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I employ archaeological analyses, archival research, and oral histories to investigate traditional Japanese practices that were performed at Amache, a World War II Japanese American incarceration facility. I argue that these inter-generational practices helped to bridge a cultural gap that existed between several generations of Japanese Americans. For many incarcerated Japanese Americans, their first exposure to many traditional activities occurred during incarceration. The resulting social environment incorporated aspects of Japanese, Japanese American, and mainstream American influences, all of which were adapted to conditions during incarceration. Similarly, archaeological analyses allow for the investigation of traditional practice features. These provide evidence regarding the significance of the adapted landscape at Amache. Evidence of these practices suggests Amache internees had both a strong desire to maintain and celebrate these aspects of their Japanese heritage but they also incorporated non-traditional elements that reflected the unique living conditions during incarceration. Incarceration, I argue, created an environment in which a unique internee consciousness was formed in which the use of traditional practices was a focal point. The physical remains of traditional practices allow archaeologists to determine aspects of this newly formed consciousness that are not readily apparent in historical documentation.

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Wrestling With Tradition: Japanese Activities at Amache, a World War II Incarceration Facility

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A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Denver

_____

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

_____

by

Zachary A. Starke

August 2015

Advisor: Bonnie Clark

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Chapter One: Introduction

The World War II incarceration of over 120,000 Japanese Americans, most of whom were American citizens, was predicated by decades of anti-Asian racism and greed. Early Japanese immigrants continued many traditional practices characteristic of those living in Japan. Most second generation Japanese in the United States grew up almost entirely American, employing fewer traditional Japanese practices than their parents' generation. During World War II, many traditionally associated Japanese practices and recreational activities were actively abandoned or subdued in an effort not to appear to support imperialist Japan. These activities were not entirely abandoned, however. Some served to bridge the generational gap between first- and second-generation Japanese immigrants, many of whom faced obstacles in maintaining close relationships across strong generational and cultural divides.

Archaeological investigations and primary source research has revealed evidence of some of these inter-generational traditional Japanese practices at the Amache incarceration facility in southeastern Colorado. Specifically, my focus is those traditional Japanese activities that both show evidence of inter-generational use and impacted the historical landscape at Amache. The physical evidence of these practices provides evidence regarding the significance of Japanese practices to Amache internees and how

they were adapted to life during incarceration. Other practices analyzed through historical documents provide similar evidence regarding how the negotiation of social space within Amache was managed. My initial research focused solely on the physical and historical evidence of these practices. Exploring the gathered data provided results that led to further analysis regarding the physical and social construction of internee life at Amache. Specifically, aspects of inter-generational practice and gender were discovered to be significant factors influencing traditional activities.

Significance

This research is significant in determining aspects of traditional Japanese culture that were practiced during World War II and it also provides evidence that these practices contributed to intergenerational cohesion among many Japanese Americans. Archaeological investigations allow the examination of the historical landscape in which these practices were performed, providing a more comprehensive analysis of physical structures for traditional practices than historical research would allow. Leading up to the war many traditional practices were intentionally abandoned by Japanese Americans in an attempt to both prevent hostile associations with Imperial Japan and to broadcast loyalty to the United States. During incarceration the government explicitly sought to acculturate Japanese Americans into homogenized American middle-class culture by both encouraging American cultural activities and preventing those that were outside the

norm. The flourishing of traditional Japanese practices performed by several generations of Japanese Americans during incarceration is significant for the continuation and celebration of ethnic identities and culture at a time when that part of their identity was actively maligned.

Inter-generational traditional practices are significant in presenting contrary evidence regarding the common conception of the strained relationships between generations of Japanese immigrants. Most scholars of Japanese American history and culture contend that there was a deep separation between Issei and Nisei that caused a lack of closeness in many immigrant families (Ichihashi 1932; LaViolette 1945; Kitagawa 1967; Matsumoto 1993). Nisei children spoke fluent English, were educated in the American school system, and were masters of American cultural customs. Many of these traits, crucial to immigrant success in new cultures, remained mysteries to the Issei who some argue were attempting to recreate most aspects of their Japanese lives in the United States (Daniels 1972:22). The difference in generational acculturation led to significant cultural and language barriers that, in many cases, prevented close connections between parent and child from forming (Ichihashi 1932:348; Fugita and Fernandez 2004:46; LaViolette 1945:142; Matsumoto 1986:71).

Many Issei retained characteristics of their Japanese upbringing after immigration while Nisei were mostly Americanized. Issei were more likely to support Japan leading up to the war; many followed native Japanese religions of Buddhism and Shintoism; most

still held close familial ties to Japan (LaViolette 1945:143-144; Kitagawa 1967:38; Daniels 1972). Nisei, as one author argues, had an "almost total lack of knowledge of Japanese culture" (Kitagawa 1967:35): they kept up with American pop-culture by listening to hit records and reading popular magazines; they publically proclaimed their support for the United States over Japan, even going so far as to express anti-Japanese sentiments; many joined Protestant religions and regularly attended Sunday schools (Shew and Kamp-Whittaker 2013:314; LaViolette 1945:143-144; Kitagawa 1967:36, 38). Despite the multitude of differences and the strained relationships evidence regarding the utilization of traditional Japanese practices outlined below suggests that younger generations indeed had some knowledge of and enthusiasm for performing aspects of Japanese culture. These practices likely contributed to the softening of relationships between Issei, Nisei, and Sansei by providing platforms to share common experiences.

Research Questions

The study of traditional Japanese practices at Amache is broken down into three categories in an attempt to focus on my specific areas of research interest. Three primary research questions were utilized to facilitate the exploration of traditional Japanese practices at Amache. Research methods (discussed below) were tailored to specifically address these questions:

1. What traditional inter-generational Japanese activities were performed at Amache?
    a. What is the evidence of the inter-generational use of the practices?
    b. How were the activities funded or supported? Was there government assistance?
    c. How does the demographic composition of participants reflect adaptations to traditional Japanese practices while incarcerated?

2. How did traditional practices alter the landscape at Amache?
    a. Does evidence of these practices exist in the archaeological record?
        i. Can we use ground penetrating radar to find subsurface evidence?
    b. How were the events organized? Who funded, directed, and participated in them?

3. How were traditional practices adapted to life during incarceration?
    a. What physical materials were bought, collected, scavenged, etc. by internees?
    b. Did the historical practices follow traditional rules, patterns, or behaviors similar to their Japanese counterparts?
        i. If not, how were the practices at Amache different?

ii. What does the alteration suggest about adherence to traditional practices during this period?

iii. What do the alterations suggest about life during incarceration?

Key Terms and Ideas

Many of the terms I use throughout this thesis may require definition for clarification. The language used reflects terminology desired by modern cultural community members. Wherever possible, restraint was utilized in using historical terminology that today is considered insensitive.

Internee – A historical person forcibly removed to an incarceration facility.

WRA – War Relocation Authority. The federal authority responsible for the maintenance of incarcerated individuals during World War II.

Issei – First generation Japanese American.

Nisei – Second generation Japanese American.

Sansei – Third generation Japanese American.

Kibei – An individual born in the United States but educated in Japan.

Incarceration facility – Semi-temporary facilities erected to house Japanese Americans who were removed from the west coast exclusion zones during World War II.

Internment camp – Common designation for historical incarceration facilities. Many community members desire this term to be replaced by "incarceration facility" or "concentration camp."

Camp – Colloquial term referring to an incarceration facility. Some community members believe this term downplays the hostile environment of historical facilities. Others routinely use this term to refer to incarceration facilities.

Traditional practices – Those cultural practices maintained from previous generations. There is no specific historical time frame that makes something traditional. In this thesis traditionalism will be based upon at least several generations of use in Japanese communities.

Conclusion

The methods of this project were designed to specifically address the significant concepts and research questions outlined above. My research presents evidence of how traditional Japanese practices allowed several generation of Japanese Americans to bridge cultural gaps that many believe to have been all but impassable barriers that prevented meaningful relationships. The following chapter will present a historical background of Japanese American history up to and during World War II in an effort to contextualize Amache as a historical site. Chapter 3 presents the methods and techniques employed to perform the research on traditional practices at Amache. Theoretical underpinnings are

discussed in chapter 4 as a way to link this research to current anthropological thought. Chapter 5 discusses sumo wrestling and presents evidence regarding its practice and significance at Amache. Bathing practices, including the physical structure of family baths, is discussed in chapter 6. Aspects of Bon Odori, a Buddhist celebration honoring the ancestors, at Amache are relayed in chapter 7. Concluding remarks and arguments are discussed in chapter 8.

Chapter Two: Background

Historical Background

The incarceration of over 100,000 Japanese Americans during World War II had its roots in the late nineteenth century. Emigration out of closed Japan was not allowed between the years 1638 and 1868 – those caught leaving could be punished by death. With the overthrow of the Tokugawa government, strict isolationist policies were replaced with more radical ones, including free movement to and from Japan (Ichihashi 1915:3). Many Japanese citizens left to seek economic advantages that were not available in their home country.

Among many of the first immigrants to the United States were students "drawn largely from the most intelligent and ambitious of the middle class" in Japan who sought a western education for their children (Ichihashi 1915:12). These were soon followed by unskilled, predominantly male laborers seeking economic advantages, expecting to earn fast cash and return to Japan (Matsumoto 1993:21; Montero 1980:6). Around the mid-1880s, about 2,000 Japanese residents came to the United States, more than half to study in California (Ichioka 1988:8). Others left to escape forced conscription in the growing military of the Japanese empire (Ichihashi 1932:90). Many found new opportunities in

the relatively short trip to the Hawaiian Islands while others settled throughout west coast states of Washington, Oregon, and California.

Immigration increased in the last decade of the nineteenth century, with Japanese arriving by the tens of thousands per year seeking employment (Ichioka 1988:51). Many came with extensive agricultural knowledge learned from years of labor in Japan. About half of the immigrant population found employment on farms and orchards (Burton et al. 2002:26). As one Japanese American professor put it, "Japanese take to farms like ducks to water" (Ichihashi 1915:22). They were especially adept at growing crops in less-than-ideal tracts of land throughout California. Others invested in commercial businesses, catering first to fellow Japanese Americans then later to Caucasians.

As was common for most non-Anglo Saxon immigrant populations, Japanese Americans were met with both de facto and codified racism. Anti-Asian sentiments began as negative attitudes towards Chinese immigrants who provided cheap labor for the California Gold Rush in the mid-1800s.The labor was desperately needed at the time, but as the labor force swelled with Chinese workers, Americans began to begrudge the increasing presence of Chinese who they felt were taking their jobs (Burton et al. 2002:25-26). Many Chinese stereotypes were applied to Japanese immigrants mostly because little distinction was made between different Asian populations, branding them as foreigners out to steal American jobs. Asians in San Francisco, for instance, were even falsely blamed for the outbreak of the Bubonic Plague (Chang 1997:17).

These tensions were compounded by the actions of the Japanese Empire in the early twentieth century. The 1905 Russo-Japanese War, culminating in the first ever defeat of a European nation by an Asian power, bred distrust and fear of the foreigners among many Americans (Burton et al. 2002:26). Japanese immigrants also maintained strong cultural and political ties to their homeland that were often expressed publically, such as annual celebrations for the emperor's birthday (Daniels 1971:6). Such celebrations were likely considered un-American by the general public, providing additional reasons to be wary of Asian immigrant populations.

Others contend that fear, envy, greed, and "naked racism" were to blame for the hostility towards Japanese immigrants (Armor and Wright 1988:29). Japanese immigrants maintained strong social connections within their community, preferring to do business and socialize with people from their homeland. Many Japanese families and towns pooled resources and expertise to purchase and manage large swaths of farmland, especially throughout the California Central Valley. While the profits earned by these farmers were modest, Caucasians felt anxiety and jealousy over the perceived successes of the foreigners, who they believed were achieving middle-class American values far too quickly and at Caucasian's expense (Harvey 2003:3-4).

Japanese work ethics also clashed with American idealism. The traditional Japanese unit is the extended family including young children and elderly grandparents. It was customary in Japan for the entire family, including wives, to work the fields

together – something unheard of from independent, self-valuing American farmers. To Caucasians, this reliance on the family for labor was seen as an affront to American values and ideas, something akin to operating a sweatshop (McWilliams 1944:78-79).

Differing religions also played a part in the hostilities. Most Japanese immigrants followed Buddhism, a popular religion throughout Asia that preaches enlightenment to end mortal suffering. Buddhism was commonly mistaken for state-sponsored Shintoism, a native Japanese religion with militaristic associations, further brooding distrust with Caucasians (Fugita and Fernandez 2004:175). Many other vague accusations were lobbed at Japanese Americans, many of which are still lobbed at immigrant populations today: large families, it was argued, were poised to overtake the Caucasian population; they engaged in unfair business practices; they threatened to undermine American institutions and culture (McWilliams 1944:83).

This racism and envy was soon codified in an attempt to limit the perceived theft of American wealth by foreign nationals. Less than two years after the opening of Japan, the Naturalization Act of 1870 limited the naturalization process to all but those with European or African ancestry. As Japanese immigration increased in the 1890s, California lawmakers argued for tightening the country's borders. In an effort to both placate the California legislature and maintain relations with the growing military might of the Japanese Empire, President Theodore Roosevelt penned the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" in 1908. The agreement was an informal arrangement between

the two nations that limited Japanese immigration into the United States and promised presidential support to reign in the radically racist California congress from passing further anti-Asian legislation.

Roosevelt's promise to curb legislated racism, however, only lasted as long as his presidency. On May 13, 1913, California Governor Hiram Johnson signed the Alien Land Act that was passed by the legislature earlier that month. The act prevented those ineligible for citizenship from owning lands in California, limiting the ability for Asian immigrants in general and Japanese Americans in particular to purchase farmland. This act was often circumvented, however, by buying land under children's names, who had legal citizenship by birth (Burton et al. 2002:27). In 1924, the federal government enacted a new iteration of the immigration act, severely limiting migration into the United States. The Immigration Act of 1924, as it came to be known, set an annual cap of immigrants for those eligible for citizenship at 2 percent of their amount currently in the United States. Furthermore, the act also completely barred immigration from Asian countries.

Other local laws unfairly targeted Asian immigrants, especially throughout California where a substantial number of Japanese immigrants settled. The driving force behind many of these laws were anti-Asian interest groups set up in the early twentieth century to lobby against Asian immigration and the perceived takeover of the economy. One was the Asiatic Exclusion League which successfully lobbied for the San Francisco workforce to block Asians from joining labor unions, effectively preventing their

employment in manufacturing and skilled trade professions (Daniels 1972:11). Following a racist pattern used against Chinese immigrants, the San Francisco school board voted to force Japanese school children into segregated schools in 1906. Finally, Japanese immigrants were legally barred from marrying Caucasian women. Many early immigrants turned to picture brides, women sent from Japan to marry husbands in the United States, as a means to find companionship and create families. Many of these laws also extended to the children of Japanese immigrants, who were United States citizens by birth.

By 1940 there were about 127,000 Japanese Americans in the continental United States. Over 110,000 of these lived in West Coast states – 80 percent concentrated throughout California (McWilliams 1944:83). Japan-towns sprang up in Seattle and San Francisco; Little Tokyo grew in downtown Los Angeles; rural farming colonies thrived throughout the Central Valley. Other Japanese American communities made their home in the greater Bay Area, Sacramento, and southern California, particularly the greater Los Angeles area. Many urban Japanese Americans maintained a living in the retail sector, predominantly supplying their community members with goods and services reflecting Japanese culture. Their rural counterparts, seen as the greater economic threat to Caucasians, predominantly went into the agricultural sector producing or shipping fruits and vegetables.

By 1919 Japanese American farmers controlled only a relatively small portion of agricultural land in California. Collectively, however, they controlled a substantial 10 percent of the dollar value of the state's agricultural business. Most individual farmers, however, achieved only minor success (Daniels 1972:7-8), despite the growing fears of Caucasians. By 1940, 43 percent of Japanese Americans of working age were employed in agriculture, most producing vegetables and small fruits. Another 26 percent worked in retail industries, many selling and shipping the products of Japanese American growers. By the following year Japanese Americans would control about 42 percent of all agricultural crops produced throughout California (McWilliams 1944:86-87). These modest economic gains further solidified hostilities towards Japanese that had been developing for decades.

Asian prejudices coupled with the Japanese Empire's march across Eastern China set the stage for the mass hysteria that came following the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. As a report written after the war argues, the attack on Pearl Harbor did not create these prejudices "it merely crystallized them" (Community Government in War Relocation Centers [CGWRC] 1946:1). Overnight, Japanese Americans went from merely tolerated nuisances to enemy saboteurs, responsible for helping the emperor plan the brazen attack. Racists around the country, including top government and military officials, worried Japanese Americans maintained loyalties to the emperor and could

commit fifth column sabotage acts against the United States. Many Caucasians called for preventative action against those deemed loyal to Japan (Harvey 2003:8-9).

Following Pearl Harbor, the Justice Department began rounding up prominent Japanese American community leaders, ultimately imprisoning around 3,000 individuals based solely on alleged or suspicioned ties to imperial Japan (Burton et al. 2002:28). None of the arrests required any proof of subversion or wrongdoing – wartime safety and hysteria trumped habeas corpus. The imprisoned, composed mostly of older males, were transferred to internment camps in Montana, New Mexico, and North Dakota to prevent them from collaborating with enemy forces.

Others began calling for the mass removal of all Japanese Americans, especially from areas along the West Coast where it was argued that they could sabotage military facilities. This sentiment was soon taken up by top military officials who had access to the president's ear. Army General John DeWitt argued that all "enemy aliens" (as the Japanese American population at large came to be known) should be removed from the theater of operations, specifically Hawaii and West Coast states, where they had the potential to cause the most harm to the war effort. Secretary of War Henry Stinson agreed with DeWitt's concern, putting a plan into motion to remove Japanese Americans from the exclusion zones around the Pacific coast. Some American officials, such as Attorney General Francis Biddle, insisted that evacuation was unnecessary and perhaps counter-productive (Burton et al. 2002:30), but these voices were drowned out amongst the

majority of vocal racists. Similar evacuation discussions were had concerning Italian- and German-Americans but received considerably more criticism (Burton et al. 2002:32), ultimately tabling those discussions. President Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1941, setting the stage for mass removal of hundreds of thousands of innocent people from west coast exclusion zones (Figure 1). (Note: sources for all figures can be found in the list of figures beginning on page vi). While the order did not specifically target any group of people, it allowed the removal of anyone deemed dangerous to the war effort (Harvey 2003:23), a subtle reference to Japanese Americans exclusively.

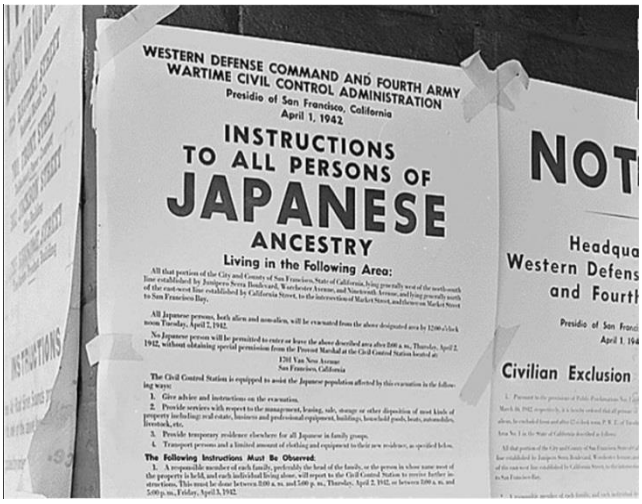

Figure 1. Historic photograph of posted exclusion orders forcing those with Japanese ancestry to evacuate the west coast.

After talk of evacuation from the exclusion zone began many Japanese Americans strived to make their loyalty to the United States publicly known. The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), one of the oldest Asian American community groups in the United States, stood by a policy of compliance and cooperation in an effort to prove their loyalty and prevent further negative public opinion from piling on loyal Japanese Americans. A surge of membership into the JACL preceded evacuation, as many felt inclusion in a club that demonstrates upstanding citizenship might help prove their loyalty and prevent mass imprisonment. Others wanted to show their loyalty by volunteering for the military, taking up arms against the very country they were thought to support (Saiki 2006:27, 33). Others burned pictures of the emperor they kept hanging on their walls or buried items in their yard that were associated with the Japanese military to disassociate themselves with everything that might brand them as pro-Japanese (Havey 2014:50; Saiki 2006:22).

Relocation began in March when the government called for willing volunteers to relocate outside the exclusion zone, essentially asking for volunteers to fund their own removal and abandon their homes, employment, possessions, and community. Some Japanese American assets were also frozen, forcing many families to comply with the relocation request (Burton et al. 2002:32). Japanese Americans in Hawaii, however, were not asked or required to relocate due to their overwhelming presence in the workforce and the sheer population size inhabiting the islands. Volunteer evacuation in the

continental United States gave way to forced relocation in late March, 1942, when "military necessity" required all those with Japanese ancestry move into hastily built assembly centers (Niiya 1993:232). In total, about 120,000 Japanese Americans were forced to relocate, over two-thirds of whom were American citizens.

Five different types of incarceration facilities were used to house Japanese Americans during World War II. Assembly centers were very temporary holding facilities where Japanese Americans lived while waiting for relocation centers to be completed. Assembly centers were built at abandoned horse racing tracks, military compounds, or fairgrounds which provided few modern comforts. Relocation centers, as they were called at the time, (today it is more appropriate to call them incarceration facilities) were the facilities where the vast majority of relocated individuals were imprisoned. Internment camps were run by the Department of Justice and used to hold perceived enemies of the nation, those considered high risks to national security. Segregation centers housed those deemed disloyal the United States (as determined partly by questionnaires). Finally, isolation centers held those who resisted transfer to relocation centers.

In some cases, evacuees were given as little as 48 hours to barter, sell, or give away the property they could not carry with them before they were sent to incarceration facilities (Bloom and Riemer 1949:124). Most people, not knowing when or if they would return home, frantically bartered their goods away for whatever price they could

obtain. Caucasians, many eager to see the Japanese leave the neighborhood and workforce, offered to purchase their belongings for extraordinarily low prices, knowing they would have little choice but to accept. Businesses, material possessions, homes, and tightly-knit communities were lost overnight. Most of these losses were never recouped. Some of the more fortunate, such as the farmers in the Livingston, Cressey, and Cortez, California farming colonies, had their affairs held and managed by Caucasians per contract. Many of these internees even received monthly installments of the sales from their farms while incarcerated (Matsumoto 1993:89).

Executive Order 9102 on March 18, 1942 established the War Relocation Authority (WRA), the civilian organization tasked with the removal and housing of the Japanese Americans away from the exclusion zones. It was believed from the beginning that incarceration facilities would only be temporary. One of the WRA's goals was to determine which citizens were loyal then secure employment and housing for them outside the exclusion zone, relieving taxpayers of these "burdens" while ensuring they would pose no threat to the nation. Individual incarceration facilities were intended to be self-sufficient through agricultural and industrial programs, utilizing internees as cheap labor (CGWRC 1946:3). The general policy of the WRA was:

> to provide, for the duration of the war as nearly as wartime exigencies permit, an equitable substitute for the life, work, and homes given up, and to facilitate participation in the productive life of America both during and after the war

> [United States Department of the Interior, War Relocation Authority (USDOI, WRA)1946:4].

This policy would be fulfilled by creating "a community as nearly American in its outlook and organization as possible" (USDOI, WRA 1946:7) within the facilities.

A total of 10 primary incarceration facilities were built throughout the western United States: two each in California, Arkansas, and Arizona, and one each in Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, and Idaho. Each center was designed to hold upwards of around 10,000 people – the smallest, Granada, held a maximum of about 7,400 while the largest, Poston, held around 20,000 (Matsumoto 1993:119). Choosing the geographic locations for the facilities necessitated several requirements: they had to be located outside the west coast exclusion zones and away from major cities and bases of military operations, and ideally have adequate space and land for agricultural and industrial pursuits. To fulfill these requirements, the incarceration facilities were often placed in inhospitable deserts and far from centers of population. Internees used to mild winters along the Pacific coast now had to deal with snow and freezing temperatures, hot summers, and dust storms that covered everything in silt and sand.

Japanese American Family Structure

The traditional structure of Japanese families is built on the concept of the ie. The ie was a system of social organization during the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), ending

just before the opening of Japan. The ie translates as something akin to familial lines with both successors and ancestors (Hendry 2003:26), an extended familial unit that encompasses the nuclear family as well as grandparents, ancestors, and in some cases, employees (Bernstein 1991:3). At its core, the ie is more concerned more with the continuation of the family line and maintenance of the group than the individual. The family line is hierarchical. Younger members trace their line directly from their ancestors and as such are indebted to them for providing them wealth and life (Hendry 2003:27-28). Spiritual connections to departed ancestors are maintained through offerings given in household shrines, a common Buddhist custom.

Families were led by the head of household, typically the father of the family (occasionally a grandfather, or even less likely a mother or grandmother). The head was awarded certain privileges within the family, such as being the first to use the family bath in the evenings. Fathers were also responsible for inspiring awe and respect in his family by supplying money, food, and unquestioning leadership. Mothers, meanwhile, provided warmth and affection to their children (Broom and Kitsuse 1956:2). Women were also responsible for domestic duties and raising and educating the children (Matsumoto 1986:63). Women were expected to be subordinate to their husbands. They were also barred from politics during this time in Japan (Bernstein 1991:8). Because of these gender roles, many young Japanese Americans felt a much closer attachment to their mothers.

The Japanese American family structure leading up to World War II resembled a form of the ie. The first generation of Japanese immigrants to the United States (called Issei, literally "one generation") followed Japanese customs closely. The ie gradually gave way to more typical American family structures with the second-generation Japanese Americans (Nisei) during internment. Incarceration stripped Issei fathers of much of their earning potential, instead transferring this part of their authority to government officials. In their place, the government was responsible for providing necessities, eroding much of their authority (Shew and Kamp-Whittaker 2013:307). Domestic activities, usually performed by women/mothers inside the family home, were now taken care of by government employees (Shew and Kamp-Whittaker 2013:306), eroding much of the stature mothers had in their families. Mess halls also provided free and open seating. Many Nisei children and teenagers preferred to eat with their friends instead of their family, further breaking down familial bonds (Shew and Kamp-Whittaker 2013:307).

Erosion of family values were combated in part by cooking more familiar foods within the family barracks or forcing family dinners in the communal mess hall (Shew and Kamp-Whittaker 2013:308). Archaeological remains found at Amache include many pieces of traditional Japanese porcelain. Shew and Kamp-Whittaker argue that because the proportion of Japanese ceramics are found in higher concentration than is expected

these material remains provide some evidence of the maintenance of traditional Japanese familial values (2013).

Site Background

Amache is located in the Arkansas Valley of Prowers County, southeastern Colorado, about 140 miles east of Pueblo, 16 miles east of Lamar (the county seat), and 15 miles west of the Kansas border. The center itself sits about one and a half miles from the town of Granada. The region is high plains desert, with an average elevation of 3,600 ft. (Burton et al. 2002), composed primarily of flat to gently rolling hills characteristic of the Central High Plains. The region generally receives low (although variable) amounts of rainfall, ample sunlight, has low humidity, a wide temperature range between seasons, and abundant winds. Some of these factors combine to produce wind, snow, and dust storms, flash flooding, snap freezes, and occasional drought. Local vegetation is composed primarily of desert shortgrass, sage, yucca, and prickly pear cacti (Carillo and Killam 2004).

The WRA acquired a total of 10,222 acres for Amache. Only 640 acres, however, were utilized for housing internees – the vast majority of the acquired land used for agriculture and ranching (Matsumoto 1986:156). The land was historically comprised of some 18 privately owned farms and ranches, all acquired through purchase or

condemnation (Burton et al. 2002:101). The center was laid out in a grid with streets running north-south and east-west. Numbered streets ran north-south (starting at six and ending at 12); lettered streets ran west-east (from E-L, excepting I and J) (Figure 2). The perimeter was guarded by double rows of barbed wire and supervised by military police in seven guard towers stationed around the exterior. One gate entrance at the north of the facility was the only entrance and exit. Administration buildings, military police headquarters, Caucasian employee housing, and a hospital were all in the northern section of the camp.

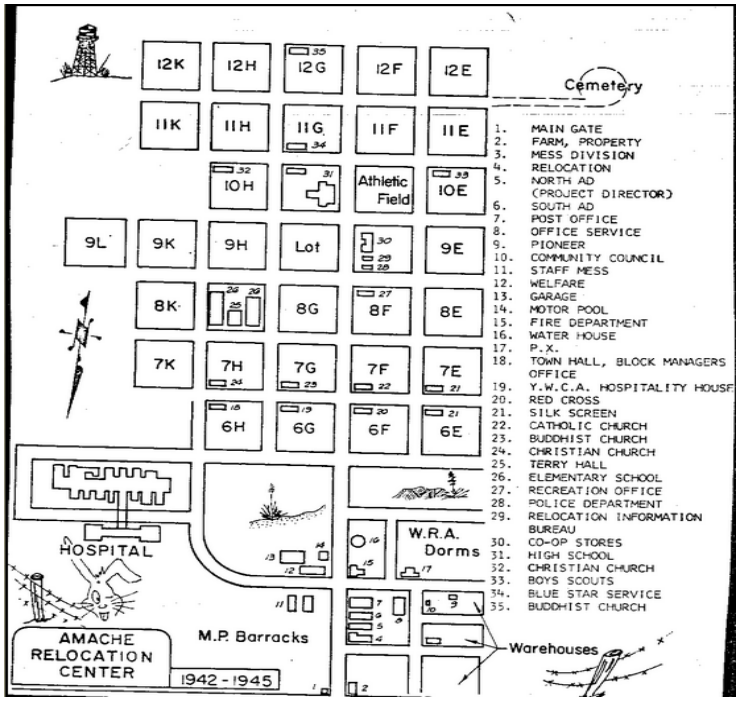

Figure 2. Site map for the Amache Incarceration Facility.

