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## Gila River Concentration Camp and the Historical Memory of Japanese American Mass Incarceration

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### INTRODUCTION

On July 20, 1942, a concentration camp was opened in Rivers, Arizona, to incarcerate Japanese Americans removed from the West Coast. The camp, officially named the Gila River War Relocation Center, stood on the Gila River Indian Community reservation, the land originally inhabited by the Akmel O'odham and the Pee Posh peoples.<sup>1</sup> The Gila River Indian Council, the caretakers of the land, had not approved of the establishment of a prison camp on their territory. It was the white administrators of two federal agencies, the Office of Indian Affairs and the War Relocation Authority (WRA), who decided on the construction of the camp on the reservation to utilize the impounded population for the "improvement" of the land.<sup>2</sup>

The Gila River War Relocation Center was one of two wartime incarceration camps for Japanese Americans constructed in Arizona.<sup>3</sup> Gila River was located approximately forty-five miles south of Phoenix in the Sonoran Desert.<sup>4</sup> The other camp, the Colorado River War Relocation Center, commonly called Poston, was built in northern Arizona, also on an indigenous reservation. Poston housed the largest detainee population of over 17,000, while Gila River housed 13,348 at its peak. This made Gila River the second-largest camp among the ten regular war relocation centers, and the fourth-most populated community in the state of Arizona between

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1942 and 1944.<sup>5</sup> Gila River was administered solely by the WRA, while Poston was under the joint control of the WRA and the Office of Indian Affairs.

The relocation and mass incarceration of 120,000 Japanese Americans during World War II is one of the most heavily researched topics among the historical experiences of Asian Americans. Existing literature ranges from analyses of the governmental decision on mass uprooting; legal studies on related Supreme Court cases; personal and collective recollections of the camp experiences; literary and fictional texts depicting the removal and incarceration as well as its aftermaths; literary and cultural criticisms of representations of this episode; psychological analyses of its impacts on individuals as well as the ethnic community as a whole to sociological studies on identity and community formations by Japanese Americans within and after the camps.

There has been a disparity, however, in how much attention each camp has received from historians and other scholars, even among the ten war relocation centers.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, certain topics have been focused on while other topics have received little scholarly attention. For example, much exploration has been done on the insecure identity of the Nisei (second-generation Japanese Americans), who were denied their birth-right citizenship, while fewer studies look at the experiences of the Issei (first-generation Japanese Americans), who were technically enemy aliens, or Kibei (Nisei who was raised in Japan and returned to the United States), whose cultural affiliation was “suspect” as far as the administrators were concerned.<sup>7</sup> While accounts and studies on Manzanar and Topaz camps have been published for decades, it is only in the past dozen years that publications have increased on Tule Lake, the camp that was converted into a segregation center after the “loyalty questionnaire” in 1943.<sup>8</sup> While many studies have perceived the incarcerated’s resistance in the camps as an expression of resentment at the deprivation of civil rights, only in the past two decades did scholars start to look at the incarcerated’s complex sentiments, which arose from their dual affiliations with Japan and the United States and their equivocal affections for their “two homelands.”<sup>9</sup> Finally, while there are many books and articles on camp administration and incarcerated’s resistance, art, and literature, there have been fewer publications analyzing the material aspects of camp lives, such as food, clothing, consumer goods and services, and the development of the physical infrastructure of the camps during their years of operation.

So far, Gila River has been one of the least studied of the ten WRA

camps.<sup>10</sup> The absence of academic interest in this camp can be attributed to the particular ways in which the historical memories of Japanese American incarceration have been constructed vis-à-vis the evolution of the scholarly field of Asian American Studies. After World War II, silence prevailed in the Japanese American community.<sup>11</sup> Nisei parents did not speak about their incarceration even to their children, and the subject was not taught at school. Sansei (third-generation Japanese Americans) did not know what happened to their community in the early 1940s until they engaged in the radical social movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s.<sup>12</sup> The number of writings about Asian American experiences increased in and after the 1970s, thanks to the Yellow Power movement and the establishment of Asian American Studies programs in universities. Japanese American mass incarceration came to be generally viewed as a primary example of a racially motivated civil rights violation in American history, particularly after the Redress settlement in 1988.<sup>13</sup>

As the large-scale uncovering of wartime events involving the Japanese American community did not start until the 1970s, Issei narratives were difficult to gather for Asian American scholars and curators. Most of the immigrant generation had already died by then, and very few Sansei spoke or read Japanese, even though the Issei generation left bountiful written accounts of their experiences in Japanese-language newspapers, community association records, memoirs, poetry, literature, and personal diaries. The representations of Japanese American wartime incarceration have relied heavily on Nisei's memories expressed in English. Excavation of Japanese-language sources had to wait until a number of Japan-based scholars started researching Japanese American history.<sup>14</sup>

Another feature of the collective historical memory of the camps emerged from the politics of Asian American Studies. Because the discipline of Asian American Studies evolved in the political and social activism in the 1970s, the Japanese American wartime incarceration was first studied in the light of America's historical racism and civil rights violations. This has induced scholars to focus on racial prejudice on the side of the policymakers and administrators—the creators and keepers of the American concentration camps—and the hardship suffered by Japanese Americans—the victims of wartime racial injustice. From this perspective, there was little incentive to talk about the Gila River War Relocation Center, because the camp was considered to be the *least oppressive* of all the WRA camps.<sup>15</sup> The camp built only one watchtower, which was taken down shortly after, and no barbed wire fences surrounded the camp.<sup>16</sup> Unlike Manzanar and Tule Lake, where

severe resistance against the administration resulted in the deaths of some incarcerated, Gila River was relatively well governed. There was no organized resistance like the general strike in Poston or the draft refusal campaign at Heart Mountain. Despite one incident at Gila River in which a Kibei man was beaten up, the Gila River camp produced no draft resisters, and the rate of “no” answers to loyalty questions were less than 10 percent.<sup>17</sup>

This all shows that there is still more work needed to fully understand the wartime mass removal and incarceration of Japanese Americans.

In this article I explore the work and thoughts of the Issei men and women in the Gila River War Relocation Center to enrich the historical memories of Japanese American incarceration. I first discuss the Issei’s efforts at improving the physical infrastructure of the camp and consider how these findings modify our interpretation of such terms as *gaman* and *shikataganai*, which are often attached to the Issei’s passivity in their subjugation to racist policies. In the later sections, I analyze a regular newspaper column, *Fujin no Sekai* (Women’s world), in the Japanese-language section of the *Gila News Courier* (GNC). The columnist was an Issei editor/writer, and her essays reveal how Issei women wrote as well as acted to sustain the general morale of the camp residents in the face of tremendous hardships. I also show that the column was written by a “progressive” woman who thought education and self-determination for women were important. This image is divergent from the conventional images of Issei mothers remembered by their Nisei daughters.

