



Western Edition Episode 2
“L.A. Chinatown: The Memory of a Massacre”
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(MUSIC – SPRITE STAR)

BILL DEVERELL (HOST): Hi, I’m Bill Deverell. This is *Western Edition*, Season Two: “L.A. Chinatown”. If you walk around downtown Los Angeles, near Union Station, you might see a small plaque on the ground that commemorates an anti-Chinese massacre that took place in that spot 150 years ago. In this episode, we’ll look back at that event, how it came to pass, and the effort to properly memorialize the victims.

(MUSIC – COWBOY LULLABY)

DEVERELL: First, let’s go back – way back – before there even was an official neighborhood called Chinatown. Back to the mid-1800s and the California Gold Rush. California became part of the United States in 1848, when the U.S. government acquired the territory after an aggressive war against the Republic of Mexico. At the end of that conflict, 6,500 Mexicans and 150,000 Native Americans lived in the region. That population shifted dramatically with the influx of more than 100,000 Anglo Americans in just two years because of the Gold Rush. Within a decade, California’s population tripled. Among the new laborers were about 24,000 young Chinese men. Their arrival spurred a backlash from white settlers, who saw the Chinese workers as a threat to their jobs.

MAE M. NGAI: When the Chinese start to arrive in the early 1850s, they’re entering a place where it – well, first of all, there’s a gold rush going on – so it’s crazy. And so, nativism becomes

a kind of weapon of competition. And it's not just against the Chinese, but the Chinese become racialized in a special way that others aren't.

DEVERELL: Professor Mae M. Ngai teaches Asian American Studies and History at Columbia University and co-directs the Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race.

NGAI: And then in 1852, John Bigler, who's the first governor of the state, is in a tight race for reelection, and he makes this astonishing speech saying that the Chinese are invading California; there's tens of thousands of them coming every month; they're coolies, meaning they're like slaves; they're not free men. And this is exactly the nativist playbook, but I don't get the sense that it's segregated in the sense that they're excluded from living anywhere else in this period. You know, but you do have Chinatowns, they're not called Chinatown, but you have Chinese districts that form. And later I think as racism hardens, they become more contained, you know, they become more isolated. That's definitely true.

DEVERELL: Scott Zesch is author of *The Chinatown War: Chinese Los Angeles and the Massacre of 1871*, and says that Chinese immigrants were welcomed at first as a source of cheap labor.

SCOTT ZESCH: In the 1850s and throughout much of the 1860s, the attitude of non-Asian Angelenos toward the Chinese was anywhere from neutral to somewhat positive. A lot of the affluent families actively sought to hire Chinese men to work in their homes, or their vineyards, or their orchards. And in fact, a lot of affluent Angelenos would seek out Chinese physicians because at that time, a lot of Western medicine was not that effective in treating certain types of diseases and infections.

DEVERELL: But those same Chinese immigrants soon felt their welcome revoked. In 1852, California placed a high monthly tax on all foreign miners. Meanwhile, white miners attacked Chinese workers in the mining camps. Chinese laborers received little protection from the legal system.

ZESCH: In 1869, *The Los Angeles News* began publication as a pro-white labor paper, and they ran a series of vitriolic editorials denigrating the Chinese. They would use language such as "animals living in dens" or "a foul blot on our civilization". And what's interesting when you look at the court records, is there is a direct correlation between this hate mongering in the press and attacks on the Chinese in the streets. So, unprovoked attacks on Chinese residents started to increase in 1869.

DEVERELL: Professor Mae Ngai says those racial lines hardened in the post-Gold Rush era.

NGAI: Well occupationally, the Chinese are definitely operating in – I guess what you'd call a segmented labor market – after they move out of mining, they go into railroad construction. Railroads are obviously exploited as a cheaper and segregated workforce that did all the

hardest work, you know, like digging through the snow in the Sierra. You know in the cities, things get really bad. I think in the 1870s, after the railroad's completed, you know, the railroad was not an unalloyed benefit for people in California, right. And connecting California to the national market, it brought good and bad. It brought more people. So, there was a pressure on job availability. It brought cheap manufactured goods, which pushed artisans who had a kind of a protected market in the cities. This is when there is a kind of revitalization of a Chinese question.

DEVERELL: Is that the moment where we are going to expect to find, kind of, classic Chinatowns?