The majority of Amache was divided into blocks composed of 12 barracks buildings (serving as residential living quarters), a recreation hall, a combination latrine, laundry, and bath house, and a mess hall (Figure 3). Barracks buildings were 20 - x - 120ft. and divided into six separate units, each intended to house an entire family. Units were equipped with a bare lightbulb, potbelly stove and coal, army cots, flimsy blankets, and mattresses. All other furniture or additional essentials had to be supplied or scavenged by the internee. The barracks themselves were built quickly and cheaply, not to withstand the harsh elements internees were thrust into. The exterior walls and roof were composed of asphalt roll roofing on top of wooden frames, with weatherized

wallboard exteriors (on some units) as the only insulation. Brick or cement lined most floors, while cracks and gaps between windows and ceilings ensured both voices and inclement weather carried throughout the entire barracks building (Burton et al. 2002:43).

Figure 3. Historic photograph of Amache taken from the water tower facing northwest. The high school is visible towards the top.

Recreation halls were rectangular, undivided rooms, 20 – x – 100 ft. long. These were typically used for indoor games, (such as ping pong, checkers, or *goh*, a Japanese-style chess), religious services, or served as community headquarters for groups such as the Boy Scouts. Mess halls were 40 – x – 100 ft. structures, used to provide regular meals for all internees. Food was served cafeteria-style, with long lines often stretching outside the building during meal times. Internees were required to eat at the mess hall in their

block, although this was not always enforced. Latrines were H-shaped buildings with one side containing showers and toilets and the other with laundry facilities (Burton et al. 2002:43). Water hose hookups were also available on the exterior of the latrine buildings, providing an area for internees to fill containers for personal needs such as to water gardens. Other blocks served entirely non-residential functions, such as 10F that was the recreational activity yard and 10G as the high school.

Amache was managed by Caucasian officials from the WRA. The director was James Lindley, assisted by superintendents in charge of essential services, such as police, health care, reporting, education, and recreation. A Caucasian-led internal police force, composed entirely of internees, was formed for patrolling and performing policing duties. As there were few major disturbances at Amache, the police force dealt mostly with juvenile delinquents, gamblers, and drunks. Internees were additionally governed partially by block managers, elected members of the population delegated with negotiating with camp leadership. Granting block managers power was more of a political, peace-keeping act on the part of the WRA rather than an actual transfer of any real governing power (Harvey 2003:94). Community councils, composed entirely of Nisei internees were also established. These councils were given the responsibility of providing input to legal matters within the camp. These powers were never truly realized, however, as the WRA maintained complete authority over internee rights within Amache (Harvey 2003:92-93).

The incarceration facility provided access to health care through a fully-functioning, 150 bed hospital that offered dental care, some surgical procedures, pharmaceuticals, optometry, and X-rays (Harvey 2003:101). Fresh water was supplied by two wells and a water tank. A cemetery was built outside the southwest corner of the center, housing the remains of those who died while incarcerated. Many chose to remove their deceased loved ones to another graveyard after closure of the camp – only 10 known burials currently remain. An internee-run co-op store was built in 1943, supplying candy, clothes, shoes, glasses, operating beauty parlors, and watch and shoe repair stores, among many other products and services.

Churches were established in some of the blocks' recreation halls, including Protestant, Buddhist, and Catholic services. Services were internee-established and led, giving people some amount of religious freedom while incarcerated. A silk screen shop produced hundreds of thousands of naval posters, postcards, and greeting cards. Many recreational activities were also available at Amache. The WRA recreation department and the high school both organized sporting events, such as baseball and football tournaments, that drew crowds in the hundreds. Internees were occasionally provided passes to leave the center to shop at the nearby towns of Granada, Lamar, and Holly (Harvey 2003:127). K-12 education was provided with primarily Caucasian teachers brought in from around the country.

The peak population of Amache was 7,318 people (Burton et al. 2002:101). Over 10,000 people, however, called Amache their home at some point during the war, as many came and left on long-term or permanent work or school permits. The majority of internees came from the greater Los Angeles and rural Central Valley areas of California. Many Amacheans were temporarily housed at the Merced Assembly Center before arriving in Colorado. Merced was composed of rural agricultural people primarily from the northern and central California counties such as Merced, Yolo, Sonoma, and Napa (Iwata 2015). Another large portion of Amache internees came through the Santa Anita Assembly Center (Fuchigami 2014). These people came primarily from the greater Los Angeles area where the neighborhoods were ethnically segregated - Hispanics, African Americans, and Japanese Americans were relegated to the outskirts of the city (Tonai 2011). Early in the center's establishment "gangs" of teenage boys formed, divided by their respective urban or rural lifestyles. These tensions were quickly resolved, as many Nisei banded together to form a collective "Granada spirit" (Harvey 2003:138).

Internees who desired work while incarcerated generally found employment to earn money and alleviate some of the tedium of camp life. Employment could be located in blue and white collar jobs, depending on the professional skills of the internee before incarceration. The hospital employed internee doctors, nurses, and dentists; the silk screen and camp newspaper employed graphic artists, editors, and reporters; the co-op employed retail salespeople; police and fire stations trained and employed internees; the

largest number of internees worked at mess halls, cooking and serving food, or providing farm labor. All, however, no matter what their earning potential before relocation, were capped at a monthly wage of $19 (Fuchigami 2014), far below their earning potential. This cap did not extend to Caucasian civilians working inside the center, such as the teachers, who earned a competitive salary. The low wages were set at rates similar to those earned by enlisted soldiers. Internees, it was argued by the general public, should not make more than American servicemen or women.

Many Amacheans, being farmers or gardeners before relocation, again put their skills to use on the farmland surrounding the town of Granada. Internee farmers employed by the WRA grew mung beans, daikon, lettuce, tomatoes, celery, alfalfa, corn, sorghum, milo, sugar beets, and melon, among other crops (Matsumoto 1986:157). They also raised cattle, hogs, and poultry. Amache, it should be noted, was the only incarceration facility that came close to the WRA's goal of being agriculturally self-sufficient. Amache farmers even managed to produce some surpluses, providing other incarceration facilities and the armed forced with vegetables (Harvey 2003:124; The *Granada Pioneer* 6-12-43, Densho Digital Archive). Internees were also allowed temporary leave to work on farms throughout the country, many of which were facing severe labor shortages. Working on farms outside Amache gave internees slightly more freedom and access to drastically increased wages.

The WRA took some strides in providing internees with freedom to worship any religion they chose. According to the WRA reports division, the largest registered religious group at Amache was the Protestants, followed by the Buddhists (National Archives and Records Administration, Film B 3062 reel 46). Other popular religious services offered were Catholic, Seventh - day Adventist, and Seicho-no-Ie, a relatively small monotheistic religion that blends Christianity, Buddhism, and Shintoism. These statistics may skew the reality, however, as most Japanese Americans followed traditional Japanese religions of Buddhism and Shintoism, even if they did not register with the respective groups (Hendry 2003:142). Many Japanese Americans at this time, especially the Issei, followed Buddhist customs for daily life even if they did not attend church regularly. It was not uncommon, for instance, for many to maintain a household shrine devoted to their ancestors or to celebrate the Buddha's birthday. It was also noted by government officials that "Shintoism in this center has been conspicuous by its absence" (NARA film B 3062 reel 46:2), suggesting the religion's practice was purposely abandoned or downplayed. State-sponsored Shintoism had strong associations with the Japanese empire during the war and was seen as being pro-Japanese, perhaps making internees fearful of openly practicing. It is important to note that after the bombing of Pearl Harbor Shinto priests, along with other prominent Issei, were rounded up by the Justice Department and placed in internment camps (Myer 1971:19), likely contributing to the religion's apparent lack of followers during incarceration.

Loyalty Questionnaire

By the spring of 1943, the American military began to accept Japanese American servicemen and women into their ranks, mostly because many young people sought to prove their loyalty and as a counter to Japanese imperial propaganda calling attention to the unjust incarceration (Harvey 2003:157-158). There was also a desperate need for recruits who were fluent in Japanese to act as translators. Before allowing Japanese Americans to serve in combat, however, the military required a way to determine the loyalty of potential recruits. This resulted in a twenty-eight question survey that was given to all adult Japanese Americans. Two of the questions in particular were meant to specifically test potential military recruit's loyalties to the United States and Japan and proved especially difficult to answer. Question 27 asked potential recruits if they were willing to serve in the military in combat situations wherever they might be required. This question was posed to suggest that Japanese Americans, if serving in the United States military, may be ordered to fight Japanese citizens, requiring full loyalty to America over potential relatives.

More troubling, however, was question 28 which read "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and foreswear any form of allegiance… (to the) Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization" (Harvey 2003:160). Many Nisei found this question concerning because, living their entire lives in the United States, they never had any allegiances towards the

Japanese emperor. Additionally, even if they answered "yes" it would make it appear that they previously supported the Japanese empire and its militaristic actions. An affirmative answer about the country that incarcerated innocent people also created another ethical dilemma, forcing draft-age men and women to weigh loyalties against the unethical treatment of an ethnicity. Lastly, many draft-age Issei and Nisei also believed "yes" answers would immediately volunteer them to the armed services (Weglyn 1972:138) , further compounding issues.

Some draft-age and older Japanese Americans answered "no" to both questions as a form of protest. The answer was not necessarily a true reflection of their beliefs, but rather could be attributed mostly to resistance to the questions or incarceration in general (Harvey 2003:161). After clarification of the questions, a second attempt at the survey was given: about half the men at Amache changed their answers to "yes"; those who again chose "no" were labelled "no-no boys" and sent to the Tule Lake segregation center (Harvey 2003:162).

The loyalty questionnaire, and especially the idea of volunteering for the military, caused a rift between many Issei and Nisei. Even though he urged Japanese Americans to assimilate into American culture as quickly as possible, Yamato Ichihashi felt that volunteering to join the armed services, in a country that treated them so unfairly, was unthinkable (Chang 1997). Draft-age Issei were particularly horrified at the possibility of swearing to defend the United States against their fellow Japanese countrymen, especially

to serve a country that unjustly incarcerated them (Weglyn 1976:137; Kitagawa 1967:118). Many Nisei, looking to their elders for support, were torn between loyalty to the United States and loyalty to their parents (Weglyn 1972:141). One internee explained just how deep these differences went, "a battle waged in every (barracks) room" over whether or not to declare loyalty for the United States and sign up for the draft or refuse and appease their parents (Weglyn 1972:141).

Camp Closure

By December 1944, west coast exclusion zone orders were lifted allowing Japanese Americans to return home. By the following spring the WRA was in the process of slowly decommissioning services and transferring internees to permanent homes outside the center. Amache officially closed its doors in mid-October after the last internees and center staff left. Much of the farmland surrounding the center was sold or leased back to local farmers (Kamp-Whittaker 2010:30). Most of the barracks buildings were simply bolted onto concrete foundations, allowing easy removal and transfer outside the center. Forty barracks buildings were sold following the closure of the camp (Simmons and Simmons 2004). These were mostly sold locally and statewide: the University of Denver, town of Granada, and a town in western Kansas all purchased buildings from Amache. The remaining 308 buildings, such as the co-op and the majority of barracks buildings, were simply demolished where they stood (Colorado Preservation,

Inc. 2011) – bulldozer piles and architectural remnants are commonly located throughout the site. Historic photographs document the closure of Amache, showing wood scraps, broken items, and warped metal pieces strewn haphazardly in the street and around barracks buildings. Archaeological investigations have also documented refuse piles outside of residential areas (Kamp-Whittaker 2010:35-36) suggesting materials were thrown out in a relatively careless fashion after organized trash disposals ceased prior to the closing of the facility.

Site Integrity

The site of Amache retains relatively good integrity from the historical use period (Simmons and Simmons 2004:7). Historic roads linking the facility together are still intact, providing a clear picture of the camp's layout. Most of the buildings were simply picked up and removed, leaving most of the foundations remarkably intact. Historic artifacts are also in relative abundance throughout the camp. Trash heaps, isolated primary deposits, and camp decommission materials provide clear evidence of internee life. Remains of trees and built landscape features, such as gardens, document how internees attempted to beautify their harsh surroundings. The majority of non-native trees planted throughout the camp have since died from a lack of water.

Several other factors have contributed to the erosion of the site integrity at Amache. Ranchers were free to graze cattle throughout the area until recently, causing

damage to artifacts and disruption of historical features. Site integrity is marginally affected by collectors, hunters, and skeet shooters, who take artifacts, deposit newer items (mostly bullet casings and beer bottles), and use historic signs and structures for target practice. The installation of security cameras and signage explaining the legality of these actions has recently occurred to deter further deleterious behaviors. Strong winds and shifting sediments have also contributed to the erosion of soils around many building foundations, causing some to collapse within recent years.

Aside from foundations there are very few intact historic buildings at the site. There is one small square concrete building remaining that is historically part of the larger historic co-op structure. The historic water tank was purchased by the town of Granada following the closure of Amache and is still in use today. A brick building housing a granite funerary memorial that was built by internees in 1945 remains in the camp cemetery. A tool shed was added in 2000 to store cemetery maintenance supplies. On the north section of Amache, a modern rodeo arena was installed after the camp's closure, which is still utilized today.

Historic Restorations

Colorado Preservation Inc., a nonprofit historical preservation organization, led the recent work at Amache restoring the historic water tower and a guard tower in 2014. Standing over 50 ft. tall, the water tower utilizes many historic pieces found on a nearby

ranch. Other planned restoration work includes the latrine and a barrack building in block 12H. The areas of impact for these installations have already been surveyed and tested by the University of Denver archaeologists and await funding and location of historic materials.

Current Site Uses

Amache is used today for remembrance activities and community gatherings. Annual pilgrimages occur typically a week before Memorial Day and are open to all. Buses depart from Sakura Square in Denver. The four hour drive culminates in a traditional Buddhist flower, prayer, and incense offering ceremony at the cemetery to remember and honor the incarcerated, deceased, and servicemen and women. A potluck lunch is held after the services at the local high school, where ex-internees and their families can swap stories about life in "camp". Several hundred people typically turn out for the pilgrimage from all around the country.

The site is currently owned by the town of Granada and managed by the Amache Preservation Society, an organization composed primarily of local high school students and run by Mr. John Hopper, the Granada High School principal. The Amache Preservation Society is responsible for the major restoration work in the cemetery (including laying of sod and planting trees, re-roofing the memorial building, and

installing the sprinkler system) as well as routine maintenance and cleanup throughout the site. The group also maintains a small museum dedicated to Amache.

Renewed public interest in the site has helped spawn many recent archaeological and architectural surveys since the early 2000s. Cuartelejo and Associates (2004) performed a class III cultural resource field survey to inventory and document remaining historic artifacts and buildings in preparation of creating a management plan for the site. The report's finding contributed to the site's national historic landmark status in 2006.

Beginning in 2008 the University of Denver (DU) Department of Anthropology, led by Associate Professor Dr. Bonnie Clark, has performed biannual archaeological investigations at Amache. One of Dr. Clark's primary investigations is historic gardens in an attempt to discover how internees coped with the harsh surroundings by beautifying their temporary homes. Survey and excavations have discovered hundreds of internee-built features as well as thousands of historic artifacts. Several DU master's students have researched and written theses regarding various aspects of Amache. Michelle Slaughter (2006) studied saké use at Amache, suggesting the drink was a form of cultural identity and "subtle rebellion" against internment. Stephanie Skiles (2008) studied internee culinary preferences at camp and argued that these things were used as an expression of their cultural heritage. April Kamp-Whittaker, Dana Ogo Shew, and Jennifer Otto researched children, women, and historical preservation at Amache, respectively. Erin

Hanes (2012) explored if Amache could be considered a traditional cultural property, concluding that it indeed contained enough significance to be classified as such.

Chapter Three: Methods

The methods chosen for this thesis research were utilized to simultaneously gather the most crucial data regarding traditional practices but also maintain a high level of site, feature, and artifact integrity. Archaeological field methods and techniques also required consistency with those used by the 2014 DU Department of Anthropology field school, as the students supplied much of the labor for the field season. Areas of study also had to compliment Dr. Bonnie Clark's research, historic gardens built by internees. See Appendix A for examples of survey and excavation field forms.

Two blocks were chosen for further analysis specifically because preliminary investigations suggested they contained remnants of traditional practice features from the historic period. In late May, 2014, Dr. Clark and I travelled to Little Tokyo in downtown Los Angeles to showcase results from the 2012 field school at Amache and interview survivors. There we received information that was corroborated from historic newspaper and government document research about the location of the historic sumo wrestling ring at Amache, one of the inter-generational traditional practices I was studying. Another block we chose to analyze over the summer had a feature that resembled the foundation of an *ofuro*, a traditional Japanese bathing tub. Because of time restraints, the field school was not able to analyze the blocks where primary source materials suggest *Bon Odori* (a

Buddhist ceremony) or Kabuki Theater performances were held. These practices will instead be examined almost entirely through archival materials. Other blocks were analyzed during the field school to gain a clearer understanding of internee life while incarcerated and to mitigate potential damages ahead of future restoration work. Figure 4 provides an image of all four blocks that were analyzed during the 2014 field season.

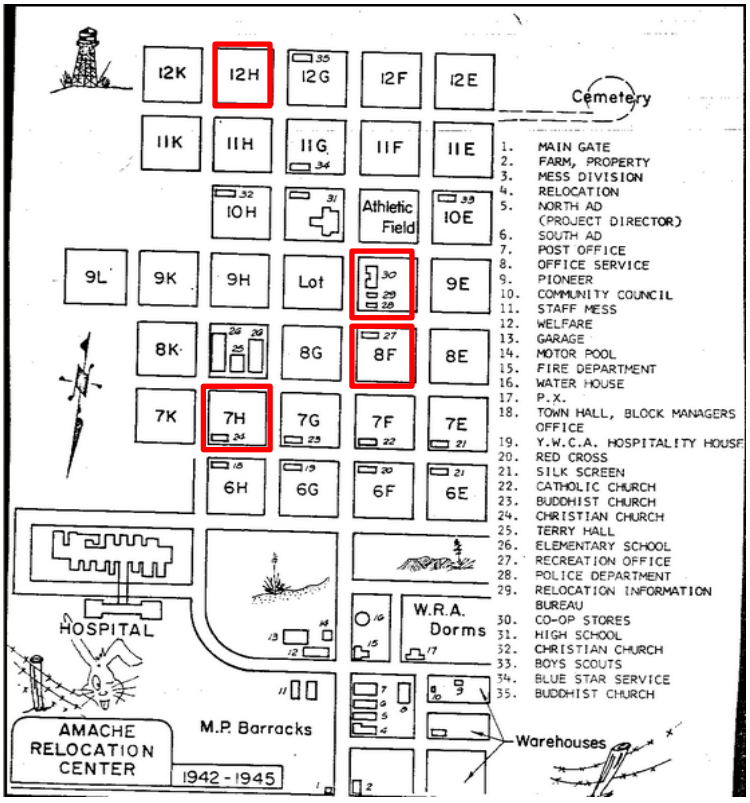

Figure 4. Map of Amache. Blocks outlined in red are those that were subjected to archaeological analysis during the 2014 summer field school.

Block 9F

Block 9F was a non-residential block, home to the co-op store and the internal police headquarters. Three separate buildings existed in the block historically: a "C" shaped building, composed of three barracks, made up the co-op store; single barracks-size buildings were used for the police station and an unassociated camp management building. Bulldozed remnants of the co-op store foundation, a single, small, square solid concrete building, and some limestone walkway bits leading to the police station are all that remain of the structures. The sumo wrestling ring was said to have been located in this block, in a corner free of other historic structures.

Block 7H

Block 7H was a residential block primarily composed of internees from rural farming communities throughout the northern Central Valley of California. The Granada Christian Church, the camp's largest religious denomination, was located at the 7H recreation hall. Additionally, remnants of a concrete and brick foundation, built directly north of the latrine, bore resemblance to ones that support a traditional homemade *ofuro*.

Block 8F

Block 8F was a residential block composed mostly of internees from Northern coastal California, especially the Sonoma County area. It was chosen for further

investigation to discover more about the people from this area in northern California and because of our access to extensive oral histories and memoirs from life in this block.

Block 12H

Block 12H was a residential block located at the extreme southern part of the center. This block was first surveyed and tested for archaeological remains in 2010. Restoration of a guard tower on the southwest corner of the block was completed in 2014. In 2014 additional archaeological investigation were utilized to determine the presence of possible subsurface features before reconstruction of the bath house begins, likely in 2015.

Survey Procedure

Before choosing sites of potential excavation, pedestrian survey was performed on the three newly studied blocks. A crew of typically 3 - 5 students and volunteers, led by a graduate student crew chief, performed intensive systematic survey in the blocks. Crew members were spaced in two meter intervals and instructed to walk the length of the block moving back and forth until the entire block had been surveyed. Students were instructed to watch for artifacts and features while surveying. Architectural materials, such as window pane glass, nails, and tar paper are fairly ubiquitous at the site because of the deconstruction and as such were not analyzed. Surveyors noted artifacts of interest

requiring additional in-depth laboratory analysis included personal items, ceramics, modified items, objects that are temporally diagnostic, and anything that is pertinent to student research interests (Clark 2014). All artifacts of interest were flagged for additional field analysis, mapped with a handheld GPS device, and marked on a tally sheet according to the material composition.

Students were also instructed to look for historic features while surveying. One of the most common historic features found at Amache are internee-built gardens. Gardens are especially common in association with residential barracks foundations – many are found near the front entrance of the buildings. Surface evidence of gardens typically includes a hardscaped limestone- or concrete-lined border or evidence of trees or other plantings. Other features we looked for included walkways and evidence of traditional practice spaces. These features were outlined in flags for later analysis.

Recording and Analysis

Artifacts of interest were analyzed by the crew chief, assigned a unique artifact identification number, and given one of three analysis treatments. All flagged artifacts of interest underwent basic field analysis procedures. These included the item being photographed, basic field analyses taken (size of object, material, etc.), and a GPS location point was captured. All artifacts were measured in the scale in which they were likely created. For example, if they were American-made we measured in inches and feet.

If the artifact was fairly common and non-diagnostic (i.e. the item did not contain a maker's mark or other writing) it was marked "analyze in field", wherein only the basic field analysis was performed.

If the artifact was fairly unique, contained diagnostic writing, was modified, or was a good example of a common piece (i.e. a complete cigarette tin) it was marked either "catch and release" or "collect". In an effort to collect additional, detailed information about the object while simultaneously maintaining site integrity, Dr. Clark adopted the catch and release program on the majority of artifacts on which we performed additional analyses. Catch and release items were subjected to basic field artifact analysis procedures but also brought back to the field house, cleaned, photographed with a SLR camera, analyzed with a more in-depth analysis form, matched up with like items in catalogues (if possible), and finally returned to the field exactly where they came from.

A small minority of artifacts located during survey were collected. Artifacts that were prone to attract attention from collectors (i.e. coins or Japanese porcelain fragments), were in relatively good condition, or were uniquely modified were collected. Collected artifacts underwent similar analyses as the catch and release items and were brought back to the University of Denver Department of Anthropology collections for temporary storage, further analysis, and possibly display in the department museum.

A systematic analysis was also used for the recording of features. After crew chiefs assessed the likelihood of the find as an actual historic feature (instead of naturally occurring phenomena) each was then assigned a unique feature number. All features were photographed, most from several different angles, to capture the location and setting of the surroundings. The features were outlined in flags during survey that was walked by a student holding a handheld GPS unit to capture the exact shape and location of the feature as seen on the ground. An analysis form was filled out to capture the feature's primarily materials, its shape and size, and its possible historic functions. Some of the more unique features, such as the sumo wrestling ring, were marked with permanent flags in their extreme corners to preserve the location long-term. Many of the internee-built garden features were also sketched to document the precise details.

Ground Penetrating Radar

Ground penetrating radar (GPR) utilizes portable radar antennae to gather information about subsurface features. Paired transmitting and receiving antennae produce and receive high-frequency radar pulses as they are dragged along the ground surface. The rate at which radar energy is transmitted and then received varies depending on the type of subsurface material the energy transmits through (Conyers 2004). Other evidence suggests that water distribution and retention play a significant part in the transmittal speed of radar energy (Conyers 2012). When the paired antennae are moved

along the ground surface many thousands of pulses will combine to create two- and three-dimensional images of the radar reflections, allowing analysts the ability to make well-informed hypotheses regarding the nature of subsurface features. This technique is especially useful for archaeological research as it can provide information to make well-informed decisions about excavation locations without disturbing sites.

GPR was utilized at Amache in an effort to locate evidence of historic traditional practice features. Surface evidence, namely a brick and cinder-block rectangular foundation, suggested the location of an *ofuro* in block 7H. GPR was utilized here to locate any associated historic buildings, gardens, or other features that were not visible on the surface. In block 9F GPR was used to determine the location of the earthen mounded sumo ring. Both sites required the clearing of vegetation prior to collecting radar data, as uneven surfaces can jar the antennae and impair the data. GPR data were also collected in block 12H to mitigate damage associated with future restorative projects.

Excavation Procedure

Some features identified by survey and GPR analysis were excavated in an effort to gain additional sub-surface information. Of interest were locations of probable internee-built gardens and traditional practice spaces. Two additional excavation units were placed in block 12H to test for potentially significant features prior to the implementation of planned restoration work that may potentially damage the site. All

excavation units were placed where GPR analysis suggested we might best locate evidence of the features. Most excavation unit sizes were fairly large – between 1.5 – 2m on each side to capture a large portion of the feature and allow several crew members to excavate simultaneously. Excavations were performed following the Harris Matrix method, a procedure in which particular attention is placed on both natural and man-made stratigraphic layers or features (called contexts) in an attempt to place all within a model based on the relative depth and physical characteristics of the context. Each context is then formed into a Harris matrix, an ordered sequence of chronological stratigraphic events that are placed in relative time compared to other contexts within the site (Harris 1979). The Harris Matrix is particularly useful for excavating gardens, as it clearly demarcates the separate events that formed a particular context, such as both the digging and filling in of a planting hole.

With the exception of coal and coal clinker, all artifacts found within excavation units (called field specimens) were collected including common architectural materials such as nails or window glass. The majority of field specimens were architectural materials which were placed within a bag containing other non-diagnostic materials from the same context and were all collected under a single field specimen number provided by the crew chief. Diagnostic field specimens, or significant *in situ* artifacts, were given a unique identifier and bagged separately. These artifacts were also point provenienced within the excavation unit, with measurements taken to document the three dimensional

location at which they were uncovered. Overview sketches of the units with individual artifacts or artifact concentrations were also made. After the completion of excavation all field specimens were collected, cleaned, and stored at the university archaeology laboratory.

Soil samples were collected to answer several research questions regarding internee landscaping techniques: were internees amending the poor soil at the facility and if so, how, and what types of strategies for transforming the military environment are evident both in the hardscaping and plant remains of the gardens? Several different types of soil samples were taken at multiple times throughout each excavation. After the removal of topsoil two small soil samples were collected from each subsequent context for chemical analysis. A beginning and ending elevation as well as general locations within the unit were recorded for each sample taken out of the unit. Several centimeters into each new context, about ten liters of soil were collected for flotation analysis. Flotation sampling is a technique used to separate organic materials items, such as plant seeds, from the excavation matrix, composed of soil and inclusions. This technique works by placing soil samples into water, allowing the lighter materials to separate from heavier items and float to the surface for easier collection and sorting (Orton 2000). This technique allows the collection and analysis of seeds for plant species analysis. Past field school macrobotanical analyses at Amache have determined the planting of many nonnative flowers and grasses including purslane and morning glories (Archer 2009).

Additional soil samples were taken at the opening of a new context layer. These chemical samples were taken from the northeast and southwest corners of every new context layer. A 25 cm. square was marked from each of these corners and excavators were instructed to take the inside corner 10 cm. of soil, to a depth of 3 cm., and place that in a soil sample bag. These samples are used to capture the chemical signatures within the excavation unit to better understand the composition of the natural and built landscape. The last type of soil samples collected was pollen samples. These samples were recovered where pollen was most likely to be trapped and survive inclement weather events, such as under rocks, wood, or other hard surfaces. These soil samples are analyzed by a palynologist in an effort to determine which species of plants internees were planting in their gardens.

Archival Research

Significant amounts of preliminary and post-field school data were gathered from primary source materials to better understand the physical landscape at Amache. The center newspaper, the *Granada Pioneer,* was an internee-operated newspaper providing Amacheans with semi-weekly local and international news beginning in October, 1942 (see Appendix B). Internees were given the freedom to publish the information they desired but they understood that the WRA had complete censorship powers (Harvey 2003:124). The paper was printed in both English and Japanese, as many of the older

Issei in camp could not read or write English. The *Pioneer* provides primary source information regarding the physical locations of traditional activities that were performed at Amache, specifically the historical locations of the sumo wrestling ring and where the annual *Obon* festival was held.

