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Artistic rendering of Japanese farm sites and farmland near Crystal Cove, about 1935. Tom Honda, Don Miyada and Tak Yamashita identified structures as well as possible within this artistic interpretation. "Road to Capistrano" Barse Miller. The Buck Collection, Laguna Beach, California.
Introduction:
In an effort to expand information about the daily farm life on California coastal Japanese farms, State Archaeologist, Orange Coast District, Larrynn Carver sought out family members through an article in a Japanese American newspaper, Pacific Citizen. As a result, she recorded Tom Honda and Harry Yamashita who had spent their childhood and their youth on their parents leased farmland, now Crystal Cove State Park. The following year, 2002, Larrynn noted several trash deposits on the beach side of the park, near the Crystal Cove cottage area. Park staff speculated that the trash may be associated with the Japanese families who farmed the area. Ten years prior to Larrynn's research, pieces of traditional Japanese ceramic ware found during the excavation of a golf course by the Irvine Company were given to State Parks. And yet earlier, a State Park Ranger found a few ceramic shards within the park boundary. In this project year, informant Don Miyada stated that families generally burned their trash and did not dump into ravines (Miyada, 06/09/05).

Funding for project phases in 2004-2005 and 2005-2006 directed archaeological and historical research to the subject of daily life on the Japanese farms at Crystal Cove. Due to the heavy rains prior to the original funding year, the area had overgrown with brush. As a result, Herb Dallas, State Archaeologist had not located the trash site until late in the project funding cycle of 2004-2005. After the trash was removed, cleaned and identified, staff concluded that the artifacts were most likely from the historic Crystal Cove beach cottages, and not associated in any way to the Japanese community. In combination of the work undertaken by Larrynn Carver, and through the course of two funding years, the Department has collected a rich source of information on the Japanese farms and several families.
Background: Japanese in 20th Century California
In 1900, Northern California reported the largest population of Japanese. Fueled by the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 and the San Francisco earthquake of 1906, the Japanese population in Los Angeles County increased to nearly 20,000 by 1920. In this decade, Southern California grew into the most populous area for Japanese. The economic basis for the Japanese community was agriculture and its related industries (Marian Parks, n.d. Carver files).

This aerial photograph taken in 1939, shows coastal land between Corona del Mar and Laguna Beach on the Irvine Ranch. The expanse of acres cultivated by Japanese families is evident. Whittier College Aerial Photo Collection
Crystal Cove Japanese Farmers

In the early 20th century, Japanese involved in farming in the Los Angeles area were introduced to land lease opportunities. Caucasian landlords and Japanese farmers found ways to evade restrictions set by alien land laws in California (Higgs, 216-220). For 15 years, one such farming community located around today’s Crystal Cove State Park worked the land very successfully. Each family had a unique story of why they chose to move onto the Irvine Ranch as tenants. From 1927 until their eviction in 1942, native-born Japanese families built homes, barns and farmed the inland coastal slopes of the Irvine Ranch. “As is true for leaseholders, the Cove farmers owned their own businesses and were able to develop sales and profits in whatever manner they elected. Their successes were considerable. . . (Marion Parks, n.d. Carver files).”

Workers are harvesting celery and packing them into containers on the Yamashita farm. Farm owner, Keichi Yamashita stands between two men wearing a white straw hat while and his wife also seen in the photograph, wears a white bonnet.

*Tak Yamashita Photo Collection*
Farm Construction and Business:
The first Japanese farmer to lease from Irvine along the coast was Keichi Yamashita. The oldest son, Hiroshi (Harry) Yamashita stated that his family arrived in 1927 (2002, n.p). Harry’s brother Tak Yamashita recalled that

...My father...was constantly searching for farm land that had potential for producing quality products. He was attracted to the Irvine property due to year around weather condition, proximity to markets, available irrigation water, etc. He often said that he personally met with Mr. Irvine and offered to clear the land from brush, rocks, etc and turn it into a productive farm. He said he told Mr. Irvine that a home, garage, barn and other structures will be built on the land with his funds. The capital improvements would belong to Irvine. Mr. Irvine agreed to a long term lease (12/05/2005, n.p).

Soon more families constructed homes and barns on both west and east sides of the Coast Highway from Corona del Mar to the northern boundary of Laguna Beach. In general, construction of homes and farm buildings were undertaken by each family and their hired help. Fields of peas, tomatoes, celery, beans and other crops cultivated on the bluffs and hills on both sides of the Coast Highway turned into profitable farmland. The Japanese community sold their crops to not only to the Los Angeles markets but also to the tourists from roadside stands (Brienes 1985, 30). At various times, the Miyada, Honda, Yamashita and Furukawa families owned produce market stands adjacent to their vegetable fields. Several farms had irrigated fields, while the other depended on dry farming and the mood of the rainy season.
A Community Center:
In an effort to ensure that their children learn about their homeland and their culture, Unzo and Juzo Honda began construction of a community center in 1934. Most of the Japanese families joined in the effort to support construction of the center. It was called as the “Laguna Beach Japanese Language School.” Located on the bluff above the Cove, beach residents reported that on occasion, they saw Japanese ceremonies and costumed events at the Center (Shirley, 1980: 3). From an aerial photo, Don Miyada, Tom Honda and Tak Yamashita recalled the little complex that included a baseball field and two outhouses.

Don Miyada was asked about the furnishings in the Community Center. He recalled the front of the room as having a small platform that would be used for performances and lectures. The benches and tables were very sturdy that would seat two to three students. The desks had small holders under them. The back of the building had shelves so that kids could place their lunches, jackets, etc.
Mr. Miyada speculated that the seasonal beach tenants moved the furniture for their own use into their cottages after the Japanese families were evicted.

During the recent renovation at the Crystal Cove Historic District, Japanese characters were discovered on the downward facing roof boards in the attic of Cottage #34. Some of the characters have been covered with rafters most likely when the structure was enlarged and remodeled. Tom Honda and his wife translated what they could to provide the following information: The “Laguna Beach Japanese Language School” construction date of “July 24, 1934” and “Mr. Saburo” as the person in charge of the construction. Mr. Honda said they called the community center the “Laguna Beach Japanese School (Honda to Clausen 08/14/06).”

