

Social and Political Lives of Punjabi Settlers of the Columbia River, Oregon 1910-1920

By Johana Ogden

Thank you to all the capable organizers of this conference and for including me.

I also thank the many participants for enriching our understanding of the political and cultural events of the Punjab and of the white colonial regimes like South Africa and Australia that combined to propel people towards North America and, once here, the faith, politics and simple ingenuity drawn upon by migrants to navigate the obstacles that the Canadian and U.S. settler regimes threw at them. I can't and won't attempt to cover that ground that others are doing so capably.

[state/regional map for orientation] Instead, I am going to focus on an under-told story regarding Punjabi settlers, largely Sikh, in Oregon, a community that was concentrated along about 175 miles of the Columbia River at the north end of the state. I am not an Indian, Ghadar, Sikh or Canadian scholar. I've had to learn aspects of these as a part of my research. But I am an historian of Oregon, which is my home. And if this history proves nothing else it drives home the fact that local history cannot be a narrow recounting of place and that seeming backwaters are thoroughly entwined in the world's currents and processes, often in surprising ways.

I find the story of Ghadar's ties to Oregon fascinating and, for the most part, Oregonians have no idea there were Sikh pioneers in the state, let alone know they were a part of a groundbreaking international movement. I was no different when I stumbled upon this story.

But it's not just the public who has not known this story. Ghadar's roots in Oregon have been lost to historians of the American West. By contrast, Indian historians of Ghadar have provided details about the Punjabi presence and activity along the Columbia River and are the source of many of the particulars used in my work. Reading these Indian accounts I was both elated but perplexed by the fact that historians on the other side of the world knew more about happenings in Oregon seemingly than those close by.

For example, in her seminal work on Asian Indians in North America, which I have relied on heavily, American Joan Jensen argues that the violence typified in Bellingham and amplified in its wake “eventually pushed Indians out of many areas and jobs in Washington, Oregon, and much of northern California, forcing their retreat into agricultural regions of central California where other Indians had already settled, Euro-American workers had not yet organized, and growers were expanding their operations.”¹ This centrality of California is picked up and argued by others, such as Ronald Takaki.² The erasure of the Oregon leg of Punjabi experience continues in the excellent catalogue produced at UC Berkeley about Punjabis in California.³ The catalogue’s cover is a photo taken of the Dhillon family while in Astoria, Oregon. A Sikh family was a distinct rarity. Yet, other than one partial phrase, Oregon is not otherwise mentioned in the catalogue. The issue is not one of an improper credit. More, it is a subtle, and certainly unintentional, erasure of what I argue is a critical component to understanding the broader historical experience of Punjabis in North America, especially their ingenuity and flexibility in responding to shifting and often constricting political and economic possibilities, including their formation and pursuit of Ghadar.

There are several intersecting issues that might explain these omissions, including language capabilities of Western authors (like myself), and the demographics of California which, unlike Oregon, boasts a significant and continuous Punjabi community that can foster a tendency to view California as the singular locus in South Asian migration in the U.S. But there are also the simple workings of our business as historians. Within each historical work there inheres the possibility of learning from and building upon it – and I am deeply indebted to these authors– along with the pitfall of being blinded by its received wisdom. Appreciating the historicity of our trade is critical.

This story of Punjabis in Oregon has also made me think differently about “legacy,” because the men in Oregon left nothing in the built environment, no ongoing community, and mere shreds in the stories of our region. Yet they were a critical part of an earthshaking history. And that has become really the most importantly component of this research for me: trying to understand and unravel on a deeper level how this became a silenced history. From that I have come to believe this story is a window into the construal of belonging that continues to haunt and shape our domestic politics, especially in post-9/11 America, politics which propelled me into this research in the first place.

My claim is that Ghadar's initial formation occurred in Astoria, Oregon. I stand in good company with my claim, notably with Prof. Harish Puri whose work I relied upon, and whose help I've been lucky enough to receive, in tracking down the details of Ghadar and the people behind it in the Oregon landscape.⁴ [slide] The British Colonial government, judging from their court cases in Lahore and San Francisco, seem to have agreed as well.⁵ On that note, I'm extremely pleased to announce that the Mayor and City Council of Astoria have recently agreed to commemorate 100 year anniversary of Ghadar's founding. [Proclamation from the City and...] I invite everyone here to attend and contribute to the celebration in whatever way they can.

So while I am not alone in this claim about Oregon's role in Ghadar, it has without doubt been overshadowed especially by San Francisco, the later home of the Ghadarite press and its public office on Wood Street. That such a public manifestation of Ghadar has overwhelmed Oregon's landscape that bears no temple, no business, no farm, and no office, is not surprising. I would also argue that the tendency to make SF ground zero for Ghadar is linked with a tendency to focus on the role of students and intellectuals in Ghadar and underplay the laborers at its core⁶. Clearly, it was the joining together of both groups that made Ghadar. Oregon was home to few students, intellectuals or religious leaders, but hundreds of laborers were there actively organizing for Ghadar. In fact, I believe that the main reason there is no ongoing presence of Punjabis and Sikhs in Oregon is because these men left in droves in 1914 to overthrow the British.

Here's where I know there were communities.⁷ [Now one more to add to this map in The Dalles (you'll see on the next map) [use my original map]]. One of my working theories is that the value of hiring Punjabis in the lumber mills of the Columbia River was passed along the river, likely by mill managers. For example, the Bridal Veil manager used to be at Hammond Mill, the major employer of Punjabis in Astoria, and there was a similar connection at Linnton.

It is interesting that in many of the towns along the river the existence of the Punjabi communities take no public expression, such as in the newspapers or court records, despite their clear presence. Further, the *Oregonian*, the major press of the state and region, made no mention of the Sikh community as a whole in the state, wrote little on the community in Portland, where

the paper is based, but instead ran articles on the so-called “Hindu menace,” and reports on the riots in Bellingham and Vancouver.

Most of these names on the map you see here are gleaned from the 1910 census. In towns like Goble, Rainier, Cathlamet, Hood River, Winans and Bridal Veil, the census is about the only mention I have found of them despite, in all of those towns, scanning years of newspapers, legal and court documents, birth and death records. It’s as if they were never there and this is, I think, an important point to consider and I will return to.

[slide] This next map is a sharp contrast to the *lack* of coverage this community received as it details where Ghadar organized. Some of these same towns that had absolutely no record of the Punjabi communities, yet you can see by this map they organized for Ghadar. Look at, for example, Winans, which is basically a whistle stop south of Hood River, a bend in the tracks really, and consistently brought together 100 men for Ghadar meetings, as did Bridal Veil downriver, another bump in the road that was mainly just a mill and a bunkhouse at the time.

