

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service****National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form**

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

☒ New Submission ☐ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Japanese American Heritage and the Quest for Civil Rights in Riverside, California, 1890s-1970s

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

1. Japanese in Riverside: Settlement, Community Development, WWII Forced Removal and Incarceration, Return & Recovery, 1890s-1970s
2. The Quest for Japanese American Citizenship and Civil Rights in Riverside, 1892-1946

C. Form Prepared by

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organization _____ date 9/29/2011

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

(____ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature and title of certifying official

Date

State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

**Japanese American Heritage and the Quest for Civil Rights in
Riverside, California, 1890s-1970s**

California

Name of Multiple Property Listing

State

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

E. Statement of Historic Contexts**Page Numbers
Page 1**

(if more than one historic context is documented, present them in sequential order.)

1. Japanese in Riverside: Settlement, Community Development, WWII Forced Removal and Incarceration, Return & Recovery, 1890s-1970s
2. The Quest for Japanese American Citizenship and Civil Rights in Riverside, 1892-1946

F. Associated Property Types**Page 78**

(Provide description, significance, and registration requirements.)

G. Geographical Data**N/A****H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods****Page 88**

(Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.)

I. Major Bibliographical References**Page 89**

(List major written works and primary location of additional documentation: State Historic Preservation Office, other State agency, Federal agency, local government, university, or other, specifying repository.)

APPENDIX

Photos

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, PO Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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Multiple Property Submission

E. STATEMENT OF HISTORIC CONTEXTS

Introduction

Immigrants from Japan, like migrants to the United States from nations across the oceans and from Mexico created distinct ethnic communities throughout California and the Pacific Coast in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The history of Riverside's Japanese American community is similar to that of other Japanese American enclaves on the West Coast, yet it is also distinctive. An especially significant and unique aspect of Riverside's history is the National Historic Landmark Harada House, associated with the Harada family's challenge to the 1913 anti-Japanese Alien Land Law. Additional aspects of Riverside's Japanese American history that are notable or even uniquely significant include its demographic pattern, religious affiliation, and the presence of an unusual number of individuals who were well-known within the Nikkei community and beyond.

Commonalities between Riverside's Japantown and other communities of Nikkei (people of Japanese descent) include initial employment in agriculture in the late 19th century with increasing numbers of Japanese-owned businesses, including farms, during the first decades of the twentieth century. Riverside's Japanese American community shares the wave of family formations following the 1907 Gentleman's Agreement and the unique generational pattern of *Issei*, *Nisei* and *Sansei* (first-, second-, and third-generation Americans of Japanese descent) created by anti-Japanese immigration laws. Unfortunately, all of the Japanese Americans residing in Riverside in 1942 also shared the experience of being forcibly removed and incarcerated during WWII, alongside over 120,000 Japanese immigrants and their American-born children throughout the Western United States. And like many Nikkei communities, Riverside's never regained its pre-WWII numbers or vitality.

Riverside, like Vacaville in Northern California, had an early population peak rather than the continued expansion up to WWII seen in most Japantowns. Like Vacaville, Riverside was experiencing an agricultural flowering in the late nineteenth century that drew thousands of Japanese immigrants to

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work in the citrus orchards of Southern California and picking stone fruit around Vacaville. Both of these Japantowns were among the largest of the early twentieth century and both had shrunk to a fraction of their earlier size by 1942. Although no documentation was found that allowed a definitive explanation for this phenomenon in Riverside, the population contraction appears to be tied to the ability of Japanese immigrants to move on from their early occupations in local citrus industry.

Also relatively unusual was the overwhelmingly Christian affiliation of Riverside's Nikkei community. Approximately three-quarters of the pre-WWII Japanese American community in the United States were Buddhist, and temples, like Christian churches, were extremely important spiritual, cultural and social institutions. While it is not unheard of for a small Japantown to be solely Christian, most Nikkei communities had both Christian churches and Buddhist temples. Some historians and interviews with several Riverside Nikkei attribute this "low degree of ethnic antagonism," in part, to the fact that Japanese immigrants and their children were seen as affiliated with the majority population's spiritual tradition and were therefore considered "civilized."¹

Finally, Riverside is notable for the small, but unusual, number of prominent individuals who drew attention of Nikkei and non-Nikkei for their achievements or their engagement with significant civil rights issues. The Harada House is first and foremost among the sites associated with these Nikkei. One of only thirteen National Historic Landmarks associated with Japanese American heritage in the United States (seven of them in California). Seven of these NHL's are associated with WWII incarceration and the others are a Japanese garden in St. Louis and historic districts such as those in Los Angeles's Little Tokyo and Japantowns in Walnut Grove and Isleton.² The Harada House is the only National Historic Landmark associated with the historical experiences of an individual family, rather than the broad arcs of Japanese American history such as settlement and WWII incarceration. The Harada's heroic struggle for civil rights, and the home they fought to live in, were the subject of great attention during their battle to purchase and remain at 3356 Lemon Street. Few Japanese immigrants

¹ Morrison Gideon Wong, *The Japanese in Riverside, 1890-1945: A Special Case in Race Relations*, Doctorial dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 1977, pp. 47-48.

² Brian D. Joyner, *Asian Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Asian Heritage*, Washington D.C., National Park Service, 2005, pp. 61-63.

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received the national press coverage and attention from the legal community as Jukichi and Ken Harada.³ The overwhelming number of Issei were hard-working immigrants struggling to establish themselves and their families in the United States. Instances of Issei fame, such as the Haradas, were quite unusual. It is remarkable then, that two other Riverside residents of Japanese descent, Ulysses Shinsei Kaneko and Mine Okubo also received widespread attention and have structures associated with them that are extant.

The City of Riverside's contribution to Japanese American history at local, statewide and national level has been established through the significance of the Harada House National Historic Landmark. The house at 3357 Lemon Street purchased by Japanese immigrants Jukichi and Ken Harada in 1915 became an important test of the 1913 Alien Land Law, which prohibited Japanese as "aliens ineligible for citizenship" from owning land. The Haradas bought the property in the names of their American-born children, and their predominately Caucasian neighbors took the Harada family to court. The case drew national and international attention because of its implications for the relationship between the United States and Japan, which was emerging as an international power. In the fall of 1918, the Haradas prevailed in Riverside Superior Court when the case was decided in their favor, upholding the Alien Land Law but ruling that American born children were entitled to all the constitutional rights under the 14th Amendment, including land ownership. The Harada House was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places in 1979 and named a National Historic Landmark in 1990.

The Haradas were members of a community of Japanese Americans in Riverside who faced some challenges common to all immigrants to the United States, and others specific to newcomers from Asia and particularly Japan.⁴ In contrast to other immigrants whose rising numbers were reshaping the United States in the latter decades of the 19th century and early years of the twentieth, federal law prohibited Asians immigrants from becoming naturalized citizens. Naturalized citizenship was limited

³ While other Issei in the United States were the subject of lawsuits that drew regional and national attention, the status of associated sites has not been researched in detail and only the Harada's story has been recognized as a National Historic Landmark.

⁴ "Japanese Americans" is used to refer to both immigrants from Japan, who were prohibited from becoming U.S. citizens, and their children, who were automatically citizens because they were born in the U.S. Nikkei is used interchangeably with Japanese and Japanese American when referring to Issei and Nisei in this document.

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by 1790 law to “free white person(s)” and by the 1870 revision to that law, to “persons of Africa nativity or descent.” Yet from beginning of Japanese immigration, Issei (first-generation Japanese immigrants) attempted to become naturalized Americans.⁵ Riverside was home to one of the most prominent of these early Issei citizens. Ulysses Shinsei Kaneko was among the first Japanese immigrants to achieve this status and went on to become a prominent businessman and community leader who had an unusual ability to move between social, business and political circles within the Japanese and Caucasian communities.

Sociologist Morrison Wong’s 1977 dissertation, *The Japanese in Riverside, 1890 to 1945: A Special Case in Race Relations*, argues that local “Japanese-white relations were characterized by a low degree of ethnic antagonism.”⁶ Morrison attributes this difference to Riverside’s citrus growers’ dependence upon Japanese labor, lack of direct competition between Japanese small businesses and other Riverside enterprises, and the presence of white allies such as Frank Miller and leaders of the First Congregational Church. However, despite the presence of prominent supporters such as Miller, Wong’s conclusion only partially describes the experience of Riverside’s Japanese community, which was also shaped by aspects of exclusion, segregation and discrimination felt by Japanese Americans throughout the Western United States. While Riverside Nikkei such as U.S. Kaneko and Jukichi and Ken Harada sought to find their place as dedicated residents of their new land, they were not “admitted to the full privilege of her citizenship,” as an early account of the Japanese in California described.⁷

This study examines the context for the experiences of the Haradas and Kaneko by documenting the establishment and development of Riverside’s Japanese American community and their quest for civil rights. Legal and de facto discrimination such as immigration quotas, barriers to citizenship and property ownership, and laws against intermarriage shaped the experience of Japanese Americans in Riverside. Yet *Issei* and *Nisei* (second-generation Japanese Americans) made a place for themselves in

⁵ Brian Niiya, ed. *Japanese American History: An A-to-Z Reference from 1868 to the Present*. (New York: Facts On File, Inc. 1993), pp. 118-19 According to Niiya, Joseph Heco is believed to be the first Issei to become a naturalized citizen in 1858. Heco returned to Japan the following year and worked as an interpreter for an American consul office.

⁶ Morrison Wong, *The Japanese in Riverside, 1890-1945: A Special Case in Race Relations*. (PhD Dissertation, University of California Riverside, 1977).p. xv

⁷ Kiichi Kanzaki. *California and the Japanese*. (San Francisco: R and E Research Association, 1971) p. 22

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Riverside beginning in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The community faced its most dramatic challenge in 1942 when federal policies dictated mass removal and incarceration of all Americans of Japanese ancestry in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor.

Apart from the National Historic Landmark Harada House, this aspect of Riverside's history has not yet translated into common awareness or visibility in the city's built environment. This work expands understanding of the Harada story by documenting historic themes and sites associated with the establishment and development of Riverside's Japanese American community, early 20th century anti-Japanese campaigns and legislation, the dramatic break in community continuity represented by WWII incarceration, and post-war resettlement. The sites identified are also significant in national contexts, such as the impacts of Asian immigration to the Western United States, and the forced removal and mass incarceration of Japanese during World War II.⁸ These themes and the sites associated with them embody local, state, and national issues of democracy and civil rights, immigration, assimilation, and citizenship.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Japanese American Experience in California and the West Coast, 1869-1970s

1869-1907

Early Immigration and Anti-Asian Legislation

California has played a defining role in Japanese American history since the summer of 1869 when a small group of settlers arrived from Japan intending to establish an agricultural settlement. Most of these initial immigrants made their way inland to establish the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony in El Dorado County, the earliest chapter in the long, intertwined history of Japanese settlement and agriculture in the Golden State. The following year's U.S. Census showed fifty-five Japanese in the United States; thirty-three were in California, with twenty-two based at the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk

⁸ National Park Service's 2005 Draft National Historic Landmark Theme Study *Japanese Americans in World War II* identifies communities created by Japanese immigrants and sites associated with them as properties associated with exclusion, p. 33.

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Farm. The census of ten years later demonstrated a slight increase to eighty-six Japanese in California, with a total of 148 nationally. After Japan liberalized emigration restrictions in the mid-1880s, the number of Japanese coming to the United States climbed more rapidly as young men sought to leave meager economic opportunities in their home communities. By 1890, 2,038 Japanese lived in the United States, with 1,114 residing in California.⁹

Most Japanese immigrants entered the United States through San Francisco, with other significant ports-of-entry in Los Angeles, Portland, Oregon and Seattle, Washington. As a result, the first large settlement of Japanese in California was in San Francisco. From port cities, many immigrants were drawn to rural areas up and down the Coast and the Central Valley for agricultural jobs. At the turn of the twentieth century, Northern California had the largest communities of Japanese immigrants with 1,791 residing in San Francisco, over 1,200 in Sacramento County, and 1,100 in Alameda County. After the 1906 earthquake and fire in San Francisco, a move to the southern part of the state began and Los Angeles County became the most populous Japanese settlement.

As Yuji Ichioka wrote in his study *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924*, first-generation Japanese immigrants, or *Issei*, occupied a tenuous position in the United States.¹⁰ Since the late 18th century, U.S. laws had worked to limit access for Asian immigrants to American institutions and especially to citizenship. While Congress had granted citizenship status to African Americans, “Japanese immigrants, being neither white nor black, were classified as ‘aliens ineligible for citizenship,’ without the right of naturalization.”¹¹ These legal restrictions, and the racism underlying them, shaped the lives of Nikkei, Japanese immigrants and their descendants, for many decades.

Starting in the late 1860s, the Japanese Meiji government’s political and economic policies fueled emigration out of financial and employment needs, as well as desire to escape political and social

⁹ “A History of Japanese in California” by Isami Arifuku Waugh, Alex Yamamoto and Raymond Okamura in *Five Views: An Ethnic Historic Site Survey for California* (Office of Historic Preservation, California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1988) republished online at http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/5views/5views4a.htm

¹⁰ Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1998).

¹¹ Ichioka, *The Issei*. p. 1, 51-52.

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boundaries. The first period brought laborers who, like many European immigrants, intended to return eventually to their native country – hopefully with new wealth in hand. However, unlike European immigrants who could journey as families, restrictive immigration laws and custom meant that the first immigrants from Japan were overwhelmingly male.

Ichiooka divides Japanese immigration into two major periods shaped by immigration laws specifically targeting Asian immigrants: 1885 to 1907 and 1908 to 1925.¹² The first phase was made up primarily of male laborers; the second, and larger, phase included women. In addition to factors within Japan that encouraged emigration, immigration increased as a direct result of the U.S.'s 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which put a halt to the stream of Chinese men who performed labor in railroads, mines, factories and fields across the United States. Although the door was open to immigrants from Japan who would replace these workers, within a short time “they aroused the racial antagonism of the Oriental exclusionists. ...and thus the Japanese inherited the adverse sentiment of the people against the Orientals.”¹³

Early Employment

Japanese immigrants who arrived in the last decades of the 19th century were, like the Chinese before them, primarily male migrant workers who planned to return to their home country with wages earned in America. Until 1884, most were students or people who left Japan illegally since emigration was restricted until the Japanese government signed an agreement with Hawaiian sugar plantations to allow laborers to work the cane fields. Many Japanese continued on to the United States mainland from Hawai'i. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, railroads, lumber camps, mines and oil fields, as well as orchards and crop farms throughout the western U.S., employed Japanese immigrants. The first group of immigrants to California from Japan worked as “schoolboys,” performing live-in domestic help while studying English. Others found employment in agricultural enterprises that needed workers as the number of Chinese laborers dwindled. Vacaville, in Solano County, is considered the birthplace of

¹² Although there was a later group of post-WWII immigrants from Japan known as *shin-issei*, they were far smaller in number than the tens of thousands who arrived between the 1880s and 1924.

¹³ Kanzaki. *California and the Japanese*, p. 1.

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Japanese contributions to California agriculture. By 1890, the city and surrounding area housed thousands of permanent residents and migrant Japanese laborers who worked seasonally in local orchards picking stone fruit. Like Riverside, Vacaville's Japanese population peaked in the early twentieth century and declined as other Japantowns were expanding.

Japanese farmers throughout the West Coast utilized a graduated strategy to move from being labor for hire into securing land to cultivate. Under the contract system, farmers grew crops for an agreed upon amount negotiated with the property owner. The next rung up the farm ladder was the share system, in which a farmer received a percentage of the crop's yield, allowing for potentially greater benefits, as well as risks. With lease arrangements, farmers took on full responsibility for crop yield and paid rent to a landowner. All three of these systems were usually undertaken with the hope of accruing enough funds to purchase land. By 1910, Japanese immigrants cultivated crops on 194,742 acres of California soil.¹⁴

While agricultural enterprises were eager for Japanese workers, organized labor was actively hostile to incorporating Asians in their ranks and their leaders and members a mainstay of the anti-Chinese and Japanese movements. In response, many Japanese immigrants initiated their own enterprises and industries. Some of these included areas pioneered by Chinese in previous decades, such as fishing and abalone industries in Los Angeles, San Diego and Monterey Counties and land reclamation work begun by Chinese in the Sacramento/San Joaquin Delta.¹⁵

1908-1925

Anti-Japanese Movement

Immigration from Japan quickened in the early years of the twentieth century when the Japanese population in California quadrupled from 10,151 to 41,356.¹⁶ It remained robust until 1907-08, when

¹⁴ Ronald Takaki. *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little Brown Publishers, 1989), pp. 188-189.

¹⁵ Waugh, et al. *Five Views*

¹⁶ Cecilia M. Tsu, "Sex, Lies and Agriculture: Reconstructing Japanese Immigrant Gender Relations in Rural California, 1900-1913," *Pacific Historical Review* 78.2 (2009), 173-74, 184.

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agitation from labor organizations, white supremacist groups, and politicians came to a head. California, particularly San Francisco, was the center for this antipathy, which fed off residual hostility toward Chinese immigrants. Headquartered in San Francisco, The Asiatic Exclusion League was the mouthpiece for labor organizations that attacked Japanese immigrants as unfair competition in the workplace, and a threat to communities by their supposed lower standards of living and inability to assimilate to Western society.¹⁷

A 1906 decision by the San Francisco School Board to segregate the small number of Japanese students residing in that city created an international furor when Japanese immigrants brought the government of Japan into the issue. Japan, eager to assert itself as a world power, took the battle to Washington and negotiations with President Theodore Roosevelt and his representatives resulted in the "Gentlemen's Agreement," which stopped short of completely ending immigration from Japan, but curtailed further immigration of laborers.¹⁸

The Gentlemen's Agreement included a provision permitting wives and children of laborers, as well as re-entry of laborers who had already been in the United States, to continue to enter the country. Between 1910 and 1920, the number of married women within the Japanese immigrant community had quadrupled to over 22,000.¹⁹ At this same time, several laws were passed that reflected extreme animosity to Japanese immigrants and their struggles for civil rights. These included Alien Land Laws passed in California in 1913 and 1920 that restricted property ownership and the federal Cable Act of 1922 that revoked U.S. citizenship of women who married an "alien ineligible for citizenship," which at that time described all immigrants from Asia.

The Immigration Act of 1924 marked a major transition in Japanese American history. Widespread fear of immigrants was harnessed in order to pass more restrictive federal legislation. While some argued for quotas that would restrict immigration from Europe and Asia, a campaign for complete exclusion of Japanese immigrants by Western leaders such as California Senator Hiram

¹⁷ Niiya, p. 103.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 145.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 5

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Johnson and newspaper publisher V.S. McClatchy carried the day. The Immigration Act of 1924 effectively ended all immigration of men and women from Japan.

Family Formation and Settlement Patterns

The pattern of immigration created by these legal restrictions shaped Japanese communities in the United States. Sequential immigration by men and then women resulted in many marriages in which the husband was considerably older than the wife. Even more significantly, the 1908-1924 window of immigration for women meant that the majority of children (Nisei, or second generation) were born between 1910 and 1930. Peak years of Nisei births were between 1914 and 1925 when over 5,000 babies were born to Issei parents each year in California.²⁰ This sequence of restrictive immigration laws created an unusual generational structure for the Japanese American population— one age group for the original immigrants, another for their children, who shared fundamental aspects of life experience. As Brian Niiya describes, “Nearly all Nisei share a common background. Many... were part of a large family, had a different first language than their parents, had a father who started his family fairly late in life, attended both regular school and private Japanese-language schools and had their lives dramatically changed by events stemming from World War II.”²¹

Shut out of most employment sectors, the Issei relied on fellow immigrants and self-employment as farmers and small business operators.²² The development of this separate economy and community correlated with the growth of Japantowns, or *Nihonmachi*, which appeared in the Pacific Coast states in the first decades of the twentieth century. In California, Issei set down roots in rural agricultural communities and in cities like San Francisco (the primary immigrant gateway to the Western U.S.), Sacramento, Oakland and Los Angeles. Encouraged by community leaders to make an economic stake in their new land, Japanese families established their permanent homes in the Golden State. By 1920,

²⁰ *History of Japanese in America*. Originally published by the Japanese Association as *Zaibei Nipponjin-Shi*, 1940. English translation manuscript in collection of Japanese American Historical Archives, San Francisco. Hereafter noted as *History of Japanese in America*.

²¹ Niiya, p. 262

²² Takaki, p. 180.

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the Japanese population of California was over 70,000, dwarfing the numbers in Washington (17,144) and Oregon (4,022).²³

Numerous Nihonmachi were established in California, ranging from Selma's one block of businesses catering to Japanese in Fresno County, to whole sections of cities such as Sacramento, Los Angeles, and San Jose. Early Japanese immigrants often settled in areas that overlapped, or sat side-by-side with previously established Chinatowns. This co-location of Asian immigrants fit a pattern that was replicated across the Western United States during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Communities of Japanese and Chinese immigrants have distinctive but related histories shaped by immigration policies, changing demands for cheap labor, restrictions on land ownership, and racial animus. They also shared a marginalized status as non-citizens, as represented in the physical separation of the residential enclaves they created with fellow countrymen. Race, class and immigrant status restricted Nikkei access to certain neighborhoods and areas within cities and towns, just as they did for other groups, most notably for African American, Chinese American and Mexican Americans.

1926-41

Business and Community Development

Despite populist campaigns and legislation targeted at restricting their rights, Japanese immigrants built families, businesses and communities across the Pacific States. They continued to develop as a major component of California's agricultural sector. Whether as owners, renters, contract or share croppers, Japanese immigrants became important producers and growers of crops: rice in Northern California; strawberries in Southern California; vegetables along the coast, in the Central Valley, and in Southern California; grapes and tree fruit in the Central Valley and Southern California. By the first days of WWII, truck crops grown by Japanese American farmers in California accounted for one third of all produce's cash value.²⁴

²³ Kanzaki, p. 8.