NGAI: I think so. Chinatown in San Francisco is pretty vibrant. You know, it's a big community. In the 1870s, you have increasingly instances of violence against Chinese, but Chinese didn't only live in Chinatown; they didn't only work in Chinatown. You know, they had wash houses around the city, and those are very vulnerable to attack by mobs because the Chinese who lived there and worked there were isolated from the rest of their community. So, the mobs would also attack Chinese workplaces that were not just in Chinatown. If you were a Chinese person in San Francisco in the 1870s, you were kind of at risk, no matter where you were. But because of the identification of Chinese as a, kind of, despised racial other, there is a sense that Chinatown is a vice-ridden, immoral place.

(MUSIC – DREAM YOURSELF SMOOTH)

DEVERELL: San Francisco grew rapidly during the Gold Rush. Its population skyrocketed from 800 people in March of 1848, to more than 25,000 by 1850. Los Angeles grew more slowly and had far fewer Chinese immigrants.

ZESCH: In 1871, Los Angeles was still a relatively small town. It was 5,700 people. It was not well known outside of California. The Chinese made up only about 3% of the population. There were fewer than 200 Chinese in Los Angeles at this time. However, the Chinese quarter was in a very central location. It was between the Old Plaza and the new principal business district. And so, the Chinese who were living in Los Angeles were highly visible to the larger population.

DEVERELL: And the Chinese population in that period is predominantly male, yes?

ZESCH: Yes, it is mostly male. There were some women living in Los Angeles at the time, but it was mostly young men who came here hoping to make their fortune, or at least save enough money to live in relative comfort when they got home.

DEVERELL: Of the estimated 170 Chinese people living in Los Angeles in 1871, more than half lived in Chinatown. Anti-Chinese sentiment reached a boiling point by October of 1871, when one night, a mob of 500 white and Hispanic residents attacked members of the Los Angeles

Chinese community. By the end of the night, at least 18 Chinese residents were dead. I went to downtown Los Angeles to meet with Laura Dominguez. She's a longtime heritage conservationist and now a doctoral student at USC, writing about the history of Los Angeles.

LAURA DOMINGUEZ: We're at the southwest corner, or approaching the southwest corner of Los Angeles Street and Arcadia Street and we're really in the heart of – what at the time, in the late 19th century, was Calle de los Negros, which was the center of vice at that point in Los Angeles. It was dubbed by historian James Miller Guinn “the wickedest street in Los Angeles”. This is where the massacre really exploded on that October evening in 1871.

DEVERELL: Right here?

DOMINGUEZ: Right here.

(MUSIC – IT MAINTAINS, EYES CHANGE)

DEVERELL: The violence of that night began with infighting between Chinese businesses.

ZESCH: There were two rival factions in Chinatown as of 1870, and the rivalry between this group was mostly founded in commerce. The Chinese businesses were very competitive, both the respectable businesses, such as shopkeeping, as well as the vice industries. So, one faction started this series of retaliatory acts against the other faction, and one of the events that happened was the kidnapping of a young woman who was married to a prosperous merchant and her forced marriage to a man from the other faction. And finally, the other faction hired some professional gunmen to come from San Francisco and try to settle the score. And so late in the afternoon of October 24th, 1871, a gun battle broke out in Chinatown between the professional gunmen, and the members of the other faction and the noise and the commotion drew a lot of people to the downtown area to see what was happening. The behavior of a lot of citizens at that time was very reckless and that was best exemplified when a white man went to the open door of a room where the Chinese gunmen were holed up. And for some reason – we don't know why – he fired two random shots into this room, even though the local policeman told him to stand back, or he was going to get hurt. There was no reason for him to do this, but he was immediately hit by return fire, and he died about an hour later. Hysterical rumors started to spread throughout town that the Chinese were killing white people by wholesale. And so, the group around the Chinese quarters started to grow until it increased to about 500 people, according to one estimate. And by that time, the onlookers had the Chinese buildings completely surrounded so that no one could escape. The sheriff exacerbated the situation by telling the bystanders not to let anyone escape, and in fact, to shoot any Chinese who tried to flee from the neighborhood. Apparently, his reason for doing that was because he was intent on capturing the gunman who had taken part in the battle, but in doing so, he sealed the fate of all the innocent Chinese who were trapped in those buildings.

DEVERELL: So Scott, around 500 people – so that's some healthy percentage of the population of Los Angeles at the time – something like 8% or something like that, right?

