



Project
MUSE[®]

Today's Research. Tomorrow's Inspiration.

Extraordinary Circumstances, Exceptional Practices: Music in Japanese American Concentration Camps

Waseda, Minako.

Journal of Asian American Studies, Volume 8, Number 2, June 2005, pp. 171-209 (Article)

Published by The Johns Hopkins University Press
DOI: [10.1353/jaas.2005.0044](https://doi.org/10.1353/jaas.2005.0044)



 For additional information about this article
<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/jaas/summary/v008/8.2waseda.html>

EXTRAORDINARY CIRCUMSTANCES, EXCEPTIONAL PRACTICES

Music in Japanese American Concentration Camps

minako **waseda**

INTRODUCTION

THE MASS REMOVAL AND INTERNMENT of people of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast, an immediate consequence of the Japanese bombing of the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawai'i on Dec. 7, 1941, had a dire impact on the social, economic, and cultural lives of the internees. The attack on Pearl Harbor engendered increasing public suspicion of, fear of, and hostility toward people of Japanese ancestry in the United States. Responding to calls for the removal of "enemy aliens," President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 in 1942, authorizing the incarceration of a total of more than 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry, two-thirds of whom were American citizens. Many spent the next three years in the camps, deprived of their property, social status, and dignity, which many had worked hard to acquire since immigrating to the United States in the late nineteenth century. The internment thus constituted a major disruption in the socio-economic development and cultural identities of Japanese Americans. The impact of the Japanese American internment has been examined in great detail, as is evidenced by the numerous scholarly studies on the subject and a sizable body of literature written by the internees themselves.¹ However, neither the practice and social function of music in the camps nor the effect that the internment had on Japanese American music practices has been investigated thoroughly. This article will explore such questions as how the internment

experience affected Japanese American musical activities as well as what kinds of musical activities continued in the camps, what ideological and practical mechanisms made them possible, and what role music played for the people involved. Camp newsletters published by the internees and available published literature, supplemented by data collected through personal interviews with ten ex-internees, will provide the resources needed to shed light on this neglected area of Japanese American cultural history.² While the internment had grave and lasting consequences for the lives of the incarcerated Japanese Americans, the bearing it had on music practice in the Japanese American community can be characterized as constructive and even positive.

Our knowledge of the extensive negative impact of the internment on the economic, social, and psychological lives of Japanese Americans might have led us to conjecture that this ordeal also was destructive to Japanese American musical activities, particularly to the traditional Japanese genres, which might have been a source of anti-Japanese hostility during the war. My research, however, reveals that the concentration camps provided Japanese Americans with exceptional opportunities for music-making. Musical activities were promoted in the camps because music was recognized as a social and cultural necessity by both the Japanese American internees and the camp authorities. For the internees, music was an important means for creating hope, cohesion, resistance, and a sense of identity; yet for the camp authorities, the same music was understood to be a mechanism by which resentment could be diffused and morale built. Basically, the authorities saw it as a means of preventing discord. Thus, music thrived in concentration camps, fulfilling multiple functions that were specifically demanded of it by the extreme circumstances.

Existing studies on music in Jewish concentration camps provide a broader perspective on the issue of the functions that music assumes in extraordinary circumstances.³ Those studies reveal that music in Jewish concentration camps took on various roles for both the Nazis and their prisoners. On the one hand, the Nazis established musical organizations among the prisoners both for their own entertainment and for coercing the prisoners to march in step. They also used music as a means of tor-

ture and deception; in some cases they would force prisoners to sing humiliating songs while they worked, and at some camps, specifically Theresienstadt, they tolerated prisoners' voluntary musical activities in order to deceive visiting delegations from the Red Cross into believing that camp life was normal or even enjoyable. On the other hand, prisoners composed satirical works and secretly played compositions by Jews unknown to the Germans as a means of resistance; music-making for the prisoners also became a way of escaping the harsh reality of camp life, of sustaining hope, and of affirming their own humanity. Using such findings as the groundwork for this study, I argue that in times of extreme tension and suffering, music can drastically expand its functions for both positive and negative effect. Music is never autonomous, but is always tightly intertwined with the social matrix, affecting and being affected by it. The history of music in the Japanese American camps further demonstrates that the function of music becomes particularly intense in abnormal and inhumane circumstances, such as the internment of innocent people simply on the basis of race.

MAJOR SOURCES: CAMP NEWSLETTERS

In the United States, a total of ten concentration camps were built for the mass incarceration of people of Japanese descent. They were officially called "relocation centers,"⁴ and were run by the War Relocation Authority (WRA)—a civilian agency formed to administer these camps. All the WRA camps had their own newsletters, which were published by the internees.⁵ These newsletters, as source materials revealing the daily conditions of camp life, have not yet been studied thoroughly.⁶ For this study, I have examined newsletters from five of the ten camps: *Manzanar Free Press* of Manzanar Camp, California, *Tulean Dispatch* of Tule Lake Camp, California, *Gila News Courier* of Gila River Camp, Arizona, *Poston Chronicle* of Poston Camp, Arizona, and *Rohwer Outpost* of Rohwer Camp, Arkansas.⁷ All of these newsletters were first published only in English only but eventually added Japanese-language sections. Although there was some overlap in the articles printed in the English and Japanese sections, the Japanese articles were not necessarily direct translations of their English counterparts. Because different staff members worked for the En-

glish and Japanese sections, with mostly Nisei (second-generation) producing the English articles and Issei (first-generation) and Kibei (the Nisei who had received part of their education in Japan) the Japanese articles, the divide between the two sections was marked not only linguistically but also by the content of the articles themselves, which tended to focus on the specific interests shared by members of each particular group or generation.⁸

Publication of the camp newsletters was encouraged by the WRA as a part of its Japanese American self-governance policy.⁹ Although the camp newsletters were always overseen by the camp administrators,¹⁰ regulation of the articles on the performance arts was generally loose. The newsletters examined included numerous articles announcing and reporting on various performance events in detail, often including the reporters' personal observations and critiques. The only exception to this pattern can be found in the *Manzanar Free Press*, in which the camp administrators restricted the content of the Japanese-language section to the direct translation of such items as official documents and administrative instructions.¹¹ These findings, confirmed by personal interviews, suggest that the majority of camp newsletters largely reflect the ideas and thoughts of the internees, and thus serve as valuable documentary material for historical research.

In addition to the WRA camps, there were also camps run by the Department of Justice and the U.S. Army. These facilities were officially called "internment camps" and were used to imprison "dangerous enemy aliens," which included Germans and Italians.¹² Some of these camps detained mostly Japanese community leaders from Hawai'i. I obtained information about them from interviews and from the published memoirs and diaries of ex-internees.

JAPANESE AMERICAN MUSIC PRACTICES BEFORE WORLD WAR II

Before discussing the practice and function of music in the concentration camps, I first will briefly outline the musical activities of Japanese Americans prior to the war, focusing on the West Coast where the majority of the internees resided. Although most Japanese immigrants had come to America as laborers, they soon began to practice and enjoy various

genres of Japanese performance arts in their leisure time. As early as the late nineteenth century, for example, a *kabuki* group, a teacher of *gidayk* (a genre of narrative music accompanied by *shamisen*, a type of three-stringed lute), and a Japanese classical dance teacher had already established themselves in San Francisco.¹³ With their growing economic and social stability, more Issei began to participate in Japanese performance arts during the 1930s, firmly embedding the musical tradition of their homeland in the Japanese American community. For instance, a *shamisen* and *koto* (a zither-type stringed instrument) instructor in Los Angeles could attract as many as forty students in 1930.¹⁴ By the mid-1930s, there were three groups practicing *yōkyoku* (*nō* theater vocal accompaniment) in Los Angeles, with the total number of students reaching almost one hundred.¹⁵ By 1940, there were at least four major groups of *biwa* (a lute-type stringed instrument) performers in the Los Angeles area, who had attracted more than fifty students in total.¹⁶

With the rise of the Nisei generation, *koto* and Japanese classical dance became extremely popular, especially among Nisei girls, by the late 1930s. In Japan, both genres were (and still are) considered valuable pre-marital assets for young girls, symbolizing their good breeding. Subscribing to this concept, many Issei parents encouraged their daughters to learn *koto* and classical dance. By 1941, there were at least five Nisei teachers of Japanese classical dance in the Los Angeles area who had been trained in Japan and had received teaching licenses (*natori* licenses) and professional names from Japanese masters.¹⁷ Moreover, by this time, four of the seven *koto* teachers in the Los Angeles area were Nisei.¹⁸

While the Issei transmitted traditional Japanese musical culture to the Nisei, they also strove to learn Western musical culture as a means of assimilating and gaining acceptance into mainstream American society.¹⁹ Consequently, the Issei also encouraged their Nisei children to master Western classical music. As part of the acculturation process, Western classical music, particularly piano, violin, and vocal music, became an important part of Nisei musical culture. In 1920, several young Nisei women, who were college students or graduates majoring in music, performed public concerts of Western classical music.²⁰ In 1930, an all-Nisei orchestra was formed with ten members, who received the support of their Issei parents, “for the improvement of their refined musical tastes.”²¹

Throughout the prewar years, *engei-kai*, which can be likened to talent shows, were especially popular community events, where Issei and Nisei performers displayed their talents together through both Japanese and Western performance genres. *Engei-kai* became a significant source of entertainment for Japanese Americans, who could enjoy the shows within the comfort and familiarity of their own ethnic community. As occasions for all-Japanese gatherings, *engei-kai* thus marked a Japanese American ethnic boundary.

By 1940, some genres of Japanese performance art began to decline, in particular *kabuki*, *gidayk*, and *naniwa-bushi* (a genre of narrative *shamisen* music). The chief cause of this change was the rise and availability of new types of entertainment in the 1930s; contemporary Japanese mass culture, including recordings of Japanese popular music (*ryūkōka*), Japanese radio programs, and Japanese movies, had become easily accessible and had begun to replace “old fashioned” live entertainment.

