The Domoto Diaspore:

An Investigation of One Family's Experience of and Influence Within American Landscapes From 1882 Through Today

Written by Erin Paige Riggs as a Senior Honors Thesis Project

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Chapter One: An Introduction

Between the years of 1880 and 1900, the population of Japanese Americans living in the United States increased 160 fold—leaping from 148 to 24,326 individuals (US Census of Population and Housing 1890 and 1900). From the initial wave of immigration, Japanese families faced ever-escalating legal obstacles to the successful establishment of homes, businesses, and communities. Laws were designed to slow or stop Asian immigration and bar immigrants from obtaining citizenship and owning land. Immigrants also faced hostility fueled by social Darwinism, economic concerns, competition for employment, and racism. Despite these hindrances, populations of Japanese Americans continued to grow. By 1940 their numbers had reached 126,947–five times what it was in 1900 (US Census of Population and Housing 1940).

These 126,947 persons were among those distressed as the news was announced of Imperial Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on the morning of December 7, 1941. Japanese Americans had existed within a society largely composed of intolerant and hostile others for decades, but, even so, many were thriving economically and socially. This event made their hard-earned livelihoods and stability uncertain. As Hosokawa described, the "...ancient, smoldering anti-Japanese emotionalism of the West Coast…had been fanned into instant life" (Hosokawa 1969: 242). A populous that had already been feeling threatened by the increasing Japanese presence could now point to this catastrophe that conveniently could be used to justify their concerns.

Ten weeks later, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 that initiated the mass removal of all peoples of Japanese ancestry from the United States' Pacific coast areas, regardless of citizenship status. This was meant to reduce the risk of

enemy surveillance and sabotage aided by those who were ethnically Japanese. Japanese Americans were unsure of how to react. Some tried to prove their loyalties by disposing of all materials related to their previous affiliations with Japan. They burned or buried objects, photographs, and letters (Hosokawa 1969: 233). Others voluntarily moved in hopes of avoiding internment. Many sold the homes and businesses they had worked so hard to establish for far less then they were worth because they were fearful of what would happen to these properties during their absence.

After the order was signed, the internment process progressed rapidly. Roughly 120,000 Japanese Americans, two thirds of whom were American citizens by birth (Lowe 1991: 40), were congregated into Assembly Centers—racetrack and fairground locations that had been hastily converted into living spaces. From here, they were sent to Relocation Centers established by the War Relocation Authority throughout the arid regions of the Western United States. Each family unit was assigned to an army-style barrack residence. These existed within a series of identical blocks, each organized centripetally around a mess hall and latrine. For many, this was home for nearly three years. Forty-six years later, with the passing of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, Japanese Internment was officially acknowledged as a result of "race prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership"(Pub.L. 100-383) rather than military necessity.

Interest in this occurrence and the locations associated with these events has increased since the 9/11 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center. Both the Pearl Harbor bombings and the World Trade Center attacks were violent violations of America's sense of security by an outside power. These events caused many American people to feel fearful, angry, and desirous of drastic action that could ensure that such tragedies would

not be repeated. Often these feelings resulted in the development of a prominent mentality that assumes direct correlation between threats of violence and persons of identifiable ethnicities. This leads to racism and often even legally condoned racial profiling. In the weeks following 9/11, Muslim Americans and Middle Eastern immigrants found themselves subjected to suspicion, harassment and violence. Japanese internment is a historic example of how willing the United States has been to usurp civil liberties when threatened—especially when fueled by existent racial prejudice.

Archaeological approaches allow for an investigation of the material legacies related to Japanese internment. Remnants linger in the locations that Japanese Americans were forced to leave behind, at the sites of the WRA internment camps, and in the locations of post-internment habitation. Confrontation with these locations and objects, coupled with information provided through oral testimony offered by those who experienced the era of Japanese internment, offer a rich contribution to current dialogues related to our political and personal responses to fear. We also gain a better understanding of how our responses to fear in the past have drastically altered the lives and experiences of individuals.

Through this thesis, I will investigate the disturbance of internment and its aftermaths through the material legacies of a single family, the Domotos of Oakland, California. While I draw on traditional oral history and archival resources, I also draw from the tools of archaeology to look at the enduring legacies of the Domoto family within both the landscapes of California and the Incarceration Camp of Amache in Eastern Colorado.

Research Background:

The archaeological site of Amache is interesting, not only because it is the location of a poignant moment in American history, but also because it provides veracity to the lived experience that roughly 120,000 people (Lowe 1991: 40) shared—a government-forced disturbance of routine life. Internment can be a difficult subject to comprehend. It is hard to envision thousands of people being forcibly removed from their homes and communities to be relocated and confined in incarceration camps located within the most desolate regions of the United States. The physicality of being in the location and witnessing the objects that remain makes the actuality of the event easier to accept and appreciate. Patricia Limerick describes this phenomenon:

> The investment in human life and emotion in particular places, I believe, gives those places transcendent meaning. In American life, this way of thinking—and feeling—is most often evoked by battlefields. At a site where many people gave up there lives, few have to struggle to grasp the idea that the place has been permanently changed, even sanctified, by death. But I would remove the "death-in-battle" requirement from the definition of sacred ground. Where people have labored, suffered, struggled, or even just survived, they have planted seeds of memory as directly as farmers sow crops, and memory has its roots in the soul. The landscape thus has a number of layers, all demanding the scholar's attention: rock and soil; plants and animals; humans as a physical presence, manifested in their physical works; and humans as an emotional and spiritual presence, manifested in the accumulated stories of their encounter with a place (Limerick 1992:1026).

While I excavated at Amache and tried to formulate my research question, I was interested in this idea expressed in the above quote. Being at a location where internment

occurred made the reality of the event more tangible to me, and this was something I could communicate through a description of what I saw and experienced while at the site.

As stirring as the locations of Japanese internment may be, however, I realized that the people who were imprisoned at Amache should not *solely* be remembered and defined as 'internees'. Restricting them to this label is another form of victimization. After all, the significance of this moment cannot simply be attributed to the fact that people were imprisoned. Its significance instead relies on the way in which families, who had worked hard to develop lives, homes, and communities elsewhere, were abruptly ripped from these lives. Therefore, I decided I would attempt to reinsert the history of the 'internee' back into the totality of an individual's life. My theory was that only by examining the realities of a person's life before, during, and after internment could I fully appreciate the life disturbance that internment caused. With this appreciation, I could more fully respect the resiliency exhibited by the people of Japanese decent as they endured this event and continued life post-internment.

Understanding the complete life history of the people who experienced internment is made especially difficult by the fact that many Japanese Americans who were imprisoned, especially the Issei (first generation Japanese immigrants), were reluctant to discuss their experiences. Many autobiographical works written by internees are available. Prominent examples of such autobiographies include Yoshiko Uchida's *Desert Exile,* Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston's *Farewell to Manzanar,* and Monica Sone's *Nisei Daughter*. Many of these memoirs, however, were written by Nisei, who were very young while interned.

The older generation's reluctance to recount information about their experiences prompted a great curiosity about internment within descendant communities. Many of the volunteers who came to help with excavations at Amache during the 2012 field season had been internees when they were very young, often between three to ten years of age. They volunteered because they remembered very little about their internment, could not easily engage their parents in conversations about the experience, and, thus, were seeking other ways to trigger memories of the occurrence. This circumstance is indicative of why further investigation into the life histories of adult internees is essential.

To further investigate the adult internee's experience and in order to reinsert the history of an internee back into the life of an individual, I needed to select a subject. Therefore, during my experience excavating at Amache, while enrolled in the University of Denver's 2012 Field School, I began to search for an individual or family who I could research. I wanted to identify a subject with who I, and hopefully other people living within the contemporary world, could easily relate. Therefore, three qualifications governed my selection:

1) I wanted a subject who had left traceable physical evidence within the archaeological record.
2) I wanted a subject who was well documented within written records.
3) I wanted my subject to have left some type of first person accounts of their experiences so that I could incorporate their voice into my interpretations.
4) I wanted a subject who had been a Bay Area resident. The Bay Area is my current home, and I wanted to be able to investigate the areas inhabited by my

subject before and after internment. This proved difficult considering most internees from the Bay Area were sent to Topaz, not Amache. (Taylor 1993)

In hopes of finding a subject that fit these qualifications, I began reading several written sources—issues of the *Pioneer* (a bi-weekly newspaper published by internees), documents housed at the Amache Museum, and the directories and maps of Amache. Aided by the Henry Madden Digitalized Library, I was able to search through a large quantity of scanned documents. By searching for the names of cities within the Bay Area, I came across two short articles from the *Pioneer* that described the lives of both Kanetaro, a 77 year old nurseryman from Oakland who had immigrated to the United States in 1882 (Granada Pioneer 1943: 6), and his son Kaneji Domoto, an accomplished landscape architect. Kaneji Domoto had worked on gardening projects for the 1939 World's Fair in both San Francisco and New York, had designed the Japanese garden within the UC Berkeley Botanical Garden, and had also been employed by Frank Lloyd Wright (Granada Pioneer 1943: 5).

I decided to investigate the history of this particular family because there was a good chance that such prominent nursery businesses and gardening projects would have left a lasting physical imprint on contemporary landscapes. An approach that will interweave documentary evidence together with modern day physical landscape evidence will address my goal of constructing a more complete picture of the effects this family had on landscapes. Through discussion of their remaining physical legacy, I intend to present a meaningful description of an internee family's complete life experience. My focus on the observable aspects of contemporary landscapes that relate to this family's

history will allow me to make the Domoto family experience more comprehensible to the people of today. Just as the archaeological site of Amache makes Japanese internment manifest, I hope that my investigation of the locations of past nursery sites, still existing famous gardens, and block 6F and 6H (the location of the Domotos' barracks at Amache) will make the Domotos' experiences and influences more appreciable.



March 20, 1943

Thumbnail SKETCHES

In the early days of the 1880's, Kanetaro Domoto used to push a cart on the streets of San Francisco and Oakland, peddling flowers for his livelihood. His greatest competitor was an Italian vendor, Angelo Rossi, who to his surprise became the mayor of San Francisco. While Rossi attained nationwide prominence as a political figure, Domoto continued in his chosen vocation and became one of the outstanding nurserymen on the Pacific coast.

Just to mention a few of his contributions to the nursery business, he was the first to raise chrysanthemums and gardenias on the mainland; first to import and introduce azaleas, camellias, and lilies from Japan for commercial purposes. His introduction of peat moss from Germany, and tangerine, orange, and persimmon plants from Holland, Belgium, and Australia was a tremendous contribution. Today, his name is often associated with the man who skyrocketed to the top of the nursery business in a half a century, and his discoveries and contributions may possibly be ranked with those of Luther Burbank, one of the world's foremost horticulturists.

His many greenhouses on 50th avenue in Oakland were the largest on the Pacific slopes. He had two camps to house his employees which gives a conception of the size of his business. Since 1882, when he embarked on the nursery business, he has paid over a quarter million dollars to Uncle Sam in taxes and tariffs. Of all the plants and shrubberies imported to the United States from 1913 to 1920, 85 per cent were his.

He was never too engrossed in his business affairs to neglect his children's education, however, for all eight of them received college educations.

Domoto, at the age of 77, loves to converse, usually philosophically. In the main, his philosophy contrasts man's life with that of a plant's. --S. S.

May 1[illegible], 1943

Thumbnail SKETCHES

The fellow who started the ball rolling in the center's beautification program was through "Ken" Domoto, architectural draftsman of the engineering department. He planned and supervised the planting of trees in Block [illegible], near the canteen. Soon afterwards, the whole center caught the tree-planting craze.

This worthwhile and valuable idea wasn't just picked out of a straw hat, but because his past was devoted to drafting, landscaping, and the nursery business. His experiences and accomplishments are unusual.

In 1938, Ken worked as one of the Japanese-American gardeners who landscaped and beautified the San Francisco World's Fair at Treasure Island. Immediately upon completion of his work there, he went to New York World's Fair at Long Island where he did the same type of work, besides [illegible].

His commendable work at the two world's fairs brought him the opportunity to become an employee of Frank Lloyd Wright, noted architect who designed the Imperial Hotel in Japan as well as the modern Johnson Wax office building at Taliesin, Wis.

Later, Ken returned to Berkeley where he received more landscaping work than architectural designing. He was responsible for the designing and landscaping of the University of California's Japanese Botanical garden.

Ken attended Stanford U. for two years, studying physics, and a year at UC, enjoying in architecture.

He is 30 years old, very sparks in criticisms, and always cool-headed.

A family man, Domoto loves to spend most of his leisure time with his 18-month-old daughter, Kikiko.

--Suyao Seko

Figure 1: My Introduction to Kanetaro and Kaneji (Granada Pioneer 1943: 6)(Granada Pioneer 1943:5)

The Questions That Have Guided My Research:

Some of the questions directing my investigation of the Domoto family have been central since the beginning of my study. Others have developed along the way as certain themes began to emerge. My overarching inquiries have been:

1) What remains of the Domoto family's physical legacy? What of their influence is still perceivable within modern day landscapes?

2) What evidence remains that makes their lived experience within these landscapes more understandable?

Answering these two questions—which revolve around both the Domotos' influence within landscapes and experience of landscapes—is the primary goal of my study.

As I began to collect evidence that related to these goals, other defining questions emerged which I've categorized below:

Questions Related To The Domotos' Pre-Incarceration History
What was the scale of the Domoto's nursery business during different periods of time?
What role did the Domoto's business play in facilitating the immigration of individuals from Japan and providing these individuals with training in horticulture? Are the effects of this training still evident today?
To what extent did this business influence gardening practices within the United States, and does this influence continue in a physically detectable way today?
How did this family contribute to developing artistic styles?
What types of structures did the Domotos inhabit during different time periods? What design qualities did these buildings possess and what does this communicate about the Domoto's preferences, priorities, and daily life?

Questions Related To The Domotos' Incarceration History
What type of building did the Domoto family inhabit while at Amache?
How did internment affect the family members' lives (including their daily occupations, foodways, and level of community involvement)? What evidence of these changes still exists?

In what ways did family members actively seek to improve their circumstances at Amache?
What role did the Domoto family play in the creation of the gardens at Amache that continue to be studied through the University of Denver's excavations?
What lasting and permanent affects did incarceration have on the Domotos' lives and was this typical?

Questions Related To The Domotos' Post-Incarceration History
After internment, did the Domotos return to California and if not, where did they go? What governed these movements?
What was the scale of Toichi Domoto's nursery business in Hayward, post-internment?
Is there remaining evidence regarding this business's influence on gardening practices within the United States?
What types of structures did Toichi's family inhabit after returning to California?
What physical evidence related to Toichi Domoto's home still exists?

Method:

The following study presents the results of an investigation into the Domoto family's *influence on* and *experience of* multiple landscapes. These landscapes include early 20th century Oakland, the Amache Japanese Internment Camp in Granada, Colorado, mid 19th century Hayward, California, an assortment of ornamental gardens (both massive, permanent creations as well as modest, private displays), and the Bay Area region as a whole.

I have addressed the questions outlined above through an investigation of landscapes, objects, documents, and oral histories. This has been an inherently interdisciplinary endeavor. Developing a rich understanding of the Domotos' history and their lasting legacies within the landscapes of today has led me to employ the methods and approaches of multiple disciplines. In particular, I have drawn from archaeology and geography and have attempted to roughly follow the approach described by Mosher and Wilkie that they have termed "…historical archaeo-geography" through which

"…multiple scales of connectivity between people and places through time" are considered (Mosher and Wilkie 82).

Even while conducting historical research, I have maintained an archaeo-geographic perspective. As I sorted through evidence provided by documents and oral histories, I extracted that data that provided information regarding material objects and the organization of space, buildings and communities. I was not purely interested in what happened in the past, but in how the past existed physically, spatially, and materially. This study has been archaeological in Deetz's broad sense of the term as, "…the study of past peoples based on the things they left behind and the ways they left their impact on the world" (Deetz 4). I like this definition because it rightly identifies people as the foremost concern of the discipline and the things they left behind as the tools we use to interpret the experiences of people. My research fits this definition and is distinct from a historical project because of my particular "…concern for the material objects of the past" (Deetz 4).

A Discussion of Ideas That Have Influenced This Project:

My development of this project has been influenced by two ideas that have been frequently discussed within the fields of historical archaeology and cultural geography:

1) Humans experience places in complex physical and emotional ways.
2) In order to be relevant, archaeology must be presented in a way that is engaging and understandable.

I have attempted to combine these two ideas. I hope that by incorporating discussion related to how locations are experienced, my writings can provide a comprehensible depiction some aspects of the world past peoples created and inhabited.

As many archaeologists have recently suggested, the presentation of archaeological research needs to be less abstruse and more universally relevant, accessible, and appealing (Sabloff 1999, Deetz 1998, Majewski 2000). Many scholars have acknowledged that the history of our discipline's development has resulted in a tendency to maintain an appearance of objectivism over creation of something usable. Rosemary Joyce states, in *The Languages of Archaeology,* that, "…contemporary normative expectations of archaeological genres erase the dialogic production of knowledge in favor of images of hierarchically structured authority" (Joyce 2002: 6). In *The Lost Boys of Zeta Psi,* Wilkie (2010: xiii, 20) refers to the scientific heritage of archaeology as "…baggage…that has sometimes smacked more of scientism than science" and suggests that often we archaeologists "…cloak ourselves in the protective garb of science". Many scholars who have expressed similar concern have suggested ways of maintaining archaeology's significance through more effective communication. Storytelling (Gibb 2000), the "embedded model" (Stahl 2004: 85) that attempts to cater to the needs of diverse audiences (while still presenting sufficient evidence), and the use of phenomenology (Tilley 1994) have been suggested as means for making archaeology more accessible.

The use of such methods tends to mark one as a postprocessual archaeologist (Knell 2007). Within this school of thought, applicability takes precedence over objectivity, and, in fact, achieving objectivity is considered both entirely impossible and

undesirable. However, if one couples openly interpretative methods with "reflexivity"(Hodder 2000, 2003; Chadwick 2003), research can be presented in a meaningful way without loss of credibility. According to Sabloff, "archaeology can make itself relevant—pertinent—by helping its audiences appreciate past cultures and their accomplishments" (Sabloff 1999: 871). I would argue that this is the ultimate goal of every archaeological endeavor—simply to make what was experienced by people in the past more comprehensible to those living today.

These ideas have been influential in the field of landscape archaeology as well, creating a postprocessual landscape archaeology, "…characterized by dissonant perspectives on human nature, perception, experience, and meaning" (Thomas 2012: 168). Although hotly debated and criticized by some (for example Flemming 2006), many authors have illustrated that use of innovative ways of presenting archaeological data and inclusion of descriptions of how locations associated with archaeological finds may have been experienced can help to develop a more engaging description of what has been discovered (Tilley 1994; Bender 1998; Bender and Hamilton 2007). Such approaches have helped redirect the focus of landscape archaeology from buildings and features back to the people who inhabited these spaces and produced these materials. It is possible for people to be the focus of a landscape investigation because landscapes are more than static, insipid formations. They do "…not exist separate from society" (Rubertone 1989: 51) but instead are a dynamic part of society, are part of the formation, expression, and enforcement of ideologies, and are revealing of the realities of lived experiences. My method of interpreting landscapes and materials has been heavily influenced by these ideas.

