YUBA-SUTTER:

A CASE STUDY FOR HERITAGE CONSERVATION IN PUNJABI-AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

by

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Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abstract

Yuba City, a rural town in Northern California, contains the largest concentration of Punjabi-Americans outside of India. Part of the larger Yuba-Sutter area, this region is composed of Yuba City and smaller surrounding towns including Marysville, Tierra Buena, and Live Oak. These cities came together to become a popular destination for Punjabi immigrants during the early twentieth century. Despite the large presence of Punjabis across the nation since the 1900s, virtually no work has been done on Punjabi-Americans within the context of heritage conservation. As conservation moves towards becoming a more inclusive field that strives to tell the overlooked stories of underrepresented communities in American history, it is imperative that the Punjabi-American story is documented as part of the larger South Asian American narrative. Focusing on the Yuba-Sutter area, this study aims to create a basic framework that highlights the Punjabi immigrant story in Yuba-Sutter through the built environment. To do this, this study reformulates agricultural, religious, and economic history through the lens of heritage conservation, given that these three sectors are the core of Punjabi-American life in Yuba-Sutter.

Through research and evaluation, this has resulted in the identification of four preliminary sites worthy of conservation including Eager Orchards, the Yuba City Gurdwara (Sikh Temple), the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan procession, and the Punjab Bazaar. This study concludes that like many communities of color, the sites representative of Punjabi-American history are often intangible traditions, vernacular sites of cultural memory, and associated with the recent past, which often do not fit the criteria of traditional historic preservation. Regardless, they still speak to a powerful story of labor relations, economic transactions, kinship networks, and religious traditions that all came to intertwine in the backdrop of the rural landscape of Yuba-Sutter. By using the Yuba-Sutter area as a case study for heritage conservation within Punjabi-American communities, the ultimate goal of this study is to serve as a starting point for broader work on heritage conservation within South Asian immigrant groups.

Introduction

In 1899, the first known South Asians arrived in San Francisco. Consisting of four Punjabi men of the Sikh faith, this was the first documentation of South Asian, and specifically Punjabis, in California.[1] The fertile land of northern and central California would continue to draw Punjabi immigrants throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century. Yuba County and Sutter County would become one of the top destinations for Punjabis immigrating to California and seeking agricultural work. Today, between 15,000 and 18,000 individuals of Punjabi descent reside in the Yuba and Sutter County area.[2] However, the urban fabric of this region does not resemble other South Asian communities or commercial corridors seen across the nation with collections of shops, markets, or restaurants.[3] This makes the Yuba-Sutter area an unique heritage conservation case study given that it has one of the largest known concentrations of Punjabis in the nation, yet their presence in the built landscape is primarily though intangible and vernacular cultural resources.

Whether it is through intangible avenues such as Punjabi classes offered at the local high school or more tangible avenues such as the Yuba City Gurdwara on Tierra Buena Road, the Punjabi community of the greater Yuba County and Sutter County area are fully integrated into the social, economic, political, and religious spheres of this region. Analyzing the cultural resources associated with the Punjabi community of Yuba-Sutter also reveals how these forms of heritage are representative of the history of Punjabis immigrating into the Yuba-Sutter region as well as heritage practices in Punjab, India. The preliminary resources identified in this thesis reveal that although there are no pressing development threats in the Yuba-Sutter region, these resources in themselves have evolved over time. Given the rapid growth of the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community and South Asian immigrants in general in the second half of the twentieth century, the identification and documentation of the built heritage of this immigrant group is imperative at this point in time, simultaneously serving as an alternate tool for understanding South Asian American history.

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[1] "Sikhs Allowed to Land," *San Francisco Chronicle,* April 6, 1899, pg. 10, South Asians in North America Collection, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley.
[2] Nicole Ranganath, "Yuba City Area," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive,* accessed March 15, 2018, https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/places/destinations/yuba-city/.
[3] "Yuba City California: American Punjabi Sikhs," *American Communities,* (United States Department of State Bureau of International Information Program, April 2012), 4, accessed March 15, 2018, https://photos.state.gov/libraries/amgov/133183/english/P_AmericanCommunities_Punjabis_1_.pdf.

Chapter 1: The Journey to Yuba-Sutter (1899-1947)

Initial Development of the Yuba-Sutter Region: 1845-1852

Nestled in the agricultural heartland of northern California, the Yuba-Sutter area is located just over forty miles north of Sacramento. (Figure 1.1) From its beginning to present day, the region has remained a largely rural landscape characterized by its flat terrain, temperate climate, and bountiful water supply from the Feather River and Yuba River, the same characteristics that spurred the initial settlement of the area. Before Yuba City was founded, the Nisenan, also known as the Southern Maidu, were the initial inhabitants of the Yuba-Sutter region. They occupied this land for over 3,000 years, living in villages composed of semi-subterranean dwellings near the lower Feather River, the main body of water in Yuba City.[4]

Figure 1.1: Map showing location of Yuba City in comparison to Northern California region. Map created by author using Map Stack by Stamen, accessed April 10, 2017, (http://mapstack.stamen.com/).

Slowly, the first European settlers began to trickle into the region due to the topographical and environmental features that created the ideal circumstances for Yuba-Sutter to

[4] Julie Stark, Sharyl Simmons, David Rubiales, and Carol Withington, *Yuba City, Our Home Town* (Virginia Beach, VA: Donning Co. Publishers, 2008), 11.
This is the first comprehensive history written on Yuba City. The history of the city itself has only been discussed partly in the 1879 and 1924 county history books. This book was a collaboration between community members including curators, historians, and professors in honor of the centennial anniversary of the incorporation of Yuba City.

grow into the agricultural hub it is today. Among the first were David Cheever and Tallman Rolfe, the first store owners in Yuba City which they operated out of a tent. In 1849, William Armstrong and his wife arrived in the area. Armstrong would eventually build the first house in Yuba City which would serve as a lodge for travelers.[5] This initial informal settlement in Yuba City garnered the interest of early California settler John Sutter who had made broader land venture efforts in the Sacramento Valley.[6] On July 27, 1849 he purchased 640 acres for himself, Henry Cheever, Sam Brannan, and Pierson Reading. Shortly after, surveyor Joseph Ruth was hired to plan the official boundaries for the new development. By 1850, it had transformed into a city of mostly makeshift tents along the river that served as the town's stores, saloons, and even residences.[7] According to John Sutter, the name for Yuba City and Yuba County derived from the specific Native American tribe that inhabited the old rancheria and land on which Yuba City now sits. He expresses how this tribe was known as the "Yubu" and this prompted him to name the body of water near which they lived the "Yubu." Edward Cheever, Henry Cheever's brother, expands on how the pronunciation of "Yubu" changed to "Yuba" with the onset of European settlers, but how the original map of the site of present day Yuba City was labeled "Yubu City."[8]

By 1852 the development in Yuba City signaled the formation of a permanent population as seen by the construction of its first post office, market, hotel, and approximately twenty houses. During the onset of the gold rush, Yuba City was not suited to become a prime mining location since the mines were not easily accessible from this side of the Feather River. Instead, its neighboring city Marysville, just five miles northwest and on the other side of the Feather River, would become a premiere destination for those seeking to make a living working in the goldfields.[9] Founded in 1850, Marysville's proximity to the goldmines, its location at the junction of Feather and Yuba River, and its pleasant climate similar to Yuba City made it a desirable location.[10] Marysville would also develop an agricultural base similar to Yuba City.[11]

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[5] Stark et al, *Yuba City Our Home Town,* 16-17.
[6] Russel Fred Hurley, *The Migratory Worker: A Survey of Marysville Federal Migratory Camp and the "Pear Orchard" Squatter Camp, Yuba City*, PhD diss., 1939 (University of Southern California), 53.
[7] Stark et al, *Yuba City Our Home Town,* 17
[8] Stark et al, *Yuba City Our Home Town,* 18.
[9] Stark et al., *Yuba City, Our Home* Town, 17; Craig S. Piper, *New Deal Migratory Labor Camps in California, 1935-1942: Three Case Studies*, PhD diss., 1999 (Mississippi State University), 146.
[10] Peter J. Delay, *History of Yuba and Sutter Counties, California*: *with biographical sketches of the leading men and women of the counties who have been identified with their growth and development from the early days to the present* (Los Angeles, CAL Historic Record Co., 1924), accessed March 2, 2017, https://archive.org/details/historyofyubasut00dela, 134-135.

Known as the twin cities, Marysville and Yuba City would develop in a manner that would complement one another's economies. While Yuba City centered around agriculture, Marysville provided more commercial and retail services than Yuba City at first, developing into a denser and less rural town than Yuba City. In 1850, Yuba City experienced many of its merchants and business men moving to Marysville who felt that Marysville would end up being the only prosperous city in Yuba-Sutter area at the time.[12] Demographic wise, the gold rush drew in primarily Chinese immigrants to Marysville while Japanese, Punjabis, Mexicans, and Midwesterners fleeing the Dust Bowl found work in the orchards in Yuba City.[13] Many of the Chinese immigrants coming to the Yuba-Sutter area would start various businesses in Marysville including restaurants, laundries, and grocery stores.[14] For the majority of the pre-1947 period, Yuba City would remain primarily agricultural and immigrants, such as Punjabis, would work in the fields of Yuba City while traveling to Marysville for their shopping needs.[15]

Agriculture in Yuba-Sutter Pre-1947

Since Yuba City began, agriculture has always been the backbone of its economy. By the end of the nineteenth century, the town quickly filled with orchards, packinghouses, and canneries where local farmers produced, harvested, and packed a variety of crops and fruits. Among the main products were wheat, peaches, apricots, plums, cherries, almonds, and livestock. Advancement in irrigation technology led to a shift from the agricultural production of large crops such as wheat to fruit. The city became known nationwide for certain products, specifically peaches. By the 1930s, Yuba City was marketing itself as "The Peach Bowl of the World."[16] Specifically, the golden clingstone peaches would become the specialty crop of Yuba, Sutter, and Butte counties. By 1960, there would be over 18,000 acres of peach orchards in the Yuba-Sutter area and peach harvesting would be the highest contributor to Yuba-Sutter's economy.[17] Yuba City's flat terrain, bountiful water supply from the Feather River and greater Sacramento Valley, and its temperate climate created the ideal circumstances for it to grow into

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[11] Piper, *New Deal Migratory Labor Camps in California,* 146.
[12] "Recall History of Live Oak and Its Growth Into a City: Oldest Resident Recounts Saga of Area from First House to Incorporation," *Appeal Democrat*, January 20, 1947, pg. 4.
[13] Julie Stark et al., *Yuba City, Our Town,* 26; Hurley, *The Migratory Worker,* 53.
[14] Hurley, *The Migratory Worker,* 54-55.
[15] Rajinder Tumber, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 4th, 2018.
[16] Julie Stark et al., *Yuba City, Our Town,* 24-26.
[17] "Cling Peach Production Pours Fortune Into Area," *Appeal-Democrat*, January 23, 1960, pg. E-10.

the agricultural region it is today. It would be Yuba City's success in the agricultural industry that would spur subsequent growth in transportation, technology, and commerce, and provide job opportunities, though mostly temporary or seasonal, for immigrants seeking work. (Figure 1.2)

Figure 1.2: Yuba City peach orchard, 1949. Photo courtesy of the Eastman (J.H.). Collection, University of California, Davis, General Library, Department of Special Collections, (https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/13030/tf5b69n90w/).

These transient workers were often unskilled and uneducated workers that sought work in industries such as agriculture that depended on cheap, manual labor.[18] Often times, the life cycle and process for producing certain crops and fruits made it so local labor populations did not suffice and a surplus labor pool was needed. For instance, harvesting peaches, one of the largest industries in Yuba-Sutter, could require as many as 2,000 people during peak season.[19] Annually, the peach harvesting industry provided over 15,000 jobs in the orchards, canneries, and the delivery/transportation process.[20] As Yuba-Sutter's farming endeavors continued to grow, the region drew in waves of immigrants, often unskilled laborers. A 1939 study of the migratory

[18] Hurley, *The Migratory Worker,* 6.
[19] Hurley, *The Migratory Worker,* 12.
[20] "Cling Peach Production Pours Fortune Into Area" in *Appeal-Democrat*, January 23, 1960, pg. E-10.

camps in Yuba-Sutter noted that the area attracted Punjabi immigrants seeking work in places such as the rice fields or peach orchards.[21]

The First Punjabi Immigrants in Yuba-Sutter

To many, Yuba City felt similar to Punjab due to its rural, agricultural landscape, and climate. It was not a dense city filled with numerous buildings and bustling traffic, but rather endless acres of orchards and farms. Looking to a creative literary source, a book of poems written about Yuba City provides an alternate perspective on the emotions and attachment immigrants felt to the town. A poem titled "Founding Yuba City" describes an immigrant's initial reactions upon encountering the Yuba-Sutter area and the sense of relief he felt upon finding it. It states, "…The sudden edge of an eucalyptus grove, the land fallow and gold to the eye, a wind carrying the forgotten green smell of the Punjab plains."[22] Given that many immigrants left home and returned after many years or never returned, the nostalgic effects they felt in Yuba City seemed to draw the South Asian immigrants to the town and compelled them to stay. It was with this backdrop of a familiar climate and terrain that Yuba-Sutter would draw in the first Punjabis in the pre-1947 era. They were able to reformulate new lives and new identities that merged practices from back home in Punjab with the circumstances they faced in this new city.[23]

Between 1899 and 1914, approximately 6,000 South Asians immigrated to the western portion of the U.S. About 85% of these immigrants were Punjabis.[24] (Figure 1.3) Historic census data reveals the omission of South Asians and Punjabis from early census records until approximately the 1930s and 1940s. The census data also reveals that virtually no Punjabi women immigrated to the United States, either individually or with their husbands.[25] One of the first known Punjabi immigrants to Yuba City during the pre-1947 era was Thakkar "Tuly" Singh Johl. Initially arriving in Canada, he traveled to Bellingham, Washington where he worked at a

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[21] Hurley, *The Migratory Worker,* 53-54.
[22] Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni, "Founding of Yuba City," in *Leaving Yuba City: Poems* (New York: Anchor Books, 1997), 98.
[23] Karen Isaksen Leonard, "Finding One's Own Place: Asian Landscapes Re-visioned in Rural California," *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, ed. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1977), 118; 121.
[24] Karen Isaksen Leonard, *The South Asian Americans* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1997). 42.
[25] Exception to this is Puna Singh and Nand Kaur. They were the first known nuclear family to immigrate Yuba City and Nand Kaur was the first known Punjabi woman in Yuba City. More details are discussed later in this chapter.

lumber mill. Fearing for his safety, he left Bellingham shortly after the Bellingham Riots on September 4, 1907 for Oroville in Northern California to work on the railroad.[26] The thirteenth census of the United States conducted in 1910 reveals six Punjabi men residing in Yuba City. It is clear that the census data from this time is not complete based on oral histories and interviews. For instance, it is known that Tuly Singh Johl had settled in Yuba City by 1907 but he is not listed in the 1910 census.[27] From these specific instances, it can be extrapolated that there were additional Punjabi immigrants in Yuba-Sutter at the time, living outside of the public eye, like many early immigrants in the United States that feared tightening immigration laws and an atmosphere of racial tension.

Figure 1.3: Sikh group, 1910. Photo courtesy of the California History Room. California State Library, Sacramento, California.

[26] Elliott Robert Barkan, *From All Points: Americas Immigrant West*, 1870s-1952 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 165; Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5th, 2018; Nicole Ranganath, "Journey to the US and Early Years in California," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed October 4, 2017, http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/pioneers/tully-singh-johl/.
More information and details regarding Tuly Singh Johl's experience in Yuba City and the Johl family is discussed in Chapter 3.

[27] Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910--Population*, accessed October 10, 2017, https://www.ancestry.com/; Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5th, 2018.
For the purposes of this research, the surname Singh was searched given it was the most common last names for Punjabi men.

There is strong indication of a lack of complete census data primarily in the pre-1947 period based on the knowledge of small quantities of Punjabi men living in Yuba-Sutter such as Tuly Singh Johl and the men he immigrated with that were not listed in the early census records or directories.[28] The table below is a broad compilation of the number of South Asians recorded in California from 1900 to 1940. The term "Indian" referred to native born Native-Americans while South Asians were recorded under the label "Hindu" beginning in the 1930s. The table below represents the number of South Asians recorded in California from 1900 to 1940. South Asians were not recorded in the individual statistics for Yuba and Sutter county, but instead California as a whole. The decrease in population from 1930 to 1940 is likely due to changes in immigration laws.

Census Data: 1900-1940	
Year	**South Asians in California**
1900	263
1910	Not recorded
1920	Not recorded
1930	1,873
1940	1,376

Table 1.1: Census data of South Asian immigrants in California from 1900-1940. Table created by author based on the Twelfth (1900), Thirteenth (1910), Fourteenth (1920), Fifteenth (1930), and Sixteenth (1940) Census of the United States, (https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html).

Pre-1947 Legislation and the Development of the Punjabi Community in Yuba-Sutter

The beginnings of the Punjabi community speak to the broader historical trends of westward migration in the first half of the twentieth century. South Asian immigrants traveled from Canada, the Pacific Northwest, etc., contributing to the trend of westward expansion and the search for land, jobs, and economic success. South Asian immigrants were among the diverse array of transient workers that navigated their way around the west, attempting to rebuild a new life with the obstacles of immigration legislation, racial tension, marriage, and property disputes.

[28] Information on the early presence of Tuly Singh Johl and the men he traveled with drawn from interviews corroborated by research conducted and compiled by Dr. Nicole Ranganath.

As an essentially disposable and replaceable source of labor, early South Asian immigrants dealt with the contradictions of creating their own community and social relations while living outside of the public eye.[29] Furthermore, an analysis of South Asian immigration trends contextualizes the historical framework in which the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter developed, and the stark differences between an essentially Punjabi bachelor society in the pre-1947 and the reunification of nuclear Punjabi families after 1947 and how these historical patterns translate to the built environment through both tangible and intangible avenues.

The desire to avoid close association with government officials and the public eye stemmed from the tightening of immigration laws by 1920. The Immigration Act of 1917, also known as the "Asiatic Barred Zone" restricted Asian immigration. This resulted in Asian immigration becoming illegal and would remain this way until 1947.[30] (Figure 1.4) These laws changed the course of Punjabi immigration and how the story of the Punjabi experience in Yuba-Sutter would pan out in terms of land ownership, social networks, and intimate relationships. As stated by Nayan Shah, "Alien Land Laws were part of a broader effort to regulate intimate lives."[31]

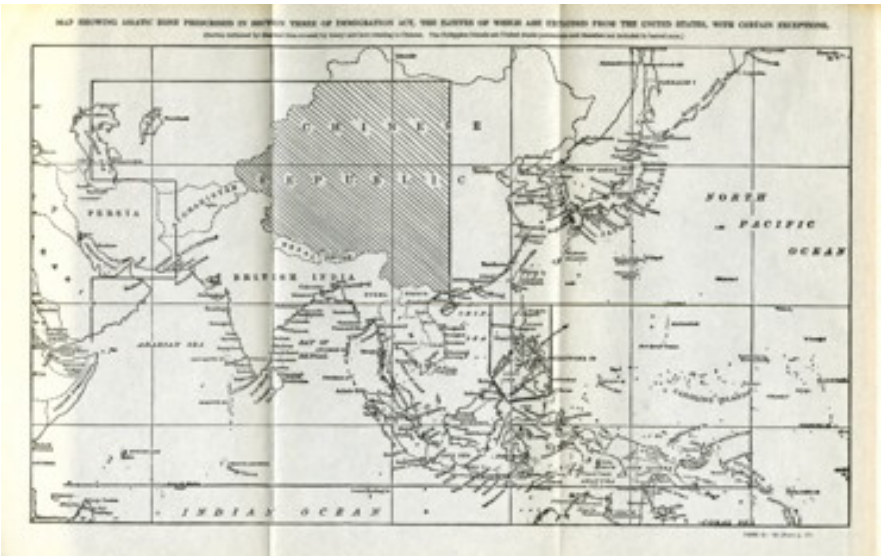

Figure 1.4: Map from Bill S. 237 Illustrating Asiatic Zone of Barred Citizenship (1945). Photo courtesy of SAADA, (https://www.saada.org/item/20120131-609).

[29] Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 1-2.
[30] Karen Leonard, "Finding One's Own Place: Asian Landscapes Re-visioned in Rural California," in *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, ed. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (Durham: Duke University Press, 1977); "Map from Bill S. 237 Illustrating Asiatic Zone of Barred Citizenship (1945)," *South Asian American Digital Archive*, accessed October 4, 2017, https://www.saada.org/item/20120131-609.
[31] Shah, *Stranger Intimacy,* 125.

Another major political and legal event that marked a turning point in the reversal of rights for Punjabi individuals already living in or seeking to come to United States was the 1923 Supreme Court decision in *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind*. Thind was born in Punjab and immigrated to the United States in 1913. He was drafted into the U.S. Army and discharged after serving for a few months.[32] Upon leaving the army, Thind applied for naturalization based on his argument that although he was Punjabi or known as "Hindu" at the time, South Asians were descendants of the Aryan race and technically Caucasian making them eligible for citizenship. The Supreme Court did not support this argument and stated that although Punjabis or South Asians were technically "Caucasian" based on scientific terms, South Asians did not fit the colloquial definition of what Caucasian meant, essentially being white.[33]

United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind was the most significant litigation case involving South Asians fighting for citizenship rights and it had a lasting impact on how Punjabi immigrants were perceived in the United States. The Supreme Court's decision made it clear that regardless of how the language regarding citizenship laws could be interpreted, they were meant to be a mechanism to prevent unwanted immigration of not just South Asians, but countless other immigrant groups. This major decision only solidified and emphasized the inherent racial inferiority encoded in these laws and that South Asian immigrants were not welcome in the United States, or places such as Yuba-Sutter. More importantly, it resulted in many South Asians that were naturalized having their citizenship revoked and invalidated.[34] The effects of The Immigration Act of 1917 were amplified by the Bhagat Singh Thind decision, resulting in the disenfranchisement of many Punjabis in the Yuba-Sutter area and beyond.

In addition to the repercussions regarding citizenship that stemmed from the Bhagat Singh case, it also resulted in the 1913 Alien Land Law becoming applicable to South Asians.[35] Before 1923, Punjabis were buying land in areas such as Yuba-Sutter. For a number of years, Punjabis had begun buying small parcels of land with the wages they have saved while simultaneously working for white farmers. Many of them used the same networks that they had formed working in the orchards to form partnerships to buy property, lease land, and buy

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[32] "Hindus Too Brunette to Vote Here," *The Literary Digest*, March 10, 1923, https://www.saada.org/item/20101210-148.
[33] "Hindus Too Brunette to Vote Here," *The Literary Digest*.
[34] Nicole Ranganath, "1923-1945: Hard Times," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed October 12, 2017, http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/eras/1923-1945/.
[35] Karen Leonard, "Punjabi Famers and California's Alien Land Law," *Agricultural History,* Vol. 59, No. 4 (1985), 549, accessed October 12, 2017, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3743757.

farming equipment.[36] At this time, a shift in the mentality of Punjabi immigrants from seeking temporary residence to the desire to permanently settle in the U.S. became clear. The initial motivation for the earliest immigrants was to make enough money from the agricultural and industrial workforce and return home to Punjab to be with their families.[37] However, given the increased desire to own land, build a home, and the subsequent battles for citizenship that would ensue, Punjabi immigrants began to think of the Yuba-Sutter area as a place they could call their new home.

Several newspaper articles from the 1920s demonstrate the controversy surrounding Punjabi immigrants that owned land both before and after the immigration restrictions following 1923. On June 18, 1920, an article detailing the sale of land to a "Hindu" in Yuba City is described and calls for a calculation of how much land is being sold to these "aliens" in the Yuba-Sutter area illegally.[38] Just two years later in 1922, a lawsuit was filed against Munshi Singh in Yuba City, a Punjabi immigrant, who was said to have bought twenty acres of land in 1920. The article goes on to state that Singh did not have the right to own property since he was not eligible for citizenship.[39]

The Carter Singh case in Tierra Buena in Sutter County demonstrates the extreme nature of the accusations made against South Asian immigrants that began accumulating economic success. Singh, like many Punjabi immigrants, made his success in the agriculture industry and eventually owned land in Tierra Buena, making his first purchase in 1913, expanding his land in 1916, and eventually creating a ranch where he cultivated grapes in 1922.[40]

Among the laborers Singh hired to work on his ranch were Manfred Watson and his family, who initially lived in a tent and eventually moved into the house. What appeared to be a cordial and professional working relationship took an unexpected turn when on December 13, 1922 Manfred Watson filed a complaint that Singh had sexually assaulted his son Lloyd Watson. A visit to the doctor revealed no evidence of sexual assault but what appeared to be an intestinal infection of pinworms. Watson's claim that the crime occurred in the room that held the

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[36] Bruce La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California: A Socio-historical Study*, PhD diss., Syracuse University, 1980, 21.
[37] "Amelia Singh Netervala Oral History Interview -- Part 1," interview by Randa Cardwell, *SAADA*, March 2, 2015, accessed October 11, 2017, https://www.saada.org/item/20160802-4582.
[38] "Little Sutter Land is Sold to Asiatics," *The Sacramento Union*, June 19, 1920.
[39] "Alien Land Law to Be Invoked Against Yuba City Hindu Landowner," *The Sacramento Union*, November 10, 1922.
[40] Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 113-114.

evaporator where temperatures reach unbearable height also did not seem plausible.[41] Eventually, it was revealed that Singh and Watson had a dispute over wages owed to Watson, who subsequently threatened to imprison Singh.[42]

Despite the uncertainty surrounding whether Singh had sexually assaulted Lloyd Watson, he was convicted and went on to appeal to the Supreme Court. During his trial, he lost his land, money, and assets to those that had invested in or helped facilitate his ranch.[43] This case demonstrates the complicated manner in which economic mobility, land ownership, sexuality, gender, and race operated in transient communities in the west, in this case Yuba-Sutter Watson exerted his power as a white, male to attempt to extort Singh, a South Asian immigrant who had achieved substantial success during a time when South Asians were not accepted as part of mainstream society. From the perspective of the built environment, it reveals the hidden, untold stories that took place in the ranches and labor camps of places such as Yuba-Sutter, where transient immigrant males came into contact through professional and social relationships.

By 1923, the Sutter County District Attorney announced the decision that South Asians that owned land in the Yuba-Sutter region would be sued.[44] These instances indicate a major shift in the Punjabi immigrant experience that began occurring close to 1923. Not only were their citizenship rights and the right to freely immigrate taken away, many were stripped of the land and property they had bought with the money they earned working in the fields. For many, they were back to square one in terms of achieving economic stability in an unfamiliar country.

Many immigrants found strategies to work around the strict immigration and property laws. Those that were unmarried often put the property in the name of American farmers or landowners they felt they could trust. Unfortunately, this often resulted in lawsuits occurring between the two parties.[45] The experience of Tuly Singh Johl illustrates these struggles over citizenship and property rights. Tuly's journey in Yuba City began in 1907, and although he had worked consistently at Eager Farm before and after his return to India, the immigration laws in place made it so he was not able to truly settle down in Yuba City until approximately the 1950s. Although one of the most prominent families in Yuba City today, his family could not join him

[41] Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 116.
[42] Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 117.
[43] Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 118-119.
[44] Leonard, "Punjabi Farmers and California's Alien Land Law," 550.
[45] Allen P. Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 1950, MS, South/Southeast Asia Library, University of California, Berkeley, 26-27.

until 1958.[46] Despite the obstacles immigrants such as Tuly faced for decades with no promises that the laws would change, these workers chose to stay in the Yuba-Sutter area and continued living as agricultural workers.

Punjabi Marriages, Families, and Kinship Networks in Pre-1947 Yuba-Sutter

The institution of marriage played an important role in the life of Punjabis back home in India and once they began to immigrate to the U.S. Before 1947, there were only Punjabi men immigrating and virtually no women. Married men left their families behind in Punjab while unmarried men were unable to travel back to India to get married due to the tightening of immigration laws. It became very risky to leave with no guarantee of being able to return to the U.S. so Punjabi men stayed put in places such as the Yuba-Sutter area and out of the public mainstream. This created circumstances prompting Punjabi immigrants to find alternative techniques, mechanisms, and loopholes for marriage just as they did for immigration and land ownership. The majority of the marriage certificates from the Yuba-Sutter area show immigrant Punjabi men married Mexican women, European women, and Native American women.[47] Even then, anti-miscegenation laws served as a barrier for Punjabi immigrants seeking to marry outside their race. Although the various statutes in California didn't specifically address marriage restrictions for South Asians, the atmosphere regarding immigration, land ownership, and the desire to "protect" white women from immigrants made it difficult for some men to marry even Mexican women, especially after the decision of the Bhagat Singh Thind case.[48]

Mexican-Punjabi marriages further reveal how the intersections between immigration patterns and economic opportunity brought immigrants of various ethnic backgrounds into the same sphere. With Mexican women fleeing the Mexican Revolution and arriving in the borderlands of the west in places such as Arizona, Southern California, and Texas and the stream of South Asian men immigrating to places such as the Imperial Valley, their paths crossed in

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[46] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018; Nicole Ranganath, "Return to the US," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed October 12, 2017, https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/pioneers/tully-singh-johl/.
More information and details on Tuly Singh Johl's experience in Yuba City and the Johl family is discussed in Chapter 3.

[47] Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 50.
For more information on Punjabi-Mexican marriages see Karen Isaksen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans,* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).

[48] La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California,* 153-154.

economic and social aspects.[49] The borderlands reveal further interesting historical avenues that shed light on both South Asian and Mexican experiences in the west, and how the tight regulation of marriage, land, naturalization, culminated in the phenomenon of Mexican-Punjabi marriages during the early twentieth century.

By 1910, there were an estimated 1,500 Punjabi men in California and no women, with one exception. Nand Kaur is one of the first known Punjabi women in California. She immigrated with her husband Puna Singh and settled in Yuba City, where they were not only the first family in the area that had immigrated together, but she was also the first Punjabi woman in Yuba City.[50] A documentary made in 1985 called *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City* traces the development of a prominent Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter while focusing on Nand Kaur's story as the main focal point. Kaur expresses the extreme loneliness and isolation she experienced upon arriving in Yuba City, causing her to initially dislike her new home. She describes Yuba City as a "sweet jail" meaning it felt as if she was trapped but there was a certain familiarity and atmosphere in the town that eventually drew her in.[51]

Nand Kaur's experience in Yuba City offers a perspective that is largely missing from the story of the South Asian immigrant experience, especially during the pre-1947 era. Unlike the men, these women often did not work in the orchards or fields and were expected to take care of the house and family. In addition, it sheds light on the experience of Punjabi immigrants that lived in settled homes rather than living as transient workers in labor camps. The concept of a "home" for these migrants really only applied to married immigrants with families rather than unmarried bachelors who typically lived in communal residences.[52] For Nand Kaur, it was a lonely beginning in Yuba City despite having her husband and children with her, showing how the lack of familial and social networks had a direct effect on one's experience in places such as the Yuba-Sutter.

On the on the other hand, Puna Singh, Nand Kaur's husband, shared a sentiment for Yuba City similar to other early Punjabi men that had immigrated to the area. Singh stated when asked his initial thoughts of Yuba City, "On arriving in the Sacramento Valley, one could not help but be reminded of the Punjab. Fertile fields stretched across the flat valley to the foothills living far

[49] Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 156.
[50] Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 50.
[51] *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City*, dir. Beheroze F. Shroff (United States), 1985.
[52] Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 66.

in the distance. Most of the jobs were agricultural and I found many Punjabis already working…"[53] In contrast to his wife Nand Kaur, Puna Singh was able to build social networks through his work in the agricultural industry. The documentary goes on to show how Nand Kaur became a source and helping hand to many women that later immigrated to Yuba City with their husbands, especially after 1947 when immigration laws changed. Puna Singh and Nand Kaur's children and grandchildren are interviewed throughout the documentary speaking about their careers, studies, and relationships, showing how individuals like Puna Singh and Nand Kaur are representative of how the nuclear family was virtually non-existent during the pre-1947 era in Yuba-Sutter for Punjabi immigrants settling in the area. The ability of Punjabi families to immigrate in flux after 1947 would mark a significant shift in the development of the Punjabi community in Yuba City.

