UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA CRUZ

CONSTRUCTING CONTEXT AFTER INTERNMENT: JAPANESE AMERICAN INCARCERATION AND THE HISTORIC 20th CENTURY REDMAN-HIRAHARA HOUSE

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of the requirements for the degree of

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Abstract

Constructing Context Before and After Internment: Japanese American Incarceration and the Historic 20th Century Redman-Hirahara Farmstead

Jacob M. Stone

This dissertation explores the archaeological context prior to and following Japanese American incarceration in the United States using the materials recovered from the Redman-Hirahara Farmstead. Built at the turn of the 20th century, this property showcases one family's unique journey navigating this tumultuous period. The Hirahara family moved into their Victorian farmstead in Watsonville, California in 1941. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Empire of Japan on December 7th, 1941 and the United States' entry into World War II, the Hirahara family was incarcerated at the Rohwer incarceration camp in Arkansas. Following the war, the Hiraharas returned to their farm in Watsonville where they offered another Japanese family, the Hanes, a room in their carriage barn among other displaced individuals. Until now, most archaeological research on this time period focuses exclusively on the incarceration experience. This dissertation addresses that scholarly gap by exploring how places occupied before and after the incarceration can provide invaluable perspectives on the story of Japanese American incarceration. Excavations at the farmstead in 2005 unearthed a collection of artifacts pertaining to this extended legacy of the house, presenting new lines of evidence for how incarceration may shift consumer choices, effect the material record, and overlap with the daily operations of historic west coast farmsteads. Oral narratives and archival materials further illuminate a story of survival and community at the Hirahara farmstead. Additionally,

I argue that the Japantowns established in the San Francisco Bay Area during the early 1900s paved the way for this return, and it was the perseverance and community orientated members of those Japantowns that made those cities a place worth returning too. Today, the legacy of these spaces is ingrained in those communities, with monuments, historical placards, and museums documenting their roles and tremendous impact. These intertwined family stories, paired with ethnographic accounts from the region, not only reveal the many challenges the Hiraharas faced upon their return to their previous livelihoods, home, and community, but also shines light on how the ongoing presence of Japanese immigrants in the region made this return possible.

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Finally, to my family who helped edit paper drafts and listened to presentations more times than required.

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Redman-Hirahara Farmstead

When eleven members of the Hirahara family moved into their newly acquired Victorian homestead in the fall of 1941, located just outside the city of Watsonville, California, there was little indication of the rich historical impacts this home would have on the community or the role they would play in weaving the parcel into history forever. The farmstead, designed by famed architect William Weeks and built in 1898, was first put up for auction in 1921 after the passing of a member of the Redman family who operated a modest farming operation which included raising livestock as well as some staple crops. The home thus began transitioning from a married couple's livelihood to the Hirahara family's business cramped with children and emerging childhood memories. This transient space was further emphasized after the incarceration protocols of World War II, which necessitated the relocation of the new owners of the house out of the exclusion zone and into one of the ten incarceration camps established by the War Relocation Authority (WRA) in 1942. Although they had spent only one year on the farmstead the Hiraharas expressed their interest in hanging onto the property by coordinating a lawyer and groundskeeper to oversee the farm while they were away. Upon their return to the farmstead in 1945, the Hiraharas returned to a relatively stable lifestyle. However, this was not the case for many incarcerated Japanese forced out of their Watsonville homes; and it is because of these challenges that the Hirahara family was able to use their farm to impact an entire community.

Today, the Hirahara house stands condemned along the side of Highway 1 nestled within the steady urban expansion of the rural community of Watsonville. Across the street, one can see the newly constructed Hampton Inn with a busy gas station for highway commuters next door. Casual viewers may also see farmers picking strawberries around all sides of the Victorian home, still tending to the ripe farmland as the Hiraharas, and the Redmans before them, had done for decades. This seemingly innocuous house stands out from its surroundings: a large, Victorian modeled home left in a deteriorating condition placed on metal beams – an attempt made by the county and Redman Foundation to move/protect the home - directly above its original foundation (Figure 1.1, 1.2, 1.3). Excavations were conducted on the property in the summer of 2005 by Cabrillo College in Santa Cruz California, spearheaded by Professors Rob Edwards and collaborator, Charlotte Simpson-Smith, with the express goals of understanding the construction of the house and the history of the parcel. They conducted excavations over five weeks, and with the help of a small class of undergraduate archaeology students, managed to complete a surface survey and collection across the site. They also excavated four, 5-x-10-foot trenches perpendicular to each side of the house. The garden structure was also fully excavated, and the barn structure behind the main house was heavily documented. These excavations and recording efforts yielded roughly 4,000 artifacts, largely composed of architectural materials, ceramic wares, glass wares, and faunal remains. Once excavations were underway it was clear that the farmstead was not only a valuable source of cultural information regarding California history, but also a story of persistence and hidden agency not often expressed archaeologically. My dissertation breathes new life into this existing and unanalyzed archaeological collection while bringing together the study of Japanese Americans, the Asian diaspora, and the experience of incarceration during World War II.

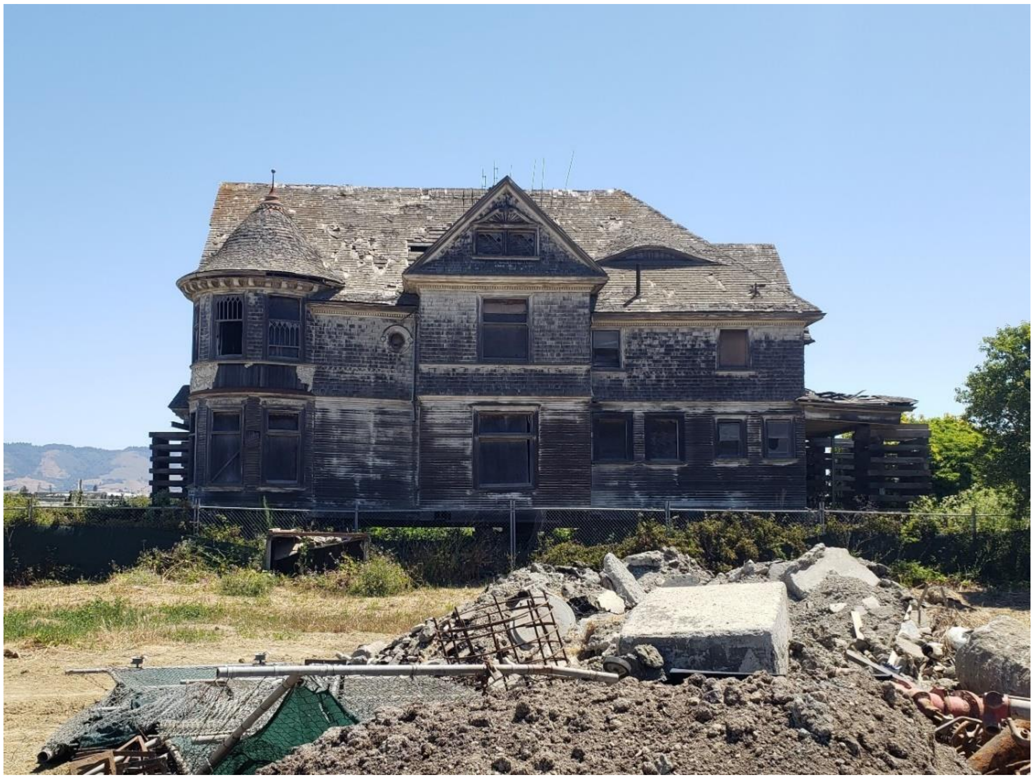


Figure 1.1 The Redman-Hirahara House. Photo taken June 10th, 2021 by author. view east.

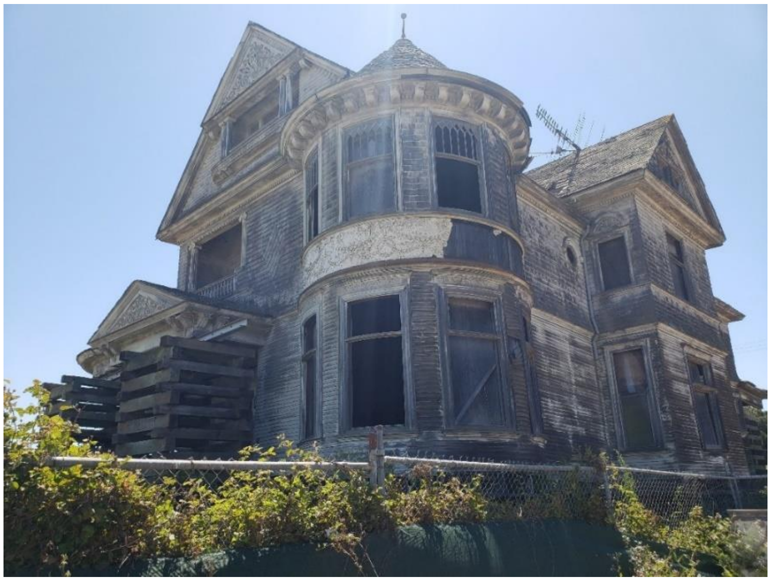


Figure 1.2 The Redman-Hirahara House. Photo taken June 10th, 2021 by author. View Southeast.

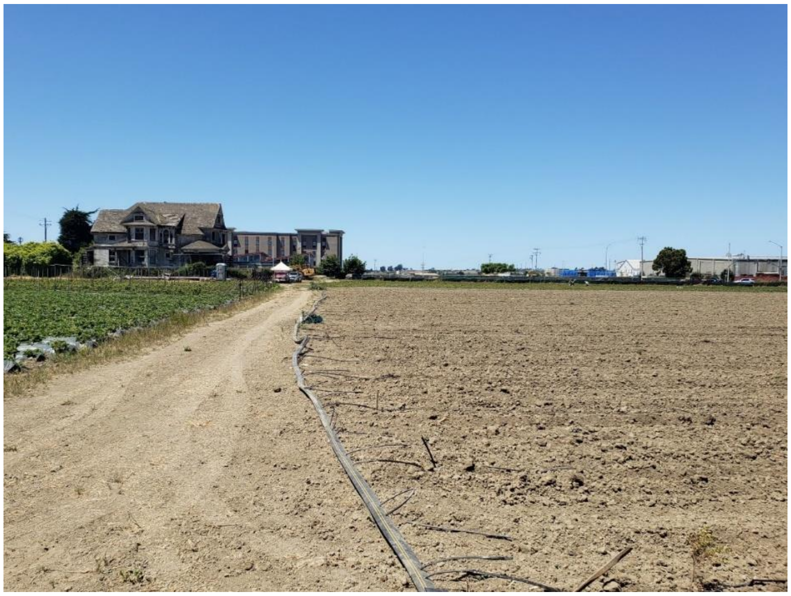


Figure 1.3 View of the Redman-Hirahara House and surrounding area (including Hampton Inn) from Highway 1. Photo taken June 10th, 2021 by author. View west.

This brief introduction serves as an entry point into the story of the Hirahara family and summarizes the information presented when first receiving the collection at UCSC. To properly establish the background of the house, the following paragraphs will add details, and names, to those multiple families reaching a crossroads on the grounds of the Hirahara farmstead. When James Redman bought the property in 1880 it was listed as 120 acres, as stated on the National Register of Historic Places registration form for the Redman house (National archives Catalogue 2023). Today, the property is listed as comprising 18 acres of land. After staying in the house for two decades as successful farmers, the Redman family put the house up for auction after the death of Ella Redman in the 1920s, the last Redman family member to be the primary owner of the land. At this time, the house was bought by J. Katsumi Tao, who served as the temporary "holder" of the property for the Hirahara family. The exact usage of the home is unknown during this time, but despite whether Mr. Tao lived there permanently or occasionally, the surrounding farmland was still being tended to by local farmers, keeping the house itself and the surrounding farmland in a relatively good state.

As a brother-in-law to Mitoshi Hirahara, J. Katsumi passed down the farmstead to Mitoshi's son Fumio Hirahara in 1940, who moved to the farm along with ten other family members, Mitoshi (father), Teyo (mother), Katsuji, Eiko, Yoshiko, Ben, Sumako, Noboru, Satoshi, and Wakako. Due to the racist laws in place that prevented Japanese immigrants from owning their own property, Fumio (age 16), the eldest sibling of the Hirahara family and a US citizen, was added to official documents to complete the transaction. However, shortly after this purchase the internment protocols were enacted and the Hirahara family was relocated to the Stockton "temporary assembly center" before being transported to the Rohwer incarceration camp.

During WWII, two of the Hirahara family's friends, a lawyer named John C. McCarthy and a farm contractor, Rose Cowles, managed the farmstead and maintained the house. Some members of the Hirahara family (Isamu, Susumu, Mitoshi, Teyo, and Shigeru) then returned to the farm on June 4th, 1945 taking in an additional Japanese family, the Hanes, who would reside in the carriage barn for the next three to four years, in exchange of farm labor (Ikeda 2008; Edwards 2010). This aspect of the site creates a unique opportunity to explore the pre-WWII period and post-WWII period of the Japanese diaspora in the United States through a diachronic perspective of homestead occupation and cultural change.

1880-1921	1921-1940	1940-1942	1942-1945	1945-1980s	1946-1950(?)
James Redman purchases property. House was built in 1897 and shared by Jon and his wife Ella.	J. Katsumi Tao purchases property at auction.	Fumio Hirahara inherits property from Tao family.	Rose Cowells and John McCarthy manage property.	Isamu, Susumu, Mitoshi, Teyo, and Shigeru return to farmstead. Home is sold after earthquake in 1980s.	Hane family return to Watsonville and stay in barn sharing space with the Tao family.

Table 1. Summary of farmstead ownership and habitation over time.

Much of what is known about the Hanes and their experience living in the barn comes from an extensive interview with Akihiro Hane (Aki for short) conducted by Rob Edwards in 2008 (Edwards 2010). Akihiro Hane was born in 1936 and was still in elementary school when the internment regulations were put into effect. His family became friends of the Hiraharas during the 1930s, though they numbered only four or five after most of them returned to Japan in 1938. After the exclusion zone was established, the Hane family was transported to the Salinas temporary detainment center followed later in 1942 by the Poston incarceration camp located in Arizona. After returning to Watsonville by train in 1946, the Hanes realized that they could not return to their previous home that, upon their departure, had been repossessed. Fortunately, the Hanes were able to reconnect with the Hiraharas who had reestablished themselves on their farmstead and allowed the Hanes to take up residency in their barn. There, depending on whether the individuals planned to stay in Watsonville, they lent a hand to the Hirahara family by tending to the farm, or used the space as a place to stay while searching for other jobs and viable places to move. Altogether, Aki suggested that up to 15 individuals were staying in the barn while he was there as a child in 1946, including his father, mother, uncle, and five children (including Aki) making up the Hane family, and seven members of the Tao family including mother, father, three sons and one daughter (Edwards 2010:7).

Orphaned Collections

Upon entering graduate school at UCSC, I did not have the intention of studying Japanese American diaspora archaeology. I initially entered the program anticipating research in Haiti concerning the Haitian slave revolution, plantations, and resistance from the enslaved community. My undergraduate dissertation examined incarceration archaeology, primarily through a lens of “internment archaeology” postulated by Adrian Myers (2013), which I will discuss in more detail in the second chapter of this dissertation. In short, this lens opens internment spaces to be applicable to any location dealing with the forced movement or confinement of peoples and persons. In this sense, Japanese American incarceration camps, plantations, and Nazi concentration camps could all fall under this purview, including refugee camps, or contemporary instances of incarceration on the US border or in the Uighur camps in China. Part of my undergraduate thesis discussed the Japanese incarceration camps in comparison with these other spaces, exploring the material culture recovered and the spatial layouts to understand the experiences of the people living in the camps. As such, while I had some knowledge of Japanese American incarceration, it was not the sole focus of my research interests.

When one of my professors mentioned that they had received a collection of materials which aligned with Japanese American diaspora research I readily accepted the offer to peruse the collection and help store it for the long term. The collection of materials and supporting documentation was stored in 54 banker’s boxes, taking up an impressive amount of square footage. In fact, the size of the collection and the potential for in-depth research were key factors for transferring the assemblage temporarily to UCSC from Cabrillo College. At the onset of the dissertation, thinking through where and how the materials would be stored in the future felt like a far-off reality, one that would require analysis and de-accessioning of numerous materials to the point of changing the size and scale of the collection itself. At the same time, it represented an opportunity to reinvigorate a collection that remained untouched for over a decade by consolidating and reorganizing the materials in a way that was conducive to my own research priorities. Having now completed the lab work with the materials, 11 boxes were removed during the cataloguing process, largely due to simple condensing of materials spread across multiple boxes and a reorganization of the large amount of field notes, documents, and journals stored from the field school. In the last year and a half of my dissertation, the reality of housing the materials became tangible and necessary. In the end, after a few polite declines from local museums, archives, and Japanese American organizations, the materials will be returned to Cabrillo College for long term storage.

This issue is not unique or even uncommon in archaeological literature. Today, and especially within the last 8 years, articles are published regularly instigating a change in practice across the field of anthropology and in handling orphaned, misplaced, or de-homed collections (Childs and Benden 2017; Jacobs and Porter 2021; Kelley et al. 2022; MacFarland and Vokes 2016; Montgomery and Supernant 2022; Wingfield 2017). This is not an exhaustive list of the many publications, symposiums, talks, or informal chats happening in anthropology departments across the U.S today, but this does showcase the contemporary, and ongoing, nature of this discussion. Childs and Benden (2017:12) reference a "crisis of curation" impacting the United States back in 2017 that is comprised of a range of factors including "Inadequate, unsecure storage space, shortage of professional curatorial staff, poor accessibility to collections for research and other uses, and orphaned collections" to name just a few. My project falls under the categorization of orphaned collections, but the surrounding factors mentioned by Childs and Benden are impossible to fully separate. Clearly, these issues have existed and been allowed to percolate deep into museum systems of the Westernized world for decades and now anthropologists across the globe are amid the subsequent repercussions. Orphaned collections are what I will discuss most in this introduction, while recognizing that the issue of a curation crisis is systemic and implicated through multiple aspects of the museum, archival, or academic fields, far beyond one single type of collection. Nevertheless, with the role of curator and goals of repatriation for this assemblage in mind, any researcher must confront what it means to work with orphaned collections and understand how the conversation has evolved across the field.

An orphaned collection refers to a collection of materials that has been separated from either the original project leader, or archaeologist, who recovered the materials, or materials that have lost their provenance altogether and have been donated or relocated to another facility. This can be due to lack of space to store said materials, death of key figures working on the project or those responsible for the collection, lack of funding to continue research and analysis of the materials, and so forth. No matter how a collection may become orphaned, these collections put a strain on the whole museum system. They require staff, students, or other trained specialists to carefully catalogue the materials, piece together any information they can find regarding the initial excavations, and in some cases research the subject and become a new steward for the materials. Often, records about the excavations, findings, or procedures are lost during those exchanges and some orphaned collections remain lodged on shelves for decades due to the high investment necessary to finish the archiving of that collection. As more collections like this find their way into archives and universities the space available in those repositories becomes filled with half completed collections containing little context about who curated it and how to continue the process of archiving the materials. Thus, a vicious cycle is started where orphaned collections lay stagnant for decades as archival facilities continue to process new submissions and new collections but do not have the resources to direct substantial time and energy into the stagnant orphaned collections.

In the case of the Hirahara materials, the descendant community who created them are still around today. The Hirahara family have expressed an interest in the proper storage of these materials, however most of the living members of the family today feel separated from the Hirahara farmstead and the context in which the materials derived. As such, the Hirahara family does not have a strong vested interest in claiming the materials for themselves and storing them amongst their own family and they do not have strong feelings or suggestions as to where the materials should be stored or archived for the future. This has put additional pressures to organize, facilitate, and collaborate with various archival facilities in the nearby area with the hopes that they may have space to accept the Redman-Hirahara collection.

As such, one goal of my project includes a program for condensing the number of boxes in the collection for long-term curation and integrating the collection with other, digital, established Japanese comparative collections created in the last few years. Establishing comparative collections has become a highly desired element to Japanese-Diaspora archaeology as a way of broadening the collective knowledge of diaspora researchers (Camp 2020:3). Throughout the analysis process, I entered all the artifactual data into an easily accessible excel database. Ideally, this updated spreadsheet and the documents produced from the 2005 field work will be available for comparative projects in the future and offer a simple way to conduct statistical analyses. Today, the collection belongs to the CCATP Archaeological Collections Facility on the Cabrillo Aptos campus. In 2005, when the materials were excavated and the field school was completed, the artifacts were listed as "temporarily" being housed within this facility (Edwards and Simpson-Smith 2005:16). In 2019, the materials were brought to UCSC by Rob Edwards who had early concerns about the storage space remaining at the CCATP. It was at this time that the materials were moved to a lab in the UCSC anthropology department, although there was no official transferal of ownership outside of verbal agreements. Because of this, the materials still belong to Cabrillo and the Archaeological Collections Facility, but they remain in temporary storage on the UCSC campus for the duration of my study.

Research Goals

The story of the Hirahara family presents an underrepresented aspect of the incarceration process. Questions about how the families managed to establish themselves before the war and how they were forced to change and adapt their lifestyles following incarceration are critical if we are to understand this historical event through a holistic anthropological lens. That said, tracking individuals and families after their wide dispersal during the war and following their departure from the camps – the focus of this dissertation - presents many challenges that can often make research on the post-war culture exceptionally difficult, if not impossible. As such, I have tailored three primary research questions to address these challenges while also adding to the scholarly understanding of the Japanese landscape on either side of the war. These questions are:

1. is there a clear spatial delineation visible in the archaeological record between the multiple families housed after the war?

2. Are there materials that can be diachronically placed specifically after, or before, the incarceration took place?

3. Do the materials further indicate a level of consumerism, social status, or culture that changes across this period?

Additionally, my project on the Hirahara house brings with it some unique challenges in this field. First, there has been historically little research into the periods before and after incarceration, which my project focuses on exclusively. Second, attempting to differentiate between the pre- and post-incarceration period with only a ~5-year interval between poses methodological challenges when using archaeological data. Third, some material types that are dated as modern trash or miscellaneous debris are interspersed with the other, historical, materials. These will have to be removed, and possibly de-accessioned, from the dataset but their presence amongst much of the collection can make them hard to distinguish. Altogether, the material analysis aims to answer these logistical questions pertinent to my research and produce a clear methodology and strategy for my dissertation and laboratory analysis.

The experiences of the Hanes, Hiraharas, and thousands of other Japanese families excluded during WWII left a lasting imprint on the history of the United States. These experiences have continued to impact the Nisei generation of Japanese immigrants and the remnants of the camps leave a strong reminder of the heinous acts committed during that period. Nevertheless, actions taken by the Japanese community while in the camps and afterwards has cemented feats of solidarity, selflessness, and strength that should similarly not be forgotten in time. Many descendent Japanese families have maintained a strong interest in the former concentration camps, offering funds, volunteering on archaeological excavations, and forming civic boards and councils for the repatriation of these spaces. It is my hope that this research concerning the Hirahara and Hane families, as well as the experiences within the incarceration camps, can align directly with the wants of these individuals and organizations, offering details of this time period for public and private use.

Another goal of this research is to share the story of the Hirahara family and the persistence, and cooperation between members of the Japanese American community that allowed for reassimilation back into their previous lives. By discussing ethnographic accounts of different Japanese family’s experiences in the periods before and after WWII, this dissertation also attempts to understand why there was a return, if any, to California following the incarceration and how different individuals were able to make that return journey and reestablish themselves in central California.

In summary, this project proposes archaeological analysis of the materials collected at the Hirahara house to assess behaviors and understand lifestyle changes on the individual, household scale. Specifically, the archaeological analysis attempts to separate the families living on the farm by way of dating materials and showcasing a comprehensive look at associated materials recovered in their unique contexts on the site. Although not each trench offered conclusive results, the materials do present a changing context over time, and there are indications that trench 2 is associated with the Hirahara family while trench 1 was used in an earlier period, overlapping with the Redman family. The results of the analysis serve to further support this method of analysis or suggest that the material culture of such a small, historical timeframe may not lend itself well to this type of study. Regardless of the artifactual conclusions, the narrative of incarceration is usually filled with how disruptive, inhumane, and costly both monetarily and emotionally the relocation act was for Japanese American families along the West coast. Exploring the periods surrounding incarceration can shed light on how people navigated this period and suggest why the central California Bay area was uniquely equipped to create a welcoming and supportive environment for those returning.

Lastly, his project also extends its impact to many millions of people today finding themselves in similar situations of internment around the world. In June of 2018 thousands of immigrants sat behind chain fences at the largest U.S immigration processing center in McAllen, Texas with 1,174 children being separated from their parents during this process. On August 21st, 2019, the Trump administration passed a rule that allowed for the lawful, indefinite detention of immigrants crossing the border illegally. During this time, they would be detained until their cases were heard, a process that averages 2-3 months and ranges upwards of multiple years. The situation has only escalated by 2021, with the number of detained children reaching 5,767 on Sunday, March 28th, and experts predicting that these numbers will only continue to rise in the following months (Sands and LeBlanc 2021). In December of 2019 murmurings of unlawful concentration camps set up by the Chinese government to detain, assimilate, and subdue those of the Uighur and other targeted ethnic groups surfaced the global news, sharing photos and stories of torture, imprisonment, and death. Today, over 110 million people around the world are recognized by the United Nations Refugee Agency to be forcibly displaced, with 36.4 million of those individuals classified as refugees (UNHCR 2023), fleeing their homes to escape from areas of environmental or wartime hostilities, and an additional 62.5 million internally displaced within their own countries. Scholars have preached about the importance of history and studying these past periods to keep them from repeating, however we continue to see these actions in modern times. Through the research presented here, I believe a greater understanding of the daily hardships, post traumatic stresses, and legal obstacles these communities face can be had, and using the Japanese experience in the U.S can offer organizations with the tools to support, free, and assist these continually growing populations in the most effective way possible.

Dissertation Overview

The journey of the Hirahara family and their embrace of the Hane family creates an archaeological context on the site that encompasses before and after the incarceration, potentially adding valuable insight to those periods which have historically received less attention than the sites of the incarceration camps themselves. This dissertation compares my archaeological analysis of previously excavated materials, oral narratives, archival materials, and ethnographic analysis of central California Japantowns in order to answer two primary questions: Why and how did the Hirahara and Hane families, and other Japanese individuals, return to California after WWII? Do the archaeological materials make it possible to delineate between the three different occupations of the farmstead (i.e., Redman Family pre-WWII, Hirahara Family pre- and post-WWII, and Hane Family post WWII)?

What started as organizing, sorting, and cataloguing an orphaned collection has grown into a project that encompasses the broader history of Japanese immigration into the United States including the incredible tale of the Hirahara family that both highlights the challenges and perseverance of individuals during the incarceration. Documenting the materials gathered from the Hirahara farmstead was a helpful starting point, but I soon realized that the story of the Hirahara family generated even more challenging questions and opportunities. Primarily, why did they choose to return to Watsonville following incarceration and how many others made that choice? How was their experience different or like others who also returned to Watsonville? Was this a rare phenomenon or did California see a wave of incarcerees return to California after the incarceration? While investigating these questions, the region of study expanded from Watsonville to the Monterey Bay region, to ethnographic accounts from across the west coast from those who were incarcerated or those who returned. The structure of the dissertation thus can be viewed as existing in two parts: the first recounts the experience of the Hirahara family and the experience of their neighbors and other Japanese Americans in the region from early immigration in the mid-1800s through the post-WWII era to the 1960s. This section aims to understand if and why so many would return to the West Coast after the traumatic exclusion experience and how the Japanese Americans who did return formulated a basis for the cultural and historical significance of these cities today. The first portion of the dissertation includes this introduction and Chapter 2 which discusses the theoretical background for the project and how anthropological theories of place and home can be used to explain and answer some of those questions. Chapter 3 continues with Japanese diaspora studies and early Japanese settlement in the US. Chapter 4 examines incarceration of Japanese Americans during WWII, and Chapter 5 focuses on the return period following incarceration. Together, these 5 chapters paint a picture of and provide background for the Hirahara farmstead site and Japanese presence in the United States from roughly 1860-1960.

The second part of the dissertation dives into the archaeology of the Hirahara home, showcasing key materials recovered from the 2005 investigation and my efforts at delineating the different contexts within the larger site. This portion of the dissertation seeks to answer if it is possible to delineate the time periods between the pre-incarceration, during the incarceration, and post-incarceration on the site based on the materials recovered. The small timeframes expressed here have been historically difficult to separate with a purely archaeological perspective, but the unique history of the Hirahara farmstead is perhaps one of a few contexts where this separation can be seen due to the multiple different owners and mixed habitation of the farmstead that showcased these changes along major transitional periods such as WWII and the post-incarceration landscape. The remaining chapters correlate to the material discussion, beginning with Chapter 6, which outlines prior and contemporary archaeological research into Japanese American incarceration and other relevant sites. Chapter 7 addresses the Hirahara collection and explains the cataloguing and analysis methods. Chapter 8 summarizes and provides a discussion of key material findings, potential meanings, and any changes of practice made visible through the material culture. A concluding chapter summarizes those points and ties the later material discussion back to the ethnographic findings in the earlier chapters. Additionally, it connects the findings of this dissertation with current events and global instances of contemporary incarceration or alternative instances in the not-so-distant past.

CHAPTER 2: Theoretical Perspectives on Internment, Place, and Home

The first portion of this chapter will focus on archaeology theory in the context of internment: spaces inhabited through a social context of power dynamics, inequality, forced labor, and trauma, with the primary goal of illustrating my theoretical background and how I initiated my research. The second portion of the chapter will transition to theories of *Place, Home,* and *Landscape* as they relate to the Hirahara family's specific experience that can help confront the major questions of this dissertation concerned with why and how Japanese Americans flourished in 19th and 20th century California, and why those impacts are still visible and prominent today. To define internment, I will borrow a definition from Adrian Myers (2011:2) who said "In the most general archaeological sense, incarceration or internment might be described as the practice of organizing material culture and space to control and restrict the movement of a person or a group of people. Sites of internment can range in scale from a single room or building to entire landmasses." This broad lens allows for the examination of the sites as both independent spaces with unique social, political, and economic systems as well as places that share the experience of suffering and confinement through their inhabitants. Notably, this perspective does not apply to other adjacent forms of isolated communities, maroons, confinement, or in some cases refugees as it primarily focuses on forced movements of peoples by other controlling parties.

The archaeology of internment is a relatively new field, largely based in historical archaeology, that has unique contributions to anthropology and our current political climate. Archaeological excavations have been conducted in slavery plantations, Nazi concentration camps, Japanese American internment camps, marooned communities, prisons, colonial missions, as well as other contexts across the globe. In all these situations, the discussion of human suffering is raised with the central question of how archaeologists can study peoples in times of hardship using the materials they leave behind and the spaces they inhabited to create an accurate representation of their daily lives within forced institutionalization. This chapter aims to examine the theoretical background within archaeology and anthropology that is required for studies of incarceration, tracing theoretical trends into contemporary archaeological excavations, and debating how attainable such insights are in practice. The latter half of the chapter transitions to conceptions of place and home, theories that pair with the ethnographic research for the dissertation concerning the incarceration of Japanese Americans specifically and the return journey from that context. First, an in-depth look at how internment archaeology has been discussed in the existing literature.

Archaeologies of Internment

The archaeology of interned peoples has grown significantly over the past few decades. Historical archaeologists interested in WWII labor camps, Japanese American incarceration, transatlantic slavery, institutionalized confinement, maroons, and refugee camps are just a few of the variations seen today in the literature (Burton 2015, 2017; Casella 2007; Clark 2018; Mider 2013; Myers 2011; Shew 2013; Singleton 1985; Starzmann 2015, 2014; Swader 2015). Relatively speaking, due to its prominence within the U.S and extended history of research discourse, research on enslavement has the largest body of background literature in the field of archaeology when compared to other categories of internment. Mostly, this research is conducted in the United States, West Africa, and the Caribbean following the path of the African diaspora (Delle 1998; Ferguson 1992; Haviser 1999; Kusimba 2004; Marshall 2012; Sayers et al 2007; Singleton 1995). An important concept to remember when considering differing places of internment is that each site has its own unique history and political, social, economic, and cultural affiliations. In other words, a plantation that was established in the antebellum south of the United States has considerable differences from a plantation located in the Caribbean; likewise, a Japanese American incarceration camp in the U.S may be drastically different from a concentration camp in Nazi Germany. This chapter intends to view these spaces through the shared, social experience of suffering, something universally equated with internment and, as I argue, conducive to a larger discussion of experience and practice. It should be stressed that an in-depth understanding of any unique situation of internment, and thus the individuals within, would require extensive knowledge of the history and social factors surrounding its construction.

Historical archaeology deserves special mention when conducting archaeology on these types of sites, offering the benefit of accessing historical documents, written records, site maps, and oral traditions that are often difficult, or outright impossible, to surmise in pre-historical archaeological work. While there are ample examples of historical archaeology concerning violence and suffering within plantation, internment, and incarceration settings (e.g., Casella 2007; Colls 2012; Farnsworth 2000; Hernandez 2017; Myers 2011; Pollock 2016; Singleton 2015; Starzmann 2015), discussions of violence or suffering often make up a small portion of their findings or in their analysis of material culture. Farnsworth specifically comments on this trend in the early 2000's noting a surprising lack of discussion of punishment and violence in historical, U.S plantations relative to African enslavement in general (Farnsworth 2000:145). Regardless, historical archaeology still stands to access far more data relevant to individuals and their experiences.

There are a few ways in which archaeologists have interpreted suffering in their research. The postmodern critique is a contemporary trend suggesting the impossibility of knowing the past or, in this case, understanding another person's experience as it was lived. Pollock discusses this concept in depth when she was tasked with a CRM project on a WWII Nazi labor camp (Pollock and Bernbeck 2016). Her sentiments are perhaps best summed from her statement

> "If we content ourselves with giving an account of general conditions because we are unable to come closer to what really happened, this will result in a dangerous confusion: taking abstracted conditions for (an unknowable) reality that lies at their core, an intellectual attitude that allows a comparison of camps in Nazi Germany with those for refugees in Jordan today, prisoners in Guantanamo, or elsewhere" (Pollock 2016:30)

Regardless of the ways that other archaeologists argue bridging the gap between materials and lifeways, Pollock believes it is wholly unethical to infer experiences in this way. Perhaps more pertinent is the fact that her statement directly contradicts any comparative strategies in incarceration research. Furthermore, it creates a paradox: if suffering is an experience that should be exposed or acknowledged to rid ourselves of narratives that downplay the hardships endured by interned individuals, but we are unable to adequately express or communicate it, then how should it be studied (Adorno 2007:367)? This is a reoccurring theme in anthropological literature, the recognition of the controversial nature of these sites paired with the consensus that they are unavoidable topics if one is to study places of internment (Meyers 2011:5).

What this tends to produce in archaeological excavations and research is a focus on a few, specific artifacts from these sites. Pollock (2016) dedicates entire segments of the paper to what can only be assumed as the most impactful finds. These goods include marbles, a condom, and a few acrylic fragments that were recovered. A similar case is reflected in Maria Starzmann's publications on the Tempelhoff airfield labor camp used during WWII in Germany. While not adhering to the post-modernist perspective as strongly as Pollock, the materials Starzmann investigates are limited to fragments of glass, ceramics, a piston cylinder, and an RPM counter (Starzmann 2015). By showing specific materials in this way, it affects how others may perceive the historical realities of each place. Continuing Pollock's example, it is as if the limitations of understanding experience or suffering are also limiting general archaeological conclusions, requiring the need for artifacts that contain some form of identifiable element to be useful. Critiques of Pollock suggest this postmodern attitude is simply an excuse or avoidance of central discussions that must be had when dealing with these materials.

One may argue that this is due to the limited amounts of materials expected/recovered from sites of this nature, which, in general, tends to be a decent rule to follow. With this line of thinking, these are the only artifacts that offer conclusive data on the activities and daily life at the camps. However, I believe that it is more important to share the total amount of materials recovered (as "utilitarian" as they may be) for a holistic view of the practices. Moreover, these frequently overlooked materials add to the structural, comparative model I propose for viewing experiences of suffering. In the following sections, as more strategies of study are revealed which aim to showcase individual suffering, it is vital to communicate how they overcome these anecdotes of the post-modern critique.

Naturalization and Structuration

Cultural anthropologists have been key players in laying the foundation for studies of suffering and memorializing. The anthropology of suffering entered mainstream literature during the 1980s and 1990s in response to global and local accounts of human suffering. WWII, famine, civil war, the Rwandan genocide, the Khmer Rouge regime in Cambodia, civil rights movements, and more produced a greater number of subjects around the world with accounts of their individual institutionalization and internment. Anthropologists actively working in this field focus on the experience of suffering (Kleinman 1996; Nietzsche 1957; Wilkinson 2016) or on the systems of structural violence that surround these spaces (Farmer 2004; Foucault 1977; Holmes 2013; Mider 2013).

One key discussion about the experience of suffering is how it can be naturalized or relativized. The range of suffering in human experience is outlined by Arthur Kleinman who says "There is no single way to suffer; there is no timeless or spaceless universal shape to suffering. There are communities in which suffering is devalued and others in which it is endowed with the utmost significance. The meanings and modes of the experience of suffering have been shown by historians and anthropologists alike to be greatly diverse" (Kleinman and Kleinman 1996:2). As such, it is important to avoid naturalizing individual experiences, an argument shared by post-modernists who tend to avoid the discussion of experience altogether. Instead, Kleinman argues that one can discuss suffering as a social experience through "Collective modes of experience [shaping] individual perceptions and expressions" or social interactions within an "illness experience" (Kleinman and Kleinman 1996:3). These two strategies share a similar perspective in viewing suffering socially, making our previous theoretical views of constructing social identity relevant and necessary to our research questions.

The study of suffering from what one may term the "structural perspective" is a commonly cited technique for studying suffering and violence linked with the understanding of surrounding structures, positionality, symbolism, or social settings that perpetuate an individual's experiences. Anthony Giddens (1984:16), often cited as the main contributor of structuration theory, describes structuration as “characteristically thought of not as patterning of presences but as an intersection of presence and absence; underlying codes have to be inferred from surface manifestations” He goes on to explain

> “Structure thus refers, in social analysis, to the structuring properties allowing the ‘binding’ of time-space in social systems, the properties which make it possible for discernibly similar social practices to exist across varying spans of time and space and which lend them ‘systemic form’” (Giddens 1984:16-17).

Structuration in this sense refers to the background factors that produce social practices, leading to a potential comparison of such structures that produce experiences of suffering. Gaining insight into these contexts archaeologically becomes possible using feminist, Marxist, and practice theories but anthropologists across all subfields apply this methodology in their work. Structuration theory has thus produced a slew of subfields that focus on specific structures and how these systems interact to produce a singular, identifiable, social construct.

This concept of structural violence is presented in Hernández’s book concerning the high concentration of incarceration found in Los Angeles from the inception of the LA prison complex in the late 1700s to the 1960s (2017). Not only is this a great example of anthropological considerations of incarceration, but one of Hernández’s main arguments throughout the book is how the incarceration system is set up under the strict guidance of structural violence. In this case, the structural systems on which it was built allows for the massive incarceration complex to exist, stemming from early settler colonialism and the unending pursuit of European settlers to occupy U.S land and assert their dominant culture (Hernández 2017:7). Seeing as European settlers had no motivations to support or assimilate with existing Native American communities, this mass incarceration is used to control the population and instead rid indigenous cultures of any sense of their native sovereignty. Thus, the contemporary prison system that persists to this day is rooted in systemic, racialized, and settler colonial ideals designed to acquire land and build permanent structures for those in power. Viewing incarceration from this lens exposes similar conceptions of past anti-Chinese immigration sentiments in the late 1800's all the way to the Japanese American incarceration during WWII, allowing researchers to mark these long-term structural similarities across multiple forms, and scales, of internment and incarceration.

Mider (2013) defines structural violence as a "type of violence [that] is not focused on the dominant culture (i.e., "soft violence"), but on the institutions and social structures that force individuals to follow certain patterns of behavior and sustain pressure on them." He goes on to explain "Structural violence may result in suffering and death of those subject to it, just as in the case of direct physical violence. In addition, structural violence generates direct violence – on the part of those subject to oppression and…on the part of the oppressors" (Mider 2013:705). Viewing suffering from the perspective of structural violence alters the general dichotomy of victim and oppressor. Instead of declaring the oppressor as evil, one gains insight into the political and social atmosphere allowing for violence and punishment to occur. Within plantation and labor camps, for example, structural violence may occur in the organization of housing (the term "barracks" alone perpetuates a structure of regimentation and confinement), laws effecting marginalized groups and acted upon by enforcers, hierarchical organization of persons, or economic and social conditions that make it difficult to remove oneself from their oppressed position. However, it also overgeneralizes or normalizes such practices; insisting that these structures exist in every context removes unique experiences of suffering and specific cultural context. Thus, it is critiqued as being too vague and widely applicable to many phenomena in addition to experiences of suffering, violence, and internment. This is remedied in part by the integration of symbolic violence which is heavily intersected with structural violence.

Symbolic violence, introduced by French philosopher Pierre Bourdieu, "manifests itself through socialization and communication activities, with its effect being the development and implementation of specific cultural patterns: values, symbols, customs, and attitudes, as the ones without alternatives" (Mider 2013:706; Bourdieu 1990). Whereas structural violence focuses on "tangible" concepts of organization and social practice, symbolic violence is created and reproduced through perceptions and instilled status. Racism and racist ideas are typical examples of symbolic violence, including but not limited to social hierarchies based on skin color, claiming biological superiority, or engineering inferiority through the reproduction of customs, ideas, and practices. Understanding both the structural and symbolic conditions in places of internment is one method of revealing and discussing experiences of individuals and how suffering and violence is perpetuated in these contexts.

Likewise, this idea has been introduced to activist anthropology. In his ethnography written about migrant farmworkers in the United States, Seth Holmes says “If we social scientists are to research, theorize, and confront socially structured suffering, we must join with others in a broad effort to denaturalize social inequalities, uncovering linkages between symbolic violence and suffering. In this way, the lenses of perception as well as the social inequalities they reinforce can be recognized, challenged, and transformed” (Holmes 2013:185). The symbolic and structural violence Holmes is referring to manifests in the laws, language barriers, stereotypes, racism, capitalist economy, and social hierarchies that effect the Triqui migrant workers daily. These external factors are existent in many contexts, available to anthropologists in most regions, and, as Holmes suggests, integral in recognizing forms of disparity. Understanding the underlying structural elements of the incarceration context helps researchers navigate this complicated subject, but doing so also tends to separate the human side of the incarceration stories from the material goals of archaeology. The next section provides ways to consider those personal aspects of incarceration and how society remembers and conserves those spaces in cultural memory.

Memory, Conservation, and Heritage

In addition to the focus on individual human suffering, anthropology has also been at the forefront of researching how societies memorialize and commemorate these traumatic events. These questions center around making sense of the past; attempting to understand these global events that were more visible and frequent than ever before. These concepts grew into anthropological research concerning remembrance, ethics and humanitarianism, and conservation efforts (Connerton 1989; Farmer 2004; Handler 1997; Hayes 2018; Holmes 2013; Kleinman 1996; Nietzsche 1957; Skultans 1998; Wilkinson 2016). Using research conducted by cultural anthropologists discussing their own ethnographic accounts and research on suffering is integral in the ethical debate of conversing about these topics. Anthropology has already begun the discourse of who can narrate the past, whether this refers to researchers, or communities that believe sites of suffering should be destroyed. Drawing from both sources will allow for a greater perception of suffering as a human experience as well as the potential ability to infer experiences from the archaeological record. Diving deep into the perception, structure, and presentation of memories through museums and collections is an integral part of knowledge sharing that is too large for the scope of this paper. It holds true that exploring how experiences are preserved would offer insight into narration of the past, but this section will constrain the discussion to memory in general, attempting to focus the discussion on individual human experiences.

In the last decade heritage studies have been at the forefront of studying sites that hold traumatic or horrific experiences. In the literature, these subject manifests as “dissonant” or “difficult” heritage that focuses on oppressive political regimes associated with terrorism, concentration camps, internment, genocide, or any place that holds collective traumas (Harrison 2013:193). This body of literature is directly descended from an extended history of heritage studies that focuses on ethical and collaboratively representing, memorializing, and showcasing the perseverance of historically marginalized peoples, in addition to laying the groundwork for manifestations of cultural heritage around the world. In relation to heritage, which is created through places of trauma, scholars have attempted to explore how they can be memorialized and how to best navigate the multitude of perspectives regarding each specific monument, artifact, or traumatic space (Foote 2003; Logan 2009; Macdonald 2008; Young 2016a, 2016b).

This section will not piece apart the individual conclusions drawn from these studies, but still warrants a brief statement that the ideas presented were born from this existing literature. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it turns out that dealing with places of dissonant heritage is immensely difficult; heritage professionals must consider the afflicted party and recognize their contempt for such spaces while also navigating their own duties of preserving the historical significance of the place or event. This is also reflected in the discussions around reparations for past traumas or experiences. People who have been exposed to a dramatic event bound to the confines of a specific place tend to carry with them a slew of emotions and discontent upon revisiting such places. However, the solution for memorializing these places ranges greatly, divided between two extremes of total pulverization and a full monument/memorial dedicated to the tragedies that have occurred. Confronting these spaces and difficult histories is in the forefront of archaeological work today and being able to cross the line between the analysis of material culture and efforts to work with affected communities -- to represent their desires of recognition and their perseverance in cultural memory -- is only becoming more important as we move into a new decade.

On the topic of memory and its role in heritage, Connerton discusses how memory is influenced by both the past and present by saying “We experience our present world in a context which is causally connected with past events and objects, hence with reference to events and objects which we are not experiencing when we are experiencing the present. And we will experience our present differently in accordance with the different pasts to which we are able to connect that present” (Connerton 1989:2). This quote, while focused on the present, highlights the material link with memory, and the difficulty in constructing accurate memories for a social group or individual. As such, if one is in possession of only materials left behind there is extreme difficulty in attributing experiences.

Furthermore, projecting a false history is potentially dangerous when the present is constructed through these past narratives. In his book, *The Use and Abuse of History*, Friedrich Nietzsche proposes three kinds of history: monumental, antiquarian, and the critical (Nietzsche 1957:17). Based on his descriptions, the history constructed in this dissertation is the antiquarian, or the contentment with taking accurate history at face value to construct the present, as opposed to selecting specific events for the betterment of the future (monumental) or judging and condemning actions in the past to live a content life. Speaking towards antiquarian history, he says "Antiquarian history degenerates from the moment that it no longer gives a soul and inspiration to the fresh life of the present" (Nietzsche 1957:20). When utilizing both author's descriptions of memory and history one can imagine the challenges of constructing memories alongside Nietzsche's view that it is necessary to use antiquarianism as it is applicable to modern people. In summary, both Connerton and Nietzsche encourage the use of memories, even memories presented through materials and history, for the benefit of knowledge in present civilization.

Elaborating on social and collective memory is useful for incarceration research, both of which are studied by Connerton and across multiple disciplines (Boyer 2009; Connerton 1989, 2011; Duling 2011). Social memory broadly refers to the way in which societies use memories to construct their contemporary society, actions, and surroundings. These memories are often shared between many and reinforce a narrative or series of events that are generally thought of as "truth" or "fact." Connerton makes a point to separate social memory and social reconstruction by saying "Historical reconstruction is thus not dependent on social memory. Even when no statement about an event or custom has reached the historian by an unbroken tradition from eyewitnesses, it is still possible for the historian to discover what has been completely forgotten" (Connerton 1989:14). As such, when historians construct social memory, it is possible to develop new, or more accurate, representations of the past despite what the social memory suggests. Social memory is also connected to its inverse concept: collective forgetfulness. This is a product of dominating collective memories that rid the discourse of alternative histories or possible events. In the specific examples of internment, this may also be a purposeful forgetfulness, an attempt for the suffering generation to forget and move past their traumatic experiences. In either case, there is power found in the ability to decide what is remembered and what is forgotten, and the individuals or groups with that power change drastically based on the context of the events. Now, the discussion will move away from dealing with sites of incarceration and trauma specifically to broader theories of place and home to assist in discussing the ethnographic research for this project.

Theory of Place

When I first encountered the idea of place in an anthropological context while researching my dissertation, it was as if a light bulb went off in my head. For many months while organizing and cataloguing the material collection I wrestled with the question of: why did any Japanese family want to return to California at all after forced incarceration? Of course, with the individual experience of the Hirahara family explained to me, I had a decent understanding of their personal motivations and various views. Afterall, even amongst the Hirahara family, not everyone made their immediate return to Watsonville in 1945. However, when I expanded my thinking to the post-WWII landscape and the multitudes of incarcerates who returned to California as well as the contemporary movements to publicize and bolster this history, I found myself again questioning why anyone would return to a state that mandated removal from their homes and sent them hundreds of miles away. That is, until I started reading about *Place* in other anthropological studies and outside fields. Walking through the streets of the Japantown in San Jose it dawned that it may be due to this *embodied* place of community that allowed for, and encouraged, this return to happen.

Place as a theoretical concept entered anthropological and social science circles in the late 70's with Edward Relph's *Place and Placelessness* (1976). This book showcased a phenomenological view of place in which Relph argues places are simultaneously experienced and created through the human beings moving and residing within them (also see Tilley 1994). Phenomenology is crucial in Relph's writings due to the focus on the senses and creating a "sense of place" through all the senses human beings use to orientate themselves as well as their personal experiences and memories. This sense of space as being embodied is the key aspect to delineating a *Place* from an anonymous place found on a map, or from a town, or even a landscape. *Place* in this form is intrinsically linked with an individual and their experience, fostering a connected community and culture. In Feld and Basso's updated *Senses of Place* (1996) they summarize this idea in a passage I find myself returning to often

> "Minimally, places gather things in their midst -where "things" connote various animate and inanimate entities. Places also gather experiences and histories, even language and thoughts. Think only of what it means to go back to a place you know, finding it full of memories and expectations, old things

> and new things, the familiar and the strange, and much more besides. What else is capable of this massively diversified holding action?" (24)

This quote not only showcases the "power" of place with its ubiquitous nature composed of simply "things" but also emphasizes how places themselves gather, and are informed by, the experiences of those who find themselves in that place. Understanding the impact of places on individuals and how they come to be such places of significance is key for thinking of the Japantowns, or the Hirahara farmstead itself, as a historically rich yet ever-changing place.

Today, place is used in many different disciplines and cross-disciplinary work. While I am focusing on the anthropological conception of place, the same idea is discussed in academic circles in geography, GIS, art, city planners, and by politicians. Often, place is used for referencing how to plan future cities and expansions while fairly and accurately representing its people and properly reflecting the cultures found within those spaces (Cresswell 2015:1-3). In many ways, all the mentioned fields attempt to construct and understand space in the same way: by understanding the people who live and embody that space. However, the motivations may differ drastically depending on the background of the researcher. The goals of a city-planner altering or making additions to an existing place for example are concerned with the future of the space, attempting to draw people in through the expression of an existing culture and simultaneously promising new, bigger, and better features in their expansion. Alternatively, this section thinks theoretically about the construction and contents of place to explore historical events and how and why places exist as they appear today in our world. In fact, there are so many potential players in the construction of place that Hayden (1995) highlights some potential challenges in working with these diverse groups:

> "Different kinds of organizations may find it difficult to work together on large urban themes. Often, groups simply ignore the other areas of activity. In the worst case, they criticize each other's points of view: social historians are baited as overconcerned with class, race, and gender; architectural preservationists are attacked as being in the grip of real estate developers promoting gentrification; environmentalists are lampooned as idealists defending untouched nature and unimportant species while human needs go unattended; commemorative public art is debated as ugly or irrelevant to social needs." (45).

This anecdote continues to ring true as the conversation surrounding the proper usage of place theory often ends after considering place as a multi-disciplinary theory. However, as Hayden explained these relationships and ideas for what place means and how to use it can be drastically different across the board. As someone whose work is concerned with class, race, and gender as well as the future of these spaces, this sentiment is appreciated. While there is little space to dive into all the various fields that intersect with place, it is important to keep in mind the diverse nature of the topic and understand that place is incredibly complex and thus, those fields may choose to make drastically different actions following the ideals of their own place theory.

The following section aims to explore the embodied sense of place, rooted in an anthropological/historical perspective, which may have played a large role in motivating people to return to California following WWII. Similarly, the next section explores how places have power through the combination of being embodied in nature and kept in the social memory zeitgeist. Additionally, it will contrast Place with a similar, sometimes interchangeable, concept of landscape.

Embodied Place

One of the most crucial aspects in understanding place is how they are embodied. Generally, this refers to how places are products of the cultural norms, activities, and people who inhabit those spaces. Rather than a place being inherently imbued with power, their lasting impressions are generated by those who reside within space through their actions, experience, and culture that they bring with them into said space. This stance is taken often in large part because culture is similarly embodied in the individuals who comprise it, with perhaps the most common example of this being Bourdieu's concept of habitus (1977). Habitus postulates that humans are creatures of habit or daily actions, and it is through these daily activities that culture is inherently formed. If humans thus carry culture with them, they must also be present in a place to similarly imbue that place with culture. Feld and Basso (1996) clearly emphasize this fact in their introduction to place:

> "To be located, culture also has to be *embodied*. Culture is carried into places by bodies. To be encultured is to be embodied to begin with…Moreover, just

> as the body is basic to enculturation, so to the body is itself always already enculturated. No more than space is prior to place is the body prior to culture. Rather than being a passive recipient or mere vehicle of cultural enactments, the body is itself enactive of cultural practices by virtue of its considerable powers of incorporation, habituation, and expression. And as a creature of habitus, the same body necessarily *inhabits* places that are themselves culturally informed" (34)

The analogy in this quote about space prior to place being the same concept as body prior to culture succinctly communicates the perceptions of place outlined in this dissertation. It points out that almost any space can become a place if people are there to curate it. In fact, people must be present for culture, and thus place, to occur. Margaret Rodman (1992) also emphasizes this point by explaining that

> "places are socially constructed by the people who live in them and know them; they are politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions.
>
> Place can have a unique reality for each inhabitant, and while the meanings may be shared with others, the views of place are often likely to be competing and contested in practice" (Editors Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003:203).

The main takeaway here is how places are socially constructed, but they also share a different reality for everyone in that place. This is another aspect of the embodied place that is incredibly important, and simultaneously why place as a concept can be an incredibly difficult thing to describe.