²⁴ Niiya, p. 334

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Early Japanese settlements featured boarding houses and hotels that provided lodging, while bathhouses, pool halls, restaurants and dry goods stores operated by fellow immigrants served the needs of an overwhelmingly male population. The presence and productivity of women were critical to the transition from communities of migrant laborers to permanent Japanese settlements in the U.S. As families grew, communities established institutions to maintain and transmit culture such as Buddhist and Christian churches, theaters, community halls and Japanese language schools. Shops selling medicines, tofu and fresh fish joined the pool halls, barbershops and bathhouses that characterized the previous bachelor society. Services and professional offices such as doctors, midwives, photographers and insurance agents served the needs of expanding communities. Japanese language newspapers connected communities across the region, while import/export businesses connected immigrants to their homeland and provided Japanese goods and foodstuffs that allowed families to maintain elements of a traditional culture and diet.

Race, class and immigrant status restricted Nikkei access to certain neighborhoods and areas within cities and towns, just as they did for other groups, most notably for African American, Chinese American and Mexican Americans. In many communities these spatial constraints created readily identifiable ethnic enclaves, yet other Japanese American communities did not fit a stereotypical “Japantown” mold. By the 1930s, Japantowns in cities like Oakland, Berkeley and Pasadena had a dispersed pattern of Nikkei-owned businesses, organizations, and industries. This type of spatial pattern was characterized by businesses that counted Non-Nikkei among their suppliers and customers.

Whether they lived in an area identifiable as a Japantown or not, most Nikkei were supported by social, religious, cultural and political organizations that fostered and protected their close-knit community. Christian churches, Buddhist temples, and Japanese language schools, or *gakuen*, served as the primary gathering places where Japanese immigrants and their children passed on and preserved traditional cultural practices. *Kodomo no tame ni*, “for the sake of the children” was the guiding principle for many Issei parents and a foundation for the development of Japanese American communities, which were wrenched apart by the advent of World War II.

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1941-1945

WWII forced removal and incarceration

The Japanese Navy's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7th, 1941 abruptly ended the prosperity established by Japanese immigrants in the Western U.S. In *Nihonmachi* throughout California and the West, prominent Japanese American businessmen, Japanese clergy, and school teachers declared by the U.S. government to be "enemy aliens" were collected in FBI sweeps and detained in jail and eventually in Department of Justice internment camps.²⁵

Despite scattered appeals for fair treatment of resident Japanese Americans, anti-Japanese hysteria in California intensified with American entry into World War II, fanned by editorials in newspapers and by nativist and agricultural interest groups. During February and March of 1942, the House Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, chaired by John Tolan, U.S. Congressman from Oakland, held hearings in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles to air views of anti-Japanese arguing for forced removal. Although some White allies and Japanese Americans leaders argued for Nikkei loyalty, their testimony was overwhelmed by speakers such as California Attorney General Earl Warren, who depicted Japanese land use patterns as an ominous array of clusters around military installations.²⁶

Under the authority of Executive Order 9066 signed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in February 1942, General John L. DeWitt issued a series of military proclamations from the headquarters of the Western Defense Command at the Presidio of San Francisco. The proclamations first established restricted military zones on the West Coast within which "all enemy aliens and all persons of Japanese ancestry" were subject to military regulation. By late March 1942, DeWitt began issuing Civilian Exclusion Orders expelling "all persons of Japanese ancestry, including aliens and non-aliens" from the West Coast military zones. In a little over 4 months, more than 120,000 Americans of Japanese Ancestry were forced from their homes and interned by the government under the guise of national security.

²⁵ The Japanese American Citizens League has released a study on terminology associated with the experiences of Japanese Americans during WWII titled *The Power of Words*, which describes internment is a legally accurate description for those held in Department of Justice prisons, but not for those wrongfully incarcerated in War Relocation Centers.

<http://jaclpowerofwords.org/>

²⁶ Niiya, p. 329

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The decision not to incarcerate Japanese Hawaiians, despite the bombing of Pearl Harbor, was based on their numbers and the critical proportion of the Hawaiian labor force they comprised. The fact they were not incarcerated, and neither were people of German or Italian descent, suggests that the removal of Japanese Americans on the west coast was motivated by racism and long-standing enmity over Japanese immigrants' success in agriculture, rather than out of "military necessity."

During the years 1942-45, Japanese Americans were incarcerated behind barbed wire and under armed guard in 10 remotely sited concentration camps. Most Nikkei were first imprisoned in "assembly centers" temporary detention centers in racetracks and fair grounds. Most of Riverside's Nikkei were moved directly to a more permanent "relocation center" near Poston, Arizona. Although most of the prison camps were located away from the West Coast, California held two of them: Manzanar in Inyo County and Tule Lake in Modoc County. The camp at Tule Lake did not close until March 1946. Encouraged by the War Relocation Authority to resettle in the East and Midwest, approximately one-third of the internees chose this alternative. Some never returned to the West Coast.

"Internees" held complex, and often ambivalent, feelings about returning to the communities from which they'd been forcibly uprooted. Nisei journalist, Bill Hosokawa, argued, in a *Pacific Citizen* editorial that moving eastward "offered unexpected possibilities for advancement and social assimilation...in the long run, the integration and acceptance of Japanese Americans would be speeded by widespread dispersal."²⁷ Given vituperative pronouncements against Nikkei returning to California by organizations such as the American Legion and Native Sons of the Golden West, this perspective is understandable. Following a 1944 tour of San Francisco's Japantown to assess post-war prospects, Japanese American Citizens' league (JACL) president Saburo Kido identified four major areas of concern – housing, jobs, labor union antipathy, and potentially difficult relations with the many African Americans who had moved into the neighborhood. "Since they occupy the former Japanese residential district, they will resent being displaced by returning evacuees," Kido wrote.²⁸

²⁷ Reid Yoshio Yokoyama, *Return, Rebuild and Redevelop: Japanese American Resettlement in San Francisco, 1945-1958*, (Undergraduate Honors Thesis, Stanford University, 2007). pp. 13, 100.

²⁸ Saburo Kido to Members and Friends, November 14, 1944, 1. Box 35, JA Relocation – Non-Printed Matter, John W. Nason Papers, Hoover Institution Archives cited in Yokoyama, p. 58.

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1946-1970s

Return and Resettlement

Following the war, tens of thousands of Japanese Americans returned to pre-war Japantowns in California and other Western states, many of which had largely become occupied by wartime defense industry workers. Starting over was a particular hardship for Japanese American families. Alien Land Laws passed in 1913 and 1920 had prevented most from owning property, and finding housing and jobs in the post-war period was extremely difficult. Re-entry into society was met with hostility and mistrust. The experiences of Japanese Americans in the decade after WWII has only recently become the subject of attention, most prominently in the *RE:generations* oral history project that has documented post-war resettlement in San Diego, Los Angeles, San Jose and Chicago.²⁹

Those who did return to California had to rebuild lives that had been dramatically altered by the concentration camp experience. Some Nihonmachi did not survive. Non-Japanese businesses and residents had moved into sections of town previously occupied by Japanese Americans and re-establishing their claim to pre-war spaces proved impossible in some areas. The war was also a turning point in generational control of businesses, churches, and community politics, as the adult children of immigrants began to dominate in all spheres of Japanese activities.

The Japanese population of California decreased to 84,956, according to the 1950 census from a pre-war population of 93,717. Los Angeles County had the largest population, with 36,761 Nikkei residents. San Francisco, Alameda, Fresno, Sacramento, and Santa Clara counties each had 4,000-6,000 Japanese residents. This period was one of intensive efforts to re-establish Japanese American communities. After serving as hostels for returning internees, churches re-instituted their usual activities and services. The struggle for economic survival began anew. Those Nihonmachi able to be rebuilt were again the centers of the Japanese American community, but were less oriented to the immigrant generation.

²⁹ *RE:generations* was a collaborative project with the Japanese American National Museum, the Chicago Japanese American Historical Society, Japanese American Historical Society of San Diego and the Japanese American resource Center/Museum of San Jose.

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The decade 1950-60 saw almost a doubling of the Japanese population in California, to 157,317. Los Angeles County again led the state with 77,314, more than seven times the number in Santa Clara County, which had 10,432 Japanese residents.³⁰ This large increase is generally attributed to the birth of Sansei, the third generation of Japanese. A secondary but far less important reason numerically was the gradual return to the West Coast of individuals who had resettled to other areas following World War II. A minor increase may also be attributed to Japanese women immigrating from Asia as wives of U.S. servicemen.

The explosion of children resulted in a resurgence of activities in churches, Japanese-language schools, and athletic leagues. The Japanese population had made the transition from a rural to an urban population with the economic base less oriented to agriculture, although this was still important. In urban areas, Japanese women frequently worked in secretarial-clerical positions, while men began to obtain jobs in technical professional areas.

Redevelopment & Redress

Urban renewal reshaped many American cities from the 1950s through the 1970s. Ironically, many Japantowns that had been laboriously rebuilt by Nikkei after WWII, were the first targets for redevelopment agencies. As areas that were usually ethnically mixed, whether historically or as a result of wartime displacement and migration, and often made up of working-class renters, neighborhoods such as San Francisco's Western Addition and Sacramento's Westside became targets for the wrecking ball. Whether for mega-developments such as San Francisco's Geary Expressway and Japan Trade Center or freeways that drove through the heart of low-income neighborhoods, urban renewal projects created a "second evacuation" for many Nikkei. In larger Japantowns, residents organized and fought evictions and displacement, to relatively little effect. Yet the lessons in activism were soon turned to another major goal, securing "redress and reparations" for the suffering caused by WWII injustices.

Early calls for reparations were made by Edison Uno at the 1970 national Japanese American Citizen's League (JACL) in Seattle. As Nikkei debated different strategies, new organizations formed

³⁰ Numbers for Japanese Americans in Riverside or Riverside County have not been located.

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including the National Coalition for Redress/Reparations based in Los Angeles and the National Council for Japanese American Redress with strong leadership from Seattle's Nikkei. The Japanese American Citizens League spearheaded legislative strategy for creating the U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC). Two years later, the CWRIC held hearings in major cities that enabled Japanese Americans to finally, publicly testify to the injustice, loss, and endurance of their WWII legacy.³¹ The power of these personal stories furthered arguments for individual monetary reparations, which had been a central goal for the National Coalition for Redress and Reparations (NCRR). Local activists organized letter-writing campaigns that deluged the White House and Congress with calls for redress.³² On September 18, 1987, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a redress bill, with the Senate following in April of 1988. President Ronald Reagan threatened to veto the bill but political factors and over 20,000 letters sent in support of the bill and he ultimately signed the bill into law on August 10, 1988. By 1990, an apology and \$20,000 in redress payment was reaching the first Issei and would ultimately be offered to very living survivor of the WWII era who had been wrongfully incarcerated.

Context 1. JAPANESE IN RIVERSIDE: Settlement & Community Development; World War II
Forced Relocation and Incarceration; Return & Recovery, 1890s-1907s

Settlement & Community Development

Arrival and work in the citrus industry

Accounts of Riverside's first Japanese residents are not definitive. A 1940 history published by the Japanese Association states that an immigrant named Gunji Morito was hired in the early 1890s to plant ginko trees along a roadside in San Bernardino. Morito reportedly brought several Japanese laborers to Southern California with him, but died soon after in Japan while traveling to buy the trees. According to

³¹ Niiya, p. 340, 342.

³² Wong, p. 96.

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this account, some of the laborers stayed briefly in Riverside, but didn't appear to settle.³³ Another arrival story describes a group of Japanese leaving a grape picking job near Fresno and walking along railroad tracks to work in Riverside's orange groves in 1891.³⁴ In any case, the early presence of migrant Japanese laborers who worked the Riverside area's burgeoning citrus orchards is well documented. In fact, the establishment of Japanese in the city and the development of the citrus industry are deeply intertwined.

Incorporated in 1883, the City of Riverside had a business district located in the heart of the original "Mile Square" town site, while an additional thirty-three square miles were divided into small farm lots of five, ten, twenty, and forty acres. Early agricultural crops grown successfully in the Riverside area were vineyards of raisin grapes, alfalfa, hay, and stone fruits, such as apricots and peaches. These agricultural successes were soon supplanted by citrus production. After the arrival of the Washington naval orange, brought to Riverside by pioneers Eliza and Luther Tibbets in 1873, it soon became apparent that the ideal crop had been found for the climate and soil of Riverside. All that was needed was ample irrigation and transportation to fulfill promises being offered settlers arriving from the eastern portion of the United States. With the completion of a canal system and the beginnings of a railroad infrastructure, Riverside rapidly became an economic boomtown. Problems with irrigation kept the nearby Arlington area from advancing as rapidly as Riverside in citrus production, but citrus groves and packinghouses gradually progressed into the Arlington and Arlington Heights areas. The agricultural industry continued to drive the Riverside economy through the first decades of the twentieth century. Riverside played a critical role in the Southern California citrus belt that extended all the way to Pasadena on the west, thanks to an experiment station operated by the University of California in 1907.³⁵

Most Japanese immigrants worked picking oranges and lemons in the groves and packing fruit in packinghouses found across Riverside. One group of Japanese workers is supposed to have lived for

³³ *History of Japanese in America*.

³⁴ Roy Ito, *Japanese of the Inland Empire*, (unpublished manuscript, JAARP Collection, UC Riverside Special Collections, 1971), p. 1.

³⁵ *City of Riverside Modernism Context Statement*, 2009, pp. 6-11.

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over ten years in tents tucked in a eucalyptus grove on Magnolia Avenue near Adams Street.³⁶ As the location of Riverside's Chinatown, Adams Street was a logical place for early Nikkei to settle. Across the Western United States, Japanese immigrants often found that their residential options were narrowly defined in proximity to these earlier immigrants from Asia. Yet over time Riverside's Nikkei community fit a looser definition of Japantown that could be found in other cities and towns. In contrast to the concentrated and easily identifiable ethnic enclave generally imagined as "Japantown," these were characterized by clusters of Japanese residences usually located in neighborhoods of other working-class people, often immigrants themselves from Europe, Mexico and other parts of Asia.

Within a short time, the thousands of Japanese who worked seasonally in Riverside's orchards were joined by permanent residents who established businesses, such as the first Japanese-owned restaurant in Riverside, opened by Isokichi Ezawa in 1895.³⁷ The Hoshizaki grocery store opened on Cottage Avenue in 1901 and the following year, the Yamato Company was established at 113 Arlington Avenue. Started by four immigrants, the Yamato grocery store adopted an ancient word for Japan as its name.³⁸ Both of these early stores expanded their business by supplying Japanese farmhands to work in the local orange orchards. Other farmhand suppliers, "such as the Shibata brothers, Reishiro Itatani, and many others" soon joined them and would reportedly provide thousands of Japanese farmhands at the peak of orange harvesting season.³⁹

Labor contractors such as these were a major feature of early Japanese settlement and employment in California, Washington and Oregon. Japanese labor contractors provided "middleman" services for new arrivals, whose lack of facility in English and knowledge of the American job market were huge barriers to employment. In addition to charging a fee for arranging work, bosses often housed and fed workers for an additional sum.⁴⁰ The labor contracting system, which flourished in agriculture, mining, fishing, lumber and railroad industries from about 1891 to 1907, benefited employers who only had to negotiate with one party.

³⁶ Wong, p. 14

³⁷ Wong, p. 19

³⁸ Wong, p. 19 The address for the Yamato Company is found in the 1898 Riverside Directory.

³⁹ *History of Japanese in America*.

⁴⁰ Niiya, p. 214.

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While Japanese business owners generally lived and worked in the same commercial structures, citrus laborers resided in rooming houses or special camps provided by orchard owners. The 1900 U.S. Census for Riverside shows dozens of Japanese listed as day laborers, orange pickers, and cooks at the Arlington Avenue Camp and Riverside Trust Camp, with another fifteen workers in a camp or boarding house on Pachapa Avenue. The census of ten years later lists more than sixty Japanese residents at the Prenda Station camp. Riverside historian Tom Patterson writes that the Prenda packing facility had separate bunkhouses for Japanese and Chinese workers in 1908, and that other Japanese camps could be found west of the Santa Fe tracks at the Alta Cresta packing house and on Dufferin Avenue in Arlington Heights.⁴¹

The Arlington Heights Company had three permanent labor camps with English names denoting the origins of the corporation's founders. Osborn, Windsor and Balmoral each had foremen, horses and equipment for servicing the two thousand acre enterprise with packinghouses in Prenda and Arlington "at each end of the district."⁴² Although Sanborn maps for these camps are not marked in a way that indicates spatial arrangements by race, one historian wrote that two of these camps were maintained for Japanese who were "employed both in the field and in the packing houses. Men earned one dollar a day without experience and one and a quarter when properly trained." According to this source, Japanese women made up part of the workforce and were employed in the packinghouses. Early census records indicate that Issei women resided in labor camps and boarding houses around Riverside.⁴³

As Anthea Hartig describes in her 2001 dissertation, *Citrus Growers and the Southern California Landscape, 188-1940*, relatively isolated camps such as these provided a readily accessible and controlled labor force for "industrial citrus plantations."⁴⁴ "Control over production and in particular labor cost and laborers' lives shaped the citrus industry as it did the rest of California agriculture," Hartig writes. As the largest number of citrus workers in Riverside during the 1890s and early twentieth

⁴¹ Patterson, "Early Riverside dotted by housing..." *Riverside Press Enterprise*, October, 1, 1980. P. B5

⁴² Arthur G. Paul, *Riverside Community Book*, (Riverside: Arthur H. Crawston, 1954), p. 83.

⁴³ Paul, "Early Riverside..." p. 83

⁴⁴ Anthea Marie Hartig, *Citrus Growers and the Southern California Landscape, 1880-1940*, (PhD Dissertation, University of California Riverside, 2001), p. 239.

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century, this control was heavily exerted over Japanese immigrants whose fellow workers came from China, Mexico, Europe and Korea.

By 1915 citrus work had moved from seasonal to year round and workers were more dependent on a single employer. According to Hartig, the construction of workers' housing at this time "became a more sophisticated operation, more coherently designed and carefully planned."⁴⁵ Patterson described one camp located at Cleveland and Jackson Streets in Arlington Heights that did not merit listing in city directories but appeared to have some of the features to which Hartig alludes. Patterson's 1982 article is based on interviews with Gwendolyn Martinez Alvarado who recalled that her family moved to what had been an all-Japanese camp around 1911. They were soon joined by other migrants from Texas and Mexico and separated from the Japanese residents by a high wooden fence. According to a map drawn by the Alvarado and her husband, the camp had a commissary and a Japanese bathhouse and looked "like a beautiful park. The buildings were like Army barracks – two-story with verandas." Alvarado said that the workers who roomed in her parents' boarding house were all single men, while the "Japanese camp" over the fence had families in residence.⁴⁶

Not all Japanese citrus workers lived in employer-provided camps. Some found shelter east of downtown's Mile Square in structures on either side of 14th Street across the Southern Pacific railroad and marked as "Japanese Shanties" in the 1908 Sanborn map. These are probably the "notorious place" described by one writer who contrasts their squalor to Arlington's "well managed camps" that housed the "best workers."⁴⁷ The Sanborn map depicting 14th Street shows two boardinghouses, and approximately ten buildings of attached housing units along with an office, barber shop, two billiard rooms and four stores. No photographs of these blocks have been found, but the map describes wood frame buildings, primarily of one story, though three establishments at 159-169, 152-54 and 162 E. 14th Street were all of two stories. This collection of structures and uses typifies the environments that supported the bachelor culture of early Issei immigrants. Residents of these "shanties" presumably

⁴⁵ Hartig, p. 239

⁴⁶ Tom Patterson, "Martinez Camp once was thriving community of 450 citrus workers," Riverside Press Enterprise, 21 March 1982. Although none of the camp buildings were identified in the related survey, Patterson's article indicates that "some farm buildings along Jackson Way appear to have been part of the Japanese portion of the camp."

⁴⁷ Paul, "Riverside," p. 83

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worked at packinghouses owned by the Penn Fruit Company and Pachapa Orange Growers Association just to the west across the railroad tracks.⁴⁸

Establishing new businesses

Although citrus dominated the early presence of Japanese in Riverside, some Issei worked at the Mission Inn, Riverside's grand tourist hotel developed in the center of town by Frank Miller, one of Riverside's most prominent residents. Others established grocery stores and restaurants by the turn of the twentieth century. Ulysses Shinsei Kaneko was listed as a restaurant owner in the 1898 Riverside City Directory at 750 8th Street, and by 1905 had established the Golden State Hotel and Café at 634 8th Street (extant at 3616-1638 University Avenue). Census records show that the hotel primarily served Kaneko's large family, with a few rooms let to other Japanese immigrants. Given the small number of Japanese in Riverside, and their presumably meager wages, it is not surprising that one account notes that the café's clientele included many "Caucasians."⁴⁹ By 1910 city directories list a variety of Japanese-owned businesses including a tailor, a gardener, and a cobbler, grocers, a confectionary store, three bicycle stores, a fish market, two barbers, and three restaurants.⁵⁰ Many of these were clustered in the 100 block of East 14th Street (razed) labeled "Japanese Shanties" by the Sanborn Company, with a smaller cluster in the 600 and 700 blocks of 8th Street. The businesses on 8th Street were housed in more substantial buildings alongside a bank, department store and the Riverside Daily Press building. The Loring Opera House and City Hall sat one block to the north.⁵¹

Among the most notable of these Japanese businesses was the Washington Restaurant, which served meals for over three decades (a remarkably long time for an Issei-run establishment), and whose proprietors became famous for their involvement in a landmark court case testing the 1913 Alien Land

⁴⁸ Sanborn Fire Insurance Map for Riverside 1908, p. 41. The same map shows a smaller "Korean Settlement" further south along Cottage Street. Assessor's records in Riverside County Archives found by City Planning staff, Krystal Marquez, revealed that the owners of the 14th Street Japantown area were John F. Tibbet and Edward Pequegnat. Personal communication to the author dated 22 July 2011.

⁴⁹ *History of Japanese in America*.

