

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: ARTFUL IDENTIFICATIONS:
 CRAFTING SURVIVAL IN JAPANESE AMERICAN
 CONCENTRATION CAMPS

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“Artful Identifications” offers three meanings of internment art. First, internees remade locations of imprisonment into livable places of survival. Inside places were remade as internees responded to degraded living conditions by creating furniture with discarded apple crates, cardboard, tree branches and stumps, scrap pieces of wood left behind by government carpenters, and wood lifted from guarded lumber piles. Having addressed the material conditions of their living units, internees turned their attention to aesthetic matters by creating needle crafts, wood carvings, ikebana, paintings, shell art, and kobu. Dramatic changes to outside spaces of “assembly centers” and concentration camps were also critical to altering hostile settings into survivable landscapes

My second meaning positions art as a means of making connections, a framework offered with the hope of escaping utopian models of community building which overemphasize the development of common beliefs, ideas, and practices that unify people into easily surveilled groups. “Making Connections” situates the process of individuals

identifying with larger collectivities in the details of everyday life, a complicated and layered process that often remains invisible to us. By sewing clothes for each other, creating artificial flowers and lapel pins as gifts, and participating in classes and exhibits, internees addressed their needs for maintaining and developing connections. “Making Connections” advances perhaps the broadest possible understanding of identity formation based on the idea of employing diverse art forms to sustain already developed relationships and creating new attachments in the context of displacement.

The third meaning offered by this project is art as a mental space of survival. In the process of crafting, internees pieced together mental landscapes that allowed them to generate new ideas and alternative discourses. As recent psychoanalytic scholarship suggests, these artful identifications with loss encompassed radical political possibilities because they keep melancholic struggles alive and relevant to the present. Regardless of whether we understand these crafting examples as tools for remaking inside places, *re-territorializing* outside spaces, making connections, or artifacts of loss, it is clear that for Japanese Americans incarcerated in complex places of oppression, art evolved into portables spaces of resistance.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Testifying before the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians on August 4, 1981, U.S. Senator Sam Hayakawa described life in World War II Japanese American concentrations camps as “trouble-free and relatively happy.”¹ Established by the United States Congress, the duties of the Commission included examining the application of Executive Order 9066 signed by Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942 and recommending “appropriate remedies.”² Hayakawa’s cheery characterization of camp life was immediately met with audible jeers from an audience of former internees and their descendants to whom the republican Senator from California responded by asking: “How else can one account for the tremendous output of these amateur artists who, having time on their hands, turned out little masterpieces of sculpture, ceramics, painting, and flower arrangement?” “Artful Identifications” takes up this question, but approaches Japanese American concentration camp art from an angle grounded in cultural resistance. Rather than understanding camp made art as evidence of humane treatment, this dissertation argues that art aided internees in repositioning or relocating themselves as active agents, attaining visibilities and voices that incorporated heterogeneity and resisted exploitive racialization.³

While disagreeing with Hayakawa’s positive portrayal of camp life, internment historiography has treated concentration camp art as less than radical, instead attributing high levels of artistic production to an increase in leisure time available to internees.⁴ A “forced leisure” interpretation of camp made art is problematic on at least two fronts. First, it homogenizes the experiences of imprisoned Japanese Americans, implicitly suggesting that all internees shared comparable amounts of free time. Arguing that

imprisonment and increased leisure time went hand in hand is challenged when the analytical tool of sexual difference is applied to the evidence. For many women, everyday life was consumed with domestic chores made more difficult by dusty, sandy, and muddy camp environments and the lack of plumbing in living quarters. Imprisoned at Manzanar, Lillian Tateishi remembered “cleaning all day because of the sand” while another woman considered her deformed finger an embodied memorial to fetching countless buckets of water and scrubbing the floor of her Poston living unit.⁵ A young teenager imprisoned at Topaz with her family reported that “hand washing the bed linens, towels, and clothing for four people using only a wooden washboard was an exhausting task. My mother and I felt completely depleted after we had finished, but we were also relieved of considerable frustration, at least until our hamper was full again.”⁶

Since living quarters lacked running water, young mothers focused much of their time and energy on toting youngsters to and from communal latrines and bathing facilities, along with daily laundry trips.⁷ A young woman imprisoned at Poston expressed the meaning of true friendship when she volunteered to help one of many struggling mothers with laundry chores. As June Igaue remembered, her neighbor “had lots of kids, including a baby, so I used to do laundry to help her out. Otherwise she would have been washing by hand all the time, it got so dirty there.”⁸ One man imprisoned at Santa Anita reported sixty women waiting in line during the early morning hours of May 28, 1942 with his wife observing that women occupied the laundry facilities from “morning till night.” Internees were often awakened at five in the morning to the sound of mothers and daughters dragging camp made wagons full of dirty clothes to laundry facilities with the hope of

avoiding crowds.⁹

Many of these women were likely mothers of infants who fought an unending battle keeping up with soiled diapers. A lack of water in the barracks coupled with cramped living conditions made the immediacy of washing freshly soiled diapers clear to all internees, even those with bad sniffers. Without the constant attention and labor of women, dirty laundry made the smellscape of living quarters unbearable. A twenty-six year old Nisei man imprisoned at Tanforan astutely observed: “The mothers work as hard as ever with the exception of cooking. The laundry work is probably much harder.”¹⁰ Keeping clothes clean was made even more taxing by flour like dust that frequently soiled freshly laundered garments left hanging on outside lines to dry. Combating lethargy caused by frequent and nagging illnesses such as stomach upsets and colds, a young woman remembered much of her energy being consumed by “keeping our room dusted, swept, and mopped to be rid of the constant accumulation of dust, and in trying to do laundry when the water was running.”¹¹

Unaccompanied latrine trips by young children encompassed tragic possibilities as in the case of a boy imprisoned at Salinas who slipped through a toilet seat made to army specifications for grown men. Responding to screams from the outside “privy,” a passerby found the youngster “in the hole hanging by his elbows” and rescued him from a twenty foot drop into human waste.¹² Internees at Poston’s Camp II were on alert for children in distress after several boys slipped through the seats, got stuck, and required help to remove themselves.¹³ At Amache, rattlesnakes coiled in the dark, cool environs of outhouses posed yet another deadly threat to carefree youngsters forcing mothers equipped with two-by-

fours to make hourly sweeps before allowing even older children to enter communal latrines.¹⁴ Toilet training children in these condition was especially difficult and traumatic, leaving concerned mothers with few options but to provide emotional and physical support and hope for the best.

Along with time consuming trips to communal outhouses and laundry facilities, basic survival activities of eating and bathing also absorbed tremendous amounts of time with internees required to stand in long mess lines three times each day. Extended waits for warm water at communal showers were also frequent experiences for internees. Cold winter days at Heart Mountain, Amache, Topaz, and Minidoka made the work of bathing infants and toddlers even more time consuming as mothers completed a four step process of hauling water to the living quarters, boiling it on top of pot bellied stoves, rounding up uncooperative children, and finally disposing of the water once the task was completed.¹⁵ In this context, it becomes more apparent that the motivation of internees involved in crafting activities was not simply to fill leisure time and prevent boredom. While the free time of internees certainly varied, evidence suggests that many carved time from their busy schedules to participate in crafting activities.¹⁶

Those who link a wide range of camp-made objects with increased leisure time among internees also marginalize the political and resistive meanings of common artistic forms. Rather than studying the activities of everyday crafters, previous scholarship focused on the work of professionally trained artists who expressed their creativity through the “fine arts” including watercolors, oils, wood block prints, and sketches. Superb examples of this burgeoning area of study include Kimi Kodani Hill’s monograph exploring

the life of her grandfather Chiura Obata, Kristine Kim's work on Henry Sugimoto, Karin Higa's exhibition catalogue, *The View From Within: Japanese American Art from the Internment Camps, 1942-1945*, and Deborah Gesensway's and Mindy Roseman's, *Beyond Words: Images from America's Concentration Camps*.¹⁷ As more canonized and privileged, art forms explored in these sources skirt the forced leisure interpretation because they adhere to accepted aesthetic standards while also serving a documentary function. These artists were not simply whiling away their time but creating "true" or legitimate pieces of art that provided literal records of internment experiences. While the works of prominent painters have captured the interests of internment scholars, more common forms of cultural and artistic expression have remained outside the realm of scholarly inquiry.

Many internees shared interests and time creating a wide range of what some readers might describe as examples of crafts, folk art, material culture, or hobbies. Among these objects were finger rings created with peach pits and toothbrush handles, furniture constructed from discarded orange crates, hats created with grasses gathered on camp grounds, flowers made from Kleenex tissues and crepe paper, jewelry made from shells, canes carved from ironwood, and dresses sewn with discarded rice bags. How we label these objects is laden with cultural meaning and power, especially when considering the art of Asian Americans within the conventional Eurocentric cannon. With this in mind, I use the terms art and crafts interchangeably to include all forms of cultural expression that result in a material object. This is not to argue that the performing arts were less effective sites of identity formation for imprisoned Japanese Americans, but rather reflects my

training as a material culturalist. My interchangeable use of these terms is also intended to disturb a hierarchy of cultural expressions with objects classified as art viewed as more legitimate, meaningful, or significant.

While most crafts created in the camps adhere to Webster's or Cambridge's definition of art as "the making of objects, images, music, etc. that are beautiful or that express feelings," many people likely come to this dissertation hesitant to think of these everyday objects as art.¹⁸ Embedded in this reluctance I believe are broader issues surrounding the possibilities of marginalized people connecting with power and creating enduring, radical change. Camp-made art urges me to ask: What meanings and understandings of power are infused in the terms of art, material culture, folk art, and crafts? And by creating and employing these terms, are we also limiting our thinking about the libertative potential of everyday cultural practices and restricting the potency of our own work in favor of protecting academic territory, disciplinarity, and expertise.¹⁹ In this context, and because I am particularly interested in understanding how art was linked with the everyday experiences and resistances of internees, I exclude the works of professionally trained artists.

Many students of the internment argue that high levels of artistic expression among imprisoned Japanese Americans should not surprise us. Indeed, some interpret the creation of art by internees as representing a "thrilling revelation of fine innate culture."²⁰ Elaine Kim compares associations between Asian Americans and natural artistic abilities to African Americans and musical talent by arguing: "Asian artistic abilities, like African American musical talent, has traditionally been viewed in the United States as a harmless

racial and cultural trait passed down as if in the genes.”²¹ From Kim’s perspective, Asian American artistic abilities serve as markers of racial difference problematically grounded in an ancient, unchanging, and singular Asian civilization. Representing this mythical Asianness and undergoing a process of orientalization, the artistic successes of Asian Americans are understood as non threatening because the products are interpreted as exotic, feminine, and extraneous. In this context, high levels of artist production in Japanese American concentration camps were, and unfortunately continue to be, understood as natural, predictable, and harmless expressions of Asian culture requiring no explanation or analysis.

A review of crafting literature provides convincing evidence that prolific artist and crafters exist among most groups of people, especially those experiencing marginalization. During the first thirty years of the twentieth century, itinerant carvers in the United States often exchanged small intricate boxes made with scrap pieces of wood for a meal or a night’s rest in a warm, clean bed. These “tramp artists” also produced a wider range of objects for selling or gift giving including furniture, elaborate picture frames, tea sets, and wall clocks.²² Art created by African Americans during the last third of the twentieth century was the subject of a massive two volume publication titled, *Souls Grown Deep: African American Vernacular Art of the South*. With little formal education, these “vernacular artists” from eleven southern states utilized a wide range of found and discarded materials to produce diverse art forms. Among the objects created were paintings, sculptures, carvings, and yard art made with tree roots, chewing gum, buttons, house paint, cinder blocks, chunks of concrete, rocks, tree branches, tin cans, and nails.

Rather than purchasing expensive brushes, paints, and canvas, ninety year old Jimmie Lee Sudduth created paintings by dipping his fingers in stains made from berries, grass, and mud and then drawing on scraps of wood and iron. As Sudduth reported: “I got twenty-three colors of mud in my own yard.”²³ Similar to the creations of imprisoned Japanese Americans, itinerant carvers and African American vernacular artists used scrap lumber, discarded fruit crates, tree roots, rocks, and other found materials to create art that spoke of their experiences and visions for the future.

Quilts and other forms of patchwork are well known examples of crafting among diverse groups of people ranging from seventeenth century settlers arriving on the eastern seaboard to slaves escaping on the underground railroad. For centuries, Appalachian artists living in the poorest region of the United States created quilts from scraps of calico, muslin dyed with indigo, and used animal feed bags for batting.²⁴ We can also look at the resistive importance of quilt making for African American slaves. Jacqueline L. Tobin and Raymond G. Dobard argue that slaves devised a complex system of oral and visual communication by making and studying quilts.²⁵ Designs and patterns functioned as codes in a complex language that instructed slaves preparing for their escape, better ensured survival during the journey, and provided directions while traveling on the Underground Railroad. Stitching was an integral part of this language with the length and position of threads relaying specific meanings. Once these “visual maps of freedom” were “mastered” and the time of escape drew near, quilts were placed on fences serving as mnemonic devices and instructing slaves to take specific actions.

As this literature shows, crafting is not a “natural” activity linked to racial identities,

but employed by diverse groups of people to form identities, express resistance, and ensure survival. Rather than connected to some imagined racial essentialism, the meanings of art are contingent on the specificities of cultural, historical, political, economic, and geographical contexts. Recognizing that crafting is a common experience for many Americans is not an argument for universalism, but suggests that art is one aspect of culture that some people draw upon to reform identities and create resistive practices. While some forms of Japanese American concentration camp art encompassed cultural continuity, this observation should not lead us to the conclusion that Japanese Americans were more or less artistically inclined than any other cultural or racial group. We should also remember that art was only one cultural practice that internees relied on to create identifications with one another. Among other identifying activities were board and card games, sporting events, gambling, performing arts, work, cooking, reading and language clubs, and drinking. At the heart of “Artful Identifications” lies one central question: How did art aid imprisoned Japanese Americans in engaging with lived experiences and conditions of marginalization to create resistive practices and liberative change? Asking how internees identified with, made connections to, and employed art to (re)form identities and (re)make places of survival, this dissertation attempts to connect personal understandings of identity with broader collectivities.

Drawing from the work of James Scott, Antonio Gramsci, and Michel Foucault, “Artful Identifications” recognizes a complicated relationship between resistance and oppression and is grounded in a Foucaultian notion of liberty as practiced rather than guaranteed by laws, structures, or institutions of the nation-state.²⁶ In this context,

imprisoned Japanese Americans practiced and exercised liberty by creating art.²⁷ This idea of culture in the form of art as a means of practicing liberty is important for marginalized groups, especially Asian Americans who historically found legal remedies and structures of citizenship denied on the basis of racial identity. For internees, cultural creations equaled survival and thus encompassed resistive practices. Connecting with Luis Aponte-Pares' work on Puerto Rican casitas in the South Bronx, this dissertation challenges the notion of spoken language as the primary mediator of meaning, instead suggesting that art created and displayed in Japanese American concentration camps represented visual discourses that allowed internees to gain some level of control in their lives.²⁸ In essence, art evolved into a conversation, many times unspoken, that aided imprisoned Japanese Americans in identifying fissures in complex places of oppression where agency could be expressed and resistive identities formed.

This dissertation is also in conversation with scholarship suggesting that narrow applications of identity encompass the potential for essentializing and homogenizing the lived experiences of Asian Americans.²⁹ Informed by Laura Hyun Yi Kang's work on Asian/American women, I too wonder if identity based scholarship "discourages alternative possibilities for identification" and resistance.³⁰ Recognizing that identity moored to constructed notions of sameness constrains our understanding of agency, my hope is to problematize connections between embodied identities and resistive practices. While oppressions based on racial formations are real and foundational in American life, the experiences of Japanese Americans imprisoned in concentration camps offer evidence that discernable and embodied forms of identity were not always employed to resist

marginalization and construct agency. This is an understanding of identity that “emphasizes the fantasy links between body and subjectivity.”³¹

To construct understandings of agency bounded by race, sex, class, national, or continental identifications, or intersections of these elements, implicitly suggests that humans are most comfortable creating resistance grounded in oppressive ideologies, strategies, and structures. My argument for expanding our understanding of identity beyond a grounding in homogeneity is framed by my interest in and focus on mechanisms of resistance rather than structures of oppression. Situationally contingent, this is an understanding of resistance and identity formation from the inside out rather than the outside in and seeks to understand how people engage with lived experiences and conditions of marginalization to create agency and change. Specifically, this dissertation asks how Japanese Americans imprisoned in concentration camps connected with the material world to create resistive understandings of themselves.

Understandings of identity unencumbered by homogeneity is dependent on placing culture at the center of scholarship. Culture not only reflects but also generates ideas, strategies, and identities with people creating and breaking off elements of culture to create agency. Material culture is a visual, physical representation that provokes people to action both in the process of production and consumption. My employment of culture is grounded in Lisa Lowe’s scholarship. Situating her understanding of culture within a dialectic framework, Lowe suggests that unresolvable inequities produced by inconsistencies between America’s political and economic systems (what Lowe refers to as state and capital) “erupt” in culture. While Lowe acknowledges that this dialectic of capital

and state produces Asian American racial formations, she also argues these conflicts result in alternative cultural productions that hold transformative potential. This dialectical configuration is especially pertinent for Asian Americans since political rights and labor demands have been intricately intertwined.

As the state attempts to suppress dissent by constricting and denying the rights, citizenship, and political representation of Asian Americans, culture re-forms and re-enacts new subjects and practices. Thus Asian Americans must look to culture not government to imagine and form resistive identities, collectivities, and civic life. For Lowe, alternative cultural productions emerge out of “immigrant marginalities that displace the fiction of reconciliation and disrupts the myth of national identity by revealing its gaps and fissures.”³² Here, lost memories are reinvented and “the unlike varieties of silence emerge into articulation.”³³ In this way, culture emerges as a material site of struggle, confronting the reality of racialization, gendering, and economic, among other forms of exploitation. In Lowe’s framework, cultural representations emerging outside dialectic oppositions reflect and reproduce hegemony.

Culture is not a static, fixed set of traditional patterns vertically handed down from generation to generation. Lowe argues that conceiving of culture in this manner often obscures class, ethnic, gender, and national diversities among Asian Americans. Instead, Lowe urges us to think of culture formation as an “active practice situated in the present, negotiated and formed horizontally with each generation.” For Lowe, culture is a “mediation of history, the site through which the past returns and is remembered, however fragmented, imperfect, or disavowed. Through that remembering, that recomposition, new

forms of subjectivity and community are thought and signified.” These “alternative cultural forms and practices do not offer havens of resolution, but are often eloquent descriptions of the ways in which the law, labor exploitation, racialization, and gendering work to prohibit alternatives. Some cultural forms succeed in making it possible to live and inhabit alternatives in the encounter with those prohibitions; some permit us to imagine what we have still yet to live.”³⁴ Informed by Lowe’s scholarship, my work frames crafts created in Japanese American concentration camps as "oppositional practices" or "alternative cultural forms" that reshaped identities and ways of living.

Beyond its topical connection, “Artful Identifications” engages with current debates resonating in Asian American Studies including critical engagements with the idea and discourses of identity and an emphasis on matters of dislocation which encompasses a loosening of identity formation from geographical spaces, more specifically spaces constructed by nation-states. Efforts to theorize space and understand its political implications, along with developing a framework of placemaking, has been an interdisciplinary project among Asian Americanists, an endeavor undertaken by geographers, literary scholars, sociologists, and artists. Literary works such as Fae Myenne Ng’s, *Bone* and Theresa Hak Kyung Cha’s, *Dictee* examine the ideas of dislocation, space, and identity. According to Lisa Lowe, *Bone* “explores space as a category in which to read about the emergence of and obstacles to Asian American social life.” Situated in San Francisco’s Chinatown, *Bone* is centered around the Leong’s, a Chinese American family comprised of immigrant parents, Mah and Leon, and three daughters, Leila, Ona, and Nina. Paying close attention to the middle sister’s suicide, the spatial focus of *Bone* is embedded

both in a transnational understanding of physical place and in the actual text of the novel. Globally, the place of Ng's novel is "produced by the interrelation of spaces- from worldwide networks of markets of capital, labor, and commodities to national, regional, and local markets." Textually, *Bone*'s chapters and narrative progresses backward creating a story structured around what Lowe refers to as "reverse chronology." Organizing the novel in this way questions "causality as a means of investigation" and "criticizes the overdevelopment of temporal contextualization as a source of meaning."³⁵

Cha further complicates this idea of a cohesive and linear narrative, rooting *Dictee* in profound senses of rupture and destabilization. Cha creates a "sense of suspension," a placeless space profoundly informed by cultural, social, linguistic, and geographical dislocations.³⁶ As Elaine Kim suggests, Cha locates her work "in the interstitial outlaw spaces between Korea and America, North south, inside outside. . . . For her the inbetween is a personal dwelling place that makes survival possible."³⁷ Linguistic displacements were especially significant for Cha as evidenced in a 1977 slide show titled, *It is Almost That*. Comprised of twenty-eight slides projecting words, phrases, and grammatical diagrams, this project points to the manipulation of meaning through linguistic displacement. One slide reads: "these words (not living, not have leaved)." As Lawrence Rinder suggests: "In the context of a language lesson or exercise, the juxtaposition of 'not living' and 'not having leaved' suggests a mistaken conjugation of the verb 'to live.' Yet, for many Koreans learning English, there is an initial difficulty mastering the phonetic distinction between a short 'I' and a long 'E.' Thus, reading this instance as a case of phonetic, rather than grammatical, confusion, Cha may be pointing out in a very concrete way that for a

Korean immigrant, and metaphorically for any displaced person, it is indeed one and the same ‘to live’ and ‘to leave.’”³⁸ While Cha’s work, both literary and performance oriented, is entirely too layered and complicated to even partially explore here, her work illustrates the conceptual importance of space and dislocation to many Asian Americanists.

Three dimensional Asian Americanist artists have also engaged with and advanced these ideas of space, movement, and displacement. Pacito Abad invented a technique she identifies as trapunto, an accessible, portable, and frame-less art form that incorporates found objects from around the world by sewing them into padded, painted canvases. Easily rolled up and transported between physical places, Abad designed this art form to both “reflect and accommodate” diverse “migratory experiences” that characterize the lives of Asian emigrants. Using discarded items gathered from locations around the world, especially Thailand, Bangladesh, Sudan, and the Phillipines, Abad suggests an un-rooting in her own Filipina identity, gesturing towards transnationalism. In her 1991 work, “I Thought the Streets Were Paved in Gold,” Abad employs bright “crayon-like” colors that Sharon Mizota argues likens the “immigrants American Dream to a child’s viewpoint.” Including images of Asian women as nurses, maids, and domestics, this trapunto addresses movements caused by economics. Entwined in transnational flows of global capitalism, Asian women experience an “unrelenting cycle of low paying jobs.”³⁹ For these migrant service workers and caregivers, displacements become a way of life that create understandings of place informed by movement and not confined by physical boundaries.

In theorizing space, Asian Americanists have drawn on the work of sociologists such as Henri Lefebvre. Asking Marxist rooted questions, Lefebvre explained the social

relations of production in spatial terms, arguing that these relations “project themselves into a space, becoming inscribed there, and in the process producing that space itself.”⁴⁰ Lefebvre’s scholarship was important for Asian America because he set space in motion, advancing a fluid understanding of space as operating in multiple, historically contingent systems and on different scales. By combining his understanding of space as fluid and related to the social relations of production, Lefebvre created a framework for understanding transnational flows of capital and people. He also expanded our understanding of space beyond a solely physical concept and raised questions about the political and ideological meanings of space. Contemporary scholars concerned with Asian America continue this project by examining the discourses of space and how we think about this idea.⁴¹

In addition to this interdisciplinary rooting in theory, “Artful Identifications” engages with the methodological possibilities of what Laura Hyun Yi Kang refers to as a “trenchant disciplinarity” offered by Asian American Studies. Trenchant, here signals “an agnostic but nevertheless situated relation to prevailing disciplinary forms of knowledge formation and reproduction,” perhaps better understood as an “inbetweenness.”⁴² Allowed to be somewhat loosened from methodological disciplinarity, this project relies heavily on works of art not only as primary sources illustrating my arguments, but as discourses in and of themselves. Through my focus on the resistive material cultures of imprisoned Japanese Americans, this dissertation connects with American Studies, a discipline that urges me to cast my net widely in terms of sources. Drawing from a wide range of formats, this project incorporates poems, artifacts, oral histories, newspaper and magazine articles, film, diaries,

memoirs, personal and institutional correspondence, autobiographies, exhibition catalogs, photographs, public testimonies, government documents, and camp newspapers.

Fully embracing my grounding in material culture studies, I also diverge from the field which continues to find itself limited by an enduring association with connoisseurship and museum studies. Here, artifacts are placed in glass cases accompanied by contextualizing text that teaches a specific and single history to the masses. As especially powerful discourses of nation building, these interpretations are fixed, usually communicating a linear narrative grounded in melting pot ideology. In these settings, artifacts are understood as reflecting, rather than shaping history or human experiences. An emphasis on connoisseurship has tilted the field towards fetishizing objects, confining them to the domain of experts and specialists who establish the authenticity, value, and unified narrative of artifacts. As Kristine Yuki Aono's 1991 installation titled, "Relics From Camp" illustrates, museum-like settings can project more fluid and ruptured interpretations of artifacts.

Displayed in a large rectangular wooden container sitting flat on the floor, camp-made objects were arranged in a grid of twelve boxes organized into three rows. Resembling the rows of pine and black tar papered barracks that characterized camp architectures, the grid was made from wood and painted black. In these boxes lay "camp relics" such as a Tule Lake baseball jersey, nameplate, carved wooden panel, lapel pins, and dolls all made by Japanese Americans imprisoned in concentration camps. Resting in sand, the grounding of these artifacts in a material that defined camp landscapes suggests the "undeniable physical reality" of internment. Contextualizing narratives for each object are

absent allowing multiple meanings to be more easily created. With this exhibit of artifacts, we see a more open, fluid interpretation of culture and history.⁴³

Beginning as a field of inquiry concerned with identifying, categorizing, and describing objects and, as Anne Smart Martin argues, answering who, what, when, and where questions, material culture studies has experienced significant difficulties in developing dynamic frameworks which reveal the complex relationships between things and people.⁴⁴ My hope for this project is to begin employing artifacts to develop more politically charged scholarship that asks big questions and focuses on understanding the historical and cultural contexts that inform global, national, and local *movements* (or/and non movement as in the case of Japanese Americans) of people and resources. Material culture practitioners would certainly be wise to think seriously about Cary Carson's observation that "our research often starts not with questions worth asking but with a collection of artifacts searching for something worth answering."⁴⁵

American Studies has also influenced my populist approach to scholarship and commitment to incorporating theory and evidence, while simultaneously developing work that is accessible to a wide audience. My hope is that readers can enter this project on several different levels. Some may be more interested in the theoretical implications while others may appreciate the project's attention to the details of everyday life in Japanese American concentration camps. For these readers, I hope the story is compelling. Still others may be captured by the visual discourses created by the artifacts themselves. "Artful Identifications" also fills two voids in internment historiography. While Asian Americanists have done a superb job producing scholarship exploring issues of unconstitutionality

swirling around the illegal imprisonment of over one hundred and twenty thousand people of Japanese ancestry living in the U.S., fewer works explore the cultural histories and everyday life in the camps. Further still, the crafting activities of internees have for the most part been ignored by scholars.

In addition to the introduction and conclusion, “Artful Identifications” is organized into four chapters. The second is titled “Remaking Inside Places” and focuses on how Japanese Americans used art to remake inside dwelling areas into liveable places of survival. Both at temporary imprisonment facilities and later at permanent concentration camps, internees were confronted with filthy and deplorable living quarters. Many of the temporary living units were former horse stalls located on the grounds of race tracks. Responding to these degraded conditions, internees employed the art forms of furniture making, embroidery, wood carving, knitting, and sewing, among many more, to ensure survival and identify with each other. “Re-territorializing Outside Spaces” examines dramatic changes to the external landscapes of “assembly centers” and concentration camps.

My understanding of re-territorialization is grounded in the work of Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson who urge scholars to consider the conditions of globalization and postmodernity as they connect to the relationships between geography, culture, and identity formation. Rick Bonus took up Gupta and Ferguson’s challenge by studying the experiences of first generation Filipino Americans in San Diego and Los Angeles. In *Locating Filipino Americans: Ethnicity and the Cultural Politics of Space*, Bonus suggests that identities be conceptualized as fluid and contingent upon movements between physical

locations. In this context, a singular, unifying Filipino American identity gives way to multiple identities that are shaped by geographical places and historical conditions.⁴⁶ *Re-territorialization* thus becomes the process by which hostile spaces are altered into arenas of identity articulation where marginalized people declare differences and enact subjectivities. This chapter seeks to DE-territorialize identity formation from places defined by nation-states arguing that identities confined to being Japanese, American, or Japanese American did not fully inform resistive practices created by internees.

Chapter 4 positions art as a means of making connections, a framework that helps us escape utopian thinking and models of community building which overemphasize the development of common beliefs, ideas, and practices that supposedly unify people into identifiable groups. Scholars such as Miranda Joseph argue that employing the idea of community immediately raises questions of belonging and power.⁴⁷ As sites of manufactured consensus, the idea of community is hopelessly grounded in exclusionary thinking, ignoring deconstructionist critiques of binary oppositions as struggles over boundaries take place. While accounts of community making have been and continue to be romanticized, Joseph suggests that they serve more as disciplining structures of thought that legitimize social hierarchies. Resisting the impulse to “foreclose the range of useful articulatory strategies,” Joseph’s instead argues that it is “crucial not to know, in advance where the practice of community might offer effective resistance.”⁴⁸ More important to Joseph is how the foundational practices of modernity, namely liberalism, the nation-state, identity, political emancipatory movements, and capitalism generate and depend on the idea and discourse of community.

“Making Connections” is proposed as a way of thinking about the countless, complex, and imbricated practices aiding relational understandings between people while encompassing conflict and differences. Revealing these layered webs of everyday connections is offered with the hope of balancing reactionary understandings of identity formation based on oppositional constructs of us versus them with alternative forms of identification that lead us to expand liberative social change. In this way, art created and sustained a myriad of intricate and layered connections which were the foundation and material of identity building. Art provided internees with mediums to create connections based on identifying with each other rather than being identical to one another. This chapter asks how art aided internees in connecting with one another in the context of heterogeneity and almost limitless differences.

Chapter 5 titled, “Artifacts of Loss and Melancholia” links internment art with a wide range of losses experienced by imprisoned Japanese Americans. Just as internees practiced resistance by creating liveable physical places, they also linked crafting with solace to remake emotional, psychic, and mental landscapes of survival. In this context, art evolved into what Judith Butler refers to as “melancholic agency.”⁴⁹ Based on Sigmund Freud’s theory of mourning and melancholia, recent scholarship points to the intellectual, cultural, and political meanings of loss. Freud described mourning as a temporary condition or “reaction to the loss of a loved person, or the loss of some abstraction that has taken the place of one, such as one’s country, liberty, an ideal, and so on.” While mourning is a process where the mourner eventually moves on, melancholia is a loss that one cannot get over. Melancholia is an enduring condition, a mourning without end and

according to Freud, pathological. But scholars such as Judith Butler, David Eng, and David Kazanjian suggest that “melancholic attachments to loss” encompass creative impulses that reveal social contexts and political possibilities.⁵⁰ By reinterpreting Freud’s melancholia we are offered new views of politicized and resistive struggles with loss. Informed by Eng’s and Kazanjian’s call to “explore the practices by which loss is melancholically materialized,” my approach to internment art argues that Japanese American concentration camp art comprised diverse visual discourses of loss and mental landscapes of survival. By depathologizing melancholic and unresolvable struggles with internment losses, we are offered a framework revealing artful identifications between individuals and collectivities, the psychic and material, art and politics, oppression and change.

“Artful Identifications” asks readers to think differently about identity, resistance, and art with the hope of prompting a reconsideration of everyday objects as critical to creating non reactionary change. Concentration camp art activities, defined in the broadest terms, were not frivolous, but encompassed resistive potentials. Beyond the histories of Japanese Americans, this project speaks to how oppression is lived and the place of art in the lives of marginalized people. Challenging the idea that resistance or subjectivity is always grounded in or a product of embodied identities or structures of the nation-state, art is offered as a means by which people identify with each other and change their circumstances. Attempting to expand our understandings of identity formation, “Artful Identifications” advances the idea that embodied sameness and identities may serve more powerfully as structures of oppression rather than templates of resistance. When we pay

close attention to connections between art and the everyday materiality of life in Japanese American concentration camps, sameness based on embodied identity appears less important than differences created by thinking with and producing art. Through and with art, internees generated ideas, strategies, and visions for re-placing themselves in the context of larger and often hostile places and groups of people.



Figure 1. Manzanar looking east toward the Inyo Mountains. Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

Chapter 2: Remaking Inside Places

By joining the idea and need to create livable places of survival with practices of making art, many internees established important links between individual expressions and broader collectivities. Rather than designing resistance solely around conventional understandings of identity such as race, class, nation, and gender, internees looked to the materiality of their lives to produce liberative practices and understandings of themselves connected with larger groups of people. Hopes for generating some degree of physical comfort by creating art provided identity making materials for many imprisoned Japanese American crafters.⁵¹ This process of *re*-placing oneself in hostile landscapes and resisting oppressive conditions began slowly as internees remade the inside spaces of imprisonment locations. After long, tiring bus and train trips, newly arriving internees walked into small rooms usually measuring sixteen by twenty feet, furnished with a single light bulb hanging from the ceiling. In many cases pot belly stoves, the only sources of heat, were not yet installed and internees were responsible for making their own mattresses by stuffing canvas and burlap sacks with straw. Of all the indignities encompassed by internment, a nineteen year old young woman remembered nighttime filled with hay pricking her skin as especially demeaning.⁵²

Arriving at Puyallup, on April 28, 1942, a father, mother, son, and two daughters, newly designated by the U.S. government as family #10710, were assigned to 2-1-A, a single room measuring eighteen by twenty feet. Located thirty-five miles south of Seattle at the Western Washington State Fairgrounds, the new “home” of the Itoi family was bare with the exception of a small wood burning stove. A recently constructed floor of green

two by fours rested directly on top of the soil. Evidence of hurried and faulty construction was a bumper crop of dandelions pushing up through the numerous and ample cracks between floor boards.⁵³ Conditions were even more crowded for a widowed mother and her seven children who were forcibly removed from their home in Colusa, California and confined in a fourteen by fourteen living unit located on the Merced County Fairgrounds. Making matters worse, Merced's living units were separated by thin partitions reaching only half way to the ceiling producing an environment where anything approaching privacy was a complete impossibility, especially for this family of eight with children all under the age of eighteen.⁵⁴ A pregnant woman imprisoned at Fresno found survival especially difficult. Summer temperatures reaching over one hundred and ten degrees and a smellscape permeated with horse manure provoked extreme measures from a nauseated and weakened Violet De Cristoforo. First she wrapped herself in a wet towel and crawled under a bed, but when this failed to relieve her symptoms, De Cristoforo dug a hole and took shelter in the cooler environs of the earth.⁵⁵

At Tanforan, Tsuyako Kitashima, her mother and three brothers were assigned to a small horse stall, but spent most of their time outside trying to avoid the stench of manure.⁵⁶ Thankful for even meager improvements, another family imprisoned at Tanforan was moved from their horse stall to newly constructed barracks in July after enduring temperatures reaching over one hundred degrees. Although it was "rough," the new living unit included a window, making hot afternoons more bearable. But now family members found themselves battling excessively dusty conditions which caused persistent respiratory ailments including sore throats, colds, and asthma.⁵⁷ Also shipped by bus to Tanforan,

Yoshiko Uchida's family was assigned to barrack 16, a long barn previously used to stable race horses. Arriving at stall 40, the family of four looked into a filthy room measuring ten by twenty feet with three folded Army cots leaning against a wall. Floor boards saturated with horse manure were hastily covered with linoleum producing an especially sickening odor.