Tom Honda recorded details about the activities and uses of their School and Community Center.
Japanese language classes were held once a week on Saturdays when a teacher would come from Los Angeles or Orange County to teach about two dozen students with varying language skills. . . . It was difficult to become enthused about a language that was extremely difficult and which we rarely used except when we conversed with our parents. . . Once a year, we had a school program in which each student was required to make a speech in Japanese. A parent was once heard to jokingly comment that he thought his son must have been going to school just for lunch and P.E.

. . . Softball was a popular pastime in the spring and soon we built a softball diamond on the school property and issued challenges to other Japanese American teams from Costa Mesa and Irvine. About once a year, the Japanese families in the area would get together at the school to party. There was much food, drinking of sake (rice wine), and singing. It was a joyous time particularly when the harvest was good. . . . Buddhist services were held at the Japanese school, conducted by ministers who came from Los Angeles. Quite frequently, these priests took their meals at our house.

Japanese fencing, called ‘kendo’ was taught at the school by instructors who came from Orange County or Los Angeles. Although my older brothers learned
this martial art, my father never insisted that I take lessons also. I was happy with this as I was more interested in football, softball and track.

One day shortly after December 7, my brothers and I were passing the time, when the front door suddenly burst open and an armed soldier accompanied by other soldiers entered the building and demanded to know what we were doing. The schoolhouse later served as a barrack for military who were stationed in the area after the Japanese Americans were interned (T. Honda, Reminiscences of Japanese School, 2004.)

The Laguna Beach Japanese Language School and Community Center was moved after World War II to its present location known as Cottage #34.

“...In 1949 Mr. Ray Kuchel of Santa Ana arranged to move the sound and handsome structure from the midst of the fields over to the bluff. Here its occupants could enjoy the ocean view. Helping Mr. Kuchel to move the building was his nephew, our former United State Senator, Thomas Kuchel (Christine Black Veil Shirley, circa 1978, in Larrynn Carver files).”

It is now restored to serve as a meeting and event center for the Crystal Cove Historic District.
Schooling:

“About 1931, the Irvine Company opened a one-room public school in an existing building east of the Coast Highway (Brienes, 1985, 31).” The school had once been the home of the Takahashi family, and later a part time residence to Mr. and Mrs. Gardner while she taught the young American students at San Joaquin #2 (Miyada to Clausen). Her grandson, Alan West, interviewed several former students who had fond memories of their teacher (West to Clausen phone conversation (02/22/04). Many of the young farm children attended San Joaquin #2, but those living near Laguna Beach attended school in that school district.

San Joaquin School #2 located on Irvine Ranch. Mrs. Eunice Gardener posed with her students on a day that the girls wore traditional *Kimono*es. The school was located on the mesa above Coast Highway across from the current shake shack. Don Miyada Photo Collection

The Yamashita children were among those who attended school in Laguna Beach. Mr. Tak Yamashita explained that his father wanted to assimilate his children into Caucasian culture (12/05/05). Prior to the ejection from their coastal farms in 1942, many of the high school graduates continued their education. In fact, college students were called home to take over the farms when their fathers were incarcerated.
Harry Yamashita graduates from Laguna Beach High School in 1939 then was called home from UC Davis in May, 1942. *Tak Yamashita Collection*

Saying Goodbye:
The surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941 put many West Coast Japanese under suspicion. Civil and military leaders questioned the loyalty of the Japanese-Americans. The anti-Japanese paranoia led President F.D. Roosevelt to concur with General DeWitt’s plan to incarcerate Japanese by ethnicity, although two-thirds were American citizens (see suggested reading). By February, a Laguna Beach judge called for training local deer hunters to patrol the hills throughout Orange County. “According to his plan each man would have his particular station in the hills from which point he could use his own rifle to good advantage (LAT Proquest, 02/22/1942).”

Eventually Japanese in California were sent to “detention centers.” In March of 1942, some 35,000 Japanese immigrants and their families were removed from the Los Angeles area and taken to the newly constructed “evacuation center.” The Japanese internment practiced during World War II did not by pass Orange County. For the family tenants living between Corona del Mar and Laguna...
Beach, “Order Number 59,” made public on May 10, 1942 directed them to leave their farms and possessions, and to report to a designated area (LAT Proquest).

Yachiyo Honda and Sakae Nakasaki pin a favor on Tomie Jean Honda at a barn dance. Tom Honda identified his cousins, Yachiyo and Tomie Jean in this internment center photo taken at Poston in Parker, Arizona. War Relocation Authority, Bancroft Library Collection.

Most of the Cove families were taken to Poston in Parker, Arizona thus losing their assets, farm leases and their major possessions. Don Miyada remembers his father turning over their agricultural equipment and ranch functions to their foreman, Pedro Loera. Then, the family was bused from Huntington Beach to Poston by way of Riverside (Miyada 1992, 42-44). The Yamashita family had an opportunity to move voluntarily from Orange County. In their case, a sales representative for a seed company arranged to sponsor the Yamashita family. Their farm equipment was moved by rail car to Utah as the family drove by car (“Compassion Brought Milling Company Founder to Utah,” The Salt Lake Tribune 09/11/05. Tak Yamashita Collection).

Discrimination raged against the Japanese into the War years. In October of 1943, a State Senate fact-finding committee accepted testimony from representatives of Orange County “. . . residents, including District Attorney James L. Davis, appeared as witnesses and told the committee that the people of that county are ‘100 per cent’ against the return of the Japanese either before
the end of the war or afterward (LAT Proquest 10/21/1943).” In the mean time, many of the young Americans of Japanese descent living at evacuation centers were drafted directly into military service and sent overseas to the European and Pacific theatres of military operations. They did not know the fate of their families (Miyada 1992, 59-66).

Farming Era Ends:
Although many Japanese families did return to California, they still faced discrimination and struggled to restore their family and business lives. In the case of the Yamashita family, they were allowed to return to California in 1946. Harry Yamashita explained that he went to see Irvine to inquire if they could return. Irvine said we could return again, but nobody else. “We were very successful farmers, and had about ten acres of flat land, and we had irrigation . . . (2002, n.p.).” However, they wanted too much money for the lease. He then decided for that amount of money they would buy their own piece of property. None of the original Japanese farming families returned to Crystal Cove.

The building that housed the Japanese language school was used during the war as a military guard station; and was moved to the edge of the bluff above the Cove in 1949, where it has been converted into a residence (Shirley, 1980: 5).
No espionage or disloyalty was ever proved against the Japanese (LAT Proquest 11/22/1954).

