Through the Eyes of a Child: The Archaeology of WWII Japanese American Internment at Amache

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Abstract
Children's lives in the World War II Japanese American Internment Camp, Amache are investigated using a combination of archaeology, oral history, and archival research. As part of internees' efforts to create a more hospitable environment both children and adults extensively modified the physical landscape. The importance of landscape and place in Japanese culture and for the internee community is examined using the development of gardens around the elementary school as a case study. Internees also developed a rich social landscape that allowed for the socialization of children within Amache. The socialization of children at Amache was being influenced by the internee community, the American government in the form of the WRA, and their own peer groups composed of other children usually with a dual cultural heritage. The influences of these socializing agents can be seen in the development of formal social organizations by adults, children's participation in them, and in the material culture used by children. Children also interacted with and conceptualized the political landscape which affected the formation of their identities.

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Abstract

Children’s lives in the World War II Japanese American Internment Camp, Amache are investigated using a combination of archaeology, oral history, and archival research. As part of internees’ efforts to create a more hospitable environment both children and adults extensively modified the physical landscape. The importance of landscape and place in Japanese culture and for the internee community is examined using the development of gardens around the elementary school as a case study. Internees also developed a rich social landscape that allowed for the socialization of children within Amache. The socialization of children at Amache was being influenced by the internee community, the American government in the form of the WRA, and their own peer groups composed of other children usually with a dual cultural heritage. The influences of these socializing agents can be seen in the development of formal social organizations by adults, children’s participation in them, and in the material culture used by children. Children also interacted with and conceptualized the political landscape which affected the formation of their identities.
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Their efforts have been matched by those of the town of Granada and the Amache Preservation Society led by John Hopper. The town of Granada welcomed members of the University of Denver Amache Project from the day we wandered in to Granada Bristol Days and participated in the pie auction. John Hopper and his students have shown great dedication in preserving Amache and conducting extensive outreach and education about internment. John Hopper and the APS made gathering the data for this project both easier and more enjoyable.

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Finally this project is dedicated to preserving memories and heritage and so it is necessary here to acknowledge the support of my parents who guided me into archaeology and have supported me in all stages of this project.
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On December 7, 1941, the Japanese Military bombed Pearl Harbor. Like all Americans, Japanese Americans were shocked by news of this attack. Three months later on February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 9066 which authorized the Secretary of War to designate areas from which anyone could be excluded for reasons of national security. Soon evacuation notices for individuals of Japanese ancestry began appearing across the West Coast. Families were told they could voluntarily relocate to inland areas or be relocated by the government. Japanese Americans were forced to leave the West Coast and many lost businesses, homes, and possessions.

Families could only bring what they could carry so many evacuees arrived at assembly centers with few possessions. Assembly centers were meant to be temporary, but many internees stayed in them for up to six months. Slowly the War Relocation Authority (WRA) began to move people out of the assembly centers into permanent relocation centers. Within three years approximately 120,000 individuals of Japanese ancestry were interned and others relocated away from the West Coast.
Ten relocation centers were established by the WRA. Amache, located in southeastern Colorado, was the smallest of the centers. The camp contained an administrative and residential section surrounded by a barbed wire fence, punctuated with guard towers. Each family was assigned an “apartment” in a residential block containing a mess hall, bathhouse, and barracks. Amache was a ply-wood city of approximately 7,500 residents, complete with schools, police, and fire departments. Internees established a community newspaper, *The Granada Pioneer*, a co-op store, and social and religious organizations.

In 1945 Amache was closed and internees dispersed across the country. Although the camp was physically dismantled it remained present in the minds of all who had been interned there. Beginning in the 1960’s former internees began to hold annual pilgrimages at the site to commemorate internment and those who had died while at Amache. By the 1980’s preservation efforts had begun at the site which today is designated a National Historic Landmark. In 2008 Professor Bonnie Clark of the University of Denver received the support of the organizations working to preserve the site and grant funding to begin archaeological research at Amache.

My own involvement with the project began when I enrolled at the University of Denver as a Masters student in both Archaeology and Museum studies. My initial interest sprung from my desire to participate in an archaeological project that would also make a compelling museum exhibit. However, as I learned more about Amache and began to meet both the former internees and others involved in the site’s preservation, I realized that this was more than an archaeological project. This was a chance to understand a
subaltern moment in American history and give voice to the memories of the former
internees. My research on children’s lives in Amache showed me a resilient and
wonderful community of people who worked to overcome and find the best in a
potentially negative situation.

Significance

Children have historically been an underrepresented group in archaeological and
anthropological studies. This is in part due to the belief that children had little effect on
culture and served primarily as its recipients. Children were not considered to be active
members of the community with important roles. They were effectively written out of
history and archaeology. Now a range of studies are focusing on the ways in which
children are active components of society and how they affect its function (Baxter 2005;
Wilkie 2000). This research project is guided by the theoretical principles of the
anthropology of childhood. A concern with the particular and a focus on context prevents
the creation of a definition of anthropology of children (Bluebond-Lagner, et al. 2007).
Instead the focus is around the inclusion of children’s perspective and experiences in the
archaeological record and recognition of their participation in society as active agents.

My approach to this research on Japanese American internment allows for the
investigation of numerous issues and gives children agency within the historical and
archaeological record. Rather than focusing on children’s experiences or memories, the
interpretive lens is that of interaction, which allows for the inclusion of diverse
experiences and memories. By constituting children as social actors and focusing on their experiences and memories the past is no longer an abstract concept but is in the realm of everyday understanding (Hodder 1991).

**Research Questions**

The overarching goal of this research project is to better understand how children in Amache interacted with the internment experience. For this topic to be understood it must be broken down into its component parts. There are three questions that I will address: Where were children’s activities taking place? What did these activities consist of? What components of material culture were involved in these activities?

These three basic questions allow more complex issues to be explored including the social landscape, physical landscape, and political landscape. Each of these primary themes will be the focus of its own chapter in which I discuss the archaeological and documentary evidence as contextualized by theory. The next chapter provides historic background, while chapter three reviews my research methods. Chapter four looks at the role of landscaping features and explores children’s use of the physical environment. Chapter five covers family life and general social interactions within Amache. Finally in chapter six children’s understanding of WWII and internment is explored.

Physical Landscape

An understanding of Amache’s children and the physical environment can be created by examining two distinct elements, where children played, and how they
understood and modified their physical environment. Our understanding of the physical environment, or place, is socially constructed. Society imparts meaning to different areas of the landscape which shapes how these areas will be understood and used. By examining how spaces are constructed and used we can create an understanding of social structures and expectations.

To document and identify children’s activities the archaeologist must know where they occurred. This knowledge arises from an understanding of the social context. “The potential of archaeology lies in tracing the material evidence of children, which requires knowledge of the adult world” (Lillehammer 1989:90). Although children are independent actors their behavior and movement is, to some extent, dictated by the adults of the society. The tasks assigned to children, the settings considered acceptable, and the caretakers must all be considered when studying children’s interactions with their environment and their use of space. Gender often plays a part in children’s use of space and what activities they engage in. Space is socially constructed and contested and so are the uses of space (Rodman 1992). While certain spaces are constructed by adults as appropriate for children’s activities, children deviate from these expectations and often create their own spaces. The areas frequented by children can often be defined by the material culture deposited in the course of their activities. By looking at the location of children’s toys in the archaeological record and examining oral histories and historic documents I developed an understanding of how children were using the physical layout at Amache for their play activities.
Japanese Americans have a history of agricultural and horticultural practices. These are evident in the occupations of many of the internees and in the extensive physical modifications made to Amache during its occupation. Internees were also coming from California which has a different physical environment from southeastern Colorado. The influence of both the cultural tradition and physical environment in which they were raised had a strong influence on the children at Amache. These children were active participants in the modification of the area around their school through the design and creation of a set of gardens. Analysis of the school gardens allows insight into children’s agency as well as their knowledge and skills.

Social Landscape

How adults worked to redefine social roles in the context of internment was greatly influenced by the presence of children in the camp. Children affected how society was reconstructed and roles were recontextualized. Adults had fixed ideas on how children should be socialized and in what environment. Within Amache they tried to reconstruct this environment both for their own comfort but also to meet the needs of children in the camp and provide for their appropriate socialization. By understanding how social roles were forcibly changed and reclaimed or restructured we understand how children were socialized.

In current studies, much of the theory surrounding the archaeology of childhood is based around ideas of socialization (Baxter 2005). Lillehammer suggests three components of socialization to consider when studying childhood: culture is transferred
between adults and children, children create and transfer aspects of culture within their peer groups, and culture arises from children and their engagement with the surrounding environment (Lillehammer 1989). Socialization is a dynamic discourse across generations. This means that children’s socialization is effected by many societal groups including family members, peer groups, institutions, and community members. Children as social agents select, interpret and appropriate ideas and behaviors in particular ways (Baxter 2005:32). Adults work both consciously and unconsciously to structure and control the situation in which their children are being socialized. By looking at how adults worked to maintain a familiar structure for socialization we can understand how the social and physical landscape of Amache was constructed.

The role of cultural norms must be examined to understand the social role of children in the camps. The children in Amache were not only American but were also raised in a familial and social environment that reflected Japanese cultural norms. Benson Tong noted that the internment of Japanese Americans changed traditional family dynamics. The system of communal mess halls and bathrooms lessened parental supervision and weakened the authority structure as children spent more time with peers (Tong 2004:90). Children are also affected by unfamiliar environments and changes to the routine of daily life. Adults sought ways to counteract the effects of internment and the mandates of the WRA to provide proper socialization for their children.

An examination of records from the elementary school gives perspective on how the WRA was viewing children in Amache and using the educational system as a tool for assimilation. The archaeological record shows how activities taking place at the school
block differed from surrounding residential blocks. Archival records and the stories of former internees record the social and community life which was developed in camp. Adults in Amache felt that the development of a rich social environment was important to the socialization of children. Children were active participants in this social life and enjoyed the organizations and events established by the internee community. Finally, the toys recovered from Amache provide insight into what were considered proper activities for children and adults perspectives on gender roles.

Political Landscape

The final section of this thesis examines children’s understanding of the political environment. Children understand and situate themselves in the larger social and political context differently than adults. They must construct an understanding which is within their more limited field of knowledge and is often composed of information gleaned either from peers or from adults with whom they are in contact. This chapter draws heavily on both the material culture left by children and on oral histories to explain how children understood internment and their personal position within global politics and the wider social environment. This can be done by both looking at how adults are situating themselves and also by examining children’s play.

By looking at children’s toys and activities we understand how the Japanese American community is situating itself in the political environment. World War II was an important factor across America during the 1940’s and internees were not excluded from concerns about the war. Children’s activities reflect this war mentality in their
involvement in victory gardens and social organizations like the Boy Scouts. The games children played and toys they used also reflect their understanding of internment and their own position in WWII as individuals of Japanese descent.

**Key terms and Ideas**

There are several key terms that I will use in this thesis that require definition. There are multiple terms used to refer to both Japanese Americans who were interned and also internment camps. These terms have subtly different definitions and are used interchangeably throughout this thesis.

**Internee**- term used to refer to people in the camp historically

**Evacuee**- term used by the WRA to refer to inhabitants of the relocation centers

**Former internee**- term used to reference internees in the present and is used to talk about memories and information collected during oral histories.

**WRA**- War Relocation Authority, the government agency established to organize and administer the relocation of Japanese Americans from the West Coast.

**Relocation center** – The formal term created by the WRA for the permanent habitation facilities established for Japanese Americans.

**Internment Camp**- The commonly accepted term currently used to refer to Relocation Centers. This term acknowledges aspects of confinement which are not conveyed by the term Relocation Center. Though the relocation centers technically fit the definition of concentration camps the term internment camp is more politically sensitive since the term
concentration camp is associated in the mind of Americans with the German death camps and the holocaust.

**Camp**- The colloquial term used by many former internees to reference both relocation centers and the internment experience.

**Conclusion**

The methods for this research were designed with the overarching goals of this project in mind. The development of individual lines of investigation were then further influenced by the sub themes of the research goal to create a research design that could fully address all the issues surrounding children’s interaction with the internment experience. The next chapter in this thesis sets the stage for analysis of the archaeological evidence by providing a more detailed overview of the history and background of the site.
CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND

General History

The first documented Japanese immigration to America was in 1869 near Sacramento and continued steadily as immigrants arrived for both work and education (Ng 2002). Much like the Chinese population in the United States, the Japanese population faced significant racism. The anti-Asian sentiment which developed as Chinese workers arrived to build the railroads was also aimed at individuals of Japanese decent. In 1907 30,000 Japanese immigrated to the U.S. A combination of an influx of Asian immigrants and the existing racism lead to the negotiation of the Gentleman’s Agreement in 1908 after which the Japanese government stopped granting visas to laborers bound for the U.S. Exceptions were only provided for the families of individuals already residing in America and professionals (Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians 1997; Ng 2002). This effectively ended the arrival of men from Japan but immigration continued with the arrival of family members and brides.

Anti Asian sentiment led to the creation of legislation that limited the ability of Asians to gain citizenship, own land, and occupy jobs. These legislative acts were interpreted in a manner that allowed states to deny immigrants the ability to be
nationalized. Only individuals of Japanese descent who were born in the United States were able to be citizens. In 1913 the Alien Land Law was passed in California which stated that “aliens ineligible for citizenship” were prohibited from owning land (Burton, et al. 1999:26; Ng 2002). This law greatly affected the large number of Japanese Americans who were farmers and business owners. Many began to seek ways to circumnavigate these laws by placing land and property in the names of their American children and creating corporations. In 1924 the American government passed the Exclusion Act which halted further immigration from Japan and other countries (Burton, et al. 1999:27). Despite this extensive prejudice the Japanese population in the United States flourished.

Although this immigrant group did not integrate into the American community in the same manner as many earlier immigrants they were highly successful. Early Japanese immigrants worked extensively in agricultural pursuits along the West Coast and also established a range of business enterprises to supply goods and services to both the Japanese and general populace. While many Japanese immigrants lived dispersed among their Caucasian neighbors, others formed ethnic enclaves.

Little Tokyo developed in part as a byproduct of the racism rampant on the West Coast. Not only did laws prohibit Japanese individuals to live in many parts of the city but they also felt more at home living in a closely knit community that provided both support and a venue for their developing businesses (Figure 2.1). Businesses and organizations were developed that met the needs of the Japanese community in
Los Angeles and circumnavigated anti-Japanese sentiment. Little Tokyo was a space in which Japanese and American cultures combined. This was especially true for the children living in the area. Many attended schools dominated by Japanese students and groups like the Boy Scouts of America had an all Japanese troop located in the area (Murase 1983). There were also a number of culturally significant activities that children growing up in Little Tokyo participated in. These included lessons on Japanese manners and etiquette, Shinseikai training, and sumo practice.

Merced County was the home to a large rural Japanese population. This was a main agricultural area and had a number of closely knit Japanese communities. In many ways Merced County resembled a rural Little Tokyo. There were all Japanese baseball teams. Japanese language schools, a Boy Scout Troop, and festivals and religious ceremonies were held (Japanese Americans of Merced County Committee 2003). It was an area where individuals of Japanese descent could actively participate in their shared heritage.
Japanese American Family Structure

While concepts about child rearing practices in Japanese American families vary between generations a general overview of prevailing ideas and trends can be created. Central to Japanese family structure is a focus around the unity of the family with a strong emphasis placed on the responsibilities of a parent for their children (LaViolette 1945:20). Traditional family structure emphasizes both parental authority and personal responsibility. These lead to an emphasis on behavior, manners, and a cultivation of respect for parental authority and discipline. While these descriptions of family structure can be viewed as central ideas, the Americanization of subsequent generations led to changes in behaviors and ideas on child rearing. Japanese Americans are divided based on how long they have been in America. The first generation is termed Issei followed by the second Nisei generation and finally the Sansei or third generation. At the time of internment these were the three generational divides.

The level of racial discrimination faced by Asian immigrants on the West Coast caused many Issei parents to encourage their children to assimilate into American culture and led to changes in cultural practices. Assimilation was accomplished through the adoption of western clothing, acquisition of language, and participation in schools and activities. Pressures to assimilate were part of what created the unique identity of the second generation or Nisei.

Many Nisei who lived in urban areas also attended Japanese language schools on the weekends and evenings which established greater ties to their Japanese heritage. Although many Nisei were educated in the American school system and considered
themselves culturally American, racial discrimination still prevented them from entering mainstream American society (Ng 2002:6). Third generation Japanese Americans or Sansei were the smallest generation both before and during camp. This generation would have been comprised of the younger children in Amache and was the most American in their cultural affiliations. Many members of this generation were fully assimilated with American names, education, and interests. While this generation still demonstrated a cultural tie to Japan most were not bilingual (Ziegler 2005:19).

Public education and access to mainstream American culture introduced the Nisei and Sansei to mores and mannerisms which sometimes clashed with their parent’s ethnic heritage. This helped create a dual identity for many members of the younger generations. The outcome of this dual identity was that it created a new role for children who began to act as cultural brokers. Their unique situation of understanding both Japanese and American cultural norms allowed for an increase in the social status as they worked as cultural translators for the adults in their communities (Tong 2004).

Relocation

On December 7, 1941 the Japanese military attacked Pearl Harbor. This was the catalyst that both brought the U.S. into WWII and instigated the internment of approximately 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry. After Pearl Harbor the Japanese American population in the West Coast faced an increase in racism as the media voiced fears of another attack or sabotage of American security by Japanese Americans, especially members of the first generation of immigrants who were seen as having closer
ties to Japan. On February 19, 1942 President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 which gave the Secretary of War the authority to exclude any and all persons from designated areas in order to provide security and protect against espionage or sabotage (Burton, et al. 1999; Ng 2002). The order was used to effect the removal of individuals of Japanese descent from the West Coast.

The Exclusion Order was originally to be fulfilled through the voluntary relocation of individuals away from the coastal states. Japanese Americans living on the West Coast were informed of the necessity to relocate inland. While some families chose to do so, for many it was a social and financial impossibility. A large portion of the population was engaged in agricultural pursuits or ran businesses; to abandon or move their work would require extensive time and financial resources. The West Coast also was home to a majority of the U.S Japanese population. This made relocation even more difficult as few families had social networks outside the West Coast which they could join or rely on for support during relocation. For these reasons few families chose to relocate voluntarily.

Once the voluntary relocation idea was abandoned it was decided that individuals of Japanese heritage on the West Coast should be forcibly relocated inland. The War Relocation Authority was a civilian agency created to supervise the relocation. Congress supported this violation of civil rights as individuals were removed and imprisoned without due process, stating that it was necessary in a state of war. The War Relocation Authority (WRA) would choose the location for the construction of camps where evacuees could be securely monitored. A meeting was held in April of 1942 between the
WRA and governors from many of the western states to discuss where relocation centers could be constructed (Burton, et al. 1999). Governor Ralf Carr distinguished himself from other governors by publishing a letter stating that Colorado would willingly welcome evacuees and then welcoming the construction of a relocation center in Colorado (Schrager 2008:161). After the April meeting the WRA began an active search for potential locations for the relocation centers. The WRA chose 8 sites where 10 relocation centers would be constructed.

On March 29, 1942 the systematic mandatory evacuation of individuals from the West Coast began (Ng 2002:32). Instructions to the evacuees were posted in public locations which gave the date of the evacuation, instructions on what to bring, and information on where to report (Figure 2.2). Evacuees were told to bring bedding, toilet articles, extra clothing,

Figure 2.2. Historic photograph showing the exclusion order and instructions posted in the window of a vacant store.
dishware, and a limited number of personal effects. No large items, household goods, or family pets could be brought and luggage restrictions stated that only two bags per person would be allowed. The military would store large items and crates of household goods at the risk of the owner. These items could then be reclaimed later.

Members of the Japanese American community were forced to quickly make arrangements for their material possessions, homes, businesses, and pets. This was a great financial hardship and many individuals were forced to sell off their possessions cheaply or entrust them to family friends or acquaintances. Farms, businesses, and belongings were lost. Until August 7, 1942, the military, WRA, and the Wartime Civilian Control Administration (WCCA) moved evacuees to assembly centers which had been quickly established near population centers on the West Coast to temporarily house the evacuee population while permanent relocation centers were constructed.

Assembly Centers

Evacuees traveled to assembly centers and for many it was the first sight of these barbed wire enclosed areas which brought home the reality of their situation. There were a total of 16 assembly centers, 13 in California and the others in Washington, Oregon, and Arizona (Ng 2002:31).

The construction of the assembly centers varied but many were established in fairgrounds or racetracks, large areas which could be quickly converted to house the evacuee populations. The centers were divided into residential blocks containing housing for 600-800 individuals and bathing and eating facilities (Commission on the Wartime
Relocation and Internment of Civilians 1997:137). These were often quickly constructed or modified from existing structures and contained few amenities. The speed of the evacuation meant that the assembly centers were often unfinished and did not meet regulations. Many evacuees remember the quickly white washed walls of the horse stables which were converted to living space at the Santa Anita Center and the unfinished bath rooms which lacked stall doors. The WCCA did work to keep families together and since geographical regions went to the same assembly centers many evacuees found themselves living near their former neighbors.

By the end of May, the WCCA and the WRA began to transport evacuees to the relocation centers which had been constructed. By September the assembly centers had been emptied; and all but one relocation center was in operation with a total of 106,770 individuals in residence (Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians 1997:149).

Relocation Centers

The WRA had established ten relocation centers around the United States. All the centers were in isolated and frequently undesirable locations (Table 2.1). When evacuees entered the camps they transferred from military custody into the care of the WRA. This did not mean a reduction of security measures but rather a change of bureaucratic control. All the relocation centers with the exception of Manzanar were built by the War Department specifically to house the evacuee population. The camps were all built in a similar manner to specifications designed by the War Department.
Table 2.1. Names, location, and peak population for all ten relocation centers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relocation Center</th>
<th>Location by State</th>
<th>Peak Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jerome</td>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>8,497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohwer</td>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>8,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poston</td>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>17,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gila River</td>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>13,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manzanar</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>10,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tule Lake</td>
<td>California</td>
<td>18,789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amache</td>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>7,318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minadoka</td>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>9,397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topaz</td>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>8,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart Mountain</td>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>10,767</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each camp was divided into residential blocks, an administrative area, and surrounded by barbed wire and watch towers. While the camps resembled each other in a general physical sense, differences in the physical environments, administration, and the evacuee populations gave each camp its own distinctive nature. (Figure 2.3)

Figure 2.3. Map of the United States produced by the Amache Silk Screen shop showing the location of all ten relocation centers. The centers are marked by brown barracks and the state of Colorado is outlined.
Amache

The location of the Granada Relocation Center is in the Arkansas Valley in Prowers County Colorado. While most of the camps were placed in isolated locations, Amache was actually located within one mile of the town of Granada, Colorado, a small farming community. The camp’s proximity to a town made it unique among the internment sites. The proximity of the camp to the town of Granada is also the reason for the creation of the informal name of Amache. While all the WRA records refer to the camp as the Granada Relocation Center, evacuees in the camp began to call the site Amache. This allowed for the relocation center and the town to be differentiated. Amache was the smallest of the ten relocation centers and at the peak of the population housed around 7,300 residents with over 10,000 individuals passing through during the course of its occupation (Figure 2.4).

