

Locke Foundation Newsletter 樂居鎮基金會

Preserving Locke's history and legacy

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Capturing Life Stories Of Delta Pioneers

Locke Foundation Oral History Project

The Locke Foundation Oral History Project's mission is to preserve, protect and honor the memories, stories and lives of Sacramento Delta Chinese pioneers...before they are taken by the march of time. We will not let our forbearer's sacrifices be forgotten.

Our interviews capturing the past assure future generations will remember the sacrifices of our immigrant forbearers and their families. In the interviews conducted to date, we prize the uniqueness of each story, and treasure the commonalities of growing up in Delta River towns. Common themes were of Delta life: working in the cannery, picking pears in the sweltering Sacramento sun, segregation at the Oriental School, serving our country, hunting, hunger, and most of all, the sense of family. Interviewee May (Tom) Chan, 92, remembers despite dinner being saltine crackers crumbled in hot water, she is proud to have grown up as a "country girl". Growing up country in Isleton during the Depression and WWII gave her the sense of family, and foundation of strength to face life's struggles.

All the memories we preserve are video recorded. They will be used in the Locke Boarding House to create a "virtual interview" exhibit. Ask a question, press a button, and you will see and hear the answer from original residents of the Chinatown's of Locke, Courtland, Isleton, Walnut Grove and more.

Donations to the Locke Foundation's Oral History Project will support the purchase of video cameras and other interview equipment, and to support the development of new oral history exhibits for the Locke Boardinghouse. Your donations are gratefully accepted. Donate by becoming a Locke Foundation member, purchasing a tile in the Memorial Park, or by making a donation by check.

If you would like to nominate a Delta elder to be interviewed, please contact Corliss Lee, chairperson of the Oral History Project, corlissmlee@gmail.com.

We are pleased to share an excerpt of one of our interviews with Alfred Chan, 96, from Courtland by his son, Ron Chan.

Home

Story and photos by Ron Chan

Alfred Chan, by age 20, still had never been further than 80 miles from his home in Courtland, CA. But in 1944, as a US Navy Seabee, Al was shipped 3200 miles deep into the Pacific Ocean to Midway Island. He was the only Asian in a Construction Battalion sent to build critical airfields and munition depots for the invasion of Japan. Al served on Midway until V-J Day (Victory over Japan), marking the end of the Pacific War in 1945. Al tells his sailors story, of returning home by ship as he saw the Golden Gate Bridge in the horizon...

"As the ship neared the harbor, everyone excitedly ran to the railings shouting, "San Francisco, San Francisco!" There was an uproar with the ship whistle blasting. There were people waving on the dock. Everybody aboard was so glad they threw everything overboard, including their hats. Some got on their knees, whispering thanks for returning home alive. Some started crying. Many just held onto each other. We shouted, "Home, home, home. We're home".



I got on the gangplank, and thought with my first step, "On my way home. So close now, I can almost smell the farmland".

I took a bus back to our farmhouse alone. I still had my uniform on. I walked in the door, and saw my mom painting the kitchen. She knew one day I would be coming home, but did not know what day. I remembered she dropped her paint brush, grabbed me, and would not let go. Home at last. Home at last. I finished the paint job for her."



Alfred was selected to go on an Honor Flight to Washington DC in appreciation for his WW II service and sacrifice with his son Ron (Sept 2016)

Uneasy Co-existence between Japanese and Asian residents in Walnut Grove 1908-1941, Part 2

This article includes excerpts from "Interethnic Conflict under Racial Subordination: Japanese Immigrants and Their Asian Neighbors in Walnut Grove, California, 1908-1941," Amerasia Journal 20:2 (1994), pp. 27-56. It was written by Eiichiro Asuma, Associate Professor of History and Asian American Studies, University of Pennsylvania, for his Master's Degree thesis at UCLA. He has graciously granted permission to LF to use this article. Due to its length, the article will be printed in installments over several issues.