The intense cultivation of the terraces and bluffs did not resume after the war. Irvine Ranch Cattle Pasture Map drawn in 1976 delineated various cattle pastures, ranch roads and cattle watering places (OC Harbors and Beaches). Closer to Pacific Coast Highway, lease agreements were made with Ed Wong for farming and A.L. Best for a produce stand, and to Hendrich’s Riding Stable (Irvine Ranch Records. Orange County Harbors and Beaches).
State Park Interpretive Plan:
In 1979, the Irvine Ranch sold portions of land along Pacific Coast Highway and around the Cove area that would become Crystal Cove State Park. In 1985, the Interpretive Plan for this State Park set the goal to familiarize the park visitor with the history of the families who lived here (Brienes, 1985). This plan called for the placement of two interpretive signs in the park to highlight the history of the Japanese farmers; since then, the signs have been removed. Park exhibit specialist, Don Amos, stated that his office retained all the original graphics and production parts for the exhibit panels. With current rehabilitation of the cottages at Crystal Cove, there are plans to interpret the family stories in the former Japanese Community Center (1935-1942). An updated Interpretive Plan is part of this project.
Project Results:

Since the completion of the Interpretive Plan for Crystal Cove State Park in the early 1980’s, several family members shared more information about their childhood with State Park staff. This project phase included contacts with three informants: Tom Honda of Carlsbad, CA; Don Miyada of Westminster, CA; and Tak Yamashita of Long Beach, CA. Each had recalled their childhood within the context of the goals of this project. Each contributed to our knowledge of their daily life and identified the exact location of the farms. At times, the painful memories of losing their family farm, and the memories of being torn away from school friends, pets, and their childhood possessions had become difficult for the contributors of this project.

Mr. Miyada shared family photographs for park use and State Park files. Mr. Miyada located farm houses and building by marking and editing copies of both a USGS topographic map and an aerial photograph.

Mr. Tak Yamashita had donated forty prints of photographs relating to the Yamashita farm and his family. Mr. Yamashita wrote detailed descriptions of each photograph for the purpose this report and for future use.

In this project funding phase, Mr. Honda identified the location of the home site of his uncle and his father, Juzo and Unzo Honda and the Matsuoka family. It was adjacent to the Los Trancos parking lot where the Irvine Company uncovered traditional Japanese wares. Mr. Honda looked at the ceramic bowls and dishes now in storage at the Southern Service Center. While none of them seemed familiar to him in that much time passed for him to say these were from his family. Yet, he stated that his family used similar dishware for everyday meals. Mr. Honda reviewed a printed copy of “Road to Capistrano,” by artist Barse Miller. Where possible, Mr. Honda identified each building that was familiar to him (The Buck Collection).

The archeological excavation and study associated with this project evaluated two trash deposits. “Both trash deposits were similar in age and content. The trash is dominated by glass bottles, silverware, bottle tops, some hardware, and sparse food remains. No evidence of Japanese ceramics, rice bowls, chop sticks, or anything else associated with Japanese culture was recovered. Data from the interviews with all the Japanese family members indicates that the possible locations for trash deposits could be found elsewhere, but not in the locations tested (Dallas, 2005).”
This project produced a large amount of documentary material relating to the Japanese farms located within the boundary of Crystal Cove State park. It would not have been possible without the generosity of family members who had lived on the farmland and shared their knowledge with Park staff. It is hoped this material will be absorbed immediately into the new Crystal Cove Interpretive Plan, it will be available to draw on so that misconceptions of these experiences are removed from the local literature on the history of Crystal Cove, the Japanese American farming community, their farm sites and their farm land.

Suggested Reading:


Attachments:
A. Extractions from Daily Life at Crystal Cove for Farm Children
B. References and Resources
C. List of Family Surnames
D. U.S. Federal Census, 1930

Restricted Distribution

F. USGS Map - Farm Site Locations
G. Aerial Map - Farm Site Locations

Archaeological Report
Attachments

A. Extracts of Daily Life at Crystal Cove for Farm Children

Yamashita Brothers Tak, Sam and Harry pose outside their farmhouse that was designed and built by their father in 1927-1928.
The primary purpose for this Cultural Resource Stewardship Project was to collect information that could help assess and date cultural material excavated from historic archeological sites at Crystal Cove State Park. The assumption was that any discovered trash deposits may contain parts of dinner ware, bottles, toys, buttons, etc. In the case of the Japanese families, the dates of material would be prior to 1942 and would likely contain some shards of traditional Japanese porcelain.

Project informants explained that their families had traditional wares as well as everyday things purchased at local markets. The custom at the time for all residents in the area was to burn trash and to feed scraps to farm animals. Items found scattered on Park property or adjacent development may have been the result of families having to leave most of their belongings that could not be sold.

A community picnic was held on the beach across the Highway from the Yamashita Farm. Keichi Yamashita enjoys the hot dog cooked by his wife. Tak Yamashita Collection

Project informants were asked about small things that were a part of their daily life at their farms at Crystal Cove. Descriptions of everyday living were extracted to highlight some of the memories from farm life. Full interviews are on file with the Cultural Resource Section of the Southern Service Center.

1. Notes from Don Miyada, 1992  Don attended the San Joaquin School #2 through eighth grade until he attended Newport Harbor High School. He spent much of his spare time working on the farm while his mother, father and sister worked at their farm stand store. As with the other families, the children remember working most Sundays and all summer. Saturday was reserved for Japanese school (10).
When asked about fitting in with other students in High School, Mr. Miyada felt that they were free to join in any activity they wanted. However, the restrictions they had were based on family obligations on the farm (19).

“We used to go down to the beach, swim, go after abalone, shellfish, go fishing. . . . A lot of activities were centered around the ocean. . . . We also went hunting. . . . Then we had a softball team. . . . There would be the Japanese school with the Christmas play, the American school with the Christmas plays (12).

Don Miyada explained that the boys learned and practiced kendo at Mr. Aoki’s Huntington Beach dojo and participated in local kendo tournaments. He reported that most of the Japanese families were Buddhists and that the Koyasan priests could come out to the Japanese school and provided a service maybe once a month (14).

