Contested Impressions: Visual Remembering of Japanese American Incarceration

By

Anne C. Wheeler

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The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Morris Young, Professor, Professor, English
Michael Bernard-Donals, Professor, English
Christa Olson, Assistant Professor, English
Lori Kido-Lopez, Assistant Professor, Media and Cultural Studies
Jasmine Alinder, Associate Professor, History

ABSTRACT

CONTESTED IMPRESSIONS: VISUAL REMEMBERING OF JAPANESE AMERICAN INCARCERATION

Anne C. Wheeler

By taking at its center the notion that the construction of public memory is a rhetorical process, this dissertation investigates the mobilization of visual artifacts to persuade audiences to remember. Japanese American incarceration serves as an ideal site for exploring rhetorical constructions of visual memory because it occurred at a pivotal moment in the culture of visuality that emerged during the mid-twentieth century and, as a result, was heavily filmed, photographed, and otherwise illustrated by various rhetorical actors. Moreover, the political and emotional complexity of these events is such that affected publics haven't yet settled on a unified or cohesive public memory. Throughout my project, I draw together theories of visual rhetoric, memory, and Asian American rhetoric in order to interrogate the archives of incarceration and identify strategies and tactics through which the contestation of memories occurs.

I begin with the idea that the construction of public and collective memories occur as a process and suggest that marginalized groups, such as incarcerated Japanese Americans, encounter a communicative hurdle when contributing to public or collective memory. This hurdle, caused by implicit and explicit censorship and marginalization, can be overcome, but doing so requires improvised and subversive methods. My dissertation then, is a about of how Japanese Americans, through acts of *memorial gambatte*—doing the best you can to remember—is a study of these methods.

For artifacts of public memory to be rhetorically effective, they must be composed in ways that make them cogent beyond the moment of production. By scrutinizing a wide array of artifacts throughout my dissertation—photographs, comics, museums, and a troop transport ship—I am able to explicate the rhetorical processes that are used to make memory. In Chapter 1, "The Process of Memory: An Overview," I frame incarceration as a *parallel occurrence* in order to explicate the process of disseminating memories regarding lesser-known or historically overshadowed events, such as Japanese American incarceration. In Chapter 2, "Subjective Performances: Photography as Resistance," I move from the circulation of artifacts to the production thereof and engage photographs taken at Manzanar Relocation Center in order to explicate how photographers' individual identity markers affected the ways that their incarcerated subjects posed and performed for the camera and thus collaborated in the making of photographs. In Chapter 3, "Rendering Everyday Life: Tactical Artwork by Incarcerated Japanese American Artists," I contend that incarcerated Japanese American artists engaged in the production of tactical artwork that subverted the government's censoring mechanisms and invoked both contemporary and future audiences. In my fourth and final chapter, "Memory Institutions: Cognitive and Experiential Remembering of Japanese American Incarceration," I draw a distinction between the types of remembering that memory institutions engage their audiences in and consider how these different methods interrupt and invite identification. As marginalized rhetors working with limited access to the means of persuasion and living under constant threat of violence and further severance of civil liberties, incarcerated Japanese Americans were compelled to improvise methods of remembering that by virtue of their uniqueness have endured as compelling examples of Asian American rhetoric and the kinds of uncommonplaces that are imbued with the power to construct public memory and contribute to

collective memory.

NOTE ON LANGUAGE USE

Throughout this dissertation, I use the term *incarceration* in order to refer to the forced removal and relocation of approximately 120,000 Japanese Americans from their homes during World War II. Despite the contested nature of this term, my reasons for utilizing it are twofold: 1) Doing so is in keeping with the recommendation made by the "Power of Words Handbook," a publication developed by the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) Power of Words II Committee, which strongly cautions against using "euphemistic language" when referring to these actions. In keeping with the handbook, despite the fact that my spell checker has protested every step of the way, I also refer to incarcerated Japanese Americans as *incarcerees*. In making the choice to comply with recommendations set forth by the JACL, it is important to acknowledge that there is a great deal of contestation regarding the organization's response to and complicity in incarceration. However, the handbook, published in 2012, represents current good practice. 2) *Incarceration* is a decidedly not-neutral term. Incarceration was a complex event and out of respect to my own values, I don't want to err on the side of being apolitical. However, I also want to acknowledge that many former incarcerees and their descendants don't want to be associated with the negative connotations—especially with regards to crime and punishment—that are associated with incarceration. While fully respecting individuals' rights to employ their preferred terminology, I use incarceration to connote forced imprisonment and, to the extent that I am able, reject connotations of criminality that might be attached to incarcerees.

Given that the terminology is contested, however, when summarizing or quoting from other authors and speakers, I move away from my own politics of language and replicate their preferred tonal choices. For example, when speaking of the government's actions, I often move

from *incarceration* to *relocation* in order to better reflect its terminology and ideals.

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years before I made it to Emerson College to work with John, there was a period in the early 2000s when, disillusioned with my own abilities and the amount of time it was taking me to get through college, I even pondered becoming a business major—humanities kids have weird ways of expressing angst. But then Kathleen Hulley introduced me to Walter Benjamin and Roland Barthes and all notions of financial success went out the door. I will forever be grateful to Dr. Hulley for demanding more of her students' than night school connoted and for introducing me to texts that ignited my passion for scrutinizing images and objects.

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think that this one’s for both of us.

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Introduction

In January of 1942, while speaking to an audience in Seattle, renowned journalist Edward R. Murrow speculated, "I think it's probable that, if Seattle ever does get bombed, you will be able to look up and see some University of Washington sweaters on the boys doing the bombing" (Murrow qtd in Murray 26). Murrow's statement was timely as well as provocative. Pearl Harbor had been bombed the previous month, and in the following February, Franklin Roosevelt would sign Executive Order 9066 and mobilize the widespread relocation and incarceration of more than 120,000 Japanese Americans living on the West Coast of the United States. Thus, at the time of Murrow's speech, anti-Japanese sentiment was running wild, and the government was deeply committed to furthering popular perceptions of Japanese Americans as enemy aliens in order to justify and gain widespread acceptance for the systematic severance of civil liberties. Murrow was not alone in generating fictitious but memorable images that incriminated Japanese Americans. Newspaper headlines, such as "Caps on Japanese Tomato Plants Point to Air Base" and "Jap Boat Flashes Message Ashore" worked to create a culture of fear by putting threatening images into the minds and imaginations of the American public (Alinder 5). Undergraduates became bombers, crops being grown on Japanese American operated farms were transformed into coded messages, and ordinary fishing boats belonged to the enemy fleet. By visualizing events that hadn't yet happened, as in Murrow's case, and by generating vivid but patently untrue images, the media participated in the creation of a culture of fear that supported Japanese American incarceration by making people remember crimes that hadn't yet occurred.

The fact that Murrow and so many other media representatives were drawing upon visualization as a rhetorical strategy was not a mere coincidence; rather it speaks to the extent to which, by 1942, America had become immersed in a visual culture. As Cara Finnegan has deftly demonstrated, due to efforts by the Works Project Administration (WPA) and other government entities, the 1930s functioned as American's "documentary decade," which meant that by 1941, Americans had become accustomed to being informed, affected, and persuaded by pictures. Thus the vilification of Japanese Americans was a visual assault that took place on a number of fronts: comics and cartoons, broadsheets, newsreels, and the creation of *rerums images*, powerful visual images that were capable of eliciting strong emotional reactions. In addition to using visuality as a rhetorical strategy to gain popular, non-Japanese American, support for incarceration, the government and its agents also worked to create a culture of fear amongst Japanese Americans by policing their participation in the visual culture of the moment. As Jasmine Alinder details in *Moving Images: Photography and the Japanese American Incarceration,* after Pearl Harbor, visual artifacts belonging to Japanese Americans were suddenly suspect. FBI raids conducted on the homes of prominent members of the Japanese American community resulted in the seizure of family photographs. Fearing being implicated for possessing pro-Japanese sentiments, many Japanese Americans destroyed their own photographs along with other artwork or documents that could be perceived as looking Japanese. Even before formal evacuation orders were issued, Japanese Americans who were "caught" taking pictures of potentially sensitive locations were accused of espionage and being in cahoots with the enemy. Once relocation was underway, Japanese Americans were formally prohibited from accessing photographic equipment. They were denied access to the primary tools of what Martin Jay would call the "scopic regime."

While the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the United States' subsequent declaration of war against Japan were certainly responsible the extreme amplification of anti-Japanese American sentiments and race based paranoia, incarceration might also be seen as particularly monumental battle in what Carey McWilliams called the "California-Japanese War." Bill Hosokawa traces the starting point of this "war" to 1908, when the California Democratic Party sought to bolster its influence by sounding the rallying cry, "Keep California white" (100). During the years leading up to incarceration, this campaign served as the antecedent for numerous legislative measures that targeted Japanese Americans, such as the Alien Land Law and the Alien Exclusion Act, which prevented Japanese born immigrants from owning land or becoming citizens. As Hosokawa argues, during this time, Japanese American welfare was heavily linked to the status of the United States' relationship to Japan (101). Thus, when Japan became an official enemy, cultural and legislative precedents were in place to facilitate the total vilification of the Japanese American people; the outbreak of WWII meant that the "California-Japanese War" went national. An act of aggression in this metaphorical war, Murrow's vilification of Japanese Americans was in keeping with the larger cultural moment within which he was residing. The fact that he created an image of events that had not occurred, and thus speculated on how the future would remember and relate to his present, speaks to the particularly dynamic interplay between visuality, memory, and Japanese American incarceration. The bombing of Pearl Harbor, and America's subsequent entry into World War II, had cast the future into peril. In 1942, it wasn't yet known how the war would end, but that didn't stop the government and its agents from having clear goals as to how the war, and more particularly, incarceration, would be remembered.

The 1943 newsreel, *Japanese Relocation*, "an historical record of the operation," exemplifies the balancing of dual agendas: the immediate need to win the war and the eventual rebuilding of American ideals in a projected post-war nation. The newsreel, which was narrated by Milton S. Eisenhower, the former head of the War Relocation Authority (WRA), is an early example of an artifact of public memory articulating a particular history of Japanese American incarceration. Overall, the film portrays the relocation of Japanese Americans from the West Coast as a military necessity because of "uncertainty" regarding what would have happened in the event of a Japanese invasion. It also depicts Japanese Americans as "cheerfully" complying with relocation. However, during the film's dénouement, Eisenhower begins to actively consider the role that relocation would play in history, noting that the film is the "prologue to a story that is yet to be told" and that the story "will be fully told only when circumstances permit the loyal American citizens to once again enjoy the freedom we in this country cherish, and when the disloyal have left this country for good." From this reference to the unfinished story, it is clear that the producers of the newsreel, and the agencies that they represented, were aware of the fact that once the immediate threat of a Japanese invasion was over, the judges of history would scrutinize relocation. By recounting the early days of relocation while incarceration was still underway, the newsreel did the work of representing Japanese Americans, who'd just been established as the enemy, as willfully doing their civic duty and as consenting participants in relocation.

Further, towards the very end of the film, Eisenhower offers an assessment of relocation that looks beyond the immediate American experience and towards the larger world picture. As images of Manzanar, with the majestic Sierra Nevada Mountains in the horizon, flash across the screen and patriotic music plays, Eisenhower says:

> In the meantime, we are setting a standard for the rest of the world in the treatment of people who may have loyalties to an enemy nation. We are protecting ourselves without violating the principles of Christian decency. We won't change this fundamental decency no matter what our enemies do. But of course, we hope most earnestly that our example will influence the Axis powers in the treatment of Americans who fall into their hands.

By suggesting that the audience for the handling—and remembering—of relocation goes beyond the Americans being affected or addressed by the newsreel, Eisenhower is anticipating the comparison that ultimately makes it so difficult to categorize and collectively remember Japanese American incarceration—though he doesn't explicitly say so, the dual notions of "setting a standard for the rest of the world" and hoping "earnestly that our example will influence the Axis powers" offer the humanity of relocation as a stark contrast to the inhumanity of extermination. By 1943, the US Government was aware of Germany's proposed "final solution," and thus the film preemptively resists efforts to conflate the two injustices.

The newsreel's portrayal of Japanese Americans as willful participants in the war effort as rather than as enemy aliens demonstrates one of the many ways that various stakeholders were working to construct memories of incarceration while even events were still playing out. Despite this active construction of memory however, no single party was successful in generating a dominant collective memory of incarceration. Instead, the multiplicity of affected perspectives—Japanese Americans belonging to different generations, government agents, and concerned outsiders—has resulted in the ongoing contestation over how to remember incarceration.

This contestation was visible on the evening of April 3, 2014, during a public lecture at the Wisconsin Veterans Museum, in Madison. Historian Jasmine Alinder and photographer Kevin Miyazaki had come together to speak about photography and Japanese American incarceration. After the two speakers had delivered their talks, audience members were given a chance to ask questions or make comments. Not unexpectedly, the audience's questions and

comments had less to do with the specific content of Alinder and Miyazaki's talks than they did with interrogating and condemning incarceration. A woman towards the front of the room stood up and explained she'd once known a Japanese American pediatrician who had talked about "concentration camps." She wanted to know why Alinder and Miyazaki weren't using that term. Alinder, a professor of history at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee explained the contested nature of the terminology, and Miyazaki reflected on the Sansei (third generation) experience, as well as on the language his parents used to talk about incarceration.

They were interrupted by an older Japanese American man, who, after slowly making his way to the microphone, began to talk about how his family called it (incarceration) "camp." For this survivor, camp life wasn't all good and it wasn't all bad. He said that if it hadn't been for camp, he would have never left California, and he wouldn't have met his wife. His family had ended up on Wisconsin and he'd had—was having—a good life. The primarily white audience clapped for the man as he made his way back to his seat in the front row.

This moment bears a striking resemblance to one described by Michael Bernard-Donals and Richard Glejzer in the introduction to their edited collection, *Witnessing the Disaster*. Recalling a conference at the Yad Vashem International School for Holocaust Studies, Bernard-Donals and Glejzer recount a moment when a Holocaust survivor offered a factual correction, based on his own remembered experiences, to the official speaker. The speaker corroborated this correction—confirming that for three weeks passenger trains rather than boxcars ran from Warsaw to Treblinka—and proceeded to provide his would-be-interlocutor with additional information regarding the trains. Bernard-Donals and Glejzer frame this interaction as kind of clash between living memory and history and attach an exigency to the moment by noting:

> In is likely that in twenty years, this survivor, along with his wife, whom he met in the Russian Army, all of the other survivors who met in that room in a building

> on the outskirts of Jerusalem, and the women who testified to the Auschwitz revolt, will be dead. Along with them go the memories, the palpable reminders of events whose imprint is indelibly written in history. (5)

While there is a harshness to Bernard-Donals and Glejzer's statement that in twenty years the living witnesses will be dead, it also reminds us of the need for to preserve survivors' memories before they are gone. Returning to the incident at the Wisconsin Veterans Museum, the interaction between the official speakers, the audience, and the camp survivor represents the contestation over how to remember incarceration and raises questions as to how dissenting voices will be represented as holders of the 'living memories,' continue to age and pass on. And while Bernard-Donals and Glajzer suggest that that this passage will also result in the loss of "the palpable reminders of events," I'd like to suggest that visual artifacts, as renderings of memory, can begin to fill this void and represent perspectives in the contestation over how to remember incarceration. Because, as Kendall Phillips argues, "The ways memories attain meaning, compel others to accept them, and are themselves contested, subverted and supplanted by other memories are essentially rhetorical," they are representable by artifacts. (2-3). Further, as Bernard-Donals and Glajzer argue, "written histories need to be aware of—and indicate their status as substitutes for, and supplements to, a deep loss" (6). This call for awareness can extend to visual artifacts of public memory. Although, for example, a photograph can't precisely articulate the incarceree's reasons for referring to his wartime experiences as "camp," artifacts such as *Our World*, the yearbook produced by Manzanar high school students can complicate the connotations of "incarceration." Depending on how the yearbook was mobilized, it would certainly supplement the audience member's argument. While drawing a connection between rhetorics of display and rhetorical studies of public memory, Lawrence J. Prelli argues, "Full understanding of the rhetorics that constitute public memory requires attention to how they

manifest assumptions about what is worth remembering about the past and about whether the remembered is worthy of praise or condemnation, acknowledgment or disparagement, celebration or lamentation" (11). From my vantage point as an audience member interested in the contestation of memories, it seemed to me that the former incarceree's memorial manifestation didn't focus on condemnation or lamentation, which made the audience uncomfortable. As a speaker, he was ultimately praised, but his portrayal of camp, which didn't fit into any of Prelli's tidy binaries, wasn't necessarily taken up by the audience. This disjunction between exaltation and persuasion is a byproduct of the complexity of remembering incarceration's peculiar balance between a far reaching and reprehensible assault on civil liberties and the continuation of everyday lives.

This severance of civil liberties was far reaching. In addition to physically restraining Japanese Americans, with armed guards and barbed wire fences, the Government rhetorically restrained them through various levels of censorship, including the outlawing of photographic equipment, monitoring of correspondence, and the search and seizure of previously existing materials, such as family photographs. The dictum "to remember" is an act of persuasion, and incarcerees were working with limited access to the available means. However, as is often the case for marginalized rhetors, or those working under conditions of censorship or institutional silencing, the lack of access to conventional means of persuasion resulted in the production of improvised and innovative rhetorical artifacts. When producing memorial artifacts more specifically, the use of improvised and innovative means is an especially productive method. As Joshua Reeves argues, the public as a whole has become immune to "commonplace forms of public memory," and as such, the use of *atopos* "which designates out of place—has come to signify not only provocative and novel rhetoric but also the temporary 'displacement' that such

rhetoric can foster in its audiences" (307-308). Artifacts that jolt, rather than anesthetize, the audience temporarily reify particular versions of the past.

Despite the useful potential of Reeves' argument, especially with regards to his reinvigoration of *atopos* as a rhetorical device, there are some risks inherent in his broad statements regarding audience. Although Reeves does not explicitly engage Chaim Perelman's *universal audience*, throughout the article, there is a sense that he is imagining a homogenous, and perhaps normalizing, entity rather than heterogeneous interpretive groups. When thinking about post-war commonplaces—and, by extension, *atopos*—it is necessary to ask the question, "(un)commonplace for whom?" As part of his project of politicizing Perelman's universal audience, Antonio Raul de Velasco suggests it "can be seen as that always potentially contested—and thus always political—site of appeal through which truths, facts, and presumptions emerge in various contexts of symbolic production" (51). Audiences, and therefore collective interpretation of commonplaces and other rhetorical artifacts, are constantly in flux, which is what makes the construction and maintenance of memory so challenging.

Japanese American contributions to the public memory of incarceration were, by necessity, comprised of atopoi, and although due to issues of circulation, many remained under the radar for many years. Even so, Japanese American-generated artifacts are ultimately more successful at crafting contemporary public memory than the artifacts developed by the government and other unconstrained entities. Because they could not access memorial commonplaces, Japanese Americas remembered through uncommonplaces, improvised plays on convention that interrupted rather than reinforced dominant narratives.

By taking at its center the notion that the construction of collective memory is a rhetorical process that is performed by and through artifacts of public memory, this dissertation

investigates the mobilization of visual artifacts to persuade audiences to remember. My study of Japanese American incarceration argues that for artifacts of public memory to be rhetorically effective, they must be composed in ways that make them cogent beyond the moment of production.

In Chapter 1, "The Process of Memory," I review key scholarship from the multidisciplinary field of memory studies in order to argue that the remembering of contested events occurs as a process that begins with the original act of witnessing and, through the construction of rhetorical artifacts, might take several generations to coalesce into an agreed upon collective memory. In order to illustrate this phenomenon, I perform a detailed analysis of several artifacts mobilized to remember Sadao Munemori, the first member of the 442nd Infantry Unit to receive a Congressional Medal of Honor. I also develop the term *parallel occurrences*, in order to examine the way remembering of certain lesser known events, often by members of marginalized communities, occurs and evolves differently than the remembering of flashbulb or uncontested occurrences.

In Chapter 2, "Subjective Performances: Photography as Resistance," I engage photographs taken at Manzanar Relocation Center by three photographers—Ansel Adams, Dorothea Lange, and Toyo Miyatake—to investigate how incarcerated Japanese Americans might have performed for the camera and to argue against the premises and conditions of their imprisonment. By viewing photography as an act of collaboration between subject and photographer, as opposed to one of domination, I am able to consider how, when photographing marginalized or imprisoned individuals, a photographer's identity markers might facilitate or constrict the levels of access that their agentive subjects allow them.

In Chapter 3, "Rendering Everyday Life: Tactical Artwork by Incarcerated Japanese American Artists," I contend that incarcerated Japanese American artists engaged in what I refer to, following Michel de Certeau, as *tactical acts of rhetorical resistance*, or the production of artifacts that deliberately subverted and undermined the government's complex network of strategic controlling mechanisms. My framework allows for a clearer understanding of how, in contrast to general conceptions that Japanese Americans offered no major resistance to incarceration, incarcerees actually engaged in complex, layered, and deliberate forms of protest that opposed their immediate conditions and documented the injustices for future audiences. By focusing this portion of my analysis of comics about the messiness associated with sanitary facilities—toilets, showers, and laundry rooms—I demonstrate that many Nisei artists patently resisted the government's claim that incarceration represented a humane and modern solution to the West Coast's "Japanese problem." Understanding these gestures as *tactical acts of rhetorical resistance* demonstrates a method by which marginalized or threatened rhetors can not only document their conditions but also make *post festum* contributions to public reminding.

In my fourth chapter, "Memory Institutions: Cognitive and Experiential Remembering of Japanese American Incarceration" I investigate the role that the experience of space plays in the construction of public memory. In this chapter, my analysis moves between a variety of memorial spaces—the Memorial to Japanese American Patriotism in Washington, D.C., the Desnsho online archive, and the Manzanar National Historic Site—and I consider how these memory institutions conform to and contradict the generic conventions of contemporary memorial space. Ultimately, I draw an important distinction between experiential and cognitive memory work. Without privileging one form of memory over the other, I suggest that an

effective blending of the two can help a space, and the memories it is representing, be seen in the cluttered memorial landscape while still maintaining the integrity of the events it is representing.

Finally, by way of conclusion, I look at the work of contemporary Japanese American photographers Kevin Miyazaki and Paul Kitagaki, Jr. in order to begin to speculate on how incarceration is currently being visualized and remembered. Borrowing from the title of an exhibition by Kitagaki, I ultimately argue not only that memory is a process but that the remembering of a marginalized community's version of events is an act of *memorial gambatte*, or doing one's best to be remembered.

By scrutinizing a wide array of artifacts of public memory throughout this dissertation, I am able to explicate the rhetorical processes that are used to make memory. As marginalized rhetors working with limited access to the means of persuasion and living under constant threat of violence and further severance of civil liberties, incarcerated Japanese Americans were compelled to improvise methods of remembering that by virtue of their uniqueness have endured as compelling examples of Asian American rhetoric and the kinds of uncommonplaces that are imbued with the power to trigger public memory and contribute to the collective.

Chapter 1: The Process of Memory

By the time visitors to the Manzanar National Historic Site make it inside the interpretive center, their senses have already been fully engaged in the act of remembering. To reach the center, which is housed in the camp's old recreation hall, visitors must make their way from the parking lot up a moderate incline. The steepness is made more intense by the sound and feel of powerful winds. In summer months, the temperature frequently exceeds 100 degrees, and despite the decades that have passed since the camp was active, the ubiquitous Manzanar dust still swirls through the air and into the eyes and mouths of visitors. The walk from the parking lot is not an accidental happenstance of bad planning; rather, it was deliberately incorporated into the site's design in order to "promot[e] a particular sense of arrival" and "evoke the sense of desolation and exposure to the elements that greeted Japanese Americans arriving in early spring and summer 1942" (Kirster Olmon, Inc.). Through this rite of entry, visitors are thrust into an act of bodily identification and given something to feel as they make their way through the center and accompanying site.

The opportunities for visitor identification continue throughout the exhibit hall. In a reconstructed barrack, the visitor is engaged in a multisensory facsimile of domestic life. It is furnished with replicas of items that would have been made from materials salvaged throughout the camp and an audio track provides the aural impression of living in close quarters with several families and the desert wind. Most notable though is the ID Tag Station. A staggered grid includes black and white photographs of 11 individuals who were incarcerated at Manzanar hung

adjacent to khaki colored replicas of the tags that were issued to each and every incarcerated family. The exhibit instructs visitors to "select a tag, read the information on the back, and find the matching tag number in the exhibit." The assignment leaves the visitor with a face, a name, and a brief biography.

There is a precedent for this kind of tactile remembering in memorials and museums. In *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum*, Edward Linenthal describes the identity-card project intended to "convey the personal dimension of the Holocaust" (187). Linenthal cites a focus group study conducted which determined that visitors to the Holocaust Museum "very much liked the idea that they could identify with someone like them in the midst of this horrible story" (Klingender qtd in Linenthal 187). The irony of using ID cards, and in the case of Manzanar, luggage tags, to create identification between contemporary visitors and historical subjects is that the tags and cards are replicas of items that were designed to bureaucratize identity and streamline the processing of human bodies. Thus, the job of the exhibits accompanying these tags is to rehumanize the dehumanized. At Manzanar, this rehumanization is accomplished by relaying memories of incarceration to visitors by creating opportunities for them to view and interact with objects. By bringing together sight and touch, the directives on the ID Card Station lead people to engage, multimodally, in the act of remembering.

One of the tags is assigned to Nawa Munemori, of Family Number 3695. The biography on the back of the card reads:

> Born in Japan in 1886, NAWA MUNEMORI was interned at Manzanar with three of her children while her youngest son, Sadao, fought for the U.S. Army in Italy. Her eldest daughter lived in Japan and was married to a doctor in the Japanese Army.

The holder of the card is instructed to "Look for letters inside the cigar box." Upon locating the cigar box, towards the back of the exhibit space, the visitor opens and finds, behind plexiglass, a photograph of a young soldier holding a large rifle, a handwritten letter on American Red Cross Stationary, and an original mailing envelope, with "Manzanar Relo. Center" included in the address.

The luggage tag, the cigar box, and its accompanying contents are all examples of visual artifacts being deployed in order to transmit histories in memorable ways. Interestingly though, despite the fact that the box contains Sadao Munemori's letter, this portion of the exhibit doesn't mention that he was killed in action or that he was the only member of the famed 442nd Regimental Combat Team to receive a Congressional Medal of Honor directly following his death (as opposed to several decades later). Instead, Nawa Munemori's memory is deployed as a representation of motherhood and nationalism. While it might initially be read as a politically neutral rendering of a common American experience, the portion of the exhibit devoted solely to Sadao Munemori's life and death, which contains the blue star flag that his mother hung in the window of their barrack while he was serving and that she took down after Sadao was killed, disrupts any such notions. Through this combination of objects, text, and assumptions regarding visitor identification, Nawa Munemori isn't just rehumanized. Instead her dehumanization is reanimated. The various artifacts coalesce to render a powerful critique against the hypocrisy of allowing a son to fight and die for the country while his mother, and approximately 120,000 other Japanese Americans, were treated as potential enemies of the nation.

The displays within Manzanar's interpretive center belong to a larger oeuvre of artifacts of public memory that have been used to remember Private Sadao Munemori and other aspects of Japanese American life before, during, and after World War II. Artifacts remembering

Munemori are scattered around the world and on the Internet—there is a statue of him in Seravezza Italy, his Congressional Medal of Honor is on display in Hawaii, and because of his historical significance, he has a strong presence in online archives. A brief survey of these memorials, which were produced in varying spatial and temporal proximities to Munuemori's death, reveals the complicated visual memory work done surrounding Japanese American incarceration. These varied memorials also provide an opportunity to observe the way that the construction of collective memory for contested occurrences might be viewed as a process that occurs over the course of multiple generations and cultural moments.

In order to support my claim that the collective remembering of contested events—like Japanese American incarceration—occurs as a process, I begin this chapter by conducting a brief review of scholarship from the multidisciplinary field of memory studies. By doing so, I able to explicate stages of the remembering process and argue that for contested memories, which often originate with or at least involve members of marginalized groups, to be taken up by collective memory, they must overcome a circulatory hurdle that exists between cultural memory and public memory. Next, through a detailed analysis of several specific memorials to Sadao Munemori, I show how the circulatory hurdle that I have identified affords dynamic opportunities for memorial compositions that interrupt previous public memories of events in order to enliven and reanimate public memory and continue to vie for uptake by collective memory.