ZESCH: It was a significant percentage. There were about 5,700 residents of Los Angeles and the mob was estimated at about 500.

(MUSIC – IT MAINTAINS, EYES CHANGE)

DEVERELL: As dusk fell, the mob gathered outside a building where many Chinese immigrants lived called The Coronel [core-uh-nell] Adobe. It stood at the northwest corner of Arcadia Street and what was then Calle de los Negros, now Los Angeles Street.

DOMINGUEZ: You can imagine the noise of people coming and you just feel that anger and that heat and the crowd is there waiting and trying to decide what they're going to do about the people who are inside the Adobe.

(MUSIC – IT MAINTAINS, EYES CHANGE)

ZESCH: There was a three-hour standoff during which the mob members and the trapped Chinese were periodically firing at each other. Finally, the mob broke into this old Adobe, The Coronel Adobe. They battered down one of the doors and all of these rooms in the typical Adobe style, were connected by interior doorways. So once they breached one door, it was easy for the mob to pour through the entire building. They physically attacked the Chinese inside, they plundered the property, they threatened anyone who tried to stop them. So by this point, the police had lost all control and the mob was in control. I think the mob was encouraged by the fact that they had managed to overpower the local law and they probably thought they were so many that they would be able to get away with this.

DOMINGUEZ: I think of one person first, a man who was named Ah Wing, who was the first victim of the mob. He was a worker at the Pico House, which is that fabulous Italianate building facing the Plaza – that at that point was only about a year old – and he had taken hiding in the Beaudry building, which I believe was about catty-corner to the Adobe. So he attempted to escape, but the mob catches up with him first and drags him down to the Tomlinson Corral, over on Temple Street, where the federal courthouse is currently. And that was an infamous lynching site, and he was murdered at that site.

(MUSIC – LEOFOROS ALEXANDRAS)

ZESCH: The mob grabbed people inside The Coronel Adobe, dragged them outside, put ropes around their necks and took them to three different lynching sites downtown. Along the way, they encountered a few other Chinese who were returning home from work and had no idea

what was going on, and some of these people were captured as well. The whole thing took about half an hour. And in that time, the mob killed 18 Chinese men.

(MUSIC – LEOFOROS ALEXANDRAS)

ZESCH: The local lawmen started to rally and were more successful in dispersing the mob and chasing them away from these lynching sites. There were also a few non-Asian citizens who were able to save some potential Chinese victims. So, the violence ran its course fairly quickly. And once it did, the mob members scattered. Not all of them fled; some of them went out to the saloons and were drinking and celebrating that night. But by then, the Chinese who had not become victims had managed to go to places of safety.

DEVERELL: And you point out this very interesting aspect of this: there were Angelenos who answered to the call of their better angels and tried to protect the Chinese under threat.

ZESCH: There were. Early on in the massacre, they were too few to be able to be very effective. A couple of attorneys – who later became mayors of Los Angeles – did make speeches, trying to rebuke the mob. They were threatened, they were put down, they were ignored. So, it was not until the massacre had pretty much run its course before the citizens were able to try to get the mob under control.

(MUSIC – BEYOND THE LOWS)

DEVERELL: The massacre made national news. Until then, Los Angeles was barely known outside California. Now, newspapers on the East Coast were describing Los Angeles as a "blood-stained Eden". Local leaders sprang into action to try and salvage the city's reputation.

ZESCH: There were 37 indictments that came out of the massacre – 25 were for murder. The others were for lesser crimes. The prosecutor at the time was Cameron Thom, who was a very prominent figure in Los Angeles history. He eventually decided to bring 10 of the indicted people to trial. Why did he not bring more to trial? It was hard for him to get the evidence he needed, even though there had been many eyewitnesses. And that's basically for two reasons: one is that a lot of the people who witnessed the events were implicated in the crimes themselves. And the other reason is a lot of the innocent bystander witnesses were afraid of retaliation by the mob. So, it was surprisingly difficult for him to get testimony.

DEVERELL: And the trials themselves are fairly quick, and the convictions are brought down quickly?

ZESCH: The trials were quick by today's standards. It lasted about a week, although that was an unusually long time in that era because in the 1870s, most trials were concluded within a day.

DEVERELL: So, 10 are indicted and brought to trial. How many are convicted?

