



Community & Economic Development Department

Planning Division

3900 Main Street, Riverside, CA 92522 | Phone: (951) 826-5371 | RiversideCA.gov

CULTURAL HERITAGE BOARD MEETING DATE: JUNE 15, 2016

AGENDA ITEM NO.: 6

POINTS OF CULTURAL INTEREST

I. CASE NUMBER: P16-0342

II. PROJECT SUMMARY:

- 1) **Proposal:** Request to recognize Dosan's Republic: Site of the First Korean American Settlement, as a City Point of Cultural Interest
- 2) **Location:** 3096 Cottage Street; APN:219-321-001, 219-321-002, 211-241-011
- 3) **Ward:** 2
- 4) **Applicant:** Carol Park
- 5) **Case Planner:** Scott Watson, Assistant Planner
(951) 826-5507
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III. RECOMMENDATION:

That the Cultural Heritage Board Recommend that the City Council:

1. **DETERMINE** that P16-0342, City Point of Cultural Interest recognition, is categorically exempt from the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA) per Sections 15061(b)(3) of the CEQA Guidelines as it can be seen with certainty that there is no possibility that the activity will have a significant effect on the environment, said action is intended to recognize a point of historic or cultural interest; and,
2. **APPROVE** Planning Case P16-0342 based on the facts for findings outlined below and thereby the recognition of Dosan's Republic: Site of the First Korean American Settlement as a City Point of Cultural Interest.

FACTS FOR FINDINGS: (From Sections 20.20.030 and 20.50.010(U) of the Riverside Municipal Code)

FINDINGS: Criterion 1: Has anthropological, cultural, military, political, architectural, economic, scientific or technical, religious, experimental, or other value;

FACTS: Dosan's Republic meets Criterion 1 because it was site of the first organized Koreatown on the United States mainland and because it founded by Korean patriot Dosan Ahn Chang Ho, who famous for his role in the Korean independence movement.

FINDINGS: Criterion 2: The original physical feature(s) no longer exist to an appreciable extent;

FACTS: The Dosan's Republic meets Criterion 2 because by 1952 all of the improvements associated with Pachappa Camp or Dosan's Republic were no longer extant.

IV. BACKGROUND/HISTORY:

A camp was originally constructed at this location to provide housing for Chinese workers who built the Santa Fe Railroad in the 1880s and it took the name Pachappa Camp after the Pachappa Rail Station further along the tracks. Following the construction of the railways, the housing proved no longer necessary for the intermittent Chinese workers who either moved to another settlement in the city or followed work elsewhere. In the early 1900s, Korean immigrants began moving to Riverside, enticed by its warm climate and the possibilities of finding work in the citrus industry. After 1905, the site housed the first organized Koreatown on the United States mainland, as Korean immigrants set up a labor bureau and community organizations to provide for one another. The settlement also became known colloquially as Dosan's Republic after Dosan Ahn Chang Ho, the settlement's founder and most famous resident, known for his leadership in Korea's fight for independence. The settlement anchored the overseas Korean independence movement, while revealing important trends in the history of Korean immigration to the United States.

All of the buildings (approximately twenty dwellings) were vernacular, single-story, wood frame structures. The community center, a duplex, stood one and a half stories tall. The wooden buildings were largely rectangular in structure, three were square, and another followed a rough L-plan, each with at least one window opening. Five of the structures had awnings, twelve possessed tile chimneys, while two had stove pipes, and two others had no chimneys. The Sanborn insurance map labeled the structures shanties, attesting to their likely poor condition. The structures likely rested upon little or no foundation and no further descriptions of the shacks relating to roofing or doors or other details survive. By 1915, the Riverside city directory listed the address 1508 Pachappa Avenue as the site of a Korean Mission, an address where no structure stood on the 1908 insurance map, but no architectural description of the building remains. The houses also proved drafty, as the boards constructing them had shrunk, and one resident Mary Paik Lee recalled putting clay in the cracks in the walls to keep out the wind. The homes were not equipped with gas, water, or electricity, and residents relied on outdoor water pumps and outhouses. When Koreans occupied the camp, the structures were painted red-brick.

In the 1920s, a largely Japanese American population began moving into the shacks in the camp, and by 1939, the settlement again changed ethnic make-up, and primarily Mexican inhabitants resided in the area, according to the 1951 Sanborn insurance maps. In 1952, Pachappa Camp no longer accommodated ethnic communities at all but succumbed to industrial development, hosting the Fisher Oil Storage facility and a meat market. The new businesses paved over the land, fencing off the block, while leaving the northwest parcel vacant. Today, the site hosts the Southern California Gas Company and Mobil Oil Corporation.

V. STATEMENT OF RECOGNITION:

The location of 3096 Cottage Street is recognized as portion of the site of the first organized Koreatown on the United States mainland known as Pachappa Camp and Dosan's Republic. It is further recognized because it was founded by Korean patriot Dosan Ahn Chang Ho, famous for his role in the Korean independence movement, acting as Minister of Labor of the Korean Provisional Government in exile. Ahn lived in Riverside from 1904-1907 and 1911-1913, while his family lived continuously from 1905-1913 at the location. The site is further recognized due to its reflection of Riverside's cultural, social, and economic history relating to the citrus industry, immigration, and the ethnic diversity of the city.

