

Helen Yoshida

*Photographing "Disloyalty":
Masayuki Yoshida and the Images of Farewell at Heart Mountain
(September 21, 1943)*

ABSTRACT: *This article discusses the incarceration of Japanese Americans at the Heart Mountain War Relocation Authority camp in Wyoming during World War II. It focuses on the incarcerated who disagreed with the federal government's "Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry," were deemed "disloyal," and sent to the newly-segregated Tule Lake War Relocation Authority camp in northern California on September 21, 1943. On the basis of Masayuki Yoshida's black-and-white photographs, Bill Manbo's Kodachrome photograph, and Estelle Ishigo's painting, the author demonstrates how these images individually represent narratives of truth, loyalty, and uncertainty within the Japanese American community, and collectively give agency to stories that are not often included in the narrative of Japanese Americans serving in the military during World War II.*

KEYWORDS: *U.S. history; World War II; War Relocation Authority; incarceration camps; Heart Mountain; Masayuki Yoshida; Bill Manbo; Estelle Ishigo; visual history; photography*

Introduction

"Today is the day of the first transfer of the people here to Tule Lake. Siren sounded before noon. Departing fellows gathered to the high school and there ride the trucks to the train platform. At 2:45 p.m., Yamakawa, my best friend, left Heart Mountain," wrote Masayuki Yoshida, my grandfather and member of the Heart Mountain Camera Club, in his diary on September 21, 1943.¹ He had met Hiroshi Yamakawa at the Pomona Fairgrounds, one of fifteen temporary incarceration camps administered by the Wartime Civil Control Administration. They were among the 120,000 Japanese Americans uprooted from their homes and imprisoned in ten "relocation centers" in Arkansas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming that were managed by the federal government's War Relocation Authority (WRA) pursuant to U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 of February 19, 1942.

Thus, on September 21, 1943, 434 incarcerated from the Heart Mountain Relocation Center in northwestern Wyoming boarded a train for the newly-segregated Tule Lake camp in northern California. About 4,000 people had gathered at Heart Mountain High School to see them off, and 1,000 followed them down to the railroad siding.² My grandfather photographed Yamakawa

¹ Hideo Kuwahara, a Japanese language teacher at the Hollywood Japanese Cultural Institute in Los Angeles, graciously translated my grandfather's 1943 diary entries about Heart Mountain from Japanese to English. My grandfather's diary is housed at the Hollywood Japanese Cultural Institute, Los Angeles, CA.

² "Thousands See Segregees Off," *Heart Mountain Sentinel*, September 25, 1943, accessed May 29, 2019.

and other incarcerated leaving the camp (see Figures 1 and 2 below).³ Yet, he was not the only person to document this event. Bill Manbo, an auto mechanic and fellow member of the Heart Mountain Camera Club, took a Kodachrome photograph of the crowd gathering at the high school (see Figure 3 below),⁴ and artist Estelle Peck Ishigo captured a similar scene in a painting (see Figure 4 below).⁵ Each image depicts a unique facet of the World War II Japanese American incarceration experience at Heart Mountain. Viewed individually, these images tell their own narratives of truth, loyalty, and uncertainty within their community. My grandfather's photographs demonstrate how his friendship with Yamakawa was disrupted when the federal government issued the "Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry" questionnaire in January 1943 in their search for "disloyal" Japanese Americans and their families. His photographs also show the layers of injustice toward the incarcerated and the contradictions of the incarceration experience as a whole. Manbo's photograph depicts the beauty of the Wyoming landscape and underscores the tension and upheaval created by the questionnaire. Ishigo's painting captures the unfair treatment of incarcerated through the purely administrative process of answering the questionnaire to determine their loyalty to the United States during the war. Collectively, these images give agency to individuals and stories that are not often included in the narrative of Japanese Americans serving during World War II and prevent their stories from fading into obscurity.

I. The Road to Heart Mountain

Born to Mitsutaro Yoshida and Toraku Tomiyama in Gardena, California, on July 6, 1917, my grandfather was a *Kibei*.⁶ When he was almost two years old, his

³ As seen in photographs taken by the author's grandfather of Yamakawa and other incarcerated that were on the train destined for the Tule Lake segregation camp on September 21, 1943: Masayuki Yoshida, "Hiroshi Yamakawa smiles from the train that will take him from the Heart Mountain incarceration camp to the Tule Lake segregation camp on September 21, 1943," photograph, The Yoshida Family Collection (see Figure 1 below); Masayuki Yoshida, "View from the railroad tracks of the military personnel, the Heart Mountain incarcerated in the camp, and the Heart Mountain incarcerated leaving for the Tule Lake segregation camp on September 21, 1943," photograph, The Yoshida Family Collection (see Figure 2 below).

