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.[61]

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.[62]

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.[63]

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[61] 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.

[62] Ibid.

[63] 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.[64]

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.[65]

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.[66]

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

[64] 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.
[65] 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.
[66] 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.[67]

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.[68]

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.[69]

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[67] Ichihachi, *Japanese in the United States*, 179-183, 192; McMillen, "Japanese Americans in Arizona," 13, 23.

[68] 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.

[69] 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.[70]

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.[71] 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.[72]

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.[73]

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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[70] 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.

[71] 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 Hatchero Ohnick, a closer approximation.

[72] 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.

[73] 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.[74]

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.[75]

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.[76]

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.[77]

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[74] Ibid.
[75] Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 671-680, 700-701; Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County," 7.
[76] Ibid.
[77] 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.[78]

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.[79]

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].

[78] Ibid.

[79] 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.[80]

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.[81]

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.[82]

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.[83]

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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[80] 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.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.

Eventually, the Arizona Supreme Court dismissed every case that was brought against Japanese growers and their allies.[84]

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.[85]

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.[86]

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; Kajiuro 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 36th 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.[87]

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

[84] 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.
[85] Sato, "Before Pearl Harbor," 328-331; Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County," 11-12; Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 688-698.
[86] Ibid.
[87] *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.[88]

Table 4 -- Japanese Agricultural Leases in Phoenix

Property Name	Address/Location	Date
S. Matayoshi Farm	Northeast of McDowell Road and 23rd Avenue	1911
S. Toyama Farm	Southwest of 23rd 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 24th 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 16th Street and Mohave streets	1917
M. Kabata and D. Nishida Farm	Northeast of McDowell Road and 27th Avenue	1918
Takuta Nisheme and Kishuro Nikata Farm	Southwest of 31st Avenue and Encanto Boulevard	1918
H. O. Kaneko Farm	Northwest of 7th 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 7th 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 47th 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

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

Table 4 -- Continued		
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 24th Street	1942
Source: *Lease Books*, 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.[89]

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.[90]

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 2nd 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 2nd and Madison streets. The Six-Points Garage was operated by Henry Yoshiga at the junction of McDowell Road and 19th and Grand avenues. By 1940, there

[89] Federal Census, 1900, 1910; Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 675; *Lease Books*, MCR.
[90] Ibid.

was also the Y. Shigemune Billiard Hall at 129 South 2nd Street and the Heijiro Nakano Restaurant at 616 West Van Buren Street.[91]

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.[92]

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

[91] City Directories, 1931, 1940; George Kishiyama, interviewed by Karen Leung, 28 September, 16, 23 October 2006, ASU Asian and Pacific American Studies.
[92] *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 3rd 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.[93]

A ten-acre site at the southeast corner of Indian School Road and 43rd 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.[94]

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 2nd Street.[95]

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 43rd Avenue, across the

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[93] *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.

[94] Ibid.

[95] 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 43rd Avenue and Indian School Road had become the social and cultural center for the Japanese community in Phoenix.[96]

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

[96] 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.[97]

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.[98]

[97] Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County," 18; Matsumoto, "Shikata ga nai," 15; Iwata, *Planted in Good Soil*, 675; Phoenix City Directory, 1909.
[98] 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.[99]

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.[100]

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.[101]

[99] Michiko Tadano letter to Vince Murray, 14 March 2007. Hayden Library, Arizona State University.
[100] Toru Tanita interviewed by Christina Wong with Vince Murray, 10 March 2007.
[101] 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.[102]

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 19th 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 18th 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.[103]

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.[104]

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[102] 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.

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

[104] 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."[105]

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

[105] *50th 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.[106]

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.[107]

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.[108]

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.[109]

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

[106] Toru Tanita interview (2007).
[107] 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.
[108] Mino Inoshita, interviewed by Scott Solliday, 27 October 2006.
[109] 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.[110]

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 35th Avenue and Orangewood Avenue; they later bought a forty-acre parcel on the southwest corner of 59th 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 59th Avenue and Thomas (Road). It was like a clan and we were all unified by the farm life.[111]

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.[112]

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[110] 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.

[111] William K. Tadano, interviewed by Doris Asano, 15 December 2004, Japanese Americans in Arizona Oral History Project, Arizona State University.

