



PROJECT MUSE®

---

## Chinese Diaspora Archaeology in North America

Chelsea Rose, J. Ryan Kennedy

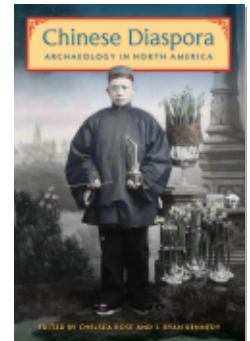
Published by University Press of Florida

Rose, Chelsea and J. Ryan Kennedy.

Chinese Diaspora Archaeology in North America.

University Press of Florida, 2020.

Project MUSE. [muse.jhu.edu/book/73271](https://muse.jhu.edu/book/73271).



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/73271>



## Between South China and Southern California

### The Formation of Transnational Chinese Communities

LAURA W. NG 伍穎華

I write from Taishan County in Guangdong Province, which often bills itself as “Home of the Overseas Chinese” because it is the hometown of many members of the Chinese diaspora—including my parents and ancestors. Although I have visited my parents’ home villages in Taishan on previous trips, I am currently here conducting field research for a path-breaking project that focuses on the archaeology of Chinese transnationalism. Called “Hoisan” in the Taishan dialect and “Toisan” in the Guangzhou dialect, Taishan is one of eight counties in the Pearl River Delta that Cantonese people in America emigrated from (Lai 2004). The other counties include Enping, Kaiping, Xinhui, Nanhai, Shunde, Panyu, and Zhongshan. While Cantonese people from these areas also immigrated to countries such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Mexico, and Cuba, my project focuses on the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century migration from rural villages in Taishan to the United States.

Transnationalism was so ingrained as a way of life for Taishanese and other Cantonese living in the United States that even those who were native-born became transnational Chinese. San Francisco-born Wong Kim Ark is arguably the most well-known Chinese American in U.S. legal history because he fought for and won birthright citizenship when he was denied reentry into the United States in 1895 after his second trip to China (Lee 2003:103–104). Wong Kim Ark continued to visit China throughout his adult life to see his parents, who had

returned to their village in Taishan, and to marry and conceive children (Wong 2001). Wong's transnational activities mirror that of a typical Chinese migrant from his era: moving back and forth across the Pacific and maintaining affective ties to his ancestral village through marriage and children.

Historian Madeline Hsu (2000) describes other ways in which Taishanese migrants in the United States were transnational. Chinese transnationalism was not just about making return visits to the home village; it also included activities such as sending remittances and letters to family members in China, building new village homes, and donating money to construct village schools. By illuminating the history of these transnational Chinese migrants, Hsu also effectively shows that transnationalism is not a new phenomenon unique to late-twentieth-century global restructuring as anthropologists Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton (1992) have contended. While Hsu's work engages with anthropological scholarship, archaeologists of the Chinese diaspora have been slow to adopt a transnational framework in their research (except see Byrne 2016; Ross 2013:6). This is likely because most Chinese diaspora archaeology is conducted at sites in North America or Australasia—the destination countries that Chinese immigrated to. Barbara Voss (2016) calls attention to the lack of inclusion of Chinese migrants' hometowns, *qiaoxiang* (侨乡), in Chinese diaspora archaeology, and she outlines resources that Western archaeologists can draw upon to conduct transpacific archaeological research. In 2016 I joined Voss and other members of the Cangdong Village (倉東村) Project in Kaiping County to conduct the first archaeological survey of a Cantonese home village (Voss et al. 2018). This investigation has provided important baseline data for what “home” materially looked like for Chinese migrants.