⁴ Bill Manbo, "Heart Mountain incarcerated deemed 'disloyal' congregate at Heart Mountain High School on September 21, 1943, to bid farewell to friends and family before being sent to the Tule Lake segregation camp," photograph (Kodachrome) (see Figure 3 below). See also Eric L. Muller, *Colors of Confinement: Rare Kodachrome Photographs of Japanese American Incarceration in World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 13.

⁵ Estelle Inigo, title unknown ["The Heart Mountain incarcerated gathering at Heart Mountain High School to bid farewell to friends and family before being sent to the Tule Lake segregation camp on September 21, 1943"], oil on canvas, Los Angeles, California, Japanese American National Museum (JANM) (2015.100.16), Allen Hendershott Eaton Collection (see Figure 4 below).

⁶ *Kibei* were a subset of the *Nisei*. The *Nisei* were the children of Japanese immigrants, and they were born in the United States. The *Kibei* were also born in the United States but educated

parents returned to the Yamaguchi prefecture of Japan so that their children could receive a traditional Japanese upbringing. His family were fishermen and farmers, and his hobbies included fishing, carpentry,⁷ ping pong, and photography.⁸ Yoshida and his older brother returned to the United States in the early 1930s, and Yoshida enrolled at the Washington Irving Grammar School in San Francisco, California, from 1933 to 1936, most likely to improve his English-speaking skills. In the mid-1930s, both brothers moved to Los Angeles, where Yoshida worked at the Matsuoka wholesale nursery as a salesclerk in Venice, California, from August 1936 to August 1941.⁹ He became friends with nurseryman Michel Martinez. Martinez later stored Yoshida's belongings when Yoshida was incarcerated at the Pomona Fairgrounds in Pomona, California, and at the Heart Mountain incarceration camp in Wyoming. From August 1941 to May 1942, Yoshida worked as a gardener at \$75 a month, planting flowers and plants, as well as maintaining lawns and gardens at private homes.¹⁰

Like Yoshida, Yamakawa was a *Kibei*. He was born in Tacoma, Washington, in February 1919. After returning to the United States, he worked as a farmhand from 1935 to 1940 in Portland, Oregon. While earning \$60 a month, he attended the Whitaker Grammar School in Portland from 1935 to 1937. He moved to Los Angeles in 1940, where he worked at the Ioki nursery in Venice. On May 10, 1942, Yamakawa and Yoshida entered the Pomona Fairgrounds' temporary incarceration camp where they became close friends. They arrived at Heart Mountain in the fall of 1942.¹¹

The Heart Mountain Relocation Center operated from August 12, 1942, to November 10, 1945, and imprisoned 10,767 people of Japanese ancestry. Incarcerates lived in 468 barracks that were split into "apartments" for each family. The camp was divided into blocks that included the barracks, 39 halls and utility buildings. A 150-bed hospital, educational facilities, as well as pig and chicken farms were also built on the grounds.¹² In addition to his involvement with the camera club, Yoshida was paid \$16 an hour¹³ to work in the Block 21

in Japan: *Densho Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Nisei," accessed May 29, 2019. Nisei born before 1924 were citizens of both the United States and Japan: Cherstin M. Lyon, "Dual Citizenship," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 29, 2019.

⁷ Masayuki Yoshida, "Individual Record" (Form WRA 26, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, 1942), 1.

⁸ Masayuki Yoshida, "Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry" (Selective Service Form 304A, Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, 1943), 3.

⁹ Yoshida, "Individual Record," 1-2.

¹⁰ Yoshida, "Individual Record," 2.

¹¹ Yoshida, "Individual Record," 1; my notes from the War Relocation Authority file on Hiroshi Yamakawa (Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration).

¹² Mieke Matsumoto, "Heart Mountain," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 29, 2019.