Japanese community begins self-segregation project

In less than a month, the Walnut Grove Japanese put their hand to the project. At first, the town residents were divided in opinion. One group contended that the site for a new Japantown should be Alex Brown's land. Being close to a railway station and surrounding farms, it had more commercial advantages. Although the site adjoined the original Chinatown, this group thought that they could separate themselves from the Chinese by building a fence.

Another group preferred the land of George Locke located about half a mile northeast of Walnut Grove. While this site was more distant from the old Chinatown, its remoteness had commercial disadvantages. In addition, it would cost the residents a large sum of money because the landowner required them to bear two-thirds of the expenditures necessary for the development and construction of living quarter.

The town residents chose Brown's land as the site of the new Japantown. In addition to financial consideration, underlying the decision was what the Japanese residents called "the Chinese conspiracy." Ever since the fire, Japanese community leaders had harbored suspicion that the Chinese were waiting for the Japanese to decide where to resettle before them in order to open their businesses, especially gambling houses, inside the new Japantown.

In the Issei's opinion (first generation Japanese), Chinese merchants, after learning that the Japanese were interested in Locke, hastily signed lease contracts on the most convenient lots on Locke's land, which contributed to the Japanese choice of Brown's land. Japanese saw that the Chinese who resettled in the old Chinatown were a group of mercha-

nts who later returned from Locke to Walnut Grove for commercial benefit.

Although the establishment of the two Chinatowns was in fact a product of a long-term conflict between the Sze Yap and Heungshan people in the Cantonese population, the Issei interpreted the actions of the Chinese as against the interests of the Japanese community.

On October 19, 1915, Japanese leaders entered into negotiations with Alex Brown who agreed to all the terms the Japanese proposed except one: the construction of a fence between the Japanese and Chinese quarters. In all probability, Brown thought that such a fence would reduce business activities between the two and hence the profitability of his estate. Consequently, Brown and the Japanese decided to lease an edge of Chinatown from Sperry Dye and to use that space as a natural border. According to the final agreement made on November 1, Alex Brown was responsible for the installation of water supply, sewerage, and fire extinguishers, as well as the subdivision of his land into twenty-seven residential lots on which Japanese tenants were to build their own houses. Brown also agreed to construct seven commercial buildings along a levee, to which fourteen Japanese stores later moved.

Even after the segregation of the Japanese quarter, the residents still endeavored to keep their town free from Chinese influence and moral corruption. They passed a resolution to prohibit gamblers and other vagrants who patronized Chinese gambling houses from entering the Japanese town. When there was a renegade who defied the policy of self-segregation, they made an example of him. The person in question was a Wakayama. In late 1915, Wakayama opened a barber shop in the Locke Chinatown. The Walnut Grove Japanese Association resolved to sever all connections with him and to inform his home village of his misdeed, although these sanctions were lifted later in return for Wakayama's public apology.

Notwithstanding the outcome, this case showed the real possibility of social ostracism and understandably inhibited other potential renegades. For the ensuing several years, Japanese residents remained in their own living quarters, and as the anti-Chinese gambling campaigns achieved a measurable success after 1918, the Chinese "evils" were no longer a critical issue for the Japanese community.

Economic Rivalry under Economic Subordination

Competition over limited economic resources was another dimension of interethnic conflict in Walnut Grove. Concurrent with their struggle with the Chinese "menace," Japanese immigrants clashed with East Indian laborers who increasingly appeared on the local asparagus farms. A few years prior to the 1910s, the Delta region started to experience a "shortage" of Japanese field hands. A Japanese consular official who toured the area pointed out two reasons: the rapid development of California agriculture and the impact of the 1907-1908 Gentlemen's Agreement between Japan and the United States. The former resulted in the dispersal of the laborers throughout California, and the latter caused the overall decrease in the Japanese labor population by stopping the entry of new immigrant laborers to the country.