Joseph McClelland Collection

As internees were not able to bring cameras into Amache (at least early on in the center's history), many of the historic photographs we have were taken by WRA staff reporter Joseph McClelland. The University of Denver Amache Project digitized McClelland's personal slide collection in the Amache Preservation Society Museum. As opposed to the majority of staff photographs seen by the American public during the war, McClelland's slides are generally candid and personal, not staged alterations of reality meant to convey to the outside world the proper treatment Japanese Americans were receiving while incarcerated. McClelland's collection depicts families and blocks, baseball games and Boy Scout troop meetings, festivals and parades. It is from this collection that we obtained the physical construction and location of the sumo wrestling ring as well as dozens of photos depicting *Obon* celebrations.

Jack Muro Collection

Jack Muro learned photography from a relative as a young man while incarcerated at Amache. Amazingly, Jack was successful in creating his own darkroom underneath his family's barrack. Jack's photographs, most of which are digitized online at www.Discovernikkei.org, primarily depict candid moments of life during incarceration. Of primary concern for this research project are Jack's photographs depicting sumo wrestling that occurred at Amache. Many of Jack's friends, such as Yoshio "Peanut" Hirai, participated in the traditional sport.

Harada Collection

The Harada Collection consists of dozens of historical photographs in an album documenting Kabuki Theater performances at Amache. The album was donated by Yukino Okubo, a practitioner of *Bon Odori* and Kabuki Theater at Amache. Many of the photographs are annotated with performer and performance names, allowing further analysis. The album of photographs was donated to the Amache Preservation Society during the Amache reunion in 2009. The DU Museum of Anthropology staff scanned each photograph for research purposes and digital curation.

Interviews

Oral interviews were also conducted to gain evidence about traditional practice activities in Amache. Two interviews took place with volunteers at the 2014 Amache field school. Other interviews were held during a May, 2014 trip to Los Angeles to visit with local Amache community members. Interviewers were conducted by me and Dr. Clark. All the interviewees were children or young adults while incarcerated. Several of those interviewed recalled the use of *ofuro*, the sumo wrestling ring, or the summertime *Obon* celebrations. One gentleman, George Hirano, was able to recall the precise location of the historic sumo ring, allowing us to contain our survey research to a single block. Two volunteers at the Amache field school, Carlene Tanigoshi Tinker and Anita Miyamoto Miller, provided details of *ofuro* physical characteristics and usage that informed our excavations. Other utilized interviews were collected by the Japanese American Citizens League Mile-Hi Chapter during the Amache reunion event in 1998.

Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework

This thesis employs two primary theoretical models for the analysis of anthropological data. These theoretical frameworks provide a foundation with which to explore and analyze the research questions proposed above within a dynamic historical landscape. Primarily the theoretical framework is designed to address both issues of traditional practices during incarceration and aspects of intergenerational intimacy, especially as it concerns immigrants to the United States. First, practice theory will be used to provide a framework to explore the use and practice of traditional Japanese culture by incarcerated Japanese Americans. Second, research regarding immigrant families and intergenerational intimacy are analyzed to determine the extent to which generational or cultural gaps may have contributed to the rift that is argued to have existed between Issei and subsequent generations.

Practice Theory

Practice theory gained popularity among American anthropologists to bridge theoretical gaps between symbolic structuralism and the full agency of actors. Sherry Ortner defines practice theory as a tool that "seeks to explain the relationship(s) that obtain between human action on the one hand, and some global entity which we may call

'the system' on the other" (1984:516). Practice theory was designed to incorporate theoretical components deemed lacking in other studies such as Geertzian symbolic anthropology, Wolf's political economy, and Levi-Straussian structuralism (Ortner 2006:1) that, it was argued, provided the social system with the singular ability to influence and control behaviors and customs. Ortner argues that these methods merely explain what forces are acting against people, essentially forcing them to behave according to preset cultural norms in given contexts, allowing little to no freedom for individual agents (2006). While Ortner agrees that social systems are "powerfully constraining" and have a strong effect on shaping behaviors and norms, they are also capable of alteration through individual human action (1984:525).

Practice theory instead offers a more dynamic approach between actor and structural social system, wherein one has the ability to alter the other in a cyclical relationship. Neither the social system nor the agent, however, is an all-encompassing force that has the ability to dominate the other. To practice theoreticians, free agency is not realistic (as agents are not easily separated from their social systems) nor are societal hegemonic processes the sole cause for behaviors and actions (Ortner 2006:7; 130). Instead, this is what Anthony Giddens calls structuration (1984), namely that agents are always caught in a web of their social system (consisting of appropriate customs, behaviors, and beliefs that are characteristic of the hegemonic structures in which they live) while at the same time the reproduction of the web can be altered through agent

behaviors. As Giddens argues actors can usually explicate their thought processes behind actions but they cannot as easily explain their motives for acting that way, providing evidence that behaviors and norms can be adapted (1984). The unintentional transformation of cultural norms, through unconscious adaptations, provides clear examples of how aspects of cultural hegemony can be altered.

The transformation of social systems, whether intentionally reproduced or knowingly altered, can occur through everyday actions. As Ortner argues routine actions that are shaped by a social system, such as eating and socializing, both continue to shape themselves but the public performances also give them additional credibility that further solidifies the system (1984). Daily activities are built of many intentional actions but they can also lead to unintended consequences, leading to actions that are not intended or unable to be rationalized (Giddens 1984:8). Routine activities can also incorporate aspects of familiar material culture. Eleanor Casella argues that prisoners use material culture to identify themselves and their ethnic communities. As they utilized these tangible objects, they constructed new identities amongst themselves to survive and provide some semblance of familiarity during imprisonment (Casella 2007:142). Identity production and reaffirmation can also occur through the creation of ethnically familiar structures and the use of traditional practices.

Practice theory is especially useful for examining cultures that are under the influence of a dominant power, including Japanese Americans during incarceration.

Sahlins argues that cultural adaptations should not be viewed simply in dichromatic terms of static or dynamic, specifically when traditional cultures are confronted with outside cultural influences (1985:144). Cultural adaptations, rather, should be viewed as "a synthesis of stability and change, past and present, diachrony and synchrony" (Sahlins 1985:144). Often specific aspects of other cultures are incorporated to provide some pragmatic benefit to immigrants in a foreign land (Sahlins 1985). This was especially true when Captain Cook landed on the Hawaiian Islands in 1778 where chiefs used his coming as a sign of their cosmological and prophesized claim to rule (Sahlins 1985:144). Likewise, Japanese Americans at Amache performed traditional practices that were adapted to the circumstances surrounding incarceration. Casella explains that material expressions of collective ethnic identity, like landscape features or a built sumo ring, express a "new social cohesion explicitly nurtured through the communal experience of institutional confinement" (Casella 2007:140).

Practice theory is used in this thesis to explore how Japanese Americans negotiated two aspects of society during incarceration. First, Japanese American society before incarceration varied according to generational norms, geographic location in the United States, influence of other Japanese Americans and/or competing ethnicities, and numerous other influences. Second, the physical structure of Amache as a site of incarceration influenced internee behaviors but that same structure was also altered to construct a society that was more familiar to Japanese Americans. Traditional practices

and alterations of the built environment reflect aspects of negotiated ideas of a social structure in flux during incarceration.

In her exhaustive study of the archaeology of penal institutions Eleanor Casella explores how the material culture remains at incarceration sites can reflect the behavior and attitudes of incarcerated individuals. Incarceration, Casella explains, can lead prisoners to create "a distinct inmate consciousness" amongst themselves (2007:115). Confinement of Japanese Americans during World War II was often the catalyst for coping strategies that included flourishing cultural practices and lifeways. The forced cohesiveness of incarceration, therefor, likely led directly to the popularity of Japanese activities. Constructing Japanese-style gardens, utilizing Japanese ceramics to feed their families, and performing traditional religious and recreational activities were popular expressions during the war, even though many Japanese Americans did not perform these activities prior to internment. These expressions of culture, solidarity, and resistance to authority, Casella explains, are often seen in the archaeological record (2007). The utilization of scavenged and purchased resources to create objects of cultural familiarity reflect the solidarity and cohesion of a culture under assault during World War II. Archaeological evidence gathered for this research suggests supports Casella's assertion regarding the forced cohesive nature of internment at Amache.

Immigration Studies

Recent studies in psychology and sociology have focused specifically on how migration to foreign countries impacts the younger generations of immigrants. Immigration, researchers have found, is especially disruptive to family dynamics and structure – role reversals of parent and child, cultural and language barriers, and misunderstandings can all contribute to a lack of intimacy between generations. A similar lack of intimacy between generations of Japanese Americans is routinely argued to have been caused primarily by issues surrounding immigration (Fugita and Fernandez 2004; Matsumoto 1986). This lack of inter-generational intimacy is a common occurrence for many immigrant families. Qin explains that it is common for second generation immigrants to develop cultural customs and behaviors dissimilar from their parents (2006). Drawing on aspects of immigration studies this section will discuss the recent literature of inter-generational immigrant family dynamics and its application in analyzing traditional Japanese activities.

Researchers of immigrant studies have determined several factors that contribute to inter-generational rifts that often interrupt immigrant family dynamics in a new social system – two of them will be discussed here as they relate to Japanese Americans during World War II. First, upon entering a new social environment, children often take on the responsibility for their own maturation within that society. Immigration, Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco argue, removes the family from their known world, placing the

parents into a new environment in which they are still expected to lead their children into adulthood (2002). But children quickly grasp that their immigrant parents are not fully capable of doing so in alien environments, reversing the role of parent and child. Children are instead relied upon to guide their parents (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2002). First generation immigrants are more hesitant to adopt new cultural customs, behaviors, and languages, forcing the child to navigate much of the world themselves, acting, in some measure, as an adult in a foreign environment. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2002) explains first generation immigrants often do not fully assimilate into their new host cultures as there are far too many challenges, such as language barriers and new customs that might not mesh with their notions of culturally acceptable behavior.

Second, younger generation immigrants assimilate into new cultural surroundings much faster than their parents. Often, first generation immigrants do not fully grasp the intricacies of new cultural customs, even after living in the host country for years (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2002). The impetus for children to acculturate and thrive in new societies is inherently strong – they understand fundamentally that in order to succeed in this new environment they need to think and act like others in their peer group (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2002). Laosa termed the differing pace of assimilation between first and second generation immigrants "dissonant acculturation" (1989). Dissonant acculturation can alter goals, habits, customs, and many other cultural traits that might be difficult to overcome. Immigrants will also judge their level of

success, both socially and economically, on the frame of reference learned in their native country. The second generation, however, bases success on comparison to their peers and media (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2002), possibly providing for vastly different or even competing notions of what success (or stability) is and how it should be achieved.

Researchers of Japanese American culture argue that similar obstacles existed between Issei and subsequent generations. The aforementioned obstacles to immigrant family stability occurred with Japanese American families during incarceration. Unlike in most immigrant communities distinct generational designations are given to each generation of Japanese American, suggesting age and association with Japan are especially significant traits to Japanese Americans. The acculturation and cultural gaps created by immigration are some of the most significant issues separating first and subsequent generations of Japanese American immigrants. Abundant research has documented how, why, and to what degree dissonant acculturation has affected Japanese Americans (see Ichihashi 1932; Fugita and Fernandez 2004; LaViolette 1945; Kitagawa 1967; Montero 1980). The differences between generations of Japanese American immigrants, as examined with modern immigration studies, presents evidence that the rift between the generations was not an uncommon occurrence and does not only include the families of Japanese immigrants. This research, however, seeks to determine the ways in which traditional Japanese practices bridged these gaps – a concept that is rarely

discussed in historical and social research regarding the historical Japanese American community.

Conclusion

This theoretical framework allows the exploration of Japanese American cultural performances, activities, and identities during incarceration. Incarceration forced thousands of Japanese together behind barbed wire, all bringing with them differing notions about culture, behaviors, and norms that incorporate elements of traditional Japanese, Japanese American, and mainstream American ideals. The incorporation of various cultural elements can be analyzed by understanding the overarching cultural forces that shape behavior and customs. Simultaneously, individual actors, with differing backgrounds and customs, contributed to the shaping of traditional practices during incarceration at Amache. Analysis of the inter-generational rifts between Japanese American families provides a context with which to discuss how traditional practices may have been one of the few aspects that bridged the cultural, language, and generational gaps between generations of Japanese Americans. It must also be considered that many Nisei and Sansei likely learned about and practiced many traditional practices during their incarceration at Amache. While I do not wish to argue that incarceration itself brought the generations together, the social and cultural structures at Amache provided a

backdrop with which differing customs and behaviors somewhat amalgamated, even if only during incarceration.

The forced removal and internment of Japanese Americans perhaps created a community in which the expression and use of traditional Japanese cultural practices flourished. Currently we do not have the data to determine if internment forced these changes on the Japanese American community temporarily while behind barbed wires. It is unknown, for example, if many of these researched practices were brought back to peoples communities after the war ended. What is known is that many Japanese Americans were expressing agency in choosing to perform traditional practices while incarcerated. The overarching social structure was created through a political and cultural system that spawned internment. Individual agency of participating internees and the social structure surrounding internment produced the system in which behaviors were restructured while incarcerated.

Chapter Five: Sumo Wrestling

Leading up to World War II several factors discouraged the practice of traditional Japanese recreational activities. Issei, the oldest generation in the United States, retained much of their Japanese culture even after immigration. They frequently enjoyed sporting activities such as kendo, judo, and sumo wrestling, and more leisurely activities such as *goh*, gardening, or knitting and crocheting (NARA Film B 3062 Reel 47). Their children, the Nisei generation, were more likely to participate in American sports and recreational activities. Baseball, basketball, and football were far more popular among Nisei than judo, kendo, or sumo wrestling (*Granada Pioneer*, Densho Digital Archives).

Nevertheless, Issei throughout the United States strived to maintain surroundings that reminded them of their birth country. In the early twentieth century Japanese American cultural enrichment groups were established to foster elements of traditional Japanese society. Some, such as the Military Virtue Society of North America, taught various Japanese martial arts as ways to instill virtue and honor among young Japanese Americans. These activities, especially kendo, were used as training techniques for the Japanese military and as such had imperialistic connotations that made most Caucasian Americans wary. Some of these activities were halted in the early twentieth century (Niiya 1993:320), possibly to prevent associations with the militaristic Japanese empire.

Traditional Japanese recreational activities brought the Issei and Nisei generations together, teaching the latter aspects of their ethnic heritage at a time when many wanted to be more American. While American sports were undoubtedly more popular than traditional Japanese activities (Matsumoto 1993:75; Myer 1971:57), other evidence suggests that Nisei did not entirely discount traditional Japanese sports (Figure 5). Many, including third generation Sansei, even participated in them. Archival evidence of sumo wrestling at Amache as well as evidence suggesting the sport's intergenerational participation will be discussed after an introduction to the history of sumo wrestling.

Figure 5. Sumo wrestling cartoon in the *Granada Pioneer*.

Sumo Wrestling Historic Background

Sumo wrestling is an ancient grappling sport famous worldwide for its associations with Japan. It is characterized by large, loincloth-clad men with topknot-style hair, attempting to force one another outside the ring. The sport is also laden with religious rituals that in some cases span centuries. Full of performance and intricate detail, it is common for the rituals to last much longer than an average bout of wrestling – over seven minutes for ceremonies compared to about 10 seconds of actual grappling (McInnes 1997:6). Ritualistic traditions are so engrained that *sumotori* (sumo wrestlers) fear that failure to perform them will anger the spirits and they will be punished by a poor performance. Sumo wrestling traditions can be traced back in Japan at least several hundred years, suggesting a deep historical connection that in many ways is still present today.

Sumo wrestling traces its earliest beginnings over two thousand years ago to mainland Asia. Korea and China have archaeological and archival material respectively that demonstrates the importance of wrestling to ancient Asians. The Tomb of Wrestlers, a sixth century burial in present-day North Korea, contains depictions of men grappling in a sumo-like style (Cuyler 1979:18). It is likely that this form of wrestling had little to do with modern sumo wrestling, but it is significant for its display of a popular grappling sport in ancient Asian civilizations. Throughout the first millennium B.C. ancient texts detail Chinese forms of wrestling. Chinese wrestlers gradually adopted a wrestling style

to entertain the noble court, becoming more ritualized in the second century A.D. (Cuyler 1979:21). Wrestling was a common sporting activity in most ancient civilizations, however, it is likely that mainland Asians exported some form of grappling sport to Japan that had little to do with sumo wrestling (Guttman and Thompson 2001:14).

The earliest evidence of sumo wrestling in its modern form comes from the Tumulus Period (250-552 A.D.) in Japan (Cuyler 1979:21). Archaeologists discovered terra cotta figurines (called *Haniwa*) that resemble horses and warriors or loincloth-clad wrestlers whose clothing resembles modern-day sumo wrestlers' garb (Crowther 2007:9). The first real documentary reference to modern-style sumo wrestling, however, is from the eighth century when the newly seated emperor held tournaments pitting the imperial guards against one another to entertain the court (Crowther 2007:10; Guttman and Thompson 2001:16). The matches lacked a bounded ring but the loser was the first person to have a body part (besides their feet) touch the ground, similar to modern sumo rules. These matches were little more than one-time events likely used to entertain and impress court nobility. Sumo wrestling underwent a transformation some 500 years later during the Heian period (794-1185 A.D.). As the sport grew in popularity additional rituals and traditions were incorporated to appeal to wider audiences throughout Japan (Cuyler 1979:33).

Following the widespread use of firearms and cannons in the seventeenth century, Japanese throughout the country started conglomerating into more heavily fortified cities

for protection. These dense populations demanded entertainment, among other things, and sumo wrestling bouts became regular events. Grand tournaments featuring the best *sumotori* from around Japan began taking place annually in the then capital of Kyoto (Sargeant 1959:23). As sumo began catering to audiences around the nation, more rituals, such as salt throwing, were incorporated into annual tournaments (Guttman and Thompson 2001:21). By the late eighteenth century, sumo was an institutionalized sport throughout Japan, with regulations and traditions similar to modern-day sumo wrestling (Sargeant 1959:23). Sumo became the national sport of Japan in 1927.

The rules of sumo wrestling are fairly simple: the first wrestler to force his opponent out of the ring or to touch the ground with a body part other than the foot is the victor. Two styles of sumo exist, grappling, and non-grappling. Grappling techniques are the employment of various holds to gain leverage and force the opponent out of the ring. Holds can include lifting an opponent by their *mawashi* (loincloth bellyband) and slamming them down or throwing them out of the ring. Non-grappling techniques for winning a match involve slapping, ramming, pushing, kicking, or tripping your opponent into submission. Inside the ring, sumo wrestlers strive to maintain a stoic persona during bouts. Showing anger or disapproval, especially towards the sacrosanct referees, is unheard of (Sargeant 1959:74) and thought to bring bad luck from the spiritual world. *Sumotori* rank is denoted in part by hairstyle – more elaborate topknot styles indicate higher ranking wrestlers (Sargeant 1959:27). Training involves arduous mental, physical,

and menial routine tasks to inspire discipline and of course, eating copious amounts of food to pack on bulk (Deutsch 2004).

Sumo Wrestling in the United States

Sumo wrestling was imported to the United States with Issei immigrants. Traditions and rituals were incorporated for annual sumo tournaments in Los Angeles, Seattle, and throughout the California Central Valley. Sumo wrestling never attained widespread popularity outside Japanese American communities, but inside them it became an activity that could celebrate Japanese heritage. It became more difficult to maintain that heritage for second generation Japanese Americans, however. Writing about the Japanese American community in Seattle, Washington, Frank Miyamoto explains that there was no virtually difference in recreational sport activities between Nisei and Caucasian American children (1984:67), as most Japanese American youngsters preferred baseball and basketball over sumo wrestling. The Issei were primarily responsible for ensuring the continuation of ritualistic practices of the sport even when their children preferred more American recreation activities.

The maintenance and practice of traditional sports survived and even flourished under Japanese incarceration during the war. Sumo wrestling tournaments were held in some assembly centers, the temporary centers for internees before being sent to more-permanent incarceration facilities (Figure 6). Historic photographs from the Santa Anita

Assembly center (a repurposed horse racing track in Arcadia, California) depict sumo wrestlers posing for the cameras, likely before a tournament. The wrestlers are young men clad in richly decorated clothing, similar to what professional *sumotori* in Japan wear. The traditional dress, an ankle-length apron that covers only the front of the wrester, worn by sumotori before a fight are called *keshō-mawashi,* and because of their expense and intricate designs are generally reserved for official tournament purposes (Sargeant 1959:61). Japanese American professor of history at Stanford Yamato Ichihashi recounted a fourth of July sumo tournament held at the Tule Lake assembly center in 1943. Ichihashi was less-than-enthusiastic about his fellow Issei sumo fans, calling the attractions and the people who enjoy them "rather pathetic" (Chang 1997:236). Ichihashi, it must be noted, also argued publically for Japanese Americans to assimilate into American culture as quickly and as thoroughly as possible, perhaps believing actions such as sumo wrestling only furthered negative perceptions against them.

Figure 6. Sumo wrestling match at the Gila River Incarceration Facility in southern Arizona.

Traditional Sumo Ring Structure

One of the many rituals and traditions surrounding sumo wrestling is the physical characteristics of the sumo ring itself which is constructed to exacting standards for tournaments and bouts (Figure 7). The wrestling platform (the elevated, flat area that holds the circular sumo ring) is typically about 18 feet square and stands about 14 inches off the ground composed primarily of straw bales filled with earth. The top layer of the ring is composed of dozens of rectangular blocks of a special type of clay that are laid out and flattened together to form a solid layer and covered with a fine layer of sand. The inside ring (where wrestlers must stay inside to win) is about 15 feet in diameter (Hikoyama 1940:25-27). A wooden post, usually smaller than the width of a telephone

pole and standing about 15 feet tall, is placed in each corner of the elevated platform. The posts are wrapped with colored cloths, each color representing a different season of the year: the northwest corner is black for winter; the northeast is green for spring; the southeast is red for summer; and the southwest is white for autumn (Hikoyama 1940:28).

Figure 7. Historic photograph of children sumo wrestling at the 9F ring. Note the decorative colored cloth of the roof bunting and posts are similar to traditional sumo ring characteristics.

Religious and Ritualistic Characteristics

Dozens of individual traditional and ritual practices are utilized during sumo wrestling bouts, many of which first started at least several hundred years ago in Japan. Sumo is thought to have been originally performed as part of a Shinto ritual at harvest times in an attempt to please the spirits of agriculture and provide bountiful harvests

(Crowther 2007:9; Deutsch, 2004:47). The early religious connection is supported by most of the ritualistic performances that are painstakingly performed before each match. One of the most commonly known rituals to outsiders, the tradition of throwing salt in the ring prior to a match, also dates to seventeenth century Shinto traditions. Shintoism urges cleanliness above all. Filth, dirt, and uncleanliness are considered evil. Salt is thought to cleanse the area of impurities left over from previous matches (McInnes 1997:22) and to prevent bad luck. Another common ritual, the squatted, repeated stomping of the wrestlers, is originally thought to have been performed by Shinto priests as a way to scare off demons to ensure a fair match (McInnes 1997:33). Water is also used as a source of purification. Buckets of cedar wood "power water" are kept in opposing corners of the ring, used for rinsing as part of the purification rituals alongside the salt throwing (McInnes 1997:23; Sargeant 1959:73). Finally, clapping ceremonies are performed by all wresters prior to a tournament, are used to gain the attention of the gods and bestow good fortune (Sargeant 1959:63).

Sumo Enthusiasts

In pre-war Japan most sumo enthusiasts were males (Figure 8). In fact, it was thought that if a woman touched the sumo ring it would become polluted and require ceremonies to be cleansed thoroughly enough to use it again (McInnes 1997). Spectators in Japan traditionally sit on small cushions directly on the floor. They are expected to

maintain dignified attitudes during matches, especially during ritual performances (Sargeant 1959:66). It is common to place bets on the winners of individual matches and grand champions. This practice was illegal in much of the United States leading up to the war, although many likely placed wagers under the table.

Figure 8. Jack Muro photograph depicting sumo wrestling at Amache. Note the spectators appear to be primarily male, similar to typical sumo spectator composition in Japan.

Sumo Wrestling at Amache

The WRA organized a recreation department at Amache that was responsible for funding and providing supplies for various recreational activities. The department, called

the Community Activities department, was organized to provide "relief of tensions (and) build group good will and tolerance through games and activities" (Film B 3058 Reel 302, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records [JAERR], BANC MSS 67/14 c, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley). The most popular activities were typical American sports – baseball, basketball, softball, and football, among others. Baseball was, according to WRA director Dillon Myer, far and away the most popular recreational activity in the incarceration centers, with some having over 100 teams (Myer 1971:57). Sports provided a relief from camp monotony, as Kiyo Hirano explained, "everyone, both male and female, cheered on enthusiastically and happily, even the adults were able to forget momentarily the trouble and heaviness in their hearts" (1983:9). Table 1 depicts the known dates of sumo wrestling events at Amache.

Table 1. Dates of known sumo wrestling events at Amache. This list likely provides only a small sample as there were probably numerous other sumo events that were not recorded in the historical documentation.

Known Amache Sumo Wrestling Dates	Event	Location	Notes
October 14, 1942	Sumo practices	Unknown	First mention of sumo practices
October 25, 1942	First grand tournament	6G	Yoshio "Peanut" Hirai wins grand tournament
February 16, 1943	Tournament	6G	Center-wide tournament, East team vs. the West
July 11, 1943	Fourth of July tournament	Unknown	
August 8, 1943	Tournament	9F	Tournament was postponed to an unknown date
March, 1945	Tournament	Unknown	Last known tournament

Documents prepared by the Amache recreation department present figures (albeit not a complete record) of what equipment, funding, and coverage was supplied to which sports. Records indicate that substantially more money and reporting coverage went to

American sports instead of traditional Japanese activities. The one exception, judo, is listed as receiving a mere .002 percent of the recreation department's operating budget for January in an unknown year – there is no mention of sumo wrestling or other traditional Japanese activities for this month (National Archives and Records Administration, film B 3062 reel 47). Furthermore, WRA monthly sports reporting documents (overviews of the activities per month in camp) detailing tournaments and games only occasionally mention sumo wrestling – the month that we know a fourth of July sumo tournament was held, for instance, are not mentioned in these reports (Film B 3058 Reels 292, 302, JAERR, BANC MSS 67/14 c, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley). A recreation department report from 1942 mentions that the first sumo tournament was sponsored by the recreation department, but "a committee of issei (sic) sumo enthusiasts carried the greater burden" of funding the venture (NARA Film B 3062 Reel 47). A later sumo tournament is also mentioned in another document (addressed below). Little other mention of sumo wrestling is made for the remaining years of Amache's operation by the recreation department, suggesting the sport was primarily organized and funded by the older generation of internee enthusiasts and the WRA had little to do with the sport's continued operation. Perhaps not surprisingly, no mention of kendo at Amache was found in any historical materials. Regardless of how it was supported, internees were enjoying sumo wrestling early in Amache's history and throughout most of the center's existence.

At least two sumo rings were built in separate locations at Amache. The first known sumo tournament was held in the fall of 1942, shortly after the opening of Amache. A *Granada Pioneer* article from October 28, 1942, mentions the tournament was held at the block 6G playground, on October 25 (Fresno State Library). The ring itself was a twelve-foot diameter by 2 feet high platform composed of sand (NARA Film B 3062 Reel 47). Evidence suggests the sumo club, called "Amache Sumo Kyokai," (Amache Sumo association, society, or organization) were responsible for the creation and maintenance of the sport at Amache. The first sumo tournament and the prizes given to victors were sponsored by the sumo club and funded primarily "through donations from the sumo supporters," again suggesting the sport was provided with little or no recreation department support (NARA Film B 3062 Reel 47).

The first sumo ring at block 6G was built in preparation of a grand tournament at the end of October to cap the season's events, suggesting that many single wrestling matches preceded the tournament. About 80 *sumotori* signed up to compete in the tournament (*Granada Pioneer* 10-17-1942, Fresno State Library). Yoshio "Peanut" Hirai walked away with the title of grand champion, ultimately besting five other men for the title (*Granada Pioneer* 10-28-1942, Fresno State Library) (Figure 9). The first Amache grand sumo tournament was successful in evoking "a great response of enthusiasm from the elder generation" (NARA Film B 3062 Reel 47), presumably the primary audience, the Issei. Tournament promoters concluded promising a better turn out for the 1943

spring tournament, when favorable weather would permit regular matches and draw larger crowds (NARA Film B 3062 Reel 47). A second tournament was held at the 6G sumo ring in mid-February, 1943. The center-wide tournament pitted the "East" team against the "West" team. The teams were likely organized based upon residential barracks within the center. The East team barely won the tournament with a score of 11 to 10. Champions for the East team were Midoriguchi and Kinnoshachi, while the West team's valuable competitors were Yasuno and Hayanishiki (*The Granada Pioneer* 2-16-1943, Densho Digital Archive).