[53] Leonard, "Finding One's Own Place: Asian Landscapes Re-visioned in Rural California," 125.

Chapter 2: The Post-1947 Punjabi Community in Yuba-Sutter

Luce-Cellar Bill, 1946

The post-war period brought significant changes in immigration legislation and global politics that had a profound effect on not just the development of the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter, but South Asian communities across the United States. These changes would help eliminate the barriers many South Asians faced through the early twentieth century. The first major turning point for Punjabi immigrants was the passage of the Luce-Cellar bill in 1946. This legislation established a quota for South Asian immigration, allowing for 100 immigrants from India each year.[54] Although South Asians were not able to immigrate en masse, the Luce-Cellar bill represented a significant milestone for South Asians. However, this bill was a double-edged sword in that it allowed South Asians to come to the United States legally after three decades, but within the limits of the quota.[55] Research conducted by Dr. Bruce La Brack found that a total of 5,134 South Asians immigrated during the era of the Luce-Cellar Bill from 1948-1965. The Yuba-Sutter area had a South Asian population of approximately 350 in 1948 and approximately 750 by 1965, the majority of which were Punjabis. Even with the Luce-Cellar Bill in place, large-scale changes in terms of an increase in Punjabi immigrants in California and specifically Yuba-Sutter would not be seen until the 1960s. However, it is important to note that a large portion of the numbers generated for South Asian and Punjabi populations by government agencies at this time were substantially low, accounting for up to only half of the individuals present. These numbers would not become more accurate until the 1950s.

Independence of India and Partition, 1947

Many early Punjabi immigrants, specifically immigrants working as agricultural or industrial laborers in the U.S., actively engaged in advocating for the freedom of India from the British by joining the Ghadar Party. Founded in 1913 in Oregon by Har Dayal, the Ghadar Party was a political organization that sought to overthrow British colonial rule in India.[56] The Ghadar Party drew support from South Asian, mostly Punjabi, agricultural workers in the U.S. and

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[54] Leonard, *The South Asian Americans*, 67.
[55] The majority of the information in this chapter is drawn from the dissertation by Bruce La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California: A Socio-historical Study*. PhD diss., Syracuse University, 1980 unless otherwise noted by a footnote.
[56] Seema Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny: Race, Surveillance, and Indian Anticolonialism in North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 57.

Canada based on their shared frustrations of the discriminatory and exploitive practices they encountered as laborers. Just a year into its organization, the Ghadar Party had already attracted thousands of South Asian immigrants to their cause.[57]An issue from the Sutter Historical Society details the activities of the Ghadar Party in California. The author of the issue, Balwant Singh Brar, describes how the headquarters of the group is located in San Francisco where they published their monthly paper.[58] San Francisco was a strategic location given its proximity to the agricultural fields in the Sacramento and Central valleys of California, providing easy access for the Punjabi immigrants that worked in these fields.[59] With their revolutionary message in hand, the Ghadar Party leaders traveled along the Pacific Coast and even Canada to inform South Asians in the U.S. of their mission. Many immigrants traveled back to India to do undercover work on behalf of the Ghadar Party. This often resulted in arrests or even physical punishment.[60]

Punjabi immigrants in Yuba-Sutter, like virtually all South Asian immigrants in the U.S., were politically and emotionally engaged in the fight for Indian independence through participation in the Ghadar Party as well. *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City* describes the involvement of Punjabi immigrants in Yuba-Sutter in the Ghadar Party through the lens of Puna Singh and Nand Kaur's life. The couple would attend the party's meetings and anticipated the papers and readings the Ghadar Party would release. A clip of the documentary depicts Nand Kaur singing a song dedicated to the Ghadar Party's cause. These songs, written and sung in Punjabi, were another component of the party's strategies for spreading the word of their movement. Their literature, songs, and meetings cultivated a feeling of unity for their members not just in Yuba-Sutter and California, but across the U.S. and Canada.[61]

Ten months after the passage of the Luce-Cellar Bill, India officially gained Independence from the British in August of 1947. However, the dissolution of the British regime occurred through the partition of India and creation of Pakistan. Although occurring in the context of global events, this had an effect on immigration and sentiments regarding the

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[57] Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny*, 10; 45; 55.
[58] Balwant Singh Brar, "East Indians of Sutter County," *Sutter County Historical Society News Bulletin*, XVII, no. 2 (April 1978),16-19.
[59] Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny*, 57.
[60] Brar, "East Indians of Sutter County, *Sutter Historical Society Bulletin*, 16-19.
[61] *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City,* 1985; Brar, "East Indians of Sutter County," 16-19; Nicole Ranganath, "Puna Singh and Nand Kaur," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed October 17, 2017, http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/pioneers/puna-singh-and-nand-kaur/.

homeland for those that had immigrated to the U.S.[62] It was on June 3, 1947 that the official announcement of partition was made in India. Although achieving freedom from the British was a significant moment for India, partition would remain as much if not more of a watershed moment for India during its postcolonial era.[63] The new boundaries would be drawn specifically in Punjab, marking the new nation-state of Pakistan to the West and the nation-state of India to the East. (Figure 2.1) This division was made based on both religious and political decisions. Although the aim was to draw the new boundary to retain areas with significant concentrations of Muslims in Pakistan and Hindus and Sikhs in India, what occurred in reality was a mass migration and many suddenly found themselves to be refugees overnight in a divided homeland.[64]

Figure 2.1: Map depicting the partition of the Punjab with Pakistan to the west and India to the east. Photo courtesy of the UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive, (https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/places/origins/punjab/).

For immigrants in the United States, independence resulted in a boost in their morale and feelings of exoneration. Not only had the prospect of citizenship for Punjabis and South Asians

[62] Leonard, *The South Asian Americans*, 67.
[63] Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 1.
[64] Khan, *The Great Partition,* 1; 4-5.

been renewed with the Luce-Cellar Bill, the idea of being free rather than subjects of British colonial rule further increased positive sentiments in Punjabis who had faced discriminatory laws in both India and the United States. Unfortunately, this freedom did not come without a cost. Despite the creation of what appeared to be a free and united India, many also felt the sentiment of division and displacement due to partition, especially men that had immigrated from India to the United States when their homeland was still under colonial rule.[65] For many, their family members in Punjab were displaced from their homes as a result of partition. Muslim Punjabis were moved to Pakistan while Sikh and Hindu Punjabis moved to Punjab, India. Approximately, twelve million Punjabis were displaced during this forced migration.[66] However, the quota established by the Luce-Cellar Bill and the recognition of India as a free country did catalyze the process for families that had been separated for decades to reunite with early Punjabi immigrants already settled in the United States.[67]

Hart-Cellar Bill, 1965

The next major change for immigration legislation affecting South Asians would not occur until the passage of the 1965 Hart-Cellar Bill. Also known as the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1965, this legislation lifted the previous quota imposed on South Asian immigration. Now, South Asians, including Punjabis, were admitted primarily for the purpose of family reunification.[68] Immigrants with advanced educational or professional backgrounds were also given priority.[69] Often times, those immigrating based on family reunification did not have the same professional backgrounds as immigrants arriving based on their educational or employment qualifications. This resulted in a pool of South Asian immigrants that was composed of individuals with great socio-economic differences after the 1965 Hart-Cellar Bill in comparison to pre-1947 immigrants.[70]

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[65] Joan M. Jensen, *Passage from India: Asian Indian Immigrants in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 279.
[66] Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices From the Partition of India* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2003), 3.
[67] Jensen, *Passage from India,* 280.
[68] Diditi Mitra, *Punjabi Immigrant Mobility in the United States: Adaptation Through Race and Class* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 32.
[69] Jensen, *Passage from India,* 280.
[70] Mitra, *Punjabi Immigrant Mobility in the United States*, 19.

Nonetheless, the Hart-Cellar Bill was the most prominent legislation that shaped South Asian communities in the United States into their present-day conditions. Between 1966 and 1975, more than 8,000 individuals from India immigrated as a result of this bill. This had a profound effect on South Asian immigrant communities in California in particular, given that early immigrants had already been working in agricultural communities to build a new life.[71] The Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter was one such group that began to flourish. With a solid population base and a growing proportion of nuclear families, a concentrated community of Punjabis began to develop, leading to subsequent developments in the economic, religious, and social sectors of Yuba-Sutter. The fieldwork conducted by Dr. Bruce La Brack in Yuba-Sutter from 1974-1975 estimated there were between 3,800 and 4,000 Punjabis in the Yuba-Sutter area based on public documents and records. Despite the difficulties calculating exact population estimates for the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter, it is known that the population grew to at least five times its original size by 1975, and that the presence of a localized Punjabi community began to differentiate the Yuba-Sutter area from other agricultural and rural cities.

Economic, Social, and Religious Life in the Post-1947 Punjabi Community

According to Dr. Bruce La Brack, after 1950, Yuba-Sutter would become, "the center of Sikh agriculture." The abundance of agricultural work in Yuba-Sutter was the primary reason Punjabi immigrants were drawn to the area before 1965, and it would remain the main factor for the more recent and larger immigrant waves. The orchards, ranches, and farms were sites that formed a crucial foundation for older and newer Punjabi immigrants that sought to rebuild their lives from the ground up in this new area. Not only were Punjabis familiar with working in the orchards due to the agricultural nature of Punjab, the orchards afforded immigrants opportunities for financial mobility. Many Punjabi immigrants could reliably secure jobs as laborers in the orchards almost instantly upon arriving to Yuba-Sutter. Eventually, many were able to work their way up from being a laborer to purchasing their own land. As more Punjabis progressed from working on farms to owning and operating their own orchards, they began to build their homes adjacent to their land. Although groups of suburban neighborhoods emerged during this era, many chose to live next to or in the vicinity of their orchards. This pattern of arranging housing became prominent in the post Hart-Cellar era.

[71] Jensen, *Passage from India,* 281-282.

In addition to agriculture, recent Punjabi immigrants also began to engage in educational, political, and social spheres based on their professional backgrounds, contributing to the community building efforts of Yuba-Sutter. Hari Singh Everest immigrated to Yuba City following the Luce-Cellar bill of 1945. A writer and poet, Everest described his journey to Yuba-Sutter through a colorful description relating the small, northern California town to Punjab. He states in his story, "The water like the water in Punjab had the same urge to run forward. The distant hills had the same charm. The fire in Jawalmukhi and in Lassen Volcano has the same way to burn things. The Sikh Temple in Yuba City is much like any Gurdwara in Rupar."[72] The attention to Yuba-Sutter was similar to some of the first Punjabi immigrants to the area. However, he would contribute his skills in education and journalism, leaving his mark in the Yuba-Sutter community as a prominent post-1947 immigrant. Everest first immigrated to California in 1954 to pursue his Masters in Communications at Stanford. Facing discrimination due to the fact he wore a turban, Everest eventually made his way to Yuba-Sutter where he became the first teacher of South Asian descent in the area. He taught for over twenty years while simultaneously remaining active in local community affairs such as the Sutter County Juvenile Justice Commission and the efforts to create the Tierra Buena Gurdwara. Everest also continued to write – his work appeared in the local newspaper as well as publications and journals.[73]

After years of a combination of traveling to the Stockton Gurdwara and using labor camps or other makeshift buildings to conduct religious services, the growing Punjabi community needed their own house of worship. The creation of the Tierra Buena Gurdwara would mark another hallmark moment in the post-1947 era. The influx of Punjabi immigrants after the Hart-Cellar Bill and the subsequent reunification of families created a solidified Punjabi community, many being of the Sikh faith. It was not until these changes after 1965 that there would be the necessary economic and social base to build a local Gurdwara. Members of the community came together to create a temple committee, and once the land, design, and necessary funding were secured, construction began and the Gurdwara officially opened in December of 1970. The documentary, *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City* filmed primarily in 1981 and 1982 shows footage of the Tierra Buena Gurdwara roughly ten years after its opening. Large crowds

[72] Karen Leonard, "Finding One's Own Place: Asian Landscapes Re-visioned in Rural California," 125-126.
[73] Nicole Ranganath, "Hari Singh Everest, M.A.," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed November 5, 2017, http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/professionals/hari-singh-everest/.

of members sitting inside the temple listening to religious hymns being read from the Guru Granth Sahib can be seen, showing how this became the epicenter for conducting religious services in Yuba-Sutter for the Punjabi community. Nand Kaur and her family describe how it fulfilled more than just a religious purpose. It became a site of community building as seen by women cooking together and preparing food served in the Langar Hall, men gathered outside discussing politics, religion, and the community, and children playing the soccer fields outside of the Gurdwara. Kaur describes how in her own personal experience, she was able to socialize and form friendships with other women in the community by going to the Gurdwara.[74] The Nagar Kirtan, or annual Sikh procession, was created in 1980 as a direct effect of the opening of the Gurdwara.[75] The creation of the Gurdwara was a culmination of the successes achieved in the post-1947 era in terms of population growth, the agriculture industry, education, religion, and the overall creation of a thriving Punjabi community in the Yuba-Sutter area.

The Punjabi Community in Yuba-Sutter today

Today, Yuba-Sutter has a vibrant Punjabi community with a variety of education and social organizations that foster the heritage of the homeland through both tangible and intangible avenues such as language, religion, dance, and festivals. The Sikh Community Center offers a range of courses from yoga to Punjabi classes to even English classes for adults.[76] The Punjabi American Festival is an annual celebration showcasing bhangra, Punjabi artists, and food.[77] The Punjabi American Heritage Society is the leading organization in Yuba-Sutter that is responsible for the Sikh Community Center, the Punjabi American festival, and additional education and outreach programs.[78] Through these resources both the youth and older immigrants are able to engage with their heritage and create connections with other members of the Punjabi community.

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[74] *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City,* 1985.
[75] Nicole Ranganath, "Yuba City Gurdwara," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed November 5, 2017, http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/contributions/religion/tierra-buena-temple/.
The histories, descriptions, and significance of the Yuba City Gurdwara and Yuba City Nagar Kirtan procession are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 and 5.
[76] "Classes," *Sikh Community Center,* accessed July 7, 2018, http://sikhcommunitycenter.com/index.php/courses/.
[77] "Festivals," *Punjabi American Heritage Society,* accessed July 7, 2018, https://www.punjabiheritage.org/punjabi-american-festivals-past-melas/.
[78] "About Us," *Punjabi American Heritage Society,* accessed July 7, 2018, https://www.punjabiheritage.org/about-us/.

Chapter 3: Eager Orchards

Introduction

Orchards, ranches, and farms have not only served as the backbone and main source of sustenance for the Yuba-Sutter economy, they have also been the primary source of employment for Punjabi immigrants and have often led to more advanced jobs such as becoming foremen and eventually many of these immigrants owning their own agricultural land upon attaining financial stability. Researching through the Yuba County Library Local History Archives, which contain information on the Yuba-Sutter region and surrounding area, several reoccurring names of local families reveal who the primary operators of these ranches, farms, and orchards were. Newspaper articles, grant deeds, assessor maps, and oral histories piece together to provide evidence of this relationship between Punjabis and the initial operators of these agricultural lands.

Eager Orchards, also informally known as Eager Farm, is the earliest known agricultural operation in Yuba-Sutter that employed the first known Punjabi immigrants in the area in 1907. During this time, the land was operated by J.W. Eager, known as Bill Eager, on behalf of the Wilbur family.[79] In addition to Eager Orchards, he owned additional land in the Yuba-Sutter area and was a prominent agriculturalist in the Yuba-Sutter area throughout the early twentieth century as demonstrated by the newspaper articles describing his family's landholdings, operations, and business partnerships with other families involved in agriculture. Although official documentation is not readily available for this specific property, several newspaper articles, grant deeds, assessor maps, and interviews conducted by the author corroborated by research complied by Dr. Nicole Ranganath help piece together the story of this vernacular cultural landscape, the role Punjabi immigrants played in the cultivation of this land, and the subsequent opportunities it afforded them.[80]

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[79] "Final Decree of Partition," July 9, 1910, Book 41, pg. 527, Office of Sutter County Records.

[80] See the UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive curated by Dr. Nicole Ranganath, particularly the page on Tuly Singh Johl http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/pioneers/tully-singh-johl/ and agriculture http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/contributions/farming/ for foundational information that corroborates interviews and research conducted by author.

Description of Resource

Eager Orchards is located in Live Oak, just a few miles north of Yuba City. Today it can be reached by going north on Highway 99 and taking exit 344 for Eager Road. After turning left, Eager Road passes over Highway 99 and continues west. Eager Orchards was originally composed of approximately 350 acres. (Figure 3.1) The corner of Eager Road and Highway 99 is the beginning of Eager Orchards. Composed of seven parcels, Eager Orchards was located on both sides of Eager Road. To the south of Eager Road, the orchards were bound by Eager Road, Highway 99 to the east, Pease Road to the south, and Tierra Buena Road to the west. To the north of Eager Road, the orchards began where Larkin Road intersects with Eager Road. It continued west of Larkin Road going just past Marden Street and east of the intersection of Eager Road and Larkin Road back towards Highway 99. Eager Orchards appears to have ended at approximately where Sanders Road is today to the north of Eager Road.[81]At the end of Eager Road is the Live Oak Canal, and turning north is Larkin Road. The majority of the land along Larkin Road going to Live Oak Boulevard was part of Eager Orchards and managed by Mr. Eager according to Dr. Johl. Finally, the orchards Eager oversaw continued along Onstott Road, which now turns into Highway 99 and meets Pease Road.[82] (Figure 3.2)

[81] "Joint Tenancy Deed," October 27, 1943, Book 56, pgs. 296-298, Office of Sutter County Records; 1954 Assessor's Map, Book 10, pg. 26, Office of Sutter County Records; 2010 Assessor's Map, Book 10, pg. 26, Office of Sutter County Records; 2007 Assessor's Map, Book 10, page 21, Office of Sutter County Records.
This approximate boundary of Eager Orchards corroborates an interview conducted with Dr. Gulzar Johl, the son of Tuly Singh Johl. According to Dr. Johl, the land beginning at the corner where Eager Road and Highway 99 meet going west all the way to the end of Eager Road was part of Eager Orchards.
[82] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.

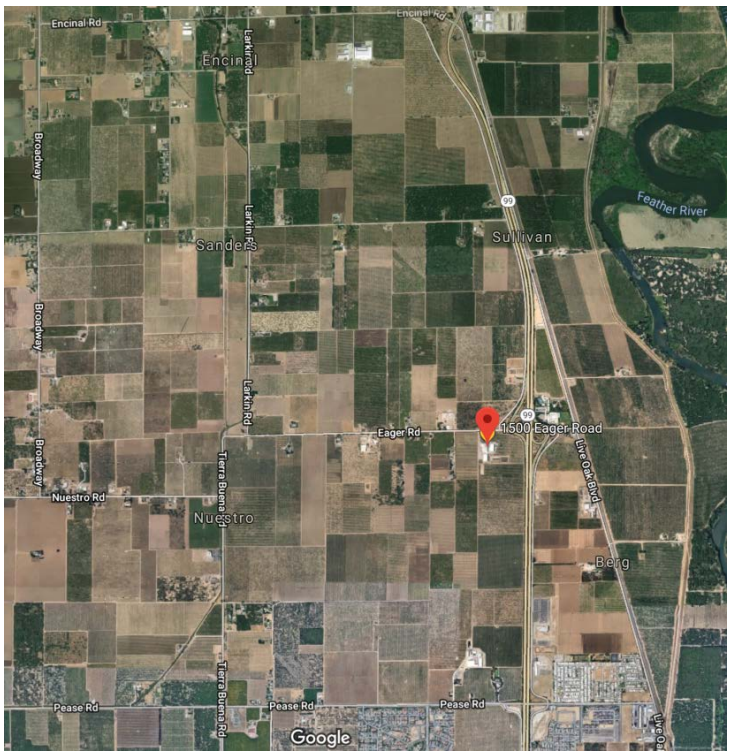


Figure 3.1: Eager Orchards and surrounding context, red pin is Wilbur Packing Company at 1500 Eager Road. Map source: Map data ©2018 Google).

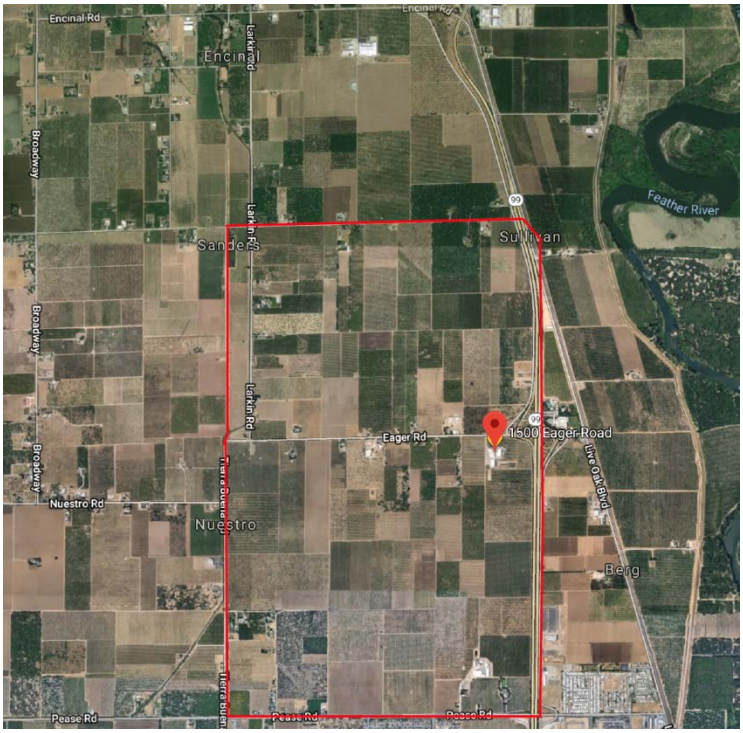


Figure 3.2: Eager Orchards approximate original boundary based off grant deeds, assessor maps, and interviews. Map adapted by author using ©2018 Google.

Eager Orchards was primarily composed of peach orchards, the staple and specialty of Yuba-Sutter's agricultural production. Prunes were also a major crop produced on Eager Farm. Dehydrators located on the farm were used to dry them and prepare them for sale. Eager Orchards would become known as one of the best peach orchards in the Yuba-Sutter area with its record production of twenty-four tons per acre by 1936.[83]

History

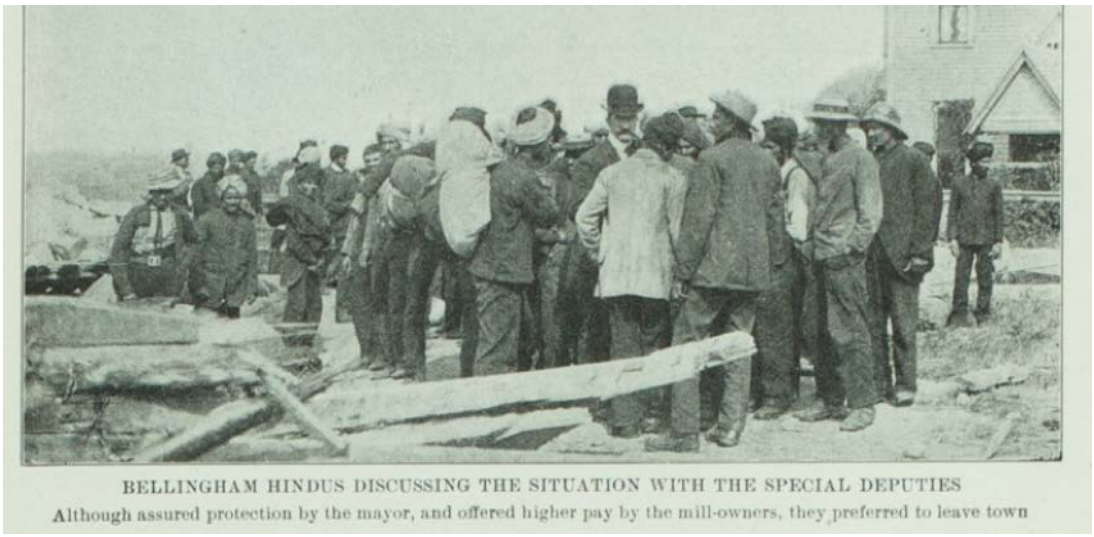
Tuly Singh Johl's story in the Yuba-Sutter region is inextricably linked to Eager Orchards and Bill Eager. Thakkar "Tuly" Singh Johl immigrated from Punjab, India to Vancouver, Canada. (Figure 3.3) He traveled with four other men that were from the same pindh (village) of Jundilia in the Jalandhar district. These four other men were Nand Singh Johl, Munshi Johl, Basant Singh Johl, and Puran Singh Johl.[84] He would continue to travel with these same men, eventually making their way from Canada to Bellingham, Washington in 1907 where they found work at a lumber mill. Tensions had already been developing prior to Tuly and the other's arrival between the Punjabi laborers and white laborers who began to resent Punjabi workers that would work extra hours and even on weekends. This often resulted in small altercations, either verbal or physical.[85] A newspaper article from September 1906 in Bellingham, Washington expressed that many "Hindu" migrants in Canada were leaving for North America due to tensions with white populations in the workforce. The article described the immigrants from India as a threat to the "industrial warfare of the white man," warning the public that cities such as Seattle and Portland would likely see an increase in Punjabi immigrants once policies in Canada restrict South Asian immigration.[86] In September 1906, white laborers had distributed a petition asking Punjabi workers at the Bellingham Bay Lumber Company to

[83] "F. Poole Takes Eager Orchard," *Appeal Democrat*, April 14, 1936, pg. 2; Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.
[84] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018; Nicole Ranganath, "Journey to the US and Early Years in California," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed November 5, 2017, http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/pioneers/tully-singh-johl/.
[85] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.
[86] "Have We a Dusky Peril? Hindu Hordes Invading the State," *Puget Sound American*, September 16, 1906, pg. 16, accessed October 10, 2017, https://www.saada.org/item/20111215-549.

remove their turbans.[87] These tensions eventually escalated to the white laborers threatening to burn the lumber mill down and on September 4, 1907, the Bellingham Riots took place in Washington. White laborers formed a mob that drove Punjabi immigrants that had been working in Bellingham out of town.[88] Tuly served as the spokesperson for the Punjabi laborers at the mill. After speaking with the owner, who did not want them to leave, they decided it was best to leave town anyways for their safety.[89] (Figure 3.4 and 3.5)

Figure 3.3: Tuly Singh Johl, 1962. Photo courtesy of the UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive, the Johl family and the Punjabi American Heritage Society, (https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/pioneers/tully-singh-johl/).

[87] "Hindus Scared by Plan to Oust Them," *Puget Sound American*, September 16, 1906, pg. 16, accessed October 4, 2017, https://www.saada.org/item/20111215-547.
[88] Elliott Robert Barkan, *From All Points: Americas Immigrant West, 1870-1952* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 165.
[89] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.



BELLINGHAM HINDUS DISCUSSING THE SITUATION WITH THE SPECIAL DEPUTIES

Although assured protection by the mayor, and offered higher pay by the mill-owners, they preferred to leave town

Figure 3.4: "Bellingham Hindus Discussing the Situations with the Special Deputies. Photo from Werter D. Dodd, "The Hindu in the Northwest," *World Today*, Vol. 3, 1907, pg. 1158. Courtesy of SAADA, (https://www.saada.org/item/20110714-238.

THE TWO HUNDRED HINDU PRISONERS

The room in which they were confined by the mob during the night

Figure 3.5: "The two hundred Hindu Prisoners." Photo from Werter D. Dodd, "The Hindu in the Northwest," *World Today*, Vol. 3, 1907, pg. 1160. Courtesy of SAADA, https://www.saada.org/item/20110714-238.

Like many immigrants at the time, Tuly and the men he originally traveled with found work on the railroad. They were recruited in Bellingham for the railroad construction happening in Oroville Canyon, approximately thirty miles north of Yuba City.[90] Tuly and the others found themselves in Northern California, in close proximity to the Yuba-Sutter region. Through their work in Oroville, they encountered Eager Orchards. Their foreman was traveling to Marysville and brought the men with him. As they were traveling through Yuba-Sutter, the men noticed peaches, prunes, and grapes and asked to be let off and picked up later that evening. Tuly and the men wandered along what would later become Eager Road where they had seen the fruit orchards that caught their attention. They encountered Bill Eager who asked the men if they were looking for work. Tuly served as the spokesperson and leader of the group, just as he had in Bellingham. He informed Bill Eager that they were currently working on the railroad in Oroville but would be looking for work once the railroad was completed. Bill Eager offered them employment once when they had finished working on the railroad, instructing them to return to Eager Orchards when their current work ended. Three of the men Tuly had traveled with went on to work in the grape fields in Fresno. [91]

Tuly and the others took Bill Eager up on the job offer and began working at Eager Orchards. While working in the orchards, they lived on site at a labor camp. The camp was located next to the house where Mr. Eager lived.[92] The camp housed approximately thirty people. These men, although relatives, formed close bonds and relationships with one another and began to regard one another as family. They labored together in the fields, ate together, lived together, and many traveled and worked together within the same network, like Tuly and the men he had traveled with from his village in India. Tuly and Munshi remained best friends from their early days in India for the remainder of their lives.[93]

After establishing himself at Eager Orchards and quickly becoming a foreman, Tuly was able to help other Punjabi immigrants that had just arrived in Yuba-Sutter get a job at Eager Orchards, creating a cycle of employment commonly seen with immigrant groups.[94] This

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[90] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.
[91] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.
[92] The exact location and address are not known since the house appears to no longer be extant, but according to Dr. Johl, the camp and house were located to the north of Eager Road. Dr. Nicole Ranganath the curator of the UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital archive appears to have footage of the camp when it was in a deteriorated state.
[93] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.
[94] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018; La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California,* 90.

assistance also extended to students studying at Yuba College or U.C. Berkeley. They would come to work at Eager Orchards over the summer and were provided with a place to stay in the labor camps free of charge. With a source of income, a roof over their heads, and food on the table, these students were able to save the bulk of the money they earned.[95] The manner in which the labor camp and communal living arrangements operated had both formal and informal aspects. For instance, the Punjabi laborers that lived there did not appear to have a time limit for the duration of their stay. The arrangements appeared to operate on a case by case basis. Certain individuals stayed three years while students only stayed during the summer.[96] The manner in which food and meals were prepared had a more systematic process behind it. The ingredients were bought in bulk, and daal (lentil beans) or chicken were served on an alternating basis. Tuly would keep track of the cost for the meals per day and divide the cost among the residents. The average price per day was 39 cents. However, newcomers were not typically charged since they were still adjusting.[97]

The obstacles that arose due to immigration restrictions and political turmoil in India are exemplified through Tuly's life in Yuba-Sutter and his time at Eager Orchards. By 1914, Tuly had to return to India primarily due to issues that arose from the Ghadar Party. Many Punjabi immigrants like Tuly were sending money back to their families in India. British restrictions on the Ghadar Party became a barrier for sending money back, causing Tuly to have no choice but return to India. Other immigrants went back to support the fight against British rule. At this time, virtually everyone considered themselves a member of the Ghadar Party and a proponent for ending British colonial rule of India. Upon returning to India, Tuly was arrested. After being bailed out he was placed under house arrest and monitored by the police. He was required to check in daily and he was prohibited from being out at night. These restrictions hindered his ability to work. Ten years would go by before Tuly would be able to return to the US. Around the end of 1923 or beginning of 1924, according to Dr. Johl, he established his residency in Bombay and obtained a passport. He eventually made his way to Mexico where he was able to enter the U.S. again, illegally. His son describes how guides near the U.S.-Mexico border were sought by Punjabi immigrants to help them get back into the U.S. When Tuly arrived in Mexico,

[95] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.
[96] In Tuly's case, he lived in the labor camp the majority of his time in Yuba-Sutter before reuniting with his family in the U.S. following changes in immigration laws.
[97] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.

he ran into a fellow laborer he knew back at Eager Orchards in Yuba-Sutter who had become a guide and smuggled individuals across the border. He facilitated Tuly's journey back to Yuba-Sutter, and right back to Eager Orchards to the job and the labor camp he had left behind.[98]

Eager Orchards eventually changed hands in the 1930s, but it would continue to employ Punjabi immigrants for decades to come. A joint tenancy deed from October 27, 1943 shows the sale of approximately 350 acres from J.W. Eager to Frank Poole and Gladys Poole.[99] (Table 3.1) Although a newspaper article from April 4, 1936 describes the sale of Eager Orchards to Frank Poole, it appears this date is inaccurate according to the deed in 1943 for the sale of this land. Poole was a local rancher that had managed other orchards and was knowledgeable in fruit production. Eager Orchards is described as highly desirable due to its high quality of production and record yield for peaches, twenty-four tons per acre. The article also describes how Laney Wilbur was the owner of the property with Eager serving as the manager several years ago when it won a contest for "best producing peach orchards."[100]

Eager Orchards Ownership and Management in Relation to History of Tuly Singh Johl		
Owner	**Manager**	**Tuly Singh Johl**
Wilbur	Eager	Arrives in Yuba-Sutter in 1907
Wilbur	Eager	Returns to India in 1914
Wilbur	Eager	Returns to Eager Orchards in 1924
Eager	Eager	Continues working as foreman and living in labor camp during the 1930s and 1940s
Poole	Poole	Luce-Cellar Bill passes in 1946
Wilbur	Wilbur	Tuly dies in 1978

Table 3.1: Approximate chronology of ownership and management of Eager Orchards in relation to history of Tuly Singh Johl. Table created by author based off data gathered from grant deeds and assessor maps from the Sutter County Assessor's Office and Sutter County Clerk Recorder and interviews with Dr. Gulzar Johl.

