

# City of Phoenix Asian American Historic Property Survey



*Prepared for the City of Phoenix Historic Preservation Office*

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## **METHODOLOGY**

This survey was accomplished through research conducted at various archival facilities, reviews of topic-related literature, community outreach connections, and oral histories. The historic context addresses social, political, and cultural history, and is developed in accordance with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation*. The survey covers all areas within Phoenix city limits and restudies previous reports and resources already listed on the National Register of Historic Places and the Phoenix Historic Property Register to determine their significance under the historic context *Asian Americans in Phoenix, 1870-1960*.

## **BOUNDARY**

The boundaries of the study area are the current boundaries of the City of Phoenix. Unlike previous city-sponsored studies, where other ethnic groups were concentrated in smaller locations within the city boundaries, Asian Americans were widely spread throughout the urban area, including previously unincorporated areas that were subsequently brought into the city through annexation. Therefore, the focus of this study required taking into account the fluctuations of the various ethnic groups' settlement patterns as well as the dynamics of the city's annexation process. While some properties located within city limits were easily identified by address, others required knowledge of cadastral survey coordinates and irrigation laterals to locate some sites.

## **ARCHIVAL RESEARCH**

Archival collections, public records, oral histories, reports and publications were examined at several facilities in central Arizona, including: Arizona Historical Foundation; Arizona Historical Society - Tempe; Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records; Arizona State Parks – State Historic Preservation Office; Arizona State University – Asian Pacific American Studies; Arizona State University - Hayden Library; City of Phoenix Historic Preservation Office; Maricopa County Assessor's Office; Maricopa County Recorder's Office; Phoenix Public Library – Burton Barr Library; and the Phoenix Museum of History. Additional information about the sources is included with the citation and within the bibliography section of this document.

## **COMMUNITY OUTREACH ACTIVITIES**

Initial outreach efforts included contacting the Asian American Association of Arizona, which in turn, put the researchers in contact with members of Asian Indian, Cambodian, Chinese, Filipino, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Laotian, Malaysian, Pakistani, Singaporean, Taiwanese, Thai, and Vietnamese

communities. Press releases and invitations were issued and a series of public meetings were conducted at Arizona State University's Downtown Campus. These public meetings included mapping and genealogy exercises, and identified potential historical sites, as well as oral history candidates. One-on-one meetings with various interested parties within the communities were also conducted on request, as were meetings with members of the Arizona Buddhist Temple, Japanese Americans Citizens League, and Japanese Free Methodist Church. Events attended include the Chinese Fourth of July Celebration and Miss Chinese Arizona Pageant and the Japanese Free Methodist Church annual picnic. At the former, a booth was set up to disseminate information and hand out survey forms; a presentation was given at the latter. An online survey form was also created to facilitate information gathering.

Organizations contacted through written correspondence included: Chinese American Citizens Alliance – San Francisco; Chinese American Professional Association of Arizona; Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Arizona; Chinese Restaurant Association of Arizona; Chinese Senior Citizen Association; Chinese United Association of Greater Phoenix; Chinese Welfare Council; Filipino American Historical Society; Desert Jade Woman's Club; Gujarati Cultural Association; Honeywell Asian Employee Network; Japanese Americans Citizens League; Lung Kong Family Association; Manila Oriental Foodmart; Ong Ko Met Family Association; Organization of Chinese Americans; Philippine American Chamber of Commerce; Phoenix Chinese School; Wong Family Benevolent Association; Yee Fung Toy Family Association; and Ying On Merchants & Labor Benevolent Association.

### ORAL HISTORIES

The development of the historic context narrative and the inventory of historic properties were supported by the use of oral histories with members of the Asian American communities. Earlier interviews were conducted with Asian Americans by the Arizona Historical Society as part of a 1970s oral history project, and by the Phoenix Museum of History as part of an exhibit on Chinese Americans in Phoenix, three decades later. Through Arizona State University's Asian Pacific American Studies Program (APAS) collaborative oral history project with the Japanese American Citizens League, additional information was also located. APAS also provided student interns who conducted and transcribed oral history interviews specifically for this project as part of their studies at ASU.

### FIELD SURVEY

The identification of properties to be evaluated for this survey presented some unique challenges. There were four distinct ethnic communities found to have a presence in Phoenix before 1960, each with its own unique history and

settlement patterns. The dispersal of potential associated properties over a broad geographical area included a wide variety of commercial, residential, agricultural, and institutional types, most of which exhibit no intrinsic physical characteristics that would indicate their association with a particular ethnic group. Identification of properties required extensive examination of city directories, and heavy reliance on oral histories and community outreach. Community members accompanied the survey team on reconnaissance surveys of distinct property types, such as Japanese flower garden sites, Chinese groceries, and Filipino neighborhoods. This resulted in the generation of a list of more than five hundred potentially significant properties that existed historically in Phoenix. Investigators visited each site and 117 extant properties were identified, examined, photographed, and subjected to further research and study to assess significance and integrity.

## INTRODUCTION

The following historic context provides a general overview of the history of Asian Americans in Phoenix from 1870 to 1960. The narrative begins by defining what constitutes an “Asian American” and why. The context then shifts its focus to the various Asian American groups living in Phoenix. The emphasis is on Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans, but also includes information on Filipino Americans and other smaller groups.

The structure of the context begins with a general history of each major group, followed by a narrative of that group’s history in Phoenix. While it may appear that the Chinese and Japanese are given precedence by population size, the narrative is actually more closely tied to the timeframe in which the various groups arrived. For example, the Chinese, as a distinct culture, were the first Asians to immigrate to the United States in large numbers and the first to arrive in Phoenix. Other Asian groups are introduced in the general order of their appearance here.

When possible, each ethnic group’s section details changes in residential, commercial, and cultural aspects of the various communities. Since each group has its own unique history, their respective narratives are not equally balanced, i.e., the Chinese focused more on commercial enterprises while the Japanese turned almost exclusively to agriculture. Filipinos and Asian Indians were fewer in number, and less information was available about these groups, so their histories are not as lengthy and detailed.

## THE DEFINITION OF ASIAN AMERICANS

Traditional geography considers Asia to be a continent, a part of the Africa-Eurasia landmass lying east of the Suez Canal and Ural Mountains and south of Caucasus Mountains and the Caspian and Black seas. It is demarcated from the continents of Africa and Europe by an imaginary line that runs along the Red Sea, through the Isthmus of Suez, the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara, the Bosphorus, the Black Sea, along the Caucasus Mountains, through the Caspian Sea, up the Ural River to its source, and then along the Ural Mountains to the Kara Sea near Kara in Russia. This geographical notion of place is anachronistic, and instead we commonly think of Asia as excluding Turkey, the Middle East, the Arabian subcontinent, and Russia. Still, this definition is too broad and the term Asian usually refers to a subcategory of people and not to everyone on the continent. The term Asian also sometimes refers to people in the Asia-Pacific region and includes islands in the Pacific Ocean. For the purpose of this report, the term Asian will be that which is used on an official level by the federal government.

The United States Census defines Asian as a “person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam. It includes ‘Asian Indian,’ ‘Chinese,’ ‘Filipino,’ ‘Korean,’ ‘Japanese,’ ‘Vietnamese,’ and ‘Other Asian.’”<sup>1</sup> Each of these ethnic groups is further defined by their sub-categorization of themselves.

Asian Indian includes people who indicate their race as “Asian Indian” or identify themselves as Bengalese, Bharat, Dravidian, East Indian, or Goanese. Chinese includes people who indicate their race as “Chinese” or who identify themselves as Cantonese, or Chinese American. In some census tabulations, written entries of Taiwanese are included in this group, while in others they are shown separately. Filipino includes people who indicate their race as “Filipino” or who report entries such as Philipino, Philippine, or Filipino American. Japanese includes people who indicate their race as “Japanese” or who report entries such as Nipponese or Japanese American. Korean includes people who indicate their race as “Korean” or who provide a response of Korean American. Vietnamese includes people who indicate their race as “Vietnamese” or who provide a response of Vietnamese American. Cambodian includes people who provide a response such as Cambodian or Cambodia. Hmong includes people who provide a response such as Hmong, Laohmong, or Mong. Laotian includes people who provide a response such as Laotian, Laos, or Lao. Thai includes people who provide a response such as Thai, Thailand, or Siamese. “Other Asian” includes people who provide a response of Burmese, Indonesian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani, or Sri Lankan. Historically, however, some of these groups were categorized under other terms; Bangladesh and Pakistan were part of British India until 1947 and Sri Lanka was formerly referred to as Ceylon.<sup>2</sup>

The aforementioned definitions are probably the best fit for this report since historically, those Asians that have been subject to discriminatory immigration laws and other “anti-Asian” legislation were typically from the groups identified by the census and not from other areas of the Asian continent, such as Siberia and the Middle East. Legislative and judicial actions tended to focus on specific Asian ethnic groups, as evident in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, and in Supreme Court cases of the 1920s, such as *Ozawa v. United States* and *Thind v. United States*, in which Chinese, Japanese, and Asian Indians were not granted the right to become citizens. Eventually, the various state and federal laws that limited the freedom of certain Asian immigrants were repealed, but the *de jure*

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<sup>1</sup> *Profiles of General Demographic Characteristics, 2000* (Washington: United States Department of Commerce, 2001), A3-A4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

and *de facto* discrimination of the era covered by this study, these Asian American groups can easily be defined as a historically minority groups.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Harry H. L. Kitano and Roger Daniels, *Asian Americans: Emerging Minorities*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1995), 12-13, 16-19.

## THE CHINESE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

### CHINESE IMMIGRATION, 1850-1882

News of the discovery of gold in California reached southern China before most Americans had learned of it. Thus, in 1850, began an exodus of Chinese immigrants to California, or “Golden Mountain.” Many worked briefly in mining and prospecting, but as federal and local governments passed laws to keep non-citizens out of the gold fields, the Chinese pursued other opportunities, opening restaurants, laundries, and stores. Over the next three decades, 300,000 Chinese men made the journey to California. Many eventually moved into other parts of the American West. They comprised the bulk of the labor force that built railroads across the West and their businesses provided goods and services in hundreds of mining camps and fledgling towns. The Chinese played an integral part in developing the unsettled interior of the country while forced to live and work in a restrictive environment shaped by discrimination and segregation. They performed the hardest work for the lowest pay and possessed virtually no legal rights or protections. With the prevalent racist attitudes of the time, American society considered the Chinese, with their obviously different physical appearance and unfamiliar language and customs, inferior and unwelcome. Most Chinese took up residence in the Chinatowns, the distinctive segregated enclaves and refuges from the hostile white American communities where Cantonese culture could flourish.<sup>4</sup>

The Chinese in the West were not representative of all of China. Almost all Chinese immigrants to the United States were from Guangdong Province, a populous semi-tropical region on the South China Sea. The province’s Pearl River Delta was flanked by the European colonies of Hong Kong and Macau, and its economic center was upriver at Canton (Guangzhou). Guangdong was the only part of China that had maintained trade with the West through the early nineteenth century. Once a prosperous region, in the 1850s, it was plagued by floods, drought and famine, economic decline, and frequent rebellions against the ruling Manchu government. Those that left this region never intended to become permanent residents of the United States. They were sojourners, a term for men who came to this country for economic opportunities, to work, save money, and eventually retire and return to China. Because they intended to stay

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<sup>4</sup> Bradford Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix; a Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American Communities, 1860-1992* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994), 79; Melissa Keane, A. E. Rogge, and Bradford Luckingham, *The Chinese in Arizona, 1870-1950: A Context for Historic Preservation Planning*, Dames & Moore Intermountain Cultural Resource Services Research Paper No. 3 (Phoenix: Arizona State Historic Preservation Office, 1992), 5-9; Lawrence Michael Fong, “Sojourners and Settlers: The Chinese Experience in Arizona,” *The Chinese Experience in Arizona and Northern Mexico* (Tucson: Journal of Arizona History, 1980), 2; Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *China and the Overseas Chinese in the United States, 1868-1911* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1983), 13.

only temporarily in the United States, they continued to maintain their language, culture, and close ties to their native village.<sup>5</sup>

According to the 1860 census, probably the first Chinese man in Arizona was William Tsching, who lived in Arizona City (Yuma) and worked as a cook on a Colorado River steamboat. Ten years later, there were twenty-one Chinese laborers working in the territory as miners, cooks, and laundrymen. This small number grew quickly in the 1870s, due in part to a virulent anti-Chinese movement that started sweeping California. With the end of the mining boom, thousands of angry, unemployed workers blamed the Chinese for all of their woes. Hostile mobs terrorized Chinese residents and legislation and legal actions made it increasingly difficult for them to live and work in California. White settlers in Arizona Territory generally held the same racist worldview that placed Chinese at the bottom of the economic system, but they did not hold the same bitter hatred and hostility toward Chinese. Arizonans were more tolerant and willing to accommodate Chinese workers in railroad construction, copper mining, and service industries, where there was a need for their labor. Chinatown communities were established in Tucson and Prescott. The greatest influx of Chinese immigrants into Arizona occurred during construction of the Southern Pacific Railroad, 1878-1880. On November 20, 1878, the *Arizona Sentinel* noted the arrival of seven hundred Chinese laborers in one week. The crew that laid the tracks from Yuma to Maricopa included two hundred white tradesmen and foremen, and eleven hundred Chinese laborers. The federal census shows that by 1880 there were 1,630 Chinese, almost all men, living in Arizona Territory. They were employed in railroad construction, mining, and ranching, and operated laundries and vegetable gardens in many towns across the territory.<sup>6</sup>

For many years, Californians strongly voiced their demands that the federal government halt all immigration from China. Congress responded with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which banned the immigration of laborers from China for a period of ten years. However, the law provided some exemptions, allowing merchants, students, scholars, government officials, and missionaries to legally enter the United States, though they and their predecessors were denied the right to become naturalized citizens. In subsequent years, there were many amendments and extensions of the Chinese Exclusion Act. The Scott Act (1888)

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<sup>5</sup> Keane, et. al., *Chinese in Arizona*, 3-9; Richard Nagasawa, *Summer Wind: The Story of an Immigrant Chinese Politician* (Tucson: Westernlore Press, 1986), 7-9; Ruth Conner, "Charlie Sam and the Sojourners," in *Journal of Arizona History*, vol. 14, no. 4 (Winter 1973), 304-307, 314; Andrea Louie, *Chineseness Across Borders: Negotiating Chinese Identities in China and the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 41-43; Vivian Wei Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix, Arizona: a Study of Acculturation and Assimilation" (Master's thesis, Arizona State University, 1970), 13-14; Fong, "Sojourners and Settlers," 25; Tsai, *China and the Overseas Chinese in the United States*, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Federal Census, 1860; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 80-85; Keane, et. al., *Chinese in Arizona*, 29, 35-37; Fong, "Sojourners and Settlers," 5-12, 25; Conner, "Charlie Sam and the Sojourners," 304-307; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 27-32; Patricia N. Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1987), 261-265.



voided certificates of return for thousands of Chinese who were temporarily out of the country; the Geary Act (1892) extended Chinese exclusion for another ten years and denied immigrants access to courts to fight deportation. In 1904, the Chinese Exclusion Act was extended indefinitely, and the increasingly strict controls of the law led to a gradual decline in the Chinese population in the Western states until 1943, when the law was repealed.<sup>7</sup>



Figure 1. Ah Sam Laundry. n. d. Courtesy of the Phoenix Museum of History.

### THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN PHOENIX, 1872-1895

In 1872, three men and two women, the first Chinese to move to Phoenix, opened the first laundry in what was then little more than a dusty trailside camp of adobe shacks and tents. The number of Chinese remained small until May of 1879, when the Southern Pacific railroad halted work on railroad construction across Arizona due to the intense summer heat. The tracks ended at a new railhead called Terminus (near Casa Grande), thirty-five miles south of Phoenix, and many of the temporarily unemployed Chinese workers went on to Phoenix to find work and residence for the summer. When rail construction resumed in January 1880, most Chinese returned to work, but at least 164 are known to have remained in Maricopa County, creating a sizeable Chinese community in and around Phoenix. Those who settled to the south of Phoenix began growing vegetables, a scarce commodity in a valley full of grain farmers. Those who moved into town started grocery stores, restaurants, and laundries, and found work as domestic servants, cooks, gardeners, and vegetable peddlers. The early Chinese located businesses and boarding houses in only one part of Phoenix,

<sup>7</sup> Maxine Hong Kingston, *China Men* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), 154-156; Iris Chang, *The Chinese in America: A Narrative History* (New York: Viking, 2003), 135-141; Jack Chen, *The Chinese of America* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980), 148, 155; Brian Niiya, ed., *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History*, (New York: Checkmart Books, 2001), 137; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 33; Conner, "Charlie Sam and the Sojourners," 304.

clustered along the west side of Montezuma Street (1<sup>st</sup> Street), extending a half block north and a half block south of Adams Street. Through the 1880s, this area grew to become the Phoenix Chinatown.<sup>8</sup>

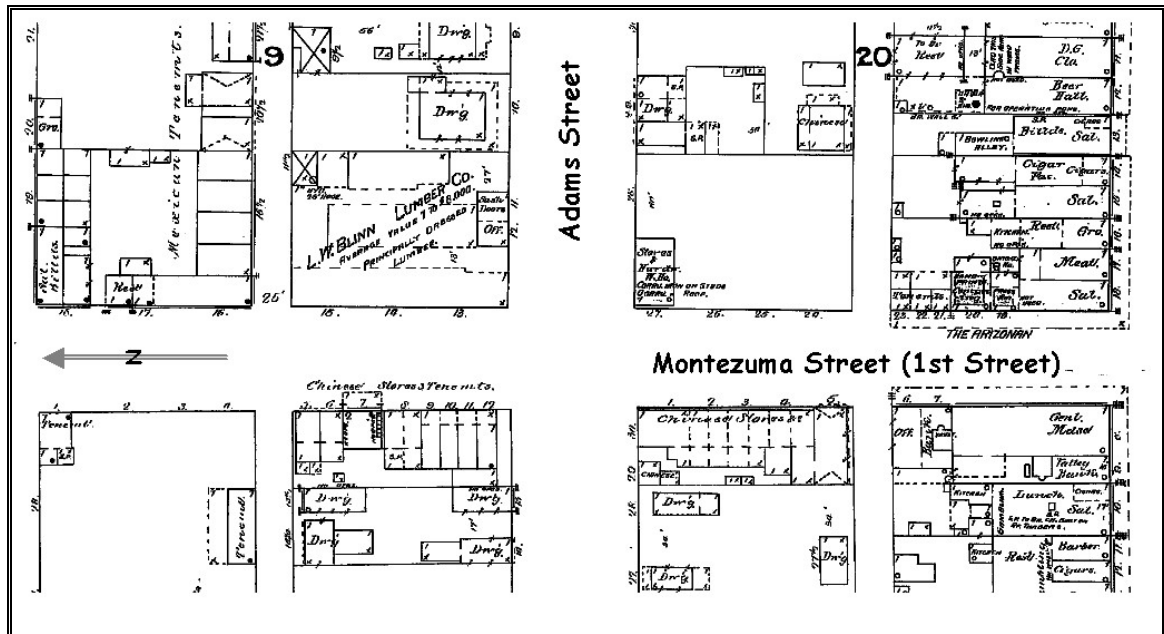


Figure 2. Phoenix's First Chinatown, 1889. Sanborn Map and Publishing Co.

The Caucasian population of Phoenix was apprehensive about accepting the Chinese into their community. They were obviously different in appearance and their language, customs, and beliefs were considered strange. While Arizonans thought of Chinese as undesirable residents, they did not harbor the bitter hatred toward them that Californians did; their reactions to the Chinese were more complaints than threats. The most common complaints were directed toward laundries, the primary business of many Chinese living in town. In 1881, the Phoenix City Council declared “wash houses” to be public nuisances and later instituted a laundry license tax. Eventually, many individuals were charged with operating a laundry without a license. The *Phoenix Gazette* frequently bemoaned the fact that Chinese controlled the laundry, restaurant, and vegetable gardening businesses, but no one apparently cared to open competing businesses.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 82-83; Keane, et. al., *Chinese in Arizona*, 35; Fong, “Sojourners and Settlers,” 25; Chiang, “The Chinese Community in Phoenix,” 31, 34, 42; Shirley J. Roberts, “Minority-Group Poverty in Phoenix: a Socio-Economic Survey,” *Journal of Arizona History*, vol. 14, no. 4 (Winter 1973), 350; U.S. Census Bureau, Federal Census Manuscripts, 1880.

<sup>9</sup> Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 84-90; Keane, et. al., *Chinese in Arizona*, 14; Andrea Michelle Pugsley, “The Chinese in Territorial Arizona Criminal Court Records” (Master’s thesis, Arizona State University, 2001), 35-38, 42, 94.

Phoenix city government often targeted various aspects of life in the Chinese community levying fines and taxes on gambling houses and prohibiting the social use of opium. Newspapers often complained about the annual Chinese New Year celebrations, with their dragons, festive banners, and firecrackers. Some Chinese residents challenged the taxes and ordinances directed against them in court and while they typically lost their cases, they gradually gained the right to conduct business in Phoenix.<sup>10</sup>

In the early 1890s, white businessmen began a campaign to move Chinatown out of the city's growing business district. By 1895, there were petitions to remove the "Chinese colony," and threats to destroy the buildings if the Chinese did not leave voluntarily. Chinese immigrants could not own property and had no protection from eviction from their leased buildings. A new Chinatown was proposed at a site three blocks to the south, between Madison and Jackson, and 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> streets and the Chinese community immediately started moving to it.<sup>11</sup>

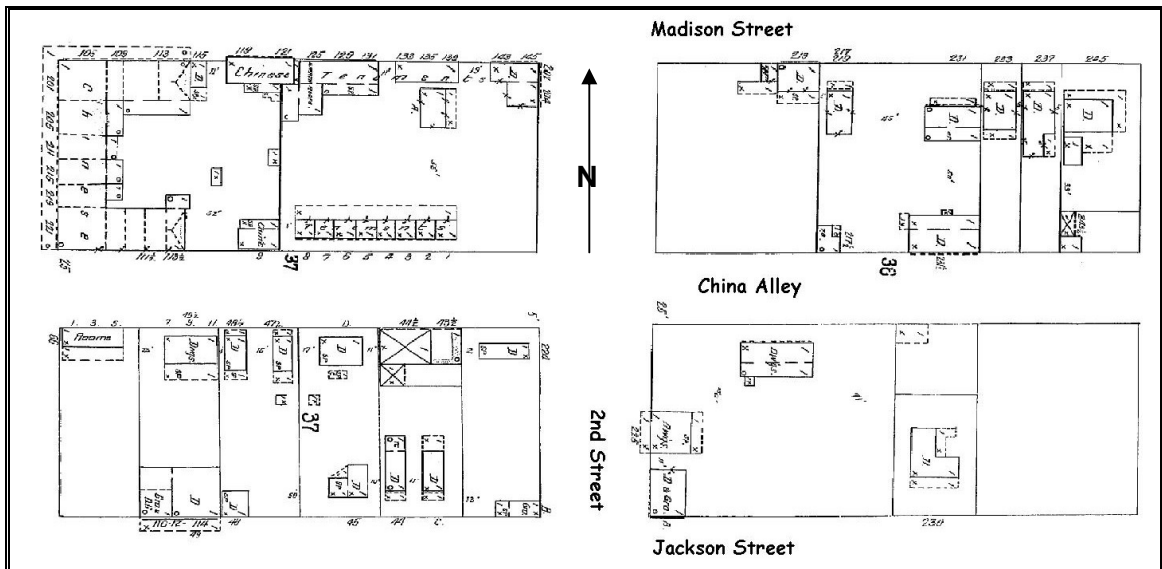


Figure 3. Phoenix's Second Chinatown, 1901. Sanborn Map and Publishing Co.

### THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN PHOENIX, 1895-1945

The Chinese community of Phoenix had a remarkably stable population over several decades. In 1880, there were 101 men and nine women; in 1900, it was seventy-eight men and six women; and in 1910, it was one hundred men and ten women. The type of work men did was also largely unchanged -- mostly restaurants and laundries, but there were a growing number of merchants. There

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 90-93, Keane, et. al., *Chinese in Arizona*, 36.

is no correlation between the individuals who were listed in the 1880 census and those listed in 1900, hence it is unlikely the community membership remained static during this period. There are numerous problems that make it difficult to positively identify a Chinese person by name in the records -- misspelled names, transposed surnames, and forms of address used rather than actual names, such as Ah, a common nickname that parents call children or master calls servant, or Sam, which means "sir." Nevertheless, it is evident that there was a very large turnover among the sojourner population as some returned to China and others came to take their place. Newcomers immediately came to Chinatown, which was a refuge in a hostile city.<sup>12</sup>

The new immigrants tended to go to places where their family members or people from their native village had settled. In Phoenix, virtually all had come from the four primary villages of Sze Yup District in Guangdong Province -- Toisan, Hoiping, Yanping, and Sunwui. They all spoke Fourth Dialect Cantonese. Of the families, Ong was the largest clan in Phoenix. The Ong surname includes Tang and Dong, and comprised about half of the Phoenix community. Yee and Wong were also large families in Phoenix.<sup>13</sup>

Most of the buildings in the new Chinatown had businesses such as restaurants, groceries, and laundries on the first floor, with boarding houses above. By the 1920s, there were three popular restaurants, Mandarin Cafe, Peking Cafe, and Gold Dragon. Other distinctly Chinese businesses included medicinal herb stores and hidden opium dens, as well as a Chinese temple on 1<sup>st</sup> Street. In this rooming house culture, social life for bachelors, which often included gambling and opium, centered at the recreational house.<sup>14</sup>

## Commercial Development

Chinese-oriented businesses were located in Chinatown, but Chinese businesses that served the white American community were scattered across a nine-block area along Washington, Adams, and Monroe streets. Some were still located in the old Chinatown at Adams Street. In the early 1900s, restaurants were the predominant type of Chinese business (see Table 1). Most of these

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<sup>12</sup> Federal Census, 1880, 1900, 1910; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 86, 101; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 28, 30.

<sup>13</sup> Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 90-93; Keane, et. al., *Chinese in Arizona*, 36; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 49-50; Nagasawa, *Summer Wind*, 7-9; 81; Wei Zeng, "Creating Chinese American Identity: Phoenix Chinese Week" (Master's thesis, Arizona State University, 2004), 49-50; Sara Bush, *Arizona's Gold Mountain: Oral Histories of Chinese Americans in Phoenix* (Tempe: Arizona State University, 2000), 1, 19, 27; Fred Ong interview (28 November 2001), Shirley Toy Tung interview (28 November 2001), Barry Wong interview (5 December 2002), Sing Yee Jr. interview (2 January 2002), Bob Yen interview (5 December 2001) interviewed by Pam Stevenson, Phoenix Chinese Americans Oral Histories, Phoenix Museum of History (PMOH).