My project also relies on archaeological work in China as a means to show that the materiality of transnationalism can be examined through site-specific research in home villages and Chinese diaspora sites. The transpacific movement of objects, people, money, and information produced a rich material world that ranged from imported Chinese goods commonly found at Chinese diaspora sites to Western-style houses built in the home villages with overseas remittances. This project examines the materiality of transnationalism through three diasporically connected sites: the Gom Benn (甘邊, Ganbian in Mandarin) village cluster in Taishan and two Chinatowns in southern California: San Bernardino Chinatown and Riverside Chinatown. The two Chinatowns were located in the Inland Empire roughly 10 miles apart from one another, and much of the population—mostly men—had migrated from

Gom Benn. The residents maintained transnational ties to their home villages by sending remittances and letters to their parents and wives and by making occasional visits to the village (Great Basin Foundation 1987a).

In order to understand the material impacts of transnationalism in the California Chinatowns and the home village, I examine how the San Bernardino and Riverside Chinatowns were established and how new villages were subsequently created in the Gom Benn village cluster. The formation of the two Chinatowns can be traced to a response to racial hostility as late-nineteenth-century anti-Chinese ordinances drove residents from their original quarters. I argue that the Chinese community was able to form these two Chinatowns by strategically employing white businesses and making use of clan-based connections that were first established in China. The remittances generated from these two communities can be further linked with the establishment of Wo Hing village (和慶里, He Qing Li in Mandarin) in Gom Benn in 1902 (Pierson 2007). My research indicates that some of the houses in Wo Hing were owned by residents from the two Inland Empire Chinatowns. This chapter highlights the way in which the three communities and their contemporary status as heritage sites relate to the Chinese diaspora and transnational migration.

Chinese Americans have been active in the historical preservation of sites such as the Inland Empire Chinatowns. These advocacy efforts are shaped in part by the marginalization of Chinese Americans and their historical contributions in mainstream society. Chinese Americans also engage with migration heritage in China, but this is mediated through visits to their ancestral villages. These trips to the home village are focused on personal connections, but they are also about reclaiming Chinese American history by destabilizing a dominant narrative that focuses on settlement in the United States rather than transnationalism. These trips also play a role in Chinese American identity formation by extending the possibility of a transnational identity that is inclusive of the United States, China, and global flows of what it means to be Chinese. Understanding the ways in which Chinese Americans engage with transnational migration heritage is also important in light of the fact that home villages are often seen as part of China's national heritage and even global heritage, while Chinese American sites comprise a small percentage of America's National Register of Historic Places—the sites and structures of national significance that have been deemed worthy of historic preservation.

## The San Bernardino and Riverside Chinatowns

The Chinese migrants who lived in the towns of San Bernardino and Riverside in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century worked as laundrymen, cooks, seasonal agricultural workers, and merchants. Most were men who shared the surname Wong (黃, Huang in Mandarin) and came from or near the Gom Benn village cluster (Lawton 1987a). The two Chinatowns were direct products of racial exclusion as racist ordinances pushed Chinese out of their original quarters within the downtown areas of both Riverside and San Bernardino. The first San Bernardino “Chinatown” was a Chinese quarter established in the 1860s; an anti-Chinese laundry ordinance, however, forced the Chinese residents out, and they moved to Third Street in 1878 (Costello et al. 2008). Chinese residents in Riverside had laundries and businesses clustered within Riverside’s “Mile Square” but were essentially evicted because of a series of ordinances targeting the Chinese, including one that banned wooden build-



Figure 10.1. View of wood and brick buildings lining Riverside Chinatown’s main street, circa 1900. (Used by permission of Special Collections & University Archives, University of California, Riverside)

ings from the city center (City of Riverside 2016). As a result, the Riverside Chinese moved to Tequesquite Canyon in 1885 and established the second iteration of Riverside Chinatown (Sagara 2014:2).

