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FEMININE IDENTITY CONFINED:
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF JAPANESE WOMEN AT AMACHE,
A WWII INTERNMENT CAMP

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Denver

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Dana Ogo Shew
June 2010
Advisor: Dr. Bonnie J. Clark

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Author: Dana Ogo Shew

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Degree Date: June 2010

Abstract

In 1942, approximately 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry were evacuated from the West Coast to ten different internment camps in the interior of the United States. One of these camps was the Granada Relocation Center, otherwise known as Amache, located in southeastern Colorado. Through the analysis of archaeological material, archival documents, and oral histories, this thesis explores the experiences of Japanese American women interned at Amache. Feminine identity was greatly changed and redefined during confinement. These changes in feminine identity are examined in the public and private arenas of daily life within confinement. The construction of new and altered individual and community identities are also explored. By examining how feminine identity was both changed as well as maintained during confinement, many differences between generations of Japanese women are exposed. Commonalities and similarities are also revealed that ultimately highlight the great adaptability, resilience, and perseverance of Japanese women in confinement.

Acknowledgements

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An initial thank you goes to the pioneers of internment archaeology whose previous archaeological work at Amache and other internment camps informed the research design and provided insights into internment concepts and themes, creating a strong foundation from which to begin my own research process.

The Amache Preservation Society and their tireless leader, John Hopper, deserve many thanks not only for their assistance in this project but for the excellent work they have done and continue to do towards the preservation and conservation of Amache. The Town of Granada has also played an instrumental role in the care of the site and was a more than gracious host during the Amache field school. The residents and the community leaders of Granada have a wonderful sense of hospitality as well as an inspiring amount of involvement and interest in Amache. Many thanks to the participants and volunteers in the field school whose physical strength and heat tolerance made it possible to collect an outstanding amount of data. Special thanks to volunteer and former internee, Gary Ono, whose eagerness and willingness to participate was inspiring to the whole crew. His presence at the field school helped personalize the research process, provided a valuable perspective, and reminded us of whose story we sought to tell.

The support of the Japanese American community has also been a significant component of my research. Active local Japanese American organizations like the Milehi JACL chapter and the Japan America Society of Southern Colorado have shown support for the research endeavors of the DU Amache Project by collaborating and promoting community events.

The community of former Amache internees has also played an important role in my research process. Many thanks go to the Amache Historical Society (AHS) for graciously including me and my colleagues in their events and reunions. Thank you to AHS president, Minoru Tonai, for promoting my research and helping me arrange interviews with members of his organization. His passion for educating the public about Japanese internment and his commitment to telling the story of Amache helped bring awareness of my project to many former internees.

It is the voices of the former internees that have influenced and shaped my project the most. I am endlessly grateful to all of the former internees that welcomed me into their homes and shared their stories, memories, photographs, and mementos. Their contributions to my thesis have proven invaluable and I truly enjoyed the time I spent with them. I thank them for their participation and generosity as well as for being the inspiration and reason for doing this research. It is their story we tell and their past we remember.

Thank you to Bonnie Clark for recognizing the importance and significance of Amache and for her commitment to continued research, education, and preservation of the site. I am very grateful for the opportunity to be a part of the DU Amache Project. I also owe Bonnie many thanks for her countless hours of guidance and editing as my advisor and mentor. The knowledge she has shared, the qualities of leadership she has shown---professionalism, passion, flexibility, and humor, and the magic she works with a green pen will always be appreciated. My classmate, colleague, and friend, April Kamp-Whittaker, also deserves my gratitude and appreciation. The development and execution of this project would not have been possible without her collaboration, her willingness to share ideas, and her boundless energy. I truly appreciate all of her help and am proud of the academic partnership our years of working together have created.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The U.S. government's internment of nearly 120,000 people of Japanese descent during World War II seems like an incident that would be difficult to not know about. However many Americans still have little to no knowledge of this significant part of America's recent history. Even those aware of the event remain ignorant about the details of internment including the constitutional aspects, the economic impacts, the locations of the camps and assembly centers, and most importantly the affect it had on the lives of the displaced Japanese. Though there has been great progress in the decade and a half since my high school U.S. history book featured only one paragraph on Japanese internment, much work still needs to be done in promoting public education and awareness. The archaeological body of work on internment has also grown significantly in recent years. However there are still gaps and untapped research potentials that need to be addressed and filled. One of these gaps that my research hopes to fill is the story of women at camp as told through archaeology, the documentary record, and oral histories.

In many ways the Japanese internment story is largely the story of women and children. Many men were living apart from their families at work camps, Department of Justice camps, in the military or on temporary leave working on farms outside of camp. Women comprised a large percentage of camp populations and they made their presence known by being active, contributing members of camp society. The details of their story, changes they endured, embraced, and resisted, are important aspects that deserve explicit

attention. Their perspective and experience help paint a more complete picture of what camp life was like.

My research aims to contribute to this fuller, more complete understanding of camp life by looking at the experiences of women at one of the relocation centers, Amache. As one of ten relocation centers, Amache represents only a portion of the internment story, however the themes and consistencies found through research there can easily be found at other camps as well. Yet many differences also exist, highlighting the uniqueness of each relocation center. Searching for comparisons between camps draws attention to the fact that more research needs to be conducted at more internment related sites. The more research that is available for comparison will enrich understandings of each camp's distinctiveness. Understanding each camp's unique characteristics is pivotal in the recognition of common themes and reactions consistently found amongst camps that help to generalize the overall internment experience.

It is clearly important to me to pursue an avenue of research that will expand and broaden the current body of work, exemplified by my effort to voice the often untold story of women in camp. But there have also been personal motivations that have fueled my desire to research this subject. I initially embarked on this research journey with expectations of solidifying and validating my own self identity.

As a granddaughter of a former internee, I grew up hearing stories about my grandmother's childhood memories of "camp." Sleeping on a mattress stuffed with hay in a horse stall, a two day ride in a dilapidated train with the window shades down, an abundance of mess hall apple butter which is directly responsible for her current distaste for the condiment, and being rebuffed by a best friend upon her return to California were

the events that I thought defined my grandmother's internment experience. I'm sure I was told plenty of other stories detailing important moments and memories of her time at Utah's internment camp, Topaz, but as a child there were only a few stories like the ones above that made an impression. These few stories, that barely sketched a picture of life in confinement, stayed with me as I grew up. As a teenager, when my grandmother felt I was old enough, she began to supplement these stories with brief lessons on the legality of internment, which revealed glimpses of bitterness and anger that had gradually surfaced since the injustices of internment were publicly discussed during the fight for redress in the 1980s. I felt like this fully rounded out my knowledge of internment. So as an adult, I was confident that I *knew* about Japanese internment. When the opportunity to archaeologically research an event that I felt I already had an intimate knowledge and understanding of presented itself, it was one that I could not pass up. The research experience, however, has revealed much more than I could have ever anticipated. It has opened my eyes to how much I did not know, how much there was to learn, how much there is still to learn, and how important it is to teach.

My role as an anthropologist researching a population with which I share a cultural heritage and history turned out to be more complicated than I had imagined. There were biases and preconceived notions to recognize, there were theories and ideas about power and authority to consider, and there were issues of personal identity and belonging to acknowledge. The sometimes gradual, sometimes sudden, and sometimes subtle ways in which these issues presented themselves to me during the research and writing process made it clear that I was indeed involved in a process. As issues I had at the beginning of the process were resolved, new ones would surface, and as those were

dealt with, more issues would reveal themselves, and so on. This almost constant revision of thought and perspective has not only humbled me and broadened my consciousness but hopefully it has helped to make my research as equally open minded and inclusive.

The degree to which my thinking and understanding of internment has evolved through the research process can be measured by the changes that have been made to my research questions. My initial research goals aimed to explore the female experience at Amache by exposing differences between women at camp based on generation and geographic location. My initial research questions were narrow and limiting and focused on divisive differences rather than commonalities. In retrospect it seems clear that my initial questions were an unconscious attempt to reconcile differences between information I might find during research with the preconceived notions I had about the internment experience. Would discrepancies between data and my personal understanding of internment invalidate all of my previous knowledge? What will I do if I find evidence in the archaeological record that contradicts my grandma's stories? What if oral histories from other former internees reveal attitudes that completely oppose those of my grandma? If I found that things were different than I had grown up believing then all of the facts and perspectives I had used to construct my own identity as a Japanese Chinese American woman would be subject to redefinition. If, however, the female internment experience could be neatly broken down into well defined categories not only would discrepancies be explained but neat linear lines could be drawn between who Japanese women were during confinement and who all Japanese American women are today, validating my own self identity. It would be great if the archaeology, the documentary record, and oral histories all conformed to precise categories defined by

generation or urban and rural sensibilities. My determination to avoid self examination and redefinition made me embarrassingly blind to how unrealistic this expectation was.

It was the nature of the process to let me gradually discover the short comings and insincerity of my initial research questions. In the field, my colleague and co-crew chief, April Kamp-Whittaker, and I walked our survey lines ready to expose all of those differences we expected between urban and rural, and *Issei* and *Nisei*. But what subtly revealed itself more than the differences we sought were similarities and consistencies. During oral history interviews I made my recordings and took my notes anticipating blatant differences between former internees from the country versus those from the city. But once again it was the small commonalities that could be consistently threaded through the data. Repeated failed attempts to make the data and my preconceived hypotheses make sense together finally forced me to realize what the data was actually saying and made me honestly question my initial intentions. When I approached my advisor with the tragic news that I was not seeing the differences between groups I had anticipated, she simply said, “Well that tells you something too”.

It certainly did. It told me that the common bonds between Japanese women at camp such as tradition, resilience, and strength, were mightier than their differences. Acknowledging these commonalities gave women in camp the agency and credit they deserved. My eyes finally opened to this perspective, I changed my research questions to incorporate these common qualities and to explore the similarities and the differences that existed between the reactions all women had to confinement. The new direction in my research forced me to acknowledge how much I did not know and helped me narrow down the details of my gap in knowledge. Much of what was missing in my

understanding of internment were the details of daily life. Exploring the experience of women through the small details of daily life adds an aspect of understanding that often gets ignored in favor of bigger, broader concepts. Yet it is these small details that make up the necessary components used to build understandings of broad ideas. These details of everyday life were the missing pieces in my grandmother's internment story. These details of daily living expose cultural, generational, geographical similarities *and* differences. They reveal trends, anomalies, and leave the door open for variation based on the human characteristic of individuality. Looking at the small details of daily life at Amache made the discrepancies between my grandmother's experience and those from Amache just as relevant and interesting as the similarities.

Instead of dismantling and destroying the Japanese American identity I had spent my life building, my new research perspective added a depth to my understanding of self. Redefining my Japanese identity was not a tragic loss but an opportunity to grow. Once I acknowledged how much I did not know about "being Japanese" I became free to learn and explore. With this freedom came an acceptance that negates the need to prove or defend or hide my Japanese Chinese American feminine identity.

Issues of identity revealed by my research of Japanese internment are ones not only specific to my own personal journey, but are relevant to all Japanese Americans. The WWII internment of people of Japanese descent is an event that has undoubtedly played a role in the construction of Japanese American identity today. It is not the goal of my research, however, to try to define or simplify the connections between internment and issues of Japanese American identity as a whole. The results of my research provide insights into the general experiences of Japanese women at camp, which in turn suggest

broad connections between internment and current Japanese female identity. My goal is to provide a detailed look at the daily lives of women in camp, to foster a better understanding of their experience, and to give further dimension to the current body of work on internment.

Another objective that works in tandem with my research goals is that of education. Internment is not only an important part of Japanese American history, but it is an important event in American history as well. Seen as one of the “blights” in our country’s history, internment is a subject that has historically been easily ignored and overlooked. Though much progress has been made in educating the public about this event, more work can always be done. Many people across this country and the world still know little or nothing about Japanese internment. It is important to continue to educate the public about this part of our history to ensure that similar mistakes and injustices are not repeated. In the fight for civil rights this event can easily act as an important cautionary tale. The lessons that can be learned from this event are just as relevant today as they were sixty years ago. It is an event that should not be forgotten, especially in a political and social climate in which civil liberties continue to be threatened.

I hope that in some small way my research will contribute to a heightened awareness about Japanese internment both in the general public and in the archaeological community. As the importance and relevance of this event is more widely recognized by the public, more archaeological research will hopefully be conducted which will in turn feed back into public understanding and appreciation of this significant event in American history.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Before World War II

The history of the Japanese in the United States begins over 100 years ago. The first immigrants from Japan, like so many immigrants that came before them, came to America searching for economic opportunities and success. In pursuit of these dreams, the first Japanese immigrants established communities, families, and connections to a country that over five generations of Japanese have continued to call home.

An era of industrial and military expansion in Japan beginning in the late 19th century, known as the Meiji Restoration, had negative effects on many of its citizens, especially farmers and agriculturalists (Ng 2002). In order to fund the country's modernization, the Japanese government imposed increasingly high taxes on land which forced many land owners into deep debt or caused them to lose their property. Opportunities to work as laborers in the United States provided alternatives to the difficult situations faced by many in Japan. Known as *wataridori*, or sojourners, many of the young men that left for America had hopes of quickly making large sums of money and then returning home to help their families (Murase 1983). Many young men also immigrated to the United States in order to avoid new laws that required military service from all men of an eligible age, laws which Japan established in an effort to expand and

strengthen their military power against impending American and British imperialism (Matsueda 2006a; Ng 2002).

The Japanese that emigrated from Japan to the United States were geographically concentrated on Hawaii and the west coast, specifically in California, Oregon, and Washington. By 1900 42 percent of the continental Japanese population resided in California and by 1930 it had risen to 70 percent (Takaki 1998). Despite their class level or occupations in Japan, the Japanese immigrants filled manual labor positions in the railroad, agriculture, timber, manufacturing, and service industries (Ng 2002). Though they only represented a tiny percentage of the population on the Pacific Coast, the Japanese quickly became viewed as competition and became targets for racial discrimination and prejudice.

The new immigrants arrived in America during a climate of existing anti-Asian sentiment largely focused on the Chinese immigrants that had come before them. Once the Japanese immigrants settled on the Pacific Coast they faced much of the same type of discriminatory treatment that the Chinese dealt with. Name calling, violence, segregation, and laws that were established to thwart upward mobility, were only some of the obstacles with which the Japanese were challenged. The success that many Japanese experienced in the agricultural industry and small business further fueled American discrimination and led to even more anti-Asian policies and restrictions. The Japanese were particularly successful in agricultural production in California, capable of producing crops of fruit, vegetables, and flowers on land considered undesirable to non-Japanese farmers. This success made Americans, especially farmers, resentful of the Japanese.

Soon politicians and law makers began launching anti-Japanese campaigns that lobbied for laws that would stop and prevent Japanese economic success. Groups such as the Oriental Exclusion League, established in California in 1905, were created to spread anti-Japanese sentiments and promote fear of the Japanese by popularizing terms such as “Yellow Peril” (Uyeda 1987). In 1913, Alien Land Laws were established in California which took advantage of the fact that the Japanese and other Asians were ineligible for naturalization. These laws prevented any Japanese and other non-citizen from owning land and limited land leases to “aliens” to three years (Uyeda 1987).

Even with these challenges, the Japanese did their best to establish their lives in America. Many of the young *wataridori* began to accept the fact that their dreams of returning home with great wealth would not be realized anytime soon and so decided to settle in America and begin building families. In 1900, the number of Japanese men in the United States outnumbered Japanese women by twenty four to one (Wilson 1980). With barely any Japanese women to choose from and prohibited from marrying Caucasian women, Japanese men turned to *omiai*, or arranged marriages. The only difference between traditional arranged marriages and the immigrant arranged marriages was that the arrangement happened through the overseas exchange of letters and photographs. The only contact the couple had before they met happened through these letters and pictures, hence the term *shashin kekkon*, or picture marriage. Though the “Gentlemen’s Agreement” of 1907-1908, in which Japan agreed to stop issuing passports to laborers, restricted the immigration of Japanese laborers to the United States, the

immigrants that were already here continued to send for picture brides in Japan (Uyeda 1987).

The Japanese picture brides summoned to America came for various reasons. Like the men that came before them many women had high hopes of becoming wealthy. Curiosity about America, fear of overbearing mothers-in-law in Japan, anxiety about being past an acceptable marrying age, lack of a means of financial support, and an obligation to obey the wishes of their parents were other factors that motivated women to venture to the United States (Nakano 1990). The Japanese women that immigrated to America brought with them many of the traditional values and beliefs of their native homeland. These immigrants were raised and influenced in a Japan that stressed a rigid family system that had been in place for centuries. The Meiji government was explicit in their ideas about the correct roles for women and emphasized *ryosai kenbo*, “Good Wife, Good Mother” (Nolte 1991). Meiji propaganda and policy demanded from women positive contributions to the state in the forms of hard work and frugality yet it excluded them from any political power, limiting their roles and activities to the domestic sphere. In America, where both Japanese women and men lacked any political agency, fulfilling traditional domestic roles came naturally to the female immigrants.

In the first two decades of the 20th century, more than 20,000 Japanese women arrived in the United States to help build and establish families (Ng 2002). As families grew and the population of Japanese in America steadily increased, Japanese enclaves and communities flourished. In urban areas like Los Angeles, *nihonmachi*, or Japan towns such as Little Tokyo were the heart of the Japanese community. (Figure 2.1)

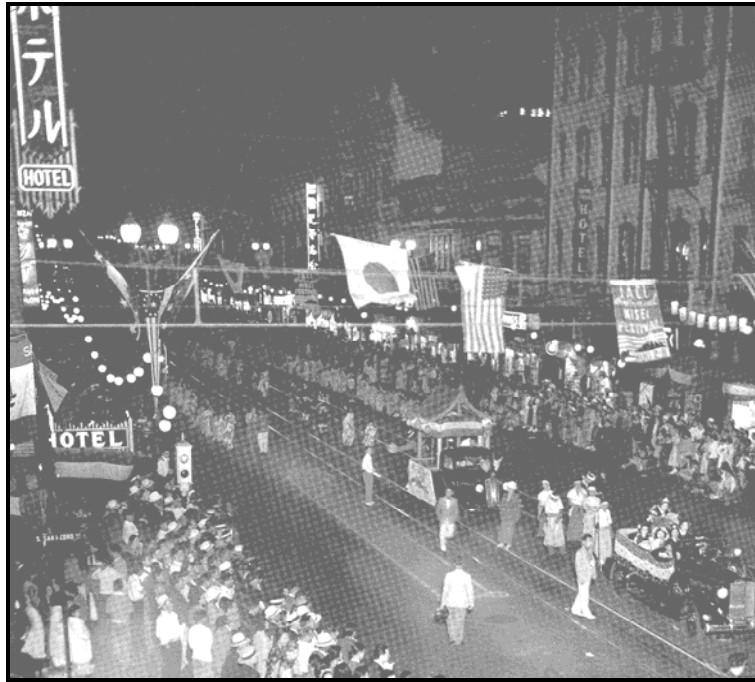


Figure 2.1
Nisei Week, Little Tokyo, 1934
(Murase 1983:84)

As early as 1915, Little Tokyo was home to the first Japanese hospital, four Buddhist temples, several Christian churches, Japanese language schools, and countless Japanese owned businesses that had been in operation since the 1890s. By 1930 there were 35,000 Japanese living in Los Angeles County, most of which lived within a three-mile radius of Little Tokyo (Murase 1983). Tight knit Japanese communities also developed in rural areas of the west coast. (Figure 2.2) The first Japanese agricultural colony was established by Kyutaro Abiko in 1907 in the small California central valley town of Yamato. Abiko later established the nearby colonies of Cressey and Cortez in 1918 and 1919 respectively (Matsumoto 1993). These Japanese colonists found loopholes in the Alien Land Laws by forming corporations and transferring their land titles to these corporations (Noda 1981). The Alien Land Laws were also not retroactively effective so many of the colonists that had previously owned land were unaffected by the laws. In this

way the colonists of the central valley were able to own their own land and make significant names for themselves within the California agricultural industry.

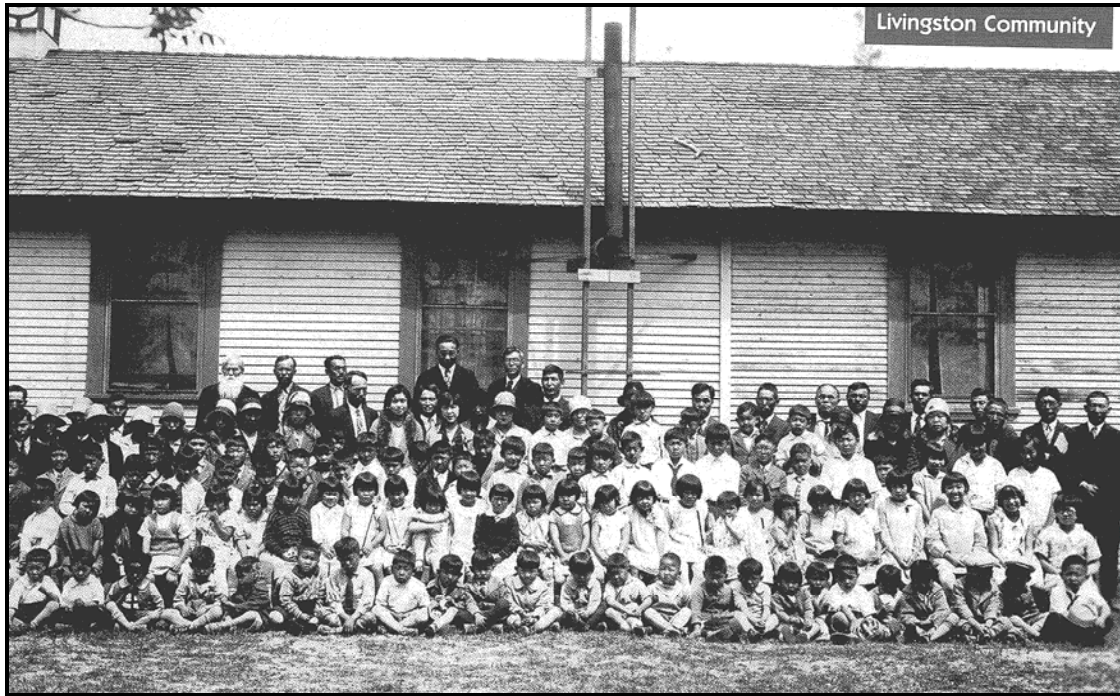


Figure 2.2
Livingston Community, 1930
(Japanese Americans of Merced County Committee 2003:31)

The exclusion and discrimination imposed upon the Japanese from their Caucasian neighbors are strong factors that caused the formation of tight knit Japanese communities in both rural and urban areas. Solidarity against prejudice and racism began soon after the first Japanese immigrants arrived in America in the late 1800s. Japanese language newspapers such as the *Nichibei Shimbun* (Japanese American News) aimed to confront discriminatory issues and to promote unity and camaraderie amongst the Japanese immigrant population as early as 1899 (California Digital Library 2009; Matsumoto 1993). The Japanese and English newspaper, *The Rafu Shimpō*, began its

publication in 1903 and reflected the strong sense of community and cohesiveness of Little Tokyo (Murase 1983). Civil rights organizations such as the Japanese Association of America, established in San Francisco in 1905 and the Japanese American Citizens League, established in 1929, also worked to fight for the rights of Japanese immigrants in the U.S. (Niiya 1993; Uyeda 1987).

A commitment to traditional cultural customs and activities was also a factor that helped Japanese communities thrive and governed many of the events that took place within these areas. Little Tokyo hosted sumo wrestling competitions, organized large New Year's celebrations, offered Japanese manners and etiquette classes, and annually held a week-long festival of traditional dancing, baby contests, carnivals, and street vendors (Kurashige 2002; Murase 1983). The Cortez Colony had a Kendo Club, performed Japanese dances, and also organized many traditional Japanese celebrations (Matsumoto 1993). In addition to Japanese cultural events and activities, the *Nisei*, or second generation Japanese who were, by birth, United States citizens, also participated in many pastimes culturally recognized as American. The *Nisei* straddled two worlds—the Japanese world of their *Issei*, or first generation, parents that still contained the traditions and cultural values of Japan, and the American world to which they legally belonged. The *Nisei* participated in sports such as baseball and basketball, formed Boy Scout Troops, established Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCA), held skate fests, listened to popular music on the radio, and watched American movies at the cinema. The blending of two cultures forced the *Nisei* to forge a unique and sometimes confusing identity as the first Japanese Americans. The role of being both Japanese and American would be one

that would become even more complicated and confusing during relocation and internment.

Japanese Internment

The resentment and prejudice aimed at the Japanese population in the years leading up to World War II fueled the hysteria that followed the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Already considered aliens by the American population and the constitution, the loyalty of many *Issei* was questioned to determine whether or not they were “enemy aliens.” Immediately after Pearl Harbor, many *Issei*, often those with prominent leadership roles within Japanese communities, were arrested by the FBI and investigated for espionage (Ng 2002). Distrust and suspicion was not limited to prominent *Issei*. Curfews that affected all persons of Japanese descent were put into place, radios and other property were seized from homes, and investigations of Japanese disloyalty were launched (Harvey 2004; Ng 2002). Though no person of Japanese ancestry was ever charged with spying for Japan, assumptions of fifth column activity in Hawaii and several west coast states prevailed (Uyeda 1987). On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 which gave the Secretary of War and military commanders the right to declare military areas. The entrance, inhabitation or exit of any person from these military areas would also be determined by the Secretary of War or the Military Commander appointed to a specific area (CWRIC 1997). Though Executive Order 9066 did not specifically mention the detention of the Japanese, it was this order that eventually allowed the removal and internment of approximately 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry.

Less than a month after Executive Order 9066 was signed, the Secretary of War began designating military areas. In Public Proclamation No. 1, it was announced that the western half of Washington, Oregon, and California, and the southern half of Arizona were designated as Military Area No.1. Military Area No. 2 consisted of any remaining areas of Washington, Oregon, California, and Arizona not already named in Military Area No. 1. This proclamation also required any Japanese, German, or Italian alien, and Americans of Japanese descent living in Military Area No. 1 to gain military consent to relocate (CWRIC 1997).

At first Germans, Italians, Japanese non-citizens, and Americans of Japanese descent were allowed to voluntarily relocate to inland areas outside of the Military Areas. Approximately 5,000 Japanese evacuated at this time, mostly to Nevada, Utah, and Colorado (Ng 2002). Governors and politicians from many states reacted with great alarm and were strongly against letting any “Japs” or “enemy aliens” into their states. Colorado’s Governor, Ralph S. Carr, was one of the few leaders that did not openly discourage movement of Japanese Americans into his state and boldly offered, “the hand of friendship,” to American-born Japanese, “secure in the knowledge that they will be as truly American as the rest of us” (from Schrager 2008:2). The mostly negative reactions to the relocation of Japanese into other states caused the government to end the voluntary relocation program on March 29, 1942 by issuing Public Proclamation No. 4 which prohibited any person of Japanese ancestry from moving out of Military Area No. 1 (CWRIC 1997). Two days after this proclamation, on March 31, 1942, procedures for the mandatory evacuation of all people of Japanese ancestry began. People of Japanese

ancestry were notified of the mandatory evacuation through “Civilian Exclusion Orders” that were posted throughout the exclusion zones (CWRIC 1997). These exclusion orders, often posted only a week before the date of evacuation, placed restrictions on what the evacuees could bring with them, “The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group”(CWRIC 1997:Figure C).

The Japanese were first relocated to Wartime Civilian Control Administration (WCCA) assembly centers. There were 17 assembly centers throughout California and parts of Oregon, Washington, and Arizona. The assembly centers were located on racetracks, fairgrounds, migrant worker camps, an abandoned Civilian Conservation Corp camp, and a former mill site (Burton 1999). Conditions at the assembly centers were uncomfortable, dirty, and cramped. The eleven assembly centers located at racetracks housed many of the displaced Japanese in horse stables. For most of the evacuees the stay at the assembly centers lasted between one to four months after which they were moved to permanent relocation centers run by the War Relocation Authority (WRA).

There were ten relocation centers located within seven different states: California, Arizona, Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, and Arkansas (Figure 2.3). Though the layout and design of each relocation center was slightly different they were all constructed with the intent that they be self contained communities.

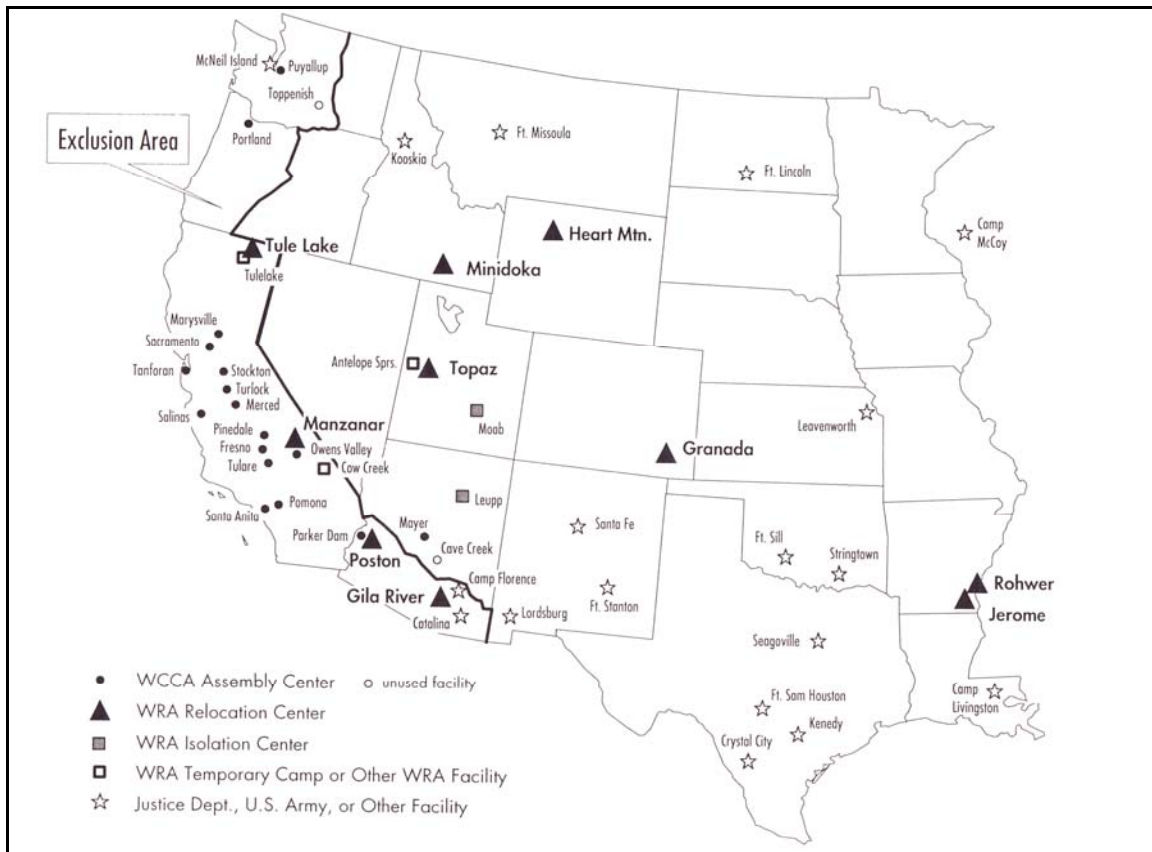


Figure 2.3
Locations of the ten relocation centers
and other Japanese internment related sites
(Burton 1999:2)

All of the relocation centers were surrounded by barbed wire, had guard towers stationed around their perimeters, and contained living barracks, bath houses, laundry rooms, schools, hospitals, mess halls, and post offices (CWRIC 1997). Housing for the Military Police and other WRA employees as well as administration areas were located adjacent to the Japanese residential areas. The internment camps were mostly located in isolated, desert areas that experienced harsh weather conditions that ranged from freezing cold to scorching hot. The internees, largely used to the temperate weather of the West Coast were unfamiliar with the extreme climates of their new homes. Not only did the internees have to deal with a new geographic environment but they also had to adjust to a new way

of life governed by WRA regulations, restrictions, and schedules. The internees had to get used to scheduled meal times, waiting in lines, cramped living quarters, and a lack of privacy, among many other changes and challenges brought by confined living.

The interned Japanese did their best to create a sense of normalcy inside the camps by replicating many of the activities, interests, and amusements that defined their lives prior to camp. Every camp published a newspaper in both English and Japanese that kept the internees up to date on events transpiring outside of the camp as well as events and news happening within the camp (CWRIC 1997). Both Christian and Buddhist churches regularly held services, programs, and classes. Organizations such as the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and the Future Farmers of America (FFA) were active groups throughout the camps. Sports, especially football, basketball, and baseball, were popular interests in many camps. Movies were regularly screened in recreation halls or mess halls, dances featuring popular music of the time were hosted, and talent shows were held. Activities that were specifically Japanese were also organized such as sumo wrestling, traditional dancing, *obon* festivals, and Japanese gardening. Many *Issei*, faced with free time for the first time in their lives, spent their days enrolled in adult classes that offered everything from knitting to flower arranging to wood carving.

Employment was offered at the camps but opportunities were often limited. Evacuees were paid \$12, \$16, or \$19 per month based on the skill level of the position (CWRIC 1997). The wages were a subject of controversy as public opinion demanded

that the wages for the internees be low, while the internees felt the wages were insultingly meager, especially since they had been forced to leave their previous jobs, businesses, and sources of income. Many internees did not feel it was worth working for a system that mistrusted them and offered little reward for their efforts. Other internees, especially property owners, found it necessary to work in order to meet financial obligations such as mortgages that, even behind barbed wire, they were still responsible for paying. A large proportion of the employment opportunities at camp were positions within camp operations such as farming, food preparation, winterization, health and sanitation, and security (CWRIC 1997). Many internees found themselves learning new skills as they performed these specialized jobs in unfamiliar occupations.

Education at the camps was limited to preschool, elementary school, and high school. Unable to provide college level education, the WRA established the education leave program, which allowed students that were accepted into universities that were outside of the western exclusion zones to leave camp. The University of Denver, which before the war was one of fourteen inland higher-education institutions to accept Japanese students from the West Coast, kept its doors open to Japanese students during the war (Schrager 2008). As a university outside of the exclusion zone, the University of Denver actively recruited Japanese students from internment camps and even offered many scholarships. The National Japanese American Student Relocation Council, a group formed through the cooperation of educators, the State Department, the National YMCA and YWCA, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), aided *Nisei* college students with financial support and assisted

with the paperwork process necessary for WRA relocation approval (Ng 2002). By the fall of 1942, 250 college students had been granted leave to attend universities. In total the education leave program approved the relocation of approximately 4,300 students (CWRIC 1997).

By the end of 1942, the WRA had reorganized in order to prioritize and encourage Japanese resettlement to interior areas and the East Coast of the United States. The process of resettlement, however, was a complex one because candidates had to first prove themselves loyal to the United States. The War Department was also interested in determining the loyalty of the interned Japanese for the possibility of enlisting men into military service and for using the evacuees to alleviate wartime labor shortages. In its effort to determine Japanese loyalty, the War Department created the loyalty review program which consisted of a questionnaire administered to all Japanese internees 17 years of age and older. The questionnaire required information about family background, education, and employment. To determine loyalty, two significant questions were included in the questionnaire that ultimately changed the fate of many internees.

Questions 27 and 28 asked internees if they would be willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States, and if they would swear allegiance to the United States and forswear allegiance to Japan. For the *Issei*, forswearing allegiance to Japan meant that they were instead promising allegiance to a nation that would not allow them to become citizens, thereby making them a people without a country. The young men that answered yes to both questions became eligible for military duty and many either enlisted or were drafted to serve in the all Japanese 442nd Regional Combat Team (RCT). The

442nd RCT combined with the 100th Infantry Battalion, an all *Nisei* battalion formed earlier in Hawaii, became the most decorated unit in U.S. military history based on its size and length of duty (Uyeda 1987). Young men that answered no to the loyalty questions were nick named “no no boys” and sent to the Tule Lake Relocation Center which was turned into a segregation center in the summer of 1943 to house these “disloyal” internees (Burton 1999). Those who had answered yes to the loyalty questions and were ultimately deemed unquestionably loyal by camp directors became eligible for resettlement leave clearance.

Internees that resettled in areas outside of the West Coast were generally underemployed in low paying, menial jobs and oftentimes faced harsh discrimination and prejudice. They resettled in many different cities throughout the country with Denver, Salt Lake City, and Chicago being the most popular locations. In Colorado, an attempt to instate alien land laws was thwarted, thereby allowing the Japanese to buy land and start successful agricultural businesses (Hosokawa 2005). Chicago became the most appealing city to resettle in because of plentiful jobs and less discrimination. Unlike the other cities in which internees relocated during the war, much of Chicago’s Japanese population did not return to the West Coast even after exclusion ended (CWRIC 1997).

The discrimination and racism dealt with by those who resettled around the country during the war was similar to the poor treatment that the evacuees dealt with when they returned to their homes on the West Coast after exclusion ended. On December 17, 1944 the War Department announced that the mass exclusions from the West Coast were being rescinded effective January 2, 1945 (CWRIC 1997; Uyeda 1987).

The process of returning to the West Coast lasted almost the entire year of 1945. Though the exclusions were lifted in January, many internees chose to wait until the academic school year was completed before they began their return to the coast. All but one of the ten relocation centers was officially closed by the end of October, 1945.