Oregon was not an initial point of entry for these migrants. More common was Vancouver, San Francisco and sometimes Blaine, Washington, right on the Canadian border. They traveled to Oregon *after* they had been elsewhere, and I believe, largely in response to the 1907 riots and their aftermath in Bellingham and Vancouver, B.C.

[slide] These Declarations of Intention help to illustrate my point. Declarations of Intention were the first papers filed when a person applied for U.S. citizenship. These papers were filed in The Dalles – the easternmost community on the River I’ve located – between June and August of 1908. Often several men filed on the same day after having arrived in North America in the same port at the same time, assumedly on the same ship. Oregon was not their first destination. Of the 17 Declarations I located, 15 of them indicate that the men emigrated from Vancouver, B.C. and traveled by train to settle in The Dalles.⁸ It’s not hard to imagine why in 1908 they might feel inclined to do so given the continuous journey provisions and other restrictions that were pushed through in those years. Interestingly, The Dalles, though a small Sikh community, was a place I saw the most signs of intended permanence of anywhere along the river based on the filings to become citizens (a high percentage for the few men there) and the purchasing of land. The climate of The Dalles is the driest of any Punjabi community along

the Columbia River and was known for its wheat farming and orchards. The Dalles is the only place where I've found records of people buying land and I am guessing that like California, it is because of its greater resemblance to farming conditions back home. [slide re Bishn] It seems, however, these land purchase plans met with some complications as Bishn Singh, the seeming driver behind them, was charged and convicted of "obtaining money by false pretenses" and sentenced to the Oregon State Penitentiary for two years. Inexplicably, he was pardoned and released after six months.⁹

I have located a few more Declarations of Intention in Portland. But the bulk of citizenship filings I've found are from Astoria, Oregon, at the mouth of the Columbia River, and which also seem to indicate arrival in Oregon after the Bellingham and B.C. riots. [show Astoria naturalization recs] While I've found no record of land purchases there, the Dhillon family, the only Punjabi Sikh family in Oregon, did build their own home in town, renting the land from the mill.¹⁰ There are also other signs of seeking roots: an interracial marriage occurred [show slide of court papers].¹¹ It didn't seem to go well, but it happened, however briefly. [flip articles] But more than anything, what is notable about Astoria is the presence of these men in the town's newspapers, which carried many articles about them over the years, including about deaths and cremation, mill strikes and often front-page sports coverage on wrestler Dodan Singh, well known in the town, and who remained when most others left for India.¹² [wrestler articles] Significantly, that press coverage included Ghadar itself. In no other town in Oregon did this happen and I think it is reflective of the degree of the Punjabi migrants' acceptance in Astoria, though not without complication.

Astoria's records are worth examining in some detail.

[1906 Directory slide] The Astoria City Directory of 1906, essentially the telephone book of its day, shows two people with the last name Singh: Dahna and Sunder, both laborers at the Tongue Point Lumber Company [later known as the Hammond Mill.] The 1908-1909 Directory notes the same two men. [show slides of 1910 directory] But by 1910, almost 50 men with the last name of Singh were in that same Directory.¹³ I think this is indicative, taken with the naturalization declarations that the population of Punjabi Sikhs came to Oregon largely after the riots in 1907 in Bellingham and Vancouver, B.C. and the increasingly constricting atmosphere in Vancouver in their wake, including the passage of the continuous journey provisions. And there

would have been a good reason to do so. Unlike most of the West Coast, Oregon saw no communal violence against Punjabis in 1907/08. That changed in 1910. But in 1907, when the floodgates of hate were unleashed, Oregon was safe. I agree with historian Chris Friday that in a multitude of ways “people consistently negotiated to empower themselves and make their lives more tolerable within large and rather harsh structural constraints.”¹⁴ Part of that involved moving to a safer place. A closer examination of the Astoria press highlights the wisdom of the migrants’ choice and their active role in developing its potential.

[slide] This is the first article I located about any Sikh in Astoria, or in the state for that matter. On Halloween 1906, a small notice appeared on page 6 of the *Astoria Daily Budget*. It told of the death of a “Hindoo” by consumption after an illness of several weeks. “Sunday Sing [sic]” died in the local hospital after having been found ill on the city streets two weeks earlier. The story, a paragraph in length and sandwiched between notices concerning the price of eggs and a boat sale, ends with “[v]ery little if anything is known of him altho [sic] there are some Hindoos working at the Hume mill who visited him when he was first taken to the hospital.” In the days that follow, the press writes of the plans for, and struggle over, the burial of “Sing.” Interestingly, the spelling of “Sing” seemingly comes from the writer’s experience with a significant community in Astoria, that being the Chinese who comprised nearly a third of the town. Throughout the next few days the press coverage changed in small ways such as the spelling of Singh was corrected. More, the papers report that the men went to British Vice Consul Cherry in Astoria, who assisted them in petitioning the coroner and later the court, to allow them to claim the body and cremate it. On November 2, 1906, a procession comprised of the Deputy Coroner, the city physician, and the sheet-wrapped body of Rauma Singh in a horse-drawn carriage, accompanied by many of Astoria’s prominent citizens arrived at the cremation site and formally turned the body over to the Hindu workers.¹⁵

From this beginning with Rauma “Sing” I want to fast forward to this article from 1913.

[slide of article]

Under the title, “Hindu Scholar Coming,” the Budget reprinted an invitation from “Munsii Ram, Secretary of the Hindu Association, Astoria, Oregon” to the Astoria community to attend a lecture by Mr. Har Dyal, a “noted philosopher and revolutionist in India,” including a

specific “lecture on India for the American residents of Astoria.” This oddly familiar, community announcement-type article was actually a notice for the foundational meeting of the revolutionary Ghadar Party.¹⁶

The more I consider this article, the more astounding I think it is. Munsii Ram’s notice reflects a trust in their relationship with Astoria broadly. It was written in impeccable English, highlighting both a skill and a desire to reach out to the wider Astoria community. It was addressed to the editor of the paper, itself a confident move. Ram speaks as both the “Secretary of the Hindu Association of Astoria” and “on behalf of the Hindu residents of Astoria,” revealing an assumption about Astoria’s knowledge of the “Hindu residents,” and their organization, and reflecting a change from “the Hindoo Sunday Sing’s” death seven years prior when, “[v]ery little if anything is known of him ...”¹⁷ Munsii Ram describes the keynote speaker, Mr. Har Dyal, as a “noted philosopher and revolutionist in India” who is to be “accompanied by Mr. R. Chandra, a well known Hindu journalist and author, who is at present a political refugee in this country.” There is no concealing the politics of the event or those involved but instead highlighted a “revolutionist” and a “political refugee.” Ram also promoted the time, place and plans for the arrival of the speakers, promising a “splendid reception” by the Hindu community, revealing no fear of their arrival being known, if not an overt invitation to join in that reception. Finally, Mr. Ram noted the specific “lecture on India for the American residents of Astoria,” a clear attempt to speak to a wide audience. All of this bespeaks a comfort in and openness with the community in which these men lived. At a time of openly violent attacks throughout the West against Punjabis and others, most of which were endorsed by the powers within those communities, this level of comfort is significant, even more so given the openness about the politics being promoted.

