City of Riverside
Chinese Americans in Riverside: Historic Context Statement
September 30, 2016

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Cover Image: A 1912 hand-tinted photo showing Chinatown from Mt. Rubidoux. Brockton Avenue runs left to right, where it intersects with Tequesquite Avenue. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

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PROJECT INTRODUCTION

The Chinese Americans in Riverside Historic Context Statement was prepared at the request of the City of Riverside, and was funded by a grant through the Certified Local Government (CLG) program. This project is part of the City of Riverside's continued efforts to advance historic preservation in the city through the identification and evaluation of potential historic resources. The project was initiated in February 2016 in partnership with City staff, the Riverside Metropolitan Museum, California State University San Bernardino (CSUSB), consultants, and community volunteers. The context statement was prepared by architectural historian M. Rosalind Sagara, who worked on all components of the project and served as the project manager.

The context statement includes a historical overview of the Chinese American experience as it relates to Riverside's growth and development; identifies themes associated with extant resources; and includes suggestions for future study. The period of significance includes the experience of Riverside's Chinese American community from 1868 to 1975, spanning the arrival of the first known Chinese Americans in Riverside, through the death of Wong Ho Leun (George Wong), the last resident of Chinatown, in 1974, and the creation of Dr. Sam Huang's first mural in 1975. This study focuses on historical themes associated with residential settlement patterns, labor, culture and institutions, and commercial growth in Riverside. It also identifies important individuals that played significant roles in Riverside's Chinese American history. The geographic scope of this study is the current boundary of the City of Riverside.

This study revealed that there are few extant resources associated with Chinese Americans in Riverside. The most significant resource associated with Chinese American history in Riverside is Riverside's second Chinatown at Tequesquite and Brockton Avenues (1885 to present, hereafter referred to as Chinatown). This was the largest and longest-continuously populated of three known Chinese American settlements in Riverside. Chinatown was a major cultural center for the permanent and migrant Chinese population of inland Southern California. Residents and visitors alike gathered at Chinatown to socialize, conduct business, worship, learn, celebrate Chinese holidays, and grieve the passing of loved ones, demonstrating shared history among the local Chinese American and non-Chinese population. Cultural heritage was expressed and maintained through traditions, language, and food, which reinforced collective identity. With the passage of time, Chinatown has evolved into an historic archaeological site. In part because there are limited visible physical remains of this community, the history of Chinese Americans in Riverside remains obscured.

In the late 1940s and 1950s, George Wong demolished some of the more dilapidated buildings in Chinatown, especially along the eastern and southern borders bounded by Brockton and Tequesquite Avenues, and invited contractors to dump truckloads of fill dirt over the rubble.[1] This helped preserve vast amounts of archaeological information. Following Wong's death in 1974, the property was sold and by 1977 the remaining buildings were demolished. The site underwent a publicly-funded test excavation conducted by the Great Basin Foundation between 1984 and 1985, which unearthed three tons of artifacts and identified the site as quantitatively and qualitatively richer than any other Chinatown site in California.[2] In 1990, the Chinatown archaeological site in Riverside was added to the National Register of Historic Places.

[1] National Park Service, "Chinatown archaeological site, National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," 4, accessed August 30, 2016, http://focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/90000151.pdf.
[2] National Park Service, "Chinatown archaeological site, National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," 4, accessed August 30, 2016, http://focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/90000151.pdf.

Terms and Definitions

Chinese American

Although Chinese immigrants entering the U.S. from 1882 to 1943 were almost universally denied citizenship due to the Chinese Exclusion Act, the Geary Act, and other legislation, this study follows previous protocol in referring to immigrants of Chinese ancestry as "Chinese Americans" as established in *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California,* developed by the California Department of Parks and Recreation Office of Historic Preservation.[3] Direct quotes have not been altered to provide consistency with the original text.

"Ah" and Surnames

"Ah" is an honorific like "mister," but more informal, and has been commonly used as a prefix attached to an abbreviated given name (e.g. "Ah Jim"), and sometimes as a prefix to a surname (e.g. "Ah Wong"). This informal identification of a person signified familiarity or affection, and is also used as a prefix to kinship terms like uncle ("Ah Sook"), or grandfather ("Ah Gung"). In the historic record, "Ah" was sometimes used incorrectly as a suffix, following a person's surname, or given name. The authors have refrained from using "Ah," unless directly quoting from a source. Many names of Riverside's Chinese Americans during the period of investigation are incorrectly identified in the historic record, whether by household members or by census takers, with a simple one syllable name, preceded, or followed by the honorific "Ah." If the correct full name of a person was known, it is noted in this study.

Pinyin

"Pinyin" is a system for transcribing the Chinese language using the Roman alphabet. Where deemed necessary for clarity, Yale Cantonese Romanization is used for terms and names in Cantonese and Toisanese, which were the principal dialects spoken by Riverside's Chinese Americans within the scope of this study.

[3] December 1988, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views.htm.

METHODOLOGY

This historic context statement was developed using guidance outlined for the development of historic contexts in the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation*, and *National Register Bulletin 16B: How to Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form*. The development of the context was informed by primary and secondary source research, oral history interviews, public outreach, and property-specific research on potential historic resources related to Chinese American history in Riverside.

Research

The research effort for this project was led by the project manager, with assistance from Heather Garrett (graduate student, CSUSB), Clare Pope (graduate student, UC Riverside), and Blanca Garcia (undergraduate student, CSUSB). In addition, Erin Gettis, Jennifer Mermilliod, and Scott Watson (City of Riverside Historic Preservation Division staff); Kevin Hallaran and Lynn Voorheis (Riverside Metropolitan Museum); community members, including Vince Moses, Eugene Moy, Kevin Akin, Janlee Wong, Theresa Hanley, Kathleen Dever, Judy Lee, Margie Akin, Megan Asaka, Cathy Gudis, Paul Chace, Ruth McCormick, and Bent Corydon; and staff at Historic Resources Group have also contributed to this effort.

Research for this historic context was guided by themes and property types associated with the historical experiences of Chinese Americans in Riverside during the period of investigation. Preliminary lists of themes and property types were reviewed by the project team at a kick off meeting at City Hall on February 17, 2016. Over the course of the project, with community input, researchers further refined the themes that guided continued research for this study. The final context statement focuses on four major themes: Residential Settlement Patterns; Labor, Agriculture & Industry; Culture and Institutions; and Commercial Development.

Journalist, author, and professor of Creative Writing at UC Riverside, Harry Lawton, was an advocate for the preservation and archaeological investigation of Chinatown. When Lawton worked for the *Press Enterprise*, he had the opportunity to interview Wong Ho Leun (George Wong) for several articles he wrote detailing the experiences of Riverside's early Chinese American pioneers. Much of what we know today about Riverside's Chinese American pioneer community has been based on Harry Lawton's writings: *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown*, a two-volume report produced following the partial excavation of Chinatown conducted in the mid-1980s; and a booklet produced by the Riverside Metropolitan Museum, *Life in Little Gom-Benn: Chinese Immigrant Society in Riverside, 1885-1930*. In April and May 1968, Mary Hedge conducted a series of oral histories with George Wong, which have also provided important foundational knowledge for this study.

Information about the broader history of Chinese Americans was included in this study. The following sources provided valuable information: Sucheng Chan's *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910*; Him Mark Lai's *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions;* Thomas W. Chinn, Him Mark Lai, and Philip P. Choy's *A History of Chinese in California, A Syllabus*; Xiaojian Zhao's *Remaking Chinese America: Immigration, Family, and Community, 1940-1965*; K. Scott Wong's *Americans First: Chinese Americans and the Second World War*; Sue Fawn Chung and Priscilla Wegars' *Chinese American Death Rituals: Respecting the Ancestors*; Barbara L Voss, ed., "The Archaeology of Chinese Railroad Workers in North America," a special issue in *Historical Archaeology* 49 (2015); and Nancy Wey's "Chinese Americans in California" in *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California*.

The following resources provided important information on Chinese Americans in Riverside: Tom Patterson's *A Colony for California: Riverside's First Hundred Years*, 3d. ed.; Esther Klotz and Joan Hall's *Adobes, Bungalows, and Mansions of Riverside, California Revisited*; Catherine Gudis' *Reconnaissance Survey and Context Statement for the Marketplace Specific Plan;* and voyfay.com and sites.google.com/site/riversidewongs (for information about the Voy and Fay Wong family).

Primary research was conducted to fill gaps in secondary sources. Archival collections of the Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside Public Library, National Archives (San Francisco and Riverside), First Congregational Church of Riverside, Mission Inn Foundation, Riverside County-Clerk-Recorder, San Bernardino County Archives, and the University of California Riverside Special Collections were consulted as part of this study. Additional information was obtained from Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, U.S. Census records, City directories, and English-language newspapers.

Outreach

The project team invited the public to engage in this project in multiple ways. Three community meetings were held on March 26, May 21, and September 16, 2016. The first two meetings informed the community about the scope of the project and solicited feedback on preliminary themes and study properties. The May 21, 2016 meeting was organized primarily as a community collecting event, where the public was invited to bring and share pertinent material from their private collections and to record their memories in a "storytelling booth." This meeting yielded new information which was consulted for the project. The third meeting served as a culminating event and offered highlights of the research completed to date. In addition, the project team participated in the city-sponsored "Doors Open" event on May 12, 2016, which provided free access to many of the city's properties, including the Riverside Chinese Pavilion. Several project team members provided brief tours of the Chinese Pavilion and answered questions about the ongoing context statement. The outreach component was led by the project manager, with assistance from graduate student Amanda Castro (CSUSB), and contributions from Dr. Cherstin Lyon, Heather Garrett, Clare Pope, Blanca Garcia, Angela Tate, Brent Bellah, Karen Raines, Save Our Chinatown Committee, Arlington Public Library staff, Riverside Metropolitan Museum staff, and Heritage House staff.

Oral Histories

Oral histories were conducted during the initial research phase of the project to gather new information that could potentially guide the research effort, development of the context statement, or identification of potential resources associated with Chinese Americans in Riverside. This component of the project was led by CSUSB professor Dr. Cherstin Lyon, with assistance from M. Rosalind Sagara, Blanca Garcia, Amanda Castro, Lauren Adams, Susan Sing, and Eugene Moy. Potential subjects included Gom Benn descendants with ties to Riverside; Chinese American residents of Riverside in the post-World War II era; and local historians. In February 2016, a preliminary list of eight interview subjects was reviewed and discussed by the project team at the kick-off meeting. In May 2016, as part of the project's outreach component, the project team organized a community collective event, in which additional short interviews were conducted with select individuals. By June 2016, a total of eight oral history interviews had been completed. Of the total oral histories conducted for this project, six have been transcribed and included in this study. For privacy matters, one interview subject wished to remain anonymous and did not want her/his information included in the report. A summary transcript of this interview was completed for research purposes only. One interview conducted with several members of a family did not provide substantive information for the project and was, therefore, not transcribed. Below is a list of the interview subjects with brief biographical information. The oral history transcripts for these interviews are included with this study.

- Janlee Wong, Gom Benn descendant. Born and raised in Riverside. His parents, Voy and Fay Wong, owned Chungking Café in Riverside, 1942-1974. Interview was conducted in Sacramento, CA on April 25, 2016 by M. Rosalind Sagara with assistance from Eugene Moy and Susan Sing.
- Nanci Wong, Gom Benn descendent. Riverside resident. Her father was Bing S. Wong, San Bernardino restaurateur, community leader, and philanthropist. Interview was conducted in San Bernardino, CA by Dr. Cherstin Lyon on May 23, 2016.
- Vince Moses, Riverside resident, historian, former curator of history at the Riverside Metropolitan Museum. He organized an exhibition with Cate Whitmore on Riverside Chinatown following test excavations undertaken by the Great Basin Foundation in the 1980s. Interview was conducted in Riverside, CA on June 16, 2016 by Dr. Cherstin Lyon with assistance from Lauren Adams.
- David Chang, Restaurateur/owner Dragon House Restaurant. Community leader involved in construction of Chinese Pavilion and the formation of Inland Chinese Association. Interview was conducted in Moreno Valley, CA on June 23, 2016 by M. Rosalind Sagara with assistance from Eugene Moy.
- Barnhill Family (Rebecca Yohonn, Robert Barnhill, and Barbara Smith), Riverside residents and friends of Riverside Chinatown's last resident, George Wong. Short interview conducted at the second community meeting at the Riverside Metropolitan Museum on May 21, 2016 by Dr. Cherstin Lyon with assistance from Blanca Garcia.
- Dan Fountaine, Riverside resident, and acquaintance of Riverside Chinatown's last resident, George Wong. Short interview conducted at the second community meeting at the Riverside Metropolitan Museum on May 21, 2016 by Dr. Cherstin Lyon with assistance from Blanca Garcia.

Fieldwork & Documentation

Based on information obtained during the research phase of this project, a study list of properties with potential historic significance under the Chinese American context was compiled. Additional property-specific research was conducted on each property to confirm the association. This included consulting building permit records, Sanborn maps, aerial photographs, U.S. census records, City Directories, and contemporary primary source material. All potentially eligible resources that obtained significance within the period of significance for this study were reviewed in the field, and those that are extant were documented on the appropriate Department of Parks and Recreation form (DPR). Resources identified as part of this study fall into four categories:

1. New properties identified as part of this study as significant for their association with Chinese American history that have not been previously designated or surveyed. For these properties, DPR 523A (primary records which provide baseline information about the property and include an architectural description) and B forms (which document the property's significance) were completed.
2. Properties that have been designated or identified in a previous historic resources survey for significance under a separate context, and were also identified by this study as significant for an association with Chinese American history. For these properties, a DPR 523L form (a continuation sheet that will be added to the existing record for the property) was completed, documenting the additional layer of significance under the Chinese American context.
3. Properties identified by this study that have a known association with Chinese American history in Riverside, but require additional information to confirm the strength of the association. For these properties all available information has been recorded on the applicable form for use in future studies.

4. Future study list. This includes properties that post-date the period of significance for this study, or that have the potential to yield information in the future. These properties were not documented on DPR forms.

The list of properties in each category is included in Figure 1, below. The DPR forms are included with this study.

Eligibility Criteria

Properties associated with Chinese American history in Riverside were evaluated for significance against local landmark criteria, which are re outlined in Riverside Municipal Code (RMC) Section 20.20.020.

The criteria for Landmark designation are as follows:

(a) Exemplifies or reflects special elements of the city's cultural, social, economic, political, aesthetic, engineering, architectural, or natural historic; or

(b) Is identified with persons or events significant in local, state, or national history; or

(c) Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a style, type, period, or method of construction, or is a valuable example of the use of indigenous materials or craftsmanship; or

(d) Represents the work of a notable builder, designer, or architect; or

(e) Contributes to the significance of a historic area, being a geographically definable area possessing a concentration of historic or scenic properties or thematically related grouping or properties, which contribute to each other and are unified aesthetically by plan or physical development; or

(f) Has a unique location or singular physical characteristics or is a view or vista representing an established and familiar visual feature of a neighborhood community or of the city; or

(g) Embodies elements of architectural design, detail, materials, or craftsmanship that represent a significant structural or architectural achievement or innovation; or

(h) Is similar to other distinctive properties, sites, areas, or objects based on a historic, cultural, or architectural motif; or

(i) Reflects significant geographical patterns, including those associated with different eras of settlement growth, particular transportation modes, or distinctive examples of park or community planning; or

(j) Is one of the few remaining examples in the city, region, state, or nation possessing distinguishing characteristics of an architectural or historical type or specimen.

Archaeological Resources

Due to the loss of the historic Chinatown settlements in the City, it is anticipated that additional archaeological study that is outside the scope of this project will uncover new information and identify additional resources associated with Chinese American history. Archaeology associated with transportation (canals and railroads) and industry (citrus, agriculture, laundry, domestic labor) has the

potential to yield important information about the centrality of work in the lives of Chinese Americans in Riverside. This information may be significant at the local, state, and national levels. Sites related to Chinese workers who set up temporary labor camps have low visibility and low signatures because they are difficult to identify. These extremely rare sites are highly sensitive, and would provide important information. Even a ruined site (of a less common type) could address research questions and provide baseline data with which to evaluate other, similar sites in the region. Known sites that may yield future information have been added to the study list.

Figure 1: Resources Associated with Chinese Americans in Riverside, 1868-1975

Property Name	Property Address	Theme	DPR Form
1. Eligible properties identified as part of this survey			
"Ecology" mural, Riverside City College Life Science Building	4800 Magnolia Avenue	Culture and Institutions	523 A & B
Olivewood Memorial Park	3300 Central Avenue	Culture and Institutions	523A & B
2. Designated/previously-surveyed properties also associated with Chinese American context			
Ames-Westbrook Residence	4811 Brockton Avenue	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	523L
Catharine Bettner Residence / Heritage House	8193 Magnolia Avenue	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	523L
Chen Ling Palace Restaurant	9856 Magnolia Avenue	Commercial Development	523L
Evergreen Historic Cemetery	4414 Fourteenth Street	Culture and Institutions	523L
Irving Residence / Raeburn Place	2508 Raeburn Drive	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	523L
Mission Inn Annex	3665-3667 Sixth Street	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	523L
Mission Inn Hotel & Spa	3649 Mission Inn Avenue	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	523L
Robert Bettner Residence	7995 Magnolia Avenue	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	523L
Voy and Fay Wong Residence	4161 University Avenue	Residential Settlement Patterns	523L
3. Properties where strength of association has not been established			
Childs Residence	1151 Monte Vista Drive	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	523L
Evans Adobe	7606 Mount Vernon Street	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	523L
Gage Irrigation Canal	7010 Coolidge Avenue	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	523L
Goff Residence / First Congregational Church Parsonage	3189 Market Street	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	523L
Hewitt Residence	3050 Orange Street	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	523L
Parke Residence	2406 Monroe Avenue	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	523A & B
Wilson Residence / Hartree Grove	6475 Victoria Avenue	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	523L
Wood Residence	2490 Prince Albert Drive	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	523L
4. Future Study List			
Chinese Pavilion	456 Mission Inn Avenue	Culture and Institutions	None
Dragon House Restaurant	10466 Magnolia Avenue	Commercial Development	None
John W. North High School	1550 Third Street	Culture and Institutions	None
Riverside Mandarin Baptist Church	4889 Tyler Street	Culture and Institutions	None
Sam Huang Studio, Life Arts Building	3485 University Avenue	Culture and Institutions	None
Sam and Kitty Huang Residence	7458 Whitegate Avenue	Residential Settlement Patterns	None
"Grant's Centennial"	4011 Fourteenth Street	Culture and Institutions	523 A & B

Property Name	Property Address	Theme	DPR Form
mural, Grand Elementary School			
"Know the Past, Live the Present, Dream the Future" mural, Magnolia Elementary School	3975 Maplewood Place	Culture and Institutions	523 A & B
Prenda Packing House Site	Northwest corner of Dufferin Avenue and Jefferson Street	Labor, Agriculture & Industry	None
Chinese settlement near corner of Adams Street and Magnolia Avenue	Near corner of Adams Street and Magnolia Avenue	Residential Settlement Patterns	None
Early Chinese Quarter	Main, Orange, Eighth (University) , and Ninth Streets	Residential Settlement Patterns	None

HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

Introduction

The historic context narrative is divided into three sections:

- Historical Overview, which provides a narrative history of Chinese Americans in Riverside and related development patterns in Southern California from the period 1868-1975. The historical overview is intended to provide background information to support the themes. Because relatively few eligible resources were identified as part of this study, the historical overview may also provide valuable information to inform future studies of Chinese Americans in Riverside. A discussion of anti-Chinese sentiment and legislation is included in the historical overview. Although there are no specific resources associated with anti-Chinese legislation, these laws had a profound effect on Chinese American life in Riverside from the 1870s through the post-World War II period.
- Discussion of the four identified themes. The themes draw on information included in the historical overview, with additional information specific to the development pattern associated with that theme. At the conclusion of each theme are the known resources associated with that theme, along with recommended properties for future study.
- Chronology of significance events in Chinese American history in California and Riverside.