<sup>14</sup> Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 80, 90-93; Keane, et. al., *Chinese in Arizona*, 29, 36; Fong, "Sojourners and Settlers," 5-12, 22; Roberts, "Minority-Group Poverty in Phoenix," 349; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 44.

restaurants catered to the non-Chinese community, serving American-style food. There were few white competitors and, despite racial prejudices, most people found the best restaurants were always Chinese-owned. For decades, the most popular dining establishment in Phoenix was the American Kitchen. Sing Yee, the well-known proprietor, operated this restaurant in the north half of the Stroud Building until 1951.<sup>15</sup>

<b>Restaurant</b>	<b>Proprietor</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>Year</b>
American Kitchen	Sing Yee	31-33 North Center Street (Central Avenue)	1900
Restaurant	Jue Den and Whan Sue	190 (East) Washington Street	1900
Restaurant		223 South 1 <sup>st</sup> Street	1900
Capital Chop House			1909
Casino Café	Quong Ling and Ding Quong	14-16 East Washington Street	1909
Central Restaurant	Ah Louie	Back of 122 East Washington Street	1909
French Kitchen	Ben Yee	11 West Washington Street	1909
Tuck Hing Restaurant	Tuck Hing	10 East Washington Street	1909
English Kitchen	Joe Ling	Northwest corner of 1 <sup>st</sup> and Adams streets, in old Chinatown	1909
Hong Kong Café	Wong	105 East Jefferson Street	1909
Juon Sing Restaurant	Juon Sing	42-46 East Adams Street	1910
Garden City Restaurant	Charlie Loo Chuck	21-23 East Adams Street	1912
Jee Dans Restaurant		132 East Washington Street	1912
Kim Sue Company		238 East Washington Street	1912
Lee Fat Restaurant		44 East Adams Street	1912
Louie & Wing Restaurant	Ah Louie and Tung Wing	122 East Washington Street	1912
Quon Mon Restaurant		150 South 1 <sup>st</sup> Street	1912
Quong & Coon	L. Quong and Dong Coon	16 East Washington Street	1912
Walter Quong Restaurant	Walter Quong	110 East Adams Street	1912
Sing Tom Company		22 South 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	1912
Yee Tom Restaurant		222 South 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1912
Chinatown Restaurant	Ong Foo	211 South 1 <sup>st</sup> Street	1923
Peking Café		148 South 1 <sup>st</sup> Street	1920s
Mandarin Café		201 South 1 <sup>st</sup> Street	1920s
Golden Dragon Café		126 South 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	1920s
Golden Shine Café		215 South 1 <sup>st</sup> Street	1940
Sing High Chop Suey	Sing	136 South 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	1940
China Tea Garden	Dong	147 South 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	1940
Hut Sut Café		345 West Van Buren Street	1940
Rice Bowl	Ong	616 West Van Buren Street	1940

Source: *Phoenix City Directories*, 1909, 1912, 1923, 1931, 1932, 1935, 1940; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 100; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 44; *Federal Census*, 1900, 1910.

<sup>15</sup> Janus Associates. *Phoenix Commercial Historic Property Survey*. Phoenix: Arizona State Historic Preservation Office, 1984; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 100-102; Sing Yee Jr. interview (2002); *Phoenix City Directories*, 1909, 1940, 1950; *Federal Census*, 1900, 1910.

Most noticeably absent from Chinatown were the families, since there were many bachelors and few women. The Chinese Exclusion Act banned laborers from China from entering the country, but it allowed an exception for merchants and their families. This began to influence the career choices that young Chinese men made. Keeping shop was a good job for an immigrant and only a merchant could freely travel back and forth to China and bring a wife and children back to the United States. Also, an 1865 territorial law prohibited interracial marriage, so men often had to return to China to find a wife. Hence, after 1900, an increasing number of men chose to become grocers and once established they were financially able to bring over wives. There was soon a growing number of females in Chinatown.<sup>16</sup>

The typical pattern that many Chinese men followed was to work in a relative's business, save money, open their own business, return to China to marry, and return to Phoenix with a family. More Chinese men arrived, sometimes legally entering the country to join family or illegally crossing the border from Mexico. Sojourners who visited China often sold immigration papers to unrelated "paper sons" to allow them entry; these men then became members of the clan whose name they adopted. The Chinese men of Phoenix always maintained close ties to their ancestral villages: they sent remittances to family and funds for village improvements, went back to marry, sent their American-born children there for a Chinese education, and ultimately, they planned to retire and move back some day. The sojourners were not really immigrants, but rather, transnationals.<sup>17</sup>

By the 1920s, Chinese businesses began opening in every part of the growing city; they could find suppliers and lines of credit in the Chinatowns of Los Angeles and San Francisco, and, with experience as cooks, gardeners, and vegetable peddlers, they were knowledgeable about every aspect of food distribution. In 1900, there were only about eighteen Chinese-owned businesses outside of Chinatown, but in 1921, there were thirty-four, and by 1929, there were fifty-three. In the 1930s, there was a Chinese grocery in almost every block of Washington, Jefferson, and Van Buren streets extending out to the city limits (see Table 2). The Chinese moved wherever people needed a store, but most of the groceries were located in the Hispanic barrios and African American neighborhoods of South Phoenix.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Roger D. Hardaway, "Unlawful Love: A History of Arizona's Miscegenation Law." *Journal of Arizona History* 27, No. 4 (Winter 1986): 377-378; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 81, 85, 102; Keane, et. al., *Chinese in Arizona*, 37; Fong, "Sojourners and Settlers," 22-25; Conner, "Charlie Sam and the Sojourners," 314; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 35-37; Louie, *Chineseness Across Borders*, 3-4, 39, 43-45; Fred Ong interview (2001); Bob Yen interview (2001); Shirley Toy Tong interview (2001); Bush, *Arizona's Gold Mountain*, 43.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 64; Nagasawa, *Summer Wind*, 12; Roberts, "Minority-Group Poverty in Phoenix," 350-353; Fong, "Sojourners and Settlers," 25, 27; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 103.

Many immigrant storekeepers learned Spanish before they learned English. Groceries were family-run operations with children working alongside parents in the store. The family usually lived in an apartment at the back of the store or sometimes in a detached house next to it. The business offered income and security, but also required hard work, long hours, and living in complete isolation from the rest of the Chinese community.<sup>19</sup>

**Table 2 -- Chinese Groceries in Phoenix, 1900-1940**

<b>Business</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>First year noted</b>
Quen Yuen Company	201/205 South 1 <sup>st</sup> Street	1900
Luck Hing and Lo Jan Store	109 East Madison Street	1900
Sun Kwong Tong Company	113 East Madison Street	1900
Lee Sing & Young Ong Grocery	624 South 2 <sup>nd</sup> Avenue	1909
Sun Quong Hi Grocery	529 South 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1909
Annie Sing Grocery	815 South 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1909
Sing Lee Quong Company	4 <sup>th</sup> Avenue and Grant Street	1909
Fong Lin & Co	1118 West Grant Street	1912
Gen Seong	9 <sup>th</sup> Avenue southwest corner of Sherman Street	1912
Hi Loy Company	201 East Jackson Street	1912
Quong Yuen Company	205 South 1 <sup>st</sup> Street	1912
Seng Hi	9 <sup>th</sup> Avenue and northeast corner of Grant Street	1912
Sin Hi Wah Company	201 South 1 <sup>st</sup> Street	1912
Annie Sing	905 South 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1912
Sun Wah Cheang Company	323 East Buchanan Street	1912
Ye Shing Company	113 East Madison Street	1912
Yee Jackson & Company	222 South 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1912
Yick Sang Lung Company	7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue and southeast corner of Madison Street	1912
Tang Shing	622 South 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	ca. 1912
Ah Gim Yaun Grocery	1002 South 4 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1919
Eastlake Grocery	1546 East Jefferson Street	1923
Lee Gee Grocery	1109 East Van Buren Street	1923
Golden Gate Grocery	1645 East Van Buren Street	1926
Toy's Grocery	4846 North 16 <sup>th</sup> Street	1927
Yee Fook Grocery	1101 South 15 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1931
Fong / Chan Grocery	601 South 1 <sup>st</sup> Avenue	1931
Sing Quong Grocery	923 South 2 <sup>nd</sup> Avenue	1931
Kim Sam Grocery	140 South 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	1931
Gow Fong See Grocery	445 South 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street	1931
Soon Jung Sai Grocery	624 South 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	1931
Lim Yuen Dong	635 South 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	1931
George Wing Grocery	1124 South 4 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1931
Y. W. Fung Grocery	1102 South 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1931
Charles Sing Grocery	701 South 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1931

<sup>19</sup> Bob Yen interview (2001); Lucy Yuen interview (29 November 2001), interviewed by Pam Stevenson, Phoenix Chinese Americans Oral Histories, PMOH.

Hong Chang Tang Grocery	1100 South 7 <sup>th</sup> Street	1931
Quong Leong Grocery	201 North 9 <sup>th</sup> Street	1931
William Tong Grocery	402 East Buchanan Street	1931
Harry Tang Grocery	1298 West Buckeye Road	1931
S. Kim Tang Grocery	3820 North Central Avenue	1931
Sleung Yee Grocery	724 South Central Avenue	1931
Leong Quong & Company	902 South Central Avenue	1931
Yot Foo Yee Grocery	1819 (Northwest) Grand Avenue	1931
S. K. Tang Grocery	901 (Northwest) Grand Avenue	1931
Sam Kee Grocery	1101 West Grant Street	1931
Ling's Market	1302 West Grant Street	1931
Kwok Wing Ong Grocery	338 West Grant Street	1931
Fom Tong Grocery	746 West Grant Street	1931
Jim Lew Grocery	1145 West Hadley Street	1931
Harry Yen Grocery	901 West Hadley Street	1931
G. Y. Tang Grocery	1401 East Indian School Road	1931
Kin Tang Grocery	1601 East Indian School Road	1931
Lung Yuen Grocery	1023 East Jefferson Street	1931
Poy Fong Grocery	1645 East Jefferson Street	1931
Hing Chong Wong Grocery	701 West Jefferson Street	1931
Mow Wou (Linden) Grocery	1701 West Linden Street	1931
Kwong Chong Company	115 East Madison Street	1931
Sing Ong Grocery	1402 East Madison Street	1931
James Wong Grocery	1502 West Madison Street	1931
Lee Wing Market	420 West Maricopa Street	1931
Li Lan Yee Grocery	1001 East Monroe Street	1931
Allen Tang Grocery	1201 East Portland Street	1931
Ying Ong Grocery	1001 East Roosevelt Street	1931
Tom Yin Grocery	1301 West Sherman Street	1931
D. J. Wong Grocery	1301 East Van Buren Street	1931
T. D. Yuen Grocery	1869 East Van Buren Street	1931
H. L. Tang Grocery	2002 West Van Buren Street	1931
Jim Ong's Market	1110 East Washington Street	1931
James L. Hyde Grocery	1301 East Washington Street	1931
Lee Jew Market	1501 East Washington Street	1931
Yuen Lim Grocery	1604 East Washington Street	1931
William Tang Grocery	2345 East Washington Street	1931
Harry Tang Grocery	1250 West Buckeye Road	1933
Frank's Cartwright Market	59 <sup>th</sup> Avenue and Thomas Road	ca. 1935
L. J. Suk Grocery	1425 North 14 <sup>th</sup> Street	1940
W. H. Wah and Company	1145 South 14 <sup>th</sup> Street	1940
Fong Grocery	802 South 18 <sup>th</sup> Street	1940
S. H. Ong Grocery	1209 South 1 <sup>st</sup> Avenue	1940
James Wong Grocery	1001 South 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	1940
New State Grocery	1036 South 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1940
Keystone Market	3503 North 7 <sup>th</sup> Street	1940
Sun Brite Grocery	5003 North 7 <sup>th</sup> Street	1940
O. S. Mow Grocery	1750 West Buchanan Street	1940
Empire Market	1223 West Buckeye Road	1940
Fook Yee Grocery	1451 West Buckeye Road	1940



South Side Market	898 West Buckeye Road	1940
Jack's Grocery	1716 (Northwest) Grand Avenue	1940
Republic Market	1039 East Jefferson Street	1940
D. H. Toy Grocery	1246 East Jefferson Street	1940
Stanley's Grocery	2102 East Jefferson Street	1940
T. D. Yuen Grocery	701 East Jefferson Street	1940
Quon Yick Lung Grocery	220 East Madison Street	1940
Farmer's Super Market	2003 East McDowell Road	1940
Lan Li Grocery	961 East Monroe Street	1940
Henry and Company	1346 West Roosevelt Street	1940
Chin's Food Market	1407 East Van Buren Street	1940
Shady Park Market	1933 East Van Buren Street	1940
T and T Market	2145 East Van Buren Street	1940
Williams Food Market	1716 West Van Buren Street	1940
Kin Tang Grocery	2690 West Van Buren Street	1940
Western Food Market	35 <sup>th</sup> Avenue and Van Buren Street	ca. 1940
Shee Fong (Mary's) Grocery	1546 East Washington Street	1940
Eastern Market	1625 East Washington Street	1940
Ng Grocery	1644 East Washington Street	1940
Yee Sing Grocery	1737 East Washington Street	1940
Martin's Market	1801 East Washington Street	1940
Purity Food Market	3205 East Washington Street	1940
Consumer's Market	701 East Washington Street	1940
Food Palace	1218 West Washington Street	1940
Harry's Food Market	Grand Avenue and Indian School Road	ca. 1940
Sources: <i>Phoenix City Directories</i> , 1909, 1923, 1931, 1932, 1935, 1940; <i>Federal Census</i> , 1900, 1910; Edward Yue interview (2007); Joan and Richard Yen interview (2006).		

Wing F. Ong is best remembered today as a notable attorney and legislator, but as a young man, he was a prominent and influential grocer. Born in the village of Hoiping, he came to the United States in 1918 and joined his father in California. He soon moved to Phoenix and lived with an uncle because Chinese children were allowed to attend the regular public schools. In 1928, Ong married Rose Wong and started his career by agreeing to take over a bankrupt grocery at 1645 East Van Buren Street. Ong renamed the store the Golden Gate Grocery, worked hard, and paid off all of the store's creditors in fourteen months. At that time, 16<sup>th</sup> Street was out in the country, and the store served mostly tourists on the road to Tucson. Rent for the store was \$25 per month, so Ong and other family members worked to keep the store opened seven days a week, from 8 A.M. to 11 P.M. For this, they earned about three dollars a day. Ong bought a truck and made deliveries to mining camps and Indian reservations. In 1930, he sold the Golden Gate Grocery for \$3,500 and returned to China. When he came back to Phoenix in 1932, he started another grocery at 1109 East Van Buren Street, which he also called Golden Gate Grocery.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Paul W. Pollock, *American Biographical Encyclopedia, Arizona Edition*, vol. III (Phoenix: 1974), 216-218; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 113-116; Nagasawa, *Summer Wind*, 1-12, 22, 29-49; Bush, *Arizona's Gold Mountain*, 9-15.



**Figure 4. Dea Hong Toy and wagon. Courtesy of the Phoenix Museum of History.**

Dea Hong Toy worked on railroads in California, and ran a restaurant in Casa Grande for a while before he moved to Phoenix in 1923. He worked as a vegetable peddler, hauling produce by wagon to people who lived far north of Phoenix and the tuberculosis sanitariums north of the Arizona Canal. He also ran a grocery at 9<sup>th</sup> and Monroe streets. According to family stories, on his trips north, Toy often stopped for lunch under a stand of cottonwood trees at 16<sup>th</sup> Street and Camelback Road, and he always wanted to buy the land there. In 1927, Toy bought five acres on the southwest corner of 16<sup>th</sup> Street and Camelback Road and built a store that was several miles from town, but much closer to his regular customers. He also raised chickens, geese, and turkeys in large pens, and ran a butcher shop. By this time, several new resorts were opening in the north valley, and Toy started making deliveries to the Camelback Inn, Jokake Inn, Arizona Biltmore, Wrigley Mansion and Biltmore Estates in a Model-T Ford. Toy later bought a three-ton truck, which he used for deliveries -- his "store at your door."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Arizona Republic*, 17 Nov 1971; D. H. Toy, interviewed by David Yamamoto, 22 June 1976, Arizona Historical Society, Tempe; Barry Wong interview (2002), Shirley Toy Tung interview (2001), Violet Kwan Toy interview (29 November 2001) interviewed by Pam Stevenson, Phoenix Chinese Americans Oral Histories, PMOH; Violet Kwan Toy, interviewed by Aurelia Bradley, 22 September 2006; Bush, *Arizona's Gold Mountain*, 49-57.



**Figure 5. Tang Shing's Sun Mercantile. Courtesy of the City of Phoenix Historic Preservation Office.**

Tang Shing was born in Hoiping and came to Phoenix in 1910. He took over an uncle's grocery store, the Sun Quong Hi at 529 South 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue, when the latter returned to China. Around 1912, Tang set up a new grocery business at 622 South 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue. He married an American-born woman, Lucy Sing, in 1914, and continued to operate the grocery store for almost twenty years, until 1929, when he built an \$80,000 warehouse at Jackson and Third streets. His Sun Mercantile Company soon became the largest wholesale grocery house in Phoenix, not only supplying local groceries, but also shipping produce to communities throughout Arizona.<sup>22</sup>

In the 1930s, the local Chinese business community grew to include restaurants, laundries, import-export businesses and more than sixty independent groceries. At meetings of the Chinese Merchants' Association, proprietors regularly came together to discuss common issues that they faced. They were often at a disadvantage when competing against white-owned businesses and always tried to find locations not served by other stores. The one advantage that they did have was their willingness to work harder and longer, staying open more than fifteen hours a day, every day of the year. However, despite such careful

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<sup>22</sup> Robert Tang, interviewed by Vince Murray, 11 December 2006; Lucy Sing Tang and Judge Thomas Tang, interviewed by David Yamamoto, 25 October 1976, Arizona Historical Society; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 103-104, *Arizona Republic*, 5 December 2005.

planning and hard work, they were unprepared for the imminent changes that were starting to reshape the business environment.<sup>23</sup>

Grocery chains started opening stores in Phoenix in the late 1920s and the larger Safeway and Bayless food stores started drawing away some of the Chinese grocers customers. The competition became particularly antagonistic in the late 1930s, as Walter Ong related:

And also in business we felt the discrimination. When we went into business, because of the aggressiveness that some of us merchants gave. A. J. Bayless -- Mr. A. J. himself -- he became very nasty towards Chinese ... putting full-page ads in the paper and says, "Don't patronize the Chinese merchants because they sleep behind the store; they make their money and send it back to China; and they live like pigs," and things of that sort.<sup>24</sup>

Another accusation against the Chinese was that they were unpatriotic because they remained opened on the Fourth of July. Wing F. Ong and others encouraged all grocers to close their stores in observance of Independence Day, and on the Fourth of July, 1937, for the first time, all Chinese groceries were closed. Instead of working, families met at the farm of Ong Hung Yen on Grand Avenue for a community picnic with fried chicken, rice, watermelon, and ice cream. All of the merchants started to understand that they needed to be more involved and integrated into the larger community if their businesses were to survive.<sup>25</sup>

In 1938, Henry Ong, Tang Shing, Yee F. Sing, Wing F. Ong, D. H. Toy, Frank Ong, Lew Jim, Charlie Sing, Yen Long, Gene Ong, and Harry Ong formed the Chinese Chamber of Commerce to protect and promote their businesses. The first order of business for the new association was a sanitation bill being debated in the Legislature that would make it unlawful to reside in the back of a business that serves food to the public. This could effectively close almost all Chinese groceries, which had always been commercial-residential properties. The grocers lobbied legislators and were able to get the bill defeated. By effectively dealing with the new issues that confronted the Chinese community, the Chinese

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<sup>23</sup> *Fourth of July Celebration 2006*, Program (Phoenix: Chinese United Association of Greater Phoenix, 2006), 13; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 107-108; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 51-53; Nagasawa, *Summer Wind*, 82-86; Fred Ong interview (2001); Sing Yee Jr. interview (2002).

<sup>24</sup> Walter Ong, interviewed by Karin Ullmann, 26 May 1976, Arizona Historical Society, Tempe.

<sup>25</sup> *Fourth of July Celebration 2006*, Program (Phoenix: Chinese United Association of Greater Phoenix, 2006), 13; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 107-108; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 51-53; Nagasawa, *Summer Wind*, 82-86; A. E. Rogge, Melissa Keane, Bradford Luckingham, James E. Ayres, Pamela Patterson, and Todd Bostwick, *First Street & Madison: Historical Archaeology of the Second Phoenix Chinatown*, Dames & Moore Intermountain Cultural Resource Services Research Paper No. 9. (Phoenix: Dames & Moore, 1992), 68; Walter Ong interview (1976); Fred Ong interview (2001); Sing Yee Jr. interview (2002).

Chamber of Commerce quickly became their most important organization, and the Fourth of July picnic took on special importance as their traditional annual meeting.<sup>26</sup>

## Residential Development

Housing opportunities were very limited for Chinese immigrants. Deed restrictions, local ordinances, state and federal laws, and the general practices of the time prevented them from living in most parts of Phoenix. Almost all Chinese lived in the boarding houses of Chinatown or at their place of business. Some separate residences were located on China Alley, halfway between Madison and Jackson streets. The first buildings in Chinatown were predominantly of adobe construction; over time, new brick or wood frame tenement buildings were built, creating a compact mixed residential and commercial district. Most of the larger businesses in and around Chinatown, like Joe Ling's English Kitchen, had upstairs rooms for employees and others. Laundrymen lived in their laundries and grocers lived in an apartment at the back of their store or sometimes in a detached house adjacent to the store.<sup>27</sup>



**Figure 6. Family grocery, n. d. Courtesy of the Phoenix Museum of History.**

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Rogge, et. al., 87-89; Fong, "Sojourners and Settlers," 22; Phoenix City Directories, 1909, 1923, 1931, 1932, 1935, 1940; Federal Census, 1900, 1910; Sing Yee Jr. interview (2002).

As the city grew and Chinese grocers pushed out to every part, the Chinese population became increasingly dispersed and isolated from each other. For the period from 1900 to 1940, only ten single-family residences have been found outside of Chinatown or not associated with a business. A few of these were associated with wealthy businessmen, such as Sing Yee's house at 517 North 5<sup>th</sup> Street and Tang Shing's house at 616 South 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue. These ten individual residential properties were distributed throughout the city with only one cluster along South 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue, near Charles Song's grocery. By 1940, the real core of the Chinese community, nearly one hundred families, lived at their groceries.<sup>28</sup>

### **Social and Cultural Life of the Community**

Chinatown was the center of Chinese social and cultural life for the Chinese community of Phoenix. Those who spent their days working in their grocery store often made trips there to conduct business or to socialize. Chinatown had the familiar foods and Chinese shops that imported Asian products many people wanted. People filled the streets for the festive New Year's celebrations and there was a banquet hall at 237 East Madison Street for family dinners and other events.<sup>29</sup>

Much of Chinese social life also revolved around family and clan and the most important organizations in the community were the clan associations and benevolent societies. The Ong Ko Met was the local Ong family association, and was named for a general who established the Ong clan 2,000 years ago. Likewise, the Yee Fung Toy Family Association derived its name from a "revered ancestor," Yee Jing, and is the Yee family association. The Wong Family Association was just that, and the Lung Kong was the association for the Lew, Kwan, Chung, and Jew families and takes its name from a temple built by the families of four ancestors.<sup>30</sup>

Benevolent societies, such as the Ying On Labor and Merchant Benevolent Association, on the other hand, served people from a particular village or region of China, or who spoke the same regional dialect. These Phoenix societies were modeled after the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association of San Francisco, which was also known as the Chinese Six Companies. Both family associations and benevolent societies provided a sense of community, a place for visitors and newcomers to stay, and most importantly, financial support and services which were never extended by the white-owned banks and businesses. For example, an association could offer a young man a loan to get started in the

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 94-95, 101, 113; Keane, et. al., *Chinese in Arizona*, 3, Fong, "Sojourners and Settlers," 6, 22; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 49-51; Lucy Yuen interview (2001).

<sup>30</sup> Al Yee interviewed by Christina Wong with Macy Phung, 23 April 2007.

grocery business with the understanding that it would be repaid in full in two years.<sup>31</sup>

Religion was a private matter and played a relatively minor part in community affairs. A Chinese shrine was built at 221 South 1<sup>st</sup> Street. The shrine or temple was an unadorned building simply furnished with just a table and incense burners. It was always open for meditation or rituals. The outside population saw Chinese customs and beliefs as strange or uncivilized and there were limited efforts to convert them to the Christian faith. A Chinese and Japanese Mission was located at 119 West Adams Street in 1909, which was managed by Miss C. G. Gilchrist. William Clerk Henderson, a wholesale grocer business manager, worked with many of the Chinese grocers and took it as his own responsibility to teach them about Christianity. When Henderson died, his widow and the Reverend C. G. Sewell, pastor of the Central Baptist Church, continued to minister to the Chinese population.<sup>32</sup>

In the fall of 1938, Central Baptist Church started offering an afternoon Sunday school specifically for Chinese Americans. In 1940, the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention offered support for their efforts and sent Margaret Jung to serve as a resident missionary for six years. With financial assistance from the Home Mission Board, they purchased property for a Chinese Christian Center and twenty-two young Chinese Americans were baptized, sometimes over the objections of their parents.<sup>33</sup>

The Chinese community did not actively participate in the politics of Phoenix, but they were involved with the affairs of Chinatown. Ong Louie, also known as "China Dick," was one of the first Chinese merchants in Phoenix and as a strong leader within his community, he was the unofficial mayor of Chinatown. Ong Louie, along with the class associations, often settled internal conflicts and punished those who committed crimes in Chinatown. Beyond localized issues, the politics that Phoenix Chinese were most interested in were events taking place thousands of miles away.<sup>34</sup>

In the early 1900s, Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, a native of Guangdong Province, was leading a nationalist revolution in China to end the rule of the corrupt Manchu government and the Chinese in Phoenix raised money to provide financial support for the cause. A Phoenix branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang, was opened at 221 East Madison Street. Dr. Sun made several

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 90, 98; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 44, 49-51, 54-56; Keane, et. al., *Chinese in Arizona*, 3; Fong, "Sojourners and Settlers," 6, 22; Phoenix City Directory, 1909.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Fong, "Sojourners and Settlers," 24, 27-28; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 95, 98, 100-101; Keane, et. al., *Chinese in Arizona*, 12; Tsai, *China and the Overseas Chinese in the United States*, 125-126, 136.

tours of Chinese communities in the United States, and in 1911, he personally visited Phoenix to thank the community for its contributions.<sup>35</sup>



Figure 7. Kuomintang, 1946. Copyright Fred Ong. Used with permission.

The Wuchang Revolt, which began on October 10, 1911, led to the eventual surrender of the Manchu government in 1912, and Sun Yat-Sen founded the Republic of China. At that time, Chinese men in Arizona and around the world cut their hair and the braided queues, which all men had been required to keep as symbol of allegiance to the Ch'ing dynasty. The anniversary of the creation of the Chinese Republic became a regular annual celebration known as Double Ten, for the October 10<sup>th</sup> date of the successful uprising.<sup>36</sup>

All Chinese American children attended regular public schools; only African Americans were segregated in Phoenix. However, some parents wanted a traditional Chinese education for their children. For several years, many sent

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.



their children to China to attend school, but this practice was interrupted in the 1930s when the Japanese invaded China. A Chinese language school opened on 2<sup>nd</sup> Street between Jefferson and Madison streets in 1938, with Frank Yue as its first principal. The school charged five dollars tuition per month and, after their classes at the public schools, the children spent afternoons studying Chinese language, history, calligraphy, and ethics.<sup>37</sup>

According to George Ong:

The teacher used to teach all classes, all grades. The grades were just one row and he would just assign the assignments to one and then teach a second one and go down the line... the school kind of went away when the teachers died. They had a hard time getting Chinese teachers over here and I think the last one I remembered, Low Wong [Low = Old in Chinese, was a nickname], Mister Wong. He died and that was the end of our Chinese school.<sup>38</sup>

Chinatown was a bustling community within the city with restaurants, specialty stores, Chinese organizations, and the temple. In the late 1930s, when more of the Chinese were establishing successful businesses elsewhere, people began leaving Chinatown. After generations of hard work, young families were starting to be able to enjoy a comfortable middle class lifestyle and Chinatown was seen more as place that had problems with opium use and crime. By 1945, Chinatown was nearly abandoned.<sup>39</sup>

#### THE POSTWAR COMMUNITY, 1945-1960

During the Second World War, the Chinese endured the hardships, planted gardens, bought war bonds, and in other ways contributed to the war effort; many young men served in the armed forces. China became an ally of the United States in 1943 and Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Chinese people throughout the country understood that their situation had changed for the better. By this time, most Chinese had learned English, adopted some typical American customs, and found the larger community more tolerant and less abusive than in the past.<sup>40</sup>

Another change in their lives came when communist forces under Mao Tse-tung took control of China. Whereas the sojourner tradition created a transnational community which considered home to be two countries, with the communists in

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<sup>37</sup> Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 105; Bush, *Arizona's Gold Mountain*, 19-20, 35; Fred Ong interview (2001); Lucy Yuen interview (2001); Sing Yee Jr. interview (2002).

