

# SurveyLA

Los Angeles Historic Resources Survey

## LOS ANGELES CITYWIDE HISTORIC CONTEXT STATEMENT

### Context: Japanese Americans in Los Angeles, 1869-1970



*Prepared for:*  
City of Los Angeles  
Department of City Planning  
Office of Historic Resources



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**National Park Service, Department of the Interior Grant Disclaimer**

This material is based upon work assisted by a grant from the Historic Preservation Fund, National Park Service, Department of the Interior. Any opinions, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of the Interior.

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## **PURPOSE AND PURPOSE**

In 2016, the City of Los Angeles Office of Historic Resources (OHR) received an Underrepresented Communities grant from the National Park Service to develop a National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) and associated historic contexts for five Asian American communities in Los Angeles: Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Thai, and Filipino. This “Japanese Americans in Los Angeles” context was developed as part of the grant project and to contribute to the Citywide Historic Context Statement developed for SurveyLA.

While this context provides a framework for identifying and evaluating properties relating to Japanese American history in Los Angeles, it is not intended to be a comprehensive history of the Japanese American community. This history has been separately documented over the years in books, articles, and studies. Rather this context provides a chronological approach to this history and focuses on themes and geographic areas associated with important extant resources.<sup>1</sup> The context narrative is followed by a section that identifies the relevant property types associated with themes presented, and includes a discussion of their significance and eligibility standards. This context has been used to complete the MPDF form, which is similar in content. However, while the MPDF focuses on resources that meet eligibility standards for listing in the National Register, this context also addresses resources that meet eligibility standards for listing in the California Register of Historic Places and designation under the Los Angeles Cultural Heritage Ordinance (Historic-Cultural Monuments) and Historic Preservation Overlay Zone Ordinance (HPOZs).<sup>2</sup>

## **CONTRIBUTORS**

### ***Consultant Team***

This historic context was prepared by Historic Resources Group. Historic Resources Group staff included Sian Winship and Christine Lazzaretto. Selected translation of Japanese text was provided by Takashige Ikawa.

### ***Project Advisory Committee and Community Outreach***

As part of the scope of work for the NPS grant referenced above, the OHR organized a project Advisory Committee (Committee) to work with the grant consultant team. Participants included key leaders in the Asian American community representing a wide range of interests, organizations, and institutions as well as professors, lecturers, scholars, and writers of Asian American history. A full list of participants is attached as Appendix B. The Committee played a critical role in identifying important places associated

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<sup>1</sup> The end date for SurveyLA is 1980 and may be extended over time. The National Register of Historic Places has a 50-year end date for properties to be listed unless they are of exceptional importance.

<sup>2</sup> For the National Register MPDF the term “Registration Requirements” is used in place of “Eligibility Standards.”

with each context and also advised on pertinent sources of research information. The Committee members also served as subject matter experts to review and comment on context drafts.

Following the first meeting of the Committee in November of 2016, the OHR organized a series of five community meetings in locations throughout Los Angeles. These working meetings (one for each associated context) also gave the community the opportunity to provide input on significant places to inform the contexts. In some cases, the outreach meeting led to one-on-one meetings with community members.

The context has been greatly enhanced by the contributions of various individuals and organizations active within Los Angeles' Japanese American community. Notable among them are Nancy Oda, President, Tuna Canyon Detention Station Coalition; Jean-Paul R. de Guzman, Lecturer, Department of Asian American Studies, UCLA; Hillary J. Jenks, Ph.D., Graduate Writing Center Coordinator, University of California Riverside; Allyson Nakamoto, Director of Education, Japanese American National Museum; and Edith Wen-Chu Chen, Ph.D., Professor Asian American Studies, Cal State Northridge. Historic materials and ephemera were also provided by Rose Kato, Donna Sugimoto and the Sugimoto Family, and Hillary Jenks. Additional participants include Patty Nagano, Steve Nagano, Scott Yamabe, Tadashi Kowta, Jonathan Tanaka, Ronee Reece, Alvin Takamori, Mike Okamura, Miya Iwataki, Kristen Hayashi, Jan Fukuhara, Bill Watanabe, Nancy Takayama, Alex Hack, Les Hamasaki, Cindy Abrams, Eric Harris, Alex Hack, and Laura Meyers.

## **PREFACE**

In the 1960s, the United States underwent significant social and cultural upheaval as many communities of color and other marginalized groups fought for civil rights and were involved in national and international movements for liberation. Grassroots organizing and landmark legislation like the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting Rights Act of 1965, and Immigration Act of 1965 reshaped the collective consciousness of communities of color. During this era, the Watts Riots in 1965 and the East Los Angeles Walkout (or Chicano Blowouts) in 1968 helped empower communities of color in Los Angeles, and across the nation.

By the late 1960s, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans formed a movement of their own—an Asian American movement. It was with the Black Liberation Movement, the Anti-War Movement against the Vietnam War, and Third World Liberation Front movement that the concept of Asian American was formed as a political identity. Young Asian Americans mobilized in their communities across the nation and in Los Angeles to fight U.S. imperialism and the unequal treatment of Asian Americans. In 1968, students of color across California organized and held strikes as part of the Third World Liberation Front. This movement was instrumental in creating and establishing Ethnic Studies as an academic discipline—and subsequent Asian American, African American, Chicano American, and Native American Studies—on college and university campuses. It was as part of this larger movement that the Asian American Studies

Center at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) was established in 1969<sup>3</sup> and Asian American community-based organizations were developed and strengthened to serve the community.

As community leaders, scholars, and leaders reflect on the past, it is fitting that the City of Los Angeles honor the historic and cultural contributions of Asian Americans. Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders have long and dynamic histories in shaping and continuing to shape the city. From the 1880s pioneering Chinese American settlements, to more recent recognitions of historic and cultural ethnic neighborhoods like Historic Filipinotown and Thai Town, tourists and residents alike often pose questions about these places, their signs, and the importance of Asian Americans in the building of Los Angeles.

### **Asian Americans in Los Angeles Multiple Property Documentation Form**

This *Asian Americans in Los Angeles* Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF) establishes a framework to guide the identification and designation of places significant to Los Angeles' Asian American communities. Geographically, the contexts cover the history and development of five Los Angeles neighborhoods that have been designated as Preserve America communities— Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Koreatown, Historic Filipinotown, and Thai Town—and also focus on other areas of the city in which these groups settled over time.

Topics covered by the contexts focus on extant resources associated with important individuals, organizations, businesses, industries, and movements. Themes addressed include commerce, religion and spirituality, health and medicine, deed restriction and segregation, community organizations, military history, media, cultural landscape, architecture.

While these five Asian American groups were the focus on this project, it is important to recognize the diversity within Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI). There are many other AAPI ethnic groups that have contributed and continue to contribute to the rich diversity of Los Angeles, including Pacific Islanders, South Asians, and Southeast Asians. This MPDF provides an opportunity to engage with City officials, community leaders, preservationists, scholars, and others to continue identifying and designating places that are important in telling both AAPI stories and all of the city's stories.

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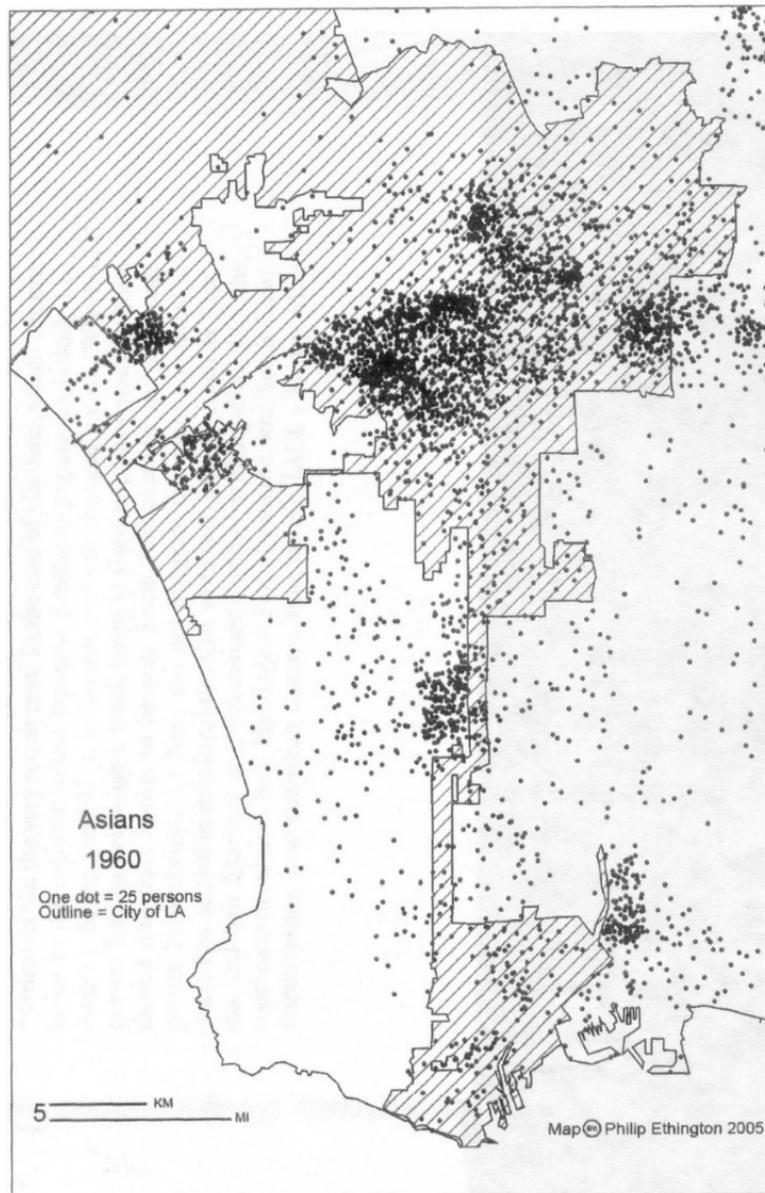
<sup>3</sup> Steve Louie and Glenn Omatsu, eds., *Asian Americans: The Movement and the Moment* (Los Angeles: University of California Los Angeles Asian American Studies Center Press, 2001).

### **Asian Americans in Los Angeles**

Each of the MPDF's five contexts discusses the dynamic waves of immigration and settlement patterns of Asian Americans in Los Angeles. Within each group, the power of place resonates as Asian Americans find places of residence, work, and community as Angelenos. With a long history of discrimination, displacement, and associated demolition of property, Asian Americans resisted and struggled to maintain a sense of identity, as well as their homes, businesses, and cultural institutions. Ethnic neighborhoods in Los Angeles like Old Chinatown and Little Tokyo were established in the early twentieth century while others including Koreatown, Historic Filipinotown, and Thai Town were formed as subsequent waves of immigrants and their families settled and laid roots in the city.

These settlements were never formed in isolation. Many Asian American settlements were shaped alongside other Asian Americans and communities of color, often due to discriminatory policies and practices that limited where they lived, worked, and sought a sense of community. Places important to Asian Americans in Los Angeles were often rendered in the margins to other Angelenos, and were nonetheless significant for finding a place to call home, be it a single-room occupancy hotel in Little Manila or Little Tokyo, an employment agency in Chinatown, or a church in Koreatown. As Asian immigrants or seasonal migrants came to Los Angeles, they sought out familiar places for economic opportunities, a place to stay, and places that reminded them of their homelands.

As subsequent generations of Asian Americans in Los Angeles grew in size, alongside continuous waves of new immigrants, the landscape of Los Angeles also evolved. The power of place for these groups in the city helped forge a growing sense of identity as Asian Americans. By the 1960s, the population of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans in the city grew beyond the early ethnic neighborhoods and into the suburbs. During this pivotal time, cultural and community institutions began to broaden their focus of serving new immigrants to include services for families, older adults, and youth. Other immigrants from across Asia and the Pacific followed in significant waves, reuniting families and drawing in new immigrants, carving out their own sense of place in this booming and diverse city.



*Dispersion of Asian Americans in Los Angeles, 1960*  
(Philip Ethington, USC, 2005)

### **The Legacy of the Asian American Movement in Los Angeles**

The term Asian American is a political construct born in the 1960s as Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino Americans (and other Asian ethnic groups) fought collectively for civil rights. In 1969, the Asian American Studies Center was established at UCLA in Campbell Hall. Community members, students, staff, and faculty sought to develop a center to bridge campus and community around the theme of liberative education and social justice. The Asian American Studies Center worked alongside three other ethnic studies research centers: the American Indian Studies Center, the Ralph J. Bunche Center for

African American Studies (formerly Center for Afro-American Studies), and the Chicano Studies Research Center.

UCLA served as an active site for the development of Asian American Studies as a field of study. *Amerasia Journal* (established at Yale by Don Nakanishi and Lowell Chun-Hoon, moved to UCLA shortly after its start in 1971) became a leading journal for the field. The Center also saw the importance of fostering student projects like *Gidra*, founded in 1969 and “created alongside the rise of radical third world grassroots student coalitions, in addition to the Black Power movement and Civil Rights Movement. After being denied official recognition by the university, the students started publishing *Gidra* independently, using the university’s Asian American Studies Center as its headquarters.”<sup>4</sup> Following its inception as a student newspaper, it moved to the Crenshaw area to be housed closer to L.A.’s Asian American community.<sup>5</sup> One of the first Asian American Studies conferences was held in Los Angeles in 1971 with opening remarks by Congresswoman Patsy Mink, the first woman of color elected to Congress.<sup>6</sup>

The Center was also created to work closely with Asian American community organizations in Los Angeles. East West Players was founded in 1965 by Asian American artists Mako, Rae Creevey, Beulah Quo, Soon-Tek Oh, James Hong, Pat Li, June Kim, Guy Lee, and Yet Lock in the Pilgrim Church in Silver Lake. It was supported in its early stages at UCLA. East West Players is the nation’s longest-running professional theater of color and the largest producing organization of Asian American artistic work. Visual Communications is another Asian American cultural institution. Visual Communications was founded in 1970 by UCLA students Duane Kubo, Robert Nakamura, Alan Ohashi, and Eddie Wong to support Asian American film and media.<sup>7</sup> It was initially housed and supported by the UCLA Asian American Studies Center. Both Visual Communications and East West Players have since moved to Little Tokyo in the historic Union Center for the Arts (formerly Japanese Union Church of Los Angeles).

### ***Chinese Americans in Los Angeles***

Chinese Americans first settled in Los Angeles in the 1850s with its first permanent settlement centered near Los Angeles Plaza (El Pueblo de Los Angeles) and later referred to as Old Chinatown due to a series of subsequent settlements developed near or around downtown Los Angeles. The Chinese Americans in Los Angeles context discusses the settlement patterns of Chinese Americans while noting key contributions to the city’s built environment and burgeoning economy. Chinatown, as it is known, has been studied as being shaped by economic and social dynamics of race, space, and power.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Haivan V. Hoang, *Writing Against Racial Injury: The Politics of Asian American Student Rhetoric* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2015), 56–76.

<sup>5</sup> Mike Murase, “Toward Barefoot Journalism,” *Gidra*, 6 (April 1974):1, 34–46.

<sup>6</sup> Conference Proceedings of the First National Conference on Asian American Studies, Los Angeles, CA, April 1971.

<sup>7</sup> Karen L. Ishizuka, *Serve the People: Making Asian America in the Long Sixties* (Verso Books, 2016), 159-160.

<sup>8</sup> Jan Lin, “Los Angeles Chinatown: Tourism, Gentrification, and the Rise of an Ethnic Growth Machine,” *Amerasia Journal* 34, no. 3, (2008): 110-125, doi:10.17953/amer.34.3.v545v63lpj1535p7.

One site of historic and cultural significance for Chinese Americans in Los Angeles is the Castelar Street School. Since 1969, the Asian Education Project (AEP), later known as the Asian American Tutorial Project (AATP)—with Asian American college students from UCLA, University of Southern California (USC), and Occidental College—has served Castellar Street School in Chinatown by tutoring low-income, immigrant, limited English proficiency elementary school students. Castelar Street School was the first school in the Los Angeles Unified School District to provide tri-lingual instruction in English, Spanish, and Chinese. It also housed the Chinatown branch library of the Los Angeles Public Library from 1977 to 2003.

### ***Japanese Americans in Los Angeles***

The history of Japanese Americans in Los Angeles dates back to 1869. Since then, shifting migratory, settlement, and development patterns have continued to be shaped by outside forces including discriminatory policies, redevelopment, and displacement as well as forces within, through cultural institutions, and small businesses. Little Tokyo is one of three remaining historic Japantowns (*Nihonmachi*s) in California that survived the forced evacuation and incarceration of Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II and the demolition that occurred during urban renewal in the 1950s and 1960s. Japanese American institutions and services including community halls, language schools, Buddhist temples, Christian churches, markets, nurseries, and other nonprofit/cultural institutions have shaped Little Tokyo and other Japanese American settlements in Los Angeles.

The Union Center for the Arts, formerly known as the Japanese Union Church of Los Angeles, was established in 1918 as it merged three congregations: the Los Angeles Presbyterian Church (established in 1905), the Los Angeles Congregational Church (established in 1908), and the Japanese Bethlehem Congregational Church of Los Angeles (established by 1911). During World War II, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, just a little more than two months after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Shortly after, a series of Civilian Exclusion Orders were publicly posted all along the West Coast of the United States, notifying persons of Japanese ancestry of their impending forced removal. “Instructions to All Persons of Japanese Ancestry” were the infamous words seen at the top of the posters. The Union Church was listed as a designated reporting location for Japanese Americans in 1942; many were able to store their belongings in the building during their incarceration. Union Church has evolved from a place of worship to a center for Asian Americans arts and culture as home to East West Players and Visual Communications (established in 1970). The Union Center for the Arts is listed as part of the Little Tokyo Historic District, a National Historic Landmark.

### ***Korean Americans in Los Angeles***

Los Angeles has one of the largest Korean populations outside of the Korean peninsula with a notable Koreatown, home to hundreds of Korean- and Korean American-owned small businesses, churches, and community institutions. Although large-scale migration and settlement occurred in the aftermath of the 1965 Immigration Act, a historic and important Korean American community dates to the turn of the twentieth century when laborers arrived in Hawai'i in 1903. Soon after, migration continued to the continental United States, especially to California where Korean Americans worked as migrant farm labor and some became small business owners.<sup>9</sup>

The greater Los Angeles area has served as one of the hubs of Korean America for over a century. Koreatown experienced notable growth after World War II and the years that followed 1965. The 1992 Civil Unrest/Uprising/Riots marks a turbulent coming of age experience for the Korean American community. Layered beneath the contemporary and continually expanding borders of Koreatown are historic sites that have played a significant role in community life. One such site, located near USC, houses both the Korean Presbyterian Church of Los Angeles and the Korean National Association (KNA) building that share the same campus. The church dates to 1906, and is among the oldest Korean American congregations in the nation. The KNA building dedicated in 1938 serves as a testament to the independence movement that animated the struggles and hopes of the early Korean American community.

### ***Filipino Americans in Los Angeles***

The Filipino Americans in Los Angeles context traces the history of Filipino immigrants and subsequent generations in the city from 1903 to 1980. It spans from the arrival of the first known Filipino Americans in Los Angeles to subsequent movement of Filipino Americans in the city as shaped by immigration policies and discriminatory policies as well as community institutions. The context focuses on historical themes based on residential settlement patterns, economic activity, and the growth of cultural institutions including cultural centers, small businesses, service agencies, and churches.

What is known as Historic Filipinotown is influenced by earlier settlements of Filipino Americans in the Downtown area.<sup>10</sup> From Little Manila to Bunker Hill to Temple-Beaudry, these were places that immigrants and seasonal migrants knew to go to for services, culture, and a sense of community. Royal "Uncle Roy" Morales can trace his family's roots to the Filipino Christian Church as his father immigrated to Los Angeles from the Philippines as a *pensionado* (scholar) and Christian missionary. Uncle Roy's father, Silvestre Morales, helped establish the Filipino Christian Fellowship on First and San Pedro Streets in 1928, then Filipino Christian Church (the first in the nation) in 1933.<sup>11</sup> The church was first

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<sup>9</sup> Bong Youn Choy, *Koreans in America* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979). For general background on Korean American history.

<sup>10</sup> Michelle G. Magalong, "The Search for Filipino American Place(s) in Los Angeles," *UCLA Critical Planning Journal* 10 (2003):13–23.

<sup>11</sup> Royal F. Morales, *Makibaka: The Filipino American Struggle* (Los Angeles: Mountainview Publishers, 1974).

established in the Bunker Hill area of Downtown and later moved to 301 North Union Street. The Filipino Christian Church, under the leadership of Uncle Roy, served as a cultural hub as it incubated other community institutions like Search to Involve Pilipino Americans, Pilipino American Reading Room and Library, and Filipino Cultural School.

### ***Thai Americans in Los Angeles***

From the first known arrival of Thai Americans to Los Angeles in the 1950s to the designation of Thai Town in East Hollywood in 1999, this community has been shaped by the city's growth and development in key areas like the entertainment industry and the culinary industry. Thai American community settlement patterns are traced through commercial development and foodways, notably with Thai restaurants that date to the 1970s.<sup>12</sup> When Thais arrived in Los Angeles, they reinvented and repackaged Thai food in various ways to meet the rising popularity of Thai cuisine in urban and suburban areas.<sup>13</sup> Thai immigration and settlement patterns, identities, and community structure has changed in a relatively short period of time in Los Angeles. This is seen in the city's built environment and through the establishment of Thai American culinary tourism and community identity. Institutions like Thai Community Development Center and Wat Thai were developed to meet the needs of the growing Thai American communities in Los Angeles.<sup>14</sup>

Bangkok Market opened its doors in 1971 in East Hollywood, established by Thai immigrant Pramorte "Pat" Tilakamonkul as the first Thai and Southeast Asian market in the United States. It provided Thai ingredients to a growing population of Thai Americans in Los Angeles in the 1960s and 70s. Before the existence of Bangkok Market, it was difficult to find Thai ingredients in the U.S. due to strict import policies. Tilamonkul and his business partners brokered deals with import/export companies to allow Thai ingredients to be imported in the country.<sup>15</sup> Bangkok Market also served as a de facto community center for Thai immigrants in Los Angeles.

### **Preserving Los Angeles's Asian America**

This MPDF documents five Asian American ethnic groups that have shaped the built environment and cultural landscape of Los Angeles. While little to date is documented or designated as historic landmarks or monuments under city, state, or federal programs, the MPDF provides an overview of the historic and cultural contributions of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and Thai Americans in Los Angeles.

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<sup>12</sup> In this document, foodways refers to eating habits and culinary practices as it relates to Asian Americans in Los Angeles.

<sup>13</sup> Mark Padoongpatt, *Flavors of Empire: Food and the Making of Thai America* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017).

<sup>14</sup> Chanchanit Martorell, *Images of America: Thais in Los Angeles* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011).

<sup>15</sup> Padoongpatt, *Flavors of Empire*.

Each of the five contexts provides great encouragement on reflection of the fifty years since the birth of “Asian America” and the subsequent efforts by these Los Angeles communities to create, preserve, and sustain historic and cultural roots. The MPDF serves as a platform through which communities can continue identifying, documenting, and preserving places, histories, and stories, within the five communities covered by this document, and across other AAPI ethnic groups that form part of Los Angeles’ vast and diverse landscape.

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## HISTORIC CONTEXT

### Introduction

This historic context examines the migration, settlement, and development patterns of Japanese Americans in Los Angeles between 1869, the start of immigration of Japanese to Los Angeles, to 1970, the date of the adoption of the Little Tokyo Redevelopment Area by the City of Los Angeles, substantially changing the physical composition of the community. The history of Japanese Americans in Los Angeles is traced chronologically. It begins with Early Japanese Immigration to Southern California, 1869-1910, and is followed by Japanese Settlement in Southern California, 1911-1924; Japanese Stabilization and Community Development, 1925-1940; Japanese Forced Removal and Incarceration, 1941-1944; Japanese Resettlement, 1945-1959; and Japanese Diaspora and Upward Mobility, 1960-1970. The context closes with a brief discussion of Japanese redress in the 1980s.

Japanese Americans have contributed significantly to the transformation of Los Angeles from pueblo town to vibrant suburban metropolis. Since 1910, the city has been home to the largest population of Japanese Americans on the mainland. The *Issei* (first generation immigrants) shaped the agriculture, fishing and canning, and gardening industries, and simultaneously created Little Tokyo, the largest *nihonmachi* (Japantown) in America. Despite decades of racial discrimination, Los Angeles' Japanese Americans created a rich network of social, cultural, and religious institutions only to have them obliterated by wartime hysteria and incarceration during World War II. *Issei* and *Nisei* (second generation) returned to Los Angeles after the war to rebuild their lives and businesses and participate in the postwar American dream, while overcoming racial exclusion and anti-Japanese sentiment. They reinvented themselves and built new social, cultural, and religious institutions for future generations. As such, Japanese Americans played an important role in the multi-cultural identity of Los Angeles.

Resources referenced throughout the context are considered extant unless otherwise noted.

### Terms and Definitions

The following outlines some important aspects of the approach to terminology for the Japanese American context:

- As often as possible, both the English and Japanese terms are included in this context. Japanese terms appear in italics alongside their common English translation.
- Generational terms are important for the reader to understand as they are commonplace in Japanese American history and sociology:
  - The first-generation immigrants are known as *Issei*. They came to the U.S. between 1890 and 1924 and were steeped in Japanese culture and tradition. Few attended American schools, except for those who came specifically to pursue a college education. English proficiency varied among this generation.
  - The children of *Issei* are the *Nisei*, or second generation. *Nisei* were born in the United States, primarily between 1910 and 1940. They grew up during the Great Depression and were teenagers during World War II. They attended Los Angeles public schools and many attended Japanese language schools (*gakuen*).
  - The third generation is the *Sansei*, or members of the post-World War II baby boom.

Many Sansei have American first names. Most Sansei came of age at the height of the student protest movement of the 1960s. Many attended college and became working professionals.

- The fourth generation is the *Yonsei*. They were born in the mid-1960s, came of age in the post-Watergate years, and have the highest rates of interracial marriage of any Japanese American generation.
- *Nikkei* refers generally to individuals of Japanese ancestry born in the United States, regardless of generation.
- *Kibei Nisei* includes Japanese Americans who were born in America, and raised and partially educated in Japan.
- With respect to given names of individuals, it is worth noting that during periods of excessive prejudice against the Japanese, many took on American names to emphasize their place in America. Practically speaking, this means that some members of the Japanese American community may have two first names, which can be confusing and difficult for researchers. Whenever known, both names are included here.
- Over time, the preferred vocabulary for describing events relating to World War II and the Japanese Americans has evolved to reflect a more accurate and authentic terminology. As such, the terms forced removal, incarceration, temporary detention center, incarceration camp, and illegal detention center are used to describe events and actions that may appear in previous historic documentation as internment, evacuation, and relocation.

### **Early Japanese Immigration to Los Angeles, 1869-1910**

Between 1869 and 1910, Los Angeles rose to prominence as a destination for Japanese immigrants, becoming home to the largest Issei population in the United States by 1910. The city's expansion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, combined with its fertile rural environs, made the city attractive to a diverse range of immigrants. The San Francisco earthquake also played a pivotal role in Los Angeles' ultimate dominance over northern California as home to the state's Japanese population. On the other hand, isolationist political leanings, immigration laws, and restrictive residential policies aimed at Asians challenged Los Angeles' Issei.

According to scholar Donna Graves, "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."<sup>16</sup> This was the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk Farm Colony in El Dorado County. The 1870 Census reported 55 Japanese in the U.S., with 33 in California: 22 at the Wakamatsu Colony, and just eleven outside El Dorado County.<sup>17</sup> The first official accounts of Japanese residents in Los Angeles County date back to 1869-70, when two Japanese-born servants appear in the household of Judge

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<sup>16</sup> Donna Graves, Draft National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, "Japanese American Heritage and The Quest for Civil Rights in Riverside, California, 1890s-1970s," 5, accessed April 18, 2018 [www.riversideca.gov/historic/pdf/Japanese-American-Context-Statement.pdf](http://www.riversideca.gov/historic/pdf/Japanese-American-Context-Statement.pdf).

<sup>17</sup> These statistics are countered by Yamato Ishihashi's statistics on Japanese immigration for the period that accounts for 218 Japanese immigrants before 1870.

## SurveyLA Citywide Historic Context Statement

### Japanese Americans in Los Angeles, 1869-1970

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Edward J.C. Kewin at the El Molino Viejo (Old Mill) in San Marino. The two young men, Ta Komo and E. Noska, aged 18 and 13 respectively, left Kewin's employ by 1880.<sup>18</sup> It is unknown if they stayed in the area or migrated elsewhere.

Japanese immigration was officially restricted until 1884 when an agreement between the Japanese and Hawaiian sugar plantations was reached. As a result, many Japanese came to the U.S. mainland via Hawaii. Most Japanese immigrants entered the United States through San Francisco, although other significant ports of entry included Los Angeles, Portland, and Seattle. At this time, the majority of newly arrived Japanese residents settled in northern California. In 1884, approximately 25 Japanese were lured from San Francisco to Los Angeles—likely due to the construction of the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. Needs were further exacerbated by the ensuing rate war with the Southern Pacific.

In 1885, Japan legalized the emigration of labor and Japanese were recruited to the United States to fill railroad jobs previously held by Chinese immigrants since barred by the Restriction Law of 1882, or Chinese Exclusion Act. In 1903, newly unionized Mexican employees for the Pacific Electric Railway went on strike and still more Japanese were recruited from San Francisco to fill the open positions.

In addition to filling the gap created by the lack of Chinese laborers, the demand for labor in Southern California increased due to rapid industrial expansion. As a result, not all Japanese took positions with the railroad. By 1888, there were about 70 Japanese in the Los Angeles area. By 1900, there were approximately 200, and by 1904, the number had jumped to an estimated 2,800 in Los Angeles due largely to the Pacific Electric's recruitment of the Japanese.<sup>19</sup>



*Japanese railroad workers (Los Angeles's Little Tokyo, 10)*

In 1905, a number of Okinawans were recruited to work in the coal mines of Mexico. Working in substandard conditions, one young man, Kamado Ota, escaped to California and others followed. Once in Los Angeles, the Okinawans generally turned to agricultural pursuits.<sup>20</sup>

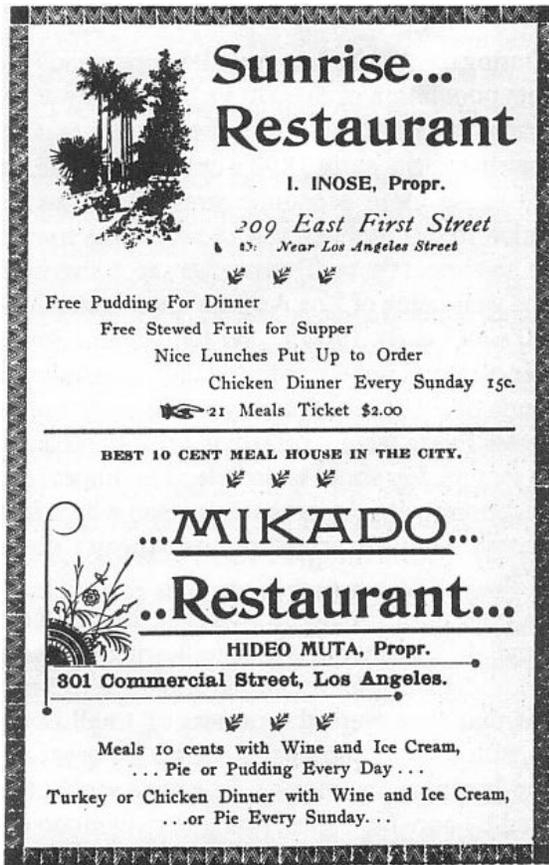
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<sup>18</sup> The two young men were listed in the census with the Kewin last name, similar to the listing of African Americans in previous periods.

<sup>19</sup> William M. Mason and John A. McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Museum of Natural History, 1969), 12.

<sup>20</sup> The Okinawa Club of America, *History of the Okinawans in North America* (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1988), 22.

According to author Yamato Ichihashi in his 1915 book *Japanese Immigration: Its Status in California*, early immigration statistics show that the majority of *Issei* were laborers. But in 1900, the mix of immigrant occupations changed significantly to include merchants, fishermen, farmers, and artisans.<sup>21</sup> Many others started their own businesses, including Charles Kame (likely Shigeta Hamonsouke, the first Japanese independent businessman in Los Angeles<sup>22</sup>), Akita Sanshichi, and George Izawa.<sup>23</sup>



Ads for American fare at Japanese-owned restaurants, Sunrise Restaurant and Mikako Restaurant from 1898 (*Japanese of Los Angeles*, 3)

Restaurants were the most prevalent Japanese commercial activity in Los Angeles before 1900, creating what has been called “the restaurant era” of the Los Angeles Japanese.<sup>24</sup> Between 1893 and 1896, the number of Japanese-operated restaurants in Downtown Los Angeles increased from two or three to sixteen. They did not cater exclusively to Japanese; they served chicken dinners, beef stew, and other American fare with pie or ice cream for dessert for 10-15 cents per meal. Their clientele were the workmen who lived in the First Street district. Other smaller commercial activities for Japanese at this time included bamboo furniture stores and barbers. Early Japanese merchants included Sanshichi Akita (c. 1857-1920), Inosuke Inose (1856-1939),<sup>25</sup> Harry T. Tomio (1881-1971), and Benjamin Bungoro Mori (1869-1964).

In 1902, Japanese students began immigrating in large numbers, growing from 1,200 in 1902 to 2,972 in 1907.<sup>26</sup> During this period, a small number of *kugakusei* (student-boys or student laborers) were living in Los Angeles and attending universities. They performed live-in domestic help while studying

English. By 1907, some young *Issei* who had spent a few years in local secondary schools began enrolling at the University of Southern California (USC) and matriculating. As early as 1908 there were ten students at USC and two at the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Yamato Ichihashi, *Japanese Immigration, Its Status in California, 1915* (San Francisco, CA: R and E Research Associates, Reprinted 1970), 8.

<sup>22</sup> Kame/Hamonsouke opened a restaurant at 340 E. 1st Street about 1886-87 (not extant).

<sup>23</sup> Mason and McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles*, 2. Birth and death dates were not found in Ancestry.com.

<sup>24</sup> Mason and McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles*, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Inosuke Inose started the Sunrise Restaurant on East 1st Street in 1895.

<sup>26</sup> Ichihashi, *Japanese Immigration*, 8.

<sup>27</sup> Mason and McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles*, 25.