I wanted to develop a project that would allow me to study past experiences through an investigation of both landscapes and materials, but this goal led me to another challenge. While it is easy to compile lists of objects and describe building layouts, how does one delve into imagining how these items were experienced? Cultural geographers have long considered this question. Topophilia, which relates to human emotional connection with place, is a term that has guided my articulation of the type of experiences of place that I would like to consider. Taun defines Topophilia in the following passage:

> The word 'topophilia' is a neologism, useful in that it can be defined broadly to include all of the human being's affective ties with the material environment. These differ greatly in intensity, subtlety, and mode of expression. The response to environment may be primarily aesthetic: it may vary from the fleeting pleasure one gets from a view to the equally fleeting but far more intense sense of beauty that is suddenly revealed. The response may be tactile, a delight in the feel of air, water, earth. More permanent and less easy to express are the feelings that one has toward a place because it is home, the locus of memories, and the means of gaining a livelihood. (Taun1974: 93)

Genis loci, which describes the qualities of a place that inspire Topophilia, is another term I found applicable. The concept of *Genis loci* originates from ancient Roman religion but has been translated by the landscape writer J. B. Jackson as meaning (roughly) the spirit, character, atmosphere, or attitude of a place (Jackson 1995: 24). This concept describes the interweaving of everything present within a location and the resulting experience of being in a place that possesses these particular qualities. Archaeologists infrequently include discussions of the atmosphere of places or past inhabitants' affective ties to place within their academic writings. These are concepts, however, that cultural geographers have often incorporated into their work. For example, *Conflicting Landscape Values: The Santa Clara Pueblo and Day School* is a piece of

writing that fully encompasses the concepts of both Topophilia and *Genis loci.* This work explains locations in a way that illustrates connections between materials present in a place and the corporeal and psychological responses evoked by these materials. Subsequently, discussions of these responses can also be revealing of the objectives that influenced the creators of these spaces, as is evident in this particular case. Swentzel first described the Pueblo she inhabited as a child:

> Within the Pueblo, outdoor and indoor spaces flowed freely and were hardly distinguishable. One moved in bare feet from interior dirt floors enclosed by mud walls to the well-packed dirt smoothness of the Pueblo plaza. In this movement, all senses were utilized. Each of the various dirt surfaces (interior walls, outdoor walls, plaza floor) were touched, smelled, and tasted…Everything was touchable, knowable and accessible (Swentzel 1990: 20).

She then compared this with the BIA Day School that she attended:

> Everything seemed at a distance. The message was don't touch, don't interact. The exterior formality of the structures, as well as the materials used, discouraged climbing on them, scratching them, tasting them or otherwise affecting them. There was no way to be a part of the place (Swentzel 1990: 26).

Examples of writings that both describe archaeological findings and incorporate considerations of *Genis loci* and Topophilia are more difficult to find. I would argue that the first chapter of Flowerdew Hundred is one good example. Deetz opens with the following:

> Alice Thorowden arose before dawn, cross and weary. It had been a bad night, first the mosquitoes buzzing and biting, and then the thunderstorms that rolled down the valley, driving the river hard against the shore, tearing branches from trees and leaving great puddles which would be turned into a quagmire when wagons were driven through them…..But the house was a grand one, with its huge brick chimney and fireplaces in

> both upper chambers, and she and Katherine had snug quarters in the loft…(Deetz 1993: 1).

Deetz goes on to describe how Alice took a moment to smoke a pipe and forget about her troubles, but ended up dropping her pipe, which then shattered on the ground, only to be found by archaeologists three centuries later (Deetz 1993: 1). This invented narrative is powerful, mainly because it provides a setting for the archaeological findings about to be discussed. Through his provision of such an imaginable setting, Deetz authors a passage that moves beyond the artifact and considers what type of community, surrounding, and existence led to an individual's use and eventual deposit of an object.

Many archaeologists shy away from this style of writing because it involves speculation and the creation of an imagined narrative. Not all of the information delivered in this passage, however, is imagined. Deetz worked for years in this geographic location and had first-hand experience with certain qualities of the area (ex. mosquitoes and the effect of thunderstorms on the nearby river, trees and road). He also knew much about the types of transportation used at the time and the layout of the house and community. The only descriptions that are entirely of his own invention are the adjectives relating to how Alice *perceives* her surroundings (ex. "bad", "grand", and "snug"). His inclusion of these descriptors, along with the inclusion of descriptions of known qualities of the setting, enriches Deetz's discussion of archaeological finds. So much of lived experience is related to our constant interaction with what surrounds us—what type of view our bedroom window provides, who and how far away our neighbors are, the look of our homes and rooms, the layout of our transportation ways, the harshness of the weather, and how we organize and display the objects we accumulate. Archaeology can provide us with information about these things and when these findings are presented in a slightly

more interpretive manner, a more complete understanding of how places were experienced can be fathomed.

We may not be able to read the thoughts of those who lived before us, but we can certainly hold the things they left behind and experience aspects of remains of locations they created. Objects and locations have a unique ability to provide us with a physical and intimate connection to past peoples and their experiences in a way that written texts and histories simply cannot. This physical connection is able to produce visceral reactions, even in those only mildly interested in happenings of the past.

While I am not comfortable with completely inventing the feelings and opinions of the creators of the archaeological sites that I study, I present as much evidence as possible related to how they perceived their surroundings. I couple this with descriptions of the sites' present conditions, and I am especially attentive to aspects of the locations that have been influenced by the actions of my subjects. Use of these methods should result in an improved awareness of how heavily the landscapes of the present have been affected by actions of the past.

Chapter Two: 1890-1910; A House Built For Nursery Convenience

Within the following chapter, I present descriptions of the buildings and landscapes inhabited by the Domotos from the mid 1890s through 1910. I move through expanding scales; first describing the Domotos' home, the nursery, the surrounding community, and the trading networks of which the Domotos were a part. I draw extensively from the Susan B. Reies oral history that provides insights into Toichi's remembrances of his childhood and the first location of his father's nursery business. I couple this with information provided by observations of what currently occupies this area. My goal is to develop a better understanding of what life was like for the Domotos during this time period, and to better comprehend how the Domotos' presence influenced the development of this specific location and the greater surrounding area.

The Domoto's history during this time period provides a case study of the first 25 years of one immigrant's life after relocating to the United States. While the diverse experiences of the 41,356 people of Japanese ethnicity living in California by 1910 (Kelsey 90) were not identical to those of the Domotos, all Japanese immigrants faced similar obstacles. These included a legal system that defined Asian immigrants as "aliens ineligible for citizenship" (Saito 271) and a social and political climate that was hostile towards immigrants, fearful of labor competition, and eager to restrict peoples of particular ethnicities from immigrating in the future. While Japanese immigrants had to navigate through the legally racialized landscapes of California, many, like the Domotos, fueled by their ingenuity, were able to establish influential businesses and thriving homes.

The Home

Toichi was Kanetaro Domoto's first son. In 1908, he was six and lived in one of the upstairs bedrooms of a two-story single family home situated in the midst of the green and lath house range of his father's nursery in East Oakland (see fig.1). In his old age, Toichi remembered this house as having been "...built for nursery convenience" (Domoto 68). The family had private living quarters on the upper level that included enough bedrooms to house Toichi, his parents (Kanetaro and Teru), and his ever-increasing number of younger siblings. The lower level, however, was comprised of larger rooms used to feed the nursery's employees, most of whom were young men in their late teens and early twenties who had recently immigrated to the United States from the Domoto's home prefecture of Wakayama Ken in Japan (Domoto 16)(Kawaguchi 14). The Domotos were dedicated to aiding others of Japanese origin who were relocating to the United States, especially those with who they shared ken affiliation (Light 62). This dedication coupled with the necessity of having many laborers meant providing for a sizable crew (see figure 2) who used the amenities available within the family's private home. An illustration of the possible layout of the Domoto's home is pictured below. This imagined layout is based on information provided within the oral history, the appearance of homes built prior to 1910 still standing within the Melrose and Lockwood Tevis districts of Oakland (Zillow), and floor plans of homes pictured in the 1908-1911 Sears Modern Home Mail Order Catalogue (Sears, Roebuck and Company).

Toichi remembered his mother not being very fond of this situation, and she hoped the family would eventually have a home that would provide more privacy for her family (Domoto 68). This is understandable considering that the ideals of both industrializing Japan and the industrializing West both stressed the importance of family privacy (Ozaki 352). Ozaki has discussed the different implications of this in Japan and England during the 19th and early 20th centuries. She suggests that the avocation of shared private family space is an enduring component of traditional Japanese culture. This is evidenced by the concept of 'ie', which refers to a family's collective values (Ozaki 340) and the fact that while family members traditionally slept together in one large room, they separated themselves from the nonfamily world through the construction of high fences around their property (Ozaki 353). Within Western cultures, the importance of a family's privacy gained popularity in the late 19th century as a result of the growing distinction between spaces meant for home and those meant for work and



Figure 2: Photograph of the nursery crew from the Domoto Family Collection (Kawaguchi 19)

the growing correlation between respectability and isolation (Ozaki 337). For Teru, a woman who would have been familiar with the standards of both traditional Japanese and developing Western mindsets, a downstairs occupied with frequent, noisy, mud-dragging nursery worker foot traffic would not have been ideal.

For six-year-old Toichi, however, life within the nursery must have been exciting. At this time, East Oakland was still a rural, nearly vacant area (see figure 8), and, until Melrose Heights was constructed, Toichi was unable to attend school because the family simply lived too far from schools within the city center (Domoto 30). Instead of attending school, Toichi spent most of his time playing around the nursery (Domoto 29). He often could be found riding proudly in the front seat of the nursery's horse-drawn delivery wagons (see figure 4) (Domoto 281) or following his father around the nursery and "fooling around"(Domoto 8). The nursery provided endless playthings and places to explore, and Toichi readily took advantage of these. For instance, within the oral history, Toichi recalls memories including picking handfuls of buds off of his father's 'Pink Perfection' camellia plants and mimicking his father's cigar smoking by rolling the wormwood weed growing by the creek into cigarettes (Domoto 167). Naturally, many of Toichi's childhood memories featured using the ample supply of plant life provided by the nursery to keep himself amused.

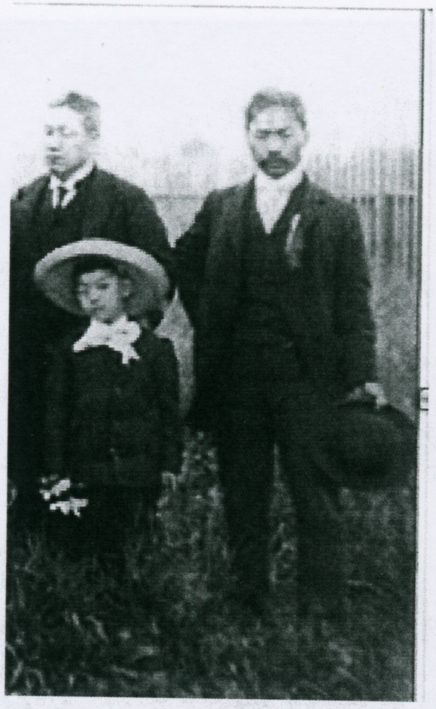


Figure 3: Kanetaro and Toichi From the Domoto Family Collection (Kawaguchi 22)



Figure 4: Toichi on the delivery wagon from the Domoto Family Collection (Kawaguchi 22)

While Toichi didn't attend school during this time period, his parents saw to his education. Toichi remembered his mother Teru wrapping block-shaped wooden scraps left over from greenhouse construction with rice paper and writing the Japanese alphabet on them to provide him with a learning aid (Domoto 65). She also made sure her children celebrated traditional Japanese holidays, such as Girls' Day, and recruited one of the greenhouse carpenters to make a stand and dolls (Domoto 67). It's interesting that many objects, like these, that Toichi recalls within the oral history were the recycled byproducts of the growing nursery. This illustrates the centrality of the nursery business within the Domoto's lives and physical surroundings.

While Toichi enjoyed his life in the nursery, he had no dream of inheriting his father's business or of becoming a nurseryman (Domoto 18). Instead, he found himself interested in the workings of some of the mechanical aspects of the nursery and thought about eventually going into engineering (Domoto19). He had no reason not to believe that he could do anything he wished. Kanetaro had accomplished a tremendous feat. In just over 20 years of living in the United States he had developed a successful business that allowed him to raise his son in a prosperous world filled with thoughts of future possibilities. This accomplishment was

embodied in much of what surrounded young Toichi, including the layout of the Domoto's home and the origin of Toichi's playthings, all of which were objects designed to facilitate the continued growth and success of the family business.

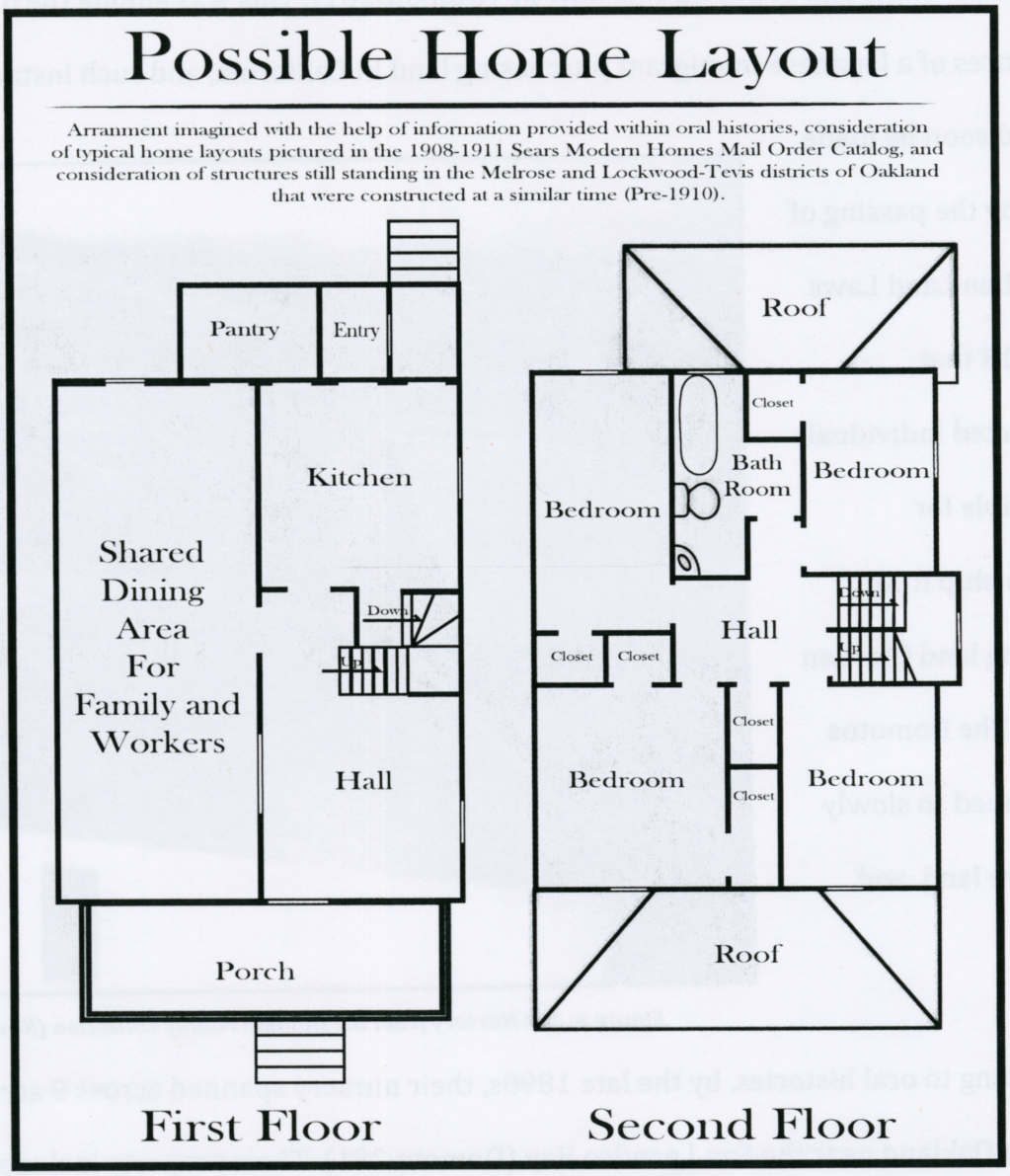


Figure 5: Possible floor plan of the Domotos' home from 1890-1910

The Nursery

Now let's move past the walls of the Domotos' home into the nursery. In the late-1880s, the Domoto Brothers purchased their first small bit of land where Oakland's Third and Grove Streets now lie (Domoto281). This was among the first instances of a Japanese immigrant purchasing land in California, and such instances would soon be made rare by the passing of the Alien Land Laws of 1913 that restricted individuals ineligible for citizenship from owning land (Barkan 453). The Domotos continued to slowly acquire land, and,

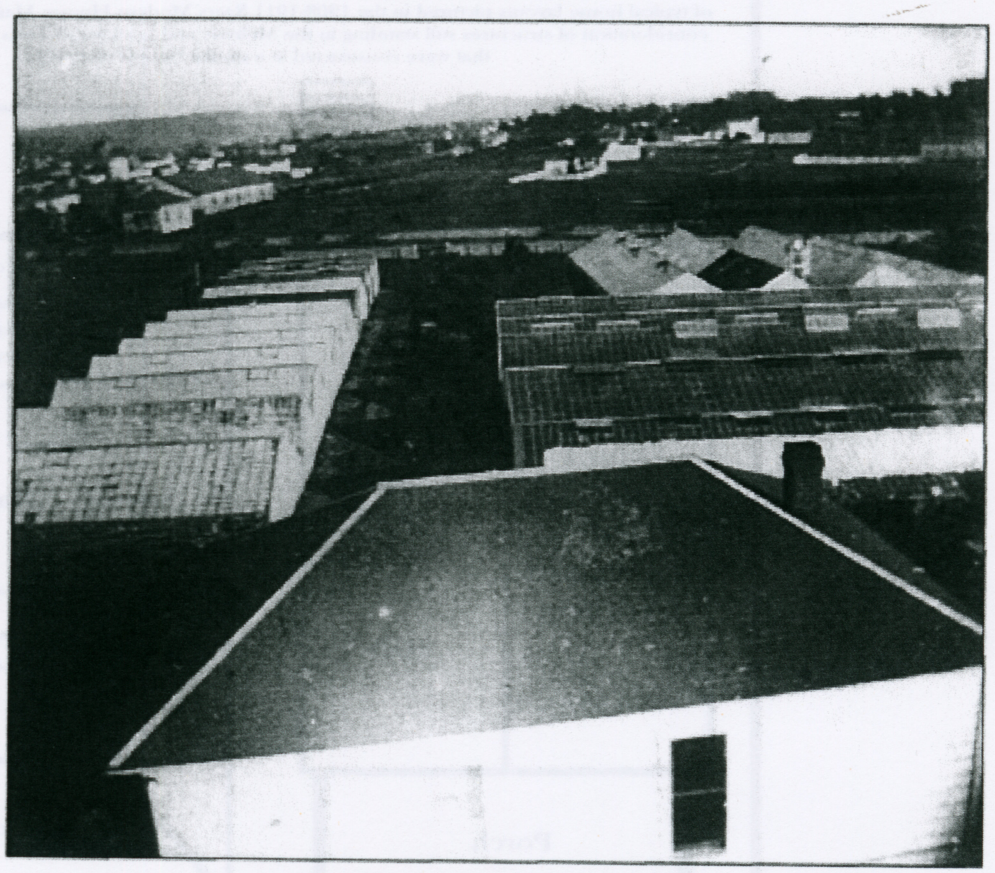


Figure 6: The Nursery from the Domoto Family Collection (Kawaguchi 19)

according to oral histories, by the late 1890s, their nursery spanned across 8 acres of East Oakland near the San Leandro Bay (Domoto 281). Their property included rows of lath-houses and greenhouses, a tank house, and housing for workers (Domoto 61) (see figure 4). The Domotos' property is labeled on the 1905 E.P. Vandercook Co. Real Estate Map (see dark green lots on figure 6). However, these

blocks cover a much smaller area than 8 acres and, potentially, the Domotos may have expanded into one or more of the unowned neighboring lots (see light green lots on figure 6) which are also labeled on the 1905 map (Vandercook).