Further, that Ram attempted publication in the local paper *and* that the notice was published are both notable. Both are suggestive of the important openings allowed by life in Oregon generally, and Astoria more particularly, that I believe the Punjabi laborers recognized, cultivated and utilized in their creation of Ghadar in 1913.

[slides of Hindu menace, Boring murder] But while there was an opening that I believe attracted migrants here especially after 1907, and this took particularly favorable form in Astoria, I want to be clear: this did not mean that Oregon was a racial mecca. If I were to characterize the

state's racial policy it would be that the leader's, especially of Western Oregon, had catchers mitts on, hoping to make a million dollars and build "paradise" utilizing the labor of peoples, whether Chinese, Japanese or Punjabi, burned and run out of the rest of the West Coast by racial violence – and then make sure that they didn't stay.

Oregon was the first state admitted to the union with an explicitly anti-Chinese constitution. Barred from citizenship, Chinese were also explicitly excluded from both the right to vote (as were Negroes, Mulattos and women) and from property ownership. Yet, in the midst of virulent anti-Chinese violence in the American West in the late 1800s, Oregon's Chinese population increased with Portland's Chinatown second only to San Francisco. This seeming contradiction was due, historian Rose Wong argues, to two critical factors. First, Matthew Deady, a key framer of the Oregon constitution, including its anti-Asian stance, was also a law-and-order judge concerned about vigilante violence and, with Portland's mayor, took strong stands against it. Second, was Harvey Scott, the *Oregonian's* leading journalist and editor for fifty years. Although Scott openly supported Oregon's Chinese Exclusion Act and opposed Chinese citizenship, he used his editorship to lobby against Oregonians imitating the vigilante violence of Washington and California. Deady and Scott promoted the "good sense" of Oregon growing rich by utilizing Asian laborers driven out elsewhere, while also assuring the public the Chinese would depart once the work was done. It was a use 'em and lose 'em standpoint, and gained considerable currency in Western Oregon. Thus, Oregon, judged by the times, was relatively safe for Punjabis and very much wanted their labor. This, I would argue, is a big reason Punjabis came to Oregon.¹⁸

In addition to this general view of Editor Scott's influencing the state, there were particular social and political features of Astoria I think that factored into it being the site of Ghadar's public launch. While not the only Oregon town without anti-Asian riots, Astoria was home to the largest Punjabi settlement in the state numbering at least a 100. Their staying power and development of political resistance is entwined with the histories of the Chinese and Finnish communities of Astoria, communities I believe, shaped Astoria's relative racial tolerance and its strong radical currents.

[slide of Hammond and maybe Hindu alley]

The Punjabi community in Astoria was initially largely the outcome of their recruitment for work at the Hammond Lumber Mill, which built boxes for the Columbia River's salmon canning industry, an industry that trailed only lumber and wheat in economic importance for the region. Astoria was at the heart of salmon-canning, reliant on Finnish fishermen, Chinese cannery crews and international millworkers.¹⁹

Besides expanding local industry, the Hume/Hammond mill diversified Astoria's labor force as noted in the following local historical account:

[slide] It is estimated that in the early 1900s the Hammond Mill in Astoria employed about six hundred people of different nationalities. Besides Italian, Greek, Japanese and Middle Eastern workers, there were nearly one hundred East Indians living in bunkhouses along the waterfront near the mill in Alderbrook [a district of Astoria]. Beginning in about 1906, until the mill burned on September 11, 1922, Birch Street between Fifty-first and Fifty-second streets was Astoria's so-called "Hindu Alley."²⁰

The men of this "Hindu Alley," and the communities in and around it, were overwhelmingly single, laboring men ranging in age from 19 to 50. There was also the Dhillon family, Bakhshish Singh Dhillon, his wife Rattan Kaur and their four children (Kartar, Budh, Kapur and Karm) who attended the Alderbrook public school.²¹

The "Hindus" of Astoria were primarily Sikhs but also included Hindus and Muslims. A college student, Bhagat Singh Thind, worked summers in the Astoria lumber mill to pay for his fees at the University of Berkeley and later challenged U.S. federal citizenship criteria in a landmark court case.²² Leading intellectuals occasionally spent time amongst the laborers. For example, on the invitation of the Hammond workers Rama Chandra, a principal propagandist for the soon-to-be-formed Ghadar press, visited, talked politics and briefly convalesced in Astoria.²³

[slides] During their years in Astoria, the Punjabis were an active and diverse community. They were involved in wage strikes,²⁴ taught wrestling and fielded competitive wrestlers, like Dodam Singh²⁵ and Basanta Singh,²⁶ sued one another in court,²⁷ got in fights with fellow employees, got arrested for drinking and fighting,²⁸ filed for citizenship,²⁹ played

with the Punjabi children,³⁰ cared for one another, talked and otherwise entertained themselves in the times they were not working.

That in Astoria a picture of a Punjabi community emerges, especially in contrast to places such as Bellingham, I believe is related to the history of the Chinese in the town, especially in shaping Astoria's racial tolerance. [slide of cannery workers] By the time the Punjabis arrived in Astoria, Chinese settlers were already integral to the town, particularly to the running and profitability of the salmon canneries and thus to Astoria's and the entire region's wealth. By 1880, more than a third of Astoria was Chinese, overwhelmingly men employed in the canneries.³¹ They certainly experienced exclusion and racism, but there seemed to be acknowledged limits. For example, in 1886, the *Weekly Astorian* commented, "they [the Chinese] congregate here [Astoria] in the same fashion [as San Francisco] because they are driven off elsewhere and have no place else to go," and reasoned that "[m]any Astorians refrained from anti-Chinese activities because they believed the laborers might abandon the canneries, thereby causing the collapse of the local economy."³² Seemingly Astorians understood that their prosperity was based on tolerance. This shaped the town's relative racial peace and influenced and eased the entry of Punjabis into Astoria.