¹³ Masayuki Yoshida, "Payment Record" (Washington, D.C., National Archives and Records Administration, 1942-1943), 1.

mess hall. He awoke at 5:00 a.m. or 5:30 a.m. and worked from 6:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., preparing breakfast and lunch for the incarcerated. ¹⁴ He eventually quit that job for two farming jobs outside the camp. From May 29 to July 29, 1943, he was paid \$140.60 to help harvest *daikon* (Japanese radishes) near Billings, Montana. Four days after Yamakawa's transfer to Tule Lake, Yoshida traveled to Idaho Falls, Idaho, where he harvested potatoes until November 18 for \$190. When he was not working, he spent time with friends, playing ping pong almost every day. He went ice-skating, attended English language classes, saw the entertainment events for each block, and played violin, harmonica, and mandolin by himself or with Yamakawa. He loved listening to his records on the gramophone and was part of the Heart Mountain Mandolin Band together with Estelle Ishigo. Sometimes he attended singing class with Yamakawa at night. ¹⁵ Heart Mountain was a place where close friendships formed, trust in the federal government was broken, and daily life behind barbed wire was documented.

Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, Japanese Americans who were already serving in the military were either discharged or reassigned to simple tasks. Those men in the I-A category, which meant they were eligible to serve in the military, were switched to the IV-C category, which meant "aliens not acceptable to Armed Forces."¹⁶ This shift in status insulted many Japanese Americans because it confirmed what the incarceration implied: that the United States government did not recognize them as "true citizens."¹⁷ Japanese Americans were able to serve in the military again in 1943 when the United States Army created the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, a unit consisting only of Japanese American soldiers, by seeking volunteers from the camps.¹⁸ Army representatives traveled to the camps to oversee this registration process, requiring all incarcerated over sixteen years old to fill out a "Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry" questionnaire in January 1943 to ensure that those who did join the Army were loyal. Two questions stood out to the prisoners: Question 27 asked if they were willing to fight in the United States Armed Forces. Question 28 asked if they swore allegiance to the United States and foreswore any form of allegiance to the Japanese Emperor or any other foreign government.¹⁹ Yamakawa decided to renounce his U.S. citizenship and return to Japan.

¹⁴ Information from Hideo Kuwahara's translation of Masayuki Yoshida's 1943 diary that is housed at the Hollywood Japanese Cultural Institute, Los Angeles, CA.

¹⁵ Information from Hideo Kuwahara's translation of Masayuki Yoshida's 1943 diary that is housed at the Hollywood Japanese Cultural Institute, Los Angeles, CA.

¹⁶ Eric L. Muller, "Draft Resistance," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 29, 2019.

¹⁷ Muller, "Draft Resistance."

¹⁸ Franklin Odo, "442nd Regimental Combat Team," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 29, 2019.

¹⁹ Cherstin M. Lyon, "Loyalty Questionnaire," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 29, 2019.

II. Barracks against an Open Sky

On September 21, 1943, my grandfather shot a black-and-white photograph of his best friend on the train bound for the Tule Lake segregation camp. Perhaps Yoshida was able to continue his hobby because Michel Martinez, his colleague at the Matsuoka nurse, had held on to his camera and other belongings for him when he was imprisoned in Wyoming. Incarcerates like Yoshida were initially prohibited from bringing cameras into the camps, but these regulations slowly relaxed as the war progressed.²⁰ While training at Camp Howze in Texas, Martinez wrote to Yoshida asking what he wanted him to do with his camera. Although Martinez could send it to him, Camp Howze's warden advised him against it. If the FBI opened the package and saw its contents, they could accuse Martinez of "harboring [...] alien equipment as they call it." Martinez vowed to "take good care of it until you come back, or probably next June I will go home on a furlough."²¹ Since Yoshida had a camera in his possession that September, it seems that Martinez's package slipped past the careful watch of the FBI because Yoshida documented Yamakawa's farewell that September.



Figure 1: Masayuki Yoshida, "Hiroshi Yamakawa smiles from the train that will take him from the Heart Mountain incarceration camp to the Tule Lake segregation camp on September 21, 1943," photograph, The Yoshida Family Collection. Used by permission (The Yoshida Family Collection).

In the photograph, Yamakawa leans out of a halfway open train-car window. He wears a blazer with something that resembles sunglasses in his breast pocket and a wide-collared shirt. His attire suggests that he is heading to a celebration, not to another relocation center or to a country with which the United States was at war. He gives a toothy grin, which does not seem to align with the gravity of his decision. His attire and expression are not unusual among photographs from

²⁰ Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, "Government Photography of the WRA Camps and Resettlement," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 19, 2019.