VI. PUBLIC NOTICE AND COMMENTS:

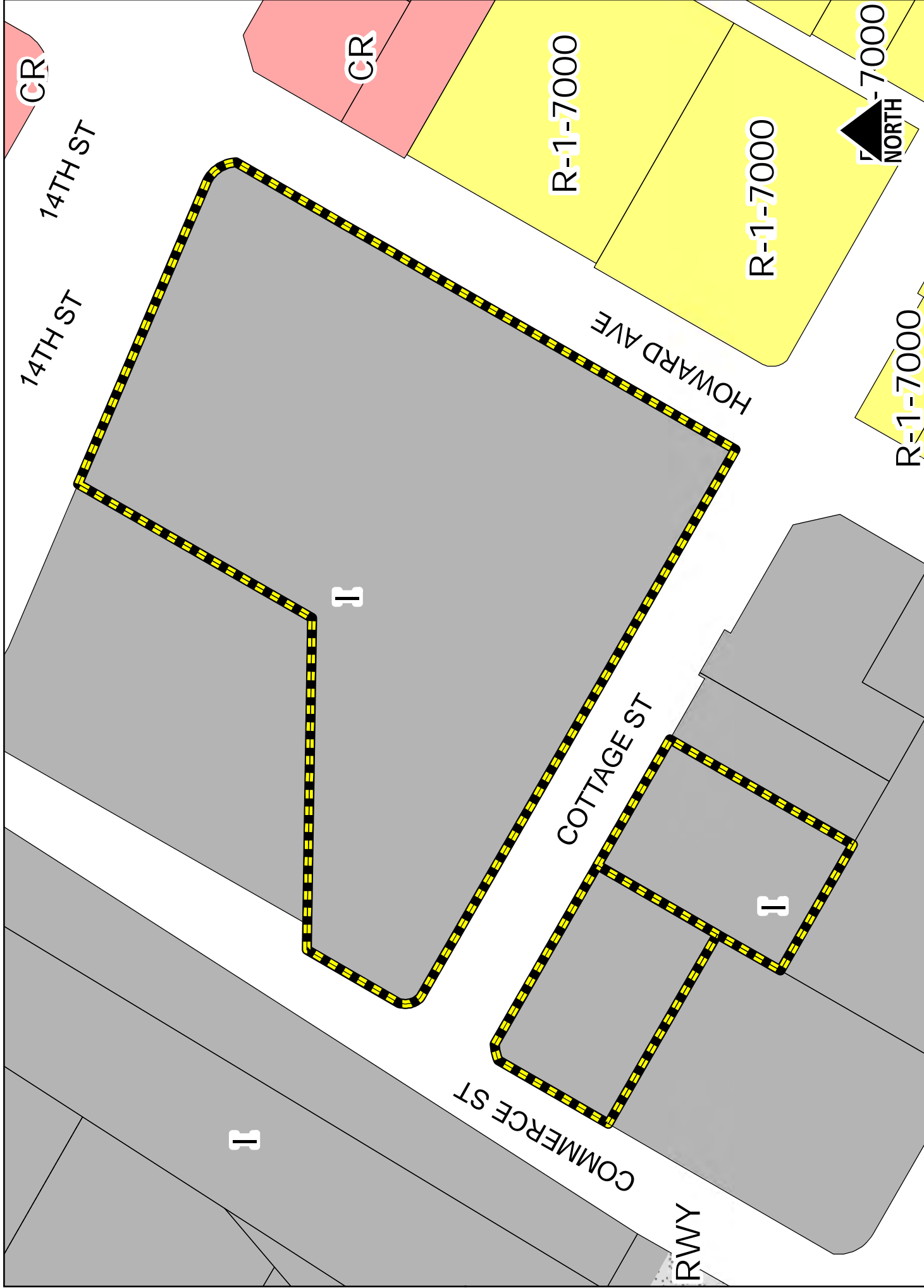
Public notices were published in one newspaper of general circulation within the City, and mailed to property owners and occupants within 300 feet of the site, at least ten (10) days prior to the scheduled hearing. No responses were received to date.

VII. EXHIBITS:

1. Location Map
2. Zoning Map
3. Designation Application



Source: Esri, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, USDA, AeroGRID, IGN, iGP, swisstopo, and the GIS User Community



Landmark & Structure of Merit
Cultural Resources Nomination Application

☒ City Landmark

☐ Structure of Merit

Please check the appropriate designation

IDENTIFICATION

1. Common name: Riverside's Historic Koreatown
2. Historic Name: Pachappa Camp/ Dosan's Republic
3. Street address: 3096 Cottage St., Riverside, CA 92507
4. Assessor Parcel number: 219-321-001; 219-321-002; 211-241-011
5. Legal Owner: Southern California Gas Co. (3096 Cottage St)
P.O. Box 3150 San Dimas, CA 91773
6. Present Use: Industrial/Commercial
7. Original Use: Residential

Date form prepared: May 23, 2016

Preparer: Carol K. Park

Sponsoring Organization (if any): Young Oak Kim Center for Korean American Studies,
University of California, Riverside

Address: City, State and Zip: 900 University Avenue
4031 CHASS INTN
Riverside, CA 92521

Phone: 951-743-7517

DESCRIPTION

8. Legal property description: Three acre property, historical arrangement contained nineteen one story buildings.

Include approximate property size (in feet): 130,680 square feet

Street Frontage: (For 3096 Cottage St.) Approximately 480 feet Depth: 180 feet

9. Architectural Style: Was vernacular

10. Construction Date: Estimated: c. 1889 Factual: _____

Source of Information:

☐ Assessor's Records ☐ Building Permit ☒ Sanborn Map
☒ Publications ☒ Oral Interviews

11. Architect's Name: Unknown; Builder's Name: Unknown (Chinese immigrants working on Santa Fe Railroad)

12. Condition: ☐ Excellent ☐ Good ☐ Fair ☐ Deteriorated
☒ No longer in existence (for site of)

13. Alterations: Korean community did build its own Mission a two-story vernacular building between 1905 and 1915 at 1508 Pachappa Avenue.