Historical Overview

Early Development

The City of Riverside was founded in 1870, though the area was explored by Europeans nearly 100 years earlier. Spanish explorer Juan Bautista De Anza and his expedition charted a route from Mexico into Alta California in 1774. During his exploration, Bautista De Anza named the future site of Riverside, *Valle de Paraíso*, or Valley of Paradise. Riverside's idyllic location along the Santa Ana River made it an ideal place for agriculture, and as a valley with nearby mountains, the topography contributed to its selection as a stop on the transcontinental railroads. These factors brought many settlers to Riverside, including people from China, who began arriving by the late 1860s.

Though no Spanish missions were established in Riverside County, nearby San Gabriel Mission grazed cattle and sheep on Riverside's fertile lands. With the secularization of the missions in 1832, Mexico parceled out the mission lands into large ranchos. Rancho Jurupa, granted to Juan Bandini in 1838 encompassed the land that is now the downtown area of Riverside. Catastrophic rains followed by years of drought in the early 1860s devastated the cattle herds. By planting feed crops, ranchers became less dependent on weather patterns, but required more intensive labor.[4] By the late 1860s and 1870s, agriculture, originally speculative silk production dependent on mulberry leaves to feed silkworms, and then citrus production and vegetable crops had taken hold and quickly became a defining industry in the area. The citrus industry brought many people to Riverside for jobs and a better life. It also formed the beginnings of the University of California, Riverside (UCR), which started as a Citrus Experiment Station in 1907.

California became a U.S. state in 1850, and opportunity brought many to the new Golden State. Fleeing wars, famine, and civil unrest in mid-19th century China, thousands of Chinese immigrants from Guangdong Province in Southern China journeyed to California seeking their fortunes in *Gum Saan*

[4] Richard Crawford, "The Great Drought: Fickle weather in 1860s led to breakdown of cattle industry," *Los Angeles Times*, June 13, 1991.

(which translates literally as Gold Mountain).[5] Because most came for economic opportunities in the developing American West, the vast majority of arrivals were men; few Chinese women emigrated during this period. By 1852, over 20,000 Chinese had migrated to California, with most arriving by ship in San Francisco and heading straight to the gold fields. The majority were Cantonese, many of whom had been itinerant workers in South Asia.[6] Chinese emigrants of this period could be divided between those who were taken overseas in the coolie trade, indebted for their passage to America, and those who left voluntarily as free, or semi-free emigrants.[7] Strong cultural connections both assisted Chinese immigration and dictated behavior, job opportunities, and social obligations. Often, people from the same village or region, or sharing the same surname would emigrate in groups or in subsequent waves to an established enclave to ensure greater support in a new land.[8] Chinese benevolent associations and family associations were often formed based on geographic origins or family ties, and offered a support network to newly arriving Chinese, guiding them towards jobs and housing and providing a strong social community. In the early 1850s, an estimated 40,000 Chinese American miners were working in the gold fields. By 1853, a ruling decreed that Chinese American miners could only work claims abandoned by whites, limiting their options and requiring hard work, persistence, and collective effort to succeed. By the end of 1859, 66,000 Chinese had immigrated to the U.S. In the 1860 federal census, Chinese Americans outnumbered every other immigrant nationality in California. While the gold rush brought miners to the north, discriminatory policies and racial tensions led many to move on to other opportunities, including working to construct the nascent transcontinental railroads.[9]

Building the First Transcontinental Railroad

Chinese Americans have a long history as railroad workers on the rail lines in the Western United States, dating back to the 1860s. Building railroads across the West was punishingly hard work. Jobs were plentiful, though wages were often unfairly scaled, with Chinese American workers earning less than others.[10] Many Chinese Americans found work preparing roadbeds, laying track, cutting tunnels and performing other grueling and dangerous tasks in the construction of the railroad lines in California. From 1865 to 1868, Chinese American railroad workers laid track through the Sierra Nevadas for the Central Pacific Railroad. By the end of 1865, 3,000 Chinese Americans worked for the Central Pacific, laying track toward Promontory, Utah. The Chinese Americans proved to be hard workers, and railroad agents continued to hire Chinese American laborers in increasing numbers as the Central Pacific pushed eastward.[11] To grow the labor force, railroad companies starting recruiting workers still living in the Far East, and by the time the golden spike was driven in Promontory, Utah in 1869, connecting the eastern and western routes into a single transcontinental rail line, four out of every five men hired by the Central Pacific were from China.[12]

Track gangs were organized into ethnic groups comprising approximately 12 to 20 men, moving camp as their work progressed. Each gang had a cook who would prepare familiar Chinese foods. Through hard work, diligence, and harmonious living in camp, Chinese American workers earned a good reputation.

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[5] Thomas W. Chinn, Him Mark Lai, and Philip P. Choy, eds., *A History of Chinese in California, A Syllabus*, 11. https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views3b.htm.
[6] "Events in the West 1850-1860" *New Perspectives on The West*, PBS, http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/events/1850_1860.htm.
[7] Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910*, 21.
[8] See https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views3b.htm.
[9] "Events in the West 1900-1917," *New Perspectives on The West*, PBS, http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/events/1900_1917.htm.
[10] Central Pacific Railroad Photographic History Museum, "Chinese-American Contribution to Transcontinental Railroad," http://cprr.org/Museum/Chinese.html.
[11] E.L. Savin, *Building the Pacific Railway* (Philadelphia, 1919), 111.
[12] The Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley has a copy of the January 1, 1867 *California China Mail and Flying Dragon* containing a Chinese language advertisement for laborers to come to the U.S. to work on railroad construction and in agriculture.

Leland Stanford, one of the directors of the Central Pacific, wrote to President Johnson, "As a class they are quiet, peaceable, patient, industrious and economical. Ready and apt to learn all the different kinds of work required in railroad building, they soon became as efficient as the white laborers."[13] However, Chinese American workers faced dangers on the job other than those posed by the backbreaking work they performed: in 1882, the *Press & Horticulturalist* reported on a violent altercation at the Box Springs Grade. Sam Temple of San Jacinto was charged with assault and battery of two Chinese railroad workers employed by the California Southern Railroad, for allegedly using a pick handle to cut them during a fight over the distribution of water to the Chinese work crew.[14]

With the completion of the ambitious transcontinental rail line in 1869 and the extension of the Southern Pacific from San Francisco to Los Angeles in 1876, thousands of Chinese American workers moved from railroad construction to other types of work. This primarily included positions where they would not be in competition with non-Chinese workers, including heavy labor and agriculture, along with working in laundries, restaurants, and as cooks and domestic servants.

Early Chinese American Settlement in Riverside

The first known Chinese Americans in the Riverside area came to San Bernardino in 1867, predating the founding of Riverside.[15] The following year, the owners of the Jensen-Alvarado Ranch, located across the Santa Ana River from the future site of the City of Riverside, hired Chinese American workers to help make bricks and construct the brick ranch house; some stayed on to live in bunkhouses and work at the ranch.

In 1869, the California Silk Center Association purchased the land that would become Riverside with visions of a silk-producing paradise. The untimely death of the organizer, Frenchman Louis Prevost, shortly after the purchase, coupled with a drought year, ended the dream, and the land was sold to Judge John W. North and a group of associates who established the town of Riverside in 1870. The first Chinese American to arrive in the newly minted town of Riverside dubbed it *Yea So Fow* or Jesus City, most likely because the new town offered free land for churches.[16] In 1871, a canal was constructed from the Santa Ana River to supply water to Riverside, and in 1874, another canal, dubbed the Lower Canal, was constructed from the river through the town of Riverside to Arlington. It is likely, but not documented, that these two projects utilized Chinese American labor. It is documented that a Chinese American, Wong Fong, did work as a cook for the canal builders. Fong later became a vegetable farmer and storekeeper in Riverside's Chinatown.

In addition to working in agriculture and likely providing labor for infrastructure improvements, during this period Chinese American immigrants also found work as cooks and domestic laborers, or operated their own small businesses. Some of these early residents lived as household help in larger homes in Riverside, most laborers, merchants and small businessmen were more likely to live in a concentrated ethnic enclave.[17] Many of the Chinese Americans who made Riverside their home had emigrated from

[13] Southern Pacific Relations Memorandum, "The Chinese Role in Building the Central Pacific," January 3, 1966; Charles Nordhoff, *California: A Book for Travellers and Settlers* (NY: Harper & Brothers, 1873), 189-190.
[14] *Press & Horticulturalist*, March 18, 1882.
[15] National Park Service, "Chinatown archaeological site, National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," 4, accessed September 2, 2016, http://focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/90000151.pdf.
[16] Riverside Municipal Museum, *Life in Little Gom-Benn: Chinese Immigrant Society in Riverside, 1885-1930*.
[17] Eliza Tibbets, who was responsible for bringing the Washington navel orange to Riverside, employed a Chinese American servant Lau Ah. Lew Gut also known as Little Sam was hired by the Bettner family and lived in the attic. He was paid $1/day, and moved with Catharine Bettner to her new mansion on Magnolia in 1891. He frequented the first Chinese enclave at Ninth and Orange Streets, and later socialized at the Arlington Chinese enclave at Adams and Magnolia. He moved to 4558 Brockton in Chinatown after Mrs. Bettner passed away in 1928.

Gom Benn village, in the Toisan District of Guangdong Province in Southern China. Oral histories have established that five generations of Gom Benn villagers came to Riverside.[18] Most of these immigrants shared a common lineage with the Wong family in Gom Benn or neighboring villages, which maintained reciprocal relationships with overseas Gom Benn villagers.[19] Citrus was an important product in the Toisan District, so the Gom Benn villagers would have been familiar with this type of work when they came to the United States.

By the late 1870s, Riverside's first Chinese quarter was established, in a block bounded by Main, Orange, Eighth, and Ninth Streets in downtown's "Mile Square."[20] The Chinese quarter provided a semblance of security for Chinese American residents. Its location in the business district allowed Chinese American entrepreneurs to flourish, operating laundries, labor contracting offices, and general stores. There were ten buildings that were each one story and constructed of wood. The Quong Mow Lung Company carried general merchandise. Laundries were a venture of choice in the Chinese American community, and a group of "washing houses" existed along Seventh Street. The Hang Wo Laundry is believed to be the first Chinese business to operate in Riverside. An advertisement in the *Riverside Press and Horticulturist* for the Hang Wo Laundry touts new owner, Charles Wong, as a "Christian Chinaman" and "refer[s] parties to his Pastor and others in San Francisco" as references for his character.[21] The Hang Wo Laundry was established on Seventh Street near the corner of Main Street in 1876, but was relocated in 1882 to make way for the Citrus Pavilion. Another advertisement notified the public that Sam Hoy purchased a wash-house from Sam Gee and would continue operating, using "none but the best workingmen and [would] use American methods of washing." The ad went on to note that Sam Hoy could also "furnish good cooks, ranch hands and laborers of all kinds."[22] Another laundry, the Duey Wo Lung Company, may have also operated on Seventh Street. Owner Gin Duey (aka Duey Wo Lung, Chen Duey, or Gin Ah Git) became the spokesman for the Chinese American community.

Gin Duey and laundry wagon, c. 1900. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside CA.

[18] Harry Lawton, "The Pilgrims from Gom-Benn: Migratory Origins of Chinese Pioneers in the San Bernardino Valley," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown*, 150.
[19] Lawton, 158-159. This includes Voy and Fay Wong, whose 1940s residence is discussed in the Residential Settlement theme, below. Voy emigrated from Gom Benn; when he chose to marry, his marriage with Fay Lee, from a neighboring village, was arranged. Most of the Gom Benn villagers who came to Riverside were male.
[20] The Mile Square was bounded on the east by the Santa Fe Railroad, on the west at Pepper Street, on the north at First Street, and on the south at Fourteenth Street. Laid out in 1870 by Los Angeles surveying and engineering firm of Goldsworthy & Higby for the newly formed Southern California Colony Association, Riverside's Downtown "Mile Square" had 169 blocks of two and half acres each. For more information, see Tom Patterson, *A Colony for California*, 42-47. According to the NPS website, this first "Chinatown" was in existence by 1876. https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views3h67.htm. Other published sources note that the first Chinatown was established in 1879.
[21] *Riverside Press and Horticulturist*, August 16, 1884.
[22] *Riverside Press and Horticulturist*, July 8, 1882.

Riverside's first Chinatown was more than just a place to conduct business. Boarding houses offered places to live, though migrant workers who arrived in town during harvest season would also pitch tents in the area. The Chinese quarter also served as the center of Chinese social life. Observing festivals and religious rituals was important for the community. Chinese Americans typically followed three belief systems: Taoism and Buddhism for religious guidance, and Confucianism for their social framework. Associations, or *tongs*, provided an informal governance, oversaw celebrations and funerals, and acted to protect community members when necessary. In Riverside, the Chee Kung Tong served this function, with membership extending out to Chinese Americans in rural areas around Riverside.[23] The celebration of Chinese New Year and other "Western" festivals also helped create a sense of community for Chinese Americans. In describing Riverside's Fourth Annual Citrus Fair of 1882, author Harry Lawton writes, "The streets were also crowded with Chinese railroad workers, who poured into Riverside in the evening from their camps on Box Springs Grade to socialize in the Chinese Quarter."[24]

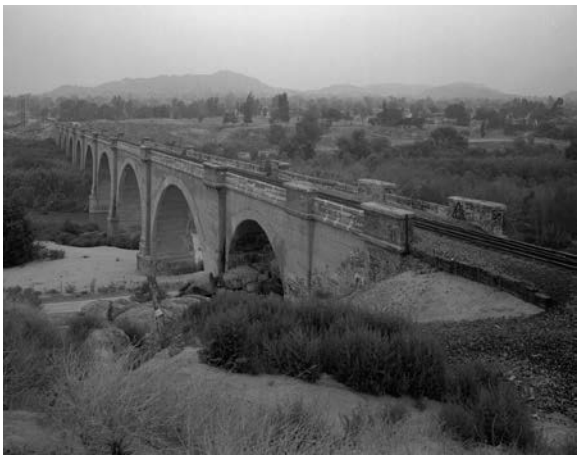
The true gold strike for Riverside began in 1873 when new resident Eliza Tibbets planted two experimental citrus trees from Brazil.[25] These two Washington navel orange trees were the start of Riverside's multi-million-dollar citrus industry. Orange groves, packing houses, and innovations in growing and processing oranges dominated Riverside life for many decades to come. Chinese American laborers, many of whom had agricultural experience in their homeland, brought expertise and a willingness for hard work to the nascent citrus industry, including orchard management, truck gardening skills, digging canals, planting, grafting, pruning, and irrigating.[26] Some innovations in citrus production can potentially be credited to Chinese Americans, including citrus clippers, used for picking oranges, and the furrow method, or "Riverside method," of irrigation, which replaced basin irrigation circa 1878.[27] The extensive commercial orange groves that sprang up in the Riverside area provided jobs, and some ranch owners provided housing as well. The Prenda Packinghouse on Dufferin Avenue (remnants of the packinghouse are extant), for example, maintained a "Chinese" bunkhouse and Japanese "shacks" onsite for many years.[28]

Chinese Packers, Boyd and Devine Packing House, Sixth and Pachappa, c. 1890. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside CA.

[23] National Park Service, "Chinatown archaeological site, National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," 4, accessed September 2, 2016, http://focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/90000151.pdf.
[24] Harry Lawton, "A Selected Chronological History of Chinese Pioneers in Riverside and the Southern California Citrus Belt," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 84-85.
[25] City of Riverside, "History of Riverside," https://www.riversideca.gov/visiting-aboutriv.asp.
[26] Riverside Municipal Museum, *Life in Little Gom-Benn: Chinese Immigrant Society in Riverside, 1885-1930*, (Riverside, CA: Riverside Municipal Museum, 1991).
[27] National Park Service, "Chinatown archaeological site, National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," 4, accessed September 2, 2016, http://focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/90000151.pdf. Bamboo citrus clippers were used in China since at least the 12th century; the appearance of a similar clipper in Riverside in the 1880s coincides with a large Chinese American labor force working in citriculture.
[28] 1908 Sanborn Map.

Chinese Americans supplied most of the vegetables consumed in Riverside and truck farming allowed entrepreneurs to run profitable businesses. By 1881, Chinese American vegetable gardeners Ching Koo, Ah Toy, Lee Wan, and Ah Sing had leased Santa Ana River bottomlands near Colton, east of La Cadena Avenue, to plant their crops. Other vegetable growers began operations by the following year on portions of the Rubidoux and Jurupa Ranchos and other river bottomlands. "China Gardens" was the local name for the vegetable gardens on the west bank of the Santa Ana, opposite Mt. Rubidoux, where Quong Sing leased 20 acres from Cornelius Jensen. By 1885, there were approximately 40 Chinese American vegetable gardeners in Riverside area, who raised and delivered much of the produce used in the area.[29] Besides the entrepreneurial Chinese Americans who ran their own small vegetable businesses, local industry employed Chinese American workers. James Bettner hired 150 Chinese Americans to work at the Riverside Cannery Company in 1882.[30] Articles in local newspapers in the 1880s and 1890s reported other packinghouses and fruit companies employing Chinese American workers included the Earl Fruit Company, F.B. Devine, Porter Brothers, Moulten and Green, Jennison, and Strong and Company.[31] Another large, local employer of Chinese American workers at the time was Trumbower's Brick Company. [32]

Construction of regional rail lines continued into the mid-1880s, continuing to employ many experienced Chinese American railroad workers. The California Southern Railroad began construction on a 116-mile line from National City to San Bernardino in 1881, which granted the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad the final link in a transcontinental line. Labor broker Ah Quin negotiated a contract in 1881 to provide labor for this project, and a contingent of 2,000 Chinese American workers was established. Construction began by cutting a long, deep gorge through granite in Temecula Canyon. The railroad bypassed Riverside by selecting a route through Box Springs Canyon, and a temporary camp housed Chinese American workers in the Box Springs Canyon Grade in Riverside in the early 1880s, adjacent to the California Southern tracks.



View of south elevation of Union Pacific Railroad Bridge, looking northwest, 1991. Source: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, HAER, Reproduction number HAER_CA-123.

[29] Harry Lawton, "Riverside's First Chinatown and the Boom of the Eighties," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 13.
[30] *Press and Horticulturalist*, October 21, 1882.
[31] "Anti-Chinese Meeting," *Riverside Daily Press*, February 6, 1889; "News from the Casa Blanca Packing Houses," *Riverside Daily Enterprise*, December 7, 1897.
[32] *Press and Horticulturalist*, March 18, 1886.

A labor notice from January 8, 1881 stated, "Chinamen are being employed in grading the Southern California Railroad at $20 per month."[33] By May 1882, there were six contractors supervising 14 gangs of Chinese American and white laborers who were paid $1.75 per day.[34] In 1882, the San Bernardino County Board of Supervisors authorized a $2 tax on California Southern Railroad workers, who were mostly Chinese American.[35] Construction of the Riverside, Santa Ana & Los Angeles Railroad through Riverside in 1885-1886 brought a large number of Chinese American workers to Riverside.

Late Nineteenth Century Growth

Transcontinental rail travel came to Riverside in 1883 with the California Southern Railroad (later merged into the Santa Fe Railroad). Ease of travel brought more tourists and people looking for a new life in this "Valley of Paradise." With competing railroad companies, fares dropped, and in 1887, 120,000 newcomers arrived in Los Angeles. Many of these new transplants came to Riverside, and one of the places to stay was the Glenwood Tavern, built in 1876. Expanded and embellished over the years, the Glenwood Tavern became the Mission Inn.