Regardless of occupation, the early Issei immigrants were overwhelmingly male. The intention was to come to America for the economic opportunity, work hard, and then return to Japan. It was not until 1905 that the percentage of female Japanese immigrants to California reached double digits for the first time.<sup>28</sup> The presence of women significantly changed the community from predominantly migratory laborers to a more stable population of farmers or businessmen.<sup>29</sup>

The year 1903 marked the debut of the local Japanese newspaper, the *Rafu Shimpō*, as a mimeographed sheet distributed twice weekly. In 1904, with the acquisition of a movable type machine, the paper began daily publication. The English section commenced in 1917. Circulation rose with population growth and the newspaper became an important force and voice in the development of the Japanese American community in Los Angeles. By 1910, there were two other papers serving the Japanese community: the *Rafu Mainichi* and *Rafu Ashai*. The *Rafu Shimpō* was the intellectual paper of the community, whereas the *Rafu Mainichi* was written in an easy to understand style for farmers and laborers.<sup>30</sup>

A significant factor in the growth of the Japanese population in Los Angeles was the great San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of 1906. In the wake of the destruction, many Japanese who had settled in San Francisco moved south to Los Angeles. Anti-Japanese sentiment in San Francisco surged after the disaster as well. It is estimated that between 2,000 and 3,000 of San Francisco's Japanese population moved to Los Angeles after the earthquake.<sup>31</sup> Among them were dozens of Okinawans.<sup>32</sup>

Although Japanese were initially recruited to the U.S. to fill railroad jobs, they quickly began to turn to agricultural pursuits given the fertile ground and favorable climate of Southern California. They drew from years of family experience; two-thirds of Issei men and women reported that their parents were farmers in Japan.<sup>33</sup> By 1909, two-thirds of California's Japanese population was working on farms.<sup>34</sup>

The Issei specialized in relatively perishable crops not favored by corporate growers. The former city of Tropico (portions of which were annexed into what is became the Atwater Village neighborhood of Los Angeles and the City of Glendale)<sup>35</sup> was the first recorded place in Los Angeles where the Japanese worked on farms. The first Japanese laborers came to work the land in 1899, and soon there were Japanese bosses calling others to work.<sup>36</sup> In 1901, a Japanese boss leased one of the ranches, marking

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<sup>28</sup> Ichihashi, *Japanese Immigration*, 8.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>30</sup> There are no extant associated resources from the papers' early years.

<sup>31</sup> Mason and McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles*, 16.

<sup>32</sup> The Okinawa Club of America, *History of the Okinawans in North America*, 22.

<sup>33</sup> Gene N. Levine, *Japanese American Research Project (JARP): A Three Generation Study, 1890-1966*. (Los Angeles: University of California, Institute for Social Science Research, 1997), 28.

<sup>34</sup> Robert Higgs, "Landless by Law: Japanese Immigrants in California Agriculture to 1941," *The Journal of Economic History* 38 (1978), 206.

<sup>35</sup> Glendale incorporated in 1909.

<sup>36</sup> U.S. Government Printing Office, "Immigrants in Industries, Part 25 Japanese and Other Immigrant Races in the Pacific Coast, 1911," 387, accessed April 18, 2018, <https://books.google.com/books?id=R2ITAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA387&lpg=PA387&dq=Japanese+Tropico+Strawberries&source=bl&>

the beginning of Japanese leasing and farming in Los Angeles County.<sup>37</sup> By 1904, 24 Japanese tenants were leasing 155 acres devoted to strawberry cultivation. After the frost of 1907, many Japanese farmers turned to growing vegetables. Japanese are known to have worked farms in the Wilmington, Harbor City, Venice, and Los Feliz areas.<sup>38</sup> As Donna Graves describes the system, it graduated Japanese farmers from labor for hire, to a contract system, the share system, and the lease system under which farmers took full responsibility for crop yield and rent paid to a landowner.<sup>39</sup> The ultimate goal was to save enough money to purchase land.

In 1906, Japanese farmers began to lease land and grow vegetables in the West Adams area of Los Angeles.<sup>40</sup> By 1909, they were leasing 132 acres there. Between 1900 and 1910, Issei began working the agriculture fields south of Pico Boulevard in the western side of Los Angeles.<sup>41</sup> The 1910 Census documents over 60 Japanese farmers working the lands along Ballona Creek near Venice. In 1905, there were 23 Japanese living in the City of San Fernando in the East Valley.<sup>42</sup> By 1910, the City of San Fernando was home to 43 farmers, mostly single men. Others lived just beyond the San Fernando boundary into Los Angeles. Farmers often constructed their own small, vernacular-style shelters on the land they farmed.<sup>43</sup> Extant examples of ranch houses associated with Japanese Americans may be identified with further research.

In addition to the cultivation of vegetables, the Japanese were early influencers in the development of the wholesale and retail floral industry. Large-scale flower cultivation of significant acreage began in the 1910s, in the areas previously mentioned above as well as in what became West Los Angeles, South Los Angeles, and in the City of Long Beach, and soon more organized sales operations replaced what had been an informal system of markets. In 1912, 54 Issei flower growers started the Southern California Flower Market. The market, known as the Japanese Market, opened at 421 S. Los Angeles Street in 1913. During the 1910s and 1920s, the Market had several locations, and primarily stayed within a few blocks along Wall Street. Japanese men also formed the Southern California Floral Industry Association (not extant) in the 1910s to recruit growers from around Southern California.

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[ots=ONsExOXVmS&sig=9WhSE-KgRIARpCcERyEw\\_-fc2nY&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwix3a6epdbPAhWiwVQKHYSiBY4Q6AEIHjAA#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/docs/ots=ONsExOXVmS&sig=9WhSE-KgRIARpCcERyEw_-fc2nY&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwix3a6epdbPAhWiwVQKHYSiBY4Q6AEIHjAA#v=onepage&q&f=false)

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> At the time, Wilmington and Venice were separate municipalities and not part of the City of Los Angeles.

<sup>39</sup> Graves, Draft National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 8.

<sup>40</sup> U.S. Government Printing Office, *Immigrants in Industries*, 390.

<sup>41</sup> Colleen Patricia Horn, "Sawtelle Reexamined: A Preservation Study for a Historic California Japantown," (master's thesis, University of Southern California, August 2013), 26.

<sup>42</sup> Mason and McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles*, 16.

<sup>43</sup> As the farmers prospered, additions and amenities were added. As described in oral histories at Cal State Northridge, some were later absorbed into houses.



L: *The Southern California Flower Market known as the “Japanese Market” at 421 S. Los Angeles Street, 1913 (Los Angeles’s Little Tokyo, 12).* R: *Japanese floral worker Masato Yada wrapping flowers, c. 1935 (USC Digital Library).*

Despite the rural pursuits of many Japanese Americans, an area around First Street became the heart of the early Issei community in Downtown Los Angeles. The first known mapping of the Japanese community in Los Angeles is the 1898 charting of residences and businesses undertaken by William M. Mason and Dr. John A. McKinstry.<sup>44</sup> By the turn of the twentieth century, settlement in Los Angeles was expanding southward down Broadway and Spring Streets. While a small number of Japanese are shown in the area around the Plaza de Los Angeles and in the East First Street neighborhood, twice as many residences and businesses are shown in the West Sixth Street district—effectively polarizing the Japanese community into two major districts just as a new wave of immigration brought significant numbers of Japanese to the city.<sup>45</sup> At this time, East First Street contained a significant presence of German merchants, earning the area the nickname Little Berlin.

The Japanese population around West Sixth Street grew largely due to the presence of several employment agencies that brokered Japanese immigrants as day laborers. Some agencies even provided housing in boarding houses in the neighborhood, none of which appear to be extant. By 1902, and again in 1905, both the East First Street and West Sixth Street neighborhoods had increased in density. A pronounced increase in the concentration of Japanese residents in the East First Street district was taking shape. By 1906, the area was becoming known as Sho Tokyo or Little Tokyo (as opposed to Little Berlin), and had significantly increased in density with a high concentration of Japanese businesses and residences east of Alameda Street. A portion of Little Tokyo roughly bounded by 301-349 East First Street, 110-120 Judge John Aiso Street, and 119 Central Avenue was designated the Little Tokyo Historic District, a National Historic Landmark, in 1995.<sup>46</sup>

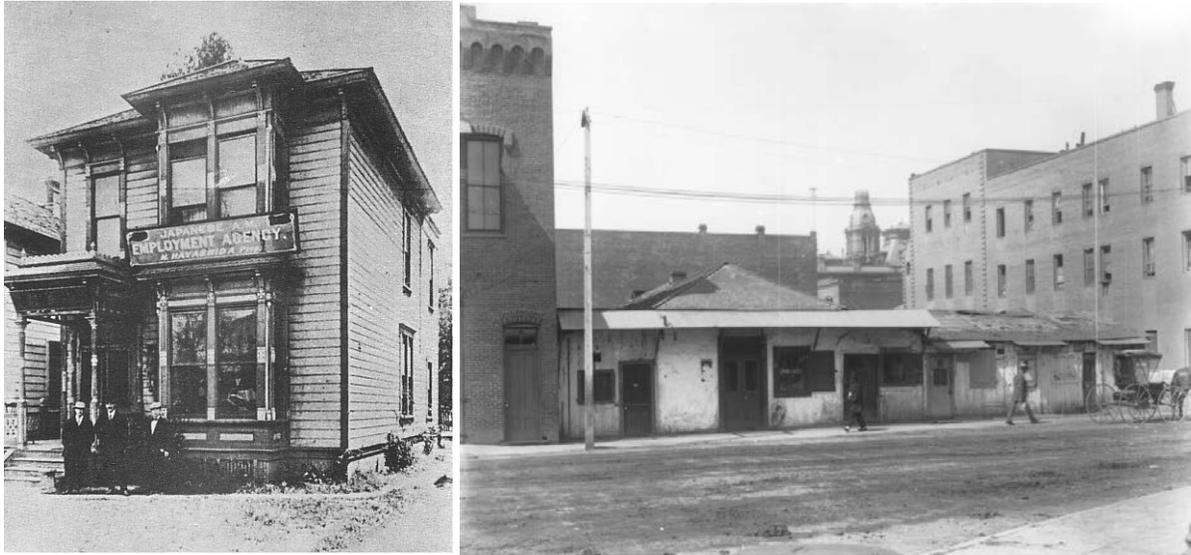
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<sup>44</sup> Mason and McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles*, 41-42.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>46</sup> Some properties within the Little Tokyo district are individually designated or eligible for designation. SurveyLA did not resurvey designated resources.

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L: Hayashida Employment Agency near Seventh Street and Grand Avenue (not extant) taken in 1912 (*The Japanese of Los Angeles*, 11). R: Japanese Fancy Goods store and employment office in Downtown Los Angeles (not extant), c. 1890 (USC Digital Library, California Historical Society Collection)



L: 1898 map of Japanese residences and businesses in Downtown Los Angeles (*The Japanese of Los Angeles*) R: 1905 map of Japanese residences and businesses in Downtown Los Angeles. Mason & McKinstry (*The Japanese of Los Angeles*).

With the local Japanese population growing, the xenophobic and isolationist racism of the Yellow Peril previously associated with Chinese immigrants was extended to the Japanese. A 1905 *Los Angeles Herald Examiner* article reported the views of Rev. P.J. Stockman of the Catholic Diocese of Los Angeles:

The Japanese invasion of America during the next few years is one of the most serious problems that will confront the people of this country and especially in coast cities. Japan is overcrowded and it will not be many years before her subjects are coming to this country in much greater numbers than the present...They will come here and go into business and will become a factor within the Americans (sic) must reckon...Within the next fifteen or twenty years, one store in five in the coast cities will be conducted by Japanese.<sup>47</sup>

Such rhetoric fueled racism against the Issei. The Asian Exclusion League was the primary advocacy organization charging Japanese immigrants with unfair competition. Their efforts culminated in the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-08, an effort by President Theodore Roosevelt to ease tension over the immigration of Japanese workers. After the San Francisco Board of Education ordered the segregation of Asian children into separate public schools—a move clearly targeted at Japanese children because Chinese children were already segregated into their own schools—the issue of Japanese immigration received national attention. President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Elihu Root made it clear that stopping “all immigration of Japanese laboring men” was the “only way to prevent constant friction.”<sup>48</sup> The Japanese agreed to stop issuing passports to laborers bound for the continental United States. Passports might be issued to returning laborers and the “parents, wives and children of laborers already resident there.” Because this was an executive agreement based on correspondence between the two governments, it required no congressional ratification. In 1907, in anticipation of the Gentlemen's Agreement, nearly 10,000 Japanese arrived in the U.S. After 1907, only wives and children were allowed to enter, ushering in an era of Japanese immigration known as “the picture brides” period.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> “Yellow Peril is a Grim Reality,” *Los Angeles Herald*, June 26, 1905.

<sup>48</sup> Shiho Imai, “Gentlemen's Agreement,” in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed January 4, 2017, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Gentlemen%27s\\_Agreement/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Gentlemen%27s_Agreement/).

<sup>49</sup> Picture bride refers to the practice of immigrant workers who married women on the recommendation of a matchmaker who exchanged photographs between the prospective bride and groom.

Table 1: Japanese Immigration to the US between 1861 and 1914<sup>50</sup>

Decade	Japanese Immigrants	Total Number of US Immigrants
1861-1870	218	2,314,000
1871-1880	149	2,812,000
1881-1890	2,270	5,426,000
1891-1900	27,982	3,687,000
1901-1910	54,834	8,785,000
1911-1914	24,873	4,131,000
Total	110,326	27,155,000

Demand for Japanese workers experienced a temporary setback during the Financial Panic of 1907 (also known as the Bankers’ Panic or Knickerbocker Crisis) when the stock market dipped sharply and the country entered a recession. It became increasingly difficult for the Nisei to find work and charitable agencies became an important safety net during this period.

By 1910, the city of Los Angeles was home to 7,938 Issei—the largest Japanese population of any city in California. Another 3,000 Issei resided in Los Angeles County.<sup>51</sup> At this time, Los Angeles’ East First Street and West Sixth Street districts still served as the primary residential and commercial neighborhoods, in addition to providing transitional services for new immigrants. Alongside the employment agencies for new arrivals, the neighborhoods contained a number of Japanese rooming houses for single male laborers, a few single-family residences rented out to Japanese families, and a growing number of commercial stores, service establishments, and social/cultural centers that served Issei communities throughout Southern California. Early Japanese-operated businesses included the Asia Company (the largest Japanese-owned business by the 1920s, not extant), Fugetsu-do, the first Japanese confectionery (extant, relocated to 325 E. 1<sup>st</sup> Street),<sup>52</sup> S. Shiaki Seed Company (not extant), the Umeya Co. (extant, relocated to 414 Crocker Street),<sup>53</sup> and many others.

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<sup>50</sup> As presented in Ichihashi’s, *Japanese Immigration, Its Status in California, 1915*.

<sup>51</sup> Ichihashi, *Japanese Immigration*, 19.

<sup>52</sup> It is within the Little Tokyo Historic District.

<sup>53</sup> Yasuo Hamano formed what became the Umeya Co., or Umeya Rice Cake Company. In the 1970s, due to increasing demand, the company moved to a new facility at 414 Crocker Street.

Table 2: Japanese California City Populations in 1910<sup>54</sup>

City	Population
Los Angeles	7,938
San Francisco	6,988
Sacramento	2,452
Oakland	1,845

With the increased migration of Japanese laborers during the first decade of the twentieth century, there was a growing clientele for things uniquely Japanese. Pool halls, restaurants, bookstores, bathhouses, and barbershops were opened with the Japanese laborers in mind.<sup>55</sup> One of the most common businesses was the surge in *nomiya* (drinking places) after 1906. They tripled in one year from 21 to 62.<sup>56</sup> More than just bars, in *nomiya*, waitresses also played the samisen and sang. *Sushi ya* (sushi bars) also flourished. The first known sushi bar was opened by Gentario Isoyaya on Weller Street.<sup>57</sup> These early buildings were virtually all lost to urban renewal projects later in the century.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the influence of Japanese garden designs at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco (1915) and the Panama-California Exhibition in San Diego (1915) inspired interest in and the construction of Japanese tea gardens in a number of Los Angeles parks including Eastlake Park (later Lincoln Park).<sup>58</sup> As described in the *Los Angeles Times*, “by the early part of the century, a Japanese garden had become a sign of sophistication for the social elite.”<sup>59</sup> An example of the popularity of Japanese gardens among wealthy Los Angelenos predating the Exhibition was to be found in Hollywood, when in 1911 Adolph Bernheimer and his brother Eugene hired Franklin Small to design a reproduction of a Japanese Villa surrounded by 12 acres of Japanese Gardens on Sycamore Avenue in Hollywood.<sup>60</sup> Portions of the gardens remain as the grounds of the Yamashiro Restaurant at 1999 N. Sycamore Avenue.<sup>61</sup>

Los Angeles’ economic boom of the late nineteenth century provided opportunity for a significant number of Issei immigrants who established farms, restaurants, and small businesses in and around Los Angeles. This close-knit, male-dominated population cultivated residential and occupational networks that enabled their success. The coming decade brought changes in social structure that impacted community development.

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<sup>54</sup>As presented in the Ichihashi’s *Japanese Immigration, Its Status in California, 1915*.

<sup>55</sup> Mason and McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles*, 10.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>58</sup> “To Improve Parks,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 9, 1925, 13.

<sup>59</sup> “A Tourist Mecca That Geology Helped Obliterate,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 22, 2000.

<sup>60</sup> In 1924, Bernheimer embarked on the building of a new Bernheimer estate with Japanese-style gardens atop a bluff in Pacific Palisades. It has since been razed.

<sup>61</sup> The property endured many years of disrepair and much of its Japanese character was hidden during and after World War II, when anti-Japanese sentiment was at its height. National Register-listed Yamashiro is City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 921.

### **Japanese Settlement in Los Angeles, 1911-1924**

With the immigration of women, the Los Angeles Japanese community was transformed largely from a group of single male laborers living communally into households and families. This significantly impacted migration patterns in Los Angeles and the development of local social and cultural institutions. Suburban migration patterns also fueled another wave of anti-Japanese sentiment, resulting in the enactment of dehumanizing citizenship laws and residential restrictions. As Graves summarizes, “Race, class and immigration status restricted Nikkei access to certain neighborhoods and areas within cities and towns just as they did for other groups, most notably for African Americans, Chinese Americans and Mexican Americans.”<sup>62</sup> Groups such as the YWCA’s International Institute, established in 1914, offered classes in “Americanization to help newly arrived immigrants adjust to life in Los Angeles (435 S. Boyle Ave.)”<sup>63</sup> Even Hollywood helped fuel anti-Japanese sentiment with the release of *The Cheat* (Famous Players Lasky, 1915) in which one of the few Japanese actors in the film violently assaults his Caucasian female costar.

Picture brides were so called because parents, matchmakers or go-betweens in Japan arranged marriages based on photographs. Having never met, many Japanese only knew their brides from photographs. Japanese women often emigrated using their married names before they were actually married.<sup>64</sup> The majority of Issei women came to Los Angeles between 1915 and 1920 via the port of San Francisco.<sup>65</sup> In 1920, the *Rafu Shimpo* estimated the number of local picture brides at 20,000.<sup>66</sup> With the influx of women and new marriages, many Issei began to have children.

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<sup>62</sup> Graves, Draft National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 11.

<sup>63</sup> “Good Citizens Made of Aliens,” *Los Angeles Times*, February 14, 1926, B3.

<sup>64</sup> Naomi Hirahara, ed. *Greenmakers: Japanese Gardeners in Southern California* (Los Angeles: Southern California Gardeners Federation, 2000), 154.

<sup>65</sup> Mason and McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles*, 16.

<sup>66</sup> *Rafu Shimpo, Through the Pages of the Rafu Shimpo* (Los Angeles: Rafu Shimpo, 2003), 62.

Table 3: Japanese Population of the City of Los Angeles<sup>67</sup>

Decade	Los Angeles City	Los Angeles County
1910	4,238	8,461
1920	11,618	19,911
1930	21,081	35,390
1940	23,321	36,866
1950	25,502	36,761
1960	51,468 <sup>68</sup>	77,314 <sup>69</sup>
1970	54,878 <sup>70</sup>	N/A <sup>71</sup>

The growing population of Japanese meant the expansion of the area known as Little Tokyo. European American owners leased space to Japanese residential and commercial tenants. Extant examples include the mixed-use building at 606 E 1<sup>st</sup> Street (1913; architects Morgan & Walls). The building housed the Nankaiya Hotel on its second story for at least 20 years, providing furnished rooms to Japanese American single male lodgers as well as family households. The buildings’ first floor storefronts contained retail operations predominantly run by Japanese Americans, and its occupants between 1913 and 1940 included barbershops, restaurants, a secondhand goods store, a plumbing business, a grocery store, and a liquor store. Another notable example is 620 E 1<sup>st</sup> Street (1911; architect J.E. Lacey). Originally constructed as a one-story store building, in 1913, owner Charles German had a residential second story (designed by E.B. Hogan Jr.) added. The building’s second story provided furnished rooms to Japanese Americans and its first story had Japanese-run businesses including a noodle manufacturer, barbershops, a tailor, a beverage shop, and a restaurant.

Population growth during the period also resulted in the growth of religious institutions. In his 1927 survey, USC graduate student Koyoshi Uono identifies nineteen Japanese churches in Los Angeles. By far the largest membership bases were in the Buddhist and Shinto churches. The Koyasan Buddhist Temple (Koyasan Beikoku Betsuin) in Little Tokyo dates to 1912 and has remained one of the oldest continually operating Buddhist sects in Los Angeles (building at 842 E. 1<sup>st</sup> Street dates to 1940).<sup>72</sup> One of the largest Japanese Christian churches was the Japanese Union Church. It formed as a result of the consolidation of the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Bethlehem Churches in 1918. Rev. Giichi Tanaka was appointed

<sup>67</sup> The 1910 population number differs slightly from that presented by Ichihashi, as it was calculated by the author Nishi according to census records in 1958.

<sup>68</sup> 1960 US Census, Characteristics of the Population, for Standard, Metropolitan Statistical Areas and Urban Places of 10,000 or More, accessed February 11, 2017, <https://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/12533879v1p6ch03.pdf>

<sup>69</sup> Los Angeles Almanac, accessed February 10, 2017: <http://www.laalmanac.com/population/po20.htm>.

<sup>70</sup> 1970 Census of Population, accessed February 10, 2017, [https://books.google.com/books?id=RZtzxp5-XvoC&pg=RA4-PA55&lpg=RA4-PA55&dq=%22City+of+Los+Angeles%22+Japanese+population+1970&source=bl&ots=l-ou\\_Vxm5N&sig=CZJ348jAqq14\\_IJbkwTNq31aRMM&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewi1iu-u7obSAhUK84MKHRbpD50Q6AEITzAI#v=onepage&q=%22City%20of%20Los%20Angeles%22%20Japanese%20population%201970&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=RZtzxp5-XvoC&pg=RA4-PA55&lpg=RA4-PA55&dq=%22City+of+Los+Angeles%22+Japanese+population+1970&source=bl&ots=l-ou_Vxm5N&sig=CZJ348jAqq14_IJbkwTNq31aRMM&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewi1iu-u7obSAhUK84MKHRbpD50Q6AEITzAI#v=onepage&q=%22City%20of%20Los%20Angeles%22%20Japanese%20population%201970&f=false)

<sup>71</sup> 1970 data reflective of “Asian Pacific Islander” with no specific breakdown for the Japanese population. Estimate is 129,220 Asian Pacific Islanders in Los Angeles County.

<sup>72</sup> The Aoyama Tree, City Historic-Cultural Monument No. 920, is at the site of the Central Avenue location of the temple.

the first pastor of the church. On March 25, 1923 the new church building at 120 N. San Pedro Street (later 120 Judge John Aiso) was dedicated.<sup>73</sup> In 1979, a new split-face concrete block building was designed by architect Mark Horie for the church at 401 E. Third Street and continues to house the congregation. The 1927 Los Angeles Homba Hongwanji Buddhist Temple located at 109-119 N. Central Avenue is part of the Japanese American National Museum.<sup>74</sup>

The birth of Japanese American children created the need for *sanba* or midwives. Rooted in the Japanese health care movement of the early twentieth century—that sought to professionalize and license the practice of midwifery to maintain the health of women and babies—*sanba* attended women in childbirth, were involved in prenatal and postnatal care, and provided infant care for newborns. In 1903, Mrs. Tsuneko Okazaki became the first Japanese state-licensed midwife.<sup>75</sup> By 1912, there were at least 18 Japanese midwives with significant practices in the city of Los Angeles.

In Los Angeles, the Japanese dominated midwifery and by the 1920s, they constituted about 70 percent of the midwives in the state of California.<sup>76</sup> In 1925, the California Bureau of Child Hygiene began licensing maternity hospitals and maternity homes, many of which were run by Japanese midwives. Some of these facilities took as few as two or three patients at a time. One such facility, Turner Street Hospital, opened in 1915 at 635 Turner and Alameda Streets in Little Tokyo (not extant). Mary Akita (1898-1998), one of the first Japanese nurses to practice in Los Angeles, is said to have been influential in opening the hospital.<sup>77</sup> Census records indicate she resided at 513 N. Virgil Street in Madison/J Flats (altered).<sup>78</sup> In 1925, Dr. Frances C. Rothert, an official with the U.S. Children’s Bureau, described California’s Japanese midwives as “the best midwives in the country.”<sup>79</sup>

Japanese excellence in midwifery was a cultural custom, and a necessity. According to historians Michael Okamura and Kristen Hayashi of the Little Tokyo Historical Society:

Recent immigrants and residents of ethnic enclaves in Los Angeles were often denied access to health care at mainstream hospitals and clinics in the early 1900s as a result of discriminatory practices. Although County General Hospital intended to provide care to the poor and working class, admittance was not based solely on socioeconomic status. Hospital administrators and public health officials used race as a factor to determine how to administer public health programs.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> The church became the Union Center for the Arts and the home of East West Players.

<sup>74</sup> The temple is City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 313. Homba Honwanji moved to 815 E. 1<sup>st</sup> Street.

<sup>75</sup> Mason and McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles*, 9. This source refers to Okazaki as “the first state-licensed midwife”; it is presumed she was the first licensed midwife of Japanese ethnicity, and the source is unclear.

<sup>76</sup> Susan L. Smith, *Japanese American Midwives: Culture, Community and Health Politics, 1880-1950* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 51.

<sup>77</sup> Kristen Hayashi, “Japanese Hospital City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument Nomination,” written statements A and B, 2016, 10.

<sup>78</sup> According to the Historic-Cultural Monument nomination for the Japanese Hospital, Akita turned her home into a maternity ward in the 1920s.

<sup>79</sup> Smith, *Japanese American Midwives*, 57.

<sup>80</sup> Hayashi, 7.

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### Japanese Americans in Los Angeles, 1869-1970

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In her book *Fit to Be Citizens: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939*, author Natalia Molina suggests that race shaped the city's public health policies and determined the accessibility of health services to various communities. Public health officials often associated disease with immigrants and offered sensationalized reports that suggested diseases originated with immigrant populations. Public health officials deemed Chinese and Japanese as the least assimilable of the foreigners, which became the justification for denying Japanese public health services.<sup>81</sup>

As a result, the Japanese community had to take care of their own. In 1908, Japanese immigrant doctors in Los Angeles included Dr. K. Ikeuchi (c. 1873-unknown) and Dr. Tagaki (dates unknown).<sup>82</sup> By 1917, the number had grown to 13.<sup>83</sup> To address the need for Japanese doctors, they were allowed to take the medical examination with the help of a translator. In 1918, Turner Street Hospital became known as the Southern California Japanese Hospital. Other institutions such as Fukui Mortuary (established in 1918; moved to 707 E. Temple Street) served generations of community members.<sup>84</sup>

Between 1910 and 1915, the Japanese community began to expand into small enclaves outside of Downtown Los Angeles: Terminal Island, Boyle Heights, Uptown, Hollywood/Madison/J. Flats, Venice, and Pacoima/Sun Valley.<sup>85</sup> As the Japanese married and started families, they sought less urban neighborhoods than Little Tokyo in which to raise their children. Most Issei rented existing bungalows in established neighborhoods open to non-whites.



*Japanese family on flower farm in the San Fernando Valley*  
("Telling Our Stories: Japanese Americans in the San Fernando Valley, 1910s-1970s,"  
<http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/nikkeialbum/albums/241/>)

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Mason and McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles*, 8. Birth and death dates unknown.

<sup>83</sup> Smith, *Japanese American Midwives*, 50.

<sup>84</sup> The Fukui Mortuary was located on Turner Street in 1939. Date of relocation to Temple Street not known. Building permits indicate a 1968 remodel/addition to the mortuary chapel by Japanese American architect Kazumi Adachi and a 1982 addition.

<sup>85</sup> Some of these communities were outside of the incorporated City of Los Angeles at this time.

The largest suburban enclave outside of Little Tokyo was Terminal Island/*Higashi* (East) in San Pedro. The presence of Japanese fisherman in the area also known as Fish Harbor<sup>86</sup> can be traced to the early 1910s. They appear to have been drawn to the area as workers for the Southern Pacific Railroad in San Pedro before turning to abalone fishing. By 1912, there were enough Japanese fishermen to form a Japanese Camp on Timm's Point.<sup>87</sup>

Not long afterward, the Japanese single-handedly created California's tuna fishing industry. Albacore tuna had never been caught commercially in California prior to the introduction of the hook-and-line method that Japanese fishermen began employing in 1912-13. Italian fishermen used nets that were fine for small sardines; tuna thrashed around in the nets creating blood spots on their flesh. In contrast, Japanese fishermen introduced the technique of chumming where live bait was dumped into the water luring schools of tuna to the boat. During the feeding frenzy, Japanese fishermen used barbless hooks on short bamboo poles to catch the tuna. Once they had a bite, the pole was snapped back tossing the tuna onto the deck. With these techniques, Japanese fishermen quickly "dominated the albacore industry."<sup>88</sup>

According to author Naomi Hirahara, "3,000 Japanese lived at Terminal Island or Fish Island in some 330 houses almost identical in size and appearance except for long houses designed for multiple occupants."<sup>89</sup> Differences in class were represented through interior decoration rather than exterior. The residences were typically two-bedrooms with a porch and a small fenced-in yard, and rented for \$6 per month. Bungalows were located along Tuna Street and Terminal Way. The fishing village also included a school, churches, and community meeting centers for social and sporting events. Residents had their own dialect known as *Taminaru-ben* (Terminal Island dialect), a blend of Japanese, English, and fishing terms. In 1916, the village saw a boost in population when Japanese relocated from the Santa Monica fishing village destroyed in a fire.



*Fishermen hooking tuna on the fishing boat, "San Lucas." Terminal Island, CA, c. 1930s (Gift of Dentaro Tani, Japanese American National Museum [94.191.1])*

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<sup>86</sup> Engineer E.P. Goodrich developed a plan for transforming Fish Harbor into an efficient industrial area. Goodrich's idea was to separate the fishing industry from the shipping industry so the residue of the packing industry would be carried seaward on the prevailing breezes. As a result, Goodrich built a large wharf, dredged and landfilled to reclaim 65 acres of land and 45 acres of anchorage to accommodate boats. Canneries were aligned along Wharf Street facing the ocean to receive incoming boats full of fish.

<sup>87</sup> Naomi Hirahara and Geraldine Knaz, *Terminal Island: The Communities of Los Angeles Harbor* (Los Angeles: Angel City Press, 2015), 125. The site of Timm's Point is California State Historical Landmark No. 384 and City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 171.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.



*Japanese residences on Terminal Island, c. 1941 (USC Digital Library, Japanese American Relocation Digital Archive, 1941-1946)*

Terminal Island boasted the second largest commercial district of Japanese businesses in the city of Los Angeles. Tuna Street was the main commercial street, with businesses lining both the east and west sides of the street beginning in the 1910s.<sup>90</sup> Cannery Street also housed a couple of cafes, a bait shop, and a few other stores.<sup>91</sup> Another small cluster of businesses was located at the western end of Terminal Way at Seaside Drive. In many cases, the merchants lived at the stores. Only a couple of commercial buildings are extant at Fish Harbor as reminders of this once active community.<sup>92</sup>

The area included a thriving industrial core. Canneries started moving to Fish Harbor in 1918. The first cannery established there in 1918 was the California Fish Company.<sup>93</sup> Others followed including: Van Camp Seafood Company, the International Packing Company, Seacoast Cannery, American Tuna Company, French Sardine Company (which became Starkist), Franco-Italian Cannery, California Seafood Company, and White Star Canning Company (which first trademarked the phrase “Chicken of the Sea”). Cannery workers were typically Filipino men and the Japanese women who came to the village as picture brides. None of the canneries remain.

Although most Japanese commercial businesses were concentrated on Terminal Island, a few businesses were scattered throughout downtown San Pedro. They included markets, barbers, cafes, and pool halls.

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<sup>90</sup> Nearly all buildings on Terminal Island were razed after incarceration. Only a couple of commercial buildings remain at 700-702 Tuna Street and have been altered.

<sup>91</sup> California Japantowns' website, Terminal Island, accessed December 9, 2016, [www.californiajapantowns.org](http://www.californiajapantowns.org).

<sup>92</sup> In 2002, the Terminal Island Japanese Fishing Village Memorial was dedicated at 1124 S. Seaside Avenue in San Pedro.

<sup>93</sup> Originally founded on February 25, 1893 as the Southern California Fish Company.

A few of the buildings that housed these businesses, particularly, Japanese-operated markets remain such as the 1930s Garden Basket No. 2 at 1231 S. Pacific (later San Pedro Ballet School).

San Pedro was also home to the premier resort for Southern California's Japanese population: White Point Hot Springs Hotel (not extant).<sup>94</sup> White Point Hot Springs was built by brothers Tojuro and Tajimi Tagami during the mid-teens on land previously leased to twelve Japanese American fishermen by Ramon Sepulveda. Discovery of a sulfur hot spring made the property attractive for its curative properties. The resort included a 50-room hotel, outdoor dance floor, restaurant, salt-water swimming pool, and boating area.



*Aerial view of White Point Hot Spring Hotel, August 1922 (Local History Collection, Palos Verdes Library District)*

Aside from Terminal Island, Boyle Heights, east of Downtown, was one of the city's largest early Japanese American residential communities outside of Little Tokyo.<sup>95</sup> The catalyst for Japanese settlement in Boyle Heights was the 1911 relocation of the Buddhist Temple to Savannah Street and a desire for a less urban environment in which to raise young families. The area also offered "the best selection of single-family housing untouched by restrictive covenants anywhere in the city."<sup>96</sup> A significant number of Japanese families moved to the area beginning in 1920.<sup>97</sup> An important early remaining resource is the Magnolia House at 2516 E. 3<sup>rd</sup> Street, which opened in 1922 as a boarding house for girls of European and Japanese descent.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> The hotel was located at S. Western Avenue and West Paseo del Mar. An extant fountain is assumed to have been associated with the hotel.

