HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY REPORT: HEINLENVILLE/SAN JOSÉ CORPORATION YARD ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT, SAN JOSÉ, CALIFORNIA

Prepared for the
The Redevelopment Agency
City of San José

ASC
ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES CENTER
SONOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

Cover photo: Children from Heinlenville on their way to American school. They were educated both at integrated public schools, primarily San Jose's Grant School, and also at a Chinese Language school in the Ng Shung Gung temple. *Courtesy of Connie Young Yu.*

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The City of San José plans to redevelop approximately 5.8 acres in the city's Japantown district, historically known as Heinlenville. The Project area is part of a larger area that has been recorded in the California Historical Resources Information System as CA-SCL-742H/P-43-001102 for its association with historic Japanese and Chinese settlement. To inform the project's Environmental Impact Report, the Anthropological Studies Center (ASC) has undertaken fieldwork and archival research of the Project area, including an archaeological records search, geoarchaeological testing, and the preparation of a historic context. This research indicates that the Project area is likely to contain important archaeological resources related to the historic-era Chinese and Japanese communities that once resided there, and also has the potential to contain important Native American archaeological resources. ASC recommends that the location be systematically examined.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

PROJECT LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION

The Project area is located in the historic core of San Jose, Santa Clara County, California (Figures 1 and 2). Currently owned by the City of San José, the Project area consists of two areas; an entire city block bounded by Jackson, Taylor, Sixth, and Seventh streets that, until recently, was used as a City corporation yard, and a small paved lot located on the west side of Sixth Street, close to its intersection with Taylor Street, that is used as a parking lot. This small lot is identified as San Jose Assessor's Parcel 11, Block 249, Page 39. The City of San José plans to sell the Project area land for the purposes of constructing a mixed-use retail and residential development. The Project area was the site of Heinlenville, one of San Jose's most long-lived and historically important Chinatowns. It is located on the northeast boundary of San Jose's contemporary Nihonmachi, or Japantown, which has the distinction of being one of only three remaining historic Japantown communities in the United States. The Project area is part of a larger area between Taylor and Empire streets, and between Fourth and Seventh streets, San Jose that has been recorded previously in the California Historical Resources Information System (CHRIS) as CA-SCL-742H/P-43-001102 for its historical association with Heinlenville and Nihonmachi.

The Project area is located in northern Santa Clara Valley, several miles south of the San Francisco Bay. It is situated on a generally level alluvial floodplain, approximately 0.6 miles east of the Guadalupe River and 1 mile west of Coyote Creek. Geologically, the Project area is underlain by Holocene-age alluvial sediments that were deposited after initial prehistoric human occupation of the region, likely within the past few thousand years.

REGULATORY CONTEXT

The redevelopment of the City of San José Corporation Yard is being conducted in compliance with the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA). CEQA requires that project effects on historical resources—which include both prehistoric and historic-era archaeological resources—shall be taken into consideration. According to the CEQA Guidelines (Section 15064.5), historical resources include the following:

1. A resource listed in or determined to be eligible for listing in the California Register of Historical Resources (CRHR) by the State Historical Resources Commission (PRC Section 5024.1, CCR Title 14, Section 4850 et seq.);
2. A resource included in a local register of historical resources;
3. Any resource that a lead agency determines meets the criteria for listing in the CRHR (PRC Section 5024.1, CCR Title 14, Section 4852).

To be eligible to the CRHR and, therefore, considered a historical resource, a property must meet one or more of the following criteria:

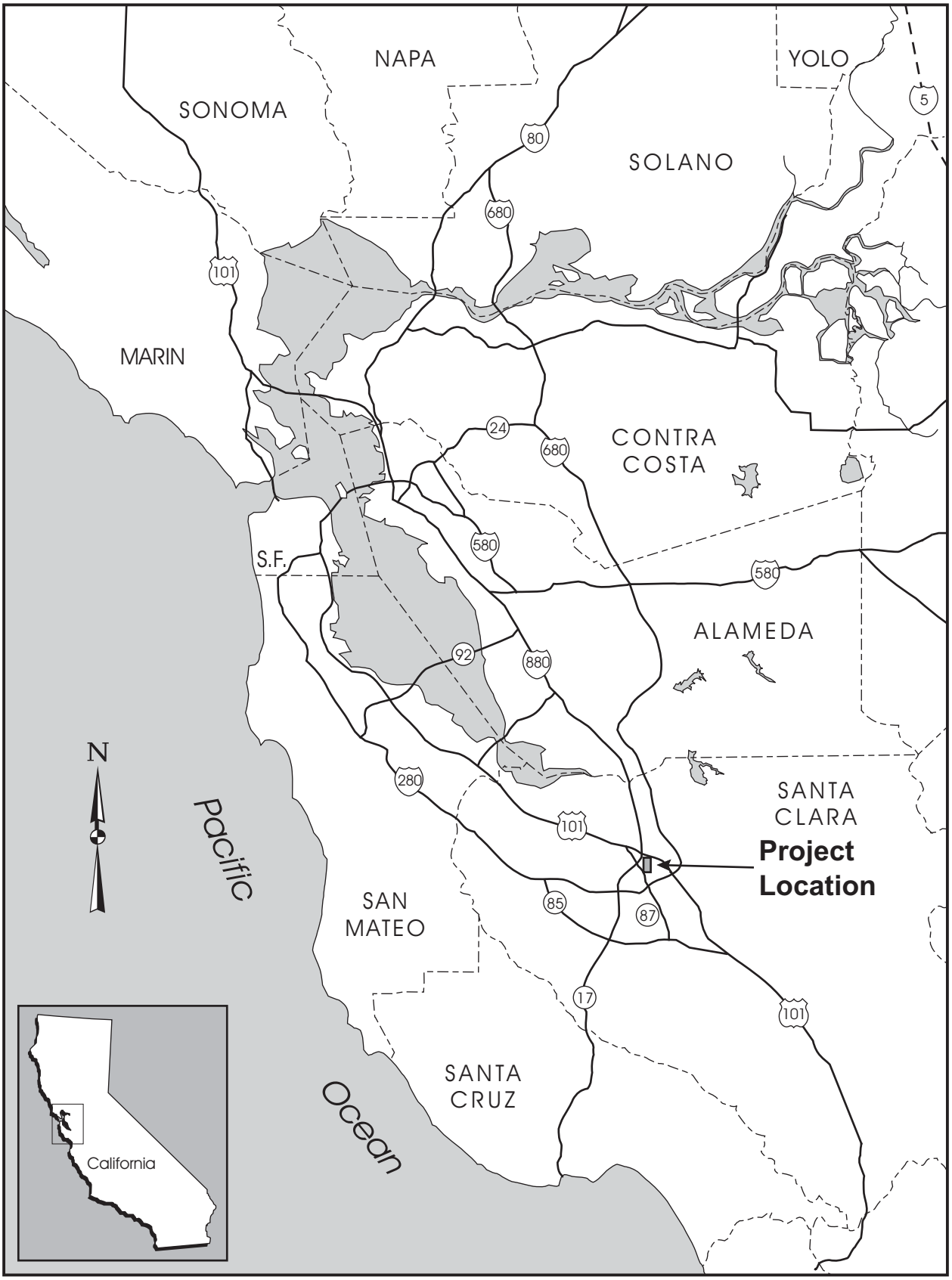


Figure 1. Project vicinity, Heinlenville/San José Corporation Yard Project, San José.

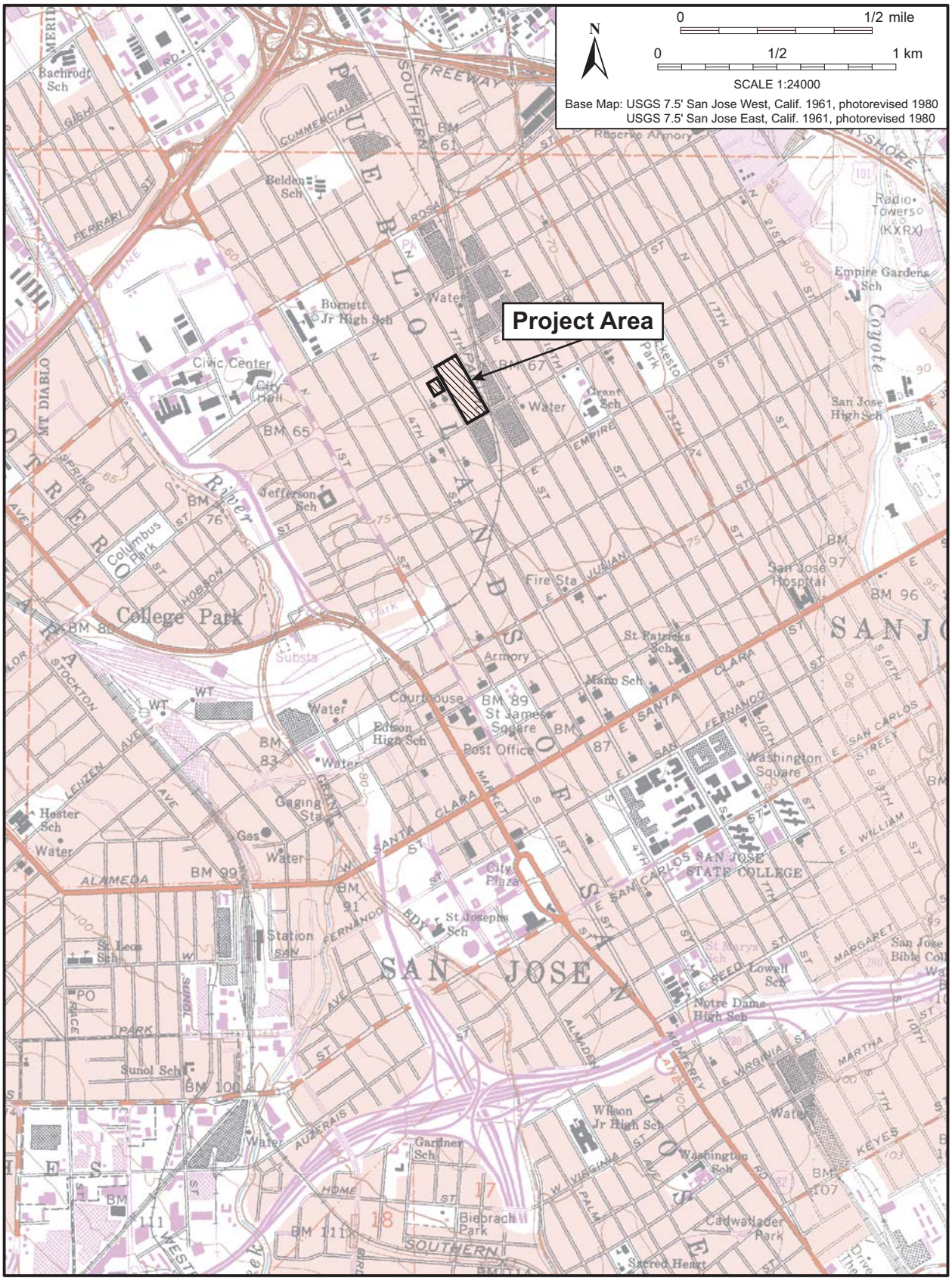


Figure 2. Location of Heinlenville/San José Corporation Yard Project.

1. It is associated with events or patterns of events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history, or the cultural heritage of California or the United States; or

2. It is associated with the lives of persons important to local, California, or national history; or

3. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region, or method of construction, or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values; or

4. It has yielded, or has the potential to yield, information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California or the nation [CEQA Guidelines Section 15064.5(a) (3) (A–D)].

Archaeological resources generally qualify for listing under CRHR Criterion 4. Resources listed in or determined eligible for the National Register of Historic Places are considered eligible to the CRHR.

Native American human remains have been identified in large numbers at sites within 3 miles of the Project area. It is unknown whether human remains are located within the Project area. Human remains are protected from unauthorized disturbance by Public Resources Code sections 5097.98, 7050.5, and 7051. The CEQA Guidelines further describe the process by which prehistoric Native American remains shall be treated (Section 15065.4[e] (1–2)): If remains are discovered, excavation ceases and the County Coroner is called. If the coroner determines that the remains are those of a Native American, the Native American Heritage Commission (NAHC) is asked to identify the individual's Most Likely Descendant (MLD). The MLD consults with the landowner (in this case, the City) in order to arrange for the appropriate final disposition of the remains.

NATIVE AMERICAN AND LOCAL COMMUNITY CONTACTS

The NAHC provided a list of Native American community contacts for the Project area. Andrew Galvan, Ohlone Indian Tribal representative, and Rosemary Cambra, Muwekma Ohlone Indian Tribe representative, were advised of, and invited to attend geoarchaeological testing of the project area on 18 July 2007. Although both were unable to attend, Mr. Galvan expressed interest in being consulted regarding subsequent archaeological investigations within the Project area.

A meeting was held between representatives of the City of San José Redevelopment Agency; Adrian Praetzellis and Mary Praetzellis (ASC Archaeologists), Connie Young Yu (San Jose Chinese Historical and Cultural Project), Rod Lum (Japantown Community Congress and San Jose Chinese Historical and Cultural Project), and Steve Fugita (Japanese American Museum of San Jose) on 17 July 2007. This meeting included discussions of the planned approach to the investigation and treatment of archaeological resources during the project. The community representatives emphasized the great cultural sensitivity of the Project area to the San Jose Chinese-American and Japanese-American communities, their desire for the respectful treatment of associated archaeological remains and for continued community involvement in the Project area's development.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH METHODS AND SOURCES CONSULTED

PREHISTORIC-ERA BACKGROUND SOURCES

Several sources of information were reviewed to develop an understanding of the prehistoric occupation of the Project area and the nature and context of material remains that might be encountered during archaeological investigations. Information on the geologic evolution of the Bay Area came from a variety of geologic, biologic, and environmental studies. These sources are detailed in the Geoenvironmental Setting in Chapter 2. A geoarchaeological study by Meyer (1999, 2000) provided valuable background information regarding landscape evolution in the northern Santa Clara Valley and the potential for buried archaeological sites in the Project area. This study, conducted for the Guadalupe Parkway Corridor upgrade project, consisted of 60 subsurface exploration trenches along the Guadalupe River west and northwest of the Project area, in addition to stratigraphic analysis supplemented by 13 radiocarbon dates on a variety of materials.

Statewide overviews have discussed the prehistory of the South Bay within the greater San Francisco Bay Area prehistory (Jones and Klar 2007; Moratto 1984). Almost a century of archaeological research in the northern Santa Clara Valley, including the results of several recent archaeological investigations, has been synthesized into regional prehistoric overviews of the area (Elsasser 1986; Hylkema 2002, 2007; Milliken et al. 2007). Ethnographic information on the region surrounding the Project area has been synthesized by Kroeber 1925 and Levy 1978. Primary research has included examining mission baptismal records and diaries of early explorers (Milliken 1995, 2007), and obtaining first-hand perspectives of the Ohlone people regarding the ethnographic and historic periods in the region (Field et al. 2007).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND SOURCES

Numerous secondary and primary sources were consulted to develop an understanding of the Chinese and Japanese occupation of the Project area and the nature of material remains that might be encountered during archaeological investigations.

In the course of researching the Project area, the following repositories were consulted: map and newspaper collections at History San José (Sanborn maps); California Room of the Martin Luther King Jr. Library (Sanborn maps, 1909, 1924 and 1927 block books, City of San Jose 1948 aerial photograph); San Jose State University; the Santa Clara County Surveyor's Office Map Archive; Special Collections, King Library (Sanborn maps); and the maps located at City of San José Public Works. Court transcripts for the case of Quen Hing Tong v. City of San Jose et al. (Circuit Court of the United States, Ninth Judicial Circuit and Northern District of California [Ninth Circuit Court] 1894) provide valuable details on life in Heinlenville in the 1890s. In addition, information on partnerships between merchants in San Francisco and San Jose are reported in District Court of the U.S. in and for the Northern District of California (1894)

These resources, as well as the U.S. Census population schedules (1900, 1910, 1920, 1930) were used to develop detailed residential and ownership histories for properties identified as suitable for archaeological testing. This information has been compiled

into documentary research tables (DRTs), and summarized in Chapter 3: Preliminary Archaeological Sensitivity Study – Historic-era Archaeology.

Secondary Sources

Asian immigration to the United States in the 19th and 20th centuries has been the subject of considerable historical research. Sources such as Daniels (1988) and Chan (1986) provide contextual material for Asian settlement in California and the Asian community's role in the agricultural development of counties, including Santa Clara. The Chinese and Japanese settlement of Santa Clara County has also been the subject of detailed historical and oral-history research presented in Hom (1971), Lukes and Okihiro (1985), and Young Yu (1991). The Chinese and Japanese communities were subject to intense discrimination during the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. McClain (1994) and Pfaelzer (2007) provide valuable detail on this period, including the case against police harassment known as Quen Hing Tong v. City of San Jose et al. Previous cultural resource studies of San Jose Japantown (Carey & Co. Inc. 2004, 2006, 2007) and San Jose's Woolen Mills Chinatown (Allen et al., 2002) provide important contextual and comparative material.

Historic Maps

Historic maps provide valuable information on the development of the project block. The Project area does not appear on the historic 1869, 1875, or ca. 1901 bird's-eye or panoramic maps of San Jose. The Sanborn Insurance maps are crucial for understanding the evolving occupation of the Project area, including the locations of outbuildings, building footprints, and consistency of addresses. The maps have also provided important information on post-depositional activities that may have affected the survival of archaeological deposits. Although there are a large number of Sanborn maps relating to San Jose in various repositories, there appear to have been only three original maps prepared for the City that are relevant to the occupation period of Heinlenville (1884, 1891, and 1915); other available maps are paste-corrected or revised versions of these. In the paste-correction process, the Sanborn Company issued to subscribers updates of small portions of its maps to reflect new or upgraded buildings. Subscribers applied these new paste-ups to the older maps to maintain their currency, until the point when the Sanborn Company issued completely new updated maps for a city or town. Sometimes it is possible to discern detail of earlier buildings under paste corrections. Other times, the pastes totally obscure the details of the earlier structures. Paste-corrected Sanborn maps are denoted in this report by both their original year and the last known year in which it was paste-corrected (e.g., 1884/1887). Such maps relevant for the Project area are 1884/1887, 1884/1889, 1884/1897, 1891/1901, 1891/1921, 1915/1929, 1915/1930, 1915/1932, 1915/1939, 1915/1950, 1915/1956, 1915/1957, 1915/61, and 1915/1969. Within the References Cited section of this report, these Sanborns are referenced according to the year of their last paste-correction.

Several memory maps that include the Project area have been prepared by previous residents of Heinlenville and Japantown, including the map created by Art Eng, born in Heinlenville in 1913, which is reproduced in Young Yu (1991:viii), and the map by Dr. Tokio Ishikawa (1996). A map given in Lukes and Okihiro (1985:22–23) also provides valuable detail on the location of businesses and residences in Japantown, 1910–1920.

Other maps relevant for the project area include City of San Jose Block Books (Hermann 1909, 1927) and an aerial photograph taken in 1948 (City of San Jose 1948).

Historic-era Photographs

A significant archive of photographs is available that depicts the general layout of Heinlenville, along with its resident individuals and families. These photographs provide information primarily on the settlement's Cleveland Street facades. No photographs are known however, that depict the backyard areas that were the subject of so many modifications during the settlement's history. Family-based research conducted primarily by Connie Young Yu has revealed a wealth of photographs recording Heinlenville's inhabitants. These include photographs in the collection of Eugene L. Chinn that depict a dragon procession around the fenced perimeter of Heinlenville, probably during the ca. 1910 "Da Jui," or Hungry Ghosts festival (Young Yu 1991:iii, vi, 122).

Oral Histories

Several oral-history interviews have been conducted by Jessica Yu with former inhabitants of Heinlenville (Chan 1990; Eng 1990; Lee 1990; Wong 1990). These interviews provide accounts of the events and flavor of day-to-day life in Heinlenville.

Records Search

The ASC conducted a records search at the Northwest Information Center (NWIC) of the CHRIS for the purposes of this project in June 2007. The Center, an affiliate of the State of California Office of Historic Preservation [CA-OHP], is the official state repository of archaeological and historical records and reports of a 16-county area that includes Santa Clara County. The records search and literature review for this study was carried out to determine whether recorded archaeological or historical resources exist within, or in the vicinity of the Project area. For the literature review, the following resources held by the NWIC were reviewed: the *California Inventory of Historic Resources* (California Department of Parks and Recreation 1976), *Five Views: An Ethnic Sites Survey for California* (CA-OHP 1988), *California Historical Landmarks* (CA-OHP 1990), *Points of Historical Interest* (CA-OHP 1992), and the *National Register of Historic Places Index of Listed Propertie*s (National Park Service 1998).

According to the NWIC records, one investigation has been conducted within the Project area (Banet et al. 1993). This study involved a literature review, and archaeological and architectural field surveys; as the entire surface of the Project area is paved or covered by buildings, the study was unable to conduct an effective field inspection for prehistoric and historic-era archaeological resources. No subsurface archaeological resources have been recorded within the Project area. Several studies have been conducted within a 1-mile radius of the project area (Table 1). The Native American Heritage Commission has indicated that there are no properties listed in the Sacred Lands Files within or adjacent to the Project area (see Appendix B). However, several prehistoric archaeological sites and historic sites are located within a 1-mile radius of the Project area (Table 2); several of these sites which are relevant to the types of resources expected to occur in the Project area are further discussed below.