Through the 1880s, citrus production continued to dominate the region, with new towns established at Rialto, Fontana, Bloomington, Redlands, Terracina, Mound City (Loma Linda), Guasti, South Riverside (Corona), Etiwanda, and Ontario. By 1895, Riverside was declared the richest city per capita in the U.S., mainly due to the Washington navel orange and the ease of transport by rail in refrigerated cars to the rest of the nation.[36] A large migrant labor force, with estimates as high as 3,000 Chinese American laborers, picked and packed fruit seasonally in the Riverside area. U.S. Federal census records from the period of 1900 to 1920 and Sanborn maps provide evidence of Chinese American laborers living in, or near citrus groves in the Arlington Heights area, including housing at "Monroe Street Camp," "Trust Company Camp," and "Chinese camp" at Prenda Station. Other Chinese Americans are listed in census records as residing at the homes of prominent citrus growers. During this period, the Gage Canal was extended to Arlington Heights, bringing the total length of the canal to 22 miles, and enabling thousands more acres of land to become citrus producing.[37] It was likely Chinese Americans who performed much of the hard labor to extend this canal.

Gage Canal, c. 1895.
Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside CA.

[33] NPS website. "Riverside Chinese American Community Site," A History of Chinese Americans in California: Historic Sites. https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views3h67.htm.
[34] Murray K. Lee, *In Search of Gold Mountain: A History of Chinese in San Diego, California* (Virginia Beach, VA: Donning Company Publishers, 2011), 57.
[35] *Press & Horticulturalist*, March 11, 1882.
[36] City of Riverside, "History of Riverside," https://www.riversideca.gov/visiting-aboutriv.asp.
[37] Steve Lech, "Back in the Day: Riverside's canals brought life to new town," *The Press Enterprise*, February 28, 2016. http://www.pe.com/articles/canal-795196-riverside-water.html.

Along with a large Mexican population, many other ethnic groups have called Riverside home since its inception, including Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Italians, Filipinos and African Americans. All of these groups contributed to the growth and diversity of Riverside and have left their own imprint on the city's cultural heritage. Typically, living in small clusters offered ethnic groups a common bond and community support. The Sanborn map for Riverside from 1884 shows that in addition to the downtown Chinese quarter, there was a small enclave of Chinese American-occupied buildings on the north corner of Ninth and Orange Streets, including a laundry, two stores, and a boarding house.

Anti-Chinese sentiment existed in Riverside, with Luther Holt, among others, crusading to evict Chinese Americans from downtown. There was also systematic harassment including charges of fire hazards from crowded wooden buildings, and health hazards from open laundry drains that resulted in the indictment of 46 violators, most of whom were Chinese Americans.[38] In 1885 the town passed several ordinances, including one which prohibited wooden buildings in downtown. Chinese American tenants were given a 30-day notice to agree to a higher rent at $500 per month or vacate by Chinatown's landlord, E.J. Davis.

FIRE WORKS!
The Best FIRE WORKS at the
Chinese and
Japanese Bazaar,
TUCK SING LUNG.
12915 623 Eighth St., Perrine block.

Tuck Sing Lung Advertisement, *Riverside Enterprise*, June 21, 1893.

As a result, Wong Nim, Wong Gee, and Gin Duey under the business name Quong Nim and Company, leased a 7-acre site from John Cottrell outside the town at Tequisquite [sic] and Brockton, where they established a Chinatown.[39] Local contractor A.W. Boggs was hired to build houses and shops for the new venture. In 1888, Quong Nim and Company acquired title to the land – a rare example of Chinese American immigrants purchasing property during this period in American history.[40] The Riverside County Directory of 1893-94, under the heading "Japanese Goods" lists "Tuck Sing Lung & Co., 623 Eighth Street, have many curious and valuable articles from Japan and China. Chinese employment agency in connection." The listing under Riverside City is entitled, "Chinese and Japanese Goods," and Tuck Sing Lung & Co.'s name appears along with competitor Mrs. S.A. Howard at 661 Eighth Street. Tuck Sing Lung also appears under "Chinese Employment Agency."

In the same directory, there were only two listings for laundry services: Domestic Laundry, Mrs. Mary Dibble and Mrs. Clara Curfoot, proprietors; and Riverside Steam Laundry, Messrs. Conrad, Crawford & Lohmeyer, proprietors.[41] The First Congregational Church's Chinese Mission is listed at 1164 Walnut (now Brockton Avenue, no longer extant).[42] In the individual residential listings for Riverside for this period, there are no names that are clearly of Chinese origin. In South Riverside, only the following three names appear: Lee Dye, laborer; Joe Wong, laborer with Sam Wo; and Sam Wo, who was engaged in

[38] National Park Service, "Chinatown archaeological site, National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," 4, accessed September 2, 2016, http://focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/90000151.pdf. Chinese American firefighters helped extinguish a fire at the Riverside Press printing plant in 1883, causing anti-Chinese activist Luther Holt to give credit to them for preventing further damage.
[39] 1908 Sanborn Map shows this new "Chinatown." Spelling for "Tequisquite Avenue" taken from the 1908 Sanborn Map. Modern spelling is Tequesquite.
[40] San Bernardino County Deed Book 68:311-313.
[41] History and Directory of Riverside County, 1893-4, 77, 82, and 86.
[42] History and Directory of Riverside County, 1893-4, 162.

"washing and ironing." There is no mention of laundries operated by Chinese Americans in Riverside or South Riverside, though this was a known profession in the Chinese American community.

L: Hand-tinted detail photo of Riverside Chinatown, 1912. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside CA. R: Quong Foo, Adams Street Chinatown merchant, identification photograph with Return Certificate application 1898. Source: National Archives at San Francisco.

Fire struck Riverside's Chinatown in 1893, caused by the explosion of a coal stove in the Pow Hing store, leaving eighteen buildings destroyed, and only eight saved. Resident Gin Duey convened a meeting where the Chinatown merchants agreed to rebuild, despite anti-Chinese sentiment in the area. At about the same time, a new Chinese American settlement emerged in the Arlington area, on Adams Street between Magnolia Avenue and California Street. Most likely, it was established to meet the needs of Chinese laborers living and working in the Arlington Heights area at the height of the citrus industry. In 1892, citrus grower George Crawford built "a large building for the accommodation of Chinese, on which the Chinese claim they will have a seven year lease."[43] On July 5, 1893, a *Riverside Daily Press* report noted two Chinatowns on Adams Street, commenting: "Perhaps the founders find it more profitable to lease the land to their celestial tenants than to grow oranges for the commission men, but their neighbors would perhaps prefer their continuing in the latter industry."[44] A few days later, a police raid was reported at what was known as Crawford Place, which resulted in the capture of seven Chinese gamblers. The report mentioned the considerable complaint regarding this "second edition of Chinatown."[45]

In 1898, a newspaper reported that Wing Lee Lung, a groceries and merchandise business, was sold to Quong On Chong & Co., evidence of continued commercial activity in the Chinese settlement at Adams and Magnolia. While the U.S. Federal Census shows mostly Chinese day laborers living on North Adams Street in 1900, a Chinese merchant and clerk were also identified. City directories from 1901-1910 list proprietors Quong Wing Sing and Quong Wo Lee & Co, among others, providing further record of a Chinese American commercial presence on Adams Street. This enclave survived through the early 1910s, after which the Chinese American population in this area dissipated.

The number of Chinese American inhabitants fluctuated, with migrant workers adding up to several thousand temporary inhabitants during harvest seasons. As a result, prior to 1900, the population of

[43] "Another Chinese Nuisance," *Press & Horticulturalist*, May 28, 1892.
[44] *Riverside Daily Press*, July 5, 1893.
[45] *Riverside Daily Press*, July 10, 1893.

Chinatown ranged from approximately 150 to 500 inhabitants. The 1900 Census listed more than 200 Chinese Americans, mainly men who worked as laborers. Other listed occupations included "cooks, storekeepers, laundrymen, servants, ironers, gardeners, lodging house keepers, druggists, a barber, a butcher, a tailor and a vegetable peddler."[46] It was not only Chinese Americans who frequented Chinatown, author Harry Lawton noted, "Riverside housewives and even society matrons made pilgrimages in their carriages to Chinatown to buy notions at Chon Gee's variety store, select fresh vegetables, bargain with cooks and hire houseboys."[47]

Exterior view of Pow Hing & Company, Riverside Chinatown with partners, Quan Way, Hom Yen, Hom Kim Sang, and unidentified man, c. 1914. Source: National Archives at San Francisco.

Many of the Chinese Americans who settled in the Inland Empire maintained connections with the Chinatown in Los Angeles, traveling there to shop for special foods, visit friends, and, for men, to stop by one of the benevolent associations. The Wong Kong Har Wun Sun Society was established prior to 1870 in Los Angeles, with its name later changed to the Wong Family Benevolent Association of Los Angeles. This association was established "to bond the clansmen together to help each other in a foreign land," and is still open to all whose last name is Wong.[48] Since many of Riverside's Chinese pioneers had come from the same village, many shared the common family name of Wong, and some joined the Wong Family Association of Los Angeles. In the 1960s, many Inland Southern California Wongs, including Bing Wong and Voy Wong, formed a new association, the Gom Benn Village Society, with headquarters in Los Angeles Chinatown.[49]

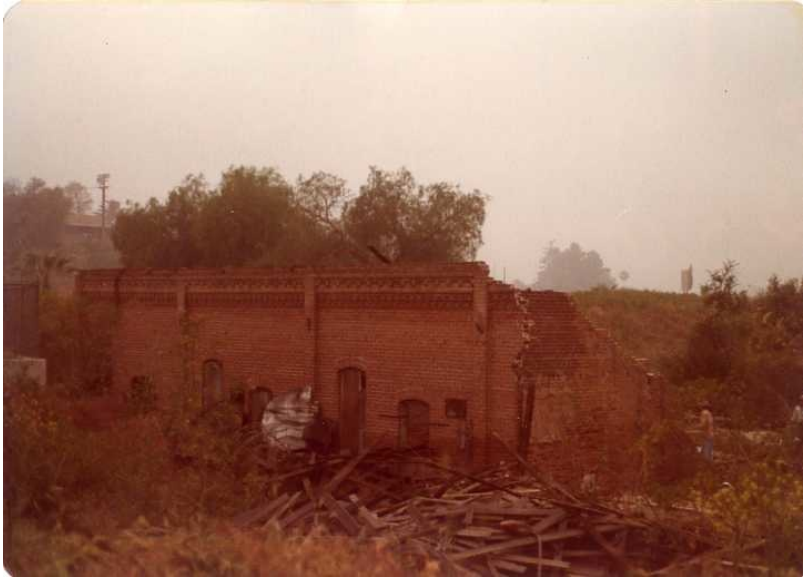
Twentieth Century Riverside

By 1908, Sanborn maps show Riverside's Chinatown as a series of contiguous buildings on both sides of, a small street near Tequisquite [sic] and Brockton Avenues.[50]A Joss House, or Chinese temple, is located

[46] "Riverside Chinese American Community Site," *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California*. Sacramento: Office of Historic Preservation, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1988), https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views3.htm.
[47] Harry Lawton, "Riverside's Pioneer Chinese, Third the series," *Press Enterprise*, February 10, 1959.
[48] Wong Family Benevolent Association website, http://www.wongfamilyassociationla.org.
[49] Telephone conversation with Janlee Wong, July 11, 2016.
[50] While the 1908 Sanborn map identifies the main street in Chinatown as Mongol Street, it was always known as Chinatown Street. Many fire insurance maps from this period used unofficial racist terms for minority neighborhoods.

at the north end of the street, with a Chinese laundry and a butcher shop at the entrance to the street on the south. A large drying yard was located behind the laundry, and another 17 storefronts lined the street. Riverside's Chinatown included remittance banker, Wong Sai-Chee, who arrived circa 1890. In addition to transferring money to families back in China, Wong also operated a general store and laundry.[51] Wong Sai-Chee did well in his business ventures and returned to China in 1930.[52]

By the early twentieth century, Riverside Chinatown's population was in decline. In 1915, Helen Wong was the last child born in Riverside Chinatown, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Wong Sai Chuck, owners of a grocery store there. A number of factors led to the decline of the local Chinese community, including the aging population, continued immigration restrictions, and growth opportunities in other areas. Many Chinese Americans also returned to their native land with the announcement of Sun Yat-sen's overthrow of the Ching Dynasty in 1911.[53] By the 1920s, most of the community had dissipated. The last business operating in Chinatown closed in 1938, [54] the same year that major flooding hit Riverside and damaged the Chinese American truck farming gardens along the Santa Ana River.[55] By 1951, most of the buildings in Chinatown were gone, including the Joss House. Extant buildings included the 5-unit brick building on the western side of the street, with two units labelled as vacant, and an additional two dwellings to the north of the brick building. The last remaining building in Chinatown, a brick building which was erected after the Chinatown fire of 1893, was demolished in 1978.



Chinatown's last building, 1976. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside CA.

[51] It has been posited that Wong provided remittance services to most Chinese Americans in Inland Empire area who were sending money back to China, as he may have required an estimated 2,500 customers to run a profitable remittance business. H. Vincent Moses, in both an oral history recorded June 16, 2016 and in the Riverside Municipal Museum's *Life in Little Gom-Benn: Chinese Immigrant Society in Riverside, 1885-1930,* (Riverside, CA: Riverside Municipal Museum, 1991) provides the analysis that Wong Sai-Chee "would have needed around 2,500 clients to make a reasonable profit."; In 2000, twenty checks processed through the First National Bank of Riverside in 1902 bearing Chinese American names were found, providing evidence that Riverside's Chinese American community also utilized local American banking systems. Kevin Akin in discussion with M. Rosalind Sagara, April 9, 2016. In 2000, twenty checks processed through the First National Bank of Riverside in 1902 bearing Chinese American names were found, providing evidence that Riverside's Chinese American community also utilized local American banking systems. Kevin Akin in discussion with M. Rosalind Sagara, April 9, 2016.

[52] Riverside Municipal Museum, *Life in Little Gom-Benn: Chinese Immigrant Society in Riverside, 1885-1930,* (Riverside, CA: Riverside Municipal Museum, 1991).

[53] National Park Service, "Chinatown archaeological site, National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," 4, accessed September 2, 2016, http://focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/90000151.pdf.

[54] Riverside Municipal Museum, *Life in Little Gom-Benn: Chinese Immigrant Society in Riverside, 1885-1930,* (Riverside, CA: Riverside Municipal Museum, 1991).

[55] Kim Jarrell Johnson, "Back in the Day: Over 100 Died in County during 1938 Floods," *The Press Enterprise*, January 10, 2016, http://www.pe.com/articles/water-791121-riverside-flood.html (accessed September 2016).

Chinatown's most famous resident, Wong Ho Leun (George Wong) was born in Gom Benn Village in 1900, and joined his father Wong Ben Chow, a vegetable merchant, in Riverside in 1914. George's father managed vegetable farms along the Santa Ana River west of Rubidoux Bridge and south of Highway 60 until 1916, and in an area in Fairmount Park until the 1920s. George's father placed him in the home of S.H. Herrick, where he worked as a house servant. George attended Grant School, Polytechnic High School, and Riverside City College. When the United Brethren's Chinese Mission was moved from its previous location on 12th and Chestnut Street to Chinatown in the 1920s, George served as its Superintendent and taught English to other Chinese Americans. George was drawn to Chinatown, and eventually gained title to the remaining land there after Wong Nim, the last major owner, passed away. He lived in Chinatown, ran the Bamboo Gardens restaurant, and cared for the elderly residents. George Wong was the last resident in Riverside's Chinatown; he remained there until his death on January 14, 1974. In 1961 the City of Riverside's Traffic Division re-named the street connecting Palm Avenue and Pine Street, "Wong Way." They consulted George Wong for the appropriate Chinese characters for the reverse side of the sign; the characters he gave them spelled out George's Chinese name, Wong Ho Leun Street.[56] This is the only such honorary street name in Riverside.

Side by side photographs included in Wong Ben Jew (Wong Ben Chow) application for permission for son Wong Ho Leun (George Wong) to enter the U.S., c. 1914. Source: National Archives at San Francisco.

World War II and Chinese Americans

When Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, many Chinese Americans, both first and second generation, joined the war effort, either through enlistment or the draft. They served in all branches of the armed forces, some in all-Chinese American units. George Wong was drafted, but failed his physical examination, and instead worked as a civilian guard at Camp Anza (Van Buren Boulevard and Arlington) during the war. Among Riverside's Chinese American World War II veterans are Harold Wong (Yuk Suk), one of Voy Wong's partners at the Chungking Café (no longer extant). Voy Wong also enlisted, but like George, failed the physical examination.[57]

Those who remained in the U.S. supported the war by boycotting Japanese goods, raising relief funds for China, or purchasing war bonds. The Chungking Café and another Chinese American-owned restaurant in

[56] "Ho Leun (George Wong) Wong," Evergreen Memorial Historic Cemetery. http://evergreen-cemetery.info/people/ho-leun-george-wong-wong.
[57] Janlee Wong, "My Father Comes to Gold Mountain," in Harry Lawson, *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 210.

downtown, the Rice Bowl Café (no longer extant), supported the war effort by joining several other local restaurants in a campaign to sell Victory Bonds.[58]

The Rice Bowl advertisement, *Riverside Daily Enterprise*, May 26, 1943.

In 1940, the *Chinese News* reported that in three years, overseas Chinese contributed $54,000,000 for relief, with a monthly average of $1,500,000.[59] The war "gave [Chinese Americans] opportunities to demonstrate both their patriotism for the United States and their heartfelt Chinese nationalism, and it brought radical change to the Chinese American community both on the American mainland and in Hawai'i."[60] Historian K. Scott Wong wrote:

> With so many American men entering the armed forces, women and members of formerly excluded racial minorities were needed in the workforce, and they entered in unprecedented numbers. For Chinese Americans, this opening of economic and social opportunities was a turning point. For the first time, significant numbers of Chinese Americans were able to leave the restaurants, laundries, and gift shops to which they had been confined, and to join the armed forces and other defense-related enterprises that were desperate for manpower.[61]

Post-World War II Development

During World War II, Riverside was flanked by a complex of temporary and permanent military bases which would influence the development of the city in the mid-20th century. Riverside's population grew dramatically after World War II. What was once mainly an agriculturally focused community grew into an increasingly larger city. As the dependence on agriculture lessened and population pressures increased, the groves and fields that dotted Riverside gave way to urban and suburban expansion, as it did elsewhere in Southern California.[62] In 1953, the *Press Enterprise* reported that Riverside was among the fastest growing cities in the western United States.

In the post-World War II era, Chinese Americans continued to live in Riverside outside of Chinatown, and one of the more well-known families, Voy and Fay Wong, operated the Chungking Café at 3817

[58] *Riverside Daily Press*, November 6, 1945.
[59] K. Scott Wong, *Americans First: Chinese Americans and the Second World War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 39. The *Chinese News* was an English-language newspaper serving the Chinese American community from 1940-1942. It is believed to have been based in San Francisco, but that is not confirmed.
[60] K. Scott Wong, *Americans First: Chinese Americans and the Second World War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 44.
[61] K. Scott Wong, *Americans First: Chinese Americans and the Second World War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 45.
[62] Jennifer Mermilliod, "Palm Heights Historic District Intensive Survey and Context Statement," Prepared for the City of Riverside, August, 2004, 9.

Market Street from 1942 to 1974. The restaurant was located in the Hotel Plaza building (not extant) which was owned by Bill Evans, Riverside's Mayor.

L: Plaza Hotel, 1977. Source: Voy and Fay Wong Family. R: Chungking Café, n.d.

The passage of the Hart-Cellar Act, or Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, has undoubtedly contributed to the diverse demographic of immigrants from China and Taiwan that we see in Riverside in the 1960s to the present day. In Riverside's post-war years, Chinese surnames found in City directories appear to be primarily linked to higher education and professional opportunities. By the 1960s, Riverside had a community college and three university campuses that attracted Chinese American and Chinese international students, researchers, and academics. In 1974, Dr. Samuel D. Huang, born in China and educated in the U.S., arrived in Riverside to teach Biology at Riverside City College, a position he held until 1998. In addition to his teaching and research, Dr. Huang was an accomplished artist and active in the community. His public artwork can be found throughout Riverside.