Memory as Process

For memory to be conceptualized as a process, then there needs to be a first step. From a taxonomical perspective, this first step takes the form of autobiographical memory, which

"concerns the events of one's own life that one remembers because they were experienced directly." However, because as Maurice Halbwach clearly established, memory is an inherently social process, "it is impossible for individuals to remember in any coherent and persistent fashion outside of their group contexts," then mechanisms are necessary in order to cohere autobiographical memories and transmit them from individual to group contexts (Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Levy 19, 18). The moment of transmission from the individual to the group is also the moment at which it becomes possible for memory to be contested. One way of conceptualizing this contestation is to draw upon the distinction between memory and history that Kendall Phillips makes in his introduction to *The Public Memory Reader*:

> A distinction between memory and history is evident as far back as Halbwachs, who saw history and memory as opposing ways of recalling the past, history, with its apparent claims to accuracy and objectivity, is—or at least had been—viewed as implying a singular and authentic account of the past. Memory, on the other hand, is conceived of in terms of multiple, diverse, mutable, and competing accounts of past events. As claims to a single authoritative 'History' became increasingly (and rightly) untenable in the face of compelling critiques leveled by poststructural and multicultural critics, scholars turned to the notion of memory, or perhaps more accurately, 'memories, 'as a way of understanding the complex relationships among past, present, and future. (2)

History, in other words, has never been a particularly polyvocal entity and as a provider of overarching narratives and national unity, it isn't up to the task of navigating the deconstructive forces of modernity. In contrast, the ubiquity of memory is such that it is more able to meet the demands of multivalency wrought by forces such as poststructuralism and multiculturalism. But, in order to understand how memory corrects/supplements/supplants history, we need to understand how it moves from belonging to the individual to belonging to the collective.

As part of understanding this shift, Jan Assman's distinction between cultural and communicative memories allows us to see the types of memory as operating procedurally as and not in opposition to one another. For Assman, "everyday communications about the meaning of

the past [is] characterized by instability, disorganization, and non-specialization. These everyday communications have a limited temporal horizon of eighty to one hundred years" (Kansteiner 182). Communicative memories draw their force from lived experience and are quite powerful. As they become increasingly more removed from the original witness, however, communicative memories become less persuasive. Assman contrasts communicative memories with cultural memories, which he defines as "that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch whose 'cultivation' serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image" (Assman quoted in Kansteiner 182). In contrast to communicative memories, cultural memories are portable—they transcend their own moment and contribute to larger social identity. Where communicative memories primarily rely on word-of-mouth or minimally circulated artifacts, cultural memory "consists of objectified culture, that is, the texts, rites, images, buildings, and monuments which are designed to recall fateful events in the history of the collective. As the officially sanctioned heritage of a society, cultural memories are intended for the *longue durre*" (Kansteiner 182). Cultural memories assume corporeal form, which makes them durable and able to transcend the lifespans of original witnesses.

Assman's contrast between communicative and cultural memories doesn't just serve as a way of thinking about the relationship between two specific types of memory. Instead, by setting up communicative memories as temporally bound and implicitly arguing that cultural memories are somewhat more permanent, Assman's work is the linchpin which allows us to see remembering as a process. Rather than existing in opposition to one another, the types of memory named by memory studies—autobiographical memory, social memory, communicative memory, public memory, and collective memory—might be seen as stages of memory. If remembering is process, then memory begins as autobiographical and depending on the

intentions and resources of the rememberer, has the potential to eventually be taken up by collective memory.

The challenge associated with explicating memory as a process has to do with the extent to which the key terms overlap with one another, as well as the general lack of agreement regarding the ultimate goal of collaborative remembering. As I have noted, Maurice Hawlbach's assertion that "all acts of memory are inherently social" is often treated as the starting point for memory studies, and it is what leads Phillips to argue "that to remember is to act as part of a collective [and] our collectivity is deeply intertwined with our capacity for and enactment of remembrance (Phillips 1). That the memory is "deeply intertwined" with the collective explains the presence of terms such as social memory, public memory, collective memory, and cultural memory. For memories to do the important work of acknowledging that if "historical representations are negotiated, selective, present oriented, and relative," then they must move beyond the individual memory—the memory belonging to "the always unique rememberer"—and into a group or groups (Kansteiner 195; Casey 20). The first stepping-stone for memories moving from the individual to the group is social memory, which resembles Assman's communicative memory in key ways. For Edward S. Casey, social memory "is memory shared by those who are *already* related to each other, whether by way of family or friendship or civic acquaintance or just an 'alliance between people for a specific purpose'" (21-22). Like communicative memory, social memory relies on direct networks of people to communicate the memory, but Assman's conceptualization contains a more specific lifespan for memories that are perpetuated by specific networks. For Casey, social memories only become public when their original owners become notorious in some way; Assman includes no such caveat for the circulation of collective memories. Despite the differences between social and communicative

memories, they both represent the second step in the process of collaborative remembering. That is, they both represent the first transmissions of a memory from the individual who bore witness to the individual(s) who did not. Cultural memory, at least according to Assman's conceptualization, is perhaps more well-suited to transmitting the memories of everyday individuals and is therefore a better mechanism of transmission for marginalized groups.

For Barbie Zelizer, in her work on visual remembering of the Holocaust, bearing witness is an important component of the remembering process. She writes, "In a sense, then, bearing witness calls for truth telling at the same time as it sanctions an interpretation of what is being witnessed. Bearing witness implies that there is no best way of depicting or thinking about atrocities, but that the very fact of paying heed collectively is crucial" (10). In his work on what he calls "forgetful memory," Michael Bernard-Donals begins to interrogate the potential risks of creating illusions of mediated witnessing through images: "One of the difficulties we contend with at a time when images seem to take precedent over text—at a time when, as W.J.T. Mitchell put it, we have taken a 'pictorial turn'—is how to avoid accepting their incessant repetition as a substitute for the real or for history" (79). While to some extent, rhetors of memory cannot retain total control over how their images are taken up, they can compose their artifacts in ways that foreground the mediated nature of secondhand witnessing by making their own interpretations more transparent. Nevertheless, Zelizer's dual emphasis on witnessing and interpreting still paves the way for the important role that visuality, and visual representations, play in the next part of the remembering process, public memory. While technologies of amplification might allow for spoken memories to be transmitted to a larger group than the original witness's network, in most cases, the artifacts of public memory take on a material form. This corporeality of memory is what extends the lifespan of a communicative memory and the range of a social

memory as necessary to be transformed into public memory. Public memories, according to John Bodnar, "emerge from the intersection of official and vernacular cultural expressions," and these expressions are often, but not always, visual (13). As Joshua Reeves suggests, some of the commonplaces of public memory include statues, obelisks, and monument, but I would extend his range of examples to other types of images, such as photographs, drawings and comics, and museum exhibits.

Despite the limited nature of his examples, which are important to Reeves' larger argument that these kinds of ubiquitous artifacts of public memory interrupt remembering "at the expense of more innovative rhetorical forms," his use of the term commonplace is a provocative way of thinking about public memory. After all, going as far back as Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, commonplaces were standardized categories of argument; pre-existing modes of persuasion. That public memory is transmitted through material commonplaces reinforces the notion that memory is rhetorical because "constituting memories are open to contest, revision, and rejection" (Phillips 4). There are signs, symbols, and objects that transmit arguments and ideologies that are deeply rooted in society. However, and this is the challenge of mnemonic work that subverts or supplements dominant public memories, the commonness of commonplaces is audience contingent. For example, while certain images or artifacts might be commonplace for Japanese Americans, and thus successfully trigger memories, they won't necessarily be familiar to other communities. Therefore, for artifacts of public memory to be effective, they must be mobilized in ways that make them legible for audiences that transcend the time and place of their production.

As Phillips argues, "As an art interested in the way symbols are employed to induce cooperation, achieve rhetorical understanding, contest understanding, and offer dissent, rhetoric

is deeply steeped in a concern for public memories" (2-3). Public memory differs from social and communicative memory because it is more overtly rhetorical. While the latter forms of memory may engage in tasks of persuasion, artifacts of public memory are "deeply implicated in our persuasive activities and in the underlying assumptions and experiences upon which we build meanings and reasons" (Phillips 2-3). Artifacts of public memory aren't just being mobilized in order to persuade individuals or publics to remember for the sake of remembering. They are vying for acceptance into the collective memory. By representing an original event in some way, artifacts of public memory allow for the bearing of witness to occur on the large scale.

Collective memory, which bears a strong resemblance to Assman's cultural memory, is a nebulous concept that is deeply rooted in memory studies because it takes Halbwach's assertions regarding the social nature of memory to the furthest extreme. As opposed to the individual or autobiographical memories, which belong to one, collective memory belongs to an entire society. According to Wulf Kansteiner, "memories are at their most collective when they transcend the time and space of the events' original occurrence. As such, they take on a powerful life of their own, 'unencumbered' by actual individual memory, and become the basis of all collective remembering as disembodied, omnipresent, low-intensity memory," and, I would add, culturally contingent commonplaces (189). In their truest realization, collective memories become deeply removed from the reality and instead function as representations of ideological regimes. As Kansteiner notes,

> Most groups settle temporarily on such collective memories and reproduce them for years and decades until they are questioned and perhaps overturned, often in the wake of generational turn-over. These repetitive representations form the backbone of collective memories. They represent the common denominator in questions of historical taste that are widely and frequently disseminated to create and maintain group identities. (190)

While collective memories are not history, and memory studies on the whole has reached a consensus on the plurality and fallibility of histories, they are taken up as history. The version of an event that dominates the collective memory passes as the "official history," and is reproduced and circulated, thus perpetuating its presence in the collective memory. There is a connotation of sacredness associated with collective memory; it is a moving target, hard to define, and perhaps even harder to achieve. While different artifacts of public memory can vie for acceptance into the collective, circulation does not guarantee acceptance. [1]

Positing memory as a process has many productive possibilities, especially with regards to considering the construction of memories. However, I do not want to elide the fact that there are mechanisms at work that make it difficult for social and communicative memories belonging to marginalized groups to become incorporated into the collective. As Haivan Hoang notes in her work on rhetorical memory, the exclusion or silencing of certain memories is more complex than the typically deployed dominant/non-dominant binary might imply. In order to get around this reductive binary, Hoang draws upon the classical term *copia*, which "asks us to look at the same subject in multiple ways and thereby emerge with a more textured understanding of that subject than we would have with only one narrative" (165). Thus, for Asian Americans, and those belonging to other marginalized groups, participating in public memory isn't merely a tussle for recognition; rather it involves the composition of collective memories that are the sum of a variety of parts. As Hoang explains:

> Ethnic minorities and other historically underrepresented groups not only participate in acts of deconstruction and resistance (which assign us to the roles of aggressor and victim), but we also participate in acts of construction: artistic

[1] Based on this distinction, throughout this dissertation, I move between articulating public memory and collective memory as the ultimate goal of memorial persuasion. This slippage is intentional as I wish to make clear/exploit the complex relationship between the two types of memory.

> creation, community building, and social action. In the constructive sense, memory functions as a 'resourcement,' offering an alternative construction not necessarily in direct contradiction to an existing claim. (154)

Hoang's deployment of *copia* and the resultant shattering of binaries, both with regards to dominant/non-dominant narratives and resourcement in lieu of/addition to resistance, provide useful insights into the multivalent nature of Japanese American remembering.

It is important to note that as a methodology of remembering*, copia* goes beyond simply allowing for a postmodern cacophony of perspectives. Rather, because it is a rhetorical act, composition is involved: the rememberer must make meaning from the pieces that they are compiling. This makes *copia* a radical concept because, as Hoang explains, "The dominant ideology in the United States is based on the idea that self-actualized individuals complete society, but *copia* presupposes the inverse—that is, society completes the individual" (145). Thus, any suppositions regarding the linearity of memory are interrupted and redrawn based on an inherent interdependence between autobiographical and collective memory—the way that one interprets and remembers their own lived and witnessed experience is influenced, and perhaps rendered more nuanced, by the *copia* of collective memory.

Copia's presupposition that society completes the individual, aligns in interesting ways with Lu Ming Mao's description of Chinese American face. According to Mao, who also references the ideology of individualism that is persistent idea in American rhetoric, "[…] central to Chinese face is an emphasis on the public, on the community" (38). While the notion of a community-based sense of self doesn't belong wholly to Asian Americans, it does seem to be a persistent theme in Asian American rhetoric and rhetorical remembering. According to Mao, face is defined as, "[…] as a public image that self likes to claim or enhance for him- or herself from others in any communicative event. This is an image that signifies a reciprocal balance, at

any given point in time, between self and those others as they engage in face-to-face interaction" (39). Thus, when thinking about how Japanese Americans in particular might participate in the construction of collective memory, we want to look for offerings and narratives that might be differentiated, at various loci, from the dominant, mainstream American cultural of individualism.

Despite postmodern impulses to study fractures in the collective memory, as Kansteiner has argued, collective memory is actually very hard to talk about accurately and without relying on speculation or, as he puts it, the "facile use of psychoanalytical and psychological methods" (180). While Kansteiner proposes correcting this methodological issue through the use of methods developed in media and communication studies, it would still be almost impossible to obtain a sample size large enough to garner any real sense of how a collective remembers a particular event. Alternatively, I propose that a deep consideration of the artifacts of public memory serves as more a productive method of analysis. By closely examining artifacts of public memory, we have the opportunity to consider proposed contributions to the collective. The call to remember is an act of persuasion, and artifacts of public memory are generated using the means available to the memory makers. The comparison of multiple versions of a public memory helps generate insight into how different memory makers might view their specific version of an event in relation to collective memory.

This kind of artifactual analysis is essential for dealing with memories of the Japanese American experience during World War II because given the ethical and political complications surrounding the treatment of the Japanese American people, as a group, Americans have never "settled" on a coherent or unified collective memory. We've never reached a consensus on how to remember this organized removal of civil rights that was directed towards the West Coast's

Japanese American population. Even though Japanese American incarceration was based on a false declaration of homogeny—Japanese Americans looked like the enemy—from its conception there was actually an incredible amount of diversity in terms of how members of various factions—both inside and outside of the Japanese American community—viewed incarceration. Thus, to echo Kansteimer's words, memories of incarceration have never had the backbone necessary to make a coherent entry into the collective memory.

Besides the failure of various factions to come to an agreement on how to remember incarceration, the fact that incarceration occurred concurrently with the Holocaust also makes it complicated, if not difficult to remember. As Jeffrey K Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, and Daniel Levy write in their introduction to *The Collective Memory Reader*, "The post-Holocaust landscape is one littered with victims, not only the victims of the Holocaust but those whose victimhood is defined by the mastered image of the Auschwitz inmate, and unfortunately compared to or measured against him or her" (30). Claims of victimhood for and by incarcerated Japanese Americans will always invoke a comparison to victims of the Holocaust. Jay Winter begins "The Memory Boom in Contemporary Historical Studies" by quoting Pierre Nora's statement, "Whoever says memory, says Shoah" (Nora qtd in Winter 52). Though Winter ultimately credits what he calls the "memory boom" to multiple factors, and not just the Holocaust, he does note "The memory boom of the later twentieth century arrived in part because of our belated but real acceptance among us, that within our families, there are men and women overwhelmed by tragic recollection (63-64). As Karein Goertz writes in "Transgenerational Representations of the Holocaust: From Memory to Post-Memory," the "Holocaust continues to resurface in the public arena as an unresolved memory, forcing us to confront and work through its legacy" (33). In other words, the sheer level of trauma enacted on

the 20th century's collective memories has made it difficult to gauge or even think clearly about other injustices without comparing them to the Holocaust on some level.

This implicit comparison speaks to one of the great challenges of remembering incarceration: if the Holocaust forever changed the nature of how subsequent traumatic events are remembered, then how do we remember the traumatic-but-not-as-traumatic trauma that happened concurrently? Marianne Hirsch uses the term "postmemory" to describe the "relationship of the second generation to powerful, often traumatic experiences that preceded their births but that were nevertheless transmitted to them so deeply as to seem to constitute memories in their own right" (103). For Hirsch, "postmemory" offers a way of understanding the experiences of the children of survivors, who are haunted by the indirect effects of their parents' trauma. Hirsch clearly states that "postmemory" is not "a movement, method or idea" but "a *structure* of inter-and trans-generational transmission of traumatic knowledge and experience" (105). As a structure of transmission then, across and between generations, "postmemory" serves as a way of thinking about how individuals might receive and transmit and be affected by secondhand of extreme trauma.

In contrast, for many incarcerees and their descendants, their attempts to remember incarceration are marked by silence, invisibility, and, perhaps, by comparison. In order to articulate this mnemonic overshadowing without engaging in a grapple over levels of trauma, I suggest that rather than being eclipsed by the Holocaust, Japanese American incarceration can be viewed as a kind of parallel occurrence. Because the complication of how to remember this particular event stems from shadows that more concrete traumas—that is to say, ones with higher death tolls—leave on how it is remembered, viewing it as an event that happened next to or alongside of (rather than in contrast to) the Holocaust allows for a rich study of the kind of

remembering that it invokes; we can study the aftershocks of the memory boom. As Winter argues, the memory boom is not just a result of memory, trauma, and history, but that "there are other, distinctive sources of the contemporary obsession with memory, which arise out of a multiplicity of social, cultural, medical, and economic trends and developments of an eclectic but interesting time" (53). By considering those memories which exist alongside of the traumatic ruptures, we can begin to uncover, or at least shed new light on, the under discussed facets of collective remembering as a process.

Memories of parallel occurrences are not countermemories. They don't undo or rewrite collective memories; they augment them. But they are still contested, and this contestation takes place through the generation, circulation, and combination of a *copia* of artifacts. As Stephen Howard Brown argues, "Memory works through the various vehicles that give collectives a sense of their past […] the material object has long be seen as a stand-in or synecdochic representation of larger events, issues, and settings" (155). However, because memories of parallel occurrences are often cast aside, or temporarily forgotten in light of more immediately resonant memories, archives play a key role in remembering them. As is the case with many artifacts of public memory—Hoang's *copia*—that were developed during incarceration, they are often stored away until they are needed; until the collective memory has a need for their particular story. Further, as Zelizer has written:

> Discussions of visual memories have thereby become at some level discussions of cultural practice—of the strategies by which images are made and collected, retained and stored, recycled and forgotten. By definition this connects visual memories with a culture's socially, politically, and economically mandated and sanctioned modes of interpretation, with how certain uses of images are set in place, challenged, and legitimated. (8)

Remembering Japanese American incarceration means unearthing and scrutinizing the things, the artifacts, which have been left behind. Depending upon when this unearthing occurs, they will be interpreted, as Walter Benjamin has suggested, based on the concerns of the present moment. Thus, the most successful artifacts for remembering parallel occurrences are capable of supporting multiple interpretations without losing the central thrust of the original rhetor's argument regarding what should be remembered. Because the remembering of parallel occurrences so often involves an act of seeking, it is often accomplished through intertextual composites of rhetorical artifacts, moments, and actors.

Remembering Sadao Munemori

In order to illustrate the dual notion that collective remembering occurs as a transgenerational process and that memories of parallel occurrences are especially susceptible to contestation, I will now turn to several artifacts that were mobilized in the memory of Sadao Munemori. Each of these artifacts—a magazine article from the 1940s, a troop transport ship, and a newspaper column from the 1980s—grapple with the process of bringing Munemori's memory to bear on the collective in ways that reflect the concerns and exigencies of their moments of production.

Nisei Vue

Nisei Vue was a post-war magazine with the articulated goal of correcting what the editors saw as "the lack of pictures relevant to stories concerning the Nisei[2]." In other words, *Nisei Vue* was established with the express purpose of creating a space for the Nisei in America's flourishing visual culture. The magazine, which was modeled after *Life*, offered heavily

[2] Generational roles are very important within Japanese American culture. *Issei* refers to the first generation of immigrants; *Nisei* to the second; *Sansei* to the third.

illustrated coverage of fashion trends in addition to profiles of community members and feature articles focusing on issues important to the Nisei community, which often included the complex legacy and memories of World War II.

One such feature was "The Story of Sadao Munemori… An American Hero," a three page article that appeared in the magazine's summer issue in 1949 and is comprised of one page of text bracketed by two full pages of pictures: one is taken up by a full page portrait of Munemori and the other uses a scrapbook style layout to display four snapshots from Munemori's life. In three out of the five images, he is in uniform. This quantification of photographs matters because it speaks to how Munemori was being remembered by the Nisei community. Throughout the article, the interplay of words and images offers insight into the changing rhetorical practices of the Nisei in the years directly following World War II.

In *Death and Ethnicity: A Psychocultural Study*, Richard A. Kalish and David K. Reynolds offer a detailed look at Japanese American mourning rituals that acknowledges the profound effects that incarceration had in terms of upending the pre-war familial structure and creating generational divides. Additionally, according to Kalish and Reynolds, the Nisei were caught in the middle of a generation shift or, in their words, "sufficiently marginal" (131). A later study conducted Kathryn L. Braun and Rhea Nichols corroborates Kalish and Reynold's findings regarding cultural shifts in the Japanese American community:

> Participants also related stories of how many Japanese Americans left Buddhism following their internment during World War II. Given their many generations in the United States, the low influx of new Japanese immigrants, their experience during World War II, and the high level of out-of-group marriage, informants said that the majority of Japanese Americans are likely to practice customs of mainstream American rather than those reflecting their Buddhist ancestry. (349)

Although Braun and Nichols based their findings on qualitative interviews conducted with Japanese Americans living in Hawaii in the late 1990s, and who therefore would have had

different experiences with incarceration than their mainland counterparts, their findings align with Kalish and Reynold's notation of a generational shift from Buddhism to secularism that occurred between the Issei and Sansei generations. Therefore, it stands to reason that in 1949, the recently incarcerated Nisei were at the frontlines of balancing competing cultural conventions regarding death.

"The Story of Sadao Munemori" is directly preceded by a textual and pictorial account of the dedication of a monument for 55 Nisei soldiers who were killed in action. On first gloss, this seems like a familiar organizational pattern. By moving from the general to the specific—the larger memorial to the particular soldier—it is clear that Munemori's story is being offered up in order to lend a sense of specificity to the fallen. While the article is all about Munemori, as an artifact of public memory, Munemori is transformed into the metonymic fallen soldier. By remembering one soldier with great specificity, *Nisei Vue* reminds its readers of the humanity of the other 55 soldiers honored by the Seattle memorial. Because Munemori was the first member of the 442nd to be awarded a Congressional Medal of Honor, his memory represents a certain level of "Americanization" that likely reflected the identity aspirations of *Nisei Vue's* intended audience. However, when considered alongside shifting Japanese American death rituals, the placement of these two articles becomes more meaningful. For Japanese Americans, especially the Issei generation, mourning was a group ritual. According to Kalish and Reynolds, Japanese cemeteries became quite common throughout California, which reflected "Japanese American desires to be buried near others of their community, particularly family members." It became very common for group monuments to fallen Nisei soldiers and veterans to be constructed in Japanese American cemeteries (134). The placement of the two articles represents the conflicting traditions that the Nisei were grappling with—group solidarity and individualism. Returning to

the ideologies undergirding Hoang's *copia*, the piece moves between remembering Munemori as an individual and as a representative of a larger group. Rather than choosing to participate in a single tradition, as Kalish and Reynolds imply the Issei or Sansei might have, the remembrances in *Nisei Vue* straddle both traditions.

This pattern of balancing the Japanese with the American is carried throughout "The Story of Sadao Munemori." The written portion of the article uses an elegiac tone in order to carefully construct him as both an ordinary person—relatable and recognizable to the *Nisei Vue* readers—and as a hero. This dual representation did the work of extending the validation conferred by Munemori's Congressional Medal of Honor. According to Michael L. Kent's analysis of modern eulogies, they are comprised of "brief biographical accounts of the deceased's life and observations on the deceased's personality, rather than the actual 'praising' life that the deceased lived" (8). The different kinds of eulogies that Kent describes—the "great man" versus the ordinary person serve different rhetorical purposes: The "everyday eulogy" consoles, while the former elevates the memory of the dead (6).

Though the Munemori remembrance piece isn't a conventional eulogy—it breaks with the fundamental, spoken nature of the genre—it would seem that the anonymous author drew upon eulogistic characteristics in order to honor and memorialize Munemori. For example, the article resembles a contemporary eulogy insomuch as it makes several statements about Munemori's personality. For example, "He had a special knack for saying awkward things in an awkward way with perfect composure; and yet he was not the garrulous, boisterous type, as being merely noisy is not the essence of a comic" (13). At this, and in several other places, the audience receives a description of Munemori's personality, which are based on unattributed recollections that presumably capture the spirit and essence of the deceased. However, the fact

that the remembrance so strongly resembles what Kent calls the "everyday eulogy" is notable in light of the fact that portions of the article, those connected to photographs, use elevated language and other non-verbal rituals to depict him as a hero. As the typed label accompanying the photographed portrait that precedes the article notes, "The late Sadao Munemori was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for *extraordinary gallantry* with the 442nd Infantry Division in Italy." The attribution of "extraordinary gallantry" more closely resembles the laudatory language of the "great man" eulogy, and, in the classical tradition, sets Munemori up as an exemplary citizen. In contrast, the article uses colloquial language to describe his death: "[…] Sadao was to give his life by life by hurling himself upon an exploding grenade to save the lives of two of his buddies, after having single-handedly destroyed two German machine guns and killing three and wounding two of the gunmen" (13). Phrases like "Hurling himself" and saving the lives of "two buddies" don't undercut the importance of Munemori's sacrifice, but they do make it possible for the reader to visualize his death. As opposed to *extraordinary gallantry*, which invokes far-off and abstract actions, the article's language is such that the audience would have been able to identify with the way that Munemori died. Through conventions of the everyday eulogy used to remember Munemori, the audience is reminded that the deceased was a person first—a person very much like themselves or someone they knew—and a hero second.

Despite the muted nature of the written portion of the article, the pictures bracketing the article do the work of setting of Munemori as a hero and exemplary citizen. As mentioned, the written portion of the article is preceded by a full page portrait of Munemori in full dress uniform with his posthumously awarded Congressional Medal of Honor pinned to the center of his chest. This image is doing the same kind of rhetorical work that the classical Greek funeral oratory

accomplished: it is commending Munemori and emphasizing the fact that he died for his country (Kent 3). However, by showing his body restored and with the medal—like he appeared in life, but nobler—the painting also performs another eulogistic death ritual. A metaphorical embalming of sorts, the painting incorporates "the physical remains […] among those of the earlier dead, and of aid[s] the soul in its journey to and inclusion in the community of the dead in the other world" (Paxton qtd in Kent 4). Given the article's mention of Munemori's "hurling" his body onto an exploding grenade, the posthumous reconstruction and amplification of the portrait becomes even more important in terms of readying Munemori for the afterlife. In this case however, the afterlife that Munemori is being prepared for has nothing to do with Heaven and Hell and instead relates to the afterlife as manifested through public memory and the rhetorical amplification of his identity.

These competing conceptualizations of afterlife can be seen through the interplay of images and text in the Munemori remembrance piece. The *makuragyo* is an important part of the Buddhist death ritual that involves a priest reading a sutra at the bedside of the dead or dying that ensures their "last thoughts will be of gratitude and peace" and that gives the "deceased's spirit a right direction as it moves away from the physical body" (Braun and Nichols 347). Given the violent nature of Munemori's death, and the fact that his body was blown up, the traditional *makuragyo* wouldn't have been performed. In his role as a private citizen, it is difficult to ascertain whether Munemori or his mother were Buddhists, but if they were, there is a precedent for the *makuragyo* being performed posthumously. However, in his role as a public figure, a role solidified by the awarding of the Congressional Medal of Honor, Munemori becomes representative of a generation being cast from their bodies and caught between traditions. Thus, the re-embodiment accomplished by the posthumous portrait mentioned above becomes

especially important. Metaphorically, it breaks with the Buddhist tradition of cremating the body and instead allows for the magazine to conduct a secular funeral ritual.