²¹ Michel Martinez, letter to Masayuki Yoshida, April 19, 1943. This letter is in the author's home in Whittier, California.

the incarceration taken by family, friends, the media, or the government. Highly aware that they were being portrayed as criminals, many Japanese Americans made extra efforts to counter that propaganda "and salvage whatever shred of dignity they could by dressing in their finest clothes and putting 'the best face' on a situation that was fundamentally humiliating and degrading."²² Neat clothing and wide smiles were key to the "best face" because they communicated to viewers that the situation in which they found themselves was safe. *Before They Were Heroes: Sus Ito's World War II Images*, an exhibition at the California State University, Fullerton, Arboretum in fall 2017, showed Susumu "Sus" Ito and his fellow 442nd Regimental Combat Team soldiers smiling for the camera. Perhaps they smiled because they had rescued the Lost Battalion in Europe.²³ Or perhaps they smiled in an effort to reassure their incarcerated mothers that they were fine, even though they might have been in the midst of combat.²⁴ Yet, smiling can also be interpreted as a "false assurance" and an attempt to normalize the injustice, pain, and suffering that was part of the incarceration experience.²⁵ Yamakawa's hopeful smile communicates that he could weather any obstacles that lay ahead. It also counteracts other emotions that he did not want to show — uncertainty about seeing his friends and family again and about what lay ahead at Tule Lake and in Japan. More importantly, his smile masks the fact that his rights and liberties had been suspended at the time the photograph was taken.

News of Yamakawa's plans to return to Japan came on April 23, 1943, when Yoshida wrote in his diary that "there is a rumor that [...] those who requested to return to Japan won't get a job in a [relocation] center. I wonder what will happen to Yamakawa who requested this. Anyway, there is info that we will be separated sooner or later." Repatriation surfaced again in Yoshida's diary on August 30, when he wrote, "When we transferred to Pomona center, I met Yamakawa and became a close friend since. A year and three months passed since then. But I have to separate with the best friend Yamakawa on Sep. 14th. I'm afraid we might not be able to see again each other."²⁶ Yoshida's diary entries and photographs illuminate the fear and sadness of parting with his best friend, but there is hope, too. In the moment that photograph was taken, perhaps they knew that they would always be close friends, no matter where the war would take them. The hope that they would be reunited is in Yamakawa's uplifting expression, which is a sharp contrast to the man that appears behind

²² Jasmine Alinder, *Moving Images: Photography and the Japanese American Incarceration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 17.

²³ Lily Anne Y. Welty Tamai, "One of Thousands: Susumu 'Sus' Ito and His Photographs," *Southern California Quarterly* 98, no. 3 (2016): 297-320, here 314.

²⁴ Tamai, "One of Thousands," 319.

²⁵ Alinder, *Moving Images*, 15.

²⁶ Hideo Kuwahara's translation of Masayuki Yoshida's 1943 diary that is housed at the Hollywood Japanese Cultural Institute, Los Angeles, CA.

him. Although there is no physical representation of travel-related items, such as suitcases or packages, in the photograph, the man's dark face, eyes, and furrowed brow connote many incarcerated men's fears and anxieties of not knowing what to expect or what would happen to them – emotions that had plagued them since the beginning of the war.



Figure 2: Masayuki Yoshida, "View from the railroad tracks of the military personnel, the Heart Mountain internees in the camp, and the Heart Mountain internees leaving for the Tule Lake segregation camp on September 21, 1943," photograph, The Yoshida Family Collection. Used by permission (The Yoshida Family Collection).

Yoshida shot another photograph of the internees waving goodbye to family and friends on the train with military personnel looking on. This photograph contextualizes the first image of Yamakawa. He appears to be waving at the camera from the train window. Telephone lines dwarf the men and women standing in the dirt or sitting on parked cars, waving goodbye. The train, telephone lines, and people on the opposite sides of the photograph direct viewers to the watchful military guard and the barracks in the center of the image. The image's composition shows how simple actions like saying goodbye in a desolate landscape still needed to be overseen by the military to ensure everything ran smoothly. It also emphasizes the reality that, although rules might have been relaxed because internees could photograph activities behind barbed wire or work outside of camp, Japanese Americans were still confined. The guard and barracks against the open sky are a stark reminder that they were being transferred from one prison to another. It also shows the internees at a crossroads. Since everyone over sixteen had to fill out the questionnaire, internees' loyalties were on display for the military and each other, an energy that Bill Manbo captured in his Kodachrome photograph of the event.