Both the San Bernardino and Riverside Chinatowns endured into the early twentieth century because of a Chinese man named Wong Nim, who was a San Bernardino Chinatown merchant and labor contractor. Wong Nim might have been born in Alameda County, California, but spent his formative years in a village called Tung How (洞口, Dongkou in Mandarin), a village located near Gom Benn (Lawton 1987a). Although Wong Nim was based in the San Bernardino Chinatown, he formed Quong Nim & Company with Riverside Chinese leaders in order to build a new Riverside Chinatown (Lawton 1987a). Quong Nim & Company hired A. W. Boggs, a local contractor, to construct twenty-six permanent wooden buildings in the new Riverside Chinatown. In July 1893, however, a kitchen fire destroyed all but eight of the community's wooden buildings (Sagara 2014:2). The Chinese leaders came together once again and hired local non-Chinese to rebuild their community; they paid architect G. W. Griff and contractor H. A. Knapp to design and construct two commercial brick buildings on Chinatown's main street (NRHP 1990:13).

Why was Wong Nim so willing to help a group of Chinese located outside of his own community finance a Chinatown? He was a labor contractor, so it was likely in his best interest to see that the Riverside Chinatown continued to thrive. However, my research in China points to another reason: that those with ancestral ties to Tung How and Gom Benn were able to trust and rely upon each other because they were part of the same larger Wong clan lineage and worshipped at the same ancestral hall in Tung How. This ancestral hall dates to the Ming dynasty and still stands in Tung How today. It is clear that Wong Nim actively sought to maintain these lineage ties in the United States by erecting a temple dedicated to the deity Kuan Yin (觀音, Guan Yin in Mandarin) in the San Bernardino Chinatown. Previous researchers have noted that Chinese from all over southern California came to worship Kuan Yin (Costello et al. 2004), but this temple had special significance to Chinese residents with ties to Tung How and Gom Benn because a Kuan Yin temple is attached to their shared ancestral hall in Taishan.

Although the Riverside Chinatown fire was an accident, arson was a real threat to Chinese communities. In the fall of 1892 there were two separate attempts by individuals to burn down the San Bernardino Chinatown. The fact that the arson attempts occurred a few months after the passage of the 1892 Geary Act—an expansion and extension of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act—is

likely not coincidental. Following these incidents, two fed-up Chinese merchants published a message in the local newspaper warning “boys and bums” to stay out of Chinatown at night (Costello et al. 2004:6.49). Wong Nim also desired a sense of durability in the San Bernardino Chinatown, where he resided and maintained his businesses. While Wong Nim made an unsuccessful attempt in 1879 to purchase the Starke Hotel, a brick structure near Chinatown, he was able to purchase several lots in 1900 within the San Bernardino Chinatown and rent the buildings to other Chinese (Costello et al. 2004).

The Chinese in the Inland Empire clearly faced racial hostility, but they used lineage ties that they had formed long ago in China to band together, buy land, and build fireproof structures. The Chinese leaders’ decision to use local white contractors to build their new community instead of Chinese labor was likely a strategy to protect themselves from the anti-Chinese ordinances they had dealt with in the past; working with local white businesses also probably helped them to build allies outside of their own community.

### Wo Hing Village

While Chinese migrants labored overseas, they also invested in the construction of fortified homes and watchtowers in their home villages. Patricia Batto (2006) traces the nineteenth-century construction of these buildings to the first Opium War in 1842, which resulted in instability and the need for defense. In addition, an interethnic conflict called the Hakka-Punti Clan Wars (1855–1867) arose between Cantonese and Hakka people living in Kaiping, Taishan, Xinhui, Enping, and Hakka and resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths. These four counties were also plagued by banditry, which continued into the early twentieth century (Tan 2013). Between 1912 and 1930 in Kaiping County, there were reportedly “more than a hundred murders, over a thousand abductions, and 71 major robberies, in addition to the countless thefts of buffalo and other goods” (Batto 2006:4). Families could hide safely from bandits in the fortified homes and multistory watchtowers, which often featured iron window bars and strategically placed gun holes. Visually, these remittance-built structures contained Western architectural elements; for example, neoclassical columns were often paired with decorative Chinese ornamentation such as frescoes and stucco carvings. Western materials such as steel and Portland cement were also used in the construction of watchtowers beginning in the late Qing period and are believed to have been introduced by returning Chinese immigrants (Batto 2006:5–6).