The importation of Japanese records led to an *ondo* (a type of Japanese folk music and dance) boom in the Japanese American community in the mid-1930s. *Ondo* is typically performed during the Buddhist summer festival called *obon*, in which the souls of the deceased are welcomed and consoled.²² This folk tradition entered mass culture in the 1930s with the great popularity of newly composed and commercialized *ondo* songs.²³ *Ondo* equally attracted Issei and Nisei followers, whose musical preferences and activities were increasingly diverging. Thus, *ondo* came to serve as a cultural bridge between the two generations.²⁴

Since this article examines not only the WRA camps built for West Coast Japanese Americans but also the Justice Department and U.S. Army internment camps, which imprisoned Issei community leaders from Hawai'i, I also will briefly describe the pre-war performance art activities practiced among the Issei in Hawai'i. As in California, performance arts had been a significant part of the Japanese immigrants' lives in Hawai'i. Records show that some Japanese laborers brought *shamisen* with them to the Hawaiian islands in the 1880s and performed for King Kalakaua in return for a hula performance, which he proffered as entertainment for the new arrivals.²⁵ Performances of the *bon* dance (a type of folk dance performed during *obon*) also were held among Japanese laborers as early

as the 1880s.²⁶ In the sugarcane fields, Japanese immigrant laborers created a work song called *holehole-bushi* (the *holehole* song),²⁷ which combined a Japanese folksong style with lyrics that described their new living conditions and gave voice to their emotions. The language of the lyrics was basically Japanese, with pidgin English and Hawaiian words mixed in occasionally. Eventually, the Japanese workers began to form amateur drama troupes and groups of *jōruri* (a type of narrative *shamisen* music) performers to provide entertainment for one another.²⁸

With Japanese workers leaving the plantations to establish businesses in town in the 1890s, a new community grew that created the opportunity and demand for new kinds of musical practices. A *geisha* society formed to provide *shamisen* music and dance entertainment at Japanese restaurants and individuals' homes. *Geisha*, in turn, became the teachers of these performance genres, which encouraged their further growth, as well as actresses in Japanese drama performances.²⁹ By the early 1900s, a variety of locally organized Japanese drama troupes had appeared, which included *kabuki*, *shinpa-geki* (a type of Japanese drama strongly influenced by modern European drama), and *naniwa-bushi shibai* (also called *ukare-bushi shibai*, a type of theater accompanied by *naniwa-bushi*). This flurry of theatrical activity established Japanese drama as the foremost variety of entertainment for Issei residents of Hawai'i.³⁰ Beginning in the early 1900s, Japanese artists in various performance arts genres began to visit and perform in Hawai'i, further encouraging and promoting Japanese performance arts within the Japanese immigrant community.

During the 1930s, the Nisei youth, in turn, began to form many amateur bands to perform Japanese popular songs. They played at various community functions and provided entertainment not only for Nisei but also for Issei audiences. Japanese popular songs circulated widely in the Japanese community in Hawai'i through the broadcasting of Japanese-language radio programs and the importation of Japanese records. In many cases, preferences for these programs and records were shared by Nisei and Issei alike.³¹ As in California, *bon* dance in Hawai'i experienced the *ondo* boom of the 1930s. It had the effect of increasing the number of *bon* dance participants as well as expanding the repertoire, which had been confined to a limited number of regional songs brought by the Issei.³²

FROM PEARL HARBOR TO THE INTERNMENT

After the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, anything Japanese, including the practice of performance arts, became taboo among Japanese Americans. In one instance, the police found a prop bayonet used for plays in the home of an amateur play manager, confiscated the weapon, and arrested the manager on charges of “military conspiracy.”³³ A Nisei *koto* teacher, Wakita Kayoko,³⁴ recalls that one evening her father, who was a *shakuhachi* (a vertical bamboo flute) instructor in Orange County, California, tearfully burned all his papers, which included his personal notes on Japanese music, his experiences in America, and the names of teachers he had known in Japan as well as his correspondence with the *koto* master, Miyagi Michio. Although the content of these notes were perfectly innocuous, he was afraid that, if found, they might be confiscated and destroyed or, worse, that he might be jailed.³⁵ Motivated by fear, Japanese Americans thus deliberately erased signs of their connection to Japan.

The mass evacuation of Japanese Americans from the West Coast began in February 1942. Reactions varied to this racially motivated governmental action. Most Issei accepted the reality of American discrimination with the attitude of “*shikata ga nai*” (it cannot be helped, so accept it as it is). Other Issei and many Kibei adopted a pro-Japan stance or, in the more extreme cases, became *kokusui-ha* – ultranationalists. The Kibei, who had received a Japanese education between the years of the Manchurian Incident (1931) and the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War (1937), had been inculcated with militaristic and chauvinistic values and, as a result, were particularly sympathetic toward the pro-Japan, ultra-nationalistic stance.³⁶ Most Nisei (non-Kibei) were neutral or ambivalent; they were loyal Americans but had lost faith in American democracy and equality, which they had been educated to revere as cornerstones and guarantees of the American Constitution.

MUSICAL ACTIVITY IN THE CONTEXT OF CAMP LIFE

Camp life was grim and unpleasant. Built mostly in isolated desert areas, the camps were extremely hot in summer and freezing cold in winter.

Images of whirling winds of dust dominate the memories of camp life for many ex-internees. Foliage was typically limited to hardy bushes, poplars, willows, and the like. Despite this backdrop of the desolate desert landscape, the so-called “relocation centers” operated like “artificial segregation towns” in terms of their scale and social organization.³⁷ Each camp housed an average of about 10,000 internees.³⁸ In the relatively less populated states, the number of occupants in the camps rivaled the populations of the larger towns; for instance, Camp Minidoka constituted Idaho’s third largest town and Topaz Utah’s fifth largest.

At each camp, barbed wire fences enclosed rows of tarpaper barracks used as housing and various facilities for the internees. Guard towers, agricultural lands, a reservoir, an airport, a cemetery, and a sewage treatment plant lay beyond the fenced-in areas.³⁹ The internees’ residential area was divided into blocks, each of which typically consisted of twelve to fourteen apartment units, a mess hall, a recreation hall, laundry facilities, and lavatories. Various “institutional” barracks, which served as the hospitals, schools, churches, libraries, police stations, fire stations, and so forth of the camps, stood between the residential blocks. The task of running these facilities, “except guarding the perimeter and making the top-level decisions,” fell on the shoulders of the inmates.⁴⁰ This policy reflected the general aim of the WRA “to make the Japanese American experience in camps an education in American democracy.”⁴¹ The inmate-workers were official WRA employees and were paid a monthly salary ranging between twelve and twenty dollars, depending on the job-type.

The WRA also encouraged internees to engage in many forms of non-objectionable recreational activities. Lane Ryo Hirabayashi offers the following summary of such activities in the camps:

Just as they had before the war, sports teams of all kinds proliferated, and Japanese and American board games provided many hours of friendly competition. Encouraged by the WRA staff, Japanese Americans established newsletters, offered adult education classes, and organized classes and schools for various crafts like sewing and dressmaking. They also showed movies, organized music and dance performances (which were extremely popular), and set up branches of mainstream society groups such as the Scouts, the Red Cross, the YMCA, and the YWCA. Various arts flourished in the camps, including painting and drawing,

carving, various kinds of writing, including poetry, and even horticulture, gardening, and landscaping.⁴²

The camp administrative bureaus, under the jurisdiction of the WRA, established a Recreation Department and a Music Department in each camp and employed teachers for various recreational and musical activities. They also established recreation halls in each block and even amphitheaters in some camps. This kind of support for the internees' recreational activities was part of the WRA's strategy to regulate their behavior and thought. The following article, entitled "Necessity of Recreation," clearly illustrates the WRA's intent:

The necessity of proper recreation for camp life cannot be stressed too much.

Recreation presents the finest means of building morale. It is the antidote for restless fatigues and the real bottleneck to troubles. Without recreation, ingrowing ennui may lead to complications. Hoodlums are born of idleness, of misdirected energies. It is to corral this unbounded energy that recreation plays such an important part.

Realizing this all-important work, the recreation department is working to increase its various branches of activities. Covering a wide range of activities which should embrace all interests, the department now fosters arts and crafts, victory gardens and horticultural landscaping, music, social activities, Scouting, public address system and all forms of athletics.⁴³

In addition to the WRA's encouragement and support, the unusual circumstances of camp life also created conditions which fostered musical activity. First, due to such a high concentration of Japanese population, instructors in a wide variety of musical types, especially of Japanese genres, became accessible to many for the first time. Second, liberated from the stresses and demands of earning an independent living, the internees had an abundance of free time. Finally, the internees urgently sought out music as a diversion from the grim reality and tensions of camp life. Consequently, many of them began to practice some form of performance art for the first time while in the camps. An ex-Poston internee, S.K. Sakai, reflected on the reasons for this new pursuit's development:

Many Issei had been working very hard as farmers until the war began. The internment was, in a sense, a time of leisure for them, and the Issei

were able to devote time to creative activities in camp. . . . Anything social was very popular in the camps. There were about 10,000 people in one square mile in Poston I,⁴⁴ and there was very little entertainment provided except for a few movies. Most recreational and social activities which alleviated the tedium of camp life for those incarcerated were created by the internees themselves.⁴⁵

Thus, the WRA's strategy of regulating the internees' thought and behavior through musical activities conveniently and successfully coincided with the needs and desires of the internees.

Published literature provides few details about the Justice Department and U.S. Army internment camps. The available data, however, suggest that these camps also were fenced, were under the surveillance of guarded towers, and detained from 300 to 4,000 internees.⁴⁶ At the Santa Fe (New Mexico) and Fort Missoula (Montana) Camps, a self-governance system analogous to that in the WRA camps, which also included recreation and music departments, was adopted.⁴⁷ *Souvenir Pictorial*, published by former Santa Fe internees to preserve pictures taken in the camp, including many photos recording Japanese drama activities, describes the role of such activities in camp life:

During our sojourn to the mainland of the United States, the camp authorities endeavored to brighten our living conditions in the camp and elevate the morale of the internees. In order to accomplish that purpose, sports and entertainments were not only approved but encouraged.⁴⁸

The positive impact of recreational activities, identified by the camp authorities here as in the WRA camps, also was recognized by the internees themselves. One ex-internee involved in *kabuki* productions at Santa Fe recalls, "Before we began the performances, camp life lacked warmth. Some internees suffered nervous breakdowns, others reacted with violent behavior, and even threatened to riot."⁴⁹ Another ex-internee also remembers, "After we began performing, my fellow internees became calmer. As a result, the camp administrator encouraged us to continue. . . . He thanked us and had an amphitheater built for us."⁵⁰ We can confirm from this testimony that the circumstances surrounding performance art activities at Santa Fe, and possibly at other internment camps as well, were quite similar to those of the WRA camps. The performance arts thrived in both

facilities because both the internees and the camp authorities clearly recognized the positive function of performance arts in relieving stress, providing solace, and maintaining order. However, the camp environment also had other major repercussions for music practices in the Japanese American community; it served the double function of vitalizing Japanese music and promoting Western classical and American popular music. The exceptional case of Tule Lake, California also provides an example of how music was used as a means of resistance, and, consequently, faced the direct opposition of the WRA.