Conditions at Topaz, the Uchida's final place of imprisonment remained harsh and difficult. Having endured two exhausting nights on dirty and dilapidated trains, many internees shipped from Tanforan to the desert town of Delta, Utah arrived in a weakened state suffering from severe cases of motion sickness.⁵⁸ Most of the trains transporting internees from temporary to permanent imprisonment facilities were retrieved from storage after being retired. Fitted with non functioning gas light fixtures, the trains contained hard, straight back seats that made sleeping impossible. Arriving at their final destination, the Uchida's boarded a bus for the remaining seventeen mile drive to Topaz and upon arrival were assigned to a dusty twenty by eighteen foot room identified as Block 7, Barrack 3, Unit 3. Empty except for army cots, the walls of this room were distinguished by enormous and abundant cracks that allowed dirt from frequent dust storms unfettered access into every inch of living space.⁵⁹ Some Topaz internees responded to these conditions by pulling up the floorboards, digging ten feet into the earth and creating basements that were warm in the winters, cool in the summers, and relatively free of dust.⁶⁰ Degraded living conditions and shoddy concentration camp construction is memorialized even today by the term "Topaz carpenter," a derogatory expression used by contemporary residents of Millard County, Utah when referring to construction workers who produce

poorly built and substandard structures.⁶¹

For internees being transferred from Pomona to Heart Mountain, conditions were more severe with these train passengers forced to endure four long sleepless nights. Having experienced rock throwing mobs on previous trips and hoping to hide the identity of their passengers, anxious armed guards insisted that window shades be drawn throughout the entire journey. Exhausted internees walked into drafty and cold living units furnished with a coal stove and metal army cots.⁶² Bedding was a persistent problem, with internees perplexed about where and how to sleep. Always careful to avoid snakes and scorpions, many newly arriving internees created “mattresses” by stuffing burlap sacks with straw. When mattress making and blanket supplies ran low, some internees doubled up and shared a single cot, padding the wire springs with one blanket and attempting to stay warm under the other. Fusaye Hashimoto remembered surviving her first cold nights at Manzanar by sharing a blanket and cot with her sister.⁶³ While cold temperatures confronted Heart Mountain’s internees, heat was a formidable problem for internees arriving by bus at Poston. A twenty-seven year old Nisei man from Fountain Valley, California described his Camp I living quarters in three words: “It was hot!” Worried about the climate, his first impression was that “a lot of guys were going to die.”⁶⁴ Even mainstream media sources commented on the degraded living conditions with a *Catholic Digest* article perhaps best summing up the impression of reporters who visited the camps. “No one has starved, and no one has frozen; but this is about as much as can be said in defense of the centers as housing projects.”⁶⁵

Furniture making was the most immediate activity of many internees during the first

days of imprisonment as they attempted to transform shoddily built and dilapidated barracks into adequate shelter.⁶⁶ For most internees furniture building occurred twice, first at temporary imprisonment facilities euphemistically referred to by the government as “assembly centers” and then again, at one of the ten permanent concentration camps such as Topaz, Utah, Heart Mountain, Wyoming, and Gila, Arizona. Even though internees recognized that their confinement in “assembly centers” would be short lived, they immediately began employing art in the form of furniture to create spaces of survival. Men were the most active participants in this art form with wood understood as a manly medium, but some women crossed gendered crafting lines to help furnish living units with camp-made tables, chairs, beds, shelves, desks, benches, partitions, and closets.⁶⁷ Beginning an article by assuring readers that “women can be carpenters too,” a camp newspaper reported on chairs, shelves, and tables created by Mrs. Toba in 4-23.⁶⁸

Following the example of other internees, a father of two young daughters used his first day at the temporary imprisonment site in Puyallup, Washington scavenging the grounds for lumber and nails left by outside contractors responsible for building the camp.⁶⁹ By the end of the first month, his new creations included a writing table, benches, shelves, and sliding wooden storage platforms that fit discreetly beneath each cot. Perhaps the most prized piece of camp-made furniture was a specially designed wooden cabinet that concealed the family’s “illegal” hot plate from armed guards conducting surprise searches for “contraband.”⁷⁰ Hot plates were especially valued possessions with many internees ignoring regulations prohibiting cooking in the living units and preparing infant formula and other foods on small electric devices and potbelly stoves.⁷¹ At risk of plunging an entire

barrack into darkness as fuses were blown, many internees willingly exchanged evenings without power for the satisfaction of “home” cooked meals prepared on hotplates.

Imprisoned at Santa Anita, a sixteen year old girl from Los Angeles remembered her family making their room “as liveable as possible” with camp-made curtains and furnishings.⁷² A horse track prior to March 27, 1942 when the first Japanese Americans arrived, Santa Anita contained nearly nineteen thousand internees, many in stables formerly housing race horses.⁷³ Upon arriving at Puyallup, another teenager immediately began searching the barbed wire fenced area for scrap lumber left behind when the camp was being constructed. Hoping to provide his family with a minimum level of “comfort,” William Kimura used these scavenged materials to build furniture.⁷⁴ A Hayward, California teenager experienced feelings of despair during her first weeks of imprisonment at Stockton, but followed the example of her parents and pitched in to help “beautify” their apartment. While these physical improvements did not remedy the anguished emotions brought on by the implementation of Executive Order 9066, they did aid Nobuko Hanzawa in re-situating herself in a hostile environment and better insured her mental and physical survival. *Re-making* the physical environment of the living unit was critical to “pulling through the mist of confusion” for this youngster who was dislocated from her home in a rural area just south of San Francisco.⁷⁵

Many furniture making efforts were the result of lengthy trial and error processes as was the case at Tanforan when shelves built by Florence Miho Nakamura’s father gave way in the middle of the night creating a racket audible throughout the entire barrack. Housed in one of the newly constructed structures rather than a former horse stall, Nakamura’s

living unit was separated by thin walls reaching only halfway to the ceiling. As evidenced by the startled responses of Nakamura's new "neighbors," barrack construction allowed noise to easily travel from unit to unit providing little privacy.⁷⁶ Also pointing to the thinness of walls was a warning in Tanforan's newspaper concerning the dangers of "involuntary inoculations" caused by internees standing close to walls when next door neighbors were hanging newly completed shelves and cabinets. As the *Tanforan Totalizer* reported, one internee narrowly escaped being nailed in the back as the "energetic party in the next stall" hung a shelf on the wall.⁷⁷

Having used art to create minimal levels of comfort at "assembly centers," most internees were forced to pack up their few possessions and board trains for more distant and desolate locations.⁷⁸ After two and a half months of imprisonment at Tanforan, Charles Kikuchi looked around the room comprising his family's living quarters and recalled how much their "home" had changed since arriving on April 30, 1942. Having taken down a stable door, camp-made curtains now separated the room where Kikuchi, his parents, and six siblings lived. Along with the addition of curtains, the family furnishings now included camp-made benches, chairs, two clothes closets, a bureau, art objects resting on shelves, and a desk built at the foot of his younger brother, Jack's bed. Preparing for their transfer to Gila, Arizona, the Kikuchi family worked together throughout the morning of August 29 to carefully dismantle and pack their Tanforan furniture, nails and all. Informed of serious wood shortages by letters from internees already shipped off to permanent concentration camps, Charles wrote in his diary: "Any piece of lumber that we have is going with us."⁷⁹ Before boarding trains for transport to Topaz, another Tanforan

internee converted his family's camp-made furniture, into packing crates which were in turn transformed back into tables, shelves, and benches upon arriving in the Utah desert.⁸⁰

At their permanent locations of incarceration, internees again set to creating habitable places of survival by making furniture. After four long days on a train destined for Rohwer, Yoshio Matsuda stepped on Arkansas soil with one goal in mind, gathering wood to make a bed.⁸¹ A teenage girl recently transferred from Santa Anita to Poston reported in a letter written to a librarian friend back home in California that many internees were becoming skilled at making beds from scrap lumber. After several nights attempting to sleep in a sagging army cot provided by the War Relocation Authority, she better understood the motivations of these crafters observing: "The cot sinks down in the middle while the wooden bed stays straight."⁸² Some new arrivals at Amache, Colorado immediately began constructing beds from scavenged wood, but supplies were soon exhausted with many spending their first restless nights on straw covered floors.⁸³ Seven hundred and fifty miles to the west in Topaz, Utah a young girl felt less anxious sleeping in a bunk bed constructed by her father.⁸⁴

Having devised adequate sleeping spaces, crafters shifted their attention to other types of furniture including privacy screens, night stands, shelves, chairs, and tables.⁸⁵ Describing her family's living unit at Amache as "nothing but a big room," Yoshie Mary Tashima's spirits were lifted by the appearance of furniture made by her brothers from scrap lumber.⁸⁶ Two brothers imprisoned at Topaz transformed the wooden crate that once protected their new potbelly stove into a five foot long cushion-less couch.⁸⁷ Again countering the gendered image of furniture makers with the headline, "She Makes 'Em

Herself,” the *Manzanar Free Press* reported that Fumi Marumoto of Block 9 created a small bench and a “closet of shelves” from a discarded orange crate and cardboard boxes.⁸⁸ As a Minidoka internee remembered, the idea of “comfort” remained uppermost in the minds of Japanese Americans as they again *re*-positioned themselves in harsh places of imprisonment by creating furniture from found materials.⁸⁹

Reacting to a desperate need for privacy, internees constructed screens and partitions from scrap wood, spare blankets, and cloth. Some internees extended walls of



Figure 2. Bunk bed constructed by Amache internees. Woman knitter in foreground also made window curtains. Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

individual living units to the ceiling while others partitioned their already small rooms into sleeping and living areas.⁹⁰ While attending an art exhibit at Tulare, an Issei woman

admired a privacy screen noting in a diary entry that the art form was made by meticulously piecing together small pieces of scrap wood.⁹¹ At Tule Lake, administration officials reacted negatively to repeated requests from internees for partition making supplies. But when new barracks were constructed to house internees transferred from temporary imprisonment facilities and supposed trouble makers from other concentration camps, internees already imprisoned at Tule Lake lost little time taking advantage of new supply piles at the camp lumberyard. As one internee reported “our luck changed” and “we band [ed] together to attack in groups.”⁹² One Tule Lake internee recalled that these camp-made screens made her family’s “barren room look a bit more homey.”⁹³

Many women and children who endured imprisonment without their husbands and fathers accepted the help of neighbors who offered to make furniture.⁹⁴ With her husband imprisoned at Lordsberg, New Mexico, Yukiko Furata and her four daughters eagerly accepted a gift of camp-made tables to furnish their living unit at Poston.⁹⁵ In a separate yet parallel incarceration, Furata’s husband was among thousands of Issei rounded up by the FBI in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor and held in Department of Justice facilities. In a similar case, Dwight Takashi Uchida was arrested before nightfall on December 7 and shipped off to a Department of Justice Facility in Missoula, Montana. Nearly five months later, Uchida’s wife and two daughters were forced from their Berkeley home and transported, under armed guard, to Tanforan. Thankful to be imprisoned alongside old friends, the female Uchida’s relied on neighbors to build shelves, a table, and two benches.⁹⁶ Revealing the total lack of reason underpinning the internment of over 120,000 Japanese Americans was the case of a mother imprisoned without her husband because he

was ordered to train Army Intelligence officers in Boulder, Colorado. Shipped to Amache from Santa Anita during September of 1942, this Army Intelligence officer's wife was too busy caring for two young sons to be concerned with building furniture. Fortunately, Uchida's neighbors quickly recognized her predicament as a single mother, presenting her with small chairs and tables pieced together from scrap wood.⁹⁷ Other families were already accustomed to life without fathers and husbands, as in the case of a mother and two daughters imprisoned at Stockton. Having lost her father to injuries sustained while working, the eldest daughter enlisted the help of three male friends who transformed two, one by twelve inch pieces of lumber into shelves and benches.⁹⁸

Supplies for making furniture were difficult to come by and proved to be the most significant obstacle for furniture makers. Careful to avoid the attention of armed soldiers in guard towers, internees restricted their early searches for furniture building materials to well within the barbed wire perimeters. Furniture makers dug through soil surrounding newly constructed barracks for discarded nails, while others hiked throughout the camps looking for scraps of lumber, discarded fruit crates, and cardboard boxes.⁹⁹ At Poston, internees scoured the camp grounds for ironwood, mesquite, and sage brush roots.¹⁰⁰ Persistent and enduring shortages of furniture making supplies prompted many internees, primarily men, to take War Relocation Authority carpentry jobs. By securing these positions, camp carpenters established easier access to nails and wood for building chairs, benches, tables, and other "knick-knacks" that made living units more liveable.¹⁰¹ Understanding nails as prized possessions is likely difficult for many readers, but for imprisoned Japanese Americans furniture building materials were considered as

extraordinarily generous gifts. A woman imprisoned at Gila remembered giving nails, many of them bent, as an engagement gift to her friend. Gathered by sifting through sand in a windbreak area where scrap lumber was piled and raiding her father's supply, the "precious" nails were wrapped in paper that previously lined fruit crates.¹⁰²

Some internees were forced to engage in activities they understood as bordering on stealing. Already imprisoned internees risked embarrassment and further punishment by snatching wood from guarded camp lumber piles. Shuzo Chris Kato remembers gathering furniture making supplies at Minidoka as his "first venture into stealing for his family." Accompanied by friends, Kato crawled under a barbed wire fence surrounding the lumber pile to "steal" wood for bench and table making.¹⁰³ At Poston, a Nisei teenage girl waited for the darkness of night before approaching wood left by outside contractors responsible for building barracks.¹⁰⁴ After discovering a similar source of furniture making materials, Kimi Yanari recruited a girl friend and together they conducted a night time raid on Rohwer's lumber yard which was guarded by a mounted MP. Having successfully and safely secured lumber for shelf and chair making Yanari recalled: "That was the only time I ever stole anything."¹⁰⁵ At dusk each night, occupants of Minidoka's bachelors barracks looked out their windows toward the camp storage area to "literally see lumber walking off in many directions."¹⁰⁶ In addition to threats presented by armed guards, open and unfinished sewer ditches proved to be formidable obstacles to the successful completion of nocturnal lumber raids.¹⁰⁷

Internal security forces comprised of internees paid by the War Relocation Authority were most often responsible for protecting lumber piles. Tensions were to be

expected with security officers accused by other internees of being inu translated as dog and collaborating with camp administrators. Members of Poston's security force patrolled in marked cars prompting angry internees to scratch off PO from POLICE, leaving the letters LICE on the vehicles.¹⁰⁸ As a Manzanar security guard, George Fukasawa preferred to ignore the wood gathering activities of his fellow internees, but often found himself in the awkward position of protecting government property in the form of lumber.¹⁰⁹ Internees were not always so lucky to encounter men like Fukasawa as was evidenced by the shooting of a Japanese American man by a U.S. Army soldier guarding Manzanar's lumber pile.¹¹⁰

Shortages of furniture making material also reached crisis proportions at Tule Lake when frustrated and desperate internees swarmed a delivery truck loaded with lumber, then carted off the contents. Having witnessed this incident, Noboru Shirai commented: "Those who knew the truck drivers and lumbyard workers got what they wanted. Nobody else did, since polite requests were always denied."¹¹¹ After being caught removing lumber designated for building a barracks that would serve as Manzanar's hospital, five members of a boyhood "gang" were admonished by the camp director to the great embarrassment of their parents.¹¹² As late as May of 1943, a full eight months after opening, Paul Taylor, the head camp administrator at Jerome warned internees that taking lumber from "construction areas" was punishable by forced labor without compensation and a jail sentence. Apparently, the irony of being threatened with further imprisonment while already incarcerated was lost on some War Relocation Authority officials.¹¹³

Furniture was only one art form used by internees to transform their living units into

places of survival. With the very basic and immediate needs for beds and furniture met, women resisted oppressive living conditions in assembly centers and concentration camps by crocheting, sewing, weaving, embroidering, and knitting. Colorful and intricately crocheted blankets, table cloths, teapot holders, and pillow cases were popular and welcomed additions to drab surroundings. Needle crafters creating decorative art for living units often worked together sharing techniques and ideas. Women imprisoned in Tanforan created “house-step sewing circles,” where they made a wide range of items from yarn and fabric including table runners, slipcovers, lamp shades, bed spreads, afghans, and quilts. Tulare women discovered it was possible to crochet colorful rugs from discarded rags.¹¹⁴ Embroidered and carved landscapes served as colorful wall hangings at Heart Mountain with one woman taking advantage of the administration’s efforts to develop a ceramic factory. On a thick slab of clay, she carved out the defining element of Heart Mountain’s landscape in the background, sculpting out a group of residential barracks in the foreground. By kiln firing the panel to a temperature that allowed liquid glaze to be applied without dissolving the clay, this crafter was able to highlight her design with colors.

At Rohwer an old loom requiring repairs sat unused for several months, but a newly hired staff person with weaving skills was eager to restore the device to working condition. Soon internee women were unraveling burlap sacks retrieved from camp warehouses, washing and coloring the “yarn” with vegetable dyes, then weaving the material into rugs. Other artists gathered flat slender sticks weaving them into Venetian-like blinds for windows and when bundles of clothes were donated to the camp, internees cut them into strips creating more than seven hundred rag rugs for the floors of living units.¹¹⁵ Women

imprisoned at Topaz created stuffed animals from percale or gingham with worn out sweaters and blankets used as filling. Free patterns for pandas and giraffes standing one foot high were provided by the “Women’s Mirror” editor of the camp newspaper who informed her readers that these bed or shelf decorations were easily made for ten cents worth of materials and doubled as toys for children.¹¹⁶ Internees lucky enough to have teapots were offered patterns for making potholder in the likeness of a horse made with black and white checkered percale and red bias trim.¹¹⁷ Another Topaz women solved a persistent cold weather problem by crocheting woolen covers that prevented her family’s hands from adhering to frigid metal door knobs. According to a seventeen year old daughter, losing a piece of flesh while opening doors was a frequent and painful experience prior to her mother’s invention.¹¹⁸ Such practical additions to living quarters were carefully created to brighten austere interior surroundings.

Hoping to improve their living quarters, daughters and mothers looked through Sears and Roebuck and Montgomery Ward catalogs for material and together sewed draperies.”¹¹⁹ Fifteen years old at the time of her transfer from Santa Anita, a daughter remembered helping her mother make their Amache unit more “comfortable” by sewing draperies.¹²⁰ A Topaz mother and her two young daughters mail ordered pink fabric and hand sewed curtains and covers for shelves recently made by internees.¹²¹ Imprisoned without their father and husband who was taken into custody by FBI agents on the night of December 7, a man and his son living in the same block helped this family of three females furnish their living unit. Draperies served functional as well as decorative purposes. When frequent noises from barracks mates awakened a young Puyallup girl, she appreciated

curtains made by her mother because they blocked out the powerful beam of search lights manned throughout each night by armed U.S. soldiers in guard towers. Once shipped to her permanent location of imprisonment, this same girl helped her mother pick out white organdy fabric from a catalogue. Once the material arrived, they sewed curtains for their Minidoka living unit.¹²²

Artificial flowers were also frequent additions making living quarters more hospitable. Careful to save colorful pages from catalogs and magazines, women transformed the paper into flowers and then sewed them onto muslin covered balls stuffed with waded paper, sewing scraps, or discarded bedding materials. Measuring approximately six inches in diameter, these artificial flower arrangements were hung from ceilings and walls of living units. Other women created similarly flowered art forms from silk scraps.¹²³ Women imprisoned at Poston made artificial chrysanthemums, gardenias, iris, sweetpeas, cherry blossoms, lilacs, and carnations from colored paper that once lined apple and orange crates. One teenage girl described artificial flower making as the “latest rage,” but personally found making carnations a “tedious” experience.¹²⁴ A reporter for Heart Mountain’s newspaper observed that “dexterous feminine fingers” were making up for the absence of greenery and flowers by making roses from crepe paper purchased through mail order catalogues and wire gathered on scavenging trips. Although new to the art form, Miwako Oano described her friends flowers as “so beautiful and so realistic that when I come home every day, my first impulse is to inhale the sweet fragrance one would expect to find emanating from such loveliness.”¹²⁵



Figure 3. Women Crafting Paper Flowers at Amache.
Courtesy National Archives and Records Administration,
College Park, Maryland

Ikebana was a common art form in all ten concentration camps lining shelves and resting on tables in the living quarters of internees. Dating back to the sixth century and finding its origins in the diverse range of plant life offered by Japan's geography and climate, Ikebana is a generic name for many schools and styles of Japanese flower arranging. Early ideas about arranging flowers were raised in Japan by Chinese Buddhists who presented their creations as religious offerings to the dead and altar adornments. However, the formalization and theoretical development of Ikebana occurred in Japan beginning in the sixteenth century with the Ikenobo school which demanded that artists

adhere to a strict set of rules. Since this time varying styles have emerged such as rikka (standing flowers), seika (living flowers), nageire (flowers thrown in bowl-shaped vases), and moribana (flowers piled in low vases or shallow dish-like containers). Distinctive schools shaped by historical, social, and cultural contexts also developed, among them the modern schools of Ohara and Sogetsu established in 1910 and 1930, respectively. Reacting to the rigidity of Ikenobo, the Ohara School offered more room for individual creativity by advancing the idea that arrangements were vehicles through which artists could express their feelings for flowers. Emerging during the 1930s, the Sogetsu school broke all ties with traditional rules, conceptual theories, and botanical restrictions incorporating dead branches and withered leaves among many other materials.

At risk of over simplifying this complex and deeply theoretical art form, ikebana is grounded in the belief that the lives of flowers and the lives of humans are inseparable with the style, size, shape, texture, and color of both arrangements and containers carrying great meaning. In addition to using empty space to communicate ideas, ikebana artists attach significance to the location of arrangements and the occasions for which they are created. Along with flowers, a great diversity of materials have been used since the 1930s including, but not limited to, branches, vines, leaves, grasses, berries, fruit, seeds, and dried or wilted plants, each conveying meaning of their own. With the knowledge that a wider range of methods and materials were gaining acceptance, imprisoned Japanese Americans likely found it easier to adapt even traditional styles of Ikenobo to plant life provided by their barren environments and the paucity of vases and containers.¹²⁶



Figure 4. Ikebana class at Jerome, Masao Hatano, instructor. 3/12/43. Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

Imprisoned at Rohwer, Mrs. Hirahara relied on branches, leaves, and plants found in the Arkansas woods, arranging her creations in a variety of rectangular cooking dishes. With the arrangements completed, the dishes were placed in decorative boxes made from packing crate boards. Husbands or male friends of flower arrangers often retrieved the crates from camp warehouses, cutting the boards to precise specifications before carefully carving, sanding, and staining the boxes. On one of her Ikebana gathering trips, Hirahara came upon a recently felled red oak, gathering branches from the exposed stump. Focusing her arrangement around these branches, she added other wild plants and created an arrangement with green leaves that continued to grow for several weeks.¹²⁷ A teacher of Ikebana at Heart Mountain, Mrs. Homma became known for her arrangements made with wild juniper which she often displayed on a special shelf in her living unit. Relying on other

wild plants and flowers indigenous to northwest Wyoming, Homma offered ikebana classes to adults and children alike.¹²⁸

Tule Lake's internees experienced the strictest security restrictions due to its designation by the War Relocation Authority as a segregation center for supposed "troublemakers" during the fall of 1943. Because the physical movement of all internees was severely restricted, Tule Lake's flower arrangers gained permission for a designated "procurement clerk" to gather materials outside the boundaries of the camp. Each day an internee cleared by administrators searched within a one mile perimeter of the barbed wire fence collecting cattails, wild plums, tule grasses, willows, and sagebrush, but soon these supplies were exhausted. Internee crafters once again approached the camp director and with the support of a War Relocation Authority staff member gained permission to make supervised visits to the Modoc Forest located approximately an hour east of camp. Here Tule Lake's flower and plant arrangers found an inexhaustible supply of cedar, mahogany, pine branches, and sage brush.¹²⁹

As a Nisei teenager Molly Nakamura was first exposed to ikebana while imprisoned at Tule Lake, California.¹³⁰ A senior at Marysville Union High School when President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, Nakamura was denied the opportunity to participate in her graduation ceremony, instead receiving a diploma in the mail at her Yuba City, California home. In July of 1942 Nakamura, along with her parents and younger brother, were shipped to Tule Lake where she immediately began working as a mess hall waitress. But Nakamura's primary focus was learning ikebana, making certain to attend classes and practice the art of flower arranging. As a committed student of ikebana,

Nakamura developed a life long interest in this art form. Returning to Marysville after being released, Nakamura earned her credentials as a teacher of the Ikenobo school and co-founded the Sacramento Chapter of Ikebana International in 1959, a organization that paired an interest in art with fostering international peace.

While Nakamura first began taking ikebana classes at Tule Lake, Shigeno Nishimi arrived as a credential teacher of this art form.¹³¹ Also working as a mess hall waitress, Nishimi carved time from her busy schedule to offer ikebana classes. Hoping to escape life as the wife of a rice farmer, Nishimi immigrated to the United States in 1924 with her new husband. After settling into life as the spouse of an antique and art dealer in Los Angeles, Nishimi began taking ikebana classes from Senka Okamoto and was a credential teacher of this art form prior to internment. While imprisoned first at Walegra, also know as the Sacramento detention facility, and later Tule Lake, she relied on local plant life which she compared to igusa (a straw like plant used to make Japanese tatami-mats) and futoi (also a plant producing straw like material) substituting artificial creations made from colored paper for fresh flowers.¹³² Her arrangements were often distinguished by the use of daikon (a large white radish) and carrots. She also fostered close relationships with internee carpenters who supplied her students with nails and wood to create containers for their art works.

Released from Tule Lake in January of 1946, Nishimi and her family moved to Sacramento, forced to abandon hopes of returning to Los Angeles because their house was “confiscated” by neighbors who offered to serve as landlords during the war years. In an all too common story for Japanese Americans, all of the Nashima’s private property was

stolen, an offense made possible by a series of machinations supported by the mayor of Los Angeles who assured John Tolan on April 27, 1942 that “property within this city formerly occupied or used by the Japanese will not remain idle.”¹³³ Forty-three year old Nishimi adjusted to life in Sacramento teaching ikebana classes and caring for her children and husband who developed a general contracting business. During several trips to Kyoto, Nishimi continued her training as a master ikebana teacher and mentored aspiring artists until 1993. As her 1997 obituary notes, Nishimi was known in Sacramento as a highly respected teacher of ikebana and a talented artist, a reputation further evidenced by her fifteen year term as president of the Ikenobo Ikebana Society of Northern California.

Wood panels featuring carved images and decorated with flowers made from shells and crepe paper were common adornments on barrack walls. Shells were gathered by internees from the ancient and massive Pleistocene lake beds that made up the landscapes of Topaz and Tule Lake and then mailed to friends and families incarcerated in other camps as craft making supplies.¹³⁴ One such panel created at Tule Lake depicted intricate plum blossoms made from shells. Sitting on a papier-mache branch was a small painted bird carved from wood.¹³⁵ Many of Minidoka’s living quarters were decorated with “nature carved” wood and stone forms including coyotes, snails, birds, and dogs with internees sometimes joining two shapes together such as A. Takamura’s creation titled, “Sagebrush Eagle Flying With Snake.” Further accentuating figures already shaped by frequent wind and dust storms, internees carved, polished, and filed wood and stones found in the areas surrounding the camps into striking sculptures that rested on shelves and tables.¹³⁶

Kobu was an art form created in most imprisonment locations, but especially

popular in the Arkansas camps. With an abundance of recently felled trees, internees imprisoned at Rohwer and Jerome decorated their living units with natural formations found in the roots of elm, hickory, and oak trees and art carved from segments of tree trunks. Carefully stripping away decayed pieces of wood and bark by boiling roots and tree trunks internees revealed raw sculptures which were oiled, polished, and finally varnished to a high gleam.¹³⁷ Some of these artists were purists only slightly altering figures shaped naturally, while others took a more aggressive approach carving and hollowing out such items as match holders, bowls, and plaques from slabs of tree trunks. Among the natural forms were monkeys, lizards, birds, and human figures. What internees referred to as “cypress knees” were also valued by kōbu artists often providing pieces of wood that were easily hollowed into vases. Exceptionally prized and rare, these works of art were used as vessels for flower arrangements by ikebana enthusiasts.¹³⁸

A primary obstacle for most imprisoned crafters was overcoming persistent shortages of art making supplies, but bon-kei enthusiasts were surrounded by two materials commonly used in their art form, sand and dirt. Perhaps best translated as “landscape in a tray,” bon-kei reproduced in miniature all elements of a specific landscape including buildings and people. Having been exposed to this art form during her childhood in Japan, Mrs. Ninomiya looked out on Amache’s dusty landscape and saw possibilities that eluded most internees. Having completed an example of bon-kei during her first days of imprisonment, Ninomiya soon found herself with ninety-two students none of whom had previous experience with the art form. Tray making materials presented the biggest obstacle with Ninomiya’s pupils always on the outlook for discarded vegetable crates, but

unfortunately demand far exceeded supply. Internees started a letter writing campaign sending friends back home off on tray shopping expeditions that included final stops at the post office. Receiving tray making materials in the mail, internees at Amache created mountain, desert, seacoast, and “imaginary Japanese” scenes. Bon kei decorated many of Amache’s living units with internees mulling over the irony of making art from a material they so often cursed.¹³⁹

Free standing wood sculptures were carved by internees and placed on tables and shelves located in living units while embroidered landscapes decorated rough barrack walls. Art work created by imprisoned children were welcomed additions to living unit decor with drawings and paintings covering entire sections of some walls. Internees marked holidays by creating special pieces of art as in the case of one teenager. Hoping to brighten the mood of his family’s first Christmas at Tule Lake, this high school aged boy spent his monthly clothing allowance check of three dollars and fifty cents purchasing several packages of construction paper. After transforming green paper and glue into a one foot tall Christmas tree, he created ornaments by cutting small circles from sheets of red, yellow, pink, and orange paper. Once these decorations were pasted on the tree, the family of this Nisei artist admitted that the camp-made Christmas tree helped lift the “dark clouds” hanging over their lives.¹⁴⁰

Internees extended their experiences creating livable places of survival beyond the confines of individual living units. Nameplates and mailboxes aided internees in more easily identifying their living units, a difficult task considering that blocks were laid out in standardized grids comprised of twelve barracks each that were identical and

indistinguishable from each other. Assembly center structures were characterized by more variation in style and materials, but in both temporary and permanent locations of imprisonment internees created a wide range of nameplates to distinguish their living units from that of their many neighbors. Nameplates and mailboxes were especially important in the early days before gardens and landscaping took hold, creating more diversity in the landscape and differences among neighboring barracks and blocks. With the layout of all camps standardized, losing one's way became frequent, frustrating, and sometimes traumatic experiences, especially for youngsters and the elderly. On their first night at Heart Mountain a group of internees wandered out among the hundreds of tar papered black barracks in an attempt to locate the latrines only to get lost and then rescued by a more experienced neighbor.¹⁴¹ Becoming disoriented in this physical maze was not an infrequent occurrence as noted by a woman imprisoned first at Tanforan and then Topaz. "All the residential blocks looked alike; people were lost all the time."¹⁴²

A group of bachelors sharing a room in Area C of Puyallup used scrap lumber to create an "entry roof" over the doorway and a sign identifying their living unit as the "Outside Inn." Intended as a reference to shoddy construction common in all camps, the sign perfectly described the ability of internees and camp administrators walking by outside the barrack to gaze through gaping external holes into individual living units.¹⁴³ A few signs were carved or written in Japanese, evidence that some internees were willing to closely identify with Japanese culture under especially perilous conditions. But there was conflict among internees about writing in Japanese. A young Nisei man interned at Tanforan was disturbed after noticing that a newly placed nameplate was written in

Japanese. No mention was given concerning the inscription other than the sign “gave our Block a Japanese name,” but the offended internee quickly removed the nameplate even under the watchful eyes of a “couple of Kibei boys” who protested.¹⁴⁴ Mine Okubo remembered that nameplates written in Japanese were prohibited by camp administrators, likely explaining the courage of internees to remove signs in the presence of objectors. Other internees imprisoned at Tanforan named their living units Inner Sanctum, Stall Inn, and Sea Biscuit, sarcastically referring to cacophonous living conditions and animal identities of previous inhabitants. On Okubo’s door was a sign reading QUARANTINE, signifying her desire for peace and quiet.¹⁴⁵ Burlap and tree limbs were popular nameplate making supplies at Santa Anita, the largest and longest occupied of all fifteen temporary facilities imprisoning over nineteen thousand Japanese Americans. Accompanying one name plate was a doll made of burlap sitting on a tree branch with wood shavings for hair and buttons for eyes.¹⁴⁶

Concentration camp barracks were made of cheap, unseasoned wood usually pine or redwood and black tar paper, creating a maze of replicas that internees found difficult to navigate. An Amache widow and her seven children decided on “Sleepy Lagoon” as a fitting name for their living quarters, carving the letters into a slab of wood. Seventeen years old at the time of imprisonment, Mas Ueysugi later commented that the nameplate gave their unit a “homey atmosphere.”¹⁴⁷ Creating anything resembling a home must have presented a formidable task considering Granada was laid out on a north south grid within a one mile square area that contained ten thousand five hundred acres. A thirty block internee housing area, each made up of twelve barracks measuring twenty by one hundred

twenty feet and further divided into six units equaling twenty by twenty feet were separated by barbed wire from the upgraded staff housing area. Building materials for Amache's internee living units varied from other camps with asbestos shingles and fibre board substituted for the usual tar paper construction. A letter-number system designated a specific block by indicating the street intersection at the block's northwest corner. Living in block 8F, also known as Sleepy Lagoon, the Ueysugi family was two blocks from elementary class rooms, a fortunate location for a family of seven children, especially on frigid and windy winter days in southeastern Colorado where temperatures often dipped to thirty below zero.¹⁴⁸

For nearly eighty-five hundred Jerome internees living in a rectangle comprised of thirty six blocks of twelve identical barracks each, nameplates and mailboxes provided powerful honing devices allowing living units to be more easily located while also commenting on everyday internment experiences.¹⁴⁹ On the door of a Jerome living unit identified by administrators as Block 28, Barrack 6, Unit C hung a name plate with the names Mr. and Mrs. M. Nishi painted at the top and a service star in center honoring their son George, a staff sergeant in the U.S. army. Surrounding the service star were the names of their four daughters, Seiji, Grace, Matsie, and Mary. At 9-7-E, a knot in the center of a polished wood board served as the letter O in the printed blue inscription, "Generally Knot Inn" and marked the living quarters of the Tamura brothers, Spud and John.¹⁵⁰ Internees approaching 12-8-D were greeted with a more practical marker of place that included the instructions: "Please Clean Your Shoes Before Entering this Room. This Also Means the People Living In this Room. Thank you, the boss." A Topaz nameplate designer used a

metal band wrapped around a large wooden packing crate, bending and shaping the long strip into his name Higashida. Once completed, the name was attached to a slab of scrap wood and placed on the living unit door.¹⁵¹

Mailboxes were also effective markers of place with Jerome's newspaper reporting in February of 1943 that "practically every" living unit was "sporting" a mail box of some sort.¹⁵² Eddie Imasu first made a wooden box from spare pieces of pine, then painted the front as a letter addressed to himself including intricate drawings of a stamp and postmark. At the Tsukamoto's living unit, internees working as mail deliverers were required to "punch the face of Hitler" before gaining access to an opening that accepted letters and packages. Another internee made a log cabin mail box from small twigs, bamboo sticks, and pieces of rough bark. When completed, the door of the log cabin opened to accept letters while the roof lifted providing ample space for packages. Smaller and less elaborate mailboxes were made from paper milk cartons and carved from wood with mail deliverers leaving notes for internees to pick up packages at mess halls or camp post offices. Some crafters printed names in Japanese, others with English lettering, and many announced the inhabitants of living units in both languages.¹⁵³

Forcibly removed from their homes and familiar environments, internees were already enduring a severe form of displacement made more difficult by their confinement in physical locations characterized by hundreds of indistinguishable buildings, placed in identical patterns, and situated in monochrome landscapes and hostile climates for people accustomed to lush coastal geographies. Perhaps at the risk of trivializing the traumas of internment, contemporary readers may find it useful comparing the experiences of lost

internees to identifying your vehicle in a five hundred forty acre (the size of the central portion of Manzanar) parking lot filled with cars of the same make, color, model, and year.¹⁵⁴ Although this example does not begin to encompass the everyday obstacles experienced by imprisoned Japanese Americans, it does *hint* at *one* task encountered many times each day by internees attempting to live life at the most basic level. With all blocks and barracks externally indistinct, nameplates and mailboxes created by internees were welcomed additions and made losing one's way a less frequent occurrence.