Between 1911 and 1912, the number of Japanese field hands working on asparagus farms sharply dropped from some four thousand to eight hundred in Walnut Grove. This allowed new East Indian immigrants to enter the local labor market. Moreover, the farmers, whether Japanese or others, preferred to hire them, for they worked for much lower wages than Japanese laborers. Before long, East Indian laborers replaced the Japanese counterparts and came to dominate asparagus work in the Delta community.

During the early 1920s, the Japanese of Walnut Grove found their agricultural interests under another threat. When the state deprived the Issei of crucial rights in agriculture, Chinese Americans attempted to remove Japanese immigrants from the Delta. In 1920, the California voters enacted the amendment to the 1913 Alien Land Law which prohibited not only the ownership of land but also any form of leasehold by Japanese immigrants. In face of this law, the Walnut Grove farmers had no other choice than to resort to cropping contracts under which they worked for their landowners in

receipt of crop-shares. Then, in July 1921, State Attorney General U. S. Webb announced that he considered such contracts to be a form of lease and hence illegal. This announcement spelled disaster in the eyes of Japanese immigrant farmers. The Japanese were on the verge of losing their position as farmers in the Delta agriculture, which in turn gave an opportunity for Chinese Americans to take their place.

In August 1921, a group of American-born Chinese formed the American Chinese Cooperative Farmers and started a campaign "to drive Japanese farmers out of the Delta agriculture at the time of contract renewal." With the financial support of an affluent Chinese immigrant, the organization sent its members throughout the delta to distribute anti-Japanese pamphlets to white landowners. Their publications claimed that the landowners would get fined, imprisoned, and even lose their land cultivated by Japanese immigrants and that Chinese Americans were lawful citizens entitled to lease land. The Chinese American propaganda was so effective at first that nearly all landowners refused to renew their contracts with the Japanese farmers.

The Chinese Americans persisted in their attempt to take over Japanese agricultural interests, adopting a sort of scare tactic to alienate white landowners from their tenants. Hiring a white lawyer, the American Chinese Cooperative Farmers sent the district attorney a letter in which they accused Japanese farmers of violating the alien land law in every possible way. In January 1922, they officially filed a complaint against forty-seven white landowners who allegedly leased their farms to the Japanese.

In response, the district attorney called grand jury investigation in Courtland, Isleton and Walnut Grove. Such an investigation might actually have exposed some legal problems, but the local law-enforcement agency did not take up the complaint after all because several test cases against the alien land law brought by the Japanese were still pending in the United States Supreme Court. Having done all they could do, both the Chinese and the Japanese waited quietly for the court decision, but the result turned out disastrous to the Japanese in the end. On November 19, 1923, the court upheld the ban on Japanese lease including cropping contracts, which left the "open season" for Japanese tenancy in the delta.

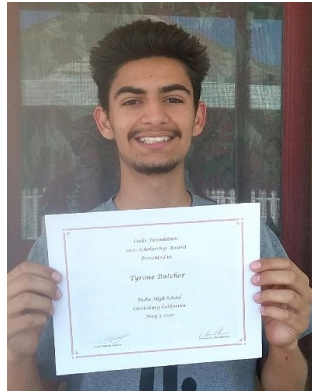
To be continued

Locke Foundation Scholarship Awards

By Stuart Walthall



Valerie Rodriguez
Rio Vista High
Rio Vista



Tyrone Butcher
Delta High
Clarksburg



Lizbeth Antunez
Rio Vista High
Rio Vista

Lane Eggers
Rio Vista High
Rio Vista



Madison Myer
Rio Vista High
Rio Vista



Five local high school seniors have been awarded 2020 Locke Foundation Scholarships. Traditionally presented in May during the Locke Asian Pacific Spring Festival, this year's winners had to receive "distance" presentations due to the current Corvid-19 crisis. However, the lack of public exposure hardly dimmed the gratitude and excitement each winner expressed upon learning of this recognition. Each of these outstanding students received a Locke Foundation Scholastic Achievement Certificate in addition to a cash award.