Figure 10.2. View of traditional three-bay, two-corridor houses along an alley lane in Wo Hing village. (Photo by Laura W. Ng, 2017)



Chinese migrants, or villagers working on behalf of Chinese migrants, also built entirely new villages. The newest settlement in Gom Benn is called Wo Hing village and it was established near the end of the Qing dynasty in 1902 (Pierson 2007). My research reveals that this village has the strongest connection to the Chinatowns in Riverside and San Bernardino. William Wong, the current president of the Gom Benn Village Society (GBVS) in Los Angeles, is from Wo Hing (Pierson 2007), and he states in an oral history that his grandfather was a farmer in the Riverside area (Wong 2014). George Wong, the sole resident of Riverside Chinatown from the 1940s up until his death in 1974, was from Wo Hing village; Wong's father, Wong Ben Chow, had been a farmer and vegetable peddler in Riverside (Lawton 1987a). Voy Wong and Poy Wong—the sons of Wong Sam, a San Bernardino Chinatown merchant with the Gee Chung Company—were also from Wo Hing. Wo Hing village contains nearly 100 houses, but only about a dozen households still occupy the village due to out-migration to large Chinese cities or countries abroad. There are several recent buildings in the front of the village, but most of the houses retain their early-twentieth-century forms. The typical house in this village is a single-story three-bay, two-corridor house. In Wo Hing, these houses are clustered in columns of three, which are then horizontally cut by an alley lane. All of these characteristics match Jinhua Tan's (2013) description of an "overseas Chinese planned village," especially an early phase that dates to the 1900s; these types of villages were built and planned by overseas Chinese who wrote and enforced regulations that dictated a uniform size and architectural style for each house. The 1900s-style overseas Chinese planned villages consists of traditional one-story three-bay, two-corridor houses with a horizontal lane going through every three houses; buildings such as mansions and watchtowers that began to appear in the 1920s and 1930s were acceptable, but they had to be built in the back or sides of villages for fengshui (風水) purposes (Tan 2013:202–203). The tallest unmodified building in Wo Hing is a three-story rectangular mansion located in the back to the side of the village. The mansion likely dates to the 1920s or 1930s as it is made of reinforced concrete and steel, which indicates that houses in Wo Hing were built over time and not all at once.

The continued settlement of Wo Hing village during the Exclusion period not only represents Chinese migrants' financial success overseas but also their successful navigation and circumvention of Exclusion laws over time. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act sought to restrict Chinese immigration by barring Chinese laborers from entering the United States; this meant that only exempt

classes such as Chinese merchants and their family members could newly immigrate. The Chinese Exclusion period (1882–1943) made transpacific crossings more difficult for Chinese residing in the United States because they could be denied reentry into America when they returned from China if they had been classified as laborers. Chinese merchants did not take their exempt status for granted under Exclusion. For example, immigration documents reveal that San Bernardino merchant Wong Sam secured affidavits from two white men in 1896 in preparation for a return trip to China (Lawton 1987b). The 1906 earthquake in San Francisco created new pathways for immigrating to the United States during the Exclusion period. After the earthquake, immigration records were burned in the ensuing fire, and many Chinese migrants falsely claimed to be born in the United States and therefore exempt from the Chinese Exclusion Act (Chinn et al. 1969:15–16). As citizens, they were also allowed to bring their children into the United States from China, but many gave away or sold these immigration slots to relatives or strangers; the migrants who bought these slots became known within the Chinese community as “paper sons” or “paper daughters.” If Chinese migrants had not been able to continue making transpacific journeys to marry, visit their spouses, and conceive children, Wo Hing would not have been able to continue to grow.

The current status of the three diasporically connected sites remains a tangible reflection of transnational Chinese heritage. Chinese Americans have engaged with archaeological investigations of the two American Chinatowns and interacted with home village heritage in China, resulting in valuable insights that should further incentivize Chinese diaspora archaeologists to collaborate with descendant communities.