Table 1. Cultural Resources Investigations for the Project Area and Vicinity

CHRIS Report No.	Date	Author(s)	Title
S-5905	1983	Basin Research Associates	Archaeological Resources of Downtown San Jose. A Preliminary Planning Summary of Prehistoric and Historic Sites in the Central Business District.
S-7712	1985	Basin Research Associates	A Cultural Resources Assessment of the Proposed City of San José Enterprise Zone, Santa Clara Country, California.
S-8005	1986	Basin Research Associates	A Cultural Resources Assessment of Saint James Park Master Plan, City of San Jose, Santa Clara County, California.
S-13192	1991	Basin Research Associates	Cultural Resources Assessment for the Jackson-Taylor Residential Strategy EIR, City of San Jose, Santa Clara County, California.
S-14966	1993	Basin Research Associates	Cultural Resources Monitoring Japantown Parking Lot, 575 North Sixth Street, City of San Jose, Santa Clara County, California.
S-14886	1993	Basin Research Associates	Cultural Resources Assessment. The Japantown Redevelopment Project, City of San Jose, Santa Clara County, California.
S-25680	1999	Basin Research Associates	Historic Properties Survey Report. Vasona Corridor Light Rail Project, Santa Clara County, California.
S-23080	1999	Basin Research Associates	South Bay Water Recycling Program – Cultural Resources Program, Subcontract No. 728106.3024. Monitoring Closure Report – Phase 1.
S-25328	2002	Pacific Legacy, Inc.	Archaeological Investigations for the 101 Younger Street, San Jose Wireless Communications Site, CA 2044F.
S-27063	2002	Archaeological Resources Management	Archaeological Mitigation Program for the Ryland Park Trenching Project.
	2002	California Department of Transportation, District 4, Oakland	Excavation of the Woolen Mills Chinatown (CA-SCL-807H), San Jose.
	2004	Carey & Co. Inc.	San Jose Japantown Historic Context and Reconnaissance Survey, San Jose, California.
	2006	Carey & Co. Inc.	San Jose Japantown Historic Context and Survey Phase II, San Jose, California.
	2007	Carey & Co. Inc.	San Jose Corporation Yard Historic Resources Evaluation.

Table 2 has been removed because it contains confidential information.

Chapter 2:
Prehistoric and Historic-era Overviews

GEOENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

Climatically induced environmental changes over the past 15,000 years have resulted in significant changes in the landscape of the San Francisco Bay Area that have affected archaeological site visibility. Due to these changes, the known archaeological record likely does not represent the depth and extent of human occupation of the region (Meyer 2003). The following discussion provides a brief overview of geological and environmental changes that have occurred during the time span of human occupation of this region, and the effect these changes may have had on the archaeological record.

SEA LEVEL RISE

During the last glacial period, from 28,000 to 11,500 years before present (B.P.), immense ice sheets formed on the continents of the northern hemisphere covering vast areas in ice over 3 km thick (Williams et al. 1993:33–34). As a result, global sea level 15,000 years ago was over 100 meters (approximately 328 feet) lower than today, and the San Francisco Bay Area, then a large inland valley, was located over 25 km (15.5 miles) east of the shoreline of the Pacific Ocean than it is at present (Atwater et al. 1977:Figure 1; Bard et al. 1996). While the ice sheets melted at different times in different locations, global sea levels began to rise substantially between 15,000 and 11,000 cal B.P. (calibrated years before present) at a rate of 13 meters (43 ft.) every 1,000 years, decreasing to an average rate of approximately 8 meters (26 ft.) every 1,000 years between 11,000 cal B.P. to 8,000 cal B.P., at which point the rate slowed dramatically. Between 6,000 cal B.P. and the present, sea level rose at an average rate of 1.3 meters (4 ft.) every 1,000 years. Given this rate, the area now occupied by the San Francisco Bay was first flooded around 10,000 years ago and the estuary rapidly expanded until the rate of submergence decreased around 6,000 years ago (see Figure 3; Atwater 1979:39; Atwater et al. 1977:11; Atwater et al. 1979:347).

As submergence decreased, sediment deposition along the margins of the bay created large tidal flats that were later colonized by plants forming marshes. Over the past 6,000 years, the bay continued to expand due to increasing sea level, in addition to compaction, decomposition, and subsidence of intertidal deposits (Atwater et al. 1977:9; Wells 1995:243). Prior to this time tidal flats and marshes likely occurred as small areas lining a rapidly expanding bay. By the 1850s tidal flats and marshes covered 2,200 km^2 (about 850 square miles), almost double the area covered by the bay, however levee building and infilling over the past 150 years has reduced this number substantially (Atwater et al. 1979:347–348). In the southern San Francisco Bay, the formation of large tidal marshes began around 4,000 years ago and continued up to the historic period (Atwater et al. 1979:349). In this area this process was augmented by lowering ground levels from tectonic and isostatic subsidence, causing these tidal deposits to expand in size. As a result the historic tidal deposits of the southern San Francisco Bay represent the southernmost

extent of this landform during the Holocene (Atwater et al. 1977:Figure 2). This indicates that as the estuary in the southern San Francisco Bay expanded to the south during the Late Holocene, prehistoric populations situated near this resource base may have been forced, perhaps repeatedly, to move south as well (Allen et al. 1999: 2–51).

ALLUVIAL DEPOSITION

Rising sea levels during the Holocene forced streams flowing into the San Francisco Bay to adjust to higher base levels. As a result watercourses overflowed their channels and deposited alluvium on surrounding landforms (Helley et al. 1979:18). As a result, many Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene landforms along the margins of the bay, and in inland valleys throughout the bay area, are covered by alluvium that was deposited during the past 6,000 years (Meyer 2003:21; Rosenthal and Meyer 2004:29). These younger alluvial deposits typically contain several buried soils (paleosols) representing periods of landform stability interrupted by brief periods of erosion and/or rapid deposition. Additionally, Late Holocene alluvial deposits are typically 2 to 3 meters (6 to 10 ft.) thick, while in some areas this increases to more than 10 meters (33 ft.; Meyer 1999:2–49). The older landforms overlain by this younger sediment are typically marked by well-developed paleosols, indicating that these landforms remained stable at the surface for a considerable amount of time (Meyer 2003:4). For these reasons evidence of early human occupation of the San Francisco Bay Area is likely under the waters of the bay or associated with older stable landforms buried by alluvial and/or other recent sediments.

The Project area is in the northern Santa Clara Valley, situated on a generally level alluvial floodplain approximately 1 km (0.6 mile) east of the current location of the Guadalupe River, and 1.7 km (1 mile) west of the current location of Coyote Creek. These watercourses have two of the largest watersheds in the southern Bay Area, with the Guadalupe River draining 380 km^2 (147 square miles), and the significantly larger Coyote Creek draining 910 km^2 (351 square miles; Fio and Leighton 1995). The proximity of these watercourses indicates the potential for significant alluvial deposition since initial human occupation, and suggests both spatial and vertical variability of the timing and nature of alluvial deposits. Meyer (1999: 4–9), citing data from U.S. Army Corps of Engineers soil-borings in the San Jose Area, suggested that the Guadalupe River has migrated west during the Holocene, being "pushed" by the larger watershed and discharge of Coyote Creek to the east.

PALEOENVIRONMENT

Studies examining climate and vegetation changes between the Late Pleistocene and Late Holocene in the North Coast Ranges have been analyzed to create a paleoclimatic sequence for the region (West 1993). During the Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene, conditions in this area were cooler and more continental with pine and fir forests dominating most pollen assemblages. The highly variable Middle Holocene can be characterized as a Mediterranean climate, with no clear vegetation trend predominating in the region. During the Late Holocene, the current climate took hold, and modern vegetation communities became established during the past 4,000 to 2,000 years before present (West 1993:232).

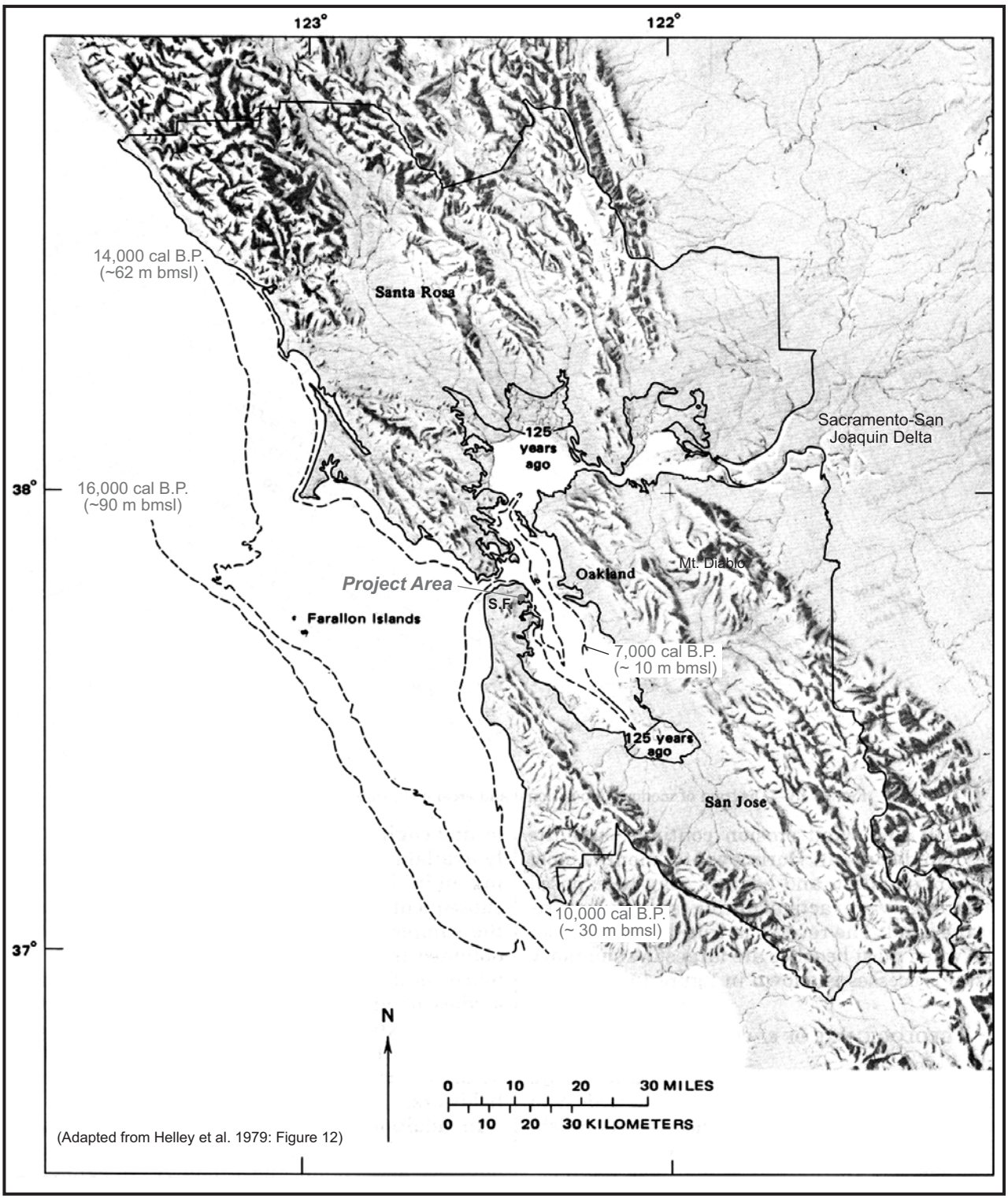


Figure 3. Timing and extent of Holocene sea-level rise in the San Francisco Bay Area.

In the South Bay researchers have documented several indications of local climate change during the Late Pleistocene and Holocene. Carbon isotope ($^{13}C/^{12}C$) analysis suggests that the overall trend in the northern Santa Clara Valley was from warmer and/or dryer to cooler and/or wetter conditions, with a highly variable period during the Middle Holocene. While this is in contrast to the regional trends discussed above, the trend in the South Bay may have been influenced locally by higher groundwater levels associated with rising sea levels (Meyer 2000:37–39). During the Early Holocene a pronounced period of aridity is indicated by significant development of calcium carbonate soil horizons in paleosols near Union City (Borchardt and Lienkaemper 1999). During the past 7,000 years the San Francisco Bay underwent major fluctuations in salinity, sedimentation, water temperature, and marsh development indicative of local environmental changes (Meyer 1999:2–51). One of the most prominent of these fluctuations occurred between 1,500 and 1,200 years ago, as indicated by increased salinity and temperature in the bay waters, and a major unconformity in bay sediments representing several hundreds of years of nondeposition. This may have been the result of a major drought in the southern Bay Area that has also been documented in the Sierra Nevada during this time period (Ingram 1998).

HISTORIC CHANGES

During the past few hundred years, the primary changes to the landscape of the northern Santa Clara Valley have been associated with historic development. During the historic period the Guadalupe River flooded periodically, depositing alluvial sediments near its channel and forcing the relocation of early settlements. This continued until the 1960s, when the channel was realigned and artificial levees were constructed (Allen et al. 1999: 3–16). This deposition may have been related to overgrazing and/or vegetation changes from the introduction on non-native species. Over the past one hundred years, artificial groundwater withdrawal has augmented tectonic and isostatic subsidence, lowering portions of northern Santa Clara Valley by approximately 4 meters, or 13 feet (Schmidt and Burgmann 2002). This drop has likely made these areas more susceptible to flooding and added to the recent sediment deposition along the Guadalupe River.

The landscape of the northern Santa Clara Valley has been greatly altered by environmental changes during the time span of human occupation. These changes likely submerged, buried under sediment, or eroded archaeological evidence of human occupation in the valley. Other changes in the recent geologic past would have influenced the location of human settlements, such as shifting watercourses. The nature and visibility of the archaeological record in this area has been strongly influenced by these changes and is likely incomplete.

PREHISTORIC-ERA OVERVIEW

PREHISTORY

While the Santa Clara Valley has a rich history of human settlement for several thousand years, until recently there have been few efforts to create a local cultural sequence. The first cultural sequence developed for central California was formulated in the Sacramento–San Joaquin Delta area in the 1930s by archaeologists from the Sacramento Junior College (Lillard, Heizer, and Fenenga 1939; Lillard and Purves 1936). The focus was on large cemetery mounds, which led to a three-part scheme—Early, Middle, and Late horizons—based on changes in kinds and quantities of abundant grave goods and burial positions. The scheme was augmented by Beardsley (1948, 1954) to include the San Francisco Bay Area and Marin coast, ultimately resulting in the Central California Taxonomic System (CCTS).

During the 1960s numerous archaeological investigations accumulated highly variable data that did not fit the temporally restrictive nature of the CCTS. This led Fredrickson (1973, 1974), with significant contributions from Bennyhoff, to revise the CCTS, proposing a more flexible system that looked at behavior and day-to-day subsistence activities in addition to ceremonial practices. Fredrickson's system, which focused on the North and East Bay, identified three periods (Paleoindian, Archaic, and Emergent) that encompass the entire time span of human occupation of the region based on the prevalent traits of those periods (Figure 4). Additionally, it introduces the *pattern* as "a way of life shared by a number of different peoples residing in a particular geographic space" (Fredrickson 1973:40). For the known archaeological record in the Bay Area and Delta at the time, the Windmiller, Berkeley, and Augustine patterns were defined (Fredrickson 1974).

The Santa Clara Valley has been subsumed under both the CCTS and Fredrickson scheme, an approach utilized below. This is problematic because the CCTS was derived primarily from research in the Sacramento–San Joaquin Delta, while Fredrickson's scheme was developed from work in the North and East Bay. Because these schemes were not developed for the Santa Clara Valley, refinements to address local complexity are needed (Hylkema 2007:29–30).

Paleoindian Period (ca. 13,000 to 8000 B.P.)

The Paleoindian period (ca. 13,000 to 8000 B.P.) was a time of major environmental change and rapidly rising sea level. People are believed to have lived in mobile groups that left only scant archaeological remains. Recent reexamination of human remains from the Channel Islands indicates a human presence on the California Coast by 13,100 cal B.P. (Stafford 2002). The past decade has also witnessed the discovery of numerous archaeological sites on the central California coast dating to the end of this period, suggesting a greater antiquity of occupation and larger population along this coastline than previously believed (Fitzgerald 2004). Only a handful of Paleoindian archaeological sites have been identified in northern California. Near the Project area the Scotts Valley site (CA-SCR-177), north of Santa Cruz, was radiocarbon-dated to about 12,000 B.P., indicating a Paleoindian presence in the region (Cartier 1993:5). In the southern Santa Clara Valley, SCL-178, a deeply buried site containing handstones, burnt bone, and shell, dates to at least 9000 B.P. (Fitzgerald, Jones, and Schroth 2005:428–430).

		Period Characteristics
1800	Emergent Period Upper	Clam disk bead money economy appears. Increasing quantities of goods moving farther and farther. Growth of local specializations re: production and exchange. Interpretation of south and central exchange systems.
1500	Emergent Period Lower	Bow and arrow introduced, replace dart and atlatl; south coast maritime adaptation flowers. Territorial boundaries fairly well established. Evidence of distinctions in social status linked to wealth increasingly common. Regularized exchanges between groups continue with more material entering into the network of exchanges.
1000	Upper Archaic Period	Growth of sociopolitical complexity; development of status distinctions based on wealth. Emergence of group-oriented religions. Greater complexity of exchange systems: evidence of regular, sustained exchanges between groups. Shell beads gain in significance, possibly indicators of both exchange and status. Possible origins of Kuksu religious system at the end of period.
A.D. / B.C.		
500	Middle Archaic Period	Altithermal may have ended by ca. 3000 B.C.; climate becomes more similar to present-day. Mortars and pestles and inferred acorn technology introduced. Hunting important. Possibility of entry of new population. Diversification of economy; sedentism more fully developed, population growth and expansion. Technological and environmental factors provide dominant themes. Little evidence for significant changes in exchange relations.
3000	Lower Archaic Period	Altithermal may have begun about 6000 B.C.; ancient lakes drying up. Milling stones develop or are introduced; plant food emphasis, little hunting. Although semi-sedentary life style, exchange seems similar to previous period. Most artifacts manufactured of local materials. Little emphasis upon wealth.
6000	Paleo-Indian Period	First demonstrated entry and spread of humans into California. Lakeside sites with a probable but not clearly demonstrated hunting emphasis. No evidence for a developed milling technology although cultures with such technology may exist in state at this time depth. Exchange probably ad hoc, individual, one-to one. Social unit not heavily dependent upon exchanges; resources acquired by changing habitat.
10,000		(No satisfactory information from the preceding Early Lithic Period.)

Figure 4. Hypothesized characteristics of prehistoric cultural periods in California (from Fredrickson 1994:100).

Lower Archaic Period (8000 to 5000 B.P.)

The Lower Archaic period (8000 to 5000 B.P.) was a time of generally arid climatic conditions. Artifacts typical of this time period include milling slabs and handstones, wide-stem points, and cobble core tools. An increase in the number of archaeological sites dating to the Middle Archaic period (5000 to 2500 B.P.) likely reflects a more sedentary population, but may also be a by-product of landscape evolution. At sites SCL-65 and -178 in the Santa Clara Valley, a transition from handstones and milling slabs to mortars and pestles is an early indication of the use of acorns for food, and a higher ratio of milling tools to projectile points suggests the importance of plant resources (Hylkema 2007:27). In the Delta area, the Early period of the CCTS coincides with the Middle Archaic period.

Early Bay/ Windmiller Pattern (Early Period 4000 to 2500 B.P.)

While the Windmiller pattern was present in the Delta during the Early period, material traits associated with the pattern were absent in the Bay Area, initially suggesting late occupation on the bay. The Windmiller pattern is defined by co-occurrence of milling slabs and mortars; large side-notched, square-stemmed, and contracting-stemmed chert projectile points; common polished stone implements and few polished bone implements; and typically ventrally extended burials. The introduction of the pestle and mortar (onset of acorn exploitation) in addition to the co-occurrence of milling slabs suggests an increased

reliance on vegetal resources (Allen et al. 1999: 2–41), while the generally low frequency of milling tools compared to large projectile points indicates a continued reliance on terrestrial game hunting (Hylkema 2007:398). In the South Bay a distinct contemporaneous culture was identified at the University Village site (SMA-77) on San Francisquito Creek. Termed the Early Bay culture (Gerow with Force 1968), this culture is defined by flexed burials, frequent use of red pigment (cinnabar), and a low frequency of drilled shell ornaments and beads. Also common to the Early Bay culture is the introduction of numerous bone implements, a trend that persists throughout the Berkeley pattern (Hylkema 2002:243).

Berkeley Pattern (Middle Period 2500 to 1300 B.P.)

During the Middle period, bayshore assemblages become more elaborate than those in the interior, with sites along the bay developing into massive shell mounds. In general, evidence of long-distance trade decreases, but trade in shell beads and obsidian begins to thrive locally (Allen et al. 1999:2–44). The Berkeley pattern in the region is defined by large accumulation of shell suggesting an intensive use of the tidal marsh ecosystem, in addition to increased reliance on acorns indicated by increases in the frequency of mortars and pestles. Burial practices of this pattern are characterized by random interment in residential areas, with flexed positioning lacking consistent orientation and/or significant grave goods. Contracting-stem and lanceolate (Excelsior) projectile points are typical of this pattern, while the frequency of projectile points deceases substantially (Hylkema 2002:245).