Scholarship recipients were chosen on the basis of grade point average, extracurricular activities, public service, need and quality of essays penned on the theme: "What is the historical significance of Locke, Ca?" The qualifications of the 2020 LF scholarship applicants were extremely high, making the selection process difficult. The five students chosen for LF scholarships are truly worthy.

Recipients of 2020 Locke Foundation Scholarships are: Lane Eggers - Rio Vista High School. Lane will be attending Colorado State University in the fall as an Animal Science major; Madison Myer - Rio Vista HS. Madison will be attending Arizona State University and majoring in Nursing; Tyrone Butcher - Delta HS. Tyrone will be studying the welding trade at Cosumnes River College; Valerie Rodriguez - Rio Vista HS. Valerie will attend CSUS as a Nursing major; and Lizbeth Antunez - Rio Vista HS. Lizbeth will also be attending CSUS as a Nursing major. She is the first in her family to attend college.

The Locke Foundation would like to thank Rio Vista HS counselor Yesenia Alduenda and Delta HS counselor Filipe Gomez for their assistance and encouragement.

Sponsors for 2020 Locke Foundation Scholarship Awards are: Lien Fan Chu, Deborah Mendel & Russell Ooms, and LF Directors Clarence Chu, Hsia Douglas and Stuart Walthall.

The Locke Foundation is proud to honor these five rising stars. Each path is bright ... each future filled with promise.

What's in a Chinese Medicine Cabinet?

By Eileen Leung

Many Chinese households, including ones in Locke, had these staples in their medicine cabinet.

Florida Water: 花露水

This was a popular cologne used about 200 years ago in Southeast Asia including Hong Kong and Canton. Two Girls brand was established in Hong Kong in 1898, the first cosmetic brand ever registered.

Now it is still sold in herb stores in American Chinatowns. Basically a lavender cologne heavily infused with refined vegetable essence, lavender oil, cinnamon, bergamot, peppermint and cloves, its magical properties included relief against motion sickness, prickly heat, mosquito repellent, air freshener and aftershave. At that time it was a product for the masses and the best a woman could buy in Hong Kong to overcome the area's stifling humidity.



White Flower Oil: 白花油

The product was developed in 1927 by Gan Geog Eng of Singapore. The fluid was originally made only for private use, but family friends and acquaintances tried it out and liked it so much they convinced Mr. Gan to produce it on a commercial basis. He called it *Pak Fah Yeow* which means white flower oil. The name implies that it is extracted from one particular plant, but in reality the name was simply selected by Mr. Gan after one of his own favorite flowers, the white narcissus.

The trademark was registered in 1935. Following the initial success in Singapore and Penang, Mr. Gan decided to enter into the Hong Kong market in 1951, seeing it as both a potential major market and ideal manufacturing center. With a series of marketing campaigns, extensive outdoor advertising, and endorsement by well-known Chinese opera actors, White Flower Oil became a leading product in the Far East. It is made with a combination a number of oils: wintergreen oil with peppermint, menthol, eucalyptus, camphor and lavender essential oils, all of which are well known for their natural benefits. It has become one of those family favorite cure-all that's found in medicine cabinets across the world for congestion, headaches, pains, diz-



Tiger Balm: 萬金油

Tiger Balm is one of the world's leading topical analgesics, with the majority of the Tiger Balm products originating from Singapore. The balm, with its unique formulation of camphor, menthol, cajuput oil and clove oil, provides a soothing action that relieves muscular aches and pains and insect bites. It is a product you may have used many times and probably sworn by it for its effectiveness. Haw Par Corporation promoted [Tiger Balm](#) has been an effective remedy for aches and pains for years. Founded in China in the 1870s, the brand today is well known across Asia and the US. However, the formulation that is known in the world today as Tiger Balm is credited to one man, a Chinese herbalist named Aw Chu Kin who lived in Rangoon, Burma. Aw studied the different types of effective remedies to best treat his patients' ailments. In the process, he discovered that the blending of various active ingredients, such as camphor, clove and menthol in a petroleum jelly and paraffin base, was effective in relieving pain. Tiger Balm is recommended for relieving back pain, joint pain, stiffness, sprains, and arthritis.