When they went to fish, they would go to Newport Beach and caught barracuda, bonita, mackerel, etc. The children caught octopus and abalone at low tide, but none of the family members made their living by fishing (40). Looking back to his life on the ranch along the beach, Don said, “We knew that we were living in a very chosen area, sort of the gold coast, because all we had to do was go back to our dry ranch, you know, near the present campus at UCIrvine, and it would be much hotter over there than it would be at the coastal area. It was a very nice place (39).”
Don Miyada could not clearly remember the day they left the ranch. He did know that they took only what they could carry. When remembering his family leaving to Poston, the interviewer asked Mr. Miyada what he remembers leaving behind. “I had a bike that I would have liked to have taken.”

Don was asked to describe the character of the Poston Camp. His opinion was “that they were pretty laid-back, in general.” Some creative activities helped the morale such as making rock gardens, collecting ironwood to make carvings, etc. (55). Eventually, Don was drafted into the U.S. Army in April, 1944 and shipped out to southern France and then Italy (60). Quoted From: Don Miyada, January, 1992. Interview by Alan Koch. CSU Fullerton Oral History Program. O.H. 2230.

Biographical Information: Don Miyada came to the Crystal Cove area with his parents and siblings from Oceanside around 1928. He attended Newport Beach Grammar School from September, 1930 to June, 1931. The Irvine Ranch established San Joaquin #2 school above the area of Crystal Cove where Don graduated in 1938. Mrs. Eunice Gardner taught all eight grades and is remembered as a knowledgeable, kind, and considerate teacher.

Mr. Miyada attended Newport Harbor Union High School but was forced to terminate his education in his senior year when on May 17, 1942, he and his family were removed to Poston, Arizona. Don arranged to finish his work required for graduation in June. “The teachers and the governing board of the high school were very considerate and allowed me to graduate with the 1942 class.” One teacher in particular, Mr. Roy Anderson wrote to Don at Poston and assured him that he graduated successfully without any additional work. Mr. Miyada kept the letter in which Mr. Anderson wrote, “When you have the time I shall always appreciate hearing from you and when this is all over I’d surely enjoy seeing you again.”

Mr. Miyada recalls that: “In Poston, I drove trucks and worked a while as a “swamper” (helper) until 5/43 when we went to Preston, Idaho to work in beet and tomato fields and to do other agriculturally-related work. Finishing our agricultural obligations by November 1943, we returned to “snowbird” in Arizona until mid-January, 1944. At that time, my brother, Chuck, and I joined our oldest brother George who had relocated earlier to Detroit, Michigan. I found work in defense plants making carbine triggers and airplane wing struts until I was drafted in 4/24/44 and sent to Fort Sheridan, Illinois. This was the first draft of us, Americans of Japanese ancestry, after December 7, 1941 when we were all placed, categorically, into the 4C status, ‘enemy aliens.’”

After basic training in Florida, the new recruits joined part of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT) at Camp Shelby. In October, 1944, part of the group was sent to Europe as replacements to join the main body of the 442nd which at that time was engaged in heavy combat in northeast France. In Mentone, France they joined the decimated unit in a holding position in the Maritime Alps for 3-4 months. In March, 1944, they were shipped out of Marseilles, France to Livorno, Italy to help the Allied 5th Army breach the Gothic Line—Germany’s last stand in Italy.

Don Miyada returned to the US. “President Truman pinned a Presidential Unit Citation on the colors of the 442nd RCT and gave his now famous speech (famous to us). I was discharged in July 25, 1946 at Camp Beale, California and joined my parents in San Pedro at a former housing unit. Because the Irvine Co. did not allow us to return to the farm, and dad was too old to begin afresh, we decided to seek our own venues of
livelihood. I opted to take advantage of the GI Bill, go to school and pursue a career in
health care.”

Don Miyada received his Ph.D. in Chemistry from Michigan State University in 1953 and
eventually gravitated to clinical chemistry and teaching. In 1969, Mr. Miyada accepted a
position at the University of California, Irvine. He retired in 7/1/1991 as Associate Adjunct
Professor of Pathology and Biological Chemistry. He has at least 70 publications to his
credit and is a member of the American Chemical Society (Emeritus) and the American
Association for the Advancement of the Sciences (Fellow). Closer to home, he is also an
active member of the service club, Optimist International and of several local golf clubs
(Miyada to Clausen 09/26/06).

![Harry Yamashita pictured about 1936, attending to a spraying machine for insecticide. Other farm
equipment shown is a Chevy truck and a Caterpillar tractor. Tak Yamashita Photo Collection](image)

2. Notes from Harry Yamashita 2002 n.p. “My job when I was a kid was to go
down and suck that pump up. I don’t know if you remember the old pumps, one
cylinder with a big fly wheel. Plunk, plunk, plunk…”

“We would swim and fish at the beach, and get abalone and octopus. . . . During
the depression, the highway was over here, and it would rain, and the tramps
would come by, and I was just a kid. Scared the daylights out of me. They
wanted to sleep in the barn, you know. . . [we turned] out the lights. Of course,
we had kerosene lamps, then we graduated to gas lamps. My job was to clean
those things, the jets.”

“When I was in high school, I was in charge of the tractor. We had a Caterpillar.
And I would do all the fields. . . I ruined my back. The folks, they didn’t know any
better. . . I had floating kidneys. . . The old day, the Caterpillars were like a tank.
No springs, nothing.”

5
“In high school, I used to go to a Long Beach produce market, and load the stuff on the pickup and bring it to the store, the whole summer (H. Yamashita 2002 n.p.).” Hiroshi played all the sports at Laguna Beach High School. He was class treasurer, commissioner of boys’ welfare in athletics. . . . “I was pretty active. I had a lot of nice friends. But the war kind of tore it up.” He explained that his class had 60 students and that he knew everyone. “It was a great time, my best years were in high school.”

Harry Yamashita poses with fellow Jr. Varsity team members on the Laguna Beach High School Football Team, 1937. Tak Yamashita Photo Collection

Hiroshi attended Japanese school in their Community Center on “Saturdays at the Cove.” “But we didn’t study. We would go up there and play baseball, football. And we would take the Sunday funnies. . . .”