⁵⁰ 1910 *Riverside City Directory*, Local History Resource Center, City of Riverside Library

⁵¹ Sanborn Fire Insurance Map for Riverside 1908.

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Law. Jukichi and Ken Harada opened the restaurant after working for U.S. Kaneko at the Golden State Hotel and operating a small rooming house on 8th Street, where Ken did the housekeeping for their Japanese and Mexican lodgers. Profits from the rooming house enabled Jukichi and Ken to purchase a restaurant next to the Asami Barbershop on 8th Street across from Kaneko's café and hotel in 1910.⁵² A previous Japanese proprietor, T. Ohashi, had named the establishment Washington Restaurant for the first American president.⁵³ As the Haradas built a life around the restaurant and the growing number of rooming houses they operated, these sites testified to their commitment to putting down family roots in Riverside.

In addition to a portrait of George Washington, a 1915 menu from the restaurant showed an array of American dishes with nothing but a 5 cent serving of boiled rice reflecting any aspect of Japanese culinary tradition. The menu also shows that the restaurant's hours were from 5 AM to 8 PM and that rooms were available for rent at 25 cents per day. Like Kaneko and the other Nikkei business owners in Riverside, the Haradas relied on a combination of employing fellow Japanese immigrants and family labor to run their businesses, which needed to serve a broader range of customers than Nikkei proprietors in larger Japantowns. The Haradas operated the restaurant from 643 8th Street (extant at 3643 University Avenue)⁵⁴, until 1925 when they relocated to 638 9th Street. Five years later, the Haradas moved their business back to 541 8th Street (razed), from which they, and later their children Sumi and Harold, managed affairs until WWII.

Growing Families and Community Institutions

In addition to hundreds of seasonal workers, by 1910 the Japanese population of Riverside was approximately "500 Japanese settlers, including 70 women and 23 children."⁵⁵ Passage of the 1908 Gentleman's Agreement included a loophole allowing wives to immigrate from Japan, many of whom

⁵² Jennifer Mermilliod, State of California DPR Primary Record form for 3643 University Avenue, p. 4

⁵³ *Souvenir of the City of Riverside*, Published in the Interest of the Riverside Fire Department, 1906. Collection of Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

⁵⁴ Riverside changed from 3-digit to 4-digit addresses in 1933. Some street names have also changed from the period of study, for example Eighth Street was renamed University.

⁵⁵ *History of Japanese in America*.

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arrived as "picture brides," a phenomenon denounced by leaders of the anti-Japanese movement as immoral and a sneaky maneuver around immigration restrictions. This was actually a variation on Japanese tradition, where arranged marriages were the rule. In Japan, go-betweens matched men and women according to a family's social and economic status and personal attributes of the potential bride and groom, who often exchanged photographs as part of the process. Male Japanese immigrants who could afford to travel back to Japan returned to be wed, while others turned to long-distance, arranged marriages to so-called "picture brides" who were usually a decade or two younger than their husbands.⁵⁶

As families were established in Riverside, new organizations and facilities were needed. The Riverside Japanese Association, which represented immigrants in dealings with American institutions and performed bureaucratic functions for the Japanese government, had been formed in 1905. Their annual picnic was a highlight of the community calendar over the decades. Community members recalled that a temporary stage would be built for speeches where Riverview Road ends at the Santa Ana River.⁵⁷ Kenjin-kai, associations of fellow immigrants from the same prefecture, served an important social and economic role for Issei. Most of Riverside's Japanese immigrants came from Wakayama and Fukuoka prefectures. Members of Riverside's Wakayama and Fukuoka kenjin-kais were tied by common customs and speech patterns and their bonds were reinforced through community events such as annual picnics, dinners and mutual aid projects.⁵⁸ The most important community-building institutions in Riverside, as in other Japantowns, were churches and Japanese language school or *gakuen*.

The Japanese Christian church was a central organization in Riverside's Nikkei community, which was relatively unusual in that it lacked a Buddhist presence. Nearly seventy-five percent of pre-war Nikkei were Buddhist prior to WWII, but Japanese in Riverside were overwhelmingly Christian. Christian churches outnumbered Buddhist temples in most pre-war Japantowns for several reasons, most prominent being that non-Asian Christian missionaries eagerly proselytized to new immigrants from

⁵⁶ Niiya, p. 282.

⁵⁷ A photo in the collection of the Riverside Metropolitan Museum shows that the 1920 picnic was held at the Salt Lake Bridge over the Santa Ana River. Locations for other picnics is unknown at this time. Interview with Lilly Taka and Charles Fujimoto, July 2011.

⁵⁸ Niiya, pp. 200-201.

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Japan and established missions in many communities that developed into full-fledged churches. Various Christian sects, most commonly Methodist and Presbyterian, each developed their own institutional bases and the buildings to house them. Although several Buddhist traditions were present in California, the Jodo Shinshu or Shin sect, under the San Francisco-based leadership of Buddhist Churches of America (BCA) was by far the most dominant. Therefore, most Japantowns housed only one Buddhist temple, and the number of Buddhist churches was smaller than Japanese Christian churches of varying denominations. A typical pre-war California Japantown featured two or three Christian churches representing various denominations, with one Buddhist church under the BCA umbrella, as well as traditional religions such as Konko and Shinto.

According to a Japanese accounting of Protestant work in North America, a Rev. Morizo Yoshida was sent by the Los Angeles Methodist Episcopal church to visit citrus workers in Riverside, where he baptized over 140 male workers in a five year period.⁵⁹ Shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, Riverside's established Methodist and Congregational churches sponsored missions to organize services for Japanese working in the citrus industry. At that time, the First Congregational Church of Riverside listed eight Chinese members whose small numbers apparently didn't merit a separate "mission."⁶⁰ Riverside's Mabel Bristol recalled "for a long time these churches, [Methodist and Congregational] prospered and became the focal point for the lives of the Japanese people here in town because they had no other way to get together. Church became a big thing in their lives."⁶¹

The Congregational Church's Japanese Mission moved into its own structure in 1901 at 5th and Mulberry (razed). According to a history of the First Congregational Church, the Congregational Conference gave monetary support to the Japanese Mission while the local church supplied teachers for Sunday School as well as lessons in English, cooking and sewing. By 1908 the Sanborn map shows that the Japanese Mission occupied a small one-story structure at 177 E. Fourteenth as the Japanese Mission. The Congregational Church Bulletin of December 1909 announced that the Japanese Mission would

⁵⁹ *The Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of Protestant Work Among Japanese in North America 1872-1962*. (Los Angeles: Japanese Union Church, 1964), p. 36.

⁶⁰ *The Lighted Cross: The First 100 Years of Riverside's First Church*. (Riverside: First Congregational Church, 1972), p. 66.

⁶¹ Wong, p. 47

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host Christmas celebration “at its quarters on 14th Street.... All interested friends will be welcomed at the gathering.”⁶²

The History of Japanese in America states that by 1915 Riverside’s Methodist and Congregational Japanese churches had two ministers, two staff, 143 members, fifty-three Sunday school students, seventeen baptisms per year, and one English teacher who instructed ten students.⁶³ The two mission churches merged in 1917 and ten years later changed the name to the Riverside Japanese Union Church. At some point they appear to have moved next door to a larger, two-story frame structure at 3195 East 14th Street (razed).⁶⁴ By that time, the First Congregational Church had erected a grand new building (extant at 3504 Mission Inn Avenue) and continued to have active ties to the Japanese Church, including opening their own larger sanctuary for the Japanese church to hold their Christmas services.⁶⁵ In fact, as the “parent” organization that was legally able to own property, they held a controlling interest in the Japanese Union Church’s real estate as well. In 1927, the First Congregational Church deeded the 14th Street church building to the Southern California Conference by the American Missionary Association.⁶⁶

Riverside’s Japanese Union Church was part of the Japanese American Southern California Church Federation, an alliance of about twenty churches that had established a credit union and mutual aid society by the 1930s. According to a history of Japanese American Christian churches, up to the post-WWII period, almost all of the churches continued as “missions” of white churches.⁶⁷ As of 1940, Issei worship service attendance was 3, while Sunday school pupils numbered 50. These small numbers may reflect a pattern identified in Morrison Wong’s doctoral thesis on Japanese Americans in Riverside, which states that local Nisei, who were more comfortable with English language, attended services in white churches.⁶⁸

⁶² *The Lighted Cross*, p. 70

⁶³ *History of Japanese in America*.

⁶⁴ *The Eighty-fifth Anniversary*, p. 143

⁶⁵ *The Lighted Cross*, p. 209

⁶⁶ *History of Japanese in America*.

⁶⁷ *The Eighty-fifth Anniversary*, p. 70.

⁶⁸ Wong, p. 47

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Alongside churches, Japanese Language schools, or *gakuen*, were the most central institutions to Japanese communities across the West Coast. According to historian Gail Dubrow, the hundreds of language schools in Japantowns up and down the Pacific Coast “testify to the growing Nisei population, Issei anxiety over their precarious status in the United States as aliens ineligible for citizenship, and dismay over the manners of their American-born children.”⁶⁹ Because parents’ acquisition of English was generally quite limited, one of the *gakuen*’s roles was to support better communication between parents and children. Yet, Nikkei educators were aware that Japanese schools were a sensitive subject in the context of continuous anti-Japanese activism in the West. A 1921 volume *California and the Japanese* by Kiichi Kanzaki, General Secretary of the Japanese Association of America, stated that a *gakuen* “teaches the mother tongue only so far as it is necessary for family harmony and for social efficiency and economy.” In fact the Japanese Education Association claimed in 1913 that “language schools are conducted with the fact in view that the Japanese children are Americans and are going to spend all their years here, and our whole educational system must be founded upon the spirit of public instruction of America.”⁷⁰

While language schools in larger Nihonmachi held classes in Japanese language, history, penmanship, singing and deportment six days a week, Riverside children attended such classes less frequently. The Japanese Union Church’s Reverend Omura and other Issei conducted Japanese classes in their homes and at the Japanese Union Church. Toranosuke Fujimoto reported teaching classes for three Japanese families in his High Grove neighborhood.⁷¹

But *gakuen* held a far more important role in the community than a space solely devoted to training the younger generation in how to read and write in Japanese. As numbers of Nisei grew, special programs and performances were organized by students to demonstrate their newfound skills to parents.

⁶⁹ Gail Dubrow with Donna Graves, *Sento at Sixth and Main: Preserving Landmarks of Japanese American Heritage*, (Seattle: Seattle Arts Commission, 2002), p. 109.

⁷⁰ Kanzaki, p. 20

⁷¹ Akiko Nomura. *Fujimoto Diaries 1941-1946: Japanese American Community in Riverside, California, and Toranosuke Fujimoto’s National Loyalties to Japan and the United States During the Wartime Internment*. (PhD Dissertation, University of California Riverside, 2010), p. 161. Fujimoto presumably taught lessons to the Senamatsu and Ono children, as well as his own.

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Issei and Nisei recalled community gatherings at the Riverside language schools for commemorative and holiday events. Fujimoto's diary described a lecture by a Major Tanaka, leader of a 1936 military coup, hosted by the Arlington Gakuen that lasted four hours and attracted over 100 listeners in February 1941.⁷²

One the eve of WWII, there were 248 Gakuen in California with 17,834 pupils and 454 teachers.⁷³ The greater Riverside Japanese American community held three or four such schools. A 1940 Japanese directory lists gakuen at two addresses in Riverside –9585 Rudisill Street and the Japanese Union Church on 14th Street (both razed).⁷⁴ The 1940 *History of Japanese in America* states that the Arlington gakuen was established in 1930 and had over thirty pupils at the time of publication, while three language schools in Riverside had thirty-six pupils and dated to 1928.⁷⁵ Neither of these sources includes the Lincoln Street Gakuen, which still stands in the Riverside area at 7433-35 Lincoln Avenue in the Casa Blanca neighborhood. According to city building permits, the structure appears to have been erected by the Riverside Japanese Association in 1940. It included a large classroom, two bathrooms and a kitchen. Alice Kanda, whose family lived near the Lincoln Street Gakuen, recalled that children were sent there on Saturdays and Sundays to learn flower arranging, dancing, music and signing, as well as reading and writing in Japanese.⁷⁶

Olivewood Cemetery was another important space in Riverside for the Japanese American community. Unlike other Japantowns where Japanese were not allowed to be buried in established cemeteries and needed to form their own, or where there burials could only take place in a segregated area within an existing cemetery, Riverside's Olivewood cemetery holds Nikkei graves in several spaces scattered across its rolling, wooded hills. Two clusters of Japanese graves are particularly notable. One holds Japanese remains mostly dating from the 1880s-1930s, along with Mexican and Chinese gravesites. This area reportedly was originally leased by the county and used by families who could not

⁷² Ibid., p. 164

⁷³ *History of Japanese in America*.

⁷⁴ *Japanese American News Directory 1940*, p. 373. The Rudisill address is also listed as the Arlington home of the Kaminaka family.

⁷⁵ *History of Japanese in America*.

⁷⁶ Krystal Marquez, State of California DPR Primary Record Form for 7433 Lincoln Street.

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afford burial in the main cemetery.⁷⁷ The second main area with Japanese gravesites holds many upright gravestones and markers, some with elaborate carvings in both English and Japanese characters.

According to Sumi Harada, her father Jukichi was responsible for the calligraphy on most of these tombstones. Skilled in the art of sumi-e, Harada would receive commissions from bereaved families who would take his drawings to the tombstone facility where they would replicate his kanji characters.⁷⁸ Ulysses Kaneko's grave is marked with an impressive five-foot tall granite monument surrounded by markers for other family members.

Residential Patterns and Farming

Housing for the growing population of Nikkei was available in various parts of town that were inhabited by other working-class Riversiders. Some Japanese Americans who worked at the Mission Inn lived in its Annex built as a Women's Dormitory and later Men's Dormitory in 1921 and 1928.⁷⁹ During the 1910s and '20s Nikkei residential clusters could be found near University and Main and on East 14th Street. Like many immigrants, Japanese often ran small businesses from their place of residence, so the overlap with the commercial areas described earlier conforms to this pattern. Other groups of Nikkei resided near Van Buren Avenue and in the Casa Blanca area southwest of downtown closer to citrus orchards.

The location of these clusters was not shaped solely by economics; racial discrimination was a powerful factor in determining where Nikkei could live. A 1907 Riverside *Enterprise* advertisement for a new housing development made these restrictions explicit as it touted "No Lots Sold to Japanese, Mexicans, or Colored People at Crestmore, a White Man's Working Town."⁸⁰ The Harada family's attempt to reside in such a "White Man's" neighborhood is one of the most prominent events in Riverside's Japanese American history and will be described in a following context.

⁷⁷ Jenn Wilson, State of California DPR Form for 3300 Central Avenue.

⁷⁸ Interview with Sumi Harada from the Harada Oral History Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

⁷⁹ Jennifer Thornton, DPR Primary Record Form for Mission Inn Annex, 3665 Sixth Street.

⁸⁰ Riverside *Enterprise*, June 18, 1907 cited in Laura L. Klure, *Let's Be Doers: A History of the YWCA of Riverside California, 1906-1992*. (Riverside: Riverside YWCA, 1992), p. 102.

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While most Japanese lived in or near Riverside's Mile Square, a number of families resided on farms they operated outside of town. Ulysses Shinsei Kaneko reportedly made the first purchase of farmland in the area to grow oranges and raise chickens.⁸¹ In 1902, Yagichiro Kinoshita established a chicken and hog farm in west Riverside.⁸² In the following decades several more Nikkei families established Riverside area farms. By 1929, one account states that Japanese Americans in the Riverside area owned 250 acres of farmland and sharecropped another 430 acres.⁸³

Barriers to real estate ownership were not as high in the countryside, according to one Nisei recalling his parents' purchase of a farm. "We were pretty far out. It was in the country, so there weren't many neighbors around to complain. Besides, we'd been there before the neighbors got there."⁸⁴ Even after passage of the Alien Land Law, the Inaba family found that they could purchase acreage on Jurupa Road west of Riverside. "We bought this land from an English lady – a Mrs. Thomas. We explained the requirements of the Alien Land Laws to her. She still said she would sell to us. So, we bought the land under my sister's name."⁸⁵ Chiyasuko Inaba had followed his father, Risaburo, to Riverside and worked in local orange groves then as a busboy at the Mission Inn before returning to Japan to marry. By 1924, at the age of 24, he and his wife Kiri were establishing a chicken farm with enough acreage to raise crops next to land that his father tilled. According to one of his children, the Inabas replaced an orange grove with a truck farm and poultry operation.⁸⁶

Poultry farming required more capital investment and assurance of continuity than truck farming, so a relatively small number of California Nikkei pursued this enterprise. Yet one account states that despite their small numbers, "wherever the Japanese started the poultry farming, they applied the diligence and the superior quality of skill peculiar to the Japanese and expanded their business."

⁸¹ No documentation of this early land purchase by Kaneko was found, although a record of Kaneko transferring property in nearby Redlands in 1908 was located in the San Bernardino County archives.

⁸² Wong, p. 20

⁸³ *History of Japanese in America*.

⁸⁴ Edwin Hiroto quoted in Wong, p. 57

⁸⁵ The location of the Inaba farm is from an oral history with Mabel Fujimoto Zinc that is included in the Harada Family and Riverside Families Oral History Transcripts, Riverside Metropolitan Museum, various dates. Quote from Wong, p. 57.

⁸⁶ Oral history interview with Haru Inaba Kuromiya, Harada Family and Riverside Families Oral History Transcripts, Riverside Metropolitan Museum, various dates. p. 5

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Although the largest group of Japanese-owned chicken farms was in the Petaluma area north of San Francisco, small-scale farmers in San Pedro, Gardena, Norwalk and Riverside raised approximately 30-40,000 chickens in Southern California.⁸⁷ By the early 1920s, local boosters argued that several factors made Riverside ideal for raising chickens including proximity to the Los Angeles market, availability of feed, and good transport lines. “Riverside is an important shipping point” the articles states, “being on the main line of two transcontinental railways and on a branch line of a third.”⁸⁸

The diaries of Toranosuke Fujimoto, a Riverside poultry farmer, provide a rare and rich window into the Issei experience in Riverside. These volumes, written in Japanese between 1913 and 1967, have recently been translated and served as the basis for a UC Riverside doctoral dissertation by Akiko Nomura. Fujimoto immigrated in 1902 and came to Riverside after working as a domestic servant in San Francisco. First employed as a fruit picker, he met his future wife Suna Sugi after living with her brother in an Orange County labor camp. By 1912, just prior to passage of the Alien Land Law restricting Japanese property ownership, he had bought a six-acre parcel just outside Riverside city limits on Chase Road in an area called High Grove.⁸⁹ Suna Fujimoto gave birth to six children while living at their High Grove farm, with all but the youngest born at home. Midwives were a common feature of Japantowns on the 1920s and ‘30s. Although no listing for a Japanese midwife was found in any Riverside directories, it is probable that one assisted Suna with her births.⁹⁰

Fujimoto’s diary entries show that cooperation and partnerships with other Japanese immigrants and non-Japanese were an integral part to his experience as a poultry farmer. He shared knowledge of materials and equipment as well as information about marketing produce with fellow farmers, with whom he also borrowed and lent tools. He was a member of two local farm associations, the Walnut Growers Association and the Poultrymen’s Cooperative Association, that were presumably made up

⁸⁷ *History of Japanese in America*.

⁸⁸ “Poultry Farming at Riverside” 1922 document by Riverside Chamber of Commerce in vertical file at Riverside Public Library.

⁸⁹ Interview with Lily Taka, p. 2. Mabel Fujimoto Zinc stated that their parents added another ten acres to the property in subsequent years, p. 2 Both are from the Harada Family and Riverside Families Oral History Transcripts, Riverside Metropolitan Museum, various dates.

⁹⁰ Haru Inaba Kuromiya’s oral history states that she was born at home with a midwife p. 2.

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primarily of white farmers. Within the Japanese community, Fujimoto served in leadership roles as board member of the Japanese Union Church, the Riverside Japanese Association, and the Wakayama Kenjin-kai.⁹¹

Like many immigrants, Issei relied on the labor of family members as they established businesses in the first decades of the twentieth century. This was particularly crucial for small farming enterprises. All of the Fujimoto children worked the fields after school alongside their parents, mowing and planting crops such as sweet potatoes, cabbage, carrots and tomatoes that grew between rows of walnut trees. They also helped with the poultry operations, feeding the chickens, and gathering and weighing eggs.⁹² Lily Fujimoto Taka recalled that the family would pack and bundle produce in the evening, and the next morning her father would make deliveries to stores such as the Piggly Wiggly and A&P in Riverside.⁹³ The family ate what it grew as well as fresh fish and Japanese foodstuffs such as tofu and miso delivered by a vendor who made a weekly circuit to Riverside from Los Angeles.⁹⁴

The Fujimotos lived near another Nikkei family, the Senamatsus who purchased property at 895 Clark Street in 1913 and built a modest bungalow home two years later (extant). Denso Senamatsu immigrated from Japan in 1913 at age twenty-eight. How he came to Riverside and was able to purchase property so quickly after immigrating is still unknown. By 1920, however, he lived at 895 Clark Street with his twenty-year old wife, Shie, their infant daughter, Yoshiko, and Shie's sister named Teru.⁹⁵ The following year brought a son named Ben. As the years passed the Fujimoto children walked the mile to Fremont Grammar School with sons and daughters from the Sanematsu and Ono families who lived on chicken farms nearby.