According to Dr. Johl, Tuly continued to work at what once was Eager Orchards and live in the same labor camp even when the agricultural land changed hands and was sold to Frank Poole. By 1944, it had become known as the Frank W. Poole Ranch as evidenced by an article

[98] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018; Nicole Ranganath, "Return to India," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed November 20, 2017, http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/pioneers/tully-singh-johl/; Nicole Ranganath. "Return to the US," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed November 20, 2017, http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/pioneers/tully-singh-johl/.

[99] "Joint Tenancy Deed," October 27, 1943, Book 56, pgs. 296-298, Office of Sutter County Records. See Table 3.1 for table of approximate ownership and management chronology in relation to Tuly Singh Johl's presence in Yuba-Sutter.

[100] "F. Poole Takes Eager Orchard," *Appeal Democrat*, April 14, 1936, pg. 2.

that describes a large fire that occurred at the property.[101] Dr. Johl describes how the house where Frank Poole lived was the same house where Mr. Eager had lived, and was located right next to the same labor camp his father and others stayed in. With the sale of the orchards to Poole, the labor camp also came under Poole's management.[102] The article also reveals some of the specific agricultural operations happening at the time and how it had advanced to an extent from Mr. Eager's time. Thousands of boxes and box-making materials were stored in the packing plant that burned down. This plant was used primarily during peach season and also contained additional farming equipment such as sprays and ladders.[103]

During the time of Frank Poole's ownership of what used to be Eager Orchards, incremental changes to immigration laws and the financial and social mobility of Punjabi laborers such as Tuly occurred. Although the Luce-Cellar bill was passed in 1946, Dr. Johl describes how many Punjabi immigrants began buying land in 1945, the preceding year. However, they purchased land through a variety of avenues. Some purchased land in the name of their Mexican spouses, others through friends that were citizens. They essentially began the process of obtaining property this way because they knew the Luce-Cellar bill would pass in the following year.[104] Paramjit Brar was one of the many students that worked at Eager Orchards during his summer breaks while living in the labor camp. He went to Yuba College and eventually got his Bachelors degree in Electrical Engineering from U.C. Berkeley. However, he enlisted in the army instead of working as an engineer. Unfortunately, he was shot and severely injured resulting in his honorable discharge. This also resulted in him obtaining citizenship – and the privileges that naturalization entailed such as property ownership.[105] A group of men, including Tuly, knew Paramjit through working at Eager Orchards and obtained their first piece of property through him. They pooled together their money and bought property at the corner of Eager and Larkin Roads using his name in 1945.[106] A house built in 1938 already existed on the property they had bought. However, only two of the partners lived in the house at the time but

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[101] "Fire Consumes Big Plant, Orchard Equipment on Frank Poole Ranch," *Appeal Democrat*, March 29, 1944, pg. 1.
The article states that on March 29, 1944 a fire occurred on the ranch located north of Yuba City and that the specific property that fell victim to the fire was across from Frank Poole's home on Eager Road. The property is described as a combination warehouse and fruit packing plant destroyed by the fire.
[102] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.
[103] "Fire Consumes Big Plant, Orchard Equipment on Frank Poole Ranch," *Appeal Democrat*, March 29, 1944, pg. 1
[104] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.
[105] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.
[106] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, May 14, 2018.

Tuly continued to live in the labor camp about ¾ of a mile away from the property since he was working as a foreman at the time.[107]

After the Luce-Cellar Bill, immigrants needed to prove that they worked in the U.S. prior to the law changing. Many of these Punjabi immigrants had worked for Tuly at Eager Orchards and eventually other farms and ranches. However, most of these immigrants were illiterate and did not have any written documentation or proof of them having been in the U.S. prior to the Luce-Cellar Bill. However, Tuly had kept records of those that worked for him at Eager Orchards. There was a register with each employee's name. He would record how many hours each person worked and the tasks they did for the day such as pruning, thinning, irrigating, etc. These were small cards with all of this information and it was used to figure out the compensation owed to each person. In 1948, the pay was 45 cents an hour. Tuly would keep track of these records and give each person the money they had earned.[108]

Although Mr. Eager was the earliest known employer of Punjabi immigrants, the history and ownership of Eager Orchards and J.W. Eager's business ventures are inextricably linked to the Wilbur family. The ownership history of Eager Orchards is unclear at various points in time and various grant deeds point to the likelihood that the agricultural complex had multiple owners and managers at different points. It does appear that the Wilbur family has been a constant figure and stakeholder in Eager Orchards, even today. A document regarding a Final Decree of Partition for Lanie May Wilbur on July 9, 1910 evidences that she retained ownership of the land including Eager Orchards and beyond.[109] Although Mrs. Wilbur owned the property in 1910, it is likely Mr. Eager managed the orchards for her at this time since Tuly Singh Johl first began working at Eager Farm in 1907.[110] A newspaper article from 1924 described how Mr. Eager has managed Mrs. Wilbur's properties for a number of years.[111] An additional article similarly describes Mr. Eager as the manager of Eager Orchards in 1934 and Lanie May Wilbur as the owner.[112] These articles in addition to various grant deeds point to Eager serving as the manager of Eager Orchards from the time of Tuly's arrival in 1907 to the late 1930s early 1940s.

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[107] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, May 14, 2018.
[108] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, May 14, 2018. These records no longer exist today.
[109] "Final Decree of Partition," July 9, 1910, Book 41, Page 527, Office of Sutter County Records.
[110] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.
[111] "Eager and Kelly Bros. Purchase Laney M. Wilbur Orchard Tract," *Marysville Democrat,* July 7, 1924, pg. 3.
[112] "F. Poole Takes Eager Orchard," *Appeal Democrat*, April 14, 1936, pg. 2.

Although the core of Eager Farm existed along Eager Road and Bill Eager also owned other pieces of land in close proximity to Eager Road, newspaper articles from the early 1900s evidence Bill Eager's additional landholdings and his involvement in the broader agricultural industry of Yuba-Sutter, primarily focused in Marysville. An article in the *Marysville Appeal* from 1913 describes the incorporation of the Eager Vineyard Company with Bill Eager and his five business partners in Marysville where their business centered.[113] In 1915, Bill Eager, along with Lloyd Wilbur became directors of Levee District No.9 which runs from Yuba City to Live Oak.[114] Just a few years later in 1919, the sale of a tract of land in Marysville to Bill Eager is recorded.[115]

Around the time of Frank Poole's acquisition, the role of the future generations of the Wilbur family becomes clearer. Richard and Dorothy Wilbur would bring Eager Orchards into the present day and continue the tradition of hiring Punjabi immigrants to work on not just the land surrounding Eager Road, but additional ranches they owned around the Yuba-Sutter area.[116] (Figure 3.6) Richard and Dorothy worked together in the farming industry throughout the 1940s and 1950s until Richard's death in a plane crash in 1961. Dorothy Wilbur would continue to run the operation, with her son eventually taking over in 1994.[117] Mrs. Wilbur is interviewed in *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City*, filmed primarily from 1981 to1982. She describes how the Punjabi population has worked hard and come to own a large amount of land throughout the Yuba-Sutter area. She also describes how Punjabis worked for the Wilburs before 1920 when they first worked for Richard Wilbur's father. She describes how at the time of her interview, 95% of Wilbur's employees were Punjabi.[118] Today, the Wilbur family's legacy is still active and operating on the land where Eager Orchard was located. The Wilbur Packing Company is located at 1500 Eager Road, the same corner where Eager Road and Highway 99 meet. (Figure 3.7 and 3.8) Acres of peach orchards, likely the same peach orchards in place when Eager operated the land and the first Punjabi immigrants worked there, are located to the west of the

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[113] "Vineyard Company Has Incorporated: Capitalized at $100,000 Divided Into Two Shares," *Marysville Appeal*, October 10, 1913, pg. 1.
[114] "Name New Directors," *Marysville Appeal*, June 3, 1915, pg. 5; "Who Maintains the Levees in Sutter County?" *Sutter County California,* accessed February 15, 2018, https://www.suttercounty.org/doc/government/depts/ds/pw/wr/fp/levee.
[115] "Property Transfer," *Marysville Appeal*, November 20, 1919, pg. 5.
[116] Randy Baucom (Wilbur Packing Company), interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal via phone, March 21, 2018.
[117] "Grant Deed," September 29th, 1994, Book 1670, pgs. 569-570, Office of Recorder of Sutter County; Randy Baucom (Wilbur Packing Company), interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal via phone, March 21, 2018.
[118] *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City,* 1985; Beheroze Shroff, email to director, June 26, 2018.

packing company to the end of Eager Road, Today, Richard Wilbur Jr., oversees the operation of the packing plant.[119]

Figure 3.6: From left: Bawa Singh, George (Bud) Johnson, Richard R. Wilbur, date unknown. Photo courtesy of the Wilbur Family and the Punjabi American Heritage Society, (http://www.punjabipioneers.com/exhibits/Work).

[119] Randy Baucom (Wilbur Packing Company), interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal via phone, March 21, 2018.

Figure 3.7: Sign at the entrance of the Wilbur Packing Company located at 1500 Eager Road, December 2017. Photo by author.


Figure 3.8: Wilbur Packing Company, December 2017. Photo by author.

Comparative Analysis

Punjab itself translates to "the land of five rivers" and is strategically located where rivers coming from the Himalayan mountains meet.[120] As the agricultural heartland of India, it is easy to see why Punjabi immigrants were attracted to Yuba-Sutter's agricultural landscape. Furthermore, this provides precedent for why places such as Eager Orchards were desirable places for immigrants such as Tuly Singh Johl to work at. It was the familiarity, both in terms of the physical characteristics of Yuba-Sutter and the economic operation of agriculture that made Yuba-Sutter and Eager Orchards a comfortable place for Punjabis to work and settle.[121] However, there were still differences between places such as Eager Orchards and the agricultural lands of Punjab. Eager Orchards did expose immigrants such as Tuly to laborers from various ethnic background including Chinese, Mexican, and white. At the same time, Tuly and the others were able to shape and mold their experience at Eager Orchards to social practices back home in terms of cooking Punjabi food and even just creating a local network of Punjabi laborers that assisted one another.[122] In this way, the experience of Eager Orchards while reminiscent of Punjab still allowed Punjabi immigrants to stake their claim in the American landscape.

Significance

Although Eager Orchards and Bill Eager's business ventures indicate his success as a local agriculturalist and businessman, what makes Eager Orchards significant to the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter is that Mr. Eager employed the first Punjabi immigrants in the Yuba-Sutter area in the orchards he oversaw, the most prominent being Tuly Singh Johl who is considered a foundational figure for Punjabis in Yuba-Sutter.[123] The ability of Tuly and the Punjabi immigrants to eventually obtain their own property demonstrates their progress from their first days as laborers at Eager Orchards. The money they were able to obtain working at Eager Orchards, their shelter at the labor camp, and the networks they formed with other

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[120] Nicole Ranganath, "Punjab," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed May 15, 2018, https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/places/origins/punjab/.
[121] Karen Isaksen Leonard, "Finding One's Own Place: Asian Landscapes Re-visioned in Rural California,"118; 121; Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni, "Founding of Yuba City," in *Leaving Yuba City: Poems* (New York: Anchor Books, 1997), 98.
[122] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.
[123] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, May 14, 2018; Nicole Ranganath, "Tuly Singh Johl," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed February 15, 2018, http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/pioneers/tully-singh-johl/.

Punjabis led up to this monumental moment of attaining the financial means to purchase their own property. Tuly, as one of the first Punjabi residents of Yuba-Sutter, embodies the growth many Punjabi laborers were able to achieve during their lifetime as result of the opportunities Eager Orchards afforded them. Laborers, such as Tuly, obtained financial stability and were eventually able to reunite with their families and use their earnings to own their own property, build a home, and contribute to the formation of a Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter.

Eventually, Tuly was also able to reunite with his family in Yuba-Sutter with the changes in immigration laws. In 1948, his youngest son Gulzar Johl would travel to Yuba City, reuniting with his father after many years apart. Tuly's wife would reunite with him in Yuba City in 1958. (Figure 3.9) Dr. Gulzar Johl would go on to be the first South Asian immigrant to travel to Yuba-Sutter and become a doctor. He ran an optometry practice in Live Oak for many years and has seventy years of his own history in Yuba-Sutter.[124] An issue from the Sutter County Historical Society Bulletin in 1977 describes Tuly as the only remaining "old timer" in Yuba-Sutter. At the time, he was 99 years old, resided on Onstott Road, and still drove a car.[125] He passed away the following year in 1978. Tuly lived a long, prosperous life and created his own legacy in the agriculture industry, owning acres of land with various family members over the years.[126] He even owned part of Eager Orchards at various points. Today the Johl family owns forty acres of what was Eager Orchards. The property purchased by Tuly and his partners in Paramjit Brar's name in 1945 is owned and operated by Dr. Johl's nephew Iqbal Johl today. His son Malkit Johl built a more recent house along Eager Road near this property.[127]

[124] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.
[125] Brar, "East Indians of Sutter County," 19.
[126] Nicole Ranganath, "Tuly Singh Johl," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed February 15, 2018, http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/pioneers/tully-singh-johl/; Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018.
[127] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018; Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, May 14, 2018.

3.9: Basanti Kaur Johl (left) and Tuly Singh Johl (right). Photo courtesy of the UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive and the Johl family, (https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/pioneers/tully-singh-johl/).

The prominence of agricultural opportunity was a major draw for Punjabi immigrants, given their familiarity with it back in Punjab. Although there are countless ranches, farms, and orchards in Yuba-Sutter that have employed Punjabi immigrants, Eager Orchards was the first. It continued to thrive even as it changed ownership over the years, and Punjabi immigrants have been critical actors in the development and progress of Eager Orchards throughout its lifetime. Their role in the management and use of this land as laborers and foremen has subsequently shaped the Punjabi immigrant experience in Yuba-Sutter. For many, such as Tuly Singh Johl, Eager Orchards was ground zero and their starting point for the social and economic mobility they achieved. For these reasons, Eager Orchards is a significant vernacular cultural landscape in the context of the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter. It speaks to the contributions and engagement of Punjabi immigrants in the agricultural industry from 1907 to today.

Eager Orchards also retains a significant amount of its original character and historic integrity as it still operates as an agricultural operation of predominantly peach orchards. It has

not been built over with contemporary development, with the exception the packing plant and a few houses. In addition, the Wilbur family, who has been involved as stakeholders in this land since the beginning, still operate the land today through the packing plant. Eager Orchards' direct connection to people, specifically Punjabi immigrants, constitutes its characterization as a vernacular cultural landscape.[128] It is linked to the cultural patterns they incorporated through their life in the labor camps and the socio-economic progress these laborers were able to obtain as a result of Eager Orchards.[129] As Dolores Hayden states in *The Power of Place* on the subject of cultural landscapes, "But they offer the potential of places set against the flow of time, places to recollect the meaning of working lives for the individuals, the family, the community, and the city."[130] Eager Orchards served as a vernacular setting that created a domino effect for the Punjabi community of Yuba-Sutter. The initial Punjabi immigrants began their journey as laborers and built the foundation of what would become a prominent Punjabi community that would draw huge numbers of immigrants in the decades to come. It is important to recognize the critical role Eager Orchards played in the framework they built not just for their own families, but for the greater Punjabi community. For these reasons, Eager Orchards is a significant resource that can be defined as a cultural vernacular landscape that retains its original historic use and a significant amount of its integrity. It is a repository of the heritage of the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter through its connection to agriculture, socioeconomic progress, and community building.

[128] Susan Calfate Boyle, "Natural and Cultural Resources," *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*, ed. Richard Longstreth (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 150.
[129] Boyle, "Natural and Cultural Resources," 151.
[130] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), 99.

Chapter 4: The Yuba City Gurdwara

Introduction

The post-1947 Punjabi community of Yuba-Sutter exhibits significant differences in their social, economic, and political characteristics. With the Luce-Cellar Bill of 1946, the Independence of India in 1947, as well as the Partition of India in 1947, a strong population base of Punjabi immigrants developed in Yuba-Sutter in the decades that followed these events, particularly after the Hart-Cellar bill of 1965. These changes also translated to their built environment. A commonality between the pre-1947 and post-1947 community is that the majority were followers of the Sikh religion. By 1975, Yuba City would have the largest concentration of Sikhs in an agricultural setting, and the Yuba-Sutter area would boast more Punjabi immigrants of the Sikh faith in 1974 than the scattered South Asian immigrant population across the nation at the time.[131]

Today the Sikh religion is the fifth largest religion in the world with its central teachings stemming from the Guru Granth Sahib, a compilation of the teachings of its gurus into one book that is considered the last and eternal guru for Sikhs.[132] A fairly young religion, the Sikh religion was founded in the fifteenth century by the first guru, Guru Nanak.[133] Early Punjabi immigrants in Yuba-Sutter traveled to the Stockton Gurdwara, or Sikh Temple, for many years given that it was the only house of worship for Sikhs in the region within traveling distance.[134] However, the Stockton Gurdwara was still ninety miles from Yuba-Sutter and families would only travel to Stockton about four to six times a year.[135] In 1969, the timing and circumstances were just right for Yuba-Sutter to build its own local gurdwara.[136] Various newspaper articles, permits, historical photos, videos, and interviews with the Johl and Tumber family, who were prominent contributors and actively involved in creating the gurdwara, reveal how this space became the centerpiece of the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi Sikh community while simultaneously demonstrating how religious heritage serves as tie between the homeland and the diaspora.

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[131] La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California,* vi; La Brack, "Table 22: East Indian Population Estimates and Sources for Yuba-City Marysville Area 1948-1974," *The Sikhs of Northern California*, 256.
[132] Doris R. Jakobsh, *Sikhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2012), xi; Pashaura Singh, *The Guru Granth Sahib: Canon, Meaning, and Authority* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 266.
[133] Jakbosh, *Sikhism*, xi; Nikky-Gurinder Kaur Singh, *Sikhism: An Introduction* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2011), 55.
[134] Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 11.
[135] Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 12.
[136] Julie Stark et al., *Yuba City, Our Home Town,* 79.

Description of Resource

Located in Yuba City, the Sikh Temple of Yuba City, or Yuba City Gurdwara, is situated in a rural, agricultural setting. Orchards are found immediately to the east and west of the temple.[137] The front facade of the temple faces east onto Tierra Buena Road. It is bound by Young Road to the north and True Road to the south. (Figure 4.1)

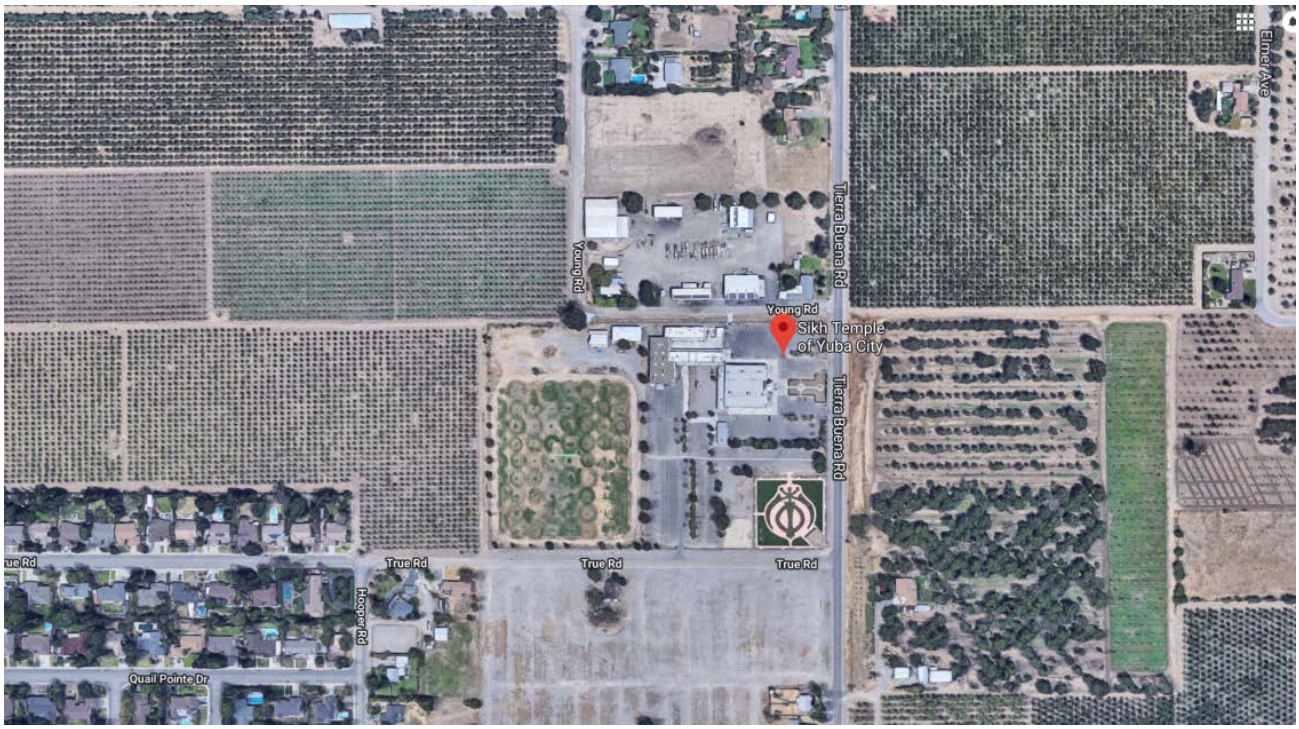

Figure 4.1: Aerial map showing site of Yuba City Gurdwara and surrounding context of Yuba City Gurdwara. Map source: Imagery ©2018 Google, Map data ©2018 Google.

The main entrance is accessible through two identical entrance gates on Tierra Buena Road. The blue metal gates have "Gurdwara" written in the center surrounded by various depictions of the Khalsa symbol, the symbol of the Sikh religion, all composed of metal. (Figure 4.2) A short, white metal gate set within brick piers surrounds the remainder of the perimeter of the front facade. On the same axis as the main body of the gurdwara is a T-shaped landscaped area with a ceramic tile fountain and flag pole enclosed by a white gate. On both sides of this landscaped area is a surface parking lot. (Figure 4.3 and 4.4)

[137] An interesting residential settlement pattern is seen along Tierra Buena Road with houses located among each orchard complex surrounding the site of the gurdwara.

Figure 4.2: Main entrance gates, May 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 4.3: Landscaped area in front of gurdwara, May 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 4.4: Nishan Sahib in front of gurdwara, official flag of the Sikh religion, May 2017. Photo by author.

The main body of the gurdwara is square-shaped in plan, symmetrical, and one-story in height with a two-story rectangular form at the center of the front façade, serving as the central entrance and commanding authority over the entire building. A multi-foil arch frames this central mass with the main entrance doors deeply recessed underneath the arched entry. A bulbous dome set on a lotus-shaped base and topped with a finial is found at the top of the rectangular form. To the east and west of the central, rectangular form are the wings of the gurdwara with multi-foil arches repeated along the remainder of the front facade. These are not true arches, rather they are a decorative element. (Figure 4.5) Three sets of fully glazed double-entry doors topped with a pointed, transom window lead into the temple. The Khalsa symbol composed of metal is directly centered above the entrance doors on the face of the wall. (Figure 4.6)

Figure 4.5: Front facade of main body of gurdwara, May 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 4.6: Main entrance doors and Khalsa symbol, May 2017. Photo by author.

Just beyond the main entrance doors is an entrance vestibule where one removes their shoes and covers their head before entering the main prayer hall. To the east is a door leading to the Langar Hall, or community kitchen. The floor is paved with dark blue and white checkered tiles, and the same material serves as a decorative element for the wainscot of the interior walls. Wood double doors with tri-partite transom windows serve as the entrance to the main prayer hall. The windows are composed of stained glass with "God is one" inscribed, the Khalsa symbol, and the "Ek Onkar" symbol, another prominent symbol of the Sikh religion. (Figure 4.7) The main prayer hall where the Guru Granth Sahib is displayed is known as the Darbar Sahib.[138] The focal point of the Darbar Sahib is a raised altar where the Guru Granth Sahib is kept and where a granthi, or priest, is seated reciting from the book. The altar is covered in vibrant colored cloth. The interior walls surrounding the main altar have the same multi-foiled arches repeated along the walls. (Figure 4.8) When one enters the hall, they typically offer a small donation, bow down their head, and pray. Then they proceed to sit anywhere on the carpeted area and listen to the recitation of religious hymns. To the west of the main altar is another raised area for the ragi that typically perform kirtan with various musical instruments.[139] The overall Darbar Sahib has a series of post and beams that run the length of the entire hall. (Figure 4.9)

Figure 4.7: Entrance Vestibule to Darbar Sahib, May 2017. Photo by author.

[138] David Rose, *Sikhism* (Dunstable: Folens, 1995), 8.
[139] Anita Ganeri, *The Guru Granth Sahib and Sikhism* (North Mankato, Minnesota: Smart Apple Media, 2004), 29.

Figure 4.8: Main altar with Guru Granth Sahib, May 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 4.9: Darbar Sahib interior detail, May 2017. Photo by author.

A door at the far northeast corner of the Darbar Sahib provides access to the Langar Hall, or community kitchen. The Langar Hall is situated adjacent to the Darbar Sahib. In contrast to the Darbar Sahib, the interior of the Langar Hall is very utilitarian and functional in its layout and design. Upon entering the Langar Hall, one encounters a granite countertop with three built-in sinks to wash up before eating. (Figure 4.10) Similar to the Darbar Sahib, shoes are not allowed in the Langar Hall and covering one's head is a sign of respect. The kitchen is located in the northern portion of the Langar Hall, where it is accessed through an open entryway. Numerous refrigerators, pots, pans, and counter-top areas are used by volunteers to prepare often large amounts of food. The interior wall separating the kitchen from the remainder of the Langar Hall incorporates a cut-out with a serving area for food as its prepared and brought out. Immediately in front of the serving area built into the wall is a free-standing island where food is served to visitors. (Figure 4.11) Additional countertops and serving areas are lined up against the west wall in the northwest corner of the Langar Hall. The remainder of the Langar Hall is composed of two distinct seating areas for visitors to eat. The first is composed of two long rows of tables with chairs that run the length of the Langar Hall. Adjacent to that is a seating area on the floor where two long carpets, also running the length of the Langar Hall, are on the floor for visitors to sit on and eat. (Figure 4.12)

Figure 4.10: Washing area in Langar Hall, May 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 4.11: Langar Hall kitchen, May 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 4.12: Langar Hall seating, May 2017. Photo by author.

The Darbar Sahib and Langar Hall compose the two original key components of the Yuba City Gurdwara when it was first built in 1969. During the 1980s and 1990s, two major additions were made to the gurdwara, signaling the evolution of this space into a larger temple complex and community resource rather than just a place of prayer. According to the permit history and plans submitted along with permit documentation, the northwest wing on the overall site was added in 1981. It is composed of a library, classrooms, offices, priest and guest quarters, and restrooms.[140] Today the functions of the various rooms in this ancillary wing remain largely the same with the rooms serving as a Punjabi school, priest residences, committee meeting room, offices, community room, storage, and restroom. In comparison to the main temple, the northwest wing is void of ornament, expressing its functional purpose through its utilitarian design. U-shaped in plan, it opens onto a central courtyard area with the various rooms situated around the open space. One-story in height and symmetrical, it does not detract from the main body of the temple and is distinguished as a later addition and secondary site feature through its massing and scale. (Figure 4.13)

Figure 4.13: Northwest wing added in 1981, May 2017. Photo taken by author.

[140] Key and Laughlin Civil Engineers,"Proposed Addition to Gurdwara Sikh Temple Addition," July 31, 1981, City of Yuba City, Development Services Department.

The second major addition made on the site was the addition of another prayer hall known as Dasmesh Hall. This hall was built in 1995 and is located in the western portion of the overall site, behind the main temple hall and directly behind the northwest wing.[141] There is a secondary entrance providing access to Dasmesh Hall on True Road. It has entrance gates identical to the two on Tierra Buena Road. Dasmesh Hall is similar to the front facade of the main prayer hall in terms of its massing and scale, but is much simpler in its design. It also is one story in height, square-shaped in plan, and a two-story rectangular form similar to the front façade is found at the center of this façade as well. A multi-foil arch also frames this central entrance and the main doors leading into the hall are found deeply recessed underneath. A blue and gold sign reading "Dasmesh Hall" is found at the top of the central mass. The remainder of the front facade is composed of blank walls, void of windows or decorative elements. (Figure 4.14)

Figure 4.14: Dasmesh Hall built in 1995, December 2017. Photo by author.

[141] Sroka's Design and Drafting, "Proposed Addition for Sikh Temple Gurdwara," July 12, 1995, City of Yuba City, Development Services Department.

The most recent addition made on to the overall temple complex is the "Mata Gujri Rose Garden" completed in 2014 and named after the seventeenth century historical figure who was the wife of Guru Tegh Bahadur and the mother of Guru Gobind Singh.[142] Located in the southeast corner of the site, the garden is square, and symmetrical in its overall plan. One of the most distinguishable features of the rose garden is the creation of the Khalsa symbol with roses and landscaping, as seen through an aerial view of the garden. (Figure 4.15) The garden is accessed through an operable, blue metal gate with a variety of decorative scrolling and floral elements. Two gold Khalsa symbols are also found at the center of the gate, serving as the focal point and adding to its monumentality. The gate is set within two, large flagstone piers topped with the Khalsa symbol composed of metal. The perimeter of the garden is surrounded by a white, metal gate set within flagstone piers.