Interestingly, the article's hybridization of traditional Buddhist and secular American mourning rituals mimics accounts of a service for Munemori that was held in Los Angeles the previous winter. According to the *Los Angeles Times'* coverage, the services, "which also were dedicated as a tribute to the sacrifices of all Japanese-American soldiers in the gallant 442nd Regimental Combat Team were mixture of ancient Buddhist rites and modern military ceremonies" (A1). In both the *Nisei Vue* article and the memorial service, Munemori's memory was being mobilized so that he represented all of the fallen Japanese American soldiers. Additionally, as reflected in the *Nisei Vue* article, Buddhist mourning rituals were juxtaposed against modern military practices and eulogies from fellow soldiers rendered in "perfect English." The similarities in structure and content between the actual memorial service and *Nisei Vue's* more metaphorical embalmment testify to the endurance of artifacts of public memory. Though a few accounts of the memorial service remain, and a few photographs were taken, by and large, the event wasn't very well preserved and thus wouldn't have transcended the limitations of cultural memory. However, the *Nisei Vue* article did endure. Its presence in the archives not only ensures that Munemori's memory will survive well beyond the time of this death, but that future generations will be able to consider and experience the complex grappling with and negotiating of competing cultures experienced by post-war Nisei. By rendering Munemori's memorial in words and pictures, it operates as an encapsulation of the complexity of navigating competing cultural conventions that the Nisei experienced during the post-war years.

The *U.S.A.T. Private Sadao S. Munemori*

The limits of archival research are such that is not possible to establish a direct connection between the publishers of *Nisei Vue* and the leadership agendas of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). However, the magazine's amplification of Munemori's memory was in keeping with the symbolic function of the Nisei soldier dictated by the JACL. As Ellen D. Wu explains in *The Color of Success: Asian Americans and the Origins of the Model Minority Myth*, the figure of the Japanese American soldier, as conceived by the JACL, represented Japanese American "claims to assimilability and national belonging by responding to the call to arms, recasting them from enemy aliens to loyal citizens in the process" (74). The JACL used this figure as part of what Wu reads as a complex and sophisticated public relations campaign intended to recast how Americans viewed Japanese Americans. By inserting the image of archetypal Nisei soldier into public memory, JACL initiatives, such as citizenship for the Issei and post-war reparations, remained on legislative agendas (Wu 86).

Unlike the *Nisei Vue*, whose audience was primarily comprised of Nisei and other members of the Japanese American community, the JACL's memorial efforts were often outward facing and typically drew upon the kinds of memorial commonplaces that Reeves suggests have an amnesiatic quality. One of these efforts included working with the Army to rename the *USS Wilson Victory* the *U.S.A.T. Private Sadao S. Munemori* in March of 1948. This was the first time that a US military vessel was named for a Japanese American, and given the level of anti-Japanese American sentiment still in effect in America at the time, one would have expected a great deal of rancor in response. As Wu notes, as of the mid-1940s, several polling organizations had determined that "many Americans continued to feel enmity toward the Nikkei" (85). However, the newspaper coverage of the renaming ceremony makes no mention of public outcry against the symbolic gesture and instead views the memorial in laudatory terms. *The*

Brooklyn Daily Eagle characterized the renaming as fitting gesture given that the ship brought members of the 442nd home after their service, and the *New York Times* coverage suggests, "If his ship could now be manned by his old Nisei companions in arms and sent to Japan it would be a telling token of democracy and racial understanding at work. Patriotism and heroism are passports across every frontier" (Eagle, p 7; Times p 12). While the historically conservative *New York Herald Tribune* offered a more factual account than the *New York Times* did, its coverage doesn't condemn the ship's renaming. Rather, it focuses on the Munemori's specific narrative of heroism and, by extension, supports the JACL's use of the Nisei soldier as a kind of placatory rhetorical device. Critiquing the memorial to Munemori would have meant critiquing the valor of a decorated U.S. soldier, which, in 1948, would have reflected extremely poorly on the *New York Herald Tribune* and its readership. Despite the fact that Japanese Americans hadn't yet gained widespread acceptance, the JACL's public relations endeavors made it so that it would have been taboo to support or participate in criticizing memorials for Nisei soliders.

The renaming of the *Munemori* was also in keeping with the federal government's agenda for remembering incarceration. As Wu notes, "Federal officials, too, had a vested interest in exposing the accomplishments of Nisei troops. In addition to their desire to offset international criticisms that the nation was fighting a race war, political leaders remained wedded to using internment and resettlement as vehicles for Nikkei assimilation" (83). In the spirit of the *Japanese Relocation* newsreel that I discussed in my introduction, the army's choice to name a ship for a fallen Japanese American soldier served to demonstrate that despite the unfortunate necessity that was incarceration, America's core values were still intact. In order to understand the depth of the Army's gesture, however, it's worth looking at the history of the *USS Wilson Victory* a little more closely. It was one of hundreds of ships built during the war years and, more

specifically, one of 150 ships named for a college or university; in this case, Wilson College, a small women's college in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. Broadly speaking, the move to name cargo and transport ships after colleges marked a bit of a shift from the Navy's systematic and codified ship naming conventions. Cargo ships were typically named after geographic places and transport ships after historic people or places. Cargo ships could also be named after famous women. The sheer number of ships being produced during World War II meant that the Navy had to take a more flexible approach to naming their boats. There simply weren't enough powerful white men to represent the entire fleet and, given its size, wartime ship names simply carried less symbolic heft than before the war. In the post-war years, as the surviving victory ships were recycled and re-designated, there were plenty of renaming ceremonies happening and, based on the non-existent vitriol in the news coverage, people weren't paying all that much attention. Named after a women's college, the *USS Wilson Victory* didn't have a sacred name *before* it became the *Munemori,* and so the re-designation caused relatively few ripples. In other words, in 1948, ship names were a memorial commonplace that often went unnoticed by the general public.

Once the ceremony was over, and the Army and the JACL could be credited with having a ship named after a Japanese American, the primary audience for the floating memorial was the soldiers it carried. Thus the everyday memory work the *Munemori* needed to accomplish during its service, which reached its height during the Korean War, had more to do with celebrating heroism and concealing mortality than it did creating legislative momentum for the JACL's agenda. Like the posthumous portrait of Munemori in the *Nisei Vue* article, rather than merely depicting his corporeal form, the renaming of the ship amplified Munemori's strength and, in a sense, extended his service in the Army. However, unlike the *Nisei Vue* article, which really

centered on remembering Munemori as an everyman, though large and imposing, the ship commemorated but did not remember its namesake. Instead, by combining Munemori's name and biography with the physical structure of a ship, the *Munemori* drew upon the conventions of rhetorics of display in order to empower the soldiers it transported. As Lawrence J. Prelli explains in his study of rhetorics of display, "whatever is revealed through display simultaneously conceals alternative possibilities; therein is display's rhetorical dimension" (2). The *Munemori* definitely participated in the rhetorical act of concealing and revealing; by displaying outward signs of strength—the physical structure of a battleship and fragmented pieces of Munemori's memory—a highly decorated hero—the ship also concealed key details, including his humanity and, most importantly given the ship's status as a transporter of troops, his mortality. Citing Burke, Prelli argues "rhetorics of display, like all rhetoric, incorporate resources of identification and its inescapable counterpart, division" (16). Presumably, the soldiers aboard the *Munemori* would have been called upon to identify with the symbols of strength being deployed in association with its namesake's memory and to remove themselves from any notions of weakness or mortality. As an artifact of public memory, the *Munemori's* rhetorical purpose shifted from the moment of renaming—when the JACL and the Army collaborated in order to put forth a particular version of the relationship between Japanese Americans, patriotism, and incarceration—and the ship's practical function—when Munemori's memory was amplified in order to conceal the passenger-soldiers' mortality.

The contrast between the *Nisei Vue* article and the *Munemori* is intended to demonstrate how different kinds of memory artifacts can be mobilized in order to honor the same people or events. Just as history is said to be as much about the present as it is the past, memorials are as much about the *rememberer* as they are about the memory. To borrow again from Prelli,

"Rhetorical studies of public memory expose those situated rhetorics and their special allures and inducements; they thus reawaken contingently resolved tensions associated with remembering and forgetting and thereby show that public memory is always potentially contestable" (11). The remembering of Japanese Americans' World War II experiences—especially with regards to incarceration or the 442nd Battalion—are an especially fruitful sight for thinking about the composition of memory because even from the outset, there was never a consensus about how events should have been interpreted or be remembered. Additionally, the meaning of the memorial artifacts is flexible and shifts based on the time and purpose of circulation.

Both the *Nisei Vue* article and the troop transport ship have the potential to operate as artifacts of public memory insomuch as they serve as reminders regarding the life and death of Private First Class Sadao Munemori, but what can be gained by viewing the memories represented by these artifacts being mobilized in order to remember a parallel occurrence? The battleship was taken off active duty in 1970, and the complete run of *Nisei Vue* is available electronically via the Densho internet archive. The significance has to do with when they are brought forth from the archives of memory and for what purpose.

"The Congressional Medal of Honor: Sadao Munemori"

On March 15, 1985, Ben Tamashiro published "The Congressional Medal of Honor: Sadao Munemori" in *The Hawaii Herald*. The article is simultaneously about Munemori's life, it includes many of the same details that were in the *Niseu Vue* article, and about how Munemori's sister Yaeko remembered her brother. It tells of the siblings' childhoods, focusing on an eerie and prophetic taunt from Sadao that he was going to have ship named after him one day and he wouldn't let Yaeko ride it, as well as her visit to the ship when it was docked in Hawaii shortly

after it had been recast as a memorial to Munemori. Tamashiro's article uses the moment in which Yaeko was about to board the ship for the first time to demonstrate the mnemonic power of the artifact:

> Now, as she prepared to board the ship, her feet could barely carry her up the gangplank-her body tensed from the anticipation and the intoxicating heart-pounding drama of the moment as Sadao's pouting cry of exasperation and resignation came echoing over the space and time of thousands of miles and many a year: "And-I'm-not-going-to-let-you-ride-on-it."

One of the memories that Tamashiro credits to being triggered during Yaeko's suspended moment of boarding and remembering is of the Munemori's, minus Sadao, who had already enlisted, preparing for relocation:

> Her parents loved Japanese music so they had stacks of records. The children smashed them all. They also smashed the cameras and shredded their Japanese textbooks and notebooks. The evacuation instructions read "no pets" so they tied their dog to a post. And on that Sunday, as they rode off in the Army truck headed for the evacuation center, the dog began yelping and straining at his leash. Long after house and dog were out of sight, she could still hear him crying…

The attention that Tamashiro pays to the moment in which Yaeko is about to cross the gangplank suggests that the transport ship was serving as a memorial trigger of sorts; he depicts her as nearly overcome by waves of vivid memories. The ship's centrality to the article itself serves as an example of an artifact being brought forth from the archives in order to forward the exigencies of a particular historical moment. In this case, given that the article was published in 1985, three years before the reparation movement achieved success, it is likely that profiling Yaeko's memories of her brother, as elicited by an interaction with his memorial, were being mobilized in order to represent the hardships and losses undergone by Japanese American incarcerees. Even though the ship wasn't actively remembering incarceration, and Munemori enlisted before incarceration commenced and therefore only visited his family in Manzanar, Tamashiro's use of

the *Munemori* as a memory catalyst serves to the needs of his present—1985—and he uses it to represent the unraveling of a family as a result of wartime atrocities, both on and off the battlefield.

The detailed reading of these artifacts shows the process of memory that I will be exploring throughout his dissertation. By drawing upon specific, reported details of Munemori's life story, the *Nisei Vue* article uses the autobiographical memories of its informants in order to generate an artifact of cultural memory that, by virtue of being printed, works around the generational and circulatory limitations of Assman's framework and can potentially be taken up by public memory. The *Munemori*, on the other hand, began as a public facing artifact; the JACL and the Army collaborated to produce a display that made specific arguments about how memories of Japanese Americans might inform the political landscape of 1948. However, once the initial display was over, the ship used Munemori's memory to make a different kind of argument for a much more focused group, in this case, soldiers on their way to serve in Korea and other locations. Finally, Tamashiro's *Hawaii Herald* article, a form of intertextual remembering, brought together various archived artifacts of public memory in order to make an argument that served the needs of his present moment and that represents the grapple for the more abstract collective memory. All of these artifacts of public memory were generated after incarceration, when the story had already played out. I will now shift my analysis to artifacts of public memory that were generated during incarceration in order to consider the ways that rhetors responded to the constraints wrought by an unknown ending to the circumstances driving incarceration, and how these constraints resulted in construction of uncommonplaces that counteracted forgetting and made themselves seen amongst incarceration's *copia* of memories.

Chapter 2: Subjective Performances: Photography as Resistance

Introduction

Unlike their incarceration-era counterparts, the groups mobilizing post-war remembrances for Sadao Munemori had full access to the equipment necessary for the production and circulation of images, which facilitated their engagement with particular genres of memory. This was not the case during incarceration. On December 28, 1941, the *Los Angeles Times* and other newspapers across the western states published orders, which included the threat of arrest, for all "Axis aliens," including Japanese Americans, to turn their cameras and shortwave radios over to police by 11:00 PM the next day. These orders were not entirely unexpected, and large numbers of people waited in long lines in order to relinquish their equipment for the duration. Despite the fact that the Justice Department's orders pertained specifically to cameras and shortwave radios, as the *Los Angeles Times*' subsequent coverage notes, Japanese Americans also voluntarily turned in several hundred guns while complying with this order.

While this may have been a pragmatic move in response to anticipated future restrictions, there is a certain symbolic heft to the fact that many Japanese Americans interpreted orders to relinquish communication equipment as an order to hand over their firearms as well. The culture of fear created in the weeks following Pearl Harbor was such that Japanese Americans weren't seen as a physical threat so much as an informational one. The Justice Department was

concerned with espionage, and as such, they sought to control technology that documented and disseminated information. By surrendering their literal weapons—guns—at the same time that they were required to turn over their figurative weapons—cameras and radios—these individuals rendered the government's premises transparent. By over-complying, in a sense, with the government's orders and thereby dodging further censures, Japanese Americans were tacitly protesting the censoring orders.

At the same time that Japanese Americans were being legally mandated to turn over their cameras, various government agencies were mobilizing a cadre of photographers to document relocation. Even though fears of espionage and subterfuge were dangerously elevated, the cultural moment demanded the transparent documentation of events. As a result, despite formal strictures governing who was allowed to take pictures and what they could photograph, incarceration was prolifically documented by photographers representing a variety of official and unofficial channels. In this chapter, I will explore the interaction between rhetorical actors working from and between these channels. Specifically, I will consider how even though they were legally required to relinquish their cameras, Japanese Americans still participated directly and indirectly in the photographic documentation of incarceration.

This Japanese American participation in the documentation of incarceration was on display in January of 1944, when the Visual Education Museum in Manzanar launched an exhibit of approximately eighty of Ansel Adams's photographs of the center, which he took during several visits there in October of the previous year. The collection of photographs, composed mostly of portraits, was designed to emphasize "the citizenship of the evacuated niseis [sic]" and celebrate the ways that Japanese Americans had triumphed at cultivating Manzanar's harsh territory and making it habitable. The photographs were displayed on tables and bulletin

boards that bisected the museum barracks. Narrow passages on either side of the exhibit tables allowed visitors to move in single file as they stopped to examine Adams' photographs, their pace determined by that of those in the line before them. The exhibit's configuration reflected the power dynamics that shaped the taking of the photographs. As a Caucasian photographer, Adams was free to come and go from Manzanar, but the people whom he photographed were not. Though the incarcerees were the subjects of the photos, the museum's spatial constraints meant that the exhibit was viewed in a proscribed order and visitors' movements and viewing patterns were constrained by external mechanisms. Moreover, we should be unsettled that people who were still incarcerated viewing a collection of photographs that aestheticized and valorized their time in prison. In essence, visitors to Adams' exhibition were watching the process by which their own experiences were being historicized and memorialized.

The peculiarity of the exhibit illuminates the power differentials and relationships between Adams and the Japanese Americans he photographed and, by extension, the relationship between a photographer and the subjects of his or her photographs. On one hand, Adams' project was decidedly pro-Japanese American. As noted by the *Manzanar Free Press*, he was deeply and openly committed to representing incarcerees as ordinary, if not exemplary, Americans and thus contradicting the very claims that were initially used to justify incarceration. In so doing, Adams' Manzanar photographs exalted the industry of Japanese Americans and highlighted a diverse group of attractive and hardworking young people. On the other hand, because he was an independent contractor with unfettered access to photographic equipment, Adams was ultimately in control of the production and dissemination of his photographs and therefore had the final say in the particular narratives that his images would contribute to the public memory of incarceration.

However, this is not to say that the photographed Japanese Americans were entirely without agency. Posing for photographs is a rhetorical performance that emerges from implicit and explicit negotiations between subject and photographer. In this chapter, I examine the way that incarcerated subjects performed for cameras wielded by different Manzanar photographers—Ansel Adams, Dorothea Lange, and Toyo Miyatake—and thus offered multivalent stances on incarceration to public memory[3]. Conceptualizing the staging of photographs as an act of collaboration allows for a better understanding of how repressed people can exercise rhetorical agency and perform acts of resistance even when their freedoms are otherwise curtailed.

[3] Besides the texts that I work with explicitly in this chapter, there is robust vein of scholarship that analyzes photographs of Manzanar taken by Dorothea Lange, Ansel Adams, and Toyo Miyatake and that in many cases directly compares works by the three photographers. In "The Past Recaptured? The Photographic Record of the Internment of Japanese Americans," Sylvia E. Danovitch establishes the precedent for such comparisons with her statement, "The Manzanar camp pictures also offer an opportunity to analyze the impact of stylistic differences between Lange and Adams as they relate to the effectiveness of documentation and communication. Aesthetic considerations could influence the value of photographs as historical evidence" (93). Because Danovitch's comparison is limited to photographs that are housed in the National Archives, she does not include Miyatake's photographs in her study. This is not the case for Judith Fryer Davidov who considers how the body of work produced by all three photographers brought their own political and stylistic stances to bear on bearing witness as necessary to "prick holes in private reticence and the official silence which has shrouded this chapter of our history" (226). Beyond analyzing the stylistic and political markers of the photographers individually and collectively, there are also strands of scholarship committed to considering the ways that these images have been circulated and suppressed. Dolores Flamiano studies the circulation of Lange's and Adams' images in the 1940s in order to conclude that wartime circulatory endeavors ignored the plight of incarcerees and instead focused on images that "supported the dominant view of internment as decent and humane" (33). Christina M. Smith focuses uses her study of Dorothea Lange's images to theorize circulation as a rhetorical practice and thus develops a "politics of non-circulation" that facilitates the study of non-circulated images (73). As Arielle Emmett reminds us, "all photo interpretation is dependent on the viewer's timing, culture, and contextual knowledge" (80). In offering this re-reading of Lange, Adams, and Miyatake's images, my intent is not to overwrite or obliterate this important body of scholarship. Rather, it is to consider how an alternate reading, one focused on explicating silent rhetorical actions of incarcerees might augment the rhetorical record.

Photographing Manzanar

Before analyzing the different kinds of rhetorical and memorial work accomplished by Adams, Lange, and Miyatake's Manzanar images, it is important to be aware of the different circumstances that drew them to Manzanar. Each photographer worked under a different set of affordances and limitations, which influenced not only what they could photograph but also their relationship with the spaces and people that they photographed.

As Jasmine Alinder has written, Adams' choice to photograph Manzanar arose from his own frustration with not playing what he perceived as being a very vital role in the war effort. Though Adams primarily identified as an aesthetician, Alinder speculates that Adams' work with processing Lange's FSA images may have introduced him to the possibilities of social documentary photography but that his vision for the genre involved showing "the land and the sky as the settings for human activity" (Alinder 46-47). Thus, Manzanar, located in the valley between the Sierra Nevada and Inyo mountains, was an ideal site for Adams to realize his vision of portraying Japanese Americans as loyal and productive Americans, or, to use a term that didn't exist in 1943, as a model minority, complacent but brave in the face of internment. After the internment was over, Adams published *Born Free and Equal*, a collection of his photographs from Manzanar. The photographs are accompanied by a great deal of text, which Adams wrote, that allows for unique insights into how he interpreted his experiences and, ultimately, his own photographs. It's telling that Adams dedicated to the book to "Ralph Palmer Merritt, "Who has given thousands of our fellow citizens renewed faith and confidence in democracy" (7). Merritt was the director of Manzanar who invited Adams to photograph camp life—pressing on him the particular goal of portraying "incarceration and 'internees' themselves in a way that stressed their loyalty to the U.S. government" (Alinder 48). Further it was Merritt

who specifically forbade Adams from photographing barbed wire or guard towers. Interestingly, Merritt was the same person who, through incremental steps, ultimately granted Miyatake permission to photograph camp life. From accounts of Miyatake's receiving this permission, it is unclear whether or not Merritt provided particular instructions regarding the inclusion or exclusion of symbols of confinement, but these elements occur throughout Miyatake's Manzanar photographs anyway.

However, despite the fact that Miyatake was able to photograph elements of camp life that Adams was strictly forbidden from documenting, he was working against different set of constraints and with the threat of larger consequences if he was caught deviating from these constraints. Even though Miyatake obtained Merritt's permission to take photographs, and despite the iconic status of his smuggled, homemade camera, most of his pictures of Manzanar were taken after he was appointed camp photographer, I believe that he was working against the unspoken, or at least undocumented, threat that his pictures couldn't be too political or too anti-American in their portrayal of camp life (Alinder 87). Therefore, like many Japanese American artists, Miyatake's critique is subtle—his pictures had to be able to pass as mere snapshots. In his essay, Archie talks about his mother's fear that his father would be "taken away to another camp, and the family would be separated for a very long time" (17). Internees, especially more political or subversive ones, were aware of the facilities at Tule Lake where the disloyal were imprisoned and separated from their families.

Dorothea Lange, as I will discuss in more detail later in this chapter, was hired to photograph incarceration by the WRA and, according to the terms of her contract, was legally obligated to surrender her negatives to the agency. Like Adams, she was not permitted to photograph camp structures that denoted confinement but she was also accompanied by an army

guard when in the camps on assignment. As Arielle Emmett speculates, Lange's history of "muckraking" during the Great Depression and her gender may have resulted in her being subjected to greater scrutiny than other WRA photographers were (84).

Beyond their different styles and subjectivities, the peculiar differences between the implicit and explicit forms of censorship that Adams and Miyatake were working against resulted in the fact that even though they had access to similar subject matter, their photographs look and feel very different.

Japanese Americans and "The Documentary Decade"

At around the time that Adams' Manzanar photographs were on display in the camp museum, a notice appeared in the *Manzanar Free Press* regarding the "mutilation" of magazines in the main library. Though the notice doesn't offer many specific details about what was being cut out, the notation that "Compiling scrap-books is a fascinating hobby" suggests that a fair number of the proffered pages contained photographs. Despite being denied access to camera equipment, Manzanar residents were still actively participating in the culture of visuality that had come into being in the United States during the first part of the twentieth century[4]. In her study, *Picturing Poverty: Print Culture and FSA Photographs*, Cara Finnegan offers an in-depth look at this emerging culture that focuses on the transformative role of the 1930s, often referred to as "the documentary decade."

For Finnegan, "the documentary decade" was a time when "Americans actively sought out representations of the familiar, the real, the 'actual' (xiii). Amidst the country's larger shift to

[4] While the ban on cameras was far reaching, it was not absolute. As Alinder details in "Camera in Camp: Bill Manbo's Vernacular Scenes of Heart Mountain," beginning in 1942 WRA regional director Joseph Smart advocated that residents of interior camps be granted access to cameras as it was their right to record their lives and because photography could serve as a potential pastime. This kind of advocacy explains the smattering of exceptions to the official rules.

a more visual culture, this quest for the real facilitated the entrenchment of documentary photography into America's meaning-making practices. While the origins of documentary photography can be traced back almost as far as the origin of the camera (see, for example, Matthew Brady's photographs of the Civil War), as a genre, it came into its own during the Great Depression. In his 1938 article, "Documentary Approach to Photography," Beaumont Newhall began to codify the characteristics of the documentary photographer and her photographs that emerged during that time:

> The documentary photographer is not a mere technician. Nor is he an artist for art's sake. His results are often brilliantly technical and highly artistic but primarily they are pictorial reports. First and foremost, he is a visualizer. He puts into pictures what he knows about, and what he thinks about, the subjects before his camera. (5)

This relatively early codification of the documentary photographer elegantly articulates the tension between the aesthetic, the technical, and the photographer's intentions. From Newhall's definition it becomes clear that for a documentary photograph to be successful, it needs to be visually arresting. Even when photographing bleak or unappealing subject matter, the photographer is an aesthetician and not a mere operator. As an aesthetician, however, the documentary photographer is still concerned with generating photographs that report information and make arguments about the lives and circumstances of her photographic subjects.

Because of its ability to record seemingly unaltered visual information in compelling ways, documentary photography became the tool of bureaucracy. Depression era organizations like the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Farm Securities Administration (FSA) established precedents for using photography to make arguments about matters within their purview. These efforts resulted in a tremendous archive of photographs that, as Finnegan suggests, both documented and argued about conditions of rural poverty. Importantly, Finnegan

also argues that the WPA and FSA photographs "must be understood as both a *product* of [their] historical moment and a *process* through which the historical moment was visualized for the public" (xxi-xxii). During the "documentary decade," photographs were being deliberately deployed and circulated in order to narrate the historical moment and dictate how the present was remembered. The standard and stylistic guidelines established by the Depression-era agencies were directly taken up by the WRA. Given the conflicting goals of transparency and secrecy harbored by the administrators of incarceration, the WPA/FSA standards were well-suited for controlling documentation.

While organizations like the WPA and the FSA—and eventually the WRA—were responsible for deploying photographers, publications like *Life* played a crucial role in circulating images and thus inviting the general public to participate in the burgeoning visual culture. A survey conducted in 1938 determined that each issue of *Life* was read or scanned by 17.3 people (Baughman 42). According to James L. Baughman, "A single photograph in *Life* may have in some instances moved more Americans than a stream of dreary, formula-driven newspaper stories and the fatuous generalities—often nothing more than background noise—of radio commentators (45). It is difficult, admittedly, to draw precise conclusions about what modalities moved particular populations of people. Still, the scope of *Life's* circulation, as well as that of other pictorial magazines, supports the notion that by the time photographers such as Dorothea Lange and Ansel Adams began to converge on Manzanar, the incarcerated residents would have been well aware of the rhetorical potential of documentary photography.

This awareness falls within the realm of what Finnegan has referred to as "image vernaculars," which she defines as, "the enthymematic modes of reasoning employed by audiences in the context of specific practices of reading and viewing in visual cultures" (34). Put

more simply, even without comprehensive training in the making and reading of photographs, participants in a robust visual culture are able to interpret images, to surmise the arguments they implicitly stage. For Finnegan,

> […] the concept of image vernaculars preserves a necessary space for agency by theorizing the ways that viewers mobilize images as inventional resources for argument. The critic studying image vernaculars thus avoids the extremes of either assuming that people's responses to images are, on the one hand, merely eccentric, or, on the other hand, an inevitable product of ideology that leaves no room for agency of rhetorical actors. (34)

Image vernaculars, then, are useful for understanding how audiences make sense of pictures and for coming to see these audiences as capable agents as opposed to ideological pawns.

Finnegan is rightfully concerned with empowering audiences as rhetorical actors. For the purposes of this chapter, however, I would like to extend her definition of image vernaculars and their inventional potential to the subjects of photographs. By 1942, the image vernacular associated with documentary photography was widespread enough that many of the individuals who were being documented would have been aware of the genre's conventions and able to assume an agentive role when posing for pictures and using their soon-to-be-photographed bodies to make arguments. In her work on photographs of incarceration, Wendy Kozol establishes a precedent for considering the agency of incarcerees posing for photographs. She suggests that "To dismiss these [incarceration] pictures simply as propaganda ignores the self-conscious responses by internees to media representations and political characterizations, responses that attempted to refute racist stereotypes. Japanese Americans, in other words, did more than pose where they were told to pose" (218). Kozol's analysis does the crucial work of establishing incarcerated Japanese Americans as agentive consumers and producers of media. While her work is not rhetorically focused per say, Kozol's assertion that "To the many Japanese Americans who gazed at the government's cameras, their refusal to be represented as victims can

be read as crucial to their political assertion of citizenship," articulates an exigency for Japanese Americans performing for the camera (238).