<sup>38</sup> Jim and George Ong interviewed by Kristin Yee, 7 October 2006.

<sup>39</sup> Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 110; Roberts, "Minority-Group Poverty in Phoenix," 358.

<sup>40</sup> Kingston, *China Men*, 157; Chen, *The Chinese of America*, 206; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 111, 119; Keane, et. al., *Chinese in Arizona*, 38; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 72-74.

power, they could no longer return to China to visit family, send their children to school there, or retire to their home village. Hence, the Chinese in America embraced the remaining half of their identity and became Chinese Americans.<sup>41</sup>



**Figure 8. Victory Day Parade, 1945. Copyright Fred Ong. Used with permission.**

In 1949, the United States refused to recognize Mao Tse-tung's Chinese Communist Party or the Peoples Republic of China; instead, recognizing Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government on the island of Taiwan as the true government of China. With the beginning of the Korean War, many American Chinese feared that they would be rounded up and imprisoned as enemy aliens, as the Japanese had been during World War II. However, Chinese Americans were clearly strongly opposed to the communists and supported the Korean War. The communist takeover had affected them personally and their displays of patriotism were quite sincere. These efforts were promoted in Phoenix by the Chinese Anti-Communist League and the Phoenix chapter of Kuomintang, the Chinese National Association. World War II veterans formed Chinese American Legion Post No. 50 and a local Welfare Council office was set up to help Chinese nationals get immigration papers and instruct them in English and American history. The Double Ten celebrations also took on added significance as an expression of their support for the Nationalist government.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Nagasawa, *Summer Wind*, 92-93; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 111, 116, 120-21; Keane, et. al., *Chinese in Arizona*, 38; Louie, *Chineseness Across Borders*, 4; Bush, *Arizona's Gold Mountain*, 36-37; Barry Wong interview (2002); Bob Yen interview (2001); Fred Ong interview (2001); Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 58.

The rise of the communists in China led Chinese Americans to become politically active in affairs relating to their homeland. Many had family members in China that they wanted to bring over. The Chinese Immigration Act was repealed in 1943, but national immigration quotas allowed only 105 Chinese nationals to enter the country each year. Phoenix grocer Walter Ong accompanied a delegation that went to Washington, D.C. in 1950 to protest the low quotas. This political pressure eventually brought success with the passage of the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Naturalization Act in 1952, which for the first time granted the right of Asian immigrants to become naturalized U.S. citizens. Over the next ten years, 26,732 Chinese nationals were allowed into the United States, and 22,000 became citizens. Fully equal status with all other immigrant groups came much later. In 1963, President Kennedy called for an end to the quota system. Two years later, Congress responded with the Hart-Celler Act, which abolished the last vestiges of anti-Asian discrimination in immigration and allowed family members of U.S. citizens and alien residents to freely enter the country.<sup>43</sup>

## **Commercial Development**

By the end of the Second World War, a postwar boom, fueled by peace and prosperity, swept Phoenix and the city's population soared. In the midst of this rapidly changing urban environment, groceries continued to be the primary economic institution of the Chinese community. Small family groceries spread to the north following urban development. By 1950, the number of Chinese-owned neighborhood groceries in Phoenix reached its peak of almost two hundred stores, about double the number that were in operation ten years earlier. Most of the new stores were located to the north of downtown, between 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue and 32<sup>nd</sup> Street, extending beyond Camelback Road. These stores represented the beginning careers for a new generation of American-born Chinese Americans, including many returning veterans.<sup>44</sup>

Fred Ong was one of these young men. Son of Henry Ong, Sr., a well-known retired grocer, Fred was born in 1920 when his father was operating the Sun Wah Cheang Company, a grocery at 3<sup>rd</sup> and Buchanan streets. After the war, he bought a store called Everybody Grocery from a man named Lawrence who had homesteaded twenty acres near 19<sup>th</sup> and Glendale avenues. Ong changed the name of the store to that of his father's second grocery, Farmer's Super Market.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Kingston, *China Men*, 157-158; Chang, *The Chinese in America*, 264-265; Bush, *Arizona's Gold Mountain*, 22-23; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 36.

<sup>44</sup> Fred Ong interview (2001).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* Note: the original Farmer's Super Market was located at 2003 East McDowell Road.



**Figure 9. Farmer's Super Market, ca. 1946. Copyright Fred Ong. Used with permission.**

The grocery business was still vitally important to the immigrant community, particularly for recent arrivals. Ngok Kue “N. K.” Wong had worked in the United States for many years and retired to his native village, but when the Communists took over China, he fled back to the United States. Wong opened S & W Market at 16<sup>th</sup> and Durango streets, and gradually brought over his wife and children during the 1950s. He helped his son, Ngok Moon Wong, establish his own store a short distance away at 16<sup>th</sup> Street and University Drive. Though Ngok Moon Wong had a degree in economics from Canton University, owning a grocery was one of the best opportunities available to him.<sup>46</sup>

Ngok Moon Wong’s son Barry relates:

He (Ngok Kue) built a grocery business for my father to work in when he (Ngok Moon) came to this country. That was also on 16<sup>th</sup> Street, but on the other side of the freeway, south of the freeway. That was called New Moon Market ... So he had his brand new grocery business. He came to this country and worked long hours just stocking it. You know it wasn’t easy either, because in the beginning you have to build a clientele. The neighborhoods around had to support him, and he had to make them feel comfortable, and that they are welcome as well. So, he had a pretty much full service grocery business, dry goods, and you know he had a butcher shop, a produce section.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Bush, *Arizona’s Gold Mountain*, 71-76; Barry Wong interview (2002); Barry Wong, interviewed by Isaac Manley, 23 October 2006, ASU Asian and Pacific American Studies.

<sup>47</sup> Barry Wong interviewed (2006).



**Figure 10. Ngok Moon Wong and the New Moon Market, ca. 1965. Copyright Ngok Kue Wong Collection. Courtesy of Barry Wong. Used with permission.**

Walter Ong was born in his family's grocery, at 5<sup>th</sup> and Madison streets, in 1915. His father died when he was young and he helped his mother and sisters run the store. After graduating from Phoenix Union High School in 1937, Ong borrowed \$2,500 from an uncle and started Central Market in the old Leong Quong & Company building at 902 South Central Avenue. Ten years later, he was able to buy land at the corner of 16<sup>th</sup> Street and Thomas for \$5,000. Then Ong did something that was unprecedented: he acquired a loan of \$250,000 from First National Bank and built the Central Market Shopping Center, which included his second grocery, a larger Central Market. The shopping center opened in 1947, and about three years later, Ong opened his third Central Market at 16<sup>th</sup> and Roosevelt streets. Walter Ong became an important leader in the Arizona grocery industry, and helped show others how to adapt to the new postwar economy.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Bush, *Arizona's Gold Mountain*, 19-24; Walter Ong interview (1976).



Figure 11. Walter Ong's Central Market advertisement, ca. 1950. Courtesy of Scott Solliday.

In 1943, Walter Ong founded the Retail Grocers Association of Arizona, which brought together all neighborhood grocers, both white and Chinese, to work together and deal with the problems of the industry. The association's greatest concern was being able to continue competing against the national chain stores that were being built everywhere. Equally important was the benefit the association provided in the procurement of stock items in large quantities allowing for wholesale pricing with subsequent distribution to the independent grocers. Five years later, Ong founded a similar organization, Associated Grocers of Arizona. In 1956, Walter Ong was named Phoenix Man of the Year for his business success and community involvement. He has since been inducted into the Arizona Grocers' Hall of Fame.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Bush, *Arizona's Gold Mountain*, 19-24, 71-76; Walter Ong interview (1976); Barry Wong interview (2002).



**Figure 12. Village Market, 1954. Copyright We Fong Ong Collection. Courtesy Wesley Ong. Used with permission.**

The new supermarkets still had a substantial advantage over the smaller neighborhood groceries. After the war, new consumer goods were available in great abundance and variety. Many of the chain stores put up buildings with more than 10,000 square feet, more than enough room to stock the many new brand name products, including a variety of frozen, processed and packaged foods. The growing public preference for supermarkets cut deeply into the independent grocers' income and the number of neighborhood stores declined after 1950. Beatrice Foods bought out Fred Ong's store in 1962 and offered him a job in specialty sales to the Chinese population. Most grocers started looking for a new line of work.<sup>50</sup>

D. H. Toy had been in the grocery business long before the war; after the war, he started selling much of the land that he had acquired north of Phoenix, and he planned to close his grocery when a Bayless supermarket opened nearby. In 1950, he opened a new family business -- Toy's Shangri-La Restaurant -- at his original five-acre site at 16<sup>th</sup> Street and Camelback Road. The 10,000-square foot restaurant was one of the biggest in Phoenix, and the first to build a high volume of business serving Chinese food to a largely non-Chinese clientele. The restaurant had seating for 450 people, a banquet room, and a curio shop. Toy's Shangri-La was also the most popular place for traditional Chinese family banquets and New Years dinners.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Bush, *Arizona's Gold Mountain*, 71-76; Fred Ong interviewed by Vince Murray, 2 March 2007.

<sup>51</sup> Bush, *Arizona's Gold Mountain*, 53; Shirley Toy Tung interview (2001).



**Figure 13. Toy's Shangri-La, ca. 1960. Courtesy of Violet Toy. Used with permission.**

During the war, Wing F. Ong, longtime Phoenix grocer attended the University of Arizona Law School and in 1943, he graduated at the top of his class and became one of only eight Chinese American lawyers in the United States. Ong set up a law office in one of the bays of his grocery at 13<sup>th</sup> and Jefferson streets, and in 1946, he ran for a seat in the Arizona Legislature as a Democrat. Ong campaigned in English, Spanish, and Chinese and was known for his witty slogan, "Give me, a Chinaman, a chance." He was elected to the Arizona House of Representatives in 1946, and reelected in 1948. Ong was one of the first Chinese Americans in the country to be elected to a state legislature. His accomplishments in office included raising teachers' salaries, requiring officeholders to take a non-Communist oath, preventing property owners from losing their property for not paying taxes on time, and defeating a proposed sales tax increase. In 1950, Ong lost his bid for reelection to Hayzel B. Daniels, an African American attorney, and he subsequently moved to San Francisco to start a practice in immigration law and international affairs. He returned to Phoenix in 1956 and started Wing's Restaurant at 1617 East Thomas Road, with a law office upstairs. He was later elected to a term in the Arizona Senate in 1966. Ong's involvement in politics created a precedent for other Chinese American



leaders, including Thomas Tang, an attorney and veteran who was elected to the Phoenix City Council.<sup>52</sup>

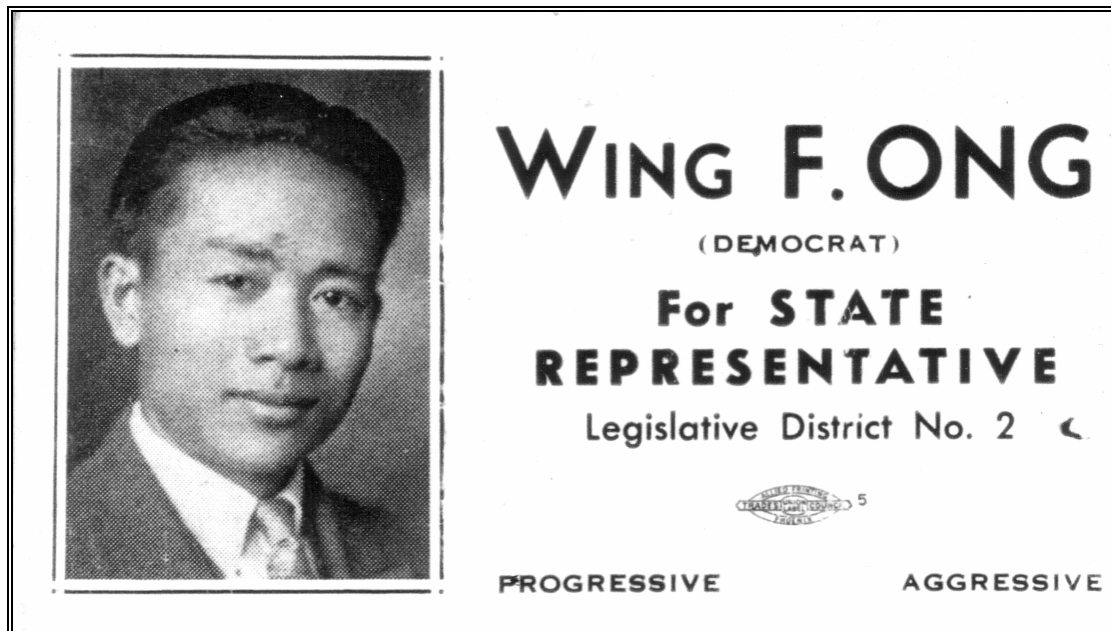


Figure 14. Wing F. Ong political advertisement, n. d. Courtesy of the Phoenix Museum of History.

Thomas Tang, the son of Phoenix grocer Tang Shing, served as Deputy Maricopa County Attorney and Assistant Arizona Attorney General in the 1950s. In 1962, he was appointed as a judge of the Maricopa County Superior Court, and was the first Asian American elected to the Phoenix City Council. In 1970, he went into private practice at the law firm of Sullivan, Mahoney, and Tang until 1977, when he was appointed as a federal judge for the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.<sup>53</sup>

Another grocer's son, John Sing Tang, the son of Tang Yik Gin, earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1944 and a Bachelor of Science in Architecture in 1945 from Rice Institute (now Rice University) in Houston. He returned to Phoenix to work as a draftsman at the architecture firm Lescher & Mahoney. By 1950, Tang had his own practice and was nationally recognized as a modern home designer. Tang was the first Chinese American architect to practice in

<sup>52</sup> Pollock, *American Biographical Encyclopedia*, 216-218; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 113-116; Nagasawa, *Summer Wind*, 1-12, 22, 29-49, 61-85; Bush, *Arizona's Gold Mountain*, 35-40; *Arizona Republic*, 28 Sept 1977; *Phoenix Gazette*, 28 Sept 1977.

<sup>53</sup> *Arizona Republic*, 28 September 1977; *Phoenix Gazette*, 28 September 1977; Bush, *Arizona's Gold Mountain*, 35-40.

Phoenix where he designed Central High School, several government buildings, homes, shopping centers, and industrial complexes.<sup>54</sup>

## **Residential Development**

After 1945, the Chinese community continued the trend of living at their groceries, but the rapid decline of the Chinatown area was evident. As the Chinese American population increased in the 1940s and '50s, people began moving into single-family homes in the suburban areas of the valley. Some of the successful proprietors and professionals were the first to move into new Ranch style homes: D. H. Toy moved his family to 2222 East Pasadena Avenue, and Wing F. Ong bought a new house at 2702 North 7<sup>th</sup> Street. In 1940, there were only eight single family homes not associated with a grocery that had been identified in the preliminary survey, but for the year 1950, more than one hundred, single family, residential properties were identified.<sup>55</sup>

## **Social and Cultural Life of the Community**

A new Chinese Civic Center was opened at 120 South 2<sup>nd</sup> Street in November 1948. Local members of the San Francisco-based Ying On Labor and Merchants Benevolent Association, including Tom Yee, Walter Ong, and Fred Wong, organized the project. The facility was to be the headquarters for the Chinese community and its internal welfare services for Chinese immigrants. Three hundred members from across Arizona and California came for the dedication of the building.<sup>56</sup>

In 1951, the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board bought the Beth Israel Temple at 122 East Culver Street and planned to eventually use the property for a Chinese church. The Central Baptist Church at 2520 North Central Avenue had ministered to the Chinese community for many years, and now they were hopeful that they would be able to form a congregation of their own. The First Chinese Baptist Church was finally formed in 1957 with eighty-three members.<sup>57</sup>

According to Wesley Ong:

... the church was unique because we had a Caucasian minister, which was G. L. Stanley. And he would have a, for the older, elderly

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<sup>54</sup> Jean Reynolds, *The History of the Grant Park Neighborhood, 1880-1950* (Phoenix: City of Phoenix Historic Preservation Office), 9; *Arizona Republic*, 8 January 1950, 22 April 1951, and 1 April 1962; Phoenix City Directories, 1944-1960; "Proceedings of the Twenty-ninth Commencement of the Rice Institute," 27-28 February 1944; "Proceedings of the Thirtieth Commencement of the Rice Institute," 29-30 October 1944.

<sup>55</sup> Phoenix City Directories, 1950, 1960; Violet Kwan Toy interview (2001).

<sup>56</sup> Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 116.

<sup>57</sup> Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 54-58; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 117; Nagasawa, *Summer Wind*, 83-8.

Chinese people, he would have an interpreter which would interpret through using headphones or earphones, for them to understand what his sermon was.<sup>58</sup>

The annual Fourth of July celebration continued to be one of the most important events for the Chinese community. In addition to the community picnic, they featured Chinese movies, operas, and fashion shows. It was sponsored by the all-Chinese American Legion Post 50 and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, and held at various locations through the 1940s and '50s, including vacant lots on East Washington Street, Alhambra Grammar School, and Broadway Park.<sup>59</sup>

The Ong Farm at 59<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Van Buren was one of the locations used for the Fourth of July festivities. Owners of the farm, William and Lilly Ong carried on the legacy started by William's father, Ong Hung Yen at the latter's farm (now part of the Alhambra School).

As Wesley Ong recalls:

that was always a big thing with the Ongs, to participate in... They would loan out their property and everyone would gather there because, at that time...it's the days of the dirt road and everything...you still have large families there, but not as big now where, where Phoenix is really spread out now to, from Gilbert to Mesa, Tempe, Scottsdale, north Phoenix. It used to be you would be centrally located and have this area there, but now everything's kind of spread out...<sup>60</sup>

The percentage of Chinese and Chinese Americans as related to the population of Phoenix and Arizona remained relatively small. In fact, it shrank in relationship to the city's incremental increases in the early decades of the twentieth century (see Table 3). However, because many of the Chinese lived outside of the incorporated area, the actual number of Chinese residents who lived within the current boundaries of the city would be larger than noted.

	<b>1880</b>	<b>1890</b>	<b>1900</b>	<b>1910</b>	<b>1920</b>	<b>1930</b>	<b>1940</b>	<b>1950</b>
<b>Phoenix population</b>	1,708	3,152	5,544	11,134	29,053	48,118	65,414	106,818
<b># of Chinese</b>	101	148	93	110	130	227	431	448
<b>% of Chinese</b>	5.91%	4.7%	1.68%	.99%	.45%	.47%	.66%	.42%
Source: <i>Federal Census</i> , 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, and 1950.								

<sup>58</sup> Wesley Ong interviewed by Michael Pang with Brandon Wong, 10 March 2007.

<sup>59</sup> *Fourth of July Celebration* 2006, 13; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 53.

<sup>60</sup> Wesley Ong interview (2007).

## THE JAPANESE AMERICAN COMMUNITY

### JAPANESE IMMIGRATION (1855-1908)

In 1638, the rulers of Japan expelled all European missionaries and traders. Convinced that the King of Spain was planning an invasion of their lands, as he had done in the Philippines, Japan closed itself off from the world. For more than two centuries, no one was allowed to enter or leave the islands of Japan. This society continued in complete isolation until 1853, when Commodore M. C. Perry used a show of U.S. Naval power to force Japan to open its ports to foreign trade. This abrupt introduction to the modern outside world brought immediate changes in Japanese society. By 1866, a reformed government started allowing Japanese citizens to emigrate to other countries, but with certain restrictions: passports to reside overseas were limited to a three-year period and each emigrant was required to post a bond to cover the cost of his passage home, should it become necessary.<sup>61</sup>

The Japanese government had a strong interest in promoting travel abroad. After two centuries of isolation, it now wanted its people to see the world and return to Japan with knowledge of the different countries and modern technology. Many Japanese men had good reason to take such an opportunity: their country was densely populated; land ownership was restricted because eldest sons always inherited all family lands; a strict military conscription law required almost every male to serve three years of military service; but above all, they left for the opportunity to gain wealth and education in the outside world.<sup>62</sup>

One of the first groups of Japanese emigrants went to Hawaii in 1868, recruited by American growers to work on pineapple and sugar plantations. Others followed, generally living a sojourner's life, working as a laborer to earn money with plans to eventually return to Japan. A party arrived in California in 1869 and attempted to establish a settlement near Sacramento, where the climate was similar to that of Japan. The settlers intended to develop their Wakamatsu Colony into a tea and silk farm, but drought and a lack of planning turned the venture into a failure.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Yamato Ichihachi, *Japanese in the United States; A Critical Study of the Problems of Japanese Immigrants and Their Children* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1932), 83-88; Ernest Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest" (Unpub. ms., c.1973. Arizona State University Hayden Library, Arizona Collection), 7; Valerie Jean Matsumoto, "Shikata ga nai: Japanese American Women in Central Arizona, 1910-1978," (Bachelor's honors thesis, Arizona State University, 1978), 4-5; Elizabeth A. McMillen, "Japanese Americans in Arizona: a Study of Identity Crisis," (Master's thesis, Arizona State University, 1997), 19, John A. Garraty and Peter Gay, *The Colombia History of the World* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), 636-641.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest," 10-11; McMillen, "Japanese Americans in Arizona," 13-14, 17.

Japanese immigration to the United States began at a virtually unnoticeable rate. In 1870, there were fifty-five Japanese living in the country, and by 1880, the number had grown to only 148. However, with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, many more Japanese started migrating directly to California, often encouraged by businessmen who wanted a compliant work force to replace the dwindling population of Chinese laborers. Over the next decade, 2,000 Japanese arrived in the United States. Japan removed most restrictions on emigration in 1896 and the U.S. annexed Hawaii in 1898, prompting an even larger wave of immigrants to come to California. By 1900, more than 24,000 Japanese had arrived on the West Coast. Almost all of them were men; only 985 women had made the journey to America.<sup>64</sup>

The first Japanese immigrants in California tended to take the types of jobs once filled by Chinese workers. Excluded from skilled jobs, many worked as laborers for the railroads and large farms, and as domestic servants and cooks. Many of those who settled in San Francisco and other coastal cities started small service businesses such as boarding houses, restaurants, stores, laundries, haberdasheries, barbershops, and billiard halls. Japanese also started moving into other western states, working in timber cutting, fishing, and canneries in the Pacific Northwest, and in coalmines in Colorado.<sup>65</sup>

Initially, only Japanese men immigrated to the United States. As they became established in the country, they started to bring wives over from Japan. Some men made the journey back to Japan to get married, but most could not afford the trip and relied upon their family to arrange the marriage. In Japan, it was not considered necessary for the man to actually be present at the wedding ceremony and hundreds of "picture brides" arrived at ports in California with only a photograph of the husbands they had not yet met. In Japanese society, the immigrants that were born in Japan were known as *Issei*. With the arrival of Japanese women, there was a growing number of *Nisei*, the generation born in the U.S.<sup>66</sup>

After 1900, Japanese farmers and farm laborers began working fields throughout California, where they introduced crops such as blackberries, strawberries, sugar beets, and lettuce. Though they had little money and could find only low paying work, there were many avenues they could pursue to becoming an established truck farmer -- a farmer devoted to the production of crops for sale. A truck

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<sup>64</sup> Ichihachi, *Japanese in the United States*, 93; Niiya, *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History*, 137; Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest," 7-8; McMillen, "Japanese Americans in Arizona," 19-22; Matsumoto, "Shikata ga nai," 5.

<sup>65</sup> Ichihachi, *Japanese in the United States*, 46, 113, 119; Susie Sato, "Before Pearl Harbor: Early Japanese Settlers in Arizona." *Journal of Arizona History*, vol. 14, no. 4 (Winter 1973), 319; Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest." 7-8.

<sup>66</sup> Matsumoto, "Shikata ga nai," 6; McMillen, "Japanese Americans in Arizona," 20; Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest," 2.

farmer could contract with a landowner and work the land for pay or sharecrop the land and pay the owner half of the crop when harvested. Eventually, many immigrants became independent truck farmers by saving enough to lease the land or, much later, buy it outright. Japanese farmers specialized in labor-intensive crops that could bring a good price. Using traditional techniques and innovative ideas, they were able to make even marginal lands productive. However, their prosperous gardens and orchards, signs of their success, were generally not appreciated by their white neighbors, who were more likely to view them with envy and anger.<sup>67</sup>

A bitter anti-Japanese campaign started in San Francisco in 1900 and soon spread throughout California. Similar to earlier attacks on the Chinese, angry mobs complained of a "Yellow Peril," a racist slur against all pale skinned Asians. Newspapers and labor leaders stirred up racial hatred and local governments passed laws to harass and restrict Japanese. When Japan defeated the Russian Navy in 1905, many Americans were shocked that a non-white nation could defeat a European power, and talk of an invasion by this emerging Pacific power helped fuel the mistrust. The Japanese and Korean Exclusion League was formed in 1905, and a few years later, Native Sons of the Golden West assumed leadership of the anti-Japanese movement. In response to the unrest in California, Congress passed the Immigration Act of 1907, further restricting the entry of Japanese laborers into the United States. The Japanese government protested the law and the treatment of Japanese citizens, and soon stopped allowing laborers to emigrate. With the exception of picture brides coming to join their husbands, most Japanese immigration ended in 1907.<sup>68</sup>

Japanese farmers were particularly targeted for harassment. The California Alien Land Law, passed in 1913, banned land ownership for all aliens not eligible for citizenship (Chinese and Japanese). Further, they could not lease agricultural land for more than three years. A 1920 ballot initiative made the law even more restrictive, prohibiting all lease and sharecropping arrangements. Other states, including Washington, Texas, and Arizona passed similar laws, but Japanese farmers were often able to get around the law by buying land in the name of their American-born children, who were citizens, or through unofficial arrangements with cooperative white landowners.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Ichihachi, *Japanese in the United States*, 179-183, 192; McMillen, "Japanese Americans in Arizona," 13, 23.

<sup>68</sup> Ichihachi, *Japanese in the United States*, 233, 236; Mary N. Norton, "From Racism to Terrorism: the Anti-Alien Crusade in Maricopa County, 1934-1935" (Bachelor's thesis, Arizona State University, 1983), 16; Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest," 12, 27-30; Sato, "Before Pearl Harbor," 317-318; Niiya, *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History*, 205.

<sup>69</sup> Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest," 28-29; Niiya, *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History*, 44, 112; McMillen, "Japanese Americans in Arizona," 23.