THE VITALIZATION OF JAPANESE MUSIC PRACTICES

My research demonstrates that the practice of no Japanese performance art was discontinued because of the internment; every art that had been practiced in Japanese American communities before the war continued on in many, if not all, of the camps (see Table 1). Camp life even spawned the revival of previously declining genres, such as *kabuki*, *gidayk*, and *naniwa-bushi*. These Issei-favored, storytelling genres regained their popularity predominantly because the modern alternatives, notably Japanese movies, were rarely exhibited in the camps. Most regularly shown movies consisted of relatively recent American programs, which largely attracted Nisei.

Kabuki: As soon as camp life became more or less settled, Japanese plays, particularly *kabuki*, became the most popular entertainment for the Issei. A former Manzanar internee describes the camp *kabuki* productions:

They hastily built a stage in the mess hall of each block and frequently staged *kabuki* plays. Before the war, [Japanese] amateur drama troupes performed in various places, and they were equipped with wigs, costumes, and props like swords and guns. The internees had these items sent over to the camp and produced large-scale dramatic performances. Among the internees, there were those who had once been itinerant actors in Japan, and they had the know-how to lead the camp drama productions.⁵⁵

In order to produce satisfactory *kabuki* performances, a great number of internees collaborated in dividing the responsibilities for such areas as

Table 1: Japanese Performance Arts Teachers and Groups in Five Camps⁵¹

Genre	Name of Teacher or Group	Place
Drama	Poston I Troupe (<i>jMruri shiba</i> ⁵²); Poston II Troupe (<i>sewamono kabuki</i> ⁵³); Poston III Troupe (<i>naniwa-bushi shiba</i> ; ⁵⁴ <i>shinpa</i> drama with <i>koto</i> and dance)	Poston
	Canal Camp Troupe (<i>kabuki</i> ; <i>shinpa</i> drama); Butte Camp Troupe (<i>kabuki</i>)	Gila River
	Rohwer Engei-kai (<i>kabuki</i> and <i>shinpa</i> drama); Sawamura Shikaku (all-girl <i>kabuki</i>); Yoshida Isshō Ichiza (comic drama); Miyazaki DanshM Ichiza (<i>kabuki</i>)	Rohwer
	Naniwa-bushi Gidaykū	Poston Manzanar
Biwa	Tōchōken Seiun, Nagasaki Yae	Poston
	Takemoto Chiyokoma, Aochi	Rohwer
Classical Dance	Takahashi Kyokuka (<i>Satsuma-biwa</i>)	Poston
	Kuroiwa Kyokuei (<i>Satsuma-biwa</i>)	Gila River
	Yakura Fūsui (<i>Chikuzen-biwa</i>)	Rohwer
Koto	Bandō Misa, Tachibana Saomi	Tule Lake
	Kiyomura Kiyoko, Fujino Asako	Poston
Nagauta	Fujima Kansuma	Rohwer
	Wakita Shin'ei	Manzanar
Shakuhachi	Nakajima Chihoko	Poston
	Kineya School, Suzuki Senshū	Poston
YMkyoku	Mrs. Hasegawa, Mrs. Tanino	Rohwer
	Wakita Baidō	Manzanar
	Chikuyū-kai	Tule Lake
	Four unknown teachers	Poston
	Hoshizaki Mitsumasa, Tateishi Tokusaburō, Fujino Yoshiji (Kanze school); Sugaya Eisaburō (Kita school)	Manzanar
	Ōike Yasushi (Kanze school), Sugino Kenzō (Kita school)	Poston
	Ebisu Yoshio (Kanze school); Nishimura Yahachirō, Tokutomi Ichio (Kita school)	Gila River

acting, music, narrating, stage production, dance instruction, and scriptwriting.

Japanese plays were also very popular at the Lordsburg and Santa Fe Internment Camps in New Mexico. At Lordsburg, the Japanese internees from Hawai'i and the mainland formed the Hinomoto Troupe in August 1942. The manager, a man who had been involved in drama activities in Hawai'i, supervised everything from the choreography and costumes to

the *shamisen* musical accompaniment and makeup. Since no *shamisen* was available in the camp, the performers used *kuchi-jamisen*—vocal imitation of the *shamisen* sounds—as the musical accompaniment for their plays.⁵⁶ By June 1944, when most of the Lordsburg internees were transferred to Santa Fe, the troupe had presented three three-day performances at the camp amphitheater and in some empty barracks. At Santa Fe, the Hinomoto Troupe continued its activities (see Figure 1). An internee documented that in one particular play there were eighteen actors (including female impersonators) and more than thirty crew members,⁵⁷ including a director, a choreographer, dressers, musicians, and stage assistants such as curtain-drawers.⁵⁸ Some costumes and props were sent from Hawai‘i,⁵⁹ but many others had to be handmade out of limited materials by the internees themselves. For example, they used the bamboo rings attached to soy sauce barrels sent from Japan as the base for wigs.⁶⁰ For the hair, they cut Manila rope into three-foot-long pieces or so, soaked them in water to separate the fibers, and then dyed them the desired colors.⁶¹

Japanese Classical Dance, Koto, and Shakuhachi: Japanese classical dance and *koto*, which were popular before the war, continued to thrive in the camps. In one case, a “young genius” of Japanese classical dance, Fujino Asako, taught about sixty young girls at Poston.⁶² At Rohwer Fujima Kansuma, a Nisei teacher, taught about forty students between the ages of nine and sixteen.⁶³ Japanese classical dance also flourished at Tule Lake; Tachibana Sahomi had close to forty students, which included a few men,⁶⁴ while Bandō Misa, a Nisei teacher, taught a group of about 140 students, mostly between the ages of eight and ten but with a range that extended from a three-year-old Sansei (third-generation) to a senior Issei (see Figure 2).⁶⁵

Wakita Kayoko, who was interned at Manzanar with her father, a *shakuhachi* teacher, and her mother, a *koto* instructor, recounts how they began giving lessons in their respective instruments and how they and their students dealt with some of the logistical problems they faced in the camp:

Eventually, my father and mother began to teach instruments upon request. My father had brought a *shakuhachi* with him. My mother managed to have an American acquaintance, who was a university



Figure 1. Cast and Crew of a Japanese Play at Santa Fe Internment Camp, 1945. Source: *Souvenir Pictorial* (1946), courtesy of Jack Y. Tasaka.



Figure 2. Bandō Misa and Her Dance Students at Tule Lake Amphitheater, Aug. 1943. Courtesy of BandM Mitsusa (formerly BandM Mitsa)

professor, send her *koto* to the camp. We had asked a Christian church to store our household items when we were evacuated. Her *koto* had been kept in that church.

My parents first played their instruments for their own solace, but people who heard them began to ask them to give lessons. An old woman asked my mother to teach her *koto*, but my mother had only one instrument. They solved this problem by substituting the metal springs that supported the mattress on a bed for the thirteen strings of the *koto* and marked them so they could practice and learn the finger positions. Because they didn't have plectrums [*tsume*] either, they handmade them as well by carving a toothbrush or a chip of wood. Someone found cow bones and horns somewhere and made picks from them, too. There was even a man who handmade a *koto* for his wife.

There were ten and some *koto* students. Those who left their *koto* in the care of someone outside the camp eventually managed to have their instruments sent or brought to the camp. My mother also had some acquaintances outside the camp who had held the internees' *koto* in trust, and she had them sent to the camp. With this, they finally assembled five or six *koto*.

The *Shakuhachi* students also counted ten and some. Because a *shakuhachi* is small and can be broken down into two pieces, there were many people who brought their *shakuhachi* to the camp. Even those who rarely played also brought *shakuhachi*, thinking that it would provide some sort of solace.

In the meantime, my father found a good job two nights on and three nights off. It was as a guard for the reservoir that held the water used in the camp. My father took the job with one of his disciples, and they played *shakuhachi* all day long. When bored, he also enjoyed fishing, which he loved. He always brought back trout for everyone. Sometimes, he even blocked the reservoir to drive fish into the dam and then caught them with his hands and with baskets.

He bought line at the fishing gear shop and coiled it around the *shakuhachi* so that it would not crack in the desert climate. He did this for everybody. There were some *shakuhachi* that had already split, but he worked hard to repair them.⁶⁶

Like Wakita's parents, many others began to teach performance arts upon request and had to overcome similar problems stemming from the lack of necessary equipment and materials in the camps. Among such cases, the story of a Nisei teacher of Japanese classical dance, Mm. X (pseudonym), proves extraordinary. She was first asked to dance at one of the

assembly centers, where she had been first interned before being moved to a WRA camp.⁶⁷ She could not respond to the request, however, because she had neither the costumes nor the props for her dance. Then, one of the Caucasian civilian employees at the Center proposed to accompany Mm. X to her home in Los Angeles to pick up those items. Mm. X recollects the details of this episode:

I had to wear a sign that said “I am Chinese” because I might be killed otherwise. So, [a Caucasian employee] put this sign on me and took me to my home. . . . With her help, I nervously packed up my costumes, music records, fans, and other items which had been strewn about. When we were done, she said, “Since you are Chinese, let’s go to Chinatown and have some chop suey.” I was so embarrassed because the Chinese could immediately tell I am Japanese, now couldn’t they? Nonetheless, I still felt very fortunate and quite lucky.⁶⁸

At her WRA Camp, Mm. X began to receive letters from her former dance students who were interned at different camps in Colorado, Arizona, and California, all saying that they wanted to come to Mm. X’s camp to study under her. They sought out Mm. X’s direction because they found themselves ill-prepared to answer the numerous requests to perform and give instruction at their own camps. Mm. X accepted these students and began teaching them at her camp. After studying under Mm. X for several months, her students returned to their own camps to accommodate their fellow internees’ requests. Mm. X eventually began teaching novices in the camp as well. Her activity was incorporated into the Recreation Department, and she began to receive a monthly salary of nineteen dollars, which was second only to the twenty dollars paid monthly to doctors.

Bandō Misa (currently Mitsusa) also taught Japanese classical dance as a part of the Recreation Department programs, receiving a nineteen-dollar monthly salary, which was the highest at her camp, Tule Lake. She explains how creatively her fellow internees handmade the dance props:

Oh, I took whatever [props] I had [to the camp]. And then, a lot of them, we had to make it in camp, you know. And then, there was a very clever person in camp, who made our props and things, like the *katana* (swords), whatever we could get hold of, like the masks. I never saw people that clever. They even made our back scenery, and front curtain, you know. Oh my, people were very ambitious. . . . They used gunny

sacks, those small rice bags, [stitched them together] and then, they painted scenery for the dancers.