<sup>95</sup> Koyoshi Uono. "The Factors Affecting the Geographical Aggregation and Dispersion of the Japanese Residents in the City of Los Angeles" (master's thesis, University of Southern California, July 30, 1927), 133.

<sup>96</sup> Scott Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multi-Ethnic Los Angeles* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 42.

<sup>97</sup> Uono, "The Factors Affecting the Geographical Aggregation and Dispersion," 132.

<sup>98</sup> The Queen Anne style residence was built for Los Angeles City Councilman E.L. Blanchard and is also a significant example of an intact late nineteenth century residence in Boyle Heights.

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Due to the proximity of Boyle Heights to Little Tokyo, Japanese commercial development was relatively sparse in this neighborhood. By 1927, USC graduate student Koyoshi Uono mapped the presence of only two Japanese businesses in the area, both of which were groceries. One was on the east side of Mott Street, later the site of the Buddhist Church, and one was on the north side of E. First Street between N. Savannah Street and N. Evergreen Avenue (not extant).<sup>99</sup>

Another early Japanese enclave was Uptown (*Uemachi* or *Uwamachi*), in what became Koreatown. The area generally was bordered by San Marino Street on the north, W. Pico Boulevard on the south, Vermont Avenue on the east and Western Avenue on the west. The genesis of the enclave was around Fedora Avenue, and gradually spread first to the east on El Morino and Dewey Avenues between W. 10th and W. 11th Streets, then to the west with another pocket of residences along Hobart and Harvard Avenues between Pico Blvd. and W. Tenth Street. According to Uono, around the year 1900 several Japanese residents were living in rooming houses in the area such as the one at 1130 Fedora Street.<sup>100</sup> The people in the district were mainly day laborers and gardeners."<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Uono, "The Factors Affecting the Geographical Aggregation and Dispersion," 133.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*



Map of the Japanese community in the Uptown area, 1927 (Koyoshi Uono, 130)

Beginning in 1920, however, the population started to increase significantly, with roughly 80 percent of the nearly 200 Japanese residences in 1927 having been established there during the previous seven years.<sup>102</sup> By that time, the Japanese population of Uptown was living in five- to seven-room wood frame cottages. A few large rooming houses remained and “bungalow courts and flats were few.”<sup>103</sup> Uono also noted the presence of a few professionals and merchants in the area, and that the residents were still predominantly gardeners.<sup>104</sup> A rare remaining institutional building from this period is the 1930 Rafu Daini Gakuen (constructed as the Young Men’s Meeting House and later housing a Japanese language school) at 1035 Fedora Street.

In the fall of 1919, white owners from the Uptown neighborhood formed the Electric Home Protective Association to try to exclude the Japanese from the enclave. Some owners raised rents and others evicted the Japanese tenants. These restrictive efforts were only partially successful, and the area remained a Japanese enclave until the Japanese incarceration during World War II. In 1931, St. Mary’s Japanese Episcopal Church was built at 961 S. Mariposa Avenue (architects Allison and Allison) to serve the community. By the 1940 Census, neighborhood residents included retail workers, shopkeepers, florists, produce retailers, and maintenance gardeners.<sup>105</sup>

According to *The Japanese of Los Angeles*, Japanese Americans began moving to the Hollywood/Madison/J. Flats area in 1905-06. The area was generally bordered by Melrose Avenue on the north, the Hollywood Freeway on the south, Virgil Avenue on the east, and Vermont Avenue to the west. In 1905, there were 37 Japanese in Hollywood, a number that grew into the hundreds. Most of the Japanese residents in Hollywood worked as maintenance gardeners or domestic servants.<sup>106</sup> As such, they typically lived in the homes of their employers rather than on their own.<sup>107</sup>

Japanese Americans did create two distinct communities in the greater Hollywood area. One was more centrally located near Sunset Boulevard and Cahuenga Avenue. The other, referred to here as the Madison/J Flats enclave was concentrated along Madison, Westmoreland, and Virgil Avenues at Clinton Street. Although the Hollywood and Madison/J. Flats communities were not contiguous, they shared similar patterns of residential development. Intact boarding houses for Japanese men from the pre WWII period are extant in the Madison/J Flats area at 560 (Joyce Boarding House) and 564 N. Virgil Avenue. The latter was also listed as the Obayashi Employment Agency in the *1939 Sun Year Book*. Other resources may be identified along Virgil Avenue with further research.

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 130.

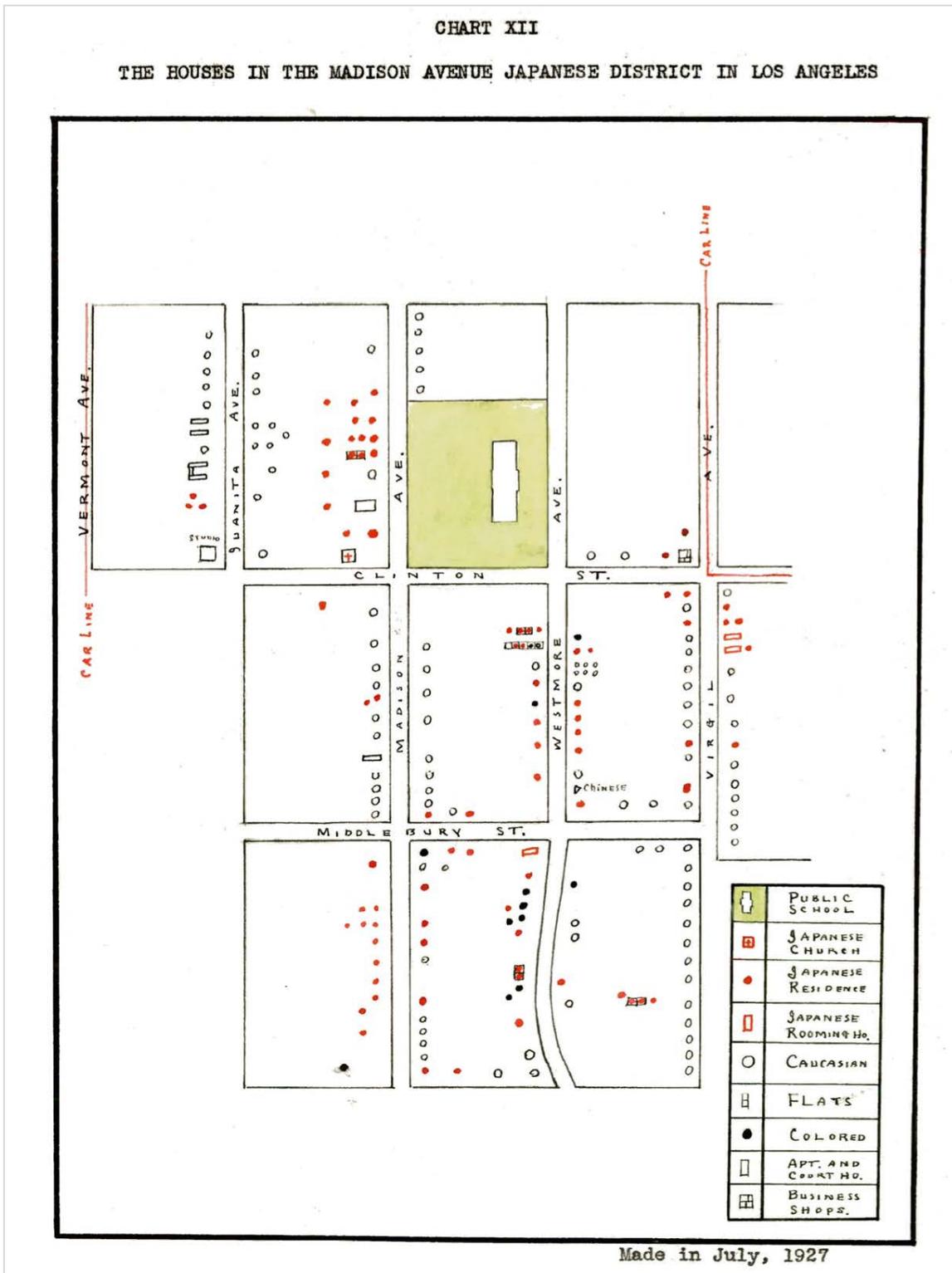
<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>105</sup> 1940 U.S. Census.

<sup>106</sup> Mason and McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles*, 3.

<sup>107</sup> Uono, “The Factors Affecting the Geographical Aggregation and Dispersion,” 139.



1927 map of the Japanese community in the Madison are (Koyoshi Uono, 139)  
 Note "Westmore Avenue" is present-day Westmoreland Avenue.

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In the Hollywood enclave, Japanese residences tended to cluster along Cahuenga Avenue between Lexington and Selma Streets, while other small groups lived on Tamarind and Gordon Streets. The Tamarind Street grouping dates back to 1910 when the Japanese purchased about ten lots in a new tract located near the 1400 block.<sup>108</sup> The residences in the tract were modest wood-frame buildings constructed between 1911 and 1914.<sup>109</sup> In 1916, all four of the Japanese residents on Tamarind listed in the City Directory were gardeners (Frank T. Aiso, M. Iiyama, H. Suzuki, and S. Yamamoto, who also ran a nursery at 1343 Bronson Avenue).<sup>110</sup> Frank T. Aiso's residence at 1406 Tamarind Avenue remains standing.

Japanese businesses in Hollywood were scattered around the community. The earliest report of Japanese retail ventures in the area included "a small Japanese business district in the 1500 block of N. Cahuenga Boulevard around 1910 when Hollywood was consolidated with the city of Los Angeles."<sup>111</sup> By 1927, at least one of these stores remained, as Uono documents a Japanese grocery store in Cahuenga Boulevard between Sunset Boulevard and Selma Avenue (not extant). There was also a Japanese restaurant between Selma Avenue and Hollywood Boulevard (not extant).



*Japanese-operated Stop and Shop owned by family members Isao and Harue at Santa Monica Boulevard at St. Andrews Place in Hollywood (not extant), c. 1930. (Los Angeles Public Library, Shades of LA Collection: Japanese American Community)*

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<sup>108</sup> Prior to the passage of 1913's Alien Land Law, which prohibited the purchase of any kind of land by the Japanese, the Issei could purchase land not associated with agriculture. Few Japanese had the means to do so. The economic circumstances that allowed these men to purchase their lots is unknown.

<sup>109</sup> Uono, "The Factors Affecting the Geographical Aggregation and Dispersion," 139-140.

<sup>110</sup> 1916 Los Angeles City Directory.

<sup>111</sup> Mason and McKinstry, *The Japanese of Los Angeles*, 20.

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In spring of 1923, white residents known as the Hollywood Protective Association rallied to oust the “yellow menace” from Hollywood.<sup>112</sup> Large banners reading “Japs Keep Moving—This is a White Man’s Neighborhood” were hung across the porch of the home of Mrs. B.G. Miller at 1452 Tamarind Avenue (not extant). The protesters focused on the five lots (including the church) owned by the Japanese and a large nursery facility on Tamarind a block south of Sunset Boulevard where “five to ten Japanese families” were living.<sup>113</sup> Although the agitators convinced the City Council to condemn the Japanese properties, reparations for the value were to be made by the neighbors who would not pay. The church moved away from the area in 1927.<sup>114</sup>



Mrs. B. G. Miller protests her Japanese neighbors in 1923.  
(Los Angeles Times Archive, UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library, Department of Special Collections)

The Pacoima/Sun Valley Japanese American community had its roots in agriculture, as many Japanese Americans came to the area as agricultural laborers and truck farmers for flowers and vegetables. The Issei were drawn to the northeastern San Fernando Valley by the agricultural opportunities afforded by the open land and Big Tujunga Creek. During the teens, the Issei began cultivating the area later known as Pacoima in earnest alongside a mix of other immigrant populations including a substantial number of Latinos and Italians.

By the 1920 Census, 137 Japanese were farming in the area. Mostly family affairs, these truck farms were interspersed throughout the area with concentrations along Branford, Beachy, Arleta, Osborne, and Pierce Streets. A large boarding house for about 15 farm laborers was located on San Fernando Road and Astoria Street.<sup>115</sup> By 1930, the number of Japanese farming in the area had increased 50 percent, to more than 165.<sup>116</sup> Japanese farms appear to have been clustered in two general areas: in Pacoima north of Glenoaks Boulevard west of Osborne Street; and in Arleta in an area bordered by Laurel Canyon Boulevard to the north, Canterbury Avenue to the south, Branford Street to the east, and Terra Bella Street to the west.<sup>117</sup> Japanese farms/residences were common along Beachy, Canterbury, Osborne, Arleta, Montague, and Branford Streets. By 1942, Japanese farmers operated 115 ranches in the Tujunga Valley.<sup>118</sup> Little evidence of these farms or residences remains. Japanese Americans lived side by side with African Americans and a large Latino population. During this period, the area had little

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<sup>112</sup> “Banners Aimed at Jap Church,” *Los Angeles Examiner*, May 18, 1923, n.p.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> Uono, “The Factors Affecting the Geographical Aggregation and Dispersion,” 140.

<sup>115</sup> Given the rural nature of these areas, 1910 Census takers did not list addresses.

<sup>116</sup> Based on a mapping of Japanese in the Enumeration District, 19-607 in the 1930 Census.

<sup>117</sup> The area around Big Tujunga Creek was also known as Roscoe.

<sup>118</sup> Laura R. Barraclough, *Making the San Fernando Valley: Rural Landscape, Urban Development and White Privilege* (Atlanta: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 130.

commercial activity by and for the Japanese community, as most sought goods and services in Little Tokyo.

Like Pacoima/Sun Valley, the Venice Japanese American enclave was established as a farming community. During the 1910s, approximately 50 Japanese farming families made their way to the then-rural areas of eastern Venice along the Ballona Creek near Culver Drive. Many of them lived with the Japanese hired men they used to help cultivate the land. The presence of so many Japanese families spurred the early establishment of the Venice Japanese language school (Venice Gakuen) in 1925.<sup>119</sup> The area was nearly void of commercial enterprises until after World War II.

Japanese farmers from these more rural enclaves continued to sell their goods at Downtown markets. A large number of Japanese farmers became involved in the cut flower industry. In 1922, the Southern California Flower Market moved to 753-755 Wall Street (1922 building demolished). A distinct Flower District began forming during the 1920s using previously constructed single-story warehouses, garages, and retail shops. Japanese farmers also sold their goods at the six-acre City Market of Los Angeles at the corner of 9<sup>th</sup> and San Pedro Streets, built in 1909 (demolished),<sup>120</sup> and at the Los Angeles Union Terminal at 7<sup>th</sup> Street and Central Avenue, completed in 1918 (extant).<sup>121</sup> Many of the market workers, including a substantial number of Japanese community members, resided in nearby boarding houses, many of which no longer remain.

California's passage of the Alien Land Law of 1913 had a profound impact on the Japanese community. In response to anti-Japanese sentiment, the law prohibited "aliens ineligible for citizenship" from owning land or holding long-term leases. In 1920, California took land laws a step further by passing an amendment to the law prohibiting short-term leases to aliens ineligible for citizenship, and prohibiting "stock companies owned by aliens ineligible for citizenship from acquiring agricultural lands."<sup>122</sup> Although the community developed workarounds, including placing land in the names of their small Nisei children who had U.S. citizenship, the laws repressed economic development within the community.

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<sup>119</sup> The school became the Venice Japanese Community Center, located at 12448 Braddock Drive.

<sup>120</sup> Although the 1909 buildings have been demolished, there were ancillary extant buildings in the adjacent area historically owned by City Market.

<sup>121</sup> By 1940, City Market had grown to be one of the largest wholesale produce facilities in the country. Union Terminal is listed on the California Register of Historical Resources and has been formally determined eligible for the National Register through the Section 106 review process.

<sup>122</sup> Cherstin M. Lyon, "Alien Land Laws," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed January 5, 2017, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Alien\\_land\\_laws/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Alien_land_laws/).



*Japanese produce department in unidentified market with artistic vegetable display, date unknown (UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library, Department of Special Collections)*

The laws also resulted in a shift in agricultural employment patterns. During this period, niche markets of employment included Japanese nurseries, maintenance gardening, wholesale/retail flower sales, and wholesale/retail produce. These occupations required little capital funding and did not depend on land ownership. The laws also encouraged the urbanization of the Nikkei population and increased migration from rural counties in California to Los Angeles where economic opportunity was the highest.<sup>123</sup> As a result, Japanese began to dominate the retail produce business throughout the city—either with their own retail stores/stands, or in the produce departments of grocery stores. Although

Japanese manufacturing entities were rare, the few that existed had strong ties to agriculture. These included the Los Angeles Basket Co. (produced strawberry baskets, not extant), Yano Crate Co. (not extant), and Three Star Box and Crate Co. (not extant), all of which were located in Little Tokyo.<sup>124</sup>

For the early Japanese immigrants, the capital required to start businesses often had to come from their savings, as they were unable to obtain loans from mainstream banks in the United States. The community responded by developing its own financial infrastructure: in the early 1910s, a number of *tanomoshi* (community-based rotating credit associations) were established to provide the capital needed to form businesses.

By the mid-1910s, several Japanese branch banks had opened in greater Little Tokyo. The first Tokyo-owned bank was the Yokohama Specie, Ltd.; the second was Sumitomo Bank, Ltd. These were followed by *Neichbei Ginko* (Japanese American Bank), and the *Kimmon Ginko* (Golden Gate Bank). After the 1908 depression in Japan, the latter two banks collapsed and many Japanese on both sides of the Pacific lost their savings. With no way to obtain loans from the homeland, the *tanomoshi* became even more important. By the 1920s, in recognition of the potential for expanded Japanese-American trade, new Japanese branch banks were established in Los Angeles. None of the buildings that housed these institutions are extant.

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<sup>123</sup> Gretchen Tuthill, “A Study of the Japanese in the City of Los Angeles,” (master’s thesis, University of Southern California, 1924), 11.

<sup>124</sup> *Rafu Shimpo Yearbook*, 1938-39, (Los Angeles, CA: Rafu Shimpo, 1939), 39.

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In the early twentieth century, the number of *kugakusei* (student-boys or student laborers) continued to grow. By 1912, there were 28 such students. USC was known to have one of the largest populations of Japanese students of any university in the country.<sup>125</sup> Students studied liberal arts, engineering, law, dentistry, theology, sociology, philosophy, and education. George F. Bovard, President of USC, placed special emphasis on the development of an “Oriental Department” with the intent to “counteract the influence of Yellow Journalism.”<sup>126</sup> That same year the Japanese Student Association was formed at USC. Because many of these students were engaged as servants, they lived with wealthy families around the city; others appear to have resided in boarding houses.<sup>127</sup> By 1919, USC enrollment included two



USC President Dr. Bovard with Japanese students at the University in 1919 (Japanese El Rodeo, 1919, no page. USC Digital Library)

female Japanese students. Japanese American graduates from USC include Seijiro Shibuya (1882-1949) and Masaharu Yamaguchi (1878-1931), the founding editors of the *Rafu Shimpo*; Nagisa Mizushima (1887-1983), an early dental school graduate; and Sei Fujii (1882-1952), lawyer and land rights activist.

During the mid-1920s, additional legal restrictions on Japanese immigrants were put in place. In 1922, The Cable Act decreed anyone marrying an alien ineligible for citizenship would lose their citizenship. This discouraged marriage between Nisei and Issei generations. The same year, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Ozawa v. United States* that Japanese people were not white; therefore, they could not become naturalized citizens. The final blow came with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 (also known as the Johnson-Reid Act). The Immigration Act of 1924 was aimed at curtailing emigration of Jews, Italians, Slavs, and Greeks, and it targeted Japanese whose entry was previously regulated through non-legislative means including the Gentlemen’s Agreement.

In summary, the Japanese community in Los Angeles thrived during the early 1920s despite increasing anti-Japanese sentiment and dehumanizing racial policies. Young families moved into residential neighborhoods. They established institutions to take care of their community, both in Little Tokyo and in the suburbs. They revolutionized industries including fishing, agriculture, and floriculture, and prepared themselves to grow and prosper in a rapidly expanding Los Angeles.

<sup>125</sup> *Japanese El Rodeo* 1, June 15, 1912, 1.

<sup>126</sup> Japanese Student Association, University of Southern California, *Japanese El Rodeo*, (Los Angeles, 1919), 2.

<sup>127</sup> USC Japanese Studies Special Collection: Japanese Issei Students Research Guide, accessed November 15, 2016, <http://libguides.usc.edu/c.php?g=234962&p=1561943>.

### Japanese Stabilization and Community Development, 1925-1940

Despite restrictive immigration and landownership laws, the Japanese community in Los Angeles flourished during the remaining years before World War II—largely due to the Nisei. Most Nisei were born between 1910 and 1930 and this led to the development of many Japanese American cultural institutions. It also set the stage for a clearly defined age and cultural gap between the Issei and Nisei.

Expanding families fueled the suburbanization of the Japanese American community in Los Angeles. The city of Los Angeles' Japanese American population grew during the 1920s and 1930s at a rate of approximately 10 percent per decade (**Table 3**). Migration to Seinan/Southwest/West Jefferson, Sawtelle, Uptown, and Boyle Heights continued while Little Tokyo remained the commercial, social, and entertainment center for Japanese Americans throughout the region.

In Boyle Heights, construction of significant schools, churches, and temples continued into the late 1920s and 1930s. These include the Tenrikyo Junior Church of America at 2727 E. 1<sup>st</sup> Street (1937-39), the Konko Church at 2924 E. 1<sup>st</sup> Street (1937-38), and the Higashi Honganji Buddhist Temple (1926-27), all designed by Yos Hirose, and the Japanese Baptist Church at 2923 E. 2nd Street (1926, extant/alterd) built by the Los Angeles City Baptist Missionary Society in 1926-29.<sup>128</sup>

The 1929 Japanese Hospital, located at 101 S. Fickett in Boyle Heights (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 1131), was formed to provide health care to Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans and other minority groups who were continually discriminated against and denied treatment at public health care facilities. Three years earlier a group of Japanese doctors, (Kikuwo Tashiro, Daishiro Kuroiwa, Fusataro Nayaka, Toru Ozasa, and Matsuta Takahashi) combined their savings to lease land to build a hospital. The effort received overwhelming support and funding from the Japanese community. When the group went to incorporate the hospital formally, California Secretary of State Frank C. Jordan barred the incorporation. In his decision, Jordan cited the 1911 Treaty of Commerce that established the rights of Japanese nationals living in the United States, claiming that Japanese nationals were not allowed to incorporate and to lease land.

The group of physicians hired attorney Jacob Marion Wright, a trusted ally of the Japanese community and an advocate for civil rights, to represent them in their appeal to the California Supreme Court. In the case *Tashiro v. Jordan*, they argued that the 1911 Treaty of Commerce was broadly ambiguous and that a precedent had already been established since many Japanese were already allowed to lease land for their stores. The California State Supreme Court agreed with the arguments and overturned Jordan's denial of the hospital's incorporation. Jordan went on to appeal the decision to the United States Supreme Court. In 1928, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the lower court's decision. In 1929, after many years of struggle, the hospital incorporated and began construction. Architect Yos Hirose designed the

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<sup>128</sup> The Tenrikyo Church complex occupies several lots at the southwest corner of E. 1<sup>st</sup> Street and Saratoga Street with additions and new construction over the years. This church and the Konko Church remain in operation. A new Higashi Honganji Church was constructed in 1976 at 505 E. 3<sup>rd</sup> Street; the Rissho Kosei-Kai Buddhist Temple occupies the old location. The Japanese Baptist Church has been significantly altered.

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hospital in the Streamline Moderne style. The Japanese Hospital and the Turner Street Hospital in Little Tokyo operated separately from 1929 until 1935, when Turner Street merged with the Japanese Hospital.<sup>129</sup>

During the late 1920s, Seinan/Southwest/West Jefferson overtook Boyle Heights as the second largest concentration of Japanese Americans outside of Little Tokyo and Terminal Island. The Seinan/Southwest/West Jefferson enclave started out as the 36<sup>th</sup> Street/37<sup>th</sup> Street enclave in the 1920s between Western and Budlong Avenues then gradually expanded east to the neighborhoods bordering the University of Southern California and west to Arlington Avenue by the end of the 1930s.

Table 4: Estimated Japanese Population of Major Enclaves in the City of Los Angeles c. 1927<sup>130</sup>

Little Tokyo	2,500
Terminal Island	2,200
Boyle Heights	1,400
Seinan/36 <sup>th</sup> Street	1,200
Uptown/10 <sup>th</sup> Street	800
Venice	750
Sawtelle	400
Other	N/A

Prior to World War I, the area was primarily white. The modest single-family wood-frame California Bungalow residences were converted to rentals during the 1920s and 1930s and populated by African Americans and Japanese. Early Japanese residents were mostly maintenance gardeners who sought to live in a more central, less urban location than Little Tokyo so they could be nearer to their clients.<sup>131</sup> Japanese residents were interspersed with African Americans throughout the area, and concentrations included 35<sup>th</sup>, 36<sup>th</sup>, 37<sup>th</sup> Streets/Place between Western Avenue and Vermont Avenue, as well as the area north of Jefferson Boulevard, south of 28<sup>th</sup> Place, to Western Avenue on the east and Arlington Avenue on the west.<sup>132</sup> Many bungalows from this period remain in these neighborhoods as well as rooming houses for Japanese American men working as gardeners and in other occupations such as those located at 1507 and 1511 W. 37<sup>th</sup> Place.

During the mid-1930s as the population expanded westward, the area then known as the Crestmore Tract became a flash point for racism. Racial restrictions preventing the rental of the properties to people of color were put to the test and two hundred property owners west of Cimarron Street launched a 1933 campaign to “...drive out all Mongolians and Negroes from their homes” on West 30<sup>th</sup> and West 31st Streets.<sup>133</sup> Mrs. Tsurue Kuranaga (1884-1958) refused to move and was forcibly ousted from her rented home. In 1940, a committee to uphold restrictive covenants dislodged Nisei

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<sup>129</sup> Hayashi, 10.

<sup>130</sup> Based on estimates from Uono’s thesis maps and 1930 Census data.

<sup>131</sup> Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 59.

<sup>132</sup> Based on the mapping of the *Rafu City Residence Directory of 1940-1* in the book *Seinan*, 230-232.

<sup>133</sup> Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 60.

homeowners and Nikkei tenants from the Crestmore Tract. Based on the *Rafu City Residence Directory of 1940-1941* more than 700 Japanese households existed in the neighborhood. Many of the homes from this period still dot the area.

Seinan/Southwest/West Jefferson was also home to several Japanese-operated businesses. An early commercial/industrial institution was the New Fashion Cleaners and Dye Works on Western Avenue. After an explosion in 1924, New Fashion Cleaners and Dye Works was rebuilt. The commercial district of Japanese stores was concentrated on the west side of Normandie Avenue south of 35<sup>th</sup> Street to just south of 36<sup>th</sup> Place. As of 1940, businesses here included the Fujisaka Drug Store, Kadoya Ice Cream and Candy Shop, a market, a dental office, dry cleaners and barbershop. They all served the convergence of Nikkei residents.<sup>134</sup>



*Kobayakawa Boarding House in Sawtelle (not extant), known unofficially as the "gardeners' college" (Greenmakers, 71)*

Sawtelle was the westernmost Japanese American enclave in Los Angeles, predating Sawtelle's consolidation to the City of Los Angeles in 1922. The Japanese initially came to the area to work in the agriculture fields south of Pico Boulevard or at the nearby Soldier's Home. Mapping Japanese surnames from the 1930 U.S. Census reveals that there were concentrated clusters of Japanese residents along Sawtelle Boulevard, and Beloit, Cotner, and Pontius Avenues, including a substantial

number of residents south of Olympic Boulevard. In the late 1920s, Riichi Ishioka moved from Hollywood to Sawtelle where he established the Kobayakawa Boarding House (not extant) on Sawtelle Boulevard. He quickly expanded to six rental units housing up to 60 tenants.<sup>135</sup>

Ishioka provided apprentice training and established gardening routes for his tenants, resulting in the boarding house becoming known as an unofficial gardeners' college.<sup>136</sup> The boarding house continued to serve primarily as housing for maintenance gardeners into the mid-1970s.<sup>137</sup> Nearly all of the residents were involved either in the nursery trade or as gardeners in private homes. The area appears to have been populated primarily with single-family residences, although some large boarding houses were scattered throughout the enclave. Given the number of residents enumerated on Sawtelle Boulevard itself, it appears that in addition to residing in the boarding house, some Japanese lived in or at the rear

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<sup>134</sup> Ansho Mas Uchima and Minoru Shinmoto. *Seinan: Southwest Los Angeles* (Fullerton, CA: Nikkei Writers Guild Division of Japanese American Living Legacy, 2010), 145.

<sup>135</sup> Hirahara, *Greenmakers*, 45.

<sup>136</sup> "Sawtelle," California Japantowns, accessed March 2017, <http://www.californiajapantowns.org/sawtelle.html>.

<sup>137</sup> "Home for Gardeners Has Lawns of Cement," *Los Angeles Times*, January 19, 1975, 24.

of their stores. Many of the single-family residences in the area were razed for freeway construction in later years.

During the 1930s, Japanese businesses started to spring up along S. Sawtelle Boulevard in support of the nursery district and surrounding residential enclave.<sup>138</sup> Sanborn maps of S. Sawtelle Boulevard show the area was still primarily residential and nurseries as late as 1928. At the time, there were six grocery stores, six gas stations, and four flower shops in addition to the 13 nurseries.<sup>139</sup> Notably the area had a Chop Suey house, and no other restaurants before the war.<sup>140</sup> By 1940, there were eight gas stations and garages, three grocery stores, five shops, four barbers, and one beauty salon.<sup>141</sup> In the same year, 310 households or approximately 1,300 people lived in the Sawtelle enclave.<sup>142</sup> To accommodate the growing population, it was common to add residential units to existing commercial and residential buildings. Many Japanese also built a residential unit at the rear of the property and used it for rental income.<sup>143</sup> In the mid-1930s, the West Los Angeles Community Methodist Church located to 1913 Purdue Street.

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<sup>138</sup> Horn, "Sawtelle Reexamined," 31.

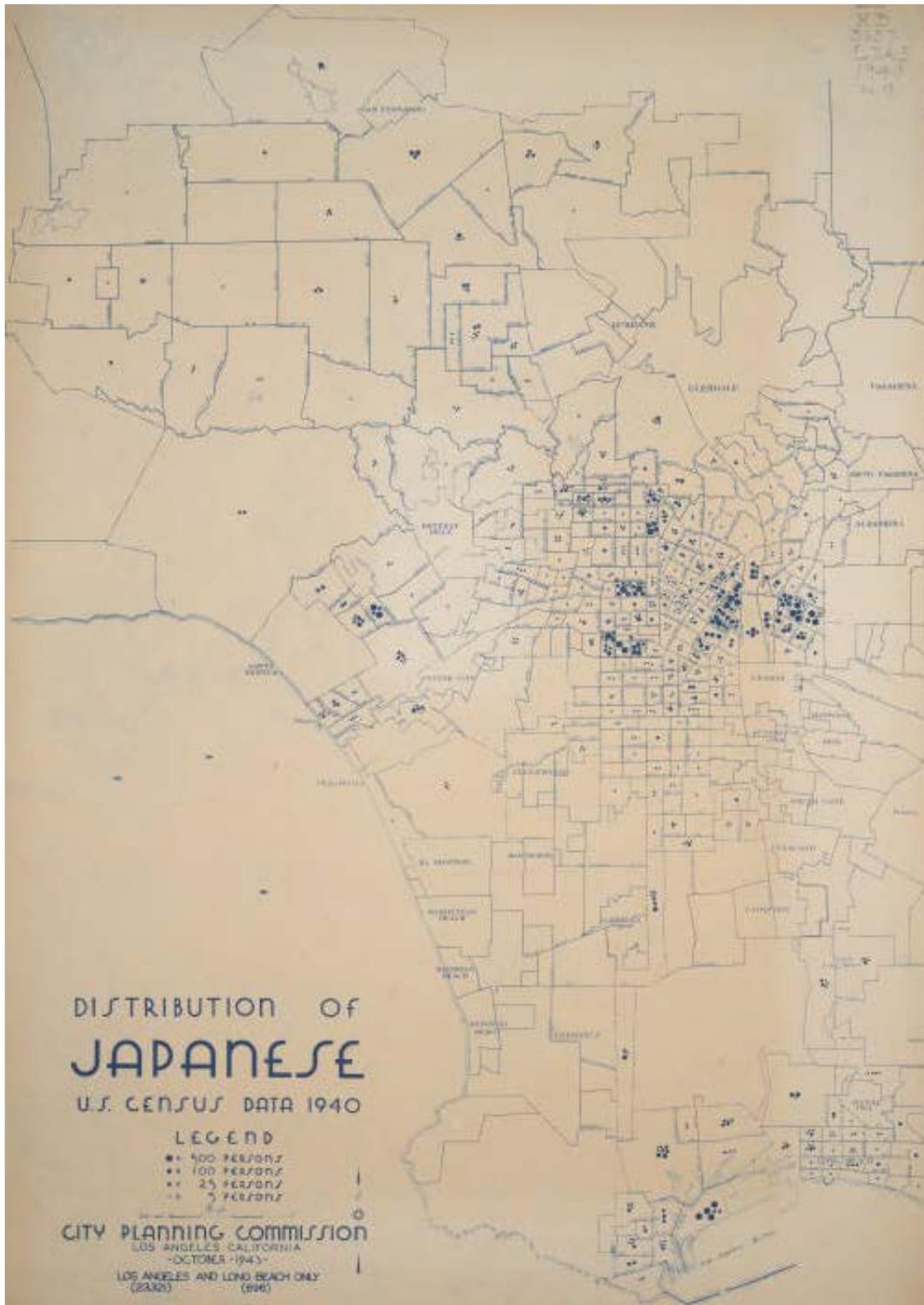
<sup>139</sup> Hirahara, *Greenmakers*, 45.

<sup>140</sup> Horn, "Sawtelle Reexamined," 31.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 32

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.



LA City Planning Map of 1940 showing Terminal Island, Sawtelle, and other key enclaves (Special Collections, UCLA. <http://oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb138nb0qm/?brand=oac4>)

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The San Fernando Valley was also home to a relatively large number of Japanese before the war. By some estimates, as many as 3,200 Japanese were living in the area prior to their forced removal and incarceration. Most of these were farming families.<sup>144</sup> Although distant neighborhoods like Sawtelle developed commercial districts to serve their neighborhoods, Little Tokyo continued to serve as the social, commercial, and entertainment hub of the valley's Japanese American community.