The efforts to drive the Japanese out of the country continued. The federal Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924 ended all Japanese immigration and further strained international relations with Japan. There were more than 100,000 Japanese living in the country; 90 percent of them lived on the Pacific coast, but there were small numbers of them living in nearly every state. In 1930, there were 879 Japanese, *Issei* and *Nisei*, in Arizona.<sup>70</sup>

#### THE JAPANESE COMMUNITY IN PHOENIX, 1886-1940

Hachiro Onuki was the first Japanese to arrive in Phoenix. As a young man, he visited Philadelphia in 1876, and then went on to Tombstone, where he worked as a freighter hauling fresh water for miners. He became a naturalized citizen in 1879, and took a more Anglicized name, Hutchlew Ohnick.<sup>71</sup> In 1886, Ohnick moved to Phoenix and joined with two white businessmen to create the Phoenix Illuminating Gas and Electric Company. The town's first power supplier received a twenty five-year franchise and Ohnick was the superintendent of the gas works and generators for several years, until he sold his interest in the company. About 1900, he started a truck farm south of Phoenix called Garden City Farms. Shortly thereafter, Ohnick moved his family to Seattle where he opened the Oriental American Bank. He died in California in 1921.<sup>72</sup>

There were no other Japanese in central Arizona until 1897, when the Canaigre Company of Tempe hired one hundred Japanese to gather canaigre (a perennial herb) roots along the Agua Fria River. This venture, using the wild plant to produce tannic acid, was unsuccessful, and the Japanese workers apparently returned to California. By 1900, there were 281 Japanese living in Arizona Territory, but only eight Japanese men in Phoenix, including a merchant, two servants, and five men working in a restaurant.<sup>73</sup>

In 1905, a group of 120 Japanese laborers was brought into the Salt River Valley to establish a sugar beet farm. The Southwest Sugar and Land Company of Grand Junction, Colorado, purchased 8,500 acres of land near Phoenix and built a sugar beet processing factory in Glendale. After several years it was evident that the crop would not thrive in the desert heat. Like so many agricultural

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<sup>70</sup> Ichihachi, *Japanese in the United States*, 96, 300, 324; Niiya, *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History*, 205; Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest," 13, 26-27.

<sup>71</sup> Note: many documents refer to Hachiro Onuki as "Hutchlon Ohnick," however, on documents in possession of the family, he signed his name "Hutchlew," which is a closer Anglicization to Hachiro. On his children's birth certificates, his name is recorded as Hatcheroh Ohnick, a closer approximation.

<sup>72</sup> Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest," 22-23; Eric Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County: Development and Persistence in the Valley of the Sun, 1900-1940," *Journal of Arizona History*, vol. 38, no. 1 (Spring 1997), 2; Masakazu Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil: The History of the Issei in United States Agriculture*, Vol. 2. (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), 674-675; *Cochise County Great Register* (Tombstone, 1884); Masako Herman, *The Japanese in America, 1843-1973: A Chronology and Fact Book* (Dobbs Ferry: Oceana Publications, 1974), 3, 6, 15.

<sup>73</sup> Sato, "Before Pearl Harbor," 320; Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County," 2-3; Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 674-675; *Federal Census*, 1900.

experiments during this period, this project failed, and most of the Japanese workers departed the area by 1915. However, those who remained established the first permanent Japanese community in Phoenix.<sup>74</sup>

## Agricultural Development

The Japanese that settled permanently in the Phoenix area after 1900 were primarily farmers. They established small truck farms on the lands where they had previously tended sugar beets, in the Alhambra and Fowler districts north and northwest of town. At that time, agricultural production in the valley was limited to grains and alfalfa. The *Issei* farmers introduced new crops and innovative growing techniques that would eventually become standard agricultural practices in Arizona. Yoshio Yazawa worked in the sugar beet fields of western Colorado before he came to the Salt River Valley in 1908. In addition to his crop of sugar beets for Glendale beet factory, he planted cantaloupes. The sugar beets spoiled in the heat, but the cantaloupes proved to be well adapted to the climate. Within a few years, Sanichi Ishikawa, Iwakichi Ogura, Misao Kubota, Shiro Koike, Kiichi Sagawa, Yuichi Sagawa, and Shikazo Matsumoto were all growing both cantaloupes and sugar beets.<sup>75</sup>

In 1909, Tamekichi Hibino and Shikazo Matsumoto planted the first commercial crop of tomatoes and, in 1912, Yusuke Matsuda started growing strawberries. Despite Anglo farmers' warnings that lettuce could not be grown in the hot, dry climate, Matsuda's first planting in 1914 produced so much lettuce that he shipped much of the harvest to markets outside of the valley. By 1930, lettuce and cantaloupe were among the leading cash crops grown in central Arizona.<sup>76</sup>

After the California Alien Land Law was passed in 1913, the Arizona Legislature passed a similar Arizona Alien Land Law, which prohibited land ownership, but allowed leases up to five years. When the California law was amended in 1920, the Sacramento American Legion Post sent a letter to the editor of the *Arizona Republican* warning that Japanese farmers would start moving to Arizona. The Arizona Alien Land Law of 1921 was virtually identical to California's. It stated that "[all] aliens eligible for citizenship under the laws of the United States may acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit and inherit real property . . .," but since federal naturalization laws limited citizenship to free white persons or persons of African descent, it basically banned all Asian immigrants from owning real estate. However, Japanese farmers continued to work their lands, often with creative lease agreements or through their American-born children.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 671-680, 700-701; Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County," 7.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 676-680, 700-701; Sato, "Before Pearl Harbor," 320-322; Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County," 3-9, 12-15; Niiya, *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History*, 112;



In spite of the restrictions, Japanese farming grew steadily, from sixty-seven men working in agriculture, including nine independent farmers, in 1910, to 105 working in agriculture in 1920, including fifty-nine “farming on their own account.” Partners Kiichi Sagawa and Noboru Takiguchi farmed 1,000 acres leased in the name of their white office manager. Hitoshi Yamamoto raised vegetables on contract for the S.A. Gerrard Company, while others worked with the Stanley Fruit Company. Tokuta Nishime and Takeshi Tadano each had several large parcels. By 1930, there were 121 independent Japanese farms in Maricopa County, comprising about 4,000 acres. Their truck crops included lettuce and cantaloupe, as well as strawberries, carrots, cabbage, tomatoes, and sweet corn, which they marketed through shippers, made direct sales to groceries, and sold from their own roadside stands.<sup>78</sup>

The crops that Japanese farmers introduced in the valley were soon being grown by white farmers. Arizona’s largest harvest of lettuce and cantaloupe was in 1930: lettuce was grown on 32,000 acres in Maricopa, Pinal, and Yuma counties, and 5,436 rail cars of cantaloupe were shipped out of the Salt River Valley. However, by this time tensions were high between Japanese and Caucasian farmers. The Great Depression brought lower prices for farm produce, but cotton was hit much harder than fruits and vegetables. The white farmers didn’t like the competition, and resented the success of Asians. When Arizona Attorney General K. Berry Peterson addressed a Phoenix conference of shippers in 1932, he charged that alien Japanese were still farming in violation of the Alien Land Law. General animosity toward Japanese peaked after the harvest of 1934. In that year, white farmers cut back production of cantaloupe after blight destroyed the 1933 crop, but Japanese continued planting the melons and harvested a bumper crop that brought high prices. Many white farmers did not appreciate the success of the Japanese, particularly in contrast to their own misfortune.<sup>79</sup>

The anti-Japanese sentiment that had long festered in California now reached Arizona. In August of 1934, a group of militant white farmers formed the Anti-Alien Association. They complained of being “overrun by yellow hordes,” and demanded strict enforcement of the law. On August 15, six hundred white farmers met in the Fowler District west of Phoenix and agreed that the Japanese were guilty of violating the intent of the Alien Land Law by using their children or other arrangements, using land that should go to Americans. The next day, Japanese community leaders met at the Japanese Hall to select a committee to

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Norton, “From Racism to Terrorism,” 11-12, 21; *Federal Census*, 1910, 1920; *Lease Books*, Maricopa County Recorder [MCR].

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Sato, “Before Pearl Harbor,” 323, 327; Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 671-674, 687; Walz, “The Issei Community in Maricopa County,” 10; Norton, “From Racism to Terrorism,” 13.

meet with the governor and the county attorney, which they hoped would prevent any negative actions. They were too late.<sup>80</sup>

On August 17, a motorcade of 150 cars and trucks paraded through Glendale, Phoenix, and Mesa, with hundreds of angry people waving signs and shouting threats. The signs announced that August 25 was "Jap Moving Day," a deadline by which all Japanese must leave the Phoenix area or face forcible removal. Fearing for their lives, the Japanese posted guards at the Japanese Hall and patrolled their farms. The deadline passed and it was believed the vigilant activities were called off because the first Japanese farmers were being taken to court on charges of violating the Alien Land Law.<sup>81</sup>

The violence was only delayed. The following month, in September 1934, the Japanese community was terrorized by a number of violent incidents. Lettuce fields were flooded, buildings set on fire, and dynamite bombs tossed at Japanese farmhouses. On September 12, armed thugs raided several farms, including that of Takeshi Tadano. Fifteen people in six cars came in the middle of the night and shot up the Tadano place and a truck that Tadano's son, Tadashi, was in; he feigned death while the mob pushed his truck into the canal.<sup>82</sup>

The attacks continued into October. The Japanese American Citizens League and the Japanese Consul General in Los Angeles condemned these actions and, though the ongoing violence in Maricopa County strained U.S. foreign relations with Japan, state and local authorities made little effort to stop the harassment. The county sheriff claimed that they were all isolated incidents while Governor B. B. Moeur suggested that communists were to blame. Neither the U.S. nor the Japanese government accepted these outlandish excuses for inaction and demanded that the governor stop the violence.<sup>83</sup>

While little or no action was being taken against the terrorists, legal actions were being vigorously pursued against Japanese farmers. Through the fall of 1934, the county sheriff served injunctions which prohibited defendants from cultivating or harvesting their fields until their court case was resolved. Cases were presented against prominent growers such as S.T. Yamamoto and D. Nishida, as well as Louis Sands and other white landowners who allowed Japanese to farm their lands. Dean Stanley, president of the Stanley Fruit Company, and Fred Hilvert, executive officer of the S. A. Gerard Company, were charged with conspiracy in aiding and abetting Japanese farmers in violation of the Alien Land Act.

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<sup>80</sup> Sato, "Before Pearl Harbor," 320-25; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 108-110; Niiya, *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History*, 48, 54, 111, 356-57; McMillen, "Japanese Americans in Arizona," 32-34; Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County," 10-12, 16; Norton, "From Racism to Terrorism," 13-14, 18-21, 31.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

Eventually, the Arizona Supreme Court dismissed every case that was brought against Japanese growers and their allies.<sup>84</sup>

The violent acts ended, but new ways to further restrict Japanese farmers developed. Maricopa County legislator Harry J. Sullivan introduced House Bill 78 in early 1935. This radical revision of the Alien Land Law sought to drive all Japanese out of farming by making it illegal for an alien ineligible (e.g. Japanese) for citizenship to “own, lease, or enter upon land used for agricultural purposes in the state, or to do any work on such land for the production of crops used for human consumption.” The proposed law called for confiscation of any crops cultivated or harvested by the Japanese superseding California’s as the most punitive anti-Japanese legislation in the country.<sup>85</sup>

Once again, national and international attention turned to Arizona and outrage against this drastic law was undoubtedly influenced by all of the events that had preceded it. Federal officials encouraged the governor to use his influence to kill H.B. 78, suggesting that federal funds for public works and construction of Boulder Canyon Dam might be withheld if the bill was passed. Though the bill was vigorously debated, the Legislature adjourned on March 22, 1935 without passing the law and the crisis came to an end.<sup>86</sup>

By the late 1930s, the *Nisei* children of the original farmers began taking over operation of the family farms. Yoshiju Kimura became manager of Matsumori farm while still a high school student and John Kimura received a degree in agricultural science from the University of Arizona before becoming president of Sagawa Takiguchi Farms. A few newcomers also joined the community; Kajjiuro Kishiyama worked in California for ten years until his friend, Takeshi Tadano, invited him to Phoenix . In 1928, Kishiyama leased twenty acres and grew tomatoes, squash, cucumbers, watermelon. Kishiyama became locally known as the “Tomato King.” In 1936 he moved to a sixty-acre farm at 36<sup>th</sup> Street and Baseline Road, near South Mountain, and began experimenting with a new crop: flowers. The slight elevation of the area above the valley floor prevented freezing air from settling in during the winter, creating the ideal environment for growing vegetables and flowers.<sup>87</sup>

By the end of the decade, the Japanese population of Maricopa County declined slightly, from 879 in 1930 to 632 in 1940. There were three distinct Japanese

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<sup>84</sup> Sato, “Before Pearl Harbor,” 322-325, 328-330; Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 685, 688-695; Walz, “The Issei Community in Maricopa County,” 11; Norton, “From Racism to Terrorism,” 19-23, 34.

<sup>85</sup> Sato, “Before Pearl Harbor,” 328-331; Walz, “The Issei Community in Maricopa County,” 11-12; Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 688-698.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> *Arizona Republic*, 21 May 2002; Fernandez, “Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest.” 2-3; Walz, “The Issei Community in Maricopa County,” 1-2, 5-6; Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 681-683; Norton, “From Racism to Terrorism,” 33.

communities in the Salt River Valley, one in Mesa, another near South Mountain, and the Alhambra-Glendale area northwest of Phoenix, where the majority of Japanese farms were located (see Table 4). This latter community is commonly referred to as the Glendale community for its proximity to that town, but the great majority of Japanese agricultural leases were within present Phoenix city limits, to the south and east of Glendale.<sup>88</sup>

<b>Property Name</b>	<b>Address/Location</b>	<b>Date</b>
S. Matayoshi Farm	Northeast of McDowell Road and 23 <sup>rd</sup> Avenue	1911
S. Toyama Farm	Southwest of 23 <sup>rd</sup> Avenue and Granada Street	1912
Yamamoto, Enomoto and Okabayashi Farm	Southeast of Buckeye Road and 51st Avenue	1912
S. Uyema and S. Kobashigawa Farm	Unknown location	1912
T. Nishime Farm	Northwest of 24 <sup>th</sup> Street and Buckeye Road	1913
T. Otani and H. Matsumoto Farm	Northwest of 35th and Orangewood avenues	1914
T. Terasawa Farm	Unknown location	1914
K. Kawatsu Farm	Woolf Tract	1917
U. Shinegawa and I. Asano Farm	Southwest of 39th Avenue and Thomas Road	1917
K. Uyechi Farm	Southeast of 16 <sup>th</sup> Street and Mohave streets	1917
M. Kabata and D. Nishida Farm	Northeast of McDowell Road and 27 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1918
Takuta Nishime and Kishuro Nikata Farm	Southwest of 31st Avenue and Encanto Boulevard	1918
H. O. Kaneko Farm	Northwest of 7 <sup>th</sup> and Dunlap avenues	1918
Y. Eto Farm Tract	Northwest of Buckeye Road and 27th Avenue	1918
Y. Eto Farm	Northeast of Central and Maryland avenues	1918
S. Ishikawa Farm	Southeast of Northern and 39th avenues	1919
T. Shimizu Farm	Southwest of Northern and 39th avenues	1919
Y. Eto Farm	Northeast of 35th and Missouri avenues	1919
B. Shimizu Farm	Southwest of Northern and 35th avenues	1919
K. Ishibe Farm	Southwest of 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue and Grand Canal	1919
T. Tadano Farm	Northwest of McDowell Road and 39th Avenue	1919
Y. Hikida Farm	Wormser Subdivision	1919
K. Fujii and S. Ishikawa Farm	Northeast of Bethany Home Road and 7th Avenue	1919
Tokuta Nishime Farm	Northeast of McDowell Road and 47 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1919
D. Nishida Farm	Northeast of McDowell Road and 27th Avenue	1920
S. Kobashigawa and K. Uyema Farm	Southwest of Indian School Road and 27th Avenue	1921
E. S. Yamamoto Farm	Township 2 North Range 2 East Section 34	1921
M. Hayashi and O. Nagano Farm	Southeast of 39th and Orangewood avenues	1921
H. Sato and N. Hangal Farm	Southeast of Indian School Road and 15th Avenue	1921
J. Kaneko Farm	Northeast of 31st and Weldon avenues	1921
K. I. Fujii and Ishikawa Farm	Northeast of 39th and Glendale avenues	1921
Y. Yamada Farm	Southeast of 19th Avenue and Sherman street	1922
K. Uyema Farm	West side of Center Street (Central Avenue) in Section 17 (north of Bethany Home Road)	1923
S. Nayahama Farm	Southeast of 59th Avenue and Roosevelt Street	1931
Harry Shinagawa Farm	Southeast of 75th Avenue and Camelback Road	1935

<sup>88</sup> Sato, "Before Pearl Harbor," 326-327; Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County," 5, 12-13, *Lease Books*, MCR.

<b>Table 4 -- Continued</b>		
J. T. Yoshimura Farm	Southeast of Thomas Road and 63rd Avenue	1935
J. T. Yoshimura Farm	Southeast of 67th Avenue and Osborn Road	1936
Matonari Eto Farm	South of Camelback Road and 20th Street	1936
Joe T. Yoshimura Farm	Southeast of Baseline Road and 17th Street	1941
Satoshi Tanita Farm	Southeast of Indian School Road and 12th Street	1941
Satoshi Tanita Farm	Southwest of 32nd Street and Clarendon Avenue	1942
Satoshi Tanita Farm	Southwest of Indian School Road and 24 <sup>th</sup> Street	1942
Source: <i>Lease Books</i> , Maricopa County Recorder		

## **Commercial Development**

Japanese immigrants in the Phoenix area were primarily farmers, so there was relatively little involvement with commercial businesses. The earliest reference found to a Japanese business was the Mikado Restaurant at 110 East Washington Street, which was taken over by J. F. Honuchi in 1899. The 1900 federal census indicates the eight Japanese residents of Phoenix included, five men working in a restaurant, two servants, and Roy Milam, a merchant operating a store on Washington Street. By 1910, the Japanese community had grown, but most newcomers were sugar beet growers and the only non-agriculture workers included ten men working in restaurant-related occupations, seven men who had taken over operation of a Chinese laundry on Washington Street, a pool hall keeper, and a servant.<sup>89</sup>

Keizo Kawatsu leased a number of commercial buildings in the 1920s, including 109-111 West Jefferson Street, which had billiards and a barber, and 231 and 233 East Washington Street, a two-story building with a pool hall and restaurant on the ground floor and a thirty-five-room boarding house above. Kawatsu is also the only Japanese known to be involved in the wholesale produce business. He worked with the Phoenix Fruit & Produce Company, and operated the F. G. Yoshikawa lettuce shed on the Southern Pacific Railroad right-of-way near Fowler Station. Kawatsu also started a vegetable exchange for Japanese growers to sell their produce locally.<sup>90</sup>

During the early 1900s, there were only a few businesses that were owned, operated or staffed by Japanese at any given time. In the 1930s, there was the Yoshimura Company at 222 South 2<sup>nd</sup> Street, the Kameshichi Kamatsu Grocery at 233 East Jefferson Street, the P. I. Nakaya Grocery at 1849 (Northwest) Grand Avenue, and Harry Watanabe's Pool Hall and Kajikawa's Barbershop near 2<sup>nd</sup> and Madison streets. The Six-Points Garage was operated by Henry Yoshiga at the junction of McDowell Road and 19<sup>th</sup> and Grand avenues. By 1940, there

<sup>89</sup> Federal Census, 1900, 1910; Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 675; *Lease Books*, MCR.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

was also the Y. Shigemune Billiard Hall at 129 South 2<sup>nd</sup> Street and the Heijiro Nakano Restaurant at 616 West Van Buren Street.<sup>91</sup>

## Residential Development

Federal census manuscripts and city directories confirm that Japanese farmers and farm workers lived at their farms. A thorough search of city directories yielded very few names of Japanese living in town. Restaurant and laundry workers and servants lived at their place of employment. Only six separate Japanese residences were found, scattered throughout various parts of town and there is no indication that there was a Japanese community located within what was then Phoenix city limits.<sup>92</sup>



**Figure 15. In front of the Japanese Association Building, n.d. Courtesy of the Phoenix Museum of History.**

<sup>91</sup> City Directories, 1931, 1940; George Kishiyama, interviewed by Karen Leung, 28 September, 16, 23 October 2006, ASU Asian and Pacific American Studies.

<sup>92</sup> *Federal Census*, 1900,1910; *Lease Books*, MCR; *City Directories*, 1909, 1931.

## Social and Cultural Life of the Community

Community members formed the Japanese Association of Arizona, or *Nihonjinkai*, in 1910. The first office was located at 124 South 3<sup>rd</sup> Street. When the 1929 lettuce crop brought record profits, the community contributed \$30,000 to build a brick Japanese Hall, which would house the association, a language school, and women's center. Since school segregation in Arizona only applied to African-American students, *Nisei* children attended regular public schools. While some sent their children to Japan for formal Japanese education, the majority of parents decided to have their children attend a local Japanese language school.<sup>93</sup>

A ten-acre site at the southeast corner of Indian School Road and 43<sup>rd</sup> Avenue, was selected and title was held in the names of several *Nisei* children. L. L. Stewart was appointed guardian of minors Rije Hikida, Matanari Eto, and Harry Shinagawa so that he could arrange a thirty-year lease on the land to community leaders N. Ozasa, T. Tadano, and N. Takiguchi. The lease stipulated that a community center would be built on the site and the property would be used for residence, educational, social, recreational, and playground purposes. The school opened immediately and in the first year there were eight teachers and 230 students attending classes in Japanese language and culture. Shortly after this opening, another Japanese language school was formed in Mesa to meet the needs of the community in the east Salt River Valley.<sup>94</sup>

Japanese immigrants were traditionally Buddhists, practicing their religious beliefs privately, so there were no shrines or temples or outwardly visible signs of their religion. They knew the discrimination and racial hatred that was directed at them was caused in part by how different they were from white American society, so they avoided calling attention to their non-Christian beliefs. Several Christian denominations did proselytize in the Japanese community. Miss C. G. Gilchrist was serving as superintendent of a Chinese and Japanese Mission at 119 West Adams Street in 1909. Maude Y. Thornton started working as a missionary to the Japanese in 1912 and established a Christian center on South 2<sup>nd</sup> Street.<sup>95</sup>

Methodists were the most successful in their efforts to reach out to the Japanese community. The Arizona Free Methodist Church for Japanese opened in 1932, on the northeast corner of Indian School Road and 43<sup>rd</sup> Avenue, across the

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<sup>93</sup> *Lease Books*, MCR; Phoenix City Directories, 1931, 1940; Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 108-110; Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County," 12-17; Matsumoto, "Shikata ga nai," 13, 41; Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 675, 679; McMillen, "Japanese Americans in Arizona," 67-69; Thomas Kadomoto, interviewed by Jane Joseph, 6 December 1975, Arizona Historical Society, Tempe.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 108-110; Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County," 12-17; Matsumoto, "Shikata ga nai," 13-14, 41; Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 675-676; Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest," 19-20; McMillen, "Japanese Americans in Arizona," 30; Phoenix City Directory, 1909.

street from the Japanese Hall. Half of the community continued to maintain their Buddhists beliefs and traditions. The Arizona Buddhist Church was formed in 1932, and the Reverend Hozen Seki met with his congregation at a temporary site at Hitoshi Yamamoto's farm in the area between Phoenix and Glendale. Over one hundred members joined. A permanent Arizona Buddhist Church was built just east of the Japanese Hall in 1935, and a sanctuary was added the following year. Organizations affiliated with the temple included a second branch in Mesa, the Buddhist Women's Association, and the Young Buddhist Association. By 1940, the area around 43<sup>rd</sup> Avenue and Indian School Road had become the social and cultural center for the Japanese community in Phoenix.<sup>96</sup>



**Figure 16. Japanese Free Methodist Church, ca. 1937. Copyright by the Japanese Free Methodist Church. Used with permission.**

For social occasions, there was a Japanese Club at Five Points (640 West Van Buren Street) and in 1908, the valley's first celebration of *Tenchosetsu*, the

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid, Yoshiju Kimura, *Arizona Sunset*, (Glendale: Y. Kimura, 1980), 10-11.



anniversary of the Emperor, was held there. In addition to celebrating traditional Japanese holidays, such as *Tenchosetsu*, Girl's Day, Boy's Day, and the Japanese New Year, the Japanese community also celebrated American and Christian holidays such as Christmas, Thanksgiving, Easter, and Fourth of July.<sup>97</sup>



**Figure 17. Arizona Buddhist Church, ca. 1933. Copyright by the Arizona Buddhist Temple, used with permission.**

### THE WARTIME COMMUNITY, 1941-1945

Immediately after Pearl Harbor was attacked, President Roosevelt asked Congress for a declaration of war against Japan and the United States entered the Second World War. This event had special significance to the Japanese living in the United States; they were concerned about their adopted country fighting against their native land and their families, and worried how it might affect their own lives. At that time, they had no idea how serious the repercussions would be for them. Though they personally had nothing to do with the military attack against the U.S. Navy, all Japanese in the United States were declared to be alien enemies. Their travel was restricted, bank accounts were frozen, and Japanese-owned businesses were closed. Public opinion in California, where most Japanese citizens lived and where there was a long-standing tradition of hating Japanese, demanded the immediate detention of not only immigrants, but their American-born children.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County," 18; Matsumoto, "Shikata ga nai," 15; Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 675; Phoenix City Directory, 1909.

<sup>98</sup> Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest," 13-14, 31-35; Matsumoto, "Shikata ga nai," 25.

Those Japanese immigrants that were considered an immediate threat were taken from their homes and sent to federal prison. According to Michiko Tadano:

At the beginning of World War II, two days after war was declared, the FBI came to our home to take my father-in-law, Takeshi Tadano, away. Evidently, he was thought to be a potential spy because he was awarded a medal as a soldier in the Japan-Sino War. He had had a heart attack and was confined in bed for six weeks. So I told the FBI of the doctor's orders, gave them the doctor's name and they left him alone until the six weeks had passed. Then, they picked him up and took him away to Lordsburg, New Mexico. Later, the Lordsburg facility was closed so he was sent to Santa Fe, where he stayed for some time. He got very ill and they couldn't take proper care of him so we were told to come and pick him up. We did so and nursed him back to health.<sup>99</sup>

The Tanita family was also affected by the federal government's policies. As Toru Tanita recalls:

One afternoon two carloads of FBI people came over and told my dad to pack up and pack his clothes and get in. We didn't know what was going on. They checked the house and everything to see if there was any guns or anything. We didn't have any guns or anything. We were barely able to eat at that time anyway. And they hauled him off. They took him to a Federal pen until the war ended.<sup>100</sup>

Based on the theory that Japanese would serve as spies and saboteurs for Japan, on February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 9066, authorizing the evacuation of all people of Japanese descent living on the Pacific coast. General John DeWitt designated the Pacific coast states of California, Oregon, and Washington, and Arizona south of highway U.S. 60 as Military Area No. 1. All Japanese families living in that restricted zone were taken from their homes and moved to relocation centers located in the interior of the country. In less than a year, 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry, more than half of whom were American-born citizens, were living in isolated relocation camps scattered across the West.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Michiko Tadano letter to Vince Murray, 14 March 2007. Hayden Library, Arizona State University.

<sup>100</sup> Toru Tanita interviewed by Christina Wong with Vince Murray, 10 March 2007.

<sup>101</sup> Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest," 13-14, 31-35; Matsumoto, "Shikata ga nai," 25.