[slides] Life was not idyllic for Asian Indians in Astoria. Racist and anti-immigrant justifications were used to argue for their expulsion from the mill, cut their wages, or justify individual acts of physical violence.³³ But Punjabis were in no way driven out of Astoria. The first major exodus of Punjabis occurred in 1914, a direct outgrowth of Ghadar's influence, as captured in another amazing local article: [slide] "The Hindus employed at the Hammond Lumber company's mill are planning to return to India in the immediate future for the purpose of joining in the revolution that is expected to ensue, while England is involved in the war with Germany."³⁴ Finally, it was the destruction of Hammond Mill by fire in 1922, not a pogrom, which marked the end of the Punjabi community in Astoria. [slide]

But beyond simply developing as a community, Punjabis developed Astoria as a center of open radicalism. Again, think about that front page article in the town's mainstream press about Munshi Ram in 1913, or the report of men leaving to join the revolution in 1914. Their ability to do this, I believe, is directly related to the broad community influence of and camaraderie with another group in Astoria, the Finns.

[Slide of Finnish picnic] By 1905 Finns were almost 20 percent of the town, many of them fishermen and many radicals.³⁵ In 1904 they formed the Astoria Finnish Socialist Club, the most active Finnish group in Astoria, and one of the most influential in the U.S. In 1905 they built a five story hall, the second largest hall in Astoria and a hub of the town's, and the socialists' social life.³⁶ This is the hall Punjabis used for the foundational meeting of Ghadar.

[slide of Finnish socialist hall]

At the core of that Finnish socialist influence was their belief in a nation's right to self-rule and in the unity of laborers regardless of national origin. That radical message resonated across many of Astoria's communities. Chinese nationalist Sun Yat-Sen's fundraising visit to Astoria suggests one quarter.³⁷ **[slide of Dhillon family]** Descendants of the Bakhshish Singh Dhillon family recount tales of Finns and IWW representatives meeting in their grandfather's house.³⁸ **[slide w/ caption]** British surveillance files describe then-student Bhagat Singh Thind as "ke[eping] company with a bunch of socialistic I.W.W. anarchistic Finns."³⁹ Both stories evidence the explicit affiliations for which both the Finnish socialists and Punjabi nationalists were known.

Astoria, then, can be imagined as a place with strong currents of explicit radical sympathies and of relative social ease for its international community of workers. For Punjabis, it became a place with political allies, away from the hotbed of political spies and surveillance of especially Vancouver, B.C., which as a British colony, had high stakes in dealing with the increasingly radicalized community whose experiences and shifting aspirations are so well captured in this poem:

[slide of poem]

"Some push us around, some curse us.
Where is your splendor and prestige today?
The whole world calls us black thieves,
The whole world calls us "coolie."
Why doesn't our flag fly anywhere?
Why do we feel low and humiliated?
Why is there no respect for us in the whole world?"⁴⁰

Ghadar represented a political shift from people working to build a better life back home, or a home in North America, to working to free their homeland. This political change was the product of the entire West Coast Punjabi community and its response to the restrictions, riots, and police spies marshaled against them. Confronting colonial and exclusionary policies the

world over underscored that simply leaving India was not enough to escape their colonized status. Further, people mixed with radicals and nationalists tied with uprisings the world over. Finally, and seemingly contradictorily, Ghadar was also the result of the experience of living in the U.S. which, though targeted, Punjabis witnessed life without an imperium extracting everything, as Britain was doing in Hindustan. This poem captures these varied sentiments and experiences.

Analyzing exactly how, why and where a movement begins resists a firm grip and is not within the bounds of this talk. But with the briefest of strokes, the case of Ghadar included students and nationalists from India and Europe, like Bengali student activists Taraknath Das and Surendra Mohan Bose, and nationalist orator Gyani Bhagwan Singh, congregating in Vancouver.⁴¹ These and other individuals and groups cajoled, threatened and otherwise attempted to convince the authorities of British Columbia, Canada, India and England of the injustice of their policies towards Punjabis. Such efforts became well known and sympathized with throughout not only North America, but in India and the migrant Punjabi communities of the world, due to their newspapers, Gurdwaras and other such networks.⁴²

Organizations that were important hubs in the spiritual, social and eventually political life of émigrés in Vancouver influenced the entire West, many of them becoming binational⁴³. Of particular note was the Khalsa Diwan Society in Pt. Moody. Filmmaker Ali Kazimi argues Ghadar was foreshadowed in 1909 when Bhai Bhag Singh, a former Bengali Lancer and Secretary of the Khalsa Diwan Society, “made a bonfire with his certificate of ‘honorable discharge’” outside the Gurdwara, and the Executive Committee of the Sikh Temple’s condemned the further wearing of British military medals.⁴⁴ By 1911, the Khalsa Diwan Society worked closely with the Hindustani Association and United India League, explicitly nationalist political organizations in Vancouver, sharing both building space and organizational positions.⁴⁵

The Canadian, British and U.S. response was increased border monitoring and cross-border spying, including in the form of one William C. Hopkinson who worked what were thought to be the key points in the radical network: Vancouver, Seattle and San Francisco (all areas from which Punjabis in Oregon had migrated).⁴⁶ Oregon, to my knowledge but continued investigation, was not a focus of these political-policing efforts, but became identified by the

government(s) as a hub only after the fact as documented in the interrelated conspiracy trials in Lahore and San Francisco. [slide]

To this admittedly thumbnail sketch of the roots of Ghadar that I will leave to others to elaborate, I would add the March 1910 riot in St. Johns, Oregon as an important moment in the lead up to Ghadar. The riot I believe achieved two important things. First, it made clear that Oregon, formerly a haven and perhaps even a pressure release valve, was not immune to the worst racial politics of the time. Secondly, it put radical workers living in the area on the radar of and in direct touch with radical intellectuals, such as Taraknath Das of Seattle.