[112] 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.[113]

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 63rd 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 40th avenues, and continued to farm that land until 1965.[114]

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.[115]

[113] Tom Inoshita interview (2006); Mino Inoshita interview (2006); George Kishiyama interviews (2006).
[114] Tom Inoshita interview (2006).
[115] 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.[116]

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 36th 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 30th and 48th 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.[117]

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[116] Ibid.

[117] 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 3rd 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

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. . . .[118]

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.[119]

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.[120]

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 24th Street and Camelback Road.[121]

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 43rd Avenue and Indian School

[118] George Kishiyama interview (2006).
[119] Ibid.; Tom Inoshita interview (2006).
[120] 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.
[121] 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 27th and 35th 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.[122]

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.[123]

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

[122] Walz, "The Issei Community in Maricopa County," 18; Tom Inoshita interview (2006); Mino Inoshita interview (2006).
[123] 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."[124]

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.[125]

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

[124] Yoshiju Kimura, *Arizona Sunset* (Glendale: Y. Kimura, 1980) 46-51; Mas Inoshita interview (2003).
[125] 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.[126]

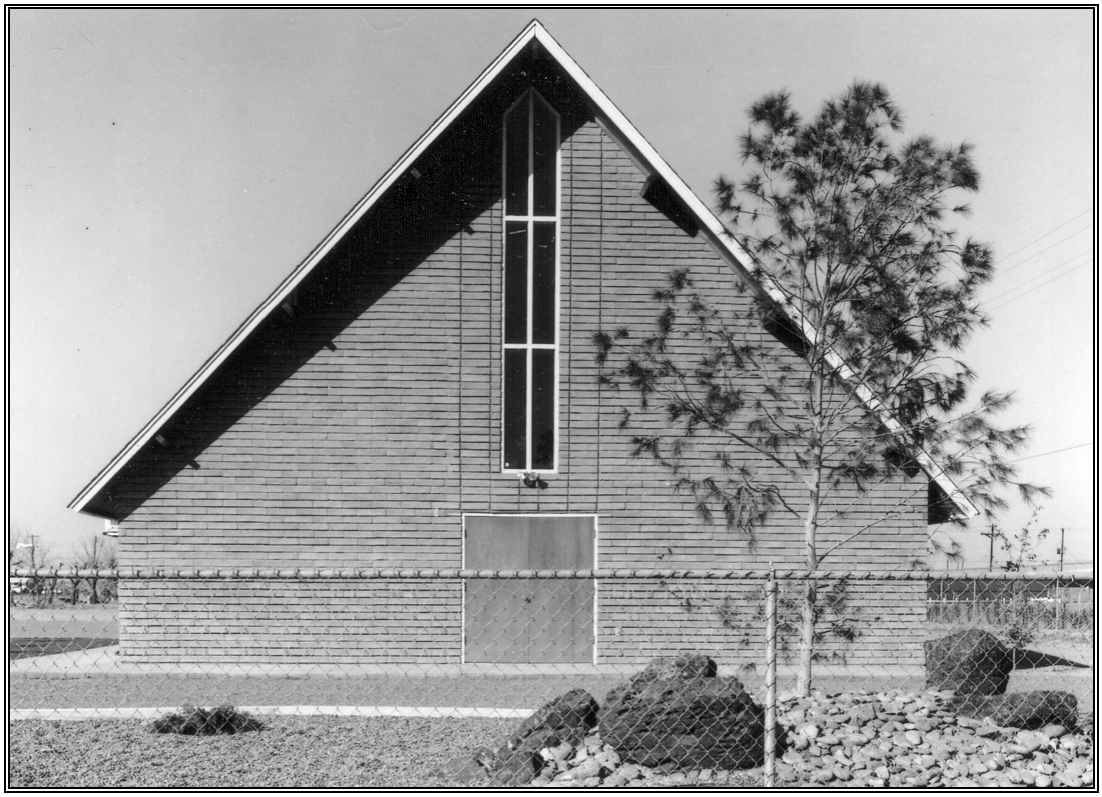

Figure 22. Arizona Buddhist Temple, ca. 1962. Copyright by the Arizona Buddhist Temple. Used with permission.

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.

Table 5 - Japanese in Phoenix, 1880-1950

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Phoenix population	1,708	3,152	5,544	11,134	29,053	48,118	65,414	106,818
# of Japanese			7	41	27	44	44	22
% of Japanese			.13%	.37%	.09%	.09%	.07%	.02%

Source: *Federal Census*, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950.

[126] 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.