Two of the ten relocation camps were located in Arizona: Poston Relocation Center, located on 71,000 acres along the Colorado River, opened in May of 1942; and Gila River Relocation Center, established on 17,000 acres on the Gila River Indian Reservation south of Phoenix opened the following July. Housing at the camps consisted of rows of wooden barracks, 20'x100', divided into six rooms. The living area for a family of five was generally 20'x25'. The War Relocation Authority (WRA) operated the camps and tried to create whole communities that were as productive and self-sufficient as possible, with most of the internees working in the camp's light industry or agricultural programs. At Gila River, they tended a 7,000-acre farm, which included 3,000 acres planted in vegetables, 2,000 head of cattle, 2,500 hogs, 25,000 chickens, and 110 dairy cows. Schools were set up for children and many Arizona teachers volunteered to teach at the camps. By the end of 1942, there were 30,000 people at the two relocation centers, making them the third and fourth largest cities in Arizona.<sup>102</sup>

Most of the internees brought into Arizona came from Los Angeles and central California. In Arizona, the boundary of the restricted area was U.S. Highway 60, which ran along Grand Avenue and Van Buren Street, cutting the Salt River Valley in half. Those who lived south or west of this line were sent to Poston. One who escaped internment was Henry "Yoshie" Yoshiga, who opened the Six Points Garage at the intersection of McDowell Road and 19<sup>th</sup> and Grand avenues in 1931. Due to General DeWitt's designation of the restricted zone, Yoshiga's garage was literally on the wrong side of the street. In 1942, he moved his operation to his home on 18<sup>th</sup> Avenue, just north of Grand Avenue; after the war, he returned to his original business location. Others had the option of moving north of the line, but if they left their farms, they would have no means to support themselves, so most voluntarily evacuated to Poston Relocation Center.<sup>103</sup>

Half of the Japanese in the Salt River Valley lived north and east of U.S. 60 and were able to stay in their homes, but they were still restricted by wartime measures. They were ordered to stay away from bridges, dams, and other key sites, and remain outside of the restricted zone. The state legislature passed a law prohibiting business transactions with persons "whose movements were restricted by law," meaning Japanese. In order to sell anything to a Japanese, a merchant was required to first publish a public notice in the newspaper. Tsutomu Ikeda and three others from Mesa challenged the law in Maricopa County Superior Court, where it was declared unconstitutional.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest," 13-14, 31-35; Niiya, *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History*, 174-175, 336-37; Matsumoto, "Shikata ga nai," 23-24, 28; Samuel T. Caruso, "After Pearl Harbor: Arizona's Response to the Gila River Relocation Center." *Journal of Arizona History*, vol. 14, no. 4 (Winter 1973), 340-343.

<sup>103</sup> Phoenix City Directories 1931-1946; William Kajikawa, interviewed by Zona D. Lorig, 26 October 1972, Arizona Historical Society, Tempe.

<sup>104</sup> Caruso, "After Pearl Harbor," 336; McMillen, "Japanese Americans in Arizona," 36.

Reflecting on the expulsion of half the Japanese Free Methodist Church's congregation and the location of the church within the restricted zone, missionary Dorcas Early stated:

Never shall I forget that Sunday at Church when the news of Pearl Harbor broke into our service -- the utter disbelief, shock, anger and grief of our little flock! As the long procession was leaving for Poston Camp we heard one junior boy call as he waved, saying, "We'll be back when Uncle Sam wins the victory!"

Then we began to make plans for the other half of our folks to hold services on Tanita's farm under the cottonwood trees. When the cold weather set in we again needed a warm place. Again the Tanitas said "we could use our tin-roofed barn, whitewash it inside and make a floor, altar, pulpit, even a box-like protection for the piano."<sup>105</sup>



**Figure 18. Sunday School at the old barn at Tanita's Ranch, ca. 1942. Copyright Japanese Free Methodist Church. Used with permission.**

As Toru Tanita explained:

We offered it to them (the church congregation). My brother was quite active in the church. His wife was a minister's daughter and so she wanted to see the church activities keep going and so it was

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<sup>105</sup> *50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary: Phoenix Japanese Free Methodist Church* (Phoenix: Japanese Free Methodist Church, 1982), 3.

in the barn. You'd be surprised -- an old cow barn and they had meetings in there.<sup>106</sup>

Within a year, some internees were allowed to leave the camps and resettle in the Alhambra area north of Grand Avenue if a local sponsor was willing to guarantee that they would not become wards of the state. Former landlords and employers brought many families back and helped them become self-sufficient; others were sponsored by Japanese farmers located north of the restricted zone who had originally come from the same region of Japan.<sup>107</sup>

According to Mino Inoshita:

That's when we came to Phoenix. The reason for settling in Phoenix and not going back to California -- and that, of course, was the parent's decision on that -- but, um, there were three families that were from the same place in Japan my parents were from. And the three families were Tadano, the Matsumori, and the Tanitas. And they sponsored us out of camp. So we had a place to work, a place to begin and start our lives over.<sup>108</sup>

As the end of the war approached, there were questions about the ultimate fate of the Japanese internees; Governor Sidney P. Osborn flatly stated that Arizona did not want them. Arizonans were concerned about competition from so many Japanese farmers and wageworkers, but the fears of the white population were unfounded as most of the internees from California did not care to stay when released. As the camps closed shortly after the war, most people returned to their homes in California. Though many chose to start a new life in a new place such as Chicago or New York, some decided to stay in Arizona.<sup>109</sup>

### THE POSTWAR COMMUNITY, 1945-1960

After the end of the Second World War II, Japanese were often still seen as suspicious, disloyal, or even as communists during the Red Scare; but at the same time, most of the general public was quickly becoming more tolerant of racial and cultural differences and less willing to support discriminatory laws and practices. Tom Inoshita recalled that immediately after the war, as a seventh grade student at Washington Elementary School, he was harassed and tormented with accusations like, "You killed my dad! You killed my uncle! I hate

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<sup>106</sup> Toru Tanita interview (2007).

<sup>107</sup> Mas Inoshita, interviewed by Karen Leung, 22 September 2003, Japanese Americans in Arizona Oral History Project, Arizona State University; George Kishiyama interviewed by Cindy Harbuck, 28 September 2006.

<sup>108</sup> Mino Inoshita, interviewed by Scott Solliday, 27 October 2006.

<sup>109</sup> McMillen, "Japanese Americans in Arizona," 38-42; Caruso, "After Pearl Harbor," 338, 344; Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest," 14.

your guts!" However, he also saw the hostility disappear in about a year, and his younger brother, Mino, doesn't remember ever encountering such bitter attitudes at school. Change came quickly. In 1948, Cherry Tanita, a member of one of Phoenix's oldest Japanese families, was the first woman to be elected student body president at Phoenix College. Young Japanese Americans were offered college scholarships, and more job opportunities were made available. Mino Inoshita, who attended Arizona State College (Arizona State University), said, "After World War II the problem of the loyalty question was no longer an issue. All industry opened up for Japanese people." Change also came on the national level with the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (Walter-McCarran Act), which allowed people of any race to immigrate and become a naturalized citizen, finally ending the longstanding restrictions that had been placed on Japanese and Chinese immigrants.<sup>110</sup>

### **Agricultural Development**

After World War II, Japanese farmers were able to rebuild and develop their farms, but now without the restrictions they had always been subjected to, for the Alien Land Law had been declared unconstitutional. Many who had left farms in the southern part of the valley returned to find their homes vandalized and equipment stolen, but they immediately set to work rebuilding. Tanita Farms was started by Naomasa Tanita; after the war, his son, Shigeru Tanita, expanded the family farm into a 2,000-acre operation, which he managed until his death in 1969. For many years, the Tadano family had farmed leased land at 35<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Orangewood Avenue; they later bought a forty-acre parcel on the southwest corner of 59<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Thomas Road. According to William K. Tadano,

We grew up with cousins, so I wasn't alone with just my family, but my uncle Frank and his family grew up next to us and my uncle George and his family also grew up when we lived on 59<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Thomas (Road). It was like a clan and we were all unified by the farm life.<sup>111</sup>

Klondike strawberries, their most renowned crop in the Alhambra district, covered fields along both sides of Glendale Avenue. Some turned to more specialized horticultural businesses. Hiro Nomura and John Tadano started a nursery and landscaping business in the old Glendale sugar beet factory, ironically, in the place associated with the beginning of Japanese farming in Arizona.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Tom Inoshita, interviewed by Scott Solliday, 8 October 2006; Mino Inoshita, interviewed by Scott Solliday, 27 October 2006; Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration to the Southwest." 14-18; Niiya, *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History*, 75, 77-79, 206.

<sup>111</sup> William K. Tadano, interviewed by Doris Asano, 15 December 2004, Japanese Americans in Arizona Oral History Project, Arizona State University.

<sup>112</sup> Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 684; Pollock, *American Biographical Encyclopedia*, 224; Tom Inoshita interview (2006).



**Figure 19. Reverend Junro Kashitani, wife Asako, and son Paul in temporary, postwar housing, ca. 1945. Kashitani was the church's first pastor (1932-1936). He returned to serve another four years after internment at Manzanar. Copyright the Japanese Free Methodist Church.**

Aside from their ability to finally own land in their own names, the expansion of Japanese farming operations was also made possible by the large number of

farm laborers who settled in the area, which included internees from California who chose to stay in Arizona after the war. The Tadano family sponsored a number of the families who lived and worked at the Tadano farm; some worked in the Tadanos' soy sauce processing plant. Many of the resettled families worked for Mr. Matsuda, a labor contractor whose "Matsuda Gang" was available for work on many of the nearby Japanese farms. The labor they performed was hard work. In the summer they turned cantaloupe vines, lifting the melons out of the furrows; in the winter they thinned lettuce and vegetables with short-handled hoes. Strawberries were a particularly labor intensive crop and required years of training shoots to fill in rows. However, eventually the plants produced a high value crop on a relatively small amount of land. Overall, incomes for farmers and laborers alike were not great, but farming was all that they had. They used their skills and their determination to quickly build productive farms. After a few years, many farm laborers were able to lease or buy land and begin farming on their own, usually on parcels of ten to forty acres.<sup>113</sup>

The experiences of the Inoshita family were typical of the released internees. They first worked at the Tadano farm after the war, and then leased ten acres on 63<sup>rd</sup> Avenue, near Northern Avenue, known as the Williams Ranch, until 1948. They then leased the Hoel Ranch, located on the southeast corner of Glendale and 40<sup>th</sup> avenues, and continued to farm that land until 1965.<sup>114</sup>

Mino Inoshita described the family farm. They lived in a small wood frame house with unpainted plank walls, which was located in the corner of the parcel, near the road and irrigation ditch.

Probably the one I stayed in the longest was about, oh, late forties, late forties to probably mid-fifties, before we made that first house we talked about. And that was a farmhouse we rented. We rented the whole acreage we were farming. Nothing much, you know, made out of wood, had running water, had electricity in it. But it wasn't anything close to a modern house, modern today. I don't know how to describe it. The basic foundation was probably a two-by-four base material with plank wood on top of that for the flooring. And over time that wood curls and you see the floor is no longer flat. The edges warp up and then you can look down in there and one of the places where you can push dirt right through that thing. And you looked at the walls they were very rarely painted. The wood is generally black, like it's been rotting so long out in that hot sun.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Tom Inoshita interview (2006); Mino Inoshita interview (2006); George Kishiyama interviews (2006).

<sup>114</sup> Tom Inoshita interview (2006).

<sup>115</sup> Mino Inoshita interview (2006).



He also recalled that the primary outbuilding was a tin-roofed shed with open sides.

The shed (was) generally a basic structure with a . . . with a tin roof on it. You normally see tin. Very inexpensive material to cover a roof on. Most of 'em were made out of wood. Most were wooden structure, two-by-four, two-by-six, and whatever. They're open on the side, but there's not much. Basically, just shade. I remember some of them, the strawberries, we had, you had to move them around, they were temporary structures, and so we used -- there's no foundation on it, it's right up on the soil, and you just put poles up and we hang those palm trees trimmings . . . and use that to cover it, put the shade up when packing your strawberries in that place, and . . . I dunno, it wasn't much.<sup>116</sup>

The most profound change in Japanese farming was the growth of large-scale flower gardens near South Mountain. Kajiuro Kishiyama had started a farm at 36<sup>th</sup> Street and Baseline Road in 1936; a year later he started experimenting with different varieties of flowers. In 1939, Ben Nakagawa started a farm across from Kishiyama, on the south side of Baseline Road. When they returned from internment, they found their farms ransacked, and set about rebuilding. In 1946, Kishiyama bought the land he had been farming and started growing flowers as a commercial crop at his South Mountain Flower Garden. Nakagawa also turned to flowers. By the early 1950s, George Kishiyama started taking over operation of his father's lands and several other growers joined them in the area. New flower gardens, usually ten to forty acres in size, were started by the Nakamura and Watanabe families, Sati Wakoshi, Yuki Maruyama, and Ken Sakato. They planted half their land in vegetables, while the fields facing Baseline Road were planted in chrysanthemums, carnations, sweet peas, and asters. Fields of flowers bloomed along both sides of Baseline Road, between 30<sup>th</sup> and 48<sup>th</sup> streets. The growers built stands and sheds to sell flowers directly to the public.

They also sold flowers to local florists and wholesalers and shipped hundreds of boxes of flowers nationwide. The Japanese flower gardens were an established landmark of postwar Phoenix, but the pressures of urban development and competition from growers in South America brought a decline in the gardens by the 1970s. After 2000, the flower growers were selling off the last parcels of their gardens, and, as of this writing, no historic flower gardens remain in operation.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> George Kishiyama interviews (2006); George Kishiyama, interviewed by Jane Joseph, 16 November 1975, Arizona Historical Society, Tempe; Nick and Char Nakagawa, interviewed by Dan Killoren, 31 March 2006, ASU Asian and Pacific American Studies; *Phoenix Gazette*, 23 March 1978; *Arizona Republic*, 21 April 1984, 18 December 1985, 21 May 2002, 21 January 2005; Fernandez, "Study of Japanese Immigration



**Figure 20. Bundling flowers at one of the flower gardens, n.d. Courtesy of the Phoenix Museum of History.**

An important part of the farming business was marketing the produce. Some fruits and vegetables were shipped out of state, while much was sent out to local groceries and supermarkets. George Kishiyama recalled going to the Phoenix produce market at Madison and 3<sup>rd</sup> streets:

Dad would take the vegetables there, and sell them with some of the other Japanese from the community. Big brokers like Safeway, Basha's, etcetera, would come and get pricing, and get the prices. Then they would put in an order for the vegetables. . . . we would get an order of the tomato or the squash or something, the broker would say, 'bring me fifty or one hundred,' and we would take them down there in the afternoon or something, whenever they were open. That was when I was a kid that the going to the market with my dad was a real fun thing during the

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to the Southwest," 2-3; Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County," 1-2, 5-6; Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 682-683.

summertime, because you got to meet these, uh, kinda rough people, uh, I thought they was a rough people, you know, the brokers. . . .<sup>118</sup>

Because his father could not speak English very well, Tom Inoshita became the seller for his family's farm when he was a junior in high school. He delivered strawberries and vegetables to the produce market before and after school. They had good quality products that were well-packed and easily sold to buyers.<sup>119</sup>

Younger Japanese Americans usually did not want to do farm work; it required long hours and hard work, and offered little pay. Many went to college and took advantage of the broader job opportunities that had become available. By the 1960s, not just Japanese farming, but all agricultural production in central Arizona was starting to decline, due in part to a more diversified economy and rising land prices. Tom Inoshita estimated that gross sales for the family farm at the Hoel Ranch went from about \$30,000 in 1948 to \$250,000 in 1965, the last year that the farm was in operation. The increase in production was largely due to acquiring tractors and machinery, but as sales increased, the costs of farming also went up. By the 1960s, land had become so valuable that most of the small-scale farmers in the area were retiring and selling their farms. At this time, none of the Japanese truck farms are known to still exist in Phoenix.<sup>120</sup>

### **Commercial Development**

As Japanese farming declined, there was no particular type of commercial development that was specific associated with the Japanese American community. Younger adults tended to find employment in all types of industries. Perhaps the most notable Japanese American entrepreneur of this period was Hiro Nomura, the son of a Phoenix farming family. Nomura briefly operated his own farm, but in 1952 became a professional portrait photographer at Gene Botsford's studio on North Central Avenue. He took ownership of the studio in 1955 and was best known for creating the famous portraits of Barry Goldwater for his 1964 presidential campaign. In 1968, he moved his studio to Town and Country Shopping Center at 24<sup>th</sup> Street and Camelback Road.<sup>121</sup>

### **Residential Development**

After the war, there was not enough housing for the growing Japanese American community in Phoenix. A variety of temporary structures were quickly built near the cultural center of the Japanese community at 43<sup>rd</sup> Avenue and Indian School

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<sup>118</sup> George Kishiyama interview (2006).

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.; Tom Inoshita interview (2006).

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.; Mino Inoshita interview (2006); Phylis Cancilla Martinelli and Richard Nagasawa, "A Further Test of the Model Minority: Japanese Americans in a Sunbelt State," *Sociological Perspectives*, vol. 3, no.3 (July 1987), 273.

<sup>121</sup> Pollock, *American Biographical Encyclopedia*, 224.

Road. The Japanese Hall was partitioned with cardboard walls to create temporary apartments, and several houses were built south of the Buddhist Temple, on the former Ozasa Tomato Ranch. Rows of small wood frame houses were built along Indian School Road, between 27<sup>th</sup> and 35<sup>th</sup> avenues, specifically for the farm workers of Matsuda's Gang. One culturally unique feature of many of these homes was the *ofuro* -- traditional Japanese bath. These were built using a metal tank for the bath with a firebox underneath to heat the water. At night, the glow from the fireboxes could be seen along the length of Indian School Road.<sup>122</sup>



**Figure 21. Temporary housing along Indian School, east of 35th and Grand avenues, 1949. Aerial from the Flood Control District of Maricopa County.**

Eventually, people were able to save enough money to move onto their own farm, or to rent or purchase a home, and the temporary housing was no longer needed. With the trend toward employment outside of agriculture, much of the Japanese American community was once again dispersed throughout the north Phoenix-Glendale area, but now, rather than locating on isolated farms, people were moving into ranch style homes in new subdivisions. There was no longer any particular housing type or neighborhoods specifically associated with the community.<sup>123</sup>

### **Social and Cultural Life of the Community**

Prior to the war, most Japanese Americans in Phoenix were Buddhists, however, some believed it was more American to be Christian. Many started attending Christian churches, particularly the Japanese Free Methodist Church. Others

<sup>122</sup> Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County," 18; Tom Inoshita interview (2006); Mino Inoshita interview (2006).

<sup>123</sup> Tom Inoshita interview (2006); Mino Inoshita interview (2006); Mas Inoshita interview (2003).

were exposed to Christian doctrine during their time in the internment camps. According to Mas Inoshita:

When we went to camp, Christian church had their ministers and Christian church had large support from the outside, you know, people would come from the outside and support the Christian activities and I think the Buddhists might have felt a bit like “Hey, we’re not exactly on the happy side of things.”<sup>124</sup>

Before the war, a conflict had emerged in the community between traditional Buddhists and progressive Christians. During the 1930s, a rift developed between some of the parents of Japanese language school students over the forced resignation of an elderly principal. By 1939, the rift had escalated into an argument over the school closing down completely and the sale of the property. The school closed temporarily and the two factions each acquired a 50 percent interest in the property. The issue appeared to be resolved with the rehiring of the principal and the reopening of the school, but in 1941, a court order was sought to determine which group should assume control of the Japanese Hall. The issue was not addressed during the war years, as no Japanese Americans were permitted to occupy the property, which was located in the restricted zone. After the war, the matter was settled in favor of the Christian group, which was better organized and more knowledgeable about the legal issues, and the Japanese American Citizens League of Arizona gained legal title to the property. In the 1950s, the building was used as a gymnasium, and for social dances, but gradually, its importance as an institution of the Japanese American community subsided, and the building was eventually demolished and the property leased to other parties.<sup>125</sup>

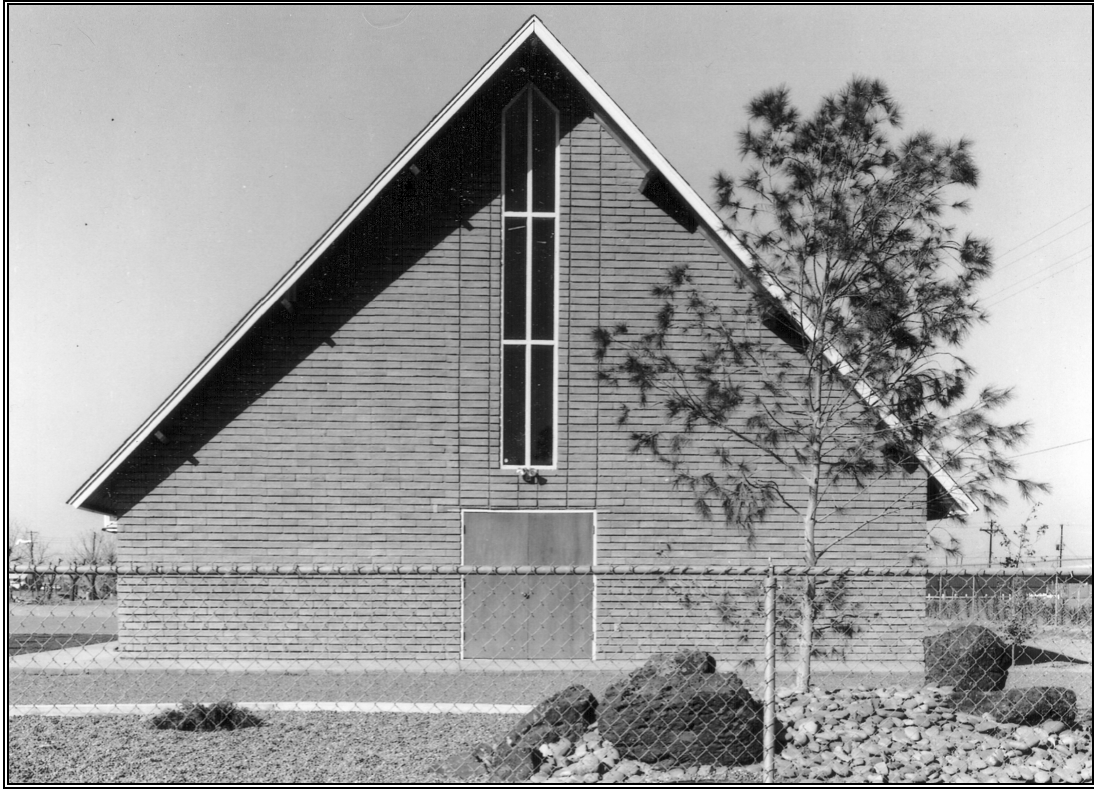
Whether Christian or Buddhist, Japanese Americans remained a minority, and while their community was dispersed throughout the Salt River Valley, it was connected through organizations and institutions such as the Japanese American Citizens League, the Arizona Buddhist Temple, and the Japanese Free Methodist Church. William Tadano attended Washington and Cartwright elementary schools, where there were only a few other Japanese American children from the Toomoka and Yano families. When he attended Carl Hayden High School, he found that the number of Japanese students there was about the same, and the only contact that he had with other Japanese children his age was through the Japanese Free Methodist Church Sunday School program. These institutions were the centers of community life, where special events, weddings, and funerals brought people together, and where they could remember and celebrate their Japanese heritage. Arsonists destroyed the Arizona Buddhist Temple in 1959, but a new temple was built on the lot to the south of the original

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<sup>124</sup> Yoshiju Kimura, *Arizona Sunset* (Glendale: Y. Kimura, 1980) 46-51; Mas Inoshita interview (2003).

<sup>125</sup> Tom Inoshita interview (2006).

structure two years later. Several years later, a new Japanese Free Methodist Church was built a block to the north of its original location. These two churches still comprise the center of the Japanese American community in Phoenix.<sup>126</sup>



**Figure 22. Arizona Buddhist Temple, ca. 1962. Copyright by the Arizona Buddhist Temple. Used with permission.**

The number of Japanese listed in the federal census as living in the City of Phoenix during the early decades of the twentieth century was very low and probably not reflective of the actual numbers that would be found within the current city boundaries (see Table 5). While this number was significantly reduced by internment, it also may have increased through the sponsorships that released many from the camps.

<b>Table 5 - Japanese in Phoenix, 1880-1950</b>								
	<b>1880</b>	<b>1890</b>	<b>1900</b>	<b>1910</b>	<b>1920</b>	<b>1930</b>	<b>1940</b>	<b>1950</b>
<b>Phoenix population</b>	1,708	3,152	5,544	11,134	29,053	48,118	65,414	106,818
<b># of Japanese</b>			7	41	27	44	44	22
<b>% of Japanese</b>			.13%	.37%	.09%	.09%	.07%	.02%
Source: <i>Federal Census</i> , 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.								

<sup>126</sup> Tom Inoshita interview (2006); William K. Tadano interview (2004).

While the census records show that only twenty-two Japanese lived within the city limits in 1950, families such as the Tanitas (two parents and thirteen children), Tadanos, and Kishiyamas, lived in the adjacent, then-unincorporated areas, and were not counted. Further convoluting statistical research is the uncountable transient population that lived on the Japanese Association property, with sponsors, and in the temporary housing along Indian School Road.

## THE FILIPINO AMERICAN COMMUNITY

### FILIPINO IMMIGRATION, 1903-1946

In 1898, the Philippine Islands, along with Guam and Puerto Rico, became a territory of the United States following the Spanish-American War and a concurrent revolution to remove the Spanish colonial government. For the subsequent three years, some Filipinos also sought to remove U.S. control. The conflict continued until after 1902, but on a smaller scale. The Jones Law of 1916, also known as the Philippine Autonomy Act, provided a level of autonomy for the islands, with an American appointed Governor General and a native legislative assembly. With the outbreak of World War I, the Filipinos supported the United States. In addition to buying Liberty Bonds and providing a destroyer and submarine, a Filipino militia was organized to fight on the European front.<sup>127</sup>

Subsequent to the American acquisition of the Philippine Islands from Spain in 1898, Filipinos started to arrive in the United States and Hawaii, the latter of which was also an American possession. Typically, Filipinos came to work or to obtain an education and some combined schooling with work on the mainland. Virtually all originally intended to return to the islands, but many sojourners eventually became lifelong immigrants, establishing families and communities in the United States. The Filipinos that were living in the U.S. before World War II decades later referred to themselves as *Pinoys* and became known as the “old-timers,” which distinguished them from later immigrants.<sup>128</sup>

The majority of the Filipinos who came to the United States before the mid-1930s did so in response to the integration of the Philippines into the global market as an agricultural export economy. The process, which began with the Spanish, advanced under American rule. As export crops such as sugar, tobacco, and coffee grown on large-scale plantations grew more important, small-scale rice farming declined and was displaced by tenancy. Displaced workers came to Hawaii as early as 1906, where they replaced Japanese workers as a cheap labor force. Between 1906 and 1934, over 100,000 *sakadas*, or contract workers, arrived from primarily Ilocano-speaking northern Luzon. Though over 50 percent eventually returned, many stayed in Hawaii and created communities there or moved on to the mainland. The path to the United States was via Hawaii, with almost 20,000 coming to the mainland between 1906 and 1932.<sup>129</sup>

Most of the “old-timers” who came to the United States in the late 1920s and 1930s came from the Ilocos region in northern Luzon, specifically Ilocos Sur and

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<sup>127</sup> Veltisezar Bautista, *The Filipino Americans: From 1763 to the Present: Their History, Culture, and Traditions* (Farmington Hills: Bookhaus Publications, 1998), 61, 83-84.

<sup>128</sup> Barbara M. Posadas, *The New Americans/The Filipino Americans* (Westport: Greenwood Press), 13.

<sup>129</sup> Honorante Mariano, “The Filipino Immigrants in the United States” (Master’s thesis, University of Oregon, 1933), 3-4; Posadas, *The New Americans/The Filipino Americans*, 14-15.