In Japanese communities throughout Los Angeles and the region, the Nikkei were supported by Japanese social, religious, cultural, and political institutions. These institutions often served multiple functions within the community. Christian churches, Buddhist temples, Japanese language schools (*gakuen*), community service organizations, boys' and girls' clubs, and sports leagues all flourished during this period. The presence of so many Japanese language schools in the region necessitated the formation of the Southern California Japanese Language School Association in 1927. Several of the buildings housing Japanese language schools remain standing in neighborhoods around Los Angeles and include the Sawtelle Gakuen (1220 Corinth Ave.) and Soshi Jiku (464 N. Westmoreland Avenue.).



*Students at the Japanese Daini Gakuen, a Japanese language school, c. 1940 (USC Digital Library)*

Ongoing discrimination against the Japanese meant that first and second generations were often barred from participating in mainstream social clubs and organizations. Localized Nikkei clubs, schools, and sports leagues provided the dual purpose of building neighborhood communities and knitting together the increasingly suburban population through frequent interaction. Still other clubs and organizations were focused on Little Tokyo where participants were drawn widely from throughout the Southern California region. While most organizations were established by the Japanese themselves, some were founded by non-

Japanese as part of local Christian missions. Saint Francis Xavier Church and School (constructed between 1921 and 1939) at 222. S. Hewitt Street played a significant role as the first Catholic Mission dedicated to the Japanese in America. The building's service to the Japanese community is reflected in its Asian Eclectic architecture.<sup>145</sup>

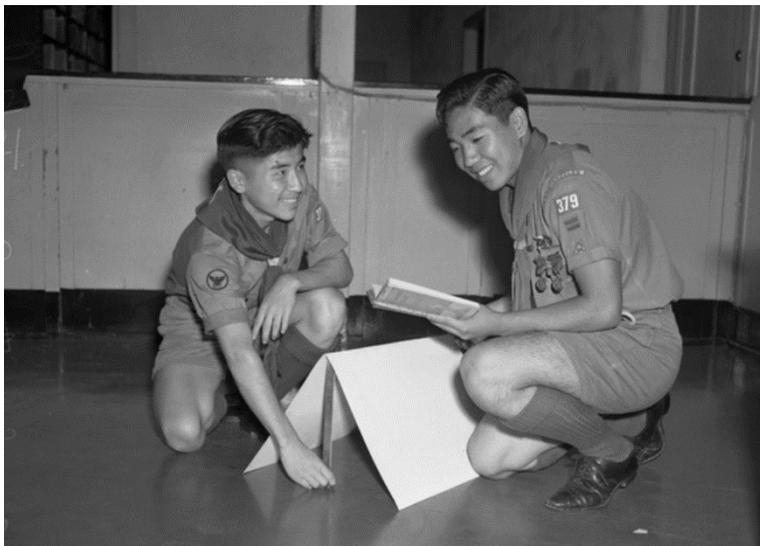
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<sup>144</sup> "Telling Our Stories: Japanese Americans in the San Fernando Valley, 19102-1970s," Discover Nikkei, accessed November 16, 2016 <http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/nikkeialbum/albums/241/>.

<sup>145</sup> The school may have an extant grotto constructed by Ryozo Kado, a significant Issei landscape architect.

One of the key vehicles for Nisei girls' synthesis of models of femininity was the segregated Japanese YWCA.<sup>146</sup> Another one of the important organizations was the Oliver Club, founded in 1917 by Nellie Grace Oliver (1861-1947). Despite the concentration of clubs in Little Tokyo, few resources associated with these groups remain.

Some of these institutions focused on the preservation of traditional cultural practices (language schools, kendo dojos, and sumo clubs). Others provided a hybrid of more American activities (baseball leagues, Sunday schools) for young Nisei. *Kodomo no tame ni* (For the sake of the children) was a common principle among Issei parents of the time.<sup>147</sup> The cultural dichotomy, however, between Japanese and American traditions fueled a generation gap between Issei and Nisei. By the 1930s, the Nisei had established a broad network of organizations within their communities.



L: Two Boy Scouts, Joe Takahasi and Toshio Mashimoto, c. 1940 (UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library, Department of Special Collections, Los Angeles Daily News Negatives) R: Four boys engaged in kendo, 1935 (UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library, Department of Special Collections, Los Angeles Times Photo Archive)

The generation gap became institutionalized with the establishment of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) in Washington and Los Angeles in 1929—the largest Japanese civil rights organization in the U.S. Open only to Nisei, local chapters initially held meetings to discuss common Nisei issues, raise Nisei political awareness, encourage voter registration, and support advocacy efforts.<sup>148</sup>

Organized amateur sports were segregated for many decades of the twentieth century, and as with African Americans, the Japanese community developed its own network of organized leagues. In his book *“More Than a Game: Sports in the Japanese American Community,”* editor Brian Niiya reinforces

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<sup>146</sup> Valerie J. Matsumoto, *City Girls: The Nisei Social World in Los Angeles, 1920-1950* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2014), 25.

<sup>147</sup> Graves, Draft National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 12.

<sup>148</sup> The JACL Pacific Southwest District is located in the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center at 244 S. San Pedro Street.

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the idea that local sports leagues and organizations of all types were important within early Japanese American communities. Later, sporting leagues helped unify the Issei and the American-born Nisei, providing common ground when generational identities did not.

Baseball was introduced to Japan at the same time it was introduced in the U.S. and it became a popular sport in both countries. On the U.S. mainland, Chiura Obata (1885-1975) founded the first organized Issei baseball team in San Francisco in 1903. Japanese American baseball teams began forming in earnest between 1915 and 1917.<sup>149</sup> Baseball fields began to sprout in every rural Japanese American settlement. Eventually wood grandstands, bleachers, dugouts, and concession stands were erected.<sup>150</sup> In densely populated urban environments, community ballparks were often used.

In 1926, the *Rafu Shimpō* reported that a dozen Nisei baseball teams with 120-130 players were playing baseball every Sunday in the Los Angeles area.<sup>151</sup> Teams were organized geographically or by profession. Teams included the San Pedro Skippers, headquartered at Terminal Island; the San Fernando Aces based in the Valley; the Diamonds, a team composed primarily of Uptown gardeners; a team of produce workers from Downtown's Grand Central Market; and two teams based in Hollywood.



L: Tokyo Giants player Jimmy Horio in 1935 (UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library, Department of Special Collections, Los Angeles Times Photo Archive) R: LA Nippons Baseball team, 1930 (*More Than a Game: Sport in the Japanese-American Community*, 101)

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<sup>149</sup> Kerry Yo Nakagawa, *Japanese American Baseball in California: A History* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2014), 210.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>151</sup> Yoichi Nagata, "The Los Angeles Nippons," in *More Than a Game: Sport in the Japanese American Community*, ed. Brian Niiya (Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 2000), 100.

During the 1920s, the Diamonds merged with a team fielded by the Oliver Club and became the Los Angeles Nippons. Known as “the pride of Lil’ Tokio,”<sup>152</sup> the Nippons were a semi-professional club that played against Caucasian and African American semi-pro clubs, Nisei teams from other areas, and the Chicago Cubs rookie team on Catalina. The Nippons also toured Japan. In 1929, the Little Tokyo World Series was held at the Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) ballpark in Culver City attracting 2,000 spectators. In 1930, the Japanese Athletic Union was founded. The golden age of Nisei baseball continued until World War II. There are no known extant resources associated with Nisei baseball in Los Angeles.

In addition to baseball, traditional Japanese sports were popular in the community including *sumo*, the national sport of Japan. In sumo, the religious and ceremonial aspects dissipated in the Japanese American version of the sport and it became more of a team vs. individual competition. Sumo tournaments were important vehicles for building ties between Japanese American communities.<sup>153</sup> The first organized Kendo activity in Los Angeles emerged in 1914, and by the end of the 1920s, the majority of participants were Nisei.<sup>154</sup> Both sports became popular with both Issei and Nisei. Judo clubs also became common in Southern California and tournaments were held regularly in Little Tokyo. Dojos, training facilities for Japanese martial arts, began to appear in several Los Angeles Japanese American communities.<sup>155</sup>

The 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles were also a source of community building for the city’s Japanese American population. The Empire of Japan competed in the games and Los Angeles’ large Issei and Nisei populations took great pride in welcoming the athletes and cheering for their success. The local community created a slogan and logo for the Games: *nihon wo kataseyo* (make Japan win). Large Japanese



*The banquet given for Japanese athletes from the 1933 Olympic Games at the Biltmore Hotel in 1933 (More Than a Game: Sport in the Japanese American Community, 98)*

crowds appeared at practice sites and it was estimated that Olympic ticket sales topped \$100,000 among the Japanese community.<sup>156</sup> Japan dominated in track and field and swimming, with athletes Chuhei Nambu, Miyazaki Tatsugo, and Kawaishi Tatsugo all winning gold medals. Japan also thrived in equestrian

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<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>153</sup> Brian Niiya, *More Than A Game: Sports in the Japanese American Community* (Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, 2000), 19.

<sup>154</sup> Little Tokyo Historical Society, *Los Angeles’ Little Tokyo* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 96.

<sup>155</sup> “Tenrikyo Church,” Los Angeles Conservancy, accessed January 9, 2018 <https://www.laconservancy.org/locations/tenrikyo-church>.

<sup>156</sup> Eric Yamamoto, “Memories of the 1932 Olympics,” in *More Than A Game: Sport in the Japanese American Community*, 93.

and field hockey, securing gold and silver medals, respectively. There are no known extant resources associated with Japanese Americans and the 1932 Olympic Games.

The pride in the local Japanese American Community was also in evidence in the establishment of the first Nisei Week celebration in 1934. As described by Togo Tanaka, former radio broadcaster and *Rafu Shimpo* reporter:

Exuberant Nisei came up with the idea of Nisei Week to lift the gray cloud of the Great Depression. They urged the Issei to cater more to Nisei patronage both in hiring and retail practice. That done, they would bring the customers. The JACLers sold the idea to leading Little Tokyo Issei merchants. Enough Issei merchants believed them to help fund the early effort. The Nisei went to work. They organized. It was a milestone in Little Tokyo community cooperation.<sup>157</sup>

Original Nisei Week organizers included Clarence Arima (1904-1980), Nisei manager of the Issei-owned Union Paper Supply Co. His co-chairman was Keiichi “Kay” Sugahara (1909-1988), owner of Universal Foreign Service, a customs brokerage firm. As Tanaka described, “the Nisei organizers planned their attractions around the best they could offer in ondo dancing, Japanese floral arrangements, tea ceremonies, martial arts, fashion shows, kimono-clad queen and attendants, calligraphy, art shows, and talent programs, in the hope that the transpacific cultural bridge would somehow flower and bloom.”<sup>158</sup>



*Japanese American pioneers at banquet at Kawafuku Café for 2nd annual Nisei Week celebration, 1935 (UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library, Department of Special Collections, Los Angeles Times Photographic Archives)*

Although Nisei Week was conceived as an early community development effort, the Nikkei community’s celebration of traditional festivals, or *matsuri* of Japan such as *ken jinkai* picnics, *mochitsuki*, *obon*, *hinamatsuri*, and *tango no sekku* had longstanding roots within the community. Festivals were often an organizing mechanism for the community’s clubs and social groups.

At this time, Southern California boasted a busy Japanese American art scene. Toyo Miyatake (1895-1979), an Issei photographer with a studio in Little Tokyo (364 E. 1<sup>st</sup> Street, not extant), documented many residents and his art photography was recognized in international salons. J.T. Sata (1896-1975) was a member of the Japanese Camera Pictorialists of California, a

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<sup>157</sup> Togo Tanaka, History of Issei Week, From the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Booklet as published on [www.niseiweek.org](http://www.niseiweek.org), accessed January 9, 2017.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

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Little Tokyo-based group of photographers “dedicated to exploring the artistic potential of the medium.”<sup>159</sup> Other local art photographers included Hiromu Kira (1898-1991), and Shinsaku Izumi (1880-1941).<sup>160</sup>

Local fine artists included Hideo Date (1907-2005), Benji Okubo (1904-1975), and Taro Yashima (1908-1994). Hideo Date and his fellow artists “were influenced by Orient across the Pacific just as N.Y. was influenced by Europe across the Atlantic.” He was part of the so-called “Independents,” a group of L.A.-based artists who rejected modernism and described their work as “linear-composition.”<sup>161</sup> Nisei men involved in art and architecture also formed a group call the Ateliers.<sup>162</sup> Famous local dancers/choreographers included Michio Ito (1892-1961) who had a studio in Little Tokyo, Thelma Shizuko Okajima (1901-unknown), and Teru Izumida (1906-1963). Because so many of these artists were located in Little Tokyo, studios or other buildings associated with them are rare.



*Japanese Pictorialists in the 1930s (“Making Waves: J.T. Sata,”  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s2NOXtYmtDo>, accessed February 8, 2017)*

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<sup>159</sup> Little Tokyo Historical Society, *Los Angeles’s Little Tokyo*, 119.

<sup>160</sup> “Reviving Images of Local History,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 19, 1982, 90.

<sup>161</sup> Outstanding Alumni: Hideo Date,” Otis College of Art and Design, accessed April 18, 2018, <https://www.otis.edu/alumni/hideo-date>.

<sup>162</sup> Correspondence to the author from Munson Kwok, Project Advisory Committee member, indicates that many Asian artists congregated at the SooChow Café in Chinatown during the early 1930s.



*L: Hideo Date and his fellow artists “were influenced by Orient across the Pacific just as N.Y. was influenced by Europe across the Atlantic.” He was part of the so-called “Independents,” a group of L.A.-based artists who rejected modernism and described their work as “linear-composition” (Otis College of Art and Design) R: Dancer Michio Ito spent a significant portion of his career before the war in Los Angeles (Toyo Miyatake, Ito Foundation)*

The prewar Japanese American architects’ community was small and focused primarily on serving Japanese clients. Given restrictions on landownership, opportunities for architects to build were limited. Completed projects were primarily institutional rather than commercial or residential. Japanese architects did not join established trade organizations such as the American Institute of Architects, whose members were nearly all Caucasian. One of the most prolific Japanese American architects of the period was Yos Hirose (1882-1963) who designed several early community churches and schools. His best known works include the Japanese Hospital (101 Fickett Street); the Japanese influenced Higashi Honganji Buddhist Church (2707 E. 1<sup>st</sup> Street) and the Rafu Chuo Gakuen Japanese Language School (204 N. Saratoga Street).<sup>163</sup> The 1938-39 Japanese phone book also lists a number of active Japanese American builders including Mieki Hayano, Saburo Muraoka, and Ray Tsukamoto.

During the Depression, many Japanese American women contributed to family businesses through paid or unpaid work. Nisei students continued to work their way through college, though often upon graduating could not find jobs in their chosen fields. As a result, many college-educated Nisei worked in family produce businesses or the produce departments of supermarkets.

During the late 1930s, deteriorating relations between the U.S. and Japan cast a shadow over the Japanese American community in Los Angeles. At the time, Japan was a heavily populated island short on natural resources and dependent upon trade. When the increasing nationalism and militarism of Japan erupted into full-blown war with China in 1937, the U.S. responded with economic sanctions against Japan.

Anti-Japanese sentiment once again flared. In 1935, Shigeo Takayama, President of the Roosevelt High School Japanese Club, led the construction of a Japanese Garden on the campus. It is believed that the students elected to create a Japanese garden (known as the Garden of Peace) in an attempt to soothe

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<sup>163</sup> The architect of the 1938 portion was Yos Hirose. Additions were made to the property in 1959 and 1965 and other alterations have occurred over time. The school remains in operation.

racial animosity against the Japanese.<sup>164</sup> As public fascination with Japanese gardens flourished in the 1920s and 1930s, many exquisite examples of such gardens had been created in Los Angeles for wealthy homeowners with the technical expertise and labor of the Nisei. According to author Kendal H. Brown, “aware of both the hostility facing them and the popularity of Japanese-style gardens, Japanese built gardens as a way of smoothing the path of acceptance in American society by emphasizing the most attractive manifestation of their culture.”<sup>165</sup> In the Sawtelle area, the Bay Cities Gardner’s Association landscaped the area around Stoner Park in the early 1930s; in 1950, the gardens were updated by Koichi Kawana, a notable landscape architect. Few examples of prewar Japanese gardens remain.<sup>166</sup>

In 1939, fueled by nationalism and militarism of its own, Germany invaded Poland, thrusting Europe into World War II. On December 7, 1941, the Empire of Japan launched a surprise attack on the U.S. Navy at Pearl Harbor, setting in motion a wave of anti-Japanese sentiment in America that would ultimately disrespect, incarcerate, and economically devastate Japanese American families and communities.

### **Japanese Forced Removal and Incarceration, 1941-1944<sup>167</sup>**

Within hours of the attack on Pearl Harbor, prominent Japanese American businessmen, clergy, school teachers, and others declared by the U.S. government to be enemy aliens were rounded up in FBI sweeps and detained in jails and Department of Justice Internment Camps. Particularly targeted were those members of the community who had worked in the preservation and education of Japanese tradition and culture, activities framed as disloyal to America. By December 8, 1941, 736 Los Angeles area Japanese immigrants were taken into custody.<sup>168</sup> Initially they were taken to makeshift temporary detention centers. In addition to Terminal Island in the Los Angeles Harbor, one such center was created when the U.S. Department of Justice took over a vacated Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp in the Tujunga area of Los Angeles and installed 12-foot-high barbed wire fences, guard posts, and floodlights. While the camp is not extant, a portion of the site has been locally designated as the Site of the Tuna Canyon Detention Center (City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 1039). Another detention camp was established at the CCC’s Camp Riverside in Griffith Park, one mile west of Victory Boulevard on South Riverside Drive. It included two separate but adjoining compounds, with double fences capped with barbed wire, sentry stations, and floodlights (not extant).<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> “Theodore Roosevelt High School Japanese Garden,” Discover Nikkei, accessed May 18, 2017, <http://www.discovernikkei.org/en/nikkeialbum/albums/50/>.

<sup>165</sup> Kendall H. Brown, “Territories of Play: A Short History of Japanese-Style Gardens in North America,” in Melba Levick, *Japanese-Style Gardens of the Pacific West Coast* (New York: Rizzoli International, 1999), 12-13.

<sup>166</sup> In the wake of Pearl Harbor and World War II, many Japanese-style gardens were demolished, abandoned, defaced, or relocated.

<sup>167</sup> The “Japanese Americans in World War II Theme Study” of the National Park Service (August 2012) is a major source for information on associated property types.

<sup>168</sup> Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 110.

<sup>169</sup> Griffith Park is City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 942. The CCC Camp is not extant.



*Japanese community leaders being arrested by FBI on Terminal Island, 1941 ( USC Digital Library)*

The Japanese community of Terminal Island was particularly hard hit, as stores were immediately shuttered and a blackout imposed. The military descended on the island and established the Terminal Island Immigration Center where many arrestees were interrogated. By December 9, 1941, 300 Japanese Americans were being held there. On February 2, 1942, FBI agents returned and rounded up 400 Japanese-born men with fishing licenses. They were taken to Union Station and sent to camps as far away as Montana. On February 27, soldiers in full uniform returned to Terminal Island and gave residents 48 hours to leave the Island.

Fear and prejudice against the Japanese community surged in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor. Hundreds of Japanese American workers were fired from their jobs and ethnic businesses were boycotted and shuttered. The Union Pacific fired its Japanese American railroad workers. Japanese civil servants lost their jobs. Half of Japanese American produce workers were laid off. Local political leaders encouraged anti-Japanese racism as a form of patriotism. Los Angeles Mayor Fletcher Bowron escalated the “Japanese Problem” by commissioning a report that identified Japanese Americans working for the Department of Water and Power and publicly suggesting that the Nisei were going to sabotage the city’s water supply. By the end of 1942, Bowron, State Attorney General Earl Warren, and Governor Culbert Olson stood in solidarity advocating for mass evacuation of Japanese Americans.

In late February 1942 headlines charging that Japanese had shelled oil wells in Santa Barbara set up the “Battle for Los Angeles” with air raid sirens, anti-aircraft fire, and reports of phantom Japanese planes that never materialized. As a result, 20 Japanese Americans in Los Angeles were arrested and accused of suspicious activity. Los Angeles’ Japanese population were subjected to 6:00 pm curfews and their travel was restricted to a five-mile radius from home. Japanese branch banks were closed and the financial assets were seized by the U.S. Treasury Department.

On February 18, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 that authorized the Secretary of War and any military commander designated by him “to prescribe military areas...from which any or all persons may be excluded.”<sup>170</sup> Although the order did not specify the exclusion of Japanese Americans, the intention was clear.

During February and March of 1942, John Tolan, chair of the House Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration (also known as “the Tolan Committee”) held hearings in Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles to discuss the forced removal of the Japanese. Again, Los Angeles Mayor

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<sup>170</sup> Brian Niiya, “Executive Order 9066,” in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed January 9, 2017, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Executive\\_Order\\_9066/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Executive_Order_9066/).

Fletcher Bowron played a role supporting the removal of “the entire Japanese population” because he knew of “no way to separate those who say they are patriotic and are, in fact, loyal at heart, and those who say they are patriotic and, in fact, are loyal to Japan.”<sup>171</sup>



*Members of the Japanese American Citizens' League testifying at the Tolan Committee hearings, 1942 (UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library, Department of Special Collections, Los Angeles Times Photographic Archive)*

Although individuals denounced the rising tide of racism, opposition voices never really coalesced into an organized movement. One outspoken local voice was progressive restaurateur Clifford E. Clinton who wrote an open letter denouncing the racism. Tokutaro “Tokie” Nishimura Slocum (1895-1974) headed the Anti-Axis Committee for the JACL (Slocum’s residence in 1939 was a bungalow court located at 2161 ½ W. 31<sup>st</sup> Place). Shortly after the Tolan Committee hearings, Togo Tanaka (1916-2009) attempted to mobilize the Japanese American community under the United Citizens Federation. The JACL’s philosophy was that cooperation would prove the loyalty of the community, and they therefore withdrew from the

Federation. As a result, opposition efforts quickly collapsed and wartime membership in the JACL plummeted.

On March 18, 1942, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) was established by Executive Order 9102 and created to administer the internment camps and Executive Order 9066. Between 1942 and 1945, approximately 120,000 Japanese Americans (including some 37,000 from Los Angeles County) were incarcerated in ten remote concentration camps.<sup>172</sup> To comply with the incarceration mandate, many Japanese Americans were forced to sell their businesses or property for pennies on the dollar. Particularly hard hit were farmers whose buildings were located on land leased from white property owners. Others were able to turn to trusted non-



*Buses along a Los Angeles Street waiting to relocate and imprison Japanese residents (National Park Service)*

Japanese friends or religious organizations to store their possessions and look after their property. A key player in this effort was the Reverend Julius Goldwater. Goldwater, was given power of attorney and safeguarded the homes and possessions of members of the Senshin Gakuin at 1336 W. 37<sup>th</sup> Place. Similarly, the Mount Hollywood Congregational Church at 1744 N. New Hampshire safeguarded possessions for the Japanese American congregation at the nearby Hollywood Independent Church.

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<sup>171</sup> Tolan Committee Hearings, Part 31, 11644.

<sup>172</sup> Greg Robinson, *After Camp, Portraits in Midcentury Japanese American Life and Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012), 60.

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Leaders from the YWCA's International Institute met with officials to persuade them to stop the forced removal of persons of Japanese ancestry; their efforts were unsuccessful.<sup>173</sup>

Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA) civil control stations or processing centers, the first step in the incarceration process, were established in churches and other buildings throughout Los Angeles. Japanese residents first registered at one of the control stations and then reported on their designated day of travel. Extant examples include the Japanese Union Church in Little Tokyo (120 N. San Pedro Street, St. Mary's Episcopal Church (610 S. Mariposa), the Japanese Institute of Sawtelle (2210 Corinth Avenue), and buildings at 923 Venice Boulevard and 360 S. Westlake Avenue.

As an interim step on the way to their final destinations, most Nikkei were taken to WCCA assembly centers. This included 18,719 Los Angeles residents taken first to Santa Anita Race Track, while another 5,434 were temporarily housed at the Pomona Fairgrounds.<sup>174</sup> The majority of Los Angeles Japanese were then bused to WRA relocation centers including Manzanar Camp near Lone Pine, California. Other camps housing Los Angeles residents included Amache, Colorado; Gila River, Arizona; Rohwer, Arizona; and Heart Mountain, Wyoming. Many prisoners from the San Pedro Bay area were sent to Jerome, Arkansas.



*Japanese men depart for Manzanar, 1942 (USC Digital Library)*

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<sup>173</sup> Email from Kirsten Hayashi, Project Advisory Committee member, to Sara Delgadillo Cruz of the Office of Historic Resources, February 15, 2018 with information compiled by the members of the Little Tokyo Historical Society.

<sup>174</sup> Japanese American National Museum, permanent exhibition.



*L: Temporary buildings at Santa Anita, 1942, where Japanese were taken for processing (Library of Congress) R: Incarcerated West Los Angeles sculptor George Takamura creates a wishing well for a Japanese garden at Manzanar (USC Digital Library)*

In 1943, the War Department and the WRA combined forces to assess the loyalty of Japanese incarcerated at the camps by creating the “loyalty questionnaire.” Questions 25 through 28 asked “whether an individual's birth had been registered in Japan, if the individual had renounced his Japanese citizenship, if the individual would serve in combat duty wherever ordered, and finally if he would declare loyalty to the United States and renounce allegiance to the Emperor of Japan.”<sup>175</sup> The questionnaires fomented a great deal of unrest within the Japanese community.

Unlike their mainland counterparts, Japanese residents in Hawaii were generally not incarcerated.<sup>176</sup> Many served in the armed forces as part of the highly decorated 442<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment, commonly known as the “Go for Broke” Regimental Combat Team (RCT). Ultimately, the 442<sup>nd</sup> included 1,100 volunteers from behind the barbed wire of the prison camps. While there are no known examples of buildings or structures associated with the 442<sup>nd</sup> a 1949 memorial to the 442<sup>nd</sup> Regimental Combat Team is located within Evergreen Cemetery at 204 N. Evergreen Avenue in Boyle Heights.<sup>177</sup>

During incarceration, African Americans moved into Little Tokyo and it became known as “Bronzeville.” By 1943, it was estimated that 3,000 persons, mostly black migrants from the southern U.S. were living in the business district of Little Tokyo.<sup>178</sup> A similar process of transition happened in West Jefferson.

Between 1942 and 1944, the Japanese communities of Los Angeles and throughout California were forever changed by forced incarceration. Businesses were lost, families were separated, neighbors were

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<sup>175</sup> Loyalty Questionnaire, Densho Encyclopedia, accessed January 9, 2017, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Loyalty\\_questionnaire/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Loyalty_questionnaire/)

<sup>176</sup> Recent research has revealed the existence of Honouliuli, a camp on Oahu.

<sup>177</sup> The cemetery also includes the Garden of the Pines memorial to Issei pioneers (1966) and the Go For Broke Monument and National Education Center honoring Japanese Americans in WWII (1999; 355 E. 1<sup>st</sup> Street)

<sup>178</sup> Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multi-Ethnic Los Angeles*, 161.

dislocated, and lives were lost in combat. For the Issei and Nisei, what lay ahead of them after the war was uncertainty. On December 17, 1944, President Roosevelt issued Public Proclamation Number 21, which rescinded the exclusion orders.

### **Japanese Resettlement, 1945-1959**

The first Nikkei to return to Los Angeles were the few who retained sufficient financial resources to keep their homes and businesses during their incarceration. As described by scholar John-Paul deGuzman, “a group of Nikkei known as the ‘scouts’ then returned to the city to explore the racial climate, assess the possibility of finding homes and employment and report their findings back to those still in the concentration camps.”<sup>179</sup> What they found was Japanese Americans returning to Los Angeles faced one of the worst housing crises in America, and few had homes from before the war to which they could return. The deficit was “unequaled in any other major city in the United States,” and in March of 1945, Mayor Fletcher Bowron announced Los Angeles needed 114,075 more housing units in the city.<sup>180</sup> During this period, some Nisei moved into tract homes to be near South Bay aviation and aerospace plants.<sup>181</sup> Many others moved out of the city of Los Angeles to Monterey Park and Gardena where restrictions were less prevalent. Despite this dispersal, Los Angeles’ Japanese American population grew 10 percent between 1940 and 1950 (**Table 3**).



*Japanese return from incarceration, c. 1944-5 (UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library, Department of Special Collections)*

Some Japanese Americans were fortunate to find temporary housing through the many religious institutions and community centers in Los Angeles. These included the Higashi Honganji Buddhist Temple (2707 E. 1<sup>st</sup> Street), St. Mary’s Episcopal Church (610 S. Mariposa), Evergreen Hostel (506 N. Evergreen Avenue),<sup>182</sup> a multi-family property at 2122 S. Corinth in Sawtelle (next to the neighboring Sawtelle Institute), Senshin Buddhist Temple (1311 W. 37<sup>th</sup> Street),<sup>183</sup> and the West Los Angeles Community Methodist Church (1913 Purdue Street). Many of these institutions served as temporary housing until

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<sup>179</sup> Jean-Paul deGuzman, “Japanese American Resettlement in Postwar America: The Los Angeles Experience,” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*, March 2016, accessed January 19, 2017, <http://americanhistory.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-270>.

<sup>180</sup> Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 166.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 245.

<sup>182</sup> The hostel was established by Reverend Sohei Kowta, a Presbyterian pastor. Originally known as the Forsythe Memorial School for Girls, the property is listed on the National Register under the *Latinos in Twentieth Century California* MPS for its earlier association.

<sup>183</sup> Religious programs were added to the Senshin Gakuin in 1947, and in 1951, it became the Senshin Buddhist Temple with an address of 1311 W. 37<sup>th</sup> Street. The temple and classroom buildings were designed by Japanese American architect TWA/Shimozono in 1965.

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about 1947. Demand for these spaces far exceeded supply. It is estimated that some tens of thousands of Japanese Americans were relocated to trailer camps throughout California—5,000 in the three trailer camps in the San Fernando Valley alone.<sup>184</sup> Two of the camps were located in the City of Burbank at Magnolia Boulevard at Lomita Street and Winona Boulevard at Hollywood Way. The third was in Sun Valley at San Fernando Road and Olinda Street. Opened in November of 1947, the Roscoe Trailer Park (not extant) as it was known remained open until 1956 and was the longest-running trailer camp for returning Japanese in California.

By all accounts, conditions in the trailer camps were substandard and bore many similarities to the conditions found at Manzanar and other incarceration facilities. Notably, when the War Relocation Authority transferred 513 Japanese to the Winona camp in Burbank, the camp lacked “...lights, sanitary facilities, and feeding facilities,” and makeshift meals were provided by the county-operated Olive View Sanitarium.”<sup>185</sup> Crude trailers were sold to the Japanese Americans for \$65 to \$110 each. Communal bathrooms and kitchens were provided at the camps.

Many Japanese returning to Los Angeles found that their stored stock and other business assets had been stolen or vandalized, and the storefronts were occupied by other tenants. Those who were fortunate enough to have commercial enterprises to come back to often lived in the rear of their businesses. The New Fashion Cleaners and Dye works (not extant) in Seinan was among the few local Japanese businesses to reestablish itself after the war.

Although many Japanese flower wholesalers were never able to regain their prewar prominence in the industry, California’s flower cultivation was still dominated by Japanese Americans in the postwar period. Places such as the new Los Angeles Wholesale Flower Terminal building (for the Southern California



*Arrivals at Evergreen Hostel (UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library, Department of Special Collections)*



*Trailer camp in Burbank, similar to the one in Sun Valley (UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library, Department of Special Collections)*

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<sup>184</sup> “Both Fond, Bitter Memories Post-War Trailer Park Refugees Plan Reunion,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 5, 1986, WS10.

<sup>185</sup> “Housing 513 Japs Creates Problem,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 13, 1946, 2.

Flower Market) at 755 Wall Street (built in 1962, and expanded in 1981) remained symbols in the Japanese community.<sup>186</sup> Gradually, newcomers of various ethnic backgrounds replaced the Japanese workers, suburban land for flower cultivation gave way to housing developments, and national and international growing and distribution altered trade patterns.<sup>187</sup>



*Ransacked Japanese warehouse from incarceration period, c. 1943-4 (UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library, Department of Special Collections)*

While many returning veterans were enjoying the benefits of the G.I. Bill, particularly the federally guaranteed home loans that acted as a gateway to homeownership for a generation, Japanese Americans who had served in the 442<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment were less fortunate. Although the VA guaranteed veteran loans under the G.I. Bill, they did not fund the loans directly. Veterans still had to secure financing from financial institutions, which was practically impossible for Japanese Americans. Western Federal Savings was the first mainstream bank to loan to the Japanese Americans. Fire insurance was also nearly impossible to obtain, as insurers feared “neighbors would burn their houses down.”<sup>188</sup> As a result, the practice of redlining and restrictive covenants trumped the

benefits of home loans for veterans enacted by the federal government. Some enterprising Japanese American realtors in Los Angeles learned to circumnavigate the system. One example was Crenshaw realtor Kazuo K. Inouye (1922-2002), who described how he worked with clients to either loan them money directly, or coordinated with local Japanese American credit unions to help them buy homes.<sup>189</sup>

After the war, many Japanese returned to their old neighborhoods in Uptown, Hollywood,<sup>190</sup> West Jefferson, and Sawtelle. Density rarely reached prewar levels in these communities. Census tract maps developed by Ethington, Kooistra and De Young show that Japanese Americans also returned to Boyle Heights with Japanese residents spreading to the northeast during the 1950s to neighborhoods north of Cesar E. Chavez Avenue. Return was not without significant challenges. In October 1946, two Nikkei homes were lost due to arson and other residents were subject to harassment, vandalism, and gun

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<sup>186</sup> The 1922 building at this site was demolished. The 1960s building is proposed for demolition as part of new development, and tenants will be consolidated in the 1980s building.

<sup>187</sup> GPA Consulting, “Los Angeles Wholesale Flower Terminal, Los Angeles, California: Historic Resources Evaluation Report,” March 2017, 15.