[slide of St. Johns] The riot occurred on March 21, 1910, and began when a group of men gathered outside a St. Johns' saloon. Gordon Dickey, the foreman of the St. Johns Pulp Mill was the ringleader. "Speeches," read rabble rousing, took place. Soon the crowd, which had grown to nearly 300 men, moved towards the Punjabi laborers' homes, ransacked them, beat and robbed the men (it was right after payday), and pushed or caused men to jump from their second floor boarding rooms. The mob also went to the mill and forced the Asian Indians to leave work. According to the *Oregonian*, all of the Punjabi men left St. Johns that night, many after having been forced onto the streetcar bound for Portland proper.⁴⁷

But the next day a number of the Punjabis were back in St. Johns, the county District Attorney in tow, identifying those who had participated in the riot against them. They bravely named the mayor, police chief, a newspaper reporter, two volunteer firefighters, some shop owners, and numerous laborers from the local mills. 190 warrants were issued for beating and robbing 38 "Hindu workmen" and a grand jury was convened to investigate the riot.⁴⁸ Moreover, the mayor, city attorney, and police chief were charged with dereliction of duty.⁴⁹ Ultimately, only one conviction was sustained against Gordon Dickey, a mill foreman. The British Consulate acted in concert with the local prosecutor and the U.S. Federal prosecutors were also brought into investigate the case. Such staunch involvement by Oregon authorities through the District Attorney, and the wide prosecution of participants, is indicative of Oregon's policy of intolerance of racial violence so as to better attract Punjabi, Chinese and other laborers to the State's gain while enacting and maintaining constitutional bars to their permanence.⁵⁰

The mill, the main employer of the Punjabis in St. Johns, continued to employ the men, its owners asserting that “(t)he Hindus employed by us do work that other men will not touch.”⁵¹ Moreover, the mill manager, N.E. Mayer, sat in on the trial and took an active role on behalf of the Punjabis.⁵² [slide] Most of the Punjabis returned to work immediately, but several were arrested for carrying revolvers and stating, “We have no protection.”⁵³ [slide of no protection!]

Besides arming, the Punjabis stayed active throughout the long course of the St. Johns riot legal battle, testifying in many court cases. [slide from court doc] As a part of this fight for justice, Taraknath Das penned this commentary which ran in the *Oregonian*. Besides finding it somewhat amazing the paper ran it, it also reflects close contact with the developments in the rioters’ trial.⁵⁴ [slide of article] That Punjabis so insistently fought for justice in the face of violence is notable due both to its occurrence a few short years before Ghadar’s formation, and to the involvement of two men, Sohan Singh Bhakna and Kanshi Ram, pivotal in Ghadar’s later formation.

Bhakna, from the Amritsar area, had arrived in Portland in 1909 aiming to pay off his mortgage debt back home with the earnings from his job at the Monarch lumber mill.⁵⁵ But instead, within a year of the riot, he was reportedly in contact with the United India League in Vancouver, and by 1912 he became a leader in Ghadar – its first president, the overseer of the San Francisco office with the departure of Ghadar’s chief propagandist Har Dyal, and, finally, its trusted frontrunner to India at the outbreak of WWI.⁵⁶ Kanshi Ram, a successful labor contractor with a rented home in St. Johns, was a Ghadar founder and its first treasurer, and was executed upon his return to India after the Feroze Sharar Murder Case against Ghadarites in 1915.⁵⁷ Both men were involved in the opposition to the St. Johns riot. In the context of the rising tide of radicalism developing amongst the migrants, the armed and legal opposition shown in St. Johns could be considered indicative of a growing resolve to no longer be treated, as the Ghadar poem put it, like “black thieves” everywhere.⁵⁸

Ghadar’s genesis, like the men who made it, flowed through borders. From B.C. to Baja the community was restive. But the critical bridging of Vancouver’s political ferment to the broader laboring migrants of the West and its gelling into an organization took place in Oregon.

[Use Puri but also Intell files?]

In 1912, Ram and Bhakna met with G.D. Kumar, who left B.C. due to the political heat his publications garnered, and joined Taraknath Das who was then publishing *Free Hindustan*, a nationalist paper, in Seattle. Together, the two ran the press and established United India House in Seattle, which attracted a small group of laborers and students to its weekly lectures. Kumar visited laborers around the Pacific Northwest, and in early 1912, he went to Portland.

This 1912 meeting was held in the rented house of Kanshi Ram in St. Johns, Oregon and resulted in the formation of the Hindustani Association. Sohan Singh Bhakna was elected president, Kanshi Ram treasurer, and Kumar the general secretary. Later that year, a second chapter was formed after Bhakna and Udham Singh Kasel, laid off from the Monarch Mill, approached Kesar Singh in Astoria to form a like organization. That branch was headed by Kesar Singh, Munshi Karim Bakhsh and Munshi Ram (later penning the call for Ghadar published in the *Astoria Budget*), respectively President, Secretary and Treasurer. The groups held weekly Sunday meetings to discuss politics and produced a short-lived press in Urdu, the latter ending when Kumar was hospitalized.⁵⁹

With Kumar ill, Ram, Das, and Bhakna sent for Dyal of Stanford. On the evening of March 25, 1913, workers gathered in Ram's St. Johns house to meet with Dyal. In that historic meeting they decided on immediate, direct, and radical political propaganda directed to the thousands of men of the West Coast, to "gird their loins to liberate India and work on revolutionary lines."⁶⁰

[map with meeting details OHQ version -] From this gathering in St. Johns, Bhakna, Ram, and others organized meetings in the mill towns scattered along the Columbia River, working to establish chapters united by the March 25 resolutions of the Hindustani Association of America, commonly known as Ghadar. From March 31 through April 1 – two weeks - they organized meetings in Bridal Veil (twenty men), Linnton (one hundred men), and Winans (one hundred men).⁶¹ By late spring, they were ready for the culminating meeting in Astoria.

The founding meeting of Ghadar on May 30, 1913, was announced in Astoria's newspaper, and keynoted by Har Dyal. It was attended by the Punjabis of Astoria and by delegates from along the river and beyond. Ghadar's official program was proposed and passed. Looking to England's engagement in World War I, its strategy was convincing the armed forces

in India to turn their guns against the British colonizers, which they believed would be followed by a general uprising.

[slide of *Ghadr* paper] From Oregon, the movement established a weekly press published out of San Francisco in numerous languages — Urdu, Punjabi, and occasionally Gujarati. Har Dyal oversaw the office and publications in San Francisco. The first issue of *Ghadr*, carrying news of the organization's formation, garnered great interest among Punjabi farmers in California, and a second organizational conference was held in Sacramento in December 1913. Chapters spread throughout North America and on to India and the far-flung communities of Punjabis in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila, Siam, and Panama, weaving thousands of men across the globe into a movement for power.⁶²

In sum, the Punjabi community gained strength in Oregon and Astoria; they were not driven out as historians have argued and I assumed when beginning this study. Instead, they left Oregon largely because they chose to go home and fight. Few visible traces of their presence endure as these men built *Ghadar* and not farms and Gurdwaras. The legacy, then, of Punjabis in Oregon is not one of ethnic cleansing but one of people empowering themselves and finding community and aid in their environs.