### Chinese American Heritage Sites

After the last residents of the San Bernardino and Riverside Chinatowns passed away, neither Chinatown was preserved by city officials or preservationists. Some of the land that the San Bernardino Chinatown sat on was bought piecemeal by the State of California, beginning in 1925, for use as the California Department of Transportation District 8 San Bernardino Headquarters (Costello et al. 2004). Four original brick structures from the San Bernardino Chinatown remained standing into the 1960s but were demolished by the owner, the County of San Bernardino, “to make way for an expansion of the county courthouse parking lot” (Costello et al. 2008:138). Similarly, the last remaining

buildings of the Riverside Chinatown were demolished in 1978 at the approval of the Riverside Cultural Heritage Board (Sagara 2014:2).

Both Chinatown sites, however, have undergone archaeological investigations. The Riverside Chinatown land was purchased by the Riverside County Office of Education, which had plans to develop the site. An ad hoc committee called Save Riverside's Chinatown was established when the Chinese Historical Society of Southern California (CHSSC) alerted local residents about the development plans (Great Basin Foundation 1987a). The committee worked with CHSSC and the Chinese Heritage and Progress Association to raise funds for an excavation of the Chinatown before construction began; additional funding for the excavation was provided by the Great Basin Foundation, the archaeology firm hired to run the excavation (Sagara 2014:2). The excavation took place between 1984 and 1985 and resulted in a two-volume monograph describing the history of the Chinese in the Inland Empire and archaeological analyses of the artifacts recovered (Great Basin Foundation 1987a, 1987b). The Chinese Americans involved in the campaign to prevent the destruction of the Riverside Chinatown site were not descendants of former residents but were concerned citizens who employed archaeology to prevent their further marginalization of Chinese Americans within mainstream society. This echoes the reason why Chinese Americans first began collecting and disseminating their community histories in the post-World War II period—to “press for recognition as equal partners in America's pluralistic society” (Lai 1988:18).

The San Bernardino Chinatown site was excavated in 2000 during the headquarters' demolition in compliance with the California Environmental Quality Act. A report on the history and archaeology of the San Bernardino Chinatown was produced using some of the same archaeological analysts from the Riverside Chinatown excavation (Costello et al. 2004). Representatives from the CHSSC and Chinese American Museum were consulted for the dig, but the report states that “project personnel were unable to establish contact with any direct descendants of historical residents” (Costello et al. 2004:1.12). This is unfortunate because a known descendant—Janlee Wong—contributed a short account in the Riverside Chinatown monograph about his father's, Voy Wong, life as a restaurant owner in Riverside and discussed the fact that his grandfather Wong Sam had been a merchant in the San Bernardino Chinatown (Wong 1987). The passage of time between the two excavations—15 years—partly explains why it was difficult to contact descendants, but the San Bernardino Chinatown report does not mention reaching out to the GBVS, despite the fact

that the organization and its address were included in the Riverside Chinatown monograph (Lawton 1987a). The GBVS was formed in 1971 as a social club for those with ancestral ties to Gom Benn who were scattered across Southern California (Gin 1984) and continues to hold an annual banquet for its members. Where possible, Chinese diaspora archaeologists should prioritize outreach to a wider range of Chinese American organizations such as village or family associations.