The Japanese returning to the West Coast faced a variety of hardships. Many of the former internees had lost their homes or returned to find them damaged, destroyed, or even inhabited by strangers (Harvey 2004). Buddhist temples, churches, and sympathetic groups such as the Quakers provided temporary housing and shelter for those without homes who now had to struggle against discrimination and racism while they searched for permanent housing. Upon the evacuees' return, personal property that had been put in storage before the war was often found vandalized, destroyed, or stolen. Though there were plenty of jobs available, prejudice and feelings of mistrust kept employers from hiring the recently returned Japanese. Instead, many were forced to take low paying, unskilled jobs just to make ends meet. Upon return, it was usually necessary for all members of a family, including children, to work in order to contribute to the family's survival. Not only did the Japanese have to deal with material losses but the returning Japanese also had to face the hostility of their non-Japanese neighbors, employers, and classmates who still harbored feelings of suspicion, resentment, and hate. During the first year of their return the Japanese dealt with bombings, gun shots fired into homes, threats of boycotts, and public harassments that included signs that read, "No Japs allowed, no Japs welcome" (CWRIC 1997).

Despite the obstacles they faced upon their return, the evacuees spent the years after the war rebuilding their communities and reestablishing their lives. Though most of the evacuees eventually recovered from their financial losses, their lives would never be the same. The returning evacuees followed many different paths after the war. For some the camp experience bred a mistrust of white society and encouraged exclusive association with other people of Japanese ancestry. For others the experience made them favor ideas of assimilation and integration into the dominant society. The reactions to and affects of internment were wide ranging and often hard to define or understand.

The experiences of the approximately 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry that were affected by internment were all unique and were influenced by many different variables. Differences in gender, generation, and class played significant roles in shaping the internment and post internment experiences. Each camp, with different directors, staff, and physical environments also influenced experiences. This thesis examines some of these variables at just one of the camps, but the rich diversity even within this small camp highlights how each relocation center developed its own distinct and unique character.

The Granada Relocation Center, Amache

The smallest relocation center by population was the Granada Relocation Center located in southeastern Colorado, only 15 miles west of the Kansas border (Appendix A). Built to accommodate up to 8,000 people, at its peak in 1943 the Granada Relocation Center housed 7,318 internees making it the tenth largest city in Colorado at that time

(CWRIC 1997). During its three years of operation 10,331 internees passed through the Granada Relocation Center (Harvey 2004; Simmons 1994) . Its population often fluctuated due to work, education, and military leave programs as well as resettlement. The transfer of 1,050 internees from the Tule Lake Relocation Center between September 1943 and May 1944 and the transfer of 552 internees from the Jerome Relocation Center in 1944 most significantly altered the camp's population (Carrillo 2003).

More commonly called Amache after the camp's postal designation, the relocation center was officially named after the small town of Granada, located less than a mile from the camp (Burton 1999). Like most of the other camps, the site for Amache was located in an isolated area and fulfilled the WRA criteria for choosing camp locales that stated that, "the site should be a safe distance from strategic war facilities;" (Simmons 1994). The WRA also stipulated that the relocation centers be built on federal or other public lands. While the construction of the other relocation centers met this criterion, Amache was the only camp to be primarily built on private land that was either purchased or condemned by the government (Burton 1999). The 10,500 acres that comprised the project area were acquired by the government from 18 farms and ranches. Most of the project area was made up of two large tracts of land acquired through eminent domain from the X-Y Ranch and the American Crystal Sugar Company (Simmons 1994).

Construction of Amache began in late June 1942 and was not yet complete when the first internees arrived in late August 1942. Only 90 percent of the camp's infrastructure such as the sewer system and electrical systems were completed and only

12 blocks had complete and functioning bath houses (Harvey 2004; Simmons 1994). Many of the early arrivals had to use quickly constructed outhouses and had to eat meals in shifts in overcrowded mess halls. Prior to construction, the main project area was completely bulldozed leaving no vegetation to stop the sandy topsoil from blowing mercilessly around and through many of the camp's buildings. Because many of the buildings were hastily built there were often gaps between the insulation board walls and the wooden frames of the barracks, allowing the dust, cold, and heat to easily infiltrate the internees' living space (Simmons 1994).

The first stage of construction was finished by November 1942 but additional buildings such as the high school and the co-op store building as well as improvements and repairs were worked on through 1943 (Simmons 1994). The central developed area of the camp was surrounded by barbed wire and guard towers manned by armed military personnel were stationed around the perimeter of the camp. The central area had as many as 569 buildings and was divided into an administrative support area which contained the administrative offices, the staff housing area, the military police compound, the motor pool and support area, the warehouse area, the hospital area, and the residential living area (Simmons 1994). Like most of the camps, Amache was organized on a grid system. Roads running east-west were consecutively numbered beginning on the north side of the project area with 1st Street and ending at 12th Street. The north-south roads were designated with letters and started with E Street on the west side of the area moving consecutively through the alphabet, skipping the letters "I" and "J" to end with L Street on the eastern edge of the project area (Appendix A).

The residential living area was surrounded by additional barbed wire and separated from the administrative area by an open strip of land three hundred feet wide. The residential area contained 27 residential blocks which housed internees in barracks. Each block was named using a number and a letter which corresponded to the northwest corner of the block. All of the blocks followed a standard layout consisting of 12 residential barracks measuring 20ft. by 120ft., a mess hall, a bath house that included a laundry facility, and a recreation hall (Appendix A). The barracks were each divided into six individual apartments; two apartments measured 16ft. by 20ft., two measured 20ft. by 20ft., and two measured 24ft. by 20ft. (Simmons 1994). Couples without children or families with only one child were given the smallest of these apartments while larger families occupied the 24ft. by 20ft. end units. Each unit came only with a coal burning pot belly stove, cots, a bare light bulb hanging from the ceiling, and one electrical outlet (Harvey 2004). In many cases there were not enough cots, forcing family members to share beds. The internees, however, displayed great ingenuity and crafted beds, bunk beds, chairs, tables, and other furniture out of scrap lumber that they “liberated” from construction areas within the camp (Harvey 2004).

Though contained in a small and condensed area, the 27 residential blocks of Amache each had their own distinct personalities and many of them used their recreation halls as headquarters for various different clubs and organizations. Block 10E housed the Boys Scouts headquarters, Block 7E was home of the silk screen shop, Block 6F held the headquarters of the Red Cross, Block 6G used its recreation center as the YWCA Hospitality House, Block 6H was where the Town Hall was located, and five other blocks

served as the locations of two Buddhist churches, two Christian churches, and one Catholic church. Amache residents were clearly involved in many activities and endeavors that replicated the normalcy of life before camp. Not only were the official organizations and groups mentioned above present in the camp but smaller youth groups and clubs such as the Wee-Teeners and the Juniorettes let young girls that shared common interests, a common hometown or region, and a common age range organize different social activities such as dances and carnivals.

Clubs and organizations were not the only forms of entertainment and activity. Many of the *Issei*, with new found free time, enrolled in adult classes that taught knitting, crocheting, flower arranging, wood carving, painting, various other crafts and even English and Japanese language skills. These classes helped many internees discover creative talents as well as taught them skills that they continued to use long after internment ended. The internees also found ways to showcase and celebrate these creative expressions through camp-wide arts fairs and competitions. Within the homogenous confines of the camp the internees were also able to celebrate many culturally traditional events without harassment. Traditional Japanese dance, sumo wrestling, Buddhist *Obon* festivals honoring ancestors, and cherry blossom festivals were all organized activities that involved camp wide participation.

A camp newspaper, *The Granada Pioneer*, was published semi-weekly in both English and Japanese and helped the Amache residents stay informed of the many meetings, social activities, and events happening throughout the camp. The newspaper also served as a source of information about the current events taking place in the rest of

the United States and across the globe. The internees had alternate sources of outside information as many of them subscribed to publications such as *Time Magazine* and *Life*.

Internees were also connected to the outside world through mail order catalogues such as Montgomery Ward's, Sears, Roebuck and Co., and Spiegel's. A large majority of necessities such as clothing, toiletries, and household items were acquired through mail order catalogues. The other primary means of procuring material necessities was through the cooperative store which was created by the internees in August 1942 and had nearly 2,500 charter members by January 1943 (Watanabe 1945). The co-op store not only offered clothing, toiletries, dry goods, newspapers, and magazines but there was also a barber shop, beauty shop, optical shop, photo shop, watch repair shop, money order and check services, a tailor, a flower shop, a canteen, a variety store, and shoe repair shop within the co-op building (Watanabe 1945). The co-op building was located in Block 9F which also contained a warehouse, a security building, and an office. Eventually internees were also able to obtain passes to leave the camp to go shopping in the nearby towns of Granada and Lamar. In Granada internees could buy supplies and fish and poultry at Newman's drugstore and the Granada Fish Market (Harvey 2004).

Block 10G housed the high school which was completed in the early part of 1943. The large high school also contained a gymnasium/auditorium and was the most expensive building in the county at that time (Simmons 1994). Anger and resentment about the amount of money being used to accommodate the internees was prevalent amongst the residents in the surrounding communities, causing construction on an elementary school to be terminated. Instead of completing the school, one of the

residential blocks, 8H, was used as the elementary school, the barracks converted to classrooms. Block 9G, the planned site of the elementary school, was located north of the high school and remained vacant. Block 10F, west of the high school had no buildings in it and was used as an athletic field (Simmons 1994). High school sporting events held in this athletic field were an incredibly popular form of entertainment in camp. The Amache high school intramural sports program boasted winning teams in basketball, football, and baseball. The competitive Amache teams played teams from surrounding cities such as Lamar, Denver, La Junta, and Las Animas and often did very well against teams that were taller, bigger, and more intimidating than them (Harvey 2004). Victories over certain teams are still remembered with pride by former internees today.

The remaining 8,860 acres of land belonging to the Granada Relocation Center lay outside of the central project area and were intended for use in agricultural production. Amache, though the smallest of the internment camps, had one of the largest agricultural programs; it produced enough produce to be used at the camp, distributed to other camps, or sold. The farm program produced 2.7 million pounds of vegetables in 1943 and an even more impressive 3.3 million pounds in 1944 (Simmons 1994). Not only were common vegetables such as onions, tomatoes, and potatoes grown but other crops, not usually grown in the area, such as daikon, Chinese cabbage, and mung beans were also successfully grown (Figure 2.4).

Agriculture was not only successful on the large scale level. Victory gardens tended by elementary school children and small personal gardens in barrack blocks also

produced vegetables and fruits. The camp even held agricultural fairs that featured Victory Garden vegetable competitions (*The Granada Pioneer* 1943a).



Figure 2.4
Produce grown at Amache on display at agriculture fair
from McClelland color slide collection

The camp was officially closed on October 15, 1945 after being in operation for almost 38 months (Simmons 1994). The agricultural lands were leased and then later sold to local farmers while the central built up area was sold to the Town of Granada for \$2,500. The buildings on the property were either destroyed for salvage or were sold to school districts, government units, or individuals (Simmons 1994).

Today only a small portion of the co-op store, a brick building at the cemetery, the water reservoir and its pump and well houses are the only standing structures that remain. However, the cement foundations of almost all of the buildings are still present and the original roads are still intact. Though sage brush and yucca have taken over most

of the area, the landscaping efforts of the internees can still be seen in the rows of Chinese elms and cottonwoods neatly lined up between the barracks (Figure 2.5).



Figure 2.5
Landscape of Amache today
photograph by Gary Ono

The site of Amache is currently maintained by the Amache Preservation Society, a group of Granada High School students led by teacher, John Hopper. The group has taken on the responsibilities of overseeing the maintenance of the site including the cleaning of the grounds and cemetery and the upkeep of the informative signs they have erected throughout the site. In addition to the preservation of the site, the Amache Preservation Society also manages a collection of material objects and historic documents associated with the camp in a small museum located in the Town of Granada. The society

also participates in public outreach by traveling to schools and universities throughout Colorado and parts of Kansas sharing educational presentations with students and faculty.

The Granada Relocation Center was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1994 (Burton 1999) and was officially designated a National Historic Landmark in 2006 (National Park Service 2009).

Archaeology at Amache

Despite the progress that historic archaeologists are currently making towards studying Japanese internment, archaeology at Amache has been minimal. In 2003, Cuartelejo HP Associates performed an extensive archeological field survey of Amache, commissioned by the Town of Granada and funded in part by the Denver Optimist Club, an organization made up of former Amache internees. This survey produced a final report that assessed the presence and condition of the remaining surface objects and structural foundations. At the time it was the only formal report of archaeological work done specifically at the site of Amache. This survey found that in comparison to other sites of Japanese internment, Amache ranked as one with the greatest archaeological integrity (Carrillo 2003).

Amache has been studied archaeologically in several theses that share similar objectives, methodologies, and theoretical influences as my own research. Michelle Slaughter, who participated in the 2003 survey of Amache, was intrigued by the artifacts associated with Japanese culture that were found during the survey. These artifacts led her to devote her thesis to examining resistance and adaptation at the camp through the analysis of artifacts associated with sake (Slaughter 2006). Slaughter utilized both ethnographic interviews as well as archaeology to explore Japanese identity and cultural

preservation. Her research emphasizes a holistic approach to studying the site and incorporates both etic and emic lines of evidence in a process guided by a commitment to reflexivity and objectiveness. Grounded in theories about dominance and power, resistance, and symbolism, Slaughter's research, though narrowly focused on one aspect of Japanese culture, is able to make broader conclusions about adaptation and cultural preservation at Amache. Slaughter used archaeological survey results to show that sake was being consumed exclusively by internees and not WRA employees. She also used oral histories to help explain the important role that sake plays in Japanese culture, helping to create a direct link between sake and Japanese identity. Her inclusion of former internee ideas about where the sake found at the camp came from is a wonderful use of oral histories and testimonies that takes full advantage of the unique resource this site offers. The multiple theories provided to her by former internees help illustrate a lesson that archaeologists should keep in mind: that there can be more than one right answer.

Another master's project, completed by Stephanie Skiles for the University of Denver, uses data from a surface survey at Amache to examine the practice and maintenance of Japanese cultural traditions by looking specifically at foodways at the camp (Skiles 2008). Like Slaughter, Skiles used surface survey to collect her archaeological data. Four 50' x 50' checkerboard units in four separate areas of the camp were surveyed for two types of artifacts: ceramics and tin cans. Informed by the archaeology of food and cuisine as well as the archaeology of identity, Skiles concluded

that the foodways practiced at Amache were important reflections of cultural preservation and expressions of cultural identity.

Other archaeological interests and research at Amache involve the work and collaboration of multiple groups and communities. In 2005, Dr. Bonnie Clark, University of Denver Associate Professor of Anthropology, began working with the many stakeholders and communities associated with Amache to develop a collaborative project that aimed to promote the community based needs of the site while integrating ongoing archaeologically based research (Clark, B. 2008). In 2007 the National Park Service Intermountain Regional Office Heritage Partnerships Program completed a Comprehensive Interpretive Plan and Conceptual Development Plan for the site of Amache (National Park Service 2007). This plan outlined long term maintenance plans as well as preservation goals for the site that included the construction of an on-site museum and interpretive center. During the summer of 2008, a month-long archaeological and museum studies field school was held at the site of Amache as part of the University of Denver Amache Project. This field school and the resulting research is hoped to be the beginning of a long term, enduring project that will continue to include the many stakeholders of the historic site. Much of the data analyzed and presented within this thesis was collected during archaeological survey and excavations done during this field school.

Amache Literature

Despite its National Historic Landmark status, literature on Amache indicates that it is still a place whose history and significance many Americans know little about. While

a substantial amount of literature on the Japanese American internment has developed since the internment camps have closed including histories, memoirs, biographies, articles, and novels, literature focused specifically on Amache is rare. Robert Harvey's, *Amache: The Story of Japanese Internment in Colorado During World War II*, is currently the only book that explicitly chronicles and records the experiences and history of Amache. However the potential for more studies and publications that specifically examine Amache is great because of the rich resource of primary documents about the camp that exists. War Relocation Authority records, photographs, journals, newspapers, and yearbooks are just a few types of documents that are held in library, university, and museum collections.

Amidst the great quantities of literature about Japanese internment it is surprising to find very little literature about the specific experiences of Japanese women in the camps. Though several memoirs and novels relay the internment experience through the eyes of Japanese American girls in books like *Farewell to Manzanar* (Houston 1983), *Desert Exile* (Uchida 1982), and *Looking Like the Enemy* (Matsuda Gruenwald 2005), there has been little scholarly examination of the internment camp experience of females of all ages. Several history books about women during World War II include chapters about the experiences of Japanese American women (Arai 1999; Yellin 2004) and Mei Nakano's book about three generations of Japanese American women (Nakano 1990) also includes chapters on internment experiences. A dissertation about places of power within Japanese American internment camps by Nicole Louise Branton (Branton 2004) also offers a chapter about Japanese women exercising resistance

in the camp through the practice of traditional foodways. An article by Valerie Matsumoto in a women's studies journal focuses on the experience of *Nisei* women at internment camps (Matsumoto 1984a). These histories and studies are examples of attention to the female internment experience that is missing from much of the current body of work. Many publications merely provide a cursory glimpse at the distinct internment experience of Japanese women (Burton 1999; CWRIC 1997; Harvey 2004; Ng 2002; Takaki 1998). An example of this often superficial coverage of the topic is historian Lon Kurashige's brief mention of the female internment experience in his book, *Japanese American Celebration and Conflict: A History of Ethnic Identity and Festival in Los Angeles, 1934-1990* (Kurashige 2002). His mention of the female experience is only in relation to his more in depth examination of Japanese masculinity within the camps. Despite their attention or mention of Japanese women, the existing literature does not specifically or thoroughly examine the many facets of confinement that make up the Japanese American female experience of internment.

My study aims to consider the multiple aspects of internment that influenced and shaped the female experience. I hope to fill in some of the gaps that are present in the existing literature through the use of multiple lines of data to present a more holistic, inclusive view of daily life at Amache.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Historical Archaeology

Historical archaeology's capacity to examine the past by exploring themes such as scale, agency, identity, materiality, and meaning through multiple lines of evidence make it an ideal means to explore the expression of Japanese feminine identity during internment. As discussed in the introduction to their edited volume, *Historical Archaeology*, Martin Hall and Stephen Silliman attribute historical archaeology with the potential to tackle the themes mentioned above and allow for a dialogue about the changes and potentials that historical archaeology still faces (Hall 2006). The scope of historical archaeology ranges from large scale, global interpretations to understandings at the individual level. Artifacts can be used to make interpretations about global influences, regional trade, community relations, household dynamics, and even individual agency; all factors that influence the female internment experience.

The flexibility and range of historical archaeological research can also be seen in the diverse range of concepts and themes that it explores. According to Barbara Voss, "historical archaeological research has brought to the forefront the vital connections between gender and other aspects of social identity such as race, class, ethnicity, and occupation" (2006 :119). Historical archaeology also has the distinct advantage of accessing additional lines of evidence usually not available in prehistoric archaeology.

Archival documents as well as oral histories are resources available in historical archaeology that can lead to a multidimensional, more inclusive, and holistic examination of the past. Speaking specifically of the archaeology of institutions, Lu Ann De Cunzo states that this specific type of historic archaeology, “requires ‘holistic’ perspectives and a holistic use of sources” (2006 :182).

Hall and Silliman also mention historical archaeology’s lack of a primary, universal theory of materiality on which all historical archaeologists rely (Hall 2006). Instead, historical archaeologists have successfully incorporated a variety of theoretical tools, even turning to other disciplines for relevant ideas and philosophies. The holistic nature of historical archaeology naturally allows for the inclusion of various theoretical concepts and provides an arena in which multiple theoretical frameworks work together to enhance and inform each other. I situate my historical archaeology research within the frameworks of gender archaeology and the archaeology of identity, which both foster theories that allow for an inclusive, reflexive look at Japanese women in confinement.

The Archaeology of Gender

Suzanne Spencer-Wood, in agreement with Alison Wylie and Sandra Harding, asserts that, “gender cannot be reduced to any other variable but is a fundamental cultural system that structures the behavior of all members of society” (1996:401). It is this fundamental idea about the importance of gender that has led to the emergence of a gendered archaeology that not only addresses the absence of women in much research but strives to also include the voices of children and minorities in the constructions of past ways of life.

Ungendered historical archaeology has long been guilty of presenting conclusions about the past built on popular paradigms that place the concerns of white, middle class males at the center. These representations, asserted by mostly white, middle class researchers in both prehistoric and historic archaeology, focused on the activities and viewpoints of men, presenting this information as “the genderless norm” thereby ignoring the unique experiences and contributions of women (Spencer-Wood 2007).

The remedying of this androcentric or ungendered archaeology as a whole has evolved through what some feminists refer to as the three “waves” of feminism (Gilchrist 1999a). The first wave of feminist theory corresponded to suffragist movements and the fight for greater rights for women. It looked to critique the predominant ideology of the time that devalued the roles and spheres of women’s influence and prove the power of women’s agency within these roles. The second wave of feminist theory emerged during the 1960’s and 1970’s while women were fighting for equality. It strove to explain the inequalities between genders by critically examining the role of patriarchy. The third wave of feminism, emerging during the last decade of the 20th Century, has shifted its gaze from the inequalities between men and women to the understanding of the differences that exist. “Postmodern feminist theory constructs gender and sexuality as diverse, complex, fluid performances that cannot be monolithically described for any social group” (Spencer-Wood 2007:46).

The body of work inspired directly by feminist ideas with explicitly feminist goals increased in size with each subsequent “wave” of thought throughout the years. Conkey and Gero’s review of gender and feminism in archaeology list an impressive number of

examples of work from the 1990's which includes papers, articles, journals, and edited volumes dedicated to the subject (Conkey 1997). Despite the increase in literature and research regarding gender and archaeology that emerged during the first and second waves of feminism, feminist critiques during the 1990's pointed out that many paradigms within the current discourse had been largely developed by white, middle class Western feminists and had therefore ignored and forgotten the experiences and viewpoints of other people in the past including those of differing class status, race, and age. Elizabeth Scott summed up many critiques of the 1990s by stating that, "differences that race, class, sexual preference, and religion make in the lives of working-class men and women and people of color cannot be understood within the framework of much of contemporary feminist theory" (Scott 1994:11).

Not only had the framework of anthropological feminist theory been largely shaped by the ideas of white middle class scholars, but the subject matter of the majority of feminist-inspired work also favored the exploration of the white middle class experience. Laurie Wilkie echoes this sentiment in her book about the archaeology of an African American midwife, "The hegemonic discourse surrounding the 'cult of true womanhood' excluded many women, and they continued to be excluded by feminist movements, which privileged the experiences of sexism by middle class white women" (Wilkie 2003:3).

Wilkie's work is an example of the critical postmodern feminism that emerged from the recognition of the problems that existed within anthropology and actively sought to remedy them through feminist research that considered the pasts of people of differing

ethnicities, classes, and ages. Since then, many historical archaeologists have begun to choose their research subjects by paying “an attention to the everyday world of all peoples, approached from multiple perspectives,” an idea offered by Lu Ann De Cunzo as the definition of historic archaeology (De Cunzo 2005). Archaeological research on the intricacies and implications of slavery, immigrant labor, and the active role of children are just some examples of third wave feminist archaeology using different perspectives to expand our view of the past.

My research on women at Amache relies heavily on gender archaeology in order to give voice to the female perspective of internment life and examine the contributions that women made to the construction of the social structure of camp. The exploration of women’s lives at Amache conform to the goals of gender archaeology outlined by Conkey and Gero that include exposing women in the archaeological record, identifying their positions in gender roles, ideologies and relationships, and revealing assumptions about gender and difference (as found in Voss 2006). The goals of gender archaeology provide a foundation from which the detailed nuances and consequences of gender relationships and roles naturally surface and merge with broader concepts such as the construction of identity.

The Archaeology of Identity

According to Timothy Insoll, “the recognition of complexity would seem key to the success of the archaeological study of identities” (2007:14). The construction of feminine identity within confinement was undoubtedly a complex process. The archaeology of identity’s acknowledgement of multiple variables in identity construction

make it an ideal platform from which to examine feminine identity Amache. Not only is complexity a key component of accurately understanding identity but it is also necessary to recognize identities as, “fluid and mutable, under negotiation as we experience life, and open to manipulation if we have the opportunity” (Meskell 2007:29). The experience of confinement was one such opportunity for manipulation as women dealt with changes that would inevitably affect their existing identities and the continued negotiations of their future identities.

The disruption to daily life that internment caused not only disjointed the different parts of the Japanese American family but also dislocated the roles of women. Many of the private domestic duties traditionally prescribed to *Issei* mothers such as cooking and cleaning were replaced by the forced adherence to a very public, structured, and limiting schedule of activities within the camp. The mess hall proved disastrous to family unity as it took mealtime out of the home and allowed children to eat with their friends rather than with their parents. Job opportunities within the camp also presented a new challenge to Japanese feminine identity. Positions not commonly available to many women outside the camp were now open at the same wages as men (Branton 2004; CWRIC 1997). The demanding and time consuming responsibilities of domestic chores were removed and new jobs that provided more free time allowed many of the women to explore their own interests for the first time (Nakano 1990). The changes women faced in camp affected their lives in social and familial contexts in various different ways. This study tackles the issues and questions about identity that have “plagued the field of archaeology since its earliest antiquarian origins” (Casella 2005:1).

Not only does my project attempt to fill in gaps in research about a little documented subject through the archaeology of identity, but my heritage also provides the viewpoint of an ethnic minority that is missing in much of gender and historical archaeology to date. The viewpoint of a person who identifies with the subject group can be very useful in creating “more adequate, sustained, objective, transforming accounts of the world” (Haraway 2004:88).

My interest in Japanese American feminine identity during the World War II internment camp era stems from a curiosity about how this has shaped and influenced my own Japanese American identity today. As Scott quite accurately sums up, “for minority and excluded groups today, making the past visible can be a means of empowerment, an affirmation that they in fact do have ‘a history,’ that there are specific historical reasons for the inequities we see around us today, and these are not the result of ‘natural’ or ‘biological differences’”(1994:14). The answers I seek to find in regards to Japanese American feminine identity will inevitably reveal truths about my own perceptions and perspectives as a Japanese American female living in our modern American society.

In the feminist spirit of acknowledging bias, my goal to more fully understand my own Japanese American identity is not a hidden agenda within this study. Instead my background serves as an impetus for my interest in the subject and will certainly influence and affect my interpretations and conclusions. As an Asian American woman who identifies as both Chinese and Japanese, my research on other Japanese American women places me in a category Lila Abu-Lughod has dubbed “halfie.” Abu-Lughod defines halfies as, “people whose national or cultural identity is mixed by virtue of

migration, overseas education or parentage” (1991:466). The problems that need to be addressed in regards to halfie anthropologists are the concepts of the self versus the “other” as well as being conscious of the audience for whom they are writing anthropology. Because they are members of multiple communities, their research and writing is influenced by many different social factors including past experience with racial discrimination, struggles with power, and dilemmas in how to ethically represent their subjects. Caught in a position that forces a switch between speaking for and speaking from, halfie anthropologists are faced with the task of maintaining a heightened awareness while conducting research.

The nature and subject of my research topic inevitably makes me a halfie as I share a similar ethnic background, identification as a female, and am a descendant of former internees. It has been my challenge, as Abu-Lughod suggests, to minimize the distance between the self and the “other.” Hopefully my unique perspective in conjunction with my connections within my subject community has enhanced my research and helped me make new and innovative interpretations and conclusions about the role that women played in defining their feminine identity during the disruptive time of internment. Drawing on concepts from the archaeologies of identity and gender, I use historic archaeology as a tool, as Maria Franklin puts it, “in investigating issues that are relevant to our understanding of ourselves and others” (2005:190). The specific investigation of the Japanese American female experience of internment will aid in a better understanding of my own identity as well as the identities and roles of other Asian American women today.

The Archaeology of Internment

The archaeology of internment, a very distinct and specific specialization within the field of historic archaeology, owes its only recent emergence to several factors. World War II's close temporal proximity to the present classifies it as an event that took place in the "recent" past rather than some time in antiquity. For many years archaeology was mainly concerned with the distant past and relegated studies of recent and historic time periods to history and other disciplines. Since the 1960s a shift in attitude towards the recent past led to the gradual growth of historic archaeology and has given strength to the idea that the discipline of archaeology can no longer be limited nor strictly defined by time (Buchli 2001). The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 further aided in the growth of historic archaeological concerns and helped expand opportunities within the field. WWII Japanese internment sites did not become eligible to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places until the 1990s. It is only since then that these sites have received significant archaeological attention. In 1988, several years before the internment camps turned 50 years old, the government acknowledged that the internment of people of Japanese ancestry was a mistake. According to Jeffery Burton, this public acknowledgement meant that, "it was easier for the country to recognize the importance of these sites, as a reminder of that ignominious episode. Because so much of the 'big scale' physical remains, like buildings, had been removed, the archaeological remains became more important in reconstructing camp layout and activities" (AIA 2006:67). The government's acknowledgement of its mistake, coinciding well with the possibility

for listing on the National Register of Historic Places prompted the first archaeological studies specifically focused on the internment camps.

In 1993, Tamir and others produced a report for the Bureau of Reclamation that overviewed and analyzed artifacts collected during archaeological survey at the Gila River Relocation Center in Arizona. The study analyzed the material objects by combining material and functional categories in order to assign artifacts to contextual categories, such as “Kitchen and Cooking”, “Household Items”, “Personal Goods”, and “Toys and Sports Activities” (Tamir 1993:657). Results of the analysis highlighted the diversity and wide range of objects found at the camp and revealed several different sources from which these materials derived. The study also utilized archival records and oral histories to explore the relationships between the interned Japanese and residents of communities near the camp, the interactions between the internees and WRA personnel within the camp, and the details of daily camp life.

One of the current leading figures in internment camp archaeology is Jeffery F. Burton. His first work with internment camps began in 1993 at the Manzanar Relocation Center. In *Three Farewells to Manzanar: The Archeology of Manzanar National Historic Site, California*, Burton details the archaeological work done at the camp which included intensive surface survey, detailed mapping, and excavations (Burton 1996). The goals of the research were to determine the extent of the site, both horizontally and vertically, assess the archaeological integrity of the site, determine the age of occupation, and assess the quality and quantity of data present. In addition to these goals, the study also posed questions that focused on several different themes including confinement, ethnicity,

resistance, and daily life. Like the archaeological research done at Gila River, the archaeological study at Manzanar also found that the material objects present at the camp had, “good archeological and interpretive potential” (Burton 1996:657).

Burton continued work at internment camps by completing a national, broad scale overview of the tangible remains of all Japanese internment sites in the United States. Initially providing information for the National Landmark Theme Study called for in the Manzanar National Historic Site legislation, *Confinement and Ethnicity*, provides a thorough overview of all of the WRA’s relocation centers as well as the internment facilities of the Department of Justice and U.S. Army (Burton 1999). This study used historic documents, records, photographs, former internee interviews, and field inspections to assess the archaeological status of each relocation site and has been used as a tool to guide recommendations for the preservation and interpretation of many internment related sites. Since the publication of *Confinement and Ethnicity*, Burton has also worked at the Minidoka Relocation Center, the Tule Lake Segregation Center, and continues to work extensively at the Manzanar Relocation Center. Archaeological work has also been conducted at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center in Wyoming and the Topaz Relocation Center in Utah (Farrell 2004).

Though the main objectives of the early archaeological work on Japanese internment sites was to identify boundaries, assess the archaeological integrity, and make recommendations for future treatment, researchers discovered that the material remains found at the camps had great potential in expanding our understanding of life in internment camps. Insights into daily life, ethnicity, confinement, and resistance manifest

themselves in the archaeological record in a multitude of ways. Eleanor Conlin Casella, in her book, *The Archaeology of Institutional Confinement*, further validates the importance of historic archaeology at internment camps by stating that, “Results of archaeological research at the internment camps offer new perspectives on not only the mundane embodied experience of twentieth-century institutional life, but also the strategic means by which internees maintained a sense of ethnic identity under the austere regulations of confinement” (2005:135).

An important theme, found across the diverse study of institutional confinement, is that of power relations. The archaeology of institutional confinement reveals, through an examination of material remains, “how power was materially exerted over those confined” (Casella 2005:3). The exercise of power over those within confinement encompasses all aspects of life. In a place of confinement, domination is especially expressed in architectural design and the physical layout of structures. Inspired by Michel Foucault’s theories about power, Casella asserts that modeling a prison after a familiar institution of disciplinary power such as armies, monasteries, or schools will play upon understandings of dominant ideologies. The suggestion of these ideologies thereby creates “docile bodies” over which power and control can be exercised (Casella 2005:67). The physical layout of the internment camps, which closely mimicked layouts of military camps, is an example of this subtle form of control that archaeology can help to reveal.

Archaeology can also reveal how those in confinement react and adapt to domination and engage in subversive behavior to exercise their own forms of resistant power. The archaeological studies discussed above consistently found evidence of

resistance at the internment camps, expressed through both quiet and bold displays of cultural practices. These often subconscious acts of dissidence often include the participation and agency of women. My focus on the experiences of women at Amache can benefit greatly from a theoretical perspective that considers power relations that not only affected the confined population as a whole but also specifically affected women.

Research Questions

The many facets of internment life that manifest themselves in the archaeological record open a broad new realm of potential in studying the unique experiences of women at Amache. The many directions in which to pursue research at Amache make refinement and reevaluation of research questions an inevitable step within the research process. The initial research design that guided the field work for this project was originally informed by research questions that have since been modified to differently approach the task of examining the affect of confinement on femininity. This project originally looked to answer the following four main research questions: (1) How did feminine identity differ between *Issei* and *Nisei* women at Amache? (2) How did feminine identity differ between Japanese women from urban communities versus rural communities? (3) How were these differing feminine identities maintained during confinement at Amache? (4) In what ways were these feminine identities altered while at Amache?

Though my intentions have always been to examine the affects of confinement on femininity, these initial research questions were both too narrow and too broad in focus. The discoveries and revelations that the research process inevitably brings forced a reexamination of my initial research questions and their capability to fully explore my

main interests and the recovered data. It became evident that my initial research questions needed to evolve in order to encompass a broadened body of data. The specificity of the original questions narrowed the capabilities of my project by concentrating on only two descriptive categories of women in the camp, generation and geographical association. This isolation of factors artificially reduced the significance of other factors such as religion and class. This limited my project and forced a comparison between women within the camp, highlighting their differences, rather than looking at the overall changes that all Japanese women faced in confinement.

Rather than focus on differences that existed amongst women in camp, my original research questions were refined in order to examine the differences in femininity before the war and during internment. My revised questions more clearly address my goal of looking at the affects of confinement on femininity. My research ultimately looks at the reactions that women had to confinement, their adaptability as well as their resistance. The new questions more effectively allow the inclusion and discussion of the many different factors that influenced femininity including generational differences and regional differences. In order to achieve my goal of illuminating the changes and maintenance of feminine identity at Amache, I examine the changes that women dealt with in different realms of daily life.

Japanese women inside the camps, in both public and private spheres, displayed adaptability, flexibility, resilience, and resistance through the choices they made at the individual and community levels. As archaeologists studying identity conclude, “The archaeology of identities is essentially concerned with the complex process of attempting

to recover an insight into the generation of self at a variety of levels: as an individual, within a community, and in public and private contexts” (Insoll 2007:14). In order to come to a more complete understanding of the Japanese female internment perspective, the construction of Japanese feminine identity within the internment camp is examined at all of the levels mentioned by Insoll.

The restrictions and limitations that life in confinement caused would have inevitably affected the ideals and actions that shaped, influenced, and changed Japanese feminine identities within camp. Recovering women’s activities through the archaeological record reveals a great deal about how internment affected the construction and expression of these feminine identities at various social levels and spheres. This project looks to answer the following three main research questions about the female experience within the confinements of Amache: 1) How is feminine identity being expressed in the public sphere versus the private sphere? 2) How is feminine identity being expressed on an individual level and a community level? 3) How has confinement affected, influenced, or changed these expressions of femininity?

Exploring different levels and contexts (public, private, individual, and community) allows for a look at the many changes that feminine identity went through as a result of confinement. The chosen levels and contexts exist as mutually reinforcing categories, defined by fluid and dynamic relationships to each other. The public sphere is in many ways the opposite of the private sphere. In camp, true privacy was a luxury that was seldom experienced. Activities that were once performed in the privacy of one’s home were now shared public experiences. Laundry, bathing, dining, and even gardening

were removed from the private sphere and forced into the public arena. The removal of these activities from private to public contexts greatly affected the daily lives of women. Traditionally responsible for most of these tasks, it was women who had to adjust to performing these duties with other women in communal areas. In this study the private sphere refers to individual apartments within the residential barracks. Though constructed of flimsy wood that did little to insulate the apartments from weather or noise, the residential barracks were the only space in camp that the internees could treat as their own private domain. Activities such as decorating the apartments and cooking food within the barracks were behaviors that remained private, subtly revealing a resistance to the restrictions of confinement and an active maintenance of certain feminine ideals.

The individual level, unlike the private level, is not necessarily defined as the opposite of the community level but can instead work in conjunction with it. Women expressed their feminine identity both as an individual and as members of a community. On an individual level women made choices about their own personal identity in terms of their appearance, their ideas of beauty and fashion, their consumer behaviors, and the classes and activities they chose to participate in. Within camp women exercised agency in defining and displaying their individual identities. The different communities with which women associated also helped define their identity. Women chose to participate in activities such as cultural events, sports, and dances and chose to join a variety of clubs and organizations. Each of these groups had different goals and purposes and strove for its own unique community identity. Participation and membership in a group reveals how

women chose to have their own individual identity publicly associated with groups based on similar interests, age, cultural ties, religion, or social and political causes.

I examine female behavior at the different levels and in both contexts mentioned to allow consideration of the most significant factors which contribute to the construction of identity. Although generational or geographical differences are not specifically addressed in my research questions, they remain significant factors relevant to the complete exploration of my research topic. The Japanese internees confined at Amache came from various parts of the west coast ranging from very densely populated urban cities such as Los Angeles and San Francisco to rural, agricultural areas such as Stockton, Modesto and Livingston. Several generations of Japanese ancestry were also represented at the camp including *Issei*, *Nisei*, and some young *Sansei*, or third generation Japanese Americans. The definitions and expressions of feminine identity would have presumably been different for women from each of these distinct areas of the coast as well as between women of different generations. The mixed population of rural and urban areas provided an arena for exposure to the differing feminine identities each area embraced. For many, being forced into a homogenous community of only Japanese people was a new and different experience that also affected and challenged feminine identities.