<sup>188</sup> Kazuo K. Inouye interview by Leslie Ito, Regenerations Oral History Project: Rebuilding Japanese American Families, Communities and Civil Rights in the Resettlement Era, Los Angeles Region Volume II, December 13, 1997, accessed November 28, 2016,

<http://content.cdlib.org/view?docId=ft358003z1;NAAN=13030&doc.view=frames&chunk.id=d0e17957&toc.depth=1&toc.id=d0e17957&brand=calisphere>.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid. Later, Inouye also served as broker/developer for postwar houses in the area along the Centinela Avenue corridor near Culver Boulevard in the eastern part of Venice.

<sup>190</sup> A 1964 voter registration roll shows approximately thirty families residing on Virgil Avenue, Madison Avenue, and Westmoreland Avenue.

violence. Undaunted, the Japanese Americans remained a presence in Boyle Heights through the 1960s.<sup>191</sup> Businesses established after WWII include the Otomisan Japanese Restaurant, in continuous operation since 1956 at 2506 E. 1<sup>st</sup> Street.

Many residences had been rented out to other tenants, many Japanese businesses were gone, and the sense of community that prevailed before the war was shattered. As a result, postwar migration patterns shifted to the resettlement of the Japanese population to new areas such as Pacoima, Crenshaw, and Venice.<sup>192</sup> As Nishi explained in 1958:

In re-establishing the general outlines of the pre-war settlement pattern, significant modifications have taken place. The main communities are less compact and their Japanese population is less concentrated. [The] Westside community is not the best Japanese residential area and its expansion is evidence of an improved economic status. The younger generations are no longer dependent on ethno-centered communities or affected by the social control once exerted by these centers.<sup>193</sup>

Japanese Americans settled in Pacoima in substantial numbers. The surge was fueled in part by the location of one of the WRA's temporary trailer camps in neighboring Sun Valley, as well as a new wave of residential development in the area. Postwar assessments of Pacoima in the *Los Angeles Times* described the area as having substandard housing conditions with little infrastructure. In late 1952, the Los Angeles Building and Safety Department began a slum clearance project. By the 1950s, the rapid suburbanization of the San Fernando Valley arrived in Pacoima, and it was transformed from a dusty farming area to a bedroom community for workers at nearby Lockheed and other defense-related companies.

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<sup>191</sup> During the 1970s, the percentage of Japanese residents declined as large numbers of Latinos moved into the community.

<sup>192</sup> The Venice Japanese Community Center (Venice Gakuen) constructed a new building at 12448 Braddock Drive in Venice in 1941. The center is still in operation, and substantial new construction has taken place on the campus.

<sup>193</sup> Midori Nishi, "Japanese Settlement in the Los Angeles Area," *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers* 20 (1958), 45.

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Many of the postwar houses from this period can still be found throughout Pacoima. The 1959 Valley Japanese America Community Center at 12953 Branford Street (architect Kazumi Adachi) and the 1953 Japanese Holiness Church at 9610 Haddon Avenue (architect David O. Patterson) were constructed to serve the growing Japanese American population in the area.

After incarceration, some residents returned to the West Jefferson area. The concentration of Japanese residents was significantly smaller here than in other areas. Many Japanese relocated to the nearby Seinan/Southwest/Crenshaw neighborhoods several blocks west of Arlington Avenue. Japanese rooming houses were interspersed throughout the community with a few concentrated around Denker Avenue.<sup>194</sup>

Three postwar real estate pioneers played an important role in the migration of Japanese Americans into Crenshaw after the war: Kazuo K. Inouye of Kashu Realty, Roy Takai of Takai Realty, and Ty Saito who developed properties on Jefferson Boulevard.<sup>195</sup> As the postwar housing boom escalated, more than twenty real estate companies entered the market. As Inouye remembered, “On one block of Jefferson there used to be three Japanese real estate offices—Seinan Realty, Asia Realty—you name it.”<sup>196</sup> Developers sometimes advertised in ethnic newspapers like *Rafu Shimpo* and the *Pacific Citizen*, promising neighborhoods that welcomed *nihonjin* homeowners.<sup>197</sup> Some buildings and signage associated with these real estate pioneers can still be found in the area.



*Pacoima High School student Zen Takahashi receives American Legion Medal in June of 1957 (Toyo Miyatake Studio, Japanese American National Museum).*



*Nisei Student Body Officers at Foshay Junior High School in Seinan, 1951 (Toyo Miyatake Studio, Japanese American National Museum)*

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<sup>194</sup> Uono, “The Factors Affecting the Geographical Aggregation and Dispersion,” 139.

<sup>195</sup> The Kashu Realty pole sign is extant at 3112 W. Jefferson Blvd.

<sup>196</sup> Kazuo K. Inoye, interview by Leslie Ito on December 13, 1997.

<sup>197</sup> Ryan Reft, “Redefining Asian America: Japanese Americans, Gardena, and the Making of a Transnational Suburb,” *Tropics of Meta*, May 7, 2015, accessed November 28, 2016, <https://tropicsofmeta.wordpress.com/2015/05/07/redefining-asian-american-japanese-americans-gardena-and-the-making-of-a-transnational-suburb/>.



Woman in front of Sawtelle Food Market at 2029  
Sawtelle Boulevard, c. 1947 (Los Angeles Public Library)

The Crenshaw enclave proved particularly attractive for Japanese Americans. Although most of the homes sold to Japanese Americans in the Crenshaw district were existing homes, in 1956 Westview Construction built a series of new Minimal Traditional/Minimal Ranch-style homes with Asian Eclectic architectural details on S. Bronson and S. Norton Avenues<sup>198</sup> clearly targeted at Japanese American buyers.<sup>199</sup> In addition to the Asian Eclectic architecture, the homes were often surrounded by Japanese garden landscapes featuring common plants used in Japanese gardens such as trimmed juniper and black pine trees. By the end of 1947, the *Rafu Shimpo* reported that 25 Japanese American families were moving into the area each month.<sup>200</sup>

A number of buildings that housed Japanese American businesses are extant in the area. These include the Kokisai Theater (3016 S. Crenshaw, altered), which showed independent films from Japan; the Bank of Toyko of California (3501 W. Jefferson), built by Japanese owned architecture firm of O'Leary and Terasawa (1965); Grace Bakery and Pastry (3514 W. Jefferson), which opened in 1960 by the Uzumi family; and Wade & Asato Insurance Agency (3220 W. Jefferson Blvd.).

Construction of the San Diego freeway in the mid-1950s bifurcated the Sawtelle area, and scores of homes were razed in the process. In newly cleared areas, single-family residences east of the San Diego Freeway were rezoned for light industrial use. The phenomenon repeated itself during the extension of the Santa Monica Freeway at the southern end of the enclave. Homes south of Olympic were again replaced with light industrial buildings. As a result, the Sawtelle residential community consolidated west of the San Diego Freeway and north of Olympic Boulevard.

A concentration of long-running Japanese American businesses from the postwar period remain in the Sawtelle area along the 1800 to 2000 block of Sawtelle Boulevard including the Tempura House and Jo-Mi Plumbing, as well as a number of nurseries such as Harada Nursery, Hashimoto Nursery (originally O.K. Nursery), Tabachi Nursery, and Yamagachi Bonsai Nursery. In the surrounding area of West Los Angeles to the south of Sawtelle, associated gardening-related businesses include Baba's Lawnmower Shop and M.G. Lawnmower Shop at 4554 and 4569 S. Centinela Avenue, respectively.

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<sup>198</sup> This district was identified as the Crenshaw Seinan Historic District in SurveyLA.

<sup>199</sup> In his book, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, author and historian Scott Kurashige identifies the developers of the apartments and houses along Norton and Bronson as a group of Nisei.

<sup>200</sup> Matsumoto, *City Girls*, 190.

In the Harbor Gateway area of southeast Los Angeles, the Chacksfield tract appears to have been popular with Japanese residents. It is distinguished by its Japanese-style gardens including pruned Japanese black pine trees, Sago palms, “Nana” juniper plants, pruned dwarf eugenias, Pringles or junipers, mondo grass, Japanese stone or cast concrete lanterns, large stones, raked gravel, polished black river rocks, round concrete stepping stones embedded with polished river rocks, and cast concrete posts that mimic logs. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, the development was known as Merit Homes and developed in 1956 by George Chacksfield, builder-developer. Although tract marketing materials and newspaper articles make no overt mention of marketing these homes to Japanese Americans, Chacksfield's projects included homes and town homes in the city of Gardena in the late 1950s and early 1960s where there was a significant population of postwar Japanese and the firm's headquarters was located.<sup>201</sup>

Upon the Japanese return from incarceration, it was feared that there would be race riots in Little Tokyo, which had become known as Bronzeville during the war, and those fears did not materialize.<sup>202</sup> Multi-racial political organizations were launched in the area to promote unity, including the Los Angeles Coordinating Committee for Resettlement formed by William Carr, Clifford Clinton, and Garcia Booth.

The merchant Kiichi Uyeda (1904-1993) was reportedly the first merchant to move back to Little Tokyo, and in 1945 quickly established S.K. Uyeda Department Store at 230 E. 1<sup>st</sup> Street, a retail operation to help returning Japanese residents replace all of the essential possessions that had been taken from them during incarceration.<sup>203</sup> Slowly, Japanese returned to the enclave, and Little Tokyo changed from a place where people lived and worked, to primarily a place of business. During this period, Little Tokyo also began to shrink in geographic footprint. First, the extension of the Los Angeles civic center complex just to the west eliminated the quadrant of the San Pedro-First Street intersection, historically part of Little Tokyo. Second, in the early 1950s, the 100 block of N. Los Angeles Street was reclaimed for the building of Parker Center (Los Angeles Police Department headquarters 1954-2009), which razed an entire city block of Little Tokyo. In total, more than a quarter of the prewar Little Tokyo disappeared.<sup>204</sup>

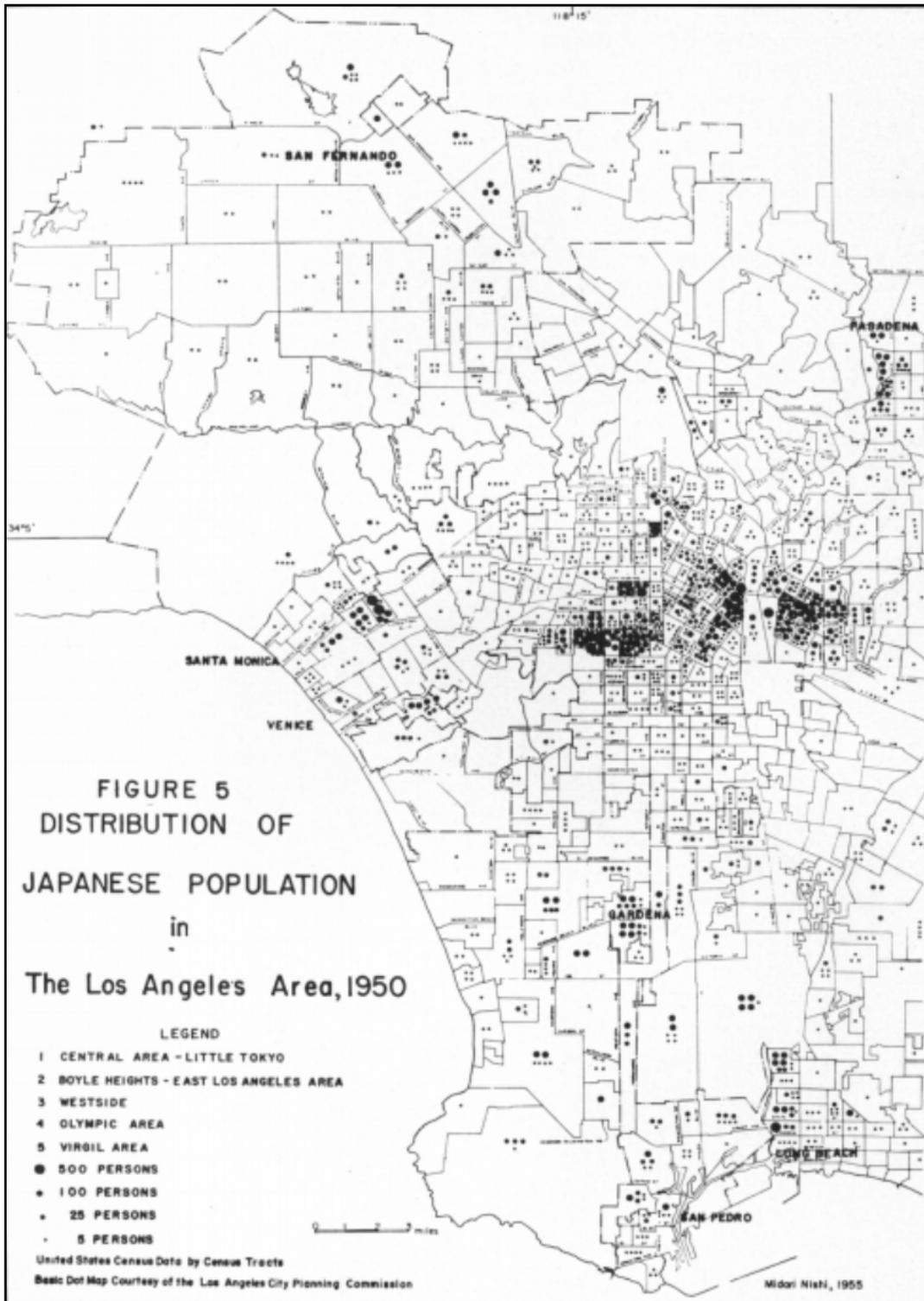
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<sup>201</sup> The City of Gardena is directly west of the Harbor Gateway area of Los Angeles.

<sup>202</sup> Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 170.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 169. The store closed in 2016.

<sup>204</sup> “Little Tokyo Renewal Starts as Work on New Hotel Begins,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 30, 1974, C1.



Map of the Japanese Population in the City of Los Angeles, 1950. Midori Nishi ("Japanese Settlement in the Los Angeles Area," *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers* Vol. 20, 1958)

For many Japanese Americans, resettlement also meant rebuilding financially. With many having lost their assets, businesses, and the opportunity to work during incarceration, the Nikkei were forced to start over. Anti-Japanese sentiment remained high in the U.S. immediately after the war, and aging Issei and Nisei were effectively barred from professional and white-collar employment. A 1943 *Los Angeles Times* poll found that 91 percent of survey respondents still preferred the exclusion of all Japanese Americans from the West Coast.<sup>205</sup>

As a result, there was a shift in occupational trends within the Nikkei community. The number of small independent businesses declined. The prewar leadership of the Japanese in wholesale and retail marketing of truck produce was lost, and a large number of Japanese turned instead to the marketing of horticultural and floricultural products. The family enterprise system of Japanese-operated farms all but disappeared along with the available open land. Many turned again to maintenance gardening as a key occupation; capital investment was low and Los Angeles was building homes at a record pace with yards that needed maintenance. More nurseries sprang up in areas like Sawtelle, where Japanese moved into small homes with big yards and transformed their properties into small nursery businesses.<sup>206</sup> Nursery businesses were also buoyed by a resurgence in popularity of Japanese landscape design which complimented popular new Mid-Century Modern residential designs of the postwar period. Women needed to contribute financially as well and the rapidly expanding garment industry hired a large number of Japanese workers.<sup>207</sup>

Japanese community service organizations helped ease the transition. For example, the prewar *shonien*, or non-sectarian orphanage known as the Japanese Children's Home (New Shonien) of Southern California located in Silver Lake created an out-of-home care program for children. Plans to remodel the 1920s building gave way to the construction of a new, Mid-Century Modern style child-care facility (1955, architect Kazumi Adachi) at 1815 Redcliff Avenue.<sup>208</sup> As a result, a small Japanese American population relocated nearby after the War. The Tokio Florist at 2718 N. Hyperion Avenue is a reminder of the Japanese presence in the area.

By the mid-1950s, Japanese Americans were making strides in professional or technical employment. Whenever possible, the Nikkei sought educational opportunities that would give them the skills they needed for professional advancement. As anti-Japanese sentiment waned, this group made inroads in business, engineering, and other white-collar professions. During this period, the Japanese American population escalated due to the birth of the third generation of Japanese, the Sansei. This also resulted in a resurgence of activity in the development of social and cultural institutions such as churches and schools. Many of the postwar cultural institutions are extant and remain in use. These include the

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<sup>205</sup> Brian Niiya, "Return to West Coast," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, March 3, 2015, accessed January 19, 2017, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Return\\_to\\_West\\_Coast/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Return_to_West_Coast/).

<sup>206</sup> Barbara Koh, Home Grown: Development," *Los Angeles Times*, July 7, 1991.

<sup>207</sup> Nishi, "Japanese Settlement in the Los Angeles Area," 45. Extant resources associated with the garment industry and other industries may be identified with further research.

<sup>208</sup> The Shonien was founded by Rokuichi Katsumoto in Downtown Los Angeles in 1914. In 1917, it moved to larger quarters on Redcliff Street in Silver Lake and was met with protest by the largely Caucasian community. The facility was entrusted to the Community Welfare Federation during incarceration.

Japanese Presbyterian Church at 4011 Clinton Street (1955; architects D.R. Wilkinson and R.M. Crosby), West Los Angeles Buddhist Temple at 2003 Corinth Avenue (1955; architect Y. Tom Makino), West Los Angeles Japanese Methodist Church, 1913 Purdue Avenue (1956, architect Y. Tom Makino), and the San Fernando Valley Hongwanji Buddhist Temple at 9450 Remick Avenue (1961, architect Y. Tom Makino).

Japanese American inroads into professional and technical employment equated to a growing community of Japanese American architects as well. Some young Japanese enrolled at the USC School of Architecture, including Y. Tom Makino (1907-1992) and Kazuo “Kaz” Nomura (1921-1978).<sup>209</sup> The aesthetic minimalism of Mid-Century Modern style architecture and pavilion-plan designs taught at USC were consistent with Japanese American architects’ cultural heritage. The Los Angeles-based residential and commercial work of Kazumi Adachi (1913-1992) and Daisuke Dike Nagano (1921-1965)<sup>210</sup> was featured nationally in *Arts + Architecture* magazine as exemplars of the Mid-Century Modern style. Adachi is best known for the New Shonien/Japanese Children’s Home (1957) and Kay’s (1954) garden supply store located at 3318 West Jefferson Boulevard (altered).<sup>211</sup>

As generations of American-born Japanese became economically able to own homes, more residential commissions were available to architects who served the community. Over time, the clientele of Japanese American architects widened beyond the community and many became members of the American Institute of Architects.

Organized sports remained a powerful force within the community. After World War II, the Japanese population no longer revolved around Little Tokyo, and was scattered throughout Southern California.<sup>212</sup> Sports became the social glue that kept communities connected and an important way for dispersed community members to interact. The popularity of traditional Japanese sports such as sumo, kendo, and judo fell out of favor as many downplayed their Japanese heritage.<sup>213</sup> Well-organized sports leagues sprang up wherever former internees resided. Baseball remained a significant presence in the community, with teams such as the Little Tokyo Giants and the LA Tigers flourishing. In 1964, the Tenrikyo Church and Cultural Center in Boyle Heights established a Judo program instrumental in making Japanese martial arts an Olympic sport. The dojo, housed in a port-and-beam building, boasted a long roster of national and international competitors.

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<sup>209</sup> An architect with the firm of Jones & Emmons, Nomura designed the Japanese O.M.S. Holiness Church in 1965 in the Mid-Century Modern style.

<sup>210</sup> Together, Adachi and Nagano designed the Fort Moore Pioneer Memorial (1957) at 451 N. Hill Street.

<sup>211</sup> Tak’s Hardware and Garden Supplies remains a Japanese American operated business.

<sup>212</sup> Kathryn E. Horak, “Holiday Bowl and the Problem of Intangible Cultural Significance: A Historic Preservation Case Study” (master’s thesis, University of Southern California, August 2006), 18.

<sup>213</sup> While the popularity of sumo eventually rebounded, the others largely did not.



*Rose Frozen Shrimp baseball team in Griffith Park in 1955 (Toyo Miyatake Studio, Japanese American National Museum)*

A growing interest in bowling, basketball, and golf emerged in the community and became unifying forces. A network of Nisei golf clubs formed by the mid-1950s. For others, golfing was a luxury their jobs did not afford and so they turned to bowling. The American Bowling Congress (ABC) prohibited membership for people of color and the Nisei were banned from ABC tournaments, so they created Japanese leagues. The Holiday Bowl (1958, 3730 Crenshaw Blvd.,

architects Armet & Davis)<sup>214</sup> was an important center for the postwar Japanese community, hosting bowling leagues, and serving Japanese food alongside soul food in the adjoining cafe, reflecting the diversity of the community.<sup>215</sup> Bowling and softball also offered women's leagues.



*L: 5th Annual Nisei Bowling Tournament, 1951 (Toyo Miyatake Studio, Japanese American National Museum) R: Women's bowling league at the Holiday Bowl, c. 1959 (More Than a Game: Sport in the Japanese-American Community, 206)*

This period bore witness to some of the first advances in civil rights for the Japanese American community. One of the most important cases was that of Sei Fujii (1882-1954). Fujii challenged Alien Land Laws by purchasing a lot in East Los Angeles and filing suit to clear title so that he could build a

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<sup>214</sup> In his book *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, social historian Scott Kurashige attributes the design of the Holiday Bowl to Chinese architect Helen Fong who worked for Armet & Davis. Although the bowling alley has been razed, the shell of the Holiday Bowl coffee shop remains and is City of Los Angeles Historic-Cultural Monument No. 688.

<sup>215</sup> Horak, "Holiday Bowl," 23.

home.<sup>216</sup> With assistance from J. Marion Wright, his former law school classmate, Fujii argued that the Alien Land Act represented race-based discrimination prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment and the United Nations Charter. After a series of appeals, the case landed in the California Supreme Court. In *Fujii v. California* and *Masaoka v. California* (a similar test case mounted by the Japanese American Citizens League), the courts struck down the Alien Land Act.

The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 formally ended the exclusion of Asians in U.S. immigration policy. More importantly, it also eliminated race as a basis for naturalization, making Japanese and other foreign-born Asians eligible to become American citizens for the first time. After many decades of waiting, more than 40,000 first-generation Japanese became U.S. citizens between 1952 and 1965.<sup>217</sup> In 1953, the U.S. Refugee Relief Act was passed, allowing immigrants who could demonstrate evidence of a job and a home the opportunity to become U.S. residents. As a result, another wave of Japanese immigration, known as the *shin-Issei*, occurred during the 1950s.<sup>218</sup>



*The Southwest Chapter of the JACL prepares to mail certificates to new US citizens in Seinan and Uptown, November 4, 1955. (Toyo Miyatake Studio, Japanese American National Museum)*

It took well over a decade after World War II for Japanese Americans to rebuild their homes and communities. Domestic anti-Japanese sentiment waned as the U.S. and Japan became united against the outside threat of communism. Through persistence in starting new businesses, the pursuit of educational and occupational opportunities, and the progress of the civil rights movement starting in the 1950s, three generations of Japanese Americans re-established their place in American society and positioned themselves to benefit from the economic boom of postwar Los Angeles.

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<sup>216</sup> According to the Little Tokyo Historical Society, the property was located at 1099 N. Record Avenue in an unincorporated area of Los Angeles County.

<sup>217</sup> Jane Hong, "Immigration Act of 1952," in *Densho Encyclopedia*. accessed January 10, 2017, [http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Immigration\\_Act\\_of\\_1952/](http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Immigration_Act_of_1952/).

<sup>218</sup> According to the *Rafu Shimpo*, approximately 2,000 of these immigrants came from southern Japan.

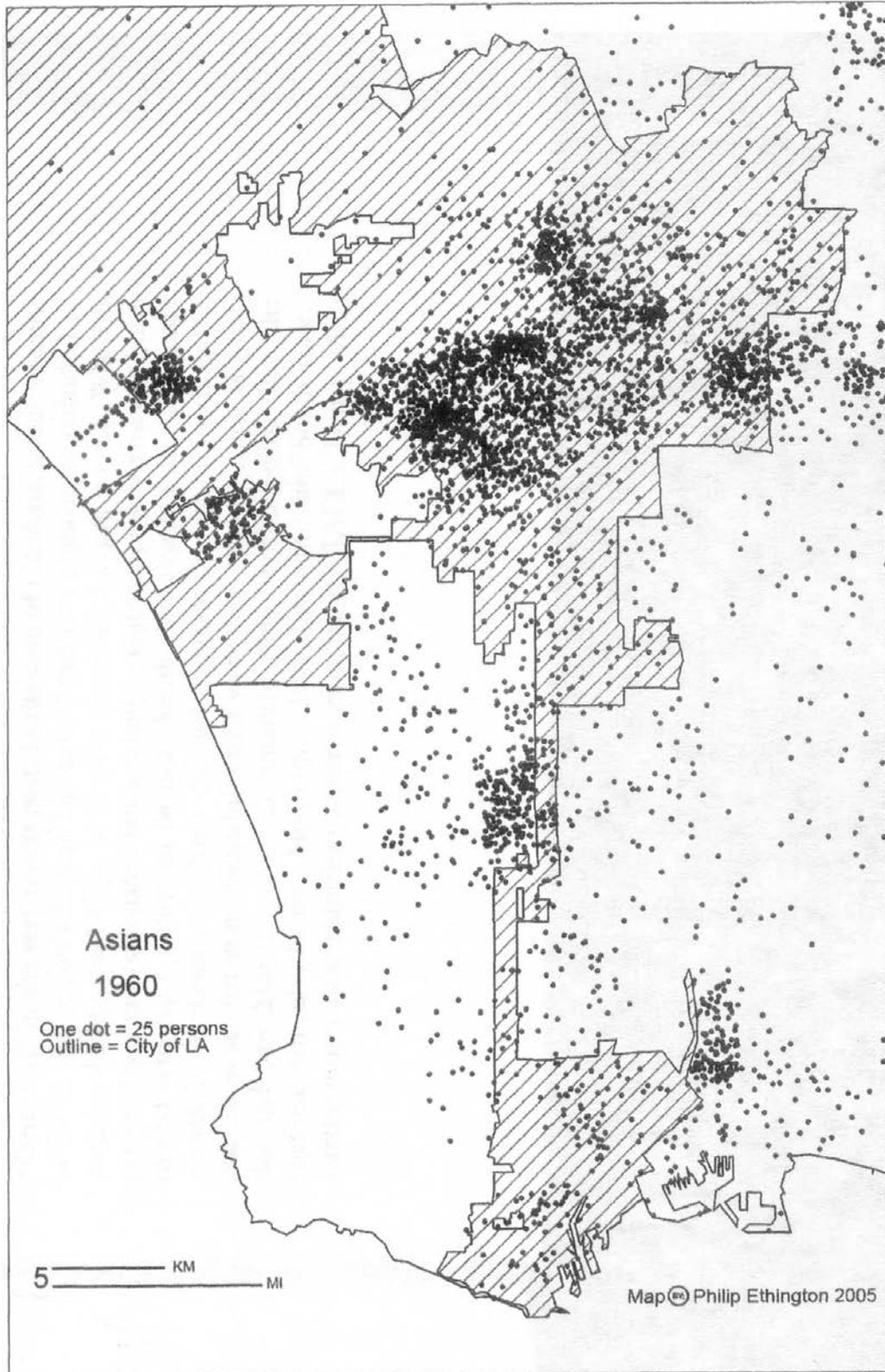
### Japanese Dispersion and Upward Mobility, 1960-1970

Although the 1948 Shelley Ruling banned restrictive housing covenants, it was not until the 1963 passage of the Fair Housing Act (also known as the Rumford Act) that decades of housing discrimination in the city began to abate. The net effect of this legislation, along with the increasing suburbanization of Los Angeles, was that the Japanese American population was less concentrated than ever before.

During the 1960s, the wave of urban renewal sweeping across the U.S. reached Little Tokyo. In 1963, Rev. Howard Toriumi of Union Church formed the Little Tokyo Community Development Advisory Committee (LTCDAC). The organization brought Japanese investors to the area who financed the 16-story, Modern style Sumitomo Bank and hotel/office building (New California Bank and Trust, 101 S. San Pedro) and several other projects developed by the Tokyo-based Kajima Construction Corporation. Organized community advocacy against the resulting evictions and displacement of the population had little effect on halting these developments, though these efforts set the stage for upcoming community organizing on issues of redress and reparations for incarceration during World War II. In the late 1960s, the Little Toyko Community Development Advisory Committee was formed with plans to widen East First Street through Little Tokyo's Historic Core and extend the Civic Center deeper into the area. In 1970, the Little Tokyo Redevelopment Area was adopted by the City's Community Redevelopment Agency starting a new wave of City-driven redevelopment in the area.



*Little Tokyo Nixon for President Headquarters, 1960  
(Toyo Miyatake Studio, Japanese American National Museum)*



*Dispersion of Asian Americans in Los Angeles (not just Japanese Americans) in 1960  
(Philip Ethington, USC, 2005)*



L: Iseri store relocates to Kajima Building in 1968 from prewar location at First and San Pedro Streets (Toyo Miyatake Studio, Japanese American National Museum) R: New Kyodo Mutual Trading Building at 431 Crocker Street in 1968. (Toyo Miyatake Studio, Japanese American National Museum)

After the war, U.S. trade with Japan expanded significantly and Los Angeles' position as a major West Coast port played a significant role in that exchange. The Port of Los Angeles received more tonnage of Japanese goods than any other place in the world, and some Nisei became active in the import-export business, either through larger companies or as entrepreneurs.<sup>219</sup> By 1962, items moving from California to Japan included cotton, aircraft, agricultural products, machinery, scrap metal, petroleum, and lumber. During this period, Japanese products imported to the U.S. included radios, optical products, motorcycles, earthenware, and toys.<sup>220</sup>



L: Mayor Samuel William "Sam" Yorty (1909-1998) leaves for Japan on Los Angeles Trade Promotion mission, March 1962 (Toyo Miyatake Studio, Japanese American National Museum) R: U.S. Suzuki dealers welcome Japanese Suzuki dealers, 1966 (Toyo Miyatake Studio, Japanese American National Museum).

<sup>219</sup> Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 201.

<sup>220</sup> "Who Says East Is East and West Is West?" *Los Angeles Times*, March 11, 1962, O1.

## SurveyLA Citywide Historic Context Statement

### Japanese Americans in Los Angeles, 1869-1970

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In the late 1950s, the three major Japanese automotive manufacturers (Toyota, Datsun, and Honda) began to sell vehicles and established operations in Los Angeles County—which at that time had the largest Japanese American population of any county in the U.S. In 1960, the Japanese Business Association of Southern California was established. By the late 1960s, Japanese goods were the largest share of activity at the Los Angeles area ports and included steel, automobiles, beverages, furniture, office machinery, and radio and TV receivers.<sup>221</sup> Nippon Express U.S.A., the U.S. subsidiary of a Japanese cargo company, opened in the Los Angeles area in 1962.

In 1961, the Japanese retailer Seibu established a presence on Wilshire Boulevard's Miracle Mile.

The store, located on the southeast corner of Wilshire Boulevard and Fairfax Avenue (extant/altered), was designed by the prominent local firm of Welton Becket & Associates. The \$6 million project was the first new department store to be built in the area since Bullock's Wilshire opened in 1929. It was three-stories in height, and housed 45 different departments. Seibu exclusively carried merchandise imported from Japan and offered an "authentic Japanese restaurant with adjacent rooftop Japanese Garden that remain[ed] open in the evenings."<sup>222</sup>

The design featured white pre-cast sculptural columns rising from large reflecting pools, surrounded by Japanese-style landscaping. It was the first building in Los Angeles to use precast concrete columns, predating the Music Center.<sup>223</sup> Seibu closed in 1964 and Ohrbach's, Inc. purchased the building in 1967.<sup>224</sup>

With more upward mobility and less discrimination, Japanese artists were also increasingly able to contribute to the art world. Among them was painter and printmaker Matsumi Kanemitsu (1922-1992) who came to Los Angeles in 1965 after studying in New York and Paris. Kanemitsu applied the light and space of Southern California to Japanese Sumi and Hake traditions in a series of "naturescapes."<sup>225</sup> He was also a member of the famed Tamarind Lithography Workshop, a teacher at Los Angeles art schools, and helped organize a gallery of Japanese artists Downtown.



*Groundbreaking for Seibu department store on Wilshire Boulevard, 1960 (USC Digital Library)*

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<sup>221</sup> "Japanese Imports Into Los Angeles Increased by 43 Percent During 1968," *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1969, F9.

<sup>222</sup> "Huge Japanese Store Slated for Wilshire Boulevard," *Los Angeles Times*, March 27, 1960, F8.

<sup>223</sup> "Construction Resembles Giant Jigsaw Puzzle," *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1961, I17.

<sup>224</sup> It became the Petersen Automotive Museum and the building has been completely altered.

<sup>225</sup> "Matsumi Kanemitsu: Artist Combined East With West," *Los Angeles Times*, May 14, 1992, A22.

Japanese community groups also grew in number and profile during the postwar period, and creating community gardens helped restore goodwill and supported the ethnic pride movement of the 1960s. Japanese gardens also became a symbol of internationalism or multiculturalism in expanding colleges, universities and other institutions. In 1963, Shinichi Maesaki (1913-1996) donated the design for a Japanese-style garden at the VA Hospital in West Los Angeles built by the patients as part of an occupational therapy program.<sup>226</sup> In 1970, the Southern California Gardeners Federation constructed a headquarters (1970, Fred T. Hifumi) in Little Tokyo at 333 S. San Pedro Street that became a resource and gathering place for the community.

By the close of the 1960s, Japanese firms began recruiting Japanese workers from the homeland, ushering in another wave of immigration. Japanese nationals moved to the suburbs of Los Angeles and still frequented Little Tokyo. In 1969, the City of Los Angeles established dozens of goodwill trade agreements with Japanese companies encouraging them to do business within the city.<sup>227</sup>

Upward mobility of the Japanese, a reduction in anti-Japanese sentiment, and the loosening of restrictive housing covenants resulted in the continued dispersion of the Japanese population in Los Angeles. Japanese residents were able to purchase homes throughout the city rather than in concentrated areas, and the Japanese population was no longer forced into low-income neighborhoods. Japanese in Sawtelle who had been displaced by freeway construction moved elsewhere. In the Boyle Heights area, Japanese Americans maintained a presence well into the 1960s. Latinos eventually supplanted Japanese residents in the area.