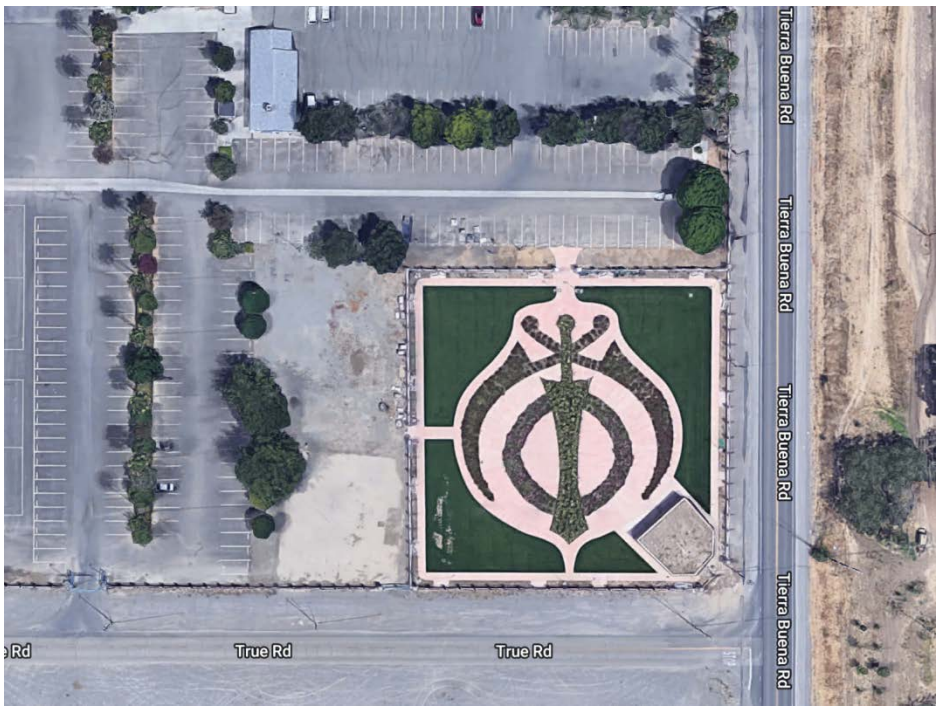

Figure 4.15: Aerial view of Mata Gurji Rose Garden showing Khalsa symbol. Map source: Imagery ©2018 Google, Map data ©2018 Google.

[142] Andrew Creasey, "Prep for 80,000 at Yuba City For Celebration," *SikhNet,* October 28, 2014, accessed May 1, 2018, https://www.sikhnet.com/news/prep-80000-yuba-city-celebration; H.S. Singha, *The Encyclopedia of Sikhism (over 1000 Entries*) (New Delhi: Hemkunt Publishers, 2000), 83.
Permits and official documentation for the construction of the Mata Gujri Rose Garden were not available, the SikhNet article evidences the opening of the rose garden in 2014.

At the southeast corner of the garden, is a slanted, block base composed of flagstone. (Figure 4.16) An extremely large Khalsa symbol composed of metal is found on top of the base. This is the largest depiction of the Khalsa symbol on the entire site. Its location at the corner of the rose garden is where Tierra Buena Road and True Road intersect making it visible to passersby. (Figure 4.17) Upon entering the garden, a path composed of red sandstone pavers leads throughout garden. The remainder of the garden is composed of strips of grass and planted areas with various shrubs and plants orchestrated to create a Khalsa symbol from an aerial point of view. (Figure 4.18) Around the perimeter of the entire garden are various granite benches with the names of families and individuals involved in the creation of the gurdwara, the garden, or have been active members of the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community. (Figure 4.19)

Figure 4.16: Entrance to rose garden, September 2017.
Photo taken by author.

Figure 4.17: Khalsa symbol on flagstone base, September 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 4.18: Overall view of rose garden, September 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 4.19: Example of granite benches located throughout perimeter of garden, September 2017. Photo by author.

The remainder of the temple site is composed of recreational features such as a basketball court in front of Dahsmesh Hall and adjacent to the surface parking lot. A large grassy area surrounded by a dirt track is also found in the southeast corner of the overall site. Figure 4.20) A map of the entire gurdwara complex is found at the front facade of the main hall. (Figure 4.21)

Figure 4.20: Basketball court and field in background, December 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 4.21: Map of overall site, May 2017. Map by Yuba City Gurdwara, photo taken by author.

History

The Yuba City Gurdwara opened its doors in 1969 as the first Sikh temple in the Yuba-Sutter area.[143] The first Sikh temple constructed in California was the Stockton Gurdwara. Built in 1912, it became the religious and social center connecting Punjabi immigrants in the larger California region.[144] From the first Punjabi immigrants in Yuba-Sutter to the most recent immigrants arriving just before 1969, the Stockton Gurdwara was the only Sikh house of worship for miles around. They often traveled to Stockton several times a year, typically for special religious occasions and events.[145] In 1948, the second gurdwara in California was built in El Centro in the Imperial Valley where another prominent Punjabi immigrant community had formed.[146] Despite the construction of a second gurdwara in California in El Centro, the Stockton Gurdwara was still the closest in proximity for those living in Yuba-Sutter with the Stockton Gurdwara being located about 90 miles away while the El Centro Gurdwara was a drastic 640 miles. (Figure 4.22) Eventually, the increasing influx of Punjabi immigrants, especially after the passage of the Hart-Cellar Bill, resulted in a more stabilized Punjabi population in Yuba-Sutter with nuclear families and a sound economic base. Traveling to the Stockton Gurdwara became increasingly difficult and its role as the religious center for Punjabi Sikhs in Yuba-Sutter became a less feasible option not only due to distance and the difficulties of traveling with children, but it was not large enough to serve both the Stockton and broader community including Yuba-Sutter community.[147]

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[143] Julie Stark et al., *Yuba City, Our Home Town,* 79.
[144] Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 11.
[145] Brar, "East Indians of Sutter County," 15.
[146] Brar, "East Indians of Sutter County," 21-22; *Roots in the Sand*, dir. Jayasri Majumdar Hart (United States: Center for Asian American Media, 1998), DVD; Bruce La Brack, "A Century of Sikhs in California," *The Sikh Foundation International,* July 3, 2011, accessed May 1, 2018, http://www.sikhfoundation.org/sikh-punjabi-language-studies/a-century-of-sikhs-in-california-by-bruce-la-brack/.
[147] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5th, 2018.

Figure 4.22: Map showing regional context of Yuba City, Stockton, and El Centro Gurdwaras. Map created by author using Map Stack by Stamen, accessed June 5, 2018 (http://mapstack.stamen.com/).

Even before the Hart-Cellar Bill of 1965, Yuba-Sutter had one of the largest concentrations of families of South Asian descent.[148] During the early 1960s, discussions regarding the need for a local gurdwara in Yuba-Sutter began. The decision to move forward with the process of constructing a temple was finalized in 1967.[149] The creation of the gurdwara was a collective effort among a number of Punjabis active in the post-1947 Yuba-Sutter community. The names of twenty-six individuals are engraved on a plaque at the front facade of the gurdwara for their contributions in helping create the gurdwara. (Figure 4.23) Two such families are the Tumber and Johl family, who were interviewed for the purpose of gaining a more personal insight to shed light on the community's role in creating the gurdwara.

[148] Brar, "East Indians of Sutter County," 22.
[149] Brar, "East Indians of Sutter County," 22.

Figure 4.23: Plaque recognizing contributors to Yuba City Gurdwara, May 2017. Photo by author.

On a surface level, creating a gurdwara that would fulfill its religious function was the community's main priority throughout the planning process. However, the cultural and social resource it would serve as for the Punjabi community, especially for the children and the youth, in Yuba-Sutter was also a major point of consideration.[150] It was within this context that the desire to create a gurdwara that served as more than just a religious space, but also a community resource, a repository of Punjabi culture, and a symbol of the Punjabi community's identity began to take shape. Acquiring the funding and land were two key tasks to tackle before construction could take place. The money was initially raised through Sangrand, which is a term for the first day in the month of the Sikh calendar. The Punjabis of Yuba-Sutter would gather during Sangrand, often at a local community member's house, and money was slowly collected this way through donations. However, the individuals working to raise the needed money realized they would need a faster strategy to achieve their goal. They reached their goal when a

[150] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5th, 2018.

member of the Punjabi community graciously donated a large sum of the remaining money needed to begin planning and construction[151] Punjabis that had achieved financial stability in their agricultural ventures in the orchards were able to contribute not just money but also land, exhibiting a domino effect of social and financial mobility in the post-1947 era.[152]

A number of potential locations for the gurdwara were debated before it was decided that it would be located on Tierra Buena Road in Yuba City. Among these options included the city of Pennington, city of Live Oak, and a potential location on Lincoln Road.[153] According to a Sutter County Historical Society Bulletin, brothers Bakhtawar Singh and Udam Singh Purewal donated the three acres of land on Tierra Buena Road where the temple was constructed.[154] Bakhtawar had been in Yuba-Sutter for about sixteen years and his younger brother, Udham, about twelve years at the time they donated the land. Bakhtwar had immigrated in 1951 and Udham around 1955.[155] These brothers were just two of the many dedicated community members that played an active role from the inception of the idea of creating a gurdwara, to its actual construction. The brothers exhibited how many individuals went beyond contributing to just the financial aspect and volunteered their time to the daily operation of the gurdwara when it opened. The brothers could often be found in the kitchen preparing food.[156] The eagerness and active participation of the community resulted in the gurdwara being completed within almost a three-year time span. Approximately two years were spent planning including fundraising, picking a location, and obtaining the land while about seven months were spent on the construction itself.

Although the original building permit is not available, interviews reveal that the Lamon Brothers served as the builders and contractors for the gurdwara, however the original architect does not appear to be listed on any of the documentation available for the gurdwara. According to Dr. Johl, the Lamon Brothers were a local company and are located along Highway 20 in Yuba City today.[157] The company's website reveals they were founded in 1950 and operated under the name the "Lamon Brothers" for thirty years. Their portfolio demonstrates their work in

[151] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5th, 2018.
[152] Brar, "East Indians of Sutter County," 22.
[153] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5th, 2018.
[154] Brar, "East Indians of Sutter County," 22.
[155] Nicole Ranganath, "Purewal Brothers," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive,* accessed July 25, 2018, https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/farmers/purewal-brothers/.
[156] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5th, 2018.
[157] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5th, 2018.

the Yuba-Sutter region through projects such as the Yuba City High School and Yuba City College stadium.[158]

They worked with those involved in the planning of the gurdwara to adapt their proposed plans and features to fit their budget. Although the design of the gurdwara is monumental with elements reminiscent of Indo-Islamic architecture, this was not something proposed by the community members planning the temple who knew very little about architecture and design.[159] Dr. Johl recalls that the only instance in which the group behind the planning of the gurdwara turned to an architectural reference point was when they consulted with a member of the community that was designing his own house in Stockton. Although this did not provide much relevant reference given it was a residential building versus a religious structure, the design of the gurdwara was not something the committee was particular about. In the end, it was a design the community found appropriate, but nobody appeared to have a particular design or aesthetic in mind throughout the process. Instead, they were more focused on the structure and functionality of the building.

It is interesting to note the design of the Yuba City Gurdwara differs dramatically from the Stockton Gurdwara and the El Centro Gurdwara. The Stockton Gurdwara's original building, now used as a library, is a vernacular Craftsman style structure. (Figure 4.24) In 1929 the temple sought to expand and moved into a larger building which now serves as the main gurdwara today. This is a brick building with little architectural embellishment.[160] (Figure 4.25) The El Centro Gurdwara on the other hand is a much smaller one-story building that was formerly a Buddhist Temple. The vernacular structure is essentially a stucco box with an arcaded porch at the front and shaped parapet.[161] (Figure 4.26) A comparison of the gurdwaras in Yuba City, Stockton, and El Centro reveal there is no standard design for how these Punjabi immigrant communities have designed their religious centers. They are often repurposed buildings that are shaped to fit the needs of the community rather than prioritize the aesthetics of the structure. At

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[158] "History," *Lamon Construction Co.,* accessed June 5, 2018, http://lamonconstruction.com/history-1/; "Stadium Projects," *Lamon Construction Co.,* accessed June 5, 2018, http://lamonconstruction.com/new-page-1/.
Author contacted the firm regarding any information they may have about the Yuba City Gurdwara but no response was received.
[159] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5th, 2018.
[160] Rachel Kanner, "History: Stockton Gurdwara Sahib," *San Joaquin Magazine,* February 2, 2014, accessed July 25, 2018, https://sanjoaquinmagazine.com/2014/02/history-stockton-gurdwara-sahib/; Nicole Ranganath, "Stockton Gurdwara," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive,* accessed July 27, 2018, https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/contributions/religion/stockton-temple/.
[161] Kanner, "History: Stockton Gurdwara Sahib."

the same time, the personal tastes and reflections of the prominent individuals behind the scenes of planning the temple manifested itself in many of the minor design details of the gurdwara.

Figure 4.24: Original Stockton Gurdwara, 1916. Courtesy of SAADA, (https://www.saada.org/item/20121224-1186).

Figure 4.25: Stockton Gurdwara, second building, 1929. Courtesy of Amelia Singh Netervala and SAADA, https://www.saada.org/item/20111222-572).

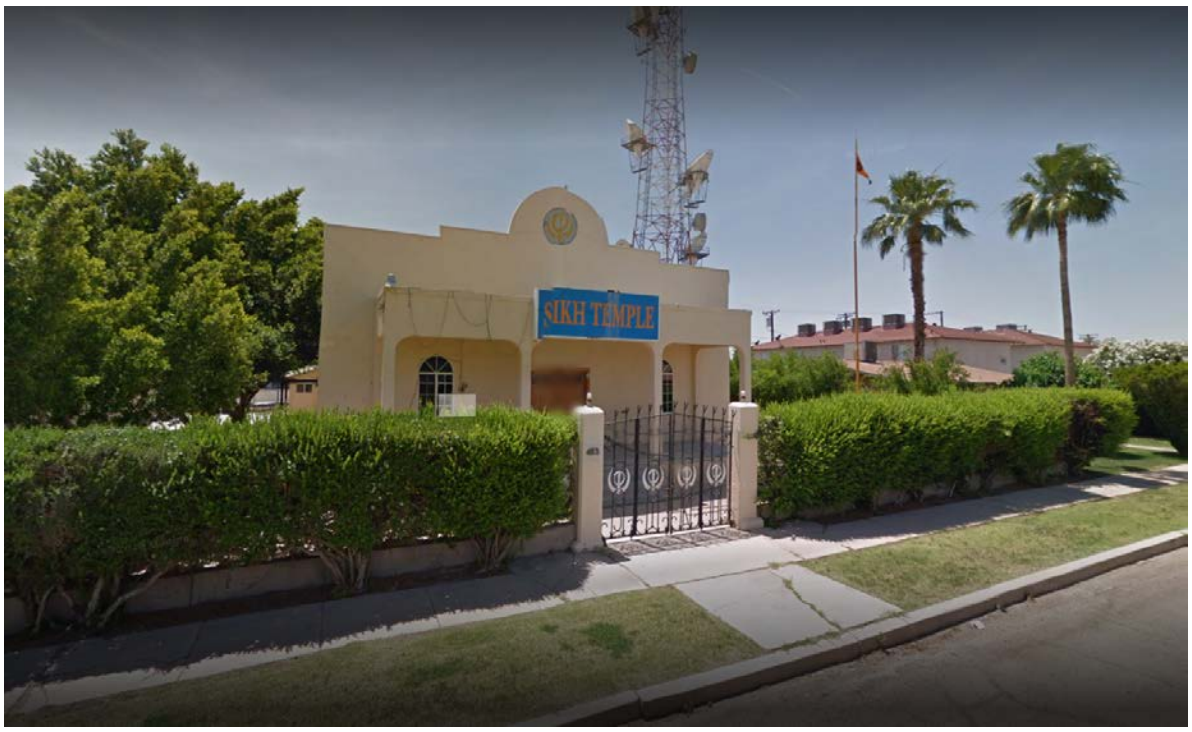

Figure 4.26: El Centro Gurdwara. Photo from Google Street view, image capture May 2012 ©2018 Google.

Mehar Singh Tumber, a prominent member of the post-1947 Punjabi community played an active role in the agricultural industry, the social aspects of the community, and subsequently helping oversee the process of creating a gurdwara.[162] Many informal meetings were held at his house where individuals, such as Dr. Johl, gathered to discuss the gurdwara through casual conversation. Tumber was also actively involved in the day to day minor design decisions for the gurdwara. His daughter, Rajinder "Raji" Tumber recalls her father searching for a contractor as well as coming home with various carpet samples and asking her family's opinion. They chose blue for the original carpet in the main prayer hall of the gurdwara, given it was her dad's favorite color but also a significant color in the Sikh religion. It is representative of the Khalsa order and is worn during religious festivities.[163] Other minor details arising from community

[162] Nicole Ranganath, "Mehar Singh Tumber and Surjit Kaur Tumber," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive,* accessed October 4, 2017, https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/farmers/meha-tumber/; Rajinder Tumber, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 4th, 2018.
[163] Rajinder Tumber, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 4th, 2018; Parul Bhatti, "Significance of Color in Sikh Turbans," *Sikh Turbans: The Identity of Sikh Community* (Bombay: IDC, IIT), accessed June 22, 2018, http://www.dsource.in/resource/sikh-turbans/significance-color-sikh-turbans.

involvement include the magnolia trees at the front of the overall site, which were planted by both Mehar Singh Tumber and Dr. Gulzar Johl, and donated from Dr. Johl's nursery.

Creating the gurdwara did not end once the construction was complete. Orchestrating the granthi, or priests, that would oversee the religious service and events was another major component to make the gurdwara a functional, religious space. Within the first year of opening, a granthi from India and another from Stockton were asked to join the Yuba City Gurdwara.[164] Another step in finalizing the temple's operations and management was forming a temple committee. Various community members opted to join as committee members with the titles ranging from directors to members of the managing committee.[165] Through the piecemeal arrangement of obtaining a contractor, completing construction, creating a committee, and acquiring priests, the community's vision for a local gurdwara they could call their own quickly came to life.

In 1969, on the 400th birthday of Guru Nanak, the first guru and founder of the Sikh religion, the Yuba City Gurdwara officially opened.[166] Within the first ten years of its opening, the gurdwara transformed into the religious center for Punjabi Sikhs in Yuba-Sutter, as well as space for forming social networks. (Figure 4.27) The documentary *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City*, depicts Yuba-Sutter from 1981 to 1982 with lengthy footage of the Yuba City Gurdwara. The combination of the historical footage of this documentary along with historical photos of the temple depicts its evolution over the years from its opening in 1969 to present day. Historical photos from a Sutter County Historical Society Bulletin on the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter depict various photos of the gurdwara in 1978, before its expansion. (Figure 4.28) Photos of the interior in 1978 show crowds of people gathered in the main prayer hall. (Figure 4.29) This photograph in particular shows the vast number of Punjabis in the Yuba-Sutter area that utilized the temple as a religious space. A photo of the Langar Hall also from 1978 supplements the notion of equality and serving the community embodied in this space early on. (Figure 4.30) A photo from 1983 of prominent Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community member Hari Singh Everest and others inside the main prayer hall shows a glimpse of the interior near the altar where the Guru Granth Sahib is kept, as well as the social relations fostered through the process of planning the gurdwara and subsequently after its opening. (Figure 4.31)

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[164] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5th, 2018.
[165] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5th, 2018.
[166] Brar, "East Indians of Sutter County," 23.

Figure 4.27: Hari Singh Everest and members of the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community in front of Yuba City Gurdwara, 1983. Photo courtesy of UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive and the Everest family, (http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/professionals/hari-singh-everest/photo/)

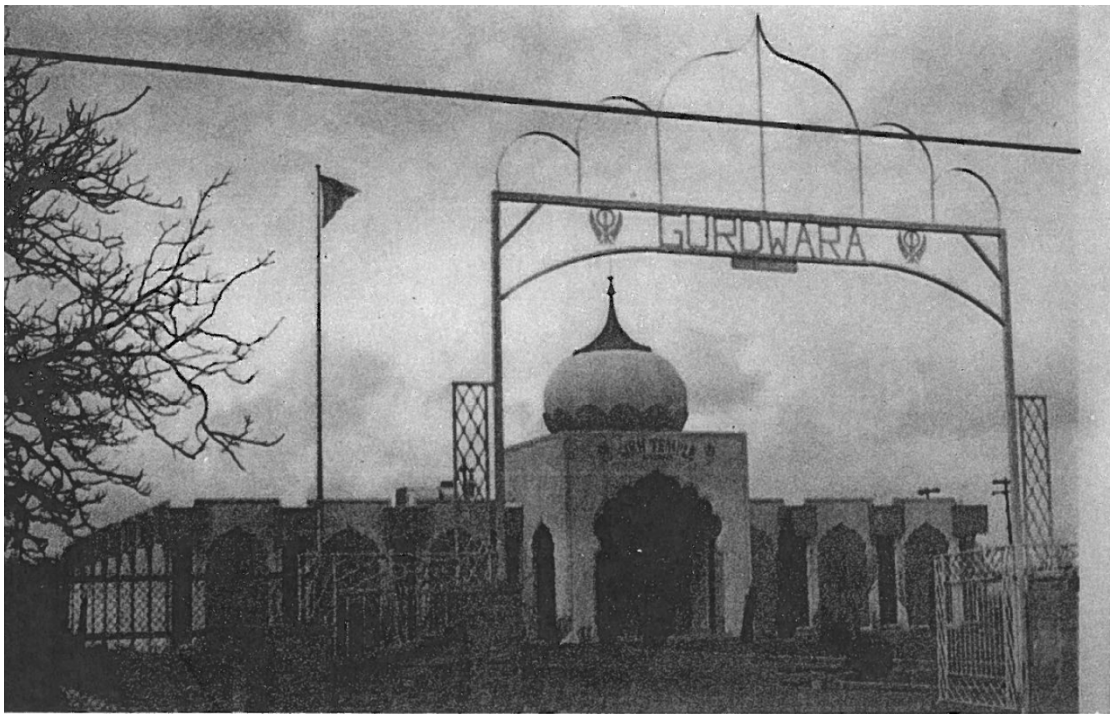

Figure 4.28: Yuba City Gurdwara, 1978. Photo by John Lewith in Balwant Singh Brar's "East Indians of Cutter County" in the Sutter County Historical Society Bulletin, Vol. XVII, No. 2, April 1978. Courtesy of the Sutter County Memorial Museum.

Figure 4.29: Main prayer hall, Yuba City Gurdwara, 1978. Photo by John Lewith in Balwant Singh Brar's "East Indians of Cutter County" in the Sutter County Historical Society Bulletin, Vol. XVII, No. 2, April 1978. Courtesy of the Sutter County Memorial Museum.

Figure 4.30: Langar Hall, Yuba City Gurdwara, 1978. Photo by John Lewith in Balwant Singh Brar's "East Indians of Cutter County" in the Sutter County Historical Society Bulletin, Vol. XVII, No. 2, April 1978. Courtesy of the Sutter County Memorial Museum.

Figure 4.31: Hari Singh Everest with two men at Yuba City Gurdwara, 1983. Photo courtesy of the UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive and the Everest family. (http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/professionals/hari-singh-everest/photo/).

Aerial footage of the gurdwara in the documentary shows how its setting has remained largely the same with the temple nestled among the agricultural and rural background of Tierra Buena Road and orchards and various houses scattered around the gurdwara complex.[167] It also shows how the gurdwara is the focal point of this road, appearing as if the orchards and houses are oriented around it.[168] This documentary is particularly special because it shows the aftermath of the expansion of the gurdwara in 1981 to include the northwest wing with the library, priest residences, community room, and Dasmesh Hall, and how these spaces accommodated the influx of Punjabis settling in Yuba-Sutter at the time. A powerful scene of a wedding ceremony taking place in the main prayer hall shows the integral role of the temple in the community as an alternate cultural sphere, where the Punjabi Sikhs were able to practice their religion and carry out their own ceremonies for events such as weddings. The following scenes also depict the

[167] See *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City*, directed by Beheroze F. Shroff for visual depiction of aerial footage of Yuba City Gurdwara filmed in 1981 and 1982.
[168] *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City*, dir. Beheroze F. Shroff (United States), 1985.

social and communal function of the gurdwara in bringing the Punjabis of Yuba-Sutter together for more than just religious purposes.[169]

A scene of the Langar Hall and the kitchen shows the role of this space in creating a social atmosphere, particularly for women. Groups of women are shown huddled in the kitchen preparing mass amounts of food to be served in the Langar Hall after the festivities. They are shown chatting, singing, laughing, and socializing with one another, demonstrating how the gurdwara was especially important as a safe, familiar space for the Punjabi women in the community to gather.[170] It also shows how the religious and social layers of the gurdwara overlap to create distinct experiences for the Punjabi diaspora, particularly based on gender and age.[171] A final scene depicts children playing outside the gurdwara on the concrete pavement where the basketball courts and adjacent field are today.[172] This demonstrates how part of the gurdwara complex served as a recreational facility and community resource for the Punjabi youth.

The gurdwara's function also transcended into the political realm, allowing Yuba-Sutter to make connections in the broader northern California region. A collaborative press release from the major Sikh religious centers in northern California including the Yuba City Gurdwara, El Sobrante Gurdwara, Stockton Gurdwara, and Fremont Gurdwara on June 6, 1978 inform the public of a gathering to take place on June 10th in Berkley to protest the murder of fourteen Sikhs in India.[173] Known as the Sikh Nirankaris clash of 1978, the killing of the fourteen Sikhs occurred during an event being held by the Nirankaris in Amritsar. The Nirankaris formed around the mid-ninteenth century as a separate religious group that practiced traditions based on Hindu and Sikh beliefs. Tensions between the Nirankaris and Sikhs began to heighten during the mid-twentieth century and culminated in the1978 massacre in Amritsar.[174]

The massacre of 1978 further demonstrates how the meaning of "homeland" has changed for Punjabi Sikhs in India and has translated to the social and religious lives of immigrants settled in places such as Yuba-Sutter. Following the1947 partition of India into Pakistan and

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169 *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City*, 1985.
170 *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City*, 1985.
171 Beheroze Shroff & Trisha Mitra (2004) Documentary Filmmaker Beheroze Shroff, Interviewed by Trisha Mitra, South Asian Popular Culture, 2:2, 185-193, DOI: 10.1080/1474668042000275743.
172 *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City*, 1985.
173 Sikhs of Northern California, "Sikh temple press release," June 6, 1978, San Jose State University, Special Collections and Archives, South Asian Collection, accessed April 25, 2018, https://calisphere.org/item/9a70fac3d0b0f86495dfa859f093e338/.
174 Jugdep S. Chima, "Beginnings of Sikh Extremism (1978-1981)," *The Sikh Separatist Insurgency in India: Political Leadership and Ethnonationalist Movements* (Delhi: Sage Publications India, 2008), 42-43.

India, and the subsequent scattering of Sikhs across political borders, the idea of creating a separate Sikh state gained more traction. In 1952, the Akali Dal, a Sikh political party, raised the idea of creating a "new" Punjab as a distinct country founded on Punjabi heritage practices such as language and traditions.[175] Through several campaigns and the trauma caused by Operation Bluestar in 1984, the movement for an independent Sikh state culminated in the call for the creation of Khalistan.[176] This separatist movement also manifested in Punjabi Sikh communities in the United States, as seen with the engagement of the Yuba City Gurdwara in the protest against the 1978 massacres. Annual gatherings have occurred at the Yuba City Gurdwara to commemorate Operation Bluestar and the losses suffered by the Sikh community in 1984. An article from the *Appeal-Democrat* in 2004 describes a gathering at the Yuba City Gurdwara for the twentieth anniversary of the 1984 massacre. The day was filled with guest speakers and discussion of the events that have left deep scars not only within the Punjabi Sikh communities of India, but immigrant groups in the United States.[177] Through these political events, it is clear that the Yuba City Gurdwara has become a critical component of the identity of the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter, allowing them to engage with other Punjabi Sikh communities in California who share a connection to the religious and political happenings in India. More importantly, it demonstrates how the gurdwara also serves as a site of political activism, showing how political turmoil in India and Pakistan affect immigrant communities in the diaspora.

Finally, the Yuba City Gurdwara has also served as a space of refuge for the community. Dr. Johl recalls how during the summer of 1972 there were approximately 100 people living in the gurdwara while working in the orchards during the summer, showing how this was a safe, welcoming space for later immigrants adapting to Yuba-Sutter.[178] Throughout the various functions it has served in the community, the Yuba City Gurdwara has only strengthened, expanded, and grown to serve as one of the most important resources for the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community, even today. This is evidenced by not only its physical expansion, but its role in

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[175] Darshan Tatla, *The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood* (London: UCL Press, 1999) 11.
[176] Tatla, *The Sikh Diaspora: The Search for Statehood,* 17.
Operation Bluestar in 1984 was an organized attack on the Golden Temple. The Indian Army was ordered to attack the Golden Temple to establish control over Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and what the Indian government perceived to be Sikh terrorists. See Radhika Chopra, "1984 – Disinterred Memories," *Sikh Formations: Religion, Culture, Theory,* vol. 11, no. 3 (2015), 306 and Radhika Chopra," A Museum, A Memorial, and A Martyr," *Sikh Formations: Religion, Culture, Theory*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2013), 97 for more information.
[177] Ching Lee, "Sikhs remember carnage," *Appeal-Democrat*, November 22, 2004, accessed July 27, 2018, https://www.ensaaf.org/home/news/media/Appeal-Democrat.pdf.
[178] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5th, 2018.

religious, political, and social contexts, setting the precedent for two additional gurdwaras to open in Yuba-Sutter as well.[179]

Comparative Analysis

Beyond a local and regional history, the Yuba City Gurdwara cannot be understood without situating the gurdwara in a global context. The Sri Harimandir Sahib, more commonly known as the Golden Temple, and the city it is situated in, Amritsar, serves as the most prominent case study for understanding the transmission of religious heritage from Punjab to the United States, and how it is has specifically manifested itself in the Yuba City Gurdwara.

Amritsar, Punjab is a fortified city located along the Grand Trunk Road, near the Pakistan border.[180] Amritsar was founded in 1577 A.D. by Guru Ram Das, the fourth Sikh guru.[181] The city of Amritsar developed around the excavation of the Sarovar, or the water surrounding the Golden Temple. Guru Ram Das had founded a settlement where Amritsar sits today initially called "Guru Ka Chak," and he eventually began the process of digging for the tank.[182] The settlement around the tank grew in terms of population and resources and the town became known as Ramdaspur.[183] Guru Ram Das deemed this new village the seat of the Sikh faith, influencing its growth over the years into a pilgrimage site for Sikhs.[184] Guru Ram Das' successor Guru Arjun began the task of constructing the Golden Temple at the center of the Sarovar well after the establishment of Amritsar.[185] The construction of the temple became an ongoing process, with various historical figures adding to it. Maharaja Ranjit Singh facilitated the addition of gold cladding around the entire temple. He also incorporated a marble floor around the Sarovar, which encloses the Golden Temple.[186] (Figure 4.32)

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[179] Julie Stark et al., *Yuba City, Our Home Town*, 79.
[180] Balvinder Singh, "Redevelopment and Conservation: The Case of Amritsar," *Context*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2012), 35.
[181] J. S. Bawa, *The Heritage of Amritsar* (Amritsar: Faqir Singh, 1978), 5.
[182] Sodhi Hazara Singh, *A History & Guide to the Golden Temple, Amritsar* (Amritsar, India: Bazar Mai Sewan, 1938), 18.
[183] Jakobsh, *Sikhism*, 26.
[184] H.H. Cole, Major R.E., "Golden Temple at Amritsar, Punjab," *The Journal of Indian Art, 1886-1916*, October 1980, 40.
[185] Singh, *A History & Guide to the Golden Temple, Amritsar*, 20.
[186] Singh, *A History & Guide to the Golden Temple, Amritsar*, 89-90.