The San Jose Japantown was an exceptional place for me to change my perspective on the concept of place and the power they may hold. Largely, this was due to the prominent cultural features staggered across the streets in the forms of plaques, signs, and monuments all dedicated to the generations of Japanese Americans that worked to bolster the city as well as the subsequent hardships they endured during the incarceration. When walking those streets, I felt the pride and perseverance of that community as I read and photographed numerous historical monuments. However, this perception of place is still my unique perspective from an outsider separated by both time and kinship to the events which transpired here. While the community of San Jose collectively makes up the spirit of the Japantown, individual members of that community may still share a completely different perspective on San Jose, even one of disdain. Still, all these varying perspectives come together to present a sense of place, even if it is constructed from individuals who share different viewpoints and cultures. For example, it is not only the Japanese people in Watsonville that created a sense of place in the Japantown, but also Chinese immigrants who laid the foundation for that community residing just across the river, the white policemen who respected and protected the community, or the racist business owners who wanted the community removed. All these experiences form a sense of place and engrain it in history as we know it, and it is through the exploration of all these factors that we understand place and their historical significance today.

Such impactful places are built from generic spaces by lived experience through ALL our senses. Embodying a place is done subconsciously while living and being there. However, just as tuning all your senses can be a challenge, understanding how these senses interact and overlap to create these places is a similar challenge to the researcher. As such, designing a sense of place or attributing a sense of place to somewhere can only truly be experienced from being in that place (Feld and Basso 1996:17-18). That said, there are images and descriptions provided in the next chapters concerning the Japanese American experience in San Jose and Watsonville that remain a fundamental and public aspect of the characterization of those spaces. Specifically, it would be more accurate to describe the Japantowns within the greater city complex using these examples rather than the entire city overall, especially based on the public showcases of ethnicity, but where do we draw this line? And how does this line impact our view of each city overall as a place? Someone who never found themselves between 7th Street and Mission Street in downtown San Jose, for example, might have a completely different perspective and could easily overlook the Japantown and the associated history entirely. This is at the heart of the complications of place where we attempt to link sociocultural aspects of space to an individual's own lived experience.

One way to wrestle with this is to understand place as having a historical trajectory that heavily impacts the cities that we experience today. The places are still formed and embodied through contemporary experiences of people moving within them, but those experiences are similarly altered by the history of the place. This is extra pertinent to the discussion on how these spaces have changed and been altered through time, especially surrounding WWII and transitioning into the post-war climate. Massey (1995) also emphasizes this point when thinking of place from a geographical and city planning mindset. Below are two quotes to showcasing the way Massey discusses how places are informed by their history:

> "All of them indicate a feeling that there is or has been some kind of disruption between the past of these places and at least some elements of their present or their potential future. Indeed, in all these cases 'the past' is seen in some sense to embody the real character of the place" (183).
>
> "It is not just that a world is 'maintained' in the names of old streets. It is also that a (historical) world is created. If the past transforms the present, helps thereby to make it, so too does the present make the past. All of which is really a way of saying that in trying to understand the identity of places we cannot separate space from time, or geography from history" (187).

These quotes show how much Massey emphasizes the connectedness of past and present in space. We know that places are embodied through the culture people bring to them and the experiences had within them, but this connection allows those past experiences to simultaneously impact the contemporary experiences people share today. At the same time, Massey insists that the past must be considered when discussing places, or in plans to expand/redesign them. This melding of geography practices with ideas found in social sciences is another aspect of place that resonates here, and today it is imperative to take into account both the past and the present when designing and altering contemporary spaces. This connection also links to the previous section on collective, social memory as it is these memories informing today's climate. The next section will discuss in more depth how social memory and the individual give these embodied places power.

Power of Place

The power of place is constructed both through its embodied nature and its presence in social memory. Although certain places may provoke extraordinary feelings from individuals within them, the power of place lies in its ability to influence and meld with the collective social memories for generations. These places transcend the importance of the individual and become cultural landmarks where diverse individuals can go to experience that power felt within history. In this way, place intertwines with Connerton's perception of social memory, becoming the backdrop, location, or experience which cements historical events in that memory. Hayden (1995) also emphasizes this interplay between place and social memory heavily in her work. She argues

> "Public space can help to nurture this more profound, subtle, and inclusive sense of what it means to be an American. Identity is intimately tied to memory: both our personal memories (where we have come from and where we have dwelt) and the collective or social memories interconnected with the histories of our families, neighbors, fellow workers, and ethnic communities.

> Urban landscapes are storehouses for these social memories, because natural features such as hills or harbors, as well as streets, buildings, and patterns of settlement, frame the lives of many people and often outlast many lifetimes" (9).

Hayden comes to this discussion from the perspective of geography and city planning. Those leanings add greater nuance to the conversation as one must not only think off the power places have from events in the past, but also how best to expand cities with new additions that add to the spirit of the place rather than burying those old experiences or hiding them altogether. This perspective further emphasizes the power that places have considering city planners and those interested in contemporary spaces and the future must also keep in mind the longstanding history in those locations. As such, she labels the power of place as "the power of ordinary urban landscapes to nurture citizens' public memory, to encompass shared time in the form of shared territory" (Hayden 1995:9). Additionally, the embodying of space through all senses further contributes to the power of place and its ability to be rooted in memory. Because they are experienced with a myriad of senses, they become a powerful source of memory for those who experience them, and thus a cycle is created in which the power of place is perpetuated through the continued re-experience of them from multiple different individuals though time.

However, the power of place does come with some drawbacks for certain communities. For Hayden, this manifests most prominently in underrepresented ethnicities, minorities, gender roles, and the "other" who are often erased and ignored from events of history. Because the power is drawn from these past experiences, it is painful to consider just how many of such experiences are lost to history in these spaces. As such, contemporary considerations of city expansion or community event organizations consider this forgotten history with the utmost importance. This dissertation intends to follow these guidelines as well by not only focusing on the Hirahara family and their experience as immigrants but also how the greater community of Japanese Americans in the Bay area have left a profound impact on our society. There is no doubt that San Jose, Watsonville, Monterey, and more will continue to celebrate this long history in central California and consolidate those experiences into the power of these places. If they choose to ignore this history, it will just serve to repeat similar mistakes of the past and eliminate a vital aspect of the culture found there today. Hayden (1995) further emphasizes this point as well, stating

> "Place memory encapsulates the human ability to connect with both the built and natural environments that are entwined in the cultural landscape. It is the key to the power of historic places to help citizens define their public pasts: places trigger memories for insiders, who have shared a common past, and at the same time places often can represent shared pasts to outsiders who might be interested in knowing about them in the present." (46)

Here, Hayden reiterates the importance of maintaining places of social and cultural significance. Taken all together, this philosophy would continue the tradition of protecting places of significance, add respect to the past and present experiences of people in those spaces, and solidify an importance for these spaces to be conserved for the future. Furthermore, this quote showcases why the ethnographic aspects of this dissertation have become so important. Placing these major cities in the Monterey Bay region as places of significance for numerous immigrant groups that continues to support a diverse population today is central to understanding why so many Japanese Americans may have returned here after the war. It also showcases how place is created from within and from the outside simultaneously, as the place triggers specific memories for those who experienced the space themselves, and others who want to learn from those experiences with an outsider's perspective to understand the historic context, contemporary culture, or become immersed themselves with a new sense of place.

On Place and Landscape

Before moving to the theory of home it is important to discuss how place relates to landscape. Sometimes, landscape and place are used interchangeably in literature (Setha and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003, Jackson and Penrose 1993), and sometimes they are used to explore different concepts entirely (Cresswell 2015). Cresswell argues that space, place, and landscape are different concepts primarily because a landscape can be viewed and understood from the exterior. This is in stark contrast to place which is only created through the actions of people within it. Cresswell elaborates on this by saying "Place is different than "space" or "landscape". Space is movement, while place are stops along the way. Space is a realm without meaning, when humans attach meaning to a space, it becomes a place" (Cresswell

2015:15-16). She continues by stating “Landscapes then are a visual idea-a portion of the earth surface viewed from a spot-in most definitions, the viewer is outside of the landscape, a stark change from begin inside a place” (Cresswell 2015:17). In a direct correlation to this dissertation, some authors emphasize the importance of landscape as it relates to, and can be used to describe, farm spatial organization encompassing the farmhouse, crop fields, fencing, water systems, and other buildings. For example, William Adams (1990:110) states “The placement of structures in relation to one another and to the outside world reflects the degree of conservatism and innovation of the farmer.” Thus, landscape observations are important for understanding adaptations of people emigrating from other countries and their responses to the dominant culture surrounding them (Caltrans 2023:260).

Overall, the argument here stems from the perspective of the individual. A landscape is something encompassing that exists outside, and separated from the viewer meaning they may feel a sense of power on the landscape, but they are not individually experiencing a different version of the landscape. When we discuss place, it is implicit that every individual within the space has their own conception of what makes the “place” a *Place*. Furthermore, it is those individuals that bring their own culture and perceptions which embodies place with power, whereas amongst a landscape, separated from the individual, they are more akin to observers of the landscape rather than an active participant in creating it.

Alternatively, some authors argue that place and landscape do mean the same thing based on their shared characteristics. Feld and Basso (1996) consider the place to be inexorably linked to the surrounding area or region, and thus place must be a part of landscape. They write

> "A given place, like anything else characterized by material essences, is inseparable from the concrete region in which it is found and instantiates qualities and relations found in that region. This is true of not just physical places but other sorts of places as well…place is not one kind of thing: it can be psychical as well as physical, and doubtless also cultural and historical and social. But as a coherent region in Husserl's sense of the term, it holds these kinds – and much else besides – together" (31).

From this viewpoint, place appears to be an all-encompassing force which holds the fabric of space together. As such, the experience of a place people have is also much wider, and thus they would argue that individual experiences are in fact altering and embodying the landscape. There is no need to separate the individual experience of place from the shared experiences of the landscape when place encompasses all these things – and more. Setha and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003) make a similar argument by suggesting that

> "The concept of landscape is productive in accounting for the social construction of place by imbuing the physical environment with social meeting. Suggesting that landscape meaning is formed from densely mediated relationships with places through kinship, Gow (1995) argues that the Piro know the landscape through action in it with others and narrative; landscape

> implicates kin relations by acting as a mnemonic for recalling prior social events" (16).

Here, they take a slightly different approach. Instead of place being an all-encompassing concept that transcends into the realm of landscape, landscape is just another aspect of place that imbues the physical environment with social meaning. This way of separating place and landscape still posits them as individual entities, place being a smaller scale personal interpretation and landscape making up the larger geographic and spatial features, but they are intrinsically linked in producing the other. In this lens, landscape is also partly responsible for embodying place with cultural and social meaning, rather than it just being created by individuals within the space. The question becomes then, are place and landscape something that is separate, do they work together in tandem, or are they both synonyms for explaining the lived experience of people on the landscape? To explore these dichotomies, the next paragraph uses examples of the landscapes and places explored for this dissertation and how the power of place may be perceived there.

The most pertinent example for this dissertation is the recent inclusion of the "Japanese landscape" in contemporary literature dealing with the incarceration or subsequent cultural changes. The Japanese Landscape is a concept which several scholars are using in the last few years to describe the impact and experience of Japanese people migrating, living, working, and adapting to new cultures and new communities (Branton 2004; Hayashi 2004; Kamp-Whittaker and Clark 2019; Leonard 2001; Lydon 1997; Mytum and Carr 2013; Okihiro 2013). More specifically, the Japanese landscape typically refers to visible altercations or material culture that played a role of altering or creating that very landscape we see today. For example, this can be attributed to the creation of over one dozen Japanese gardens in the Manzanar incarceration camp (Burton 2015). These gardens have made a lasting impact on the environment of the camp, and usually are referenced as bringing peace and bliss in an otherwise dry, dusty, and monotone desert. Looking through the archaeological site of Manzanar today, one can see the remains of these gardens spread throughout the barrack complex. These stand today as a reminder of not only the presence of Japanese incarcerates in Owens Valley, but also how the people in those camps spent their time creating art and perpetuating life rather than acting as non-participants in the incarceration history.

One can also extrapolate this example to represent the landscape of central California. The impact that Japanese migrant laborers, in addition to other migrant laborers from diverse parts if the globe, had a longstanding and clear influence on the region. Primarily, the agricultural and fishing businesses that were heavily comprised of, or run by, migrant workings dominated the landscape and laid the groundwork for the extremely profitable farming businesses seen in the region to this day. Those farm landscapes could also be considered a part of this Japanese landscape, despite not immediately showcasing any ties to ethnicity or migrant laborer history. As such, the concept of landscape is used in addition to place to understand both the macro scale of influence as well as the micro scales of the household or on an individual farmstead.

The landscape represents those lifelong experiences of the Issei generation coming to the California coast for the first time and thriving in the community. This includes farming businesses, to gardens, to storefronts, to the sight of the Japanese American Civilians League remaining in Watsonville or San Jose. In fact, the visibility of the San Jose Japantown is probably the most obvious landscape encountered during this research where there was an immediate sense of difference in the culture and community, businesses, and a Japanese population who are proud of the contributions they made to their municipality. Furthermore, they embody a city that reflects those values through posted signs, plaques, and architecture to showcase this important aspect of San Jose history.

In many ways, the Japanese landscape that I (unknowingly at the time) walked through in San Jose was the catalyst for thinking about the Monterey Bay region as a *Place* of special significance for numerous migrant communities. For a long time while conceptualizing this discussion on place and landscape I considered them much the same. Landscapes and places were described as embodied, lived in, and created by human experience and I considered them to effectively be synonyms, with more emphasis on the visibility of landscape and the effects Japanese people had on the landscape due to a desire to showcase this history and potentially even introduce the public to the great importance in migrant labor in the region. Now, I consider place to be something more personal, and something that is created through differentiated experiences of different people. This could be said for landscape too, but I do not think the landscape is as embodied or defined by experience as place.

Scale is also an important factor when considering the differences between landscape and place. I am not suggesting that a place becomes a landscape once it reaches a certain size, or vice versa, but the designation could change based on the scale of an individual's perception or research questions. When looking at San Jose as a whole, or into the larger landscapes of the Santa Clara Valley region, the San Jose Japantown can become a place that makes up that greater landscape, despite also being a landscape for personal experiences of people within that place. As such, while scale maintains an important consideration for delineating different levels of space and place, the fundamental ways those areas are embodied versus how they are experienced is the main deciding factor for separating between place and landscape. For example, when I walked through San Jose I would not describe my experience as a sense of place, but rather my acknowledgment of the highly visible Japanese landscape in San Jose led me to consider how this space might be viewed from the Japanese immigrants working here half a century before, and how they might consider San Jose to be a uniquely special place. As such, I delineate landscape for only the broadest conception of place, such as the agricultural landscape or the Japantowns overall, and I use the idea of place to represent more intimate spaces of attachment for individuals such as a specific house, room, building, garden, or any location which may hold unique, and impactful emotions in someone's life.

As such, place remains more ephemeral and illusive, only manifesting through the sharing of stories and through one's personal experience in a place. I may never be able to share the Hirahara house as a *Place* of importance for myself, but through my understanding of the stories the Hirahara's have shared, as well as my understanding of the prolific Japanese landscape in the region, I hope to share how this region has become a place of significance for a huge portion of the Japanese community in the United States. The next section transitions from a macro analysis of place and landscape to the smaller scale and intimate conceptions of home and home theory.

Theory of Home

Moving on from theories of suffering, memory, and place, the focus of this final section narrows that lens to an examination of Home. I define home as the most personal component of place, the location where most of those memories were made that culminated in a collective sense of place. For example, under this purview multiple "homes" from different individuals coalesce into a collective sense of place, but place does not make up the home. Like the material considerations of home, it exists as the smallest scale of analysis for how an individual person may conceive space and place, whereas place, followed by landscape, describes broader conceptions of collective memory on a larger scale. As such, discussions of the home and home making are frequent in both ethnographic studies and archaeological sites. Creating a home has been common practice for thousands of years of human history, so it should be no surprise to find this topic of great interest when pondering the origins of modern living and family groupings in contemporary anthropological works. However, theoretical discussions of the home in a symbolic sense did not breach anthropology until the last century. Early discussions of home in this perspective were perpetuated by the likes of Bourdieu and Levi-Strauss who proposed a deeper meaning to the home than a simple resting place or shelter. Bourdieu, in reference to the Kabyle house, proposed instead that the physical organization of a house reflects a structured world view with distinctions of light/dark, public/private, male/female, while also responsible in producing these structures (Lenhard and Samanani 2020:6). The key change here is the way the home can simultaneously represent cultural ideals while also reproducing these same structures as populations expand and mold in the environment. Levi-Strauss coins the term "house-society" in his works, cementing the idea that the culture of home within communities is a primary indicator to the functioning of society. For example, he states the house-society is "A corporate body holding an estate made up of both material and immaterial wealth, which perpetuates itself through the transmission of its name, its goods and its titles down a real or imaginary line" (Strauss 1983:174). These early portrayals of the home intersecting both with materiality and while being a fundamental building block of society is how it became intwined with archaeology.

As the home became a more valid area for cultural study researchers continued to question the importance of the home and what exactly it may represent (Cieraad 1999). Previously we moved from abstract considerations of home as a utilitarian structure to a fundamental element of society which expresses values and generates communities. Now this shifts further into the realm of archaeology as the materiality of the home is moved to front and center. One of such shifts can be seen by Gudeman and Hann who describe the house as a "basic unit of economic life connected to others through bonds of exchange – while striving to be self-sufficient – and embedded in communities" (Gudemann and Hann 2015). This is also seen from Carsten and Hugh-Jones who argue

> "houses are created at the intersection of economic practices, kinship, reproduction and sustenance, political organization and symbolic categorization, and the body and physical infrastructure – and that houses work to mediate between each of these. As such…the house is a crucial practical and conceptual unit in the…organization of widely different societies" (1995:5).

Here we see the remnants of those prior scholars who bolstered the house as a reflection of culture. Today it is properly labeled as a crucial aspect in the organization of many different communities and in many ways the fundamental aspect of creating a community environment. The last example provided here from Carsten and Hugh-Jones showcases this dichotomy again, emphasizing how the home sits in-between the realms of utilitarian materiality and symbolic and cultural reproduction: "The home is anchored in past memory, while also being constantly remade in the present: it is firstly a 'social group…ritual construct which is related to ancestors, embodied in names, heirlooms, and titles' and secondly an 'ordinary group of people concerned with their day-to-day affairs, sharing consumption and living in a shared space of domestic dwelling'" (1995:45).

In short, the initial analyses of home were largely focused on how the household represents production, materiality, and thus, capitalism. Brun and Fábos (2015) even go so far to argue that the concept of the 20th century US home was a main propagator for capitalism

> "In making houses homes, in carrying out domestic activities, in nurturing and caring for family members, good and services are bought. Such consumption dramatically increases the amount of expenditure related to dwellings, and hence multiply the economic significance of the home. Indeed, some people have argued that since the middle of the twentieth century house-related expenditure has been critical to the very survival of capitalism" (90).

Other authors simply argued that the home is one of the best sources of information for general analyses on production and consumption or for understanding marketplace trends. For example, Shove (1999) argues

> "The house is also a focus for the creation and structuring of markets, representing the point at which images and ideas are converted into commodities and cash. The four walls of the house and the three-piece suits, lamp shades, ornaments, and pictures they enclose consequently embody a range of diverse and often very complex relationships between consumption and production" (131).

These initial interpretations of the home all share a major component in the focus and analysis of markets and trends for consumerism. While we may consider this a rather narrow view of the many intersections of home considered in the humanities today, these earlier concepts still overlapped heavily with archaeological considerations. After all, consumption and materiality lie at the heart of all archaeological projects, and it is no surprise that archaeologies within households became incredibly popular to understand individual practices and consumer agency in the market. It was not until more anthropologists began examining contemporary homes and interpreting archaeological evidence of materials in past homes that the connection between the individual, consumption, and crucially the implications about the individual and their daily practices became a major focus.

Archaeologist Daniel Miller has published much in the way of thinking about the materiality of the home and what this can teach us about the past (Miller 2009, 2001). Overall, his mindset places the people that inhabit the spaces and the materials they choose to own or present as the key to understanding a home, rather than the physical structure that is often left behind or observed archaeologically. To quote Miller directly on this topic, he says "the very longevity of homes and material culture may create a sense that agency lies in these things rather than in the relatively transient persons who occupy or own them" (Miller 2001:119). This heavily ties into consumption and how goods are circulated in the market which Miller argues "consumption is often an important act of social reproduction, care and self-shaping – all at once. As a result, the objects in one's home are simultaneously involved in ascribing the self into a broader society, developing relations of care, and inscribing a personal sense of biography, with the home itself serving as a focal point of each practice" (Lenhard 2020:8; Miller 2009). In other words, the home acts as the perfect microcosm for an analysis of daily practices and is likely the closest archaeology can get to understanding the lifestyle of individuals. Not only are the materials found in the home indicative of consumption practices and material sourcing for the individuals inhabiting that space, but the materials recovered from homes can also represent some of the clearest examples of individual agency and cultural affinities as well.

Taking the idea of home being linked to both production practices and an insight into individual behaviors was the catalyst for an expansion on the conception of home. Mainly, this materialized as thinking of home as transcending a simple place of dwelling. This way of thinking about the home was brought to the forefront by Alison Blunt (2006) in her book aptly titled *Home*. The central theme of her book can be summarized broadly with her quote

> "Home is much more than a house or physical structure in which we dwell. Home is *both* a place or physical location *and* a set of feelings. The argument of this book has been that home is a *relation* between material and imaginative realms and processes, whereby physical locations and materiality, feelings and ideas, are bound together and influence each other, rather than separate and distinct. Moreover, home is a *process* of creating and understanding forms of dwelling and belonging" (Blunt 2006:254).

This passage fuses the two main trajectories of home and melds them together with a *sense* of home that includes not only a physical location but also the feelings and emotions of the individuals dwelling in and creating the space. This idea that the home is recreated through the individuals within it harkens back to similar conceptions of place, another concept that remains difficult to confine to a singular definition. The difference is that a place is informed through numerous members of the community and their unique individual experiences, whereas the home is often constructed through a much narrower lens and even just through one single person. Due to this, the home remains key to interpreting both general consumption practices as well as individual behaviors and expression. Similarly, this expanded concept of home opens studies to temporary homes, shelters, or other dwellings in which individuals might create a sense of home, without necessarily being a purchased property or under their direct ownership (Jansen and Löfving 2011). This expanded definition of home allows a separation between different conceptions of home and the ability to confront individual experiences on a variety of scales.

This concept of multi-scaler home analysis was presented by Brun and Fábos (2015). Their concept of home differs slightly in that they separate the word into three separate categories: HOME, Home, and home. The primary way these are divided is based on scale and how people may conceive of homes differently based on their own experiences. Crucially, their theory opens the conversation to consider homes away from home or other non-traditional homes that many people may experience in instances of forced incarceration or internment. In fact, their delineation of home was created expressly for dealing with circumstances of incarceration or internment. For that reason, this broader perspective on home is useful when researching how people deal with loss of or return to a home, one of the primary questions established for the Hirahara family collection. For greater clarity this section will begin with the smallest scale of home (home) and end with the broadest conception of HOME.

At one end of the spectrum, home can be defined as being tied to a particular place or structure. Instead, this refers to day-to-day practices people perform that create a sense of displacement, or separation, from other spaces that turn a location into a particularly significant kind of place. These practices range from mundane routines such as cooking a favorite meal in the kitchen or relaxing with a book when coming home from work on a favorite chair to more “special” activities or locations such as a spot of meditation near a creek, or a log to sit on upon reaching a destination after a lengthy hike. What ties these activities together is not a 4-walled structure we generally call home but actions specific which separate said space from one’s traditional experiences. The main consideration for this concept of home is that these activities are not about subjective feelings, but the real practices performed which may lead to a different view of that space and, eventually, subjective feelings created from dwelling within those spaces.

The second understanding of home (Home) refers to those values, traditions, memories, and subjective feelings of home that are not always revealed from those routine activities. This version of home constitutes one of the most common, yet hard to define, feelings of home. For example, this may include feelings of a “homeland” or longing to return to a certain set of socio-cultural rules. In fact, the concept of an ideal Home by default would vary by geographic region and cultural experience and probably every individual asked what makes their ideal Home. Major differences as to what differentiates between these varying ideals of home usually vary based on different conceptions of privacy and the private sphere, co-habitation customs, and particularly relevant to this dissertation, a feeling of safety or protection (Brun and Fábos 2015:13). As such, this idea of the ideal home varies wildly between individuals, for a huge variety of reasons. In this case, the most important context needed is a conversation with the individual to truly understand their background and perspective on why they consider their home a Home. In the case of incarceration and displaced peoples, this view of home is a constant point of research in understanding how nostalgia or longing for home nurture a false conception of an "ideal home" and how those experiences impact different perceptions of home.

At the other end of the spectrum, "home" remains relatively abstract in contrast to more generic views of home, at least in the US. In their book, Brun and Fábos describe HOME as

> "the broader political and historical context in which home is understood and experienced not only by displaced people, but also by the perpetrators of nationalist exclusion and violence and the policy-makers addressing protracted displacement through the optic of "durable solutions." It refers to the geopolitics of nation and homeland that contribute to situations of

> protracted displacement and the ways in which politics of home are necessarily implicated in the causes of displacement" (13).

As such, the concept of HOME includes the individual experience of displaced peoples but also extends to those who are responsible for policies of displacement while not necessarily experiencing it themselves. The other major consideration for HOME is that it is an aggregate of socio-cultural beliefs and how certain experiences, or cultural and political policies, can impact an individual's perception of home and what home as a concept means to them. It is in conversations of HOME where the topic of incarceration camps comes to the forefront. Experiences collected in ethnographic interviews and discussions on this topic have presented numerous instances when home changes drastically during forced internment or incarceration. For some, this may manifest in calling the camps themselves home, curating a space through the routine and safety of the camps from which some people did not want to return. For others, there may be elements of home brought to the camps.

For Japanese American incarceration camps, this manifested in the creation of Japanese gardens, the personalization of barracks, or even joining the communal sports teams, newspaper producers, or other group labors conducted in the confides of the camp. On the contrary, others may internalize the experience to conjure a new perception of home once they are away from it. Separating this longing for home, the subjective experience of home, and the physical activities that differentiate the home space is crucial in considering why or how one deems a dwelling a real home. Next chapter will focus on the experience of Japanese American families leading up to and during WWII. This separation should be kept in mind when considering individuals' viewpoints on home, whether that is a specific town, California, the west coast, or even a temporary home made in the camps. In consideration of the the Hirahara farmstead, we see the barn context similarly became a quasi-home for the Hane family after returning to Watsonville. These considerations of home beg the question: did the Hanes call the barn home during this time or was it only a temporary dwelling substituting for a longing to return to safety, routine, and ultimately the comforts of "home." Or perhaps knowledge of the barn as separate and distinct from home is what motivated the family to work themselves out of that situation and curate a place for themselves? In the end, I argue that it is this sense of home and place which held these communities together when they were displaced and when they returned. Although a home can take many forms, I believe it is the larger community views of home and safety that attached many folks to the west coast in the first place, and it was that same longing for home that brought people back following incarceration.

Home, Gender, and Ethnicity

The nature of this project having intersections with incarceration and ethnic practice and representation necessitates the use of home materials in the archaeological analysis. Due to the differing contexts present at the site, this conception of home and the materials found within them presents a valid way of separating these contexts. For example, the materials recovered from the home are given extra consideration towards who may have used those materials and present a deeper connection to the daily life of the Hirahara family compared with those in the garden context. In fact, Massey (1995) argues that not only is the house the best context of analysis for daily practice, but also for understanding gendered spaces. She posits that

> "The house is the most frequently recognized gendered space because of its pervasiveness, its centrality as a cultural object, and its role in the productive and reproductive activities of society. Concern with the house has generally implied greater interest in the spatial articulation of women's roles because they are portrayed as more frequent occupants, or confined by its boundaries, while men are "free" to move beyond (8).

It is interesting to note that the household is often associated with the "women sphere", harkening back to traditional gender roles of past centuries. In the case of the Hirahara family, the household was very much split and attended to both by the men and women. The farmstead necessitated a cooperative effort to manage including help from the many children living there. Unfortunately, with no exact records of the individuals who stayed in each room, or any excavations completed below any of these spaces, discussions of gender difference or individual action, outside of a few specific cases, are almost impossible. Instead, the concept of the home being the closest material approximation of daily practice is extrapolated onto the materials recovered near the home or sharing context with the home itself. Those materials are considered more representative of daily activities, personal belongings, valued possessions, and symbolic items having been purposely placed and kept in the home during their stay.

That said, there are some authors who write on the particularities of a Japanese home (Daniels 2001). This section only briefly touches on this topic, but it is worth mentioning that there are some universal characteristics found in contemporary Japanese culture that further offer insight into the materiality and organization within the Hirahara house. This will be discussed in more detail in later chapters concerning the material culture in the collection, but for now this small section will establish some patterns to look out for as well as show some examples of ethnic expression found in households. One of the most common aesthetics classified for a typical Japanese home is the minimalist style. Inge Daniels (2001) investigates Japanese aesthetic changes through time using the home as the basis of change and refers to this style as

> "the prototypical minimal Japanese house has its roots in the Tokugawa (1600-1868) residence of the elite built in the *sukiya* style. The *sukiya* residence combined the elegance of the previous *shoin*-style with the rustic teahouse developed by zen monks. It is an open space, light architecture that focuses on the formal meeting space and displays closeness between house and garden" (207)

That open space, rustic, aesthetic with lots of natural light appears to be a common way of expressing a stereotypical Japanese aesthetic. This style, in particular its melding between the home and a sort of garden, or natural, setting is commonly reflected in the Japanese American culture here in the US. The Japanese garden as we discussed was and is a common trope of Japantowns, usually associated with the major Japanese organizations, clubs, or boarding houses. Today, this aesthetic can be seen in both the Watsonville and San Jose Japantowns simply by walking down the street and observing the outdoor, open area gardens directly adjacent to these prominent structures. Similarly, the incarceration camps and barracks took on a form of this style during WWII as numerous communities and individuals came together to beautify those spaces and bring that traditional aesthetic to the repetitive scene around them.

Another major argument from Daniels has to do with the contemporary Japanese home. In the last few decades, homes have transitioned to a largely western aesthetic reflecting different social classes. The wealthy tend to appropriate traditional western culture in their possessions in belongings as they buy imported goods, and thus the wealthier households tend to reflect a more stereotypical western-European aesthetic. This is still melded with the "simplistic beauty" of the Japanese style in the form of natural light, plant, and open space, but the exteriors of the home and materials used reflect a traditional European style (Daniels 2001:205-206). Whether it is a combination of these styles or the more direct Japanese style, these choices reflect the people who live there. While ethnicity would still be challenging to determine from a purely material perspective, those indications of style, patterns, and trends corelate heavily towards certain groups and their own material and identity expression.

These theories suggest that the home is one of the most personal spaces to explore when considering identity and agency. To conclude this section, this concept can be brought back to larger considerations of home if one reflects on what home as a concept means to different people. Here, we talked about how the home transcends physical materials or dwellings and can exist in a variety of idealized forms. This is especially important when considering those who are refugees, migrants, or under incarceration, who are forced to reconcile with their current arrangement and trauma that comes from being separated from these safe, personal spaces. However, there is an aspect to this discussion that has not been touched on involving the loss or change of a "childhood home." The childhood home is a space rife with emotion and innocence. These spaces are discussed longingly, or in some cases with disdain, but usually filled with attachments to an easier time, with little worries, no responsibilities, within one of the safest and most comforting places one knows at such a young age. There is an element of nostalgia here that might alter some memories of home, but often this is, again, a connection that goes beyond physical memories of being at home or specific toys one played with. Some authors suggest the loss of a childhood home is considerably more traumatic than any other type of move stating

> "To lose a home is to lose a private museum of memory, identity and creative appropriation. To lose a childhood home, our first secure corner of the world, is to lose a fundamental part of ourselves and our history. The memory of a childhood home thus becomes the remembrance of childhood, the remembrance of a lost part of ourselves" (Hecht 2001:123).

This quote puts into perspective how traumatic the loss of a home can be. Thus far, the conversation has largely been separated from the realities of children and whole families becoming separated from their homes or each other. This is included not to share how troubling these situations can be, but rather to remember the diverse effects incarceration or other forms of forced migration can have on people of all backgrounds and ages. Indeed, this further emphasizes the concept of home as well, showcasing the strong emotional, and personal, home attachments that one could argue trump those attachments to another place. In reconciling with home and place, this distinction sticks out to me. A place, given its nature of having been created from a multitude of experiences within it, does not hold the same relevance to the individual as the home. The loss of either a home or place can certainly be traumatic, but the home carries personal attachments and possessions that cannot possibly be recreated. As such, both the home and these feelings of place are equally important when considering loss and at the same time what may attract individuals to return to those homes or places following a traumatic experience. Understanding how and why individuals form attachment to these locations helps to further explore individual expression not only archaeologically, but through empathy, and emotional attachment as well.

Summary

This chapter is meant to convey two main aspects of the Redman-Hirahara property: the farmstead as a *Home* for the Redman and the Hirahara families, a place for business but also family development, and the farmstead as a *Place* that impacted the greater community of Watsonville and thus intersected with the lives of many Japanese people living in California. It was at this time that the city of Watsonville contained one of the most densely populated "Japantowns" in the bay region, forming throughout California over the previous 50 years, expanding the impact of one property to reaching a multitude of people and communities even to this day (Lydon 1995:30). Currently, the house is just over 125 years old and it showcases a diverse cast of occupants who moved in and out of the home through time. It also stands today, literally and metaphorically, as a symbol of integral and enduring connections between the people who occupied the home and the larger community of Watsonville following the war. The goal of this dissertation is to examine the Redman-Hirahara house through a theoretical lens of home and place as it relates to this developing field as well as how different aspects of the farmstead perpetuate these distinctions. For the Hiraharas, the farmstead was not only a childhood home and family space, but also one through which they shared and connected to the greater community. This cooperation is what makes this home so special for the Watsonville community, and what takes this parcel from an anonymous 20th century farm to a *place* that represents the values portrayed not only the Japanese population in the area but also the values of the regional community.

Additionally, the initial sections of this chapter serve to orientate the reader to the projects trajectory in researching and combining historical archaeology, finding an interest and specializing in archaeologies of internment, and finally to the specific incarceration event of Japanese Americans in WWII and the greater Japanese

American community along the central California coast. Furthermore, this chapter discussed ways in which previous scholars have conducted archaeology in those contexts, and how anthropological theories of memory and conservation play a large role in understanding and conveying the diverse experiences of incarceration and interment within contemporary anthropological disciplines.

Chapter 3: Early Japanese Immigration and Japantowns of San Jose and Watsonville

Throughout my research for this project the focus of study has changed considerably from the location of a specific property, family, and farm to a multi-scaler examination of the region. That said, the story of the Hirahara family is one that truly deserves to be recognized and shared across the gambit of Asian diaspora studies and remains at the heart of the project. As I continued to uncover more about the Japanese community that arrived in Watsonville around the turn of the century, it was clear to me that the actions of the Hirahara family was just a piece of the overall puzzle in my journey to understand the return of illegally incarcerated Japanese American families to California after the end of WWII. The Japantown which formed in Watsonville would eventually become a prominent landmark in diasporic studies; community sentiment about the town is echoed far and wide, even by those outside the immediate area. The actions of the Hiraharas exemplify those community ideals of the Watsonville Japanese community, but to showcase these sentiments properly we must take a deeper look into what makes the Watsonville Japantown such a unique space.

While researching the Japanese diaspora in relation to Watsonville it became clear that other Japantowns in the area were referenced frequently (Adachi 2017(b), Borg 1996, Lydon 1997, Spickard 2009, Takaki 1989, Walz 2012, Waugh 1990), often intertwined with the journeys of those in Watsonville. Places such as San Francisco, San Jose and Monterey were discussed often, and instead of limiting myself to a single property I was now entrenched in the connections of multiple cities spanning hundreds of miles. This encouraged me to expand my theoretical conception of "place" to transcend the boundaries and borders of the Hirahara property and expand my research project to encompass northern California's San Francisco Bay Area in its entirety as a site of Japanese diaspora research. The multiple Japantowns found in this region all showcased a relatively large amount of community return following the war, and many still contain multiple buildings, plaques, and monuments dedicated to multiple immigrant communities whose labor and expertise proliferated the region. Thus, this region is home to some of the most prominent and long-lasting Japanese businesses in the area, bolstered by the labor advancements brought from the highly educated, youthful, and opportunistic travelers at this time.

In this chapter, I argue that the Japantowns formed in northern California between 1890 and 1940 were integral pieces to the sense of community Japanese civilians experienced in California as well as key locations for establishing the organizations which fought to help those in need after the war had concluded. Using the theoretical perspectives of Place and Home allows for a nuanced take on what makes a home different from a "temporary" dwelling, or how Watsonville, Monterey, and San Jose Japantowns embody a deeper meaning of place which transcend the early resistance lobbied against them. As such, this chapter will explore the unique aspects of each of these Japantowns respectively and explore why many Japanese people may have been inclined to return to these spaces and continue to transform them into the vibrant communities we see existing today. Additionally, I will look at some of the population statistics for these cities and explore just how many people returned from US concentration camps and what key features may have motivated people to return home.

Before the War: Japanese Diaspora, Early Settlement, and Anti-Immigration Legislation

To describe the initial waves of Japanese migration this chapter begins in the late 1800s with the first mass migration event from Japan to Hawai'i and the west coast of the US. Today, Japanese people on Hawai'i make up roughly one tenth of the total Japanese American population in all fifty states (Spickard 2009:23). In 1905, a period with the highest frequency of Japanese immigration into the US, nearly 130,000 Japanese individuals came to the United States. While this number may sound large, it was just one percent of the total immigrants arriving in the US during this time. Métraux describes this phenomenon explicitly as he recounts this initial immigration period

> "It was not long until ethnic Japanese outnumbered Chinese in the United States and Hawaiians in their native land. Although there were far more ethnic Chinese in the United States throughout much of the nineteenth century, by 1910 there were 72,157 Japanese and 71, 531 Chinese. The position of Japanese in Hawaii was even stronger by 1900, when they comprised 40 percent (61,111) of the entire population of the islands, outnumbering not only Chinese (25,767) but also Native Hawaiians (29,799)" (Métraux 2019:41).

Not only does this quote emphasize the importance of Hawai'i for Japanese Americans in the early 20th century, but also how rapidly east Asian immigration was ramping up in the western U.S. After all, it was after the Chinese exclusion act of 1882 when the Meiji government of Japan and the Hawai'ian monarchy signed an agreement providing Japanese laborers to work on the sugar plantations and pineapple fields of the Hawai'ian Islands, allowing the Japanese labor population a near monopoly on the farm labor in Hawai'i. Afterwards, during the 1890s several private emigration companies emerged to send the Japanese labor force to the United States which Yamada attributes to the dense Japanese immigration in the early 1900s "By 1906 there were 30 such companies…with the main companies located in Hiroshima, Wakayama, Kumamoto, and Tokyo being responsible for ~70,000 Japanese laborers brought to America 1891-1907 and another 35,000 between 1901-1907 via Hawai'i" (Yamada 1995:22). Meanwhile, it is impossible to ignore the complex political climate in the United States at that time. Despite a Japanese population that was seemingly growing rapidly, numerous challenges presented themselves in the years leading up to WWII, many of which stemmed from already existing prejudices against Chinese and other Asian immigrants already prominent in the region. Before discussing those laws, the social climate during this time can be prefaced by looking at some of the first Japanese people ever to enter California, known as the Wakamatsu Tea and Silk colony.

Although the densest period for immigration would be decades later, John Henry Schnell opted to try his hand in opening a new type of business just outside of the San Francisco Bay area in the Summer of 1869. John was of German origins but spent a couple years in Japan after enlisting in the Navy. No older than 26, John had big dreams of bringing Asian silks and tea he was enamored with during his stay to a new, western market: the U.S. However, Schnell was not well versed in the practicalities of running a farm or producing such products, so he enlisted the help of twenty other Japanese people, including at least four women. These very well may have been the first Japanese people to set foot in California, coming from a range of backgrounds including carpentry and farming, as well as some members of the group who held high status in their community, even the title of Samurai (Métraux 2019). Unfortunately, the farming colony they aimed to establish lasted less than 18 months, after a series of unlucky events, harsh conditions, and improper planning. Schnell, who was supposed to lead the expedition, was unprepared for the climate of California. He established the farm in a place with poor soil conditions, faced water contamination from the nearby well which they were using to draw their water, and even lacked funds to pay any of his team for their work. The colony quickly disbanded as mothers and fathers left to support their kids, and others sought alternative work after not receiving pay for months.

There is a lot to learn from the initial experiences of this group of immigrants as they entered the U.S. Métraux indicates that

> "The Wakamatsu Japanese…received a very warm welcome from white Californians. They were praised for their polite manners, hard work ethic, and great discipline. They were accepted as contributing members of California

> society who offered no threat to the job or economic security of white America" (Métraux 2019:39-40).

The reports listed in the book are primarily small anecdotes from local papers and random folks who encountered the group, all spinning a similar story praising the group's politeness and dignity. Métraux goes on to offer one potential explanation for their treatment

> "The Wakamatsu colony came at a time where Japanese art and culture were greatly admired throughout Western Europe and North America. Japonism or Japonisme is a French term that was first used by Jules Claretie in his book L'art Francais en 1872. It refers to the influence of Japanese art on western art and culture and describes the craze for all things Japanese the permeated the West during most of the latter part of the Victorian period. Many people in the West had a glamorous image of Japan which lacked much basis in reality…. This image of the Japanese probably influenced the way in which these American journalists saw the Wakamatsu colonists. They knew nothing about the Japanese, but because of that culture's positive reputation, felt inclined to share these very positive qualities and perpetuate these general stereotypes" (Métraux 2019:61).

Here we see one recent explanation that essentially places the otherness or exoticism of the Japanese people as one of the primary reasons the reflections were so positive form the white American public. At this time, San Francisco would have been grounds for a large Chinese community, with the initial “mass” immigration of around 20,000 Chinese people arriving from China happening decades prior in 1853 to San Francisco and increasing to roughly 50,000 in California by 1870. The idea that the San Francisco community would have enamored with an unknown culture, like the above quote suggests, can be read presumptuously, or even in a patronizing way. In fact, the quote seems to suggest there may have been some comparisons being made between the two ethnic groups, emphasized by the Japanese’s “positive reputations” or customs, despite not knowing the Japanese culture very well at all. Furthermore, the considerations of the community and their feelings as purely being concerned with threats to their businesses or community feels like an attempt to generalize a rather complex situation. Perhaps there were some who acted with these motivations, but to say their welcoming was warm and fruitful purely due to manners, work ethic, and relatively little threat to the community might be oversimplifying things too far. Whatever the case, Métraux offers a more straightforward explanation of how these prejudices manifested with a different hypothesis

> “We have here a very interesting case study of what happens when a new group of immigrants first comes to the United States. If their numbers are few and they behave in an appropriate manner, they are welcomed with open arms, but if and when they come in large numbers, the reaction can become very negative” (Métraux 2019:8).

This second explanation resonates, rather cynically, with the course of history that follows. Here we have the meeting of white and Japanese communities, perhaps for the first time, met only with praise or indifference for the "outsiders." I will add that the sole consideration of the number of Japanese individuals diverges from the main point that is: when the Japanese community began acquiring *wealth* and *status*, in the forms of clubs, labor positions, property, etc. was when the legislation began to gain traction. Of course, the accruement of social capital on a larger, community scale does in some sense require many Japanese immigrants to be present, but these underlaying implications of status and wealth is what I consider to be Métraux's main point. Returning to Schnell's farming expedition presents a business venture that was rocky from the start, and due to the relatively small scale and impact of the team's arrival in San Francisco, it may also speak towards the group's relatively warm welcome by the San Francisco community. At the time of their arrival there would not have been a huge monetary threat to laborers in the area, and thus not as much personal stakes in removing Japanese people from the community.

Furthermore, the sentiment that the public response remains positive until there is a social or monetary threat is further supported by the anti-Asian legislation that would be enacted just 12 years after those ~105,000 immigrants arrived from Hawai'i and multiple labor companies into the US in 1907. Additionally, the gentleman's agreement between Japan and the US appears to be a direct response to this dense influx of Japanese immigration, having been enacted in 1908. Nakane similarly makes this connection in his book saying

> "Around 1920, the anti-Japanese movement escalated, especially among politicians who voted for the Revised Alien Land Law and the abolition of the

> picture bride system. As the Issei's efforts to establish their economic status and families became more obvious, the improvements the Issei brought to agriculture and the growing number of Japanese brides received closer attention, increasing public criticisms" (Nakane 2008:57).

All the anti-immigration laws appear to target groups just as they are receiving status or power, for the Chinese, and later Japanese, this may have meant working on the railroads, mining gold, farming, fishing, or all of the above. As soon as their numbers grew to a sizeable workforce and small Chinatowns began populating cities, laws were put into place to exclude property ownership and further immigration. The same thing can be said with the Japanese population working hard to establish community centers and cultivate family for their own wellbeing. Once the success becomes evident or fear of gentrification arises through the growth of the Japantown, laws and regulations are rapidly placed to hinder that progress. Keeping this trend in mind, I now discuss some of these laws in more detail, including how they affected the course of Japanese American History.

One of the first of these laws to be passed was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The Chinese Exclusion Act was signed by President Chester Arthur, making it the first time federal law was used to deny entry of an ethnic working group on the premise that it endangered good order and certain communities. In short, the act restricted immigration of all Chinese laborers, apart from government personnel or diplomatic officers who would need a special certification from the Chinese government if they were to immigrate. While this act did not target Japanese people, it laid the foundation for a series of compounding laws and amendments that would continue to make immigration from any Asian country to the United States exceptionally difficult. Furthermore, these laws were the catalyst to send foreign laborers to the Hawai'ian islands, creating a massive influx of Japanese people to Hawai'i during the late 1800s and early 20th century. During the 1890s, several private emigration companies formed specifically to send laborers to America. By 1906 there were 30 such companies, including larger primary companies located in Hiroshima, Wakayama, Kumamoto, and Tokyo. These corporations are responsible for approximately 70,000 Japanese laborers brought to America between 1891 and 1907, and another 35,000 between 1901-1907 via Hawai'i plantation labor (Yamada 1995:22).

On Hawai'i, Japanese immigrants were a necessary part of the labor force; primarily, they were employed in plantation settings to harvest sugar cane and conduct other work. They worked long, grueling days, and the work was quite a different environment to running their own successful businesses back home in Japan. To improve wages, Japanese labor communities focused heavily on unionization and strikes to make sure their quality of life was equitable with the other nationalities on the islands. Japanese labor organizations eventually led to some of the largest sugar strikes in the island's history in 1909 and 1920 (Adachi 2017a:1). This contrasts with Japanese people on the mainland US where there was greater opportunity for diverse business opportunities and needs for labor, including work in agriculture, private business, abalone fishing, craftsmanship, and more.

Upon their arrival in Hawai'i, Japanese immigrants were recruited by agents from a host of immigration corporations in Japan to provide labor for sugar cane plantations. These contracts usually bonded their host to three years of work. Notably, the plantations contained a range of ethnicities including Filipino, Chinese, Indigenous Hawaiians, Whites, Koreans, and Portuguese (Spickard 2009:24). These groups were divided into their own cohorts with corresponding living quarters and wages, often facilitating the continuation of cultural traditions from each person's respective culture. When Hawai'i became a US territory in 1959, the contract labor system was disbanded and noted as being equivalent to a form of slavery as fair labor laws were frequently ignored (Spickard 2009). Unfortunately, the system continued to be abused throughout the next decades and precipitated some of the large labor strikes to come.

Large numbers of Japanese immigrants were also bypassed Hawai'i and travelled directly to the west coast of the US, either from Japan or after a short stopover in Hawai'i. Between 1890 and 1900, at least 22,000 Japanese immigrants arrived on the American mainland (Kitano 1969:15). Between 1901 and 1907 this number increased to 42,457, with an additional 38,000 coming from Hawai'i (Spickard 2009:25). This wave of Japanese immigrants consisted mostly of young, unmarried men. Women often stayed in Japan or came to the US for marital purposes, commonly as "picture brides" or pre-arranged unions. Due to Chinese exclusion legislation, Japanese men saw plenty of open labor positions along the west coast, primarily working short-term stints in the United States before returning home to

Japan. Nobuko Adachi et al (Adachi 2006:7-8) has termed this pre-WWII movement as the incipient diaspora, characterized by their non-civilian status, inability to gain citizenship, and laborer livelihoods.

These early employment positions on the west coast included work as railroad laborers and other jobs in canneries, logging, mining, meatpacking, salt farming, fisheries, and more. However, it was their excellence in the agricultural business that allowed fueled the tremendous popularity of Japanese farmers in the United States. By 1909 approximately 30,000 Japanese were working in the farm business. Kitano elaborates on this by stating:

> "The group was ideally suited for this kind of work. Most had experience in and respect for farming. The pay was better and the jobs more certain than anything they could hope to find in the cities…and the population, being male and unmarried, was able to conform to the seasonal demands of this type of occupation" (Kitano 1969:15-16).

In addition, Japanese Americans were highly educated. During the late 1890's in Japan schooling was compulsory, as such the majority of Issei, or Japanese immigrants born in Japan, had an equivalent of four to eight years of formal education before immigrating.

Again, the stipulations of Métraux and the Wakamatsu silk colony ring true as the population of Japanese Americans, who were also proving to be highly skilled and successful farmers and laborers, continued to increase. In 1908 the next piece of legislation was established, this time in the form of a gentleman's agreement between Japan and the U.S. The agreement generally prohibited further Japanese immigration, particularly targeting the young men who were coming for work. Because this was the first of the anti-immigration laws to target Japanese people directly, this law is commonly cited as the precursor to alien land laws and other discriminatory policies, as well as reflecting, condoning, and exacerbating anti-Japanese sentiment which was becoming more pronounced as time passed. In fact, Yamada emphasizes the lasting consequences of this law showing how the impacts can still be felt today

> "Female workers could also no longer immigrate, therefore male Issei partners already in the US found it hard to marry/start a family… Consequently, Issei men either had children much later in life or had no children at all. In effect, the lack of children or the distance in years between fathers and children created a kind of missing generation" (Yamada 1995:48).

Here, we not only see how laws impacted the lives of immigrants by encouraging the "picture-bride" phenomenon, but it also showcases how barriers to travel can cause lasting impacts on a population. Indeed, a similar occurrence could be argued during the incarceration of WWII: a hugely disruptive event to Japanese families of all sizes, which provoked separations within families across substantial geographical distances, unemployment and loss of livelihood, economic instability, and more. Despite all of this, the legislation continued to compound before WWII, creating the backdrop of hysteria, propaganda, and mistrust which laid the groundwork for incarceration.

The next legislation targeting Japanese immigrants was the California Alien Land Law of 1913 which denied Japanese residents the ability to purchase property in the United States. To work around this law, Japanese immigrants began to purchase land in the names of their children who were born in the U.S and maintained US citizenship. White Californians were not pleased with this loophole and passed further legislation in 1920 that tied the rights to establish property, homes, farms, or businesses to the ability for Issei to become citizens (Adachi 2017:3). These laws are the same that would eventually restrict the Hirahara family from purchasing the Redman Farmstead, requiring their son Fumio to sign the paperwork as he was born in the United States and thus qualified as a citizen. Sugaya summarizes these laws briefly

> "In 1913, and again in 1920, the state passed Alien Land Laws limiting the right of Japanese immigrants to own property. In 1922, during the case of *Takao Ozawa v. United States*, the United States Supreme Court stated that Japanese were ineligible for American citizenship because they did not qualify as "free white persons" as defined in 1790" (Sugaya 2004:6).

Not only were there laws limiting the number of Japanese people who could enter the U.S, but upon arrival to the US people of Japanese ancestry could not even purchase property. As mentioned, some were able to find loopholes to acquire or keep their land, but for many this was a devastating blow to their livelihoods or aspirations of working and creating a home in the U.S.

The final major legislation before the exclusion order was the infamous 1924 Immigration Act. This act established annual immigration quotas (2% limit of foreign born, resident nationality groups) and it excluded future Japanese immigration. For the time being, only spouses or those with direct family connections already living in the U.S were able to immigrate. This act greatly slowed the influx of Japanese people entering the United States. Yamada also suggests that this worsened the age gap and communication problems between the Issei and Nisei generations even further by continuing to make marriage, or child raising, and incredibly difficult task for the primarily men labor population (Yamada 1995:49).

By all accounts, these legislations did not make it easy for immigrants coming to the U.S, drastically limiting their mobility, freedoms, and earning potential and financial security. However, it is this growing sense of turmoil in the Issei generation suggested by Yamada that I would like to emphasize. While it is true that these laws directly and indirectly impacted Japanese Americans in negative ways, I also believe that the prejudices and trials created from these laws played a positive role in the formation of community centers and groups like the Japanese American Civilians league. These groups worked hard to ensure the rights and civil liberties of Japanese Americans and they served as a central foundation on which to host community events, religious institutions, or establish housing in their respective cities. Taking that into consideration, these laws limiting people's rights to property, work, and family supported the need of the Japantowns that saw a huge growth in population and density during the 1920s. The fact that the compounding laws overlap with the primary growth of these Japantowns is likely not a coincidence either. The organizations and their operators in the Japantowns formed a strong presence in their community by attempting to normalize the Japanese presence in the region and help those who were targeted by the laws to stay in the United States.

In the next section I will take a closer look at two Japantowns located in the Bay Area of Northern California: Watsonville and San Jose. I will delve deeper into the many establishments operated and owned by Japanese businessmen, as well as the community driven organizations that formed in each city. This section will also shed light on the unique aspects of each Japantown as well as community elements of these locations which may be one of the main reasons there remains a strong Japanese presence in these locations following the war, and still today.

The Boon of Japantowns

The term Japantown (translated as *Nihonmachi* in Japanese) is commonly used today to describe and demarcate sections of towns and cities which hosted a significant portion of the Japanese American communities in a specific region. Typically, Japantowns started showing up around the turn of the 20th century, with many becoming realized as soon as Japanese immigration was reaching new heights in the 1890s (Lydon 1997; Sugaya et al 2004; Yamada 1995). Often, the locations of these areas were of lesser income, lesser quality, and commonly the most undesirable portion of the cities, segregated within or nearby the confides of existing Chinatowns and other living locations of immigrant laborers. On the one hand some Japantowns (as they are shown on maps or in texts) may be more accurately described, at least at their inception, as immigrant or laborer towns containing Japanese immigrants in addition to other immigrant communities finding work on the California coast. On the other hand, some Japantowns are strictly limited to select streets and sections of a town where businesses are owned and operated primarily by Japanese people and the residents are also primarily Japanese. Whichever way they are defined, these were spaces largely accepting of people from diverse backgrounds and ethnicities, and places where many disenfranchised groups would have found a relatively safe community to settle. Despite these small semantic inconsistencies, I have opted to showcase two select Japantowns from the central California bay area which carry with them a strong sense of presence in the community and ones which undoubtedly impacted the lives of all Japanese immigrants coming to the US. These are the San Jose and Watsonville Japantowns respectively, with the most in-depth analysis pertaining to Watsonville as that is where the heart of the Hirahara family and house resides. I will also argue that the establishments, businesses, and community in these places between 1890 and 1940 is one of the major factors that allowed for, and encouraged, thousands of Japanese Americans to return to the west coast after the conclusion of World War II.