Using art to create inside spaces of survival was extended beyond the confines of living quarters with internees focusing their attention on mess halls, classrooms, hospital, and spaces of worship. Skills and ideas developed to enhance family living units were transferred to places more firmly defined and understood in terms of shared usage. Sixty-one year old Kamekichi Kawasaki responded to Heart Mountain's shortage of mess hall eating utensils by carving and polishing one thousand wooden spoons (shakushi) from discarded apple crates. By May of 1943, his efforts were shifted to creating mayonnaise spoons and chop sticks. As the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* reported: "Garbed in overalls, winter underwear sleeves rolled up, dreaming maybe of home back in sunny California, he works-unpaid and unheralded."¹⁵⁵ Mess halls walls were also popular spaces where imprisoned artists displayed their work. Amache's rough interior walls were particularly well known for hosting a wide range of wood panels carved by imprisoned Japanese Americans. After standing in long lines three times each day, internees sitting down to often meager meals were greeted by carvings, ikebana, watercolors, and embroidery among many other art forms.¹⁵⁶

Christmas was a time when mess halls served as welcoming canvases for crafters. Rohwer's landscape provided trees that internees cut down and placed in mess halls. Crafters gathered canning jar rims stuffing them with round balls of red cellophane, while other internees with needle and thread in hand strung together dried fruits and vegetables grown in camp gardens. Together these creations decorated Christmas trees.¹⁵⁷ At Heart Mountain, mess hall trees were decorated with stars cut from tin cans.¹⁵⁸ Creating tree decorations for Manzanar's first Christmas provided welcomed relief and focus in the aftermath of the December 7, 1942 conflict between U.S. soldiers and imprisoned Japanese Americans which resulted in the deaths of two internees and the wounding of nine others. After experiencing fourteen days of martial law with armed guards patrolling the camp in jeeps mounted with machine guns and liberally using tear gas, segments of the traumatized population at Manzanar attempted to extract some level of normalcy by gathering scrap materials and creating Christmas decorations. Many internees spent their first days of "freedom" from martial law gently bending and then linking discarded toothbrush handles into rings creating colorful chains encircling Christmas trees placed in all thirty-six mess halls. Submerged in hot water, the handles became pliable and easily shaped. Other internees folded and cut intricate decorations out of tin foil wrappers used to package cigarettes and gum or created tree ornaments by using nails to stencil designs on the lids of tin cans.¹⁵⁹

With the support of YWCA officials, young women at many camps convinced administrators to allocate spaces for "meeting and club houses" and lost little time settling into these cramped areas by creating furniture, pillows, rugs, and curtains. As a Poston Y

Girl reported to national staff members: “We have received (and not very easily too!) a whole recreation hall which we are going to call the ‘Y’ room.” Grace Morioka concluded her letter by requesting furniture and curtain making materials.¹⁶⁰ Young women at Amache also solicited the YWCA for drape and slip cover making material, informing the national secretary in Denver that camp-made couches were already constructed.¹⁶¹ A Girl Reserves “club house” at the Canal portion of Gila was already furnished with camp-made couches and curtains but Y officials requested that Tucson chapter members search their attics for spare pillow making supplies.¹⁶² These spaces allowed teenage girls and young women to gather together in an environment free of parental supervision, especially important in the context of internment where families lived together in one room and privacy was non-existent.

Classrooms were especially bleak with teachers walking into empty shells void of furniture, books, or other supplies. Many internees embraced opportunities to support the education of incarcerated youngsters creating furniture and decorations that made classroom environments more bearable. Unable to hold classes throughout the fall of 1942 because wood burning stoves were yet to be installed, the elementary school at Topaz reopened in December. Happy to be back in her classroom teaching second graders, a young Nisei, who before internment was a student at the University of California, Berkeley, eagerly hung new curtains made by her mother. As the young teacher commented: “It was a great relief to be warm in my classroom, and the atmosphere was further improved by bright colored curtains my mother had sewn for me by hand.”¹⁶³ For high school seniors forced to miss their commencement ceremonies back home, Tulare’s grandstand was

transformed into a graduation stage. Unattractive and heavy beams were concealed with green tree branches that were woven together while daisy chains made by Mr. Tanaka's artificial flower class bordered the steep stairs graduates climbed to receive their diplomas. A huge basket filled with camp-made paper flowers decorated the center of the stage.¹⁶⁴

Children also participated in enhancing classroom environments. A class of third graders were active in transforming Topaz into a survivable place when they sewed curtains and "made flowers to make our room look like spring."¹⁶⁵ A group of seventh grade girls imprisoned at Poston made curtains for their classroom from material purchased by their teacher. As one of the students reported: "The new curtains and the colorful pictures which we put up on the walls add to the cheer of the room."¹⁶⁶ A persistent shortage of furniture in classrooms forced many children to lug chairs and benches from living units to classes and back each day.¹⁶⁷ Sixteen year old Aiko Tanamachi carried a portable bench made by her older brother to school in the mornings, returning each afternoon to her Poston I "home" with her camp-made chair in tow. Having acquired an embodied memorial, Tanamachi only had to look at the scars on her legs caused by nails protruding from her make shift school furniture to recall this experience forty-two years later.¹⁶⁸

Poston's students were fortunate to have a school at all since this concentration camp near Parker, Arizona was constructed without any consideration or space allotted for educating school age children and teenagers. With the U.S. government ignoring the educational requirements of its youngest captives and refusing to allocate lumber to volunteers willing to build schools, internees were forced to employ alternative and unfamiliar methods of construction. Using natural materials provided by the physical

environment some internees joined together to make countless adobe bricks from which school buildings were then constructed. An especially taxing and dirty job, Poston's schools were completed with great sacrifice from internees who worked in temperatures exceeding one hundred fifteen degrees. Perhaps the most common complaint concerned the soiling of clothes which in the context of camp life were particularly difficult to launder and replace. Poston I's elementary school, located at the west end of Blocks 19 and 30, was a sophisticated grouping of structures that included an office, auditorium, library, covered walkways, and ten classroom buildings. On the far west side of Poston 1 was the high school, a fortunate location for the above mentioned, bench toting Tanamachi who lived in Block 37, Barrack 11, Unit C just two blocks east of the educational complex comprised of an office, library, auditorium, auto and wood shop, and eight classroom buildings.¹⁶⁹ Once construction was completed, furnishing the classrooms was difficult with internees again denied access to lumber and nails.¹⁷⁰

Internees also devoted time and energy to making hospitals and churches more comfortable. With Bill Yamamoto appointed as foreman, a group of twenty-nine Jerome men organized a "cabinet shop" in November of 1942. By March, despite severe shortages of materials and tools, these men completed fifteen hundred desperately needed hospital items including X-ray stands, stretchers, pharmacist's cabinets, and test tube racks all made from hard gum wood or oak.¹⁷¹ With the motto "we make anything made of wood," Block 6 organized their own shop of eighteen carpenters also filling requests of the hospital staff at Jerome.¹⁷² Women joined in to make hospital rooms and waiting areas more bearable with the addition of paper flowers. Young women imprisoned in the Butte portion of Gila

decorated hospital wards and trimmed trees for Christmas celebrations.¹⁷³ Other internees devoted their energies to creating chairs and tables for religious services. Intricately carved Butsudans were created by Buddhists and placed in communal locations for camp wide services.¹⁷⁴

As these crafting activities illustrate, art worked as critical elements in a complicated process of placemaking. Uprooted and incarcerated by the U.S. government, internees carried abilities to *re-make* places of survival with them in portable spaces of art. Imprisoned Japanese Americans utilized these activities and the resulting artifacts to form resistive identities based initially on the idea of achieving very basic levels of physical comfort. As Martha Inouye Oye remembered of her experiences at Minidoka: “Comfort was uppermost in the minds of the people when they first arrived here. As at the assembly centers, talented and creative evacuees built partitions and furniture from discarded lumber and material picked up around the barracks to make their rooms more habitable.”¹⁷⁵

Through these comfort based identities internees positioned themselves in contexts of larger camp collectivities as they began sharing techniques, materials, and ideas on how to make their living units habitable. Resistance expanded as furniture makers identified internees unable to make chairs, tables, and shelves because they lacked carpentry skills or were too overwhelmed with other tasks. Needle works such as crocheted blankets, quilts, and pillows also addressed needs to establish minimal levels of comfort. Expanding their focus beyond the confines of individual living units, internees used art to alter communal spaces such as mess halls, classrooms, and hospitals.

In their successful efforts to create physical comfort, internees laid the groundwork

for remaking mental landscapes of survival by using art to decorate their living quarters. Stripped of their personal possessions, internees demonstrated their commitment to survival by inhabiting their living units with art in the form of kōbu, wood carvings, ikebana, embroidered wall hangings, and paper flowers. Camp-made crafts articulated fluid, shifting stances against oppressive living conditions. By filling their living units with art, internees made their surroundings look and feel less like spaces of incarceration, an important consideration for parents who struggled to establish even limited amounts of normalcy for their children. Living quarters evolved into vital places made more meaningful by camp-made and displayed art that created visual discourses controlled by internees. Through and with art, internees spoke loudly voicing not only commitments to survival but also resistance as they improved their lots in life by remaking both physical and mental landscapes. In this way art aided internees in developing understandings of themselves as agents of their own lives. By remaking inside spaces of imprisonment, internees identified with each other on the basis of survival, comfort, and in the case of nameplates and mailboxes, countering conditions of dislocation and fears of being lost.



Figure 5. The decoration of this apartment is quite typical and shows the home made furniture, shelves, bookcases, and other furniture. Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration.

Chapter 3: *Re-territorializing Outside Spaces*

Perhaps more dramatic than interior changes to internee living quarters and gathering places was the transformation of outside living spaces. By altering camp landscapes, internees *re-territorialized* the camps and became anchored in hostile and unfamiliar environments. Central to the survival of incarcerated Japanese Americans was *re-territorializing* spaces, a process that produces what Rick Bonus refers to as “arenas where contesting definitions, articulations, and representations of identities are enacted.”¹⁷⁶ Internment camps were spatial expressions of race based on the U.S. government concentrating Japanese Americans in geographically specific locations. But internees “confounded these established spatial orders” by joining aesthetics with politics and engaging with the art forms of gardening and landscaping as strategies for creating resistive practices. Vegetable, fruit, and rock gardens, as well as skating rinks, golf courses, and swimming pools were, in the words of Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, “conceptual and political acts of re-imagination” on the part of internees.¹⁷⁷ In this way, the formation of resistive identities was loosened from hostile and oppressive places created by the structures of a nation-state that physically confined internees.

Through the process of reinscribing the landscape with gardening and landscaping projects, internees imagined and enacted portable senses of place. By studying the landscaping and gardening activities of Japanese Americans, we learn that places, even when they are denied by the almost limitless power of nation-states, can reside in portable spaces such as art. Understood in these terms, internees identified with one another on the basis of reinscribing placeless spaces into physical landscapes. This problematizes the

attachment of identity and culture to physical locations and in the case of imprisoned Japanese Americans, the idea of culture residing in places constructed by nation-states appears less fruitful than de-territorialized notions of subjectivity. Thus identities structured by physical boundaries of nationhood such as being Japanese or American are not as relevant or powerful as identities unmoored from these issues of territory.

Almost immediately internees reacted to the traumas of internment by working with soil surrounding their living quarters. Internees identified themselves with one another by *re*-territorializing barren and dusty physical landscapes into places marked by flower, vegetable, and rock gardens complete with ponds and waterfalls. Larger landscaping and architectural additions included bridges, wishing wells and large seating areas, lakes where model boat “regattas” frequently occurred, and newly constructed baseball fields, swimming pools, skating rinks, football fields, sumo rings, golf courses, and basketball courts. Personal gardens were the most immediate sign of this *re*-territorialization process with children and adults alike staking out small lots near their living quarters and preparing less than hospitable soil for planting during their first difficult days of imprisonment.

Forced from her home in Florin, California and shipped by train to the Fresno County Fairgrounds in late May of 1942, Mary Tsukamoto was overcome by the bleakness of the landscape. Hot, dusty, and void of greenery, Fresno’s main feature was over one hundred tar papered barracks that housed over five thousand internees. But by early June, vegetable gardens began appearing and within three months a community garden was providing more vegetables than could be locally consumed. In October, when Fresno’s internees were ordered to board trains destined for Jerome, Tsukamoto glanced back at a

“transformed” landscape to see morning glory vines covering the barracks and an array of vegetable and flower gardens. Strengthened by these physical alterations, this twenty-eight year old married Nisei mother gathered her anxious family for an exhausting four night, five day train trip to the Mississippi River Delta region in southeastern Arkansas.¹⁷⁸



Figure 6. Mrs. Fujita working her Tanforan garden. Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration. College Park, MD.

Newly created gardens evoked similar ideas and emotions from internees incarcerated at other temporary imprisonment facilities. Pausing in front of her Tulare living quarters located at Block L, Barrack 8, Unit 3, an Issei women enjoyed a recently planted garden full of morning glories, zinnias, and green beans. Commenting in her diary about the persistence and dedication of Tulare’s gardeners, she found hope in the art of others, while also noting that these gardens encompassed frustration, futility, and sorrow.

Evoking ideas of dislocation and economic exploitation she concluded her June 5, 1942 entry by writing: “Raising these products was their life. As much as they yearn, they can no longer till the acreage they had in normal times.”¹⁷⁹ This admirer of Tulare gardens showed that oppression and resistance, ideas often thought of in exclusionary terms, reside together. A twenty-one year old Nisei at Santa Anita emphasized the uplifting effects of gardens, describing the dramatic *re*-territorialization of soil surrounding the living units that once housed animals. Areas formerly trampled into fine dust by the constant traffic of race horses were being taken over by budding flowers, plants yielding vegetables, and an array of carefully nurtured greenery.¹⁸⁰ Although these three women were not gardeners, this art form connected them to larger groups and aided in resistance building within complex systems of oppression.

Tanforan’s gardeners were especially prolific with everyone from elderly Issei to youngsters caring for newly planted vegetable and flower gardens. Although internees were aware that Tanforan was a temporary imprisonment facility, efforts to *re*-territorialize the camp by creating more elaborate landscaping projects were immediate with the addition of lakes and a community garden. Some personal gardens reflected a strong tie to what most think of in terms Japanese culture as was the case of a plot located in the infield of Tanforan’s race track that featured a “bamboo-like” fence and Japanese lanterns. However most gardens were characterized by rows of vegetables surrounded by a few flowering plants.¹⁸¹ Three days after arriving at Tanforan, the second youngest of eight Kikuchi siblings was tending the family’s “victory garden” stepping out of their living unit, identified as stable 10, stall 5:00 at 11:00 PM to water new seedlings.¹⁸² By June,

Tanforan's victory gardens were producing a wide variety of vegetables including radishes, turnips, string beans, tomatoes, cucumbers, squash, and sugar peas which mess hall cooks used to supplement canned army rations. On June 13, 1942 internees eating in mess hall 8 were treated to a potato salad, officially referred to as a "victory salad" garnished with grated vegetables from internee gardens."¹⁸³ Some imprisoned Japanese Americans noticed a competitive spirit among Tanforan's gardeners, especially former truck farmers and nurserymen.¹⁸⁴ In front of 15-9-2, a garden of special note included a small pond with four gold fish carved from carrots.¹⁸⁵

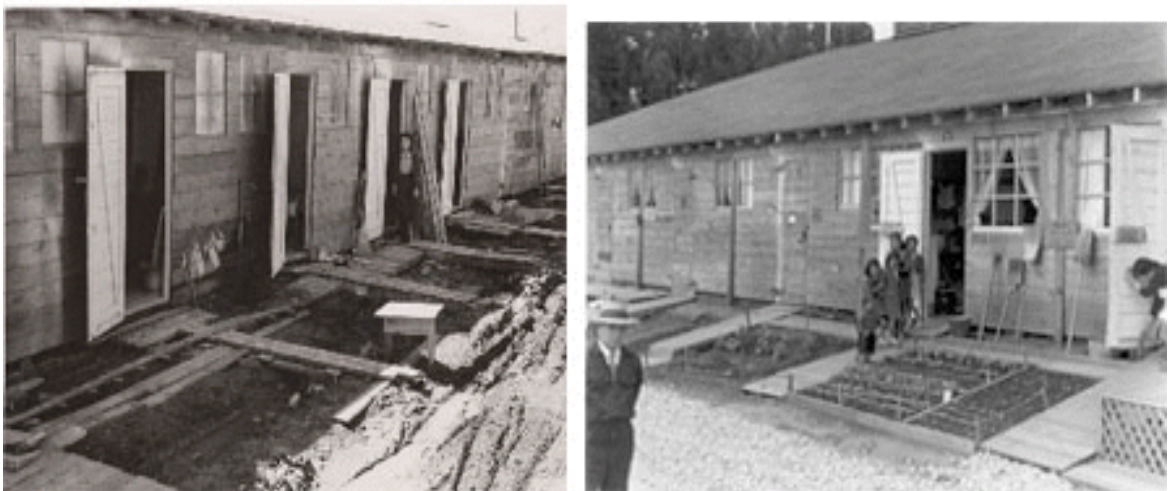


Figure 7. Tanforan upon arrival 4/29/42 and six weeks later 6/16/42. Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

Tanforan was the site of two "lakes," one a favorite of nature lovers and artists and the other more a place enjoyed by model boat enthusiasts. Plans for Tanforan's North Lake were created by imprisoned architect Roy Watanabe who conceived of the project as a "lake park" ideal for taking quiet walks and thinking.¹⁸⁶ By the time the lake opened in

early August of 1942, the project was the collaborative effort of many internees who revised the original plan to include transplanted trees and plants, a foot bridge, three rock gardens, a promenade, benches, playground, burnt tree stumps substituted for rocks, and sandy areas adjoining the water. Recognizing the danger water presented for children, the builders created a lake with an average depth of one foot with marked sections on the north end reaching three feet deep. A concrete fountain connected to a secondary pool provided a dependable water source and to further insure that the lake remained full internees constructed a fire tower on the lake's bank so practicing firemen could aid in maintaining the water level. Watanabe remained involved in the lake park, attempting to lure ducks from Tanforan Lake in an effort to complete his scenic vision for the project.¹⁸⁷ Some internees looked on in amazement at the efforts of these gardeners and landscapers who were fully aware that Tanforan was not their final place of imprisonment. As one of these observers noted, internee gardeners "transformed a mere wet spot in the Tanforan scenery into a miniature aquatic park."¹⁸⁸

What came to be known as Lake Tanforan existed prior to the application of Executive Order 9066, but internees maintained and improved this small pond located in the infield of Tanforan's race track as a site for model boat enthusiasts. During twilight hours, and on Sunday afternoons after lunch, large crowds gathered around the water's edge to watch internees sail camp-made model boats. As part of a 4th of July celebration, two thousand spectators witnessed one hundred boats compete in a "regatta" with winners in several classes receiving prizes of boat making materials. Other competitive events featured nearly two hundred vessels ranging from simple models carved out of a slab of

wood to elaborate examples equipped with motors and automatic rudders. Some crafters relied exclusively on pen knives to create their boats while others mail ordered planes and chisels from catalogues or asked friends back home to purchase wood carving tools. One of the first boats to appear was made by an Issei man from scrap wood, a discarded tin pail, and a bed sheet. With a nineteen inch tall mast, the vessel measured twenty-one inches in length and five inches wide. While speed was likely the highest priority, this artist was also concerned with aesthetics painting his vessel with a red, shiny enamel below the water line, white above, and varnishing the deck. As a finishing touch, the model boat builder added an American flag at the top of the mast. While this crafter shaped sheets into sails, others managed to convince women friends to part with silk dresses and slippers.¹⁸⁹ Issei sailors outnumbered Nisei, but fathers often spent time with their sons creating new boats resulting in the art form gaining popularity among youngsters.¹⁹⁰

Model boat building and the accompanying regattas were sometimes seen in less than positive terms as evidenced by the June 19, 1942 diary entry of a twenty-six year old Nisei man who wrote: “The Issei haven’t anything else to do and I see them around all day painstakingly carving out these boats.”¹⁹¹ This statement likely reflected tensions surrounding a forced shift of familial authority from Issei men to the U.S. government who freely exercised control over the lives of Japanese Americans. Because Issei, especially men, were generally thought of as more loyal to Japan and less suited to “Americanization” efforts, those who escaped separate incarceration in Department of Justice prisons were denied leadership roles by concentration camp administrators. Placed at the fringes of this already racially exploited group of people, Issei men and their internment activities such as

boat building were often understood by fellow internees as evidence of weakness, impotence, and desperation.¹⁹² As Gary Okihiro wrote: “The Issei represented an obsolete mentality, an old world flavor that had become distasteful; the Nisei symbolized the future—a new direction and style—in full pursuit of the illusive American Dream.”¹⁹³

A community flower garden full of blooming plants, benches, and a greenhouse was the joint effort of horticulturalists imprisoned at Tanforan. Located in the northwest corner of camp just behind the hospital, this one hundred and fifty square foot flower project was surrounded by a six foot high wooden fence and produced a wide variety of specimens including sweet peas, marigolds, asters stocks, snap dragons, petunias, bachelor buttons, and chrysanthemums. Under the more than competent leadership of Mr. S. Takahashi, a 1913 graduate of Columbia University with a B.S. degree in agriculture economics, the garden supplied flowers to mess halls, churches, hospital rooms, and administration offices.¹⁹⁴ Internees not participating in the project watched as Takahashi and his team of gardeners “transformed” the site of Tanforan’s former dump into a colorful camp garden.¹⁹⁵ On September 9, 1942 when the first group of internees was about to be shipped from Tanforan to Topaz, one of the community gardeners appeared with a wheel barrel full of flowers picked from the greenhouse. Hoping to help soothe the feelings of his anxious neighbors, this artist handed bouquets through a fence that now separated internees boarding trains destined for Topaz from newly made friends about to be left behind.¹⁹⁶

As the largest and longest occupied “assembly center” where over eighteen thousand Japanese Americans were imprisoned at any given time, Santa Anita’s landscape was filled with a wide variety of gardening projects ranging from conventional squared off

plots of cultivated soil containing one or two varieties of flowers or vegetables to elaborate rock gardens.¹⁹⁷ An entire plot of pansies adjoined Barrack 37, Unit 10 while 26-6 was the site of a rock garden based on a Japanese proverb. Complete with a well, wooden buckets, dwarf trees, morning glories, wind chimes made from glass, and frogs, John Doi's garden recounted the story of a girl who arrived at a well to draw water and found morning glories wound around the bucket and ropes. Rather than disturbing the flowers, she traveled further to a neighbor's well for water. Evidence that such creations resonated with internees was offered by the appearance of tanka and haiku poems on a wall bordering the garden.¹⁹⁸ For Santa Anita internees housed in areas where land or hospitable soil were scarce, tin cans provided space for planting. By July 18, George Ikeda's thriving garden was made up of fifty such cans gathered from mess hall trash cans.¹⁹⁹ Added to many of these personal gardens were examples of yard art as was the case of three monkeys carved from wood during July of 1942. A reporter for the *Santa Anita Pacemaker* suggested that the additions be named Adolf and Benito with the last name provocatively left to the reader's imagination.²⁰⁰

A community vegetable garden located in the racetrack's infield was a prominent feature of Santa Anita's landscape. By early June, a group of thirty former truck farmers were quickly converting fifteen acres of previously unused land into fertile soil capable of producing food for over eighteen thousand hungry internees. At month's end, the amount of crops planted equaled three quarters of an acre in radishes, an acre of beets, nine acres of spinach, and an acre and a half each of carrots, nappa cabbage, and romaine lettuce. On Friday, July 10 the appetites of internees were wetted by the first crop of radishes to be

harvested which equaled nearly two hundred dozen bunches closely followed, a week later, by the addition of camp grown napa cabbage on mess hall tables. As the *Santa Anita Pacemaker* enthusiastically reported, the initial thirty-five crates of cabbage represented only a “thinning” of the total crop with the first picking yet to occur. Subsequent weeks were marked by the inclusion of an increasingly wider selection of vegetables in the diets of internees.²⁰¹ Remembering the poor quality of food provided by the government, one Nisei woman imprisoned at Santa Anita noted substantial dietary improvements once the gardens began producing vegetables.²⁰²

After *re-territorializing* neglected and barren “assembly center” landscapes, internees were forced to abandon their carefully nurtured gardens and confront even more challenging geographies. Combining the traumas of imprisonment with yet another experience of displacement, the U.S. government further accentuated the sufferings of Japanese Americans by shipping them to distant, isolated, and desolate concentration camps distinguished by harsh climates. After a seven hundred mile train trip from Tanforan, Kitty Nakagawa recalled her impression of Topaz, Utah as “just black nothingness and dryness and I guess you might call it death.” At Tanforan, internees drew some comfort from being close to their homes and a familiarity with California’s climate, but the severity of west-central Utah’s Sevier desert was beyond the imaginations of many. In the flat, beige, dust filled landscape of Topaz, even meager alterations were dramatic especially the appearance of plants adding color to an achromatic palate.²⁰³

Despite doubts concerning the fertility of the Sevier Desert, many Japanese Americans approached the art of gardening with fervor. During the first spring at Topaz,

small gardens were scattered throughout the camp and surrounded by fences made from cardboard boxes and scrap lumber. Intended to protect new seedlings from brutal dust storms that easily destroyed even the healthiest of plants, fences were constantly being repaired and refashioned to screen vegetables from the windy and dusty environment that characterized Topaz. In service to their always thirsty plants, successful gardeners spent most evenings lugging buckets filled with water from communal laundry facilities to their struggling seedlings. Careful to use every drop of liquid, internees fashioned watering devices by puncturing the ends of tin cans with holes, then mounting these camp-made spigots on the end of a stick and dipping them into the water pails. Several evenings of this backbreaking work convinced some internees to move their gardens to areas adjoining the laundry facilities where water was more easily accessible. A group of men gained permission from administrators to transplant trees and bushes from beyond the confines of the camp's perimeters.²⁰⁴ Following the example of their elders, two eight year-old girls pitched in to help as reported in the class diary of third graders imprisoned at Topaz. A drawing comprised of a shovel, watering can, hoe, and snake was accompanied by an entry written on May 28, 1943 informing readers: "June and Jane planted some rabbit brush which they found in the desert."²⁰⁵

Even with the careful attention of internees over fifteen thousand newly planted trees and shrubs died during the first spring of imprisonment at Topaz. Donated by the Forestry Department at the Utah State Agricultural College, these specimens included seventy-five hundred small trees primarily black locusts, Utah junipers, and Siberian elms, and ten thousand small plants and shrubs. One row of moribund saplings was finished off

by a group of school bound children enjoying an impromptu game of leapfrog. Added to the many challenges of growing greenery in inhospitable soil was the gardening inexperience of Topaz's population which was comprised primarily of people from urban areas in California. Less than two hundred and fifty professional farmers were imprisoned at the Utah camp.²⁰⁶ As one internee welcomed spring she could not avoid expressing disappointment over the lack of greenery that accompanied warmer temperatures. Accustomed to lush California springs, this college aged internee even missed the appearance of dandelions in her family's yard, a sight she learned to "disdain" from her father who spent most of his free time during April digging out these weeds. Hoping to partially compensate for the lack of greenery, the family devoted themselves to nurturing a single daffodil bulb mailed by a friend, planting it in an old tin can and watching it closely each day. When the flower bloomed, the young woman "was amazed at the pleasure even a single flower could bring" when compared to the "hard white glare of bleached sand"²⁰⁷

Describing a similar scene was fifteen year old Yoshie Tashima who after enduring six months of imprisonment at Santa Anita was transported to Amache in late October of 1942. With the eyes of a former Los Angeles resident, Tashima looked out on the wind swept prairie lands of southeastern Colorado and fondly remembered the warm, plant friendly climate of Santa Anita. Drawing from a long and heterogeneous history of geographic displacements that encompassed a series of voluntary, coerced, and now forced migrations, Japanese Americans once again set to, in the words of Tashima, making a "nothing place" into "something beautiful." Within months, newly planted trees, vegetables, flowers, and even green lawns were added to Amache's monochrome

landscape of sand dunes, sagebrush, and prickly pear cactus.²⁰⁸ Frequent dust storms that made the barrack next door invisible presented formidable and persistent obstacles to creating liveable landscapes, but internees did battle with these conditions by constantly watering the grounds. “Of course,” as Tashima admitted, “on the windiest days there was nothing that could help us.” Seventeen years old when he was imprisoned at Amache, Mas Ueysugi later recalled that many of the internees were former California farmers and accustomed to converting “marginally tillable soil” into “beautiful and productive” land. “At Amache,” Ueysugi continued, “we did the same.”²⁰⁹ Arriving at Minidoka on August 19, after a one day train trip from Puyullap, twenty year old Yoshi Uchiyama realized that she never knew what dust was before arriving in this “barren, desolate, sagebrush country.” Having lived her entire life with her parents and younger brother in the urban setting offered by Seattle, Uchiyama was unprepared for what lay before her in the deserted Snake River Plains area of south central Idaho.²¹⁰

A young Nisei fisherman from San Francisco was shipped to Lone Pine, California by train, then boarded a bus for the short ride north on highway 395 to Manzanar. Greeted by one of many common dust storms, Mas Tanibata was struck by “what a miserable place it was” but remembered the dramatic transformation about to take place by noting: “You know the barracks were really ugly but then these gardens made the camp beautiful.”²¹¹ Another Nisei arrived at Manzanar via a train trip to Bishop where he, along with his wife, two sisters, and mother were transferred to a bus for the fifty-one mile ride south on 395. From the Boyle Heights neighborhood in downtown Los Angeles, this family was stunned by temperatures that reached over one hundred degrees during the day, then plunged into

the thirties at night and the frequent dust storms that kept the entire landscape perpetually coated in inches of flour like dust.²¹² Arriving during May of 1942 Roy Nash, Manzanar's head War Relocation Authority administrator described what greeted him as "ugly." In contrast, by mid-June Nash reported that "half of the barracks reveal the impulse toward decoration" with internees planting vegetable and flower gardens surrounded by "decorative" fences.²¹³

Even the dry, sandy, sun drenched soil of Gila and Poston, Arizona gave way to the efforts of internees by producing a variety of vegetation. With his father imprisoned separately at Sante Fe, New Mexico, one brother already in the Army when Executive Order 9066 was signed, and three other brothers working on a cattle ranch in Nevada, it was left to the eldest twenty-seven year old single son to accompany his mother and two sisters to Poston. Located two hundred and fifty miles east of Los Angeles on the Colorado River Native American Reservation, Poston was organized into three separate camps, each three miles apart but enclosed by a single barbed wire fence. While administrators referred to these locations of imprisonment as Camp I, II, and III, internees renamed them Roaston, Toaston, and Duston, all tongue in cheek references to the extreme heat and pervasive dust.²¹⁴ Arriving at Roaston with his sisters and mother, this twenty-seven year old citrus and walnut farmer from Orange County "wasn't very pleased" when he saw the barren, dusty landscape but was relieved when internees immediately began planting shrubbery, gardens, trees, and even creating ponds noting that the surroundings "got better all the time."²¹⁵

Like Poston, Gila was also constructed on Native American land, the south central

Arizona home of the Akimel O’odham (Pima) and Pee Posh (Maricopa) tribes. Over the objection of this Gila River Indian Community, the War Relocation Authority leased over sixteen thousand five hundred acres from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and organized a Japanese American concentration camp into two sections, the Butte and Canal camps.²¹⁶ Fifty miles south of Phoenix, Gila’s landscape was distinguished by mesquite trees, creosote and bursage bushes, and cactus, but the dust and heat were most memorable in the minds of internees. A mother of two sons whose husband had already been picked up by the FBI and imprisoned at Lordsburg, New Mexico, Tsuyako Shimizu was forced to contend with this “barren desert,” but she likely escaped persistent and chronic water shortages that plagued the Butte Camp. Removed from her home near Guadalupe, a farming town in California known for its lettuce production, Shimizu was likely imprisoned in the Canal Portion, a segment of the camp comprised primarily of Japanese Americans from rural areas. Butte on the other hand was the permanent site of imprisonment for internees arriving from Tulare and Santa Anita who were predominantly urbanites.²¹⁷ Regardless of her specific location of imprisonment, Shimizu witnessed Gila undergo changes that were unimaginable when she first arrived. As she later recalled: “When we left the camp, it was a garden that had been built up without tools. It was green around the camp with vegetation, flowers and also with artificial lakes, and that’s how we left it.”

While the landscapes of Utah, Arizona, and the Colorado prairie presented constant challenges to gardening enthusiasts, internees imprisoned at Rohwer and Jerome found this art form easier to accomplish. On April 16, 1942 Jerome’s newspaper reported that “just

about every barracks” was surrounded by gardens of some sort and that many internees were constructing hot houses to protect plants from threats of a late frost.²¹⁸ Two weeks earlier the newspaper mistakenly reported that recent rainfall had improved Block 17's struggling lawn. Printing a correction, the paper informed readers that the “so-called green lawn” was actually a “bumper crop of chives” and that the internee responsible for the garden was planning on flavoring soup with his produce.²¹⁹ A year later, internees organized a camp coop where sixteen varieties of flowers could be purchased. Among the most popular were roses, dahlias, gladiolas, and climbing ivy.²²⁰ Portulaca flower seed was also in abundance having been shipped to Jerome by the Friends Service Committee, a Quaker social justice group.

Sporting multi colored buds and dark green foliage, portulaca, more commonly known as moss roses, was a hardy plant offering durable ground cover and well adapted to the heat, humidity, and insect life of the Arkansas Delta. Moss rose edged the many walkways connecting block and barracks to communal facilities.²²¹ Rohwer's growing environment was so opportunistic that many vegetable gardeners borrowed methods and ideas from ikebana artists arranging and exhibiting their surplus produce in camp art shows.²²² But even internee gardeners imprisoned at Rohwer and Jerome were presented with obstacles in the form of poisonous and deadly snake bites. Providing ideal habitat for water moccasins, cotton mouths, copperheads, and rattlesnakes, the damp, swampy Arkansas Delta region where the camps were located was a dangerous area to walk through and especially perilous for people clearing land and planting gardens. In addition to daily dangers presented by an abundance of poisonous snakes, the soil was often

saturated with water and unable to support vegetation, a problem internees partially solved by constructing a canal system which drained off excess water.

While each camp presented its own set of challenges to gardeners, many internees identified and linked the art form of gardening to their emotional and physical survival. A former San Jose farmer used the warm corner of a Heart Mountain laundry room to get an early start to a short Wyoming growing season by planting beet, cucumber, and squash seeds in two hundred and fifty previously discarded tin cans.²²³ Others internees hoping for early summer vegetables or winter flowers nurtured individual seedlings in their living units making daily trips to the communal laundry room for water. An Issei grandmother mailed ordered flower seeds from a catalogue, and then created a miniature winter garden in tin cans retrieved from mess hall rubbish piles.²²⁴ Once spring arrived, space for gardens surrounding the barracks was soon depleted, motivating one hundred and fifty internees to create a “combined victory garden” on the outskirts of camp. With the guidance of Kumezo Hatchimonji, an experienced farmer, these newcomers to the art of growing vegetables and fruits first built ditches connecting a nearby canal to their collective project and then separated the land into forty-five by twenty foot lots where thirty varieties of vegetables were cultivated.²²⁵

As internees settled into permanent locations of imprisonment, the art form of growing vegetables and flowers in small personal plots was accompanied by even more intense efforts aimed at creating larger community gardens and farm projects. Devoting themselves to tilling and planting larger lots of land, internees were soon producing more food than could be locally consumed. During the late winter of 1943, Jimmy Ito directed a

Heart Mountain community garden project by constructing nine, six by one hundred foot covered hotbeds where broccoli, cauliflower, cabbage, cucumber, cantaloupe, and watermelon seedlings were nurtured and later transplanted to fields on the outskirts of camp.²²⁶ Six months earlier, Ito along with two other internees conducted soil tests to determine which areas of the camp were most suitable for planting while another group of imprisoned Japanese Americans relied on the test results and past weather reports to choose seeds promising high yielding crops.²²⁷ In early May, the camp newspaper reported that a “giant truck garden is mushrooming in the barren desert.”