14. Use type:

☒ Residential ☐ Industrial ☐ Commercial ☐ Civic ☐ Other

15. Is the structure on its original site? No. Structure no longer exists.

If moved, approximate year

16. Related features and/or outbuildings: N/A, historic structures no longer exist.

17. Architectural Description:

All of the buildings (approximately twenty dwellings) were vernacular, single-story, wood frame structures. The community center, a duplex, stood one and a half stories tall. The wooden buildings were largely rectangular in structure, three were square, and another followed a rough L-plan, each with at least one window opening. Five of the structures had awnings, twelve possessed tile chimneys, while two had stove pipes, and two others had no chimneys. The insurance map labeled the structures shanties, attesting to their poor condition.¹ The structures likely rested upon little or no foundation and no further descriptions of the shacks relating to

¹ *Insurance Map of Riverside, CA* (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1908), 48.

roofing or doors survive. By 1915, the Riverside city directory listed the address 1508 Pachappa Avenue as the site of a Korean Mission, an address where no structure stood on the 1908 insurance map, but no architectural description of the building remains.² The houses also proved drafty, as the boards constructing them had shrunk, and one resident Mary Paik Lee recalled putting clay in the cracks in the walls to keep out the wind. The homes were not equipped with gas, water, or electricity, and residents relied on outdoor water pumps and outhouses.³ When Koreans occupied the camp, the structures were painted red-brick.

Please note that assessor parcel numbers (APN) 219-321-001; 219-321-002; 211-241-011 are owned by Sempra Utilities; the parcels occupy 0.32 acres, 0.33 acres, and 2.85 acres, respectively. Note, APN #219-321-002 covers addresses 3096, 3082, and 3080 Cottage Street. The proposed address for recognition is 3096 Cottage Street, Riverside, CA. However, a plaque will be installed at the Sempra Utilities site at 4495 Howard Street – APN #211-241-011 – by Sempra in cooperation with the YOK Center, UC Riverside. Also, it is important to note that while the Sempra Utilities parcels cover the largest portion of the Pachappa Camp location, a smaller plot of land owned by Mobil Oil Corporation is also part of the historic Koreatown site. The parcel number of Mobil Oil’s land is 219-321-006 and is approximately 0.67 acres. However, due to lack of response by Mobil Oil Corp. we are moving forward with recognition of only the Sempra Utilities parcels. But, we will continue to mention in papers and books that Sempra Utilities and Mobil Oil Corp. occupy or own the land that Pachappa Camp was once located on.

SIGNIFICANCE

² Riverside City Directories 1915, 1916.

³ Mary Paik Lee, *Quiet Odyssey: A Pioneer Korean Woman in America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), 15.

18. Statement of Significance:

The location of 3096 Cottage Street is significant as the site of the first organized Koreatown on the United States mainland known as Pachappa Camp and Dosan's Republic. It is further significant because it was founded by Korean patriot Dosan Ahn Chang Ho, famous for his role in the Korean independence movement, acting as Minister of Labor of the Korean Provisional Government in exile. Ahn lived in Riverside from 1904-1907 and 1911-1913, while his family lived continuously from 1905-1913 at the location. The site is further significant due to its reflection of Riverside's cultural, social, and economic history relating to the citrus industry, immigration, and the ethnic diversity of the city. The site is eligible for designation as a City Landmark in accordance with the following Criteria:

- (a) exemplifies or reflects special elements of the city's cultural, social, economic, political, aesthetic, engineering, architectural, or natural history;
- (b) is identified with persons or events significant in local, state, or national history.

While the block at Cottage and Commerce Streets near downtown Riverside, California may look non-descript, the site boasts a long history related to the growth and ethnic diversity of the city. A camp was originally constructed at this location to provide housing for Chinese workers who built the Santa Fe Railroad in the 1880s and it took the name Pachappa Camp after the Pachappa Rail Station further along the tracks. Following the construction of the railways, the housing proved no longer necessary for the intermittent Chinese workers who either moved to another settlement in the city or followed work elsewhere. In the early 1900s, Korean immigrants began moving to Riverside, enticed by its warm climate and the possibilities of finding work in the citrus industry. After 1905, the site housed the first organized Koreatown on

the United States mainland, as Korean immigrants set up a labor bureau and community organizations to provide for one another. The settlement also became known colloquially as Dosan's Republic after Dosan Ahn Chang Ho, the settlement's founder and most famous resident, known for his leadership in Korea's fight for independence.⁴ The settlement anchored the overseas Korean independence movement, while revealing important trends in the history of Korean immigration to the United States. In the 1920s, a largely Japanese American population began moving into the shacks in the camp, and by 1939, the settlement had again changed ethnic make-up, and primarily Mexican inhabitants resided in the area. In 1952, Pachappa Camp no longer accommodated ethnic communities at all but succumbed to industrial development, hosting the Fisher Oil Storage facility and a meat market. The new businesses paved over the land, fencing off the block, while leaving the northwest parcel vacant. Today, the site hosts the Southern California Gas Company and Mobil Oil Corporation.⁵ Despite the fact that no vestiges of the Korean or other ethnic settlements survive, the location remains an important storyscape. Historian Ned Kaufman describes storyscapes as historical, cultural, and social sites that tell stories of a shared past with "some bearing on the character of their neighborhood, village, city or region, and its citizens."⁶ Informing the public about the ethnic settlement on this land teaches about the diverse history of the city of Riverside, migrant workers' roles in developing the citrus industry, and the role of Riverside in transnational politics through the Korean independence movement.