Figure 4.32: Golden Temple, Amritsar, December 2017. Photo from author's family's personal photograph collection.

Figure 4.33: Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, 2013. Photo by Sunkata Pal, October 13, 2013, Wikimedia Commons, (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jallianwala_Bagh,_Punjab.jpg).

Throughout the history of Amritsar from its founding to its various phases of construction, it has become a distinguished city due to the manner in which religion permeates every aspect of life within this metropolis.[187] Kirtan is performed continuously inside the Golden Temple until its closure for the day.[188] The marble walkway surrounding the Sarovar, called the Parikarma or "encircling walkway," has a tradition of its own with visitors walking around the Sarovar in a clockwise manner and visiting sites of importance to the Sikh religion along the way.[189] The Langar hall, or community kitchen, is an additional aspect of the temple complex that manifests both tangible and intangible aspects. Located to the east of the Golden Temple,

[187] Bawa, *The Heritage of Amritsar*, 37.
[188] Satbir Singh, "Daily Routine of Golden Temple Amritsar," *Sri Harmandir Sahib (The Golden Temple, Amritsar)*, accessed May 5, 2018, http://www.goldentempleamritsar.org/daily-routine-of-sri-harmandir-sahib.php.
[189] Allenwalla, "New Plan of Harmandar," *Sikh Wiki: Encyclomedia of the Sikhs*, September 3, 2008, accessed May 5, 2018, http://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/File:New-Plan-of-Harmandar-rp.jpg.

Langar is a critical component of the Sikh religion where free meals prepared by volunteers are served to anyone regardless of ethnicity, caste, or age.[190]

Amritsar and the Golden Temple are two of the most importance pieces of heritage to the Punjabi Sikh community in India. The process by which Punjabi Sikhs immigrants in the United States have appropriated and adapted certain elements of the Golden Temple to their micro communities exemplifies the importance Amritsar holds for these immigrant communities as it does for those back in Punjab. Several central elements in the Golden Temple are found in the Yuba City Gurdwara that have been appropriated in a way to shape itself to the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi Sikh community. The Darbar Sahib, or main prayer hall, is the first shared characteristic between the Golden Temple and Yuba City Gurdwara. This overlap goes beyond the design or morphology of the space, it is the idea of it being the heart of the gurdwara complex and the sanctuary of the Guru Granth Sahib. Although kirtan is not continuously performed in the Yuba City Gurdwara like it is at the Golden Temple, the idea of kirtan and the recitation of the Guru Granth Sahib as a mode to transmit the religious and spiritual elements of the Sikh religion is still part of the Yuba City Gurdwara's regular pattern. The Langar Hall is another similar aspect between the Golden Temple and the Yuba City Gurdwara. Again, it goes beyond the design or location of the Langar Hall, rather it is what the idea of langar stands for and its role as one of the key components of the Sikh religion. The idea of equality, selflessness, and philanthropy evoked by the Langar Hall is an element the Punjabi Sikh immigrants of Yuba-Sutter have incorporated into their house of worship.

A comparison of the Jallianwala Bagh and the Mata Gujri Rose Garden also reveal how features of the bagh or garden in Amritsar have been incorporated into the meaning and function of the Yuba City Gurdwara's rose garden. On April 13, 1919 during the period of British rule, a large crowd assembled at the Jallianwala Bagh garden was violently massacred by the British.[191] In 1960, the Jallianwala Bagh became a memorial site and landmark. (Figure 4.33) Artwork and historic documentation of the 1919 massacre are depicted in the park as educational tools.[192] The Mata Gurji Rose garden utilizes this idea of merging Sikh history into a landscaped public space. The garden blends the commemoration of a historical Sikh figure, Mata Gujri, with the

[190] Allenwalla, "New Plan of Harmandar," Singh, *A History & Guide to the Golden Temple, Amritsar*, 19.
[191] Derek Sayer, "British Reaction To The Amritsar Massacre, 1919–1920," *Past and Present*, no. 131 (May 1991), 130-131.
[192] CRCI (India) Pvt. Ltd. And IPE Global PVT Ltd., *City HRIDAY Plan for Amritsar*, Volume I, February 2016, accessed April 15, 2018, http://hridayindia.in/downloads/chp/amritsar/CHP_for_Amritsar_Volume_I.pdf, 67.

simultaneous remembrance of those that have made significant contributions to the Punjabi community of Yuba-Sutter.

The primary difference between the Golden Temple and the Yuba City Gurdwara is the absence of the Sarovar or tank that surrounds the Golden Temple. Comparing the urban, metropolis context of Amritsar versus the rural landscape of Yuba-Sutter provides a possible justification for this. The spirituality of the Sarovar is something unique to the Golden Temple and a central component of its authenticity. It demonstrates how transnational immigrant communities pick and choose the heritage of their homeland that they wish to incorporate into their built environment, paying tribute to their homeland and the community they have built in the United States.

This comparative analysis reveals the way heritage shapes and forms for transnational immigrant communities, taking precedent from the country of origin while existing in its own right and as its own authentic form of heritage in the diaspora. The Golden Temple as one of the most significant gurdwaras and religious sites for Punjabi Sikhs serves as a model with both tangible and intangible aspects that the Yuba-Sutter community has reformulated into their own religious center. A broad overview of the religious, spiritual, and functional components of the Golden Temple helps create a contextual framework that explains the manner in which the Yuba City Gurdwara developed and operates today.

Significance

The Yuba City Gurdwara is significant for its role as the first and most prominent religious space for Punjabis in Yuba-Sutter that are of the Sikh faith, which the majority of the Punjabi immigrants are. While the design is interesting with elements stemming from Indo-Islamic architecture, it is the Yuba City Gurdwara's role as a community resource that makes it significant rather than its aesthetic. The Yuba City Gurdwara was the first gurdwara to open in Yuba-Sutter, making it a valuable asset for the community who previously traveled more than ninety miles to Stockton to participate in religious events.[193] Tracing the physical evolution of the

[193] Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 11; Nicole Ranganath, "Yuba City Gurdwara," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive,* accessed May 25, 2018, https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/contributions/religion/tierra-buena-temple/.
The first gurdwara to open in California and the Northern California region was the Stockton Gurdwara, the second to open in California was the El Centro Gurdwara. The Yuba City Gurdwara was the second gurdwara to open in the Northern California region.

gurdwara exemplifies how it has grown from the main prayer hall and Langar Hall to incorporating ancillary structures that would come to form an overall gurdwara complex. The addition of an entire wing dedicated to in-house residence quarters for the priests, a Punjabi school, various community meeting rooms, Dasmesh hall, and the Mata Gurji Rose Garden signify how the Yuba City Gurdwara began to transform into more than just a place to conduct religious services, but become a community facility for local Punjabis and a repository of their heritage.

Temples play a crucial role in connecting the homeland and the diaspora through the rituals and traditions practiced in these spaces. This is especially seen when looking to the Golden Temple and Amritsar for an originating precedent. The heritage practices of the Punjabi community as followers of the Sikh faith, but even just as the Punjabi ethnic group, are embedded in the physical fabric of the Yuba City Gurdwara. This is especially seen with the various religious and social functions embodied in the different spaces of the gurdwara complex. The recitation of the Guru Granth Sahib in the main prayer hall forms the religious core of the gurdwara, as seen with the first Akand Path done at the Yuba City Gurdwara in 1970, where the Guru Granth Sahib was read continuously.[194] Other religious and cultural events such as weddings also frequently take place at the gurdwara. The documentary *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City*, depicts the multifaceted role of the gurdwara for various members of the community. For instance, the gurdwara also serves as a recreational area for children to play in the basketball courts and fields surrounding the temple.[195] In the Langar Hall, not only is the fundamental idea of equality transmitted through the operation of this free kitchen, but members of the community, especially women, volunteer their time to prepare food and form social networks throughout the process.[196]

Today, the gurdwara is still a vibrant cultural resource that is the cornerstone of the Punjabi community. The gurdwara is significant for the story it tells of the Punjabi Sikh residents of Yuba-Sutter and the resource it serves as for every-day religious and social life, as well as more prominent events. The site is more than just a temple and place to pray, it's a place for

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[194] Brar, "East Indians of Sutter County," 22.
[195] *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City*, 1985.
[196] Allenwalla, "New Plan of Harmandar," Singh, *A History & Guide to the Golden Temple, Amritsar*, 19; *Sweet Jail: The Sikhs of Yuba City*, 1985.

community gathering, forming networks, volunteering, socializing, for children to play, and it represents the success the Punjabi community has achieved in overcoming immigration obstacles and building a life for themselves in this community. Finally, it speaks to how transnational immigrant groups maintain connections to the homeland as revealed by the continuity and differences between the Golden Temple and Yuba City Gurdwara. The Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community has adopted specific elements of the Golden Temple and the religious heritage they value in Punjab to create the Yuba City Gurdwara and continue the religious traditions they practiced in Punjab while creating a gurdwara in the landscape of Yuba-Sutter that specifically serves their community. This gurdwara was the first religious space serving the prominent Punjabi Sikh population settling in Yuba-Sutter. It has evolved into the anchor that unites the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter, becoming a crucial part of their identity, demonstrating its significance as a cultural asset and its representation of the history of Yuba-Sutter's Punjabi community as well as originating heritage practices in Punjab.

Chapter 5: The Yuba City Nagar Kirtan Procession

Introduction

With the establishment of the Yuba City Gurdwara in 1969, Yuba-Sutter not only built a solid religious foundation for Punjabi immigrants of the Sikh faith by creating their first religious structure, they also set the stage for a domino effect of additional religious growth to occur through tangible and intangible traditions. The most prominent heritage practice is the annual Yuba City Nagar Kirtan held every November. Kirtan is a general term for praising through religious hymns. In the context of the Sikh religion, this form of heritage is often defined as a practice that is predominantly musical. However, the manner in which kirtan is performed, though having musical elements, is also a form of conserving the history of the Sikh religion.[197] In the context of the Nagar Kirtan, this tradition is the act of performing kirtan through a procession in a public setting such as a local town or neighborhood.[198] Yuba City had its first Nagar Kirtan in 1979 and it has occurred annually every year since then, evolving in multiple aspects from its route, to its events, to its attendance.[199] Interviews with long-time residents and contributors to the Nagar Kirtan, newspaper articles, historical photographs, and scholarly work on the Sikh religion piece together the story of this phenomenal piece of both tangible and intangible heritage and its role in place-making for the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi Sikh community.

Description of Resource[200]

The description of the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan is based on the author's observations made during the weekend of the event. Having gone to multiple Nagar Kirtan processions throughout the years, this event was not just a homecoming but also a chance to analyze the procession through a heritage conservation lens. This analysis is based on the experience as a bystander among the crowd engaging with the various religious and cultural events with an emphasis on Sunday's procession.

The Yuba City Nagar Kirtan is just one of many events that take place during the first weekend of November. The Yuba City Gurdwara schedules this event during the weekend of

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[197] Bhai Baldeep Singh, "What Is Kirtan?: Observations, Interventions, and Personal Reflections," *Sikh Formations: Religion, Culture, Theory*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (2011), 240; 247.
[198] H.S. Sangha, *The Encyclopedia of Sikhism (over 1000 entries),* 150.
[199] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5th, 2018.
[200] For the purposes of describing the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan, the description will focus on the procession and route itself with general descriptions regarding the surrounding activities and events.

Guru Gaddi or the annual date of when the Guru Granth Sahib became the last and eternal Guru.[201] The most recent Yuba City Nagar Kirtan on November 5, 2017 began Friday night with kirtan in the gurdwara and followed by fireworks. Saturday morning, beginning at 9 a.m., the official flag for Sikhs, known as the Nishan Sahib, was raised. The rest of Saturday consisted of vendors and businesses creating a makeshift shopping market with tables and tents in the gurdwara parking lot. Seminars, a tour of the gurdwara, and kirtan were recited throughout Saturday. Sunday, the same shopping market continued to operate outside of the gurdwara. The main event for Sunday was the Nagar Kirtan with the procession lasting from approximately 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. and concluding the end of the weekend commemorating Guru Gaddi.[202]

The Nagar Kirtan procession begins in front of the Yuba City Gurdwara on Tierra Buena Road. The procession is a mix of logistical, religious, and social components. A series of decorated floats comprise the tangible aspects of this procession. Security measures are taken due to the size of attendance and its public nature. Hovering at a distance ahead of the procession is the local police department in their cars. (Figure 5.1) The front of the procession is marked by several men clothed in blue carrying a sign that reads, "Welcome to the Yuba City Sikh Parade." These individuals serve as the public face of the procession as messengers relaying a description of the event taking place to the community. Several men behind them, also clothed in blue, are carrying the American flag and California flag. Behind them are men clothed in orange carrying the Nishan Sahib, or Sikh flag, signifying that the procession is being put on by members of the Sikh faith. Orange and blue are both important colors in the Sikh religion that are reserved for religious events.[203] The combination of the American flag, California flag, and Nishan Sahib also denotes that this is an immigrant community with ties to both India and the United States, distinguishing it from Nagar Kirtan processions happening in different parts of the world. (Figure 5.2)

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[201] Sukhmandir Khalsa, "Yuba City Annual Sikh Parade Illustrated," *ThoughtCo.,* March 18, 2017, accessed May 15, 2017, https://www.thoughtco.com/yuba-city-annual-sikh-parade-illustrated-4123259.
[202] Kayla Webster, "Sikh Festival and Parade: All of the work that goes into it," *Appeal-Democrat,* November 2, 2017, accessed May 15, 2017, http://www.appeal-democrat.com/news/sikh-festival-and-parade-all-of-the-work-that-goes/article_992737b0-c044-11e7-8c62-63c671e90d96.html?referer_url=/news/sikh-festival-and-parade-all-of-the-work-that-goes/article_992737b0-c044-11e7-8c62-63c671e90d96.html; Surinder Singh Bakshi, *Sikhs in the Diaspora: A Modern Guide to The Practice of Sikh Faith: A Knowledge Compendium for the Global Age* (Amritsar: Singh Bros, 2010), 18.
[203] Parul Bhatti, "Significance of Color in Sikh Turbans."

Figure 5.1: Sheriff distantly located at the front of the Nagar Kirtan procession. November 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 5.2: Sign for Nagar Kirtan and various men holding the Nishan Sahib, American Flag, and California flag, November 2017. Photo by author.

The beginning of the religious component of the procession is led by five men, known as the Panch Piyare, or five beloved. (Figure 5.3) These five men are visual representations of the historical event of the first five individuals baptized into the Sikh faith. In 1699, Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth guru, ordered a gathering on Baisakhi. He asked for five volunteers to sacrifice themselves. Although to those watching the five volunteers appeared to have been beheaded, Guru Gobind Singh had in fact returned with goat's blood creating the illusion that the five men had been sacrificed. At the end, the five men that volunteered returned and the Guru commemorated them as the Panch Piyare, or five beloved. These were the first five individuals to be baptized into the Sikh faith and the official creation of the Khalsa. Basaikhi is therefore known not just as the annual beginning of the Sikh calendar and harvest season, it also has religious significance.[204] Khalsa translates to "pure" which is representative of how this order created by Guru Gobind Sikh signified a pivotal turning point in Sikh history and religion. Following the Rahit, or set of guidelines collectively known as the "Rahit namas," this new order became a distinguished set of followers of the Sikh religion in comparison to the rest of the Sikh community.[205] These followers are seen as being rebirthed physically and spiritually severing ties to their caste, career, former religious practices, etc.[206] Nagar Kirtans around the world vary slightly on the days they take place. In general, they occur on days of significance for the Sikh faith, such as when Guru Gobind Singh created the Khalsa on Baisakhi.[207] It is a visual display, homage, and tribute to the roots of their religion, such as the creation of the Khalsa. Local volunteers sweep the street just in front of the Panch Piyare throughout the procession.

[204] Singh, *A History & Guide to the Golden Temple, Amritsar,* 55; Anita Ganeri and Mary Saunders, *The First Book of Festivals: A Resource Book* (London: Evans, 2005), 17.
[205] Louis E. Fenech, "The Khalsa and the Rahit," in *The Oxford Handbook of Sikh Studies,* ed. Pashaura Singh, Louis E. Fenech (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016*),* 240.
[206] Jagraj Singh, *A Complete Guide to Sikhism* (Chandigarh, India: Unistar Books, 2009), 93.
[207] Gurveen Kaur Khurana, "The Nagar Kirtan and Sikh Diaspora," *Sikhism in Global Context,* ed. Pashaura Singh (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 229.

Figure 5.3: The Panch Piyare, or five beloved, leading the main float with the Guru Granth Sahib, November 2017. Photo by author.

Following directly behind the Panch Piyare is the focal point of the Nagar Kirtan – the Guru Granth Sahib. The same holy book of scriptures located in the main prayer hall of the gurdwara is nestled in its own float and leads the entire procession. This is the centerpiece of the entire event. The Guru Granth Sahib is considered the last and eternal guru for the Sikhs.[208] The most embellished of the floats, the Guru Granth Sahib is surrounded by a teal colored cloth that steps-down and drapes the base of the float. The inside of the float resembles the altar inside the gurdwara where the Guru Granth Sahib is placed. The float is covered with a makeshift canopy covered on top with royal blue and gold trim. Marigolds hang from the canopy serving as additional decorative elements. One individual is seated behind the Guru Granth Sahib similar to the granthi that sits behind the Guru Granth Sahib at the altar inside the gurdwara. In the gurdwara, the granthi may be reciting from the Guru Granth Sahib but he can always be seen waving a fan-like object called a chaur sahib. Made of yak hair, it is waved over the Guru Granth

[208] Hari Singh Everest, "An Open Invitation," *Appeal Democrat*, March 8, 1982, accessed May 20, 2017, http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/professionals/hari-singh-everest/pw/sikh-parade/#!gallery-140-303.

Sahib as a sign of respect.[209] Similar to the gurdwara, the Guru Granth Sahib and kirtan is recited throughout the procession and projected through speakers to the crowd. Additional seats are located to the left and right of the Guru Granth Sahib continuing in rows towards the back of the float. (Figure 5.4)

Figure 5.4: Main float holding the Guru Granth Sahib, November 2017. Photo taken by author.

Although the procession is based on the principles of the Sikh faith, the Nagar Kirtan brings together members of the Yuba-Sutter community hailing from diverse backgrounds as well as Sikh communities from surrounding regions. Members of the navy and the marines can be seen marching in the procession carrying the American flag. (Figure 5.5) Members of gurdwaras from the broader northern California region also participate in the procession. One such float decorated by the Sacramento Gurdwara follows behind in the series of floats in the procession. A sign on the side of the float reads "Sacramento Sikh Society." Hoisted on the

[209] Michael Keene, *New Steps in Religious Education, Book 2* (Cheltenham: Nelson Thornes, 2003), 38; Kristina Myrvold, *Sikhs in Europe: Migration, Identities, and Representations*, ed. Knut. A Jacobsen (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 431.

flatbed of a truck, these floats of additional gurdwaras and organizations embody a more vernacular and industrial aesthetic compared to the main float with the Guru Granth Sahib. The Sacramento Gurdwara's float is composed of orange and blue metal panels on the side, blue metal railings framing the float, and topped with an orange metal ceiling. (Figure 5.6) This float demonstrates how the decoration and placement of the subsequent floats in the procession remain secondary to the main float with the Guru Granth Sahib. The entire procession's morphology is oriented around the Guru Granth Sahib. The string of floats supports the main float, following behind but allowing the main float with the Guru Granth Sahib to command authority.

Figure 5.5: Members of the navy and marines walking in the Nagar Kirtan procession, November 2017. Photo taken by author.

Figure 5.6: Sacramento Gurdwara's float in the Nagar Kirtan procession, November 2017. Photo taken by author.

Crowds of people stand between the orchards lining Tierra Buena Road and the procession itself. Although the intention is for the crowd to follow the procession in an orderly fashion, groups of people hover and move around the procession trying to get the best view as demonstrated by many attendees holding out their phone to capture a picture. People attending are dressed casually with most women wearing a simple Indian suit and men in business casual attire. However, an important component of the procession is everyone covers their head, just as they would inside the gurdwara. Men cover their heads with a turban, or cloth bandana while women cover their heads with a loose scarf known as a chunni. (Figure 5.7) Covering one's head is a fundamental aspect of the Sikh religion. This is why everyone covers their head while

following the procession, despite it being outside. Especially since they are in the presence of the Guru Granth Sahib, this is seen as equivalent to being in the presence of God.[210]

Figure 5.7: View of part of crowd hovering behind procession, note Punjabi attire and many covering their head, November 2017. Photo taken by author.

The current route begins at the Yuba City Gurdwara on Tierra Buena Road. Traveling south on Tierra Buena Road, the procession then travels east onto Butte House Road. Next, it travels south onto Civic Center Boulevard. It continues west onto Poole Boulevard, north onto Tharp Road, and west back onto Butte House Road. Finally, the procession heads north back onto Tierra Buena Road and ends at its original starting place, the Yuba City Gurdwara. Although there does not appear to be any historic or cultural significance behind this specific route, the current route was modified to bypass the neighborhoods it originally went through due to noise complaints and instead travels through the city's civic center.[211] The procession crosses through both Yuba and Sutter County, covering a total of 4.5 miles.[212] (Figure 5.8) Additional

[210] Satwant Kaur Rait, *Sikh Women in England: Their Religious and Cultural Beliefs and Social Practices* (Sterling, VA: Trentham Books, 2005), 38.
[211] Rajinder Tumber, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 4th, 2018.
[212] "Map of 2017 Nagar Kirtan Route," Yuba City Police Department.

events and displays take place as well along the procession route, such as Gatka, or Sikh martial arts.[213] (Figure 5.9)

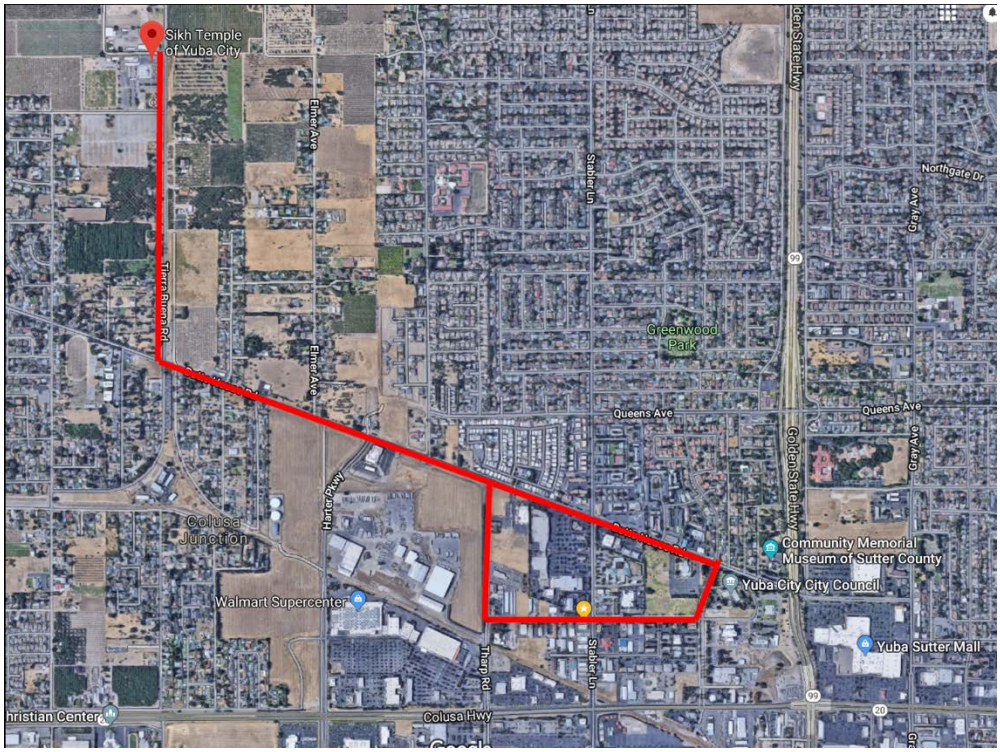

Figure 5.8: Map of Nagar Kirtan procession's current route. Map adapted by author from Imagery ©2018 Google, Map data ©Google.

[213] Gurveen Kaur Khurana, "The Nagar Kirtan and Sikh Diaspora," 235; Kamalroop Singh, "Sikh Martial Art (Gatka)," *The Oxford Handbook of Sikh Studies,* ed. Pashaura Singh, Louise E. Fenech (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016*),* 459.

Figure 5.9: Gatka, or Sikh martial arts, often performed at Nagar Kirtan, 2008. Photo by Jasleen Kaur, Wikimedia Commons, April 10, 2008, (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Gatka#/media/File:Gatka_at_Yuba_City.jpg).

The gurdwara itself plays a crucial role in the events not just for the Nagar Kirtan, but the overall weekend. It is the central meeting place for the events and its facilities are utilized to serve the tens of thousands attending the weekend's events. Those unable to attend or walk the entire route of the procession are able to engage in the weekend's activities through the gurdwara. Crowds of people can be seen gathered in and around the gurdwara complex, many slowly making their way into the main prayer hall through the entrance vestibule. (Figure 5.10) Inside the Darbar Sahib, or main prayer hall, almost every portion of the ground is filled with individuals sitting and listening to kirtan. (Figure 5.11)

Figure 5.10: Main entrance of Yuba City Gurdwara during Nagar Kirtan weekend, November 2017. Photo by author.


Figure 5.11: Darbar Sahib, or main prayer hall, during Nagar Kirtan, November 2017. Photo taken by author.

Commerce and food are the two main social aspects of the weekend. Set up in the in front of Dashmesh Hall, the parking lot is transformed into an outdoor shopping market. Photos from a recent Nagar Kirtan display volunteers preparing food in the parking such as peeling onions or making roti, the traditional wheat based tortilla that is a staple of Punjabi cuisine.[214] (Figure 5.12 and 5.13) Many also gather to shop for clothes, fabrics, and shoes as well.[215] (Figure 5.14) The continuation of Punjabi immigrants wearing Punjabi attire including dresses or turbans allow them physically represent themselves as belonging to the Punjabi ethnic group in the American landscape.[216] The Langar Hall, or community kitchen, serves thousands of free meals for the weekend with many volunteers donating supplies and helping prepare food.[217]

Figure 5.12: Women peeling onions to help prepare food for Nagar Kirtan, 2016. Photo from "Festival: Sikh culture celebrated at bevy of events on big weekend," Marysville Appeal-Democrat, November 6, 2016, pg. A1, (https://www.pressreader.com/usa/marysville-appeal-democrat/20161106/281608124998782).

[214] "Festival: Sikh culture celebrated at bevy of events on big weekend," *Marysville Appeal-Democrat,* November 6, 2016, accessed May 25, 2018, https://www.pressreader.com/usa/marysville-appeal-democrat/20161106/281608124998782.
[215] Festival: Sikh culture celebrated at bevy of events on big weekend," *Marysville Appeal-Democrat*.
[216] Anjali Gera Roy, *Imperialism and Sikh Migration: The Komagata Maru Incident* (London: Routledge, 2018), 88.
[217] Punjabi American Heritage Society, "The 2000 Yuba City Sikh Parade – PAHS Press Release," *Punjabi American Heritage Society,* accessed May 27, 2018, http://www.punjabiheritage.org/2000/11/01/the-2000-yuba-city-sikh-parade-pahs-press-release/.

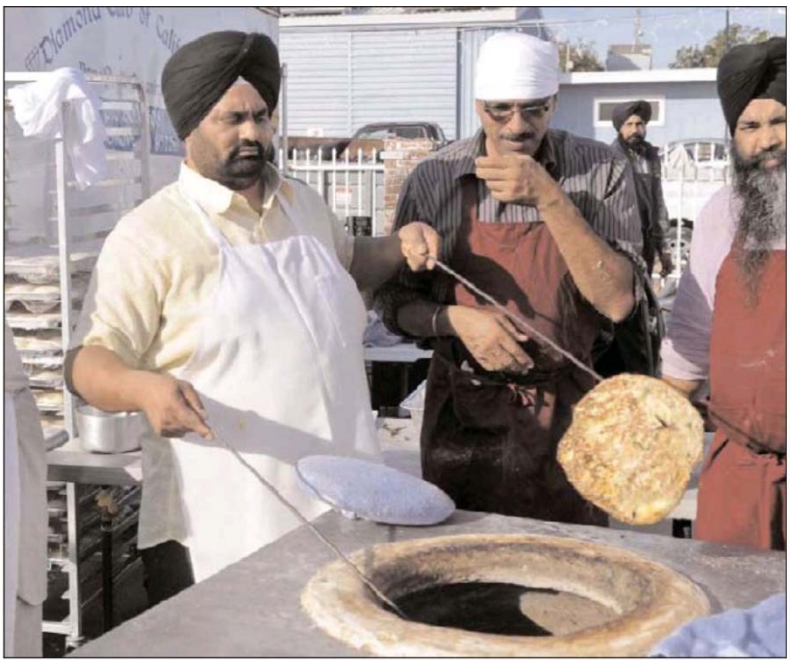

Figure 5.13: Volunteers preparing traditional flatbread for Nagar Kirtan. Photo from "Festival: Sikh culture celebrated at bevy of events on big weekend," Marysville Appeal-Democrat, November 6, 2016, pg. A1, (https://www.pressreader.com/usa/marysville-appeal-democrat/20161106/281608124998782).

Figure 5.14: Outdoor shopping markets set up in parking lot of gurdwara. Photo from "Festival: Sikh culture celebrated at bevy of events on big weekend," Marysville Appeal-Democrat, November 6, 2016, pg. A1, (https://www.pressreader.com/usa/marysville-appeal-democrat/20161106/281608124998782).

History

The first known Nagar Kirtan in North America occurred in Canada on January 19, 1908 after the passage of the Continuous Journey regulation and the construction of the first gurdwara in Vancouver. This event combined a religious observance with a political stance protest for the Canadian Sikh community that had been facing discriminatory practices.[218] Nagar Kirtans have also historically occurred in the United States. Prominent Punjabi communities on the east coast began the 1988 "New York Vaisakhi parade." This event also aligns with Guru Gobind Singh's formation of the Khalsa and serves as an educational tool for community members that are not knowledgeable about the Sikh religion.[219] A similar event is held in Queens by the Sikh Cultural Society.[220] Nagar Kirtans have also occurred in Europe. The first Nagar Kirtan in Noveralla, Italy, occurred in 2004 during Baiskahi. Although small in size in comparison to other Nagar Kirtans with 5,000 attendees, the Sikh population of this town was able to create a platform for themselves in the public sphere of Noveralla, increasing their visibility as a community to broader society that may be unaware of their presence or know little about the Sikh religion.[221]

The Yuba City Nagar Kirtan began as a collective idea among the members running the gurdwara and serving on the temple committee at the time. Many of the members, such as Didar Singh Bains, Mehar Singh Tumber, and Gulzar Singh Johl discussed the idea of starting their own Nagar Kirtan upon seeing the Nagar Kirtan in Vancouver, Canada. The facilitation of a weekend full of events, including the procession, was a tremendous task to take on and it took collaboration between members of the committee to bring this idea to life.[222] Given the gurdwara had been operating for about a decade, the framework was already set to create the Nagar Kirtan and for the gurdwara to begin celebrating religious events at a larger scale. On November 1980, the Yuba City Gurdwara had its very first Nagar Kirtan. At the time, the route began at the Yuba City Gurdwara and traveled south on Tierra Buena Road. It proceeded east on Butte House

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[218] Anjali Gera Roy, *Imperialism and Sikh Migration: The Komagata Maru Incident,* 116; "Sikh Canadian History," *ExplorAsian: Vancouver Asian Heritage Month Festival*, accessed May 27, 2018, https://explorasian.org/learn/education/sikh-canadian/.