In west Riverside, the six Inaba children attended Glen Avon School and Polytechnic High School.⁹⁶ According to the 1930 US census, the Inabas lived near other Nikkei families who farmed

⁹¹ Nomura, p. 6

⁹² Zinc interview, p. 4

⁹³ Taka interview, p. 4

⁹⁴ Taka interview, p. 5

⁹⁵ 1920 US census accessed at ancestry.com

⁹⁶ Taka interview, p. 4

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around Jurupa Avenue.⁹⁷ Mits Inaba recalled that although he was one of only a few Japanese students in his kindergarten class, “We all lived in the same kind of economic status. Nobody was real rich.... Everybody lived in fairly poor houses. So I didn’t feel out of place or anything like that.”⁹⁸

Another cluster of Japanese American families lived in the area known as Casa Blanca, which still holds a handful of structures in addition to the Lincoln Street Japanese School. 2915 Madison Street (extant) was purchased in 1926 by Onisaburo and Umeko Takeda for their growing family. The property was bought under the name of the couple’s American born children under the guardianship of E.L. Pequegnat, a local jeweler and watchmaker.⁹⁹ The 1930 US census lists the couple as having five sons and a daughter, with Onisaburo supporting the family as a farm foreman. Other records indicate the family ran a gas station at the corner of Madison and Lincoln.¹⁰⁰

Across the street at 2986 Madison Avenue (extant) lived the Iseda family, whose patriarch Gyosuke, was a leader in the Riverside Nikkei community. Gyosuke Iseda was secretary of the Riverside Japanese Association. He was also a correspondent for the *Rafu Shimpo*, a daily Japanese newspaper published out of Los Angeles, and an agent for Canadian Manufacturers Life Insurance Company. Both of these occupations commonly appear in directory listings for California Japantowns. Although many Nikkei read the English-language American press, daily and weekly newspapers published in Japanese and English were major resources for the Japanese American community. And insurance agents specializing in serving Japanese in California reportedly led to a remarkably high rate of coverage as early as 1920.

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In 1915, Iseda immigrated at age twenty-one from Fukuoka prefecture and was soon working in Riverside area agriculture and living at 140 Santa Ana Street.¹⁰² The 1920 U.S. census lists Gyosuke and his wife of two years, Martha, as residents and employees of the Mission Inn. The census of ten years

⁹⁷ 1930 USA census shows a second family named Inaba, and another named Hamamoto on the same street.

⁹⁸ Inaba interview, p. 9

⁹⁹ Advertisement from 1915 shows that Pequegnat Jewelry Co. was located at 761 Main Street. *Los Angeles Times* 29 April 1915

¹⁰⁰ Sue Hall, State of California DPR Primary Document Form for 2915 Madison Street.

¹⁰¹ There were five large Japanese daily newspapers and five weekly in 1920. The largest daily has circulation of approx. 12000. *California and the Japanese*, p. 18.

¹⁰² WWI Draft Card for Gyosuke Iseda accessed at ancestry.com lists him as a self-employed farmer.

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later shows the Isedas and their three children residing as renters at 2986 Madison Avenue (extant), the residence they would inhabit for over five decades, except for the years they would spend behind barbed wire in WWII prison camps.¹⁰³

The same census shows that most of the Isedas' and Takedas' neighbors were immigrants from Mexico, but also lists nearby Japanese families named Gotori at 2931 and Nishimoto at 3055 Madison (both extant). In both families, the head of household's occupation appears as a farmer and his wife as proprietor of a grocery store.¹⁰⁴ The 1940 *History of Japanese in America* states, "Of all the main retail Japanese stores foodstuffs and grocery stores outnumber others and could be found sporadically located in various places. Around 1940 even just within CA there were over 500 Japanese grocery stores."¹⁰⁵ Riverside Nikkei groceries like the Gotoris' and Nishimotos' stocked a wider range of goods because their clientele was necessarily drawn from beyond just the Japanese community.

In addition to the Casa Blanca area, Nikkei grocery stores were also present closer to downtown. The same 1940 directory lists Kay's Market and Yamada Brothers on the southern portion of the Mile Square, and four markets east of downtown in the area with the highest concentration of Japanese residences. In contrast to the Casa Blanca stores, which were run out of the proprietors' homes, most of the Eastside markets operated out of commercial structures, with an attached residence in at least one case. Mike's Grocery, listed in the 1940 directory at 4195 Park Avenue still stands today. Originally an Odd Fellows' Hall, the building was owned from the late 1920s to at least the 1960s by the Reynolds family, who leased the building in the late 1930s to Mike Matsumoto. According to UC Riverside student research, Mike Matsumoto immigrated from Japan in 1900 and worked first in the citrus industry and then as a cook at the Harada's Washington Restaurant. Mike's Grocery appears in the 1939 Riverside city directory and the 1940 Nikkei directory, but not after WWII. Presumably Matsumoto

¹⁰³ 1930 U.S. Census accessed at ancestry.com

¹⁰⁴ 1930 U.S. census accessed at ancestry.com The Gotori, Nishimoto and Takeda stores all appear in the 1940 *Japanese American News Directory*, p. 374. 2931 Madison appears to be extant according to zillow.com

¹⁰⁵ *History of Japanese in America*.

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either didn't return to Riverside from camp, or was unable to reconstruct his business in its rented quarters.¹⁰⁶

One block north of the former Mike's Grocery was another Nikkei store during the pre-war period. By the 1920s, the property at 4096-4098 Park Street (extant) was serving as a grocery store and residence. From 1931 to approximately 1936, the grocery was run by George Hideo Sakoguchi. The 1930 US Census shows Sakoguchi as a resident of San Bernardino, yet according to family accounts, George spent his teens in Riverside living with his aunt and uncle, Ryosuke and Asa Shintani, and helping at their Arlington store. He married Mary Shizue Nishino in October of 1934 and returned to San Bernardino, where they opened Mary's Cash Grocery.¹⁰⁷ Records for the buildings at both 4195 Park and 4098 Park demonstrate how fluid and multi-racial the Eastside neighborhood was in the 1920s and '30s. African American grocers named Jerry Wiley and David Stokes operated out of 4195 during the 1920s, and Aaron Wiley resided at and ran the grocery store at 4096-4098 Park Street. In 1905, all three men had formed an investor group to purchase a two-story building for a Colored Mercantile Hall around the corner at 2931 12th Street.¹⁰⁸

In 1935, George Sakoguchi's sister, also named Mary Shizue, moved with her husband James Hisazo Sakaguchi (similarly spelled, but different, names) and their four children to Riverside and opened a grocery store at 2711 13th Street.¹⁰⁹ Family records show that a fifth child was born but died in infancy and was buried at Olivewood Cemetery.¹¹⁰ In 1937, three of the Sakaguchi children sailed to Japan to live with family members and attend school. Thousands of *Kibei*, as these Nisei were called,

¹⁰⁶ Oceana Collins, State of California DPR Primary record Form for 4197 Park Avenue. Based on photographs in the Harada collection, the author concludes that Matsumoto married at some point before 1915, but his wife died in the 1918 flu epidemic.

¹⁰⁷ "George Hideo Sakoguchi" and "George Hideo Sakoguchi and Mary Shizue [Nishino] Sakoguchi" manuscripts shared by Sakoguchi family with author, May 2011. It is unclear whether Sakoguchi lived in the house behind the store on Park Street

¹⁰⁸ Stephen Duncan State of California DPR Form for 4096-4098 Park Street. Information about the Colored Mercantile Hall is from personal communication with historian Catherine Gudis.

¹⁰⁹ The Sakoguchi family had extensive family connections in the San Bernardino and Riverside area, including an aunt and uncle who had opened a store in Arlington in the 1915s and by the mid-1930s had a chicken ranch in the Arlington area. The Shintani ranch was located at 9354 Indiana Avenue; the 1936 house appears to still stand according to zillow.com "Jinnosuke Sakoguchi" document shared with author by Sakoguchi family, May 2011.

¹¹⁰ "James Hishazo Sakaguchi and Mary Shizue [Sakoguchi] Sakaguchi" manuscript shared with author by Sakoguchi family, May 2011

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were sent to Japan “for reasons of economic hardship” or “a desire to retain Japanese culture.”¹¹¹ The burdens of grief and running a family store during the depression may have led the Sakaguchis to make this decision for three of their four children. By 1941, Mary Sakaguchi had given birth to three more sons who would not meet their older siblings until after WWII. As with all *Kibei*, the Sakaguchi children were trapped in Japan after Pearl Harbor instigated U.S. entry into WWII.

One the eve of WWII, Riverside’s Japanese community was well established, if smaller by numbers than at its peak in the early decades of the twentieth century. From its height of 765 in 1910, the Nikkei population had dropped to a total 1940 population estimated as between 250 and 300.¹¹² The 1940 *Japanese American News Directory* lists a variety of Riverside community organizations including the Japanese language schools described earlier, three prefectural associations or *kenjin-kai*, the Union Church, whose address at 3195 14th Street (razed) is also listed for the Japanese Association and the Y.M.C.A. and a kendo dojo.

Many Nisei remember sports as an important feature of community life as they grew up; Riverside apparently had Nisei baseball and basketball teams that played in all-Nikkei leagues, which were a common feature of many Japantowns. Charles Fujimoto recalled games at a ball field in Casa Blanca and at the YMCA in downtown Riverside.¹¹³ Some local Nisei also participated in kendo training, a modern Japanese martial art of sword fighting. In the 1940 directory, a kendo dojo appears listed at a rural post office box. That year, Riverside had one of twenty-five kendo gyms affiliated with the Southern California Chapter of the *Dai-Nihon Butoku-Kai*, an association with headquarters in Kyoto.¹¹⁴ However, other documentation calls this address into question. Toranosuke Fujimoto wrote in 1941 that usually the settlement house was used for kendo, but that the group rented a room in the Arlington Gakuen during part of that year because the settlement house was under renovation.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Niiya, p. 201 Exact numbers on Kibei in Riverside were not compiled, but records show that two of the Fujimoto daughters, Doris and Lilly, traveled back to Japan for schooling at a Christian college from 1935-37. Interview with Lilly Taka and Charles Fujimoto, July 2011, p. 9.

¹¹² *History of Japanese in America*. Although confirmation was not found, the contraction in the Nikkei population was most likely due to their diminished role in local citriculture.

¹¹³ Interview with Lilly Taka and Charles Fujimoto, July 2011.

¹¹⁴ *History of Japanese in America*

¹¹⁵ Nomura, p. 163

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While Nisei boys played sports, some of the girls engaged in social activities sponsored by the Riverside Young Women's Christian Association (extant at 3425 Mission Inn Avenue). In the 1920s and '30s, the YWCA organized separate clubs for Japanese American, Mexican American and African American young women, as well as students at the Sherman Indian School, were formed with activities mirroring the Caucasian clubs' including drama, arts and crafts, outdoor recreation and nature study. The Y's World Fellowship committee included seven Nikkei women among its members in 1941.¹¹⁶

On the eve of WWII, Riverside's Japanese American establishments included nine stores, four restaurants and hotels, two pool halls, a flower shop, a dentist, two banks, and four newspaper correspondents.¹¹⁷ The Washington restaurant, one of Riverside's longest-running Japanese businesses, was still serving American fare out of its 8th Street home, which had long been "the watering hole for the Japanese," as one Nisei described it.¹¹⁸ At 3575 Main Street, the Maple Café offered customers a more "exotic" environment whose décor featured bowers of Japanese maple branches overhead and hanging paper lanterns.¹¹⁹ Although the Maple café owner's intention is not known, the striking contrast between their embrace of a Japanese aesthetic and Washington Restaurant's displays of Americana touches the heart of the Nikkei dilemma; "Am I Japanese? Am I American? Can I be both?" Two years later, that question must have been in the minds of many of Riverside's Japanese Americans as they waited at the nearby corner of 5th and Main to be "evacuated" to WWII concentration camps.¹²⁰

Related Sites:

¹¹⁶ Klure, p. 75-77. 104. 107. Separate YWCAs were formed in 1912 for the large Japanese populations in San Francisco and Los Angeles.

¹¹⁷ *Japanese American News Directory 1940*

¹¹⁸ Mits Inaba interview, p. 6

¹¹⁹ An image of the Maple Café interior is in the Harada Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

¹²⁰ Language used to describe this period of Japanese American history is controversial. At the time, the federal government employed euphemisms to describe Nikkei's forced removal as "evacuation," which implies an action taken to protect. The years spent in prison camps were generally depicted as "internment" at "Assembly Centers" and "Relocations Centers," although they were also frankly labeled "concentration camps" by the government before that term was deemed exclusive to the work/death camps of Nazi Germany. This document will use period terminology with quotes, or the terms "forced relocation," "incarceration" and "prison camp" to describe the experiences and sites associated with this shameful chapter of U.S. history.

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Several properties have been identified for their association with the establishment and development of Riverside's pre-WWII Japanese American community.

- Olivewood Cemetery, 3300 Central Avenue
- Gotori Residence and Market, 2931 Madison Avenue
- Golden State Hotel and Café (Roosevelt Building), 3616-18 University Avenue
- Washington Restaurant, 3543 University Avenue
- Mission Inn, 3649 Mission Inn Avenue
- Mission Inn Annex, 3665 6th Street
- Harada Residence, 3357 Lemon Street
- Sawahata Residence, 3560 Franklin Street
- Okubo Residence, 2365 11th Street
- Matsumoto Grocery, 4195 Park Street
- Sakoguchi Grocery, 4096-98 Park Street
- Iseda Residence and Office, 2986 Madison Avenue
- Takeda Residence, 2915 Madison Avenue
- Senamatsu Residence and Poultry operation, 895 Clark Street
- Lincoln Street Gakuen, 7433 Lincoln Avenue
- Young Women's Christian Association (Riverside Art Museum), 3425 Mission Inn Avenue
- First Congregational Church, 3504 Mission Inn Avenue

World War II Forced Relocation and Incarceration

Pearl Harbor and Restrictions on Civil Liberties

In 1941, William "Wimpy" Hiroto lived with his parents, an older sister, and younger brother in the High Grove area north of downtown. They rented property at 1044 Main Street, which they operated as a poultry farm.¹²¹ On December 7th, 1942, Hiroto recalled riding his bike with some non-Nikkei neighborhood friends on Sunday morning. He was thirteen years old. "We're peddling down Main Street and Mrs.? ...She's a Swedish mother – she comes running out. 'Hey boys, boys, come in and have

¹²¹ 1930 U.S. census accessed at ancestry.com The census shows that father Ujiro immigrated in 1907 and mother Shizuka in 1911.

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some lemonade.’ She says the Japs have bombed Pearl Harbor. The only thing we could do is shrug—typical response—’Where the hell is Pearl Harbor?’”¹²²

If younger Nisei like Wimpy Hiroto were non-plussed by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Issei had already felt increasing anxiety about relations between their home and adopted countries. Two days before the bombing Toranosuke Fujimoto wrote in his diary “The Japan-America conference is almost the end and getting surly. The whole world is watching whether the Pacific Ocean will be rainy, stormy, calm or raging. Everyone must be worried. Many are praying for peaceful solutions. War never serves for happiness of human beings.”¹²³

On December 7th Toranosuke Fujimoto was in Los Angeles attending a wedding alongside other members of Riverside’s Nikkei community. His initial doubts about reports of the attack on Pearl Harbor were overturned when he saw notices on the wall of a Japanese market and then bought the latest issue of the *Rafu Shimpo*. The wedding proceeded but Fujimoto reported being stopped afterward for questioning by the police. After being released, he made his way to the wedding reception at a Japanese restaurant and gave a toast to convey the Riverside community’s best wishes for the couple. More police questioned each guest as they left the hall, and Fujimoto reported that he and his wife, and the Ono family travelling with them, were stopped by police again in Ontario for questioning as they approached home.¹²⁴

The following morning Fujimoto heard from neighbor and fellow poultry farmer Denzo Senamatsu that all Nikkei banking accounts were closed. “I was impressed how fast these measures were activated,” he wrote. “It is just the beginning of what we will endure in the future. More serious things will come.”¹²⁵ Fujimoto soon found that, despite his long membership, he could not conduct transactions with the Poultrymen’s Cooperative Association or the Walnut Growers Association, which would not accept his checks after Issei bank accounts were frozen. Other Nikkei reported that Japanese

¹²² Susan Uyemara, Interview with Wimpy Hiroto for the Japanese Americans Living Legacy Project. (Fullerton: California State University Fullerton, 2006). pp. 11-12

¹²³ Nomura, p. 217

¹²⁴ Nomura, p. 218

¹²⁵ Nomura, p. 219

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stores were losing customers and that farmers could not sell their crops.¹²⁶ As the National Park Service's *Japanese Americans in World War II* theme study points out, freezing bank accounts and the arrest of community leaders following the bombing of Pearl Harbor "paralyzed the Japanese American community by depriving it of both its leadership and its financial assets."¹²⁷

Fujimoto may have been "impressed" with how quickly "these measures" were enacted. They actually represented months of research and planning by the U.S. government. In the fall of 1941, a representative from the State Department conducted a study on the loyalty of Japanese communities on the West Coast and Hawaii. The secret report produced for President Roosevelt concluded that Japanese Americans posed very little threat and that Nisei in particular showed a "pathetic eagerness to be Americans."¹²⁸ In fact, within a few weeks of Pearl Harbor, Riverside's Nisei submitted a testimonial of their allegiance to the United States at a meeting of City Council. Local Issei took a similar step during the first week of January 1942 stating that "Most of us are parents of American citizens. We have been living in America many years; long enough to be American citizens—if the United States law allowed. Yet now here we are technically aliens, but in reality American citizens. Therefore, again, we assure you our unquestioned loyalty to our adopted country, and will do our best to serve her, not only in words, but in spirit and conduct as well."¹²⁹

On February 19, 1942, the lives of thousands of Japanese Americans were upended when President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. This order led to the forced relocation and imprisonment of all men, women, and children of Japanese ancestry on the west coast of the United States. By and large, most Japanese Americans, particularly the Nisei, considered themselves loyal Americans. None of the Issei or their American-born children was ever found guilty of sabotage or espionage. Yet wartime hysteria focused on Japanese Americans throughout the Western States. Events like the "Battle of Los Angeles" only made things worse. On February 24th, 1942, nerves were raw due to a reported submarine attack on Santa Barbara the previous day. A lost weather balloon in Los

¹²⁶ Nomura, p. 220

¹²⁷ National Park Service, *Japanese Americans in World War II: A National Historic Landmark Theme Study*, (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 2005), p. 6.

¹²⁸ Niiya pp. 241-42

¹²⁹ *The Arlington Times*, Arlington, California. Page 3, January 9, 1942.

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Angeles was misread as Japanese Americans signaling to enemy aircraft and set off panic that resulted in sirens, and anti aircraft fire that damaged houses and cars. Twenty Nikkei were arrested, while three people were killed in auto accidents and two died of heart attacks during the “battle.”¹³⁰

In the face of mounting animosity and suspicion, and out of desperation, many Nikkei families burned anything that represented Japan so that they might appear less “threatening.” Issei burned photographs, letters and other family treasures such as kimono from Japan. The Hirotos spent a day “taking down pictures of the Emperor and the Empress and we buried Japanese records—anything Japanese,” in advance of an FBI raid on the house.¹³¹ Florence Omura remembered coming home from school to find her father, the Japanese Union Church’s pastor, “burning stacks of documents in a trash can.” Knowing that local authorities viewed the Japanese Association as pro-Japan, he was destroying the records of the Riverside Japanese Association.

None of these steps protected them. The FBI picked up the Japanese Union Church’s Reverend Omura.¹³² On February 27th, eleven members of the Riverside Japanese Association were rounded up and taken into custody by federal officials. Less than two weeks later, over seventy county, state and federal officials arrested twenty-eight Riverside Issei, including one woman a forty-four-year-old widow named Mrs. Takaji Koto who resided at 9306 Indiana Avenue.¹³³ Six more Issei were arrested on March 25th.¹³⁴ Masao Hirata found FBI agents waiting for him after work. “They took me to jail in Indio. Then the same night around midnight I was moved to a jail in Riverside. The next morning I was taken to Pasadena and stayed there until they took me and others who were arrested to Santa Fe, New Mexico for a hearing.”¹³⁵ Toranosuke Fujimoto, Chikayasu and Hideo Inaba had been arrested and were imprisoned

¹³⁰ Niiya p. 112.

¹³¹ Hiroto Interview, p. 10.

¹³² Brian Komei Dempster, *Making Home From War: Stories of Japanese American Exile and Resettlement* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2010), p. 4.

¹³³ “Sweeping Alien Raid Nets 28 County Japs,” *Riverside Daily Press*, 12 March 1942.

¹³⁴ Diary entries for 11 March and 25 March, 1942 in George Fujimoto, Jr. Diary, UCR Special Collections, Box #5, Collection #096. Less than one week after Pearl Harbor, Toranosuke Fujimoto’s friend, Gyosuke Iseda, was picked up by the police and taken in custody to Los Angeles. Nomura, 241, 253.

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in an immigration detention center in Tujunga called Tuna Canyon.¹³⁶ A former Civilian Conservation Corps camp, the facility had been converted by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to hold individuals deemed “potentially dangerous” by the U.S. government. Fujimoto and others imprisoned in the camp were allowed visits, but through a barbed wire fence and only in English.

Whether Issei were imprisoned or not, their ability to represent the Japanese American community to the non-Nikkei world was diminished as their resident status and loyalty became ever more suspect. Throughout the Western United States, generational relationships were reversed as Nisei were forced to take on familial and community responsibilities overnight. In defense-prohibited zones, which covered much of the coastal areas where shipyards and aircraft factories were located, Issei were forced to leave their homes and move outside of the area. Their American-born children were left to run their businesses and manage their affairs. In Riverside, George Fujimoto and his older siblings took on responsibility for the family’s poultry operation and truck farm, as well as finances and rationing allowances. George’s diary describes his brother’s attempt to secure needed signatures for rationed tires from their father at the Riverside County Jail. “Cha [Charles] got 1st signature in Pop’s cell, but when he returned afterwards for the 2nd, Pop was gone—left by bus for undisclosed location.”¹³⁷ Toranosuke Fujimoto was ultimately placed in four different detention sites; after weeks in the Riverside County Jail and Tuna Canyon detention center, he was transferred to a camp administered by the Department of Justice in Santa Fe, New Mexico. He was finally reunited with his family at the War Relocation Center in Poston, Arizona, where he spent the last two years of the war.¹³⁸

Preparing to Leave Riverside

As mass “relocation” became a certainty, Riverside Nikkei scrambled to arrange their affairs for an absence of undetermined length. Families like the Fujimotos were lucky to find a local farmer, Charles Gibson, who wanted to lease their place. Their agreement allowed Gibson to pay outright for the

¹³⁵ Niiya, p. 13.