A number of generational issues also contributed to the increasing dispersion of the Japanese American population. For the Nisei, the topic of wartime incarceration was completely off limits. The younger generation Sansei came of age at the height of the student movement of the 1960s and, on the heels of the black power movement, proclaimed Asian Power (also known as Yellow Power) and established efforts to publicly acknowledge and address social problems within the Japanese American community.<sup>228</sup> Sansei-founded activist organizations such as the Storefront in West Los Angeles,<sup>229</sup> and the Yellow Brotherhood in Crenshaw, established in the late 1960s by a half-dozen young Japanese Americans who had all been involved in drug and gang-related activity.<sup>230</sup>

During the late 1960s, West Coast universities began offering Asian American Studies programs after protestors at the University of California, Berkeley and San Francisco State University demanded that the history of people of color be included in what was then a Eurocentric history curriculum. In 1969, the Asian American Studies Center was established at UCLA. Community members, students, staff, and faculty sought to develop a center to bridge campus and community around the theme of liberative education and social justice. UCLA served as an active site for the development of Asian American

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<sup>226</sup> "Lanterns Sought for Gardens at Hospital," *Los Angeles Times*, September 8, 1963, WS10.

<sup>227</sup> "LA Trade Agreements: A Paper Bridge to Lure Japanese Business," *Los Angeles Times*, August 10, 1969, J1.

<sup>228</sup> "LA's Japanese Americans: Breaking into the Mainstream," *Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1982, C1.

<sup>229</sup> deGuzman, "Japanese American Resettlement in Postwar America."

<sup>230</sup> Ed Meagher, "Asian Americans Will Turn Spotlight on Their Problems," *Los Angeles Times*, March 15, 1970, B1.

Studies as a field of study. *Amerasia Journal* moved to UCLA shortly after its start in 1971, and became a leading journal for the field. The Center also saw the importance of fostering student projects like *Gidra*. Following its inception as a student newspaper, *Gidra* moved to 3108 Jefferson Boulevard in the Crenshaw.<sup>231</sup>



*Yellow Brotherhood at Westside Optimist Youth night at General Lee's Man Jan Low restaurant in Los Angeles, November 1969 (Toyo Miyatake Studio, Japanese American National Museum)*



*Japanese United in the Search for Truth (JUST) banquet for the reinstatement of Dr. Thomas T. Noguchi in June of 1969 (Toyo Miyatake Studio, Japanese American National Museum)*

The Sansei generation was also the first generation of Japanese Americans to embrace interracial marriage. During the 1960s, 29.5 percent of Japanese marriages in Los Angeles County were to non-Japanese.<sup>232</sup> In the 1970s, that number grew to 39 percent. In addition, the Sansei were able to pursue professional careers and were willing to move out of Japanese American communities, and even Los Angeles, to further their career goals. Like the Issei and Nisei before them, the Nisei and Sansei found themselves with a substantial generational and cultural gap.

During this period, Japanese community leaders also oversaw the creation of a network of Japanese American Community Centers around Los Angeles. These community centers became home to athletic leagues, veterans groups, JAFL meetings, and a wide variety of cultural activities. Many of the community centers created during this period remain in use including the San Fernando Japanese American Community Center (1959, architect Kazumi Adachi) at 12953 Branford Street. The YWCA's International Institute at 435 S. Boyle Avenue (1931, architect Webber & Spaulding) also functioned as a meeting location for Japanese clubs. Retirement homes were also established by community leaders to serve the needs of the Issei, notably the conversion

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<sup>231</sup> Murase, Mike (April 1974). "Toward Barefoot Journalism," *Gidra*. 6: 1, 34-46

<sup>232</sup> Judy Pasternak, "Dramatic Increase: Mixed Marriages Keep Pace with LA Diversity," *Los Angeles Times*, February 14, 1989, accessed February 11, 2017, [http://articles.latimes.com/1989-02-14/news/mn-2177\\_1\\_mixed-marriage](http://articles.latimes.com/1989-02-14/news/mn-2177_1_mixed-marriage).

of the Jewish Home for the Aged in Boyle Heights (325 S. Boyle Avenue) into the *Keiro* or Japanese Home for the Aged in 1975.

As a result of decades of being barred from citizenship and rampant anti-Japanese sentiment, Japanese Americans were not well represented in public office. One of the few Japanese American public figures from this period was Thomas Tsunetomi Noguchi (b. 1927). Appointed deputy coroner for Los Angeles County in 1961, Noguchi became Chief Medical Coroner for the County in 1967. Known as the “coroner to the stars,” Noguchi performed the autopsies and spoke to press following the deaths of Robert F. Kennedy, Janis Joplin, and the Manson Family victims.<sup>233</sup>

The educational achievement, upward mobility, mainstream acceptance, and dispersion of Japanese Americans throughout Los Angeles during the 1960s was further evidence of the ongoing resilience of the Japanese American community. In some misguided circles, it earned the community a reputation as what many sociologists called “the model minority,” against which other ethnic groups were often unfavorably measured.<sup>234</sup>

The 1960s set the stage for two important changes in the Japanese American community. With residential dispersion, the period of strong *Nihonmachi* (Japantowns) waned, and redevelopment all but engulfed Little Tokyo during the 1970s. Social justice movements that began to gain momentum in the 1960s paved the way for redress for the incarceration of Japanese Americans in the 1980s.

The contributions of Japanese Americans to Los Angeles history and culture were varied and significant. The influence of the Nikkei in Los Angeles was felt far beyond the city’s borders, from the landmark Sei Fujii civil rights decision to the growing popularity throughout the United States of Japanese culinary arts and consumer products. In 1980, the Japanese American community was finally recognized for the unfair treatment it had received during World War II when the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) was established to explore redress. In 1988, the Civil Liberties Act was signed into law acknowledging that government action had been based on racial prejudice, wartime hysteria, and a failure of political leadership as opposed to legitimate security reasons. It set the stage for more than 82,000 redress payments to Japanese Americans.

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<sup>233</sup> Thomas Noguchi, *Coroner to the Stars* (London, UK: Guild Publishing, 1986), 1.

<sup>234</sup> Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race*, 3.

## **ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES AND ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS**

The “Property Types and Eligibility Standards” were developed as part of the Asian American in Los Angeles National Register Multiple Property Documentation (MPD) form and are applicable to all five Asian American contexts of the MPD. Though they focus on eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, they are easily adaptable for use in evaluating property eligibility for listing in the California Register of Historical Resources (CR) and/or as a local Historic-Cultural Monument (HCM). The criteria for these programs parallel criteria used for the National Register. Some considerations in applying the standards under HCM and CR criteria for designation are below.

- Criterion A of the National Register is the equivalent of Criterion 1 for HCM and the CR.
- Criterion B of the National Register is the equivalent of Criterion 2 for HCM and the CR.
- Criterion C of the National Register is the equivalent of Criterion 3 for HCM and the CR.
- There is no 50 year rule for eligibility for listing in the CR or as an HCM. Therefore, Criterion G, “must be of exception importance if less than 50 years of age” does not apply.
- Integrity considerations may vary in some cases when applied under CR and HCM criteria.
- Commercial signs are not included as a property type eligible for the National Register. However, signs may meet significance threshold for local listing as an HCM. To evaluate signs see the “Commercial Signs” theme of the Citywide Historic Context Statement.
- The local Historic Preservation Overlay Zone (HPOZ) ordinance criteria may apply to historic districts.

This section assists with the identification and evaluation of properties that may be significant for their association with Asian American history in Los Angeles under one of the five historic contexts of this MPDF. A wide range of property types has been identified and the different types are referenced throughout the contexts.

Properties may be eligible under Criteria A, B, C, and/or D of the National Register:

- A: that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history,
- B: that are associated with the lives of persons significant in the past,
- C: that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represent the work of a master; possess high artistic values; or represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction,
- D: that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

### **Criteria Consideration A: Religious Properties**

A religious property is eligible if it derives its primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance.

### **Criteria Consideration B: Moved Properties**

A property removed from its original or historically significant location can be eligible if it is significant primarily for architectural value or it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event.

### **Criteria Consideration C: Birthplaces of Graves**

A birthplace or grave of a historical figure is eligible if the person is of outstanding importance and no other appropriate site or building exists directly associated with his or her productive life.

Criteria Consideration D: Cemeteries

A cemetery is eligible if it derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, age, distinctive design features, or association with historic events.

Criteria Consideration E: Reconstructed Properties

A reconstructed property is eligible when it is accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan and when no other building or structure with the same associations has survived. All three requirements must be met.

Criteria Consideration F: Commemorative Properties

A property primarily commemorative in intent can be eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance.

Criteria Consideration G: Properties That Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years

A property achieving significance within the past fifty years is eligible if it is of *exceptional importance*.

Fifty years is a general estimate of the time needed to develop historical perspective and to evaluate significance. This consideration guards against the listing of properties of passing contemporary interest and ensures that the National Register is a list of truly historic places. Exceptional importance sufficient to satisfy Criteria Consideration G is a measure of the property's importance within the appropriate historic context, at the local, state, or national level of significance.

Most extant resources meeting this requirement are associated with the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean populations. There are fewer resources associated with the Filipino and Thai communities. Those properties not of exceptional importance may become eligible when more time has passed. It is anticipated that this MPDF will be amended over time to include expanded periods of significance and other Asian American populations in Los Angeles, and to address additional themes and property types not yet known.

### ***Integrity***

Properties eligible for the National Register must also have integrity, the ability to convey their significance. Integrity is based on significance: why, where, and when a property is important. The evaluation of integrity is sometimes a subjective judgment. It must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance. Only after significance is fully established can integrity be evaluated. Ultimately, the question of integrity is answered by whether or not the property retains the **identity** for which it is significant.

Historic properties either retain integrity (convey their significance) or they do not. Within the concept of integrity, the National Register criteria recognizes seven aspects or qualities that, in various combinations, define integrity:

- *Location* is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.
- *Design* is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.
- *Setting* is the physical environment of a historic property.
- *Materials* are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.

- *Workmanship* is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.
- *Feeling* is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.
- *Association* is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

To retain historic integrity a property will always possess several, and usually most, of the aspects. The retention of specific aspects of integrity is paramount for a property to convey its significance.

Determining which of these aspects are most important to a particular property requires knowing why, where, and when the property is significant.

Each type of property depends on certain aspects of integrity more than others to express its historic significance. Determining which aspects are most important to a particular property requires an understanding of the property's significance and its essential physical features. A property important for association with an event, historical pattern, or person(s) ideally might retain some features of all seven aspects of integrity. Integrity of design and workmanship, however, might not be as important to the significance, and would not be relevant if the property were a site. A basic integrity test for a property associated with an important event or person is whether a historical contemporary would recognize the property as it exists at the time of nomination.

All properties change over time. It is not necessary for a property to retain all its historic physical features or characteristics. The property must retain the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic identity. The essential physical features are those features that define both why a property is significant (Applicable Criteria and Areas of Significance) and when it was significant (Periods of Significance). Street-facing elevations should retain most of their major design features; some original materials may have been altered or removed. Resources should retain the overall shape and rhythm of window openings and entrances, even if storefronts have changed. Replacement of storefronts is a common alteration, and a missing storefront may not automatically exclude commercial buildings from eligibility.

If there are a number of proximate resources relatively equal in importance, or a property is of large acreage with a variety of resources, and most of those resources retain integrity, the group of resources should be evaluated as a historic district. For a district to retain integrity as a whole, the majority of the components that make up the district's historic character must possess integrity even if they are individually undistinguished. Contributors to a district may have a greater degree of acceptable alterations than properties individually eligible. Properties with reversible alterations to the exterior, such as enclosed porches and replaced windows on residential properties, should not automatically be excluded from consideration. The relationships among the district's components must be substantially unchanged since the period of significance.

Architectural and physical attributes of some properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be modest, and some may have been altered, compromising integrity of design, materials, and/or workmanship. Setting may have changed (surrounding buildings and land uses). Original use may have changed. Properties may still be eligible under Criteria A or B on the strength of their association with historic events or people. Retention of location, feeling, association, and sometimes setting, may be more important than design, workmanship, and materials. Properties eligible under Criterion C must retain those physical features that characterize the type, period, or method of construction that the

property represents. Location and setting is important for those properties whose design is a reflection of their immediate environment.

In general, property types associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles that meet the registration requirements for significance and integrity can be considered rare; in some cases, there may be only one or a few eligible resources. Registration Requirements for property types were developed based on knowledge and comparative analysis of physical characteristics and/or historical associations. The integrity requirements and considerations take into account rarity of resources, knowledge of their relative integrity, and significance evaluations based primarily on eligibility under Criteria A and B.

### ***Registration Requirements***

All property types must date from within the period of significance for the associated context, retain most of the character defining features from their period of significance, and retain sufficient integrity to convey their significance. Properties must have been constructed or used by Asian Americans and represent an important association with the Asian American community in Los Angeles.

Properties must be eligible in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, where Asian may serve as a placeholder for Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and/or Thai to be specified as appropriate in the individual nomination. Nominations for properties eligible in the area of Ethnic Heritage must also identify areas of significance that closely relate to the events, activities, characteristics, or information for which the property is significant. Registration requirements and/or special integrity considerations particular to specific property types are identified as needed.

### **Property Types Associated with Prominent Persons in Asian American History**

Description: Properties associated with prominent persons in Asian American History in Los Angeles are common to all contexts and comprise one of the largest groups of historic resources identified under this MPDF. They include residential, commercial, institutional, industrial, and agricultural resources and cover the full period of significance for each related context. Resources can be found citywide, with some concentrations in the geographic areas of settlement and migration as discussed in the context narratives. Architectural type, style, and detail vary widely and are generally based on the date of construction.

Significance: Properties associated with prominent Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion B at the local, state, or national level. A property must be directly associated with the productive life of a significant Asian American or associated with Los Angeles residents of other cultures and ethnicities who have been instrumental in furthering opportunities for Asians Americans. Individuals may be important in a wide range of areas of significance including, and not limited to Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Agriculture, Commerce, Community Planning and Development, Communications, Entertainment/Recreation, Exploration/Settlement, Industry, Art, Performing Arts, Health/Medicine, Politics/Government, Military, Religion, and Social History. Individuals include important civic leaders and activists, business owners, educators, doctors, actors, writers, politicians, farmers, athletes, and artists. Residential properties and professional offices may be associated with persons significant in civil rights and issues related to deed restriction and segregation. While the associated historic context narratives identify numerous persons significant in

Asian American history whose associated properties may be evaluated under this property type, more may be identified with additional research.

Registration Requirements:

- Directly associated with the productive life of a significant Asian American or associated with Los Angeles residents of other cultures and ethnicities who have been instrumental in furthering opportunities for Asians Americans
- Individual must be proven to have made an important contribution to one or more areas of significance as it relates to Asian American history
- Individual must have lived in or used the property during the period in which he or she achieved significance
- Contributions of individuals must be compared to those of others who were active, successful, prosperous, or influential in the same field
- Each property associated with someone important should be compared with other properties associated with that individual to identify those resources that are good representatives of the person's historic contributions
- For multi-family residential properties, the apartment or room occupied by the person must be readable from the period of significance
- Properties associated with the lives of living persons *may* be eligible, if the person's active life in their field of endeavor is over AND sufficient time has elapsed to assess both their field and their contribution in a historic perspective
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Settlement: Residential Historic Districts**

Description: Residential historic districts associated with Asian American settlement and migration patterns are primarily comprised of tracts, subdivisions, or neighborhoods of residential buildings, and may also include other property types and, in particular, commercial buildings. Enclaves exclusive to Asian Americans are not common. There are some areas of migration and settlement with mixed ethnicities whose Asian populations grew in size—particularly in the postwar period, and after racially restrictive covenants were outlawed in 1948. There are no known extant residential enclaves from the prewar period. Known enclaves associated with the postwar period are primarily associated with the growing Japanese population of Los Angeles and in the areas of Harbor Gateway, the Crenshaw District, and Jefferson Park.

While some are settlements of earlier residential neighborhoods (dating from the first half of the twentieth century), others were developed as tract housing in the late 1950s and are comprised of ranch houses. Some feature vernacular Japanese gardens and landscape features giving a distinct sense of place. A noteworthy residential ethnic enclave is the Crenshaw Seinan neighborhood in the Crenshaw District, which features single-family ranch houses, multi-family buildings, and commercial buildings associated with Japanese businesses. Although the postwar Seinan community was far more widespread than the boundaries of this district, this concentration of resources is significant because it was developed by and marketed to Japanese Americans and promoted for its ethnic character through visual characteristics evocative of Japanese design traditions.

Significance: Residential historic districts associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for the National Register at the local, state, or national level of significance under Criterion A and

Criterion C. Areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Exploration/Settlement, and Social History. Other areas of significance may be identified. Only residential districts associated with settlement of the Japanese American population of Los Angeles after World War II have been identified as part of this MPDF. They evidence migration patterns throughout the city and increased ability for homeownership. Other districts may be identified over time.

Registration Requirements:

- Must have a significant association with the settlement and/or migration of Asian Americans over time
- May be associated with numerous historic personages who lived in the neighborhood for the cumulative important of those individuals to the community
- May represent issues relating to deed restriction and segregation
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce**

**Commercial Buildings**

Description: Commercial properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles housed a variety of businesses and vary widely. Although they cover the full period of significance for each related context, most date from the 1940s and later. Some businesses are still in operation. Businesses include retail stores, neighborhood theaters, and restaurants that served basic neighborhood needs as well as professional offices/services and lodging. Property types also include buildings housing organizations that supported commerce and business development. Commercial retail buildings associated with herbal medicine are discussed in the Property Types Associated with Health and Medicine.

- Restaurant/Bar/Club
- Motion Picture Theater
- Professional Office/Service
  - Mortuary/Funeral Home
  - Bank/Financial Institution
  - Employment Agency
  - Law Office
  - Barber Shop
  - Tailor
- Lodging
  - Hotel/Motel
  - Boarding House
- Retail
  - Store/Shop
  - Market/Grocery
  - Bakery
  - Nursery
  - Florist
- Chambers of Commerce and other business development/support organizations

## SurveyLA Citywide Historic Context Statement

### Japanese Americans in Los Angeles, 1869-1970

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Commercial buildings are located citywide within areas of settlement and migration as indicated in the historic context narratives. In particular, they can be found in areas including Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Koreatown, Sawtelle, Jefferson Park, the Crenshaw District, and the Harbor area. Buildings may or may not have been purpose built. Size, massing, form, and architectural style vary over time. Buildings types range from stand-alone buildings to small, one-story single-storefront varieties to larger, multi-story multi-storefront examples. Of the property types listed above, restaurants and markets constitute a large percentage of known commercial resources and are common to all contexts. Known mortuaries, florists, nurseries, and gardening-related business are associated with the Japanese American community. Business support organizations include the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (Chinatown), the Southern California Gardeners Federation (Little Tokyo), and the Thai Trade Center/Chamber of Commerce.

Significance: Commercial properties associated with Asian American businesses in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Commerce, Community Planning and Development, and Social History for their association with significant Asian American businesses of various types. Hotels, motels, and boarding houses may also be significant places associated with the resettlement of Japanese after World War II and in the area of Industry for their association with Asian American labor history. Movie theaters may also be significant in the area of Entertainment/Recreation.

Significant businesses and business organizations evidence patterns of settlement, migration, and changing demographics and played an important role in the commercial growth and development of Los Angeles' Asian American populations. The importance may relate to the particular goods and services provided by businesses or to the role businesses played in local, regional, or even national commerce. Resources may be the founding location or the long-term location of a business. It is common for early businesses to have relocated over time to new locations particularly in the postwar period. As Asian Americans were excluded as customers and sometimes employees at white-owned businesses, they formed their own businesses to provide services and employment opportunities to members of their communities. Some business also served as cultural hubs and popular places to meet and socialize. The customer base for a business may have included all Asian American communities and, in some cases, reached beyond these communities to serve other populations.

Under Criterion B, a resource may be significant for its association with an Asian American who made important individual contributions to commercial development in Los Angeles. Some commercial buildings may also be significant under Criterion C, as excellent examples of their respective styles including the Asian Eclectic style, particularly in Chinatown and Little Tokyo. Many individuals who established these businesses emerged as community leaders.

#### Registration Requirements:

- Strongly associated with the commercial and professional development of the Asian American community
- Associated with a business that made important contributions to commercial growth and development in Los Angeles and specifically to the Asian American community
- Founding or long-term location of a business significant to the Asian American community
- May be associated with a business/corporation that has gained regional or national importance

- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, materials, and association

### **Commercial Historic Districts**

Description: A significant concentration of commercial buildings associated with Asian American businesses in a defined geographic area may constitute a historic district. As discussed in the contexts, identified commercial districts within the period of significance for this MPDF include Little Tokyo (a designated National Historic Landmark district, New Chinatown (1938-1960), and Greater Chinatown (1947-1950). No commercial historic districts have been identified within the period of significance relating to the Korean, Filipino, or Thai communities.

The Chinatown districts are characterized by one and two-story attached commercial buildings, with storefronts directly on the sidewalk. While they are primarily mixed-use commercial, they also include institutional use building. The Asian Eclectic architectural style is most often employed for buildings and other design features, displaying complex rooflines with colorful tiles, flared eaves with decoratively carved roof beams, geometric window screens, and representations of various animals, including dragons, lions, and fish. The districts also include open plazas with Asian-influenced fountains, sculptures, murals, and other contributing features (such as pai-lou or gateways) designed by noted Asian American artists. Some storefronts and windows may have been altered over time and some buildings may have been constructed outside the periods of significance.

Significance: Commercial historic districts associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Identified districts are significant in areas including Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Commerce, Community Planning and Development, and Social History. Commercial districts may also be significant in the area of Architecture under Criterion C as a distinctive and cohesive collection of Asian Eclectic-designed buildings associated with noted Asian American architects and in the area of art for public art features designed master artists or for their high artistic value. Districts evidence the direct influence of Asian American business and civic leaders in the planning, development, and operation of key commercial centers associated with the Asian American community. They served as the hub of day-to-day commercial and social activities for Asian Americans but were also intentionally designed to evoke a sense of the exotic and attract a tourist base to contribute to the local economy.

### Registration Requirements:

- District must include a substantial number of buildings designed by Asian American architects and/or be influenced by significant business/civic leaders in the Asian American community.
- Conveys a strong sense of overall historic environment from the period of significance
- Represents an intact grouping of commercial buildings which, as a whole, exemplify the Asian Eclectic style
- Has a strong cultural association to the community in which it is located
- May be important for its association with numerous historic personages who operated businesses or provided services for the cumulative importance of those individuals to the Asian American community
- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, setting, and feeling

### **Property Types Associated with Religion and Spirituality**

Description: Property types associated with religion and spirituality are common to all contexts and comprise one of the largest groups of historic resources identified under this MPDF. They include individual buildings as well as religious campuses with multiple buildings, which, in addition to churches and temples, house living quarters, schools, and community and sports activities. Campuses may be evaluated as historic districts. The oldest Asian American religious buildings in Los Angeles are primarily associated with the early settlement period of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean communities and are located in areas discussed in the contexts including Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Boyle Heights, South Jefferson, and Sawtelle. Property types also comprise cemeteries, including Evergreen Cemetery in Boyle Heights.

Specific property types include churches that served a variety of Christian congregations (Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, and Catholic, among others). These church buildings, were often originally constructed by and for other congregations, and subsequently used as churches for Asian American congregations, while others were purposes built. It was common for congregations to move locations over time, first renting and then purchasing or constructing new buildings. For this reason, many church locations date from the postwar period although congregations may have been established much earlier. In addition, many religious campuses were expanded over time with new larger buildings replacing the earlier ones. Some church properties were founded by non-Asians as part of local Christian missions, particularly in the prewar period. An intact early example is the Saint Francis Xavier Church and School at 222. S. Hewitt Street, a rare example of a religious facility specifically constructed by the Catholic Church to serve the Japanese community (1921-1939). Later churches include the Korean Presbyterian Church (since 1938) and the Filipino Christian Church (since 1950), the oldest Filipino-serving church in the U.S. Christian churches were generally designed in architectural styles of their period of construction. Size, massing, and form vary over time. Most extant churches have undergone some degree of alterations over time.

Property types also include purpose built temples, mostly Buddhist. Most date from 1930s and later and are designed in the Asian Eclectic style. The Koyasan Buddhist Temple (Koyasan Beikuku Betsuin) in Little Tokyo is one of the oldest continually operating Buddhist sects in Los Angeles, dating to 1912. The temple dates to 1940. While many second- and third-generation Chinese Americans practiced Christianity, local benevolent associations also served religious or spiritual functions for those who continued traditional practices of Taoism, Buddhism, or Confucianism. Benevolent association buildings frequently included shrines on the second floor and were also used for instruction of children in religious practices. One example is the Kong Chow Temple in New Chinatown, which is located on the second floor of the Kong Chow Benevolent Association. Another example is the Chinese Confucius Temple School, established by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (1952) to provide Chinese language instruction with the tenets of Confucianism. The more recent Wat Thai temple (1979) in the San Fernando Valley is the largest Thai Theraveda Buddhist temple in the United States.

Significance: Religious properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Religion, Community Planning and Development, and Social History.

Religious buildings and institutions provided spiritual support for Asian Americans, and served as social

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and cultural hubs in the community in which they were located. Many offered new immigrants basic social services as well as housing, language classes, and employment counseling. Some also featured recreational facilities, meeting rooms for clubs and other organizations, and sponsored activities such as dances and school programs for local children. They also represented springboards for community leadership, business networks, and civil rights activism. For the Japanese community, properties associated with religion and spirituality may have also played a role in safekeeping possessions during incarceration and providing assistance or temporary housing following their return until about 1947.

Many individuals associated with religion and spirituality emerged as community leaders. Under Criterion B, a resource may also be significant for its association with an individual. Some religious buildings may also be significant under Criterion C, as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style or other styles of their period of construction.

#### Registration Requirements:

- May be important for its association with numerous historic personages for the cumulative importance of those individuals to the community
- May reflect the changing demographics of a Los Angeles neighborhood
- May represent a significant event or movement in the social history of Los Angeles
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

#### Property Types Associated with Education

Description: Properties associated with education may include colleges/universities, public high schools and grammar schools, and language schools. Parochial schools are included in the Religion and Spirituality property type. Schools may include stand-alone buildings or campuses of multiple buildings comprising historic districts. Size, massing, form, and architectural style of education-related resources vary over time. The majority of education-related resources identified are Japanese language schools dating from the pre- and postwar periods and located in various areas of settlement for Japanese Americans including Boyle Heights, Little Tokyo, Sawtelle, Venice, and the Harbor area. The earliest ones typically utilized existing buildings, whereas the postwar schools were often purpose built by Japanese Americans. Public high schools and grammar schools related to this property type are less common and typically served Asian populations in areas of Los Angeles with diverse ethnic populations. College and university-related resources date from the late 1960s and early 1970s. The most prominent is the Asian American Studies Center. Located on the campus of UCLA, it houses one of the first, and nationally recognized, academic program in Asian studies dating from 1969.

Significance: Educational resources associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance may vary over time and include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Education, and Social History. Language schools are significant for the role they played in supporting and promoting Japanese American cultural traditions and practices. The later college/university facilities are significant for their strong association with the Asian American Movement and the development of the nation's first Asian Studies academic programs. For the Japanese community, properties associated with education may have also played a role in providing assistance or temporary housing following their return after incarceration, and until about 1947.

Some individuals associated with education may have emerged as community leaders. Under Criterion B, a resource may be significant for its association with an individual. Some educational resources may be significant under Criterion C as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic or other architectural styles of the period of construction. Historic districts may also be significant under Criterion C.

Registration Requirements:

- Represents an important association with the Asian American community in Los Angeles
- May be important for its association with numerous historic personages (who attended the school) for the cumulative importance of those individuals to the Asian American community
- May represent issues relating to civil rights
- May represent a significant event or movement associated with education and social history of Los Angeles
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Community Organizations, Social Services, and Institutions**

Description: Property types associated with community organizations, social services, and institutions are common to all contexts and comprise one of the largest groups of historic resources identified under this MPDF. They cover a wide range of facilities serving many functions including, and not limited to, the following:

- Community and Cultural Centers
- Fraternal Lodges, Associations, and Organizations
- Benevolent Associations (Chinese context only)
- Senior Citizens Centers
- Youth Organizations
- Women's Clubs and Organizations
- Children's Homes/Orphanages

Known property types are located citywide within areas of settlement associated with each historic context. While they may cover the full period of significance for each context, most date from the 1940s and later. Some organizations and institutions may have been established earlier in different locations and most are no longer extant, such as those in Old Chinatown. Chinese Benevolent Associations are exclusively associated with the Chinese American context and are located in Chinatown.

Associated buildings may be purpose built or utilize existing buildings constructed for other purposes. Many associated resources may be in their original location, but have had significant new construction or renovation over time. Resources include stand-alone buildings as well as attached one and two-story mixed-use storefront examples (common in Chinatown). Size, massing, form, and architectural style vary over time.

Significance: Institutional building associated with community organizations, social services, and institutions associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Social History, Politics/Government, and Community Planning and Development. These organizations served as social and cultural hubs in the communities in which they were located and played a critical role in the lives of Asian Americans of all ages. Many

provided a range of services to new immigrants settling in Los Angeles to assist with housing, employment, language, and education needs. Others provided activities and services to promote Asian cultural traditions and practices as well as health, social services, and community development programs. Still others supported political activism, equality, and civil rights.

For the Japanese community, properties associated with community organizations, social services, and institutions may have played a role in providing assistance or temporary housing following their return after incarceration, and until about 1947.

Many individuals associated with Asian American community organizations, social services, and institutions may have also made significant individual contributions to their respective field and associated resources may be eligible under Criterion B. Some buildings may also be eligible under Criterion C as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style or other architectural style of their period of construction.

Registration Requirements:

- May be important for its association with numerous historic personages for the cumulative importance of those individuals to the community
- May reflect the changing demographics of a Los Angeles neighborhood
- May represent a significant event or movement in the social history of Los Angeles
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Health and Medicine**

Description: Properties associated with health and medicine primarily include institutional and commercial buildings such as hospitals, homes for the aged, medical offices, medical clinics, and herbal medicine stores. They cover the full period of significance for each related context. Most resources are associated with the Chinese and Japanese communities. The only known hospital is the Japanese hospital in Boyle Heights, which opened in 1929. The hospital was established by Japanese doctors, who were not granted staff privileges by other hospitals, but opened its doors to people of all ethnicities. Though not common, research may also reveal single-family residences or other facilities (particularly in Boyle Heights) associated with Japanese sanba, or midwives, who provided health care facilities for pregnant women in the early twentieth century. Property types also include medical offices and clinics of noted doctors and practitioners that served Asian American clientele. Of note is the Dr. Primitiva Demandante Asprin clinical laboratory in Wilmington. Dr. Asprin was the first Filipina doctor to be licensed to practice medicine in California. Also of note is the Yu Family Acupuncture Clinic. Dr. Moses Yu, well known for his acupuncture practice in China, successfully fought for legalization of acupuncture in California in 1976, and opened his clinic in a converted residence in the Westlake neighborhood soon thereafter.

Herbal medicine stores are also included in the health/medicine property types and are primarily associated with Chinese American businesses. Herbal medicine was both familiar and likely the only medical treatment available to early immigrants, and Chinese were typically denied access to public medical facilities. Herbal medicine was also a rare example of a profession that allowed Chinese immigrants to make a long-term living using an ethnic skill. Because legislation prevented Chinese herbal doctors from becoming licensed physicians, leaving them vulnerable to lawsuits and arrests, Chinese herbal doctors often promoted their businesses as merchants selling herbs. Even in Chinatown,

practitioners kept a low profile, often occupying nondescript storefronts. Successful entrepreneurs established import networks and set up mail order businesses to ensure a steady supply of medicines from China. An early herbal store, Sun Wing Wo, occupied a commercial space in the Garnier Building. Later examples of long-term herbal stores were established in New Chinatown, during the 1930s, and then Greater Chinatown. These resources are generally attached one and two-story mixed-use storefronts.

Significance: Health and medicine-related resources associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Health/Medicine, and Social History. Identified resources played a significant role in supporting the health and welfare of Asian Americans against racial discrimination in medical care. They also reflect the struggle for the recognition and legalization of traditional Asian medical practices.

Some resources may also be significant under Criterion C as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style. Individuals associated with health and medicine may have also made significant individual contributions to the field and may be significant under Criterion B above.

Registration Requirements:

- Represents an important association with health and medicine in the Asian American community in Los Angeles
- Represents an important association with the history and practice of Asian medical traditions such as Chinese herbal medicine and acupuncture
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Visual and Performing Arts**

Description: Property types associated with visual and performing arts include venues for live performances associated with drama, dance, and music, as well as artist studios, museums, galleries, and other exhibition spaces.

Buildings may be purpose built or non-purpose built. Size, massing, form, and architectural style vary over time. In some cases, more research is needed in the fields of visual, performing, and literary arts to identify significant resources. Research for the Korean context revealed that these topics have not been well documented in English. Identified resources include the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center (1980, Little Tokyo)—which houses one of the largest collections of ethnic art in the nation and features a large performance theater—and East West Players, a nationally recognized Asian American theater organization established in 1965 in the basement of the Pilgrim Church in the Silver Lake neighborhood and moved to the Union Center for the Arts in Little Tokyo (old Japanese Union Church). It is anticipated that over time more associated resources will be identified.

Property types also include works of art by noted Asian American artists such as murals and sculptures. Murals and sculptures are contributing features of commercial historic districts discussed under Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce. Other works have been identified in areas of settlement associated with each context that postdate the related periods of significance. As such, no registration requirements for works of art have been developed at this time. Resources may become eligible as more time passes.

Significance: Resources associated with Asian Americans in the visual and performing arts may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Performing Arts, Art, and Social History. Identified resources served as important venues to promote Asian American culture and traditions as well as significant actors, writers, musicians, visual artists, and others.

Many individuals associated with Asian American Visual and Performing Arts may have made significant individual contributions to their respective field and may be significant under Criterion B. Some resources may also be significant under Criterion C as excellent examples of the Asian Eclectic style or other styles of their period of construction.

Registration Requirements:

- Represents a strong association with Asian Americans in the arts, including performing, visual, and literary arts
- Primary interior spaces, especially performance spaces, should remain intact
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Media: Newspapers, Radio, and Television**

Description: Property types associated with media include commercial buildings used by newspapers and publishing companies as well as television and radio stations. In some cases, newspapers were published in offices of Asian American organizations. The Shin Han Min Bo and The New Korea newspapers were headquartered in the Korean Independence Memorial Building. Newspapers may also have been published in residences, although no extant examples have specifically been identified as part of this MPDF. There are few newspaper-related associated resources from the period of significance for each context. Many newspapers moved locations frequently or were in print for only short periods of time. Others were in locations that are no longer extant (such as those in Old Chinatown) or that no longer retain integrity from the period of significance. Of those identified, none appear to be purpose built and were located in commercial buildings with multiple uses and tenants. For example, the New Kown Tai Press, the first ethnic Chinese newspaper, was published in the basement of mixed-use commercial building in New Chinatown. Radio and television resources dating from the period of significance for each context are sparse. Those identified are associated with the Korean American community and require additional research. All media resources associated with the Thai community date beyond the period of significance and require additional research over time.