The differing responses between women of different generations to the experience of confinement expressed the often conflicting struggle with a social and group identity as Japanese and/or American. Defiance against a government that had unjustly confined thousands of its own citizens manifested itself in many ways in the daily life and thus the construction of identity of the internees. Some women were able to preserve certain

aspects of their feminine and cultural identity, reclaiming control over their private domestic spheres by defying WRA rules through acts such as preparing traditional meals within the barracks. These women were quietly fighting against the idea that they were helpless victims of a cruel oppressor (Branton 2004). Frustration and anger caused some women to turn their backs on American ideals, instead embracing an identity that reflected traditional Japanese culture. Fear and concern about being called un-American oppositely affected the behavior of many women as they actively recreated their group identities within the confines of Amache. With an eagerness to prove their American-ness these women attempted to appropriate white middle class behaviors and ideas of ideal feminine behavior and appearance.

The archaeological examination of material objects made, modified, and used at camp as well as reviews of documents, photographs, and records reveal the choices that Japanese women at Amache made as a response to confinement at all levels and contexts: private, public, individual, and community. Though a different set of research questions influenced this project's field methodology, the original questions and the current questions ultimately share a similar objective of examining the influence of confinement on Japanese femininity. Therefore, the field methods, described in the next chapter, produced sufficient data with which to examine my refined research questions.

Reactions and responses to confinement varied greatly and were influenced by a multitude of factors. Looking at these various responses in the different spheres in which they were expressed will allow for an inclusive view of the many aspects of the female internment experience. The potential diversity that my research questions may uncover

naturally leads to the inclusion of other lines of evidence. Comparisons between life before internment and life in confinement are greatly enhanced by accessing archival resources and oral histories. In this study, along with archaeological evidence, stories, photos, and documents are necessarily relied on to further illuminate the details and nuances of the everyday life of women at Amache. The following chapter presents the methods followed while accessing the multiple lines of evidence used in this study.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODS

Multiple Lines of Evidence

In order to tackle the broad topic of the female experience at Amache, several research methods were employed. Following Laurie Wilkie's suggestion that, "archaeologists working in documented time periods can demonstrate the powerful potential of social archaeologies that draw upon multiple lines of evidence," (2005:347) I used documentary review and oral history in conjunction with field archaeology to build a more inclusive and thorough body of evidence. Each research method offered its own type of data and perspective that, when combined with other methods, served to support and enhance the results. I would have been remiss to not have taken advantage of the numerous resources that were available that related not only to Japanese internment but to Amache in particular. Primary and archival historical documents were available from a variety of sources, including the collections at the Amache Museum and the Japanese American National Museum (JANM). The University of Denver Amache Project field school allowed for the archaeological investigation of the tangible remains of Amache, and the good will and cooperation of many former internees allowed for the collection of invaluable oral histories.

Many of the field methods and archival research methods of this project have been developed in conjunction with another University of Denver graduate student, April

Kamp-Whittaker, whose thesis project focuses on the lives and roles of children at Amache. The structure of our plan was developed together in a way that strove to efficiently address and fulfill the research needs of both projects (Clark, B., April Kamp-Whittaker, Dana Ogo Shew 2008).

Archival Methods

The use of archival documents in the interpretation of archaeological data is a unique advantage of historical archaeology. The large amount of archival data associated with WWII Japanese internment makes this advantage even more outstanding in the study of Amache. A review of these plentiful resources illustrates the great potential of archival data to enhance and support other lines of data as well as provide its own original perspectives and insights. Laurie Wilkie refers to the documentary sources available to historical archaeologists as, “additional windows,” which offer insights that can corroborate with, conflict with, and differ from existing ideas about the past (2006:14). These additional insights challenge archaeologists to, “use these independent but complementary lines of evidence to construct meaningful, fuller, understandings of the past” (Wilkie 2006:14).

Wilkie also suggests that archaeologists use archival data for three main reasons: “to identify the people who once lived at a particular site; to understand the social-cultural context in which the site was occupied, and to understand the social meanings and lives of the objects they recover” (2006:16). The diversity of the archival documents

relevant to Amache and internment make it possible to use the data for a multi-scalar look at all three purposes mentioned by Wilkie.

In a broad sense it is no mystery who the people that occupied the site of Amache were. The inhabitants were people of Japanese ancestry relocated from the West Coast of the United States. However, within this population there were many differences and variations such as age, gender, occupation, level of education, and class. The archival records help us isolate specific people and their individual stories. Because the camps were government run institutions a vast amount of official paperwork and records associated with Amache are available. War Relocation Authority reports, available through the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), provide statistics on individuals including age, gender, occupation, citizenship status, and family number. Camp directories provide similar information and can additionally give the barrack and apartment number of specific internees. Memoirs and letters also reveal the specific experiences, perspectives, and attitudes of individuals at camp.

During the beginning stages of research I was fortunate to have the opportunity to review some of these memoirs and letters from Amache. The Hirasaki National Resource Center, a division of the Japanese American National Museum, allowed me to review their collection of internment related objects. The items I examined included personal photographs, diaries, letters, jewelry, and miscellaneous documents such as report cards that identified specific internees and offered small glimpses into their individual experiences at Amache. Documents that reveal the perspectives of specific individuals were also reviewed at the Amache Museum in Granada. During the DU Amache field

school time was spent in the Amache Museum in the afternoons organizing and documenting the museum's collections. Many documents, especially personal photograph collections including color slides were scanned and added to the library of resources available at DU. These photograph collections not only illustrate the experiences of individual internees but they also serve as examples of women's activities, women's styles, and women's occupations within camp.

Deciphering the social-cultural context in which Amache was occupied at first seems like a simple, straightforward task given the circumstances that led to the creation of Japanese relocation centers. However, the effect of war, and especially confinement on social and cultural dynamics was incredibly complex and multidimensional. Confinement created a system of social and cultural dynamics that included relationships that were reflective of national and global attitudes as well as those that developed as specific reactions to internment. The internees as well as the WRA employees that operated the camps dealt with issues of patriotism and loyalty, cultural preservation, degrees of American-ness, oppression, power, and resistance to name a few. The documents available regarding Amache are relevant to many of these issues and serve as tools that reveal many facets of the multi layered relationships that make up the social and cultural context of Amache.

Documents such as reports made to the WRA by Amache camp director, James Lindley, provide insight from the institutional perspective. The University of Denver's copies of a portion of the UC Berkeley Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records were extensively reviewed. These WRA documents which include Lindley's

quarterly reports contain data such as statistics about employment, construction, crop yields, births, deaths, marriages, and other details relevant to administrative operations. Newspapers are also invaluable documentary resources that aid our understanding of social and cultural contexts. National newspapers reflect popular sentiments within the country while localized Japanese newspapers such as *The Rafu Shimpō* reveal a Japanese perspective.

The camp newspaper, *The Granada Pioneer*, is also an invaluable source for understanding the makeup of daily life within Amache. Created, managed, and distributed by internees for internees, *The Granada Pioneer*, is an excellent example of documents being active artifacts that help reveal the intentions and motivations of the people that created them. According to Wilkie, “texts are not only sources of information, but are also artefacts that have been produced in particular cultural-historical contexts for specific reasons” (2006:14). The WRA documents paired with issues of *The Granada Pioneer* reveal the different forms of power each group exercised within camp. The reports generated by the Amache administrators describe the activities, jobs, and events within camp in terms of numbers, demographics, and dollars in a very impersonal manner. The same activities, events, and news reported in *The Granada Pioneer* reveal how the internees adapted to their situation by attempting to establish normalcy and control. The Amache newspaper was a tool that the internees used to maintain a sense of sovereignty and unity while diffusing the broader effects of confinement. The internee run newspaper included editorials and other opinion related articles that gave an empowering voice to the internees and helped foster a sense of community and stability.

Though *The Granada Pioneer* succeeded in establishing a sense of empowerment and normalcy, this control may have been somewhat artificial in relation to the scope of the WRA's power. The conspicuous absence of stories about "disloyals" in *The Granada Pioneer* suggest that the WRA may actually have had some influence over the newspaper's content (Clark 2009).

The Amache Museum has an extensive collection of original newspapers published at Amache. During the field school as well as during a return visit to the Amache Museum in April 2009, *The Granada Pioneer* was thoroughly reviewed for articles related to the activities of both women and children. Articles of interest relating to activities and events that females may have organized or participated in were digitally scanned. The DU Penrose Library also has the complete collection of *The Granada Pioneer* newspapers on microfilm. This collection was also accessed and relevant articles were printed.

Documents relating to Amache can also assist in exposing the social meanings behind the material objects associated with the site. Mail order catalogs have been the most valuable resource available, helping to situate the artifacts found at Amache. The internees at Amache had few options when it came to procuring goods. One of the ways that internees acquired material goods from outside of camp was through the internee run cooperative store located in Block 9F. Though the co-op sold a multitude of items from toiletries to vegetable seeds, the internees also turned to mail order catalogues from companies such as Sears, Roebuck and Company, Montgomery Ward, and Spiegel's to procure items from outside of camp. The information provided by the mail order

catalogs, including item prices, descriptions, pictures, and associated marketing allow for a socioeconomic as well as a cultural examination of the internees' consumer choices.

The Japanese American National Museum's microfilm collection of *The Rafu Shimpō: L.A. Japanese Daily News* was also reviewed for clues about marketing strategies employed by producers of goods bought by Japanese consumers. The marketing in *The Rafu Shimpō* could be used to make comparisons between the consumer habits of Japanese before internment and during internment. Though the paper shut down publication due to internment in the spring of 1942, the few months leading up to the paper's printing cease were reviewed. Advertisements as well as other articles relevant to the Japanese female perspective and attitude at the time of war were found and copied. The marketing strategies that the Japanese were exposed to both before internment and during internment undoubtedly influenced consumer choices. These choices lead us to insights about the construction of identity, power and authority within the household, and the adoption of American ideals and practices.

The available documentary resources sufficiently identify the people at the site, construct the social and cultural context, and offer meaning to the material objects associated with Amache. These documentary resources additionally provide direct insights into the inquiries posed by my research questions regarding the expression of feminine identity within different social realms. The archival data from Amache reveal a unique insight into the expression of feminine identity in public and private spheres and at individual and community levels.

Archaeological Field Methods

The archaeological field methods developed for this project were greatly influenced by issues such as time constraints and artifact storage limitations. It was our goal to create methods that consciously dealt with these issues while efficiently and effectively recording and retrieving data from the field.

In order to gain a broad understanding of the archaeological remains at Amache intensive surface survey was chosen as the primary method with which to gather archaeological data. Surface survey provided a general inventory of the resources still present at the site by covering a relatively large amount of surface area. Residential blocks were surveyed in order to reveal patterns in space usage as well as trends in material object types. Survey of individual blocks allowed comparison between the characteristics unique to each block as well as provided a basis for finding commonalities amongst blocks.

Survey Area Selection

Seven residential blocks were chosen for survey based on the demographics of the resident population and on the activity or organization held at each block's recreational center. The blocks were chosen to represent a diverse sample of residents that would illuminate specifics about urban and rural populations, women's and men's activities, children's activities, and religious practices. Residential block maps, created by an organization of former internees, the Amache Historical Society, using information from the 1945 Amache Directory, provides details about each block during its occupation

including the names of the residents, their city of origin, and the existence of clubs or organizations in the block's recreation center. These maps were consulted to create a priority list of blocks to be surveyed (Appendix A). In numerical order, the blocks that were surveyed and the justification for their inclusion are as follows:

-6G: This block was chosen because of the presence of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) Hospitality House as well as a mixture of residents from both rural and urban areas.

-6H: This block was of interest because of the presence of a garden with a pond feature and the town hall. Archival evidence associating children and women with gardens made this block a potential place to learn about the activities of women and children through material remains and prominent garden features. The residents of this block were mostly from rural areas of the coast, providing a good example of material objects from a predominantly rural population. Oral histories collected after fieldwork also revealed that many residents of 6H were medical professionals, mostly from urban cities and mainly housed in the barracks in the northeast corner of the block. These medical professionals worked at the camp hospital, located directly to the north of the block.

-8H: This block was chosen because it was the site of the elementary school which made it an area with great potential for revealing information about the activities and roles of school aged children as well as their usually female adult teachers. Though teachers were usually Caucasian women, occasionally they were Japanese internees. Japanese female internees also often took jobs as teacher's assistants. Several areas

known to have entry way gardens were also surveyed using ground penetrating radar during a previous visit to the site.

-8K: This block was of interest for several reasons. The recreation hall located in this block was not used by any specific club or group but was used for a variety of activities by all residents of the block. The population of this block was also almost entirely from urban areas, specifically Los Angeles. Many of the former residents of this block are also members of the Amache Historical Society.

-9H: The previous survey of this block recorded a concrete basin which was in fact an *usu*, or *mochi* pounder, used with wooden mallets to pound rice cakes. The presence of the *usu* and the predominantly rural population led to the selection of this block as an example of a block that participated in traditional Japanese activities.

-10E: This block contained the building in which the Boy Scouts were headquartered, which made it an obvious choice to survey in order to examine child related activities. The residents of this block were from both rural and urban areas, many of them from the Cortez Colony, an agricultural community in central California. Because of the tight knit nature of the colony, consistencies and trends found in this block were expected to be evidence of practices and ideals held specifically by the members of the Cortez Colony. The west half of this block was significantly disturbed due to the removal of barrack foundations with a bull dozer in order to use the broken concrete as rip rap in local area canals. Much of the north and west edges of the camp were removed for this purpose after the camp closed (Simmons 1994). Survey was only conducted on the east half of the block which contained the Boy Scouts headquarters.

-10H: Only the west half of this block was surveyed in order to avoid lower levels of archaeological integrity on the east side. Several barracks on the east side did not have visible foundations and were clearly disturbed. The west side of this block contained the Christian Church and most of the residents on this half of the block were from urban areas, specifically Los Angeles, as opposed to the mostly rural population living on the east side. This block served as an example of the behaviors and trends found amongst an urban population that cohabitated in a block with a rural population.

Initially block 7G, the site of a Buddhist church and rural population, and 9G, the site of an informal dump with no residential barracks were chosen for survey. Once in the field however, it was evident that the archaeological integrity of 7G was too disturbed to yield any satisfactory results. Blocks 9H and 10H, for reasons specified above, were chosen to replace Block 7G. The informal dump in Block 9G was initially chosen in the hopes of finding a wide array of artifacts that would be representative of the various types of artifacts found throughout the camp. An on-site inspection of block 9G, however, did not reveal the variation or the density in artifacts expected. It was decided that informal survey of the official camp dump would be more effective in accurately revealing a suite of artifacts representative of the entire camp population. The informal dump of Block 9G may have been more strongly representative of only the residents living in nearby blocks rather than the whole camp. The large size and incredibly dense concentration of artifacts in the formal dump also made it preferable to Block 9G. Because the dump was informally surveyed a large area of the dump was efficiently explored. Many samples of objects found in fragmentary form in residential blocks were recovered in the dump in

whole and intact forms. These complete objects were collected and act as representational examples of artifact types. In total, formal surface survey was conducted at four complete residential blocks, half of two residential blocks, and the elementary school block. Informal survey was conducted at the official camp dump (Appendix A).

Surface Survey Methods

Surveys of each block were conducted on east-west transects spaced 2 meters apart. Prior to survey, block survey forms were created to record the distribution of object types throughout each block. The block survey forms recorded the types of glass and ceramics, tin cans, metals, and various other materials or composite objects present on the surface. During survey the surveyors verbally indicated the types and counts of objects found while a recorder tallied counts on the block survey form (Appendix B). A list of “Objects of Interest” was also developed. This list included items that were relevant to both children’s and women’s activities and behaviors. Justification for the gendered designation of objects is provided below. “Objects of Interest” were pin flagged in the field, to be returned to at a later time for detailed mapping and either collection or in-field analysis.

Two types of features were also of interest during surface survey: landscaped or outdoor activity areas, and informal trash dumps. These features were surveyed and recorded separately from the blocks they were found in. The perimeters of these features were identified with pin flags in order determine the extent of each feature and to assist in mapping. Survey within informal trash dump features was conducted at 1 meter spacing

and artifact tallies were recorded on feature forms rather than block forms. Feature survey forms were nearly identical to block survey forms (Appendix B). The artifacts found in informal trash dump features were tallied and examined separate from the rest of the block because they represent intentional behavior in terms of trash disposal rather than the possible primary deposition of other artifacts within the block. Cultural trash disposal practices and the circumstances under which informal dumps may have formed will be discussed in a following section. Separate feature survey forms were also created for practical reasons. The artifact concentration of many of the informal dumps was extremely dense. Had artifact tallies from features been added to the block survey forms the records would have been crowded and difficult to read. Artifacts within features were tallied in the same manner non-feature artifacts were tallied and objects of interest were also pin flagged for later analysis during the mapping and recording phases of survey.

Mapping and Recording

Object priority lists were created that identified material objects that were relevant to the study of both women and children at the camp. The records and documents of the previous archaeological survey were thoroughly examined to determine the types of objects associated with women and children that were known to be present at Amache. These “Objects of Interest” were included on priority lists that were given to field school students and volunteers in order to facilitate recognition of these objects in the field (Appendix B). Historical and archival research conducted prior to the field school also

helped determine other relevant objects not already found in the previous survey that could possibly be present during survey.

Three types of forms were created for the field analysis of flagged objects. A bottle analysis form, a ceramic and glass tableware analysis form, and a form for other materials encountered less frequently were distributed to the field crew (Appendix B). Flagged artifacts were given a field analysis number (FA#) and either analyzed using the above mentioned forms or they were collected for further analysis. Decisions about which objects were to be collected were made jointly by me and my fellow teaching assistant and classmate, April Kamp-Whittaker. Ms. Kamp-Whittaker was deferred to when choices about child related items were necessary and I made decisions about collecting items related to women. Many objects were relevant to both of our studies and decisions about those items were made together. Decisions about artifact collection were mainly focused on whether or not further analysis in a laboratory, with access to a variety of resources, would produce more information about the object and its use. Considerations about the rarity and condition of objects also influenced decisions. Certain types of objects that were found in high concentration were discriminately collected based on criteria such as intactness or presence of maker's marks. Rare and unique items were generally collected regardless of their condition.

Items that were collected in the field were brought back to the Amache Museum to be washed, photographed, and catalogued. After this stage in collection it was decided that further research of many of the objects would not yield more in depth results than field analysis and these objects would be returned to the field. A consciousness about the

lack of space for an abundant amount of archaeological objects to be curated in the Amache Museum also influenced the decision to return items. The “Amache Artifact Analysis and Collection” form was completed for each item to be returned and several photographs of each object were taken (Appendix B). The pin flags of each collected item, marked with each item’s FA#, were left in the field to aid in the return of items as well as to facilitate the mapping of artifact density.

A total station, geographically tied to a known location on the site was used to record the positions of each flagged object. The perimeters of features were also mapped with the total station in order to record the size, shape, and proximity to other artifacts, features, and buildings. In addition to recording the location of each feature, hand drawn sketches of garden features and other outdoor activity areas were also created (Appendix A).

During the field school, a trip to the official Amache dump was taken, during which time students walked freely over the area informally surveying the dump surface and pin flagging objects of interest. Many of these items were documented with photographs and several objects were collected. The locations of the collected items were recorded using a hand held global positioning system. The items collected from the dump as well as the objects collected from formal survey of the blocks were all brought back to the DU archaeology lab for further analysis. University of Denver students in Dr. Bonnie Clark’s Historical Archaeology class conducted research on the collected objects during Fall Quarter 2008. Much of their research has provided important information about many objects and served as a strong starting point for more in-depth investigation of

certain artifacts. All of the items collected during surface survey are currently being held in the DU archaeology lab where they are available for continued research and reference.

The research design that guided our field work during the DU field school also included the research goals of our field director, Dr. Bonnie Clark. Her research explores the landscape practices of Amache internees and the significance of gardens as cultural resources. As part of her research excavations were conducted at two elementary school entryway gardens, an ornamental garden, and a vegetable garden. More information about the excavation methods can be found in the research design (Clark, B., April Kamp-Whittaker, Dana Ogo Shew 2008). Though the results of these excavations do not form the basis for the analysis of my research topic, several relevant items were discovered during these excavations which will be discussed in following chapters. The artifacts recovered from excavation were also brought back to the DU archaeology lab and analyzed by Dr. Clark's students.

Survey Complications/Site Disturbances

The surface survey methods described above are the final results of several days of in-field adjustments and improvements to the original survey methods. The first day of surface survey began in Block 6G. Surveyors initially walked transects spaced one meter apart but this quickly proved too close as crew members began overlapping into each other's transects. After experimenting with three meter spacing that proved too wide, two meter spacing was found to be the ideal distance between transects for an efficient survey of each block. Two meter spacing allowed surveyors to effectively deal with

characteristics of the site and the survey process such as groundcover, building foundations, and the fluctuating number of surveyors on the crew.

The method of tallying the number of artifacts found during survey was also modified during survey of Block 6G. The crew was initially instructed to verbally notify the recorder of all artifacts found on the surface. Because many of the buildings at Amache were disassembled and removed from their foundations many building materials remain at the site. At the beginning of the survey brick fragments and other building materials were being recorded and their counts dominated the block tally forms. Because the presence of these building materials were not relevant to the study of either women or children the tallying of these types of objects were eventually eliminated. The method in which glass fragments were recorded was also modified. Initially all glass fragments and tin can fragments were recorded. However, many of these fragments were undiagnostic. Tallying methods were changed and glass was only recorded if it was diagnostic and tin cans were only recorded if they were complete enough to determine the original size of the can. The changes and improvements made to the recording methods during survey of Block 6G remained consistent for the rest of the blocks surveyed. The data recorded and collected in Block 6G are not used for any statistical comparisons between blocks because the changes that occurred during survey skewed the overall object counts.

Though many changes were made to the survey methods during survey of Block 6G, the method in which “Objects of Interest” were pin flagged did not change and remained consistent between all of the blocks. Because transect spacing changed three times during the survey of Block 6G, the number of “Objects of Interest” found may have

been affected. In order to avoid inconsistencies and inaccuracies the Block 6G “Objects of Interest” counts are not used in any formulas that determine percentages or in any numerical comparisons between blocks. Individual artifacts found in this block are however, analyzed and used to support conclusions and themes. Though the methods used to collect data in Block 6G were inconsistent and could produce inaccurate quantitative results, many of the objects found in the block can reveal a great deal about the themes and questions being addressed in this study and should therefore not be ignored.

The site formation processes as well as the existing disturbances that influence the artifact distribution at Amache also need to be addressed. Artifact concentrations were found in several informal dumps and trash scatters located in several surveyed blocks. The nature of how and when these informal trash dumps were created is important to determine since it can influence the conclusions about daily behaviors of the internees. Different ethnic practices of trash disposal must be taken into consideration when examining culturally specific deposits of trash like those at Amache. As Bonnie Clark asserts, “conceptions about the proper disposal of trash are both culturally situated and not entirely conscious (2005:448). Based on personal knowledge of Japanese American culture, I would say that it is highly unlikely that the internees were depositing refuse in visible, public spaces such as gardens or near barracks during occupation of the site. As many people in the camp began to move back to the West Coast in the spring and summer of 1945, the population as well as the public services at Amache began to dwindle. The trash service that collected trash from all of the blocks to be deposited in

the camp dump was eventually terminated. It is at this point that many of the informal trash dumps and scatters found within the blocks were most likely created. Garbage would probably only have been deposited in conspicuous areas of the residential blocks right before families were leaving the camp. As former internee Bob Uragami said, “that culture, mostly *Issseis*, would never think of dumping stuff out” (Uragami 2008).

Artifacts in residential blocks not found as part of informal trash scatters were deposited in the archaeological record in a different manner than those associated with informal dumps. As mentioned above the buildings at Amache were dismantled, removed, or destroyed when the camp was closed. The War Assets Administration (WAA) was responsible for liquidating the buildings from Amache and held sales in the fall of 1946 and 1947. Buildings were sold to state and local government agencies, non-profit organizations, small businesses, institutions such as schools and universities, and local residents (Harvey 2004). Buildings that were not sold were demolished for scrap. In some parts of the camp, such as Blocks 10E and 10H, the removal of buildings was a very destructive process. Utilizing bull dozers, the demolition crews crumbled foundations and left piles of concrete and dirt in many places. Since many internees left Amache quickly and had limited means of transporting their personal property, many personal objects may have been left *in situ* within barracks at the time of abandonment. The removal and destruction of the barracks however would have inevitably moved, buried, or destroyed these objects. Many of the artifacts present on the surface of Amache today may have been deposited in this manner.

It is also possible that small artifacts found on the surface of areas not significantly disturbed may be in their primary locations. Fragments of glass and ceramic objects may represent the remains of broken items that were not thoroughly picked up or disposed of. Other small personal objects found on the surface may be near the primary locations where they were lost or accidentally dropped.

Several other factors also influence the distribution of artifacts at Amache. A soon to expire grazing lease between the town of Granada and a local farmer has allowed cows to roam freely over the site. The grazing cows have impacted the site and its artifacts by moving objects, possibly breaking objects, creating new paths in the vegetation, leaving behind excrement, and even eating pin flags! Looting and vandalism has also influenced the integrity of the site. Shotgun shells and modern beer cans seen throughout the site are evidence of trespassers and looters. Many of the objects in the Amache Museum collection were donated by local residents that had collected the artifacts from the site after the camp closed. Thanks to the efforts of John Hopper and the Amache Preservation Society, much of the local community now understands the importance of Amache and respects it as a significant historical site. It may be due to the awareness promoted by Hopper and his students that looting and vandalism is not nearly as severe or frequent at Amache as it is at other internment sites.

The locations and concentrations of artifacts at Amache have been influenced by factors that may not be directly linked to the common behaviors and practices of the internees. As my study proceeds to look at daily life at Amache it is important to keep in mind the many factors that have influenced the artifact distribution at the site.

Gender Attribution

To distinguish the gendered differences in roles and activities of people of the past based on their material objects, gender attribution of artifacts becomes a necessary component of analysis. Cathy Costin claims that gender attribution is “essential to provide the detail of men’s and women’s lives in the past; otherwise ‘we create a “genderless” gender theory’”(in Gilchrist 1999b:41). A closer look at the specific experiences of Japanese women at Amache requires the insertion of gender into the examination of certain social practices and their associated objects. This is both the “unique contribution of (and challenge to) gender archaeology” (Sorenson 2000:89).

Similar to the contextual categories used by Tamir and others in their study of Gila River, I created categories of objects relevant to the roles, behaviors, and practices of women (Tamir 1993). The categories referred to by the “Objects of Interest” list used in the field were “Food,” “Beauty and Appearance,” “Gardening,” and “Cleaning.” However, the “Food” and “Cleaning” categories can be combined and discussed as a single, more inclusive category, “Domestic Roles.” Therefore the three distinct gender categories used to gender attribute objects at Amache are, “Domestic Roles,” “Beauty and Appearance,” and “Gardening.”

Domestic Roles

The traditional family system that existed amongst the Japanese in America prior to World War II was reflective of many traditional values that the *Issei* immigrants

carried with them from Japan. As discussed in Chapter 2, Japanese immigrants were influenced by the Meiji government's ideas about a strict family structure. Raised to conform to these expectations, Japanese immigrants came to the U.S. practicing the same adherence to family structure as they did in Japan. Under this rigid family organization women were expected to fulfill the roles of wife and mother. Women were not granted any political power, yet were expected to be hard working contributors in their homes as well as positive contributors to society (Nolte 1991). In Japan, this lack of political power restricted the opportunities for women and largely limited them to roles and activities within the domestic sphere.

In the United States, many Japanese immigrant families found it necessary for women to work in the fields to help economically support the family. Despite the frequent need for Japanese immigrant women to work outside of the home, child rearing and taking care of the household still remained within their realm of responsibility. Cooking meals, laundry, and house cleaning as well as watching and feeding children were the understood duties of *Issei* women. Countless memoirs and historical novels recount the admiration and fond memories *Nisei* children have of their mother's tireless efforts in cooking and other household chores before the war. The passages below are examples of these sentiments.

Mama-san was an excellent cook, but being a traditional mother, she never bragged about her delicious meals. I enjoyed working beside her in our farm kitchen, whether it was shelling peas, cutting up vegetables or making a special fish for dinner (Matsuda Gruenwald 2005:55).

The hired men enjoyed Mother's cooking and even on Sundays hung close during meal times. But even Sunday was not a day off for Mother. This was the day for laundering and ironing in addition to

cooking three full meals. Her chores usually ended at midnight. She would be up again at four in the morning to start the fire for breakfast (Nakano 1990:78-79).

Traditional roles of Japanese women make it easy to conclude that it was mainly women who were responsible for domestic duties before the war. Though camp severely disrupted the roles and duties of both men and women, many of these duties and practices remained within the sphere of women's activities. Therefore artifacts associated with food preparation, service, and consumption as well as cleaning, sewing, and decorating are ascribed as female objects.

Beauty and Appearance

Ideas and practices in regards to beauty and appearance during the years preceding internment varied greatly between *Issei* and *Nisei* women. The traditional *Issei* woman in America was not only hard working but modest, making the use of many beauty products and cosmetics impractical. Most *Issei* women did not wear make-up or use American beauty products and when necessary only turned to traditional Japanese beauty products such as blotting papers. *Nisei* attitudes towards the use of beauty products leaned much more towards typical American ideals and popular beliefs. Even during the time of war, American women were expected and encouraged to wear makeup. Some men of the time believed that makeup was "as essential to a woman's morale as a pipe to a male smoker's" (Corson 2003:520). These American ideas about a woman's responsibility towards beauty through the use of makeup would have undoubtedly affected and influenced the behavior and decisions of many *Nisei* women,

clearly making cosmetic items such as lipstick tubes and compacts female attributed objects.

Feminine ideals of beauty and appearance also manifest themselves in activities such as the usage of accessories. Objects found in the field such as hair barrettes, can easily be associated with female internees. The Spring 1943 Sears, Roebuck and Co. catalogue contains a small section of “Modern-design Barrettes,” including a drawing of the back of a woman’s head (Figure 4.1). The product description suggests that the barrettes can be worn to, “match or harmonize with your dresses” (Sears 1943:485). Other objects that can be associated with women’s beauty rituals are hair combs and hair brushes. A look at the Spiegel’s Spring and Summer 1942 catalog shows a dresser set, complete with several brushes and combs, being marketed as a gift for “her”(Spiegel 1942). The catalog description also includes a drawing of a woman admiring her hair in a hand held mirror from the dresser set (Figure 4.2).

Modern-design Barrettes

Bits of smart design and lovely color, to flatter your hair and keep it in place. It's handy, quick, convenient to wear barrettes instead of hairpins. Wear them in colors to match or harmonize with your dresses.

A Airplane-design barrette controls your fly-away hair—makes a good-looking ornament, 2 inches wide. Made of molded plastic, with firm clasp. Bright, red only. Shipping weight, pair, 1 ounce. 25 E 9067. Pair **10c** Each

B Hand design. A pair of graceful hands clasp your hair in place. Molded plastic construction, with matching plastic clasp. About 4 3/4 inches wide. **Colors:** red, white, blue, brown, or amber. **State color.** 25 E 9069—Shipping weight, 1 oz. Each **10c**

Figure 4.1
(Sears 1943:485)

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Figure 4.2
(Spiegel 1942:399)

Female clothing items, shoes, and jewelry also fall under the “Beauty and Appearance” category and can reveal a great deal about how internees were influenced by American fashion trends even within confinement. In general the objects of interest that fall under the “Beauty and Appearance” category are items that women of the 1940s were encouraged to use in their attempts to conform to the standardized ideals of beauty and femininity of that time.

Gardening

Before the war both *Issei* men and women participated in gardening activities. Though many of these *Issei* men and women were also involved in laborious agricultural jobs, cultivating a personal home garden was often an enjoyable activity and source of pride. Though gardening was not an activity exclusively participated in by women, it is still important to include it in the suite of activities that women were engaged in at camp.

Because gardening was also engaged in by children, it was also an appropriate activity in which parents could model behavior for their children. Taking care of children was traditionally the domestic responsibility of Japanese women which means that gardens in the camp may have been spaces in which women interacted with their children. The *Issei*'s strong connection to nature made gardens an apt place in which to pass on the many lessons they believed could be learned from an appreciation and respect of nature (Matsueda 2006b).

Additional Support for Gender Attribution

The material items we found at Amache belonged to individual people with individual stories and legacies. Though it is typically not possible to pinpoint the exact identity of the owners of each archaeological object, determining whether they were used by men or women helps put a face and a story to otherwise depersonalized objects.

Oftentimes an object can become gendered through its own “inherent characteristics” or through “repetitive associations” (Sorenson 2000). This gendering of objects can be dangerous without the inclusion of and attention to context. Some archaeologists claim that gender attribution, since it is based on making gender visible in the archaeological record, reduces gender archaeology to “a methodology for rendering male and female activities visible, or at least a version of them based on our assumptions regarding the sexual division of labour” (Gilchrist 1999b:41). These criticisms of gender attribution are born out of a valid concern that our own preconceptions and understandings of gender based roles and ideals will be imposed upon the very mechanism we are using to decipher the past. Our inherent biases and the use of modern or even historic ethnographic models as analogies for gendered constructions of the past can be problematic.

These concerns and criticisms are especially valid in regards to archaeological research of the deep past. This historical study, however, not only has the advantage of being about a well documented, relatively recent time period, but it also has as one of its resources the oral histories and memories of the people whom it studies. Memoirs and oral history interviews about Japanese women’s lives both before and during internment

can reveal a great deal about female roles and activities. These insights have provided valuable clues used to decipher and determine the likely gender attributes of the archaeological objects. Rather than projecting modern gender ideas and analogies onto the lives of voiceless people from deep in the past, the gender attribution of objects from Amache is informed by the voices of the very people being studied through histories, photographs, memoirs, and other archival documents.

Oral Histories

The documentary record and the archaeological record provide clues about what daily life was like at Amache. Oral histories and stories can be used as a tool to interpret the clues provided by other lines of evidence and help paint a more holistic picture of internment life. The memories and perspectives of former internees can shed a great deal of light on how specific objects were used during activities within daily routines as well as reveal how the internees felt about both the objects and their use.

To give a face and voice to the artifacts and documents from Amache the words and sentiments of former internees were incorporated into my research process. During a meeting in Los Angeles with the Amache Historical Society (AHS) in December 2007, the themes of my research were introduced to the former internees in attendance. Feedback on my project was positive and many of the attendees seemed to have positive attitudes about former internee participation. A few months after the meeting Minoru Tonai, AHS President, put together a list of members that he felt would be willing to be contacted about oral history interviews. I contacted these members first through letters

that introduced me and my thesis project, then by phone or e-mail in order to set up individual and group interviews with those that had responded affirmatively. In addition to AHS members, several of the oral history participants were found through other avenues. Personal connections in the Japanese American community in the San Francisco Bay Area and connections made during the field trip organized by JANM as part of their national conference held in Denver led to several former internees interested in sharing oral histories. Many former Amache internees attended these visits and though not all of the former internees I met could be scheduled for an interview, many of them were very willing to be contacted about participating in and contributing to the research efforts at Amache.

After the Amache field school ended in July, I traveled to California in order to conduct interviews with 18 different former Amache internees. The interviews took place throughout the month of August 2008 in a range of settings from kitchens and living rooms to a Japan Town food court. Most interviews were conducted with individuals but several interviews took place in groups. The interviewees were men and women, their ages ranging from 73 to 94, and their current cities of residence spanning from Orange County to Sacramento.

All of the interviews, except for one group interview, were recorded using a digital voice recorder and hand written notes. Prior to our meetings, per the request of one of the participants, the interviewees were sent a list of topics that were of interest to me based on their possible capabilities to shed light on my research questions. Topics such as cooking and food in the barracks, domestic responsibilities, entertainment and

hobbies, gardening, jobs, school memories, and beauty and hygiene practices were some of the general topics included in the distributed list (Appendix E). The interviews were casual and the interviewees were mostly allowed to freely reminisce and revisit past memories. The topics of interest began dialogues about the internees' personal experiences with each subject as well as the experiences of female friends and family members. Many interesting, yet not as relevant stories were also shared. In order to move the conversation from stories about Boy Scout camping trips back to more relevant memories about aunts and mothers cooking in the barracks, the list of topics was often referred to for guidance.

In total almost 20 hours of oral histories were recorded during the interviews held in California. A select portion of these recordings have been transcribed for inclusion in this thesis. The remaining recordings, with permission through release forms (Appendix E) signed by the interviewees, are being added to the DU collection of Amache resources for use in future research.

Additional oral history interviews were conducted during the Amache reunion held in Las Vegas in May 2009. I attended the conference along with Dr. Bonnie Clark, and DU classmates, April Kamp-Whittaker, and Jennifer Otto. Each of us had multiple informal conversations with former internees throughout the conference, sometimes taking notes and other times not. We also organized several sessions of group interviews broken up by block and by topic. Blocks 8K, 9H, 10E, and 9L each had their own sessions during which residents of each block were asked general questions about such topics as activities they participated in and places they used to play. There were also

group sessions that specifically focused on the topics of elementary school memories, Amache reunions, and preservation. The interviews were not recorded with digital voice recorders but detailed notes were taken by designated note takers in each session.

Personal collections of photos, other documents such as silk screened dance bids and church service programs, and various crafts made in Amache were also shared with me during the oral history interviews I conducted in California. These objects and documents were photographed and described in notes. Scrapbooks and photo albums were also shared by former internees at the Amache reunion held in Las Vegas in May 2009. Many of these photos and documents were digitally scanned as well as photographed.