[219] Gurinder Singh Mann, Paul Numrich, and Raymond Williams, *Buddhists, Hindus, and Sikhs in America: A Short History (*New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 123.

[220] Pyong Gap Min, *Preserving Ethnicity Through Religion in America: Korean Protestants and Indian Hindus Across Generations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 66.

[221] Ester Gallo, *Migration and Religion in Europe: Comparative Perspective on South Asian Experience (*London: Routledge, 2016), 182.

[222] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5, 2018; Nicole Ranganath, "Yuba City's Sikh Parade," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed May 27, 2018 https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/contributions/religion/yuba-citys-sikh-parade/.

Road, took a left onto Stabler Lane, and traveled through the neighborhoods surrounding Stabler Lane back to the gurdwara.[223] (Figure 5.15)

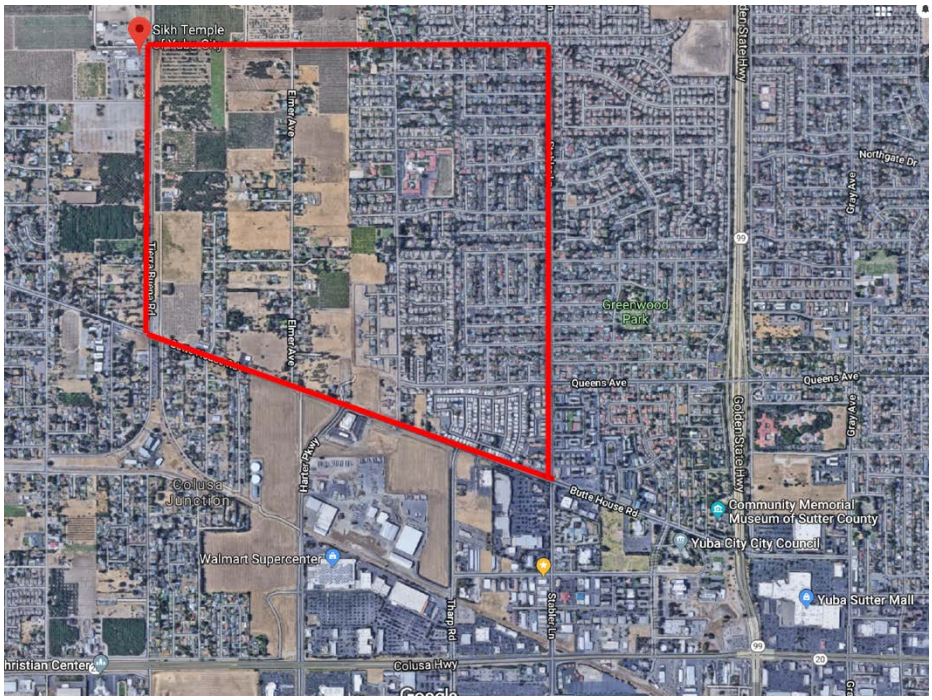

Figure 5.15: Map showing approximate original route of Nagar Kirtan procession. Map adapted by author from Imagery ©2018 Google, Map data ©Google.

Although the route has since changed due to complaints by the neighborhood residents, many of the fundamental traditions tied to the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan stem back to this original route. The Tumber family, a prominent family in the post-1947 Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community, began an important tradition relating to food served during the Nagar Kirtan. During the original route, the procession would pass their house. The Tumber family began putting out a table with food and refreshments for those walking along with the Nagar Kirtan procession. (Figure 5.16) At the time, nobody else was setting up tables with food for attendees to refuel and refresh during the long walk. This led to the tradition of free food being set up to give out to attendees for years to come by various families located along the route as well.[224]

[223] Rajinder Tumber, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 4th, 2018.
[224] Rajinder Tumber, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 4th, 2018.

Figure 5.16: Refreshments set up outside Tumber residence for Yuba City Nagar Kirtan, early 1980s. Photo courtesy of UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive and the Tumber family (https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/farmers/meha-tumber/).

Historical photos of the Nagar Kirtan during the early 1980s show how many of these traditions have carried into present day and have only expanded in size. A photograph from the first Nagar Kirtan shows the main float with the Guru Granth Sahib decorated in an embellished manner just as it is today. (Figure 5.17) An additional photo from 1984 shows the Panch Piyare leading the procession and being adorned with marigold garlands. (Figure 5.18) This demonstrates how the historical event of the first five individuals being baptized into the Sikh faith has remained the fundamental religious event from which the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan stems from and the subsequent use of the procession as a platform for the public, visual display of this event.

Figure 5.17: First Nagar Kirtan in 1980. Photo courtesy of Punjabi American Heritage Society, (http://www.punjabipioneers.com/exhibits/Traditions).

Figure 5.18; Panch Piyare, Yuba City Nagar Kirtan, 1984. Photo courtesy of UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive and the Tumber Family, (https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/farmers/meha-tumber/).

Newspaper articles dating back to the early years of the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan signify the impact this event has had not just in a religious sense, but socially, politically, and commercially by enabling Yuba-Sutter to engage with other Punjabi Sikh communities in the northern California region. A letter by Hari Singh Everest, long-time educator and contributor to the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi Sikh community, expresses his and the community's success at the 1982 Yuba City Nagar Kirtan. He describes the event as the "274th Coronation Anniversary of the Sri Guru Granth Sahib Ji." Despite the changes in the procession and events over the years, this article demonstrates how the religious significance behind the Nagar Kirtan has remained consistent and united the event as a whole over time.[225] He also thanks the additional gurdwaras that participated, indicating how the Nagar Kirtan has allowed the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi Sikh community to create a network with other religious centers and Punjabi Sikhs in northern California.[226] With the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan serving as an annual gathering place for other gurdwaras in the broader region, the presence of its Punjabi community became more visible and put Yuba-Sutter on the map as an area known for its Punjabi population.

The Nagar Kirtan has also been subject to political pressure during times of difficulties both in India and the United States. The year 1984 is the most prominent of these politically charged times, showing how experiences in the diaspora are affected by events in the homeland and how these historic events can translate into the built environment. From June 5th to June 7th, 1984 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ordered the Indian Army to attack the Golden Temple in Amritsar to establish control over Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and what the Indian government perceived to be Sikh terrorists under Bhindranwale's leadership.[227] Known as Operation Bluestar, after the army's attack, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated, leading to the Delhi Riots and a cycle of political and religious violence to continue in India.[228]

These traumatic events affected Punjabis living in the United States as well. During the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan of 1984, much of the media and many journalists anticipated unrest at the event. Crowds of local reporters and camera crews gathered and the police department implemented extra safety precautions. However, the Nagar Kirtan unfolded peacefully and

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[225] Hari Singh Everest, "Sikh Parade," *India West*, Nov 26, 1982, pg. 5, accessed May 27, 2018, http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/professionals/hari-singh-everest/pw/sikh-parade/#!gallery-140-308.
[226] Hari Singh Everest, "Sikh Parade."
[227] Radhika Chopra, "1984 – Disinterred Memories," *Sikh Formations: Religion, Culture, Theory,* vol. 11, no. 3 (2015), 306; Radhika Chopra, "A Museum, A Memorial, and A Martyr," *Sikh Formations: Religion, Culture, Theory*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2013), 97.
[228] Radhika Chopra, "1984 – Disinterred Memories," 309.

without any issues, just as it had in its preceding years. Locals behind the planning of the Nagar Kirtan, such as Hari Singh Everest, expressed that the events in India had affected many Punjabis living in Yuba-Sutter.[229] The debate and conversations occurring during the Nagar Kirtan of 1984 show how heritage that evolves over time can be reflective of the political and social atmosphere both in their local community and in the homeland.

Volunteers are a critical component in ensuring the smooth operation of the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan every year. Their contributions have become more integral to the event as the Nagar Kirtan has increased in size over time. These volunteers help keep those walking along the procession in an orderly fashion as best they can, as well as cleaning up during the procession. The day following the Nagar Kirtan is dedicated to cleaning up any litter or debris left after the event.[230] These volunteers are often times local residents of the Yuba-Sutter community and participating even in the logistical matters of the event gives them a chance to engage with other Punjabi Sikhs as well as dedicate their service and time to their community. Known as seva, meaning a selfless service or act of volunteering, the idea behind these philanthropic acts is a fundamental idea in the Sikh faith through which one shows their dedication to their community and their faith. [231]

By 2000, nearly two decades after the first Nagar Kirtan, approximately 40,000 to 50,000 people attended the event.[232] By 2015, the numbers reached 80,000 in attendance and over the years, more members outside of Yuba-Sutter attend the annual event as tourists, putting Yuba-Sutter on the map.[233] Today, approximately over 100,000 attend the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan from all over the United States and Canada and it has become one of the largest Nagar Kirtans and processions put on by South Asian Americans in the nation.[234]

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[229] Christine Leyser, "Yuba City Sikh Parade Foils Expectations," *India West,* November 9, 1984, accessed May 30, 2018, http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/professionals/hari-singh-everest/pw/sikh-parade/#!gallery-140-305.
[230] Hari Singh Everest, "The Sikh Parade," *The Appeal-Democrat*, November 14, 1992, accessed May 30, 2018, http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/people/professionals/hari-singh-everest/pw/sikh-parade/#!gallery-140-309.
[231] Gurmit Singh Virdee, "Labour of Love: Kar Seva at Darbar Sahib's Amrit Sarover," *Sikh Formations: Religion, Culture, Theory,* vol. 1, no. 1 (June 2005), 13.
[232] Punjabi American Heritage Society, "The 2000 Yuba City Sikh Parade – PAHS Press Release."
[233] Andrew Creasey, "Sikh festival bringing a parade of activity," *Appeal-Democrat*, October 26, 2015, accessed May 26, 2018, https://www.appeal-democrat.com/news/sikh-festival-bringing-a-parade-of-activity/article_9eca6e30-7c71-11e5-a74c-77a4a2c2ec4d.html.
[234] Sukhmandir Khalsa, "Yuba City Annual Sikh Parade Illustrated;" Nicole Ranganath, "1965-1983: Community Revival," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive*, accessed May 27, 2018, https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/eras/1965-1983/.

Comparative Analysis

Nagar Kirtans happen all over the world today, from India, to the United States, to Canada. Its origins stem from the Sikh religion and the celebration of Gurupurabs in India. Gurupurab is a general term for a significant day in the Sikh religion, either associated with the births or deaths of the ten gurus, or other historical events with religious significance such as the founding of the Khalsa order.[235] In general, the manner in which a Gurupurab is commemorated and the different celebratory and religious aspects it entails are common across the board, despite the specific event they are being celebrated for being different. The city of Amritsar, Punjab and its most significant landmark, the Golden Temple, provide an excellent case study for how a Gurupurab takes places, the role of the Nagar Kirtan in this overall event, and how the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan is similar to and differs from its counterpart in Punjab.

The Golden Temple's schedule lists the various events for which a Gurupurab is celebrated ranging from the birthdates of the ten gurus, to their appointment to the guruship, to their deaths.[236] In general, a Gurupurab begins with the continuous recitation of the Guru Granth Sahib, known as Akand Path. The Akand Path is a key intangible component that the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan and overall Guru Gaddi also incorporates throughout the weekend. This is the spiritual core of the weekend's festivities and its intangible nature has made it an easy element for Punjabi immigrants in Yuba-Sutter to carry over from Punjab.[237]

Typically, a Nagar Kirtan takes place a day before a Gurupurab as a "public procession" where the Guru Granth Sahib is transported on a decorated float.[238] The Gurupurab held for Guru Nanak in Amritsar provides a comparison for how the Nagar Kirtan held in this holy city compares to the Nagar Kirtan in Yuba-Sutter. In this case, the Nagar Kirtan was held the day before the Gurupurab serving as a preliminary event. In contrast to the Yuba City Guru Gaddi, the main day is filled with additional kirtan and religious events, but the idea of this procession being the public face of the Sikh religion and its historical events is the same.[239] The main float of the Nagar Kirtan with an embellished palanquin holding the Guru Granth Sahib leads the

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[235] Kartar Singh Bhalia, *Let's Know Festivals of India* (New Delhi: Star Publications 2005), 20.
[236] "Gurupurabs, Gurupurab Dates," *Sri Harmandir Sahib (The Golden Temple Amritsar),* accessed May 25, 2018, http://www.goldentempleamritsar.org/gurpurbs.php.
More comprehensive list for Gurupurab dates is found Kartar Singh Bhalia's *Let's Know Festivals*, pg. 20.
[237] Bhalia, *Let's Know Festivals of India*, 20; Harbans Singh Bhatia and Shiri Ram Bakshi, *Religious Traditions* of Sikhs (New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 2000), 58.
[238] Bhalia, *Let's Know* Festivals *of India*, 20.
[239] Bhalia, *Let's Know Festivals of India*, 20.

procession. However, the palanquin is transported by devotees carrying the physical box-like structure.[240] The Yuba-Sutter Nagar Kirtan instead places the palanquin on a vehicle-operated float rather than it being carried by the public. This is likely due to Yuba-Sutter expanding the Nagar Kirtan into a procession of multiple floats. The Nagar Kirtan in Amritsar appears to only incorporate the palanquin with the Guru Granth Sahib, and not keeping it in its palanquin form rather than incorporating it into a float.[241]

Additional photographs reveal that gatka or Sikh martial arts are also performed during the Amritsar Nagar Kirtan held for the Guru Nanak Gurupurab, almost identical to Yuba-Sutter's Nagar Kirtan. Finally, the Nagar Kirtan in Amritsar ends its route at the Golden Temple.[242] This connection between the Nagar Kirtan and the gurdwara has also been adopted by the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan which not only begins and ends at the Yuba City Gurdwara, but utilizes the gurdwara space as the central meeting grounds for the weekend's events. Various Nagar Kirtans are held in Amritsar for different Gurupurabs throughout the year. However, this specific example of the Nagar Kirtan held for the Guru Nanak Gurupurab in Amritsar demonstrates the originating precedents and influences that resulted in the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan. The idea of the continuous recitation of kirtan, the performance of gatka and other Sikh visual displays, and the connection of the procession to the gurdwara are the three main elements that overlap between Amritsar and Yuba-Sutter. The intangible nature of these aspects have not only made it easier for the community of Yuba-Sutter to almost identically transplant these heritage practices to the American landscape, it also reveals how intangible heritage operates within transnational immigrant groups as an element provides a strong connection to both the homeland and the diaspora. The specific route, the transportation of the Guru Granth Sahib, and the development of the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan into a choreography composed of floats separates Amritsar and Yuba-Suter.

While both processions share the same religious core, the Yuba-Sutter community has molded their Nagar Kirtan to the agricultural environment of Yuba-Sutter rather than the urban metropolis of Amritsar, resulting in the physical outcomes of the processions differing. Not only

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[240] "Nagar Kirtan taken out on eve of Gurpurb in City," *Tribune India,* November 25, 2015, accessed May 25, 2018, https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/amritsar/nagar-kirtan-taken-out-on-eve-of-gurpurb-in-city/162712.html.
[241] Nagar Kirtan taken out on eve of Gurpurb in City," *Tribune India;* "Sikh procession in Amritsar: Nagar Kirtan on the 344th anniversary of the birth of Guru Gobind Singh, *The Telegraph,* accessed May 25, 2018, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/picturegalleries/worldnews/6932703/Sikhs-process-in-Amritsar-for-the-Nagar-Kirtan-on-the-344th-anniversary-of-the-birth-of-Guru-Gobind-Singh.html?image=6.
[242] "Nagar Kirtan taken out on eve of Gurpurb in City," *Tribune India*.

are they shaping the procession to fit their landscape, the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter is creating a hybrid or blended procession that fits in the global context and history of Nagar Kirtans but is still their own community's authentic experience. It is crucial to remember that the procession itself is just one part of the overall festivities of a Gurupurab and the Guru Gaddi to commemorate significant events and dates in the Sikh religion. There are multiple facets to these celebrations that involve both the public and private sphere, incorporating social, religious, and commercial aspects.

Significance

Across the urban landscapes of various countries, religious heritage often contain both tangible and intangible aspects. UNESCO began studying intangible heritage during the 1980s and categorized this element as traditions, practices, and skills stemming from the manner in which communities interact with their environment.[243] The relationship between these two forms of heritage reveals how the tangible aspects of heritage often operate within the larger framework of the intangible values associated with a space, as seen with religious heritage. The materiality of religious heritage is a manifestation of the spirituality and sacredness associated with a space or tradition. This phenomenon is especially seen with South Asian forms of heritage, given the multiple layers of history, architectural elements, natural features, rituals, and traditions contained in these places.[244] It is this interplay seen between the relationship of material and abstract elements that results in South Asian religious heritage often blurring the boundaries between tangible and intangible heritage. The Yuba City Nagar Kirtan is one such case study of a religious heritage practice that is at the nexus of tangible and intangible heritage, representing both Sikh history, the heritage of Punjab, as well the story of the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community.

The procession itself embodies both material and abstract elements. The floats, the physicality of the Guru Granth Sahib book, and the role of the gurdwara in the procession are material features. The choreography of the procession, the kirtan performed with the Guru Granth Sahib, the gatka display, and the subsequent commemoration and transmission of the

[243] Susan Keitumetse, "UNESCO 2003 Convention on Intangible Heritage: Practical Implications for Heritage Management Approaches in Africa," *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, vol. 61, no. 184 (2006), 166.
[244] Vaisali Krishna Kumar, "Routledge Research in Landscape and Environmental Design," review of *Cultural Landscapes of South Asia: Studies in Heritage Conservation and Management,* accessed May 5, 2018, https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13527258.2017.1333523, 909.

Sikh religion in the public sphere is intangible, cannot be captured, and evolves over time. The Yuba City Nagar Kirtan is a phenomenal transformation of the rural, agricultural landscape of Yuba-Sutter. It gives the Punjabi Sikh community a platform through which they are able to stake their claim in their own temporal and physical realm, also serving as a tool to bring visibility to their community.[245] As a public display, the Nagar Kirtan also enables the Punjabis of Yuba-Sutter to reconstitute their own community in Yuba-Sutter while maintaining a connection to the homeland. In this way, the Nagar Kirtan is a repository for Sikh culture, religion, and a vehicle through which those heritage practices are conserved.[246]

The structure of the Nagar Kirtan over the years indicates that despite its evolution over time, several fundamental elements remain in place. The Guru Granth Sahib is the religious foundation for both the tangible and intangible aspects of the Nagar Kirtan. It is the main float and its recitation is the overriding spiritual event for the weekend of Guru Gaddi.[247] Although the manner in which the procession for Nagar Kirtans are carried out vary across the globe, the relation of the procession to its environment and the activities going on within these ancillary spaces also sheds light on how this piece of heritage plays a significant role in place-making for the Punjabi community of Yuba-Sutter. The Yuba City Gurdwara, an important site in itself, serves as the starting point and ending point for the procession, despite changes in the procession's route. It is the anchor of the Nagar Kirtan and the focal point around which the procession is oriented. Within the gurdwara grounds and complex, multiple layers of heritage practices that are part of the overall Guru Gaddi event also take place such as shopping in the bazaar set up in the parking lot, the preparation of free food, and seminars. The current route of the Nagar Kirtan transitions from beginning in an agricultural landscape along Tierra Buena Road to the civic and administrative center of Yuba City, allowing the message of the Sikh faith and the visibility of their community to be expressed in the most public space in the city. Finally, the Nagar Kirtan serves as a special homecoming for many Punjabi residents with ties to Yuba-Sutter who may have moved outside of the area, reminding them and the general public of why

[245] Khurana, "The Nagar Kirtan and Sikh Diaspora," 229.
[246] Khurana, "The Nagar Kirtan and Sikh Diaspora," 229; 31.
[247] Knut A. Jacobsen, *South Asian Religions on Display: Religious Processions in South Asian and in the Diaspora* (London: Routledge, 2009), 150; 225.

Punjabis first settled in the agricultural region of Yuba-Sutter and how this area came to be the first home of many Punjabi immigrants.[248]

Furthermore, it demonstrates the critical role religion plays for transnational Punjabi Sikh groups in helping them reconstitute their community in a new region while maintaining ties to their country of origin.[249] The Nagar Kirtan is a unique phenomenon that allows the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community to negotiate their identity as a transnational immigrant community with the Yuba-Sutter region as their laboratory. The blending of tangible and intangible elements constitutes the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan as a short-lived and almost ephemeral experience that pays homage to the Nagar Kirtan processions seen in Punjab while operating as its own unique heritage practice representative of the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community. A comparative analysis of the spiritual elements, physical appearance, and morphology of the Nagar Kirtan for the Guru Nanak Gurupurab in Amritsar against the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan reveals how it is the intangible aspects of the procession that the Yuba-Sutter community has duplicated in its community, while creating their own variation of the physical appearance of the procession.

Through these religious, political, social, and economic avenues, the Punjabi community of Yuba-Sutter is able to create their own cultural sphere in Yuba-Sutter through the procession of the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan that is visible in the public domain, if only for the weekend. The procession, its route, the activities that occur during the procession, and the secondary events occurring at the gurdwara show how the Nagar Kirtan is a form of place-making which blurs the line between tangible and intangible heritage, as well as the line between the private and public sphere. It shows the prominence of the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter with thousands attending both as local residents and visitors from out of town. The message and history of the Sikh faith, as well as the settlement of the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter, is displayed through this procession and transmitted to the community. Beyond its local and regional significance, the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan demonstrates how intangible heritage creates links and a network for transnational immigrant groups to the homeland. The Nagar Kirtan has become a major component of the identity of the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter, a repository for the Sikh faith, and the Punjabi culture, demonstrating its significance as a cultural resource and form of both tangible and intangible heritage for the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community.

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[248] "80,000 People to Participate in Yuba City Sikh Parade," *India Abroad*, November 23, 2007, A30.
[249] Kristina Myrvold, *Sikhs Across Borders: Transnational Practices of European Sikhs*, ed. Knut. A Jacobsen (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), 3.

Chapter 6: The Punjab Bazaar

Introduction

In addition to the role that the agricultural industry and religious life has played in the community building of Yuba-Sutter's Punjabi population, commerce, specifically Punjabi immigrants engagement with foodways, is also a critical component of this community's history and the formation of their identity. Although it is not the predominant economic sector that Punjabi and early South Asian immigrants engaged in, there were several early South Asian merchants and stores in Marysville.[250] However, it was not until the post-1947 period that the Yuba-Sutter region saw the development of one of its most prominent, stable, and largest South Asian grocery stores. The Punjab Bazaar opened its doors in 1964 and continues to operate today in Yuba City.[251] Housed in a vernacular warehouse, the Punjab Bazaar has grown alongside the post-1947 Punjabi community of Yuba-Sutter, expanding in both its size and its wide range of South Asian products. The Punjab Bazaar has evolved into more than just a place to purchase South Asian grocery items, it has helped foster Punjabi heritage traditions and enabled the process of place-making, shedding light on how vernacular sites of cultural significance build connections between the homeland and diaspora to help define the identities of immigrant communities.[252]

Description of resource

The Punjab Bazaar is located at the corner of Poole Boulevard and Stabler Lane in Yuba City. Situated at the northeast corner of a rectangular lot, it is set within a commercial and industrial context with various businesses and retailers surrounding the building. (Figure 6.1) Connected as one large building, the Punjab Bazaar is composed of two distinct masses. The first and primary mass is where the main entrance to the building is found along Stabler Lane. The front facade faces south rather than onto the street. This portion of the building is the only entrance for customers and where the main retail and grocery items are located inside. It is square shaped in plan, one-story in height and topped with a hipped roof. It has a horizontal emphasis due to its low height and the low pitch of the roof.

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[250] See Allen P. Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, Manuscript, 1950 (UC Berkeley, South/Southeast Asia Library), pg. 97-98 for a description of these early businesses. Several of these early businesses are described in detail in the history section of this chapter.
[251] Sunita Nakhwal, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal via phone, February 4th, 2018.
[252] Leonard, "Finding One's Own Place: Asian Landscapes Re-visioned in Rural California," 118; 127.

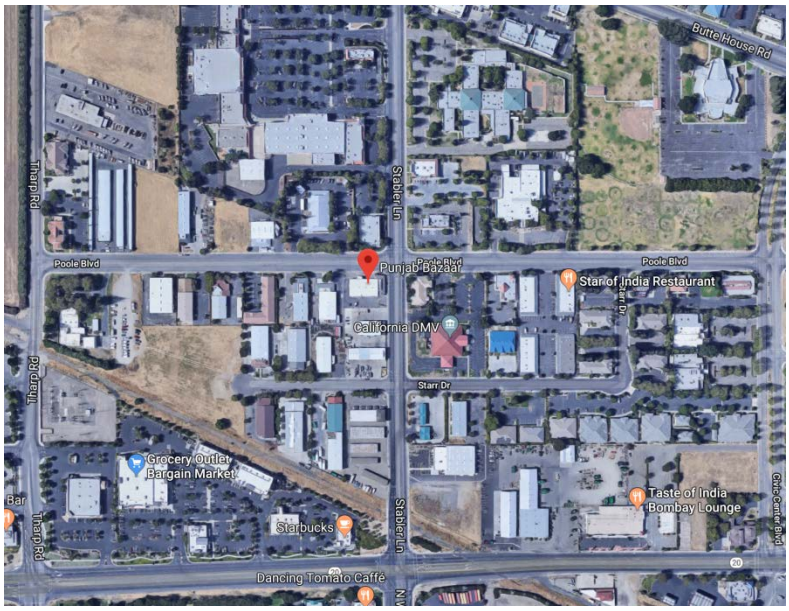

Figure 6.1: Aerial view of the Punjab Bazaar at 1190 Stabler Lane and surrounding context. Map source: Imagery ©2018 Google, Map data ©2018 Google.

A trapezoid shaped sign is found at the front facade that reads "Punjab Bazaar Imported Silky Fabrics, Groceries & Spices, Wholesale & Retail, Manufacturers of Various Flours." A Khalsa symbol is found just above this sign. Although the bazaar caters to more than just the Punjabi Sikh population, given the predominant number of residents that are of Punjabi descent and the Sikh faith, this sign welcomes them and indicates the market's specialization in Punjabi food, ingredients, and materials. The signage is characteristic of many South Asian ethnic grocery stores that often incorporate large, plain signs that list the common products sold at the store.[253] Two metal posts run from the base of the sign to the ground. The columns and trim of the roof and sign are painted blue. The remainder of the building retains a plain, industrial look with this portion of the bazaar clad with beige vertical vinyl siding. A pair of fully glazed doors set within a metal frame serves as the main entrance for customers. Single pane storefront windows flank both sides of the door. (Figure 6.2) Facing east onto Stabler Lane is the side facade of this central mass of the entire building. At the center of this facade is a simple six panel door that is no longer serves as a public entrance for customers. (Figure 6.3 and Figure 6.4) It

[253] Arijit Sen, "Creative Dissonance: Performance of Ethnicity in Banal Spaces," *InTensions Journal*, Issue 2 (Spring 2009: 8, accessed May 23, 2018, http://www.yorku.ca/intent/issue2/articles/pdfs/ArijitSenArticle.pdf.

likely dates from when the building originally served as an office and warehouse when it was first constructed.[254]

Figure 6.2: Primary mass of overall bazaar, main entrance, and sign, May 2017. Photo by author.

Figure 6.3: Side (east) facade along Stabler Lane, May 2017. Photo by author.

[254] "Permit #B4287," July 10, 1979, City of Yuba City, Development Services Department.

Figure 6.4: Detailed view of side (east) facade along Stabler Lane, May 2017. Photo taken by author.

A surface parking lot is located in the southern portion of the site, with the main access to the lot situated near the front entrance of the store. When one is traveling south on Stabler Lane and turns right, they are greeted by a pair of operable metal gates. Beyond the gate is a narrow strip of parking stalls set up diagonally. (Figure 6.5) The second mass composing the remainder of the subject property is a warehouse connected to the primary, smaller mass. The second mass is rectangular shaped in plan and is two-stories in height. It is clad with corrugated metal siding, also the same beige color as the rest of the building. Two metal roll up doors are found on the side facade of the warehouse that faces south towards the surface parking lot. The warehouse is topped with a flat, metal roof. (Figure 6.6) The rear of the warehouse facing north onto Poole Boulevard incorporates two additional metal roll up doors. There is a small bump out at the center of the rear facade that maintains the same industrial look with corrugated metal siding and a flat roof. (Figure 6.7) The side facade of the warehouse that faces east onto Stabler Lane and connects with the smaller, main mass of the bazaar has a sign identical to the one found at the front facade. Given the warehouse is taller in height than the central portion of the bazaar, this sign is visible to those driving on Stabler Lane. (Figure 6.8) Although the warehouse is two stories in height and has a larger massing and scale, it is set behind the main portion of the bazaar and remains secondary to this central mass so it does not detract from it.

Figure 6.5: Surface parking lot directly south of the Punjab Bazaar, May 2017. Photo taken by author.

Figure 6.6: Warehouse portion of bazaar, May 2017. Photo taken by author)

Figure 6.7: Rear (north) facade of the Punjab Bazaar facing north onto Poole Boulevard, September 2017. Photo from Google street view, image capture Sep 2017, ©2018 Google.

Figure 6.8: Signage along side (east) facade, September 2017. Photo from Google street view, image capture Sep 2017, ©2018 Google.

The interior of the bazaar is divided into three main sections with the first section dedicated to clothing, the second to food items, and the third to a warehouse and storage area. Like many ethnic grocery stores, the morphology of the interior of the store seems disorganized at first glance. However, it is actually an adaptable space with merchandise and products following the ebb and flow of the community's needs. In addition, the three portions of the

interior of the bazaar integrates overlapping layers of both private and public spaces, each with their own distinct experience as one moves through the store.[255] Upon entering the main entrance doors, the cash register is found immediately to the right. This is considered the most public of the spaces inside the store with customers gathered around the register waiting in line, conversing with the store owners, or even with other customers.

Beyond the register in the eastern portion of the overall building is the first delineated section of the store dedicated to clothing. Countless rolls of fabric set in drawers, stacked on countertops, and on hangers are found scattered throughout this room. (Figure 6.9 and 6.10) Despite appearing disorganized, the physical clutter of the fabric and clothing is representative of shopping markets in Punjab. It creates a connection between the homeland and the diaspora, evoking "place-based memories" of shopping and retail settings familiar to Punjabi immigrants.[256] The bazaar specializes in selling fabrics for customers to choose from to have custom-made Punjabi attire made, whether it is for casual everyday wear or for a special occasion such as a wedding. There are also pre-packaged suits stacked throughout the room ready to be sewn together by a tailor. (Figure 6.11) There are several clothing items that are more casual, pre-made, and meant for everyday wear. Several racks around the center of the room and along the wall are filled with hangers of various cardigans, vests, sweaters, and outwear. (Figure 6.12). Various accessories are also available for purchase such as bangles, necklaces, and earrings. (Figure 6.13). Near the rear of the store is an internal set of stairs that are currently not in use, but in front of the stairs are stacks of packaged blankets and comforters that combine with the clothing section. (Figure 6.14) This intimate corner of the bazaar dedicated to a product beyond grocery items shows the multifaceted nature of the Punjab Bazaar. The distinct experience of feeling as if one is shopping in a bustling bazaar in Punjab is compartmentalized into this one corner of the building, also demonstrating how ethnic grocery stores such as the Punjab Bazaar can be a one-stop destination, offering more than just food items.[257]

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[255] Arijit Sen, "Queens, South Asian Commercial Corridor: Decoding ethnicity in the Jackson Heights South Asian shopping strip," (paper presented at the Vernacular Architecture Forum Conference, New York City, June 2006), 6, accessed May 12, 2018, https://senspeaks.files.wordpress.com/2012/12/jackson-heights-tour-vaf-booklet-scan.pdf.
[256] Arijit Sen, "Food, place and memory: Bangladeshi fish stores on Devon Avenue, Chicago," *Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment,* 24, no. 1-2 (March 2016), 67, accessed May 20, 2018, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07409710.2016.1145026; Sen, "Queens, South Asian Commercial Corridor: Decoding ethnicity in the Jackson Heights South Asian shopping strip," 5.
[257] Sen, "Creative Dissonance: Performance of Ethnicity in Banal Spaces," 12.