Responsible for preparing formerly infertile Wyoming soil for planting were elderly Issei men such as Harry Tateishi, Kumezo Hatchimonji, and Sakusaburo Tokuda who prior to imprisonment were farmers in Southern California’s Imperial Valley and accustomed to transforming desert, rocky land into fertile fields full of fruits and vegetables. Prevented from owning land by the 1913 Alien Land Law, Issei farmers were typically migrant agricultural laborers, share croppers or at best, leased marginal land rejected by white farmers. Fertile fields of melons, lettuce, and tomatoes resulted after years of back breaking, labor intensive work that included developing new techniques such as hot capping and brush covering. Farmers using these methods covered plants with straw, paper bags, or small tent like structures in the early spring to combat frost damage.²²⁸ Joining the experiences of these Issei farmers with the knowledge of younger college educated agriculturalists produced harvests never before imagined in the barren desert of north central Wyoming.²²⁹ By the end of June, nearly five hundred acres were planted with twenty-five varieties of vegetables and fruits including cantaloupes, nappa cabbage,

spinach, daikon, pop and sweet corn, and peas. These successful cultivation efforts were accomplished with the help of seventy-five women who, as the end of a short one hundred and nineteen day growing season drew near, devoted ten non-stop, back breaking days to transplant sixty-five acres of cucumbers, onions, eggplant, tomatoes, cantaloupes, broccoli, cauliflower, cabbage, bell and chili peppers, and celery.²³⁰

Serving both as a temporary and permanent site of imprisonment, Manzanar's community gardens avoided abandonment and benefitted from the constant attention of internees. Under the armed guard of thirty-five military vehicles, the first group of Manzanar internees arrived in late May of 1942 by way of a one hundred forty passenger car caravan. Having made the two hundred and forty mile trek from Los Angeles, the vehicles were seized by Army soldiers, used by the military or buried in the California desert never to be returned to the Japanese American owners.²³¹ Along with four hundred and twenty Japanese Americans, the cars were stuffed to the brim with personal belongings and gardening supplies including tomato plants, vegetable seeds, and garden tools.²³² Many Issei farmers with decades of experience cultivating leased land surrounding Los Angeles arrived at Manzanar committed to harvesting food during the first growing season and immediately organized collective garden projects. Among their first task was solving water shortages that plagued the Owens Valley region since the turn of the twentieth century, a problem internee gardeners overcame by expanding an already established system of irrigation ditches.

Located in a long narrow desert valley between the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada and White-Inyo mountain ranges, Manzanar was founded in 1905 as a small

farming and orchard community named after the Spanish word for apple. A river fed by mountain snow fields supplied an elaborate irrigation system of man made ditches and canals that transformed this arid valley into a flourishing agricultural center producing corn, wheat, potatoes, alfalfa, grapes, apples, and pears.²³³ Comprised of over twenty-five homes, a town hall, school house, and general store, Manzanar's most important additions were nearly five thousand apple and pear trees and a fruit packing warehouse. While Manzanar and Owens Valley residents harvested record crops, two hundred and fifty miles south, and more importantly down stream of Manzanar, the city of Los Angeles was growing by one hundred thousand new residents each year.²³⁴ Hoping to satisfy the city's swelling water demands, officials began purchasing property in Owens Valley for the water rights alone and by 1933 owned ninety-five percent of the valley's farm land and eighty-five percent of the town property. In complete control of the water supply, the city of Los Angeles constructed an aqueduct requiring one million barrels of cement effectively, draining the valley dry. Without a reliable source of water, Manzanar was abandoned until the signing of Executive Order 9066.²³⁵

Authorized by camp administrators to work outside the barbed wire perimeters of the camp, "rock gangs" comprised of male internees repaired and expanded an abandoned irrigation system digging new ditches that ran directly into the camp. Lined with rocks, these new canals furnished water for growing fruits and vegetables. Working on rock gangs produced an extra bonus, allowing internees to spend nights outside the perimeters of the camp. Many workers seized on this opportunity to hike into the Sierra's for trout catching trips. Along with providing many good dinners, the fish were brought into the

camp and used to stock small garden ponds. Having established a reliable source of water, many internees worked to cut down on dust, instituting a program providing grass seed, rakes, and shovels to gardening enthusiasts.²³⁶ Once seeded, these lawns were sometimes decorated with yard art as was the case in front of Block 5, Barrack 6, Unit 4. Well supplied with art making materials, the caretaker of this yard was a tree trimming foreman and created monkeys, penguins, and turtles from twisted roots and branches gathered while working. Other internees celebrated the newly constructed irrigation systems by creating “hobby gardens” in firebreak areas between barracks. By early June of 1943, an all “volunteer crew” was caring for a flower garden planted in firebreaks 11 and 17 while vacant soil between barracks 12 and 13 in Block 6 was just beginning to sprout vegetables.²³⁷ Watered rock gardens were added to the perimeters of these community gardens providing added living space outside the confines of crowded barracks.

What began as a small and simple watered rock garden located adjacent to one of Manzanar’s mess halls evolved into a more elaborate project complete with a pond surrounded by transplanted trees, two ton boulders, massive tree stumps, and a wishing well. Hoping to provide a respite from long mess halls lines, two cooks working the breakfast and lunch shift spent their afternoons working together on this garden. Drawing the attention of a former nursery owner from Los Angeles, Akira Nishi approached the two men and offered his services creating an architectural plan that included the addition of a large, figure eight shaped pond. With construction well under way, enthusiasm grew and internees throughout the block picked up shovels and helped clear a larger area. Supervised by guards, another group of internees drove an Army truck and trailer equipped

with a cable winch a short distance to the Sierra Nevadas.

Arriving at the foothills of this mountain range, gardeners gathered live trees and plants along with boulders and large tree stumps that were later converted into seating for internees waiting in long mess hall lines three times each day. Completion of the project was threatened when a top administrator agreed to supply a mere three bags of cement, twenty bags short of the amount required for building the pond alone. But the cook who originally conceived of the garden was not deterred. He simply devised a plan based on presenting the original permit for three bags over and over again to warehouse managers until the required amount of cement was secured. Completed in early July of 1942, this elaborate and collaborative garden served as a model for other Manzanar crafters who created eighteen subsequent gardens distinguished by sizable ponds.²³⁸

Together gardeners at Manzanar struggled against persistent wind storms that threatened to completely destroy everything but fruits and vegetable growing close to the ground. While melon, radish, and cucumber plants consistently produced small, yet edible vegetables and fruits, vine growing vegetables such as tomatoes demanded careful placement around windbreaks and constant attention to produce even marginal yields.²³⁹ By June 4, 1942 over one hundred and twenty-five acres were cultivated in radishes, cucumbers, squash, tomatoes, lettuce, spinach, potatoes, cantaloupe, and watermelon with corn used as windbreaks that protected plants from frequent and violent dust storms.²⁴⁰ At summer's end, over three hundred acres of camp land were producing fresh fruits and vegetables with a reporter for the camp newspaper recognizing the contributions of older internees by noting that only one Nisei was initially involved in these collective farming

operations.²⁴¹

Internees also pruned and re-watered abandoned pear and apple orchards planted at the turn of the twentieth century. By August 26, 1942 gardeners began harvesting a yearly crop of nearly four thousand boxes of pears alone.²⁴² For one teenager working as the timekeeper of Manzanar's many boiler tenders, fruit from the pear orchards located in the



Figure 8. Vegetable gardens at Manzanar. Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

firebreak between Blocks 23 and 29 provided extra nourishment. Making two rounds each day to check in with internees tending boilers located in all thirty-six blocks, Shiro Nomura walked from one block to another looking forward to daily rest breaks in the orchard where he supplemented meager mess hall portions with freshly ripened fruit.²⁴³ Manzanar's

pear trees also held significant meaning for a seven year old internee, marking the transition from a life that was “outrageous” to one that was “tolerable.” In the spring of 1943, Jeanne Wakatsuki’s family moved to Block 28 which adjoined a moribund pear orchard, a location allowing her mother to be closer to the hospital where she worked as a dietician. Having experienced a difficult year of imprisonment that encompassed the trauma of being separated from her father who was incarcerated for nine months at Fort Lincoln in Bismark, North Dakota, and living through his abusive alcoholic rages once he returned, Wakatsuki was relieved when her father found a new focus that drew him outside the confines of their crowded living unit to care for a group of previously neglected trees.

Although he continued to brew rice wine in a homemade still by using rice and canned fruit as ingredients, the elderly man found his anger spent after long, heated, and often violent debates with family members and fellow internees concerning how to respond to a loyalty questionnaire instituted by the U.S. government. Caring for the pears seemed to stimulate other artistic outlets as well. In addition to his orchard activities, Wakatsuki’s father began gathering stones from the foothills of the Sierra Nevadas for a rock garden just outside the doorway of their living unit and making furniture from myrtle limbs found on the banks of irrigation ditches and creeks.²⁴⁴ As the experiences of the Wakatsuki family illustrated, creating art in the form of gardening and furniture aided internees in returning some level of direction and normalcy to their lives and proved to be effective tools of survival. As Wakatsuki herself suggested, after moving to Block 28 she could almost imagine herself at home near the Pacific Ocean as the sound of wind blowing through the leaves of revived pear trees reminded her of the surf.

At Children's Village, a facility constructed at Manzanar to house Japanese American orphans, "veteran gardeners" helped children landscape the grounds of their new home and plant gardens. As work progressed, a plea for help from internees with long garden hoses was placed in the camp newspaper.²⁴⁵ Opened on June 23, 1942, Children's Village was the government's remedy to a growing "orphan problem." Prior to December 7, Japanese American orphans resided in three California institutions, one being the Shonien where Lillian Iida and Harry Matsumoto worked. When confronted with the possibility of dispersing the children throughout all ten camps, Iida and Matsumoto convinced representatives of the U.S. government that keeping children together as a family unit was the least damaging and volunteered to take responsibility for all orphans at Manzanar. Added to children already living in orphanages before December 7 were children of single parents arrested by the F.B.I. and imprisoned in Department of Justice facilities as was the case of Takatow Matsuno and his seven siblings from Terminal Island, California. One hundred and one children lived in three barracks with the west structure housing the mess hall, meeting rooms, laundry facilities, and staff living space, while the center building served as the nursery and girls' dormitory. Boys had the east barrack all to themselves. As a part of their continuing efforts to help the children create a liveable environment in which to grow up, Issei males later added a gazebo to already completed gardens.²⁴⁶

By the beginning of 1943, Gila's gardeners produced enough surplus vegetables to feed soldiers at two nearby army installations, but regulations recommended by the Associated Farmers prevented this surplus food from entering the public market.²⁴⁷ Record

crops of flowers were also produced at Gila and distributed to mess halls, hospital, and classrooms. A YWCA official visiting Gila reported: "It is a welcome sight after the quantities of paper flowers seen at the other Relocation Centers."²⁴⁸ Continuing their gardening activities within the barbed wired perimeters, some internees sought and were granted permission to develop land outside camp confines. Four miles east of Jerome in Deep Elm, Arkansas, internees cleared "stump-laden land" and planted sweet corn, cucumbers, cabbage, carrots, melons, sweet potatoes, soybeans, and cabbage.²⁴⁹ Groups of twenty internees assumed responsibility for sixty acres lots and during 1943 alone six hundred acres were cleared and cultivated.²⁵⁰

Tule Lake's community gardening activities uniquely encompassed layered meanings of resistance and identity formation. In the wake of the loyalty questionnaire and subsequent conversion of Tule Lake into a segregation center for supposed "disloyal troublemakers," newly transferred internees refused to work in fields as produce continued to spoil. One of their demands was that farm production be limited to the needs of Tule Lake alone. Administration officials responded by recruiting "loyal" volunteers from other camps to harvest three hundred acres of crops. An elaborate and profit producing enterprise totaling twenty-nine hundred acres, Tule Lake's agricultural system supplied produce to the U.S. Army and Navy, as well as private companies. Between November 1 and November 26, two hundred and thirty-four Japanese Americans from other camps harvested fifty-two carloads of produce which was immediately shipped to Gila, Amache, Minidoka, Manzanar, Heart Mountain, Jerome, and Topaz. Nine carloads of surplus potatoes were sold to the Pacific Fruit and Produce Company. Tensions between volunteer

crews and Tule Lake's community gardeners were palpable with both groups equally motivated to employ the art of gardening as a point of resistance and *re*-territorialization.²⁵¹

Mainstream media sources noted internee efforts converting barren desert land into productive soil.²⁵² Describing the experiences of Japanese Americans who first arrived at Poston, Arizona a magazine reporter noted: "The settlers looked at the jungle of tough greasewood, mesquite and cacti that must be cleared, at the thousands of acres that must be leveled, worked and reworked before anything could be planted."²⁵³ While the classification of Japanese Americans imprisoned in concentration camps as "settlers" is more than problematic, the difficulties of nurturing plants of any kind in these locations of imprisonment was clear. A year later, another reporter visiting Poston for the *St. Joseph News Press* observed: "Bleak and dusty at first, the center now is green with gardens, lawns and trees."²⁵⁴ *The Monitor*, a Denver, Colorado newspaper informed readers that residents of Granada a town near Amache, "either shook their heads dubiously or laughed when they heard that Japanese evacuee farmers were planting mung beans, tea, lettuce, and pascal celery." But after a year the same newspaper reported: "They're not laughing anymore-they're looking, listening, and learning."²⁵⁵

In addition to the *re*-territorializing efforts of gardeners, other internees refashioned barren landscapes into sumo rings, basketball courts, baseball fields, swimming pools, skating rinks, and golf courses. Some internment scholars have been hesitant to write about the creation of golf courses for fear that these *re*-territorialization activities might be interpreted as evidence that internees were pampered. But the appearance of such art was more a testament to the resistance and skills of internees than humane treatment by

administrators. While golf is usually played on lush, manicured greens and fairways, camp courses were comprised primarily of sand, a material that was in plentiful supply at most imprisonment locations. At Manzanar, Mas Tanibata, a Nisei fisherman from Terminal Island, first developed an interest in golf while clearing sage brush from the firebreak area that was soon to be transformed into a nine hole course. Fairways were a mixture of coarse, un-raked sand, and clods of dirt with the so called “greens” comprised of fine sand that internees oiled to create a firm, puttable surface. When, and more importantly if, balls reached the green, a roller made up of a two foot long pipe attached to a handle was dragged between the hole and ball so that putting was possible. Threatening to curtail the activities of golf enthusiasts was the expense of replacing balls blackened by dirt and dust filled fairways, but this problem was soon solved when an internee ordering golf clubs from a Sears catalogue also purchased a can of white paint.²⁵⁶

Having completed plans for Tanforan’s North Lake, Roy Watanabe’s newest project was designing a six hole pitch and putt golf course. Employed as an architect since graduating from the University of California in 1936, this prolific artist was now supervising a landscaping crew of thirty internees.²⁵⁷ After locating a vacant weed patch on the grounds of Tanforan Racetrack in San Bruno, Watanabe, with the help of two other imprisoned architects, expanded the design to include nine, par three holes. Completed within four weeks, the course opened in the middle of July averaging forty golfers per day, sixty per cent of whom were beginners.²⁵⁸ With limited room, Tanforan was a short course with holes ranging between seventy-five and forty yards long, but presented challenges to even experienced golfers who found breaking par an impossible task. Another nine hole,

par twenty-seven course was created in District A of Puyallup, an “assembly center” separated by barbed wire into four sections and located thirty-five miles south of Seattle, Washington. As one of two thousand internees to be imprisoned in District A, Mits Kashiwagi, an experienced golfer, described the course as “interesting,” an observation backed up by scores in the fifties.²⁵⁹

To outsiders, internee constructed swimming pools may appear extravagant, but for Japanese Americans imprisoned at Poston, where temperatures frequently exceeded one hundred and thirty degrees, these landscape additions were necessities. Internees in all three units established a cooperative labor system requiring each block to devote a specific number of hours to completing swimming pools.²⁶⁰ Summer temperatures in Powell, Wyoming were not as severe as Poston’s, but on days when thermometers reached above one hundred degrees an internee made swimming pond provided welcome relief. With the permission of camp administrators, internees dug a large hole, lined it with stones, created a diving platform, and finally flooded it with water from a nearby ditch.²⁶¹ Minidoka’s internees frequently swam in a canal on the north side of camp, but after a drowning occurred two swimming pools were built.²⁶² An especially unique above ground swimming pool was constructed out of wood in Area B of Puyallup. Located in cramped quarters between two barracks and resembling a giant squared off hot tub, the pool was created by a group of men to entertain children incarcerated in Area B.²⁶³ Remembering that Puyallup was a temporary facility and open for less than five months, this *re-territorialization* project represented a high level of investment both in terms of time and materials.

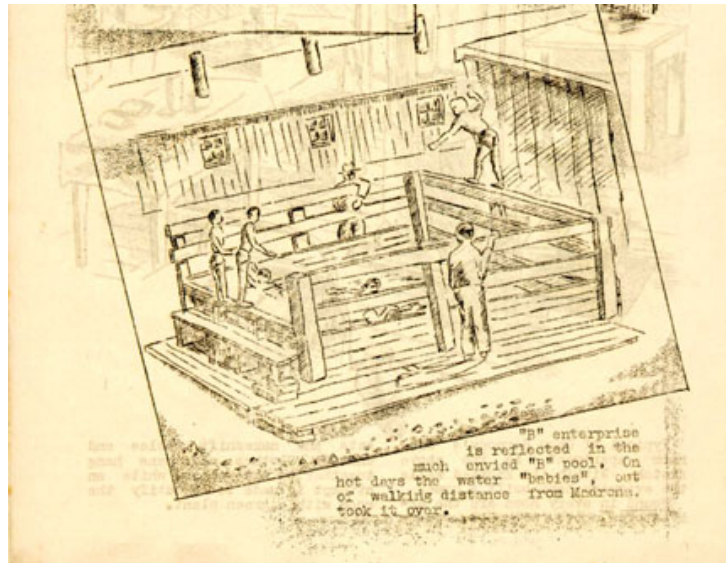


Figure 9. Puyllaup Swimming Pool - Camp Harmony Newsletter, Souvenir Edition, Aug. 14, 1942, page 8.

Heart Mountain internees staked out and then flooded a large field with water creating an ice skating area. An especially popular winter-time activity and meeting place, some internees saved their meager wages of twelve, sixteen, or nineteen dollars a month to order skates from mail order catalogues.²⁶⁴ With the cost of a ice skates ordered from a 1943 Sears and Roebuck catalogue equaling six dollars and eighty-five cents, purchasing a new pair of skates represented a considerable investment.²⁶⁵ After spending most of the afternoon on January 9, 1943 watching a group of youngsters from Heart Mountain's Block 1 enjoy this winter time activity, a seventeen year old teenager ordered his first pair of skates. Even though his first experience produced sore arches, bumps, and bruises from his many falls, Stanley Hayami reported in his diary that skating was "still a lot of fun." His pleasure was tempered by worries concerning dwindling finances, but he continued to enjoy skating, a novel sport for most Heart Mountain internees who prior to imprisonment

lived in the warm climate of Los Angeles.²⁶⁶ Internees hesitant to lace up the boots found contentment in these activities because, as a reporter for *The Heart Mountain Sentinel* noted, watching skaters “lifts us momentarily out of this world.”²⁶⁷

While the skating season in the Sevier Desert of Utah was much shorter than that of northwestern Wyoming, Topaz internees under the supervision of Moto Takahashi built an open aired skating rink by first creating a dirt bank, then opening up the fire hydrant and waiting for the water to freeze. Just as at Heart Mountain, internees purchased skates from mail order catalogues as in the case of a teenage boy who surprised his sister with a long cherished and much enjoyed gift. Warmly remembering this gift years later the sister wrote: “I though that it was so nice of him and we had fun on that ice rink.” Located on



Figure 10. Ice skating at Heart Mountain. Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

the South side of camp between Blocks 37 and 38, the rink measured four hundred and ten feet by four hundred and forty feet providing internees with a short, yet frigid season of skating with December temperatures hovering around zero. Sixty-one years after stepping on the rink at Topaz, Kumiko Kariya Matsumoto recalled that skating provided pleasurable moments during a “drab and miserable” time.²⁶⁸

Baseball, basketball, sumo wrestling, football, and judo enthusiasts were provoked into altering camp landscapes with every imprisonment location including sporting areas.²⁶⁹ An especially unique “tennis basketball court” was designed at Santa Anita. Preparing for imprisonment, three San Francisco youngsters made sure that a basketball hoop was among the items accompanying them to Santa Anita. Ranging from thirteen to fifteen years of age, these sports enthusiasts spent their first days in camp hunting for a suitable location to hang their prized possession. Unsuccessful and frustrated they devised a miniature basketball goal and net from a scavenged piece of wire and string. Nailed up behind barrack 28, these three buddies, along with new friends played what seemed to observers as endless games of “tennis basketball.”²⁷⁰

Rock, pebble, and wooden walkways were common and necessary additions to all imprisonment landscapes as was especially clear to internees who were unfortunate enough to arrive in the wake of frequent spring rainstorms. Tanforan’s unimproved walkways were referred to as “slush alleys” with small amounts of rain causing internees to struggle through silt-like mud.²⁷¹ Stepping off a bus at Puyallup in April of 1942 after a sudden spring down pour, a family of four from Seattle immediately “sank ankle deep into gray Glutinous mud.”²⁷² Having been warned of muddy conditions by friends already

imprisoned at Tanforan, a brother and sister arrived prepared for the worst. Wearing boots purchased before being forcibly removed from their home in Berkeley, California, the siblings trekked through high weeds and sticky mud until they arrived at their assigned living unit previously identified as stable 16, stall 50. Still wet from a down pour the previous day, the grounds of Tanforan Racetrack remained difficult and exhausting to negotiate.

After being transferred to their permanent location of imprisonment, these same siblings reported that conditions at Topaz were equally challenging with internees carving out one foot high getas to ensure that feet remained mud free on walks home from communal bathing facilities.²⁷³ But negotiating muddy terrain in stilt like sandals was beyond the athleticism of many Japanese Americans and according to Fumi Hayashi creating walkways was a necessity because the alkaline soil at Topaz repelled water. “It stayed on top, so what we would do was we gathered rocks and make kind of a pathway up high, you know, about a foot up and then all the in between places would be full of water. We’d make these little pathways so that we could walk to the bathroom or to the mess halls and not get all muddy.”²⁷⁴ For former residents of California, the first snowfall at Topaz was accompanied by an atmosphere of excitement. This sense of novelty was quickly dampened by the appearance of the sun followed closely by melting snow which produced sticky mud that was backbreaking for even the strongest internees to traverse.²⁷⁵

Rohwer’s and Jerome’s landscapes were especially challenging since these camps were located in the swampy Arkansas Delta region. At an elevation of one hundred forty feet, river inlets laced Rohwer’s landscape with outlying areas remaining under water

during the spring months.²⁷⁶ Adapting to this geography, a group of women imprisoned at Jerome created a maze of raised wooden walkways with one camp administrator commenting somewhat defensively: “Women are equal to men when it comes to digging, picking and wielding heavy tools if not better.”²⁷⁷ While most internees cursed the mud, Joseph Sasaki saw possibilities in this “alluvial muck.” When not working as Jerome’s optometrist, Sasaki experimented with the mud which he shaped into ash trays and figurines, then “toasted” his creations over or in pot belly stoves. Coming up with a reliable clay from a mixture of muds, he named his pottery Densonware after the official post office designation for the camp.²⁷⁸ With rock and wooden walkways completed, internees could more easily walk to and from daily activities and tasks without sinking ankle deep into fine layers of flour like dust on sunny days and muddy silt during frequent rain storms.²⁷⁹

Perhaps no where more clearly do we see the relationship between the physical and mental, and connections between individual and collective identity formation, than in the process of *re-territorialization*. Through their efforts to remake locations of imprisonment into survivable places, internees also expanded their mental landscapes. Frequently employing the word “transformation” as an apt description of changes to their material surroundings, some internees also articulated the edifying and strengthening effects of physical landscapes on their minds and emotions. At Topaz, a college aged internee was buoyed by the pleasure she experienced when a single daffodil bulb bloomed, while some Heart Mountain internees were “momentarily lifted” from their world of imprisonment by activities taking place on a newly constructed skating rink. Not only did vegetable and fruit

gardens create and fortify mental moods of survival for internees, but they also drastically improved concentration camp diets evolving literally into embodied monuments of *re-territorialization*. Difficult to imagine, internee gardeners from all ten camps converted ten thousand acres of barren land into crop producing soil and in 1943 alone harvested forty one million pounds of vegetables.²⁸⁰ With and on the soil, internees identified on the basis of *re-territorialization*, creating collective art projects such as gardens, basketball courts, and walkways with others in mind. *Re-territorialized* camp landscapes became public sculptures that some internees choose to carve out of the soil together.

Re-territorialization efforts were of course often restricted by camp administrators as in the case of an arbor created by internees living in Block 17 at Jerome. Measuring twelve feet square with a ten foot high roof, this porch like structure was attached to a barracks and became an especially popular after dinner meeting place.²⁸¹ Anxious to restrict large, unoccupied crowds of internees from informally gathering together in social settings, a War Relocation Authority official ordered the arbor removed, citing fire hazards as the basis for his decision. For some internees this reasoning was hopelessly rooted in hypocrisy since camp administrators ignored fire hazards presented by the tar papered and raw wood architecture comprising internee living units.²⁸² As this example illustrates, issues of territory were critically important to camp administrators, making gardening and landscape projects even more important to *re-territorialization* efforts. Interpreted as industrious and evidence that Japanese American were becoming “Americanized,” government officials did not understand gardening or improvements to camp landscapes as resistive or challenging power exerted by structures of the nation-state. Forming identities on the basis of *re-*

territorialization demands that we understand spaces of art as sites from which place can be recuperated. This process took on added meaning for people undergoing forced removal because portable senses of place re-roots them in unfamiliar and especially hostile physical settings.

Chapter 4: Making Connections

Many imprisoned Japanese Americans employed art as a means of making connections, a framework that helps us escape utopian thinking and models of community building which overemphasize the development of common beliefs, ideas, and practices that supposedly unify people into identifiable groups. Connections is a way of thinking about the countless, complex, and imbricated practices aiding relational understandings between people while encompassing conflict and differences. Revealing these layered webs of everyday connections is offered with the hope of balancing reactionary understandings of identity formation based on oppositional constructs of us versus them, with alternative forms of identification that may lead us to expand liberative social change. In this way, art created and sustained a myriad of intricate and layered connections which were the foundation and material of identity building. Art provided internees with mediums to create connections based on identifying with each other rather being identical to one another. “Making Connections” addresses how art aided internees in connecting with one another in the context of heterogeneity and almost limitless differences.

Keeping relationships alive with old friends and making new connections was an even more cogent and formidable task considering internees endured the pain of parting with close friends first, when they were forced from their homes and again, after being transferred from temporary assembly centers to concentration camps. These feelings were likely best expressed by a group of high school students at Rohwer who were asked to write autobiographies for an English assignment. Upon leaving for Santa Anita, a fifteen year old reported “a sick feeling entered my stomach. I felt as though I would never see

my friends again.” Masao Kadokura’s fears were quickly realized when he learned that his best friend, who he left behind in Los Angeles the previous day, was transported to Manzanar instead of Santa Anita. Kadokura reported: “I was so disappointed that I couldn’t eat for two days.”²⁸³

Describing the last time she saw a girlfriend in Los Angeles, Himi Hashimoto reported: “We took a long walk hand in hand thinking of what was going to happen next. We were BUDDYS as you call it and were very very sad and heartbroken to part.”²⁸⁴ After adjusting to imprisonment in Santa Anita by making new friends from Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Jose, George Kobayashi discovered that his new found friends were headed for permanent camps in Arizona, Colorado, and Wyoming, while his destination was Arkansas. After being at Rohwer for three months, Kobayashi still remembered this event as “the saddest moment in my life.”²⁸⁵ A fourteen year old described her feelings after parting with friends in Montebello, California as “one of the hardest and saddest things that ever happened to me” but “leaving our new found Santa Anita friends was harder yet.”²⁸⁶

Crafting sustained and reformed relationships among family members imprisoned together with these activities often taking on gendered meanings in terms of art making materials. Fathers and sons most commonly created art for family members with wood, while mothers and daughters employed yarn and fabric. Many art forms exchanged between family members addressed functional needs as in the case of a chair made by Tom Kikuchi for his Issei father. A barber in Vallejo, California prior to internment, the elder Kikuchi brought his clippers with him to Tanforan, but without a chair found cutting the

hair of internee customers a cumbersome process. By May 7, 1942, a short week after being transported to Tanforan, Kikuchi's three clippers were hanging on a wall in the family's living quarters next to a new barber chair made from a discarded barrel by his son. Pointing to dramatic changes in social relations among family members Charles, the eldest Kikuchi son, noted a change in his father's attitude after the first few days using his camp-made barber's chair: "It's a bit pathetic when he so tenderly cleans off the clippers after using them; oiling, brushing, and wrapping them up so carefully. He probably realizes that he no longer controls the family group."²⁸⁷

Some fathers carved model boats for young sons and then accompanied youngsters to camp-made ponds to launch their creations.²⁸⁸ Most boats were carved from wood, but when supplies ran low, soap was substituted. While many of these boats were powered by wind, some fathers searched the motor pool for discarded parts and equipped their son's boats with engines. Other fathers constructed outdoor play equipment for their children. A "hobby horse" made from recently felled trees was especially popular among children imprisoned at Rohwer.²⁸⁹ Creating specialized outside movie chairs with "post-like prongs" that were pounded into the ground was also an art form favored by young men.²⁹⁰ Making these portable seats took skill and practice as evidenced by a teenager who worked for an entire evening before becoming so frustrated that he destroyed the movie chair he was making for his sister. Encouraged by family members to approach his project with more patience, this young crafter's subsequent attempt to build a movie chair proved successful.²⁹¹ Evidence also suggest that men crossed gendered lines creating crafts for their mothers that were more commonly associated with the opposite sex. One young man

imprisoned at Tanforan was especially skilled at the art of knitting, creating a matching skirt and jacket for his mother. However, fear of being ridiculed prevented this talented crafter from knitting in public or displaying his work at exhibits.²⁹²

Mothers and daughters often worked together on knitting and sewing projects. With yarn received through the mail from a friend back home in San Diego, a mother imprisoned at Poston helped her fifth grade daughter knit a blanket and sweaters for her dolls. In a letter thanking her friend for the gift of yarn the youngster wrote: “There is nothing I like better than to knit my head off.”²⁹³ A teenager imprisoned at Santa Anita knitted both her sister and brother-in-law a pair of socks as a first wedding anniversary gift, while her mother knitted a table runner to decorate the couples living unit.²⁹⁴ Women at Tanforan attended classes teaching them how to make bag-like containers that protected eating utensils from becoming soiled with dust as internees carried them back and forth between their living quarters and communal mess hall three times each day. Made with scrap pieces of cloth, mothers and daughters worked collaboratively to create increasingly elaborate designs and then transferred these ideas onto newspapers to make patterns. After two months of sitting down to meals made less appetizing by dishes soiled with fine dust during long treks to the mess hall, a Nisei man was thankful for a protective bag sewn from cloth by his younger sister, Emiko. After receiving this gift he reported: “This is the latest fad. It is practical since it keeps our dishes from getting dusty.”²⁹⁵ Another Tanforan internee remembered these pieces of art as “ingenious containers” that grew more “elaborate in a sort of unspoken competition.”²⁹⁶

Mothers maintained and strengthened relationships with family members by keeping

them clothed in everyday fashions. Imprisoned at Topaz, Fumi Hayashi remembered her mother attending sewing classes and for special occasions such as dances and parties always finding time to make her daughter a new outfit. During an especially demanding drafting class, Hayashi's mother tailor-made a lined suit and coat which her daughter continued to wear for ten years after being released from Topaz.²⁹⁷ Employed as a dressmaker in Oakland prior to the war, another Topaz mother kept her daughter's wardrobe up to date by sewing pleated skirts. With the skirts complete, a woman friend in Block 10 agreed to knit "Sloppy Joe" sweaters to compliment the daughter's wardrobe. With her skirts reaching slightly below the knees, and oversized sweaters hanging low and revealing two or three inches of her skirt, Seiko Akahoshi was outfitted in the latest fashion of the World War II era.²⁹⁸

Sewing machines were among the most difficult items for mothers to leave behind when being shipped to temporary imprisonment facilities. A bewildered fourteen year old girl from Oakland watched as her mother refused to board a bus destined for Tanforan because an armed military guard refused to load her sewing machine. "I need it. I have eleven children," she replied to the guard ordering her to leave the machine behind. Having arrived at a stalemate, this Nisei mother stood her ground reporting to the armed guard: "I'm sorry but I will not get on the bus without my machine." Blocking the door and with a crowd gathering behind her, an officer standing nearby ordered the guard to load the machine.²⁹⁹ Once transported from Pomona to Heart Mountain, Katsumi Kunitsuga remembered her mother immediately writing friends back home in the downtown Los Angeles neighborhood of Boyle Heights and asking if they would retrieve her sewing

machine from storage. When the machine arrived, Kunitsuga's mother set to making new clothes for her family of five. Confined in a colder climate than the family was accustomed to, winter clothes were her first priority.³⁰⁰

Sisters and daughters also recognized the importance of maintaining connections with family members by making garments, but more commonly choose the art form of knitting to accomplish this goal. Imprisoned at Rohwer a teenage girl from Stockton, California was an accomplished knitter but reported: "I never cared much for sewing. My mother and older sister makes most of my clothes and I just help with the little things [like] hooks, snaps, buttons, and the sort."³⁰¹ Preparing for cool winter evenings in the desert of Poston, Arizona, another teenager spent her late summer and early fall evenings knitting a sweater for her mother. Rusty brown in color with two cable stitches running down the front, the sweater was finished by the beginning of October, 1942 having taken four months to complete.³⁰² After enduring a cold Wyoming January with temperatures frequently reaching twenty below zero, a Heart Mountain teenage boy thankfully reported in a diary entry that his sister finally finished knitting his sweater. A product of five months of effort, Stanley Hyami's new sweater was certainly the work of a novice, but the experience of the crafter was of little consequence. On the last Sunday of January, 1943 Hayami wrote that receiving the sweater was a "memorable event," but more importantly "it sure is warm."³⁰³

Women also aided their children and partners in creating and maintaining relationship by sewing costumes for performances, sporting activities, and other special occasions. Mothers, wives, and girlfriends of Tule Lake's baseball players made uniforms

from mattress covers for the 1943 season, a year filled with highly spirited competitions. In the wake of the loyalty questionnaire debacle and designation of Tule Lake as a segregation center for supposed “disloyal troublemakers” from other camps, sports enthusiasts imprisoned in this northern California concentration camp were dealt an unexpected boost during the spring of 1943. Baseball devotees from other camps arrived with friendships and team allegiances already established, naming their new teams according to previous locations of imprisonment. Expanded to eight full squads, Tule Lake’s baseball league included the Gila Youth, Topaz Youth, Jerome, Manzanar, and four Tule Lake “home” teams. Although women were not allowed to participate as baseball players, the uniforms they made were critical parts of a season that drew between seven and eight thousand spectators for each game.³⁰⁴ An inescapable irony is difficult to ignore here. High levels of baseball participation and competition in a camp specially designated as a segregation center for internees who supposedly lacked appropriate levels of “loyalty ” to America must have provoked remarks among, at least, some administrators.³⁰⁵

Having taken ballet lessons in Oakland, California before imprisonment, Dorothy Harada joined the Topaz high school “entertainment troupe” relying on her mother to make her costumes.³⁰⁶ Always active in school activities before imprisonment, another Oakland teenager transferred her enthusiasm to Topaz high school assembly programs where she choreographed and performed jitterbug routines in sturdy garments created by her mother.³⁰⁷ A Santa suit made by an Issei woman allowed connections between adults and children to be more easily enacted. As a Tule Lake block manager, Nobori Shirai was responsible for distributing several freight cars of toys sent by the Society of Friends to

imprisoned children. At dusk on Christmas eve of 1943, Shirai donned the red cap and Santa suit sewn by his wife and spent the evening walking through thirteen barracks ringing a bell and passing out gifts to exuberant children.³⁰⁸ While block managers were sometimes viewed as working too closely with camp administrators, Shirai's reputation was likely softened by his Christmas eve appearance as Santa.

Employing camp-made art to reform family connections was especially significant in the context of internment when we recall that dramatic changes occurred within the family between husbands and wives and children and parents. Fathers were displaced as primary breadwinners and authority figures, supplanted by the U.S. government who exercised complete control over the lives of Japanese Americans. Many fathers were separated from their families and imprisoned in Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Prisons, or U.S. Army facilities. Even the dynamics of intact family units were restructured by cramped and shoddily built living quarters. Camps were organized in blocks, each consisting of twelve to fourteen barracks, which were in turn divided into four to six family apartments usually measuring twenty by sixteen feet. Because partitioned walls reached only halfway to the ceiling, even quiet conversations could be overheard, not to mention the typical arguments that all families experience. Even noises conveying the most intimate details of life were shared by barracks mates. Spending extended periods of time inside living quarters that were cramped, noisy, and lacked running water or plumbing was difficult for even close knit families.