![Figure 2.4. Map of south eastern Colorado showing the location of Amache.](image-url)
Physical Layout

On June 29, 1942 the first group of Army contractors arrived at the future location of the Granada Relocation Center to begin constructing the administrative and residential areas of the camp (WRA 1945a). Amache covered approximately 10,500 acres of land in the Arkansas River valley. It was intended by the WRA that the internees would use this land to produce the agricultural goods needed for the camp. The agricultural areas surrounding the camp had been previously developed by local land owners with farm buildings and an irrigation system in place. Much of the land used for the construction of the camp was either claimed by the military under eminent domain or purchased cheaply from the owners (Simmons, et al. 1994). The area’s previous use as farmland minimized the need of the WRA to develop facilities for agricultural production.

Residential Section

Out of the allocated land, one mile was developed into both an administrative section and a residential area for the evacuees. This area was demarcated from the agricultural areas through the construction of a barbed wire fence with guard towers at intervals around the perimeter. The residential section contained approximately 569 structures which housed the administrative, support and evacuee living areas along with essential facilities needed for the maintenance of the camp and its inhabitants. The camp was also provided with a system of roads and all the basic utilities including water, sewer, and electricity (Figure 2.5).
The residential area of the camp was divided into 34 blocks. These blocks were separated by a system of streets. North-south streets were given a letter designation and extended from E-L, though the letters I and J were not used. East-west streets were given a number designation and covered 6th-12th. Each residential block was then given a name based its north-west cross streets (for example, Block 6G). The buildings in the residential section were a modified Theater of Operations construction composed of simple one story buildings covered in asphaltic coated mineral surface fiber board or mineral surface roofing with lath battens (Cuartelejo HP Associates 2003). Each block contained 12 barracks, a recreation hall, a mess hall, and a bath house. The barracks ran in two north-south rows along the edge of the blocks with the communal facilities in the
center, the recreation hall was a smaller barrack located on the end of one row of barracks (Figure 2.6).

![Typical Housing Block Diagram](image)

Figure 2.6. Map showing typical layout of a residential block.

The barracks in each block were numbered 1-12 and subdivided into 6 living quarters, each given a letter designation. The six living quarters were two 16x20ft, two 20x20ft, and two 20x24ft units (Simmons, et al. 1994). Each “apartment” shared an entry way with its neighbor and had its own window. The interiors of the barracks were spartan, the walls were covered with insulation board and the floors either were brick or poured concrete. Each “apartment” contained a single light bulb, a coal-fired stove, a closet, and steel cots and blankets. The residents of each apartment were responsible for furnishing the rest of the apartment. Many families constructed furnishings from scrap
lumber available around the camp when they initially arrived. Some families later purchased new furnishings or sent for old ones that had been placed in storage. Residents of Amache made extensive modifications to both the barrack interiors and exteriors by planting gardens and constructing furnishings and home decorations. In images taken of Amache over the course of its occupation the extent of these modifications can be seen (Figure 2.7).

Figure 2.7. Two historic images of Amache taken from the water tower at varying times. In the later image extensive planting of trees and the cultivation of gardens is visible.
The communal facilities in each block were composed of a mess hall and bathhouse. These facilities were located in the center of the block and so could be accessed by all residents. The mess halls contained a kitchen and dining area and could accommodate approximately 250 individuals at one time. These mess halls became the social centers for the blocks and due to their size were the location for most community functions. Records from the *Granada Pioneer* indicate that movies were frequently shown in or near the mess halls and dances and holiday parties were held there. The landscape around these mess halls was frequently modified through the addition of formal landscaping.

The bathhouses contained shower, toilet, and laundry facilities. These buildings had a distinctive H shape with one wing containing the laundry facilities and an office for the block manager. The connecting section contained the boiler and joined the laundry to the bath side which was gender segregated. The bathhouses and the public tap located outside were the only source of running water in the block.

The final building in each residential block was the recreation hall. These buildings resembled smaller versions of the barracks but with a door on either end. The recreation halls were designed to contain reading facilities, social activities, and games like ping pong. Many of these buildings were also converted to serve special functions. These included a range of social organizations like the Boy Scouts of America, the Red Cross, YMCA, and hospitality house. They also contained religious organizations like the Christian and Buddhist Churches (Simmons, et al. 1994). Several of the recreation halls were also used to house nursery schools for different regions of the camp.
Facilities

Out of the 34 blocks only 29 actually contained residential areas. In the initial plans for the camp four blocks were left vacant in the center of camp. Block 9F contained facilities for the residents and served as a commercial center. Blocks 10F and G contained the High School and associated playing field. The construction of the high school began in December of 1942 and immediately caused surrounding communities in Colorado to protest. The Amache High School was the largest, most modern, and expensive school in the area and its construction was seen by the neighboring communities as an indicator of preference or “coddling” of the evacuees living in Amache (Simmons, et al. 1994). While the building was completed the public protest meant that no other permanent structures of a significant size were constructed at Amache. Block 9G was supposed to contain the elementary school but after the public outcry surrounding the building of the high school, plans for a formally constructed elementary school were scrapped and the area abandoned. This block became an informal trash dump used during the occupation of the camp. Block 8H was converted into an elementary school and never used as a residential area.

Time Line

By August 27, 1942 the first group of evacuees arrived from the Merced Assembly Center to take up residence in the barracks (WRA 1945a). Many of these evacuees were from rural communities like the Merced and Cortez colonies in northern California. Evacuees from the more urban Santa Anita Assembly Center, where residents
of Los Angeles had been sent, began arriving on September 19 (WRA 1945a). Evacuees were sent by special train from the assembly centers to the camps. Many evacuees remember traveling the long distances in compartments with blacked out windows and few rest stops. On their arrival at the camp evacuees were given a brief medical examination, registered, and assigned to a barrack. At this time the camp was still under construction, the first phase of building would not be completed until November when all the blocks would be completed.

Critical facilities like schools and the hospital were yet to be constructed and many mess halls and bathhouses were incomplete. There was a housing shortage and many evacuees spent the first weeks of their residency at Amache living in recreation halls, bath houses, or mess halls. As the initial groups of evacuees arrived at Amache they tended to live in familiar social groups. Since geographical regions had been sent together to the same assembly centers, social networks had often been kept relatively intact. Extended families and neighborhoods tried to all settle in the same blocks within Amache. This allowed for the recreation of social support networks and environments within the camp. As later groups arrived they were assigned to the remaining barracks and these geographically based networks were dissipated.

As residents settled into life at Amache they began to develop their own social networks and to seek employment and activities to occupy their time. Many residents found employment working in the community services that the WRA established. There were jobs available in the mess halls, fire department, police, newspaper, hospital, and post office. The farm program was also a major employer of residents of Amache. Many
Japanese Americans had been involved in farming or other agricultural pursuits in California. They now turned their skills to the farm land allocated to the camp. Amache soon produced enough produce, meat, eggs, and grain for the residents of the camp with a surplus that was shipped to other relocation centers. A consumer cooperative, The Amache Consumer Enterprises was also established by internees in January of 1943 (WRA 1945a). This cooperative controlled the retail and repair stores located in Block 9F. These provided a range of goods and services for the residents of Amache including a dry goods store, variety store, shoe store, canteen, beauty shop, and barber shop. It was also possible for residents to apply for permission to leave camp on a temporary work assignment. Many men and some women left Amache to work in the neighboring communities doing farm labor. While this provided much needed income the absence of the head of the household served to weaken family structure.

While the WRA established basic services, the residents of Amache were responsible for the development of social organizations. Almost immediately after the first groups of evacuees arrived at Amache these social services were established. Recreation halls were converted to house Buddhist and Christian churches, nursery schools, and Boy and Girl Scout Troops. Three community libraries were also established in several locations around Amache and the Granada Pioneer, a bi-weekly publication, began informing residents of social events and news from inside the camp. Residents of Amache also organized a number of classes ranging from traditional flower arranging, wood carving, Japanese language, Jujitsu, and Sumo wrestling. Blocks organized their own social events such as movies and dances. There were also camp wide events to
celebrate major holidays on both the American and Japanese calendar. The necessity of reestablishing an environment which was not only familiar but provided a variety of activities and diversions was recognized by the residents of Amache.

In December 1944 the West Coast exclusion order was lifted. Although the population of Amache and other relocation centers had been decreasing slowly, at this point the WRA began to officially shut down the camp. The WRA agreed to begin closing residential blocks on August 1, 1945. This would allow the families remaining in Amache to finish out the school year and to make arrangements for their relocation. This was a period of great uncertainty for many residents of Amache. Many had lost their property and possessions on the West Coast while others remembered the persecution they had faced. While some evacuees had successfully relocated away from the West Coast for many internees this was a familiar environment where they could reestablish their businesses and social ties. On August 1, the WRA began to close down services in Amache (WRA 1945a). The mess halls in blocks with low populations were closed and many services like trash collection discontinued. In mid September the military guard was removed from Amache and the camp officially closed its doors on October 15, 1945. At this time remaining residents were forced to relocate and the WRA began to deconstruct the camp.

Amache Today

After Amache was closed the surrounding agricultural land was leased and later sold to local farmers. The residential section of the camp was sold to the town of Granada
for $2,500. The town of Granada used the water facilities established for the internees and converted the northwestern edge for use as the town’s dump. The area originally occupied by the hospital was cleared and housing for migrant workers constructed in 1968. The land remained essentially undisturbed other than these constructions and its use as grazing land (Simmons, et al. 1994).

Beginning in 1976 a group of former internees began making pilgrimages to Amache. In 1983 the Denver Central Optimist Club (now the Friends of Amache Club) along with other interested parties began to work with the town of Granada on the site’s preservation. These efforts included the erection in the same year of a monument dedicated to internees from Amache who died in military service. In 1993 the Amache Preservation Society (APS) was started by local high school teacher John Hopper. APS was initially started as a class designed to encourage students’ involvement with their own local history and focused on the Amache Relocation Center (Otto 2010). Today the APS is active in all aspects of the site’s preservation including maintenance of the grounds, erection of informational panels, running of a small museum, and outreach programming about internment. APS has also formed a close collaborative relationship with the former internee community. This has included working with the Denver Optimists on the restoration of the Amache Cemetery in 2000 and 2001.

In 2003, the town of Granada and the Denver Optimist Club using money from the State Historical Fund provided by the Colorado Historical Society hired Cuartelejo HP Associates, Inc and RMC Consultants, Inc to conduct an archaeological survey of the site. This was done in preparation for the nomination of Amache as a National Historic
Landmark. Amache was listed as a National Historic Landmark in 2006. In 2007 a Comprehensive Interpretive Plan and Conceptual Development Plan was created by the National Park Service. The plan details the future development, preservation, and archaeological goals of the site (National Park Service Intermountain Regional Office Heritage Partnerships Program 2007).

In 2008 the University of Denver conducted its first archaeological survey at Amache. This was following several years of preparation by Professor Bonnie Clark. This archaeological project used both the Comprehensive Interpretive Plan and Conceptual Development Plan, the report produced by the 2003 survey, and communications with other interested parties to develop a plan for archaeological work at the site. The DU Amache Project plans to be an ongoing effort to research, interpret, and preserve the site.

Formation Processes at Amache

Amache has undergone a series of formation processes which need to be taken into account when interpreting the archaeological record. Artifacts have been deposited and redeposited throughout the course of the site’s history. The initial deposition process and the subsequent disturbances affect how the archaeological material can be interpreted. Deposition in an archaeological site can be divided into two formation processes: cultural and natural (Schiffer 1987). Cultural formation processes at Amache include primary and secondary artifact deposition and scavenging. The natural
disturbances at Amache include the expected erosion in some areas, wind and water disturbance, and bovine disturbance.

Artifacts which are considered primary refuse are found where they were dropped or lost in an area of use. These artifacts are in their original context and can be used to hypothesize the types of activities which were occurring in an area. Secondary refuse is deposited as garbage. It is intentionally placed in an area after it use life is completed. These artifacts can tell us about the types of material culture being used at Amache but can provide limited information about where it was used. Scavenging occurred after items were abandoned, especially after the site itself was abandoned. This process removes artifacts from the site and is also a source of disturbance since it removes artifacts from their original stratigraphic and geographic context.

The first period of deposition occurred during the occupation of the camp. This is a period of intensive primary and secondary deposition. Within the residential blocks there is a small quantity of trash which is considered to be primary deposition (Schiffer 1978). This is composed of small artifacts which were lost or small fragments of broken items, the larger portions of which were disposed of in the trash. The numerous marbles found during the survey can be considered primary deposits. These small toys are easily lost and a majority of them were found in areas where children would play, suggesting that they are in their original context.

There are four areas of secondary refuse from the occupation of the camp which were studied. There is the large formal dump on the west side of camp which was established by Amache’s administration. This dump was informally surveyed to gather a
general concept of the types of material culture which were used in Amache. In Block 8K, one of the 7 blocks surveyed, an informal dump was discovered. This dump is located in a ravine on the north side of the block. The quantity and diversity of artifacts found in this feature along with the fact that this dump would not be visible from the barracks suggest that it was active during Amache’s occupation (Figure 2.8). The practice of using ravines for refuse disposal is well documented cross culturally making the use of the Block 8K ravine for such practices unsurprising (Sutro 1991:19)

Figure 2.8. The formal dump for Amache showing the extent of deposition and the informal dump located in Block 8K.

Japanese cultural norms prohibit the disposal of refuse in habitation areas or where they would be visible. For this reason I hypothesize that a majority of the refuse,
especially the large objects, comes from the later stages of the site’s use. During the final months of Amache’s occupation trash collection and other services at the camp were discontinued or cut back (Harvey 2004; National Park Service Intermountain Regional Office Heritage Partnerships Program 2007). At this time the population of Amache was greatly reduced and a number of barrack and some blocks were mostly abandoned. While trash collection ended in August of 1945 the final internees did not leave until October 15, so there were several months during which informal dumping was occurring by the remaining internees. During the intensive survey in 2008 we encountered four informal dumps located within the blocks which are from this period of partial abandonment.

These dumps present a range of household artifact since they are being used as substitutes for the camp’s formal dump. The temporal range for these dumps is much shorter and they tend to be more ephemeral and in some cases diffuse. Several of these informal dumps are located along the edges of the blocks and in these areas a minimal amount of dumping may have been occurring during the site’s occupation. These dump areas also tend to contain larger and more intact artifacts.

There are two informal dumps recorded in the interior of the block, both of these dumps were recorded and studied during the 2008 survey. One of these is located adjacent to the mess hall and probably represents a single dumping incident in the last period of occupation. The other dump is along the south edge of the barracks in a relatively open area. While this location would have been visible and in a public use area during the peak occupation period, as barracks were abandoned in this block the location would have been convenient for remaining residents.
On October 15, 1945 Amache was formally closed and all internees relocated. At this point there was a final period of mass deposition. As internees were relocated large quantities of household goods, furniture, and other artifacts were abandoned. Images of Amache from this period show the quantity of cultural material left in the blocks (Figure 2.9).

Figure 2.9. Historic photograph taken as Amache was closed. This image shows the quantity of material left by internees.

The next two phases of the formation process were probably occurring at roughly the same time. After Amache was closed the military police were responsible for dismantling the camp. This included removing or demolishing the barracks and other standing structures. Oral histories of residents of Granada have established that at this time locals were entering the camp and scavenging. One account states that residents of the town went to the camp to look for coal, which was being supplied for the barrack
heating stoves. The Amache museum also houses a collection of artifacts which were recovered by a local resident as the barracks were being demolished. This collection is composed of an assortment of low value household objects. During this period a large amount of construction debris was also deposited.

Currently the site is undergoing minor disturbances in the form of collecting, looting, and cattle grazing. The location of Amache near the town of Granada has made the continued collection of artifacts from the site an issue in its preservation. Increased education and a grassroots preservation movement have helped to mitigate this issue. Amache is also currently leased as a grazing area for a local rancher’s cattle herd. It has been observed that the herd is greatly disturbing the site. The disturbances include the damage and destruction of artifacts and increase movement of artifacts from their original location. The cattle have been known to consume small ceramics and glass fragments and redeposit them in new areas of the site within the cattle’s fecal matter (Figure 2.10).

Figure 2.10. Artifacts re-deposited in a cow patty.
While the original deposition at the site provided a large range of artifacts representing the daily activities and consumer practices of the residents many of these artifacts have not survived to the current period. The climate of the area, which is hot and dry during the summer and cold and wet in winter, has promoted the decay of many of the organics at the site including wood, fabric, and plant remains. Plastics have also been subject to a high rate of decay. Though a few complete artifacts have been recovered, a majority of the plastics observed have been in small and unidentifiable fragments or are non-existent.

The initial scavenging and continued collection at the site have also removed a number of artifacts. Certain types of artifacts including complete glassware, unique objects, Japanese artifacts, and things viewed as suitable souvenirs have been selectively removed from the site. These formation processes ranging from the original deposition to the continued removal of artifacts and natural decay of certain types need to be considered during the reading of this report.
CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Introduction

The archaeological methods for this project were chosen to reflect both the research questions being asked and the needs of the archaeological field school that provided much of the labor. The methods were designed to be relatively simple and executable by a group of students with moderate supervision. The methods also needed to be appropriate for the questions being asked by two different researchers. Although there was overlap in the areas of interest some survey areas were more directly related to one set of questions.

The research questions focused on by both fellow graduate student Dana Ogo Shew and myself concern aspects of material culture and space use that can be ascertained from a detailed investigation of surface remains. For this reason intensive survey was chosen as the primary method of archaeological investigation. After a careful study of documents from the previous archaeological survey, seven blocks were chosen based on both preservation and what had been located there historically.
The seven blocks chosen for intensive research represent a mixture of urban, rural and mixed populations. They also contain a variety of different facilities and were chosen in part based on what activities were present in the recreation halls. Six of the blocks are primarily residential while one was the location of the elementary school. This block was chosen in part to act as a comparative sample to see what the archaeological material from a non-residential block would look like and in part because it contained the elementary school where a majority of children spent their days.

Block 6G

Block 6G (Appendix A) contained the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA). This organization would have provided structured activities for young women in the camp and been a location for social events. Block 6G is also one of the blocks closest to the entrance of the camp and the administrative section. The block had a largely rural population.

Block 6H

Block 6H (Appendix A) contains a garden feature with an associated koi pond, and the town hall. The koi pond was excavated by the Amache Preservation Society, while the materials recovered are in the museum, there is no documentation. The garden feature is thought to be a formal rock garden constructed by the internees. There is some photographic evidence of the garden but the feature has been almost completely covered. These outdoor features provide a semiformal constructed environment. This block had an
administrative function which increased the traffic of residents to this block and probably changed the social importance, which may be indicated by the presence of the large central koi pond. This block is also located near the hospital and from oral histories it is known that many of the doctors who worked at the hospital also lived in this block. The overall population of the block was mostly rural.

Block 8H

Block 8H contained the elementary school. There were no residential structures in this block although it does contain a cafeteria and bathing facility. Since most children attended the camp’s schools they would have spent a significant amount of their time in this block. The school is well documented in the archives, providing an overview of the curriculum and activities taking place. The area around the school was heavily landscaped by the elementary school children and there is photographic evidence of a playground in the block although none was observed during the survey.

Block 8K

Block 8K (Appendix A) contained a recreation hall, and was also the block that a number of our informants, who belong to the Amache Historical Society, lived in. Block 8K also had two large informal trash dumps, one located in a ravine along the north side and the other along the east side where the block met the barbed wire fence.
Block 9H

Block 9H was a rural block and was where many of the internees from the Livingston farming community settled.

Block 10E

Block 10E (Appendix A) contained the building that housed the Boy Scouts. The Boy Scouts provided a range of activities for young boys in the camps. There were several troops at Amache. Several of the troops were formed before their arrival either in the assembly centers or in areas like Little Tokyo. The recreation hall in Block 10E served as a central headquarters for all the troops. This block had a mixed population but due to the extreme amount of disturbance caused by bulldozing and later erosion it was only possible to examine the east half of the block.

Block 10H

Like Block 10E only half of Block 10H could be surveyed due to extensive erosion along the eastern half of the block. The residents of the western half of the block were largely from Los Angeles and this combined with the use of the recreation hall as a Christian Church were the reasons that this block was chosen to be surveyed.

Of the seven blocks five (Blocks 6G, 6H, 8H, 8K, and 9H) were completely surveyed and two (Blocks 10E and 10H) were only partially surveyed due to both erosion and the extensive disturbance that occurred in these blocks when the barracks were
removed after Amache closed in 1944. In both these blocks the best preserved halves were surveyed. During the survey both artifacts and features located on the surface were recorded. Objects of particular research interest or those that were complete were flagged to be recorded in greater detail and mapped. All visible internee created features were also mapped and recorded.

The use of these methods generated a data set that allowed for comparison between different blocks and the populations within them. A set of digital maps was also produced showing the relative location of features and artifact distribution within the blocks. Finally this intensive survey method allowed for a detailed understanding of the remaining material culture of the evacuees.

**Survey Procedure**

The previous survey had used a spacing of 15m and covered the entire area of Amache (Cuartelejo HP Associates 2003). The goal of the 2003 survey was to provide an assessment of the archaeological features of the site and to generate a map showing the locations of these features. This survey produced a series of digital maps and provides a general understanding of the state of preservation at Amache. The general nature and wide spacing of the survey means that while some surface features and examples of material culture were recorded many features and the full extent of the surface deposition was not realized. The 2008 survey chose to focus on a smaller portion of the camp and look for more details within that area. The research questions being asked made it
desirable to focus on a smaller area and use the detailed understanding of life in a few blocks to create a more generalized picture for the entire camp.