Manbo was part of the Heart Mountain Camera Club when he shot his image of the families saying goodbye to the first group of internees gathered around Heart Mountain High School to board the trains at the railroad siding. A 1929 graduate of Hollywood High School, Manbo trained to be an auto mechanic at

the Frank Wiggins Trade School. There, he met his future wife and dressmaking student Mary Itaya. Itaya worked as a seamstress and costume designer for a theater company and as a private tailor, while Manbo painted and repaired cars in his Hollywood garage. In his spare time, Manbo took photographs, worked on miniature car races, and built model airplanes. When the Manbo and Itaya families were imprisoned at Heart Mountain, Manbo joined the Heart Mountain Camera Club and captured daily life behind barbed wire.²⁷



Figure 3: Bill Manbo, "Heart Mountain incarcerated deemed 'disloyal' congregate at Heart Mountain High School on September 21, 1943, to bid farewell to friends and family before being sent to the Tule Lake segregation camp," photograph (Kodachrome). Used by permission (Bill Manbo).

Shooting in Kodachrome film²⁸ allowed Manbo to create beautiful photographs of life behind barbed wire and juxtapose uprooted lives with heavy doses of color. Similar to the cheerful image of Yamakawa, Manbo's vibrant photograph suggests a joyous rather than somber occasion, but the bright colors and beautiful landscape contrast with the tension and upheaval created by the questionnaire. Manbo's lens focuses on the crowd gathering outside the school. The sea of uncovered heads, hats, and umbrellas evokes the urgency of the situation. Incarcerates' facial expressions, as well as their suitcases, bundles, and

²⁷ Muller, *Colors of Confinement*, 4.

²⁸ A color reversal film launched by Kodak in 1935, generally used for projection with white light. Kodachrome has a relatively high contrast.

bags, indicate feelings of uncertainty and the private interaction shared between those staying and those leaving Heart Mountain. Similar feelings are captured in Estelle Ishigo's painting of the same crowd at Heart Mountain High School.



Figure 4: Estelle Inigo, title unknown ["The Heart Mountain incarcerateds gathering at Heart Mountain High School to bid farewell to friends and family before being sent to the Tule Lake segregation camp on September 21, 1943"], oil on canvas, Los Angeles, California, Japanese American National Museum (JANM) (2015.100.16), Allen Hendershott Eaton Collection. Used by permission (JANM).

Born in 1899 to Bradford and Bertha Peck in Oakland, California, Ishigo felt that her parents never wanted a child and that her birth was a mistake. While her parents focused on their careers as a landscape painter and opera singer, Ishigo was being raised by a nurse. When the family moved to Los Angeles in 1911, Ishigo's parents sent her to live with a succession of relatives and close friends, cementing her belief that her parents no longer wanted her around. She eventually found acceptance at the Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles. She became friends with the young Japanese American men of the Art Students League and immersed herself in their culture. She took Judo lessons and studied Zen Buddhism under famed monk Nyogen Senzaki who would also be incarcerated at Heart Mountain. Most importantly, her friends introduced her to struggling

actor and Paramount Studios janitor Arthur Ishigo. Due to California's miscegenation laws at that time, they were married in Mexico in 1928. Though they were welcomed by the arts and Japanese American communities, they felt increased discrimination in Los Angeles and tried to stay within their communities as much as possible. Arthur continued to work for Paramount, while Estelle taught at the Hollywood Art Center. When Pearl Harbor was attacked, Arthur and the other Japanese Americans working at Paramount were fired on December 8. Estelle was fired shortly after because of her Japanese surname.²⁹ When Executive Order 9066 was implemented, and the WRA ordered everyone of Japanese ancestry – even those who were of partial descent – into the ten WRA camps, intercultural couples like the Ishigos challenged the agency's assumption that families were of one race. Non-Japanese spouses like Ishigo could either choose incarceration or a life outside the camps' barbed wire fences without their spouses.³⁰ She decided to be incarcerated alongside her husband.³¹