Dosan's Republic's value lies not only in the structures that used to form the physical center of the community, but the individuals who embodied and gave life to that space. Dosan

⁴ Dosan, meaning "island mountain" was the pen name adopted by Ahn, www.dosan.org.

⁵ Tom Patterson, "Early Korean Immigrants found life harsh in Riverside," *The Press-Enterprise*, September 10, 1989, B 5. The commercial use occludes the rich community history of the site.

⁶ Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York and London: Routledge, 2009), 38-9.

Ahn Chang Ho developed a strong sense of community among the residents by forming the Cooperative Association, he succeeded in breaking labor monopolies in the citrus industry by establishing a Korean labor bureau, and developed the foundation for the Korean Provisional Government in exile while living in Riverside. Ahn Chang Ho came to the United States to learn English and study Christianity in the autumn of 1902. In San Francisco, where he and his wife first settled, they worked as live-in help for a doctor who had previously lived in Korea. Ahn moved to Riverside on March 23, 1904, leaving his wife behind to continue to work and live in San Francisco.⁷ According to testimony Ahn delivered before a Japanese judge later on in his life, he claimed to have moved south for a more hospitable climate and readily available work.⁸ The Los Angeles area had many opportunities for migrant farm workers in the thriving citrus industry; “school-boy jobs,” which included cooking and cleaning for families; and work in hospitality. A handful of Koreans already lived in Riverside when Ahn moved to the city, including his good friends Chang Kyeong and Yi Kang. Upon his arrival, Dosan had little difficulty finding work as a domestic helper and he began cooking for a well-off Riverside family.⁹ While Ahn Chang Ho quickly found a job working as a domestic, not all Koreans navigated American society as easily.¹⁰ Perhaps due to his early conversion to Christianity in Korea, western dress, and proficiency in English, Ahn effortlessly commanded respect from other Koreans, who he helped find jobs and Americans who typically furnished those positions. Soon after settling in Riverside, Ahn became acquainted with Cornelius Earle Rumsey, a wealthy

⁷ When Ahn moved to San Francisco only about 12 single Korean males lived in the city. Hyung-chan Kim, *Tosan Ahn Ch'ang-Ho: A Profile of a Prophetic Patriot* (Los Angeles: Academia Koreana, 1996), 32.

⁸ Kim, *Tosan ahn ch'ang-ho*, 33.

⁹ Kim, *Tosan ahn ch'ang-ho*, 32.

¹⁰ Hyung-chan Kim, *Tosan Ahn Ch'ang-Ho: A Profile of a Prophetic Patriot* (Los Angeles: Academia Koreana, 1996), 32.

resident of Riverside and owner of the Alta Cresta Groves.¹¹ Rumsey suggested to Ahn that he and other Koreans go to work in the citrus orchards in 1904. Rumsey's offer finally opened up fruit picking for Koreans in Riverside. Previously, Koreans had faced several impediments to working in citrus orchards because Japanese labor held a monopoly on picking. Ranchers went through labor bureaus to hire workers, and the Japanese labor bureaus in the region would only contract work out to other Japanese immigrants. Despite the plethora of jobs available picking and packing fruit in Riverside, without their own labor bureau, Koreans found it difficult to gain contracts to work in the orchards.¹² Rumsey understood Ahn's predicament and suggested the Koreans in the city come work at his orchard. He also loaned Ahn fifteen hundred dollars, so that Dosan could lease housing and office space to start an employment agency.¹³ In April 1905, the Korean Employment Bureau operated from 127 Cottage Street (today 3065 Cottage Street), but by November the same year, the Korean Labor Bureau had moved into a larger building across the street at 1532 Pachappa Avenue.¹⁴ In early 1905, the number of Koreans in Riverside had grown to eighteen, and to encourage cohesion among the group, Ahn suggested finding a larger residence to accommodate the growing Korean population.¹⁵ After receiving Rumsey's loan, the

¹¹ Rumsey's collection of art and Native American baskets would later form the foundation of the Riverside Metropolitan Museum's collection. How Ahn and Rumsey first became acquainted remains unclear. Some scholars such as Vince Moses speculate they became acquainted through church involvement, while other more anecdotal sources such as Byung-il Kim's work *Korean American Pioneer Dosan-A Biography of Dosan Chang-Ho Ahn* tells a story of the two meeting as Ahn rested under a tree one afternoon and Rumsey walked by and started a conversation. Tom Patterson, "Early Riverside dotted by housing for farm workers," *Press Enterprise*, October 1, 1989 B-5.

¹² Most Japanese laborers came from farming backgrounds in Japan and were highly skilled in agricultural work. Japanese easily organized and monopolized farm work by accepting jobs at exceptionally low wages, allowed crops to reach a threatened condition and then threaten to withdraw their services if their employers did not raise their wages. Through these tactics they easily maintained control of contracts through their expertise and earned higher wages. For more information on immigrant labor relations, see Cletus E. Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers, 1870-1941* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press) 74.

¹³ Vincent Moses, "Oranges and Independence: Cornelius Earle Rumsey and Ahn Chang Ho: An Early East-West Alliance in Riverside, 1904-1911," *Riverside Museum Associates News Letter*, June 2000.