The rhetorical possibilities afforded by awareness of the genre conventions of the era were tempered by strong and pervasive censoring mechanisms. Free Caucasian photographers, such as Adams and Lange, were not denied access to equipment in the same way that incarcerated Japanese Americans were, but their permission to photograph was contingent on their agreeing not to photograph certain key aspects of camp life: barbed wire fences, guard towers, and acts of violence against incarcerees. For incarcerees participating in the taking of photographs—either by posing for the camera or, in Miyatake's case, taking the actual pictures—the ever-present threat of being sent somewhere worse (e.g. Tule Lake) meant that performances of resistance were still highly risky.

Invitational Rhetoric and Silent Performances

In an interview conducted in 2010, as part of an extensive oral history project administered by *Densho, The Japanese American Legacy Project*, former incarceree Ayako Tsurutani offers a recollection of being photographed by Ansel Adams while in her camp barrack. Tsurutani, whose portrait was eventually captioned by Adams as "A Young Lawyer and His Family," remembers a friend from another block coming over to tell her that "Adams would want to come take our picture." She then remembers that Adams came to her barracks, looked around and "[j]ust took the picture right away." When asked whether it took him a long time to get her family posed and positioned for the photograph, Tsurutani responds, "No, not very much" (oral history). From this remembered exchange, one gets the impression that, at least when conducting his portraiture work, Adams didn't spend a great deal of time engaging with his

subjects or inviting them into the meaning-making process. Though some of her vagueness and confusion might be attributed to advanced age, Tsurutani's recollections still suggest that as a subject, she wasn't granted a lot of collaborative agency in the staging of the image. Nor, for that matter, was she particularly clear on Adams' intentions for the photograph. As a point of comparison, Dave Tatsuno's recollections of meeting and working with Dorothea Lange are informative: "Dorothea Lange, she came, she was taking pictures for the, for a documentary. And just before we were evacuated, she came to our home, and Alice [Tatsuno's wife] met her and saw her" (oral history). Tatsuno goes on to remember meeting Lange again at camp and seeing her socially after incarceration was over. His awareness of Lange's purpose for taking photographs, along with the ongoing relationship that his family established with her, suggests that she may have been far more transparent about her reasons for documenting Japanese Americans than Adams was. Because of her work with the WPA, she was already a well-known documentary photographer, and there is a good chance that Tatsunos would have been familiar with her body of work and the political leanings that it represented. As Tatsuno notes and Lange's archive reveals, she took several, posed pictures of Alice Tatsuno preparing food in her kitchen and of Tatsuno himself packing for camp and reviewing notes from when he was a student at San Jose State. Rather than having the family pose for a quick picture as Adams did, Lange spent a fair amount of time with the Tatsunos, getting to know them and their home as they prepared for relocation. Although I don't want to draw too many conclusions from a limited number of recollections, it does appear that as a result of her reputation and style of interacting with photographic subjects, Lange was more transparent about her intentions than Adams was and better able to invite her subjects into photographs as collaborators.

That is not to say that Adams' process or his work was without merit. That so many of his portraits' captions denote the profession of his subjects, as well as the fact that his camera angles, lighting, and other stylistic choices cast his subjects in a heroic light, speaks to his project of condemning incarceration by exalting the American-ness of incarcerees. This project is clearly expressed through Adams' picture captioned "Richard Kobayashi, farmer with cabbages," which was included in the exhibit at the Manzanar museum. The photograph is comprised of a medium shot of Mr. Kobayashi holding a cabbage in each arm and beaming proudly at the camera. Although Adams often incorporated elements of the natural world into his photographs of Manzanar, both as a connection to his pre-war photography and to harness their symbolism of man's triumph over the elements and adversity, there are no visible natural landmarks in this photograph. Instead, Adams angled the camera so that the cloudless sky operates as a backdrop. This has the effect of rendering Mr. Kobayashi, in his worn worker's clothes, as crisply as though he had been photographed in a studio. His beaming face and the lush, oversized cabbages are the focus of this image. All markers of incarceration and specificity of place have been removed, and, according to Adams' rendering, Mr. Kobayashi is a farmer first and Japanese American second. Markers of incarceration, and its ethical blurriness, are removed from the image. Although Adams's message might seem one-dimensional or problematic by today's standards, it was a rhetorically savvy response to the constraints of 1943. The construction of public memory is a process, and when the events being remembered involve the disenfranchisement of large groups, then there will be marked differences in the tone and tenor of contributions to public memory.

Adams's project silenced the incarcerees' sense of injustice at the expense of amplifying their fortitude and resilience[5]. The fact that Adams's portraits were displayed at Manzanar while incarceration was still underway suggests that despite the one-dimensional nature of his representations, they played a crucial role in paving the way to remembering incarceration. Incarcerees, who had been stripped of their rights as well as their ability to record or disseminate their own images, were given a glimpse into how their (forced) sacrifices might be remembered, and it's likely that this version of events would have been galvanizing for some (and infuriating for others). Despite the injustices associated with incarceration, Manzanar residents made tremendous strides in cultivating the land on the site and enduring in the face of unimaginable hardship. It is also worth noting that although Adams was in communication with the acting director of the Museum of Modern Art (MoMa) in New York City about displaying his Manzanar images there, the exhibit was eventually relegated to the basement and poorly publicized (Densho; Alinder 49). If Adams had produced more incendiary images during his time in Manzanar, they would probably not have achieved the level of identification with anti-Japanese American audiences necessary for persuasion to occur. While his images eclipsed the many negative aspects of incarceration, they did help incarcerated individuals look forward to a future where they would be seen and remembered as something more than enemy aliens.

An examination of Lange's work offers a stark contrast to Adams's, both in terms of representation of Japanese Americans and of circulation and contribution to public memory. Unlike Adams, who came to Manzanar as a private individual funding his own project, Lange

[5] Adams compiled and published his Manzanar images in *Born Free and Equal*. Along with the text that he wrote, the images in this book encapsulate and articulate his various intentions. I have chosen not to delve into that text here as it is well covered by Jasmine Alinder in *Moving Images: Photography and the Japanese American Incarceration* and represents a different form of circulation and articulation of public memory.

was hired by the WRA and, as Alinder has argued, represents a clear genealogy between stylistic methodologies developed by the FSA and those that were taken up by the War Relocation Authority (WRA). According to Alinder:

> Although the aims of the WRA were different from the FSA's goal to advertise government social programs to help displaced migrants, the WRA did adopt some of the rhetorical strategies of the FSA. WRA photographs pictured Japanese Americans in ways that resembled earlier photographs of Dust Bowl migrants, only in this case the displacement was created by purported military necessity instead of drought. (26)

In addition to the fact that bureaucratic staff members from the FSA went on to work for the WRA, and the WRA proscribed photographic guidelines based on those developed by the FSA, "among other continuities between agencies was the presence of photographer Dorothea Lange" (Alinder 26). On the surface, the hiring of Dorothea Lange had the potential to serve as the most overt stylistic and connotative connection between the two agencies. However, the fact that Lange's tenure with the WRA was relatively short and almost all of her photographs were impounded by wartime censors actually speaks to the fundamental differences between the two agencies. Moreover, it reinforces Alinder's argument that "[e]mploying the mantle of the government agency, as did the FSA, was one way for the WRA to couch the terms of incarceration in a manner that connoted benevolent, social welfare instead of racist, unconstitutional policy" (260). The censorship of Lange's images suggests that they failed to achieve the WRA's goal of justifying incarceration and instead offered arguments of condemnation. The WRA failed to take into consideration either Lange's political leanings or her strong sense of composition and aesthetics when they hired her. Steeped in the image vernaculars of the time, audiences would have been able to read a critique of incarceration in Lange's images. While I don't want to undercut Lange's authorial intent in producing images that critiqued and condemned incarceration, I want to offer an alternative reading of Lange's

incarceration photographs that credits her subjects with being complicit in the act of, broadly speaking, frowning for the camera.

In 2006, Linda Gordon and Gary Y. Okihiro compiled and published 119 of Lange's formerly censored photographs of incarceration in a collection entitled, *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the Censored Images of Japanese American Internment*. One of the images in the collection depicts an older man, standing at the center of a road between barracks, leaning back slightly and supporting a young child, new to walking, by the arms. The child's ankles are crossed, and his small body tilts to the right. The man's hair is windswept and he seems to lean back, as though the rest of his body were struggling against the ubiquitous desert wind. Despite his posture, he is leaning his head forward and looking down. The photograph's caption, written by Lange, reads, "Manzanar Relocation Center, Manzanar, California. Grandfather of Japanese ancestry teaching his little grandson to walk at this War Relocation Authority center for evacuees." Taken in isolation, it is not immediately clear why this image would have been censored. Anyone familiar with the physical work of teaching a child to walk can imagine the strain of holding the slightly hunched position necessary to keep a small person standing. However, a search of the National Archives' collection of Lange's negatives unearths two more photographs of the anonymous grandfather of Japanese ancestry. In them, the boy has moved to his grandfather's shoulders, and their two faces take up the center of the frame. Though Lange's framing and her focus on the mountains in the background shift throughout the three remaining images, the man's expression remains static; the image of his lined face with a deep, closed frown is reproduced each time. In two of the images, the man looks directly at the camera while the boy looks away, and in the third, the grandson looks directly at the camera while the grandfather averts his gaze.

The man's frown is notable in light of Alinder's analysis of Lange's resistance to participating in the beaming representations of incarceration that helped the WRA's contradictory task of "portraying Japanese Americans as loyal citizens while at the same time condoning their imprisonment" (23). According to Alinder, the lack of smiles in Lange's images "should not convince us that her photographs of incarceration were any less constructed than are other photographs that depict smiling faces" (28). In addition to pointing the camera and capturing moments, Lange deliberately "distracted and directed" her subjects in order to facilitate seemingly spontaneous but actually quite constructed images. Lange's body of work clearly demonstrates her aptitude for helping her subjects temporarily forget about the camera's presence and for staging moments that were evocative enough to pass as organic. This ability to stage moments that passed as real speaks to her role as, in Newhall's words, "a visualizer" in control of her images and the arguments that they would make. While her intended audience would have been well versed in contemporary image vernacular—and thus able to discern Lange's argument—this didn't necessarily undercut the fact that her photographs smacked of truth.

In her oral history, when recalling her experience photographing migrant workers on behalf of the FSA, Lange demonstrates an awareness of the political importance of her work, but also offers the following rhetorically problematic assessment of her subjects: "They were the voiceless, you see, and we were the people who met them" (174-175). Although she doesn't offer the same tidy assessment of her role in documenting incarceration, Lange's repeated admonishment of the endeavor on the whole suggests that she may have seen her role when photographing incarcerees as similar to her role when photographing migrants.

However, I think it's worth interrogating Lange's assessment of her subjects as "voiceless," in order to better consider how they may have been making productive use of the silence that they were forced to inhabit. In *Unspoken: A Rhetoric of Silence*, Cheryl Glenn reconfigures standard considerations of silence and develops an "interpretive framework of speech and silence in a reciprocal rather than oppositional relationship" (7). For Glenn, "Like speech, the meaning of silence depends on a power differential that exists in every rhetorical situation: who can speak, who must remain silent, who listens, and what those listeners can do" (9). In addition to negotiating the power dynamics of being silenced, incarcerees also had to negotiate invisibility. The very conditions of incarceration meant that their bodies were cast out of sight and their voices were cast out of earshot. As an inherently silent medium, photographs served as productive sites for wielding rhetorical silence. According to Bernard Dauenhauer's interrogation of the fundamental features of silence, "Silence is a founded, active, intentional performance," and as such, even though the vast majority of incarcerees didn't have access to photographic equipment and therefore didn't set up the frame or trigger the shots, they were able to compose their bodies and perform silent articulations of resistance (Daunhauer qtd. in Glenn 8). Viewing silence as an "intentional performance" is in keeping with King-Kok Cheung's conceptualization of the productive possibilities of "articulate silences," which she sees as particularly prevalent in Asian American communicative situations. For Cheung, "Verbal restraint [is] often inculcated in both Chinese and Japanese cultures and reinforced as a survival strategy in the face of racism in the immigrant communities" (6). Seen in this light, then, silence becomes a form of "survivance," which Malea Powell defines as "survival + resistance," and "goes hand in hand with multiplicity" of meaning (Powell 400; Cheung 5). When brought to bear on historical photographs, silence as an interpretive framework and form of survivance allows

viewers to read photographs as multivalent and to speculate on subjects' resistant intentions. In other words, it reanimates the subjects of photographs as rhetorical actors and, more specifically, allows us to see previously silenced incarcerees, perhaps most especially members of the Issei generation, as tacitly protesting incarceration.

Returning to the image of the grandfather and his grandson discussed above, I'd like to suggest that rather than being merely directed by Lange and posing for the camera, the unnamed grandfather may have been performing for the camera. The subtle nuance between these two verbs allows us to see him as an agentive participant in the making of meaning and resistance to incarceration. Though Lange may have framed the image and guided his performance, ultimately it was the man who cast his face into a deep-set frown, a frown that expresses in no uncertain terms that he is neither satisfied nor content with the conditions of incarceration[6]. As part of her argument that photographs serve as mnemonic hypertexts, Kallie Paakspuu offers a useful description of the "performance relationship between the photographer and the subject," and suggests that "The portrait sitter matches the competence of the photographer's performance in camera operations by his expression" (186-187). Through his bodily performance, the grandfather in Lange's images collaborates with her as necessary to make productive use of the camera's silence. He also defies historical conceptualizations of Japanese Americans as passive participants in incarceration. The perceived passivity of disenfranchised photographic subjects on the whole allowed incarcerees to wield this articulate, rhetorical silence while still maintaining their own safety and surviving the conditions of incarceration.

[6] Given the archival silence of the subjects of Lange's photographs, it is not possible to determine the amount of agency that they exercised when posing for her camera. I offer this alternative reading not as a history but an interpretive lens useful for rereading photographs of disenfranchised individuals as documentation of forms of resistance.

Sonja K. Foss and Cindy L. Griffin propose *invitational rhetoric* "that may be used in instances when changing and controlling others is not the rhetor's goal" (4). This alternative to persuasion provides a useful heuristic for decoding the silent performances of photographed incarcerees. For the grandfather and other Japanese Americans who posed for photographs during incarceration, in the moment the photograph was taken, persuasion wasn't necessarily possible: they didn't have direct access to the camera or control over the circulation of their image. However, their knowledge of and participation in the visual culture of the time would suggest that they may have been able to anticipate future audiences and offer them a silent invitation to "enter into the rhetor's world and see it as the rhetor does" (Foss and Griffin 5). While I don't want to eclipse the grandfather's silence with my own argument, I do want to suggest that through his bodily performance, especially his facial expression and postures, he was actively resisting and protesting the conditions of incarceration. By not smiling during such a close and physical interaction with his grandson, the grandfather invites future audiences to see that the forced relocation of Japanese Americans definitely interrupted the status quo.

The images that emerged from the collaborative acts of resistance staged by Lange and her subjects were heavily censored. As Linda Gordon describes them in her introduction to *Impounded*, "The pictures were suppressed for the duration of World War II: US Army Major Beasley actually wrote 'Impounded' across some of the prints […] They were never actively distributed, unlike the work Lange did for the Farm Security Administration, which was widely circulated and published" (6-7). In Lange's words, "They [the Army and the WRA] had wanted a record, but not a public record, and not mine" (Oral History 1892). The impounding of Lange's images demonstrates a sharp break from the norms of visual culture established during the 1930s. Despite the fact that they emerged from a culture committed to depictions of the "real"

and the "actual," Lange's photographs were seen as dangerous, presumably too real and not in keeping with the official stories of incarceration being pedaled by various official agencies. The incarcerated Japanese Americans in Lange's photographs didn't appear to be either dangerous or exemplary; they neither justified nor apologized for incarceration, and as such, the photographs were initially censored and then relegated to the archive. The publication of texts like *Impounded* demonstrate that the version of incarceration performed by Lange's subjects appeals to how incarceration is currently being remembered.

Passing as Snapshots

Photographs by Lange and Adams serve as useful sights for considering the ways that Japanese Americans were represented by and performed for cameras wielded by Caucasians. As a Japanese American with access to a camera, Toyo Miyatake had a very different relationship to Manzanar and the people whom he photographed. As his son Archie recollects in an introduction that he wrote for a reprint of Adams' publication, *Born Free and Equal*, Miyatake saw it as his duty to record the events at Manzanar in order to ensure that such events never happened again. Miyatake's expressed exigency for taking pictures differs from Adams and Lange's in that he took the long view regarding the purpose and circulation of his images. As someone whose access to the camera was tenuous, Miyatake produced photographs that weren't necessarily intended to do rhetorical work during their moment of production but that have continued have resonance for audiences in subsequent decades. This continued resonance stems from Miyatake's careful composition of his photographs and the layers of interpretable meaning that are embedded within them.

These layers of meanings stem from the confluence of Miyatake's prewar photographic style, the technical constraints involved with working from camp, and his stated purpose of working to make pictures that ensured future generations would not repeat the atrocities of incarceration. Before the war, Miyatake was an established photographer in Los Angeles's Little Tokyo. In addition to running a successful photography studio still in business today, and being commissioned to photograph the 1932 Olympics, he was a member of the Shakudo-Sha photo club, a group that was particularly well known for the ways that its members combined the features of Pictorialism with modernist influences (Reed 85). Pictorialism was a style of photography that developed in response to the growing ubiquity of portable camera technology in the early twentieth century and that worked to advance photography's reputation as a fine art (Reed 70). In contrast to the kind of documentary photography supported by the FSA, which was marked by "seemingly transparent message[s]," "Pictorialists were less interested in straightforward photographic realism than in using manipulative techniques to produce expressive effects" (Stange 104; Reed 70)[7]. I want to emphasize that by the time of his incarceration in 1942, Miyatake was a successful photographer with an established and aesthetically driven composition style. He had a proven track record of modulating the tone and tenor of his work as he moved between styles of photography; he was in complete command of his images. Once in camp, Miyatake developed a hybrid style that combined his pre-existing stylistic markers with the features of documentary photography. This unique combination of transparent and opaque methodologies allowed Miyatake to produce photographs with more nuanced messages than Adams's but that, unlike Lange's, eluded the censors. An examination of

[7] Incidentally, Ansel Adams is simultaneously credited with having gotten his start in Pictorialism and having spoken out against it. Many FSA photographers got their start as Pictorialists.

the ways that each of the three photographers being discussed in this chapter photographed similar subject matter will elucidate the rhetorical and aesthetic prowess of Miyatake's work.

Miyatake and Adams both took photographs of Manzanar's sign, which was located near the guard house at the center's gate. Miyatake's image, the sign is shot from below, and its imposing wooden posts emerge from a combination of craggy rocks and desert flora that extend to the edges of the frame. Two lines of barbed wire stand between the sign and the sweeping view of the Sierra Nevada Mountains that comprise the horizon. Moreover, the lighting is such that the thick chains holding up the sign stand in sharp relief against the bright white sky and pale gray mountains. The viewer's eyes are drawn to the metal rings that secure the chains to the sign and bring to mind the shackles of slavery. In Adams's shot, the Manzanar sign takes up most of the right side of the frame, and the rocks and plants that saturate the edges of Miyatake's shot give way to a carefully swept dirt driveway (2.8). The mountains are still in the distance, but instead of being interrupted by barbed wire, the landscape is interrupted by flagstone structures, low rows of barracks, and uniform, cross-shaped electrical polls. Borrowing from Thy Phu's analysis, "Although Adams begins by foregrounding the restrictions of internment, his photos tend to look beyond the camps, suggesting their confines can be transcended" (61). Where Miyatake's framing of the Manzanar sign seems to interrupt the mountains and cuts off their peaks, Adams's framing pushes the sign to the side to make more room for the majestic mountains to appear as though they were emerging from the fruits of human labor. For Miyatake and other interned Japanese American artists, the evidence of confinement—barbed wire, guard towers, etc.—stands between the viewer and the natural world.

For reasons lost to time, Lange did not photograph the Manzanar sign. Her photographs of camp that don't include people tend to be long shots that emphasize the scope and scale of

camp: rows of barracks and the meeting points between cultivated land and the unkempt desert. However, her photograph captioned "Manzanar Relocation Center, Manzanar, California Street scene of barrack homes at this War Relocation Center. The windstorm has subsided and the dust has settled" offers some clues as to why her photographs of camp structures were censored while Adams's and Miytake's were not. The picture is composed so that three long rows of barracks seem to continue beyond the horizon. There is a flagpole with an American flag that is stretched out by the wind and that appears to have several rips and tears. The message here is not subtle. In principle and practice, incarceration was damaging to American ideals.

Differences in the photographic framing, lighting, and perspective—all choices made by the photographers—result in vastly different tones and meanings. They also make different contributions to the historical record: Miyatake's image connotes imprisonment and bondage, Adams's the triumph of human industry over nature; Miyatake's sign is foreboding, Adams's welcoming. Through slightly different subject matter, Lange offers a forthright critique of the government's actions. All three pictures narrate a version of incarceration for viewers to remember. By necessity, however, Miyatake's critique is rendered the most subtly.

Common Threads: Representing the War Effort

Representations of the war effort have played a key role in determining how incarceration is remembered by Japanese Americans and other groups. Depending upon the emphasis of the person doing the remembering, these representations can focus on Japanese Americans as valiant patriots making great sacrifices to uphold the tenets of democracy or on the paradoxical nature of Japanese American men going to war while their families were still incarcerated. In order to

discuss these differing representations more fully, I'd like to look at one more set of photographs, each of which offers differing representations of the Japanese American war effort.

Dorothea Lange photographed Manzanar before the formation of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team of the U.S. Army, which was composed almost entirely of Japanese American soldiers, and so her depictions of the war effort focus on intra-camp operations, primarily the construction of camouflage nets for use by the military. According to a search of the National Archives database, Lange took twenty-five pictures of the camouflage net factory. These images consist of medium shots of incarcerees weaving burlap strips into large nets that hang from floor to ceiling and long shots of the actual factory that hint at the scope and scale of the operation. Unlike Lange's image of the American flag juxtaposed against lines of barracks discussed above, it is not immediately clear why this collection of images would have been censored. They lack a readily apparent critique and instead seem to lean towards fulfilling the expectations of transparency associated with documentary photography. Moreover, the subjects of the photographs are working and seem less engaged with Lange's camera than, for example, the grandfather discussed above.

However, when reading these photographs in light of the fact that they were censored, they start to do really interesting memory work. Most of the incarcerees who discussed working at the Manzanar Camouflage Net factory during oral history interviews conducted by Densho remember the work in a mostly favorable light. For an incarceration center, the pay of $16 per month was relatively competitive. Because of citizenship requirements for working in the net factory, much of the staff was comprised of Nisei who were working for the first time. Since the factory was run on a quota system, several workers remembered rushing to meet their quotas for the day and then spending the rest of their time engaged in leisure activities. According to Sam

H. Ono's interview, however, the splitting of the days between work and play is what led to the net factory's becoming a contested, and therefore censored, location as opposed to one that exemplified citizenship, patriotic duty, and sacrifice. "Then they said we had to work eight hours a day," Ono explains, "Well, when we, I think we went on strike and said that if they wanted to work us eight hours a day then would have to pay us the same wages as the people who were doing the same thing outside." This resident-sponsored attempt at organizing demonstrates that despite the appearance of productive industry depicted in Lange's photographs, the camouflage net factory became a place where incarcerees implicitly challenged the notion of incarceration as an unfortunate necessity by bringing wage discrepancies and double standards to light. According to Ono, the strike was shut down quickly and "there were rumors that we were aiding and abetting the Japanese by weaving codes or something into the nets." The factory was closed as well.

Lange's images of the camouflage net factory, and by extension her representation of the Japanese American war effort, represents a particular kind of public memory construction. It is not clear whether, when Lange was photographing the factory workers, she would have been aware of the uprising and accusations that would lead to the factory's closure. Moreover, based on various workers' recollections of their time working in the factory, most of them saw it as a low-stakes job that was easy to do if not terribly engaging. When being photographed working by Lange they were likely doing just that—making their way through the day's quotas and earning their salaries—and thus weren't engaging in the kinds of rhetorical performances that I have credited other photographic subjects with. Nevertheless, even though Lange's photographs were impounded, they were not destroyed. The post-1930s documentary impulse to document and record meant that the images and negatives were archived even though they were not

circulated during their moment of production. This allows for a contemporary intertextual reading of Lange's photographs, where the researcher, bringing together oral history accounts of the factory and Lange's pictures, is able to see why the images were insidious. This intertextual archival remembering, which I will explore more in Chapter 4, creates a network of rhetorical actors that exists across time and space.

Adams and Miyatake's renderings of the Japanese American war effort were a bit more straightforward than Lange's and, in their most explicit incarnations, generally revolved around depictions of the 442nd. One of Adams' most iconic images, which is captioned "One son, Robert, of the Yonemitsu family is in the U.S. army…" in *Born Free and Equal* (39; 76-77), marks a departure from much of his pre-war landscape work and his Manzanar portraiture. In addition to being indoors, the photograph is composed entirely of objects, and the juxtaposition of the Christian prayer card with the photograph of Robert Yonemitsu makes Adams' argument, about the American-ness of this family, almost impossible to ignore. It stands to reason that the image of the uniformed soldier next to his letters home would have been all too familiar for many Americans, whether they were incarcerated or not. There's not a lot of ambiguity to this photograph.

In contrast, Miyatake's "Volunteers for the 442nd Regiment Departing Camp 1944" is a lot less orderly. Taken in the dark, the backs of the heads of onlookers dominate the front of the frame; the crowd they are looking into takes up the top of the frame and fades into the darkness. The center of the picture is framed by the parallel images of a flagstone guardhouse and the bus that the future soldiers are boarding. Most of the faces visible in the image are of Caucasians, though parts of the faces of a few Japanese American men are also visible. A clear line of what was probably beige cuts through the center of the frame.

On the surface, this image appears not only chaotic but spontaneous. It is passing as a snapshot. However, I believe this particular composition calls "to mind the carefully rendered compositions of an artist rather than those of a reporter" or casual photographer (Alinder 80). As Dennis Reed has noted in his study of Japanese American Pictorialists, their work was characterized by "two dimensional elements of line, pattern, and tone (which formed the basis of Japanese art)." There are clear lines in this photograph, and also an alternating pattern of dark and light colors. These contrasts, as well as the fact that their backs are to the camera, render the role of the uniformed soldiers ambiguous. It is not clear whether they see the soon-to-be anointed Japanese American soldiers as comrades or subjects of their guard. This ambiguity of meaning, taken in tandem with the knowledge that many members of the 442nd saw war as the only alternative to incarceration, can then be seen as a piercing critique of the hypocrisy of incarceration related policies and agendas.

This photograph thus achieves a balance of verisimilitude, interpretability, and aesthetic force that allows it to make an argument that viewers can engage with it at varying levels over the course of shifting historical moments. Whereas Adams's images are more immediately legible than either Miyatake's or Lange's, their meanings are static. Rather than gaining momentum and force as the remembering of incarceration evolves, they became dated; they are relics of their cultural moment. Miyatake's visual arguments, like so many that were produced by incarcerees in spite of various mechanisms of censorship, are much more dynamic, and as such, were able to pass as mere snapshots when the pressures of the historical moment required this. However, Miyatake's layered and complex compositions—which reflect both his pre-camp aesthetic influences and the sign systems developed by incarcerees—are embedded with rich meaning and powerful arguments that have become increasingly legible as the nuanced Japanese

American version of remembering incarceration has moved from counter memory to the more broadly accepted cultural version.

Even though Miyatake was the marginalized rhetor in this trifecta of photographers, there were several areas where his status as an incarceree allowed him to photograph moments and material unavailable to others. In addition to the fact that unlike Lange and Adams, Miyatake could take pictures of barbed wire and guard towers, he was also able to access intimate and seemingly unguarded moments in incarceree lives that the Caucasian photographers were not granted admission to. While there are a number of photographs in Miyatake's Manzanar portfolio that exemplify the affordances of photographing members of one's own community, the most poignant is "Memorial Service for Sergeant Munemori 1945". The service appears to have been held in the Manzanar Recreation Center. Based on the apparent camera angle, Miytake photographed the crowd of mourners from the front of the auditorium. The photograph is primarily focused on the first row of mourners—presumably Munemori's immediate friends and family—but larger crowds are visible at the edges of the frame. No one in the picture is looking at the camera. Their eyes are either directed forward, angled away from where Miyatake was standing, or looking downwards at pieces of paper on which prayers or songs would have been printed. The perspective of the photograph is such that those individuals who are farther from the camera are smaller and more tightly packed together. One woman towards the end of the front row has buried her face in a handkerchief, clearly overcome by her own grief as she mourns the loss of Sargeant Munemori. The image is orderly in its composition and raw in its content. Like many of what I consider to be Miyatake's most successful photographs, at first gloss the image of Munemori's funeral appears to be a "mere snapshot." And maybe it is. But it is a snapshot that

argues, indubitably, about grief, loss, war, and incarceration. The subjects of this photograph weren't performing; their guards were down and Miyatake's camera was poised.