As the oldest son, Mr. H. Yamashita worked all the time. For fun they would go to movies in Santa Ana, and maybe get ice cream as a big treat. His dad would take them sometimes to live theater shows. Hiroshi explained their farm was irrigated by a water source from two-inch iron pipes that carried water from a flume. The Yamashita family home consisted of “a main house, helper’s house, and the boys’ house. There were three of us, so they built a little house, two rooms. My brothers on one side, I was on the other. The worker’s house was on the other side of the main house. It had about four rooms, as I recall.” The farm had two barns, the vegetable stand and several houses.
Hiroshi said they employed two or three permanent Japanese people, called *kibei*, those who were born in the US and studied in Japan and returned to the US (H. Yamashita 2002 n.p.). Mr. Yamashita’s family did not go to Poston, instead they moved to the outskirts of Cedar City, Utah in April, 1942 (H. Yamashita 2002 n.p.). Quoted from: Yamashita, (Harry) Hiroshi, 2002, April 3. Not paginated. Interview with Larrynn Carver, State Archaeologist. On file Southern Service Center.
Many of the farm children attended public school at San Joaquin School #2 on the Irvine Ranch. L to R: Toshio (Tom) Honda is standing in the front row the sixth child. School year is 1937-1938. Don Miyada Photo Collection

3. Notes from Tom Honda 2002, n.p. Rain was wonderful for the crops and the children as well, since that meant they would not work on the farm that day. “I used to go look for arrowheads and other Indian artifacts and every time it rained I would immediately go out and check out these gullies because in the walls of these gullies there would be arrowheads or other things sticking out that had been buried over the years. . . .” It was a hobby for his brother and other family members. Tom explained all the kids were sports oriented, track, football, and softball.

“At low tide, we would go with a gunny sack and pry abalones off the rock without even getting wet.” They would also get octopi. During grunion season, the local people would catch grunion. On one occasion, Roy Rogers made a film at the beach and had been seen with a bucket catching grunion.

Tom Honda’s father, Unzo, and uncle, Juzo, built their homes adjacent to each other. They had lived in Santa Ana previously and did some construction, but
were not carpenters. The Japanese school also served as a community center for the families. They would get together and have the kids put on programs. The boys practiced martial arts called, kendo. Tom’s mother was afraid of an FBI action against them for participating in kendo, so she told him to burn all of his martial arts clothing and items.

“I was sort of a latch-key kid. So my job, one of things I had to do, was to cook the rice so it would be hot when they got home from work.”

“We also used to have picnics, down at the beach for our workers. We used to hire sometimes, maybe 40 or 50. . . at the end of the season, if the season was successful, we would have a picnic. . . And’ we would have foot races in the sand, and also sumo wrestling. . . . “ Quoted from: Honda, (Tom) Toshio. 2001, December 21, Letter to Larrynn Carver, State Archeologist. Not paginated. Interview on file at the Southern Service Center.

Biographical Information: Toshi o (Tom) Honda, the fifth child of nine brothers and sisters grew up at the Cove area, but as a teenage was forced to leave with his family. After spending three years in internment camps in Poston, Arizona, and Tule Lake, California, Tom left camp alone at age 17 to attend high school in Los Angeles. He stayed briefly at the Buddhist Temple in Little Tokyo until he secured a job as a houseboy while attending Fairfax High School in West Hollywood. When the rest of his family left camp and settled in Oceanside, California, he joined them and graduated from Oceanside-Carlsbad High School in 1946.

Mr. Honda attended El Camino College, where he was elected Commissioner of Publications. He earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in journalism in 1952 from San Diego State University. While studying for a Master's degree at the University of Iowa, Tom was drafted into the U. S. Army and spent 13 months in Korea. After his discharge, he and his brothers owned and operated a flower growers business. After selling the flower business in 1969, Mr. Honda earned his State landscape contractor's license. Mr. Honda spent many years as a gardener specializing in trimming pine tree, which he still does at age 78! He founded a bonsai society in North San Diego County and served 8 years as President of the Board of Directors of the Japanese American Cultural Center in Vista, CA.

Tom is married to his wife of 46 years, Yoshiko, and has three daughters and eight grandchildren. He relaxes by playing golf and laughs as he explains that his proudest achievement is having had two -- "hole in one" during the course of 23 years of golfing (Honda to Clausen 09/06).
Although the Yamashita ranch was mechanized as equipment became available, plow horses were still needed and valued on their farm. Tak stands next to the corral where one of his chores was to feed and water the horses. *Tak Yamashita Collection*

4. **Notes from Takashi (Tak) Yamashita, 2005**

“I lived on the Crystal Cove farm from April 1928 to March 1942. I recall my childhood on the Crystal Cove farm from the age of 4. I was outdoors when the 1933 earthquake hit the area. I recall seeing the earth crack open and closing. I remember playing hours at a time in the dirt with small and large blocks of wood. I would make believe the wood blocks represented several types of vehicles as I pushed them in the dirt. I recall playing with our German Sheppard dog. From the age of 7 to 10 I spent most of the summer months on the beach . . . .”

“Farm work became routine for me from the age of 10. I learned to drive cars, truck, and tractor. My favorite was to feed the plow horses, harness them and work with them in the field. I worked on the farm during the summer months and often after school during the school term.”
“My father enrolled me in a Kendo class. I became a member of a Kendo team out of a Huntington Beach dojo. My father loved to watch his son play football and he would take me to watch my brother play football. At times we would attend events with other Japanese communities such as a picnic at Irvine Park. There was not too much time for recreation because of demands on the farm.”

“Around 1934 electricity and a natural gas line came to our home. Each room of our 5 room home had one light fixture. Extension cords were used from each of the light fixtures. The quality of life improved with the acquisition of electricity and natural gas.”

“I cannot adequately cover everything my mother did for the family. Her typical day started by awaking an hour or so before anyone else and preparing breakfast. She was always the last person to take a bath before retiring. My mother prepared simple Japanese dishes and dishes, rice bowls, tea cups and bamboo chopsticks were used. Vegetables from the farm, home grown chicken and eggs and fish dishes were common. Mother prepared western style dishes too. I loved her pancakes, waffles, country style potatoes, fried chicken, roast chicken, pork chops, etc. Quoted from: Yamashita, Tak, 2005 December 5 “Yamashita Crystal Cove Farm.” Written response to questions regarding childhood recollections. Not paginated. Submitted to Alexa Clausen, State Historian, Southern Service Center.

Biographical Information: Tak Yamashita was born in 1928 in Vista, CA and grew up on his parent’s vegetable farm near Laguna Beach. In March of 1942, during WWII, the Yamashita family voluntarily evacuated from their home to avoid detention in an internment camp, initially moving to a ranch near Cedar City, Utah and later settling in Crowley, Colorado. In 1950, Tak received a Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Colorado’s College of Engineering. Soon after graduation, he was drafted into the United States Army as the country was at war in Korea.