¹⁴ *Riverside Enterprise*, April 20, 1905; *Riverside Daily Press*, November 10, 1905, 8.

¹⁵ Kim, *Tosan Ahn Ch'ang-Ho*, 34. The precise date of the establishment of the camp remains unknown, although the block at Cottage and Pachappa became clearly established as a Korean settlement by 1905. It remains unclear if

Koreans in Riverside moved into the barracks at Pachappa Camp, thus establishing their Koreatown. Never before had Koreans lived communally in one organized neighborhood in the continental United States. Despite the workers' meager means, they supported one another financially and socially at the settlement. After pooling their wages, the pioneer Koreans saved money and repaid Rumsey after only a month and a half.¹⁶

Arriving in a new country and settling in assorted cities posed many problems for Korean immigrants. Firstly, they faced difficulties proving their worth in the work force and obtaining stable jobs. The difficulty in finding work, especially work that would pay a decent wage, determined the impoverished state in which many immigrants lived. Large-scale Korean immigration opened to the United States in 1903, when sugar planters contracted Koreans to come and work in their fields. Many Koreans signed two-year contracts before immigrating, and once they fulfilled their obligations, they sought work elsewhere, owing to the harsh conditions and low-wages on plantations. In 1905, enticed by railroad and California fruit representatives offering higher wages, hundreds of Koreans flocked to the United States mainland. At this time, Koreans began arriving in Riverside from Hawaii and Ahn worked alongside individuals such as Im Chun-gi to find work for these Koreans. The growth of Pachappa Camp therefore reflects patterns of Korean immigration to the United States, as few Koreans lived in California prior to 1905.

The modest living conditions in of Pachappa Camp helped anchor the neighborhood's identity by encouraging community members to pool resources together and support one another. Living in close quarters allowed families and individuals at Dosan's Republic to create social capital, anchor their identity, and nurture cultural capital. While men worked on farms, women

the Koreans residing in Riverside before Ahn arrived already lived at that location, or if his loan provided the capital for them to move.

¹⁶ Kim, *Tosan Ahn Ch'ang-Ho*, 35.

also participated in the everyday functions of the camp, cooking and cleaning for the manual laborers. One woman, Son Kuang Do, cooked three meals a day for about thirty men when she lived in Riverside in 1906.¹⁷ In its early days, men headed to Riverside's dump yard to salvage scraps with which they built a dining hall to contain a long table and benches to seat the workers, so they could all eat together. One of the residents, Paik Sin Koo, built an oven from mud and straw to serve the families.¹⁸ Some Koreans found work as domestics to wealthy families while others worked at businesses in Riverside such as hotels, hospitals, and cement companies.¹⁹ Korean laborers in Riverside's orchards picked oranges, lemons, and grapefruits in the winter. In the summer, they picked deciduous fruits in the surrounding areas, such as peaches and apricots, and in the fall, they picked walnuts. Women typically worked in packinghouses during citrus season and, along with children, helped to gather walnuts the men shook from trees. Together, they hulled them in clearings. Because of their economic hardship, children helped with their daily needs in other ways as well. Mary Paik Lee recalled weekly trips to the slaughterhouse where she and her brother along with Mexican children collected scraps of discarded pork and beef livers, kidneys, hearts and entrails before butchers who jeered and laughed at them. Her father comforted the embarrassed child, claiming, "we should thank God that they did not know the value of what they threw out; otherwise we would go hungry."²⁰ Korean children thus also shared common experiences with other minority children, helping feed their families and struggling to survive.

After long working days, members of the Korean community gathered at 1532 Pachappa Avenue, where residents established a community center. The center served many roles. In 1906,

¹⁷ Lee, *Quiet Odyssey*, 14.

¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹ City Directories 1915, 1916, *Quiet Odyssey*, 19. Ellen Thun Oral History Joe Cha 1995 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a4edvs3w7AE>

²⁰ Lee, *Quiet Odyssey*, 16.

residents established a mission at the site, under the care of the Calvary Presbyterian Church in Riverside. By 1907, there were between fifty to sixty members, who attended church services, held weddings, and baptized their children there.²¹ The building served as a schoolroom as well, where first generation immigrants learned English in the evenings and, as time went on, where their children took Korean language classes.²² The structure housed the district's meeting room for social organizations such as the Cooperative Association and after 1909, the Korean National Association. The center provided the physical space for the community to develop their identity as upstanding, educated, Christian laborers distinct from other Asian Americans.

In addition to nourishing a sense of community through religion and shared experiences, Pachappa Camp united residents politically. In 1905, the year Japan declared Korea a protectorate, Ahn and other community leaders, such as Yi Kang, established the Kongnip Hyeophoe (Cooperative Association) in Riverside to develop democratic policies and institutions with the ultimate goal of founding a democratic Korean nation.²³ By adhering to the Cooperative Association, residents of Dosan's Republic created complex social networks that helped tie the community together, allowing them to solve collective problems and promote solidarity. Kongnip Hyeophoe created its own policing system in which agents could enter others' houses at will. It required residents to turn off their lights at nine at night, prohibited Korean women from smoking long pipes in the street, and enforced a dress code, forbidding anyone from going outside in an undershirt and encouraging the dawning of a white shirt when possible.²⁴ These rules hoped to instill positive virtues within its residents in addition to maintaining order. Likewise the rules allowed greater cohesion to grow among the residents; they all agreed upon

²¹ "Korean Mission," *Riverside Enterprise*, December 8, 1907, 23.

²² Charr, *Golden Mountain*, 151.