Unlike the memorial services to Munemori discussed in Chapter 1, it would seem that this particular memorial was an intimate gathering with inwardly rather than outwardly focused remembering. Miyatake's status as an incarcerated photographer, who was often called upon to photograph the life events of Manzanar residents, allowed him to access this particular event. Additionally, as I have argued throughout this chapter, Miyatake's outward identity, as well as the identities belonging to Lange and Adams, affected the ways that subjects performed, or didn't perform, for the camera. Because cameras capture moments as they are occurring, they are not allowed into all spaces. By moving away from photography as my medium of examination, and into comics and drawings, I will examine the ways that artists are able to access more intimate spaces and consider how these spaces, and renderings of the people who inhabit them, might perform a different kind of rhetorical and memorial work.

Chapter 3: Rendering Everyday Life: Tactical Artwork by Incarcerated Japanese American Artists

In 1943, the United States Department of War published a final report on what they termed, "the Japanese evacuation from the West Coast." In his foreword to the report, Secretary of War, Harry L. Stimson explains, "The consideration which lead to evacuation as well as the mechanics by which it was achieved, are set forth in detail." He also applauds the Army for the "humane yet efficient manner in which this difficult task was handled," and joins General John L. DeWitt in pointing out that "great credit is due to our Japanese population for the manner in which they responded to and complied with the orders of exclusion" (v). The report, which consists of over 600 pages of written descriptions, charts, maps, and photographs, offers a comprehensive account of the logistics involved in removing nearly 120,000 Japanese Americans from their homes and placing them in temporary assembly centers and permanent war relocation centers scattered throughout America's central and western states.

Among the many details outlined in this report, the following explanation of sanitation facilities is included under the heading of "Construction and Equipment of Relocation Centers":

> The laundry room is fitted out with 18 double compartment laundry trays and 18 ironing boards with an electric outlet at each board. Plumbing fixtures in each unit or block facility are hung on the basis of eight showerheads, four bathtubs, fourteen lavatories, fourteen toilets, and one slop sink for the women; and twelve showerheads, twelve lavatories, ten toilets, four urinals and one slop sink for men. (274).

Additionally, Figure 54, which appears 184 pages after the written description of the sanitary facilities, offers a rare glimpse of the interior of a shower room. Five sets of pipes, painted white and hung vertically from a single horizontal pipe, cut diagonally across the frame. Three boys wear black bathing suits and stand in a triangular formation. Each boy covers his face with his hands, and though this gesture serves the practical function of protecting their faces from the streams of water directed at them, it also renders them anonymous. The viewers' eyes are initially drawn in by the angularity of the image, which supports the report's portrayal of incarceration as orderly, but upon greater examination, they also notice a great deal of open space surrounding the image's main line of image, which speaks to the government's facade of transparency regarding the execution of incarceration.

This kind of deliberate record keeping demonstrates Enriko Hastings' argument that "The creation and use of records are not benign acts" (31). Even though they were purported to be neutral, the government records on incarceration, as kept by the War Relocation Authority (WRA) and other bureaucratic agencies, were carefully and systematically composed in order to make specific arguments about the necessity for and methodology of relocating Japanese Americans. The inclusion of photographs into these rhetorically active records achieved the contradictory effects of helping the records to pass as benignly transparent and furthering their work as biased representations. According to Linda Gordon, in her introduction to *Impounded: Dorothea Lange and the Censored Images of Japanese American Internment*, "It is important to keep in mind that in the 1940s there was no widespread awareness of how photographs could be doctored, but there was plenty of awareness of selectivity and point of view in photography" (42). It stands to reason that the government was well aware of the fact that critical future audiences would likely interrogate the images accompanying their report for signs of obfuscation

and abuse. The sheer volume of photographs produced—Gordon offers an estimate of 17,000—obscured the process of subjective circulation just as the inclusion of minute logistical details coupled with staged photographs imbue the Department of War's report with a sense of transparency. Through volume and subject matter, the official documentation of incarceration, including photographs, argued that the government had nothing to hide and supported the narrative of incarceration that focused on military necessity and humane treatment. Ironically, however, the level of censorship that was imposed on incarcerated Japanese Americans undercuts any illusions of transparency that the government's images might have had.

Additionally, because the residents who produced images of incarceration had to do so by subverting or working around mechanisms of censorship, and therefore risking already curtailed freedom, their drawings and paintings weren't expected to be neutral and as such, they were ultimately freer to create images that reflected not only their reality, but also their critiques of and arguments against incarceration. Incarcerated artists were able to show aspects of the camps that the government tried to censor, such as armed guards, barbed wire fences, and guard towers. Moreover, because the artists worked based on observation, memory, and imagination, they were able to depict moments and spaces that a person with a camera, even a fellow Japanese American, such as Toyo Miyatake, would not have been able to access. This starts to explain why, in contrast to the military's precisely rendered but relatively limited attention to camp sanitary facilities, resident-generated accounts of their time in the temporary detention centers and incarceration camps pay a great deal of attention to the community sanitation facilities. Unlike the modernity and sterility depicted in images like Figure 54, representations of sanitary facilities drawn by incarcerated Japanese American artists show them as overcrowded, odorous, and lacking in privacy. Whereas the government report seems to deliberately avoid making direct

mention of the bodily mess that these rooms were intended to accommodate, residents' drawings focus on the human body in a way that starkly contrasts the military's records and, by extension, its justificatory portrayals of incarceration.

By examining three representative examples of Nisei (second generation Japanese Americans) artists and artwork—the Camp Harmony *Souvenir Edition*, Miné Okubo's *Citizen 13660*, and Jack Matsuoka's *Poston Camp II, Block 211*, and, more specifically, the renderings of sanitary facilities in these texts, I consider how, by subverting the military's strategies for censoring images and using their art to admit viewers into otherwise restricted areas, these artists engaged in what I am referring to as "tactical acts of rhetorical resistance." As I will demonstrate, the comics that these artists composed circumvented the censorship mechanisms of their original historical moments but still captured and transmitted nuanced and subversive arguments against incarceration to deliberately anticipated future audiences.

Tactical Acts of Rhetorical Resistance

When considering the Japanese American response to incarceration, it is crucial to understand the culture of fear that was created by the whole endeavor. As I have discussed, for Japanese Americans living on the West Coast, the days and weeks following the bombing of Pearl Harbor were marked by widespread arrests of community leaders; unwarranted search and seizure of homes and property by the FBI and other government agencies; and the extreme amplification of anti-Japanese sentiments by members of the general public. The real and pervasive surveillance experienced by Japanese Americans made outward displays of resistance to incarceration truly risky. Additionally, the Japanese American Citizens' League (JACL), in an effort to prevent the government from imposing further restrictions, advised its members to

comply with and obey orders (Kitano 83). Thus, public memories associated with incarceration tend to view Japanese Americans as docile and compliant, a characterization that problematically elides the many ways that groups (including the JACL) and individuals actively worked to resist and protest against the rhetorical premises and material conditions of incarceration.

The rhetorical expectations of passivity and docility being foisted on Japanese Americans during incarceration were perhaps best expressed twenty years after the fact in William Petersen's 1966 *New York Times Magazine* article, "Success Story, Japanese American Style." This article is widely credited with codifying the myth of the model minority. Petersen argues that while other ethnic minority groups would have responded to the various challenges faced by Japanese Americans by becoming what he calls "problem minorities," Japanese Americans had "risen above" prejudice and oppression and were "better than any other group in our society, including native-born whites" (Petersen 181). As Thy Phu points out in *Picturing Model Citizens*, Petersen's article makes frequent textual references to incarceration and thus establishes links between characteristics of the model minority myth, which can be summarized as silence, discipline, and obedience, and the apparent passivity of incarcerated Japanese Americans (Phu 11, 54). Petersen makes these links through explicit textual references to incarceration and the inclusion of an undated and unsigned sketch of a kindergarten class in an incarceration center.

Interestingly, the incarceration sketch is the only non-photographic image included in the article and is also the image that offers the most nuances. In contrast to the article's post-war photographs of presumably successful and industrious Japanese Americans, the figures in the sketch appear tired and morose. Eight children stand in a circle, holding hands with their teacher, whose hunched posture, traditional dress, and thin, clenched lips belie her probable age. Notably, the child directly across the circle from the teacher is drawn so that his posture mimics hers; he is

hunched over, aged, and downtrodden. With a barbed wire fence drawn clearly in the background, it is hard not to see this image as a commentary on the effects that incarceration had on the traditional Japanese American social structure. Not only are the Issei and Sansei (first and third generations) collapsed into one, representatives of the Nisei (second generation) are absent from the picture.

The absence of Nisei from the sketch is notable given the strong attention paid to generational roles within scholarship on the Japanese American family structure. George T. Endo and Connie Kubo-Della Piana's 1981 article, "Japanese Americans, Pluralism, and the Model Minority Myth," an early analysis of the effects of the model minority myth, includes a broad description of the characteristics of each generation of Japanese Americans:

> For the Issei, the challenge was to adapt to a foreign culture and gain acceptance as United States citizens; the Nisei's task was to become functional within the system; the Sansei encountered the need to find their ethnic identities and actively seek an end to discrimination. Obviously, the problems overlap across generations, however, this categorization, albeit loose, is merely intended to provide a framework for the development of a better understanding of Japanese Americans. (45)

Endo and Kubo-Della Piana's "better understanding" relies on a conceptualization of the Nisei generation as "functional within the system," and, by extension, not prone to strong acts of resistance. In other words, despite the authors' pro-Japanese American stance, they perpetuate the myth of the model minority and ignore the many, many ways that the Nisei responded to and resisted incarceration. Despite these shortcomings, however, Endo and Kubo-Della Piana still offer useful insights into the contradictions that marked the pre-incarceration Nisei experience and note, "the Nisei upbringing was in a world of educational, social, and ideological conflict […] They were raised in a world which was simultaneously secure and confining, frustrating and challenging, and warm and hostile" (46). This representation of the Nisei as caught between

binaries stems from their precarious social position—while, unlike their parents, they were American citizens, cultural mores of fear, racism, and exclusion kept the Nisei at the margins of larger white society. This marginalization was amplified by incarceration, which removed the privileges of citizenship at a time when, as Donna K. Nagata explains it, "Many of the Nisei were just approaching working age" and therefore it left them "without a future," and caused them to "experience a disassociation between reality and their perceptions that they were Americans like everybody else" (17, 31).

There is a common impulse to see the "disassociation" and disorientation that many Nisei experienced upon being sent to camp as an explanation for false perceptions of "the often pessimistic and docile attitude of Japanese people who did not put up much resistance in the midst of immense social injustice during World War II" (Okamura 333). However, this paradigmatic urge to read the Nisei response as silent, and thus passive, overlooks the many examples of resistant rhetoric that were produced by the incarcerated Nisei and circulated within and beyond the camps. As a generation that was experienced in moving back and forth between divergent communities and accustomed to negotiating familial demands and social prejudices, the Nisei as a whole were especially adept at leveraging limited communicative resources to produce images that documented, represented, and resisted incarceration. Put differently, they were especially well suited to draw upon various rhetorical methods in order to protest incarceration. In Michel de Certeau's words, they were skilled at leveraging both strategies and tactics in order to advocate for the rights of the Japanese American people and, as a result, made powerful and multivalent arguments against incarceration.

Strategies and tactics serve as a useful heuristic for decoding Nisei acts of resistance because these terms account for rhetorical activities that occur within, alongside, or in contrast to

official mechanisms of control. De Certeau's explanation of strategies, or, in other words, working within existing structures of power, offers a better way of interpreting the kind of leadership and activism that the JACL performed on behalf of its constituents than merely writing them off as passive or in cahoots with the government. For example, during the early days of relocation, JACL leader Mike Masaoka telephoned the White House, "out of sheer guts and frustration," to see about supplying sanitary napkins to relocation centers (Hosokawa 333). While it seems almost absurd that Masaoka would have telephoned the White House about sanitary napkins, this anecdote actually illustrates the extent to which he, and by extension, the rest of the JACL leadership, was committed to taking a strategic approach to resisting incarceration and advocating for the Japanese American people. Tactics, in contrast, are an especially useful way of describing how Japanese Americans staged acts of resistance outside of official communicative conduits. In order to focus on tangible compositions, as opposed to ephemeral performances, I draw from de Certeau to posit the idea of *tactical acts of rhetorical resistance,* which describes the production of artifacts that deliberately subverted and undermined the government's complex network of strategic controlling mechanisms.

Because de Certeau's work is so useful for thinking about meaning-making across uneven fields of power and influence, it has been taken up widely by scholars in Rhetoric and Composition. In *Geographies of Writing: Inhabiting Places and Encountering Differences,* Nedra Reynolds draws upon de Certeau's "Walking in the City" in order to articulate walking not just as a resistant practice, a way of disobeying hegemonic control mechanisms, but as a way that walkers, or marginalized rhetors, can exercise agency (69). Reynolds' articulation of how "Walking is a continual improvisation, a type of performance that continually privileges, transforms, or abandons the spatial elements in the constructed order […] a form of resistance to

faster and more mechanical means of transformations" implicitly nods to tactical ways that rhetors might negotiate strategic mechanisms of control. In the first chapter of *Angels' Town:* Chero *Ways, Gang Life, and Rhetorics of the Everyday*, Ralph Cintron credits de Certeau with transforming his ethnographic gaze from that of an "educational expert" to that of a "rhetorician of public culture," or in other words, with moving him towards an analysis that allows for the explication of how power differentials play out in everyday life (10). Later, Cintron borrows de Certeau's tactical framework in order to analyze gang graffiti as "an important narrative 'tactic' available to gang members for the public expression of their subjectivities" (176). Although he doesn't directly invoke Cintron, Kendall Phillips continues the conversation regarding the relationship between tactics and subjectivities. Using the term "rhetorical maneuver," Phillips is interested in "those moments when we choose to violate the prescriptive limits of our subject position and speak differently by drawing upon resources of another subject position we have occupied" (312). All of these scholarly perspectives, and others, total up to an uptake of de Certeau which is concerned with the ways that rhetors can resist hegemonic systems of control by consciously drawing upon alternative modes of persuasion.

However, through a sustained focus on the relationship between tactics and time, Phillips' analysis of de Certeau also allows for a fuller consideration of how tactics might be tied to memory. According to Phillips, "The central component of the tactic—the transformation of memory of past events into rapid action at the right moment—rely on the Greek notions of *mētis* […] and *kairos*" (320). In other words, tactics are reliant on time insomuch as the efficacy of tactical maneuvers are based on timeliness—the efficiency with which a rhetor can draw from their own storehouse of memories and bring their response into being. The notion that tactics occur in "moments" is especially crucial given de Certeau's distinction that "the intellectual

synthesis of these given elements takes the form, however, not of a discourse, but of the decision itself, the act and manner in which the opportunity was seized" (N. page.) The *decision* to make art was a tactical one, but the production thereof, as well as the artifact that came out of it, can be seen as a rhetorical maneuver. The rhetorical maneuvering, in this case, occurs not through a shifting one's subject position, but by deployment of improvised and subversive rhetorical materials and methods. In the preamble to his discussion of *mētis*, de Certeau offers a chess metaphor in order to articulate the dynamic relationship between tactics, time, and memory. According to this metaphor, the successful chess player must be able to recall that which has come before in order to predict future moves by their opponent. Similarly, depending upon the constraints of the moment in which they are produced, the *mētis* and *kairos* of tactics don't just rely on the rhetor's ability to remember that which has already occurred but also depend on their ability to predict that which will need to be remembered. In de Certeau's words, *mētis* denotes the ability to compute "and predict the 'multiple paths of the future' by combining antecedent or possible particularities" (n. page). While the tactical act occurs in a kairotic moment that hinges on a particular time and place, that it takes the form of a rhetorical artifact is what allows the original *tactical* act to be remembered and thus to transcend the constraints, censorships, and agendas of the temporal moment of production. The foresight enabled by the concept of *mētis* allows tactical acts to be remembered. I want to emphasize that *tactical acts of rhetorical resistance*, in this case, artwork by incarcerated Japanese American artists, subvert the strategic control mechanisms of their current moment and transmit narratives of resistance that are legible for future audiences. They presuppose the need for tactical countermemories.

Tactical Acts of Rhetorical Resistance as Asian American Rhetoric

An overview of the rhetorical tradition that incarcerated artists were working within is necessary for understanding the transition from the decision to use art as a tactic for critiquing internment to the production and deployment of rhetorical artifacts. In 1987, T. Vernon Jensen published "Teaching East Asian Rhetoric" in *Rhetoric & Society Quarterly*. Although the article was pedagogical in nature—it includes a week-by-week syllabus for Jensen's proposed class—his definition of East Asian rhetoric serves as a useful starting point for considering the rhetorical expectations that might have been placed on incarcerated artists:

> We have overlooked the rhetorical heritage of the East, which honors non-expression, silence, the nonverbal, the softness, and subtlety of ambiguity and indirectness, the insights of intuition, and the avoidance of clash in opinion in order to preserve harmony. We have not fully appreciated communication which highly values reasoning from authority and example, which relies heavily on analogy and metaphor. (135)

Jensen's conceptualization of East Asian rhetoric is problematic insomuch as he attempts to impose overly specific commonalities onto a group of countries that happen to be bound together by geography and some shared cultural elements. However, and perhaps somewhat ironically, the shortcomings of Jensen's generalizations make his understanding of East Asian rhetoric a useful starting point for considering the perceived rhetorical character of Japanese Americans in 1942. As Lu Ming Mao argues in *Reading Chinese Fortune Cookie*, the term "hybridity," which sometimes carries positive connotations is actually a problematic construct. For Mao, "the hybrid as a symbol of happy fusion fails to consider or discriminate those specific power relations and historical conditions that configure our encounters and determine the natures of our hybridity" (25). Jensen's overly broad characterization of East Asian rhetoric serves as a useful example of the problems of hybridity. By imposing a false homogeny onto a disparate group, Jensen's conceptualization, and others likes it, provides an entry point for misconstruing rhetorical practices. In the United States, Japanese Americans were perpetual foreigners, and as such,

nonverbal expression, silence, and subtlety, rhetorical characteristics admired by Jensen, were read as dangerous and sinister and seen as evidence of collusion with the enemy.

Regardless of the many ways that Japanese Americans were or were not expressing themselves, the fact that powerful entities created a culture of fear that interpreted both silence and dissent as evidence of guilt, meant that Japanese Americans were in a double bind. Bill Hosokawa offers an example of this double bind in his detailed synopsis of The Tolan Hearings, which were held directly following the passage of Executive Order 9066. While recapping previous testimony during his questioning of Attorney General Earl Warren, Chairman Tolan said, "When it came up in our committee hearings that there was not a single case of sabotage reported on the Pacific coast, we heard the heads of the Navy and the Army, and they all tell us that the Pacific coast can be attacked. The sabotage would come coincident with that attack […] They would be fools to tip their hats now" (288). Essentially, Chairman Tolan interpreted the fact that there was no actual evidence for sabotage being perpetrated by Japanese Americans as evidence of not only their guilt but of their acumen as spies and enemy agents.

The popular media also worked to perpetuate the characterization of Japanese Americans as silent, nonverbal, subtle, and therefore guilty. Newspaper headlines such as "Caps on Japanese Tomato Plants Point to Air Base" and "Jap Boat Flashes Message Ashore," were not only memorable, but they credited Japanese Americans with leveraging complex visual sign systems and rhetorical patterns in order to betray the United States. In this case, the media augmented the interpretation that "the fact that nothing had happened was proof that something terrible would surely come to pass" (Hosokawa 289). Thus, Attorney General Warren's assertion that "We believe that when we are dealing with the Caucasian race we have methods that will test the loyalty of them, and we believe that we can, in dealing with the Germans and the Italians, arrive

at some fairly sound conclusions because of our knowledge of the way they live in the community and have lived for many years" can be seen as an implicit statement regarding the interpretability of more familiar, and less foreign, rhetorical patterns (Hosokawa 287) .

In her 2011 article, *"Me Inwardly, Before I Dared*: Japanese American's Writing to Gaman," Mira Shimabakuro offers a more culturally specific reading of perceived Japanese American silences. Drawing upon Harry Kitano's definition of *gaman*, which echoes the tone and tenor of Jensen's description of East Asian rhetoric, Shimabakuro explains:

> As Kitano describes it, gaman is just one "value" among others that "explain[s]" why the "Japanese" have a "low degree of acting out, overt rebellion, and independence, as he translates the term as the "internalization […] and suppression of anger and emotion." (650)

This incarnation of Japanese American rhetoric offers an alternate reading of silence and paints the picture of a quiet rebellion, one in which a quiet respect for "authority" and "example" might prevent the kind tactical rhetorical rebellion that I am attributing to the incarcerated Japanese American artists. In other words, it would be possible to read their images as documenting and respecting the status quo as opposed to making an argument against it. Other scholarship on Asian American rhetoric, including Shimabukuro's response to Kitano, however, has begun to develop a more nuanced understanding of the ways that Asian Americans make and disseminate persuasive meaning. Frank Chin, Jeffrey Paul Chang, Lawson Fusao Inada, and Shawn Wong's 1991 volume, *The Big Aiieeeee! An Anthology of Chinese American and Japanese American Literature* offers what Morris Young has characterized as an early definition of Asian American rhetoric which seeks to, "legitimize the language, style, and syntax of people's experience, to codify the experiences common to his people into symbols, clichés, linguistic mannerisms, and a sense of humor that emerges from an organic familiarity with experience" (qtd in Young 70). This definition, though useful for describing and characterizing Asian American writing, doesn't

get at the fact that rhetoric, Asian American or otherwise, requires a means for action, or a way of achieving tangible action as a result of one's meaning-making endeavors. Young, along with LuMing Mao, has subsequently defined Asian American rhetoric "as the systematic, effective use and development by Asian Americans of symbolic resources, including this new American language, in social, cultural and political contexts" (3). While this succinct definition doesn't overwrite the editors of *Aiieeeee!!'s* definition, it does make the crucial move of placing Asian American rhetoric into social, cultural, and/or political contexts.

For Asian American art, such as the works to be analyzed in this chapter, to be classified as rhetorical, then it must have the potential to operate in the contexts highlighted by Young and Mao. This potential can exist in the signs, symbols, and motifs embedded within the artwork or in the way that the artist (or their representatives) circulates their work. As Kristine C. Kuramitsu outlines in her article, "Internment and Identity in Japanese American Art":

> When agency was stripped from Japanese Americans during the war, one of the few ways left for the internees to articulate their identities was artistic expression. Paintings, sculptures, and drawings from the internment camps are works of art that function as aesthetic objects asserting and constructing positions of agency. (621)

By suggesting that the making of art was the result of incarcerees "asserting and constructing positions of agency," Kuramitsu paves the way for a consideration of artists as operating rhetorically—for the purposes of persuasion—as well as aesthetically. It is important to note that these contrasting functions for artwork are not mutually exclusive and can operate simultaneously and within the same works. In "Beyond the Camera and Between the Words: Inserting Oneself into the Picture and into Japanese American (Art) History—Mine Okubo's *Citizen 13360* and the Power of Visual Autobiography" Elena Tajima Creef reviews Deborah

Gesensway and Mindy Roseman's interviews with formerly incarcerated artists and offers evidence that further supports the rhetorical potential of artwork from incarcerated artists:

> Japanese American artists, Hisako Hibi and Charles Mikami, each speak about the subversive potential of painting a historical record when other tools of representation are forbidden, unavailable, or underdeveloped. In place of language and cameras, both artists speak to the power of 'talking in signs' through painting and sketching an alternative system of visual representation that Japanese Americans were free to use in recording their individual and collective experience of relocation and internment. (Creef 71)

The fact that Hibi, Mikami, and other interred artists were knowingly "talking in signs" through their work speaks to the rhetorical potential of the art; they were, in de Certeau's words, *doing* something with the images that they observed (and participated in) while in camp. However, Creef's characterization of the art as "recording" individual and collective experiences runs the risk of suppressing the rhetorical and tactical potential of art produced within the incarceration centers. It is my contention that by developing a complex and flexible sign system (it would be an oversimplification to characterize internment artwork under a single rubric) incarcerated Japanese American artists developed a body of visual rhetoric that drew upon Japanese and American artistic and rhetorical traditions, was often humorous, and successfully subverted the government's system of censorship. It would not be feasible to try to suggest that a single artist or even a small sampling of artists can adequately represent the interred artists' oeuvre. The Camp Harmony *Souvenir Edition*, Miné Okubo's *Citizen 13360,* and Jack Matsuoka's *Camp 2II Block 211* are not being offered as placeholders or sole representatives for incarcerated artists. They are being juxtaposed against one another because, as a result of the similarities and differences in their training, production, representation, and circulation, they offer useful models for considering tactical acts of Asian American rhetorical resistance.

The Camp Harmony *Souvenir Edition*[8]

In August of 1942, as preparations were being made to move incarcerees from temporary detention centers to more permanent incarceration camps, the staff of the *Camp Harmony News-Letter* published a heavily illustrated *Souvenir Edition* commemorating time spent at Puyallup Assembly Center in Western Washington. Through short articles with titles like "Meeting the Challenges" and "Minidoka Previewed," the textual portions of the *Souvenir Edition* accomplished the dual tasks of eliciting a kind of nostalgia for time spent at Puyallup and looking forward, with trepidation, to time that would be spent in more permanent facilities.

Seven full pages of illustrations depicting camp life support the publication's nostalgic tone. With the exception of the cover page, which is comprised of a single image, and a full-page, birds-eye-view map of the center, each illustrated page consists of multiple drawings, which are framed and overlap one another so as to resemble a collection of photographs. Thus, despite the fact that the editors of the *Souvenir Edition* were not able to access cameras, the publication was designed to resemble a photo spread in a contemporary magazine, or, perhaps more appropriately given that Puyallup was situated on fair grounds and framed by the peaks and valleys of roller coaster tracks, the kind of commemorative photo book that would have been sold at World's Fairs or similar kinds of exhibitions. By drawing on the conventions of these particular genres, the *Souvenir Edition* succeeded in creating a memorial artifact that subtly critiqued incarceration at a time when it would have been extremely perilous for individuals to engage in overt acts of resistance. As an unsigned editorial with the *Souvenir Edition* explains:

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[8] While I suspect that the illustrations within the *Souvenir Edition* were drawn by Nisei artist, Eddie Sato, because the cover illustration offers "Art Dept." in lieu of a specific signature (but uses Sato's style of embedding initials in small cartoon, in this case, an artist's palette), and because the images included in the texts are cropped versions of drawing in Sato's original sketchbook and thus lack the trademark ant that he includes with his signature, I am choosing to interpret these drawings as collaboratively authored.

> There are times that quiet suffering from trials and circumstances is an actual expression of sincerity, nobility and strength. It means as well the acceptance of a challenge to be carried through to the end in simplicity and honesty and not by artificial expressions of bravery.
> It becomes the true measure by which one's strength, nobility and sincerity are gauged. (News-Letter).

Taken in tandem with the characteristics of Japanese American rhetoric put forth by Kitano and Shimabakuro, the editorial's celebration of "quiet suffering" and call for accepting challenges through "strength, nobility, and sincerity," can be read as a call to gaman, which as Shimabukuro has argued, is not a passive act. Therefore, despite the fact that the illustrations within the *Souvenir Edition* represent camp life in a fairly positive way, they are still critiquing, if not condemning, incarceration.

Part of this critique comes through the publication's renderings of sanitary facilities. The page itself is divided into thirds. A drawing of the canteen, crowded with people is on the top and one of the laundry room, empty and exposed to the elements, is on the bottom. Each of these images is angled so that a borderless, triangular drawing of trees and a mountainous landscape is in the center. Finally, where the edges of the two framing images meet, and where the tip of the triangle ought to be, there is a shaded circle, with a shadow overlapping the laundry room picture, that shows the rear side of bath houses abutted by water tanks.