During the Middle period, a different culture had developed in the San Joaquin Valley: the Meganos tradition, a series of traits that later appeared in the southeast Bay Area (Bennnyhoff 1994:7–13). This tradition, which appears to be related to the earlier Windmiller pattern (Milliken et al. 2007:118), is represented by both ventrally and dorsally extended, in addition to flexed, burials in non-midden cemeteries with few grave goods; common mortars and pestles; very few projectile points; and large shield-shaped abalone (*Haliotis*) pendants. The Meganos tradition is thought to have been a seasonally mobile group who entered the South Bay from the Stockton area through the Livermore Valley and blended with existing Berkeley pattern groups. This tradition existed in the South Bay for only a few hundred years, then retreated back to the Stockton area. Near San Jose the Meganos tradition is represented at sites SCL-302, -327, and -478 (Hylkema 2007:411; Milliken et al. 2007:116).

Significant social changes are associated with the transition from the Middle to Late period in the southern Bay Area, between 1300 and 800 B.P. Burials from this period are similar to those of the Berkeley pattern, yet the frequency and number of grave goods per individual increases dramatically, particularly *Olivella* shell beads and the first forms of *Haliotis* banjo pendants. Investigations at SCL-690, a single-component site from this transitional period, documented over 100 burials, 76 percent of which had *Olivella* beads and 22 percent had Haliotis pendants (Hylkema 2007:416). A rapid intensification of the more labor-intensive horn snail, relative to mussel and oyster, occurred in the South Bay during this transition and continues into the Late period. This shift has been attributed to seasonality patterns or environmental changes (Hylkema 2002:252), or may reflect surplus labor being used to collect luxury food items (Milliken et al. 2007:109). By the end of the Middle period, the area surrounding the Guadalupe River and Coyote Creek were intensively occupied (Hylkema 2007:410).

Augustine Pattern (Late Period 1300 B.P. to Historic Period)

The social transformations of the Middle/Late transition continue during the Late period, with the addition new technologies and renewed long-distance trade. The Augustine pattern is characterized by large, well-shaped "flower pot" mortars and later hopper mortars; California-style bone and antler harpoons; tubular, polished stone tobacco pipes; and small, obsidian Stockton serrated points and occasional Desert side-notched points, marking the introduction of the bow and arrow (Hylkema 2002: 247–250). Burials are typically flexed, while cremation of wealthy individuals is common. *Haliotis* banjo pendants are common during this period and have been associated with the Kuksu cult, which continued up to the historic period. At the Yukisma site (SCL-38), located east of Coyote Creek in the northeast corner of the Santa Clara Valley, an elaborate sociopolitical hierarchy is suggested during this time. The late-period component of this site contains a cemetery organized by gender, age, and wealth, with large numbers of shaped shell beads associated with only a few individuals. This indicates social ranking with an elite social class during this period (Hylkema 2007:415).

ETHNOGRAPHY

Disruption of indigenous lifeways by non-native groups began with the establishment of the Mission Santa Clara and Mission San Jose in the South Bay, starting in the late 1770s, and Mission San Francisco de Asís some 40 miles to the north; missionization not only decimated local populations but also relocated native peoples from throughout north-central California into the San Jose area. Thus by the time the first anthropologists interviewed native people in the Santa Clara Valley, there was little reliable ethnographic information on the aboriginal inhabitants of the project area and vicinity. In fact, "no persons who lived a pre-contact hunting-collecting life in the Santa Clara Valley were ever interviewed by an ethnographer" (Milliken 2007:48). Much of what is known about the groups living in the region is based on bits of information from early explorers and missionaries representing only a small portion of native culture.

Territory, Language, and Population

The Project area falls within the territory of the Costanoan linguistic group, whose lands extended from Monterey Bay to San Francisco Bay. This group is part of the Utian language family and is comprised of eight distinct dialects thought to represent separate ethnic groups. The Tamien (Tamyen) ethnic group occupied the area surrounding the Project area (Levy 1978:485). Today, descendants of this group identify themselves as Ohlone, a preferred name for the Costanoan in this area. Ethnographic information indicates that the Ohlone were comprised of numerous tribelets, which were small independent clusters of family groups. Each tribelet had at least one large village headed by a single chief, a position that was inherited patrilineally. Tribelets cooperated in ceremony, resource procurement, and conflict resolution. Both the tribelet and the associated central village that occupied the lands of the Project area and vicinity are referred to as Tamien. This group is thought to have occupied the area along the Guadalupe River from Agnews to the present location of downtown San Jose, and west to upper Stevens Creek (Milliken 1995:256). The Tamien tribelet was bounded on the east by the Santa Ysabel group, whose territory was centered

on the present location of Alum Rock Park on Penitencia Creek (Milliken 1995:253; see Figure 5). The boundary between these groups, however, is unclear.

While the population of the Ohlone at the time of contact is impossible to determine, it has been estimated that the Costanoan-speaking people (from Monterey to San Francisco bays) may have ranged from 7,000 (Kroeber 1925:464) to 10,000 people (Levy 1978:486). By the time Spanish missions were established in the region, the Costanoan population had likely already been impacted from contact with the earliest European explorers. By 1832 their population had dropped to only 2,000 due to disease and other effects of missionization (Cook 1943). While Alfred Kroeber (1925:464) claimed that the Costanoans were virtually extinct in the 1920s, a thriving community descendant from the original inhabitants of this region continues to live in the area today (Field et al. 2007).

No formal census of the indigenous population was ever conducted in the Santa Clara Valley during the late 1700s. Review of early explorer's diaries and Mission Santa Clara baptismal registers suggest that the area near the project area supported a population of 4 to 5 persons per square mile. In 1776 the Anza expedition noted four Ohlone villages in the northern Santa Clara Valley, each home to approximately 100 people. The exact location of these villages, however, is unclear. Adding to this ambiguity is the fact that Spanish explorers frequently encountered abandoned and newly settled villages, suggesting a mobile culture. Baptismal records indicate that the closest village to the project area was named by the Spanish "Our Mother Santa Clara," and was located near Mission Santa Clara (Milliken 2007:51–53). This village was reportedly deserted by 1795 (Milliken 1995:256).

History

Linguistic information indicates that ancestors of the Ohlone moved into the Santa Clara Valley from the Delta region approximately 1500 years ago (Levy 1978:486). The establishment of Mission Santa Clara in 1777 brought about profound changes for the Ohlone people. During the 1790s the majority of native people in the Santa Clara Valley joined the mission, possibly under threat of destruction of their villages (Milliken 2007:47). A significant decline in Ohlone population, due to disease and declining birthrates at the Mission San Jose, led the mission's padres to seek more converts from neighboring Miwok, Yokuts, and Patwin groups. With the secularization of the mission by the Mexican government in 1834, many of the remaining Ohlone became employed as vaqueros on former mission land, while others moved to remote areas near their former homelands (Field et al. 2007:71–72).

Subsistence

At the time of contact, the Ohlone practiced a seasonal hunting and collecting lifestyle, often husbanding plant and animal resources for a better harvest (Milliken 2007:49). Several species of oak trees in the region provided acorns, possibly the most important food source to the Ohlone. Acorns were knocked down with long straight poles, ground down to a meal that was then leached to remove the tannins. The nuts of buckeye, laurel, and hazelnut trees were also consumed. Seeds from several plants were also eaten, including dock, tarweed, chia, digger pine, and holly-leaf cherry. Blackberries, elderberries, strawberries, manzanita berries, gooseberries, madrone berries, and wild grapes were collected seasonally. Roots were consumed, including wild onion, cattail,

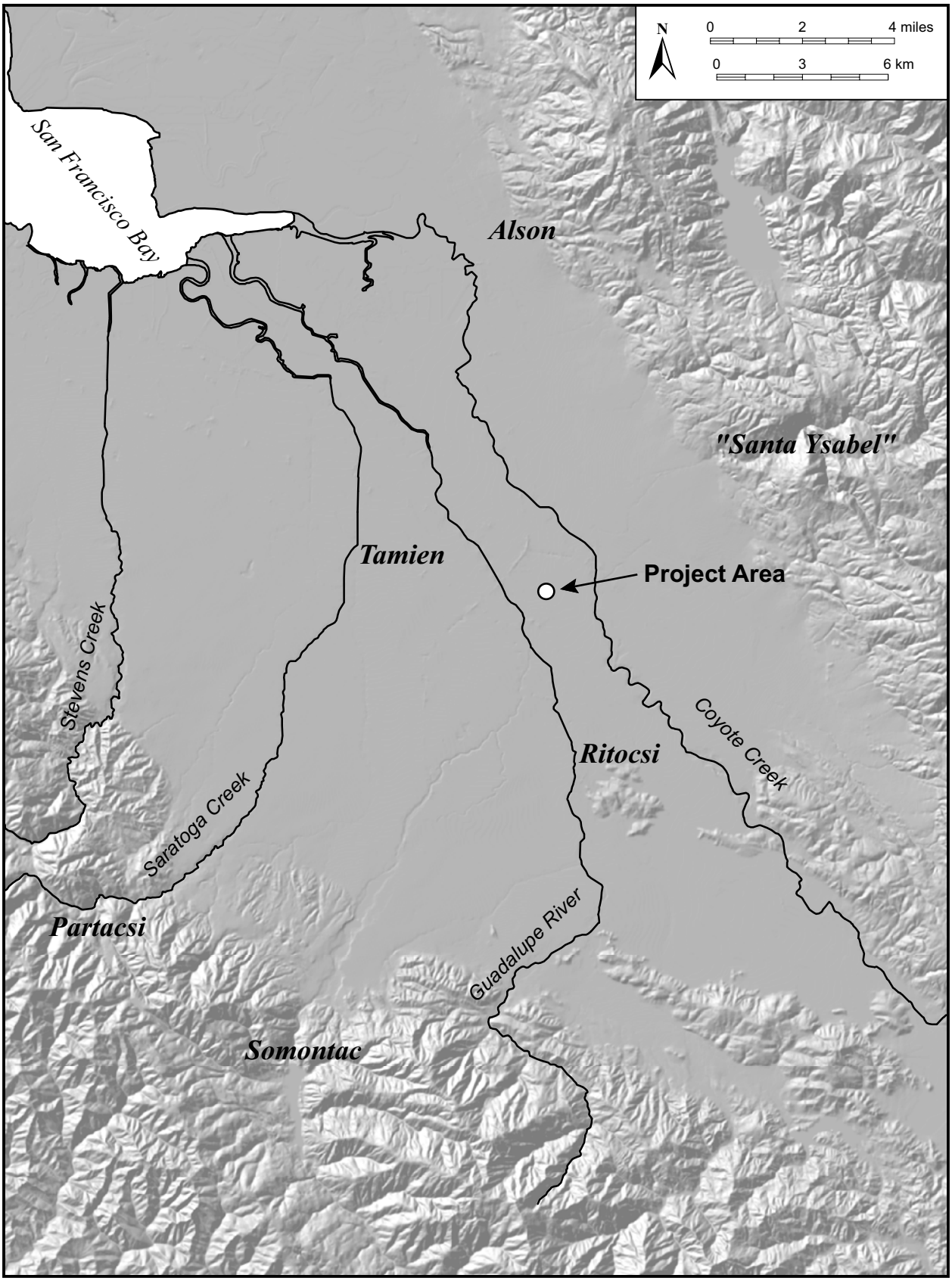


Figure 5. Possible configuration of contact period tribelet locations (adapted from Milliken 1995:Map 5)

chuchupate, amole, and wild carrots (Levy 1978:491). Deer, elk, rabbits, quail, and other game were hunted. A variety of shellfish, including mussel, abalone, and clam, were harvested in addition to several species of fish, sea lion, sea otter, and harbor seal (Baumhoff 1978:17). The Ohlone traded with neighboring groups, importing pinyon nuts from the neighboring Yokuts to the east, while exporting *Olivella* and *Haliotis* shells, dried abalone, salt, and hematite (cinnabar) for red pigment from the source at the Almaden Hills near San Jose (Levy 1978:488).

Material Culture

Numerous types of sedimentary and metamorphic rocks were used for grinding implements, sinkers, anchors, and pipes. Chipped-stone tools were made of obsidian and chert, but there is no ethnographic information regarding trade or quarrying of these materials (Milliken 2007:50). Ohlone baskets were typically twined rather than coiled. They were made from willow, rush, tule, and roots of "cut-grass," and were often decorated with abalone pendants, quail plumes, and woodpecker scalps. The Ohlone built watercraft from tule balsas, which were propelled with a double-bladed paddle. Domed structures with a rectangular doorway were common. These were constructed from tule, grass, wild alfalfa, ferns, or carizo. Ethnographic information indicates that Ohlone men and boys typically did not wear clothes during warm periods, and women wore skirts made of tule in front and buckskin or sea otter skin in back. During cold temperatures both men and women wore robes made of a variety of materials (Levy 1978:492–493).

HISTORIC-ERA OVERVIEW

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE SANTA CLARA VALLEY

The Santa Clara Valley was first investigated by Europeans in the late 1760s. The reports of several exploratory parties, particularly that of Juan Bautista de Anza and Father Pedro Font in 1776, resulted in the establishment in 1777 of Mission Santa Clara and Pueblo San Jose de Guadalupe in the vicinity of what is now San Jose (Beck and Haase 1974:17). The Project area is located to the north and east of the Pueblo's original location. One of the settlement's economic mainstays was raising herds of cattle for the hide and tallow trade. Thus, the Project area may have been in use during the Spanish and Mexican periods for pasturing cattle.

The Gold Rush and the subsequent economic and population boom of the San Francisco Bay area led to the rapid development of livestock and grain-farming ventures—particularly wheat, oats, and barley—throughout the Santa Clara Valley. The valley was not only fertile and well watered, but close to important Bay area markets. The growth of agriculture in the valley was assisted by the development of a railroad link to San Francisco in 1864 and the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. It quickly became apparent that rather than grain crops, the Santa Clara Valley could be more profitably used for growing fruit, and acreage dedicated to fruit production began to increase from the 1870s. Successful experiments in fruit drying and canning led to the establishment of a modern fruit-drying plant, the Alden Fruit and Vegetable Preserving Company in 1874, and Dr. James Dawson's fruit cannery at 21st and Julian streets by

1872. These experiments prompted the establishment of dozens of small-scale canneries and processors. The availability of land and subsurface water for irrigation encouraged many small-scale entrepreneurs to plant orchards. Between 1890 and 1900 the number of small farms (less than 100 acres in size) in Santa Clara County doubled, from 1,427 to 3,057 (Lukes and Okihiro 1985:15). By 1880 Santa Clara County was the preeminent California county in terms of the value of its orchard products. Orchards, canneries, and packinghouses were among the major employers for San Jose's workers (Chan 1986:227).

DEVELOPMENT OF HEINLENVILLE CHINATOWN

Chinese Settlement in the Santa Clara Valley

Among these workers were significant numbers of Chinese immigrants. The Chinese had first come to California in large numbers during the Gold Rush. Most came from the Kwangtung or Guangdong province of China, driven to immigrate by droughts, floods, and social upheaval. The majority came from impoverished, rural backgrounds. They planned to send money home and to ultimately return themselves to their villages with wealth gained from working in *Gum San,* or Gold Mountain (Young Yu 1991:4). Chinese immigrants to the Pacific Coast were generally from the Sze Yup (mostly from Toisan), Heungsan (later known as Chungsan), and Sam Yup districts of Kwangtung province. Stepping off the boat in ports such as San Francisco, they were met by representatives from their *hui guin,* or district association, who would guide them into employment opportunities. Once immigrants arrived in America, "Where they came from, their villages, their dialect, their district determined where they would live and work" (Young Yu 1991:4). Immigrants quickly transferred clan kinship and loyalties from home into family and district associations and tongs, which were to become such important organizing institutions within American Chinatowns (Young Yu 1991:4).

From the 1860s to the 1880s, Chinese workers came in large numbers to the Santa Clara Valley seeking work in orchards, strawberry fields, farms, mining, manufacturing, and as domestic help (Allen et al. 2002:12; Chan 1986:129). They became a crucial source of cheap labor to the valley's embryonic fruit-growing industry. The Chinese population in the Santa Clara Valley grew rapidly from the 1860s through the 1890s, as indicated by the biennial U.S. Census (Table 3). The actual population at any one time, however, could vary considerably. Since many Chinese were itinerant seasonal workers in the construction or agricultural industries, it is likely that Santa Clara's population was much higher during the summer harvest season. Most of these workers were men, either single or with wives and families waiting in China for their return. They were an attractive workforce for farmers and developers, willing to work for significantly smaller wages than their Euroamerican counterparts, and with the reputation of dependability, adeptness, and efficiency (Daniels 1988:19). Many found work in the Santa Clara Valley orchards and fields: it has been estimated that in 1880, 32.8 percent of farm labor in the county was provided by Chinese (Chan 1986:306, Table 25).

Table 3: Chinese and Japanese Populations in Santa Clara County, 1860–1940

Year	Chinese	Japanese
1860	22	-
1870	1,525	-
1880	2,695	-
1890	2,723	27
1900	1,738	284
1910	1,064	2,299
1920	839	2,981
1930	761	4,320
1940	555	4,049

From Lukes and Okihiro (1985:19)

Early Chinese Settlement in San Jose

Market Street and Vine Street Chinatowns

The first Chinatown in San Jose was developed at the intersection of Market and San Fernando streets by the late 1860s. When this was destroyed by fire in 1870, the Chinese community relocated to Vine Street, adjacent to the Guadalupe River. The 1870 Census revealed that this Chinatown was the home of over 500 Chinese, including several families with young children, and 75 female prostitutes. By 1872, however, the Vine Street Chinese community had returned to its original central location on Market Street. This reoccupied Chinatown contained an array of shops and services and served as an important civic and social center for Chinese workers in the Santa Clara Valley. San Jose residents from the 1870s remembered that, on weekends, Chinese employed on Alviso strawberry farms came into Chinatown to socialize and pick up supplies (Young Yu 1991:23).

Anti-Chinese Activism

Chinese immigrants had faced prejudice and hostility since their first arrival in California during the Gold Rush. Exacerbated by widespread economic depression in the 1870s, labor and political agitators stirred public feeling against Chinese workers and Chinese immigration. Nativist organizations such as the Anti-Coolie Association and the Supreme Order of the Caucasians lobbied for boycotts of Chinese labor. The Chinese workers' reputation for cheapness and dependability stood them in good stead, however, and they continued to find employment with West Coast manufacturers and farmers, who needed their low-priced labor to compete with East Coast counterparts. Heightened public emotions, however, led to numerous riots and attacks on Chinatowns throughout the American West, including Denver, Tacoma, Eureka, Chico, and Truckee (Young Yu 1991:13). In 1882 the U.S. Government passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which prohibited immigration of Chinese laborers, and prevented those already in the country from easily returning after visits home.

San Jose proved to be no exception to the rising tide of anti-Chinese sentiment. Incidents of public abuse and even stoning became commonplace, encouraging San Jose's Chinese residents to stick closely to the security of Chinatown. Many of San Jose's most

prominent businesses boasted that they only employed "first class white labor" (Young Yu 1991:25, 27). The anti-coolie movement's pressure to only hire white labor made little impact on Santa Clara farmers, who not only could not afford to do without low-cost Chinese labor; many had also developed close working relationships with their long-term Chinese employees. Plans in the early 1880s by the City of San Jose to modernize the town led to calls to remove the Market Street Chinatown from its prominent downtown location, but on 4 May 1887, arson completely destroyed the quarter. The *San Jose Daily Herald* of the following day announced that, "Chinatown is dead. It is dead forever" (cited in Young Yu 1991:30). Reports of Chinatown's demise however, were much exaggerated, since within 10 days prominent Chinese merchants, working with local businessman John Heinlen, were already making plans for a new Chinatown on Heinlen's land at Fifth and Taylor streets. At the same time, some of the displaced Market Street community moved to the vicinity of the San Jose Woolen Mills factory, which employed large numbers of Chinese. The Woolen Mills Chinatown, buoyed by employment opportunities in nearby factories and canneries, survived until 1902, when it was destroyed by fire (Allen et al. 2002:9–11).

Establishment of Heinlenville

John Heinlen was a German immigrant who established himself in San Jose as a farmer and businessman. His assistance to the Chinese provoked immense public outrage. At a time when those whites who supported the Chinese were seen as race-traitors, Heinlen's actions seemed inexplicable to many (Young Yu 1991:13). An intensely private man, neither he nor his family ever expressed the reason behind his steady support for San Jose's Chinese. Despite public meetings, lawsuits, and threats, in mid-1887 Heinlen retained prominent local architect Theodore Lenzen, who was also commissioned to design San Jose's new City Hall, to design what he and the Chinese merchants intended to be a permanent home for San Jose's Chinese population. Aware of the history of arson attacks against San Jose's Chinatowns, and seeking to avoid furnishing the public with further ammunition, Heinlen and his Chinese collaborators specified that the new Chinatown was to be built in brick, and would be supplied with both piped water and sewers. Quen Hing Tong signed the master lease with Heinlen for $1,500 per month (Pfaelzer 2007:238).