This nursery had a large impact on the surrounding area by drastically expanding the diversity of the types of plant materials available, influencing the development of new gardening styles, and facilitating the successful movement of young men from Japan to the United States. The nursery was so well known for having trained newly arrived immigrants in horticultural techniques that Caucasian growers deemed it the 'Domoto College' (Domoto 220) (Kawaguchi 14). Kawanguchi reports that, even today, many, "...Bay Area Japanese American flower growers have ancestral roots in Wakayama *ken,* not because of a tradition of flower growing in that area, but, as mentioned before, because of the patronage of the Domotos, who trained and helped start their fellow *kenjin* in their farms."

The buildings of the nursery during this period were filled with chrysanthemums and carnations being grown as cut flowers, seasonal flowering pot plants (such as holiday peppers, poinsettias, and Easter lilies), and imported plants from Japan, Holland, Belgium, and Australia such as azaleas, camellias, bulb flowers, and boxwood and baytrees trained into different shapes, (Domoto 281). From Japan specifically, large numbers of camellias, daphne, aspidistra, persimmon trees, Japanese pear, summer plums, and chestnuts were imported (Domoto 6). One imported species that eventually became especially popular was the *Camellia*

japonica `Usu-Otome,' that Kanetaro renamed `Pink Perfection' (Domoto 29).

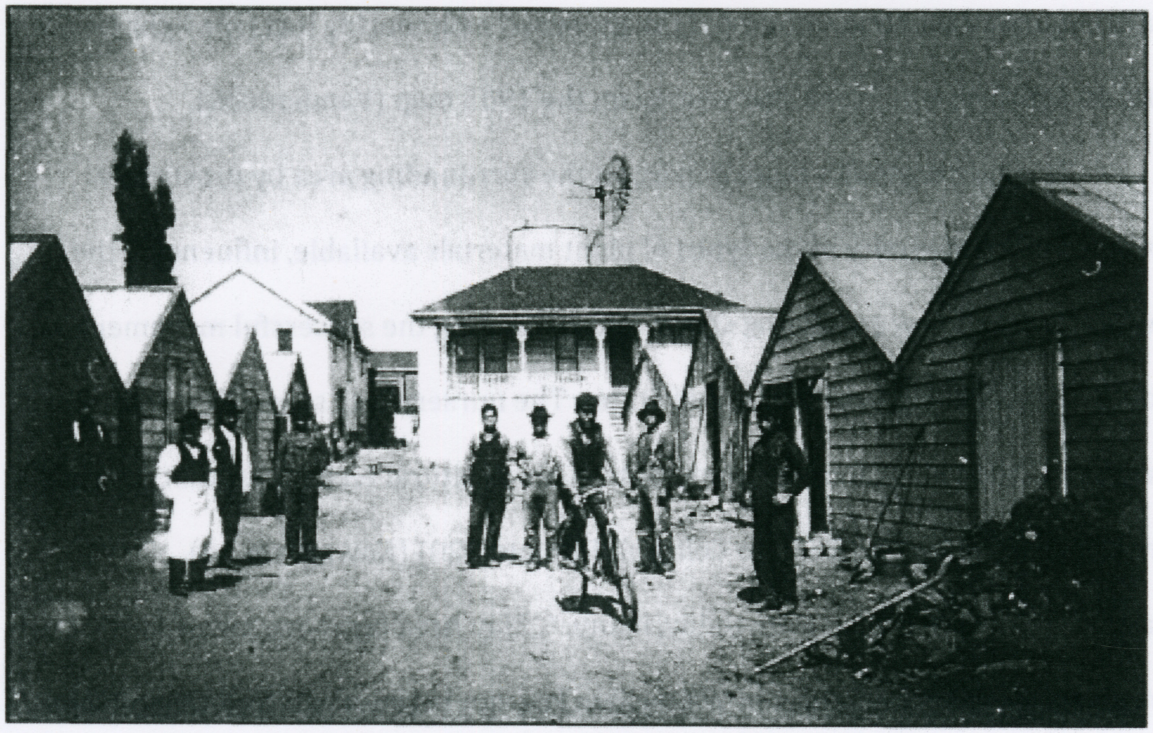


Figure 7: Workers and the nursery from the Domoto Family Collection (Kawaguchi 22)

Especially during the early years of the Domoto Brothers' nursery business, prior to the Quarantine laws of 1917 that restricted importation, the business was largely dependent, not on the cultivating of plants from seeds, but on the importing, fostering, and resale of young, exotic plants. Toichi remembered plants during this period arriving in large crates that had to be unpacked (Domoto 6). Many of these plants were not directly sold to individuals, but were purchased by other Californian nurseries for planting (Domoto 6). These plants then would be extensively duplicated within these other nurseries and then vastly distributed.

What Surrounded the Nursery

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the urban grid had not completely extended into the area surrounding the nursery. The Domotos had few neighbors and considered their surroundings to be rural (Domoto18). The age of standing structures currently in the area can be found by searching for addresses on real estate websites such as zillow.com and most date to between 1910-1925, during the period when the area became fully developed and after the Domotos had relocated. However, a handful of structures that pre-date 1910 do exist (see the red areas on Figure 2—concentrated along 52nd and 53rd Avenues). These are structures the Domotos would have seen on a daily basis and, given the sparseness of the neighborhood, they likely would have been acquainted with the pre-1910 inhabitants of these buildings. There were probably a small number of additional homes in this area prior to 1910 that have since been torn down or replaced, but the sparse arrangement of the homes from this period that are still standing gives us an idea of how empty this area was at the time of the Domotos' occupation.

While still devoid of tightly-packed residences, the area did include buildings related to other emergent industries. Very near to the Domotos' land, there was a fuse manufacturing company that would daily announce its opening, closing, and lunch hour with loud whistle blasts. Toichi knew he was born at exactly noon on December 11, 1902 in his parents' home because his mother told him the fuse company's whistle blasted at the precise instant he was born (Domoto 1).

Industries such as these and the Domotos' nursery located on the outskirts of the city of Oakland enjoyed access to rapidly developing transportation infrastructures that allowed them to develop impressive and complex networks of

connections both locally and internationally. Bay Area residents wishing to purchase a Japanese plant that had been safely shipped during its dormant season by a boat arriving through the port of San Francisco or a Belgian-grown plant recently shipped in a boxcar from New York (Domoto 282) could do so by making a quick trip to the Domoto nursery via multiple public transportation routes. The 1892 *Descriptive Catalogue of Japanese Plants and Shrubs*, issued by the "Domoto Bros. Proprietors" provided directions regarding many different ways of reaching the nursery—from the "Broad or Narrow Gauge" of Oakland and San Francisco Railroads, the ferry, the Hayward, Oakland, and Berkeley electric cars, or by overland train (Domoto 281).

Age of Contemporary Homes In the Area Surrounding the Location of the Domoto Brother's First Nursery

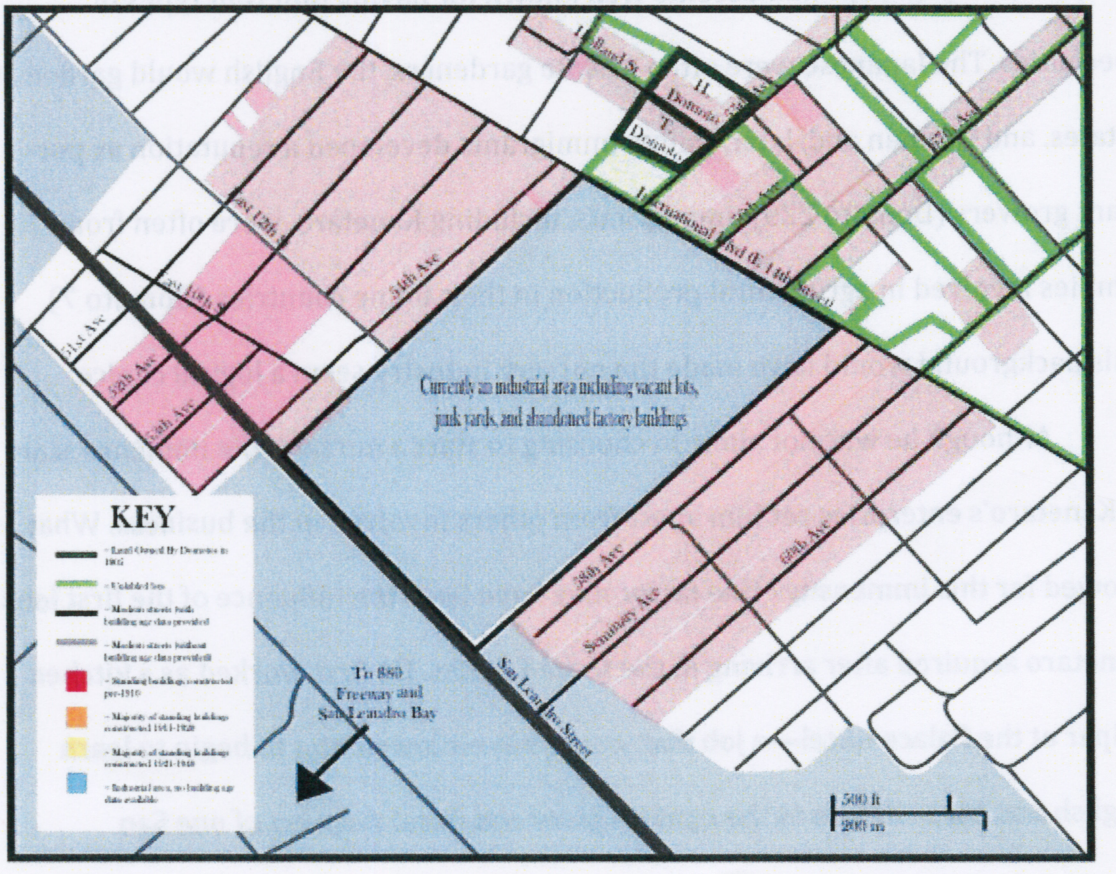


Figure 8: Age of contemporary homes in the area surrounding the location of the Domoto Brothers' First Nursery

What led to the nursery's creation?

Kanetaro had immigrated in 1883 (Domoto 281), at a time when only around 100 Japanese immigrants were living in San Francisco and Oakland (Kawaguchi 15). After immigrating, Kanetaro, like many immigrants, became involved in horticulture. Unlike many other types of employment that proved less accessible because of racism (Kawaguchi 15), nursery work and gardening were welcoming to peoples of all different backgrounds. Toichi remembered that different ethnic groups had become well known for having different types of specialties. The Japanese were often private gardeners, the English would garden at estates, and German and, later, Italian immigrants developed a reputation as pot-plant growers (Domoto 229). Immigrants, including Kanetaro, were often from families involved in agricultural production in their home countries (Domoto 7) This background would have made the nursery industry seem a logical choice.

Although he was not alone in choosing to start a nursery, the immense scale of Kanetaro's enterprise set him apart from others involved in the business. What allowed for this immensity? One factor may have been the influence of the first jobs Kanetaro acquired after arriving in the United States. He first worked as a kitchen helper at the Palace Hotel—a job that would have allowed him to begin to learn English and bare witness to the opulent plant and floral displays of one San Francisco's most sumptuous destinations (Domoto 7 and 292). He then worked near the infamous Cliff house as a gardener at the Sutro Family's estate (Domoto 7). While working here and living in the worker cottages provided by the Sutro family,

Kanetaro would have extended his knowledge of plants and gardening, and also would have learned much about how to house and organize large groups of workers.

According Toichi's descriptions of his father, it seems that another factor that greatly contributed to the nursery's exceptional degree of success was Kanetaro's personality. He was quickly able to pick up new skill sets (Domoto 3), was willing to take risks (Domoto 281), had a shrewd sense for which risks to take (Domoto 291), and was driven by his wish to help other Japanese Americans as they started new lives in the US (Kawaguchi 14). Kawaguchi describes these traits as common within the Issei generation. As he describes their effect on the California Flower Market, he writes, "Issei men and women had the farthest ranging vision of how the industry would grow, the greatest life of challenge and risk, and the luck to start at the bottom floor" (Kawaguchi ix). From the time of his first experimental business venture that involved importing a number of Japanese Satsuma oranges and selling them to passers-by on the streets of San Fransisco, Kanetaro exhibited these traits (Domoto 10). Through such experiments, Kanetaro was able to quickly expand his revenue by continuously developing importation projects that required larger investments and delivered greater returns. Of course, this tactic of earning money was inherently chancy, and occasionally money was lost. For instance, after ordering a larger shipment of Satsuma oranges the second time, they rotted in transit, and Kanetaro was not only out of a profit but didn't have enough money to pay the cleaning costs and so had to wash the ship's hold himself (Domoto 10).

Such experiences drove Kanetaro and his family to look into ways of easing losses. Quickly after establishing his business and remarkably soon after learning

English, he familiarized himself with the workings of the American legal system and, along with his brothers and others within the Japanese community, frequently fought to make sure he received what he believed to be fair treatment. Records of court hearings reveal that the Domoto Brothers wanted to keep the importation costs of both plants (Payne 3627) and Japanese goods (Shaw 545) at a minimum. While reducing the costs of plant importation would have increased the nursery's profits, making sure Japanese goods were affordable would have enhanced the quality of life of the nursery's employees and other Japanese Americans in the surrounding community.

The Domoto Brothers were an important example within the Japanese Association of America's artfully developed argument presented to the Committee on Ways and Means in the House of Representatives in 1908. The Domotos, at the time "...the largest importers of nursery stock on the Pacific Coast", argued that many plants could not be grown in the in the United States and must instead be "...kept in foreign ground" for a number of years, imported at a young age, and then matured (Payne 3627). High tariffs as well as the risk of plants perishing in transit and leaving importers out the cost of the plant, the freight, and the customs duty made this endeavor unprofitable and stunted the growth of the industry (Payne 3627). If tariffs were lowered and imported plants could become less expensive, the Japanese Association of America promised that it would "...tend to beautify the homes and gardens of people in moderate circumstances, who, at the present time, find it too expensive to have the better class of plants in their gardens" (Payne 3628). Similarly, in 1905 the Domoto Brothers requested that they only be charged

duties for the sake that they successfully imported and not that which, "...leaked out of casks in transit"(Shaw 545). The Department of the Treasury granted this request. The Domotos also made unsuccessful attempts to lower the cost importing other Japanese goods including "bibulous paper" (Shaw 27) and "millet seed cake"(Shaw 36).

Remaining Legacy

The exact location of the first Domoto Brothers' nursery (see dark green lots on figure 6) is now a residential block. Near these blocks, a cement culvert accommodates the water that previously comprised the Seminary Creek system (see fig. 7), the closest creek system to the 55th Avenue and E 14th Street intersection. The nursery was located alongside a creek, and this culvert seems to mark this creek's present day location. Wormwood weed, the same plant Toichi used to roll into cigarettes and pretend to smoke as a boy, can still be found growing in small quantities alongside the culvert (see fig. 8).

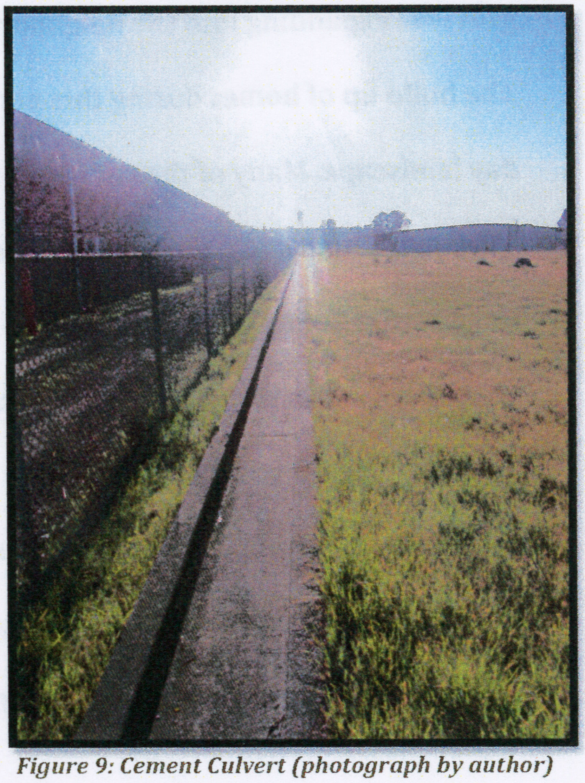


Figure 9: Cement Culvert (photograph by author)



Figure 10: Wormwood weed growing by the cement culvert (photograph by author)

In 1910, the Domoto family relocated from this location to a different area of Oakland (discussed in the following chapter). This move was made because Oakland was growing, partly due to the number of displaced San Franciscans who relocated to Oakland after the earthquake of 1906 (Fradkin 182), and the densely packed urban grid was expanding into the neighborhood surrounding the nursery (Domoto 282). The build up of homes during this period is still clearly visible within the modern day landscape. Many of the surviving homes built prior to the Domotos' move in 1910 are within close proximity to the nursery's location (see fig. 2) and it's easy to imagine the Domotos feeling that this location no longer allowed them the opportunity to expand. Also, the majority of the homes in this area were constructed between 1910-1930 (see fig. 2), immediately after the nursery's relocation. By moving, the Domotos avoided being completely surrounded by densely packed residential streets, and, potentially, their move may have helped to facilitate this area's transformation into developed urban residential space.

Although the area of the first Domoto Brothers' nursery is identifiable and possesses some markers of the Domotos' occupation, the true remaining artifacts are found in private and professional gardens throughout the Bay Area. While the Domotos' influence within horticultural practices is not the focus of my study, discussions with Elaine Sedlack, a horticulturist who specializes in Asian plant materials employed at the UC Berkeley Botanical Garden, have made it apparent that many of the plants introduced and popularized by the Domotos are still prevalent and can currently be found throughout Bay Area cities. Elaine described the Camilla japonica hybrids that the Domotos popularized, such as 'Pink Perfection', as "ubiquitous in home gardens and public arboreta" (Sedlack). She also asserted that these flowers have come to be recognized as one of the unique and beautiful aspects of life in this area and that people consider these to be "Berkeley plants" (Sedlack). Very likely, Karl Shapiro was admiring Camilla plants descended from those introduced by the Domotos as he wrote, "It is winter in California, and outside/ is like the interior of a flowershop: a chilled and moisture-laden crop/ of pink camellias lines the path/...It is raining in California, a straight rain/...Waxing the dark camellia leaves more green" (Shapiro 33). Perhaps, artful descriptions, such as these, that pay homage to the plant types raised in quantity by the Domotos, are some of the most valuable means of trying to picture what it must have been like to stand within one of the Domotos' greenhouses in 1908.

Chapter 3: 1910-1929; A Victorian Style Home at 'The New Ranch'

The Domotos' success prior to 1910 allowed them to radically expand their business after relocating to the area they deemed 'The New Ranch'. As the business was growing, so were the Domoto children and, one after another, they finished high school and entered college. Within this chapter, I will describe the family's new home and location and talk about how the organization of this space reflected the Domotos' ambitious plans for their family, their workers, and their business.

This time period of the Domotos' history is a case study that allows us to consider an example of how a successful immigrant family chose to expend the products of their prior accomplishments and chose to respond to heightening levels of hostility toward Japanese Americans on the West Coast. As I relate this history and examine the remaining documentary and physical evidence related to this time period, I seek to understand what the family's priorities were and what actions they took to accomplish their goals. I also contemplate how, through striving for these things, the Domotos influenced, not only their own life course, but also the landscapes that surrounded them.

The Home

In 1902, the Domoto family purchased 48 acres around where 78th Avenue and Olive Street now meet in Oakland (Domoto 282). In 1910, they moved both their business and family to this new location that provided six times more space than had their previous property. Also, this new land was in one consolidated chunk and not disjointed into small plots purchased slowly through time, as had been their previous land holdings. The acquirement of this neatly contiguous property area

that allowed for the development a far larger and more organized home and business arrangement is indicative of the family's increased financial strength and purchasing power during this time period.