Ilocos Norte, and central Luzon where some had already migrated. Many were employed in low-paying “stoop work,” laboring on farms or working the canneries of the Northwest or Alaska. Because of the varying seasons, some did both. Still, these wages were better than they could expect at home. Though the U.S. had replaced Spain in the government, the standard of living of the Filipino people had not really changed. In 1925, outside of Manila, the cost of living for a family of two adults and three children amounted to ninety-one cents a day. If both parents worked, their total income would be seventy-five cents a day. Even with low wages in the United States, they could do better.<sup>130</sup>

Unlike their Japanese and Chinese counterparts, Filipino workers could immigrate to the United States as nationals, without legislative constraints. By the 1920s, Filipinos students and laborers were self-supported and filled niches in local economies, especially as service workers in urban areas. Typically, they worked in restaurants, hotels, private clubs, and as personal servants. In rural areas, they worked in the field of agriculture. However, laws were passed by various legislatures, including Arizona, forbidding miscegenation between “white” and “Mongolian” partners. Just as Chinese and Japanese immigrants had been discriminated against, Filipinos were also targeted, not just by racist laws, but by other anti-Filipino activities, particularly in California.<sup>131</sup>

In the early twentieth century, Filipinos enlisted in various branches of the U.S. military service; over 5,500 served as scouts during the Philippine-American War. By 1904, the U.S. Navy started recruiting over three hundred Filipinos per year with at least 3,900 serving at any given time between 1918 and 1933. Considered superior to other mess stewards in the 1920s, Filipinos replaced African Americans as the mess steward of choice. By 1932, the Filipinos numbered 3,922 to 441 African Americans in the service, though they were limited to working in the mess hall or as musicians.<sup>132</sup>

Despite their enlistment in the service, and though they were considered nationals by virtue of the Philippine Islands’ status as a U.S. Territory, Filipinos were not eligible to become American citizens. Their children were eligible, but the immigrants who lived in the United States could not be naturalized and, therefore, could not vote or be certain of their future status. The Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934 further limited the number of immigrants to fifty per year, while establishing a temporary Commonwealth government. This interim government was to serve until a promised independence of the islands in 1944 (it was actually 1946 due to the outbreak of World War II). Following independence,

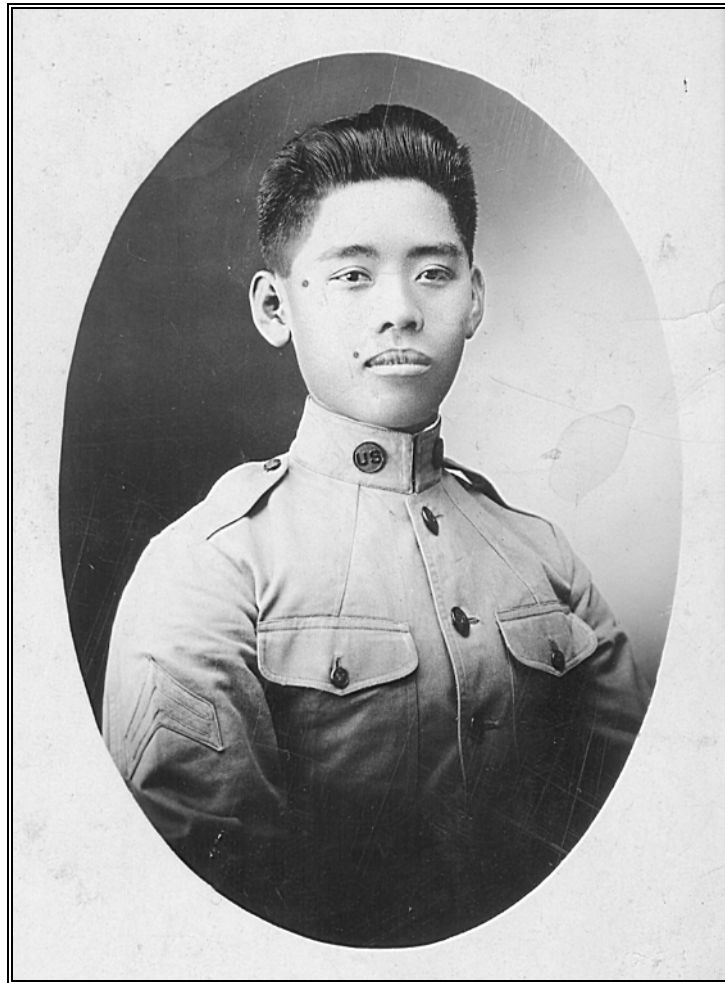
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<sup>130</sup> Bautista, *The Filipino Americans*, 13; Antonio J.A. Pido, *The Filipinos in America: Macro/Micro Dimensions in Immigration and Integration* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1986), 67; Mariano, “The Filipino Immigrants in the United States,” 2-13.

<sup>131</sup> Posadas, *The New Americans/The Filipino Americans*, 15-22; Mariano, “The Filipino Immigrants in the United States,” 4, 29-31, 43-45.

<sup>132</sup> Posadas, *The New Americans/The Filipino Americans*, 21-23.

Filipinos and other Asians were excluded from immigrating -- with the exception of those permitted to work on Hawaii's sugar plantations -- which meant Filipinos already in the U.S. would not be able to return if they visited their homeland.<sup>133</sup>



**Figure 23. Felix Carbajal, ca. 1918. Copyright Sam Carbajal. Used with permission.**

Due to the mechanism that brought them into the United States -- employment with the military or work in the agricultural service industry -- there was an imbalanced ratio between Filipinos and Filipinas. Bachelors relied on each other for camaraderie and created communities based on kinship, friendship, and mutual interests. Many of them married local, non-Filipino women. They established clubs reflecting provincial origins, occupational affiliations, and the need for mutual assistance. They hung out at cockfights, in pool halls, Chinese

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<sup>133</sup> Posadas, *The New Americans/The Filipino Americans*, 21-23; Bautista, *The Filipino Americans*, 85.

restaurants, dance halls, barbershops, and spaces rented out for community centers and dance halls.<sup>134</sup>

In some cities, “Little Manila” communities formed, especially along the coast in places such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle. These communities ebbed and flowed with some members living fulltime in the cities and working in the service industry, while others were transient agricultural workers who followed the season crop harvests. Even when there was no Little Manila, such as in Phoenix, the family and friends created an extended family of parents, siblings, cousins, uncles, and aunts sometimes blurring the line of parental duties.<sup>135</sup>

### THE FILIPINO COMMUNITY IN PHOENIX, 1920-1946

No Filipinos were recorded as living in Arizona in 1910, according to the federal census. In 1920, there were ten Filipinos listed, and by 1930, there were 472 living in Arizona. The number of Filipinos decreased in 1940 to 232. During this period, the majority of Filipinos were male and over the age of twenty-one. However, the actual numbers are distorted since many Filipinos were involved in seasonal agricultural labor and it was difficult to accurately measure their numbers.<sup>136</sup>

#### **Residential Development**

Eugene and Francisca Principe rented a place on south Central Avenue in 1921. The Principes were the typical Filipino couple: Eugene was Filipino, but Francisca was Hispanic. Over the next couple of decades, Eugene held a number of service related jobs; he was a janitor at the county court house, a laborer at the Westward Ho, a restaurant worker, and a cook. It was likely, due to the limited number of Filipinas, that Eugene had married Francisca, a Mexican American woman.<sup>137</sup>

Eugene Principe’s two stepdaughters, both Hispanic, married Filipinos. Their husbands, Andres Yabo and Felix Carbajal, also worked a variety of service related jobs. As Eugene probably did, they both worked in seasonal agriculture. The Yabos and the Principes lived at the same rural address in 1932, probably as laborers, and the Principes eventually bought a home on Sonora Street (Cocopah Street), just west of 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue. The Carbajals purchased a home on

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<sup>134</sup> Posadas, *The New Americans/The Filipino Americans*, 24; Bautista, *The Filipino Americans*, 149; Mariano, “The Filipino Immigrants in the United States,” 42-43.

<sup>135</sup> Bautista, *The Filipino Americans*, 144.

<sup>136</sup> Federal Census, 1940; Mariano, “The Filipino Immigrants in the United States,” 18-19.

<sup>137</sup> Sam Carbajal, interviewed by Adrienne Dudley, 10 September 2006.

7<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Mohave Street, just a few blocks from the Principes. The Yabos built their home directly north of the Carbajals.<sup>138</sup>

Eugene Principe and other Filipino immigrants followed a specific pattern in settling in Phoenix. At first, their families were transient, moving from one rental home to another and holding a variety of service related jobs. Eventually, they saved enough money and purchased a house. In many instances, they rented out rooms to other Filipinos. This was true for the Carbajals, who purchased the property at 1721 South 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue in 1940 and soon rented out portions of the property to others.<sup>139</sup>

One of the families living with the Carbajals was the Estrils. Refugio Estril remembers the renters living in the back of the house:

The back of it was where the Filipinos, all of them that were like seasonal, that's where they used to stay. That's when they had, none of these crazy laws anymore. The whole backyard was rows and rows of cages of roosters, fighting roosters. He even had some. My mom used to wash for them, iron for them and that was part of the income.<sup>140</sup>

The Phoenix Filipino Americans, perhaps due to their matrilineal connections to the Hispanic community, were primarily located in an area of South Phoenix bounded by Van Buren Street on the north, 15<sup>th</sup> Avenue on the west, the Salt River on the south, and 20<sup>th</sup> Street on the east. Many also moved into Santa Maria, a small community located southwest of Phoenix, near 70<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Lower Buckeye Road.<sup>141</sup>

### **Social and Cultural Life of the Community**

Similar to the *compadrinazgo*, a form of ritual parenthood, which amalgamated god-parenthood with pre-Hispanic regional customs to form a unique and wide-ranging aspect of Filipino culture, marriage also created bilateral extensions through the creation of alliances between families and groups. According to Antonio Pido, "A family does not 'lose' a son or daughter in a marriage, but rather it gains a son or daughter plus, of course, the alliance with another group." While in the islands, these groupings may have been cross-cultural, in the United States, they became exogamous, mixing Hispanic and Filipino traditions. The result of these relationships based on matrimonial kinship shaped the way

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<sup>138</sup> City Directories, 1921-1942.

<sup>139</sup> City Directories, 1940-1960; Sam Carbajal (2006).

<sup>140</sup> Felix Carbajal, Jr. and Refugio Estril, interviewed by Adrienne Dudley, 28 October 2006.

<sup>141</sup> Felix Carbajal, Jr., conversation with Vince Murray, 13 July 2006.

Filipinos conducted their activities. While their ethnicity was emphasized as Filipino, the offspring sometimes refer to themselves as *mestizo* -- mixed.<sup>142</sup>



**Figure 24. First Inaugural Banquet and Ball of the Protective Philippine Pioneers of America, 1941. Copyright by Sam Carbajal. Used with permission.**

Felix Carbajal was born in the village of Luna, La Union Province, on February 28, 1896. While working in Hawaii, he was inducted into the U.S. Army on June 1, 1918, where he served a year in H Company of the 1st Hawaiian Infantry, attaining the rank of corporal. Discharged in Hawaii in 1919, Felix made his way to Seattle and eventually to Phoenix where he married Micaela Franco, stepdaughter of Eugene Principe. The couple divorced in the 1940s and Felix raised four children, two girls and two boys. While the girls performed the domestic chores, the boys were put to work at an early age. Following the pattern of their father, who worked seasonally at the Westward Ho, during the summers the sons worked the fields with their father and other migrant workers.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Posadas, *The New Americans/The Filipino Americans*, 6; Pido, *The Filipinos in America*, 18.

<sup>143</sup> Carbajal Family Records, Sam Carbajal; Felix Carbajal and Rufugio Estril (2006); City Directories 1930-1960.

Recalled Sam Carbajal:

I remember picking the onions. I remember doing the carrots. We'd have to tie the carrots, bunch them up and then somebody would come in, put them in a bunch and put them in the truck and whatever. I was very young ... we did that and we were still in the seventh or eighth grade, I think. And then all the sudden that stopped and we became "the elite." We went to pick grapes, now. That's all we did was grapes ... and then one year we went to pick pears in Kelseyville, California. And that's another great thing about migrant workers, you get to travel. California, went to Idaho, went to Michigan, went to Texas. I mean we traveled all over Colorado. It was neat, again hard work, but Hey! It's like the travel guide right here; it's great. I wouldn't recommend it nowadays, but what can I say?<sup>144</sup>

Being mixed, many of the Filipinos attended St. Anthony's Church, attending Mass in Spanish. They also attended Lowell Elementary School and Phoenix Union High School. The "Old Timers" formed groups such as the Protective Philippine Pioneers of America and held functions at Prince Hall. Gambling was popular, especially cockfighting. On special weekends, many would gather at the Carbajal House or other popular meeting places and slaughter a pig.<sup>145</sup>

According to Sam Carbajal:

Once a week there was a sort of like a Filipino club ... you couldn't actually call it a club, but it was. All the families got together at Prince Hall. They would rent the hall every Saturday night and all of the family -- everybody -- went. There was adults, all the kids, and at Christmas time, it was great. Everybody would get fruit, whatever it is, and the bags and stuff, and toys. It was neat, I tell ya. It was a great experience.

We'd do that and then at South Mountain Park, again, they'd slaughter a pig and then everyone would take pots up there and whatever. Sometime you'd go down to the river bottom, not too many of the families would go down there, but once in a while somebody would kill a goat over there and, whoa, all the cars would converge over there, right? It seemed like word got around whenever somebody was killing something.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Sam Carbajal (2006).

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

## THE POSTWAR COMMUNITY, 1946-1960

The community changed during this time period due to various factors: world war, access to naturalized citizenship, Philippine independence, the arrival of Filipino professionals, the migration of Filipinas, the expansion of ethnic-based institutions; and the maturation of the first generation of United States born Filipinos. During World War II, Filipinos were considered as allies unlike their Japanese counterparts. Following the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Selective Service allowed Filipinos to serve in the military, though they were not citizens. Thousands were in active in the Pacific serving in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Filipino Infantry Regiments while others served in non-Filipino units in Europe. Naturalization was extended to those serving and during and immediately after the war, almost 11,000 Filipinos in the military were naturalized.<sup>147</sup>



**Figure 25. Children playing at the Carbajal house, ca. 1970. Copyright Sam Carbajal. Used with permission.**

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<sup>147</sup> Posadas, *The New Americans/The Filipino Americans*, 26.

The Philippines received their independence from the United States on July 4, 1946. Two days earlier, the Luce-Celler Bill passed in Congress granting naturalization to all Filipinos who had come to the United States before passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act. However, Luce-Celler also limited immigration to fifty per year.<sup>148</sup>

A greater number of Filipinas came to the United States after the war for matrimony or employment, particularly in the field of nursing. Prior to 1934, their numbers were miniscule in comparison to their male counterparts. In 1930, when Filipinos numbered 45,208 in the United States, 67.4 percent were living in California and 6.5 percent of these were women. By 1965, this number had grown to 67,435 Filipinas, 37.1 percent of the total population. For the most part, the women who came either married American or Filipino-American service men or pre-1934 Filipino immigrants. The nurses came for post-graduate studies and often remained to work or marry. Some also were able to immigrate under the War Brides Act of 1945.<sup>149</sup>

Between 1934 and 1946, there was no significant Filipino immigration to the U.S. and the primarily male Filipino population aged and declined. The onset of war and the removal of Japanese to interment camps created economic opportunities for Filipino Americans and created a media portrayal of all Filipinos as loyal friends of the United States and enemies of Japan. In 1946, as a reward for this loyalty, the federal government increased the annual immigration quota to one hundred and made Filipinos eligible for citizenship.<sup>150</sup> The McCarran-Walter Act only allowed one hundred Filipinos to immigrate per year, though about 32,000 actually did.<sup>151</sup>

It is virtually impossible to determine the actual number of Filipinos who were living in Arizona after World War II from census records. Due to residential location and intermarriage with Mexican American women, the families of the Filipinos who had settled in South Phoenix have become closely integrated into the larger Hispanic community. However, at the same time, they continue to maintain a distinct Filipino identity, which is reinforced by the close ties between interrelated families. At this date, there are still two small but distinctly Filipino communities, located at 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Mojave Street, and at Santa Maria, which is just outside of the Phoenix city limits.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 26-27.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 27-28; Bautista, *The Filipino Americans*, 95.

<sup>150</sup> Kitano and Daniels, *Asian Americans*, 90.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, "Historical Census Statistics On Population Totals By Race, 1790-1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970-1990, For Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States," *Working Paper 76* (Washington: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005); U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1953b; Felix Carbajal, 13 July 2006.



## THE ASIAN INDIAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

Similar to Asia, the term India is subject to interpretation. The current country is huge, comprising a major part of the Indian subcontinent and containing dozens of distinctive ethnic groups. Most of India was under British rule between 1856 and 1947, which at that time included the areas that are now Bangladesh and Pakistan.

In the late eighteenth century, a few Asian Indian sailors were in New England and, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, Asian Indian merchants began establishing small communities in the eastern United States. However, there was no significant immigration of Asian Indians to the U.S. until after 1900. Like the majority of Asian immigrants, the Asian Indians came first to California. Most of the early immigrants came from the Punjab, an area in northern India and Pakistan. The majority of these Asian Indians were Sikhs, though some Hindus and Muslims immigrated as well. The Sikhs are a militant caste that follows a monotheistic belief -- Sikhism -- and in which male members take the name Singh, which means lion.<sup>153</sup>

The early Sikhs arrived in California as sojourners and worked in lumbering and railroads. Later, they turned to agriculture, initially as laborers, and then as proprietors and tenants. They experienced much of the same types of legal and extralegal discrimination as other Asians. Due to the disproportionate male to female ratio of immigrants, 58:1 in 1930, many Sikhs married Hispanic women typically from Mexican and Mexican American migrant worker families. For other Asians, such as the Chinese and Japanese, there were enough immigrant women for endogamous marriages. This was not the case for the Asian Indians and, similar to Filipinos, exogamous marriages were common during this era.<sup>154</sup>

In 1946, Congress passed legislation allowing naturalization and a small immigration quota for persons of races indigenous to India. The number of Asian Indians had been decreasing during World War II, but the 1946 act, the granting of independence to India in 1947, and immigration reforms in 1952 and 1965, did not create the drastic increase in immigration from India that had been expected.<sup>155</sup>

### ASIAN INDIAN AMERICANS IN PHOENIX, 1931-1960

Asian Indians were in Arizona as early as 1900, when eight were listed in the federal census. Their numbers never grew very large; about thirty lived in Arizona during the 1930s and 1940s. In 1931, a small number of Sikhs moved into the

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<sup>153</sup> Kitano and Daniels, *Asian Americans*, 96-97.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 96-102.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 101, 103-104.

Salt River Valley. While some took on jobs as laborers, others farmed and ranched on land near the Salt River. Through subsequent decades, the number of Asian Indians in Phoenix remained small, possibly little more than a dozen. While agriculture appears to have been the primary employment opportunity, after World War II, a few branched out into other industries. By the 1960s, some Asian Indians found work as nurses, mechanics, office workers, and retail store clerks, while a few remained in the agricultural industry.<sup>156</sup>



**Figure 26. Rala Singh Farms label, ca. 1955.  
Courtesy of Vince Murray.**

Jiwan Singh, a native of India, purchased about thirty acres south of the Salt River in 1938. After working in Texas and Arizona's Gila Valley, Singh moved his family to their new home in 1946. Like many Asian Indian immigrants, Jiwan was married to a Hispanic woman. Accompanied by his family, he started a dairy farm on 12<sup>th</sup> Street, a quarter-mile north of Broadway Road. Within a couple of years,

<sup>156</sup> Federal Census, 1900; City Directories 1931-1965.

Jiwan's oldest son Albert, now married, built a house just to the south of the main house. In 1956, his younger son Adam built a house to the north for his family.<sup>157</sup>

Both Albert and Adam found work outside of agriculture, the former in machine shops and the latter in the aeronautic industry. Ramona, the oldest daughter, went to work for F.W. Woolworths in Phoenix until she married and started a family of her own. Amelia, the youngest, went to school at UCLA and later worked at the university as a librarian. While the children of Jiwan Singh may have deviated from agricultural pursuits, the family farm is still in operation and is still in the family's possession.<sup>158</sup>

Another Asian Indian who did quite well in the farming business was Rala Singh. Singh was born in the village of Palmal, District Ludhiana, in the state of Punjab, in 1907. He immigrated to the United States in 1947, and arrived in the Salt River Valley shortly thereafter. He initially partnered with Joe Wood in a vegetable shipping operation called Singh and Wood, with its offices and warehouse at 404 South 4<sup>th</sup> Street, Phoenix. Wood soon left the partnership. Singh operated his own large farming operation in the West Valley, known as Rala Singh Farms. His operation eventually covered over 11,000 acres in the Litchfield Park area, and by 1960, he closed his downtown Phoenix office and moved all operations to Glendale.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Adam Singh, conversation with Vince Murray, 12 December 2006.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*; City Directories 1947-2005.

<sup>159</sup> City Directories, 1947-1960; *Valley India Times* 13 November 2002 and 13 February 2003.

## OTHER ASIAN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS

### KOREANS

In 1882, the United States signed the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Korea (then known as Joseon or Choson), which allowed Koreans to settle anywhere in the United States. At the time, few Koreans took advantage of the provisions offered in the treaty, though there were some political exiles living in the U.S. as early as 1885. By the turn of the century, internal, international, and environmental conditions in the country led many to seek a better life outside of Korea. The country was overrun by the Japanese and Chinese in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), which ended with Korea's independence being defined by the Japanese government. Japan forced economic, social, and educational reforms that favored Japanese interests. A drought in 1901 also provided conditions that made immigration more tempting.<sup>160</sup>

The first Koreans immigrated to the Hawaiian Islands in 1903. 121 laborers were brought in to work for the sugar plantations and to replace Japanese and Chinese workers who could not immigrate to the islands after United States annexation. The plantation owners were also concerned with the Japanese workers who were organizing and demanding higher wages and living conditions. By 1905, over 7,000 Koreans were working in Hawaii. An additional 1,033 were employed in Mexico.<sup>161</sup>

The Koreans were employed in agricultural labor and as cooks, launderers, and janitors. They did not integrate or assimilate, preferring to use their own language and keeping a sojourner's orientation. Subsequent to the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), Korea became a Japanese protectorate and the latter country ended immigration of Koreans to the United States, probably to protect the jobs of the 31,000 Japanese already in Hawaii. In 1910, when Japan formally annexed Korea, the number of migrants remained static. No significant number of additional Koreans came to the United States nor could the existing immigrants return to their homeland. Between 1910 and 1924, the majority of Koreans that came to the U.S. were "picture brides," women who were matched up with husbands via a mail order system. In 1924, the Oriental Exclusion Act, which prohibited immigration from Asia of foreign-born wives and children of U.S. citizens of Chinese ancestry, put an end to this practice.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Hyung-chan Kim, ed., *The Korean Diaspora: Historical and Sociological Studies of Korean Immigration and Assimilation in North America* (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, Inc., 1977), 3-5; Kitano and Daniels, *Asian Americans*, 113.

<sup>161</sup> Kim, *The Korean Diaspora*, 5-6; Yo-jun Yun, "Early History of Korean Immigration to America," Hyung-chan Kim, ed., *The Korean Diaspora: Historical and Sociological Studies of Korean Immigration and Assimilation in North America* (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, Inc., 1977), 33.

<sup>162</sup> Kim, *The Korean Diaspora*, 4-6; Yun, "Early History of Korean Immigration to America," 39-40; Kitano and Daniels, *Asian Americans*, 135.

The census records do not differentiate Koreans from other Asians and because of the influence of Chinese and Japanese on the culture, Korean names do not typically stand out in city directories. Dorothy Robinson stated in a 1976 interview that the San Marcos Hotel in Chandler employed Korean service workers, which probably came via an agency in California. There is no record of Koreans being used in Phoenix area resorts or as personal servants. The only identified Korean living in Phoenix prior to 1940 was Chillay Jhung who, as early as 1938, was working as an herbalist out of 128 South 2<sup>nd</sup> Street.<sup>163</sup>

The next major group of Korean immigrants arrived in the United States between 1951 and 1964 and were a heterogeneous group of Korean War orphans, students, and the wives of servicemen. So far, none of these have been identified as migrating to the Phoenix area, though it is assumed some may have been residing at the Luke and Williams air force bases. With the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, more Koreans settled in the U.S. than ever before.<sup>164</sup>

### SOUTHEAST ASIANS

Southeast Asians typically came to the United States as refugees from Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Their status was the product of the United States' involvement in Vietnam after World War II. The first refugee group consisted of military personnel, civil servants, teachers, farmers, fishermen, employees of Americans, and Catholics who recognized that their middle- and upper-class lifestyle would be incompatible with a communist regime. The majority were educated and nearly half of the household heads were born in North Vietnam and left for the south after the French defeat at Dienbienphu in 1954. The immigration was primarily in family groups, though there was a sizable number of single males. The next group consisted of refugees who arrived in the U.S. after the fall of South Vietnam in 1975. They consisted of Vietnamese, Laotians (primarily Hmong), and Cambodians displaced by the Vietnam War, the genocidal regime of Cambodian leader Pol Pot, and other economic and environmental issues. Between 1975 and 1984, 700,000 Southeast Asians immigrated to the United States representing one in seven Asian Americans at the time.<sup>165</sup>

Phoenix has a substantial Southeast Asian population. Out of the 1,149 Cambodians living in Arizona in 2000, 1026 were living in the Phoenix area. Laotians are smaller in number with 940 in Arizona and 648 in the Phoenix area. The largest number is the Vietnamese with 12,931 in Arizona, 10,176 in the Phoenix area, and 5,301 within the city limits. Though the number of Southeast

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<sup>163</sup> Dorothy Fulwiler Robinson, interview by Karin Ullman, 1 July 1976; City Directories, 1939-1947.

<sup>164</sup> Kitano and Daniels, *Asian Americans*, 117-118.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 145-150.

Asians in Phoenix is sizable, the timeframe for the immigration of these groups -- post-1975 -- is outside of the range of this report.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Mark E. Pfeifer, comp., *U.S. Census 2000, Cambodian Population, by State* <<http://www.hmongstudies.org/CambodianAmericanCensusData.html>>, accessed 16 July 2006; Mark E. Pfeifer, comp., *U.S. Census 2000, Laotian Population, by State* <<http://www.hmongstudies.org/CambodianAmericanCensusData.html>>, accessed 16 July 2006; Mark E. Pfeifer, "U.S. Census 2000: An Overview of National and Regional Trends in Vietnamese Residential Distribution," *The Review of Vietnamese Studies*, 2001 1(1), 9.

## **SUMMARY**

### ASIAN AMERICANS IN PHOENIX, 1870-1960

The pattern of historic Asian American immigration to Phoenix is directly attributable to national trends. The Chinese first arrived in Phoenix in the 1870s and their number increased with the arrival of the railroad to the south a decade later. Around the same time, in 1882 the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed and, to adapt, the Chinese developed into merchants. Prior to World War II, there had been two distinctive Chinatowns located in downtown; neither exists today.

The Japanese filled in the labor gap left by the Chinese after the Exclusion Act, especially in the field of agriculture. With land leases, the Japanese became successful truck farmers, which was not always appreciated by their white counterparts. Through the racial violence of the 1930s and the internment of 1940s, the Japanese Americans remained in Phoenix.

The Philippine Islands became a U.S. territory following the Spanish American War. Filipino-Americans were allowed to move freely in and out of the U.S. until the Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, which granted the Philippine Islands independence and restricted immigration to the US. During this timeframe, Filipinos filled a void in the labor market created by restrictive measures against Chinese and Japanese. They typically provided work in agriculture and the service industries.

Other Asian Americans were in Phoenix historically. A small group of Sikhs from the Punjab were farming along the Salt River. Koreans were working in Chandler, though they are not found historically as a group in Phoenix. Other groups came to Phoenix from Southeast Asia, but not during the historic period 1870 to 1960.