Lenzen's plans outlined six blocks of structures, some two-storied, with restaurants and stores lining Cleveland Street (referred to by residents as Cleveland Avenue – pers. com. Young Yu 2007), and dwellings and tenements along the secondary Clay, Dupont and Kearney streets (named after streets in San Francisco's Chinatown). Streets were dirt with wooden boardwalks. A water tank and artesian well on Seventh Street supplied piped water. Rents were set for each of the buildings according to their size and use, with Heinlen paying the necessary property taxes. Sanborn Company fire insurance maps (1884/1887, 1884/1889, 1891, 1884/1897, 1891/1901, 1915, 1891/1921, 1915/1929, 1915/1930, 1915/1932, 1915/1939, 1915/1950, 1915/1956, 1915/1957, 1915/61, and 1915/1969) provide detailed information on the physical configuration and development of the settlement (Figures 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10). Tenants of the new buildings included general merchandise stores, butchers, and tongs and district associations. Families lived in the back or above their stores, while headquarters of district associations such as the Sze Yup and Yeung Wo housed many of the bachelor workers (Young Yu 1991:39–40). In order to ensure both security and privacy for the residents, Heinlen requested that the new Chinatown be

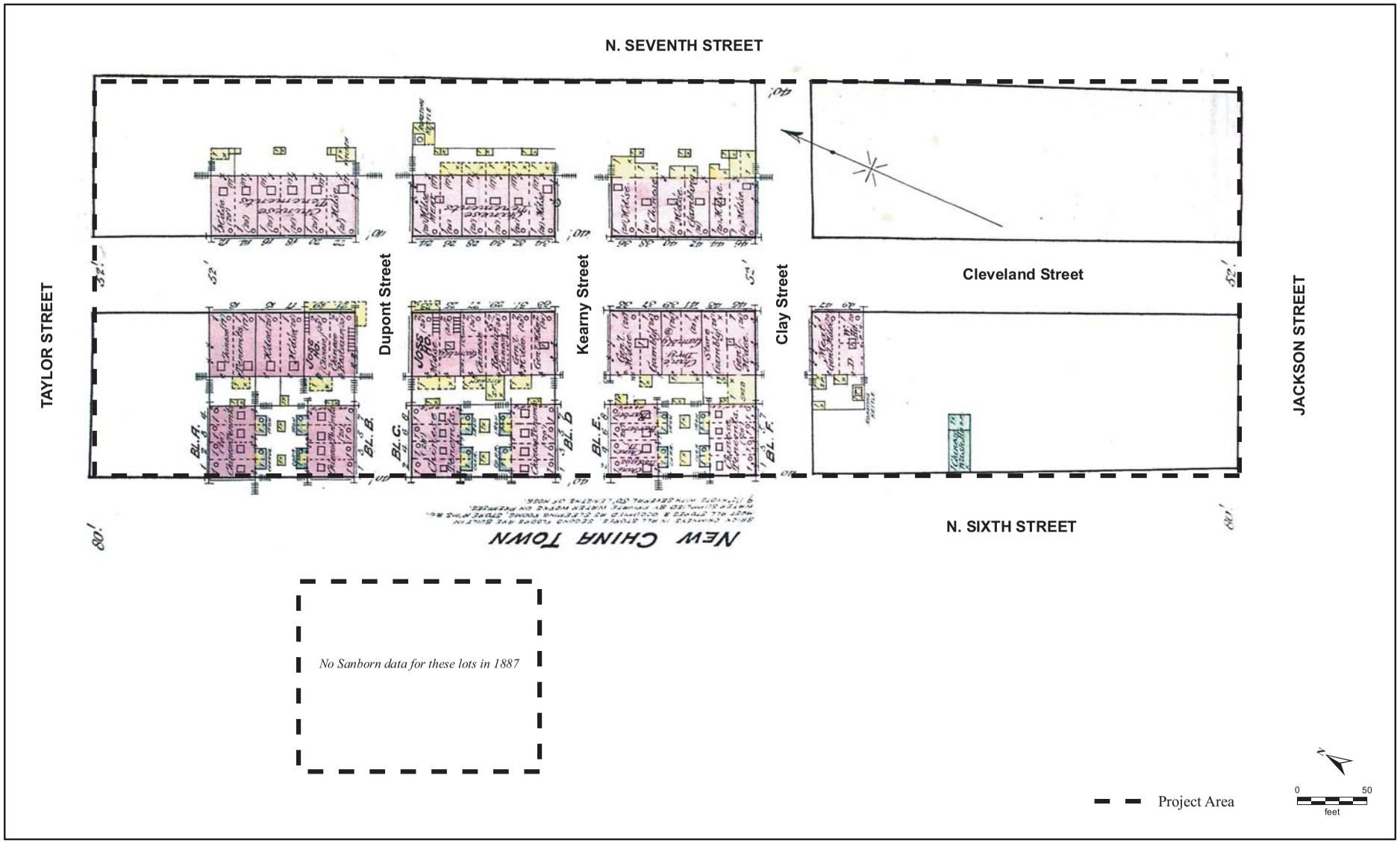


Figure 6. 1887 Sanborn map, shown with project area overlay.

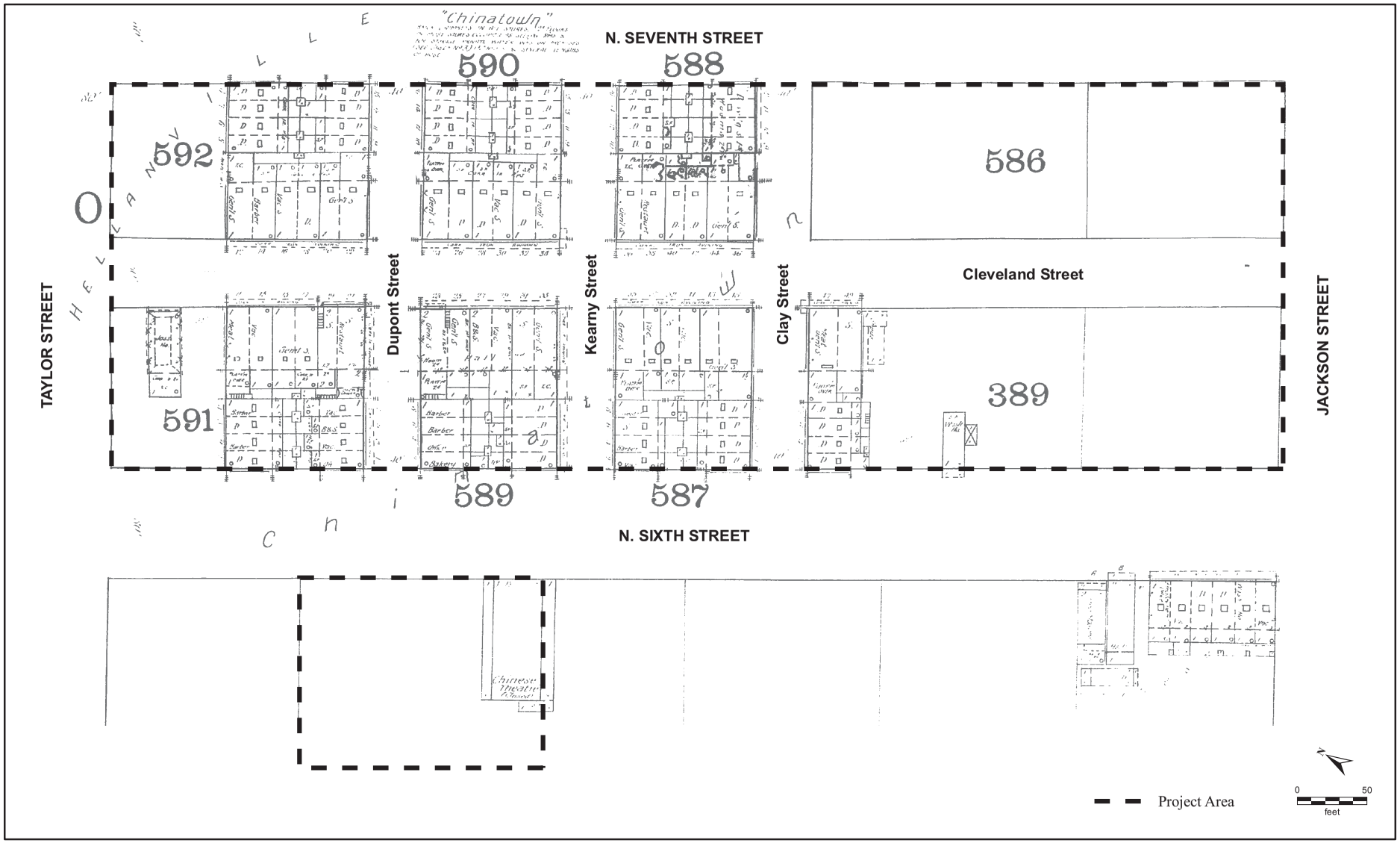


Figure 7. 1891 Sanborn map, shown with project area overlay.

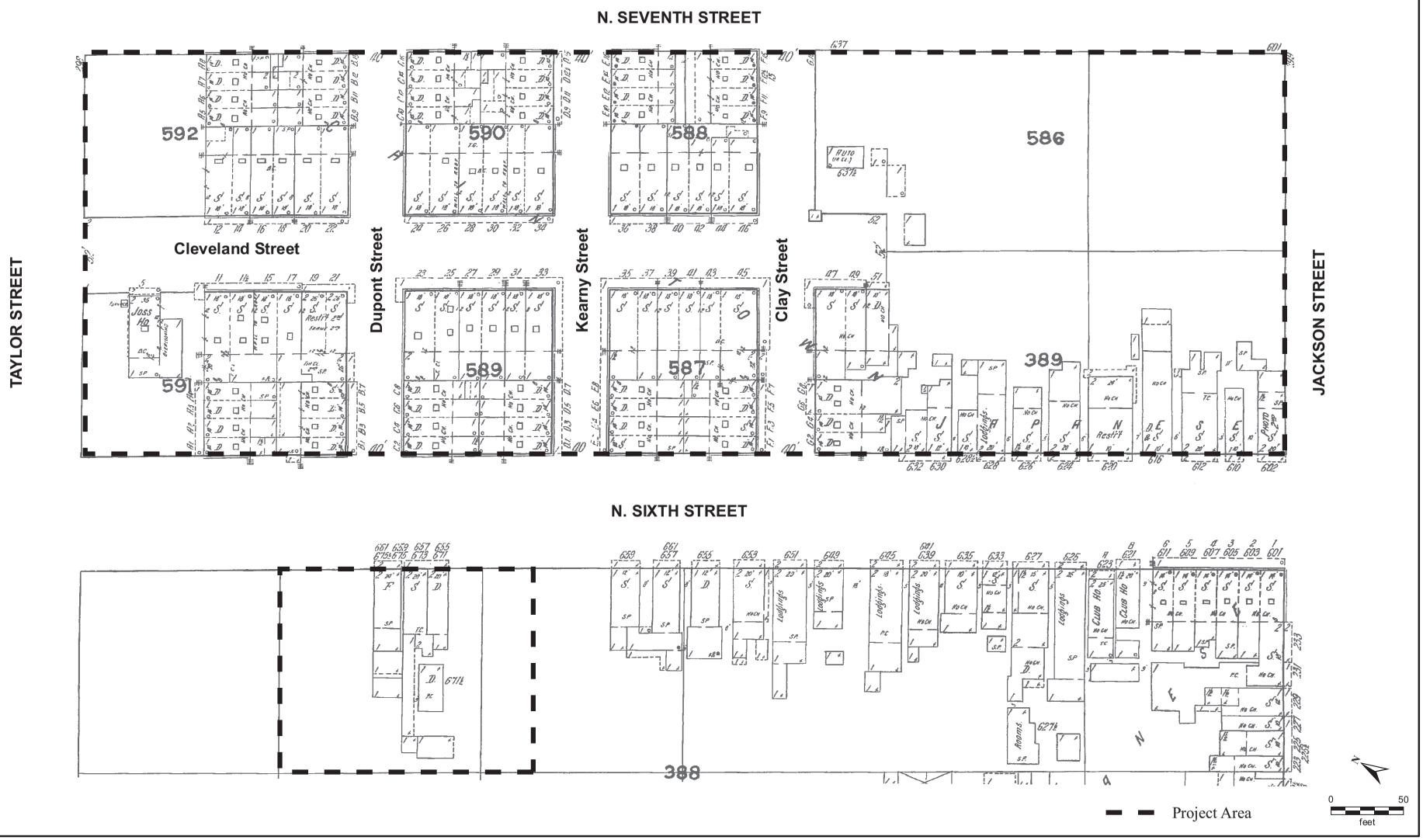
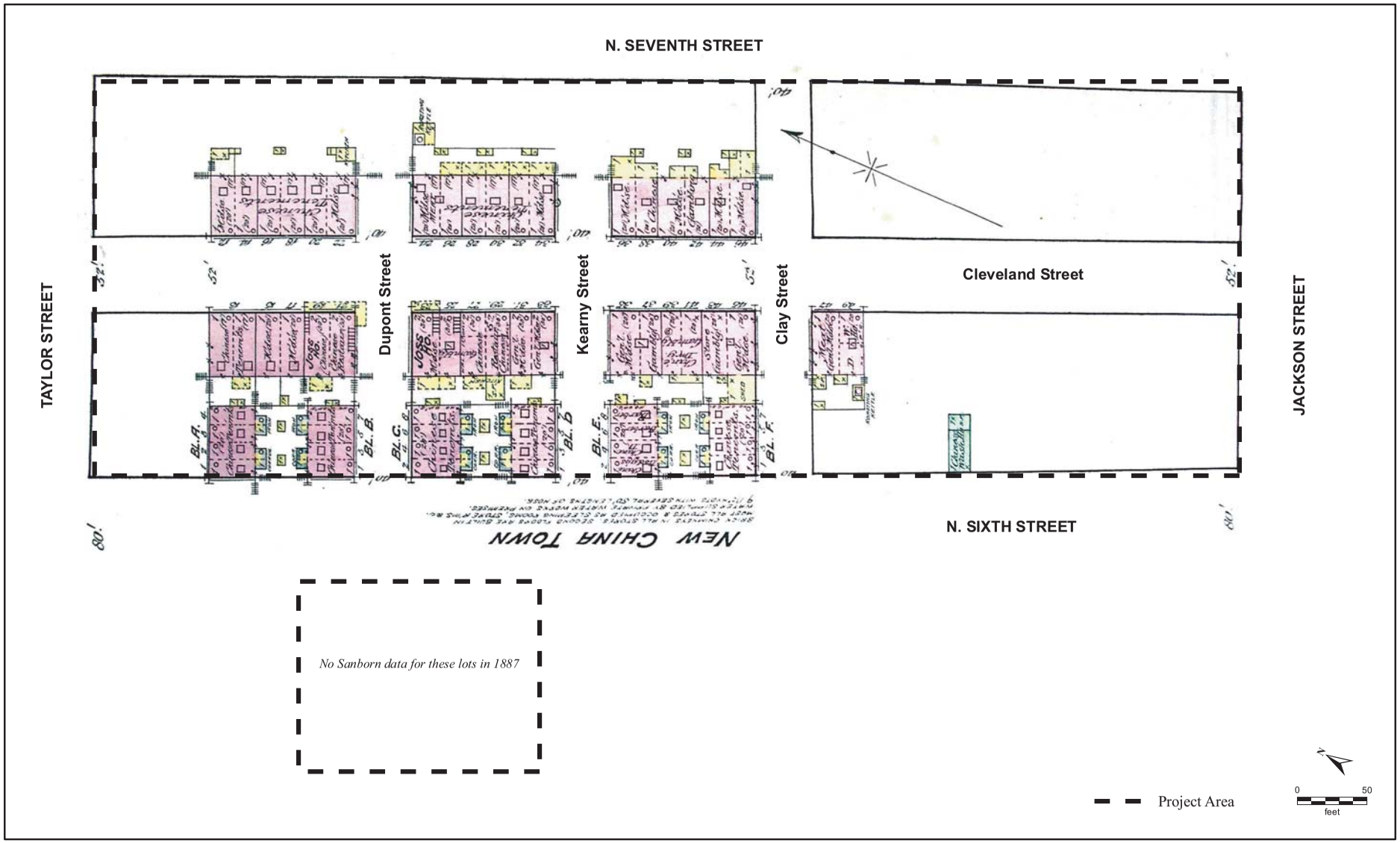


Figure 8. 1915 Sanborn map, shown with project area overlay.

Figure 9. 1930 Sanborn map, shown with project area overlay.



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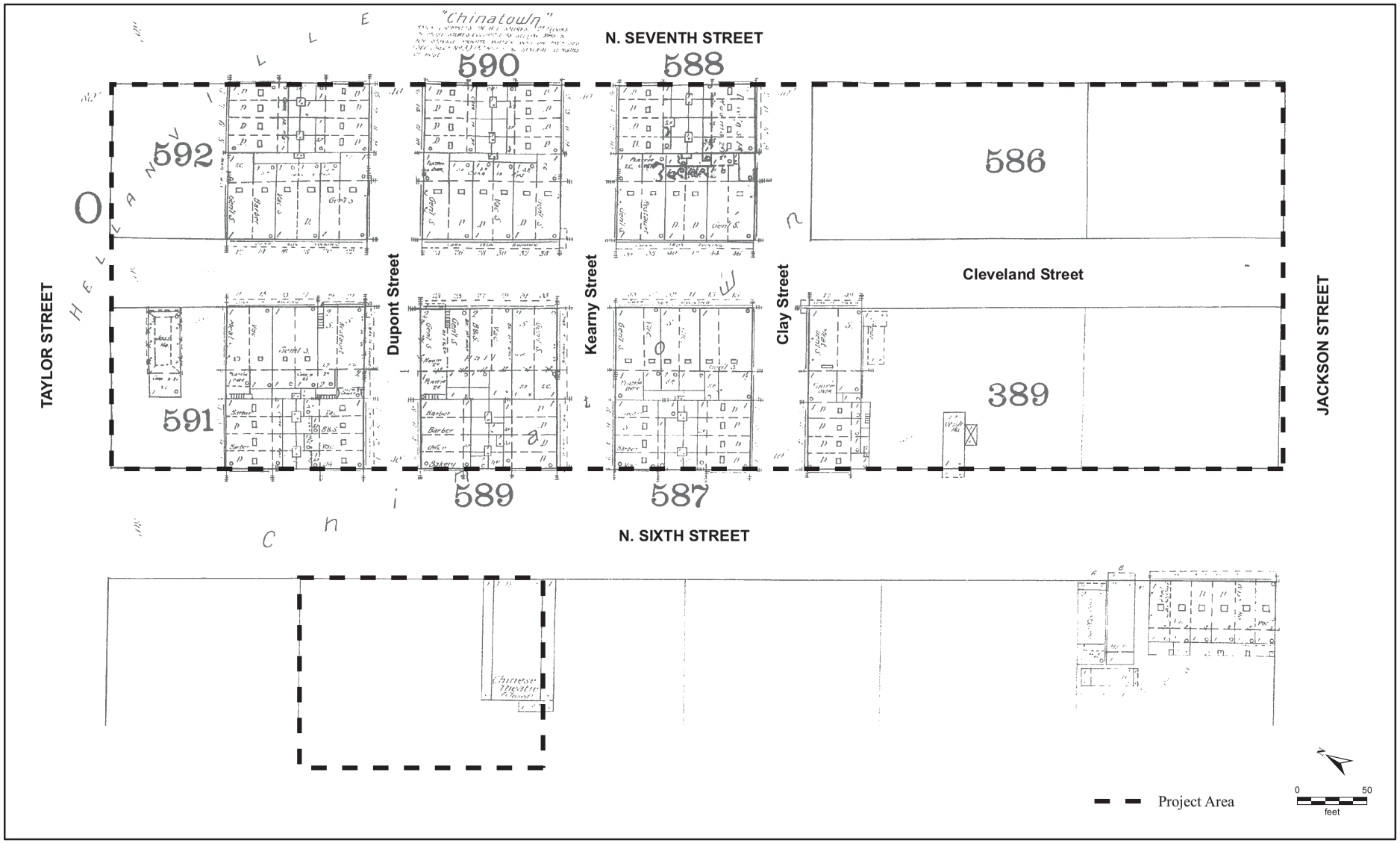