Juxtaposing the Issei’s behavior in Gila River with the commonly held images of the Issei during World War II, I elucidate how collective historical memories channeled into certain approved grooves fail to tell the whole story. The Issei’s active involvement in camp activities complicates our understanding of Japanese American wartime experiences and expands our analytical lens for investigating what Japanese American mass incarceration meant in American history.

### Re-interpreting *Gaman* and *Shikataganai*

Anyone who has studied Japanese American history has encountered the words, *gaman* and *shikataganai*. Writer Hisaye Yamamoto remembered these terms as the ideas the Nisei were “brought up . . . with.”<sup>18</sup> Canadian Nisei novelist and poet Joy Kogawa wrote in her semi-autobiographical novel *Obasan*: “*Kodomo no tame*—for the sake of the children—*gaman shi mashi*—let us endure,” a much-quoted phrase uttered by the main character

Naomi's Issei aunt who sheltered Naomi and her sibling from learning about the horrible death of their missing mother.<sup>19</sup> *Gaman* is commonly interpreted as a word of helplessness and submission in the face of injustice, a "call to quietly accept oppression, especially in relation to 'camp.'"<sup>20</sup> *Shikatanagai* literally means "nothing can be done."

Mira Shimabukuro, who investigated what *gaman* meant for Nisei writers and activists, found some positive interpretations in various works by authors in Japanese American Studies, such as "stick things out at all costs," "bear up," "self-discipline," and "do one's best in times of frustration and adversity."<sup>21</sup> These interpretations emphasize resilience and strength, albeit a passive stance toward life in which one endures the unendurable.

While the Nisei remembered their Issei parents in these terms, how did the Issei perceive and cope with their lives in the camps? Shimabukuro focuses on how the Nisei internalized *gaman*, but she does not take into account the directional relationship in which such words as *gaman* and *shikatanagai* were uttered. After all, the Issei said these words to their Nisei children, but Shimabukuro's analysis of *gaman* in relation to writing by Nisei exclusively relies on texts composed in English.<sup>22</sup> Instead of digging into the Japanese American psyche in duress, here I look at the social contexts in which these words were uttered. As for the contexts, I rely primarily on my past research findings on the Issei's work in education and agriculture at Gila River. Notwithstanding the WRA's policy of excluding the Issei from the decision-making structure in camp management, the Gila River administrators allowed the Issei to retain their de facto leadership. This exceptional intracommunity power relationship gave the Issei relative autonomy in Gila River. In such an environment, how did the Issei act, and what did terms such as *gaman* and *shikatanagai* mean?

The camp records on education show that Issei parents worked very hard to make sure that their children's education did not suffer from their removal and confinement.<sup>23</sup> The Gila River Educational Program Final Report describes that, to alleviate the negative impact of the relocation on their children, parents believed that "a school as good or better than former schools was a must."<sup>24</sup> PTA enrollment in the camp schools was significantly high.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the incarcerated laborers labored to assure physical improvements in school facilities, such as libraries, science and woodworking labs, football fields and gymnasiums.<sup>26</sup> Although the students complained that the school had set "too high standards in the loads of homework," and they found the classes far more difficult than those in their former schools, it helped retain their morale and prepared them for

resettlement and reintegration into the society outside.<sup>27</sup>

Reports on the agricultural production at Gila River reveal how the Issei farmers were instrumental in producing huge amount of vegetables, such as daikon (large white radishes), lettuce, carrots, spinach, beans, etc., as well as fruits like watermelons, cantaloupes and strawberries.<sup>28</sup> The list of produce also included Japanese vegetable names, such as *nappa*, *takana*, *shungiku*, *shirouri*, and *aouri*. During the most productive fiscal year between July 1943 and June 1944, Gila River produced 4,804 tons of crops, of which 1,777 tons were consumed in Gila River and 3,027 tons were shipped to other camps.<sup>29</sup> The farmland expanded to 1,194 acres, and with double cropping it equaled to 1,600 acres under cultivation. Gila River also operated a successful livestock industry, which had dairy, meat, swine, and poultry sections. The agricultural produce at Gila River improved the diet of Japanese Americans incarcerated in all ten WRA camps. Far from passively enduring injustice, the Issei actively strived for the survival of the community.

The Issei's labor to improve the camp infrastructure needs to be seen in relation to the larger power structure involved in the Japanese American removal and incarceration policy. Government officials took advantage of the Issei's agricultural skills and virtually free labor to cultivate and irrigate the Western land, which the federal government came to possess as a result of their conquest of the indigenous peoples.<sup>30</sup> The government utilized the incarcerated labor not only to economically feed and manage the relocated population but also to increase the productivity of the land. Furthermore, by representing Japanese Americans to mainstream Americans as a submissive ethnic minority who would turn their strife inward both as a community and as individuals through such behavioral values as *gaman* and *shikatanai*, a hegemonic historical narrative constructed Japanese Americans as loyal citizens and a "model minority," while positioning them to be the accomplices of the pervasive biopower, skillfully managed by paternalistic camp administrators who had much experience in managing the indigenous communities in the Southwest.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, we need to be wary of uncritical praise of the Japanese American incarcerated for their lack of social disturbances in the camp.

At the same time, my work as well as other scholars' in regard to Issei's behavior in camps shows that, even though they were working under the control of and pressure from camp administrators, the incarcerated were selective about which work they devoted themselves to with rigor.<sup>32</sup> In Gila River as well as in other camps, they voluntarily worked hard on the tasks

they thought would benefit the community but refused to work on projects that they did not consider fair or that they felt hampered the welfare of camp residents. In most cases, resisters were ultimately coerced into obeying orders, but governmental records and camp field notes show that the Issei went through tough negotiations with the administration and in many cases gained concessions such as higher wages or better supplies. In the case of Gila River, some incarcerated refused to work in the cotton fields owned by white owners outside the camp, even though the pay was much better than that gained from working in the camp farms. The Issei organized because “they objected to having skilled workers who could be employed to the benefit of the project being lost to project use by going into outside labor.”<sup>33</sup> During the process of negotiations, WRA officers resorted to threatening the negotiators with the possibility of bringing in the military.<sup>34</sup>

These struggles and negotiations indicate that the Issei did not passively *gaman* the unfair treatment inflicted on them. While urging endurance and patience for their Nisei children, most of whom were still minors, the Issei tried everything they could to alleviate their plight and improve living conditions within the camps. *Gaman* and *shikataganai* were words the Issei uttered directed toward themselves and their children to “temporarily” urge patience and endurance, while they worked toward a better future *within and outside* the camps.<sup>35</sup> Many past works on Japanese American incarceration shed light on how the Nisei strived to leave the camps and regain freedom. While these works are important, more attention needs to be paid to the Issei’s contribution to building and improving the material infrastructure of the camps, which was essential for the community’s physical survival.