Figure 9. Amache sumo wrestlers clad in traditional keshō-mawashi. The man smiling in the center is Yoshio "Peanut" Hirai.

By May, 1943, internees had built a second sumo wrestling ring in block 9F, northwest of the co-op building. It is unknown why they chose to build a second ring – perhaps there was not enough room for spectators since 6G was a normal residential

block. It is also possible that wrestling occurred on the actual playground at 6G, without a properly built sumo ring. The 9F sumo ring appears to be the more permanent of the two – according to *Granada Pioneer* articles the first ring at 6G was in use for less than a year. The splitting of the teams based on geographical locations within the camps (discussed above) may suggest that both sumo rings were in use simultaneously throughout the rest of Amache's history. There is, however, no mention of sumo wrestling occurring at the 6G playground after the February, 1943 tournament.

Sumo matches and tournaments were organized at various times throughout the years. The recreation department organized a carnival to celebrate Independence Day in 1943, featuring over 60 booths of games and concessions, a parade, and baseball, softball and sumo tournaments (Fresno State Library *Granada Pioneer*). It is perhaps ironic that traditional Japanese activities were used to celebrate the United States' day of independence by people incarcerated for being ethnically Japanese. Nevertheless, sumo matches were part of the annual celebrations and festivals in 1943 and 1944. A tournament was scheduled to take place in early September, 1943 that planned to bring *sumotori* from Denver to compete against Amache wrestlers (9-3-1943 *Granada Pioneer*, Fresno State Library). This tournament was apparently rescheduled for later in the month due to bad weather, but no further record of the event could be located. Tournaments were also held in May and September, 1943 (5-12-1943 *Granada Pioneer*, Densho

Digital Archive; 9-4-1943 *Granada Pioneer*, Fresno State Library) suggesting sumo bouts were played at various intervals throughout the spring and summer.

Likely the last major sumo tournament at Amache was held in March of 1945. A recreation report details the events: "A sumo was held outdoors but was not well attended, partly because of bad weather and also because the young men who usually participate are no longer in the Center. It was put on chiefly by young boys. About 400 attended." Perhaps most surprising is how appealing sumo was to Amacheans, being able to draw in 400 spectators in a fairly cramped area. The report follows up by explaining that 400 spectators "is not well attended", suggesting previously drew crowds in far greater numbers (Film B 3058 Reel 302, JAERR, BANC MSS 67/14 c, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley). It is likely that the relatively small crowd was due to the camp's closing ramping up in the spring of 1945. The report also mentions it was primarily composed of boys, suggesting the appeal to younger Nisei and Sansei generations, many of whom were by that time serving in the armed forces.

Several historic photographs were taken of the sumo wrestling ring and its location. The specific location of the ring is not mentioned in any of the photograph captions but they appear to depict the later ring built at 9F. This can be deduced because in the background is what appears to be the nearby co-op building. While the entire sumo ring is not visible in any single photograph, some of them show enough detail to learn much about the basic physical composition of the ring. The ring appears to be constructed

according to similar exacting standards of traditional Japanese sumo rings. Many of the photographs in the McClelland collection are in color, allowing a greater understanding of the ring's construction. The four corner posts are wrapped in traditional colored linens representing the four seasons. Purple bunting was also strung up underneath the roof pillars, another traditional sumo ring decoration symbolizing shifting winds. Both of these colored cloths are highly symbolic in traditional sumo rings, suggesting a strong desire to maintain these characteristics even while incarcerated.

Small wooden boxes and metal buckets are seen on some of the corner posts, likely holding purifying salt or water for rituals. Use of the buckets and their contents are also traditionally symbolic. Metal buckets, however, seem to have replaced some of the cedar wood buckets that are traditionally used, likely due to restrictions on obtaining many metals during the war. Simple wooden bleachers line the outside of the sumo ring, providing a location for spectators to watch the events. Spectators in the photographs are predominantly male, coinciding with the sport's demography in Japan at the time. Some of the photographs depict loincloth-clad young boy *sumotori* and filling the bleachers, likely waiting their turn to wrestle (Figure 10). The boys' sumo wrestling group suggests sumo was an active inter-generational activity, at least amongst male Japanese American Issei, Nisei, and Sansei.

Figure 10. Nisei or Sansei boys sumo wrestling. This photograph and others suggest the popularity of sumo wrestling for young boys during incarceration.

Several differences between the Amache sumo ring and traditional rings in Japan are apparent in the historical photographs. One of the most apparent differences is the lack of a covered roof over the 9F sumo ring. Traditionally, the roofs are highly intricate and require additional architectural support. It is likely internees chose not to build the roof because of its expense and difficulty in creation and placement. Instead, simple wooden beams were used to connect the four post corners together along with a central planked "X" in the center, likely providing additional stability to the frame. While it is difficult to determine the composition of the sumo ring floor, it appears to be composed of hard-packed sand, the ubiquitous sediment found throughout the high plains. Historic documents explain that the 6G interior ring was composed of sand (NARA Film B 3062 Reel 47), it is likely the composition of the 9F ring was similar. Sand rings differ from

traditional clay rings, likely because it would have been difficult and costly for internees to acquire that much clay. Lastly, the inner circular ring seems to be a simple chalk outline marked in the soil, as compared to traditional rings that are composed of rectangular blocks of clay that are partially submerged in the platform surface.

Oral Interview

Prior to the 2014 summer field school season, Dr. Clark and I visited Los Angeles to meet with Amache community members, discuss upcoming field school goals, and to relay the 2012 field school results. We met with George Hirano, a former teenage internee who resided at block 8F, one block north of the co-op and sumo ring area. While never participating in sumo wrestling, George recalled seeing the ring near his residential barracks. He recalled seeing the sumo ring in the northwest corner of 9F, on the border of neighboring blocks where there were no other buildings (George Hirano, personal communication, 2014). Several editions of the *Granada Pioneer* reiterated George's information, explaining that the sumo ring was located next to the co-op building (5-12-1943, Densho Digital Archive; 9-4-1943, Fresno State Library; 9-8-1943, Fresno State Library).

Archaeological Evidence

Field school crews performed intensive pedestrian survey over the entire block at 9F. Survey proceeded on the eastern side of the block with crews performing transects running north to south, finishing in the southwest corner of the block. No obvious evidence of the sumo ring structure, such as the mounded platform or associated building components, are visible on the surface today. As survey crews reached the western side of the block however, we noticed a conspicuously flat area in the northwest corner (Figure 11). A relatively flat, square-shaped terrace is surrounded by gently sloping hills that slope downhill towards the west and rise towards the east. This area, a leveled terrace of sorts where only hills are naturally present, strongly suggests a man-made surface. Additionally, the location and layout of the area suggests this is the location of the historic sumo wrestling ring. The platform is not readily visible facing the north or west – viewing it facing south from block 8F or east from block 9E allows it to be easily noticeable. The location is exactly where George (and the *Granada Pioneer*) said it would be – even after 70 years George's memory was precise. The western and northern sides of the platform are bounded by rounded berms of soil that rise in elevation for several feet before tapering off and sloping with the natural hills. The terrace surface itself lies in a slight depression. The eastern and southern extreme edges of the terrace follow the contours of the gently rising natural hills.

Figure 11. Location of the historic sumo ring at block 9F. Note the artificially flattened area.

Little surface material remains were present near the sumo platform area. Geographical Information Systems (GIS) analyses were performed to compare the density of artifact concentrations near the sumo platform area against the rest of the block. While results were not statistically significant, qualitative analysis of the 9F archaeological survey finds map shows the relative lack of artifacts near the sumo ring location (Figure 12). Light artifact concentrations suggest at least two things: first, internees could have intentionally maintained this area of traditional importance, keeping it clean and free of debris. This cleanliness coincides with many Shinto customs of cleanliness and as well as general rules regarding proper treatment of sumo rings. Second, the platform area could be naturally free of most debris because it is in a corner

of the block that did not have any buildings historically. This may have prevented the dumping of camp deconstruction materials in the area.

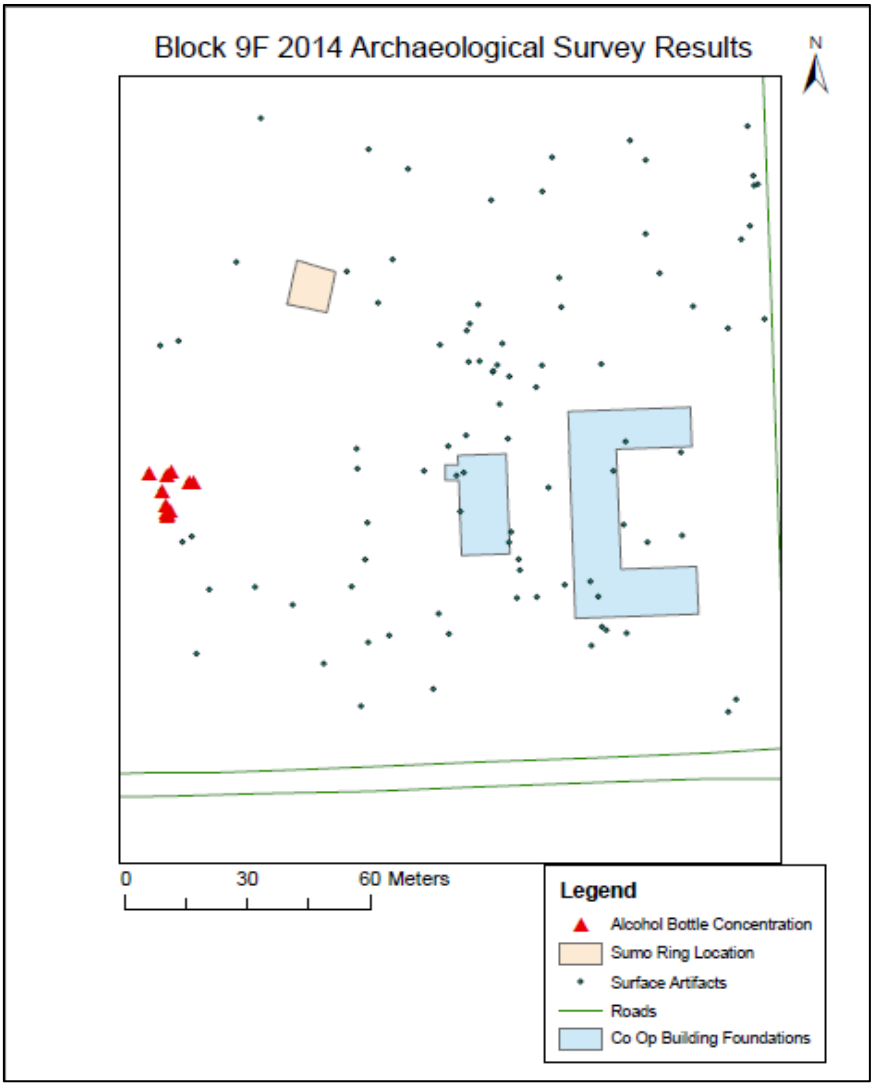

Figure 12. GIS map of survey results of archaeological survey at block 9F. Note the lack of artifacts near the sumo ring location.

Although surface artifact finds near the sumo platform were scarce, two finds are of potential importance. First, a bundle of ferrous wire was located to the northeast of the platform, outside of the sumo ring area. The wire is about 24 inches long and curled. Wire of this sort was difficult to obtain during the war as the metal was rationed and only available directly from governmental authorities. Wire would therefore not be widely available for personal use. It is possible that this wire was part of the sumo ring structure. Historic photographs depict similar wires utilized on the top of the sumo ring frame. The wire, based on the photographs, appears to serve no functional or architectural purpose. Perhaps it was used to hold a linen covering for a shaded rooftop or decorative bunting.

Perhaps more conclusive is a concentration of glass artifacts located to the southwest of the sumo platform (Figures 13 and 14). The glass, located near the western 9F-9E border, is composed of bottles, jars, and jugs. A complete wine bottle and at least two large clear glass jug bases suggest that internees were drinking alcohol in this area. The jug bases are similar to others found throughout the camp, bearing marks that show they were saké jugs from a brewer in Hawaii (Slaughter 2006). Saké, or any alcohol, was not allowed at Amache. For Japanese and Japanese Americans, saké was typically reserved for special social occasions – so much so that to drink alone could have an individual cast as a social outcast (Slaughter 2006:130). Consuming alcohol was especially prevalent to celebrate holidays. As sumo tournaments were held annually to celebrate Independence Day, perhaps sumo enthusiasts were celebrating the events by

consuming illicit beverages. Michelle Slaughter (2006) identifies saké drinking as a form of "subtle rebellion" against incarceration. Combining saké consumption with performing sumo during the Fourth of July creates a powerful symbol of undermining WRA rules, if not acts of public resistance. While Amache residents were generally well-behaved, one of the primary disturbances consisted of considerable amounts of arrests and detentions due to drunkenness and gambling staff (Film B 3058 Reel 301, JAERR, BANC MSS 67/14 c, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley). It is a common practice for sumo fans to both drink socially during bouts and bet on the outcome of games – perhaps the saké jug fragments are evidence of both of these things.

Figure 13. Remains of a clear glass jug found near the sumo ring. The jug is similar to containers found in other areas of the camp that contained saké.

Figure 14. Whole wine bottle found near the 9F sumo ring.

A special ritual is also practiced involving saké and sumo wrestling. Teu-chi-siki is used following tournaments as a way to celebrate initiate's official introduction into the world of sumo wrestling. The ritual involves drinking a special type of saké that is also

used for various Shinto practices (McInnes 1997:43). The saké jug artifacts found at Amache could signify the toasting of new sumo recruits to the sport.

Ground Penetrating Radar

Ground penetrating radar results in the area of the sumo terrace were inconclusive. Some evidence of buried or compacted surfaces were located (Figure 15) but the data suggest that none of these surfaces were large enough or in a shape that would suggest a sumo ring. There are three main possibilities why we did not locate evidence of the sumo ring. First, GPR can most easily pinpoint changes in subsurface material compositions, especially when detecting non-homogenous materials (such as cement buried in sandy soil). It is likely that the 9F sumo platform was constructed entirely of sand, similar to what we know about the platform at 6G. As the sand used was likely the same sand that is ubiquitous in this region, the sandy material used for the platform would be difficult to differentiate between the surrounding soil – they would essentially reflect a homogenous material, showing virtually no subsurface differences in soil composition. Second, it is common in traditional sumo ring creation to reconstruct and demolish the platform before and after every major tournament (Hotta 2007). It is therefore possible that no evidence of the soil platform remained following the closure of Amache. Third, while this area of the high plains is relatively dry, it does experience occasional, strong rain and thunderstorms. It is possible that rain washed away remnants

of the platform where it once stood. This is especially relevant when considering how the hills slope away towards the west, providing a natural funnel for water to flow directly over the sumo platform.

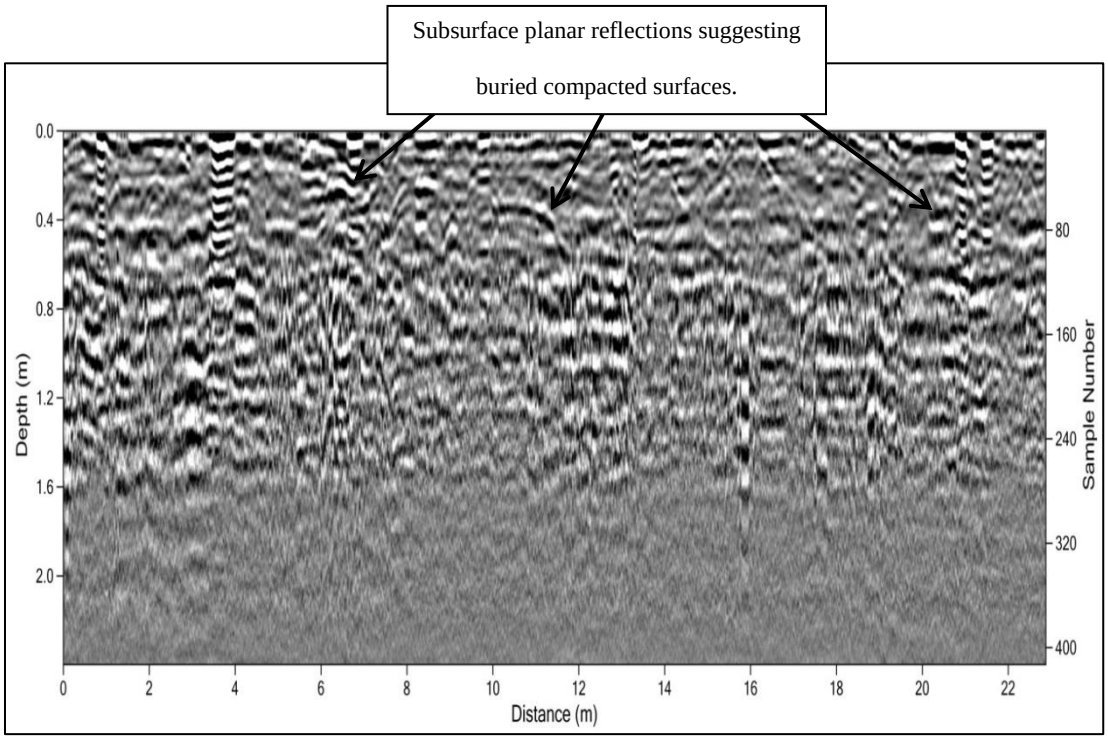

Figure 15. Example of a GPR profile of the historic sumo wrestling ring location. The data are inconclusive. Some evidence of buried surfaces can be identified. None, however, appear to reflect a surface that would be large enough and in the correct shape to suggest a sumo ring.

Discussion

Archival research, interviews, and archaeological data document how sumo wrestling was practiced by several generations of Japanese American internees at Amache. The loincloth-clad boys in the Joseph McClelland photographs were Nisei or

Sansei generation Japanese Americans that expressed enough interest to form a children's sumo wrestling league. Grand champion of the 1942 fall tournament, Yoshio "Peanut" Hirai, a Nisei, was something of a trend-setter, well-liked amongst his peers, many of who mention him in their oral interviews (George and Shigeko Hirano, personal communication 2014). Kendo, sumo, and judo clubs were also organized by Nisei leading up to the war. In the Cortez, California community, the Cortez Young People's Club organized a kendo club amongst themselves. There was also a club dedicated to sumo wrestling in Orange County, California, composed of young men before the war. Manzanar, another incarceration facility in southern California, had a makeshift sumo ring, organized and built exclusively by young boys (Burton et al. 1996:113). The boys piled up dirt and sand and utilized trees for a platform and corner posts. Internees at Poston, Topaz, Gila River, and likely most other incarceration facilities also organized sumo wrestling clubs.

The cultural gaps between Issei and subsequent generations strained relationships between many Japanese Americans. Issei, for the most part, retained many elements of Japanese culture and incorporated few mainstream American customs; Nisei and Sansei were just the opposite (Kitagawa 1967:35, 38; Daniels 1972:22-23; Hayashi 1983:44; Miyamoto 1984:68; Matsumoto 1993:70; Hosokawa 1998:8). Younger generation Japanese Americans often explain their desire as children to acculturate into American society (including playing American sports) rather than spending time learning about

Japanese culture (Kitagawa 1967:36; Daniels 1972:24; Matsumoto 1993:70; Hosokawa 1998:8). The archival and oral history information presented above offers a contrary view on that idea, however, suggesting that even if American activities were more widely practiced, traditional Japanese sports were still popular enough amongst younger generations to warrant the creation of separate leagues and tournaments. The generational divide between Issei and subsequent generations was likely bridged in part because of these activities that crossed generational divides. A common-ground inter-generational traditional activity, which were fairly rare between the generations (Fugita and Fernandez 2004:46; LaViolette 1945:142; Kitagawa 1967:35; Matsumoto 1986:71) likely provided the younger generations with a greater knowledge and appreciation of their ethnic heritage specifically and a more smoothly functioning community generally.

Sumo tournaments and matches were held annually in the warm spring and summer months (and even occasionally in early fall) at Amache. A single known tournament was held in 1942 to celebrate the nation's Independence Day. The incorporation of a traditional Japanese practice during a national American holiday is significant for at least two reasons. First, performing public activities that were actively repressed before and during the war signifies the importance sumo wrestling (and other traditional activities) held for Japanese American identity. The holiday was used as a celebration of both American and Japanese cultures simultaneously. Second, performing sumo on Independence Day could signify resistance to incarceration. The public display

of a part of traditional Japanese culture persevered through incarceration and active culture assimilation to assist Japanese Americans in maintaining a lifestyle of their preference. Rather than participate in traditional American Fourth of July celebration activities (parades or carnivals) some Japanese Americans chose to display aspects of their traditional culture – it is perhaps not surprising that the WRA, espousing a goal of Americanization in the center, did not provide support for sumo wrestling in the same way it provided for baseball or football.

Chapter Six: Bathing Practices

Rather than the trope about the exhausted husband coming home from work and immediately asking his wife if dinner is ready, Japanese working-men, it is stated half-jokingly, are known to instead ask if their bath is ready. Unlike in the western world, bathing is not used to clean oneself in Japan. Instead baths act as saunas or hot tubs for relaxation, pleasure, and as a focal point for social gatherings. Many urban Japanese neighborhoods have several *sento*, or communal bath houses, that act as community gathering places (Grilli and Levy 1985:16). Deep relationships, and even the occasional business transaction, are formed and maintained while scrubbing one another's back or relaxing amongst the hot water and steam (Grilli and Levy 1985:34). The Japanese government provides subsidies to bath houses to ensure the cultural practice survives the onslaught of western-style showers geared towards the modern busy men and women (Talmadge 2006:24, 60).

Even while the use of showers is outpacing the traditional bath, the practice of bathing is still flourishing for tourists in urban centers and amongst rural Japanese (Clark 1994:1). Single families in the countryside often build individual baths for their family, called *ofuro* (the formal word for bath; *furo* is the informal), a practice that made its way to Japanese American farming communities in the United States, especially throughout

Hawaiian plantations and the California Central Valley. *Ofuro* are created for individual or family use but utilize similar rules of proper use and are smaller compared to typical public *sento*. Evidence of internee-built *ofuro* was discovered at Amache, suggesting that traditional bathing practices played an important role in Japanese American lives during incarceration. This section will relay the history and ritualistic associations of bathing practices to provide evidence of its role as a traditional activity for many Japanese. Evidence of Japanese-style bathing in the United States, including historical *ofuro* use at Amache, will then be presented. Finally, archaeological evidence from the 2014 field season will then be presented to provide evidence of the *ofuro's* construction and examine its importance to internees.

Historical Bathing Practices

Japanese bathing practices can be traced back over at least one and a half thousand years ago. Some argue that historical bathing practices were imported from ancient Korea, where sweat baths were common methods of cleaning oneself (Clark 1994:21). Japanese-style bathing, however, is first mentioned by Asian travelers to the island nation. Historical texts suggest bathing practices were widespread throughout Japan as far back as the third century A.D. when Chinese travelers recounted Japanese use of public baths. The tradition of bathing could extend well before the Chinese wrote about it, however, as Japanese at this time did not keep many written records (Clark

1994:20). The references noted the Japanese people's unusual fondness for cleanliness, taking frequent baths in streams, rivers, and hot springs (Grilli and Levy 1985:15, 44). This is perhaps not surprising, as one of the tenets of Shintoism, the native religion of the Japanese island dating to 660 B.C., is the expulsion of filth, both physically and mentally, as it is equated with evil (Grilli and Levy 1985:24). Shinto exorcism, purification, and cleansing rituals all rely on water as a source of holy power used to expel evil. It is believed that in order to communicate with gods or spirits one must maintain a clean body (Grilli and Levy 1985:46, 50). It is still common for families to take communal baths after the death of a relative, as being so close to death is considered unclean (Grilli and Levy 1985:44).

The earliest *sento* were likely the many hot springs located throughout the Japanese island, limiting early public bathing to nearby residents (Grilli and Levy 1985:21). Around the mid-eighth century public baths began becoming a standard feature of Buddhist temples. Among other charitable actions, providing bathing places for the poor was considered a duty of Buddhist priests. Public bath houses were not common until around the late-sixteenth century as people began to conglomerate in cities – Tokyo's first *sento* opened in 1591 (Talmadge 2006:25). Today many Japanese homes have private *ofuro* in conjunction with a western-style shower. Most are located separately from the bathroom and are intended for individual soaking and relaxation (Talmadge 2006:24). Public bath house usage in urban areas is not as common as it was

before the introduction of European showers (Grilli and Levy 1985:13-14). Many hotels and hostels, however, maintain *ofuro* for foreign travelers as it is still a popular activity for international tourists.

Ofuro Characteristics

Public baths take on a variety of sizes, shapes, and compositions depending on the intended use and number of simultaneous patrons. The majority of *ofuro* throughout California, where many Amache internees originated, were built with single-family usage in mind. As such only the physical construction and composition of individual family *ofuro* will be discussed.

In its simplest form an *ofuro* is a tub of water that is placed over a heating source. The tub is traditionally square or rounded and composed of high quality wood or cast iron (Grilli and Levy 1985:13). Sizes of the tub vary depending on the size of the family but generally they are about 3 – x – 3ft. for individual use (Grilli and Levy 1985:13). Tubs can be larger, up to about eight feet long to accommodate multiple bathers. The tub sits on top of a heating source. Historically it was common to build fires directly underneath (Niiya 1993:142) while modern tubs are heated with electricity. Soakers sit on some sort of wooden stool or bench to avoid being burned from the bottom of the tub (Grilli and Levy 1985:13). Fire-heated *ofuro* tubs are generally placed on a foundation to lift them

off the ground to provide room to stoke and clean out fires that are built directly on the ground surface.

The goal of the *ofuro* construction should evoke relaxation and reflection for bathers (Talmadge 2006:11). Historically, family *ofuro*, like the ones built throughout farming communities in the United States, are typically built outdoors and surrounded by a wooden structure. A small attached room was used for changing and/or rinsing oneself off (Clark 1994:67; Talmadge 2006:25). The buildings commonly lacked a roof and had several small windows that allowed soakers to watch the stars and bring in the cool evening air (Smith and Yamamoto 2001:23). It is also common for windows in the *ofuro* building to be placed facing natural beauty such as landscaped yards or gardens (Grilli and Levy 1985:16). Undesirable scenery can be fenced off to hide the unpleasant view from the *ofuro*, a practice called *shakkei*, or borrowed scenery (Smith and Yamamoto 2001:39). Fences made of cedar, redwood, bamboo, or planted foliage also served as barriers to provide privacy and pleasant views to bathers (Smith and Yamamoto 2001:23).

Typically, *ofuro* are not used to clean oneself. Instead, the tub is strictly used for soaking. Bathers wash and rinse themselves off outside the bath to prevent the water from becoming dirty, as many successive bathers would utilize the same water. In Japanese *sento* this is accomplished in a separate room with shower heads and wash cloths. In the United States the same task was accomplished by washing off outside with a bucket of

soapy water and washcloth or brush (Talmadge 2006:25). Bathers use *ofuro* similar to an American hot tub – they are intended for relaxation, reflection, and socializing (Grilli and Levy 1985:75). In the United States, *ofuro* were typically used by private families. There was even an order in who got first priority in the tub, starting with the father, then the mother, then the children based on seniority (Smith and Yamamoto 2001:13).

Ofuro Usage in the United States

Leading up to World War II traditional Japanese baths were restricted primarily to rural agricultural areas. Just as rural folk tend to maintain traditional practices longer than their urban counterparts, *ofuro* use was prevalent among Hawaiian plantation workers and Central Valley farmers (Niiya 1993:142). Most families in the Cortez Colony, for example, had their own private *ofuro* (Matsumoto 1986:61). These *ofuro* were intended for single family or single person use. They were located outside or inside the home, separate from the toilet (Niiya 1993:142), likely of similar construction to those *ofuro* mentioned above. Businessmen in some cities with dense Japanese American populations, such as Portland, Oregon, operated public bath houses to earn a profit (Niiya 1993:142).

In Japan, people could hire a bath maker to provide the materials and labor to construct private *ofuro*. In the United States, however, Japanese Americans had to make do with whatever materials they could find. It was fairly common to use metal horse

troughs for the tank, as they were large enough to accommodate several people and could be ordered from Sears or other mail order catalogs (Niiya 1993:142) (Figures 16 and 17). *Ofuro* builders likely switched to cedar or redwood tanks during the war, as rationing prevented the sale of most metal products (Sears, Roebuck & Co. catalog, fall and winter 1932/1933, summer 1943). Bricks and/or cinder blocks were also likely used to build the tub foundation, as they are fairly common, sturdy, and inexpensive.