Each residential block surveyed was recorded by 4-8 individuals moving east-west across the blocks with a 2m spacing (Figure 3.1). Crews were overseen by at least one crew chief, either me or Dana Ogo Shew. The east-west direction meant that the survey was conducted running in the direction of the barracks. This survey direction followed the route that many of the historic roads would have taken in the blocks and allowed surveyors to gain an understanding of the locations of gardens, which commonly ran parallel to the barracks. As members of the survey team located artifacts they called out the material and a description to the crew chief for that block. This artifact information was recorded on a check list that had been generated prior to the survey (see Appendix B example of survey sheet). Objects of special interest were flagged to be recorded in more detail later and mapped.
The 2m spacing of survey participants meant that the surface deposits of the blocks were recorded in great detail. While some objects were undoubtedly missed, an understanding of the types and frequencies of different artifact categories was created through this recording system. The check lists allowed artifacts to be quickly recorded during the survey process and provided a detailed record of all the artifacts in each block. The check lists were composed of general categories such as glass which were then further subdivided into more specific description; medium jar, clear. The check lists generated for each block can be compared to each other to create a quantitative understanding of the differences between the blocks.

Recording and Analysis

The objects that were flagged for further research and recording included: anything with an identifiable mark, complete artifacts related to daily activities, jars and bottles whose original size and contents could be determined, ceramics with a discernable pattern or with a rim or base, mystery objects, and artifacts that could be positively identified as related to children or women. There were a large number of artifacts which were structural remains from the barracks; these were not recorded because they contributed no additional information about residents’ lives. For objects related directly to the study questions and research design a list of types was generated to help the students understand the types of material culture we were looking for. These included: toys, cosmetics, clothing parts, and domestic paraphernalia other than dishes and jars.
Once objects were flagged Miss Ogo Shew or I reexamined each object to determine if it needed to be photographed and recorded in greater detail. If it met the predetermined criteria, it was photographed, given a Field Analysis number (FA#), and recorded on a more detailed record sheet. These sheets were divided into three general material types: glass, ceramic, and other. These record sheets allowed for a more detailed description which included size, pattern, makers mark, and other details that would allow for further identification in the lab (see Appendix B for examples of record sheets).

Some artifacts were deemed to be of special interest and were collected for analysis in the lab. These included artifacts which we thought could provide more information after further research and uncommon artifacts that related directly to aspects of the research questions. These were each given an FA# and photographed and a brief description recorded. Then they were taken to the field lab where they were washed and further analyzed which included more careful photography, sketching, and a detailed recording of identifying marks. A majority of these objects were then returned to their original locations which were marked by pin flags left during the survey. The remaining objects were deemed significant enough to be collected permanently and used for continued research and eventual addition to the collections of the Amache Museum.

Features

During the survey the location of features was also marked by pin flags so they could be mapped and recorded later. Two types of features were identified during the survey. These were gardens and other landscaping, which were commonly located around
the barracks in public areas of the blocks, and informal trash dumps. These dumps were deposited along the edge of the blocks in areas where they would not be visible to the residents and were either deposited during the closing of Amache after trash collection services had been discontinued or during the emptying and dismantling of the barracks, a total of four informal dumps and 27 landscape features were identified during the 2008 survey.

The methods used to record the features varied depending on which category they fell into. For garden features a sketch map showing the location and types of materials was generated. Artifacts located within the gardens were also mapped (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2. Author mapping and recording a landscape feature and associated artifacts.
Informal dumps were mapped in a manner similar to the rest of the block. During survey when the informal dump was identified the perimeter of the scatter was demarcated with yellow pin flags and the artifacts in the dump were not included in the total counts for the rest of the block. Separate artifact sheets were created to record informal dumps. These record sheets mirrored those used for the rest of the block but allowed the data from the informal dumps to be recorded and studied separately. This created a set of comparative data that allows us to understand how the deposition of artifacts recorded in the residential blocks may have differed from that of the informal dumps.

Mapping

All features and flagged objects were recorded using a total station. The topography and size of the site meant that a datum needed to be established for each block or pair of blocks in the case of neighboring blocks. These datum were tied into the landscape using known points from the previous survey. For every flagged artifact and several points on each feature an X and Y coordinate was generated. These coordinates were then used to tie the artifacts and features into the maps generated by the previous survey. This allowed for the study of spatial distribution of artifacts and features within and between the blocks.
Exceptions

Only two areas surveyed differed from this methodology. The first was Block 6G. This was the initial block chosen for survey and was used to work out several of the kinks in our methodology. For this reason the data collected from 6G differs from the rest of the blocks and lacks comparative value. The initial survey plan called for a spacing of 1m. It was quickly seen that this spacing was too close and changed to 2m after the first line was walked. Our initial examination of the blocks had also failed to produce an understanding of the quantity of small fragments present. Initial instructions to the survey participants had us recording every archaeological fragment. This meant that for the first half of the block every fragment of glass was recorded even if no information could be gained from it. After the first half of the block we modified the method and no more unidentifiable fragments were recorded. This dramatically changed the artifact counts between 6G and the rest of the blocks surveyed. The other important difference was the recording of architectural fragments. After 6G we realized that a record of every nail, sewer pipe piece, or architectural fragments identified as related to the construction of the barracks or communal features was not needed. After the completion of the 6G survey these items were removed from the survey check lists.

The second area that did not follow the previously described survey plan was the formal trash dump located on the west edge of Amache. The original proposal was to survey Block 9G, the planned location of the elementary school. The school was never built there and the area became an informal dump. A dog-leash survey was to be conducted in this area because it was expected to have a higher concentration of artifacts.
After beginning the survey it was decided that it would be more productive to survey another residential block and instead conduct a series of informal surveys in the main dump. This decision was made after we realized that blocks containing primarily urban residents were under represented in the survey. The main dump also contains a high concentration of artifacts that we were not seeing represented in the residential blocks. A simple informal survey was conducted in the main dump.

This trash dump is approximately 900 feet wide x 1100 feet long but the large area of thinly spread artifact deposition makes calculating the exact size of the dump difficult. There are a series of central mounds that represent formal dumping during the occupation of the camp by trash collection services. The area surrounding these trash mounds is also filled with a more diffuse spread of trash that may represent dumping as the camp was abandoned or from the neighboring residential blocks. This section of the dump may also be more recent or have contaminates due to its location near the current dump for the town of Granada.

The research interests in the main trash dump was to gain a greater understanding of the type and extent of material culture available to residents of Amache. The artifacts found in the residential blocks seem to represent small objects or broken fragments that were lost during its occupation and garbage that was left behind in the barracks when the camp was shut down. In contrast, the formal dump contains a full spectrum of artifacts that would have been present during the occupation of Amache.

For the informal survey of the dump, researchers walked the main deposits and the surrounding area looking for objects linked to the research design. These included
objects that could be directly related to children or women’s activities. When an object of interest was identified its location was flagged and a hand held GPS unit was used to plot its coordinate location. It was decided that the coordinates from a GPS unit would provide coordinates that were sufficiently accurate because the material at the dump had already lost much of its specific provenience due to both the modern disturbance of bottle hunters and the original deposition processes. Artifacts that were deemed especially informative or valuable were collected for further research and later addition to the collections of the Amache Museum.

The information collected from this section of the survey cannot be used in any quantitative manner but it was valuable in gaining a greater understanding of the material culture of Amache. This is especially true for the children’s toys. The toys collected from the residential and school blocks were represented primarily by marbles and toy fragments that can be identified with toys associated with boys’ activities. It was only during the survey of the dump area that girls’ toys were positively identified.

At this point it is important to acknowledge that at the time of the survey a excess of information was collected based on the realization that at the time our research questions were broad and ill defined and that we were uncertain as to what kinds of data or material culture we would encounter. If it had been possible it would have been beneficial to do an initial reconnaissance and data collection, try to use that data to answer our questions and conduct statistical analysis, and then make changes to the collection processes and recollect. Unfortunately due to time constraints and the distance of the research site from Denver a scouting trip of this kind was not possible. Instead
some changes were made during the first few days of field work in an attempt to correct the issues that were encountered, as is evident in the differences between Block 6G and the subsequent blocks. While the end collection process was not perfect, it was decided that consistency between the blocks would be more beneficial than developing a perfect system of data collection.

**Archival Research**

Children are frequently not in control of the records concerning their own history and experiences. Formal records are created by the adult community; however an examination of these records provides evidence of adult attitudes towards children. Documents also record many of the formal and some of the informal activities in which children are engaging. There are two main sources for the archival research presented in this thesis historic photographs and newspapers. The archival materials examined were available through either the University of Denver Penrose Library or the Amache Museum. These archival sources came from four primary collections.

Granada Pioneer

*The Granada Pioneer* was the newspaper published twice weekly by residents of Amache between October 30, 1942 and September 1, 1945. This paper contained both an English and Japanese language section. Due to language barriers only the English language section was studied. Issues of the *Granada Pioneer* were randomly selected through span of its publication. These issues were then read for articles about children’s
activities, groups, or events in which children were participants. Articles which contained relevant information were then either digitized or notes were taken on the date of publication and the contents. These articles contained information about the daily running of the camp, social activities, and the location of services around Amache. Particularly significant information about children’s activity areas found in the *Granada Pioneer* concerned the locations of both nursery schools and playgrounds, information which was not recorded on any maps of the camp.

**Elementary School Paper**

The Amache Elementary school published a small newspaper called *The Junior Pioneer*. This publication was run by children at the school. Each classroom elected a reporter responsible for writing monthly articles on the activities of each of the twelve classrooms at the school. The newspaper also included reports on school activities, poems, and stories written by children.

The Berkeley library has an extensive collection of documents from Amache available on microfilm. The University of Denver Penrose Library has acquired these microfilms. Included in this collection are six issues of the *Junior Pioneer* and one issue of the *Chatter Box*, a newspaper published by the 4th grade class. Due to the limited number of newspapers available on microfilm all seven issues were examined for content relevant to my thesis. Articles from these papers can be found in Appendix F.
The articles from the elementary school paper provide a unique archival source. Children exerted moderate control over the school paper. The articles they wrote demonstrate what they considered important.

McClelland Collection

Joe McClelland was the staff photographer at Amache. He worked for both the Amache Pioneer and the WRA and took hundreds of photographs recording life in Amache. A majority of the images available in books or on the internet were taken by Mr. McClelland. Caution needs to be taken when using his images because a number were taken as part of his work for the WRA and are essentially propaganda images (Figure 3.3).
These photographs are interesting to study in that they present the image of life in Amache desired by the WRA and often reflect a sanitized version of reality. The collection available at the Amache Museum is unique in that a majority of the images are unpublished and seem to come from McClelland’s personal collection rather than the WRA images. This collection was composed of 3 slide carousels and a photo album. The large number of personal photographs of McClelland and his wife along with their residential quarters suggest that these were personal photographs (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4. Historic personal photograph taken by Joe McClelland

This collection contains a significant number of images of daily life in Amache and portraits of friends. There are a number of images of children taken around the school and engaged in everyday activities. There are also a number of photographs of gardens in Amache, including several of the gardens surrounding the elementary school. It is these
images that make the collection a valuable resource for understanding children’s daily activities.

Namura Collection

This is a collection of photographs donated to the Amache Museum by a former internee. It is composed of snapshots of varying sizes. These represent candid views of camp life and friends of the photographer. This collection was not as useful for this project in that the age of the photographer and the subjects chosen provided little visual imagery that was directly related to the research questions.

Oral Histories

Oral histories provide another avenue of research by allowing individuals to speak and contribute to the historical record. By interviewing former internees who were children in Amache, I improved our understanding of children’s worlds and experiences by including their voices into the interpretation of the archival and archaeological record (Bluebond-Lagner, et al. 2007). While the memories of former internees have been changed and influenced by the passage of time, they can still contribute significantly to our understanding of the past through an examination of what is remembered and forgotten and what aspects of daily life are considered important. The collection of oral histories for this project was, through necessity, a highly informal process.

Oral histories were collected in three ways. Many of the oral histories were collected in a group setting where there were multiple participants in the conversation.
This meant that while some stories were confirmed by individuals in other cases there were differing versions of the same stories or events. Oral histories can often be contradictory, inaccurate and maybe more indicative of the consciousness of the speaker than actual events (Honig 2003:226). These differences seemed to relate to the age of the observer when the event occurred. Older children perceived some events differently and their views were often credited by the internee community as having more validity. However, for the purposes of this research project, I am giving the views of all informants’ equal consideration. A few oral histories were conducted in an individual context and provided specific and directed information. In these instances and in any other where the name of the informant was known it will be cited as a personal communication.

Much of the information used in this paper was also gathered in the course of casual conversation. This included situations where conducting a more formal oral history would not be appropriate or where there was a large gathering such as tour of the archaeological site. Many former internees seemed most comfortable sharing their memories in this more casual setting. This also allowed them to direct the conversation and contribute what they felt was important or what memories the situation brought to mind. While this made asking specific research questions more difficult it frequently provided new directions to consider and made gaining information more comfortable. For information gathered in this very informal setting it is difficult to reference a definitive source since the informant’s name was often not recorded. In the text of this thesis there are several instances where it is simply stated “former internees recall.” This is an
indication that this information was collected in the context of these informal social interactions.

**Museum Exhibit**

In May of 2009 I served as curator for the museum exhibit *Through the Eyes of a Child: Japanese American Internment*, from which this thesis takes its name. The exhibit was designed to be a visual presentation of my thesis research and to inform the community about the archaeological work conducted in 2008. The University of Denver Amache Project is part of a larger trend which emphasizes community and public archaeology. Part of any public archaeological project is sharing the work with the interested community. For this reason I tried to make the exhibit accessible to any visitor by carefully choosing my wording and working to make the topic as clear as possible. Since a significant portion of the potential audience and many of the former internees live in California the exhibit was also converted to a digital format for easy distribution.

I viewed my exhibit as an extension of this thesis that would be specifically designed to condense and synthesize the larger themes so that complex ideas could be easily understood and appreciated. It also provided a unique opportunity to bring together all the visual aspects of the archaeological materials from Amache ranging from historic documents, artifacts from the survey, historic images, and 3D media like internee art. It is the combination of all these aspects of internees’ lives which can facilitate an understanding of the diversity of archaeological materials and give flesh to daily life in
the camp. In the course of writing the text for the exhibit and trying to determine which were the most important messages

I also reached a clearer understanding of what my research was about. Many of the central themes in this thesis were first explored in *Through the Eyes of a Child*.

**Conclusion**

Amache is a unique site in that it presents the opportunity to use not only archival and archaeological data but also oral histories collected from former residents of the site. It is through the use of these multiple sources that the most complete image of children’s activities and their role in the social structure of Amache can be created. Although there has been previous information published about children in the camps none has taken advantage of the full scope of research methods available. While not every method is fully applicable for the research questions posed, as many different sources of information as possible were used to investigate the role of children in Amache.
CHAPTER 4: CHILDREN AND THE PHYSICAL LANDSCAPE

Introduction

In order to study human interactions with their physical setting, a set of terms needs to be defined and understood with distinctions being made between the concepts of environment, landscape, and place (Tuan 1979:100). Environment should be viewed as the physical setting in which humans are placed and their unthinking reactions to the stimuli around them. In contrast landscape is learned and constructed, imbued with cultural meaning. Landscape is an interaction between people and place. It is through the study of these interactions that we can began to understand how a group constructs its shared identity and creates meaning (Groth 1997:1). Landscape can then be separated from the concept of “place”. Places are created, they reside within the landscape but are points which have been ascribed meaning through the process of being lived in (Jackson 1994; Ryden 1993). This chapter examines how internees ascribed cultural meaning to Amache through their use and modification of the camp’s landscape. This can be seen in the locations of children’s activities and in the types and locations of the landscape modifications which occurred.

Amache was constructed on the border of Colorado and Kansas in the central plains, an area characterized by the gently rolling terrain of the interior United States. The camp itself is located on a sandy hill dominated by a mix of short grasses, yucca, and
prickly pear cactus. While the entire area is arid, Amache was constructed on two different types of soil. The residential section of the camp is on a rise where the soil is more arid and sandy. The surrounding area is on the first terrace of the Arkansas River and is an alluvial soil better suited for agriculture.

The WRA built Amache in this location due to its relative isolation and with the idea that internees could farm the surrounding land, helping to make the camp partially self-sustaining. As construction of the residential section began, the land was cleared of any vegetation and orderly rows of plywood buildings were constructed. When completed Amache resembled a military outpost devoid of vegetation (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1. Amache as it looked immediately after construction. The military style construction and layout is clearly visible.
An examination of the landscape devised by the WRA gives great insight into how the relocation centers were envisioned. They were not being constructed as homes or communities but simply as habitation areas designed to meet the basic needs of a group of individuals and allow the WRA to contain a population in an orderly manner.

It was into this landscape that internees arrived. One former internee remembers arriving at Amache and thinking that there was snow on the ground due to the whiteness of the crushed limestone used on the roads and the light color of the soil. Internees immediately began to alter this space to make a landscape imbued with the cultural meanings which they chose. As they altered the environment they changed the meaning of the landscape of confinement created by the WRA.

There are at least two motivations which caused the transformation of the environment at Amache, to improve basic living conditions and to create a more aesthetic landscape. The modification of living spaces to improve conditions has been noted in other archaeological sites of confinement. For example, at the Civil War prison, Camp Ford, archaeological evidence has revealed that inmates utilized native clays to seal dwellings against harsh climatic conditions (Thoms 2004:90). A similar action took place in Amache. The absence of plant life and the soil conditions of southeastern Colorado meant that blowing sand was a constant issue. Through the creation of gardens and landscape features internees reduced the amount of loose soil.

The creation of landscape features also modified what was considered by most internees to be a bleak and desolate landscape into one that conformed more closely to their cultural concept of optimal aesthetics. Garden features allowed internees to
experience moments in which they could forget their location and the regimented design of the camp. By creating naturalistic environments internees simulated an aspect of freedom.

**Historic Background of Japanese Americans and Agriculture**

The Japanese American community had a strong history of involvement with agriculture and landscaping or gardening. The importance of landscape features in the relocation centers is in part explained through an understanding of Japanese American cultural history.

While the first Japanese immigrants to arrive in the United States were not involved in agriculture, by the 1890’s they began to replace Chinese immigrants as a main source of agricultural labor. This was due in part to the fact that increasing population densities in Japan around 1900 limited the availability of land there and many immigrants to the United States were from agricultural families (Iwata 1962:27). It was natural for these immigrants to enter into the agricultural economy of the West Coast and utilize their existing skills. Agriculture was also seen as a way to make a good living and hopefully save enough to return to Japan.

Japanese immigrants were also successful as agricultural laborers because they organized themselves under a *Dano-San* (Mr. Boss) system. The *Dano-San* contracted a number of laborers and was responsible for finding work, keeping records, collecting and distributing pay, and acting as a go-between for his laborers to help overcome cultural barriers (Iwata 1962; Jiobu 1988:358). This system allowed landowners to contract with
one individual for all the farm labor they required. It also allowed Japanese immigrants to
save money towards the leasing or sharecropping of their own land. By 1942, 5,930
Japanese Americans on the West Coast were registered as operating farms and nurseries
and it can be presumed that more were working as farm laborers or share croppers (Poli,
et al. 1945:354).

While farms owned by Japanese Americans tended to be smaller in their total
acreage than Caucasian owned farms, the use of high profit or high yield crops and
innovative farming techniques meant that the total financial yield of these farms was
often comparable to larger farms in the region (Poli, et al. 1945:356). Many of these
farms operated as family businesses and relied on the labor of all members including
children for their success. Japanese Americans along the West Coast were also highly
successful in the organization of cooperative organizations and farmer’s associations

The Japanese American community was able to create an ethnic monopoly over
the agricultural industry, controlling jobs in both the farming and gardening sectors. At
various times between 20 and 50 percent of Japanese American males in the Los Angeles
region were involved in gardening (Bloom, et al. 1949:117; Jiobu 1988). By WWII
Japanese Americans controlled over sixty five percent of the flower industry on the West
Coast (Iwata 1962:32). The success of Japanese Americans in agricultural pursuits
frequently led to hostility in rural farming communities.

During internment the WRA collected statistics about the Japanese American
population. These included statistics concerning the occupation of internees prior to
evacuation. A total of 41,288 Japanese Americans were surveyed concerning their occupations. Of these 49.62% were involved in agricultural occupations (Interior 1946). During this survey a distinction was not made between farm labor and gardening or landscaping and the two differing occupations were classified together. What these statistics do indicate is the number of individuals in relocation centers with a background in agriculture. Internees brought many of their crops and farming techniques with them to Amache, including the planting of tea and celery as profitable crops for the first time in southeastern Colorado (WRA 1945b).

Internees in Amache and other camps also brought their experience working as gardeners and landscapers and used these skills to create gardens of various sizes throughout the camps. These gardens reflect both skills acquired working in the landscape and agricultural industry and traditional Japanese aesthetics and gardening traditions.

Japanese Style Gardens

Japanese style gardens are a fusion of Japanese cultural traditions with a more regimented style imported from China and Korea. Traditional Japanese aesthetics lean towards simplicity and naturalness and frequently incorporate the natural forms of plants and rocks into their design (Hayakawa 1973). These design principles stem from the Shinto religion which views places and natural features as the embodiment of the spiritual power of the ancestors. These beliefs created a cultural focus on respect for nature and the constructed landscape (Bring, et al. 1981:145).
A central principle in Japanese garden design is the creation of a scenic and ambient mood through asymmetrical design. Gardens are designed to harmonize with the social and physical setting. Japanese garden design is considered an art form which is commonly learned during a period of apprenticeship. Garden designers were expected to be highly trained with an understanding of design principles, materials, and maintenance (Neutra 1959). In contrast, American garden design is more free-form and less guided by strict regulations or principles. For Japanese Americans working as professional gardeners the primary expectation was to create a garden which satisfied the patron. This allowed many gardeners to be innovative and individualistic.

For many Japanese Americans the construction of Japanese style gardens had been a means of expressing their heritage as much as a source of income (Brown 1999:13). Many of the Japanese gardens built both before and after internment served as a space in which Japanese and American cultures and stylistic ideals could be combined and reconciled.

Archaeological Evidence

When the historic and cultural background of Japanese Americans in Amache is considered the presence of gardens and landscape features is not surprising. Landscape modification at Amache occurs in a variety of forms ranging from the planting of shade trees along barracks, to extensive dooryard gardens with numerous built features, and agricultural gardens located along the edges of the blocks. How internees chose to alter the physical environment of Amache gives insight into how they used spaces in the camp
and what they considered aesthetically pleasing and necessary for the creation of a more pleasant habitation.