On May 10, 1942, the Ishigos boarded a bus at a Hollywood church, which took them to the Pomona Fairgrounds. In the fall of 1942, they were transported by darkened train car to Heart Mountain. While at Heart Mountain, Ishigo worked for the WRA as a member of the Documentary Section of Reports Division. At \$19 a month, she was responsible for capturing the Japanese American incarceration experience through her art.³² She also saw an opportunity to use her art to "expose the injustices of the very government that employed her."³³ Similar to Ishigo, folk art expert Allen H. Eaton wanted to document the artwork of the incarcerated and put together an exhibition of incarcerated artwork that had the potential to tour the camps.³⁴

III. Splintering a Community

When Executive Order 9066 was signed, Eaton was upset by the action and angered by "the suspicious motives and sinister forces that seemed to be in the background."³⁵ He approached WRA Director Dillon S. Myer with the possibility of curating an exhibition of the prisoners' arts and crafts that would tour all ten camps. Eaton thought that this exhibition "would suggest that our nation is

²⁹ Dakota Russell, "Arthur & Estelle Ishigo: A Heart Mountain Love Story," *Kokoro Kara: Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation* [newsletter] (Summer 2017), 7-9, here 7-8.

³⁰ Allison Varzally, *Making a Non-White America: Californians Coloring Outside Ethnic Lines, 1925-1955* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 144.

³¹ Russell, "Arthur & Estelle Ishigo," 8.

³² Jane Dusselier, "Embodied Identity? The Life and Art of Estelle Ishigo," *Feminist Studies*, 32, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 534-546, here 535.

³³ Russell, "Arthur & Estelle Ishigo," 9.

³⁴ Brian Niiya, "Beauty Behind Barbed Wire (book)," in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed May 29, 2019.

³⁵ Allen H. Eaton, "Prologue," in *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocation Camps* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1952), 3.

made up of people from many homelands," would "help overcome the barriers of language" by giving the prisoners "a sense of their relatedness to many friendly people outside," and "encourage some of them to make things with their own hands—this would help ease mental strains, and possibly contribute to a good community spirit."³⁶ The WRA encouraged him to seek other funding, which he eventually secured from the Rockefeller Foundation. In 1945, he took vacation to visit five of the camps, and to identify and photograph objects for this potential exhibit. He also recruited photographers and curatorial assistants to do the same thing at the four camps that remained open (the camp in Jerome, Arkansas, was already closed by this time).³⁷ Ishigo acted as a liaison between the incarcerated and the folk expert by helping Eaton recruit Heart Mountain artists and their artwork for the exhibition, and he expressed his appreciation of her in their correspondence. In a letter to Ishigo, he noted that the progress on the project was going well and that "I ought to say that there is nothing more interesting in all the places I have been than the work of the artists and craftsmen you have uncovered for me."³⁸ During his visit, Eaton intended to buy the items for inclusion in the exhibition, but he found few incarcerated who felt the same. Instead, "they were saving them as 'going away gifts,' or to send to friends outside of camp, or just to keep in the family. They offered to give me things to the point of embarrassment, but not to sell them."³⁹ Though the traveling exhibition was never realized because other projects took precedent, Eaton published *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire: The Arts of the Japanese in Our War Relocation Camps* on the tenth anniversary of Executive Order 9066 in 1952.⁴⁰

When the first Heart Mountain incarcerated were leaving for Tule Lake, Ishigo painted a scene of the crowd congregating at Heart Mountain High School with bundles of belongings and suitcases in hand. Her painting was one of over 450 items that were handed down first to Allen Eaton's daughter, and later to the son of a handyman who worked on the Eaton daughter's home. The items went up for public auction in 2015, when Japanese American organizations led a successful grassroots movement to halt it, based on the argument that the artifacts were under the custodianship of Eaton and his future heirs. The painting is now housed at the Japanese American National Museum (JANM) in Los Angeles.⁴¹ Ishigo's painting mirrors a drawing of hers titled "Aug. 7-Sept.

³⁶ Eaton, "Prologue," 3.

³⁷ Niiya, "Beauty Behind Barbed Wire (book)."

³⁸ Allen H. Eaton (New York), letter to Estelle Ishigo (Heart Mountain, Wyoming), October 1, 1945, University of California, Los Angeles, Charles E. Young Research Library, Library Special Collections, uclamss_2010_b77_f6_1, Online Archive of California, accessed May 29, 2019.

³⁹ Eaton, "Prologue," 6.

⁴⁰ Niiya, "Beauty Behind Barbed Wire (book)."