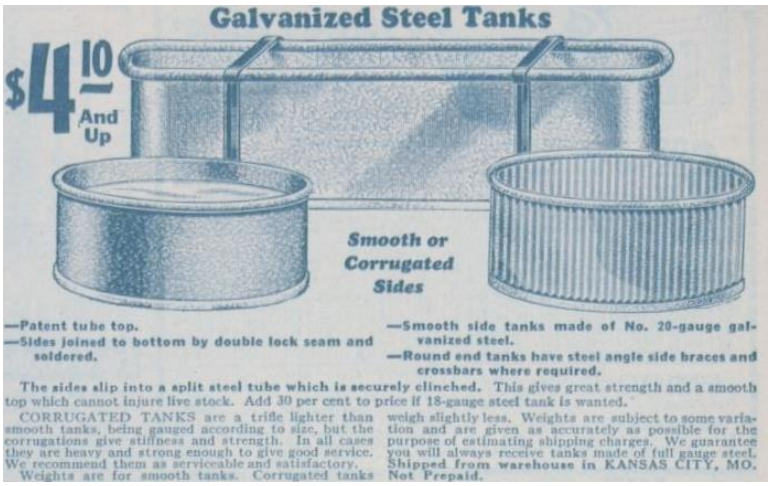

Figure 16. Example of water tanks available by mail order before World War II that could have been used to build an *ofuro*. Image from Sears, Roebuck & Co. catalog, fall and winter 1932/1933.

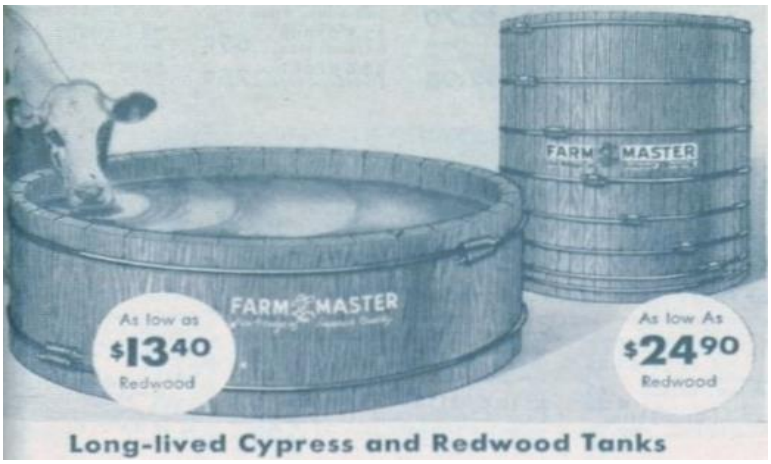

Figure 17. Example of water tanks available by mail order during World War II. As metal was rationed during the war, wood is the only available material for water tanks. Image from Sears, Roebuck & Co. catalog summer 1943.

Ofuro Usage at Amache

Little historical evidence of traditional bathing practices at Amache has been located. Most interviewed ex-internees do not recall any *ofuro* at Amache. Camp newspapers, memoirs, and interviews do not mention anything about *ofuro* use. When directed questions regarding bathing practices were posed to former Amache internees volunteering at the University of Denver 2014 field school, two former internees relayed memories regarding *ofuro* that were seldom discussed prior. Anita Miyamoto Miller, a young girl during internment, recalled her family "always had a *furo*", both before and after the war. Anita explained that when her father was building a new house on their farm near Turlock, California, the first thing he constructed was the *ofuro* (personal communication 2014) suggesting its importance to his daily life. Carlene Tanigoshi

Tinker, however, grew up urban areas, never seeing or using an *ofuro* before incarceration at Amache. Carlene reflected her only experiences with traditional Japanese baths were during her time at Amache when she would soak with her mother, grandmother, and two aunts, often at the same time. Neither Anita nor Carlene could remember where the *ofuro* at Amache were located (as they were both small children). Carlene recalled some scant details, such as that the *ofuro* she used was "totally out in the open… around a completely open field" without a structure surrounding it, gazing out at the stars while soaking. She even recalled them washing themselves off naked in the middle of a field prior to entering the tub (personal communication 2014). Another Amache internee recalled how the nighttime atmosphere at Amache was perfect for soaking, peaceful and dark: "The whole camp is dark, as outside lights are few and dim and far between; there is no night life in the camp, and it is a paradise for old people who love quietude" (Chang 1997:266).

Anita recalled much about *ofuro* usage at her parent's farms both before and after the war. She recalled the physical structure of the bath: concrete, sloped floor on the interior so water could drain out. The bottom of the tub had a cedar wood grate with vents, to prevent burning oneself on the tub bottom. The tub was "about the size of a square dining table", likely large enough to fit three or four people at a time. There was a bench on the outside of the tub used to climb in and out. She could not recall what the tub itself was made out of, but remembered it being about three feet deep. The tub was also

raised off the ground, heated by a fire underneath that was stoked from outside the room (personal communication 2014).

Ronald Maeda, also a small child incarcerated at Amache, explained that his family both before and after the war had a family *ofuro* outside their home in Walnut Grove, California. As the youngest child, Ronald not only had to change the bath water and stoke the fire for each use, he was only allowed to soak after the rest of his family got their turn. Most families in Ronald's neighborhood had private soaking tubs. Individual family *ofuro* were built by collective labor of the neighborhood. The *ofuro* foundation structure was similar to the evidence excavated in block 7H (described below) (personal communication 2015).

Archaeological Evidence

Pedestrian survey at block 7H located a fairly large, rectangular brick and cement border just north of the latrine and south of the 6H public garden and Block Manager's office which served as a historic community center (Figures 18 and 19). The foundation resembled a similar construction that was found and partially excavated during the 2008 archaeological field season (additional discussion about this feature below). The border foundation is also similar on the surface to garden borders excavated in previous years at Amache with the exception of an additional concrete collar lining the border that was discovered after the removal of vegetation and excess soil. The concrete, not having any

likely artistic or decorative function (there has been no evidence of using concrete in this way as a garden border) suggested the border was instead a foundation used to support a rectangular structure. The tub at Ronald's family house, rather than sitting directly on the cement foundation, was placed on flat metal slats that allowed fires to be stoked underneath. Similar slats could have been used historically at Amache but no evidence of this exists. Ronald's mother, Kiyoye Taniguchi Maeda, recalls using ofuro at Amache. Kiyoye recalls using a porcelain tub fed hot water through a hose attached to the nearby bath house with her mother. No men were allowed in this ofuro, although many apparently asked. Kiyoye also recalled only a single ofuro at Amache.

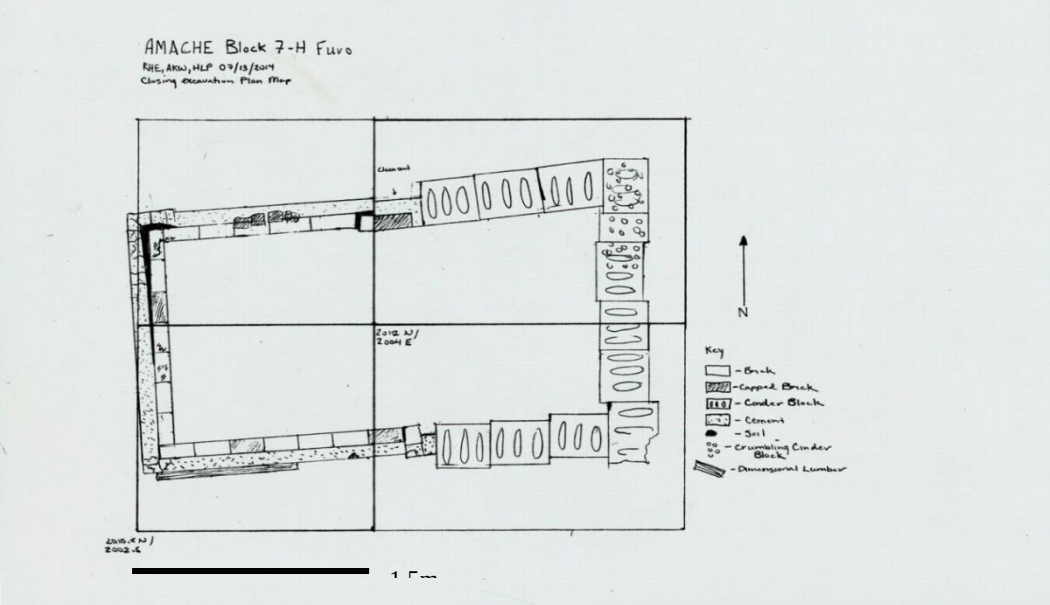

Figure 18. Detailed drawing of the 7H *ofuro*. Note the use of bricks, cinder blocks, and cement for the foundation border.

Figure 19. 7H *ofuro* foundation border after brush clearance and before excavation. Photograph was taken facing towards the south.

The foundation is rectangular, about two meters in length (east-west) and about two and a half meters wide (north-south). The western half of the border foundation is composed of mortared bricks laid end-to-end, with a 9-10 cm wide addition of a solid concrete collar added around the exterior of the bricks. Illegible lettering is marked on a portion of the southern concrete border. Additionally, some of the bricks are topped with a rounded cap of cement. Crumbling cement suggests the cap wore off most of the bricks, with only fragments or residue remaining. It is likely that all the bricks were cement-capped to provide additional weight-bearing capacity to the foundation. The eastern half of the foundation is composed of dry-laid cinder blocks laid end-to-end. The cinder blocks are similar to those found in other places throughout the site. Surface soil is primarily silty-sand, similar to the ubiquitous material in the region. Black, ashy, mottled

stains were also present in the interior foundation soil suggesting something was burned in this location historically. Figure 20 presents a map of block 7H, all the field artifacts located during the survey, and the location of the *ofuro*.

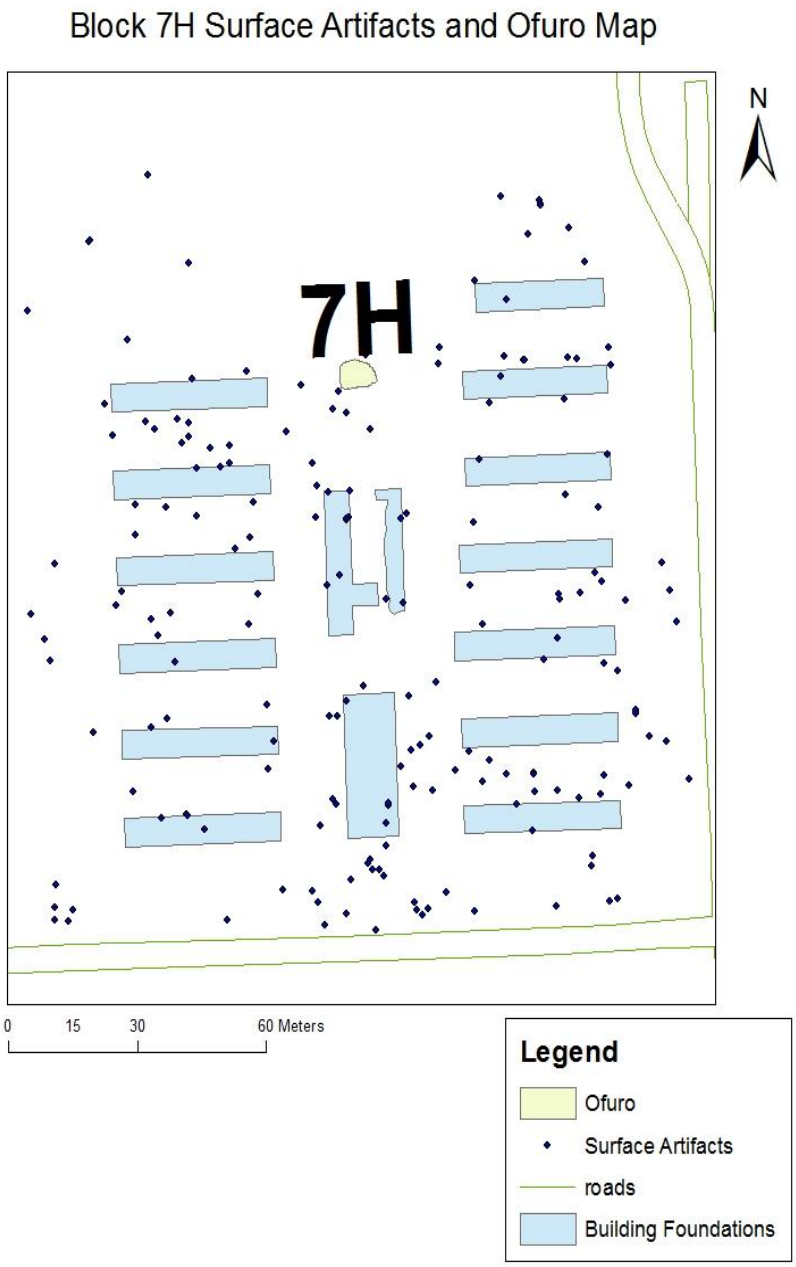

Figure 20. GIS map of block 7H with surface artifacts and the *ofuro* foundation highlighted.

One of the excavation goals was to determine if the foundation was indeed part of an *ofuro* structure rather than another unknown feature. In an effort to accomplish this, two excavation units were placed within the *ofuro*. The units were placed in the northeastern and southwestern portion of the foundation and overlapped the interior and exterior portions of the foundation border (Figure 21). This procedure allowed excavators to determine the physical construction parameters of the historical structure, such as how tall it was, how it was created, and, if there was a cleanout. A cleanout, usually a rectangular opening, is used to create, stoke, and clean out remains of the fire that is used to heat the water for bathing. It is also the likely place where water would have been emptied from the tub after bathing. A third separate excavation unit was placed to the southwest of the *ofuro*, as GPR indicated a possible associated subsurface feature. Appendix C provides a list of all personal and architectural materials recovered from the *ofuro* excavation units.

Figure 21. Placement of *ofuro* excavation units.

Excavation Results – Unit 2010.5N, 2002.5E

The unit in the southwest section of the *ofuro* (2010.5N, 2002.5E) was a 1.5 x 1.5m unit covering an interior and exterior portion of the *ofuro*. The goals for this unit were to document the interior brick foundation dimensions and the exterior concrete collar composition, as well as documenting other unknown associated features. The exterior portion was a rectangular unit along the southern foundation wall (Figure 22). Excavation in the exterior portion of this unit revealed the full height of the cement collar (about 10 inches), at which point excavation in this section ceased to prevent structural collapse of the foundation. Two un-mortared bricks were found lying end to end adjacent to the southern wall. A wooden board (35 in. long, 2.25 in. wide, 1.5 in. thick) was also found adjacent to the wall. Both the bricks and the board were held in place by sage brush roots. The brick-lined foundation does not appear to be missing any bricks suggesting these served some other purpose. The wood was possibly part of the *ofuro* building structure or a privacy fence although it is not certain, as no historic photographs or oral testimony describe the precise construction. Coal and coal clinker bits were found throughout the unit, but were much less concentrated than in the interior of the *ofuro*. Initials were written in the wet cement of the border when it was first poured but they are now illegible (Figure 23). Artifacts from this unit were fairly light, including glass and limestone fragments and a button.

Figure 22. Excavation unit 2010.5 N/2002.5E. This unit was placed to capture the physical structure of the foundation wall. Note the solid concrete collar is fairly deep.

Figure 23. Illegible writing on the concrete collar.

The soil in the interior of the southwest excavation unit was darker, mottled with ash and coal fragments, and looser than the soil surrounding the *ofuro* exterior. The interior portion of the *ofuro* was bisected. The western soil portion along the wall was removed, preserving the other half for future analyses (Figure 24). The high presence of coal, coal clinker, and ash is not surprising, as we hypothesized that fires would have been lit underneath the interior *ofuro* to heat the bath tub water. One of the goals for this unit sections was to document the physical composition of the brick foundation. Excavators discovered that the individual bricks used in the foundation varied in height from about 5 – 7 cm. This suggests that internees may have scavenged the bricks from different locations around the facility, utilizing whatever resources they could obtain. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this unit contained more coal and coal clinker inclusions that the outside section, providing further evidence that fires were built in the interior.

Figure 24. Unit closure photograph of the southwest interior *ofuro* excavation unit. The unit was closed after reaching the bottom of the brick-lined foundation.

The southwest interior portion of the *ofuro* produced more artifacts than the outside unit. A heavy-duty iron drill chuck was found alongside the northern wall that was possibly used to remove the bath tub from the foundation. An unknown object broke off inside the drill bit, suggesting the tool was no longer useful and likely thrown out where it was used. Other artifacts include dozens of soda bottle caps, two large ceramic saucer fragments, nails, and tarpaper fragments. The ceramics, likely produced in the United States, were part of an earthenware plate that was decaled with a floral pattern (Figure 25). The sherds were found *in situ* perpendicular to the surface, suggesting burrowing rodents disturbed the position of the artifacts. The building materials located within the unit suggest a superstructure or privacy fence around the tub. Other artifacts, such as buttons and clothing clasps, provide evidence that *ofuro* users were performing

duties similar to those expected of mothers during this time period. This unit was closed after digging through the ashy layer and encountering a more compacted clay surface.

Figure 25. Ceramic plate fragments found in the *ofuro* fill.

Excavation Results – Unit 2012N, 2004E

The northeast corner unit (2012N, 2004E) was a 1.5 – x – 2 m. unit that covered the interior and exterior portions of the cinder block half of the *ofuro*. The *ofuro* foundation is on a slight hill that slopes down towards the north. Prior to excavation we hypothesized that if a cleanout was built into the foundation it would likely face towards the north to allow used bath water and fire remains to flow downhill when emptied. The exterior portion of this unit was situated in an "L" shape around portions of the northern and eastern cinder block wall to investigate the hypothesized cleanout area (Figure 26). This unit also allowed excavators to determine the physical construction of the cinder block foundation wall.

Figure 26. Northeast corner *ofuro* exterior excavation unit. The square and rectangular holes represent a likely post-hole and a builder's trench, respectively. The cleanout is on the far right of the unit directly below the bricks.

Excavation uncovered evidence of three separate subsurface features. First, a 12 x 22 cm. rectangular patch of orange, discolored soil was located in the north-central portion of the unit. This feature (contexts 7H-2011 and 7H-2012, for the cut and fill) was bisected with half the fill collected for pollen and chemical analyses. Typically, private outdoor *ofuro* will have two separate rooms, one for changing clothes and the other for the tub (Clark 1994:67; Talmadge, 2006:24). This feature could have been a portion of the historical superstructure or the remnants of a post-hole for a privacy fence. The second feature was a rectangular patch of discolored soil along much of the northern wall. The fill of this feature (contexts 7H-2013 and 7H-2014, for the cut and fill) was

bisected along its length and removed for pollen and chemical analysis. The feature was about 13 cm deep measuring from the first appearance of the discolored soil. We hypothesize that this feature was an historic builder's trench, used to prepare the ground surface for the bottom portion of the *ofuro* foundation. The exterior unit also uncovered a rectangular opening about 15 cm wide near the western edge of the unit that bisects the builder's trench. Coal and clinker inclusions and ashy-colored soil were found most commonly along the northwestern corner of the unit. These inclusions lessened towards the east and was non-existent along the eastern wall. This suggests that water and fire remains were washing out downhill through the northern wall as we hypothesized. The unit was closed after reaching the bottom of the clean out and the two features.

Similar to the interior southwestern unit, the northeastern interior section bisected a large section of soil within the *ofuro* (Figure 27). The unit was bisected west-east and the eastern portion was removed. The soil was similarly colored to that found in the southwestern interior unit, with an abundance of ash, coal, and coal clinker inclusions (about 1-5% of the total) throughout. A lens of coal, coal clinker, and burned wood fragments was located about 25 cm into context 7H-2007 in the north center portion of the unit. Over two pounds of coal and clinker were removed from the unit, suggesting fires were historically present in this location.

Figure 27. Northeastern interior *ofuro* unit. Note the glass artifacts lodged in the southern sidewall.

Metal fragments and nails were found throughout the unit but more densely concentrated in the southwest corner. A cache of glass bottles, makeup compacts, metal lipstick containers, a thimble, and other artifacts were found concentrated in an area in the southeast corner of the excavation unit (Figure 28). Small fragments of black textile were also recovered in this area, suggesting the artifacts were historically part of a bundle of personal items that were left inside the *ofuro* at the closure of the facility. Other artifacts relating to mending clothes and hair grooming were also located. Three additional artifacts, a glass eyedropper and two glass bottles, were uncovered lodged in the southern sidewall and not removed. The unit was closed after digging through the ash and clinker layer.

Figure 28. Concentration of cosmetics containers and other artifacts located in the *ofuro* fill.

Excavation Results – Unit 2007N, 2000E

Excavation unit 2007N, 2000E was a 1 – x 1 – m. unit that was placed to the southwest of the *ofuro* foundation (Figure 29). GPR evidence suggested that a subsurface feature was in this area (more discussion about specific GPR interpretation below). We hypothesized that the GPR reflections were evidence of some sort of historic linear landscaping feature. The majority of the soil in this unit was similar to the topsoil in other units, composed of friable, silty-sand. The unit was very light on artifacts, with only a few shards of thin glass (perhaps belonging to a lantern) discovered. An 8-10 cm. thick hard-packed surface, composed of more clay than surface soils, was located underneath the top soil. This compacted surface was likely what the GPR indicated as a flat surface. Heavy rains and thunderstorms occurred before gathering the GPR data that likely exaggerated the reflections from the compacted surface. The compacted surface within

the unit appears to be evidence of an informal pathway directly to the west of the *ofuro* that heads straight north to block 6H and the historic community center. This pathway suggests internees created informal linkages between blocks. At 7H an informal path was created by frequent use of the *ofuro* and inter-block visitations. There is also evidence of built walkways discovered at the 2014 field season that connects 9F to 8F in a north-south linear path.

Figure 29. Closure of the hypothesized walkway excavation unit to the west of the *ofuro*. The unit was closed after reaching the top of a hard-packed surface. The linear depression is a rodent burrow.

GPR Results

Figure 30 presents a two dimensional image of the GPR results from the *ofuro* area. The image, called a slice map, depicts a layer of buried soils, sediments, and features based on the length of time it takes radar energy to transmit and be received at the antennae. Figure 31 depicts a collection of radar reflections directly over the hypothesized walkway excavation unit. Truncated planar reflections around 20 cm. in

depth and assorted smaller hyperbolic reflections within this area suggested a possible historic structure or deposit of unknown construction and purpose. Several planar reflections at 20 cm. in depth, 9 and 17 m. in length suggested the planar surface feature continues towards the north, on the western side of the *ofuro* foundation. Slice maps depict how the planar reflections appear to align in a north-south pattern, suggesting they were purposely constructed in a linear fashion. The planar reflection at 20 cm. in depth is only visible via radar reflections about every two meters, suggesting only portions of the feature remain while the majority of the linear structure is composed of ubiquitous sandy soil.

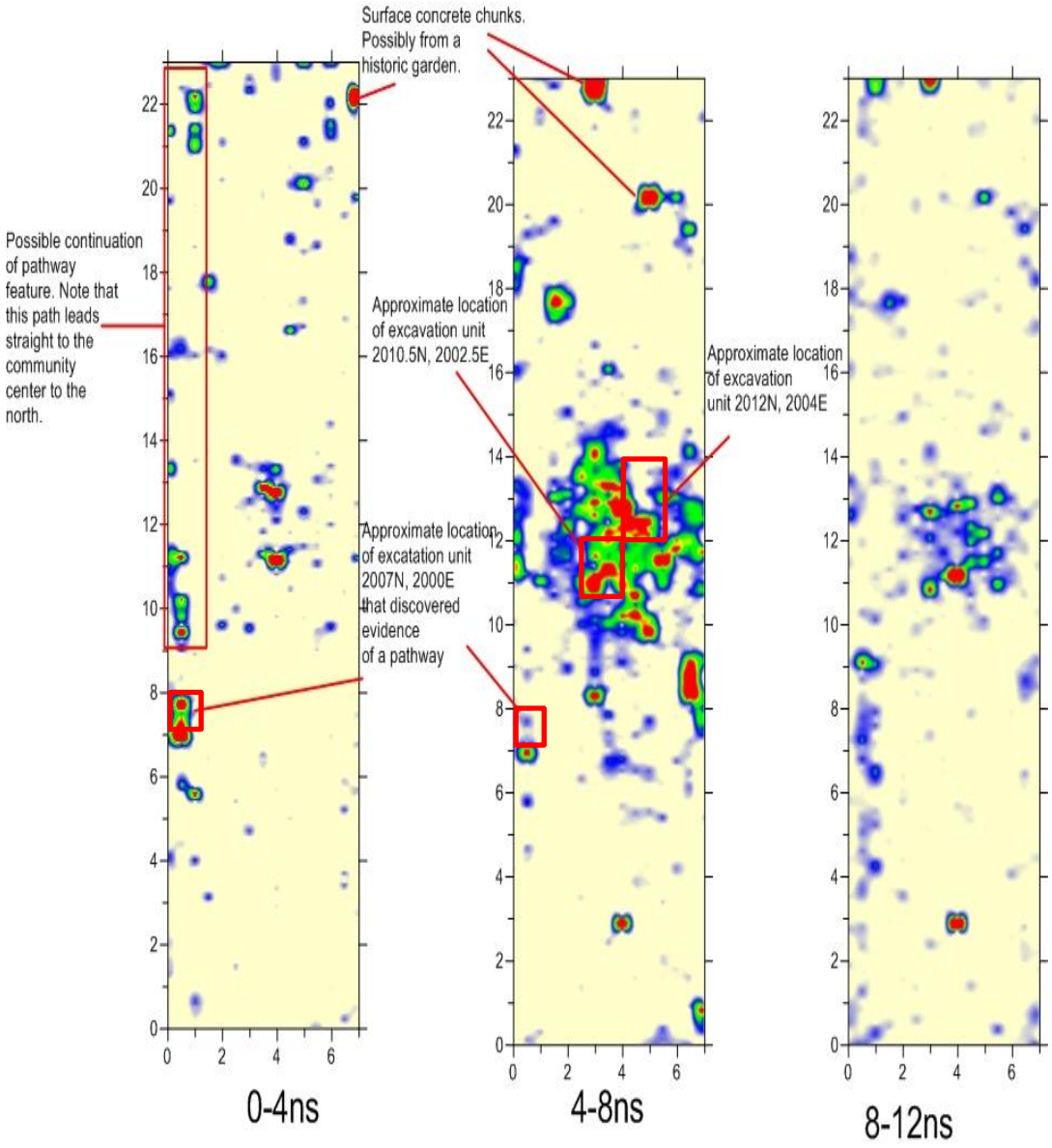

Figure 30. GPR Slice map depicting the radar reflections from the area around the ofuro. Reflections are based on nanoseconds (one billionth of a second) between sending and receiving radar pulses.

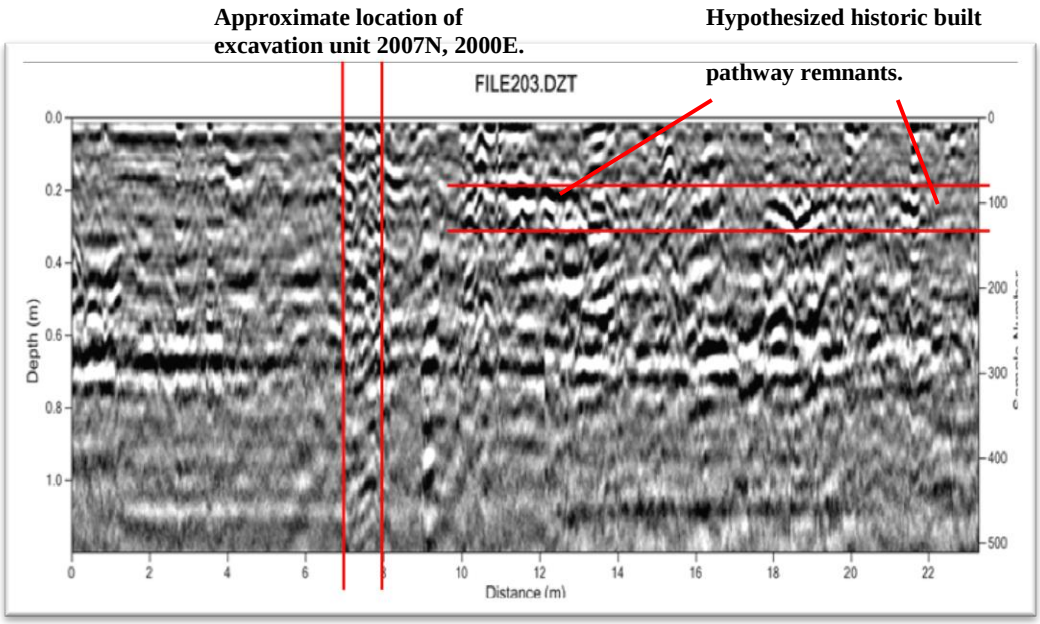

Figure 31. GPR profile with reflections that suggests a buried surface.

We hypothesized that the GPR evidence suggested a pathway of some sorts, perhaps a wood or stone-lined walkway. A wooden walkway, we hypothesized, may have utilized planks that could have mostly corroded away since the 1940s. A stone-lined path may have been built with stepping stones placed every few feet which would explain the gaps between the planar reflections. Excavation revealed an informal, hard-packed earthen pathway, rather than a built structure as we had hypothesized. The results are significant in that GPR is powerful enough to detect subtle differences in soil composition that would result from several years of many individuals compacting a living surface by walking across it daily. Heavy rains and thunderstorms likely contributed to the higher retention of water by the compacted clay surface, as moisture would have been

retained more densely in the pathway than in the loose top soil that drains excess moisture fairly quickly.