The natural world and the manmade camp structures depicted on this page engage in a complex interaction. The borders of the pseudo-photographs delineate the natural world as something entirely separate from camp. Though the *Souvenir Edition* differs from other drawings of camp life insomuch as it does not include any guard towers or barbed wire fences, through this connotative spatial delineation, the viewer of the page is still reminded that despite the ways that the images and their accompanying text might show positive, or at least not so bad, aspects of

relocation, the people were still trapped and not free to move between spaces of their own accord.

Unlike the other drawings that I will explore in this chapter, the sanitary facilities featured within the *Souvenir Edition* are shown through exterior shots. They resemble neither the government's ode to modernity and efficiency nor the other artist's portrayal of the bodily mess associated with incarceration. At first gloss, they appear neutral and documentary in nature, however the accompanying captions offer some insight into editorial perspective. The caption describing the circular insert drawing of the bathhouses reads, "Rendezvous for the tired workman – where one could get a hot shower – usually" (5). By positioning the small wooden structures as "rendezvous," or meeting places, the viewer of the images is reminded that that within the parameters of center life, showers were not private undertakings. The reference to the lack of hot water draws attention to the tanks on the side of each building, which in light of the fact that the Puyallup housed 7,200 people, seem woefully small (News-Letter 2). The caption for the laundry room picture accomplishes a similar task of simultaneously critiquing the insufficiency of camp infrastructure and complimenting the cleanliness and quality of life that residents were still able to maintain. It reads, "A quaint shack, this building houses the garbage can laundry serving all areas. It did a dirty job well" (5). In this case, the description of the "garbage can laundry" explicates the image for the viewer who was not there (we are told the truth of what the residents had to work with). The fact that the laundry shack has open walls and is drawn with bleachers adjacent to it repeats the shower room motif of private actions—bathing and laundry—being rendered public. If the artists had included people within their sketches of these facilities, they would have been furthering the invasion of privacy that they were meant to be critiquing. Instead, by showing us the outside of these buildings, they comment on the lack of

privacy while at the same time, offering the readers of the *Souvenir Edition* a reminder of the seclusion that they weren't offered in real life.

There is one other image related to sanitary facilities within the *Souvenir Edition*, and its inscrutability offers valuable clues regarding the kind remembering the publication was intended to invoke. On Page 8, three pages after the laundry room and bathhouses are shown, there is a sketch of the "B" gate, which separated that section of the camp from the "D" section. The caption reads, "The "B" line extended from here to drain the neighboring areas of its shower water." While the *Souvenir Edition* is attentive to the minute aspects of camp life, it is not initially clear why it would have been important for details of a particular drainage line to be included in the memorial artifact[9]. However, this is an image that must be read in tandem with the rest of the document in order to make sense. In the closing editorial, "Little Things," Bill Hosokawa wrote, "And so it was the little things that made our stay at Camp Harmony memorable, little things that stood out and seemed at the time like vital milestones on the path of evacuation. But in retrospect all the little things fall into perspective, and so we shall recount a few little things which cling to memory" (9). The drawing of the drainage pipe must be viewed in tandem with Hosokawa's call to remember the "little things," and the various references to how insufficient shower facilities within particular blocks of Puyallup led to greater interaction between residents (four days after Area D residents started going to Area A for showers, inter-area visiting began) becomes an example of one of the "few little things which cling to

[9] Based on Miné Okubo's renderings of residents covering their noses to avoid the smell of sewage in Tanforan and Topaz, I suspect that the drain line reference might be a heavily shrouded critique (it would have been dangerous to make overt references) of Camp Harmony's own sewage odors, but this hunch is not necessarily corroborated by firm evidence. However, Vivian Fumiko Chin's statement that the images in *Citizen 13660* demonstrate that residents "cannot move away from the stink" and "The noxious traces, physical reality, actual presence of the living bodies of those interned cannot be eradicated" opens up a reading of the *Souvenir Edition* drain line references as more than minutia.

memory." While there are certainly clues throughout the *Souvenir Edition* that allow for outsiders to glean insight into why these minute details were featured in the publication, it stands to reason that these moments would have been much more immediately legible for readers who received the publication during its initial circulation.

The layers of memories embedded within the *Souvenir Edition* offer insight into the temporal aspects of tactical acts of rhetorical resistance. In August of 1942, when the *Souvenir Edition* was initially circulated, the government was still in the process of fear mongering as necessary to rationalize incarceration, and as such, it was very much looking for evidence of incendiary activity. It would have been extremely dangerous to produce or circulate more overtly critical documents. However, it is likely that the spaces and moments captured by the illustrations would have been familiar to the readers of the *Souvenir Edition* and that the tongue in cheek humor embedded within the captions would have been recognizable as carefully shrouded critiques and a resistance to forgetting the little things that totaled up to a large injustice. However, despite the insider/outsider dichotomy that this analysis might suggest, the very fact that the *Souvenir Edition* was filled with clues to decipher the images—in addition to Hosokowa's editorial, "Little Things," the final page of the publication featured "Lest We Forget," a chronological list of important, and little, happenings at Puyallup—means that the authors made space for future audiences to engage in the act of remembering. Further, the fact that it drew on the generic conventions of the souvenir program, including the aforementioned birds eye view map and the collage style page layouts, means that it was successful in allowing future audiences to begin to experience the absurdity of an incarceration site being built amidst the fair ground's permanent structures. The images and articles that lauded resident success at

making due with the Puyallup facilities operated as distracting "strategies" that allowed the tactical critiques to pass through mechanisms of censorship.

Miné Okubo's *Citizen 13360*

Of the artists and works studied in this chapter, Miné Okubo has received the most scholarly and popular attention. Okubo's status as a Japanese American artist exemplar is marked by *Amerasia Journal's* 2004 Special Issue, "A Tribute to Miné Okubo." The issue, which was divided into three parts—"An Artistic and Literary Porfolio," scholarly essays, and remembrance pieces—accomplishes editor Elena Tajima Creef's stated goal of offering a holistic view of Okubo's life and career as a self-identified artist. Within the scholarly component of the issue, Vivian Fumiko Chin's article, "Gestures of Noncompliance: Resisting, Inventing, and Enduring in *Citizen 13660*" offers an explicit logic for reading *Citizen 13660* as resistant and, by extension, rhetorical: "If we acknowledge that the political context in which Okubo wrote her autobiographical work constructed her as an enemy who needed to be removed from a mainstream society, than we can read *Citizen 13660* as a gesture of resistance that refuses to represent a compliant, invisible, and silenced Japanese American internee" (27). Moreover, Chin's astute comparison of Okubo's rendering of hands in *Citizen 13660* as opposed to in illustrations produced for *Trek: All Aboard*, a literary magazine circulated in camps, successfully demonstrates the ways that Okubo may have modified or adjusted the aesthetics of her drawings in order to make different arguments for outside of camp audiences. Additionally, by reading Okubo's memoir as what he calls a "camp narrative," and comparing it to written internment narratives, Greg Robinson sees it as functioning to simultaneously help Okubo work through her own feelings with regards to internment and as a platform by which she was able to "tell other

'truths' about internment" (50). Interestingly, Robinson also reads *Citizen 13660* as borrowing the generic conventions of "photo essays of the period" but suggests that "Unlike most documentary photographers, Okubo's strategy was precisely NOT to seem detached from any part of the internment experience" (53). Robinson's interpretation not only nods to Okubo's possession of the "image vernacular" of the time, it also tacitly suggests that Okubo's text argues, rather than just testifies, about internment. Following the *Amerasia Journal's* precedent to take Okubo and her body of work seriously, more recent scholarship, such as Xiaojing Zhou's "Spatial Construction of the 'Enemy Race': Miné Okubo's Visual Strategies in *Citizen 13660*" and Sarah Dowling's "'How Lucky Was I to be Free and Safe at Home': Reading Humor in Miné Okubo's *Citizen 13660*" offer compelling close readings of Okubo's images and analyze the layers of meaning embedded in the text. Finally, in her 2015 article "Illustrating the Postwar Peace: Miné Okubo, the 'Citizen-Subject' of Japan, and *Fortune* Magazine," Christine Hong looks beyond *Citizen 13660* in order to more clearly illuminate "Okubo's legacy as a wartime artist" (106).

Unlike the *Souvenir Edition*, which was published during incarceration, artist Miné Okubo didn't publish her graphic memoir, *Citizen 13360*, which combined pen and ink drawings of her camp experiences with prosaic captions, until one year after her release from the Topaz War Relocation Center. Okubo, who was a successful working artist before incarceration, has commented on her choice to document her experiences through drawings:

> In the camps, I had the opportunity to study the human race from the cradle to the grave, and to see what happens when people are reduced to one status and condition. Cameras and photographs were not permitted in the camps, so I recorded everything in sketches, drawings, and paintings. (Okubo qtd in Phillips 22)

From early on in incarceration, Okubo seemed to be aware that her fellow incarcerees had become representations of the enemy, and, lacking photographic equipment, art become the thing that she could *do* while observing the daily activities of the camps. As mentioned*, Citizen 13660* is comprised of pen and ink drawings, which have been described as combining the precision of Japanese line art and the detail of mural art with the comic book form (Phillips 22) The conflation of Okubo's influences—her mother was a classically trained Japanese artist, Okubo worked with Diego Rivera on WPA murals prior to internment, and once in the camps, she frequently read daily comic strips—combined to form a uniquely Asian American artistic style (Yamada 22-23). The memoir itself proceeds chronologically and offers detailed images and description of daily life. Though there is not an overt narrative, the reader is left with an overall sense of Okubo's in-camp experiences, which is inseparable from her tactical critique.

One of the most distinctive features of *Citizen 13660* is the way that Okubo portrays herself within the images. She is present in every frame and always drawn so that she is either staring directly at the subjects in the frame, or less frequently, looking directly out of the frame as though attempting to make eye contact with the reader. This bold breaking of the fourth wall is a notable rhetorical act for multiple reasons. First, in contrast to the collaborative authorship of the Camp Harmony *Souvenir Edition*, the assertiveness of the gesture stands in direct contrast to conceptualizations of Asian American rhetoric that would have the rhetor bowing to the authority of established power relations and abiding by cultural conventions. Additionally, in "Portrait of an Artist," a 1942 profile of Okubo published in *Trek: All Aboard*, an incarceree produced magazine, writer Jim Yamada explains Okubo's prewar experiences traveling in Europe and her transformation from a "shy mouse" to a "character":

> It embarrassed her at first to have street cars in Holland jerk to a stop so that people in them could have a better look at her; she was a cynosure wherever she

> went, once causing a terrific traffic jam in a Belgium town. Her first impulse was to run to the nearest unpopulated alley when the natives gawked at her, but she conquered this, and, instead of retreating, she stared right back. She made a lot of friends this way, in addition to deriving tremendous amounts of self-confidence. (21)

This self-confidence radiates from the page. Okubo's stare acknowledges the presence of a viewer and thus renders the voyeurism invoked by the depiction of a bathing scene public. Like the memoir itself, Okubo's personal experiences coalesced into political action. Notably, this staring back strongly contradicts Jensen's expectations of East Asian rhetoric, including "indirectness" and "the avoidance of clash in opinion in order to preserve harmony" (135). As Yamada's profile makes clear, Okubo overcame her instincts to avoid clashes and deliberately cultivated a way of interacting with the world that contradicted with her internal instincts and externally imposed rhetorical assumptions.

Returning to the bathroom image, the frame is bisected by an off-center dividing wall and Okubo is places her own bathing figure, staring out of the frame, to the far right, while the left side of the frame is filled by a mother hunched over the tub and bathing four small children. The emptiness of Okubo's side of the frame is juxtaposed against crowding and motion to the left. The image simultaneously portrays the lack of privacy inherent in camp life, which the viewer is complicit in, the challenging conditions under which individuals operated, and the fact that the functions of "normal" life, such as bathing oneself and one's children, still went on.

The significance of Okubo's depiction of herself in the tub becomes more apparent when considered in tandem with the rest of the images of sanitary facilities included within *Citizen 13660*. Notably, in every other shower or toilet scene, Okubo is fully clothed and positioned in the frame as an observer. The fact that she is now the one exposed, while the only other adult figure in the frame is dressed, speaks to the fact that she has grown accustomed to the camp.

Additionally, the emptiness and stillness of her side of the frame, as opposed to the fullness and activity to the left, is indicative of the odd role that young, unmarried, Nissei played in the camps. Stripped of clothing and the trappings of adulthood, Okubo appears childlike, but unlike the children to her left, she has no caretaker. This image exemplifies the ways that incarceration upended the Japanese American family structure and how Nisei lives in particular were rendered adrift by years of disruption.

In order to consider the image rhetorically, as opposed to merely documentary, it is necessary to extricate and examine the specific moves that Okubo makes within the image. First off, the bisecting wall is a repeated motif throughout art that was produced by incarcerated artists. The walls represent the crowded conditions and a lack of privacy within the camps. Frequently, they also become sites of illicit listening or watching, sometimes by Caucasian officials and sometimes by other incarcerees. Additionally, it is not uncommon for traditional Japanese woodcut art, such as that in the *Sumizuri-e* (monochrome) tradition, which Okubo's drawings resemble, to feature subjects watching over walls and from behind screens. Within the specific context in which Okubo was working, the wall is a symbol of and comment on confinement and constrained living conditions. Okubo, and other artists that utilize this motif, developed a sign system that was simultaneously specific to the camps and that drew upon a larger artistic and symbolic tradition. Notably, the shape of the mother's body, on the left side of the frame, resembles the scores of oval shaped bodies that appear throughout 19th century woodcuts. Her eyebrows are arched and shaded in a way that is reminiscent of Kabuki actors, but the traditional kimono is replaced by the modern, western cut dress and apron. Combined and re-contextualized these elements coalesce into a single image that both documents and argues against the confined living conditions in the camps.

Aside from the aesthetic influences of *Sumizuri-e* observable within Okubo's work, it is difficult to ignore the influence of Diego Rivera, who she assisted on the *Pan American Unity Mural*, as part of the "Art in Action" exhibition at the 1940 World's Fair. Rivera featured an image of himself, the painter within the mural, participating in the making of art and meaning. Additionally, the rounded figures shown in Okubo's rendering of the woman's baths, coupled with the several points of action which seem to exist, flatly, behind Okubo's profiled figure, are reminiscent of Rivera's murals insomuch as the subject of the work and the making of the work collapse upon one another and become inseparable. Through the paradigmatic inclusion of herself in her images, observing that which she renders on the page, Okubo suspends the tactical encounter in time. The kairotic moment of observation is captured through Okubo's inclusion of herself in her drawings. She is simultaneously recorder and subject.

The reflections of Japanese artistry and Rivera's influences in Okubo's work combine to form a Japanese American rhetorical style. Okubo's tactical choice to embed an argument about maintaining tradition and humanity in the face of confinement and severed civil rights into documentary artwork ensures the rhetorical nature of the artifact. The images of sanitary facilities, specifically, make transparent the fact that internment camps dealt in bodies and the viewer's discomfort at being rendered voyeur becomes a way of experiencing Okubo's argument.

Jack Matsuoka's *Poston Camp II Block 211*

Jack Matsuoka's work looks very different than Okubo's or the *Souvenir Edition*. Given that he was only fifteen at the beginning of internment, and all of the drawings in *Poston Camp II Block 211* were produced during his time in the camps, he hadn't yet had the experience that

Eddie Sato or other members of the Camp Harmony Art Department did or access to the extensive artistic training that Okubo had. As a result, the most notable influence in his work is probably the contemporary comic strip. His lines are looser than Okubo's, and he uses comic book conventions, like the speech bubble, odor lines, and sweat beads to supplement the image's message. In the text leading up to a comic about an exchange held in a laundry room, which Matsuoka wrote after incarceration and specifically for the publication of his book, he notes:

> The laundry room as the great leveler.
> No matter what their social position or wealth on the outside, in camp all of the ladies had to use the same laundry room to do their washing—by hand. (92)

Although Matsuoka's written cue is helpful for introducing that section of the text, it is not as strong as the visual argument made in his actual drawing. The women to the left, smoking a cigarette represents, for better or worse, a modern and thoroughly American way of living. Her off handed comment that her family's maid "kinda looked like you [the woman to the right]" speaks to the fact that the incarcerated Japanese Americans were not as homogenous as the WRA made them out to be. The woman on the right's smoldering expression—shown through furrowed eyebrows and a down crossed mouth—also speaks to this perception of difference. Though the circumstances of camp forced these two women to do laundry within the same facilities, they did not see one another as the same and they resisted forced notions of homogeny.

The obvious anger and discomfort being expressed by the woman on the right offers a crucial rebuttal to depictions of camp life along the line of the one offered by Carey McWilliams in the September, 1942 edition of *Harper's Magazine*. Despite the magazine's notorious left wing stance, McWilliams' own admission that he had initially opposed incarceration, and his status as a longtime advocate for Japanese Americans, he offers a series of rationalizations for why, based on his time spent at the Santa Anita Assembly Center, the evacuation was in the

incarcerees' best interest. Alongside various statements regarding Japanese Americans' failure to fully assimilate into American society, McWilliams writes,

> In general, however, I believe it correct to state that many of the camp residents, perhaps a third of them, are living better than they have ever lived in their lives; that another group, also perhaps a third, made up of relatively well-to-do families, are unquestionably having a difficult time in adjusting to the new routine. A definite leveling off process is discernable, in fact, in all camps. (363)

McWilliams' description of a "leveling off process" is directly reflective of Matsuoka's description of the "laundry room as the great leveler," which suggests that McWilliams was not entirely incorrect in suggesting that the camps may have challenged the pre-existing Japanese American social hierarchy, despite his sweeping claims regarding quality of life, manufactured statistics, and assumption that access to "modern" conveniences might be worth the suspension of one's civil liberties. However, among the key differences in these two representations of social class leveling is that Matsuoka's was delivered with the kind of wry humor that can often been seen in Asian American rhetoric. The comic book lexicon allows the woman on the right to resist any assertion that she might be better of than she was, and it instead allows her to express anger.

Matsuoka's images employ rhetorical strategies that bring to mind the *The Big Aiiieeeee!* definition of Asian American rhetoric, which emphasizes the codification of "experiences common to his people into symbols, clichés, linguistic mannerisms, and a sense of humor that emerges from an organic familiarity with experience" (Chin et al qtd in Young 70). By creating two characters that represented radically different social classes and lifestyles, Matsuoka generated symbols of Japanese American heterogeneity. Additionally, the visual links between Matsuoka's images and comic drawings bring a sense of humor to bear on his arguments regarding incarceration. In contrast to the careful construction of Okubo's frames, with their

myriad layers of meaning, Asian, and American influences, Matsuoka's images are messier and convey a sense of movement.

Unlike Okubo's bath and shower scenes, which are rife with images of woman and children, Matsuoka's depiction of the shower room brings the viewer into a decidedly masculine space. One drawing, which Matsuoka captions as "The world's only almost dry shower," shows a group of men whose bodily tasks are interrupted by technological failures. The two men on the left appear to be trying to fiddle with or fix the tap, while the two men on the right look on. The man at the center shower engages vigorously in the act of washing while apparently singing or whistling a tune. He is unaffected by the relative lack of water being produced by his shower head, and as such seems to be following the code of *gaman,* which, as Shimabukuro explains "has been noted again and again by Nisei former incarcerees as being one model of ideal behavior put forth by either their *Issei* (immigrant) parents or their teachers in Japanese school" (650). Unlike the other men in the shower room, the singing man appears to be "bearing up" against the hardship that has derailed the others. As Shimabukuro makes clear, it would be easy to misinterpret or oversimplify gaman as a rhetorical strategy of non-resistance, but, as her revisionist scholarship has shown, it actually carries a connotation of strength and not passivity (651). By featuring the singing man as one reactor amongst several, Matsuoka reinforces his argument that though incarcerated because of a common ethnic background, Japanese Americans were as varied as any group of Americans. The varying body sizes and postures included within this image offer a visual underpinning for Matsuoka's arguments regarding the heterogeneity of the incarcerated subjects.

Deploying Comics for the Purposes of Memory

When producing the drawings contained within *Citizen 13660*, Okubo was well aware that she was using her drawings to document camp life. As she described it:

> All my friends on the outside were sending me extra food and crazy gifts to cheer me up. Once I got a box with a whole bunch of worms even. So I decided I would do something for them. At the time I wasn't thinking of a book; I was thinking of an exhibition, but these drawings later became my book *Citizen 13660*. So I just kept a record of everything, objective and humorous, without saying much so they could see it all. Humor is the only thing that mellows life, shows life as the circus it is. (Okubo qtd in Gesensway and Roseman 71)

Okubo created her drawings with definite intentions for public circulation. While she saw her work as an *objective* record, the fact that she also sought to make the record humorous demonstrates that she was including her own stance and perspectives in her representations. In contrast, it is unclear whether or not Matsuoka originally produced his pictures for circulation beyond the time and place of the internment camps. According to the introduction of *Camp II, Block 211*:

> […] for many years they lay [the drawings] lay forgotten in an old trunk. One day, he came upon them again and immediately realized that the story of the camp and the cartoons themselves had something important to say to people today […] He hopes that *Camp II, Block 211* will show what happened once in the United States and will inspire Americans of all ages to make certain that such a thing never happens again. (jacket)

The fact that Matsuoka was able to delay circulation and protract his tactical moment to thirty years after the moment of production can be attributed to the powerful relationship between tactics and *mētis.* As de Certeau explains, "*Mētis* in fact counts on accumulated time, which is in its favor to overcome a hostile composition of place. But its memory remains hidden (it has no discernable place) up to the instant in which it reveals itself, at the 'right point in time'" (n.page). As the above analysis shows, the images included within Matsuoka's collection were definitely functioning rhetorically, however, their persuasive moment was put on hold for several decades until they were formally circulated in 1974. At the time of their production, Matsuoka was an

incarcerated teenager struggling with his lack of freedom, while at the time of their circulation, right around the time that Japanese Americans were coming together to seek redress for the internment and to permanently embed the atrocities into the American memory, he was a middle aged man looking to put his reflections on past experiences to use. Thus it is possible that the tactical moment can be pluralized (moments) while the rhetorical artifact remains static and unchanged.

The Camp Harmony Art Department, Okubo and Matsuoka all produced texts that are linked by shared subject matter and related purposes. Despite these similarities, however, they brought very different stylistic choices to their work and employed different tactics when producing and circulating their work. They were also only a few of many of incarcerated artists working diligently to document and resist the conditions of incarceration. By classifying this art as rhetorical, it is not my intention to overwrite the artistic integrity of the works. Rather it is my attempt to credit the incarcerated artists as agentive meaning makers actively working to document and resist an injustice whose image was being closely controlled by the government. Where the censors tried to sanitize camps, the incarcerated artists messed them up. Where propaganda attempted to create a homogenous enemy, incarcerated artists rendered their own versions of the collective that featured individuality and difference.

At the time that they were drawing, members of the Camp Harmony Art Department, as well as Okubo and Mastsuoka, were all in relatively perilous positions. As Nisei, they were incarcerated just as members of their generation should have been putting down foundations for their lives. As a result of the JACL's post-war public relations campaigns (discussed in Chapter 1), as well as the effect of time on individual life circumstances, by the time that Ronald Regan signed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which resulted in an official apology for incarceration, as

well as reparation payments of $20,000 to every survivor of incarceration, the Nisei had come into their own as a powerful and well-established generation.

Chapter 4: Memory Institutions: Cognitive and Experiential Remembering of Japanese American Incarceration

Introduction

The solidification of Nisei status can be seen through the conceptualization, funding, and execution of key mnemonic sites in the years immediately following the issuance of a national apology and reparation payments to incarceration survivors. For example, as Leilani Nishime explains, upon receiving their reparations, many Nisei donated the money directly to the Japanese American National Museum, "which enabled the museum to grow from a small, local organization to a 'legitimate' national museum" (42). This gesture not only speaks to the financial status of the Nisei by the late 1990s, as compared to the more grass-roots memory endeavors explored throughout this dissertation, it also demonstrates that over the course of the decades that followed incarceration, the Nisei gained access to official channels and mainstream means of persuasion. Another compelling example of the Nisei's changed status is the construction of the Memorial to Japanese American Patriotism in Washington, DC. Authorized by President George Bush in 1992 and breaking ground in 1999, it might be seen as the culmination of decades of JACL activism. As I will describe in more detail, the signs and symbols that comprise the memorial simultaneously validate the incarcerated Japanese Americans as Americans and celebrate the valor and sacrifice of the 442nd. Fittingly, Mike Masaoka's declaration—"I am proud to be an American of Japanese ancestry. I believe in this

nation's institutions, ideals and traditions. I glory in her heritage. I boast of her history. I trust in her future"—appears among the quotations carved onto the granite walls of the memorial.

In December of 2013, "Jlaughs," a contributor to the popular tourism website, TripAdvisor.com visited the Memorial to Japanese American Patriotism. The following February, she posted an "Excellent" review of the memorial with the headline, "Glad I went." Echoing other reviewers, Jlaughs noted that the memorial was "tricky to find" and also mentioned: "there was not water in the reflecting pool." "Sharron C," who visited the site in April of 2014 "as part of the ride and roll tour," called the experience a "Moving reminder of deep injustice" and expressed surprise over how "free of rancour [sic]" the inscribed quotes from former internees were. Yelp reviewer "Matthew J." credited the memorial with affecting him "more than any of the other memorials throughout the city." However, he did point out that he hadn't visited the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial. Another Yelp reviewer, "Chris T." described his experience of finding the memorial by mistake but being hit "so close to home" by the spot because his maternal grandparents had been incarcerated. He wrote, "When I got back home, I showed it to my grandmother, she was touched, but she didn't want me to show it to my grandfather, apparently it is a part of his life he would like to remain closed. Still I hope memorials will serve as reminders and keep us from making similar mistakes again. Although lately, with all going on in the world, we seem inclined to keep making the same mistakes."

This brief gloss of travelers' self-reported experiences at the Memorial to Japanese American Patriotism in World War II offers powerful insights into how these individuals interacted with the memorial space, which is comprised of a plaza surrounded by a granite wall inscribed with several quotations, a marble statue of a crane tangled in barbed wire, and a reflecting pool. In his work on American pilgrimages, Juan Eduardo Campo calls memorials like

this one "pilgrimage sites of American civil religion" and suggests that, in modern America, tourism and pilgrimage are "seldom easily distinguishable" (48, 50). The memorial's presence in travel guides and on websites such as Yelp and Trip Advisor amplifies the slippage between pilgrimage and tourism or, differently put, between remembering and spectating. SharronC.'s observation that the quotations carved on granite walls were surprisingly without "rancor" demonstrates how the memorial draws upon a particular incarnation of Japanese American rhetoric that combines quiet acceptance with "traditional" symbolism and a Zen-like atmosphere.

Despite the fact that experiences at the memorial might initially skew towards spectation rather than serious commemoration, the frequency and depth of references to memory and remembering in the online reviews speak to that fact that the memorial does successfully invoke reflections on incarceration. Taken in conjunction with a general awareness of Washington D.C.'s memorial strewn landscape, Matthew J.'s admission that the memorial was the most affecting site he'd visited is a testament to the site's mnemonic force. His parenthetical insertion that he hadn't visited the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial demarcates Japanese American Incarceration's status as what I've called a "parallel occurrence" Through the inclusion of his disclaimer, Matthew J. posits the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial, and subsequently the Vietnam War, as possessing more affective memorial force. But, because he skipped that site and thus didn't engage in remembering the more dominant historical event, in this case, the Vietnam War, Matthew J. was able to immerse himself fully in the tragedy and injustice associated with Japanese American incarceration. Finally, as was the case for several other visitors/reviewers, Chris T. was able to supplement his experience at the physical memorial with the resonance of familial experience and bonds. His experiences of *showing* his grandmother the memorial once he was back home in California and of being told not to *show* it to his grandfather demonstrates

the tension between remembrance and repression experienced by descendants of the (presumably) Nisei incarcerees. As Hirsch suggests, possessors of postmemory experience the transmission of "powerful" and "traumatic" memories that almost "seem to constitute memories in their own right" (106). But, for Chris T. and other descendants of incarcerees, the memorial transmission is comprised of mixed messages: talk about it but don't talk about it; don't remember but don't forget. These contradictory messages are confusing and result in high expectations for memorials to incarceration. They must inform and commemorate.