### Uplifting the Uprooted Community

While the Issei men toiled on the land and constructed buildings that facilitated camp lives for them and their families, how did Issei women cope with life in the desert camp? Were they as silent and accepting of injustice as their Nisei daughters remembered them to be? To elucidate the Issei women’s thoughts and actions, in this section I look at a serial essay column *Fujin no Sekai* that appeared in the Japanese-language section of the Gila River camp newspaper.

The camp paper *Gila News Courier* was launched under the direction of the camp administrators on September 12, 1942, within two months of the camp’s opening.<sup>36</sup> The paper was issued two or three times a week. The first seven issues had only English sections, but the Japanese section was added

on October 7. The *GNC* continued as a bilingual newspaper with a seven-page English section and a three-page Japanese section until the last issue was printed on September 28, 1945. It carried administrative notices, event information and reports, announcements from churches and other associations, advertisements for job recruitment inside and outside the camp, sports and entertainment news, and letters to the editor.

The Japanese section carried literary works and collections of poems from time to time. The English section carried opinion columns, while the Japanese section carried, in addition to frequent short opinion sections, serial columns, such as *Fujin no Sekai*, authored by one person and continued for a limited period of time. *Fujin no Sekai* was the first of such serial columns, which started on December 5, 1942. Fourteen articles under this title was published throughout the period of four months. The last column appeared on March 13, 1943, followed by a new regular column *Pen no Shizuku* (Ink drop), which started on March 16.

Reading *Fujin no Sekai*, one cannot help but notice the lightness of the topics and the cheerful language the author uses (table 1). The text is consistently uplifting. The list of article titles includes such words as “friendship,” “appreciation,” “youth,” “dreams,” and “spring.” The newspaper column also encouraged appreciation for everything that could induce positive feelings.

Before evaluating the column, we need to note that the residents at Gila River, like those in all the other camps, were experiencing tremendous hardship and stress in late 1942 because of the crude living conditions, shortage and poor quality of food, and degeneration of morale as well as social stability. Tensions between different factions intensified, as the majority of incarcerated disdained the Nisei leaders, especially members of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), for being “too collaborative” with the administration.<sup>37</sup> On November 19, a six-day strike was organized in Poston to protest the arrest of two people who were charged with beating up an “informer,” or “*inu*,” meaning a dog or traitor.<sup>38</sup> On December 6 in Manzanar, people gathered in protest after Harry Ueno was arrested for suspected assault on the JACL leader Fred Tayama.<sup>39</sup> Two incarcerated were killed when the army fired into the crowd. Right between these two incidents, on November 30, a Kibei man named Takeo Tada was beaten up in Gila River, which led to the arrest of Chota Horikane, a leader of an Issei vigilante organization.<sup>40</sup> The arrest generated a wide-spread protest throughout the camp. The column *Fujin no Sekai* was started during this tumultuous period.

**Table 1.** Titles of the column *Fujin no Sekai* (婦人の世界)

Date	Title	English Translation
Dec. 5, 1942	女の友情 “ <i>Onna no yujou</i> ”	Friendship among women
Dec. 9, 1942	メスへの感謝 “ <i>Mesu e no kansha</i> ”	Appreciation for the mess hall workers
Dec. 17, 1942	ほくろ “ <i>Hokuro</i> ”	A mole on the face
Dec. 19, 1942	心の若さ “ <i>Kokoro no wakasa</i> ”	Youthful heart
Dec. 24, 1942	夢 “ <i>Yume</i> ”	Dreams
Dec. 27, 1942	遊戯する人 “ <i>Yugi suru hito</i> ”	Playful minds
Dec. 29, 1942	本然の姿 “ <i>Honnen no sugata</i> ”	One’s true nature
Jan. 1, 1943	新春の訪れ “ <i>Shinshun no otozure</i> ”	Arrival of the new year
Jan. 12, 1943	花の魅力 “ <i>Hana no miryoku</i> ”	Charm of flowers
Jan. 16, 1943	追憶の尊さ “ <i>Tuioku no toutosa</i> ”	Precious memories
Jan. 19, 1943	春のささやき “ <i>Haru no sasayaki</i> ”	Whispers of spring
Jan. 21, 1943	捨てる一葉 “ <i>Suteru hitoha</i> ”	Discarding a superfluous leaf
Jan. 23, 1943	書物 “ <i>Shomotsu</i> ”	Books
Jan. 25, 1943	味の醍醐味 “ <i>Aji no daigomi</i> ”	Delicious meal
Jan. 28, 1943	No title	Content: Women’s emotions
Jan. 30, 1943	働く気持 “ <i>Hataraku kimochi</i> ”	Work spirit
Feb. 2, 1943	講演を聴く “ <i>Kouen o kiku</i> ”	Attending public lectures
Feb. 6, 1943	應と否と “ <i>Ou to ina to</i> ”	Yes and no
Feb. 11, 1943	医者への感謝 “ <i>Isha e no kansha</i> ”	Appreciation for the doctors
Feb. 13, 1943	婦人会 “ <i>Fujin-kai</i> ”	Women’s association
Feb. 16, 1943	手紙の迫力 “ <i>Tegami no hakuryoku</i> ”	Power of a letter
Feb. 18, 1943	優しい先輩 “ <i>Yasashi sempai</i> ”	A kind <i>senpai</i>
Feb. 20, 1943	蚊の恐怖 “ <i>Ka no kyoufu</i> ”	Fear of mosquitoes
Feb. 23, 1943	婦人解放 “ <i>Fujin kaihou</i> ”	Women’s liberation
Feb. 25, 1943	婦人と読書 “ <i>Fujin to dokusho</i> ”	Women and reading
Feb. 27, 1943	比良になじむ “ <i>Hira ni najimu</i> ”	Adjusting to Gila
March 2, 1943	春の味覚 “ <i>Haru no mikaku</i> ”	The taste of spring
March 4, 1943	お雛祭 “ <i>O-hinamatsuri</i> ”	Girl’s Day celebration
March 6, 1943	春雨 “ <i>Harusame</i> ”	Spring rain
March 8, 1943	還境を怖る “ <i>Kankyuu o soru</i> ”	Concerns about the environment
March 11, 1943	知己の感 “ <i>Chiki no kan</i> ”	The feeling of friendship
March 13, 1943	隣人愛 “ <i>Rinjin ai</i> ”	Love your neighbor