The gardens at Amache and other camps represent a fusion of gardening traditions and materials. The gardens have aspects of traditional Japanese style gardens combined with a more American aesthetic. The materials used in the construction of landscape features within the camp were also a conglomeration of locally available rocks and plants with purchased seeds and concrete.

During survey in the seven designated research blocks a total of 27 gardens were located and ten other gardens have been identified during previous archaeological work (See Appendix C for list of gardens). Although this number does not initially seem significant considering the number of residents in each block certain factors should be considered. Of the 37 gardens identified only one was constructed using organic materials in the form of wooden stakes. The remaining gardens were constructed using a combination of cement, limestone, or river cobbles. Photographic evidence indicates that historically this was not the ratio of materials used in garden construction; a majority of gardens seemed to have been constructed using organic materials like wooden stakes, plywood, and sack cloth (Figure 4.2).
Figure 4.2. A majority of the material used in the construction of landscape features was organic, as is evident in this historic image.

Due to environmental conditions and preservation at the site these gardens have not survived on the surface. This is further made evident by using Block 8H for comparative purposes.

Archival sources recorded that all the landscape features in Block 8H, which housed the elementary school, were edged in limestone (Figure 4.3). Both historic
photographs and the article on the elementary school gardens published in *The School Executive* record that each barrack had a garden which ran along the front. This means that the block would have had a minimum of 12 gardens. During survey the remains of 11 gardens were recorded through the location of the remains of their limestone edging. Of these gardens 10 were located in areas predicted by the archival records. This comparative data combined with evidence from both archival images and the survey indicates that a majority of the gardens in Amache are no longer visible on the surface. The landscape features currently visible are not representative of the numbers which were originally constructed. The issue of calculating the number of gardens is further
compounded by gardens which served either as public gardens or stretched the length of a barrack.

While some camps, like Manzanar, had large scale public gardens which were in centrally located areas (National Park Service 2006), Amache does not seem to have such grandiose landscape features. In Block 6H there is a large koi pond with an associated formal garden. Block 6H housed the internee town hall and the koi pond and formal garden located there may have been indicators of an increased public status for the block. In several other blocks there are landscape features associated with the areas around mess halls and bathhouses (Figure 4.4). The locations of these gardens indicate that they were public landscaping features.

Figure 4.4. Garden located along the west edge of the Block 11F Mess hall with Dana Ogo Shew as scale. This garden was constructed of poured concrete and extends along the entire length of the structure.
This contrasts with a majority of the gardens in Amache which were located around barracks where internees had the greatest freedom to modify their personal space. While the gardens located in front of the barracks are not constructed on the scale of those at Manzanar many are quite large and run almost the length of a barrack. This seems to indicate that they were being used by multiple families and that it was more common for barracks to have one landscape feature. These gardens may have been composed of several segments each cared for by an individual family or they may have been maintained by all inhabitants of the barrack.

In Manzanar there are also several large water features and other smaller ones. The inclusion of water features is common in Japanese style gardens. Our surveys to date suggest that these large water features are absent at Amache, with the exclusion of the Block 6H koi pond. While there are no large water features, four small water features and three other landscape features which may have included water have been recorded in front of barracks. These represent only about 5% of the total gardens and all the features are small in size. The absence of large water features may stem from a shortage of water. Each block had only one central pump located near the bath house. The absence of water would have made the maintenance of koi ponds and other water features difficult and time intensive.

While the gardens visible at the site today cannot fully demonstrate the extent of landscaping at Amache they represent the importance for internees of altering the physical environment. The creation and maintenance of the many gardens which would have existed historically in Amache would have been time intensive and potentially
costly. “Landscapes reveal the effects of individuals and local subcultures as well as national dominant cultural values” (Groth 1997:6). The landscape features at Amache demonstrate this principle. The gardens show the agency of individual internees in the modification of their landscape and the personal choices they made, as well as cultural values, both American and Japanese, concerning what a habitable environment should look like. The presence of both familial and communal gardens gives insight into the social structures of Amache where the maintenance of personal space was considered important even while communal organizations and beautification projects were created.

Children and Use of Space

Children are taught the appropriate locations for their activities. The restrictions placed on children’s movement and the definition of appropriate places to play is part of the socialization process. These regulations help define not only ideas about the physical environment but also appropriate behaviors for different ages and genders. Locations deemed acceptable for children’s activities can vary greatly depending on both age and gender (Baxter 2006). Younger children are traditionally expected to remain closer to the home and under more intensive supervision than either adults or older children. For many cultures this set of expectations is also often true of girls while boys tend to have a wider range of mobility. The oral histories and archaeological evidence from Amache provide a wealth of information about where children actually played and how norms concerning children’s activities were changed by internment.
Expectations concerning the movement of young children is evidenced at Amache in the construction of a number of pre-schools throughout the camp in blocks 7K, 9E, 9K, 11H, 11F (Granada Pioneer 1943d). Rather than expect young children to travel to the elementary school in Block 8H pre-schools were established closer to their residences (Amache Elementary School Handbook 1943). This suggests that young children had a much more restricted knowledge of the physical layout of Amache. They were expected to remain close to home and had a relatively limited range of mobility.

Girls also seem to have had a more narrow range of mobility within the camp and probably played around the barracks. During survey of the barrack blocks no artifacts which could be identified as only being used by girls were identified. All domestic themed toys identified in 2008, including tea sets, doll parts, and the remains of a plastic play set were located in dump areas. This suggests that they were being formally disposed of rather than lost during play. In contrast several military themed toys and the remains of a toy truck were located in areas which might have been used for play activities and so were probably lost or misplaced rather than discarded.

The difference in the depositional location of gendered toys seems to indicate that girls were probably playing in or around the barracks where toys were less likely to be permanently lost and where broken playthings would have been discarded into the communal dump. During survey a few marbles were also recorded in entryway gardens, which is an indicator that children were probably playing in these areas. The lack of any further archaeological evidence makes the concrete validation of this hypothesis impossible however; the evidence from archives and oral histories supports the theory.
Many of the oral histories confirm that children tended to create a social network within their own blocks especially with the children in neighboring apartments. This is supported by the development in Amache of gangs of young boys who controlled different residential blocks. Mr. Toru Nakahira remembers that it was not safe to cut across blocks other than your own because you might run into a rival gang of young boys. This indicates that many of children’s play activities were occurring in their own block, a behavior pattern conforming to the expectations of adults. To facilitate children’s activities playgrounds were constructed in a number of blocks (Figure 4.5). These playgrounds are recorded in the *Granada Pioneer* where an examination of where injuries in Amache were occurring revealed both the location of the playgrounds and confirmed their use by neighboring children. One former internee also remembers using the play 

![Figure 4.5. Article from the *Granada Pioneer* on August 4th 1943 detailing the location of children’s injuries in Amache.](image-url)
equipment by the Block 9L oval garden. This playground was quite extensive and included a teeter-totter, high bar, swings, and was located by a basketball court (Figure 4.6).

![Figure 4.6. Historic photograph of children playing in front of a barrack. The playground equipment located by the oval garden on the edge of Block 9L is visible in the background.](image)

Playgrounds serve as structured play areas where children’s activities can be monitored and through the construction of play equipment the types of activities roughly controlled. The concept of creating structured play was central to parenting strategies in the 1940’s and was viewed as essential in the development of children. While adults focused on the creation of structured areas, studies show that children tend to choose unsupervised areas and vacant lots for a majority of their activities (Baxter 2006; Chudacoff 2007).
With approximately 7,000 people all confined to one square mile the residential section of Amache would have resembled a city. This small and densely populated area was separated by only barbed wire from surrounding open fields and space. For children this created a dichotomy of urban and rural play environments. Urban children traditionally play in streets, on sidewalks, in yards, and vacant spaces (Chudacoff 2007). Children in cities also form gangs to control space and explore new territory. Children in Amache were utilizing these areas in manners resembling those of urban children. At the same time they had access beyond the barbed wire to a rural environment where they could roam more freely and interact with the local flora and fauna, avoiding both the cramped living conditions and structured play areas devised by adults.

The desire of children to deviate from structured play areas is supported by the oral histories which record that children had a high level of mobility within the confines of the camp. Unfortunately a majority of these oral histories only tell us about the movement of young boys and so cast less light on what girls were doing or their range of mobility.

In interviews and informal conversations with former internees who would have been between the ages of 6-12 an idea of the freedom of children’s movement was developed. After the first year of internment, security at Amache was reduced, especially for members of the community who were not seen as a threat, like children. As such there are repeated stories about leaving camp. These include collecting empty bottles and going into Granada to return them and going for cola and other treats at Newman’s Drug Store. These forays into Granada may have occurred with some level of adult consent although
informants do not remember this aspect. Other examples of leaving camp were definitely without adult supervision or consent. Tooru Nakahira was 7 years old when he lived in Block 12H which was located on the edge of the camp. In an informal conversation Mr. Nakahira recalled crawling under the fence and going to a guard tower which was no longer manned. He and his friends used it as a club house. Other boys remember leaving the camp to catch wild animals and bugs. One girl recalls that her brother had ten turtles which he had caught outside of camp. That children and other internees were leaving camp is documented in an article in the *Granada Pioneer* which reminded individuals that the water in a popular swimming hole located outside the camp was not safe.

Mr. Nakahira also remembers the repercussions of leaving camp without adult authorization. He and his friends were picked up by the Military Police (MP) patrol which drove around Amache. The MPs reminded the boys that they were not allowed to leave camp and drove them home. Once home, Toru’s mother spanked and reprimanded him. This indicates that adults had firm ideas about where children were to play. They were expected to follow camp regulations and remain within the confines of the barbed wire. Young boys were clearly deviating from these expectations and leaving camp. Although they were staying in the general vicinity, not venturing further than Granada a few miles away, they had a wider range of mobility than expected.

In contrast, the oral histories collected from female informants do not contain these remembrances of adventures and leaving camp. Women remember involvement in social organizations and activities like choral groups or attendance at dances and fairs. Membership in these structured organizations would have allowed young girls to move
within Amache but only to designated areas. These oral histories either reflect a more limited mobility on the part of girls in Amache or an increased emphasis on the role of social organizations in their lives and subsequent memories.

This increase in mobility attested to in the oral histories seems to stem from several factors. The communal structures established by the WRA reduced parents’ supervisory and disciplinary presence in the camp and children spent an increased amount of time with their peers. The physical environment of Amache also facilitated this increased freedom. Amache was a clearly defined area bounded by a tall barbed wire fence, guard towers, and patrols. In the camp, conditions were crowded and it would have been difficult for children to be completely out of the sight or hearing of adults. These physical aspects would have created an apparently safe environment for children to play. It would have been perceived by adults as difficult for children to deviate from their expectations of appropriate play areas. Adults felt comfortable giving children in Amache an increased range of mobility based on their own ideas of where children would go. The memories presented above provide clear evidence that children, especially boys did not follow the expectations of adults.

Interestingly, the increased access to peer groups and the decrease in adult supervision which occurred in the camps worked to destabilize the restrictions around children’s movements. This allowed children a wider range of exploration in and around camp. The movement of children around Amache is documented in the distribution of the most common toy recovered archaeologically, marbles. Marbles are small, easily lost, of low monetary value, and those who played marbles would have had a large number of
them. For these reasons I believe that they are frequently recovered approximately in the areas of use and subsequent loss. The locations where marbles were found in Amache can tell us where children, especially boys were probably playing (Figure 4.7).

![Figure 4.7. Marble located in a garden by the Block 11E mess hall.](image)

A brief observation of the location of marbles in Amache reveals several trends. Marbles were recovered most commonly in low traffic areas, especially along the edges of blocks and in or around landscape features, with 50% of the recorded marbles coming from these areas (Figure 4.8). This figure does not include marbles recovered during archaeological excavations. One marble was recovered during the field school’s excavation of the oval gardens in Block 9L. Around 2000 the Amache Preservation Society excavated the koi pond located in block 6G. From this excavation about 11
marbles were recovered. Two of the marbles listed as found in the survey were also recorded as they were eroding out of the back dirt pile from this excavation. This indicates a significant quantity of marbles from one individual landscape feature.

![Figure 4.8. Locations of marbles recovered during the 2008 survey](image)

Water features are popular places for children to play and the koi ponds around Amache would probably have attracted children for a variety of games. Marbles would have been difficult to recover if they were lost in the koi pond which explains their numbers. Marbles were also found during the excavations of the water features at Manzanar (Jeffery Burton, personal communication). Future excavations in the water features around Amache might provide further evidence, but it can be presumed that the number of marbles in water features provides evidence for children’s use of garden areas.

The garden areas in Amache would also have been desirable areas for children to play. Gardens frequently contained trees planted by internees and so provided more shade than the rest of Amache and gardens also contained interesting features which could be incorporated into games. These features and the proximity to home, which allowed gardens to satisfy parental restrictions on movement and activities, made gardens a
popular play area for children. As was recorded in the oral histories children were also deviating from designated play areas, either in playgrounds or around barracks. This is further recorded in the distribution of marbles.

Of the marbles recorded during the 2008 survey 25% were located in areas which were classified as on the edge of the block. These areas between residential blocks would have been defined as lower traffic areas which would have been less observable. This would have made them ideal areas for children’s activities and games. The increased space and reduced foot traffic would have made it easier for children to run freely without disturbing adult activities. These areas would also have been within calling distance of the barracks but not directly in the line of sight. This would have allowed children to play with less adult supervision while still being able to return home or attend meals at the mess hall. When studying landscapes it is important to consider how space is organized by the community (Jackson 1997:309). Using marbles as an indicator of movement and space use it becomes evident that children were using the edges of blocks as play areas when they were allowed to wander and using landscape features when they were expected to remain closer to their barracks. The edges of the barracks were being classified as less structured areas than either the gardens or playgrounds.

The importance of landscaping features in the physical and mental environment is clearly demonstrated by the proliferation of these features across the site. Children’s use of these landscape features is evidenced in both historical accounts and the archaeology of Amache. The landscaping surrounding the elementary schools is perhaps the most
evocative evidence of children’s understanding of the role of agricultural and horticultural pursuits in the lives of their relatives.

**Elementary School Gardens**

The landscape features constructed in block 8H, surrounding the elementary school, have been recorded in both historic photographs, newspaper articles, and an academic journal article but these features are generally no longer visible on the surface of the block. The design and construction of these gardens carries the potential to illuminate children’s understanding of gardening, its practice, and their ability and desire to alter the physical appearance of the school block.

An article published in the *School Executive* in 1944 discussed the designing and construction of a series of gardens around the barracks which had been converted for use as the elementary school in Amache. The article describes the physical environment of the camp including the barren landscape and the problem of blown sand caused by the de-vegetation of the area. This issue was a factor in the development of gardens and landscape features in other areas of the camp and seems to have played a key role in the organization of landscaping efforts around the school.

The members of two sixth-grade art classes chose to tackle the problem by developing a landscape proposal for the block. The lack of available water for irrigation, which was a problem throughout Amache, was mitigated by deciding to use only dry-land vegetation which would require minimal watering. A landscaping expert was
consulted to provide advice on which types of vegetation would be suitable. This quote from Amache Elementary School Quarterly clearly expresses the action of these children:

the school grounds are so barren and unattractive that members of the 6th grade with the assistance of Mrs. Walther have organized a landscape committee. This group has drawn up plans for landscaping the school grounds and is at the present conferring with Mr. Temple, WRA Senior Construction Foreman, with regard to the availability of water, seeds, and type of pants that may be grown. This group is also considering making stone walks and paths (Amache Elementary School 1943).

In order to decide on a design for the block a competition was organized and 50 children submitted proposed landscape plans. The most pleasing and workable was chosen by a committee of students composed of representatives from the four sixth-grade classes. The landscape design chosen for the school block called for the use of local limestone to outline plots of land throughout the school. Desert plants and rye grass, which would do well in the dry climate, would be planted. All 700 members of the school were to be involved in the landscaping efforts (Figure 4.9). Each class would be assigned a plot which would be roughly landscaped to meet the design but the individual classes could use their own initiative in deciding on the plants and other detailed aspects of the landscaping.
Figure 4.9. Historic photograph of elementary School children landscaping the area in front of their classroom.

The creation of these gardens is documented by several notices and articles which appeared in archival sources. These record requests for adult assistance in collecting and transporting manure for fertilizer and the initial planting of rye grass in April of 1943 (WRA 1945a). Other sources record that children were granted permission to leave the camp in small groups to collect native plants and rocks for the beautification process (Takaya 1943) (Figure 4.10).
The landscaping around the elementary school serves as a case study for understanding the influence of cultural traditions and the physical environment in which children were raised. While these gardens are not featured in the memories of any of the former internees I interviewed, the remains of the extensive gardens around the school can still be seen today and demonstrate the abilities and landscaping plan of the school children. When the visible remains of the gardens were mapped a clearer picture of the relatively uniform landscape design described in the archival documents was evident. All the limestone borders were approximately 2.8-3.6 meters from the foundations of the barracks. Where the remains of trees, which dated from the historic period, were visible they tended to be mirrored by a tree in the opposite garden (see Appendix A for a map of
the school gardens). This evidence demonstrates that the landscape design chosen was in fact uniformly implemented throughout the school block.

During the summer of 2008 a series of archaeological investigations was conducted around the elementary school to further document the gardens. The area between the fronts of barracks nine and ten were chosen based on photographic documentation which identified this as a probable location for landscape features. The remains of some of the original limestone borders are also still visible on the surface (Figure 4.11).

![Figure 4.11. The location of feature 1 Block 8H showing the remaining limestone borders. A series of preliminary tests were conducted at this location to determine its suitability for excavation. Ground penetrating radar (GPR) was used in an attempt to determine the depth of the features and the extent of soil augmentation and disturbance. The GPR showed the location of some of the limestone features and a compressed area near the entry to the barrack. The ephemeral nature of the gardens combined with the choice of a lower frequency radar meant that the data collected was too broad to provide](image-url)

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any real insight into the nature of the gardens and the details of this project will not be reported here (see Appendix D for a detailed discussion of GPR).

At this time a series of soil chemistry tests were also conducted by Professor Bonnie Clark and Professor Robert (Buck) Sanford. After initial testing two excavation units were opened in the gardens on either side of a Barrack 10 entrance, excavation features 8H-1 and 8H-2. While both units were extensively disturbed by rodent activity they revealed more details about the landscaping implemented by the school children.

While the two units were in close proximity and both contained evidence of the original limestone border recorded in the archival record and photographs, the two gardens contained evidence of significantly different interior designs. The 8H-2 unit contained an abundant quantity of gravel while morning glory seeds were recovered from the 8H-1 unit (Archer 2009). The gravel would have been collected outside Amache, possibly on an excursion to the nearby Arkansas River. The morning glory seeds are evidence of the intentional procurement and planting of a cultivated ornamental flower rather than locally available wildflowers. The inclusion of both these additions to the gardens shows the individual decision making which was occurring in the creation of the school gardens. I hypothesize that these gardens may represent the decisions made by different groups or classes of children. So while the students were working within a broad landscaping plan they were given agency in making individual choices in the design of their garden areas.

What the archaeological excavations indicate is that children were active participants in the modification of the area around their school through the design and
creation of a set of gardens. Children at Amache recreated a more familiar physical environment and utilized a set of skills and knowledge gained through interactions with both their peer group and the adult community. Through the development and creation of these landscape features the agency of the children was exerted. The gardens also allowed children to control their own space and surroundings and recreate a more familiar and comfortable environment.

The construction of the gardens around the elementary school was supported by the school administration because it was seen as an aspect of the school curriculum and conformed to popular ideas about children's education. During the 1890's a school garden movement had started as a means to address social, moral, educational, and environmental lessons. School gardens received strong support within the educational community and were seen as effective tools for introducing children to a range of educational goals (Lawson 2005:52).

While school gardens diminished in popularity over time, support for gardens as an educational tool can still be seen in parenting manuals in the 1940’s. Gardening was seen as teaching about patience, the laws of nature, and tolerance (Patri 1940). The established curriculum for the elementary school also noted that teachers should expose children to the physical world and encourage their interaction with nature (Amache Elementary School Handbook). The system of construction used by the children also supported the desire of the school to teach about democracy. By establishing committees and voting on landscape designs the elementary school children were enacting their understanding of a fair and democratic process. The gardens were not seen by the school
administration as an expression of Japanese culture or heritage but rather as an embodiment of the goals of the WRA school system and as a lesson in democratic processes.

The school gardens can also be seen as the children’s enactment of their own heritage, the lessons taught to them by their parents, the creation of an environment that appealed to their aesthetic sense. Because of the Japanese American community’s long history of involvement in the landscaping and agricultural industry, many of the children at the elementary school would have assisted with the family business or at least had some level of familiarity and proficiency in landscaping or gardening.

These children are also functioning within a social system which clearly valued the creation of landscape features to both beautify the camp and to help control dust and improve the living conditions. Children do not function as isolates within the system. They would have observed and participated in landscaping other areas of the camp and created their own understanding of its importance.

Landscaping the school block allowed children to physically alter their environment and enact a level of control over their personal space that had been removed by internment. They used their own skills and knowledge to create a design which was aesthetically pleasing and well suited to the physical environment of southeastern Colorado. These gardens demonstrate how Amache’s children understood their own abilities as agents within the structure of the camp.

*The School Executive* article extols the pride of the children involved in the landscaping efforts and notes the editorials in the *Junior Pioneer* which provide further
evidence of their pride. This documentary evidence is contradicted by the informal interviews with several internees who were at the elementary school during the period when these landscape modifications were occurring. None of the internees interviewed have any memory of the landscaping around the elementary school or their involvement in landscaping or gardening efforts. While this seems to show that children were not invested in the gardening efforts around the school, I believe that it in fact points to the commonality of landscaping and agricultural activities in the lives of many of these children. Activities which are the least remembered or recorded are often those that occur on a daily basis and are seen as routine. If the landscaping at the elementary school in Amache had been a unique and momentous moment in these children’s existence it can be presumed that they would retain some remembrance of it. The fact that none of the elementary age children interviewed remember the elementary gardens, or for that matter any gardening in Amache, suggests that their involvement in these activities was so common as to be unmemorable.