The christening of the property as "The New Ranch" is interesting since the term ranch typically refers to lands devoted to cattle farming. Starrs aptly describes the ranching frontier of the West as "... a familiar and evocative landscape of the mind" (Starrs xiii). The Domotos would have been familiar with the typical meanings and images associated with this word and equating their business to a ranch was an acknowledgement of their business as a source of pride and prosperity. Also, calling the nursery a ranch wasn't too much of a stretch. The Domotos' business did share many characteristics with a typical cattle ranch. Both featured what could be considered a gemeinschaft social structure (Jobes 220), a reliance and pride in the land and what was produced from it, and a hope that the property would be passed on to future generations who would enjoy and benefit from it (Jobes 222).

Also at this time, Teru's desires to have a home that provided more privacy for her family were satisfied, and the Domotos moved into a near three story Victorian style home complete with scalloped eves, two porches, a large living room, and a study room (Domoto 68). Although this structure no longer exists, it is clear from the surviving photographs that the building was an immense source of pride for the family who dressed formally and posed in front of the structure at different stages of its construction (see figures 11 and 12). Also, a separate kitchen and dining

building was constructed for the use of the nursery employees and this allowed the home to be more exclusively used by the family.

Although an impressive structure, the Domotos' new home was still in many ways more utilitarian than was the typical Victorian. Often, a family helped to plan the design of the home so that it suited their particular needs and tastes, but Kanataro's brother and his wife had selected this building's design and had intended it to be their first home as newlyweds. The Domotos received the building when Mitsunoshin got Tuberculosis and returned to Japan with his wife without ever having lived in the house (Domoto 67-68). The Domotos felt that the location of the house was not close enough to the greenhouses of the nursery and so they moved the structure 6 blocks from 78th street to other side of the property. This move, which must have taken considerable effort, is an indication that being within close proximity to the nursery's work area and facilitating the smooth functioning of the business were still the family's first priorities, over family privacy.

After moving to the New Ranch, eight-year-old Toichi started third grade at Lockwood Grammar School. Initially, school was difficult since the English he knew was comprised only of useful phrases like "...go to the toilet" (Domoto 30). Also, while the people who Toichi encountered while living at the 55th Avenue location had been predominantly Japanese, his new school had a diverse student population (Domoto 32). It was while playing in the schoolyard that Toichi first experienced racism when he was occasionally referred to as a "skippy yellow-bellied Jap" (Domoto 32-33). After adjusting to school, Toichi excelled and was supported by his parents who helped him with his lessons (Domoto 30) and gave him few chores

aside from his schoolwork (Domoto 218). The study room also demonstrates Kanetaro and Teru's dedication to the education of their children, since it was their only known contribution to the design of their home. They partitioned an existing room to create this specialized space for reading (Domoto 68).



Figure 11: The Domotos' home at the New Ranch before it was completely finished from the Domoto Family Collection (Kawaguchi)



Figure 12: The finished Victorian from the Domoto family collection (Kawaguchi)

The Nursery

The scale of the Domotos' business was greatly increased in this new location. The property included 25 three quarter span greenhouses (the largest of which was 28 by 200 feet in size) (Domoto 12) and a 22-room bunkhouse for employees (Domoto 303). All of these buildings were organized in orderly rows (see figures 13 and 14). During this time period, the Domotos employed approximately 20 people who lived on the property. The majority were young, single men recently arrived from Japan, but special accommodations were also provided for the occasional married couple (Domoto 303). Ben Pease, professional mapmaker and creator of the website japantownatlas.com has commented on how, after having grown used to the size of the typical Japanese Nursery business of the period being about a square block (see figure 15), encountering the over 40 acre span of the Domoto Brothers' Nursery recorded on Sanborn fire insurance maps was striking (see figure 16)(Pease 2013).

This massive business continued to be successful under the direction of Kanetaro who was a truly shrewd businessman. One of Toichi's remembrances that highlights his father's finesse for business is the memory of Kanetaro's reputation for having fluctuating prices based upon what type of car a customer was driving. One humorous customer teased Kanetaro about this by leaving his chauffer at home and showing up at the nursery driving his car himself in hopes of getting a lower price. Toichi remembered Kanetaro being very amused by this, and both he and the customer had shared a good laugh (Domoto 342).



Figure 13: The New Ranch property from the Domoto Family Collection (Kawaguchi)



Figure 14: The New Ranch-- home and green houses from the Domoto Family Collection (Kawaguchi)

Although the business continued to be a success, legislations passed during this time period threatened the family's ability to import nursery stock, find workers, and buy and own land. Plant Quarantine 37, meant to inhibit the importation of plant pests, came into effect in 1912 (United States Plant Pest Control and Plant Quarantine Division 112). This meant that all imported plants had to be free of soil, and the Domotos could only import for propagating purposes (Domoto 192). This posed a big challenge, and the business had to be drastically altered since, prior to this point, it had been almost entirely dependent on the importing of young plants.

Other legal threats to the Domotos' advancement were more racially discriminatory in nature. The Immigration Act of 1924, described by Ngai as having helped to create an architecture of race within the American legal system, (Ngai 67) established national origin quotas for future immigration and created a hierarchy based on the desirability of peoples of different nationalities (Ngai 67). This act defined Japanese immigrants, along with Chinese and South Asian immigrants, as "...ineligible to citizenship" and, since peoples ineligible for citizenship could not legally immigrate, the 100-person quota prescribed to Japan could only be utilized by the non-Japanese living within the country (Ngai 73). This act "...codified the principle of racial exclusion" (Ngai 81) and effectively halted all Japanese immigration. This greatly affected the Domotos who, up until this point, had employed almost purely Japanese men who had recently immigrated. Even more detrimental to the Domotos' business was the 1913 Alien Land Law that denied those racially ineligible to naturalization the privilege of owning and buying land

(Aoki 38). There were ways around this rule. For example, a corporation with 50 percent citizen shareholders could acquire land. The Domotos utilized this method and, in 1913, the business became Domoto Brothers Incorporated (Domoto 83).

The Domotos felt the heightened discrimination of this period in more personal ways as well. Toichi remembered multiple instances in which shipments were returned without crates ever having been opened with notes claiming that that the plants were infested with pests (Domoto 36). Kanetaro didn't understand how the supposedly mealy worm infested cyclamen and primroses could have been inspected without the crates having been opened, and Toichi was certain that these shipments had been returned for discriminatory reasons (Domoto 36).

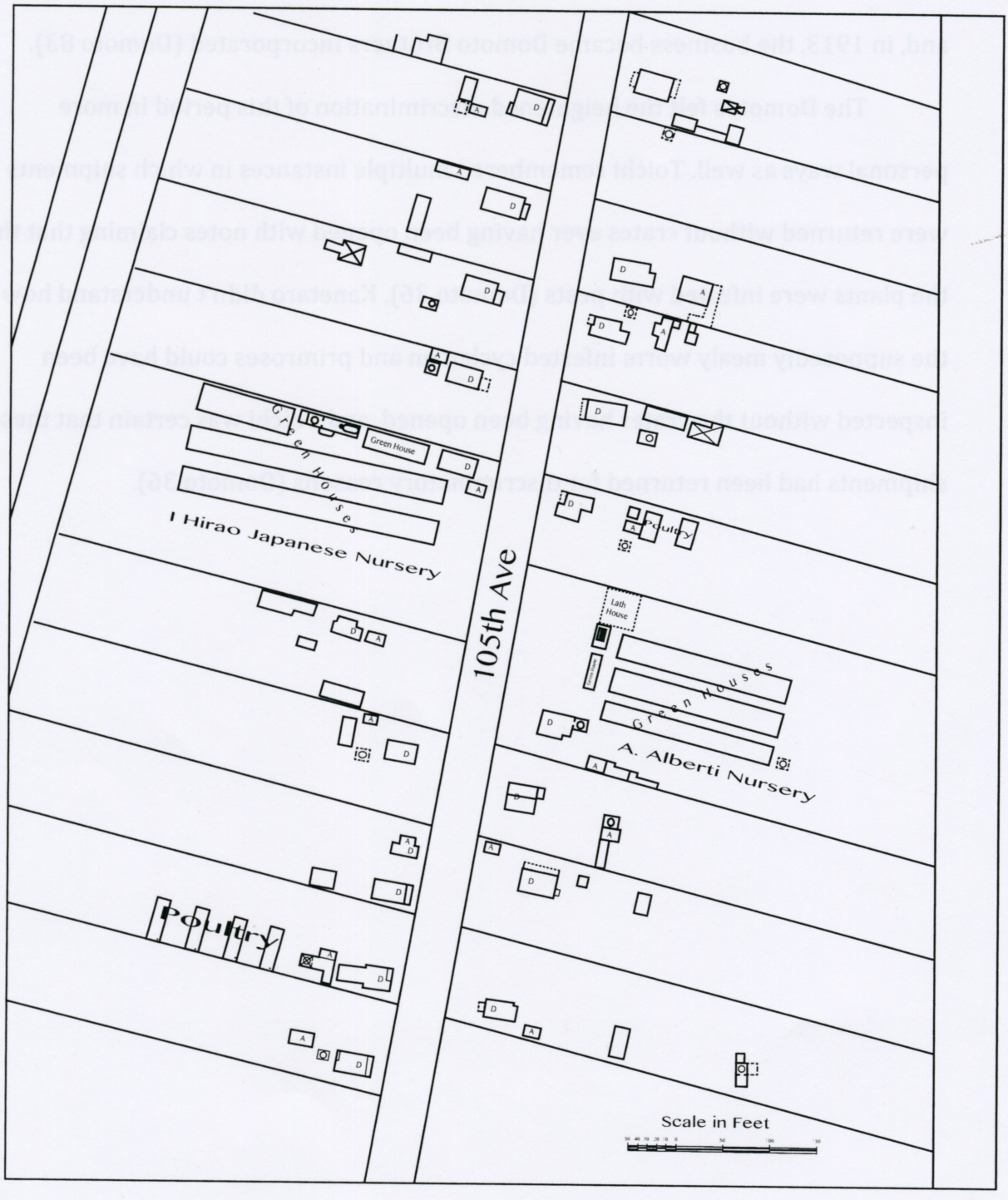


Figure 15: Scaled map of Hirao and Alberti properties 1925-1929 (Information provided by Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps)

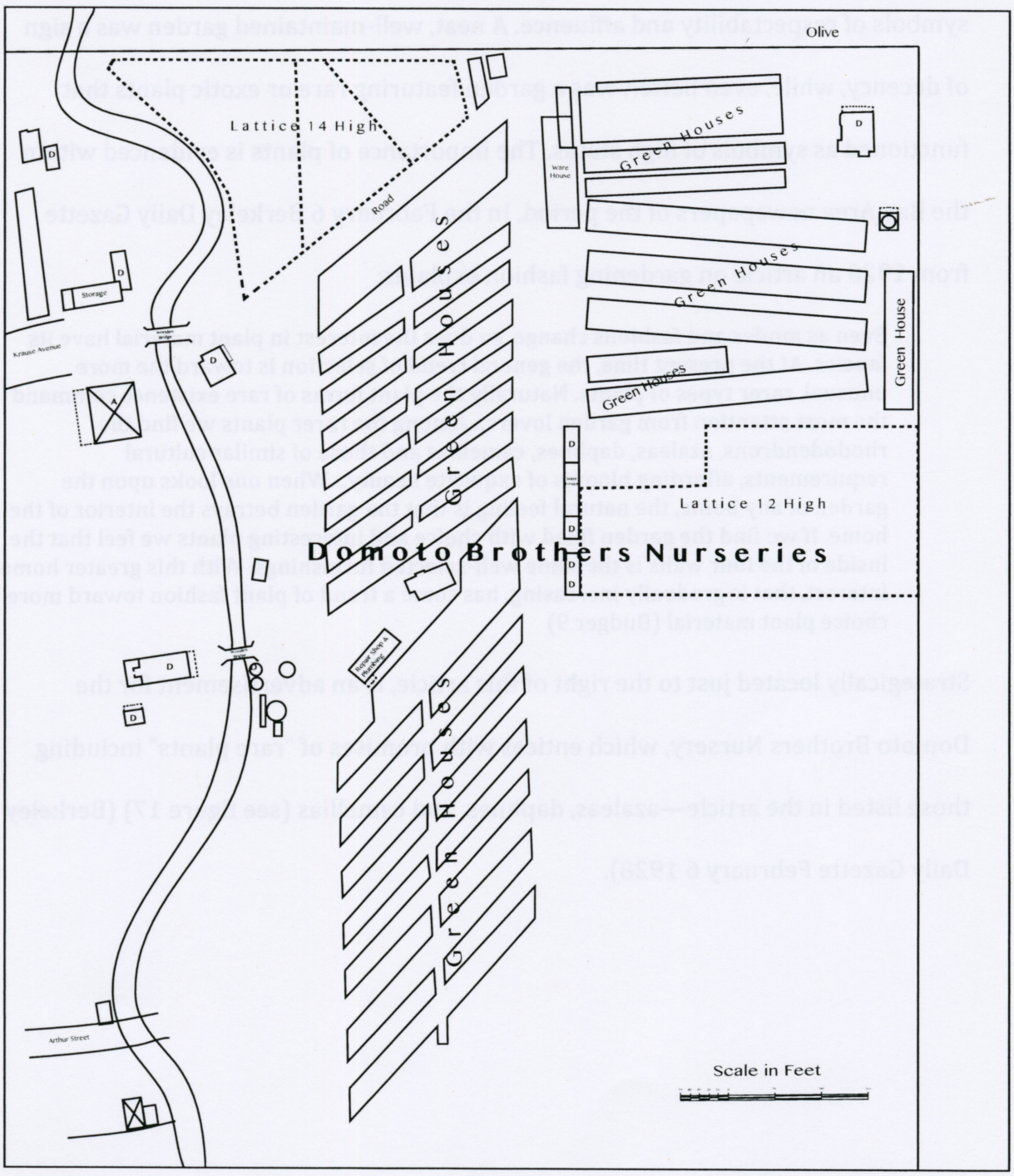


Figure 16: Scaled map of the Domoto Brothers property in 1925-1929 (Information provided by Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps)

What Surrounded the Nursery

Plants, as a part of early twentieth-century material culture, were important symbols of respectability and affluence. A neat, well-maintained garden was a sign of decency, while, even better, was a garden featuring rare or exotic plants that functioned as symbols of high status. The importance of plants is evidenced within the Bay Area newspapers of the period. In the February 6 Berkeley Daily Gazette from 1928 an article on gardening fashion explains:

> Even as modes and fashions change, so does the interest in plant material have its fancies. At the present time, the general trend of selection is toward the more unusual, rarer types of plants. Naturally the plant forms of rare existence command the most attention from garden lovers...Among the rarer plants we find the rhododendrons, azaleas, daphnes, camellias and those of similar cultural requirements, affording blooms of exquisite beauty...When one looks upon the garden of any home, the natural feeling is that the garden betrays the interior of the home. If we find the garden filled with choice and interesting plants we feel that the inside of the four walls is the same well-selected furnishings. With this greater home interest, that is gradually increasing, has come a trend of plant fashion toward more choice plant material (Budger 9)

Strategically located just to the right of this article, is an advertisement for the Domoto Brothers Nursery, which entices with promises of "rare plants" including those listed in the article—azaleas, daphnes, and camellias (see figure 17) (Berkeley Daily Gazette February 6 1928).

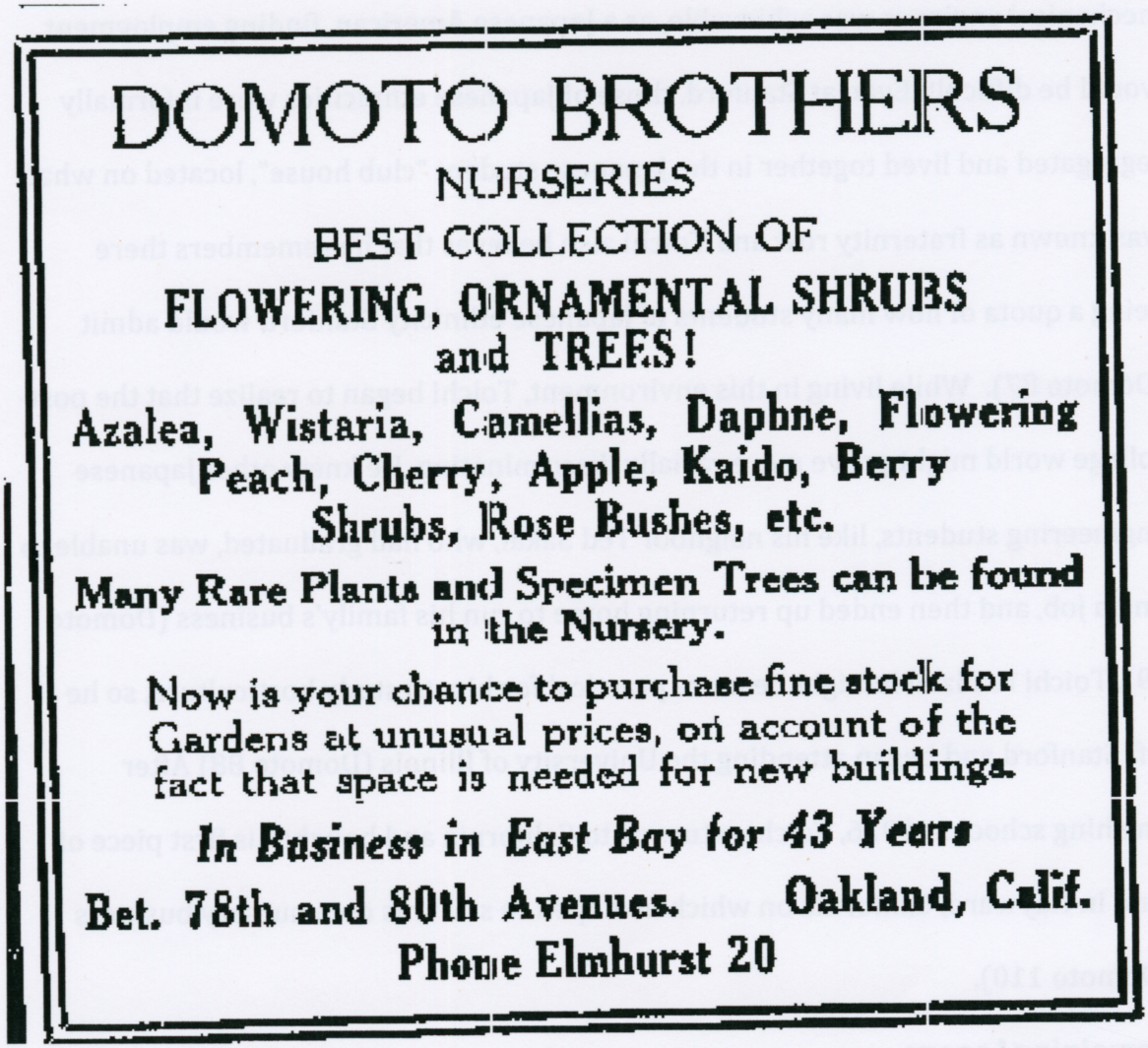


Figure 17: Advertisement from the Berkeley Daily Gazette February 6 1928

As was highlighted in Kanetaro's short biography in the *Granada Pioneer*, each of the eight Domoto children received a college education, and it was a family priority to support them as they did so (Granada Pioneer 6). The communities surrounding the nursery offered many universities from which to select. Members of the family attended UC Berkeley, Stanford, Mills College, and the California College of Arts and Crafts. It was during his attendance at Stanford that Toichi Domoto began to realize that while getting an education that prepared him to be a

mechanical engineer was achievable, as a Japanese American, finding employment would be difficult. Even at Stanford, those of Japanese ethnicities were informally segregated and lived together in the Japanese student "club house", located on what was known as fraternity row and Toichi also believes that he remembers there being a quota of how many students of Japanese ethnicity Stanford would admit (Domoto 87). While living in this environment, Toichi began to realize that the post-college world might prove more racially discriminating. He knew other Japanese engineering students, like his neighbor Ted Sakai, who had graduated, was unable to find a job, and then ended up returning home to run his family's business (Domoto 19). Toichi realized it might be more practical for him to study horticulture, so he left Stanford and began attending the University of Illinois (Domoto 88) After finishing school in 1926, Toichi returned to California and bought his first piece of land in Hayward, California on which he hoped to start his own nursery business (Domoto 110).