Anti-Chinese Sentiment and Legislation

Immigrant communities have distinctive but related histories shaped by immigration policies, changing demands for cheap labor, restrictions on land ownership, and racial animus. They also shared a marginalized status as non-citizens, as represented in the physical separation of the residential enclaves they created with fellow countrymen. Race, class and immigrant status restricted access to certain neighborhoods and areas within cities and towns, just as they did for other groups.[63] Anti-Chinese sentiment and legislation impacted Chinese immigration, where Chinese Americans could live and work, and who they could marry from the 1870s through the expiration of immigration quotes in 1965.

All across the West, beginning with the earliest Chinese immigration in the mid-nineteenth century, discrimination, retaliation, and lack of understanding plagued the Chinese American community. During the construction of the transcontinental railroads, a labor shortage existed to the extent that workers were recruited in China. Once major construction on the railroads slowed, thousands of Chinese Americans moved on to other locations and occupations. By settling in Chinese-centric enclaves, Chinese Americans found community support, familiar customs and practices. While most Chinese Americans moved to Chinatowns in larger cities, some settled in smaller towns such as Riverside and made a new life for themselves.

During this period, Chinese Americans continued to face racial tension. The anti-Chinese movement in inland Southern California began in the 1870s and continued for almost 30 years, "dying down during

[63] Donna Graves, *Japanese American Heritage and the Quest for Civil Rights in Riverside, California, 1890s-1970s*, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, September 29, 2011.

periods of economic prosperity, flaring up into fullest intensity during periods of recession or depression."[64] One of the worst racial conflicts of this period was the Los Angeles Chinese Massacre, which took place in Chinatown in Los Angeles on October 24, 1871 and resulted in the murder of 18 Chinese Americans. Although ten people were brought to trial and eight were convicted, all of their sentences were overturned by the California Supreme Court. Despite this violent attack, many Chinese Americans chose to remain in Los Angeles and rebuild their homes and businesses. Living in larger communities still offered safety and familiarity.[65]

As the 1870s continued, greater numbers of Chinese Americans came to Southern California and became an important part of the labor force.[66] This increased presence of Chinese Americans across the West, the perception that they accepted lower wages than white workers and, therefore, unfairly competed for work, and an economic downturn in the 1870s increased the racial tension. In 1879, anti-Chinese rallies organized by Denis Kearney and the Workingmen's Party were held statewide including in San Bernardino and Riverside. Kearney's appearance in Riverside was labeled "unimpressive" by the local newspaper editor, acknowledging the Chinese American contributions to Riverside's citrus economy. [67]

Attempts by the United States government to limit Chinese immigration were hampered by the Burlingame Treaty of 1868, which "recognized the right of free migration" by Chinese. In 1880, President Rutherford B. Hayes sent a commission to China to formulate a treaty regulating Chinese immigration. The Angell Treaty of 1880, signed in Peking (now Beijing), limited restrictions to Chinese laborers who had never been in the U.S.; however, it also set the stage for ending open Chinese immigration into the U.S. and limiting the number allowed to become citizens.[68] In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, prohibiting immigration from China as well as the naturalization of any Chinese Americans already in the U.S. for a period of ten years. Merchants, diplomats, tourists, students and teachers were still allowed to enter the U.S., and merchants could bring their wives, but laborers could not.[69] Strong anti-Chinese sentiment existed across the west in the 1880s, with mob violence in Seattle and Tacoma, Washington, and Rock Springs, Wyoming, partly because of the perception that Chinese Americans took jobs away from citizens by accepting lower pay. These tensions continued as the transcontinental railroad lines were completed and thousands of Chinese Americans looked elsewhere for work, and manufacturing and agriculture were prime employers. In 1892, ten years after the enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act, Congress passed the Geary Act, extending the ban for another ten-year period, with the additional proviso that all Chinese American workers in the U.S. either register or face deportation. The law was renewed in 1902 and extended for an indefinite period of time in 1904. This essentially sentenced most Chinese American men to a lifetime without marriage if they chose to remain in the United States. Only merchants could bring their families from China, therefore very few Chinese women emigrated, and anti-miscegenation laws prevented marriage between Chinese American men and "white" women up until 1948.[70]

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[64] Harry Lawton, "Denis Kearney Among the Orange Groves," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown*, 194.
[65] Robin Lindley, "The Forgotten Los Angeles Race riot: Interview with Historian Scott Zesch on the Chinatown Massacre of 1871," History News Network. http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/148259; SurveyLA Chinese American Historic Context Statement, 6; Scott Zesch, *The Chinatown War: Chinese Los Angeles and the Massacre of 1871*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2012.
[66] Alan Pollack, M.D., "*1876: Southern Pacific Tunnels Through*," SCVHistory.com, http://www.scvhistory.com/scvhistory/pollack0710tunnel.html Accessed September 3, 2016.
[67] National Park Service, "Chinatown archaeological site, National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Registration Form," 4, accessed September 2, 2016, http://focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/90000151.pdf.
[68] Immigration to the United States, "History of the Federal Judiciary: Chew Heong v. United States: Chinese Exclusion and the Federal Courts," accessed September 12, 2016, http://immigrationtounitedstates.org/343-angell-treaty-of-1880.html; Federal Judicial Center, accessed September 13, 2016, http://www.fjc.gov/history/home.nsf/page/tu_exclusion_doc_1.html
[69] William Tung, *The Chinese in America* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1974), p. 9.
[70] *Perez v. Sharp* was a case heard by the Supreme Court of California in 1948 in which the court upheld a ruling that the state's ban on interracial marriage violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. Since 1850, marriage between whites (and

In 1888, the *Riverside Daily Press* published an editorial on "The Chinese Labor Question." Posing a solution, the author provided cases in Northern California where Chinese workers were successfully replaced by juvenile workers of both genders, and stated:

> While we believe the elimination of the Chinese labor from this state depends mostly upon the employment of such labor, yet there is much work to be done outside of that, especially in regard to the landing of Chinese on this coast. Congress can make laws but cannot enforce them. For support of such laws the people must come forward in their sovereign capacity and assist in that work.[71]

Following this charge, the author published a circular of the statewide Citizens Committee on Chinese Immigration, which requested public donations to pay for the costs of political and legal work proposed to accomplish the committee's goals.

Riverside's first known anti-Chinese committee was formed in 1889, and was largely composed of white laborers. In January 1889, it presented its preamble and resolutions to a packed audience at the Loring Opera House (no longer extant). Following the presentation, J.S. Loveland of Santa Ana took the stage, and made a case that true patriotism demanded an end to the employment of Chinese. He argued, "We must exclude, or be overrun. We must exclude or be demoralized. The most criminal boycotting is on the part of those who employ Chinese. They ought to live with them. The Chinese boycott the white man. A solid union ought to be formed, of workers and growers, to co-operate."[72]

Within a month, Riverside's anti-Chinese committee had surveyed all the packing houses in the city, learning about their respective employee demographics and hiring preferences. While some employed white laborers exclusively, others employed both white and Chinese packers, as they had found white labor unreliable in the past. The anti-Chinese committee also compared the available white workforce to the Chinese, and concluded that Chinese workers were better organized and could be obtained at a moment's notice through their agents, whereas white labor was scattered, unorganized, and could not be obtained with any certainty or dispatch. The committee deduced that there were sufficient numbers of reliable white men and women who could take the place of every Chinese worker in Riverside. In order to organize this white workforce, the committee recommended the creation of a new organization, the Riverside Home Labor Protection League, which would serve two purposes: to furnish a system to obtain skilled and unskilled white laborers promptly, in large or small numbers, and for any purpose, and to allow those who wished to obtain employment and were willing to offer faithful service to obtain it in the quickest possible time. All members were to be white men and women, be U.S. citizens or those intending to become citizens, be residents of the city for three months, have paid $1 annual dues, and have signed the articles of constitution and agreement.[73]

At another meeting of the anti-Chinese committee at the Loring Opera House, more than 500 people gathered and were ready to march on Chinatown. This effort was successfully dissuaded by the town marshal.[74]

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persons of Mexican heritage were deemed to be white) and "a Negro, mulatto, Mongolian or member of the Malay race" had been forbidden. Many mixed-race couples were married in Mexico to circumvent this ban (http://articles.latimes.com/2009/aug/02/opinion/oe-see2).

[71] "The Chinese Labor Question," *Riverside Daily Press*, September 5, 1888.

[72] "The Chinese Discussed," *Riverside Daily Press and Tribune*, January 24, 1889.

[73] "Anti-Chinese Meeting," *Riverside Daily Press and Tribune*, February 6, 1889.

[74] Harry Lawton, "Denis Kearney Among the Orange Groves," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 196.

By September 1893, the Geary Act was in full effect, and at least two anti-Chinese organizations were active in Riverside by this time. The Riverside Federation of Labor intended to implement the Geary Act by arresting unregistered Chinese Americans in Riverside. "By nightfall on September 6, a U.S. Marshal and deputies were scouring Riverside's Chinatown and Chinese settlements throughout the San Bernardino Valley. Within the next few days, 10 Chinese were arrested in Riverside."[75] Many of Chinatown's residents fled to the Santa Ana River, hiding in the willows for almost a week.[76] Of the men arrested, most were cooks, found at the homes of prominent Riverside residents. One was arrested at the Chung Kee laundry (no longer extant) in the Tibbets tract.[77] Deputies continued their search in San Bernardino, where all captured were placed in the city's jail, then taken to Los Angeles the following day to await trial.

Violence against Chinese Americans continued in the early twentieth century. In 1900, eight Chinese American workers were dragged from a Chinese labor camp in the Casa Blanca neighborhood, beaten, robbed, and dumped near the Santa Ana River. Four men were prosecuted for the alleged crime, but not found guilty.[78]

Other legislation in the early twentieth century continued and reinforced anti-immigrant policies in the United States, with many of these laws specifically targeting Asian Americans. In 1901, the California legislature extended the anti-miscegenation law that forbade white and Asian marriages, a law that remained in effect until 1948. In 1913, California adopted the Alien Land Law which made it illegal for residents who were ineligible for citizenship to own farmland or to lease it for more than three years.[79] The Cable Act of 1922 revoked U.S. citizenship of any American woman who married an alien who was ineligible for citizenship. The Immigration Exclusion Act of 1924 denied admission to the U.S. for all immigrants who were "ineligible for citizenship." Because the extension of the Chinese Exclusion Act/Geary Act was still in place, this act mainly affected Asians, though it did establish quotas for immigrants from other parts of the world.

This discriminatory legislation enacted in the 1920s effectively banned immigration from Asian countries, which lead to the concept of "a paper son."[80] Chinese Americans who were citizens were allowed to bring their eldest son from China. This practice began after the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act but became more expedient because of the San Francisco earthquake of 1906 and the subsequent fires, where birth and citizenship records were lost, and Chinese Americans could claim to be citizens whose records had been destroyed. Many of these newly minted "citizens" sold their paperwork to other Chinese American who had relatives in China who could then claim kinship and therefore be allowed to emigrate to the U.S. as citizens. These emigres are referred to as "paper sons."

Asian Americans were allowed to serve in the U.S. Armed Forces in World War I, though many of them were ineligible for citizenship. In 1935, more than 16 years after the end of the war, the U.S. Congress passed Public Law 162 granting the right to several hundred Asian veterans who served during World War I to apply for naturalization.[81] Most Chinese Americans had to wait another eight years for President

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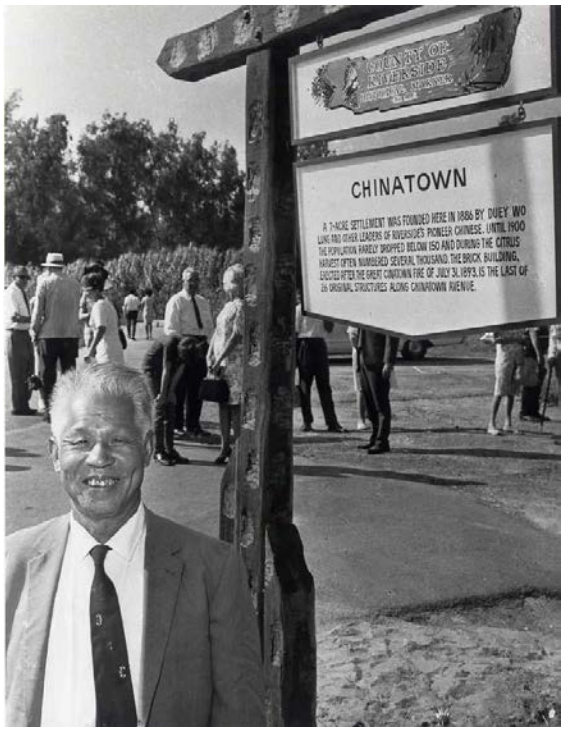
[75] Harry Lawton, "Riverside's Pioneer Chinese, Fifth in the series," *Press Enterprise*, February 12, 1959.
[76] Harry Lawton, "Riverside's Pioneer Chinese, Fifth in the series."
[77] "Chinese Arrested: Ten Unregistered Celestials Captured in this City," *Riverside Independent Enterprise.* September, 14, 1893.
[78] "There is No Redress for a Chinamen," *Riverside Morning Enterprise*, January 12, 1901.
[79] "Events in the West 1900-1917," *New Perspectives on The West*, PBS, http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/events/1900_1917.htm.
[80] Professor Emeritus in Asian American Studies at UC Santa Cruz Judy Yung stated, "About 80% to 90% of the 175,000 Chinese that came to America between 1910 and 1940 were paper sons." http://articles.latimes.com/2010/jan/24/local/la-me-paper-son24-2010jan24.
[81] *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California*. Sacramento: Office of Historic Preservation, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1988), https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views3.htm.

Franklin D. Roosevelt to sign into law the Act to Repeal the Chinese Exclusion Acts, to Establish Quotas, and for Other Purposes.

World War II brought a U.S. alliance with China against Japan, and Congress showed support by enacting the Magnuson Act, repealing the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and establishing a quota of 105 Chinese immigrants per year, while also allowing resident Chinese to be naturalized. The War Brides Act at the end of World War II allowed 2,800 Japanese and Chinese war brides to enter the U.S. between 1946 and 1953. Exclusionary immigration laws remained in effect until 1965 when discriminatory quotas were abolished.

Renewed Cultural Understanding

Although Chinese Americans have a long and important history in Riverside, until recent decades this history was not well-documented. As a result, many resources associated with Chinese Americans in Riverside have been lost. Advocacy efforts and renewed scholarship on this aspect of Riverside's history in the latter part of the twentieth century have resulted in increased recognition and understanding of these resources. In 1968 Riverside's Chinatown was designated as a Riverside County Landmark and a California Point of Historical Interest; in 1976 it was designated a local landmark. However, citing unsafe conditions, the City approved the demolition of the last remaining buildings in Chinatown in 1977, following a fire.[82]



Wong Ho Leun (George Wong) at Riverside County Landmark ceremony at Riverside Chinatown, July 24, 1968. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside, CA.

[82] According to the National Register nomination, "The razed buildings have often been referred to as a single structure when, in fact, they were a series of six adjacent buildings with common walls to save space and expense. Each building has one door and one window in front, and wooden additions to the rear. A common flat roof stretched continuously across all of them. The façade contained some classical detail in the decorative brickwork that bordered the roof, the brick arches over the windows, and the brick pilasters that marked the division of the buildings." From "A History of Chinese Americans in California: Historic Sites, Riverside Chinese American Community Site," https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views3h67.htm.

By 1980, the Riverside County Office of Education (RCOE) had purchased the Chinatown property and proposed a maintenance facility on the western portion of the property. Prior to implementation of the project, an archaeological study was required by the City, which was undertaken in 1984-1985. The study comprised the site's least sensitive areas, leaving the bulk of the site undisturbed for future study. During the archaeological testing program, archaeologists identified building foundations, filled-in basements, the remains of a Joss House (temple), and artifact-rich trash pits. The immediate reconstruction of the settlement following the Chinatown Fire of 1893 had preserved the 1885-1893 features of the site, as had dumping of fill dirt in some areas during George Wong's tenure as owner. The study resulted in the recovery of more than two tons of artifacts, which added up to "more than three times the amount of artifacts from all Chinese digs anywhere outside of China."[83] Following the archaeological testing program, all excavated artifacts were donated to the Riverside Municipal Museum (now the Riverside Metropolitan Museum) and two volumes of historical and archaeological information were published. These efforts form the basis for the site's successful nomination to the National Register of Historic Places in 1990.[84]

L: Great Basin Foundation's archaeological testing program at Riverside Chinatown, 1984-1985. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside, CA. R: Riverside Chinese Pavilion, 2016. Source: M. Rosalind Sagara.

The excavation of the Chinatown archaeological site in 1984-85 increased interest in the experiences of Chinese pioneers in Riverside. Efforts to commemorate this aspect of Riverside's history were furthered by the publication of *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown*, documenting the history of Chinatown; the production of a documentary film on Riverside Chinatown, *When They All Still Lived*; and the construction of the Chinese Memorial Pavilion to commemorate Riverside's Chinese pioneers. Groundbreaking for the Chinese Memorial Pavilion took place on August 6, 1986, at the corner of Mission Inn Avenue and Orange Street. The location was just a block away from where some of Riverside's first Chinese businesses had been located. Completed the following year, it was one of only two Chinese pavilions in California at the time.[85] All materials used in the construction of the pavilion were manufactured in Taipei, Taiwan, and made to order.[86] A local Chinese American contractor and four craftsmen from Taiwan were hired to build the pavilion, which was completed in the spring of 1987, with additional landscaping finished in July 1987.

[83] Cindy Yingst, "Unearthing Chinatown – in Riverside," *San Bernardino County Sun*, February 18, 1985.
[84] Laura Bellow, "Little Gom-Benn: Historic Archaeology from a Museum Perspective," *Journal of the Riverside Historical Society* 11 (2007): 30. http://www.riversidehistoricalsociety.org/journals/RHSJournalVol11.pdf.
[85] In 1987, the only known Chinese pavilion in California was located in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park. For more information, see "The Riverside Chinatown Memorial Pavilion Story," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American* Chinatown (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 317.
[86] Riverside Chinese Pavilion Dedication Ceremony pamphlet, October 10, 1987.

Themes

Four broad themes have been identified related to the history of Chinese Americans in Riverside:

- Residential Settlement Patterns
- Labor, Agriculture & Industry
- Culture and Institutions
- Commercial Development.

These themes represent the significant catalysts and development patterns related to Chinese Americans in Riverside, including why they came to the area, where they lived, where they worked, and how they created a sense of cultural identity and ties to their heritage while living in the United States. Through the 1940s, these settlement patterns were influenced by exclusionary practices, which restricted access to certain neighborhoods and opportunities. The period of significance for this study is 1868 – 1975. Within this broad framework there are two distinct periods of development: early settlement patterns from the late nineteenth century through the decline of Chinatown in the 1920s; and mid- to late-twentieth century assimilation and renewed cultural awareness, which really does not begin in earnest until the 1970s.

Extant resources associated with Chinese American history in Riverside are rare. There are few built resources that remain from the early period of development, and many resources associated with the second period of development post-date the period of significance for this study. It is estimated that all known built resources associated with each theme have been identified as part of this effort; therefore, registration requirements are not included in this study. Instead, following the narrative for each theme, known resources associated with that theme are identified.