San Jose Japantown

The Japantown in San Jose is one of the most prolific and long lasting Japantowns in California. Beginning in the 1890s, communities of Japanese men and other immigrant laborers began forming in the area, looking for temporary housing during the farming season. Communities of Italian, African American, and Chinese laborers predated most Japanese arrivals and constituted the largest and earliest non-white ethnic populations to reside in the boundaries of the Japantown area. In the beginning, the Japantown consisted of just a single modest block to house these laborers located on 6th and 7th street between Taylor Street and Jackson. Today, the San Jose Japantown expanded to encompass a 10-block area between 1st street and 10th street and bounded between Taylor Street and Empire Street. At first, San Jose acted as just a temporary stop for many such workers but due to the richness and fertility of the Santa Clara Valley it quickly became a hotspot for agricultural business (Sugaya et al 2004:5). Population continued to grow exponentially from the initial settlement and in just two decades a fully realized Japantown was present. Suguya expressed this growth through the population of Japanese living in the area, stating

> "Within two decades of the arrival of the first Japanese in San Jose in the early 1890s, an entire network of boarding houses, bathhouses, restaurants, and stores had materialized…in 1890, 27 Japanese were recorded living in the county. Ten years later, that number had increased over ten-fold, to 284. One decade after that, in 1910, the census data leapt to over 8 times the 1900 figure, reaching 2,299" (Suguya et al 2004:13).

As the area continued to develop in the early 1910s, managers at the boarding houses began acting as middlemen for the Japanese who came to stay in the valley. They would help them find farm work in the area, providing them a place to stay in the boarding houses in the interim between seasonal farming jobs where they would live on the farm.

The Japantown formulating here began its expansion adjacent to San Jose's largest Chinese settlement, a common theme mentioned earlier that is repeated in other Japantowns as well. This Heinlenville area was a strong pull for incoming Japanese bachelors, offering leisure and a community of young, migrant laborers. Another reason echoed by scholars today for this pattern is the fact that many of the establishments would thus be run by Chinese workers and thus made available for Japanese workers to visit without fear of discrimination or prejudice (Suguya et al 2004:14; Lydon 1997). In fact, other scholars suggest the existing Chinatown, erected circa 1866, provided a similar haven for the Chinese community in the region by providing familial cultural customs as well as physical and emotional protection from outside provocateurs (Michaels 2005:123). Indeed, accounting for both the rapid growth in the city as well as the jobs and safety provided to the immigrant populations made San Jose one of the most desirable farming communities in the region. As such, the Japantown at its center continued to grow quickly between 1920 and 1930, showing a substantial increase in population from 2,981 to 4,320 respectively. However, with the laws in place limiting immigration at this time, the increasing numbers was not a matter of new arrivals from Japan but rather an influx of Japanese women coming to the country to be wed and raise children with men already living there (Suguya et al 2004:16). This marked a very prominent shift in the demographics of the community: what was once a group of transient, seasonal workers transformed into a community made up of permanent families. Instead of staying at farms and boardinghouses people invested in land, either through their children or by cooperating with white lawyers and illicit activities such as gambling was replaced with baseball and family-orientated community activities. By the beginning of WWII there were roughly 77 Japanese households in the San Jose Japantown locale, up from zero in the 1910s and only ~10 in the 20s and 30s. In other words, nearly 75% of the Japanese people living in San Jose had a home in Japantown at this time, not including the rural laborers living on the nearby farms. This community shift was immensely important for establishing the Japantown that exists to this day and solidifying the Japanese presence in the region.

Another vital aspect of the San Jose Japantown are the community organizations, clubs, and specific buildings and structures which continue to stand today, and which tend to encapsulate the community history and city history in the minds of contemporary residents and tourists alike. For the San Jose Japantown one of the most prominent of these structures is the Buddhist church located squarely in Japantown on N 5th street between Jackson and E Taylor Street. Buddhist churches were common in the Japantowns of the region, and often hosted a multitude of community events for Japanese in the area and provided spiritual and, sometimes, domestic comforts. Uniquely, this building was designed and heavily inspired by traditional Japanese architecture by the Nishiura Brothers, a Japanese American firm whose work includes other historically significant buildings such as the Kuwabara Hospital (Suguya et al 2004:17). This hospital was built in 1910 and named after its first resident physician, Dr. Taisuke Kuwabara. At the time, Japanese people could not be legally licensed in California, so another local doctor, Dr. James Beattie, had to supervise Dr. Kuwabara and his future trainees during all operations and appointments and even owned the title to the hospital. The Kuwabara hospital still exists in San Jose under the title of the "Issei Memorial Building" after renovations in 1984. Today, the building is accompanied by the first *Ikoi no Ba* (a restful place) memorial plaque installed in San Jose, showcasing the historical importance of this building (Figure 3.1). The space also continues to be used today by organizations such as the Japanese American Civilians League and the contemporary Asian Theatre scene for events and educational purposes (Dubrow et al, 2010).

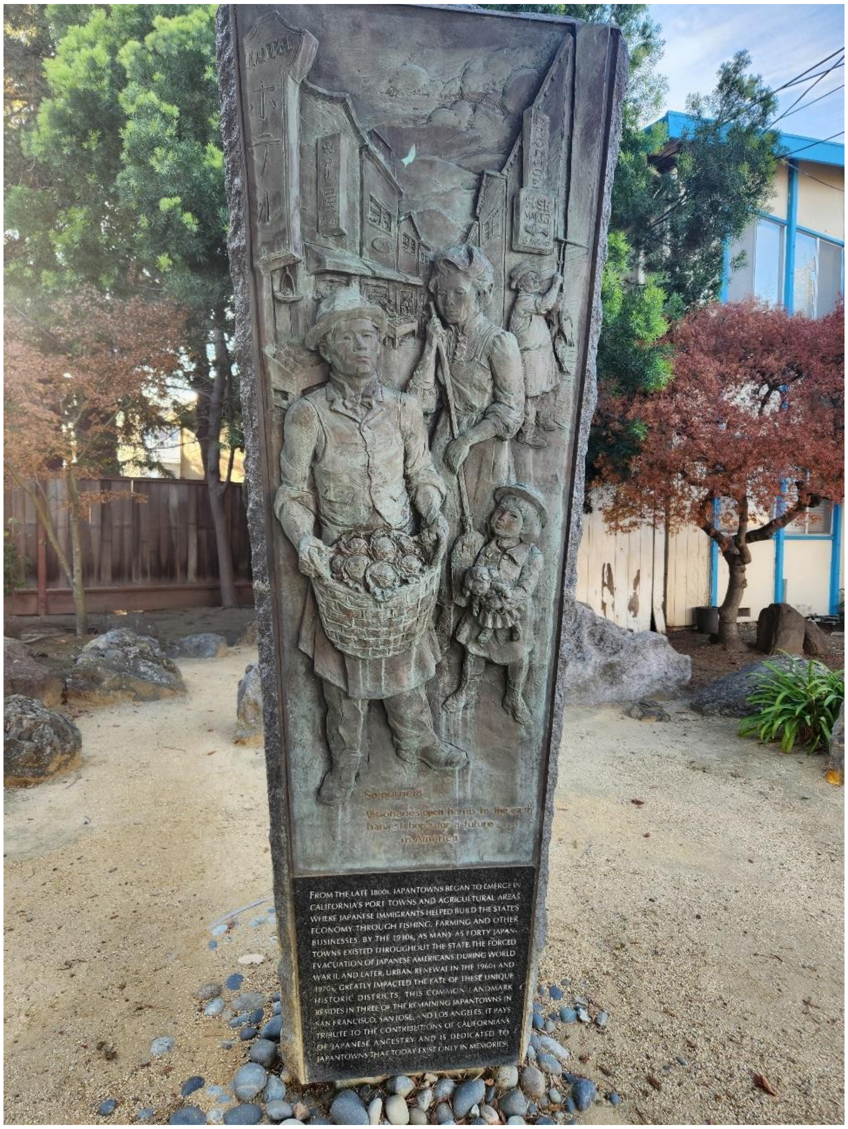

HOTEL
Sojourners
Visionaries open hands to the earth
harvest hope for a future
in America
FROM THE LATE 1800s, JAPANTOWNS BEGAN TO EMERGE IN
CALIFORNIA'S PORT TOWNS AND AGRICULTURAL AREAS
WHERE JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS HELPED BUILD THE STATE'S
ECONOMY THROUGH FISHING, FARMING AND OTHER
BUSINESSES. BY THE 1930s, AS MANY AS FORTY JAPAN-
TOWNS EXISTED THROUGHOUT THE STATE. THE FORCED
EVACUATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS DURING WORLD
WAR II, AND LATER, URBAN RENEWAL IN THE 1960s AND
1970s, GREATLY IMPACTED THE FATE OF THESE UNIQUE
HISTORIC DISTRICTS. THIS COMMON LANDMARK
RESIDES IN THREE OF THE REMAINING JAPANTOWNS IN
SAN FRANCISCO, SAN JOSE, AND LOS ANGELES. IT PAYS
TRIBUTE TO THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF CALIFORNIANS
OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY AND IS DEDICATED TO
JAPANTOWNS THAT TODAY EXIST ONLY IN MEMORIES.

Figure 3.1 *Ikoi no Ba* memorial plaque next to the San Jose JACL. Photo taken by author November 25th, 2022

However, these select enterprises were not the only businesses operating in San Jose. Suguya lists a number of community organizations within the bounds of the Japantown, totaling to approximately 93 organizations in 1940 which supported the Japanese American community. He breaks down the numbers further, stating

> “this included 19 community organizations, ranging from the Methodist and Buddhist churches to the San Jose chapter of the Japanese Citizens League, the Asahi Baseball club, the salvation army, and the fishing club. Japantown offered at least 15 general stores and specialty stores, such as Dobashi Company, Ishikawa Dry Goods, Okida Sake store, Shiba Watch Repair, Tanabe Candy Store, and Tokiwa Fish Market” (Suguya et al 2004:18).

Even this extensive list does not include the numerous other small businesses in the city including doctors, dentists, florists, barber and beauty parlors, carpenters, gas stations, and more, all owned by Japanese Americans in the community. Today, a number of these organizations continue to thrive, though not many are still owned by the same community of Japanese American migrants.

Despite an abundant list of numerous types of buildings, structures, and organizations, the outward appearance of the San Jose Japantown remained largely non-descript. Apart from the Buddhist church, the structures and businesses supported here made a seemingly strong effort to enforce the “assimilation” aspect of the community into the American culture. This trend can also be seen in other California Japantowns such as San Francisco and Los Angeles, which Suguya emphasizes through the work of Dr. Gail Dubrow

> “With few exceptions, a striking feature of all three *Nihonmachi* is the almost complete lack of original Japanese forms, construction methods, or architectural details in the communities’ buildings. Dr. Gail Dubrow, an

> architectural and urban historian specializing in Japanese American heritage, believes that this phenomenon resulted from decades of anti-Japanese discrimination that led immigrants to minimize expressions of ethnic difference and mask property ownership in Japanese American communities" (Suguya er al 2004:7).

The assimilation of Japanese Immigrants into American culture is consistently a point of discussion for researchers of this period (Adachi 2006; Hayashi 2004; Kitano 1969; Leonard 2001; Lydon 1997; Métraux 2019; Spickard 2009; Yamada 1995), suggesting either that this was a major factor in the success of Japanese Americans coming to the states or simply the fact that, by most accounts, Japanese businesspersons were able to integrate themselves quickly and efficiently into the American culture. As more legislations were introduced that targeted Japanese people and as tensions rose during the approach of WWII, the separation of Japanese Americans from the Japanese empire and other forms of cultural heritage seemingly only became more drastic. Interestingly, the Chinatown in San Jose had a near opposite approach, with much of the community aesthetics and material culture strongly reflecting traditions and materials from China. Michaels suggests this provides a stronger sense of community identity, stating

> "Holding onto familiar customs and ways of life may have provided a sense of identity for people in an unfamiliar and often hostile environment. One's taste for particular material culture is developed through familiarity and early experience, creating an affinity for material culture that is easily

> recognizable…First generation immigrants experiencing unfamiliar material culture in California may have sought to create an environment as recognizable as possible to articulate a social group inside Chinatown that was more inviting than that imposed on them by the hostile outside community" (Michaels 2005:131).

This dichotomy might mark a shift in views towards immigrant populations in the United States over time, or perhaps a strategical difference in the outward personas of Japanese immigrations. However, despite the outward facing nature of the Japantown being melded with the American prerogative of a city, the cultural practices of Japanese people continued to flourish behind the scenes, made evident by the numerous organizations, events, and lasting collective memory discussed in the previous paragraphs. Still, the differences between the Japantown settlement and the Chinatown settlement suggests a conscious effort to blend into the surroundings while continuing cultural traditions and practices. This "hybrid" identity is one that scholar Leonard emphasizes in his work, stating that immigrants are not alienated from their original cultures due to immigration but create new identities which bridge between the two environments (2001). Unfortunately, it seems that these hybrid identities and the success of outside ethnic groups in California served as a catalyst to the anti-Asian legislations rampant in the following decades. As we move our discussion to the next Japantown, keep in mind similarities in the structuring of the settlement, communities and clubs formed, as well as the variety of businesses owned and operated by Japanese tenants. These shared traits will be integral to the importance of

Japantowns in California, and when considering the returning communities following WWII.

Watsonville Japantown

The Japantown in Watsonville is central to the narrative of this dissertation focused on the Hirahara family and community perseverance following WWII. That said, this locale has not been covered as extensively as some of the more well-known Japantowns of San Jose, Monterey, or San Francisco. Despite this, Watsonville continues to hold a strong relevance in the mind of generations of Japanese Americans, perhaps best articulated by Masharu (Mas) Hashimoto, who has lived most of his life in Watsonville and currently is on the board for the Watsonville JACL

> "What people don't know about Watsonville, in the Japanese American community, and I'm serious, Watsonville is as famous as San Francisco, San Diego, Los Angeles, Fresno, Watsonville is big. When I go to conventions and such, and I have my name tag saying Watsonville, they'll come up and they say, "I was born in Watsonville," or "My family was originally from Watsonville," Watsonville was a place where Japanese immigrants were welcomed, and then they worked hard and succeeded." (Hashimoto 2016:12).

During Hashimoto's talks he mentions how common it would be for Japanese audience members to recount for him their own life story and frequently, their own experiences in Watsonville, CA. If not directly related to the place themselves there were still family, friends, or neighbors creating a wide web which centers around this thriving Japantown. Yoko Umeda (1985) shares this sentiment in a talk she gave about Japanese women in the Pajaro valley

> "In Watsonville the families tended to live in clusters. For instance, around the San Andreas area – it wasn't just one family, but it would be maybe four families working then they would come help each other in their field work. So it was a mutual help sort of thing, understanding that they would help when time was difficult. I think that probably women did the same thing – trying to help each other out in that way" (9).

This atmosphere of cooperation is the same theme emphasized in the story of the Hirahara house and their willingness to support their fellow community members. Going off these accounts, this was not a unique act but rather a philosophy that had been perpetuated since the inception of the Watsonville Japantown, where several Japanese immigrants (as well as other minority groups) found themselves in a new land battling together against prejudices and legal oppression.

The Pajaro Valley in which Watsonville resides was home to a vibrant Asian-American community beginning right around the turn of the 20th century. The land was ripe for farming, and soon after the arrival of Japanese immigrants in the early 1900s the agricultural business (primarily strawberries, beets, and lettuce) was booming in Watsonville. The land, as well as the proximity to other cities like Monterey or San Jose, made Watsonville a sought-after destination for many young, Japanese men looking to stake their claim in this emergent region. However, Japanese immigrants were not the only ethnic group in this rapidly expanding county at the time

> "In 1900, the entire foreign-born population was 4,979 out of a total population of 21,512 in Santa Cruz County. Immigrants from many nations crowded themselves into the country, searching for jobs and settlement: 628 from Germany, 596 from China, 513 from Ireland, 460 from Italy, and many more from 30 other countries. Japanese were among those increasing the population: 19 in 1890 and 235 in 1900. Many of these immigrants, working up to 10 hours per day, supported development of the valley's agriculture" (Nakane 2008:28).

For the period this was a relatively large number of foreigners, and the impact that all of these communities had on Watsonville and the region is prominent. However, for the scope of this paper we will primarily focus on Japanese immigration into the region and how they navigated this new cultural and political landscape.

It was around the mid-1890s when the first Japanese immigrants were publicly mentioned in the Watsonville local media, paralleling a simultaneous strengthening of the U.S. economy and the subsequent departure of white laborers in the fields. In 1896 the Watsonville newspaper estimated that there were 400 Japanese farm laborers within the Pajaro Valley, primarily working in the sugar beet fields (Lydon 1997:27). The first recorded Japanese individual to have a registered home in Watsonville is solidified in history with a rental agreement for a Mr. Katamura indicating a modest dwelling on the southern end of Brooklyn Street in 1901 (Lydon 1997:29). Quickly, more Japanese laborers in Watsonville began forming a small community on the southern end of Watsonville, nearby an already existing Chinatown largely run by Chinese immigrants on the southern side of the Pajaro river. Much like the Japantown of San Jose, the Watsonville Japantown was segregated to a rather undesirable portion of the city on the southern end of town. By 1910, the Japantown expanded to both sides of the Pajaro river, existing both on the southern end of Mainstreet, bounded by Bridge Street in the North and between Main and Union Streets on either side, as well as few businesses placed on the northern end of Chinatown across the river (figure 3.2, 3.3). Not only did this make the area prone to flooding, but the existence of the Chinatown on the adjacent block further separated this area from the largely white northern portion of the city. In fact, local reporters began writing about the influx of Japanese people in the community as early as 1905, when the editor for the *Watsonville Pajaronian* published this excerpt

> "It requires but a casual glance at the lower end of Main street to ascertain that the Japanese colony in that district is almost as numerous and quite as opulent as the old Chinatown which we were so glad to get rid of…Isn't it worthwhile to begin restricting the privileges of these aliens who have no desire to become Americanized except to the extent which permits them to enter into competition with the Americans, whose blood can never be made to assimilate with that of the yellow men of Asia?" (Lydon 1997:39).

Unfortunately, this quote also showcases the broader community sentiment at the time in Watsonville which was heavily prejudiced towards the Chinese laborers living in the city, a sentiment that was likely directed towards the Japanese community even before the Japantown was erected. Despite the unwelcoming atmosphere Japantown continued to grow, eventually becoming one of the largest urban concentrations of Japanese in the region, with over 400 Japanese people living within the city limits during the 1920s (Lydon 1997:71). During this time a substantial number of businesses, organizations, and clubs were founded to support the Japanese community, and it is in these spaces where we will find the lasting reverence for the once bustling Japantown.

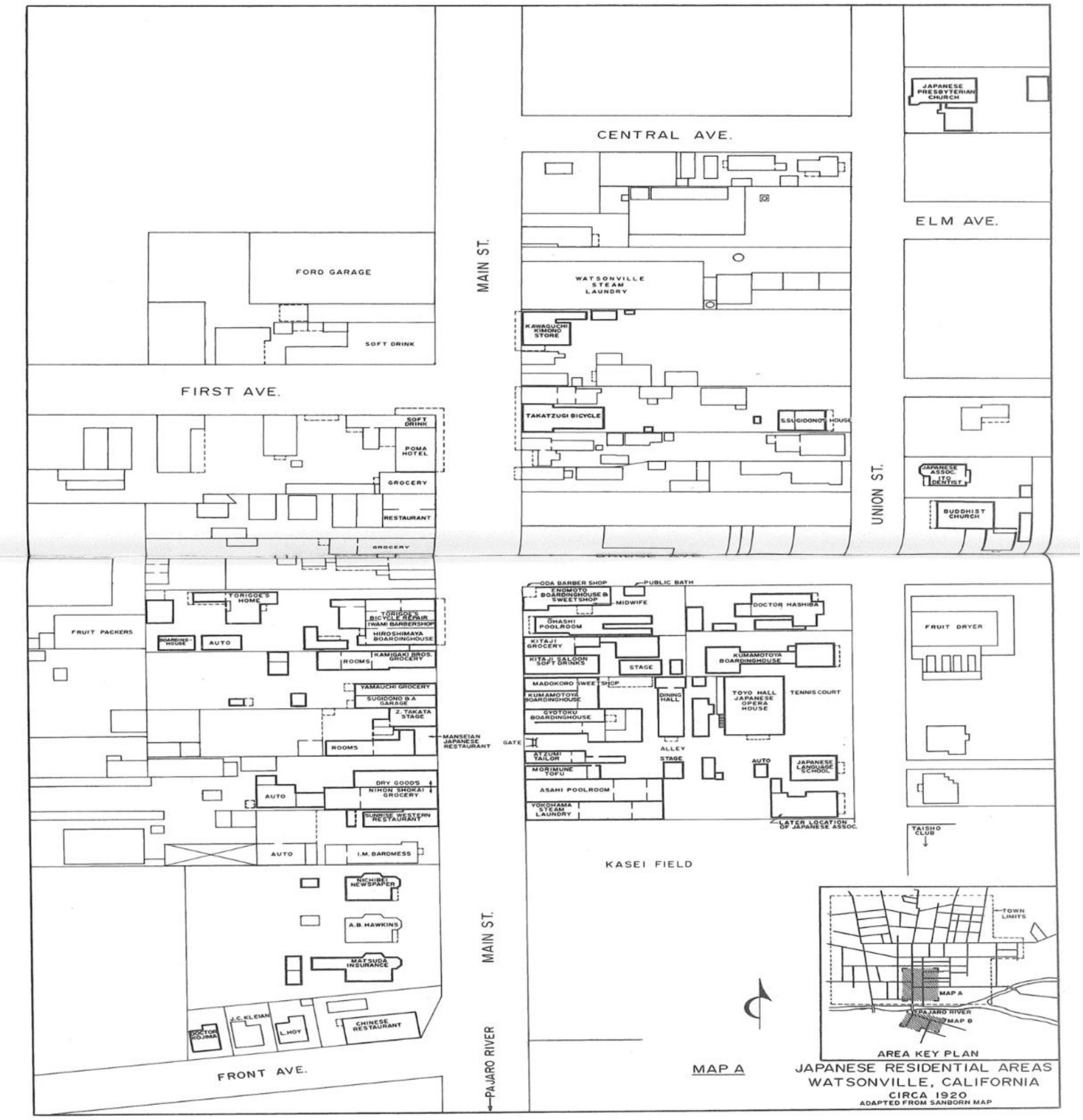

CENTRAL AVE.
JAPANESE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
ELM AVE.
FORD GARAGE
SOFT DRINK
MAIN ST.
WATSONVILLE STEAM LAUNDRY
KAWAGUCHI KIMONO STORE
FIRST AVE.
SOFT DRINK
POMA HOTEL
GROCERY
RESTAURANT
GROCERY
TAKATZUGI BICYCLE
S.SUGIDONO'S HOUSE
UNION ST.
JAPANESE ASSOC. ITO DENTIST
BUDDHIST CHURCH
TORIGOE'S HOME
TORIGOE'S BICYCLE REPAIR
IWAMI BARBERSHOP
HIROSHIMAYA BOARDINGHOUSE
FRUIT PACKERS
BOARDING-HOUSE
AUTO
ROOMS
KAMIGAKI BROS. GROCERY
YAMAUCHI GROCERY
SUGIDONO & A GARAGE
Z. TAKATA STAGE
ROOMS
MANSEIAN JAPANESE RESTAURANT
GATE
DRY GOODS
NIHON SHOKAI GROCERY
AUTO
SUNRISE WESTERN RESTAURANT
AUTO
I.M. BARDMESS
ODA BARBER SHOP
PUBLIC BATH
ENOMOTO BOARDINGHOUSE & SWEETSHOP
MIDWIFE
OHASHI POOLROOM
DOCTOR HASHIBA
KITAJI GROCERY
KITAJI SALOON SOFT DRINKS
STAGE
KUMAMOTOYA BOARDINGHOUSE
MADOKORO SWEET SHOP
KUMAMOTOYA BOARDINGHOUSE
GYOTOKU BOARDINGHOUSE
DINING HALL
TOYO HALL JAPANESE OPERA HOUSE
TENNIS COURT
ALLEY
STAGE
AUTO
ATZUMI TAILOR
MORIMUNE TOFU
ASAHI POOLROOM
YOKOHAMA STEAM LAUNDRY
JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL
LATER LOCATION OF JAPANESE ASSOC.
FRUIT DRYER
TAISHO CLUB
KASEI FIELD
NICHIBEI NEWSPAPER
A.B. HAWKINS
MATSUDA INSURANCE
DOCTOR KOJIMA
J.C. KLEIAN
L. HOY
CHINESE RESTAURANT
FRONT AVE.
PAJARO RIVER
MAIN ST.
TOWN LIMITS
MAP A
PAJARO RIVER
MAP B
AREA KEY PLAN
MAP A
JAPANESE RESIDENTIAL AREAS
WATSONVILLE, CALIFORNIA
CIRCA 1920
ADAPTED FROM SANBORN MAP

Figure 3.2 Watsonville Japantown circa 1920, published by Yoo (2000).

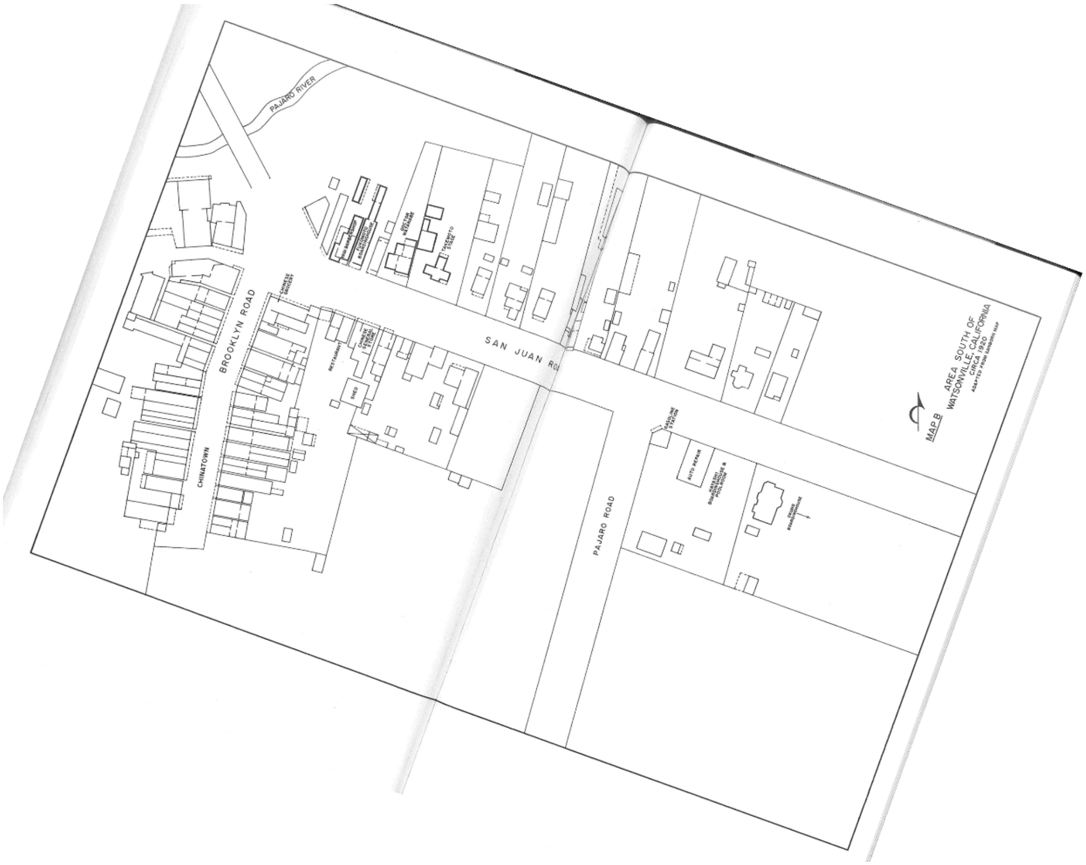

PAJARO RIVER
BROOKLYN ROAD
CHINATOWN
SAN JUAN RD
PAJARO ROAD
MAP B
AREA SOUTH OF WATSONVILLE, CALIFORNIA CIRCA 1920

Figure 3.3 Watsonville Japantown circa 1920 “across the river.” Photo published by Yoo (2000)

Watsonville Businesses, Labor Clubs, and Community Centers

By 1906 there were at least 5 stores established by Japanese owners within the bounds of the Japantown. These included a barbershop, pool hall, tailor, public bath, and a Japanese Sweet Cake (*manju)* store, all of which were mentioned in the Shinsekai newspaper from San Francisco. In 1907, the same newspaper added numerous other establishments, including specific names this time: Moriyasu Grocery, Asaga Shoe Store, Murakami Tofu Factory, Fujii tailorshop, and Kagetsu-do, a western sweets shop (Nakane 2008:33). At the same time, numerous boardinghouses were being established to house the transitive laborers working in the valley. The exact order of construction is unknown, but by 1910 there were at least 10 boarding houses found across Watsonville who not only provided a place to stay for the laborers during the agricultural off-season, but also functioned as employment services via word of mouth and connections with employers (Nakane 2008:34). By 1910 the once modest Japantown had grown 10-fold, with the *Japanese American Yearbook* (Nichibei Shimbunsha 1918) listing 50 businesses operated by Japanese owners, up from 37 the year before. Businesses now encompassed a range of services, including "groceries, boardinghouses, Japanese and Western restaurants, barber shops, billiard parlors, Japanese and Western bathhouses, watchmakers, photographs, a stagecoach company, tailors, a laundry, a shoemaker, a tofu factory, a bicycle shop, a sweet shop, and doctors" (Nakane 2008:35). Indeed, business was booming for the Japantown and this attracted even greater numbers of, primarily, Japanese bachelors into town to work as laborers or start a business of their own. But the growing numbers also heightened the need for leisure and entertainment in the city, and for the younger demographic at the time this came largely in the form of gambling and other illicit activity. Gambling was a popular pastime during the early 1900s, notably before many Japanese women, wives, or picture brides came to the U.S and family life started taking priority in later decades. That said, residents would head "across the bridge" to Chinatown to satisfy their needs playing games such as "Bakappei" which became common amongst the Japanese for many years (Nakane 2008:37), or to under the table brothels known as "Shanghai Banks."

Although some Issei men choose to spend their earnings in these ways, not all the community was taking part in these acts. In 1910, there were 168 Japanese women registered in the Pajaro Valley. Although there was a relatively small number of Japanese women in Watsonville at the time, their presence and drive made equally important impact on the community. They not only enabled the beginnings of the Nisei generation but fostered the growth of community life and business organizations. Children born and raised in Watsonville often worked in the farm fields, pulling weeds, and doing other farm chores, increasing the family's revenue and economic security. Wives would similarly work in the fields with their families and care for their home and children. Nakane emphasizes the impact this had on the community by showcasing their business ventures as well

> "women also acted as midwives, set up boarding houses and ran restaurants. Some men also looked for other lines of work, such as Bunkichi Torigoe, who established a watch and bicycle repair shop in Watsonville in 1909. Others were Yasutaro Iwami, who set up a barber and billiards shop in 1900; and Keizo Atsumi, who opened a tailor shop in 1901" (Borg 1996:4).

Places such as the Tōyō Hall also provided Japanese movies and concerts ranging from amateur *Kabuki* to *gidayu* (a kind of singing storytelling). The women *gidayu* singers were treated like idols by young men in Japan from the 1870s to the mid-

1900s, thus this was a popular attraction to the largely male immigrant communities of the early 1900s (Nakane 2008:64).

In addition to operating commercial and agricultural businesses, there was also a strong urgency to organize and develop community organizations by Japanese leaders in the area. The best examples of this come from the labor clubs established, churches and religious organizations, as well as the community organizations formed early in the development of the Watsonville Japantown. When Japanese immigrants first arrived in Watsonville, they faced numerous challenges when looking for employment including anti-Asian policies and a climate of discrimination, and unfamiliarity with the language and customs of the culture. As such, these agricultural workers banded together in “labor clubs” or “employment clubs” to coordinate contract jobs, living arrangements, and mutual aid (Borg and Nichols 1996).

The earliest known labor club was established as early as 1893 but was rebuilt in 1897 following a fire in the “Shinyu (good friends) labor club. The Japanese established a “labor boss” system, similar to the Chinese boss system, where patrons would pay annual fee to the club and in return contractors working at the club would secure work for their members and also provide services as mediators between the employers and their workers. One could also purchase a single contract provided for a commission of 5 percent of their daily wage (Borg and Nichols 1996; Nakane 2008:30). The clubs were not only suited for finding jobs however, and Nakane emphasizes this with this passage

> “The clubs did not simply help the Japanese find jobs but managed with great efficiency to provide news about jobs for migratory laborers…they provided needed hands to every crop in the Valley and expanded their services to neighboring counties. Importantly, their management was not limited to contract labor. They handled the process of leasing land as well as houses. Members paid two percent of harvested crops with the membership fee of they were the tenants of the labor club with a lease” (Nakane 2008:32).

In other words, the labor clubs not only found work for paying members, but also helped many Japanese laborers secure land or homes to live in as well as cook meals for the community to share. Especially in times of unemployment, the labor clubs became early social centers for the growing Japanese community who needed a place to stay, food to eat, or work to acquire (Borg and Nichols 1996:3). Paired with the boardinghouses which were also becoming more popular at the time, there were several avenues for laborers to take to find work as well as a place to stay. By 1910, the Shinyu club, operated by Rikimatsu Tao, became one of the most popular clubs in Watsonville with around 200 members, but other clubs were forming as well. Tetsutaro Higashi split from the Shinyu club to establish his own club (called the Nichibei (Japan/America) Club) in 1910. The Kyoeki (common benefit) Club was created and operated by Risaku HiraBayashi in 1904, and the Nihon Club was established the same year by Kōuemon Tanaka. During their prime, each respective club boasted more than 100 concurrent members (Nakane 2008:32-33).

Religious facilities were also a prominent feature of the Watsonville Japantown community. The first Japanese Christian Mission was founded early in the town's development by T. Terajima in 1898. At the time, he hosted the mission at his own home on Main Street, where members of the church would come to congregate. Unfortunately, Mr. Terajima passed away the following year, and another member of the church, Reverend Ken'ichi Inazawa came from Salinas to take over his duties as head of the mission. A few years passed and membership was growing within the church, enough to warrant the purchase of some land to build a dedicated Presbyterian church. With the help of community member Dr. Ernest M. Sturge, a site for the church was purchased at 214 Union Street around 1903 (Nakane 2008:49). Soon after the establishment of the Presbyterian church, a motion was made to also start a Buddhist church. It is estimated that before the war some 85% of Japanese were Buddhist; in fact, Livingston, CA was probably the only Japanese community on the coast that contained only a Christian church (Waugh and Yamato 1990:168). The motion in Watsonville was instigated by Mr. Akagi, a reporter for the *Shinsekai* newspaper, who was able to acquire numerous donations from the community, eventually allowing for the creation of the Buddhist church in 1908 (Nakane 2008:49). These churches became pivotal centers in the community, offering space to host events, childcare, socialize, and later providing temporary food, shelter, and respite for those displaced during WWII. Additionally, the churches allowed the opportunity for Japanese members to associate with local white people in realms outside of business and property management.

The final organization I will mention here is the *Watsonville Japanese Association* (WJA)*,* founded in 1910, just 10-15 years after the initial wave of immigration. Today, the WJA has been folded into the organization of the Watsonville-Santa Cruz *Japanese American Citizens League* (JACL), a prominent, chapter-based community found throughout the United States. However, before WWII, the WJA was the only such organization to exist in the region, offering a variety of services like that of the labor clubs. The Watsonville Japanese Association represented a collection of interests from Japanese people across the community, able to organize groups together to address issues or concerns amongst the population, or to lend a helping hand to those in need of housing and work. However, Lydon also emphasizes the impact the WJA had on the community in other forms as well

> "the Watsonville Japanese Association played not only an administrative and official role in the community but also a social one. The primary social event for all the regional Japanese communities was their annual picnics…sponsored floats in July fourth parades and booked many cultural shows for the community…the association also organized Japanese language schools for the new generation of Issei" (Lydon 1997:47).

These Japanese Language schools hosted by the WJA made a lasting impact exemplified by the JACL which continues to host their own language schools in a similar fashion today, as well as being heavily reminisced by those who attended in their grade school years. These classes were incredibly important to the next generation of Japanese children growing up in the United States and acquiring their education in an English school system.

The challenges of learning English and assimilating into the American culture were a hurdle not only for the Issei generation making their arrival but also for their children and other Nisei coming to California after WWI. The first Japanese-language school of record in California was Shogakko in San Francisco, established in 1902. By the 1930s virtually every Japanese American community had its own *nihongakko* operated by a church or a Japanese association (Waugh and Yamato 1990:169). Indeed, as we approach the 1920s and 30s in Watsonville there continues a trend of steady growth, especially after selling huge amounts of crops to navy and military bases during WWI and thriving within a general uptick in the US economy. It was during this time the Watsonville Japantown became the largest urban concentration of Japanese in the region, including over 400 Japanese people living within the city limits and roughly twice that in the surrounding rural areas (~600 in 1920 and ~900 in 1940). As the population of Watsonville continued to grow there were even greater opportunities for Nisei children to interact with children of other ethnicities and backgrounds, and for many Nisei living in the city English was used frequently. While the rural community would not encounter the same frequency of English speakers, the area of Watsonville was growing more diverse by the decade including White, Chinese, Japanese, and now, Filipinos. The multi-ethnic community drove many to enroll their children in Japanese language schools hosted by the Watsonville Japanese Association, but some went one step further, sending their kids to be educated in Japan. Those who studied in Japan were termed the Kibei Nisei, often maintaining their dual citizenship by registering their births in the U.S but also keeping their names in the Japanese census registrar. Thus, they represented a borderline between the countries, with the exception that they retained many of their Japanese mannerisms and cultural values having been educated in Japan (Nakane 2008:91).

This increased diversity did not stop some of the existing prejudices from decades prior though, and the increasing anti-Japanese immigration legislation further accentuates the fact that many white Californians were not content co-existing in this city together. During the 1920s, a group of local, white Watsonville residents started a movement to “clean up” the Chinatown on the southern end of Main so that a road could be built straight from Main Street to San Juan Road in Pajaro rather than bending around Chinatown. Around this time, a fire erupted in Chinatown, and on March 1, 1924 the *Evening Pajaronian* ran a frontpage article, “$850.00 Fire Sweeps Local Chinatown.” Because the article stated that three simultaneous fires were started in Chinatown there is good reason to suspect arson or foul play was involved, further dividing the communities of Watsonville despite a growing population (Nakane 2008:79). What is left between this time and the incarceration is a rapidly expanding city housing one of the most prominent and influential Japantowns in the region. Numerous community centers, businesses, cultural events, and more which left a lasting impression on Watsonville began because of the united Japanese community. In addition, the farming economy was now booming in the Pajaro valley, largely attributed by the hard labor, oversite, and innovation of the Japanese community. However, the fires offer an interesting parallel to this by showing the continuing prejudices faced by the Asian community in the region, a crucially important detail when thinking about the path to WWII and the Japanese American incarceration. In the next chapter I will continue into the incarceration era, explaining the historical impacts of the incarceration in a legal sense, and the devastating impact it had on the many Japanese communities living in California. To continue the conversation of the Japantowns it is crucial to address those returning populations and the displacement of over 100,000 Japanese along the West Coast, as well as to think through why this was the case and how many found the means to travel and re-establish their lives, businesses, and families once again.

Chapter 4: Executive Order 9066 and the Japanese American Incarceration of WWII

A declaration of war against the Empire of Japan in 1941 and a long history of anti-Asian prejudices culminated in a historically unprecedented mass incarceration in the United States during WWII after Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19th, 1942. This saw roughly 120,000 Japanese Americans relocated to one of dozens of incarceration camps across the U.S. and created the War Relocation Authority (WRA) which allowed the military to move Japanese civilians to assembly centers that had been hastily erected in the Summer of 1942 by the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA).

Under the WRA, a total of 18 assembly centers were established in California, usually constructed in large, open areas to contain the large number of Japanese men, women, and children. These assembly centers include repurposed fairgrounds, horse racetracks, migrant labor camps, a livestock exposition hall, a mill site, and a former Civilian Conservation Corps camp (Okihiro 2013:219). For Watsonville families this was most commonly the rodeo grounds in Salinas, California, for example. Within the assembly centers, the Japanese community continued to be racially profiled and discriminated against. Their individuality was stripped as their names were replaced by numbered tags and they were subjugated to use communal baths and toilets, and then herded onto cattle transports. One survivor recounts his steps in being sent to the Santa Anita assembly center (a horse racetrack in Los Angeles) and mentions:

> “I remember having to stay at the dirty horse stables at Santa Anita. I remember thinking, am I a human being? Why are we treated like this?’ Santa Anita stunk like hell” and, when discussing after the war, he continuous “I was treated like an enemy by other Americans. They were hostile, and I had a very hard time finding any job…This was the treatment they gave to an American citizen!” (Okihiro 2013:xxx)

Although these were only meant as temporary shelters, much of the confinement practices eerily echo the future incarceration camps under construction during this time. The military policed the assembly centers with roll calls, curfews, and spontaneous searches while high fences contained the population. Additionally, two temporary centers, Manzanar in California, and Poston in Arizona, were later repurposed for the entire containment period. The main holding facilities for the duration of the war were founded by the War Relocation Authority who constructed a total of 10 camps in isolated parts of the country. By name, they were Gila River (Arizona), Granada (“Amache”, Colorado), Heart Mountain (Wyoming), Jerome (Arkansas), Manzanar (Central California), Minidoka (Idaho), Poston (“Colorado River”, Arizona), Rohwer (Arkansas), Topaz (Utah), and Tule Lake (Northern California). The Hirahara family managed to move from Watsonville to Fresno to stay with family for a brief time as the WRA and the wartime effort was ramping up in 1942. As such, they were incarcerated first in the Fresno Assembly Center and subsequently to the Jerome and Rohwer incarceration camps. The Hane family, also residing in Watsonville prior to the incarceration, were sent to the temporary Salinas

Assembly Center before being incarcerated at the Poston incarceration camp. The Hane family reflects the typical trajectory for most Japanese residents in the Watsonville area at the time, with other camps like Manzanar in Owens Valley California or Tule Lake also receiving residents from across California.

The assembly centers, and subsequent incarceration camps, were not the only way the Japanese population was forced to move, however. In Watsonville, when the initial order was released it initially only impacted those living “west of Main Street.” Often, these boundaries were placed specifically to disrupt and target the Japantowns in these cities. This meant that many families, including the Hirahara family, first moved more inland before being sent to the assembly centers and on to the incarceration camps. Fresno, San Jose, and other rural cities became temporary destinations for those fleeing the arbitrary line of incarceration. It was at this time that homes of prominent Japanese figures in the community were being raided and personal belongings and trinkets were being used as grounds for incarceration. Yamada relays this idea when discussing the incarceration in Monterey, proposing “They had committed no crime. The alleged contraband that justifies their arrest turned out to be cultural artifacts or work -and hobby- related equipment: Kendo sticks, a Japanese archer’s bow and arrow, a camera, or a short-wave radio” (Yamada 1995:139). This is a sentiment discussed sparingly from the interviews encountered during my research, but something which appears often through small anecdotes in many sources. Largely it will be those remembering a cherished family heirloom that was taken on that day or short stories and folktales about burying intergenerational family belongings and trinkets to reduce the suspicion of the military forces. At the same time, some families were taking it upon themselves to preemptively protect themselves from persecution

> “Many family documents were burned at the outbreak of WWII. Family papers and other possessions were destroyed, not to hide illegal activity, but rather because Japanese families feared that something might be wrongly construed by the F.B.I or military authorities, that the information may incriminate or harm families in some way” (Yamada 1995:31).

Furthermore, this destruction of documents was not limited to personal decisions but extended to the multitude of Japanese organizations established at the time. This has had a lasting impact on the research conducted since then, greatly limiting available texts, organization memos, and internal documents that could offer further glimpses into the everyday activities within these spaces. Eric Walz emphasizes this point with his research on Japanese communities formed in the interior of the United States stating

> “World War II further reduced the supply of available records as individuals, families, and communities destroyed materials linking them to their Japanese past. These destroyed documents included family pictures, letters to and from Japan, and diaries as well as community-orientated materials such as church records, prefectural society records, and documents created by local Japanese Associations” (Walz 2012:90).

Not only does this add to the stress and trauma of a forced incarceration for these individuals strategically cloaking any ties with Japan, but this also impacts research today and the resources available to scholars curious about the exclusion period. If anything, this accentuates the importance of oral records from this period which can help to shed light on how specific individuals navigated the incarceration as it was underway, as well as where the desire to return to these spaces following the war may have come from.

These moves had a similarly devastating impact on many of the businesses operating in the area. By July 1941 the U.S had blacklisted most Japanese businesses along the West coast of the country. Even Latin America Japanese businesses were shut down at this time, and the United States government continued to negotiate with Peru, Panama, Ecuador, and Costa Rica to round up and deport all the Japanese people living there to the incarceration camps (Yamada 1995:158). Resigning more locally are the stories of business owners forced to shut down because of the evacuation order. The damage caused from the uprooting of families and communities was astounding, but the effects on the bustling businesses within the Japantowns were similarly devastating. For some, this meant packing up all their assets and desperately finding suitable storage before being evacuated to the assembly centers, as shown in the two following passages

> "The day after Pearl Harbor, many community leaders were taken away by the FBI. When Bunkichi Torigoe, who sold guns at his store, was taken away, his

> wife, Yuki, temporarily lost her voice. Soon all of the Issei's money in the banks was frozen" (Nakane 2008:95).

> "When the war broke out, Shizuko's parents had a small, grocery store in downtown Watsonville. All the family belongings and her father's artwork were placed in storage only to be destroyed later by arson" (Yamada 1995:159).

Not only was the pressure high to find suitable storage for belongings, but the quote from Shizuko in Watsonville reflects how poorly those goods were treated following the evacuation. Even those with the benefit of finding storage facilities faced challenges as the materials were stored for years and unaccountable by their owners while they were locked in incarceration camps. During this time, looting and arson of those facilities appeared frequently, and countless accounts of the loss appears in ethnographic accounts from the period. Moreover, as shown from the story of Bunkichi Torigoe, it was also other family members that were forced to shoulder the burdens of the businesses in the case that only one, or part of the family was removed under suspicion of the FBI. The stores were left for others to salvage what they could, but bank accounts of the Issei were also temporarily frozen so maintaining or protecting the businesses became an incredible challenge. In other cases, regulations put in place made it frankly impossible to continue business as usual

> "After December 7, 1941, Japanese fishermen were not allowed to go out to sea. With Monterey Bay connected to the Pacific Ocean, this was a restricted

> area for alien Japanese. This restriction certainly affected Tabata's Sunrise Grocery…" (Yamada 1995:139).

The remainder of the quote emphasizes the impact on other types of stores as well, including other groceries relying on ocean products, commuter businesspeople, and more who were heavily impacted by these geographical boundaries. Sardine fishing and abalone fishing were uniquely impacted as well, being fields largely dominated by Japanese and other immigrant laborers.

During this time, Watsonville had their own subsection of the exclusion orders which heavily affected the residents and especially the famed Japantown. Prior to the 1970's the infamous coastal highway 1 went directly through the center of Watsonville, essentially merging into Main Street as it cut south through Watsonville and jutting back towards the coast upon clearing the city limits. This became increasingly relevant because the exclusion order focused on Watsonville (executive order 16, Santa Cruz County) also specified that all people of Japanese descent must also move east of the main street (or east of HW1 in 1942). In effect, this caused the disruptive nature of the incarceration to begin months before the WRA authority established the incarceration centers across the US. Hisaji Sakata shares how rapidly the situation forced their hands

> "The first thing that we had to experience was the freezing of our assets. Our bank accounts were closed. We could neither receive nor pay out until late on when certain things were approved. In addition to this and the sentiments

> expressed in the media, Watsonville had their own set of exclusion laws to abide by as well… Another thing we had to do was after General DeWitt's directive, enemy aliens – that included my father, my mother and my wife…They were not eligible to become citizens; they were not allowed to. So, here we lived on First Street, which is on the west side of main street, and the directive said that no Japanese aliens could live west of main street. Main Street was the demarcation. So, we had to move our house on the Pajaro Ranch which was on the east side" (Luella 1990:17).

Unsurprisingly, this caused division in the town of Watsonville with many Japanese residents having to uproot from their homes, livelihoods, and sometimes their communities just to appease the ever-changing laws being initiated. Not only did this impact Mr. Sakata and his family but the Hirahara family was also heavily affected by this Watsonville-specific demarcation, encouraging them to seek refuge with outside family in Fresno after Watsonville was divided and thus, separating them from the Japanese community they had been a part of for decades and leading towards their incarceration in Arkansas. Obviously, the divide had a devastating effect on many Japanese residents and business owners in Watsonville, and further challenge those who would try to return to Watsonville following the war.

Chapter 5, outlining the period after the incarceration, will discuss more of these impacts during the recovery and return of the Japanese populations to the area. Notably, there could be a whole paper dedicated to the challenges faced by Japanese people during this wartime period, but in the spirit of focusing this dissertation on the before and after of the war, I will not go into details on many of the other accounts of loss during this time. I would recommend the following books by Takaki (1989), Yamada (1995), Nakane (2008), Okihiro (2013), or the online Densho digital repository (Densho 2020) for more details on individuals' experience's during the removal or an in-depth chronology of the war time legislations. That said, before heading into the next chapter it is integral to discuss some of the sweeping characteristics of the incarceration camps to form a baseline to measure any changes in practice after the war. Understanding the experiences of those in the camps is the only way to know if there were practices performed there that now show up in the archaeological record.

War Relocation Authority Incarceration Camps

Because the Japanese Americans were viewed as security risks, the incarceration camps were designed to minimize the dangers they supposedly posed. Thus, they were constructed primarily on federal administered land, away from major cities, industries, railroad lines, and military instillations (Okihiro, 2013:251). These camps lasted from their initial opening in 1942 until the final camp was closed in March of 1946. They were constructed with the intention of holding tens of thousands of people, with barracks for the Japanese American community, communal mess halls, toilets, laundries, schools, warehouses, a hospital, sewage treatment, and a cemetery (Okihiro 2013:251). The barracks were divided into blocks, consisting of 10-14 barracks each, that had their own recreation hall, men's and women's bathrooms, and laundry. This model came directly from the military, aiming for basic structures built with cheap and plentiful materials that were quick to set up. All the camps also had agricultural sectors for the Japanese community to produce food and meet their subsistence needs. Due to the isolated locations of the camps, the environment was nearly as taxing as the confinement. Often, incarcerates weathered seasonal temperature extremes, intense dust storms, rains, and more, of which the hastily constructed barracks offered little protection. Once the war had concluded in 1946 most settlements were leveled nearly as rapidly as they were established, and the land was sold back to its original owners. Other buildings were sold or auctioned to communities to be repurposed or salvaged for scrap materials. Six of the ten relocation centers are now listed on the National Register by the US National Park Service for their historical significance (Okihiro 2013:252).

In general, archaeological excavations at these sites have been limited to domestic spaces and various garden or activity areas within the camp walls with a focus on lifestyle, domestic arrangements, social networks, materials sourcing, ethnicity and identity, and other related themes (Burton 2017, 2015; Clark and Shew 2020; Driver 2015; Kamp-Whittaker 2020; Okihiro 2013). This consistency in the excavations allows me to showcase some of the past archaeological work succinctly. Much of the work completed is for restoration purposes, focusing on the uncovering of barrack footings, old paths, and attempting to delineate different buildings so that the camps can be memorialized as national parks or heritage sites. As such, these projects include large scale ground surveys covering the area of the inhabitants and searching for surface materials and visible features. Much of the research is funded through Japanese American historical grants and authorized by the Japanese community. When excavations are necessary to recreate the structures with complete accuracy, large unit excavations are utilized in a grid pattern to systematically map out the edges of the constructs. With the primary interest of researchers focused on the Japanese community, so too are the placement of the excavations that are often in the living quarters or barracks in which the Japanese families spent most of their time. Once the delineations of the different structures are established, more in-depth research questions are developed that range in focus from a single barrack to an entire block. However, materials collected at this point can inform a great deal about daily life.

I have opted not to include details about life and activities relegated to specific camps in this dissertation. While the story of the Hirahara family and the Hane family intersects with multiple camps, namely Rohwer and Jerome and the Poston camps where the two families were directly incarcerated, the focus of this dissertation is not on excavations in those spaces or investigations into their treatment, habits, or lifestyles potentially shown in the camps. Furthermore, outside of camps like Amache and Manzanar, where significant and consistent archaeological investigations have been conducted, camps like Poston and Rohwer have had relatively little investigations into the cultural and social aspects of those camps specifically, making any comparisons between those camps exceedingly challenging. As such, the information presented here would be a general overview of the camps paired with some events recorded in inter-camp circulated newspapers at the time.

When reviewing this chapter with those additions, it felt as if those segments distracted from the central themes of the dissertation focusing on the before and after periods of incarceration, with little unique or valuable information to share about the Hirahara or Hane family's experiences there. That said, certain universal activities shown from investigations of the camps will be referenced later in the material discussion in chapter 8, paired with the appropriate sources. If readers would like to learn more about those specific studies, refer to the citations listed in the previous paragraph. The next chapter will continue to the post-incarceration period and conclude the ethnographic portion of the dissertation, followed by a deep dive into the material analysis and findings from the Hirahara farmstead.