The oral history component of my research design proved an invaluable experience that truly altered my perspectives on the implications, motivations, and expectations of my research. The oral history data turned out to be a much more complex and multidimensional resource than I had anticipated. The analysis and inclusion of oral histories into my research involved more than simply quoting the words and stories of former internees. As interviews were reviewed and referenced it was important for me to stay aware of the many factors that influence the interpretation of oral histories.

Internment was a significant event in the lives of the *Nisei* internees I interviewed that has shaped and influenced many aspects of their self identity. The act of sharing stories and memories can serve a multitude of purposes including understanding events of the past as well as constructing a sense of reality (Ochs 1996). Jerome Bruner reiterates this by calling narrative, “a form not only of representing but of constituting reality”

(1991:5). For many of the former Amache internees sharing their stories helps them to better understand how internment shaped and influenced who they are today. The act of sharing memories from that time in life aids the internees in the construction of self that is constantly being built and that interacts with and is influenced by others that have shared experiences.

Sharing oral histories in a group also adds a different dimension to the construction of self by introducing concepts of collective memory. Ron Eyerman states that, "Collective memory unifies the group through time and over space by providing a narrative frame, a collective story, which locates the individual and his and her biography within it, and which, because it can be represented as narrative and as text, attains mobility" (2004:161). By sharing their stories in a group, the interviewees in Livingston and San Francisco were able to work with each other to construct a collective story and to situate themselves within that narrative.

Along with considering issues of self identity and collective memory, factors that affect individual memory, such as current age and age during the period of time being remembered need to be addressed while interpreting oral histories. Most of the interviewees are currently at an older age where people naturally begin to struggle with memory. Many details of their stories and memories from over sixty years ago have understandably been forgotten or are becoming hazy. "It is not only generational age differences that reveal different modes of remembering and telling, but also the age at which experiences occurred" (Gluck 2008:131). It is also important to remember the age of the interviewees while they were in camp. Many of the interviewees were young

teenagers at Amache and their memories of that time reflect the typical concerns of that age group. The details of what internees can and cannot remember tell us a lot about what was important to them during camp and what they still think is important and significant enough to remember today.

Struggles with memory highlight the issue of oral histories as sources of information versus their use as an entry into the experiences, points of view, opinions, reactions, and emotions of an individual. Hoffman and Hoffman highlight the significance of oral histories by stating that, “independent of its scholarly value as a primary source of information, the value of an interview lies in its presentation of the views of a particular actor drawn from a particular community at a set time” (2008:49). Through thorough interpretation oral histories not only provide information about the past but they can illuminate perspectives of living in the past that could otherwise not be gained by other lines of evidence. Though oral histories can ideally be used to create direct links to the archaeological and documentary record they can also be valued for their ability to reveal psychological aspects of events in the past. In the exploration of the female internment experience, oral histories offer the unique insight into how interned women felt about confinement and aid in understanding their behaviors and reactions.

The inclusion of oral histories not only requires my awareness of the complex aspects of interpretation but it also forces me to acknowledge my cultural connection with the interviewees. In almost all of the interviews I conducted the interviewees asked me where my relatives are from, what their names are, and what camp they were at, further solidifying a shared bond of heritage. Though I share certain commonalities and

understandings with the Japanese American population, differences in situation inevitably force me into the role of researcher in regards to certain subjects. My limited understanding of the Japanese language, my age, and my mixed Japanese and Chinese heritage are differences that often widened the divide between my role as a researcher and the former internees' roles as research subjects.

Despite these differences, my membership in the same heritage group of the internees gives me something of an inside perspective of certain cultural ideas or subjects. However this understanding does not give me the freedom to presume the position or assume the voice of former internees. According to Rosemary Joyce, archaeological authors need to remember that, "we cannot place ourselves in the position of the other" (2002:17). In this case the "other" refers to the community of former internees. As I incorporate the words and sentiments of former internees into my research, I must be conscious of not trying to speak as them but instead let their own words speak for themselves.

Oral histories are more than just a way to confirm theories about the past that material objects and documents lead us to develop. They are the emotional and personal components of research that help remind us that the theories and results we present are actually the stories of the people that lived them.

Multiple Lines of Evidence Working Together

My research into the lives of women at Amache has produced abundant amounts of data from oral histories, documentary resources, and archaeological field work. These

lines of evidence naturally complement each other as they are applied to the results and conclusions of my study. Using all three resources helps to strengthen and broaden our understanding of the female internment experience. In the following chapters these three forms of data are used together to explore the lives of women at Amache in the public and private spheres and at the individual and community levels.

CHAPTER 5: PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPHERES

Public and Private Spheres

Within the confines of camp, privacy was controlled and limited in many ways.

The WRA rules and regulations that governed the lives of the internees forced a redefinition of the internees' pre-war conceptions of private space versus public space. Ideas of appropriate public behavior that existed before internment were altered as activities previously prescribed to the private sphere were transferred into communal settings. The changes to daily life significantly impacted the lives of all internees but because of the nature of women's traditional roles, these changes may have had the strongest affect on the behavior of women. This chapter looks specifically at how these changes affected the daily routines and actions of women at Amache and how they adapted, resisted, and created their own definitions of public and private.

The Public Sphere

The structure of daily life in Amache drastically changed the spaces in which domestic activities took place. Many activities that were conventionally performed within the privacy of the household such as laundry, bathing, and dining were thrown into the public arena at camp. The removal of these events from the private to public contexts greatly affected the daily lives of women. Because women were traditionally responsible for these normally private domestic tasks, they were the ones that had to adapt to

performing these chores in shared public spaces. Women responded to the communal structure by either attempting to privatize parts of the public sphere or by embracing the social aspects of it. Oftentimes these differing responses can also be associated with different generations. The *Issei* more commonly tried to reclaim their privacy and independence while the younger *Nisei* accepted and even relished the social aspects of the public arena. Both responses to the public sphere reflect the adaptability as well as resilience of women within Amache.

The Bathhouse:

Many internees that were young girls, teenagers, or mothers at Amache have very strong memories of the activities of the communal bathhouse. Several women that I interviewed recalled the arduous tasks of scrubbing, washing, and wringing laundry that happened within the bathhouse. As a young girl, Cookie Takeshita remembers the older women teaching her how to wash sheets and helping her fill up the wash basins with hot water (Takeshita 2008). In warm weather even the hanging and drying of laundry was a very public activity as women hung their wash on clotheslines strung across the open spaces behind the barracks. A large wash basin and a button found near each other on the outskirts of Block 8K suggest that washing laundry may have also taken place outside of the laundry room, possibly in outdoor spaces even more public than the wash rooms (Appendix A). One of the most drastic changes in behavior involved the public performance of personal hygiene activities such as showering and using the toilet. These normally very private routines were especially difficult for the very modest *Issei* women

to perform in public. Women adopted an array of tactics and tricks in order to cope with this transition. Women intending to shower would walk into the bathhouse covered in bathrobes and wearing Japanese wooden sandals or *geta*, which they kept on even in the shower (Takeshita 2008). An example of such a *geta* is currently held in the Amache Museum collection (Figure 5.1). With barely any privacy, using the toilet and showers were an exercise in ingenuity as internees found creative new ways to drape their towels and robes over the doorless stalls (Richardson 2007). Many *Issei*, despite the awkwardness of public bathing and toilet use also maintained a traditional sense of politeness. Cookie Takeshita remembers many of the *Issei* women bowing repeatedly when they came into the bathhouse as they walked by women seated on the toilets.



Figure 5.1
Wooden *geta* from Amache
Amache Museum Collections

Many women used the facilities at odd hours in an attempt to avoid crowds. The rural women of Block 10E, used to the early hours of agricultural life, woke up between 4:00am and 4:30am (Takeshita 2008). Grace Yamaguchi Kimoto, in a written response to several interview questions about her time at Amache remembers her mother doing laundry at odd hours in order to have hot water (Kimoto 2008). Eileen Wakamiya's mother was so shy and committed to preserving her modesty that Eileen never saw her mother shower the entire time they were at Amache (Wakamiya 2008). Women like these were trying to maintain whatever small amounts of privacy they could recuperate by navigating their way through public chores during the least populated hours. During these very early hours, these women found some small moments of quiet and privacy that differed greatly from the hustle and bustle of more popular washroom hours.

Other women responded differently to the new public arena and used chores as an avenue by which to socialize and gossip. Toyo Suyemoto compares the bathhouse to a village, "gathering around the town well, they flocked to wait their turn and gossip" (Richardson 2007:82). Chores and hygiene routines became group activities that were simultaneously productive and social. In oral history interviews several former internees remember some blocks installing tubs for washing babies and Japanese baths or, *furos*, in the women's washroom. These additions to the bathhouse clearly illustrate how many women embraced the new social aspect of daily washing routines. Traditionally *furos* were used in the home for relaxation and warmth, soaked in after one is already clean. In Japan, public baths and hot springs involve taking *furo*, or bathing with others of the same gender (Clark 1994). The installation of *furos* shows that even some *Issei* women

were embracing the new public situation by integrating traditional Japanese customs. The washroom became such a space of socialization that internees began using the area for other activities. Cookie Takeshita was taught how to dance the jitterbug in the 10E bathhouse and Bob Urugami recalls working out with his friend's bar bells in his block's bathhouse (Takeshita 2008; Urugami 2008). The bathhouse became a public arena that fostered socialization, learning, enculturation, and served as a functional washroom. Both responses to the public bathhouse involved women committing to making the best of their situation by being flexible and willing to sacrifice in order to fulfill their domestic responsibilities.

The Gardens

Another activity that became very public during internment was gardening. Many of the Japanese immigrants were farmers in Japan and therefore had an understanding of and relationship with agriculture. Not surprisingly many Japanese grew vegetable and flower gardens at their homes before the war. At the internment camps, in order to create a sense of normalcy and familiarity to their physical surroundings, internees continued their gardening practices and cultivated vegetable and flower gardens in their residential blocks. The internees often invested a great deal of time and care into these gardens, creating extremely ornate displays using various types of materials (Figure 5.2).



Figure 5.2
Mataji Umeda's garden, Block 7G
from the photo collection of Helen Yagi

Though pre-internment gardens were not necessarily all private, the gardens at Amache were all inevitably very public. Results from the archaeological surface survey reveal that gardens were incredibly popular throughout the residential blocks. There were 16 gardens found during survey of six residential blocks, an additional four during informal survey of Blocks 9L and 11K, and six gardens that were identified during the 2003 survey of Amache (Table 5.1). The presence of entry way gardens and gardens behind the barracks were often evidenced by evenly spaced alignments of trees, deliberately arranged limestone and concrete, limestone concentrations, brick alignments, and in one instance a large piece of quartz. Fragments of terra cotta flower pots were also found in several blocks. In a garden in Block 9H a flower pot fragment was found along with a wire wrapped around the branch of a still living tree possibly used to hang

decorative elements in the garden (Figure 5.3). In Block 10H flower pot fragments were found between barracks 7 and 8 and behind barrack 11 suggesting that gardens had been present in those areas during occupation but no visible traces of the gardens exist on the surface today.



Figure 5.3
Wire hook on tree branch, Block 9H
photograph by author

**Table 5.1
Amache Garden Inventory**

2008 Survey						
Block	Feature	Location	Material	Vegetation	Water Feature	Associated Artifacts
6G	F3	Front of Barrack 11	Limestone, concrete		yes, koi pond	
6G	F4	Front of Barrack 3	Limestone, concrete		no	
6G	F5	Front door of Barrack 9	Brick, wood		no	
6H	F1	Front of Barrack 7	Brick		no	
6H	F2	Front of Barrack 7	Limestone, rock	1 tree, 2 bushes	no	red plastic game piece
6H	F3	Center of block, S of bath house, N of koi pond	Brick, concrete	2 trees	no	
6H	F4	Back of Barrack 4	Wood, 2x4 boards		no	
8K	F2	Front of Barrack 3	Limestone, extends length of Barrack	4 trees	no	
8K	F3	Front of Barrack 8	Ceramic pipe		no	
8K	F6	Front of Barrack 1	Limestone, extends length of Barrack	5 trees	no	
9H	F1	Front of Barrack 9	Limestone, Concrete, black decorative rock,	4 trees, bush	no	
9H	F3	Front of Barrack 7	Limestone, Concrete	2 trees	no	
9H	F4	Front of Barrack 11	Concrete	3 trees	no	wire attached to tree, flower pot fragment
9H	F5	Front of Barrack 4	Concrete		possible	
10E	F1	Front of Barrack 1	Concrete	1 tree	no	
10H	F1	Front of Barrack 10	Concrete	1 tree	no	marble

2003 Survey						
7H		North of bath house	Brick, cinder block			
7K		Front, between Barracks 5&6	Concrete		yes, koi pond	
8E		East side of block	Concrete, river cobble			
12F		West wall of mess hall	Concrete			
12K		West wall of mess hall	Concrete, cinder block			
6H		South of Bathhouse	Concrete, river cobble		yes, koi pond	marbles

2008 Informal Survey						
9L		Oval garden north of bath house	Cinder block	1 tree	no	
9L		Front of Barrack 8	Cinder block		no	
9L		Front of Barrack 9	Concrete	cactus	possible	
11E		West side of mess hall	Concrete	4 trees	no	marble

As shown in Table 5.1 almost all of the gardens found during survey were composed of hardscaping materials such as limestone and concrete. Many gardens which were constructed of other materials such as wood surely existed but are no longer visible on the surface. There was only one backyard garden found during survey which also happened to be made of wood. Though only one backyard garden was found, oral histories and photographs suggest that backyard gardens were just as popular as those in the front yard. Fumi Nishizaki remembers a community garden behind the barracks in Block 6H (Nishizaki 2008). Stella Kato's family grew gourds in both the front and back gardens in Block 8G and in Shigeko Tanaka's block the backyard gardens were so abundant the block manager had to regulate the gardens to ensure accessibility to the clotheslines strung in the backyard area (Kato 2008; Tanaka 2008).

The discrepancy between the oral histories, historic photographs, and the number of backyard gardens found during survey could possibly be explained by a trend of building backyard gardens out of wood. A trend such as this also differentiates the ways in which the fronts of barracks were treated in contrast to the way the backyard spaces of barracks were used. Internees may have treated the spaces behind the barracks as they would their own private backyards. Because these backyard areas did not serve as main thoroughfares for foot traffic they provided more privacy than the more public barrack fronts. Access to the inside of barracks could only be obtained through entrances located at the front of the barracks. The gardens in the fronts of barracks inevitably had greater exposure to the public than backyard gardens. Based on the features found during surface survey front yard gardens seemed to have been built in a very formal manner. The

materials involved such as poured concrete reveal a great deal of planning and an intended permanence. The front yard gardens were displays of creativity and artistic expression to be shared and enjoyed with the public. The one backyard garden found during survey, in contrast to the more formal front yard gardens, does not contain any hardscape features such as concrete or brick but instead was constructed out of wood. Backyard gardens using materials that were less formal may have been intended for private enjoyment or the practical cultivation of vegetables. These backyard areas were also established as spaces of work as evidenced by the clotheslines that drape across the backs of barracks in historic photographs (Figure 5.4). Responsible for the hanging of laundry, it can be easily assumed that women spent a large amount of time in these backyard spaces. It is another example of how women adjusted to the new public sphere by creating a sense of privacy within a public area.



Figure 5.4
Barrack backyard with clotheslines, wood garden outlines, and play structures
Namura photograph collection

The archaeology at Amache also shows that some women dealt with gardens being in the public sphere by turning them into social spaces. Much like the transformation of the bathhouse into a gathering place, the oval garden excavated in Block 9L is a clear example of women appropriating an outdoor garden space for their own social use. This oval garden was one of two gardens that are present on the north edge of Block 9L overlooking much of the rest of the camp below and the town of Granada in the distance. The outlines of the gardens are comprised of cut cinderblock pieces arranged in ovals approximately 9m long and 2m wide (Figure 5.5).



Figure 5.5
Excavation of oval garden in Block 9L
photograph by Gary Ono

Several oral histories have claimed that this block and specifically this garden was where women from Los Angeles with less than traditional and somewhat unsavory lifestyles would gather to drink, dance, and listen to music (Tonai 2008). An examination of the block map shows that the residents of Block 9L are almost all from Los Angeles (Appendix A). The internees from big cities such as Los Angeles had reputations as being dangerous, fast, hip, sophisticated, and even glamorous. They were often called “yogores” by the rural residents, a derivative of the Japanese word “yogoreru” meaning to become dirty. Because of its city based population Block 9L earned nicknames such as “Hollywood” and “Chinatown” (Takeshita 2008; Tonai 2008). It is in this fast and lively block that women from Little Tokyo who had been waitresses before the war reportedly used the oval gardens as a place to relax and socialize.

During excavation a nail polish bottle with dried red polish still inside was found in Level 2, approximately 46cm below the datum (Figure 5.6). The nail polish bottle held one of the red hues popular at the time which were often advertised with a romantic and seductive flair. The non traditional women of Block 9L would be natural consumers of such products. During informal surface survey of the block a tone control piece from a radio was also found, further substantiating the oral history accounts of the activities within the gardens (Figure 5.7).



Figure 5.6
nail polish bottle from oval garden excavation
photo by author



Figure 5.7
tone control from surface of Block 9L
photo by author

A shoe found during excavation also points to the presence of women based on its size and the fact that it has a rubber sole. Most men's shoes available in mail order catalogues of the time advertise rubber heels but leather soles. The shoe found in Level 3 has a rubber sole and a small rubber heel that looks similar to both children's and women's moccasin style shoes. Several artifacts found during excavation also point to the presence of children. Two marbles, the paw from a red plastic animal toy, possibly a Cracker Jack prize, and a butterfly shaped Bakelite hair barrette are all objects specifically relating to children that were found during the 9L garden excavation. It is interesting that in this garden area, remembered as a gathering place for women, there are only four artifacts that relate to children and none that can be directly linked explicitly to men.

Both men and women of the first generation actively participated in gardening before the war. Agricultural skills brought with them from Japan made the *Issei* successful farmers and gardeners and both men and women participated in these jobs in America. Even though gardening was oftentimes a laborious job for many *Issei*, they also took pleasure in cultivating their own personal vegetable and flower gardens. Though not a task strictly allocated to women, gardening within Amache is relevant to the adaptation to the public arena because of the participation by both genders and multiple generations, the different ways in which garden areas were used, and for the appropriate metaphors it conjures in regards to nurturing and fostering new life that can be compared to the stoic endurance of the *Issei*.

The Mess Hall

In traditional Japanese culture mealtime is a time to spend with family. Familial roles are fulfilled, structure is emphasized, and family dynamics are solidified. Daisuke Kitagawa refers to this meal time structure as the “family table”, which he describes as, “an institution around which the life of the family as a unit is centered. It is where children ‘eat and drink’ their parents’ love and care for them, as materially symbolized in the meals earned by the father and prepared by the mother” (1967:86). In camp the structure of mealtimes was completely disrupted by being forced into the public arena. Internees were forced to eat three scheduled meals per day in large military style mess halls. Mealtimes were characterized by long lines, unfamiliar foods, and the visible deterioration of family solidarity and unity. The mess halls contained rows of unassigned

tables and benches, seating approximately 250 people at a time (Harvey 2004) (Figure 5.8).



Figure 5.8
Amache mess hall
Namura photograph collection

Similar to a high school cafeteria, diners were free to choose their own seats. Many young adults, teenagers, and even older children began using mealtime as yet another avenue of socialization and chose to sit with their friends and peers rather than their families. The seating arrangements in the mess hall exacerbated the growing divisions between families that life in confinement had initiated. Without the “family table” children were not exposed to the reinforcement of parental authority which led to a lack of both discipline and respect. The dynamics of the traditional meal time reinforced parents as providers, fathers specifically being suppliers while mothers were typically responsible for the preparation of food. Takahashi argues that in camp, the WRA became the “provider” and it was evident to children that their meals were not earned or prepared

by their parents (Takahashi 1997). At Amache some of the blocks reacted to this divisive behavior by establishing assigned seating arrangements, forcing families to sit together (Matsumoto 1984b; Takeshita 2008). These blocks attempted to limit the detrimental effects of a forced public mealtime by proactively controlling one aspect of the situation.

The response of women to the publicness of dining differs from their responses to the bathhouse and gardens. Those women that embraced dining in the public arena were, for the most part, younger. The social response to the dining hall from the younger generation directly opposed the ideals and beliefs of the older generation. The opposite ways in which women adapted to the bathhouse and gardens existed without competition or antagonism towards each other. In contrast the *Nisei* response to public dining caused palpable tension and division between generations.

Another way in which young women embraced the publicness of mess halls was by getting jobs as mess hall waitresses, responsible for serving tea and rationing sugar. Once again this was a way in which young women were able to participate in a social atmosphere, constantly interacting with hundreds of people at a time. Many *Issei* women were also part of the mess hall staff but held jobs within the confines of the kitchen as assistants to the male cook. Like their other responses to the public arena, *Issei* women tried to privatize at least one aspect of a very public system. Though they were preparing food for hundreds of people, the older women that worked in the mess halls chopped, washed, and cooked in the relative quiet of the mess hall kitchen (Figure 5.9).



Figure 5.9
A mess hall cook and his assistants in the kitchen
Namura photograph collection

The differing responses to the public arena oftentimes illustrate the differences between the *Issei* and *Nisei* generations. As the older *Issei* attempted to reclaim and reproduce aspects of their privacy, the younger *Nisei* women embraced the social opportunities that the public sphere offered. Though sometimes completely opposite in their tactics of adaptation, the women of Amache, both *Issei* and *Nisei*, found the most effective ways to deal with communal living and an almost complete elimination of true privacy.

One other response to the public sphere that women resorted to was defiance. The quiet refusal to adapt to the public sphere caused women to reclaim their own privacy by moving public activities into their own private spheres. The details of women's quiet resistance are revealed as we explore the private sphere.

The Private Sphere

Because many activities were moved to the public arena, the traditionally female managed private domestic sphere was reduced to a much smaller and limited suite of activities. Amache's communal living structure made the personal barrack apartments of each individual family the only place within camp that the internees could consider private. Yet even this private space was not truly private as the thin walls and close quarters allowed the business of each apartment's residents to be easily heard by barrack neighbors (Figure 5.10).

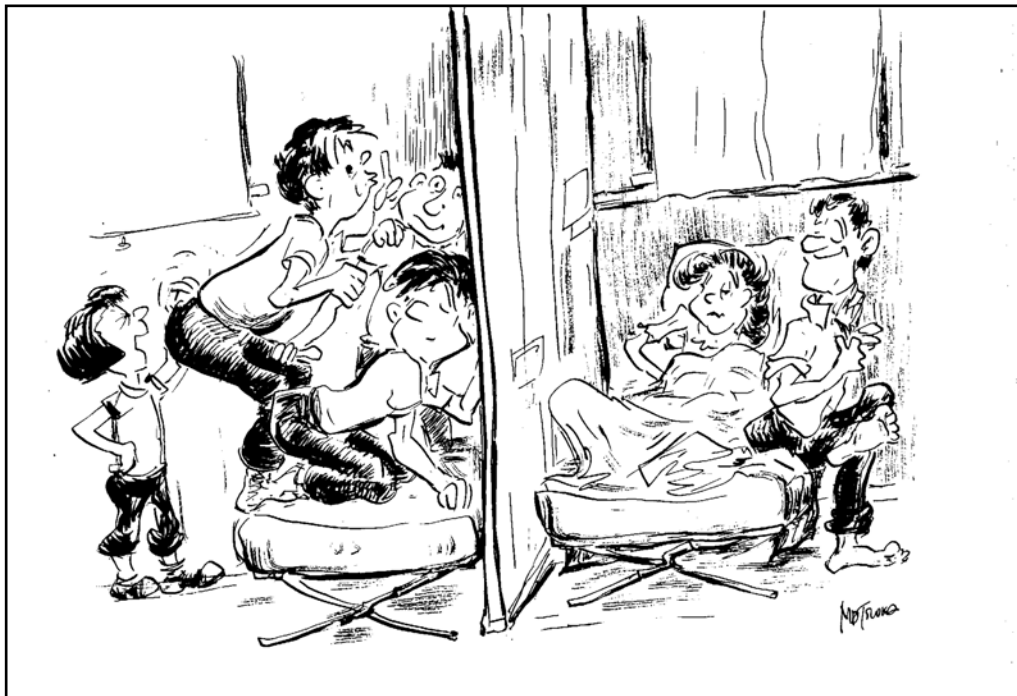


Figure 5.10
“Bedroom demonstrations”
by Jack Matsuoka in *Camp II, Block 211*

Not only was there no escape from hearing and being heard by neighbors but within families there was also a lack of physical privacy. Many former internees

remember using curtains as substitutes for walls, separating small living and sleeping areas within the barracks. One Christmas, the gifts Eileen Wakamiya's father had ordered from a mail order catalogue arrived broken. Because there was no privacy within the barrack Eileen couldn't help but see her father repairing the toys before she received them on Christmas day (Wakamiya 2008). These cramped living conditions often had divisive affects on family unity. Yoshiko Uchida, in her memoir about life at Topaz, the Central Utah Relocation Center, describes the effects of living in close quarters similar to those at Amache, "For other families, however, one-room living proved more destructive. Many children drifted away from their parents, rarely bothering to spend time in their own barracks..." (1982:123). Toyo Suyemoto, a former internee also from Topaz, calls the barrack apartments, "bare boxes that allowed no privacy". She continues to say that in order to endure this lack of privacy they each had to, "create inner corners of the self that were altogether our own even while aware of the others around us in the same existence" (Richardson 2007:98).

The Barracks as a Home

Regardless of how artificial the privacy within the barracks was, the area within the barracks was the only space within camp that the internees could truly call their own. Many women managed this private space in ways similar to how they had handled their households before the war. In historical archaeology the classic definitions of households have begun to expand in order to be more inclusive of the different influences of ethnicity, gender, and class. Approaches in household archaeology now focus on

households as, “sites of practice, of ongoing negotiation and the construction of meaning, and as places where social and cultural relationships are produced and reproduced almost continuously” (King 2006:299). At Amache, the barracks clearly served as households and the practices that women took control over gave them the agency to produce and reproduce their understanding of their social relationships within confinement. Their control over their household allowed women to reclaim and retain some of the domestic authority that internment had taken away. In their barrack households women managed the cleaning and decorating, and they maintained their roles as caregivers by preparing and applying home remedies. Many women, unhappy with the public structure of camp life simply refused to do certain activities in public and continued activities such as ironing and cooking within the privacy of their barracks. An examination of the conditions and activities that happened within the “privacy” of barracks is essential in understanding how women responded to camp life within the private sphere. The private sphere of barrack households can be viewed as, “critical locations in broader social and cultural change,” which can help us broadly understand how Japanese female identity adapted to and resisted change within confinement (King 2006:297).

Cleaning

The traditional Japanese religions of Buddhism and Shintoism both strongly advocate cleanliness (Sawada 1998). It is no surprise that beliefs and practices of the *Issei* in the United States have been influenced by these religions. Japanese households traditionally enforce practices such as removing shoes before entering the house and

washing hands before meals. My own Japanese mother instilled in my sister and me an almost obsessive concern, passed down from both her *Nisei* mother and *Issei* grandmother, for keeping the house as dust free as possible at all times. Amongst the plethora of duties that women were responsible for in and out of the home, keeping the home clean and orderly were constant concerns. Maintaining the same level of diligent cleanliness seen in the home before the war was a great challenge for women living in the cramped and dusty barracks in camp. Before the war young girls and teenagers were expected to help with the upkeep of household cleanliness and in camp it was no different. A young teenager in Amache, Grace Yamaguchi Kimoto remembers being responsible for keeping her family's barrack room free of the sand that would constantly creep in through the windows and the crevices in the wooden walls (Kimoto 2008). Sally Sugiyoka Noguchi remembers carrying buckets of hot water from the Block 11F bathhouse to wash the brick floors in her family's barrack (Noguchi 2008). Buckets probably similar to the ones Sally Noguchi's family used to perform domestic chores such as mopping were also found during surface survey. One metal bucket with a handle was found in Block 10E and the remains of at least four buckets were found in an informal dump just south of the bathhouse in Block 10H (Figure 5.11).



Figure 5.11
Bucket found in during surface survey of Block 10H
photograph by author

Other cleaning related artifacts such as part of an Aero mop and the frame of a wire toilet brush were found during survey. Though the wire toilet brush, found in the bathhouse of Block 10H, may represent the duties of the Sanitation Section of Amache's Public Works Division, which likely handled the cleaning of public spaces such as the bathhouse, the presence of artifacts such as glass cleaning product bottles suggests that the internees may have also had access to these supplies for use within their barracks. Surface survey identified a total of eight cleaning product bottles based on distinctive maker's marks and common characteristics of bleach bottles of the 1940s (Appendix C-Table 5.2). Four bottles had identifiable Hi-Lex bleach embossing or characteristics. Three bottles bore marks of the Clorox Company consistent with the location and raised

embossing Clorox used in the early 1940s, and one bottle was identified as a bleach jug based on color, size, and vessel type (The Clorox Company 1998-2006) (Figure 5.12).



Figure 5.12
Clorox bleach quart bottles from 1940-1942
from <http://www.thecloroxcompany.com/company/history/bottleguide/40quart.html>

These bottles were found in three of the residential blocks surveyed: 8K, 9H, and 10H. As seen in Table 5.2, these bleach bottles came in quart, half gallon, or gallon sizes, however the majority of the bottles were either half gallon or gallon jugs. These larger industrial sized jugs may have been used for cleaning the bathhouses and mess halls but the smaller bottles may represent use by individual families. Another possibility is that the industrial sized products, supplied by the Sanitation Section, were shared by residents within blocks for personal use within the barracks or for laundry.

It is also interesting to note that no cleaning product bottles were found in the non residential block surveyed, the school block, 8H. This further suggests that the cleaning

products within the residential blocks were being used for personal and private cleaning practices. Whether cleaning products were used consistently or only on rare occasions, cleaning of the barracks was clearly enforced and practiced by the women of Amache as they strove to keep their internment households tidy and maintain a traditional Japanese ideal of cleanliness.

Decorating

Another main concern for many mothers was to create a livable and comfortable space within their households. Creating a comfortable home not only meant cleaning the barracks but making it look like a home. Janet Saisho, in a memoir about her mother-in-law, asserts that the priority upon arriving at Amache was, “to make the assigned barrack into a home for the family” (Saisho 1981:6). Bob Uragami explained the decor of his family’s barrack during an oral history interview by saying, “...the whole idea was to make it like home” (Uragami 2008). An article in *The Rafu Shimpo* entitled, “The ‘feminine touch’” describes a picture of three women at the Manzanar Relocation Center as “figuring out ways of putting the feminine touch’ on their new quarters” (*The Rafu Shimpo* 1942) (Figure 5.13).



Figure 5.13
Article in *The Rafu Shimpo*
March 24, 1942

Women were clearly expected to maintain their domestic authority and responsibility in any ways they could. A College Council sponsored forum, “How to Make Barrack Rooms into Comfortable Homes”, was held at the Amache Town Hall and featured a professional female “Homemaker” and a female interior decorator. Men were also involved in modifying the barracks but in more traditionally male associated aspects as evidenced by the male architect also featured in the forum (Appendix D).

Many oral histories further verify this gender specific division in decorating duties. Former internees have many memories of their fathers and brothers stealing lumber from construction sites within the camp to construct bunk beds, desks, benches, and dressers. One former internee's brother was actually an architect before the war and was able to construct a small room within the barrack apartment using "liberated" wall board (Uragami 2008). Evidence of female participation in barrack decorating, in contrast to the woodworking and construction done by males, involves former internees' memories of their mothers sewing window curtains from fabric bought through mail order catalogues. Women also participated in homemaking classes that offered instruction in activities such as crocheting table cloths, towels, and doilies, all which could be used to spruce up the appearance of the cramped barracks. Craft classes available at Amache taught women how to crochet animals such as dogs and display them in mayonnaise jars (Figure 5.14).



Crocheted dog made by Mrs. Kashiwabara
Personal collection of Eileen Wakamiya



Crocheted dog in mayonnaise jar in the
Amache Museum Collection

Figure 5.14

Other classes taught painting and paper flower making. Min Tonai remembers women knitting pretty covers for their cold cream jars (Tonai 2008). All of these craft projects could have easily been used to brighten the interior of the barracks. The Amache Museum has in its collection a framed painting and framed photograph, collected at Amache shortly after the camp closed, that may have once adorned the walls of a family's barrack (Figure 5.15).



Figure 5.15
Painting from Amache
Amache Museum Collection

The decorating of the barracks, especially as performed within the gendered specified parameters of the time, helped to create a sense of normalcy and reaffirmed the roles that men and women played within the household.

Women as Caregivers

Another role that women held within the household was that of caregiver. In opposition to the father's role as provider and disciplinarian, mothers were often expected to provide sympathy and healing (Takahashi 1997). Even in camp women took care of their children's ailments through home remedies and trusted products. More than one former internee that I interviewed remembered their mothers treating their illnesses by preparing *okayu*, a type of Japanese rice porridge traditionally used as a recovery food (Homma 1991). Men and women would often bring leftover or burnt rice back from the mess hall into their barracks to create the porridge on their pot belly stoves or their hot plates. Oftentimes pickled plums known as *umeboshi* were also added to the *okayu* because of their beneficial digestive properties. Mas Takano's mother valued the benefits of *umeboshi* so much that she brought two jars with them to camp (Takano 2008).

Applying home remedies was not the only way that women treated family ailments. The internees, used to a temperate and much more humid climate than that of dry Colorado suffered from sinus troubles while at camp. Shigeko Mae Tanaka remembers her mother always having a jar of Vick's on hand whenever she or her little brother got sick (Tanaka 2008). During archaeological survey three Vick's bottles as well as several other medicinal product bottles were found throughout the camp. One of the Vick's bottles contained Vicks Va-Tro-Nol nose drops, advertised to relieve nasal stuffiness. For only 39 cents per bottle, Shigeko's mother and other women could always provide relief for their family's sinus troubles. (Figure 5.16).

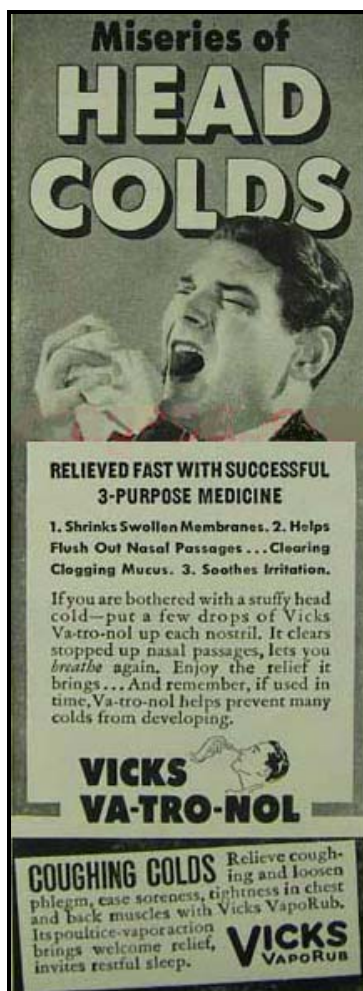


Figure 5.16
Vicks Va-Tro-Nol ad
vintagepaperads.com

Privatizing Public Activities

Women also expanded the reach of their domestic authority by relocating many activities that internment life had thrown into the public arena back into their household domain. Oral histories and historic photographs often depict women ironing clothes within the barracks. Though the bathhouse would have provided much more space than the tiny barrack apartments for such a task, many women preferred to continue this task

in privacy. Minoru Tonai remembers his sister, Rumi, ironing inside their barracks and speculates that many women were very prudish and did not want to iron articles of clothing such as underwear in public (Tonai 2008). Though laundry was usually cleaned in the communal bathhouse, clothes had to be hung and dried inside the barracks rather than outside behind the barrack during the wet or snowy winter months. For some women this may have been a comforting reclamation of doing chores in the privacy of one's household but it may also have exacerbated frustrations about living in such a small, cramped space.

Another way in which women often avoided the publicness of the bathhouse was by using chamber pots inside the barracks. Trips to the bathhouse could often be cold, inconvenient, or embarrassing, especially in the middle of the night. For internees that were elderly or ill, trips to the bathhouse were often impossible. Several former internees remember chamber pots being used in their barracks. Cookie Takeshita also remembers being responsible for emptying her ill mother's chamber pot each morning (Takeshita 2008). Every morning she would run to the bathhouse to perform her chamber pot emptying duties as fast as she could, fearing that she would be seen by boys. She would, however, see other women, especially mothers performing the same task for their families and children. One winter morning Cookie was so anxious to finish her job that while she was running to the bathhouse she tripped and dropped the chamber pot, spilling the contents onto the snow. The jar got stuck in the snow and needed to be shoveled out by a neighbor. Her eagerness to finish her task as quickly and discreetly as possible

instead caused a commotion that gained attention from her neighbors and plenty of embarrassment! (Appendix E)

Cooking

The most significant activity that women reclaimed from the public arena was cooking. Despite its prohibition by the WRA many women used hot plates and the pot belly stove in the barracks to continue cooking for their families and friends. In traditional Japanese culture a significant part of a woman's domestic authority is derived from cooking. A housewife's position in the household used to be symbolized by the *shamoji*, the wooden spoon used to serve rice, clearly emphasizing women's roles in food preparation (Ashkenazi 2003). At Amache women held on to this powerful aspect of their domestic authority through food preparation and consumption in the barracks.