His military career included advanced training in guided missiles, along with programming and operation of high speed computing devices. He was one of three military officers assigned to the Guided Missile Development Division at Redstone Arsenal, Huntsville, Alabama. Tak was appointed Assistant Chief, Computation Laboratory with responsibility to facilitate and manage state-of-the art computing systems. The division under Dr. Werner Von Braun’s direction pioneered the U.S. Guided Missile program. The organization developed the first successful operational intercontinental ballistic missile, the prelude to NASA’s Apollo project.

After his honorable discharge from the Army in 1955, Tak returned to California and pursued a career in computer systems technology, completing management courses at UCLA and USC’s Graduate School of Business. As a pioneer in computing systems, he was employed as an executive by the Bendix Computer Company. He participated in computer product design and development with primary responsibility for software engineering, applications development and data center operations. His accomplishments include many “firsts” in the use of computers for scientific, commercial, financial, process control and military applications. Later, as an executive with Northrop Corporation, he was responsible for the corporate-wide application of computing systems. He served on the board of EAI Inc., an electronics manufacturing company. Throughout his thirty-five
year career, he enjoyed sharing his computer systems knowledge at national and international computer conferences.

Retired in 1986, Tak and his wife traveled extensively in the U.S., Europe and Asia. An avid golfer, he enjoyed golfing at many prestigious golf courses in the U.S and abroad. He dedicated time towards writing his life history for the benefit of his children and grandchildren. He and his wife reside in Long Beach, California. They have three children and eight grandchildren (Yamashita to Clausen 09/27/06).

A community picnic engaged the children in a blind fold game on the beach near Crystal Cove, approximately, 1936. Tak Yamashita Collection
B. Contacts and Resources for Project Years

1. Alan West, grandson of Eunice Gardner who taught at San Joaquin #2. I spoke to Alan West several times by phone, and met with him at Crystal Cove State Park on 05/17/2005. He had not finished writing the book about his grandmother. He explained that he had numerous files and had spoken to many Japanese family members over the years.

Mr. West said he donated some of his research to the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles. The archives curator told me they had nothing on Crystal Cove in their collection. I did not pursue the information Mr. West may have collected. Mr. West still plans to write a book on the life of his grandmother and to include her years of teaching the Japanese American students. As of this project, I had not asked Mr. West to share any of his files or photographs.

2. Tom Honda, son of Japanese farmers. Tom’s father, Unzo and his uncle, Jozo lived in homes adjacent to each other where the Los Trancos visitor center parking lot is located. Larrynn had launched a search for descendants of the Japanese farm tenants through an article that appeared in the Pacific Citizen, December, 2001. Mr. Honda contacted Larrynn and corresponded with her many times. Mr. Honda came to the park to meet with Alexa Clausen. Mr. Honda as well as Mr. Miyada, remember that their families used traditional Japanese dining ware when eating their meals. Mr. Honda came to the Southern Service Center and looked at the shard collection of ceramic rice bowls, tea cups etc. that were given to State Parks by the Keith Company in 1990. Mr. Honda could not say if they were from his family home.

3. Don Miyada, son of Japanese farmers. The Miyadas leased farm land from Irvine Ranch and owned a produce market along coast highway once located at the entry of Pelican Point campground. Mr. Miyada has been an informant and contributor to this project for over twenty years. He first assisted Marvin Brienes and agreed to an interview in 1983. There are no copies of these interviews (see Brienes). As a follow-up, in 1992, Miyada was extensively interviewed as a part of a large program at Cal State Fullerton Oral History Program. In the course of the initial research I contacted the Oral History Program at CSU Fullerton twice to find out if the Miyada photographs were in the 1992 files. They did not have the photographs, but in time it did not matter since Mr. Miyada allowed new scanned copies to be made of what he owned.

Three photographs are on file with State Parks. I generated a donor record for the State Park Photo Collection so that these photographs can be duplicated as needed for interpretive projects or programs. Mr. Miyada has put some corrections on the photocopies of these images so that the information is correct and signed the donor paperwork.
Mr. Miyada continued to help the project and called other descendants inquiring if they would talk to me. Mr. Miyada put Tak Yamashita in contact with me resulting in a great wealth of photographs.

Early in 2005, Don Miyada, Alexa Clausen (Historian Southern Service Center) and Dave Pryor (District Environment Specialist) met at the Park. While we visited in the park, Don had marked a 1948 copy of a USGS Topo map, indicating where he believed each family home was located. He also marked copies of some aerial views provided by Dave Pryor. Don identified the location of the Japanese school and other structures on a copy of a 1938 Spence aerial photo. Don directed Dave to the location of his family home site and produce stand. It is right at the entrance to Pelican Point campground.

4. Marvin Brienes, former State Park Interpreter and co-author of the Crystal Cove State Park Interpretive Plan. I located Marvin through Eileen Hook, one of the author’s of the Interpretive Plan. Larrynn wanted me to find out if Marvin had known if there is still a copy somewhere of the four taped interviews he had undertaken in the early 1980’s. I contacted Marvin Brienes by telephone who is currently is employed by the State Department of Developmental Services. Marvin did not think that the tapes were ever transcribed and that he had taken notes from these tapes. He said he would check his personal files at his home. I left several messages with Marvin, and he did not respond.

5. Eileen Hook, State Park Interpreter and co-author of the Crystal Cove State Park Interpretive Plan. Eileen emailed me a message from her conversation with Marvin. She also told me that they kept notes on 5 x 7 cards that disappeared after the former OIS office was disbanded. They don’t know what happened to their research.

6. Sharon Owen and Kathy Frazee. Oral History Program. CSU Fullerton. I checked to see if I should come and review the collection since Larrynn had been there in 2001. Kathy Frazee searched their data base and responded that nothing new on this subject had been entered into the collection. I asked if they had photographs associated with the tape in the Don Miyada interview—they had had no record of the photographs. They had no material associated with Marvin Brienes, and would check with Dr. Art Hansen to see if he had personally retained any records from Brienes. Kathy Frazee searched for the source of information that Larrynn needed; Frazee found the reference to be the interview with Clarence Iwao Nishizu and sent a copy for park files. The interview had been made into a formal narrative. It provides an excellent introduction to the farmers at Crystal Cove and their establishment of the Japanese school.