The elementary school gardens can be viewed as a condensed symbol, one saturated with emotional qualities, and having multiple and sometimes contradictory meanings (Turner 1967). For different groups within Amache the gardens represented different meanings. They can be viewed as an enactment of the children’s Japanese heritage, the teachings of the elementary school, or as a symbol of resistance to the military landscape of Amache. The gardens are a physical representation of how all these aspects of the life within Amache were internalized by the children in the camp.
Conclusion

When considering the cultural implication of the construction of landscape features and use of space in Amache we must remember that “there is no perception which is not full of memories. With the immediate and present data of our senses, we mingle a thousand details of our past experience” (Bergson [1908]1988:40). Children in Amache brought to bear on the landscape their own perception of what an appropriate environment should resemble. This perception was based on memories generated by both their own experience and by the collective memories of the community. In response to these concepts of appropriate landscapes they began to modify and use the environment of Amache in a manner which conformed to the cultural constructions of their experiences, the WRA, and the internee community.
CHAPTER 5: CHILDREN AND THE SOCIAL LANDSCAPE

Introduction

World War II was a period of change in family structures across the United States. The alterations of family and social structure which occurred in the Japanese American community were particularly profound. Movement into government run assembly centers, and then relocation centers, caused a break-down in social structures as communities were divided and interned. The effect on children could be especially drastic.

“Because children feel more than they reason, they emphasize experience, parental attitudes, contrasts and similarities. The sudden transition from home to center living was thus sharp, since among other things many objects and human relations that were available prior to evacuation were denied. This change from a familiar to a strange environment was strong, and furthermore the communal instead of family living affected them more as a group because of their close dependence on their parents. As could be expected parental confusion and resentment affected them (Hamanaka 1943).”

The WRA further exacerbated the break-down of social structures through the creation of uniform and structured habitation. The uniform environment in the relocation centers disrupted many of the traditional roles and functions of both community and family. The Japanese community developed ways to counteract these potentially problematic changes. Efforts to create a more familiar social and familial environment
were conducted in part to meet the needs of children within the community. Parent’s manuals from the period state that children’s fears are directly connected to strange and new situations (Anonymous 1937). Children are also seen as requiring a sense of continuity and familiarity in order to be comfortable and happy in their surroundings (Mead 1966). Both the WRA and adults in Amache recognized the needs of children in the camps and worked to create an environment in which children would receive proper socialization and could develop the skills which would allow them to function as members of society outside of Amache.

Socialization is a discourse across generations effected by many societal groups including family members, peer groups, institutions, and community members. Children as social agents select, interpret and appropriate ideas and behaviors (Baxter 2005:32). Adults work both consciously and unconsciously to structure and control the situation in which their children are being socialized. Children in Amache were actively socialized by two different groups of adults. The WRA was attempting to socialize internee children and form them into “good Americans” who would conform to societal ideas and according to the doctrine of the WRA “overcome” their ethnic background. Members of the internee community were also creating social structures designed to socialize children to be members of the Japanese American community. These groups both had distinct views of how children should behave and what their role in society should be.

The WRA and Education
The WRA’s perception of the internees is evident in the archival documents related to education in the camps. Internees were clearly not seen as Americans. Adults in the camps were seen as culturally Japanese regardless of their place of birth while children were envisioned as blank slates on which would be inscribed ideas proper to American citizens. These prevailing attitudes were espoused in the curriculum and structure of the elementary school.

The WRA’s stated goal for the schools in Amache was to provide the knowledge and values to be “good Americans.” This included lessons in democracy, proper diet, language, and a general indoctrination on the ideas of what it meant to be an American. The educational programs in the camps reflected the curricula of Colorado schools but focused on the development of specific skills which were identified as key for their Japanese American students. These included the development of stronger language skills, adjustment to their new living situation, and an understanding of the concepts of citizenship and democracy (Ziegler 2005:64). The educational program was seen as key in providing students with the skills for future living and reincorporation into mainstream society after internment.

As part of the effort to convert internee children into American citizens, young teachers were recruited from across the United States to teach in camp schools. The WRA wanted these teachers to serve as role models for students and to demonstrate what a good American looked and acted like (Figure 5.1). Assistant teachers were also recruited from the internee community to help in classrooms. These teaching assistants were envisioned as acting as interpreters both between the teacher and parents or students
but also between parents and students (Ziegler 2005:89). The WRA recognized the generational gaps which existed in the internee population and capitalized on these cultural differences in their acculturation efforts.

The WRA also envisioned the educational system in the Relocation Centers as a source of stability for children in the camps. Schools were intended to provide a curriculum similar to that which children would have been receiving in California and to create a daily routine in children’s lives. Internment was seen as a negative influence on children in the camp which needed to be counteracted through the school system. Teachers in the schools and anthropologist John Embree noted that there were changes in children’s behaviors in the camp schools (Ziegler 2005:51). Students were seen as more likely to have problems in the classroom and create disturbances. This was attributed to the break-down of family and social controls which occurred in the camps.
Schools were seen as stabilizing elements in the camp which would connect children to their previous experiences outside of camp and provide a sense of familiarity. Rather than strengthening the familial and social structures which had been weakened by internment the schools were envisioned as stepping in and replacing them with more American, and so more appropriate, activities and structures. Archival evidence demonstrates the success that the elementary school clearly played in controlling the daily activities of children and also illustrates how the WRA undermined parental authority through its curriculum and educational mandates.

While the WRA’s goal of establishing a sense of stability for children in Amache was laudable if imperialistic, the WRA frequently created edicts which removed parents from their children’s education. In the Amache Elementary School Pre-School Division Annual Report there is a list of regulations provided to parents. The “Don’ts for Parents” included: Teach kids to say alphabet, Read at home, Count without things to count (Amache Elementary School Handbook 1943). Instructions such as these combined with a curriculum designed to remove students from their Japanese ancestry would have altered children’s perceptions of their parents’ knowledge and authority.

WRA school officials had a clearly negative opinion of the abilities of Japanese American parents to correctly raise and socialize their children. A report from the Denson Elementary School at the Jerome Relocation Center stated “Many of the pupils had parents who spoke English only slightly or not at all. This presented a difficulty…The child was torn between two desires – to do and be like his parents who insisted upon his using their mother country’s language, and on the other hand, to do and be like his
teacher who insisted upon his using the English language. Heretofore, his playmates had
been, to the main, Caucasian children who had led him into American speaking and
thinking; but segregated as he was, there was a great difficulty in the indoctrination of
American thinking and English speaking” (Ziegler 2005:134). The WRA attempted to
use internment as an opportunity to acculturate a generation of children. This was done
through a curriculum which stressed American values and devalued the children’s
Japanese heritage.

Archaeological Evidence

During the 2008 field season the residential block which had been converted for
use as the elementary school was surveyed and two 1 x 1 meter excavation units were
opened by the entrance to one of the barracks. The results from the survey and excavation
confirm the use of the block as an elementary school. Statistically the materials recorded
during survey of the elementary school differs significantly from those noted in the
residential blocks as is evident in the results of a chi squared test. This test compares
artifact counts from the residential blocks and the elementary school to the counts that
would be expected if the distribution of artifacts at Amache were random (Table 5.1).
Table 5.1. Chi Squared test comparing residential blocks surveyed at Amache to the Elementary school in Block 8H with a Chi-Sq value of 16.767, DF= 5, and P-Value = 0.005.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Residential Blocks</th>
<th>Elementary School</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>118</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>104.15</td>
<td>13.85</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>33.54</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>52</td>
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The chi squared value of the test is 16.76 with a p value of 0.005, which is highly significant and indicates that the artifact distributions in the residential blocks and the elementary school are different from the expected counts for a random distribution of artifacts. The chi squared value is derived from lower than expected counts of glass and
ceramics in the elementary school block. There are also more tin cans and marbles than would be expected from a random distribution. This indicated that most of the activities occurring in the residential blocks are absent in the elementary school block. This is support for the theory that domestic activities were occurring in the residential block. If the communal services established by the WRA had eliminated domestic activities, like cooking and eating, in the barracks, you would expect to see artifact counts resembling those in the elementary block which was non-residential. This test can be used as a predictive model for future archaeological work since it conclusively proves that residential and non-residential blocks have distinct differences in artifact distributions.

The data from the excavation also provided an interesting insight into the use of the elementary school block. There were three primary categories of artifacts recovered during excavation. The largest of these categories was construction materials. These consisted of a range of nails, wire, and tar paper. All of these materials were probably deposited in the excavation units during the use and later demolition of the barracks. The next category was composed of school supplies. These consisted of small, easily lost articles like pencil fragments, paper clips, and thumb tacks (Figure 5.2). Several of the pencil ferrules were made of plastic and were only in production during WWII. The range and quantity of school supplies was not seen in either of the excavations in residential block gardens.
Figure 5.2. School supplies recovered during excavation of a garden in front of a school barrack. The top row and middle left are pencil fragments, the bottom left are thumb tacks, and the lower right are the remains of at least two paper clips.

The next category of artifacts could be classified as personal and was composed of items of personal hygiene or adornment (Figure 5.3). During the excavation of a communal garden in Block 9L this category of artifacts was also recovered while excavation at the Block 12K vegetable garden did not produce a notable quantity of artifacts in this category. Artifacts related to personal hygiene and adornment would be more commonly lost in areas with a high level of traffic or where people are spending a significant amount of time. As such, the number of artifacts in this category recovered
from the school block is unsurprising since a large number of children were spending a majority of their day in the area.

Interestingly no toy fragments were recovered from excavation and only a few marbles were located during the survey of the block. The elementary school area would have been a space in which young children spent a significant amount of their free time. This makes the lack of toys an interesting phenomenon. Clearly Block 8H was seen as an area where children went to attend school and engage in a range of structured activities rather than the free play evident in the residential blocks.

Communal Living

Members of the internee community were conscious of the negative effect of internment on community structures and social networks. They recognized the important
role which community and families played in the socialization of children. Adults usually have set ideas on the needs of children and feel that it is their responsibility to fulfill these requirements. For internees this meant finding ways to strengthen community and family structures seen as important for young community members. The mess halls at Amache provide an excellent example of how the internee community worked to mitigate the effects of internment on the family.

The system of communal mess halls and bathrooms lessened parental supervision and weakened authority structures as children spent more time with peers (Tong 2004:90). The traditional system of Japanese childrearing emphasizes parental authority and personal responsibility. Meals provided a time for adults to “debrief” their children, learning about their daily activities and providing disciplinary action and adult monitoring of these activities. However, in the mess halls children were given the opportunity to eat in their peer groups rather than with their families. Many children found this option preferable and consumed a majority of meals with their friends. This strengthened the bond between children and increased the influence of peer groups on children’s concept of correct behavior and activities.

Some oral histories indicate that adults worked to counteract the effects of communal dining. An oral history from one residential block indicates that each family was assigned an area within the mess hall (Matsumoto 1984:8). If children wanted to eat with their friends they were required to invite their friends to dine with their family. This rule necessitated the approval of adults from both families and served to reassert parental control and supervision during meals (Figure 5.4).
The development by internees of this system in the mess halls can be viewed as a form of resistance against the regulations and structures of the WRA. Resistance is a set of actions taken to undermine or obstruct the conditions of domination, or as Hobsbawn (1973:7) defines resistance, the use of daily activities undertaken by the oppressed to “work the system to their minimum disadvantage.” Resistance is a subtle and gradual process which erodes the authority of an opponent who would win any brute force confrontation (Casella 2007:70). Many of the actions undertaken in Amache which helped maintain familial and social structures can be viewed as acts of resistance, although they may not have been seen as such by internees. By creating their own system, which countered the effects of the communal living enforced by the WRA, and reinforced social and familial dynamics preferred by the internees they were resisting the
authority of the WRA. A similar form of resistance to the ideas of the WRA can be seen in the development of social organizations and activities.

**Recreation**

The WRA recognized that internment was disrupting the socialization of internee children and having a negative effect on their behavior and development. In response to this realization the WRA tried to use educational facilities to provide aspects of stability and familiarity for children in the camps. The imperialistic attitude of the WRA inhibited the authorities from recognizing the ability of internees to reconstruct their social organizations and develop their own set of activities, organizations, and educational classes. Through the creation of a wide range of activities designed to recreate an environment which adults felt was necessary for the development and socialization of the community’s children, the internees were resisting this paternalistic view of their own abilities. These activities also provided a setting in which internees could socialize their own children and transfer cultural traditions and beliefs.

The transfer of cultural traditions from adults to children is part of children’s learning to grow and cope with the surrounding world (Lillehammer 1989:102). Children in Amache were caught between two different cultural traditions, the American world in which they were growing, and that of their Japanese ancestry. The ethnocentric ideas of the WRA school system and tensions created by internment created problems in the transference of cultural traditions. This was mitigated in several ways, for example the celebration of Japanese holidays and festivals, and through the continuation of traditional
food ways outside the mess halls. Oral histories record the cooking and consumption of more traditional foods including rice, sake, and the making of mochi during the Japanese New Year. This is supported by the archaeological evidence from Amache which demonstrates that internee brought Japanese ceramics to Amache. The quantity of broken Japanese ceramics recovered archaeologically during the 2008 intensive survey shows their continued use during Amache’s occupation (Shew 2010). Children would have been exposed to these aspects of Japanese culture in the course of their daily life.

The involvement of children in Japanese culture is also evident in the development of classes and activities which focused on teaching traditional Japanese skills and knowledge to the younger generations, some of whom had had little previous contact with their Japanese heritage. These classes and activities were available to all age groups and many informants remember participating in Japanese language classes, Judo, Sumo wrestling, and learning traditional crafts (Figure 5.5). For some children, especially those who had not previously been part of a larger Japanese community, these were the first opportunities to observe or participate in many of these activities. By creating an environment that encouraged the younger generations to learn about their Japanese heritage, adults created a cultural revival and demonstrated the validity of their own knowledge and skills.
Before the war Japanese Americans often formed their own distinct communities such as Little Tokyo in Los Angeles. These neighborhoods were spaces where traditional activities were common and Japanese goods and services could be purchased. Japanese Americans who lived in more urban areas had access to these cultural venues and their children would have been exposed to more aspects of Japanese culture than those coming from isolated areas. The exception to this is children who were raised in rural Japanese American communities like the Livingston and Cortez colonies. These farming communities were bastions of Japanese culture in rural areas. While some children were from cities or rural enclaves, a significant percentage of children in Amache came from areas where they would not have been members of a Japanese American community. For
these children, Amache and other camps provided an opportunity to learn about and experience their own unique dual heritage and identity as Japanese Americans.

Prior to internment many Japanese American children had occupied a place on the periphery of social organizations and peer groups. As minorities in public schools they could not participate fully or hold positions of leadership or privilege (Ziegler 2005:17). The creation of social organizations in Amache and other camps allowed Japanese American children to participate fully and occupy leadership positions, many for the first time (Figure 5.6).

![Figure 5.6. Historic photograph showing a group of young boys photographed for their involvement in elementary school activities.](image)

In a personal communication, former internee Minoru Tonai noted that prior to internment he had never felt comfortable joining the Boy Scouts. The troops in his region
of California were composed primarily of Caucasian boys and he did not feel that he
would be welcomed into a troop, due to widespread racism. Once at Amache he joined
the Boy Scouts and came to occupy a leadership role in his troop, participating in the
organization of a number of events. Oral histories like this one provide examples of why
recreational activities were so popular among internees. The ability to participate fully
and occupy leadership positions along with the development of new social networks
encouraged adults to facilitate the development of social organizations.

There are several factors which contributed to the development of the many
educational and recreational activities and groups in Amache. First was the nature of the
Japanese community which already placed an emphasis on social organizations prior to
internment. This rose from the often collective nature of Japanese identity. The role of
social organizations would have made the disruption of these groups during internment
more difficult to adapt to. The collective nature of Japanese identity also explains the
rapid creation of social organizations within the camps as an effort to recreate social
groups necessary for identity formation (Hayashi 1983). Social organizations also
facilitated the development of new social networks and were designed to create sense of
community and collectivism amongst internees from across California (Tong 2004).

The size of the barrack apartments was another factor. Their small size meant that
they were used primarily for sleeping and families spent little time together in them
(Matsumoto 1984). This moved many activities which had previously taken place inside
the home into more public and communal domains. It also increased the amount of time
which children spent out of the direct supervision of their parents but under the
supervision of a larger community through their involvement in activities. Barrack size was a contributing factor in the important role which activities, organizations, and schools assumed in Amache. These created opportunities for socialization and interaction which could occur outside the cramped barrack spaces and created constructive venues for the increased free time experienced by many internees.

For many internees, especially in the Issei generation, this was the first time that they did not have to work for a living. While most members of the Issei and Nisei generations had been small business owners or worked in agriculture, in Amache there were limited jobs available and most basic needs were met by the WRA. This allowed internees to decide whether they needed to work or could essentially retire. This increased freedom allowed many Issei and Nisei to participate in adult education classes. The popularity of night classes and adult education opportunities can be seen in the enrollment rates with 961 enrolled according to an article from the *Granada Pioneer* (Granada Pioneer 1943b).

Activities, groups and classes were also seen as important in the rearing of children. Parents were told that children needed structured play and guided activities for their proper development. Enrollment in organizations and classes was seen as providing educational activities which would foster an environment where children could acquire necessary social and life skills. Classes also allowed adults in Amache to counteract the authority of the WRA by demonstrating the validity of their own skills and knowledge.

For children, internment was also a period where they were surrounded by a large number of their ethnic peers with whom they could socialize. Children also played a less
important role in the family economy and had fewer chores. This freed them from some responsibilities and provided more time for play and recreational activities. Involvement in adult-structured activities allowed parents to assume a level of control over their children’s activities and monitor how constructively free time was spent.

When examining the types of activities listed for children in the *Granada Pioneer* the role of the elementary school as a social organization becomes apparent. There are a number of activities posted for children older than 10 including the YWCA, Wee Teeners, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, dances, and volunteer opportunities. With the exception of the Cub Scouts most of these organizations were not available for younger children. Most of the social outlets for children under about ten were organized through the elementary school. These included movies, puppet shows, and work in the victory garden or elementary school co-op store (Figure 5.7). So far I have found no

![Figure 5.7. Articles from the *Granada Pioneer* listing some of the activities available for younger children.](image)

archival evidence of the number of children who participated in the classes provided by the Japanese American community although in informal conversations many former internees did remember participating in both organized groups and in educational classes (Figure 5.8). The distribution of ages of the children involved remains unclear. These
classes may have catered more to the slightly older children in the same way that the social organizations probably did.

Figure 5.8. Historic photograph of young boys participating in sumo practice at a specially designed sumo pit and an article from the Granada Pioneer, November 14, 1942 about boys Judo practice.

Japanese culture classes gave children in Amache an opportunity to learn about their own identities. For ten year old Ben Segawa his arrival at the assembly center was the first time he had seen so many Japanese Americans at once. It was only then that he fully realized his difference from his Caucasian classmates (Oppenheim 2006:61). Being surrounded by peers with the same ethnic background allowed children in Amache to develop a communal identity. Casella notes in her study on Indian schools that rather than create an environment of wholesale cultural assimilation these institutions actually created a new communal identity of American Indian (Casella 2007:38). The sharing of a communal experience allowed children in the schools to forge bonds and create a peer identity.

Similarly, internment created a Japanese American generation across the U.S. which shared a common experience, no matter which camp you had been interned at. A
communal bond was created through the shared understanding of what internment was like and the difficulties experienced. By creating a range of social organizations and activities in which children could participate, adults succeeded in mitigating some of the negative affects of internment. By developing their own activities and organizations, internees allowed the creation of the social networks which are important in the development of young children.

Archaeological Evidence

There is relatively little archaeological evidence documenting the role of recreational activities and educational classes. During the 2008 intensive survey several pieces of shell were recovered from different residential blocks. These included both bivalve and abalone fragments. Shells were commonly used in crafts (Hirasuna 2005) and these fragments could have come from either completed projects or been waste materials from production. Two wire wrapped barrel hoops were also recorded in Block 6G. In informal conversation it was suggested by a former internee that these may have been used to create ornamental wreaths with dried flowers or other materials held in place with the wrapped wire. In the Block 8K dump a ceramic artifact made using a slab construction technique and glazed blue was recovered (Figure 5.9).
This piece has the name of the maker and what may be a class designation written on the bottom and was evidently produced in Amache. These are the only indicators of participation in the range of craft activities which have been recovered archaeologically, although many others exist in personal collections or in the Amache museum. These include several dried gourds decorated with seeds, wood carvings, two small ornaments made out of cigarette papers, and a stuffed dog.

The only archaeological evidence of participation in a social organization comes from Block 10E. This was the location of the Boy Scout headquarters. Due to the compromised integrity of the block only half was surveyed. During the course of this survey a total of five marbles were recorded in the ½ block. This is a greater number of marbles than were recorded during the survey of Block 8H, the elementary school (Figure
5.10) or any other block. The fact that only half of the block was surveyed makes the frequency of marbles recorded here even more striking in comparison to other residential blocks. The increased frequency of marbles in this block may indicate that it was frequented by young boys who were members of the Boy Scouts and that the presence of the Boy Scout headquarters in this block made it a social area and gathering ground.

![Marbles from Amache By Block](image)

**Figure 5.10.** Chart of the distribution of marbles at Amache showing the significantly higher number of marbles from Block 10E.

**Child’s Play**

Beginning in the 1900’s ideas surrounding children’s play began to change. The publication of a document entitled The Children Charter in 1930 established that “with the young child, his work is his play and his play is his work” (The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection 1930). At this point adults began to take a more active interest in the activities of children and began creating structured areas and activities to ensure the correct development and socialization of their children (Chudacoff 2007:100). This movement and the active concern with the socialization of younger
members of the community can be seen in the actions of adult internees in the development of social activities and classes. It is also reflected in the material culture provided for children in the camps. Play is not considered the opposite of work, rather for a child it should be a productive activity which prepares them for modern adulthood by teaching necessary skills and behaviors. It was the responsibility of adults to provide the materials and environment which would allow for children’s proper development. This was done through educational toys, the creation of playgrounds, organized sports and educational classes and clubs. Adults in Amache were acting within contemporary ideas on the socialization and raising of children.

The material culture used by children would have been important to adults since it was seen as directly affecting the development of their children, “Play may seem frivolous to grownups, but to a child it is very serious business, and it should be. The materials which a child uses in play – his toys- should be carefully and thoughtfully chosen to help in this important business. It is by play that the child experiments to learn his own abilities and to develop them” (Anonymous 1937:61). The material culture of children in the form of toys would have taken on additional meaning in the context of internment. As noted by Sofaer Derevenski “Perceptions of children and the particular forms of material culture with which they may be observed are deeply affected by context and the wider material environment in which they are situated”(Sofaer Derevenski 2000:4). This is especially true here where the children are not only in an abnormal environment but are also incorporating two different cultural backgrounds.
To adults in Amache the toys they provided for their children were indicators of cultural status and a means of fulfilling societal perceptions of a normal childhood. The material culture of children recorded during the 2008 field work at Amache gives insight into parental views on common societal norms regarding appropriate behaviors, gendered ideas, and the importance of toys even in a situation of economic hardship.