Despite the lightness of the topics discussed in the column, the texts in *Fujin no Sekai* show that the author clearly recognized the grim reality of the desert prison camp. The essay “*Mesu e no kansha* (Appreciation for the mess hall workers),” which appeared on December 9, for example, insists that “we Japanese are now thrown into a crucible. We are enduring together a common hardship, and we are serving each other well. We should not forget our appreciation for those working in the mess halls.”<sup>41</sup> In late November, the Gila River community had just celebrated its first substantial vegetable harvest.<sup>42</sup> The food situation was only starting to improve. The *GNC* carried articles about meat rationing and shortage of other foods, such as rice, while repeatedly calling for workers for the farms.<sup>43</sup> Other articles reported on the serious shortage of farm appliances needed for storing and shipping vegetables that would soon be ready for harvest.<sup>44</sup> Clothing was also in short supply because of an administrative delay in the allowance.<sup>45</sup> It was not until mid-February that partitions were installed in women’s latrines.<sup>46</sup> Considering the incarcerated’s dire situation with food, clothing, and other basic needs, we can realize that the column was not used for moral preaching but a desperate call for resilience.

Similarly, the article “*Isha e no kansha* (Appreciation for the doctors)” quotes a doctor who lamented that his former patients did not even greet him after recovering from illness.<sup>47</sup> The author reminds the readers that the doctors lacked adequate medical equipment and are working on the “evacuee” wage scale (\$19 a month for professionals, \$16 for regular workers), and urged patients to be thankful for the medical services provided by the devoted doctors and medical staff, who worked for very little material compensation.

In the essay titled “*Hataraku kimochi* (Work spirit),” the author acknowledges the exploitative nature of camp labor:

It looks like the Nisei hold the idea that they should demand rewards for everything they do. In contrast, the Issei take pride in showing willingness to serve and sacrifice themselves for the good of the world and for others. Let me take the example of the mess hall service. The mess hall service generates a reward of sixteen dollars. This work becomes absurd when we think we are only getting sixteen dollars for the work, and naturally we do not feel heartened to do anything. However, if we can think of what we are doing as a service for our own brothers and sisters, who have been placed under the century’s greatest hardship and who are struggling to endure such a living standard, such

hard labor then becomes a pleasure.<sup>48</sup>

The essay attributes the incarcerated's varied reactions to the low-wage labor to generational traits. It is easy to interpret this text as a typical Issei reaction—submission to injustice and compliance with the exploitative camp labor policies. To get a more nuanced understanding, however, it might be helpful to consider the meaning of *gaman* again in relation to this text. Shimabukuro points out that, in addition to meaning “resilience,” *gaman* “is an ethos implicitly concerned with collectivity.”<sup>49</sup> *Gaman* is called forth by the awareness that one needs to control one's emotions and not give in to frustration and grievances, because making a commotion would only exacerbate the suffering of others. Contrary to the hegemonic narrative about the Issei, I would like to emphasize that this awareness should not be attributed to a “natural” cultural trait that the Japanese are “group oriented.” Rather, the author of *Fujin no Sekai* was aware, as were many other Nikkei (Japanese Americans), that the deterioration of morale of even a few people could erode the social fabric of the entire camp community, *which had no choice but to face their challenge collectively*. After all, Japanese Americans in Gila River were rounded up, lumped together, and locked up in an isolated desert camp.

It was an interesting historical contingency that a female editor took on the authorship of Gila River's first serial newspaper column, which served as an emotional tranquilizer for the impounded community. As much as *Fujin no Sekai* urged endurance from the readers, it tried to do so by alleviating pain. By writing essays on the “whispers of spring,” “charms of flowers,” “playful minds,” and “spring rain,” the author tried to uplift the spirit of all the Japanese speakers in the camp, telling people to look at the bright side of their surroundings. In an article on the Girl's Day celebration, the author writes about the full set of fine hand-made hina dolls placed on a tiered altar covered with a red carpet, brightening up the shabby barrack mess hall.<sup>50</sup> Impressed with the beauty of the scene, she “almost welled up in tears.”<sup>51</sup> Although the articles in *Fujin no Sekai* appear to be a collection of personal thoughts on daily events in the camp life, they illuminate the role of women who collectively worked to uplift people's morale.

In the camps, pleasure served an important role in helping people endure hardships. Jane Dusselier, who studied arts and crafts made by the incarcerated, argues that the artistic activities “were not frivolous but encompassed political possibilities,” which prompts “a reconsideration of everyday objects as critical to physical, mental, and emotional survival.”<sup>52</sup>

Connie Chiang has pointed out that Japanese American incarcerated, after overcoming initial bewilderment, “soon embraced opportunities to venture outdoors and gained an appreciation of their new surroundings through hiking, camping, picnicking and fishing, both within camp boundaries and outside barbed wire.”<sup>53</sup> Minako Waseda has analyzed how Japanese music and traditional theater performances were enjoyed by the incarcerated and how these were instrumental in culturally connecting the first and second generations.<sup>54</sup> Waseda writes that, even in 2014, she was told by another scholar that recreational activities in the camps was “a taboo area” of study because “they might cause the misunderstanding that camp life was not so bad.”<sup>55</sup> Now that there is a general consensus, even in mainstream culture, that the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II was unequivocally unjustifiable, the need for policing what could be said about the historical episode has faded. Instead of omitting such studies from the collective historical memory, we need to contextualize the pleasure and happiness that incarcerated pursued in captivity alongside the community and individual struggles for survival.

*Fujin no Sekai* shows how the Issei in Gila River refused to be demoralized by their incarceration in a desolate desert camp. Memories of all the fun things they did in the camp—hikings, sports, *engeikai* (talent shows), music, dance, and art—need not be suppressed, because in no way does their existence justify the gross civil rights injustice inflicted on incarcerated. It shows that Japanese Americans in the face of adversity still strived to maintain normality and positive attitudes toward life. *Fujin no Sekai* illuminates that a major task of moral uplift was placed in the “women’s world,” which ensured community and individual survival through the uprooting.