7. Wil Jorae. California State Park Photo Archives Collection. In an effort to review photographs relating to this project, I was granted access through the TMS system to view the State Park photo collection. Over one hundred images
of the park are in the database. Digitized images relating to Crystal Cove from this time period were purchased for this project.

In the State Park Collection there are nine views specific to the Japanese farms. One photograph was credited to Don Miyada. Mr. Miyada confirmed that three were loaned to State Parks when Marvin Brienes wrote the Interpretive Plan. Mr. Miyada signed a photo use form that has been forwarded to the Park Photo Archives. Mr. Miyada suggested I contact Tad Fujita regarding the other photographs. Only having an old address, I wrote to Mr. Fujita and did not receive a response. There was no phone listing for him. Mr. Miyada visited the old address and reported that a caretaker and elderly woman lived there. Don Miyada wrote a letter to Tad Fujita requesting his cooperation with the project coordinators, but there was no reply.

8. Phil Brigandi. Archivist, Orange County. I contacted Phil Brigandi to find out what records may be available relating to Irvine Ranch, or more specifically the coast at the time that the Japanese farmed the area. Phil did not think it was worth a trip to his repository and explained that he did not know if any Irvine Company records were available to the public. He suggested the former Irvine historian, Jim Sleeper who is working as a contract historian. Mr. Sleeper was not contacted due to time restrictions on this project.
9. Irvine Unified School District. In search of school records, I contacted the Superintendent’s Office at the school district. Should it be necessary, there are school attendance records available to view from the 1930’s. An appointment with Attendance Specialist, Robbi Edmondson can be made to view the records. There are no addresses relating to the children, the books are organized by year. The records were not examined since it was not within the scope of this project.

10. Bruce Clumpner, Irvine Company, Manager, Corporate Graphics. Mr. Clumpner had no information on the Crystal Cove area. He told me if anyone were to check Irvine records located somewhere within the Corporation, they would pull the records and he could relay the information to me. I could not come and view any records in person. Under these circumstances, the arrangement with the Irvine Company would not be productive.

11. Scott Estep, California Department of Transportation, Orange County Division. While writing the background history of land use at El Morro Beach and El Moro Canyon, Scott provided the project with digitized old coast highway right-of-way maps generated for this portion of the coast. The maps were initial road surveys and finals dating from 1928-1932. Some of the coastline maps marked locations of Japanese farmhouses. Tom Honda looked at the map “SC-old-0037-08” near Crystal Cove and suggested that the homes and barn marked on that map were his family and his uncles’ family homes.

12. Tak Yamashita, son of owner of Yamashita Farm, the first Japanese farmer to obtain a lease from Irvine Ranch along the Crystal Cove area. Tak provided copies of forty photographs relating to the Yamashita farm, structures, farm
activities and family activities. Mr. Yamashita provided written details of each photograph. In addition, he wrote responses to questions about daily life on the family farm. He is currently working on an autobiography.

13. The Buck Collection, Laguna Beach, CA. Mr. Gerald Buck, owner of the watercolor, “Road to Capistrano” generously provided a transparency and consent to use this image for research and reports generated by State Parks.

Additional resources:
1. Center for Oral and Public History (COPH)
   This center known for its Oral History program through CSU, Fullerton was among the first to take an interest in recording the experiences of the Japanese in Southern California. Marvin Brienes worked with Art Hansen from the center when locating some descendants of the farm owners.

   The COPH on-line collection, “Japanese-American History Collection” contains many reminiscences relating to the Orange County area. While these transcribed tapes are not specifically of those families once living at Crystal Cove, they can provide context for local and regional experiences from this time period. An interview, for example with Yoshiki Yoshida dealt mainly with the Irvine Ranch in the Tustin area. This interview gives a broader sense of how other Japanese Americans worked on the Irvine Ranch in addition to subjects such as the art of kendo. This interview and several others cover life in Southern California before the war, the evacuation camp experiences, and their post war resettlement.

2. University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) Young Library, Special Collections
   Online Archives of California provides a limited finding aid so that a researcher can review the holdings of the collection, “Japanese American Research Project – Fading Footsteps of the Issei.” In general, this collection does not contain material related to the Japanese farm families at Crystal Cove. However, the collection contains publications such as Japanese Language Readers-- Haha no Kotoba [The Mother’s Tongue], printed in Los Angeles in 1924. This prompted me to ask Tom Honda how Japanese was taught in the Crystal Cove Japanese School. He said they had paper bound booklets that were Japanese language books in Kanji. He remembers that younger children were taught the language through storybooks (T. Honda, 05/17/05). Copies of a few pages from these books might be useful for interpretive exhibits in Cottage #34.

   Alexa Clausen and Don Miyada looked over book collection at UCLA. Mr. Miyada commented that their learning books “. . . were actually writing in Kanji and Hiragana except for the very elementary textbooks which were written in Katakana. As we had seen at UCLA, anglicized works were also written as Katakana (Miyada to Clausen 01/14/2006)."
Another collection that may provide some context is Hugh Harris Anderson who served as an advisor to the Poston Relocation Center. He represented the Pacific Coast Committee on the American Principles and Fair Play.

University of California, Los Angeles. Aerial Photographs.
Dave Pryor supplied me with copies of aerial photographs from the UCLA Spence photo collection. He did not know the source of his copies. I had requested a search for other close-up shots of the coastline other than the existing. Staff at UCLA said there were none.

3. University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library
Documents and photographs available through internet for this project are from a search using On-line Archives of California (OAC). The search produced many images from the “War Relocation Authority Photograph” collection. This collection primarily consists of Japanese families at Poston, construction and work projects at Poston, etc. Tom Honda’s cousins Yachiyo Honda and Tomie Jean Honda were photographed at Block 12 where their families resided. Three digitized views were purchased for this project.

Other records relating to the Irvine Ranch are less likely to be productive and perhaps antidotal. One example is the records from Immigration and Housing Records in the Labor Camp Series. There are several entries for the Irvine Ranch laborers camps.

4. Los Angeles Times, 1886-current. ProQuest Historical Newspapers
A search through this collection contains some articles for context information. One example is an article on a labor strike by Mexican workers against Japanese vegetable growers. The Fujita Farm on Irvine Ranch is mentioned (LAT Proquest, 09/05/1934).