Figure 6.9: Rolls of imported fabric stacked in drawers, April 2018. Photo by author.

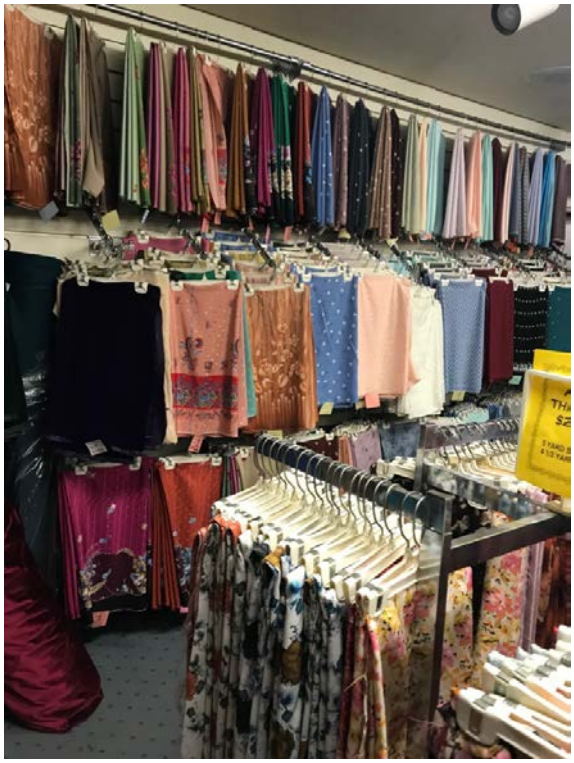

Figure 6.10: Various imported fabric on hangers, April 2018. Photo by author.

Figure 6.11: Pre-packaged suits, April 2018. Photo by author.

Figure 6.12: Sweaters, vests, cardigans, and various outwear, April 2018. Photo taken by author.

Figure 6.13: Jewelry and various accessors, April 2018. Photo taken by author)

Figure 6.14: Stacks of imported blankets in front of internal set of stairs, April 2018. Photo taken by author.

The second section of the bazaar is the heart of the entire store and showcases their specialty in Punjabi groceries and ingredients. This section is located in the center of the overall building near the main entrance doors and the cash register. Several aisles filled with shelves fill this portion of the bazaar. The shelved are stacked with a wide range of Punjabi ingredients and cooking items. One aisle is dedicated to packaged Punjabi biscuits, cookies, and snacks that are often eaten with cha or traditional Indian tea. (Figure 6.15) The bulk of the food items are dried and packaged lentils or beans. Daal (lentils) and channa (garbanzo beans) are a common staple of Punjabi cuisine and multiple shelves in one aisle are dedicated to different kinds of daal such as kala channa (black garbanzo beans), red lentils, moong daal, kabuli channa, and whole urad among others. (Figure 6.16) Additional packaged items such as canned goods are also an important part of the bazaar's stock. Mango pulp, tamarind concentrate, and coconut cream are among the canned items, sauces, and base products used for many recipes. Multiple kinds of packaged teas are also found given that this is one of the most popular drinks for Punjabi and overall South Asian cuisine. (Figure 6.17) Powders, leaves, and spices are additional key products found on the shelves of the bazaar including turmeric, aflateen, korh tuma, amala powder, lodh powder, ginger powder, methi leaves, and tulsi leaves. (Figure 6.18)

Figure 6.15: Various crackers, cookies, biscuits, and snacks, April 2018. Photo by author.

Figure 6.16: Wide range of beans, lentils, and dried packaged goods, February 2018. Photo taken by author.

Figure 6.17: Packaged teas and canned goods, March 2018. Photo by author.

Figure 6.18: Variety of leaves packaged in boxes, February 2018. Photo by author.

Along the interior wall of the front facade of the building are refrigerated and frozen goods, many items that are pre-made and can be heated on the stove or baked in the oven such as frozen naan or samosas. Finally, near the center of the bazaar is an area dedicated to household and hygiene items. Three shelves are filled with haircare products, mehndi, soaps, and South Asian medicines. (Figure 6.19) As the center of the bazaar and the central circulation space that sees the most foot traffic, this section connects all of the other spaces throughout the building, appearing as the most public space inside the bazaar. However, the experience of this space blurs the line between public and private for customers. One could be shopping alone, browsing through the items while on the other hand one could also chat and socialize with other customers. This space is also representative of the day to day lives of immigrants needing a small quantity of items to mostly cook at home. Depending on the context, one can have a private experience in this public space, or a public experience in this public space, demonstrating that it is not just the convenience of buying South Asian products at the bazaar that makes this ethnic grocery store special, but the experiences, social networks, and reformulated identities created in these spaces by Punjabi immigrants.[258]

[258] Sen, "Food, place and memory: Bangladeshi fish stores on Devon Avenue, Chicago," 71; Sen, "Creative Dissonance: Performance of Ethnicity in Banal Spaces," 8.

Figure 6.19: South Asian hygiene products, April 2018. Photo taken by author.

The western portion of the bazaar is the third and final section of the overall building. Located in the warehouse section of the building, wholesale items, bulk items, and oversized items are available for purchase in this area. The predominant item stored in the warehouse are the specialty flours made by the bazaar. Various kinds of flours are stacked on wooden platforms. White whole wheat flour, chana basin, and bhatura flour are just a few of the specialty flours found in bulk. (Figure 6.20) The remainder of the warehouse area is full of floor to ceiling shelves that house larger sized items. A large number of these products are cooking tools including large pots, pans, tavas (flat frying pans used to make Punjabi roti), baking sheets, and cooking utensils. (Figure 6.21 and 6.22) This is the third and final space contained within the bazaar. Rather than being representative of the customs and rituals of day to day life like the center of the bazaar, this section is representative of more ceremonial and festive events in the lives of immigrants. Often times, items such as flour or cooking equipment are purchased in

large quantities for grand events such as weddings, religious ceremonies, or a gathering at one's house.[259]

Figure 6.20: Specialty flours stored in warehouse section, February 2018. Photo by author.

Figure 6.21: Cooking equipment stored in warehouse section, April 2018. Photo by author.

[259] Sunita Nakhwal, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal via phone, February 4th, 2018.

Figure 6.22: Assortment of pans for cooking, April 2018. Photo by author.

According to the permit history and a visual inspection of the property, several changes appear to have been made to the exterior and interior. The building the bazaar is currently located in at 1190 Stabler Ln. was built in 1979 according to what appears to be an original building permit. It was built as a vernacular office/warehouse.[260] Several years later, the surface parking lot was paved in 1985.[261] In 1992, a metal building on site was demolished however it is not clear where this building was located, although it was likely a storage facility.[262] A year later, a 60' x 100' metal building was constructed on site and interior tenant improvements were done.[263] It is not clear where this building was constructed, it is possible this is the warehouse portion of the bazaar. The manner in which the warehouse connects to the smaller mass makes it quite possible that this was added on at one point. One of the more prominent changes was the

[260] "Permit #B4287," July 10, 1979, City of Yuba City, Development Services Department; "Certificate of Occupancy," September 20, 1979, City of Yuba City, Department of Building Inspection.
[261] "Permit #850615," October 14, 1985, City of Yuba City, Development Services Department.
[262] "Permit #920238," March 11, 1992, Building Division, City of Yuba City, Development Services Department.
[263] "Permit #920294," March 23, 1993, Plan Check and Building Permit Application City of Yuba City, Development Services Department.

increasing of square footage and an interior remodel in 1995. Again, it is not clear where this addition was made, but it is likely it could have been an expansion of the warehouse section.[264] The most recent change appears to be the reroofing of the flat portions of the building in 2010.[265] However, it is important to note that the bazaar is not significant for its architecture, but rather its role in community building for the Punjabi population of Yuba-Sutter and its reflection of Punjabi heritage through foodways and clothing.

History

The Punjab Bazaar opened in 1964 at its original location on Plumas Street in Yuba City. This business has been operated by the same family since it first opened to present day. Sunita Nakhwal, the current owner, and her father originally operated the bazaar at 629 Plumas Street and 624 Plumas street with one building dedicated to retail services and the other to wholesale products. It was the first business operated by the family and they initially sold household items before they began specializing in food items. They sold beds, brassware, handcraft items, household decorations, and even jewelry. Sunita expressed how at the time there were only a handful of Punjabi families in the Yuba-Sutter area and the demand for grocery items was not as high as it is now.[266]

As they began selling food and grocery items, they ventured into selling specialty flours. Rather than selling one type of flour, they chose to sell several different types as mentioned in the description of the bazaar. They also began grinding their own flour instead of selling flour from another manufacturer. Around 1979 they purchased a warehouse on Industrial Drive, using it as an offsite space to grind and mill their variety of flours. This quickly became one their most popular products, making their business stand out from others. When the Punjab Bazaar first opened, there were no other stores at the time selling these types of household items and food products consistently or at the scale the bazaar did. [267] Little documentation is available on sources of South Asian groceries and food items for early Punjabi immigrants. Allen Miller's *An Ethnographic Report on the (Sikh) East Indians of the Sacramento Valley,* researched during

[264] "Permit #950728," August 10, 1995, Building Permit Record, City of Yuba City, Development Services Department.
[265] "Permit #10110011," November 1, 2010, Building Permit Record, City of Yuba City, Development Services Department.
[266] Sunita Nakhwal, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal via phone, February 4th, 2018.
[267] Sunita Nakhwal, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal via phone, February 4th, 2018.

1947, appears to be one of the only sources that provides descriptions of how Punjabi immigrants in Yuba-Sutter cooked and the early businesses they owned. One method of obtaining Punjabi food items described by Miller was the creation of gardens in the labor camps that Punjabi immigrants worked and lived in, or their homes. Early Punjabi immigrants grew both commonly used vegetables in American cuisine as well as vegetables used in South Asian recipes such as okra, eggplant, or bitter melon.[268] U.S. Bains' home incorporated one such of these gardens. Immigrating in 1924 and working in the agricultural industry, Bains was eventually able to purchase his own land.[269] His house simultaneously served as a labor camp for those working in his orchards. He had his own garden in his backyard along with roosters used to cook Punjabi cuisine for the laborers.[270] (Figure 6.23)

Figure 6.23: Garden at U.S. Bain's home/labor camp, circa late 1940s. Photo courtesy of the UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive, (https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/eras/1923-1945/), from Allen P. Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 1950, MS, South/Southeast Asia Library, University of California, Berkeley, pg. 138.

[268] Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 59.
[269] Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 94.
[270] Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 95.

Historically, Marysville has served as the commercial center of the Yuba-Sutter region with residents working in the agricultural fields of Yuba City and shopping in Marysville.[271] Miller documented several of these early South Asian businesses in Marysville. However, almost all of these stores changed ownership, were taken over by a different business, or the building is no longer extant today.[272]

The Bharat Grocery Store was another early South Asian business located at 316 First Street in Marysville. (Figure 6.25) The owner of this store was Karam Chand.[273] Miller describes Chand as a prominent Punjabi immigrant in the Yuba-Sutter area due to his involvement in the agricultural industry, his business ownership, and his role as an advisor and information source for new Punjabi immigrants needing interpretation or assistance settling in Yuba-Sutter. He owned and operated the Bharat Grocery Store from 1931 to WWII. There appears to be a discrepancy in the history of the Bharat Grocery Store described by Miller. The photo caption describes how upon the closure of the Bharat Grocery Store, Chand began operating the Sinoala Café in the same building and later as a gathering center for Punjabi Sikhs in the Yuba-Sutter area. However, the written history of the Bharat Grocery Store describes the closure of the store in WWII and Chand's opening of the Sinoala Café at a different address, 302 First Street, which later became the social center for Sikhs. It is not clear whether the same building in which the Bharat Grocery Store was operated was converted into the café and social center, or whether this was at a different address. However, it appears the building at 316 First Street, which was described as the original location of the Bharat Grocery Store no longer appears to be extant. A portion of the original building appears to be still standing on site, but according to a historic photograph, the portion of the building and storefront in which the grocery store was located appears to have been demolished to make room for a surface parking lot (Figure 5.29). In addition, the building at 302 First Street, described as the address for the café and social center also appears to no longer be extant.[274] Four additional South Asian businesses are briefly

[271] Rajinder Tumber, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 4th, 2018.
[272] One such store was the East India National Company that was located at 122 Second Street in Marysville. The dates this business operated as a grocery store are not clear, but Miller notes it eventually went out of business. A comparison of the historical photograph of the East India National Company on pg. 124 to contemporary conditions reveals that this original building no longer appears to be extant at the listed address on the photo caption. See Allen P. Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, Manuscript, 1950 (UC Berkeley, South/Southeast Asia Library), pgs. 123-125 for complete description and photograph.
[273] Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 125.
[274] Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 97-98; 123-126.

described in Miller's manuscript as "business houses." (Table 6.1) The turnover rate and brief operations of these businesses were likely due to agricultural work yielding more money and job stability.[275]

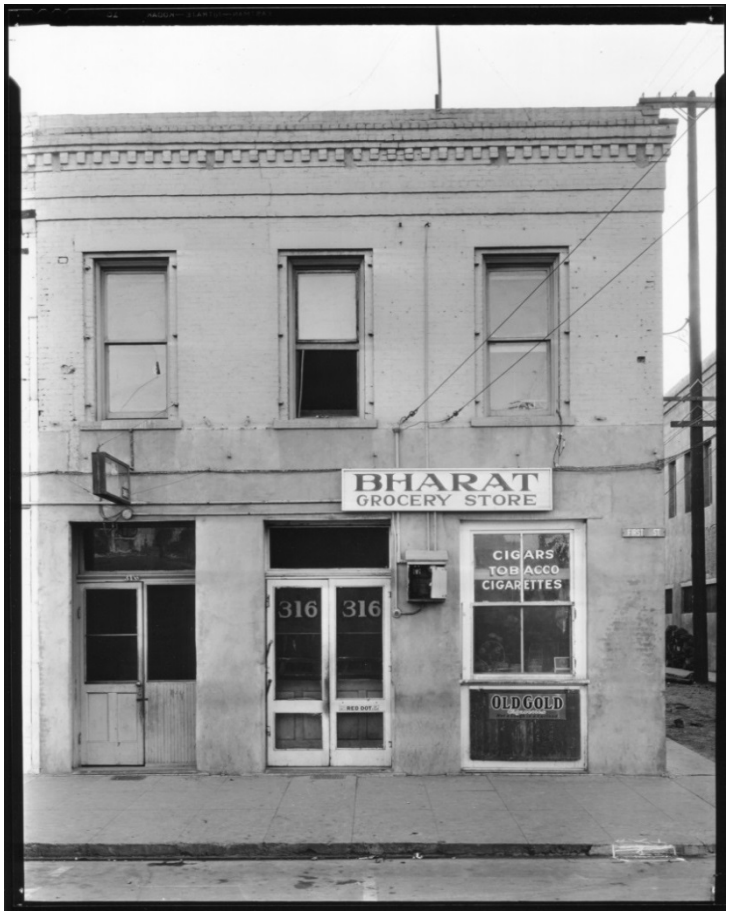

Figure 6.24: Bharat Grocery Store, 316 First Street. *Photo,* courtesy of the UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive, (http://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/places/destinations/yuba-city/historic-yuba-city/), from South Asians in North America Collection, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[275] Miller, *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, 98.

Early South Asian Businesses in Yuba-Sutter Area		
Address	**Name**	**Owner**
1st and Oak Street	Barber Shop and Rooms of Madho Ram	Munshi Singh Thiara
316 First Street	Bharat Grocery Store (New India Grocery Store)	Karam Chand
117 Oak Street	Grocery Store	Unknown
123 Oak Street	Liquor Store	Unknown
122 Second Street	East India National Company	Unknown

Table 6.1: Early South Asian businesses in Yuba-Sutter described in Allen Miller's *An Ethnographic Report on the Sikh (East) Indians of the Sacramento Valley*, Manuscript, 1950. Table created by author based off data in Miller's manuscript.

The Punjab Bazaar on the other hand has been continuously operated since its opening and their products and services have remained consistent, despite a change in location. The growth of the Punjab Bazaar is also reflective of the growth in Yuba-Sutter's Punjabi population and the changes this group experienced in the post-1947 era. At the time of its opening, only a handful of nuclear Punjabi families were living in the Yuba-Sutter area, approximately 15-20 during the late 1960s. As a steady influx of Punjabis began immigrating to Yuba-Sutter with the changes in immigration laws, the Punjab Bazaar slowly became the go-to grocery store recommended to newcomers in Yuba-Sutter looking for a place to buy South Asian groceries, food, and household items. The demand for these items only increased with the population growth of the Punjabi community, as reflected in the types and quantity of products sold at the bazaar. In 1980, the bazaar further expanded their inventory and began selling clothes including yards of fabric, cardigans, sweaters, and everyday clothes. Imported from India, Japan, and Korea, customers began purchasing these fabrics from the bazaar to get their Indian suits custom made. It also represents a shift from early South Asian businesses located in Marysville to Yuba City. The Punjab Bazaar was one of the first major ethnic grocery stores to open in Yuba City.[276]

By 1995, the business moved to its new and current location at 1190 Stabler Lane, but the services and products they offered remained the same, only expanding in size. The specialty flours are still made at the offsite warehouse on Industrial Drive. The bazaar continues to sell items to customers wholesale but the business on Stabler Lane is predominantly dedicated to their retail services.[277] Although their products seem simple in nature, the Punjab Bazaar's business operations have cultivated connections to the social and religious aspects of the Yuba-

[276] Sunita Nakhwal, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal via phone, February 4th, 2018.
[277] Sunita Nakhwal, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal via phone, February 4th, 2018.

Sutter's Punjabi community as well. Not only are customers shopping at Punjab Bazaar for their day to day needs, it is also the premiere shop for larger events such as weddings, miscellaneous ceremonies held at the gurdwara, holidays, and even the Nagar Kirtan. Community members often come to the bazaar to buy food and supplies for weddings as well as clothing and accessories. The bazaar donates items such as food and paper plates for the Nagar Kirtan with additional customers coming to the bazaar to purchase mass amounts of flour, beans, utensils, and plates for the thousands attending the weekend's events.[278]

Throughout its history in Yuba-Sutter, the Punjab Bazaar has gone beyond being just a place to buy Punjabi groceries and food items, it has also become representative of the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community's identity over time. An article from the *Appeal Democrat* in 2002 details the rise of Islamophobia after the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent violence Punjabi Sikhs experienced due to their appearance of wearing turbans and a beard. In response, a film titled "Mistaken Identity: Sikhs in America" was created as a tool to educate those unfamiliar with Punjabi communities residing in the United States, their religious practices, and their heritage traditions. Part of this was filmed in Yuba City, given its concentration of Punjabi immigrants that have integrated their practices from back home into the urban landscape of Yuba-Sutter. A photograph of the Punjab Bazaar with co-owner Surjan Nakhwal, Sunita's husband, is shown in the article, demonstrating how the Punjab Bazaar is representative of the roots Punjabis have put down throughout the United States and how this immigrant community is settled and thriving in Yuba-Sutter. (Figure 6.25) It also demonstrates how the Punjab Bazaar as a Punjabi-owned and operated business is able to use their platform to take a stand on specific social and political issues. Overall, the image of Surjan Nakhwal posed in the fabric section of the bazaar functions in the article as a glimpse into the vibrant community Punjabi immigrants have created in Yuba-Sutter.[279]

[278] Sunita Nakhwal, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal via phone, February 4th, 2018.
[279] Daniel Witter, "Turning ignorance into understanding: Sikhs hope new film will help to dispel mystery," *Appeal-Democrat,* October 21, 2002, A6.

Figure 6.25: Surjan Nakhwal, co-owner of the Punjab Bazaar, pictured in retail section of the bazaar. Photo taken by Chris Kaufman, "Turning ignorance into understanding: Sikhs hope new film will help to dispel mystery," *Appeal-Democrat,* October 21, 2002, A6.

Most recently in 2012, the United States Department of State Bureau of International Information Programs through the United States Embassy created an educational piece on the Punjabi Sikhs of Yuba-Sutter as part of the American community series. A photo of the Punjab Bazaar and the owners, Sunita and Surjan Nakherwal, standing in the warehouse with stacks of their special made flour frames the top of the pamphlet. (Figure 6.26) Giving a brief history on the Punjabi community of Yuba-Sutter, the pamphlet goes on to detail how about 100,000 individuals residing in the Yuba-Sutter area are of Punjabi descent and the strong presence of these individuals in the agricultural industry, healthcare, and retail, as seen with the Punjab Bazaar. This piece demonstrates how the Punjab Bazaar has grown along the lines of the Punjabi population itself in Yuba-Sutter, allowing immigrants to stay connected with their roots through food items and clothes but also becoming a representation of the Punjabi community itself.[280] Sunita operated the store when it first opened with her father, has overseen its move from Plumas Street to Stabler Lane, and operates the store today with her husband, Surjan, and her children. She can be found at the cash register regularly, as well as her family, most days of the week.[281]

[280] Yuba City California: American Punjabi Sikhs, *American Communities,* (United States Department of State Bureau of International Information Program, April 2012), 1; 4, accessed May 20, 2018, https://photos.state.gov/libraries/amgov/133183/english/P_AmericanCommunities_Punjabis_1_.pdf.
[281] Sunita Nakhwal, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal via phone, February 4th, 2018.

Today, the Punjab Bazaar is still operated by the same family that started this business back in 1964 with a strong connection rooted not just to the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community, but the broader Punjabi community of California as well with a client base that expands to Lodi, Stockton, and even as far as Los Angeles.[282]

Figure 6.26: Surjan Singh (left) and Sunita Nakhwal (right), co-owners, in warehouse section of bazaar. Photo by Dean Tokuno from "Yuba City, California: American Punjabi Sikhs," in the American Communities series, by the United States Department of State Bureau of International Information Program, Embassy of the United States of America, 2012, (https://photos.state.gov/libraries/amgov/133183/english/P_AmericanCommunities_Punjabis_1_.pdf).

Comparative Analysis

The concept behind the Punjab Bazaar can be traced back to bazaars or shopping markets found in India. In particular, the maze of bazaars in Amritsar surrounding the Golden Temple provide precedents for how the Punjab Bazaar is evocative of these vernacular, makeshift shopping stalls that sell a range of Punjabi foods, clothing, jewelry, etc. The bazaars along the crowded, dense streets surrounding the Golden Temple complex including Mai Sewan Bazaar, Guru Bazaar, and Katra Jaimal are among the multitude of shops selling everything from food to clothing.[283]

Guru Bazaar in particular is one specific shopping area in Amritsar that demonstrates how the Punjab Bazaar incorporates not just the products found in the markets of Punjab, but the rituals and daily routines and traditions that go along with the act of shopping in the bazaar. It also demonstrates the critical role religious history has played in the development of these

[282] Sunita Nakhwal, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal via phone, February 4th, 2018.
[283] Swati Mitra, *Punjab Travel Guide* (New Delhi: Eicher Goodeath Limited, 2006), 61.

bazaars and how these religious concepts have translated to the Punjab Bazaar in Yuba City as well. Guru Bazaar has a deep-seated history that stretches back to the initial settlement of Amritsar. The area was once home to artists that had settled in this part of Guru ka Chak and what was the beginnings of Amritsar and is now a major bazaar in the area.[284] Approximately fifty-two artists and craftsman settled in this area following Guru Ramdas' invitation and their complex of markets became known as Guru Bazaar.[285] Many of these markets also trace back to what is often known as the golden age of Amritsar when commerce flourished in the city during Maharaja Ranjit's rule. These merchants established markets for trade in places known as Misri Bazaar, Bazaar Bansanwala, Bazaar Kaserian, Guru Bazaar and Mai Sewan Bazaar as mentioned before.[286]

In general, the bazaars of Amritsar, although appearing disorganized, adhere to a specific morphology that fits the needs of its residents. Given most are passing through and shopping by foot, the streets are dominated by pedestrians. The physical layout of the bazaars do not just accommodate the various products sold, they also foster the social rituals of the bazaar.[287] The City HRIDAY Plan for Amritsar identifies this as a "specialized bazaar system existing in the walled city" with the markets on the ground floor and housing in the upper stories.[288] The Punjab Bazaar in Yuba City, although not located in the streetscape of Amritsar, has a similar relationship between the layout of its internal space and the social rituals it cultivates as a result. Similar to bazaars in Amritsar, the products although seeming to have no organization are generally separated by categories with clothing in one section, cookware in another, and hygiene products in its own area. The layout of the Punjab Bazar with rows of aisles and shelves stacked with items, although different from the stalls often seen in Amritsar, serve the same purpose of allowing the shopper to browse in and around the various products. An open circulation pattern is incorporated allowing shoppers that may be looking at different products to pass by one

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[284] Anshuman Tiwari and Andindya Sengupta, *Laxminama: Monks, Merchants, Money and Mantra* (New Delhi: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018), 86-87.
[285] CRCI (India) Pvt. Ltd. And IPE Global PVT Ltd., *City HRIDAY Plan for Amritsar*, Volume I, February 2016, accessed June 5, 2018, http://hridayindia.in/downloads/chp/amritsar/CHP_for_Amritsar_Volume_I.pdf, 51.
[286] Shika Jain, "Revisiting planning for Indian Cities: The pilgrim city of Amritsar," *Religion and Urbanism: Reconceptualising Sustainable Cities for South Asia,* ed. Yamini Narayanan (New York: Routledge, 2016), 113.
[287] Balvinder Singh, "The Tangible and Intangible Heritage of the Walled Cities of Amritsar and Lahore: Need for an Integrated Conservation Approach," (paper presented at the THAAP Conference "Portrait of Lahore: Capital City of the Punjab," Lahore, Pakistan, 2012), 82, accessed June 7, 2018, http://www.thaap.pk/assets/balvinder-singh.pdf.
[288] CRCI (India) Pvt. Ltd. And IPE Global PVT Ltd., *City HRIDAY Plan for Amritsar*, 91.

another and engage not just with the merchandise, but one another. (Figure 6.27 and 6.28) Most importantly, the relationship between Sikh religious history and commerce as demonstrated by the Guru Bazaar is a foundational element that has been appropriated and adapted by the Yuba-Sutter community. The Punjab Bazaar's role as a pre-cursory resource for food items, cooking tools, and clothing for religious events such as weddings, the Nagar Kirtan, and additional religious events at the gurdwara such as an Akand Path show how beyond the day to day use of the products in the bazaar, the Yuba-Sutter community also needed a space to purchase products that help facilitate large-scale Punjabi cultural events and Sikh traditions.

Figure 6.27: Bazaar east of Golden Temple and north of Jallianwala Bagh, December 2017. Photo from author's family personal photo collection.

Figure 6.28: Bazaar east of Golden Temple and north of Jallianwala Bagh, December 2017. Photo from author's family personal photo collection.

Significance

The Punjab Bazaar provides insight on the engagement of Punjabis with economics, commerce, and foodways in the post-1947 period. Characterized as an ethnic grocery store, the bazaar is a staple of the Punjabi community and is representative of both the day to day lives and ceremonial events experienced by the Punjabi community. With its history in Yuba-Sutter tracing back to 1964, the Punjab Bazaar has established itself as one of the most prominent Punjabi businesses in the post-1947 era. Although there were several small South Asian businesses documented in Miller's work and historic photographs, it is unclear what specific products these businesses sold and the majority of them ceased to operate after a number of years with the buildings these businesses were housed in mostly no longer being extant. The Punjab Bazaar on the other hand, is one of the most prominent ethnic grocery stores in the Yuba-Sutter community in terms of having the longest continuous operation among other South Asian businesses and being one of the first businesses to specialize in Punjabi food and ingredients. Their growth and expansion into selling products that go beyond just simple food items, such as

clothing and specialty flours, in addition to their stock growing over the years, reflects and parallels the growth of the post-1947 Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter.

As a more stable Punjabi community developed in Yuba-Sutter that was able to live in the public eye, purchase property, and permanently settle in Yuba-Sutter with nuclear families, the Punjab Bazaar grew alongside this distinct community. By providing various spices, beans, lentils, powders, and flours that are the base ingredients for many Punjabi recipes, the bazaar became a very important source for the community, representing not just the day to day life of preparing food at home, but larger events as well such as weddings or the Nagar Kirtan. Although a vernacular building, the role this market has played in fostering the Punjabi community and helping them make the transition from Punjab to Yuba-Sutter has been an invaluable source and a form of place-making for its residents. It is the precursory site to many events, festivities, as well as the daily routine of preparing food at home, showing its significance to the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter in the economic and commercial sense.

For many immigrant groups, place-making is connected to memories of the homeland and place-making as a process for these groups is often the experiences contained within spaces such as the Punjab Bazaar. Foodways are a significant avenue for exploring how the Punjabi community of Yuba-Sutter participates in place-making, through the Punjab Bazaar in this case.[289] Although the bazaar is not significant for its architecture, it does represent a specific form of design and building typology seen with South Asian immigrant groups. Like the interior of the store, the exterior is also flexible and has adapted to the growth and needs of the community, which is why immigrant groups usually utilize spaces such as the bazaar that are industrial, vernacular, and often repurposed.[290] As an alternate cultural sphere, it is the familiarity and sense of security evoked by ethnic grocery stores such as the Punjab Bazaar that allow immigrants to reformulate their identity and sense of belonging in a new place. As demonstrated by a comparative analysis between the bazaars of Amritsar, such as the Guru Bazaar, and the Punjab Bazaar, the Yuba-Sutter community had adopted certain elements of these markets to fulfill its purpose as ethnic grocery story that is adapted to the Yuba-Sutter landscape. The vernacular nature, open circulation pattern, and multitude of loosely organized products that serve both daily and more ceremonial functions show how the Punjab Bazaar is a microcosm of the large-

[289] Sen, "Food, place and memory: Bangladeshi fish stores on Devon Avenue, Chicago," 67-68.
[290] Sen, "Creative Dissonance: Performance of Ethnicity in Banal Spaces," 2.

scale bazaars seen in Amritsar. Embodying the look, sound, and smells evocative of shopping experiences in Punjab, the bazaar allows these immigrants to maintain a connection to their heritage practices in their homeland through food, clothing, and socializing with others shopper all while staking their claim in the landscape of Yuba-Sutter.[291]

As one of the first and most successful Punjabi businesses in the post-1947 period and one of the most popular places today to buy Punjabi ingredients, food, and clothing, the Punjab Bazaar is a significant cultural resource for the Punjabi community of Yuba-Sutter. It represents the history of the post-1947 community in terms of the creation of a steady population base and how changes in circumstances such as citizenship and property ownership brought in a different wave of immigrants to Yuba-Sutter, which also manifested itself in the built environment. It also creates a connection between the religious and heritage practices in Punjab that are enabled through markets such as the Guru Bazaar that are now possible to practice in Yuba-Sutter as well. Most importantly, it sheds light on how despite its industrial, vernacular appearance, it is not the architecture of the store that makes it a significant cultural resource for the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community, but its role in community building for almost six decades, place-making, the reconstitution of Punjabi identity, and its embodiment of Punjabi traditions and heritage through its products.

[291] Leonard, "Finding One's Own Place: Asian Landscapes Re-visioned in Rural California," 118; 127; Sen, "Food, place and memory: Bangladeshi fish stores on Devon Avenue, Chicago," 67.