His two sons, Aw Boon Par and Aw Boon Haw, saw the potential of the remedy. Aw Boon Haw used his name Haw, whose anglicized version means Tiger, to name the remedy. The symbol of the tiger was synonymous with strength and vitality in the East, and so was an appropriate symbol for such a pain reliever. Together, the two brothers introduced Tiger Balm to the world. After creating the brand name Tiger Balm, they moved from Rangoon to Singapore in 1926.

Products that contain menthol, eucalyptus or oil of wintergreen may work by irritating the skin where it is applied. The skin begins to feel warm or cold, possibly serving as a distraction from the pain. Such formulations are called counterirritants and offer temporary pain relief. The Tiger Balm formulation comes not only in the form of ointments, but also in the forms of plasters / patches and liniments. It also comes in different strength formulations to suit different needs. It is sold in all mainstream drug stores, Chinese herb shops and grocery stores.

Nameless Chinese Tule Workers Reclaimed the Delta Swamps

By Eileen Leung

The Swamplands Act of 1850 provided incentive for the young nation's settlers to reclaim the dirt under wetlands by draining marshes from the Everglades to the California Delta. The federal government transferred over 2 million acres at no cost to California which then sold the land to settlers for \$1-\$3 per acre. If settlers reclaimed the land, loan was essentially forgiven. Snowmelt from the Sierra and rain on the plains washed down from the Sacramento, San Joaquin, Mokelumne and Calaveras Rivers, providing lots of water for local irrigation. The swamp land in the California Delta consisted mainly of "tules" or bullrushes that formed its principle vegetation.

The Delta swampland was quite inhospitable: the water table was too high to cultivate deep-rooted, high value crops, so the occasional flood or levee breach was no common. The swamp land consisted mainly of "tules" or bullrushes that formed its principle vegetation. It was filled with malaria-carrying mosquitoes, criss-crossed with unpredictable sloughs and channels, dense vegetation, mostly submerged in water. But here the soil was ideal: rich black peat running 18-40 feet deep.

"Tule hoppers" were American farmers who settled in the natural levees of the Delta, but could not keep back flood waters with small shoestring levees. In 1852, one landowner constructed 12 miles of levees on the northern end of Grand Island in a futile attempt to save his fields from flooding.

The Chinese first came to California to work in the gold mines from 1849-1860. Angry white miners drove them from the richest veins, the abandoned mines yielded little; in 1852 the California legislature passed a law which taxed only gold mined by Chinese. Then they were hired to lay track for the Transcontinental Railroad from 1866-1869. When rail labor was no longer needed, they spread throughout the state looking for work, including working on farms.

Most of the Chinese did not come to the Delta until 1868 when county supervisors organized reclamation districts and started major projects. The state also removed acreage limits on ownership of swamp and overflowed lands (640 acre limit). Large tracts of land came under the control of land agents and corporations. Reclamation was the goal of corporations which depended on the ability to find laborers willing to work in the swamps for a pittance. Here is where Chinese workers filled the bill.

Besides being willing to work for low wages under the harshest conditions, the Chinese offered a special advantage: they all worked under a contract system for Chinese labor bosses. These labor bosses were part entrepreneur, part foremen, part businessmen who identified a need, provided a service and filled a void in the labor market. They organized work crews, provided transportation, supplied room and board, advanced wages, set working conditions and supervised terms of employment with nothing more than a handshake with white landowners. They did not need huge amounts of capital and financial backing was always available from Chinese merchants and community leaders in San Francisco Chinatown. They learned English and several Chinese dialects. They needed to understand the seasonal sequence of crops, anticipate labor needs during planting and harvest,