²³ Vince Moses, "Dosan Ahn Chang Ho: An American Pioneer," 2000.

²⁴ Kim, *Tosan Ahn Ch'ang-Ho*, 35.

and followed them, and the dress code demarcated residents of the settlement. Establishing the Cooperative Association in the Riverside camp allowed Ahn to practice how to lay out his future policies for free Korea, providing him real world experience in governance. The Cooperative Association and its successor the Korean National Association (KNA) founded in 1909 formed the basis of “the splendid Dosan’s Republic,” as Kang Myeong-hwa, who came to Riverside for the 1911 delegates’ conference of the KNA described it.²⁵

Even the seemingly menial activities of daily life held great important for Pachappa’s community. The time Ahn spent cooking in the houses of Riverside’s elites and picking fruit in orchards were not just tasks to materially provide for his family. Ahn told his coworkers in Riverside’s groves, “To pick one orange with care in an American orchard will help our country.”²⁶ Ahn saw learning opportunities in all that he did, the value of his work for the larger picture, and he shared his insight with those who surrounded him. He adopted techniques he learned from Rumsey adopted from Harold Powell’s system to pick and store oranges without causing injury to the fruit and led other workers to follow his example, so that they too approached their work with care, diligence, and purpose, raising them to ranks to command respect in America.²⁷ Despite being underpaid and working largely undesirable jobs, the community saw the value of their work, the larger lessons they could gain from it, and allowed this understanding to foster a sense of purpose.

Despite its tight cohesion, the Korean community was far from insular, showing the power of the storyscape to expand beyond its direct inhabitants. Communicating using the hammun writing system common to the Chinese and Korean languages, Paik Sin Koo borrowed pots,

²⁵ During the conference delegates elected Kang president of the KNA. Moses, “Oranges and Independence;” 2000; Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 19.

²⁶ Moses, “Oranges and Independence;” 2000

²⁷ Vincent Moses, “The Orange Grower is not a Farmer: G. Harold Powell, Riverside Orchardists, and the Coming of Industrial Agriculture, 1893-1930,” *California History* 74 (1995): 22-37.

pans, dishes, lunch pails, chopsticks, rice and foodstuffs on credit from Chinese merchants in Riverside's Chinatown when his family arrived in California. The population supported itself when its members found available resources, but much like in the case of finding work, immigrants relied on the help of established residents to provide the raw material to make themselves at home. Without the credit of the Chinese merchants, Koreans in Riverside would have had much more difficulty creating roots and developing their own solidarity. The common writing system and similar condition to the Chinese, also allowed Koreans unfamiliar with English to make their way in Riverside. In addition to shared experiences with other minorities, the Korean community also integrated to an extent with Riverside's white population. Members of the Presbyterian Church in Riverside came to the settlement to teach English lessons. Cornelius Rumsey also reportedly allowed the use of his house for church services and English classes.²⁸ On resident Easurk Emsen Charr recalled meeting a shoe-salesman with whom he became acquainted because the clerk corrected his English. The two then attended Presbyterian Church services together and the salesman later employed Charr to perform some housework.²⁹ Many residents recalled a Mrs. Stewart, who travelled to Riverside from Upland, to attend their church on Sundays, bought children presents on Christmas, and loaned many individuals money.³⁰ Christianity consequently proved a productive shoe-in to learning English and forging transcultural bonds. Similarly, the community center supported a larger public than the camp's residents and helped foster integration among the Koreans and Christian populations of Riverside. The site and the relations forged there speak to the progressive nature of Riverside in

²⁸ Moses, "Oranges and Independence," 2000.

²⁹ Charr, *Golden Mountain*, 152.

³⁰ Lee, *Quiet Odyssey*, 18; Helen Lee Hong oral history interview with Ralph Ahn, July 6, 1999, Korean American Digital Archive, USC East Asian Library.

the early 1900s, how residents willingly crossed racial boundaries to share their interests and help immigrant communities learn and incorporate themselves into American society.

While pursuing education, donning Western clothes, and converting to Christianity eased many Koreans' adjustment to American life, many still experienced prejudice from their neighbors. Mary Paik Lee remembers how she and her brother were called "hey you" at school because students found their names difficult to pronounce, prompting her to encourage her parents to give American names to her younger siblings.³¹ During her first week of school, girls danced around her singing "Ching Chong Chinaman, Sitting on a wall. Along came a white man, And chopped his head off," tapping her on the neck at the end of the song to mime her decapitation.³² Korean populations experienced the same negativity as other minority populations, receiving a few cents fewer per bag of fruit picked in the orchards and being hired in service or physically demanding industries. Discrimination also proved institutional. On March 14, 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt passed Executive Order 589, expressly prohibiting secondary migration of Korean and Japanese laborers from Hawaii, Mexico, and Canada to the continental United States in order to maintain the current labor conditions.³³ Following this executive order, only picture brides could travel to the mainland until 1945 with the idea that they would help stabilize largely male immigrant communities. On March 19, 1913, California passed its Alien Land Law that prevented aliens ineligible for citizenship, including Koreans, the right to own land or hold long-term leases.³⁴ These institutional limitations to Koreans' movement and right to own land further inhibited their economic prosperity.

³¹ Lee changed her name from Kuang Sun to Mary when she became an American citizen in 1960.

³² Lee, *Quiet Odyssey*, 17.

³³ Executive Order 589, (Mar 14, 1907).

³⁴ Kim and Patterson, *The Koreans in America*, 20; "Dr. Soyeda Sure That in the End Californian Situation Will Be Settled Amicably," *New York Times*, June 26, 1913; "Tells Japan's Side Of California Case. State's Attitude Inconsistent with Our Previous Acts of Friendship, New Consul Says," *New York Times*, June 30, 1913.