Mr. Matsui used, for the base of the wig, chimney [of potbelly stoves], used that as a base, and for the hair, used a [shredded] rope, and then, shoe polish [for coloring], make a wig, beautiful wig.⁶⁹

Similar creative efforts were made at some Justice Department and U.S. Army camps as well. At Santa Fe, internees handcrafted *shakuhachi* from hickory trees,⁷⁰ while at Fort Livingston *shakuhachi* were made out of water pipes.⁷¹

Ondo (*Bon* dance): In addition to the activities of individual teachers and groups, there were two major performance events in the camps—*ondo* (*bon* dance) and *engei-kai*. In the camps, *ondo* dancing was held not only during the *obon* festival but also during other summer festivities, such as Independence Day and Labor Day celebrations, or just by itself as an independent event. It was not unusual for camp *ondo* events to draw several thousand dancers and spectators, as is reflected in the reports of camp newsletters:

E.R. Fryer, acting project director,⁷² gave an opening address to the 5,000 spectators who were crowded in front of the Canal Camp Buddhist church to witness the gala *bon odori* [*bon* dance] festival. The affair was held Sunday night with 350 dancers clad in beautiful kimonos, adorning the colorful dancing ring which was decorated by the church committee members.⁷³

The *bon* dance began at 8:30 p.m., following the Buddhist religious service led by the master of ceremonies Takeo Isobe. As soon as the more than three hundred dancers, taught by Reverend Iwanaga, began the dancing procession which went round the memorial service room, the young Buddhist men and women of Units I and II joined in, further amplifying the energy. The audience far exceeded several thousand. To everyone's satisfaction, the event adjourned at 10:30 p.m. with an address of thanks by Mr. Nagafuji.⁷⁴

Because internment generally intensified the generation gap between Issei and Nisei, by depriving the former of their leadership and power and by privileging the latter as American citizens, *ondo* dancing in the camps became particularly important occasions for, albeit temporary, cross-generational integration.

Bon dances were also enjoyed at the Santa Fe Justice Department Camp (see Figure 3). In 1944, there were 444 Issei and Kibei Nisei from Hawai'i in this camp.⁷⁵ One of the internees described the 1944 *bon* dance event, which reminded him of the *bon* dance in Honolulu:

The *bon* services sponsored by the Buddhist Association took place on the evening of July 15 at the amphitheater. Although the weather was regrettably bad, with rain showers, the ceremony was performed as scheduled. Later on, it cleared up again, so the *bon* dancing began. It was just like the *bon* dance in prewar Honolulu. It was very well attended with many dressing as women.⁷⁶ There were many *bon* lanterns hung in the night sky. I wondered where they managed to obtain the bamboo materials for the lanterns. Then, I heard that they had made them out of different parts of the Kikkoman soy source barrels sent by the Japan Red Cross. I was very impressed, as always, by the people's display of ingenuity and skill.⁷⁷

Engei-kai: Another performance event that attracted a large number of internees was the *engei-kai*. Like their prewar counterparts, most camp *engei-kai* consisted of a variety of Japanese performance arts interspersed with a few non-Japanese acts, such as piano, harmonica, American popular songs, and Hawaiian dance (see Figure 4). Of all the performances, Japanese plays, in particular *kabuki*, became the feature attraction of the camp *engei-kai*. In fact, the camp *engei-kai* often were organized around drama performances. The ages and repertoires of the camp *engei-kai* performers ranged from five- to six-year-old girls performing Japanese classical dance, to young adults giving vocal performances of Japanese popular songs, to over seventy-year-old seniors playing traditional Japanese music.

Serving the entertainment and socialization needs of the internees, *engei-kai* were held frequently—at least once a month in every camp, and in the more extreme cases almost daily.⁷⁸ This great frequency led to a proliferation of performance venues. At Rohwer, the *engei-kai* organized by the Issei Recreation Department toured different blocks within the camp for six days and drew a total of approximately five thousand spectators.⁷⁹ The Rohwer Camp also initiated *engei-kai* exchanges with the Jerome Camp located to the south, with each sending performers to the other camp.⁸⁰ Camp *engei-kai* also increasingly expanded their scale. At Poston, one *engei-kai* featured as many as 45 performers.⁸¹ To accommodate larger



Figure 3. *Bon Dance Participants at Santa Fe Internment Camp, 1944.* Source: *Souvenir Pictorial* (1946), courtesy of Jack Y. Tasaka.

audiences, amphitheatres were built in several camps, including Rohwer, Tule Lake, Poston, Gila River, and Santa Fe. At Poston, the residents built a gorgeous outdoor stage patterned after a traditional Japanese theater.⁸²

Camp Songs: In some camps, the internment had not only a consolidating effect on Japanese music practices but also an enriching effect that inspired the composition of entirely new songs—camp songs. Although a great diversity marked the prewar experiences of the internees, reflecting their range in ages, former occupations, degrees of Americanization, hometowns, and such, the shared experience of internment created a strong bond between them. Singing particular songs together further strengthened their sense of shared experience and community. The Issei, who subscribed to the Japanese practice of collective singing as a means of building group identity, created camp songs to enhance fellowship among the internees and to inspire them to overcome shared hardships.⁸³

Of the five WRA camps examined, I found evidence of camp songs at Gila River, Topaz, and Tule Lake.⁸⁴ The initiative for creating these songs was taken either by the Japanese-language division of the camp newsletter or by the Issei Recreation Department. Contests were held, soliciting song lyrics from the internees, and a winning song was selected from among all of the entries by a judging committee. The prize-winning lyr-

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. National Anthem of the U.S.A.—Band 2. Dance “Kotobuki sanbasō” Tachibana Saomi 3. Popular Song (English)—Bob Okamoto 4. Piano and Harmonica Ensemble—Koyanagi & Hoshiide 5. Dance “Nyan nyan odori” Abe & Yamada 6. Popular Song - Lillian Tanihana 7. Dance “Tonarigumi”—Students of Mm. Bandō 8. Popular Song—Nemoto Michiko 9. Mexican Dance—Shimoda & Tanaka 10. Dance “Akatsuki ni inoru”—Inada & Tsukimura 11. Popular Song - Mizuno Kiyoshi 12. Hawaiian Dance—Matsuoka & Muramoto 13. Dance “Yajikita dōchūki”—Abe & Edo 14. Shakuhachi Sankyoku Ensemble—Chikuyū-kai | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Popular Song—Takagi Shizue 16. Dance “Genroku hanami-odori”—Students of Mm. Tachibana 17. Popular Song—Yamada Masao 18. Drama “Hakata (?)”—Carpenters 19. Song—Mrs. Kimura 20. Dance “<i>Harusame</i>”—Takeda Sisters 21. Grand Magic—Mr. Shirai 22. Naniwa-bushi “Yūshi no imouto”—Mr. Miyamoto 23. Dance “Ukare jishi”—Students of Mm. Bandō 24. Song - Mr. Kotani 25. Chikuzen-biwa “Shiroyama” Mrs. Hibino 26. Drama “Otto” 27. Dance “Mitsumen komori”—Bandō Misa 28. Kabuki “Chkshingura: Section 6”—GMdM Troupe <i>Shamisen</i>—Mrs. Tanaka, Nishitawara, & Okamoto Song—Katō & Katō, etc. |
|---|--|

Figure 4. A Camp *Engei-kai* Program at Tule Lake, 1942. Source: *Tulean Dispatch*, 4 Dec. 1942, my translation.

ics of the camp songs all, in some way, refer to the grandeur of the natural environments of the camps and liken them to the steadfast spirit and hope essential to the wellbeing of the internees (see Figure 5). Although the desolate camp locations were unsuitable for living, the splendor of their natural surroundings also functioned to soothe and to encourage the internees on occasion. The qualities of patience and docility extolled in the lyrics reflect a traditional Japanese mentality, which was prevalent among the Issei. After camp songs were presented to the public, the lyrics would be printed out and made available to the internees.⁸⁵

At least three songs were composed in the internment camps by internees from Hawai'i: one in Lordsburg, New Mexico and two in McCoy, Wisconsin.⁹⁰ Their lyrics are more sentimental than those created in the WRA camps, expressing the internees' loneliness in being separated from

比良転住所の歌

1. 太平洋上 波さかまきて
故郷はるけく 越え来し比良に
巨人カクタス 毅然と立てり
色濃き緑 千かかはらず
此の意気此の願気 我等も持ちて
雄々しく生きなん 凶南の原に
たたえ剛健 たたえ剛健
讃え 讃え 剛健
2. 仰げばみ空は 今宵も晴れて
心も澄み行く 比良の広野
隈なく星の 煌めきわたり
行手はるかに 希望の光
試練に堪えて 我等は生きん
やがて平和の 鐘鳴る日まで
仰げ希望 仰げ希望
仰げ 仰げ 希望
3. 浮べる蜃気楼 理想の象徴
勇躍越ちて 耕し行かば
豊けき収穫 全野に満ちん
奮へ同胞 断固と進め
斯くて築かん 理想の天地
拓け荒野 拓け荒野
拓け 拓け 荒野

トパーズの唄

1. 春だ 春だよ 砂漠の春だよ
枯れたシェージに緑が咲いて
山も雪だけ 気もそぞろ
2. タールペーパーのバラックじゃとて
住めば都だ
われらの町だ
砂塵吹き去りゃ 空蒼し
3. 加州恋しや 誰が泣くものか
家も鳥も 男心で
じっと忍んで 捨てたのだ
4. ネオンサインは ここにはないが
並ぶ軒燈に さす陰二つ
別れつらいか しのぶ声
5. パープワイヤも 誰が恨もうぞ
戦たけなは 夜明けは近い
はらから八千 一丸だ
6. またも裸か 裸が何だ
われらの親爺も 裸で来たんだ
それあの意気だ あの意気だ

ツールレーキ

1. まだ夜も明けぬ大空を
可愛いかもめが飛んで行く
ツールレーキのあの山越えて
遙けき彼方の海越えれば
平和の友が呼びかける
2. 明けぬ夜空の悲しみに
涙いざなふ雁の声
果敢な夢と思ふて居れど
何時また何処で結ぶやら
ツールレーキのメスの鐘
3. 片破れ月がモヤスルの
山の端方に微笑ば
アパロニ山のあの暁は
恵みの光 地に満ちて
我等の行手 照らすなり