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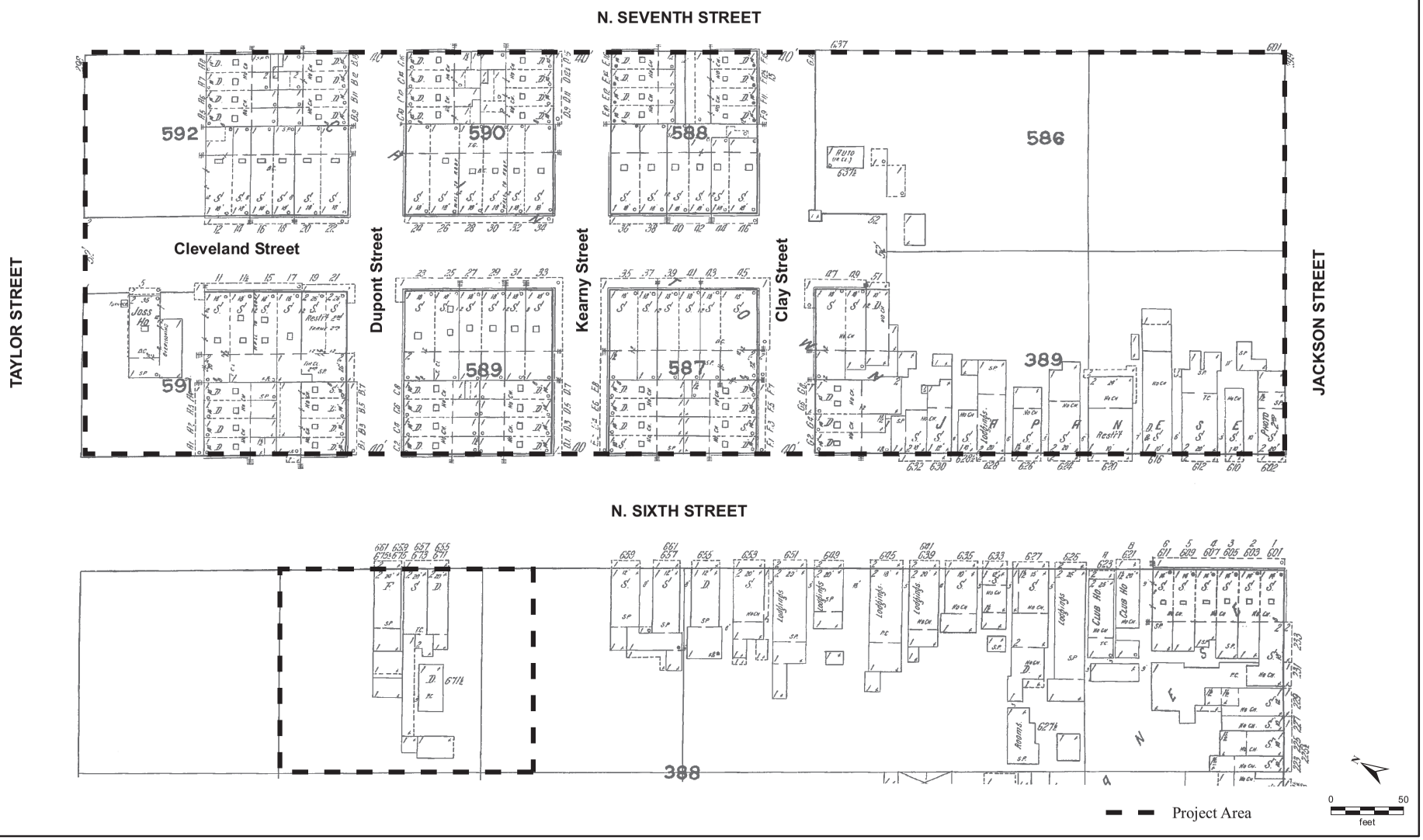

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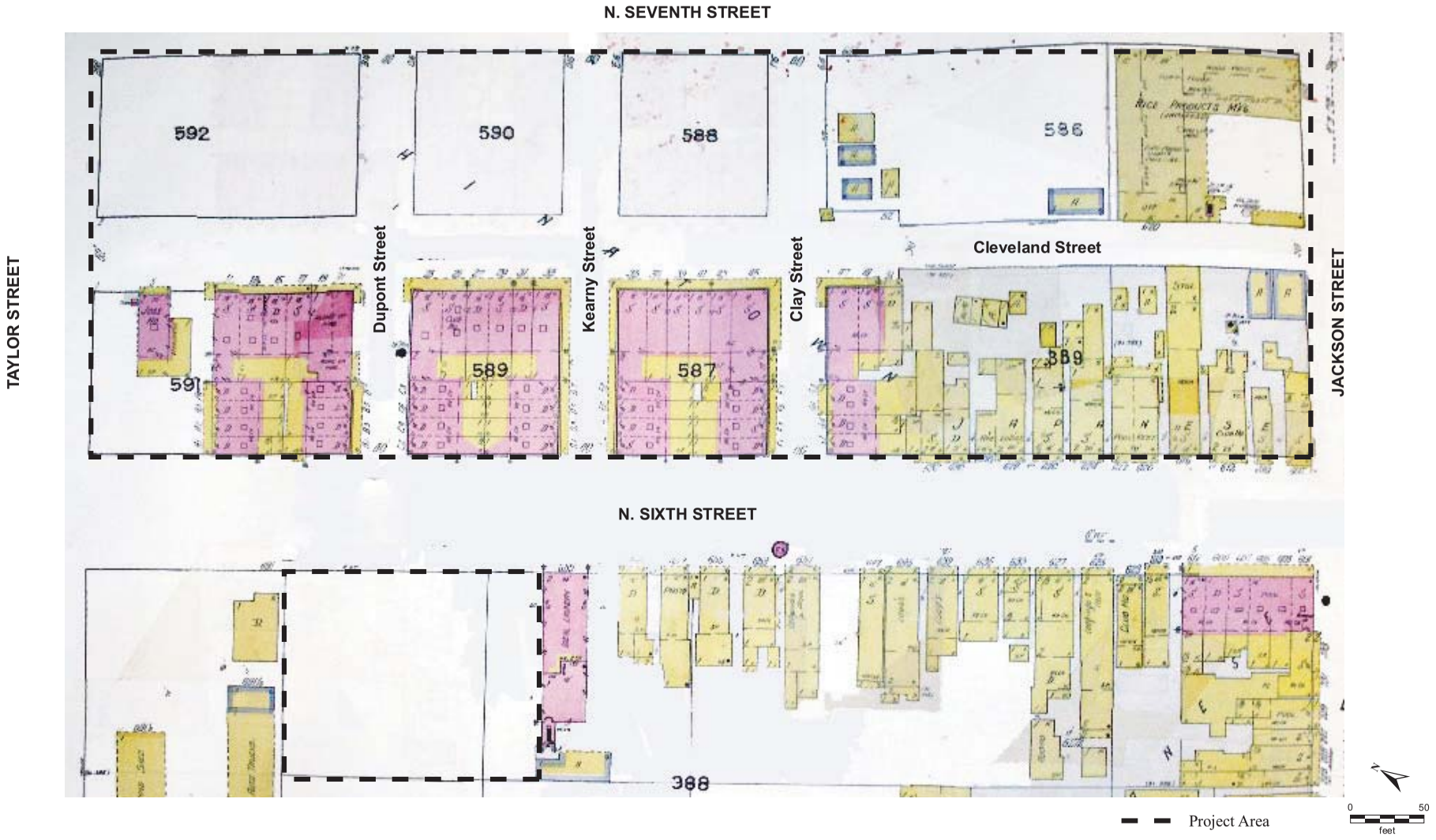

Figure 10. 1932 Sanborn map, shown with project area overlay.

surrounded by a high wooden fence topped with barbed wire. Gates in the fence, located on Taylor, Sixth, and Seventh streets, were locked each night, and the area patrolled by a white guard hired by the Chinese community leaders. Signs in English were posted at each entrance announcing "No Entrance" and "Private Grounds"; under trespass common law, the Chinese, being legal tenants, could control access to Chinatown. White agitators tore down signs and parts of the fence, which were always rebuilt (Pfaelzer 2007:238). Chinese workers also constructed a large temple for the five deities, the Ng Shing Gung on Cleveland near Taylor Street, to serve all districts and dialects represented in the town. For the Chinese community of San Jose, it was a promising new start, at a time when anti-Chinese laws and regulations were curtailing the options of other Chinese immigrants throughout the United States.

Heinlenville (also called the "Sixth Street Chinatown," "Cleveland Avenue," or *San-Doy-Say Tong Yun Fow* by its Chinese residents) quickly became the center for Chinese life in San Jose. It contained not only the Ng Shing Gung temple, but a variety of merchants, butchers, barbers, traditional doctors, and medicinal herb shops. By the early part of the 20th century, the main stores were Sing Chong (groceries and meat), Tuck Wo (merchandise and groceries), Kwong Wo Jan (merchandise, groceries, and some herbs; Figure 11), and Kow Kee (which sold roast pork from pigs butchered in town). Other stores included an herb and drug store operated by Wong Lo Shun; Kwong Sang Wo (fish, meat, poultry, and vegetables); and Kwong Lun Hing (dry goods). By the 1920s, three small clothing manufacturing businesses, along with at least three restaurants, operated in Heinlenville—the best known of them being the Ken Ying Low Restaurant operated by the Ng family. Many of the Heinlenville stores were associated either with a particular clan or Chinese region, such as the Sze Yup. For instance, the Ken Ying Low restaurant's owners sponsored the immigration of many Ng clan members, who would work in the restaurant for a time to pay off the cost of their passage from the home country (Young Yu 1991:63, 65).

Ng Shing Gung Temple

The heart of the new community was the Ng Shing Gung Temple. As a Taoist temple it did not hold organized services, but was a place to pray and make offerings of food or whiskey (Chan 1990:3). The temple altar was on the second story, while community activities including a Chinese language school were located on the ground floor. The temple building also housed a caretaker (Chan 1990:4). Religion was the center of many Chinese festivities in Heinlenville, including the preeminent annual festival of *Da Jiu* that drew people from Chinese communities across northern California (Figure 12). This event, celebrated in the summer, was based on a traditional Cantonese village festival, and honored the departed; its name literarily meant 'feeding the hungry ghosts' (Young Yu 1991:57). The festival, which ran for four days and three nights, included Chinese opera staged with hired singers and an orchestra, as well as feasts and the parading and hanging outside of the temple of 8- to 10-foot-tall papier-mâché effigies of deities, which were later burned. Community members and businesses, particularly gambling houses, contributed the funds required to stage the festival (Eng 1990:4; Lee 1990:2).

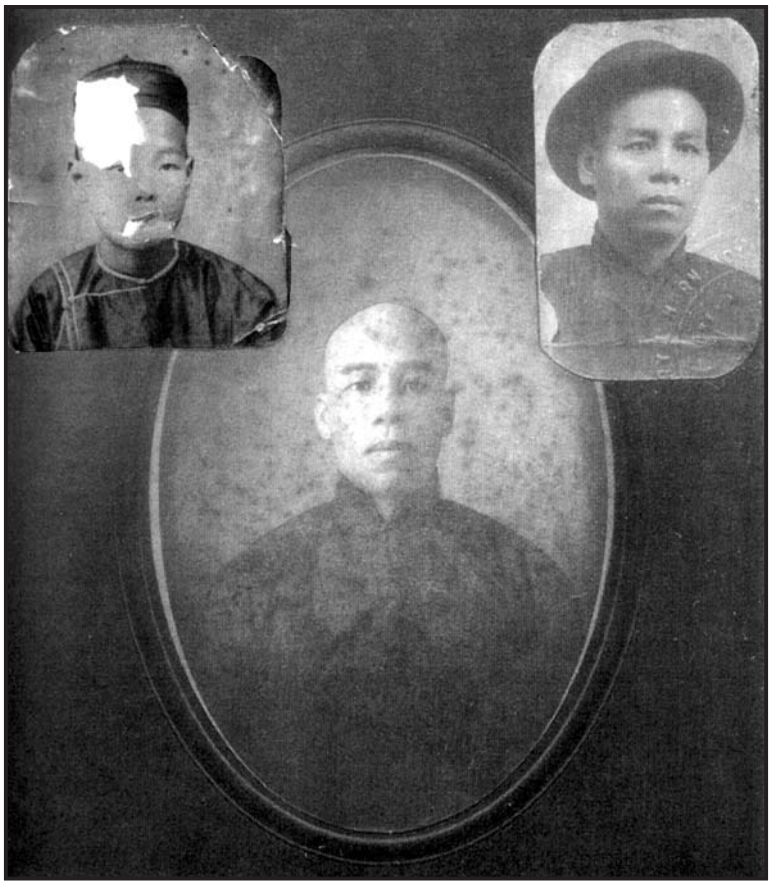

Figure 11. Passport and identification photographs of Young Soong Quong. A long term resident of Heinlenville, he came to the United States as a laborer in 1881 at the age of 11, and eventually opened the Kwong Wo Jan store at 34 Cleveland Avenue (Young Yu 1991:66-67). *Courtesy of Connie Young Yu.*

Agricultural Workers and Heinlenville

Heinlenville operated as a support center for Chinese farmers and farmworkers in Santa Clara Valley, who visited town regularly for supplies, social contact, and entertainment. Most of the actual residents of Heinlenville owned stores, restaurants, or gambling parlors. Many of the merchants were in partnership with merchants from San Francisco Chinatown (District Court of the U.S. in and for the Northern District of California 1894). People often lived behind or above their businesses rather than having a separate dwelling: "The front part is the store, the back part is the living quarters, the kitchen, the bedroom" (Wong 1990:3, 5, 7). Connie Young Yu recounts an old saying among Overseas Chinese: there were three types of businesses open to them: laundries, restaurants, and gambling. Although laundries and restaurants were indeed important in Heinlenville, gambling was the economic mainstay of the community (Young Yu 1991:71). It played not only a crucial economic role, but was an important social activity. Gambling parlors provided free food and snacks, increasing their appeal to workers (Lee 1990:10). Gambling games included not only *fan-tan*, but *pai gow*, a domino game, and the lottery, also known as *baakgapbiu,* or 'pigeon ticket.' Although there were dedicated gambling parlors, it was not uncommon for stores such as the Sing Chong store to include a partitioned gambling

Figure 12. The Ng Shing Gung temple hung with papier-mâché guardian effigies during Da Jui "Feast of Hungry Ghosts" (Young Yu 1991:56). *Courtesy of History San José*

section. Customers included Chinese and Asian agricultural workers, Japantown residents, and also white men. While gambling was illegal in San Jose, authorities generally turned a blind eye to the gambling in Heinlenville (Young Yu 1991:72, 75).

Many workers in the seasonal business of farm laboring paid for room and board in Heinlenville stores and businesses during their down periods: "People who work on the farms, they use that like a headquarters. When they're not working, they board, room and board there. Of course, when the season's on, then they stay at the ranches. So [Heinlenville] it's more or less like a boarding house. . . . There's no families. And . . . they just wait out the season till the next season comes around" (Lee 1990:3–4). Seasonal workers clustered around the stores and businesses that were closely associated with their district association or clan. Such stores often operated as labor contractors and offered the men small services such as lending money, pawning goods, storing possessions, and providing an address at which to receive mail: "one of the most important things in those times were receiving mail from their families in China" (Lee 1990:4; Young Yu 1991:63).

Figure 13. Mr. And Mrs. Young Soong Quong and their sons, Ming (George) and Jun (John). Young Soong Quong and his wife were reunited after a separation of sixteen years when she was permitted to immigrate to the U.S. (Young Yu 1991:68). *Courtesy of Connie Young Yu*.

District Associations and Tongs

For many such bachelor immigrants, tongs and district associations took the place of family in providing security, companionship, and a sense of identity. District associations were open to all from a particular Chinese region. They assisted in immigration and legal matters, facilitated the return of a member's remains to China in the event of death, and were local liaisons with the Chinese Six Companies, which was the group of district associations that coordinated Chinese immigrant protests against discriminatory state and federal laws. The three major district associations in Heinlenville were the Sze Yup, Sam Yup, and Yeung Wo (mostly Heungsan people). The Sze Yup had their headquarters on Clay Street, with the first floor being a boarding house for single men, and the district association rooms, located on the second floor, containing an altar (Young Yu 1991:68). Disputes in Heinlenville were customarily settled by a council of male elders made up of heads of stores, associations and tongs. Similar to the Chinese district associations was the Chee Kong Tong or Chinese Free Masons. This organization, which took members regardless of their origin region in China, was prominent not only in Heinlenville but also in the Chinatowns of Monterey, Salinas, and Watsonville (Young Yu 1991:69).

Tongs however became the most notorious manifestation of group societies in U.S. Chinatowns: former residents of Heinlenville noted that they played a substantial role in the community's life (Wong 1990:4). Tongs were essentially racketeering organizations, prominent particularly in the gambling business. There were two main tongs in San Jose: the Hop Sing and the Hip Sing. Each maintained headquarters in Heinlenville, with the Hop Sing Headquarters being located, ca. 1912, at 28 Cleveland Street. The tongs were deeply involved in the gambling business in Heinlenville, resulting in several so-called Tong wars, including the most famous incident in 1923, when armed tong members drove down Cleveland Street and two men were killed. Most gambling operators would join one of the tongs for their own protection, although coercion was not involved (Eng 1996:10–11): unlike other racketeering organizations, tongs did not exhort protection money or otherwise prey on the community. In Heinlenville, tong heads and members lived as part of the community and were major contributors to community organizations and ventures (Young Yu 1991:70). Each tong would hold an annual feast in a local restaurant (Lee 1990:10–11).

Figure 14. Sam (Wah Leh) Lee and James (Mun Gai) Chan playing in Heinlenville, ca. 1918. Sam Lee's father owned two stores in Heinlenville, while James Chan's father worked as a cook at the Ken Ying Low Restaurant (Young Yu 1991:63). *Courtesy of Connie Young Yu*

Women and Families in Heinlenville

By the 1920s, the bachelor society that had characterized Heinlenville's early years was all but gone. James Chan, who was born in 1917 in Heinlenville, remembers only four or five elderly single men remaining in the town (Chan 1990:7). Chinese merchants, who were the bulk of Heinlenville's householders, had been allowed under the 1882 Exclusion Act to bring their families from China (Figure 13). The role of women and children in increasing the permanence of Chinese communities was decried by many Euroamerican commentators. Judge Lorenzo Sawyer, who presided over the case resulting from the expulsion of the Chinese community from Eureka in 1885, noted that if Chinese immigrants "never bring their women here and never multiply . . . , their presence would always be an advantage to the State. . . . When the Chinaman . . . don't bring his wife here, sooner or later he dies like a worn out steam engine, he is simply a machine, and don't leave two or three or half a dozen children to fill his place" (Sawyer, cited in Pfaelzer 2007:208). The growing presence of women and children did change the character of Heinlenville (Figure 14). Wives helped run stores, and looked after children. While many who had come from China in the early years continued to wear traditional clothing, later wives and their daughters increasingly adopted more westernized styles. The town's children, who attended Chinese language school from 5 to 8 p.m. in the temple, also attended American school during the day (Chan 1990:4). They played baseball and other games in a small field across from the temple, and often played baseball against kids from Japantown (Eng 1990:4; Lee 1990:6). Only a few Chinese families lived outside of the protection and familiarity offered by Heinlenville (Wong 1990:3). One that did was the family of Pauline Wong; she notes that her father was very Americanized and although the family visited in Heinlenville, he chose to distance himself from the community (Wong 1990:3).

Heinlenville and the Broader San Jose Community

Heinlenville flourished despite continued political and public harassment, including the federal Geary Act in 1892 that extended the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act for another 10 years, and required all Chinese residents to file for a certificate of registration—the hated *chak chee,* or photo passport which had to be carried everywhere—or to face deportation (Young Yu 1991:45). The passage of the Geary Act, fought against ferociously by the San Francisco Six Companies, was seen as an enormous blow to the U.S. Chinese community—local San Jose papers recorded "Mourning in two Chinatowns" upon its passing. The community also faced local harassment. In the fall of 1891, Heinlenville merchant Quen Hing Tong sued the mayor and police commissioner of San Jose, accusing them of using three "Special Police Officers" to patrol Chinatown stores, and intimidate residents and customers. The plaintiffs submitted affidavits from 10 Chinese merchants who claimed that because of the constant presence of the three officers, they were two months behind in rent and owed two thousand dollars (Ninth Circuit Court 1894; Pfaelzer 2007:241). The case, although ultimately unsuccessful, did place anti-Chinese activists on notice that the Heinlenville community would resist any attempts to drive them from their homes and businesses.

The Chinese community gradually expanded into the vacant land to the south of its original Heinlenville buildings, intermingling with the surrounding Japanese settlement that had begun establishing itself there in the 1890s. Relations between the two communities were cordial, even if there was little active socializing. Tuck Wo general merchandise store on the corner of Cleveland and Clay streets was popular with the Japanese, as it was the first store to extend them credit in the 1890s. Japanese families and farm workers would come into Heinlenville restaurants on the weekends for Chinese dinners (Lee 1990:7). Overall however, Heinlenville remained a true enclave within the broader San Jose community—it was very rare to see non-Chinese there: "You very seldom see Caucasians inside of Heinlenville. Mostly the Chinese, whole families, play with each other, talk to each other. They shop there, then they go back home—which is within Heinlenville itself" (Chan 1990:4).

Heinlenville was also surrounded by a sizable Italian neighborhood. The Italians and Chinese appear to have had relatively harmonious relations, with the Heinlenville children, at least, noticing little discrimination (Chan 1990:6; Lee 1990:5, 7; Wong 1990:3). The major reason for this was the integrated school system in San Jose, which was often not the case in other Asian communities, such as Sacramento Delta towns. Another ethnic group that settled in the vicinity of Heinlenville towards the end of the 19th century were members of San Jose's gradually increasing African American community. African Americans rented rooms in Chinese-run boarding houses, and even purchased property on the fringes of Heinlenville.

John Heinlen died in December 1903. His children continued as landlords for Chinatown and maintained their father's tradition of cordial and respectful dealings with the Chinese community. Two of Heinlen's children, Mary and Marion Albert, personally walked around the stores of Heinlenville to collect rents. Heinlenville suffered damage in the 1906 earthquake although it was not comparable to Chinatown in San Francisco, which was largely destroyed. Local merchants took the opportunity to remodel and

expand buildings. The period following the earthquake was one of general prosperity due to the booming times in the local agricultural industries (Young Yu 1991:60).