Traditional family structures were further degraded by the requirement that internees consume their meals in cafeteria style mess halls designed to feed three thousand

people in ninety minutes.³⁰⁹ Teenagers were soon taking their meals with friends as their parents sat across the mess hall. Young mothers often ate with their small children, while fathers gathered around tables where other men were seated. Mine Okubo reflected on the relationship between changing social relations and eating in communal messes when she recalled: “Table manners were forgotten. Guzzle, guzzle, guzzle; hurry, hurry, hurry. Family life was lacking. Everyone ate wherever he or she pleased. Mothers had lost control over their children.”³¹⁰ Even if family members wanted to dine together, this was usually impossible because of conflicting work schedules. Enduring extremely low pay rates, male and female internees worked in the mess halls, camp medical facilities, and vegetable fields. Other internees were employed as fire safety and internal security officers, school teachers, camp newspaper reporters, and block captains. Because keeping the camps running at even subsistence levels meant working long and irregular hours, coordinating common family eating times was low on the priority list for many internees.

Art also aided in developing and maintaining relationships among friends imprisoned together. An internee who taught basic English evening classes at Topaz recalled an elderly male student giving her a lapel pin made by twisting blue crepe paper into a thread and then weaving it into a basket. Inside the basket, an assortment of tiny shells were carefully painted with nail polish and arranged to resemble a bouquet of flowers.³¹¹ Three inches long and two inches wide, the arrangement featured lilies of the valley. Young men imprisoned at Manzanar made rings from discarded toothbrush handles gifting these works of art to girlfriends. When submerged in hot water, the handles became pliable and easily shaped into various sizes. Ring makers used nail polish remover to fuse

the ends together, then sanded off the rough edges. Small pieces of already cut up handles were carefully chosen by each artist on the basis of color and inlaid to form designs or initials.³¹²

At Santa Anita, Fumiko Fukuyama employed art to identify with other internees by organizing a girls club to knit layettes and blankets for the one hundred and fifty new mothers in camp. Working the midnight to morning shift as an admitting clerk at the hospital left her days “free” to supervise art activities among youngsters. Added to her time teaching knitting to young girls was the task of locating fabric and needles, materials she solicited from outside friends. Considering that her work days equaled between twelve and fourteen hours, Fukuyama’s commitment to knitting was significant.³¹³ A group of Tanforan “jitterbug friends” displayed less dedication to an art form, but also employed needle works to connect with one another. Learning to embroider so they could emblazon “Tanforettes” on the upper right side of their newly purchased red jackets, this group of teenage girls accentuated their dancing skills by being clearly visible at social activities.³¹⁴

For the daughter of a celery farmer from Hayward, California, who before internment counted animals as her best friends, portrait drawing evolved into an important connection making exercise. Nobuko Hanzawa’s Rohwer living unit was a bustling center of crafting activity as friends and acquaintances stopped by to have their portraits drawn by this aspiring artist. Commenting on her new found “hobby” Hanzawa wrote: “My teachers have told me that I have a great deal of talent in art. I may not have talent but my ambition to draw is very great.”³¹⁵ Teenage crushes were expressed at Puyallup by boys carving the names of their latest love interests on slabs of wood and then bravely delivering

their art work in person. A more sophisticated suitor at Santa Anita created a gardenia corsage from Kleenex tissues and lemon leaves for a girl he was escorting to a graduation ball. Events celebrating the educational accomplishments of recent high school graduates were common in all temporary facilities and provoked by a provision in Executive Order 9066 prohibiting Japanese American students from attending commencement exercises back home.³¹⁶

Sewing became an especially appreciated connection making crafting exercise when twenty-seven Jerome women responded to a desperate need for clothing by offering their services altering and repairing clothes. Beginning in November of 1942, internees were directed to bring their clothes to Mrs. Alice Tsukimura at Block 23, Barrack 1, Unit D. While there was no charge for the service, internees were instructed to bring thread. During the first five days of operation, one hundred and seventeen items were altered and in December when it became clear that more space was required, an entire barrack was allotted to the enterprise.³¹⁷ Subsumed under the auspices of Jerome's welfare office, the "seamstresses" received wages from the War Relocation Authority and with the added space expanded their services by offering to make new garments if material was furnished by internees. By February of 1943, the shop was so overrun with requests that a hold was placed on taking new orders so clothing already on hand could be completed.³¹⁸

Tsukimura's shop remained busy taking in two hundred and twenty garments weekly in April of 1943 when these crafters also began sewing dish towels and aprons for mess hall workers, mailbags for internee mail deliverers, and smocks for barbers. Remarkably, many of these clothes were sewn by hand and it was not until late May of 1943 that camp

administrators arranged for sewing machines to be placed in each block with internee seamstresses assisting new crafters in the art of sewing.³¹⁹

Internees imprisoned at all ten camps were issued military surplus clothing from the first World War. Among these garments were pea coats which camp crafters refashioned into stylish outer garments. A young girl imprisoned at Manzanar took her drab and oversized army coat to the alterations shop where an elderly seamstress “tore the lining out, opened and flattened the sleeves, added a collar, put arm holes in” producing a “beautiful” cape. Other Manzanar seamstresses worked full-time transforming old army clothes into thousands of shirts, slacks, and fashionable coats.³²⁰ Taye Jow directed an especially welcomed art project, supervising a group of Manzanar sewers in creating fifty dozen shower curtains that were quickly installed in communal bathing facilities.³²¹ A full three months after Manzanar opened, Japanese Americans incarcerated in this southeastern California camp were now able to bath in privacy.

Employing art as a means of maintaining connections with friends imprisoned separately at other camps, internees made crafts that were easily mailed in terms of size, weight, and durability. On June 4, 1942, a Tulare family anxiously watched their eldest daughter, Sachi Egami open a birthday package from her fiancé imprisoned at Manzanar. Inside was a tiny pair of intricately carved wood getas with straps made from a black and red striped necktie. Carefully etched on the polished wooden surface was her name, Sachiko.³²² While Shiro Nomura and his girlfriend were raised in the same Los Angeles neighborhood, they were imprisoned separately in Manzanar and Amache, respectively. Feelings of loneliness and separation were made more bearable for Nomura with the arrival

of a green knitted sweater accompanied by a brief note: “Finally finished your sweater. I hope it fits to keep you warm till we’re together. Love Amy.”³²³ In spite of considerable ribbing from his male friends, Nomura responded by learning the art of knitting from his mother and in a short time created a “labor of love” in the form of knitted woolen socks for Amy.³²⁴

Works of art were also employed to generate new connections outside the barbed wired confines of camps. Some young Jerome internees who were also YWCA members urged the national office to connect them with groups that would find their “handicrafts useful.” In a letter to the Denver chapter, Mary Tsukamoto explained that women and girls imprisoned at Jerome were “cleaver with their hands” and making crafts for others would help “keep our minds strong and thoughts alive with the outside.” She solicitously continued: “If we could get requests for little favors or nut cups or lapel pins, or even artificial flowers, or anything like sewing, we would be happy to help out.”³²⁵ An embroidery teacher organized an exhibit of his students art at a library in Powell, Wyoming, a town near Heart Mountain. An article for the camp newspaper reported on January 9, 1943 that exhibiting one hundred and twenty-five pieces of internee made embroidery was a “first step toward establishing closer, friendlier relationships with those on the outside.”³²⁶

Other small and easily packaged pieces of art were mailed to friends back home sustaining relationships beyond the confines of the camps. For many internees, these crafts thanked friends who mailed monthly boxes full of cookies, canned fruit, tea, crackers, candy, and rice. Created to thank a friend for visiting and bringing supplies to his family imprisoned at Santa Anita, a young man carved a heart from a pine knot and polished it

with a soft cloth. In a note accompanying this mailed gift, Roy Nakata wrote: “We really do appreciate all your kindness from the bottoms of our hearts.”³²⁷ A box of artificial gardenias and Easter lilies were likewise mailed by a Tule Lake woman to Jessie Treat in Palo Alto, California as a token of gratitude for sending a long list of items including a tea kettle, yarn, soap, and scotch tape. This artificial flower artist advised her friend to purchase a wooden holder and place the flowers in a pink or green pot filled with sand. In a separate package this same woman included corsages made with shells gathered from the sand at Tule Lake. Kei Ichihashi informed her friend that the “shell works” were created by neighbors who exhibited high levels of bravery. Ichihashi was hesitant to participate in shell gathering trips since two women were recently injured by scorpion bites.³²⁸

A high schooler imprisoned first, at Santa Anita and later at Poston received many “care packages” from Clara Breed who was the Children’s Librarian at the San Diego Public Library. In return, the teenage girl mailed a stream of thank you letters that often included art work by her younger sister Florence. From Santa Anita, Margaret Ishino wrote: “Here is a house Florence drew for you. She hopes you like it!”³²⁹ On October 19, 1942 Ishino included another drawing created by her sister accompanied by this description: “Florence drew a picture of a dog at school she would like you to have.”³³⁰

Serving as webs of collectivities, exhibits best demonstrated the diversity of art created by imprisoned Japanese Americans. In these display spaces, internees gathered to participate in complicated, colorful, and rich visual discourses that revealed inhuman treatments, economic exploitations, and dislocations encompassed by Executive Order 9066. Displaying wide variations in terms of interests, form, materials used, and expressive

style, these works of art provoked ideas, resistive practices, and strategies for improving both physical and mental conditions. Here, internees connected and formed attachments with the purpose of improving their lots in life. Embedded in these artifacts were subversions, with internees constantly challenging the control exerted by the structures and resources of a powerful nation-state. Confined in barren and monochromatic environments, art shows also offered counter landscapes, adding vibrancy and color to a camp palates dominated by shades of tan.

Exhibits were frequent varying in size, location, duration, and art form. Some art show were small featuring the work of a single class or block. At Poston III, better known as Toaston to internees, female students in Mrs. Nakadate's knitting class organized a one day exhibit in Hall 318.³³¹ One of Manzanar's carpentry classes was more ambitious holding their first exhibit at Block 27, Barrack 15 from January 9 through January 11, 1943. Featuring book shelves, tables, chests of drawers, benches, medicine chests with mirrors, cupboards, and bureaus, the camp newspaper informed readers that pieces of furniture would be for sale with money raised paying for new lumber and tools. Prospective buyers were assured of good deals when the reporter noted that labor fees were not included in the sale prices.³³² A class of Amache paper flower crafters were pleasantly surprised when three hundred internees turned out for an exhibit on a cold snowy day on the Colorado plains.³³³ Cold weather was not a concern for Shigee Honma's Heart Mountain pupils who organized a summer exhibit featuring their flower arrangements. Held in a small room, spectators were instructed to gather at Block 17, Barrack 25, Unit S between June 18 and 20, 1943.³³⁴ Similar works of art were displayed a

month earlier in Jerome's Hall 17 when Masao Hatano's Ikebana students organized a small exhibit.³³⁵

Kobu was a common art form in the Arkansas camps with exhibits organized by and featuring the work of internees living in a single block. Distinguished by high levels of foot traffic, mess halls were favored as spaces for these block centered art shows. Artists of Jerome's Block 42 spent much of their first January of imprisonment searching the Arkansas woods for kobu in preparation for an upcoming exhibit. Time and energy devoted to these searches were rewarded as evidenced by a rare and unusual spiral form further distinguished by poison ivy entwined around a hickory root. Drawing internees to this art form were the texture and color variations found in kobu of the Arkansas delta area which ranged from the smooth whiteness of persimmon roots and multi colored oak tree roots to rough, wave like and banded patterns of elm. With these variations, Block 42 artists created and exhibited pin cushion stands, toothpick holders, ash trays, and plaques.³³⁶

Vases for flower arrangements were the most common objective of tree root crafters who found equal enjoyment in hunting through the dense Arkansas woodlands for unique examples of kobu and creating the final product. But pleasures of exploring the ten thousand acres designated as the "camp reserve" were tempered by the knowledge that locals held Japanese Americans in great contempt. These brewing animosities materialized just over a month after the camp opened when a farmer on horseback shot two internees. On a deer hunting trip and armed with a shotgun, this local man came upon three internees chopping down trees for firewood as part of a "supervised work detail." Even in the presence of a Caucasian War Relocation Authority engineer, the farmer claimed that the

internees were attempting to escape. No charges were filed against the trigger happy hunter.³³⁷

Kobu artists imprisoned in Block 31 at Jerome used their mess hall as a display space. Opening on February 22, 1943, the exhibit continued for a full two weeks featuring both natural formations found in the roots of trees and art carved from pieces of tree trunks. Among the natural shapes highly polished by internees were dancing couples, a monkey climbing a tree, a hunched cat, lizards, snakes, a seal's head, and cowboys. Carved pieces included plaques, candy bowls, trays, ashtrays, match holders, and cigarette boxes. As a special opening night celebration, Block 31 invited Block 43 to a talent show.³³⁸ Reporting on the kobu displayed in this exhibit, the camp newspaper observed: "As a form of creative work it has been a boon to residents in approving their mental attitude."³³⁹ Perhaps the smallest of all shows at Jerome was an exhibit featuring kobu created by a single artist. Seeming to have grown weary of the overwhelming productivity of tree root crafters, the March 16, 1943 issue of the *Denson Tribune* announced a week long exhibit of Kamayashi Fuhara's creations with the headline: "Another Kobu Show Opens." Living in block 2, barrack 2, unit 2, Fuhara predictably identified the mess hall serving his block as an appropriate place for his solo exhibition.³⁴⁰

Jerome crafters also used their mess halls to display a wider range of art with Block 44 featuring artificial flowers, paintings, wood carvings, and "densonware" made from Jerome mud by the camp optometrist Dr. Joseph Sasaki.³⁴¹ Perhaps weary of viewing kobu, another group of Jerome internees organized an exhibit without a single piece of tree root art. Instead, three life sized busts made from plaster and cement were featured along

with crepe paper flower arrangements, miniature rock gardens, needlecraft, oil paintings, and bookends created by Pat Shinno or what the camp newspaper referred to as “an example of feminine talent in wood carving.”³⁴² During March and April of 1943 two blocks sponsored art shows in their mess halls with Block 46 including ikebana, artificial flowers, needlecraft, and an assortment of children’s work, and of course the ever present kobu.³⁴³ Block 19 featured a special item with word quickly spreading throughout camp about a tiny, inch long violin accompanied by a case and bow. An interview with the artist, Ichiro Kitamura, revealed that this intricate piece of art consumed a month of devoted effort. Spectators were also provided with the opportunity to closely inspect furniture in the form of elaborately constructed and polished dressers along with candy dishes, ash trays, and nut containers made solely from kobu found in the woods. Indicating that the exhibit would be of special interest to kobu purists, the newspaper noted that “none of the kobu has been patched.” Paintings by Eizo Nakagawa depicting camp life were also crowd pleasers with thirty-five hundred internees attending during the first three days of the show.³⁴⁴

Many shows were sponsored by camp organized art clubs with classes joining together and exhibiting works appealing to a wide demographic, especially in terms of sexual difference and age. This collaborative strategy of attracting big crowds by exhibiting diverse art forms was successful as a December Heart Mountain exhibit illustrated. Sponsored by the Art Students League, the exhibit combined the work of Yeneji Morita’s woodcraft class and Mrs. Kimi Ito’s crocheting students along with stone art, flower arranging, and paintings. An especially talented eight year old art student,

Reiko Nagumo displayed a group of his watercolors. Originally scheduled over a weekend, the show was extended until Monday night to accommodate larger than expected crowds that reached three thousand by Sunday. Organizers wisely held the show in a barrack that internees converted into a “recreation hall” which allowed spectators to more easily inspect especially popular items. Art documenting every day camp life and made with materials found at Heart Mountain created the most congestion with internees lingering around a collection of polished stones painted with designs and figures and a blooming potted dwarf plum tree titled, “Early Spring” and remarkably made by combining sage brush, rice, and eggs.³⁴⁵

Students of Manzanar’s Art Center and Art Institute both held week long open houses beginning August 15, 1942. Both of these block based organizations conducted classes on a full range of art activities ranging from what most understand as fine arts to crafts. Drawings, paintings, and sketches, along with wood crafts and artificial flowers were exhibited by both groups, with student from an Art Center associated with Block 14 creating portraits for internees willing to take the time to pose.³⁴⁶ Jerome’s Junior and Senior high school students joined together to display book shelves, book ends, desks, and over seventy-five cedar chests and cabinets along with final projects from costume design and painting classes. Drawing a crowd of over two thousand, exhibits devoted to art created by children and teenagers were always well attended.³⁴⁷ Two thousand Heart Mountain internees attended an art exhibit of summer session students held at the barracks housing the high school. Especially large crowds gathered in front of a display featuring furniture made by children ranging from seven to twelve years of age.³⁴⁸

Manzanar internees living in four barracks, located in four separate blocks, shared exhibit space during the week of August 26, 1942. Without the use of carving tools or saws, Duke Tedera created a “perfect” replica of a Terminal Island fishing boat attaching his model to a wooden panel so the design could be hung on the wall. Japanese Americans living on Terminal Island were the first to be forcibly removed from their homes even before the government opened temporary imprisonment facilities. Located in San Pedro Bay twenty-five miles south of Los Angeles, Terminal Island was a mere three and one half miles long and three quarters of a mile wide, laying east to west and north to south respectively. At the turn of the twentieth century, Issei fishermen began settling on the island marking the initial developments of a racialized enclave with people of Japanese ancestry occupying the southeastern portion of the island know as fish harbor and whites living in the mid section.

Most of Terminal Island’s Japanese American population came from the Wakayama prefecture on the Kii peninsula in southwest Japan which faces the Pacific Ocean and contains six hundred kilometers of coast line. In America, these men worked on boats, some as captains of their own ships while women were land bound and in addition to their many domestic chores, labored in cannery factories processing and packing fish caught by their brothers, husbands, and fathers. Fish harbor was the home of three thousand Japanese Americans, all residing in company owned housing. On February 9, 1942 all Issei with commercial fishing licenses were rounded up by the FBI and incarcerated in Department of Justice facilities. Just over two weeks later, the remaining population was given forty-eight hours to pack up their lives and leave the island with no alternative housing offered by the

government. After being released from concentration camps, many Terminal Island internees settled in Seabrook, New Jersey growing and packing vegetables for the Seabrook Company.

Camp wide shows were the most typical basis on which art was exhibited. Tulare internees passed their first Fourth of July of imprisonment by organizing a festival that included an ambitious camp wide craft show which filled several large rooms. Getas, wood carvings, polished stones, and suzuri's or ink wells used when creating calligraphy were displayed in one room, while knitted garments, embroidery, crocheting, and applique were grouped together. Another room was devoted exclusively to sewing. Knitted blankets, crocheted table scarves, and screens made by piecing together tiny scraps of wood were an Issei woman's favorites, but she admitted in her July 4, 1942 diary entry that the size of the exhibit prevented her from viewing all of the displayed art works.³⁴⁹ Santa Anita opened its two day fourth of July "gala" with an art show. According to the camp newspaper the art displayed at the festival "was amazing in scope." Overwhelmed with works of art, organizers unexpectedly set up the exhibit in two spaces. Among the items internees found at one location was a carved bust of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, lithographs of a cat, and a miniature paper reproduction of the center complete with grandstand, mess halls, and barracks made by kindergarten students. Especially large crowds gathered around a drawing class in action where live models posed for students. A miniature garden, wood carvings, a wide assortment of furniture including Ken Matsumoto's chest of drawers made from cardboard and wall paper, and tiny, decorative getas were available for inspection at the second display site.³⁵⁰

Organizers of the Anita Funita art show were well prepared for such an event having successfully hosted several other camp wide exhibits in the short three months since the camp opened. On the first day of their June show, over three thousand internees showed up to examine a wide range of art with the most unusual forms including boats carved from bars of soap, waste baskets created with discarded newspapers, tiny wooden jeep models, and wallets, moccasins, and belts made from leather. A varied assortment of outdoor chairs made with rough tree branches illustrated efforts by newly imprisoned Japanese Americans to expand their living space beyond the cramped, noisy confines of their living quarters. An extensive needle craft display was unusual not for the typical “feminine handicrafts” of knitted sweaters and crocheted doilies, but for a handbag and a pair of socks knitted by a member of the boys club.³⁵¹ Held in what the *Santa Anita Pacemaker* referred to as Handicraft Haven located at Barracks 36 and 37, this successful show was also comprised of the usual model planes, bird lapel pins, decorative wooden panels, painting, drawings, and carved wooden sculptures.³⁵²

A five day arts and crafts exhibit held during the first spring of imprisonment at Manzanar featured “floral designs” created by internees living in Blocks 14 and 18, needleworks created by a class of Block 4 crafters, as well as carved wooden figurines and cooperworks from across the entire camp.³⁵³ By December of 1942, a Visual Education Museum located at Block 8, Barracks 15 was established by internees where they held a holiday craft and art show. Hosting overflow crowds of two thousand internees each day, organizers extended the show keeping the doors open between Sunday, December 20 and Saturday, December 26. Among the most popular art forms were carved wooden canes,

vases and lamps made from ice cream sticks, stone and shell art, model ships of “every description,” posters made to “adorn” the walls of living units, and cabinets of “excellent design.” Especially large crowds gathered around exhibits of internee made toys, children’s drawings, and a lathe made entirely from scrap iron found on the grounds of the camp.³⁵⁴

Once the holiday exhibit closed, crafting enthusiasts immediately began working on another camp wide show scheduled to commence on January 11. While all types of art forms were welcomed, this show was centered around wood carvings from pear, apple, and plum trees and needleworks especially embroidery, knitting, and crocheting. No longer limiting internees to exhibiting three items at any one show, organizers asked that all works of art be delivered to the museum by noon on Saturday, January 9 to allow plenty of time for set up and display design.³⁵⁵ Art exhibits continued to rotate through Manzanar’s Visual Education Museum with yet another show beginning on Saturday, January 23. Featuring paintings and drawings of children and adults, the camp newspaper also noted that carved wooden figurines and jewelry were drawing huge groups of girls. A crouching panther brooch “distinctively painted and varnished” appeared to be particularly appealing with many passerby’s noting the artist’s name.³⁵⁶ On February 3, the *Manzanar Free Press* announced the fourth show at the Museum in less than two months by informing readers that chopsticks, getas, and slippers would be the focus with all valuable items placed in a glass case for protection.³⁵⁷

Camp wide exhibits were record breakers attracting huge crowds. An exhibit held in the high school auditorium at Poston drew eleven thousand internees from all three units over a May weekend in 1944. Knitted garments, shodo (calligraphy), a model train made

by the toy department, and a wedding gown made by Block 21's sewing school were among crafts produced primarily from scrap and waste materials. As sponsors of the exhibit, the Community Activities Committee, comprised of internees, requested that the clearly devoted crowd cooperate in making the show a success by “keeping their hands off” displayed art works.³⁵⁸ Jerome also held camp wide shows featuring the ever present kobu. Seven thousand internees turned out for a week long exhibit organized during April of 1943 and were allowed to vote on their favorite works of art. A miniature chest made by Eidi Takesako won the grand prize, Kamaemon Tahara’s cow placed second, and Yeisaku Fujimani came in third with a flower vase. All three artists received cash prizes ranging from five to ten dollars.³⁵⁹

Another camp wide exhibit drawing record breaking crowds was directly linked with gender. Jerome’s Fujin Kai (mothers club) organized a “women’s handicraft exhibit” over mothers day weekend beginning Friday evening, May 7, 1943. Female crafters were instructed to bring their works of art to any of Jerome’s mess halls by Thursday when a truck was scheduled to make the rounds and pick up the items. Internees with fragile pieces were advised to personally deliver their creations to mess hall 17, the location of the art show. An especially diverse collection of artifacts, the exhibit included knitting, embroidery, sewing, crocheting, quilting, carved wooden figures and panels, paper weaving, kobu, painting and drawings, flower arranging, carved and painted gourds, and flowers made with crepe paper and Kleenex tissues. Originally scheduled for a three day run, the show was extended through Wednesday to accommodate overflow crowds. In a special celebration of mother’s day, a Sunday crowd of nearly three thousand set a single

day attendance record for Jerome art shows.³⁶⁰

As the imprisonment site of several well known artists including Chiura Obata, Mine Okubo, and Matsusaburo and Haruko Hibi, Tanforan became an especially active site of artistic production and camp wide craft shows. A crowd of nine thousand internees surprised organizers of a camp wide show held between July 11 and 14 because only eight thousand were imprisoned at Tanforan. Future exhibits were planned with the knowledge that many internees would make multiple visits to the same art show. Along with the works of professionally trained artists, novices exhibited a wide range of objects including hats woven from tule grasses gathered within the barbed wire perimeters of the camp, vases, ash trays, and furniture created out of eucalyptus tree roots found in Tanforan's dump, wood crafts carved from discarded race track fence posts, and lamps made with auto parts scavenged in the motor pool. Internee crafters also displayed bookends, getas, needle work, leather crafts, braiding, painting, drawings, and model airplanes. As the location of two ponds, Tanforan's exhibits featured as many as six hundred model boats on a single day. Artistic output reached such high levels that separate exhibits were organized to accommodate flower and vegetable arrangements. Apparently the manure rich surroundings of this former racetrack provided especially fertile soil for gardeners who planted flowers and vegetables along their living units that previously stabled horses. Flower shows were often held at the site of a community garden with each attendee receiving a bouquet arranged by internee gardeners.³⁶¹

Classes of course were more monolithic in size and duration, but just as varied in terms of art form, training of the teachers, and skill of students. Like exhibits, classes

created connections between people of diverse backgrounds and interests serving as webs of collectivities where internees developed new attachments and created art that sustained already developed relationships. Attempts by internees to organize classes were not always welcomed by camp officials. A group of Japanese Americans imprisoned at Heart Mountain submitted a petition to the camp director requesting permission to form a Art Student League. Arguing that art was neither “a necessity or necessarily a public interest,” War Relocation Authority officials initially denied this plea, but with continued pressure internees were granted the temporary use of one half of a barrack with one stipulation, all classes must be “educational.” Heart Mountain’s crafters struggled for nearly a year, hoping to secure a permanent site for their activities. Only after agreeing to produce four thousand silk screened posters for the U.S. Navy did the Art Student League gain legitimacy in the eyes of camp administrators and permanent space for art classes.³⁶² A letter addressed to camp administrator Guy Robertson from U.S. Navy Captain Fink expressed appreciation to the War Relocation Authority for completing a “rush” job on the government posters.³⁶³ Kasen Noda, an Issei man imprisoned at Poston experienced similar obstacles when he was approached by members of the woman’s club in his block about teaching calligraphy classes. Plans were halted when a camp administrator informed the group that they must first seek permission.³⁶⁴

Many Heart Mountain internees ignored the reluctance of camp administrators to support art activities by organizing informal classes. Only fifteen days after opening over two hundred girls and women were participating in flower arranging classes taught by Mary Shigeo Homma. Morning and afternoon classes were the most popular, but the

Heart Mountain Sentinel informed internees on wait lists that additional evening classes were planned for the future.³⁶⁵ Heart Mountain internees interested in learning to make artificial flowers from cloth began meeting together on September 14th. By late September Rosa Sato and Masako Sugihara's were teaching fashion illustration and dress design from nine in the morning until four in the afternoon, six days a week with Sunday their only day off.³⁶⁶ Admitting severe shortages of materials and tools, Ben Torigumi continued organizing classes for model airplane, boat, and train builders, as well as wood and linoleum carvers. Meeting in a small room each day between nine and five each day, students were crowded in a small room but were fortunate to have an aeronautical engineer and an industrial design specialist among their volunteer teachers. Youngsters over the age of ten were especially urged to enroll in classes organized by Torigumi.³⁶⁷

While plans for a ceramics factory at Heart Mountain never materialized, internees harnessed equipment and training provided by the U.S. government to establish a small pottery center where classes were offered. Originally conceived of by War Relocation Authority officials as a means of producing tableware for the armed forces and all ten concentration camps, the factory's labor force was to be comprised of one hundred internees mass producing six thousand pieces of table wear weekly. Efforts to train potential workers began in late September of 1942 when a ceramics specialist visited camp. Motorized wheels and electric kilns were later shipped to an administrative garage where a small group of internees learned to make clay, glazes, and molds, as well as becoming skilled at creating vessels on pottery wheels. An art student at the University of California, Los Angeles prior to internment, Minnie Negoro became an accomplished potter while

Clem Oyama applied his pre internment work experiences as a chemist in his father's Los Angeles cosmetic plant to Heart Mountain's ceramics project. As an expert analyzer of mud, Oyama was responsible for determining which mixtures of clay contained appropriate levels of both elasticity for shaping and density to withstand kiln temperatures reaching twenty-five hundred degrees. Allowed to search within a sixty mile radius of the camp, internees hit pay dirt when they located an extensive deposit of pottery making clay at the site of a canal project three miles north of Cody, Wyoming.

In late May of 1943, the *Heart Mountain Sentinel* announced that War Relocation Authority plans for a one thousand square foot factory were suddenly being abandoned. While circumstances surrounding this "change in policy" remain unclear, we can only hope that government officials came to their senses and were troubled by the thought of exploiting the labor of an unjustly imprisoned people. Perhaps this explanation is excessively optimistic, but regardless of the government's motivations, imprisoned Japanese Americans found valuable art making resources at their disposal. Instead of working in an industrial setting, Heart Mountain's crafters began taking classes from teachers trained at the expense of the government. In less than eight months, internees mined and transformed over one thousand pounds of mud into clay from which a wide range of forms were created. Having weathered high kiln temperatures, camp-made teapots, bowls, and cups were ideal for making snacks and hot drinks on potbelly stoves and hotplates located in living quarters. Producing these works of art allowed prohibitions against cooking in living quarters to be defied with some internees appreciating the privacy afforded by eating alone while others invited friends over to share simple meals. Small

figurines and decorative vases were also produced along with especially popular ash trays. Located in the south wing of Block 16's community activities barrack, the flourishing pottery school also served as the site of high school arts and craft classes.³⁶⁸

Some art classes were taught by professional artists. Three days after arriving at Tanforan, Chiura Obata, a professor of art at the University of California, Berkeley, approached administrators hoping to obtain space for an art school. After camp officials expressed hesitancy and coaxing on the part of internees, Tanforan Art School opened on May 25 at the former location of mess hall 6, with supplies provided by friends and students from the University and the American Friends Services Committee, also known as the Quakers. With Obata as its Director, Tanforan's Art Center was open daily from nine in the morning to seven in the evening offering classes in figure drawing, composition, still life, pencil drawing, landscape, sculpturing, cartoons, commercial art, fashion design, interior decorating, and oriental brush work. Many of the sixteen teachers were professionally trained artists, well equipped to teach elementary, high school, and college students, as well as the general adult population of the camp. Nearly all of the students enrolled in classes were novices with no previous experience creating art. In the opening week of operations, the art school was a thriving center of artistic expression boasting three hundred students.³⁶⁹

Santa Anita's art activities were supervised by Bob Kuwahara, who before December 7, 1941 worked in the animation departments of Disney and MGM studios. Trained at the Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles, now known as the Otis College of Art and Design, Kuwahara was one of the primary artists contributing to the production of "Snow

White” and “Bambi.” Teaching classes of his own on Monday and Wednesday at barracks 36-E, better known as Handicraft Haven to internees, this Nisei artist was a populist when it came to artistic expression. Commenting on the opening of the art center in early June of 1942 Kuwahara explained: “Art is not only cultural, but practical as well. It is a natural part of our existence.”³⁷⁰ Part of his job was allocating adequate space and time to competing art forms. Once demand outstripped these resources, organizers likely expected tensions between crafters to follow.

In July, Mrs. Sumi Kashiwagi, a needle craft teacher was busy assuaging the worries of one hundred and seventy-five women knitters and crocheters who were concerned that increasing interests in sewing would cause their classes to be discontinued. Instead, Santa Anita’s art center decided to offer beginning sewing classes for over one hundred internees on a waiting list and postponed advanced classes for over four hundred and fifty students graduating from a two month class covering the basics of sewing. Anxieties among knitters were likely rooted in an earlier May meeting when two hundred and fifty women needle workers voted to establish the most popular art form, thereby garnering the majority of resources. Knitters outnumbered sewers with crocheting coming in third and pattern drawing placing fourth. Just over two months this hierarchy was reversed with sewers replacing knitting as the most practiced needle craft.³⁷¹

Novices joined professionally trained artists in teaching a wide range of crafting classes. At Jerome, Mary Tsukamoto was surprised to see a friend teaching women the art of artificial flower making. “All I knew was that she was a strawberry grower’s wife and I knew she could pick strawberries. Here she was a teacher of this crepe paper flower

making class.”³⁷² Many art forms were developed in specific camps, spontaneously producing teachers who were inexperienced artists before imprisonment. Tule Lake and Topaz women were the most common practitioners of shell art, creating lapel pins, ear rings, brooches, and artificial flowers from tiny shells, some as small as a grain of rice. An Issei woman imprisoned at Tule Lake explained in a letter to a friend that she had to dig five or six feet in the ground to find acceptable specimens. Teachers of this art form were active experimenters, developing techniques on the spot that included bleaching the shells and the coloring their creations with finger nail polish. Japanese Americans imprisoned at Rohwer created jewelry by flattening pieces of tin cans salvaged from mess hall trash cans. Innovators of this art form taught other internees to stencil the metal with nails and further shape the material into bracelets and rings.³⁷³

Beginning in June of 1942 and under the supervision of internees, a wide variety of classes were underway at Manzanar with two barracks reserved for painting, sketching, lettering, poster designing, and fashion drawing and another two barracks reserved for crafts made with wood, metal, leather, and linoleum. An additional woodcraft center for children was planned to open in the coming month.³⁷⁴ Needlecraft and flower arranging classes were separated according to sexual difference with the camp newspaper informing internees that sessions for men and boys were “no women’s land.” “There,” the reporter continued, “the stalwarts are taught the womanly arts of knitting, sewing, crocheting, embroidery and flower making.” And if the class schedule was any indication, the “men only” classes were a big hit. Needlework classes were offered on Monday and Friday evening and again on Saturday afternoons. Flower making was scheduled for three hours

on Friday evenings and four hours each Saturday afternoon.

While needle craft and flower making classes for men were confined to evening and weekend hours, women were able to choose from a wider selection of times. The efforts of Yumi Ogura and Linda Kinoshita who offered sewing classes every day and evening except Sunday were matched by Katsuko Asaka's commitment of teaching artificial flower making every day and for two hours on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. Women laboring at camp jobs were the focus of Mary Tamaki who accommodated work schedules by offering classes exclusively in the evenings between six and nine. Rather than teaching women how to create decorative items, Tamaki's speciality was more practical with students learning to create socks, sweaters, caps, mittens and gloves. Women getting off work were encouraged by the *Manzanar Free Press* to "dash over" to Block 16, Barrack 15 for an evening of productive crafting.³⁷⁵ These classes were added to those offered since June 6 at 26-15's Art Center. At this location Takeo Itokawa supervised lettering, sketching, and painting classes while Grace Ito was in charge of needlework and flower making sections. Roy Satow had his hands full, organizing the many woodcraft sessions.³⁷⁶

Some crafts were made in the absence of others, an important experience to think about because it reveals that creating connections between people through art can be accomplished in solitude. An Issei woman imprisoned at Tanforan and later Topaz preferred the art of knitting because she longed for "quiet moments to reflect." While Iku Uchida enjoyed knitting because this activity allowed her to work alone, this act of crafting was part of a larger collaborative project. By knitting sweaters, Uchida was creating important connections to her daughters who, in the context of internment, were especially

grateful to their mother for devoting time to wardrobe concerns.³⁷⁷ Many works of art were created in isolation and later given as gifts and exhibited at camp art shows contributing to webs of collectivity.

This chapter advances perhaps the broadest possible understanding of identity formation based on the idea of developing connections or identifying with each other based on practices of art. While internees identified with each other on the basis of making connections, they also reached beyond the confines of barbed wire perimeters to construct themselves as more than internees. Making connections goes beyond understandings of identity as shifting, multiple, simultaneous, or intersectional by suggesting that the concept of identity may itself simplify or blur the complexities of everyday life. In capturing individual forms of identity such as class, race, gender, or any combination or intersections of these we may be participating in a reductive exercise. Instead of emphasizing isolated identity forms or intersections of these constructions internees identified with each other in complicated and overlapping webs of collectivities embedded in the details of everyday life. By sewing clothes for one another, creating crafts as gifts, and participating in classes and exhibits, internees operated within these webs which encompassed countless points and forms of connections.