ZESCH: Eight are convicted and their sentences ranged from two years to six years. The reason the sentences were so light is because they ended up being convicted of manslaughter rather than murder. And the reason for that is in the original trial, 11 of the jurors voted in favor of murder. One juror held out, and so the others decided to compromise on a manslaughter conviction. And then the one holdout went along with that. It's a very unpalatable end to the riot trials, but at the same time, if they had not made that compromise and there had been a mistrial, it's likely that no one would have ever been convicted in connection with the Chinese massacre.

DEVERELL: Those eight men who were convicted were sentenced to prison at San Quentin, but their convictions were overturned on appeal. Walking around the site of the massacre with Laura Dominguez, it's hard to reconcile that horrific event with how it looks today: in the shadow of Union Station, between a parking lot, a freeway, and a grassy park on a knoll.

DOMINGUEZ: It's interesting that there's all these placards on the ground, and I think about the blood that was in the ground. But it's interesting that we have a freeway running through here as we have in so many, freeways and parking lots, like we have in so many places in Los Angeles that are sort of a way of erasing that past and helping us forget the past by clearing the site and forcing us to move quickly through them. And so, it is this kind of tension between wanting to pause and acknowledge how solemn this space – how somber this space is – but also knowing that there are cars rushing past, and buses rushing past, and we're not really encouraged to pause and reflect in this space. In some ways I think that's L.A. encapsulated – that we have these beautiful romantic spaces, that are layered and built upon bloodshed and violence and exclusion and racism, and maybe this event more than any other encapsulates that. And I think that that's really key for the way that – particularly white settlers – remember this event in the aftermath, because their voices are the ones we hear most prominently which is to say, “That was a really horrific thing. That's the most shameful thing we ever did as a city, but look how much better we're getting. We're becoming more cosmopolitan and modern and look at this beautiful city that we're constructing. That's all in the past, and L.A. is all about the future”.

DEVERELL: That can probably explain the lack of an appropriate memorial to the victims.

DOMINGUEZ: I think so. And I think as a city as well, we just don't know how to memorialize in general. We haven't quite come up with good ways yet of marking the ephemeral.

(MUSIC – RAIN CLOUD MUSIC)

DEVERELL: A movement is growing to properly memorialize the victims of the anti-Chinese massacre of 1871. Rosten Woo is an artist and community leader in Los Angeles. He has worked for many years on activating public space and enhancing civic memory through his installations.

Raised in the Pacific Northwest, Rosten knew nothing of the massacre until he moved to Los Angeles. Once he learned of it, he worked to bring greater attention to the event on the part of public officials and agencies.

ROSTEN WOO: So I tried to, you know, set up meetings with different people who had done public art projects with me on people at Metro and people at the county. And we had a few meetings, but they didn't really, you know, they were sort of like informational meetings and people would say, "Great, you know, thanks for bringing this to our attention". No one seemed like they wanted to champion it.

DEVERELL: Rosten credits David Louie with keeping the idea of a memorial alive. David Louie is a businessman, a former police officer, and a civic leader in Los Angeles and Chinatown.

DAVID LOUIE: I am a fourth generation Chinese American born and raised right here in Los Angeles.

DEVERELL: A number of years ago, David Louie was appointed to the commission that oversees the historic heart of Los Angeles at El Pueblo and La Plaza.

LOUIE: So, we took on that appointment and when I came on, I ran into one of my longtime friends who was on the Chinese American Museum board, and he asked me the question. He said, "What does it feel like to be on site, on campus where the Chinese massacre occurred?" And I didn't know what he was talking about. I had no idea about what Chinese massacre, and he shared some basic information pointing out, "Hey, right over there." And he pointed to an area near the, what we called Father Serra Park. He said, "That's where the massacre started." And I shook my head, and I said, "I really have no idea what you're talking about, man." I went back and did my research, and I was embarrassed that I didn't know – angry that, you know – nobody, not the schools, not my parents, not any of the organizations that I've been associated with, had ever shared or made me aware of what occurred. And at the end of the day, I mean, you know, my education is my responsibility, and it just shocked me. And I went back and took a look around El Pueblo to see how we had memorialized what had occurred. And the only recognition of what had occurred was a plaque in the ground that was maybe 15 inches by 18 inches, that had been placed there relatively recently. The massacre occurred back in 1871 and sometime around the late 1990s, in anticipation of trying to dress up El Pueblo, eight plaques were placed in the ground, and this was one of them.

DEVERELL: David created a memorial event of his own, with his son.