Remaining Legacy

As you drive down Krause Avenue in East Oakland, you are struck by the density of the single story homes that take up almost the entirety of the long narrow blocks. The same organization of lots and homes exists throughout the majority of Oakland's residential areas. As you drive, Arroyo Viejo, a sizable green space that has been spared the fate of becoming part of the surrounding urban sprawl, interrupts this pattern. This park, the product of a WPA project, marks the location of the Domotos' New Ranch, which kept the land open while all other surrounding areas, became tightly packed residential streets. A row of cypress trees, a likely

landscaping feature of the nursery that survived into the park-era (suggested by Ben Pease), is the only lasting relic of this location's time as a booming nursery business.

Chapter 3: 1929-1943; The Depression House, Kaneji's Famous Gardens, and Toichi's Bungalow

As a result of the 1929 stock market crash, the Domotos lost the entirety of their Oakland property, home, and business (Domoto 101). While most Americans faced comparable hardships during this time period, the Domoto's history provides an example that illuminates the additional hardships faced by members of ethnicities targeted through racism and discrimination. Prior to 1929, hostile feelings toward Asian immigrants were largely related to fears of job market saturation and, therefore, the depression (accompanied by rising unemployment rates) exacerbated these already existing hostilities. Within this chapter, I will discuss how the Domotos responded to these situations.

The depression threatened not only the success of the Domotos' business, but also the family's aspirations of supporting all 8 children as they obtained a college education. The younger siblings, who at this time were students, halted their educations in order to find employment. Throughout these difficulties, the family maintained a strong commitment to supporting one another. Toichi, who had already earned a college degree and was managing to keep his own newly created business afloat, took it upon himself to find lodgings for the displaced members of his family. After leaving UC Berkeley, Kaneji resourcefully networked his way into becoming involved in what would soon become world-renowned gardening and architecture projects. Through the Domotos' combined efforts, the family managed to regain financial success and remain an influential presence within Bay Area horticulture. In fact, a much greater physical legacy attributed to the Domotos' activities remains from this time period than from those that came previously. I

argue that this is because the demands of this period's financial crisis pushed the Domotos to branch out and move beyond the production of planting materials into new arenas of contributing to the development of urban green space and evolving American stylistic trends.

The Depression House

Once the Oakland property was lost, Toichi, now 27, wanted to purchase a home for his father and sisters. He began looking for places near his nursery in Hayward, but even though many homes were for sale, Toichi was unable to purchase one in his own name because as soon as sellers found out an Asian family was buying, they would refuse to sell (Domoto 103). Eventually, a friend agreed to purchase a building for him, and Toichi's family moved in. Little is known about the layout or size of 825 Alice Street, but it was an interesting arrangement in that it housed Kanetaro and many of his adult children who had been living on the own prior to the financial crisis. Toichi recalled that the neighbors would "...sort of talk" and he remembers there not being "...any show of extra friendliness", yet, no one in this area was "...an antagonist" (Domoto 104-105). In the downtown area of the young city of Hayward, however, Toichi remembered there being many people who were "...anti" and the family "...in most cases tried to avoid going to town" (Domoto 104).

The loss of his business greatly effected Kanataro. Toichi explained that although his father, "...didn't express himself" the experience "...broke his health"

and was considered a "...dishonor" (Domoto 103-104). Toichi explained how he assumed the role of supporting the family during this time:

> I used to go to the flower market, and there were a few gladiolus growers around here that were growing gladiolus for the bulbs, and also they would sell the flowers, and I used to buy the flowers from them and take them over to the San Francisco market and sell them. And I still don't know. Some days my total cash intake, after paying for the flowers, I had less than three dollars to help feed the family. (Domoto 101)

Swapping plants for goods was another way the family survived the depression. Although not all neighbors were friendly, some were. For example, Toichi remembered the Portuguese Apricot farmer from the Azores who lived next door as being especially helpful (Domoto 102). The demographics of 1929 Hayward were much different then were those of Oakland. Although the area of East Oakland that the Domotos had called home had been rural when they first inhabited the area, by the time they lost the property, the city was large and their surroundings were quite urban and cosmopolitan. 1929 Hayward, on the other hand, was a much smaller and less diverse community, and it makes sense that the few minority residents living in the area would collaborate.

The Domotos and the WPA

When they went bankrupt, the Domotos had been in the process of downsizing and had an agreement with a buyer, but the city of Oakland put pressure on their bank, and the bank foreclosed on the property before it was sold (Domoto 101). As soon as the Domotos lost the property, the city bought it, and the Works Project Administration turned it into the Arroyo Viejo Recreation Center (Domoto 101). It would have been understandable if the Domotos had been bitter about the fate of their previous property and unsympathetic towards the future efforts of the

WPA. However, this was not the case, and when the WPA sought nurseries to contribute planting material to their projects, the Domotos volunteered. Toichi donated a row of deodar cedars to be planted along McArthur near Mills College. He felt that Mills College would be a good recipient of the trees since so many of his sisters and cousins had been students there (Domoto 122). In addition to donating the trees, the Domotos' employees ended up having to instruct the WPA workers on how to properly transplant large plants since they had had no previous experience (Domoto 122). This instance illustrates how, even after having suffered great personal losses, in part because of the city's questionable actions, the Domotos were eager to contribute to the beauty and green spaces within surrounding communities. Toichi's deodar cedars have been a lasting feature within the landscapes of Oakland and the trees still handsomely tower over McArthur (see figure 18).

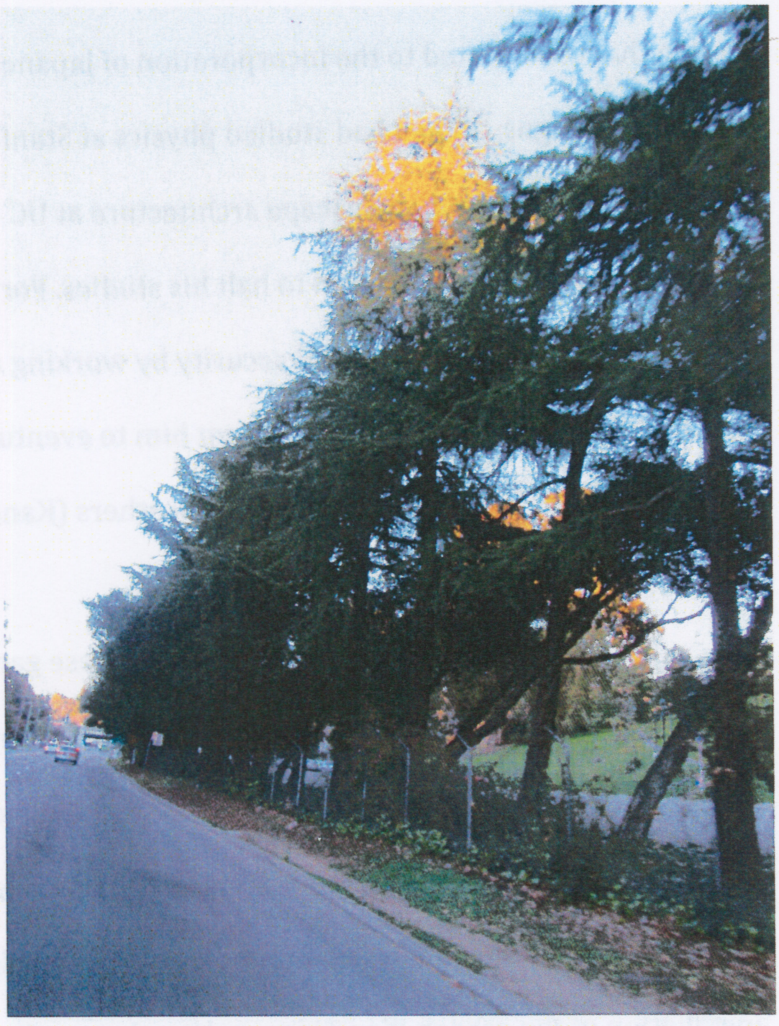


Figure 18: Cedars along McArthur (photograph by author)

The Evolution of Kaneji's Artistic Style

The depression greatly affected the life path of Kaneji, Toichi's younger brother. Although he was pushed in slightly different directions than he may have been otherwise, the result was a lifelong career in landscape architecture and home design that contributed to the incorporation of Japanese style influences within American designs. Kaneji had studied physics at Stanford for two years and then had transferred to study landscape architecture at UC Berkeley. After two years here, the depression forced him to halt his studies. For the next seven years he helped his family regain financial security by working at his brother's nursery. He was hopeful that his brother might want him to eventually be a part owner so that the business could again be the Domoto Brothers (Kaneji Domoto 2). When this did not occur, he left to seek other opportunities.

Kaneji's first training in traditional Japanese gardening came from working with the group of gardeners sent by the Japanese government to design the Japanese garden portion of the 1939 International Exposition located on Treasure Island in San Francisco (Domoto 59) (Kaneji Domoto 2). This group hired the sons of Japanese nurserymen living around the Bay Area to help with the manual installation of the garden. Kaneji was selected to work under the man who specialized in the proper placement of rocks (Domoto 60). Kaneji was asked to accompany this same group to the 1940 New York International Exposition to help create another Japanese garden display (Domoto 59). Such exhibits sparked the American public's interest in foreign cultures and led to the heightened popularity

of exotic styles. This would be the first of many times that Kaneji would act as a type of moderator between Japanese artistic traditions and the American public—this time in a very literal way, by using his very basic Japanese language skills to help these gardeners from Japan communicate with others and create a garden in the United States that would be visited by thousands.

While working for the Japanese gardeners, Kaneji boldly wrote a letter to Frank Lloyd Wright asking if he would take him on as an apprentice. Kaneji explained this experience stating:

> "After working a few months there, I said, "Gee, I read about Frank Lloyd Wright, so I guess I'll write to him and ask him to admit me as an apprentice." So when I wrote to him, he said "come on out". I had a Model A Ford at that time and I took that car going 35 miles an hour, chugging my way to Wisconsin. And I got there on time" (Kaneji Domoto 3)

Frank Lloyd Wright drew heavily from Japanese artistic styles (Nute 2), and it isn't surprising that he would have been interested in taking on young Kaneji who had been raised in a Japanese nursery, had had an introduction to landscape architecture at UC Berkeley, and had just been trained by gardening specialists sent by the government of Japan. However, Wright's version of reworking Japanese styles into American trends was quite different from those encouraged by the displays at the World's Fairs. The 1939 and 1940 International Expositions encouraged reverence for the what was rare, foreign, and unfamiliar and presented spaces which had been created to surround you with the mystic of the Orient. In contrast, Frank Lloyd Wright borrowed ideas from the naturalistic and energy-balancing principles of Japanese art to create a new, modern, distinctly American style that he termed "usonian" (Nute 41). Kaneji embraced this style while working

for Wright at Taliesin East and West and then while creating his own 'usonian' home designs.

These experiences allowed Kaneji to develop an his own personal artistic style that drew from the teachings of Frank Lloyd Wright, traditional Japanese art, and the deep influences of having grown up "...in this atmosphere of greens, and growing things, and things like that" (Kaneji Domoto 2). Although it is not the focus of this paper to identify all of the landscaping and architectural projects to which Kaneji Domoto contributed, it should be said that there are a great number of such projects concentrated along the East Coast. Through creating these many famed and prominent spaces, Kaneji helped to define and popularize what he believed to be the necessary stylistic components of a Japanese garden.

It was a goal of Kaneji's to present the methods of Japanese gardening to American audiences in an accessible way, andthis goal was realized in 1974 when he published *Bonsai and the Japanese Garden* with the help of his friend George Kay (Domoto and Kay 1974). The objective of this volume was to "...facilitate the use of the Japanese past and adapt the art forms of the Japanese to a US culture...[allowing it to become] a personal expression" (Domoto and Kay 4). It defined what the essentials elements of a Japanese garden were and provided instructions on how to create these elements. Stone, the "most important" element, should be arranged in groupings which "...avoid the monotony of equal size stones" and mimic arrangements found"...in nature"(Domoto and Kay 40). Gardeners should start by placing the largest stone, which then "...sets the mood for the remaining rock placements" (Domoto and Kay 74). Stonework should accompany water features

and plantings that have varied depths follow curved lines, and feature plant life well suited to the natural environment of the area (Domoto and Kay 41). Kaneji explains that Japanese gardens often include curved wooden pathways surrounded by plant life and stone ground coverings that lead to the home's front entrance (Domoto and Kay 43 and 50). Often these gardens are located in areas where they can be viewed from the interior of the home (Domoto and Kay 45). Design elements such as stone lanterns, wooden benches, statues, bridges, gateways or plants can be added as accents or to "...break the monotony of edging lines" (Domoto and Kay 51, 52 and 57). Cobblestone can be used to surround the base of plantings to provide "...additional interest and attraction" and fences can provide "...privacy, security...and planting backgrounds"(Domoto and Kay 53). Gardens should be composed of plants with diverse colors and textures, plants that change with the seasons, and plants that cast interesting shadows (Domoto and Kay 62). Both this publication, and Kaneji's lasting gardening and architectural projects in which he demonstrated the principles outlined in this book, have helped to popularize these stylistic philosophies that are still widely employed by those attempting to create a Japanese style garden today.

Remaining Legacy

Many sites relating to Kaneji Domoto's accomplishments and legacy survive and continue to be visited and admired today. Since I am unable to provide descriptions of all of these sites, I will focus on one that touched my life even before I was aware of who the Domotos were or knew anything about their story.

I am from a small mountain town of 2000 people in Southern California and, when I moved to Berkeley, I had an intense fear of cities. I liked trees, plants, air, open space, and the smell of soil; and I hated crowds and cement. Eventually, I grew to love Berkeley, and cities in general, but as I adjusted, I found myself frequently escaping to the UC Berkeley Botanical Garden—42 acres of gardens conveniently nestled in an undeveloped area of the Berkeley hills. My favorite area of the garden, and by far the most popular, is the Japanese pool located in the Asian plant section (see figure 21). This display is what remains of the Japanese Garden from the 1939 International Exposition (see figure 20). Kaneji Domoto designed this area using the stones and statues from the Fair's display, and he personally approved the placement of each rock. Before knowing of this history, this space repeatedly provided me with a quiet place of seemingly natural beauty and allowed me to momentarily feel at home. It is one of the only places in the garden where visitors pause for long periods of time to sit and look at what surrounds them. Children hop across the conveniently placed stepping-stones and watch the newts hover in the depths of the pool while adults listen to the trickle of the creek as it tumbles over Kaneji's rocks.

Stylistically, this gardening display features many elements that would become trademark components of spaces designed by Kaneji. The central focus of the garden is a naturalistically organized grouping of rocks of varied shapes and sizes. This rock arrangement has been used to manipulate and compliment the natural features of the environment. The creek that runs through the area has been transformed into a series of waterfalls that feed into a pond and then pour out into a

second series of waterfalls before again following the natural coarse of the creek bed (see figure 19).

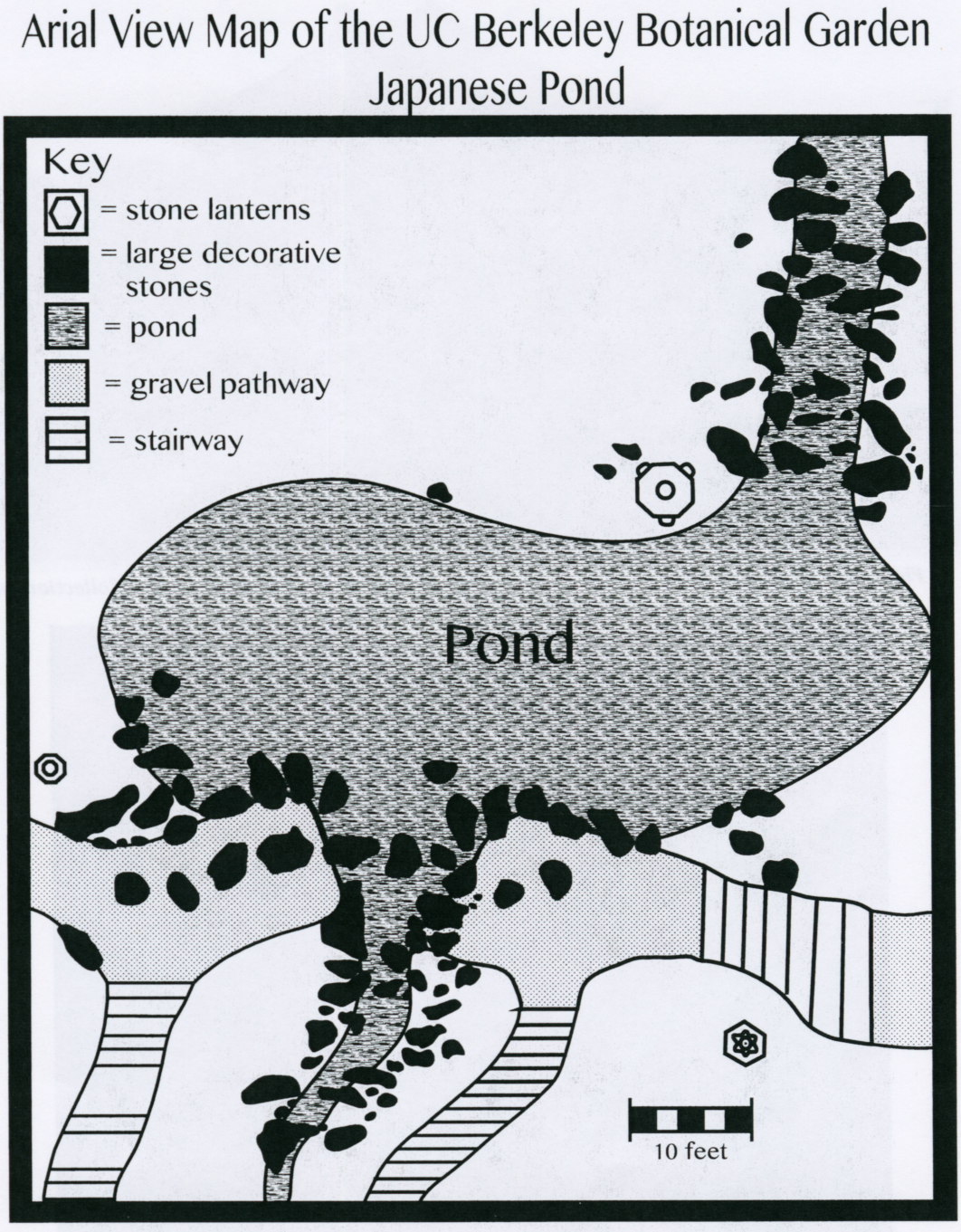


Figure 19: Map showing Kaneji's placement of stones around the Japanese Pond in the UC Berkeley Botanical Garden (image created by author)



Figure 20: Japanese Gardens at the 1939 World's Fair (from the Donald L. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fair)



Figure 21: The Japanese Pond at the UC Berkeley Botanical Garden—notice the same stone lantern is visible in the 1939 postcard image (photograph by author)

Regaining Success and Stability and Creating a New Home

As Kaneji was developing as a landscape architect, Toichi's life was developing as well. Throughout his twenties and thirties, the top priority in Toichi's life had been to provide for his family and develop his own successful nursery business. This meant that other aspects of his life, like meeting women and starting a family, were postponed or neglected. Toichi remembered that his family thought he was "...an old freak and never going to get married" but really, he was just not prioritizing marriage because he felt he "...had an obligation to meet, family wise" (Domoto 170). However, at the age of 37, at the urging of his family, Toichi married Alice Okamoto, a woman he met through friends of his father (Domoto 172). At this time, the nursery business was again thriving and the family had regained its financial stability. Toichi was able to shift his focus from his father and siblings to his own future family, and he began to create a permanent home space.