Chapter 7: Conservation Solutions

Existing Conservation Solutions

Heritage conservation within the broader South Asian American community, like many immigrant groups, is vastly underrepresented in the mainstream world of historic preservation. Traditional preservation practice entails the designation of historic resources, whether significant for their history, association with people, architecture, or archaeology, on lists such as the National Register of Historic Resources, state, and local registers. Even more prestigious, the National Historic Landmarks program recognizes sites significant at a national level.[292] A growing collection of scholarly work on South Asian Americans and more broadly, Asian Americans, is available.[293] However, there is still a significant gap in the translation of this information into the heritage conservation field. This is not to say educational programming, discussion, and initiatives have not been undertaken in recent years such as the National Historic Landmarks Theme Study, the creation of various walking tours in South Asian American communities, the "Becoming American" exhibit at the Sutter County Community Memorial Museum, and the UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive.

One of the most recently completed studies within the heritage conservation field is the National Historic Landmarks Theme Study for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Started in 2013, this study called on scholars of various professional backgrounds working with Asian American and Pacific Islander history to contribute research to create a collection of essays to serve as a framework for Asian American and Pacific Islander communities interested in designating heritage sites important to their communities.[294] This theme study is groundbreaking

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[292] Franklin Odo, "Asian Americans and Pacific Islander Americans Revisited: An Introduction to the National Historic Landmarks Theme Study," *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, ed. Franklin Odo (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior), accessed July 15, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/articles/upload/00-Introduction.pdf, 2.

[293] Odo, "Asian Americans and Pacific Islander Americans Revisited: An Introduction to the National Historic Landmarks Theme Study," 3.
Select existing South Asian American scholarship includes: Karen Isaksen Leonard, The *South Asian Americans* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1997); Karen Isaksen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans,* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992); Seema Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny: Race, Surveillance, and Indian Anticolonialism in North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Joan M. Jensen, *Passage from India: Asian Indian Immigrants in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Nayan Shah, *Stranger Intimacy: Contesting Race, Sexuality, and the Law in the North American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011; Diditi Mitra, *Punjabi Immigrant Mobility in the United States: Adaptation Through Race and Class* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

[294] Odo, "Asian Americans and Pacific Islander Americans Revisited: An Introduction to the National Historic Landmarks Theme Study," 2-3.

in terms of shifting the dialogue for historic preservation to be inclusive of Asian American and Pacific Islander immigrant groups that have put down roots in the United States with several of the essays incorporating South Asian American history.

"Imperialism and Migration" by Gary Y. Okihiro touches on the presence of South Asians during American imperialism, from working on plantations to serving in the Civil War.[295] A history of the beginnings of the South Asian immigration to the United States, primarily from Punjab, and subsequent anti-immigration and discriminatory laws enacted against them are discussed in "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance, 1800s-1940s."[296] "Establishing Communities" by Nayan Shah provides insight into the impact of Asian American immigrants, including South Asian immigrants, on shaping their built environment through their organizations and institutions such as the Hindustani Welfare and Reform Society, Pacific Coast Kalsa Diawn Society, and the Stockton Gurdwara.[297] Lane Ryo Hirabayashi's, "Asian American Businesses, 1845 to 2015 Accommodation and Eclectic Innovation," briefly explores South Asian Americans' involvement in business and commerce such as Jawala Singh's success in the potato industry and the Mexican-Punjabi community in Imperial County.[298] "New Asian American Communities: Building and Dismantling" by Catherine Ceniza Choy discusses the creation of South Asian American micro-communities across the U.S. from the agricultural fields of northern California to Jackson Heights in Queens.[299]

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[295] Gary Y. Okihiro, "Imperialism and Migration," *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, ed. Franklin Odo (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior), accessed July 18, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/articles/upload/01-Essay-1-Imperialism-and-Migration.pdf, 19; 21; 29.

[296] Erika Lee, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance, 1800s-1940s," *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, ed. Franklin Odo (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior), accessed July 15, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/articles/upload/04-Essay-4-immigration.pdf, 92-93; 96-97; 100.

[297] Nayan Shah, "Establishing Communities, 1848-1941," *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, ed. Franklin Odo (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior), accessed July 20, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/articles/upload/05-Essay-5-establishing-communities.pdf, 116, 117.

[298] Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, "Asian American Businesses, 1848 to 2015 Accommodation and Eclectic Innovation," *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, ed. Franklin Odo (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior), accessed July 20, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/articles/upload/07-Essay-7-Asian-American-Business.pdf, 151.

[299] Catherine Ceniza Choy, "New Asian American Communities: Building and Dismantling," *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, ed. Franklin Odo (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior), accessed July 15, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/articles/upload/16-Essay-16-New-Asian-American-Communities.pdf, 314-316.

However, in terms of South Asian Americans, and specifically Punjabi immigrants, there is still ample work to be done. Only one site associated with the South Asian community is identified as eligible for the National Historic Landmarks list, the Stockton Gurdwara.[300] This is certainly one of the most important sites for the Punjabi Sikh community that speaks to their history at the national level. However, there are additional cultural resources and heritage practices at the local, state, and possibly national level that contribute to the complex and diverse history of South Asian immigrants.

A review of strategies used to recognize sites, both traditional and non-traditional preservation practices, reveal the different ways in which South Asians are attempting to interpret and recognize these sites through formal designations, educational programming, and public history initiatives. As mentioned before, the Stockton Gurdwara has been recognized as a site eligible for the National Historic Landmark designation in the Asian American and Pacific Islander theme study.[301] This site is already listed as a California Historical Landmark as, "…one of the first religious centers for Indians in the United States."[302] This is one of the only known examples of a site associated with Punjabi history designated on a list or register. The Ghadar Memorial in San Francisco is an additional site associated with not just Punjabi history but South Asian immigrants that fought for the end of British colonial rule. Originally located at 436 Hill Street in San Francisco and known as "Yungantar Ashram," the Ghadar Party moved their operations to a new building at 5 Wood Street in 1917. As the headquarters of the Ghadar Party and the center of one of the most significant South Asian American political organizations, the memorial hall is certainly a site that would be eligible for designation.[303]

For the most part, the conservation of South Asian American sites has been done through non-traditional techniques. Walking tours are a popular method used to educate and recognize

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[300] "Appendix 2: AAPI National Historic Landmarks Study List," *Finding a Path Forward: Asian American Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study,* ed. Franklin Odo (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior), accessed July 15, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/upload/19-Appendix-II-Study-List.pdf, 368.
[301] "Appendix 2: AAPI National Historic Landmarks Study List," 368.
[302] "No. 1039 Sikh Temple Site," *Office of Historic Preservation,* accessed July 16, 2018, http://ohp.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=21483.
[303] "Echoes of Freedom: South Asian Pioneers in California, 1899-1965: Chapter 7: Gadar," *University of California Berkeley, South/Southeast Asia Library*, accessed August 5, 2018, http://guides.lib.berkeley.edu/echoes-of-freedom/chapter7; Satish Chandra, "Gadar Memorial Center, San Francisco," *SikhPioneers.Org*, May 20, 2003, accessed August 5, 2018, https://www.sikhpioneers.org/gadar-memorial-center-san-francisco/.

these sites in the public realm, as well as promote heritage tourism.[304] The Berkeley South Asian Radical Walking Tour takes its participants on a walk throughout the UC Berkeley area focusing on Telegraph Avenue. The tour route stops at places that tell the history of South Asian Americans that worked as activists, particularly during the period of the Ghadar Party, writers, and business owners among other roles stretching as far back as a hundred years ago.[305] On the other side of the United States in New York and Chicago, walking tours have also been implemented in cities with significant South Asian immigrant groups. Arijit Sen, professor of architectural design, urbanism, and cultural landscapes at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and Milwaukee as well as a scholar of South Asian immigrant communities has prepared walking tours for the South Asian commercial corridor of Jackson Heights and Devon Avenue of Chicago. His work highlights primarily vernacular structures that have played important roles in these communities, particularly through shopping experiences and foodways.[306]

In terms of conservation in the Yuba-Sutter region, traditional historic preservation practice has been utilized to recognize buildings and sites predominantly significant for their architecture or association with the early history of the region. In 2007, the Sutter County Historical Society hired Galvin Preservation Associates (GPA) to conduct a historic resources survey of Sutter County. 385 properties were identified through this effort.[307] However, none of these properties are associated with the Punjabi community. Yuba City also does not have a local historic preservation ordinance. There is a provision within their zoning code calling for Historic Combining Districts. This district is meant to support the Cultural Resources section of the general plan for the city allowing buildings, sites, structures in areas rezoned to be a part of the Historic Preservation Combining District to be recognized as historic resources in the city. In addition, any property on a local, state, national register or historical site, place, or landmark are also considered historic resources. A Historic Preservation Review committee composed of three

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[304] See Russell Staiff, Robyn Bushell, and Steve Watson, *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement* (London: Routledge, 2013) for more information on heritage tourism.
[305] "About," *Berkeley South Asian Radical Walking Tour,* accessed July 16, 2018, http://www.berkeleysouthasian.org/.
[306] Sen, "Queens, South Asian Commercial Corridor: Decoding ethnicity in the Jackson Heights South Asian shopping strip," 1-11; Arijit Sen, "Intertwined Cultures: Devon Avenue, Chicago," *Intertwined Cultures,* accessed July 5, 2018, http://intertwinedcultures.weebly.com/; "About Me," *Arijit Sen: Associate Professor of Architecture, Buildings-Landscapes-Culture,* accessed July 7, 2018, https://senspeaks.wordpress.com/.
[307] "Historic Properties," *Community Memorial Museum of Sutter County,* accessed May 20, 2018, http://www.suttercountyhistory.org/historic-properties.html.; Galvin Preservation Associates, "Historic Properties Index by street name," *Sutter County Historic Resources Survey*.

people has also been set designated for the purposes of conducting design review for extensive changes to historic properties that cannot be approved at staff level.[308] Given that the Historic Preservation Combining District is the only mechanism within the legislative framework of Yuba City available to recognize historic resource, this makes their historic preservation tools and incentives weak. This provision also does not clarify the criterion for designation. Marysville on the other hand does have a comprehensive local historic preservation ordinance with a local register.[309] Given that the majority of the still extant resources significant to the Punjabi community are in Yuba City rather than Marysville, this tool is not as useful for recognizing Punjabi heritage sites.

In the end, the cultural resources significant to the Punjabi community of Yuba-Sutter would likely not fit the criteria to be a part of the Historic Preservation Combining District or the local Marysville register given the majority of their sites are not architecturally significant or tangible heritage. Furthermore, as demonstrated by the stark differences between the pre-1947 and post-1947 Punjabi community, there is a significant gap between when Punjabi immigrants first arrived in the U.S. versus when they were able to put roots down in new communities and purchase property. Given the racial tension and anti-immigration laws in place for more than half of the twentieth century, it was not until these laws were lifted that Punjabi immigrants in Yuba-Sutter were able to economically and socially stake their claim in the built landscape of Yuba-Sutter. For these reasons, only one of the four heritage sites identified dates from the pre-1947 period, Eager Orchards, while the remainder stem from the post-1947 period. This gap between the first immigrants and the ability to own land is often seen with communities of color, including Punjabis, and is often another reason their sites do not fit the traditional benchmark and criteria for historic preservation.

Like the walking tours described above, Yuba-Sutter has also used alternative techniques to spearhead the effort to recognize the contributions of the Punjabi community. An exhibit dedicated to the "Punjabi Pioneers" of Yuba-Sutter and greater California region is permanently installed in the Community Memorial Museum as part of the Becoming American series. The exhibit showcases videos, pictures, and household items donated by Punjabi families in the

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[308] "Historic Preservation Combining District," *Sutter County Zoning Code,* accessed July 13, 2018, https://www.suttercounty.org/assets/pdf/cs/ps/zoning_code.pdf, 8-9-8-12.
[309] "Chapter 18.94 Historic Preservation," *The Marysville Municipal Code,* December 19, 2017, accessed July 14, 2018, http://www.codepublishing.com/CA/Marysville/html/MarysvilleCA18/MarysvilleCA1894.html.

Yuba-Sutter area that tell their immigration story.[310] The South Asian American Digital Archive (SAADA) with 3,180 items in their archive and over ten years of documentation efforts has a comprehensive digital platform dedicated to photographs, interviews, videos, and newspapers among other historical items that strive to tell a story that is inclusive of all South Asian American groups.[311] One of the most important tools created to document the history of this community is the Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive by UC Davis, created by Dr. Nicole Raganath. A continuation of the Becoming American exhibit, this digital archive is a visual collection of the people, places, and contributions of Punjabi immigrants in the Yuba-Sutter area and beyond. Farmers, writers, healthcare providers, and the everyday people of Yuba-Sutter are documented in this online source.[312] These resources provide a framework for interpreting the history of Yuba-Sutter's Punjabi immigrants and connecting their history to the idea of place.

Conservation of Eager Orchards

Although the four preliminary sites identified do not ideally fit the designation criteria for current historic preservation tools, there are several options that allow recognition and provide a means of protection for these resources. Eager Orchards is the earliest of the identified sites with its history and association with the Punjabi community stretching back to 1907. Its connection with the everyday lives of early Punjabi immigrants such as Tuly Singh Johl, and the role these individuals have played in the evolution of Eager Orchards makes its designation as a historic vernacular landscape the most feasible conservation solution. As a cultural landscape associated with an immigrant group, it is important to ask what features of this site are representative of its association with Punjabi immigrants and how these features can be protected. A cultural landscape report on the comprehensive history of Eager Orchards, its connection to early Punjabi

[310] Punjabi American Heritage Society, "Mission," *Becoming American Museum,* accessed July 15, 2018, http://www.punjabipioneers.com/Mission.
[311] "About," *SAADA South Asian American Digital Archive*, accessed August 5, 2018, https://www.saada.org/about; "Mission, Vision, and Values," *SAADA South Asian American Digital Archive,* accessed August 5, 2018, https://www.saada.org/mission.
[312] Nicole Ranganath, "Introduction to the Archive," *UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive: A New Source Documenting the History of the South Asian Pioneers in California, 1899-Present,* accessed July 15, 2018, https://pioneeringpunjabis.ucdavis.edu/.

immigrants in the region, and identification of the character-defining features that allow this landscape to convey its association with the Punjabi community would be a valuable resource.[313]

A second possible conservation solution would be the recognition of Eager Orchards as a California Point of Historical Interest. According to the designation criteria, Eager Orchards would be eligible under the criteria for history which states, "Associated with an individual or group having a profound influence on the history of the local area."[314] Owner consent is required for a resource to be designated a California Point of Historical Interest, which may be complex for Eager Orchards given its expansive size and multiple owners.[315] However, this would provide potential protection under CEQA if any development threats came up In addition, a sign could be placed on site allowing the public and passersby to recognize Eager Orchards and learn about its history and significance.[316]

Conservation of the Yuba City Gurdwara

As the most tangible and monumental resource out of all four identified sites, the conservation of the Yuba City Gurdwara is the most straightforward. The gurdwara's association with significant contributions to the Yuba-Sutter area and the Punjabi community, especially the post-1947 immigration wave, would make it eligible for the California Register.[317] Although the gurdwara does embody an interesting architectural style with Indo-Islamic influences, it is its role as the first religious and social gathering space for Punjabi residents of Yuba-Sutter that makes it significant. For this reason, the changes that have been made to the gurdwara such as the addition of the northwest wing, second prayer hall, and rose garden do not take away its ability to convey its significance. Generally, a building's ability to convey its significance is determined through an evaluation of the property's integrity. However, the gurdwara does not meet the seven aspects of integrity given it is not significant for its architecture but rather its

[313] Charles A. Birnbaum, ASLA "Preservation Brief 36: Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes," (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, September 1994), accessed July 15, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/tps/how-to-preserve/briefs/36-cultural-landscapes.htm.
[314] "California Points of Historical Interest," *Office of Historic Preservation,* accessed July 16, 2018, http://ohp.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=21750.
[315] "California Points of Historical Interest," *Office of Historic Preservation*.
[316] "California Points of Historical Interest," *Office of Historic Preservation*.
[317] "California Register of Historical Resources," *Office of Historic Preservation,* accessed July 16, 2018, http://ohp.parks.ca.gov/?page_id=21238.

social and cultural use.[318] Extensive and inappropriate changes to a historic structure are often seen as having a negative effect on the building's integrity, and given the number of changes and expansion of the gurdwara over the years, it is difficult to assess its authenticity and evaluate the building's integrity. That being said, the growth of the gurdwara as a community resource and repository of both cultural and religious heritage is embodied in its physical expansion over the years and further exemplifies its representation of the settlement and success of the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter, likely making it eligible for the California Register.

Conservation of the Yuba City Nagar Kirtan Procession

The Nagar Kirtan is the most complex resource to formulate a conservation plan for given its tangible and intangible nature. The procession is constantly evolving – its route has changed, the cultural events that take place have changed, and several floats have changed over the years. The tangible aspects of the Nagar Kirtan consist of the actual floats used in the procession. Although the gurdwara and organizations that participate often store their floats, the design and look of the float can change from year to year.[319] The storage of these floats, specifically the main float with the Guru Granth Sahib, is one conservation effort that is already in place to protect the tangible aspects of the Nagar Kirtan.

The processional element of the Nagar Kirtan on the other hand, is more difficult to pinpoint and conserve. Current historic preservation legislation, framework, and designation criteria do not provide a mechanism for protecting intangible heritage in the United States.[320] The conservation of intangible heritage, particularly festivals and religious events, is discussed and dealt with in greater depth at the global level. At the 2003 UNESCO General Conference, the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage was passed. This created a

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[318] For more information on the process of evaluating a property's integrity see "National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Historic Aids to Navigation to the National Register of Historic Places." (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior), https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb34/nrb34_8.htm.

[319] Dr. Gulzar Johl, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 5th, 2018; Rajinder Tumber, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 4th, 2018.
See Gurveen Kaur Khurana, "The Nagar Kirtan and Sikh Diaspora" in *Sikhism in Global Context,* ed. Pashauara Singh (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012) for a description of the floats prepared by various organizations each year.

[320] See "Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage," (National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior), https://www.nps.gov/articles/tangible-cultural-heritage.htm for information on intangible heritage and a description of organizations and partnerships that work with intangible heritage. Note here is no method to designate intangible heritage on a list or register in the United States.

framework for the global community to recognize and protect the heritage they valued that did not fit the framework used for the protection of tangible heritage.[321] The convention defines the safeguarding and protection of intangible heritage as including, "…identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage."[322] Additional techniques for the protection of intangible heritage are identified such as creating an inventory to ensure recognition, adopting policies to weave intangible heritage into planning and mainstream society, creating a committee or body dedicated to the protection of intangible heritage, supporting research dedicated to intangible heritage, and promoting financial and legislative provisions dedicated to the management and documentation of intangible heritage.[323]

Intangible heritage, especially in the context of religion, can be thought of as "living heritage." It is also important to remember that intangible heritage operates within the framework of tangible heritage. The non-material, abstract elements are inextricably linked to some form of tangible heritage whether it is the environment, people, objects, etc.[324] This is certainly the case for the Nagar Kirtan, whose intangible aspects such as the recitation of the Guru Granth Sahib, the procession route, and its overall morphology based on religious history are directly associated with its tangible elements such as the gurdwara, the floats, and the agricultural backdrop of Yuba-Sutter.

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[321] "The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible and Cultural Heritage," *UNESCO Office in Santiago: UNESCO Regional Bureau for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean*, accessed July 14, 2018, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/santiago/culture/intangible-heritage/convention-intangible-cultural-heritage/; "Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage," *United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization,* October 17, 2003, accessed July 16, 2018, https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention.

[322] "Article 2 – Definitions," *Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, *United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization,* October 17, 2003, accessed July 16, 2018, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/santiago/culture/intangible-heritage/convention-intangible-cultural-heritage/.

[323] "Article 12 – Inventories," *Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, *United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization,* October 17, 2003, accessed July 16, 2018, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/santiago/culture/intangible-heritage/convention-intangible-cultural-heritage/; "Article 13 – Other measures for safeguarding," *Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, *United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization,* October 17, 2003, accessed July 16, 2018, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/santiago/culture/intangible-heritage/convention-intangible-cultural-heritage/.

[324] Nobuko Inaba, "The Ise Shrine and the Gion Festival," *Conservation of Living Religious Heritage,"* Herb Stovel, Nicholas Stanley-Price, Robert Killick, ed., (Papers from the ICCROM 2003 Forum on Living Religious Heritage: conserving the sacred), accessed July 15, 2018, https://www.iccrom.org/sites/default/files/ICCROM_ICS03_ReligiousHeritage_en.pdf, 45-46.

The idea of living heritage highlights key issues that arise in the conservation of the Nagar Kirtan that are commonly seen with heritage that blurs the boundaries of being tangible and intangible. For one, living heritage, especially living religious heritage, constantly evolves over time. This brings up the question as to what exactly should be conserved, what should be allowed to change, and how the integrity and authenticity of the resource changes as a result.[325] Looking to global case studies provide precedent for possible conservation solutions for the Nagar Kirtan. The Gion Matsuri, or festival, in Kyoto is one such example of a procession that integrates elements similar to the Nagar Kirtan. Its tangible aspects are composed of embellished floats while its intangible aspects stem from the religious traditions it is based on known as goryoe or the idea of promoting health in the city by preventing disease as well as assisting the journey of souls through makeshift palanquins and shrines known as mikoshi.[326] This is very similar to the Nagar Kirtan which breaks down into two similar components with its material decorated floats and its religious aspect of transporting the Guru Granth Sahib. In the case of the Gion Matusri, the original twenty-nine floats that remain have been designated under the folk cultural property subsection of the city's laws as tangible heritage while the procession is designated separately under the same subsection as intangible heritage.[327]

At this point in time, there is no mechanism for designating the Nagar Kirtan floats or procession under the current historic preservation framework in place in the United States. This indicates that with the increasing discussion of intangible heritage in the United States and how to safeguard these resources, initiative should be taken to create a framework to protect these forms of heritage. Measures can still be taken to recognize the Nagar Kirtan and educate the public on its importance for the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi community. The storage of specifically the main float with the Guru Granth Sahib at the gurdwara is one measure that is already in place and should continue. Documentation of the visual and audio aspects of the Nagar Kirtan should be implemented as well. Photographs and videos of the activities taking place along the procession route as well as the organization and morphology of people involved should be documented and compared each year. Adding these resources to the UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive is one method of safeguarding the documentation of the procession. With the rapid rate of technological developments today, the current procession route can be

[325] Inaba, "The Ise Shrine and the Gion Festival," 46-47.
[326] Inaba, "The Ise Shrine and the Gion Festival," 55.
[327] Inaba, "The Ise Shrine and the Gion Festival," 56.

virtually marked with the same videos and pictures of the procession, depicting the religious and cultural activities taking place along the route on an interactive map. Adding this virtual marker of the current route with a chronological timeline could also be made available on the UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive.

Conservation of the Punjab Bazaar

The Punjab Bazaar is also one of the more tangible resources of the four identified sites. Its tangibility lies however, in its vernacular structure, which in itself has evolved and expanded due to the bazaar's expansion in products and the community's growing needs. The bazaar has moved from its original location but its importance does not lie in its tangible aspects, which would be its vernacular structure and design. It is the actual products, merchandise, and social experiences in the bazaar that have made it a significant resource for the community. In terms of the available conservation tools, listing on the California Register would be the most feasible option for the bazaar. The business itself has been around since 1964 but it has only been in its current building since 1995, less than fifty years. However, the California Register does not have a strict fifty-year rule unlike the National Register as long as sufficient time has gone by to evaluate the events and significance behind the resource.[328] Even the bazaar's tenure at 1190 Stabler Lane since 1995 in combination with its prior years on Plumas Street provide a sufficient time period to evaluate the bazaar's role and contributions to the city and the Punjabi community.

Additional Conservation Solutions

Conservation solutions aside from designation can also be implemented to weave these preliminary resources together given their proximity to one another. A walking or driving tour would be one possible measure to create a cohesive conservation solution that educates and engages the local community and visitors with the Punjabi history of Yuba-Sutter. Beginning at the gurdwara, the tour could showcase the route of the Nagar Kirtan, continue to the Punjab Bazaar, and end with Eager Orchards, showing additional sites of interest along the way pertaining to the Punjabi community such as the Becoming American exhibit at the Community

[328] "CEQA and the California Register: Understanding the 50- year Threshold," *California Office of Historic Preservation, CEQA Case Studies,* Vol. VI, September 2015, accessed July 16, 2018, http://ohp.parks.ca.gov/pages/1071/files/VI%20Understanding%20the%2050-year%20Threshold.pdf.

Memorial Museum and the Sikh Community Center. Building off of the Sikh Community Center, educational programming could also be integrated into the local Punjabi school and youth programs to educate them on the history of the Punjabi community in Yuba-Sutter, highlighting the sites associated with them through presentations or more interactive methods such as field trips. The Community Memorial Museum's Becoming American exhibit is a strong conservation solution that is already in place and could be expanded to incorporate more emphasis on the places that tell the Punjabi community's history. Additions to the exhibit focusing on Eager Orchards and Tuly Singh Johl's story, the Yuba City Gurdwara, the Nagar Kirtan, and the Punjab Bazaar would allow the community and visitors to make concrete connections between the history of the community and its translation to the built environment. The UC Davis Pioneering Punjabis Digital Archive, as mentioned before, is one the strongest conservation methods available and should be the primary tool used to collect documentation on this community. Continuing to add additional information and visual materials on these four sites and additional sites associated with the Punjabis of Yuba-Sutter would provide educational awareness of these places.

Conclusion

The identification and documentation of the heritage and cultural resources significant for the Punjabis of Yuba-Sutter is just one aspect of telling their story. The mechanisms utilized to conserve these sites is an equally if not more important step to ensure these resources are safeguarded and able to continue to thrive in the built landscape of Yuba-Sutter and serve as repositories of the Punjabi community's history. These sites do not just speak to the struggles, contributions, and achievements of Punjabi immigrants in Yuba-Sutter and the U.S., they also showcase how heritage operations and functions within transnational immigrant groups as a hybrid between the homeland and the diaspora.

Heritage conservation and the Punjabis of Yuba-Sutter does not stop with these four sites. There are additional historic avenues in Yuba-Sutter and the greater California region that require further identification, documentation, and conservation. In terms of the Punjabi Sikh community of Yuba-Sutter, additional sites of interest that warrant further research and documentation include the Punjabi American Heritage Festival and the homes and agricultural operations of prominent Punjabi pioneers including Tuly Singh Johl, Mehar Singh Tumber, Hari Singh Everest, Puna Singh, and Nand Kaur. There is an additional gurdwara located at 2269 Bogue Road that is another potential significant resource for the Punjabi Sikh community.[329]

It is important to note that the Punjabi population of Yuba-Sutter although predominantly composed of members of the Sikh faith, also has Hindu, Muslim, and Christian community members. Hindus have historically been a small percentage of the immigration statistics of Punjabis, composing only 5% until 1947 and Muslims about 33% or 1/3.[330] Sites associated with the Muslim and Hindu Punjabi immigrants in Yuba-Sutter should also be researched and documented to relay the complete story behind Punjabi settlement in this region. Two potential sites to explore would be the Sri Narayan Hindu Temple at 1829 Franklin Road built in 1996 and the Islamic Center of Yuba City at 3636 Tierra Buena Road.[331] Built in 1994, The Islamic Center is of particular interest given it was the first site of a hate crime that resulted in the destruction of a mosque.[332] The mosque was near completion when it was destroyed through an act of arson on

[329] Stark et al., *Yuba City, Our Home Town* 79.
[330] La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California,* 71.
[331] Stark et al., *Yuba City, Our Home Town,* 79.
[332] "About," *An American Mosque,* accessed July 16, 2018, http://www.anamericanmosque.com/.

September 1, 1994. [333] The community was able to rebuild the mosque by 2000 through donations from not only the Muslim community, but the Sikh, Mormon, and Christian community as well.[334]

Marysville is another area of interest given it has historically served as the commercial center of the Yuba-Sutter region. The early South Asian businesses described in Chapter 6, although mostly no longer extant, are additional avenues that require further research. Identifying additional South Asian businesses and the places early Punjabi immigrants shopped could reveal additional potential cultural resources. Jane Singh, daughter of Puna Singh and Nand Kaur and former professor at UC Berkeley, conducted a walking survey of commercial properties in Marysville. The year and the whereabouts of this survey are unknown but this would serve as a valuable source for the conservation of businesses and commercial operations associated with Punjabi immigrants in Marysville.[335] Finally, the Mexican Punjabi communities that developed not just in the Yuba-Sutter area, but around California, especially El Centro and the Imperial Valley are an often an overlooked part of Punjabi and Latinx history. Scholarship, primarily by Karen Leonard, exist on the topic but additional identification of the sites linked to these communities is also an avenue for further research in terms of conservation in Punjabi and Latinx communities.[336]

Despite the differences in each of these four sites' characteristics and conservation solutions, they are all interconnected due to the fact that they are not significant not for their architecture, but for their shared histories and their foundational role in formulating a Punjabi immigrant community in Yuba-Sutter. The comparative analysis for each of these sites also demonstrates their shared connection to heritage sites in Punjab that have provided precedent for the place-making techniques utilized by the Yuba-Sutter Punjabi communities. Beyond demonstrating the historical trends of vernacular, socially, and culturally significant sites within the Punjabi community, these four heritage sites situate this community within a global context.

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[333] Paul M. Barrett, *American Islam: The Struggle for the Soul of a Religion (*New York, NY: Picador, 2008), 200.
[334] Zaineb Mohammed, "Documentary Tells Story of First Mosque Destroyed by Arson," *East Bay Express*, February 20, 2014, accessed August 7, 2018, https://www.eastbayexpress.com/CultureSpyBlog/archives/2014/02/20/documentary-tells-story-of-first-mosque-destroyed-by-arson.
[335] Rajinder Tumber, interviewed by Deepeaka Dhaliwal at Yuba City, California, January 4th, 2018.
Author reached out to UC Berkeley regarding Jane Singh's survey of Marysville, no items of this kind were donated to UC Berkeley following Dr. Singh's retirement.
[336] For more information on Punjabi-Mexican marriages see Karen Isaksen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans,* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).

The Punjabis of Yuba-Sutter have appropriated and adopted specific elements from prominent heritage sites in Punjab such as the Golden Temple, the Nagar Kirtans part of various Gurupurabs, the bazaars, and the agriculture to create their own hybrid, blended versions that fit within the Yuba-Sutter landscape. Analyzing the heritage of the Yuba-Sutter community against the heritage of Punjab also brings up the question of authenticity and whether these sites are their own authentic forms of heritage given that they draw heavy influence from heritage sites in Punjab while incorporating characteristics that fit the American landscape. In the end, these sites help this transnational immigrant group maintain ties to the heritage of their homeland while simultaneously staking their claim in a new country.

South Asian Americans as an overall ethnic group are an integral part of the American story. Like many other immigrant groups, there is a lot of work to be done to identify the heritage that tells the South Asian American story. It is the goal of this thesis to demonstrate how studying these communities from the perspective of place in combination with the scholarly work done on South Asian Americans and Punjabi immigrants can uncover untold stories and provide additional insight about religious, economic, and social life. As stated in the introduction of the Asian American and Pacific Islander theme study, "We can make serious connections among critical issues of the day and relate them to the past when we locate and interpret sites where important events, people, and ideas occurred."[337] The overall goal of this research is demonstrate how Yuba-Sutter can serve as a case study for others interested in the intersections between heritage conservation and Punjabi immigrants and to serve as a starting point for understanding how Punjabis and South Asian Americans have engaged with their built environment.

[337] Odo, "Asian Americans and Pacific Islander Americans Revisited: An Introduction to the National Historic Landmarks Theme Study," 2.

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