LOUIE: We went out there early in the morning, and I just stood and expressed our appreciation for what had occurred; the sacrifice that had been made; and the appreciation for what they had done. The following year, we got together with some friends who I thought would be interested and concerned, and we had a little ceremony out there and we did what we

shouldn't have done – which is, there's a bell that is never supposed to be rung, but we rang it 18 times. We got in trouble with the security folks, but we did it and frankly I felt good. And subsequently, our friends at the Chinese American Museum felt that it was important and have carried on a recognition each October 24th. It planted sort of an idea that we should have something more significant than the 18-inch plaque in the ground. And for several years, we organized, and prodded, and suggested, and tried to find funding to bring about a more significant memorial.

DEVERELL: David why – you know, your children are fifth generation, you're fourth generation – why do you think you never heard of it?

LOUIE: Oh, well I think there is embedded institutionalized racism that says, “Hey, this is just something that may have occurred and is better left untouched.” If we're going to stop the anger and hate that comes out of the racial discrimination, the prejudice that's there, we've got to expose and educate folks to what occurred, to deal with it, and to heal from it, and to learn from it.

DEVERELL: Yeah, I agree with you. Let me ask you one final question. David, you spent a fair amount of time around the Plaza. You think about the massacre every time you're there?

LOUISE: You know, I'm an old guy, and in some ways I'm sort of a tough guy, cop. We've seen pain, suffering. We've seen plenty of people pass away, die right in front of me. But I tell you, I talk about the sacrifice, the anger, and pain that was inflicted that day – and I get choked up, man.

(MUSIC – LITTLE DRUNK, QUIET FLOATS)

DEVERELL: Another leading advocate for a new memorial to the victims of the massacre is Michael Woo. He is the first Asian American elected to the Los Angeles City Council. He served from 1985 to 1993.

MICHAEL WOO: During my first year, as a member of the City Council, I happened to walk through the Rotunda of City Hall. There was a glass case set up by the city archivist with an open volume of handwritten notes from old meetings of the L.A. City Council from literally 100 years earlier. And on that particular day, apparently what was discussed was the threat to the public safety posed by the growing Chinese community in Los Angeles – specifically the unsanitary conditions in the Chinese community – and the threat that that posed to the general population. It was quite shocking to me.

DEVERELL: Woo is a third generation Angeleno and is also the former Dean of the College of Environmental Design at Cal Poly Pomona. Currently he's helping oversee a design competition

for the memorial. He says he first learned about the 1871 massacre a decade ago, when the *Los Angeles Times* asked him to review Scott Zesch's book *The Chinatown War*.

WOO: Being asked to write the book review was a real eye-opener to me, partly because a touchstone of my own public career has been to think about violence, especially racial violence in the more recent history of Los Angeles. And since being more involved in trying to figure out how to recognize the legacy of the 1871 massacre, it's made me a lot more aware of a lot of other things about Chinese American history in California and elsewhere in the United States that I hadn't paid much attention to – whether it's the history of the Chinese railroad workers or about the depressingly sad history of the forced expulsion of the Chinese from so many towns in California. I think that my involvement with thinking about the massacre in Los Angeles has caused me to be a lot more aware of the dark history that has plagued the Chinese in California for such a long time.

DEVERELL: And don't you think that the move to properly memorialize the victims can do that for lots of people?

WOO: Well, I think it can. And whatever memorial comes out of this process needs to be relevant, not only to Chinese Americans and to other Asian Americans, but to be able to say something to people from all backgrounds about the history of violence, and about how people in Los Angeles have tried to resolve tensions or in some cases not resolve the tensions. But I think the goal is – if not necessarily to be universal – at least to have a broader message. There is something to be said, not just about the massacre, but also about what it means about Los Angeles as a city, and how the people who make up the city get along or don't get along. And so, learning about some stories like the Justice of the Peace, who hid some Chinese in his cellar at the edge of town around current-day Broadway and 7th Street. What could we do there that would open up people's eyes to this historical event that I'm sure the vast, vast majority of people who pass by Broadway and 7th never think about.

DEVERELL: Scott Zesch, who wrote the book about the 1871 massacre, says he's excited to see a memorialization effort come to fruition.

ZESCH: I was really overcome with emotion when I learned about the efforts that were underway for a permanent memorial. We remember the event as something that happened to a group of people, but I think it's also important to humanize them by remembering what little we know about them as individuals.