### A Progressive Issei Woman

*Fujin no Sekai* includes several articles on human relationships among women (table 1). The author tends to provide stereotypical views, such as women being overly emotional and sensitive to trivial matters, and assigns emotional labor such as giving and receiving affection to women.<sup>56</sup> The text occasionally betrays her slightly antifeminist stance in such utterances as “I am tired of ‘female leader’ figures who coldly preach on ethics or those who are fixed on rigid theories.”<sup>57</sup> At the same time, many of her articles promote women’s participation in social events, such as public lectures, adult classes, and women’s associations. The author also encourages women to read and

learn. One essay reports on a public lecture she enjoyed, and she laments that she saw very few women in the audience. “Now that women are freed from housework, we should participate in as many lectures and read as many books to obtain knowledge about history and society,” she writes.<sup>58</sup> The author also encourages women to retain free and “playful” minds. One article talks about women’s liberation (*fujin kaihou*). The author did not believe that women’s liberation equals “masculinization of women” but rather the active involvement of women in society as “constructive participants.”<sup>59</sup>

Interestingly, there are no references to children in *Fujin no Sekai*. On the Girl’s Day celebration, she writes how happy the fine dolls and ornaments made her and how much she appreciated the efforts of those women who made them, but she does not mention how those women made the dolls to please the children in the camp or how the children reacted to the dolls. In the February 8 article titled “*Kankyō o Osoru* (Concerns about the environment),” she discusses the importance of maintaining cultural standards by finding unique beauty in the “primitive camp life far away from cultural centers” in order to avoid demoralization.<sup>60</sup>

Conventional wisdom would assume that women would have been concerned about the negative effects of the camp environment on youths. Indeed, juvenile delinquency and gang activities were among the most serious social problems discussed in the newspaper.<sup>61</sup> In the hegemonic historical narratives, the Issei women, not only in camps but in general, are represented by their family relationships, especially motherhood.<sup>62</sup> Contrary to this view, the column *Fujin no Sekai* represents women as individuals. The column’s author contends that women need to be happy themselves and must strive to be cultured as individuals. She declares that women should fulfill their roles as constructive social participants for the maintenance of the camp community’s well-being. This suggests that the author was a “liberated” progressive woman for her time.

So, who authored this column? It was Hatsuye Egami, a Tokyo-born woman who migrated to the United States in 1921 at the age of nineteen with the support of her uncle who was a Baptist minister in the United States.<sup>63</sup> She was married in Japan, and at the time of the uprooting, she lived in Pasadena, California, and had four children. She taught music in Pasadena and had been involved in the editing of *Rafu Shimpo*, a Los Angeles newspaper. The diary she kept in the Tulare Assembly Center was later translated into English and published under the title, *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami* (1995).

Egami was an intellectual urban Issei and daughter of a Baptist minister. After she migrated to the United States, she became connected to the Issei artists and Japanese literary community in Southern California. One of the articles in *Fujin no Sekai* mentions her meeting with an old friend, Uraji Kamiyama.<sup>64</sup> Kamiyama—her real name was Chie Mita, and she had other pseudonyms: Uraji Yamakawa, Ura Mita, and Mrs. Sojin—was a Japanese actress who migrated to California in 1919. Uraji and her husband Sojin Kamiyama were involved in the left-leaning modern Western-style theater (*shingeki*) movement and led a bohemian life as was popular in the Taisho era (1912–26).<sup>65</sup> Their son, Heihachi Kamiyama, was an active member of the *Hokubei Shijin Kyokai* (association of North American poets), the first inter-regional Japanese literary association in the United States. He associated with Japanese American leftists, such as Karl Yoneda, in the 1930s and produced a considerable amount of proletarian poetry.<sup>66</sup> *Hokubei Shijin Kyokai* published a literary journal, *Shukaku* (harvest), starting in November 1936.<sup>67</sup> Hatsuye Egami was on the editorial board of its sixth issue, the last issue of this journal, published in June 1939.<sup>68</sup>

Because *Hokubei Shijin Kyokai* included literary figures with views across the political spectrum, *Shukaku* contained poems, short novels, reviews, and essays ranging from proletarian literature to pro-Imperial Japan essays. It is certain, however, that the editorial board members included many progressive Issei, Nisei, and Kibei.<sup>69</sup> The sixth issue of *Shukaku* was edited by four women: Egami, Tsuyuko Matsuda, Mitsuko Hayashida, and Shizue Ihara.<sup>70</sup> Egami was a close friend of Tsuyuko Matsuda, a socially conscious feminist poet. Egami's short fiction that appears in this issue depicts a romantic affection felt by an Issei woman for the nephew of her much older Issei husband.<sup>71</sup> The heroine is the breadwinner of her family, while her gentle, elderly husband is unemployed and does all the household chores. Her loneliness and adulterous desire are skillfully expressed through the description of her body while bathing. Iwao Yamamoto, one of the pioneer Japanese scholars of Japanese American literature, names this piece among the best fictional works compiled in the six volumes of *Shukaku*.<sup>72</sup>

With such a background as a literary activist, Egami joined the editorial staff of the *Gila News Courier* and took charge of the art and literature sections.<sup>73</sup> As Egami encouraged in her column, the Issei women in Gila River became extremely active. They organized *fujin kai* (women's associations), established a PTA, created arts and crafts for exhibits, and sent poems to haiku competitions. Adult education classes grew rapidly from an enrollment of 300 with five subjects in early October to over 1,900 with

twenty subjects by the end of 1942.<sup>74</sup> Egami's column, published in a desolate desert camp, was not a voice in the wilderness but inspired the souls of Japanese-speaking incarcerated.

## CONCLUSION

In this article I have examined how research findings on Japanese American experiences at the Gila River War Relocation Center compel us to modify the conventional historical memories of Japanese American wartime mass incarceration. The Issei men and women's contributions to the construction and improvement of the camp's material and social infrastructure underline the importance of studying understudied camps. It is necessary to examine underused historical materials, such as the Japanese-language sections of camp newspapers, to learn more about the activities of the Issei and Kibei.

Studying the "least oppressive" concentration camp helps us untangle the multilayered pains that Japanese American incarcerated went through during World War II. Japanese Americans suffered both from ideological pain and physical hardships. The Nisei's exclusion from the discursive American citizenry caused psychological trauma both for the Nisei and their parents, who had long been striving to gain equal rights with other American citizens. Physical maltreatment and poor living conditions distressed all incarcerated in the camps. The resistance against incarceration arose both from ideological resentment against the violation of civil rights and from the physical and material hardships the incarcerated had to endure. Unlike in Gila River, in many camps Japanese Americans were conflated into an imagined "security threat," in which racially prejudiced administrators perceived any resistance as a manifestation of "disloyalty." The schism generated among the incarcerated through the divisive "loyalty questions" left irreparable scars on the Japanese American community. The resulting reliance on the discourses of "loyalty" and "citizenship" in constructing postwar historical memories of wartime experiences led to the self-policing of representation within the Japanese American community—only the experiences of "American citizens of Japanese ancestry" could be narrated, and only those proven "loyal" were entitled to speak—until the beginning of this century.