5. Santa Ana Daily Register, microfilm
Newspaper articles specific to Crystal Cove were not expected. Without an index to this paper, articles should only be searched if a general date is already known. Otherwise the search is time consuming and tedious.

6. University of California, San Diego. Special Collections
In an effort to collect regional information and possibly the Irvine Ranch, a search through the finding aid for the John B. Goodman Collection was undertaken. The holdings relating to Orange County are general. Should it be needed, the road maps published by the Auto Club might be checked.

7. Orange County Division of Harbors and Beaches. Old Irvine Ranch Headquarters.
Some records, dating from about 1960-1975 are contained in a vault in the building once serving as the headquarters to the Irvine Ranch. The vault had a
few records somewhat useful to Crystal Cove State Park in the context of land use prior to the sale to State Parks. In addition, a small box contained the guide to the “obsolete file system records.” After viewing the note box, I emailed Bruce Clumpner to see if they would search for these old records. He did not return my emails. Further information is not needed from Irvine Ranch records at this time.

8. Whittier College, Fairchild Aerial Photo Collection
The selection of aerial photographs purchased by this office had the focus of the Crystal Cove cottage and the El Morro Mobile home park area. As a result, a number of the family farms of the Japanese are not in view on these photographs. Six views of the coast from 1928 to 1948 were purchased for this project to add to the Department’s research collection.

9. Los Angeles Public Library, On-line Images
A search for photographs relating to daily life for the Japanese living in Los Angeles had good results for context of the history of these families. There are many examples such as little children playing in vegetable fields (circa 1925), Japanese Americans in traditional costumes in Los Angeles events (1927), etc.

10. Library of Congress, Photographic Images On-line
The LOC site is excellent context resource of photographs of Japanese in the Los Angeles area just prior to relocation to camps. Photographs vividly depict boarded up homes, storefronts with half price sales, family packing to leave, etc. There are also photographs taken in Parker, AZ at the Poston Camp.

11. Laura Davick Archive and Photo Collection
Laura Davick collected letters, newspapers, photographs and documentary material relating to the daily life of the Irvine Company beach tenants living at Crystal Cove. Several photographs in the collection include views of the Japanese home sites, farmland and community center. The material was generously loaned to State Parks for research purposes.

In 1927, Keichi Yamashita began construction of his farm home on the east side of the Coast Highway. At the beach, film companies constructed movie sets and guests of Irvine used the Cove for recreation. A residence that became the San Joaquin #2 school is seen on the bluff. *Laura Davick Collection*
C. Family Surnames Associated With Crystal Cove Farms

The following are family surname associated with farming the Irvine Ranch coastline around the Crystal Cove area. Source for the initial compilation was taken from Poston Roster (State Park Files, Office of Interpretive Services, 1982; reprinted in *Pacific Citizen* Holiday Issue, December 2001, Carver files). Additional information was extracted from the 12 households listed as the “Japanese Ranch,” on the US Federal Census of 1930. Among these families, parents were born in Japan and their children were born in California. The Japanese men, listed as head of household, are all an older population ranging from ages 43 through 66. Several had grown sons living in their household (US Census, 1930, Heritage Quest). An effort was made to edit this list for errors. Names were reviewed by Don Miyada but not all of the names were familiar to Mr. Miyada (phone conversation to Alexa Clausen, 09/2006).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Mitaro, Fujich</td>
<td>US Census, 1930</td>
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<td>Don Miyada to State Parks</td>
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<td>Naruishi, Michitaro</td>
<td>T. Honda to SP; Nishizu interview</td>
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<td>Shimizu, Junjiro</td>
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<td>Yamashita, Keichi</td>
<td>T. Yamashita to SP</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
References:
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The Buck Collection.  “Road to Capistrano,” Barse Miller, watercolor.  
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“Historic Background”

Sampson, Michael P.  

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2003, March Coastal Midden Protection and Preservation Program  
Crystal Cove State Park.  California State Parks, Orange Coast District  

Japanese American Project Files.  Inland Empire District.  California State Parks.  Copy on file at Southern Service Center

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County of Orange  

Crume, Cliff  
Photo Collection.  Hemet, CA
Davick, Laura
1900 – current. Archival and Photo Collection

Fukunaga, Yachiyo
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Honda, (Tom) Toshio

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2005, June 6. Phone conversation. Alexa Clausen, State Historian, Southern Service Center

2005, October 14 Letter, Alexa Clausen, State Historian, Southern Service Center

2005, October 15 “Crystal Cove Farm Sites Identified” USGS Topographic Map, Laguna Beach Quad, 1948

2005, November 01 “Crystal Cove Farm Sites Identified” Aerial Photograph, 1939


National Park Service

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Okimoto, Ruth Y.

Steen, Karen, Laura Davick, and Meriam Braselle

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Yamashita, (Harry) Hiroshi  

Yamashita, (Tak) Takashi  
1930’s, Photograph Collection. Forty views of Yamashita family relating to their farm and daily life.


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2005 December 5 “Yamashita Crystal Cove Farm.” Written response to questions regarding childhood recollections. Submitted to Alexa Clausen, State Historian, Southern Service Center.

Crystal Cove State Park: Japanese Farm Sites

Miyada-barn
Miya-ba-home
Shigaki, Hiroji
Miyada-produce stand

Fujita Bros. home
Naruishi home
Furukawa, first home
Honda, Juzo & Unzo

Matsuoka, Tomio
Loera home
Public School-San Joaquin #2

Matsuyama and Chiguchi homes
Miyada, produce stand

Laguna Beach Japanese School and Community Center

Sakamoto Vegetable Stand
Ishida Vegetable Stand

Sakamoto, Seihachi
Ishida, Yasuyuki
Furukawa, Tokanoro, after 1935

Credit
Farm sites identified by:
Don Miyada on 2 November 2005
USGS Topo Map: 1948, Laguna Beach Quad
Addition by Emiko Sugiura (Sakamoto) 03/08
Cultural Stewardship Project 2005-2006
California State Parks, Southern Service Center
Researcher- Alexa Clausen
Map – Frances McMeeken

Miyada-home
Miyada-produce stand

Shimizu house, before 1936
Matoba, Shizuo

Matsuyama and Chiguchi homes

Sakamoto Vegetable Stand
Ishida Vegetable Stand

Sakamoto, Seihachi
Ishida, Yasuyuki
Furukawa, Tokanoro, after 1935

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