### ASIAN AMERICANS IN PHOENIX SINCE 1960

In his testimony at civil rights hearings in Phoenix in 1962, Judge Thomas Tang said that he believed that discrimination against Chinese was mostly a thing of the past. With the abandonment of Chinatown, Phoenix's Chinese American community was fully dispersed throughout the city and well integrated into neighborhoods, schools, and workplaces. China Alley was torn down for construction of a new fire station and, by 1970, all that remained of the Phoenix Chinatown were a few restaurants, the Sun Mercantile building, and the Ying On Merchants and Benevolent Association. The same families still lived in the city, but they were no longer seen as a separate community. The same was true for the other Asian American communities: with the decline of racist attitudes and legal restrictions, they were able to find employment in any field, live in any

neighborhood, and pursue opportunities that had not been available to the parents.<sup>167</sup>

However, the Asian American communities do still exist through organizations, churches, and family ties. The Arizona Buddhist Temple, the Japanese Free Methodist Church, and the Japanese American Citizens League continue to provide a strong sense of community for Japanese American families. The Phoenix Chinese United Association was formed in the 1960s to bring together the many different family and benevolent associations, women's clubs, and professional organizations, and it now hosts the annual Fourth of July celebration, continuing an important tradition that had been started by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in 1937.<sup>168</sup>

On October 3, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, which amended the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 by repealing the national origins quota system. The 1965 Act raised the annual immigration maximum to 170,000, with no more than 20,000 per country. The federal government granted individual visas with priority given to family reunification, attracting needed skilled labor and refugees. Laws enacted since the 1920s had effectively limited the entrance of Asians into the United States; the new act removed those limitations. Whereas China and Japan had provided the majority of Asian immigrants in the early 1900s, at the beginning of the twentieth-first century their immigration numbers were surpassed by Filipinos and Koreans.<sup>169</sup>

Asian American immigrants who have come to the United States since 1965 have been very different from their predecessors. Approximately two-thirds of Filipino immigrants are now professionals, with a particularly large number working in the field of health care. The percentage of female immigrants has increased as well, from 37 percent in 1960 to 54 percent in 1980. Likewise, immigrants from China, Japan, India and other Asian countries come for education and professional employment opportunities, and not agricultural work, as was the case a century ago. The majority of immigrants continue to move into Hawaii and California. Future studies should focus on these latter immigrants, as well as the refugees from Southeast Asia.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 111; Keane, et. al., *Chinese in Arizona*, 36; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 45, 51, 109; Tom Inoshita interview (2006).

<sup>168</sup> Tom Inoshita interview (2006); Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 111, 120; Wei Zeng, "Creating Chinese American Identity," 62; *Fourth of July Celebration 2006*, Program, 13; Chiang, "The Chinese Community in Phoenix," 53.

<sup>169</sup> H. Brett Melendy, *Asians in America: Filipinos, Koreans, and East Indians* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977), 18.

<sup>170</sup> Kitano and Daniels, *Asian Americans*, 91.



## ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

The scope of this survey is to identify properties associated with the Asian American heritage of Phoenix. Archival research and discussions with members of the Asian American community indicated that there were four distinct ethnic groups that had a presence in Phoenix before 1960: Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Asian Indian. Each of these communities had their own historical experiences and economic activities that influenced their settlement, either in particular geographic areas or in sites dispersed throughout the area that is currently within Phoenix city limits.

The historic context for this study, *Asian Americans in Phoenix, 1870-1960*, traces the commercial, agricultural, residential development of these communities, as well as their social and religious activities. From this historical overview, it is evident that there are certain property types that are most representative of the histories of these communities. While some of the most characteristic property types, such as the Phoenix Chinatown and the Japanese truck farms and flower gardens, have been lost in the ongoing development and growth of the city, there are other key types of resources still present.

Through archival research, oral histories, and communications with community members, the project team was able to identify 547 properties that were known to have been associated with one or more of the Asian American groups at one time. Many of these were buildings in Chinatown, farms, or other properties that have been lost due to urban development. In addition, a few of these were found to be outside of Phoenix city limits, or constructed after 1960.

While most of these properties no longer exist, the comprehensive analysis of the geographic distribution of the four Asian American communities as they once were provides detailed information on the associated property types that might be found (see Table 6). Subsequently, the field survey confirmed that 117 of these properties still exist in the City of Phoenix (see Table 7).

Properties were evaluated to determine their eligibility for listing in the Phoenix Historic Property Register, which has the same standards and criteria as the National Register of Historic Places. Applying the National Register criteria, an eligible property must have significance, i.e., historical, cultural, archaeological, architectural, or engineering importance; it must retain enough of its integrity to convey its significance; and it must be at least fifty years old, or have attained its significance at least fifty years ago. For this survey, the area of significance is Ethnic Heritage: Asian American, and the period of significance is 1870-1960. Properties were evaluated in a local context for their significance to Phoenix history.

Table 6 – Known Properties Associated with the Four Asian American Communities in Phoenix, 1870-1960	
Chinese - American 371 properties	? 5 agricultural ? 180 commercial - grocery ? 42 commercial - other than grocery ? 117 residential ? 29 other types - church, family association, organization, rock art
Japanese - American 95 properties	? 55 agricultural ? 15 commercial ? 16 residential ? 9 other types
Filipino – American 61 properties	? 2 agricultural ? 5 commercial ? 54 residential
Asian Indian – American 13 properties	? 5 agricultural ? 1 commercial ? 7 residential
Associated with more than one group 5 properties	? 3 Chinese/Japanese (commercial, institutional) ? 2 Japanese/Filipino (commercial)
Note: identification of these 547 properties included some that were known to no longer exist, and some that were likely to have attained significance after 1960.	

Table 7 – Currently Existing Properties Associated with the Four Asian American Communities in Phoenix, 1870-1960	
Chinese - American 93 properties	? 1 agricultural ? 61 commercial - grocery ? 7 commercial - restaurant ? 2 commercial - produce warehouse ? 19 residential ? 3 other type - church, organization, folk art site
Japanese - American 5 properties	? 1 agricultural ? 1 commercial - flower shop ? 1 residential ? 2 other type – church
Filipino - American 17 properties	? 17 residential
Asian Indian - American 2 properties	? 2 agricultural
Note: these 117 properties were identified in the field survey only as existing without full evaluation of their significance, integrity, and age.	

Significance may be established by association with notable events or broad patterns of history (Criterion A), association with an important person (Criterion B), distinctive characteristics of design or construction (Criterion C), or potential

to yield information important in prehistory or history (Criterion D). For this survey, architectural significance (Criterion C) was not evaluated as it is outside of the defined scope of the project; however, some properties that were previously surveyed for their architectural significance were revisited to amend their statement of significance to include their association with this historic context. In general, properties that are associated with the context *Asian Americans in Phoenix, 1870-1960* will be significant for their importance to the broad patterns of history (Criterion A) or their relationship to an important person in the Asian American community (Criterion B),

Integrity refers to the physical characteristics of a property that allow it to show its significance. To be considered an eligible property, a structure must retain its basic form and character-defining features to the degree that it still provides a true and authentic representation of its historic appearance. According to National Register criteria, evaluation of integrity requires analysis of seven key qualities: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. All buildings undergo change over time, so it is not essential that all seven attributes have been preserved intact, but an eligible property must still convey a sense of the time during which it attained its significance.

Location is an important component of a building's integrity. Structures that have been moved from their original location are usually not eligible for listing on the City or National registers. In Phoenix, certain places -- Chinatown, Salt River, the north slope of South Mountain, the intersection of 43<sup>rd</sup> Avenue and Indian School Road -- have been important focal points for the Asian American communities, and individual resources often have a spatial relationship to these centers. Conversely, the ubiquitous Chinese groceries, which were scattered throughout the city, were oriented more to the particular neighborhoods that they served, and through time they have become landmarks in the local streetscape. Generally, a structure that has been moved from its original location would be considered ineligible unless extraordinary significance would justify an exception.

Design refers primarily to architecture, the form, plan, and structure that determines the appearance of a building. An eligible property should still possess important elements of its original design, such as roof type, fenestration, and decorative elements. Decorative features or design elements based specifically on Asian cultural motifs are very rare, so their presence would be a particularly important factor. Over time, remodeling, repairs, or construction of additions can drastically change the essential form and appearance of a structure. To an extent, this is understood to be part of the natural evolution of a building as it is adapted to changing needs. Modifications made during the period of significance are usually considered a vital part of a building's history; if modifications were made after the period of significance, and sensitive to the original design, a

building may still retain enough of its character-defining elements to show its significance.

Setting is the relationship of a property to its surrounding environment and its place in the broader streetscape. Redevelopment and infill construction, commercial or industrial encroachment into residential neighborhoods, widening of streets, construction of freeways, and proximity of poorly maintained properties and vacant buildings can all adversely impact integrity of setting.

Material is closely related to design; it refers to the original fabric and texture of a structure, evident in its walls and surfaces. The original materials of a building should be preserved and visible to the greatest extent possible; new materials used for repairs and maintenance should be similar to those that were used in the original construction. The loss of original materials is most evident in walls where brick masonry has been painted, stucco plaster has been applied over brick or concrete block, or metal or artificial siding materials have been mounted over exterior walls. Such applications are usually irreversible but do not necessarily make a property ineligible.

Workmanship is evidence of work of a skilled craftsman or artist represented in a structure. Such attributes are uncommon in twentieth century construction in Phoenix, but their presence would be an important factor in evaluating a building, particularly if they reflected an Asian cultural tradition.

Feeling is a quality of a building that continues to visually represent its historic form, function, and use. Evaluation should determine whether a resource can still be recognized as being the same structure that existed during the period of its significance, and whether it still looks like the same type of building, e.g., a grocery. The integrity of feeling associated with a building is particularly strong when the current use of a property is the same or similar to its historic use.

Association is the relationship of a property to the historic context under which it is being evaluated. An eligible property will have a specific tangible link to the people, events, or activities outlined in the historical narrative. A property's association with Asian Americans must be strong and direct, and not incidental or short term, i.e., it must have been built, owned, occupied, or used by Asian Americans for an adequate period of time, generally at least twenty years. A property which was associated with Asian Americans for less than twenty years would be considered ineligible unless a particularly important relationship could be demonstrated. For the purposes of this survey, association is one of the most important attributes in determining the integrity of a property.

The following discussion focuses on the primary associated property types and the registration requirements used to evaluate each type. In general, evaluation

of a property is based on a study of the primary façade, which should retain most of the essential physical features that made up its character or appearance during the period of significance, and on its association to the historic context *Asian Americans in Phoenix, 1870-1960*.

## COMMERCIAL PROPERTIES

By far, the most common commercial property type associated with Asian Americans is the grocery. While there were a few Japanese grocers, this property type is almost exclusively associated with the Chinese American community, a phenomenon unintentionally created by the terms of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. In the early 1950s, there were more than two hundred Chinese groceries in Phoenix; today, less than a quarter of these structures remain, but of those that do, most continue to be operated as neighborhood groceries.

The typical Chinese grocery was actually a mixed-use commercial-residential property; the grocer and his family lived in an apartment in the rear part of the store, or in a house in back of the grocery, on the same parcel, or to the side on an adjacent lot. These small, independent groceries were generally located within or adjacent to a residential neighborhood, usually on a corner lot or on a main street that borders a neighborhood. By 1950, they were well-dispersed throughout the city, from south of the Salt River to North of Camelback Road, between 40<sup>th</sup> Street and 35<sup>th</sup> Avenue.

The design of groceries was fairly standard: small, freestanding, one-story, 20<sup>th</sup> Century Commercial style structures with a broad façade facing the street. Common features include high parapet, cantilevered canopy extending across the full width of the façade, central or offset entry, and various arrangements of display windows, with few decorative elements. A slightly different design seen in several groceries has square box-like massing and a corner entry with a small canopy, or no canopy. Wall materials included brick, concrete block, and stucco.

A variety of signage types are used to identify the businesses, from painted lettering or three-dimensional lettering on the parapet to simple vinyl or paper banners mounted on a wall. A freestanding sign or large lighted displays are very rare. Only one type of Asian-inspired decorative feature has been noted -- a uniquely shaped parapet vaguely reminiscent of the curved upturned eaves of a Chinese bell tower. This element is very rare.

Another notable characteristic of these groceries is their placement at or near the front of the lot with little setback from the street. This is possibly due to the necessity of placing a residence at the back of the lot. As a result, there is often

limited off-street parking, but this was apparently not an important factor for the neighborhood grocery because many customers simply walked to the store.

There does not appear to be any consistent correlation between occupation, ownership, and design of these groceries. Chinese Americans were known to lease stores, buy existing buildings, or buy lots and build their own stores. However, the consistency of design suggests that the physical attributes of this property type are associated more with neighborhood grocery than Chinese grocery, and the Chinese character of the properties is due to the fact that Chinese Americans were dominant in the operation of neighborhood groceries in Phoenix.

Most of the remaining Chinese groceries have been altered in various ways since their construction. The most common changes are in the fenestration patterns of the façade. Large display windows are often filled completely or partially and replaced with smaller windows. Additionally, doors and windows may be covered with metal grills, bars, or other visible security features. Another often seen modification is the resurfacing of exterior walls, usually with stucco plaster applied over brick or concrete block. These types of modifications should not necessarily render a property ineligible because they are made largely as a result of a property's continued use as a neighborhood grocery, despite increasing crime rates in some older neighborhoods. Such adaptations offer a degree of protection from burglary, graffiti, and other forms of vandalism, as well as providing additional wall space needed for modern merchandising displays. A few of the extant groceries expanded their buildings, with structures constructed adjacent to the original, and the interior wall removed to provide wide access. Façades were modified to simulate the original appearance, while consolidating the addition.

While some impact on design and materials may be expected, an eligible grocery should not have been altered to such degree that its historic form and character is no longer evident. It should have strong integrity of location, setting, feeling and association. It is worth noting that most of these structures still function as neighborhood groceries or similar types of retail businesses, and many are now owned and/or operated by recent Asian immigrants from such countries as China, Korean, Vietnam, India, and Pakistan. Some continue to use their historic business name, even after changes in ownership. If a grocer's house was originally associated with a grocery, its loss would not automatically render the grocery ineligible, but its presence would increase the significance. Because of the importance of this property type, evaluation should take into consideration the age and strength of association of the resource.

Another important commercial property type is produce warehouse. The wholesale produce business was an integral part of the economic development

of all communities. As most Asian Americans worked either on truck farms or in groceries, they were both sellers and buyers of fresh produce. By its very nature, a produce warehouse is generally located adjacent to a rail line. An eligible property of this type would exhibit integrity of design and materials to the degree necessary to convey its identity as a warehouse, and its historic ownership and/or operation should be directly associated with Asian American individuals.

Restaurant is the third major commercial property type representative of the business opportunities that were available to Asian Americans in Phoenix. Two particular restaurants, the American Kitchen and Toy's Shangri-La, were large well-established businesses that gained prominence in the larger community, but they were exceptions; most Asian American restaurants were considerably smaller. The earliest restaurants owned and/or operated by Asian Americans offered typical American fare; it was not until after World War II that these businesses started featuring Asian cuisines on their menus.

Restaurants, more than other property types, tend to exhibit specialized and unique attributes. Particularly after World War II, a restaurant's function, menu and trademark identity were strongly represented in the building's design, decorative features, and signage. If a structure was later converted to a use other than a restaurant, or if it continued to function as a restaurant but with a different name and menu, it was typically remodeled to remove vestiges of its previous identity. Consequently, an eligible property must possess a high level of integrity of feeling and association. It must retain enough of its character defining features to convey its function as a restaurant and its unique historical identity.

There were other specific commercial property types associated with Asian Americans, such as produce stand, flower shop, laundry, pool hall, and garage, but no examples of these type that date to the period of significance are known to still exist.

## RESIDENTIAL PROPERTIES

Specific types of individual single-family houses may be potentially eligible under Criterion A for their association with the types of economic activities or settlement patterns in which Asian Americans were involved. A grocer's house, as previously mentioned, was typically located in back of or adjacent to a grocery. To be considered an eligible property, a grocer's house must not only retain its basic historic appearance, but the grocery with which it was associated must still exist and retain its integrity.

Considering the importance of agriculture to all Asian American groups, a farmhouse is a particularly significant and rare type of resource. With the few surviving examples of this property type, there has often been loss of agricultural

lands, related outbuildings, irrigation works (wells, pumps, canals, headgates, turnouts), and watch houses. Ideally, a property of this type should still possess some of these functional elements of a farm, but minimally, it must retain a sufficiently large lot and open space to be able to convey a sense of its original rural agricultural setting.

An individual single-family house may be potentially eligible under Criterion B if it is directly associated with a person who was important to the Asian American community during the period in which he or she attained importance. An eligible property must retain enough of its historic appearance -- i.e., integrity of design, setting, materials, and feeling -- from the period of its significance.

### OTHER PROPERTY TYPES

Additional property types may also qualify based on age, significance, and other factors. If extant, churches, schools, family association and benevolent society buildings, and folk art sites all may be eligible if they meet the requirements for Criterion A.



## EVALUATION

During the course of the field survey, 117 existing properties were identified. Listed below is a summary of recommendations regarding these properties based on evaluation according to the registration requirements:

? Previously listed on the Phoenix Register/National Register	5/6
? Potentially eligible as individual properties	11
	19
? Not eligible due to significance	25
? Not eligible due to integrity	69
? Not eligible due to age	4
	98

Table 8 provides additional analysis of the nineteen properties that are listed or recommended as eligible, broken down by cultural affiliation and property type.

Table 8 - Listed or Potentially Eligible Properties Associated with Asian Americans in Phoenix, 1870-1960	
Chinese - American 16 properties	? 10 commercial – grocery ? 2 commercial - produce warehouse ? 1 residential ? 1 residential - farm house ? 1 other type - church ? 1 other type - folk art site
Japanese - American 1 property	? 1 residential - farm house
Filipino - American 1 properties	? 1 residential
Asian Indian - American 1 properties	? 1 residential - farm house

Table 9 - Inventory List: Listed or Eligible Properties								
Phoenix Historic Property Register/National Registry of Historic Places Eligibility								
E - Individually Eligible LP - Listed Individually on Phoenix Register LN - Listed Individually on National Register CP - Listed as Contributor on Phoenix Register CN - Listed as Contributor on National Register								
Inv#	Property Name	Address	Year Built	E	LP	LN	CP	CN
1	Ah Gim Yaun Grocery	1002 South 4 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1920/1925	X		X		
2	D. H. Toy Residence	2222 East Pasadena Avenue	1951	X				
3	First Chinese Baptist Church	122 East Culver Street	1922	X	X			

4	Henry and Co.	1346 West Roosevelt Street	1928	X				
5	Jim Ong's Market	1110 East Washington Street	1928	X	X	X		
6	K. L. Tang Grocery	1141 East Buckeye Road	1942	X				
7	K. S. Tang Grocery / Superior Market	901 Northwest Grand Avenue	1914	X		X	X	X
8	Kunz-Carbajal Residence	1721 South 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1904	X	X			
9	Lee's Oriental Rock Garden	4015 East McDonald Drive	1958	X				
10	Modern Food Market	1737 East Washington Street	1948	X				
11	Nakagawa Residence (demolished)	4001 East Baseline Road	1930	X				
12	New Deal Market / O. D. Market	1003 East Sheridan Road	1928	X			X	X
13	Ong Farm	410 North 59 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	1930	X				
14	Ong Yut Geong Wholesale Market	121 East Buchanan Street	1926/1928	X	X	X		
15	Roland's Market	1505 East Van Buren Street	1917	X				
16	Singh Farm	3831 South 12 <sup>th</sup> Street	1930	X				
17	South Phoenix Market	4314 South Central Avenue	1948	X				
18	Sun Mercantile Co. Warehouse	230 South 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	1929	X	X	X		
19	T and T Market	2145 East Van Buren Street	1939	X				

Property Name	Address	Cultural Affiliation
Albert and Carmen Singh Farm House	3839 South 12 <sup>th</sup> Street	Asian Indian
C. S. Ong Residence	3019 East McKinley Street	Chinese
Cathay Garden	1320 North Central Avenue	Chinese
Cerilo D. and Lupe Legozo Residence	610 West Apache Street	Filipino
Cesario and Jennie Dawa Residence	520 West Apache Street	Filipino
Chin's Food Market (Chin)	1407 East Van Buren Street	Chinese
Ding Ho Inn	3625 North Central Avenue	Chinese
Dr. Edward Wong, MD, Residence	316 West Roosevelt Street	Chinese
Ernest Y. W. Dong Residence	1326 East Diamond Street	Chinese
Eugene and Francisca Principe Residence	823 South 5 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	Filipino
Frank and Lien Chow Residence	2413 West Monroe Street	Chinese
Fred M. Dong Residence	314 West Yavapai Street	Chinese
Henry Fong Residence	6630 South Montezuma Street	Chinese
Hom G. Ting Residence	1150 East Indian School Road	Chinese
Howard Wal Grocery	1144 East Indian School Road	Chinese
Howard's Market	924 East Roosevelt Street	Chinese

James Dong Residence	2046 West Sherman Street	Chinese
Jew Chee Residence	11 East Tonto Street	Chinese
Jew Lee Residence	2300 East Culver Street	Chinese
John Lamar/L. P. Magday Residence	602 West Apache Street	Filipino
John's Superette (Blue Moon)	2911 East Van Buren Street	Chinese
Roy W. Marr Residence	1022 East Mohave Street	Chinese
Sing Yee Jr. Grocery	2044 East Yale Street	Chinese
Tom Ting Residence	630 North 30 <sup>th</sup> Place	Chinese
W. W. Jones House	1008 East Buckeye Road	Filipino

<u>Property Name</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Cultural Affiliation</u>
(Chinese Clubhouse)	415 South 1 <sup>st</sup> Street	Chinese
A. K. Bacud Residence	609 West Mohave Street	Filipino
Ah Gee Grocery	1437 East Van Buren Street	Chinese
Bucap Residence	605 West Mohave Street	Filipino
Canyon State Market	902 North 24 <sup>th</sup> Street	Chinese
Central Market	903 North 16 <sup>th</sup> Street	Chinese
D. H. Toy House (I)	Southwest corner of 16 <sup>th</sup> Street and Camelback Road	Chinese
Dan's Food Market (Yee)	3505 East Thomas Road	Chinese
Doug Lee's Asia House	2310 East McDowell Road	Chinese
Empire Market	1223 West Buckeye Road	Chinese
Eugene and Francisca Principe Residence	1131 West Grant Street	Filipino
Everybody Grocery/Farmer's Super Market	6736 North 19 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	Chinese
Farinas House	617 West Mohave Street	Filipino
Gakachi H and Kamada Kobashigawa Residence	2201 East Indian School Road	Japanese
Galo Residence	1430 South 8 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	Filipino
George Wing Grocery	1126 South 4 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	Chinese
Golden Gate Grocery/Ben Brothers Market	1645 East Van Buren Street	Chinese
H and W Market	2145 West Jefferson Street	Chinese
Harry Tang Grocery/Dinner Bell Market	1250 West Buckeye Road	Chinese
Henry and Jack N. Yee Residence	2137 West Adams Street	Chinese
Hyde Park Market	101 North 27 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	Chinese
J. S. Gonzaga House	358 West Apache Street	Filipino
Jack's Grocery/Star Market	2101 West Adams Street	Chinese
James Wong Grocery/Hing Hong Grocery	1001 South 3 <sup>rd</sup> Street	Chinese
John S. Ngan Residence	3014 North 27 <sup>th</sup> Street	Chinese
John's Rancho Market	4441 South 15 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	Chinese
Kay's Market	1345 West Grant Street	Chinese

Table 11 - Continued

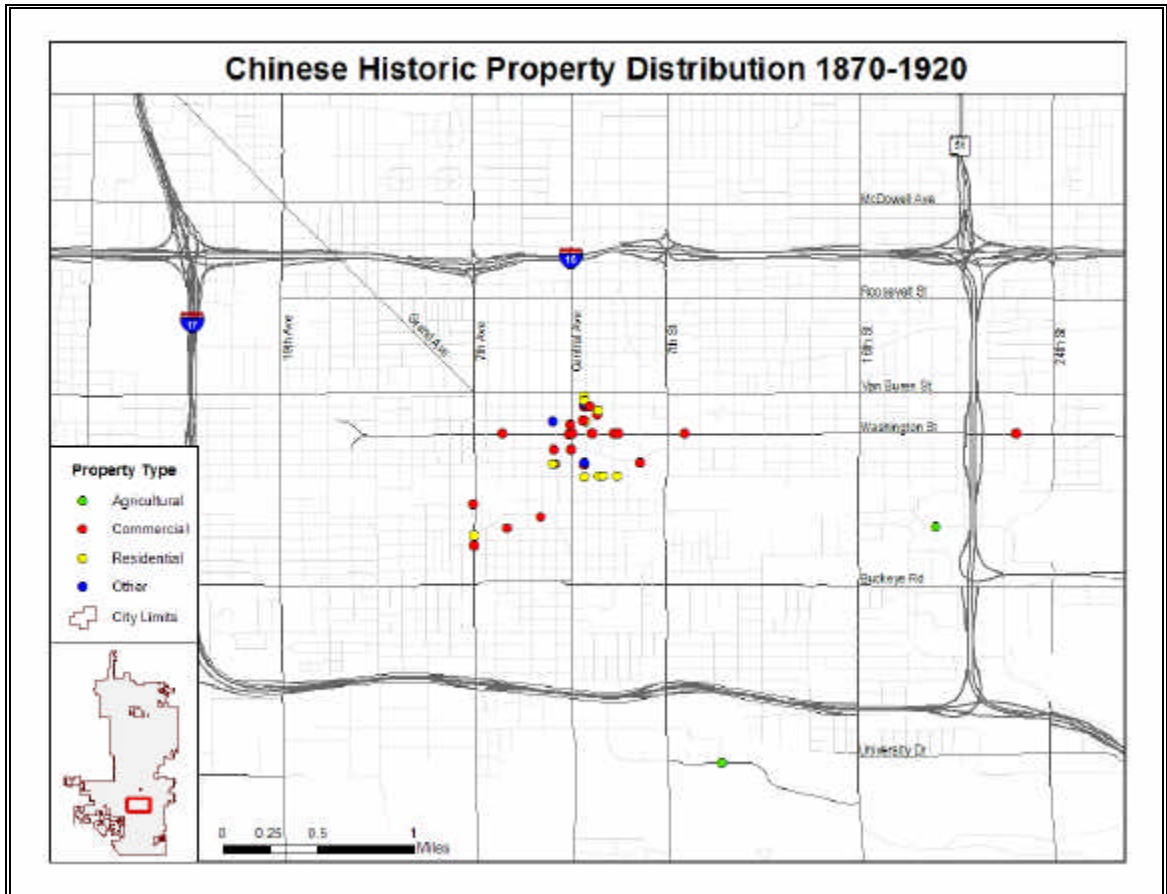
Keystone Market	3503 North 7 <sup>th</sup> Street	Chinese
King's Food Market/King's Pharmacy	2104 West Camelback Road	Chinese
L. J. Suk Grocery	1425 North 14 <sup>th</sup> Street	Chinese
Lee Jew Market	1501 East Washington Street	Chinese
Lung Yuen Market	808 East Washington Street	Chinese
Margarito Aleto House	906 West Mohave Street	Filipino
Mountain View Food Market	2337 East Indian School Road	Chinese
Market Center	516 North 35 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	Chinese
Martin's Market	1801 East Washington Street	Chinese
New Garden Restaurant	823 South Central Avenue	Chinese
New Moon Market/Minute Liquors	2355 South 16 <sup>th</sup> Street	Chinese
New Nanking Restaurant	1618 North 16 <sup>th</sup> Street	Chinese
New Town Market	1602 South 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	Chinese
New Village Market	1201 South 1 <sup>st</sup> Avenue	Chinese
Pete Borruga Residence	714 West Mohave Street	Filipino
Primitivo Vioria House	1628 South 5 <sup>th</sup> Street	Filipino
Purity Food Market	3205 East Washington Street	Chinese
Robert's Market	2002 East Madison Street	Chinese
S. H. Ong Grocery	1209 South 1 <sup>st</sup> Avenue	Chinese
Sam Kee Grocery	1101 West Grant Street	Chinese
Sam Kim Grocery/Fay's Market	1702 South 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	Chinese
Sleung Yee Grocery	724 South Central Avenue	Chinese
Soon's Market	5201 South 15 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	Chinese
Sun Valley Market	2445 West Washington Street	Chinese
T. D. Yuen Grocery	1869 East Van Buren Street	Chinese
Tang Shing Residence	1801 East McDowell Road	Chinese
Temporado House	3631 South 17 <sup>th</sup> Street	Filipino
Tip Top Market/Westward Market	2930 West Buckeye Road	Chinese
Toy's Shangri La Restaurant	1575 East Camelback Road	Chinese
Toy's Grocery	4846 North 16 <sup>th</sup> Street	Chinese
Village Market	3401 North 32 <sup>nd</sup> Street	
William H. Wong Residence	1708 West Van Buren Street	Chinese
William Tang Grocery/East Washington Market	2345 East Washington Street	Chinese
Williams Food Market	1716 West Van Buren Street	Chinese
Wing F. Ong Grocery & Law Office	1246 East Jefferson Street	Chinese
Wing's Restaurant/Ong Law Office	1617 East Thomas Road	Chinese
Wing's Grocery	417 West Sherman Street	Chinese
Wong's Market	1501 West Hadley Street	Chinese
WY Market	1819 West Buckeye Road	Chinese
Yabo Residence	1707 South 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue	Chinese
Yee Quinn Residence	2232 East Culver Street	Chinese
Ying Ong Grocery	1001 East Roosevelt Street	Chinese

Table 12 - Inventory List: Properties Not Eligible Due to Age		
<u>Property Name</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Cultural Affiliation</u>
Arizona Buddhist Temple	4142 West Clarendon Avenue	Japanese
Baseline Flower Growers	3801 East Baseline Road	Japanese
Japanese Free Methodist Church	4143 North 43 <sup>rd</sup> Avenue	Japanese
Watanabe Flower Garden	1031 West Baseline Road	Japanese

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A - MAP SUMMARIES

Text by Daniel D. Arreola, PhD., School of Geographical Sciences, Arizona State University. Maps by Olivia Montalvo, McNair Scholar, School of Geographical Sciences, Arizona State University.