Chapter 5: Artifacts of Loss

Just as internees practiced resistance by creating liveable physical places, they also linked crafting with solace to remake emotional, psychic, and mental landscapes of survival. Art certainly was employed as a coping mechanism with internees combating depression by keeping their hands and minds busy. Imprisoned Japanese Americans were aware that unoccupied time posed threats to their emotional and mental health because these moments were too often filled with thoughts and feelings of despair, hopelessness, and intense anxiety. Feelings of personal psychological vulnerability were reinforced as internees witnessed friends and family develop crippling mental illnesses.³⁷⁸ At Santa Anita, Lillie McCabe's former dentist filled his days with endless walks around the guarded fence. Concerned about his declining physical and mental condition, McCabe advised her old friend to avoid getting "too caught up in this situation." But after months of continuously walking in circles, the dentist began hallucinating and eventually "lost his mind." Once McCabe was shipped to Amache, she followed her own advice, always "fighting to keep happy" rather than focusing on "morose" feelings.³⁷⁹

A young woman imprisoned at Stockton watched her older sister gradually slip into a severe depression which intensified once they were shipped to Rohwer. Active and engaged prior to internment, Mary Sugitachi's sister arrived at Rohwer after a long four day train trip with few psychic reserves and was soon unable to muster the energy or focus to deal with routine hardships of camp life. Long mess and latrine lines, combined with crowded and degraded living conditions produced frequent anxiety attacks that made life even more difficult for Sugitachi's sister and those who cared for her.³⁸⁰ A teenage girl

became psychotic and was hospitalized soon after being transported to Puyallup. Interviewed for an “incident report,” a young woman frankly informed a camp administrator that having been a quiet person before imprisonment “the events of evacuation were more than [her friend] could adjust to.”³⁸¹ Depression was so common among internees that easily treated physical illnesses were often incorrectly diagnosed as “melancholia.” Mable Ota’s father was sent to the Phoenix Sanitarium from Gila and died after six weeks of shock treatment intended to treat catatonic depression. Granted a travel permit because of her father’s impending death, Ota arrived at the sanitarium and was informed by the attending physician that her father was not suffering from melancholia but from diabetes. Accepting the camp doctor’s diagnosis, the psychiatrist proceeded with treatment and only conducted a thorough exam once Ota’s father slipped into a fatal comma.³⁸²

For some Japanese Americans, the thought of experiencing internment drove them to consider suicide. Orphaned when she was in elementary school and with her older sister dying from tuberculosis just prior to imprisonment, fifteen year old Helen Murao assumed the position of authority for her family of three that included herself and two younger brothers. Realizing she was about to be shipped off to the temporary center located near Portland, Oregon, Murao was overwhelmed by negative thoughts and a debilitating depression. “I really entertained, at fleeting moments, some feelings that maybe I’d be better off if, you know, I tried to, I felt it might be a solution if I just did away with my brothers and my own life.”³⁸³ Imprisoned at Minidoka, Hanaye Matsushita struggled with a similar depression and often found summoning the energy to write letters an impossible

task. Explaining a recent dearth of letters, Matsushita wrote to her husband incarcerated at a Department of Justice facility in Fort Missoula, Montana: “I have many things to tell you, but in the afternoons I am worthless because of the horrible heat. When I dwell on the situation, I have suicidal feelings.”³⁸⁴



Figure 11. John Yoshida, suicide, 23 years old, at Jerome Relocation Center. Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration.

For others these thoughts tragically came to fruition. Hideo Murata, an Issei from Pismo Beach killed himself and was found holding a Certificate of Honorary Citizenship. Awarded to him at a fourth of July celebration the previous year, the certificate read: “Monterey County presents this testimony of heartfelt gratitude, of honor and respect for your loyal and splendid service to the country in the Great World War. Our flag was assaulted and you gallantly took up its defense.”³⁸⁵ While the focus of “Artful Identifications” remains on how internees managed to survive the brutalities encompassed

by Executive Order 9066, it is critical to remember that many Japanese Americans did not emerge for this tragic experience emotionally, mentally, or physically intact. Even decades after being released, many former internees continue to bear emotional scars, as well as physical problems caused by being imprisoned in concentration camps where health care rarely reached minimal standards.

With everyday life providing convincing evidence that internment encompassed persistent and continuous assaults on mental health, many internees filled even limited moments of unoccupied time with activities that engaged their minds and bodies. Reacting to the traumas of imprisonment by doing anything less translated into long days that in the words of one internee “dragged endlessly.”³⁸⁶ Explaining the plethora of art activities organized by internees, a woman imprisoned first at Fresno and later at Jerome recalled that “we hastily tried to keep everybody busy.”³⁸⁷ In this context, “*free*” time became the enemy with art serving as a powerful medium through which internees could at least partially focus on hope and new possibilities rather than despair and anguish. Filling her first difficult days at Tanforan with furniture building, Mine Okubo recalled: “Many of the discomforts of the camp were forgotten in this activity.”³⁸⁸ Gladys Ishida Stone remembered her mother filling every spare moment at Amache by crocheting table cloths and interpreted her mothers artful activities as doing “battle with the policy of internment and evacuation.”³⁸⁹ For many internees creating, exhibiting, consuming, and thinking about art became embedded in the everyday patterns of camp life and helped ensure mental and emotional survival.³⁹⁰

But more than a strategy of keeping minds and hands busy, art evolved into mental

spaces of survival or what Judith Butler refers to as “melancholic agency.” Based on Sigmund Freud’s theory of mourning and melancholia, recent scholarship points to the intellectual, cultural, and political meanings of loss. Freud described mourning as a temporary condition or “reaction to the loss of a loved person, or to the loss of some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as one’s country, liberty, an ideal, and so on.”³⁹¹ While mourning is a process where the mourner eventually moves on, melancholia is a loss that one cannot get over. Melancholia does not allow for grief understood in Freudian terms as the breaking of the attachment with something that has been lost. In this context, the lost object is retained as part of one’s psychic life. Melancholia is an enduring condition, a mourning without end that the ego finds impossible to resolve and becomes, according to Freud, pathological.³⁹² But scholars such as Judith Butler, David Eng, and David Kazanjian ask how melancholic struggles with loss can be understood in terms of social life thereby attempting to connect the psychic world of individuals with the social. They look to what Hegel, Nietzsche, and Althusser have identified as “the founding trope in the discourse of the psyche” or “the turn” as the key to translating landscapes of the mind into social behavior.

In this narrative of “the turn,” melancholic responses to loss redouble the ego as a replacement for the object which has been lost. In a somewhat convoluted defense against loss the ego literally turns back on itself in an effort to replace what is lost.³⁹³ This turn, perhaps better understood as movement from the object to the ego produces a psychic space, thus the creation of internal spaces is dependent on the melancholic turn. Whereas in Freud’s mourning we are offered a dead end, with melancholia there is movement and

space. Here lies the possibility for what scholars such as Butler, Eng, and Kazanjian suggest are “melancholic attachments to loss” encompassing creative impulses that reveal social contexts and political possibilities.³⁹⁴ In these turns resides “congealments of history,” residues of loss, and arenas of struggle. With the expected failure of the ego to adequately substitute for something lost *a state of ambivalence* is produced which according to Butler is the tropological beginnings of subject formation. Melancholia produces a set of spatializing tropes or landscapes for psychic life which also serve as domiciles of preservation where loss is never totally forgotten. The social world is clouded in melancholia while the internal world is characterized by ambivalence but as Butler argues melancholia is not an asocial psychic state.³⁹⁵

Ambivalence can find alternate articulations once sheltered and preserved in psychic topographies. Thus melancholia produces the possibility for enacting psychic life. In the movement and the resulting ambivalence resides a “nascent political text.”³⁹⁶ Here Butler calls on Homi Bhabha who suggests that melancholia is not a form of passivity but one of revolt.³⁹⁷ According to Bhabha, melancholia is a rebellion that has been put down, but this is not a static condition. Rather the revolt in melancholia can be enacted “by marshaling aggression in the service of mourning and in the service of life.” In its refusal to grieve, melancholia preserves loss in internal spaces to be re-articulated, I would argue, in unexpected and alternative forms of identity formation. By reinterpreting Freud’s melancholia we are offered new views of politicized and resistive struggles with loss. Informed by Eng’s and Kazanjian’s call to “explore the numerous material practices by which loss is melancholically materialized in the social and the cultural realms and in the

political and the aesthetic domains,” this chapter argues that Japanese American concentration camp art comprised diverse visual discourses of loss and mental landscapes of survival.³⁹⁸ By depathologizing melancholic and unresolvable struggles with internment losses, we are offered a framework revealing artful identifications between individuals and collectivities, the psychic and material, art and politics, oppression and change.³⁹⁹ According to Butler “survival is avowing the trace of the loss” and by creating art internees revealed and asserted their many losses. Placed in this framework of mourning and melancholia, the following works of internment art are offered as material examples of loss or residues of ambivalence. Art created by imprisoned Japanese Americans articulate a wide range of internment losses that were impossible to resolve including loss of vocations and businesses, loss of friends and family, loss of toys, loss of life, and the loss of a wide range of personal possessions such as family photographs, jewelry, mementos, trinket boxes, and clothes. By considering what was lost in terms of what remains, we see that internee created art was both a material and psychic practice of agency.

As young male internees traded imprisonment for service in a newly formed all Nisei U.S. Army combat unit, Heart Mountain women and girls hurriedly sewed and embroidered one thousand-stitch belts and vests (*senninbari*) to protect their friends, husbands, sons, and brothers.⁴⁰⁰ An art form based in Japanese culture, these “charmed” belts were made with long strips of white cloth and a single unbroken red thread knotted and stitched by one thousand women to represent their strength and power as a community. Perhaps the most divisive and painful internment experiences for many imprisoned Japanese Americans, the decision by the U.S. War Department to recruit

soldiers from the camps provoked heated and frequent debates among internees throughout the winter and spring of 1943. Women sewing and embroidering senninbaris at Heart Mountain likely encompassed special significance since only the Wyoming camp had an organized resistance movement first referred to as the Heart Mountain Congress of American Citizens and later the Fair Play Committee. Senninbaris served as important artifact of loss as Nisei males left their loved ones behind in barbed wire concentration camps to join the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and later fight and die on battlefields in Italy.

Insulting loyalty questionnaires were instituted by the government as a method for determining the “resettlement” suitability of internees while more importantly serving as the basis for registering all male Nisei of draft age with questions 27 and 28 asking if respondents were willing to serve in the U. S. armed forces and if they swore allegiance to the United States of America. Affirmative responses to both questions earned young men the “right” to fight and die for a country whose government continued to incarcerate their parents, wives, and siblings in concentration camps. As difficult as this decision was to make, for many men the possibility of serving as American soldiers was an attractive alternative to imprisonment. Joining the military also represented the ultimate expression of national allegiance with many young men linking service in the U.S. armed forces with hopes for better futures at the conclusion of the war. For a camp especially divided over the issue of sending their young men to war, senninbaris likely served as important displays of support as Nisei males left their loved ones behind in barbed wire concentration camps to join the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and later fight and die on battlefields in France

and Italy.

Imprisoned at Amache and worried about her two sons serving in the Army, forty-six year old Kotono Kato purchased two pieces of silk, embroidering the image of a tiger on each. Symbols of strength and luck, tigers are described in a Japanese proverb as traveling one thousand miles, but always safely returning to their homes. To achieve the perfect color, Kato dyed thread already on hand and purchased a black marble from a small boy to use as eyes. Assisted by her husband who split the marble and made a stretching frame from scraps of wood, Kato quickly completed the tigers and mailed them to her sons, Roy and Alfred. Despite a life marked by hardships that encompassed arriving in San Francisco at the age of eighteen as a picture bride, working as a farm laborer picking prunes, grapes, and apples, losing two of her six children, and being imprisoned at Merced and Amache, Kato later understood her past as filled with good fortune because Roy and Alfred returned safely to her. Instead of being shipped overseas, the boys uncharacteristically completed their tours on U.S. soil, never parting with their embroidered good luck charms. When last checked in 1989, Roy's and Alfred's wallets still contained the tigers made by their mother. Returning to California when released from Amache, Kato continued making art, creating new designs for knitting, crocheting, and embroidery projects.⁴⁰¹

Jerome's Buddhist community also employed art as a supportive expression to soldiers and their families. Over five hundred miniature "omyoge" (Buddhist scrolls) were created by Denson's Young Buddhist Association. Inserted into small cardboard carriers the size of a business card, these scrolls were inscribed with "namu-amida butsu," a

Buddhist expression of gratitude. Given to departing soldiers and the families they were leaving behind, these artifacts of loss were printed in beige and yellow with a template made from floor linoleum. Once the ink was dry, rayon covers were pasted over the thick cheviot paper to preserve these gifts of remembrance.⁴⁰² Creating less devote art forms was a high priority for an Issei mother imprisoned at Tule Lake who often included knitted socks and artificial flowers in packages mailed to her soldier son.⁴⁰³

An especially touching use of art work occurred when children's creations were mailed to fathers imprisoned in Justice Department facilities. Three year old Masahiro Iwata's art was often a topic of discussion in letters exchanged between his mother and father. Separated from his wife and three children incarcerated at Poston, Shigezo Iwata was among thousands of Issei rounded up by the FBI in the aftermath of December 7, 1941. In a separate, but parallel incarceration, these prisoners were held in facilities controlled by the Justice Department. Imprisoned first at Sante Fe and later in Lordsburg, New Mexico, Shigezo relied on his wife, Sonoko, to keep him informed about his children. On June 15, 1942 she wrote: "Every morning he comes home with something he has done at school and today he brought home a cut-out horse. Some are torn by the time he reaches home but I am enclosing two which I was able to save."⁴⁰⁴ Agreeing with his mother's assessment of Masahiro as a prolific crafter, a teacher reported in 1944 that drawing remained a favorite activity of Masahiro's.⁴⁰⁵

Although the Student Relocation Program sponsored by the Friends Service Committee provided welcomed opportunities for college age Nisei to be released from imprisonment, these experiences also encompassed a strange, unsettling mix of relief,

regret, and loss. While young Japanese American men and women embraced the chance to earn a college education, they left family members behind in bleak environments where imagining hopeful futures was difficult at best. Providing money for visits was beyond the means of many internees who struggled as truck farmers to make ends meet before internment or lost any accumulated wealth in the economically exploitive atmosphere created by the implementation of Executive Order 9066. But making and selling crafts provided one Minidoka mother the means to finance a reunion with her absent child. Tomae Tamaki earned her daughter Esther's train fare from St. Paul, Minnesota to Minidoka by making "Indian moccasin pins" for a local man who sold them at souvenir stands and state fairs. As a participant in the Nisei Student Relocation Program, Esther was released from Portland's temporary imprisonment facility on September 8, 1942 to attend Macalester College in Minnesota while her mother, father, and two sisters were shipped to Minidoka.

After nearly a year creating one inch moccasins with tiny beads and chamois cloth, Tamaki saved enough money to purchase a round trip ticket for her daughter. To add insult to injury, the War Relocation Authority demanded that Tamaki pay for her daughter's meals during the much anticipated visit. Euphoric over being reunited with her family after a year's separation, Esther later remembered seven nights of sleeping on a straw filled mattress in her family's cramped Minidoka living unit as the "best vacation of my life."⁴⁰⁶ An Issei woman learned to make paper flowers from her mother in Japan and once imprisoned at Amache began teaching classes in this art form. Soon she was applying her skills to making funeral wreaths with crepe paper flowers for internees and their soldier

sons who were killed in action. Although this was an emotionally wearing task because it provoked disturbing thoughts about her own two sons serving in the Army, this mother and artist fought back her fears completing many funeral wreaths with the hope of providing solace for mourning parents. Wreaths made for deceased soldiers usually included streamers made from red, white, and blue ribbon that was attached to an eagle created by a camp wood carver and placed at the top of the wreath. Frames for the funereal wreaths were made with sagebrush collected on the grounds of the camp.⁴⁰⁷

With over seven hundred Nisei soldiers killed in two hundred and twenty-five long days of combat, and over two thousand wounded, religious leaders in all camps were busy as they prepared for funeral ceremonies and comforted relatives of wounded soldiers. When Heart Mountain families received letters notifying them that their sons, husbands, and fathers were killed in action, they placed gold star banners in barrack windows with one internee commenting that Heart Mountain “started to look like Christmas time.” These signs of memorial were followed by funeral services which included floral arrangements made from crepe paper by Buddhist women. Having attended many of these funerals, a nineteen year old Nisei from Mountain Valley California noted that these wreaths “added dignity to the memorials held for the deceased and their families.”⁴⁰⁸

Artificial flowers sometimes accentuated feelings of marginalization as in the case of a teenage daughter who watched the health of her diabetic mother worsen at Poston. Having successfully controlled her blood sugar prior to imprisonment, a camp diet of rice, potatoes, and macaroni proved disastrous, eventually leading to the death of this fifty-two year old wife and mother of five. Women internees attempted to comfort the surviving

family members by making funeral flowers from Kleenex, but Akiyo Deloyd looked back on her mother's funeral with enduring regret because she was unable to place a fresh flower on her grave.⁴⁰⁹ But a Nisei woman found solace in paper flowers made by Issei women. Having been released from camp on program sponsored by the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council, a daughter returned to Topaz from a college in Colorado for the funeral of her father thankful that his coffin was covered with "cascades" of crepe paper flowers "painstakingly" made by Issei women."⁴¹⁰

Paper flower makers were at the center of a collective response to the murder of James Hatsuaki Wakasa. Shot in the twilight hours of April 11, 1943 by a guard as he approached the barbed wire fence surrounding Topaz, sixty-three year old Wakasa died immediately. A M.P. stationed above the camp at Sentry Tower Number 8 in the southwest corner of the camp fired at Wakasa who was nearing the western portion of the fence. Accounts of the shooting vary, but an autopsy confirmed that Wakasa was shot in the chest while facing the guard rather than trying to escape. While insisting that the shooting was justified because Wakasa was attempting to crawl under the fence, administrators and military leaders revealed a convoluted and misapplied sense of culpability when MP's were placed on "general alert" and armed with machine guns, tear gas, and gas masks. Such an order was an overreaction of colossal proportions when we recall that Japanese Americans imprisoned at Topaz were isolated in the middle of a vast dessert with little support or resources and no safe place to escape to.

While Gerald B. Philpott, the guard who shot Wakasa, was reassigned and avoided punished for his fatal action, internees imprisoned at Topaz did protest the murder by

holding a public funeral for the Issei bachelor on April 20th near the location where he was murdered. Women of every block contributed time to creating “enormous” funeral wreaths made with paper flowers. In the context of Wakasa’s murder, these works of art were provocative and compelling visual forms of protest.⁴¹¹ Although these paper flowers spoke directly to experiences of loss and subjugation, the work of women crafters also encompassed acts of agency, an important juxtaposition since we often think of oppression and resistance in binary terms. As the actions of women making paper flowers for Wakasa’s funeral reminds us, oppression and resistance often reside together. More importantly, for at least some of the over eight thousand innocently incarcerated children, women, and men of Topaz, art created to mourn a truly unnecessary death likely provided both material and visual discourses of loss.

As Japanese Americans packed up their homes and prepared for the implementation of Executive Order 9066, they made difficult decisions about what to eliminate from overstuffed duffle bags, trunks, and luggage. With future internees adhering to a two bag limit imposed by the U.S. government, toys were among the first items left behind in church basements, padlocked barns, and trash piles. Concerned for the well being and survival of over sixty thousand imprisoned youngsters, many internees remained focused throughout the long years of imprisonment on creating art forms that engaged the imaginations of youngsters while adsorbing their energy. Enthusiasm for model planes was high among boys of all ages with youngsters, teenagers, and men often joining together to attend classes, compete in meets, and enjoy exhibits. As part of the Anita Funita Festival, an all camp 4rth of July celebration, Henry Ohye organized a model plane meet that

included enthusiasts of all ages and skill levels. Separated into five divisions, the hand launched glide category was best suited for beginners while more experienced crafters found that the flight endurance and speed classes challenging their skill levels. A “free for all” division ensured that any and all internees interested in participating were included. With a large group of crafters and plenty of entries, winning models were disqualified from further competition.⁴¹²

Model plane crafters also gathered informally to enjoy the first flights of newly constructed models, as was the case of a group of twenty-five little boys chasing the latest creation of Tets Kawakami. Made from Kleenex tissue, glue, and balsa wood, the small red plane took four days to create. Flying over the infield of Santa Anita’s racetrack, model planes like Kawakami’s were magnets for boys who anxious to arrive at landing areas raced along underneath these airborne toys. Always eager to examine the planes up close, youngsters arrived out of breath gathering around and peppering the builder with questions.⁴¹³ Model plane enthusiasts at Topaz braved the cold, holding an impromptu “model airplane flying and glider exhibit” on December 27, 1942. Spectators were encouraged to spend an enjoyable Sunday afternoon outside in the frigid air watching camp artist Kenneth Ozawa and Henry Fujita, Jr. fly their gliders made from balsa wood. Gathered on the grounds of Topaz’s high school after lunch, a large crowd of children also witnessed M. Yamashita expertly guide his gas propelled, motorized model through the sky.⁴¹⁴

A Tanforan internee ensured a steady stream of supplies by making models for a program sponsored by the U.S. government that trained civilians to identify enemy aircraft.

Other interested internees were encouraged to participate with the organizer of the effort reporting to the camp newspaper: “If we make the models good enough, we’ll be provided with an unlimited supply of materials.”⁴¹⁵ Model plane builders at Puyallup likely devised a similar strategy. Launching an all camp plane building contest sponsored jointly by the Seattle Civilian War Commission and Frederick & Nelson’s department show, Rube Hosokawa announced the arrival of paint, glue, design plans, sandpaper, and pine. Open to internees of all ages and lasting a single week, the competition required participants to choose from a list of Japanese, German, and American war planes. Completed models were used by civilian air wardens of Western Washington in distinguishing between enemy and friendly aircraft. While models submitted for judging remained the property of the War Commission, the winning entrant received a twenty-five dollar war savings bond. But the biggest prize was securing more than ample plane building supplies for Puyallup’s crafters.⁴¹⁶ Obtaining model plane supplies from government sources had a more difficult start at Manzanar. Announcing the formation of classes for making “civilian spotter” models, the *Manzanar Free Press* reported that daily sessions were open to youngsters over the age of twelve. Unfortunately attendance was low because participants were required to provide their own materials and tools for the first patch of planes.⁴¹⁷

Despite a slow start, Manzanar evolved into one of the most active airplane model building camps with the imaginations of young and old alike perhaps fueled by an active airport directly across highway 395 from the camp. Built as a facility for the U.S. Army in 1941, the airport was used to train bomber pilots, test experimental aircraft, and when civilian aircraft traversing western portions of the United States experienced in flight

emergencies, they were rerouted to this isolated airfield with long runways located near Death Valley, California. Most of the model plane building and flying activities were organized by Manzanar's Wing Nuts club which held frequent exhibits classes, and flying demonstrations. Youngsters interested in the art form met every evening from six until dark at Block 16, Barrack 15 and were under the supervision Richard Kunazawa, an expert plane builder himself.⁴¹⁸ Kunazawa carefully advised his young charges to pay close attention to the maneuverability, velocity, and appearance of their creations. As the three cornerstones of this art form, gas propelled and glider models entered into competitions were judged on these elements.⁴¹⁹

While it is undeniable that model plane building was a central activity for many children, especially boys, who were forced to leave toys behind at home, it is important to note that not all youngsters reacted to the traumas of imprisonment by creating art. For some youngsters, interests in model plane building developed prior to internment. Always on the outlook for scrap pine to complete his designs, a Rohwer teenager managed to continue building and flying model airplanes while another found his attraction for crafting deadened by the internment experience.⁴²⁰ An avid model airplane builder before being imprisoned at Rohwer, George Kimura lost interest in his hobby. In a paper written for his eleventh grade English class Kimura explained: "Grief, anger, and wondering caused me to forget most of the things I learned."⁴²¹ Yoshio Matsuda's pre-internment passion for creating train models was similarly muted. Upon discovering that he was about to be forcibly removed from his home, Yoshio Matsuda packed up the model trains he was working on prior to internment and stored them in the garage later reporting that "hobbies

are no interest of mine in camp.”⁴²²

Planes of another sort was the concern of Kamsō Yamashiro who built a giant stationary airplane for children of Santa Anita. With materials scavenged from mess halls and communal laundry facilities, and using a camp-made hammer, saw, and pocket knife, he fashioned the fuselage from three apple crates and plated the cowling with flattened tin cans. The wheels were made from round pieces of wood placed inside large tin cans.⁴²³ A month earlier a young woman concerned about the lack of toys available to Santa Anita’s children raised eyebrows by rummaging through mess hall trash cans. Concerns were allayed when a reporter for the camp newspaper informed readers that the scavenger was an internee supervisor for the YWCA girls club at Santa Anita, gathering milk bottle tops, empty cans, and discarded cereal boxes for a toy making project. Midori Kasai also organized an art class where imprisoned girls used these scavenged materials, along with scraps of yarn, cloth, and wire, to make pieces of art that decorated the interior walls of living quarters.⁴²⁴

Using materials scavenged from the job site, internees working on Santa Anita’s camouflage net project transformed tangled strips of burlap into tightly wound balls used to play games of catch, dodge ball, soccer, and baseball. Under the direction of the Army Corps of Engineers, over eight hundred Nisei worked at these dusty and tiring jobs using their rest periods to collect excess threads from gunny sacks which they wound into balls while standing in mess lines. Rest periods consumed with gathering ball making material making ball can be explained by the demographic of the workers who were primarily teenagers. Kiyoko Ike explained that the factories were a good place to make friends

because “hundreds and hundreds of young boys and girls were drafted as Camouflage workers.”⁴²⁵ To many readers this task may appear mindless, but it was meticulous and intricate work demanding that threads be sorted according to thickness and length. Ball makers also became skilled knot tiers as they connected and tied off, end after end. Along with making hundreds of balls for children to play with, Santa Anita’s camouflage workers produced over twenty two thousand nets for the military. Varying in sizes measuring between twenty two by twenty-two feet and thirty-six by sixty feet, imprisoned Japanese Americans devoting nearly three thousand work hours to the project. With the money saved by producing these nets in a camp environment, the U.S. government offset the cost of all food consumed at Santa Anita. Even with this contribution, working conditions were atrocious provoking the only strike at any of the temporary imprisonment facilities with workers complaining of weakness caused by hunger.⁴²⁶

Added to more conventional boat models at Lake Tanforan was a sailboat capable of carrying a skipper and two passengers. Comprised of an eight foot long hull, two outrigger pontoons, a mast eleven feet high, and a sail with a spread of twenty-eight feet, the vessel was the creation of Hisaichi Tsugawa who prior to internment was a fishing boat captain. Made by hallowing out an abandoned telephone pole found on the outskirts of camp, Tsugawa spent twelve dollars on materials to make the boat buoyant and leak proof. After applying five coats of paint and repairing rotten portions of the pole with six pounds of putty, the captain began offering rides to eager children. By July 15, 1942 the vessel was making it’s seventy-fifth journey, having capsized three times. In waters one foot deep, the captain reacted to these “spills” by easily hoisting youthful passengers on his

shoulders and pulling the boat safely to shore.⁴²⁷

Camp-made dolls and kites were perhaps the most common art forms replacing lost toys and articulated the need of internees to restore adequate childhoods for imprisoned youngsters. Most dolls were hand sewn and made with paper, scraps of cloth, and straw with buttons serving for eyes. A thirteen year old girl incarcerated at Rohwer reported in an autobiographical essay for her English class that she spent many happy hours designing clothes for her creations.⁴²⁸ Making and flying kites was memorialized in an Estelle Ishigo painting, titled "Boys with Kite" portrayed two little boys untangling yards of string attached to their newest creation from a barbed wire fence. While Sunday's at Lake Tanforan were reserved for model boat enthusiasts, kite crafters took over the area on Saturday afternoons. Prizes were often awarded for the highest flyer, the largest, smallest, and most artistic kites. Winners were required to keep their kites airborne for a minimum of ten minutes.⁴²⁹ An especially engaging toy for Minidoka's children were painted stones arranged into scenes that communicated fairytales. Ranging in sizes measuring as small as a fingernail to two inches high.⁴³⁰

Mothers also made and then sold crafts as a way to finance what most think of as typical experiences for free youngster, but in the context of internment rare and special events for imprisoned children. At Denson, Arkansas, YWCA Fujin Kai (women's club) members made chenille flowers that were sold by Y members in Little Rock with proceeds used to finance activities for interned youngster. On rare occasions and only with the approval of camp administrators, these funds financed trips by young internees to Y activities held beyond the confines of the camp.⁴³¹ On August 4, 1943 a member of the

Denson Fujin Kai reported to the national office that two members of the Girl's Reserve were permitted to attend a conference in Little Rock and they were looking forward to sending another three girls to the Gulf Port Summer Camp.⁴³² At Rohwer women made and sold carnations for Mother Day's gifts and with eighty dollars profits sent nine girls to the same summer camp.⁴³³

The loss of pets was an emotionally wrenching experience for children and adults as well with art forms revealing and attempting to redress this trauma. Aiko Tanamachi Endo was fifteen years old at the time of internment and later recalled that her saddest memory was disposing of the family dog, a "mutt" with the appearance of a German Shepard. A one family dog who never took kindly to strangers, the Endo's realized that their only option was calling the Humane Society. With all the packing and turmoil in the household, the dog sensed something was wrong and crawled under the house refusing to come out even to eat. Once the Humane Society arrived, Endo's brother crawled under the house and forcibly dragged the dog to a waiting truck, a depressing scene that left the entire family with disturbing and lasting memories of their loyal and cherished pet.⁴³⁴

Another family imprisoned at Tanforan and Topaz were fortunate to find a home for their pedigreed Scotch collie. With most of their friends also destined for the camps, Yoshiko Uchida placed an ad in the University of California, Berkeley student newspaper reading: "I am one of the Japanese American students soon to be evacuated and have a male Scotch collie that can't come with me. Can anyone give him a home?" A boy who seemed especially caring was chosen as the new owner of Laddie, but not without much consternation. Especially upsetting for the oldest daughter who was the animal lover of the

family, the Uchida's packed up Laddie's doghouse, leash, food bowl, and brushes and sadly said goodbye. Many weeks later the family learned that their loved pet never adapted to his new home, dying shortly after the Uchida's were transported to Tanforan.⁴³⁵

Sixty years after seeing his dog for the last time, Yoshito Wayne Osaki recalled this painful memory in detail. A present from his father, Osaki named his new "best friend" Teny. A few days before this eighteen year old from Courtland, California was shipped to Tule Lake, Teny vanished only to reappear when a truck with the Osaki family pulled into the street beginning a journey that would end with incarceration. Sitting in the back of the pick-up on a pile of luggage Osaki's eyes filled with tears as Teny attempted to chase down the truck but failed. Osaki's lasting memory was watching his "constant companion" fall further and further behind and finally after a mile of all out effort sitting down in the middle of the road panting heavily.⁴³⁶ A ten year old imprisoned at Rohwer was forced to leave behind her turtle, dogs, cats, canaries, and goldfish. She wrote in her diary: "The pet I liked best was our dog. We gave her to a man but she cut the rope and came home. When we finally left, she cried like anything. We did too."⁴³⁷

A teenage girl imprisoned first at Stockton and later Jerome was forced to give her dog to a white neighbor. The knowledge that her pet was going to a good home did not console the young owner who fought back tears for a second day in a row after say goodbye to her "best friend."⁴³⁸ Estelle Ishigo memorialized the difficult decisions forced on pet owning Japanese Americans in her book of drawings and text documenting the lives of internees incarcerated at Pomona and Heart Mountain. At the very beginning of *Lone Heart Mountain*, Ishigo described the experience of six year old Kenji who took his dog on

one last walk before being shipped to an “assembly center.” Disturbingly, the destination of the walk was a veterinarian’s office because no one was willing to take in the aging dog and according to Ishigo “because his master is Japanese.” Accompanying the text is a drawing of a small boy kneeling by a small mound of dirt mound grasping a ball once used to play fetch.⁴³⁹

Internees raised these painful and melancholic pet losses with some works of art. A wooden yard sculpture of a dog created by Karon Sanda was likely embedded with the loss of pets suffered by many Japanese Americans imprisoned at Santa Anita. Known as the “pet of the neighborhood,” Sanda’s masterpiece became a favorite of children who passing by on their way to and from mess halls left scraps of bread behind for their new canine friend.⁴⁴⁰ Heart Mountain’s archive located in the basement vault of a Powell, Wyoming bank contains a child’s crayoned drawing of a poodle signed with the name Miyoko Kurusima. Colored in brown, the poodle is properly groomed with sculpted hair appearing around the ankles, rump, and at tails end. Big black eyes and a red bow on the dog’s head stand out as commanding features of the drawing.

A father and his son imprisoned at Tanforan and later at Topaz spent many of their days carving small animal figures from wood and distributing them to children. Three examples of these art forms survive today at the Topaz Museum in Delta, Utah. One carving resembles a sharpei with multiple folds of skin hanging around it’s neck which is extended in the pose of a howling dog. Painted black, the dog is sitting on its haunches with the nose pointed up to the sky. Also included in the collection at Delta is a beagle in the sitting position and painted with black and tan spots. Sporting thumb tacks for eyes,

the pooch looks eager to please and anxious for attention. A small turtle painted black and intricately carved with a design on the shell also survived. With its head protruding, the eyes are outlined in brown. While these works of art address the loss of pets, they remain, in terms of materiality, hard and in some sense cold representations of loved animals likely evoking wistful feelings among internees and contemporary readers accustomed to warm furry bodies and wet kisses from cherished pets. Internment art forms representing pets certainly provoke readers to consider losses endured by imprisoned Japanese American as unresolvable and necessarily melancholic in nature. Pet losses caused by applying Executive Order 9066 to the lives of Japanese Americans produced residues of loss with half lives.

Vocational and business losses were pervasive internment experiences with many internees responding by establishing thriving enterprises in the camps. A landscape gardener before imprisonment, a Manzanar geta maker reported that he found purpose in his crafting activities. With roots in Japanese culture, getas were raised wooden sandal-like footwear that allowed feet to stay dry and mud free. Imprisoned in barren and wind torn lands, dusty walkways and paths quickly turned to mud during rainy seasons with most internee recognizing getas as “indispensable.”⁴⁴¹ Most commonly serving as shower clogs, many internees began wearing getas for the first time while imprisoned because they allowed muddy paths between communal bathing facilities, latrines, and living units to be more easily traversed.⁴⁴² Even after rock, pebble, and wooden walkways were completed, getas remained popular as internees combated ever present foot fungus by wearing the elevated footwear while bathing in communal showers.⁴⁴³ During long hot dusty summer

days, rain showers were rare and welcomed occasions with internees happily replacing their everyday shoes with getas in order to better navigate muddy areas and carry on their daily activities.⁴⁴⁴ While geta making was a widely practiced art form in the camps, it was clear that carving this footwear from wood was beyond the skills of many imprisoned Japanese Americans. After several “amateurs” at Puyallup, Washington produced getas that caused shower goers to “endanger life and limb,” Toyonosuke Fujikado converted a portion of his already cramped living quarters into a workshop and in the first few months of imprisonment provided seven hundred pairs free of charge.⁴⁴⁵



Figure 12. Geta Maker at Manzanar. Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration.

Having lost a thriving sewing business in Stockton, California, Kaoru Ito rejected the offer of working for the War Relocation Authority, instead teaching ikebana and needlework classes and charging twenty five cents for each session.⁴⁴⁶ In 1919 at the age

of fourteen, Ito immigrated to the U.S. with her parents and soon began working as a “schoolgirl” in the home of Alameda’s mayor. Payed fifty dollars a month, Ito saved enough money in a single year to attend the Goto Sewing School in Oakland and later the McDowell Sewing School in San Francisco.⁴⁴⁷ Concentrating on the arts of design and drafting at McDowell, Ito gained enough experience by 1924 to open her own sewing school in Oakland. As proprietor of the Aileen Sewing School, Ito served a clientele composed primarily of immigrant women who spoke little English.⁴⁴⁸ At the age of twenty-five and still single, Ito was encouraged by her parents to marry and arranged a meeting with her future husband who resided in Stockton. Hesitant “to move to a town in the hinterlands,” Ito finally relented, but not before notifying her future in laws that she had no intention of working at the family’s grocery store and gaining permission to move her sewing business to Stockton. Along with giving birth to three daughters and successfully reestablishing her business in Stockton, Ito was credentialed in 1933 as a teacher of ikebana by the Seizan Goryu School. In 1937 Ito returned to Japan visiting her birth place of Ota Village in Gunma prefecture located about one hundred kilometers northwest of Tokyo, but the real purpose of the trip was to receive further training in the art of ikebana.