¹³⁶ *Timeline of the Japanese Experience in Riverside: Harada, Fujimoto and Inaba*, (Riverside: Riverside Metropolitan Museum, n.d.).

¹³⁷ George Fujimoto Diaries, 12 March 1942.

¹³⁸ Nomura, p. 7.

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chickens and to rent the farm for \$35 per month.¹³⁹ The Haradas were even more fortunate. Jess Stebler, a long-time Washington Restaurant customer and family friend, lived in and cared for their home at 3356 Lemon Street (extant) for the duration of the war, writing faithfully to Sumi Harada and attempting to gather rent from tenants of the Harada's other properties. Friendly gestures to Riverside Nikkei were not impossible to find; several neighbors wrote affidavits testifying to Toranosuke Fujimoto's character letters and the YWCA gave a special dinner as a farewell to Riverside's young Nisei women.¹⁴⁰

At least two of Riverside's major civic organizations appear to have made some efforts to address the situation of Japanese Americans. After "evacuation," members of the Riverside Young Women's Christian Association collected goods to be mailed to their former neighbors in Poston and in 1944 took the unusual step of writing the Western Defense Command to request that a former Riversider, Ruth Horikawa, be allowed to leave camp to return to her home where she would be "accepted as a resident" and friend by the Y chapter.¹⁴¹ A self-published history of the First Congregational Church of Riverside claims that its Social Action Committee "concerned itself with the plight of the Japanese who were relocated from the West Coast."¹⁴² Yet their church program from Sunday April 19, 1942 includes not a hint of what was happening to their Japanese Christian brethren.¹⁴³ The Church reportedly took on responsibility for caring for the Japanese Union Church property while its members were incarcerated, and some accounts say that it was a site that provided storage for Nikkei families who lost their homes.¹⁴⁴ Poignantly, the Congregational Church's records include "A very moving letter from the Minister of the Riverside Japanese Church telling of his loyalty to America, that he had no ill feeling toward authorities, and that he only tried to serve Christ in Riverside."¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ Nomura, p. 89.

¹⁴⁰ Nomura lists the affidavit authors as Mrs. John Hogan of 825 Clark Street, Mr. W.C. Moore of 4465 Orange Grove Avenue, Mr. A.M. Lewis of 4587 7th Street and Mr. C.E. Brown of 4202 8th Street. George Fujimoto diaries, 21 April 1942.

¹⁴¹ Klure, p. 108 According to the 1930 census, Ruth Horikawa was born in 1928 and lived with her Issei parents and three siblings in their rented home at 470 Myers Street. accessed at Ancestry.com June 15, 2011. It is doubtful that the WRA responded to, or granted, the YWCA's request.

¹⁴² *The Lighted Cross*, p. 35.

¹⁴³ *The Lighted Cross*, p. 179.

¹⁴⁴ Nomura, p. 93. George Fujimoto diaries, 21 April 1942, *The Lighted Cross*, p. 196. Japanese churches commonly served as places for storage of Nikkei belongings in Japantowns, and as hostels for those returning after the war.

¹⁴⁵ *The Lighted Cross*, p. 196.

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Yet losses were enormous. The Haradas and many other business owners were forced to sell their enterprises for a fraction of their worth. Wimpy Hiroto recalled how hard it was for his family to dismantle their chicken farm in north Riverside. Just four years earlier they had lost nearly everything in the flood of 1938. By 1942, he recalled, they had refurnished their home and farm and “were back up to our 2,000 egg laying chickens.” In spring of that year, he remembered, “We had 10 days to get rid of our chickens” and days of people “coming through the house and walking out with lamps and garden hoses and rakes.... I’ve never seen so many White people in my life... They’re stripping your house of everything...It was just a horrible... You don’t know these people you’re dealing with. It’s not your across the street neighbors.”¹⁴⁶ In fact, the family that had been renting a house across the street from the Hirotos moved into their home and paid a modest rent, although they did not have the skill to maintain the Hirotos’ poultry operation.¹⁴⁷

“Evacuation”

On May 19th, 1942, the Wartime Civil Control Administration published “Instructions to all persons of Japanese ancestry” living in Riverside and San Bernardino Counties. Over the next two days, heads of household, or “individuals living alone” were required to report to the Riverside Civil Control Station in a storefront at 3557 Main Street (extant) to “receive further instructions.” “Evacuees” were warned that they should prepare bedding, clothing, toiletries and other personal items, but only what could be carried, for departure to a “Reception Center.”¹⁴⁸ Eighteen-year-old Harold Harada went to the Civil Control Station to ask how his family should anticipate care for their mother, whose health was particularly fragile after a series of strokes. He later recalled

“I learned that mother had a choice of going with us, carrying what she could in her debilitated state or we could admit her to the County Hospital. Can you imagine leaving this once stately, pretty, loving mother of ours to die alone in a County Hospital?... Our family decided that our parents should be

¹⁴⁶ Hiroto Interview, p. 3, 13.

¹⁴⁷ Hiroto Interview, p. 13.

¹⁴⁸ “Instructions to All Persons...” can be found at <http://www.riversideca.gov/museum/pdf/Reading/instructions.pdf>

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with my oldest brother's family as he was a physician in Sacramento. I requested special permits to Sacramento and return. Our family was now divided.”¹⁴⁹

From Saturday May 23rd to the morning of Monday May 25th 1942, Riverside's Nikkei were required to appear at the corner of 5th and Main Street for transport to Poston.¹⁵⁰ Several oral histories of Riverside Nisei recount the coffee and doughnuts that some non-Japanese Riverside women brought, as if to take the sting from the painful departure. George Fujimoto's diary entry from May 23rd, 1942 describes the scene:

Got up at 5 o'clock and finished getting baggage tied up and prepared. Cha [George's brother, Charles] and I took one load of baggage to Santa Fe depot at 6:30. When we got back Mrs. Hogan was here ready to take family over. Mr. Gibson helped load dodge again. When we got to depot, hardly anyone there; time 7:10, 10 minutes too late, we thought. M.P. ordered us to 5th and main. Found big crowd there. Boarded 9 Santa Fe buses. Left 8:30 AM. Made numerous stops – Banning, Indio, Desert Center (passed out box lunches). Arrived in Poston camp about 3:30 PM. Registered, assigned to barracks. Another load from Delano arrived about 6 PM. Baggage trucks came 8 PM. Helped unload. Art, Ben, Cha sick from drinking bad tap water.

The front page of the *Topaz Times* of 22 May 1942 stated that new arrivals from Riverside and El Centro brought “the total population of our new city of Poston to 4,100... Busloads of evacuees...arrived here yesterday afternoon.... As in the case of previous intake periods, during the past six days, there were many relatives and friends on hand to extend a hearty welcome to the newcomers.”¹⁵¹

Imprisonment

By the end of 1942, more than 120,000 men, women, and children of Japanese ancestry had been uprooted from their homes. The majority of those interned — nearly 70,000, over 60% — were American citizens. Many of the rest were long-time US residents who had lived in this country between 20 and 40 years. From March 1942 to 1946, the US War Relocation Authority administered the

¹⁴⁹ Script for 1991 speech given by Harold Harada in Harada Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

¹⁵⁰ “Japanese Families Leave Riverside,” *Riverside Daily Press*, 25 May 1942.

¹⁵¹ “Poston Greets More Arrivals From Riverside, El Centro,” *Topaz Times*, accessed at densho.org March 2011.

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extensive resettlement program, oversaw the details of the registration and segregation programs and controlled the administration of ten camps in remote areas of California, Utah, Arizona, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, Texas, and Arkansas. Most of Riverside's Japanese Americans were sent to Poston Relocation Center in Arizona. Others were imprisoned with Nikkei from the San Francisco Bay Area in Topaz Relocation Center in the Utah desert. All were guarded by armed soldiers and fenced with barbed wire, although official government photographs were careful not to show those aspects. Families lived in barracks-like quarters of the "overnight community" that reached a peak of over 17,000 inhabitants in Poston, the largest of all the relocation centers and the third largest city in Arizona.¹⁵² The camp were designed to be a self-contained community, complete with hospital, post office, warehouses, offices, and a military police compound. Residential blocks consisted of barracks, a combination washroom-shower-toilet, laundry room, recreation hall, and mess hall. Christian and Buddhist churches at Topaz were made by recycling buildings from nearby Civilian Conservation Camps.¹⁵³ The government provided medical care, schools, and food, and adults often held camp jobs — in food service, agriculture, medical clinics, as teachers, and other positions required for camp operation. Pay was low, from \$12 for a month of six-day weeks as an agricultural worker at camps' chicken, hog, cattle or turkey farms. Professionals such as physicians and dentists earned up to \$19 month.

Especially for the Issei, the trauma of incarceration in prison camps grew from the small indignities they endured each day. Taken together, their impact on family structure and on an individual's sense of pride, dignity, and self-respect was enormous. Yet life continued behind the barbed wire as Issei and Nisei abided by basic Japanese tenets of *gaman*, or "enduring the unbearable with grace," and *shikata ga nai*, "it can't be helped." Though deprived of their civil rights, Nikkei recreated communities that allowed them to live as normal a life as possible. Religious practices, cultural and civic associations, dances and theater performances, art classes and athletic competitions helped to ease the burdens of prison life. Wimpy Hiroto described playing ball in camp "*asa kara ban made* – from

¹⁵² Jeffrey Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard W. Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), p. 216.

¹⁵³ *Confinement and Ethnicity*, p. 263.

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morning till night.”¹⁵⁴ He also recalled that his mother, like other Issei women, found new activities once she were unburdened by the daily grind of caring for a family and running a farm and poultry operation. “My mother didn’t learn good English till camp. She had nothing to do so she started to take English classes.”¹⁵⁵

Camp administrators favored working with English-speaking “inmates,” so Nisei were often given more responsibility and authority than their parents. Some, like former Riversider Mine Okubo, were able to translate their experience into powerful artistic records of what they and their families endured. Okubo’s father, a merchant and gardener, and her mother who had studied calligraphy and painting at Tokyo Art Institute, raised Mine with six brothers and sisters at 2365 Eleventh Street (extant). Both Mine and her older brother Benji had extensive formal art training before WWII. Benji taught art to other internees at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center Art Students League.¹⁵⁶ While imprisoned at Topaz Relocation Center, Mine taught art classes for children and worked on the camp newspaper, the *Topaz Times*. She also collaborated with other Nisei to publish a literary journal called *Trek*, for which she served as arts editor and another Nisei artist from Riverside named Alfred Sawahata contributed drawings.¹⁵⁷ *Citizen 13660*, the first published record of prison camp life by a Japanese American, began as Okubo’s ink drawings of daily scenes in Tanforan Assembly Center and Topaz Relocation Center.¹⁵⁸ The book, with a title from her camp identification number, expresses how stunned Okubo was at her circumstances. “We were in shock. You’d be in shock. You’d be bewildered. You’d be humiliated. You can’t believe this is happening to you. To think this could happen in the United States. We were citizens. We did nothing. It was only because of our race.”¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Hiroto Interview, p. 15

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 4

¹⁵⁶ Gordon Chang, Mark Dean Johnson and Paul J. Karlstrom, *Asian American Art: A History, 1850-1970* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), p. 407-408.

¹⁵⁷ The 1930 U.S. census shows 7-year-old Alfred Sawahata residing in a house they owned at 566 Franklin Avenue with his father, a gardener, mother and a brother and sister.

¹⁵⁸ Robinson, Greg and Elena Tajima Creef. *Mine Okubo: Following Her Own Road*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008), p. 7 and Niiya, p. 27.

¹⁵⁹ *Asian American Art*, p. 408.

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The Poston Strike of November 1942 communicated Nikkei anger about their treatment by the government. It also surfaced tensions within community that were, in part, generational. The WRA had prohibited Issei from holding elective office on the Poston community council, which was subsequently made up entirely of young Nisei. Some residents objected to their lack of experience and perceived alignment with the JACL. The formation of a toothless Issei Advisory Board, did not settle distrust. Physical threats and the beating of one camp prisoner seen as an *inu*, or traitor, resulted in arrests of fifty suspects. When two men were to be tried in an Arizona court, widespread doubt among inmates that they would receive a fair trial led to a nearly camp-wide strike that lasted ten days. Riverside's Toranosuke and Suna Fujimoto participated in the strike by attending the protest gatherings and by making *bento* lunches for strikers.¹⁶⁰ One year later, Toranosuke was in a leadership role as a Block Manager who garnered the overwhelming majority of votes in an election. In this post, Fujimoto would have served as a liaison with camp administration, manager of equipment for the block, and mediator of internal disputes.¹⁶¹

While Issei like Toranosuke Fujimoto were accommodating to life in prison camps as best they could, others contemplated leaving the United States. Fujimoto's diary reports that Masao Iseda, the matriarch of a Riverside family whose husband Gysuko was imprisoned at a Department of Justice camp, seriously contemplated submitting an application for the entire family to repatriate to Japan in March of 1944.¹⁶² Yet, within a few weeks Fujimoto wrote that, hearing of a successful petition to reunite a family with their father in a Department of Justice camp, Masao Iseda asked him to help her with such an effort so that she and her children could join Gyosuke in Crystal City, Texas. Yet, even as Fujimoto and another Riverside Issei, Nobuo Matsubara were gathering signatures, Gyosuke was receiving permission to join his family in Poston.¹⁶³

Probably the most divisive event for internees was the federal government's decision to develop

¹⁶⁰ Nomura, p. 338

¹⁶¹ Ibid, p. 417

¹⁶² Ibid, p. 300, 466

¹⁶³ Ibid, p. 470, 473. Apparently, Mrs. Senamatsu also applied to take her children to be reunited with her husband in Crystal City.

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a questionnaire in early 1943 that included “loyalty questions.” Partially in response to JACL arguments for Nisei military service, and partly as a way to reduce the camp population and the associated economic and administrative burden, the WRA and the War Department administered questionnaires with the intent of segregating the “disloyal” and allowing those who passed to enlist or leave the camps. Two questions caused the furor: Number 27 asked “Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?” Number 28 asked “Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of American and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power or organization?” Nisei, considering themselves loyal citizens, were offended by the implication that they held dual allegiance. Issei, who were not allowed to become U.S. citizens, worried that they might become stateless if they answered yes.

These questions caused enormous community strife, divisions within families, and internal conflict for many Nisei. Young men who gave negative answers to both questions were labeled “No No Boys,” and sent to Tule Lake, which had been relabeled a “segregation center” for reserved those deemed disloyal. In a letter to the military registration board of Alameda County, Clark Harada recalled that in response to question Number 27 “regarding service in a combat unit anywhere in the world. My answer, if I remember correctly, “No. If I were in California and I had my civil rights as any normal citizen, yes. Question no. 28 asked if I would uphold the United States Constitution and my answer was and is yes.” After comparing his family’s imprisonment to slavery, Clark Harada demands “Do not ask me to serve for the U.S. Army until the damages done to me and my loved ones are thoroughly rectified in deed and by law....”¹⁶⁴ While Clark definitively communicated his stance toward military service, his brother Harold had enlisted and was a medic in the all-Nisei 442nd Regimental Combat team.¹⁶⁵

Related Sites:

¹⁶⁴ Letter from Clark Harada dated 14 August 1944 in Harada Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

¹⁶⁵ According to Charles Fujimoto, another Riverside resident, Richard Toshima, died while serving in the 442nd. Interview with Lilly Taka and Charles Fujimoto, July 2011. The *Japanese American News Directory 1940* shows the Toshima family living at 4403 Park Avenue.

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Several properties have been identified for their association with the forced relocation and imprisonment of Riverside's Japanese American community. They include:

- 5337 Main Street, Civil Control Center
- Intersection of 5th and Main Streets, "Evacuation" site
- First Congregational Church, 3504 Mission Inn Avenue
- Young Women's Christian Association, 3425 Mission Inn Avenue

POST-WAR RETURN TO RIVERSIDE: Resettlement and Recovery

If Japanese Americans from Riverside had access to the *Riverside Press Enterprise* during 1945, they would have felt understandable trepidation about returning to their former home. A review of articles featuring Japanese Americans shows that the paper ran numerous stories about violence against Nikkei as they returned to communities across the West Coast. Coverage described "No Jap Trade" signs posted in Oregon's Hood River Valley, house burnings in Loomis, bullets lodged in a Newcastle home, a police dog attack on a Berkeley resident, and thirty-three assaults on Japanese Americans in Little Tokyo. The articles vividly communicated potential physical threats to returning Nikkei.¹⁶⁶ Rumors in camp underscored the uncertainty of what people might find when they returned home. Suna Fujimoto reported to her husband that she'd heard about "severe" discrimination in Orange County against returning Nikkei, especially farmers. Fujimoto wrote in his diary that night "I believe that people hate Japanese. It is better for us not to go back to California."¹⁶⁷ The following day he wrote about an upcoming meeting to discuss resettlement in California with Nikkei clergy, as well as others he described as the "Christian federation of white people, other people friendly to Japanese and the JACL."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Jennifer Collier, "Post-Internment Community Research Summary," (Report for History 290 class, University of California Riverside, 2010).

¹⁶⁷ Nomura, p. 547

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 548

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A few weeks later, Fujimoto attended an all-camp lecture by War Relocation Authority chief Dillon S. Myer. “I was not impressed by him,” Fujimoto reported. “Mr. Myer recommended us to leave the center as soon as possible. The decision was made to benefit the WRA and we won’t be benefitted at all. The WRA won’t support those who leave for the East Coast nor for California.”¹⁶⁹ The War Relocation Authority (WRA) coordinated formal resettlement after Proclamation 21 of December 18, 1944 rescinded the West Coast ban on persons of Japanese ancestry. Along with the WRA, the Committee on Resettlement of Japanese Americans, and the American Friends Service Committee were the most active forces involved with resettling Japanese Americans during the war and at its close. In part, their policies, designed to disperse Japanese students and workers across the U.S., were based on the notion that this would prevent the reestablishment of “Little Tokyos” and “Little Osakas,” and would assist with a broader assimilation into mainstream American society. Proponents of dispersal overlooked the loss of cultural continuity and community structure that such policies entailed. Yet, despite these policies, and a fear of violence that was born out of sporadic incidents across California, former Japantown residents longed to return to their homes.

Returning to Riverside

Few Nikkei were able to return to the West Coast before August 1945, even if they had passed the “loyalty” test and still owned property in their former communities.¹⁷⁰ By February 1945 Riverside Nikkei were making short visits back to check on their homes and farms, and to gauge the temperature of their reception. After Ujiro Hiroto returned to Poston from a brief trip home he visited Toranosuke Fujomoto and reported that “there was nothing different in the attitudes of white people compared to how they treated him before the evacuation. He said they spoke to him cheerfully.”¹⁷¹ Riverside organizations were considering how to accommodate returning Nikkei. Riverside’s YWCA discussed

¹⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 561

¹⁷⁰ Lany Ryo Hirabayashi, *Japanese American Resettlement Through the Lens*, (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2009), p. 6.

¹⁷¹ Nomura, p. 552

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how to help returning Japanese Americans as their arrival appeared more certain.¹⁷² The First Congregational Church reportedly told Reverend Omura that the Japanese Union Church could reopen with their support as long as it had fifteen members.¹⁷³

In July 1945, Suna and Toranosuke Fujimoto received a visit from their son, George, who was on leave from service in the Military Intelligence Service.¹⁷⁴ Soon after, Fujimoto wrote to Charles Gibson, the neighbor who rented their chicken ranch to let him know that “he should vacate the house by the beginning of November and he can harvest walnuts as many as he wants. I also told him the relocation center would be closed in November and I would give him a week notice before we are going back. I hope Gibson will take care of himself.”¹⁷⁵ By mid-August Fujimoto’s diary states that about a dozen families had returned to Riverside. “Riverside is a popular as a place of resettlement, “ he wrote, ”and many people go back or choose to go to Riverside for resettlement. On the contrary, people from Delano [in the Central Valley] are not going back there.” Yet Fujimoto’s diaries indicate that a number of Riverside’s pre-war Japanese American families chose to move on to other parts of the United States, “People of Riverside dispersed all over the country after the closing of the camps. Ochiai is in Maryland, Natsu is in New York, Teshima in Michigan, Oka in Chicago, and Fujisaki is in Chicago.” Others chose the more drastic step of repatriation to Japan.¹⁷⁶

Suna Fujimoto’s return to Riverside preceded her husband’s by a few weeks. Toranosuke Fujimoto and Gyosuke Iseda apparently stayed in Poston until near the camp’s last days. Both served on the Block Council and helped manage the downsizing of the camp.¹⁷⁷ Fujimoto wrote of the concerns he shared with other Issei about the costs of relocating and finding housing, and of his efforts to communicate these concerns to the WRA. In October, he wrote of the Block Council’s decision to

¹⁷² Klure, p. 64

¹⁷³ Nomura, p. 564

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 576, 580-81. Another son, Mitsuru, was serving in the 442nd.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 583

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, p.636, 654. In February 1946 Fujimoto wonders what life must be like for “Tsubota, Okushiba, Okano and Morita” in Japan. All of these names are listed in the Riverside area in the *Japanese American News Directory 1940*.