Transects were also collected directly over the *ofuro* foundation in an attempt to locate interior subsurface features. Sloping planar reflections (Figure 32) on either side of the *ofuro* suggested the foundation was built on an unleveled surface. Rather than presenting an accurate picture of subterranean features, the planar reflections are likely the result of velocity pull-down. Velocity pull-down (or velocity pull-up) is primarily a result of moisture retention between various subsurface materials. Generally, the more moisture a material holds the slower radar energy will travel through it. Fresh water, for instance, will transmit radar energy much more slowly than loose, dry sand. The velocity of radar waves were much higher when travelling through the dry cement and brick foundation compared to the surrounding moist sandy soils. The reflections received from objects within these differing materials created the artificial upward and downward "bowing" of the *ofuro* surface reflection seen in the profile (Conyers 2013). The radar reflections collected over the eastern portion of the foundation do not show signs of velocity pull-up because sandy soil filled the empty spaces within the cinder blocks. This provides a similar material composition to the surrounding soil matrix.

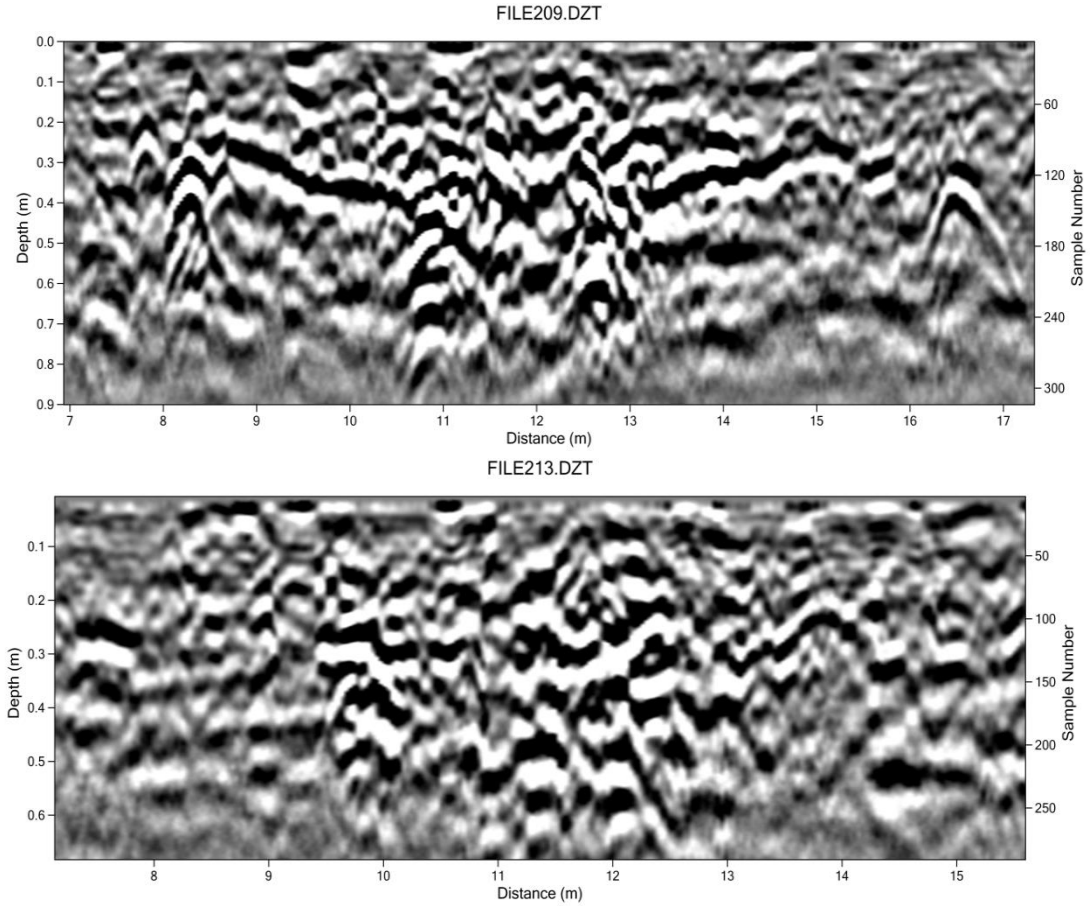

Figure 32. GPR profiles of reflections collected directly over the *ofuro* foundation. The top image with the sloping reflection was collected over the brick-lined foundation. The sloping is caused by velocity pull-up, a function of moisture retention between subsurface materials. The bottom image was collected over the cinder block-lined foundation and lacks the distortion caused by velocity pull-up.

The small hyperbolic reflections seen in the interior of the *ofuro* were produced from objects such as coal, coal clinker, and artifacts that were concentrated in the fill. The material composition and moisture retention of these relatively small objects were different enough from the surrounding soil matrix to create high velocity reflections. Hyperbolic reflections are created partly because radar energy propagates in a conical

shape as it transmits out of the antenna. Radar energy will record subsurface objects as closer in time as the antennae are dragged towards a buried object. This same phenomenon also occurs when the antennae move past the other side of the object, creating a hyperbola-shaped reflection (Conyers 2013). The apex of the hyperbola, located directly above the object, denotes the actual location of the subsurface object.

Block 6G Ofuro

The 2008 DU summer field school uncovered evidence during pedestrian survey of a separate *ofuro* located at the western side of block 6G. Excavation began on the brick-lined border feature that was believed at the time to be evidence of a historic garden (Figure 33). Similar to the 7H *ofuro*, a concrete collar was added to the interior of the feature. Some bricks also appeared to have a thin cap of concrete on the top. Excavation in the feature was halted after exposing several centimeters of fill because it did not appear to be a historic garden. Excavators noted an abundance of ashy soil and coal clinker inclusions throughout the unit. Thin glass fragments, likely from a lantern, were also recovered.

Figure 33. Block 6G *ofuro* foundation that was partially excavated during the 2008 field school season. The size, shape, and composition of the foundation are similar to those of the fully excavated *ofuro* at 7H.

Discussion

It must be noted that the excavated features at 7H and 6G are, according to my analyses, likely *ofuro* foundations. The possibility exists, however, that these features served a distinctly different purpose historically. While historical documents and oral testimony provide evidence that *ofuro* were built and utilized at Amache, no specific evidence regarding either the 7H or 6G *ofuro* has been located. The archaeological analyses, however, strongly supports my assertion that these features were *ofuro* foundations used as such by Amache internees.

The archaeological evidence presented above suggests that internees invested significant time, energy, and financial resources into the creation of traditional Japanese

baths during their incarceration at Amache. As mentioned above, *ofuro* are designed for relaxation, including providing pleasant views of the surroundings for bathers. Surface concrete chunks (in an area lacking other known built structures) and the fact that gardens and landscaping are often near *ofuro* suggests a historic garden was likely created to the north of the foundation to provide bathers with pleasant views. Additionally, GPR data suggest a possible surface feature in the area of the concrete chunks. The data, however, are not conclusive and as of this writing excavations in the area have not been performed. The use of government-owned construction materials, such as bricks and cinder blocks, suggests both an adaptive construction of the *ofuro* to the realities of life during incarceration but the creation of ethnically familiar features also be argued to be an act of subtle resistance against the authorities (Helphand 2006; Casella 2007).

Several artifacts located within the *ofuro* offer some intriguing clues about the people who utilized the bath. The small bits of black cloth found in association with the cache of personal affects found in the northeastern interior suggest the artifacts were wrapped in a *furoshiki*, a bundle of items held together with a decorative cloth casing or robe. It is unknown why the bundle of items would have been left in the *ofuro*. It is most likely, considering the amount of expensive cosmetics, that the items were purposely left following the closure of Amache, perhaps as a way of bidding farewell. The items also may have been left accidentally. The makeup can also provide clues as to who used the *ofuro*. Dana Shew argues that Nisei women were far more likely to utilize American

beauty products on a daily basis as compared to the more traditional Issei women (2010:92-93). This suggests inter-generational enjoyment of the *ofuro*, perhaps even a deep connection to the bath for the individual who left their personal affects.

A majority of the personal artifacts discovered within the *ofuro* can be tied directly to women. Incarceration led to an upending of traditional family roles, including the erosion of duties that significantly impacted the identity of motherhood. Some incarcerated mothers used mitigative measures, such as illicitly cooking food within one's barracks or mending clothes, as ways to regain a portion of their lost identities as supportive and nurturing figures (Shew and Kamp-Whittaker 2013; Clark 2014:2). Japanese-style ceramics suggest the preparation of ethnically familiar foods within one's barracks for family consumption. Artifacts relating to the mending of clothes found suggests that maintenance of garments was a task performed while soaking in the *ofuro.* Finally, the many makeup and grooming products found suggest the maintenance of physical appearance was of significant importance to the women who utilized the *ofuro*. These artifacts provide evidence that many of the *ofuro* users were women. Further, many of the artifacts relate directly to the notion of motherly identity. Perhaps the *ofuro*, similar to Carlene's story about soaking with her mother and aunt, served as a vehicle for strengthening and maintaining familiar relationships.

This thesis research is the first known anthropological investigation of historical *ofuro* use in the United States. The field work for this thesis also present the first known

excavation of these features in an incarceration facility. The analyses and results presented above provide a blueprint for future investigations of these features in a residential context worldwide. More specifically, this research provides a model for the future archaeological investigations of *ofuro*. Data regarding the use and construction of *ofuro* during incarceration could support researchers at other incarceration facilities who will likely encounter these features while investigating the historic sites.

Chapter Seven: Bon Odori

Of the many festivals and ceremonies associated with Japanese Buddhism, the thousand-year-old *Bon Odori* is considered one of the most important holidays (Ikema 1981:32; Van Zine 1982:1). *Bon Odori* (*Bon* or *Obon* for short) translates as "festival of souls," "feast of the dead," or "festival of lanterns" (Van Zine 1982:1). The ceremony marks the temporary return of the dead to the world of the living. One of the most popular aspects of the event is nighttime dances that are used to entertain the ancestral spirits (Ashihara 1980:47). Death is not necessarily a sad occasion in many Asian cultures and religions. *Bon* is considered "a joyous occasion honoring the deceased" a celebration to acknowledge the "happiness at their achieving a higher state of being" (Van Zine 1982:vi, 1). This section will discuss the historical and religious connotations of the *Obon* festivities, its prevalence in the United States, and its prevalence at Amache.

Historical Background in Japan

The earliest written evidence of Japanese ceremonial dance comes from the Kojiki, a set of mythical tales from about 714 A.D. that details the country's ancient history. One such tale is thought to provide the first evidence of *Bon*. Thousands of years ago the sun goddess hid herself within a cave after being insulted by her brother. In an

attempt to draw her out, the other gods staged a comical dance that piqued the curiosity of the sun goddess who emerged out of the cave to witness the spectacle (Hahn 2007:23-24). Whether this tale was written before or after the establishment of *Bon* in popular culture is unknown. The importance of dancing, however, is established as an integral component of the religious ceremonies.

The earliest evidence of modern *Bon Odori* celebrations, however, is argued by many to stem from religious traditions outside of Japan (Hahn 2007:44; Van Zine 1982:1; Ikema 1981:33; Ashihara 1980:38). As a scholar and practitioner of traditional Japanese dance explains, "the roots of nearly every traditional art in Japan (including *Bon Odori*) are in some way indebted to the overwhelming influence of Buddhism during its formative years" (Hahn 2007:44). Folklore suggests that the celebration likely began in Sanskrit, India by a Buddhist monk. The story of the founding of *Bon Odori* is recounted in an edition of *The Enlightener*, the Amache Buddhist newspaper:

> 'Obon', a Buddhist memorial day which is observed either on July 15 (under the old calendar) or August 15 (under the new calendar) was originated in the sixth century B.C. by a disciple of Sakyamuni Buddha, Mokuren Sonja.
> His mother, who had committed evil deeds in this world was banished into the Land of the Hungry Devils upon her death. Mokuren, who was a devout follower of Buddha's Dharma, the Truth, could see with his spiritual eyes his mother who was suffering from agonies of hunger and thirst because whatever food she tried to eat burst into flames before her very eyes.
> In his utter love and devotion to his mother, Mokuren groped for a way to save her, but it was not in his power to do so; whereupon,

> he asked the advice of Lord Buddha and was told to invite all the bikshus, or monks, to a 'kuyo', which is a profound devotional service, for his mother. As he recited the 'nembutsu' before the altar, his eyes beheld a spectacle of his mother dressed in the glorious robe of an angel being transported on a cloud to the Land of Nirvana. Mokuren, in his great rejoice over the salvation, could not contain his excitement any longer and spontaneously danced with joy, followed by the other bikshus, which started the tradition of our present day 'Bon Odori'.
> Thus, the event which occurred one summer night under a full moon became a Buddhist memorial day. This festival is also called the "Feast of Lanterns" in China and Japan. In the past, every Buddhist home was bedecked with colorful lanterns which served as guiding lights for the spiritual return of the deceased (Film B 3058 Reel 303, JAERR, BANC MSS 67/14 c, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

While the story of Mokuren provides a mythical account of the event, elements of the *Bon Odori* celebrations were likely transported from India through China and Korea, eventually imported to Japan over a thousand years ago (Van Zine 1982:1). The earliest uses of the celebrations were likely dances performed by Shinto priests to petition the gods and/or spirits to provide bountiful harvests or protection from evil (Ashihara 1980:35, 38). Young women, it is thought, were sometimes used exclusively for the dances to provide entertainment for the gods (Ikema 1981:33) possibly providing a linkage to today's customs of unmarried women dressing up in traditional costumes and leading the event. *Obon* dances were first performed in temples or the houses of the recently deceased, eventually moving to public open spaces as the event grew in popularity (Ikema 1981:33). The *Obon* dance was outlawed by the Meiji government

(1868-1912, the same government responsible for Japan's isolationist policies) due to its obscene voyeuristic practices of watching young unmarried women dance (Van Zine 1982:5).

By the early twentieth century *Bon Odori* had a resurgence of popularity. In the 1930s new music and dance adaptations led to increased popularity amongst younger generations of Japanese. Dance competitions with flashy, elaborate costumes and cash prizes occurred, upsetting some religious conservatives who wanted to maintain more traditional aspects of the celebration (Van Zine 1982:5). A 1933 *Bon Odori* song, it is argued, was single-handedly responsible for *Bon's* popularity leading up to World War II (Ikema 1981:39). The practice of dancing for *Bon Odori* is still flourishing in Japan as a social event, even if, as some argue, that much of the religious connotations are unknown to many modern Japanese (Matida 1938:29).

Description

Bon Odori is traditionally a three day event that takes place annually in the seventh month of the year. It occurs on the 13^{th} – 17^{th} of July or August depending on whether practitioners follow the Gregorian or astrological calendar, respectively (Ashihara 1980:47). Specific celebratory events or customs vary according to the day of the festival and/or the geographical region where it occurs (Van Zine 1982:27) but actions are traditionally used to celebrate and honor familial ancestors, suggesting strong

connections to Shintoism and Buddhism. On the first day of *Obon*, families traditionally visit the graves of their ancestors and provide offerings of food or flowers or chant portions of Buddhist scripture. It is thought that the dead come back to the world of the living on this first day following the lure of offerings provided. Families also occasionally light lanterns to guide the spirits back to their earthly home. On the second day offerings and chants are provided at *butsudan*, household shrines constructed on mantels or shelves to honor individual ancestors. Religious services are also held in temples or churches daily during the events. Spirits return to the world of the dead on the evening of the third night, following concluding ceremonial dances (Van Zine 1982:2; Ikema 1981:32; Niiya 1993:271).

The dance is one of the most crucial and popular aspects of *Bon Odori*. It usually occurs in the evening of the third night and concludes around midnight or later. Dancers can number in the thousands as all spectators are encouraged to participate (Ishihara 1980:48). Traditionally young, unwed women clad in traditional garments that lead the dances. They are clad in brightly colored, kimono-like cotton robes called *yukata*, and wear two-toed socks, called *tabi*, along with open-toed sandals, called *zori* (Van Zine 1982:15, 33, 35; Ikema 1981:35). Less commonly, women dancers wear the traditional Japanese wooden clog, *geta*. Due to their construction, *geta* do not allow easy or graceful movements but instead are used to stomp out rhythm and beats on the ground to lead the dances (Ikema 1981:35). Hand-held, intricately decorated folding fans called *sensu*,

similar to the ones popular in *kabuki* theater plays, are often used for both the pragmatic act of cooling oneself off but also to provide a tangible item to both accentuate dancers' movements and used to symbolically represent actions such as drinking saké (Hahn 2007:8-9; Ashihara 1980:126-127). Decorative towels, called *tengui*, are also used during the dances both as a handkerchief and to call attention to individual dancers (Ashihara 1980:130). Both fans and towels are also used, it is thought, to attract the attention of the spirits to the dancers (Ikema 1981:35).

In other traditional Japanese dance pursuits, such as Kabuki theater, training is highly structured and systematic, emphasizing pupil to master relationships, strict discipline, and repetition to achieve mastery over actions (Hahn 2007:70). The *Obon* dance structure is less rigid, emphasizing more the social and improvisational aspect of the performance rather than perfected movements. The dance itself is fairly basic, requiring few intricate actions therefore allowing easy participation from onlookers. Specifics of the dance, including costuming, movements, and length of the performance, vary widely (Van Zine 1982:27, 30) but most maintain a common structure in which dancers form several concentric circles and continually orbit around a raised central platform (Ikema 1981:34). Dance movements are relatively simple, with light stepping patterns, graceful and flowing arm movements, and slow turns as the most common actions (Van Zine 1982:29) (Figure 34). Arm movements can be pantomime (such as mimicking shoveling) or purely abstract (Van Zine 1982:29). The torso is maintained in a

stiff posture to accentuate arm and leg movements (Van Zine 1982:30). The circular dance revolves around a tower, called a *yogura*. The tower, made explicitly for *Bon* celebrations, is about ten ft. square and about 15 – 20 ft. high usually composed of wood and decorated with brightly colored ribbons and lights (Van Zine 1982:15). The *yogura* is also the focal point for the accompanying music where traditional *taiko* drummers play. More recently electronic speakers are attached to the *yogura* to play more modern *Obon* music. It is common for dancers to sing or clap along with the music (Ikema 1981:32, 38).

Figure 34. *Obon* dancers demonstrating the basic techniques.

Religious Connotations

Bon Odori has connections to Shinto and Buddhist customs of providing and caring for ancestors, even after their death. This care is the result of gift-giving customs and obligations most famously detailed by Marcel Mauss (1967 [1923]), that are prevalent throughout many aspects of Japanese society. Abundant unwritten rules and obligations permeate most social interactions in Japanese society. In short, gift-giving ensures future reciprocity – failure to do so can bring social or political repercussions (1967:11 [1923]) such as loss of business or being shunned in polite society. For many Japanese, reciprocation includes the proper care of elders and ancestors. In a study of the importance of ancestral worship to modern Japanese, Connor and Traphagan (2014) found that many, including younger generation Japanese, experienced physical, mental, and/or spiritual inflictions because, they claim, they were not properly caring for their ancestors. Japanese notions of gift-giving believe that because ancestors provided younger generations with life (and possibly wealth and happiness) the younger are responsible for unending reciprocation for the gifts provided by their ancestors (Connor and Traphagan 2014:5-6). Proper reciprocation includes providing offerings at graves and family shrines, maintenance of gravesites and/or household shrines, and bringing spirits back temporarily for *Bon Odori* celebrations (Connor and Traphagan 2014:3).

Obon in the United States

As Japanese pioneers migrated throughout the world they brought many aspects of their culture with them. Japanese Americans in Little Tokyo, Los Angeles, for instance, celebrated their Japanese and American heritage during Nisei week, an annual week-long parade and festival (Kurashige 2002). One of the most popular festivals for Japanese internationally is *Bon Odori*, an annual event celebrating the spirits of their ancestors. The first evidence of *Bon* in the United States is from a 1905 newspaper in Hawaii (Van Zine 1982:4). Hawaiian celebrations were seemingly less rigid than their Japanese counterparts, utilizing non-traditional timeframes. Plantation workers moved the celebratory events to the weekends in the summertime to avoid upsetting the work week (Van Zine 1982:4-5). Into the late 1930s *Bon* also turned into several-month long events because they were a draw for tourists (Van Zine 1982:13). This signifies both how important the continuation of the events were to Japanese immigrants as well as how traditional practices can incorporate regional customs or practices. *Bon* dances were voluntarily halted in Hawaii during the Second World War (Van Zine 1982:7) likely to prevent additional negative actions towards Japanese Americans.

Obon at Amache

During the war *Bon Odori* was celebrated at all ten incarceration facilities. Figure 35 is a popular cartoon serial from the *Granada Pioneer* that provides evidence

concerning the familiarity of *Bon* celebrations to internees. Most camps held the events in mid-August – only three, Heart Mountain, Jerome, and Tule Lake (which held two events, one also in August) followed the Gregorian calendar and celebrated in July (Densho Digital Archive). This provides evidence that the majority of Japanese American internees chose to celebrate *Bon* according to the more traditional lunar calendar during the seventh month.

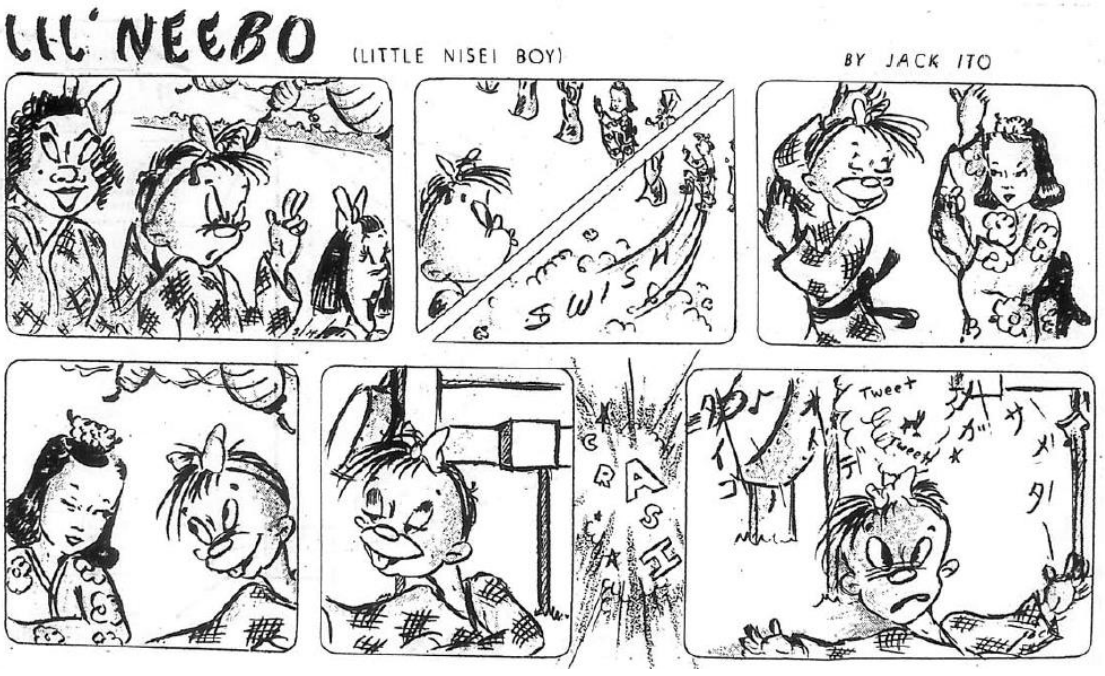

Figure 35. August 14, 1943 Granada Pioneer cartoon featuring a mischievous young Nisei boy celebrating *Bon Odori*.

Bon Odori celebrations were likely held annually between 1942-1945 at Amache. The *Granada Pioneer* mentions summertime celebrations occurring from 1943-1945. The center newspaper was not in operation until October, 1942, thereby missing the 1942

Bon season by several months. It is likely, however, that *Bon* was celebrated during the first summer of internment at Amache. The celebrations were sponsored by the Amache Buddhist churches that were headquartered at blocks 7G and 12G. The first mentioned *Bon* occurred on August 15 and 16, 1943. (The event was scheduled to take place on Saturday and Sunday, the 14 and 15, but was postponed a day due to rain). The *Bon* dances took place in the evening at 10F, a block devoid of residential barracks that was mostly utilized for baseball and softball games. Over 1,000 Amacheans attended practices for several weeks prior to lead the dances. Practices were held at 7G and the 11F open lot (*Granada Pioneer* 7-28-1943, Densho Digital Archive). Dance leaders, many of them dressed in traditional, colorful *yokuta* (Figure 36), formed three concentric circles around a tower for the main event. Special religious services were also held at the high school auditorium led by Revs. Shirakawa and Yonomura, priests from the Amache Buddhist churches (*Granada Pioneer*, 8-11-1943, 8-14-1943, 8-18-1943, Densho Digital Archive).

Figure 36. Girls dressed in traditional *yokuta* robes for *Bon Odori*. Note some are wearing traditional sandals and robes while others more modern sneakers and skirts.

The 1944 *Bon* celebration occurred on August 12 and 13 and according to the *Pioneer* was very popular: it "attracted what seemed the entire center" and "far surpassed all expectations" (8-16-1944, Densho Digital Archive) (Figure 37). Corresponding religious services were held in the high school auditorium on the days of the event by Rev. Shirakawa. In a collection of personal communications one internee described the events to her friend:

> the Bon-service, the festival of the dead was held last week… many young girls [appeared] clad in gray, multi-coloured kimonos and danced. There were no tum tum drums, but some modern Japanese music by records was provided, and it was a quite picturesque prospect" (Chang 1997:359).

Events began on Saturday morning for a scheduled "ceremonial visit… to the newly erected vault at the center cemetery" (Granada Pioneer, 8-9-1944, Densho Digital

Archive). The vault mentioned was likely the brick structure that still stands today, that was historically used as a columbarium.

Figure 37. *Bon Odori* dance leaders and spectators.

The last known *Obon* festival at Amache occurred on Sunday August 12, 1945. A *Granada Pioneer* announcement only mentions religious services being held in the afternoon at the 12G Buddhist church (8-11-1945, Densho Digital Archive). No mention of traditional *Bon* dances is made in the newspaper announcement. A community activity report written for July 25 – August 25, however, explains "Odori was held with 1,000 in attendance" staff (Film B 3058 Reel 302, JAERR, BANC MSS 67/14 c, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley), suggesting that even as Amache was shutting its doors the event was still significant enough to draw a large number of attendees.

The traditional celebrations were explained by another internee in her personal memoir recounting her experiences at Amache:

> During the Obon period, bon odori dancing was popular. A high stand was constructed in the open lot at 8F [likely the author meant 10F – 8F was a crowded residential block] and to the sounds of a shamisen and even a taiko, a bon odori was held. The crowd made even the vast desert land appear congested, and the scene was lively with about three rings of dancers. They apparently learned the dance somewhere. There even were some Caucasians mixed in the crowd. Though I had heard of bon odoris, I had never seen one, so it was a rare treat and watching them made me want to join the dancing ring (Hirano 1983:19).

Photographic Evidence

Historic photographs of *Bon Odori* at Amache were located in the Densho Digital Archive (George Ochikubo and James Lindley Collections), the Joseph McClelland Collections held at the Amache Museum in Granada, Colorado, the National Archives, and the University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library. Some of the photographs, such as those in the Amache Museum Collection, are rare for being in color, allowing the determination of specific elements of clothing and decorations (Figure 38). The majority of the photographs relating to *Bon Odori* are candid views of the participating women and young girls beautifully dressed in brightly colored *yukata* and leading the dance.

Figure 38. Girls clad in traditional *yokuta*.

The only participants dressed in traditional costumes (aside from the musicians) are young women, suggesting a continuance of traditional practices of maidens as the primary dancers. The outfits are similar to kimono or robes but with elongated sleeves that nearly brush the ground. The patterns and colors of *yokuta* vary but it is assumed that these were hand-made within the confines of Amache. The majority of patterns are floral designs while others have broad stripes or other geometric patterns. It is likely that many *yukata* were homemade using mail order fabrics (Figure 39). Many blocks also had communal sewing machines in the recreation hall, allowing mothers the opportunity to mend clothing. Many of the dancers also wear the traditional sash with a knotted design on the back, called *obi*. The *yukata*-clad dancers are also wearing the traditional *tabi* and *zori*, the split-toed sock and sandals, respectively. Some are also seen dancing with *sensu*,

the traditional, decorated fan often utilized in Kabuki Theater performances. None of the dancers appear to be wearing *geta*, traditional wooden clogs. *Geta*, however, were cumbersome for dance movements and may have instead only have been used by a few dance leaders to stomp out a beat on top of the *yogura*.

Figure 39. Examples of patterned fabric available by mail order during World War II. Similar fabrics were potentially ordered to make *yokuta* for *Bon Odori*.

Historical photographs also depict other spectators, dressed in casual clothing, who are participating in the dances. The majority of participants, both those leading the dance and those dressed casually, are young women – most appear to be high school aged or younger (Figure 40). There were either few male participants (which would coincide with traditional *Obon* dance customs) or the photographers chose to focus instead on female dancers instead. The only males in traditional costuming are the musicians,

dressed in striped robes and wearing knotted headscarves. Some photos show both dancers and spectators, allowing an estimate of at least one thousand people taking part in the festivities.

Figure 40. *Bon Odori* dance leaders and participants. Note the male participants on the far right.