Theme: Residential Settlement Patterns, 1868-1975

This theme identifies resources associated with Chinese American residential settlement patterns from 1868-1975. Within this theme are two sub-themes that address settlement patterns before and after Chinese exclusion. The early settlement and development patterns of Riverside's Chinese immigrants were intimately tied to employment opportunities associated with the construction of transportation infrastructure and the citrus industry. Chinese residents also joined the households of Riverside's founders, including citrus growers, and lived in transient and permanent settlements they founded in downtown, in Arlington, and along the Santa Ana River. In the face of increasing racism and discriminatory laws directed at Chinese Americans, Chinatowns emerged in Riverside to promote collective identity and provide protection for Chinese American residents. Riverside's first Chinese quarter was located in the Downtown "Mile Square" (no longer extant) from the late 1870s through the mid-1880s. In 1885, due in large part to discriminatory city ordinances, Chinese American residents established a new Chinatown just outside of the "Mile Square," near the Tequesquite Arroyo (Chinatown archaeological site, extant). In 1893, another Chinatown emerged in the Arlington area on Adams Street between Magnolia Avenue and California Street (no longer extant).

Chinese American residents who lived outside of the city's Chinatown settlements from the 1870s to the 1930s primarily lived in worker housing including company-built boarding houses or residences, or in shanties within Chinese agricultural settlements along the Santa Ana River. During this period, many of Riverside's Chinese American residents were lodgers, boarders, and tenants, often in shared living arrangements. Chinese American business owners typically lived in their places of business. Available housing options for Chinese immigrants expanded following the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943, and the 1948 U.S. Supreme Court *Shelley v. Kraemer* ruling, which held that courts could not enforce racial covenants on real estate. In some cases, however, local ordinances and prejudices toward immigrants and people of color created barriers to homeownership. After 1965, settlement patterns of Chinese Americans in Riverside were driven by available employment and educational opportunities.

Sub-theme: Chinese American Settlement Patterns, 1868-1943

This sub-theme examines residential settlement patterns from 1868, when the first Chinese Americans arrived in Riverside, through 1943, when anti-Chinese legislation was overturned. Fleeing wars, famine, and civil unrest in mid-19th century China, thousands of Chinese immigrants from Guangdong Province in Southern China journeyed to California in search of *Gum Saan* (Gold Mountain). They sought economic security, and found work in mining, railroad construction, agriculture, and other industries. After the completion of the transcontinental railroad line in 1869, Chinese began to concentrate in greater numbers in Southern California.[87]

The presence of Chinese Americans in inland Southern California can be traced to early agriculture and the construction of the railroads. Chinese American settlement patterns in early Riverside were dispersed and semi-permanent, as Chinese laborers followed agricultural harvest seasons, and/or particular work contracts. According to local historian Mary Haggland, Chinese brick masons constructed the Jensen-Alvarado House (1868, 4307 Briggs Street, outside the City boundary), the oldest brick building in Riverside County.[88] This placed Chinese in the Riverside area in 1868, prior to the completion of the transcontinental railroad and two years before Riverside was founded in 1870. By this time, Chinese immigrants in California had developed a reputation for being skilled, efficient, and loyal laborers. They

[87] Thomas W. Chinn, Him Mark Lai, and Philip P. Choy, eds, 23, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views3b.htm.
[88] Mary Haggland, "Chinese and the Jensen-Alvarado Ranch," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 167.

had demonstrated an adaptability and entrepreneurial spirit that would prove beneficial in an emerging city.

Jensen Alvarado Ranch House, c. 1870. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside CA.

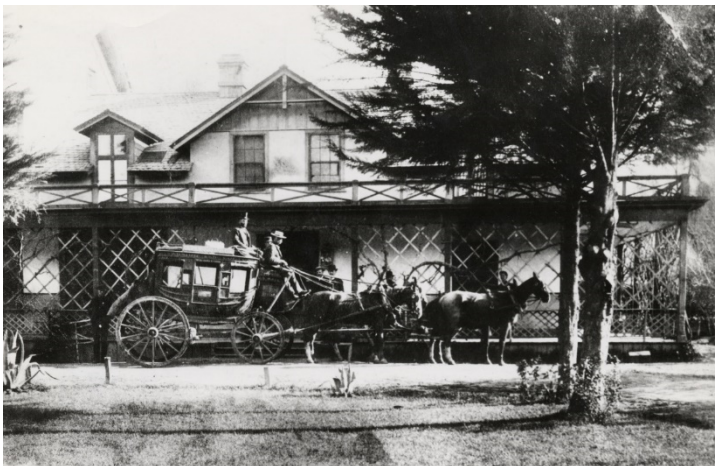
Riverside's Chinese pioneers were originally from the Toisan (Taishan) region of Guangdong Province in Southern China, from the areas around the mouth of the Pearl River on the Canton Delta. The majority came from Gom Benn village. Beginning in 1865, Toisanese immigrants from Gom Benn and other villages between Taishan City and the Tan River immigrated to Riverside and San Bernardino.[89] In the early twentieth century, three-quarters of Riverside and San Bernardino's Chinese populations were composed of immigrants from the Gom Benn region, including many businessmen who played important roles in founding the Chinese settlements of the two cities.[90]

Many Riverside ranch owners employed Chinese Americans as irrigators, farmhands, cooks, and house servants.[91] Of the twenty Chinese residents recorded in Riverside in the 1880 U.S Federal Census, over half were domestic workers employed by ranch owners and other prominent families across the city. "By the late 1880's, almost every Riverside home of any social standing employed Chinese houseboys, cooks and servants,"[92] and many Chinese cooks and house servants lived with, or near, their employers.

Yee Tung identification photograph with Return Certificate application 1898. Source: National Archives at Riverside.

[89] According to oral history interviews with Chinese Americans with knowledge of Riverside's Chinese pioneers.
[90] Harry Lawton, "The Pilgrims from Gom-Benn: Migratory Origins of Chinese Pioneers in the San Bernardino Valley," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 150.
[91] Over half of the Chinese in Riverside recorded in the 1880 U.S. Federal Census were employed by ranch owners and other prominent families across the city. See U.S. Federal Census, 1880-1930.
[92] Harry Lawton, "The Pilgrims from Gom-Benn: Migratory Origins of Chinese Pioneers in the San Bernardino Valley," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 150.

Chinese American railroad and canal workers typically lived in segregated labor camps near infrastructure sites for the duration of construction projects. Those employed in the citrus industry as pickers and packers lived in Riverside's Chinatowns or in segregated worker housing in close proximity to worksites. The Arlington Heights Fruit Company's Prenda Packing House on Dufferin Avenue provided segregated housing for its Chinese, Japanese, and white workers. In contrast, Chinese cooks and servants who worked for private families, including citrus grove owners, joined their households. Service workers in the hospitality industry boarded at their worksites, as was the case for Chinese American hotel staff employed at the Glenwood Mission Inn (now the Mission Inn).



Glenwood Mission Inn and the Glenwood Stage coach, c. 1882.
Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside, CA.

By the early twentieth century, Riverside Chinatown's population was in decline. A number of factors contributed, including aging of the resident population, continued immigration restrictions, and younger generations leaving for opportunities in other areas. Few people remained in Chinatown by the 1920s, and the last business operating in Chinatown closed in 1938.[93] That same year major flooding hit Riverside and damaged the Chinese American truck farming gardens along the Santa Ana River.[94]

Properties Associated with this Sub-theme:

The most significant resource associated with this theme is Chinatown, which is a designated historic resource as an archaeological site. Residences where Chinese Americans worked as domestic laborers are included under the Labor, Agriculture & Industry theme, below. However, future study of identified sites may yield information about early Chinese American settlement patterns in Riverside.

Property Name	Property Address	Notes	DPR Form
Sites for Future Study			
Chinese settlement near corner of Adams Street and Magnolia Avenue	Near corner of Adams Street and Magnolia Avenue	Known area of early Chinese settlement; no built resources remain, but the area may yield future information.	None
Early Chinese Quarter	Main, Orange, Eighth (University) , and Ninth Streets	Known area of early Chinese settlement; no built resources remain, but the area may yield future information.	None

[93] Riverside Municipal Museum, *Life in Little Gom-Benn: Chinese Immigrant Society in Riverside, 1885-1930,* (Riverside, CA: Riverside Municipal Museum, 1991).
[94] Kim Jarrell Johnson, "Back in the Day: Over 100 Died in County during 1938 Floods," *The Press Enterprise*, January 10, 2016, http://www.pe.com/articles/water-791121-riverside-flood.html (accessed September 2016).

Sub-theme: Life after Exclusion, 1943-1975

The period of significance for this sub-theme is 1943, reflecting the date that the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed, through 1975, the end of the period of significance for this study.

Chinese American settlement patterns in Riverside shifted following World War II, primarily due to the passage of the Magnuson Act in December 1943, which repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act. "The repeal of this act was a decision almost wholly grounded in the exigencies of World War II, as Japanese propaganda made repeated reference to Chinese exclusion from the United States in order to weaken the ties between the United States and its ally, the Republic of China."[95] However, the law allowed the government to continue to regulate Chinese immigration to the U.S. by implementing a discriminatory national origins quota system. "By finally applying the formulas created in the 1924 Immigration Act, the total annual quota for Chinese immigrants to the United States (calculated as a percentage of the total population of people of Chinese origin living in the United States in 1920) would be around 105."[96] All persons of Chinese ethnicity, despite their country of origin, were counted as part of the Chinese quota. Despite its shortcomings, the Magnuson Act gave Chinese immigrants the opportunity to become U.S. citizens. Between 1937 and 1942, fewer than 38 Chinese immigrants became naturalized citizens every year, but between 1943 and 1949, the numbers jumped from 497 to 927 per year.[97]

During the post-World War II period, Chinese Americans assimilated into established residential neighborhoods in Riverside. This lead to the residential integration of Chinese American families into Riverside's historic "Mile Square" after the war. One prominent family living in the "Mile Square" area of Riverside during this period is the Wong family. Voy Wong and his wife Fay Hing Lee were the last immigrants from Gom Benn Village to live in Riverside. In 1937, the newly-married Voy ventured to the U.S. as a "paper son." Voy's father, Sam Wong, and older brother, Poy, were living in San Bernardino with other Gom Benn villagers when Voy arrived. Japanese occupation of China during World War II and continued restrictions placed on Chinese immigration separated Voy and his wife for ten years.

Voy and Fay Wong in China, 1975. Source: Voy and Fay Wong Family.

[95] "Milestones: 1937-1945, Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, 1943," Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, accessed June 23, 2016, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/chinese-exclusion-act-repeal.
[96] "Milestones: 1937-1945, Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, 1943," Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State, accessed June 23, 2016, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/chinese-exclusion-act-repeal.
[97] Xiaojian Zhao, *Remaking Chinese America: Immigration, Family, and Community, 1940-1965*, 25.

In 1948, Voy and Fay Wong, and business partner Bing Wong (no relation) and his wife Boy Jin, were granted a joint-tenancy deed on a single-family residence on 1161 Eighth Street (now 4161 University). Their restaurant Chungking Café was doing well, and with a growing family, Voy and Fay decided to buy a home in Riverside. Their son, Janlee Wong, recalled that his parents had to get permission from the neighbors to buy their house.[98] U.S. Census records reveal no other immigrant families in the neighborhood. With six bedrooms and two entrances, the Wong residence housed several of Chungking Café's staff in the postwar years, including co-owner Bing and his wife Boy, cook Harold Wong (no relation), and Voy Wong's older brother, Poy, who worked as the cashier at restaurant. The Wongs raised five children at the home on Eighth Street. Voy Wong eventually purchased the Plaza Building on the corner of Market Street and Mission Inn Avenue and kept a few rooms in the former hotel on the second floor for lodging for cooks who commuted in from Los Angeles.[99] When Voy passed away in 1975, Fay continued to live in the family home until 1999. When Fay died in 2000, she gifted the house to the University of California, Riverside to establish the Voy and Fay Wong Endowment in Asian Art, a resource intended to assist students with the study and research of Asian Art.

Voy and Fay Wong family in front of their home in the 1950s.
Source: Voy and Fay Wong Family.

[98] Janlee Wong, interviewed by M. Rosalind Sagara and Eugene Moy, April 25, 2016.
[99] Telephone conversation with Janlee Wong, July 11, 2016.

The passage of the Hart-Cellar Act, or Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, has undoubtedly contributed to the diverse demographic of immigrants from China and Taiwan that we see in Riverside in the 1960s to the present day. In Riverside's post-war years, Chinese surnames found in City directories appear to be primarily linked to higher education and professional opportunities.

Properties Associated with this Sub-theme:

Property Name	Property Address	Notes	DPR Form
Designated/previously-surveyed properties also associated with Chinese American context			
Voy and Fay Wong Residence	4161 University Avenue	Long-time residence of the Wong Family, important Chinese American residents from the post-exclusion era in Riverside.	523L
Properties for Future Study			
Sam and Kitty Huang Residence	7458 Whitegate Avenue	Residence of Sam and Kitty Huang beginning in 1988.	None

Sub-theme: Important People, 1868-1975

There are several people who have been identified as significant to Chinese American history in Riverside. These include early pioneers like Gin Duey, who was instrumental in founding Riverside's second Chinatown; Wong Fong, the first Chinese resident in Riverside; George Wong, the last resident of Riverside Chinatown; Voy and Fay Wong, prominent Chinese Americans from the 1940s; and Dr. Samuel Huang, UC Riverside professor and local artist responsible for the creation of public murals related to Chinese American history. Brief biographies are included below.

Gin Duey (also known as Duey Wo Lung or Chen Duey) was one of three known partners of Wong Nim & Co., which founded Riverside's second Chinatown. In 1885, Wong Nim & Co. first leased then purchased the land where the Chinese settlement was developed. Gin Duey owned and operated several businesses in Downtown, including the New England Restaurant on Eighth Street (no longer extant) and Duey Wo Lung Laundry in Chinatown.

Wong Fong was the first Chinese resident of Riverside. He worked as a cook for the Riverside and Land Company during the canal-building period, and later owned an interest in Chow Kee & Co in Riverside's second Chinatown. In addition, he was a member of the Duey Lee Co and owned a 50% interest in the 100-acre Wong Sing garden. In 1895, he was arrested in Riverside and imprisoned for fifteen months in Los Angeles for allegedly violating the Geary Act. The following year, Wong Fong won a lawsuit against the U.S. government for false imprisonment.

Wong Ho Leun (George Wong) arrived in Riverside in 1914 at the age of 14. He lived with and worked for the S.L. Herrick family at their home on Fourteenth Street and attended Grant Elementary School, where he learned English. Following his years in domestic service, George worked for Frank Miller at the Mission Inn as a dishwasher, as a construction worker on the Mission Inn annex and Miller's "Mariona" estate in Laguna Beach, ran a Chinese restaurant in Chinatown during the Depression, served as the Chinese superintendent of the United Brethren in Christ's Chinese Mission school (located in the Chee Kung Tong Temple in Chinatown in the 1920s), and worked as a civilian guard at Camp Anza during World War II. George Wong attended Poly High School and Riverside City College, though his education was cut short due to numerous run-ins with the Ku Klux Klan and law enforcement. In 1941, he became the sole owner of Chinatown, where he lived by himself until his death in 1974. In 1961, a small street connecting Palm Avenue and Pine Street near the Chinatown archaeological site was named Wong Way in his honor. In 2009, Wong Way was renamed Wong Street. George Wong is buried in Evergreen Memorial Historic Cemetery in Riverside.

Voy Wong, restaurateur, immigrated to the U.S. in 1937 as a "paper son," joining his father, brother, and other villagers from Gom Benn, China, who were living in San Bernardino. In 1943, he and two partners opened the Chungking Café in Downtown Riverside. The restaurant establishment would prove a success and eventually Voy Wong bought out the other two partners. He and his wife, Fay Hing Lee, ran the popular restaurant for 32 years. In 1948, Voy and Fay Wong and Bing and Boy Wong purchased a home in Downtown on Eighth Street, where the family lived until 1999. In the 1960s, Voy Wong purchased the Plaza Building on the corner of Market Street and Mission Inn Avenue. Voy Wong passed away in 1975 and was laid to rest in Olivewood Memorial Park in Riverside.

Fay Wong (Lee Fay Hing), restaurateur and philanthropist, was born in the Lee village of Wan Hong, Qau Hung Li, China in 1917. She immigrated to the U.S. in 1948, joining her husband Voy Wong after a ten-year separation due to the Japanese occupation of China during World War II. Fay Wong ran the popular Chungking Café with her husband while raising five children. She became a naturalized citizen in 1965. In 1987, Fay Wong honored her husband's legacy by making a major donation to the construction of the Riverside Chinese Pavilion. In 1999, she gifted the family home in Riverside to the University of

California, Riverside. Proceeds of the sale of the home created the Voy and Fay Wong Endowment in Asian Art, which supports the Visual Resource Collection in the History of Art Department. Fay Wong passed away in 2000, and is buried in Olivewood Memorial Park in Riverside.

Dr. Samuel D. "Sam" Huang (1935-2014) was an accomplished artist, scientist, and educator who resided in Riverside for nearly forty years. Huang was born in 1935 in Nanking, China. His early childhood was marked by the impact of World War II in occupied China. Huang experienced continuing medical problems as a result of the injuries he sustained during this period, and after contracting tuberculosis and losing a leg to infection, he was sent to the United States in 1945 to undergo medical treatment. Huang remained in the United States and eventually graduated from the State University of New York at New Paltz in 1959 with a bachelor's degree in art education. After teaching high school art classes for several years in New York, Huang relaunched his education, and enrolled at St. John's University in Queens, New York, where he received a PhD in biology in 1969. He held teaching positions at Fordham University and York College of the City University of New York, and worked as a research scientist at Nassau Hospital, Stony Brook University, and the Brookhaven National Laboratory. In 1974, Huang relocated to Riverside, California, to teach biology, environmental science, and health science at Riverside Community College (RCC). In 1985, Huang became the first educator at RCC to be awarded a full professorship.

Dr. Sam Huang touching up his mural at Riverside City College mural. Source: Riverside City College *Viewpoints*.

Despite the trajectory of his career, Huang remained interested in art and art education. He frequently sought to find ways to integrate his artistic philosophies with his scientific teachings, and his first mural project in Riverside, the "Ecology" mural for the RCC Life Science Building, was completed in 1975 as an instructional tool for ecology classes at RCC. Scientific processes and milestones also became a recurring theme in Huang's work. In the mid-1980s, Huang rented a studio in the Life Arts Building (3485 University Avenue) in downtown Riverside, and many of his paintings and sculptures were created there. According to a 2009 article, by the mid-2000s, Sam Huang had completed approximately ten large-scale murals, paintings, and other works throughout the Inland area. Huang remained at Riverside City College for over twenty years. Following his retirement in 1998, he continued his artistic pursuits and remained active in the Riverside community, serving on the board of the Riverside Community Arts Association. Huang died on February 18, 2014.[100]

[100] Biography of Sam Huang excerpted and adapted from "Professor Emeritus Sam Huang, 1935-2014," *Riverside City College Campus News*, February 20, 2014. http://www.rcc.edu/about/campusnews/Pages/archive/Professor-Emeritus-Sam-Huang,-1935---2014.aspx (accessed September 2016).

Properties Associated with this Sub-theme:

Property Name	Property Address	Notes	DPR Form
Designated/previously-surveyed properties also associated with Chinese American context			
Voy and Fay Wong Residence	4161 University Avenue	Long-time residences of the Voy and Fay Wong, prominent Chinese American residents from the post-exclusion era in Riverside.	523L
Properties for Future Study			
Sam and Kitty Huang Residence	7458 Whitegate Avenue	Residence of Sam and Kitty Huang beginning in 1988.	None
Sam Huang Studio, Life Arts Building	3485 University Avenue	Studio of prominent Chinese American artist Dr. Sam Huang beginning in the mid-1980s.	None

Theme: Labor, Agriculture & Industry, 1868-1938

The Labor, Agriculture, and Industry theme recognizes the diversity of work experience along the intersections of race and ethnicity in Riverside.[101] This theme identifies resources in which Chinese American labor figured prominently, including agriculture, transportation networks (canals and railroads), and other local industries. Chinese American labor had a significant impact on the physical growth and economic development of Riverside. The importance of recognizing the diversity of work experiences of Americans is argued by authors of the American Labor History Theme Study: "Sites associated with ethnic, racial, religious, and gender differences should be considered for marking. These aspects have received scrutiny in the new labor history. Sites associated with minority recognition have attracted less attention from labor and social historians, whose interest has often centered on specific industrial sites."[102] The work sites of Chinese American house laborers in Riverside identified in this study help the public understand the centrality of work in the lives of Chinese Americans.