These insights, facilitated by online, user-generated reviews of the memorial, support the notion that the Memorial to Japanese American Patriotism in World War II leads people to remember and reflect in ways that are generally regretful of the government's actions and show admiration of the Japanese American people. In other words, the memorial forwards a particularly palatable memory narrative—one that emphasizes penance and sacrifice but elides scales of injustice, anger, and historical messiness.

The aura of success associated with the memorial offers a powerful contrast to historian Stephen Ambrose's 1999 missive "A Terrible Idea: The Memorial to Japanese Americans," which he published in *National Review*, a self-declared conservative news commentary magazine. As Ambrose's title suggests, he was patently opposed to the Japanese American memorial, not only because, as he argued, it wasn't sufficient to erect a monument to a single wronged ethnic group, but because expressing national regret or gaining national forgiveness didn't fall into the parameters of what a memorial is supposed to do. In Ambrose's words, "We ought to redress the wrongs with apologies, congressional resolutions, exhibits in museums, passages in history textbooks—but not with monuments" (31). For Ambrose, then, monuments have a sacred function that goes beyond simply reminding viewers of a particular event. Though

he doesn't directly state what memorials should do, he makes it clear that they should not apologize. Ambrose's conceptualization of monuments and memorials is in keeping with Alison Landberg's summation of the function of nineteenth-century monuments, which, she argues, "were intended to serve as guarantors of national memory; they both created the illusion of a stable, recognizable past and promised to serve as a bulwark against further social upheaval" (n.p.). The vitriolic tone of Ambrose's article reflects the point of view that the task of guaranteeing national memory is sacred. Memorial endeavors that borrow the generic characteristics of the nineteenth-century monument for purposes other than fostering nationalism are met with distrust, discomfort, and anger, especially when these memorials encroach on what is arguably America's most sacred space: the Washington Mall.

Ambrose's implied definition of memorials and their function aligns with Timothy Recuber's summation of traditional memorials, which he describes as having "been constructed at the behest of elites, to enshrine dominant points of view, and to celebrate the lives and deaths of heroic individuals" (535). Because traditional memorials historically "enshrine dominant points of view," it stands to reason that, as a genre of memory, they are not able to adequately address historical occurrences for which there is not a consensual public memory. Because these memorials reinforce rather than complicate public memory, they don't serve a pedagogical function; that is to say, they don't need to teach their viewers about the events that they memorialize. As the user-generated reviews attest, the Memorial to Japanese American Patriotism reminds but does not inform. Its presence in Washington, D.C. brings national regret regarding incarceration to the fore of its visitors' memories, but it does not provide the kind of in-depth information that would allow them to consider the true complexity of the events from a variety of perspectives.

As a kind of corrective to the well-intended but one-dimensional memory work accomplished by the Memorial to Japanese American Patriotism, I examine in this chapter the different methods of remembering that two other memory institutions—The Densho Japanese American Legacy Project and the Manzanar National Historic Site—use in order to teach their visitors about events and to facilitate more complex forms of remembering. Even though these sites are quite different from one another—in its current form, the oral histories and primary source materials collected on behalf of the Densho project are most readily accessible through their website, and one must physically visit the site in order to experience the Manzanar remains—they are bound together not just by subject matter but also by the fact that they are comprised of ephemera. Rather than relying on reconstructions or representations, like the D.C. memorial, Densho and Manzanar allow viewers to engage in multisensory interactions with primary source materials. Because the Densho site provides the user/visitor with access to digitized primary and secondary sources, I argue that it invokes the complexity of incarceration through *cognitive remembering*, that is, by providing the user/visitor with an abundance of information. Alternatively, borrowing from Landberg, I argue that by virtue of being situated on the original site, and because remembering there involves moving through space, Manzanar draws upon strategies of *experiential memory* in order to facilitate complex identificatory relationships between visitors and the subjects of memory. Ultimately, this comparison offers insight into the affordances and limitations of remembering in the post-digital age.

Memory Institutions as Rhetorical Actors

In recent years, and perhaps in response to the complexity of remembering the twentieth century, memorial/museum/archive hybrids have evolved as a primary method for providing the

public with historical information while honoring the heroes and victims of history. In "A Blurring of Boundaries," Elaine Gurian offers a concise overview of this change and suggests that "The distinct edges of differing functions among libraries, memorials, social services, centers, schools, shopping malls, zoos, performance halls, archives, theaters, public parks, cafes, and museums will (and in many cases have already begun to) blur" (31). As part of this blurring, museums, archives, and memorials no longer operate as distinct entities and the job of "gathering and interpreting materials from the past" in order to "collect and conserve, classify and display, research and educate [and] deliver messages and make arguments" on what and how to remember is dispersed across myriad real, constructed, and virtual settings (Starn 68; 77). These settings, according to Gurian, can be grouped under the heading "institutions of memory,"[10] a categorization that allows for a deft examination and comparison of evolving mnemonic spaces.

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) and the scholarship that has risen in its wake play a foundational role in determining and explicating the generic conventions and rhetorical practices associated with these hybridized institutions of memory. According to Michael Bernard-Donals, whose work explores, among other things, conflations of memory that visitors to the USHMM experienced after the events of 9/11, the archival documents of the memorial museum's design reveal that the council specifically intended for it to include a monument, a museum, and an education center (77). This well-articulated three-part structure, and its careful attention to evoking different kinds of memory, exemplifies the "blurring of boundaries" that memory institutions now regularly engage in. In *Preserving Memory: The*

[10] While Gurian uses "institutions of memory" to refer to museums, archives, libraries, and other institutions that do the official work of remembering for society, because I prefer the syntactical clarity of Roland Hjerppe's "memory institutions," which he defines broadly as "libraries, archives, museums, heritage (monuments and sites) institutions, aquaria and arboreta, zoological and botanical gardens" (1). This term has also been taken up as a core concept within the field of Library and Information Science.

Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum, Edward T. Linenthal offers an immensely detailed overview of the sheer amount of debate and planning that went into implementing the USHMM as a monument, museum, and education center. Among many other things, Linenthal's scholarship makes clear that all of the tasks involved in constructing a museum—from designing the building, to selecting artifacts, and mapping the visitors' routes through time and space—were rhetorical choices. As his analysis demonstrates, the design and function of the USHMM represents a strong break from the design conventions of memorials and museums built on the Washington Mall prior to the 1980s, which "followed some very traditional and reverential aesthetic principles" and were "representational or realistic, literally reflecting both the majesty and the grandeur of the figures and events that populated our familiar American historical landscapes" (Hasain 69). Because the USHMM was designed to commemorate atrocities, rather than to celebrate accomplishments, its very presence on the Washington Mall meant that it would break the generic conventions and expectations for how a national museum or monument should operate.

In his 2007 article, "Remembering and Forgetting the 'Final Solution': A Rhetorical Pilgrimage Through The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum," Marouf Hasain Jr. drew upon the fundamentally rhetorical nature of the USHMM in order to conduct what he called a "rhetorical pilgrimage" through the museum, which allowed him "to see some of the interventionist/ practices of the rhetors who are associated with the museum" (66). Hasain's unique methodology—a walking rhetorical analysis—allows him to pose a powerful and transferable question: "How could this hybrid monument and memorial stimulate rather than obliterate individual and collective memory work?" (68). As a possible answer to this evocative question, Hasain suggests that the new museum/memorial hybrid encourages visitors to "feel their way

through sacred sites of memory," and in doing so, put all of their senses to work (70). In other words, the USHMM and the memory institutions that have come after it, envelope their visitors in multisensory memory. At minimum, a visit to the USHMM requires visitors to feel, see, hear, and even smell their way through a carefully constructed experience.

There is a tension between the role that the USHMM played in establishing the generic conventions of hybridized memory institutions and its role as an institution designed to memorialize the experiences of Jewish people and other groups brutally targeted by the Nazi regime. This tension resides in the fact that mainstream museums don't typically represent the polyvocal memorial narratives of minority groups. But in the case of the USHMM, by representing the most subaltern of the subaltern, its rhetorical and generic moves became the mainstream. LeiLani Nishime's work on the generic conventions of Asian American museums serves as an interesting corollary to this tension. For Nishime, "the challenge to Asian American museums is to define and represent a national ideology that is heterogeneous but still coherent enough to be recognizable. Asian American museums reject the "master's tools" and move right into the house" (43). Through her exploration of the Japanese American National Museum's (JANM) 1999 expansion and renovation, Nishime demonstrates the evolution of a different kind of memory space. After exploring the role of ritual reification of citizenry and belonging in traditional museum spaces, Nishime argues:

> Codified relationships between the displays and the viewer are turned upside down when an Asian American patron replaces the default Anglo American. Common sense conceptions about who represents and is represented by the exhibits of national culture are called into question when Asian American museums manipulate conventional museum practices to authorize and legitimize their own versions of a national identity. (46)

Through Nishime's analysis, it becomes clear that the JANM (and, by extension, other Asian American museums) drew upon memorial strategies that evolved parallel to mainstream

conventions. Once again, remembering the Asian American experience in general, and Japanese American Incarceration more specifically, requires that the rhetor—in this case, a museum designer—be familiar with mainstream means and techniques. However, they must also be willing to upend them as necessary to represent fully the complexity and hybridity of the Asian American experience. Nishime demonstrates this pattern of replication and deviation by comparing the JANM's coverage of incarceration and the 442nd to the Smithsonian's. While both exhibits function similarly, the JANM's trajectory through time and space is interrupted by the opportunity to collaborate in the construction of databases on the accomplishments and life paths of members of the 442nd. For Nishime, this interruption of the visitor's journey draws attention to the incompletion of the visit and results in the museum relinquishing "some of its authority" (52).

Based on the popular and scholarly significance of the USHMM, the museum-going public has grown accustomed to immersing itself in multisensory spectacle. At the same time, however, as a result of the "advent of digital networked technologies" and a culture of collaborative commemorating, virtual, web-based (web)sites of memory are becoming increasingly common (Ashuri 441). Timothy Recuber offers a good overview of this evolving phenomenon in his article "The Prosumption of Commemoration: Disasters, Digital Memory Banks, and Online Collective Memory." Through his examination of the September 11 Digital Archive and the Hurricane Memory Bank, Recuber argues that "the Internet is changing the way that society stores information and relates to the past" (532). These sites and similar ones allow users to upload content to the site; users are simultaneously authors and consumers of the digital ephemera. According to Recuber, "the messages and stories left at these sites frequently feature claims about emotions, trauma, and healing—in short, they reflect a therapeutic ideal in which

restoration of one's mental health after a tragic or difficult event is of paramount importance" (533). These kinds of therapeutic memory banks allow users to augment the multisensory experiences provided by brick and mortar museums with hard-hitting doses of grief administered by digitized artifacts. In her article "(Web)sites of Memory and the Rise of Moral Mnemonic Agents," Tamar Ashuri goes beyond the therapeutic functions of online memory banks and, instead, focuses on how "Devices that allow individuals to store and disseminate personal histories using accessible and shareable online networks" have begun to challenge "the exclusive role of professional mnemonic agents" (444). In other words, online memorials have democratized the codification of public memory, a shift that operates as a powerful corrective to formal memorial practices that reify dominant narratives at the expense of "cultural pluralism, social fragmentation, [and] political dissonance" (Hasain 69). Memory institutions have gone digital.

While, in general, the democratization wrought by the principles and practices of Web 2.0 is a good thing, when traumatic memories are involved, there is a risk of users coopting memories of traumatic experiences that they did not directly experience. *Prosthetic Memory* is Landberg's term for the new form of memory that results from interactive and technologically mediated or enhanced mnemonic experiences. It "emerges at the interface between a person and a historical narrative about the past, at an experiential site such as a movie theater or a museum,' where "an experience occurs through which the person sutures him or herself into a larger history" (n.p.). Through this "suturing," "the person does not simply apprehend a historical narrative but takes on a more personal, deeply felt memory of a past event through which he or she did not live" (n.p.). Because Landberg is interested not just in the moment in which the suturing of a prosthetic memory occurs but also in the memory's ability to shape "subjectivity

and politics," her framework makes a crucial connection between the affective and the effective or, in other words, thought and action. According to Landberg, prosthetic memory's potential to catalyze political action causes it to operate as a crucial bridge between events of the past and concerns of the present. Although he doesn't explicitly invoke Landberg's terminology, Bernard-Donals' work on "forgetful memory" speaks to the potential risks that arise from an excess of prosthetic memories. When audiences engage with memory spaces, they run the risk of unproductively conflating disasters and tragedies. For example, "the Holocaust becomes 9/11, and the atrocities simply stand in for one another" (Bernard-Donals 74). This standing in thwarts rather than catalyzes political action. If a person is overrun by prostheses, borne by the experience of multimodal witnessing, then the memories bleed into one another and overlap, thus affecting the integrity of individual memories. However, rather than seeing this slippage of memory as an absolute negative, Bernard-Donals suggests that "forgetful memory, in which aspects of events seen but not remembered insinuate themselves into individual and cultural memories" might operate as a way for memories to intervene in the future. This potential intervention takes the form of "moments of disastrous forgetful memory that act as memory's no place and produce moments of seeing that are structurally similar to, but do not replicate, the original eyewitness's act of seeing" (6). Thus, the consideration of "forgetful memory," accommodates the metaphor of the prosthesis while still accounting for the risk of audiences coopting others' traumatic memories. As memory institutions become increasingly more hybridized and digitized, then the public at large will have greater and more frequent access to the tools and experiences necessary for the suturing of prosthetic memories onto their own experiences, and we must continue to be mindful of tempering this illusion of experience.

The Densho Legacy Project

In its current incarnation, the website for Densho: The Japanese American Legacy Project is comprised of a combination of educational materials—sections on the causes of incarceration, an encyclopedia, and extensive free lesson plans—and a large, highly searchable digital archive of over 12,000 historical images, documents, and newspapers as well as 1,600 hours of videotaped oral history interviews (Densho). While it is not uncommon for archives to digitize portions of their collections and make them available online, Densho's digital archive is particularly comprehensive, especially given the Project's status as a nonprofit organization. Moreover, the archive was digitized even before technology was able to accommodate web-based access. As early as 2001, visitors to the Wing Luke Asian Museum in Seattle were able to browse the archive via a computer terminal installed in the museum's lobby. According to the Densho mission, the organization uses "digital technology to educate, preserve, and make accessible primary source materials on the World War II incarceration of Japanese Americans […] as a means of exploring democracy, intolerance, wartime hysteria and the responsibilities of citizenship in our increasingly global society" (Densho). Interestingly, Densho includes digital technology in its mission statement, which otherwise exemplifies a typical memorial site seeking to establish a strong relationship between historical occurrences and the present moment.

Given the strong historical link between archival materials and the success of the Japanese American reparation movement, it makes sense that the Densho archive would emphasize the practical and connotative connections between digitization and accessibility. "'No Longer a Silent Victim of History': Repurposing the Documents of Japanese American Internment" begins by telling the story of Aiko Herzig-Yoshinaga, the Japanese American archival researcher who famously located the tenth copy of the Final Report, "which provided

concrete proof that the army had seen no 'military necessity' to deprive 120,000 Americans of their rights," and paved the way for reparations and official apologies (Densho). As Emiko Hastings argues:

> This episode in Japanese American history illustrates the power of archival records to document injustice and promote social change. The very documents that were originally used to control the Japanese American population became the documents that enabled recognition of injustice and led to the conclusion of the redress movement. (26)

As this overview makes clear, despite the government's concerted efforts to maintain records that supported the narrative of the military necessity for incarceration, the sheer volume of the bureaucracy was such that critical admissions were inadvertently made and retained. As a result, generations of Japanese Americans were vindicated from accusations of espionage and sabotage, and part of the financial hardship imposed by forced relocation was alleviated. Alongside these symbolic and financial victories, archives, and the memories they contain, garnered a unique status within the Japanese American community. Thus, it makes sense that a legacy organization such as Densho would take accessibility so seriously and be on the cutting edge of utilizing digital technology to sort, catalogue, and circulate primary source documents.

It is important to note, however, that despite its implicit commitment to accessibility and transparency, the Densho archive, like all archives, is not neutral. Within the field of archival science, scholars are increasingly addressing the relationship between archives and collective memory. As Trond Jacobsen, Ricardo L. Punzalan, and Margaret L. Hedstrom note in their 2013 survey "Invoking 'Collective Memory': Mapping the Emergence of a Concept in Archival Sciences," "standard archival functions like selection, organization, and preservation can directly influence social memory" (221). As is always the case with the selection and combination of materials, archives function rhetorically; in other words, they seek to persuade.

The trends in archival scholarship on collective memory identified by Jacobsen, Punzalan, and Hedstrom mirror the general tensions between memory and countermemory seen throughout memory studies. One strand of scholarship focuses on archives that function as "heritage organizations"; serve as the "symbolic foundation for collective memory"; and "enable feelings of common past" that feed "into a collective identity" (219). However, like dominant versions of memory, this kind of archive is resistant to the pluralistic forces of multiculturalism, social fragmentation, and political dissonance. Instead, the contents of these archives coalesce to create a false sense of homogeneity and allow for identification with an imagined, idealized past. Conversely, an additional strand of archival scholarship is concerned with "the relationship among archives, memory, and social power" and "the ethical position of archives as social institutions and the role of archives in public remembrance and commemoration" (220). More focused, and perhaps more overtly rhetorical than heritage archives, these archives deliberately collect materials that challenge dominant narratives and ephemerally represent oppressed peoples.

However, even if these types of archives are addressed by separate threads within archival scholarship, in practice, as the Densho archive demonstrates, types of archival remembering are not mutually exclusive. In her article on archives and the redress movement, Hastings offers an anecdotal illustration of how the archives of Japanese American incarceration simultaneously maintain cultural heritage and as advocate for countermemories. Although she wasn't using the Densho archive specifically, Hastings' description demonstrates the kind of dual memory work it is capable of performing:

> To my surprise, the search returned a photograph from the Poston internment camp. Looking at the digitized photograph, I immediately recognized my grandmother in a group of legal staff members. Her slightly mischievous smile was exactly the same, and she looked so much like my aunt that the family

> resemblance was unmistakable. Finding this photograph in an online archival collection was a revelation to me. (26)

For Hastings, the revelation she speaks of not only allowed her to learn more about her family's participation in incarceration, but also allowed her to realize both the personal and political potential of archival records. She credits archives with giving documents a "second life," through which "they may be used as evidence to reevaluate the historical processes they document, leading to new understandings," or, in other words, new ways of remembering complex events (37).

Visiting Densho

Since September of 2000, when the homepage for www.densho.org was first saved by The Wayback Machine, a website self-tasked with serving as the "Internet Archive," there have been three major incarnations of the site's design. The earliest available version of the site features a black background with a series of color screen captures of participants being interviewed for the project's oral history project arranged in descending rows. Most of the text is white, but the three main menu buttons, "The Project," "The Archive," and "For Teachers" are partially framed by thin colorful lines. The organization's mission—"Preserving the past, Informing the future"—occupies the center of the screen. The homepage design and, particularly, the inclusion of video stills in lieu of formal photographs suggest that, at least by 2000, Densho's emphasis was on living memory; the organization was still in the process of collecting the stories of formerly incarcerated individuals. The progressively shortening lines of photographs simultaneously leave room for website viewers to insert their own memories into the narrative and create a sense of urgency—the stories must be collected before they are gone.

Between November of 2001 and May of 2002, the site underwent a major aesthetic and functional overhaul. The black background and gridded color images gave way to a pale green

background and menu bar made up of thumbnail copies of historic images. It is clear that photographic editing software has been used to lighten the pictures, since they appear faded. Upon resting one's mouse over an image, however, a uniquely colored border appears over that image and the picture itself is then tinted the same color as its border. The site's emphasis had shifted from the living memory characterized by the home page's previous design to a mission of illuminating the past. This visual argument was reinforced between August and September, when the text of the welcome message was revised to read:

> Densho's urgent mission is to preserve the personal testimonies of Japanese Americans who were unjustly incarcerated during World War II, before their memories are extinguished. These irreplaceable firsthand accounts, coupled with historical images and information, are provided on this website to explore principles of democracy and to promote tolerance and equal justice for all. (Densho via Wayback, September 2002).

At this moment, the Densho homepage made an explicit link between testimonial and visual memories. The new welcome statement attached sense of urgency to the testimonial memory. By 2002, the Issei generation was more or less gone and many of the Nisei were well into old age. By fusing them with the visual (images, documents, and ephemera), the Densho project sought to protect and reanimate these rapidly fading memories.

Densho's conscious effort to preserve and revitalize lived memories becomes more legible in light of Jan Assman's discussion of communicative memories. As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, communicative memories are "those varieties of collective memories that are based exclusively on everyday communication" and that have a limited lifespan of eighty to one hundred years (126-127). Traditionally, communicative memories are not fixed and thus Densho's quest to save first-hand accounts from rapidly extinguishing memories was part of the organization's effort to preserve communicative memory. However, as Assman notes, "The communicative memory offers no fixed point which would bind it to the

ever expanding past or in the passing of time. Such fixity can only be achieved through a cultural formation and therefore lies outside of informal everyday institutions" (127). Through videotaped oral history interviews, Densho became the "cultural formation" that was capable of preserving communicative memories beyond the lifespan of their original witnesses. In his analysis of Assman's typology, which includes as part of a methodological critique of collective memory studies, Wulf Kansteiner suggests,

> Small groups whose members have directly experienced such traumatic events (veterans' or survivors' groups) only have a chance to shape the national memory if they command the means to express their visions, and if their vision meets with compatible social or political objectives and inclinations among other important social groups, for instance, political elites or parties. Past events can only be recalled in a collective setting 'if they fit within a framework of contemporary interests.' (187-188).

Densho's digital archive, which became publically accessible via the Internet at around the time of the design overhaul, provided survivors with literal and figurative means to express their visions. The videotaped interviews allowed survivors to record their memories and preserve them for communication to future generations; and, taken in tandem with the spoken videos, the archived images became the expression of what the interview subjects saw. In the context of the Densho archive, photographs become visual incarnations of communicative/communicated memories.

Although the Wayback Machine lacks the capacity to reproduce a website's original functionality—the link to the archive is broken—by combining an early (2001) description of how to use the Image Library with my own experience as a long-time user of the online archive's search engine (I became a regular user of the site in 2005), it is possible to draw some fairly concrete conclusions about how search functions would have allowed the reanimation of

communicated memories. According to the previously mentioned instructions for using the Image Library:

> In the Image Library, a user can view scenes from Japanese American history. One can browse through more than 1,500 historical photographs and documents by subject or by name of the collection from which the image came. Captions and background information provide historical context. With the search program, a user can find images relating to a particular subject, time period, or person. ("Archive," *Wayback Machine*, February 23, 2002)

A visitor to the archive can extrapolate a person, a place, or a theme, from a videotaped oral history interview and then enter that term into the search engine and immediately be granted access to photographs, documents, and other oral histories that reference the same person, place, or theme. For example, in a segment of her oral history interview conducted on September 18, 1998, Shigeko Sese Uno mentions the omnipresent dust and mud at Minidoka in Idaho. Upon entering the term "dust" into the search field, the interested user can then access additional interviews that reference dust at various centers, photographs of dust storms and of residents coping with dust, reports on dust, and even a 1943 student essay commenting on the phenomenon. The richness of Densho's search function allows users to engage in a self-guided inquiry that provides multiple perspectives on specific camp themes and tropes.

The ease with which users of Densho and other digital archives can perform this kind of associative memory work has important implications for memory scholarship. Spatial metaphors such as memory palaces and storehouses have long played a foundational role in memory discourse. While these memory sites originated as internal to the rememberer, digitization has expedited the process by which memories are stored outside of the human mind. Unlike brick and mortar archives, which operate as external storehouses of memorial ephemera and are geographically dispersed, digital archives are interconnected. The ease of access resulting from this interconnectivity means that users can easily access vast amounts of information, far more

than can be retained by human memory. The digital rememberer must memorize routes of access as opposed to passels of specific information. The journey *through* the memory palace is transformed; we must now be concerned with the journey *to* the memory palace.

But digital memory goes beyond remembering routes of access. Rather, it is necessary to consider also the role that databases play in guiding users along these routes and in collaborating in the act of associative memory making. In his article "The Past Next Door: Neighbourly Relations with Digital Memory Objects," Ori Schwarz uses the metaphor of "neighbourly relations" to explain the impacts that algorithms have on selecting and combining digital memory objects in response to user-generated search terms. For Schwarz, "the intentional search for information converges with a different kind of encounter, in which algorithms introduce the user with various other information pieces that would usually not be linked with the desired data by association in her internal memory" (15). Archival databases generate combinations of objects and artifacts that are both expected and unexpected responses to users' searches, and this combination of intentional and unintentional retrieval operates as a new kind of memory work, one with diffused mnemonic agents.

However, despite the essential transformation in the methodology of remembering facilitated by the digital archive and the self/database-guided nature of digital archival memory work, I don't want to suggest that digital archives such as Densho have surrendered their rhetorical agency to the forces of agentive, associate remembering. As Jacobsen, Punzalan, and Hedstrom make clear in their work on collective memory in archival science, archives are not neutral. Just as their users select and combine information while engaged in the act of remembering, so do the archival curators. The collection and cataloguing of documents and artifacts supports individual archives' missions and articulates a rhetorical stance on what is

being remembered. Digital archives make visual arguments that support their institutional stances.

Regarding the Densho archive, part of making this visual argument involves providing the user with a wealth of information and imagery pertaining to the topic of incarceration. The essential nature of the digital archive is such that the visitor's interaction with artifacts is mediated by the screen. Where users are provided with detailed information about the provenance of objects and have access to the tools necessary to contextualize and make sense of the remembering that they are being enabled to do, the act of remembering is a largely cognitive process. Images and artifacts may trigger imaginings of incarceration, but the remembering is ultimately done through the provision of information, not experience. As a memory institution, Densho not only houses the documents of incarceration, it reproduces and disseminates them through digitization.

Manzanar National Historic Site

Whereas the Densho Digital Archive operates as a productive site for what I call cognitive remembering—the visitor is provided with information and archival documents that inform them about incarceration—the Manzanar National Historic Site allows the visitor to engage in experiential remembering. Although the exhibits within the interpretive center draw upon a variety of strategies in order to inform visitors of the history of incarceration, the bulk of the site's memorial force comes from the loosely structured tour of the minimally restored center remains. The purpose of this section is not to set up cognitive and experiential remembering in opposition to one another or to suggest that they are mutually exclusive. Rather, in order to take a deeper look at what it means to engage in visual remembering, I would like to contrast the

information-rich digital environment provided by the Densho Digital Archive with the Manzanar site in order to consider alternative strategies of deep remembering.

The Manzanar National Historic Site is comprised of 814 acres of partially excavated land that originally comprised the camp, and includes an 8,000 square foot visitor's center housed in the former gymnasium. Upon entering the renovated gymnasium through a bookstore and souvenir shop, visitors are encouraged to begin their tour by viewing the 22-minute documentary *Remembering Manzanar*, which "through the use of historic footage and photographs […] gives viewers a sense of the place and its past, and a glimpse into a time when American citizens where exiled because of their ancestry" ("Remembering Manzanar"). The interpretive center's reliance on the documentary film to provide visitors with "a sense of the place," when it is located in the actual place where the remembered events occurred, is indicative of the extent to which museum-memorial hybrids have developed and rely upon a set of generic conventions to spark remembering and reflection.[11] The viewing of the documentary represents exactly the kind of mass-mediated remembering that Landberg argues leads to the formation of prosthetic memories. Unlike the Densho Digital Archive, where visitor movement through images is largely self-guided, through the selection and combination of particular images, *Remembering Manzanar* dictates a particular memorial narrative. Thus, visitors to the Manzanar museum undergo an indoctrination of sorts as the film equips them with prefabricated prosthetic memories that will operate as interpretive lenses while they navigate the museum and the rest of the site. Although the Manzanar Museum does not move visitors through the exhibit according to a pre-determined path, as the USHMM does, the documentary establishes a kind of cognitive path, one focused on applauding Japanese Americans for operating according to the ideals of

[11] Undoubtedly, the 9/11 Memorial/Museum shifts from these generic conventions and constitutes therefore another project.

Americanism even when the country itself had failed to live up to its own standards. However, once this cognitive path is laid out, the rest of the exhibit space lacks a clear or linear path. As Nishime suggests, "The museum 'speaks' not just through objects or placards but also through its organization of space. The physical space through which the subject moves guides and informs the progression of the exhibit's narrative" (48). Whereas the lack of a formal path is jarring for the visitor, it is a necessary move for remembering and memorializing incarceration in the place where it occurred—to dictate a path through the interpretive center would reenact the many paths that incarcerated Japanese Americans were forced to follow.