Significance: Buildings associated Asian American media may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Communications, and Social History. Newspapers and press served as the independent voice of the Asian American community in Los Angeles. Media provided general information, helped Asian Americans adjust to life in Los Angeles, and were springboards for social and political activism. Many individuals associated with Asian American media may have also made significant individual contributions to their respective field and may be significant under Criterion B.

Registration Requirements:

- Founding or long-term location of a publication, radio, or television station significant to

the Asian American community

- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

### **Property Types Associated with Sports and Recreation**

Description: Although sports played a significant role in the social and recreational life of Asian American, few resources are extant. Those identified include martial arts studios. Although martial arts may straddle the definition of a sport and discipline, for purposes of this MPDF, it is categorized as a sport. Those identified are associated primarily with the Japanese American community (called dojos). An exception is Bruce Lee's Martial Arts Studio located in Chinatown (1967). No known studios have been identified for their association with the Thai, Korean, or Filipino communities as part of the MPDF. Martial arts studios in the Japanese community were located citywide in areas of settlement by Japanese Americans in the prewar era; most were closed down during the war and some subsequently reopened.

This property type includes commercial buildings specifically housing martial arts schools and studios. Identified examples are located in modest commercial storefronts and were not purpose built. One example, Seinan Judo Dojo in South Los Angeles, is located in a single-family residence. The property type also includes churches, community centers, and other buildings that offered a wide range of services, programs, and activities as identified under Property Types Associated with Community Organizations, Social Services, and Institutions. The Tenrikyo Church in Boyle Heights established a Judo program in 1964 instrumental in making Japanese martial arts an Olympic sport. The dojo boasts a long roster of national and international competitors.

Significance: Martial arts resources associated with Asian American in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated areas of significance include ethnic history, social history, and entertainment/recreation. Martial arts played a central role in the Asian American community, reinforcing traditional cultural practices. Particularly important are studios that reestablished following World War II as well as those that included well-known instructors of various martial arts disciplines and contributed to the professionalism and mainstream popularity of the sport. The first organized martial arts Kendo activity in Los Angeles emerged in 1914 and by the end of the 1920s, the majority of participants were Nisei. Judo clubs also became common in Southern California and tournaments were held regularly in Little Tokyo.

Individuals associated with martial arts may have also made significant individual contributions to the field and may be significant under Criterion B above.

#### Registration Requirements:

- Founding or long-term location of a martial arts studio/program significant in Asian American history
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

### **Property Types Associated with Military History**

Description: Property types associated with Asian Americans and the military mostly date from the World War II period. They include Wartime Civil Control Association (WCCA) civil control stations (also

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known as processing centers) and temporary detention centers associated with the incarceration of Japanese Americans during the war. Control stations were established throughout Los Angeles and located in existing buildings such as churches, schools, and community centers. Control stations were established throughout Los Angeles in areas including Little Tokyo, Downtown, Sawtelle, Venice, Hollywood, and South Los Angeles. Japanese residents were required to register at one of the stations and then reported on their designated day of travel. Extant locations include the Japanese Union Church in Little Tokyo, St. Mary's Episcopal Church, the Japanese Institute of Sawtelle, and buildings at 923 Venice Boulevard and 360 S. Westlake Avenue.

In addition to the control centers, temporary detention sites were established at Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) camps in Griffith Park and the Tujunga area of the San Fernando Valley. The CCC buildings are no longer extant. The center in Tujunga is locally designated as the Site of the La Tuna Canyon Detention Center.

Military property types also include commemorative war monuments and memorials associated with the Korean and Japanese American communities. Identified examples are the Japanese American 442<sup>nd</sup> Regimental Combat Team memorial (1949), Garden of the Pines memorial to Issei pioneers (1966), and the Go For Broke Monument and National Education Center honoring Japanese Americans in WWII (1999) all in Evergreen Cemetery in Boyle Heights. The Korean Bell and Belfry of Friendship (1976) is dedicated to American veterans of the Korean War and located in San Pedro's Angels Gate Park.

Following the war and their return to Los Angeles after incarceration, some Japanese Americans found temporary housing at many religious institutions, schools, and community centers in Los Angeles. These are discussed above in the property types relating to education, religion and spirituality, and community organizations, social services, and institutions.

Significance: Military properties associated with Asian American in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Military, and Social History. These properties represent a significant chapter in American history, specifically the treatment of Japanese Americans by the U.S. government during World War II. It was the culmination of a pattern of discriminatory treatment toward Japanese Americans reinforced through laws.

#### Registration Requirements: Civil Control and Detention Centers

- Facility used as a civil control center or temporary detention center for Japanese Americans during World War II
- Has a clear association with the Japanese American population during World War II
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

#### Registration Requirements: Commemorative War Monuments and Memorials

- A war monument/memorial specifically designed to honor or commemorate the role of Korean and Japanese Americans in the Korean War and World War II
- Should retain integrity of location, design, feeling, and association

#### Property Types Associated with Agriculture

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Description: There are few known resources in Los Angeles relating to Asian Americans and agriculture. Property types include vernacular agricultural landscapes and ranch/farm houses.

Historic vernacular landscapes depict agricultural activity from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. They generally include at least one agricultural building that serves as a focal point of agricultural activity (e.g. a barn or stable) and adjacent agricultural land. Excellent examples will also include related structures for a full range of farming activity such as irrigation, harvesting, storage, or livestock containment. The landscape may be located on a larger lot and be visibly older than surrounding development.

The only known resource identified as part of the MPDF is the Jue Joe Ranch at 16608 Vanowen Boulevard in Van Nuys (Lake Balboa). The ranch, which once stretched some 100 acres and included numerous residential and work buildings, supplied asparagus to the produce markets in Downtown Los Angeles. Joe was also one of the directors of the San Fernando Valley Asparagus Marketing Association, and by 1925 was considered one of best-known Chinese growers in the Valley. A small piece of this land remains, containing a barn and what appears to be an asparagus packing shed. A residence and swimming pool, constructed by Jue Joe's son after his father's death in 1941, is also extant. Other ranch houses may be identified in the San Fernando Valley and the West Adams areas of Los Angeles, but would no longer have the historic association with a ranch. They may still be eligible as the only extant property types associated with Asian American agricultural history of Los Angeles.

There is little if any clear difference between the design of a farmhouse and a non-farm residence from the same era of development. Farmhouses are generally of wood-frame construction and reflect popular architectural style of the period of construction. They may be significant when they can visibly convey their historic use through the presence of an associated vernacular agricultural landscape. Due to their relative rarity, intact farmhouses constructed prior to 1900 may have the smallest suggestion of its former setting (a larger lot, landscaped with fruit trees and/or vegetable gardens) and still be eligible, particularly at the local level of significance. Properties from the twentieth century may require a more expansive historic landscape with some additional agricultural features, such as one or more outbuildings, related structures such as canals, standpipes, corrals, and tanks, agricultural land, or a related grove/orchard. Properties associated with agriculture may also be associated with Asian Americans who made important individual contributions to the field under Criterion B.

Significance: Agricultural properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Agriculture, and Social History.

Truck farming was an important part of agricultural production in Los Angeles, particularly for local markets. It provided a livelihood for thousands of small farmers in rural parts of the city, including farmers from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Their contributions when viewed in aggregate, were critical to the local economy. Furthermore, some truck farms represent a notable movement within early twentieth century residential development to provide self-sufficient acreage in a systematic way to newcomers who wanted a rural lifestyle.

Intact farmhouses are rare and may be significant remnants of a once expansive agricultural landscape within the city. They represent truck farming for the local market, once a critical component of the

agricultural economy of Los Angeles. Farmhouses are the properties that are most intimately associated with the farmers themselves, and some may reflect the agricultural traditions of Asian Americans.

Vernacular agricultural landscapes may be significant remnants of a once expansive agricultural landscape within the city. They represent truck farming and/or ranching for the local market, both of which were once critical components of the agricultural economy of Los Angeles. Of all potentially eligible property types, the vernacular agricultural landscape has the strongest historical associations through the retention of several related features. This more complete and expansive property type allows for the fullest understanding of historical agricultural practice and conveys a more all-encompassing sense of place.

**Registration Requirements: Vernacular Agricultural Landscape**

- Agricultural property owned and/or operated by an Asian American farmer/rancher
- Open landscape with agricultural features that may include a farmhouse, farmland, orchard/grove, agricultural outbuildings and related features such as corrals, irrigation systems, standpipes, and tanks.
- May have played a significant role in agricultural development for local and/or regional/national markets
- Relationships between buildings/structures and landscape features should be retained
- Should retain integrity of location, setting, materials, and feeling

**Registration Requirements: Ranch/Farm House**

- Associated with a significant Asian American farmer/rancher
- Constructed as a farm/ranch house
- Wood-framed single family residence
- Often designed in prevalent architectural styles of the period
- May convey historic use through an associated historic vernacular landscape
- Because of their rarity, pre-1900 examples may have minimal associated agricultural landscape feature
- Associated historic vernacular landscape features may include barns or stables, corrals, irrigation features, standpipes, tanks, farm land, and or a grove/orchard
- Should retain integrity of setting, materials, design, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Industry**

**Description:** Industrial properties related to Asian Americans in Los Angeles during the period of significance are very rare due to ongoing development at the Port of Los Angeles and demolition of resources associated with Terminal Island and the canning industry as well as demolition of the areas associated with the wholesale produce and flower industries. Known resources are primarily related to food processing and manufacturing and wholesalers of produce and other foods. Extant industrial buildings are generally one-story and utilitarian in design; some may have also included commercial retail space for sales of products. One of the most notable is the Oriental Food Products founded in 1923 in South Los Angeles and operated at the original location until about 1954. Although the owners were Korean, their well-known brand, Jan-U-Wine, was marketed to Asian Americans throughout Los Angeles. K&S Company was established in 1928 and became one of the most successful wholesale operations in Los Angeles' Korean Community. A more recent resource is the Kim Bang Ah (1977) rice mill and rice cake factory in Koreatown. Known properties also include a rare, remaining and intact building from City

Market associated with Jue Joe Company, a significant wholesale produce company owned by San Fernando Valley Chinese American rancher Jue Joe (see above under Properties Associated with Agriculture).

Property types associated with Asian American industries also include small commercial hotels and boarding houses that provided temporary housing for workers, mostly men. Most date from the early twentieth century to the 1930s. Though not many remain, those that are extant are located citywide with a small concentration in the area east of Downtown which housed workers in the nearby produce and flower markets – mostly Chinese and Japanese Americans. The buildings are generally masonry construction and typically four stories in height. Some are mixed-use buildings with retail on the first floor operated by Asian American businesses serving the residents. Other examples outside of the Downtown urban core are in residential neighborhoods with a low-scale residential character. Examples are typically one and two stories and wood frame, such as those which housed Japanese American men working as gardeners in boarding houses on the 500 block of Virgil Avenue in the area of Madison/J Flats and in the Sawtelle area.

Although not resulting from research and outreach completed as part of this MPDF, additional research may yield resources associated with Asian American in Los Angeles' garment industry as well as labor history in areas east of Downtown.

Significance: Industrial properties associated with Asian Americans in Los Angeles may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A at the local, state, or national level of significance. Resources may be significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Industry, and Social History. They are rare remnants of the contributions of Asian Americans to Los Angeles' industrial history. They evidence the types of industries Asian Americans engaged and excelled in based on skills, knowledge, cultural traditions brought with them to Los Angeles and, in some cases, passed on through generations. They also represent a sense of entrepreneurship that triumphed despite racial discrimination and competition with Anglo industries over the years.

Registration Requirements: Industrial Building

- A key manufacturing or processing location for a significant Asian American-owned company whose branding and/or products had a significant impact on Los Angeles industrial history
  - May have included retail sales of products
  - One or more related utilitarian buildings
- May possess branding or company logos on the building exterior
- May retain distinctive equipment or building elements that reflect a particular kind of manufacturing process
- Often designed in prevalent architectural styles of the period
- Industry may have been a large employer of Asian Americans, although company may not have been Asian American owned
- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, feeling, and association

Registration Requirements: Hotel/Boarding House

- Rare remaining example of a hotel/boarding house that provided housing for Asian American workers during the period of significance for the associated context
- Often designed in prevalent architectural styles of the period

- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with Cultural Landscapes: Designed Historic Landscapes**

Description: Designed historic landscapes associated with Asian Americans include Japanese style gardens. Other types may be identified over time. Japanese style gardens are examples of vegetation and/or hardscape material consciously laid out by a master gardener, landscape architect, architect, or horticulturalist, or an owner or other amateur using Japanese-inspired design principles, associated with a residential, commercial, civic, industrial, or institutional area, and constructed between 1946 and 1969. Extant examples of pre-World War II gardens in the Japanese style are extremely rare. Post-WWII examples of Japanese style gardens are typically constructed as public gardens, such as sister city or friendship gardens, and many have a direct association with Japanese American community organizations. Known examples of Japanese style gardens include the garden at the Donald C. Tillman Water Reclamation Plant (designed by landscape architect Koichi Kawana) in the Encino area and the garden at Stoner Park in Sawtelle.

Significance: Japanese style gardens may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C at the local, state, or national level of significance. Associated resources are significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Japanese and Landscape Architecture. They may be significant for their design quality as well as the work of a master landscape architect.

Japanese style gardens represent the influential contributions of Japanese design traditions and Japanese American gardeners and designers on the evolution of designed landscapes in Los Angeles. Popularized during the early years of the twentieth century in Southern California, garden designs in the Japanese style influenced generations of designers. Japanese style gardens are significant as a reflection of Japanese American immigration patterns and Japanese American acculturation in Southern California. Japanese style gardens may also be significant as a notable work of a master builder, designer, or architect.

The introduction of Japanese garden design to Southern California occurred in 1894, with the opening of the California Mid-Winter International Exposition in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park. A Japanese Village, originally conceived as a temporary exposition exhibit, was incorporated into Golden Gate Park. Baron Makoto Hagiwara, a Japanese landscape designer, constructed the permanent version, named the Japanese Tea Garden. The Baron and his descendants occupied Golden Gate Park's Japanese Tea Garden until their eviction and relocation to an internment camp in 1942. Japanese garden pavilions at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco (1915) and the Panama-California Exhibition in San Diego (1915) inspired the construction of Japanese-inspired tea gardens in a number of Los Angeles parks, including Eastlake Park (Lincoln Park), and the Japanese influence was a popular ornamental element in residential gardens.

The fascination with Japanese arts, design traditions, and culture remained strong throughout the 1920s and 1930s and produced many exquisite examples of Japanese-inspired gardens in Los Angeles. Japanese nationals or first-generation Japanese Americans (Issei) typically provided the technical expertise, labor, and continued maintenance of Japanese style gardens. Despite the widespread popularity of Japanese-influenced design in Los Angeles, anti-Asian sentiment was high in Southern California during the first half of the twentieth century with the passage of numerous examples of

discriminatory legislation. During World War II, many Japanese style gardens were demolished, abandoned, defaced, or relocated.

Following the war years, Japanese-inspired gardens quickly shed their wartime stigma. The abundance of newspaper articles in the post-World War II era regarding the care and maintenance of backyard Japanese style gardens further attest to the widespread appeal and popularity of the style. The contemplative beauty of Japanese style gardens also appealed to the economy and design principles of the Modern style that emerged in Southern California in the post-war era.

In the Postwar era, gardening and nursery work represented one of the few occupational areas available to Japanese Americans with extensive agricultural expertise. By the early 1970s, increased opportunities for Japanese Americans meant that the era of the Japanese gardener was coming to an end.

**Registration Requirements:**

- Uses Japanese-inspired design principles associated with a residential, commercial, civic, industrial, or institutional area
- An excellent example of the type and/or represents the work of a significant landscape architect or designer
- Retains significant character defining features such that the visual, spatial, and contextual relationships of the property may be understood
- Use of natural materials, such as large boulders, rock, sand, and logs
- Use of borrowed views, asymmetrical configuration of design elements, attention to ground plane patterns, varied textures, and closely clipped vegetation
- May include winding paths, waterfalls, ponds, and traditional symbolism (e.g., karesansui (dry gravel gardens), horesai (decorative islands), reihaiseki or sansom (stone arrangements) or shrines representative of aesthetic values associated with Zen Buddhism
- May include examples of traditional Japanese art forms or architectural and design elements, such as lanterns, half-moon bridges, pagodas, stepping stones, koi ponds, bonsai, and statuary
- May include traditional ceremonial buildings, such as a teahouse
- May include plant species typical of Japanese and/or California environments (e.g., Japanese maple, camellias, azaleas, rhododendrons, ferns, pines, bamboo, redwoods, elms, sycamores)
- A sufficient number of original materials should be extant such that the historic fabric, character, and overall visual effect has been preserved; some plants may have been replaced in kind
- Should retain integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association

**Property Types Associated with the Asian Eclectic Architectural Style**

**Description:** The term Asian Eclectic was coined by SurveyLA to convey a fusion of Asian architectural styles and ornamentation, frequently assembled in fantastical combinations to appear exotic. For purposes of the National Register, the style is classified as Other: Asian Eclectic and 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century Period Revival: Eclectic Period Revival. Properties associated with the Asian Eclectic style include residential, institutional, industrial, and commercial buildings and historic districts. Properties that meet

the 50-year threshold for significance are generally concentrated in the Chinatown and the Little Tokyo areas of Downtown Los Angeles. Later examples are located in Koreatown and sparsely scattered citywide such as the Wat Thai temple in North Hollywood. No specific example associated with the Filipino community have been identified as part of this MPDF.

The Asian Eclectic style features both pagoda-influenced forms and simplified modern forms with oriental detailing that includes wide, overhanging upturned eaves, decorative applied ornament with oriental and geometric motifs, and brightly colored clay tile roofs. The distinctive, sweeping upturned eaves and steep roofs of early buildings gave way to decorative upturned beams and eaves supporting flat roofs, creating more linear and boxy forms.

The Asian Eclectic style in Los Angeles was primarily used for commercial and institutional buildings, beginning in the 1920s and reached its peak with the construction of New Chinatown and Greater Chinatown from the late 1930s to 1950s. These developments represent historic districts. The style represented a connection to the traditional architecture found in the homelands of recent immigrants and long-established Americans of Asian ancestry. Many of the buildings in this style were designed and planned by neighborhood associations that intentionally used an architecture and design language to signify identification with a specific community's heritage, and to create master planned neighborhoods with ethnic themes as tourist attractions and retail centers. Chinatown also includes significant individual examples of the style, which during the postwar period, blend Modernism with simplified Asian design references, and represented the forward-thinking postwar Chinese American architect community of the period.

Significance: Properties associated with the Asian Eclectic style may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C at the local, state, or national level. Associated resources are significant in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Asian and Architecture. Individual properties and districts reflect the distinctive qualities of the Asian Eclectic style and were designed or influenced by significant Asian Americans including noted architects and civic and business leaders.

### **Individual Resources**

#### Registration Requirements:

- Designed by an Asian American architect and/or influenced by significant business/civic leaders in the Asian American community
- Must be an excellent example of the Asian Eclectic style and retains most of the character defining features which may include:
  - Sweeping roofs with flared gables or upturned rafter tails
  - Carved brackets and rafter tails
  - Flat roof with decorative post and beam supporting system
  - Ornamented roof ridge
  - Brightly colored tile roofs
  - Elaborate surrounds on entryways and windows
  - Decoratively distributed mullions on windows
  - Recessed entryways
  - Geometrical patterned window grilles
  - For mixed use, may have second floor balconies
  - For retail, neon signage in fonts evoking calligraphy

- For Chinese-influenced, may be painted red and gold
- For Chinese-influenced, ornament may include dragon or lion statuary
- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association

### **Historic Districts**

#### Registration Requirements:

- Must include a substantial number of buildings designed by Asian American architects and/or influenced by significant business/civic leaders in the Asian American community.
- Conveys a strong sense of overall historic environment from the period of significance
- Represents an intact grouping of commercial buildings which, as a whole, exemplify the Asian Eclectic style
- May also include open spaces with Asian influenced fountains, sculptures, murals, and other features
- Has a strong cultural association to the community in which it is located
- May include some buildings, constructed outside the period of significance.
- Primarily commercial but may include some institutional, residential, or mixed-use buildings.
- District as a whole should retain integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association

### **Property Types Associated with Important Asian American Architects**

Description: Property types designed by Asian American architects include residential, commercial, mixed-use commercial/residential, institutional, and industrial buildings. Extant works by identified architects primarily date from the 1940s through the end of the period of significance for each associated context. Geographically the resources are located citywide, but in particular, the places associated with settlement of Asian Americans as discussed in the contexts. Asian architects worked citywide with concentrations of commercial and institutional work in Chinatown, Little Tokyo, Koreatown, Boyle Heights, Crenshaw District, Jefferson Park, and Sawtelle. A concentration of postwar residential work, including homes architects designed for their own families, is located in Silver Lake.

There is very little scholarship on Asian American architects of Los Angeles. Some are referenced throughout the historic contexts, but others may be identified over time. Generally, the Asian American architect community was small in the prewar period; works that are known appear to be designed for Asian American clients and are mostly institutional buildings. Japanese American architect Yos Hirose is one of the earliest known Asian American architects working in Los Angeles. No early residential examples have been identified as part of this MPDF.

More is known about the postwar architect community; during this time many Asian American architects attended local universities such as USC, became members of the American Institute of Architects, worked with well-known firms, and opened their own firms. Many Asian American architects from this period worked in the Mid-Century Modern style as well as the Asian Eclectic style, often combining elements of both in their designs. The development of Chinatown in the postwar period provided many opportunities for Chinese American architects and the work of Eugene Choy and Gilbert

Leong is perhaps best known. Construction dating to the 1970s and later in the area of Koreatown has been commissioned by Korean business owners and designed by Korean architects; to date little is known about these architects and their work. This study did not identify any work by Filipino American architects. The only known resource associated with Thai architects is the Theravada Temple, designed by architects from the Religious Ministry of Thailand.

Significance: This property type is used to identify resources associated with Asian American architects considered to be masters in their field and who made important contributions to Los Angeles' architectural legacy. In particular, the type reflects buildings designed by Asian Americans whose work was influenced by Asian American culture and aesthetics and designed in the Asian Eclectic style. Properties may be eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion C at the local, state, or national level, depending on the architect's sphere of influence. It is expected that more research on the topic will reveal rich information and that the period of significance will be expanded over time to encompass later periods of architecture in Los Angeles.

Some architects may also be significant under Criterion B for their association with struggles against and rising above racial discrimination in the architecture profession.

Registration Requirements:

- Associated with an Asian American architect/designer who made an important contribution to Los Angeles' architectural legacy
- A significant example of an architectural style or combination of styles influenced by Asian American culture and aesthetics, in particular the Asian Eclectic style
- To be eligible as the work of a master architect/designer, the property must express a particular phase in the development of the master's career or an aspect of his/her work
- Should retain integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association

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## Appendix A: Japanese American Known and Designated Resources

This document includes designated and known historic resources identified as part of the development of the “Japanese Americans in Los Angeles, 1869-1970,” historic context and is not all inclusive. The list may be expanded over time to include resources identified through additional research and public input as well as resources dating from beyond 1970. More information on some of the resources on this list can be found in the historic context.

Known resources may be eligible for designation under local, state, and/or federal programs. However, inclusion in this list as a resource does not ensure eligibility. Properties must be fully evaluated under relevant criteria to determine if they meet significance and integrity thresholds.

### Property Types Associated with Prominent Persons in Japanese American History

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Residence of Frank T. Aiso	1406 Tamarind Ave	Residential - Single Family	Japanese gardener Frank Aiso is significant for his association with protests by the Anti-Japanese Hollywood Protective Association c. 1915 and as part of the pre-war Japanese American community in Hollywood.
Residence of K.H. Shimizu	240 N Alma St	Residential - Single Family	Associated with segregation and deed restrictions. Shimizu was a victim of white supremacist protest when his house was lit on fire.
Residence of Mary Yone Akita	513 N Vigil St	Residential - Single Family	Home of Akita circa 1920s. She was a trained Japanese midwife/nurse in Los Angeles. Listed in Census as "Tr Nurse," traveling nurse.
Residence of Masami Teraoka	3532 Grand View Blvd	Residential - Single Family	Artist's Colony; Masami Teraoka, a Japanese-born painter whose work hangs in the Tate Modern, London and the Met, New York. Themes in Teraoka's art featured erotica and social criticism, including works to increase awareness of AIDs in the 1980s. Graduated from Otis Art Institute in 1968. Period of significance may not meet National Register 50-year threshold.
Residence of S. Hayakawa	636 N Hobart Blvd	Residential - Single Family	Residence of the first known Japanese American film star Sessue Hayakawa in 1916, during the early days of silent film success. Of four known residences of Hayakawa, this is the only one remaining.
Residence of the Toyusaku Komai Family	1346 W 37th St	Residential - Single Family	Significant for its association with the Toyusaku Komai family (publishers of Rafu Shimpo) which lived here before and after WWII. Historic photo available in Jenks yearbook p66.
Residence of Tokutaro "Tokie" Slocum	2161 1/2 W 31st St	Residential - Single Family	Residence of the head of the Anti-Axis Committee of the JACL after Pearl Harbor. More research need on years of occupancy.

Residence of Ujiro Oyamo	1512 Hobart St	Residential - Single Family	Ujiro Oyamo was first consul for Japanese in Los Angeles from 1915-1923.
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**Property Types Associated with Settlement: Residential Historic Districts**

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Chacksfield Tract Residential Historic District	Located within the Harbor Gateway area, north of the 91 Freeway and west of the 110 Freeway.	Residential - District	The district is composed of one-story single-family residences designed in the California Ranch style. The district is distinguished by its Japanese-style gardens. According to the <i>Los Angeles Times</i> , the tract was known as Merit Homes and developed in 1956 by George Chacksfield, (builder-developer). Marketing materials and <i>Los Angeles Times</i> articles make no overt mention of marketing these homes directly to Japanese Americans; however, Chacksfield's projects included homes and town homes in the City of Gardena during the same time period. The firm was headquartered in Gardena, which had a large enclave of Japanese Americans after the war. The rights to sell the homes may have been brokered through a Japanese realty firm. Homes were designed by architect Richard D. Stoddard.
Crenshaw Seinan Historic District	Includes properties on Crenshaw Blvd, Bronson Ave, and Norton Ave between Coliseum St and 39th St	Residential - -- District; Designed Landscape - Japanese Style Gardens	Significant concentration of mostly residential buildings featuring Japanese-inspired landscaping and horticultural traditions. Significant as representative of the re-settlement of the Japanese American community in Los Angeles after World War II. Marketed directly to Japanese Americans. Also includes some commercial properties.
Jefferson Park Historic District	Roughly bounded by Adams Blvd, Western Ave, Jefferson Blvd, Arlington Ave, Exposition Blvd and 7th Ave.	Residential - District	Locally designated as the Jefferson Park Historic Preservation Overlay Zone (HPOZ). Jefferson Park included a significant Japanese American neighborhood from the pre and postwar periods. The area was also home to a large African American population.

Leimert Park Historic District	Roughly bounded by 39th St, Vernon Ave, Crenshaw Blvd, 3rd Ave	Residential - District	The district is significant as a postwar African American and Japanese American enclave, which in previous decades was restricted to white residents. The district is also significant as an excellent example of a 1920s-early 1930s planned community in South Los Angeles.
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**Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce: Commercial Buildings**

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Holiday Bowl	3730 S Crenshaw Blvd	Entertainment - Bowling Alley	Locally designated HCM #688. Significant as the long-term location of a business important to the commercial identity of Crenshaw's Japanese American and African American communities. The bowling alley is no longer extant. The HCM is related to the façade of the Holiday Bowl coffee shop.
Kokusai Theatre	3016 S Crenshaw Blvd; 3018 S Crenshaw Blvd; 3020 S Crenshaw Blvd	Entertainment - Neighborhood Theater - Motion Picture	Significant for its association with the cultural and commercial development of the local Japanese American community. Operating at this location from circa 1953 to 1986, the Kokusai Theatre ran independent films from Japan, catering to the Japanese American community that resided in the South Crenshaw area following World War II.
Fox La Brea Theatre; Toho La Brea Theatre; Cherry Blossom Restaurant	847 S La Brea Ave; 849 S La Brea Ave; 851 S La Brea Ave; 853 S La Brea Ave; 855 S La Brea Ave; 857 S La Brea Ave	Entertainment - Neighborhood Theater - Motion Picture	Significant as the location of the Toho La Brea Japanese-language movie theatre and the Cherry Blossom restaurant, important gathering places for the local Japanese American community in the postwar period. Originally constructed as the Fox La Brea Theatre in 1926, the property later became the Toho La Brea Theatre, managed by the Japanese production company Toho Studios.
Bank of Tokyo/Union Bank	3501 W Jefferson Blvd; 3509 W Jefferson Blvd; 3515 W Jefferson Blvd	Finance - Bank	Significant for its association with the Japanese American community of the South Crenshaw area; representative of their financial and commercial investment in the neighborhood after World War II. Built by Japanese-owned architecture firm O'Leary and Terasawa.
Sumitomo Bank Building	101 S. San Pedro St	Finance - Bank	Significant as one of the earliest redevelopment projects of the late 1960s in Little Tokyo. Developed by Kajima and designed by Victor Gruen And Associates.

Fugetsu-Do Sweet Shop	315 E 1st St	Food - Bakery	Longstanding local business associated with the Japanese American community in Little Tokyo. The sweet shop opened in 1903 and moved to this location 1956-57.
Grace Bakery and Pastry	3514 W Jefferson Blvd	Food - Bakery	Significant as the long-term location of Grace Bakery and Pastry, which opened here in 1959 and was an important local bakery owned by the Izumi family and serving the local Japanese American population. It is unknown when Grace Bakery and Pastry left the building.
Mikawaya	118 Japanese Village Plaza	Food - Restaurant	Business is known as the creator Mochi ice cream in 1984; business established in 1910; original shop at 244 1 <sup>st</sup> Street; now in Japanese Village Plaza.
Kouraku	314 E 2nd St	Food - Restaurant	Significant as a long-term location of a business important to the commercial identity of Little Tokyo. One of the oldest ramen shops in operation. Date moved to this location not determined.
Otomisan Japanese Restaurant	2506 E 1st St	Food - Restaurant	Significant as the long-term location of a business important to the commercial identity of Boyle Heights; believed to be the last remaining Japanese restaurant in the area. Otomisan Restaurant, originally called the Otomi Café, has been in continuous operation at this location since 1956.
Sakura Restaurant	4545 S Centinela Ave	Food - Restaurant	Continuously operating Japanese-owned business since 1958.
Joyce Boarding House	560 N Virgil Ave	Lodging - Boarding House	Rare example of Japanese boarding house from the prewar period. Part of group of surviving resources on Virgil Street.
Rooming House	1130 Fedora St	Lodging - Boarding House	Prewar rooming house for Japanese men who worked as maintenance gardeners.
Rooming House	1507 W 35th Pl	Lodging - Boarding House	Prewar rooming house for Japanese men who worked as maintenance gardeners.
Rooming House	1511 W 35th Pl	Lodging - Boarding House	Appears to be significant as a prewar rooming house for mixed-occupation Japanese men. Permit history unclear; appears to be from late 19th century or early 20th century.
Rooming House	1641 Cosmo St	Lodging - Boarding House	Appears to be significant as a prewar rooming house for mixed-occupation Japanese men; could house 45 lodgers. Was built in 1913 as a duplex. Owner from 1913 to 1934 was R.L. Shoemaker.

Rooming House/Obayashi Employment Agency	564 N Virgil Ave	Lodging - Boarding House	Appears to be significant as a prewar rooming house for Japanese men. Owner of property was S. Ozawa per 1924 building permits. Listed as site of Obayashi Employment agency in 1939 Sun Year Book.
Boarding House	2122 S Corinth Ave	Lodging - Boarding House	Appears to have a significant association with postwar resettlement of the Japanese American community in West Los Angeles. Property may have historical associations with the neighboring Sawtelle Institute and/or as a Japanese American boarding house during the 1950s.
Nankaiya Hotel	606 E 1st St	Mixed Use	Designed by prominent architecture firm Morgan Walls and Morgan and constructed in 1913. It had a series of European American owners who leased space to Japanese American residential and commercial tenants (people born in Japan were legally prohibited from owning property at that time). The building housed the Nankaiya Hotel on its second story for at least 20 years, providing furnished rooms to Japanese American single male lodgers as well as family households. The buildings' first floor storefronts contained retail operations predominantly run by Japanese Americans, and its occupants between 1913 and 1940 included barber shops, restaurants, a secondhand goods store, a plumbing business, a grocery store, and a liquor store. Between the early 1960s and at least the late 1990s, the building was owned by Kiichi Uyeda, a significant individual who was the first Little Tokyo resident to return and open a business (which became the S.K. Uyeda department store at 230 E. 1st Street) after being interned at Manzanar during World War II.
New Otani Hotel	120 S Los Angeles St	Lodging - Hotel	1978, important redevelopment project in Little Tokyo; Kajima Associates, Hayahiko Takasee; William B. Tabler Consulting Architect. Now a DoubleTree by Hilton.