Dissolution of Heinlenville

Despite Heinlenville's early success, its population began to dwindle during the 1920s. Young Chinese Americans who had grown up in the community saw their future in business or industry rather than the traditional jobs of keeping stores or gambling parlors. Filipino workers were beginning to flood into the Santa Clara Valley, filling the void left as the aging Chinese farm workforce retired or returned to China. The 1882 Exclusion Act and 1892 Geary Act had prevented any new immigration of Chinese laborers to take their place. Heinlenville had traditionally operated as a service center for Chinese farm laborers. As they disappeared from Santa Clara Valley, Heinlenville began to suffer (Lee 1990:9). In addition, people found that they could increasingly afford better housing outside the confines of the original, aging Heinlenville buildings, as did James Chan's family: "we moved out. . . . find a little better place to live, and as we move out nobody would move into these shacks. . . And one by one they boarded it up, and pretty soon there's no one there at all" (Chan 1990:4). Many moved into nearby Japantown, while others left and went to San Francisco Chinatown (Wong 1990:4). By the early 1930s, Santa Clara County's Chinese population had decreased to less than 1,000 people (Table 3). The Depression had a severe effect on the John Heinlen Company, which had remained Heinlenville's landlord. Suffering from the effects of a collapsing rental market, the Company declared bankruptcy in 1931. The Chinatown land was sold to cover the Company debts, and the buildings began to be razed the same year; many remaining residents moved to Sixth and Jackson streets, traditionally part of Japantown (Young Yu 1991:108).

The advent of World War II severely impacted San Jose's Japantown when the entire Japanese community was evacuated and sent to the assembly center at Tanforan for assignment to internment camps. The repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1943 and changing social attitudes removed much of the impetus for Chinese-Americans to gather in Chinatowns for protection and support, and the community began to slowly disperse. In 1949 the Ng Shing Gung temple, the last symbol of Heinlenville was demolished. The block bounded by Taylor, Jackson, Sixth and Seventh streets was gradually taken over by the City of San Jose for use as a Corporation Yard, and the remains of Chinatown were buried under asphalt and buildings.

DEVELOPMENT OF SIXTH STREET NIHONMACHI – JAPANTOWN

Japanese Immigration to California

In 1853 after 200 years in which contact with foreign traders was strictly controlled, Japan was forced to open itself to U.S. trade and diplomatic relations by Commodore Matthew Perry. By 1868, the Meiji Restoration heralded a period of intense social and cultural upheaval in Japan that resulted in the rapid industrialization and modernization of the society and the imposition of westernized military reforms. During this period, many in Japan developed an enormous interest in western culture, including U.S. democratic ideals. From 1869, young Japanese men began arriving in California intent on pursuing education and cultural enrichment before returning home. These were the first Japanese immigrants to the United States. Due to social and economic upheavals wrought by the processes of modernization, however, these young men were rapidly succeeded by immigrants from Japan's traditional peasant class, who sought financial opportunities and social advance not available in their home country. From the 1880s U.S. legal barriers to Japanese immigration were relaxed, greatly encouraging the flow of immigrants to Hawaii and the West Coast (Carey & Co. 2006:3).

The Japanese in Santa Clara County Agriculture

While Chinese labor was an essential component in the early development of Santa Clara's fruit-growing and processing industries, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act halted the flow of new Chinese laborers into California. This shift presented a crisis for fruit growers, who initially tried to cope with the decreased availability of Chinese workers by hiring white labor, namely Portuguese and Italians. The growers found that "it was more inconvenient to obtain them [white men] than it had been to obtain the Chinese because they were not organized into groups, did not remain on the ranch year after year as the typical Chinese had done, and were not so skillful in their work" (U.S. Immigration Commission, *Reports: Immigrants in Industries* XXIV 1911:200, cited in Lukes and Okihiro 1985:20). Growers and fruit packers eventually turned to Asian immigrant groups many of which came from agricultural backgrounds, such as those from Japan and the Philippines, to provide handwork while they retained white workers (including ethnic whites such as southern European immigrants) for supervisory and teamster roles (Lukes and Okihiro 1985:20). Japanese immigrants began to move into the valley in large numbers after 1900 (Table 3). These new workers readily found work in the seed farms, orchards, and strawberry fields of the valley, alongside members of the gradually dwindling Chinese labor force.

The Issei, or first-generation Japanese immigrants, were largely a mobile, bachelor society, whose members generally intended to work and then return to Japan, a practice that came to be called *dekasegi rodo*, from the phrase for traditional trips of country dwellers to the city in search of temporary, seasonal work (Aoki 1998:Footnote 25). California's Japanese immigrants followed the crops alongside other immigrant laborers—the Chinese, Filipinos or southern Europeans. They worked either through the Sacramento Delta and Central Valley, or south through coastal valleys to Salinas and San Luis Obispo. Workers might arrive in the Santa Clara Valley to work the strawberry crop from April through June, staying on through August for the apricot, pear, and prune harvest, and then on to Fresno in the late summer to pick grapes (Lukes and Okihiro 1985:21). Aiding the Japanese

workers in their search for work in Santa Clara Valley was the traditional method of using labor contractors to obtain necessary workers. The Japanese, like the Chinese and other immigrant groups such as the Italians, readily participated in systems of ethnicity-based labor contracting and labor gangs (Lukes and Okihiro 1985:21).

Until about 1907, Japanese labor was welcomed in the United States as an alternative to the Chinese; in 1905 the *San Jose Mercury* could state that "we are learning to dissociate the Chinese and the Japanese—and to the later [sic] we now attribute many of the national characteristics that the European nations admire and possess" (*San Jose Mercury* 18 January 1905, cited in Lukes and Okihiro 1985:50). In the aftermath of the 1905 Russo-Sino War, however, as America began to recognize the military potential of the Japanese, many began to reevaluate their desirability as immigrants. This was exacerbated on the local level in areas such as Santa Clara Valley where Japanese farm labor became dominant, even replacing white women and children in fruit picking and packing work. Just over two years after its glowing report of Japanese labor in 1905, the *San Jose Mercury*, in speaking of the "Japanese problem," claimed that: "John Chinaman, once believed to be the greatest menace that confronted the future of the Pacific coast, has become, by contrast with his Mongolian neighbors, quite a respectable citizen. The Chinaman is content to earn his living as a laborer, a cook, and is seldom in competition with white merchants . . . he has never presumed to dare the wrath of the whites as the later-arriving Jap is now doing" (*San Jose Mercury* 21 September 1907, cited in Lukes and Okihiro 1985:51–52). Like the Chinese, the Japanese were the subject of numerous acts of harassment and violence from the larger community, as they began to develop a permanent presence in the county. In response to the growth of anti-Japanese feeling throughout the western United States, in 1907–1908, Japan and the United States made the Gentlemen's Agreement, in which Japan agreed to halt emigration of male laborers to America, in return for the United States providing protection for existing Japanese immigrants, and for permitting the immigration of wives, children, and parents of existing U.S. Japanese residents (Daniels 1988:125).

Despite discriminatory legislation—including California's Alien Land Laws in 1913 and 1920, which were intended to prevent Japanese ownership of land—Japanese workers managed to acquire a degree of permanence in the Santa Clara agricultural community. They worked not only as hand labor, but increasingly achieved a degree of autonomy by entering into tenancy or sharecropping arrangements, often by leasing land from former employers. Rather than presenting an insurmountable obstacle to Japanese farming interests, the 1913 Alien Land Law was circumvented by leasing land or by subterfuges such as purchasing it in the name of native-born children (Daniels 1988:143). Strawberries, pears, prunes, apricots, and truck-farming crops were among those sectors of the local agricultural industry increasingly identified with Japanese farmers in the early decades of the 20th century. These farmers would at times supplement their farm income by working in the winter at the canneries (Carey & Co 2006:13).

Immigration of Japanese Women between 1907 and 1924

The immigration of Japanese women was an important part of the development of permanent Japanese settlements in the United States. The 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement prevented the immigration of any Japanese with the exception of existing wives, children, and parents. Many of the Issei generation had been young single men when they left for America. Under the popular "picture-bride" system, however, in which photographs were

exchanged between immigrant men and women in Japan, Japanese men in the United States could marry by proxy and bring their new brides out to America. Such marriages were recognized under the 1907 Agreement and became one of the most frequent ways in which Japanese women came to the United States between 1907 and the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, which halted all Japanese immigration. The picture-bride system rapidly changed the demographic makeup of the American Japanese community. Whereas the immigrant community had originally been predominantly male, by 1924, the ratio between the sexes was approaching one to one (Daniels 1988:126). The 1924 Immigration Act had a temporary shrinking effect on America's Japanese communities, as many Issei—fearing the increasing anti-Japanese sentiment—decided to return to Japan, often taking their American-born children with them. Because the rates of Japanese female immigration between 1907 and 1924 had been so high, however, and because American-born Japanese continued to be accorded American citizenship, the Japanese-American population did continue to grow, albeit more slowly than before (Daniels 1988:151). This was true of the Santa Clara Valley, whose Japanese population increased markedly in the 1920s even after the passage of the 1924 Immigration Act, from 2,981 in 1920 to 4,320 in 1930 (Table 3).

The Development of Nihonmachi

Originally there was no cultural center for Japanese workers in Santa Clara Valley. Migrant workers lived in bunkhouses at the farms and orchards where they were temporarily employed. Many of these workers, however, found their way to Heinlenville for food, supplies, and entertainment. By the early 1900s, a community of Issei was beginning to establish itself near Heinlenville, around the intersection of Jackson and Sixth streets, on land leased from the Heinlen Company. A collection of wood-frame buildings grew along the Sixth Street frontage of the Project area between Clay and Jackson streets, containing both Japanese and Chinese homes and businesses. By 1915 the Sanborn map delineated this stretch of Sixth Street frontage as being "Japanese." Although it remained centered around the Sixth and Jackson streets intersection, Nihonmachi, or 'Japan Town,' began to expand, eventually extending from Seventh down to Third streets.

The first Japanese buildings in the Nihonmachi area may have been cheap bunkhouses that acted as centralized recruiting centers for farm labor gangs. From Nihonmachi, workers would be taken to Santa Clara's fields and orchards for work, or to the large canneries that began to develop nearby to the east of the railroad tracks (Lukes and Okihiro 1985:24). The early businesses of Nihonmachi catered largely to the needs of these itinerant, male workers. Boarding houses, pool halls, bathhouses, gambling houses, and brothels developed, a pattern that continued for the first 10 to 15 years of the settlement. As immigrant and Nihonmachi resident Masuo Akizuki noted: "When I came to San Jose the day after my arrival, everybody was working in the countryside. The boarding houses in San Jose Japantown found jobs for us. They brought us by horse carriage to the place to work. . . . Our living conditions were miserable at that time. We slept next to a horse stable on our blankets and some straw. . . . When we finished the work, we went back to the boarding house and rested there until the next job came around" (Misawa 1981:12, cited in Lukes and Okihiro 1985:24).

The Sixth Street frontage of the Project area included some of the earliest commercial buildings in Nihonmachi. A memory map of Nihonmachi as it existed from 1910 to 1920

Figure 15. Yamato Bath House, 1911 (later known as the Minato-Yu Bath House), within the Project area on Sixth Street. The bath house included pool tables, and had rooms upstairs for boarders (Lukes and Okihiro 1985:40). *Courtesy of Kanemoto Collection, California History Center Archives*

included markets, five or six gambling houses, two restaurants, several bars, a bath house (Figure 15), barbershop, rooming house, a photo studio, and a few homes belonging to both Chinese and Japanese along the Sixth Street frontage of the Project area between Taylor and Jackson streets (Lukes and Okihiro 1985:22–23). These businesses included the Kani family's grocery store, Ishimaru's barber shop, Minato bath house, Sashi Shokai general merchandise store, the Ito family's restaurant with its tatami floors and shoji walls, and the Yamaguchi-ya boarding house. Also on the Project area block was the Nippon Sake Company at the corner of Jackson and Seventh streets (Ishikawa 1996:3). Nihonmachi resident, Masuo Akizuki noted that, "Most of the men were single, and they

played around whenever they had some money. The main entertainment was billiards and *hanafuda* [a Japanese card game] . . . the first floor of each [boarding house] had a billiard parlor" (Misawa 1981:12, 14). For health needs, the community had the Kuwabara Hospital, built in 1910, which was staffed by Japanese-educated doctors (Carey & Co. 2006:19). New migrants to California often gravitated towards work or geographical areas in which a family member, friend, or immigrants from their same village or prefecture were already established. Thus, Japanese agricultural laborers in Santa Clara County were often from the Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Kumamoto, and Fukuoka prefectures. The prefecture, or *ken*, origins of immigrants could also influence which businesses in Nihonmachi an immigrant might prefer to frequent; the Nankai-ya boarding house, for instance, was run by immigrants from the Wakayama prefecture, and catered primarily to boarders from the same area (Carey & Co. 2006:5).

The increasing prominence and autonomy of Japanese immigrants in Santa Clara Valley's agriculture led to the development of smaller Japanese settlements at local farming communities, such as Alviso, Agnew, Berryessa, Milpitas, and in the Trimble Road area (Lukes and Okihiro 1985:29). Oral histories of Japanese Issei, together with reports from the 1908 U.S. Immigration Commission, indicate that unlike elsewhere in California, the majority of Japanese immigrant men in the Santa Clara Valley had been already married before coming to the United States. Their wives were quickly sent for, and were instrumental in not only enabling the early development of these smaller farming communities, but also in giving them the possibility of permanence through the birth of Nisei or second-generation Japanese. The labor of women and children were often crucial factors in the early years of Japanese tenant and sharecropping farms in the valley (Lukes and Okihiro 1985:56). These small farming communities were very different in tenor from the San Jose Nihonmachi, with the former being characterized by settled families, while Nihonmachi remained the preserve primarily of bachelor, migrant men, and stores and businesses that catered to their needs. The smaller settlements retained quite distinct identities, with residents, usually only the men, visiting Nihonmachi only occasionally (Lukes and Okihiro 1985:63). Thus, the Japanese community in the Santa Clara Valley was not homogeneous but included families and single men, farmers and merchants, tenants and itinerant workers.

Later Development of Nihonmachi Community

As the Japanese community in the Santa Clara Valley matured, Nihonmachi's layout and constituent community also evolved. In the early decades of the 20th century, the location reflected its primary function as a service center and labor reserve for Santa Clara agricultural workers, and contained associated services including bath houses, boarding houses, pool halls and stores. With the increased arrival of wives and children after 1907, via the picture-bride system, individual family homes began to predominate. Reflecting its increased family-based makeup, the Kuwabara Hospital hired two midwives (Carey & Co. 2006:10, 20). Other prominent cultural institutions included the Buddhist Church (established in 1902) and the Methodist Church (built in 1913), in addition to local associations, sports groups, and festivals. Throughout its history, the community retained a very strong Japanese cultural identity. The Okida Hall, a Japanese theater located near Jackson and Sixth streets, hosted traditional *Shibai* plays; they also produced performances of historical tales called *Naniwa-bushi*, epic singing known as *Utai*, along with Japanese

vaudeville acts and, later, Japanese films (Carey & Co. 2006:21). Sports included baseball and sumo wrestling held at a dual-purpose field on Sixth Street. Visually, Nihonmachi was dominated by small, wood-frame commercial and residential structures that did not differ architecturally from other areas of San Jose, with little evidence that they housed an exclusively Japanese population. This was despite the fact that local Japanese American construction companies, including the Nishiura Brothers, were responsible for most of the building in Japantown (Carey & Co. 2006:9). Instead, it has been suggested that years of anti-Japanese discrimination prompted Japanese immigrants to minimize perceived cultural differences between them and the surrounding Euroamerican community (Dubrow 2005).

Impact of World War II Internments on Nihonmachi

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, 7 December 1941, changed the lives of all Japanese residents of the United States. On the 19 February 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which provided the authority to remove people without trials or hearings on the basis of "military necessity." This and subsequent Executive Orders allowed for the removal of U.S. citizens and residents of Japanese heritage to internment camps. By this time, approximately 27 Japanese households were living in Nihonmachi, constituting 72 percent of the non-rural Japanese living in San Jose at the time (*New World-Sun Book* 1939, cited in Carey & Co. 2006:25). Most residents from San Jose Nihonmachi were sent to the Heart Mountain internment camp in Wyoming. As was common in Japanese communities across the United States, they were given only days to prepare for a removal of unknown duration. Many abandoned or sold their assets at a loss, or sought help from non-Japanese friends or business associates to oversee homes or businesses left behind. In their absence, anti-Japanese activists in Santa Clara County campaigned to prevent any eventual resettlement by the Japanese community. As always, the objections were not to Japanese labor on farms, but to the prospect of Japanese settlements as a permanent aspect of the County's population.

From 2 January, 1945, Japanese Americans were released from the internment camps, and gradually made their way back to their home communities. However, the internments were a major blow to Japanese-american communities, many of which never succeeded in reestablishing themselves. When Japanese families returned to Santa Clara County in 1945, they found that their financial prospects had been severely damaged, and their community decimated. During the war, the Japanese place in the local farming economy had been taken by Italian and Portuguese truck market growers, and by Filipino, Mexican, and African American hand labor. Filipino and African American workers had moved into homes within the traditional confines of Nihonmachi. Some returnees arrived home to find that their stored goods and houses had been ransacked on the assumption that the removals would become permanent. During the late 1940s and 1950s, the development of high technology industries in Santa Clara County and the growth and urbanization of its population changed the future of the county as an agricultural center. Orchards were being uprooted to make way for homes, tenant farmers were often unable to regain their leases, and the soaring land prices made it almost impossible for many Japanese farmers to recoup land that they had sold, often at reduced prices, prior to the 1942 removal. Many returnees were forced to resort to farm laboring work again. Others took a leap into the

nursery and floral businesses that continued to thrive in Santa Clara and surrounding counties (Lukes and Okihiro 1985:120).

Despite the setbacks of the war years, the Japanese population of California proceeded to double during the 1950s, largely due to the high birth rate of the Nisei generation, and the return or movement of many Japanese Americans to the state. Among the reasons for the continuing survival of San Jose Nihonmachi during this period was that many Japanese Americans began to find work in the region's burgeoning high technology industries. The open-enrollment policy of San Jose State University also attracted many of the younger Nisei generation to the city. The 1950s also saw the beginning of acceptance of Japanese Americans by the broader community; in 1952 the McCarran Bill allowed for resumed immigration from Japan, and allowed the Issei generation to finally become American citizens. In 1956 California repealed its alien land laws that had long hampered the acquisition of land by Japanese Americans. A local triumph for the San Jose Japanese community was the election of the hometown Norman Mineta in 1967 to San Jose's City Council. He later became the city's mayor, elected a U.S. Congressman, and became the first Asian American to hold a cabinet post in the White House (Carey & Co. 2006:7, White House 2007). San Jose's Nihonmachi rebuilt its cultural institutions, and maintained strong Japanese cultural traditions. It was not markedly affected by the urban-renewal projects of the 1960s and 1970s that so dramatically transformed the appearance of San Francisco and Los Angeles Japantowns. Instead, San Jose Nihonmachi retains much of the configuration, scale, and flavor that it possessed in its early pre-war years of development, and remains the cultural center for the Japanese American community in Santa Clara County. Today, it is one of only three distinct historic Japantowns—Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Jose—to exist in the United States.

Chapter 3:
Preliminary Archaeological Sensitivity Study

PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY

GEOARCHAEOLOGICAL FIELD INVESTIGATION

Subsurface geoarchaeoloigcal investigations of the Project area were conducted on 18 July 2007. The purpose of this work was to assess the likelihood that the location contains a substantial, buried prehistoric archaeological site. No prehistoric archaeological resources were identified, but analysis of the core samples indicate the presence of three stable soil surfaces (paleosols), at least two of which would have been available for human occupation. Methods and results of the fieldwork are given below; a technical report detailing the findings has also been prepared (Kaijankoski 2007).

Fieldwork consisted of collecting soil samples to depths that may be affected by Project construction. Using a truck-mounted geoprobe, nine 1-3/4-inch-diameter continuous core soil samples were bored to depths of 5 to 8 m (16 to 26 ft.) below surface (Figure 16). The borings were placed throughout the Project area to gain a representative sample of the underlying geology. Soil samples were collected for lab analysis and radiocarbon-dating; four of the samples were submitted to Beta Analytic, Inc., Coral Gables, Florida, for radiocarbon-dating.

The results document three prominent buried soils (paleosols), which represent former surfaces available for human occupation, in addition to a variable sequence of weakly developed paleosols in near-channel deposits. The first prominent paleosol was identified at 0.3 to 0.9 m (1 to 3 ft.) below surface in each soil core; it was overlain by historic materials. This paleosol has likely been disturbed by historic activities yet may still contain prehistoric archaeological materials. It was underlain by a thick alluvial deposit, the lower portions of which represented a near-channel/natural levee sediments that contained anywhere from 0 to 2 very weakly developed paleosols at a depth of 3.25 to 4m (10 to 13 ft.) below surface in each soil core. The second prominent surface was a well-developed, laterally extensive paleosol identified at a depth of 4 to 4.5 m (13 to 15 ft.) below surface in each soil core. Radiocarbon dates from this paleosol of 9630 $\pm$ 60 B.P. (10,920 cal B.P.) in the north end of the Project area and 5,710 $\pm$ 40 B.P. (6490 cal B.P.) from the south end of the Project area, indicate that it was buried at different times in the past. A radiocarbon date of 6,410 $\pm$ 40 B.P. (7,320 cal B.P.) from the deposit overlying this paleosol in the north end of the Project area confirms the variable timing of the burial. The third paleosol was identified at approximately 7 m (23 ft.) below surface in one core. A radiocarbon date of 11,380 $\pm$ 60 B.P. (13,250 cal B.P.) was obtained from this soil.