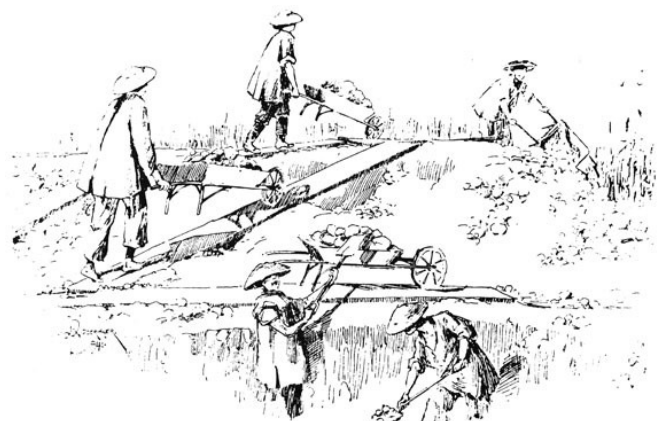
and mobilize resources. A long way from home and unable to speak English, the Chinese laborers appreciated the system that got them jobs, fed them and even sent their bodies home after they died. When working on the railroad, they became familiar with working under a labor boss.

The white landowner did not have to deal with recruitment; he only had to negotiate with the labor bosses who did all the hiring and firing. It was very simple to contract with a labor boss for a certain number of miles of levee or number of cubic yards of earth at a certain price. The labor bosses were very reliable and had no problem rounding up the requisite number of workers, and they even signed for multi-year contracts. They recruited from boarding houses in Sacramento, Stockton and San Francisco.

Transporting levee workers by Delta steamship companies to their respective work sites was challenging as they did not understand where to get off, so Chinese runners were employed on each ship to call out the names of work sites; new crews would disembark and departing field hands would board.

Using only shovels and wheelbarrows, working in waist-deep water, the Chinese dammed sloughs, cut drainage ditches, built floodgates and piled up levees. Some 200 Chinese built 49 miles of levees around Sherman Island, Twitchell and Brannan Islands for the Tide Land Reclamation Company. In strengthening the alluvial natural levees, the method was simply shoveling and dumping. Where there was peat, the Chinese cut blocks of peat from the ground, partially dried them in the sun, laid 2 parallel walls with blocks and filled the interior with sand. Wages were based on the cubic yards of earth moved.

The levee workers lived in tents right at the site of the levees and worked in crews of eight to 30 men. A standard day started at 5 am. They had to clean and care for the horses and equipment. Following breakfast, they arrived at



leaves by 6 am. A typical workday was 12 hours long with one hour and 15 minutes for meals and rest. Room and board expenses were deducted from wages.

Building levees on Twitchell Island was hard work. The first step involved clearing 30-foot wide strip of land along the river bank which meant cutting trees, hacking down brush

and dragging away debris. Stumps proved the most difficult and often required teams of mules. After damming the sloughs, cutting drainage ditches and building floodgates, diggers began excavating a borrow pit in side the levee. Clad in rubber waders while mosquitoes swarmed, Chinese laborers cut out blocks of peat with shovels known as tule cutters. Wheelbarrow operators picked up the blocks and transported them up the slope by way of ramps built on pilings sunk into the soil. On top of the levees, peat fitters lifted blocks out of the wheelbarrows and tamped them firmly in place to make the levees watertight. This was tough work, as they were splattered with mud and had to slosh through the muck; wheelbarrows would slip and fall on the way up the plank.

To prepare the land for farming, the Chinese had to remove thick stands of tules. Burning would be the cheapest method but it was very dangerous. Peat burners would dig holes in the turf, drop in straw, ignite the straw. After burning the tules, the Chinese had to plow the land. Peat was too

soft to walk on and the sod was tangled with tule roots which had to be cut with specialized tools. The Chinese developed a "tule buster" which was heavy sod breaker with 2 knives attached. Like a rototiller. They had to till the peat several times to be able to plant wheat.



Replica of tule shoe fabricated by Daniel Patrick of Iron Works in Walnut Grove.