Gila Relocation Center Song⁸⁶

1. Waves rolling over the Pacific Ocean
We came over to Gila far away from home
Giant cactus stand dauntless
The deep green everlasting
With this spirit, with these aspirations
Live boldly with ambition
Praise the fortitude, praise the fortitude
Praise, praise the fortitude
2. Looking up to the sky, tonight is clear too
A serene mind in the plains of Gila
The stars twinkling across the sky
Distant on our path shines the light of hope
Enduring hardships, we shall endure
Until the bell of peace finally rings
Look to hope, look to hope
Look to, look to hope
3. The floating mirage, the symbol of the ideal
If we cultivate with high spirits
An abundant crop shall fill all the fields
Rouse yourself fellows, proceed resolutely
And thus build the land of our ideals
Reclaim the wasteland, reclaim the wasteland
Reclaim, reclaim the wasteland

The Song of Topaz⁸⁷

1. Spring, Spring, Spring of the desert
On the withered sage, the green blooms
Thawing mountains, restless spirit
Even the tarpaper barracks
Living here, they are home
our town,
When the dust storm settles, the sky is blue
3. Yearning after California, who shall cry?
The house, the field, with a man's spirit
We gave them up with forbearance
4. No neon signs here
But, two shadows under the row of streetlights
Unwilling to part, the yearning voice
5. Who shall feel bitter about the barbed wire?
In the midst of the battle, the dawn is close
Eight thousand fellows, united as one⁸⁸
6. Naked again, what's wrong with naked?
Our fathers had come naked, too
Yes, that spirit, that spirit

Tule Lake⁸⁹

1. In the sky even before dawn
The lovely seagulls fly away
Over the mountains of Tule Lake
Across the ocean far away
A friend of peace calls to us
2. In the sorrow of the night sky before dawn
The voice of a wild goose brings tears
Thinking it a daring dream
When and where would it come true?
The bell of the mess hall of Tule Lake
3. When the half moon smiles
At the edge of the Moyasuru (?) mountains
With the dawn at the Abalona mountains
The light of blessing envelops the ground
Illuminating our way

Figure 5. Concentration Camp Songs—Gila River, Topaz, and Tule Lake

their families in Hawai'i. The two songs from McCoy also exhibit a strong patriotic sentiment for Japan, which was typical among the internees from Hawai'i (see Figure 6). Voicing feelings commonly held among the internees, these songs were circulated and collectively sung to console and to encourage one another.⁹¹

As explained above, in contrast to the American government's knee-jerk reaction to all things Japanese in the period beginning with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and continuing through internment, camp authorities tolerated Japanese cultural activities in the camps. These activities became acceptable because Japanese Americans were now under the control and surveillance of the government, segregated inside barbed wire fences. A Sansei ex-internee and *nagauta* (a genre of *shamisen* music) teacher, Lillian Nakano, confessed that although it was okay to perform traditional Japanese music within the camp, it was taboo and even perilous to do so outside the camp environment because of continued public suspicion and frequent aggressive reaction to the Japanese.⁹⁶ Although "protection of the Japanese" was no doubt the government's justification for "relocation," the camps ironically provided the Japanese with a safe place to pursue and even further vitalize their cultural activities.

JAPANESE CULTURE AS A MEANS OF RESISTANCE: ULTRA-NATIONALISM AT TULE LAKE

My research uncovered only one documented case of the deployment of Japanese performance arts as a means of resistance or protest: the Japanese cultural movement at Tule Lake. In 1943, the WRA administered the so-called loyalty questionnaire.⁹⁷ As a result, about 12,000 internees who were categorized as "disloyal" were sent from various camps to Tule Lake, while the "loyal" internees at Tule Lake were relocated to other camps. Tule Lake thus became a segregation camp for the "disloyal." It was in this atypical setting that a distinctive Japanese cultural movement took place.⁹⁸

Although the Tule Lake internees had been labeled "disloyal" to America, most were "conservative people—Issei and Kibei, Buddhists, people from rural districts,"⁹⁹ whose sense of loyalty and identity oscillated between the U.S. and Japan. Only a small group among the Tule Lake internees was pro-Japan ultra-nationalists who identified themselves

ローズバーグ小唄

1. ここは淋しい大陸の
ニューメキシコの熱帯地
西も東も涯しなき
ローズバーグの大砂漠
2. 旋風一たび起るとき
黄塵萬丈文字通り
ジツ忍べと目を閉じて
平和を祈る友もあり
3. 夕焼けもゆる黄昏は
鶯しのぶ尺八に
心行くまできき惚れて
思ひは遙か故郷に
4. 夜更けの空の月と星
仰げば遠く海超えて
後に残せし妻や子の
身が憶はれて目に涙
5. 青一色の制服に
忍従苦難の日は続く
之も宿世のさだめなら
何のつらから時を待て

(無題)

1. 捕らわれの同胞ここに二百人
積もる苦難はアラ重くともヨイショ
君の御ためヨ国の為ヨ
捧ぐるマタ犠牲の身は軽しチョイチョイ
2. 果てしなきシユラネバダの雪景色
右に眺めてアラ行く汽車のヨイショ
行方も知らぬ旅の空ヨ
続くまた流転の道遠しチョイチョイ
3. アメリカとカナダ境の風寒し
マコイ・キャンプにアラ照る月のヨイショ
月の光はヨ変らねどヨ
変るマタ配所の憂き思いチョイチョイ
4. 月見れば後に残せし妻や子の
面影そぞろにアラ憶はれてヨイショ
うたた断腸のヨ思いありヨ
男また不覚の一とせずくチョイチョイ

インターニー道中

1. 夜が冷たいマッコイ館府
籠の鳥かよ囚われの身は
バップワイアに月を見る
2. 月は冴ゆれど心は曇る
ガード銃剣命をかけて
渡る流転の旅の空
3. ハワイ樂園昔のことよ
父を奪われ夫と別れ
泣いて月見る妻や子は
4. 流転幾月いばらの路を
超えて行方の知れない旅も
未は愛するわが日本

Lordsburg Song⁹²

1. Here on the desolate continent
In the tropics of New Mexico
Stretching endlessly east and west
The vast desert of Lordsburg
2. With a whirlwind
A cloud of dust seethed high into the air
Enduring with closed eyes
Friends pray for peace
3. The blazing sunset at dusk
Enraptured by the sound of the *shakuhachi*
That evokes the bush warbler
Our thoughts travel to our distant home
4. Looking up at the moon and stars in the midnight sky
We shed tears
Remembering our wives and children
Left faraway across the sea
5. Dressed in all blue uniforms
Our days of patience and hardships continue
If this is our destiny, we'll suffer anything
Biding our time

(No Title, composed at McCoy Camp)⁹³

1. Here two hundred detained fellows
Bear the burden of ever-increasing hardship
But, this is for our Emperor, for our country
We'll willingly sacrifice ourselves
2. The traveling train reveals an endless
Sierra Nevada snowscape to the right
The journey of an unknown destination
The path of vicissitude continues into the distance⁹⁴
3. The wind at the U.S.-Canadian border is cold
The shining moon on McCoy Camp
The light remains the same
Yet we grieve another change of camp
4. Looking up at the moon,
We recall our wives and children left behind
It break our hearts
We shed tears in spite of ourselves

Internees' Journey (composed at McCoy Camp)⁹⁵

1. The cold evening of McCoy Camp
Confined like a bird in a cage
We beheld the moon through barbed wire
2. The moon is clear, but my mind is cloudy
Threatened by the guard's bayonet
The sky of itinerant travelers
3. The paradise Hawai'i is of the past
Their fathers and husbands taken away
The wives and children look up at the moon in tears
4. Months of wandering on a thorny path
Without knowing the destination
But, the end is our beloved Japan

Figure 6. Internment Camp Songs – Lordsburg and McCoy

as anti-American. These radicals consisted of “alien repatriates and parolees from internment camps” and “a fervently pro-Japan nucleus of militant Kibei,” who were eager to return to Japan.¹⁰⁰ As a part of their agenda to prepare people for returning to the homeland and assimilating back into Japanese society, they began to promote traditional Japanese culture, including music and dance.

The influence of this Japanese cultural movement extended beyond the group of pro-Japan ultra-nationalists. Branded as disloyal, other internees at Tule Lake suspected that they might be deported to Japan regardless of their views or preferences. Thousands of these frustrated young internees became susceptible to the ultra-nationalists’ recruitment strategies and flocked in droves to Japanese language and culture classes, which included instruction in manners and etiquette, classical dance, *senryū* poetry, *yōkyoku* (vocal accompaniment in *nō* theater), and classical drama. In this way, Japanese culture functioned as a uniting force among the Tule Lake internees.

Internal discord nevertheless occurred as the activities of the ultra-nationalists became increasingly militaristic. Radical young men and women formed a group called the “Association for Serving the Mother Country” (*sokoku hōshidan*).¹⁰¹ Wearing headbands with the rising-sun emblem, they marched around the blocks beginning at five o’clock in the morning to the fanfare of a bugle corps and militaristic music.¹⁰² As its members increased, the group became more aggressive, coercing others to participate. They no longer functioned as cultural leaders but became perpetrators of threats and violence among the internees. To stem such internal uprisings, “the WRA had martial law declared, and the camp was taken over by federal troops for two months.”¹⁰³ By July 1945, some 1,500 radical Tule Lake internees were re-segregated as “undesirables” at a separate camp. As a result, the Japanese cultural revival was short-lived, but its use of Japanese culture as a means of resistance at Tule Lake is a noteworthy exception among the camps.