EXPECTED PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROPERTY TYPES

Research on local prehistory and the recent landscape evolution of the Project area and surrounding region has allowed prediction of the types of prehistoric archaeological remains that may be present in the Project area. These categories of potential archaeological features and sites, known as property types, would have been created by the series of events and processes described in the prehistoric overview and geoenvironmental setting sections.

Archaeological property types that may be present in the Project site are divided into two primary types that represent a range of activities and features (Table 4).

Table 4. Prehistoric Archaeological Property Types

Property Type Category	Property Type/Associated Artifacts/Features
Non-Residential	Lithic scatters Single or multiple human burials Isolated artifacts and/or features
Residential	Village or Camp, with some or all of the following: • culturally darkened soil (midden development); • lithic debitage and finished tools of flaked stone, ground stone, and bone; • remains of food processing and consumption (shell, bone, floral remains, charcoal, heat-affected rock, baked clay); and • human burials

Non-residential

The non-residential property type contains evidence of resource acquisition and/or processing, or represents mortuary practices of prehistoric people, but lacks evidence of prolonged residential use. These sites may be temporary camps, specialized task areas such as lithic scatters or quarries, sites of single or multiple graves, or isolated artifacts or features. They may occur as intact examples or as redeposits. This property type reflects patterns of land use beyond the confines of a residential base and is, therefore, representative of a wide range of human behavior and decision making among prehistoric people.

Residential

The residential property type contains evidence of permanent or semi-permanent living, such as structural remains, materials representing food-processing and/or consumption, multiple fire hearths, and human graves; it may occur as intact examples or as redeposits. Examples of this property type may contain a variety of lithic materials including chert and obsidian debitage, bifaces, scrapers, edge-modified flakes, and projectile points. Sites of this type may or may not contain evidence of culturally darkened soil (midden development) that indicates prolonged residential use. Floral and/or faunal subsistence and processing debris, such as shell and animal bone accompanied by heat-

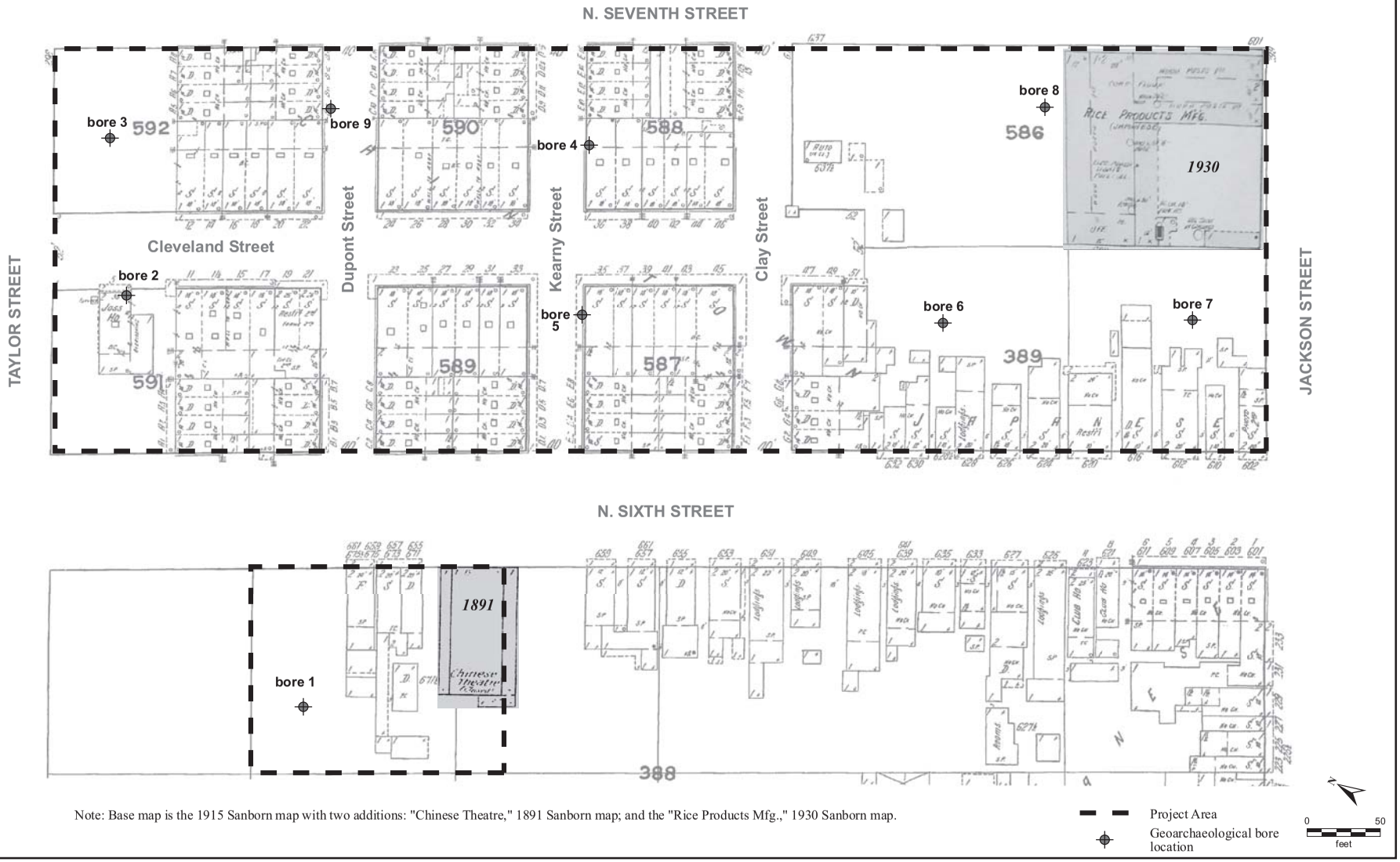

Figure 16. Geoarchaeological bore locations, shown on historical map composite of project area.

affected rock and baked clay, are common in this site type. In the San Francisco Bay Area, such sites are commonly represented by shellmounds, where shell dominates the site matrix; in the vicinity of the project area, however, few examples of shellmounds have been noted and it is unlikely that the area contained massive shellmounds such as those characteristic of the East Bay (e.g., CA-ALA-309, the Emeryville shellmound).

PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL SENSITIVITY

As discussed in the prehistoric overview, the region surrounding the Project area has been inhabited by humans for approximately 10,000 years, and intensively occupied during the past few thousand years. Situated in the generally level northern Santa Clara Valley, the Project area would have provided numerous resources for prehistoric inhabitants, including nearby access to water sources, food items, and various raw materials. Numerous prehistoric archaeological sites are located in the greater San Jose area in a similar geographic setting, some within a mile of the Project area.

The significant environmental changes reviewed in the geoenvironmental setting have likely affected archaeological site visibility in the Project area. Researchers working in the northern Santa Clara Valley have long acknowledged the potential for buried archaeology sites in the region (Allen et al. 1999:4–6). In a review of the age and context of sites within 2.5 miles of the Guadalupe River northwest of the Project area, Meyer (2000:9) observed that 60 percent of prehistoric sites were buried by a meter or more of alluvium. SCL-419 and -605 are examples of prehistoric sites buried within a meter of the surface located within one mile of the project area. The westward migration of the Guadalupe River during the Holocene would have not only increased deposition in the Project area, but resulted in decreased distance to a major water source at times in the past. Given that significant alluvial deposition has occurred in the Project area during the time period of human occupation, it is possible that prehistoric archaeological material may be buried at depth.

Subsurface geoarchaeological investigations of the Project area did not identify any prehistoric archaeological materials. The small diameter of the soil core (1-3/4-inch), however, provided only a very small sample and it is highly possible that this methodology missed prehistoric materials buried at depth. The subsurface stratigraphy of the Project area is characterized by buried soils (paleosols), which are surfaces representing a significant time period of landform stability that was available for human occupation. These surfaces were buried by thick alluvial deposits that likely accumulated quite rapidly. Therefore the paleosols are considered to have a moderate to high sensitivity for prehistoric archaeological materials, while the intervening alluvial deposits are considered to have a low sensitivity.

Prehistoric materials associated with the deepest paleosol, identified at 7m (23 ft.) below surface, could only contain evidence of the very earliest documented human occupation of California and has a low sensitivity for archaeological materials. The second paleosol, identified at a depth of 4 to 4.5 m (13 to 15 ft.) below surface, was deposited sometime after 13,000 cal B.P., and remained stable at the surface for a significant, yet variable, time period. This paleosol was buried by near-channel alluvial deposits in the northern portion of the Project area around 11,000 cal B.P., yet remained at the surface until

at least 6,500 cal B.P. in the southern portion. This indicates that a watercourse was present in or adjacent to the project area for several thousand years (from approximately 11,000 to 6,500 cal B.P.) in the past. The variability in timing of burial of this surface suggests that other portions may have remained at the surface for longer periods. This paleosol has high sensitivity for early (Paleoindian and Lower Archaic-period) archaeological materials. The variable sequence of weakly developed paleosols, ranging from 3.25 to 4.0m (10 to 13 ft.) below surface formed in near-channel deposits, represent only brief periods of landform stability and are considered to have a low to moderate sensitivity for archaeological materials. Additionally, an unconformity (missing time in the geologic record due, in this circumstance, to erosion) may be associated with the near-channel deposits. The paleosol identified between 0.3 to 1.5 m (1 to 5 ft.) below surface, may contain evidence of Late Holocene prehistoric occupation of the Project area. While this paleosol has likely been disturbed by historic activities, it may still contain intact prehistoric archaeological materials.

Based on the findings from the geoarchaeological investigation, the subsurface sensitivity of the Project area for prehistoric archaeological materials can be characterized as: 0.3 to 1.5 m (1 to 5 ft.), high; 1.5 to 3.25 m (5 to 10.5 ft.), low; 3.25 to 4.0 m (10 to 13 ft.), low to moderate; 4 to 5 m (13 to 16 ft.), high; and >5m (>16 ft.), low.

HISTORIC-ERA ARCHAEOLOGY

METHODS

The determination of archaeological sensitivity for historical sites requires an understanding of how archaeological sites are formed and how they are destroyed. On urban sites the historic ground surface is often buried, so the archaeologist must rely on other means to predict the types of potential archaeological deposits and their likelihood of survival. To assist in determining a site's potential, the following questions have been developed for the California Department of Transportation (2007:113) from criteria developed by Schulz (1979). The first two questions pertain to formation of archaeological deposits and the last to survivability.

1. Did the site's occupants engage in activities that would have created features or durable remains in sufficient quantity for archaeological analysis (e.g., household, blacksmith, laundry, store, warehouse, industrial process)?
2. Was the area in question occupied before or during a transitional event, either regulatory (e.g., city water/sewer installation), natural (e.g., fire/flood), or personal (e.g., death or household moving) in nature?
3. Is there evidence that archaeological remains created by these events or processes may have survived to the present (e.g., absence of deep basementing, the presence of protective concrete surface)?

For the entire Project area, all three questions are answered in the affirmative, indicating that potentially important archaeological deposits may be present.

Sensitivity for historical archaeology was determined by review of maps, newspaper articles, oral histories, and other historic documents compared with the results of archaeological excavation of similar sites. The primary source of information regarding historic buildings was Sanborn Fire Insurance maps. These were available for the years 1887, 1889, 1897, 1901, 1915, 1911/1921, 1929, 1930, 1932, 1939, 1950, 1956, 1957, and 1969. Although there are numerous maps, each represents a snapshot in time and there are large gaps in time between several of the maps. Plans and schematic drawings of the Corporation Yard were the primary source of information regarding post-depositional disturbances.

The uniform construction of interior blocks of brick buildings within Heinlenville limited the formation of backyard refuse deposits to a small area—an area that often shrank through time as buildings were extended to their lot line. This condition may have produced horizontal stratigraphy, as a building addition would cover and potentially cap a previously open yard space. Such deposition would have been dependent upon construction methods and whether or not items could have been tossed under the new construction. Due to the limited space available on Heinlenville brick building lots, backyards may have held cellars for storage. Although it does not appear that there were any basements under the main buildings, the possibility cannot be excluded.

Several buildings succumbed to fire. Depending upon the heat of the fire, level of destruction, and scavenging, items within a building at the time of the fire may be found within the burn layer.

Areas shown on the Sanborn maps as vacant lots are not necessarily void of archaeological deposits. Many spaces were likely used for community functions such as holding festivals, or as informal playgrounds.

RESULTS

The results for Historic-era Sensitivity are presented by block in Appendix C. In general, areas of high sensitivity are found behind original buildings and beside the temple. Areas within the footprint of main buildings are considered highly sensitive if there are fire deposits or if it can be shown that subsurface features, such as basements or cellars, are present at these locations. Otherwise, main building locations are considered to be of low to moderate sensitivity. Side yards of original buildings are considered to have moderate sensitivity. Open spaces that may have been used for a variety of activities are considered of low to moderate sensitivity. Streets are considered moderately sensitive due to the practice of filling potholes with refuse such as crushed ceramics.

ASSESSMENT OF DISTURBANCE

While the amount of disturbance from building demolition is unknown, the buildings within the Corporation Yard post-1949 were constructed on slab foundations. The deepest disturbance is from installation and removal of underground storage tanks. Other apparent disturbances are from trenching for storm sewers and underground utilities, such as sanitary sewer, water, gas, and electrical. Disturbance from tank installation/removal

affected an area of at least 45 x 55 ft. x 8 ft. deep at the intersection of Clay and Seventh streets and a smaller area in Cleveland Street near Clay. Individual tanks were located at the front of 620 Sixth, the backyard of 532 Sixth, and the intersection of Cleveland and Dupont. The storm sewers east of Building 200 run through the backyards of 23 to 49 Cleveland Street. The extent of disturbance is likely limited to two trenches 2- to 3-ft. wide and as deep. This would still leave a significant portion of the yards undisturbed.

EXPECTED HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROPERTY TYPES

Based on historical research done of the Project area, we can predict the types of archaeological remains that may be present and, therefore, the possible Project impact on these potential historical resources. These categories of potential archaeological features and sites, known as property types, would have been created by the series of historic-era events and processes described in the historic overview (Chapter 2).

Archaeological property types that may be present on the Project site represent a wide range of activities and features (Table 5).

If they are present on the Project site, most examples of these property types will be evaluated most appropriately under CRHR Criterion 4, which assesses the important information they may contain. Other features—such as the remains of the protective fence and the temple—may have intrinsic values that are best assessed under CRHR Criterion 1, for their role in local, state, or national history.

Archaeological Formation Processes

It is essential to understand the processes by which cultural and natural strata are formed in order to interpret archaeological data and evaluate their importance. When working in complex urban contexts, it is especially important to understand archaeological deposits in terms of the events that created them, not merely through the artifacts they contain. The excavation and recording system developed by Edward Harris (1974, 1977, 1979, 1988, 1989) aids in interpreting these events. Under this system, archaeologists must take note not only of solid features (such as walls) and negative features (such as pits), but also of contiguous interfaces that are created where stratigraphic units come into contact with one another. Thus, Harris recognizes layer interfaces, feature interfaces, and period interfaces—"a surface composed of a number of layer and feature interfaces" (1979:47). Leonard Wooley provides another definition of this concept: "the sum total of the ground surfaces which were ground levels in use at one and the same time" (1961:24).

Archaeological deposits reflect either periods of continuity or intervals of transition in site occupation or use. Continuous deposits are archaeological layers or living surfaces that become recognizable and distinct when buried by natural strata (i.e., flood silt, ash) or cultural strata (i.e., fill, roadway, building). Continuous deposits can form over periods of thousands of years, as on California prehistoric sites, or in just a few years, as in the sequence of fire, flood, and fill found in Sacramento. It is a transition, natural or cultural, that results in a layer interface and the sealing of a continuous deposit into an archaeological layer. A process of continuous discard produces "sheet refuse" or gradually fills hollows and negative features. Because they accumulate gradually, these strata are highly susceptible to depositional and post-depositional disturbance. Archaeologists employ assemblages

Table 5. Historic-era Archaeological Property Types

Property Type Category	Property Type
Industrial (factory, workshop)	Industrial building foundation/remains Industrial process remains Raw material, by-product, or waste accumulation
Service/Mercantile/ (hotel, boardinghouse, general store, laundry, butcher shop)	Commercial building foundation/remains Sheet artifact concentration Specialized activity feature (e.g., boiler base, roasting oven) Artifact or by-product cache
Social (temple, theatre, family/social organization office)	Social building foundation/remains Sheet artifact concentration Specialized activity feature
Residential (house, tenement)	Private residential building foundation/remains Sheet artifact concentration Artifact cache Activity area, yard, garden
Infrastructure/public space (protective structures, open space)	Fence, guard station Sheet artifact concentration Artifact cache Specialized activity feature or area

recovered from stratified, continuous archaeological layers to examine a variety of research problems concerning changes through time.

Archaeological strata formed during incidents of transition accumulate very quickly, often through a single depositional event in response to an abrupt change in the nature of site occupation and use. Activities such as the creation of a new feature interface (the removal of strata—hole digging) or the deposition of materials within a previously existing feature interface (the addition of strata—hole filling) often mark intervals of transition. Such deposits are more likely to retain their integrity than are continuous deposits and, therefore, possess greater visibility and focus in the archaeological record. In addition, deposits formed during intervals of transition may often be associated through historical research with specific households.

In urban areas, transitional feature interfaces and the strata that create them are often the result of changes on two levels: (1) those that result from the new use of a particular parcel due to the presence of a different commercial enterprise, occupant, or owner, or from modifications made by a continuing one; and (2) those produced by widespread responses to either natural disaster, such as floods or fires, or to municipal regulations governing sanitation practices, water delivery and storage, or street and lot improvements. More broadly, the latter transitions may be viewed as the movement by City government away from unplanned growth and development toward urban planning. In the case of Heinlenville, the planning movement was driven by an individual, John Heinlen, in

spite of the city council. During World War II the forced exodus of Japanese residents to internment camps was another type of regulation that had a profound impact on occupancy of the neighborhood and in turn affected the archaeological formation process as homes and businesses were abandoned.

The archaeological deposits created by the various processes can be divided into a variety of types or categories reflecting an association with individuals or groups who created the deposits and the type of data potential within the resource. Within Heinlenville many of these categories overlap as businesses and residences shared the same lot either simultaneously or alternating through time.

Domestic Occupation

Examples of this property type may occur in association with residences and other locations where people reside, such as boarding schools. These locations may be expected to contain deposits either as hollow-filled features or as sheet refuse. Either type of deposit may contain information that would make them legally important.

Before the days of organized refuse collection hollow features such as refuse pits and abandoned wells, cisterns, and outhouses were used as receptacles of the by-products of everyday living: discarded ceramics, food bones, containers of various materials, and broken or obsolete personal items. These discrete caches were often filled over a short duration and provide a snapshot in time of the residents who created the deposits. Domestic occupation sites also frequently contain deposits of sheet refuse. This is refuse that builds up on the horizontal plane. When these deposits are sealed either by intentional filling or covered by a building, they can yield assemblages that may be used for the same types of analysis as filled features. In addition, they can provide evidence of change through time that discrete caches cannot. The reconstruction of backyard use, functional layout, and vegetation may be possible by means of continuous pollen samples obtained from this type of deposit.

Several buildings within the project area are known to have burned in fires. In cases where the fire completely gutted the building so that the building's contents would have settled to the ground surface, this fire layer may contain a wealth of information. The deposit may provide information on the horizontal plane as would sheet refuse, with the known date of a fire providing a snapshot in time as would a discrete cache or hollow feature.

Archaeological investigations within the Asian community of Walnut Grove, California (Costello and Maniery 1988) and the Los Angeles Chinatown (Costello et al. 1998) found refuse used to fill potholes within streets. These pits were typically filled with broken ceramics. This type of fill may also be found in association with commercial occupation.

Domestic Architecture

These are the architectural remains of residences and domestic outbuildings. Since many of the buildings were used for both domestic and commercial purposes these categories will overlap. For brick buildings, the remains would take the form of footings. For wooden structures these may be found as brick footings, piers of brick, concrete, or stone, and wooden pilings or mudsills placed directly on the ground. Buildings whose

characteristics are known from the historic record would generally not be considered legally important. The remains of the brick quadrangles designed by Theodore Lenzen for John Heinlen would not be considered important if historic plans were available. With so little variation in the brick buildings there is limited research value once a sample of each type is investigated. Of greater importance are the modifications to these buildings, especially rear additions that are poorly documented in the historic record. While Sanborn maps may indicate the size and dates of changes through time, they only identify the materials used for wall and roofs and not the actual building techniques. Modifications such as the creation of basements or cellars not identified on Sanborn maps would be considered legally important. Archaeological investigations within the Asian community of Walnut Grove, California, uncovered basements, including niches for safes that had been excavated under buildings and extended under sidewalks, none of which were identified on Sanborn maps. The remains of wood-frame or other structures throughout the project area may contain information that does not exist in the historic record.

Commercial Occupation

Refuse caches and sheet deposits of refuse and fill, similar to resource types that occur on domestic sites, may also be expected on commercial sites. The artifact collections, however, will reflect the orientation of the business that contributed to it. Several types of businesses have been identified within the project area, including retail stores, butcher shops, bakery, restaurants, gambling, barber shops, lodging houses, rice products manufacturing, sake brewery, and auto repair. Collections contained in property types related to retail stores may be expected to consist of broken, spoiled, or otherwise unsalable goods. Lodging houses can be expected to have produced deposits that are similar in structure and function to those of domestic sites. Collections associated with service professions, such as barbershops, can be expected to consist of empty containers used in the trade and broken or obsolete equipment, along with personal items.