Sub-theme: Transportation & Infrastructure Labor, 1868-1889

The period of significance for this sub-theme is 1868-1889, reflecting the major period of transportation and infrastructure-related development that utilized Chinese American labor. Chinese Americans played an integral role in the construction of the railroads, both transcontinental and regional lines. They proved to be hard workers and railroad agents continued to hire Chinese American laborers in increasing numbers as the Central Pacific Railroad pushed eastward.[103] By the late 1860s, Chinese Americans comprised the majority of the Central Pacific Railroad labor force. Chinese American laborers continued to work on regional rail lines through the 1880s, after the completion of the ambitious transcontinental rail lines in 1869 and the extension of the Southern Pacific from San Francisco to Los Angeles in 1876.

Chinese Americans were likely also instrumental in the construction of other infrastructure improvements. This included water sources for the growing citrus industry in Riverside. In 1884, Matthew Gage began construction on the first large-scale artesian aquifer system in Riverside. At twenty-two miles, the underground canal was one of the largest waterworks projects of its time in California.[104] The Gage Canal System brought water to the upper plain of Riverside from the San Bernardino Valley basin.[105] Chinese Americans were likely responsible for the drilling of three Gage Canal tunnels, including one that was over 1,000 feet long.[106] Wong Fong worked as a cook for canal workers of the Riverside & Land Company in the early 1870s, when an earlier water conveyance system was built.[107]

Properties Associated with this Sub-theme:

There are no known built resources associated with this sub-theme; however, the sub-theme is included in the event that future archaeological studies are conducted in areas that may yield future information. Although it is well-documented that the railroads were constructed with Chinese American labor, there

[101] This theme builds on the historic context, "Labor and its Impact, 1870s-1940s," developed as part of the City of Riverside's Marketplace Specific Plan Area Study (Catherine Gudis, *Reconnaissance Survey and Context Statement for the Marketplace Specific Plan*, City of Riverside, California, 2012).
[102] Eric Arnesen, Alan Derickson, James Green, Walter Licht, Marjorie Murphy, and Susan Cianci Salvatore, U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service, *American Labor History Theme Study*, 16.
[103] E.L. Savin, *Building the Pacific Railway* (Philadelphia, 1919), 111.
[104] *Los Angeles Herald*, Volume 25, Number 220, 8 May 1898, http://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=LAH18980508.2.297, accessed June 15, 2016.
[105] Harry Lawton, "A Brief history of Citrus in Southern California," in *A History of Citrus in the Riverside Area*, ed. Esther H. Klotz et al. (Riverside, CA: Riverside Museum Press, 1989), 10.
[106] Harry Lawton, "Riverside's First Chinatown and the Boom of the Eighties," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 33-34.
[107] *Riverside Daily Enterprise*, September 19, 1895.

are no specific resources that can be documented to represent this association. The Gage Irrigation Canal, which is already designated under another context, may have additional significance for its association with Chinese American labor.

Property Name	Property Address	Notes	DPR Form
Properties where strength of association has not been established			
Gage Irrigation Canal	7010 Coolidge Avenue	It is likely that Chinese American laborers were largely responsible for the construction of the Gage Canal; however it has not been well-documented.	523L

Sub-theme: Domestic Labor, 1880-1939

Robert and Lucy Bettner, front, and Mrs. Catherine Bettner with dog in backseat, with Chinese servant Yum, 1903. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside CA.

The period of significance for this sub-theme is 1880-1939, reflecting the period that Chinese American servants and cooks were employed in private households throughout Riverside. Of the twenty Chinese American residents recorded in Riverside in the 1880 U.S Federal Census, over half were domestic workers. "The demand for domestic labor eventually met the supply of Chinese workers, resulting in male Chinese laborers assuming the usually female role of domestic servant on the West Coast of the United States and Canada, despite efforts to recruit from traditional sources in the eastern and southern states."[108] These workers lived in the homes of their employers, or in associated structures on the family property. Help wanted advertisements in local newspapers commonly read, "WANTED—a good Chinese cook, wages $35.00."[109] Chinese American domestic workers performed tasks such as cooking, cleaning, laundry, child-rearing, and tending to the family's garden plot. Large ranch owners hired additional Chinese American farmhands and irrigators, and some had their own washhouses operated by Chinese American employees. It was almost possible to judge the social standing of a Riverside family by its number of Chinese American servants.[110]

Many of the properties associated with the work sites of Chinese American house servants/cooks were the homes of local citrus growers and/or owners who had major roles in the development of the citrus industry. Chinese American house servants/cooks played important roles in the management of these citrus-related properties, yet their stories remain largely untold due to limited documentation and understanding of the historic significance of these work-related resources on the local, state, and national level.

In Riverside, the "Chinese question" was primarily debated within the context of the citrus industry, arguing for the removal and replacement of Chinese American workers with white workers. When Riverside's anti-Chinese committees were charged with identifying Chinese American residents for deportation under the Geary Act in 1893, it is not surprising that many of those first targeted were

[108] Terry Abraham, "Class, Gender, and Race: Chinese Servants in the North American West," presented at the Joint Regional Conference Hawaii/Pacific and Pacific Northwest Association for Asian American Studies, Honolulu, March 26, 1996, revised January 2013, http://webpages.uidaho.edu/special-collections/papers/chservnt.htm.
[109] *Riverside Enterprise*, January 22, 1907.
[110] Harry Lawton, "Riverside's Pioneer Chinese, Fifth in the Series," *Press Enterprise*, February 12, 1959.

Chinese house servants/cooks. In this way, leaders in the anti-Chinese movement in Riverside sent a message to employers who arguably had the most intimate and long-standing relationship with Chinese American workers in Riverside. Whereas racism drove segregated working conditions and worker housing in other jobs within the local citrus industry, namely the packinghouses, the citrus-related residential properties may be understood as sites of racial integration and healing. The work sites of Chinese American house servants/cooks also relate to the Chinese gardens, which were other important agricultural work sites in Riverside. Stewart Malloch of Raeburn Place recalls, "[Wong] would show up in the yard on perhaps two mornings a week, ring his hand bell and, without waiting, fill his basket with what he thought we would need. He would bring the basket into the kitchen porch where, unloading and displaying it to our Jim Ah, there would be much chatter, business and gossip no doubt, in Cantonese…No one ever asked where the vegetables were grown, or how Wong got them. It is probable that the entire process from field to dinner table was a Chinese enterprise in which Wong and Jim were both agents and shareowners."[111]

Lew Gut (also known as Little Sam) began his career of nearly forty years with the Bettner family in the 1880s at their ranch near the corner of Indiana Avenue and Jefferson Street (no longer extant). Following the death of her husband, James, in 1888 and her son, Louis, in 1891, Catharine Bettner purchased a property on Magnolia Avenue and built a three story house in the Queen Anne style (8193 Magnolia Avenue; Riverside Landmark #5 and listed in the National Register of Historic Places), with special accommodations for Lew Gut, who continued to be employed by the family until Catharine Bettner's death in 1928.[112] Most of Riverside's prominent residents employed Chinese Americans as domestic help. The Tibbets, Miller, and Gage families all employed Chinese American domestic help at their early residences (none of these residences are extant). Rosa Evans remembered that her family's Chinese cook and his assistant slept in the second story of a two-story building at the rear of her family home (7606 Mount Vernon Street; Riverside Landmark #12).[113] At the Ames-Westbrook House (4811 Brockton Avenue; Riverside Landmark #108, Riverside Structure of Merit #212), "many stories were told of illegal Chinese workers, who were hidden in a secret closet whenever visitors came."[114] This sheds light on the uneven record found in the U.S. Census, which does not always reflect information about Riverside's Chinese American domestic labor.

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[111] Shelly Raven, "Red Paper and Varnished Ducks: Subjective Images of Riverside's Chinatown," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 261.
[112] Joan Hall, "Little Sam – 1848-1939," *Journal of the Riverside Historical Society* 17 (February 2013), 57.
[113] Esther H. Klotz and Joan H. Hall, *Adobes, Bungalows, and Mansions of Riverside, California, Revisited* (Riverside, CA: Highgrove Press, 2005).
[114] Esther H. Klotz and Joan H. Hall, *Adobes, Bungalows, and Mansions of Riverside, California, Revisited* (Riverside, CA: Highgrove Press, 2005), 49.

Properties Associated with this Sub-theme:

Property Name	Property Address	Notes	DPR Form
Designated or previously-identified properties with additional association with Chinese American context			
Ames-Westbrook Residence	4811 Brockton Avenue	Confirmed association with Chinese American domestic labor.	523L
Catharine Bettner Residence / Heritage House	8193 Magnolia Avenue	Confirmed association with Chinese American domestic labor.	523L
Irving Residence / Raeburn Place	2508 Raeburn Drive	Confirmed association with Chinese American domestic labor.	523L
Robert Bettner Residence	7995 Magnolia Avenue	Confirmed association with Chinese American domestic labor.	523L
Properties where strength of association has not been established			
Childs Residence	1151 Monte Vista Drive	Additional information needed to confirm the strength of the association with Chinese American domestic labor.	523L
Evans Adobe	7606 Mount Vernon Street	Additional information needed to confirm the strength of the association with Chinese American domestic labor.	523L
Goff Residence / First Congregational Church Parsonage	3189 Market Street	Additional information needed to confirm the strength of the association with Chinese American domestic labor.	523L
Hewitt Residence	3050 Orange Street	Additional information needed to confirm the strength of the association with Chinese American domestic labor.	523L
Parke Residence	2406 Monroe Avenue	Additional information needed to confirm the strength of the association with Chinese American domestic labor.	523A & B
Wilson Residence / Hartree Grove	6475 Victoria Avenue	Additional information needed to confirm the strength of the association with Chinese American domestic labor.	523L
Wood Residence	2490 Prince Albert Drive	Additional information needed to confirm the strength of the association with Chinese American domestic labor.	523L

Sub-theme: Agriculture, Chinese Gardens & Truck Farming, 1868-1938

Citrus

Chinese pioneers labor in Riverside, California's citrus groves. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside, CA.

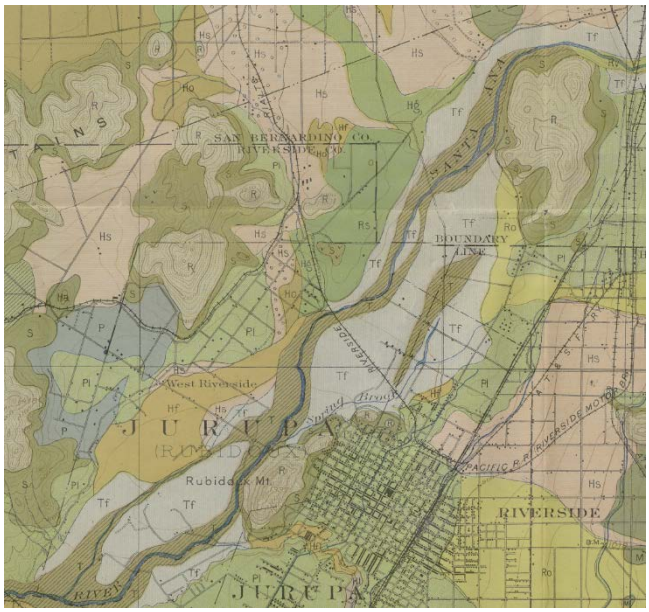
The period of significance for this sub-theme is 1868-1938, reflecting the major period of agriculture-related labor and truck farming associated with Chinese Americans in Riverside. Commercial orange growing was a significant development in Southern California in the late nineteenth century, and Riverside was a major center of that industry with the rapid development of orange, lemon, and lime groves between 1871 and 1880.[115] Chinese American day laborers arrived from across California to work as fruit pickers or packers during harvest seasons.[116] "By combining Chinese horticultural knowledge and labor with professional promotional techniques, the 1895 Riverside citrus growers had made their community the richest city per capita in the United States…Although Chinese American migrant laborers mostly provided for their own housing with mats and tents and camped in the orange groves in the early days of the citrus industry, eventually some growers began erecting barracks for these workers."[117] During harvest seasons, the total of Chinese American migrant laborers and permanent Chinese American residents outnumbered the community's total European American population.[118]

[115] By 1882, over half a million citrus trees were growing in the state, almost half of which were in Riverside orchards. See Harry Lawton, "A Brief history of Citrus in Southern California," in *A History of Citrus in the Riverside Area*, ed. by Esther H. Klotz et al. (Riverside, CA: Riverside Museum Press, 1989), 9.
[116] Paul Wormser. "Chinese Agricultural Labor in the Citrus Belt of Inland Southern California," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown*, 179.
[117] Riverside Municipal Museum, *Life in Little Gom-Benn: Chinese Immigrant Society in Riverside, 1885-1930,* (Riverside, CA: Riverside Municipal Museum, 1991), 175-176.
[118] Harry Lawton, "Riverside's First Chinatown and the Boom of the Eighties," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 35.

Chinese Gardens & Truck Farming

Chinese vegetable peddler in Riverside, California, c. 1890. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside CA.

From the 1870s to the 1930s, Chinese Americans formed partnerships to lease parcels for agricultural purposes, including land along the Santa Ana River, and in other, more rural, areas. During this time, they developed an extensive system of irrigated paddies, yielding a variety of fresh produce distributed for local consumption. The Chinese gardens west of Chinatown at the Tequesquite Arroyo were on a type of soil classified as Tujunga Fine Sandy Loam, a soil type well suited to growing vegetables and melons. A comparison of a 1915 soil map from the Department of Agriculture with land ownership and leasing records shows that almost all the Chinese American farms in the Riverside area were on Tujunga Fine Sandy Loam and that almost all the Tujunga Fine Sandy Loam in the Riverside-San Bernardino area was, at one time or another, cultivated by Chinese American farmers.[119]



Detail map showing Tujunga fine sandy loam soil (labeled Tf on map), 1915 Soil Map, California, Riverside area U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Soils and University of California, Agricultural Experiment Station.

In 1880, widely dispersed Chinese American truck gardeners made up more than one-third of all the truck gardeners in California.[120] "Truck gardening and vegetable peddling not only were the two agricultural roles Chinese immigrants took up earliest, but were also ones in which they have remained the

[119] Soil map, California, Riverside area. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Soils and University of California, Agricultural Experiment Station, UC Riverside Special Collections and Archives, 1915.
[120] Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910*, (Berkeley: UC Press, 1986); *Riverside Enterprise*, September 14, 1893; Harry Lawton, "Riverside's Pioneer Chinese, Fifth in the series," *Press Enterprise*, February 12, 1959.

longest."[121] Of an area on the Riverside-Colton border eight miles away, along the California Southern route, Lawton wrote: "One can only speculate that the Chinese company started the operation to provide fresh vegetables to railroad gangs operating between Riverside and the Cajon Pass."[122] Historical maps, local newspaper accounts, and oral histories provide evidence that Chinese American gardeners lived on, or near, the lands they cultivated.[123] In 1893 the *Riverside Enterprise* notes Chinese Americans living in "shanties located on the Chinese gardens in the river bottom."[124]

Chinese gardens were also the sites of important events in Riverside's Chinese American history. One such event occurred in September 1893, when Chinese American workers halted work, making no vegetable deliveries, for fear of being arrested and deported during intensified Geary Act raids. During this time, shanties located in the Chinese gardens served as places of sanctuary for Riverside's unregistered Chinese Americans. Following the raids, a local newspaper reported that men were back to work at all of the Chinese gardens long after quitting hours. The belief was that men who had been in hiding during the days worked at night to make up lost time.[125]

In 1909, Chinese gardens were the subject of a public health scare related to a local typhoid epidemic. After a two-month investigation, County health officer Dr. George Tucker determined that typhoid fever could not be traced to the Chinese gardens. However, he called into question the city's contract with landowner Riverside Land & Irrigating Company, which gave the company permission to use water flowing in the city sewer, given its immediate proximity to the vegetable gardens. George Wong, whose father, Wong Ben Chow, was a well-known vegetable peddler, noted that this was a common practice of irrigating crops. He attributed the success of Chinese American farmers in cultivating the sandy river bottom to the use of city sewer water. "[Chinese] irrigate with that. Then they replow them, let the sun rays kill the bacteria. In ten days, they turn it over, every ten days for one month." Bill Evans, a descendant of the owners of the Riverside Land & Irrigating Company, recalled helping longtime farmer Virgil Chung[126] set up an open ditch across dry river bed at the city sewer farm. "[We] ran sewage across to old beds after brief use of this side of the river."[127] Virgil Chung farmed in the area at least until the 1938 flood.

Major floods in 1916 and 1938 cut new channels in the Santa Ana River, causing major destruction and impacting the Chinese gardens. George Wong described the aftermath of the 1916 flood: "They lost the West Riverside Bridge, the brick Pedley Bridge…The water took [everything] to the west end."[128] Wong's father moved his garden to Fairmount Park in 1921, where he continued to farm with new partners. Riverside's Chinese truck gardeners and tenant farmers and their attendant agricultural settlements, represent an important part of Riverside's agricultural past.

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[121] Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910*, (Berkeley: UC Press, 1986), 88.
[122] Harry Lawton, "Riverside's First Chinatown and the Boom of the Eighties," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 25.
[123] George Wong, interviewed by Mary Hedge, *Mr. George Wong and Chinatown*, California State University at Fullerton, May 11, 1968; Summaries and Indices Volume IV, Walter Chung, 76-1-76-3, Chinese Historical Society of Southern California Southern California Chinese American Oral History Project (Collection 1688). UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.
[124] *Riverside Enterprise*, September, 15, 1893.
[125] "The Scare Over. Vegetable John Again Shows Up Ready for Business," *Riverside Enterprise*, September 12, 1893.
[126] Virgil Chung farmed in the area at least until the 1938 flood.
[127] Letter from Tom Patterson to Bill Evans, August 14, 1974, Riverside Metropolitan Museum.
[128] George Wong, interviewed by Mary Hedge, *Mr. George Wong and Chinatown*, California State University at Fullerton, May 2, 1968.

Properties Associated with this Sub-theme:

There are no known extant labor camps associated with the citrus industry, and the packing houses that have known associations with Chinese American labor have been demolished. However, there are some remnants of the Prenda Packinghouse building remaining, and therefore further study of the site may yield additional information about Chinese American labor history.

Property Name	Property Address	Notes	DPR Form
Site for Future Study			
Prenda Packing House Site	Northwest corner of Dufferin Avenue and Jefferson Street	The Prenda Packinghouse on Dufferin Avenue (remnants of the packinghouse are extant), for example, maintained a "Chinese" bunkhouse and Japanese "shacks" onsite for many years.	None

Sub-theme: Industry, 1878-1939

The period of significance for this sub-theme is 1878-1939, reflecting the establishment of the first Chinese American-owned business in Riverside, through the 1930s, when Chinese Americans were a significant part of the labor force in the hospitality industry.

Laundries

The Hang Wo Laundry, located on Seventh Street in 1878 (now Mission Inn Avenue, no longer extant) was the first Chinese American-owned business in Riverside. Gin Duey likely operated another washhouse on Seventh Street during the same period. In 1882, several buildings on Seventh Street, including the two Chinese laundries, were demolished to make room for the Citrus Fair Pavilion, which provided space for citrus fairs and community events. In 1885, city ordinance no. 42 prohibited laundry businesses from operating in the "Mile Square," precipitating the dissolution of the Downtown Chinese quarter and resettlement of the Chinese American community at the Tequesquite Arroyo. Gin Duey and other Chinese American entrepreneurs opened their laundry businesses anew.