(MUSIC – NEITHER SWEAT NOR TEARS)

DEVERELL: In 2019 the Los Angeles Mayor's Office convened the Civic Memory Working Group, made up of historians, designers, architects, Indigenous leaders, and others, to look at how L.A.

recognizes and acknowledges its troubled past. I was part of that group, and so was Christopher Hawthorne. He is the Chief Design Officer for the City of Los Angeles.

CHRISTOPHER HAWTHORNE: This has been a place that people come to reinvent themselves and we have really taken that idea and run with it. And as a result, we have swept all sorts of things under the rug. We have erased all kinds of difficult, fraught, and uncomfortable histories, and certainly this is one of those.

DEVERELL: In anticipation of Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti's formal apology for the depredations of the 1871 massacre, which he delivered on the 150th anniversary of that horrible event, the Civic Memory Group connected with community leaders and activists who had been calling for a memorial for years. That entailed making connections that bridged the mile from L.A. City Hall to Chinatown, as Rosten Woo recounts.

WOO: And I was like, "Chris, we definitely need to like reach out to other people. And this can't just be like a recommendation that comes out of this group that has had no interaction with all these other people who have been working on this, you know. David should be there. We should get someone from the Chinese American Museum and so on."

DEVERELL: None of this was easy, but there is now a process laid out for creating a memorial to the massacre victims, starting with gathering input from more than 70 community leaders.

HAWTHORNE: We've tried to not rush what is a very complex process that really deserves taking its time. And we feel that, having embedded the process in the kind of community outreach that we have been doing in some ways, we're kind of rethinking how the city of Los Angeles produces its memorials. Which is to say, you know, too often in the past, we have imposed a certain site. We have said on behalf of the city, "This is where this memorial is going. This is why we think it's the best location." And often that's driven by bureaucratic prerogatives – sometimes rather than community prerogatives. We try to flip that process inside out, start with extensive conversations with the community to think about what sites might make the most sense.

(MUSIC – BACKPACKING)

DEVERELL: Jon SooHoo, a fifth-generation Chinese American, says that while the memorialization efforts are important, he wonders what impact such efforts will have on anti-Chinese sentiments today.

JON SOOHOO: My mom and dad were always telling us to just, "Keep your head down. Do your job. Be the best that you can be." You know, "Don't make waves." And, you know, I think we fulfilled that role in how we are and how we're perceived. But I also feel like that has not helped us in our fight against Asian hate. And it almost makes us more passive and it's

unfortunate, but I'm very aware of, you know, I appreciate everything you're all doing to bring up the history of what has happened, but I'm not sure how we get perceived any differently, other than we can get, still get beat on, no matter what, no matter what the circumstances. And I think the rhetoric all starts from further up top.

DEVERELL: The novelist, Lisa See, grew up spending time with her father's family in Chinatown, and has written several books based in Chinatown. She thinks the memorial will draw our collective attention to a long-forgotten landscape of violence.

LISA SEE: Because of where the events took place around the massacre – that it wasn't just one spot – that it gives you this sense of what the city was like at that time, how big it was really. And it's close to Union Station, close to Olvera Street and El Pueblo, where you have so much foot traffic. And I think about that a lot. I mean, when I go around town, around our city, I look – or I try to look – beyond what might be there today to what was there. And if you think about all the people who come out of Union Station or the Metro, and are literally walking over, on the ground where these people were killed. And I just know for myself that that's the kind of thing that I like to know. And I think a lot of other people would like to know that as well.

(MUSIC – DIGITAL SOLITUDE)

DEVERELL: I'm Bill Deverell. On the next episode of *Western Edition*, how the American government systematically discriminated against Chinese immigrants for decades and how Chinese American communities responded and grew.

LI WEI YANG: Each Chinese person coming in for the first time, they had to go through very lengthy interrogations. And these interrogations can last anywhere from 200 to 400 questions – sometimes even a thousand questions – about your personal history, your family situation, your village layout.

DEVERELL: If you would like to see images related to this episode, visit our website at dornsife.usc.edu/icw. *Western Edition's* team includes Avishay [ah-vee-shy] Artsy, Katie Dunham, Greg Hise, Jessica Kim, Elizabeth Logan, Olivia Ramirez, Li Wei Yang, and Stephanie Yi. *Western Edition* is a production of the Huntington-USC Institute on California and the West. Thank you for listening and be well.