### Home Village Heritage Sites

Like many Chinese Americans, GBVS members actively sought to reestablish ties with family and friends in the home village after the normalization of relations between the United States and China. In 1975 a small group of GBVS members organized a visit to Gom Benn (Wong 1976), and in 1983 a large contingent of GBVS members—composed of multiple generations—attended a ribbon-cutting ceremony for a new school they had raised money to build in the village (Gin 1984). In the 1990s and 2000s formal programs were established to help Chinese Americans, especially third- and fourth-generation ones, conduct genealogical research and visit their family's home villages. Visiting is possible because unoccupied homes are generally left alone or under the care of relatives, and there are few development projects in these rural areas. One program that facilitates these visits is the "In Search of Roots" Program, established by San Francisco-based Chinese American organizations. Since 1991 the program has annually brought Chinese Americans aged 16 to 25 to visit their ancestral villages in Guangdong Province (Cheng and Lai 2002). The Asian American Studies Department at San Francisco State University (SFSU) provides another opportunity for Chinese American students to visit their ancestral villages through a Chinese migration travel-study tour to Guangdong. The SFSU travel-study program began in 2000 and is led by SFSU professor Marlon Hom, who states that one of the main purposes of the SFSU course is to institutionalize the idea that studying China is an important part of Chinese American studies and should not just be relegated to Asian studies (Hom 2009). The "In Search of Roots" Program states that the trips to China help Chinese American youth search for their identity by locating their ancestral roots, but anthropologist Andrea Louie (2004) finds that Chinese identity formation is complex because transnational flows of global media such as *kung fu* films play an important role in this process. Instead of locating

an identity, she finds that young people in the program actively negotiate and renegotiate their Chinese American identity during these trips; one participant, for example, was willing to revise and expand their concept of “home” to include China because that is where their ancestors came from (Louie 2004).

It is also important to note that Chinese home villages have recently been recognized as part of global heritage, while few Chinese diaspora sites in the United States have been identified as sites of national significance. According to historic preservationists Michelle Magalong and Dawn Mabalon (2016:113), estimates indicate that less than 1% of the sites listed on the U.S. National Register of Historic Places represent the histories and experiences of the Asian American and Pacific Islander American population; of that 1%, the majority of sites on the mainland United States are associated with the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans. In contrast, the fortified homes and watchtowers in the rural home villages are viewed as exemplary examples of remittance architecture created by members of the Chinese diaspora. In 2007 five watchtowers and their associated villages in Kaiping County were inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Taishan’s remittance-built architecture is also a tourist draw for the county, though at a much smaller scale. For example, my father’s birthplace, Fulin village (福臨村), is home to the tallest watchtower in Taishan and is a popular destination for local cyclists. The watchtower was built in 1922 and funded by overseas villagers to protect their families from roving bandits. My mother’s village is also home to a well-known Taishan heritage site, the Miaobian Elementary School (廟邊小學), which was built in 1926 by Chinese living abroad and is considered one the most beautiful schools in Taishan. While the remittance-architecture in China is clearly linked to diasporic sites, the transnational ties are less apparent in Chinese American settlements and structures because buildings were often rented or constructed to conform to local building styles.

The San Bernardino Chinatown and Riverside Chinatown buildings that remained standing in the 1960s and 1970s were likely demolished without protest from preservationists because they were typical brick buildings. The Riverside Chinatown, however, is listed on the National Register of Historic Places, but the archaeological site was added only after excavations were conducted between 1984 and 1985, highlighting the importance of archaeology to preserving and conserving Chinese diaspora heritage (NRHP 1990).

## Conclusion

Transnationalism was a way of life for late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Chinese who labored in America. Historians have shown how remittances impacted the home village through the construction of new homes and schools, but it is still unclear how transnationalism impacted Chinese communities that formed in the United States. Chinese diaspora archaeologists have examined the materiality of Chinese communities such as Chinatowns, but few have used transnational frameworks, thus creating disconnects between the diaspora communities that Chinese migrants lived in and the built environment they contributed to in China. My research directly traces the transpacific movement of people, objects, money, and information, thus highlighting how transnationalism materially impacted Chinese communities in the United States *and* the home villages in China. As evidenced, transnationalism played an important role in the creation of transpacific communities such as Wo Hing village in south China and the San Bernardino and Riverside Chinatowns in Southern California. Shared clan ties helped Chinese migrants draw upon the resources needed to create the two Chinatowns; these familial connections were materially maintained through a temple in San Bernardino that was similar to one they would have worshipped at in China. Chinese transnationalism also led to the creation of Wo Hing, the “new” village in Gom Benn with demonstrably strong ties to the two Chinatowns. The establishment of this village is clearly linked to the continued survival of the San Bernardino and Riverside Chinatowns as it was a planned settlement built specifically with remittances sent by Chinese migrants. The continued occupation of Wo Hing up to this present day indicates that Chinese migrants successfully circumvented anti-Chinese Exclusion laws that sought to restrict Chinese migration and made it difficult for transnational migrants to re-enter America after visiting China.