Although Toichi provided detailed descriptions of his childhood homes and surroundings within the Reiss oral history, there are few mentions of the structures he inhabited throughout his adult life. Marilyn Domoto Webb Toichi Domoto's daughter, has graciously shared her remembrances of her childhood homes with me, and, through these conversations, much of the missing information regarding the nature of these structures has been obtained. Marilyn has vivid memories of the first home Toichi established on his Hayward property. She is uncertain of whether her father built or purchased this home, but she suspects that he built it himself. It was a relatively small "bungalow-type" one story wooden structure with two bedrooms, a spacious living room, a kitchen, a bathroom, a laundry room, and, also, a dining

room with high windows that may have been an addition (Marilyn Domoto Webb 2013). Once married, Toichi cared for his wife's family as well as his own. Marilyn remembers her maternal grandfather living with the family in his later years and sleeping on a hospital bed kept in the living room (Marilyn Domoto Webb 2013). The home was conveniently located just "...80-100 steps" from the nursery. While inhabiting this home, the Domotos were able to continue to build both their family and their business.

Chapter 5: 1943-1945; Barrack 6H-5C

As a result of executive order 9066 (restate what this is), the Domoto family had to leave their home and business in Hayward California. In hopes of avoiding incarceration, Toichi moved the family to Livingston, California to live with his sister who was a part of a Japanese American Christian community that owned a vineyard. During their six months in Livingston, the family did "...nothing" and "...waited" to be told where they would have to go (Domoto 178). Toichi hoped that the Livingston Japanese community would be one of the last groups to be moved, since they were located so much farther east and were known for being of the Christian faith (Domoto 178). This strategy was unsuccessful, however, and the family was moved to the Merced Assembly Center a day before they would have been if they had remained in the Bay.

After a month of living in the assembly center, the Domotos were relocated to the Amache Incarceration Camp located near the Eastern border of Colorado. With confinement came many adversities—concern for what was happening to the nursery business back home, inadequate facilities to properly care for a now elderly Kanetaro and the two newly arrived Domoto infants, surroundings that inhibited the family's industriousness, loss of privacy, and heartbreak over having lost the home they had fought so hard to maintain through the Depression. Due to the painful nature of memories related to this period, internment is a topic only briefly mentioned within the oral history record. Therefore, the University of Denver's archaeological project currently taking place at the Amache Relocation Camp has been able to reveal much about the daily realities of being an internee and this

information is helpful when trying to understand the Domoto family's experiences. Within the following chapter, I use information provided from these excavations, oral histories, and the documentary record to discuss the Domotos' living situations at Amache and what is known of their response to these situations.

Barrack 6H-5C

The Domotos' experience at Amache is more comprehensible when contrasted with their living situations in the Bay Area prior to internment. At Amache, the Domotos lived within the 24' by 20' space of barrack 5C of block 6H, which was one of 2088 nearly identical rooms provided to accommodate the internees of Amache (Shitara 6). Their room existed within the row of six that comprised one oblong barrack, hastily constructed out of wooden frames, fiberboard walls, and tarpaper (Colorado Preservation Inc 10). The remaining materials scattered across the surface of the Amache desert provide some indication of what it was like to live in these units. Although the barrack buildings were purchased and sold for material upon the closing of the camp in October of 1945 (Colorado Preservation Inc 9), the cement foundations remain and allow those visiting the site to experience the amount of space which at one time housed up to 42 individuals (each barrack housed six families of seven or fewer individuals (Slaughter 29)). The bits of tarpaper frequently found during surface surveys in this and every block are reminders of the look and feel of the structures that surrounded internees (Clark Appendix 1: collected Artifacts by Block).

The Domotos' situation emphasizes the fact that the incarceration order applied to all individuals regardless of age and often resulted in people living in non-nuclear family groupings. The three generations of Domotos sharing barrack 6H-5C included Kanetaro Domoto (77 years old), his sons Toichi (40) and Kaneji (28), daughters Wakako (31) and Yuriko (27), Sally Domoto (Kaneji's wife), Mikiko (Kaneji's daughter born months before internment) and Marilyn Teruko (Toichi's less than year old daughter born a day before relocation) (Shitara 6). This meant that eight individuals were sharing a unit, one more than the supposed limit. Perhaps this was permissible since two of these individuals were infants, but perhaps it is also suggestive of how this seven person per unit limit was occasionally exceeded.

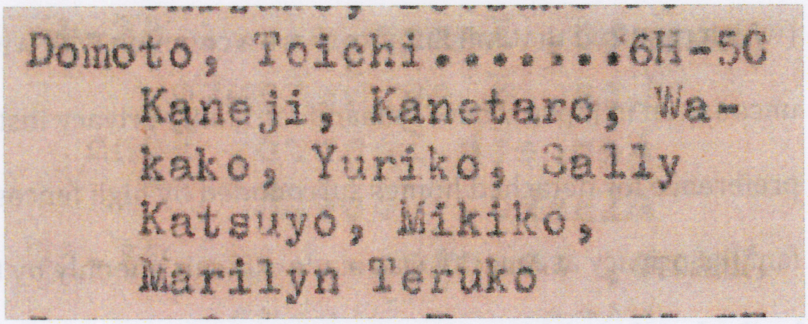

Domoto, Toichi.....6H-5C
Kaneji, Kanetaro, Wa-
kako, Yuriko, Sally
Katsuyo, Mikiko,
Marilyn Teruko

Figure 22: The Domoto family listed in the 1943 Amache Directory (Shitara 6)

While housing eight individuals within a 24' by 20' foot space would have resulted in a cramped living situation, the loss of privacy between families seems to have been more of a concern than was the loss of individual privacy within families. In his brief description of camp life, Kaneji Domoto's biggest complaint was the common wall shared with neighboring families. He described the situation stating:

> They were like—they were army barracks...Did you ever see any army barracks?...They were these shacks that a family lived in, one unit apiece, and you could hear that person on the other side and not much of protection or anything like that. (Kaneji Domoto 14)

This complaint seems to be in accordance with traditional Japanese values as discussed by Ozaki who described that while, "...lack of [personal] privacy was a salient characteristic within a Japanese house"; "...familial privacy" was considered vital (Ozaki 341 and 354). This is explained by the fact that "...the family, not the individual, was the basic unit of [Japanese society]" (Ozaki 354). Ozaki also discusses how, although popular in Europe in the early 1900s, terrace style housing (which required that inhabitants share a common wall with neighbors) remained uncommon in Japan where demand for family privacy instead encouraged a preference for detached homes surrounded by high fences (Ozaki 354). Maintaining familial privacy at Amache was made difficult not only by the shared walls, but also by the fact that all block residents shared one mess hall and latrine, meaning proceedings previously shared only between family members now took place in a public setting. Kaneji Domoto described how this arrangement affected families:

> And the funny part of it is, the family cohesion started falling apart because you had a certain control over your kids when they were unruly or something you said "Well you're not going to have supper or you're not going to have breakfast." Get some disciplining that way but this way the kids knew that they don't have to be with family to go eat. When the bell rang, they just ran to the mess hall and they got fed. So the father and mother said, "No you can't have supper." And some of them would just go to the dining room and have something to eat. And that is how some of the morals of the family broke down." (Kaneji Domoto 14)

Other than eight human bodies, what filled the Domotos' unit space? Each Amache unit was supplied with cots, one window, one bare light bulb, a closet, and a small coal-burning stove (Slaughter 290). Aside from these standard objects, internees brought with them the items from home that they could carry (Serrano 40), scavenged materials to construct other needed furniture (Dussilier 3), and obtained new items from both the camp's co-op and mail order catalogues (Shew 310). While little is known about what the Domotos selected to take with them to

the camps or acquired once there, most of the items must have been pragmatic things, like clothing, bedding, and materials related to caring for infants. We do know that many highly valued sentimental objects related to childhood memories and the family's' past in Japan had to be left at home. The Domotos were luckier than many because they had an employee who was watching over their business and property and many of these items were safely waiting for them upon their return. Many of these items, representative of the types of objects many incarcerated families lost forever because of internment, are still treasured by the living members of the Domoto family today (see figures 23 and 24).

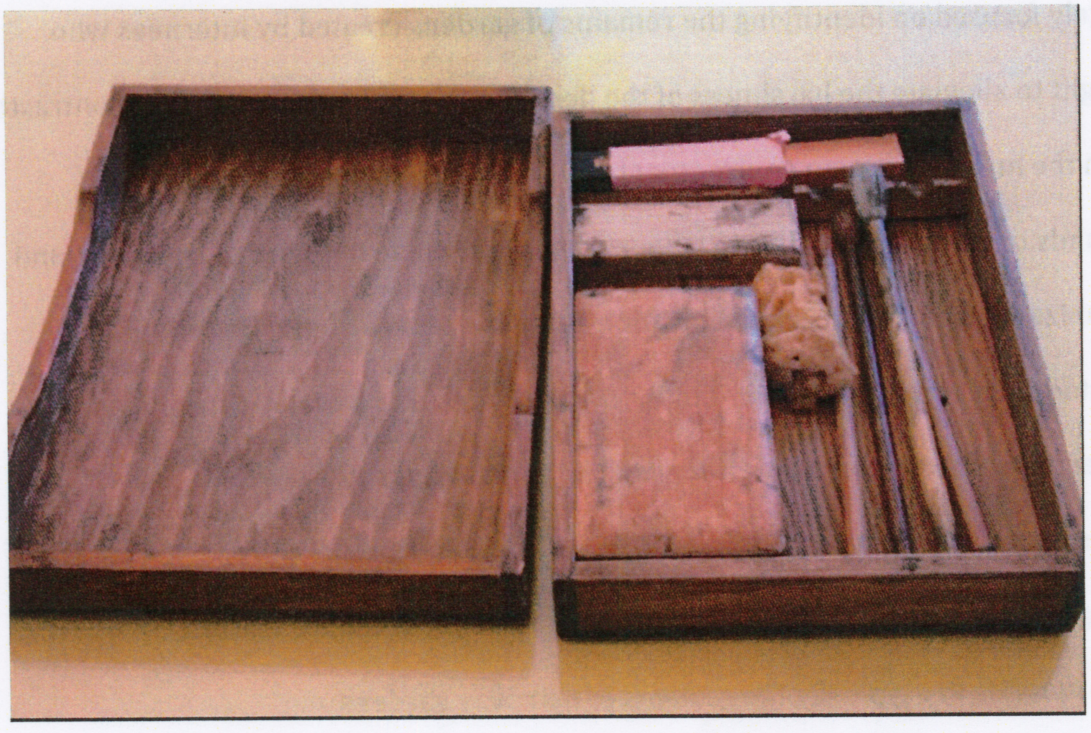


Figure 23: Kanetaro's writing box taken from Japan, pre-1880s (The Domoto Family Collection)



Although these sentimental items had to be left at home, the Domotos decided that one cherished possession, a slide projector and a set of colored slides featuring images of Toichi's camellias, merited being taken. Sachi Webb was told by her grandfather, Toichi, that this projector, which she now owns, was something the family carried with them to Amache (Webb). Sachi has always been surprised by this choice considering the projector's weight and size, which would have made it an onerous piece of baggage, but this object would have provided the family with a way to be momentarily surrounded by visuals of the home they had left behind.

The family also actively worked to make their new surroundings as pleasant as possible. The University of Denver's excavations at the site of Amache have been largely focused on identifying the remains of gardens created by internees who sought to alleviate the harshness of the desolate, desert landscape that so contrasted with the lush Californian environments they were used to. Remnants such as mounds on either side of barrack doorways, walls made of scavenged cement, and organizations of trees mark the locations of these past gardens. The Domotos created such a garden for their family, and although unexcavated, the mounds on either side of their doorway evidence their efforts (figure 25). If further investigated through excavation, additional knowledge about the specific nature of this garden could be acquired. However, excavations of similar features reveal that such mounds are typically the remains of doorway gardens.

Within Block 6H: Organization, Landscape and Community

The internees at Amache were confronted with both the emptiness of Eastern Colorado landscapes and the harshness of the rectilinearly organized

structures built upon these landscapes. The desolate landscape in its wild state included nothing but arid soil, prickly pear, yucca, and sagebrush (Archer 3). A barbwire fence starkly defined the borders of the one-mile square camp and six guard towers manned by military police were a constant reminder that residents were confined within this alien place without the ability to leave. The camp was divided into 29 identical residential blocks, each including 12 barracks, one latrine, a mess hall, and a multi-purpose hall building. This redundant arrangement of tarpaper buildings and shared cement facility areas resulted in a loss of both personal distinction and privacy.

The Domotos, who had made contributing to and creating spaces of beauty and sanctuary their profession, responded to being restricted to this area by becoming involved in community service and development projects. Kaneji became the architectural draftsman of the camp's engineering department and is described in the *Granada Pioneer* as the "fellow that started the ball rolling in the center's beautification program" (Sako 5). The *Pioneer* also claims that after his planning and supervising of tree planting around the mess hall in block 6F, the whole center "...caught the tree planting craze" (Sako 5). Since Amache's landscape is naturally treeless, the internees planted each existing trees (Archer 4). Young cottonwood trees were transplanted from the nearby Arkansas River and Chinese Elms were purchased for use. The tree arrangement in block 6F, designed by Kaneji (see figure 26), includes cottonwoods organized in asymmetric, naturalistic clusters. This placement of trees seems to have been created in a way stylistically very similar to that which Kaneji used to arrange rocks within permanent displays such as the

garden he designed within the UC Berkeley Botanical Garden. The mess hall garden also featured limestone pieces which encircled the bases of some of the trees (see figure 29), and other remnants of the garden may still be hidden within a mounded feature area located along the east side of the mess hall (figure 26 FA 14). Such gardening displays eased the harshness of the desert surroundings and reclaimed the interior of the prison as a pleasant space.



Figure 25: Map of mound features on either side of the Domotos' 6H-5C Barrack



Figure 26: Map of trees places around the Mess Hall in block 6F



Figure 27: Block 6F tree—FP 1 (photograph by Chris Driver)



Figure 28: Block 6F tree—FP 2 (photograph by Chris Driver)



Figure 29: Limestone around the base of a tree in block 6F--FP 7 (photograph by Chris Driver)

Amache was a far more peaceful camp than were some of the others where prisoner demonstrations and objections caused turmoil. Kaneji Domoto attributed this to the fact that the majority of Amache internees were farmers who were a "...docile group" who lived "...a very quiet camp life" (Kaneji Domoto 15). The Domotos and the other Amache prisoners actively sought to better their situation, but not through protest. Instead, they created gardens that altered the look of the camp and established a system of self-government that quickly worked to establish a functioning community. The *Granada Pioneer* reveals that Domoto family members engaged in activities such as serving on the Board of Education (The Granada Pioneer 2), acting as block representatives (The Granada Pioneer 1), and serving as representatives on the Community Council (the Granada Pioneer 1). Kaneji Domoto explained:

> It is a funny thing. Who ran these camps? We did. The prisoners who were in there. We were policemen. This was like a little village. All of us who lived in this place, they went to school. We formed a school. We made teachers from our own group who taught in these. We had firemen, policemen, and mayor and all of it....and that came from us. (Kaneji Domoto 15).

Amache residents also found ways of procuring needed goods by reusing and modifying the standard materials that were distributed to all internees and readily available. For example, large tin cans commonly discarded from the mess halls were adapted and used as planting pots and watering cans (figure 30). Cans with punctures in the bottom that allowed for draining could be filled with nutrient rich soil collected from the nearby river or farming fields and this allowed plants to be grown even in the barren camp settings (Swader) (see figure 31 and 32). Modified tin cans are found in much greater quantities within Amache assemblages than are

sherds of ceramic planting pots, indicating how common this practice was within the camp (Swader).



Figure 30: Most common form of modified tin can featuring circular holes. Likely used as a planting pot (Photograph provided by Paul Swader)

Although innovative, this use of tin cans was not unique to the internment camp setting. Toichi remembered that, prior to internment, gardeners in southern California had struggled to obtain ceramic pots because most of the suppliers were contracted with Caucasian growers (Domoto 112). Japanese American gardeners would go to restaurants and collect discarded one-gallon tin cans to use instead of ceramic pots. Often, when they were selling their plants, the tin can containers would still be wrapped with peach or tomato labels (Domoto 112). A negative connotation developed around this practice and such gardeners were termed "...tin can gardeners" or "back yard gardeners" (Domoto 136-137). Despite the critical reaction to the tin can containers, these gardeners produced quality plants. Large nursery businesses often were purchasing materials from these "tin can gardeners", and then hiding the fact that they did so by replanting the plants in ceramic pots before reselling them (Domoto 112). This situation is indicative of how, even prior to incarceration, the peoples of Japanese ethnicity were already experienced in finding ways of obtaining objects made unavailable to them because of their ethnicity. The incarceration order was a drastic amplification of already existing discrimination. While interned, prisoners faced

many of the same hindrances that they had faced in California because of their ethnicity, and they were able to apply some of their previously developed responses (like the use of modified tin cans) within this new setting.