CHAPTER 5: After the War: Returning Populations and Community Perseverance

The impact of the Japanese American incarceration of WWII cannot be limited to a certain time frame, or region. Individuals forced into the incarceration camps faced unique and devastating traumas based on where they were living. Many were separated from family, some lost their work and livelihoods, and nearly all lost their homes and the lives they were building in the states. This is not even considering the harsh conditions of the camps themselves, which have been, and continued to be effectively conveyed in other accounts, medias, and stories for decades (Adachi 2006; Burton et al 2000; Casella 2007; Foote 2003; Hayashi 2004; Logan 2009; Myers 2011; Nakane 2008; Okihiro 2013; Shew and Kamp-Whittaker 2013; Waugh and Yamato 1990). Wakatsuki Houston describes this phenomenon as it relates to her own family in her trailblazing novel *Farewell to Manzanar*, stating:

> "For one thing we had no home to return to. Worse, the very thought of going back to the West coast filled us with dread. What will they think of us, those who sent us here? How will they look at us? Three years of wartime propaganda—racist headlines, atrocity movies, hate slogans, and fright-mask posters—had turned the Japanese face into something despicable and grotesque" (Houston 1973:110).

Not only does this quote powerfully summarize the challenges faced by the interned community, but it also stresses the trauma and anxiety such a journey might cause. Furthermore, it stresses a major gap in the academic research concerning these spaces. This chapter aims to explore the period following the war, tracing the return of thousands of Japanese individuals back to California and investigating what made this return possible. The journey of the Japanese internees upon their return from the camps is continuously being updated and documented, and how their lives changed after the experience is an abundant topic amongst researchers today. However, with most of the excavations being conducted within the camps themselves, most archaeological publications are unable to examine this aspect of the incarceration period without strong ethnographic accounts or historical documentation. As we have seen in the story of the Hirahara family, despite the challenges they and others faced during the war, many opted to return to the place which evicted them, bringing with them a sense of community and support even after they were incarcerated at the hands of the government. The actions taken by this family, and others, instilled a long-lasting question in myself while I was conducting this research: why, how, and who would return to their towns, cities, or even California after the events of executive order 9066?

To address this question, I first researched and collaborated with the Hirahara family. Before the removal from their extensive farmland in Watsonville, the Hirahara's secured a safety net via a lawyer and gardener who offered to maintain the property while they were away. Even with this unique opportunity, only 5 of the 11 Hirahara family members sent to the camps returned to Watsonville in 1945. Surely, there were many others who did not find themselves in a position to maintain their property, and would have lost much more to squatters, looters, or unauthorized selling of their land. Adding more uncertainty were farmers, including the Western Growers Protective Association, who continued to support the 1920 Alien land Law as it handedly eliminated the competition and allowed for a simple takeover of their farmland while the Japanese population were isolated to assembly centers and incarceration camps. In addition, the long history of anti-Asian sentiment limited job opportunities beyond legislation by way of prejudice and racism. However, it was not only individuals who were affected, but rather those vibrant communities established since the early 1900s. Waugh and Yamato (1990:167) express these impacts to the Japanese Americans communities formed before the war

> "Those who did return had to rebuild lives that had been dramatically altered by the concentration camp experience. In some communities, one-third or more of the Japanese population did not return. Moreover, some *nihonmachi* did not survive. Non-Japanese businesses and residents had moved into sections of town previously occupied by Japanese Americans. The war was also a turning point in generational control of businesses, churches, and community politics, as the adult children of immigrants began to dominate in all spheres of Japanese activities."

These compounding discriminatory laws, economic exclusion, and the eventual relocation efforts after Pearl Harbor in 1941 effectively destroyed the Japanese agricultural business, as well as other Japanese run businesses, in the United States by greatly hindering those community centers. Few families possessed the means to return to their former businesses after World War II ended, and at the conclusion of the incarceration period in 1946 many had lost their livelihoods forever.

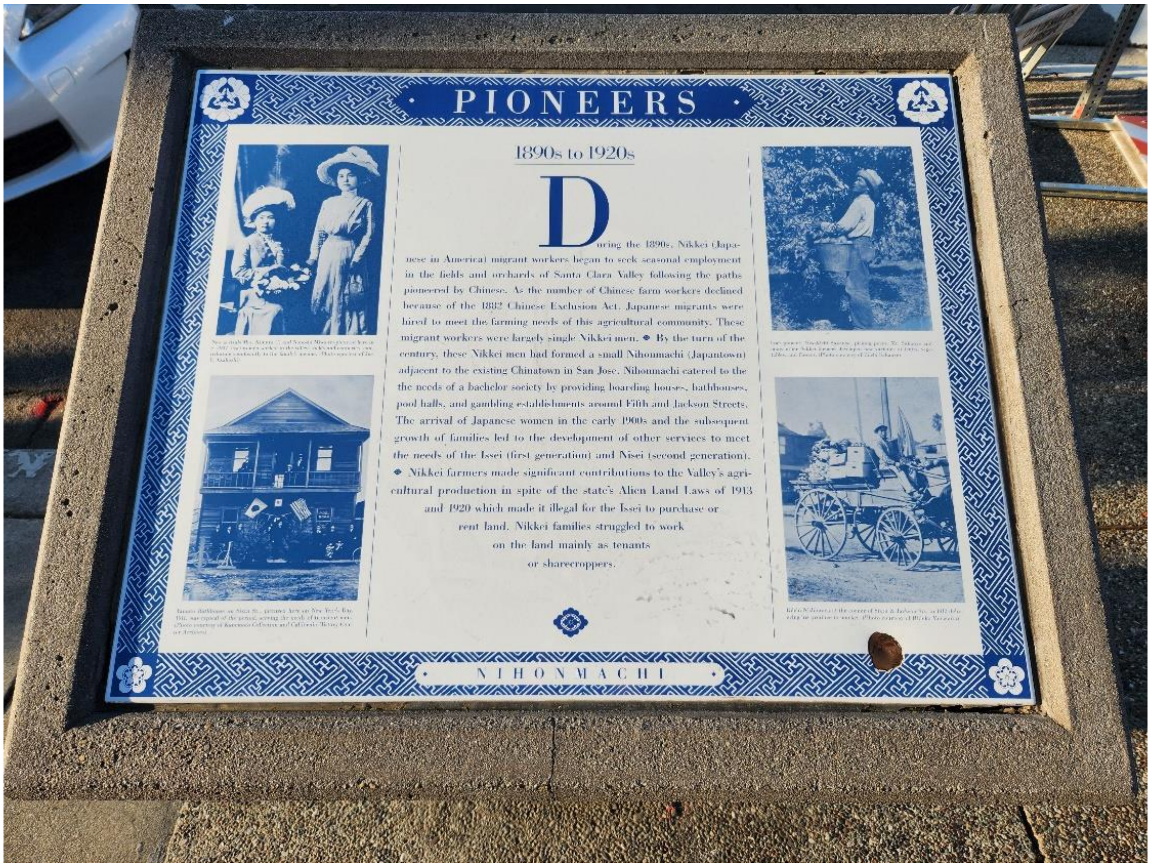
These impacts are shown clearly in agricultural censuses for California, where the number of farms and information about their owners/tenants by county are recorded. Looking at Santa Cruz County farm data (containing both Santa Cruz and Watsonville, primarily) the number of farms, particularly those operated by non-white population, takes a dramatic downturn. As of April 1, 1940, there were 1,712 farms in Santa Cruz County, 1,603 of which were operated by white owners and 109 were owned and operated by non-white individuals (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1946:37). Of course, this does not account for the significant number of Japanese laborers working across all these farms; however, taking into account the strong history of Japanese agriculturalists in the area it is likely a large proportion of the non-white farm owners, leasers, or renters at the time were Japanese immigrants. This is made more likely when looking at the census numbers in 1945, recorded January 1, 1945. In 1945, white owners saw a steady increase in ownership bringing the total farms operated by white owners to 2,211 (~38% increase) since 1940. However, instead of seeing a similar pattern in the non-white farms, there was only 11 farms operated by non-white owners, indicating a decrease of 90% in five years (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1946:37).

Regarding San Jose, Santa Clara County showed similar patterns. Total farms in the county were steadily rising until 1950 from 5,608 in 1940 and 5,914 in 1945 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1946:27) to 5,282 in 1950 and 4,953 in 1954 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1956:60). Between 1940 and 1945 the number of white farm operators increased from 5,193 to 5,821 respectively (12% increase), and subsequently fell as the number of total farms decreased in 1950 and 1954. That said, for the non-white farmers of Santa Clara County there is a drastic decline between 1940 and 1945, just like in Santa Cruz County. Here, the number fell from 415 non-white farmers in 1940 to just 93 in 1945, representing a 78% decrease in non-white farmers in that time (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1946:37). By 1950 the numbers still had not returned to pre-WWII levels having only 382 non-white farmers recorded in 1950, and finally surpassing the pre-war numbers in 1954 with 526 non-white operators. For good measure, I also looked at these numbers in the denser locale of Los Angeles, with similar results. In 1940, LA saw a total of 1,592 non-white farm owners (out of a total of 12,475 farms), and by 1945 that number fell to 244 farms operated by non-white owners, or a decrease of 85% (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1946:33). Taking all three of these counties together, they show a decrease of 78-90% of non-white farmers between 1940 and 1945.

Looking at the numbers for all of California, this trend is reflected once more with 6,730 non-white operated farms in 1940, out of a total of 132,658. In 1945 the total number of farms had risen to 138,917 but the number of non-white owners was only 2,638, exposing a roughly 60% decrease in non-white owners across all of California (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1946:3). Clearly, although these were not all necessarily Japanese farmers, the incarceration had a dramatic impact on non-white farm owners across the whole of California. It would take until 1954 for the numbers of non-white farm owners in Santa Cruz County to return to pre-WWII levels. By 1950, the number had risen from 11 to 22, albeit at a much slower pace than any comparable pre-war timeframe. By 1954, the number finally eclipsed the 1940 numbers, with 136 non-white farmers operating in the county (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1956:61). It is worth mentioning that, at that time, the total number of farms was also beginning to decrease in California, likely due to technological developments and the consolidation of wealth and land to the larger, corporate farms. However, at this time in Santa Cruz County, that would only account for approximately 100 farms lost out of 1700 in the region. For Santa Clara County, the total amount of farms decreased by about 1000 farms between 1945 and 1954, from 5,914 to 4,953. Taking everything into account, the census records show that the incarceration had a devastating impact on the California agricultural business, especially for non-white owners, tenants, and laborers.

Yet today thriving cities exist in all these locations, with "historic Japantown" appearing on maps and illuminated by text with a glance of the area. Sure enough, after venturing to some of the local Japantowns, there is a strong perception of ethnic pride and solidarity found in these spaces, and they continue to leverage this presence through education and continued expression of the Japanese American identity. Take the San Jose Japantown for example, in which you can find numerous plaques and monuments lining 5th street to this day which educate about the long history of Japanese Americans in the city and highlight the literal and figurative foundations established by said community over the past 130 years (figure 5.1, 5.2, 5.3). Additionally, census numbers reported in the 50s and 60s point towards a significant increase in the Japanese population of California following the war, despite the tenuous conditions of that journey. Sugaya et al summarizes this well in a concise passage

> "According to the census figures, by 1950 the number of Japanese Americans living in California had decreased approximately 10% from its pre-war levels. With about 36,000 people both before and after the war, Los Angeles County had by far the largest concentration of Japanese Americans in the state; other countries, such as San Francisco, Alameda, Fresno, Sacramento, and Santa Clara had no more than 6000 each. However, during the 1950s, the Japanese American population in California doubled. In Los Angeles County, the 1960 census recorded about 77,000 Japanese Americans." (Sugaya 2004:6).



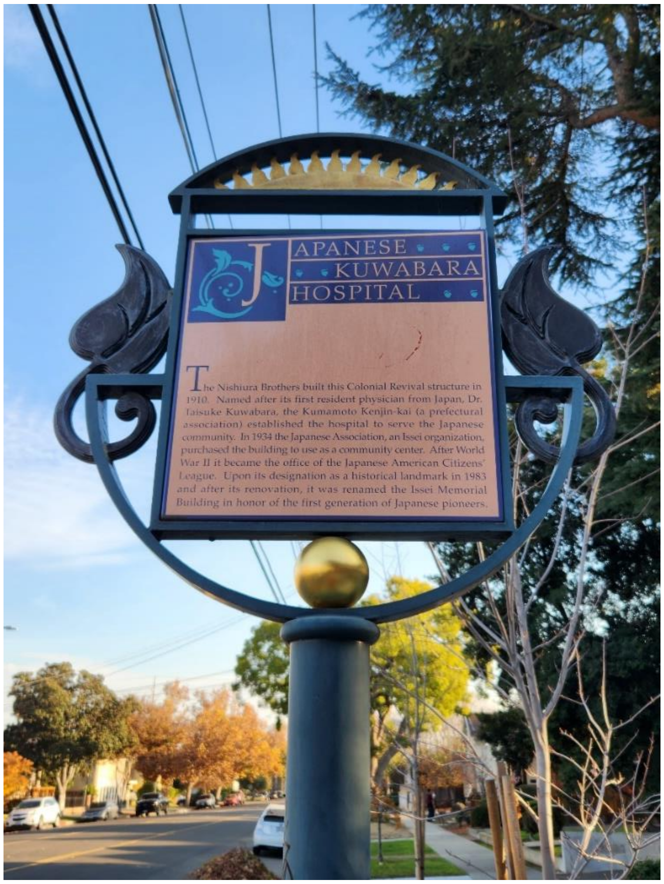
PIONEERS

1890s to 1920s

During the 1890s, Nikkei (Japanese in America) migrant workers began to seek seasonal employment in the fields and orchards of Santa Clara Valley following the paths pioneered by Chinese. As the number of Chinese farm workers declined because of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, Japanese migrants were hired to meet the farming needs of this agricultural community. These migrant workers were largely single Nikkei men. ◆ By the turn of the century, these Nikkei men had formed a small Nihonmachi (Japantown) adjacent to the existing Chinatown in San Jose. Nihonmachi catered to the the needs of a bachelor society by providing boarding houses, bathhouses, pool halls, and gambling establishments around Fifth and Jackson Streets. The arrival of Japanese women in the early 1900s and the subsequent growth of families led to the development of other services to meet the needs of the Issei (first generation) and Nisei (second generation). ◆ Nikkei farmers made significant contributions to the Valley's agricultural production in spite of the state's Alien Land Laws of 1913 and 1920 which made it illegal for the Issei to purchase or rent land. Nikkei families struggled to work on the land mainly as tenants or sharecroppers.

NIHONMACHI

Figure 5.1 Streetside plaque commemorating San Jose Japantown. Photo taken by author on November 25th, 2022.



JAPANESE KUWABARA HOSPITAL

The Nishiura Brothers built this Colonial Revival structure in 1910. Named after its first resident physician from Japan, Dr. Taisuke Kuwabara, the Kumamoto Kenjin-kai (a prefectural association) established the hospital to serve the Japanese community. In 1934 the Japanese Association, an Issei organization, purchased the building to use as a community center. After World War II it became the office of the Japanese American Citizens' League. Upon its designation as a historical landmark in 1983 and after its renovation, it was renamed the Issei Memorial Building in honor of the first generation of Japanese pioneers.

Figure 5.2 Signage commemorating Kuwabara Hospital in San Jose Japantown. Photo taken by author November 25th, 2022.

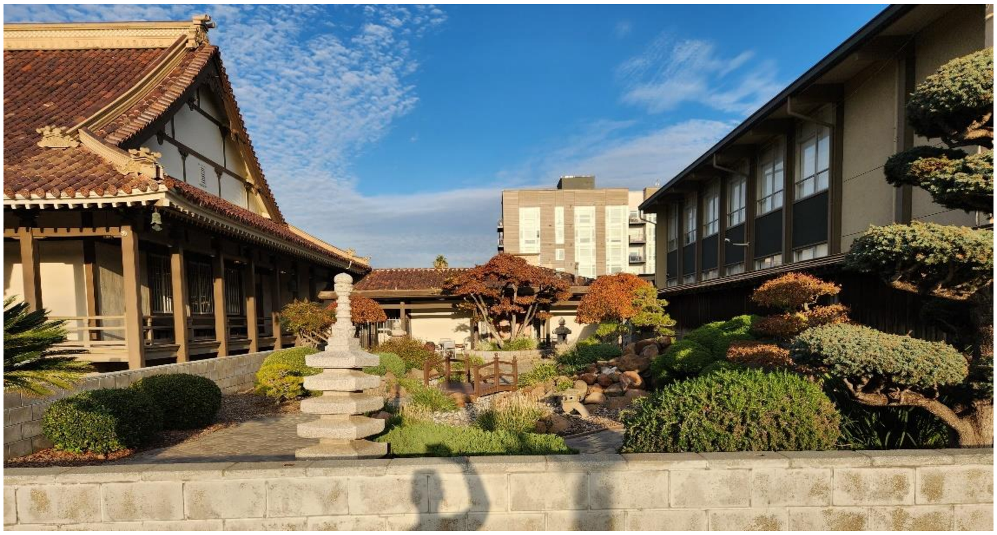
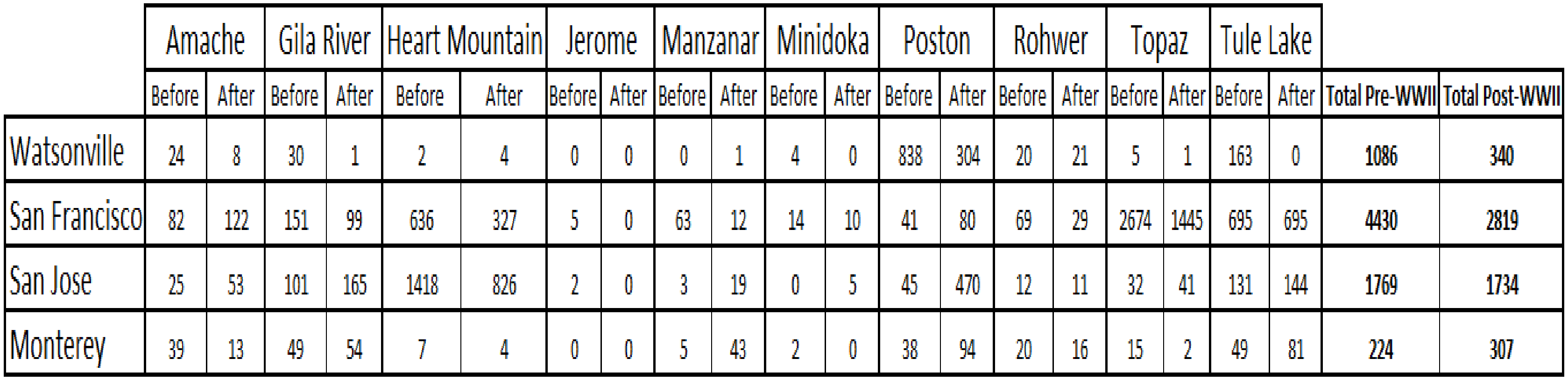


Figure 5.3 Japanese garden in the yard of the Buddhist church, San Jose. Photo taken by author November 25th, 2022.

Tracing the development of the Japantowns mentioned here brings an additional element to this narrative, already proving the resilience of the community who continued to expand and thrive despite numerous legislations and politicians throwing roadblocks in the way. The people of these communities, as well as the architecture, businesses, and commerce of these areas all form a sense of place (Chapter 2) which is different from the cities they are nested in, something which is tangible and, arguably, one of the main reasons for the observed migration back to California from across the U.S.

Another key metric to consider for the returning population is the extent to which resettlement took place. The Hirahara family showcase a unique situation of a family who were able to return to their previous home from which they were incarcerated. However, this was not a possibility for every person leaving the incarceration camps, in fact it may be more accurate to expect people to avoid going back to their previous dwellings. Furthermore, we cannot overlook the act of hiding or diminishing outward ties to the Japanese empire through the burning, burying, or relocation of any specific Japanese heirlooms or objects discussed last chapter. The implications are such that those ties to this specific locale were already beginning to sever at the beginning of the incarceration and projecting that sentiment over the next 5 years of incarceration may serve to only heighten those feelings. Alternatively, perhaps this would have given more reason to return to these spaces, to recollect those belongings which are salvageable and to rebuild a life inspired by those recollected memories from earlier days.

To form a more complete picture of the resettlement I turned to the DENSHO digital archive, a repository for “preserving Japanese American stories of the past for the generations of tomorrow” (from the Densho website homepage). There, researchers have compiled a mass of information regarding the Japanese population of all the counties of California before and after the incarceration, including listings of important incarceration sites across the U.S., on a map called “Sites of Shame” (Densho 2021). Using the data found on this map allowed me to compile statistics concerning the Japanese populations in specific counties and cities before the incarceration and the amount of people returning to said counties and cities, plus the camps in which they were incarcerated and where they traveled from. For this project, the focus was on the Japantowns in the Monterey Bay region, namely Watsonville, San Francisco, San Jose, and Monterey, found across the Santa Cruz, Monterey, San Francisco, and Santa Clara counties. I have compiled this data into the table below.



	Amache		Gila River		Heart Mountain		Jerome		Manzanar		Minidoka		Poston		Rohwer		Topaz		Tule Lake			
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After	Total Pre-WWII	Total Post-WWII
Watsonville	24	8	30	1	2	4	0	0	0	1	4	0	838	304	20	21	5	1	163	0	**1086**	**340**
San Francisco	82	122	151	99	636	327	5	0	63	12	14	10	41	80	69	29	2674	1445	695	695	**4430**	**2819**
San Jose	25	53	101	165	1418	826	2	0	3	19	0	5	45	470	12	11	32	41	131	144	**1769**	**1734**
Monterey	39	13	49	54	7	4	0	0	5	43	2	0	38	94	20	16	15	2	49	81	**224**	**307**

Table 2. Number of Japanese Individuals in Select Cities Before 1941 and after 1946. Data acquired from the Densho Sites of Shame online resource.

The before column indicates the number of Japanese individuals recorded to be living in those cities in 1941, or before the war, and the after column refers to the number of Japanese individuals in each respective city following the end of WWII in 1946. The total counts on the right-hand side of the table thus indicate the total recorded Japanese individuals living in the cities before and after the incarceration. Looking at each city independently, there are typically one or two camps that make up most of their outgoing population. This is a great visual display of how communities were sanctioned into camps based largely on their geographical area, like those from Watsonville being incarcerated at Poston, for example. Viewing those key locales can indicate both where many Japanese people were sent from these areas as well as where most people returned from. In short, the data can indicate where groups traveled following the war and presents a good indication of the communities that make up the populations in each respective camp.

In Watsonville and San Francisco, there is a significant decrease in population following the war, at least of those coming from one of the 10 major incarceration camps. In Watsonville we only see 31% of the population returning following the war compared to 64% in San Francisco both of which match the expectation that there would be a smaller population following the war. That is, until we also look at the San Jose and Monterey numbers. In these cities, the returning population is much larger, having 98% of the before war population return to San Jose and a surprising 137% return to Monterey. Indeed, there were more Japanese people recorded living in Monterey after the war than before, with 83 additional individuals recorded in 1946.

At first glance, instincts told me that it was simply the opportunities, communities, organizations, and the population density offered by the larger cities in the dataset that lead to this skew. However, if that was the case, I would also expect San Francisco to have a significant portion of the population to return, especially more so than Watsonville or Monterey.

All said, there are some important things to keep in mind with this data. The primary crux of this data is the fact that the numbers do not necessarily represent a specific individual's return journey. Depending on one's age and resources, it was not uncommon for incarcerated Japanese to travel elsewhere from the camps, including being accepted to and attending college, or working for facilities outside of the exclusion area, such as factories along the east coast. For example, we can see that Monterey gained population after the war, but that does not indicate that all the individuals living in Monterey before the war aspired to, or even completed, that return journey. This population could have been wholly from other camps or from portions of the U.S outside of the exclusion zone. Luckily, the numbers provide minor indications of these movements. In Monterey, it shows 94 returning from Poston and 81 returning from Tule Lake. These sites, also based on the table, were largely made up of communities from Watsonville and San Francisco. In other words, it seems some of these locations became highly sought after following the war, encouraging folks to relocate from Watsonville or San Francisco to San Jose and Watsonville. The same applies to San Jose where, although we cannot say that 98% of the individuals who were incarcerated from San Jose returned to the city, San Jose clearly drew

Japanese individuals from many of the camps to find home after the war. This is made most clear by the 470 individuals who went from Poston to San Jose. Poston was a camp that was primarily housing folks from the Salinas/Fresno area temporary relocation centers. However, instead of returning to Watsonville or the other major cities there, a huge number are shown to land in San Jose. My claim that San Jose presented a unique community as well as opportunities for migrant labor is derived in part from these statistics, showing just how crucial San Jose was for the development of the region by the sheer amount of folks who relocated there. This similarly bolsters my claims that the San Jose Japantown, and the other Japantowns in the region were integral for this return and were likely major factors in people's choices to return to the west coast. Moving forward, research about San Jose is shown to answer the key question: why was there such a significant increase in population in San Jose following the war considering the availability of many other cities in the region and what are some of these unique factors that made the city so desirable? Furthermore, knowing that not all the Japantowns in California recovered, what factors put San Jose in this unique position?

Researchers have presented adjacent factors to consider concerning this rise in population. San Jose continues to be a context where this conversation is held often, likely due to their prominent Japantown and their significant population increase following the war. In fact, Suguya emphasizes multiple factors which make San Jose unique regarding the return of the Japanese American community "three *Nihonmachi* (Japantowns) managed to be re-established after the war: San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Jose. Of these, only San Jose provided a direct link to the agricultural heritage that had been central to Japanese American experience in the prewar period" (Sugaya et al 2004:6). The authors continue to elaborate on factors in the following passage

> "A high post-war birth rate among Nisei and the return of more Japanese American evacuees to California are considered the two major factors that caused the population numbers to rise. Recruitment of educated Japanese Americans to work in emerging high technology industry and the acceptance of Japanese Americans into colleges such as San Jose State University may have also contributed to the increase" (Sugaya et al 2004:6).

Interestingly, the factors that most scholars tend to focus on are on display here as well, namely the agricultural business and technological factors drawing Japanese workers back into the region. Of course, finding a job, steady employment, and a sense of security influence people's travels all the time, but here I would argue it is of utmost importance. Having been severely limited in income for the past 4 years and losing most possessions/assets on the onset of the incarceration has put a serious dent in the timeline for many of these individuals. To make a steady recovery would require steady work, which brings us back to the agricultural hub of San Jose. Here, many immigrants of all ethnicities traveled to Farm in the abundant environment, a phenomenon that appears to increase following the war. The return to this type of labor makes practical sense as the positions would have been in high demand and there would be little barriers to entry, monetarily or otherwise.

Heavy emphasis was also placed on the educational opportunities and tech opportunities developing in the area, which most certainly would attract highly educated engineers or Issei families looking for places to send their kids to school. During the incarceration there are instances of Japanese students going to universities outside of the removal zone on the West coast to avoid the camps altogether, and it would make sense for them to continue their education or for the community to use those circumstances as an example of scholarly opportunities available to them. This practical thinking is paralleled in Monterey where gardening became one of the most prominent Japanese professions following the resettlement. Yamada discusses the reasoning for this observation by stating

> "After 1945, with Japanese families returning to the Monterey Peninsula, three other factors influenced the choice of landscape gardening as a job career. The most important reason was the decline of the sardine industry. By the late 1940s and early 1950s, sardines were gone. Several people involved in fishing then turned to gardening. A fourth reason was the common pattern of sons taking over the business of their fathers. Issei gardeners of the 1920s and 1930s were succeeded by their Nisei sons, in spite of the fact that many Nisei sons had aspirations to pursue other careers" (Yamada 1995:94).

He continues with the 5th factor stating that there was also only minor language or education barriers from working landscaping, another reason the profession was an easy choice for the Japanese community returning to Monterey. This example puts a strong emphasis on practicality, both from the authors of the work as well as the returning population hastily forced to conceive their future. Typically, this practicality comes in the form of job opportunities, existing businesses, and acquired skills when contemplating their next move or life choice, and California undoubtedly has a lot of factors such as this that would draw displaced populations into the country. However, outside of these practical draws for the region I was not wholly convinced that this would explain an extensive return to the west coast, especially because these labor-type jobs would be present almost anywhere in the country. It was not until I changed my perception of Place for these northern California towns that I began to see the underlying attractions to the region. Suguya et al summarize some of these broader perspective influences in a short passage

> "Large numbers of Japanese Americans resettled in the San Jose area. This is believed to have resulted from three main factors: the continued potential for agricultural success in the Santa Clara Valley, the strength of San Jose's pre-war Japanese community, and willingness of others to protect Japanese American property during the war. Doctors and community leaders returned, establishing San Jose's Japantown as a center for evacuee support services" (2004:19-20).

Here, instead of listing job opportunities (aside farming the valley), education, or monetary gain as the motivational factors Suguya projects the non-tangible spirit and sense of place within the San Jose Japanese community. The article continues to explain how the San Jose/Santa Clara area became one of the more prominent locations during resettlement, with emphasis on community leaders returning to San

Jose creating a compassionate environment for the incoming community as well as providing support centers for people to turn too upon their arrival. Like Watsonville, there also appears to have been a portion of the community offering support to the Japanese incarcerates, keeping their properties safe for the duration and maintaining a suitable home to return too. Overall, it appears a combination of factors made San Jose a central location for the incarcerated community to return too, bolstered by the strong communal bonds formed at the inception of the Japantowns, and through the outstanding community who supported the Japanese members of their city despite not being affected by the wartime legislations at all.

Watsonville remains the elephant in the room due to its large sample size and divergent data. Here, we see a significant decrease in population following the war, despite Watsonville containing one of the richest and most vibrant Japantowns in the region. Despite anecdotes of perseverance in the Watsonville community, as shown by the Hirahara family amongst others, Watsonville did not have the same resurgence seen by other nearby towns. Masharu Hashimoto, member of the Watsonville JACL chapter from the previous chapter, further elaborates on his own experience returning to Watsonville in an interview from 2016

> “Well coming back, it was difficult for many to find a place to stay. It was difficult to find work. It was difficult to find places that would sell groceries etc. so we were grateful to people like Mrs. Marshall, who when she discovered that stores would not sell to us, she would buy the groceries and deliver them to us. There were signs in the stores along Main Street, No Japs,

> No Japs, No Japs. But those signs were taken down and torn apart by Japanese Americans who were from Hawaii who had been drafted" (Hashimoto 2016:10).

Hashimoto paints a much different picture than the quotes surrounding the return in other places like Monterey and San Jose. It appears that Watsonville's prejudices stemming from the early 1900s continued through the war and may have been a strong deterrent for some looking to return to the West coast. If word of mouth spread about the challenges people were facing while returning to Watsonville, it seems likely that the surrounding, welcoming, and established, cities would become an exceedingly desired spot. It is also worth mentioning that the farming and labor positions held by Japanese Americans before the war and desired by families returning to California may have been filled in the intervening years by other migrant laborers who were not being persecuted by the federal government. In fact, there was such a shortage of laborers during WWII that the US government created an executive order titled the Mexican Farm Labor Program, with the goal of acquisitioning additional labor support from predominantly Mexican men. The order established the Bracero Project, which permitted millions of Mexicans to work legally in the US for a limited time. This program was terminated in 1964, but it is reasonable to think that competition for these labor positions increased dramatically in the years following this executive order, causing even further hesitation for Japanese people returning to their jobs or posing greater challenges for them when they returned to the west coast (Library of Congress 2023).

Much of the discussion at this point has been in the period immediately following the end of WWII, however it is worth noting that the overall return to the west coast/CA continued for multiple decades. Waugh and Yamato reflect this in their work when theorizing about the Japanese population increases in the 50s and 60s

> “The decade 1950-60 saw almost a doubling of the Japanese populations in California, to 157,317. Los Angeles county again led the state with 77,314, more than seven times the number in Santa Clara County, which had 10,432 Japanese residents. This large increase is generally attributed to the birth of sansei, the third generation of Japanese. A secondary but far less important reason numerically was the gradual return to the West Coast of individuals who had resettled to other areas during the World War II incarceration. A minor increase may also be attributed to Japanese women immigrating from Asia as wives of U.S. servicemen” (Waugh and Yamato 1990:167).

Their reasoning for this is not relegated to business propositions in these locations or even the homes and communities built in California by the Japanese community over the past half century. Instead, the later rise in population is largely due to natural births occurring at a higher frequency as the fallout from the war diminished. Importantly, this was one of the primary reasons theorized for the increase in the San Jose population as well. Perhaps this is evidence that many were able to resettle in California rather quickly, with the ability then to establish themselves and proceed with having children. It is also possible that some Nisei couples formed while in the camps themselves, also making that transition to parenthood a greater possibility following the camps. An account of how many couples formed or how many people met their future husbands or wives within the incarceration camps would make for an interesting addition to this topic. That said, the return to the coast is offered as a secondary condition in this example, being labeled as gradual and having a much lesser impact on the number of Japanese residents in California. I tend to view these two points as being more interrelated to one other, with the move back to the coast also prompting a rise in the Sansei generation, nevertheless this does showcase how impactful the incarceration was seeing how the recovery of the Japanese population was ongoing nearly 15 years later.

Today, although the foundations of Watsonville Japantown remain, the demographics have shifted rapidly. In fact, on April 16th, 2021 *The Pajaronian* published an article sharing the unfortunate news that Yamashita Market, Watsonville's last Japanese owned business, was forced to close its doors in the wake of the pandemic (Guild 2021). The store opened in 1928 and relocated to its contemporary location back in 1948 once the family returned to rebuild their business following the war. Although the legacy remains intact, the spirit of the community has certainly shifted, and although celebrations of the diverse background and history of Watsonville are frequent, even events specific to the Japanese American legacy, the landscape does not compare to San Jose, whose demarcated streets are lined with monuments and educational information regarding this period. That said, some folks, like Hashimoto, look to Watsonville as a beacon of such community support, despite not being one of the most expansive or populated Japantowns in the area.

Looking towards the Hirahara family further emphasizes this point; their willingness to support those around them within the community is reflected time and time again in the recollections of this period as well as the actions and statements others have made to maintain support for the Japanese community and maintain the proper historical legacy of this profound community. The story of the Hirahara family providing others with shelter, a home, and a place to get back on their feet is, again, the heart of this narrative. Despite a relatively low amount of Japanese people returning to Watsonville, potentially implicating that Watsonville was a less-desirable or more challenging place to return too, it is from the Watsonville community where some of the most inspiring stories come from. It is in this way as well where I argue it was community sentiment that allowed for this return, or any return at all. Despite not having those strong economic pulls like the other Japantowns, Watsonville is still talked about as a beacon of community perseverance and I believe the foundations laid by the Japanese community in Watsonville, and the Japantown that was created, was the primary factor in transforming Watsonville into a place of diversity, acceptance, and perseverance that is still fondly remembered today. Furthermore, this shows how the actions of a few can have a lasting impact on those around them, and it only takes a couple members within the community to showcase those qualities and spread them to their neighbors, and future generations. Watsonville may not have one of the most famous, decorated, or flashy Japantowns remaining today, but it continues to shine bright in the memories of its communities and in the history of the Japanese diaspora.

The next chapter pivots from the historical and ethnographic investigations of the Japanese diaspora to the archaeological analyses of these sites. This research spans multiple incarceration camps and isolated sites across the west coast and Hawai’i where archaeologists have worked hard to uncover evidence of Japanese habitation, the experiences of those in the camps, and how this history might be portrayed in a new light given new material evidence. This initial chapter serves to showcase previous research completed in the field before shifting to this project’s specific analysis concerning the excavation of the Hirahara Farmstead.

Chapter 6: Historical Archaeology Methods for Exploring the Pre-war, Incarceration, and Post-war Japanese Landscape

The field of Japanese diaspora archaeology is growing at a fast pace, and with that comes a range of new methodological and theoretical perspectives. While anthropological endeavors into the topic have been around since the 1960s, never has there been so many diverse archaeological projects happening within the incarceration camps (Beckwith 2013; Burton 2017; Camp 2020; Clark and Shew 2020; Driver 2015; Fitz-Gerald 2015; Fong et al 2022; Shew and Kamp-Whittaker 2013; Swader 2015) and beyond (Branton 2004, Camp 2020:6). This surge of research also means methodologies are in constant flux, as new entries into the literature bring with them a range of different interpretive ideas and strategies for parsing through the data. This chapter showcases some of the methodological strategies employed in the field of Japanese diaspora studies, beginning with a generalized overview of historical archaeological methods, showing previous archaeological research on Japanese American sites throughout the 20th century, and transitioning to my own research methodology pertaining to the Redman-Hirahara House collection in the next chapter. In doing so, I hope to showcase the foundation laid by historical archaeology, subsequent projects within incarceration camps, and ongoing debates over the methodological practices within these subgroups to better formulate my own methods and classification choices.

Artifact Analysis in Historical Archaeology

Shifting away from the ethnographic aspects of historical archaeology, it is important to outline some of the specific material categories and ways artifacts can be examined within this field. Historical archaeology is often driven by studies of capitalism and tracing patterns of consumerism (Crowell 1997; Delle 1998; Leone 1995; Shackel 1993; Trigger 1993; Wallerstein 2000), which is reflected in mass-produced materials often researched by historical archaeologists. Some anthropologists have taken upon themselves the daunting task of compiling these methodologies and techniques involving broad categories of ceramics, glass bottles, architectural materials, and historic materials more generally (Chenoweth and Janowitz 2016, Lindsey 2020, Miller et al 2000, Spector 1976, Wells 1998). Two of the most prominent artifact types to analyze featured here are glass bottles and ceramics. Glass bottles are commonly cited in historical works as they have many diagnostic traits (see Ng 2011). The construction of the vessel itself, the type of mold that was used, thickness of the glass, color of the glass, and presence of a seam all align with different construction methods that changed at precise moments in time with the introduction of more efficient technologies.

Additionally, both glass bottles and ceramics benefit from the presence of maker's marks. A maker's mark can include stamps, engravings, or molded text that inform the analysist of a variety of traits, but most importantly manufacturer details. These can range from informing which factory the bottles were produced in, the year they were created, or even initials of the artisan themselves. Encyclopedias of maker's marks can be found online or in print and can be used effectively to date bottles and ceramics when combining other diagnostic traits, assuming one is fortunate enough to have the presence of a maker mark on their individual artifacts (Hume 1969, Kowalsky 1999). On ceramics, maker's marks can serve a similar purpose, but they also have stylistic indicators that can help to pinpoint their presumed date range. Historic ceramic studies are drawn from traditional archaeological theory, using the tempering, material type, formation style, and surface treatments to understand where the vessels were made, when they were made, and how they were made. In terms of ceramics in the historical era this includes whitewares vs. earthen wares, porcelains, glazes, stamped decoration, slip decoration, painted colors, and more. Importantly, maker's marks can also be found on ceramic vessels which similarly offer information as to who created it, where it was created, and when it was produced.

Time Lag

One immediate issue to address for this study is the concept of time lag in the use life of ceramics. This phenomenon is discussed primarily in the context of historic era ceramics and is used to describe the challenges associated with using ceramics to date a specific context. Historic ceramics generally have a longer lifespan than most materials found in archaeological contexts thanks to their durability and a tendency to be reused and passed down through multiple generations. This implies that the manufacturing date of a ceramic vessel, commonly ascribed through maker's marks, is not a good measure of when the object was used because there are many stages in between the creation of a product and when it was used by the consumer. Adams (2003) published an article discussing this problem and argues

> “ceramic tableware vessels can have a lifespan of 15-20 years and longer. The length of ceramic lifespans will vary due to many cultural factors like wealth, clumsiness, life cycles, frugality, and so forth. By examining an artifact assemblage with time lag and life spans in mind, a better understanding can be derived for how that assemblage came together for a site” (Adams 2003:38).

Even with this generalization it should be emphasized that the full use life of any ceramic is inherently unknown and historical research must pay extra attention to the manufacturing, social, and economic contexts within which the ceramics were produced.

For example, in the context of the Hirahara house assemblage there are ceramics with maker’s marks dating their production between 1890 and 1910. Applying Adam’s guidelines for time lag would imply that the usage of the ceramic was not during this timeframe but instead could range anywhere from 1890 to 1930 and beyond. Instead of relying solely on the dates of production for the ceramics other factors must be considered. One way of narrowing this date is to pair the maker’s marks with other elements of the ceramics to inform if it was mass produced, launched into stores quickly, or if it is a more uncommon vessel that may have had a longer journey to the Redman farmstead. Additionally, scholars suggest the analysis of general consumer behavior within specific timeframes for greater context of ceramic use life (Henry 1991, Klein 1991).

Consumer behavior is not a concept that is exclusive to anthropology. In fact, when Henry outlines her model of general consumer behavior (1991) she references many fields ranging from psychology, social sciences, and economics that all intersect within her body of research. Simply put, this multidisciplinary model focuses on tracing the large number of steps in the process of purchasing a good and returning it to your home. Henry's model consists of a few major stages along that journey including the decision, acquisition, use, and eventual post-use deposition when it may be discarded and become part of the archaeological record (Henry 1991:5). It is further emphasized that consumer behavior at an individual level is also influenced by many other socio-economic factors happening at the time. Is there easy access to stores and markets in the area? Are goods imported or are they all made and distributed locally? What is the general wealth of the region? What is the product, price, distribution, promotional material, etc.? All of these impacts the very beginning of the purchasing process and the ways in which individuals navigate the commodity market is often reflective of their own socio-economic status.

This is further emphasized by Klein (1991) who examined consumer behavior in the context of 19th century ceramics. Here, he generates various models to understand large datasets from 19th century households including gender rolls and looking at who is doing the purchasing for the home, ceramics in the marketplace, socio-economic status, and specified income or occupations. In the end however, it appears that many of the claims that tie individual household assemblages to larger socio-economic status often did not show any correlation. In other words, while there are many factors at play that change consumer behavior, attributing the data to one single social trait does not seem to be effective (Klein 1991:88). Instead, Klein argues that for historic research of this nature the scale of analysis must be turned down. While it is difficult to make any claims about overall consumption and the consumer culture of Americans from these assemblages, they can be quite informative about the specific households where the ceramics were recovered. This dissertation will apply the themes conveyed here to better understand consumer practices as well as which family, or which time frame, various materials were brought to the home.

While modeling consumer behavior is helpful for my interpretations of the site, this still does not solve the time lag issue discussed prior. Fortunately, Adams (2003:45) also provides a strategy to minimize the impact of time lag by using mean production dates. As discussed earlier, one of the main problems produced through time lag is the relative uselessness of manufacturing dates. Compared to other classes of artifacts, such as glass bottles, the manufacturing date of ceramics can be far from their actual use date. Bottles, on the other hand, are not often reused and are generally used for only a small amount of time. To counteract this phenomena Adams encourages the use of the mean production date, calculated by adding up all the start production dates and end of production dates for a certain ceramic type and dividing by the number of samples in the assemblage. This calculation produces a date that reflects the average date by which a ceramic was created offering a more statistically viable use date than the typical production date range. While this method still does not fully satisfy the total use life possibilities for an object, it does produce a better TPQ or the earliest date in which the object was in use.

The most important thing to keep in mind, however, is that all these methodological practices should be used with extreme caution and consideration of the assemblage in question (see David 1972). Dealing with the problem of time lag is inherently counterintuitive and sometimes downright impossible. Multiple modes of analysis, artifact types, and ample historical and contextual research into the era of study is the best way to ensure the findings are representative of ceramic use in the everyday world.

Farmstead Archaeology

Combining both the theoretical roots of historical archaeology as well as the general artifact analysis strategies outlined above have paved the way for new realms of exploration in archaeology. One such field relevant to the Hirahara site is historical farmstead archaeology. To address some of the primary questions about the unique situation at the Hirahara farmstead it is important to understand what an average farmstead during this time may look like archaeologically. There are few scholars who investigate rural farmsteads in the 18th through 20th centuries in the United States (Adams 1990, Cabak et al 1999, Groover 2008, Reckner 2009), with most being relegated to CRM work (Henry 1995, Keener et al 2013, Lebo and Yates 1996), or via special issues and conference symposiums (Landon et al 2001). In fact, Susan Henry

(1995) once conducted a survey of the National Register of Historic Places and found that fewer than 1% of the entries were for 20th century archaeological sites, farmsteads or otherwise. While relatively few sites are explored in this way, the interest in these sites is universal in their ability to inform of general consumer behavior as well as a general modernization of industries and farmsteads spurred by industrialization. In this section, I want to showcase some of the theoretical trends synthesized from this research and some examples of farmsteads which have been analyzed archaeologically to form a basis for artifact analyses in these historic places.

Groover (2008) created an integral book for this discussion, covering the archaeology of North American farmsteads. Specifically, he compiles archaeological information from farmsteads dating throughout the historic era along the east coast, in the antebellum south, and in the mid-west. While he does not include specific site references to farms along the west coast, the research strategies, questions, goals, and processes he outlines in the book apply nearly universally to the research questions slated for the Hirahara farmstead. Primarily, farmstead archaeology has strong parallels to other domestic site investigations by historical archaeologists. Questions about the time depth of the farm, how long said family operated the farm, food quality, household items, wealth, and status for example are universal for domestic contexts in archaeology (Groover 2008:127). That said, the farming lifestyle also brings a few unique characteristics to these sites. As Groover suggests, they are "self-contained, household-level, production-consumption units, meaning foodstuffs were raised on the farm, consumed by the farm household, and also marketed for profit"

(Groover 2008:127). This economic orientation affects many aspects of the farm including layout, function, types of food consumed/grown, standard of living, and gender roles. Additionally, farmsteads showcase a level of cultural continuity and time depth not commonly found in other domestic sites. Often farms are passed down to sons, daughters, grandchildren, etc. within the same family unit who worked on the same farm for decades, if not multiple generations. This extended time depth is one reason why these sites lend themselves to anthropological studies. Groover outlines this anecdote by stating “at farms with appreciable time depth occupied by the same lineal or extended family, archaeologists can potentially track changes influenced by socioeconomic class, ethnicity, race, gender, or religious affiliation.” (Groover 2008:128). Keeping these unique characteristics in mind, Groover’s multi-scalar comparative analysis of farms in North-America is a strategy I attempt to emulate in this section while we examine other farmsteads in the historic U.S.

Cabak et al produced an equally in-depth analysis of historic farmsteads associated with the Antebellum South of the U.S. in the Aiken Plateau, using the data to support some of the analytical challenges found in these types of studies. For example, they suggest that a house’s location and tenure class directly corelate with that family’s access to resources (Cabak et al 1999:21). However, the way in which artifact data expresses these trends has yet to be fully understood. Using the information from their survey in the South, the data suggests that ethnicity plays a negligible role in the selection of material purchases as well as site formation and possessions. Instead, the rural economic class influenced the built environment to a much greater degree. Furthermore, they suggest that most farming homes, regardless of their economic or geographical positions, were able to access products from the expanding industrial factories and manufacturing plants in the nation and the world beyond. To quote Cabak directly they say

> "It appears that the similarity of material culture among different ethnic groups, economic classes, and regions is undoubtedly a consequence of the cultural homogeneity and standardization wrought by the nation's emerging industrialization and consumerism. Therefore, the material record encountered at late 19th-20th century farm sites could be viewed as a result of the industrialization that began to occur in this nation between the middle and late 19th century" (Cabak et al 1999:22).

This quote sets a grim precedent for determining the validity of ethnicity distinctions based on late historical farmsteads. That said, the article still supports these types of analyses to better understand this tract of modernization and how that is reflected in the material record. Similarly, while this diminishes the potential of the analysis from the Hirahara farmstead in terms of the ethnicity angle, knowing that this Japanese family faced with incarceration was able to maintain a standard of consumerism on par with their American neighbors despite legal, racial, and economic sanctions against them still suggests perseverance in a general sense.

A publication from Keener et al. (2013) similarly suggests some analytical footings to base our historic farmstead investigations. This article is a CRM report on a farmstead known as the Tarr Log House in eastern Ohio which has some overlapping similarities to the Hirahara Farmstead. With the earliest habitation record dating to 1818, this farm represents an occupation of over 100 years to 1949. However, the original homeowner passed this farmstead to his two grandchildren in 1887, who then used the farm until its destruction in 1949. Keener et al reference this change in possession as a "midden shift" characterized by this passage of ownership from one generation to another (2013:14). Indeed, using this definition the Hirahara house went through multiple midden shifts between 1897 and 1960 which serve as one of the basis for the analyses. An additional similarity is found in how the authors examined the assemblage. Like my own work, Keener et al use a significant artifactual approach in their analysis, focusing on "primary consumption-related" artifacts defined as ceramics, animal bones, container/bottle glass, and architectural material which typically comprise most of a historic residential assemblage (Keener et al 2013:13; Groover 2008:37). Outlining the statistics for these types of materials in additional farmstead contexts is one way where we can form the basis of comparison to the "unique Hirahara farmstead". In this context, the archaeologists recovered a total of 3232 artifacts with a distribution of kitchen artifacts (n=772; 24%), architecture (n=2332; 72%), personal (n=26; 0.8%), and miscellaneous (n=88; 3%) (Keener et al 2013:7). It is my goal in compiling these artifact ratios that, with enough datasets, we can begin to parse out an average assemblage for farmsteads in the U.S and use that as a basis for my comparisons concerning the Hirahara house more specifically.

Another CRM report shows an in-depth exploration into the Johnson Farmstead located in the northcentral portion of the Ray Roberts Lake area, Texas. The farmstead was occupied between 1856 and 1914, initially having been settled by John Johnson. He and his wife, Susan Johnson, managed the farm for decades with five of their young children. Eventually, John remarried after the passing of Susan Johnson and the final 14 years of the farmstead was under the ownership of his new wife, Sarah Johnson. Although located in Texas, this farmstead pertains to a relatively similar timeframe and tale as the Hirahara farmstead, particularly from the perspective of a long term, family-owned farm. That said, a main differentiator between the two is the Johnson farm was primarily for livestock and is specifically known for breeding horses for the region (Lebo and Yates 1996:46). The farm has since been added to the National Register of Historic Places and continues to be protected within the historic region of the Ray Roberts Lake area.

In addition to a small systematic surface and STP survey, multiple features were discovered on the property in and around the main house. Additional excavations were done using backhoes to excavate trenches near the perimeter of the house. The features which I will focus on here are the trash middens found near the main house as well as the fireplace in the house, a feature where a chimney fell on the house, and excavations in the barn structure. Many of the artifacts fall under architectural building materials, metal nails, misc. metal, and glass fragments. In the basic artifact breakdown for features 1-7 including the STPs and surface surveys it appears that a total of 3,854 artifacts were recovered. Of these, 207 (5.37%) were refined earthenwares, 96 (2.5%) were stonewares, 2 artifacts were porcelain, and 773 (20%) were bottle glass fragments (Lebo and Yates 1996, 105:112). While this is not a full list of the artifacts recovered, these ceramic and glass categories are most prominent amongst many domestic farmsteads of this nature. Interestingly, the Johnson farm assemblage contains a huge amount of construction materials and various metals likely influenced by the features chosen to be excavated and the nature of the farm as a horse ranch. Nevertheless, the incredibly small amount of porcelain, and relatively high amount of stoneware present this farmstead as lower status or, simply showcases varying consumer and product availability in this region of the U.S. As I compile more farmstead assemblages it seems this statistical approach can be effective in parsing out patterns for the typical 19th-20th century farmstead. At the very least, seeing a significantly lower percentage of porcelain materials compared with that of the Redman-Hirahara assemblage could indicate a difference in regional availability of those resources or a difference in socio-economic status.

Using Oral Histories and Documentation in Ethnographic Research

Even with all the above sources and research threads, one question remains: How can we answer questions about a house that has been inhabited for hundreds of years but discuss important shifts in its history within the span of a decade? In other words, if the data is derived from a homestead that was built in the late 1800s, but our primary interests are the materials when they were in use by the Hirahara family beginning in 1941, is there any sure way to differentiate between these time periods that might be reflected by similar kinds of mass-produced materials? Even more narrow is the timeframe to distinguish material changes before and after the incarceration period, which lasted between 1942 and 1946. On top of this, there should be consideration given to the Hane and Tao families who took up residence in the barn, an integral part of the story of the Hirahara house. What methods may we use to distinguish late 1800's European immigrant ownership to 1941 Japanese American ownership? How do the materials differ, or do they remain the same? Which artifacts can showcase differences between the 1941 pre-war farmstead life and the 1946 post-war return? Even more so, is it possible to distinguish between the two families and make reasonable conclusions about identity, racism, ethnicity, and community building?

One avenue to address these questions comes from oral histories and ethnographic research. Official documentation or personal writings offer an undeniable source of information that archaeology is typically not well suited to discovering through purely artifactual endeavors, bringing to light contexts that may otherwise go unseen (Barnes 2018; Kamp-Whittaker 2020; Lau-Ozawa 2019). One major advantage I have is the oral interviews conducted with members of the Hirahara family. Interviews with various members of the family can help to distinguish specific parts of the homestead to pay attention to and provide contextual information for adding critical resolutions to the occupational history of this place.

Keith Hirahara and Aki Hane were two primary sources interviewed by Rob Edwards in 2005 while the project was in progress. In fact, both men approached the excavations independently from their own curiosity and offered their statements officially once they learned of the archaeological excavations. Aki Hane was the subject of a later publication (Edwards 2010) that explains how the Hane family were sheltered following the incarceration in the Hirahara's carriage barn, with an additional Japanese family also taking up residency there. One of the most valuable anecdotes provided by Aki Hane was the idea that the Lath structure, excavated in 2005, was created after the incarceration period. This structure would have been established and used by Mitoshi Hirahara after the family returned home for gardening purposes. Specifically, Aki Hane further added in his ethnographic interview that this structure was used to grow bonsais for elder members of the family (Edwards 2010). If this is the case, the delineation between the excavations surrounding the main house and the lath structure may be able to indicate a timeframe that distinctly separates activities before the war and after. For example, trenches that contained materials associated with the bonsai garden would likely have coexisted with that addition to the farmhouse and thus may have been in use after 1945. Similarly, materials associated with the garden may also be in context with materials that date later in time, further cementing the post WWII usage of those areas on the site.

As mentioned, a key aspect to historical archaeology is the benefit of being able to compare material data to oral histories and written records. This theme continues in the literature of Japanese Diaspora archaeology and this section is meant to outline some of the way's archaeologists use oral records to dictate their work. To start I want to present Jeffery Burton's work at Manzanar as an example of how this way of conducting research framed his publications and the benefits it has had on the community at large.

At Manzanar, Burton uses oral records, documents, and community driven archaeology to establish where excavations should take place, what features should be reconstructed, and how to interpret findings. Burton outlines this strategy with the statement "through the general management plan and subsequent planning documents, the NPS worked with former incarcerates, activists, scholars, and local communities to plan how NPS should present the history of Manzanar to visitors, and what themes to stress" (Burton 2017:164). Clearly this quote not only suggests a close administrative relationship with descendant communities but allows them to path the way in determining research endeavors and future projects. This led to the now renowned excavations of the Japanese gardens at Manzanar, features that may have otherwise been ignored if not for the input of former incarcerates. They stressed that the gardens should be uncovered and rehabilitated as this was an important aspect of everyday camp life in Manzanar, not only bringing beauty, personal art, and expression to the dusty, prison-like scene but showcasing how families were able to bond and their resourcefulness as incarcerates to transform the landscape.