¹⁷⁷ “Asian Americans in Riverside” accessed at aar.ucr.edu/NotableAsianAmericans/Japanese/Fujimoto/index.html Nomura, p. 592

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distribute \$2,000 from the block fund to “those who live in poverty.”¹⁷⁸ On November 1st 1945, Fujimoto wrote, “It is my day to leave the center. I went to the office to receive the resettlement grant but they gave me twenty-five dollars for stipend and three dollars for food. I received a ration book, too.”¹⁷⁹ WRA policy was to provide train fare, meals en route and \$25 per person for individuals with less than \$500 in cash.¹⁸⁰ Dependant as the Fujimotos were on the agricultural growing cycle and the unknown condition of their poultry holdings, these funds must have seemed a meager base on which to restart their lives at ages sixty-three and fifty-eight. Riverside friends Takeda and Iseda offered to clean the Fujimotos’ room after he left and drive him to the gate. When Suna greeted Toranosuke in Riverside the following day, the Fujimoto’s neighbors, the Senamatsus and Mrs. Hogan, helped clean and reorganize their home and farm.¹⁸¹

Finding Shelter and Work

After her release from Poston, Sumi Harada received a “ridiculously low” offer from an acquaintance on her family’s Lemon Street house while working in Chicago. Despite the would-be buyer’s warning “You can’t ever go back to the West Coast,” Sumi returned to Riverside in August 1945. Upon receiving a request from Reverend Omura, she quickly turned the family home into a rooming house to accommodate returning Nikkei.¹⁸² Reverend Omura described “housing as our worst trouble upon return” and, in addition to asking those with houses to open their homes, allowed families that could find no shelter to stay at the Japanese Union Church.¹⁸³ Japanese Christian churches, Buddhist temples and language schools were commonly used as hostels for returning Nikkei in Japantowns up and down the West Coast. Toranosuke Fujimoto wrote of ongoing struggles to find housing for Japanese Americans

¹⁷⁸ Nomura, p. 600

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 609

¹⁸⁰ *Japanese Americans in World War II: A National Historic Landmark Theme Study*, p. 31.

¹⁸¹ Nomura, pp. 610-11

¹⁸² Rawitsch, p. 84-87.

¹⁸³ Harry Crompe, “City’s Japanese-Americans Prove Rehabilitation Ability,” undated news clipping in collection of Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

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relocating from camps. Some families reportedly stayed at the Arlington gakuen as they looked for more permanent housing.¹⁸⁴

Despite these struggles, press account published shortly after the war's end depicts Riverside's Nikkei population as "rehabilitated, in their own opinion, and they are happy!"¹⁸⁵ Yet the challenges they faced are apparent in Reverend Omura's self-description as "employment agency, housing administrator and welfare association all in one." One of the first to return to their former home, Omura "made the rounds of Riverside places in an attempt to find jobs for my congregation." The article states that by the time of publication "Many are owners of small poultry farms, others are skilled gardeners, and still others have returned to domestic work." It is notable that "small business owner," the niche for many of Riverside's pre-war Nikkei, does not appear on this list. Sumi Harada's experience is just one example of this downward employment trajectory. In the years before WWII, Sumi and her brother Clark had successfully taken over management of the Washington Restaurant from their parents. Upon her return, the restaurant was gone and Sumi's post-war occupation was as domestic help for several of Riverside's wealthy families.¹⁸⁶

Wartime experience had reshaped individual lives and generational relations within the Nikkei community.¹⁸⁷ Many Issei were unable to resume their pre-war work and their roles as primary breadwinners; most had lost their businesses and lacked savings and energy to start anew. Gyosuke Iseda was rejected by the insurance commission when he tried to reinstate his license, "We don't give insurance license to Issei," he recalled being told.¹⁸⁸ For numbers of Issei, working as gardeners offered independent work in an unregulated industry and a way to recover their economic role. Gardening was a relatively common occupation for Japanese immigrants before WWII and Riverside was the site for the first organization of Japanese gardeners in Southern California.¹⁸⁹ According to his family, former

¹⁸⁴ Nomura, p. 629

¹⁸⁵ Crompe, "City's Japanese-Americans Prove Rehabilitation Ability."

¹⁸⁶ Rawitsch, p. 87.

¹⁸⁷ Nomura, p. 724

¹⁸⁸ George Ringwald, "City's elder Japanese statesman recalls his World War II days," *Press Enterprise*, 30 April 1960.

¹⁸⁹ A history of Nikkei gardening states that the Riverside gardeners organizations was established in 1926, the same year that the garden was planted on Mt. Rubidoux, but no other details about the early years of this group were found. Naomi

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grocer Hisazo Sakaguchi became a gardener after the war, a “difficult career change for a man his age.”

¹⁹⁰ The Sakaguchis had lost their store at 2711 13th Street after Pearl Harbor. Their savings account at the Los Angeles Yokohama Specie bank was impounded and never returned.¹⁹¹ Upon return the Sakaguchi family lived at 2226 10th Avenue (extant). Mary Shizue turned to domestic work, and James Hisazo Sakaguchi attempted to earn a living picking oranges but found he couldn’t keep up with younger workers and turned to gardening.

Even those who were able to pick up their previous occupations faced difficulty. By fall of 1946, Toranosuke Fujimoto’ diary recorded how tired he and Suna felt as hard physical labor shaped their days. “In Japan,” he wrote, “people over sixty years old are retired. They sit next to a stove and chat with guests as they come in. They tell old stories to the youth, such as how much they were able to eat or what they had gone through.”¹⁹² Another burden Issei bore was growing understanding of the scope of loss of homes and relatives in Japan. Fujimoto reported that his neighbor and friend, Denzo Senamatsu, passed out after hearing of the wartime deaths of six family members in Japan.¹⁹³

Despite these obstacles, directories published by the *New Japanese American News* shows a smaller, but still active Nikkei community in Riverside. The 1949 listings totaled just over ninety residences, businesses and organizations, a reduction from 179 just prior to the war. Yet the directory sketches the outline of a renewed community. In addition to the listing for G. Iseda as a correspondent for the *Rafu Shimpo*, two other Nikkei newspapers had representatives in Riverside: the *New Japanese American News* at PO Box 454, and the *California Daily News* at 9354 Indiana Avenue in Arlington (the Shintani family’s poultry farm). The Gotori Grocery is listed as reopened at 2931 Madison Street. The Takedas and Nishimotos appear at their former address on Madison, but only as residences. It is unclear whether they reestablished their stores. In 1949, C. Inaba DDS appears listed in the same office at 3859

Hirahara, ed., *Greenmakers: Japanese American Gardeners in Southern California* (Los Angeles: Southern California Gardeners Federation, 2000), p. 8.

¹⁹⁰ “James Hisazo Sakaguchi and Mary Shizue (Sakoguchi) Sakaguchi” unpublished document shared with the author by the Sakaguchi family, May 2011.

¹⁹¹ George Ringwald, “Close-knit Japanese community in early Riverside,” *Press Enterprise*, 15 August 1966.

¹⁹² Nomura, p. 711.

¹⁹³ Ibid, p. 721.

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Main Street that he occupied before the war. Ten years later, Inaba's office is also listed as the Riverside Fishing Club, and another Nisei dentist appears. Nisei expanded the professional ranks of the Nikkei community. Sho Takeda, son of the family that owned a grocery on Madison Avenue, operated his dental practice at 5892 Magnolia Avenue. By 1959 Harry's Cash Grocery, run by a T. Nishino, was operating from 2711 13th Street, former site of the Sakaguchi's store (razed).¹⁹⁴

Re-establishing Community in Riverside: Church and Language School

Reinstating the Japanese Union Church was a major step in the resettlement process for Riverside Nikkei. At the conclusion of World War II, Japanese churches and temples were reclaimed and revived in many Japantowns as symbols of revitalized communities. A history of Japanese American Christian churches opines that the continuance of ethnically-defined churches "may have been partly due to the security and social acceptance that Japanese in America felt among their own as well as the unreadiness of the American Christians to receive them on a personal level."¹⁹⁵ The attitude of Riverside's First Congregational Church membership toward returning Nikkei is unknown. Although, they split the cost of Reverend Omura's salary with the Japanese Union Church congregation, a history of the First Congregational Church makes no mention of any activities or focus on Japanese resettlement, and in fact, describes their Social Action Committee's major contribution during 1946-47 as a dinner at which the subject was "the Christian and modern business."¹⁹⁶

Among Riverside's "mainstream" organizations, the YWCA appears to have been most visible in acknowledging Japanese Americans as a part of the community. This is consistent with the National YWCA's post-war commitment to promoting racial equality. The Inter-racial Charter adopted at the Y's 1946 national convention proclaimed that "wherever there is injustice on the basis of race, whether in the community, the nation, or the world, our protest must be clear and our labor for its removal, vigorous and steady. And what we urge on others we are constrained to practice ourselves." This attitude must have echoed strongly with at least some of the Riverside members. By the end of

¹⁹⁴ *Japanese American News Directory* 1966, the store appears as Nishino Lucy's Grocery.

¹⁹⁵ *The Eight-fifth Anniversary*, p. 70

¹⁹⁶ Nomura, p. 644. *The Lighted Cross*, 181-82

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December 1945 Mrs. Shizika Hiroto, Edwin Hiroto's mother, worked as a janitor at the Riverside Y.¹⁹⁷ Within five years, Mrs. Hideo Inaba became the first Nikkei woman appointed the Y's board.¹⁹⁸ In 1946, the Y sent an inter-racial group of women attempted to patronize a local restaurant, which refused to serve them. Although the Y's own historical account minimizes the women's follow through, which was limited to a letter of protest, the original act of sending white and black members together to a commercial establishment was a radical step for the time.¹⁹⁹

An article on returning Riverside Nikkei includes a photo illustration of a Nisei Club dance at the YWCA. According to this account, the Nisei Club was affiliated with the Japanese Union Church, which served as the community's social center, "especially for the teen-age set." Among the church youth leaders was nineteen-year-old Edwin Hiroto, a returning vet and student at Riverside College, whose family had reclaimed their High Grove area chicken ranch. Hiroto was president of two clubs, the Christian Endeavor Society and the Nisei Club, which had recently given \$179 to the Riverside Community Chest. The forty-nine members of Riverside's Nisei Club were politically active, in addition to attending dances and fundraising. They sought to join the national Japanese American Citizen's League and become active in issues such as fair employment practices and land reclamation for former "internees."²⁰⁰ Issei were also becoming active around issues affecting Japanese Americans. Reverend Omura, Toranosuke Fujimoto and Gyosuke Iseda helped educate Japanese Americans in Riverside about attempts to enact a new Alien Land Law and organized a meeting of local landowners to discuss this movement.²⁰¹

It is unclear exactly when the Lincoln Street Japanese language school was revived. There is no listing for it in the New Japanese American News Year Book for 1949 or 1959. By 1966, the gakuen appears in the directory at the old address of 7435 Lincoln Avenue. In a 1960 *Riverside Press Enterprise* article, Gyosuke Iseda claimed credit for reviving the language school sometime in the early 1950s in response to his own son's poor command of Japanese. The same account stated that classes

¹⁹⁷ Klure, p. 108

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 108

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 105

²⁰⁰ Crompe, "City's Japanese-Americans Prove Rehabilitation Ability."

²⁰¹ Nomura, p. 665

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included Nisei, Sansei and “a few Anglo Americans.”²⁰² Michiko Yoshimura, whose family moved to Riverside after WWII, recalled driving her younger sister and other children to Saturday lessons at the gakuen with a class of about twenty students. Yoshimura also remembered monthly screenings of Japanese movies at the gakuen. Iseda reclaimed his mantle as a community leader in more ways than reviving the gakuen; although the Japanese Association was no longer active, he still led fundraising for the annual community picnic and was first president of the Riverside Gardeners Association. In 1968, Iseda was honored with the Order of the Sacred Treasure from the Japanese government in recognition of his “contribution to American society.”²⁰³

Changing Riverside

Urban renewal of the 1950-70s destroyed many of the West Coast Japantowns that had been laboriously rebuilt by returning Nikkei. Nihonmachi in Los Angeles, Sacramento, San Francisco, Oakland, Stockton, were sacrificed for freeways and new shopping and housing developments, in the name of removing “blight.” In 1962, Riverside Nikkei lost the Japanese Union Church building they had inhabited for nearly fifty years. The First Congregational Church still owned the building and decided that the congregation was too small to sustain the building, which needed major repairs.²⁰⁴ According to a Japanese account of Christian church history in the United States, the reason the congregation was forced to relinquish their church was to make way for construction of the 91 freeway.²⁰⁵ In any case, the dwindling congregation worshipped for a few years in a location on North Orange Street and by the early 1970s was holding weekly meetings in the Chase Street home of George Fujimoto.²⁰⁶

As Nikkei population of Riverside diminished in size during the post-war decades, it also changed character as new people arrived. There were two notable sources of new Japanese and Japanese American residents. In 1960, a Japanese Wives Club was formed at March Air Force base under the sponsorship of the Officers Wives Club and NCO Wives Club. Membership, which appears to

²⁰² George Ringwald, “City’s elder Japanese statesman recalls his World War II days,” *Press Enterprise*, 30 April 1960.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ *The Lighted Cross*, p. 209

²⁰⁵ *The Eighty-fifth Anniversary*, p. 148.

²⁰⁶ *The Lighted Cross*, p. 209

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have ranged from twenty-five to thirty-five women, was drawn from Japanese nationals married to March personnel. The club's purpose was to promote social activities and well-being of these immigrant women, who appear to have rarely connected with the established Nikkei community in Riverside. Press clippings in the Riverside Metropolitan Museum collection indicate that most of the Japanese Wives Club activities were associated with other military groups, although early on the Fujinkai, or women's club, of the Japanese Union church invited the club to a Japanese dinner at the church. Members of the Japanese Wives Club apparently participated in activities of the Sister City program between Riverside and Sendai, which had been established in 1957 and will be discussed below.²⁰⁷

The University of California formally opened its Riverside campus to students in 1954, transforming the Citrus Experiment Station it had established in 1907. The graduate division was established in 1960.²⁰⁸ Nikkei students and faculty joined UCR from its earliest days. Robert Minoru Endo, an assistant professor of plant pathology, was transferred from UCLA to UCR in 1961 when Los Angeles terminated its College of Agriculture. Endo later recalled that the timing was fortuitous because new fair housing laws allowed the Endos to purchase a home two blocks from the University. In Los Angeles, their effort to buy a house in Culver City had been rejected by realtors and local homeowners "who banded together to not accept us and our two children."²⁰⁹

Sendai Sister City and Riverside JACL Chapter

Riverside's sister city relationship with Sendai Japan was established in 1957. The relationship actually began in 1950 when members of the Japanese Association of University Women (AAUW) befriended Riverside GIs who were stationed in Sendai. The Riverside branch of AAUW extended the relationship with a scholarship program for Japanese girls. After President Dwight Eisenhower endorsed the sister city endeavor of "people-to-people diplomacy," Riverside and Sendai formalized their

²⁰⁷ "Japanese Wives Form Social Group Here," *The Beacon*, 15 April 1960. "NCO Wives Pour Tea for Japanese Brides," *The Beacon*, 22 April 1960. "March Japanese Wives Club to Promote Neighborliness," *The Beacon*, 6 May 1960. "Japanese Wives Install," *The Beacon*, 18 October 1962. On Sendai 1960 *la times* article on gifts from sister city, Sendai, including tea, wind bells, hapi coats, and Japanese banners. "Japanese 'Sister City' Sends Gifts to Riverside," 8/10/1960

²⁰⁸ <http://www.ucr.edu/about/timeline.html> accessed July 2011.

²⁰⁹ Robert Minoru Endo, brief autobiography in collection of Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

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relationship as the second sister city relationship formed between the U.S. and Japan. Within the first ten years, the program included a variety of activities, from sponsoring a Toastmaster's Club in Sendai to an exchange of journalists who visited their sister city and published articles about the experience in their home newspapers. In 1967, the Sister City program stated goals to elicit "active participation of Japanese residents in all community affairs such as teas, annual flower show, opera, Art Association, Sendai Festival, entertainment of visitors, cultural programs, etc." The need to elucidate this goal implies that Riverside Nikkei were not actively involved in the sister city program at that point. Although sites where sister city program meetings and programs took place have not been documented, the second-floor lobby of the Riverside Public Library was reportedly designed "with beautiful Japanese features" in honor of the relationship with Sendai.²¹⁰ The Riverside-Sendai Sister City program is still active, and became particularly involved in relief efforts in the aftermath of the earthquake/tsunami and nuclear power plant failure of 2011 near Sendai.

Despite the Nisei Club's goal to establish a local chapter of the Japanese American's Citizens' League in 1946, that did not happen until more than two decades later. The Riverside chapter was formed in 1968 through the leadership of Edwin Mitoma, William and Nancy Takano, and others. Gen Ogata, who moved to the area to join UC Riverside's faculty as a soils physicist, served as the local JACL's first president. Mitoma, who had served as president of the Washington DC JACL chapter, was an electronics engineer in San Bernardino. The forty-seven charter members included Gen's wife, Dolly Ogata, Sumi Harada, Junji Kumamoto, and Michiko Yoshimura, who still participate in the organization as of this writing.²¹¹ Sponsored by the Orange County JACL, the chapter included the communities of Riverside, San Bernardino, Colton and Redlands. The first annual installation ceremony was held at the Jade Palace Restaurant at 4620 Holt Boulevard in Montclair, about twenty-seven miles west of Riverside. At its founding, the chapter reportedly had about thirty members and represented "about 180 families of Japanese descent."²¹² According to Michiko Yoshimura, funds received from closing the

²¹⁰ Riverside-Sendai Sister City Program, "Riverside California; Sendai, Japan, 1957-1966," pamphlet in collection of Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

²¹¹ Riverside JACL website accessed July 2011, www.riversidejacl.org/riverside_jacl/pages/index.php

²¹² "New Japanese-American Group Will Install Officers," *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, 21 January 1968, p. B5.

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Japanese Union Church and Lincoln Street language school reportedly helped with establishment of JACL. Without those gathering spaces, new sites needed to be found for community activities.

Yoshimura recalled that Junji Kumamoto, a UCR professor, arranged for the annual JACL Easter egg hunt to be held in a campus open space near married students' housing. The faculty club also hosted annual JACL installation ceremonies.²¹³

WWII Redress & Reparations

Riverside Nikkei involvement in the campaign for redress and reparations was not well documented. Several oral histories of Riverside Nikkei mention support for the JACL work on the issue, but no accounts of active involvement were found. Yet some connections are readily found. Edison Uno, husband of Rosalind Kido, (daughter of Mine Harada and Saburo Kido) is often described as the first to speak publicly about the moral imperative of redress.²¹⁴ The JACL's National Committee for Redress (formed 1976) was one of three national organizations led the fight for redress and reparations. The others were the National Coalition for Redress/Reparations (NCRR 1980) and the Seattle-based National Council for Japanese American Redress (1979). The organizations argued over tactics, but agreed that some form of apology and restitution for unjust incarceration of Japanese Americans was a critical task before Issei passed on. Pressured legislative and judicial branches of US government and in 1980 Congress authorized the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) to investigate the impact of the federal actions during WWII and suggest appropriate remedies. Hearings were held in 1981, and although some Nikkei felt they were an unnecessarily bureaucratic way of sidestepping needed action, they proved to be a critical turning point for the movement as many, particularly Issei, spoke of their experiences for the first time.²¹⁵ Former Riversider Mine Okubo gave testimony to the CWRIC hearing in New York City, describing her experience of forced relocation and imprisonment and her work as an artist to depict those years in simple language. Okubo brought a

²¹³ Interview with Michiko Yoshimura, 21 June 2011, p. 15. Yoshimura states that the Gardeners Association may have received funds from the sales as well.

²¹⁴ Niiya, p. 340

²¹⁵ Niiya, pp. 290-291

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selection of her sketches and paintings and set them up for display in the rear of the chamber; she also presented a copy of *Citizen 13660* and a wartime article from Fortune magazine titled “Issei, Nisei, Kibei,” which she had illustrated and described to the Commission as “one of the first illustrated articles that came out” on the topic in a national publication.²¹⁶

Related Sites:

Several properties have been identified for their association with post-WWII return and resettlement of Riverside’s Japanese American community. They include:

- Harada Residence, 3357 Lemon Street
- Sakaguchi Residence, 2226 10th Street
- Iseda Residence and Office, 2986 Madison Avenue
- Takeda Residence, 2915 Madison Avenue
- Senamatsu Residence and Poultry operation, 895 Clark Street
- Lincoln Street Gakuen, 7433 Lincoln Avenue
- First Congregational Church, 3504 Mission Inn Avenue
- Olivewood Cemetery, 3300 Central Avenue
- Gotori Residence and Market, 2931 Madison Avenue
- Sawahata Residence, 3560 Franklin Street
- Young Women’s Christian Association, 3425 Mission Inn Avenue

²¹⁶ *Mine Okubo: Following her Own Road*, pp. 46-49.

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Context 2. The Quest for Japanese American Citizenship and Civil Rights in Riverside, 1892-1946

U.S. Kaneko and U.S. Citizenship

Ulysses Shinsei Kaneko immigrated to the United States sometime in the late 1880s from the Gumma prefecture of Japan after converting from Buddhism to Christianity in Tokyo.²¹⁷ Kaneko appears in a history of Japanese in the United States with the name Masanari Kaneko, yet all historical accounts of his life use the name U.S. Kaneko. Ulysses Shinsei, or U.S. may have been a name Kaneko adopted as a talisman of his new life; not only do his initials echo those of his adopted land, but the Japanese word *shinsei* can be interpreted as “new birth.”²¹⁸ Kaneko arrived in San Francisco with a group of students and worked as a “schoolboy” for wealthy families in San Jose and San Francisco. After marrying in 1890, Kaneko accompanied the Mead or Meet family to Redlands.²¹⁹ Sometime in that decade, Kaneko purchased land and a house on Center Street in San Bernardino and started growing oranges. According to a 1940 history by the Japanese Association, “This is considered the first of all the Japanese to purchase land in Southern California.”²²⁰

Kaneko applied to become a naturalized citizen in 1892 and was granted naturalization papers four years later by Superior Court Judge George Otis in San Bernardino. He reportedly was able to travel abroad with an American passport.²²¹ As a later account in the *Los Angeles Times* noted, “Kaneko, thinking he was a full-fledged American, raised his large family in the American way, dressing his children like their playmates in Riverside, and sending them to school and college, where they received

²¹⁷ Wong and others place Kaneko’s arrival in 1888. A passport application by Mrs. U.S. Kaneko states that he arrived in the United States in April 1886 and that they lived in Riverside continuously from 1886 to 1901. Passport application dated June 5, 1901 accessed at ancestry.com. The Kanekos and their two sons, Arthur and George appears in the 1900 U.S. census as residing at 750 Eighth Street in Riverside.