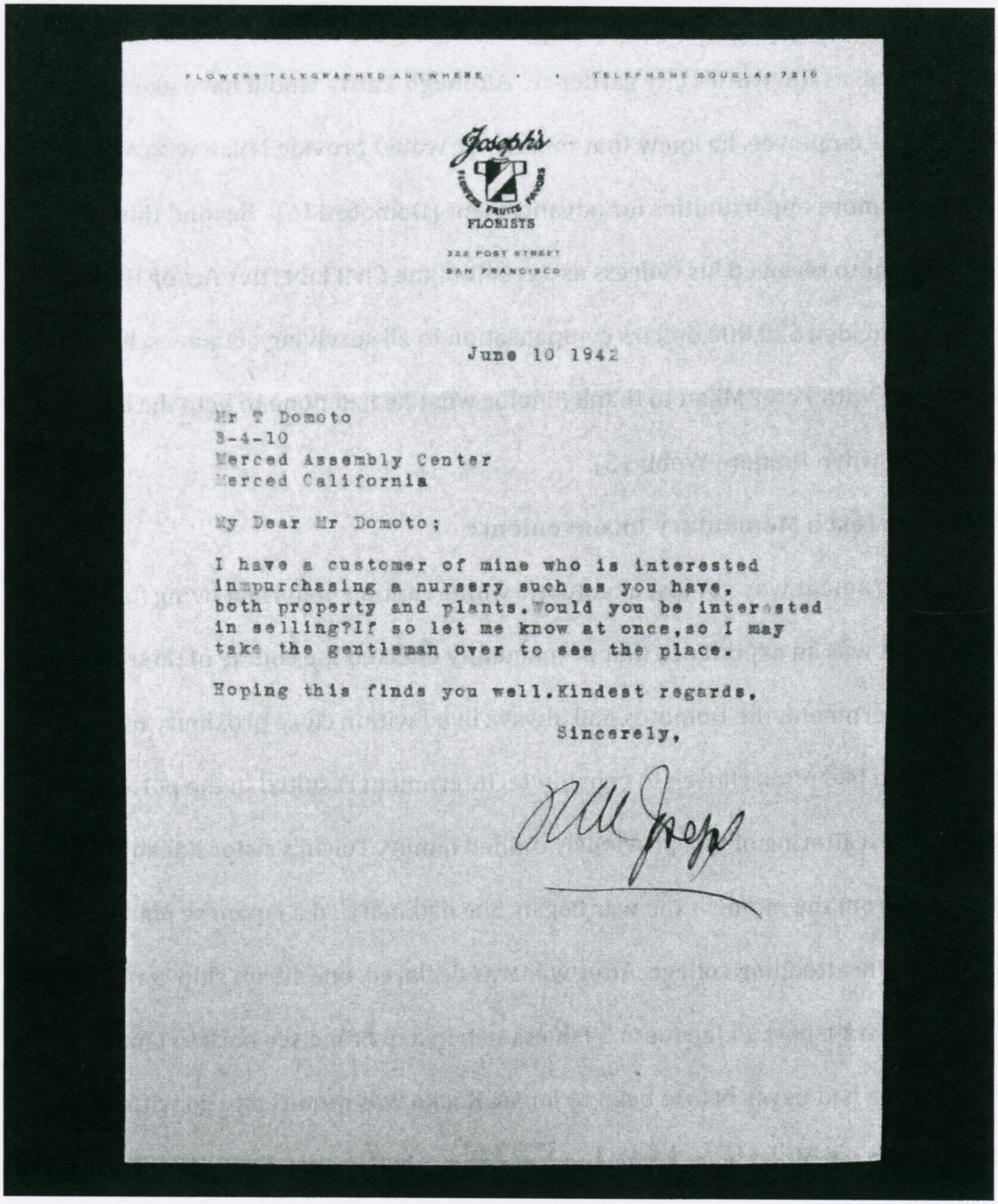
Figure 31: Tin cans used in an Amache school garden (Photograph provided by Paul Swader)



Figure 32: Same garden during a different season (Photograph provided by Paul Swader)

Home Property

Although continuously concerned about his business, Toichi Domoto was fortunate because he had an employee who kept the business running in his absence and a banker who kept track of the business's finances (Domoto 173). Much of Toichi's plant stock was lost or sickened during this time because Peter Milan, Toichi's employee, aided by his wife and occasional hired worker, struggled to keep the many acres of nursery property functioning. Many families of Japanese ethnicity were not so lucky and lost their homes and businesses as a result of internment. Properties were hastily sold for much less than they were worth by buyers eager to take advantage of the situation. These opportunistic buyers also attempted to obtain the Domoto Nursery, but they were unable to do so. Evidence of their attempt exists within the Bancroft Library in a collection of letters, business transactions, and catalogues saved by the Domotos through the years. In this collection, there is a letter that was sent to Toichi while he was confined in the assembly center asking him if he would be interested in selling his business (figure 33). The existence of this letter and the fact that Toichi chose to keep it throughout his lifetime instead of throwing it away is significant. Perhaps, Toichi chose to save it because he was proud of having been brave enough to turn down the offer.



FLOWERS TELEGRAPHED ANYWHERE • • TELEPHONE DOUGLAS 7210

Joseph's
FLORISTS

322 POST STREET
SAN FRANCISCO

June 10 1942

Mr T Domoto
B-4-10
Merced Assembly Center
Merced California

My Dear Mr Domoto;

I have a customer of mine who is interested
inpurchasing a nursery such as you have,
both property and plants. Would you be interested
in selling? If so let me know at once, so I may
take the gentleman over to see the place.

Hoping this finds you well. Kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Joseph

Figure 33: Letter asking to purchase nursery sent to Toichi while at the Assembly Center (Bancroft Library BANC MSS 2002/357 C2 Box 1:12)

Upon his return, Toichi demonstrated his gratitude to Milan by helping him acquire a job as Hayward's city gardener. Although Toichi would have liked to keep Milan as his employee, he knew that this career would provide Milan with a better salary and more opportunities for advancement (Domoto 116). Beyond this, when Toichi Domoto received his redress as a result of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, an act that provided $20,000 dollars compensation to all surviving detainees, he shared this money with Peter Milan to thank him for what he had done to help the business survive (Marilyn Domoto Webb 15).

More than Just a Momentary Inconvenience

Internment was not just a temporary interruption of normal living for the Domotos, it was an experience that permanently effected the course of their lives. Prior to internment, the Domotos had always lived within close proximity of one another and had often chosen to cohabitate. Internment resulted in the permanent geographic scattering of this previously unified family. Toichi's sister Kaeko was separated from the moment the war began. She had married a Japanese man who she met while attending college. After war was declared, one steam ship was provided to transport all Japanese businessmen in San Francisco back to Japan. Although she had never before been to Japan, Kaeko was required to go with her husband and remained in Japan for the rest of her life (Domoto 180). During the war, Toichi was also separated from his wife and infant daughter for six months when he was able to leave camp after securing a job in Illinois and was not permitted to take his family along (Domoto 185). After the war ended, many family members decided not to return to the West Coast. Kaneji Domoto found a job as a hotel manager in

New York City and then was eventually able to again work as an architect (Kaneji Domoto 13), but he never returned to live California. This saddened him and when remembering how he felt about leaving California, he stated, "I didn't feel any urge to go East at all. I loved California. Why this is heaven." (Kaneji Domoto 16).

Moving away from California meant experiencing unfamiliar landscapes and communities and interacting with people who had never before seen a Japanese person. During an oral history interview, Kaneji described how prior to World War II, there were very few Japanese people in the eastern states and those he encountered were unsure of how to react to him. When he was able to leave camp to look for a job, he traveled by bus and since he was "...pretty dark from being in the concentration camp in Colorado...suntanned", he was occasionally questioned about his nationality or asked to go to the back because he was assumed to be "..Black" (Kaneji Domoto 11). While racism on the West Coast resulted from a long-standing tradition of discrimination against Asians, the racism Kaneji encountered in the American east resulted from uncertainty of how to fit an Asian person into that region's established system of segregation.

Even more devastating than the permanent scattering of family members throughout the United States was Kanetaro's death. Kanetaro passed away after having lived in the incarceration camp for several months. He was one of 107 Amache residents who died while interned (Slaughter 290). Toichi and his cousin were permitted to take Kanetaro's remains back to Oakland to be buried on the family plot, but they had to pay the fare of a guard who was assigned to escort them (Domoto 182). Toichi described the situation stating:

> But you know, the sad part, when I arrived back, they had the gravesite already dug. We went [there] from the train with the coffin, my escort, the undertaker, the owner of the cemetery, and the minister--and my cousin and myself. It was an awful bleak feeling, especially when you are used to having hundreds of people at a funeral like my father's. I don't know exactly what--. It wasn't necessarily a sad feeling...I think it was more of a feeling of desolation. That's the best way I can describe it. (Domoto 184)

Kanetaro's death exemplifies the injustice of Japanese incarceration during World War II. This man who had dedicated his life to creating a home for his family and greening the gardens of his neighbors, was forced to leave the community to which he had spent his whole life contributing and was allowed to return to his home only through death.

The Domotos' experience was typical; incarceration permanently separated many families of Japanese ethnicity (see figures 34 and 35). As Patricia Limerick discusses, Asian Americans discovered the United States from West to East, and the internment order helped to necessitate this movement of people (Limerick 1022). After 1945, individuals of Japanese ancestry were no longer only congregated along the West Coast, but settled throughout the United States. They created and joined new communities, and the Pacific coast no longer benefited from their contributions. The majority of Kaneji's creations are located in the East in places like Columbus, Ohio and Jackson Park, Chicago. Yet many, like Kaneji, always remembered the coercive quality of their removal from the West and always felt longing for their home. When asked if he had grown to love the East Coast as he had California Kaneji replied:

> I'm not quite so sure. It's just that I got stuff and got involved...Because when I go back to California I say, "Oh, what I missed." (Kaneji Domoto 27)

1940 Distribution of Japanese Populations

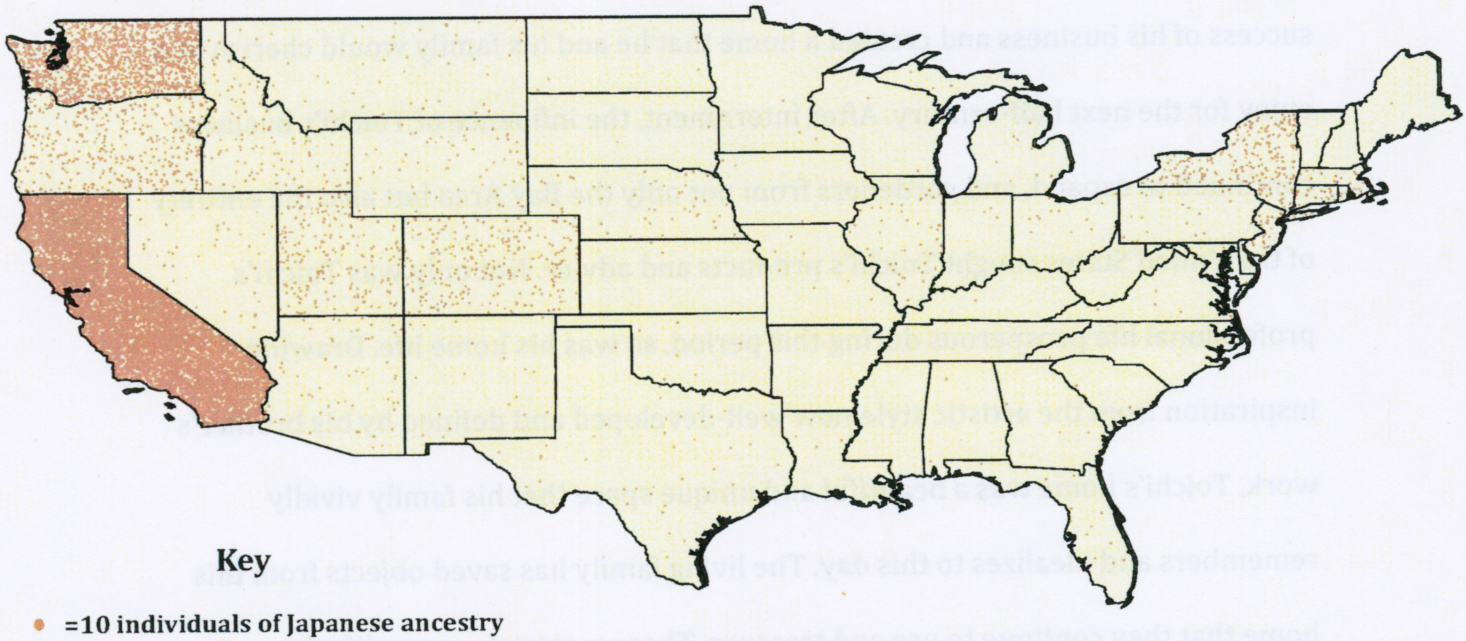


Figure 34: Image created by Erin Riggs and Elyna Anderson from 1940 US Census data

1950 Distribution of Japanese Populations

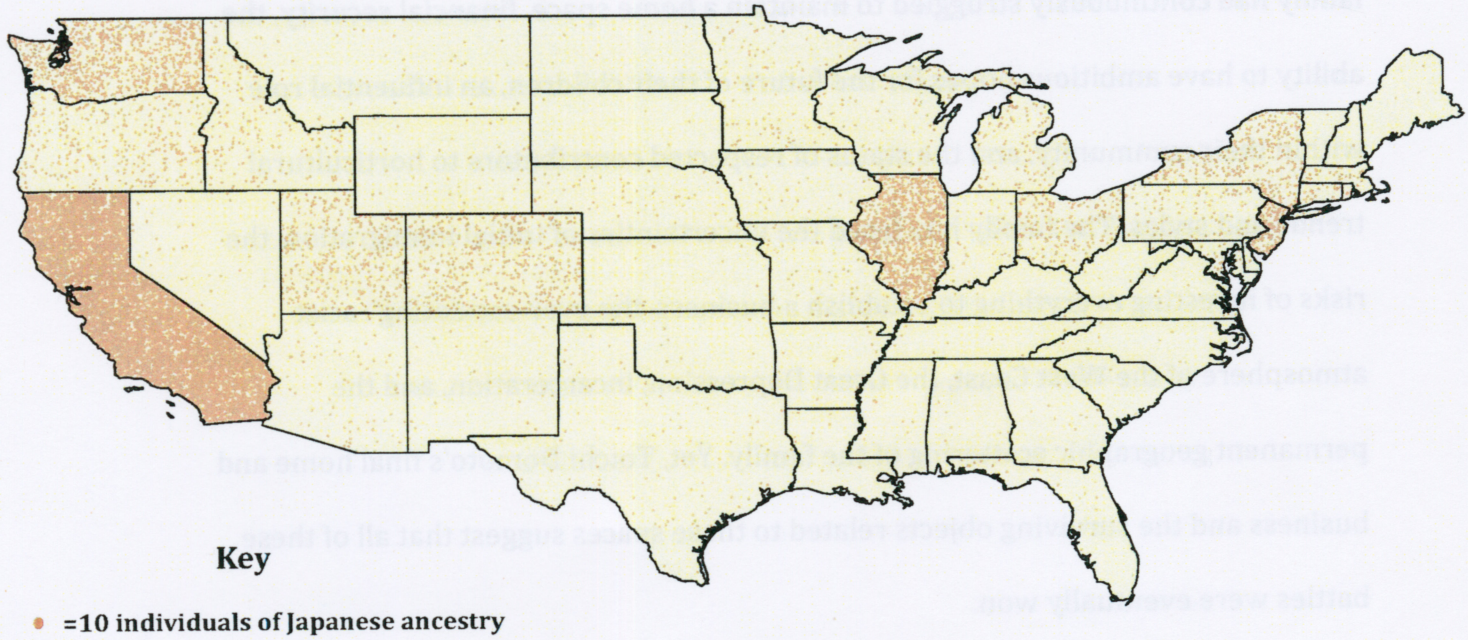


Figure 35: Image created by Erin Riggs and Elyna Anderson using 1950 US Census Data

Chapter 6: 1945-Today: Toichi's Permanent Home

After returning to the West Coast post-internment, Toichi reestablished the success of his business and created a home that he and his family would cherish and enjoy for the next half-century. After internment, the influence of Toichi's business continued to expand, and gardeners from not only the Bay Area but also the entirety of the United States sought Toichi's products and advice. Not only was Toichi's professional life prosperous during this period, so was his home life. Drawing inspiration from the artistic style now well-developed and defined by his brother's work, Toichi's home was a beautiful and unique space that his family vividly remembers and idealizes to this day. The living family has saved objects from this home that they continue to use and treasure. These materials exemplify the continued appreciation felt by living descendants for what Toichi was able to create.

This final chapter is the story of a triumph. For roughly 70 years, the Domoto family had continuously struggled to maintain a home space, financial security, the ability to have ambitious hopes for the future of their children, an influential role within their community, and the status of respected contributors to horticultural trends and styles. The family had faced the uncertainties of initial immigration, the risks of investing everything to establish a business, the ever-escalating racist atmosphere of the West Coast, the Great Depression, incarceration, and the permanent geographic scattering of the family. Yet, Toichi Domoto's final home and business and the surviving objects related to these spaces suggest that all of these battles were eventually won.

The Home

In 1952, the Domoto family constructed a new home on their Hayward property. While this structure has been demolished, the following description has been compiled using information provided by interviews with Marilyn Domoto Webb, Toichi Domotos' daughter. Designed by Japanese American architect, Hachiro Yuasa, the Domotos' home was a single story rambler-style structure built on a cement slab with radiant heating provided by built-in copper piping. In selecting the design of this house, Toichi and Alice likely took inspiration from Kaneji's stylistic tastes and, in many ways, the home resembled a Frank Lloyd Wright Usonian style building. In contrast to the one room standardized barrack at Amache, every detail of this home was tailored to cater to the Domoto family's particular needs and preferences.

Some aspects of the home facilitated the functional demands of the nursery. The flooring was composed of cork tile and asphalt because Alice "...did not want carpeted floors because of the work required to keep them clean from soil tracked in from the nursery" (Marilyn Domoto Webb 2013).

Many of the attributes of the home were selected for their esthetic qualities. The building featured many windows, some of which were extended almost from the floor to the ceiling. Partial walls, sliding doors, or single plate glass separated many of the rooms of the house. As a result, rooms felt "...spacious and full of light" (Marilyn Domoto Webb 2013). Diverse and interesting building materials were used, and Marilyn Domoto Webb has detailed memories related to the textures and colors that surrounded her as a child—acoustical material that looked like coarse

shredded wheat, textured cloth, exposed ceiling beams, smooth, matte, reddish wood, yellow formica, horse hair, blond wood, and rough textured stucco-like material. Through time, the building was continuously altered to meet the family's needs. When the patio was found to be too windy, it was enclosed with screens and sliding glass doors and became known as "the garden room" which led into the breakfast room (figure 36). The living room had ceilings of nearly 14 feet at the highest point, a fireplace set into a partial wall, and shelving built along the base of one of the walls that was used for displaying objects and created a tokonoma effect (Marilyn Domoto Webb 2013). The kitchen featured cabinets that stretched to the ceiling because Alice, "...didn't like the idea of space being wasted" and windows near the sink that overlooked the garden (Marilyn Domoto Webb 2013). After nearly a half century of frequently moving from residence to residence, with this location the family was finally able to achieve stability. The Domotos inhabited this structure for nearly 50 years.



Figure 36:Toichi and his family in the garden room 1978 (from the Domoto family's personal collection)

The Nursery

The nursery quickly began to thrive once again when the Domotos returned from Amache. As Susan Reiss describes, upon his return in 1946 "...some of the fifty thousand tree peony seedlings he had planted out in 1939 and 1940 began to bloom that spring...and a few stragglers made it in 1947 (Domoto 284). Toichi also continued to develop specialized plant varieties and in 1946 and 1952 he patented two of these including a "...hardy, double-flowered, pure white, untinged variety" of *Chaenomeles Japonica* (Qince) and a *Camellia Japonica* (Camellia) variety with "...fimbriated petals" (Rummler 1-2) (see figure 37 and 38).

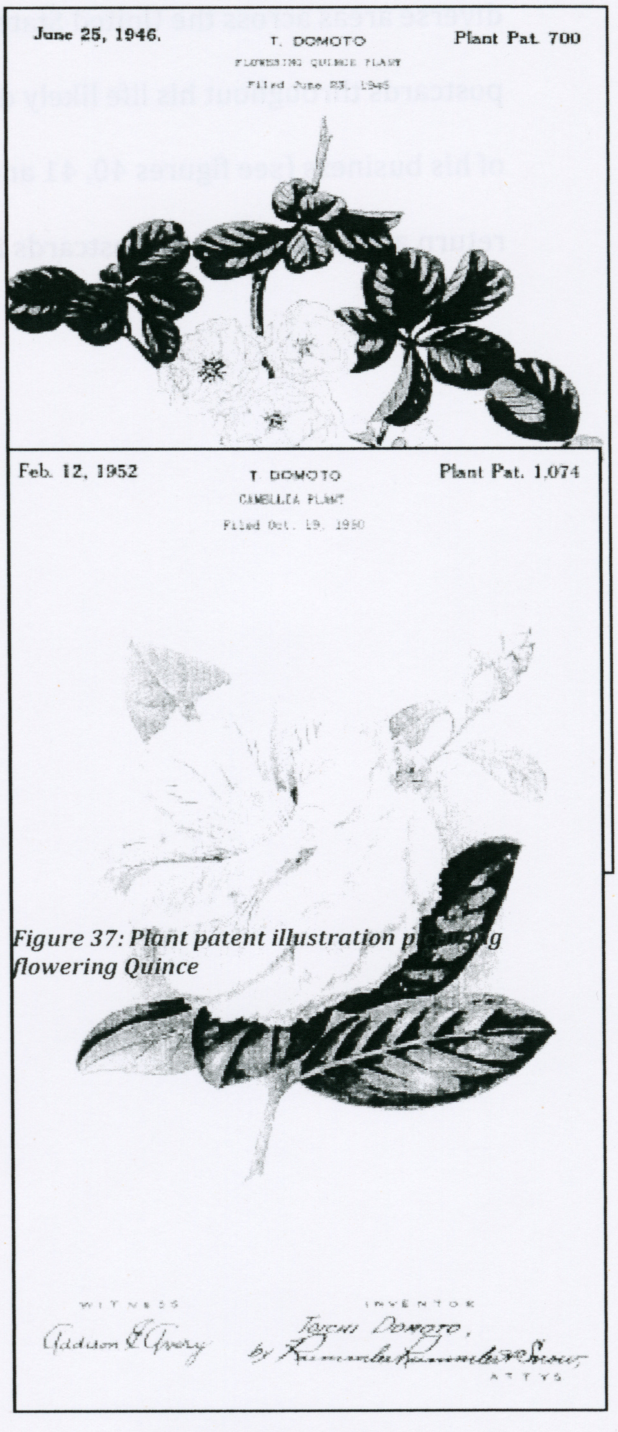


Figure 37: Plant patent illustration p[illegible]g flowering Quince

Toichi's business was nationally respected, and he had clientele scattered throughout the United States. The UC Berkeley Bancroft Library houses a box of letters saved by Toichi Domoto throughout his life. Included in this collection are close to a hundred postcards sent to Toichi asking for advice about particular plants or requesting catalogues. These postcards were sent from individuals residing in

diverse areas across the United States (see figure 39). The fact that Toichi kept these postcards throughout his life likely demonstrates his pride in the extent of influence of his business (see figures 40, 41 and 42). The map identifying the locations of the return addresses of these postcards is pictured below.