Additional gardens were also discovered thanks to oral histories and photographs, provided by a member of the community whose father created the pond. Even with little evidence of the feature on the ground's surface, the photos allowed excavators to find the basin's exact location. Oral traditions also lead to the widespread acknowledgment of basements added to the barracks in the camps, now visible with only slight depressions in the ground. Basements were dug under the barracks for a variety of reasons, ranging from a cool place to play cards in the summer or elicit activities such as home-brewed sake (Burton 2017:166; Driver 2015). Without the collection of oral histories collected by the Manzanar team much of the information of these basements would be lost to natural environmental processes.

The administrative area of the camp was also able to be distinguished based on archaeological excavations. This aspect of the findings is particularly relevant to my own research which broadly seeks to explore commonalities in the spatial layout and functions of various areas within incarceration camps. In the case of Manzanar, there were notable differences in the staff apartments compared with the barracks; they were better constructed and included indoor plumbing, and were shown with expansive grass lawns, rock-lined pathways, fenced yards, small patios, flowers, and trees, and even a cactus and rock garden that highly contrasts the traditional Japanese gardens dispersed amongst the barracks (Burton 2017:166).

Another source of oral history comes from the Densho Digital Repository (Densho 2020). This database collects and transcribes thousands of oral interviews with former incarcerated Japanese American citizens. Their project reaches across the U.S and is funded largely by the Japanese American Confinement Sites grant program, as well as additional crowd funding and support from the community. The collection is divided into segments based on individual narration (primary source interviews), photo collections, and document collections that all relate based on similar themes and research interests. While I was excavating at Manzanar, I was fortunate to discuss some of their team's contributions into the Densho repository with Rose Masters, a park service employee who oversaw setting up interviews and compiling oral histories for the park. She explained how they established their matching list of questions and showed how the feedback they were receiving from these interviews had a direct impact on the archaeology ongoing at the site today. Listening to the many interviews and personal stories from this period is a powerful way for researchers to submerge themselves into the historical context of the early 20th century and understand the hardships, joys, and community established amongst the incarcerated community.

Last are the array of primary source materials written from personal experience about life in the camps and growing up Japanese in the early 1900s. This includes the first, and arguably most famous, primary source text: Jeanne Houston's *Farewell to Manzanar* (1973) as well as other books that include personal anecdotes and stories regarding similar themes (Lydon 1997; Nakane 2008; Yoo 2000). These books reflect the era, experiences, emotions, and humanity of the times better, in my opinion, than most archaeological analyses could ever hope to accomplish. However, they simultaneously serve as an extreme benefit in historical archaeology which allows for supplemental texts such as these too heavily influence and contribute to the conclusions made purely from archaeological methods. Reading these works has undoubtedly exposed me to some aspects of life, including racism and anti-Asian sentiment of the period, which I may otherwise have never been exposed to. Not only that, but locations mentioned in the books and actions taken in response to the relocation order can do a great deal to inform researchers today about how to consider certain material trends and suggest areas to study. The temporary relocation centers established in California are a great example of this; they are mentioned frequently in the oral histories of the period but have never been officially excavated. With such a temporary living situation, the materials are even more ephemeral and begs the question if there is any material trace of the occupation left today at all. In the end, texts like these greatly improve anthropologists' abilities to understand the complex nature of culture, individuals, agency, and emotion during this time frame and anywhere else supporting textual documents may be found.

The next section will continue with archaeological analysis conducted in California and across the US concerning the Japanese diaspora and Japanese experience during the 20th century. The first portion will outline Japanese farmsteads and agricultural sites specifically, and the latter will provide examples of contemporary or past research that has been conducted concerning the pre-war, incarceration, and post-war time periods.

Archaeology on the Pre-war, Incarceration, and Post-war Periods of the 20th Century

This section marks the transition from a generalized presentation of historical archaeology to specific endeavors focused on Japanese American sites and the Japanese diaspora in the US. Since the previous section ended on farmsteads, this section will begin with a look at Japanese farmsteads or other agricultural sites specifically in California. The four main topics discussed in this section (agricultural sites, pre-war, incarceration, and post-war) were chosen based on their direct correlation to the type of site, and time periods, relevant and comparable to the Hirahara farmstead. Furthermore, the selected case studies published records of their artifact analysis in a paper or report made accessible through academic channels or by request. The chapter will conclude with a small segment discussing oral histories and ethnographic investigations central to understanding the site history before transitioning to specific methods used for my analysis of the Hirahara materials in chapter 7.

Japanese Agricultural Sites in California

One source for research trends concerning race, ethnicity, and archaeology on California agricultural sites that I considered heavily was from California's Department of Transportation historical context and archaeological research design for agricultural properties in California (Caltrans 2023). This document served as a great reference for background on the archeology of historic farmsteads more broadly in California, and similarly contained guidelines for future research questions that Caltrans was interested in. These research questions overlapped my own interests fairly frequently, particularly those regarding "ethnicity and cultural adaption." Of these, three questions influenced my archeological methods:

1. To what degree did people retain or adapt traditional cultural heritage behavior as reflected in architectural features, landscaping, site structure, materials, composition, technology employed, or farm/ranch production orientation? To what extent do differences in material culture at the site indicate heritage preferences in purchasing decisions, access to goods, or other factors? How are these decisions reflected by multigenerational families?
2. How did people from different ethnicities respond to discrimination or marginalization? Is there evidence of the "multiethnic/multiracial relationships" (Fong et al. 2022:242) developed to persist within communities dominated by European Americans? What evidence of retention of traditional behaviors is present? And what evidence might indicate cross-cultural adaptation towards the cultural traditions of immigrants?
3. What degree of market integration is discernible at the site (e.g., how extensively did site residents emphasize the purchase of mass-produced goods over traditional or home-made ones)? When considering material from a dominant culture supplied camp, is there evidence of dietary supplements from locally obtained resources rather than a reliance of provided goods? What does it indicate about the site occupants? (Caltrans 2023:282)

These questions largely refer to the overall economy or trade happening in the region but also show strong indications of varying cultural practices that my project similarly strives to uncover. Furthermore, the research interests and themes presented in the Caltrans document echo similar themes of resiliency in minority communities as well as an interest in changing agricultural strategies over time, emphasized in this quote

> “Farms owned or operated by immigrants of diverse cultures and backgrounds have research value not only because they are rarely mentioned in documents, but also because they have the potential to reveal the adaptations, the accommodations, and sometimes the resiliency of minority populations. Researchers are interested in understanding how and why different ethnic groups maintained, altered, or abandoned traditional approaches to agriculture” (Caltrans 2023:75).

Japanese agricultural sites are of particular interest in this discussion due to the community’s overall success rate in the central California area. This success is linked with the decline of Chinese and Chinese American workers in the early 20th century, allowing for Japanese laborers to fill a number of agricultural niches across California including the sugar beet industry in Yuba County, trimmed cut flowers in Southern California and the San Francisco Bay area, strawberry farming along the central California coast, citrus farms in Southern California, and other vegetable and potato farms in the San Joaquin Delta (Caltrans 2023:88). The document continues with another pertinent quote showcasing the rapid growth of Japanese agricultural endeavors in regions surrounding Watsonville and the Central Valley

> “The cut flower industry was dominated by Japanese Issei (Japanese born immigrants) and Nissei (children of Japanese immigrants born in America) operating out of Los Angeles, San Francisco Bay area, and San Diego. For example, Oakland had five Japanese American nurseries by 1900; that number grew to 80 independent Japanese American nurseries by 1930. By 1917 the strawberry farms ere dominated by Issei and their families, with successful ventures found along the central California Coastal zone in Watsonville, Salinas, Santa Clara and Pajaro valleys, and Monterey and at Florin in the Sacramento Valley” (Caltrans 2023:89).

I choose to highlight these quotes to forefront the dramatic effect Japanese immigrants had on the agricultural business in California. Moreover, these trends align with practices seen on the Hirahara farmstead, showcasing a shift in product from livestock to strawberry and lettuce farming, two industries highlighted here as cornerstones of the industry under the purview of the Japanese community in the region. Due to the importance of this industry and the intersections with farming operations on the Hirahara farmstead, I will also share examples of investigations on Japanese agricultural sites in California. Unfortunately, with most of these sites being described via CRM reports and as part of larger construction projects dedicated to the California government or other Engineering services, I was unable to track down all the original reports. In some cases, the information presented here is limited, but hopefully provides some background into previous compliance-based projects discussing these topics and how they were investigated by previous researchers.

While some of the sites mentioned here pertain to the "pre-war" period of the early 20th century exclusively and could be placed in that section of the dissertation, I have chosen to include them in this section due to agricultural sites being limited in number overall and because they present unique comparisons to the Hirahara farmstead beyond the fact that the sites were inhabited by Japanese people prior to 1942. This also represents a gap in literature for California sites. It is quite evident that, in terms of Japanese American experience in the US, the incarceration camps undergo far more archaeological investigations compared to generic farmsteads or agricultural businesses associated with minority communities.

The first example comes from a site associated with Mr. George Yamamoto who operated a 1,500 acre farm in Brentwood California between the early 1900s and 1941. At that time, he was ordered to the Turlock assembly center and from there actively applied to be transferred out of the camps for work. One article suggests he was able to find work with a farmer named Eddie Kowalick in New Jersey and spent the incarceration period as a laborer on his farm (Shaffer 1998). Eventually, Yanamoto would find his way back to San Diego in the 1950's and would go on to establish a Japanese truck farm in Otay Mesa in 1952. Archaeological investigations of the farmstead revealed evidence of the traditional practices of the farm owners in the aftermath of their incarceration during World War II. The farm complex included an *ofuro* (traditional bath), among other features (Van Bueren and Walter 1994) that certain scholars, such as Bonnie Clark (2020), have argued represent a change in practice back to a more "traditional" Japanese lifestyle following WWII.

Elsewhere, John Kelly and Christian Gerike (2002) used a landscape perspective to evaluate a Japanese American farm in Placer County and found the perspective provided important information on how Japanese Americans retained cultural traditions while adapting to the economic and agricultural conditions present in California. Specifically, they outline the differences between traditional Japanese perspectives on architecture and the western preservationist attitude found in the states, such as the destruction and rebuilding of religious shrines, or the re-use of structures on the farmland (Joyner 2005:16-17). This same approach was used to examine architectural and archaeological elements of Japanese American camps located in the San Joaquin Delta around Stockton by Maniery (1993). When Caltrans reported on these projects, they suggested larger samples will help to analyze the role that cultural affiliation played in farming practices and the lifeways of western farm households. Furthermore, they encourage greater consideration of the built environment, landscape features, and archaeological remains to further discuss potential cultural affiliation and retention of ethnic and cultural traditions observed at these sites (Caltrans 2023:266).

Van Wormer and Walter (1993) analyzed ceramics from a Japanese truck farm in Orange County. The site was estimated to be active in the 1930's and 1940's before the incarceration, placing it in a similar timeframe and circumstance as the Hirahara farmstead. The site was found on a sloped hill underneath dense vegetation and the materials were collected primarily via a surface pedestrian survey (80-90%) while the remaining materials were excavated near the top of the slope in a 1 x 1 meter area that extended roughly 20 centimeters in depth. A total of 66 kilograms of materials were collected on the site and the authors divided them into functional categories including machinery, personal items, agricultural items, kitchen items, consumer items, building materials, hardware, and unidentified materials (Van Wormer and Walter 1993:3-4). For the analysis, the authors compared their collection with other sites dating to the same period and found that the Japanese farm differed from the others with the presence of a high amount of consumer items (63%) compared with the 40 – 50 percent typically found elsewhere. Furthermore, the farm had a high presence of Saki bottles and Soy sauce containers that, paired with a "large number of oriental tablewares in the assemblage", showcased traditional Japanese cooking at the farm (Van Wormer and Walter 1993:8). At the time, this would have been one of very few Japanese sites reported on in the west coast, and the authors profess this as a challenge when trying to make comparisons with other similar sites. Overall, I think this project parallels my research on the Hirahara collection in terms of their material analysis strategies, but outside of cooking practices the authors hesitate to discuss the experience of those Japanese farmers specifically, something that contemporary research into these sites tend to weigh more heavily.

Japanese materials have been reported at other agricultural sites as well in California and along the west coast. Costello et al. (2001) documented remains of a 1920 community of Japanese truck farmers in Inyo County, including analysis of Japanese ceramics focusing on acquisition patterns, use of domestic vs. export wares, and comparisons of form and decoration with other Japanese sites in California (Ross

2020:4). Bard and Busby (1985) also reported on Japanese artifacts that were found at the Wade Ranch located near San Jose, California. Their excavations uncovered nine artifact rich features, dating to the early 1910’s – 1930’s and reflecting both Japanese and Euroamerican residents. The feature that contained the largest assemblage (Feature VII) was associated with the resident workers of the site and contained a predominance of Japanese ceramics. Almost all the materials found were recovered near the historic farm structures, towards the back of the buildings (Massey et al 2013:45).

While information on sites of this nature may be limited, the few analyses I found do offer methodological insight into how previous projects have examined mixed-ethnic or minority farms in general. That said, Caltrans focus on agricultural sites in 2023 suggests there is still a need for understanding these spaces and creating a body of literature to draw from when future excavations on farmsteads inevitably continue in in California. Moreover, showcasing some examples of Japanese farm sites also shows the distinction in researching mixed ethnic sites and more “traditional” farmstead archaeology in the US, shifting the focus from operations or production to a more personal look at the experiences of people who labored in the agricultural business after immigrating to California.

Archaeology of Pre-war Japanese Sites

Although the previous agriculture sites shared some overlap with pre-war Japanese sites, this section does not isolate agricultural sites and instead focuses on anthropological research into the pre-war period that has been conducted in California and beyond. Seeing as the Hirahara house uniquely aligns with both the pre- and post-war periods in the 20th century, it is important to outline previous research that has been conducted across this relatively large timeframe. The section is loosely organized in chronological order based on the dates of the archaeological investigations, but precedence was given to those that shared the following research trends.

Notable trends appear as investigations into pre-war Japanese sites evolve in the late 20th century, beginning with recognition of Japanese materials showing up in mixed contexts with little to no discussion about the experience of the Japanese people (Brock et al 1988; Fagan 1976; Greenwood 1996; Hattori et al 1979; Olsen 1978). Next, Japanese archaeological investigations into mixed-ethnic sites added greater weight and discussion to Japanese presence and experiences (Brock and Wormser 1988; Bulgrin 2017; Costello and Maniery 1988; Mueller 1987 (b)). The final grouping discusses larger projects expressly focused on understanding the Japanese diaspora or Japanese American life in the United States or along the west coast of North America more broadly (Gardner et al 1988; Muckle 2020).

Early reports on Japanese American materials, particularly those dating before WWII, were often found in contexts associated with the Chinese diaspora or appeared unexpectedly in contexts evaluated with alternative research goals in mind. For example, excavations conducted at El Presidio de Santa Barbara State Historic Park in California between 1966 and 1974 uncovered refuse pits and remains of a Buddhist temple, woodworking shop, and tennis court associated with a Japanese American community dating from the 1910s to 1960s (Costello and Maniery 1988:19; Fagan 1976). The site was said to have been inhabited by multiple Japanese homes in the early 1900s, making it one of the earliest known Japanese sites in the region. In 1920 the Buddhist temple was constructed on the lot, creating a mixed context that was challenging to delineate (Arthur et al 1975:207). Perhaps this explains why the Japanese materials claimed from the site went relatively unreported, as greater interest was placed in discerning the multiple contexts and on other architectural or material types such as the Majolica ceramics and other Mexican influences.

Brock et al also find a similar mixed context from their monitoring project at the LaFarge site in Redlands, California. The Redland area began to develop rapidly around 1890 and into the early 1900s, including the development of notable structures such as a cement factory, Redland's Steam Laundry, and the Chinese laundry (Brock et al 1988:4). Three features were excavated over the team's two-day monitoring period, and all the Japanese ceramics recovered were found in feature 3, at the location of the Chinese laundry. Ceramics, glass, and metal materials were the most common artifact types recovered at the site and feature 3 contained the most materials (by weight) of all these categories. Of the Asian ceramics recovered, Japanese materials make up the majority of glass and ceramic artifacts, including a teapot, small bowls, and plates. Matching decorative sets of bowls are present, sharing and underglaze and overglazed floral decoration. Three plates in the collection show intricate Japanese iconography including a small saucer with a dragon and fire, a medium sized plate with a phoenix represented over floral designs, and a large European style plate with painted floral overglaze (Brock et al 1988:38). Finally, four ceramics showed "made in Japan" or "Nippon" makers marks, serving as the primary decorative element on those pieces to trace them to Japan. In their discussion, Japanese presence is suggested based on the existence of these Japanese ceramics, or at least the ability of Japanese artisans to get their wares into select foreign markets in both traditional Asian styles and Euro-American adaptations (Brock et al 1988:59-60).

A similar instance can be seen at the site of a Chinese laundry in Lovelock, Nevada, occupied around 1900-1940. The Nevada State Museum conducted a cultural resource management excavation in the 1970s here and found remains of Japanese beer and cider bottles intermixed with the other Chinese and American materials (Hattori et al 1979; Ross 2020:3). Excavations in Chinatowns across California have also yielded similar instances of Japanese ceramics and glass vessels appearing intermixed in their assemblages. In the Riverside Chinatown Japanese ceramics appeared in low quantity across over 90% of the features excavated that yielded archaeological materials (Mueller 1987b). Mueller and his team compiled a massive amount of information regarding four Chinatowns in California, including Riverside, San Bernardino, Ventura, and Yreka. Their research themes aligned closely with this dissertation, including a comparative analysis of the artifacts recovered from each Chinatown as well as an investigation into *feng shui* practices that may have been brought from traditional Chinese schooling to the United States by early immigrant communities (Mueller 1987a:2-3). As such, it puts a similar focus on changes of practice or perseverance of tradition following the movement of peoples not unlike research into changing or maintained Japanese practices following the incarceration. Comparative aspects of the project investigate the orientation of the settlements, distance to mountains, entryways, and courtyards. Chinese traditions are investigated through the presence of the Joss House or temple and the date it was constructed, as well as planted foliage visible within the Chinatown locale. Riverside is of particular interest in their study as it is one of the few Chinatowns to remain unrenovated from the initial Chinese settlement in the late 1800s, offering a primary source of information to base their comparisons on.

Mueller's ceramic analysis focused on *Tz'u* wares (Asian porcelain and porcelaneous stoneware) found in the Riverside excavations that yielded a minimum of 2,767 vessels representing Chinese, Japanese, Euroamerican, and other southeast Asian groups (Mueller 1987(b):259). The analysis was largely based on relative frequency of vessels between different archaeological features, and the frequencies of specific forms, functions, and other patterning shown at other Chinese laborer sites. Of the Japanese *Tz'u* wares reported there existed only a handful of bowls and plates including transfer printed wares, tea bowls, green floral bowls, and a hand painted polychrome plate. Of the total 2,767 vessels found in the collection, 165 (5.9%) were labeled as Japanese in origin. Although the total number was relatively small, the Japanese ceramics were prominent in the analysis due to their appearance in 93% of the artifact-bearing features, dominated by an underglaze blue floral transfer print

(Mueller 1987b:264). While the interpretations of the materials keep the Chinese ceramics as the primary focus, Mueller makes a few suggestions about the presence of the Japanese materials. Many of the materials have a “made in Japan” makers mark suggesting they were evidence of later habitations on the site post-1921 (Andacht et al 1981; Stitt 1974:176). The materials appear to be mostly imported wares that were collected, sold, and circulated in the Chinatown markets. Lastly, historic documentation has shown that merchants in the Chinatown supplied goods to the local Japanese community. See as they were equally involved in that process they were probably maintaining their own ethnic and cultural identity through the ownership and circulation of these goods (Mueller 1987b:311).

Excavations within the Chinatown in Los Angeles also reported Japanese artifacts appearing interspersed with Chinese, American, and other materials (Greenwood 1976; 1996). Greenwood (1996) found a minimum of 81 porcelain vessels that showcased Japanese characteristics including Celadon, decorated blue and white stencil or transfer prints, and hand painted porcelains (78). In general, the vessels varied in form but were all reasonably encompassed within traditional Japanese kitchenwares, including large serving bowls such as rice bowls, tea bowls, teapots, and plates with almost all the materials having some form of decoration made up of a polychrome glaze or transfer prints. Interestingly, Greenwood also noted that none of the vessels had a country-of-origin stamp suggesting that most of the materials were likely imported prior to 1891, when tariff regulations made stamps obligatory for imported materials (Greenwood 1996:78). She points to Hampson and

Greenwood (1989) as another site that showcased similar Japanese import ceramics found intermixed with Chinese sites at China Point Park in Napa, California.

Another instance of Japanese ceramics appearing in early Chinese diaspora sites comes from Olsen (1978) who wrote on the 1967 archaeological excavations conducted by the Arizona State Museum within the Tucson Urban Renewal project in Tucson, Arizona. The researchers initially excavated this area with particular interest in the Chinese immigrant workers who were integral in the establishment of the railroads built there from 1880 to the first decades of the 20th century. The excavations uncovered a range of ceramic types including plates, saucers, rice bowls, rice-grain ware, large multi-purpose bowls, enamel ware, soup spoons, jugs, jars, and more. The distinctions between the ceramics associated with Chinese American workers came from a mix of traditional form and functions for Chinese kitchenwares, as well as Chinese characters found on many of the decorated ceramics. However, the report also leaves a section for Japanese export wares, of which they recovered two vessels, a small plate, and a handled cup (Olsen 1978:39). These materials were identified as Japanese in origin because of the plate's decorative, polychrome glaze, and the cup having a blue seal with the rising sun logo and a "Hand Painted, Nippon" makers mark. This is likely an instance of the Chinese laborers using or importing their Japanese ceramics, but nevertheless presents a relatively early look and discussion about Japanese materials in Chinese diaspora contexts.

Greenwood (1996) extends this conversation about the presence of the Japanese porcelains in the Chinatown collection in an insightful and important way.

Considering that these vessels are highly likely to be early imports, she insists that their presence does not mean that Japanese people were living in the Chinatown at this time. I believe this could be said about many of the projects discussed above, although Greenwood was one of the only authors to point it out directly. She argues that the census data shows no record of any Japanese people living in the Chinatown (or Apablasa street for this context in particular) while contemporary business adverts and listings showed Chinese merchants importing and selling Japanese ceramics regularly. This is something that must be constantly considered when looking at sites of this nature and specifically sites that showcase a diverse community. With the popularity of Japanese import goods at the time, their presence in these various contexts does not prove that Japanese people were interacting with that site or even present in the community. This is especially pertinent to the pre-war sites, and I argue that this is one of the most important theoretical developments that was only possible due to these investigations into pre-WWII California.

Additional archaeology on the pre-war era found numerous instances of Japanese ceramics in mixed ethnic contexts. Like those materials found in the Chinese diaspora sites, these assemblages can be challenging to categorize due to the diverse communities represented. However, as opposed to the previous studies, the following projects give more weight to establishing Japanese presence, or at least explicit conversation about who and how the materials were used and found within these contexts, rather than simply discussing ceramic forms or materials that were made in Japan.

Bulgrin (2017) found an ethnically mixed assemblage of ceramics when reporting on the Rosario House on the Guam naval base on the Mariana Islands. The Mariana islands were heavily impacted by WWII naval and aerial bombardments on 3 islands, including a significant portion of Guam. This has proved an immense challenge for archaeologists who are interested in that time frame, as many of those sites were destroyed in the raids. The Rosario house thus remains one of the few intact historical archaeological sites on the islands and happens to contain the largest collection of ceramics found across the Marianas. The collection contains a variety of both European ceramics and Asian ceramics dating to the late 18th through the late 19th century. Chinese ceramics were most prevalent taking up 71% of the collections, followed by European ceramics at 24%, and Japanese ceramics comprising only the final 5% of ceramics, dated from the late 19th to the early 20th century (Bulgrin 2017:10). Bulgrin illustrates how the Chinese ceramics date to an earlier period of the site in the late 1700s to the 1830s, while the Japanese materials only show up in the late 1800s to early 1900s. While the materials may have been present in this pre-war time frame, Bulgrin reasons that this represents a wealthy family in Guam, able to import matching porcelains and decorative styles, who had east Asian ceramics widely available as imports from the Philippines, rather than a living situation made up of multiple different ethnicities.

Perhaps one of the most frequently cited research into pre-war Asian diaspora sites comes from Costello and Maniery’s research on the 1915 Asian community of Walnut Grove, California. Cultural monitoring began in Walnut Grove, located about

30 miles south of Sacramento, in 1984 when the Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency was tasked with replacing old sewer and water pipelines that ran underneath the city. These pipelines also happened to extend beneath both the historic Chinese and Japanese quarters of the city. The excavations uncovered 50 features across the project area and an additional 95 isolated artifacts. A total of 7,773 artifacts were collected, with the highest concentration coming from the historically documented "Chinatown" in Walnut Grove (Costello and Maniery 1988:1). Japanese laborers were reportedly working in the Delta area and living in the Chinatown quarters as early as 1900 through 1915 when a major fire broke out in the community leveling over 80 buildings and displacing roughly three-blocks of the living area. Following the fires, the Japanese community rented a separate plot of land and reestablished their settlement north of the Chinatown. Another fire in 1937 caused major disruptions for the Chinese community reestablishing themselves in the area, while the Japanese community was largely unaffected and left to prosper until WWII. Not only is this one of the few pre-war studies to really differentiate between the Chinese and Japanese communities as separate entities while reporting on them both, but it also aligns with previous sections of this dissertation concerning the prominence of the Asian immigrant communities in the central California region. In fact, the report even goes beyond to mention the Asian community presence into the 1980s via discussions with local community members, again showcasing the exceptional effort put in by the authors to produce a comprehensive study on the Asian communities living in this region (Costello and Maniery 1988:6).

All the Japanese materials recorded from the excavations predate the 1915 fire. The collection is dominated by mass-produced transfer print wares common in the Meiji period of Japan (1868-1912), totaling 76% of the Japanese ceramics recovered. Sake bottles also were abundant in the collection with excavations producing 3,891 sherds of Sake bottles representing a minimum of 150 bottles (Costello and Maniery 1988:24-25). Several instances of a "made in Japan" makers mark appeared amongst the ceramic materials as well, even though research at the time suggested this mark only began to exist after 1921 (Andacht et al 1981; Stitt 1974:176). Some larger Imari-style platters also appear in the assemblage suggesting that at least some of the contexts were from Japanese people bringing family possessions with them during immigration. While other Japanese import ceramics may have been used by the earlier Chinese settler communities, the authors propose they were more likely to have been brought to the area around 1896 when the first Japanese settlements were established, indicating not only the presence of materials made from Japan but also Japanese people in the Chinatown.

Additional examples of pre-war Japanese archaeology come from larger projects dedicated to a specific site or across a wide area. Western Wyoming College conducted one such study in the 1980s focused on pre-War Japanese sites, including rock art panels, camps, and cemeteries associated with Japanese railroad workers and coal miners from the 1890s and into the 1900s (Gardner et al. 1988; Gardner and Johnson 2001). Ross (2020) summarizes their research strategy while chronologizing pre-war archaeology

> “Camps were identified by the presence of Japanese ceramics, while nearby rock art contained Japanese characters carved or pecked into sandstone outcroppings, including names, dates, and origin places. Japanese sections of local cemeteries included gravestones carved with similar details that provide information on demographic patterns of Asian migrants” (3).

Not only does this project offer information about the Japanese people living in Wyoming through the cemetery gravestones, ethnographic research, and demographic patterning, but it is also one of a few projects strictly dedicated to Japanese sites. In particular, the authors emphasize the history of Japanese presence in Wyoming as part of the railroad labor force, recounting the total history of Japanese immigration in the United States, their relatively low numbers relative to other immigrant communities, and the intense, and occasionally fatal, persecution faced by members of the Asian community who worked tirelessly on the railroads. Both the local community and the railroad industries themselves propagated these stigmas and greatly impacted financial opportunities and the safety of Asian immigrants in Wyoming at this time (Gardner et al 1988:74).

These aspects of the period add crucial information to the presence of Japanese ceramics found in multiple abandoned railroad camps and coal mining towns. Nine sites showed the presence of Japanese ceramics, dating between 1890 and the 1950s. Dates were calibrated based on styles of rice bowls recovered and a “made in Nippon” markers mark appearing in two coal mining towns dated between 1920 and 1940. While the ability for local or non-immigrant communities to import the Japanese materials was possible at the time, labor and census records show that Japanese workers were also living there, leading the authors to conclude that these were used and brought by Japanese people. The gravestones reported from cemetery sites in the area further prove the presence of Japanese laborers in the region, even providing the names of several counties in Japan where said individuals likely originated such as Hiroshima and Fukusho county, and individuals from Sanku, Jiohon, Kosan, and Jiga counties (Gardner et al 1988:78). In the report, the authors suggest expanding this demographic research with additional targeted excavations at these known sites or by studying other aspects of the archaeological finds such as dietary practices and consumption habits. While the study does not go as in-depth concerning the ceramic materials, the way the authors integrate ethnographic and historical background of Japanese experience in Wyoming elevate this project in my opinion by providing information about the relatively unexplored Japanese labor community at the time.

One of the longest running projects on pre-war Japanese sites is the Seymour Archaeological Project started by Bob Muckle in 2000 with the Capilano University in North Vancouver, British Columbia. The project has sustained research focused on a series of logging camps occupied by Japanese laborers in the 1920s and continues to host field schools and further excavations to this day (Muckle 2010; 2020). By 2019, Muckle had taken on excavations for 14 field seasons beginning in 2003. In addition to undergraduate opportunities at the site, it is a project rooted in a community-based approach, including regular public tours of the sites, elementary school programs, community lectures, and social media outreach to connect with the local community and beyond. Excavations uncovered thousands of artifacts related to Japanese and European Canadian labor or domestic occupation. Over the nearly two decades of work, Muckle has tackled a range of research themes and interests including reconstructing the camp layouts, demographic research, residential patterns, consumer habits, diet, health, gender roles, and more.

Investigations at Suicide Creek Camp and McKenzie Creek Camp specifically showcase a number of unique aspects about the labor communities in the region. Both camps were likely established around 1920 by the same person (Eikichi Kagetsu) but features on the sites suggest they were organized in very different ways. Suicide Creek represents a Japanese logging operation typical of the era, largely occupied by men living in bunkhouses who would abandon the site once the logging resources had diminished. On the other hand, the McKenzie camp represents a drastically different layout made up of dozens of small houses or cabins, an *ofuro* bath house, a garden, and a small gazebo or shrine structure. The features found here, including a high volume of household items, the presence of caches, and maintenance on the wooden access road, suggest that this logging camp may have continued to be used following the end of the logging season as standard domestic housing (Muckle 2020:743-744). Interestingly, a number of those features present at the McKenzie camp echoes research on the post-war period as well, showcasing things like the creation of gardens, traditional Japanese bathes, or religious features as key activity patterning that continued following the incarceration during WWII.

While this section does not cover every project intersecting with the pre-war Japanese diaspora, the research trends and artifact analysis methods shown here offer valuable insight into potential areas of future research and strategies for understanding material patterns in Japanese contexts during the pre-war period. The next section will continue the chronology with a look at previous archaeological research into the Japanese American incarceration camps occupied between 1942 and 1946, including some research strategies from other internment contexts.

Artifact Analysis in Japanese American Incarceration Camps and Other Internment Contexts

Artifact analysis of incarceration draws from a broad range of projects across the globe in multiple contexts of internment and confinement (Casella 2007, Colls 2012, Delle 1998, Myers 2011). Often, these projects are conducted in the realm of cultural research management and are operating under compliance for construction laws or to preserve elements of a site that may be affected by various construction activities (Pollock 2016, Simpson-Smith 2005, Starzmann 2015); this includes my project that saw the originally excavations initiated by CRM compliance (Edwards 2010). While there are more than a few academic scholars working in the field today which I will reference below, this bias towards CRM projects has produced many publications that derive their information from small sections of the camps (the parts within the area of potential effect) and from little material traces. Not only is this an incredible challenge, but it often leads to discussions of specific, tangible, and *meaningful* materials. In other words, the mundane and utilitarian can often be overlooked, making room for the symbolic artifacts to carry more weight, and become the focal point of an otherwise cultural-focused study. Additionally, working within CRM means the production is often tied to contractors and other parties who must comply with laws but still want the approval process completed as quickly as possible. This encourages a less holistic scope of projects and creates a time pressured environment that can lead to publications commenting on only a slice of the whole historical picture. That said, the publications have been improving over time and many articles today include more materials and data from which to make inferences and draw one's own conclusions. As we transition to Japanese American incarceration specifically, the following section is not meant to show an exhaustive list of all the archaeology done in the camps, but rather to show examples of studies conducted that yield a wide breadth of materials and include an in-depth analysis of their context and meaning.

One example of artifactual analysis from incarceration camp excavations comes from Dana Shew's research at the Amache relocation center in Colorado. For her master's thesis, Shew investigated a few specific research questions including how is feminine identity expressed in the public sphere? How is feminine identity expressed on an individual and community level? And how has confinement affected, influenced, or changed expressions of femininity (Shew 2010:52)? Shew employs multiple methods of analysis including oral histories, documents, archival information, comparative collections, and using other sites as a basis of analysis. However, here I will just focus on the archaeology for interpreting artifacts and assigning them categories based on identity and community. First, the survey areas are very important as they organize the artifactual data in the spatial context of the camp. For her work, Shew focused on the residential population and the recreational center found within each block. Each block represents a grouping of barracks, and specific blocks were selected based on their connection with female organizations, presence of gardens, rural populations, elementary school, and more (Shew 2010:65). Feminine roles and activities were then reasoned from Issei traditions and beliefs during this period, including their role in the domestic household and as part of a labor force.

For the artifactual data, Shew divides the materials into those in the public sphere and the private sphere. Within the public sphere she showcases specific artifacts such as a wooden sandal, nail polish bottle, marbles, children's toys, as well as materials associated with water and the garden features. The connection these materials have with the public sphere is mostly derived from their association with a specific barrack or gardening area which are known through the oral interviews to be places where women would gather within the camp. Similarly, this includes table wares and other ceramic vessels that were uncovered within the public mess hall, used for dining and events for the entire camp to enjoy. As such, identity and traditions are linked with oral histories and cultural tendencies of the Issei and Nisei generations, using typical dining practices and formalities to discuss the artifacts found there. In the private sphere, observations shift to a much more intimate portrayal of the barrack lifestyle. Privacy was hard to come by in the camps, so the barrack/home spaces are one of the few places to detect materials associated with homelife. Materials of interest to Shew included cleaning supplies and disinfectant bottles, decorations within the barracks, materials associated with child raising, and cooking, all of which are activities linked with femininity within the Japanese culture and the camps. Of note, the cooking materials used shine a light into some of the private activities in the camps, mostly associated with the supplemental meals, snacks, teas, and sake used to improve the poor food quality they were served in the mess halls. In fact, within the residential blocks, 41% of the materials recovered were forms of tableware, cementing the notion that an ample amount of cooking and meal preparation was taking place in the residential areas of the camp (Shew 2010:124). Altogether, these levels of inference use statistical analysis, spatial location, and oral histories to inform the reader of gender roles and camp life through the materials left behind.

In another example of gender role studies within the incarceration camps, Fitz-Gerald (2015) analyzed cold cream jars recovered from the all-men camp of Kooskia in Idaho. Here, I want to focus on the methodology employed in this study to showcase the use of glass vessels in relation to personal identity and agency. The cold cream jars are typically identifiable as they are nearly universally crafted using milk glass, a pure white, thick-walled glass that has a distinctive sheen and an almost porcelain appearance. Fitz-Gerald continued to catalogue the vessels using their base shape and other general vessel characteristics such as thickness, rim height, diameter, and shape (Fitz-Gerald 2015:59). These elements, paired with the diagnostic *vesica* *piscis* shape of the base (a shape like the overlapping segment of a Venn diagram), meant Fitz-Gerald was able to determine not only that there was a strong presence of these cold cream jars but also their specific brands and makers. The brands represented were that of Jergen's, Woodbury, and Pond's which were verified using the Historic Artifact Comparative Collection in the Alfred W. Bowers Laboratory of Anthropology at the University of Idaho. Again, this shows the immense benefit of historical archaeology working with comparative collections and subsequent documentation of past historical artifacts.

While this diagnostic practice is not necessarily unique to Japanese American incarceration camps, the way the data is paired with traditional uses of beauty products/skin cream in the past, in men, and in Japanese culture allows Fitz-Gerald to theorize about the presence of this cold cream jars within the camp. She establishes three main theories: the men were using the cream for their intended purpose of moisturization and maintaining complexion, the men were substituting shaving cream with the cold cream, or that the men were using the cold cream to remove stage makeup from *Kabuki* performances. This creates a clear link between the artifactual materials and their uses by the men in the camp influencing their actions and representing a potentially new discovery of these dance performances within the Kooskia incarceration camp.

Another element of analysis pertaining to Asian-American materials at large is the terminology. Specifically, this stems from Camp's (2020) article on the future of Japanese American archaeology. In the article she recounts the tendency for archaeologists to create generalized categories for their artifacts including “Asian” or “Japanese” artifacts. While there can be a place for terminology like this and invites exciting conclusions of race, ethnicity, etc., it also has a dangerous effect of decontextualizing the materials. For example, labeling a certain type of ceramic or a certain stylistic expression uncovered in the context of an incarceration camp removes the complex collision of various cultures including Japanese, American, WRA employees, camp staff, etc. Camp questions this extensively and adds “Do these labels replicate stereotypes about the “foreignness” of racialized groups, or do they represent how the ceramics were used by a diverse group of actors in the past?” (Camp 2020:13). While not present in every article published of this nature, it does encourage the move towards a standardized system of classification. As it stands, many methods are left to the archaeologist’s own devices which creates inevitable differences and alterations between two varying artifact collections. With the establishment of a concrete collection or methodological process for artifact identification we could see more standardized data across the board leading to greater possibilities in comparative analysis and research questions.

For example, Campbell (2020) discusses her archaeological findings in the early 20th century Japanese Gulch Village, Washington using the terminology of Japanese ceramics. In total, the site yielded nearly 8,000 artifacts associated with the industrial area for a former lumber company. Of these, about 18% of the assemblage is made up of ceramics and, more specifically, nearly 95% of those are related to food preparation, consumption, or storage. The materials classified as Japanese ceramics then make up a range of tableware and kitchen wares including rice and soup bowls, teapots, sake cups, decanters, and more (Campbell 2020:11). These vessels are identified through their form with reference to the HJCCC, a comparative collection I will return to shortly in this paper. Additionally, Campbell uses ceramic decorations to identify their cultural affiliation. Much of the decorations found on the vessels can be linked with popular Japanese stylistic choices including transitions from stenciling (*Katagami*) to transfer print (*dōban*) as well as popular motifs such as the *Sho Chiku Bai* or "Three Friends of Winter." With the attribution of the Japanese culture onto the ceramics it allows Campbell and other anthropologists to theorize about their potential meanings as they relate to consumption practices for the Japanese community. Campbell suggests the diversity of forms present in the collection may be representative of performative meals referencing status and modernity. Altogether, associating the vessel forms with dining traditions that were growing popular in Japan during this time projects a strong sense of ethnicity and tradition amongst the community. Furthermore, specific vessel forms may be used to express socioeconomic status, ambitions, knowledge of modern Japanese cuisine, or simple preference. Notably, this also indicates an effort to maintain access to these Japanese products despite pressures from their white neighbors or prohibitory laws.

In this case, I feel this is a successful usage of the "Japanese ceramic" terminology cautioned against by Camp. While there is still a danger of alienating other members of the community, at this time traditional Japanese ceramics were difficult to procure which supports the idea that selecting these traditional ceramics specifically was a conscious choice made by the Japanese residents to showcase their status. Furthermore, the research is backed with convincing comparisons and investigations of stylistic trends that serve to backup Campbell's theories and her usage of the terminology. This project is particularly relevant to my own work as it focuses on a pre-war site and maintains the ability to examine materials in this context and still attribute meaning, agency, and tradition.

Another sub-branch of artifact data that continues this stylistic trend comes from Dusselier's examination of art created by internees of the incarceration camps (2008). Here, she argues that the camp-made art "aided internees in repositioning themselves in hostile environments." Art works continues to be a popular subject within the realm of Japanese diaspora studies, not only because it can often be attributed to a specific author, but also because it shows a level of symbolism often lost in the utilitarian environment of the camps. Dusselier further argues that by creating art, imprisoned Japanese Americans attained visibilities and voices that incorporated heterogeneity and challenged exploitative racialization (2008:1). This of course includes traditional crafts and artworks made by the community but also extends to makeshift furniture created by the internees to counteract the poor craftsmanship and ephemeral nature of the hastily constructed shelters, barracks, and housing. Similarly showcased is furniture such as beds, chairs, and tables crafted using a variety of techniques such as needlework, woodworking, ikebana, shell art, and more. These artistic touches transformed the cold, lifeless, and militaristic dorms into something much more bearable and provided an outlet for people to showcase personal expression and to reposition themselves in hostile settings.

Hirasuna (2013) also continues this line of analysis in her book that showcases beautiful images of various artistic works and physical objects including everything from walking sticks, chairs, and painted sandals, to fine woodworking and calligraphy. This focus on the everyday artwork crafted in non-professional contexts is rather unique in this context, with most literature directed at "high-art" or that of watercolors, oils, woodblock prints, and sketches (Hill 2000). This distinction between the art production allows for a more generalized view of incarceration camp life as it may have been experienced from the average person. Additionally, the focus on artwork within the field places a greater focus on the agency and persistence of the Japanese community who were able to transform their confinement and inevitably persevere. Due to this contingency, artwork and other symbolic goods that were crafted within the camps are often highlighted in the literature and serve as unique vessels with which to infer community life.

Archaeology of the Post-World War II Era

Research on life before and after the war remains limited. While there are many examples of pre-war Japanese locales that have been researched at various levels of inquiry (Baxter 2020; Berrigan et al 2015; Costello and Maniery 1988; Gardner and Johnson 2001; Muckle 2020; Stenger 1993), the long-term connections between this period, the incarceration period, and especially the post-war period are still minimally explored. In a publication synthesizing the most recent work on Japanese American Nikkei, Clark and Shew emphasize

> "Not a single article in this volume is about post-WWII Nikkei sites. Clearly this is a growth area for the field, especially as these sites fall increasingly under the purview of heritage preservation law. It seems clear that when the time comes to explore these sites, researchers should take care to look for Japanese-style landscaping, both in private and in public spaces… It is variables such as location that can thread together the Nikkei experience before camp, through camp, and after camp" (Clark and Shew 2020:21).

Additional authors have commented on future trends for post-incarceration studies as well. Camp offers a few anecdotes for consideration on this topic, including emphasizing the eventscape for its ability to showcase and describe "how the incarceration of Japanese Americans during WWII transcended the physical and temporal space of the WWII camps, with the violence and trauma involved in the incarceration ricocheting from one generation to the next" (Camp 2020:6). An eventscape is like the concept of landscape discussed in chapter two, but the formulation is based around a specific event, rather than an amalgamation of experiences by everyone in the area. When thinking about Japanese people who were incarcerated, each with their own unique experience, the eventscape may be used to describe changes observed due to this specific event, or to indicate how the incarceration *changed* the landscape. As such, it becomes a way to describe sociocultural, material, or other changes with a more precise context, while being limited to that specific event. Later, she follows up again with another strategy stating

> “archaeologists might consider examining extreme shifts in material patterns of Japanese Americans over the course of incarceration and beyond…Archaeologists could explore pre-WWII and post-WWII Japanese American homesteads and compare their data to the materiality found at WWII incarceration sites. This work could provide timely insight into how incarceration and racism transforms migrants’ material, physical, and emotional lives” (2020:8).

This second quote speaks to my work on the Hirahara house directly, where it is my hope to see some of these material differences in a homestead that was occupied before, during, and after the incarceration. Furthermore, attempting to establish the eventscape in the lens of structural violence and lasting trauma is one of the key tenets of my theoretical paradigm where I express these changes materially and ethnographically. Setting up a large-scale comparative study as Camp suggests similarly requires standardized methods and collaboration from multiple actors in the field. From my perspective it seems fitting to build on the collections that already exist in the public today, something that I will elaborate on in the next section of this document.

Another way to gauge these transformative relationships is through social network analysis. Camp-Whittaker’s research at Amache uses this strategy by way of sports teams established at Amache to track groups of people who form this shared experiential bond (Kamp-Whittaker 2020) and through the various social neighborhoods established in the camps (Kamp-Whittaker and Clark 2019:163). These sources establish community by way of continuing relationships, with the earlier publication laying the groundwork for neighborhood analysis. Here, Clark and Kamp-Whittaker use historical documents, archaeological materials, and landscape features to define the borders of each neighborhood. Their findings indicate that Japanese families and friends who shared previous relationships were often relegated to the same groups within the camps. For example, social, and physical, neighborhoods were often created by families and residents who all came from the LA region of California, predicated by their ability to have an initial selection of housing within the camp (Kamp-Whittaker and Clark 2019:168-169). In these neighborhoods, a high amount of quality porcelains and other kitchen ceramics, census/residential documentation, as well as specific methods of tree planting and cultivation, separated their residential blocks from the rest. Not only does this trace community relations from before the incarceration to the camps, but it also implicates that the forced removal may not have been as socially disruptive as previously imagined as new social neighborhoods were readily established in these locations.

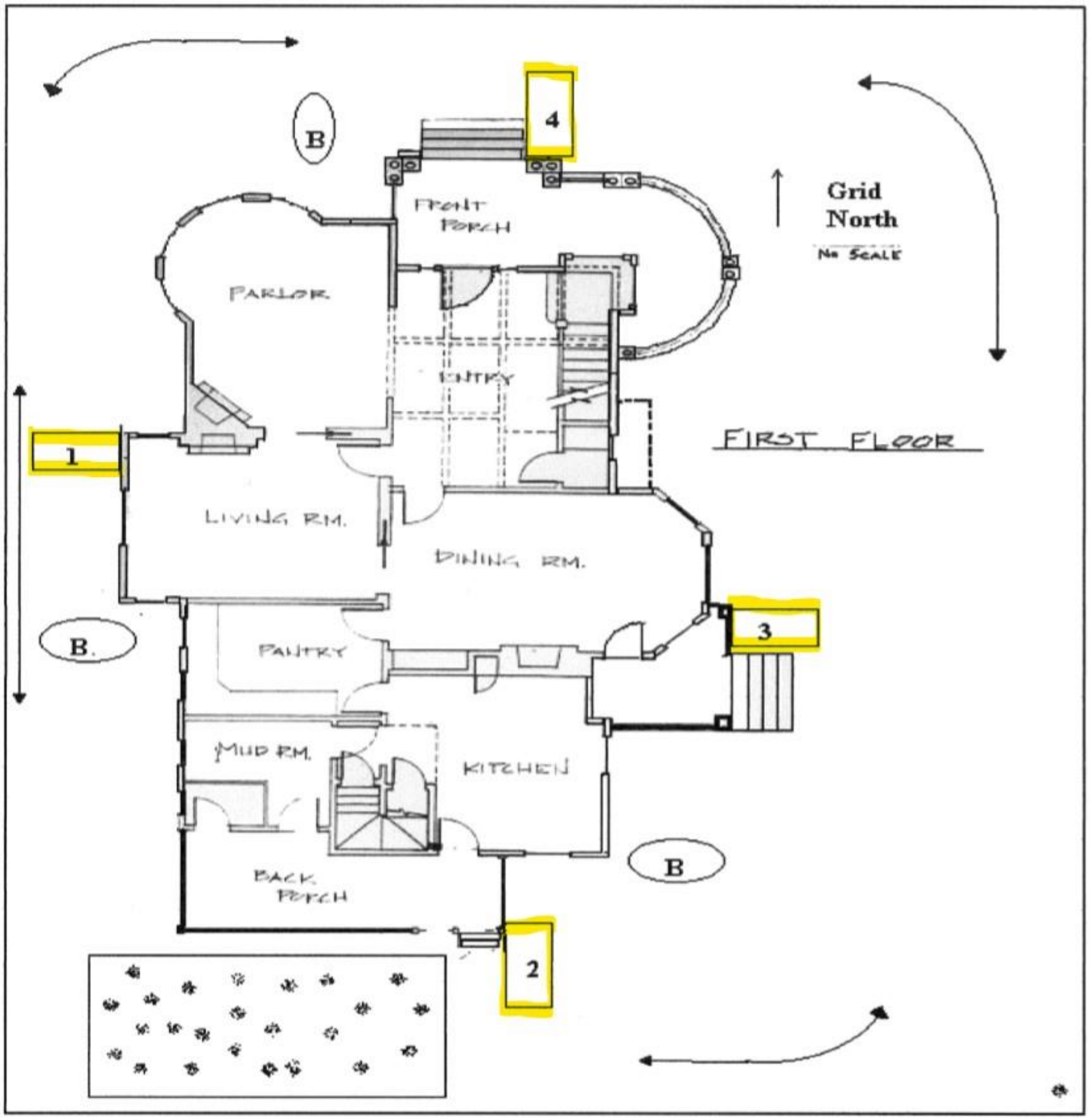
Kamp-Whittaker then takes this framework and applies it to a known social activity at the camps: sports teams. Specifically, she traces baseball and football teams that were established in the temporary detention facilities as they were moved to the permanent relocation facilities. Here, social network analysis is defined as “a method to both map networks of relationships and measure levels of interaction. Analysis of social networks allows us to consider the relationships between different individuals or groups in a system and analyze what commonalities might generate these ties" (Kamp-Whittaker 2020:9-10). Being familiar with the social neighborhoods, Kamp-Whittaker explores how sports organizations maintained their players and tournaments following this disruption. Using nodes which relate to the individual, a team, a town, or a temporary detention center, Kamp-Whittaker traces the multi-scale relationships shared within these communities by way of sporting competitions. Informal games would have been commonplace in the manufactured sports fields in the camps, as well as formal team-based competitions backed up by many spectators and fans. Not only does this bring people from different neighborhood blocks together, but these social changes can be traced archaeologically by changes of preference and association with other team members (Camp-Whittaker 2020:21-22).

The social-community ties analyzed in these articles showcase a methodology for following these trends after incarceration. While these analyses have pertained only to the pre-war through the incarceration eras, it validates the ability of other projects to trace material and cultural change once leaving the incarceration camps. The Hirahara project intends to continue this trend by way of shifting material culture after incarceration and by analysis of the social groups solidified by the camp experience. Although the Hirahara and Hane families were returning from separate incarceration camps, their ability to rekindle social connections means it is likely that folks who were interned together would have even more opportunities for cooperation. The next chapter will discuss the methods used in this dissertation for analyzing the Hirahara farmstead specifically, as well as a general overview of the site and the prior excavations conducted in 2005.

Chapter 7: The Hirahara House Excavations and Project Methods

The Redman-Hirahara collection was first excavated in 2000, conducted by Rob Edward and Charlotte Simpson-Smith with assistance from Cabrillo college students and volunteers who comprised the field crews. The excavations were procured by the Redman foundation once they began the process of refurbishing the once pristine Victorian homestead. The homestead itself is listed on the California Register of Historical Resources under the name "Redman House," so when there were indications of an expansion of the nearby California State Route 1, and potential renovations for the home on the horizon, archaeologists were hired to evaluate the property and conduct a small number of excavations to better understand and preserve the farm's rich history. Before jumping into my personal contributions and goals for this collection, I think it is best to share some of the details of these earlier excavations and past research. The brief description provided here is based on the completed field report published in 2005, but a full overview of the project and methodology can be found in the original document (Simpson-Smith and Edwards 2005).

A total of four trenches, each 10ft long and 5ft wide, were placed around the main house constituting the main excavations on the property (figure 7.1). These trenches were placed to evaluate the safety of the structure and to investigate the integrity of the foundations. Strata within the excavations were given unique lot numbers and photographs, plan drawings, and profile drawings were all recorded during the excavation process. Excavations were conducted using a combination of shovel skimming and troweling following the natural stratigraphy of the soil as excavations progressed. All excavated material was processed through quarter-inch screens and later processed at the Cabrillo lab, although no large soil samples were mentioned in the report. Trench 1 was placed on the west side of the house with the short (5ft) side adjacent to the concrete house foundation. Trench 2 was placed on the south side of the house with the long side (10ft) of the trench placed adjacent to and on the east side of the staircase to the back door and porch. Trench 3 was placed on the east side of the house with the short side adjacent to the concrete portion of the foundation and the long side adjacent to the north side of the staircase to the eastern porch and entryway. Trench 4 was placed on the north side of the house but needed to be moved due to the presence of a bush growing near the porch and a previous shovel test pit. Due to the placement not being directly adjacent to the foundation, additional photography and documentation was made on the cross section of the trench to better illustrate the house's northern foundations.



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Grid North
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DINING RM.
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PANTRY
MUD RM.
KITCHEN
B
BACK PORCH
2

Figure 7.1 Trench placement around the home highlighted in yellow (Edwards and Simpson-Smith 2005).

The next primary location where artifacts were recovered came from the lath or garden section of the homestead located 25ft south of the southwest corner of the main house (Figure 7.2). The Lath structure is a wood construct comprised of posts and horizontal cross-member construction covered in diagonal, wooden lath strips. Otherwise termed the arbor, this structure was likely used for gardening and a grow space for the home. At the time of the excavation, this structure was completely overgrown with shrubbery, so a good amount of time was spent clearing out the overgrowth to reveal the original Lath floor. Afterwards, a systematic surface survey was conducted, dividing the lath surface into 12 sections that were kept as individual material proveniences (Figure 7.3). The materials collected from this survey were stored separately from the main house collection and will be useful in the dating of the site, which I will describe shortly.