Several photos depict a wooden *yogura*, the traditional tower made for the events, was the epicenter for the events as well as the platform to support the musicians (Figure 41). At least two separately decorated *yogura* are depicted in the photographs, suggesting the stages may have been rebuilt (or at least redecorated) annually. *Yogura* were simple wooden towers decorated sparsely with colored crepe paper, meant more for the

utilitarian functions of providing a focal point for dancers, a stage for the music, and also providing an observation and direction point for the dance leader. Two drummers are seated on wooden benches in several of the photos, likely using the percussion instruments to pound out a rhythm.

Figure 41. *Yogura* towers act as the epicenter of the dances. Pictured above is the leader of the event, Yukino Okubo.

Drummers are part of the traditional *Bon* dance musical repertoire. However, internment likely prevented them from acquiring traditional taiko drums – they are pictured instead utilizing modern snare and bass drums that were borrowed from the Amache high school band (Havey 2014:182) (Figure 42). Electronic speakers are also seen attached on each side of the tower, suggesting some music were modern styles played by record. Lastly, single lightbulbs are seen hanging from each side of the tower

on the tallest banister railing, likely used to attract attention to the focal point of the events. Interestingly, a July 24, 1943 *Granada Pioneer* article explains how a 12 x 12 ft. and 15 ft. high wooden platform was utilized at block 10F for announcing softball games (Densho Digital Archive). It is likely, since *Bon* was performed in the same location as many baseball tournaments, that sports reporters adaptively reused the *yogura* to more easily view the events.

Figure 42. *Taiko* drummers Koshiro Kumagai and Jutaro Gondo (left-right) playing along with recorded music. Note the drums are from the high school band rather than traditional instruments.

Archaeological Evidence

As of this writing, the University of Denver Amache Project has not undertaken archaeological investigations in block 10F, the site of *Bon Odori* celebrations. In 2004,

Cuartelejo HP Associates Inc. and RMC Consultants Inc. performed a class III intensive field survey of Amache, partly in an attempt to document the potential archaeological remains within the site. During their survey of block 10F, authors noted the relatively sparse density of artifacts within the block, likely due to its primary use as a recreational field. One artifact, however, is of note. A portion of a wooden clog was found on the surface (Carillo and Killam 2004:80) (Figure 43).

Figure 43. Remains of a wooden *geta* located at block 10F, the site of *Bon Odori* dances.

Discussion

Much of the above information regarding *Bon Odori* celebrations at Amache are evidence of the continuation of the activity in its traditional form. For instance, it was celebrated according to the lunar calendar; it involved primarily young maidens clad in traditional costuming; it utilized aspects of traditional music; it corresponded with

Buddhist services to honor the ancestors, and it incorporated the use of a *yogura* as the focal point. Other aspects of the dance were adapted to the new environment of internment. Some men and non-traditionally clad young women participated in the dance. *Taiko* drums and traditional instruments were replaced with more American drums and recorded music. These aspects of the celebration suggest the importance of the event to interned Amacheans. Recreational space as provided by the WRA was turned into an area for a public, inter-generational, traditional Japanese activity. The activity itself required input from diverse peoples and organizations: the financial input from the Buddhist churches to fund creation of the event's structures and services; individual participation in creating homemade costuming and time spent practicing the event; as well as the thousands of spectators that lined up to witness and participate in the annual celebrations.

While the *Bon* dances were mostly performed by young maidens, they were undoubtedly prompted to do so by the older generations that grew up participating in similar events both in Japan and their hometowns in the United States. There is some evidence, however, that these gender roles were changing during internment (Figure 44). One young girl at Amache described the events as "the highlight of the summer" (Havey 2014:181). A researcher of the celebration in Hawaii argues that while many Nisei actively and enthusiastically engaged in *Bon Odori* activities as a social event, they had little knowledge of the traditional and religious connotations (Van Zine 1982:6). This coincides with the gradual lessening of adherence to traditional Japanese culture and

customs for the generations following the Issei (Kitagawa 1967:35). What is significant, however, is that even if much of the religious significance was lost to the younger generations, thousands participated in the events celebrating traditional Japanese culture. *Bon Odori*, it is argued, provided another avenue for Japanese Americans to, at least temporarily, bridge the generational divide and celebrate aspects of traditional Japanese culture.

Figure 44. 8-14-43 cartoon from the Granada Pioneer depicting a male joining in on the Bon Odori dance. Traditionally it was only young female dancers, suggesting an adaptation of the practice occurred at Amache.

Chapter Eight: Japanese Drama

There are many other traditional Japanese practices that occurred at Amache that would yield potentially interesting scholarly analysis. Other traditional practices included the playing of *goh* and shogi (board games), Japanese-style gardening and landscaping techniques, artistic pursuits such as miniature landscape creation (*suiseki*), woodcarving, painting, flower arrangement, and many others. However many of these practices were either less inter-generational or had less impact on the Amache landscape. This chapter will analyze a final aspect of inter-generational traditional Japanese practices at Amache, Japanese dramatic stage performances.

Similar to American dramatic performances, Japanese stage plays come in several varieties. Kabuki Theater, probably the most common and popular form of Japanese drama, is known worldwide for its vivid color, eccentric style, and depictions of feudal Japan (Toita and Yoshida 1967). Themes commonly consist of romantic dramas, violent murder pieces, or heroes who overcome obstacles to defeat evil villains (Miyake 1954; Yoshida 1971:6). Singing, dancing, and music are often utilized to advance the plot (Miyake 1954:11). Japanese dramatic performances occurred fairly regularly at Amache. The performances, often termed *shibai* (a play), bear many similarities to traditional Kabuki Theater while other aspects were adapted to the unique living conditions during

incarceration. Historical analysis for Kabuki Theater at Amache comes primarily from historic photographs in the Harada collection, a set of several dozen annotated photographs depicting the performances and performers at Amache. Additionally, the *Granada Pioneer* recounts additional details regarding the location, dates, and other information regarding specific performances. This section will briefly relate the history of Japanese Kabuki Theater, typical aspects of the performances, and evidence of the historical practice at Amache.

Historical Background

Kabuki-style Theater was first performed in the late sixteenth century in Japan (Toita and Yoshida 1967). Popular lore claims that a woman named Okuni was the first to use Kabuki-style dances by employing groups of female prostitutes to provide entertainment to mostly male crowds. Prostitution was continued as a side business to the performances giving Kabuki Theater a risqué reputation (Miyake 1954:16). In the early seventeenth century the Tokugawa government forbade women from participating in public performances due to their obscene voyeuristic nature (Toita and Yoshida 1967). The ban did not diminish the desire for Kabuki Theater among Japanese. Instead it caused men and boys to perform the roles of women– a trend that largely still exists among performances today (Figure 45).

Figure 45. Internees performing in a modern drama at Amache. Note the likely use of *Onna Gata*, male performers playing female characters.

Description

Kabuki performances commonly utilize vivid colors and ostentatious acting accompanied by music to set the stage for historical scenarios. Performances are less concerned with presenting a realistic story and more focused on providing a total sensory experience for the audience (Miyake 1954:69). Much of the costuming, stage decoration, and musical accompaniment are used as symbolic methods of sensory expression. Makeup color, for example, is used to denote the moods or personalities of specific characters (Figure 46). Red face makeup is used to outline facial musculature to symbolize superhuman powers, justice, or strength (Toita and Yoshida 1967:50; Gunji

1985:50). Costumes and hairstyles can also represent the class or social standing of a character. For example, red-sleeved kimonos are worn by noble women while a character wearing a disheveled wig symbolizes heroic abandonment.

Figure 46. Kabuki performers wearing traditional costumes. Note the exaggerated face makeup on the samurai characters.

Traditionally there are several main roles for leading characters in Kabuki performances: the good man, or protagonist (*Tate* in Japanese); the enemy or antagonist (*Kataki*); the young woman (*Onna*); the old woman (*Rojin*); and the funny man (*Doke*) (Toita and Yoshida 1967:114). The historical tradition of using male actors to perform female characters (called *Onna Gata* in Japanese) is still prevalent today, although not strictly enforced. *Onna Gata* are occasionally trained to perform the roles from birth and instructed to perform these characters as a drastically over exaggerated representation of

femininity that stresses beauty, grace, elegance, and charm (Miyake 1954:16, 25; Toita and Yoshida 1967:114-115).

Kabuki Theater performances are used to bring history to a modern audience (Yoshida 1971:5). While there are numerous different plays, many of them focus on aspects of feudal Japan. Samurai, geisha, princesses, and honor killing are used to present an experience of a romantic past (Miyake 1954; Toita and Yoshida 1967) (Figure 47). The musical accompaniment is performed live, typically on traditional instruments such as the three-stringed *samisen*, *taiko* drums, flutes, bells, chanting, and wooden clappers called *ki* (Toita and Yoshida 1967:125-126; Yoshida 1971:98).

Figure 47. Scene from a Kabuki performance at Amache involving a samurai and a maiden.

Japanese Drama at Amache

A multitude of Japanese dramatic performances historically occurred at Amache – many, but not all, closely resemble Kabuki Theater style and design. Historic annotated photographs from the Harada collection provide a wealth of information regarding specific performances and performers but lack specific dates of the events (Figure 48). Several editions of the *Granada Pioneer* provide some of this information, although not consistently enough to have reported on every performance.

Figure 48. Example of annotated photographs in the Harada Collection.

The first known occurrence of Japanese drama at Amache was scheduled to occur during Independence Day 1943 but was rescheduled to mid-July due to poor weather (*Granada Pioneer*, 7-3-1943, 7-10-1943, 7-14-1943, Densho Digital Archive) (Figure 49). The play was performed in the southwestern corner of block 9F, not far from the historic sumo wrestling ring. An outdoor stage was built there, likely used specifically for the performances. No evidence of the stage was located during the 2014 field school season. The stage was likely constructed entirely of wood and removed before the closure of the facility. There is also some evidence that the stage caught fire shortly after the first performance but did not cause any major damage. Regardless, the stage appears to have been built to provide all the necessities of theatrical performances including abundant props, decorations, and even fully functional electrical systems. No historic photographs of the outdoor stage have been located. The grounds for spectators appear to have been fairly Spartan with simple canvas coverings draped over the ground and wooden benches used for seating (*Granada Pioneer*, 7-10-1943 Densho Digital Archive).

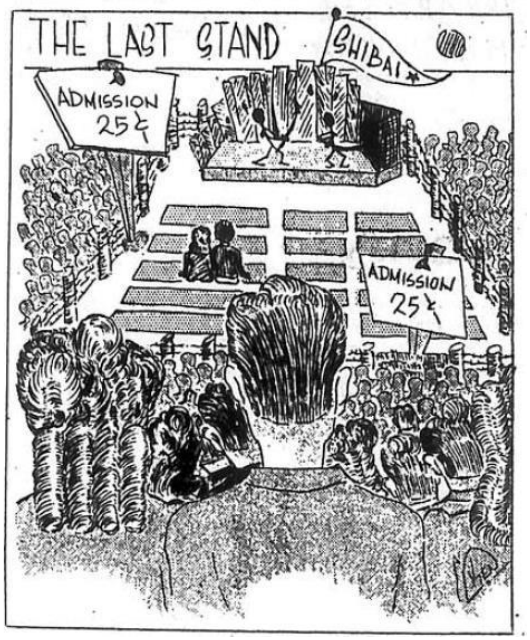

Figure 49. *Granada Pioneer* advertisement for the mid-July, 1934 outdoor performances. The ad provides an impression of the physical construction of the outdoor stage area in block 9F.

The postponed "Yagi Geki," (or outdoor drama) as *Pioneer* reporters labeled the performance, staged the drama Kunisada Chuji, a play about a nineteenth century samurai addicted to gambling who becomes an unlikely hero. Internees Koshiro Kumagai (the social activities director for the community activities portion of the recreation department), Jutaro Gondo, and Yasutoshi Yoshizawa starred in the performance. Kumagai was a Kibei (born in the United States but educated in Japan) while Gondo and Yoshizawa were both Issei. The performance, perhaps occurring over several days, drew a crowd of over 1,300 patrons – over 1/7th of the center population (*Granada Pioneer*, 8-7-1943, Densho Digital Archive). The stage appears to have been built in advance of this

specific performance and was likely intended to be utilized for additional future plays. This is the last mention of the outdoor internee-built stage. An expense statement for the performance details the cost required to fund the shows. Over $500 was used to purchase necessities including costuming and makeup, carpentry work for the stage, wages for the laborers and performers, and musical instruments (*Granada Pioneer*, 8-7-1943, Densho Digital Archive). Lacking proper wigs for the performers, costumers resorted to making them out of rope colored with black shoe polish (Figure 50).

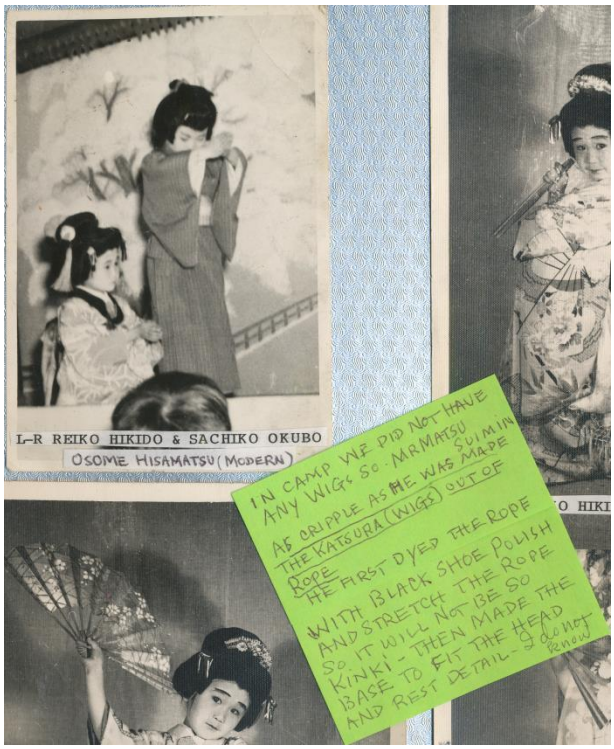

Figure 50. Example of annotated notes detailing the process internees used to create wigs for Kabuki performances.

The next mention of Japanese dramatic performances from the *Pioneer* is in April, 1944. Akagaki Genzo, another traditional play also popularized through movies, was performed as part of a multi-act talent show. The performance occurred at the 6H mess hall rather than the outdoor stage mentioned above. Several internees who lived in block 12H similarly recall theater performances in their block mess halls (DU Amache 2015 reunion notes). Other theatrical performances also occurred in late August, 1944. These were, according to the *Pioneer*, held at an outdoor stage in block 8F. It is unclear if this stage was different than the aforementioned 9F stage – perhaps *Pioneer* reporters

accidentally mentioned the wrong block, or a separate stage was built in block 8F (this is unlikely, however, as this was a crowded residential block), or, perhaps most likely, that the stage overlapped the western border separating blocks 9F and 8F.

The annotated historic photographs within the Harada collection contain abundant information regarding several aspects of the Kabuki performances at Amache. Most of the photographs appear to have been taken indoors, suggesting the performances were held either at the 6H or 12H mess halls or the high school auditorium. No corroborating evidence from the *Pioneer*, however, could be located to confirm the locations. The scenes are fairly elaborate with decorative wooden sets and painted backdrops and panels depicting various scenes of historical Japan (Figure 51). Tooru Nakashima, a young boy who lived in block 12H, recalled the painter of these scenes as an older man who resided in the block recreation hall (personal communication, 2015).

Figure 51. Indoor stage with elaborate backdrop and decorations. This performance was likely in the high school auditorium.

At least nineteen separate Japanese dramatic performances occurred at Amache (see Appendix D for a list of all known performances and performers). While specifics of each performance will not be examined in this thesis, common themes throughout have been identified. The majority of the performances are stylistically similar to Kabuki Theater as discussed above. Scenes of feudal Japan, including sword-bearing samurai and hyper-stereotyped geisha, are common. Many performers are dressed in kimono and *tabi* similar to those worn by female *Bon Odori* dancers (Figure 52). Some performances appear to depict early twentieth century Japan with men dressed in business suits and top hots alongside traditionally clad geisha. Similar Kabuki Theater style makeup was also used. Cosmetics were liberally applied to female characters to both symbolize and

exaggerate character personae. Makeup was also used somewhat less commonly to symbolize physical or mental characteristics of male characters, predominantly on samurai. Others are wearing paper mache masks to impart physical characteristics to the audience.

Figure 52. Young girls in traditional kimono and *tabi*.

Many of the photographs in the Harada Collection are labelled with the names of the actors and actresses. Over 30 performers are explicitly identified allowing further demographic data to be analyzed, such as age, gender, and birthplace. Many other internees who assisted in creating the performances, such as the stagehands, artists, musicians, or costume designers, are not mentioned, but the plays likely required the support of at least several dozen more specialized craftspeople. Fujima Kansuma, an

internee from the Rohwer incarceration facility in Arkansas, made the trek out to Amache to teach and perform Kabuki Theater (Figure 53).

Figure 53. Fujima Kansuma, a teacher of Kabuki acting, came to Amache to assist with the productions.

Discussion

Ages, sex, and generation affiliation were gathered primarily from the National Archives Japanese-American Internee Data File which provides extensive demographic information regarding historic internees. From this analysis we can determine that the traditional use of males to play over-exaggerated female roles was not routinely followed at Amache. There are some pictures, however, that appears to document a male internee playing the role of the *Onna Gata*. This occurs less frequently than female performers, however, suggesting it was not necessarily strictly relied upon. This information suggests an alteration of traditional Kabuki Theater characteristics that were adapted to life during

internment. The blending of Japanese American, mainstream American, and social structures created during incarceration perhaps contributed to the lack of utilization of *Onna Gata* performers. A more practical reason for the lack of *Onna Gata* could be a failure to have properly trained individuals, as most in Japan are specialized professionals.

Hand-written annotated photographs also allow the determination of age and generational affiliation for many of the performers (Figure 54). The photographs do not depict every performance at Amache, providing only a sample of performances and performers of Kabuki during the facility's history. Of the roughly 37 names provided, information could not reliably be gathered on about eight performers owing to the facts that the National Archives database (an online database allowing searchable information regarding individual internees) occasionally provides inaccurate information and some of the handwritten notes are not legible. Furthermore, specific determination of generational affiliation cannot be determined on many of the performers, preventing most statistical analyses. From the information available we can determine that Kabuki Theater performances were indeed inter-generational activities, including children as young as four years old and others well into middle-age (Figure 55). This suggests input, practice, and dedication to performances from individuals ranging the age gamut,

Figure 54. Yukino Okubo starred in many Kabuki plays at Amache.. Yukino also led some of the dances for *Bon Odori*. Yukino is also the donor of the Harada Collection photographs used in this thesis.

Figure 55. Inter-generational Kabuki performers at Amache.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

Several historical factors impacted the ability and desire for many Japanese Americans to celebrate aspects of their Japanese heritage during World War II. During incarceration the WRA instituted both formal and informal programs to acculturate Japanese Americans into mainstream American culture. American organized team sports, such as baseball and football, were provided more government support (including funding and management personnel) than Japanese sports or other recreational activities. The WRA did not have the authority (or likely the desire) to outright ban traditional activities but I argue that government officials actively encouraged mainstream American activities while enacting a policy of indifference regarding aspects of Japanese culture.

Compounding the issue were the many areas of cultural divergence that divided much of the Japanese American community along generational lines. First generation immigrant Issei tended to utilize aspects of their Japanese heritage, typically incorporating few mainstream American characteristics into their daily lives (Daniels 1972). Many Issei read little English and maintained Japanese activities, such as playing *goh* and watching sumo wrestling matches. Nisei, however, were raised and educated within the American school system and acculturated by mass media and Caucasian neighbors and classmates. Sociologists that study immigration acknowledge that children

of the second generation not only acculturate more quickly into new host cultures but they also seek ways to advance their individual goals that might conflict with their parents' notions of success (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2002).

The continuation of traditional cultural practices in a new host country, especially for later generations of immigrants, is difficult enough under any conditions. Performing Japanese activities against the obstacles created by incarceration suggests the significance and importance to internees of continuing to enact aspects of their ethnic heritage. Data presented in this thesis provides evidence that these activities were maintained with little government support and were important to younger generation Japanese Americans. These activities likely provided common-ground platforms that allowed generations of Japanese Americans a way to bridge the cultural gaps that prevented intimate relationships between many Issei and Nisei (Fugita and Fernandez 2004:46).

The adaptation of traditional practices to life during internment is also significant for incorporating cultural elements from various differentiated backgrounds. The Japanese American community, while sharing some similar traits and characteristics nationwide, differed according to the degree of acculturation in mainstream America. Japanese Americans in urban Los Angeles, for example, often publically celebrated annual Japanese holidays but were less likely to use *ofuro* or *sento* baths on a regular basis (Murase 1983; Tanigoshi Tinker, personal communication 2014). These various notions of cultural norms were shaped by the physical structure of the incarceration

facility, resulting in the proliferation of some traditional Japanese activities. The performance of these activities required significant monetary and personal contributions from internees to perform.

Both the physical landscape and the intangible nature of these performances were altered to the conditions of incarceration. Internees formed clubs to manage and fund these activities. Some, such as sumo wrestling and the *ofuro*, required the building of structures on government property. Both physical structures incorporated aspects of traditional Japanese style and function but utilized adaptive resources available at Amache. 7H *ofuro* builders, for instance, utilized government-owned bricks and cinder blocks to construct a feature that the WRA would have likely desired to omit from their facility. Kabuki Theater performances too were adapted to the realities of internment. The use of *Onna Gata* to perform female characters was not as widely followed. Over half of the known Kabuki performers at Amache were women, suggesting the lessening of adherence to traditional practices. The majority of traditionally clad dancers during *Bon Odori* were young maidens but photographs and a newspaper cartoon document the changing of attitudes regarding the typically strict gender roles preventing men from participating.

Practice theory allows the investigation of these archaeological data to explore how they could have contributed to the resulting social structure during internment. The construction of the *ofuro*, for example, provides evidence regarding the creation and

maintenance of ethnic identity during internment. Both the physical structure of a culturally associated feature as well as the social structure of utilizing that traditional practice space reflects the negotiation of the dominant power and human agency that helps shape that power. Perhaps the most surprising suggestion from this research is the significant contributions of women to these cultural practices. Many of the artifacts recovered from the *ofuro* excavation suggest women were the primary users of the baths, a typically male pursuit in Japan. Coupled with Kiyoye Taniguchi's recollection of using a female only *ofuro* this suggests an alteration of traditionally Japanese practices to empower women (the typically disempowered gender) to alter the social structure during internment.

The summer field school hosted a community day where the public was invited to watch archaeologists at work and learn about the discoveries we have found. During a visit from a woman whose father was interned at Amache I brought her to the area of the sumo platform after she expressed interest in seeing it. She instantly became quiet, putting a hand over her heart, remembering how her father had enjoyed sumo wrestling. She then stated that she got the chills and goose bumps because she could picture her father squatting next to the sumo ring watching the events unfold (Ann Murphy, personal communication 2014). This exchange shows not only how community archaeology can reconnect people to sites of historical and/or cultural significance but also how traditional

activities can have an impact in people's lives, even if they themselves do not regularly participate in them.

This research provides a blueprint for future researchers to investigate the use of traditional cultural practices during forced cohesion of a people. Social pressures, it is argued, are directly responsible for contributing to the use and flourishing of traditional practices during incarceration. Internee behavior also reflects aspects of agency in that new cultural expressions and behaviors are created during forced cohesion. I argue, therefore, that both individual agency and outside social pressures contributed to expressions of cultural identity that may, in these particular forms, have only been present during incarceration. Future research can potentially determine if these practices and behaviors were carried with internees after disbandment of incarceration facilities. Specifically, this line of research could investigate the degree of influence agency and social power have on affecting long-term individual agency and cultural behaviors.

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Appendix A: Field Forms

Survey protocol for Crew chiefs, Summer 2014

	Who completes?
Survey Forms	
Block/Feature Survey	CC
Master Object List	CC
Master Feature	CC/Crew
Catch & Release log	CC
Catch & Release analysis	Crew
Collect Log Survey	CC
Bottle Glass	Crew
Metal Analysis Form	Crew
Ceramic-Glass Tableware	Crew
Other object analysis form	Crew

Step 1: Initial Pedestrian Survey

Before survey make sure the block has been delineated by orange flags if needed.**

Each crew member needs a full quiver of flags. You need back-up quiver and a quiver of white flags for the end person. The designations for each colored pin flag are as follows:

White: The edge of a survey transect
Orange: The boundary of a block
Pink: Artifacts of interest
Yellow: Features
Lime green: Modified artifacts
Blue: Other locations that need to be mapped (such as reference points for GPR)

Set-up crew along the road so they will survey parallel rather than across barracks. Space them out at 2 m each. At the beginning use the long tape to space them. Once they are good you can just let them pace it. You will walk behind and complete tally sheets

(Block survey forms). You will also probably need to consult with them (a lot) at first on whether or not something should be flagged as an FA. Those objects are:

- Anything with an identifiable maker's mark
- Personal artifacts (such as those related to grooming or clothing)
- Complete artifacts related to daily activities (such as cooking or gardening)
- Cans, jars, and bottles whose original size and/or contents could be determined
- Ceramics with a discernable pattern or with a rim or base
- Porcelain or other ceramics likely to be of Japanese manufacture
- Toys
- Any modified artifact (such as pierced cans or home-made buckets)
- Any mystery objects or other artifacts that could yield more data with more in-depth analysis

A couple of hints for working with your crew on pedestrian survey:

- Keep an eye out for them bunching up or getting too far apart. If that happens, space back out from the line of white flags or edge of the road.
- Also keep an eye out for those who either consistently go ahead or lag behind.
- It is better to have them err on the side of flagging possible FAs rather than not.

Trash concentrations will be recorded on their own tally forms. If it turns out you are in a trash scatter, do a recon to outline the boundaries. Flag those with yellow flags. Survey trash scatters at a 1 m interval.

Once the block has been walked, you need to go back and groom the FAs and Features. You needs to check all the flags and decide whether or not they are "real." You should also make at least a preliminary call about whether or not the object might be something we will either do Catch & Release or collect the item.

If you have decided it should be an FA, you will sequentially # it (write directly on the flag), map it onto the 2003 survey map, and add it to the Master Object list. Similarly, Features go onto the master list and sketched. For the first block your whole crew will groom together (at least for a few hours). That way the students learn more about what

should and shouldn't be flagged. During that grooming you will (as a group) go through all the steps of documenting FAs. Also go through each type of analysis sheet: ceramic/glass tableware, bottle glass, metal, other.

1) FA needs to be mapped using Trimble unless it is within a trash concentration with its own Feature #.
2) FA needs to be photographed (with scale) with the iPad (see notes below for more).
3) The appropriate analysis sheet should be filled out for the artifact.

Also need to go through the steps for Features:

1) Number, measure, and describe feature on feature list
2) Photograph with scale and completed whiteboard (Site #, Block & Feature #, Date).
3) Photograph without scale and whiteboard
4) Photograph any appropriate detail (e.g. signatures on a block or details of a garden feature)
5) Make sure the boundaries are clear enough to be properly walked, then map with Trimble.)
6) Consult with me about whether or not a sketch map should be drawn of the feature.

IMPORTANT: It is easy for crews to tuck the calipers in weird places. Make sure they turn them in at the end of each day of analysis.