HANG WO LAUNDRY.

CHARLEY WONG

FOR TEN YEARS PROPRIETOR OF

A SAN FRANCISCO LAUNDRY,

Has taken Charge of the Business here, and Solicits the Patronage of

THE RIVERSIDE PUBLIC.

He has secured the Services of

First-class Ironers, and Guarantees Entire Satisfaction to all who entrust work to his care.

☞ Charles Wong is Christian Chinaman and refer parties to his Pastor and others in San Francisco. 7-30 tf

Moved From Colton Ave, (Judge Brown's Place)

Wing Lee Laundry

First-Class Washing and Ironing

Cor. Pine St. and Tequesquite Ave. Riverside, Cal.

L: Hang Wo Laundry Advertisement, *Press & Horticulturalist*, August 16, 1884. R: Wing Lee Laundry Advertisement, *Riverside Enterprise*, June 16, 1900.

By the 1890s, Chinese laundry owners had a near monopoly on the industry. "Riverside laundries probably employed at least five workers, since house-to-house deliveries were made."[129] One Chinese American entrepreneur, Wing Lee, operated his laundry business for over twenty-six years. In 1900, he relocated his business from Colton Avenue to Pine Avenue adjacent to Chinatown (no longer extant).

When a Chinese laundry was proposed in the Eastside in 1900, the laundry ordinance was revised to further define the geographic boundary within which laundries could operate. Although newspaper accounts identified Chinese laundries in areas outside of the "Mile Square," such as the Chung Kee Laundry (no longer extant) in the Tibbets Tract, and Chinese wash houses on large ranches, the adoption of city ordinance no. 277 effectively confined laundry businesses in Riverside to the vicinity of Chinatown.[130]

[129] Harry Lawton, "Riverside's First Chinatown and the Boom of the Eighties," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 12.
[130] Research conducted for this project did not locate any extant Chinese laundry establishments.

Hospitality Industry

From the late 1880s through the 1930s, Chinese Americans worked at most of the major hotels in Riverside, including the Rowell Hotel (no longer extant), Arlington Hotel (no longer extant), Hotel Reynolds (no longer extant), and the Glenwood Mission Inn (now Mission Inn Hotel & Spa, 3649 Mission Inn Avenue). Quong Quon worked as a cook at the Glenwood Mission Inn for 27 years, during which time proprietor Frank Miller considered him to be the most valuable man he had ever had in this department.[131] Miller kept a photo of Quong in his office, provided sanctuary for him during the Geary Act raids, and when Miller's first wife, Isabella, died in 1908, Quong was one of two non-family members who served as a pallbearer at a private ceremony at the hotel.[132]

George Wong's Bamboo Gardens Restaurant, Riverside Chinatown, with Mt. Rubidoux in background, undated. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside, CA.

Starting in the mid-twentieth century, Chinese American cooks worked in downtown restaurants operated both by Chinese and non-Chinese business owners, including the New England Restaurant (no longer extant), Bourell Cafeteria (no longer extant), Bamboo Gardens (no longer extant), and Chungking Café (no longer extant). Chinese cooks were also employed at the county jail, Park Boarding House (no longer extant), and Victoria Club (clubhouse no longer extant).

Properties Associated with this Sub-theme:

Property Name	Property Address	Notes	DPR Form
Designated/previously-surveyed properties also associated with Chinese American context			
Mission Inn Annex	3665-3667 Sixth Street	Confirmed association with Chinese American labor.	523L
Mission Inn Hotel & Spa	3649 Mission Inn Avenue	Confirmed association with Chinese American labor.	523L

[131] A500.190 Frank Miller Hutchings Collection, Correspondence, Series I.H. Letter Books, Riverside Metropolitan Museum.
[132] Zona Gale, *Frank Miller of Mission Inn*. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1938.

Theme: Culture and Institutions, 1885-1975

Chinese Americans in Riverside developed a strong sense of community by expressing and maintaining their cultural heritage. The Culture and Institutions theme identifies important spiritual and social resources, including cultural and educational institutions that helped Chinese Americans create a sense of community and remain connected to their cultural heritage.[133]

Sub-theme: Religion & Spirituality, 1885-1929

Chinese New Year's citrus offerings at a private home in Riverside Chinatown, c. 1905. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside, CA.

The period of significance for this sub-theme is 1885-1929, reflecting the establishment of Chinatown, through the decline of the Chinese American population in the 1920s. Riverside's early Chinese American residents primarily retained ties to Confucianism, Daoism, or Buddhist traditions of China. These spiritual beliefs were practiced at a shrine or temple in Chinatown or in the privacy of their homes. During the period of Chinese exclusion, religious and spiritual practices performed at the Chinatown at Tequesquite Arroyo and other organized venues reinforced the collective Chinese American identity in Riverside. Chinatown featured a village god shrine and a separate Joss House (Chinese temple). In Riverside, most Chinese death rituals began and ended at Chinatown. The existence of these community resources demonstrates the importance of spirituality within the Chinese American community. As the Chinese American population in Riverside was largely male, with only a small number of families, death ritual performance was transferred from family members to fellow countrymen. "It is important to recognize the diversity of customs, reflecting various beliefs that existed throughout China. Nearly every province, village, and family unit, as well as ethnic minorities, had their own beliefs regarding death and the afterlife."[134] Since most Chinese Americans living in Riverside were from Gom Benn village in Guangdong Province, they likely shared common death ritual practices. "The highly ritualized Chinese funeral ceremonies represented a means by which individuals found comfort in the community during a time of despair. Far from the security of family and home, individuals sought reassurance in the familiar ceremonies of their homeland."[135]

[133] Resources related to religious traditions other than Confucianism, Daoism, or Buddhism, or social clubs, benevolent societies, or schools during the period of significance were not located during the study.
[134] Wendy L. Rouse, "A History of Chinese Death Ritual," in *Chinese American Death Rituals: Respecting the Ancestors,* 31.
[135] Wendy L. Rouse, "A History of Chinese Death Ritual," in *Chinese American Death Rituals: Respecting the Ancestors,* 21 and 31. Chinese immigrants settling in Riverside after 1965 may have practiced Christianity, though no resources within the period of significance were located during this study.

Missionaries provided language instruction and encouraged the Christian conversion of Chinese Americans in Riverside from the late 1890s through the mid-1920s. On February 16, 1890, a new Chinese Mission school building on Walnut Avenue (now Brockton Avenue, no longer extant) was dedicated. Reverend William C. Pond of San Francisco officiated services in the new mission building. Rev. Pond had been ministering to Chinese in San Francisco for at least thirty years by the time he visited Riverside.[136] He served as the secretary of the California Chinese Mission, an organization dedicated to coordinate the work of the American Missionary Association and independent Chinese Sunday Schools. The dedication service was conducted in both English and Chinese, and Chinese interpretation was noted in the newspaper coverage of the event.[137] A Berkeley church record book of the Congregationalist denomination listed fourteen Chinese Missions in 1900, including the one in Riverside.

United Brethren's Chinese Mission, seated, third from left, Reverend L.D. Bosserman, c. 1920. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside, CA.

In the early twentieth century, the United Brethren Church operated a Chinese Mission school in Riverside (no longer extant). First located on Chestnut Street between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets to Riverside Chinatown, it relocated in 1919 to Chinatown, where it operated until 1925.[138] George Wong served as the school's Chinese superintendent while it was housed in Chinatown.[139] For those Chinese immigrants who were willing and able, improving their English language skills helped them better navigate daily life in America. Though newspaper accounts of the period reference bilingual (Chinese and English) education and programs, the extent of Chinese language instruction at Riverside's Chinese Missions is not yet well understood. "It is the purpose of the school not only to teach the Bible and give instruction in English but also to inspire those who are taught to learn useful occupations and learn the real meaning of living," reported a local newspaper.[140] In addition to language instruction, the United Brethren Church helped unemployed Chinese Americans to place "employment wanted" advertisements in the local newspaper.

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[136] Barbara Brown Zikmund, "Chinese Congregationalism," United Church of Christ, accessed June 25, 2016, http://www.ucc.org/about-us_hidden-histories-2_chinese_congregationalism.
[137] *Riverside Daily Press*, February 17, 1890.
[138] Harry Lawton, "Riverside's Pioneer Chinese, Final Chapter," *Press Enterprise*, Feb 13, 1959; George Wong, interviewed by Mary Hedge, Mr. George Wong and Chinatown, California State University at Fullerton, April 27, 1968.
[139] Harry Lawton, "Riverside's Pioneer Chinese, Final Chapter," *Press Enterprise*, Feb 13, 1959; George Wong, interviewed by Mary Hedge, Mr. George Wong and Chinatown, California State University at Fullerton, April 27, 1968.
[140] "Chinese Church Holds Festival," *Riverside Daily Press*, February 3, 1919.

Wong Chung See (Wong Sai Jock) children and George Wong (no relation) outside the Chinese Mission in Chinatown, c. 1920s. Left to right, Henry Wong, Richard Wong, Helen Wong, Wong Ho Leun (George Wong), and George Wong. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside, CA.

Riverside's Chinese American population declined dramatically in the 1930s. Chinese American Christians who remained in Riverside did not exist in large enough numbers to warrant their own congregation, and thus likely worshipped at already established churches in the area.

Properties Associated with this Sub-theme:

There are no known extant resources associated with Chinese American religious and spiritual life in Riverside from the period of significance. Religious institutions established in the recent past may become eligible in the future.

Property Name	Property Address	Notes	DPR Form
Property for Future Study			
Riverside Mandarin Baptist Church	4889 Tyler Street	The Riverside Mandarin Baptist Church merged with the Tyler Baptist Church at this location in 2002. This property may become eligible in the future as a religious site associated with Chinese Americans in Riverside.	None

Sub-theme: Burial Places, 1880-1974

The period of significance for this sub-theme is 1880, reflecting the earliest known association with Chinese American burial places, through 1974, when George Wong was buried in Evergreen Memorial Historic Cemetery.

Evergreen Memorial Historic Cemetery

Evergreen Memorial Historic Cemetery is the oldest cemetery in Riverside. Land was set aside for a cemetery when the town of Riverside was first platted in 1870, and the first burial took place in 1872. The Riverside Cemetery Association was established in 1873, the site was named the Riverside Cemetery. The Association subsequently incorporated in 1880 as the Evergreen Cemetery Association, and the cemetery itself was also renamed. While the cemetery has expanded over time to house more than 27,000 burials, the original portion of the cemetery – known as the historic portion – includes 1,500 burial sites in an area bounded by 13th Street to the north, Cedar Street to the east, Fourteenth Street to the south, and Redwood Drive to the west. Many of Riverside's earliest and most prominent residents were buried here, including John Wesley North, Luther and Eliza Tibbets, Frank A. Miller, and G. Stanley Wilson.[141] The cemetery is also the site of prominent Chinese American Riverside resident Wong Ho Leun (George Wong).

L: Gravestone for Lai Sam Hing, died May 28, 1916, buried in Olivewood Cemetery, Riverside, CA. Source: Save Our Chinatown Committee. R: George Wong gravestone in Evergreen Memorial Historic Cemetery. Source: Save Our Chinatown Committee.

Olivewood Memorial Park

Olivewood Memorial Park is the second-oldest cemetery in Riverside.[142] It was established in 1888 by the first trustees, H. M. Streeter, A. J. Twogood, and P. D. Cover, who were also among the pioneering

[141] Information about Evergreen Memorial Historic Cemetery largely adapted from "Evergreen Memorial Historic Cemetery," http://evergreen-cemetery.info/ (accessed September 2016) and Jane Davies Gunther, *Riverside County, California, Place Names; Their Origins and Their Stories*, Riverside, CA: Rubidoux Printing Co, 1984.
[142] Discussion of Olivewood Cemetery adapted from Deborah Wong, "Chinese Buried in Olivewood Memorial Park, 1888-1939;" and "Olivewood Memorial Park," Asian American Riverside, http://www.asianamericanriverside.ucr.edu/sites/OlivewoodMemorialPark/index.html (accessed September 2016).

families of Riverside. Originally, the cemetery was situated on the outskirts of Riverside and surrounded by agricultural land. However, over time development expanded southward to meet the boundaries of the cemetery, and today the property is surrounded by more recent development, including the Riverside (91) Freeway. The cemetery itself – once located south of Central Avenue – has expanded to occupy land on both the north and south sides of Central Avenue.

Throughout the late 19th and early 20th century, Olivewood Cemetery was segregated, a practice which is reflected in the locations and patterns of burial sites in the original portion of the cemetery south of Central Avenue. Many Chinese and Japanese burials are concentrated along the northwestern border of the cemetery in present-day Sections C, D, and E, nearest to Central Avenue. (A portion of the cemetery adjacent to the segregated burial sites was also leased separately to the County and maintained for the burials of indigent families and individuals. It is unclear whether the concentration of Chinese and Japanese burials reflects this area of publicly-funded burials or merely a segregated section set aside for Chinese and Japanese burials.)

Over 100 Chinese and Japanese headstones dating primarily from the 1880s to the 1930s are located in this area; these graves mark the burial sites of some of Riverside's earliest Asian settlers. Early Chinese headstones note incomplete Chinese names, suggesting that information may have been supplied by employers who either didn't know their employees' full names or were unfamiliar with Chinese names. Other headstones are entirely in Chinese, suggesting that the Chinese community ensured that some of their members were buried with accurate markers. In addition, there may be a number of Chinese burials which are not marked by gravestones, accounting for the open landscape in this area.

Some remains were later claimed by relatives of these early Chinese settlers, and were then disinterred and taken back to China. However, for those that remained, the Chinese residents of Riverside continued to honor their deceased ancestors through traditional rituals. As late as the early 1940s, historian Harry Lawton recalls "porcelain bowls containing rice and roasted chicken" being placed before Chinese graves every March on the day of the Ching Ming Festival, a traditional Chinese festival known as "Ancestor's Day" or "Grave-Sweeping Day." The practice has been re-launched in recent years by Chinese American residents of Riverside and continues to this day.

Properties Associated with this Sub-theme:

Property Name	Property Address	Notes	DPR Form
Eligible properties identified as part of this survey			
Olivewood Memorial Park	3300 Central Avenue	Segregated through the early twentieth century, with a concentration of Chinese American gravesites from this period.	523A & B
Designated/previously-surveyed properties also associated with Chinese American context			
Evergreen Historic Cemetery	4414 Fourteenth Street	Burial site of George Wong, prominent local Chinese American and the last resident of Chinatown.	523L

Sub-theme: Social Clubs & Benevolent Societies, 1885-1929

The period of significance for this sub-theme is 1885-1929, reflecting the establishment of Chinatown, which likely was the site of any cultural institutions at the time, through the decline of the Chinese American population in Riverside in the 1920s.

Before World War II, Chinese institutions in the U.S. were largely based on the *huiguan* system. A *huiguan*, "united people from the same region, locality, or localities. Led by the merchant class, the *huiguan* exercised both economic power and social control over its members."[143] Of these institutions, the most well-known was the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), or Chinese Six Companies, headquartered in San Francisco. Occasional mentions in local newspapers during the era of Chinese Exclusion confirm that the Chinese Six Companies maintained communication with leaders of Riverside's Chinese American community. There was a shift in Chinese American identities after the Chinese exclusion laws were passed: while local and district ties continued to be important in the everyday lives of Chinese, Chinese exclusion thrust ethnic identity to the forefront. [144] As such, there was an increasing need to promote collective identity. Chinatowns served as communities which affirmed collective identity.

Virginia Wong in front of Chee Kung Tong Building, c. 1940. Source: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Riverside, CA.

As the population of Chinese Americans in the region continued to grow through the turn of the twentieth century, distinct cultural institutions and group activities strengthened the collective Chinese American identity. In 1900, local newspapers reported a festive dedication of Chinatown's Chee Kung Tong (Chinese meeting hall). The Chee Kung Tong was more than a meeting hall, however. Ubiquitous in most Chinatowns across the country, Chee Kung Tongs were Chinese fraternity organizations, sometimes referred to as Chinese Free Mason societies. They were later associated with clandestine and anti-Ching political activities in some U.S. Chinatowns. In Riverside, the Chee Kung Tong organization constructed a two-story building, which housed its meeting hall on the first floor and a Joss House on the second floor (no longer extant). The presence of a Chee Kung Tong in Riverside is significant, as it demonstrates that: the local Chinese community was prosperous enough to finance the construction of a new building; there was a regional need for a meeting place and place of worship; and despite infrequent acts of anti-Chinese violence seen in Riverside, the existence of the Chee Kung Tong organization signified political resistance in the local Chinese community during the Chinese exclusion era. Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, a Chinese

[143] Him Mark Lai, *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions*, 39.
[144] Him Mark Lai, *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions*.

revolutionary and first president of the Republic of China, visited Riverside Chinatown in 1904 on a fundraising tour of several cities throughout California and the U.S.[145] It is likely this meeting was hosted by the local Chee Kung Tong organization.

Riverside's Chinese American population declined dramatically in the 1930s. As a result, it does not appear that new social clubs or benevolent organizations were organized until the late twentieth century. As a result of a renewed interest in Riverside's Chinese American community, several new organizations emerged in Riverside in the 1980s. These include the Riverside Chinese Association and the Chinese Students Association at the University of California, Riverside. Each served an important purpose and mission in the local Chinese American community. The Riverside Chinese Association was formed in 1987, originally as a social club, hosting informal gatherings for predominantly Taiwanese professionals living in Riverside. As increasing numbers of Chinese immigrants from Taiwan moved to Inland Southern California, the organization expanded its membership and eventually changed its name to Inland Chinese Association (ICA). UC Riverside's Chinese Student Association (CSA) was formed and led by Chinese American students attending UC Riverside sometime in the 1980s. The organization provided a sense of community for Chinese American students on campus and opportunities for students to engage in community service projects, including efforts associated with the Chinatown archaeological excavation in the mid-1980s. Predating UC Riverside's Asian Pacific Student Programs Office, members of CSA played a key role in raising the need for campus resources for Asian American students as well as Asian American Studies at UC Riverside.

Properties Associated with this Sub-theme:

There are no known resources constructed during the period of significance associated with this sub-theme. Organizations established in the recent past may become eligible in the future, if there is a specific location associated with the organization.

[145] Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's 1904 "Guofu nianpu" (Yearly chronology of the Father of the Nation), which lists his U.S. travel itinerary.

Sub-theme: Schools, 1980-

There is no established period of significance for this sub-theme, as there are no known resources dating to the period of significance of this study. However, there are known resources dating to the recent past that may become eligible in the future, so available information is included here.

Like spiritual and political activity, Chinese schools helped to preserve Chinese cultural heritage by teaching Chinese language. By World War II, Chinese language schools had existed in the Chinese American community for more than half a century.[146] There was dramatic expansion of Chinese language schools in the U.S. in the post-World War II period. In the late 1970s, 122 schools were recorded in thirteen states. In less than twenty years, the total number of schools multiplied by five, and there was a school in nearly every state.[147] Though the overwhelming majority of the Chinese American community from the mid-19th century through the early postwar period spoke Cantonese, beginning in the 1970s, Mandarin began to overtake Cantonese as the predominant language taught in Chinese schools.[148]

This study found no known Chinese language schools in Riverside until the 1980s. There was little need for such an institution, given the small number of Chinese American families in Riverside through World War II and the ensuring post-war years. In 1989, the Inland Chinese Association (ICA, formerly Riverside Chinese Association) organized the first Chinese-language instruction school in Inland Southern California. The school was run out of North High School (1550 Third Street) on Saturdays. The school offered students Mandarin-language instruction and cultural heritage activities. In addition to the Chinese language school, ICA hosted social gatherings, including an annual spring festival featuring cultural performances.

