa Barbara Presidio Area 1840 to the Present* 119–142.
- Praetzelis, Mary, and Adrian Praetzelis. *Archaeological and Historical Studies at the San Fong Chong Laundry, 814 I Street, Sacramento, California*. Rohnert Park, CA: Anthropological Studies Center, Sonoma State University, 1990.
- Sanborn Fire Insurance Co. Maps of Santa Barbara. 1886, 1888, 1892, 1892 updated to 1903, 1907, 1930, and 1930 updated to 1945.
- Sando, Ruth Ann, and David L. Felton. "Inventory Records of Ceramics and Opium from a Nineteenth Century Store in California." In *Hidden Heritage: Historical Archaeology of the Overseas Chinese*, ed. Priscilla Wegars, 151–176. Amityville, N.Y.: Baywood Press, 1993.
- Santa Barbara City and County Directory, Independent Publishing Co., Santa Barbara 1888.
- Press Publishing Co., Santa Barbara 1893.
- W. H. Arne, 731 State St., Santa Barbara 1897.
- Eugene A. Grant, Clock Bldg., Santa Barbara 1901.
- *The Up to Date Directory*. Commercial Printing House, Santa Barbara 1903–1904.
- Santa Barbara Directory Co., 635 State St., Santa Barbara 1905.
- Santa Barbara Directory Co., 635 State St., Santa Barbara 1906.
- Santa Barbara Directory Co., 11 W. Ortega St., Santa Barbara 1908–1909.
- Santa Barbara Directory Co., 11 W. Ortega Ast., Santa Barbara 1909–1910.
- Schultz, Karen. "The Presidio and Surrounding Community, 1840–1880." In Harris, Jackman, and Rudolph, *Santa Barbara Presidio Area 1840 to the Present*, 1–15.
- United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910.
- Williams, James G. "Old Town Santa Barbara, a Native History of State Street from Guterez & Ortega 1850–1975." Research paper, Graduate Program of Public History, Dept. of History, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1977.