The reclamation of cooking was not only motivated by the desire to regain domestic authority but initially it was almost a necessity to combat the poor quality of the food in the mess halls. Many former internees have distinct memories of dealing with especially awful mess hall food during their first months in camp. Most of the chief cooks in the mess halls were *Issei* men who were given unfamiliar foods to cook with by the WRA. Several interviewees recalled the time when beef tongue was served. A former internee from Block 8F unfortunately remembers how the skin was left on by her mess hall kitchen (Tanaka 2008). Eventually Block 8F hired a new chief cook that used to cook for the railroad and had a better knowledge of how to deal with some of the unfamiliar foods provided by the WRA. The quality of the food at camp could vary greatly

depending on the skill of the cook in charge at each mess hall. Bob Uragami remembers how his block's chief cook, Mr. Saito, would somehow find a way to make sushi (Uragami 2008). Despite the small miracles that some cooks like Mr. Saito could create, the food at the mess halls was always somewhat limited and was subject to rations just like the rest of the country. A description of the mess hall in the Denver *Monitor* states that the food is, "none too good. Sugar is served only during the morning meal. There are two meatless days, and on 'meat days,' one often has to carry out a thorough investigation to find the meat" (in Harvey 2004:132-33). To further control the use of rationed foods like sugar and butter, the mess hall waitresses were given the task of putting sugar in coffee for internees and serving limited helpings of butter.

The mostly unpleasant nature of the mess hall food, and the thereby disappointing experience most internees had with mess hall dining, were strong motivations leading women to remedy the dining problem. Women made improvements to mess hall food and supplemented meals with traditional snacks they created within their own barracks. In oral histories and memoirs about Amache and other internment camps, countless internees remember their mothers cooking in the barracks. Internees would often either save food from mess hall meals or sneak food out of the kitchens to bring back to their barracks. Bob Uragami explains that the whole idea was to "take stuff home and make it better" (Uragami 2008). These scraps and leftovers from the mess hall were often improved upon by turning them into traditional Japanese dishes or comfort foods. Rice was often brought back from the mess halls for use in a variety of ways. The crispy burnt rice from the bottom of the pot, known as *koge*, was brought back from the kitchen and

saved as a snack for children. Rice was also used to make the comforting porridge, *okayu*, mentioned earlier. Mothers also made *onigiri*, or rice balls, with left over rice and *umeboshi*. Michi Tashiro vibrantly captures the comforting and soothing affects of this common practice in her short story, *The Picnic*.

In order to stifle our raucous discontent, she reached around the stove for the *tatami* (bamboo mat) and spread it over the sandy heap in the corner of the room. Then she pulled out her *jubako* (lunch box). From the shelf, where she kept her stash of mess hall leftovers, Mama took down a bowl of rice, and with some *umeboshi* (pickled plum) that she had preserved in a big glass jar, she made *umeboshi onigiri* (rice ball stuffed with pickled plum) (Tashiro 2001a:93).

Non-Japanese foods were also cooked inside the barracks. Cookie Takeshita remembers learning how to cook leftover eggs inside of holes cut out of slices of bread on the pot belly stove from one of the young girls in her block (Takeshita 2008). Eileen Wakamiya remembers her family ordering Lipton dried soup and cooking it on their pot belly stove in order to supplement her diet since her distaste for the mess hall food kept her too skinny (Wakamiya 2008). The pot belly stoves in each apartment not only served as heaters but also worked well for cooking, warming up leftovers, and of course, making tea. Minoru Tonai remembers that in the winter, there was always a kettle of tea on the pot belly stove (Tonai 2008).

Internees also used hot plates to do cooking in the barracks which seemed to be as standard in barrack apartments as pot belly stoves (Uragami 2008). The popularity of hot plates was not the only indicator of the popularity of cooking within the barracks. A 1943 article in *The Granada Pioneer* asks internees to return mess hall dishes and silverware in

order to help remedy the mess hall utensil shortage, clearly illustrating how widespread the practice had become (*The Granada Pioneer* 1943b).

The archaeology at Amache also attests to the commonality of cooking in the barracks. Surface survey predominantly revealed that cooking and food related activities were the most visible activities in the archaeological record. The total number of objects analyzed that were related to food production, consumption, or storage represented the highest percentage of all surface survey artifacts analyzed. It is clear that these artifacts represent food related activities that took place within the residential barracks because in stark contrast, no food related objects were found in the elementary school block, 8H. A chi squared test comparing the number of glass and ceramic artifacts found in residential blocks to the non-residential block, Block 8H, found that the differences between the two types of blocks were statistically significant. This is most clearly illustrated by the complete absence of ceramics in the non-residential block (Appendix C). Of the food related artifacts found in the residential blocks, 41% were ceramic table wares including plates, bowls, cups, and saucers (Table 5.3). There were two ceramic jars, one ceramic crock, and one teapot lid in this category as well. These ceramic artifacts overwhelmingly represent food consumption and preparation practices that were taking place within the residential barracks. All of the ceramic artifacts, with the possible exception of the ceramic jars, would have been used for either serving or eating food.

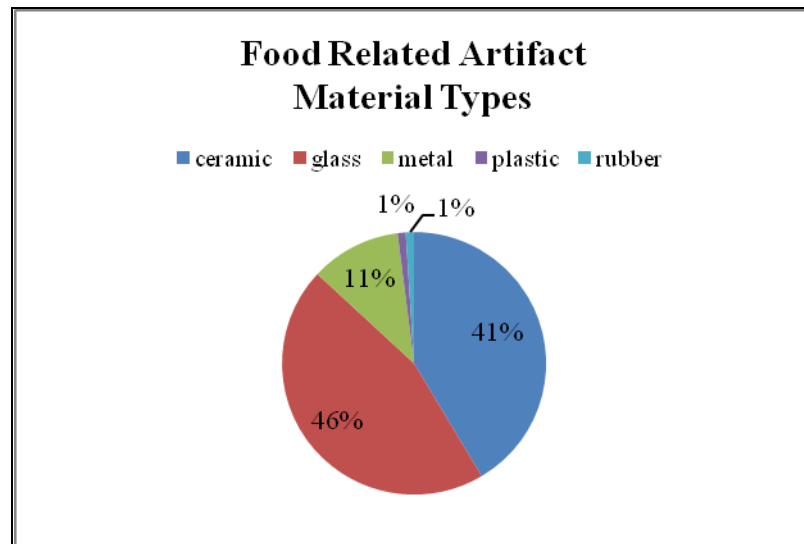


Table 5.3

The most common material type found amongst the assemblage of food related artifacts is glass. The glass artifacts represent 46% of the food related objects. Only two glass artifacts, a baking dish and a juicer, are related to food preparation while 19 glass artifacts that include bowls, cups, serving dishes, and plates represent food consumption artifacts. Food or beverage storage is represented by 22 artifacts, including 8 glass jars, 3 ketchup bottles, 1 possible sake jug, 2 milk bottles, a canning jar lid liner, an alcohol bottle, and 6 soda bottles (Appendix C). Metal represents only 11% of the food related artifacts and includes a variety of different objects associated with food preparation, food consumption, and food storage. There are two bowls, a cup, a plate, a spoon, a coffee percolator, a sardine can, and three jar lids. The only other materials represented in the food related artifact assemblage are plastic and rubber. There is one rubber handle of a coffee percolator and one plastic measuring teaspoon. The food related artifact assemblage shows that food consumption and preparation were the main food related activities taking place within the barracks (Table 5.4).

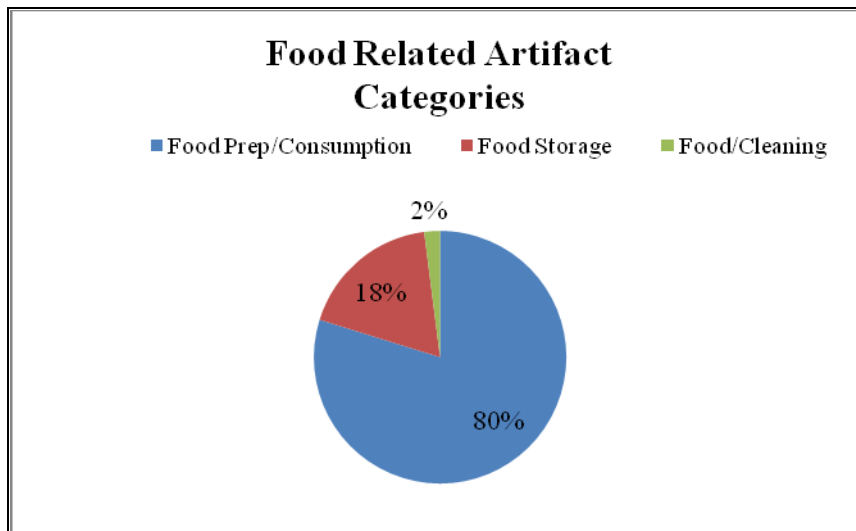


Table 5.4

Food storage was also an important activity which naturally went hand in hand with food preparation and consumption. However, many of the food storage objects, though they served storage purposes are vessels for pre-made foods or drinks such as soda and ketchup. These types of artifacts may be more closely associated to food consumption activities rather than storage. The food/cleaning category is represented by two clear glass jugs that were identified in the field as either cleaning product jugs or *sake* jugs. Further research suggests that the color of these jugs makes it highly unlikely that they held cleaning products and most likely contained sake or some other food related liquid. In Michelle Slaughter’s thesis about *sake* use at Amache, she notes that most of the *sake* vessels found during the 2003 survey were clear glass and were, “typically large, heavy, one-gallon jugs” (Slaughter 2006:134). The glass jars categorized as food storage containers may also be closely associated with food consumption. Many of the glass jars were canning jars, which may easily have held homemade pickled fruits and vegetables like *umeboshi*. Overall the survey data supports the oral histories that

emphasize food preparation and consumption, and the idea that women brought home leftover mess hall food to “make it better”.

Though they are represented to a lesser extent than glass, ceramics from Amache can reveal a great deal of information about the multidimensional meanings associated with cooking in the barracks. Several of the food related artifacts were hotel ware ceramics and were most likely government issued dishware for the mess halls. The military issue ceramics provided by the WRA for use in the mess halls, in conjunction with the communal structure of camp life, further institutionalized the internment experience. As Stephanie Skiles asserts in her thesis concerning culinary practices at Amache, the plain, mass produced mess hall dishware was a reflection of the government’s perception of the Japanese internees; “they were all the same and did not deserve the comforts of home” (Skiles 2008:69).

In contrast to these communal mess hall dishes many of the ceramics were clearly personal, internee property. Bright and colorful fiesta ware bowls and decorated ironstone plates were obviously not for use in the mess halls. Fiesta ware, introduced by the Homer Laughlin Ceramic Company in 1936 was an iconic type of tableware that in many ways reflected both the hope and frugality that characterized many Americans as they tried to overcome the Great Depression. Marketed as “glamorous” and an “exceptional value,” the Fiesta ware pieces were originally offered in four and eventually five “sun drenched colors” (Huxford 2001:136). The bright colors and simple, casual design were meant to appeal to budget minded housewives that also valued style. The durability, the low cost, and the availability of the Fiesta ware also made this specific type of dishware a natural

choice for many of the internees at Amache, both before and during internment. In the 1942 Spring and Summer Spiegel catalog the Fiesta ware dinnerware set is the cheapest option available at \$2.59 for 16 pieces (Spiegel 1942:409). The presence of Fiesta ware is not only evidence of cooking within the barracks but it is also evidence of the internees being prudent in their consumer choices. The economical mindset of the *Issei* was a characteristic similar to the thrifty mindset of wartime America, making it difficult to distinguish whether their choice in Fiesta ware was an expression of American-ness or instead a subtle reflection of Japanese ideals.

Unlike the Fiesta ware ceramics, the Japanese and Asian ceramics found at Amache can easily be associated with expressions of cultural identity. The Japanese ceramics that the internees brought with them reveal several additional motivations that drove women to cook within their barracks. Japanese ceramics provided familiarity and even stability in the midst of upheaval and change, and they also helped perpetuate traditional ideals and practices. The Japanese ceramics that the internees brought with them to camp served as reminders of where they came from and were used to recreate a sense of home within their barracks. As Clark and Skiles observe, “Japanese ceramics played a key role in making over, in the image of home, the dismal environment of the camp” (Skiles 2010:189). The food served in the Japanese ceramics served a dual role as a comforting reminder of the familiar as well as an expression of Japanese cultural identity. Traditional Japanese staples such as rice and tea are served in hollowware vessels such as bowls and tea cups. All but one of the Japanese and Asian ceramics collected from Amache are hollowware forms (Figure 5.17) (Appendix C). The one

Japanese ceramic that is not a hollowware is a porcelain flatware with a painted Geisha girl design on the front and “Made in Japan” stamped on the bottom. Unlike the other Japanese ceramics styles, the Geisha girl style was marketed to an American audience rather than for use in traditional Japanese cuisine practices. Cooking Japanese foods and serving them on Japanese ceramics kept tradition alive and even helped solidify bonds and establish unity. It encouraged resistance and helped the internees reassert their cultural identities (Skiles 2008).

Figure 5.17-Amache Tableware Artifacts



- 1.CAT#324, stoneware jug
- 2.CAT#130, Japanese porcelain bowl
- 3.CAT#374, milk glass cup
- 4.CAT#131, Japanese porcelain bowl
- 5.CAT#78, Japanese porcelain flatware
- 6.CAT#133, possible green pressed glass plate
- 7.CAT#224, Asian porcelain cup/bowl
- 8.CAT#132, Japanese porcelain serving bowl
- 9. CAT#223, unidentified porcelain bowl
- 10.CAT#74, unidentified earthenware hollowware
- 11.CAT#211, Asian stoneware bowl/cup
- 12.CAT#222, Asian stoneware cup/bowl
- 13.CAT#202, unidentified earthenware
- 14.CAT#160, unidentified earthenware
- 15.CAT#128, Japanese porcelain bowl
- 16.CAT#201, Japanese stoneware teapot/hollowware

Even when used to serve non Japanese food, the Japanese ceramics reflect age old traditions and beliefs in regards to the proper presentation of food. In her discussion about modern Japanese mothers preparing *obento*, boxed lunches, for their children, Anne Allison reveals how the container, “is as important as what is contained in Japanese cuisine” (Allison 1997:299). Though the sense of familiarity and enduring tradition is most effectively passed on through the use of Japanese ceramics for the consumption of Japanese foods, women may have also promoted tradition by serving re-crafted mess hall food in Japanese vessels. Women were impressing upon the younger generation traditional Japanese attitudes and perspectives, solidifying their roles as educators and care givers.

The simple acts of preparing and serving Japanese food on Japanese ceramics was at once combating the destructive forces that internment had on family structure and resisting the loss of cultural identity. Whether or not these “subtle acts of everyday resistance,” as Nicole Louise Branton calls them, were done consciously and deliberately is hard to determine (2004:134). However the decision to bring the often fragile Japanese ceramics to camp was undoubtedly a very conscious decision. Many of the Japanese ceramics may have been family heirlooms and held great sentimental value and served as reminders of family histories (Skiles 2010). Different levels of awareness inevitably existed amongst the *Issei* population. For most women it was likely a subconscious struggle for normalcy and an attempt to hold on to familiar practices. Cooking and serving food in the barracks were quietly defiant acts that tackled many aspects of domestic feminine identity. Through cooking women were able to retain their roles as

caregivers by making comfort foods and supplementing diets. Cooking also allowed women to act as educators, teaching by example the beliefs and practices associated with a Japanese cultural identity. Food related activities also allowed them to explore and recapture social roles as hostesses and entertainers. Treating the barracks as a household meant that women were obligated to act as hostesses if gatherings were held in their barracks or if friends and neighbors stopped by for visits. At least one photograph depicts a women's tea party squeezed into the confines of a barrack apartment (Figure 5.18).



Figure 5.18
Women having a tea party inside a barrack
Namura photograph collection

An internee from a different internment camp used to steal sugar packets from her mess hall and give them as gifts to visitors that came by her barrack apartment (in Branton 2004). Even young girls explored roles as hostesses through the creating and sharing of food. Social organizations for girls of similar ages would often hold dances in

their block recreation halls. Cookie Takeshita remembers saving bread and eggs from the mess hall in order to make egg sandwich snacks for her group's dances (Takeshita 2008).

The impacts that cooking in the barracks had on the maintenance of feminine identity within the private sphere were extensive. Reclaiming the right to prepare food for and enjoy food with their families let women reestablish domestic roles of authority and act as conduits for cultural preservation. Their willingness to defy WRA rules displays the resilience of the women at Amache who put fearless effort into maintaining their feminine identities while also demonstrating their ingenuity and adaptability.

Unlike the reactions and adaptations to the public sphere, there were no divisive or distinctly generational differences in how women dealt with the private sphere. An examination of the private sphere, because it is a substitute for the pre-war household, is largely a look at the domain of *Issei* women. The control over the activities that took place within the barracks lay mainly in the hands of the woman of the household. The complex process of creating privacy and regaining domestic authority is one that women of the *Issei* generation gracefully mastered.

Adaptability and Resistance in Public and Private

In both the public and the private spheres women of all ages and generations exhibited great adaptability and resilience. Their responses to the public arena illuminate differences in priorities and ideals, largely influenced by generation. The strength of Japanese culture was at times in direct opposition to competing American ideals while at other times both influences worked together to define a Japanese American feminine

identity. In the private sphere, the command women had over their barrack households highlights their determination to maintain their domestic authority. Women adhered to their cultural and feminine values even when it required them to defy WRA rules and restrictions. In the public and private spheres we clearly see the reactions and responses women had to the changes that confinement brought to daily life. In addition to responding to and dealing with changes, women were also involved in creating and defining new Japanese feminine identities. The choices they made and the activities they participated in that helped define these identities are explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6: INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY IDENTITIES

Levels of Identity

Women at Amache expressed their feminine identity on two different levels: on an individual level and on a community level. Through their consumer choices, their expressions of beauty, and how they chose to spend their time, women were discovering new definitions of their individual identities. The groups and communities with which they associated helped them further explore and express their understandings of self. In contrast to the private and public spheres in which women established opposing suites of activity, the two levels of identity are necessarily intertwined and supportive of each other.

Individual Identity

The women at Amache were constantly defining and redefining what it meant to be Japanese, American, and a woman. At Amache the construction of individual identity was a complicated process that involved many variables. Women found ways to maintain control of their authority and feminine identity through the choices they made on an individual level. Feminine ideals of beauty and fashion and how time was prioritized were elements of identity that were reflected in the individual choices that women made on a daily basis.

As discussed earlier, most of the commercial items that the internees acquired from outside of camp came from mail order catalogues. Women were able to exercise agency through the consumer choices they made when purchasing from these catalogues. The products that women chose to buy and use can be directly related to their attempts to create and express their identities. As Jennifer Scanlon explains, “consumers literally absorb images and goods in their own quests for individual and group identity in life” (2000:101).

A review of the advertisements in several mail order catalogues as well as advertisements in the Los Angeles daily Japanese newspaper, *The Rafu Shimpo*, reveal marketing that promoted a universal American ideal of beauty. The ads in *The Rafu Shimpo* include those for beauty salons that offer permanents and finger waves as well as an ad for a “Defense Sale” on Blossom Girl Cosmetics (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1
“Defense Sale”
The Rafu Shimpo, 1943

Even in this newspaper produced specifically for the Japanese community in Los Angeles, the advertisements aimed at Japanese women all feature white women modeling the most popular hairstyles of the time, selling Japanese women on the American ideal of proper feminine beauty. The “Defense Sale” on cosmetics is an example of another marketing tactic employed by many companies during the war that inferred that maintaining feminine beauty was a patriotic contribution to the war effort. The cover of *The American Magazine* in 1945 featuring a woman in a military uniform applying lipstick is yet another example of how mainstream media was not so subtly suggesting that it was a woman’s war time duty to continue to look “beautiful” (Figure 6.2).



Figure 6.2
1945 *The American Magazine*
Accessed at the National Women’s History Museum online at nwhm.org

An issue of *The Rafu Shimpo* in March 1942 contains a column in the “Helpful Hints” section entitled “Cultivate grooming” by Elizabeth Ataka that echoes the sentiments of the advertisements equating efforts towards beauty and good grooming to a necessary war time activity.

Now is no time for one to get into a rut regarding clothes and personal appearance. Life isn't that bad in this time of trying conditions. The self pity attitude is wrong. Each one of us should try our level best to look well-groomed and healthy in order to help the next fellow's morale. This year is especially when we need it more than ever before. The outer appearance is just as important as the inner soul (Ataka 1942).

The cover of the Sears, Roebuck and Co. Spring 1943 catalog features a white American family proudly saluting an American flag waving above them, implying that purchasing from this catalog in some way proves support of and allegiance to the United States (Figure 6.3). The women of Amache were bombarded with advertising that insisted they conform to an American ideal in order to prove American-ness. The purchase of many appearance related products such as lipstick, rouge, and nail polish reflected some women's belief in the American image of beauty and the attempt to achieve this ideal.



Figure 6.3
Sears, Roebuck and Co.
Spring 1943 catalog cover

Many of the artifacts found during surface survey at Amache are clear evidence of this attempt at mimicking images of American beauty. The nail polish bottle found during excavations of the garden in Block 9L held one of the red hues popular at the time which were often advertised with a romantic and seductive flair (Appendix D). The non traditional women of Block 9L would be natural consumers of such products. Bottles of polish in brands such as Cutex and Revlon were readily available through mail order

catalogues such as Montgomery Ward's and Sears, Roebuck and Co. for \$0.11 to \$0.12 each. During informal survey of the Amache dump, several artifacts relating to feminine ideals of beauty and appearance were found. Three brass lipstick tubes were found along with a rouge stick tube. No marks or other designs could be seen on the lipstick tubes in order to identify brands, however a review of the lipstick products available in the Sears, Roebuck and Co. and Montgomery Ward's catalogs produce prices that range from \$0.11 to \$1.20 and come in shades such as *Framboise*, *Coronation Red*, *Patriot Red*, *Hothouse Rose*, *Cherry Coke*, *Bright Forecast*, and *Rosy Future*. Identifying marks on the rouge tube, including lettering and a logo made it possible to determine that this tube once held Louis-Philippe brand Rouge Incarnate (Figure 6.4). Available in the Montgomery Ward's Fall/Winter Catalogue 1944-45, it sold for \$0.59.



Figure 6.4
Louis-Philippe Rouge Incarnate tube from Amache dump

A makeup compact was also found during formal surface survey in Block 8K. Powder compacts of the 1940s came in many shapes and sizes and were oftentimes decorated with flashy designs and embellishments. The compact found during survey involves two pieces, the top of the compact and a circular insert which probably held the compact's

mirror. The top of the compact looks as if it may have had a piece of fabric or additional layer attached that would most likely have been decorated or branded in some way. The prices for powder makeup compacts ranged greatly from \$0.59 for the simplest designs to \$5.98 for sterling silver name brand compacts.

The choice to conform to American standards of beauty was often divided by generational lines as well as urban and rural sensitivities within the Japanese population at Amache. Identifying as American, many of the young *Nisei* girls in camp were no different from other non Japanese girls in the rest of the country. *Issei* women on the other hand, many of them used to their difficult, physically laborious lives before camp often did not purchase or use American cosmetics. With different priorities and ideals when it came to personal, individual appearance, *Issei* women did not find American beauty products necessary and often did not use cosmetics at all or used traditional Japanese products. Yoshiko Uchida remembers her *Issei* mother using Japanese blotting papers to control oily complexions. “Although my mother seldom used cosmetics and only waved her hair with a curling iron heated on the stove, she did remove the shine from her face on occasion by tearing a page from her powder booklet and rubbing it over her forehead and nose (1982:28). *Issei* women were not the only internees that chose not to use cosmetic products. Many of the female former internees that I interviewed were in their pre and early teens at camp, ages considered too young to wear makeup, especially by conservative Japanese parents. The women interviewed that were in elementary school and junior high while in camp overwhelmingly remember not wearing makeup in

camp. Young women old enough to wear makeup seem to have been the ones from the big cities, such as Los Angeles, much like the Little Tokyo waitresses in Block 9L.

One very visible aspect of femininity that is dealt with from an early age is hair. Across ethnic and cultural boundaries, hair is often associated with gender ideals and integrated into gendered self identity beginning in childhood. As Anthony Synnott states, “Hair is perhaps our most powerful symbol of individual and group identity-powerful first because it is physical and therefore extremely personal, and second because, although personal, it is also public rather than private” (1987:381). In both American and Japanese societies cultural norms regarding hair are woven into the development of individual identity beginning at a very young age. Appropriate hair styles and lengths for women fluctuate and change with each generation. The different responses women have to these norms are often used to measure and judge their accommodation or resistance to the dominant ideals of their society (Weitz 2001). The Japanese women at Amache were not immune to the standards and expectations that existed for women of the time. Hair was dealt with by female internees of all generations and from all geographic locations. Dealing with hair encompasses a number of different actions including styling, curling, cleaning, coloring, and keeping it out of the way. Even the simple acts of pulling hair away from the face with a hair tie or merely brushing hair are acts associated with individual feminine identity.

An orange butterfly shaped barrette made out of Bakelite, a precursor to plastic, was found during excavations of the 9L oval garden. Most likely belonging to a young girl, it is evidence of the gender specific ideals about hair that existed in the 1940s. For

young girls, barrettes and hair ties fulfilled the practical purposes of keeping hair out of the face, often a necessity when playing active games and other activities. Yet the feminine, butterfly shape of the hair barrette shows that products meant for long hair were marketed and manufactured specifically for little girls, fusing together the ideas of femininity and long hair.

Hair became a very conscious part of feminine identity for pre teen and teenage girls at Amache. Even the young girls who did not wear makeup were concerned with achieving popular hairstyles such as pompadours and permanent waves. Shigeko Mae Tanaka remembers being frustrated that she could never shape her hair into the pompadours that her classmates styled their hair into (Tanaka 2008) (Figure 6.5).



Figure 6.5
Reiko Shimada's pompadour
from the photo collection of Shigeko Mae Tanaka

During these pre teen and teenage years, girls became active agents in the construction of their own feminine identities as displayed through their hairstyles. Advertisements for salons in Little Tokyo aimed at Japanese women show illustrations of white women with the most popular hairstyles of the time (Appendix D). Some young women tried to achieve these popular American hairstyles in camp by going to the beauty salon housed in the co-op building at Amache while others often achieved desired hairstyles on their own. Metal curlers found during informal surface survey of the dump were probably used by women curling their own hair within their barracks (Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6



Curlers found on the surface of Amache dump
photograph by author



1940s curlers for sale at
<http://www.taste-t-vintage.com/hairdo/hair177.htm>

Home permanent kits were also popular amongst young women in camp and numerous former internees, men and women alike, remember the very strong and instantly recognizable smell of home permanent chemicals. Former internees also cut

their own and each other's hair. Even young men remember haircuts taking place amongst friends in the barracks and bathhouse.

Second generation females were clearly exercising consumerism in ways that reflected their identity as American women and were being influenced by advertisements that promoted an American ideal of feminine beauty. An aluminum shampoo lid found in the dump came from a Kay Daumit Lustre-Crème jar of cream shampoo. The advertisements of the time that promote this product are rife with blatant messages about what the hair of an ideal "Dream Girl" should look like (Appendix D). Artifacts such as the shampoo lid point to the influence that marketing, such as that used in the Lustre Crème ad, had on young women in camp as they strove, undeterred by their harsh surroundings, to be beautiful American "Dream Girls".

The hairstyles of the young *Nisei* women at Amache differ greatly from those of *Issei* women. For *Issei* women hair was not only a display of cultural identity but was also an indicator of age and maturity. Rather than being concerned about conforming to American standards and popular ideals *Issei* women were concerned with practicality and propriety. A review of the historic photographs from Amache consistently show *Issei* women with their hair in much more modest fashions, often pulled into low buns at the nape of the neck or lightly waved (Figure 6.7). *Issei* women did not attempt the flashy full volume pompadours that girls like Shigeko strove for but instead followed cultural norms that dictated what was appropriate for their age.

Figure 6.7



Issei with modest hairstyles
Namura photograph collection



Nisei women with curls and pompadours
Namura photograph collection

Hairstyles publicly separated women into specific age categories or generations but one aspect of personal beauty and appearance that both the *Nisei* and *Issei* women shared concern about was skin care. The harsh climate of Amache was a concern for all of the internees. The extreme temperatures and lack of humidity severely dried out skin normally used to a much more temperate environment. Healing dry skin as well as having smooth and soft skin was appealing to both generations of women and may have even been more of a concern for the older *Issei*. The archaeology at Amache shows that women were combating the dry Amache climate with cold creams and other moisturizing lotions that came in distinctive milk glass jars. During surface survey 10 fragments of milk glass cold cream jars were discovered. Evidence of cold cream use was found in all residential blocks except for Block 6G and the half surveyed, Block 10E. Two of the cold cream jars were identified as Ponds brand cold cream jars while the remaining 8 had no diagnostic characteristics. Complete cold cream jars of the three most popular brands of

the time-Ponds, Woodbury, and Jergens- were found during informal survey of the dump. Cold cream jars represented 72% of all “Grooming” category artifacts found during surface survey (Table 6.1).

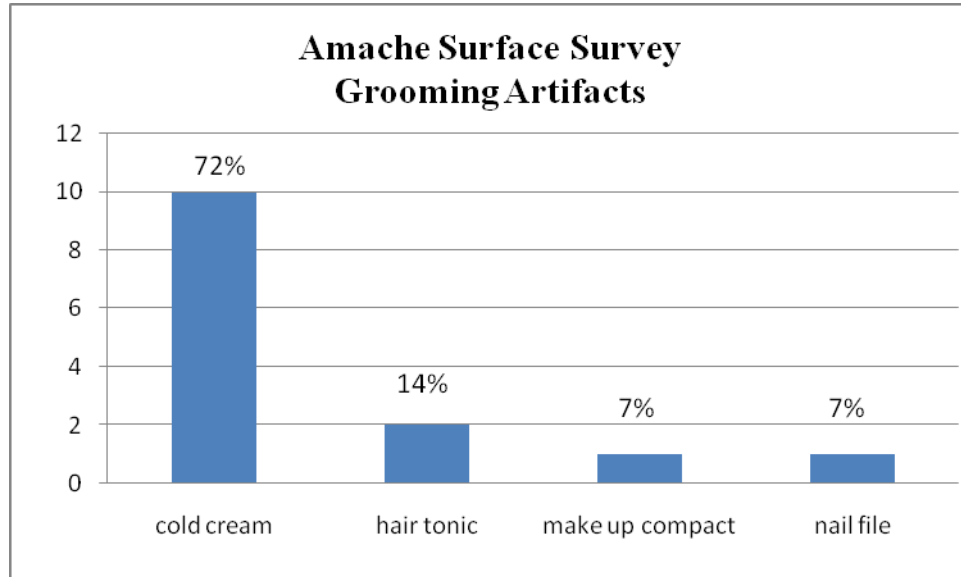


Table 6.1

Clearly skin care was the most prioritized aspect of beauty and appearance related regimens. The fact that the Ponds brand is found most commonly in the archaeological record supports the many oral histories that consistently associate skin care with this specific brand. One former internee speculated that the Ponds brand cold cream must have been the cheapest and that was why everyone used it (Nishizaki 2008). However a review of the Spring 1943 Sears, Roebuck and Co. catalogue shows that prices between Ponds, Woodbury, and Jergens cold cream products are all very similar. The largest jar of Ponds cold cream was in fact \$0.01 more expensive than Woodbury’s large jar. The use of Ponds by Japanese American women seems to have been a habit begun before the war. My *Nisei* grandmother remembers her *Issei* mother using Ponds all her life, both before

and after the war (Hamasaki 2007). The continued use of Ponds during camp points to both the power of product loyalty and to the need for familiarity during a time of upheaval. The preference for the Pond's brand that started before camp for an unknown variety of reasons continued during internment and may have been passed down from the *Issei* to the *Nisei* with the help of war time advertisements. A Pond's ad from a 1945 *Cosmopolitan* magazine highlights the engagement of a real life "Pond's bride-to-be" and uses the tagline that ran on most of their ads during the 1940s, "She's engaged. She's lovely! She uses Pond's" (Whiting 1945:77) (Appendix D). An example of the advertising techniques discussed earlier, Pond's leads women to believe that buying their product is a successful technique in attracting a man and being patriotic.

Clothing and fashion were other ways through which women constructed their individual feminine identities. Clothing, much like hair, can serve as a visual signifier of age, class, gender, and ethnicity. The limitations in accessibility as well as the small, concentrated living circumstances of internment affected social expectations and judgments based on clothing and style that existed at Amache. Though the Amache community was ethnically homogenous, the people that lived together in camp experienced very different lives outside of camp. Min Tonai remembers being shocked at the clothes worn by the people from the country (Tonai 2008). Overalls and kerchiefs were foreign articles of clothing to a boy from the city. Adversely, many of the people from rural areas were just as shocked at the zoot suits worn by the intimidating boys from Los Angeles. This mixture of rural conservativeness and a big city sense of fashion contributed to Amache being known as a "dressy" camp, where none of the females wore

pants to school (Tonai 2008). Even in the winter girls wore skirts, turning their knees purple from the cold (Morimoto 2008) (Figure 6.8).



Figure 6.8
Hisa Hatamiya in snow
from the photograph collection of Jack Muro

At Amache skirts and dresses were either ordered from catalogs or sewn from fabric purchased either through catalogs or stores in town. For girls and young teenagers, conforming to popular styles and trends while maintaining a sense of originality and individuality is often an important priority. However, in camp, limited accessibility made originality sometimes very difficult. Girls that purchased premade clothes from catalogues, like Cookie Takeshita, would sometimes not want to wear them because she knew that every other girl had bought the same exact dress (Takeshita 2008). Even girls who sewed or had their clothes sewn for them by their mothers would see other skirts and dresses sewn with identical patterns and fabric (Tanaka 2008).

The archaeology at Amache did not produce any artifacts that significantly influence the understanding of the clothing and fashion choices women made in camp. During surface survey the clothing items that were recorded were a suspender clasp, a metal buckle, the rubber heel and sole of a shoe, a leather shoe, part of a shoe sole, a metal shoe reinforcement, and four buttons- one plastic, one shell, one bone, and one brass. Though it is hard to make any interpretations about women's style and fashion choices based on this suite of artifacts, the metal shoe reinforcement points to a spirit of industriousness and frugality that for most, was a necessary component of internment living. Rather than buy new shoes, reinforcements such as the one found in Block 9H could be used to repair worn soles, extending the life of the shoes. Grace Kimoto remembers using a rubber band to hold her shoes together once the soles began separating from the rest of the shoe (Kimoto 2008).

Other articles of clothing reflect the same attitudes of economical efficiency. Dirndl skirts were a popular style of skirt, mentioned by several female former internees during oral history interviews. These Dirndl skirts, in "woven gingham" could be purchased premade from the Sears, Roebuck and Co. catalog for \$2.95 or the same gingham fabric could be purchased for \$0.18 per yard. If you wanted to upgrade to the "best" gingham it would cost \$0.28 per yard instead. Even using the high quality gingham, sewing your own Dirndl skirt was clearly the more cost efficient way to stay fashionable and feminine.

Sewing was an important domestic activity that allowed women to contribute to the construction of theirs and their children's individual identity by making clothing that

reflected individual styles and choices. Through sewing women were also actively able to be a part of the effort to live prudently, saving money and wasting as little as possible. In Block 9L one of the internees was a tailor and taught all of the women in the block how to do their own tailoring. In Amache internee Michi Tashiro's short story, "Transformation of a Rice Sack", her mother showed creativity and thriftiness by sewing an old rice sack into an apron (Tashiro 2001b). Sewing was a productive outlet that let women express and define themselves in practical and creative ways. While in camp women sewed and learned various other skills as they explored new definitions in their own self identity.

In camp many women found themselves with more leisure time than they had ever experienced before. As discussed previously, the structure of internment relieved women of domestic responsibilities such as cooking, freeing up much of their time. Also for the first time many women did not have to work outside of the home in order to help financially support their families. This free time enabled them to enroll in the many different classes offered at Amache. An article in an October 1942 issue of *The Granada Pioneer* lists 23 adult classes available which include cooking, sewing shop, beginning English, algebra, knitting and crocheting, clothing line and design, piano, art, shorthand, and bookkeeping (*The Granada Pioneer* 1942). The diverse classes offered at camp let women discover capabilities beyond the domestic sphere which allowed for further exploration and self redefinition. Before camp many *Issei* women had defined their individual identities by their traditional domestic roles, characterized by the obligations and duties prescribed to the domestic sphere. With free time to explore other aspects of

their individuality many women discovered talents and passions that had previously been unrealized. Some classes offered were not only explorations in creativity but were specific to Japanese culture such as *ikebana*, or flower arranging, and *mizuhiki* or paper cord art (Figure 6.9).



Figure 6.9
Ikebana exhibit at Amache
McClelland color slide collection

Many of the projects created in classes at Amache are still in the possession of former internees and their families. One of the crocheted dogs in Figure 5.14 was made at Amache by Eileen Wakamiya's mother and is currently in Eileen's possession.

Based on oral history accounts and an example within the Amache Museum collection it is believed that many of the projects created in craft classes involved shells. The example in the Amache Museum is a very intricate display of flower branches, all of the flowers made out of shell arranged inside of a mayonnaise jar (Figure 6.10). This practice is also supported by the archaeological record. During surface survey 9 shell artifacts were found. One of these was a button and another was a shell Go piece. Of the

remaining 7 shell artifacts 4 were abalone and 3 were white, bivalve shells, similar to the ones used in the flower arrangement.



Figure 6.10
Shell flower arrangement
Amache Museum collection

While many women used the arts and crafts classes to provide entertainment and foster creativity and cultural awareness other women took classes that would help them improve their domestic skills. Fabric arts classes were advertised to “all women” and promised to teach them to make table cloths, towels, curtains, and other decorative items for the home (Appendix D). Older *Nisei* women who were out of school also joined many classes that would prepare them for home making duties. Fumi Nishizaki, a *Nisei* woman who was in her late twenties during camp, remembers taking classes in subjects such as sewing, Japanese, flower arrangement, and pattern making (Nishizaki 2008).

Figure 6.11 is a picture of a tablecloth she crocheted at Amache that sits on top of a table in her dining room today (Figure 6.11). Like the tablecloth that is still present in her life, the skills that Fumi learned in the many classes she took at Amache lasted long after her days in camp.