JAPANESE MUSIC PRACTICES ON THE OUTSIDE: THE HAWAIIAN CASE

On the whole, the internment of Japanese Americans did not disrupt but rather promoted Japanese music activities within a “sheltered” space. A

comparison with the cultural activities of the Japanese American community in Hawai'i during the war years further substantiates this assertion of internment's positive effects. In Hawai'i, where the majority of Japanese Americans were not incarcerated, quite the opposite of what happened in the camps took place; Japanese cultural practices were largely abandoned there as desperate efforts toward Americanization were made.¹⁰⁴ To live among other Americans in Hawai'i, they had no choice but to actively affirm their American-ness and demonstrate their loyalty to the United States. The observance of Japanese festivals such as Children's Day (May 5) and the Doll Festival (March 3), which had been celebrated on a large scale before the war, ceased completely.¹⁰⁵ *Ondo* dancing, which had been very popular before the war, was no longer practiced either,¹⁰⁶ as Christine Yano explains:

Bon dances were suspended. Martial law had prohibited gatherings of more than ten aliens at one time. Most Buddhist temples were shut down. Furthermore, persons of Japanese ancestry themselves did not wish to engage in an activity which would call attention to their cultural link with the enemy.¹⁰⁷

Many Japanese Americans in Hawai'i also Anglicized their Japanese names; Endō became Endow, and Satō became Satou. Others opted to take Hawaiian-sounding names instead; for instance, Kobayashi became Honohono and Naganuma became Kunukau.¹⁰⁸

For the interned Issei and Nisei of Hawai'i, the situation differed substantially. At Santa Fe, they produced large-scale Japanese plays one after another, which were not even subjected to censorship.¹⁰⁹ They also celebrated the Japanese Emperor's birthday, called *Tenchōsetsu*, openly unfurling the Rising Sun flag and singing the Japanese national anthem.¹¹⁰ Contrasting this "Japanese" life with the "wanna-be-American" life of the Japanese in Hawai'i, an internee made the following sarcastic remarks in his diary in 1942:

It is an irony for America. If not interned, my fellow Japanese would have expressed their loyalty to America by working for the American war industry. Because they were gathered and detained behind barbed wire, not only did industrial production decrease but also expenses increased due to the cost of the camp facilities and internment. Furthermore, America even permitted the Japanese to shout *banzai*, cheering the Japanese Empire on their very own land.¹¹¹

The Santa Fe case illustrates one of the ironic effects of internment in the preservation and even promotion of Japanese culture—an effect observable in the WRA camps as well. The mass-incarceration of Japanese Americans on the mainland and the non-internment of the majority of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i thus had a tremendous impact on their attitudes toward and practices of Japanese culture during the war.

PROMOTION OF WESTERN CLASSICAL AND AMERICAN POPULAR MUSIC

As the WRA's policy was to "Americanize" the Japanese Americans in the camps, Western classical and American popular music activities were both encouraged and supported. The Music Department of each camp, which was funded by the WRA, offered music appreciation classes and lessons in piano, violin, voice, choir, and other musical pursuits. At Poston Camp, a symphony orchestra formed, composed of twenty-two violins, one viola, thirteen clarinets, one trombone, three flutes, five trumpets, and one tuba. All but two of the 46 members were Nisei.¹¹² This group constituted, in fact, the earliest Japanese American symphony orchestra found on record. Instructors of Western classical music consisted of Japanese American internees as well as non-Japanese who were sent from outside.¹¹³ Although the Issei were particularly encouraged to participate in Western classical music activities in some camps,¹¹⁴ considering the prewar musical orientation of most Japanese Americans, the majority of the participants in the music appreciation classes and lessons was more likely to be Nisei.

Much more popular than Western classical music among the Nisei, however, was ballroom dancing. Every event—from national holidays to the celebration of the completion of new construction projects and the formation of charities—became an occasion for dancing. Some camps also hosted weekly Saturday night dances and dance classes. Soon, almost every camp had one or more jazz bands which provided live music for dancing (see Table 2).¹¹⁵ As early as the late 1920s, as a part of mainstream American culture, big band jazz, coupled with ballroom dancing, expanded its popularity beyond black and white communities and captured the interest of Nisei youth. The formation of numerous camp bands was an extension of the burgeoning Nisei bands in the prewar era, as George Yoshida explains:

Table 2: Camp Dance Bands¹¹⁸

Location	Band
Tule Lake	Woody Ichihashi Orchestra (also known as Down Beat), Tulean Serenaders, Stardusters (initially named Starlighters)
Manzanar	A swing band led by Mitani Shunzō, Jive Bombers
Poston I	Music Makers
Poston II	A band led by Helen Iwanaga
Poston III	Rhythmaires
Gila River	Starlight Serenaders, Music Makers
Topaz	Jivesters, Topaz Tooters, Savoy Four, Rhythm Kings
Heart Mountain	George Igawa Dance Band
Amache	Music Makers
Minidoka	Harmonaires
Jerome	Densoneers

From the Pacific Northwest to Southern California, there were Nisei caught up in the early blossoming of swing music in the prewar years of the late '20s and the depression years of the '30s . . . in Japanese communities there were musically adventuresome youths who played a self-taught banjo or the piano or the saxophone; they, in turn, joined together to form dance bands. It was a natural move toward the inevitable acculturation of the Nisei into the mainstream American lifestyle.¹¹⁶

The camp bands, which performed the hit tunes of Glenn Miller, Tommy Dorsey, Artie Shaw, and others, directly linked the interned Nisei to mainstream American culture. Performing and dancing to these swing repertoires, young Japanese Americans, consciously or not, were affirming their identity as Americans.¹¹⁷

As part of American culture, big band jazz was also strongly supported by the WRA. In addition to funds from the Recreation Department, the members of dance bands received a monthly salary in some camps. For example, at Heart Mountain the members of the George Igawa Dance Band were paid twelve dollars a month as unskilled laborers, while those of Down Beat at Tule Lake received fourteen dollars a month, plus five dollars for an evening's work.¹¹⁹ These musicians were, in a sense, officially recognized as laborers whose work was indispensable to camp life.

Some of the dance bands also enjoyed the privilege of leaving camp grounds to perform for neighboring townspeople, as a means of improv-

ing public relations. Although these excursions clearly worked for the benefit of the WRA, band members also took advantage of these opportunities. Jimmie Akiya, a drummer from Heart Mountain's George Igawa Dance Band, recalls his experience as a band member:

The crowds were very receptive to our music. We had the distinction of being the only big band in the state of Wyoming. We didn't solicit dance jobs; they came to us after they discovered our band and would donate a few dollars to us when we played.¹²⁰

By performing big band jazz outside the camp, these musicians could publicly exhibit their American-ness. Thus, big band jazz affirmed the "American" identity of the Nisei, both inside and outside the camps.

CONCLUSION

This study confirms that external, unavoidable social forces such as war can generate unexpected influences on the development of culture. Culture is always embedded in a specific socio-historical context, but its maintenance, development, or disintegration depends on the actions of individual agents who interact with, and make decisions within and according to, that context. In the wartime context in Hawai'i, Japanese Americans, exposed to anti-Japanese hostility, renounced their links to Japanese culture in an effort to assimilate into American society. In contrast, the context of the Japanese American concentration camps produced very different results; in the camps, a variety of musical traditions prospered because the interactions between, and decision-making processes of, the camp authorities and the internees were driven by their common understanding of the benefits of musical activity. For the camp authorities, music was an important mechanism for regulating the thoughts and behavior of the internees by relieving anger and anxiety, building morale, and deterring conflict. For the internees, music was a means of maintaining hope, promoting socialization and group cohesion, and healing psychological trauma. For the pro-Japan ultra-nationalists, although their activities were exceptional and ultimately unsuccessful, music was a tool of resistance. For many Nisei, music affirmed their sense of identity as "Americans." The extreme environment created by the internment thus worked to fos-

ter, condense, and layer a diverse range of music's possible functions. It was the extreme circumstances themselves that generated extraordinary needs among the people involved, thereby creating the possibilities for music to satisfy those needs.

Although scholars have published various essays and studies concerning the Japanese American internment camps, it is hoped that this article has added new light to the understanding of the internment experience by focusing on performing arts activities. Through the process of the redress movement, Japanese Americans finally have begun to openly speak of their internment experiences, a painful and even shameful past about which they had remained silent for a long time. The ex-internees' narratives as well as studies based on them, however, have tended to focus on political and legal aspects of the internment, while hardly mentioning cultural and recreational activities in the camps. Through interviews and examination of camp newsletters, my study has explored this untouched area and revealed the significant roles that music played for the internees as well as for the WRA.

The diverse roles that music assumed in the Japanese American concentration camps suggest two major ways in which music can affect our lives. One is the effects of music on the human mind, that is, the psychological effects of music. For many internees, music was a way of mental healing, diverting their minds from the grim reality and providing aesthetic and creative pleasure as well as the sense of accomplishment. The other is the effects of music on the people's social relations, that is, the social functions of music. Music-making, as a group activity, created a sense of unity and comradry among the internees, whether among the Issei, the pro-Japan ultra-nationalists, or the Nisei youth. Because of such uniting force, music could provide people with the foundation from which to share their emotions, to resist authority, and to express their group identity. The WRA, realizing such great potential, utilized music for its own benefits. This strategy should be understood as the manipulative use of music.

Extreme circumstances like mass incarceration are triggered by irresistible forces, such as wars and revolutions, that are beyond the control of the individuals being subjected to them. When we situate this study in

the framework of the manipulative use of music in such extraordinary circumstances as a political strategy, it seems the case is not exceptional, but rather is illustrative of typical patterns repeated throughout human history. For instance, during World War II both Japan and the United States had broadcast strategic radio programs aimed at their enemies to discourage their fighting spirits. The American program, disguised as a broadcast from Japan, had repeatedly played “March of the Returning Soldiers” (*Kikanhei kōshinkyoku*), reporting Japan’s crisis in the war situation and addressing the need for immediate surrender,¹²¹ while the Japanese broadcast, aimed at the Allied Forces on the battle lines, enticed soldiers with nostalgic music along with the sweet and sexy voices of female DJs (like the so-called “Tokyo Rose”) to make them feel homesick and melancholic.¹²² Similarly, during the Chinese Cultural Revolution, music was strategically manipulated to promote its political agenda. The Chinese government vigorously encouraged revolutionary songs and dramas, while banning traditional performing arts repertoire.

In the modern, westernized world, music chiefly serves entertainment and aesthetic purposes; thus, music is primarily positive and harmless. The very basis of this status of music is the society at peace. When the society faces crises, however, music can be used manipulatively to control human behavior and thoughts for the benefit of the people in power. Recognizing the significant potential of music, I end this article with a hope for a peaceful world in which music plays only its positive and humanizing roles.