Toys at Amache

I divided the toys found at Amache during survey, excavation, and the informal survey of the town dump into six primary categories: marbles, domestic, war/military, vehicles, educational, and other. The domestic category encompasses most toys for girls. These are toys like dolls, tea sets, miniature household implements, and any other toy designed to teach girls about child care and domestic duties. War/military themed toys are defined as any toy or plaything which has a military theme or was related to WWII. These were primarily toys aimed at young boys and included model boats, tanks, and planes. Vehicles were considered any remnant of a toy car or truck which could not be positively identified as having a military theme. Educational toys are defined as any toy which teaches a skill set such as erector sets, model kits, and any toy which historically was advertised as educational. Finally the category of other was created for any toy which did not fit into the broader categories or archaeological fragments whose original form could not be identified.

A majority of the toys recovered from Amache are marbles. This is not unexpected since these are inexpensive and easily lost toys. Domestic toys are the next
largest category followed by military/war toys. Vehicles and educational toys are the least common categories (Figure 5.11) (See Appendix E for information on and images of all toys recovered at Amache).

![Toys Recovered From Amache by Artifact Class](image)

Figure 5.11. Chart showing the distribution of toys recovered in Amache.

The range of toys found at Amache is similar to that at Manzanar indicating that this is probably a representative distribution of the types of toys played with in the camps which have survived archaeologically. The types of toys found at both internment sites are also similar to what would be expected based on my analysis of toy catalogues from the period.

Mail order catalogues can be used to identify toys and approximate their cost. These catalogues also provide insight into appropriate social behaviors and personal conduct (Schlereth 1980). When studying children’s toys, the material culture offered in these catalogues gives a clear perspective on what was considered proper for different
genders, ages, and the types of toys which were most popular. It can be presumed that parents would at least roughly conform to the norms portrayed in these catalogues and that the distribution of toys recovered from Amache would reflect those shown in period catalogues.

The primary catalogue used to generate an overview of toys from the period was the Sears Roebuck Christmas book from 1944. Former internees have confirmed that Sears Roebuck and Montgomery Ward were both popular mail order catalogues used in Amache. The 1944 catalogue falls within the period of Amache’s occupation and also reflects material shortages created by WWII. Although the toys advertised would have varied depending on which catalogue and year it can be useful as a general price guide and to provide an overview of toy categories. All the toy types recovered from Amache were prominently featured in the catalogue along with two others, games, and toys for infants and pre-schoolers.

Games were a popular category in the toy catalogue and ranged from simple card games to complex shooting games. To date only two commercially produced game pieces have been recovered from Amache and these could not be identified as coming from a children’s game and so are not included in this analysis. There is photographic evidence of the presence of popular card games such as Old Maid, so we know that these were present historically. A total of three Goh pieces have also been recovered from Amache (Figure 5.12). While this game may have been played by children it is more likely that it was a game played by adults. Goh is a game of skill and strategy which was especially
popular with older men in the camp, so while children may have been learning this traditional game it was probably more of a social interaction between generations.

The lack of game pieces from Amache is surprising since games would have provided entertainment for a whole family or group of youngsters and would have contained small pieces which could have been easily lost. The lack of items identified as game pieces may derive from the materials they were constructed of. Many games advertised in the catalogs were made of paper, cardboard, and thin plastics. These materials have not survived well at Amache.

A second category of toys which have yet to be recovered from Amache is that of toys for infants and pre-schoolers. These toys were commonly made from bio-degradable materials like wood and fabric. As such it would be uncommon for them to survive archaeologically. The fact that these two categories have not been recovered archaeologically does not mean that they were not present at Amache and they may be recovered in future surveys or excavations.
In an overview of the 1944 Sears and Roebuck Christmas Catalogue, a majority of toys for girls relate to household activities, signifying the importance of such toys for training young girls in societal norms through their play activities. In contrast the toys which are targeted at young boys are either vehicles like trains and trucks, relate heavily to WWII, or would be considered educational toys designed to teach skill sets. The remaining non-gendered toys fall into the educational or other categories and include a range of art supplies and toys like wagons.

The presence of gendered toys from Amache is not uncommon for the period. Gendered play has always been a feature of children’s activities but during the first half of the twentieth century it became more predominant. Children were urged to more rigidly follow gender roles in their play and rarely interacted with groups of the opposite gender. While some toys were unisex, during the 1940’s a majority of toys and associated play activities reflected and taught the preferred gender roles (Figure 5.13). Boys’ toys included toy vehicles, Lincoln Logs, erector sets, and other toys that promoted mechanical skills, competition, and teamwork. In contrast girls’ toys avoided connections with science or technology and reinforced rolls as homemakers and caretakers. Typical girl’s toys included realistic baby dolls, paper dolls, tea sets, and miniature domestic equipment (Chudacoff 2007). The toys recovered from Amache follow these prevailing trends and provide information on the expectations of adults in Amache for their children.
Figure 5.13. Historic photograph showing a group of women having a tea party in a barrack. Children’s toys often mimicked adult behaviors and tea sets were a popular girls’ toy.

The most commonly recovered category of toy for girls found at Amache was tea sets. A total of five pieces were recovered - one from the excavation of a vegetable garden and the remaining four from the Amache dump (see Appendix E for a list of toys). All the tea set fragments were made by the Akro Agate Company, a well known maker of marbles and of cheap “depression glass” dishes and household wares. Beginning in the 1930’s the Akro Agate Company began producing a line of brightly colored “depression glass” toy tea sets in a range of forms and colors. These toys were sold in boxed sets the most common of which contained a tea pot, four cups, four saucers, and four plates. Prior
to WWII the Akro Agate tea sets experienced only moderate popularity due to the availability of cheap tea sets imported from Japan. WWII limited the availability of these tea sets and the Akro Agate toys became immensely popular. This was due to their ready availability and inexpensive price. WWII also limited the availability of plastics since this material was rationed for the war. After WWII plastics became a more popular medium for the production of children’s toys and Akro Agate discontinued its line of dishes by the end of the 1940’s (Florence 1979).

The limited production range and period of popularity indicates that these toys were probably purchased during the occupation of Amache. Since tea sets are bulky and fragile it is unlikely that they would have been brought with the internees to the camp. The Akro Agate tea sets would have been relatively cheap, readily available through catalogues and could have been used by several children (Praetzellis 2004). The sets would also have been viewed by parents as teaching important skills to young girls. Presumably these factors would have made tea sets popular items for parents to purchase.

Dolls would also have been considered important toys for young girls to have. This is demonstrated by their emphasis in the toy catalogues and in research which indicates that dolls are used to teach young girls how to nurture and care for other children (Tuttle 1993). Three doll fragments were recovered from the Amache dump during informal survey. The presence of dolls only in the dump indicates their relative value both monetarily and sentimentally. Dolls would only have been disposed of once they were broken beyond repair (Figure 5.14).
By the 1940’s a majority of dolls available on the mass market were made of indestructible materials such as rubber and plastic. Of the three doll parts recovered at Amache two are made of these materials and were probably commercial dolls. One fragment is a plastic doll leg with a molded on shoe and a visible side seam from the molding process indicating that this was a lower end toy. The second plastic doll fragment consists of a head, upper torso, and arm of a baby doll. This doll appears to have been partially mechanized. The remains of a metal mechanism are still visible in the interior of the doll. A wide range of mechanized dolls were available in the 1940’s but these tended to be more expensive toys. A more expensive doll like this would have been the type of toy which a young girl would likely have brought with her to Amache.
The third doll fragment is a ceramic leg painted in a soft pink with a black slipper. This type of doll was not readily available in the 1940’s, suggesting that it was either an heirloom toy or of Japanese origin. There are several types of traditional Japanese dolls which are ceramic. These include Totai, which are dolls made of unglazed ceramic, decorated with enamel or paint, and Ichimatsu Ningyo, which are the closest to play dolls and are made of wood or other moldable materials like ceramic. Tooru Nakahira recalls that his mother had packed their family’s collection of Japanese dolls in traditional dress which were sent to them in Amache. The doll leg recovered from the Amache dump could either be from such a doll or be from a commercially produced doll which was an heirloom passed down from a parent or older sibling.

There are two categories of toys marketed for young boys, the military/war toys and vehicles. These are also the two most common toy categories for sale in catalogues. Only two toys in the vehicle category were found. The first of these was recovered from Block 10E, the site of the Boy Scout headquarters. The surviving artifact is the underside of a metal vehicle which would have been over a foot in length. This larger size is commonly used for more detailed and interactive toy vehicles like fire trucks. The second vehicle fragment is the cab of a small toy truck made of hard rubber. This toy was made by the Auburn Rubber Company which was a major producer of hard rubber toy cars and trucks. My examination of a series of advertisements for the company show that they often used the same molds to produce several models which were simply painted different colors and given insignia indicating their purpose. The model of toy truck recovered from Amache was often painted with the words USA on the side and sold as a
military vehicle. The condition of the paint on the truck is too fragmentary to determine whether this toy was painted as a commercial or military vehicle. The Auburn Rubber Company discontinued toy production during WWII and switched to making tires for military vehicles. The date range for production of this toy means that it was purchased before internment and brought to Amache indicating its importance to a young internee.

There were a total of five military/war related toys, three recovered from the Amache dump and two during survey of the residential blocks. The first military toy was recovered along the edge of Block 8K and was a fragment of the top of a small plastic battleship. A set of eight similar toys is advertised in the 1944 Sears Roebuck catalogue for $1.89. The melted remains of what was probably a toy soldier were recovered from the Amache dump.

The largest group of military toys were glass candy containers, of which three were recovered, two from the town dump and one from the informal dump along the edge of Block 9L. All three glass candy containers are shaped like military vehicles- a tank, a battleship, and a bus bearing the legend “Victory Lines.” These toys were molded glass with a hollow interior that would have contained small candy pellets. The candy was sealed inside with either a layer of paper or tinfoil. After the candy was consumed the glass container could serve as a toy. In the 1944 Sears Roebuck Christmas catalogue a similar set of glass candy containers was sold in a set of 5 for 49 cents (Figure 5.15).
Gender affects how children will interact with the same toys (Chudacoff 2007). The glass candy containers which are prevalent across both Amache and Manzanar may have been used drastically differently by boys and girls. These toys came in a range of forms, though a majority of those available during WWII were shaped like military vehicles. These toys were sold cheaply and in sets containing a range of different forms. Since the glass containers were filled with candy, they were probably bought by parents and distributed to all the children in the household. Ben Tani remembers that church groups would send out Christmas packages which frequently contained these inexpensive toys. The glass containers were most likely viewed by adults as unisex because they contained candy, however, their shapes as military vehicles probably influenced who kept and continued to play with them as toys. Military toys and vehicle toys in general are considered to be strongly gendered. Boys are more likely to have kept and played with glass tanks, warships, and transport vehicles than girls. In the oral histories it is primarily male informants who remember the candy containers.
The final category of toys which I recorded at Amache is that of educational toys. Educational toys became popular at the turn of the century as ideas of children’s play began to change. Adults began to take a more active interest and toys designed to teach specific skill sets which fell outside of traditional gendered roles were developed. At Amache three educational toys were recovered, two from the town dump and one from Block 10H.

A bottle which once held Megow’s airplane glue was recovered from an informal dump in Block 10H (Figure 5.16). The construction of model airplanes was a popular activity for young boys. One former internee remembers constructing the airplanes while another still curates the awards won by her younger brother. The *Granada Pioneer* reported on a model airplane contest held in the Block 8H recreation hall. The construction of model airplanes was a common hobby for young American boys before the war and it rose in popularity during WWII when there was a profusion of interest in all things military.

![Figure 5.16. Glue jar from a Megow’s model kit.](image)

Figure 5.16. Glue jar from a Megow’s model kit. In the 1930’s the company began selling its glue in jars rather than tubes to minimize evaporation. Prices could range from five cents to more than one dollar. Megow’s was started in 1929 by Fred Megow and industrial arts teacher. WWII instigated a decline in the production of model airplane kits as balsa wood was in demand for the military effort.
From the Amache dump parts of a plastic tricycle from a playground set sold by the Ideal Toy Company as an educational toy and parts of a hard plastic stamp with removable letters were recovered. The first two toys can still be considered gendered in the skills they teach. Models were popular toys with boys of all ages since they taught manual skills while a plastic playground set would have been associated with dolls and more feminine ideas of play. The toy stamp seems to have been designed to teach spelling skills since it contained removable letters in varying colors. These could have been interchanged to create new words but the purpose and design of the original set is still unclear since no further information has been found on the toy.

Conclusion

An overview of the toys recovered from Amache indicates two prevailing trends. First it presents the picture of a community of American children (Figure 5.17).
No toys or other children’s material culture which could be positively identified as Japanese were recovered during the survey or excavations at Amache. The potential exceptions to this are the ceramic doll leg and several goh pieces. The toys recovered from Amache match those available in toy catalogues at the time and demonstrate that adults were utilizing these catalogues to purchase toys for their children. The toys also seem to conform to the gendered norms of the 1940’s. Toys that can be clearly associated with gendered activities form the majority of toys recovered from Amache. This indicates that parents were conforming to societal norms in the purchasing of toys for their children and in the types of play activities which they considered appropriate.
Secondly, a majority of the toys recovered from Amache were relatively inexpensive and frequently sold in sets. Most families in Amache had a limited income and many had their assets seized by the government. While jobs were available in the camps they paid a greatly reduced wage, ranging from $12-19 a month. Nonessential items like toys were a luxury. This is supported by oral histories indicating the social importance of toys and the relative rarity of receiving new ones while in Amache. In an informal conversation, a former internee noted that the glass candy containers and their candy contents served as a status symbol among the children, signifying their family’s access to goods from outside the camp and their relative prosperity.

The presence of a number of toys which were definitely purchased during the occupation of Amache like the glass candy containers and the Akro Agate tea sets indicated the perceived importance of toys. Adults clearly felt that toys were an essential part of childhood and children’s activities. They worked to provide access to playthings for their children in Amache by purchasing inexpensive toys and sometimes through community organizations which distributed toys during holidays (Figure 5.18).
At least two of the toys recovered from Amache were probably brought to camp by their young owners. The Auburn rubber truck was only produced before the war and the expense of the mechanized doll makes it likely that it was also purchased prior to internment. During relocation internees were severely limited in the amount of luggage and personal processions that they could bring. Many former internees remember leaving behind beloved possessions. The toys children chose to bring to Amache show not only what was valued by their owners but also the concern of parents for their children’s well being.
CHAPTER 6: CHILDREN AND THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

Introduction

The children of Amache had their own understanding of the political and social environment of WWII that differed from that of the adults around them. They would have constructed an understanding of their own position in the larger political environment based on their own experiences and knowledge. Children understand and situate themselves in the larger social and political context differently than adults. They must construct an understanding which is within their more limited field of knowledge and is often composed of information gleaned either from peers or from adults with whom they are in contact.

Children in Amache had probably always been conscious of differences from their Caucasian counterparts. The bombing of Pearl Harbor and the increased racism that followed the start of America’s conflict with Japan and led to internment further emphasized their unique situation and made them conscious of their ethnic and racial heritage. Japanese American children would have been exposed to the extensive negative
propaganda about Japan, and the Japanese visible in all forms of the media. The reaction of their peers would also have affected their personal view of their own identities. While some children received the support of classmates, others were the subject of racism and felt they had to deny or conceal their Japanese identity through such actions as wearing badges proclaiming Chinese ethnicity (Dempster 2001:21).

*Children’s Play Mate* was a popular magazine of the 1940’s. It contained a mixture of stories, games, activities, and a section where its young readers could send in drawings and letters. This was one of the magazines available to children in Amache and in other camps (Granada Pioneer 1942; Kanemeishi 1943)(Figure 6.1).

![Image of a singer drawn by a young girl in Poston and published in *Children’s Play Mate* September 1945.](image)

An examination of stereotyped depictions from these magazines provides insight into how American children had internalized the anti-Japanese propaganda of the time (Figure 6.2).
Figure 6.2. The top set of images from the March 1943 *Play Mate* show a cartoon jack o’ lantern of Hitler on the left and on the far right a stereotyped “Jap”. The lower set of images, all from one drawing contest in the February 1944 *Play Mate*, show three different images stereotyping the Japanese or Asians.

These images are strongly negative racial stereotypes that mirror those visible on propaganda posters and other media. Children in Amache reading these magazines would have been exposed to an understanding of how their peer groups outside of internment camps were envisioning their ethnic heritage.

The popular media reached out to American children and encouraged them to participate in the war effort. Examples from *Children’s Play Mate* magazine show that American children were receptive to these ideas and participated through collecting rationed materials, buying war bonds, and other efforts. Children in Amache were also actively involved in the war effort. This is especially evident in an examination of *The Junior Pioneer*. Here children expressed their own understanding of and involvement in
the war effort through drawings, poems, and articles encouraging participation and support (Figure 6.3) (see Appendix F for more articles from *The Junior Pioneer*).

![Figure 6.3](image)

Figure 6.3. A drawing from the November 1944 issue of the *Junior Pioneer*. This image of Donald Duck combined with war propaganda shows the influence of the popular media on the consciousness of children.

Children in Amache recognized the importance of the war on their lives and worked to understand the politics and progress of the war (Kimura 1944). Articles about the purchasing of war or defense stamps demonstrate the integration of government propaganda about the war into their social consciousness. Their involvement can also be seen in the material culture they used, the games they played, and their participation in activities like the Boy Scouts and victory gardens.
**War Games**

An understanding of how children in Amache viewed internment and their personal position within the global environment can be developed by looking at how the adults around them situated themselves and also by examining children’s play. Play has a social function in teaching societal ideas and norms, and providing a method of adaptation to the adult world (Lillehammer 1989). Forms of play also show how children contextualize their own identities. By looking at the material and intangible culture children are using in their play activities we can understand both how they see their own position and that of their peers in the larger political environment.

Lillehammer notes that “children’s play functions as a mediator between the child’s role and the adult world by playing biological and social roles which often reflect and adapt roles which adults have in the community” (Lillehammer 1989:95). Adapting adult roles into play allows children to process events and social structures. In play they reformat adult constructs and create new definitions and ideas. Children in Amache engaged in many of the traditional games played by children across the United States but they also incorporated ideas and aspects of life within internment camps into their games. Playtime activities soon reflected their new environment with children playing at lining up for meals and other activities which would have been foreign to them prior to internment (Tong 89). These imaginary games also reflected a war time mentality.

The oral histories concerning games, which can be considered intangible culture, are especially effective for insights into how children viewed themselves because games are created from a child’s own imagination and are not easily controlled by adults. There
are several oral histories which record children’s understanding of the war. Former internees remember playing soldier while in Amache. One noted that in their play they were never fighting the Japanese. They were always soldiers fighting the Germans, and often serving under General Patton, a national hero. In this game the Germans always lost and would fall down as if dead. Other American children were playing the same types of games but without these cultural constraints (Gorham 1942:89). Stories such as these reflect children’s personal interest in the war effort and their understanding of their dual position as Americans of Japanese descent. While they were supportive of the American war effort they could not play at fighting the Japanese. In doing so they would be fighting themselves.

In contrast to these imagination games which are created by children, the toys children play with provide information on how children are being taught to position themselves. While children often request certain playthings, adults are the ultimate arbitrators of consumer culture since they have the majority of the buying power. A major class of toys recovered archaeologically from Amache is what can be termed “war or military toys.” This means that they are somehow thematically connected to WWII or military activities. Such toys include glass battleships and tanks, a rubber military vehicle, and a plastic battleship. A majority of the toys recovered from Amache are broken. The condition of these toys expresses both children’s willingness to use these objects but also the parental view of them as appropriate playthings.

Tooru Nakahira remembers that for his birthday all he wanted was a bomber jacket, for which he walked with his grandmother to Lamar, about 15 miles from camp.
A young boy considered a military jacket to be a desirable possession. His grandmother’s willingness to travel a long distance to purchase the jacket demonstrates that she felt it was an appropriate gift. The purchase and consumption of war toys expresses the support of adult members of the Amache community for the war effort and one manner in which they taught their children about both the war and their own position in the political environment.

**Activities**

Adults and children’s support of the American war effort can also been seen in the development of certain activities in Amache. While children chose to participate in these patriotic organizations they were encouraged to do so by the adult community. The development and subsequent role of the Boy Scouts in Amache provides an excellent example.

The Boy Scouts of America have always been an essentially patriotic organization dedicated to training and educating America’s young men in citizenship (Boy Scouts of America 1959). In Amache, the Boy Scouts was the most popular organization for young men and boys. An article in the *Granada Pioneer* recorded that of the 420 boys in Amache eligible to belong to the Boy Scouts 217 or 52% were members and a total of 40 percent of the boys between the ages of nine to eleven were members of the Cub Scouts(*Granada Pioneer* 1943c). These are impressive membership numbers and demonstrate the perceived importance of the Boy Scouts for internees.
Members of the Boy Scouts received special honors and duties in Amache. The Boy Scouts were in charge of a daily flag raising ceremony at the elementary school and organized a color guard for that purpose. A drum and bugle corps was also formed. This group would play to accompany flag raising ceremonies whenever young men from Amache were leaving to join the military or returning home on leave (Figure 6.4). These ceremonies were held to both honor the young men from Amache who volunteered but also to inform the neighboring town of Granada of the internees’ support of the war effort and their patriotism.

![Figure 6.4. Historic photograph of Boy Scouts at the Block 8H flag raising. The drum and bugle corps is visible in the foreground.](image)

Members of the Boy Scouts were also granted special privileges by the WRA. A number of merit badges are based around survival and camping skills. So they could earn these badges, Boy Scouts were allowed to leave Amache for camping trips. These included a ten day trip to Mancos on the far western side of Colorado (See Appendix F
for more Pioneer articles about the Boy Scouts). Although this was a service trip and the
Scouts participated in dismantling old Civilian Corps buildings, it still demonstrates the
support given to this and other organizations that were viewed as either patriotic or
American (Granada Pioneer 1943a).

The Boy Scouts were viewed by both the internee community and the WRA as an
important and patriotic organization. Many of the former internees I spoke to had fond
memories of their participation in this organization and were proud of the role it allowed
them to play in the community (Figure 6.5). Finding ways to participate actively in the
war effort and demonstrate the internee community’s support was clearly important.