While interned at Stockton and Rohwer, Ito taught crocheting, knitting, sewing, and ikebana classes relying on Sears Roebuck and Montgomery Ward mail order catalogues for her needle work supplies and on a wide range of vegetation found in the Arkansas woods for her flower arranging materials. Located just over one hundred miles southeast of Little Rock and five miles east of the Mississippi River in swampy woodlands, Rohwer was characterized by a diverse plant life including many species of wild flowers,

shrubs, berries, ferns, vines, and trees which Ikebana enthusiasts eagerly exploited.⁴⁴⁹ Ito's crocheting and knitting classes were also popular with women pressed to quickly make their own sweaters and suits. After being released from Rohwer, Ito returned to Stockton with her family and began working as a domestic while her husband found employment as a gardener. Ito continued teaching Ikebana at the Stockton Buddhist church where she and her husband also served as baishakumin or matchmakers.

Forced by armed soldiers to adhere to a two bag limit, internees arrived at camp with only the necessities of life.⁴⁵⁰ Left behind were a whole range of personal possessions that internees attempted to replace by creating art. Jewelry in the form of shell brooches, bracelets made with flattened pieces of tin cans stenciled with nails, and bird lapel pins made with scrap lumber both replaced lost personal items and spoke to internee needs to add physical and visual diversity to their lives.⁴⁵¹ For people confined in dry, desolate, and beige environments, the creation of so many colorful and diversely textured art works likely disturbed the monochrome landscape that enveloped most camps. Portrait drawing evolved into a popular art form, perhaps compensating for the prohibition on cameras enforced by War Relocation Authority officials and armed soldiers. Additionally, this practice of creating portraits likely mediated permanent losses of family photographs left behind when Japanese Americans were forcible removed from their homes. Crayoned pictures created by imprisoned children replaced cherished art works carried home from school before the implication of Executive Order 9066 and saved in scrapbooks, trunks, and hung on the wall of homes located on the western portions of California, Oregon, and Washington. Carved and polished wooden boxes replaced trinket

boxes commonly found in most homes holding coins, stamps, and writing utensils. In concentration camp these boxes were often filled with scavenged nails, playing cards, flower and vegetable seeds, salvaged wire for artificial flower making activities, and marbles purchased from mail order catalogues and cherished by many imprisoned children. Other containers were woven from grass gathered on camp grounds and filled with cigarettes, toothpicks, and sewing supplies.

Clothing and fashion accessories such as belts and hats not only addressed the loss of personal possessions, but practical matters as in the case of a dress created by an Amache woman. Yukino Tashiro received a certificate for completing sixty hours of sewing classes with internee instructor Yoshiko Nakai. An enduring memory of Tashiro's daughter was her mother transforming a hundred pound rice sack into a dress. Ensuring that the red rose decorating the sack was properly placed in the front of the dress, Tashiro struggled with this unruly material relying on her instructor when she encountered difficulties. As her daughter recalled, Tashiro "drew straight lines, cut straight edges, stitched straight seams, just like Yott-chan [her instructor] taught her." Tashiro typically ordered sewing supplies from the *Denver Post* Household Arts Department, but for this dress she relied on heavy duty white mercerized thread brought with her from home. After a long and tiring day taming uncooperative materials, Tashiro hurriedly threw on her newly made garment and rushed to her job bussing tables at one of the mess halls. Responsible for collecting silverware from tables, Tashiro's addition of a large front pocket proved well worth her time and trouble.⁴⁵² Divergent in terms of color, style, function, and texture, the diverse discourse created by these artifacts reveals a whole range of losses endured by

imprisoned Japanese Americans.

This chapter encourages readers to consider the diverse material and visual art forms created in Japanese American concentration camps together, as comprising complex, layered discourses of loss and melancholia. Adding to the spatial analysis of the first two chapters, “Artifacts of Loss” advances the idea that crafts created by internees represent residues of unresolvable past losses that continue to work in the present. In this context, art created by internees challenges assumptions that the future follows the past. By considering “what is lost” in terms of “what remains,” this dissertation positions artifacts as creating discourses of their own that bring past losses, and by association past oppressions, into the present moment. As discourses of loss and melancholia, internment art provokes us to think about the immense and immeasurable losses experienced by internees and consider the radical meaning of those losses. Difficult to capture in words, perhaps these losses were best articulated through art that varied dramatically in terms of form, esthetics, and materials. Internment art illustrates that material objects encompass the power to speak if we have the patience and commitment to listen.

For contemporary readers internment art will likely generate disappointment, shame, and anger towards a government who imprisoned over one hundred and twenty thousand children, women, and men, but these crafts also provoke questions concerning how people who lost so much generated and located the reserves to continue fighting and creating. Studying internment art may partially answer those questions and reveals the faulty reasoning that underpinned Senator Hayakawa’s 1981 testimony before the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians. Rather than providing

evidence of humane treatment, these artifacts comprised powerful and lasting discourses of both, injustice and resistance. As a former fisherman from Terminal Island recounted, his model boat made from orange and apple crates was built from his memory as a reminder of the “imprisonment of one hundred and twenty thousand innocent Japanese Americans” in various concentration camps.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

“Artful Identifications” offers three meanings of internment art. First, internees remade locations of imprisonment into livable places of survival. Inside places were remade as internees responded to degraded living conditions by creating furniture with discarded apple crates, cardboard, tree branches and stumps, scrap pieces of wood left behind by government carpenters commissioned to build the camps, and wood lifted from guarded lumber piles. With the additions of benches, chairs, shelves, beds, and tables, imprisoned Japanese Americans produced very minimal levels of physical comfort. Having addressed the material conditions of their living units, internees turned their attention to aesthetic matters by creating needle crafts, wood carvings, ikebana, paintings, shell art, and koku. In this way, internees employed art to link physical and mental landscapes.

By altering the material surroundings of living units, internees also enhanced their chances of mental survival. This artful focus helped internees construct themselves as agents of their own lives, improving the material conditions of their living units while also identifying moments of psychic relief. Outside spaces were also *re*-territorialized with vegetable, flower, and rock gardens, along with a whole range of landscaping projects including ponds, rock and wooden walkways, baseball fields, skating rinks, and irrigation systems. These art forms altered hostile spaces into landscapes where internees generated new ideas and constructed alternative discourses that made survival possible. By remaking inside places and *re*-territorializing outside space internees identified with each other on the basis of achieving even limit levels of comfort. Through and with their art activities, internees altered hostile landscapes into physical places that encompasses subjectivity and

resistance.

My second meaning positions art as a means of making connections, a framework offered with the hope of escaping utopian models of community building which overemphasize the development of common beliefs, ideas, and practices that unify people into easily surveilled groups. “Making Connections” situates the process of individuals identifying with larger Collectivities in the details of everyday life, a complicated and layered process that often remain invisible to us. In the ordinary and routine activities of daily life, internees identified with each other to create and enact resistive strategies and practices. By sewing clothes for another, creating artificial flowers and lapel pins as gifts, and participating in classes and exhibits, internees addressed their needs for maintaining and developing connections. “Making Connections” advances perhaps the broadest possible understanding of identity formation based on the idea of employing diverse art forms to sustain already developed relationships and creating new attachments in the context of displacement.

The third meaning offered by this project is art as a mental space of survival. In the process of crafting, internees pieced together mental landscapes that provided psychic protection and padding in mentally battering environments. As recent psychoanalytic scholarship suggests, these artful identifications with loss encompass radical political possibilities because they keep melancholic struggles alive and relevant to the present. As residues of past losses, camp-made works of art provoke our memories and raise questions about past injustices with the diversity of artistic production pointing to the enormous losses endured by imprisoned Japanese Americans. Regardless of whether we understand

these crafting examples as tools for remaking inside places, *re*-territorializing outside spaces, making connections, or artifacts of loss, it is clear that for Japanese Americans incarcerated in complex places of oppression, art evolved into portables spaces of resistance.

After thinking about art created by imprisoned Japanese Americans we are left to ask if other contemporary groups of Asian Americans have identified art making as relevant and effective strategies for insuring survival and creating change. Recent examples of paper folding by the Golden Venture Refugees and Asian American graffiti art suggest that this may be the case. On June 6, 1993 a one hundred and fifty foot freighter named the Golden Venture ran aground off the coast of Queens in New York City. Packed with just under three hundred passengers from the Fujian Province in China, the ship had little room for food, drinking water, or safety equipment. For three months the human cargo comprised primarily of males ranging between sixteen to forty-four years of age were stowed below deck enduring hunger and inadequate sanitation facilities made more difficult by an especially rough trip around the Cape of Good Hope. By taking this excessively lengthy route, the ships crew enhanced their chances of escaping the attention of the U.S. Coast Guard. Hoping to escape economic hardships and political persecution, each refugee promised to remit a sum of thirty thousand dollars to smugglers by indenturing themselves in New York City's garment sweatshops or Chinese restaurants. Shipwrecked off shore, the passengers jumped in the waters of the Atlantic fearful that the boat was sinking and hoping to reach shore undetected. Ten of the Golden Venture's refugees died immediately, while others were taken into custody by the Immigration and Naturalization Service and

incarcerated for nearly four years in county jails and immigration facilities across the United States.

For the ninety-eight men imprisoned in York County Pennsylvania's Prison, creating art with paper emerged as an integral part of their everyday lives. While lawyers pleaded their cases, these refugees spent much of their time folding, rolling, and cutting pages of magazines into paper sculptures. Originally created as gifts for their lawyers and to "charm" prison officials, these works of art were eventually marketed by evangelical Christians who seized on the forced abortion policy of the Chinese government to solicit potential consumers and raise over one hundred thousand dollars. Rooted in a form of paper folding practiced in China known as zhizha and huzhi, the first works of art produced were pineapples and birds. Seven hundred individually folded pieces of paper made up the wings and tail of a single, foot high eagle which were attached to a papier-mache head, body, and feet created from a mixture of toilet paper, glue, and water. Providing a protective glaze, an additional layer of glue was applied and smoothed with plastic spoons. Magic markers added color to the forms. Ten thousand pieces were created and varied widely in terms of form and techniques. Later works of art included flowers, teapots, bird cages, replicas of the Golden Venture, a functioning miniature bicycle complete with peddles, wheel spokes and a bicycle chain, dinosaurs, teapots, lobsters, human figures, a pair of birthday cakes commemorating two years of imprisonment, and several statues of liberty.

These works of art spoke powerfully as objects of protest and agency. Equating a desire for freedom with the many birds he created, one refugee artist remarked:

“Sometimes I make some paper birds so that I can express my dreams.” Unable to speak English, the refugees employed art to articulate resistance, refugees keeping their issues and demands for freedom relevant to audiences outside the walls of imprisonment facilities. Perhaps most significantly, some of the more prolific and innovative artists were granted green cards on the basis of “extraordinary artistic ability.” Attorneys and supporters argued that the U.S. government attempted to “break the spirits” of its Chinese prisoners by intentionally slowing down legal proceedings with the hope that the refugees would voluntarily return to China. While this strategy proved successful in the cases of nearly one hundred refugees who traded their indefinite sentences in the U.S. penal system for a five year prison term offered by the Chinese government, most persisted and were eventually granted asylum by President Bill Clinton in 1997. For the Chinese immigrants imprisoned in York County Pennsylvania, art provided solace and patience making material, along with a much needed voice that made their freedom at least partially successful. With evangelical Christians, a group associated with extreme conservatism in the U.S., keeping the debate alive by selling art created by imprisoned refugees, anti-immigration advocates found ignoring the plight of the golden Venture refugees increasingly difficult. As one legal volunteer suggested, the mere number of sculptures created spoke to inhumane treatment caused by indefinite and excessively lengthy terms of imprisonment

Two Cambodian American graffiti artists from East Oakland sat down with a *Pacific News Service* reporter in October of 2003. Using the “urban craft” of graffiti, these two young men were on a mission to be heard and make their presence known. Connecting the creation of graffiti to transnational histories of oppression, both artists

acknowledged that experiences in Cambodia and the U.S. influence their street paintings. For the nineteen year old, his art encompassed the killing fields” and is an expression of “appreciation to our elders.” Rather than thinking of their art as evidence of familial rebellion, these writers hope to bring about change by employing art as a means of connecting with exploitations understood in terms of fluid and shifting national identities. Graffiti is also positioned as a positive alternative to gang culture in the U.S. According to the twenty one year old writer: “Everywhere you go, Cambodian youths are gangbanging. I’d rather stick with graffiti.”⁴⁵³

Eight hundred miles up the coast, the power of graffiti was marked by two exhibits at Seattle’s Wing Luke Museum. Held between July and November of 2003, “It’s Like That: Asian Pacific Americans and the Seattle Hip Hop Scene” encompassed many of the same themes and ideas articulated by the East Oakland graffiti artists. With graffiti as a central element of the exhibit, the twenty-three year old MC George Quibuyen, who also served as the exhibitions curator, believes this art form reflects a “positive spirit” rooted in “artistic innovation, rebellion against oppression, and embracing a lifestyle alternate to the destructive gang life.” Further articulating these visions was the work of two artists who “pay[ed] tribute to hip-hoppers who change lives without becoming wealthy stars.”⁴⁵⁴ Wing Luke Museum continued its focus on graffiti in a December 2004 exhibit titled, “Tunnel Visions”. Visitors to the exhibit entered a wing of the museum designed to resemble a subway or train tunnel complete with tracks running through the space. A favorite canvas for writers, the walls of the faux subway tunnel were covered with the art of nine graffiti artists. Significantly this exhibit characterized and presented graffiti as

“murals” perhaps signaling greater tolerance for an art form that many Americans understand as criminal activity and a violation of private property rights.⁴⁵⁵

Filipino Americans are most commonly associated with DJ-ing, but Mike Dream was a prolific producer of graffiti in Oakland. As an ephemeral art form, the work of a single artist is often difficult to isolate and study. Dream’s work has become more permanent and visible since his death in 2000 as friends memorialized his life and contributions to hip-hop culture by creating web sites. Joining politics with aesthetics, Dream developed a “consciousness” in his work “realizing that art for art’s sake was weak and that there was power in the message.” As his aesthetic style evolved, Dream understood his art as leading to “mental liberation” by focusing on issues of police brutality, national liberation, racism and rebellion.” Dream’s graffiti created visual discourses of resistance that positioned Filipino Americanness as a way of connecting with, not separating from other histories and cultures. In the words of Victor Hugo Viesca: “Dream found a larger meaning to his art through his identity as a Pinoy living in urban America. At the same time, by drawing on his Filipino roots Dream was able to make connections to others in the city and find his place in the collective and on-going struggle against racism and injustice.”⁴⁵⁶

These contemporary examples of art created by especially marginalized Asian Americans suggest that art provides effective strategies for survival and resistance. Just like internees, paper folders, graffiti writers, and Hmong American women creating textiles identified with art and broader collectivities to express counter narratives and improve their lives. This, of course challenges understandings of art as frivolous activities that serve only

to occupy leisure time. Instead of assuming trajectory, let us employ art created by Asian Americans to reveal alternative and liberative practices for creating changes that reach beyond immediate needs, locations, and isolated points of identity. Perhaps, art broadly defined offers powerful identity making materials as people with little institutionalized power confront complex systems of oppression. In this way, art may aid those of us interested in creating liberative and enduring social change to find resistive places, voices, and strategies in an often hostile world.

Even a cursory reading of this dissertation reveals an inescapable insistence on resistance, a theme and strategy common in recent scholarship highlighting Asian America. Literary scholar Viet Thanh Nguyen argues that such an insistence “may be a reflection of the critics’ professional histories, political priorities, and institutional locations.”⁴⁵⁷ Thus how Asian Americanists read and construct the past, the “things” we look for and emphasize is merely a practice of creating another discourse with ideological underpinnings that will be deconstructed in the pages of yet another dissertation. Nguyen points to “panethnic entrepreneurship,” an idea advanced by Yen Le Espiritu, as transforming race and resistance into commodities. Employed by Asian American scholars, but “disavowed” in their scholarship, panethnic entrepreneurship is created by a dialectical relationship between capitalism that constructs then exploits race and struggles for inclusion in democratic politics. Thus, if we continue to insist on employing resistance as a theoretical tool in our scholarship, we must also recognize the emergence of a cohesive Asian American identity, and resistance based on that racial formation, as “coincid[ing] with the maturation of global capitalism.” From this perspective, race and resistance are products

and functions of economic capital, in essence commodities of capitalism.

Nguyen's critique is grounded in an understanding of resistance as directly and irrevocably opposed to accommodation, a binary construction that he argues is the "foundation of a self defined Asian American identity stemming from the 1968 campus and community struggles." While solidly situated around the idea of resistance, "Artful Identifications" attempts to unmoor identity and resistance from race, suggesting that just because a person is Asian American, and marginalized on the basis of that identity, does not translate into an absolute reliance on the idea of race as a resistive strategy. This is not a framework that positions resistance as positive and accommodation as negative, but rather hopes to expand the theoretical relevance of resistance as operating in multiple forms, scales, and places. In these terms, resistance is momentary, adapted to fit and shape lived experiences. Historical, economic, political, cultural, and geographical contexts, along with people themselves, are too diverse and complex to expect resistance to be anything but temporary and fleeting.

Critical engagements with the ideas we employ to center our scholarship are always essential, but identifying material examples and residues of resistance remains an important political project. Yes, we can likely find resistance anywhere and just because people resist does not mean that they are creating progressive, non reactionary change. But locating and studying resistance remains a worthy scholarly endeavor because most people have limited understandings of their own agency and abilities to create change. Identifying diverse ranges of resistance will aid us in imagining alternatives and possibilities or, as Lisa Lowe might suggest, "permit us to imagine what we have still yet to live."⁴⁵⁸ Locating resistive

art forms created by imprisoned Japanese Americans provides us with new visions of the world and ourselves. In this vein, “Artful Identifications” hopes to engage with both academia and audiences beyond university boundaries. Keeping in mind Nguyen’s concerns about scholarship reflecting professional histories and political priorities, my attention to these artistic discourses of resistance is not intended as an attempt to reveal “facts” or somehow establish the “truth” about art activities in Japanese American concentration camps. “Artful Identifications” represents only one insight, one lens into the lives and creations of internee crafters. Rather than contributing to one grand, linear narrative of Japanese Americans and Asian American, this dissertation is one story, one interpretation to think with.

But this closing discussion leads me to a more serious criticism of scholarship highlighting resistance. While we are skilled at identifying resistance, we are less successful at linking seemingly isolated instances of agency to broader, politically progressive change. How do we begin creating scholarship that transports liberative change beyond specific locations, historical eras and contemporary moments, and groups of people? Relying on embodied identities, and those constructed by structures of the nation-state, as theoretical tools may impeded this process. Resistance based on these rather narrow understandings of identity encompass conservative possibilities that include those without striving for what those in power have, a process that inevitably leaves people behind and, more critically, creates new marginalized groups. One hope for change is that we connect to and identify with diverse histories of oppression and resistance in terms of ideas and strategies rather than on the basis of what we look like. These legacies of injustice and agency belong to all

of us and we should come to understandings of how they influence our lives. For some these histories are sites of privilege, for others sites of marginalization, and for many some combination of the two. Perhaps future scholarship will address how marginalized peoples manufacture resistance that not only connects individuals with broader collectivities, but also creates lasting, non-reactionary, and expansive change that reaches beyond immediate group needs and interests. Hopefully, “Artful Identifications” has contributed to that project by expanding our understanding of resistive identify forms.

1. Samuel Ichiye Hayakawa was born in Vancouver, British Columbia on July 18, 1906 of Japanese immigrant parents. Hayakawa immigrated to the U.S. in 1926, receiving a Ph.D. in English and American Literature from the University of Wisconsin in 1935. Hayakawa supported the internment of Japanese Americans but avoided imprisonment himself, instead spending the years between 1939 and 1947 at the Armour Institute of Technology in Chicago (now known as the Illinois Institute of Technology) as an English Professor. Academically best known for his work in linguistics, Hayakawa published *Language in Action* in 1941. He was a Professor of English at San Francisco State College between 1955 and 1968 when Governor Ronald Reagan appointed him President of the College. Hayakawa quickly garnered national attention by severely restricting student protest activities on campus. Retiring from this position in 1973, Hayakawa successfully ran as a republican candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1976. As a single term senator from the state of California, Hayakawa introduced a constitutional amendment designating English as the official language of the United States. In 1983, he founded U.S. English, Inc., an organization presently comprised of 1.8 million members. See the organization's web site at <http://www.us-english.org/inc/default.asp>

2. The power of language is a central issue in internment research with scholars and the public debating over the usage of internment, relocation, evacuation, or concentration camp. I have chosen to use internment and concentration camps interchangeably, but by doing so I do not intend any comparison with Nazi concentration camps which I would argue are more accurately described as death camps. Japanese American internment camps were spatial expressions of race based on concentrating people of Japanese ancestry in geographically specific sites. With this in mind, it seems to me that concentration camp best describes the outcome of Executive Order 9066 signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942.

3. Sam Hayakawa, Testimony before the U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, Los Angeles State Office Building, Los Angeles, California, August 4, 1981, Reel 2, 5-22.

4. Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 16; Elaine Kim, "Interstitial Subjects: Asian American Visual Art as a Site for New Cultural Conversations," in *Fresh Talk/Daring Gazes: Conversation on Asian American Art*, Elaine H. Kim, Margo Machida, and Sharon Mizota, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, 9; Kimi Kodani Hill, *Topaz Moon: Chiura Obata's Art of the Internment*, Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2000, 46; Valerie Matsumoto, "Japanese American Women During World War II," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-Cultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, eds. Vicki L. Ruiz and Ellen Carol DuBois, New York: Routledge, 1994, 441; Karin M. Higa, *The View From Within: Japanese American Art from the Internment Camps, 1942-1945*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992, 22;

Edward H. Spicer, Asael T. Hansen, Katherine Luomala, and Marvin Opler, *Impounded People: Japanese-Americans in the Relocation Centers*, Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1969, 217-18; Audrie Girdner and Anne Loftis, *The Great Betrayal: The Evacuation of the Japanese-Americans During World War II*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969, 308; Kristine C. Kuramitsu, "Internment and Identity in Japanese American Art," *American Quarterly*, December, 1995, 637; Charles Kikuchi, *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, 135, 204.

5. Fred Barbashi, "Manzanar: Internees' Lives Amid Barbed Wire and Barracks," *The Washington Post*, December 6, 1982, A4 and Yukiko Furuta interviewed by Arthur Hansen and Yasko Gamon on June 17 and July 6, 1982, Historical and Cultural Foundation of Orange County, Japanese American Council and California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program, Japanese American Project, 35, 39.

6. Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, Seattle; University of Washington Press, 2000, 69-70, 115.

7. Haru Isaki, Public Testimony before the *Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*, Seattle, Washington, September 9, 1981, Reel 4, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland, 267.

8. June Igaue interviewed by Nancy Aweimrine, November 12, 1984, California State University Fullerton, oral History Program, Japanese American Project, Internment Experience in World War II, O.H. 1769, 8.

9. Letter from Kei Ichihashi to Mrs. Treat, June 13, 1942, Arcadia, California and Yamato Ichihashi, diary entry, May 28, 1942 in *Morning Glory, Evening Shadow: Yamato Ichihashi and His Internment Writings, 1942-1945*, Gordon H. Chang, ed., Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997, 116, 104 respectively.

10. Charles Kikuchi, *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, 204; "One must walk a full block to the laundry, then carry the wet wash back a block to hang out on lines. Really, it is quite an ordeal." Hatsuye Egami, *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami*, ed., Claire Gorfinkel, Pasadena: Intentional Productions, 1996, 39; "Dusty roads. Dusty room. Everything is dust-covered: clothing, bedding, our body. Everything soils so easy, it seems washing must be done daily." *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami*, 40. "For mothers with babies and the very old or sick, living was especially hard. With day and night trips to the laundry for water, the mess halls and the latrine barracks. Estelle Ishigo, *Lone Heart Mountain*, 25

11. Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, Seattle; University of Washington Press, 2000, 69-70, 114.

12. Letter to Rose Terlin, May 11, 1942, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, YWCA Records, #025-18 Box 48, Folder 2, 2.
13. Jack Matsuoka, *Poston: Camp II, Block 211*, San Mateo, Ca: Asian American Curriculum Project, Inc., 2003, 67-68.
14. Lillie Y. McCabe, Interviewed by Jeffrey B. Yamada, October 19, 1987, California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program Japanese American Project, Nisei Experience, O.H. 1949, 2.
15. Lillie Y. McCabe, Interviewed by Jeffrey B. Yamada, October 19, 1987, California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program Japanese American Project, Nisei Experience, O.H. 1949, 3.
16. Fred Barbashi, "Manzanar: Internees' Lives Amid Barbed Wire and Barracks," *The Washington Post*, December 6, 1982, A4
17. Deborah Gesensway and Mindy Roseman, *Beyond Words: Images from America's Concentration Camps*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987; Kimi Kodani Hill, *Topaz Moon: Chiura Obata's Art of the Internment*, Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2000; Kristine Kim, *Henry Sugimoto: Painting an American Experience* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2000); Karin M. Higa, *The View From Within: Japanese American Art from the Internment Camps, 1942-1945*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992. Other examples of scholarship on internment art include Karin M. Higa, *Living in Color: The Art of Hideo Date*, Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2001; Robert J. Maeda, "Isamu Noguchi: 5-7-A, Poston, Arizona," *Amerasia Journal* 20, no. 2, 1994: 61-76; Dominique Leblond, "The Sacralization of the American Deserts in the War Relocation Authority Camps For Japanese Americans," *American Studies in Scandinavia*, 31, no. 22, 1993: 1-12; Kristine C. Kuramitsu, "Internment and Identity in Japanese American Art," *American Quarterly*, 47, December 1995: 619-658; Josephine Withers, "No More War: An Art Essay," *Feminist Studies*, 7, no. 1, Spring 1981: 76-88.
18. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary defines art as the "conscious use of skill and creative imagination especially in the production of aesthetic objects." Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, Springfield, Mass: G.&C. Merriam Company, 1977, 63. Derives from the Latin word meaning to arrange. The 1994-2002 Encyclopedia Britannica offers: "(Art is) the use of skill and imagination in the creation of aesthetic objects, environments, or experiences that can be shared with others." "The conscious production or arrangement of sounds, colors, forms, words, movements or other elements." the making of objects, images, music, etc. that are beautiful or that express feelings <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/define.asp?key=4112&dict=CALD>
19. I began thinking about this after reading Laura Hyun Yi Kang's, *Compositional Subjects: Enfiguring Asian/American Women*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

20. Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 4, 18.
21. Elaine Kim, "Interstitial Subjects: Asian American Visual Art as a Site for New Cultural Conversations," in *Fresh Talk, Daring Gazes: Conversations on Asian American Art*, Elaine H. Kim, Margo Machida, and Sharon Mizota, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, 2.
22. Helaine Fendelman and Jonathan Taylor, *Tramp Art: A Folk Art Phenomenon*, New York: Stewart, Tabori & Chang, 1999.
23. Paul Arnett and William Arnett, eds., *Souls Grown Deep: African American Vernacular Art of the South, Volume One*, Atlanta: Tinwood Books, 2000, 270.
24. Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art, *Mountain Artisans: An Exhibition of Patchwork and Quilting, Appalachia*, Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1970.
25. Jacqueline L. Tobin and Raymond G. Dobard, *Hidden in Plain View: A Secret Story of Quilts and the Underground Railroad*, New York: Anchor Books, 2000, 67.
26. James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990; Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, New York: International Publishers, 1971.
27. Michel Foucault, "Space, Knowledge and Power (Interview Conducted With Paul Rabinow)" in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory* Neil Leach, ed., New York: Routledge. 1997, 371.
28. Luis Aponte-Pares, "Appropriating Place in Puerto Rican Barrios: Preserving Contemporary Urban Landscapes," in *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*, Alanen and Melnick, eds., Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
29. Laura Hyun Yi Kang, *Compositional Subjects: Enfiguring Asian/American Women*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
30. Laura Hyun Yi Kang, *Compositional Subjects: Enfiguring Asian/American Women*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2002, 5.
31. Kandice Chuh, *Imagine Otherwise: On Asian Americanist Critique*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2003, x.
32. This is not a direct quote but its close enough to attribute to Lowe. Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1996, 9.

33. Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1996, 6.
34. Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1996, x.
35. Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1996, 120-122.
36. Lawrence R. Rinder, "The Plurality of Entrances, the Opening of Networks, the Infinity of Languages," in *The Dream of the Audience: Theresa Hak Kyung Cha, 1951-1982*, Constance M. Lewallen, ed., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, 30.
37. Elaine H. Kim, "Preface," in *Writing Self, Writing Nation: Essays on Theresa Hak Kyung Cha's Dictee*, ed., Elaine H. Kim and Norma Alarcon, eds., Berkeley: Third Woman Press, 1994, 21.
38. Lawrence R. Rinder, "The Plurality of Entrances, the Opening of Networks, the Infinity of Languages," in *The Dream of the Audience: Theresa Hak Kyung Cha, 1951-1982*, Constance M. Lewallen, ed., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, 20.
39. Pacita Abad, "I Thought the Streets Were Paved with Gold," Plate Commentary by Sharon Mizota in *Fresh Talk, Daring Gazes: Conversations on Asian American Art*, Elaine Kim, Margo Machida, Sharon Mizota, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, 53.
40. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Donald Nicholson-Smith, trans., Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell, 1991, 129.
41. Karin Aguilar-San Juan, "Staying Vietnamese: Community and Place in Orange County and Boston," *City and Community*, March 2005, 37-50 and "Creating Place-Fields of Dreams: Race, Place, and Memory in Boston's Vietnamese American Community," *Amerasia*, Special Issue of Vietnamese Americans, Vol. 29, No. 1, Spring 2003, 80-96; Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1996 Rick Bonus, *Locating Filipino Americans: Ethnicity and the Cultural Politics of Space*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000.
42. Laura Hyun Yi Kang, *Compositional Subjects: Enfiguring Asian/American Women*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2002, 20-21.
43. Kristine Yuki Aono, "Relics From Camp," Plate Commentary by Sharon Mizota in *Fresh Talk, Daring Gazes: Conversations on Asian American Art*, Elaine Kim, Margo Machida, Sharon Mizota, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, 54.

44. Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison, "Shaping the Field: Multidisciplinary Perspectives of American Material Culture" in *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field*, Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison, eds., Knoxville University of Tennessee Press, 1997, 2.
45. Cary Carson, "Material Culture History: The Scholarship Nobody Knows" in *American Material Culture: The Shape o the Field*, Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison, eds., Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997, 441.
46. My understanding of reterritorialization is grounded in the work of Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson who urge scholars to consider the conditions of globalization and postmodernity as they relate to the relationship between geography, culture, and identity formation. Rick Bonus took up Gupta's and Ferguson's challenge by studying the experiences of first generation Filipino Americans in San Diego and Los Angeles. In *Locating Filipino Americans: Ethnicity and the Cultural Politics of Space*, Bonus suggests that identities be conceptualized as fluid and contingent upon movements between physical locations. In this context, a singular, unifying Filipino American identity is re-conceptualized as multiple Filipino American identities formed in specific times and spaces. Reterritorialization thus becomes the process by which hostile spaces are altered into arenas of identity articulation where marginalized people declare differences and enact subjectivity. Rick Bonus, *Locating Filipino Americans: Ethnicity and the Cultural Politics of Space*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000, 4-5, 77 and Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology*, 7, 1992, 6-9.
47. Miranda Joseph, *Against the Romance of Community*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002, xxiii.
48. Miranda Joseph, *Against the Romance of Community*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002, xxv, xxviii.
49. Judith Butler, "Afterward: After Loss, What Then," David Eng and David Kazanjian, *Loss: The Politics of Mourning*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
50. David L. Eng and David Kazanjian, "Introduction: Mourning Remains," in *Loss: The Politics of Mourning*, David L. Eng and David Kazanjian, eds., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003,
51. "Comfort was uppermost in the minds of the people." 13660 137. William Kimura, Public Testimony before the *Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*, Federal Building, Anchorage, Alaska, September 15, 1981, Reel 6, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland, 84. Martha Inouye Oye in *Reflections: Memoirs of Japanese American Women in Minnesota*, John Nobuya Tsuchida, ed., Covina, California: Pacific Asia Press, 1994, 294. As Martha Inouye Oye

remembered of her experiences at Minidoka: “Comfort was uppermost in the minds of the people when they first arrived here. As at the assembly centers, talented and creative evacuees built partitions and furniture from discarded lumber and material picked up around the barracks to make their rooms more habitable.”

52. Akiyo Deloyd, Testimony before the *Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*, Los Angeles State Office Building, Los Angeles, California, August 4, 1981, Reel 2, 87. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.

53. Monica Sone, *Nisei Daughter*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000, 173-174.

54. Mas Ueysugi interviewed of by John McFarlane on April 16, 1971, Japanese American Evacuation O.H. 1071, California State University Fullerton, Oral History Program, Japanese American Project, 5.

55. Violet De Cristoforo in *And Justice For All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps*, John Tateishi ed., Seattle; University of Washington Press, 1999, 126.

56. Tsuyako Kitashima, Public Testimony before the *Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*, Golden Gate University, San Francisco, California, August 13, 1981, Reel 3, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland, 168; Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983, 106.

57. Roy Nagata to Alice Sinclair Dodge, July 30, 1942, in Alice Sinclair Dodge Collection, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, box 1, file “Correspondence 1942-1946.”

58. For especially vivid descriptions of the train trip from Tanforan to Topaz see Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983, 116-120 and Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000, 102-105.

59. Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, Seattle; University of Washington Press, 2000, 75, 93. Know for her optimistic views of life at Tulare, Hatsuye Egami described her new home as “a rustic barrack of rough boards put together with five windows and a concrete floor. Eight people occupy our room.” Egami’s positive outlook is mentioned in the introduction of Hatsuye Egami, *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami*, ed., Claire Gorfinkel, Pasadena: Intentional Productions, 1996, 15. Quote taken from page 26.

60. Minoru Kiyota, *Beyond Loyalty: The Story of a Kibei*, translated by Linda Klepinger Keenan, Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997, 76.

61. <http://www.nps.gov/manz/cctopaz.htm>
62. Estelle Ishigo, *Lone Heart Mountain*, Los Angeles: Anderson, Ritchie, & Simon, 1972, 19-22.
63. Fusaye Hashimoto, Interviewed by Mary Tamura, February 1994, Terminal Island History Project, Japanese American National Museum 7-8; Tomitaro and Mrs. Marumoto, Interviewed by Toshiro Izumi, March 10, 1994, Terminal Island History Project, Japanese American National Museum, 9
64. Interview of Anonymous by Richard Curtiss, March 4, 1966, Japanese American Evacuation O.H. 11, California State University Fullerton, Ora History Program, Japanese American Project, 9.
65. Carey McWilliams, "What About Our Japanese-Americans?" *Catholic Digest*, May, 1944, 22.
66. Himi Hashimoto, Rohwer Autobiography #57, English 11-B, December 10, 1942.
67. Hatsuye Egami, *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami*, ed., Claire Gorfinkel, Pasadena: Intentional Productions, 1996, 60.
68. "From Cooking To Carpentry," *Tanforan Totalizer*, June 20, 1942, 5.
69. Monica Sone, *Nisei Daughter*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000, 175.
70. Monica Sone, *Nisei Daughter*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000, 182. Other references to illegal hotplates can be located in Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983, 67; Estelle Ishigo, *Lone Heart Mountain*, Los Angeles: Anderson, Ritchie, & Simon, 1972, 12
71. With limited ingredients and no refrigeration, internees relied on catalogue orders and supplies sent from friends back home to make such dishes as chocolate ice cream from cans of condensed milk, honey, and chocolate flavoring. Once melted, these ingredients were whipped together and left outside to freeze. A recipe for "rum tum ditty" suggested combining tomato soup, tuna and Parmesan cheese while a complete dinner meal was comprised of mushroom soup, toasted cheese sandwiches, pickles, coffees, jello with canned fruit, and cookies for dessert. Successful completion of the cheese sandwiches required "inveigling your dining hall into giving you a loaf of bread." Marii Kyogoku, "A La Mode," *Trek*, December, 1942, 27; Evelyn Kirimura "Food Fancies," *Topaz Times*, January 16, 1943, 5; February 6, 1943, 5; March 20, 1943, 5;
72. Janet Sato, Rohwer Autobiographies, Period II, #162

73. *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942*, Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office, 1943, 227.
74. William Kimura, Public Testimony before the *Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*, Federal Building, Anchorage, Alaska, September 15, 1981, Reel 6, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland, 84.
75. Nobuko Hanzawa, Rohwer Autobiography #135, English 4, Period II, December, 1942; George Kobayashi, Rohwer Autobiography #67, English 11-B, December 14, 1942.
76. Florence Miho Nakamura, "Barrack in Tanforan," in *From Our Side of the Fence: Growing Up in America's Concentration Camps*, ed. Brian Komei Dempster, San Francisco: Kearny Street Workshop, 2001, 42.
77. "Out of the Horses Mouth," *Tanforan Totalizer*, May 15, 1942, 2.
78. Tule Lake and Manzanar served both as temporary and permanent imprisonment facilities.
79. Charles Kikuchi, *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp*, John Modell, ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, 248, 250.
80. Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, Seattle; University of Washington Press, 2000, 99-100.
81. Yoshio Matsuda, Rohwer Autobiographies, #70, Dec. 14, 1942.
82. Louise Ogawa, letter to Miss Breed, September 27, 1942, 93.75.31N, Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California, Gift of Elizabeth Yamada.
83. Lillie Y. McCabe, Interviewed by Jeffrey B. Yamada, October 19, 1987, California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program Japanese American Project, Nisei Experience, O.H. 1949, 2, 6.
84. Kikuko Nakagiri Ishida in *Blossoms in the Desert: Topaz High School Class of 1945*, Darrell Y. Hamamoto, South San Francisco: Giant Horse Printing, Inc, 2003, 56.
85. Lillie Y. McCabe, Interviewed by Jeffrey B. Yamada, October 19, 1987, California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program Japanese American Project, Nisei Experience, O.H. 1949, 2.
86. Yoshie Mary Tashima interviewed by Pat Tashima, February 15, 1974, California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program, Japanese American Project, Japanese American Evacuation, O.H. 1360, 5.