While the home villages and overseas Chinese settlements are part of the same transnational migration heritage, Chinese Americans engage with heritage sites in the United States and China in different ways. Chinese American involvement in historic preservation seeks to push back against exclusion in the dominant society, whereas visits to the home village challenge nation-bounded ideas of belonging; both, however, are acts of reclaiming. Archaeology will continue to play an important role in this reclaiming process because so few Chinese American sites have been considered nationally significant. The marginalization of Chinese American heritage in the United States contrasts with

the prominence that remittance-built structures have received in China, but the archaeology of Chinese transnationalism can call attention to this artificial disjuncture by examining these sites as co-constitutive transnational communities.

## Acknowledgments

My research has been generously funded by grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the Guangdong Qiaoxiang Cultural Research Center at Wuyi University, the Center for East Asian Studies at Stanford University, and Stanford's Enhancing Diversity in Graduate Education Doctoral Fellowship Program. Research at Wo Hing village was authorized by a November 24, 2016, "Intention of Co-operation" established among the Guangdong Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archaeology of the People's Republic of China, the Guangdong Qiaoxiang Cultural Research Center at Wuyi University, and the Stanford Archaeology Center at Stanford University. I am grateful to the staff at the UC Berkeley Ethnic Studies Library and UC Riverside Library Special Collections for facilitating access to their research materials. I would like to thank Barbara Voss, Zhang Guoxiong, Tan Jinhua (Selia), Paulla Ebron, Gordon Chang, Lynn Meskell, Paul Hoornbeek, Eugene Moy, M. Rosalind Sagara, Cherstin Lyon, Peter Lau, Linda Huang, Janlee Wong, Julie Duncan, Don Wong, William Wong, and Wo Hing villagers for supporting the development of my dissertation project.

## References

- Batto, Patricia R. S.  
2006 The Diaolou of Kaiping (1842–1937): Buildings for Dangerous Times. *China Perspectives* 66:2–18.
- Byrne, Denis  
2016 The Need for a Transnational Approach to the Material Heritage of Migration: The China–Australia Corridor. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 16(3):261–285.
- Cheng, Albert, and Him Mark Lai  
2002 The "In Search of Roots" Program: Constructing Identity through Family History Research and a Journey to the Ancestral Land. In *The Chinese in America: A History from Gold Mountain to the New Millennium*, edited by Susie L. Cassel, pp. 293–307. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, California.
- Chinn, Thomas W., H. Mark Lai, and Philip P. Choy  
1969 *A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus*. Chinese Historical Society of America, San Francisco, California.