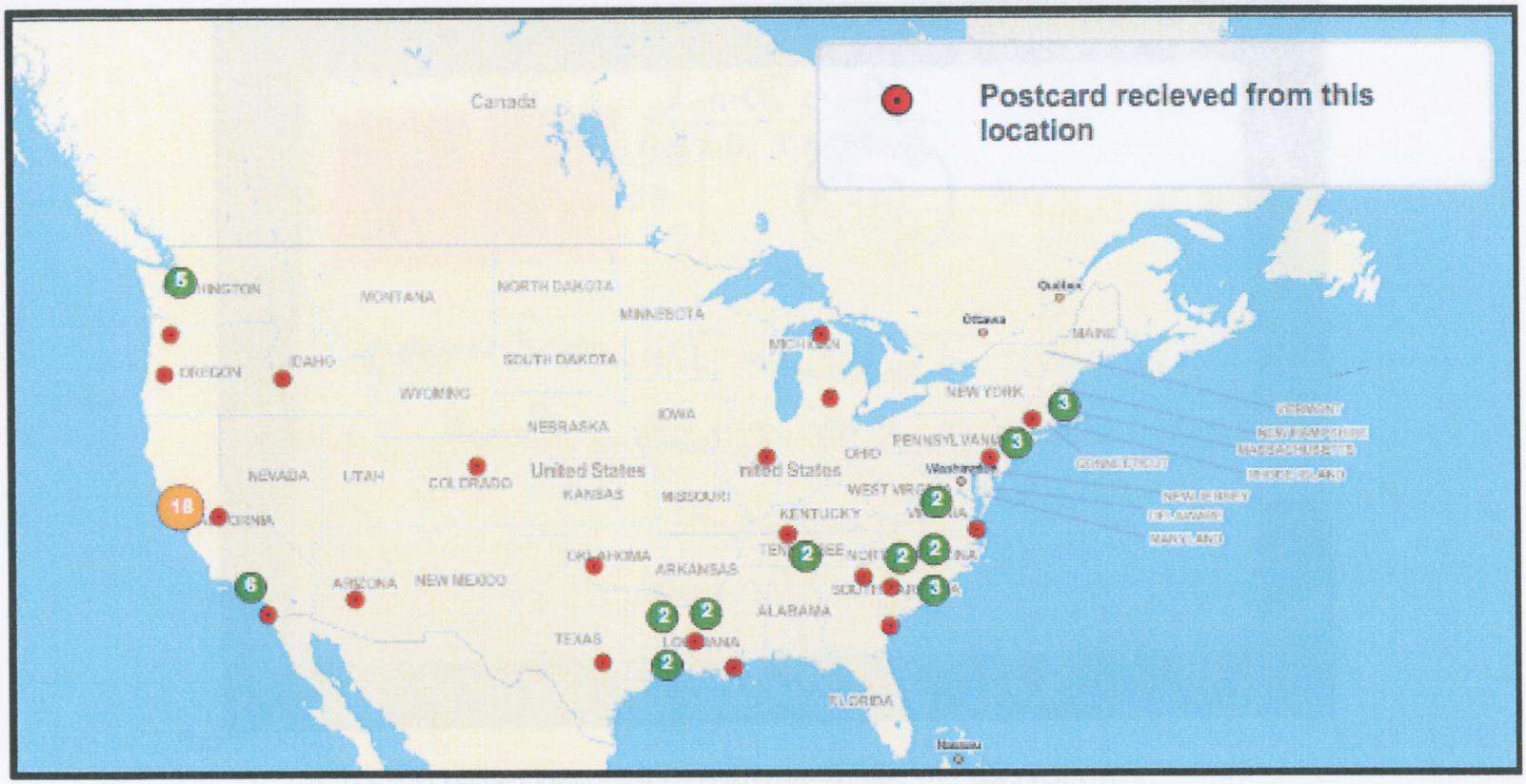


Figure 39: Map of return addresses from Toichi's postcard collection



Figure 40: Toichi's postcard collection (Bancroft Library BANC MSS 2002/357 CZ box 1:13)

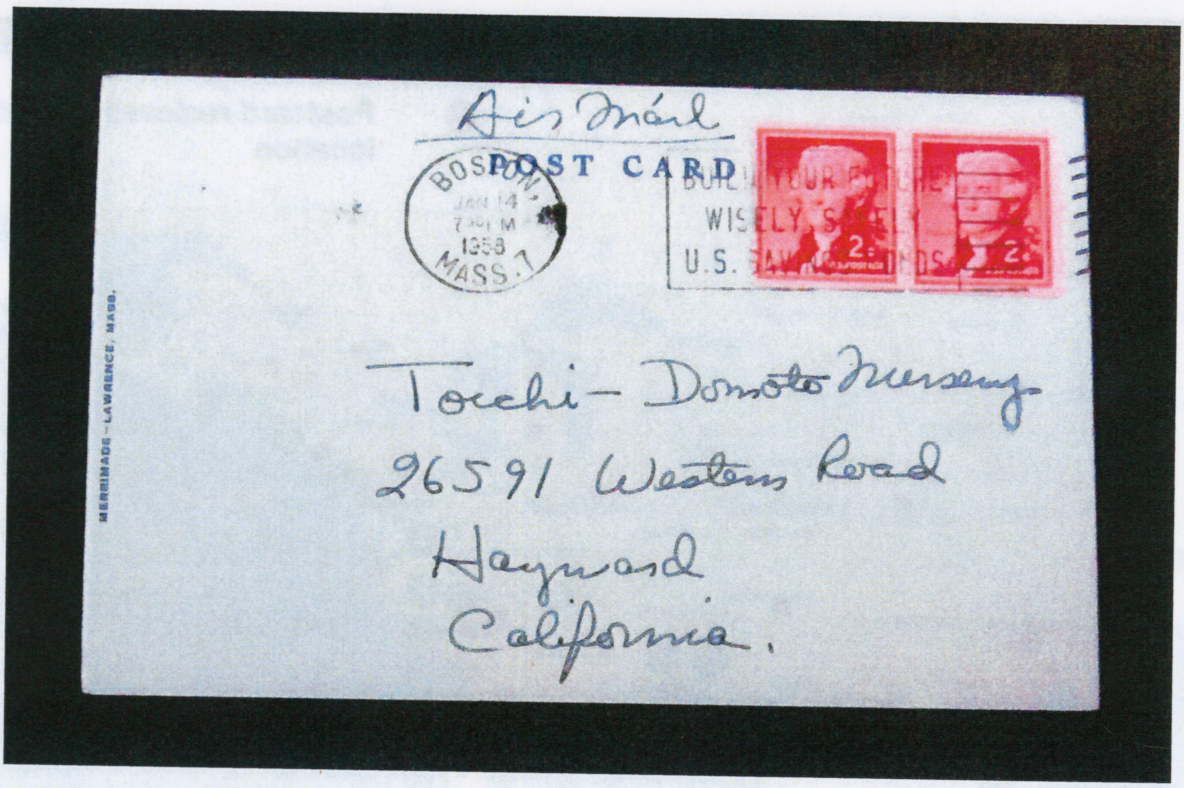


Figure 41: Example of a postcard--back (Bancroft Library BANC MSS 2002/357 CZ box 1:13)

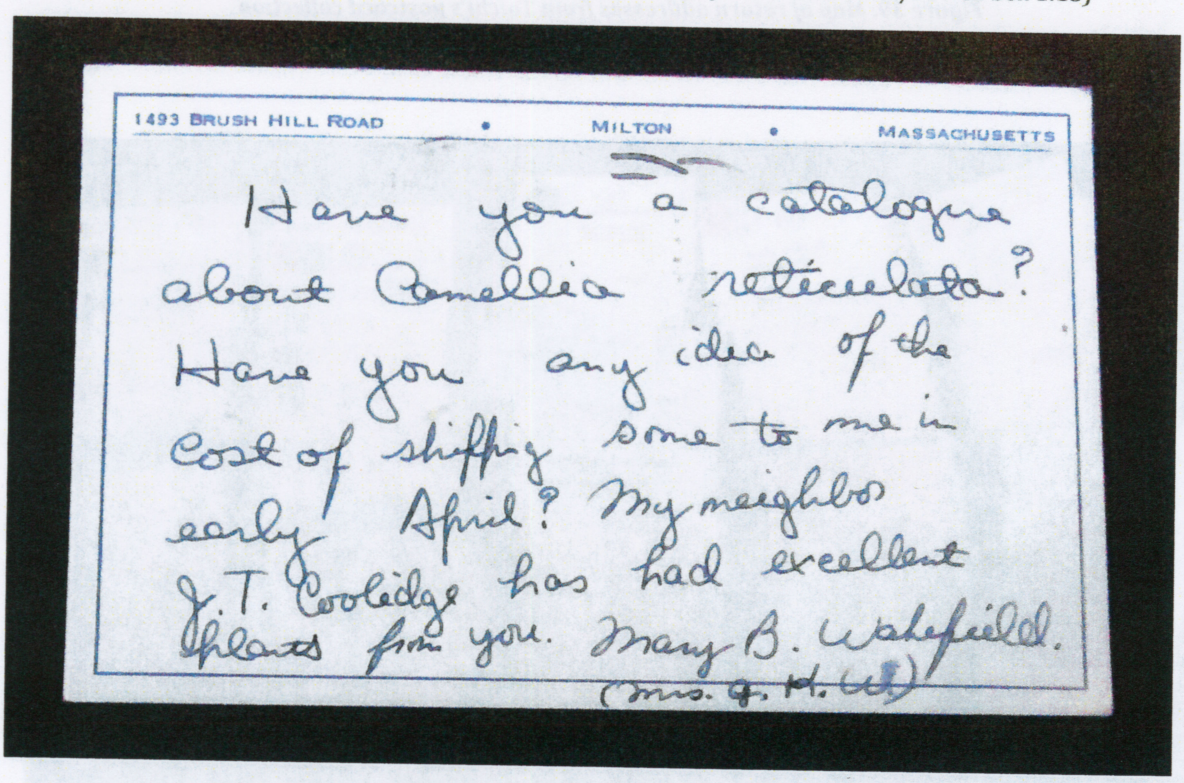


Figure 42: Example of a postcard—front.(Bancroft Library BANC MSS 2002/357 CZ box 1:13)

Toichi was not a gardener; he was a horticulturist. This was something his family members continuously reminded me of while I was in communication with them. He was an expert in advising about where a particular plant would do best or how to care for a particular species, but he never gave advice related to design. Even so, in a subtle way, he encouraged certain motivations for gardening and discouraged others. Like his father, he rarely visited his customers' gardens because he didn't want to fuel rivalries (Domoto 330). He seemed to want to advocate gardening as a form of self-expression and not as a way to outdo your neighbors. He appreciated gardens that reflected the character of their creator and equated arranging the components of a garden in particular ways with, "...a signature at the bottom of a painting" (Domoto 315). The philosophies embodied through Toichi's actions seem to correlate with some of the fundamentals of Japanese Architectural thought that stresses the importance of the harmony between objects and the environment in which they exist (Nate 126) and the ability of objects to reflect the character of their creator (Nate 3-4). In accord with these ideas, Toichi cared about providing customers with the plant material that was best suited to the natural environment in which they were being planted, and he hoped that the gardens being created with this planting material were spaces appreciated for their serenity and particularities and not because they were trendy, coveted, or deemed impressive by others including himself.

Remnants Today

Toichi Domoto passed away in 2001 at the age of 98 and, at this time, his nursery was closed. Today, the only remnants existing at the former site of Toichi Domoto's nursery include 37 heritage trees saved during the redevelopment of the area into a residential district (Pearson C-4). The Domotos' home was deemed as having "...no historic or architectural merit" and was demolished (Pearson 1). Despite the fact that the Toichi's nursery and home are gone, the legacy of this business lives on in the continued prevalence of the planting materials introduced and popularized by the Domotos. The influence of the family is still appreciated by modern experts. Elaine Sedlack , a UC Berkeley Botanical Garden horticulturist and a specialist in Asian plants, attests to the frequent use of many of the varieties introduced by the Domotos in Bay Area gardening today. Elaine reports that *Camellia reticulata* (Domoto vi) is currently "...exceedingly popular in the San Francisco Bay Area", *Camellia sasanqua* (Domoto 283) is "...widely grown", Kurume azaleas (Domoto 69) are "...in every nursery's stock", *Chaenomeles speciosa* (Domoto 283) are "found in many old established Berkeley gardens", and the 'pink pearl' rhododendron (Domoto 72) is "...one of the most commonly planted rhododendrons" and, according to some, is possibly even "...overplanted" (Sedlack Feb. 18 2013).



Figure 43: Chaenomeles japonica in the UC Berkeley Botanical Garden (photo by author)



Figure 44: Camellia reticulata in the UC Berkeley Botanical Garden (photo by author)



Figure 45: Rhododendron obtusum (Kurume Azalea) in the UC Berkeley Botanical Garden (photo by author)

While Toichi's lifelong efforts in importing and hybridizing plant varieties continue to be memorialized through the lasting popularity of the plant species he

introduced, the home space he created for his family is memorialized by the objects from his home that his descendants continue to treasure. As an archaeologist, it is interesting for me to get the chance to investigate the importance of an assemblage of heirlooms and speak with the descendant community about the meanings of these objects. Most frequently, archaeologists studying the recent past examine the objects that have been discarded and forgotten. Contrastingly, in this case, I was able to examine a group of select objects that have been preserved, used continuously, and ascribed with special significance. These objects are, as Belk describes, the type that help their possessors to develop a "...notion of extended self" that allows them to feel connected with other places and times (Belk 669). Through these objects, living descendants maintain a connection with Toichi's family and the realities of there past experiences. They consider these objects to be representative of the overall style of Toichi's former home because they are beautiful, simple and well made. These objects include a yellow formica table, Aalto stool and chairs, and four bentwood chairs covered in horsehair (see figures 46, 47, and 48). The family still uses and appreciates these furniture pieces and is amused when they see similar pieces featured in contemporary magazines such as *Dwell* (Chu 2012). They recognize that Toichi's family chose such pieces before they became fashionable because of their functionality and because of his own personal taste. They vividly remember what it was like to be in the Domoto's home—a space acquired through decades of struggle and then developed through fifty years of carefully accumulating and arranging materials he and his family found pleasing. The objects they have

saved act as an ever-present symbol of Toichi's home that was, in turn, a symbol of all Toichi had experienced and created though out his life.

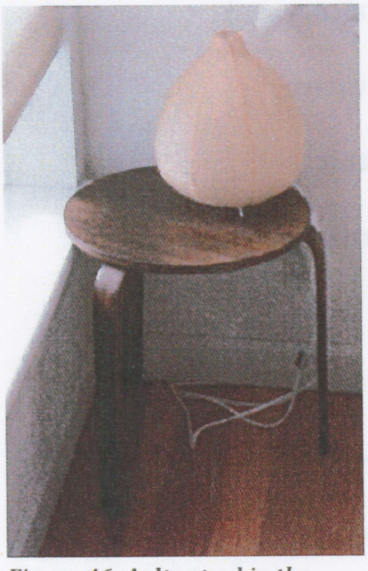


Figure 46: Aalto stool in the home of Toichi's granddaughter (photograph by Sachi Webb)



Figure 47: Table from the breakfast room now in the home of Toichi's granddaughter (photograph by Sachi Webb)



Figure 48:Aalto chair now in the home of Toichi's granddaughter (photograph by Sachi Webb)

Conclusion

This study, through which I have sought to develop an understanding of how one family influenced and experienced landscapes, is expressive of the intricacy and richness of human existence. My investigation has been by no means exhaustive, and many significant aspects of this history remain unexplored. Yet, from this research, it has become evident that through exploring one family's past, much can be learned about a diverse assortment of events and topics. The Domotos' story provides a framework for thinking about early waves of Japanese immigration at the turn of the century, the building hostility towards Asian immigrants on the Pacific Coast, the consequences of racially discriminatory legislation, the way in which minority groups experienced events like the Earthquake of 1905 and the Great Depression, typical responses to discrimination and financial stress, the realities of Japanese Incarceration during World War II and the lasting legacy of this event, and the evolution of different artistic, horticultural, and architectural trends throughout the 20th century. Through considering the Domotos' case, these subjects are personified and made tangible. History becomes something felt and experienced by individuals instead of an abstracted sequence of events.

From an archaeological perspective, this research challenges our conceptualizations of households, communities, and historical moments as bounded entities. Often, archaeologists seek to investigate the remains of an enclosed household area. But in the Domotos' case, home was more than the structure of their house and its contents—it was the entirety of the geographic region transformed through the materials and methods introduced by the family. The

remnants of their time within this region exist not in artifacts buried under floorboards, but in neighborhood demographics, the planting materials used in Bay Area gardens, and in the continued prevalence of the esthetic sense that the family helped to popularize. Similarly, Japanese incarceration tends to be conceptualized as an isolated historic event that momentarily affected one ethnic community. Yet, the Domotos' case illustrates how incarceration has been a force that continues to have enduring legacies within American landscapes. It was not a bounded event that only affected the peoples of Japanese ancestry, but had far reaching ramifications that affected all American people. The Domotos' story—a story of the complex interactions between people and space—seems to prove Ingold's argument that despite our attempts to "...hard surface the world", the environment we inhabit is a "...zone of entanglement" in which "...earthly substances and aerial media are brought together in the constitution of beings which, in their activity, participate in weaving the textures of the land" (Ingold 1796). Contemplating the Domotos' experiences is an endeavor that demands the use of what Ingold terms "...the dwelling perspective" through which, "...landscape is constituted as an enduring record of – and testimony to – the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something of themselves" (Ingold 152). This landscape is continuously being built and rebuilt and is not a fixed backdrop for life and action, but a part it.

A year ago, I had no idea who the Domotos were. Yet, how different would my world be if the Domotos had never lived where I now do? The gardens I walk past every day would not contain the same Camellias. I would not have found an

escape from urban life in the stepping-stones of the UC Berkeley Botanical Garden's Japanese Pool. While driving, I would never pass Arroyo Viejo Park or see Cedars along McArthur. I hope that through this research I have been able to heighten awareness of how extensively the landscapes through which we pass today have been formed by those of the past in often unknown, unappreciated ways.

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history will allow me to make the Domoto family experience more comprehensible to the people of today. Just as the archaeological site of Amache makes Japanese internment manifest, I hope that my investigation of the locations of past nursery sites, still existing famous gardens, and block 6F and 6H (the location of the Domotos' barracks at Amache) will make the Domotos' experiences and influences more appreciable.