Figure 6.11
Tablecloth crocheted in Amache
by Fumi Nishizaki

The skills that individual women invested time in learning revealed much about how they valued their time and what they felt was important to their future. Older *Nisei* women selected classes that could teach them skills that would be valuable in the work place such as typing or drafting (Appendix D). For many young women the choices for employment were very limited and required a specific set of skills. Letters in the JANM collection from Violet Saito, a young internee at Amache, to Molly Wilson, her friend in

Los Angeles, reveal the limited options that young females faced in camp after high school graduation. Violet's situation demonstrates the different opportunities that the two girls face after graduation as Molly heads to college while Violet is left unsure about what her future holds.

February 16, 1943

I don't know what to do after I do graduate. I guess the only thing for me to do is get a job like the rest are doing, but I sure would like to go out. Of course you know my mother won't let me. I'm too young [she'd] say. I wonder when I'm going to grow up (Saito 1943).

August 25, 1943

Right now the only thing for me to do is to try to be a secretary or a bookkeeper. [I'd] want to be a stenographer. That seems to be the only line for the Japanese girls now. Most of the girls that are relocating seem to be in that line, so I guess I'll follow (Saito 1943).

Limited job opportunities like those that Violet faced in camp made the expression of an individual identity difficult for some women. Young women within camp, eager to exercise their independence, felt stifled by confines of camp and longed for the opportunities outside of camp (Matsumoto 1984a). Many *Issei* parents, like Violet's, did not allow their daughters to leave camp forcing the young women to resign to "follow" the normal path for a Japanese girl. Those girls whose mothers would allow them out of camp were presented with opportunities to attend colleges located mainly on the east coast and Midwest. These brave girls embarked alone on journeys to mostly unfamiliar places to further their education. Their experiences, involving influences and social contexts beyond this study, ultimately affected and contributed to the construction of their individual identities as educated, Japanese American women.

Many older *Issei* women were not presented with the college or secretarial opportunities offered to young women and instead found themselves exploring their individualism within the work force at camp. Positions as kitchen staff in the mess halls offered women a chance to perform cooking duties, normally ascribed to the domestic sphere, as paid jobs. Jobs were salaried based on the skill level of the position at \$12, \$16, or \$19, regardless of the employee's gender (CWRIC 1997). The equalization of pay rates for both men and women also added a new dimension of self worth. Some women found themselves doing jobs in camp that they would not have the opportunity to hold outside of camp such as a printer at the silk screen shop. For some women these jobs expanded their ambitions and broadened the fields in which they felt qualified. This expansion in work force positions is also seen after the war as the percentage of Japanese women in domestic work went from 61 percent in 1943 to 10 percent in 1950. Also in 1950 the percentage of Japanese women in clerical and sales positions had risen to 47 percent (Matsumoto 1984a).

The products that women chose to buy, the skills they chose to learn and practice, and the opportunities they chose to accept reveal a great deal about the construction of their individual identities on feminine, cultural, and generational levels. However, many of these activities and choices also involved the construction of a group identity as well. As women explored and rediscovered their own individual identities they also had the opportunity to support and integrate these identities within larger communities.

Community Identity

Involvement in religious organizations, political groups, clubs, youth groups, sports teams, and participation in social activities associated women with particular communities or groups, each with its own goals and purposes. At Amache women had a wide variety of different organizations and groups to choose from that bonded them to other women with similar beliefs and interests. These communities strengthened and validated individual identities and helped women also express their femininity through public association with specific group and community values.

Many former internees created scrapbooks and photo albums of their time at Amache and have been willing to share these valuable mementos with us. Mitsuko Morimoto's scrapbook is an especially detailed example that chronicles her young teenage years at Amache. A review of her scrapbook reveals the many different groups and clubs that existed at Amache and how active young women were in camp. The membership cards, dance invitations, church programs, theatre programs, and carnival souvenirs preserved in Mitsuko's scrapbook paint a picture of an active, busy young American girl's life. The organization of and participation in *Nisei* groups within camp revealed a struggle for normalcy and were also strong indicators of an American identity. Mitsuko and other former internees credit older *Niseis* with organizing and encouraging social groups for the *Nisei* population in camp and claim that these groups played a large part in keeping young *Niseis* busy and out of trouble (Kimoto 2008; Morimoto 2008).

Throughout camp, young girls and teenagers were members of official social groups whose membership was often determined by geographic location in camp,

geographic location before camp, and age. Mitsuko and her friends from Block 10E were part of a group they called the Wee-Teeners that hosted dances at their block's recreation hall and other social activities. Other groups included the Junioresettes, the slightly older Escalantes, and the Los Angeles group, Las Ninas. The activities that these groups organized often reflected the membership's identification with mainstream American ideals. Dances featured popular songs of the time and attempted to create social environments like those that teenagers across the country were experiencing outside of confinement (Figure 6.12).

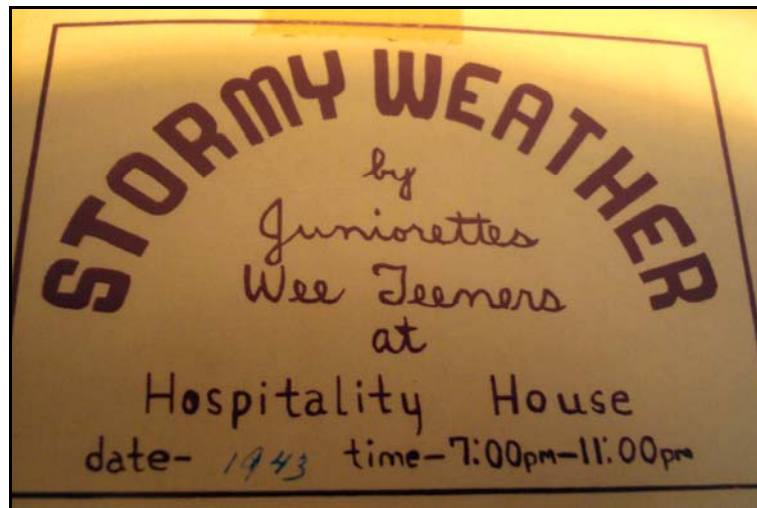


Figure 6.12
Silk screened dance invitation
from scrapbook of Mitsuko Morimoto

Young *Niseis* kept up with the nation's top ten popular songs by listening to "Hit Parade" on the radio on Saturdays (Tanaka 2008). A fragment of a 10" vinyl record was found during archaeological survey in Block 6G. Vinyl records such as the one found could be ordered through catalogs such as Sears, Roebuck and Co. Internees could order Columbia, Okeh, or Decca Record's latest hit recordings for prices that ranged from

\$0.37 and \$0.79 each. For \$0.53 the internees could order Benny Goodman and Orchestra's version of the theme song of the dance in Figure 6.12, "Stormy Weather" (Sears 1943:470).

Mitsuko's scrap book also includes her YWCA membership card. The YWCA was just one example of the many national organizations that existed at Amache (Figure 6.13). Young girls could also join Amache chapters of the Girl Scouts, the Girl Reserves, and the Red Cross. As evidenced by the WRA Timeline of Amache as well as *The Granada Pioneer*, the YWCA and the Girl Reserves were especially active groups, hosting rallies, dances, guest speakers, sending members to attend conferences, and participating in war effort activities such as harvest camps outside of Amache (Appendix D). The activities and war efforts of the YWCA and Girl Reserves reinforced a patriotic American identity amongst its members.

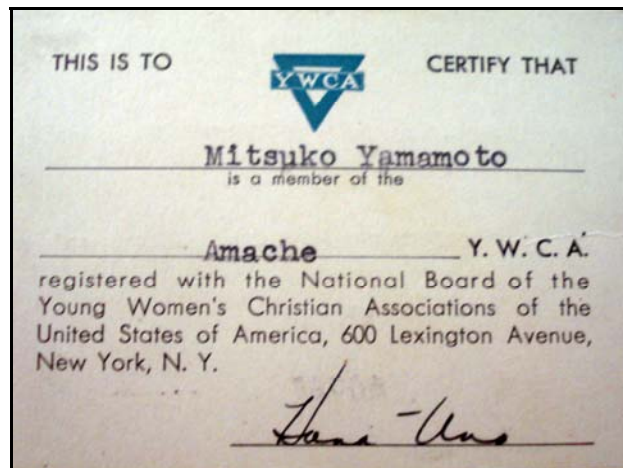


Figure 6.13
YWCA Membership card
from the scrapbook of Mitsuko Morimoto

Young women were also involved in a variety of different sports at Amache. The high school boasted many different sports teams and took great pride in victories over opponents from outside the camp. The players on Amache athletic teams were often smaller and shorter than their competitors and therefore usually considered the underdogs (Appendix D). Most oral history accounts recall triumphant underdog stories of the Amache men's football team or the psychological tricks the small Amache men's basketball team would use to intimidate their taller opponents (Kitazumi 2008). Though the stories of the boys' sports teams are remembered and celebrated more frequently than those of the girls' sports teams, the underdog victories and accomplishments of the young female athletes deserve the same amount of pride and admiration. The participation in American sports fostered identification as athletic, young American women. Competitions held between Amache sports teams and other local schools strengthened cultural pride and exemplified the overcoming of adversity.

Identification with American ideals and beliefs is also evident in unorganized activities of leisure. *Nisei* internees, like the women in Figure 6.14, often passed time engaging in popular American games (Figure 6.14). Shigeko Mae Tanaka, a teenage *Nisei* in camp, remembers playing card games such as pinochle with her friends (Tanaka 2008).



Figure 6.14
Women playing cards
McClelland color slide collection

In contrast to the American games that the *Nisei* were playing during their free time, oral histories suggest that the *Issei* spent their leisure time playing more traditional Japanese games such as *Go* and *Shogi*. Both *Go* and *Shogi* are Japanese strategy games that share similarities to chess. *Go* is played by two players using black and white round *Go* stones which are strategically placed by each player on a board in an attempt to control more territory. Three *Go* stones were found during surface survey at Amache. A black stone *Go* piece was found on the surface of Block 9L and two white shell *Go* stones were found in Block 9H and 8H. Plenty of older *Issei* that may have played *Go* lived in Blocks 9L and 9H, however 8H was the nonresidential elementary school block. This suggests that children may have also been playing this very culturally specific game. Perhaps older *Issei* were introducing the younger generation to this specific aspect of their own cultural heritage.

Much of the archaeology at Amache indicates that most of the toys and games that children at Amache were playing with represented very American ideals. April Kamp-Whittaker's thesis about the experience of children at Amache asserts that their activities and play habits reflect American identities (Kamp-Whittaker 2010). Artifacts found at Amache such as glass candy containers shaped like various military vehicles, a plastic toy soldier, and a plastic toy ship additionally suggest the patriotic nature of how young boys were playing. Boys were also playing non-patriotic American games such as marbles. Though female former internees remember playing marbles, the game might have been more popular amongst boys. This is suggested by spatial data which shows that 26% of all marbles found during formal survey were located in Block 10E, the location of the Boy Scouts headquarters. Girls at camp were also playing with toys that were considered appropriate for young American girls. Several pieces of glass tea sets were found during informal survey of the dump, along with fragments of girls' dolls. The toys that girls were playing with, though not as widely distributed or represented in the archaeological record as boys' toys, still adequately reflect an adherence to specific American norms (Kamp-Whittaker 2010).

Adult women were also busy constructing community identities at Amache through participation in many clubs and groups of their own. The Women's Federation was created by women of the camp in order to "be the mouthpiece of women in camp and make demands and dissatisfactions known to the administration. It is an organization that attempts to better camp conditions and present points men councilmen think superfluous" (Women's Federation 1942) (Appendix D). The goals of the Women's Federation were

bold and assertive in the 1940s wartime era. Involvement in this organization signaled a commitment to promote the rights and comforts of women, especially mothers. Women were publicly declaring their own self value, asserting the significance and importance of their priorities in the midst of primarily male committees that governed camp issues. The women in the Federation identified themselves as valuable, effective members of the Amache society.

Women at Amache were also actively promoting American patriotism. Mothers with sons serving in the war organized a branch of the Blue Star Mothers at the camp (Figure 6.15). The Blue Star Mothers were very active in the war effort, sponsoring raffles and drives to sell war bonds and hosting luncheons for visiting servicemen (Appendix D).



Figure 6.15
Blue Star Mothers
McClelland color slide collection

Though mothers of soldiers in camp supported the American war effort, many of them were *Issei* women and intertwined Japanese beliefs and traditions into their

supportive activities. Eileen Wakamiya has vague memories as a young child at Amache going to her block's recreation center to help the older women sew stitches onto belts for soldiers (Wakamiya 2008). The stitches Eileen remembers sewing were part of one thousand stitch belts, or *senninbari*, that were often made by women in camp for their sons or relatives in the military. *Senninbari* were usually made of white cloth and contained one thousand stitches sewn only by women that were given to soldiers to protect them from harm and to give them courage in battle (Bortner 2008). This Japanese tradition that originated during the First Sino-Japanese War was ironically continued by *Issei* mothers in camps as their sons fought in a war against Japan (Figure 6.16).



Figure 6.16
Senninbari vest from Amache by George Matsushita's mother
from *The Art of Gaman* (Hirasuna 2005:90-91)

Religious organizations also provided women communities with which to identify. A Catholic church was located in Block 7F, Christian churches were located in

Block 7H and 10H, and Buddhist churches were in Block 7G and Block 12G (Appendix A). These religious organizations were active and influential groups within Amache providing both spiritual and social support to women and men alike. Involvement in the Christian church gave young women like Mistuko Morimoto and Grace Kimoto the opportunity to attend church camps outside of Amache (Kimoto 2008; Morimoto 2008). Religious excursions such as these gave girls the chance to go to Colorado cities such as Beulah and Rocky Ford and interact with girls from outside of camp (Appendix D). Experiences that involved interaction with non-Japanese girls of their same age exposed the young Amacheans to different perspectives and undoubtedly influenced the construction of their group identity. Youth organizations associated with churches such as the Young Buddhist Association (YBA) were involved in a variety of activities that happened within the camp such as the *obon* festival and *mochitsuki*. The young members of the YBA balanced an identity associated with a traditionally Japanese religion with an American identity. Participation in events like the summer carnival which featured sports such as softball alongside sumo wrestling illustrates this straddling of cultures (Appendix D).

Camp wide social and cultural events also offered women an opportunity to publicly identify with certain ideals and priorities. Summer festivals that included agricultural exhibitions, flower arranging exhibitions, and craft exhibitions showcased the work that many women accomplished in the various classes they took. These public displays allowed women to associate talents such as *ikebana* with a Japanese cultural identity and crocheting and knitting with their identity as a domestic authority. The *Bon*

Odori festival held at the camp was also an opportunity for girls and women to participate in other traditional Japanese group activities such as dancing. Participation in performances also allowed women to publicly associate their group identities with American values and beliefs. Theatre performances of American plays, singing American songs in Glee Club, and performing popular American tunes at camp talent shows were all performances that publicly showcased talent considered valuable in American entertainment (Figure 6.17).



Figure 6.17
Amache High School Glee Club
from the photo collection of Shigeiko Mae Tanaka

The examination of women's community identity through their participation with different organizations and groups relies heavily on the documentary record, photographs, and oral histories. As the documentary record and oral histories reveal, all

generations of women at Amache were active, contributing members of society. The archaeological record, however, is far more supportive of women's roles in the domestic sphere. There are very few artifacts that were found during surface survey or excavation that reflect how active women and girls were in the vibrant social communities of Amache. The archaeology instead emphasizes their active domestic roles which included cooking and cleaning. Though this aspect of their daily lives at Amache played a very significant role in the construction of their identities and how they adapted to confinement, it represents only part of the picture. Women were clearly just as active outside of the domestic sphere as they were within it. Their choices and actions not only influenced and affected their individual identities but also helped shape and communicate their community identities. Exploring adaptation and resistance at the community level methodologically highlights the indispensable value of other lines of evidence to fill in gaps in the archaeology and develop a well rounded understanding of the experience of women at Amache.

New Definitions of Self

The construction of identity on both the individual and the community level ranged greatly and were influenced by a host of different factors. Differing responses are seen between women of different generation, class, religion, and geographic association. The most significant differences are found between generations. *Issei* and *Nisei* women were clearly separated by distinctions between a Japanese, American, and Japanese American identity. The choices made by the first generation *Issei* were strongly

influenced by Japanese culture and reflected an identity still dominated by Japanese tradition and thinking. In contrast, the responses by the American born second generation heavily reflect an identification with American ideals and values. This American identity, however, was inevitably infused with aspects of Japanese culture. Japanese American females straddled two cultures and simultaneously identified with both, or rather, the identification with both cultures became its own unique identity. Second generation females blended membership in the Girl Scouts with classes in Japanese dancing to create a multi-faceted demonstration of a distinctly Japanese American identity that has worked to influence subsequent generations of Japanese Americans. The construction of individual and group identity was a complicated process made even more complex by the influences of war and confinement. Japanese women of all generations spent their time in camp beginning to define themselves under the new circumstances presented to them. In many different ways these new definitions of self were explored and cultivated in camp. The explorations and self discoveries that took place in camp had lasting effects on the women of camp and have continued to affect the generations of Japanese American women that followed.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Confinement undoubtedly influenced and changed expressions of feminine identity. The women of Amache exhibited a great deal of agency as they negotiated their way through life in confinement and dealt with new definitions of their identities. My study presents the achievements and triumphs of these women in order to acknowledge their roles as active agents in their own survival rather than dismiss them as helpless victims. In the early stages of my research during a casual conversation, historical archaeologist, Adrian Praetzellis, suggested that we should be past the stage of convincing the public that internment was a shameful event in American history. We should instead be focused on investigating how the internees dealt with and overcame the situation into which they were forced. Inspired by his idea I proceeded with my research cautious of victimizing the internees. However this heightened caution soon proved unfounded as the archaeological, documentary, and oral history data overwhelmingly illuminated the active agency exhibited by the internees. The pictures of smiling and happy Amachean internees contained in this thesis should not fool the reader into thinking that life in confinement was ideal or easy or comfortable. Instead they are a testament to the resilient spirit of the Japanese and evidence of their pursuit of normalcy even during a time of upheaval and undeserved hardship.

Although it created a disruptive situation, it was one upon which Japanese women were able to capitalize. For some it became an arena for resistance, cultural preservation, and maintenance of pre-internment ideals of femininity. It was also an opportunity to expand definitions of feminine identity which led to new understandings of self worth and potential. For others it was an environment in which to forge a new Japanese American female identity that fused two cultures in an attempt to embrace a dual identity.

This attempt at a dual identity still continues today. The Japanese American women in confinement began a process that is ongoing and ever evolving. Definitions of Japanese American feminine identity will never be static. As we uncover more details about the past and continue to explore different themes, new perspectives and ideas are brought to light that force us to re-imagine our understandings of not only what it meant to be a Japanese woman in WWII, but what it means for Japanese American women today. The changes and evolutions my own Japanese American feminine identity has gone through as a result of this research process are clear evidence of how a deeper understanding of the past can lead to a stronger awareness of ourselves today. The results of my research have strengthened my sense of pride in my Japanese heritage and have opened my eyes to the complexity and diversity that exists within my own culture. Details of the female internment story uncovered by my research have increased my respect and admiration for the Japanese women who lived this experience. Ultimately, the results of this study reveal a multidimensional population of strong willed and active women whose strength, perseverance, and adaptability helped guide them through confinement. A better understanding of the details of daily life at Amache helps us see

how women in confinement endured, resisted, and embraced change while developing and negotiating new definitions of their feminine identity.

As I explored my research questions the varied responses that women had exemplified how confinement changed, influenced, and affected expressions of feminine identity. The changes that femininity underwent during confinement were undoubtedly varied but general trends can be seen that follow generational lines.

The feminine expressions of *Issei* women that existed before confinement were, in many ways, broadened while in camp. Within the public sphere *Issei* women held on to traditional expressions of femininity that were governed by modesty and hard work. Many of these *Issei* women found ways to adhere to their traditional beliefs by privatizing certain activities and spaces that were made public in camp. The *Issei* response to the private sphere also showed great resolve in maintaining traditional ideas of femininity. *Issei* women reclaimed certain aspects of their domestic authority disrupted by the structure of confinement by managing their barracks as they did their pre-war households. The way the *Issei* behaved in the private sphere helped create a sense of normalcy and provided comfort to their *Nisei* children. On an individual level many *Issei* women explored other dimensions of their femininity through classes and activities, thereby expanding their definitions of their own feminine identity. Confinement also allowed for the public expression of culture and ethnicity as significant components of identity. In camp women were allowed to express cultural aspects of their femininity without fear of harassment or prejudice. Before internment many women, especially those that did not live in Japanese communities, did not publicly express these cultural

aspects of their identities. In camp these ethnic aspects were not only publicly expressed but they were encouraged and celebrated.

Public expressions of culture and tradition were also significant factors in the construction of feminine identities of *Nisei* women in camp. Confinement allowed *Nisei* women to begin fusing both Japanese and American culture into a single Japanese American female identity. In the public sphere *Nisei* women were much less influenced by the traditional beliefs that defined their mothers' world views and instead exhibited behavior that revealed identification with American ideals. Rather than privatize and avoid the public sphere, many *Nisei* women made the best of their situation and embraced the social aspects of the camp's communal structure. The *Nisei* found ways to explore their American identity in the public sphere but also found comfort and normalcy in the more traditional private spheres created by their mothers.

The experiences of *Nisei* women at camp highlight a distinct time in Japanese American history. As the first Japanese to be born American citizens, the *Nisei* had a unique role of straddling two cultures as they dealt with their positions as both Japanese and American. The *Nisei* women at camp were faced with choices between American and Japanese ideals that were sometimes similar, sometimes complementary, and often conflicting. The fact that confinement called their American-ness into question further complicated their process of constructing a comfortable self identity. Presented with this complex situation, Japanese American women in confinement began a process of discovery and definition that today continues to affect the feminine identities of subsequent generations of Japanese American women.

As Japanese American feminine identity continues to grow and change, the meanings and implications of future research will hopefully reflect this progress. The exploration of my topic has revealed and illuminated many important aspects of the female Japanese internment experience but it has also brought to light many other topics that deserve to be thoroughly and explicitly examined such as job opportunities at camp, the affects of confinement on masculinity, and the significance of sports and recreation. Regardless of which topics are explored in the future, an essential part of promoting the continued research of Japanese internment can be done through increasing public awareness and outreach.

Since we have started work on our theses, my colleague, April Kamp-Whittaker, and I have shared details of our research with other archaeologists at conferences, with the Japanese community at community events and presentations, with educators at a school district seminar, with the Colorado public during a local television appearance, and with the general public when we respond to the inquiries about our theses from our friends and family. The reactions from the public have overwhelmingly been that of sincere interest, shock about internment, and support for our research endeavors. The responses from the public have been very encouraging and even inspiring. Oftentimes ours has been the experience of being the first person to inform someone of the fact that there was an internment camp in Colorado or even about the facts of Japanese internment. Knowing we are expanding this dialogue validates the relevance and importance of the continued exploration of this topic.

Though there are plenty of gaps to be filled, the opportunities I have been presented with throughout this research process to participate in educating the public have served as encouraging indicators of a growing interest in Japanese internment education and the archaeology of interment. My research has added to the growing body of work on Japanese internment. My focus on women is a piece of the Japanese internment story that can be combined with other research, both past and future, to help paint a more complete picture. I encourage others to continue this work as well, as we move towards a time when the Japanese internment experience is included as part of American history and the story of Japanese women in confinement is understood as a story of feminine resilience, strength, and adaptability in America.

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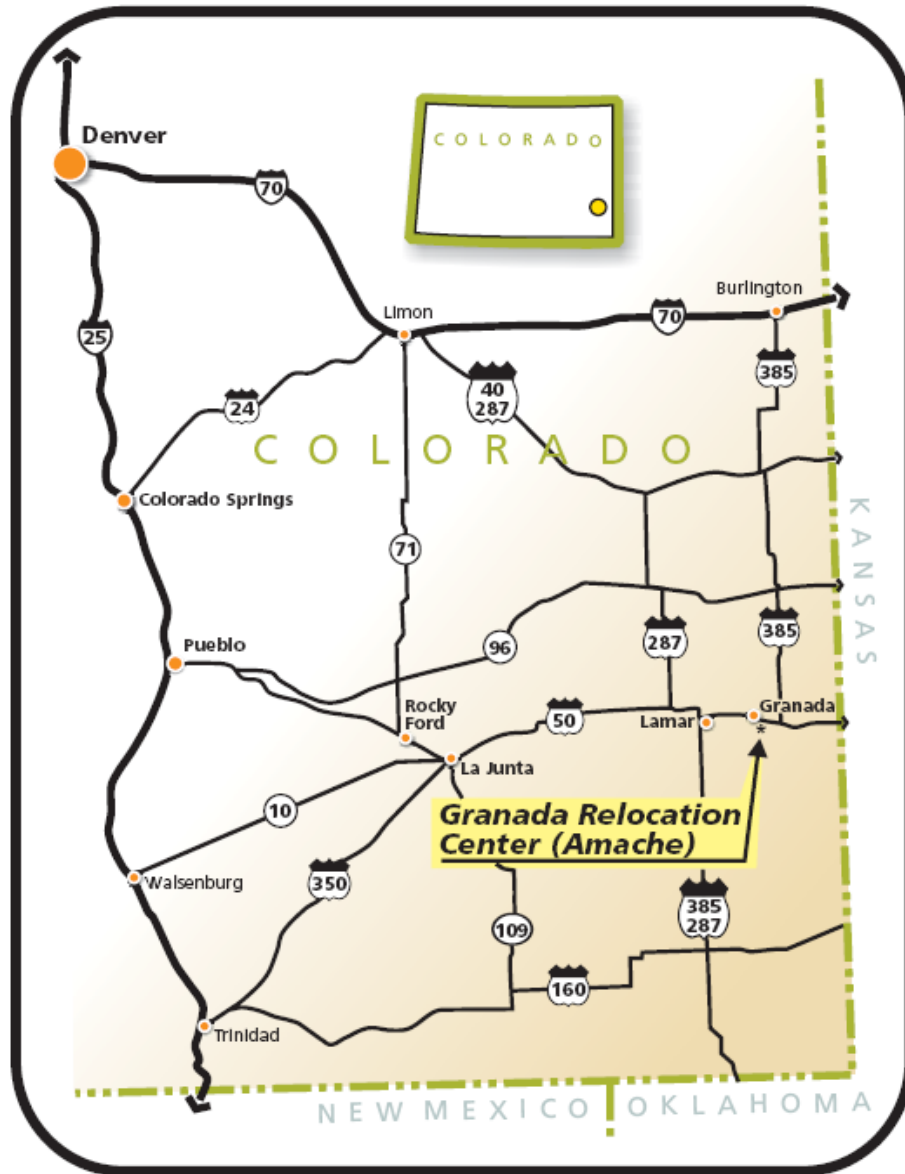
Women's Federation

1942 Women's Federation Granada Relocation Center. Women's Federation, Amache, Colorado.

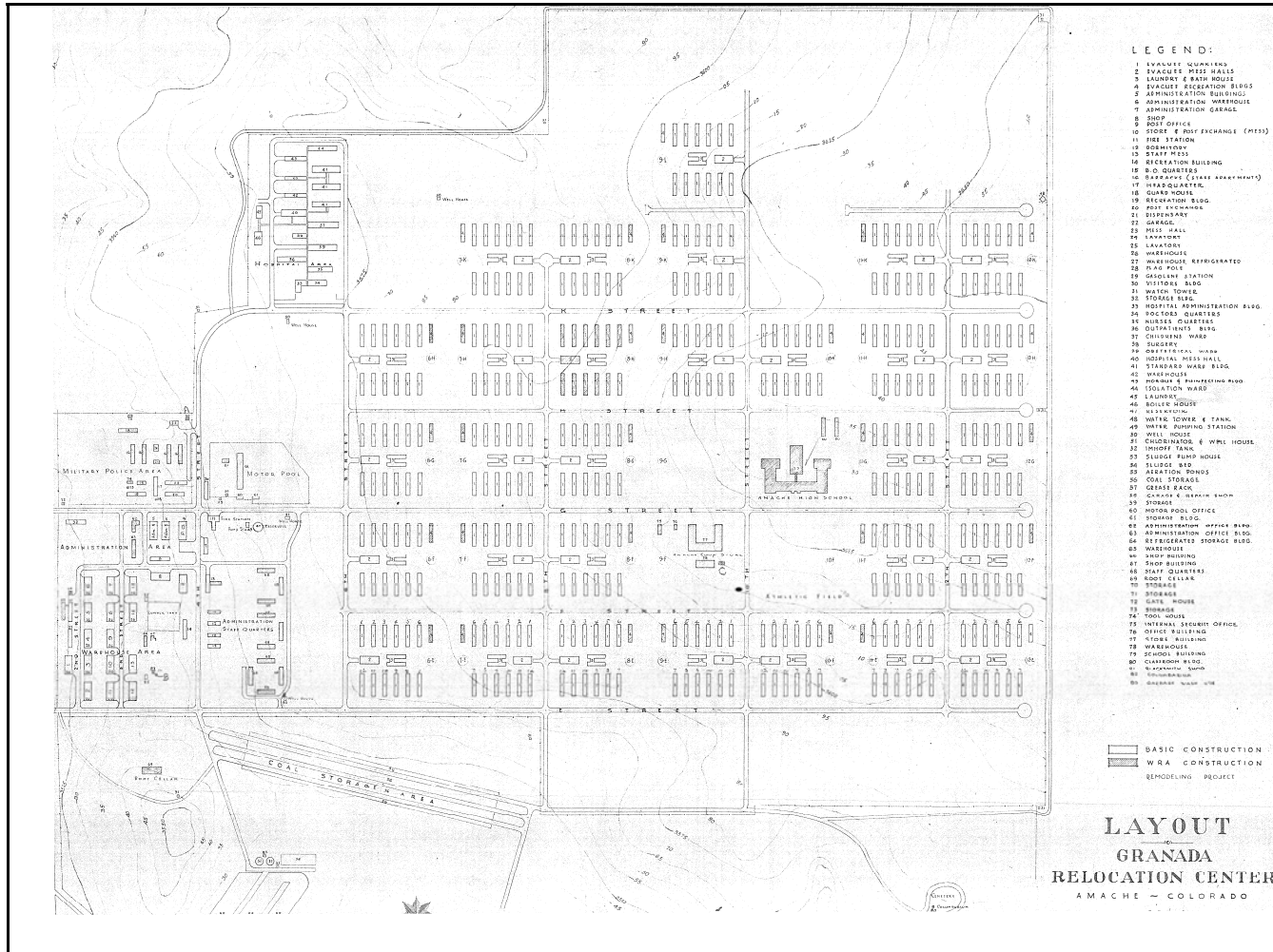
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APPENDIX A
Maps

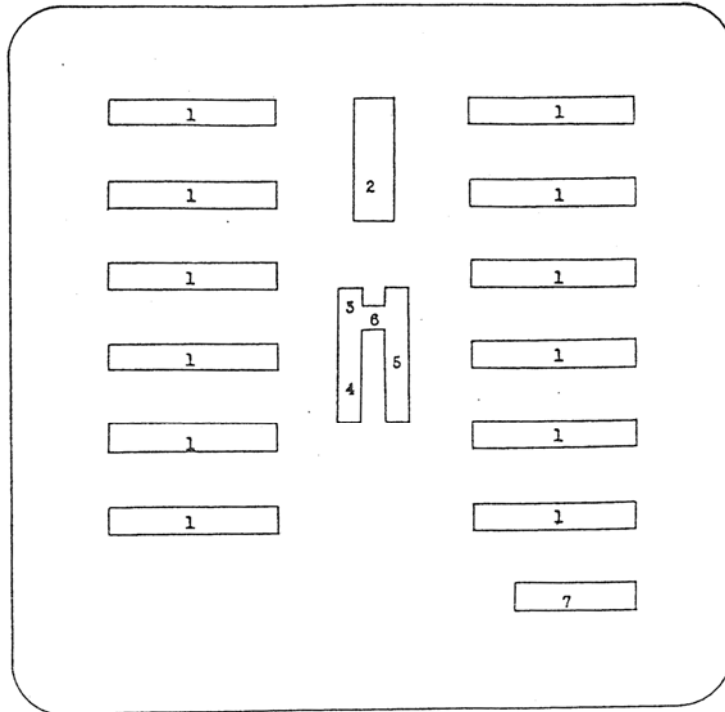


Location of Granada Relocation Center
(National Park Service 2007)



Historic map of Amache layout
(Simmons 1994)

TYPICAL HOUSING BLOCK
WAR RELOCATION CENTER

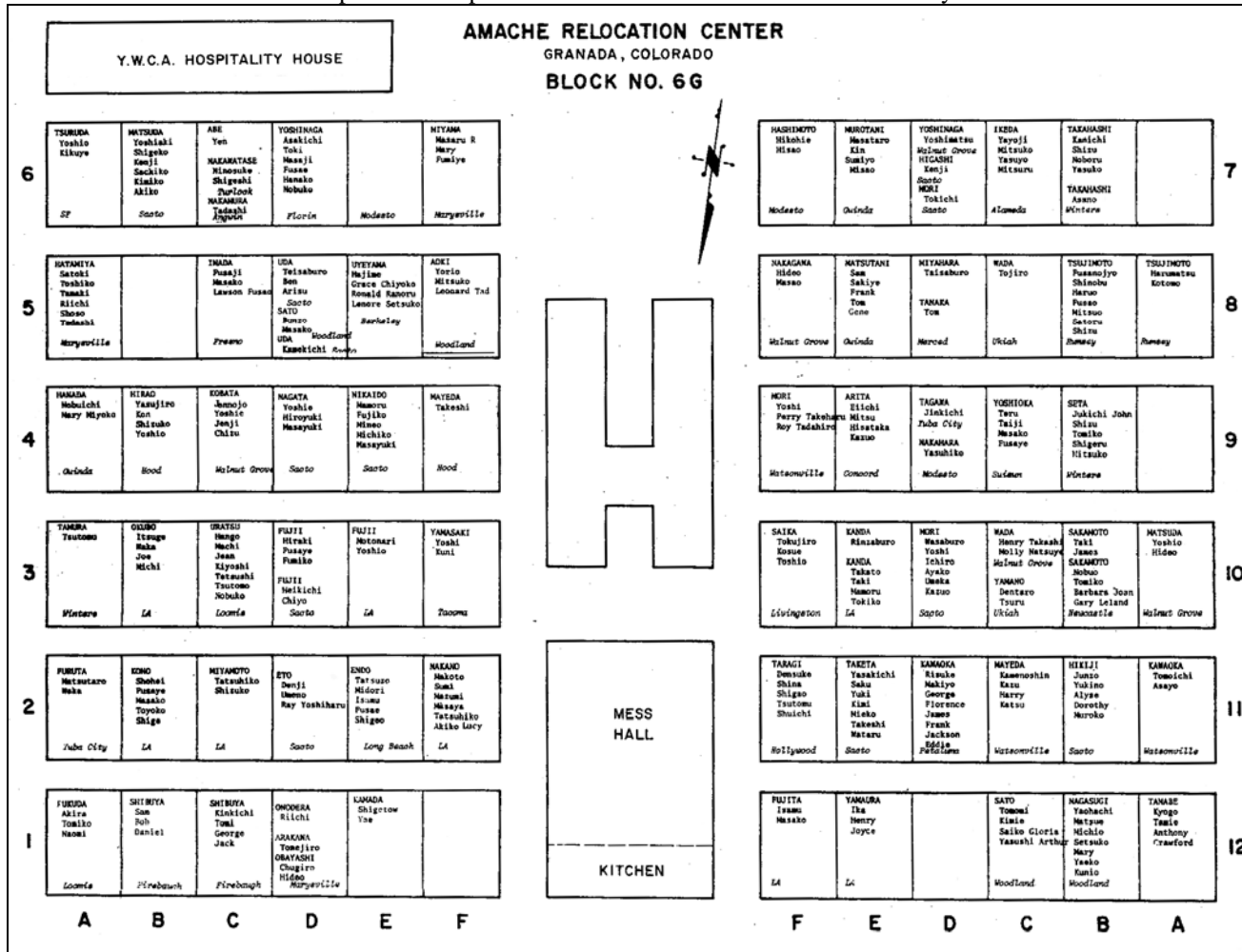


- 1. Barracks 20x120
- 2. Mess Hall 40x120
- 3. Women's Latrine
- 4. Men's Latrine

- 5. Laundry Room
- 6. Heater Room
- 7. Recreation Hall

U.S. War Department
 Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast
 Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946, Figure 23, 267

Block maps created by the Amache Historical Society using information from the 1945 Amache Directory
 Reprinted with permission from the Amache Historical Society



TOWN HALL - BLOCK MANAGERS OFFICE

AMACHE RELOCATION CENTER
GRANADA, COLORADO
BLOCK NO. 6 H

6	FURUHARA Saitaro Hiwako	MATSUSHITA Haruhichi Kaito TERAMOTO Hiyochi TAKAGAMA Nihai ITO Yachi	ARISHITA Toruichi Kosae Masaki Jimmy Henry	HASHIMOTO Yasuji Kiyo Fumi Joy Taro Sumi Toshiko Seiko	TANITA Eikichi Kenzo Eleanor Edith Edward	MURAKAMI Kenryo Martha Kosaki Hatsune
	Palmer	Palmer Palmer Palmer Palmer Palmer Palmer Palmer Palmer Palmer Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer

5	NAKIDA Masaru Haruo Kumiko Tomio Takao	NAKAGAMA Seihiro Mitsuyo Mitsuko Yoshitatsu Dojun	HIROOKA Kiyomasa Kikuyo Nobuyo Hideo Yoshio Mitsuo	HAMAMOTO Juro Izuko Kazuo William Henry	YOKOTA Zenichi Natsuyo Tsuru
	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer

4	NAKANO Aetaro Nesao NAKANO Aeto Yayeko Setsuko Aeto Takaji	HARADA Tokuichi Tetsu Ryo Tamai Yoshio Minoru	HARADA Yoshiko Masuko Taro Shinako	UYEDA Juichi Sui	SATO Denichi Chiyo Miye
	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer

3	NISHIMURA Haruo Katsumi	MIYASHIMA Saitaro Take Mary James Evelyn Ernest Arthur Janice Mildred	ISHIMOTO Chiyoichi Miyu TANAKA Jiro	MAEDA Mitsuo Teruko Yoshio	TANJI Hosochi Kate Julie Taro Isabella	ARAKI Eitaro
	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer

2	NAGATA Tokuji	HEGAKI Masuichi Kinako David Paul	KAJIMOTO Tomii	YAMADA Sasaburo Harumi	TAKEYAMA George Y. Kiyoko Margaret George Jr.	SEKINE Denko Mura
	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer

1	NOYOSHI Hiro Elsie	KATO Shigeo Florence Shigemi Hironi	MIYAMA George Sakaye Sachiyu Iwao	SHIINA Katsuno Aiko Teruko	OSI Rikizo Yasuo Robert	NAKA Kiyochi Masu
	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer

7	KAYOKATA Joe Y.	HATAMITA Shiro Kiyono Kanayo Frank Kiyomi John Thomas	DOI Shoichi Masayuki Midori Iwao Akiko Toshiko	ESKIMABA Masao Helen George Donald Alice	GEMBA Haruji Mitsuo George Akira Miyu Kunihiko Masjiro Masao	MURO Tokuichi Koito Yoshiko
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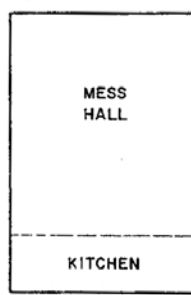
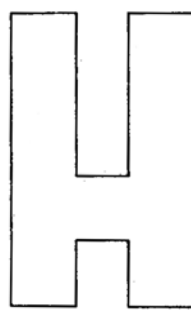
8	SHYOSWATSU Yoshino	SHIMAMOTO Usachi Mitsuyo Chiyo Shuji Sumio Kiyoko	UTEMORI Iwaji May Toko Tazumi Setsuki	TANABE Goroku Ueno Takaji Teruichi Hiroshi	MASUDA Ushida Chikayo Tadateru Takamae Setsuo Yoshio Makiko
	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer	Palmer

9	ITO Seizo	OTO Nichimasa Kenobu Ryohiro Nobuo Hiroye	TAKEDA Shige Mitsugu Shigeo Saburo	SAKURADA Heitaro Haruo Miyu Chiyo	NAKAYAMA Hayachi Chisato Shigeo George Hisako Tomiko	NISHIZAKI Tomotaro Fumiyu
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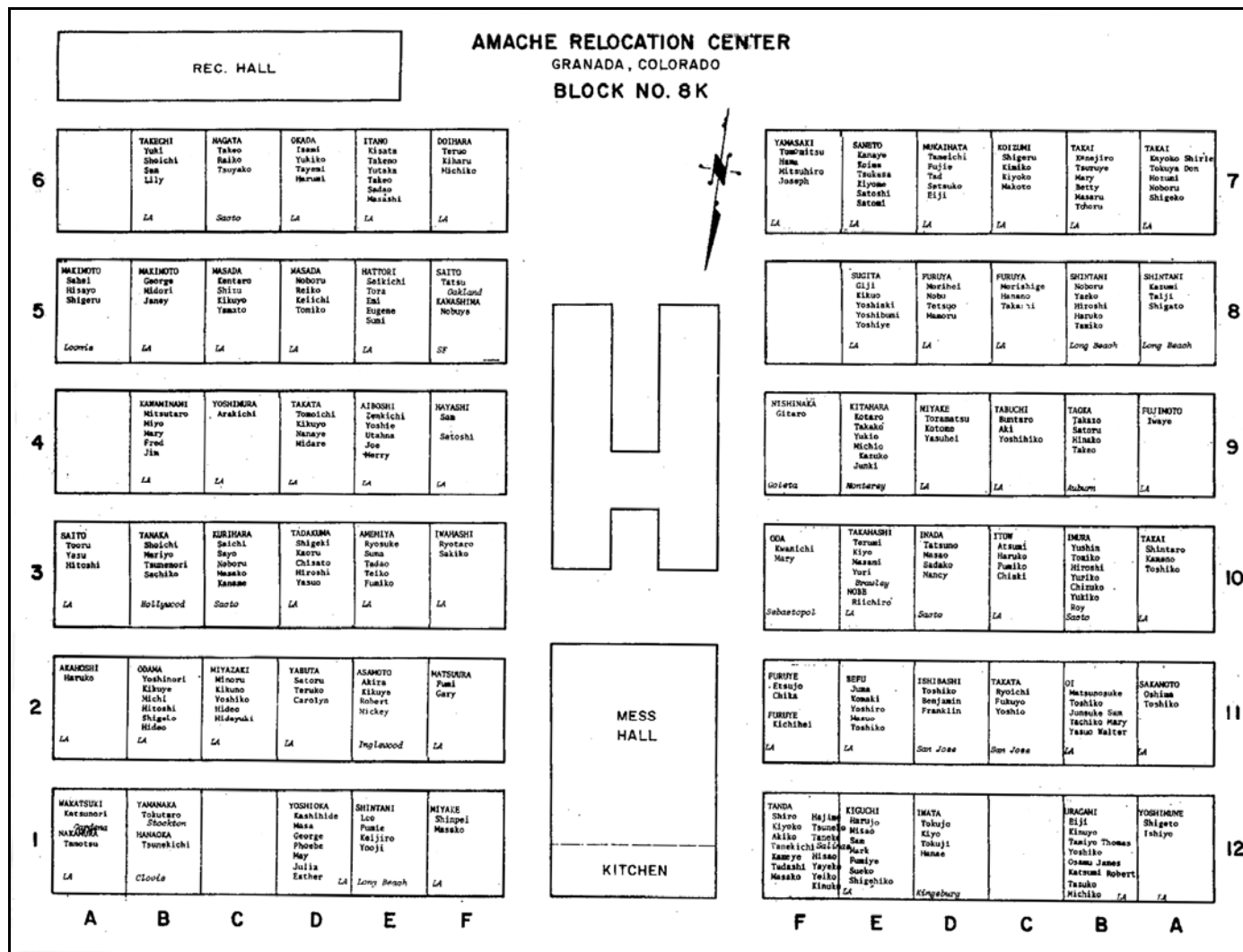
10	NODA Tokujiro Haru	NONI Yasuji Kotome Teruo Sadane Kiyoko Siko	KIMURA Megumi Fujiko Keneth Masay	YOSHIOKA Tsuneji Michiko Akie Roy	YOSHIDA Haruichi Mitsuo Akimori Takako Kasuo Masako Yoshie Tsuruko
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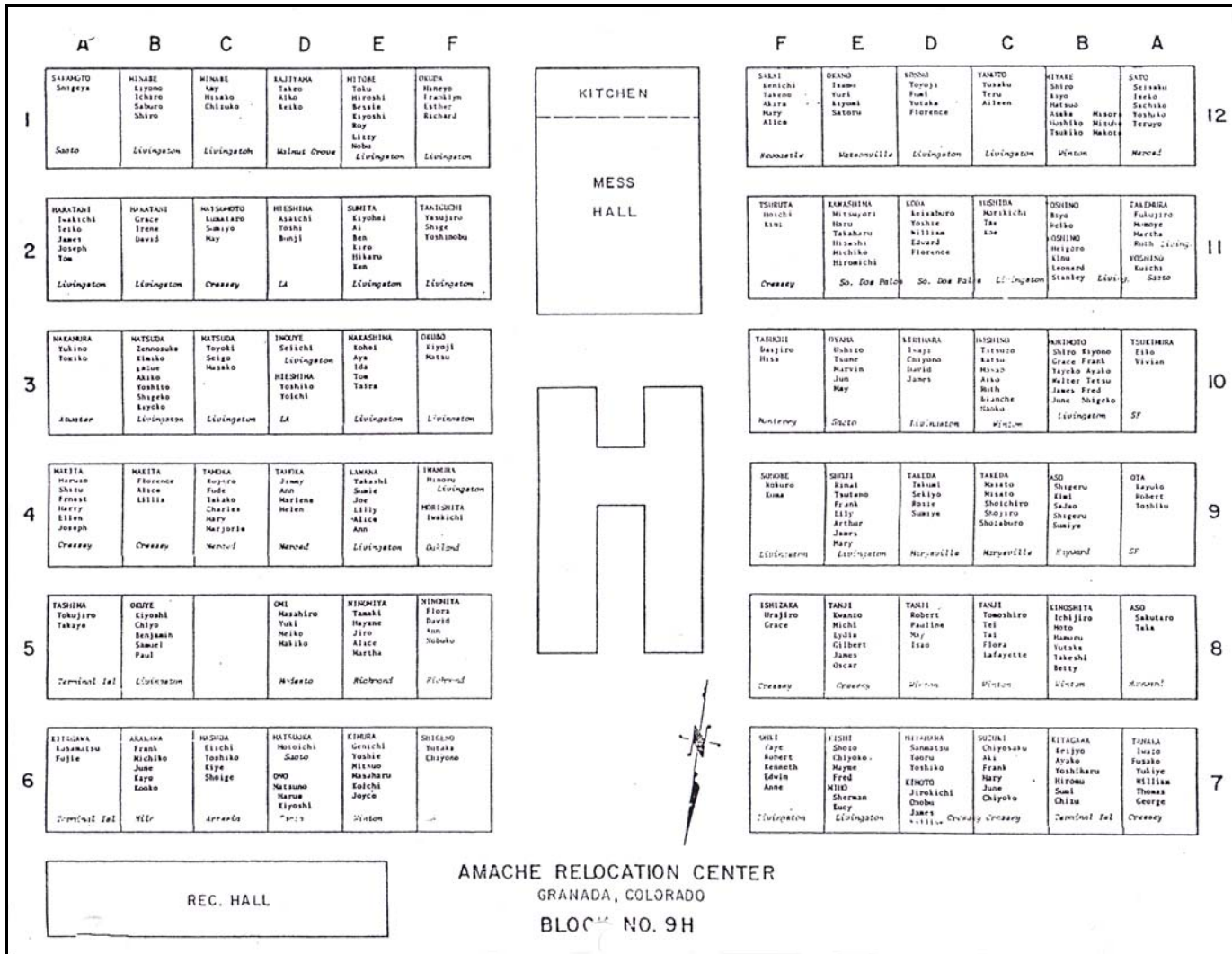
11	HONMARU Ginichi Shigematsu SP HARADA Tokichi George Teruyo Tsuruko	NAKANO Jubachi Hanayo Hideo Kiyoko Sumo Tamai Miyoko Feteluna	ISHIMOTO Sakuzemon Sato Ben	FUJIMOTO Tsunesuke Tsune George Kenji Masami	KAWASAKI Izumi Masako Norinasa Kazuko Yoshiko Takashi Kaichi
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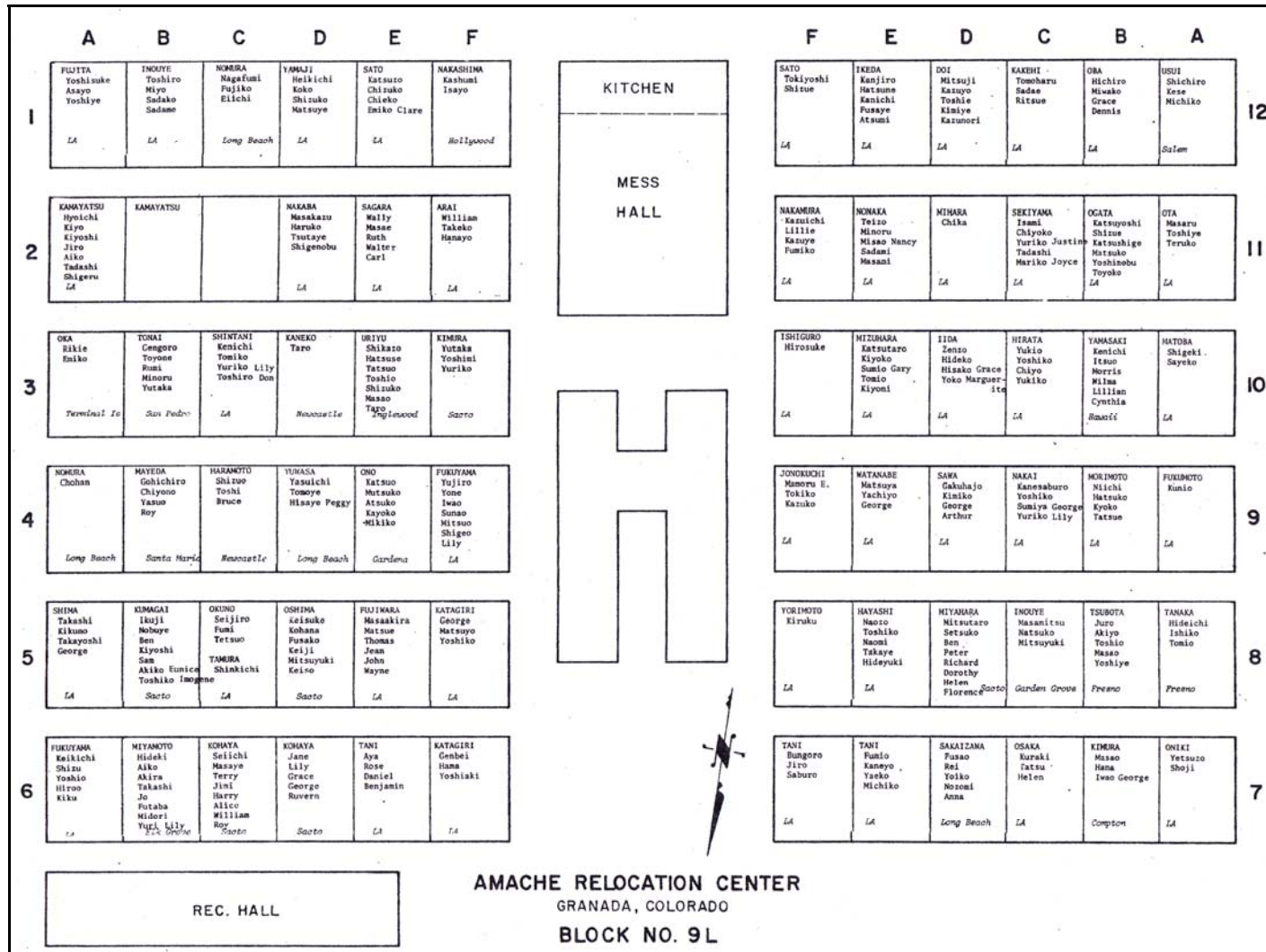
12	HIPENI Ritaro Mika	EURANO Zenichi Tsubo SHIMAZU Hajime Sato FUJIOKA Yoshio Satoshi	OHINA K. Frank Mary Elsie Joyce	NAKANO Harry Yukino Kinuyo	SUOHO Saburo Kotoni Jun	YASUNAGA Hatsuhime Seichi Tetsuo Hikaru Yoshie
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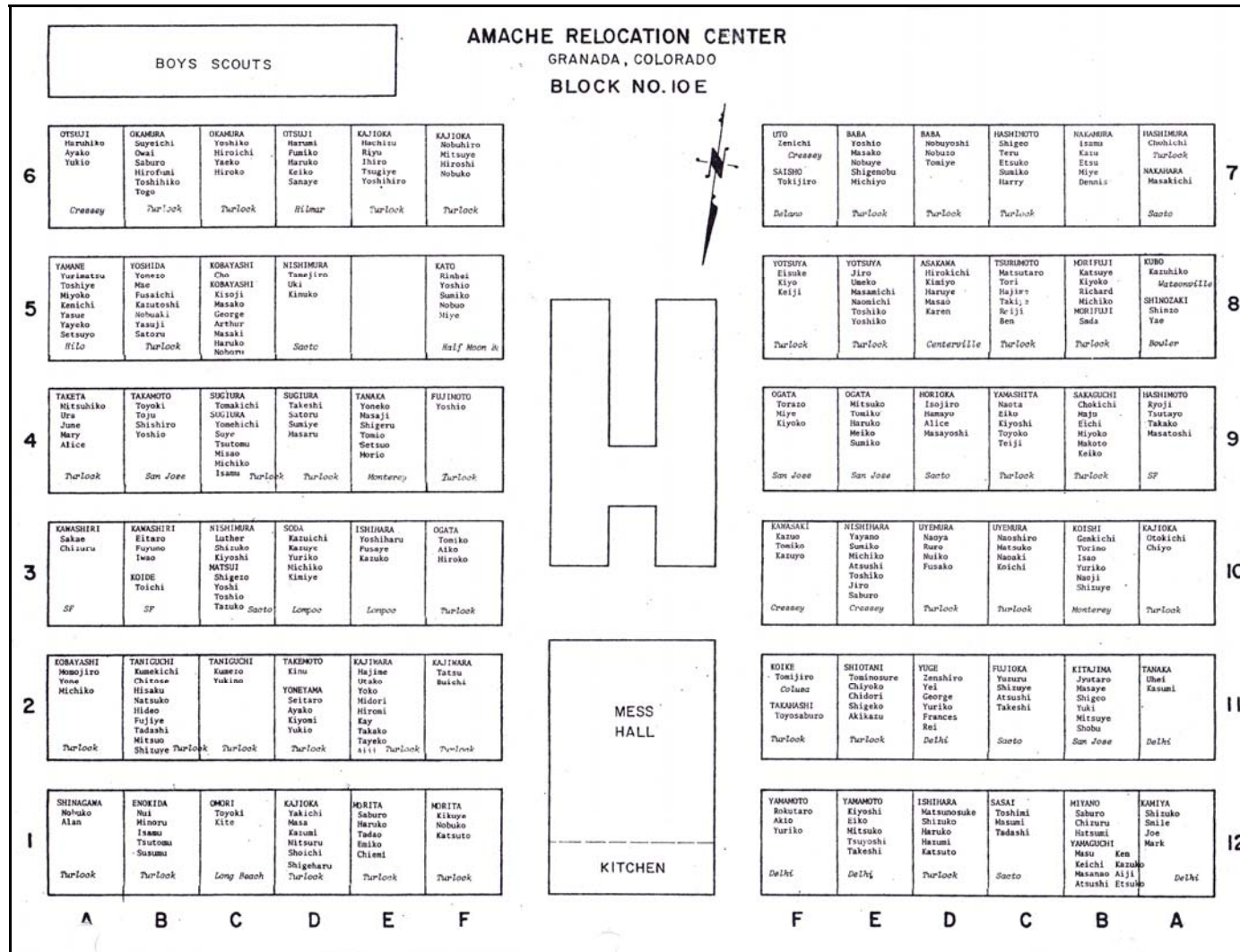


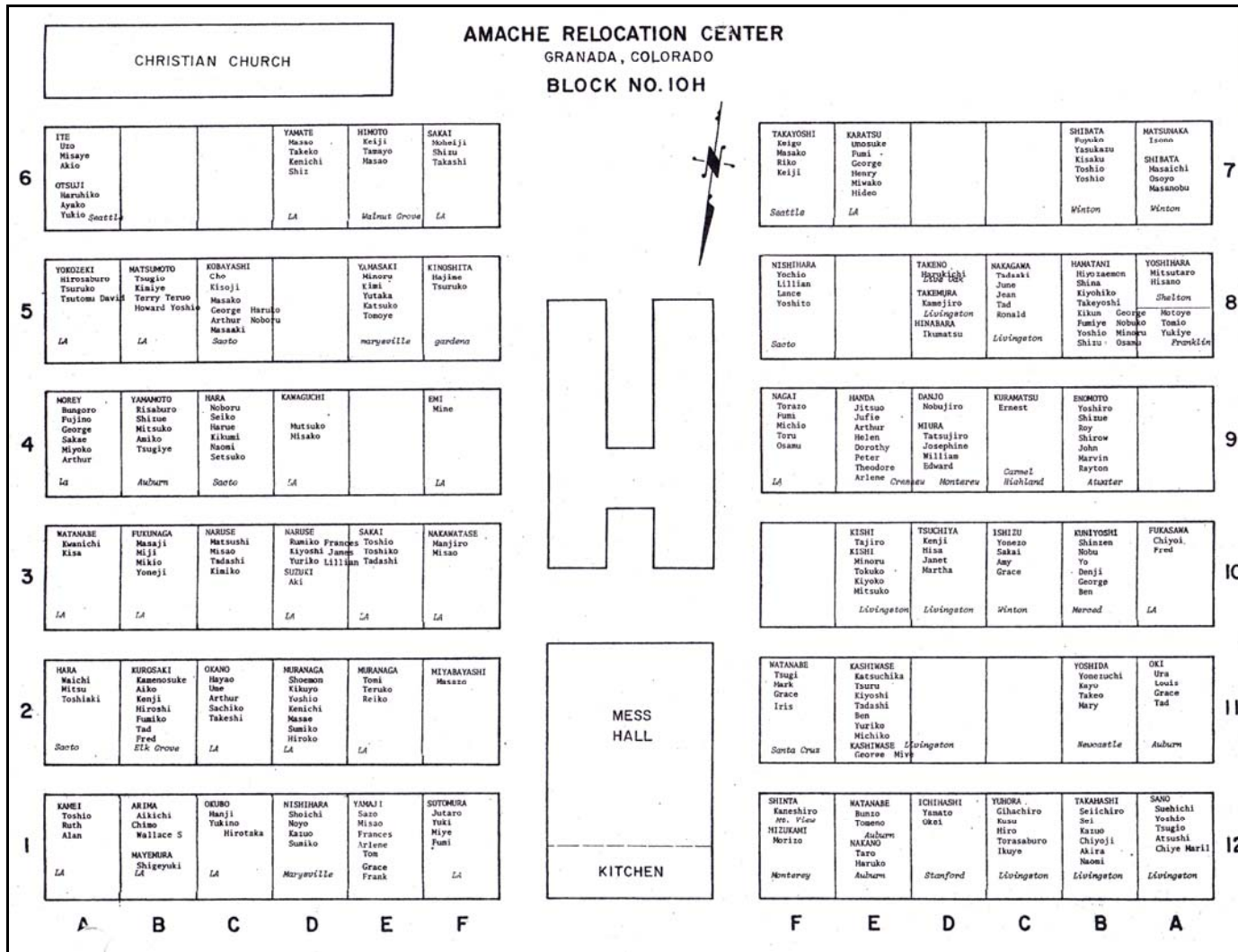
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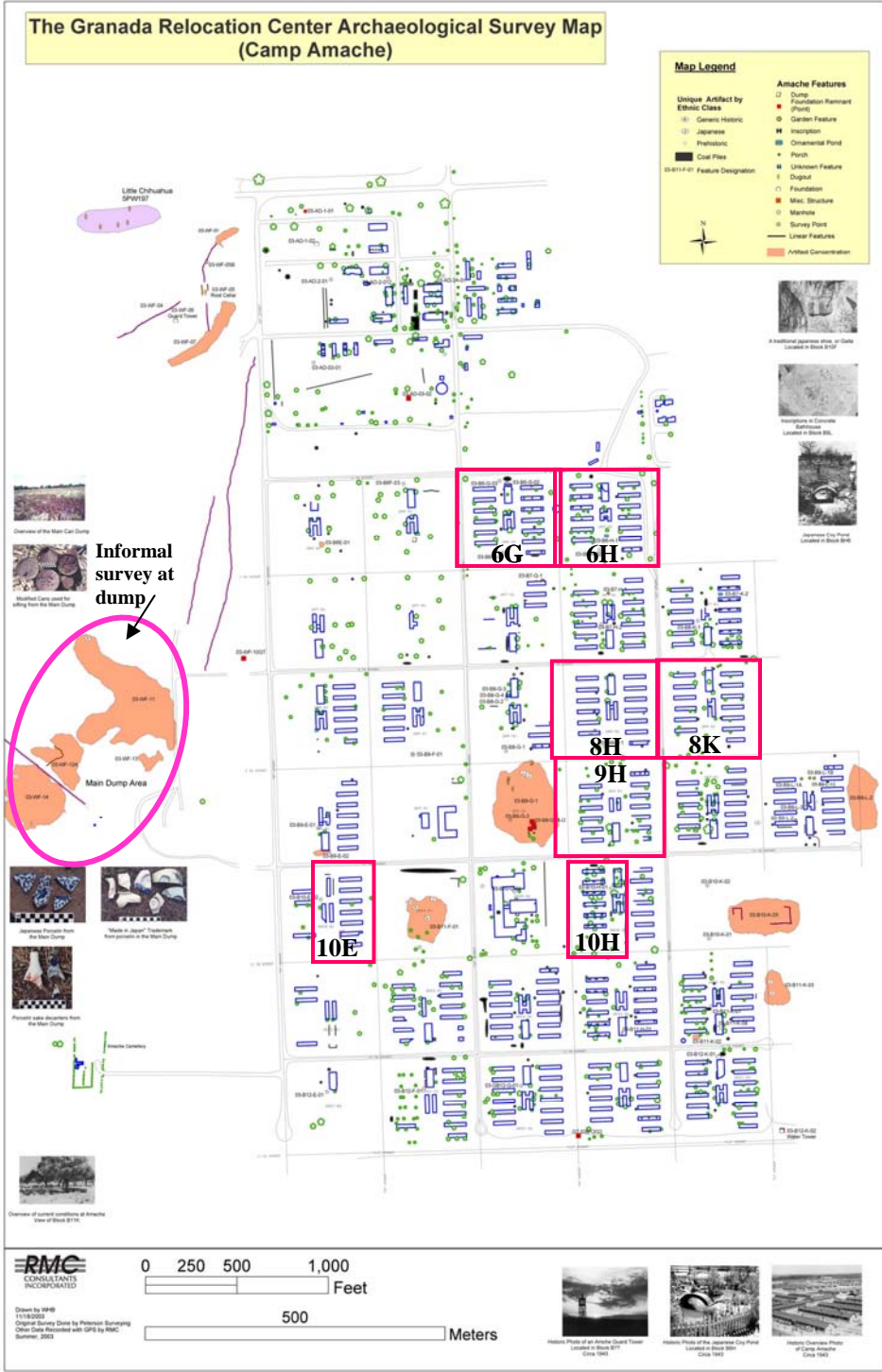






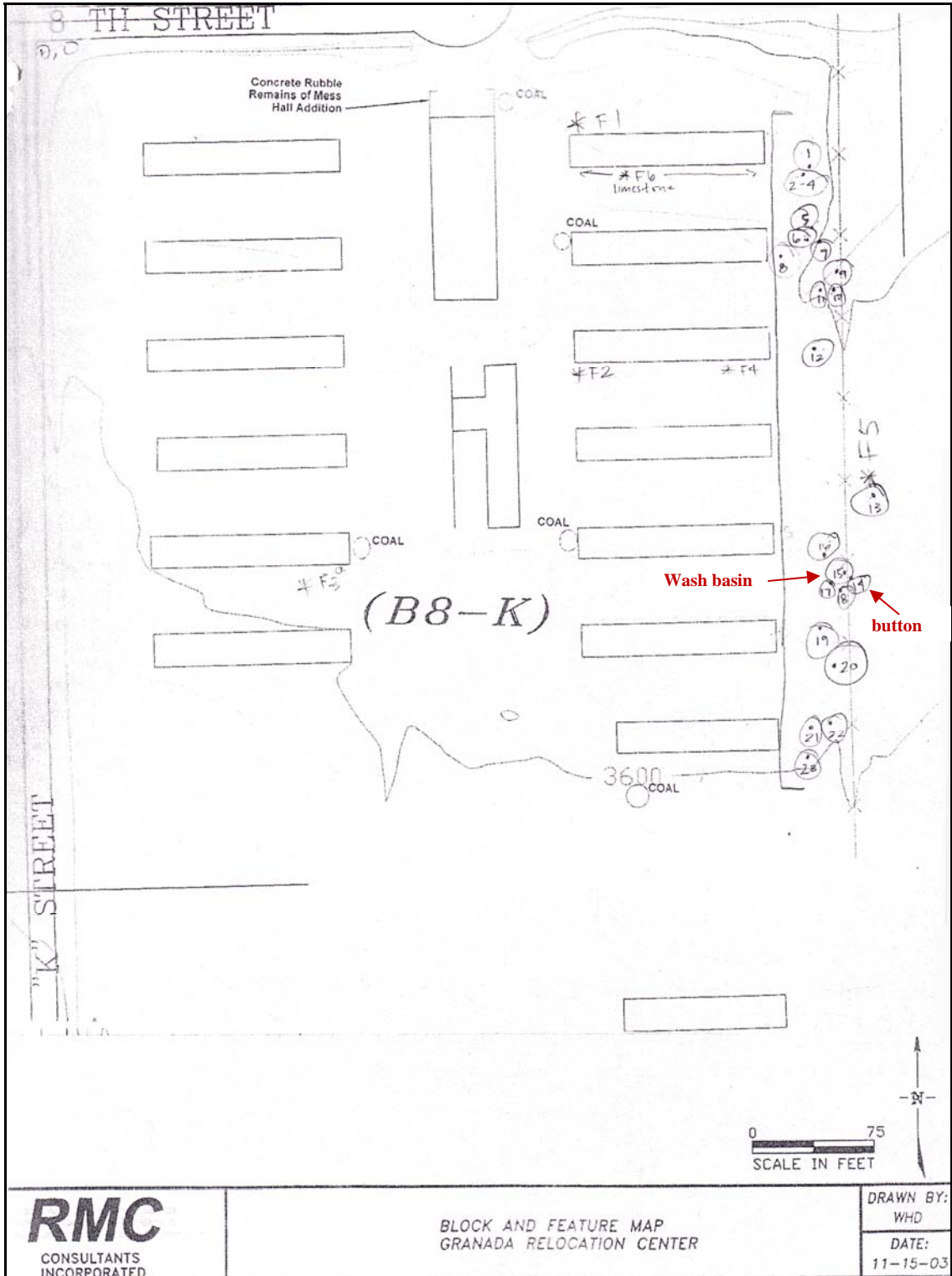


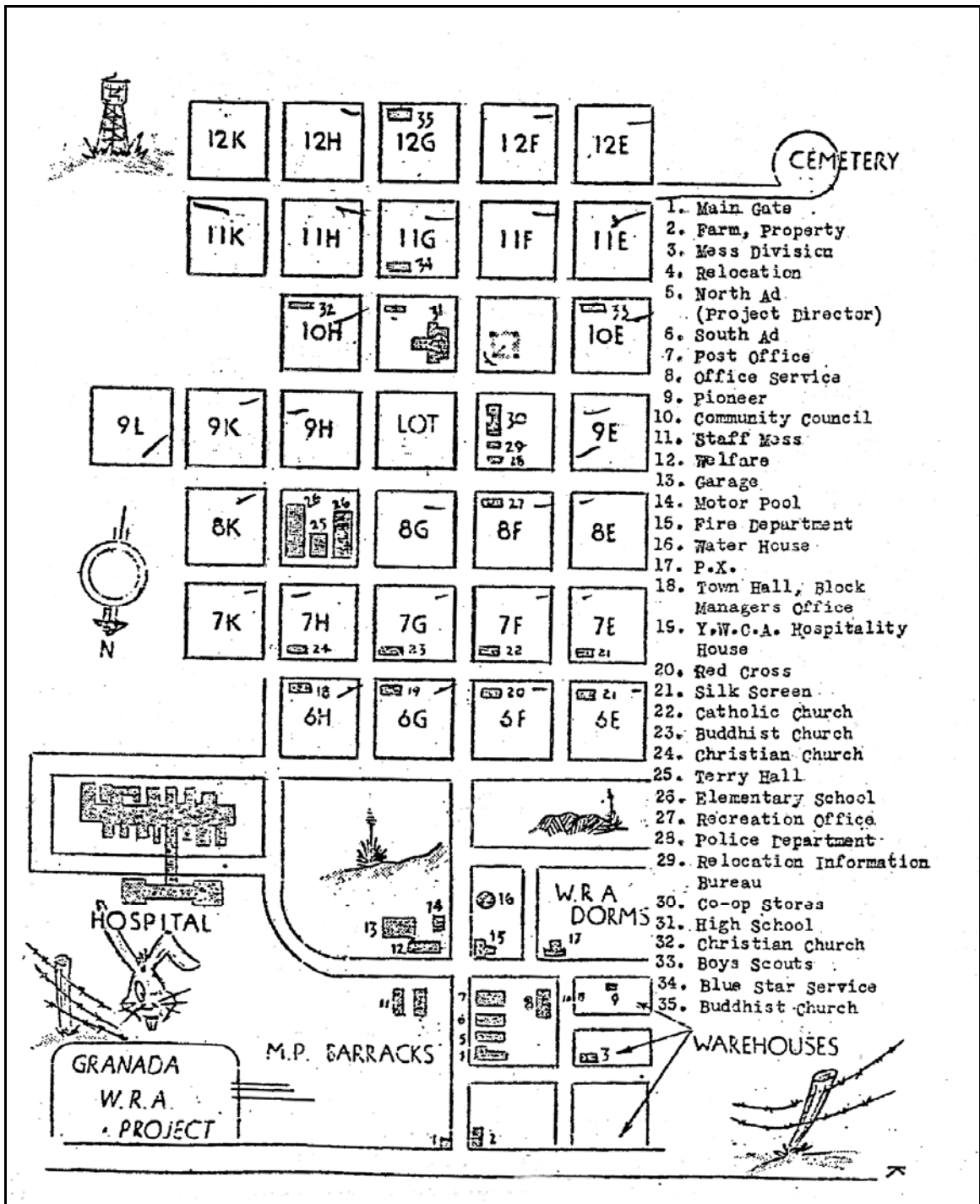




Areas surveyed during 2008 field school

Block 8KF5 artifact distribution





Location of Activity Centers
From Amache Welcome Guide

APPENDIX B
Surface Survey Forms

Amache Surface Survey
BLOCK FORM

Block #: _____

Date: _____

Surveyors: _____

Transect Spacing: _____

Glass:		Clear	Green	Brwn	Milk	Blue	Other	Totals
cold cream jars								
cleaning product jars								
soda bottles								
small bottle								
medium bottle								
large bottle								
small jar								
medium jar								
large jar								
fragment								
small frag								
med frag								
lrg frag								
molded glass								
painted glass								
Ceramic:	Import	Military	Japanese		Domestic		Other	
food								
household								
decorative								
Tin Cans:	lids	fragments	whole		Metal:			
modified						modified barrel hoops		
small cans						modified metal		
medium cans								
large cans								
milk								
oil/gas								
Other:								
marbles								
shell								

**Amache Surface Survey
FEATURE FORM**

Block #: _____

Date: _____

Surveyors: _____

Transect Spacing: _____

Glass:		Clear	Green	Brwn	Milk	Blue	Other	Totals
cold cream jars								
cleaning product jars								
soda bottles								
small bottle								
medium bottle								
large bottle								
small jar								
medium jar								
large jar								
fragment								
small frag								
med frag								
lrg frag								
molded glass								
painted glass								
Ceramic:	Import	Military	Japanese	Domestic			Other	
food								
household								
decorative								
Tin Cans:	lids	fragments	whole	Metal:				
modified						modified barrel hoops		
small cans						modified metal		
medium cans								
large cans								
milk								
oil/gas								
Other:								
marbles								
shell								

Amache Surface Survey Objects of Interest

Food:

- ceramics-Japanese, other imported, and domestic ceramics associated with food preparation and/or consumption (plates, tea cups, saucers, serving dishes, sake containers, food storage containers)
- tin cans (tin cans of food, modified tin cans-possibly used as graters)

Beauty and Appearance:

- cosmetics (lipstick tubes, cold cream jars, lotion bottles)
- hair accessories (barrettes, combs, hair tonic bottles)
- clothing (shoe parts, belt buckles, etc)
- fragrance (perfume bottles)
- jewelry (pins, necklaces, pendants, rings)

Gardening:

- modified cans (possible watering cans)
- gardening equipment (shovels, trowels, buckets)
- garden features (fence posts, stepping stones)

Cleaning:

- cleaning product containers (glass bottle cleaning products)
- cleaning equipment (brooms, mops, wash basins, laundry lines, washboards)

Instructions for Surface Survey Forms

Block Form

One person will be responsible for recording tallies of different objects found during surface survey of each block. All other surveyors will be responsible for communicating finds to the recorder. When appropriate indicate whether the object is whole/mostly whole or fragmented/incomplete, color, and size. Please see the Block Form to familiarize yourself with what information is needed for different types of materials.

Descriptions of some less obvious subtypes are provided below:

Ceramic

- Japanese: any ceramics with recognizable Japanese marks, designs, motifs
- Other Imported: any ceramics imported from countries other than Japan
- Domestic: any non-military ceramics made in the U.S.
- Military: any military issued ceramics such as US Quartermaster

Toys

- Composite: toys made of more than one type of material

Plastic

- Fragment: any plastic too deteriorated to identify its form or function

Tin Cans

- only record tin cans that are whole, mostly whole, or large enough to identify type

Personal

- Toiletries: includes items such as combs/brushes, hair tonic, lotion, and shampoo containers.
- Clothing: includes items such as buttons, grommets, clasps, etc.
- Cosmetics: includes items such as lipstick tubes and make up containers
- Accessories: includes items such as barrettes, brooches, and jewelry

Completing the form:

Indicate the block number being surveyed, the date, initials of all surveyors, and spacing distance between each transect. The recorder will tally counts for each category subtype. When appropriate W's, F's, and M's can be used as tally marks to indicate whole, fragment, and modified respectively. Regular tally marks can be used if these designations are not appropriate. The "Totals" column is for the total count of each subtype.