Compared to other inland towns, however, Riverside appeared more accepting of ethnic minorities. In 1913, during an event known as the Hemet valley incident, residents of Hemet, California, expelled roughly twelve Koreans from the town under the impression that they were Japanese. The apricot crop that year was exceptionally plentiful and ranchers feared a loss of profits if they could not secure sufficient labor to pick the fruit. The previous year, farmers had lost sizeable portions of their harvest because of a labor shortage. Two ranchers in the Little Lake district of Hemet thus hired fifteen Korean workers from Riverside that June at a lower wage than white workers received. When the pickers arrived in Hemet, their employer did not meet them at the train station and they loitered in the area, awaiting further instruction. In the interim, a mob formed, unhappy about seeing Asian workers in their town. Under the impression that the Koreans were Japanese, the spokesman of the crowd stated they “told the Japanese that they were not wanted in Hemet or its vicinity, as it was intended to maintain the Hemet valley as a ‘white man’s valley.’”³⁵ The Koreans immediately fled the city on the next westbound train. In the backdrop of this incident, Japanese consuls were in San Francisco, battling the California legislature about the passage of the alien land law. When the Japanese Association of Southern California (JASC) learned of the incident, its president claimed authority over the Koreans, viewing them as subjects of Japan, and promised to seek indemnification for the workers. JASC notified the Japanese consulate in San Francisco, which in turn informed the Japanese embassy in Washington D.C. The embassy then announced it would carry out an investigation of the Hemet valley incident.³⁶

Having already set up neighborhood organizations and the Korean National Association to promote Koreans’ rights, leaders in the Korean community had the network in place to combat

³⁵ All Quiet at Storm Center,” *Riverside Daily Press*. 28 June 1913; “Press Enterprise News,” *Riverside Daily Press*, June 27, 1913.

³⁶ Sucheng Chan, “Introduction” in *Quiet Odyssey*, xlix.

this infringement on their right of self-representation. With their strong national sentiment, Koreans refused to accept Japanese hegemony in America, their new homeland. David Lee, the president of North America Conference of the KNA, implored U.S. officials to consider Koreans in America apart from the Japanese. Lee directed a telegram to the Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan affirming:

“We, the Koreans in America, are not Japanese subjects, . . . we will never submit to her as long as the sun remains in the heavens. The intervention of the Japanese Consulate-General in Korean matters is illegal, so I have the honor of requesting you to discontinue the discussion of this case with the Japanese government representatives. . . We will settle it without Japanese interference.”³⁷

Lee asserted that the Koreans involved in the Hemet incident immigrated to the United States before Japan colonized Korea, and that Japan therefore had no claim in representing these Koreans’ interests abroad. Attempting to represent these non-subjects amounted to an infringement upon the Koreans’ rights. Secretary of State Bryan responded positively to Lee’s bequest, and on July 2, 1913, he announced a distinction to be made between Korean and Japanese in America.

The Hemet incident revealed the multiple challenges the Korean population faced in the United States. In the early 1900s, anti-Japanese sentiment was rampant in California, as demonstrated by the Asiatic Exclusion League. Developed from the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League in San Francisco in 1905, the association sought foremost to exclude Japanese immigration to the United States and secondly to segregate Asian populations from whites, this league was also instrumental in fighting for the passage of the alien land law. Due to the colonization of the peninsula and a lack of cultural education about Asians, many Americans often associated Koreans with the Japanese, causing further strife for Korean immigrants. In this case, U.S. citizens mistreated Koreans because of a perceived association and conflation of

³⁷ *ibid.*, L. David Lee is also known as Yi Tae-wi.

identities with the Japanese, demonstrating how Koreans in America experienced negative imperial influences at home and abroad. The Hemet incident, while revelatory of the racial tensions in southern California at the time, also proved an important moment for the KNA to maintain legitimacy in representing Koreans in America.³⁸ The Riverside storysite participated in that pivotal moment of Korean agency, informing other branches of the KNA of the gravity of the situation.

The history of the pioneer Korean community reveals the importance of sites and structures to house memory, as without individuals to tell their stories, new developments erase structures that may either speak for themselves or incite curiosity among spectators to search for their histories. The memory of Dosan's Republic had all but been forgotten except among its former residents. Spurred by the publication of two memoirs by former residents, Easurk Emsen Charr in 1961 (although not until its second edition appeared in 1996 did it make waves regarding Riverside) and Mary Paik Lee in 1990, Riverside city dwellers and officials began to uncover the site's history and search for the lost Dosan's Republic.³⁹ Further compelled by the dedication ceremony of the Ahn Chang Ho Memorial on University Avenue in downtown Riverside in 2001, individuals began looking for the vestiges of the settlement to revivify its forgotten history. During the dedication ceremonies of Riverside's Ahn Chang Ho Memorial, Korean delegates visiting from Asia also showed great interest in seeing the site where Ahn Chang Ho once lived, hoping that to know where he lived would bring them closer to the man.⁴⁰ Two interested Korean Americans, Ha Soo Lee and Chang Ho Choi took great initiatives after the statue was erected and created an organization, People to People, to promote public remembrance of Dosan's

³⁸ Kim, *Tosan Ahn Ch'ang-Ho*, 80.

³⁹ While another memoir of a former resident also exists, *The Golden Mountain*, by Easurk Emsen Charr, and despite the fact that the work came to press in 1961, in the midst of the Civil Rights Movement, the book did not spark the same interest in the Pachappa camp as Lee's work.