²¹⁸ No public records such as U.S. census or death records were found under U.S. Kaneko, except for a 1901 passport application by “Mrs. U.S. Kaneko.”

²¹⁹ *History of Japanese in America*, which uses the first name “Masanari” for U.S. Kaneko, describes Mr. Mead as establishing a water supply company in Redlands and states that Kaneko was able to purchase stocks in the new company which rose in price and made him rapidly wealthy. Roy Ito writes that Meet was a restaurateur.

²²⁰ *History of Japanese in America* records the purchase as dated October 1891, while Morrison Wong writes that it occurred in 1897.

²²¹ Yuji Ichioka, “The Early Japanese Immigrant Quest for Citizenship: The Background of the 1922 Ozawa Case,” *Amerasia Journal* (vol. 4, no.2, 1977), p. 2

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the finest education.”²²² Powerful Riversiders must have agreed, because Kaneko was granted unusual status among prominent civic institutions and organizations. In addition to running the Golden State Restaurant and Café described earlier, Kaneko worked as an auditor for the city, a translator for the courts, served on the grand jury and was elected to the Board of the Riverside Chamber of Commerce -- in sum a very unusual degree of integration for a Japanese immigrant in the early twentieth century.²²³

Despite Kaneko’s unusual ability to assimilate into Riverside society, in 1914 his citizenship was challenged by a U.S. District Attorney based on the argument that the judge was in “error” in granting him naturalized status eighteen years prior. Although the *Los Angeles Times* speculated that the case might mean that Kaneko and his eldest son’s citizenship could be forfeited, and that “the future rights of the Japanese may be determined,” the case was dismissed making Kaneko the only Japanese American naturalized citizen whose status was confirmed in court.²²⁴ While some accounts have described Kaneko as the first Japanese immigrant to gain citizenship in California, this has not been definitively established.²²⁵

Whether Kaneko was the first or not, his successful application for naturalization was highly unusual. Just five years prior to Kaneko’s petition, Kohei Tanaka sought to secure land offered to U.S. citizens in the San Diego area by submitting naturalization papers that were denied by a federal court in 1887. When Tanaka sought help from the Japanese Consul in San Francisco, he received a response in March of 1894 read that “for a national of Japan to sever the relationship of loyalty to the Emperor and become a naturalized citizen of other country is a thing our government does not recognize from the legal standpoint.....Consequently, it is quite obvious I will not be able to assist you.”²²⁶

The People vs. Harada and Anti-Japanese Campaigns

²²² “May Japanese Be a Citizen?” *Los Angeles Times*, 21 January 1914, p. 3.

²²³ “Ulysses Shinsei Kaneko Family Plot/ Cemetery,” State of California Historic Resources Inventory, 1980

²²⁴ “May Japanese Be a Citizen?” National Register Nomination for Roosevelt Building, 2011.

²²⁵ Ichioka writes that Kaneko was “one of the first” of 420 Japanese immigrants to be naturalized before 1910, “The Early Japanese Immigrant Quest for Citizenship,” p. 2. Brian Niiya’s *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History* states, “prior to 1906 a number of Japanese immigrants had successfully sought naturalized citizenship.” Niiya p. 280

²²⁶ *History of Japanese in America*

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California's 1913 Alien Land Law was a culmination of anti-Asian activism throughout the West that began decades earlier. The anti-Asian legacy of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act fell heavily on Japanese immigrants for decades after its passage. According to Mark Rawitsch, Japanese were targets for racist intolerance for a variety of reasons including "the distinctiveness of the Japanese as an identifiable group, the confrontational nature of the early Japanese emphasis on upward mobility, the growing uneasiness over the emergence of Japan as an international power, and perhaps most significantly, the sensitivity in California over Asian immigration."²²⁷

The 1913 California legislature considered "some 40 anti-Japanese measures.. including a number concerned with land ownership."²²⁸ Although the phrase "aliens ineligible for citizenship" rather than Japanese or Orientals was at the heart of many of these bills, historians believe that they were primarily aimed at Issei farmers. Issei devised ways to circumvent the 1913 law, by establishing trusteeships through which US citizens used Japanese funds to purchase property; creating "dummy" corporations with American citizens as stockholders; and having Issei parents recording the property in the names of American-born children who were legal citizens of the United States. Though property ownership was not as successfully limited as anti-Japanese activists had hoped, it affected the scope of farming and types of crops grown, which had to assume short tenure in place and quick yield. Just as important was the message it sent to Issei about their place in United States.

In 1915, Riverside residents Jukichi and Ken Harada chose to reject this message when they purchased a home in the name of their American-born children at 3356 Lemon Street. Mark Rawitsch's 1983 publication, *No Other Place: Japanese American Pioneers in a Southern California Neighborhood*, remains the most insightful and thorough account of the Harada case and its meaning. Rawitsch argues that the Harada story provides a lens to understand how "an early dedication to upward mobility affected the evolution of the Japanese American subculture."²²⁹ Six months after California legislators passed the Alien Land Law, the Harada's five-year-old son died from diphtheria, which his

²²⁷ Mark Howland Rawitsch. *No Other Place: Japanese American Pioneers in a Southern California Neighborhood*. (Riverside: Department of History, University of California Riverside, 1983), p. 8.

²²⁸ Niiya, p. 257.

²²⁹ Rawitsch, p. xiii.

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parents attributed to the cramped, unhealthy conditions of their second floor quarters in a rooming house they occupied and ran at the corner of Orange and 8th Streets. Jukichi and Ken resolved to find a better home to raise their family. During that same period, someone deliberately hurled a rock through the Washington restaurant's plate glass window, an act documented by a photo in the Harada Collection captioned in Japanese:

“Riverside City 8th District, California, USA.

December 24th 1913 (Meiji 43th year)

Someone threw a rock (Wrapped in newspaper) and broke the front window in two places. I took a picture for record.”²³⁰

With this, the Haradas had physical evidence of potential aggression to their presence in downtown Riverside.

The Haradas already owned property in the name of their oldest American-born child, Mine, on 14th Street in East Riverside, which had not been challenged under the Alien Land Law. Rawitsch speculates that this property, which had been sold by another Japanese family, might have been purchased by the Haradas to test the Alien Land Law, but did not trigger a reaction because it was in a working class, racially mixed neighborhood. After what must have been considerable thought and discussion, Jukichi Harada took the step of contacting a local real estate agent of his acquaintance named Jacob Van de Grift.²³¹ When Van de Grift failed to respond, Harada communicated with another realtor, Frank C. Noble, about his listing for a “6 room house on Lemon street near 4th street, newly painted and papered, fixed for two families if necessary. Price \$1,600, with \$400 cash, balance \$100 every 6 months.”²³²

The Haradas' purchase of the Lemon Street house had several moments of uncertainty before it was completed. Support among the Nikkei community was not uniform. George Sawahata, head gardener at the Mission Inn and a community leader, reportedly advised Jukichi Harada not to challenge

²³⁰ Photo in Harada Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

²³¹ Rawitsch, p. 35

²³² Ibid, p. 32

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the status quo. A few years earlier, Sawahata had built a house for his family (extant as 3560 Franklin Avenue) on the East side of town not far from where the Haradas owned property on 14th Street.²³³ The Lemon Street home's owner, Fulton Gunnerson, was initially reluctant to sell to the Haradas. The Riverside County Courthouse Recorder took the step of consulting with a U.S. naturalization agent regarding the feasibility of recording a deed filed by a non-citizen. But the Haradas' deed for 3356 Lemon Street was officially filed on 22 December 1915.²³⁴ Noble must have continued to see red flags associated with the sale because he wrote to California Attorney general Ulysses S. Webb to ask whether a "Jap boy or girl born here in California [could] acquire and hold real estate?" Webb's response that, as citizens, the children could "acquire and hold real estate in California" reassured Noble and the Haradas that they were acting within the law.²³⁵

Despite the apparently sound footing the Haradas and Noble were on, a group of residents in the Haradas' new neighborhood organized even before the sale was finalized to try to convince the family that they were not welcome on Lemon Street. When the Haradas stood firm despite an offer of \$500 above their purchase price, a few neighbors warned they would take concrete steps to show their antipathy including building a "spite fence" as protection from their Japanese neighbors. A committee made up of six Lemon Street homeowners and Jacob Van de Grift, the realtor who did not respond to Haradas inquiry about buying a home, decided to take the Harada family to court. The committee members included William M. Farr, 3311 Lemon Street; George Urquhart, 3327 Lemon Street; Cynthia Robinson, 3342 Lemon Street; the Hansler family, 3369 Lemon Street; Fletcher family, 3385 Lemon Street (all extant).²³⁶

Census records for 1900 and 1910 show that Lemon Street residents were overwhelmingly US citizens with native-born parents, although a few had emigrated from Canada. Likewise, the nearby block of Orange Street on which the Van de Grifts lived was entirely native-born except for the Japanese

²³³ Karen Raines, State of California DPR Form for 3560 Franklin Street.

²³⁴ Ibid, p. 36

²³⁵ Ibid, p. 36-37

²³⁶ Ibid, pp. 37-41. According to the 1910 U.S. Census accessed at ancestry.com, Van de Grift lived one block away at 351 Orange Street, which appears to have been razed.

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servant who lived with the Van de Grifts.²³⁷ The committee hired prominent Riverside lawyer, Miguel Estudillo, to handle their case, which was joined by the state deputy attorney general from Los Angeles. Estudillo, a *Californio* whose family had deep roots in Riverside, was appointed Clerk to the newly formed Riverside County Board of Supervisors in 1893. In 1904 he was elected a member of the California Assembly in 1904 and to the State Senate in 1908.²³⁸

Harada was represented by the “prestigious Riverside law firm of Purington and Adair,” which had offices in Riverside’s downtown Loring Building at 3673 Main Street (extant) and had made a name handling probate and corporate cases including those involving the citrus industry and water industries. A. Aird Adair, a Canadian who moved to Riverside in 1890, helped found the National Bank of Riverside and in 1906 was elected Board President. Adair also served as President of the Riverside County Bar Association.²³⁹ William A. Purington came to Riverside in 1889 from Chicago and was appointed city attorney from 1893 to 1909. Perhaps most pertinent to the Harada case was his leadership role in the First Congregational Church, and his wife Eva’s activities with the Women’s Missionary Society and the Japanese Mission Church.²⁴⁰ The Puringtons appear to have been allied with Mission Inn founder Frank Miller in their leadership of the Church and his support for Riverside’s Japanese community. William Purington made a speech at a grand Mission Inn banquet organized in September 1917 to celebrate the birthday of the Japanese emperor and contributions to the war effort by Riverside’s Japanese residents. Purington’s oration outlined the Harada case to the banquet guests and predicted that “the change in sentiment regarding the Japanese which has taken place in California since the war broke out” would contribute to a legal victory.²⁴¹

In fact, according to Rawitsch, the geopolitics of WWI was a deciding factor in the case of the *People of the State of California v Jukichi Harada*. President Theodore Roosevelt’s concern that “our great object should be to avoid anything that may cause serious trouble with Japan, until the European world war has come to an end.” The U.S. Attorney General’s office echoed this sentiment to Miguel

²³⁷ US Census records for 1900 and 1910 accessed at ancestry.com 6/15/11.

²³⁸ /www.riversideca.gov/attorney/pdf/cahistory.pdf accessed on 6/21/11.

²³⁹ *History of Riverside County, California*, (Los Angeles: Historical Record Company, 1912). p. 480-82.

²⁴⁰ *The Lighted Cross*, p. 71, 77. Rawitsch, p. 50

²⁴¹ Rawitsch. p. 55

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Estudillo, who had begun to harbor doubts about the legal standing of their case against the Haradas.²⁴² Four months after the trial began in May 1918, Riverside County Superior Court Judge Hugh Craig decided in favor of the Haradas based on the constitutional rights of their American-born children. Motions from the State to move for a new trial were met by a denial from Judge Craig, whose decision on the “internationally famous Japanese land case” was printed in the *Riverside Daily Press* in January 1919. The same front page included an article reporting that the Harada case had inspired purchases of tens of thousands of acres of California agricultural land by Japanese parents in the names of their Nisei children.²⁴³

While Morrison Wong states that Riverside “tended to ignore” the Alien Land Law after the Harada case was decided, by the late 1910s the statewide anti-Japanese movement regrouped to strengthen the earlier law, placing an initiative on the November 1920 ballot.²⁴⁴ The 1920 California Alien Land Law, which passed by a margin of three to one, prohibited Issei from purchasing land as guardians for the American-born children. While the Harada case decision was undoubtedly one factor in goading anti-Japanese tensions, the primary target was Japanese who successfully participated in California agriculture. The vote made leasing or even sharecropping land illegal, demonstrating the clear goal of reducing Japanese American role in agriculture to mere laborer. The Japanese Association raised funds to mount a robust legal campaign to fight the Alien Land Laws by testing various aspects of the legislation in federal courts. Yet by November 1923, the US Supreme Court had rejected all four test cases instigated by the Japanese association.²⁴⁵

Among the court cases instigated in response to anti-Japanese activism was the 1922 US Supreme Court case, *Ozawa v. U.S.* “definitely established that Issei could not become American citizens.”²⁴⁶ In addition to restricting citizenship and property ownership, the California legislature

²⁴² Ibid, p. 54

²⁴³ Rawitsch citation of “Denies Motion for New Trial” and “Japanese Buy Land in Tulare County” from *Riverside Daily Press*, 21 January 1919, p. 68

²⁴⁴ Wong, p. 55

²⁴⁵ Niiya, p. 257-58

²⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 280. Ozawa, a student at UC Berkeley with an American-educated wife, filed for naturalization in Alameda County.

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enacted a variety of anti-Japanese laws including those aimed at constraining the Japanese fishing industry and controlling operations of Japanese language schools. Laws were passed requiring Japanese schools to have a permit from the California Superintendent of Public Instruction, limit Japanese language instruction to one hour per day, and require Japanese school teachers to pass a exam in American history and the English language.²⁴⁷ Anxiety over the influence of American-born children of Japanese immigrants in California and the U.S. was widespread as activists such as newspaper publisher V.S. McLatchy and Senator James Phelan argued that the high birthrate among Japanese immigrants would mean that white Californians would be outnumbered in a short time. These feverish projections were wildly exaggerated, yet they contributed to the battery of arguments leading to passage of the 1924 Immigration Act, which effectively ended immigration from Japan. Even after the flow of immigration from Japan stopped, fears of the “yellow peril” led to nearly continuous introduction of anti-Japanese bills in California assembly throughout the 1930s.

Riverside’s Japanese Association

The leading economic and political organization for early Japanese immigrants, the Japanese Association or Nihonjin Kyogi-Kai, advocated on behalf of Issei and their children. Established in San Francisco in 1900 as the Japanese Deliberative Council of America, the organization sought to “expand the rights of Imperial subjects in America and to maintain the Japanese national image” in the face of growing anti-Japanese activism. Because Japanese immigrants were unable to become American citizens the Japanese government maintained responsibility for them in their adopted homes. Japanese Associations played a critical role in communications and mediation between immigrants and the governments of Japan and the United States. The Japanese Association was given bureaucratic functions by the Japanese government, which treated the Association as its representative in many areas.²⁴⁸ Associations issued certificates verifying the character, property, conduct and business conditions of applicants for visas, and provided legal aid and advice to immigrants. Because the Japanese

²⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 190.

²⁴⁸ Niiya, p. 187.

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Associations' purpose was to protect and educate newcomers, they also provided statistical and research work that countered anti-Japanese arguments, and promoted "Americanization" projects, especially teaching English.²⁴⁹

According to a history of Japanese in the United States published in 1940 by the Japanese Association, the Riverside chapter was formed sometime around 1905, at the same time as that in Los Angeles. U.S. Kaneko reportedly served as the first President of the Riverside Japanese Association and attended the second joint conference of Associations from Northern and Southern California in Fresno in 1906. At this gathering, Kaneko reportedly drafted a successful proposal that the organization provide protection to Koreans residing in U.S. Other issues raised at the meeting were a petition to establish a Japanese Consulate in Los Angeles, raising an emergency fund for people newly returned from Japan, and building dormitories at suitable locations to "accommodate and educate children of Japanese laborers."²⁵⁰

The early Riverside Japanese Association is described as having 18 "staff members" (presumably board members) that administered affairs for both Riverside and San Bernardino Counties from their office at 606 Eighth Street (extant at 3602 University Avenue). This structure, known as the Arcade Building, sits next door to Ulysses Kaneko's Golden State Hotel and Restaurant. The 1940 *History of Japanese in America* published by the Japanese Association states that Sho Inouye was the Riverside chapter's first president. Whether Inouye or Kaneko was president, Kaneko was elected to represent Southern California on Joint Conference board for California's Japanese Associations.²⁵¹

By the 1930s the Riverside Japanese Association was located at 3195 14th Street at the Japanese Union Church building. As numbers of Nikkei in the Riverside area grew smaller and Japanese families set down roots, the Association's critical advocacy mission appears to have dwindled. Activities of board members such as Gyosuke Iseda and Jukichi Harada entailed organizing community events and working with Frank Miller to welcome Japanese royalty to the Mission Inn.²⁵² By 1940, the Association

²⁴⁹ *History of Japanese in America*

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Letters from Riverside Japanese Association to Frank Miller in the Harada Archive, Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

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had reportedly severed its relationship with the Central Japanese Association of Southern California and was “in an independent situation taking care of various affairs of the local Japanese.”²⁵³ Organizational leadership was still under Issei leadership with Tametsugo Okubo at its President and Chikayasu Inaba as the Vice President.²⁵⁴ Toronasuke Fujimoto wrote in 1941 that only twenty-six members showed up for the meeting to elect their leadership. “...Less and less people participate the meetings nowadays. We always discuss on the same topics and no important subjects are brought up. No one talked about the election. I left the meeting early since it was not worthy staying there.”²⁵⁵

As the prominence of Japanese Associations dwindled in communities such as Riverside, chapters of the Nisei-led Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) grew. Although Riverside did not have a JACL chapter until 1968, a pre-war connection was made through the marriage of the Haradas’ eldest daughter, Mine, to Saburo Kido, one of the JACL’s founders and most prominent leaders. The couple married in San Francisco in 1928, the year Saburo helped establish an organization of college-educated Nisei called the American Loyalty League. Unlike the Japanese Association of their Issei parents, JACL members “emphasized loyalty, patriotism and citizenship,” a stance that proclaimed their rights to US citizenship even as they fought for full recognition of those rights.²⁵⁶ The JACL’s newspaper operated out of the Kido home in San Francisco’s Japantown, which also served as Kido’s law office. During the 1930s, Kido and his JACL colleagues mounted successful campaigns to repeal the Cable Act, which stripped American women of their citizenship if they married “enemy aliens,” and to pass the Nye-Lea Bill that gave citizenship to Asian immigrants who served in the American military during WWI.²⁵⁷

The JACL and Kido, who served as the organization’s president during WWII, became controversial when they cooperated with federal surveillance of Japanese community. This act, which

²⁵³ *History of Japanese in America*

²⁵⁴ *History of Japanese in America. Japanese American News Directory 1940*. 1930 US census accessed at ancestry.com, Okubo was listed as 59 years old and living at 2365 11th Street in census records. Inaba appears in the 1930 census as 40-year-old farmer renting with wife and three daughters at 254 Jurupa Avenue.

²⁵⁵ Nomura, p. 159

²⁵⁶ Language from first JACL convention held in Seattle in 1930, Niiya, 182.

²⁵⁷ Niiya p. 182-183

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was undertaken out of fear that Nikkei's loyalty would be doubted otherwise, led to Kido's later assessment that JACL membership "dwindled down to only about 10 active chapters and about 1,700 members.... It was no longer a matter of pride to belong to the JACL, but rather a thing to be shunned."²⁵⁸ In fact, Kido himself was swept up in antipathy toward Nikkei who were suspected of being *inu*, or traitors. While incarcerated with his family at Poston, Kido was a prominent advocate for the JACL's positions, including that Nisei be given the opportunity to show their loyalty by military service. In 1943, Kido was attacked and beaten by a group of men and hospitalized for nearly a month. His wife Mine remembered the incident later "The attack on Saburo was the climax to months of continual tension within the camp."²⁵⁹

The Kidos remind us that larger story of the Haradas, like the narrative of Japanese Americans in Riverside and the U.S. as a whole, is one of flux in defining identity as Japanese and American. Nisei, as well as Issei, often struggled to maintain "the spirit of Americanization and loyalty to the nation which they have adopted either by necessity or destiny, even though they are not admitted to the full privilege of her citizenship."²⁶⁰

Frank Miller and Other Nikkei Allies

Support for Japanese in Riverside began in the earliest years of their presence in the area. *The History of Japanese in America* states that a small group of Japanese workers were "persecuted" by white workers in 1896 who feared competition for their labor. The "Caucasian orchard owner protected the Japanese," reportedly because he appreciated their abilities.²⁶¹ The following decade the *Los Angeles Times* described an "invasion of Japanese orange pickers into the Riverside orchards," but concluded that growers believed that it was impossible to secure sufficient white labor to handle the crop and that white men did not care to go into competition with the Japanese."²⁶² While citrus owners protected Japanese

²⁵⁸ Niiya, p. 183

²⁵⁹ Letter from Mine Harada to Mrs. Evans dated 29 March 1944 in Harada Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

²⁶⁰ Kanzaki, p. 22

²⁶¹ *History of Japanese in America*

²⁶² "Japanese Inroads. Study labor of the Pickers. Riverside Employers Talk Over the Problem," *Los Angeles Times*, October 6, 1907, p. I9.

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because they recognized the benefits immigrant labor granted to their entrepreneurial efforts, other Riverside residents found different reasons to ally with their Japanese neighbors. The Harada story includes several individuals who played an “ally” role to some degree. These included lawyers Purington and Adair, real estate agent Frank Noble, and most likely the Harp brothers who worked with the Haradas to add a second floor to their home while debate over their presence on Lemon Street was most vicious.²⁶³ However, first among these figures was the Mission Inn’s owner, Frank Miller, who occupied a widely acknowledged status in Riverside’s economic, political and cultural circles.