<p>White Point Hot Springs Hotel Fountain</p>	<p>S Western Ave and W Paseo del Mar, at entrance to Royal Palms County Beach</p>	<p>Lodging - Hotel (remaining water feature/fountain)</p>	<p>This fountain may be a remnant of the White Point Hot Spring Hotel. The site was first established in 1917 as a bathhouse on the beach by the Tagami brothers on land owned by Ramon Sepulveda. By 1925, the resort included a hotel, restaurant, salt water swimming pools, and an enclosed boating area. The original fountain likely dates from this period. The Tagami brothers, Tojuro and Tamiji, were Japanese fisherman who discovered a sulfur hot spring in the area. During its heyday in the 1920s, the property was one of the most popular beach resorts in Southern California, particularly among Japanese-Americans. The resort closed in the late 1930s. During World War II the Federal government demolished the resort buildings and operated the site as part of Fort MacArthur. In 1960, the area became Royal Palms State Beach. In 1995, the land was deeded to the County and became Royal Palms County Beach. In 1997, the site underwent an extensive renovation; it was likely at this time that the fountain was discovered, restored, and relocated to its present location at the entrance to the beach. However, based upon historical photographs, the current fountain displays different features and proportions and therefore appears to have been substantially altered or may not be the original fountain. Additionally, the current fountain has been relocated to the present site, and it is no longer functioning as a water feature. Therefore, the object does not appear to retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance.</p>
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Mixed Use Commercial Building	620 E. 1 <sup>st</sup> St	Mixed Use	620 E. 1st Street, designed by architect J.E. Lacey, was first constructed as a one-story building in 1911. In 1913, owner Charles German had a residential second story (designed by E.B. Hogan Jr.) added. The building's second story provided furnished rooms to Japanese Americans and its first story had Japanese-run businesses including a noodle manufacturer, barber shops, a tailor, a beverage shop, and a restaurant. Later owners included Joseph M. Jung and Hiroko Rikimaru, neither of whom appear to be significant individuals.
Fukui Mortuary	707 E Temple St	Mortuary/Funeral Home	Long-time mortuary business in Little Tokyo. Fukui mortuary business dates to 1918 when owner Soji Fukui assumed ownership. The Fukui Mortuary was previously located on Turner Street. Date of relocation to Temple Street not known. Building permits indicate a 1968 remodel/addition to the mortuary by Japanese American architect Kazumi Adachi, as well as a 1982 addition. Became one the most significant institutions in the community.
Kubota Nikkei Mortuary	911 W Venice Blvd	Mortuary/Funeral Home	Long-time mortuary business in Westlake; also a rare remaining example of commercial development associated with the Japanese American community that historically resided in this area. The current building was constructed as a mortuary in 1931 by W.D. LeChaminant. LeChaminant established his mortuary business at this location circa the 1920s, operating out of a residence. In 1931, LeChaminant replaced the residence with the existing building. It is unclear if the building has been continuously occupied as a mortuary business since its construction. The current mortuary business, Kubota Nikkei Mortuary, has been in operation at this location since 1953.

Wada & Asato Agency	3220 W Jefferson Blvd	Office - Insurance	1966 site of Japanese American-owned insurance agency established in 1955. According to building permits from the 1980s, the building also served as the Seinan Senior Citizens Club in later years. Designed by prominent Japanese American architect Joseph Takahashi. Japanese American insurance agencies were established before the war due to discrimination.
Kashu Realty	2701 W Jefferson Blvd	Office - Real Estate	Early 1950s location of Kashu Realty; pioneering real estate firm in integrating the South Crenshaw area with Japanese residents; Associated with blockbusting for Japanese Americans in this area. Then located at 3112 W. Jefferson. Sign extant at this address.
Fujisaka Drug Store, Arimatsu Dry Goods, Matsunaga Chop Suey, Ota Barber Shop, Yamada Jewelers, Yasaki Dry Cleaners, Okamoto Lawnmower Shop, Ota Grocery (c. 1939)	3551-3563 S Normandie Ave	Retail	Art Deco style commercial building housing Japanese businesses in late 1930s. Owned by Takejiro Kusayanagi.
Satsuma Imports; Sawtelle Fish Market; Toya Grocery Company; Modern Dress Shop/Modern Beauty Salon; Mitchell Sewing School	2029 S Sawtelle Blvd	Retail	Longstanding local business associated with the Japanese American community in West Los Angeles. Satsuma Imports was established at this location and continues to operate today.
S.K. Uyeda Department Store	230 E 1st St	Retail - Department Store	Kiichi Uyeda was reportedly the first merchant to move back to Little Tokyo after WWII, and in 1945 quickly established the S.K. Uyeda Department Store at 230 E. 1 <sup>st</sup> Street. The retail operation helped returning Japanese residents replace all of the essential possessions that had been taken from them during incarceration.
Bruin Flower Shop	12020 Wilshire Blvd	Retail - Florist	Property was the longtime home of Bruin Florist dating back to the prewar period. It reflects the presence of the Japanese in West Los Angeles prior to the war.

Flower View Gardens Florist	1801 N Western Ave	Retail - Florist	1962; Postwar location of Flower View Garden Florist significant for its association with the floral cultivation in the Los Feliz area by the A.H. Kuromi family. Building was built by the family as KIK Enterprises. Architect was Ulysses E. Bauer. Arrangements were associated with the Dorothy C. Thorpe design department within the May Co. Wilshire during the Mid-1950s.
Tokio Florist	2718 N Hyperion Ave	Retail - Florist	This property was the longtime home of Tokio Florist; it reflects the presence of Japanese Americans in Silver Lake beginning in the 1960s.
Kays (Tak's Hardware and Garden Supply)	3318 W Jefferson Blvd	Retail - Gardening Supply	Japanese-owned business related to maintenance gardening. Featured in <i>Arts and Architecture</i> magazine. Designed in 1954 by architect Kazumi Adachi.
Yamada Company	700 W Gardena Blvd	Retail - Hardware Store	The Yamada Company building is significant as the location of one of the oldest remaining Japanese American businesses in the Gardena area. The company moved to this location in 1956 from Downtown.
Anzen Hotel Supply Co.	220 E 1 <sup>st</sup> St	Retail - Hotel Supply	Associated with early residential development of Little Tokyo as a supplier to rooming houses and hotels.
Baba's Lawnmower Shop	4554 S Centinela Ave	Retail - Lawnmower Shop	Rare and intact example of a Japanese-owned lawnmower shop from the postwar period. Longstanding local business associated with the Japanese American community in the west Los Angeles area.
M.G. Lawnmower Shop	4569 S Centinela Ave	Retail - Lawnmower Shop	Rare and intact example of a Japanese-owned lawnmower shop from the postwar period. Longstanding local business associated with the Japanese American community in the west Los Angeles area.
Fujiya Grocery/Market	601 N Virgil Ave	Retail - Neighborhood Market	More research to determine period of occupancy as a Japanese market.
Garden Basket No. 2	1231 S Pacific Ave	Retail - Neighborhood Market	Rare example of a 1930s neighborhood market building in San Pedro; one of few examples remaining from this period. Per "California Japantowns" website, this market has an association with the Japanese American community that historically resided in San Pedro and Terminal Island. Now San Pedro Ballet School.

Garden Basket No. 7	2201 S Pacific Ave	Retail - Neighborhood Market	Rare example of a 1930s neighborhood market building in San Pedro; one of few examples remaining from this period. Per the "California Japantowns" website, this market has an association with the Japanese American community that historically resided in San Pedro. However, due to substantial alterations, including replacement of wall cladding and altered storefronts, the property may not retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance.
Tempura House, Granada Market	1820 S Sawtelle Blvd	Retail - Neighborhood Market	Longstanding local business associated with the Japanese American community in West Los Angeles area; Granada Market was established at this location and continues to operate today.
Harada Nursery	1900 S Sawtelle Blvd	Retail - Nursery	Longstanding local business associated with the Japanese American community in West Los Angeles.
O.K. Nursery	1941 S Sawtelle Blvd	Retail - Nursery	Longstanding local business associated with the Japanese American community in West Los Angeles. Hashimoto Nursery was originally established as O.K. Nursery circa 1928.
Sego Nursery	12116 W Burbank Blvd	Retail - Nursery	Significant as the business of Sego Murakami, a judo master who founded the nursery in 1948, after returning from Manzanar. Sego Nursery was owned and operated by the Murakami family for over 50 years.
Tabuchi Nursery	2001 S Sawtelle Blvd	Retail - Nursery	Longstanding local business associated with the Japanese American community in West Los Angeles. A nursery was established at this location circa 1935 and the property continues to operate as a nursery today.
Yamaguchi Bonsai Nursery	1903 S Sawtelle Blvd	Retail - Nursery	Longstanding local business associated with the Japanese American community in West Los Angeles.
Jo-Mi Plumbing	2011 S Sawtelle Blvd	Retail - Plumbing	Longstanding local business associated with the Japanese American community in West Los Angeles; Jo-Mi Plumbing was established at this location in 1953 and continues to operate today.
Far East Market	8848 Lankershim Blvd	Retail - Neighborhood Market	Rare and intact example of a Japanese-owned grocery store from the postwar period.

Kashu Realty Sign	3112 W Jefferson Blvd	Sign - Pole Sign	Pole sign associated with late 20th century location of Kashu Realty; pioneering real estate firm in integrating Crenshaw area with Japanese residents. The sign appears to meet local criteria only and may not meet significance thresholds for National Register or California Register eligibility.
Southern California Gardeners' Federation	333 S San Pedro Street	Office	Significant for its association with the postwar maintenance gardeners industry of the Japanese American community. Founded in 1955, the Southern California Gardener's Foundation was the leading postwar organization of the maintenance gardening industry. Building was designed in 1970 by Japanese American architect Fred T. Hifumi.

**Property Types Associated with Business and Commerce: Commercial Historic Districts**

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Little Tokyo Historic District	301-349 E 1 <sup>st</sup> St; 110-120 Judge John Aiso St; and 119 Central Ave	Commercial District	Designated a National Historic Landmark in 1995. Little Tokyo Historic District is a historic Japanese commercial district in Downtown Los Angeles. Japanese immigrants settled the area in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Before World War II, Little Tokyo was the largest Japanese community in the United States. Today, the Little Tokyo Historic District represents the original commercial heart of the community although it is only a portion of what was historically known as Little Tokyo. There are a number of individually significant properties within the district boundaries.
Japanese Village Plaza	335 E. Second Street	Commercial District	Japanese Village Plaza is now a focal point of Japanese American cultural and commercial identity in Little Tokyo, and has been in continuous operation at this location since its construction in 1978. The plaza may meet local criteria only and may not meet significance thresholds for National Register or California Register eligibility.

## Property Types Associated with Religion and Spirituality

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Koyasan Buddhist Temple/Koyasan Beikoku Betsuin	842 E 1 <sup>st</sup> Street	Temple	The Koyasan Buddhist sect in Little Tokyo dates to 1912 and has remained one of the oldest continually operating Buddhist sects in Los Angeles. Building at 842 E. 1 <sup>st</sup> Street dates to 1940.
Centenary United Methodist Church	3500 S Normandie Ave	Church	Significant as a religious institution constructed specifically to serve the local Japanese American population. The original pastor was Reverend S. M. Saito. Served also as site of Rafu Kokugo Gakuen prewar; site of new Rafu Seinan Gakuen in 1966. Lindley and Selkirk, architects.
Higashi Honganji Buddhist Temple/Rissho Kosei-Kai Buddhist Temple	2707 E 1 <sup>st</sup> St	Temple	Significant for association with the Japanese American community in Boyle Heights in the early 20th Century. Original church building, designed in 1926 by Japanese American Architect Yos Hirose. Several additions made over time.
Japanese Baptist Church	1925 Sawtelle Blvd	Church	Congregation dates from the postwar period although building permits indicate all new/recent construction at the site construction.
Japanese Presbyterian Church	4011 Clinton St	Church	Intact example of a postwar Japanese Presbyterian church in a Japanese American community; Designed by D.R. Wilkinson and R. M. Crosby in 1955.
West Los Angeles Methodist Church/Japanese Union Church	1913 Purdue Ave	Church	Intact example of postwar Japanese Methodist church in the Sawtelle area. A new church and Sunday school were added to the property by architect Y. Tom Makino. There have been additional and alterations since then.
Japanese Union Church of Los Angeles	120 N San Pedro St/401 E 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	Church	Locally designated as HCM #312 and part of the Little Tokyo Historic District. Established in 1918 through the merger of three congregations, the Los Angeles Presbyterian Church (est. 1905), the Los Angeles Congregational Church (est. 1908), and the Japanese Bethlehem Congregational Church of Los Angeles (est. by 1911). The merger was to expand programs and better serve the community. Rev. Giichi Tanaka was appointed the first pastor of the church. On March 25, 1923 the new church building at 120 N. San Pedro Street (now 120 Judge John Aiso) was dedicated. Church currently located at 401 E. 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street.

Jyodo-Shu Betsuin	2003 W Jefferson Blvd	Temple	Buddhist temple in a former synagogue; active c. 1956 through at least the early 1970s.
Konko Temple	2924 E 1 <sup>st</sup> St	Church	Significant for its early association with Boyle Heights as a Japanese American community in Los Angeles in the early 20th Century. Church building designed in 1937-38 for owner Kiyoshi Haramoto by Japanese architect Yos Hirose.
Los Angeles Holiness Church Education Building	3660 S. Gramercy Pl	Church	Significant for its association with the Japanese American community in the South Jefferson area. Mid-century Modern educational building for the Oriental Missionary Society by Japanese American architect Kaz Nomura, an architect in A. Quincy Jones' office. Landscape by church members.
Los Angeles Japanese Baptist Church	2923 E 2 <sup>nd</sup> St;	Church	1926-29; associated with the Los Angeles City Baptist Missionary society. Rare remaining example of institutional development associated with the Japanese American community that historically resided in this area of Boyle Heights. Due to alterations, including window replacement, cladding replacement, and the alteration of some window openings, the church may not retain sufficient integrity for listing in the National Register. It is not known when the Japanese American congregation left the property; more research is needed to determine the period of significance.
Mount Hollywood Congregational Church	1733 N New Hampshire Ave	Church	Significant for its association with Japanese American incarceration during World War II. The church "adopted" the nearby Hollywood Independent Church congregation and stored their possessions during incarceration. Allan Hunter, the pastor of Mt. Hollywood congregational church was an outspoken activist for the Japanese Americans during this time.
Nichiren Shu Beikoku Betsuin Buddhist Temple	2801 E 4th <sup>d</sup> St	Temple	Significant for its association with the Boyle Heights Japanese American community and its association with the Nichiren Buddhist order. 1969 permit for new temple; Joe C O'Dell architect.
San Fernando Holiness Church	9610 Haddon Ave	Church	Significant for its association with the postwar Japanese American population in the San Fernando Valley. Designed by architect David Patterson

St. Mary's Japanese Episcopal Church	961 S Mariposa	Church	Significant for its association with the Japanese American community in the area known as "Uptown." It was founded in 1907 by Mary Louise Paterson, a former missionary to Japan. St. Mary's began as a mission to minister to Japanese immigrants in Los Angeles. The Reverend John Misao Yamazaki, himself an immigrant from Japan, was the founding vicar of the Episcopal Mission. During this period, many of the parishioners lived within the neighborhood of the church. St. Mary's served as a hub of community activities for the Japanese American community and served to help Japanese immigrants assimilate into the American culture. The facility served as a hostel for Japanese Americans returning from incarceration and continued to serve the community during the postwar period. Church was designed in 1931 by architects Allison and Allison in the Spanish Colonial Revival style. Additions in 1961 to accommodate school needs were designed by architect Mark S. Horie.
Tenrikyo North American Church	2723 E Pomeroy Ave	Church	Rare remaining example of institutional development associated with the Japanese American community that historically resided in this area of Boyle Heights. The church has remained in continuous operation at this location since 1964.
Fellowship House of Union Church/Mott Manse	333 N Mott St	Parsonage	Purchased by the Japanese Union Church in 1948 to house Issei Minister Reverend Kowata; sold in 1973. Extensive alterations
Los Angeles Homba Hongwanji Buddhist Temple	109-119 N Central Ave/now 815 E. 1 <sup>st</sup> Street	Temple	1925-26, architect Edgar Cline; locally designated as HCM #313. Important religious center in Little Tokyo; also location of postwar Japanese language school in Little Tokyo; associated with Buddhist Temple. New temple constructed 1968-69 (architect Y. Tom Makino) at 815 E. 1 <sup>st</sup> Street. Old temple now part of the Japanese American National Museum.

San Fernando Valley Hongwanji Buddhist Temple	9450 Remick Ave	Temple	<p>The San Fernando Valley Hongwanji Buddhist Temple is significant as the first permanent Buddhist temple located in the San Fernando Valley. People of Japanese descent have been living in the San Fernando Valley since the early 1900s, many originally working as farmers. In 1924, the San Fernando Valley Japanese Language Institute opened in Pacoima to serve the children of vegetable farmers and flower growers. Prior to World War II, the Los Angeles Betsuin (Buddhist temple) served Buddhists in the San Fernando Valley through services held in San Fernando, Pacoima, and Canoga Park. Pacoima experienced an influx of Japanese Americans moving back into the area after the war, making the need for a permanent, local temple imminent. The San Fernando Valley Hongwanji Buddhist Temple was constructed in 1961 as the first permanent Buddhist temple in the Valley. In 1983, the Valley temple became independent of the Los Angeles Betsuin, and in 1992, a new temple was built to accommodate growth. The original temple is still used today as a social hall. Temple was designed by Japanese American architect Y. Tom Makino in 1961. Addition of two-story school was also designed by Y. Tom Makino.</p>
Senshin Buddhist Temple/Senshin Gakuin	1311 W 37 <sup>th</sup> St (Historically 1336 W. 36 <sup>th</sup> Pl)	Temple	<p>Significant for its association with the Japanese American community in the pre and postwar periods. Began as the Senshin Gakuin (language school) at 1336 W 36<sup>th</sup> Place (built 1938). During incarceration in WWII, the building was placed under the care of Rev. Julius Goldwater, the first Caucasian minister of the Jodoshinshu who was assigned to the Los Angeles Betsuin. Goldwater boarded up the building and cared for the belongings of those incarcerated. After the war, he turned the school into a hostel for returning Japanese. The buildings became the center of the Seinan postwar community. Religious programs began in 1947 and in May 1951, the Senshin Gakuin became the Senshin Buddhist Church. Temple and classroom building designed by Japanese American architect TWA/Shimozono in 1965.</p>

West Los Angeles Buddhist Temple; Los Angeles Homba Hongwanji Buddhist Temple; Sawtelle Howakai	2003 S Corinth Ave	Temple	Excellent example of religious institutional development associated with the Japanese-American community in West Los Angeles. The West Los Angeles Buddhist Temple has occupied this property since 1954. The property reflects the heritage of Jodo Shinshu Buddhism in West Los Angeles. 1955 Building designed by Japanese American architect Y. Tom Makino. Addition of 1-story social hall in 1993.
Tenrikyo Church and Cultural Center	2727 E 1 <sup>st</sup> St; 117-129 N Saratoga St	Church	The Tenrikyo Church complex occupies several lots at the southwest corner of E. 1 <sup>st</sup> Street and Saratoga Street on Boyle Heights with additions and new construction over the years. Significant for its association with the Japanese American community in the community in the pre and postwar periods. Permits indicate church and washroom built for the Tenrikyo Junior Church of American in 1937-39 (Yos Hirose); rectory built in 1950 (Yos Hirose) classrooms, social hall, and house built 1961; church also functioned as a community center for cultural activities including art exhibitions and judo exhibitions. Library and auditorium (Judo Dojo) was dedicated in October of 1969 (by then Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters of American); designed by architect H. Lee Higley in Mid-century Modern style with Japanese detailing. Additional buildings erected in 1982. Church substantially remodeled in 2003.
Saint Francis Xavier Church and School/Maryknoll School	222 S Hewitt St	Church/ School	1921-1939; Site of prewar Maryknoll Catholic Ministry for the Japanese Community as led by the Maryknoll Association of priests and nuns. 1938 priests' residence and gymnasium was designed by architect Ray J. Kieffer using Grantlock brick and Asian architectural details. In 1938, a concrete block classroom building was added (no architect) at the rear of the property, and in 1964 two additional structures (classrooms and a toilet building) were designed by O'Leary & Terasawa. Property may also include a grotto designed by Ryozo Kado, a significant Issei landscape architect.

### Property Types Associated with Education

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Asian American Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles	3230 Campbell Hall	College/ University	Important site of the Asian American movement in Los Angeles and the establishment of Asian American Studies as a discipline.
Chug Aku-Bu	1218 Menlo Ave	Language School	Site of postwar Japanese language school in Uptown
Daichi Gakuen Honko	3411 12 <sup>th</sup> Ave	Language School	Site of postwar Japanese language school
Fuji Gakuen	2014 W 29 <sup>th</sup> Pl	Language School	Prewar Japanese language school in Jefferson Park area; residence.
Harbor Japanese School	25316 Frampton St	Language School	1956; Postwar site of the Japanese language school in the Harbor City area
Hinomoto Gakuen	165 N Saratoga St	Language School	Prewar site of a Japanese language school; not sure if also post war.
Hollywood Japanese Cultural Institute (Hollywood Japanese Community Center)	3929 Middlebury	Language School	Established in the late 1930s. Significant new construction on site since that time.
Japanese Institute of Sawtelle/ Sawtelle Gakuen	2110 Corinth Ave	Language School	Unique and intact example of an educational institutional development with Japanese American ethnic/cultural associations in West Los Angeles; the Japanese Institute of Sawtelle, established in 1925, purchased the three lots that comprise the present property in 1928 and continues to occupy the property. 1929 permit shows construction of community center for the Japanese Association of Sawtelle. No architect listed. Postwar site of the Japanese language school for Sawtelle. 1963 classroom building is by Japanese American architect Y. Tom Makino.
Rafu Chuo Gakuen Japanese Language School	204 N Saratoga St;	Language School	Rafu Chuo Gakuen Japanese Language School is a rare remaining example of institutional development associated with the Japanese American community that historically resided in Boyle Heights, and is one of very few secular institutions associated with the area's Japanese American population to remain in operation. In 1938, Japanese American architect Yos Hirose designed a lecture hall for owner George Kawahara. In 1959, new classroom buildings were built (no architect listed).

Shitamachi Dai-Ichi Gakuen	750 E 9 <sup>th</sup> St	Language School	May have been a postwar site of this Japanese language school south of Little Tokyo. More research needed.
Soshi Jiku	464 N Westmoreland Ave	Education - Language School	Prewar site of a Japanese language school; may also be postwar.
Rafu Daini Gakuen/ Young Men's Meeting House	1035 Fedora St	Language School; Social Club/Meeting Hall	Site of prewar and postwar Japanese language school of Uptown. Also significant as a rare and intact example of a community institution in the Uptown neighborhood of Japanese Americans. Also significant for its association with other Asian American communities.

### Property Types Associated with Community Organizations, Social Services, and Institutions

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
New Shonien (Japanese Children's Home)	1815 Redcliff Ave	Social Service/Children's Home	Shonien founded in 1914; moved to several locations throughout the years. Occupied several buildings at 1801-1821 Redcliff Street, in Silver Lake. This building designed in 1955 by significant Japanese American architect Kazumi Adachi in the Mid-Century Modern style.
Valley Japanese American Community Center	12953 Branford St	Community Center	Significant for its association with the growing population of Japanese Americans in the San Fernando Valley after WWII. Japanese American Club of San Fernando Valley built community center for 300 families. Community centers were the hubs of the post war Japanese American community due to postwar diaspora. Served many functions. This building designed by significant Japanese American architect Kazumi Adachi in the Mid-Century Modern style.

Japanese American Cultural and Community Center	244 S San Pedro St	Community Center	Significant example of an institutional property associated with the cultural history of Little Tokyo. This building was constructed as the home of the Japanese American Cultural and Community Center, one of the largest ethnic art and cultural centers in the nation. The institution has been in continuous operation at this location since 1980. Excellent example of Brutalist institutional architecture in Downtown Los Angeles. Building includes a courtyard and a transplanted grapefruit tree that is believed to date to the nineteenth century. Architects are Adachi/Sawano/Matsunaga with Plaza designed by Isamu Noguchi. James Irvine Japanese Garden at rear was designed by landscape architect Takeo Uesugi with the labor provided by the community.
Storefront Community Center	2826 W Jefferson Blvd	Community Center	Lead organization for the Asian power movement of the late 1960s
International Institute	435 S. Boyle Ave	Social Service	Established in 1914 as a branch of the YWCA; buiding constructed 1931 by architects Webber & Spaulding. Helped women and girls from Europe and Asia to adust to new life in Los Angele. Also functionaed as a meeting location for clubs. Still in operation.
Venice Japanese Cultural Center; Venice Gakuen	12448 Braddock	Community Center	Established in the early 1920s in the Venice area, but construction of the Venice Japanese Community Center (Venice Gakuen) at 12448 Braddock Drive began in 1941. The center is still in operation, but substantial new construction appears to have taken place on the campus (1971).

Magnolia Residence	2616 E 3 <sup>rd</sup> St	Social Service/Boarding House	Significant as the location of the Magnolia Residence, a co-operative interracial boarding house operated by the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in the former E.L. Blanchard residence (1909). Opened in 1922, the facility housed girls of both European and Japanese American descent and was touted as "one of the city's outstanding examples of interracial living." Institutions that cultivated and encouraged interracial relations were rare at the time, when racially restrictive housing practices and segregated schools were common in Los Angeles. The facility closed temporarily during World War II when Japanese American residents were relocated to incarceration facilities, but re-opened after the war ended and remained in operation until approximately 1960.
Forsythe Building/Boyle Heights Language School/Evergreen Hostel	506 N Evergreen Ave	Hostel	Originally a boarding school for girls, the property was re-opened as the Evergreen Hostel in 1945 to provide short-term accommodations to Japanese Americans who returned to Boyle Heights after incarceration. The hostel was established by Rev. Sohei Kowta, a Presbyterian pastor, and significant individual in Japanese American history in Los Angeles. The hostel remained in operation through approximately 1950. The building is listed in the National Register under the Latinos in Twentieth Century California Multiple Property Documentation form but not for this association.

#### Property Types Associated with Health and Medicine

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Japanese Hospital	101 S Fickett St	Hospital	Locally designated as HCM #1131. Opened in 1929 in response to the discrimination facing local Japanese Americans and others who were consistently denied care by hospitals and medical professionals.
Midwife Association	2628 Pennsylvania St	Residential - Single Family	Residence may be associated with the prewar Midwife Association during the 1930s.

Dr. Akira Kawabe's office	707 E Washington Blvd	Medical Office	Office for one of few Japanese doctors in Los Angeles as of 1939.
Japanese Home for the Aged	325 S Boyle Ave	Nursing Home/Rest Home	Former Los Angeles Jewish Home for the Aged established in 1914, it was purchased in 1975 by the Japanese Community after the Jewish Home moved to the SF Valley in 1972. One building razed c. 1987 for seismic code violations. A new building constructed in 1988 by Architect David K. Kikuchi and Kajima Construction.

### Property Types Associated with the Visual and Performing Arts

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Artist's Lofts/ Joannes Bros. Co.	800 Traction Ave	Visual Arts - Artist community	For over 30 years, eight Japanese American artists out of 14 residents have been living and working there and they have made a significant impact on the cultural life of Little Tokyo.
Pavilion for Japanese Art	652 S Ogden Dr; 5801 W Wilshire Blvd; 5905 W Wilshire Blvd	Visual Arts - Museum	Excellent example of an Organic style institutional building, designed by notable architect Bruce Goff and completed by architect Bart Prince
Shiraro Photo Studio	568 N Virgil St	Visual Arts - Studio	Prewar example of a Japanese artistic photo studio located in a duplex building. Appears altered; more research needed to assess integrity.
Japanese American Cultural and Community Center	244 S San Pedro St	Visual and Performing Arts/Multiple Uses	The Japanese American Cultural and Community center (1980) in Little Tokyo houses one of the largest collections of ethnic art in the nation and features a large performance theater.
Union Center for the Arts (Old Japanese Union Church)	120 Judge John Aliso St in Little Tokyo	Visual and Performing Arts/Multiple Uses	Home to LA Artcore, Visual Communications, and East West Players. LA Artcore, stated by a group of Japanese Americans is dedicated to recognizing diverse artistic accomplishments and bringing innovative exhibits and events to the public. Visual Communication's mission is to develop and support the voices of Asian American and Pacific Islander filmmakers and media artists who empower communities and challenge. East West Players is a nationally recognized Asian American theater organization established in 1965 in the basement of the Pilgrim Church in the Silver Lake neighborhood.

### Property Types Associated with Media: Newspapers, Radio, and Television

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
APIA Newspaper Gidra	3108 Jefferson Blvd	Office - Newspaper	Gidra publication (APIA newspaper) with origins at UCLA. Moved to Jefferson c. 1969; Important voice in Asian power movement. Has not been linked directly to this address yet, only to a PO Box.

### Property Types Associated with Sports and Recreation

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Seinan Judo Dojo/Seinan Kendo Dojo	1442 W 36th Pl	Single Family Residence; Recreation - Martial Arts Studio	This is the former location of the Seinan Dojo, a significant Judo and Kendo Dojo known for the legendary Japanese American teachers who taught there in the years before and after incarceration.
Valley Judo Dojo	8550 Lankershim Blvd	Recreation - Martial Arts Studio	Significant as a Judo Dojo serving the Valley communities in the postwar period.
Venice Judo Dojo (located in the Venice Japanese Cultural Center; Venice Gakuen)	12448 Braddock Dr	Recreation - Martial Arts Studio	Judo Dojo for Venice in postwar period; Gym/auditorium building constructed in 1971/72 by Japanese American architect J.J. Takahashi.
Tenrikyo Church and Cultural Center	2727 1 <sup>st</sup> Street	Recreation - Martial Arts Studio	In 1964, the Tenrikyo Church and Cultural Center in Boyle Heights established a Judo program that was instrumental in making Japanese martial arts an Olympic sport. The dojo, housed in a port-and-beam structure, boast a long roster of national and international competitors.

### Property Types Associated with Military History

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Memorial to 442nd Regimental Combat Unit	204 N Evergreen Ave	War Memorial	Though Evergreen Memorial Park/Cemetery has been determined eligible for listing on the National Register, its significance does not include the 1949 memorial to the heroic and decorated Japanese American regiment of WWII. The entire unit received the Congressional Medal of Honor in 2010. Evergreen Cemetery was the main burial place for the Japanese Community.
Civil Control Center	923 Venice Blvd	Control Center	Location where at least one Japanese family in Mar Vista, the Utsukis's, had to assemble before be incarcerated at Poston.

Go For Broke Monument	355 E 1st St	War Memorial	Go For Broke Monument and National Education Center honoring Japanese Americans in WWII (1999; 355 E. 1 <sup>st</sup> Street)
Griffith Park	Multiple addresses	Internment site	Locally designated as HCM #942. Civilian Conservation Corps Camp Riverside (not extant) in the park served as a detention center for Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor.
Site of Tuna Canyon Detention Station	6433 W La Tuna Canyon Rd	Internment site	Locally designated as HCM #1039. Japanese detention site after Pearl Harbor.
Garden of the Pines Memorial,	204 N Evergreen Ave	War Monument	Evergreen Cemetery includes the Garden of the Pines memorial to Issei pioneers (1966).
Japanese Union Church	120 N San Pedro	Civil Control Center	WWII Civil Control Center
St. Mary's Episcopal Church	610 S Mariposa	Civil Control Center	WWII Civil Control Center
Japanese Institute of Sawtelle	2210 Corinth Ave	Civil Control Center	WWII Civil Control Center
	933 Venice Blvd	Civil Control Center	WWII Civil Control Center
	360 S Westlake Ave	Civil Control Center	WWII Civil Control Center

#### Property Types Associated with Industry

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Terminal Island	Port of Los Angeles	Fishing Village (not extant)	The majority of properties associated with the fishing/fish processing/canning industry and the settlement of Terminal Island were demolished during the World War II period. Only two commercial buildings remain. In 2002, the Terminal Island Japanese Fishing Village Memorial was dedicated at 1124 S. Seaside Avenue in San Pedro.
Rose Frozen Shrimp Co.	541 Ceres Ave	Food Processing	Mr. and Mrs. Takei invented the breaded frozen fish stick after World War II.

Southern California Flower Market	753-755 Wall St	Wholesale Flower Market	Significant as the long-term location of a business important to the commercial identity of Downtown Los Angeles; associated with the city's Japanese American community. What is now the Southern California Flower Market was conceived in 1909, when a group of Japanese American flower growers started a shareholder collective and sold flowers on leased land. The business moved to its present-day location in 1922 and played an influential role in the subsequent development of the Downtown Los Angeles Flower District. It has remained in continuous operation in this building since 1962. The 1922 building is demolished. Currently undergoing redevelopment. First home of the Flower Market was at 421 Wall Street.
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#### Property Types Associated with Cultural Landscapes

Name	Location	Property type	Comments
Aoyama Tree	135 N Central Ave	Natural Feature - Tree	Locally designated as HCM #920. The Moreton Bay Fig tree ( <i>Ficus Macrophylla</i> ) is symbolic for the history of the Koyosan Buddhist Temple, which was originally on the site. The remaining tree has strong associations with the cultural and historical development of Buddhism and the Japanese American community in Los Angeles. It was named the Aoyama Tree after Reverend Shutai Aoyama who started the Koyosan Daishi Mission in a storefront on Commercial Street in Little Tokyo.
Donald C. Tillman Water Reclamation Plant	6100 Woodley Ave	Designed Landscapes - Japanese Style Garden	Rare and extant example of a Japanese-style garden by noted landscape architect, Koichi Kawana.
Ethel Guiberson/Hannah Carter Japanese Garden	10619 W Bellagio Rd	Designed Landscapes - Japanese Style Garden	Locally designated as HCM #1141. This is the Hannah Carter Japanese Garden designed by Nagao Sakurai. It is located behind a perimeter fence and bamboo and is not visible at all from the public right-of-way. However, the site is well documented as an excellent example of a Japanese style garden.

Garden of Peace/Roosevelt High School	4565 Matthews St	Designed Landscapes - Japanese Style Garden	Originally designed and planted in 1935 by Shigeo Takayama, student and president of the Roosevelt High School Japanese Club to soothe growing racial animosity. It was razed shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor in a wave of anti-Japanese sentiment. The garden was reconstructed in 1996.
Grotto at Maryknoll School	222 S Hewitt St	Designed Landscapes - Japanese Style Garden	Grotto constructed by Ryozo Kado, a significant Issei landscape architect who lived and worked in Los Angeles pre- and postwar. Unknown if it still exists; was photographed in 2010.
Japanese Garden at VA Hospital	Patton Ave	Designed Landscapes - Japanese Style Garden	Example of a Japanese-style garden built in the postwar period (1963). Shinichi Maesaki donated the designed and the garden was built by patients as part of an occupational therapy program.
Stoner Park Japanese Garden	1835 Stoner Ave	Designed Landscapes - Japanese Style Garden	Excellent and rare example of a 1930s Japanese style garden associated with the Japanese American community in Sawtelle. In 1950 the gardens were updated by Koichi Kawana, notable landscape architect.

**Property Types Associated with the Asian Eclectic Architectural Style: Individual Resources**

Properties may also be significant examples of the Asian Eclectic style (see Associated Property Types and Eligibility Standards section of the Historic Context).

**Property Types Associated with Important Asian American Architects**

Properties may also be significant examples of the work of important Korean American architects referenced in the Historic Context and the Associated Property Types and Eligibility Standards section of the Historic Context.

## **Appendix B: Asian Americans in Los Angeles Advisory Committee and Participants**

In preparing this context statement, the Office of Historic Resources and the team of consultants, led by Architectural Resources Group (ARG), were advised by a diverse panel of Asian American community members, historic preservation professionals, and historians. The following is a list of project contributors and advisory committee participants.

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