Short Hand Key:

- W: whole or mostly whole objects
- F: fragmented or incomplete objects
- M: modified

Feature Form

Large concentrations of artifacts such as possible informal trash dumps will be mapped and recorded as features. These features will be recorded on Feature Forms which include the same categories and subtypes as Block Forms and are filled out in a similar manner.

Artifact Analysis Form

Objects of interest will be pin flagged and recorded using the Artifact Analysis Form. Fill in the block number where the artifact is found, the date, your name, the point number designated by the total station and the UTM location. Circle the artifact type. Indicate the subtype, color, and size of the object (descriptions used in the Block Form can be used). Indicate the condition of the object (whole, fragmented, level of deterioration, identifiable maker's marks, etc.). Give a general description of the object that includes further details about its condition and physical appearance. Indicate whether or not the item is being collected. Include notes on the context of the object such as proximity of object to other objects or features (tree roots, foundations, etc.) Any other notes, suggestions, or ideas should also be included.

Ceramic or Glass Tableware Analysis Form

Block#

FA#	Ware	Segment	#	Diam	R/B	% present	Decor	Description	Max Thk	Min Thk	H/F	Vessel Form	Note
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							
						1/4 1/2 3/4 W							

Ware:

E-Earthenware
H-Hotelware
I-Ironstone

O-Other
P-Porcelain
S-Stoneware

T-Terra
Cotta

Segment:

Rim
Bod-Body
O-Other

Bas-Base
H-Handle

#-number of associated fragments

R/B: Rim or Base
Decor-Decorated Y or N
H/F-hollow form or flatware

Analysis Form- "Other"

Block # _____

FA #	Material	Description	% present			
			1/4	1/2	3/4	W

Materials:
be specific-galvanized tin, enamelware, aluminum, plastic, etc. or unknown; if composite note all materials

Bottle Analysis Form

Block# _____

FA#	Color	Segment	#	% present	Dia mouth	Dia base	Height	Shape	Closure	Vess Fm	ID Marks	Content	Note
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									
				1/4 1/2 3/4 W									

Color:

Cl-clear
A-aqua
LG-light green
M-milk

DG-dark green
B-brown
Co-cobalt
O-other

Segment:

Lip
Neck
Shoulder
Body

Base

Shape:

R-round
O-other
Oval
Sq-square
Rect-rectangular

Closure:

CC-crown cap
LT-lug thread
Cont Th-continuous thread
Lid

Cork

Vessel Form:

B-bottle
Jar
Jug
CJ-canning jar

Bottle Analysis Form (backside)

FA#	Notes

AMACHE ARTIFACT ANALYSIS & COLLECTION

Block #: _____ **Date:** _____

Completed By: _____ **UTM location:** _____ MN

Point Number: _____ _____ ME

Artifact type:

Personal Glass Metal Wood Ceramic Tin Cans Toys Plastic Other

Subtype: _____

Color: _____

Size: _____

Condition: _____

General Description: _____

Notes: _____

Photograph #: _____

Collected: Y N FS#:

APPENDIX C
Archaeological Data

Table 5.2
Amache Surface Survey-Cleaning Product Bottles

Block	FA#	Color	Size	Vessel Type	Maker's Mark	Description
8KF1	8	brown	n/a	bottle		3 pieces of the body of a Hi-Lex bleach bottle, unknown size
8KF1	10	brown	n/a	bottle		Hi-lex bleach bottle, unknown size
8KF1	29	brown	n/a	bottle/jug	OROX-CL	part of base and body of Clorox bleach bottle or jug
8KF1	51	brown	3 3/5" base	quart bottle	O-X	base of a Clorox bleach bottle
8KF1	56	brown	4.6" base	half gallon jug	CLOROX Reg US Pat.	base of a Clorox bleach half gallon jug
9H	13	brown	2" mouth	half gallon/gallon jug	n/a	neck and lip of a half gallon/gallon jug
10H	17	brown	5" base	half gallon jug	"Hi-le" on side; "lex" on base	base and part of body of Hi-lex half gallon jug
10H	23	brown	7/8" mouth	gallon jug	Hi-lex	lip of Hi-lex gallon jug

Chi Squared Comparison of Residential Blocks to Elementary School

Glass	Residential blocks	Block 8-H	Total	
	112	6	118	Count
	104.15	13.85		Expected Value
	0.592	4.45		Chi Square Contribution
Ceramic	38	0	38	Count
	33.54	4.46		Expected Value
	0.593	4.46		Chi Square Contribution
Metal	25	5	30	Count
	26.48	3.52		Expected Value
	0.083	0.621		Chi Square Contribution
Tin Cans	142	27	169	Count
	149.16	19.84		Expected Value
	0.344	2.586		Chi Square Contribution
Other	62	10	72	Count
	63.55	8.45		Expected Value
	0.038	0.284		Chi Square Contribution
Marbles	12	4	16	Count
	14.12	1.88		Expected Value
	0.319	2.397		Chi Square Contribution
Total	391	52	443	

$X^2=16.767$

df=5

p value=0.005

3 cells with expected counts less than 5

Amache Surface Survey-Food Related Artifacts

Block	Feature	CAT	FA	Shot	Category	Material	Mat. Type	Description
10E			1	247	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	porcelain	rim of a porcelain bowl, painted line of blue under glaze
10E		128	7	253	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	porcelain	rim of a porcelain bowl, blue half circles and green radiating line design
10E			15	228	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	ironstone	base of white ironstone plate
10E			19	224	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	porcelain	body of a white porcelain bowl
10E		130	24	236	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	porcelain	rim of a porcelain bowl with blue decoration; mostly likely Japanese
10E			26	244	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	porcelain	rim of a porcelain bowl; blue decorative line on top and pine needle design beneath
10E		131	28	238	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	porcelain	rim of possible porcelain Japanese rice bowl; blue on white stenciled katagomi
10H			11	364	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	earthenware	bright orange glazed fiesta ware, possibly a bowl
10H	2		7	393	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	earthenware	base/rim of a yellow fiesta ware cup or bowl
10H			1	415	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	hotelware	plain white plate
10H			10	365	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	ironstone	base of an unknown ceramic vessel
10H	2		12	391	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	ironstone	rim of small ironstone bowl, diameter 5"
10H	2		15	385	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	ironstone	scalloped rim of white ironstone; most likely plate or other holloware; multi colored flower design
10H		438	30	414	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	stoneware	small fragment of decorated stoneware with textured brown glaze; probably portion of crock
6H			4	90	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	hotelware	flatware
6H			12	70	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	ironstone	plate
6H			17	80	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	hotelware	bowl
8K	F1		5	105	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	porcelain	bowl/cup
8K	F1		11	111	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	hotelware	flatware
8K	F1		15	114	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	earthenware	cup
8K	F1		26	121	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	ironstone	bowl
8K	F1		33	127	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	hotelware	flatware
8K	F1		43	133	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	earthenware	saucer
8K	F1		45	136	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	porcelain	small bowl

8K	F1		57	148	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	ironstone	small bowl
8K	F1		60	148	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	porcelain	small bowl/ tea bowl
8K	F1		66	148	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	porcelain	bowl
8K	F1		69	148	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	earthenware	plate
8K	F1		72	148	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	earthenware	plate/ bowl
8K	F1		75	148	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	ironstone	plate
8K	F1		79	137	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	hotelware	plate
8K	F1		47B	135	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	porcelain	flatware
8K	F5		3	217	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	ironstone	cup
8K	F5		4	217	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	earthenware	bowl/ plate
8K	F5		19	201	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	stoneware	teapot Lid
8K			8	187	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	earthenware	tea cup
8K			12	195	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	hotelware	saucer
8K			13	190	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	porcelain	bowl or plate
8K	F5		6	214	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	porcelain	bowl/ plate
9H			21	322	Fd Prep/Consump	ceramic	porcelain	fragment of porcelain vessel; green with raised decoration; cannot determine vessel form
6H			3	91	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	milk glass	flatware
6H			14	76	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	milk glass	cup
8K	F1		38	128	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	milk glass	bowl
8K	F1		64	148	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	glass	cup
8K	F1		65	148	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	milk glass	bowl
8K	F1		6	106	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	milk glass	flatware
8K	F1		7	107	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	milk glass	flatware
8K	F1		18	119	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	clear glass	glass Tumbler
8K	F1		19	119	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	glass	bowl
8K	F1		20	119	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	milk glass	baking dish
8K	F1		22	120	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	glass	serving dish
8K	F1		23	120	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	clear glass	glass Tumbler
8K	F1		30	125	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	glass	oval dish

8K	F1		35	124	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	glass	dish
8K	F1		36	124	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	glass	serving dish
8K	F1		37	124	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	glass	dish
8K	F1		41	131	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	pressed glass	bowl
8K	F1		44	134	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	milk glass	juicer
8K	F1		76	148	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	glass	cup
8K	F1		77	148	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	glass	bowl
8K			7	186	Fd Prep/Consump	glass	milk glass	medium plate
10E			8	248	Fd Prep/Consump	metal	enamelware	tin enamelware bowl, flattened
10E		96	10	255	Fd Prep/Consump	metal	aluminum	aluminum fish bait bucket
10H			5	374	Fd Prep/Consump	metal	aluminum?	sardine can with key lid
10H	2		21	389	Fd Prep/Consump	metal	enamelware	galvanized tin bowl, green and cream colored, approx 8-10" diameter
10H			9	366	Fd Prep/Consump	metal	tin	whole tin plate, 11" diameter
8K	F1		68	148	Fd Prep/Consump	metal	metal	spoon
8K	F5		20	202	Fd Prep/Consump	metal	enamelware	coffee Percolator
8K			2	171	Fd Prep/Consump	metal	aluminum	cup
10E			6	250	Fd Prep/Consump	other	plastic	plastic tea spoon, probably measuring spoon, marked with 1/2
10E		129	22	234	Fd Prep/Consump	other	rubber	part of a coffee pot/percolator handle
10H	2		8	398	Food Storage	ceramic	stoneware	base of a large stoneware jar, clear glaze only on interior
10E			17	226	Food Storage	glass	clear glass	whole clear glass jug
10E			29	223	Food Storage	glass	green glass	base of green soda bottle
10H			14	361	Food Storage	glass	aqua	part of a Coca Cola bottle
10H			15	360	Food Storage	glass	aqua	part of a Coca Cola bottle
10H			19	410	Food Storage	glass	clear glass	lip of a clear glass milk bottle
8K	F1		32	126	Food Storage	glass	light green	soda bottle
9H			4	334	Food Storage	glass	clear glass	fragment of clear glass bottle; possibly soda bottle
9H			25	346	Food Storage	glass	clear glass	whole clear glass bottle, shaped like ketchup bottle
10H	2		14	383	Food Storage	glass	aqua	body of a mason jar, "ASON" visible on fragment

10H			8	376	Food Storage	glass	clear glass	continuous thread rim of clear glass jar
10H			26	404	Food Storage	glass	clear glass	whole clear glass continuous thread rimmed jar
10H			3	377	Food Storage	glass	milk glass	white glass jar lid
8K	F1		17	119	Food Storage	glass	clear glass	milk bottle
8K	F1		24	120	Food Storage	glass	milk glass	jar lid liner
8K	F1		63	148	Food Storage	glass	clear glass	mason jar
8K	F1		71	148	Food Storage	glass	clear glass	mason jar
8K	F1		85	143	Food Storage	glass	clear glass	ketchup bottle
8K	F1		16B	118	Food Storage	glass	clear glass	soda bottle
8K	F5		16	207	Food Storage	glass	clear glass	condiment jar
8K			5	184	Food Storage	glass	brown glass	alcohol/beverage bottle
8K			15	191	Food Storage	glass	clear glass	ketchup bottle
9H			29	320	Food Storage	glass	clear glass	clear glass portion of Sani-glass container; most likely food storage
10H	2		20	386	Food Storage	metal		jar lid, 2.5" diameter
6H			10	72	Food Storage	metal	tin	jar lid
8K	F1		73	148	Food Storage	metal	metal	modified jar lid
10E			11	256	Food/Cleaning	glass	clear glass	lip and neck of clear glass jug; either sake or cleaning product bottle
10H	2		1	401	Food/Cleaning	glass	clear glass	shoulder of a clear glass bottle with remnants of lug handle-either sake or cleaning supply

Amache Ceramics/Glass Tableware

Field Analyzed Artifacts

Block	Feature	FA#	Ware	Form Type	Vessel Type	Description
6H		17	hotelware	Euroamerican	bowl	undecorated hotelware bowl
6H		3	glass	Euroamerican	plate	foot of milkglass plate
6H		4	hotelware	Euroamerican	plate	foot of hotelware plate
6H		14	glass	Euroamerican	cup	foot of milkglass cup
8K		7	glass	Euroamerican	plate	milkglass plate
8K		12	hotelware	Euroamerican	plate	possible military ware plate
8K	1	65	glass	Euroamerican	bowl	terraced molded rim of milkglas bowl
8K	1	7	glass	Euroamerican	flatware	off colored milkglass flatware
8K	1	11	hotelware	Euroamerican	flatware	undecorated hotelware plate
8K	1	38	glass	Euroamerican	bowl	circle and dot decoration on base and vertical lines on body
8K	1	43	earthenware	Euroamerican	plate/cup	Fiesta ware plate/cup
8K	1	33	hotelware	Euroamerican	flatware	base of hotelware flatware
8K	1	79	hotelware	Euroamerican	plate	hotelware plate
8K	5	4	earthenware	Euroamerican	unidentified	blue Fiesta ware ceramic
10H		1	hotelware	Euroamerican	plate	two raised lines on underside of hotelware plate
10H		11	earthenware	Euroamerican	bowl	orange Fiesta ware bowl
10H	2	7	earthenware	Euroamerican	cup/bowl	yellow Fiesta ware cup/bowl
8K	1	20	glass	Euroamerican	dish	corner of oblong baking dish
8K	1	18	glass	Euroamerican	cup	glass cup with vertical ridge texture
8K	1	36	glass	Euroamerican	dish	undecorated glass serving/cooking dish
8K	1	64	glass	Euroamerican	cup	glass cup
8K	1	76	glass	Euroamerican	cup	glass cup
8K	1	19	glass	Euroamerican	bowl	glass bowl
8K	1	22	glass	Euroamerican	dish	glass serving dish
8K	1	30	glass	Euroamerican	dish	glass oval dish
8K	1	35	glass	Euroamerican	dish	glass dish
8K	1	37	glass	Euroamerican	dish	glass dish
8K	1	41	glass	Euroamerican	bowl	pressed glass bowl
8K	1	77	glass	Euroamerican	bowl	glass bowl
6H		12	ironstone	unidentified	plate	white plate with scalloped edge
8K		8	earthenware	unidentified	cup	painted flower design

8K		13	porcelain	unidentified	bowl/plate	undecorated porcelain bowl/plate
8K	1	16	earthenware	unidentified	cup	base of earthenware cup
8K	1	57	ironstone	unidentified	bowl	3 red stripes painted along rim
8K	1	66	porcelain	unidentified	bowl	thin orange-red paint under glaze
8K	1	69	earthenware	unidentified	plate	yellow painted flower decoration
8K	1	75	ironstone	unidentified	plate	thin maroon line painted along edge of base interior
8K	1	26	ironstone	unidentified	bowl	undecorated ironstone bowl
8K	1	47	porcelain	unidentified	flatware	decorated porcelain flatware
8K	5	3	ironstone	unidentified	cup	undecorated ironstone cup
8K	5	19	stoneware	unidentified	lid	brown glazed teapot lid
9H		21	porcelain	unidentified	unidentified	painted porcelain tableware
10E		1	porcelain	unidentified	bowl	decorated porcelain bowl
10E		15	ironstone	unidentified	plate	undecorated ironstone plate
10E		19	porcelain	unidentified	bowl	undecorated porcelain bowl
10E		26	porcelain	unidentified	bowl	painted pine needle decoration on porcelain bowl
10H		10	ironstone	unidentified	unidentified	V in faint black slip on unidentified ironstone fragment
10H	2	8	stoneware	unidentified	jar	glazed interior jar
10H	2	12	ironstone	unidentified	bowl	undecorated ironstone bowl

Amache Ceramics/Glass Tableware

Collected Artifacts

CAT#	FS#	Lot#	Block	Feature	Ware	Form Type	Vessel Type	Maker's Mark	Description
224	414	8K.5.1	8K		porcelain	Asian	cup/bowl		hand painted flower design
222	17	9L.12.1	9L	1	stoneware	Asian	cup/bowl		dark gold and black glazed stoneware
211	25	9L.20.1	9L	1	stoneware	Asian	bowl/cup		Asian stoneware bowl or cup
133	411	8K.2.1	8K		glass	EuroAmerican	plate?		embossed flower pattern on top; shell like pattern on underside
374	417	8K.8.1	8K	5	glass	EuroAmerican	cup		milk glass cup with pressed flower design on exterior
337	17	9L.12.10	9L	1	glass	EuroAmerican	holloware		clear molded glass with snowflake pattern on exterior; possible drinking glass
52	306	12K.6.11	12K	1	stoneware	EuroAmerican	jug		cream colored body with white to buff glaze; crossmends with CAT#269 and 324
269	304	12K.4.9	12K	1	stoneware	EuroAmerican	jug		cream colored body with white to buff glaze; crossmends with CAT#52 and 324
324	305	12K.5.1	12K	1	stoneware	EuroAmerican	jug		cream colored body with white to buff glaze; crossmends with CAT #52 and 269
128	430	10E.1.1	10E		porcelain	Japanese	bowl		blue and green iro-e hand painted style
130	434	10E.5.1	10E		porcelain	Japanese	bowl		blue on white Katagomi stencil pattern/possible Fukizumi blown stencil design on interior rim; same vessel as CAT#131

131	435	10E.6.1	10E		porcelain	Japanese	bowl		hand painted blue on white (sometsume) design on exterior; Katagomi stencil pattern/possible Fukizumi (blown ink stencil) on interior; same vessel as CAT#130
78	403	6G.4.1	6G		porcelain	Japanese	flatware	Made In Japan	Geisha Girl polychrome hand painted design
201	438	10H.3.1	10H		stoneware	Japanese	teapot/holloware		moriage style glaze on exterior; partially glazed interior
132	412	8K.3.1	8K	1	porcelain	Japanese	serving bowl		celandon fish scale design on interior
74	21	9L.16.1	9L	1	earthenware	unidentified	holloware		painted black and white design under crazed glaze
160	29	9L.24.5	9L	1	earthenware	unidentified	unidentified		white crazed glaze sherd
202	14	9L.9.1	9L	1	earthenware	unidentified	unidentified		white crazed glaze sherd
223	17	9L.12.2	9L	1	porcelain	unidentified	bowl		undecorated white porcelain sherd

APPENDIX D
Documentary Resources

A M A C H E

T O W N H A L L

Sponsored by
COLLEGE COUNCIL

FORUM

Time: FRIDAY

FEBRUARY 5 -- 7:00 P.M.

Place: 8 G Recreation Hall

Community Singing led by - Hippo Shibata

"HOW TO MAKE BARRACK ROOMS INTO PLEASANT HOMES"

Speakers:

Architect -- Joe Fujikawa
U.S.C.

Will illustrate on blackboard
arrangements for each unit.

Homemaker -- Catherine A. Lague

Colorado State A. & M.
With blueprint illustrations
and trip through a model home.

Interior Decorator -- Shizue Watanabe

Five years experience with a
nationally known Hollywood
Interior Decorator, Hazel Ray
Davey.
With sketches and samples of
fabric art and ornamentation
work.

Moderator - Samuel J. Gordon

Night School Director
Long experience with forums in
the east and midwest.



DO'S AND DON'TS
for smart living
will be available to the audience.

Romance sweeps the Country

with

...Clover

...Cameo

...Tulip



The feminine vote is cast—for 3 glamorous spellbinders! Cutex Clover, Cameo, Tulip... the most romantically flattering trio on any nail-polish ticket!

For deep, blue-rose flattery, Cutex CLOVER'S the popular favorite. For that fragile, feminine look, choose mauve-pink CAMEO. For gaiety, check TULIP—the loveliest and most wearable of reds. Join the landslide to romance! Sweep him off his feet with fingertips in Cutex Clover, Cameo or Tulip!

NORTHAM WARREN, NEW YORK, MONTREAL, LONDON, PARIS



CUTEX Salon Polish

Ad from 1940 *New York Sunday News*
ebay.com

Personal Greetings
 Friendship Cards
CARL KONDO'S SERVICE
 AGENCY VA 2752
 312 E. First St. Los Angeles
 We also Clean and Repair
 TYPEWRITER

Lem's Cafe

320 E. 1st St., L. A.
REAL CHINESE COOKING
 A good place to eat. Catering to
 parties with specialize Dishes.
 Bring your family. Music. Special
 dishes on Saturday. Open from
 11 A. M. to 1 o'clock A. M.
 Reservations—MUTual 3415

**Li'l
 TOKIO**



OIL PERMANENTS

Special price \$2.50 and up
SHAMPOO & FINGER WAVES
 Special Palmolive 75c
 Eucalyptus or Mar-o-oil.....\$1.00
 312 E. 1st. St. VA 7639
 New Temple Bldg. Suite 502-504



BEFORE you make an appointment
 for your next permanent, let us show
 you the truly marvelous waves we
 give with the "Pre-Freet" Wave
 using The Billing Koolerwave Meth-
 od, the sensational new-machineless
 method that gives-in-6-minutes-of
 curl-compact.

Ask us about the special "Pre-
 Freet" cream which conditions the
 hair before waving..... makes it
 possible for even the most abused
 hair to get "E.Located Permanent"
 Machineless method.

Exclusive with the

ANGEL BEAUTY SALON

342 E. 1st St. MA 5075

IN PERMANENT LOVELINESS



Oil Per. \$3.50 - \$4.00

Eugene \$4.50 - \$5.00

Machineless \$6.50

Only New oil-treated Pads used
 for each Curl

FUTABA

Nisei Beauty Salon

313 1/2 East First St.

MUTual 9555

Beauty Salon ads
 The Rafu Shimpo, 1942



WHEN HUSBAND JIM . . . actually began teasing me about my dull, stringy, wayward hair . . . I decided to *do* something about it. But, no matter how patiently I tried, I was still unhappy with the results. I almost gave up hope . . .



FINALLY I POCKETED MY PRIDE . . . and asked the new bride next door the secret of her lovely hair: always so gleaming and well-groomed. "It's simple," she said. "My hairdresser, who is really the smartest hairdresser in town, advised me to use Lustré-Crème Shampoo. It's *not* a soap, *not* a liquid, but a wonderful rich-lathering cream shampoo, created by Kay Davnit, to put new magic into your comb and brush; bring out natural but often hidden hair beauty."



WELL, I'M A MISSOURI GIRL . . . and I have to be shown. That night Jim peeked while I washed my hair with Lustré-Crème. In a matter of minutes I found that Lustré-Crème Shampoo gives hair three-way loveliness: (1) makes it fragrantly clean, free of dust and loose dandruff; (2) highlights every strand with a lovely glistening sheen; (3) leaves your hair soft, pliable, easy to manage, thanks to Lustré-Crème's rare blend of secret ingredients, plus *gentle lanolin*, akin to the natural oils in a healthy scalp.

He used to call me "Scatter-Locks"

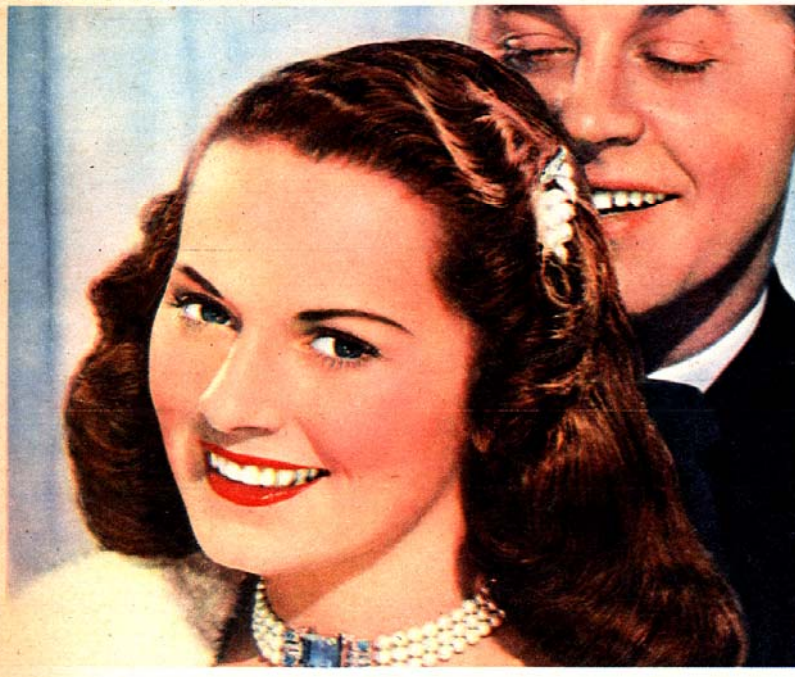
T.W.
4-4-48

... now I'm his "LUSTRE-CREME" Dream Girl

NOW JIM CALLS ME . . . Dream Girl . . . his lovely Lustré-Crème Girl. He loves to rub his cheek against my sparkling, silky hair; now so soft and easy to do. Yes, there seems to be a new "shine" on my wedding ring, too, now my hair is so Lustré-Crème-lovely. Jim, wise man, also uses Lustré-Crème Shampoo with its blend of secret ingredients, plus **GENTLE LANOLIN**, to keep his own hair clean, glossy and well-groomed.

YOU, TOO . . . can have soft, glamorous Dream Girl hair with Lustré-Crème Shampoo. Lathers lavishly in hard or soft water. (No special rinse needed.) A single Lustré-Crème shampoo will amaze you with its "three-way loveliness" results. Your hair is sweetly clean; gorgeous in its sheen; soft, easy to manage; lovely to caress. Try it! Now Lustré-Crème comes in tubes as well as in jars . . . for home and travel use, convenient for all members of the family. 4 oz. jar, \$1.00. Smaller sizes in jars or tubes . . . 49¢ and 25¢. At all cosmetic counters.

Kay Davnit, Inc. (Successor), 99 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.



1948 Lustré-Crème ad
 Duke University Libraries, Digital Collections
<http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/adaccess.BH0340/pg.1/>

She's Engaged to a member of the
Royal Canadian Air Force
She's Lovely!

HER RING—an upraised center diamond flanked by smaller diamonds on intricate design in gold.



FRANCES KING, of Poughkeepsie, N.Y., of the old Hudson River family—another lovely Pond's bride-to-be. Her engagement to H. Paul Richards, of the R.C.A.F., was announced last May

Pretty as a picture—and a complexion so petal-clear you'd think Frances' beauty was just happenstance.

But Frances herself says, very positively, she keeps it that way with her faithful Pond's devotions.

"Skin needs regular care," she declares. "I love my daily and nightly Pond's Cold-Creamings. They make my skin feel glorious."

HOW FRANCES BEAUTY-CARES FOR HER FACE WITH POND'S

First—she smooths snowy Pond's Cold Cream all over face and throat, pats it with brisk finger tips to help soften and release dirt and make-up. Tissues off well.

Next—she rinses with more luscious-soft Pond's, plying her white-tipped fingers around nose, mouth, cheeks, forehead. Tissues off. "This double-creaming is important," Frances says, "makes skin extra clean, extra soft."

Use Pond's Frances' way—every morning, every night. Daytime, too, for clean-ups. You'll find it's no accident engaged girls like Frances, noted society beauties, love this soft-smooth beauty care.

Get a big jar of Pond's Cold Cream today. You'll like being able to dip the fingers of both your hands in the luxurious, big jar.



SHE'S A DARLING! Frances is petite, with wistful brown eyes and skin baby-soft! "I keep it nice with Pond's Cold Cream," she says. "It's such a grand cream!"



ON HIS FURLONGHS Paul and Frances are inseparable. While he is away she serves, too—in the Red Cross, at the canteen, the Halloran Hospital.



TODAY—many more women and girls use Pond's than any other face cream at any price.

She uses Pond's

A few of the
 Pond's
 Society Beauties

- MRS. VICTOR DU PONT, III
- LADY BRIGID KING-TENISON
- MRS. GERALDINE SPRECKELS
- MRS. CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
- MRS. JAMES J. CABOT

Lend \$3, get \$4—Buy more War Bonds

77

Pond's ad
 Cosmopolitan, February 1945

ADULT EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Certificate of Attendance

This is to certify that Chiyo Nakanishi has attended the Drafting class at Granada Relocation Center, Alamosa, Colorado and has completed ⁵⁷⁰ hours of class instruction

H. Arakawa
INSTRUCTOR

Date 4/16/45

James Swallen
SUPERVISOR

Drafting Certificate of Chiyo Nakanishi
JANM Archives

GR HARVEST CAMP

GIRLS AID WAR EFFORT

"The people are friendly, and the farmers wanted us to stay longer," said Ruby Watanabe, who returned from the YWCA harvest camp at Vineland, Colo., Wednesday. "The camp organized to aid in the war effort, helped to further relations between the evacuees and the people on the outside," continued Miss Watanabe. "It helped to break down the hesitancy of the girls and created a better mutual understanding," she concluded. Miss Watanabe is the arts and crafts counselor.

In all, 37 GR's worked at the camp. Nineteen were Caucasians, 15 Japanese, and three Negroes. The girls lived dormitory-fashion in the Vineland school gymnasium.

at the meeting, which is for the purpose of working out a method for segregation, scheduled to begin in September.

Said Toshiko Tahara and Evelyn Miyashima: "We cleared our expenses and we had lots of fun, made friends and found out about farm work. We had no trouble at all and the people are nice."

During their two-week's stay, the girls picked beans, bunched carrots, and topped beets and onions. Evenings were spent in entertainment, such as a Gypsy picnic, swimming in Pueblo, talent shows, and a weinie bake.

Commenting on the work camp, the Pueblo Chieftan said: "Farmers are enthusiastic about the plan and the girls are happy over the arrangement, because it gives them an extended outing, camp associations and fun, while at the same time having a definite worthy war purpose." Three pictures, showing the girls going to work, their living quarters, and at work, were also carried.

The Granada Pioneer
July 24, 1943

AMACHE, GRANADA IN GIRLS SOFTBALL

Monday evening, the Amache Girls' softball pick-up team will trek to Granada to play the Granada girls' at 6 o'clock.

With many of the local stars permanently relocated, and the fact that the girls have not played together since their league ended in June, Amache will be tabbed as the underdogs.

Nothing is known of their opponents power, but they are expected to have a well-balanced team.

The Granada Pioneer
September 4, 1943

WEEKLY LUNCHEONS GIVEN BY MOTHERS

Soldiers who would like to attend a luncheon at Hospitality House on Saturdays are asked to leave their names at Hospitality House by Thursday. The Blue Star Mothers are planning this weekly luncheon as part of their service work.

The Granada Pioneer
July 28, 1943

WOMEN'S FEDERATION
GRANADA RELOCATION CENTER
Amache, Colorado

The Women's Federation is an organization to which four representatives from each block have been elected. It attempts to be the mouthpiece of women in camp and make demands and dissatisfactions known to the administration. It is an organization which attempts to better camp conditions and present points men councilmen think superfluous.

This organization accomplishes its aims by appealing and presenting demands to our appointed personnel. It has found that cooperation both from interviews and administrators is sufficient in general to iron out difficulties. In most instances, our demands have been reasonable and have received a great deal of cooperation.

Officers are:

Co-chairmen - Mrs. James Kanazawa
Mrs. Kamiya

Secretary - Mrs. Joe Abe

Committee Members:	Mrs. Terami	Mrs. Narumi
	Mrs. Kato	Mrs. Hagiwara
	Mrs. Hinoki	Mrs. Takeyama
	Mrs. Ogata	Mrs. Yamasaki
	Mrs. Kamiya	Mrs. Ohama

A few of our accomplishments are:

1. Announcements of camp activities which are of importance to mother, such as, announcements from schools, church, recreation, etc., service division notices and coordinating, social welfare and sanitation committee reports.



Presbyterian Summer Conference memento
 From the scrapbook of Mitsuko Morimoto

**JULY 9, 10, AND 11
 SET FOR CARNIVAL**

The carnival sponsored by the recreation department and originally scheduled for Independence Day is postponed until July 9, 10, and 11.

According to the carnival committee, 60 booths are planned. These concessions will be handled by the YWCA, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, YBA and other young people's groups.

Planned as part of the three-day celebration is a parade, a track meet, sumo, a softball and hardball tournaments and a dance.

In conjunction with the festivities, the Blue Star Mothers will carry on a War bond and stamp drive.

The Granada Pioneer
 June 30, 1943

APPENDIX E Oral History Data

Interview Topics

Thank you so much for your participation and willingness to share your stories and memories about Amache. As you may know, my thesis topic deals with the unique experience of women in the camp. Though you may not be a woman or feel you were too young in the camp to understand what women were doing, your memories of some of the topics below may shed some light on the behaviors and attitudes of women.

- cooking and food in the barracks
- domestic responsibilities: laundry, cleaning, mending
- the barracks as a home: decorated? how much time was spent in it? how comfortable/uncomfortable was it? how did you and your family make it a home?
- gardening: did your family have a garden at camp? if so, what did you grow? did you have a garden at home before camp?
- occupations: what jobs did the women you know at camp have? were they very different than the jobs they had before camp?
- how did women spend their free time? classes, crafts, etc.
- entertainment: dancing, drinking, singing, etc.
- discipline: how was discipline different than before camp?
- home remedies and medicinal products
- beauty products: hair, skin, hygiene, etc.
- fashion: clothes, hairdos, shoes, etc.
- school memories
- playing-what games? what toys? where?
- what did your family bring with you?
- what did you buy in camp? from catalogues, in town, at the co-op?
- differences between urban and rural populations
- differences between generations: Issei, Nisei, Sansei
- was your family religious? If so what type? Did you participate in any religious activities at camp?

Please feel free to share any pictures or other items you may have from camp. Thank you again for your participation!

Amache Oral History Legal Release

We, Dana Ogo Shew and _____ , do hereby give and grant
to
(interviewer) (interviewee)

the Anthropology Department at the University of Denver (DU) all literary and property rights,
title and interest which we may possess to the digital voice recordings and transcripts of the
interview conducted on _____ for DU's archives and use, which
gift we will never revoke or recall. This material can be used in all forms of media, including but
not limited to, written, audio, digital and internet.

In addition, we authorize DU to:
(initial the line or lines below if you chose to authorize DU)

_____ donate the transcript and/or recording of the interview to other archives
_____ make available the transcript and/or recording to other researchers upon request

Interviewee's signature

Name: _____

Date: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____

Interviewer's signature

Name: _____

Date: _____

Address: Sturm Hall, 146, 2000 E. Asbury Ave., Denver, CO 80208

Telephone: (303) 871-2406

“Chamba”

Excerpt from interview with Cookie Takeshita

August 18, 2008

San Leandro, CA

CT: I remember, my mother had a little barrel, ya know, it was shaped like this, my father got it from a carpenter. It was full of nails when they used to have to build things, the carpenters, and they were all the inmates, you know, all the Japanese? And it was empty and they gave it to my father and they said, you're mother can't bend down, know sit down?

DOS: Oh..

CT: And so, you know they used to call 'em bed chambers? You know, we call 'em, Japanese we go “chamba”, you know cuz they're white porcelain little like thing. And it would fit just perfectly in there so that my mother didn't have to bend there. It sat about that high so she could glide over an sit on that and go to the bathroom.

DOS: yeah, yeah, yeah...

CT: I had to empty it!

DOS: (gasp)

CT: So, I would be embarrassed that people would see me,

DOS: mmhhmm

CT: So I would tell my mother, “Mommy, please hurry up”. Five o'clock in the morning I'd say, “Please mommy will you go to the bathroom?” She'd say, “no”, you know, “I'm not ready to go yet.” She said, “Don't worry about me.” I said, “No, no mommy, you have to go. I have to clean it.” And it-but-anyway, I remember one time I rushed my mother and I pulled her thing and I'm running through the snow, and Jean's mother, her mother, was coming out, and she was carrying one for her children so they didn't have to get middle of the night. I did it for my mother. You know?

DOS: yeah

CT: And, and I used to be embarrassed and I'd say, “Mommy, do 'er hurry up.” And she'd say, “Why?” Said, “I don't want the boys to see me.” You know?! I'm thinking, what if a boy I liked saw me or some-I-too embarrassing to bring that-I said, “They'll think it's mine!” You know, they'll think it's mine! She said, “No, no, they know that your mother is not well.” “No mommy, you don't know.” And then, one day I was running through the snow and I slipped,

DOS: (gasp)

CT: and the thing went upside down and it fell on the snow and it went, you know, not to be so [word unclear] it was warm yet!

DOS: oh ho!

CT: cuz I made her go, ya-(laughing)

DOS: (laughing)

CT: and it melted into the snow and it stuck there. Just stuck there!

DOS: (laughing)

CT: and I could not get it out so Mr. Furuno, Jean's father came up, because the mother's trying to get it out and then of course its discolored around the snow, they said, "What happened?!" Yea-and then Mr. Furuno comes out and he brings a shovel that gets out and then I looked at it I thought, gee it looks clean. Maybe I'll just run bac-and I thought-and then, and Mrs. Furuno say, she said, "Go go go go carefully now go wash it." And I thought, oh shoot, you know, so I went and washed it and I ran back to take it to my mother and I said, oh she said, "What happened?" She heard the commotion. And I said, "I slipped and I dropped it, I spilled it. My mother thought, "Oh my goodness!" (laughing) To shovel other snow on top of it, ya know?!

DOS: yeah (laughing)

CT: And those are experiences I'll I'll never forget because isn't though when you're little and you're embarrassed that somebody might see you do it-and my mother said to me, "You know Cookie," she said Cuko, she said, "the Issei ladies, they really compliment you that you take such good care a me, and you, you go and change the co-" and I said, "Mommy, mommy, its okay, they don't have to say nice things, you know, its okay."

DOS: Dana Ogo Shew, interviewer

CT: Cookie Takeshita, interviewee