By 1900, one observer noted “Miller’s was probably the most influential voice in Riverside in matters of city planning and design as well as politics.”²⁶⁴ Morrison Wong states that the history of Japanese in Riverside can not be told without reference to Frank Miller and his contributions in making the Japanese, if not an integral part of Riverside, at least tolerated in Riverside.”²⁶⁵ The local Japanese Association described Miller after his death in 1935, as “the first-ranking sympathizer of Japanese in Southern California. Among the Japanese dignitaries who visited Southern California, there were very few who would not visit and stop here.” Wong describes the Mission Inn (extant at 3649 Mission Inn Avenue), where Miller entertained such notables, as “the primary factor of Miller’s social and political influence.”²⁶⁶

Miller, who added numerous Japanese design features to his hotel, personified the “Japanophile” movement of educated Americans enamored of Japanese culture. In his case, Issei employees of the Mission Inn who worked in the kitchen, restaurant and gardens reinforced Miller’s connection to Japanese culture.²⁶⁷ As a leader of Riverside’s First Congregational Church, Miller helped to establish the Japanese Methodist Church in 1901 and four years later helped with the founding of the local Japanese Association by offering funds and a place to meet at the Mission Inn.²⁶⁸ The Mission Inn’s

²⁶³ Rawitsch, p. 44. Herman, Raymond and Samuel Harp appear in the 1910 US Census living at 184 North Street with their widowed mother, and Samuel’s 4-year-old son.

²⁶⁴ Thomas Patterson cited in Rawitsch, p. 16.

²⁶⁵ Wong, p. 142

²⁶⁶ Wong, p. 103.

²⁶⁷ Jennifer Thornton, State of California Primary DPR Primary Record Form for 3665 6th Street.

²⁶⁸ Wong, p. 144.

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prominence as a gathering place for the most powerful organizations and leaders residing in, or visiting, Riverside reinforces the level of respect and acceptance Miller sought to confer on the local Japanese community. Yet Miller was also personally involved in the lives of local Japanese Americans. He sent a special inquiry to the Japanese Consul general inquiring about the parents of two of his long-time employees, and provided a monthly allowance to a widow named Mrs. Suna Kido, “until she has been able to adjust her life so she can take care of herself and her children....”²⁶⁹

Miller was active in networks attempting to counter the anti-Japanese movement and made speeches throughout California against passage of the 1913 Alien Land Law. Although no documentation was uncovered, Morrison Wong wrote that, after passage of the law, Miller may have “bought land under his name for many Japanese in Riverside”.²⁷⁰ Mine Harada Kido, eldest daughter of Jukichi and Ken Harada, remembered that Frank Miller helped her father when he was contemplating buying their Lemon Street home. “Mr. Miller advised him to go ahead and buy it and said ‘If you have any trouble, I’ll get my brother to help you. Go see my brother.’” Mine went on to say that Ed Miller concurred with his brother and offered to purchase the house for the Haradas in his own name.²⁷¹

(Illustration boy’s day kendo and ceremony for Frank Miller)

Although Miller and others working to defend rights of Japanese immigrants were defeated when the 1920 Alien Land Law passed, only 61.9 % of Riverside’s population voted for the measure, as opposed to approximately 75% throughout the state. Miller continued to champion Japanese causes and culture, hosting annual Girls and Boys’ Day ceremonies for the entire Nikkei community and organizing elaborate banquets when Japanese dignitaries traveled through Southern California. The Japanese Emperor awarded Miller the Small Order of the Rising Sun in 1925, the same year the local community honored his “international accomplishments” with a Freedom Tower and Japanese garden on Mt. Rubidoux.²⁷² *(Illustrations Peace Tower)* Although the project’s leadership appears to have been all white, the Riverside Japanese Association made the largest single donation toward construction costs.

²⁶⁹ Letter from Frank Miller to George Sawahata dated 12 December 1927 in Japanese Correspondence 1927-1932 file, Frank Miller Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

²⁷⁰ Wong, p. 144.

²⁷¹ Wong, p. 145-46.

²⁷² Ibid, p. 153.

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“Additionally, members of the Japanese community in Riverside reportedly anonymously planted and maintained at the base of the bridge on the north side of Mt. Rubidoux overlooking downtown Riverside a “peace garden” as an added homage to Frank Miller’s promotion of cultural bridge-building among Japanese and primarily Caucasian community members in the Riverside area.”²⁷³ In 1928 Gyosuke Iseda wrote a pamphlet honoring Frank Miller published by the Riverside Japanese Association. *Shinnishika Furanko Mira no kotodomo* or *Frank Miller: Japanophile* emphasized Miller’s battles against anti-Japanese laws and his efforts to offer the Mission Inn as a home for Japanese festivals and events.²⁷⁴

Among the many events Miller hosted at the Mission Inn to promote better relations between Japan and the United States was an exhibit of the Japanese Friendship Doll project organized by fellow Nikkei ally, Sidney Gulick. Gulick, a Japan expert and Congregationalist missionary, was a leading white American voice opposing Anti-Japanese movement. Gulick was such a reviled figure among powerful anti-Japanese factions that he was placed under federal surveillance as a potential Japanese agent.²⁷⁵

As Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Gulick aimed to promote goodwill by collecting numerous dolls from throughout the United States as “peace ambassadors” to be sent to Japan. In return for the “Green-Eyed Dolls,” Japanese students gathered enough funds to pay for fifty-eight specially designed and formally dressed Japanese dolls that toured the United States. Gulick’s peace ambassadors were exhibited in Riverside in 1927.²⁷⁶

Related Sites:

Several properties have been identified for their association with Riverside’s Japanese American community’s quest for civil rights. They include:

- Harada House, 3357 Lemon Street

²⁷³ Elliot Kim, State of California DPR Primary Record Form for Frank Miller Friendship Bridge and Peace Tower. Unfortunately, this Japanese-style garden no longer remains.

²⁷⁴ Gyosuke Iseda, *Shinnishika Furanko Mira no kotodomo*, Japanese Association of Riverside, 1928 in Harada Collection, Riverside Metropolitan Museum.

²⁷⁵ Niiya, pp. 151-152

²⁷⁶ *History of Japanese in America*

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- Riverside County Courthouse, 4050 Main Street
- First National Bank of Riverside, 3800 Main Street
- Judge Hugh Craig Residence, 4477 University Avenue
- Estudillo Residence, 4515 Sixth Street
- Purington Residence, 3284 Orange Street
- Adair Residence, 4310 Orange Street
- Loring Building, 3673 Main Street
- Hansler Residence, 3369 Lemon Street
- Farr Residence, 3311 Lemon Street
- Robinson Residence, 3342 Lemon Street
- Fletcher Residence, 3385 Lemon Street
- Frank Miller Friendship Bridge and Peace Tower, Mt. Rubidoux
- Mission Inn, 3649 Mission Inn Avenue
- First Congregational Church, 3504 Mission Inn Avenue
- Golden State Hotel and Café (Roosevelt Building), 3616-18 University Avenue
- Arcade Building, Japanese Association Headquarters, 3602 University Avenue

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F. ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

1. Property Descriptions & Significance

Residential Property Types

Buildings designed as single-family dwellings are prevalent in this study as residences for Japanese Americans and individuals related to the Harada court case. However, multi-unit housing is also related to the themes of this study, including the Mission Inn Annex, which housed employees for the Mission Inn, including a number of Japanese American workers.

Single-family dwellings relevant to the historic themes of this study have several forms and architectural styles, with most dating to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For this reason, most adhere to Victorian-era and California Bungalow architectural styles. In most cases, single-family dwellings are one to two stories in height, but most commonly one. They range from small, very modest dwellings on tight lots to large homes on generous landscaped properties. The majority of the residential structures in the survey were constructed prior to 1930 – before or during the period of initial settlement of Japanese Americans in the Riverside area. Some residential structures were also places of business, such as a store, a common practice for first generation Japanese immigrants. They were rarely constructed by Japanese Americans and do not generally express physical aesthetics or other outward indications of the ethnic identity of their inhabitants.

The residences identified by this survey are associated with the Harada House and related court case or to specific events or broad patterns in history that have had a definable impact on the Japanese American community, in which case they may be significant under National Register Criterion A. This is the case if the residence is associated with events that affected the Japanese American community as a whole; for instance a purchase in the name of minor children due to the Alien Land Law, or temporary or permanent displacement as a result of World War II forced removal and incarceration. Some residential structures were also places of business, such as a store, a common practice for first generation Japanese immigrants. Additionally, if a residential property is found to be associated with a significant participant in the Harada court case or a member of the Japanese American community – for instance an

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influential community leader such as Judge Hugh Craig – it may be significant under National Register Criterion B. It is unlikely that residences will be significant under National Register Criterion C as examples of architectural resources associated with the Japanese American context. If so, the residence would have to exhibit Japanese aesthetics, methods of construction, or have been designed by a Japanese American architect or builder. Any archeological artifact found on a residential property associated with Riverside's Japanese American community has the potential to yield knowledge of history and may even have associations with cultural practices and could therefore prove significant under National Register Criterion D.

In the research for the *Japanese American Heritage and the Quest for Civil Rights in Riverside, California* MPS to date, the following residential properties may be classified as associated with the document's historic contexts: Japanese in Riverside: Settlement & Community Development, World War II Forced Removal and Incarceration, and Return & Recovery; The Quest for Japanese American Citizenship & Civil Rights in Riverside.

Harada House, 3357 Lemon Street

Hansler House, 3369 Lemon Street

Farr House, 3311 Lemon Street

Robinson House, 3342 Lemon Street

Fletcher House, 3385 Lemon Street

Purington House, 3284 Orange Street

Adair House, 4310 Orange Street

Estudillo House, 4515 6th Street

Craig House, 4477 University Avenue

Sanematsu House, 895 Clark Street

Okubo House, 2365 11th Street

Sawahata Residence, 3560 Franklin Street

Takeda House, 2915 Madison Avenue

Gotori House and Market, 2931 Madison Avenue

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Iseda Residence and Office, 2986 Madison Avenue

Sakaguchi Residence, 2226 10th Street

Agricultural Structures

Structures such as those related to poultry operations, truck farms and citriculture are associated with the important role of Japanese Americans in local agriculture. Types of structures include chicken houses, sheds, worker housing and packing houses.

In relation to the themes of this context statement, agricultural structures could be considered significant as representing patterns of employment and means of livelihood for Japanese immigrants and their families. They may be significant under National Register Criterion A if they are associated with specific events or historic trends that have influenced the Japanese American community. Additionally, if an agricultural structure is found to be associated with a significant member of the Japanese American community – for instance, if it was owned or operated by a prominent community leader – it may be significant under National Register Criterion B.

In the research for the *Japanese American Heritage and the Quest for Civil Rights in Riverside, California* MPS to date, the following properties may be classified as associated with the document's historic contexts. Japanese in Riverside: Settlement & Community Development, World War II Forced Removal and Incarceration, and Return & Recovery.

Senamatsu Property, 895 Clark Street

Commercial Property Types

Mixed-Use Buildings

Mixed-use buildings are designed to combine both commercial and residential uses. They typically consist of two-story structures comprising commercial space on the first story – often dominated by a storefront – with residential units above that are accessed by a first-story entrance. The upper-story

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residential units can consist of either apartments or single rooms. The architectural style and detailing of mixed-use buildings varies greatly, as the type was popular for many years.

Commercial Buildings

Small- and large-scale commercial buildings are included in this study. Large-scale commercial buildings include office, hotel, and bank structures, all located in downtown Riverside within the Mile Square. These are architect-designed structures in the revival styles popular during the late 19th and early 20th centuries including Richardsonian Romanesque, Italianate, Mission revival styles, or even as in the case of portions of the Mission Inn, they may reflect popular embrace of Japanese design aesthetics. Smaller, more modest commercial buildings appear in the downtown area and on Riverside's Eastside.

The residences identified by this survey are associated with the Harada House and related court case or to specific events or broad patterns in history that have had a definable impact on the Japanese American community, in which case they may be significant under National Register Criterion A. In relation to the ethnic and cultural themes of this context statement, many commercial buildings could be considered significant as representing patterns of employment and means of livelihood for Japanese immigrants and their families. This could be the case if the business employed Japanese immigrants in significant numbers, or played a role in events that affected the Japanese American community as a whole; for instance a hotel that served newly-arrived emigrants from Japan, or a grocery store that provided imported Japanese food and goods, which nurtured the continuation of Japanese life-ways within the community. Another aspect of significance may be whether ownership of the property is in the name of a "dummy" corporation or the minor children of a Japanese American family in response to Alien Land Laws. Additionally, if a commercial property is found to be associated with a significant member of the Japanese American community – for instance, if it was owned or operated by a prominent merchant or professional – it may be significant under National Register Criterion B. Any archeological artifact found on a commercial property in Japantown has the potential to yield knowledge

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of history and may even have associations with cultural practices and could therefore prove significant under CRHR Criterion 4.

In the research for the *Japanese American Heritage and the Quest for Civil Rights in Riverside, California* MPS to date, the following properties may be classified as associated with the document's historic contexts: Japanese in Riverside: Settlement & Community Development, World War II Forced Removal and Incarceration, and Return & Recovery; The Quest for Japanese American Citizenship & Civil Rights in Riverside.

Loring Building, 3673 Main Street

First National Bank of Riverside, 3800 Main Street

Mission Inn Hotel, 3649 Mission Inn Avenue

Tony's (Sakaguchi) Market, 4098 Park Street

Matsumoto Store, 4195 Park Street

Arcade Building (Offices of Japanese Association), 3602 University Avenue

Roosevelt Building (Golden State Hotel and Café), 3616-18 University Avenue

Jackson Building (Washington Restaurant), 3643 University Avenue

Civic & Community Property Types

Civic and community buildings associated with this study include governmental buildings, structures housing community organizations, and churches. These represent the development of the Japanese American community internally, and relationships that Nikkei had with outside groups on a long-term basis or in association with a specific event such as the Harada Court case. These buildings appear in a variety of scales and architectural styles and are located most often near commercial areas and other areas of activity, but can also be found in residential neighborhoods. Civic and community buildings associated with relationships between non-Nikkei and the Japanese American communities are often large, architect-designed structures. They represent a variety of architectural styles and are generally in good condition.

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In relation to the themes of this context statement, civic and community properties are highly significant. Civic and community buildings reflect the development of the Japanese American community in Riverside and their relationships with other groups, as well as the evolving place in the social, economic and political structures of Riverside. Community buildings associated with the Japanese American community were sometimes commissioned or built by members of the community themselves and may therefore be expressive of cultural values and aesthetics.

Civic and community properties may be significant under National Register Criterion A if they are associated with specific events or historic trends that have influenced the Japanese American community. For instance, a church or community building associated with relationships between Japanese Americans and non-Nikkei may represent measures toward assimilating Japanese immigrants to American culture, or efforts to assist Japanese Americans during the period of WWII. A civic or community property may be associated with legal events that affected Japanese Americans, such as anti-Japanese legislation or WWII forced relocation and incarceration. If a civic or community property is found to be associated with a significant organization created by Japanese Americans, or a member of the Japanese American community – for instance, a prominent civic or religious leader – it may be significant under National Register Criterion B. Though less likely, they may be significant under National Register Criterion C if they exhibit culturally-based methods of construction, or may have been designed by a Japanese American architect or builder. Any archeological artifact found on a civic or community property in Japantown has the potential to yield knowledge of history and may even have associations with cultural practices and could therefore prove significant under CRHR Criterion 4. In the research for the *Japanese American Heritage and the Quest for Civil Rights in Riverside, California* MPS to date, the following properties may be classified as associated with the document's historic contexts: Japanese in Riverside: Settlement & Community Development, World War II Forced Removal and Incarceration, and Return & Recovery; The Quest for Japanese American Citizenship & Civil Rights in Riverside.

Japanese Language School, 7433 Lincoln Avenue

Civil Control Station, 3557 Main Street

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Riverside County Historic Courthouse, 4050 Main Street

Riverside Art Museum (YWCA building), 3425 Mission Inn Avenue

First Congregational Church of Riverside, 3504 Mission Inn Avenue

Open Spaces

Open spaces identified by this study include parks and cemeteries, as well as public spaces associated with WWII evacuation of Japanese Americans from Riverside. The parks and cemetery date to the late 19th and early twentieth centuries and were used by Japanese Americans for community events and to carry on cultural traditions such as graveside Memorial Day gatherings. They may also reflect symbolic connections between the larger Riverside community and Riverside's Japanese American community. Although a number of gravesites in Olivewood cemetery reflect Japanese design, in most cases the landscape elements within the open spaces reflect the aesthetics of the non-Nikkei community.

In relation to the themes of this Context Statement, open spaces are most likely to be significant under National Register Criterion A for associations with specific events or historic trends that have affected the Japanese American community. Some of the open spaces are related to activities of community and social groups such as annual picnics organized by kenjin-kai or the Japanese Union Church. Some open spaces are associated with specific critical moments, such as wartime evacuation or celebrations of events in Japan. Open spaces may also be found to reflect patterns of discrimination, such as public pools that restricted use by Japanese Americans. Open spaces associated with a significant member of the Japanese American community may be significant under National Register Criterion B. Open spaces may also be significant under National Register Criterion C if they exhibit Japanese American aesthetics in gardening and landscape architecture, or have been designed by a Japanese American landscape architect, artist, or other designer. Any archeological artifact found within an open space in Japantown has the potential to yield knowledge of history and may even have associations with cultural practices and could therefore prove significant under CRHR Criterion 4.

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Olivewood Cemetery, 3300 Central Avenue

5th and Main Streets (Evacuation location)

Frank Miller Friendship Bridge and Peace Tower, Mt Rubidoux

2. Registration requirements

The listed property types are most often eligible under National Register Criterion A under areas of significance Ethnic Heritage/Asian, Immigration, Social History, and Law. Criterion A includes “properties associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained.” A smaller number of properties may be significant under Criterion B, sites “associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.”

To meet Criterion A eligibility, the property must be directly associated with significant historical events and/or patterns of events in the history of the Japanese American community in Riverside and/or the Japanese American quest for civil rights. To meet Criterion B eligibility, a property must be associated with a person prominent in the development of the Japanese American community in Riverside and/or the Japanese American quest for civil rights. It should also be the primary property associated with that individual and his or her period of significance within the historic themes of Riverside's Japanese American community development and quest for civil rights. To meet Criterion C, the property must exhibit Japanese aesthetics, methods of construction, or have been designed by a Japanese American architect or builder.

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3. Integrity

As defined by the National Register, the primary components of integrity are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, association, and feeling. Properties may meet registration requirements if they possess sufficient character and integrity to retain their sense of time and place from their period of significance. Traditional measures of architectural integrity may prove insufficient in assessing structures associated with this document's historic contexts. This is particularly important to keep in mind as properties associated with working-class immigrants, who make up the largest group of people associated with this study, have often changed hands several times and may have been remodeled more than once. For example, storefronts on many commercial buildings are often heavily altered as a result of use by many commercial tenants over the years. It is common to find that older buildings have undergone remodeling, resulting in the removal of original decorative features and replacement by details associated with another style.

The issue of historic integrity is particularly complex when evaluating residential resources under themes of this context statement, since most of the houses associated with Japanese Americans have been occupied non-Nikkei for several decades. These structures, and those connected to the Lemon Street homeowners group, are also of simple vernacular style and more likely to have been altered than the more imposing and high style houses associated with the Harada case lawyers and judge.

In evaluation of integrity of commercial and residential properties, the most important aspects are location and association. Since events or persons are the most likely elements of significance, integrity of association with those things and the ability to convey those associations are key. Feeling represents a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular time period.. Less important to the integrity of commercial and residential resources are the aspects of design, materials, and workmanship, unless those aspects are directly influenced by Japanese American design aesthetics or construction methods.

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When evaluating the integrity of open spaces, the most important aspects are association and location. An open space may maintain obvious associations through the retention of features, such as grave markers, that connote its ties to the Japanese American community. Feeling represents a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular time period. In some instances, integrity of design is especially important, especially if the presence of Japanese-inspired landscaping or plantings illustrate involvement of the Japanese American community with an open space. Also important to the integrity of open spaces are the aspects of materials and workmanship. In some cases "materials" may be somewhat impermanent if they include elements of vegetation. Open spaces, in particular, may have changed over time. Integrity of setting and location hold a similar level of importance as they do with other property types, though it is nearly impossible to relocate an open space.

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H. SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

The City of Riverside's Historic Preservation Section, in partnership with the Metropolitan Museum and the University of California Riverside (UCR), have collaborated to conduct a thematic Harada Historic District intensive level survey associated with the National Historic Landmark (NHL) Harada House, a National Register nomination or the highest level applicable, and preparation of associated educational material. The City of Riverside received a State of California Certified Local Government (CLG) grant for the period 2010-2011 to prepare a Multiple Property Submission and Survey. This project is part of the Riverside Historic Preservation Program's continued effort to advance the cause of preservation in the city through the identification and evaluation of potential historic resources.

Research for this MPS was conducted by the primary consultant, Donna Graves, in partnership with University of California Riverside Professor, Catherine Gudis, and her graduate students. Staff from the Riverside Metropolitan Museum, Lynn Voorheis and Kevin Hallaran, as well as City Planning staff Erin Gettis and Krystal Marquez contributed. Archival research, interviews and review of secondary sources were the basis for identifying potential historic resources. Collections of the Riverside Metropolitan Museum, especially the extensive Harada House Collection, were especially helpful. Additionally, oral history interviews were conducted with several Japanese Americans whose roots are in Riverside. These sources formed the foundation for the research and property contained in this Multiple Property Submission.

The properties were grouped under two historic contexts that encompass the establishment and development of Riverside's Japanese American community, and aspects of their quest for civil rights. A third historic context on Japanese American immigration and settlement in California was developed to provide background.

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