Notes

1. The major scholarly studies on the Japanese American interment include the following: Michi Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America’s Concentration Camps* (New York: Morrow, 1973); Roger Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993); Sandra C. Taylor, *Jewel of the Desert: Japanese American Internment at Topaz* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); United States Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied: Report of the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilian* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997); Wendy Ng, *Japanese American Internment during World War II: A History and Reference Guide* (London: Greenwood Press, 2002); Robert Harvey, *Amache: The Story of Japanese Internment in Colorado during World War* (Dallas;

Oxford: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2003); and Davie Neiwert, *Strawberry Days: How Internment Destroyed a Japanese American Community* (New York: Houndmills, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). Personal narratives and essays by internees themselves, written in Japanese, include Sōga Keihō, *Tessaku seikatsu* (Honolulu: Nippu jijisha, 1948); Furuya Suikei, *Haisho tenten* (Honolulu: Hawai taimususha, 1968); Tana Daishō and Tana Tomoe, *Senji tekikokujin yokuryūjo nikki* (Tokyo: Sanki bōfutsu shorin, 1976); Kodaira Naomichi, *Amerika kyōsei shūyōjo: sensō to Nikkeijin* (Tokyo: Tamagawa daigaku shuppanbu, 1980); and Shirai Noboru, *Kariforniā Nikkeijin kyōsei shūyōjo* (Tokyo: Kawaide shobō shinsha, 1981). For internees' narratives and essays written in English, see Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston and James D. Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973); Mine Okubo, *Citizen 13660* (New York: Amo Press, 1978); Ann Koto Hayashi, *Face of the Enemy, Heart of a Patriot: Japanese-American Internment Narratives* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1995); Richard S. Nishimoto, *Inside an American Concentration Camp: Japanese American Resistance at Poston, Arizona*, Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, ed. (Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press, 1995); Mitsuye Yamada, *Camp Notes and Other Writings* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998); Mike Mackey, ed., *Remembering Heart Mountain: Essays on Japanese American Internment in Wyoming* (Powel, WY: Western History Publications, 1998); Lawson Fusao Inada, ed., *Only What We Could Carry: The Japanese American Internment Experience* (Berkeley, Calif.: Heyday Books, 2000); Brian Komei Dempster, ed., *From Our Side of the Fence: Growing Up in America's Concentration Camps* (San Francisco: Kearny Street Workshop Press, 2001); Erica Harth, ed., *Last Witnesses: Reflections on the Wartime Internment of Japanese Americans* (New York: Houndmills, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Mike Mackey, *Guilt by Association: Essays on Japanese Settlement, Internment, and Relocation in the Rocky Mountain West* (Powel, WY: Western History Publications, 2001); and Mary Matsuda Gruenewald, *Looking Like the Enemy: My Story of Imprisonment in Japanese American Internment Camps* (Troutdale OR: NewSage Press, 2005). The following fiction and non-fiction literary works, which deal with Japanese American internment experiences, are also instructive: Hisae Yamamoto, *Seventeen Syllables and Other Stories* (Latham, New York: Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, 1988); Barney Shallit, *Song of Anger: Tales of Tule Lake* (Fullerton, CA: California State University Fullerton, 2001); and Klancy Clark de Nevers, *Colonel and the Pacifist* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004). Finally, there are a few works focusing on artistic activities in camps: Nakano Jiro, et al., eds., *Poets behind Barbed Wire* (Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1981); Karin M. Higa, *The View from Within: Japanese American Art from the Internment Camps, 1942–1945* (Los Angeles: Japanese American National Museum, UCLA Wight Art Gallery, UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1994); Kristine C. Kuramitsu, "Internment and Identity in Japanese American Art," *American Quarterly*

- 47:4 (Dec. 1995): 619–58; and Delphine Hirasuna, *Art of Gaman: Arts & Crafts from the Japanese American Internment Camps* (Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, 2005).
2. This study excluded Okinawans—the Japanese immigrants from the southernmost islands of Japan and their descendants—because records of their activities were not found in the camp newsletters. Okinawans have a history of discrimination in Japan as well as within the Japanese community in America. The absence of records of their activities in the camp newsletters suggests a continuation of the history of separation of Okinawans from other Japanese immigrants, rather than an absence of Okinawan musical activity in the camps. In the future, I intend to carry out a project in which I explore this unstudied area in order to unearth the diversity of Japanese American cultural history.
 3. The most extensive study on this topic is Eckhard John and Ernest F. Livingstone’s “Music and Concentration Camps: An Approximation,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 20:4 (2001): 269–323, which describes different functions played by music at various concentration camps. Other works on the music in Jewish concentration camps include Joshua Jacobson, “Music in the Holocaust,” *The Choral Journal* (Dec. 1995): 9–21; Yamano Seishi, “20 seiki ongaku-shi no ichi danmen: Aushuvittsu (Birukenu) rōdō shūyōjo no ongaku-tai,” *Nagasaki Daigaku Kyōiku Gakubu Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyū Hōkoku* 38 (1989): 37–46; and Nakano Yukio, “Terejienshutatto kyōsei shūyōjo ni okeru ongaku katsudō,” *Aspek* 35 (2001): 135–148. An online article by Steve Brown and Ulrik Volgsten, “Controlling the Music; Controlling the Listener,” *Music Forum Article of Music Council of Australia* (<http://www.mca.org.au/m15220.htm>, accessed 18 Feb. 2005), also discusses music in the Theresienstadt concentration camp.
 4. Since this euphemistic term disguises the reality of forced removal and incarceration, I, like many scholars writing about the Japanese American experience, use the term concentration camps.
 5. The original newsletters are preserved at California State University, Northridge, but are not open to the general public due to paper-quality deterioration. In 1997, the University of California, Santa Barbara purchased microfilm of the newsletters from all ten camps and finally made these valuable resources open to the public for study.
 6. Existing studies on the internment camp newsletters include the following: *Nikkeijin kyōsei shūyōjo shinbun “topāzu taimuzu”: “The Topaz Times”—a Community Newspaper Published in a Japanese American Concentration Camp in Utah*, Vols. 1–10, index (Tokyo: Nihon tosho sentā, 1990), which is a reprint of the *Topaz Times* of the Topaz Camp in Utah, along with commentary and indexes to the articles; John D. Stevens, “From Behind Barbed Wire: Freedom of the Press in World War II Japanese Center,” *Journalism Quarterly* 48 (Summer 1971): 279–87; Lauren Kessler, “Fettered Freedoms: The Journalism of World War II Japanese Internment Camps,” *Journalism History* 15

- (Summer/Autumn 1988): 70–79; Jay Freidlander, “Journalism Behind Barbed Wires, 1942–1944: An Arkansas Relocating Center Newspaper,” *Journalism Quarterly* 62 (Summer 1985): 243–46; and Catherine A. Luther, “Reflections of Cultural Identities in Conflict,” *Journalism History* 29:2 (June 2003): 69–81.
7. This study was originally pursued as part of my dissertation on Japanese American musical culture in southern California, centering in the Los Angeles area. Since most Japanese and Japanese Americans from the Los Angeles area were interned in Manzanar, it was my first site of examination. Other camps were selected on the following bases: Poston - the largest camp; Tule Lake - a special camp that became a segregation center for those classified as “disloyal”; Gila River and Rohwer - randomly selected for further comparison between different camps.
 8. “Issei” refers to the first generation of Japanese who immigrated to the U.S., mostly between 1885 and 1924. Issei speak primarily Japanese. “Nisei” refers to the second generation of Japanese Americans, i.e., the American-born children of the Issei. According to Harry H. L. Kitano, Nisei were born largely between 1910 and 1940 and speak primarily English; see *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1969): 142. “Kibei” refers to those Nisei who were taken to Japan as children, were educated there, and then returned to the U.S. as teenagers and young adults. They are mostly bilingual but generally are more comfortable with Japanese.
 9. Nishimoto, 88.
 10. Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 233.
 11. *Manzanar Free Press*, 7 July 1942.
 12. Unless otherwise specified, I use the term “concentration camps,” or simply “camps,” to refer to both the “relocation centers” (the camps run by the WRA) and the “internment camps.”
 13. Zaibei Nihonjinkai, *Zaibei Nihonjinshi* (1940; reprint, Tokyo: PMC shuppan, 1984).
 14. *Rafu Shimpo*, 2 April 1930.
 15. Shin-nichibei shinbunsha, *Beikoku Nikkeijin hyakunenshi: Zaibei Nikkeijin hatten shinshiroku* (Los Angeles: Shin-nichibei shinbunsha, 1961), 157.
 16. Rafu shimposha. *Kigen nisen-roppyaku-nen hōshuku kinen taikan* (Los Angeles: Rafu shimposha, 1940).
 17. *Zaibei Nihonjinshi*, 709; *Rafu Shimpo*, 16 Jan. 1941, 1 March 1955.
 18. *Zaibei Nihonjinshi*, 708.
 19. There was a small group of elite Issei who had had training in the Western musical tradition and its instruments, such as the piano, mandolin, and violin, in Japan and continued their studies after immigrating. Most of the Issei, however, immigrated as lower class laborers, who would not have studied much Western music while in Japan.
 20. *Rafu Shimpo*, 17 June 1920, 13 July 1920.

21. *Rafu Shimpō*, 11 Jan. 1930, my translation. The citations from Japanese sources and the interviews conducted in Japanese are translated by the author of this article unless otherwise noted.
22. *Obon* is an honorific of *bon*. *Bon* dancing refers to the style of dance performed at *Obon* celebrations. *Ondo* constitutes a major part of the *bon* dance repertoire.
23. With the *ondo* boom, street *ondo* dance accompanied by commercial recordings became almost a prerequisite for celebratory events and festivals in Japan. Nisei Week, which was started in 1934 as a weeklong Japanese American festival in Los Angeles, similarly adopted the street *ondo* dance as its climactic spectacular, firmly establishing *ondo* as a secular festival dance in Japanese American communities.
24. For more details on the Japanese American musical culture in pre-World War II southern California, centered in the Los Angeles area, see Minako Waseda, "Japanese American Musical Culture in Southern California: Its Formation and Transformation in the 20th Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2000). I was unable to obtain solid data on Japanese American musical activities in the rural areas of California. However, considering that many people became involved in musical activities for the first time while in the camps, as discussed later, it seems that the majority of people involved in the practice of music and, accordingly, the preponderance of musical activity were concentrated in the Los Angeles area before World War II.
25. Jack Yoshitami Tasaka, "Bon odori," *East-West Journal* 1 (Aug. 1990).
26. Ibid. "Shamisen to geisha, part 1," *East-West Journal* 15 (Oct. 1990).
27. *Holehole* is a Hawaiian word referring to the work of stripping off leaves from sugarcane plants.
28. Hawai Nikkeijin rengō kyōkai, *Hawai Nihonjin iminshi* (Honolulu, HI: United Japanese Society of Hawaii, 1964), 518, 519.
29. Tasaka, "Shamisen to geisha, part 2," *East-West Journal* 15 (Oct. 1990); Ibid. "Shamisen to geisha, part 3," *East-West Journal* 15 (Nov. 1990).
30. Maeshima Miho, "Meiji-ki Hawai Oafu-tō ni okeru Nikkei imin to Nihonjin shibai: Nikkei shinbun ni keisai saretai kanren kiji wo chikshi ni" (M.A. Thesis, Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music, 2001), 20.
31. Although interrupted by World War II, the Nisei bands enjoyed their second golden era in the late 1940s and 1950s.
32. *Bon* dance in Hawai'i had been suspended during and immediately after World War II, but it was soon revived and still thrives in the present day as the major summer event at Buddhist temples.
33. Shirai, 40.
34. For names consisting of Japanese surnames and given names, I use the order of the surname first and the given name last, following the Japanese practice.
35. Wakita Kayoko, interview by author, Los Angeles, Calif., 6 Aug. 1994. Unless otherwise noted, all of the interviews were conducted by the author.
36. The Manchurian Incident refers to an armed clash between Japan and China, incited by the Japanese blasting of the railroad in Manchuria.