In her analysis of the USHMM, Landberg uses the term "experiential museum" to explain a "larger trend in American mass culture toward the experiential as a mode of knowledge" (n.p.). According to this trend, museum design favors the cultivation of memories through affective, synthetic experiences as opposed to the kind of information heavy, detailed cognitive remembering accomplished by entities like the Densho Digital Archive. When the experiential museum is situated where the events that it remembers occurred, the task of experiential remembering is divided between the manufactured and the real. Bernard J. Armada begins to explore the tension between manufactured and real experience in his analysis of The National Civil Rights Museum, located in the old Lorraine Motel, where Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated. Referring to the objects that have been placed in the museum—the experiential memory that has been constructed—Armada suggests, "the meaning of any artifact is unavoidably altered once it is removed from its original context and placed within the institutionalized world of the museum. In most cases, even the most ordinary objects are symbolically reified, placed beyond our reach, and rendered untouchable" (236). The sacralization of ordinary objects is a staple of the Manzanar museum. For example, a case

labeled “Cemetery Offerings” holds a collection of offerings left in the Manzanar cemetery by post-2001 visitors. In this case, objects such as a plastic Elvis figurine, a teddy bear, a gold pocket watch, and long, colorful chains of paper cranes have been transformed from profane to sacred. Detritus in any other context, here these artifacts become visual representations not only of people who came to remember, but of the relationship between the present and the past. The modernity of the objects, which stands out in a space dominated by 1940s-era objects, tells visitors, potential tourists of history, that the wounds inflicted by incarceration are still active; as opposed to the Memorial to Japanese American Patriotism, which abstractly argues that something like incarceration will not happen again, even as similar events continue to occur, the objects in the “Cemetery Offering” case argue that incarceration did happen and that it inflicted trans-generational pain.

This transgenerational pain is well-expressed through the inclusion of a handwritten note with a photograph of a high-school aged couple’s prom photo affixed to the corner with duct tape. The note, written by Evan to his grandfather, whom he’d never met, reads, “It is here in Manzanar that I realize how different your life is from mine and how truly blessed I am. Thank you for your sacrifices and for giving me the life I appriciate [sic] so much more.” For Evan, visiting Manzanar helped establish a concrete link between him and his grandfather, and by seeing the place where his grandfather was incarcerated, he was better able to appreciate his own freedoms and privileges. Evan’s experience seems to echo that of Hastings when she encountered a photograph of her grandmother in an online archive. However, in this case, rather than viewing a photograph, Evan offers an image to his grandfather’s memory. The inclusion of his own photograph seems to represent Evan’s attempts at reciprocating this link. His wish that “heaven hold as much good for you as it has already given me” suggests that Evan likely

believes not only in an afterlife, but also in the photograph's ability to establish some kind of a connection with his grandfather and, by extension, the memories encapsulated by Manzanar.

The impulse to leave objects at memorials or shrines is certainly not exclusive of visitors to the Manzanar Cemetery. The propensity for leaving objects and artifacts in places of public memory has perhaps been most consistently observed at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., where, as of 2012, visitors had left more than 400,000 objects (Manteuffel). Duery Felton, the NPS curator responsible for archiving the thousands of objects left at the base of the Vietnam Veteran's Museum, suggests that people leave things at the memorial for four reasons: "To apologize, to commemorate, to eulogize and to communicate" (Manteuffel). Felton's four-part explanation is indicative of the dynamic and ongoing relationship between the present and the past that memorials and museums facilitate. Putting the deposit of mnemonic objects in conversation with memory scholarship, Marita Sturken suggests that "they are messages for the dead that are intended to be shared as cultural memory" (135). Although it is not possible draw concrete conclusions about the intentions of the mostly anonymous individuals who deposit objects at the base of the memorial, Felton also notes that, as people became aware of the fact that the NPS was collecting objects, it became very common for objects to be wrapped in plastic or mylar.

As would be the case at Manzanar, preserving memorial offerings has resulted in a series of museum displays, most notably "Personal Legacy; The Healing of a Nation," which was in place at The National Museum of American History from 1992 to 2003. In his 1995 review of this exhibit, Patrick Hagopian offers an excellent description of the layout, through which he also manages to convey its tone:

> At the center of the gallery, two large photographs make up a life-sized replica of two of the granite panels of the memorial […] A long vitrine lines the gallery's

> fifty-four foot wall. The memorial artifacts are displayed continuously along its length, from near ground level to above head-height, ensuring a powerful collective visual impact. The glass case is slightly recessed at its center, creating a focal point, and it extends symmetrically to the right and left, coming forward at its extremities so that the planar design echoes the chevron shape of the memorial itself. (159)

Although it would be difficult to determine a direct, genealogical relationship between the "Personal Legacies," and "Cemetery Offerings," based on Hagopian's description, it is possible to identify shared characteristics. Beyond the fact that both exhibits have "symbolically reified" artifacts found at their respective memorial sites, the "Cemetery Objects" exhibit resembles "Personal Legacies" in that it connects the real with the reproduced through the inclusion of large scale photographic imagery and the structuring of the display case to mimic the shape of the monument. As Hagopian notes, the "Personal Legacies" exhibit drew visitors in via life-size photographs of panels. Real objects were placed in front of the replica panels, a juxtaposition that made a powerful connection between the real and the reproduced and commented on the charged nature of the objects that were enshrined behind glass. While the "Cemetery Objects" case does not integrate large scale, life-sized photography in the same way, its backing comprises a large color photograph of the shrine and cemetery. In contrast to the dimly lit exhibit hall, the photograph appears ultra-bright and hyper real. Furthermore, just as the design of the glass cases in the "Personal Legacies" exhibit echoed the "chevron shape of the memorial itself," glass shelves of artifacts are staggered throughout the "Cemetery Objects" case in a manner that echoes the tiered podium the obelisk stands on.

The "Cemetery Objects" exhibit's mimesis of the actual memorial differs from "Personal Legacies" insomuch as the real cemetery and monument are located on the same site as the museum. Visitors to Manzanar travel through several levels of representation—beginning with the documentary film and moving through the exhibit hall, which includes a variety of real and

reproduced objects—before emerging from the museum onto the rest of the Manzanar site. Save for reconstructed barracks and a mess hall, as well as a set of bases on the old baseball diamond, the rest of the camp has only been partially excavated and retains a raw, unrestored, and very real atmosphere. Signs posted throughout the site indicate block numbers or locations of former structures and remind visitors that they are not allowed to take anything away from the remains. But visitors are not prevented from shuffling through the debris and handling the litter—bits of barbed wire, flattened tin cans, bullet casings, and broken glass—scattered across the dusty paths and piles of tumbleweeds. Though the original buildings were removed from the site decades ago, many of their footprints remain. Patches of concrete with the stubs of drain pipes denote the places where the latrines were, and the remnants of old landscaping still demarcate the circular driveway of the camp's administrative area. Though the water has long dried up, the concrete pools dug for Merritt Park, a 1.5 acre sanctuary constructed by residents, have been dug out and made accessible to visitors. A strategically placed bench blends in with the site and fosters contemplation and imagination.

Visitors who follow the NPS's prescribed route through the site pass by the reconstructed barracks and mess hall, the baseball field, Merritt Park, and the hospital site before reaching the cemetery and monument, which are just on the outside of the reconstructed security fence. Because there are so few remaining structures on site, the monument can be seen from afar. The distance between the cemetery and the frontage road that accesses the park makes it so that the only sounds that can be heard are those organic to the area: wind and the rustling of desert bush. As Amada has suggested, incorporating the real, as opposed to the recreated, into tourist pilgrimage sites allows for a kind of identification different from recreated experiences.

Referring to the placement of the National Civil Rights Museum into the location where King was assassinated, Amada explores the moment of visitor identification:

> […] we are once again called back to April of 1968, but this time we are invited to view things from King's perspective. We can, for a moment, *be* King—we can look out past the balcony and imagine that what we are seeing is what King last saw. To be placed in his shoes at the very location where he drew his final breath allows us to identify with King in a way that we might not have otherwise. As the climactic moment of the museum experience, this identification rounds out the museum's positioning of visitors as members of a community of civil rights sympathizers. (240)

Visitors to the Manzanar cemetery are also able to participate in acts of identification that emerge from being there. However, due to the fact that they have already experienced a reproduction of the cemetery and its related artifacts, their identification is multifaceted. On one hand, like the visitors to the Civil Rights Museum, they are momentarily able to exist as incarcerated Japanese Americans; to cross the security fence and see the monument, the "soul consoling tower," and kneel at the grave of Baby Jerry Ogata. On the other hand, the presence of contemporary objects—loose change, chains of origami swans, small toys—interrupt the moment of identification with the incarcerated Japanese Americans, reminding the visitor instead of the representations that they had already viewed. The real and the recreated blur and are superimposed over one another; the moment of identification with incarcerated Japanese Americans is interrupted. This identificatory rupture is productive though. By breaking their identification with incarcerated Japanese Americans, visitors are then left to contemplate their own complicity, not just with regards to incarceration but with more contemporary acts of repression and injustice. They engage, in Bernard-Donals' words, in a moment of "forgetful memory [...] a flash of seeing, in which the witness is not quite sure he has seen, but understands its connection to his temporal and spatial present" (76). This moment of interrupted identification also allows for insight into the force of experiential remembering. As Landberg

argues, just as the prosthetic memories produced through this process "blur the boundary between individual and collective memory, they also complicate the distinction between memory and history" (n.p.). The process of remembering historic events by a contemporary audience always runs the risk of the events being co-opted or recontextualized in ways that do not properly honor or respect the intended legacies of the originally affected individuals. Cognitive remembering, I would argue, has the potential to be cold or unfeeling, while experiential remembering might be rich in feeling and lacking in concrete information. As Landberg's metaphor of the prosthetic makes clear, the act of remembering involves taking a kind of ownership over experiences that are not your own, and, hopefully, and perhaps too optimistically, the combination of cognitive and experiential memories will lead the present generation to be good stewards of others' legacies.

Additionally, Landberg's emphasis on the corporeality of memories is interesting insomuch as it gets at how the body is affected by the intensity of experiential remembering. It also leads me to speculate on how the inverse of this might be true as well. If memories function symptomatically, that is to say, if they operate as something that can be felt, then audiences can also build up a tolerance to experiential memories and a resistance to engaging in affective prosthetic remembering. I want to return briefly to the caveat that Yelp reviewer Matthew J. attached to his review of the Memorial to Japanese American Patriotism as the most powerful memorial in Washington D.C.: "I never made it to the Vietnam memorial, granted." Though Matthew J. hadn't visited the Veteran's Memorial, his caveat demonstrates an awareness of the powerful memory work achieved by the site and a sense that his experience of the Japanese American Memorial was strong as a result of monuments that he did *not* visit. Because prosthetic memories are perpetuated through immersive, multisensory experiences, tourists of memory

develop tolerances against being affected enough by the elements of transferential spaces. Though I don't want to speculate too much on what Matthew J. didn't do or feel, the language in his review suggests that he believed a visit to The Vietnam Veterans' Memorial would have produced a mnemonic experience that would inured him against the Japanese American monument's memorial force.

As a result of these developments, contemporary memory institutions, whether virtual, brick and mortar, or a hybrid of the two, have a lot of expectations to contend with. Visitors have become accustomed to immersive, interactive experiences and raw, emotionally evocative primary source materials. For sites such as those affiliated with Japanese American incarceration that pertain to with emotionally nuanced memories, the task of honoring lived experience while providing powerful, multisensory memories is extremely challenging. Returning to Campos' argument regarding the slippage between pilgrimage and tourism, how do memory sites offer an effective mnemonic experience that doesn't render history as spectacle? Although *Densho: The Japanese American Legacy* website and the Manzanar site are quite different, they are bound together by the fact that they have both successfully created rhetorically and mnemonically effective user-experiences that hold their own in the cluttered memorial landscape and provide their visitors with affective interactive experiences that make complex and powerful arguments about incarceration.

Conclusion: Memorial Gambatte

Photographer Kevin J Miyazaki's ongoing photographic series, *Camp Home*, is an archeological expedition of sorts. Spending time in the areas surrounding the former Tule Lake and Heart Mountain incarceration centers, where members of his father's family were held during World War II, he seeks out and photographs the remains of camp architecture that were sold and dispersed after the war. The images that he produces not only serve as placeholders for incarnation-era gaps in his own family albums, but also represent the families who settled in the areas after incarceration and built lives with the physical remnants of injustice. As Miyazaki explains in his Artist's Statement for the project:

> The act of searching for the buildings and approaching their owners is important to my process. I'm seeking a family history – both my own and that of the current building owners – and time is often spent sharing our own uniquely American stories. Family histories intersect and are connected by the history of these buildings, and by the lives lived within their walls. (Miyazaki)

Despite the clarity of Miyazaki's articulation, however, the photographs he takes are almost frustratingly opaque. For example, one photograph is of a collapsing set of shelves that hang on the wall of what appears to be an old barrack building. The shelves, which tilt sharply to the right, are filled with corroded metal parts; the shade of their rust and dust nearly, but not quite, matches the color of the wooden shelves and wall.With no caption and little context beyond the artist's statement, the provenance of these cogs and wheels are unknown. Were they in the camps? Should their ephemeral status be upgraded to sacred by virtue of being historical? Or do

they belong to the family who purchased the old barracks and thus do not matter as much as camp machine parts would?

The answers to these questions are not as important as what they reveal about incarceration's status as a parallel occurrence. Miyazaki's photographs illustrate the ways that memories of incarceration, as represented by architectural objects, have been continually repurposed by American memory. While the traumas that resulted in Marianne Hirsch's "postmemory" left gaping wounds in collective memory and raised powerful questions about how societies might move on and remember the ultimate evil, as the products of a parallel occurrence, memories of incarceration have continually been rewritten to respond to the needs of particular moments. They are malleable and evolving, revelatory as to how memory might have evolved if the traumas of the 20th century hadn't broken memory. In a sense, it doesn't matter whether the machinery in Miyazaki's photograph belonged to an incarcerated family or to the Caucasian family who purchased the old barracks; the very fact that the question exists is a testament to how remembrances of parallel occurences are peculiarly integrated into post-war memoryscapes. The buildings and objects that Miyazaki photographs are paradoxical: they are charged and neutral, and they represent trauma and everyday life. As a collection, Miyazaki's *Camp Home* represents the grappling with questions and uncertainties that remembering a parallel occurrence invokes.

Miyazaki is one of many descendants of incarcerated Japanese Americans who consciously wield their cameras in order to fill in the gaps and silences left in their familial and cultural histories and to continue the multi-generational contestation over how to visualize and memorialize incarceration. Paul Kitagaki, Jr. is another such photographer. The spark for his ongoing project was ignited in the late 1970s, after an uncle told him that Dorothea Lange

photographed members of his family in 1942. This kernel of information led Kitagaki to the National Archives, where, after reviewing hundreds of Lange's contact sheets, he eventually located several photographs of his family members. In 2005, using a 4X5 camera and black and white Polaroid film, Kitagaki began identifying other individuals in Lange's incarceration photographs and photographing them and/or their descendants in places that invoked the setting of Lange's original images. Through this project, Kitagaki and the individuals who posed for his photographs engaged in acts of memorial visualization that spanned across time and generations. By displaying his new photographs alongside Lange's originals in a variety of settings—train stations, the Internet, and in the California Museum—Kitagaki invites his viewers to contemplate not just the memories that these images transmitted, but also the ways that time, cultural context, and most importantly public memory shape the meaning of images.

An example of this temporal shaping can be seen in Kitagaki's uptake of Lange's iconic image of a group of school children reciting the Pledge of Allegiance[12]. In Lange's photograph, three Japanese American schoolgirls are in the center of the frame with their left hands pressed against their chests. Their faces and bodies are in focus while a crowd of children behind them seems clustered and a little blurred. According to Alinder's reading of the photograph, "Lange positioned the camera lower than the girls, resulting in an image that gives their gesture a heroic stature," but the fact that Lange's caption notes the girls were evacuated two days later adds a "foreboding element to what appears otherwise to be a celebration of unity" (35). For his retaking of this image, Kitagaki tracked down and photographed two of the three girls, Helene Nakamota Mihora and Mary Ann Yahiro, who were both 72 years old by that time. As Kitagaki's extensive captioning explains, the women are posed in front of the doors to the

[12] Mr. Kitagaki's website is set up so that users cannot save his images. In order to balance my analysis, I've withheld all images from this concluding chapter.

elementary school where Lange's original picture was taken. In Kitagaki's version of the image, in which he replicates Lange's camera angle, Mihora and Yahiro have their hands in their pockets but their eyes are still cast upwards. In Lange's photograph, the implication of an American flag hangs above and beyond the camera; in Kitagaki's it is not clear what the women are looking at. The contested nature of incarceration is such that they might still be looking at a flag, but they might also be engaged in the act of remembering the virulence and irony of the racial discrimination in the name of patriotism that they were forced to endure. They might also be remembering triumphs or injustices that occurred during incarceration, taking stock of their lives since then, or thinking about nothing in particular. Like the spaces depicted in Miyazaki's images, the meaning of Kitagaki's image is opaque and the "truth" of thoughts and intentions matters less than the possibility of myriad nuanced readings and scenarios—the flexibility of what the women might be remembering.

Both Miyazaki and Kitagaki take photographs that reinvent the past. By doing so, they are participating in the practice of *rephotography*, which Jason Kalin describes in "Remembering with Rephotography: A Social Practice for the Invention of Memories." While Kalin's focus is on a specific form of rephotography—where vintage images are physically or digitally superimposed over recent ones of the same sites—his observations about rephotography and memory are applicable to the kind of work that Miyazaki and Kitagaki are doing. Specifically, Kalin argues that rephotography "suggests a practice of actively constructing and inhabiting memories and their times and places while also incorporating them into the present as active forces, as taking part in the world" (170). By rephotographing incarceration from a present perspective, photographers like Miyazaki and Kitagaki are reanimating the past and arguing that how we remember incarceration is just as important for the current moment as ensuring that such

injustices are not repeated. However, they are also commenting on the complexity of this task and ameliorating gaps in the collective memory left by censorship, silence, and the shadows of other more regularly remembered atrocities.

As I have argued throughout this dissertation, the codification of public and collective remembering is a rhetorical process, and the transmission of memories from witnessed experiences to the collective understanding involves persuasion and amplification. While my own understanding of this process has emerged from an extended study of the artifacts of incarceration, as well as the contexts that they emerged from, my findings are generalizable to other groups who have been denied access to the available means of persuasion. In the case of Japanese Americans during World War II, they were largely denied access to photographic equipment, which operated as the de rigueur means of the era. Additionally, through explicit strictures and implicit threats, incarcerated Japanese Americans were also constrained from widely circulating materials that were not in keeping with the officially sanctioned narratives of incarceration. As a result, they encountered powerful obstacles with regards to the transmission of memory. In order for memories to progress from the autobiographical or even cultural to public or collective, they must be circulated. When groups are denied access to memorial circulation, censorship becomes a multigenerational plight that must be overcome in order for the so-called histories of dominant regimes to be augmented and pluralized and for the collective memory to reflect the contestation of certain events.

My review of the artifacts of incarceration reveals a number of tactics that were utilized in order to evade the rhetorical constraints imposed during the moment of production and to transmit counter narratives and memories to future, anticipated audiences. As I argued in Chapter 2, even though incarcerees were denied official access to cameras, they still found ways to

harness photography's rhetorical force. By rereading Dorothea Lange and Ansel Adams' photographs in order to speculate about the degree to which subjects of photographs might have also been collaborators, we can begin to see participants in iconic and/or suppressed photographs as agentive performers. Moreover, despite disjunctions between Toyo Miyatake's intentions and the ways that his work has been taken up by subsequent generations, my readings of his photographs offer insight into the ways that photographic subjects might perform differently, or not at all, depending upon their relationship to the photographer's identity markers.

Despite the important role that photography played during the years following the "documentary decade," it was not the only means by which incarcerees were able to document and resist the circumstances of incarceration. In Chapter 3, I explored comics drawn by several members of the Nisei generation in order to develop the idea of tactical acts of rhetorical resistance. Rather than seeing tactics as just a spatial strategy, I also view them as temporal and consider the ways that marginalized rhetors might anticipate what will need to be remembered and develop artifacts that subvert the censors of their moment of production in order to address future audiences. Because art, especially uncirculated art, wasn't subject to the same mechanisms of censorship that photography was, Nisei artists were able to depict the more visceral aspects of incarceration.

Chapter 4, then, is about the endurance of these artifacts of public memory. By comparing two spaces that play central roles in dictating how we currently remember—*The Densho Digital Archive* and the Manzanar National Historic Site—my analysis of cognitive and experiential remembering begins to look at how artifacts of public memory are circulated over seventy years after incarceration and to test my theories regarding invoking and addressing future audiences. Implicitly, this chapter isn't just about how we remember, but what and why

we remember. For parallel occurrences, which exist in a cluttered memorial landscape and amongst the shadows of more dominant traumas, remembering must occur not through commonplaces but through what I call uncommonplaces: riffs, plays, and twists with and on generic memorial strategies that lead the audience to remember through interruption and surprise.

Incarcerated Japanese Americans, as well as other marginalized or subaltern groups, must, by necessity, deal in uncommonplaces. When denied access to the means of persuasion, in this case, commonplace generic memory conventions, these groups must improvise as necessary to interrupt and disrupt the amnesiatic discourse about their situations. These improvisations result in the new and unexpected; they are based on the generic conventions of their moment, but it is their ability to move beyond these conventions that give uncommonplaces their force.

In order to avoid getting lost in abstractions, I'd like to return to photographic collections that opened this concluding chapter. Miyazaki and Kitagaki are both photographers who stretch the conventions of rephotography. In Miyazaki's case, because the camps were dismantled, his method of rephotography focuses less on the original places and more on the original things. Because incarceration left Miyazaki's family without photographs for him to recreate, his project involves seeking out objects that operate as mnemonic placeholders. His photograph of someone else's headboard against a papered-over barrack wall, for example, not only operates as a linkage between the present and the past but also reminds the viewer that because of incarceration, he doesn't have any images of his own family's bed frame. The age of the objects in Miyazaki's *Camp Home* photographs operates as a testimony of time passed; the relics of incarceration have been repurposed for long enough that they have gotten old. The camera reanimates them,

however, gives new life, and reminds us that the generations that succeeded incarceration are seeking to fill the gaps in the collective memory.

Unlike Miyazaki, who focuses on places and objects, Kitagaki's emphasis is on the subjects his photographs. When recreating a historic image by photographing its original subject, Kitagaki produces visual renderings of cultural memory. The tenuous survival of first-hand accounts is visible through his juxtaposition of people with their younger selves. In his recreation of Dorothea Lange's portrait of Henry Akio Itamo, the viewer is drawn into comparing Mr. Itamo at twenty-one and at eighty-five. At first glance, the viewer is struck by the effect that the intervening years have had on his face and body—for the viewer of these photographs, the young man has grown old almost instantaneously. Moreover, where the backdrop in Lange's photograph is comprised of a few books propped on the supports of a barrack wall, Kitagaki positions Dr. Itamo in front of much fuller shelves. The wood frame construction mimics that of the barracks, but where the barrack walls were makeshift and transitory, the modern shelves are well-constructed and permanent. The surplus of books in the modern shot, as opposed to the dearth in Lange's image, become connotative of the freedom of information and of Dr. Itamo's resilience.

Moreover, the fact that Dr. Itamo appears in both photographs highlights his status as a rhetorical actor. By participating in Kitagaki's recreation of the 1942 photographs, the 21st century subjects tacitly acknowledge the performative and collaborative nature of posing for photographs. While the older photographs might pass as documenting organic occurrences, their modern counterparts are clearly staged for rhetorical purposes. The transparency of the rhetorical staging of Kitagaki's specific photographs confirms that the photographs he is working with, both old and new, are artifacts of rhetorical resistance. As Kalin argues, "by layering the old and

the new [rephotography] expresses a style of engagement with the past, a visual style and aesthetic that reorients the time and place of memory. Past and present no longer appear as separate, distinct occurrences; rather past and present appear simultaneously so that […] the then is the now" (172). In other words, to put Kalin's collapsing of the past and the present into the context of memory construction as process, as it has been taken up by photographers like Miyazaki and Kitagaki, rephotography reanimates the transmitters of social memory as necessary to make new and vital contributions to public and ultimately collective memory. This act of reanimation hinges on the image and its ability to preserve and transmit experiences.

As I have argued throughout this dissertation, and as my subsequent analysis of Miyazaki and Kitagaki's work further demonstrates, visual artifacts (conceived broadly as images, drawings, bodies, and spaces) are particularly well-suited to the task of preserving and circulating transmissions of memory. Not only are images memorable in and of themselves—the cliché of 'a picture is worth a thousand words' remains a truism for a reason—they make past occurrences legible for future audiences.

One of the things that I've hoped to make clear throughout this dissertation is that I don't see Japanese American incarceration as a case study for the power of the visual to transmit memory. Rather, the circumstances of incarceration were such that they generated a vast body of visual ephemera that through close examination, allowed for my various insights into the relationship between the visual and the memorial. In a sense, incarceration helped me to see more clearly how pictures have been mobilized to affect countermemory and rewrite collective memory. Though gleaned from events that occurred in the 1940s, these insights can be applied to other events, and the strategies and tactics developed by Japanese Americans during World War II can be seen in acts of resistance from other oppressed individuals.

Although a thorough examination of the conditions and rhetoric surrounding Guantanamo Bay, a contemporary incarceration facility, is well beyond the scope of my project, I'd like to turn briefly to a collection of prisoner artwork that was released to the public in 2011. Before I do so, I should note that as a result of the Obama administration's influence, in recent years, photographers have gained marginal access to the facility and quality-of-life initiatives, like classes and a DVD viewing room (with a shackle attached to the armchair) have been incorporated into the prisoners' lives. The thirty-nine colorful and visually compelling images, produced by prisoners in an art class, offer a stark contrast to the public's imagination of Guantanamo Bay. Like the art of Japanese Americans during World War II, most of the drawings, comprised of still lifes of pears, remembered architecture, and even a picnic of tea and cake, are frustratingly neutral. Some of the images are of shorelines and riverbanks, and it's hard not to read the line dividing water and land as a metaphor for imprisonment, but on the whole, the works seem aesthetic rather than rhetorical. Within the collection though, one image stands out. The artist used neutral tones of gray and brown to render a sparsely furnished room: a bed on one side, a chair on another. The room's two doors are the color of dried blood. The configuration of the chair and bed, as well as the placement of the two doors, mimic Van Gogh's "Bedroom in Arles," but where Van Gogh represented madness with crowded, slanted walls, the anonymous Guantanamo artist represents emptiness and a life stripped bare. As a collection, all of these paintings interrupt the public imagination of Guantanamo's "enemy combatant," and as the facility continues to unravel, these paintings will exist as objects of memory that untidy notions and understandings of terrorists, terrorism, and the mind of the enemy. They will, in other words, do the same kind of delayed memory work that images of incarceration have been doing since the 1940s.

In early 2015, Kitagaki's collection of photographs was displayed at the California Museum in Sacramento, California under the exhibit title, "Gambatte: Legacy of and Enduring Spirit." In an interview conducted for a short film made to publicize the exhibit, Kitagaki explains that *gambatte* is a "Japanese word that means don't give up, do your best." In the spirit of Mira Shimabakuro's mobilization of *gaman* as a rhetorical practice, I'd like to suggest that Kitagaki's uptake of *gambatte* is emblematic of the way that memories of parallel occurrences are circulated and understood. By remembering from the margins, transmitters of these must be persistent and patient. They must possess the rhetorical acuity to interpret the constraints and affordances of their own cultural moment as well as to predict circulation and uptake of artifacts of public memory in future times, spaces, and cultural climates. The latter part of that equation is complex and protracted, which is to say, it's not always possible to accurately predict the rhetorical needs of anticipated audiences. Thus, marginalized rhetors are tasked with producing a range of flexible and varied artifacts. While these artifacts might exist in many modalities, visual artifacts—e.g. photographs, drawings, films, and physical spaces—that can carry layers of meaning are particularly well-suited to this complex rhetorical task.

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