MAP I. CHINESE HISTORIC PROPERTY DISTRIBUTION, 1870-1920

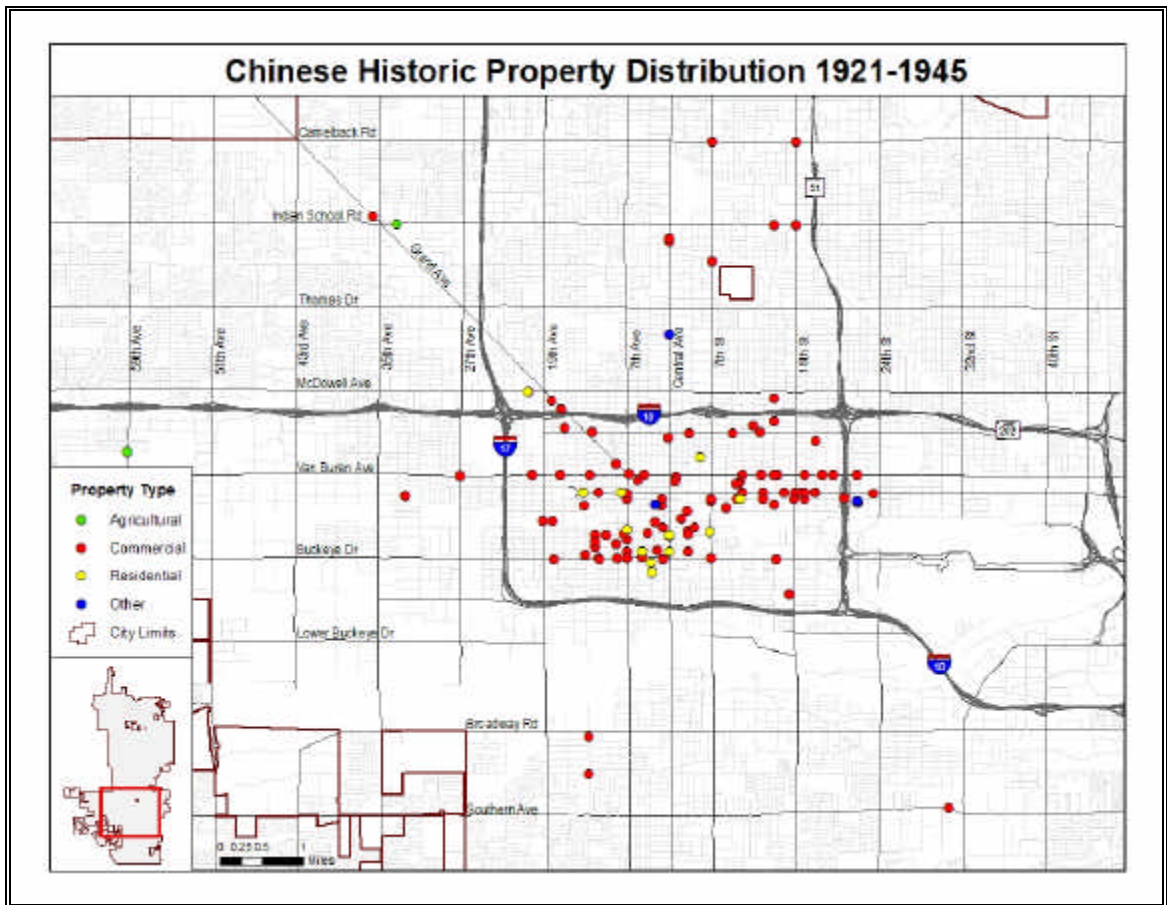
The earliest Chinese in Phoenix drifted into the Salt River Valley in the late 1870s having worked on the extension of the Southern Pacific Railroad into Arizona from California. Map I illustrates the nodes of concentration for this early population. Because early Chinese immigrants were prohibited from owning land or real estate, all resided on leased properties at this time. A few established themselves as truck farmers, essentially vegetable gardeners—an agricultural enterprise that has engaged overseas Chinese historically in many parts of the world. On Map I, the distribution of agricultural properties south of Buckeye Road near 7<sup>th</sup> Street and Buckeye Road, east of 16<sup>th</sup> Street illustrate this type of activity.

More common, however, were small commercial businesses evident on Map I by the cluster of properties between 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue and 7<sup>th</sup> Street and north and south

between Van Buren and Washington streets. These locations were chiefly restaurants, groceries, and other neighborhood services. As discussed in the text of this report, most Chinese in Phoenix during this era resided above, behind, or near these leased commercial properties, oftentimes in the same building. The residential properties shown on Map I suggest the small number of distinct dwellings occupied by Chinese independent of a commercial property.

The relative concentration of these property types—commercial and residential—also captures the spatial extent of the two Chinatowns that emerged in this early history of downtown Phoenix and illustrated above in the details of Sanborn Fire Insurance maps (Figure 2 and Figure 3). The scatter of commercial properties along Washington Street — an early streetcar line — mirrors the locations of many Chinese restaurants in downtown Phoenix (Table 1).



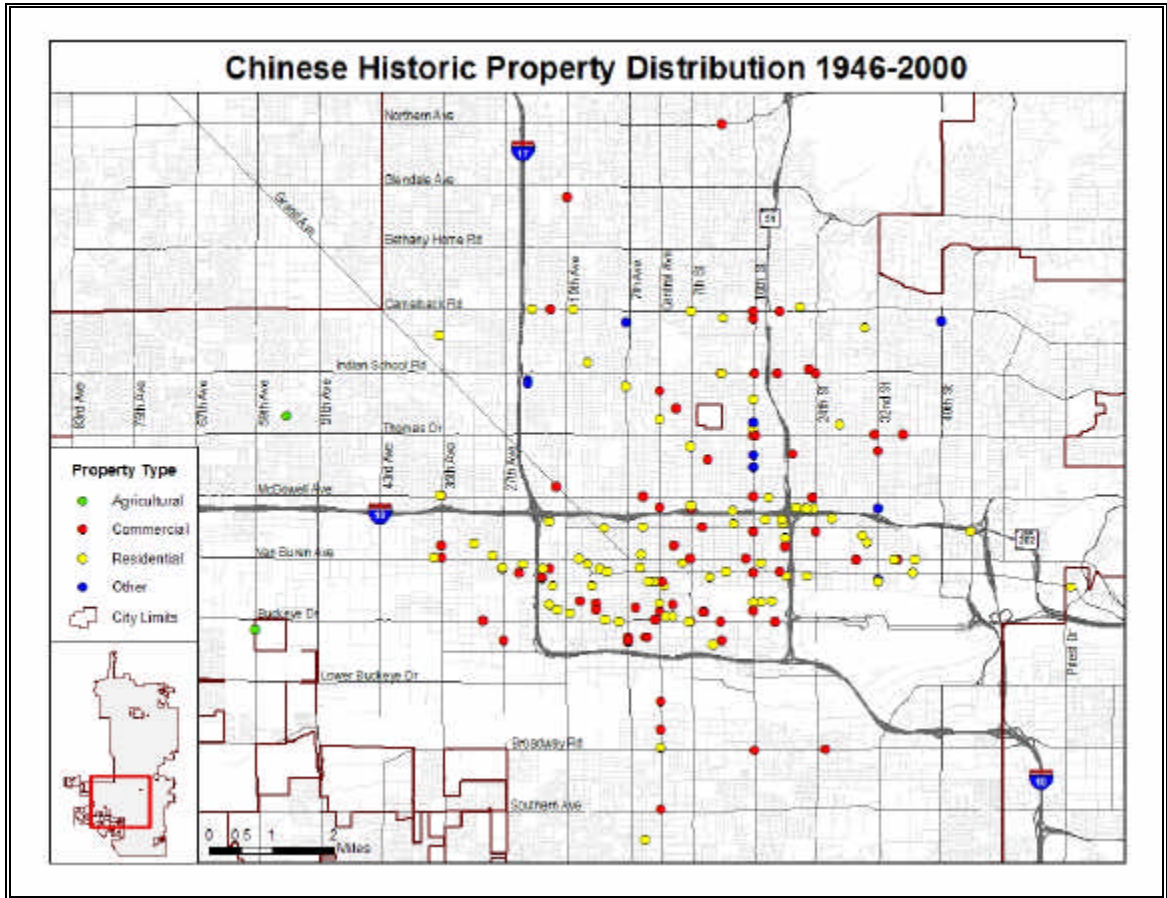


**MAP II. CHINESE HISTORIC PROPERTY DISTRIBUTION, 1921-1945**

Map II illustrates the explosion of Chinese properties that resulted from the growth of Chinese population in Phoenix during this era. Chinese especially came to monopolize neighborhood groceries in a roughly 2 x 6 square mile zone between 19<sup>th</sup> Avenue and 24<sup>th</sup> Street, and between McDowell and Buckeye roads. The number of Chinese who operated groceries in Phoenix grew from thirty-four in 1921 to fifty-three just eight years later in 1929 (Table 2).

Many of these Chinese grocers operated and serviced predominantly Hispanic (Mexican) and African American neighborhoods of south central Phoenix. As discussed in the text of this document, Phoenix Chinese businessmen during this era established contacts with wholesale suppliers in Los Angeles and San Francisco that enabled them to expand the grocery business in Phoenix.

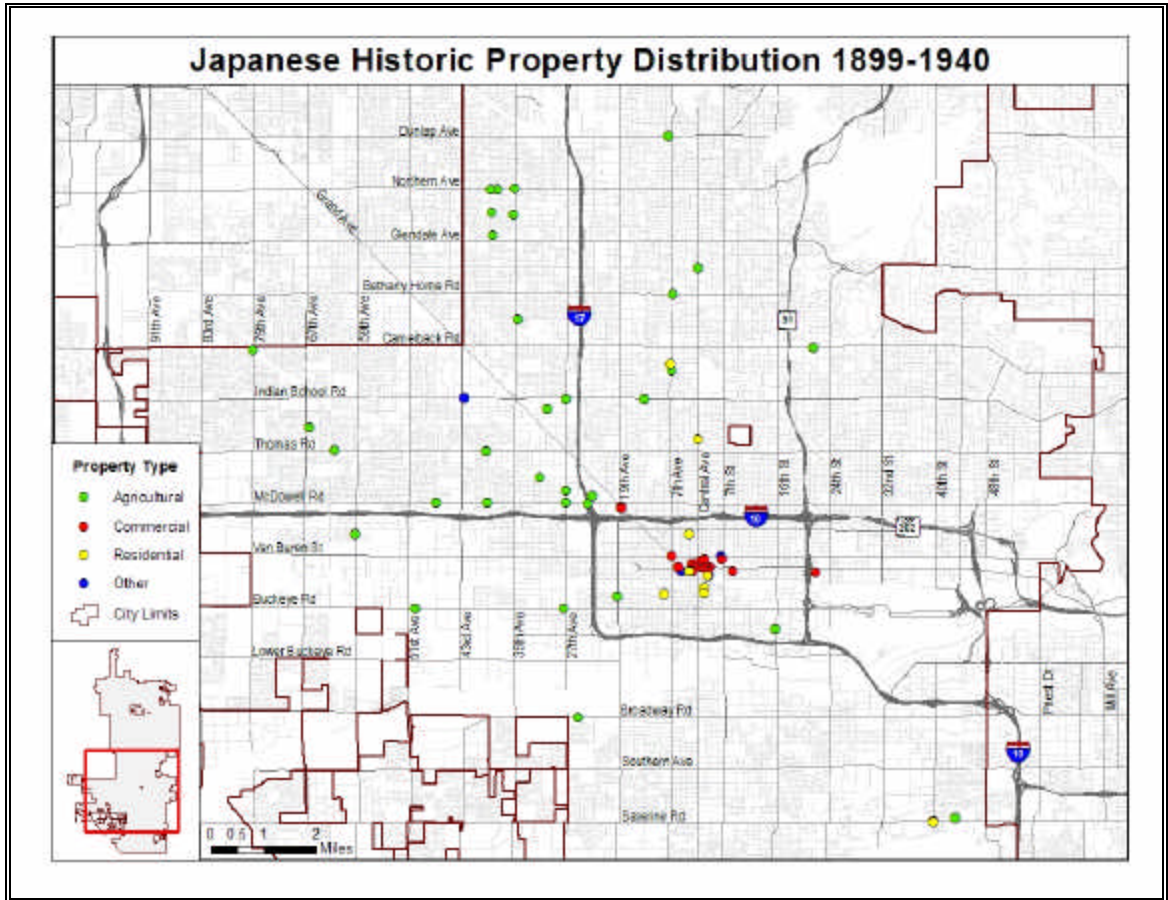
Between 1921 and 1945, as evident from this map, a few pioneering Chinese entrepreneurs were able to locate commercial properties north along Indian School and Camelback Roads between Central Avenue and 16<sup>th</sup> Street. The small number of residential properties on this map reinforces how most Chinese in Phoenix during this time were still forced to live above or behind their businesses as restrictions on property ownership were still in place in this era.



**MAP III. CHINESE HISTORIC PROPERTY DISTRIBUTION, 1946-2000**

The areal explosion of Chinese across Phoenix is well illustrated in Map III. Chinese properties are now seen beyond the central southern zone of the city as witnessed in the previous era.

The number of Chinese groceries in Phoenix likely reached its zenith in 1950 when some two hundred such businesses were scattered across the city from Northern to Southern Avenues between 35<sup>th</sup> Avenue and 32<sup>nd</sup> Street. However, the most instructive change in property distributions evident on Map III is the greater number of residential properties — circa one hundred — that color this view of Phoenix. The removal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, immigration of new Chinese after WWII, and returning Chinese veterans from that war meant that Chinese in Phoenix were now free to own and occupy residential properties.



**MAP IV. JAPANESE HISTORIC PROPERTY DISTRIBUTION, 1899-1940**

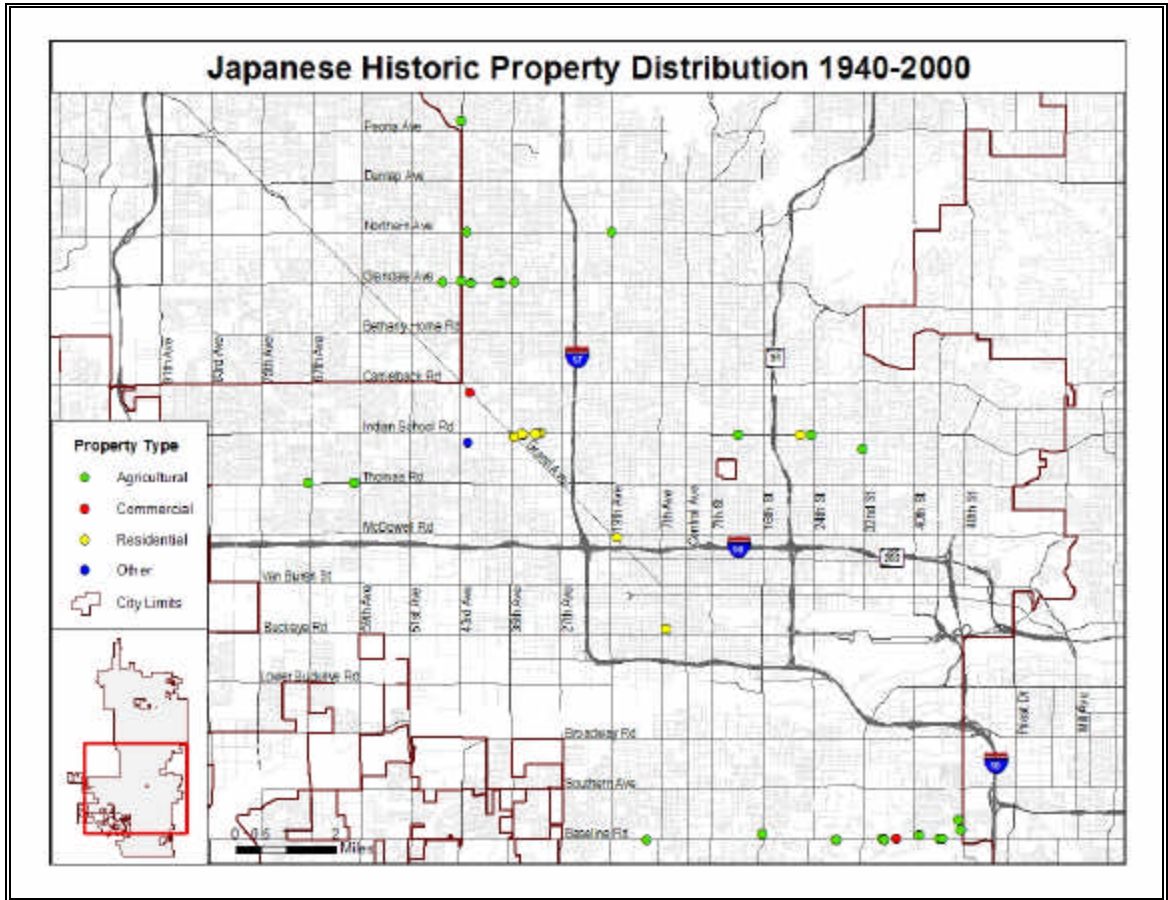
The earliest significant population of Japanese in the Salt River Valley came to Glendale to work sugar beet farms and a factory. After the 1915 collapse of that experiment, Japanese founded truck farms on leased land in northwest Phoenix. Map IV illustrates this scatter of Japanese operated farms as agricultural properties. Japanese truck farmers here and across the valley were responsible for the first commercial production of cantaloupes, tomatoes, strawberries, and lettuce.

A second agricultural innovation introduced to the Phoenix area by Japanese during the 1930s was cut flower farming along Baseline Road near 40<sup>th</sup> Street.

The third cluster on Map IV is the commercial properties in the warehouse district south of downtown Phoenix where several Japanese engaged wholesale produce businesses among other neighborhood services during the 1930s.

Japanese like the early Chinese who came to Phoenix before them were prohibited by law from owning property. Typically, properties were leased, and Japanese resided on farms at or near businesses, illustrated by the residential

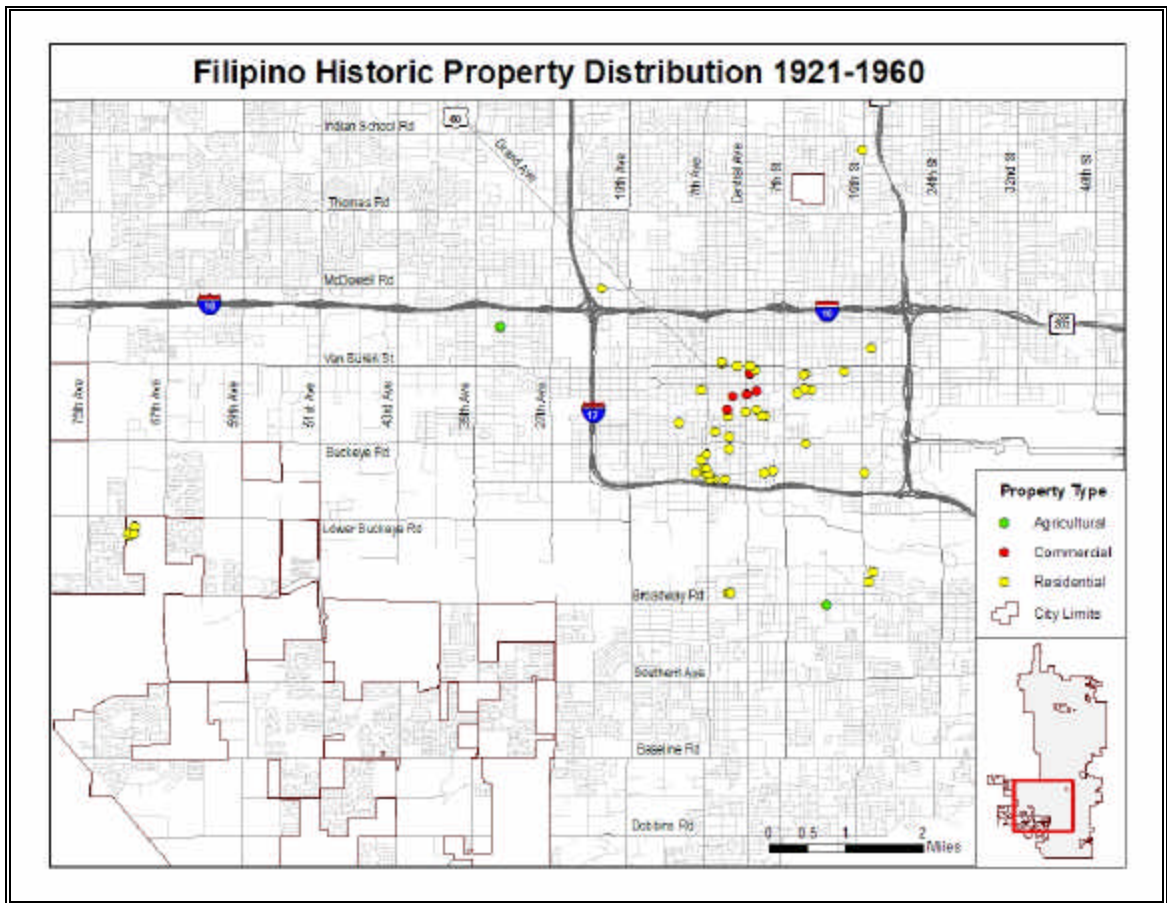
cluster surrounding the commercial properties between Van Buren and Buckeye roads.



**MAP V. JAPANESE HISTORIC PROPERTY DISTRIBUTION, 1940-2000**

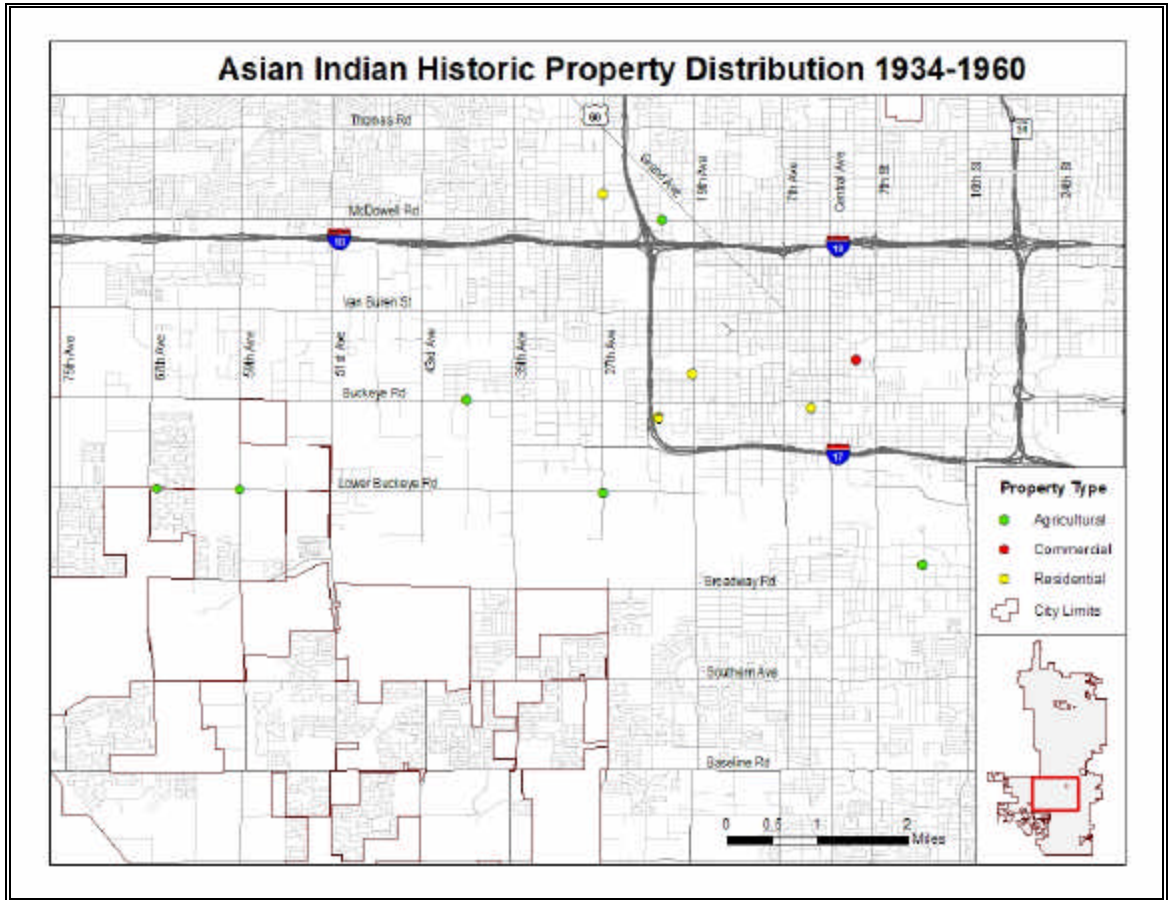
After World War II, many Japanese returned to Phoenix from internment camps across the western United States. The repeal of the Alien Land Law that prohibited them from owning property before the war permitted Japanese to found new properties and carry on as truck farmers and flower gardeners in northwest Phoenix and especially along Baseline Road in South Phoenix.

During this era, Japanese temporary workers began to reside near 35<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Indian School Road, creating a node that would emerge as the core of Japanese population in Phoenix.



**MAP VI. FILIPINO HISTORIC PROPERTY DISTRIBUTION, 1921-1960**

Filipinos in Phoenix developed two residential concentrations: one in central south Phoenix where many intermixed with Hispanic residents, and in a small cluster called Santa Maria outside of the city limits at 70<sup>th</sup> Avenue and Lower Buckeye Road.



MAP VII. ASIAN INDIAN HISTORIC PROPERTY DISTRIBUTION, 1934-1960

Asian Indians, chiefly Sikhs, became engaged in agricultural industries both as laborers and as a prominent business wholesaler, hence the dominance of agricultural properties on the periphery of Map VII and the single commercial property.

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