87. Yasumitsu "Yas" Furuya in *Blossoms in the Desert: Topaz High School Class of 1945*, Darrell Y. Hamamoto, South San Francisco: Giant Horse Printing, Inc, 2003, 27-28.
88. "She Makes 'Em Herself," *Manzanar Free Press*, June 2, 1942, 4.
89. Martha Inouye Oye in *Reflections: Memoirs of Japanese American Women in Minnesota*, John Nobuya Tsuchida, ed., Covina, California: Pacific Asia Press, 1994, 294. As Martha Inouye Oye remembered of her experiences at Minidoka: "Comfort was uppermost in the minds of the people when they first arrived here. As at the assembly centers, talented and creative evacuees built partitions and furniture from discarded lumber and material picked up around the barracks to make their rooms more habitable."
90. Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983, 132, 137-138
91. Hatsuye Egami, *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami*, ed., Claire Gorfinkel, Pasadena: Intentional Productions, 1996, 78.
92. Noboru Shirai, *Tule Lake: An Issei Memoir*, Sacramento: Muteki Press, 2001, 54-55
93. Maye Mitsuye Oye Uemura in *Reflections: Memoirs of Japanese American Women in Minnesota*, John Nobuya Tsuchida, ed., Covina: California: Pacific Asia Press, 1994, 347 and Edith Watanabe, Public Testimony before the *Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*, Seattle, Washington, September 9, 1981, Reel 4, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland, 217.
94. Minoru Yasui in *Reflections: Memoirs of Japanese American Women in Minnesota*, John Nobuya Tsuchida, ed., Covina: California: Pacific Asia Press, 1994, 77.
95. Yukiko Furuta interviewed by Arthur Hansen and Yasko Gamo on June 17 and July 6, 1982, Historical and Cultural Foundation of Orange County, Japanese American Council and California State University Fullerton, Oral History Program, Japanese American Project, Issei Experience in Orange County, California, O.H. 1752, 39.
96. Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, Seattle; University of Washington Press, 2000, 78.
97. Lillie Y. McCabe, Interviewed by Jeffrey B. Yamada, October 19, 1987, California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program Japanese American Project, Nisei Experience, O.H. 1949, 2.
98. Kimi Yamada Yanari in *Reflections: Memoirs of Japanese American Women in Minnesota*, John Nobuya Tsuchida, ed., Covina, California, Pacific Asia Press, 1995, 162-163.

99. Hatsuye Egami, *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami*, ed., Claire Gorfinkel, Pasadena: Intentional Productions, 1996, 60 and Yuri Kochiyama, *Fishmerchant's Daughter: An Oral History, Volume I*, New York: Community Documentation Workshop, 1981, 13. At Tulare, furniture crafters were described as "menfolk" who skillfully transformed discarded apples boxes and orange crates into couches, ironing boards, and tables and at Santa Anita, internees made furniture from cardboard cartoons.
100. June Igaue interviewed by Nancy Aweimrine, November 12, 1984, California State University Fullerton, oral History Program, Japanese American Project, Internment Experience in World War II, O.H. 1769, 9.
101. "The Boom Town Part III: A Day in the Relocation Center," Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, YWCA Records, #025-18 Box 50, Folder 5, 47.
102. Noriko S. Bridges, Written Testimony to the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, San Francisco, California, August 11, 1981 also in *Personal Justice Denied*, 161.
103. Shuzo Chris Kato, Testimony before the U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, Seattle, Washington, September 9, 1981, Reel 4, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland, 201.
104. June Igaue interviewed by Nancy Aweimrine, November 12, 1984, California State University Fullerton, oral History Program, Japanese American Project, Internment Experience in World War II, O.H. 1769,11. Online
105. Kimi Yamada Yanari in *Reflections: Memoirs of Japanese American Women in Minnesota*, John Nobuya Tsuchida, ed., Covina: California: Pacific Asia Press, 1994, 163.
106. Nomi, *Nisei Odyssey: The Camp Years*, Fountain Valley, California: Bowder Printing and Publishing Co., 1991, 184.
107. Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, Seattle; University of Washington Press, 1982, 137. "Comfort was the uppermost in the minds of the people.....worried mothers were the most skillful of all.
108. Kasen Noda in *Internees: War Relocation Center Memoirs and Diaries*, Takeo Kaneshiro, ed., New York: Vintage Press, 1976, 15.
109. George Fukasawa by Arthur Hansen on August 12, 1974 for the California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program, Japanese American Project, Japanese American Evacuation, O.H. 1336, Japanese American World War II evacuation Oral History Project, Part I: Internees ed Arthur A Hansen, California State University, Fullerton, Westport: Meckler, 1991, 242,

110. Shiro Nomura, "Inside Manzanar During World War 2," *Inyo Museum News Bulletin*, February, 1975, Part 5, 3.
111. Noboru Shirai, *Tule Lake: An Issei Memoir*, Sacramento, California: Muteki Press, 2001, 54.
112. Kazutoshi Mayeda, Testimony before the U.S. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago, Illinois, September 22, 1981, Reel 5,, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland, 220.
113. "Taking Lumber Without Proper Authority Banned," *Denson Tribune*, May 25, 1943, 1; Yuki, "Your Home and Mine," *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, November 14, 1942, 3.
114. Hatsuye Egami, *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami*, ed., Claire Gorfinkel, Pasadena: Intentional Productions, 1996, 60, 78; "From Cooking to Carpentry," *Tanforan Totalizer*, June 20, 1942, 5.
115. Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 66-67.
116. Tami, "Women's Mirror: Cloth Griaaffe," *Topaz Times*, January 16, 1943, 5; Tami, "Women's Mirror," *Topaz Times*, January 23, 1943, 5.
117. Tomoye Ta, "Women's Mirror: Pot-Holder," *Topaz Times*, February 27, 1943, 5.
118. Kumiko Ishida in *Blossoms in the Desert: Topaz High School Class of 1945*, Darrell Y. Hamamoto, South San Francisco: Giant Horse Printing, Inc, 2003, 60.
119. Yoshie Mary Tashima interviewed by Pat Tashima, February 15, 1974, California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program, Japanese American Project, Japanese American Evacuation, O.H. 1360, 5.
120. Yuri Kochiyama, *Fishmerchant's Daughter: An Oral History, Volume I*, New York: Community Documentation Workshop, 1981, 13.
121. Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, Seattle; University of Washington Press, 2000, 78.
122. Monica Sone, *Nisei Daughter*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000, 177, 196.
123. Estelle Ishigo, *Lone Heart Mountain*, Los Angeles: Anderson, Ritchie, & Simon, 1972, 48; Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 164-165.

124. Fusa Tsumagari, letter to Clara Breed, November 23, 1942, 93.75.31IH, Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California.
125. Miwako Oana, "Scratch Pad," *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, February 6, 1942, 5.
126. Kudo Masanobu, *The History of Ikebana*, Tokyo: Shufunotomo Co., Ltd., 1986; Patricia Massy, *The Essentials of Ikebana*, Tokyo: Shufunotomo Co., Ltd., 1978
127. Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 22-23, 58-59.
128. Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 82-83.
129. Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 136-137.
130. Molly Miyako Kimura interviewed by Hiroko Tsuda on February 2, 1995 in Sacramento, California, Oral History Project of the Japanese American Citizens League, Florin Chapter and California State University, Sacramento, California.
131. Shigeno Hoka Nishimi interviewed by Marion Kanemoto on September 22, 1992, in Sacramento, California, Oral History Program of the Japanese American Citizens League, Florin Chapter and California State University, Sacramento, California.
132. See examples of futoi at <http://www.hana300.com/futoi0.html>
133. Fletcher Bowron to John Toland, April 27, 1942, U.S. House. Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration [Tolan Committee]. Report. 77 Congress., 2nd Session, 1942, House Report 2124, Serial 10668, 40.
- Private property owned by Japanese Americans was confiscated by a range of both legal and illegal actions. The assets of most Issei were frozen and controlled by a complicated and opaque web of bureaucracy created by the Federal Reserve Bank, Farm Security Administration, and the Office of the Alien Property Custodian. To retain ownership of private property, Issei were required to complete Inventory Forms referred to as a TRF-300, an obligation many were not aware of. Property owned by Nisei was pilfered and , stolen, with many Caucasians obtaining "legal" titles through corrupt means. Regardless of the method, it is estimated by the Congressional Commission On Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) that uncompensated economic losses of Japanese Americans equaled nearly 400 million in 1945 dollars When adjusted to 1985 standards this amount was the equivalent of 2 billion dollars. For more discussion on economic losses see United States. Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997, 60-61, 122, 131-132; Michi Nishiura Weglyn, *Years of Infamy; The Untold story of America's*

Concentration Camps, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995, 76. Congressional Record, Extension of Remarks, Thursday, December 12, 1985, 99th Cong. 1st Sess. 131 Cong Rec E 5603 Reference: Vol. 131 No. 172; Continuation of House Proceedings of December 11, 1985, Issue No. 171; and Proceedings of December 12, 1985, Issue No. 172. <http://bss.sfsu.edu/internment/Congressional%20Records/19851212.html>

134. Pleistocene refers to the time period that spanned from 1.8 million to 11,000 years ago.

135. Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 10-11.

136. Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 77, 86, 91, 163.

137. Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 68-69, 158-159.

138. "Artistic Talent Shown," *Denson Tribune*, March 2, 1943, 2; YO, "Tree Knobs Exhibit Opens," *Communique*, February 23, 1943, 3; Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 10-11, 32-33, 106, 114.

139. Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 16, 88-89.

140. Yoshito Wayne Osaki, "The Paper Christmas Tree," in *From Our Side of the Fence: Growing Up America's Concentration Camps*, Brian Komei Dempster ed., San Francisco: Kearney Street Workshop, 2001, 53.

141. Estelle Ishigo, *Lone Heart Mountain*, Los Angeles: Anderson, Ritchie, & Simon, 1972, 23.

142. Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982, 136.

143. Nomi, *Nisei Odyssey: The Camp Years*, Fountain Valley, California: Bowder Printing and Publishing Co., 1991, 52-53.

144. Charles Kikuchi, *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp*, John Modell, ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, 84.

145. Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, Seattle; University of Washington Press, 1982, 83 and Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, Seattle; University of Washington Press, 2000, 96.

146. Fusa Tsumagari, letter to Clara Breed, July 16, 1942, 93.75.31JA, Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California.
147. Interview of Mas Ueysugi by John McFarlane on April 16, 1971, Japanese American Evacuation O.H. 1071, California State University Fullerton, Oral History Program, Japanese American Project, 5, 7.
148. Jeffrey F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord and Richard W. Lord, eds, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000, 101-128; United States. Army. Western Defense Command and Fourth Army. *Final Report: Japanese Evacuation From the West Coast, 1942*, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943, 273.
149. Jeffrey F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord and Richard W. Lord, eds, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000, 149, 154.
150. John Hirohata, "Attractive Nameplates Adorn Center Apartments," *Denson Tribune*, March 12, 1943, 3.
151. Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 26-27.
152. T.O., "Plain and Fancy Mailboxes Decorate Homes," *Communique*, February 16, 1943, 5.
153. Estelle Ishigo, *Lone Heart Mountain*, Los Angeles: Anderson, Ritchie, & Simon, 1972, 48 and Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 138-139.
154. Jeffrey F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord and Richard W. Lord, eds, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000, 163.
155. "Resident Makes 1000 'Shakushi'," *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, May 1, 1943, 8.
156. "Tanforan Tour," *Tanforan Totalizer*, June 27, 1942, 6; Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 14-15.
157. "Ingenuity Used in Decorations," *Communique*, December 24, 1942, 2.
158. Estelle Ishigo, *Lone Heart Mountain*, Los Angeles: Anderson, Ritchie, & Simon, 1972, 52.

159. Shiro Nomura, "Inside Manzanar During World War 2," *Inyo Museums News Bulletin*, December, 1975, Part 14C, 5.
160. Letter to Esther from Grace Morioka, Poston, Arizona, September 10, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, YWCA Records, #025-18 Box 50, Folder 2, 2.
161. Letter from Alice to Miss Kimi Mukaye, YWCA National Secretary, Amache Young Women's Christian Association Hospitality House, April 13, 1943, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, YWCA I, 49a, Folder 2, 2.
162. Winona Chambers, Report of Local Visit, Gila Relocation Center, Rivers, Arizona, May 9-14, 1944, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, YWCA I, 49a, Folder 1, 3; "Narrative Report for Quarter ending December 31, 1944, Canal Advisory Board, 2," Sophie Smith Collection, YWCA 1, Box 49a, Folder 1: Gila River, Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts.
163. Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, Seattle; University of Washington Press, 2000, 126.
164. Hatsuye Egami, *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami*, ed., Claire Gorfinkel, Pasadena: Intentional Productions, 1996, 89.
165. *Our Daily Diary*, May 26, 1943, MSS A 1031, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.
166. Sheryl Ritchie, "School Life in Poston," in *Through Innocent Eyes: Writings and Art from the Japanese American Internment by Poston I Schoolchildren*, Vincent Tajiri, ed., Los Angeles: Keiro Services Press, 1990, 46.
167. Hisako Watanabe, letter to Clara Breed, January 7, 1943, 93.75.31JG, Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California.
168. Aiko Tanamachi Endo interviewed by Marsha Bode on November 15m 1983, Historical and Cultural Foundation of Orange County, Japanese American Council and California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program, Japanese American Project, Nisei Experience in Orange County, California, O.H. 1750, 34.
169. June Igaue interviewed by Nancy Aweimrine, November 12, 1984 in Los Angeles, California State University Fullerton, Oral History Program, Japanese American Project, Internment Experience in World War II, O.H. 1769, 10.; Jeffrey F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord and Richard W. Lord, eds, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000, 221-223; Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men: General Principles and Recommendations Based on Experience at a Japanese Relocation Camp*, New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1964, 104.

170. Fusa Tsumagari, letter to Clara Breed, October 9, 1942, 93.75.31FB, Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, California.
171. John Hirohata, "Cabinet Shop Is One of the Busiest in Center," *Denson Tribune*, March 16, 1943, 3.
172. "Carpenter Shop Products Varied," *Denson Tribune*, April 9, 1943, 3.
173. Butte Community Quarterly Report, YWCA, October 1, 1944 to December 31, 1944, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, YWCA I, 49a, Folder 1, 4.
174. June Igaue interviewed by Nancy Aweimrine, November 12, 1984, California State University Fullerton, oral History Program, Japanese American Project, Internment Experience in World War II, O.H. 1769, 8.
175. Martha Inouye Oye in *Reflections: Memoirs of Japanese American Women in Minnesota*, John Nobuya Tsuchida, ed., Covina, California: Pacific Asia Press, 1994, 294.
176. Rick Bonus, *Locating Filipino Americans: Ethnicity and the Cultural Politics of Space*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000, 4.
177. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference," *Cultural Anthropology* 7, 1992, 11.
178. Mary Tsukamoto in *And Justice For All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps*, John Tateishi, ed., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001, 12-14.
179. Hatsuye Egami, *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami*, ed., Claire Gorfinkel, Pasadena: Intentional Productions, 1996, 61-62.
180. Yuri Kochiyama, *Fishmerchant's Daughter: An Oral History, Volume I*, New York: Community Documentation Workshop, 1981, 13.
181. Charles Kikuchi, *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp*, John Modell, ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, 132-133. "In the infield there is an interesting garden. It is laid out beautifully and has some fragrant flowers already blooming. Around it is a sort of bamboo-like fence and right in the middle on a post is one of those Japanese lanterns. The whole thing looks like old Japan. Some people just can't divorce themselves from Japan and cling to the old traditions and ways. The garden is an outward indication of this sentiment for Japan. The odds are that the builder of the garden is pro-Japan, although he may have built it for cultural reasons."
182. Charles Kikuchi, *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp*, John Modell, ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, 34, 53.

183. "Model Planes, Tins, Tubes, Gardens," *Tanforan Totalizer*, June 13, 1942, 4; Charles Kikuchi, *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle from an American Concentration Camp*, John Modell, ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, 203.
184. Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983, 97; Nay, "Tanforan Tour," *Tanforan Totalizer*, August 1, 1942, 8.
185. "Tanforan Tour," *Tanforan Totalizer*, August 15, 1942, 8; Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982, 2000, 93-94. "Although we knew that Tanforan was only a temporary home, we all worked constantly to make the windswept racetrack a more attractive and pleasant place. Dozens of small vegetable and flower gardens flourished along the barracks and stables, and a corner of camp that once housed a junk pile was transformed into a colorful camp garden of stocks, sweetpeas, irises, zinnias, and marigolds. A group of talented men also made a miniature park with trees and a waterfall, creating a small lake complete with a wooden bridge, pier, and an island. It wasn't much, but it was one of the many efforts made to comfort eye and heart."
186. "The Reviewing Stand," *Tanforan Totalizer*, June 20, 1942, 2.
187. "Center Scenic Spot: North Lake," *Tanforan Totalizer*, August 5, 1942, 4; "Lake Opening," *Tanforan Totalizer*, August 1, 1942, 2.
188. Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983, 98-99; "Tanforan Calender," *Tanforan Totalizer*, September 12, 1942, no page, appears under August heading.
189. "Regatta," *Tanforan Totalizer*, July 11, 1942, 9.
190. "Tanforan's Sail Fleet," *Tanforan Totalizer*, June 27, 1942, 7.
191. Charles Kikuchi, *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle From an American Concentration Camp*, John Modell, ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, 2, 135.
192. In camp newspapers, published diaries, and War Relocation Authority photographs images emerge of lonely, isolated, and powerless old men idly whiling away the hours carving out name plates, model boats, and canes. Rather than framing model ship building and the resulting sailing activities of Issei men at Lake Tanforan as vital elements of placemaking, Charles Kikuchi observed: "The Issei haven't anything else to do and I see them around all day long painstakingly carving out these boats." Charles Kikuchi, *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle From an American Concentration Camp*, John Modell, ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, 135. In a 1943 *Trek* article reporting on conditions at Poston, this image of emasculated Issei men was even more pronounced. "In many cases, once respected heads of families have been reduced to the status of futile old men, who spend their leisure hours cackling over choice bits of gossip, or polishing

ironwood to wow the customers at the next Art and Hobby show, in the hope of perhaps regaining a part of their lost prestige.” Jim Yamada. “Report from Poston,” *Trek*, June, 1943, 36. Another internee remembered a cane that her father carved and polished as a “sad, homemade version of the samurai sword his great-great-grandfather carried in the land around Hiroshima, at a time when such warriors weren’t much needed anymore.” Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar*, New York: Bantam Books, 1973, 40.

But a more subtle and especially revealing representation, appeared in the *Camp Harmony News-Letter*, where a fifty-four year old grandfather and prolific wood carver was described as a compliant, “unpretentious little man.” As the article reported to those imprisoned at Puyullap, Washington: “The thermometer may rise to 110 degrees, and the rains may beat down in furious assault, but there is one man who never complains. He sits whittling on a slab of rough thick bark--a picture of quiet contentment.” Beyond his role as a grandfather, the internee reporter identified the carver as a former agricultural worker by informing readers that “the carefully tended acres of lettuce and peas and berries are no longer his immediate environs.” Tadako Tamaura, “Okitsu Pride of ‘C’ Carvers Has Made Hobby Into Art,” *Camp Harmony Newsletter*, July 10, 1942, 3. Here we are offered an image of a man sitting alone, devoid of community, occupation, and role as family patriarch. No mention is made of the product of his activity or the contribution his work made to improving camp life. Even the functional craft activity of furniture making was sometimes portrayed negatively. Commenting on the vast array of furniture made by men imprisoned at Tulare, Hatsuye Egami observed: “The creator of each piece looks upon each finished product with a sense of pride. But when I realize that these bits of salvaged wood are shaped into such pieces partly to while away the idle hours, I am overtaken with sadness.” Hatsuye Egami, *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami*, 60.

193. Gary Okihiro, “The Japanese in America,” in Brian Niiya, ed., *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History: An A-Z Reference from 1868 to the Present*, New York: Checkmark Books, 2001, 15.

194. Charles Kikuchi, *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicle From an American Concentration Camp*, John Modell, ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993, 203; “Center Garden,” *Tanforan Totalizer*, July 11, 1942, 4; “Garden Exhibit,” *Tanforan Totalizer*, August 22, 1942, 3.

195. Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982, 2000, 93-94. “Although we knew that Tanforan was only a temporary home, we all worked constantly to make the windswept racetrack a more attractive and pleasant place. Dozens of small vegetable and flower gardens flourished along the barracks and stables, and a corner of camp that once housed a junk pile was transformed into a colorful camp garden of stocks, sweetpeas, irises, zinnias, and marigolds.

196. Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982, 2000, 100.
197. Miyuki Aoyama, "Flower Garden Adds Color to Center," *Santa Anita Pacemaker*, May 26, 1942, 3.
198. Fred Yamamoto, "Ingenuity Produces Unique Center Rock Garden," *Santa Anita Pacemaker*, July 15, 1942, 4; Miyuki Aoyama, "Flower Garden Adds Color to Center," *Santa Anita Pacemaker*, May 26, 1942, 3.
199. Miyuki Aoyama, "Tin Cans Used," *Santa Anita Pacemaker*, July 18, 1942, 2.
200. Eddie Shimano, "Who's Zoo," *Santa Anita Pacemaker*, July 4, 1942, 6; Miyuki Aoyama, "Spruce Use of Wood Good: Creation is Sensation," *Santa Anita Pacemaker*, June 27, 1942, 4.
201. "First Harvesting at Santa Anita," *Manzanar Free Press*, July 24, 1942, 2; "We'll Grow 'Em and Eat 'Em," *Santa Anita Pacemaker*, July 1, 1942, 2; Anna Sakaizawa, "Center Radishes," *Santa Anita Pacemaker*, July 15, 1942, 2; "First Crops Harvested," *Santa Anita Pacemaker*, July 18, 1942, 2.
202. Scott Wong, "Rhyme of Her Life: Local Poet, Survivor of Japanese Internment Camp, Turns 100," *Los Altos Town Crier*, December 18, 2002, 1.
203. Kitty Nakagawa, Jean Kariya, and Mari Eijima interviewed by Sandra Taylor, June 14, 1988 in Leonia, New Jersey, Acc. 1002, Box 3, Folder 16, Topaz Oral Histories, Special Collections, University of Utah Marriott Library, 21. "My first perception was one of bleakness, that there was just black nothingness and dryness and I guess you might call it death, and little by little life began to appear as they imported those boxes of shrubs, you remember they were planting all over, and then little by little some semblance of life began to assume."
204. Hiromoto Katayama interviewed by Sandra Taylor on October 27, 1987, in Berkeley, California, Acc. 1002, Box 2, Folder 3, Topaz Oral Histories, Special Collections, University of Utah Marriott Library, 28; Iijima, interviewed by Sandra Taylor, October 6, 1986 in New York City, Acc. 1002, Box 2, Folder 1, Topaz Oral Histories, Special Collections, University of Utah Marriott Library, 6; Minoru Kiyota, *Beyond Loyalty: The Story of a Kibei*, translated by Linda Klepinger Keenan, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997, 76; Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1983, 192-93, 149-50.
205. *Our Daily Diary*, May 28, 1943, MSS A 1031, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

206. Leonard J. Arrington, *The Price of Prejudice: The Japanese American Relocation Center in Utah During World War II*, Logan, Utah: The Faculty Association at Utah State University, 1962 reprinted by Delta, Utah: Topaz Museum, 1997, 24-25, 37.
207. Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese-American Family*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1982, 2000, 138.
208. Yoshie Mary Tashima interviewed by Pat Tashima, February 15, 1974, California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program, Japanese American Project, Japanese American Evacuation, O.H. 1360, 5. "There weren't any trees, or shrubs, or greenery-just barracks out in the middle of the desert and a great, big wire fence around there so we wouldn't escape....We finally landscaped that desert into something beautiful. It's just remarkable what people can do to a nothing place. We planted trees, flowers, and a lawn."
209. Mas Ueysugi interviewed by John McFarlane, April 16, 1971, California State University, Fullerton, Oral History Program, Japanese American Project, Japanese American Evacuation, O.H. 1071, 7.
210. Yoshi Uchiyama Tani in *Reflections: Memoirs of Japanese American Women in Minnesota*, John Nobuya Tsuchida, ed., Covina, California, Pacific Asia Press, 1995, 128, 131, 132, 140.
211. Mas Tanibata interviewed by Mary Tamura on March 4, 1994, Terminal Island Life History Project, Japanese American National Museum, 10.
212. Tom Watanabe in *And Justice for All: An Oral History of the Japanese American Detention Camps*, John Tateishi, ed., Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999, 94 - 99
213. Roy Nash, "From the Project Director Roy Nash," *Manzanar Free Press*, July 27, 1942, 2.
214. Caleb Foote, "Outcasts!," *Fellowship, 1944* in *The Lost Years: 1942-1946*, Sue Kunitomi Embrey, ed., Los Angeles: Moonlight Publications, 1972, p. 40.
215. Interview of Anonymous by Richard Curtiss, March 4, 1966, Japanese American Evacuation O.H. 11, California State University Fullerton, Oral History Program, Japanese American Project, 17. Poston 1 Oh yes, the people planted shrubbery and improved the place to make it more livable. It got better all the time. When we first went there, it was dusty and nothing there."
216. As part of the deal, the WRA agreed to develop agricultural land and build roads.

217. Jeffrey F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord and Richard W. Lord, eds, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000, 61.
218. Paul Vokota, "At Random: Victory Gardens," *Denson Tribune*, April 16, 1943, 2.
219. Paul Vokota, "At Random," *Denson Tribune*, March 30, 1943, 2 and "'Green Lawn' Turns Out to be Chives," *Denson Tribune*, April 2, 1943, 2.
220. "Variety of Plants Sold At Center Stores," *Denson Tribune*, March 12, 1943, 4.
221. Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 50-51
222. Allen H. Eaton, *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocations Camps*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1952, 160-161.
223. "Tin Cans Used By Resident for Victory Garden," *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, March 27, 1943, 8.
224. Estelle Ishigo, *Lone Heart Mountain*, Los Angeles: Anderson, Ritchie, & Simon, 1972, 47-48, 50, 62.
225. Katsu Oikawa, "Combined Victory Garden Grows Under Heart Mountain Shadow," *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, July 3, 1943, 8.
226. "Actual work on Hotbeds Begun," *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, March 27, 1943, 8.
227. "Topsoil," *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, April 17, 1942, 5.
228. Random House Unabridged Dictionary, New York: Random House, Inc., 1997, on Infoplease <http://www.infoplease.com/ipd/A0480371.html>
229. Ed Tokeshi, "West Coast Pioneers Toil on Virgin Land," *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, May 8, 1943, 5
230. "Local Farm Program is Speeded," *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, June 26, 194, 8; Estelle Ishigo, *Lone Heart Mountain*, 76.
231. "Caravan On Way North; Autos Piled High With Goods," *Los Angeles Daily News*, March 23, 1943, 1, 8.
232. "1000 Japs Leave L.A. by car, Train as Big Exodus On," *Los Angeles Daily News*, March 23, 1942, 1.

233. Jeff Putman and Genny Smith, ed., *Deepest Valley: Guide to Owens Valley*, Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1995, 254 and Phil Garrison, "Evacuees Challenged to Equal Valley Pioneers," *Los Angeles Daily News*, March 25, 1942, 3, 17 at Eastern California Museum Subject History Files, Magazine and Newspaper Clippings, 1940s.
234. Jeff Putman and Genny Smith, ed., *Deepest Valley: Guide to Owens Valley*, Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1995, 256.
235. Jeffrey F. Burton, *Three Farewells to Manzanar: The Archeology of Manzanar National Historic Site*, Tucson: Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Publications in Anthropology 67, Volume 1, 1996, 3.
236. "Planning a Lawn?" *Manzanar Free Press*, July 7, 1942, 4. Internees planting lawns at Manzanar were apply to borrow rakes, shovels, and seed from block leaders.
237. "Gardens: Harvest Time to be Here Soon," *Manzanar Free Press*, June 9, 1942, 4..
238. Sue Kunitomi Embrey, Arthur A. Hansen, and Betty Kulberg Mitson, eds., *Manzanar Martyr: An Interview with Harry Y. Ueno*, Anaheim: California: Shumway Family Historical Series, 1986, 28-30.
239. "Harvest Time Near for Local Farms," *Manzanar Free Press*, July 4, 1942, 3.
240. "Watermelon Seeds Planted," and "125 Acres Cultivated," *Manzanar Free Press*, June 4, 1942, 3.
241. Shiro Nomura, "Inside Manzanar During World War 2," *Inyo Museums News Bulletin*, April 1, Part 7, 3; "Harvest Time Near for Local Farms," *Manzanar Free Press*, July 4, 1942, 3.
242. "Harvesting of Pears From Orchard Begins," *Manzanar Free Press*, August 26, 1942, 1.
243. Shiro Nomura, "Inside Manzanar During World War 2," *Inyo Museum News Bulletin*, May 1975, Part 8, 7 and Part 9, 6.
244. Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar*, New York: Bantam Books, 1973, 95.
245. "Children's Village," *Manzanar Free Press*, July 7, 1942, 4.
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386. Esther Torii Suzuki in *Reflections: Memoirs of Japanese American Women in Minnesota*, John Nobuya Tsuchida, ed., Covina: California: Pacific Asia Press, 1994, 102. "In our detention center, days dragged endlessly."
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392. According to Freud, egos mediate the conflicting functions of our ids and superegos. We are all born with ids, the part of our minds that represents our impulses. Vital for newborns, the id is intent on satisfying basic human needs such as hunger and avoiding pain. With no consideration for the needs of others, the id impatiently wants what feels good. By the age of three, the ego develops to mediate the needs of the id. Firmly rooted in a growing awareness of external and situational constraints, the ego makes reasoned decisions and judgement. In the context of mourning and melancholia, the ego is comprised of the residues of successfully resolved losses. The superego develops by the age of five and is the moral part of us deciphering right from wrong. Thus the id is grounded in pleasure and the ego in reality with the superego representing our conscience.

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402. "Buddhists Busy making Small Scrolls," *Denson Tribune*, May 18, 1943, 3.
403. "The Boom Town Part III: A Day in the Relocation Center," Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, YWCA Records, #025-18 Box 50, Folder 5, 50.
404. Sonoko Iwata, letter to Shigezo Iwata, June 19, 1942, Iwata Papers, MSS53, 2-3, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania..
405. Kiyoko Kodama, letter to Mr. And Mrs. Iwata from Poston Elementary School , January 21, 1944, MSS53, Box 2, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia,

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Illustration References

- Figure 1.** Record Group: 210 – WRA no. C-830
Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.
Manzanar, Calif.--Street scene looking east toward the Inyo Mountains at this War Relocation Authority center. The children are coming to their barrack homes from play school. Each family has one room to live in in these barracks. There is no running water in the barracks so all the families in one block use a central bath house. The barracks are heated by wood burning stoves.
Photographer: Lange, Dorothea Manzanar, California. 6/29/42
- Figure 2.** Record Group: 210 – WRA no. E-434
Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.
The Ninomiya family in their barracks room at the Amache Center. The mother's handiwork in preparing drapes, fashioning furniture out of scrap material, plus the boys' ingenuity in preparing double deck bunks have made this bare brick floor barracks room a fairly comfortable duration home. Tosh Ninomiya, left, is charged with the responsibility of documenting the history of the Amache Center.
Photographer: Parker, Tom Amache, Colorado. 12/9/42
- Figure 3.** Record Group: 210 – WRA #E-775
Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.
This demonstration of artificial flower making is being preformed by three centerites at the Arts and Crafts Festival which was sponsored by the Education Division and the Pioneer the center newspaper.
Photographer: Pat Coffey Amache, Colorado. 3/6/43
- Figure 4.** Record Group: 210 – WRA no. E-819
Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.
Two students, in an adult education class, getting points from instructor Masao Hatano in the art of Ikebana . The example illustrated, which was created by the instructor, is an example of the perfected art. All adult classes, which enable center residents (former west coast persons of Japanese ancestry) to break the harshness of their barracks homes, by providing small art objects, are very popular.
Photographer: Parker, Tom Denson, Arkansas. 3/12/43
- Figure 5.** Record Group: 210 – WRA no. D-256
Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD.
An evacuee family spends a quiet evening in their barracks. The decoration of this apartment is quite typical and shows the home made furniture, shelves, bookcases and other furniture.
Photographer: Stewart, Francis Newell, California. 9/10/42

Figure 6 Record Group: 210 – WRA no. C-654
Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park,
MD.

Tanforan Assembly Center, San Bruno, Calif.--Mrs. Fujita working in her tiny vegetable garden she has planted in front of her barrack home at this assembly center.

Photographer: Lange, Dorothea San Bruno, California. 6/16/42

Figure 7 Record Group: 210 – WRA no. C-324
Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park,
MD.

Tanforan barracks upon arrival.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange San Bruno, California. 4/29/42

and

Record Group: 210 – WRA no. C-636
Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park,
MD.

Tanforan six weeks after arrival.

Photographer: Dorothea Lange San Bruno, California. 6/16/42

Figure 8 Record Group: 210 – WRA no. C-689
Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park,
MD.

Manzanar, Calif.--Evacuee in her hobby garden which rates highest of all the garden plots at this War Relocation Authority center. Vegetables for their own use are grown in plots of 10 x 50 feet between barracks rows.

Photographer: Lange, Dorothea Manzanar, California. 7/2/42

Figure 9. Library of Congress Microform Collection
Camp Harmony Newsletter, Souvenir Edition, August 14, 1942, p. 8.

Figure 10. Record Group: 210 – WRA no. E-692
Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park,
MD.

Residents of Japanese ancestry, at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, were quick to grasp the recreational advantages of Wyoming's cold weather. Ponds were constructed and flooded, and former Californians to whom ice skating was a new sport, were enthusiastically nursing bruises and enjoying the sport.

Photographer: Parker, Tom Heart Mountain, Wyoming. 1/10/43

Figure 11. Record Group: 210 – WRA no. K-517
Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park,
MD.

John Yoshida, suicide, 23 years old. He is survived by father, step-mother, married sister, all at Jerome Relocation Center, and a married sister living at Rohwer Relocation Center.

Denson, Arkansas. 1/?/44

Figure 12. Record Group: 210 – WRA #B-154
Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park,
MD.

Opportunities are made for handicraft at the War Relocation Authority center for evacuees of
Japanese ancestry. This craftsman is making geta--home-made wood sandals.

Photographer: Clem Albers

Manzanar, California. 4/2/42

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