By focusing on the materiality of incarceration experiences at Gila River, combined with the usage of Japanese-language sources, I have shed light on Issei wartime activities that have heretofore been silenced in historical narratives of the camps. By setting aside the citizenship issue and looking at

the least oppressive camp, I was able to expand the lens through which we can look at Japanese American wartime incarceration. Moreover, I have shown that the excavation of Issei writings in camp connects Japanese American history to Japanese history. There have been studies on prewar Japanese American agricultural and fishing communities, and new work on prewar urban Issei communities has become available in English, yet few of these authors extend their research into the war period.<sup>75</sup> This article connects the prewar expatriate artist and activist communities to Issei writing in camps. This further expands the scope of studies on Japanese American incarceration. More works are needed that connect Issei activism before, during, and after World War II.

#### NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Karen Leong and Myla Vicenti Carpio, “Carceral Subjugations: Gila River Indian Community and Incarceration of Japanese Americans on Its Lands,” *Amerasia Journal* 42, no. 1 (2016): 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>3</sup> After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the US government removed the entire ethnic Japanese population, regardless of their nationality, from the “defense” zone, which was designed to be anywhere within one hundred miles from the Pacific Coast. Approximately 120,000 Japanese Americans were excluded from the West Coast, detained at first in temporary “assembly centers” within the defense zone, and later shipped to the camps known as “war relocation centers” in the inland. The exclusion, relocation, and incarceration of Japanese Americans, two-thirds of whom were US citizens, has been commonly called “the internment.” Legally speaking, however, only the confinement of Japanese nationals in the Department of Justice detention centers can be described as internment, which indicates wartime detention of enemy aliens. Thus, in this article, I use the term “incarceration” when referring to the confinement of US citizens of Japanese ancestry: National JAACL Power of Words II Committee, *Power of Words Handbook: A Guide to Language about Japanese Americans in World War II* (San Francisco: Japanese American Citizens League, April 27, 2013), 11, 13; <https://jacl.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Power-of-Words-Rev.-Term.-Handbook.pdf>, accessed January 20, 2018.

<sup>4</sup> For geographic and archaeological information on the various sites of Japanese American wartime detention, see Jeffery F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard W. Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002).

<sup>5</sup> The camp at Tule Lake, California, had the largest peak population of 18,789 in December 1944, but this was after it was turned into a segregation center, where the so-called disloyal population was transferred from all other camps. The two WRA camps in Arizona were exceeded in population only by the cities of Phoenix and Tucson in 1942.

<sup>6</sup> Manzanar, Poston, Tule Lake, and Heart Mountain are the best known camps, while fewer works discuss other camps. John Howard, *Concentration Camps on the Home Front:*

*Japanese Americans in the House of Jim Crow* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008) depicts the camps in Arkansas.

<sup>7</sup> Immigrants from Japan were barred from US citizenship until 1952, making all the Issei Japanese nationals during World War II. Studies on Nisei identity include: Jere Takahashi, *Nisei/Sansei: Shifting Japanese American Identities and Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997) and David K. Yoo, *Growing Up Nisei: Race, Generation and Culture among Japanese Americans of California, 1924–49* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000). An example of records of Issei and Kibei experiences in the camps is Louis Fiset, *Imprisoned Apart: The World War II Correspondence of an Issei Couple* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997). In the past several years, some documentary films have been released that depict the stories of the citizenship renunciants. See Emery Clay III, Stephen Holsapple, and Satsuki Ina, directors, *From a Silk Cocoon* (DVD, CreateSpace, 2005); and Linda Hattendorf, director, *Cats of Mirikitani* (DVD, Arthouse Films, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> Jean Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973); Yoshiko Uchida, *Journey to Topaz: A Story of the Japanese-American Evacuation* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971). Some earlier analyses of the Tule Lake citizenship renunciants were published by Japanese scholars such as Teruko Kumei, "Skeleton in the Closet: The Japanese American Hokoku Seinen-dan and Their 'Disloyal' Activities at the Tule Lake Segregation Center during World War II," *Japanese Journal of American Studies* 7 (1996): 67–102. More recent studies include Barbara Takei and Judy Tachibana, *Tule Lake Revisited*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Tule Lake Committee, 2012); Martha Nakagawa, "Renunciants: Bill Nishimura and Tad Yamakido," *Journal of the Shaw History Library* 19 (2005): 137–59; and Hiroshi Kashiwagi, *Swimming in the American: A Memoir and Selected Writings* (San Mateo, CA: Asian American Curriculum Project, 2003).

<sup>9</sup> Brian Hayashi points out that, in general, immigrant communities maintain in their shared sentiments cultural and oftentimes political affiliations with their home countries, and Japanese Americans in the camps were no exception. Brian Masaru Hayashi, *Democratizing the Enemy: The Japanese American Internment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004). Also see, John Okada, *No-No Boy* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976). Emiko Omori depicted the long-lasting damage the loyalty questionnaire had on Japanese American families in her documentary film *Rabbit in the Moon* (DVD, Wabi-Sabi, 1999).

<sup>10</sup> Academic works that focus on Gila River include: Arthur A. Hansen, "Cultural Politics in the Gila River Relocation Center, 1942–1943," *Arizona and the West* 27, no. 4 (1985): 327–62; and Arthur A. Hansen, "The Evacuation and Resettlement Study at the Gila River Relocation Center, 1942–1944," *Journal of the West* 38, no. 2 (1999): 45–55. Personal accounts of Gila River camp experiences have remained obscure. See Kenneth A. Tashiro, "Wase Time!": *A Teen's Memoir of Gila River Internment Camp* (Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse, 2005). In 2016, a novel by former Gila River incarcerated Gene Oishi received the Best Book of the Year in Prose award from the Association for Asian American Studies. Gene Oishi, *Fox Drum Bebop* (Los Angeles: Kaya Press, 2014). Bill Staples, Jr., *Kenichi Zenimura: Japanese American Baseball Pioneer* (New York: McFarland, 2011) describes the life of Kenichi Zenimura, an Issei star baseball player who spent his war years at Gila River, where he built a magnificent baseball field. Rick Noguchi, ed., *Transforming Barbed Wire: The Incarceration of Japanese Americans in Arizona during World War II* (Phoenix: Arizona Humanities Council, 1997) includes some articles on Gila River.

<sup>11</sup> Yasuko I. Takezawa, *Breaking the Silence: Redress and Japanese American Ethnicity* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); Alice Yang Murray, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008).

<sup>12</sup> William Wei, *The Asian American Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 21. On the Yellow Power movement, also see, Daryl J. Maeda, *Chains of Babylon: The Rise of Asian America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> In 1988, Congress issued a formal apology and agreed to compensate each surviving Japanese American incarcerated \$20,000. The Redress settlement was part of the Civil Liberties Act signed by President Ronald Reagan. In 1987, one year before the Redress settlement, the Smithsonian Institute's National Museum of American History opened *A More Perfect Union: Japanese Americans and the US Constitution*, an exhibition on the Japanese American wartime incarceration and the Nisei soldiers who served in the US military. The exhibition continued until 2004, when it was replaced by a permanent online exhibit still available at the NMAH website; <http://amhistory.si.edu/perfectunion/non-flash/index.html>, accessed January 20, 2018.