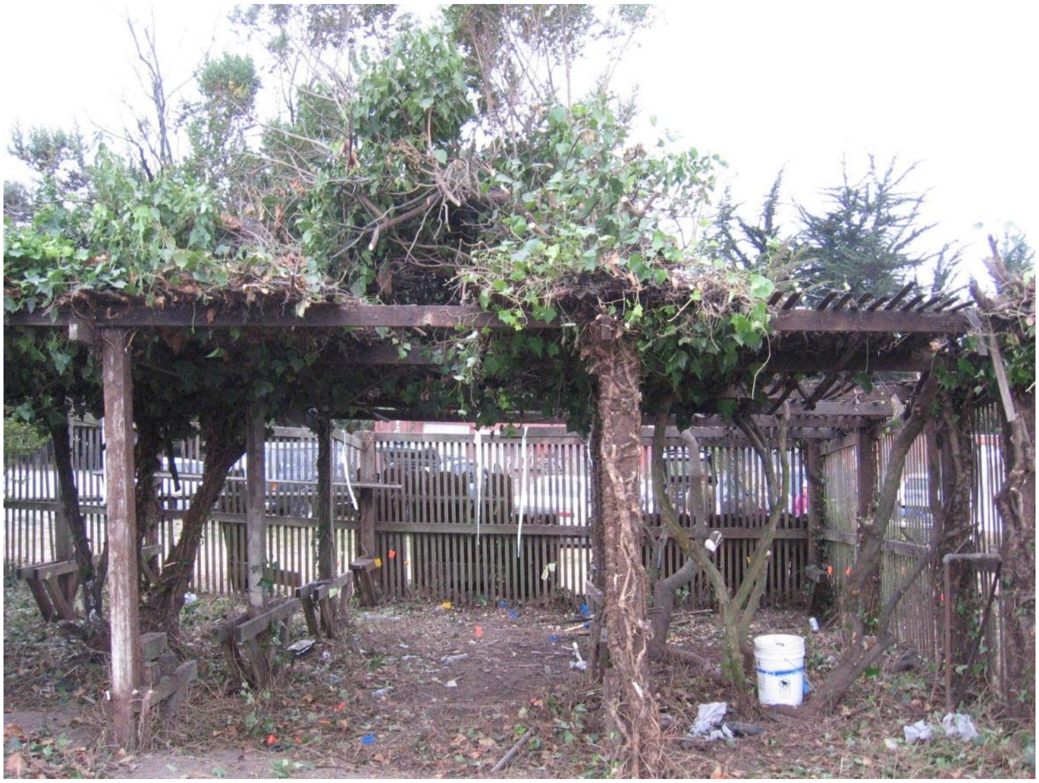

Figure 7.2 Garden lath after clearing during 2005 excavations. Photo taken by Mary Gerbic July 14th, 2005.

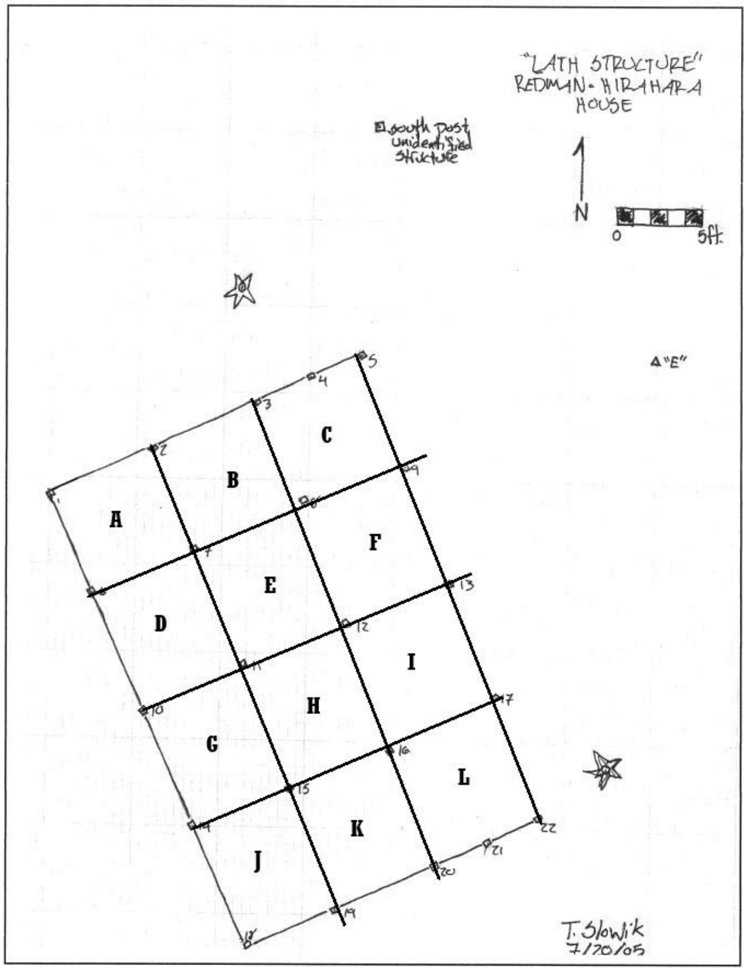
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Figure 7.3 Plan view for garden surface collection. Edwards and Simpson-Smith 2005.

The excavations on the property were conducted over a period of three weeks, July 10th-July 29th, 2005. In addition to excavation of the main trenches and surface collection in the lath feature, the field crew collected several samples on the property. Vegetation samples were taken around the house and around the lath structure, and materials collected were dried and stored in their corresponding collections. In one area on the Western side of the staircase to the Northern porch, a series of probe tests were conducted mirroring the position of trench 4 to observe and photograph the brick masonry foundation on the northern end of the house.

Additionally, the carriage barn was partially cleared and documented, and samples were taken of the ceiling material, wall coverings, and floor coverings of the barn. The collected materials from the carriage barn make up a subsect of the Hirahara collection that is both rare and critically important to the post-incarceration history of the farmstead. For one, the carriage barn was where the additional Japanese families, the Hanes and Taos at least, were housed following the war. As such, the barn was delineated into different sections that were occupied by different Japanese families. Furthermore, the materials sampled from the walls of the carriage barn included paper (pages of books and newspapers) with Japanese and English texts overlapping each other and plastered over, or acting as, wallpaper for the barn. While not the subject of the main excavations, the use of these texts may prove to be relevant in all future considerations of this site, especially when attempting to analyze the complete timeframe before, during, and after the war.

Theorizing Research Strategies

Beginning this project, I was given all the information associated with the Hirahara farmstead excavations from 2000 and 2005, including the entire material collection. Thankfully, Rob Edwards and Charlotte Simpson-Smith were incredibly thorough and documentation of the excavations and their trench placements, the artifactual data, and background research were all made accessible to me. The materials recovered from the house trenches were fully catalogued, analyzed by the field crew, and safely stored in their respective banker boxes. However, materials from the subsequent "lath" surface collection in 2005 were not fully processed. They had only been "pre-sorted" into various broad categories (kitchen, architecture, entertainment, etc.), placed in paper bags and divided based on their location on the lath excavation transects (Figure 7.3).

These materials served as my entry point into the long process of melding the collection into a uniform, and accessible, version of the database. My methods of sorting were thus the same methods that were used to sort the main house materials and carriage barn materials; this required an assortment of analysis tasks including washing the artifacts, re-organizing them based on the categories established in the completed database, and giving them fresh bags and tags. Once both collections were fully and uniformly catalogued, I entered the information into an Excel spreadsheet I designed for statistical analyses. Summaries and results from this data will be discussed in the next chapter.

Even after all the extensive work completed by Rob and Charlotte, they still had many un unanswered questions in the conclusion section of their report (Simpson-Smith 2005:58-59). I used their questions to generate my own leads and decide where to best invest my time in contributing to this site and its history. Here, I will outline some of the main questions, or goals, we hope to answer through the material analysis, broadly allowing for an investigation and understanding of changing practices, agency, and community before, during, and after the incarceration period.

Question 1.) Does the assemblage show material evidence for transferals of ownership or distinct, varying consumer practices between social classes and ethnic identities?

Hypothesis 1: The assemblage shows clear stratigraphic delineation and motifs that allow the late 19th centuries and early-mid 20th centuries to be separated. For this hypothesis to be true we would need strong stratigraphic layers and association and we should notice a distinct change in material culture following the transferal of ownership of the house in the early 1940s. Strong dating attributes would also be present in the assemblage including maker's marks, specific, time sensitive decorations, or import information.

Hypothesis 2: The assemblage does not show any delineation between time periods and all the materials must be considered in a mixed European and Japanese American context. For this hypothesis to be true we should see no clear stratigraphic delineation within the trenches and no convincing changes in the material culture throughout the entire assemblage. If this is the case, the assemblage would not be well suited to differentiate consumer practices beyond a historic 19th century California farmstead lens.

Hypothesis 3: Some materials will be clearly delineated based on certain maker's marks, production method, or cultural relevancy while most will remain *indistinguishable.* This scenario is like hypothesis two in the assumption that the stratigraphic data and contexts are not well defined. However, in this model we would also find diagnostic artifacts that can convincingly be placed in context with either the Redmans, Hiraharas, or the Hanes and could provide some valuable information about changing consumption practices despite coming from an overall mixed assemblage.

2.) Is there a noticeable and classifiable change in material culture that can be placed before, during, or after the incarceration period? What aspects of the materials are diagnostic of this shifting timeframe, community, and ethnic backgrounds?

Hypothesis 1: Material culture in the assemblage can be associated with the Hirahara family and there is a quantifiable change in material culture before and after incarceration. This hypothesis relies on the answer to question one but also takes it a step further in viewing changes in the materials. If this hypothesis is true, we should see distinct artifacts associated with the Hiraharas both before and after incarceration and there would be a difference in the quantity, quality, or contents of the artifacts in the assemblage. Materials indicative of this may include a shift to Japanese styled ceramics and porcelain, sake bottles, Japanese texts and writing, or a shift in faunal remains and consumption.

Hypothesis 2: There is no noticeable change in material culture throughout the assemblage and few artifacts can confidently be placed within the decade *surrounding WWII.* Most simply, this hypothesis is valid either if the assemblage cannot be delineated, or if there is delineation but still no quantifiable change in material culture. This answer may comment on a minimal change in cultural practice following the war or could be attributed again to minimal artifacts and weak contexts.

3.) Based on the archaeological and ethnographic data associated with the Hirahara House, is there evidence of community persistence, traditions, social status, ethnic identity, or cultural practices that were altered surrounding the incarceration of WWII?

Hypothesis 1: There is evidence of community persistence and continuing traditions following the incarceration based on similar material patterns to those in the camps and the construction of the garden, an activity which has been shown to increase in popularity following the war. This question aligns with the overarching themes my dissertation attempts to address. Evidence supporting this hypothesis will come in the form of specific artifacts, such as the Ko-imari bowl, Japanese wall texts, and the garden materials. This hypothesis would also need to overlap with question 2, affirming that there is a distinct and classifiable change in material culture.

Hypothesis 2: There is no evidence for any cultural change at the Hirahara farm. Materials dated after the incarceration align with consumer practices, wealth, and status of typical 20th century California farmsteads. Again, this hypothesis aligns with question 2 in that if there are no material changes in the assemblage it is challenging to argue for behavioral changes after the incarceration. That said, with multiple lines of inquiry set up for determining community persistence and traditions, it is possible that only some aspects change, and some remain the same. For example, the garden structure could be a sign of traditions continuing after the incarceration, but this could be paired with no change in overall material culture.

Some of the research guidelines generated by Edwards and Simpson-Smith were regarding future considerations for the collection. This includes the creation of a permanent curation plan for the excavated materials as well as any potential future collections belonging to the Redman-Hirahara farmstead, as well as analysis and conservation of the samples taken from the carriage barn. Notably, this includes the various examples of Japanese texts, newspaper clippings, English documents, and more that were removed from the walls of the carriage barn. These materials add a humanistic element to the story of the farmstead and reinforce the hypothesis about the plastered “wallpaper” being used to delineate the carriage barn into separate spaces for the additional Japanese families following WWII. These materials have been scanned and documented; however, they are separated from the master excel list. It is my goal to submit the data from this collection, including photos and notes about the wall texts to another local archive like the Pajaro Valley Historical Society or the HJCCC so others can reference the materials for their own use. As of now, the collection still belongs to Cabrillo University and would require permission from them, as well as the archives in question, if the materials are to be relocated to an outside archival facility. The report conclusion by Simpson-Smith and Edwards also contained research themes and questions that they were unable to fully explore, including questions on if it would be possible to delineate between the multiple habitations on the site.

Hirahara House Trench Collection Overview

The trenches surrounding the main house each correspond to one cardinal direction, starting with trench 1 on the west side of the house and continuing sequentially as you move counter-clockwise. Ideally, these trenches would then provide a showcase of material culture found directly adjacent to each side of the Victorian. For the purposes of visual clarity, these trenches will be referred to numerically as “trench 1” (west), “trench 2” (south), “trench 3” (east) and “trench 4” (north). Initially, given the research goals of the preliminary excavations, augers were placed in each of these locations in 2000 before the full-scale trench excavations that would take place roughly five years after the initial surveys. Trench locations were chosen based on the auger results, with the most consideration given to the soil conditions and their capabilities in uncovering the foundation of the home, a lack of obstructions, as well as a desire to include at least one excavation adjacent to each side of the house. At this time, the house was still resting on its original foundation and there was a growing desire to understand how the home was constructed and make a plan for preservation as it was being added on the California register of historic resources. Today that plan has come to fruition in the form of lifting the entire home from its foundation and raising it on wooden beams. While the house is still technically located in the same spot, it is now separated from its original foundation and would be much easier to move. This means that if the area becomes unsuitable for the home in the future, whether due to farming expansion or urban expansion, the Victorian can be placed elsewhere to preserve the historic building and continue the legacy it leaves behind. Today, the house remains condemned and activities surrounding its immediate proximity are relatively low. It is also unclear if, or when, the current owners of the property would request the home to be removed. Their current farm operation does not appear hindered by the house and frankly, it is not evident that they have any interest in the historical legacy of the property. Nevertheless, the materials from these contexts remain of utmost importance as they represent the totality of excavations on the farmstead and may someday be the few remains available from the site for researchers in the coming generations.

Overall, the trenches contain most of the artifacts excavated across the whole site, totaling 4,443 individual artifacts. This number includes all of the artifacts recovered with the exception of architectural materials like chunks of cement, stone, and plaster that was collected during the survey and excavation process. The faunal remains make up for most of the artifacts totaling 3,384 bone fragments across all four trenches (76% of all artifacts recovered, Table 3). That said, 698 artifacts (16% of the trench materials) are composed of ceramics and glass, the two key materials used for this study. While the total number of these diagnostic artifacts is reasonably high, the distribution of materials is heavily weighted towards certain trenches over others. For example, trench 2 contains far more materials than the others regarding ceramics, kitchen glassware, and an exceptionally high amount of faunal remains (N = 2,424, or 72% of faunal remains in the collection, Table 3).

The next trench that contains a significant amount of material is Trench 1, located at the west side of the house. While this was not technically the main entrance into the house (the main doorway is located on the north side), interviews with the Hirahara family suggest that they used the west side entrance of the home far more frequently than the front porch. Trenches 3 and 4 also contain their share of diagnostic materials and interesting finds, but the total number of those materials are dwarfed by trenches 2 and 1. Table 3 below summarizes the generalized artifact distribution with the "other" category representing mostly non-archaeological materials recovered during the excavations including plastics and modern trash. Other miscellaneous artifact types such as buttons, beads, and coins are included in this table sorted by their appropriate material type (coins are in with the metals, glass beads are included in the glass count, etc.). Additionally, 801 window glass sherds recovered from the surface of trench 1 were not included in the glass count of table 3 as the glass was likely collected and deposited there during renovations and inspections on the property ongoing at the time, rather than in any earlier periods associated with the families.

	Ceramics	Glass	Faunal	Metal	Other	Total
Trench 1	21	19	246	13	102	401
Trench 2	440	94	2424	161	0	3119
Trench 3	39	20	364	24	0	447
Trench 4	47	23	350	22	0	442
Unspecified	34	0	0	0	0	34
Total	581	156	3384	220	102	4443

Table 3. Total Artifact Counts by Trench.

	Trench Ceramic Material
Whiteware	343
Course Earthenware	143
Porcelain	88
Ironstone	6

Table 4. Trench Ceramics by Material Types

	Trench Ceramic Function
Kitchenwares	160
Utilitarian	135
Other	29
Indeterminate	256

Table 5. Trench Ceramics by Functional Category

Table 5 further compartmentalizes the ceramics into functional categories. Composed of a simple sort, these categories are helpful to understand the distribution of how ceramics were used on the farmstead. Kitchenware refers to any ceramic involved in the cooking, serving, or eating of meals. Primarily this includes all the plates, bowls, or trays in the collection and remains the most common ceramic types found in the collection relegated primarily to trench 2. In contrast, the utilitarian materials are composed of ceramics that serve a specific function outside of dining, such as the course earthenware planter’s pots recovered in and around the garden or fragments of ceramic pipes and tiles. The other category is used by anything that does not fit those two categories, such as ceramic doll fragments or other personal materials.

Unfortunately, based on the distribution of some prominent, identifiable ceramic materials being found throughout multiple stratigraphic layers, the stratigraphic integrity of the trenches has been shown to be quite weak. With the goals of the initial excavation primarily focused on uncovering the foundations of the home natural stratigraphy was used based upon the traits of the soils encountered while digging. This created a "lop-sided" trench where the portion directly against the house goes deep to the base of the foundation and becomes shallower as you move away from the house wall (see figure 8.1 for an example in trench 2). More importantly, some ceramics recovered were able to be re-fit in the lab, but even these materials from the same vessel were found spread throughout different natural stratigraphic levels in the trenches. Due to this, as well as the shaping of the trenches, each trench will be considered one context for the purposes of our discussion rather than multiple stratigraphic layers or depositional events. This also means that dating those materials based on their relative stratigraphy is nearly impossible; instead, key diagnostic artifacts will be the primary driver for dating the materials and finding out with whom they are most closely associated with. The next section will explore each of these trenches individually, picking out key diagnostic artifacts and surmising if it is possible to generate a specific date range or depositional sequence for the materials found around the house.

That said, the collection includes over 4,000 individual artifacts, including other potentially diagnostic artifacts such as glass beads, buttons, and marbles. A total of 39 buttons were recovered from the trenches, composed of 14 shell, three bone, two glass, and 20 plastic buttons. Of these, 26 buttons (67%) were found in trench 2 including 15 plastic buttons, 10 shell buttons, and one bone button. Trench 1 contained both glass buttons, two shell buttons, one bone button, and two plastic buttons. Trench 3 contained one shell button and one plastic button and trench 4 contained the remaining one shell button, one bone button, and two plastic buttons. All the beads recovered were made of glass, totaling 39 recovered across all trenches. Again, trench 2 contained most of the beads with 26 (67%), followed by trench 1 with six beads, trench 4 with four beads, and trench 3 with three beads. On their own these artifacts can often allow for inferences about clothing and stylistic choices, as well as pastimes activities people were interacting with and exposing to the world. However, this is the extent of the analysis conducted at this point on the beads and buttons of the collection. Even though this dissertation does not go in depth for exploring how the buttons may have been used or acquired, the volume and quality of them warranted mention in a general overview of the materials. Additionally, marbles are relatively common artifacts found at the incarceration camps so there is potential to draw some through lines between the marble games played at home and those persistent actions ongoing within the incarceration centers, discussed in more detail in chapter 8 during the discussion of toys recovered on the site.

Archaeological Analysis and Procedures for the Hirahara Collection

The artifacts discussed in this section definitively show traditions and goods that can be dated between the late 1800s and early 1920s; specifically found in trenches 1, 2, and 3 placed around the main house. At the very least, these trenches can be analyzed for their time depth between the late 1800s and the 1980s, while the lath materials and barn can offer greater context and potential statistical analysis for materials beginning in the late 1940s through the 1960s, and beyond. If the Lath structure was truly established only after the war was concluded, a change of material culture can potentially indicate or speak towards a shifting eventscape after incarceration. Outside of the glass and ceramics some examples of misc. historical plastics such as planter tags, toys, and vessels may also be included minimally if they have some exceptional identification factors. Otherwise, metal artifacts are similarly well represented in the collection including some great examples of saws found on the lath surface. That said, outside of a few key farm tools, the metal materials move beyond the scope of what this dissertation seeks to accomplish, and furthermore, most nails and miscellaneous metal scrapes do not offer any more information than what can be shown from the glass, faunal, and ceramic materials.

As an example of this type of artifact analysis I will reference Robert Baxter's publication about a pre-war site deposit in San Luis Obispo, California (2020). Baxter excavated a site that shares many traits with the Hirahara house. Instead of a homestead, his excavations were from the depositions of a vegetable store owned and operated by the Kurokawas between 1915 and 1940. The excavations focused on a single feature, but this one feature produced over 1,400 individual artifacts. Like the

Hirahara collection, the materials recovered here were largely domestic and personal in nature, ranging from Japanese styled porcelain tableware, alcohol (beer) bottles, and Euro-American kitchen wares, to hand blown whale owl bottles, as well as mammal and fish faunal remains (Baxter 2020:13-16). Baxter brakes down his artifact analysis into various categories, like “Japanese tableware”, “Euro-American drinking vessels”, and specific beverage type. He then uses these categories to compare to materials collected from other similar sites, specifically other pre-incarceration Japanese American sites. However, both myself and Baxter express difficulties with creating this comparison as few pre and post war sites have been excavated and reported on at this time (Baxter 2020:18).

Like Baxter’s study, the focus of my research is on ceramics, glass, and faunal artifacts for the bulk of my analysis. There is a wide variety of miscellaneous ceramic and glass shards that will provide statistical data to back some of the more prominent individual artifacts. These materials not only make up the vast majority of in situ materials from the site, but they are useful for determining consumption practices and status within the community. For the analysis I have organized the ceramic materials into various typological categories based on their use and purpose. One of the first goals for the ceramic analysis is to find the MNI, or minimum number of individuals (vessels), of the collection. In tandem with counting the total number of materials, I have created a standardized process of analysis for the ceramic and glass artifact types. These materials have been chosen for analysis because of their prominence in the assemblage and their close relation to my research questions regarding wealth, cultural practice, and consumerism. I have developed this system with Dr. Doug Ross, who has expertise on the analysis of Japanese mixed-ethnic contexts (See Ross 2009, 2010, 2020). Doug also helped me conceptualize a cataloguing system for the Hirahara materials. This system involves dividing the materials by their function, their form, material type, diagnostic elements, and any other observable identification elements. Primarily, this system separates materials based on their use in a domestic or social context, whether the ceramics were used for food preparation or food service, and the general forms of the vessels. Using these categories, we can show statistically what types of artifacts are present relative to one another, where they were produced, their cost, and the social affiliation for certain material types. With all these factors combined I will be able to determine the minimum number of vessels possible it would have taken to produce the assemblage we see today, thus offering an additional perspective into the wealth and resources on the farmstead. Additionally, the ceramic analysis should yield information about the timeframe of these deposits, whether it was a single dumping event preceding the Hirahara family, or if it is a continuous deposit that blends the eras between the late 1800' sand the middle of the 20th century.

Glass artifacts underwent a similar analytical treatment. Glass is another artifact type that provides diagnostic elements for dating purposes as well as different forms that may indicate their function or contextual usage. Furthermore, while the glass is not as represented in the assemblage as the ceramics, there are a few key bottles and service wares that mark important dates using their maker's mark or bottle types which corresponds to a slim date range. Additionally, fragments of glass contain equally valuable information based on the color, thickness, style, and molding techniques used when creating each piece. More generally, separating the glassware in terms of domestic use (kitchenware, cups, mugs) and personal/social uses (alcohol, hygiene, pharmaceuticals, etc.) corresponds with the ceramic categories developed previously and further illustrates the daily lives and activities happening around the farmstead. The diagnostic ability of the glassware paired with the generalized statistical view of the glass in the assemblage combines to further explore this collection and draw conclusions about the early 19th and 20th century Japanese Americans living here in California.

Lastly, I focused on faunal remains, including marine shell and the bones of fish, birds, and mammals. The analysis of the faunal remains is the most simplistic of the aforementioned categories, including only a general sorting of the faunal materials into broad categories of mammal, fish, marine shell, and bird, conducted by undergraduate student Sachi Powelson, along with tabulations for the number of artifacts relegated to each category. Still, the faunal remains from the trenches were largely comprised of small, unidentifiable fragments of bone, and we were only able to identify roughly 6% of the remains in trench 2 (roughly 150 bones out of 2400). The shell recovered has not undergone any analysis or sorting outside of being re-bagged and labeled for organizational purposes. Despite a simplistic analysis, faunal remains can provide clues to foodways, especially consumer patterns and modes of food preparation, dining, and disposal at the farmstead. That said, it will take the combined analysis of all these material categories to produce findings about changes in material patterns before the war and following the return of the Hirahara family after the war was concluded. This remains one of the strongest aspects of the collection for future researchers to investigate as there is a tremendous amount of faunal materials recovered from the site but little has been done to properly analyze or categorize them in the time since.

Summary

The history of the Redman-Hirahara House has much to offer the field of Japanese diaspora studies. Informed by a large theoretical history of historical archaeology, the tools exist which allow for a melding of archaeological analysis with written records to gain insight into the culture, practices, and traditions displayed by the melding of Japanese and American culture. This project, belonging exclusively to historical archaeology, similarly benefits from access to hundreds of personal accounts from Japanese Americans living during that time as well as primary accounts describing life on the Hirahara farm. These accounts revealed much about the history of the farmstead and create a tale that also fills in gaps found in Japanese Diaspora literature today. Still, the project is simultaneously informed, and would be impossible to conceive without, the large variety of archaeological work conducted within Japanese American incarceration camps, farm operations, domestic sites, Japantowns, and more pertaining to both the pre and post-war landscape. Methodologies presented in past archaeological literature, as well as methodologies used in the establishment of high-quality comparative collections for Asian-diaspora materials similarly play a role in informing the research questions derived for this project and the scientific analysis that will allow me to make reasonable conclusions. This project builds upon, and will hopefully add to, those platforms by using the information provided there to precisely date, name, and theorize about specific Japanese styled ceramics and traditions. Lastly, the material collection present for the Redman-Hirahara house will bolster this existing literature by adding information regarding the pre- and post-war cultural shifts and practices, filling in important gaps in research that has historically been focused on life in the incarceration camps exclusively. In the end, this project will showcase changes in cultural lifeways through statistical artifactual analysis and simultaneously pose a humanistic story regarding persistence, cooperation, and disruption surrounding the tumultuous WWII relocation time frame.

Chapter 8 Results and Discussion: Materiality, Practice, and Change Over Time

Now that the general methods have been established to analyze the assemblage it is time to dive into specific material remains recovered at the site. Again, there are three primary contexts to consider on the farmstead: the Victorian home, the arbor garden, and the carriage barn. Each of these locations will be discussed separately to emphasis the circumstances of their unique depositional timelines and for the purpose of answering the differing hypothesis presented.

Distinguishing materials before 1942 and after 1946 is one method of understanding a change in living practices or cultural practices after incarceration. This includes objects that remained in the home over the 4-year period, those that were destroyed, or those that were bought new upon their return from Arkansas and Arizona. Delineating materials as they relate to the Hiraharas, the Redmans, or the Hanes respectively offers potential small-scale lifestyle implications. Furthermore, oral interviews, diagrams and photographs of the barn, archaeological excavations, and certain wall texts were used by Cabrillo and the field school team to pinpoint and distinguish the multiple living quarters in the barn. Finally, contrasting the materials found at incarceration camps (primarily communal food practices, sake production, garden tending, and other expressions of Japanese culture and identity) with those found afterwards lends to the discussion of community building and how life was altered after the incarceration experience. At the same time, material culture associated with these spaces is ephemeral in nature, having direct impacts on the lives of the families if they were to maintain an association with their own cultural heritage. As such, even an absence of evidence can offer valuable information on expression of identity for the Japanese community during that time.

Trench 2 Key Materials and Findings

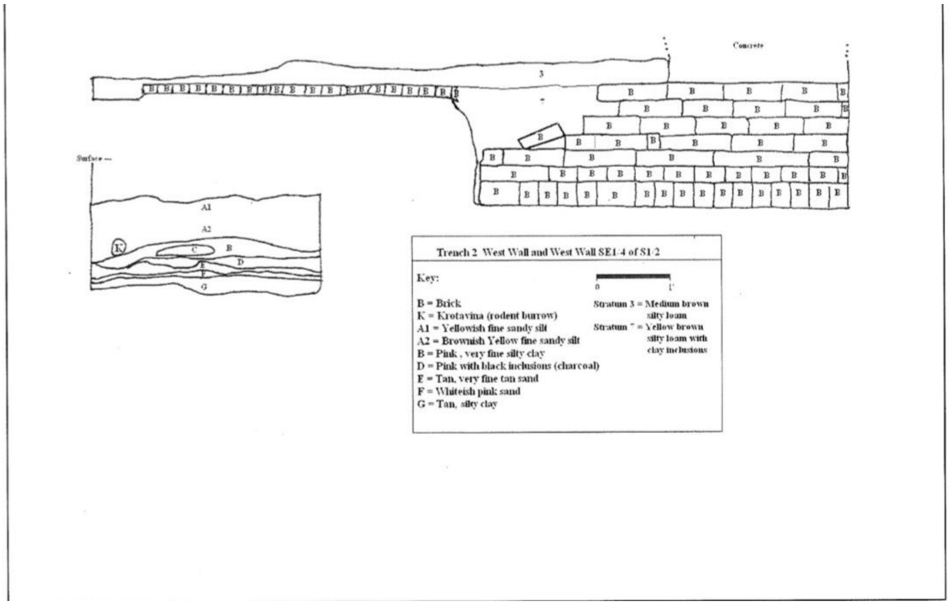

Concrete
3
7
Surface
A1
A2
K
B
C
D
E
F
G
Trench 2 West Wall and West Wall SE1/4 of S1/2
Key:
0
1'
B = Brick
K = Krotavina (rodent burrow)
A1 = Yellowish fine sandy silt
A2 = Brownish Yellow fine sandy silt
B = Pink , very fine silty clay
D = Pink with black inclusions (charcoal)
E = Tan, very fine tan sand
F = Whiteish pink sand
G = Tan, silty clay
Stratum 3 = Medium brown silty loam
Stratum 7 = Yellow brown silty loam with clay inclusions

Figure 8.1 Trench 2 West Wall Profile (Simpson-Smith and Edwards 2005).

Trench 2 not only contained some of the most extravagant and well-preserved materials, but also contains some key dating artifacts that are central in the overall analysis. In general, trench 2 contained the highest amounts of ceramics and glass materials, containing 80% (N = 440) of the ceramics recovered across all the trenches, 60% of the glass (N = 94), and a substantial number of faunal materials. In fact, dividing the faunal remains by weight, excluding the shell in the assemblage, trench 2 contains roughly 70% of the faunal materials recovered across the entire site

(1,081.07g). Due to the high concentration of artifacts in trench 2 it has become the main source of data for distinguishing the materials associated with the main house from the barn and the rest of the farmstead. This trench was placed right outside the kitchen on the south side of the home, potentially explaining the relative increase in faunal materials as well as kitchen ceramics and glass. Due to the high number of materials in this trench, it is also one of the best sources of temporal artifacts related to the Hirahara house, thus becoming the main contributor to the timeline of material deposition in the context of the home.

Specific ceramics further indicate this relative timeframe with the presence of distinguishable maker's marks. Nine sherds in total found in trench 2 showcased a marker's mark or a fragment of a maker's mark, four of which are confidently able to be classified. Three of those were likely from the same company or even the same product line. These are associated with the Wilkinson brand of ceramics founded by Arthur J. Wilkinson in 1885 (Kowalsky 1999:372). On the sherd fragments there are clear pieces of text pertaining to the "Wilkinson's Royal Semi-Porcelain" product line, with the arrangement lending itself to the emblem with an "England" badge in the center topped with a royal crown. "Wilkinson's" can be found written above the crown, curving all the way around the tip of the crown to form a semi-circle. Below, positioned around the badge, is the remaining "Royal Semi-Porcelain" text (Figure 8.2). This maker's mark was used by the Wilkinson company starting in 1891 through 1896. After 1896 the logo was revised heavily after acquiring Richard Alcock and adding lion depictions, and a name change to A.J. Wilkinson followed by "Ltd."

(Kowalsky 1999:372). While the mark was used occasionally during this period, based on the trajectory of the logos this appears to be representative of an early rendition of the Wilkinson brand, also aligning with the late 19th and early 20th century date range suggested by historical records.

The final maker's mark was found again on refined whiteware with fragments of "John Edwards England" visible underneath a decorated crest. This mark also has a very particular style granted to the *Porcelaine De Terre* production line used later in the company's lifetime. This mark is estimated to have begun production around 1880 when the company removed the "& CO." from their logo and was produced until the company closed in 1900 (Kowalsky 1999:184-185). Regardless of the exact manufacturing date, the fact the company stopped production entirely in 1900 suggests that would be the latest date for this sherd, further aligning with a turn of the 20th century date range for the overall context in trench 2.

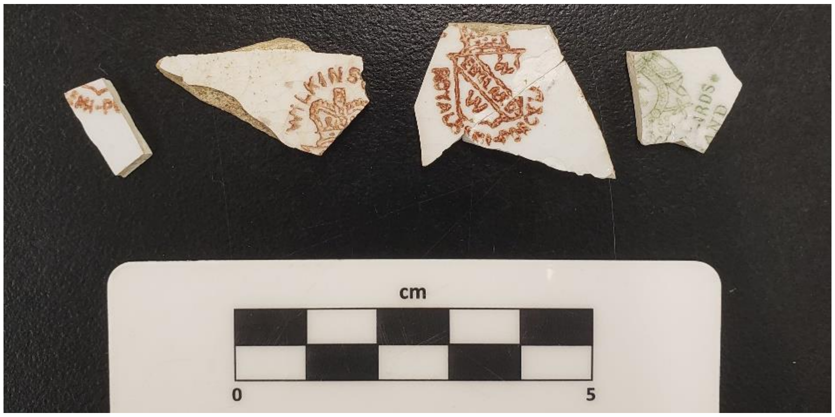


Figure 8.2 Ceramic Marks from Trench 2

Four coins (US one-cent pennies) were also excavated from trench 2. Three of the coins were found in strata 3, or the layer closest to the surface, showcasing dates of 1927, 1942, and 1944 respectively. The fourth coin was uncovered in strata 7 and was dated to 1944. While the coins still suggest a timeframe within an acceptable period of habitation at the site, they do skew a bit later than the ceramics. One explanation is simply that the coins could have been reused for decades and dropped near the home at any point from 1944 onwards. In fact, given that nobody stayed in the home during the majority of the 40's, those coins were likely deposited after the incarceration. The 1927 coin in the same stratigraphic layer indicates to me that it was also deposited after the war, or in other words probably not between 1927 and 1940. Other ceramic and glass elements of trench two continue to suggest that the materials excavated cover a broad timespan from the late 1800s through the 1960s. Next, we will analyze some of those prominent ceramics and determine if they have any indication of the period they were used and by whom they were acquired.

Trench 2 contains some of the more prominent ceramic finds in the whole collection including a diagnostic *Ko Imari* style large porcelain serving bowl (Figure 8.3). This style of pottery is derived from a type of porcelain made in various kilns around Arita, Japan. They then traveled from kilns to the port of Imari where they are loaded onto boats and transferred to other parts of Japan. Eventually shipments began internationally, and the ceramics took the name of this port where they originated (Shimura 2008:4; Stitt 1974:40). The main distinguishable factor for an authentic Imari ceramic is the presence of spur marks on the bottom of the vessel. These small markings, usually visible as a series of 2-6 bumps, indicate they were created in the kilns of Arita, as no other manufacturers used this type of kiln or technique outside of this select location. It was not until 1650 when the Dutch India Company began buying pieces of Imari pottery that they began to appear across the whole continent of Asia. Purchase orders increased dramatically in the first decade of trade; what started as orders of a few thousand pieces jumped to fifty thousand blue and white ceramics ordered in 1659 (Shimura 2008:25). It was at this time that the goods began appearing in Europe, beginning in the Netherlands, and making their way to other European countries. By 1712, the Dutch were buying over 180,000 pieces a year, generating a demand for the products that would eventually lead to the styles being reproduced outside of Japan by European craftsmen and facilities. Today, very little authentic Imari style pottery is created in the kilns of Arita, but the iconic pattern, colors, and styles of the ceramic continue to be popular.

The Imari piece found in the assemblage is akin to the Imari *Nishikide* or brocade imari, style, characterized by a minimum of five colors with designs covering nearly the whole surface, and little ground glaze left visible (Stitt 1974:41). This ceramic style was largely popular during the late 19th and early 20th centuries and is comprised of multiple stylistic sections radiating out from a central point (Hiro 2018). Colors can vary between select pieces, but the primary colors are blue and orange paint on a white porcelain ceramic, with radiating sections depicting floral patterns, images, or stories. Due to their complex decorations and vibrant colors, these ceramics were commonly adopted into Euro-American households and were highly valuable across all markets. This specific vessel has a few distinctly Japanese styles found in the decoration, including the central 6 petal orange flower, the radiating "feather" patterns with painted lattice decoration and dark blue and red tones, as well as the prunus tree illustration meandering on the underside of the bowl (Simpson-Smith and Edwards 2005). With a diameter of nearly 30cm, it is also one of the largest vessels and individual artifacts recovered from the site.

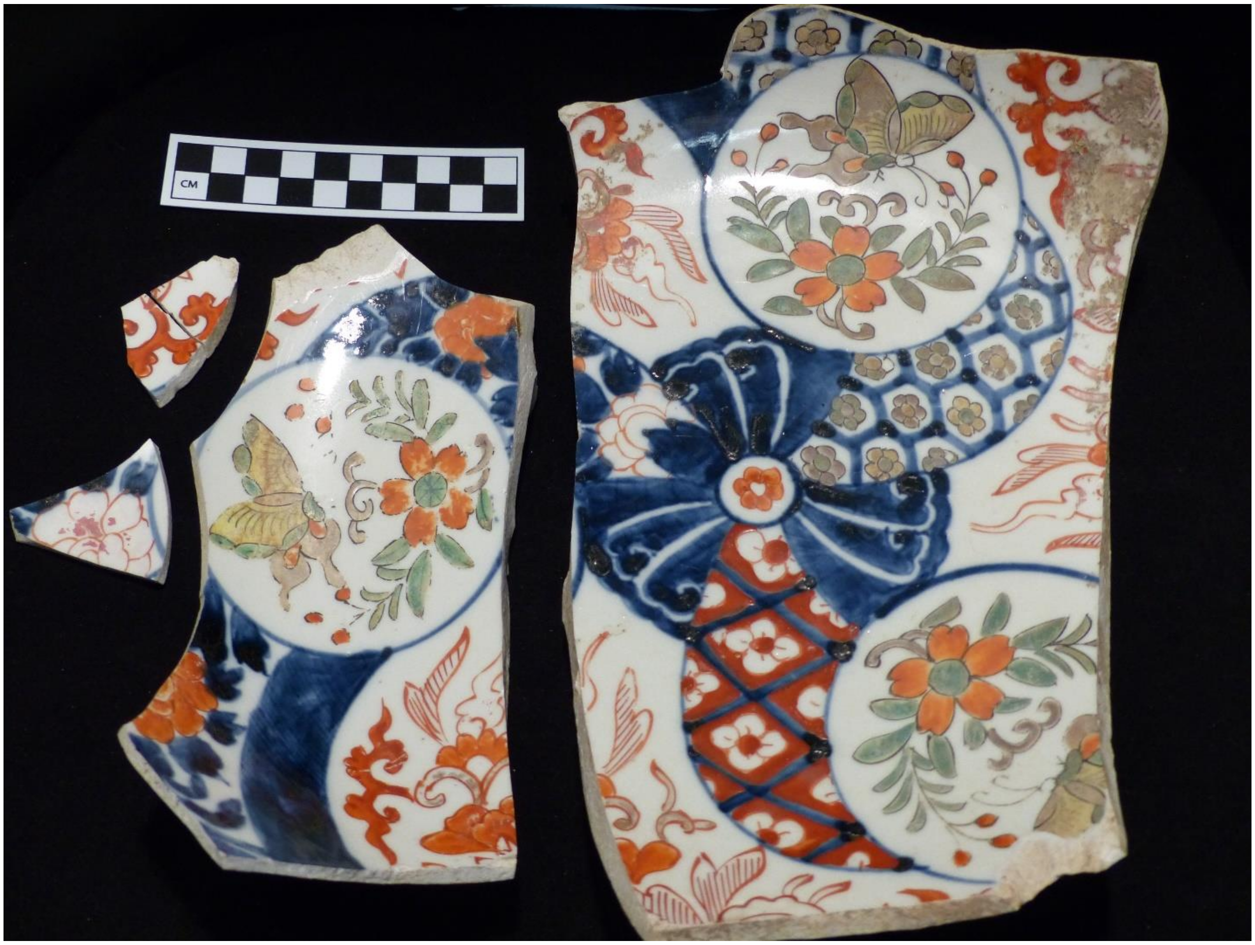


Figure 8.3 Ko-Imari Ceramic Bowl recovered from Trench 2

Following the excavations in 2005 Rob Edwards took the bowl to a specialist in the Bay area to have it analyzed. There, it was determined to be an Imari reproduction piece, likely crafted between 1880 and 1890. This would have likely been an heirloom object of significant value to the Hirahara family, having kept it with them during the duration of their time in Watsonville. Although the production date makes it possible to have belonged to the Redman family, the placement, context, other materials associated with the vessel indicate it was more likely to have been deposited around the 1940s or 50s. Similarly, this is one occasion where the Japanese style or influence is nearly undeniable, and this bowl being linked with a pre-war feature showcases elements of shifting status and traditionalism following the conclusion of the war. Something else to consider is the fact that this piece may have been purposely broken and discarded to mute the Japanese aesthetic during the onset of the Incarceration period, something that will be brought up again and elaborated on in the context of the barn. That said, there is always the chance the vessel was simply broken and discarded, especially given the placement with other, innocuous, kitchen ceramics, trash, and faunal remains.

In addition to the Ko-Imari bowl, trench 2 contained the only examples of flow blue whiteware ceramics within the trench contexts, some of which have European styles clearly modeled after the Japanese aesthetic. There were 25 individual sherds of the flow-blue refined whitewares, with an approximate MNI of 6 based on the designs, thickness, diameter, and refitting of various pieces (Figures 8.4 and 8.5).

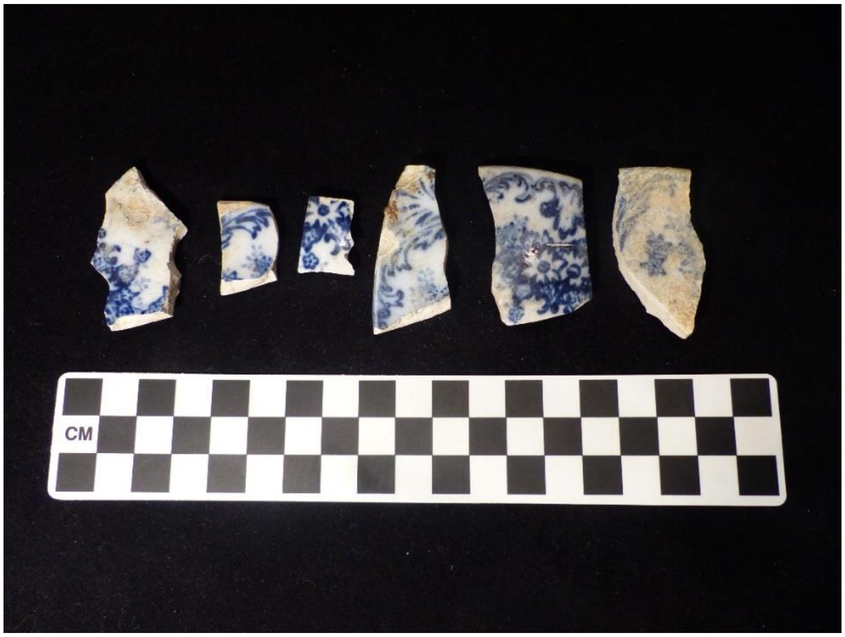


Figure 8.4 Flow blue ceramic sherds from trench 2

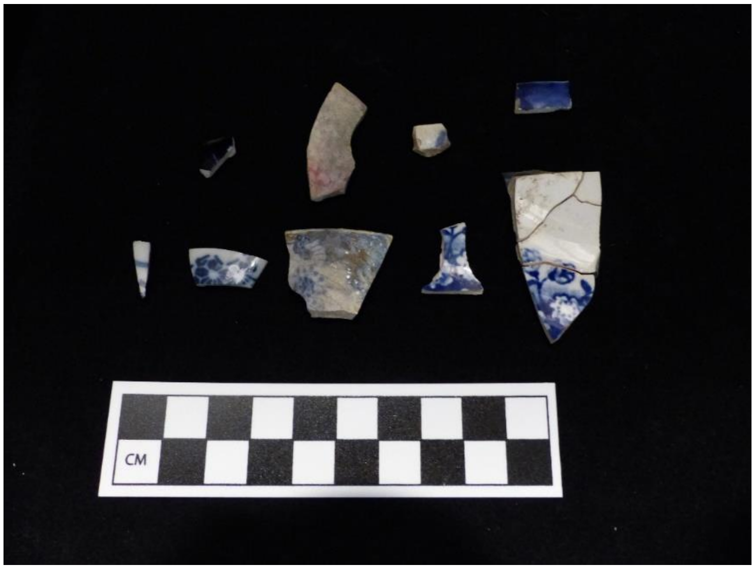


Figure 8.5 Additional flow blue ceramics from trench 2.

Traditionally, the hand painted blue underglaze patterns placed on white porcelain has existed in China for centuries, creating a very similar aesthetic to what is presented in the flow blue ceramics in this collection. The decoration was blue (derived from cobalt) because that was one of the few colors discovered that could withstand the high temperatures required to fire a glaze on a ceramic body, thus allowing glaze to be placed over the patterns and secure them for a much longer period. This Chinese blue and white decorated porcelain was exported to England as early as the 1600's (Gaston 1983:7).

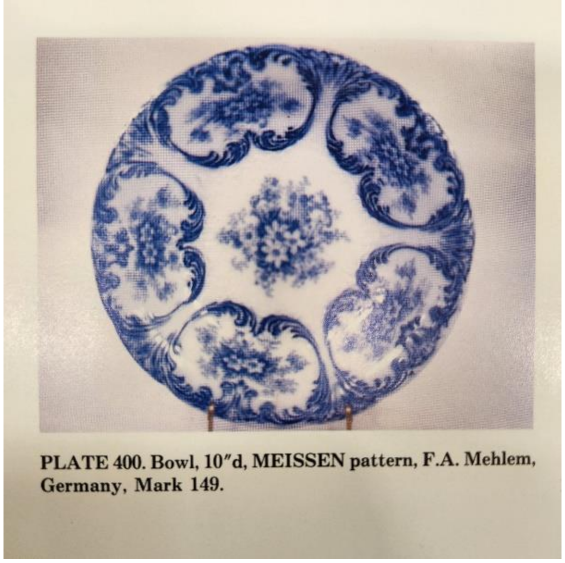


PLATE 400. Bowl, 10"d, MEISSEN pattern, F.A. Mehlem, Germany, Mark 149.

Figure 8.6 Example of European import flow blue ceramic highly consistent with decorated ceramics shown in figure 8.4. Photo published in Gaston 1983, 148.

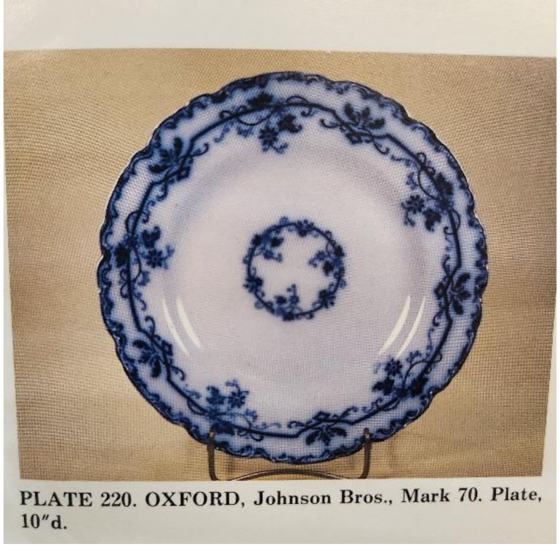


PLATE 220. **OXFORD**, Johnson Bros., Mark 70. Plate, 10"d.

Figure 8.7 Example of European import flow blue ceramic with decoration consistent with decorated ceramics shown in figure 8.5. Photo published in Gaston 1983, 99.

It is likely that we are looking at ceramics produced in Europe during the late 19th and 20th centuries. Pictured above (Figures 8.6 and 8.7) are example ceramics portraying patterns strikingly like what is observed on the ceramic fragments. Many of these patterns are presented on a bowl or plate, but they could be transferred to any ceramic with enough surface area in theory. The companies displayed here include the Oxford style from the Johnson Brothers, producing ceramics for Europe and the U.S between 1890 and 1965 (Gaston 1983:90), F.A Mehlem in Germany exporting ceramics from 1884-1920 (Gaston 1983:148), and the Roseville style from John Maddock in operation from 1855-1965 (Gaston 1983:107). Based on these general patterns observed across the ceramics, it appears that the collection contains export ceramics from Europe rather than traditional blue on white porcelains from Japan or China. Furthermore, the dates continue to place themselves in a timeframe that aligns with other diagnostic artifacts from the site. However, the question remains if this would have been a purchase by the Redman family in the early 1920s or the Hirahara family in the mid-1900s 30 years later. Recalling the discussion of time lag from the previous methods chapter complicates this question further, as it is within the realm of possibility that despite production in the early 1900s, they could have been passed down, re-used, and re-sold over time, eventually finding their way onto the farmstead. Looking at the patterns and quality of the goods suggests that these would have been relatively high-quality ceramics compared with the majority recovered from the trenches. Considering the exceptionally large Ko-imari bowl kept by the Hirahara family through multiple generations, it is reasonable to suggest the bowl may have been paired with a dining set like that of the flow blue whitewares shown here.

These considerations are rife with conjecture though, and it may be the case that there is no way to distinguish the ownership of these vessels with complete certainty. However, intuition paired with a statistical analysis of the materials observed in contexts that are proven to be within a specific time frame can offer further glimpses into the use-life of these ceramics. Even with these caveats, it is likely that a number of these smaller, porcelains or whiteware dishes do closely relate to a typical assemblage of tools used to consume many traditionally Japanese cuisine. In question here are the number of small bowls and plates that appear to conform with typical Japanese dinnerware. There are a few ubiquitous dishes that appear frequently when exploring Japanese cuisine, those being a rice bowl (*Ochawan*, ~12cm diameter), a medium plate (*Chu-zara*, ~18-20cm diameter) and small plate (*Ko-zara*, 12-15cm diameter), a tiny plate (*Mame-zara*, 6-9cm diameter), and a small bowl (*Kobachi*, 12cm in diameter) (Chen 2018). Through the analysis of the ceramics in which there was a large enough fragment present to produce an accurate diameter, it appears several vessels conform to these general standards, such as the flow blue whiteware which correlate with the medium plates or larger serving dishes, or the "butter dishes" recovered from trench 3 which perfectly incapsulate the tiny plate aesthetic of a rice dish. While there is not enough individual pieces to confidently say these are matching sets of kitchenware, these patterns and individuals findings do at the very least lend themselves to a more contemporary, traditional Japanese meal set found in trenches 2 and 3. Furthermore, the high density and preservation of the materials in trench 2 suggests that the flue blue collection was likely used by the Hirahara family and may have been from an organized collection of table wares.

Figure 8.8. Fragments of Porcelain Doll Recovered from Trench 2.

Another key finding from trench 2 was fragments of a porcelain doll (figure 8.8). While it remains a challenging artifact to source or date, some may reason that the children or young adults of the Hirahara family are likely suspects for who would own this doll. That said, outside of the fact that children were around when the Hirahara family moved in it is impossible to dismiss the doll as belonging to the Redman family, especially given the limited information available. Fragments of the doll do not provide much information on the age or even styling of the figure, but it is a unique find particularly in this context which is heavily associated with kitchen wares and food. Based on the fragments we do have, the figure would have been large, not a small action figure or barbie. Moreso, it is not made of plastic as we might expect of toys designed for young children to play with, but instead made entirely of porcelain, another nod to the fact that this may have been a cosmetic figure in the home used for display purposes rather than given to a child. Given that it is equally possible to have been used as décor or by a child, the primary associations connected to the doll with have to be from its presence amongst the trench 2 refuse rather than any specific indications from the doll itself.

Summary of Kitchenware

Moving forward, separating the kitchenware from the other materials is one of the main strategies to glimpse diets, meal choices, and potential activities going on during the duration of the individual occupations. By kitchenware, this typically refers to any ceramic or glass vessel used in plating, serving, or making food. Usually this can be inferred based upon the material type, typically being restricted to a refined whiteware or porcelain vessel type. Earthenware, for example, is not included in the kitchenware analysis as they are more typically associated with utilitarian goods and activities rather than food preparation. Additionally, the form of the ceramic can be used to infer the overall vessel form and thus, their use. The simplest way to distinguish vessel form is any kind of curvature on the ceramic. Most curved ceramics in the collection made of refined whiteware correspond to serving dishes like plates, bowls, and cups. If there are sherds with rims present those can be used to estimate the diameter of the completed vessel, making it possible to distinguish plates and cups of different sizes. The same philosophy can be applied to glass sherds as well, often indicating a bowl or cup used in table service. Ceramic and glass sherds which are flat more often correspond to architectural materials such as window glass, countertops, and various types of siding. Isolating the kitchenware from trench 2 provides valuable information on the general types of ceramics present within the home, as well as the most common elements found in the assemblage which can be contrasted with other similar historic farmsteads. In this case, nearly all the ceramic and glass kitchenware recovered from the trenches came from trench 2. Divided by weight, the ceramic kitchenware in trench 2 account for 87.9% of the total ceramic kitchenware recovered across all four trenches (1465.31g out of a total of 1667.95g).

Furthermore, analyzing material types, styles, and dimensions can also produce an accurate MNI, or minimum number of individual (vessels) represented in the collection. The goal of the MNI is to reach a precise number for the number of vessels represented in the collection, instead of a total count of all the ceramic sherds. For example, there are a total of eleven sherds composing the Ko-imari bowl, which could be presented as eleven individual fragments in the counts for our data. However, it presents a clearer picture of the possessions in the Hirahara house if that is represented as 1 MNI, along with all other materials in the collection. This is especially important when considering the “kitchen” context of these specific ceramics, as it can provide a better representation of how the kitchen may have been used. Of course, there is a chance that the MNI underrepresents the sample if, for example, there existed multiples of certain ceramics such as plates or glasses. As such, this method attempts to find the minimum number of vessels present, with the expectation that the actual number of vessels in the home may have been higher. For trench 2, there are a total of 341 ceramic sherds designated as kitchen materials. After analyzing the width, curvature, diameter (of vessel), decorations, temper, etc. this assemblage represents roughly 48 individual vessels. Of those 48 kitchen vessels, nine are porcelain, and 39 (81%) were refined whitewares. The other ceramics in trench 2 qualify as earthenware ceramics, likely used for utilitarian purposes rather than dining. There are a total of 63 earthenware sherds in the assemblage representing at least six vessels. Including all of the ceramics together (kitchenwares, earthenwares, doll fragments, and Ko imari bowl), there are 437 total sherds in trench 2 with an MNI of 55.