![Figure 6.5. Historic photograph of George Yagi posing for a photograph in his Boy Scout uniform.](image)

This need to participate actively in the American war effort can also be seen in the
cultivation of victory gardens in Amache. During WWI the government promoted victory
gardens to help with impending food shortages and involve citizens in supporting the war effort by limiting the consumption of food resources needed for the troops. Victory gardens were resurrected during WWII because they allowed the average American citizen to demonstrate their support of the war effort and to feel as though they were making an active contribution to victory (Witkowski 2003).

The support for victory gardens was part of a national campaigned called Food Fights for Freedom. This campaign emphasized four aspects in which citizens could assist in the war effort: conserve, play square, share, and produce. They could conserve through nutritious eating habits, food substitutions, and food preservation like canning. Playing square was cooperation with rationing and pricing rules for food products. Sharing emphasized that Americans were rationing so that a portion of our foods could be sent to troops, allied forces, and allied countries. Finally Americans were encouraged to produce by growing a portion of their own foods.

The victory garden movement during WWII was extremely successful with an estimated 50 million victory gardens supplying 40 percent of the country’s vegetable supply (Lawson 2005:173). Many of these gardens were organized by community organizations and fairs were held to display the produce from local gardens.

Internees were limited in their ability to participate in some aspects of this campaign since a majority of their food was provided by the WRA. While internees lacked the facilities for home canning they could actively participate through the creation of victory gardens. Propaganda surrounding victory gardens was distributed following America’s entry into WWII and many internees began growing victory gardens.
immediately after their relocation. Victory gardens in the internment camps served a dual purpose in the community. Gardening provided a way for internees to supplement the foods provided by the WRA and served in the mess halls, which increased internees’ control over their diet. These gardens also allowed internees to participate actively in the war effort and to use a specialized skill that a large number of community members possessed. Like other communities throughout the U.S., Amache had numerous victory gardens and held fairs to display the produce from these gardens. The gardens were organized by blocks, individuals, and organizations. Even children were not immune to the victory garden craze (Figure 6.6).

**STUDENTS DONATE ‘V’ GARDEN CROPS**

Students of the Amache elementary school are contributing vegetables harvested from their Victory garden every week to various departments.

This week they donated two bags of beans and one box of cucumbers to the center hospital, and two baskets of Italian squash to the mess division.

Figure 6.6. Article from the *Granada Pioneer* on August 4, 1943 noting student’s contributions from their victory gardens.

Children in Amache were active participants in the war effort through the victory garden program. Beginning in May of 1943 elementary school children began to plant victory gardens (WRA 1945a) (Figure 6.7). Articles about visits to the school’s victory gardens and what the students were planting are featured frequently in the *Junior Pioneer*. Each grade had their own victory garden and chose what to plant and there were periodic shows at the school highlighting the produce from the gardens.
Planting victory gardens provided children with another outlet to contribute to the war effort and demonstrate their patriotic contribution (Figure 6.8). Children across the United States were planting victory gardens in their social groups, schools, and clubs. Through their participation, the actions of Amache’s children further mirror their counterparts across the country.

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**Victory Garden**

We can’t all join the WAVES
For we are too little,
We can’t all join the WAAC
For they are very clever,
But we all can help to win the war,
By planting a Victory Garden,
Dig, dig, dig,
Plant the seeds,
Pull the weeds,
Gather the vegetables,
And can them, too.
This will help me.
And it will help you.

Yasuko Sumi
Grade 6D

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Figure 6.8. Poem about victory gardens written by a young girl and published in the April 1944 *Junior Pioneer*, the Amache Elementary school’s newspaper.
Conclusion

Documents from Amache are filled with war related imagery (Figure 6.9). The war was a pervasive element that permeated internees’ lives and consciousness. Even as they were imprisoned because of the war most were supportive of the American war effort and demonstrated their support in many ways. Besides the Boy Scout and victory garden programs there were the Blue Star Club for women whose sons had enlisted, and the purchase of war bonds. Perhaps most important was the enlistment of 124 young men from Amache (Simmons, et al. 1994).

![Figure 6.9. Dance cards produced by the Amache Silk Screen Shop with strong military imagery.](image)

Internment created a situation in which it became necessary for Japanese Americans to demonstrate their support for America and their citizenship. This was conveyed to children through the actions of adults. Visible demonstrations of American identity were an important aspect of life within the internment camps. It was no longer enough to know that you were American in the context of internment camps that defined you as a possible enemy; it became necessary to show the wider world that you were. The increased importance of their Japanese American identity can be seen in this article from the *Junior Pioneer* (Figure 6.10). The emphasis is not simply on being good citizens but
on being good Japanese Americans and on demonstrating that fact to the wider American community.

Judge Gillain is the Judge of the Children's Court of Denver. The children and their parents were invited to hear him talk in Terry Hall. Only a few came. He said he had tried ten thousand children in the court but he had never had a child of Japanese ancestry in his court. We should respect that record and live up to it.

The Patrols

Figure 6.10. Article from the Junior Pioneer April 1944 issue about the importance of being good Japanese American children.
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

When the complete assemblage of artifacts from Amache is examined evidence of the community’s Japanese heritage is evident in the number of Japanese ceramics and in other artifacts like sake bottles and an usu or mochi mortar (used to make a traditional rice dish served at New Years). When the artifact assemblage related specifically to children is separated, the picture changes. There are no artifacts that can be positively identified as Japanese associated with children. Children’s interaction with their Japanese heritage can only be seen in the material culture associated with the adult community.

Oral histories and archival evidence present a different image of the cultural identity of children in Amache. Former internees remember participating in Japanese cultural activities and holidays like the annual Obon festival and Judo lessons. Tooru Nakahira remembers a man in Block 6-F who made Japanese style kites which were popular with children. These oral histories are then supported by the archival and photographic evidence. Articles from the newspaper published in Amache record children’s participation in cultural events and activities. The photographic record shows children in traditional dress and engaging in activities like kite flying (Figure 7.1).
Without the oral histories and archival resources the image of Amache’s children would be drastically different. They would appear to be completely separated from their ethnic heritage.

The lack of physical evidence may also reflect the fact that even while children in Amache are participants in the expression of their Japanese heritage, they are still fundamentally American children in their actions, outlooks, and own perspective of their identity. Internment was a redefinition of the identity of these children as society - by separating them because of their ancestry - emphasized the importance of this aspect of their identity. For many children, internment was the first time they were exposed this extensively to Japanese culture and other children with the same dual identity. Oral histories reflect this redefinition more than archaeological evidence. Children were learning aspects of adults’ culture, which is visible in their participation in activities and events organized by adults, but the culture of children in Amache was not essentially
Japanese. This is a possible explanation for why the material culture of children does not reflect their ethnic identity.

Children in the internment camps adapted with greater ease to the changes in living conditions and environments. This is reflected in both the remembrances of former internees and in writings produced by children (Oppenheim 2006). This greater flexibility is related to both children’s ages, understanding of the situation, and the actions of adults in the community. The archaeological and archival evidence from Amache give testimony to the success of internees in reconstructing a working community within the confines of the camp. The establishment of social activities, classes, cultural events, and employment was part of the recreation of an environment which allowed for the socialization of children. This helped prevent children from coming to a full realization of the altered environment of camp and the inherent injustice of their situation.

While children apparently adapted to conditions in the camp more readily, they also suffered negative effects. Barbra Washler, a former junior high teacher in Poston, noted that her students were too young and did not seem angry about living in the camp but that anger, hurt, and bewilderment were there somewhere behind the apparent acceptance (Oppenheim 2006:204). This is also evident in a poem written by a young girl in Amache (Figure 7.2). Here is evidence of children’s feelings of separation from their previous homes and lives.
The age of an individual when events occur have a profound impact on how they react to and subsequently remember the moment (Tuttle 1993:31). This is true with former internees; their age at the time of internment profoundly affected their reactions. This reflects the varying levels of understanding and consciousness evinced at different stages of an individual’s development. While all individuals who were interned were profoundly impacted, how they understood and coped with the experience, both at the time and now, varies greatly depending on age.

Former internees who were young children at Amache and other relocation centers often talk about the increased freedom they experienced and the opportunity to create new friendships and social networks. They reference the presence of other children who looked and acted like them and the increased freedom presented by the camps. On the surface they seem to have enjoyed the experience. It is only when you begin to press
and inquire more deeply that the true effects of internment on these individuals becomes more apparent. One woman noted that her mother and aunt had only ever said that they “didn’t really remember anything.” It was only when she really pushed her mother that she broke down and expressed her true emotions about the experience. Other individuals confided to me about nightmares, worries, and traumas only after a level of trust had been established and only with the assurance that they would not be published.

A recurring theme was that as children they were not fully cognizant of all the negative effects of internment on both themselves and their parents. It was only at a later stage in life that they became fully aware of the full effects of the experience on their lives. This was especially true as they aged and were able to consider the affects of internment on older members of the community, like their parents, who lost businesses and homes. As they aged they were more cognizant of the implications of internment on their own identities.

In contrast, internees who were high school and college aged were much more cognizant of the full ramifications of internment at the time. This is evident both in contemporary interviews and also in archival documents. This generation, unlike their parents and grandparents, had mostly been born in the United States and were raised to consider themselves as Americans. They were primarily citizens and had espoused American beliefs and cultural traditions and behaviors. For this age group internment brought to the forefront the fact that the government and society was viewing them as Japanese.
The archaeological evidence from Amache shows some of the ways in which adults sheltered children in Amache including the creation of structured play areas, children’s participation in activities and events, the alteration of the physical place to create a more livable landscape, and positive interactions with wartime culture. The relative lack of trauma in the memories of former internees who were young children speaks both to the adaptability of this age group but also to the success of adults in Amache and other camps. Through their efforts, Amache became a functional society and adults were able to shelter children from the worst of the potential negative effects of internment.
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APPENDIX A

Maps

Map of Amache with the areas surveyed in 2008 highlighted in red.
Maps of blocks 6G and 6H with gardens and children’s artifacts marked.
Maps of blocks 8H and 8K with gardens and children’s artifacts marked.
Maps of blocks 9H and 10E with gardens and children’s artifacts marked.
Map of block 10H with gardens and children’s artifacts marked.
APPENDIX B

Field Forms

Instructions for Surface Survey Forms

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

Descriptions of some less obvious subtypes are provided below:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Feature Form**

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

**Artifact Analysis Form**

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

**Amache Surface Survey: Objects of Interest**

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

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

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

Cleaning:
- cleaning product containers (glass bottle cleaning products)
- cleaning equipment (brooms, mops, wash basins, laundry lines, washboards)
## Amache Surface Survey
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- **Surveyors:** AKW RW ES DM GZ DS
- **Transect Spacing:** 2m

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### Color:
- Cl-clear
- DG-dark green
- A-aqua
- B-brown
- LG-light green
- 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
- Coat Th-continuous thread
- Lid

### Vessel Form:
- B-bottle
- Jar
- Jug
- CJ-canning jar
### Ceramic or Glass Tableware Analysis Form

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**Ware:**
- E-Earthware
- H-Hotelware
- I-Ironstone
- F-Firebrick
- S-Stoneware
- O-Other

**Segment:**
- T-Terra Cotta
- F-Firebrick
- S-Stoneware
- O-Other

**R/B:**
- Rim
- Base
- R/B: Rim or Base

**H/F:**
- Decor-Decorated Y or N
- H/F hollow form or flatware

**% number of associated fragments:**
### Analysis Form-“Other”

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Materials:

be specific-galvanized tin, enamelware, aluminum, plastic, etc. or known; if composite note all materials
## APPENDIX C

### Gardens

#### Amache Garden Inventory

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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8H F2</td>
<td>Front of Barrack 9</td>
<td>Limestone</td>
<td>2 trees</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Front of Barrack 1</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Limestone</td>
<td>1 tree</td>
<td>no</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8H F5</td>
<td>Along west side of block</td>
<td>Limestone</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8H F6</td>
<td>Front of Barrack 3</td>
<td>Limestone, quartz crystals</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8H F7</td>
<td>Front of Barrack 4</td>
<td>Limestone</td>
<td>no</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8H F8</td>
<td>Front of Barrack 5</td>
<td>Limestone, brick, concrete</td>
<td>2 trees</td>
<td>no</td>
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<tr>
<td>8H F9</td>
<td>Front of Barrack 6</td>
<td>Limestone</td>
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<tr>
<td>8H F10</td>
<td>Front of Barrack 8</td>
<td>Limestone</td>
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<td>1 tree</td>
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<td><strong>Gardens from Informal Survey</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>9L</td>
<td>Oval garden north of bath house</td>
<td>Cinder block</td>
<td>1 tree</td>
<td>no</td>
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<tr>
<td>9L</td>
<td>Front of barrack 8</td>
<td>Cinder block</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
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<td>9L</td>
<td>Front of Barrack 9</td>
<td>Concrete</td>
<td>cactus</td>
<td>possible</td>
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<td>11E</td>
<td>West side of mess hall</td>
<td>Concrete</td>
<td>4 trees</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>marble</td>
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<td><strong>Previous Survey</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7H</td>
<td>North of bath house</td>
<td>Brick, cinder block</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Type of Feature</td>
<td>Status</td>
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<td>--------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7K</td>
<td>Front, between Barracks 5&amp;6</td>
<td>Concrete koi pond</td>
<td>yes</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8E</td>
<td>East side of block</td>
<td>Concrete, river cobble koi pond</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12F</td>
<td>West wall of mess hall</td>
<td>Concrete</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12K</td>
<td>West wall of mess hall</td>
<td>Concrete, cinder block</td>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6H</td>
<td>South of Bathhouse</td>
<td>Concrete, river cobble koi pond</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>marbles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D

Ground Penetrating Radar

The landscape features constructed in Block 8H surrounding the elementary school gardens have been recorded in both historic photographs, newspaper articles, and an academic journal article but these features are generally no longer visible on the surface of the block. The design and construction of these gardens carries the potential to contribute greatly to an understanding of children’s knowledge of agriculture and practice and their ability and desire to alter the physical appearance of the school block. For this reason a Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) survey was conducted to see if there was remaining subsurface evidence of the gardens. GPR is non invasive near surface geophysical method which can show stratigraphic layers and subsurface architectural features. This survey served as a precursor to the archaeological excavations that were conducted in several of the gardens during the 2008 field school.

The GPR Method

The GPR functions by measuring the elapsed time between when pulses of radar energy are transmitted from a surface antenna, reflected from discontinuities buried beneath the ground surface, and then received back at another surface antenna (Conyers 2004). When the paired antennas are moved along transects on the ground surface, two-dimensional profiles of buried stratigraphy can be produced by stacking thousands of reflections together to produce what are termed reflection profiles. Changes in the reflected wave strength and the geometry of those reflections in profiles can then be
related to the distribution and orientation of subsurface features of interest, or fill layers and a variety of other objects or disturbances in the ground (Conyers 2004). Many tens or sometimes hundreds of reflection profiles, collected in a grid can then be analyzed within a three dimensional “cube” of reflection data as a way to produce complex images of buried materials (Conyers 2004: 148) in ways not possible using other near-surface geophysical methods (Johnson 2006).

A growing community of archaeologists has been incorporating GPR as well as other near-surface geophysical methods as routine field procedures for many years (Conyers, 2004, 2006b; Gaffney and Gater 2003, Johnson 2006). When this is done GPR maps and images become primary data that can be used to guide the placement of excavations, increase our understanding of subsurface soil features, or possibly to define sensitive areas containing cultural remains to preserve.

Factors that affect GPR success

Resolution of buried materials and the depth of investigation are the most important factors that must be taken into account when contemplating the use of GPR at a site. An analysis of these two variables is crucial when choosing the appropriate frequency antenna to use for data collection. Higher frequency antennas, above about 400 megahertz (MHz) are capable of better subsurface resolution, but transmit energy to shallower depths (Conyers 2004: 39). For instance, a 400 MHz antenna can resolve objects and stratigraphic interfaces as small as about 20 centimeters in maximum dimension, but are only rarely effective below depths of 3 meters. In contrast, lower
frequency antennas (in the 100-200 MHz range) can theoretically transmit energy that penetrates 5 meters or more, but are incapable of resolving objects or interfaces smaller than about 60 centimeters in dimension.

When the depth of the desired study features is known the appropriate frequency antenna can be chosen. In the case of the garden features at Amache the depth was known to be relatively shallow, however, one of the research questions concerned the depth of soil augmentation in the gardens. For this reason the 400 MHz antenna was chosen over the 900 MHz. The use of the 400 MHz antenna allowed for the transmission of energy to a greater depth but provided a less detailed resolution than the 900 MHz antenna. The results of the 2008 GPR survey and following archaeological excavations revealed that the garden features at Amache are shallow. Based on these results, recollection with the 900 MHz antenna may provide more detailed information about the formation and construction of the garden features.

A main concern when using GPR is the attenuation of radar energy. Radar energy attenuation with depth is primarily a function of the electrical conductivity of soils and sediments through which the radar energy must pass (Doolittle and Collins 1995). Radar energy loss, termed attenuation, always occurs as energy moves into the ground. This attenuation is a function of four general factors; coupling, geometric spreading, discontinuities in the ground, and electromagnetic attenuation (Reynolds 1997).

Coupling losses occur when the radar antennas are not placed in direct contact with the ground, or when the ground surface is uneven, allowing radar energy to be scattered and lost before it effectively “couples” with the ground and transmission can
occur. This loss factor can be mostly overcome by making sure antennas are moved slowly and carefully along the ground surface. Coupling was a major problem in the collection of the GPR grids at Amache. The uneven surface of the ground combined with the presence of grass and low shrubs made it difficult to maintain steady contact with the ground surface and coupling errors are visible in the grids.

Another factor is geometric spreading that occurs as energy moves into the ground. This loss is a function of the conical shape of the transmitted radar which means that radar energy spreads out over a larger and larger surface area as it travels deeper in the ground (Conyers 2004: 62). This type of loss decreases the amount of energy that can be reflected back to the surface lowering the resolution of any reflections generated by more deeply buried features. This is a factor inherent in the method and cannot be adjusted for using standard GPR equipment. This was not an issue at Amache due to the shallow nature of the features being studied.

A third site-specific factor is objects or discontinuities in the ground, redirecting some of the energy away from the surface receiving antenna so that it is not recorded. This should not have been a major concern in the Amache survey since the soil is composed of moderately sorted sediments and gravels. The presence of subsurface metal artifacts may have been a concern but since the areas surveyed were not sites where large amounts of trash were disposed this concern should not have been an issue.

The most variable and important factor in determining the GPR method’s effectiveness is electromagnetic attenuation. As radar energy is composed of both electrical and magnetic waves, which move in a conjoined fashion (Conyers 2004: 24),
the removal of either one or the other by electrically conductive or magnetically susceptible ground effectively destroys the transmitted energy. In general, soils that are moist and have high clay content, especially clays of certain mineralogy, will have high electrical conductivities. While no chemical tests were performed on the soils and sediments around the gardens in Amache visual analysis showed them to be composed of sandy silts with a minimal amount of clay. The shallow nature of the archaeological features also meant that attenuation was not a major concern in the quality of the data collected.

Equipment and Systems

In all tests the Geophysical Survey Systems, Inc. (GSSI) Subsurface Interface Radar System model 3000 (SIR-3000) was used to collect the GPR data, with a survey wheel used to place reflections in space along survey transects. The 400 MHz antennas were used in all tests. Reflection data were transferred to a laptop computer and processed using software that is publicly available (Conyers 2005). This software allowed reflection profiles to be viewed and analyzed, and grids of closely spaced profiles were used to produce amplitude maps of buried features.

GPR Analysis

Ground conditions for the three survey grids located in Block 8H was composed of loose sandy soil heavily covered in low sage brush yucca, prickly pear and other flora common in the low plains of southeastern Colorado. Three test areas were chosen, one in
front of a barrack class room and two in the areas around the mess hall. Grids of GPR reflection data, composed of many reflection profiles were produced at all three test areas.

The GPR survey is conducted by laying a grid in the desired area and then moving the radar equipment in closely spaced parallel transects through the grid. By collecting multiple closely spaced profiles the data can be interpreted both horizontally and vertically. In most cases horizontal amplitude-slices and vertical reflection profiles were produced from these profiles and both methods of viewing the ground were used in the interpretation. For this survey the ground conditions necessitated the collection of reflection profiles spaced approximately 1m apart. The collection distance between the profiles did affect the continuity of the data collected and is visible in the horizontal slice maps generated.

The author and Professor Bonnie Clark collecting GPR data in Grid 2 in front of barrack 10.
The data from the three grids collected in Block 8H, the elementary school, were relatively inconclusive. Only Grid 2 contained evidence of any garden features. This grid was in feature 1 at the elementary school and was the eventual location of excavation units 8H-1 and 8H-2. Grid 2 was laid out along the southern edge of barrack 10 and extended to the northern side of barrack 9. The grid extended 34 feet north south and 48 feet east west.

![Horizontal slice maps of Block 8H Grid 2](image)

Three high amplitude reflections from these slices were examined for surface causes. The reflections were chosen based on their location, and presence in multiple slices. The first, located on the south side of the grid, between 40-45 feet, corresponded to an area of
broken limestone. The small reflection in the lower north east corner had no visible surface cause but was also present in the next slice. The final large reflection on the north side between 13-22 feet corresponded to the location of a doorway in the barrack. The center of the doorway was at 15 feet, placing the door at the center of the high amplitude reflection. From historic photographs we know that a small entry way was added here. The photographic evidence of the addition is supported by the GPR.

The two series of point source reflections found between 7-13 feet and 21-27 feet are present in a number of the vertical profiles from this grid. The reflections seem to correspond to the topography of the area between the barracks.
On close examination it was noticed that the areas along the barrack walls was higher than the center walk area and that the point source reflections fall approximately where the terrain begins to drop off. This is also supported by the presence of scattered areas of limestone that fall between 6 – 10 feet from the edge of the grid on the south side and several remaining upright stones on the north side that lie 10 feet, 6 feet and 8 feet from the edge of the grid. These measurements place them within the area of the vertical profile seen between 21 and 27 feet. From historic photographs of this section of the block we know that there were garden features outlined in stone along both sides of a central walkway. The evidence from the GPR seems to support the photographs.
Direction of slight incline in terrain of block

Circled areas show location of limestone scatters on surface one of which corresponds with reflections in vertical profiles visible between 5-10 feet.

Barrack doorway which from historic photos had an addition. Strong amplitude reflection visible in multiple slices at 15' which corresponds to center of door frame.

Limestone visible on surface that may be remains of garden borders visible in historic photos. These stones correspond to reflections visible in vertical slices between 21-25'.

Two contemporary photographs showing the location of remaining visible garden features in relation to the barrack wall and doorway.