- City of Riverside  
 2016 Chinese Americans in Riverside: Historic Context Statement. City of Riverside, Riverside, California.
- Costello, Julia G., Kevin Hallaran, and Keith Warren  
 2004 The Luck of Third Street: Historical Archaeology Data Recovery Report for the Caltrans District 8 San Bernardino Headquarters Demolition Project. Report to California Department of Transportation District 8 from Foothill Resources and Applied Earthworks. San Bernardino, California
- Costello, Julia G., Kevin Hallaran, Keith Warren, and Margie Akin  
 2008 The Luck of Third Street: Archaeology of Chinatown, San Bernardino, California. *Historical Archaeology* 42(3):136–151.
- Gin, Edna  
 1984 Bing Tew Wong: 1914–1984. *Voice of Gom-Benn* 12:10–11.
- Glick Schiller, Nina, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton  
 1992 Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 645(1):1–24.
- Great Basin Foundation (editor)  
 1987a *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown*, Vol. 1, *History*. Great Basin Foundation, San Diego, California.  
 1987b *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown*, Vol. 2, *Archaeology*. Great Basin Foundation, San Diego, California.
- Hom, Marlon K.  
 2009 Going back to where our ancestors came from. In *At 40: Asian American Studies @ San Francisco State: Self-Determination, Community, Student Service*, edited by Jeffery Paul Chan et al., pp.125–129. Asian American Studies Department, San Francisco State University, San Francisco.
- Hsu, Madeline Y.  
 2000 *Dreaming of Gold, Dreaming of Home: Transnationalism and Migration between the United States and South China, 1882–1943*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
- Lai, Him Mark  
 1988 Chinese American Studies: A Historical Survey. In *Chinese America: History & Perspectives*, edited by Chinese Historical Society of America, pp. 11–29. Chinese Historical Society of America, San Francisco.  
 2004 *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions*. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, California.
- Lawton, Harry  
 1987a The Pilgrims from Gom-Benn: Migratory Origins of Chinese Pioneers in the San Bernardino Valley. In *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown*, Vol. 1, *History*, edited by Great Basin Foundation, pp. 141–166. Great Basin Foundation, San Diego.  
 1987b A Chinese Merchant Returns to His Native Land. In *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown*, Vol. 1, *History*, edited by Great Basin Foundation, pp. 291–294. Great Basin Foundation, San Diego.



- Lee, Erika  
 2003 *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882–1943*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Louie, Andrea  
 2004 *Chineseness across Borders: Renegotiating Chinese Identities in China and the United States*. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina.
- Magalong, Michelle G., and Dawn B. Mabalon  
 2016 Cultural Preservation Policy and Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders: Reimagining Historic Preservation in Asian American and Pacific Islander Communities. *AAPI Nexus* 14(2):105–116.
- National Register of Historic Places (NRHP)  
 1990 Chinatown Archeological Site, Riverside, Riverside County, California, National Register #90000151.
- Pierson, David  
 2007 Taishan's U.S. Well Runs Dry. *Los Angeles Times* May 21.
- Ross, Douglas E.  
 2013 *An archaeology of Asian transnationalism*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Sagara, M. Rosalind  
 2014 Riverside Chinatown for All. *Chinese America: History & Perspectives*, edited by Chinese Historical Society of America, pp. 1–4. Chinese Historical Society of America, San Francisco.
- Tan, Jinhua  
 2013 The Culture of the Lu Mansion Architecture in China's Kaiping County, 1900–1949. PhD dissertation, Department of Architecture, University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, China.
- Voss, Barbara L.  
 2016 Towards a Transpacific Archaeology of the Modern World. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 20(1):146–174.
- Voss, Barbara L., J. Ryan Kennedy, Jinhua (Selia) Tan, and Laura W. Ng  
 2018 The Archaeology of Home: Qiaoxiang and Nonstate Actors in the Archaeology of the Chinese Diaspora. *American Antiquity* 83(3):407–426.
- Wong, Janlee  
 1987 My Father Comes to Gold Mountain. In *Wong Ho Leun: An American Chinatown*, Vol. 1, *History*, edited by Great Basin Foundation, pp. 204–214. Great Basin Foundation, San Diego.
- Wong, Shirley  
 1976 Impressions of a First Visit to China. *Voice of Gom-Benn* 4:4–8.
- Wong, William  
 2001 *Yellow Journalist: Dispatches from Asian America*. Temple University Press, Philadelphia.  
 2014 Interview by Cherstin M. Lyon, Eugene Moy, and Rosalind Sagara, also with Nicole Cory, Juan Ochoa, and May Wong, May 22. Audio tape, Riverside Chinatown Oral History Project, Gom-Benn Village Society Office, Los Angeles.