In 2005, Huaxia Chinese School began offering Mandarin-language instruction at North High School as well. Huaxia Chinese School taught Mandarin to students using simplified Chinese characters. Instruction differed from that of Inland Riverside Chinese School, which used traditional Chinese characters.[149] Today, both schools teach Mandarin using simplified Chinese characters, and have continuously operated at North High School since they opened.

Properties Associated with this Sub-theme:

There are no resources associated with this sub-theme constructed during the period of significance. Schools established in the recent past may become eligible in the future.

Property Name	Property Address	Notes	DPR Form
Property for Future Study			
John W. North High School	1550 Third Street	The first Chinese-language instruction school in Inland Southern California was hosted here beginning in 1989.	None

[146] Him Mark Lai, *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions*, 309.
[147] Him Mark Lai, *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions*, 314.
[148] Him Mark Lai, *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions*, 319.
[149] Simplified Chinese characters are often associated with the People's Republic of China and the Communist party. Use of traditional Chinese characters has been viewed as a way to maintain national cultural identity. In Taiwan, simplified characters were banned until 2003.

Sub-theme: Art & Culture, 1975-

The arts and culture have been an important part of community life for Riverside's Chinese Americans. Over the years, local Chinese community organizations and schools have helped to cultivate Chinese arts and cultural education. There is a collection of murals and artwork by Chinese American artist, Dr. Sam Huang, throughout the city. His first mural was completed in 1975; several other murals and works of art date to the period of renewed cultural appreciation for Riverside's Chinese American heritage starting in the 1980s that is outside the period of significance for this study.

Ecology mural at Riverside Community College by Sam Huang. Source: M. Rosalind Sagara.

A professor of Biology at Riverside City College (RCC), Dr. Sam Huang enjoyed integrating art and science in his artwork and was committed to making his art accessible. Arguably Riverside's most prolific Chinese American artist, and a renowned muralist, Huang devoted his retirement years to making art and tap dancing. Huang's murals depict scenes of science, technology, and Riverside's history. His murals and artwork are displayed at institutional and commercial buildings throughout Riverside. Huang created much of his artwork in a studio in the Life Arts Building (3485 University Avenue) that he rented for twenty-five years, beginning in the mid-1980s.[150]

Properties Associated with this Sub-theme:

Property Name	Property Address	Notes	DPR Form
Mural identified as eligible as part of this Study			
"Ecology" mural, Riverside City College Life Science Building	4800 Magnolia Avenue	First mural created in Riverside by Dr. Sam Huang; completed in 1975.	523 A & B
Murals for Future Study			
"Grant's Centennial" mural, Grand Elementary School	4011 Fourteenth Street	Completed in the mid-1980s.	523 A & B
"Know the Past, Live the Present, Dream the Future" mural, Magnolia Elementary School	3975 Maplewood Place	Completed in 2003.	523 A & B

Theme: Commercial Development, 1885-1975

[150] Bent Corydon, "Riverside's Historic YMCA, a.k.a. The Life Arts Building" pamphlet, undated.

Sub-theme: Early Commercial Development, 1885-1938

The period of significance for this sub-theme is 1885-1938, reflecting the establishment of Chinatown, through 1938, when the final business in Chinatown closed. Beginning in the late 1870s, the commercial identity of the Chinese American community in Riverside centered around its three Chinatowns: the Chinese quarter in Downtown (c. 1878-1886, no longer extant), Chinatown at Tequesquite Arroyo (1885-1974, Chinatown archaeological site), and Adams Street Chinatown in Arlington (1892-1911, no longer extant). Lodging, employment agencies, and grocery and merchandise stores selling local and imported goods from China could be found at each of these locations.

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L: Hom Yen, merchant, inside Pow Hing & Company, Riverside Chinatown, c. 1914. Source: National Archives at San Francisco. R: The Chinese Herb Company Advertisement, *Riverside Daily Press*, July 27, 1931.

"In the early eighties, Chinese vegetable marketing began matching laundries as the most important business in the Chinese community… In all likelihood, the produce business operated directly out of the Chinese Quarter with workers sorting vegetables and vendors loading up their wagons each morning to commence daily rounds of the Riverside area." [151] Chinese truck gardeners supplied nearly all the produce consumed by the local community in the late 1880s.[152] The Chinatown at Tequesquite Arroyo was the largest of the three Chinatowns and included laundry, restaurant, and herbal medicine establishments as well as a barber, tailor, and remittance banker, among others. By 1900, a city ordinance confined laundry businesses to the vicinity around Chinatown at Tequesquite Arroyo, further solidifying Chinatown's commercial identity.[153]

Though businesses located in the permanent Chinese settlements were firmly established and flourishing by the 1890s, many Chinese entrepreneurs operated successful businesses outside of Chinatown as well. In the 1890s, Gin Duey ran the New England Restaurant on Eighth Street (now University Avenue, no longer extant) and Chinese merchants at Tuck Sing Lung & Company, which doubled as a Chinese employment agency, sold Chinese and Japanese merchandise on Main Street (no longer extant). As late as 1932, Woo Wah, a Chinese herbalist, operated the branch office of The Chinese Herb Company at 3977

[151] Harry Lawton, "Riverside's First Chinatown and the Boom of the Eighties," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 13.
[152] Harry Lawton, "Riverside's First Chinatown and the Boom of the Eighties," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987), 13
[153] Note that there is some overlap in the discussion of Chinese American labor and Chinese American commercial development, as these two themes are intertwined.

Seventh Street (now Mission Inn Avenue, no longer extant). By the 1920s, most of Riverside's Chinese American community had dissipated. The last business operating in Chinatown closed in 1938.

Properties Associated with this Theme:

The most significant resource associated with this sub-theme is Chinatown, which is a designated historic resource as an archaeological site. There are no known built resources associated with this sub-theme. However, future study of identified sites may yield information about early commercial development in Riverside.

Property Name	Property Address	Notes	DPR Form
Sites for Future Study			
Chinese settlement near corner of Adams Street and Magnolia Avenue	Near corner of Adams Street and Magnolia Avenue	Known area of early Chinese settlement; no built resources remain, but the area may yield future information.	None
Early Chinese Quarter	Main, Orange, Eighth (University) , and Ninth Streets	Known area of early Chinese settlement; no built resources remain, but the area may yield future information.	None

Sub-theme: Commercial Development after Chinese Exclusion, 1943-1975

The period of significance for this sub-theme is 1943-1975, representing the establishment of the most prominent Chinese American business in the post-exclusion era, through the end of the identified period of significance for this context study.

Chungking Cafe in 1960s. Source: Voy and Fay Wong Family.

The Chungking Café (no longer extant) opened for business in Downtown Riverside in 1943. Voy Wong and his two business partners, Edward Wong (Wong Bing Tew) and Harold Wong (Yuk Suk), purchased the restaurant for $500 from a Japanese American owner prior to his forced relocation into a World War II incarceration camp.[154] Over the years, the Chungking Café brought people together over food, serving residents, community organizations, and notables alike, including civil rights leader Cesar Chavez.[155] The success of the restaurant business allowed the Wong Family to purchase a home in Downtown Riverside (4161 University Avenue) and the mixed-use Plaza Building on Market and University Avenues (no longer extant). The Wong Family operated the Chungking Café until 1975, when they sold it to another Chinese family, Henry and Lisa Chan, who continued to operate the restaurant until it closed in 1994.[156]

Properties Associated with this Sub-theme:

Property Name	Property Address	Notes	DPR Form
Designated/previously-surveyed properties also associated with Chinese American context			
Chen Ling Palace Restaurant	9856 Magnolia Avenue	Originally established as a Chinese restaurant in 1962; in continuous operation as a restaurant since that time.	523L
Property for Future Study			
Dragon House Restaurant	10466 Magnolia Avenue	Established in 1985.	None

[154] Janlee Wong, interviewed by M. Rosalind Sagara and Eugene Moy, April 25, 2016.
[155] "Voy Wong," Wongs of Riverside, accessed June 23, 2016, http://www.voyfay.com/ancestors/voy-wong/.
[156] Research for this project did not identify any extant commercial properties.

CHRONOLOGY[157]

DATE	EVENT
1869	Millions of mulberry trees planted in California, including some by the California Silk Centre Association on ranch land along Santa Ana River.
1871	Judge John W. North and partners established Riverside on land purchased from the California Silk Centre Association. Settlers employed Chinese cooks, servants, and field hands.
1873	Eliza Tibbetts planted the first of two Washington navel orange trees. Tibbets had Chinese servant, Lau Ah.
1875	Lower Canal from Riverside to Arlington likely built with Chinese labor. Wong Fong worked as a cook for canal builders, and later became a vegetable farmer and storekeeper in Riverside Chinatown.
1878	Hang Wo Laundry, located on the north side of Seventh Street between Main and Market, became the first Chinese business in Riverside. Several other Chinese businesses were established on the same block.
1879	First Riverside Chinatown developed on a quarter block at Ninth and Orange. Main businesses were Sam Hoy's labor contract office and the Quong Mow Lung Co. general store. All ten, one-story buildings were of wood construction, and seasonal workers camped in adjacent tents. Duey Wo Lung Company laundry was established at a separate location on Seventh Street. Owner Gin Duey (also known as Duey Wo Lung or Chen Duey) became spokesman for the Chinese community. First Chinese New Year celebration in Riverside.
1879	Chinese worked in raisin packing sheds in Riverside.
1879	Anti-Chinese rallies organized by Denis Kearney and Workingmen's Party traveled statewide, including stops in San Bernardino and Riverside.
1880	Chinese laborers began working in Riverside orange groves. The Riverside Fruit Packing Company established a cannery and hired Chinese to work in furnace room, while European American women and boys worked in the cannery.
1880	Luther M. Holt, real estate investor, purchased *Riverside Press* and renamed it *Riverside Press and Horticulturist*. Holt established new offices at Eighth and Orange, on the same block as Chinatown.
1880	Lew Gut also known as Little Sam hired by the Bettner family. He lived in the attic of the family home, and received $1 daily wage. Lew frequented the first

[157] Chronology largely developed by Eugene Moy based on information in Harry Lawton, "A Selected Chronological History of Chinese Pioneers in Riverside and the Southern California Citrus Belt," in *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown* (San Diego: Great Basin Foundation, 1987). Minor revisions and additions made as part of this project.

Riverside Chinatown at Ninth and Orange Streets. He nursed James Bettner and son Louis when they were ill, and moved to Catharine Bettner's new mansion (constructed on Magnolia in 1891) at her request. Lew socialized at Arlington "Chinatown" nearby, at Adams and Magnolia. Moved to 4558 Brockton in Chinatown after Mrs. Bettner's death in 1928.

1881 Ah Quin negotiated a labor contract with California Southern Railroad (chartered in 1880 for 116-mile line from National City to San Bernardino, connecting with Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad to points east). Construction began on a long, deep gorge in Temecula Canyon; a camp of 2,000 Chinese workers was established. The railroad bypassed Riverside by selecting a route through Box Springs Canyon. By May 1882, six contractors supervised 14 gangs of Chinese and white workers, who were paid $1.75 per day.

1881 Chinese vegetable gardeners Ching Koo, Ah Toy, Lee Wan, and Ah Sing leased Santa Ana River bottomlands near Colton, east of La Cadena Avenue. Other vegetable growers were in operation by 1882, farming in Arlington, portions of the Rubidoux and Jurupa Ranchos, and other river lands. "China Gardens" were noted on the west bank of the Santa Ana, opposite Mt. Rubidoux; Quong Sing leased 20 acres from Cornelius Jensen. By 1885, there were approximately 40 Chinese vegetable gardeners in Riverside area.

1881 Matthew Gage arrived in Riverside from Kingston, Ontario, Canada, joining other Canadians, including Joseph Jarvis, brothers George and William Chaffey, and their father, George Chaffey Sr., and their respective families, most of whom lived in the unofficial "Canadian tract" of Arlington, near California and Adams. Gage started a jewelry business on Main Street, and bought a home on a ten-acre property at Mulberry and Fourteenth. Chinese vendors stopped at the Gage home three times a week. Gage opened a new store in 1882, and filed a desert land claim to Section 30 (640 acres bounded by University, Chicago, Canyon Crest, and Le Conte).

1882 San Bernardino County Board of Supervisors authorized a $2 tax on California Southern Railroad workers, who were mostly Chinese. Virgil Earp lead armed guards hired by Southern Pacific Railroad (SPRR) to confront and prevent California Southern from crossing SPRR tracks in Colton. California Southern crews reportedly laid track in the dead of night to leapfrog the SPRR. Trains began running to San Bernardino by end of summer 1882.

1882 Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act.

1882 Citrus Fair Pavilion, Riverside: Hang Wo and other washhouses on the north side of Seventh torn down to make way for a new structure.

1882 James Bettner hired 150 Chinese workers for a cannery of the Riverside Fruit Packing Company.

1882 Notice in the *Riverside Press and Horticulturist* announcing Sam Hoy's proprietorship of a wash-house formerly belonging to Sam Gee. Sam Hoy could "also furnish good cooks, ranch hands and laborers of all kinds."

1883 Fire broke out at John Brown's stable and the *Riverside Press* printing plant. Although the printing press was lost, Luther Holt credited Chinese firefighters for helping prevent further damage. Holt had previously supported the anti-Chinese movement in his newspaper (the *Riverside Press and Horticulturalist).*

1883 Riverside incorporated.

1884 First advertisement by a Chinese business (Hang Wo Laundry) appeared in the local newspaper.

1885 Riverside Chinatown forced to relocate due to an ordinance prohibiting wooden buildings in downtown Riverside. The Chinatown landlord gave tenants a 30-day notice to vacate, or rent would increase to $500 per month. Luther Holt crusaded to evict Chinese from downtown. A new, 7-acre location was found at Tequesquite and Brockton. A.W. Boggs, a local contractor, was hired by Quong Nim & Co. to build houses and shops.

1885 Santa Fe transcontinental route opened, and the first train from the east entered San Bernardino after several years of building over the Cajon Pass to the Mojave Desert, then to Needles, connecting with lines through Arizona and New Mexico. Needles had a Chinese camp of over 2,500 workers. New markets opened for raisins and citrus from the Riverside area.

1885 Riverside, Santa Ana & Los Angeles Railroad completed. Chinese were principal labor force for new line through Santa Ana Canyon.

1886 Inland Empire emerged and new citrus towns were established, including Rialto, Fontana, Bloomington, Redlands, Terracina, Mound City (Loma Linda), Guasti, South Riverside (Corona), Etiwanda, Ontario.

1886 First Chinese New Year celebration in the second Riverside Chinatown. Chinese workers were hired, fired, and rehired by Earl Fruit Co. in Riverside. Riverside Brick Co. hired a large Chinese labor force.

1888 Collapse of California land boom. Gage Canal extension to Arlington Heights completed, providing free water to the new Olivewood Cemetery. Gage designed Victoria Avenue. Citrus Pavilion burned down (later replaced with the Loring Opera House). Real estate sales collapsed. Gage sold almost all of his properties to Riverside Trust Company, Limited, but was retained as manager.

1889 Several anti-Chinese meetings organized at the Loring Opera House.

1893 The Great Riverside Chinatown fire destroyed eighteen buildings. Eight buildings were saved. The fire was caused by the explosion of a coal stove in Pow Hing store. Gin Duey convened a meeting, and merchants agreed to

rebuild despite ongoing hostilities in area. Riverside was perceived as a safe haven.

1893 Riverside proclaimed the richest city per capita in U.S.

1893 New Chinese settlement emerged in the Arlington area, on Adams Street between Magnolia Avenue and California Street. Lasted at least through the early 1910s.

1893 Numerous efforts to replace Chinese. Redlands Chinese population down to 24 in 1896. Japanese workers were hired as replacements. Riverside merchants Wong Fong and Wong Hong were tried and determined to be laborers because they drove wagons.

1900 Casa Blanca Packinghouse: Eight Chinese replacement workers dragged from packinghouse and beaten during labor dispute at Fay. Seven Chinese workers were rounded up, loaded onto wagon, robbed, beaten, and dumped near the Santa Ana river.

1911 Ching Dynasty overthrown by Sun Yat-sen.

1914 George Wong (Wong Ho Leun) arrived from Gom Benn Village, joining his father Wong Ben Chow, vegetable merchant, in Riverside. Father placed him with S.H. Herrick family, prominent orange growers. George attended Grant Elementary and Polytechnic High School.

1915 Helen Wong last child born in Riverside Chinatown, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Wong Sai Chuck, owners of grocery store in Chinatown.

1915-1918 *State of California v. Jukichi Harada*: Jukichi Harada, restaurateur, bought a home at 356 Lemon Street in Riverside in the name of his three minor children, all native-born Americans. Subsequent challenge under Alien Land Law went to California Supreme Court, which ruled validity of ownership by citizens under the 14th Amendment.

1925 Ku Klux Klan formed in Riverside.

1937 Voy Wong joined his father in San Bernardino. Ineligible for military service, bought restaurant on Market Street in Riverside, Chungking Café. In 1947, Voy returned to China, reunited with wife Fay, and brought her to the United States.

1938 Last business in Chinatown closed in 1938. Flood causes major destruction, impacting Chinese gardens.

1939 Lew Gut also known as Little Sam passed away at 91, was buried in Olivewood Cemetery in Riverside.

1943 George Wong acquired Riverside Chinatown.

1943 Congress passed the Magnuson Act, repealing the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

1948 Voy and Fay Wong and Bing and Boy Wong purchased the house at 1161 8th Street (now 4161 University Avenue) in Downtown's "Mile Square." The realtor polled the neighborhood for permission to sell the home to a Chinese family. In 1952, Bing and Boy Wong deeded their undivided one-half interest in the property to Voy and Fay Wong. Extended family and non-family members lived in the house in the early years, including Chungking Café's cook Harold Wong and Voy Wong's older brother Poy Wong.

1961 Street between Pine Street and Palm Avenue, near Riverside Chinatown, named in honor of George Wong.

1965 Congress passes the Hart-Cellar Act, or Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which paved the way for a more diverse Chinese demographic in Riverside.

1968 Riverside Chinatown designated Country Landmark #8 and listed as a California Point of Historical Interest.

1974 The last resident of Riverside Chinatown, George Wong, passed away at age 74. He was buried at Evergreen Cemetery. Executors of his estate organized a two-day public auction of Riverside Chinatown and its contents, including a collection of nearly 100 old cars.

1975 Dr. Sam Huang painted his first known mural in Riverside, "Ecology," on the Life Sciences Building at Riverside City College.

1975 Voy and Fay Wong sold Chungking Café. The new owners continued to operate the restaurant until it closed in 1994. Voy Wong passed away at age 62, and was buried at Olivewood Cemetery.

1976 Riverside Chinatown designated City Landmark #19.

1977 Fire damaged or destroyed some of Riverside Chinatown's structures.

1978 City approved demolition of last remaining brick building at Riverside Chinatown.

1980 Riverside County Office of Education purchased Riverside Chinatown.

1981 Riverside County Office of Education built a maintenance and operations plant on the west side of Riverside Chinatown, near Pine Street.

1981 Taiwanese American restaurateur David Chang opened Dragon House, serving Mandarin-style cuisine.

1984-1985	Archaeological investigation at Riverside's second Chinatown site; followed by major exhibition at Riverside Metropolitan Museum, publication of *Wong Ho Leun, An American Chinatown*, and citizen-led fundraising to build Chinese Pavilion.
1986-1987	Construction of Chinese Pavilion in Downtown Riverside to honor the contributions of Chinese Americans in Riverside.
1989	Inland Chinese Association organized the first Chinese-language instruction school, run out of North High School.
1990	Riverside Chinatown listed on the National Register of Historic Places.
1999	Fay Hing Lee (Wong) donated her family home to the University of California, Riverside, to establish the Voy and Fay Wong Endowment in Asian Art.
2000	Fay Hing Lee (Wong) passed away at age 83, buried at Olivewood Cemetery.
2008-present	Citizen-led effort to preserve Riverside Chinatown continues.
2014	Dr. Sam Huang passed away at age 79.

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