37. Shirai, 65.
38. Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 127.
39. *Manzanar*, leaflet printed by the National Park Service under the Department of Interior.
40. Paul R. Spickard, *Japanese Americans: The Formation and Transformations of an Ethnic Group* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), 112.
41. Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, introduction to Nishimoto, xxxix.
42. Nishimoto, 88.
43. *Manzanar Free Press* 27 Jan. 1943. Some quotes from newspapers and interviews include grammatical errors. I cite them as they appeared or were said in order to transmit the original expression of the writers or speakers.
44. The Poston Camp was divided into three units, Poston I, II, and III, which were laid out at about 3-mile intervals.
45. S.K. Sakai, telephone interview, 17 Oct. 2000.
46. Jeffery F. Burton, et al., *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, Publications in Anthropology 74 (Western Archeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1999).
47. Furuya, 263–265, 290–294.
48. *Souvenir Pictorial*, a pictorial book published in Honolulu by former Santa Fe internees, 1946.
49. *Hawai Hochi*, 29 Sept. 1987, my translation.
50. *Ibid.*
51. These data are based on my examination of five camp newsletters, as well as on *Nankashū Nihonjinshi* (Nanka Nikkeijin shōkō kaigisho, 1957), *Zaibei Nihonjinshi* (1940), *Beikoku Nikkeijin hyakunenshi* (1961) and on an interview with Wakita Kayoko in 1994.
52. *Jōruri shibai* refers to a genre of Japanese drama which is accompanied by narrative *shamisen* music.
53. *Sewamono kabuki* refers to *kabuki* plays dealing with the lives of commoners in the Edo period (1615–1868).
54. *Naniwa-bushi shibai* is a type of drama accompanied by *naniwa-bushi*.
55. Shirai, 180, my translation.
56. Sōga, 161.
57. Since the internment camps detained males only, men played all the female roles.
58. Furuya, 320.
59. Harry Urata, interview, Honolulu, HI, 17 Oct. 2000.
60. Since the internment camps detained Japanese nationals, the Japanese government and relief organizations for overseas Japanese sent Japanese food items and books to the camps during the war.
61. *Hawai Hochi*, 29 Sept. 1987.
62. *Poston Chronicle*, 6 April 1943.
63. Fujima Kasuma, telephone interview, 3 Nov. 2000.

64. *Tulean Dispatch*, 9 July 1943.
65. *Tulean Dispatch*, 24 Sept. 1942; Bandō Mitsusa [formerly Misa], telephone interview, 11 Nov. 2000.
66. Wakita, interview.
67. “Assembly Centers” refer to the temporary camps where people of Japanese ancestry were first taken after being removed from the West Coast. The people remained in these centers, which were hastily contrived on fairgrounds or racetracks and operated by the U.S. Army, until they were moved to the permanent camps run by the WRA.
68. Mm. X (anonymous Nisei Japanese classical dance teacher), telephone interview, my translation, 3. Nov. 2000. Mm. X refused to have her name appear in this article, because she feels uncomfortable about the fact that she had to wear the sign, “I am Chinese,” despite her great pride in her Japanese ethnicity.
69. Bandō Mitsusa, telephone interview, 11 Nov. 2000; *Rafu Shimpō*, 10 Aug. 1996.
70. Matsuura Gyokuei, interview, Honolulu, HI, 11 Oct. 2000.
71. Furuya, 164.
72. The project director refers to the head administrator of each camp assigned by the WRA.
73. *Gila News Courier*, 30 Sept. 1942.
74. *Poston Chronicle*, 17 Aug. 1943, my translation.
75. Appendix 5 in Sōga (1946).
76. Since the Santa Fe Justice Department Camp was an all-male camp, many men dressed as women to compensate for the lack of women participants, lending luster and increasing fun at the event.
77. Sōga, 255, my translation.
78. In Rohwer, *engei-kai* were held by each block. Because there were more than forty blocks in the camp, *engei-kai* were held almost everyday in one block or another (*Rohwer Outpost*, 13 March 1943).
79. *Rohwer Outpost*, 21 April 1943.
80. *Ibid.*, 2 June 1943.
81. *Poston Chronicle*, 6 May 1943.
82. A picture of this theater is included in Nishimoto, 89.
83. Japanese culture seems to place particular value on the function of collective singing as a means of solidifying group identity. It is common for a Japanese school to have its own “school song” (*kōka*). Such a song advocates the ideals of the school and is sung by the teachers and students at various assemblies and ceremonies to constantly foster a sense of group identity. Similarly, many Japanese companies have their own “company songs” (*shaka*). This custom of creating and singing a so-to-speak “identity song” has much to do with the Japanese ideology of group solidarity.
84. *Gila News Courier*, 14 Jan. 1943; *Poston Chronicle*, 28 Jan. 1943; *Topaz Times*, 29 May 1943; *Tulean Dispatch*, 27 March 1943.

85. The *Gila News Courier* reported that the lyrics of the “Gila Relocation Center Song” were set to the melody of “*Miyako no seihoku*,” the school song of Waseda University in Tokyo, Japan (14 Jan. 1943). The melodies of the other camp songs are unknown.
86. Source: *Gila News Courier*, 14 Jan. 1943; *Poston Chronicle*, 28 Jan. 1943. English translation by the author.
87. Source: *Topaz Times*, 29 Many 1943. English translation by the author.
88. “Eight thousand fellows” (*harakara hassen*) refers to the approximately eight thousand internees who lived in Topaz Camp.
89. Source: *Tulean Dispatch*, 27 March 1943. English translation by the author.
90. Furuya, 116–6, 133–4.
91. *Ibid.*
92. Source: *Souvenir Pictorial* (1946).
93. Source: Furuya, 116–7. The lyrics were composed by an internee, Asami Seiha, and sung to the melody of *Öryokkō-bushi* (*ibid*, 116). English translation by the author.
94. The internees from Hawai’i were transferred between camps on the mainland as often as five times. The “wandering” here refers to this continuous movement between different camps.
95. Source: Furuya, 133–4. English translation by the author.
96. Lilian Nakano, interview, Los Angeles, Calif., 26 July 1997.
97. This questionnaire was officially called the “Application for Leave Clearance,” which was utilized to test the internees’ loyalty to the U.S. and allow those who proved loyal to leave the camp or to be drafted into the army. It was also used to segregate the disloyal into a camp with tighter security.
98. Spickard, 119–120.
99. *Ibid.*, 120.
100. Weglyn, 230.
101. This group was originally called the “Young Men’s Association for the Study of the Mother Country” (*sokoku kenkyk seinendan*) (Shirai, 193).
102. Shirai, 193; Weglyn, 233.
103. Spickard, 124–5.
104. When I presented an earlier version of this paper at the World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music in 1999, ethnomusicologist Robert Garfias pointed out that among the Okinawans in Hawai’i, Okinawan music thrived more after the Pearl Harbor incident because they had more free time in the evenings due to the curfew. This example suggests the distinctive character of the musical history of Okinawans in America, which deserves further study.
105. Adachi Nobuhiro, *Hawai Nikkeijin-shi: Nihon to Amerika no aida ni arite* (Tokyo: Ashi no ha shuppankai, 1977), 117. Children’s Day (*Kodomo no hi*) is a day for celebrating boys, when families with sons pray for their sons’ success in life, while the Doll Festival (*Hina matsuri*) is a day honoring girls, when families with daughters offer up prayers for their daughters’ good

- marriages, symbolized by a set of dolls, which includes the figures of the emperor and empress, displayed in the home.
106. Ibid., 118.
 107. Christine R. Yano, “Japanese Bon Dance Music in Hawai’i: Continuity, Change, and Variability” (M.A. Thesis, University of Hawai’i, 1985), 154.
 108. Adachi, 119.
 109. *Hawai Hochi*, 29 Sept. 1987.
 110. Tana, 420.
 111. Ibid., 420, 421, my translation.
 112. *Poston Chronicle*, 23 March 1943.
 113. For example, at Manzanar internee Mitani Shunzō was a piano instructor (*Tulean Dispatch*, 28 Oct. 1942), and at Tule Lake Helen Hayeda directed a twenty-seven voice choir (*Manzanar Free Press*, 8 Oct. 1942). At Poston, a designated music director, Michael Sosnowski, obviously a non-Japanese, organized the Poston Symphony (*Poston Chronicle*, 24 March 1943).
 114. *Manzanar Free Press*, 2 Nov. 1942.
 115. The dance parties were held so frequently in the camps that live music was not always available. As an alternative, recorded music was played over the PA system.
 116. George Yoshida, “Nikkei Music Makers: the Swing years of Jive Bombers and Stardusters, Part One: Prewar Nisei Dance Bands,” *Rafu Shimpo* 11 (March 1995).
 117. Yoshida, “Nikkei Music Makers: the Swing years of Jive Bombers and Stardusters, Part Two: Nisei Music Makers in Prewar Japan,” *Rafu Shimpo* 25 (March 1995).
 118. These data are based on materials from internment camp newsletters and on studies done by George Yoshida, “Nikkei Music Makers” (*Rafu Shimpo*, March 11, 25; April 8, 1995); *Reminiscing in Swing Time: Japanese Americans in American Popular Music, 1925–1960* (San Francisco, CA: National Japanese American Historical Society, 1997).
 119. Yoshida, 25 March 1995.
 120. Quoted in *ibid.*
 121. Yamamoto Taketoshi, *Burakku puropaganda: Bōryaku no rajio* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2002).
 122. Uchida Kōichi, *Nihon no jazushi: Senzen sengo* (Tokyo: Suingu jānarusha, 1976), 149–154.