This can be extrapolated further to the specific vessel forms found in trench 2, or the remaining trenches, as well. For example, of the flow blue ceramics where the vessel could be inferenced (11 sherds of 33), they appear to be mostly from medium to large plates (MNI = 3) with one plate having a 16cm diameter and two other unique plates having a diameter of 24 cm. This gives further credence to the possibility of the flow blow being used for special occasions, especially considering the large, communal size of those plates. In contrast, the other undecorated "generic" whitewares found in the collection comprise a much wider range of serving dishes, including three 12cm, one 8cm, and two 10cm small plates, as well as a number of unique large serving vessels including three 20cm diameter plates, one 22cm plate, and one 24cm plate. That said, with the limited data available there is no significant correlation here outside of a wider range of undecorated plates present compared with the more ornate ceramics. Even then, there is overlap between the sizes of the flow blue plates and the undecorated plates so there is little evidence they may have been stored and used separately outside of the decorations on the vessels. Overall, the MNI is useful as a quick tool to see some patterning in the ceramics presented but does not offer any more concrete evidence to address the different habitations or anything more than a rough overview of changing material choices over time.

Glassware data Trench 2

Trench 2 also contains the highest concentration of glassware relative to all the other trenches, with 94 total sherds being present making up 60% of the total glass shards recovered in the trenches. Unfortunately, a large proportion of the materials are relatively small fragments that make it challenging to discern the precise vessel type they may have come from. That said, there is a wide variety of glass materials present within those 94 sherds and multiple different vessels and forms deposited here. The most common type of glass shown in the collection is amber or clear beer bottle glass. All the curved amber glass found in the trenches are assumed to be from typical beer bottles found throughout the 20th century, and at least from 1900 onwards given the machine mold applied to all the applicable fragments. Additional qualities of the bottle glass such as a vertical mold seam that extends continuously through the base, body, and into the lip and finish of the bottle or the presence of very few air bubbles paired with the uniform thickness displayed in all the sherds may suggest a later production date around 1920-1930 based on the high quality of the product, but without many complete vessels it does not rule out an early 1900 production date outright (Lindsey 2024; Miller and Sullivan 1981). Only ten sherds fit this description, and of those there are three rim fragments and one bottle base. This suggests comfortably that there was a minimum of two amber bottles deposited in this context. Additionally, there are twelve fragments of curved, clear glass with a bumpy texture from consistent and consecutive small, embossed bumps found on the body of the vessels. Like the amber glass shards, these are assumed to be relatively contemporary beer bottles such as Corona or Budweiser. Although there are twelve total fragments, based on the rims and base sherds present there are at least two clear beer bottles deposited as well.

Outside of the beer bottles, there is a variety of colored glass that could correlate to different uses. There is one fragment of milk glass commonly associated with beauty products or aesthetic creams, as well as two pink colored glass fragments and one dark green. The pink glass is indeterminate in terms of how it may have been used, but the dark green fragment very likely belongs to a wine bottle. Wine bottles are a rare find in the trenches surrounding the house, but multiple complete wine bottles dating post-WWII were found scattered on the property. There were other colored fragments as well, comprised of three sherds that are colored yellow, and present a square-based vessel, as well as nine fragments of blue tinted glass. The blue tinted glass is curved, so probably not window glass but perhaps drinking glass or another form of kitchenware. Outside of these unique fragments there were 12 fragments of clear, curved glass belonging to a minimum of two wide rimmed jars, and two sherds that clearly suggest a drinking glass. Overall, with such a low number of materials recovered and few vessels distinguished (two amber beer bottles, two clear beer bottles, one milk glass, two jars, and one drinking glass) making any specific claims for how these were used is unlikely, besides the obvious existence of alcohol on the site and the fact that the dateable vessels are found in the relatively expected timeframe of the early to mid-20th century. This also brings to light the challenges of glass analysis on a site with continuous occupation as several of the sherds could easily be from more modern drinks or glass bottles (1980s or later) deposited from continuous usage of the farmstead or from construction activities in the vicinity. Additional glass analysis from the remaining trenches will focus on glass materials that showcase diagnostic features or correlate to a more specific date range.

Trench 1 Key Materials and Findings

Trench 1 is located on the west side of the main house. The dating of the feature largely comes from a single glass bottle or flask pictured here (Figure 8.9). On the underside base of the bottle there is a maker's mark of P.C.G.W which was found to be the symbology for the Pacific Coast Glass Works of San Francisco (Figure 8.10).

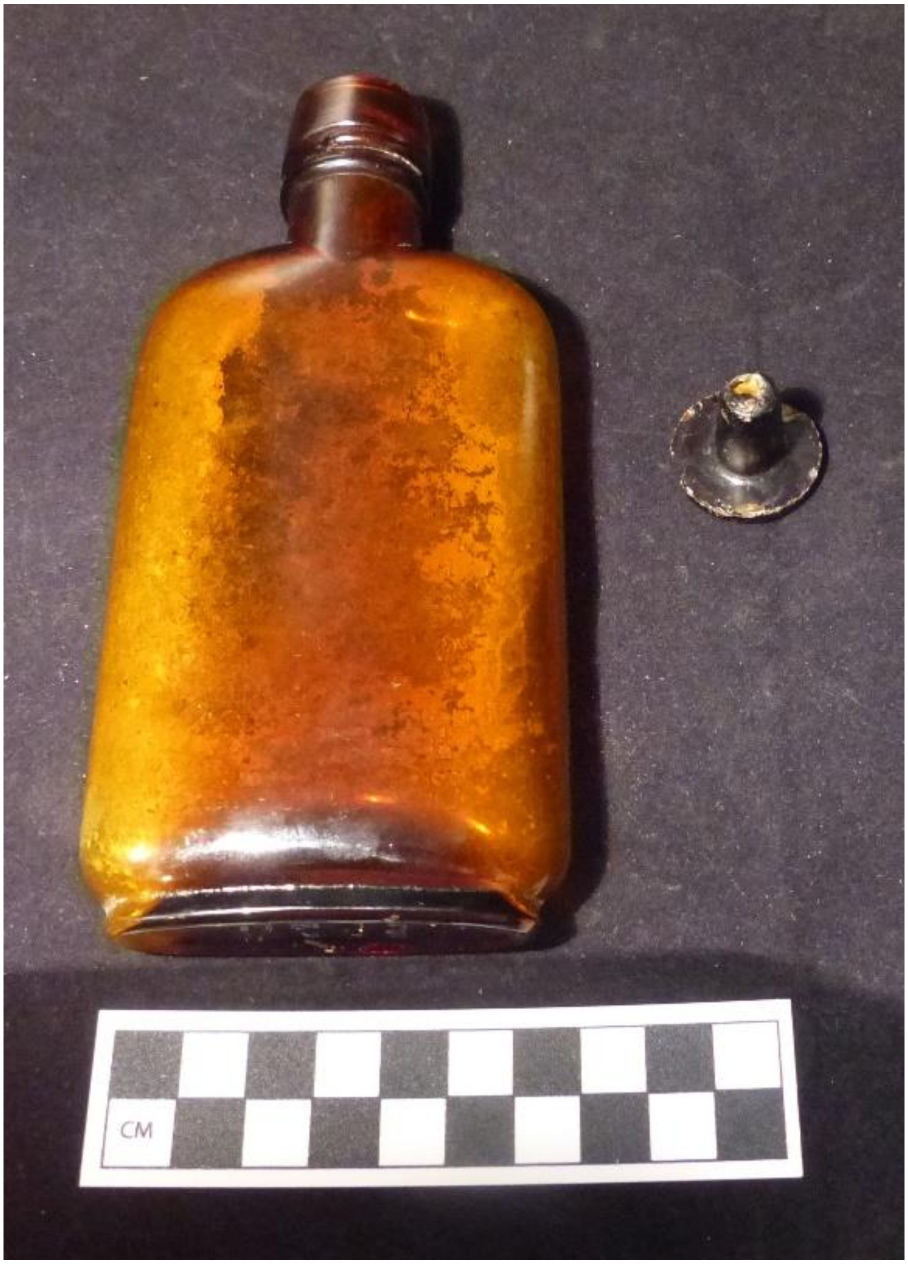


Figure 8.9 Complete glass bottle recovered from trench 1.

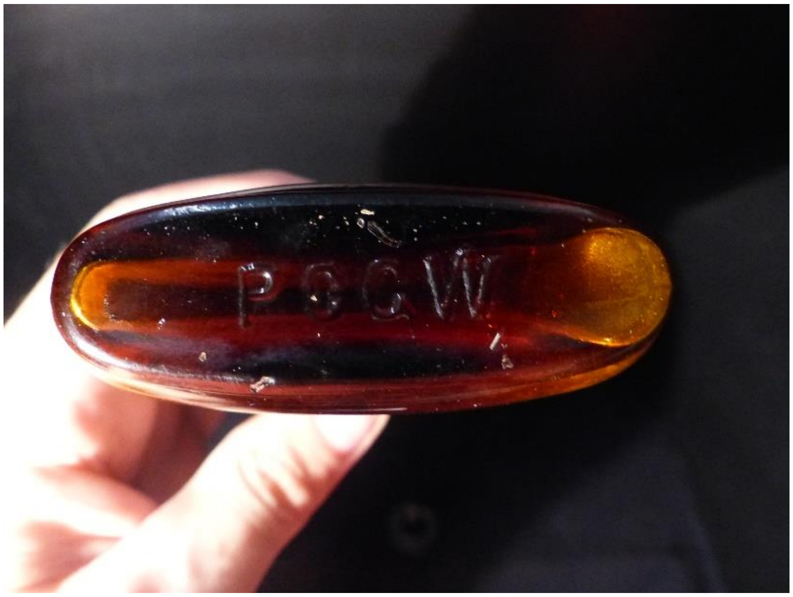


Figure 8.10 Underside of completed glass bottle with maker's mark "PCGW" printed on the bottom.

Pacific Coast used this particular mark around 1902-1924, before the popularity of the screw top bottle and the company's merger with Illinois-Pacific Glass Corporation, placing this vessel, and potentially trench 1, firmly within the timeframe before the incarceration (Lockhart et al 2018:2-3; Sutton and Arkush 2002:188-189). As mentioned previously, the implications of this single date do not inherently guarantee that this was in a purely pre-war context. Furthermore, there are little additional materials coming from trench 1 that offer any concrete date or unique difference between this trench and the others, with only 21 total ceramic sherds present in the trench and only 23 glass sherds, including three architectural window glass/insulation pieces and two lightbulb fragments which have not been subject to analysis. For the remaining kitchenware and non-architectural ceramics and glass found, only the small fragment of the porcelain doll’s fingers and three sherds of earthenware planters pots stand out as indicating any specific use of this space. Located on the west side of the home, it does stand to reason that this trench would possess a similar assemblage to that of the garden, showcased by materials like earthenware pots. Outside of the glass flask with a concrete date, only three mirror fragments appear in trench 1 which are not found in any of the other locations.

Outside of the typical kitchen glass and ceramic materials recovered from the trench, this context differs from the others due to a relatively high concentration of shell remains, metal nails, and a high amount of architectural window glass. There are over 700 small window glass shards collected from this trench, adding to a total weight of 2600 grams or around 5 pounds, made up of a combination of clear or blueish tinted, flat pieces. Additionally, 44 nails were recovered from this trench, further suggesting that this location on the site may have been used as a dumping ground for broken glass and other structural components of the house as they deteriorated over time. Based on the placement of debris piles present on the farmstead today, it appears that this may have been the location where broken windows and other debris was placed, either accumulating slowly overtime through general use or dumped in a single event when the house was undergoing excavations or being lifted from its foundations. The garden context is located near to this as well, and some of the nails could have easily come from the wooden lath constructed around the garden.

Lastly, there are significant faunal elements recovered from trench 1 including 121 individual shell fragments and 125 individual animal bones spanning five fish bones, a cat femur, and the remaining elements relegated to unidentified, medium, and large mammal bones (likely cow or sheep). The presence of these types of bones further suggests the pre-WWII period of this deposition, as it was primarily the Redman family who owned and managed livestock on the property before 1937.

Trench 3 Key Materials and Findings

Trenches 3 and 4 contain the least materials out of all the trenches respectively, and also do not contain as many key materials or findings to list here. At this point, it is established that trench 2 is more than likely associated with the Hirahara family and a later occupation of the site, and trench 1 is more likely an earlier occupation. Now, we will examine materials from the remaining two trenches to hypothesize where they are placed on this timeline. In terms of trench 3, one of the more unique materials recovered and well preserved were the “Butter Dishes” pictured below (Figures 8.11, 8.12, and 8.13). Altogether, there are two vessels that are nearly complete, one which is missing a fragment on one side, and another which is complete but broken in half. Additionally, there are four sherds which do not refit with the partial samples, nor do they refit clearly with one another. At the very least, we see three of these butter dishes kept in relatively good shape, a stark contrast with the other materials in the context. Initial organization and cataloguing of the collection of the dishes suggested that these likely belonged to the Hirahara family, although outside of a written note denominating them as such, I found no clear indications for why they were relegated with them. They are consistent with depictions of the traditional Japanese rice bowl or tiny plate discussed prior in a contemporary placemat setting but also showcase a universal painted porcelain style which lines up with other decorated ceramics likely used and available to both the Hirahara and Redman families. That said, it may ultimately be inconclusive as I argue there is a strong chance that these would have ended up in trench 2 along with the other materials that are known to have belonged to the Hirahara family if they were to be associated with the Hirahara family specifically.

Trench 3 is located on the east side of the house and is closest to trench 2 in comparison to the other excavations, so it is possible that there is a proximity of these trenches that might intertwine them. Additionally, oral histories from the family suggest that the west entrance to the house is where much of the daily foot traffic was found. In fact, this was said to be the true main entrance of the house that was used by the family, with the front door and porch area only being used by guests and visitors or for photo opportunities, etc. As such, this would have been a location that was actively used since the beginning of WWII, and perhaps this is why we do not see nearly as many materials or debris around this area. This trench also contained a relatively large amount of terracotta pottery associated with plants and gardening (N = 21, MNI = 6), despite being on the opposite side of the house as the garden.

Perhaps these pots were used for aesthetic purposes on the east side of the house to further indicate its use and display as the main entrance to the home. They also were likely not dumping their broken ceramics or food waste here seeing as this path would have been frequented by the whole family and there would be motivation to be kept relatively clear of debris.

With a total count of only 31 ceramics sherds and 19 glass sherds coming from trench 3 there are unfortunately not many other materials that help us narrow down the timeframe of this context. The glass and ceramics lack any clear identifiable factors, outside of one partial maker's mark found on a single white ware sherd (figure 8.14). From the partial fragment, the mark is determined to be another "Johnson Bros. England" ceramic production termed Royal Ironstone. The mark depicts the company sigil with the company name below and the ironstone script above. The sigil is identifiable from the two lions on either side of the central emblem. The usage of this mark by the Johnson Bros. ranged from 1891 (when the "ENGLAND" text was reportedly added) through 1913 (Kowalsky 1999:246), which corresponds with the average ceramic production range we have discovered thus far on the site. This date does err on the earlier side of ceramics used on the farm, and especially when proposing that this trench is again associated with the Hirahara family much later. That said, due to time lag and the use life of ceramics it is possible that this ceramic was used by either the Hirahara family or the Redman family. The imported white ware ceramics do appear to be highly concentrated in trench 2 as well, which might suggest these typical European import wares were the main dining sets used by the family.

That said, trench 3 contains the 2nd largest amount of faunal remains and contains more shell by total weight than what was recovered in trench 2. Although this only amounts to 231g (N=261) of bone found in the trench, that is more than double the amount of bone recovered from trenches 1 and 4. Furthermore, trench 3 exhibits the most amount of shell remains out of all four trenches, with 438g of shell found in trench 3 (N = 94). Trench 2 is roughly equivalent in the amount of shell recovered (416g) but trenches 1 and 4 only saw 250g of shell recovered total from both of those contexts. Although the in-depth analysis of these faunal elements remains outside the purview of this dissertation, this does appear to be a section of the property (the southeast corner of the house) which was used frequently for discarding food remains, broken ceramics, etc. The narrative surrounding this is commonly resolved by simply observing that this portion of the property was right outside the house’s kitchen, and thus it makes the most sense that the families would have discarded broken, old ceramics or food waste outside that area.

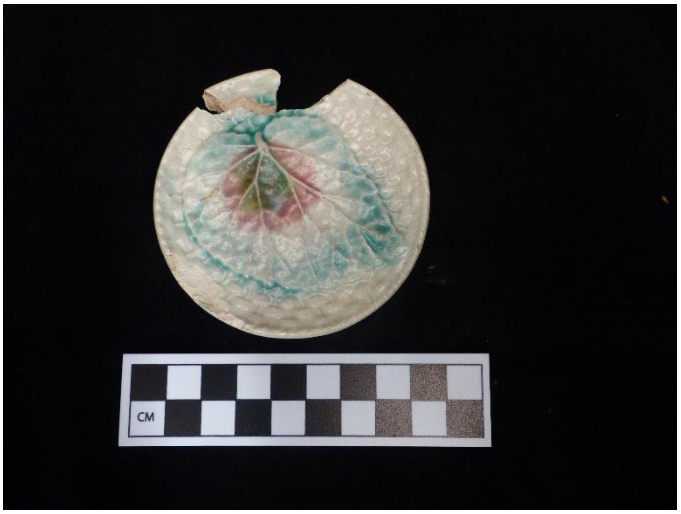


Figure 8.11. Example of “butter dish” recovered in trench 3.

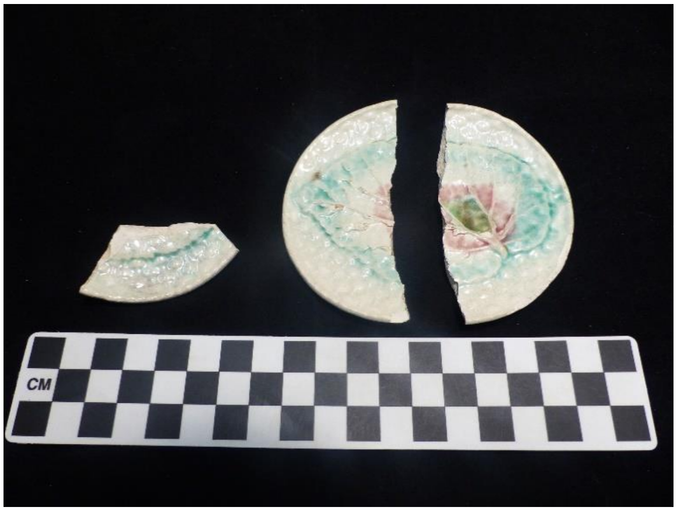


Figure 8.12 Example of “butter dish” recovered in trench 3.

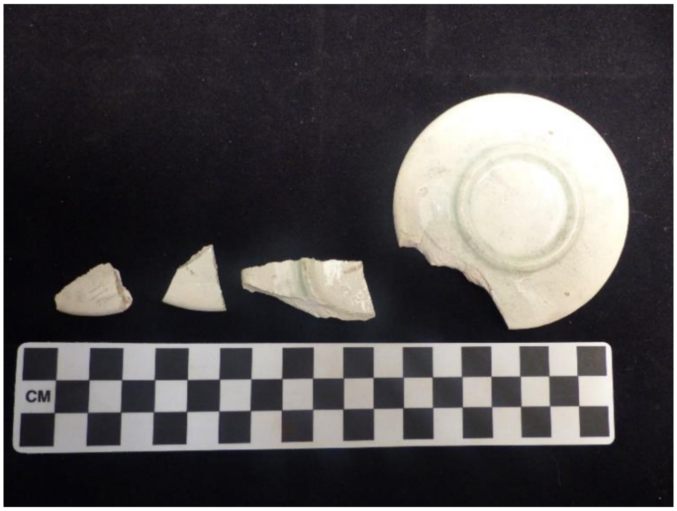


Figure 8.13 Example of “butter dish” recovered in trench 3, underside.

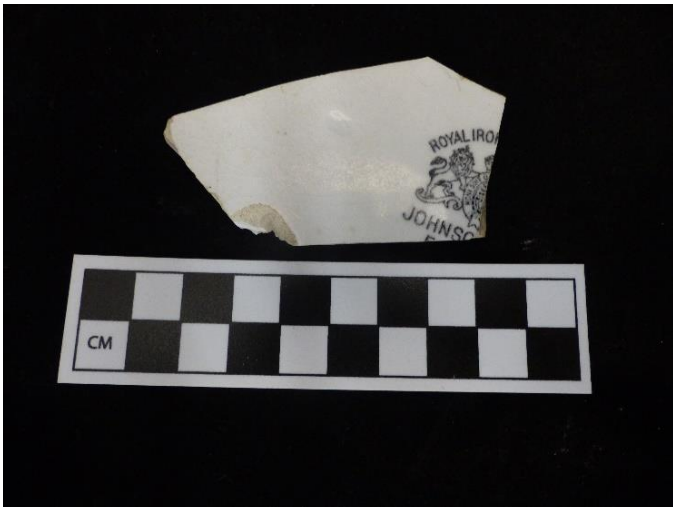


Figure 8.14 Whiteware ceramic with partial markers mark recovered from trench 3.

Trench 4 Key Materials and Findings

Trench 4 is located on the north side of the house directly west of the front door and laid perpendicular with the north facing side of the home. Although this was built to be the main entryway into the home, the Hirahara family emphasized that the entryway on the west side of the house was the access point that they most frequently used while working or spending time at the house. Indeed, like trench 3, trench 4 contains a relatively low number of archaeological materials, supporting the notion that this area of the yard and property was lightly used. Still, findings in trench 4 still encompass the range of materials typical at the site, including ceramics, glassware, faunal materials, and metal. In total there are 46 ceramic sherds recovered, 23 glass fragments, 22 individual metal pieces including fasteners from zippers or buttons, bullet casings, hinges, sheet metal, several unidentifiable scraps, 166 individual bone fragments (83.19g), and roughly 180 individual shell fragments totaling 140g. As such, while there is a sizeable collection of faunal materials, it still falls far short of trench 3 in terms of quantity of shell and bone and contains the least number of ceramics and glass artifacts for analysis.

In searching for key materials to date or classify in trench 4 there was only one artifact that presented itself as being wholly unique from the other trenches: a fragment of a tobacco pipe (figures 8.15 and 8.16). Without the bowl, we are limited to dating the pipe based on the stem alone, which does not offer the same distinct changes through time as bowl morphology. In this case, the stem appears almost completely smooth and uniformly round. This is made of well refined clay which remained the dominant form of pipe construction since the early 1700s and well into the 20th century (White 2024). The bore size of the pipe stem is another common measurement for dating pipes, popularized by Binford (1961) for older clay pipes dating prior to 1780. In this case, the pipe shows a bore diameter of roughly 2mm by

3mm, or roughly a 5/64's inch bore, also akin to pipes from the late 18th century or later (White 2024). Otherwise, the relatively small form of the stem and pointed mouthpiece which narrows towards the end all corresponds to pipes constructed after 1850 (Sutton and Arkush 1996:177-178; White 2024). Unfortunately, without the bowl or engravings on the stem that is likely the closest we can get to a certain production timeframe of the pipe, which does little to change the narrative of the site overall, except for an indication that this feature may trend older than the materials in trench 2 for example.

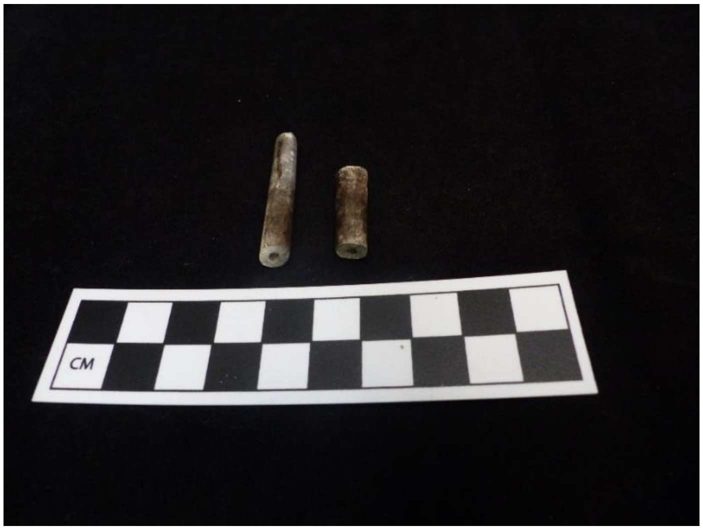


Figure 8.15. Tobacco pipe stem fragments recovered from trench 4 with internal view.

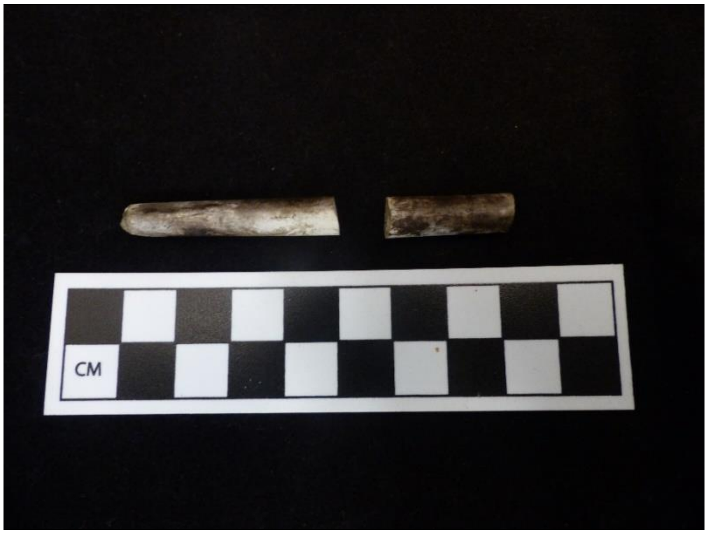


Figure 8.16. Tobacco pipe stem fragments recovered from trench 4 horizontal view.

Outside of the pipe stem, another unique element of this trench is the amount of terracotta pottery recovered from trench 4. 33 of the 46 ceramic sherds found in trench 4 are terracotta planter pots, with the remaining ceramics being composed of a variety of decorated ceramics including one flow blue whiteware and other whiteware sherds painted on both sides. Notably, this is one of the few contexts where the terracotta pots show up that is separated from the post-WWII bonsai garden. I believe that this bolsters the idea that the front porch area/entryway into the home was maintained and well decorated, but not frequently used as a walking path and more certainly not an area where a lot of the refuse collected through everyday activities on the site was deposited. This is further evidenced by the limited amount of glassware recovered in this trench. All the curved glass fragments appear to be from average sized bottles or jars, with only one fragment of architectural glass and no other evidence of other types of architectural materials. Breaking these materials down further into the minimum number of vessels recovered in the trench shows five individual glass bottles, two flowerpots, and four different styles of kitchen ceramic wares. The planter pots having a minimum of two vessels despite being the most common type of ceramic materials is because they are all uniform in size with just a slight coloration difference separating the typical orange of terracotta and a lighter colored, brown or tan variation. With only those two styles of terracotta showing up, it is possible that all those sherds were from just two vessels. However, given the volume of fragments and the lack of any pieces that refit together, it is more likely that there were numerous different pots that we do not have the ability to reconstruct.

Coins, Marbles, and Other Toys

Outside of the primary analysis focused on the kitchenware recovered from the trenches, there are other materials like buttons, coins, and beads that can offer other avenues in understanding the chronology on the site. Five coins, all of which are US one-cent "pennies," were recovered from the trench excavations surrounding the house, and no additional coins were found on other parts of the property. Four of the coins came from trench 2, inscribed with the dates 1927, 1942, 1944, and 1944 respectively. The final coin was found in trench 3 and had a date of 1917. At first glance, these coins fit nicely into the proposed timeframe of the site, and even correspond to dates relatively early in the story of the Redman and Hirahara families. However, like the analysis of ceramics, these dates do not automatically mean the coins were used at this time. Although the coins were recorded in varying stratigraphic layers the distinction between them is minimal. For example, both the youngest and oldest coins from trench 2 (1927 and 1944) were found in the same stratigraphic layer. This suggests that those coins were circulating the property after the Hiraharas returned to the farmstead in 1945. It may be that the individuals responsible for looking after the farm between 1942 and 1945 could have left those pennies during that time, but based on the other materials in the trenches this is likely from the Hirahara family.

Marbles also appear in the collection found across multiple trenches. Thirteen marbles were recovered in total from the excavations, six of which were found in trench 4 with the remaining seven found in trench 2. Within each trench, five of the marbles are complete, the remaining are fragmented or pieces of a single marble. Marbles are frequent and appear to be used continuously throughout the habitation on the site. These also pair well with other toys and games recovered on the site such as an old slingshot, a small toy dog, a horseshow, a baseball, and a modern toy truck. Often, marbles are associated with the incarceration camps as they were one of the most prominent forms of entertainment partaken by the incarcerated community. Access to the marbles likely circulated within the camps where marbles became a simple game for children to play and distract themselves. When excavation the children's orphanage at Manzanar in summer 2019, our volunteer group recovered 2-4 marbles from each unit we skimmed, largely from or near the surface. That said, they were also commonplace in households throughout the 18th and 19th centuries as a simple game for young children and adults alike. It is highly likely that the marbles were used in a similar fashion on the farmstead, either part of the classic game or through some sort of collection by any one of the numerous Hirahara children, namely Katsuji, Eiko, Yoshiko, Ben, Sumako, Noboru, Satoshi, Wakako, Eiko, or Fumio Hirahara before the war and potentially by Isamu, Susumu, or Shigeru Hirahara after their return. Perhaps it is possible that the marbles were another skill or hobby acquired from the incarceration camps themselves but given the high number of marbles and the fact that they were spread across two different trenches, it appears more likely that they were used consistently at the site and not relegated to post-1945.

The other toys listed above stir similar questions. Excluding the toy truck which appears in relatively good shape and could be easily found as late as the 1980s or 90s, many of the materials used in these various games appear quite old. Most notably is a slingshot fashioned out of a wooden stick with a heavily deteriorated rubber cord (Figure 8.16).

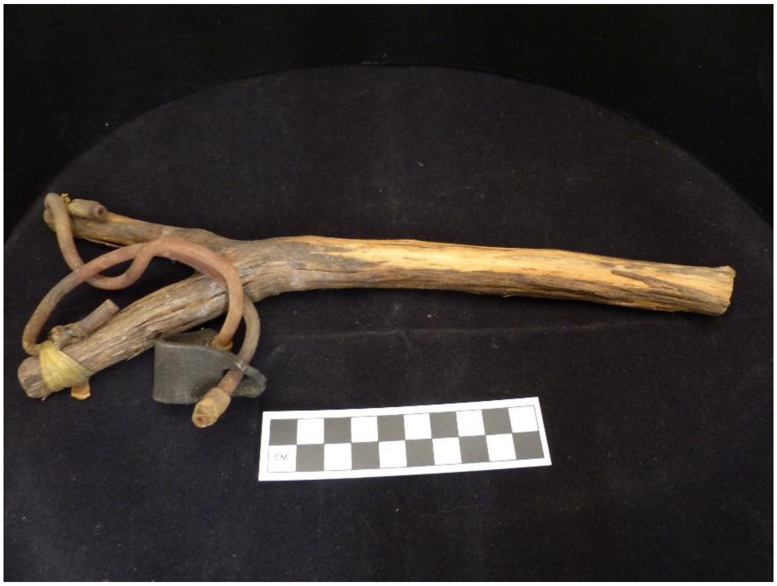


Figure 8.17 Wood and rubber slingshot recovered from surface survey.

This type of slingshot made from a tree branch and vulcanized rubber started to appear in the US around the 1860s (Schell 2023). At this time, slingshots were not mass produced but often created as DIY projects for many youths. It was not until 1918 that the first cast iron slingshot was produced, and it was not until after WWII that the mass production of "modern" slingshots began to take off. In 1948 Wham-O made their first product called the Wham-O slingshot which had returned to the wooden structure but used flat rubber bands rather than the rubber chord for the projectile. The 1940's also saw the creation of the National Slingshot Association, located in San Marino, CA. Referring again to the slingshot recovered on the farmstead, we can see a chord that aligns closely with the descriptions of the pre-WWII slingshots using vulcanized rubber rather than the thick bands used by Wham-O or the temporarily popular cast iron handle. As such, it is likely that this slingshot was used on the farmstead prior to WWII, thus associated with the Redman family or an earlier occupation of the site. The fact this was not found in a trench associated with the Hirahara materials also suggests this timeframe.

Trench Context Summary/Interpretations

When taking a comprehensive look at the materials found in the trenches around the main house, they appear representative of the pre-war to WWII timeframe at the site overall. Both the average date range of the materials, as well as the materials recovered there, are skewed to this earlier timeframe on the site. That said, after taking a closer look at specific materials from each trench, it does appear that trench 2 is likely associated with the Hirahara family and a post-WWII context. The relatively large number of well-preserved materials, paired with key findings like the Ko-imari bowl, suggests that this was a more recent depositional event during the time when the Hirahara family owned the farm. This is shown in the quantity of materials recovered in trench 2, especially in the ceramics and faunal remains, the relatively good quality of the preservation, and from a few key artifacts that lend themselves to belonging to the Hirahara family such as the Ko-imari bowl. This is further shown in some of the differentiating factors between trench 2 and the other contexts. For example, trench 1 suggests a context associated with an earlier occupation, mainly dictated by the Pacific Glass Works flask produced in the early 1900s.

Taking these factors into consideration, I argue that the trenches can be delineated even further, with trench 2 being associated with the Hirahara family, Trench 1 with an earlier occupation or the Redman family, and the remaining trenches also skewing towards an earlier, pre-WWII context. In contrast, Trenches 1 and 3, and to a lesser extent trench 4, do suggest evidence that those materials were deposited at an earlier time, possibly by the Redman family in the early to mid-1900s. Trench 3 holds the oldest penny found on the site, as well as the painted butter dishes showcased earlier in this chapter. Trench 1 also contains the oldest confirmed glass bottle on the site, with its production being placed somewhere between 1902 and 1924. Not only do trenches 1 and 3 have materials that appear to originate in similar timeframes, but all 3 of the trenches aside from trench 2 contain much less materials overall. It is highly possible that the materials in trench 2 were deposited as part of the primary dumping area for the Hirahara family whereas trenches 1 and 3 are more likely to have been utilized by the Redman family, skewing those materials to be slightly older in addition to fewer materials overall deposited in those spaces and effectively zero indication that the materials were from a first-generation Japanese American family. This may also explain the huge disparities in material distribution at the site. If trench 2 was the primary depositional area for the more recently present Hirahara family then it would make sense that a large amount of faunal materials, ceramics, and glass would have preserved in that location than the other trenches which may have been used up to 40 years earlier when the Redman family first built the home. Furthermore, the Redman family owned the property since 1887, and although there are no artifacts that have a date specifically delegated to that period before 1920, there is a good chance the other trenches were used by the Redman family to dispose of their materials for many decades.

Although there are some specific materials that can be linked to the Hirahara family, it should be stressed that most of the glassware and ceramics recovered across these trenches are made up of materials used commonly throughout the 1900s. Moreover, there is no reason to suggest the materials were purchased anywhere elsewhere outside of Watsonville or the local area without moving into conjecture. Some materials, such as the relatively high amount of porcelain kitchenware (~18%) may serve some purpose when comparing the Hirahara farmstead to other 20th century historical farmsteads in California as the number of porcelains does stand out from other farmstead analyses covered previously (Cabak et al 1999, Keener et al 2013). Baxter (2020) and Lebo and Yates (1996) additionally use the low amount of porcelain materials recovered in their contexts to suggest a lower wealth or status of the occupation or to indicate lack of access to prestigious local materials. In this case, the amount of porcelain in the collection is most concentrated in trench 2, and if we concede that trench 2 is associated more with later habitations on the site then this would imply a steady increase in wealth and access overtime. In terms of delineating the transition period between the Redmans and the Hiraharas respective time in the home though there is little evidence to run with. Instead, most of the change in practices discussed on the site will be drawn from the barn and garden contexts, focusing on a change in practice following incarceration and not representing a noticeable change in material culture or socioeconomic status when the Hiraharas moved into the farmstead.

The faunal remains comprised of cattle or other saw cut bone remain one of the few potential indicators of this timeframe, as it would have only been the Redmans in the early 1900s who owned and slaughtered cattle on the property before 1938. However, the presence of these materials does not rule out the possibility that these cuts were purchased from a local butcher and brought to the home, either by the Redman family or the Hirahara family. In fact, a high number of the identifiable saw cut bone fragments (N=11) from larger mammals were found in the garden context, thus relegated to the post-war timeframe. The other saw cut bones come primarily from the context of the “surface collection” for the site but does not delegate a specific section of the farmstead beyond the yard surrounding the house, adding further uncertainty to how and when these fragments were acquired. Furthermore, the species present amongst the faunal materials, consisting mostly of mammal, fish, and bird, does not suggest a diet inconsistent with local produce and resources from the area meaning it is within reason to think that the dietary assemblage could apply to both the Hirahara family as well as the Redman family.

Still, the trench contexts do contain the most archaeological evidence of daily life and activities happening on the farmstead and may best be used as an aggregate for the daily lives of both families, before 1945. This includes the evidence of toys on the farmstead, including marbles, a toy truck, a porcelain doll, and an old slingshot, to name a few. Despite the uncertainty of exactly when and by whom these individual materials were used, it is safe to say that the space does reflect a number of consistencies with both families, including children playing around the home, farm cats roaming the property or perhaps as pets, and the more direct examples like refuse, food remains, and farming tools all speaking to the experiences of these families as they started their unique farming enterprises.

Another limiting factor is the fact that this is an orphaned collection. As discussed in the introduction, working with collections of this nature presents numerous challenges and certainly impacted the findings of this dissertation. Mainly, challenges arise in understanding the minute details of the excavations overall, relegated strictly to the filed notes, reports, and associated documents in the collection. Without the ability to design the excavations with specific research questions in mind, several of the major themes of this project will not have been thoroughly explored. In large part this understanding is what altered my personal focus from a heavy archaeological based material study to a greater emphasis on the ethnographic aspects and implications of the site. I hope that this project demonstrates how orphaned collections can be used to great effect to reinvigorate interest in a particular place, present it in a new light to relevant communities and interested parties, and to investigate collections with a new or different perspective that may uncover further information about these sites and how they can inform us about humanity. Feedback from audience members at conferences or other places where I have discussed the Hirahara farmstead emphasize this as well, with most supporters happy to know what the building is, the cultural history behind it, and the mostly hidden history that this space shares Japanese American incarceration. Furthermore, the house cements itself in Watsonville community history through the acknowledgment of these histories, rather than being celebrated solely for the architect responsible for its design.

Garden Arbor Context

The garden or lath context on the Hirahara property adds additional layers to reconstructing the timeframe of the assemblage. The term lath describes the decorative wooded structure built around the garden, a common theme for gardeners everywhere and a tradition that has continued today in the United States and around the globe. The Hirahara's garden was rectangular in shape spanning roughly 15ft by 20ft and was enclosed with a relatively simple lath lattice structure on all sides. In

2005 when the excavations were initiated the lath structure, and the soil within, had been overgrown with vines, weeds, and other plants requiring an extensive cleaning effort. Due to the considerable time spent clearing the vegetation there were minimal excavations conducted in this context. However, after clearing the ground surface artifacts were seen and recorded via pedestrian survey. With the high concentration of artifacts potentially resting near the surface, it was decided that a shovel skim would be conducted in the lath, divided into 12 quadrants, each representing a 5ft-by-5ft square unit. In this setting 1034 artifacts were recovered from the surface skimming, excluding several faunal remains and non-cultural materials that were re-sorted and de-accessioned. While the total volume of artifacts is not as high as the house materials, several artifacts can speak to activities conducted by the Hirahara family, as well as important contextual information for dating the site overall.

Importantly, ethnographic records indicate that the garden was only created after the select 8 members of the Hirahra family returned to the barn following the incarceration (Edwards and Simpson-Smith 2010). Specifically, Aki Hane suggests that the lath was erected by Mitoshi Hirahara for gardening and to grow bonsais for elder members of the family. In addition to showcasing a change over time in the organization and locations on the farmstead, this context is crucial for understanding the differences between the pre-incarceration contexts and post-incarceration contexts. In fact, the garden context, and to some extent the carriage barn, are the only clear examples of a post-WWII context making these spaces the primary sources of information pertaining to any shifts in practice on the site. Materials recovered from the garden surface skim indicates an assemblage that is not starkly different from that of the trenches. Ceramics and glass remain the most common materials recovered, appearing alongside a variety of metal and faunal materials, as well as plastics and modern trash.

	Ceramics	Glass	Faunal	Metal	Other	Total
Garden material counts	220	272	392	97	50	1031

Table 6. General Artifact Counts from the Garden Context

Out of the 1,031 individual artifacts associated with the garden context, 220 of those were ceramic sherds and 272 of them were glass. The ceramics in this context contain some kitchenware-type fragments, but the most common type of ceramic recovered from the surface skim were earthenware pots or terracotta style ceramics (N = 100, 45%), further speaking to the use of the context as a garden but also a contrast from the heavily kitchen-oriented ceramics recovered from the trenches around the house. The remaining materials are made up of metal, faunal, plastics, and wood materials. The metal recovered from this context represents one of the highest densities of metal materials out of the entire site, having 97 individual metal artifacts. These range from a few aluminum, copper, or brass artifacts, to a metal serving spoon, over 50 iron nails, and approximately 35 other miscellaneous metal clasps, wires, or rusted materials. Lastly, faunal remains recovered in the garden context include mammal bone, bird, crab, and shell primarily. There is also evidence of a small cat who was buried amidst the garden context.

One unique element in the materiality of the garden context is the “planter tags” recovered from multiple areas of the garden (Figures 8.18, 8.19, and 8.20). The collection contains fragments of at least eleven planter tags, used to stick in soil near plants to keep them labeled and organized, or to mark plants for purchase with instructions on their care. Based on the tags, it appears that most of the plants were acquired from local, US markets. However, the tags are often overwritten in Japanese text as well. Visual examples of some of the text printed on the tags by the manufacturer paints a vibrant picture of a beautiful garden, composed of local, and common, flowers. Brands shown on the tags include Ballet, Sunnyside, and Red-Wing, with the original tags showing a variety of violets and roses. Some of the specific types of plants printed on the tags include Annette flowers from the genus dianthus, “variety” violets and African violets, including multiple instances of rhapsodie violets and rhapsodie annettes. Other single instance flowers which appear on the tags include a cineraria stellata mix, miniature rose, a white double rose called tuberous begonia, velvety purple petunia, and an epidendrum reed orchard. A quick look at some of the companies printed on the tags show local produce licensed for sale in California, including Hayward California. Most of the flowers suggested here are in line with other findings in the garden, such as the terracotta ceramics which would be appropriate vessels for any of the varieties of flowers discussed here.

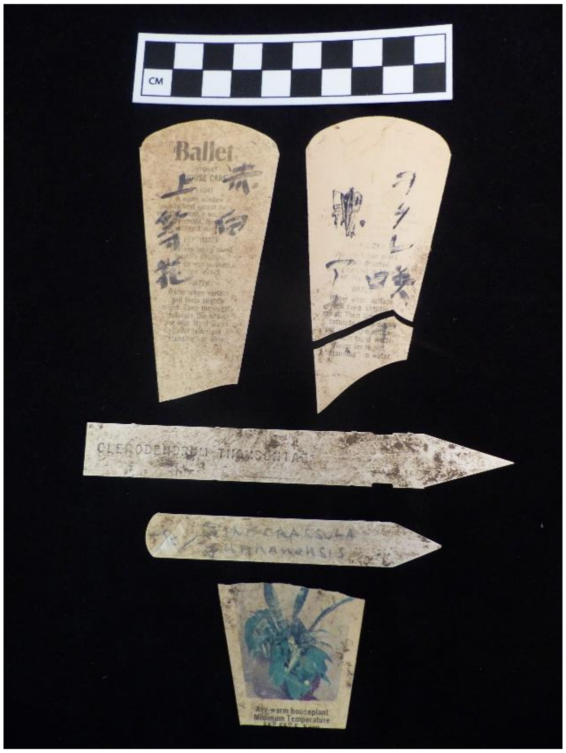


Figure 8.18. Planter's tags recovered from the garden. Japanese and English text.

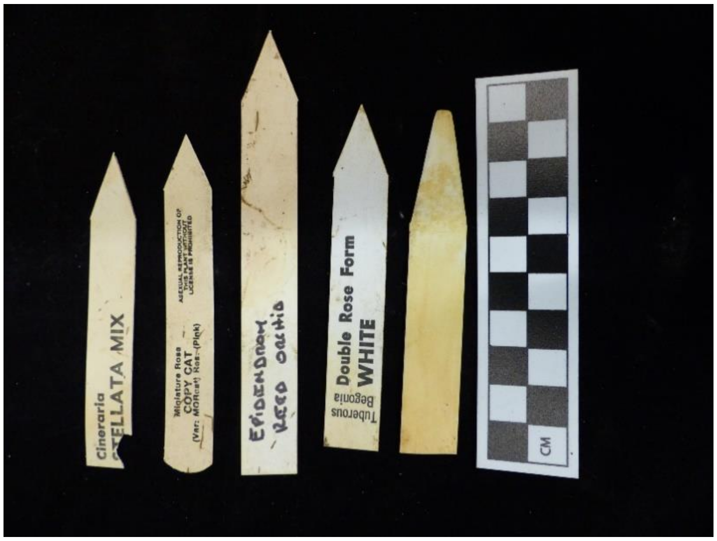


Figure 8.19. Planter's tags recovered from the garden (backside). English text.

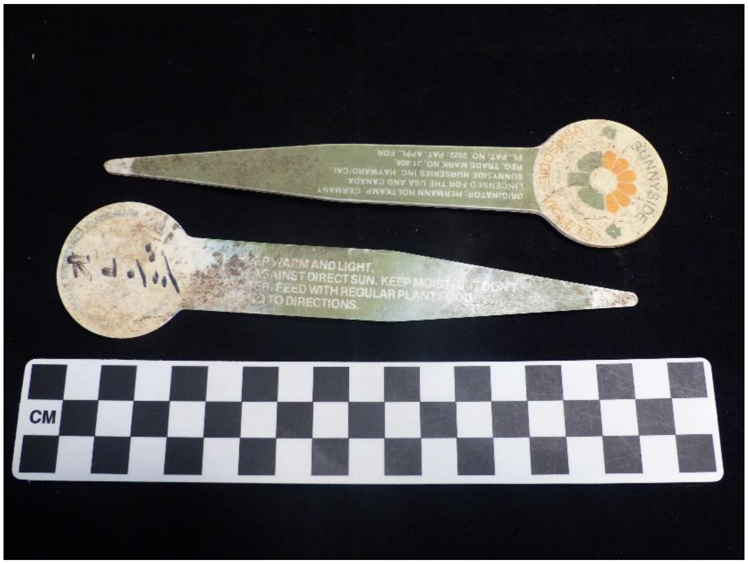


Figure 8.20. Planter's tags recovered from the garden. Japanese and English text.

One of the most important elements of the garden is not steeped in artifact analysis or any exceptional finding, but the simple evidence that the garden was constructed on the property after the Hirahara family returned from Arkansas. This fact is one of the most important aspects for the analysis of these materials and especially for showcasing any changes of practice on the site, whether from a pre to post-war context or the shifting habitation. Largely, this is drawn from recent work by Bonnie Clark who suggested that several practices acquired from within the incarceration camps continued into the post-war era from the determination and experiences of the incarcerated Japanese (2020). Indeed, one such practice that she points out specifically is the continuation of the Japanese gardens seen frequently across all the major WRA camps, as well as the appearance or return of the traditional *ofuro* bath post WWII (Clark and Shew 2020:18). Gardening as a practice within the camps has been heavily documented and famously accounted at Manzanar, as Jeff

Burton continues to uncover and reconstruct over 15 Japanese gardens uncovered since starting their excavations. The gardens within the camps are one of the most prominent ways the incarcerated community impacted the landscape, and this is often touted as literally diversifying the surrounding environment by bringing in, caring for, and irrigating huge amounts of crops, flowers, and trees to construct the gardens (Burton 2017). The gardens also presented a way for the incarcerates to keep themselves busy, acquire hobbies, learn new skills, and directly impact their surroundings, an act that literally transformed the incarceration landscape. The types of gardens created in the camps are drawn from traditional Japanese gardens, meaning they are entire structures or landscapes altered to create a single display. Often, these include a rock structure or formation that served as boundaries for the entirety of the garden. Basins were created with cement lined with local stones which could then be filled with water, making for an almost surreal oasis in the deserts of Owens Valley, as was the case in Manzanar, California. Small statues, rock structures, or other centerpieces are placed to complete the look, as well as plants, flowers, and vegetation which would grow and encompass the basins. These distinct characteristics are also what made the creation of the gardens possible with access to little resources, as they were not only focused on beautiful flowers but creating a worked space through transformations on the landscape by ways of simple construction materials, stones, and other readily available resources.

Clark specifically references these gardens as a practice which continues within the Japanese communities after the end of incarceration. Not only did these gardens create communities within the camps by offering some friendly competition for creating the best garden or by encouraging a communal effort to beautify the area, but they appear to have continued this communal tradition after the war was concluded. The Hirahara farmstead happens to be a great example of this, where Mitoshi Hirahara, and the Hirahara family collectively, created a garden only after returning from the incarceration camps. The purpose of this garden according to Akihiro Hane, a close friend of the family who recalls staying in the carriage barn, suggests that Mitoshi cultivated his garden for the purpose of growing bonsai trees to give out to friends and family. Not only is this stated with a strong word from Mr. Hane, but the saw blades recovered and discussed in the next paragraphs are frequently referenced to being used in bonsai gardening, collaborating with this theory. However, the planter tags present in the collection suggest that the garden grew to encompass a range of different plants and flowers, likely having been managed or worked on by numerous members of the family.

One of the more divisive artifacts recovered from the farmstead are the metal saw or sickle blades recovered from the barn, garden, and surface survey of the site. While these should not be strictly relegated to the garden context, I am discussing the saws here as this is where the most complete saws were recovered. Throughout the collection there are 3 saws that are fully complete, and an additional 4 saw minimally which either only have a handle or blade remaining. The saw blades are divisive because, upon inheriting these materials, they came bagged and prelabeled as "Japanese saws." Initially, I thought this was a strange label suggesting that these saws had some sort of implicit Japanese attributes. I temporarily recorded them as generic farm saws or sickles and continued with the other material types. However, when I revisited the metal saws and began investigating deeper into them there did appear to be some truth to the label of Japanese saw.

Looking at the image of the saw below (figure 8.21), you may notice that the blade has a much less pronounced and gradual curve than those typically found in the United States, as well as a serrated edge along the entirety of the blade. Sickles in the US commonly form a “U” shape or have a blade that forms an almost complete semicircle, creating a much different overall look to the point that the “Japanese sickles” could be easily mistaken as a more generic saw blade. A Google search for “Japanese style garden sickle” presented nearly the exact same style of sickle in the collection. A more accurate name for the tool is a *Nokogirigama*, a Japanese term that precisely describes this type of saw or serrated sickle (Nihongo 2024). This tool is referred to by several different US based brands, as well as international brands, who focus on selling gardening tools and hardware. In fact, this style of sickle does appear to have its origins in Japan, although tracking down their exact roots has been difficult. Some argue that this has a similar style to a *Kama,* another type of bladed tool created in Japan that was originally used by farmers and later as a weapon in martial arts, although the weapon variations tended to have a shorter and straighter blade (Mol 2003:33-34). Perhaps the history of those tools corresponds with a preference for this specific type of angled blade. Additionally, Amazon’s listing of the “Hiyokko NokoGama sickle” specifically mentions their use in bonsai tree cutting, exactly the type of garden that Akihiro suggests Mitoshi was creating. All evidence suggests that these tools are specifically rooted in Japanese culture, and it is highly likely these blades were used by the Hirahara family to tend to their bonsais and their garden.

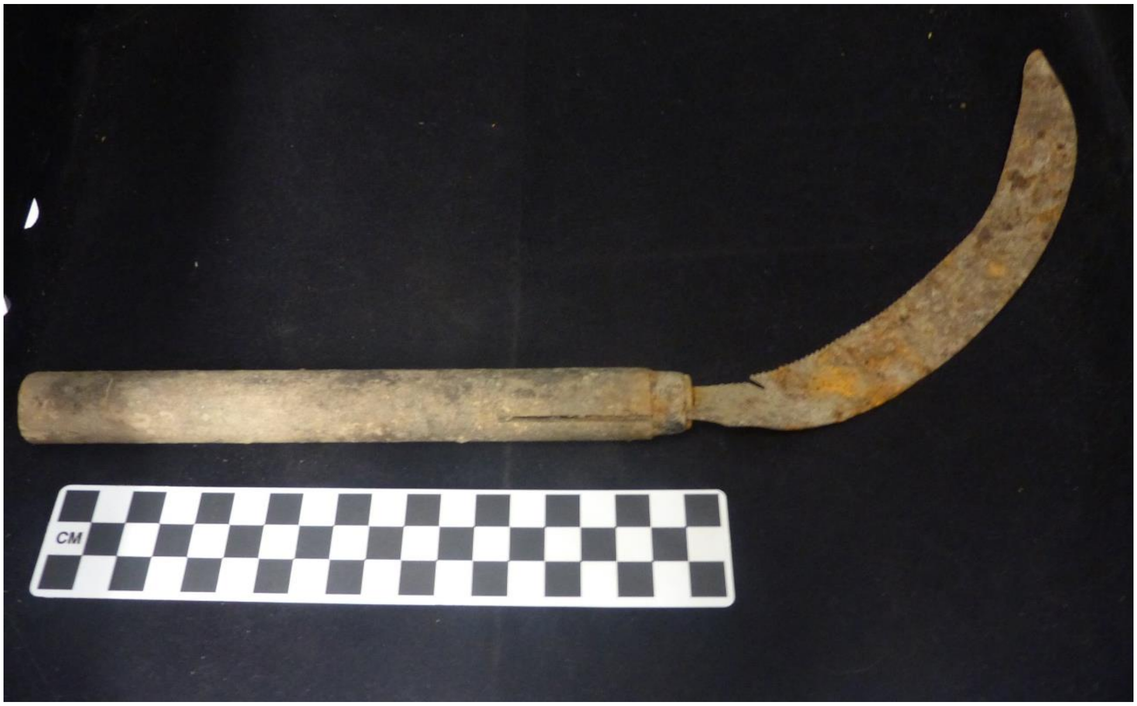


Figure 8.21. One complete saw recovered from the barn and garden contexts.