But while they were not physically run out of Oregon, they have been run out of Oregon historically and narratively.⁶³ How and why does that happen? How does such an important story get forgotten and lost when these were NOT unknown men in their times? In India they were heroes. In Oregon they worked in mills side-by-side with other men. Storekeepers sold them produce and bank tellers took their money. They were listed in city directories and state censuses. People sold them land, and title clerks recorded their deeds and sometimes their marriages. Wardens had them as prisoners. Newspapers reported on riots against them and their desire to overthrow the British. Wobblies and socialists wrote of their collusions.

Accounting for this loss requires taking a step back to consider what history itself is. Historian Michel Trouillot argues that history is composed of two overlapping but distinct elements. On one hand, there's a real world out there and things happen in it. But on the other hand, we are humans, and the only way we can relay or remember events, is through a story, and not lists of undigested "facts." Such narratives are where history lives, believes Trouillot, who argues that "history reveals itself only through the production of specific narratives," which have real stakes. His approach is to examine our narratives as an insight into our beliefs and relations

of power.⁶⁴ Applying that perspective here, what is the narrative that has supplanted the Punjabis and Ghadar from our collective memory?

I would argue it is the conception of America as a white, Christian nation that has stripped our known history and our archives of the many people that have shaped it. The North American West the Punjabis landed in in the early 1900s had been promised to those whites left out of the American dream. But the reality of Westward expansion was not stoked simply by internal domestic migration but by infusions of men from every corner of the globe. That mix created any number of political and social tensions like accepted domestic arrangements given the dearth of women and about the relative rights and privileges of whites versus other laborers. Historian Nayan Shah writes that in these times the United States and Canada responded with “a system of democratic government in which large swaths of their residents were proscribed from full participation,” with race a crucial divide.⁶⁵ This meant international workers were used to build the west, but not included within its political covenant, barred both from citizenship and from the national stories. The U. S. and Canadian governments had essential agreement that they were to be white, Christian nations, an attitude well captured in Canada’s most popular bar song of the day entitled, what else, “White Canada Forever.”⁶⁶

SLIDE: WHITE CANADA FOREVER (the most popular bar song of the day)

But that conception of a White Canada or America, is far different from the reality of the West and speaks to the power of narrative. Our narratives omit whole peoples who, despite their critical roles, were not considered real participants or principals in the project of building the U.S. or the West in particular. It has concretely affected the stories we tell about ourselves. It has also affected the archives from which we can continue to tell those stories. So African slaves, indigenous peoples or the many peoples from China and the Punjab have been late to be included in U.S. and Oregon history, and often when done are done so as a sideline story and not as formative or central.

I’d like to give some concrete examples of how this affected finding this story in Oregon. As I’ve said, it was books from India that led me to look for the story in Winans, Bridal Veil, Linnton and St. Johns because the received wisdom from U.S. historians was that Punjabis had been driven out of Oregon.

More particularly, what I found when combing county and state records to find the traces of these men is, as you might guess, the records in our archives are very, very thin. But as I

looked, and thought about it, you could almost see the filter that had kept them out of our narrative, our stories. Here are some examples: It's common for local libraries or museums to have big, leather-bound ledgers listing things like their area's pioneer names or local deaths. But they never listed the name Singh despite their presence. The local sheriff also had big bound arrest ledgers listing the date, name and what the person was arrested for. But under the heading of "nativity" these contrasted "American" with Jew, Negro or Indian. Marriages were recorded, but not the many other domestic associations and liaisons among laboring men, whether they be cross-racial heterosexual unions or anything else. And those Finnish Socialist who should have had a lot to say about this story? Their radical newspapers and other records got left to mold in barns, not brought in to tell us of the multi-ethnic efforts and alternate hopes discussed in mills and camps everywhere.

It is a thousand seemingly benign acts of overlooking and erasure that undergird and feed the persistent foundational myth of Oregon as a land of white, pioneer families. The records from the myriad who do not fit that storyline often never find their way into our archives or our stories due not to conspiracy, but to social assumptions about who counts or belongs. Ultimately, I think that is how one immigrant in our stories and mythology becomes the pioneer and citizen, an historical sidebar or simply forgotten altogether. In short, our narrative is revelatory of deeply held cultural beliefs and assumptions.

But why does this matter? Why should we care? We lose some stories; someone resurrects them; so what? The real "so what" for me is that that attitude is still at work and, ultimately, I think is implicated in the suspicion of Muslims and Sikhs in the wake of 9/11, very much including the shootings in the Wisconsin Gurdwara last August.

It is true that many formerly denied citizenship in this country - the Chinese, Japanese, or Punjabis - have since been granted access to citizenship in both Canada and the U.S. But such changes in status have also proven to be socially and legally tenuous if not revocable. During World War II, Japanese-American citizenship was stunningly negated based on ethnicity.⁶⁷

[Time magazine slide] Now fast forward to post 9/11 America with the Quran burnings, opposition to mosques, not only in NYC's ground zero, but in towns across the country, or the NYPD and CIA's wholesale spying on New Jersey's Muslim community simply because they *are* Muslim and, seemingly by definition, then suspect. Further, remember that the first fatal hate crime post 9/11 was the murder of Balbir Sodhi Singh outside of his gas station in AZ his

only crime having been facial hair and a turban.⁶⁸ Since 9/11, the Sikh Coalition has reported more than 700 hate crimes against Sikhs in the U.S. Arguably, there remains a menacing, stubborn undercurrent in America that “immigrants are aliens, not citizens,” as historian Mae Ngai so aptly puts it.⁶⁹

[slide of Wisconsin] This, I believe, also underlies the tragic shootings in Wisconsin last summer. You can argue it is mental illness that allows someone to walk into a Sikh temple and open fire – and it certainly is. But what do you argue when NY PD and CIA are spying on Muslims simply because they are Muslims? Ultimately, I think both are rooted in the fact that citizenship in America has always involved conferring legal rights on a select, worthy few, defined by gender and race. Citizenship has not trumped our cultural assumptions but instead sprang from and codified them. The bestowal of citizenship on the “right people” imaginatively and practically established Americans as white, Christian, family men in contradistinction to the non-white and non-Christian peoples, with varied interpersonal relations, who have been in and built up North America from day one. That, I think, is the shared narrative between those who are spying on whole communities and the lone, whacked out gunman in Wisconsin.

But as angry and worried as I am about such things, I don’t believe that’s the only take-away from this story. For me, this story of the radical Punjabis in Oregon is also the story of the unexpected experience of so-called common people — Chinese, Punjabi, Finns, Socialists, Sikhs or whoever — stepping outside traditions of rigid nationalism. Re-remembering Ghadar’s ties to Oregon means remembering a time and a place where people managed to do better than what their times and their so-called place might suggest. It is likewise a story we can’t afford to ignore about the importance of radicalism in subverting social norms and creating camaraderie. Our task is not so easy as to simply resurrect those earlier radical dreams. But their kernels and hopes need to be known and mined. Hopefully, knowing such alternatives exist not just in theory but in our lived past will provide perspective and mettle for our very difficult present.