Commercial Architecture

For many of the retail and service establishments within the Project area, this category overlaps with domestic architecture. There were, however, structures strictly identified as commercial, including the Rice Products Manufacturing/Sake Brewery, and some Auto shops. The legal status of this type of resource depends on the degree to which the architectural details are a matter of record. If the remains can yield previously undocumented information, then they would be considered legally important.

Social Architecture

This type of site includes a variety of buildings used for social gatherings, including the temple, theatre, and family/social organization offices. Within the brick quadrangles this type of site would consist of building adaptations or special building features. The information would be similar to that of commercial and domestic architecture.

Social Occupation

Specialized activity features, refuse caches, and sheet deposits of refuse and fill, similar to resource types that occur on domestic and commercial sites, may also be expected on social sites.

Infrastructure & Public Space

This property type includes both formal infrastructure and open spaces that were structurally less formal, yet still significant to the community. Infrastructure includes a variety of architectural elements associated with the development of Heinlenville, including the protective structures such as the fence and guard station as well as the sewer system within the Project area, and the artesian well and water tower across Seventh Street. It does not include any refuse-filled deposits within outhouse features that would more likely be either domestic or commercial deposits. The information for infrastructure is primarily architectural; in addition, there may be refuse deposits associated with the guard station, or refuse may have been deposited within the backfill of infrastructure features during construction.

There are several areas within the block that were open space through the years. These spaces may have been used for festivals, other community gatherings, gardening, or as playgrounds. Deposits may include sheet refuse, artifact caches, or specialized activity features. Oral-history research will be necessary to identify use areas to target for archaeological investigation.

Post Historic-era Occupation Disturbances

Heinlenville and the adjacent Japantown development form the major, long-term historic use of the Project area. It is unclear whether the Project area was occupied by structures or activities such as market gardens etc. before the construction of Heinlenville, or in the vacant lots that persisted in the Project area historically bounded by Clay, Seventh, and Sixth and Jackson streets before the extension of Japantown in the early 1900s. Heinlenville was constructed as an architect-designed, planned community in 1887 by John Heinlen. This community was composed of blocks of one- and two-story brick buildings planned for dwellings, stores, restaurants, and storehouses (Young Yu 1991:39). According to successive Sanborn maps, none of the buildings within the planned Heinlenville development, or in subsequently built structures, included basements; additionally there were no other substantial subsurface structures, such as wells, that might have significantly impacted archaeological materials relating to pre-1887 occupation of the project area. With the exception of various, small-scale modifications relating principally to backyard areas and vacant areas, the physical configuration of Heinlenville remained relatively constant throughout its history until its demolition, beginning in the 1930s (Sanborn Map Company 1884/1887, 1884/1889, 1891, 1884/1897, 1891/1901, 1915, 1891/1921, 1915/1929, 1915/1930, 1915/1932, 1915/1939).

A more organic settlement of both Japanese and Chinese ethnic dwellings and stores began to develop in the early 1900s in the vacant lot bounded by Clay, Sixth, Seventh, and Jackson streets to the south of the planned Heinlenville development. Within this area several structures designated as being occupied by auto shops on Clay Street and Cleveland Street from at least 1911 may have included subsurface fuel tanks (Sanborn Map Company 1915, 1891/1921, 1915/1929, 1915/1930, 1915/1932, 1915/1939). The City of San Jose acquired the John Heinlen Company holdings within the Project area in 1931, and began the demolition of the existing structures and conversion of the area into a Corporation Yard for City services over a period of four decades (Sanborn Map Company 1915/1932, 1915/1939, 1915/1950, 1915/1956, 1915/1957, 1915/61, and 1915/1969).

The map data indicate that Corporation Yard buildings were all single-story constructions built on concrete slab floors. For this reason, the preservation of archaeological deposits beneath these slab floors is likely to be relatively good. The remainder of the project area is asphalt-paved, which has served to protect any underlying archaeological deposits. Plans of the locations of utilities installed from the 1930s to the present day in the Project area are incomplete. However, analysis of these plans together with field inspections indicates that survival may have been good, despite the presence of utility corridors and underground fuel tanks. Relatively large portions of the Project area (including some of the most archaeologically sensitive areas such as the Ng Shing Gung Temple on Cleveland Street, and backyard areas throughout the Project) have been subject to relatively little impact.

HISTORIC-ERA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SENSITIVITY

The Project area has a high level of historic-era archaeological sensitivity due to several factors:

- The Project area represents a substantial portion of Heinlenville—a historically cohesive and ethnically integrated community. As opposed to the study of sites occupied by a single dwelling, store, or activity, the Project area offers a relatively rare opportunity to conduct a neighborhood-level study of long-term community development.
- The Project area represents a long-term occupation by ethnic Japanese and Chinese communities. Sites associated with similar communities have had significant archaeological research value and have been found eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.
- A high level of documentation exists for the Project area—including sources such as the Sanborn Company maps, U.S. Census population schedules, newspaper articles, and oral histories—that provide information on both the configuration of the built environment, and the social development and configuration of the Chinese and Japanese communities. This level of documentation allows for sophisticated and complex archaeological inquiry.
- The archaeological potential of the Project area is enhanced by the apparently minimal level of subsurface disturbance since the historic occupation. Disturbance appears to have been limited to several relatively narrow utility corridors and underground fuel tanks. Contemporary buildings on the site have been built on concrete slabs resulting in minimal subsurface disturbance.
- The San Jose Chinese-American and Japanese-American communities consider the Project area to represent an important location in their history and have expressed their desire to see the archaeological resources treated appropriately.

Chapter 4: Conclusion and Recommendations

Historical research indicates it is highly likely that the Project area contains historic-era archaeological remains that constitute historical resources for the purposes of CEQA. These deposits are likely to be associated with the Chinese and Japanese communities that occupied the location in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Although geoarchaeological testing did not reveal the presence of substantial prehistoric remains, it is possible that prehistoric remains are present.

RECOMMENDATION: Create Archaeological Planning Documents

Considering the sensitivity of the Project site, ASC recommends that the City create planning documents to facilitate the identification, evaluation, and treatment of important archaeological remains, as well as the involvement of interested community groups. These documents include, as appropriate, an Archaeological Research Design and Testing Plan, an Archaeological Treatment Plan, and an Archaeological Monitoring Plan.

RECOMMENDATION: Appropriate Treatment of Human Remains

It is possible, although unlikely, that human remains are present on the Project site. If human remains are uncovered they should be treated according to Section 15065.4(e) (1–2) of the CEQA Guidelines, as follows:

1. There shall be no further excavation or disturbance of the site or any nearby area reasonably suspected to overlie adjacent human remains until:
    A. The coroner of the County must be contacted to determine that no investigation of the cause of death is required, and
    B. If the coroner determines the remains to be Native American:
        i. The coroner shall contact the Native American Heritage Commission within 24 hours.
        ii. The Native American Heritage Commission shall identify the person or persons it believes to be the most likely descended from the deceased Native American.
        iii. The most likely descendent may make recommendations to the landowner or the person responsible for the excavation work, for means of treating or disposing of, with appropriate dignity, the human remains and any associated grave goods as provided in Public Resources Code Section 5097.98, or
2. Where the following conditions occur, the landowner or his authorized representative shall rebury the Native American human remains and associated grave goods with appropriate dignity on the property in a location not subject to further subsurface disturbance.

A. The Native American Heritage Commission is unable to identify a most likely descendent or the most likely descendent failed to make a recommendation within 24 hours after being notified by the commission;

B. The descendent identified fails to make a recommendation; or

C. The landowner or his authorized representative rejects the recommendation of the descendent, and the mediation by the Native American Heritage Commission fails to provide measures acceptable to the landowner.

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APPENDIX A

Personnel List

PERSONNEL LIST

Name	Title	Qualifications	Responsibilities
Adrian Praetzellis	Principal Investigator	Ph.D. Anthropology; RPA	report writing, testing strategy, overall supervision
Mary Praetzellis	Co-principal Investigator	M.A. CRM; RPA; CCPH	project management and design, report writing
Julia Costello	Co-principal Investigator	Ph.D. Anthropology; RPA	report writing, testing strategy
Charlene Duval	Historian	M.A. Social Science	research
Connie Young Yu	Historian, Local Liaison	B.A. English	research, review, community contact
Ben Harris	Researcher	Graduate Student CRM	records search
Philip Kaijankoski	Author, Geoarchaeologist	M.A. CRM; RPA	report writing, geoarchaeological testing
Heidi Koenig	Researcher	M.A. CRM; RPA	archival research
Michael D. Meyer	Author	M.A. CRM; RPA	report writing, compilation, testing strategy
Bryan Mischke	Mapping Specialist	B.A. Anthropology	mapping
Bryan Much	GIS Specialist	Graduate Student CRM	mapping, database
Maria Ribeiro	Graphics Specialist	B.A. Anthropology	report graphics, production
Elaine-Maryse Solari	Researcher, Oral Historian	M.A. CRM, Juris Doctor	archival research, oral history
Suzanne Stewart	Editor	M.A. CRM; RPA	report editing
Annita Waghorn	Author	M.A. CRM; RPA	report writing, compilation

Qualifications: CCPH = Registered Professional Historian; CRM = Cultural Resources Management; RPA= Registered Professional Archaeologist.

APPENDIX B

Correspondence with the Native American Heritage Commission

STATE OF CALIFORNIA Arnold Schwarzenegger, Governor

NATIVE AMERICAN HERITAGE COMMISSION
915 CAPITOL MALL, ROOM 364
SACRAMENTO, CA 95814
(916) 653-4082
Fax (916) 657-5390
Web Site www.nahc.ca.gov

July 12, 2007

Michael Jablonowski
Sonoma State University

Sent by Fax: 707-664-0890
Number of Pages: 3

Re: Proposed Japantown, San Jose, Santa Clara County.

Dear Mr. Jablonowski:

A record search of the sacred land file has failed to indicate the presence of Native American cultural resources in the immediate project area. The absence of specific site information in the sacred lands file does not indicate the absence of cultural resources in any project area. Other sources of cultural resources should also be contacted for information regarding known and recorded sites.

Enclosed is a list of Native Americans individuals/organizations who may have knowledge of cultural resources in the project area. The Commission makes no recommendation or preference of a single individual, or group over another. This list should provide a starting place in locating areas of potential adverse impact within the proposed project area. I suggest you contact all of those indicated, if they cannot supply information, they might recommend others with specific knowledge. By contacting all those listed, your organization will be better able to respond to claims of failure to consult with the appropriate tribe or group. If a response has not been received within two weeks of notification, the Commission requests that you follow-up with a telephone call to ensure that the project information has been received.

If you receive notification of change of addresses and phone numbers from any of these individuals or groups, please notify me. With your assistance we are able to assure that our lists contain current information. If you have any questions or need additional information, please contact me at (916) 653-4038.

Sincerely,

Debbie Pilas-Treadway
Environmental Specialist III

Native American Contacts
Santa Clara County
July 12, 2007

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720 North 2nd Street
Patterson , CA 95363
jakki@bigvalley.net
(209) 892-2436
(209) 892-2435 - Fax
Ohlone/Costanoan

Amah/MutsunTribal Band
Irene Zwierlein, Chairperson
789 Canada Road
Woodside , CA 94062
amah_mutsun@yahoo.com
(650) 851-7747 - Home
(650) 851-7489 - Fax
Ohlone/Costanoan

Amah MutsunTribal Band
Valentin Lopez, Chairperson
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Sacramento , CA 95821
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Ohlone/Costanoan

Indian Canyon Mutsun Band of Costanoan
Ann Marie Sayers, Chairperson
P.O. Box 28
Hollister , CA 95024
831-637-4238
Ohlone/Costanoan

Amah MutsunTribal Band
Edward Ketchum
35867 Yosemite Ave
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aerieways@aol.com
Ohlone/Costanoan
Northern Valley Yokuts

Muwekma Ohlone Indian Tribe of the SF Bay Area
Rosemary Cambra, Chairperson
PO Box 360791
Milpitas , CA 95036
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408-434-1668
408-434-1673
Ohlone / Costanoan

Amah/Mutsun Tribal Band
Michelle Zimmer, Cultural Resource Coordinator
P O Box 3892
Clear Lake , CA 95422
408-375-4281
Ohlone/Costanoan

The Ohlone Indian Tribe
Andrew Galvan
PO Box 3152
Mission San Jose , CA 94539
chochenyo@AOL.com
(510) 656-0787 - Voice
(510) 882-0527 - Cell
(510) 687-9393 - Fax
Ohlone/Costanoan
Bay Miwok
Plains Miwok
Patwin

This list is current only as of the date of this document.

Distribution of this list does not relieve any person of statutory responsibility as defined in Section 7050.5 of the Health and Safety Code, Section 5097.94 of the Public Resources Code and Section 5097.98 of the Public Resources Code.

This list is only applicable for contacting local Native Americans with regard to cultural resources for the proposed Japantown, San Jose, Santa Clara County

Native American Contacts
Santa Clara County
July 12, 2007

Trina Marine Ruano Family
Ramona Garibay, Representative
16010 Halmar Lane
Lathrop , CA 95330
510-300-5971 - cell

Ohlone/Costanoan
Bay Miwok
Plains Miwok
Patwin

This list is current only as of the date of this document.

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This list is only applicable for contacting local Native Americans with regard to cultural resources for the proposed Japantown, San Jose, Santa Clara County

APPENDIX C

Historic-era Archaeological Sensitivity Assessments

HISTORIC-ERA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SENSITIVITY ASSESSMENTS

Results of the historic-era archaeological sensitivity assessment are in the following tables listed by Sanborn map Block Numbers, with a final section for streets. Dates generally reflect evidence from Sanborn maps, although information from other documentary sources such as newspaper articles or dated photographs have been included when available.

- **Buildings** refers to buildings identified on each Sanborn block.
- **Occupancy** refers to the type of occupancy for a given block, such as commercial, residential, or Joss House. All of the blocks and many individual addresses had multiple types of occupation through the years.
- **Events** include changes to the physical structure of buildings by the first year shown on a Sanborn map or, in the case of fires or the removal of buildings, actual dates if known.
- **Disturbances** include known potential adverse effects to the blocks once the buildings were removed, which is itself a disturbance. These include new construction of buildings, utilities, and storms sewers, and tank installation and removal.
- **Sensitivity** is characterized by block, unless stated otherwise. Information may become more specific as new information is collected. If cellars or other similar underground features are found to be present within the footprint of brick buildings, then those areas would be more sensitive than previously designated.

Sanborn Block 592

Bounded By:	Taylor, Seventh, Dupont, Cleveland
Buildings	***North Half*** 1887-1939: Undeveloped ***South Half*** 1887: Brick buildings Cleveland frontage 1891-1930: Brick quadrangle
Occupancy	1887-1930: Commercial & Residential
Events	1891: 12 & 22 Cleveland, changes to original outbuildings 1901: 14-20 Cleveland, enlarged additions 13 Dupont, enlarged addition 1915: All addresses, modified additions
Disturbances	1939>: Buildings, utilities
Sensitivity	***High*** Behind original buildings *Low to Moderate* Under original buildings

Sanborn Block 591

Bounded By	Taylor, Cleveland, Dupont, Sixth
Buildings	***North Half*** 1887: Undeveloped 1889–1939: Ng Shing Gung building, Temple/Joss House 1901–1939: Furnace next to temple ***South Half*** 1887–1932: Brick quadrangle
Occupancy	1887–1930: Commercial, Residential, & Joss Houses/Temple
Events	1891: All Addresses, modified additions 1897: Temple, side addition 1901: Temple, side addition removed 1915: Temple, side addition Quadrangle yards, covered except 3–7 Dupont 1921: 13–21 Cleveland, Fire 18 November 1929: 19–21 Cleveland, "Ruins of Fire"
Disturbances	1950> Fire Station/Administrative offices, utilities, trees.
Sensitivity	***High*** Behind original buildings, around Temple, fire deposit at 13–21 Cleveland ***Low to Moderate*** Under original buildings

Sanborn Block 590

Bounded By	Dupont, Seventh, Kearney, Cleveland
Buildings	1887: Brick buildings, Cleveland frontage, roasting kettle behind 24 Cleveland. 1891–1930: Brick quadrangle
Occupancy	1887–1930: Commercial & Residential
Events	1897: 26–32 Cleveland, enlarged additions 1901: 24–34 Cleveland, brick additions cover yards Dupont & Kearney, no common outbuildings 1915, Dupont & Kearney, modified addition
Disturbances	1969>, Building 400 Warehouse, utilities
Sensitivity	***High*** Behind original buildings ***Low to Moderate*** Under original buildings

Sanborn Block 589

Bounded By	Dupont, Cleveland, Kearney, Sixth
Buildings	1887–1939: Brick quadrangle
Occupancy	1887–1930: Commercial, Residential, & Joss House
Events	1891: Quadrangle yards, modified additions 1894: 22–33 Cleveland, Fire 21 March 1901: All addresses except 8 Dupont, covered yards
Disturbances	1950>: Building 200 shops, utilities, storm sewers
Sensitivity	***High*** Behind original buildings and fire layer ***Low to Moderate*** Under original buildings

Sanborn Block 588

Bounded By	Kearney, Seventh, Clay, Cleveland
Buildings	1887: Brick buildings, Cleveland frontage 1891–1930: Brick quadrangle
Occupancy	1887–1930: Commercial & Residential
Events	1901: Most addresses, modified additions 1906: 9–12 Clay, collapse of upper façade. 1915: 9–12 Clay, reduced to 1-story 1915: Most addresses, modified additions
Disturbances	1969>: Building 400 Warehouse, utilities
Sensitivity	***High*** Behind original buildings ***Low to Moderate*** Under original buildings

Sanborn Block 587

Bounded By	Kearney, Cleveland, Clay, Sixth
Buildings	1887–1950: Brick quadrangle
Occupancy	1887–1930: Commercial & Residential 1956–1957: Municipal
Events	1891: Most addresses, enlarged additions 1901: Kearney addresses, yards covered 1–3 Clay, enlarged additions 1915: All addresses except 7 Clay, yards covered
Disturbances	1969>: Building 200 shops, utilities, storm sewers
Sensitivity	***High*** Behind original buildings ***Low to Moderate*** Under original buildings

Sanborn Block 586

Bounded By	Clay, Seventh, Jackson, Cleveland
Buildings	1887–1901: Undeveloped ***North Half*** 1915: Cleveland alignment blocked by an open building 637 1/2 Cleveland, auto shop 1915–1930: 52 Cleveland, two open buildings 1915–1950: Corner of Clay, small building 1929–1930: 637 1/2 Cleveland, auto shops (2) 1932–1950: 637 1/2 Cleveland, auto shops (5) ***South Half*** 1915: Undeveloped 1929–1932: 620 Cleveland, Rice Products Manufacturing 1939: 620 Cleveland, Nippon Sake Brewery Inc.
Occupancy	1887–1957: Commercial & Residential
Events	None
Disturbances	1989: Tank remediation Clay & Seventh, and Cleveland near Jackson, utilities.
Sensitivity	***High*** Behind original buildings and at outbuildings ***Moderate*** Side yards of original buildings ***Low to Moderate*** Under original buildings, open spaces

Sanborn Block 389

Bounded By	Clay, Cleveland, Jackson, Sixth
Buildings	***North Half*** 1887: Brick meat market with roasting kettle, warehouse NE corner 1887–1891: Chinese washhouse Sixth Street 1901: Chinese bunkhouse Sixth Street 1915–1939: Japanese wood-frame Businesses, Lodgings, & Dwellings 1950–1957: Wood-frame Businesses, Lodgings, Dwellings, & Mission ***South Half*** 1901: Chinese Dwellings "A" Sixth
Occupancy	1887–1957: Commercial & Residential
Events	1891: All addresses, modified additions 1901–1929: Most addresses, new or modified buildings 1929: All addresses, modified additions, new buildings 1939: Clay addresses, brick buildings removed 632 Sixth, addition 1950: 601–612 Sixth, cleared 1956: 620–622 & 626 Sixth, cleared
Disturbances	1969>: Building 200, utilities, storm sewers, tank remediation
Sensitivity	***High*** Behind original buildings and at outbuildings. ***Moderate*** Side yards of original buildings ***Low to Moderate*** Under original buildings

Sanborn Block 388: Assessor's Parcel 249-38-11

Bounded By	Taylor, Sixth, Jackson, Fifth
Buildings	***North Half*** 1901–1930: Stores, Flats, & Dwellings ***South Half*** 1891–1901: Chinese theatre
Occupancy	1887–1930: Social, Commercial, & Residential
Events	1911: 669 Sixth, Fire 5 January
	1915: Additions and conversions
Disturbances	Unknown, Fencing
Sensitivity	***High*** Behind original buildings and at outbuildings. ***Moderate*** Side yards of original buildings ***Low to Moderate*** Under original buildings

Streets

Buildings	1915: Cleveland near Block 586, wood frame building
Occupancy	See Block 586
Events	1929: Cleveland S end, opened
Disturbances	1956>: Buildings, utilities, storm sewers, tank remediation
Sensitivity	***Moderate*** Refuse filled potholes