⁴¹ Shirley Ann Higuchi, "Artifacts of Incarceration," Kokoro Kara: Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation [newsletter] (Summer 2015), 1-2.

1943 left: Farewell to Segregees, nearly 1,000," that is also part of JANM's collection. Given that these two images look similar, it seems that Ishigo sketched the scene first as a way to develop what she communicated in her painting, namely that the WRA was treating Japanese Americans unfairly by using the purely administrative process of filling out a questionnaire to determine loyalty to the United States during World War II. While it remains unclear whether this painting was completed as part of her WRA responsibilities, it appears that it was not painted with Eaton's hopes of communicating a sense of community, well-being, and productivity in mind. Instead, it shows the splintering of an already imprisoned community from within (see Figure 4 above).

The gray clouds and wind reinforce the resigned mood of the incarcerated. Those who are leaving for Tule Lake are hunched over; their shoulders slouch from the weight of their belongings and the power of the wind and rain as it rolls across the plain. Similarly to when they had first packed their belongings in their homes, the incarcerated could take only what they could carry, echoing the same sense of upheaval first felt in the spring and summer of 1942. In the foreground, two men shake hands while a boy says goodbye to his dog. The men's handshake illustrates that a sense of camaraderie had developed between them while at Heart Mountain, but it also shows that they are parting ways because they answered the questionnaire differently. As the boy holds on to the suitcase with one hand, he reaches down to a dog. His gesture highlights the irony in the incarcerated's transition: losing what had become somewhat familiar in a camp created for their long-term imprisonment and facing the uncertainty awaiting them in another camp and abroad in Japan.

Depending on how the incarcerated felt about the questionnaire, Heart Mountain High School was either the rallying point for resisters who chose not to comply with Questions 27 and 28, or the location where disloyal incarcerated met to be repatriated back to Japan.

For both Manbo and Ishigo, Heart Mountain High School was a symbol of truth. Manbo used his Kodachrome image to highlight his indignation, anger, and hostility toward the federal government. He answered "No" to Question 27 about fighting in the United States Armed Forces. In response to Question 28 about his willingness to swear allegiance to the United States and forswear loyalty to Japan, he wrote, "If we get all our rights back. Who wants to fight for a c.c. camp?" Ishigo's painting shows her frustration of the wartime injustices done to an entire group of people and sheds light on this part of history that the incarcerated did not talk about. She answered "No" to Question 27 about her willingness to join the Army Nurse Corps or Women's Army Corps, and she answered "Yes" to Question 28 which asked her whether she was loyal to the United States. Even though she was white, she considered herself a member of the Japanese American community and was welcomed by them. Given that

"images can propagate values,"⁴² Ishigo's image does not align with Allen's values of productivity and community building. Instead, she depicted the importance of her community against the WRA's unfair administrative process to discern who was loyal and disloyal, who belonged or did not belong in the United States, and who had the power to make that decision.

Although Manbo's image of Heart Mountain incarceratedees gathering at Heart Mountain High School for their journey to Tule Lake depicts the event from a closer view than Ishigo's, the composition of his photograph is similar to that of her painting. Both focus on the gathering outside of the high school, but unlike Ishigo's use of pastel colors to highlight the dreary and uncomfortable mood of the incarceratedees on that day, Manbo used Kodachrome film to emphasize how the structures of the camp worked with the landscape to create a sense of surveillance. The peaked roofs of the high school and the barracks echo Heart Mountain in the background. While the mountain watched over the incarceratedees like a sentinel, my grandfather and Manbo's cameras, as well as Ishigo's brushes and paints, were present too, ensuring that the Heart Mountain incarceratedees' resistance to further confinement in their own country, without due process of law was documented for posterity.

Conclusion

Seventy-five years later, each of these images highlights the personal bonds, the politics of loyalty, and the fraying of a community forged at Heart Mountain during World War II. They reveal and obscure the truths of their creators and subjects, and they challenge what it means to be a United States citizen during wartime. Viewed together, they not only speak to the politics of the camp but allow ordinary people who would not otherwise be visited by history to tell their stories and share their perspectives of Japanese Americans fighting for the United States military, while their own families were imprisoned behind barbed wire. It is the responsibility of future generations to view images like these to expand the historical narrative of the World War II Japanese American incarceration experience, to make well-informed decisions about the future of this country in and outside of war, and to prevent this from happening to any minority group ever again.

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⁴² Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 78.