Barn Context

The barn context is one of the most interesting spaces found on the farmstead and integral to this study for housing the Hane family and additional displaced Japanese following their return to Watsonville after the incarceration concluded. As such, the barn can be seen as a throughline of the site, stretching from the earliest habitations to the post WWII era (figure 8.22). Within the barn, it was noticed that the 4 main rooms which people were staying in were plastered with a layering of various textual documents and wall papers. These texts range from typical midcentury floral papers (figure 8.24) to newspapers from the 1940s (figure 8.25) creating a collage effect throughout the rooms. However, upon closer inspection of the documents on the walls, it was apparent that there was a careful layering of these texts on top of one another, including layers of brown paper, cardboard, wallpaper, and newspapers. While much of the newspaper is written in English print, there is a sizable amount of newspaper also written purely in Japanese (figure 8.25). The distinct and purposeful layering of these differing texts reveals an opportunity to showcase some of the racial prejudices and "hidden" actions taken by the Japanese community to avoid rousing suspicion at this time.

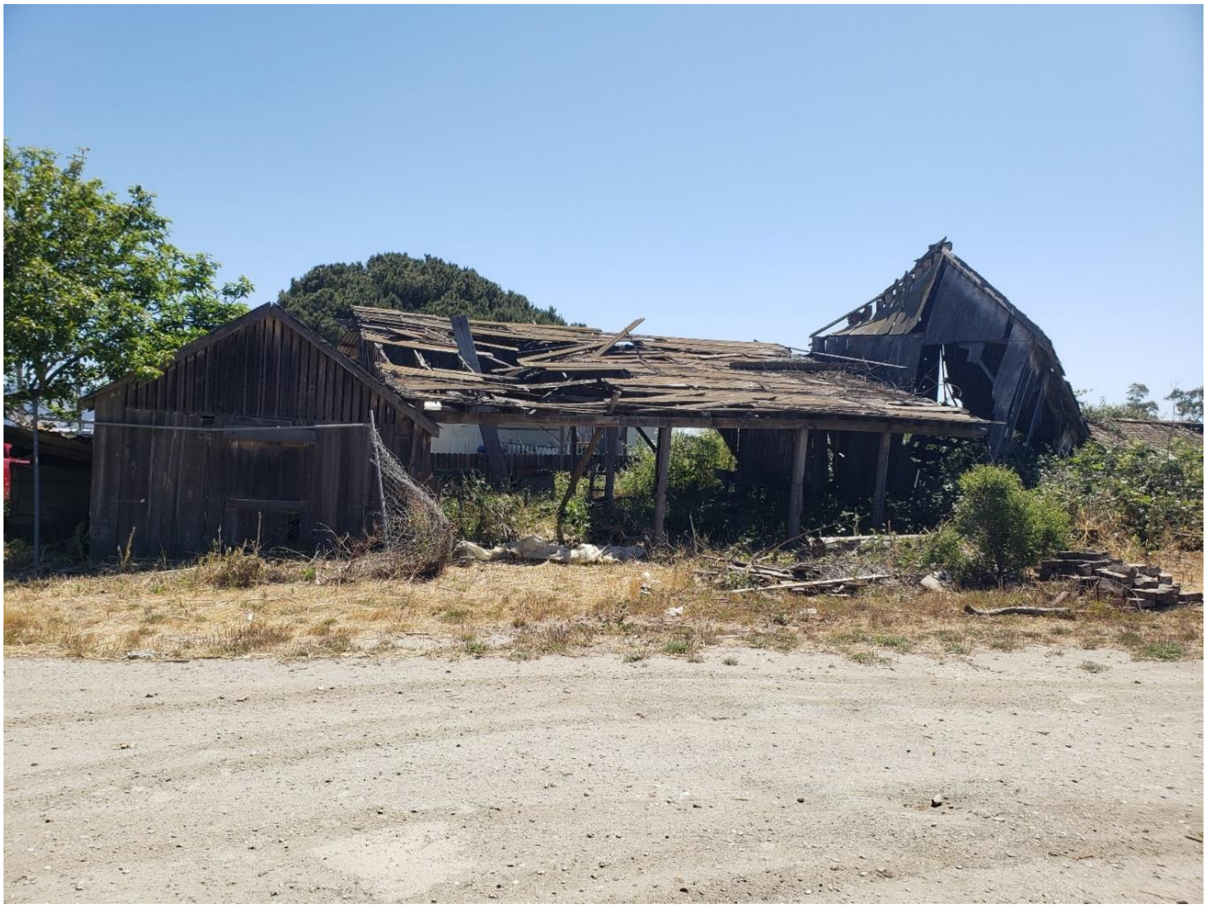
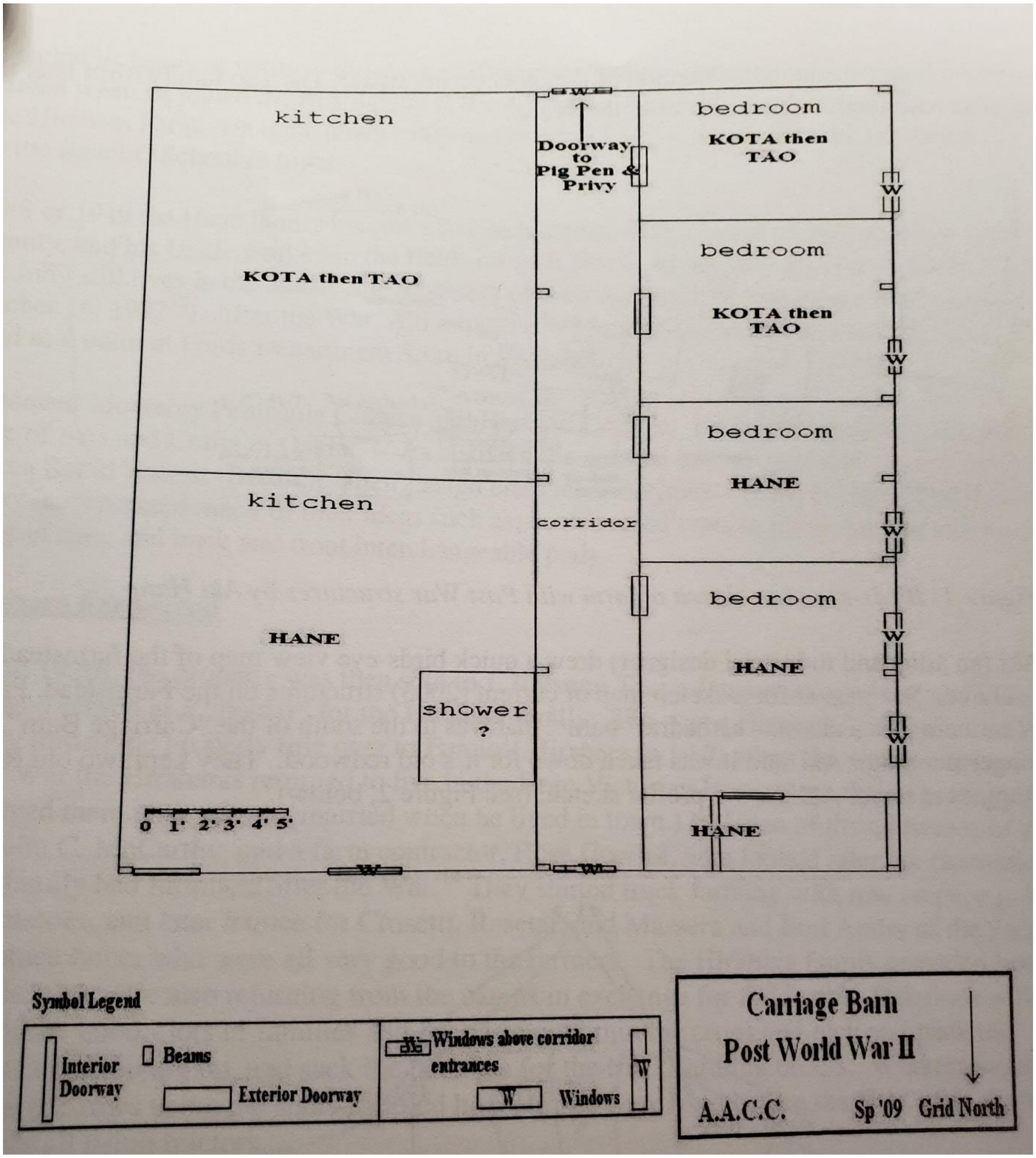


Figure 8.22. Collapsed Hirahara Carriage Barn photographed by author June 6th, 2021.


kitchen
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shower ?
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Doorway to Pig Pen & Privy
corridor
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Symbol Legend
Interior Doorway
Beams
Exterior Doorway
W Windows above corridor entrances
W Windows
W
Carriage Barn
Post World War II
A.A.C.C.
Sp '09
Grid North

8.23. Barn layout and room delineation as recalled by Akihiro Hane.

Published in Edwards and Simpson-Smith 2010.

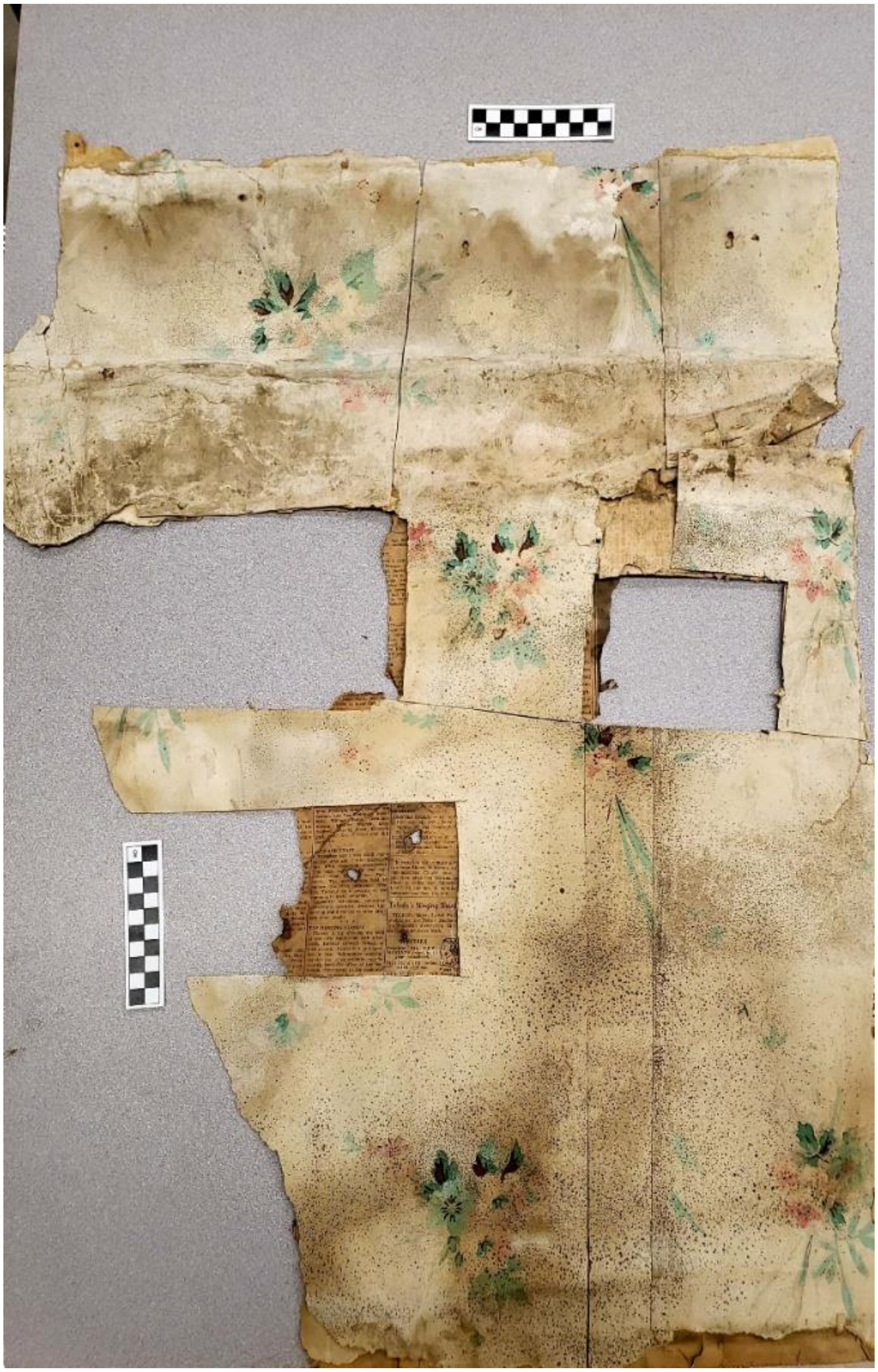
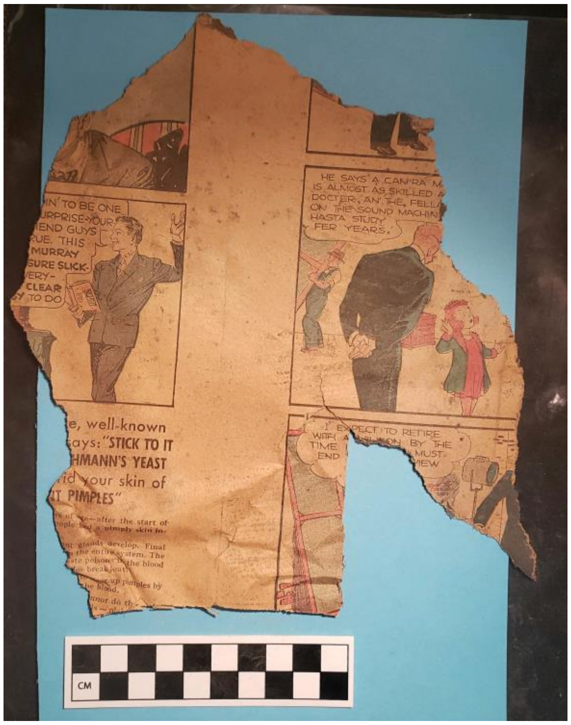


Figure 8.24. Floral wallpaper recovered from central hallway of the barn.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HMANN'S YEAST
id your skin of
T PIMPLES"
CM

Figure 8.25. Newspaper comic recovered from the walls of room two in the barn.

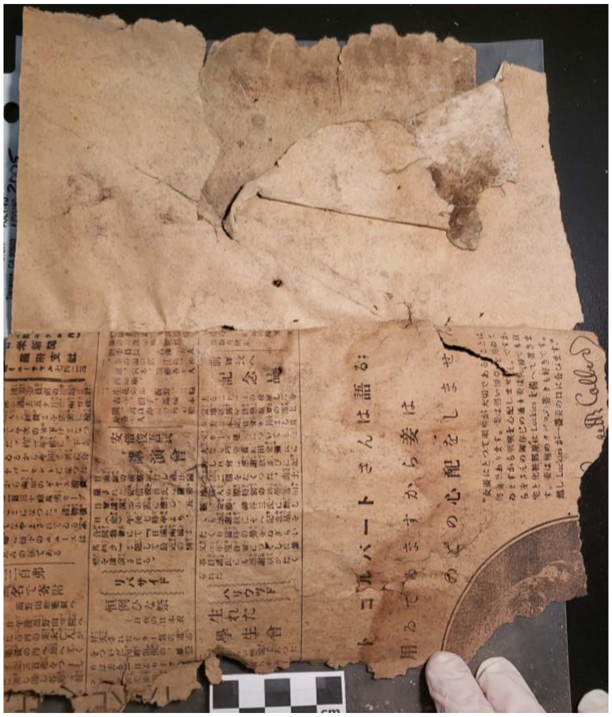
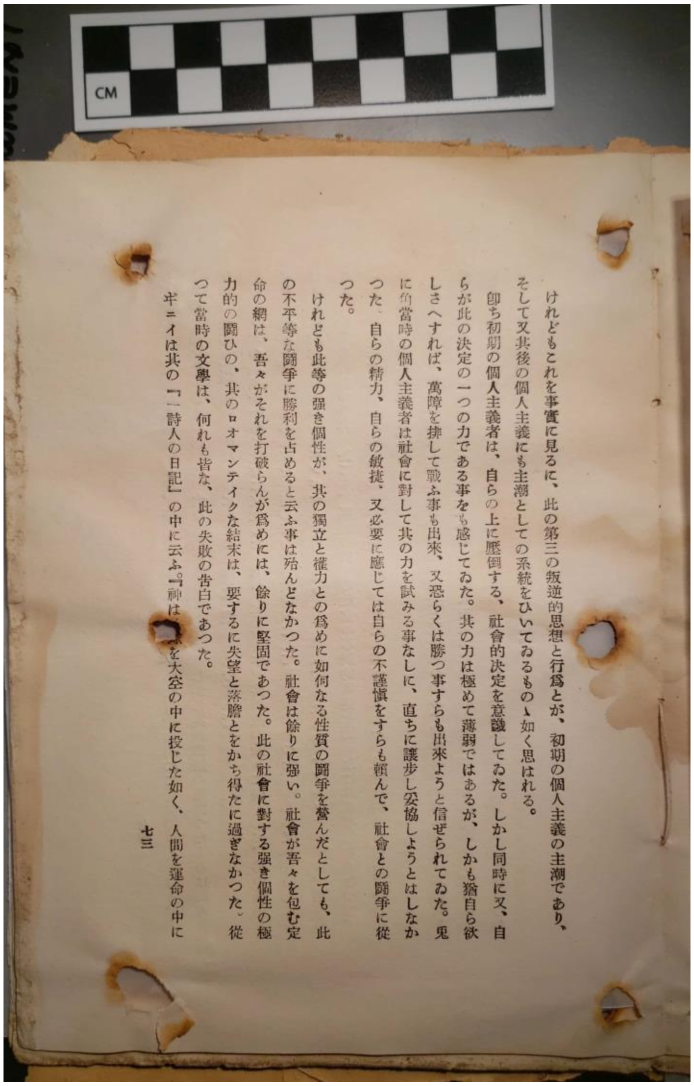


Figure 8.26. Japanese text newspaper recovered from room one in the barn.

It is no big revelation that many Japanese families were pressured into burying family heirlooms, keepsakes, or trinkets that could have any chance linking them to imperial Japan. This is especially true during the beginnings of the incarceration when executive order 9066 was first announced and military personnel were sent to cities, neighborhoods, and homes finding high priority Japanese targets to accuse and detain. These were largely community leaders, those who worked for community groups such as the JACL, or any Japanese person with high-ranking positions in government or technology, who may have been secretly working for the Japanese military and conducting reconnaissance on the US government (Lydon 1997; Takaki 1989). As discussed in chapter 4, numerous members of the community were hastily removed along with any innocuous possessions that could have small ties to the Japanese empire or Japanese culture (Yamada 1995:139). Once this was apparent, many families hastily began hiding, or destroying, any documentation that may link them to imperial Japan. In some cases, this could be samurai swords passed down through generations, immigration papers and documents, or even Japanese texts found throughout the home.

When thinking about this in the context of the Hirahara house it may explain some of the irregularities we noticed while analyzing these texts. The first impression was that the documents on the walls were simply placed to delineate the different spaces where separate families were living and to make the barn space more hospitable and home-like. Furthermore, this could be a case of adding extra insulation to the simply constructed barn that was never intended to be a living space. However, this changed with the appearance of a complete manuscript, tucked underneath a layer of newspaper in the northern most room of the building, found in the closet (figure 8.27, 8.28). The manuscript is written entirely in Japanese and has been translated and concluded to be a copy of "The Autobiography of Osugi Sakae" (Sakae 1922). The fact that this was an autobiography dedicated to one of the historical leaders of imperial Japan raises the question if this booklet was specifically placed underneath the newspaper to avoid rousing suspicion and to hide it from prying eyes. Similarly, the ordering of the newspapers in general may present a similar story. Most of the outward facing newsprints are written in English, with much of the Japanese newspapers sandwiched on the inside between a layer of decorated paper. Again, this may point to a deliberate effort to remove those texts from view and assimilate with a typical American family.



けれどもこれを事實に見るに、此の第三の叛逆的思想と行爲とが、初期の個人主義の主潮であり、そして又其後の個人主義にも主潮としての系統をひいてゐるものゝ如く思はれる。

即ち初期の個人主義者は、自らの上に壓倒する、社會的決定を意識してゐた。しかし同時に又、自らが此の決定の一つの力である事をも感じてゐた。其の力は極めて薄弱ではあるが、しかも猶自ら欲しさへすれば、萬障を排して戰ふ事も出來、又恐らくは勝つ事すらも出來ようと信ぜられてゐた。兎に角當時の個人主義者は社會に對して其の力を試みる事なしに、直ちに讓歩し妥協しようとはしなかつた。自らの精力、自らの敏捷、又必要に應じては自らの不謹愼をすらも頼んで、社會との闘爭に從つた。

けれども此等の强き個性が、其の獨立と權力との爲めに如何なる性質の闘爭を營んだとしても、此の不平等な闘爭に勝利を占めると云ふ事は殆んどなかつた。社會は餘りに强い。社會が吾々を包む定命の網は、吾々がそれを打破らんが爲めには、餘りに堅固であつた。此の社會に對する强き個性の極力的の闘ひの、其のロオマンティクな結末は、要するに失望と落膽とをかち得たに過ぎなかつた。從つて當時の文學は、何れも皆な、此の失敗の告白であつた。

ヰニイは其の『一詩人の日記』の中に云ふ。『神は[illegible]を大空の中に投じた如く、人間を運命の中に

七三

Figure 8.27. Select page from Sakae's autobiography recovered from the closet of room one in the barn.

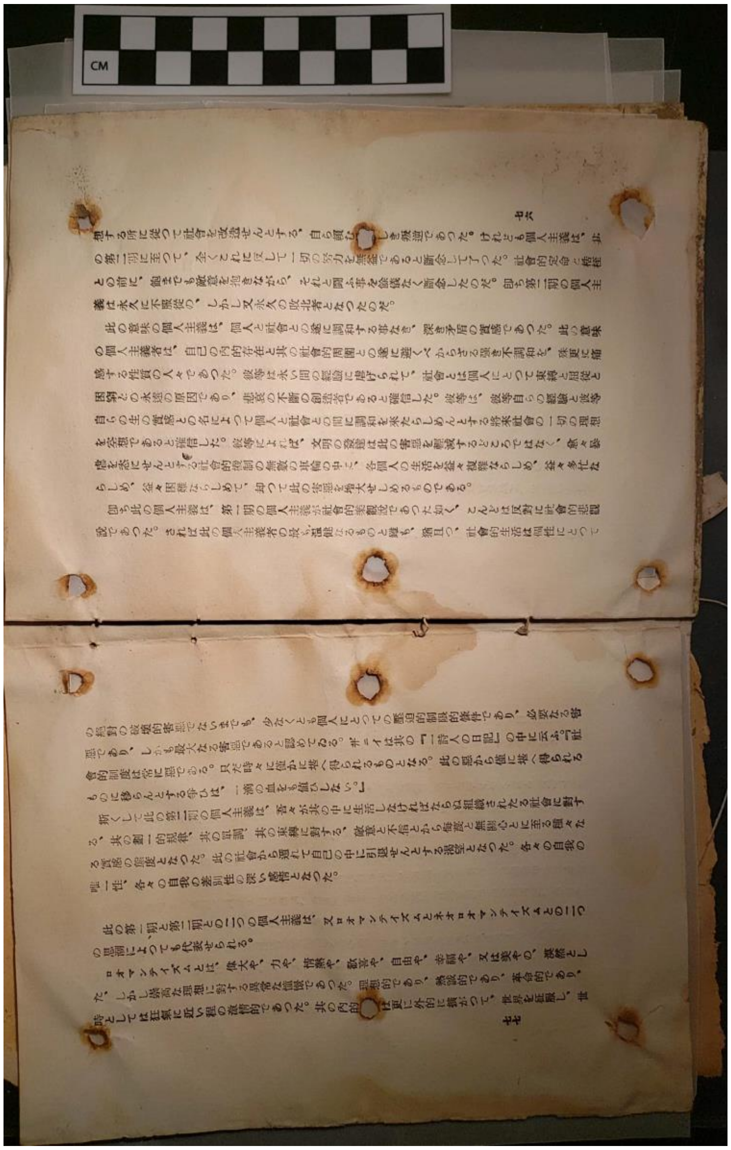


Figure 8.28. Additional pages of Sakae's autobiography in consecutive order.

Anecdotal evidence from a variety of interviews with Japanese Americans who were living on the west coast at this time solidifies the fact that this was not a move for the purpose of deception, but rather a desperate attempt to prove their intentions in the US, wanting to raise a family, own a home (which was still not possible for all Japanese immigrants at this time), and present themselves as a productive, valuable member of society. It was devastating for many to find this country that they have lived in for decades would turn their back on them and treat the thousands of Japanese civilians living in the United States as dangers to the country for nothing but their race and family history. Banners stating “I am American” were seen throughout northern California, from Watsonville to San Francisco, reinforcing this juxtaposition and the unjust nature of this forced incarceration (Lydon 1997).

Pairing these textual documents with the roughly 5000 artifacts already recovered around the main house and the garden contexts on the property offers great insight into the life and experiences of the Hirahara family staying in the farmstead before and following the incarceration. While it may be just one of many similar stories of the insurmountable hardships experienced by Japanese Americans during this time, my hope is that these stories can enlighten those who may not be aware of the United States actions during WWII on its own soil. This also draws attention to the human aspect of the incarceration, a reminder that these were individuals and families persevering together in the face of this discrimination and showcasing the agency of those people in their ability to support one another in a time of need.

Summary

Analysis of the Redman-Hirahara materials showcases a number of challenges and triumphs associated with ethnographic research and historical archaeology. The initial goals of constructing a timeline before, during, and after the incarceration proved to be a great challenge, and there are few artifacts in the collection that can provide clear evidence for delineating a specific period of time. However, when we break the site into multiple parts and varying activities, patterns begin to emerge which speak to the way the site was used and lived in by both the Redman and Hirahara families. Beginning with the main four trenches located on each side of the house, it appeared that the stratigraphic integrity of the layers was poor and thus delineating specific depositional events would be impossible. However, even after simplifying the trenches by investigating them as a single stratigraphic layer there did appear to be some definable and noteworthy differences in the material culture recovered from each respective context. For example, trench 2 was always a key hotspot for the recovery of the materials and the densest location for artifacts on the site. After the analysis, not only does trench 2 showcase a wide variety of materials but I suggest that this trench was most likely associated with the Hirahara family, given the preservation present in the trench and artifacts which align themselves with the Hirahara family and Japanese customs, such as the creation of the bonsai garden, the Japanese styled saws, or the illustrious ko-imari heirloom. Further inspections of the ceramics in the collection also suggest the presence of various small plates and rice bowls associated with a traditional Japanese meal. While a macro view of the collection may appear homogenous and rather mundane across all the trenches, they still showcase a glimpse of the changing residents and material culture during this tumultuous time in the mid-20th century.

Additional areas of the site further cue us in to quantifiable and recordable changes in practice on the site. Perhaps the most exiting areas of the farmstead are the barn and garden contexts, not because of the volume of materials recovered from those areas but the ethnographic and historical implications of those two spaces. This aspect of the analysis best reflects the goal of assessing any change in practice at the site and thus also best showcases the stories of the individuals who called the Redman-Hirahara farmstead home. Both the garden and the barn can be established through ethnographic means and artifact evidence to have been created, or densely inhabited, near the conclusion of WWII. In the case of the garden, the Hane family explain how this space was created following the war and presents some of the best evidence for any changes in practice on the site over those 3-4 years. Materials recovered from the surface survey of the garden align with ethnographic accounts of its use, suggesting the garden is a relatively newer portion of the site with a variety of flowers and tools to maintain a bonsai garden of this sort. Additionally, the practice of creating Japanese gardens was an activity that was perpetuated by the experience of the camps themselves, with many camps being filled with gardens created communally by barrack blocks, within families, or by individuals.

Other examples outside of the gardens include additional evidence of sports (baseball) leagues being created (Kamp-Whittaker 2020), formal judo courses used in Manzanar (Aloia 2020), and newspaper jobs or other material distribution opportunities to form a coherent and communal inter-camp ecosystem of community support. These sorts of activities and clubs reflect the Japantown organization showcased since their inception through the formation of labor clubs, committees, Japanese owned businesses, Japanese American Civilians Leagues, as well as a contemporary prominence of signage, plaques, and memorials seeking to educate the public about the rich history of these spaces. Through both those public and private endeavors we see a concrete example of practice extending beyond the incarceration and into the landscape of local Japan towns and communities that are visible today.

The significance of the barn further encapsulates this idea of community. Not only does the barn have aspects of material culture that may have been “hidden” to avoid suspicion on the onset of the war, but following the war it became a place of sanctuary for displaced Japanese families who may have lost their homes and livelihoods during the incarceration. Following the war, ethnographic accounts suggest that up to half a dozen individuals were staying in this barn while they returned to Watsonville and began rebuilding their lives. Texts recovered from the walls of the barn paint a stratigraphic puzzle leading to multiple theories. Was this how rooms were delineated to account for the different families in the living spaces? Or was this a remnant of the pre-war dash to minimize connections to the Japanese empire and tuck those texts behind wallpaper, newspaper, or plaster? Regardless of those implications, either one of these narratives speak to the overall experience of the Japanese American community surrounding the incarceration. At its best, it is my hope that this site can showcase not only the struggles some families encountered but also their triumphs, methods, and means, to bounce back and continue the thriving Japanese community of Bay Area California.

Thus, I want to return to the Japanese landscape of the region and the presence of so many illustrious Japantowns. Today, these demarcated areas symbolize the continuing presence of Japanese Americans and Japanese immigrants on the landscape. This community presence reaches beyond the confines of the Hirahara site and even extends further into the contemporary zeitgeist. These unique contexts further the story and legacy that the Hirahara family have left in Watsonville, one that may serve as an inspiration today for generosity and sympathy. Additionally, although we know there was a significant return to these spaces by the Japanese communities in the camps, their reasoning for return might take many different forms. Some likely returned because the central valley is where they called home since immigrating to California. Others may have taken the opportunity to move or travel to other neighboring towns and cities for work or lifestyle reasons. Others may have found ambitions encouraging them to promote policy or advocate for their communities following the war, at least partially through some of organizations that formed representing the Japanese community. Lastly, I argue that the Japantowns would have been a strong draw for much of the returning population wanting to find a sense of safety, peace, and community that they could support and rely on once again. That said, if it was the existence of the Japantowns and those communities that allowed for Japanese immigrants to move and thrive in California, then it is also the actions taken by outstanding members of that community following the war the initiated the rebuilding of those same communities. Today, wandering the streets of any of the Japantowns in the region emphasizes how prominent this rebuilding was, and perhaps the story of Japanese American persistence in the face of incarceration can be extended to other minority and underprivileged communities around the globe today who are trying to maintain their identity, community, and culture in the face of oppression.

Furthermore, the story that the Hirahara family holds about their experiences during the incarceration and during their return to Watsonville encapsulates the most important elements of this analysis. Key materials and artifacts play a role in uncovering different narratives or understanding how the space was used, but it is the community aspect of their story that should be at the forefront of this discussion. Not only did the Hirahara family call the west coast home for decades, but they shared their home with other Japanese incarcerates and opened their barn for those in need. This story of persistence in the face of unjust actions remains the heart of this dissertation and the materials in the collection can further support those specific actions and practices shown through ethnographic records, all the while reflecting the same community strength highlighted by local Japantowns.

Chapter 9: Conclusions and Future Research

In this dissertation I use archaeology to quantify changes in a Japanese American community on the West Coast of the US between the late 1800's and the post-WWII era. Historically, archaeological endeavors in this timeframe have been few and far between, and it is my hope that this dissertation can showcase ways to discuss cultural changes or changes in practice through this tumultuous period via artifactual data. This required a glimpse into previous research conducted in archaeology and an understanding of the trajectory of the field as more projects are undertaken concerning diaspora and incarceration contexts. As discussed in the previous chapter, there are elements of the Redman-Hirahara collection that lend themselves to uncovering distinct changes and distinct materiality across this timespan. Primarily these include a delineation of unique site inhabitants visible in different trenches excavated on the site based on the average material ages and types. Furthermore, additional changes on the farmstead are shown through the creation of the bonsai garden adjacent to the home following WWII and the use of the Hirahara's carriage barn to house other Japanese American citizens returning to Watsonville. The pairings of the archaeological data recovered on the site with the ethnographic interviews and perspectives of the Hirahara and other Japanese families in the region elevate the story of the Redman Hirahara farmstead to one that not only encompasses the generosity of the Hirahara family, but also the perseverance and continuation of the Japanese community in the region.

To mirror the actions of the Hirahara family with those of the community, I incorporated the early history of the Japanese diaspora to Hawai'i and the west coast of the United States. Understanding the intricacies of the Japanese diaspora and their journey helps lay the groundwork for understanding the communities that formed here as well as common labor trajectories undertaken by the Japanese when they came to the coast. Additionally, this helps to flush out the demographics of that group, specifically those who established the labor clubs in the community and would serve as the inception for generations of Japanese people in the US for decades to come. Even more crucial was the legislation employed by the US at this time, forming the groundwork for incarceration decades later. Those legislations, such as the California alien land law and anti-Immigration act, not only heavily restricted the Japanese community's ability to establish careers, homes, and families in the United States but also introduced a growing prejudice that would last for decades to come.

In reading about this topic from primarily anthropological perspectives, I found it easy to be confined to the WWII period exclusively, when additional legislations incarcerated over 120,000 Japanese people. Of course, this tragedy should be remembered, and remains a topic worthy of attention from across legal disciplines, sociology, anthropology, history, and more. However, the surrounding cultural context of the incarceration and the amazing voyages numerous Japanese people undertook before and after the incarceration are equally relevant and important to share.

The early legislations that impacted the Japanese community reinforce the idea that the incarceration did not happen spontaneously or randomly. The war was naturally the primary catalyst for pushing executive order 9066 through legal channels, but I do not believe the incarceration would have been enacted on American citizens without the prior decades of established resentment or fear for this growing diversity. Investigations into the surrounding periods of incarceration showcase this very concern, revealing the challenges of the individuals subject to prejudice as well as the outward attacks towards their communities. Even the segregation nomenclature of separating the "Japantown" from the city itself continues this idea of division and "the other" into the contemporary era. It is just as easy to conflate the importance of those Japantowns as it is to wrongfully believe that Japanese presence in the United States begins and ends with conversations of WWII and the incarceration. Although I find the Japantowns to be incredible spaces, integral to the establishment of Place and the Japanese community, it would be wrong to glorify them as a paradise for the Japanese community or other minorities in the region. In my opinion, these were created out of necessity. A necessity to establish a community in a new country, to find work, labor, and property, and to bolster their neighbors and anyone else willing to immigrate to a new country. At the same time, I argue that it is these very Japantowns that led to an exceptional return to California by a majority of Japanese incarcerated during the war. However, this too, in my opinion, is largely due to the infrastructure and families so many were able to cultivate within the Japantown communities. As such, despite imperfections or challenges existing in those places the Japantowns remain integral to the history of Japanese American presence on the West Coast.

This is also reflected in the story of the Hirahara family, who not only returned to Watsonville to return to their Victorian home and community to continue raising their children, but they also provided a foothold and safety to other Japanese individuals and families returning from incarceration. In this case, the Hirahara family may have returned thanks to the Japantown formed in Watsonville and the community bonds they formed, as I argue above, but they were also able to take it one step further and support the greater Japanese community by taking the responsibility of helping their fellow community members. For every person who returned to their home prior to incarceration, we can only imagine how many others were forced to move somewhere else entirely. If they happened to come to Watsonville, alone and in a new place, this generosity shown by the Hirahara family may have been the difference between having a welcoming place to stay and being left to find housing, work, and shelter on their own. Overall, while the JACL or other organizations could fill this role, the actions of the Hirahara family show a more personal side to those interactions from within, and by, specific members of the Watsonville Japanese community.

Due to the personal nature of these travels and the numerous accounts available to the public from this period, this dissertation contains an equally integral ethnographic component concerning Japanese American presence in California. Specifically, I attempted to present shared aspects of community presence in these locations beginning in the early 20th century. The founding of the numerous Japantowns in the area brought with them opportunity and established those cities as focal points for Japanese and other minorities to form likeminded communities. Despite legal and prejudicial challenges from neighbors, these communities persisted and would eventually integrate themselves in the contemporary culture observed in those spaces today. Furthermore, population statistics from those counties show an unexpected trend of return to those cities following the incarceration camps. The communities established in those spaces, such as the Japanese American Civilians Leagues and other labor clubs, provided the infrastructure for those Japantowns to integrate into the cultural zeitgeist as *Places* of rich cultural importance and collective memory for the multiple generations of Japanese families that remain there today.

This sense of place established through the interwoven community is my main argument for why smaller-sized cities such as Watsonville and Monterey showed an increase in population following the war. The previously-laid foundations for those communities were already set, and those foundations allowed for the return of many more individuals than would have been possible if those bonds had not already been formed. In thinking about the Japantowns as particular spaces of cultural prevalence, this also encouraged a look at an even smaller scale, that of the individual home, or hometown that so many found in the Japantown communities. In thinking about the Hirahara family, there is an element of the Watsonville community having this sense of place for the family themselves, simultaneously linked with a return to their own specific farmstead. In this way, the Hirahara family contributes both to the overarching sense of place established through the community in Watsonville, as well as a personal sense of home for those returning to the Victorian farmhouse. Through the anthropological considerations of home and homemaking, it presents avenues to consider place on an individual scale, and simultaneously supports the use of the household and associated materials in the understanding of individual agency and cultural change.

Material Analysis

I also analyzed the archaeological collection from the Hirahara farmstead to explore the contexts of before and after the incarceration that has been historically underrepresented in archaeological literature (Camp 2020; Clark and Shew 2020), as well as to showcase the possibilities of conducting archaeological analyses on a timeframe that is short, temporary, and liminal or disruptive for the majority Japanese individuals. The challenge of separating material contexts between pre 1942 and post 1945 on the farmstead impacts the findings of the dissertation heavily. Compound that already difficult prospect with the fact that stratigraphic information from the main excavation trenches was largely misrepresentative and quickly it felt that there would not be a valid way to construct any sort of timeline for the collection. Reconciling this fact with additional elements of time lag and other potential discrepancies when dating key materials made it increasingly difficult to reach any conclusions on change in practice, no matter how small. Within the trenches, thousands of historic materials were recovered, with the majority coming from trench 2. This trench was placed just outside the home nearest to the main entry way to the home for the Hirahara family as well as the kitchen on the first floor. Trench 2 revealed a trove of glass and ceramic materials, some that show direct and indirect usage by the Hirahara family. Here, the materials remained in relatively good shape, and presented an assemblage that, at first glance, appeared identical to that of the rest of the materials. However, after distinguishing the trenches, key artifacts such as the Ko-imari styled bowl, the flow blue European import ceramics, coins, and traditional 20th century glasswares and bottles there emerged a pattern in trench 2 which I argue puts trench 2 firmly in the time of the Hirahara family rather than other occupants of the site. Delineating between trench 1 supported this further, seeing as numerous earthenware ceramics, an early 1900s glass flask, and decorated porcelain dishes ranged in dates that were older than those of trench 2. Although the overall material types remained fairly uniform, the ages and quality of the preservation found in these two trenches may indicate a distinct time period.

The trenches ended up becoming one piece of the greater puzzle on the farmstead. Although the delineations between the trench's utilization dates were a promising find, there was still no recordable material which suggested any change in practice, or change in occupants, on the site. It was not until the processing of the adjacent collections (the garden and barn) began that I was able to see some concrete evidence of changes on the site surrounding the war. Because we had ethnographic insight into these spaces, including when and, broadly, how, these spaces may have been used there was not a need to precisely date or separate those materials from the other contexts in that way. Instead, these adjacent contexts formed the impetus for conclusions about changing practices for the Hirahara family before and after the war. While the actions of the Hirahara family allowing additional Japanese community members to stay in their barn following the war was a substantial point of intrigue for the collection, other aspects of how that barn was used was evidenced through the materials. This includes an autobiography by a Japanese anarchist neatly tucked behind a layer of wallpaper in the closet, or the dozens of other text documents plastered along the walls of the barn. Implications of these hidden texts range from purposeful attempts to hide and sever any connections and correspondence from Japan during and after WWII to aesthetic purposes separating the rooms in the barn and cultivating a greater sense of comfort and identity within those spaces. No matter the case, these contexts add to the historical narrative of the house not only because of their inherent interest, but because of the actions of the Hirahara family associated with those spaces. As such, the barn exemplifies multiple instances of practice which support contemporary research findings in the anthropological realm. In terms of continuing excavations on the farmstead in the future, the now collapsed barn context should be one of the primary locations investigated seeing as there is much more to uncover about the exact living quarters and individuals who stayed in the barn following WWII.

The garden continues the trend of change in practice from the barn. Here, thanks to interviews with Aki Hane, we know that the garden was constructed by Mitoshi after returning from the incarceration camps. Not only was it constructed then, but it was a personal Bonsai Garden used to cultivate gifts for the family and as a hobby for the family to enjoy. Associated metal saws in the collection also add a layer of individuality to the collection, seeing as the saws reflect a traditional

Japanese aesthetic for the purpose of trimming bonsais. Not only do those saws reinforce the theories for how the garden was used, but they also further cement the changing ethnicities on the site, further supporting the association of the garden with the Hirahara family. Additional materials recovered in the garden, such as terracotta ceramics, other earthenware, and planter tags make this a unique context on the site. The tags are written in both English and occasionally showed Japanese text written in sharpie over top the standard designs, again further emphasizing and distinguishing this context and the Hirahara family from the Redman family. Of course, the garden also acts as one of the contexts purely associated following the return of the Hirahara family from Arkansas. Trench 2 is the next closest context, having a strong association with the Hirahara family, but still potentially utilized for a few years prior to the incarceration when the Hirahara family moved in. The barn certainly has a strong ethnographic and historic element as well, showing how it was indeed used after the war, but it also was likely used over the lifespan of the farmstead since the late 1800s. All three of these contexts, and the materials recovered within them, come together to showcase a history spanning over 70 years of occupation at the site, spanning two or more families who called the farmstead home, and bridging the five-year gap in habitation during the incarceration itself.

Refocusing Incarceration Narratives

During my time as a graduate student, I had the opportunity to internship with the archive at UCSC's Center for Archival Research and Training (CART) program. There, I worked with another graduate student to process and create an exhibit with the materials from the Yamashita family collection. Karen Yamashita, professor emerita in the UC Santa Cruz literature department, is renowned for writing stories with themes central to the Japanese American experience. However, it was the labor of her and her family that allowed them to archive materials from 4 generations of the Yamashita family, beginning with an Issei grandfather who arrived in San Francisco as a tailor in the late 1890s. His son, and Karen's father, would finish seminary graduate school just prior to 1942, and he reflected often on his heritage and the incarceration in his prayer books and experiences that he would share during services. The project was an incredible opportunity to make an archival exhibit and to process their rich family history, but it also informed this dissertation primarily in terms of my considerations for incarceration studies by Japanese American scholars.

Represented in the collection was over one hundred years of family history, ranging from photographs of family members, journeys back to Japan and around the world, written correspondence amongst the family, and personal belongings and heirlooms, and more. Overall, this presented a century of rich history for the Yamashita family establishing themselves in San Francisco and the San Jose area. Naturally, included in this timeframe was the incarceration, and it was impossible to forgo mention of this period or how the Yamashita family's trajectory changed during this time. Quickly, the exhibit became heavily focused on the incarceration time frame, and joined the many exhibits, panels, conferences, or academic groups to have incarceration in the title of the project. Together with my peers we decided that we wanted to separate our project from this focus on incarceration and showcase the life and experiences of the Yamashita family throughout the other 95 years of history in front of us. Even then, materials from the incarceration period took up roughly 8% of our exhibit space, having only a small section dedicated to describing the incarceration history and some of the materials from the Yamashita family acquired during that time. In short, we wanted to diverge from the typical incarceration narrative formed around Japanese American history in the US and keep the focus on the individual peoples, goals, dreams, or aspirations and how they were impacted throughout their long history on the West coast.

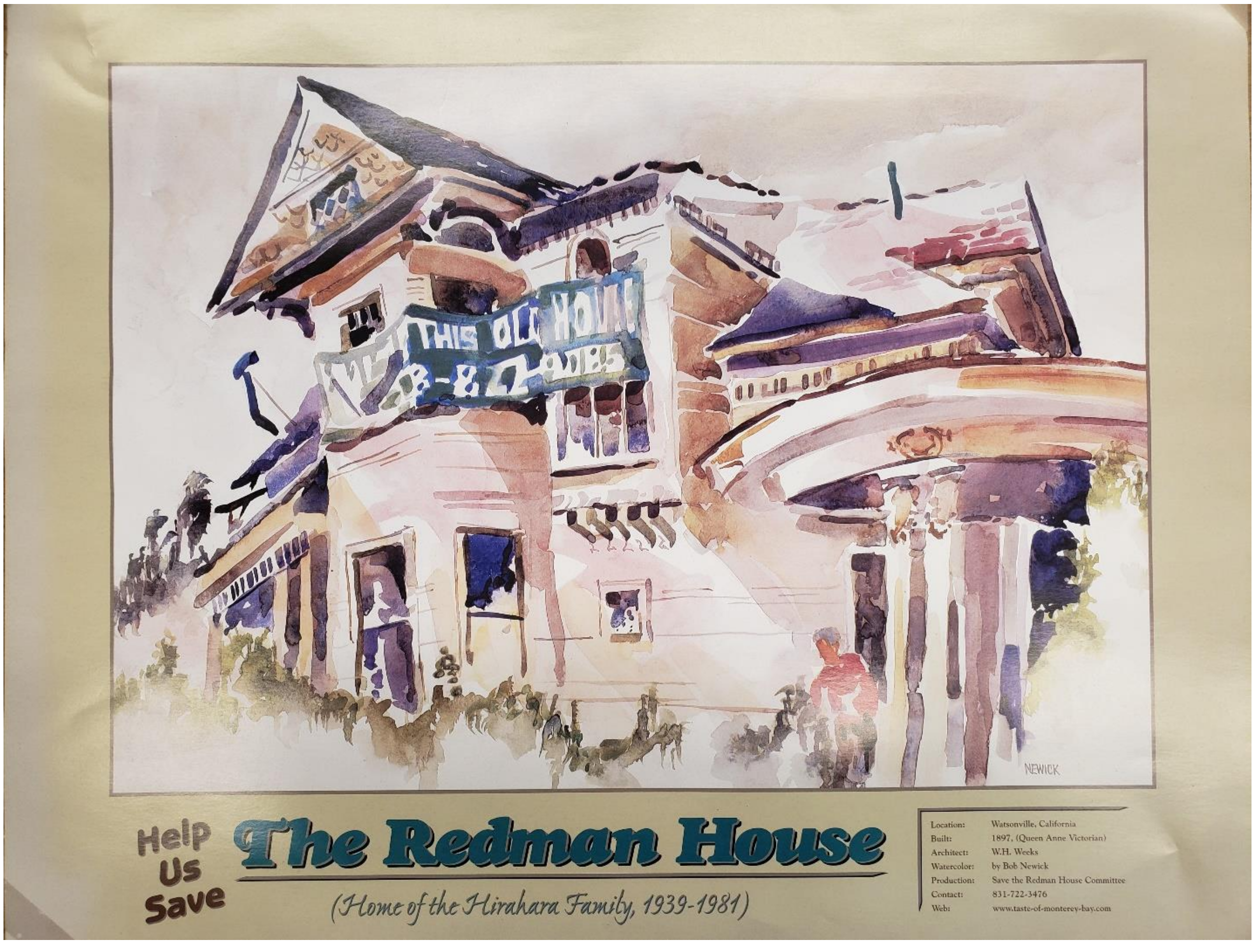
This same mentality is what pushes this dissertation towards the periods surrounding incarceration. Also, this is arguably the same motivation that contemporary archaeologists have concerning investigations into the periods before and after the incarceration as well, seeing as few materials studies have been conducted concerning those periods, especially compared to research into the incarceration camps themselves. In this way, it is the story of the Hirahara family living and thriving in Watsonville that this dissertation attempts to convey, focusing on the how and why they returned to Watsonville after the war, and the impact on the broader community the Hirahara family had. Instead of presenting another analysis of the camps themselves, the incarceration is used as an important cultural touchstone to investigate changes in practice around this time and even extrapolate those actions and strategies to the broader Japanese community. Furthermore, this dissertation emphasizes the community and cultural perseverance shown by the Japanese community, hopefully showcasing the strength of the community in the face of adversity and the exceptionally honorable choices of the Hirahara family as they helped numerous members of the community return to Watsonville.

Future of the Farmstead

Today, there are little plans for renovation or movement of the Redman-Hirahara farmstead. Driving by the farm on Highway 1 on a frequent basis reveals how fast the structure is deteriorating, potentially hastened by the construction when it was lifted from its foundations. Holes in the ceiling, windows, and siding appear to be more common every year, and the house is almost certainly no longer safe to be inhabited barring drastic restoration efforts. That said, it remains along the highway as a landmark and icon of which many inevitably drive by and wonder what the house is, why is it there, and what is its history? I hope this dissertation can answer those questions for curious individuals in the Watsonville area, but also incorporate the history of the Hirahara family and their extraordinary circumstance surrounding the incarceration. Furthermore, it is my hope that the history of the house established here can also be integrated into the history of Watsonville,

The property is currently owned by Yerena Farms, the farming group that manages the crops growing around the farmstead property. In addition to the surrounding crops, several mobile homes and trailers are rented on the property, including one permanent residence just adjacent to the now collapsed carriage barn. In 2005 when the excavations were being conducted on the property there was a push for recognition and funding to restore the Redman Hirahara House. A banner was draped across the side of the home facing the highway reading “Help us save the Redman House” and “Save this old House” to garner attention from the public (Figure 9.1). More recently, and after the restoration efforts fizzled out, Rob Edwards created a Wikipedia page for the Redman Hirahara House, gaining rapid traction and receiving tens of thousands of views in the time since (Wikipedia 2023). Unfortunately, excluding the outpour of community interest and support, the fundraising was largely unsuccessful, and the house seems to have slipped back into the literal and metaphorical margins of Santa Cruz County history.

The Hirahara family was originally excited to learn that many had taken an interest in their prior family home and were happy to see some money coming in for restorations. At this point in 2005, the restoration plans were focused on converting the main walkway and first few rooms into a museum dedicated to the architect who built the house, William Weeks. This excitement quickly turned to confusion over who controlled the funds, plans for renovation, and a general lack of communication which eventually led to a loss of momentum and the project running out of steam. Discussions with Rob and members of the Hirahara family express mixed feelings for those funds. Various statements suggest this money ranged from roughly $50,000 to hundreds of thousands of dollars being raised throughout the year. After the project was disbanded questions arose about where this money went and who oversaw distributing it. Unfortunately, those sentiments and the memories of the campaign are the only thing left to trace today, and it is safe to say that the Hirahara family was not on the receiving end of a fraction of that money. This has led to major hesitations for another renovation campaign, both from interested parties or the Hirahara family themselves who had this negative experience in the past. It is outside the purview of this dissertation to restart this campaign, but I feel remiss not to mention this small anecdote. Many have asked me how or why the house has remained in its dilapidated condition for the past 20 years, and I believe the history of funding surrounding the house is one of the primary motivators for maintaining the status quo.


NEWICK
Help Us Save
The Redman House
(Home of the Hirahara Family, 1939-1981)

Location: Watsonville, California
Built: 1897, (Queen Anne Victorian)
Architect: W.H. Weeks
Watercolor: by Bob Newick
Production: Save the Redman House Committee
Contact: 831-722-3476
Web: www.taste-of-monterey-bay.com

Figure 9.1. Poster created for The Redman House Campaign, portraying the home as it was in 2005.

Instead, my actions have taken the form of presentations at conferences and universities to establish connections with other Japanese American scholars and to bring information on the Redman-Hirahara farmstead to the public. Each of those presentations, ranging from fifteen minutes to one hour, is available on YouTube for viewing and they have garnered much support from people engrossed in the Japanese community and those outside looking to learn more about this unique property. This dissertation is similarly meant to be accessible to the public or other scholars interested in continuing to uncover more history on the farmstead or connect it to other Japanese American studies. Moreover, I hope that the discussions of the greater Japanese community, including those of San Jose, Watsonville, and San Francisco resonates with readers and showcases the Bay area as cultivating a strong sense of *Place* for the community, as I argued in chapter 2. Those theoretical trends are the catalysts for understanding the importance of Watsonville, and the Bay area, to the Japanese community and similarly emphasize the importance of understanding the context surrounding the incarceration.

Lastly, I would like to draw attention back to the numerous instances of incarceration, political refugees, dissonant communities, and even concentration camps that still exist today. While I have largely attempted to steer the focus of this project away from only concentrating on the WWII incarceration, studying the surrounding periods and the political and cultural contexts surrounding these events, whether contemporary or in the past, is crucial to understanding the experiences of those who find themselves in those situations today. As I write this chapter, Israel has declared war on Palestine after a series of horrific terrorist attacks from the Hamas. For decades, Palestinians have been relegated to land originally agreed to be granted to them when Israel became a nation in 1948. However, since then Israel has continued to take portions of that land, retaining nearly all of the holy sites associated with the Jewish, Christian, and Muslim faith. Palestinians have been forced to live under poor conditions for many years, and an ongoing fight between the two countries has largely been focused on this battleground and the desperation Palestinians feel. While this does not condone the acts of any terrorist group, the majority of those living in Gaza and on the border of Israel are children and families just trying to live and survive amongst these growing tensions. Tragically, we have already seen the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians on both sides of this conflict. This is an incredibly complex issue, not unlike the incarceration of Japanese Americans in WWII, and further emphasizes the importance of understanding those periods surrounding refugees, encampments, and other displaced lifeways in these contexts to understand what led to the current situation and how we may better support those fleeing or returning from similar situations in the future. The Hirahara family and their journey showcases how individuals in the community can make a difference for those displaced following relocation, and how the communities established in those places can remain a beacon of hope for those longing to return home.

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