<sup>14</sup> In Japan, scholars had been doing research on Japanese Americans since the 1970s, but it was not until 1991 that the Japanese Association for Migration Studies (Nihon Imin Gakkai) was founded as the first national academic association on migration studies. Among US-based scholars, Lane Ryo Hirabayashi offers an insider view of the intricate Issei-Nisei relationships seen in the camp records created by Richard Nishimoto, a bilingual and bicultural field researcher of the Japanese Evacuation and Resettlement Study. Richard S. Nishimoto, with contextual essays by editor Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, *Inside an American Concentration Camp: Japanese American Resistance at Poston, Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995).

<sup>15</sup> Brian Niiya, ed., *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History: An A-to-Z Reference from 1868 to the Present*, updated edition (New York: Checkmark Books, 2001), 175.

<sup>16</sup> Gila River is located in a desert, and it is impossible to survive if one attempts to escape from the camp on foot. In fact, one old man with a mental disability went missing from the camp, and he was assumed to have died in the desert even though his body was never found.

<sup>17</sup> Niiya, *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History*, 175.

<sup>18</sup> Hisaye Yamamoto, quoted in King-Kok Cheung, *Articulate Silences: Hisaye Yamamoto, Maxine Hong Kingston, Joy Kogawa* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 31.

<sup>19</sup> Joy Kogawa, *Obasan* (New York: Penguin Books, 1983), 245.

<sup>20</sup> Mira Shimabukuro, "'Me Inwardly, before I Dared,': Japanese Americans Writing-to-Gaman," *College English* 73, no. 6 (2011): 650.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 650–51.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 656.

<sup>23</sup> Masumi Izumi, "*Media to Shite no Sotsugyo Arubamu: Nikkei Amerikajin Kyousei Shuyousho ni okeru Koukou Seikatsu no Hyoushou Bunseki* [High school yearbooks as a medium of representation: Japanese American student lives in the Gila River War Relocation Center]," in *Media: Imin o Tsunagu, Imin ga Tsunagu* [Ethnic media: Connecting immigrants, immigrants networking], ed. Norifumi Kawahara and Yoshitaka Hibi (Tokyo: Cross Culture Shuppan, 2016), 13–38.

<sup>24</sup> William F. Miller, Gila River Project, Community Management Division, Education Section, "Educational Program, 1942–1945, Final Report," RG 210, Records of the War Relocation Authority, *Final Report of the Gila River Relocation Center*, National Archives (microfilm available at the University of Arizona Library), hereafter "Educational Program Final Report," 40.

<sup>25</sup> The Parent-Teacher Association affiliated with the National Congress of Parents and Teachers at Gila River was organized during the first year of camp operation. For the three years of school operation (1942–43, 1943–44, 1943–45), the average membership in the PTA was nine hundred. As the total enrollment in Gila River's two high schools was around 1,900 for the 1942–43 session, around 1,500 for the 1943–44 session, and around 1,400 for the

1944–45 session, it can be said that a strong majority of parents were involved in their children's schools. Ibid. 39.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>27</sup> Toyoko Toppata, "My Years in School at Gila," in "Educational Program Final Report," appendix, 57–58.

<sup>28</sup> Masumi Izumi, "*Hira Ribaa Kyousei Shuyousho no Nougyou Katsudou ni Miru Nikkei Amerikajin no Seizon Senryaku: Senjichu no Issei no Katsudou Saikou ni Mukete* [Agriculture at the Gila River concentration camp: Toward a re-evaluation of the Issei's wartime survival strategies]," *Imin Kenkyu Nempo* [Annual review of migration studies] 22 (2016): 3–21.

<sup>29</sup> It was estimated that the total vegetable produce of the fiscal year 1943 would have been over \$320,000 in market value. R. S. Davidson, "Final Project Report, Operations Division, Agriculture Section, Gila River Project," RG 210, Records of the War Relocation Authority, *Final Report of the Gila River Relocation Center* (National Archives, 1946, microfilm accessible at the University of Arizona Library, 7.

<sup>30</sup> Leong and Carpio, "Carceral Subjugations," 107–12.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>32</sup> Connie Y. Chiang describes the labor conflicts in the Topaz and Minidoka camps, in which the incarcerated refused to work on water pipelines and stove-tending duties because they considered that it was the responsibility of the WRA to fulfill its mandate to provide adequate facilities. Connie Y. Chiang, "Imprisoned Nature: Toward an Environmental History of the World War II Japanese American Incarceration," *Environmental History* 15, no. 2 (2010): 251–56.

<sup>33</sup> Robert F. Spencer, "Gila Reports, 1942–43," vol. 1, Charles Kikuchi Papers, Collection 1259, box 61, file: November 2, 1942, report no. 2-A, Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, 70.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 73.

<sup>35</sup> In Japan, parents often ask for "*gaman*" from children and tell them "*shikataganai*" when children complain about something that cannot be helped. The terms are used in relation to daily inconveniences as well as in the face of serious hardships.

<sup>36</sup> All copies of the *Gila News Courier* can be seen in the Densho Digital Repository, <http://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-141/>, accessed September 7, 2017.

<sup>37</sup> Many of the JACL leaders were college educated, Christian or secular in religious convictions, and had urban backgrounds. Lon Kurashige, "Resistance, Collaboration, and Manzanar Protest," *Pacific Historical Review* 70, no. 3 (2001): 401. They believed that it was necessary to deny cultural as well as political affiliations with Japan to prove Japanese Americans' loyalty to the United States. The JACL tried to act as the sole representative of the incarcerated Japanese Americans and actively silenced the incarcerated concerning grievances and hampered their communication with the administration through other channels.

<sup>38</sup> Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men: General Principles and Recommendations Based on Experience at a Japanese Relocation Camp* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946).

<sup>39</sup> Gary Y. Okihiro, "Japanese Resistance in America's Concentration Camps: A Re-evaluation," *Amerasia Journal* 2, no. 1 (1973): 20–34.

<sup>40</sup> Hansen, "Cultural Politics in the Gila River Relocation Center," 327–62.

<sup>41</sup> Hatsuye Egami, "*Mesu e no kansha*," *GNC*, December 9, 1942, Japanese Section, 1.

<sup>42</sup> "Farm Observes Local Harvest," *GNC*, November 25, 1942, English Section, 2; "Butte's Gigantic Harvest Day Procession Starts 10:30 o'clock," *GNC*, November 25, 1942, English Section, 6.

<sup>43</sup> “National Meat Rationing Hits Gila Colony,” *GNC*, December 2, 1942, English Section, 1.