⁴⁰ Vince Moses in discussion with the author.

Republic. They found the 1908 insurance map featuring the Korean settlement and embarked on a fund raising campaign with the hopes that they could buy the property, perform an archaeological excavation, and open a community center. Costs proved prohibitory, however, and People to People could not raise the estimated two million dollars necessary to buy the land.⁴¹ Visitors to the site today, often driven by curiosity sparked by the Dosan memorial, often go home disappointed, as the only preserved feature of the landscape is the train tracks a few feet away. Even though developers razed the buildings, the Riverside community and its visitors recognized the importance of places to tell stories. The storyscape no longer hosts structures to remind people of its past, but the site still supports community memory and place attachment, as the current Korean population of Riverside, which has little or no relation to the community in the first quarter of the twentieth century, feels the location where their past compatriots once lived tells important stories that transcend the experience of impoverished immigrants. Because of the location's value in greater historical narratives and the lives of locals, some form of recognition should stand where the historic community once lived. While historic preservation favors architecture and buildings' integrity over non-tangible place attachments, as Dolores Hayden contends, "even totally bulldozed places can be marked to restore some shared public meaning, a recognition of the experience."⁴² Without its current activists, official recognition, and retelling of the tales, as the last of Pachappa's residents die off, the memory of the storyscape also risks disappearing. With a landmark plaque from the city of Riverside, the historic preservation program can assure public recognition of the storyscape and help maintain public meaning of the site while recognizing the individuals who once occupied the plot.⁴³

⁴¹ Lee estimated the cost to buy the land at over two million dollars, a price that proved prohibitively expensive. Sharon Obsatz, "A Wonderful Place," *The Press-Enterprise*, July 8, 2001, B1.

⁴² Hayden, *The Power of Place*, 9.

⁴³ City of Riverside, "Historic Preservation Element of the General Plan," November 2012.

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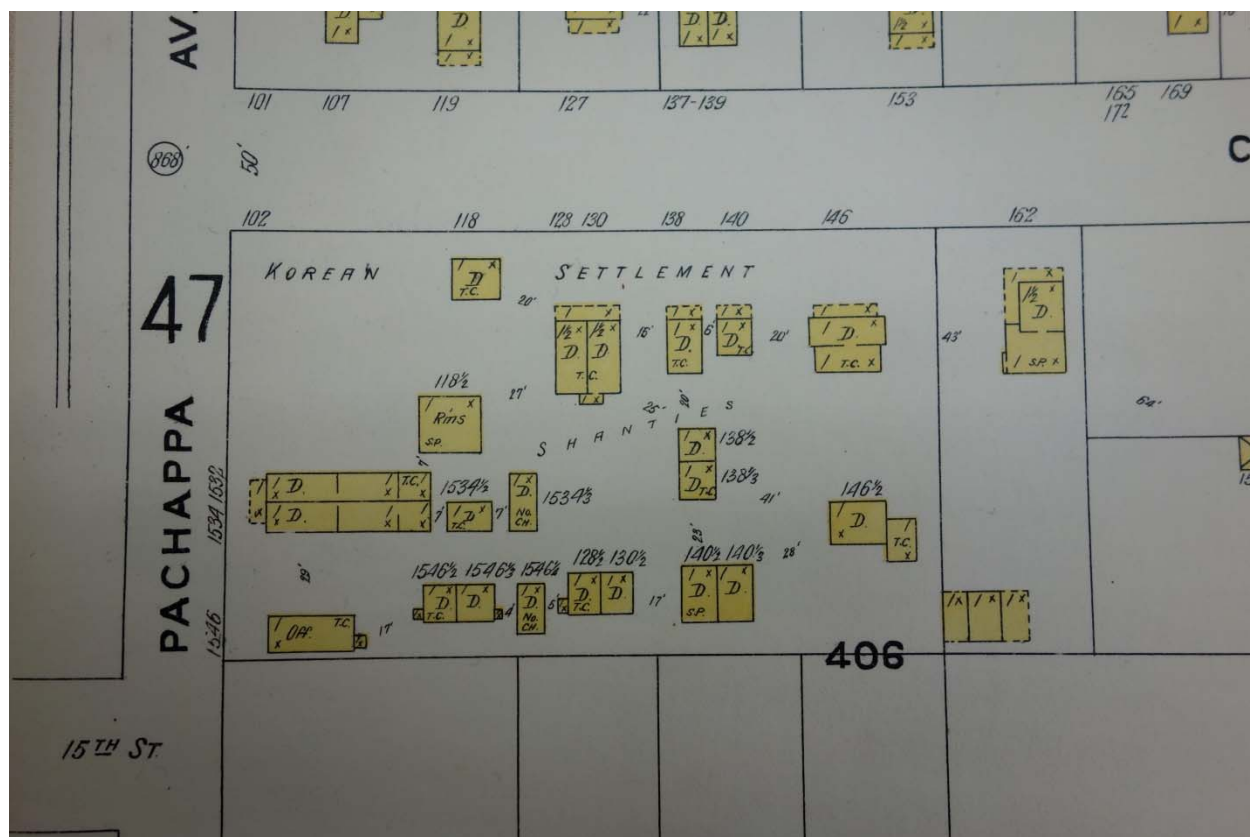
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20. Photographs:



1908 Sanborn Map featuring Korean settlement



Ahn Chang Ho in Riverside Orchard



Pachappa's Community Gathered for the 1911 KNA Conference.