While the data collected from Block 8H Grid 2 does provide evidence of the presence of a historic garden it was necessary to extensively use the remaining surface
features and historic photographs to interpret this data. The GPR confirms the historic and present day evidence but provided little additional information about the formation of the gardens or their construction.

The GPR data collected at the oval gardens in Block 9L provide an example of what a better preserved garden feature looks like in both horizontal and vertical profiles. The gardens in Block 9L were made of partially buried cinder blocks. In some areas soil erosion had covered the garden outline while in others the original feature was visible.

Data in the oval gardens was collected using north-south running transects. This direction was chosen to ensure that the remaining walls of the gardens would be visible in
the reflection profiles. In the vertical reflection profiles two distinct features of the garden were evident. Between 3 and 8 feet a long planar reflection is visible. This area corresponded with an area of coal clinker and other refuse that was uncovered during the 2008 excavation. The cinder block walls of the garden are also visible as strong point source reflections at 10 and 18 feet.

In the horizontal reflection profiles the outlines of the gardens are clearly visible along with the planar surface visible in the vertical profile.
Clearly GPR has the potential to be an effective tool in exploring garden and landscape features at Amache. In areas where extensive surface features are visible GPR can confirm their extent and expose subsurface areas. Where the garden features are more ephemeral or less well preserved using a 900 MHz antenna along with more closely spaced transects could provide more conclusive data.
# Children's Toys Recovered From Amache

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Block</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Survey/Excavation</th>
<th>FA/FS</th>
<th>Location in Block</th>
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<td>Marble</td>
<td>Red &amp; White Glass Marble</td>
<td>6H</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>FA 15</td>
<td>Dirt Pile from Koi Pond</td>
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<td>FA 20</td>
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<td>Survey Method</td>
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<td>Survey</td>
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<td>Survey</td>
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<td>F5</td>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>On edge of residential section</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Rubber Truck Fragment: The cab of a toy truck made of hard black rubber. The remains of blue paint can be seen over the hub cap and details of the doors windows, and a driver are still visible. The truck was probably made by the Auburn rubber company and similar models have been found in historic ads and for sale on Ebay. The Auburn rubber company suspended production during WWII so this toy is pre internment and was brought to Amache.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Military/War</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>CM</th>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<tr>
<td>Blue Plastic Boat Fragment</td>
<td>A fragment of a blue plastic ship. This would have been the top and fit into a hollow bottom. Similar sets of cheap plastic boats were found in a Sears Roebuck catalogue from 1944.</td>
<td>8K</td>
<td>F1</td>
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<td>Survey</td>
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<td>Marble</td>
<td>Purple &amp; Grey Glass Marble</td>
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<td>White Glass Marble</td>
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<td>NA</td>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>FA 3 On edge of residential section</td>
</tr>
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<td>Description</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Excavation</td>
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<td>Marble</td>
<td>Pale Green Glass Shooter Marble Fragment</td>
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<td>Survey</td>
<td>FA 5</td>
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<td>NA</td>
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<td>NA</td>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>FA 25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Flat metal from toy truck: This flattened piece of metal seems to be the bottom of a mid sized toy vehicle. Based on a comparison of the artifact to photographs of toy vehicles from the 1940's.</td>
<td>10E</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>FA 18</td>
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<td>Marble</td>
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<td>Survey</td>
<td>FA 32 On edge of residential section</td>
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<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>Bottle for Model Airplane Glue: Glue jar from a Megow's model kit. In the 1930's the company began selling it's glue in jars rather than tubes to minimize evaporation. Kit prices could range from 5 cents to more than one dollar. Megow's was started in 1929 by Fred Megow and industrial arts teacher. WWII instigated a decline in the production of model airplane kits as balsa wood was in demand for the military effort and the company closed in 1949.</td>
<td>10H</td>
<td>F2</td>
<td>Survey</td>
<td>FA 10 In informal Dump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Akro Agate Saucer Fragment: Fragment of an Akro Agate saucer in the stacked disk pattern. The Akro Agate Company was established in 1911 in Akron, Ohio as a producer of machine made marbles. Beginning in the 1930's the company began producing depression glass wares including children's dishes. These sets did not become popular until during WWII due to their low price and ready availability. After WWII plastic became the preferred medium for the production of children's toys making Akro Agate's version less popular and production was discontinued by the end of the 1940's.</td>
<td>8K</td>
<td>Unit 1</td>
<td>Excavation</td>
<td>Vegetable Garden Excavation</td>
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<tr>
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<td>9L</td>
<td>Unit 1</td>
<td>Excavation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Marble</td>
<td>Green &amp; Clear Glass Marble</td>
<td>9L</td>
<td>Unit 1</td>
<td>Excavation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Artifacts From Informal Survey and the Amache Dump**

| Military/War | Victory Glass Candy Container | 9L | NA | Informal Survey 425 | Oval Garden Excavation |

- Red Plastic Animal Foot. A hollow red plastic animal foot or paw with claws. This could have come from a Cracker Jack toy or another cheap small toy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Dump</th>
<th>Dump</th>
<th>Informal Survey</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rubber Doll Fragment:</strong> Most of the upper torso of a rubber doll. The original color was probably pale pink and it might have been a baby doll. The doll appears to have had mechanical components, as parts of a metal interior structure are visible. Some higher end dolls in the 1940's could cry, talk, blink, and have limited motion. This doll may have had any of these abilities.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ceramic Doll Leg:</strong> Porous ceramic doll leg painted pale pink with a black slipper/shoe. The origins of this doll leg are unknown. Ceramic dolls were not common in the US in the 1940's so it could either be an antique or Japanese. There are several types of ceramic dolls from Japan. Totai, or ceramic dolls made of ceramic, decorated with enamel or paint and unglazed. Or Ichimatsu Ningyo closest to play dolls and are made of wood or other moldable materials like ceramic.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Akro Agate Sauceor Fragment:</strong> Fragment of an Akro Agate saucer in the stacked disk pattern. The Akro Agate Company was established in 1911 in Akron, Ohio as a producer of machine made marbles and later depression glass wares. These depression glass tea sets were produced beginning in the 1930's but reached their peak popularity during WWII.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Akro Agate Saucer Fragment: Fragment of an Akro Agate saucer in the octagonal pattern. This is the only piece in this pattern recovered from Amache. The Akro Agate Company was established in 1911 in Akron, Ohio as a producer of machine made marbles and later depression glass wares. These depression glass tea sets were produced beginning in the 1930's but reached their peak popularity during WWII.</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Informal Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Akro Agate teapot or pitcher in the stacked disk pattern, these forms are only distinguishable by the vessels handle which is missing. The Akro Agate Company was established in 1911 in Akron, Ohio as a producer of machine made marbles and later depression glass wares. These depression glass tea sets were produced beginning in the 1930's but reached their peak popularity during WWII.</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Informal Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Akro Agate Tea Pot or Pitcher Fragment: Fragment of an Akro Agate teapot or pitcher in the stacked disk pattern. The Akro Agate Company was established in 1911 in Akron, Ohio as a producer of machine made marbles and later depression glass wares. These depression glass tea sets were produced beginning in the 1930's but reached their peak popularity during WWII.</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Informal Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Red Rubber Ball: A hard red rubber ball of the type often used in children's games such as jacks.</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Informal Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Item Description</td>
<td>Disposal</td>
<td>Storage</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Minnie Mouse Charm: A early plastic or celluloid charm in the shape of Minnie Mouse. This toy originally had a small loop located above the bow which has broken off. This could be a Cracker Jack toy or some other cheap prize.</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Informal Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>Plastic Doll Tricycle Fragment: Hard plastic in two colors. It reconstructs to be a yellow wheel and petal which then attached to a blue tricycle body. The second image is a 1940's toy set which seems to contain a complete version of the artifact.</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Informal Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military/War</td>
<td>Glass Candy Container, Tank: Molded glass container which would have originally contained small candy balls made primarily of sugar. The container would have been sealed with a cardboard flap. These were sold in sets containing a range of forms. A similar set of containers is listed as costing 40 cents in a 1944 Sears and Roebuck catalogue.</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Informal Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military/War</td>
<td>Glass Candy Container, warship: Molded glass container which would have originally contained small candy balls and been sealed with a cardboard flap. These were sold in sets containing a range of forms and were listed as costing 40 cents in a 1944 Sears and Roebuck catalogue.</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Informal Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Marble: Purple &amp; Clear Glass Shooter Marble</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Informal Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Method</td>
<td>Findings</td>
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<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Hard Rubber Doll Leg: This doll leg is pale pink in color and was molded with a shoe. The mold seams are visible on the side of the leg indicating cheaper construction. By the 1940's more indestructible materials like rubber and plastic were becoming popular for the construction of toys like this doll leg. A review of dolls from the period show that a majority were made from similar materials.</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Informal Survey</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military/War</td>
<td>Hard Plastic Figure: A mostly melted plastic figure. This appears to have once been a human figure mounted on a flat plastic base. This is a form which is commonly found in toy soldiers but the condition of the artifact makes identification of the original form impossible. The dress and footwear of the toy seems to more closely resemble that of a soldier.</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Informal Survey</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble</td>
<td>Brown glazed ceramic marble: This type of marble is frequently referred to as a Bennington and were produced as early as 1842. The marble is clearly hand rolled and was covered in a brown glaze of varying thicknesses.</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Informal Survey</td>
<td>FS 483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Tootsie Toy: A square die cast metal toy piece that resembles a lid. The Tootsie Toy company made cars and doll house furniture.</td>
<td>Dump</td>
<td>Informal Survey</td>
<td>FS 483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Plastic Stamp: Hard plastic body designed to have removable letters. Three letters are still in place and these are in a range of colors. The words &quot;paten pend&quot; are visible but no other identifiable marks. This was an educational toy, the maker and what the original set looked like are unknown.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
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<td>Dump</td>
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<td>Dump</td>
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<tr>
<td>Informal Survey</td>
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<td>FS 444</td>
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</table>
The Akro Agate Company was established in 1911 in Akron, Ohio as a producer of machine made marbles. This history is evident in the company logo, “shoot as straight as a crow flies”. Beginning in the 1930’s the company began producing a large range of “depression” glass wares ranging from flowerpots to ashtrays. At this time they also began to produce a line of children’s dishes. Due to the availability of cheap Japanese import children’s tea sets the Akro agate version was not popular. During WWII the Japanese imports were no longer available and the Akro Agates “depression” glass line took off in popularity, due to its low price and ready availability. After WWII plastic became the preferred medium for the production of children’s toys due to its durability. As plastic tea sets became available the Akro Agate version became less popular and production was discontinued by the end of the 1940’s.

Akro Agate “depression” glass tea sets were sold in boxed sets and available in a wide range of colors. The boxed sets in fact often contained more than 1 color of glass. The pieces included in a set also varied, but were generally saucers, tea cups, pitchers, tumblers and tea pots. A few sets were sold with cereal bowls but these are less common. Sets were also available in a range of mold styles. All three pieces of Akro Agate collected from Amache are in the “stacked disc” style. “Stacked Discs” refers to a pattern of graduated bands that move up the piece like inverted stair steps.
Akro Agate Children’s Dish Styles

Stacked Discs refer to a pattern of graduated bends that move up the piece like inverted stair steps.

Interior panel interior of the dishes resemble the octagonal style but the exterior is smooth.

Octagonal dishes have an octagonal shape and hollow form. Vessels have flat side walls.

Concentric ring dishes have thin raised bands of glass at intervals around the pieces.

Raised Daisy the only set made with embossing. Has a daisy chain design around the dish edge.

Stacked disc and Panel interior panel is combined with stacked disc so the interior is paneled and the exterior has the same inverted stair steps as the “stacked disc style.”

Collector Books, Paducah. Images from Ebay.

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APPENDIX F

Newspapers

Granada Pioneer Articles

October 31st 1942

November 4th 1942

November 14th 1942
MAGAZINES AVAILABLE

Regular monthly and weekly issues of 49 different magazines are available for the reading public at the three project school libraries, the library offices announced. The senior and junior high school libraries have regular issues of such popular magazines as Life, Popular Mechanics, Newsweek, Time, Reader's Digest, Boy's Life, etc.

Wee Wisdom, Children's Playmate, and Children's Activities are available for the younger pupils.

November 18th 1942

VACATION PROGRAM SET

Summer vacation activities for the elementary grade children will begin July 6, with morning sessions from 8:30 to 11 o'clock and afternoon sessions from 2 to 4 o'clock. Pupils will be expected to attend the morning session as regularly as their current classes.

Vacation activities will include handicraft, folk dancing, music, dramatics, writing, woodwork, gardening, and some remedial work.

June 5th 1943

GRAMMAR SCHOOL PUPILS SEE SHOW

A puppet show under the direction of Mark Luca was presented this week at Terry Hall for the school children and their parents, the elementary office said.

January 23rd 1943

STUDENTS DONATE 'V' GARDEN CROPS

Students of the Amache elementary school are contributing vegetables harvested from their Victory garden every week to various departments.

This week they donated two bags of beans and one box of cucumbers to the center hospital, and two baskets of Italian squash to the mess division.

August 4th 1943
FREE MOVIES FOR CHILDREN

Free movies for children have been slated for this Saturday at Terry Hall, featuring a rip-roaring western, "Silver Stallion" starring David Sharpe and Chief Thunder Cloud.

Youngsters between the ages of 8 and 12 will be admitted to the morning showing, 9 o'clock, and kiddies under 8 will be admitted to the afternoon showing at 1 o'clock.

January 17th 1945
Boy Scout Articles from the Granada Pioneer

LIL' NEEBO (LITTLE NISEI BOY)

BY CHRIS ISHI

November 18th 1942

BOY SCOUTS
Flag Ceremony

With Troop 179 Drum and Bugle corps participating, the Boy Scouts of Amache held a Flag-raising ceremony at the SH school grounds Sunday. All Boy and Cub Scouts participated.

The Scouts then fell into formation and with the drum and bugle corps leading, paraded around the center.

June 2nd 1942

SCOUTS FORM COLOR GUARD

Amache Boy Scouts, under the direction of Scout Commissioner Ed Tokunaga, have organized a color guard which raises and lowers the school Flag in a daily ceremony. Members are Clark Tokunaga, Eddie Moriguchi, and Susumi Yamamoto of Troop 162.

June 5th 1943
BOY SCOUTS SET GOAL AT 23,000 HOURS ON FARM

With the goal set for 23,000 hours, 230 Boy Scouts and Scouters are now doing volunteer work on the project farm. The program is being carried out on a competitive basis, with troop leaders supervising the work of their respective groups.

The Amache program is a part of the nation-wide Boy Scout project to aid in emergency farm work. Those who volunteer form the Victory Farm Volunteers. One hundred hours per Scout is the national goal.

Boys 12 years of age and over are now eligible to work on the farm as emergency farm workers and receive pay, according to Scout Commissioner Ed Tokunaga.

June 9th 1943

COURT OF HONOR

Boy Scouts of Amache will hold their second Court of Honor at Torry hall, Monday at 7:30 p.m. Sam Pu-Site has been named the chairman for the event, and Frank Nakatani, clerk of the court. The public is cordially invited to attend.

V.F.V. EMBLEMS

Amache Scout who volunteer for emergency farm work are entitled to wear the Victory Farm Volunteer emblems which are issued by the Boy Scouts of America, according to Scout Commissioner Ed Tokunaga.

MEMBERS INCREASE

An increase of 40, or 21.1 per cent, in the number of Boy Scouts since the Court of Honor held on Feb. 28 was reported by Scout Commissioner Ed Tokunaga. A gain of 35 boys, or 89.7 per cent, was shown for the Cub movement.

A total of 217 boys belong to the Scouts while there are 74 Cubs. Out of 420 boys eligible to belong to the Scouts, (16 to 18 years-old), 52 per cent are Scouts. Forty per cent of the boys ranging from 9 to 11 years belong to the Cubs.

ADVANCEMENTS

Since February 28, 17 Scouts have advanced to Second Class; 17, First Class and one, Life Scout. A total of 75 merit badges have been issued, while six Scouts have been dropped from the organization.

JULY 4TH PROGRAM

The Boy Scouts will be in charge of the opening ceremony for the Fourth of July program which will be sponsored by the recreation department.

HEADS NAMED

Swimming and camping activities of the Scouts will be under the supervision of Roy Uyezumi. Frank Nakatani was named executive secretary of the Scout operating staff.

June 19th 1943

TROOP 162 GOES ON CAMPING TRIP

Forty Boy Scouts of Troop 162 left Monday evening on a four-day camping trip near the XY ranch. Scoutmaster Ed Tokunaga and the Senior Scouts will be in charge. Food was provided by the mess division and transportation by the motor pool.

June 30th 1943
80 SCOUTS RETURN FROM 10-DAY TRIP TO MANCOS

With cries of "lock it up in the water tower!" and "good luck, Amache," 80 Boy Scouts of Amache returned Saturday night from a 10-day combined vacation and work trip at Mancos, Colo.

The town of Mancos, with a population of 750, is about 450 miles southwest of Amache, and the route taken required two days each way.

An average of five hours were put into work by the scouts every day, and four buildings, ranging in size from 25 by 20 feet to 20 by 120 feet, were completely torn down and loaded onto seven freight cars. Bolts, partitions, and electrical wirings were removed from the six remaining buildings.

During their leisure afternoon hours, the scouts usually went swimming, hiking, and shopping. At night they went to movies. They were always cordially received by Mancos people during their stay. A joint outdoor bonfire meeting was held with the Mancos Boy Scouts, and an evening of songs, skits, and refreshments was enjoyed by all.

One whole day was spent by the Amache scouts at Mesa Verde National Park, about eight miles from the town. Accompanied by two guides, scouts visited the ancient cliff dwellings and sun temple of the Pueblo Indians.

Troop competition was held with strict accordance to rules and regulations throughout the six days. Troops were judged according to the amount and quality of work accomplished, conduct, advancement tests, and camping activities.

Five troops participated in the competition, and Troop 112 came out first, while Troop 27 won second place. The first-place winner will receive Dr. Takashi Terao's award, while the second-place winner will be given a monetary award from the Boy Scout headquarters.

Robert Mineho Yatagai, Kazutari Sugita, Cleveland, Sept. 3.
Saito Yamagishi, Hudson, Ohio, Sept. 3.
Fuseko Urenaka, Takara, Yawara, Teikyo, Chicago, Ill., Sept. 4.
Takaya Uenaka, Tsurumoto, and Kiyoko Satake, Cleveland, Sept. 1.
Kazuko Aiba, Ahtanum, Wash., Sept. 1, to enroll in Pullman Christian College.
Wallace Kami Akihisa, Chicago, Aug. 31.
Sven Sato, Hidaka, Hyodai, Rocky Ford, Colo., Aug. 31, to join sister.
Tom L. Otake, Alice K. Otake, and daughter Rose, Davenport, Iowa, Sept. 1.
Hatsumi Ue, Fumiko Imamoto and children, Arthur and Joan, Davenport, Iowa, Sept. 1.
2A NEWS

"The children in this room talk over many things which have happened in the block since school started. They decided that the rules around the school seemed to bother more than any other adjustment which the children have to make. We want this to be a good school. We know it is not especially beautiful here and not as comfortable as it might be so we want to make up for all that by acting especially nice. We want everyone to have a good opinion of the Japanese American children and they will if we live up to all these rules."

Mrs. Cochrane

LANDSCAPING THE SCHOOL BLOCK

Landscaping of the school block is now coming to action. We have some limestone put in and are getting more. Our block will not have any trees as Mr. Temple announced. For if we have trees we will need a large quantity of water. Some pupils are going on an excursion to get Yuca this week or the next. Mr. Temple is going to bring a harrow to plow the school grounds so we can put grass in. We, the pupils, must be very grateful to Mr. Temple, Doctor Duman, and the teachers for building up our school.

Jay Takaya
Grade 6D

LANDSCAPING

The landscaping of the school is for planting grass or other things. The children have been digging and others have been putting in the rocks, hammering in the stakes for the string and measuring the ground. Each room has certain time to go and do their share. The boys have been doing the work first, but the girls have their chances now.

Joyce Kashiwase

ELEMENTARY COOP STORE

The Elementary Store soon will sell magazines—Life for 10c, Children's Playmate for 15c and Popular Mechanics for 25c. Books may be sold too.

Doris Kanemachi

DEFENSE STAMPS

Our room has brought $5.25 in Defense Stamps the last two weeks.

—Marjorie Koseki

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VICTORY GARDEN

The Elementary School is planning to have a Victory Garden. Below is a sketch where it is located. If you go down G Street and through the gate there is a road which goes to Granada and Lamar. Cross that street and keep going straight. Then you will find our Victory Garden. Near the Victory Garden is a ditch which we will use for irrigation. The Garden is about one acre. Each class will have a part in the Victory Garden. So let's do our share!

Emiko Ogawa

April 1943

2C NEWS

Let's Plant a Garden

This is how we planted a garden. We picked up the stones. We made fences with rocks. We dug the ground. We raked it smooth. We planted the rye, and then we raked the dirt over the seeds.

April 1943

MY HOME

My home is at Los Angeles,
I love it with all my heart.
I wish that I could go back to my home
And never go apart.

My home so dearly loved by me,
With hedges all around,
And a wide lawn so bright and green,
Of my home I always dream.

Kiyoko Miyoshi
Grade 3B

May 1943

LIBERTY

I like coffee I like tea,
Not as much as Liberty.

I-miss coffee I-miss Ham,
Not as much as Uncle Sam.

Jiro Yoshino
Grade 5D

May 1943
Judge Gillain is the Judge of the Children's Court of Denver. The children and their parents were invited to hear him talk in Terry Hall. Only a few cases. He said he had tried ten thousand children in the court but he had never had a child of Japanese ancestry in his court. We should respect that record and live up to it.

The Petsols

April 1944

Victory Garden

We can't all join the WAVES
For we are too little,
We can't all join the WAAC
For they are very clever,
But we all can help to win the war,
By planting a Victory Garden.
Dig, dig, dig,
Plant the seeds,
Pull the weeds,
Gather the vegetables,
And can them, too.
This will help me
And it will help you.

Yasuko Sumi
Grade 6D

April 1944

How we keep up on current war news

We have maps on the back of the room. We have flags for each ally. Each day when the battle lines move, we move the little pin flags. We have been pinning up flags where our allies are fighting and the cities and towns that have been captured. Our committee is trying to find out where our allies have advanced so that we can keep the maps up-to-date. We are trying to find out those things by listening to the radio and reading newspapers.

Kenneth Yoshino Kimura

November 1944