The Fresno scraper was a horse-drawn drag shovel. The Chinese were unfamiliar with draft animals and they were too small to work with heavy scrapers. Instead Irish and Swedes were hired to do the scraper work. After the arrival of dredges, Chinese workers were still required to level out sags and cracks in levees and to stack sandbags on tops of levees.

However, the Chinese were credited with inventing the "tule shoe", designed to keep horses from sinking into the marsh. Working in soft peat bogs was not easy because the horses would sink and thrash about, injuring the horses and workers. Sometimes the horse would be sucked under and the worker could not extract the horse. The first tule shoes were fashioned out of wooden planks 10 inches long and 8 inches wide. They worked so well they were replaced with metal rings about 12 inches across and joined to the horse's shoe to avoid tripping. This was an oversized horse-shoe, not unlike a snowshoe for humans, which disperses the weight. They wired the tule shoes to the horses' hooves for packing down and leveling the dirt. They employed this method in reclaiming 250,000 acres of land.

The finished levees were usually from 3-5 feet high, 10-15 wide at the base, 5 feet wide at the crest and as many miles long to encircle the island. However, the Chinese-built levees eroded easily and gave way even with minor floods. Chinese manual labor could not keep up with the river levels that rose continuously from upriver mining operations in the Sierra foothills. The increased use of clamshell dredges and mechanical ditchers after 1876 made the Chinese wheel barrow brigades obsolete.

Men died in droves from malaria, dysentery and work accidents. Wheelbarrow men were crushed by their loads, diggers in the peat below were buried by avalanches or

crushed by runaway wheelbarrows. Some workers drowned. Nevertheless, Chinese laborers persevered until they completed each levee segment.

They were paid \$1/day. From their earnings, the cost of room and board was deducted. One of the largest landowners in the Delta was George D. Roberts, president of the Title Land Reclamation Company, established by San Francisco and Oakland capitalists. Roberts had close ties to California legislators and used these connections to obtain tens of thousands of swamp land acres for practically nothing. He acquired 250,000 acres between 1867 and 1871. He hired 3,000 to 4,000 Chinese laborers and paid them about a dollar a day through labor bosses. The total cost of reclaiming an acre of land came to seven dollars per acre, and Roberts was allowed to buy the land from the state for two or three dollars an acre. In total, it cost him about 10 dollars an acre to reclaim the land, and he sold tracts for between 20 and 100 dollars an acre. In addition, he made more money off the crop yield up to 75 bushels of wheat per acre. Land reclamation companies like Tide Land made huge profits off the exploitation of immigrant Chinese workers. Skilled white workers were paid up to \$45 per month including room and board, but they had a propensity pack up and leave after a few weeks of grueling work.

Although the levees built by Chinese immigrants created huge profits for capitalists and opened up some of the most fertile and productive land in the world, these immigrants were denied the most basic of human rights. Their communities were burned. Dozens were murdered by racist mobs. And they were forced from the very land they had created from the Delta swamps. The people who had built the railroads and levees were painted as a plague on society. White workers who were losing their jobs were told that the problem was Chinese immigrants. While a handful of Chinese towns remained in the Delta, the vast majority of Chinese immigrants were driven from the land and forced into marginal survival. For the most part, they were denied any opportunity for work except menial jobs like washing clothes and cooking.

No one knows who the Chinese levee builders were or whether any stayed to farm the land they helped reclaim. When Chinese labor was no longer needed to build levees, they returned to other cities to find other work. By the 1890's their work was done; the Chinese levee builders left the Delta. By 1900, they were gone from most rural areas. Several hundred ended up forming Chinese communities along the Sacramento River including Rio Vista, Isleton, Walnut Grove, Locke and Courtland. Anti-Chinese riots and legislation drove them away from small towns into large city Chinatowns. Some of the laborers died, others returned to China or sought work in other industries. Operators of giant farms found labor from the Japanese, Hindu, Filipinos and Mexicans.

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