Thank you.

¹ Joan Jensen, *Passage to India*, (New Haven and London: Yale Uni Press, 1988), 42.

² Ronald Takaki, *Strangers From A Different Shore, A History of Asian Americans*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), 301.

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- ³ Suzanne McMahon, *Echoes of Freedom: South Asian Pioneers in California, 1899-1965* (Berkeley: Uni. Of California, 2001), front cover. This catalogue also depicts Ghadar as wholly centered in San Francisco.
- ⁴ Harish K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation and Strategy*, (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University, 1983), *passim*.
- ⁵ UC Berkeley Bancroft Library, Judgements of the Lahore Conspiracy Case In *re: King Emperor versus Anand Kishore and Others*, 112-114, etc.
- ⁶ For example, Bose; Arun Coomer Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad, 1905-1922: In the Background of International Developments* (Allahabad: Indian Press Private, Ltd., 1971), 48.
- ⁷ Map of Oregon, 1906, American Geographical Society Library, Uni. Of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries. Digital image: am0063337. The names of the men appearing on the map have been gleaned from a number of sources: U.S. Census Bureau, 1910 Census, Records of Oregon, Soundex records K500 ("Khan") and S520 ("Singh"); OHS microfilm; the *Portland City Directory* (Portland: R.L. Polk & Co., 1910), unknown pages but searched under "Singh" and "Khan", OHS library; *Astoria City and Clatsop County Directory*, (Portland: R.L. Polk & Co., 1910), 101, 163-165, CCHS library; Multnomah County Circuit Court archives, Multnomah County Circuit Court, *The State of Oregon vs. Dickey*, "Indictment (4/26/1910), "Order for Clerk to Issue Subpoenas" (6/4/1910), "Affidavit of DA Garland for Witnesses" (6/1/1910); Mult. Co. Justice Court, *State of Oregon vs. John Does*, "Information of Felony" (3/22/1910); *Oregonian* 3/24/1910:4; 3/25/1910:4; 3/25/1910:6; *St. Johns Review* 3/25/1910:1&5. The numbers of Punjabis along the Columbia River are roughly corroborated by R.K. Das who reported that according to the 1910 US Census, there were 208 "Hindustanis" living in Oregon. R.K. Das, *Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast*, (Berlin: Walter de Guyer, 1923), 17. The photo of Hammond Mill is CCHS Photo 3957.625. The GIS map was prepared by Gregory A. Greene, M.Sc. Candidate (Geography), UBC.
- ⁸ Wasco County Courthouse, Oregon, Circuit Court, Wasco County, Declarations of Intention: Bishn, Uttam, Hookam, Vir, Visawa, Bhola, Eson, Son, Sham, Talok, Jay, Sunder and Tebe Singh, along with Shib Diyal, "Ker," and "Kehru," 1908.
- ⁹ Oregon State Archives (OSA), Inmate Case Files, Box 5930-6072, File # 5965; OSA Justice Court Criminal, Wasco Co., File Folder #20 (Sickler through Singh), Criminal Complaint: State of Oregon v. Bisin Singh, 1909.
- ¹⁰ Dhillon, Kartar. "Astoria Revisited: A Search for the East Indian Presence in Astoria." *Cumtux*, Vol 15, No. 2 (Spring 1995):2-9
- ¹¹ Clatsop County Historical Society (CCHS), "Hindu file" records, *Soba Singh v. Pauline Singh*, Clatsop County Circuit Court Complaint, 10/1920.
- ¹² *ADB* 4/14/1914:5; *ADB* 4/22/194:1; *The Morning Astorian* (MA), 1/11/1920:2; CCHS, Hindu File: *Astoria Evening Budget* (AEB) 9/12/18; 10/18/1918
- ¹³ CCHS, Astoria City Directories, 1906, 1908-09, 1910. This is not conclusive, merely indicative. For example, the 1913 Directory lists only Dodan Singh, the wrestler, at the height of the Ghadarite organizing in Astoria and when it is known many Punjabis were in Astoria.
- ¹⁴ Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942* (Philadelphia: Temple Uni Press, 1994), 1. Friday unfortunately confines his argument to the economic sphere and not the broader historical stage. That said, his point still has wider implications and truth.
- ¹⁵ *Astoria Daily Budget* (ADB) 10/31/06:6; 11/1/06:1; *The Daily Astorian*, 8/21/1981:6.
- ¹⁶ *Astoria Budget*, 5/30/1913, page unknown, Clatsop County Historical Society ("CCHS") "Hindu" archive file.
- ¹⁷ *ADB*, 10/31/1906:6.
- ¹⁸ I am indebted to the argument put forward by Marie Rose Wong, *Sweet Cakes, Long Journey: The Chinatowns of Portland, Oregon* (Seattle and London, Uni. Of Washington Press, 2004), 29-74. It is worth noting that Wong argues Washington was largely emptied of Chinese in the 1880s through a similar process as used against Punjabis in that state in 1907/08. But like the later Punjabi example, the 1880s campaign in Washington against Chinese had an opposite result on the Chinese population in Oregon (Wong 43-47). Thus, there does seem to be some historical precedence for people migrating to Oregon in the wake of racial violence.
- ¹⁹ Friday, citing Johansen, Gates Craig and Hacker, 2; 8-9.
- ²⁰ Karen L. Leedom, *Astoria An Oregon History*, (Pittsburg: The Local History Company, 2008), 119.
- ²¹ CCHS, Photo 10,506-00D.

²² CCHS, 3/06/2006 Email correspondence from David Bhagat Thind to Liisa Penner, archivist CCHS. Bhagat Singh Thind is known for his spiritual leadership and his legal case challenging citizenship standards for non-Europeans. For more on the Thind case see: http://www.pbs.org/rootsinthesand/i_bhagat1.html and United States vs. Bhagat Singh Thind (261 US 204).

²³ UC Berkeley, Bancroft Special Collection, BANC MSS, 2002/78 CZ Box 4, Transcript of Interview of Padma Chandra, 11/18/1972, 34, 41.

²⁴ ADB, 5/3/1909:6.

²⁵ *The Daily Astorian*, 3/16/1988. Interestingly, Puri argues that wrestling was one of the means of training Ghadarites (Puri, 129).

²⁶ *The Morning Astorian*, 1/11/1920:2.

²⁷ CCHS "Hindu file" records, *Singh v. Lall*, Clatsop County Circuit Court Complaint dated 2/28/1920.