<sup>44</sup> “Shortages Sabotage Vegetable Crop,” *GNC*, December 2, 1942, English Section, 3.

<sup>45</sup> “Clothing Allowance: Canal Gets July, Aug., Cash Today,” *GNC*, December 9, 1942, English Section, 1.

<sup>46</sup> “Women’s Latrines to be Paneled,” *GNC*, February 13, 1943, English Section, 1.

<sup>47</sup> Hatsuye Egami, “*Isha e no kansha*,” *GNC*, February 11, 1943, Japanese Section, 1.

<sup>48</sup> Hatsuye Egami, “*Hataraku kimochi*,” *GNC*, January 30, 1943, Japanese Section, 1.

<sup>49</sup> Shimabukuro, “Me Inwardly,” 652.

<sup>50</sup> In Japan, hina dolls are displayed for a few weeks before the annual Girl’s Day celebration on March 3. The dolls are dressed in Heian period court costumes, and the doll set depicts an imperial couple with their servants, court ladies, musicians, and ministers.

<sup>51</sup> Hatsuye Egami, “*O-hinamatsuri*,” *GNC*, March 4, 1943, Japanese Section, 1.

<sup>52</sup> Jane E. Dusselier, *Artifacts of Loss: Crafting Survival in Japanese American Concentration Camps* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 12–13.

<sup>53</sup> Chiang, “Imprisoned Nature,” 245.

<sup>54</sup> Minako Waseda, “Music in Japanese American Concentration Camps: The Film *Hidden Legacy* and Its Impact on the Collective Memory,” *Getuigen Tussen Geschiedenis en Herinnering* 124 (April 2017): 102–12.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>56</sup> Hatsuye Egami, “*Onna no yujou*,” *GNC*, December 5, 1942, Japanese Section, 1; Hatsuye Egami, *Fujin no Sekai*, essay with no title, *GNC*, January 28, 1943, Japanese Section, 1; Hatsuye Egami, “*Rinjin ai*,” *GNC*, March 13, 1943, Japanese Section, 1.

<sup>57</sup> Hatsuye Egami, “*Yasashii sempai*,” *GNC*, February 18, 1943, Japanese Section, 1.

<sup>58</sup> Hatsuye Egami, “*Kouen o kiku*,” *GNC*, February 2, 1943, Japanese Section, 1. Also see, Hatsuye Egami, “*Fujin to dokusho*,” *GNC*, February 25, 1943, Japanese Section, 1.

<sup>59</sup> Hatsuye Egami, “*Fujin kaihou*,” *GNC*, February 23, 1943, Japanese Section, 1.

<sup>60</sup> Hatsuye Egami, “*Kankyou o osoru*,” *GNC*, March 8, 1943, Japanese Section, 1.

<sup>61</sup> Satae Shinoda, “*Wakoudo* [Youths],” *Nikkei America Bungaku Zasshi Shūsei* [Anthology of Japanese American literary journals] vol. 2 (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1997), 8.

<sup>62</sup> Kogawa, *Obasan*. Also see Dennis M. Ogawa, *Kodomo No Tame Ni/For the Sake of the Children: The Japanese American Experience in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1980); Mei T. Nakano, *Japanese American Women: Three Generations 1890–1990* (Sebastopol, CA: Mina Press, 1990).

<sup>63</sup> Claire Gorfinkel, ed., *The Evacuation Diary of Hatsuye Egami* (Pasadena, CA: Intentional Productions, 1995). Egami’s brief biography appears on p.14 of the published diary.

<sup>64</sup> Hatsuye Egami, “*Yasashii sempai*,” *GNC*, February 18, 1943, Japanese Section, 1.

<sup>65</sup> Hikaru Hosoe, “*Kamiyama Sojin Nempu Kou: Tanizaki Junichiro to no Kouyū o Chushin ni* [A short chronological history of the life of Sojin Kamiyama: His friendship with Junichiro Tanizaki],” *Konan Joshi Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō* 38 (2002): 45–57; 39 (2003): 11–54; 40 (2004): 37–63; and 41 (2005): 39–49.

<sup>66</sup> Karl Yoneda, a Kibei member of the Communist Party of the United States of America, was a prominent member of this group.

<sup>67</sup> Junko Kobayashi, “‘Bitter Sweet Home’: Celebration of Biculturalism in Japanese Language Japanese American Literature, 1936–1952” (PhD. diss, University of Iowa, 2005), 21–66.

<sup>68</sup> Iwao Yamamoto, “*Maboroshi no Bungeishi*, Shūkaku, *kaidai* [The mythical literary journal, *Shukaku*, introduction],” in *Nikkei America Bungaku Zasshi Shūsei* [Anthology of Japanese American literary journals] vol.1 (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1997), 13–14.

<sup>69</sup> Mariko Mizuno, “*1930 nendai no Nikkei Amerikajin no Bungaku Katsudou to ‘Sayoku-*

*teki' Musubitsuki*: Shukaku, *Current Life*, Doho, *Hoka* [Politically left networks among Japanese American literary groups in the 1930s: An analysis of *Shukaku*, *Current Life*, and *Doho*],” in *Media: Imin o Tsunagu, Imin ga Tsunagu* [Ethnic media: Connecting immigrants, immigrants networking], ed. Norifumi Kawahara and Yoshitaka Hibi (Tokyo: Cross Culture Shuppan, 2016), 321–24.

<sup>70</sup> Yamamoto, “*Maboroshi*,” 12.

<sup>71</sup> Hatsuye Egami, “*Shunshu* [Spring melancholy],” *Shukaku* 6 (Los Angeles: Bungei Renmei, 1939): 49, 52, repr. in *Nikkei America Bungaku Zasshi Shūsei* [Anthology of Japanese American literary journals] vol. 1 (Tokyo: Fuji Shuppan, 1997).

<sup>72</sup> Yamamoto, “*Maboroshi*,” 14; Izumi, “*Media to Shite no Sotsugyo Arubamu*,” 15.

<sup>73</sup> “*Henshu dayori* (From the editor’s office),” *GNC*, November 28, 1942, Japanese Section, 1.

<sup>74</sup> “New Semester, Adult Education Offers Personal Gain,” *GNC*, February 20, 1943, English Section, 1.

<sup>75</sup> Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Yuko Konno, “Trans-Pacific Localism: Emigration, Adaptation, and Nationalism among Japanese Immigrants in California, 1890–1940” (PhD. diss., University of Southern California, 2012); Shelley Sang-Hee Lee, *Claiming the Oriental Gateway: Prewar Seattle and Japanese America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015); Kazuhiro Oharazeki, *Japanese Prostitutes in the North American West, 1887–1920* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016).