Notes on iPad photolog QC:

1) Paper Log should start with Date and Block #. If you change block#s part way through the day, make sure to note it
2) Make sure Camera is filled in with the correct device.
3) Make sure they type in F or FA or FRP (as appropriate) before the number. There should be no space between (e.g. Feature 7 should be written F7)
4) For artifacts Facing should be NA. For features or artifact context shots, facing should just be initials: E or NE
5) Make sure the photo is there and in focus. They should try to avoid having inconsistent shade in the picture. If they need to move the object from the flag that is OK.
6) If there is a missing shot # make sure that is noted on the paper log

Amache Surface Survey
BLOCK / FEATURE FORM

Block #: _____ Feature #: _____ Date: _____

Surveyors: _____ Transect Spacing: _____ ____ of ____

Glass:	Clear	Brwn	Milk	Aqua	Lt Grn	Dk Grn	Cobalt	Other
Bottle Glass:								
small								
medium								
large								
whole								
Jar Glass:								
small								
medium								
large								
whole								
Cold cream jars								
Cleaning product								
Soda bottles								
Food Jars								
Tableware								
Unidentified								
Ceramics:	**Earthenware**	**Porcelain**	**Hotelware**	**Fiestaware**	**Terracotta**	**Stoneware**	**Glassware**	**Unknown**
Tin Cans:	**lids**	**fragments**	**whole**	**reusable lid**	**handle**	**modified**		
Small								
Medium								
Large								
Oil/Gas								
Other								
Metal:	**Fragments**	**Whole**	**Modified**				**Post-Occupation**	
Barrel Hoops							Car Parts	
Oil Drum							Beer	
Bottle Caps							Other	
Wire								
Other								
Other:								
marbles								
shell								
shoe parts								
buttons								
other clothing								

Bottle Analysis Form
(Write description on back)

Block# ____________

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

Color:
Cl-clear, DG-dark green, A-aqua, B-brown, LG-light green, Co-cobalt, M-milk, O-other

Segment:
Lip, Base, Neck, Shoulder, Body

Shape:
R-round, O-other, Oval, Sq-square, Rect-rectangular

Closure:
CC-crown cap, Cork, LT-lug thread, Cont Th-continuous thread, Lid

Vessel Form:
B-bottle, Jar, Jug, CJ-canning jar

FA#	Description and other notes

Ceramic or Glass Tableware Analysis Form

Block# ______________

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

Ware:
E-Earthenware O-Other T-Terra Cotta
H-Hotelware P-Porcelain F- Fiestaware
I-Ironstone S-Stoneware

Segment:
Rim Bas-Base
Bod-Body H-Handle
O-Other

#-number of associated fragments
R/B: Rim or Base
Decor-Decorated Y or N
H/F-hollow form or flatware

FA#	Notes

Metal Analysis Form

Block#

FA#	Magnetic Y/N	Material / Alloy*	Complete Y/N	Modified Y/N	Length	Width	Height	Diameter	in / cm	Description	% present
											1/4 1/2 3/4 W
											1/4 1/2 3/4 W
											1/4 1/2 3/4 W
											1/4 1/2 3/4 W
											1/4 1/2 3/4 W
											1/4 1/2 3/4 W
											1/4 1/2 3/4 W
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											1/4 1/2 3/4 W
											1/4 1/2 3/4 W
											1/4 1/2 3/4 W
											1/4 1/2 3/4 W

Materials: Be as specific as possible - Glavanized Tin, aluminum, Iron alloy, copper alloy, or unknown
Only fill in height and diameter on pieces complete enough to meaure or estimate

AMACHE COLLECT LOG – SURVEY YEAR:_____

LOT #	FA#	BLOCK	DESCRIPTION	# of BAGS	COMMENTS	Check -In	DATE

Lot# Assigned in lab

Amache Catch and Relase Artifacts Log Year:________________

Block	Feature	FA#	Material	Shot#	Date Coll	Wash	Analyzed	Photo #	Returned	Comment

Amache Catch and Relase Artifacts Log Year:_______________

Block	Feature	FA#	Material	Shot#	Date Coll	Wash	Analyzed	Photo #	Returned	Comment

Amache Master Feature List **Block**_____ **Year**_____

Fea #	Fea Type	Materials	Vegetation	Description	Dimensions	Photo	GPS

Feature Type: T=Trash Scatter; A=Architecture; L=Landscaping; P=Post-Occupation
Materials: B=Brick; C=Concrete; CB= Cinder Block; L=Limestone; RC=River Cobble; O=Other
Vegetation: DT=Downed Tree; T=Tree; EP=Exotic Plants

Excavation Context Form

Context Description:				Context Number:	
Site Number:		Excav. Begun:		Unit Number:	
Excavators:		Excav. Ended:		Block Number:	
Context Type: Arbitrary Layer Layer Feature Fill Feature Cut Event	Feature Type:			Later Cxt. Earlier Cxt. Equal Cxt. / Assoc. Cxt.	
Unit Size: Shovel Test Pit 50 x 50 cm 1 x 1 meters 2 x 2 meters other size		Excavation Method: Shoveled Troweled All Soil Collected Not Excavated Unknown		Screen Type: 1/8 Inch Dry Screen Water Screened Not Screened Flotation Unknown	
Excavator's Notes:					
Supervisor's Notes:					
Soil Type: Clay / Silt Sandy Clay / Silty Sand Silty Clay / Silty loamy Sand Clay Loam / Various Silty Clay Loam / Brick Sandy Clay Loam / None Loam / Unknown Silt Loam Sandy Loam		Soil Texture: Silty / Gravelly Brick Friable / None Sticky / Various Plastic Gritty Granular Fine Sand Medium Sand Coarse Sand		Munsell Color: Dry Wet pH Value: Relative Humidity:	
Inclusions (or use categories) 0% 1-5% 5-10% 15-20% 20-25% 25-30% 30-40% 40-50% >50%					
Concrete	Limestone	Brick	Gravel	Coal	Clinker
Charcoal	FS Point Prov. Other Notes Other Sample	Flot Sample Pollen Sample Arch Sample Chem Sample	Dimensions of Context: Length Width Thickness		Master Context:
Photo Numbers:			Checked By:		
Additional Notes:					

AMACHE FIELD SPECIMEN LOG (Excavation) **YEAR:_____** **AREA:_____** ___ of ___

FS #	MAT TYPE	PROVENIENCE	UNIT SIZE	UNIT TYPE	CONT EX	ELEVATION	PP Y/N	EXC	DATE	COMMENTS	C

UNIT CLOSURE FORM

Block:_____ Excavation Area_____ Unit #:_____

Date:_____

Context #s excavated:_____

Context #s assigned but not excavated:_____

Reason for closing:

COMMENTS: (Include impressions, observations, tendencies, problems. Be frank and creative)

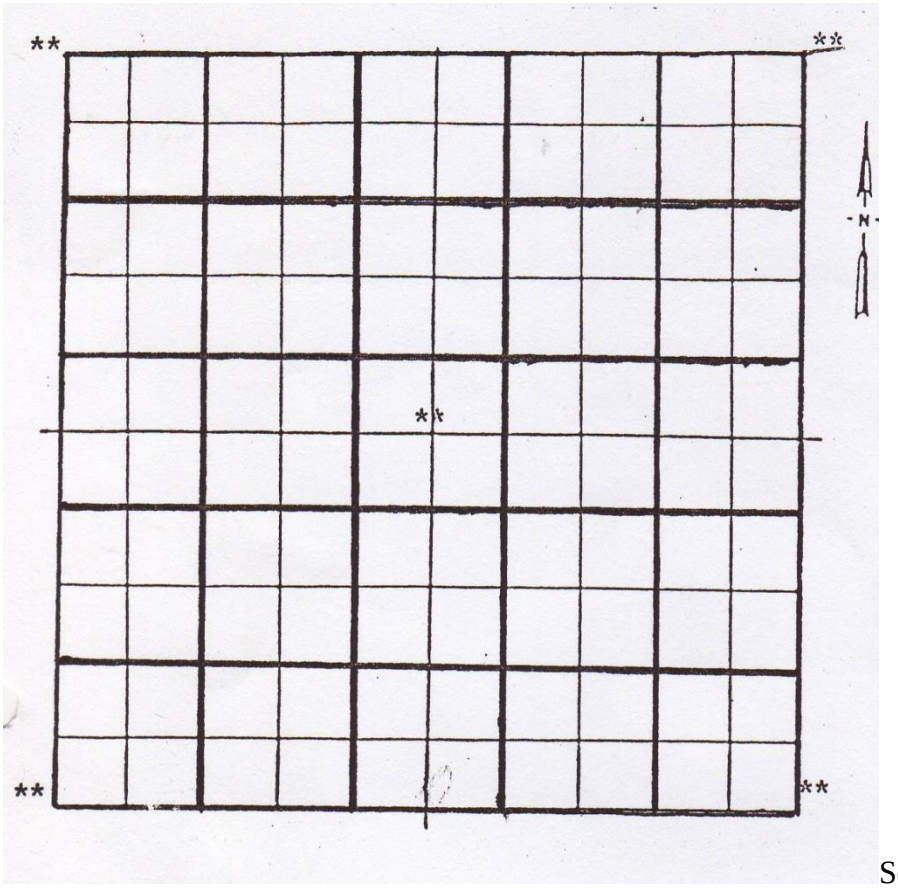
Profile date:_____ Walls: N___ E___ S___ W___

By:_____

Chem sample numbers for profile_____

Date Backfilled:_____

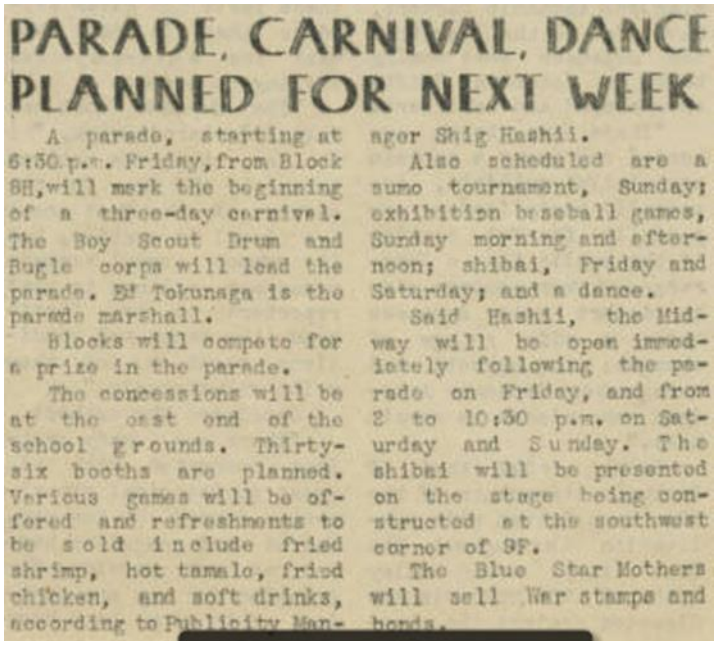
Map floor of unit and indicate final depths



Scale:

Harris Matrix for your unit:

Appendix B: Granada Pioneer Articles



PARADE, CARNIVAL, DANCE PLANNED FOR NEXT WEEK

A parade, starting at 6:30 p.m. Friday, from Block 8H, will mark the beginning of a three-day carnival. The Boy Scout Drum and Bugle corps will lead the parade. Ed Tokunaga is the parade marshall.

Blocks will compete for a prize in the parade.

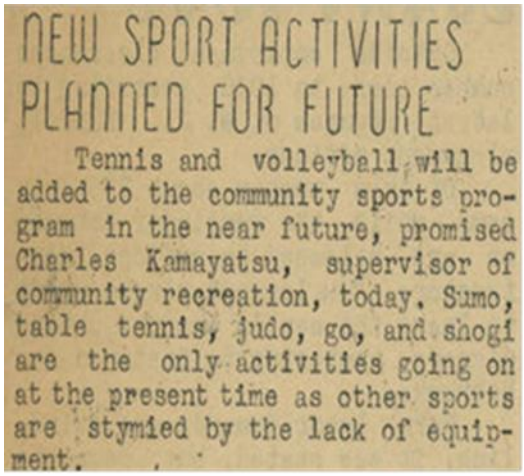
The concessions will be at the east end of the school grounds. Thirty-six booths are planned. Various games will be offered and refreshments to be sold include fried shrimp, hot tamale, fried chicken, and soft drinks, according to Publicity Manager Shig Hashii.

Also scheduled are a sumo tournament, Sunday; exhibition baseball games, Sunday morning and afternoon; shibai, Friday and Saturday; and a dance.

Said Hashii, the Midway will be open immediately following the parade on Friday, and from 2 to 10:30 p.m. on Saturday and Sunday. The shibai will be presented on the stage being constructed at the southwest corner of 9F.

The Blue Star Mothers will sell War stamps and bonds.

July 3, 1943. *Granada Pioneer* Vol. I No. 79 (denshopd-i147-00080), Densho.



NEW SPORT ACTIVITIES PLANNED FOR FUTURE

Tennis and volleyball will be added to the community sports program in the near future, promised Charles Kamayatsu, supervisor of community recreation, today. Sumo, table tennis, judo, go, and shogi are the only activities going on at the present time as other sports are stymied by the lack of equipment.

October 14, 1942. *Granada Bulletin* Vol. A No. 1 (denshopd-i147-00302), Densho.

TWO-DAY O-BON FESTIVAL SUCCESSFULLY CONCLUDED

Amache's 1944 two-day O-Bon festival was sucessfully concluded Sunday night with a gala Bon Odori that attracted what seemed the entire center, to the 10F athletic field. This year the Bon Odori was conducted by Miss Yukino Okubo.

The O-Bon services were held on Saturday and Sunday afternoons in the high school auditorium. Rev. Shirakawa delivered the sermon on Saturday and Rev. Yonemura on Sunday.

Enjoying a complete reversal from Saturday night's threatening weather, Sunday evening was made to order for Bon Odori. Participation of lassies clad in gay, multi-colored kimonos far surpassed all expectations.

Granada Pioneer Vol. II No. 81 (denshopd-i147-00194), Densho.

EAST TOPS WEST IN SUMO TOURNEY

In the center-wide sumo tournament held at the 6G sumo ring Sunday, the East team won over the West team by a score of the 11 to 10.

Outstanding for the East team were Midoriguchi and Kinnoshachi. For the West, Yasuno and Hayanishiki were the big threats.

February 16, 1943. *Granada Pioneer* Vol. I No. 38 (denshopd-i147-00039), Densho.

CARNIVAL INCOME AND EXPENSE STATEMENT

INCOME:			
Concessions		$4,373.05	
Dance		63.45	
Shibai: Ticket Sales	$ 333.75		
Donations, Sumo Club	5.00		
Donations, Mr. Kanazawa 12D	1.00	339.75	
Total Income			$4,776.25
EXPENSES:			
Carnival:			
Merchandise	$2,922.54		
Preparation & Labor	256.26		
Prizes	219.55		
Other Expense	35.12		
Total Carnival Expense		$3,433.47	
Dance		38.91	
Shibai:			
Musical Instruments	$ 18.00		
Costumes	175.68		
Stage Materials	8.51		
Carpentry Work	52.00		
Compensation for Actors	50.00		
Compensation for Stage Directors	28.50		
Compensation for Artists	21.00		
Compensation for Other Helpers	26.00		
P. A. System	8.00		
Food For Actors & Helpers	44.17		
Make-up Materials	6.63		
Paint for Stage Scenery	29.06		
Federal Admission Tax	33.37	501.92	
Total Expenses			3,974.10
Net Income			$ 802.15

August 7, 1943. *Granada Pioneer* Vol. I No. 89 (denshopd-i147-00090), Densho.

GALA BON ODORI TO BE HELD THIS WEEK END

A festive week end is in store for Amache as more than 1000 residents, dressed in colorful kimonos, are expected to participate in the gala Bon odori to be held Saturday and Sunday evenings, starting at 7 o'clock, on the 10F baseball grounds.

Special Bon services will be conducted on the afternoons of the odori nights, at 1:30 o'clock, in the high school auditorium.

Revs. T. Shirakawa and M. Yonomura will deliver the sermons.

The odori and services will constitute the Bon festival held annually by the Buddhists.

Setsuo Ogawa, chairman of activities for Saturday, announces that odori practices will be held tonight at 7G and 11F, and requests that all who are planning to take part Saturday and Sunday attend the practice at either one of the locations.

The Bon festival was originated some 2,500 years ago in India by Saint Mokuren, a disciple of Buddha.

Mokuren, as the legend goes, was sure that his deceased mother was suffering in a purgatory, and he went through extreme torment to save her. When this was finally done, he was so happy that he danced around, unconsciously, for many hours. Hence, the odori.

WRA OFFICIAL VISITS CENTER

E. J. Utz, chief of the agriculture and engineering departments of the WRA, visited the Granada project Monday and Tuesday.

While here, Utz checked up on the operating details of the project agriculture and engineering departments.

August 11, 1943. *Granada Pioneer* Vol. I No. 90 (denshopd-i147-00091), Densho.

TALENT SHOW FEATURES DRAMA

"Akagaki Genzo," a three-act Japanese drama, will be highlighted at the weekly block revue staged tonight, 7:30 o'clock, at the 6H mess hall, announced Koshiro Kumagai, social activities supervisor of the CA division. Other talented acts featured in the evening's program are odoris, tap dances, vocal solos and a novelty skit by Roy Nikaido and Dix Koga.

Tickets may be obtained at the 8F CA office and the 6H, 7H, 7K and 8K block offices.

April 22, 1944. *Granada Pioneer* Vol. II No. 49 (denshopd-i147-00162), Densho.

Appendix C: *Ofuro* Excavation Artifacts

Personal Artifacts		
2010.5N 2002.5E	Pumice	Pumice Pebble
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass Fragment	2 fragments of amber glass.
2010.5N 2002.5E	Button	4 small grey buttons
2010.5N 2002.5E	Button	3 grey buttons.
2010.5N 2002.5E	rubber band	2 rubber bands
2010.5N 2002.5E	Button	6 white buttons.
2010.5N 2002.5E	Plate	2 ceramic fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	2 pin drill chuck	Portion of a two pin drill chuck.
2010.5N 2002.5E	Saucer	Iron-ware Saucer Fragment
2010.5N 2002.5E	Saucer	Ironware Saucer fragment
2010.5N 2002.5E	Cap, Bottle	14 bottle caps
2010.5N 2002.5E	Clasp	4 small metal frags, possibly clasps
2010.5N 2002.5E	Clasp	4 small possibly metal frags
2010.5N 2002.5E	gasket	Black half-circle rounded object
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass	Two thin glass fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	Comb	One tooth of a comb
2010.5N 2002.5E	Bottle	2 small clear glass fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	Bottle	13 fragments of clear glass

2010.5N 2002.5E	Ashtray	6 clear glass fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	Bottle	4 clear glass fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	lightbulb	One thin clear glass fragment
2010.5N 2002.5E	Lightbulb	One clear glass fragment with rounded shoulder
2010.5N 2002.5E	Comb	Several fragments of a red comb
2010.5N 2002.5E	Pencil, Slate	Pencil lead fragment
2010.5N 2002.5E	Eyedropper	Glass eyedropper
2010.5N 2002.5E	Cup	One small white porcelain fragment
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass	Highly vitrified glass
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass Fragment	Two glass fragments with wavy pattern
2010.5N 2002.5E	Button	Circular button
2010.5N 2002.5E	Curler	Cynlindrical, tapered object with small holes
2010.5N 2002.5E	Buckle	Fragment of a small buckle
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass Fragment	4 Melted glass fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass Fragment	Melted glass fragment
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass Fragment	Melted glass fragment
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass Fragment	3 glass fragments.
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass	Possible fragment of a drinking glass.
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass Fragment	four glass fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass Fragment	two glass fragments

2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass Fragment	Amber glass fragment
2012N 2004E	Lid, jar	3 fragments of metal jar lid
2012N 2004E	Lid, jar	2 jar lid fragments
2012N 2004E	Can, Food-storage	5 tin can fragments
2012N 2004E	Bobby pin	5 bobby pin fragments
2012N 2004E	Shoe grommet	Brass shoe grommet
2012N 2004E	Eyehook	Broken copper alloy eye hook
2012N 2004E	Cap liner	Small black cap liner
2012N 2004E	Comb	Small red plastic comb
2012N 2004E	Cap	Small Run R Stop cap
2012N 2004E	Plaster, Bandage	Small fragments of plaster bandages
2012N 2004E	Makeup compact	Small rectangular makeup compact
2012N 2004E	Makeup	Small, round makeup compact
2012N 2004E	Thimble	Brass thimble
2012N 2004E	Bottle	Small glass bottle with lid
2012N 2004E	Bottle	Small cosmetic bottle
2012N 2004E	Bottle	Small glass bottle
2012N 2004E	Bottle	Small clear glass bottle
2012N 2004E	Button	Small button fragments
2012N 2004E	Cloth Fragment	Small cloth fragments

2012N 2004E	Container	Body of the Run R Stop container
2012N 2004E	Makeup container	Small black plastic makeup container
2012N 2004E	Plaster, bandage	Large lump of plaster bandage material
2012N 2004E	Spool	Plastic spool
2007N 2000E	Glass	Small light green glass fragment
2007N 2000E	Leather	Rawhide leather belt fragment
2007N 2000E	Glass	Very thin clear glass fragment
2007N 2000E	Glass	Small clear glass fragment with red paint
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass	Green glass jar rim fragment and body fragment
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass	Clear glass jar rim fragment and body fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass	10 clear glass fragments, unidentifiable
2010.5N 2002.5E	Shell	Mother of pearl button, two holes
2012N 2004E	Razor	Iron based razor blade
2012N 2004E	Bottle cap	iron/ferrous material
2012N 2004E	Tube Lid	Similar to a lid to a tube of medication, toothpaste, etc
2012N 2004E	Glass Shard	Window glass fragment
2012N 2004E	Glass Shard	1 molded glass fragment
2012N 2004E	Glass Shard	2 tiny pieces of glass, probably broken off other pieces
2012N 2004E	Comb Piece	Hard red plastic
2012N 2004E	Glass Shard	Thick piece of glass

2012N 2004E	Penny	Lincoln Wheat Penny
2012N 2004E	Button	4 hole button, white / mother of pearl color
2012N 2004E	Burned Glass	Highly vitrified glass
2012N 2004E	Burned Glass	Highly vitrified glass
2012N 2004E	Glass Droplet	Round shape, but not perfectly round
2012N 2004E	Jar	Possible rim to a bottle, can, etc
2012N 2004E	Burned Glass	3 pieces of clear glass, 2 pieces refit
2012N 2004E	Glass Fragments	3 pieces of clear glass, 2 pieces refit. Possibly from a lantern
2012N 2004E	Glass fragments	Possibly lantern glass
2012N 2004E	Amber Glass Fragment	1 amber fragment. Slight curve
2012N 2004E	Glass fragment	1 fragment, hollow, curved fragment
2012N 2004E	Glass fragment	4 similar fragments
2012N 2004E	Heated Glass	Thin, warped shape
2012N 2004E	Glass fragment	Thicker in the center than tapers out
2012N 2004E	Glass Shards	2 small flakes
2012N 2004E	Metal fragment	Likely aluminum, possibly foil
2012N 2004E	Comb	Red plastic tooth comb

Architectural Artifacts		

Excavation Unit		
2010.5N 2002.5E	Staple	Small curved flat metal fragment
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	Nails and nail fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	Wire	4 fragments of thin wire
2010.5N 2002.5E	Tack	Two complete tacks
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	Bent metal nail
2010.5N 2002.5E	Clasp	Metal clasp
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	4 nails, possibly casing nails
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	Four casing nails
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	~40 nail frags
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	~20 nail fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	1 nail fragment
2010.5N 2002.5E	Metal Fragment	~30 random metal fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	Metal Fragment	5 cast iron metal fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	Tar	Tar fragment
2010.5N 2002.5E	Tar paper	Several frags of tar paper
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	8 common nails, 4 casing/finishing nails
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	5 common nails, 2 finishing nails, 1 unknown
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	2 finishing nails, 1 smooth box nail
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	2 galvanized shingle or blue lathing nails

2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	2 galvanized shingle or blue lathing nails
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	Nail fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	tip of nail coated in tar
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	Most likely nail fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	Nail.
2010.5N 2002.5E	Nail	Melted Nail fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	Windowpane	Two fragments of window glass
2012N 2004E	Nail	1 size 2d nail
2012N 2004E	Nail	11 size 3d nails
2012N 2004E	Nail	5 size 6d nail
2012N 2004E	Nail	4 size 8d nails
2012N 2004E	Nail	2 complete nails fused together
2012N 2004E	Nail	About 900 nail fragments
2012N 2004E	Nail	Burnt nail fragments
2012N 2004E	Wire	Small fragment of metal wire
2012N 2004E	Unknown	2 metal fragments
2012N 2004E	Unknown	Small, cylindrical, metal fragment
2012N 2004E	Burned glass	Fragments of burned glass
2012N 2004E	Wood, burned	Small pieces of burned wood
2012N 2004E	Wood	Small fragment of wood
2012N 2004E	Lumber	2 pieces of burned lumber
2012N 2004E	Wood	Burned wood fragments
2007N 2000E	Ferrous	Roofing nail
2007N 2000E	Asphalt	Two small fragments roofing asphalt
2010.5N 2002.5E	Ferrous	6d pennyweight nail
2010.5N 2002.5E	Ferrous	8d pennyweight nail
2010.5N 2002.5E	Ferrous	3d pennyweight nail
2010.5N	Ferrous	Three nail fragments

2002.5E		
2010.5N 2002.5E	Ferrous	Metal loop with straight end, likely structural
2010.5N 2002.5E	Wood	Fourteen wood fragments, burned
2010.5N 2002.5E	Composite	Hollow metal piece attached to burned wood fragment
2010.5N 2002.5E	Brick	Small brick fragment
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass	Three flat window glass fragments
2010.5N 2002.5E	Glass	One flat glass fragment
2012N 2004E	Bottle cap	Iron/ferrous material
2012N 2004E	Washer	Extremely thin ferrous metal
2012N 2004E	Nail	39 nail fragments & 6 tiny pieces
2012N 2004E	Nail	Possibly finishing or wire nail
2012N 2004E	Nail	2 penny nail in length
2012N 2004E	Nail	25 penny nail (between 20 and 30)
2012N 2004E	Metal fragment	Possibly foot to a cast iron stove
2012N 2004E	Burned Glass	Clear Glass with red stripe
2012N 2004E	Burned Glass	2 clear glass fragments
2012N 2004E	Burned Glass	Clear glass fragment
2012N 2004E	Green Glass Shard	1 fragment green bottle glass
2012N 2004E	Heavy Glass Base	3 molded glass fragments. Likely part of a container
2012N 2004E	Glass Shard	1 clear glass fragment
2012N 2004E	Glass Shard	1 molded glass fragment
2012N 2004E	Glass Shards	3 fragments likely from lantern
2012N 2004E	Glass Shard	1 glass fragment, possibly from a bottle
2012N 2004E	Building Material	Cracked and broken with no distinct shape
2012N 2004E	Wood fragment	1 piece of wood, possibly dimensional
2012N 2004E	Nail	2 penny nail in length
2012N 2004E	Nail	2 nails, 1 is very bent, 6 penny nail length

2012N 2004E	Nail	8 pieces, made up of body and stem fragments
2012N 2004E	Nail	4 highly corroded nails
2012N 2004E	Metal Fragment	Possibly inlay or binder
2012N 2004E	Metal fragment	Magnetic metal alloy
2012N 2004E	Nail	Possible rivet or hollow nail
2012N 2004E	Nail	Possible rivet or hollow nail function
2012N 2004E	Metal Fragment	2 fragments
2012N 2004E	Metal Fragments	2 fragments
2012N 2004E	Metal fragment	1 fragment
2012N 2004E	Metal fragment	1 larger chunk, 11 smaller fragments
2012N 2004E	Architectural Ceramic	Architectural ceramic piece, possibly for electrical purposes
2012N 2004E	Tar Drop	2 pieces that clearly broke apart and refit
2012N 2004E	Wood	6 pieces

Appendix D: Amache Kabuki Theater Performers and Performances

Note: Names and performances were copied verbatim from hand-written notes on the Harada Collection photographs. Some names, however, were altered to reflect the likely first and last name of the annotated subject. Be advised that some names of individuals may be inaccurate. Individual genders were documented when known, otherwise they are not assumed. This list is only a sample of known internees who participated in Kabuki. In many circumstances generational nomenclature could not be identified with certainty. Distinctions between first and subsequent generations in the United States were the most appropriate distinctions available.

Known Kabuki Performances at Amache
Awano Naruto
Kudan no haha
Urashima
Tange Sazen
Michiyuki (okaru kampei)
Tamaya
Sendo Kawaiya
Matsuri Midori
Konya Takao
Maru Maru Bushi
Tabigasha Dochu
Mori No Ishimatsu
Tsumagoi Dochu
Osome Hisamatsu
Sendo Kawaiya
Tsuru Kashiwase
Mitsumen Komori
Shori No Kage
Genroku Hanami Odori

Name	Sex	Generation
Jutaro Gondo	Male	Kibei
Koshiro Kumagai	Male	Issei
Yasutoshi Yoshizawa	Male	Issei
Kumagai Sanshu	Male	Likely Nisei
Misayo Yoshizawa	Female	Nisei
Misayo Tokyo	Undetermined	Undetermined
Toraichi Kuruma	Male	Nisei
Roy Nikaido	Male	Nisei or Sansei
Dixie Koga	Male	Nisei or Sansei
Mr. Fujita	Male	Issei or Nisei
Yukino Okubo	Female	Nisei or Sansei
Matsui Suimin	Male	Issei or Nisei
Yuriko Tsutsui	Undetermined	Undetermined
Mr. Sugimoto	Male	Issei or Nisei
Hitomi Naka	Undetermined	Undetermined
Hatsue Umeda	Female	Nisei
Yaeko Tani	Undetermined	Undetermined
Takako Tsutsui	Female	Nisei or Sansei
Shizuko Hikada	Female	Nisei or Sansei
Sachiko Okubo	Female	Nisei or Sansei
Kaneko Inada	Undetermined	Nisei or Sansei
Shizuye Koishi	Undetermined	Nisei or Sansei
Reiko Akahoshi	Female	Nisei or Sansei
Hirotaka Okubo	Male	Nisei or Sansei
Yuri Koishi	Undetermined	Undetermined
Shiz Koishi	Undetermined	Undetermined
Naomi Hayashi	Female	Nisei or Sansei
Yaeko Tani	Female	Nisei or Sansei
Yasuko Kameoka	Female	Nisei
Ai Okumura	Female	Issei
Fujima Kansuma	Female	Issei or Nisei
Mariko Shimada	Male	Issei
Keiko Matsuura	Female	Nisei or Sansei
Yoko Matsuura	Female	Nisei or Sansei
Shizuko Hidaka	Female	Nisei or Sansei
Reiko Hikido	Female	Nisei or Sansei
Okaru Kampei (Michiyuki)	Undetermined	Undetermined