²⁸ CCHS, City of Astoria Police Ledger, July 1910 – July 1916, unpaginated.

²⁹ CCHS, "Hindu File," "Declaration of Intent" of Amin Chand Sherma, 3/02/1911; Behari Lal Verma, 8/31/1910; _____ [illegible] Singh, 7/26/1910; Behari Lal, 7/13/1910; S. Chhajju, 6/15/1921

³⁰ Kartar Dhillon, "Astoria Revisited: A Search for the East Indian Presence in Astoria," *Cumtux*, 15, no. 2 (Spring 1995), 7.

³¹ CCHS, County Archives of Oregon, No. 4, Clatsop County Oregon, prepared by Oregon Historical records Survey Division, WPA, Portland, OR 9/1940; Friday, 56, 57. The Chinese wives of laborers were barred from entering the U.S.

³² Friday, quoting the *Weekly Astorian*, 58.

³³ Denise Alborn, "The Hindus of Uppertown," *Cumtux*, 10, no. 1 (Winter 1989), 15.

³⁴ ADB, 8/6/1914:4.

³⁵ While outside the bounds of this paper, I do think it important to note that there were other factors than radicalism that undercut anti-Asian sentiments amongst the Finnish community. First, as fisherman, they were largely dependent on the Chinese cannery workers and international millworkers. Secondly, their hatred for Russia's occupation of their country, and their elation at the Japanese defeat of Russia in 1905 is significant. There were many laudatory articles about the Japanese in the Astoria press during this time period. My analysis of the effect of the Russian-Japanese war on the Finns of Astoria is derived from reading the *Astoria Daily Budget* from roughly December 1904 through March of 1905 which had almost daily front page coverage of the conflict. For some examples, see ADB 1/4/1905:1 and 1/23/1905:1.

³⁶ Paul George Hummasti, *Finnish Radicals in Astoria, Oregon 1904-1940: A Study in Immigrant Socialism*, (New York:Arno Press, 1979), especially 3-74. Further on the centrality of internationalism to the Finnish socialist movement, see The Tyomies Society (Photographs) Records, Finnish American Collection, Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota.

³⁷ Friday, 60-67.

³⁸ Author's discussion with family members, May 2010.

³⁹ Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 242.

⁴⁰ Takaki, 301

⁴¹ Puri, 50.

⁴² Puri, 38-53.

⁴³ Seema Sohi, unpublished paper "Race, Surveillance, and Indian Anticolonialism in the Western U.S.-Canadian Borderlands, .5

⁴⁴ Kazimi, informal discussion 4/2009; Puri, 46.

⁴⁵ Puri, 46.

⁴⁶ Sohi, 5-6.

⁴⁷ An interesting possible preamble to the riot appeared one month prior in the *Oregonian* on 2/15/1910:14. The article reported on a factory fire in St. Johns, suspected of being arson. The article states, "A Hindu has been arrested on suspicion of having set the fire, but the evidence against him is said to be slight." The St. Johns Lumber Company, a mill that employed many "Hindus," was immediately next door to the burned factory. This arson

certainly could have been a coincidence, but it is not hard to imagine an arson being planned with the intention of stoking more anti-Hindu sentiment in the small town.

⁴⁸ This riot sketch is drawn from numerous press articles other than those directly quoted. See *Oregonian* 3/24/1910:4; 3/25/1910:4; 3/26/1910:6; *St. Johns Review* 3/25/1910:1&5.

⁴⁹ *Oregonian*, 4/19/1910:4.

⁵⁰ It is different to note the difference in the tone of coverage between the *St. Johns Review* and the *Oregonian*, the seat of Harvey Scott's power. The differing coverage of the St. Johns riot, including the response to the legal battle could be read as a microcosm of the larger battle over the state's racial policy.

⁵¹ *St. Johns Review* 3/25/1910:1&5.

⁵² *Oregonian*, 3/29/1910: 12.

⁵³ *Oregonian*, 3/25/1910:4.

⁵⁴ *Oregonian*, 4/1/1910:14

⁵⁵ This mill employed an array of workers from around the globe: China, Japan, Turkey, India and Russia, S.S. Josh, *Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna* (New Delhi, Ahmedabad, Bombay, People's Publishing House, 1970), 13.

⁵⁶ Josh, ix, xii, 35.

⁵⁷ Harold Gould, *Sikhs, Swamis, Students and Spies*, (Sage Publications, New Delhi 2006); also letter to this author from Harish Puri, Spring 2012.

⁵⁸ This is my opinion. However, Puri seems to argue similarly regarding the importance of the resistance to the St. Johns riot (Puri, 52).

⁵⁹ G.S. Deol, *The Role of The Ghadar Party in the National Movement* (Delhi and Jullundur: Sterling Publishers, 1969), 56-57. **Please note: I have learned of the controversy surrounding Deol's work, but have not yet had the opportunity to find an alternative cites that I know exists. Before any possible publication, I would wish to have that opportunity.**

⁶⁰ Deol, 56-57.

⁶¹ Deol, 59-60.

⁶² Deol, 60-61.

⁶³ One notable exception is Clatsop County Historical Society, which has attempted a retroactive fix of sorts to its archive, largely due to the herculean efforts of Liisa Penner to make the local story of Punjabis in Astoria known.

⁶⁴ See Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing The Past: Power and the Production of History*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), *passim*, for an extended discussion of these matters.

⁶⁵ Shah, 2-3.

⁶⁶ Jensen, 62.

⁶⁷ Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*, (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton Uni. Press, 2004), 175. I am indebted heavily to Dr. Ngai's overall argument of this book.

⁶⁸ Amy Goodman, Democracy Now, April 17, 2012, available at http://www.democracynow.org/2012/4/17/ap_wins_pulitzer_for_exposing_growth#transcript (accessed May 2, 2012). The U.S. government detained and interrogated over a thousand Arabs, Muslims, and South Asians in the wake of 9/11, irrespective of their citizenship status or activities. See Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 269. On the murder of Balbir Singh Sodhi, see "US 9/11 Revenge Killer Convicted," <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/3154170.stm> (accessed May 16, 2012). See also "Stories Put Spotlight on NYPD Surveillance Program," Fresh Air, WHYY, available at <http://www.npr.org/2012/04/18/150805767/stories-put-spotlight-on-nypd-surveillance-program> (accessed May 2, 2012); Is America Islamophobic?", Time Magazine, August 30, 2010; "Across Nation, Mosque Projects Meet Opposition," New York Times, August 7, 2010; and *Oregonian*, February 15, 2012, C1, C3; *Oregonian* April 13, 2012, A1, A5.

⁶⁹ Ngai, 229.

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