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Temporal Cities: Commemoration at Manzanar, California and Cowra, Australia

Introduction

This essay compares two former Pacific War incarceration histories in the USA and Australia, inquiring how their narratives of confinement and redress are incorporated into contemporary heritage strategies. These heritage strategies are related to very different physical sites and conditions over time, and the essay is anchored in three pervasive themes of nationalism, violence and memory with their physical manifestations intensified under conditions of war. It anticipates topics analysing the hegemonic, defensive and human dimensions of conflict and resultant transnational mobilities. We have selected the two most prominent commemorative sites for their respective nations, demonstrating how – in each case – stories of incarceration prompt very different narratives of reconciliation. We adopt the lens of spatial planning, architecture and landscape practice to evaluate place-specific commemorative strategies at these sites where landscapes have been physically configured through development, erasure, and commemoration.

The comparison will demonstrate how the sites as physical landscapes first served to confine and isolate prison populations and then served for the recuperation and commemoration of that confinement, exploring the attendant deconstructions and reconstructions of wartime enmity and community advocacy over time. Although dating from an earlier era when racist colonial and national policies greeted non-European immigrants and conditions of total war alienated and criminalised them, these histories remain salient for critiquing contemporary border strategies and exclusionary spatial scenarios. Our study sees comparable responses to war-time violence and incarceration in these two nations, the US and Australia, as revealing the physical and linked characteristics of globalized incarceration during a previous era and prefiguring present day exclusionary border control strategies. However, our specific interest in this essay is in developing a transpacific approach, useful for understanding how the geopolitical positions and immigration histories of these two settler nations, America and Australia, produced very different readings of incarceration and national enemies, although their troops fought side by side in the Pacific War. This essay will provide an overview of the war-time deployment of architectural and urban expertise for military mobilisation, POW incarceration, and civilian internment; and following the war, for post-war reconstruction and resettlement, celebration and commemoration in these two nations--a rich and diverse spatial record yet to be fully explored.

At the Manzanar Historic Site in California, located some 350 kilometres north of Los Angeles in the Owens River Valley, the efforts of several generations advocating for civil

rights and the preservation of the Manzanar Relocation Center (Center) site have overlapped with the National Park Service's efforts to fulfil its federal mandates and a nationally focused remembrance of the confinement. Conversely at Cowra, New South Wales, a small town 188 kilometres north of the Australian national capital, Canberra, post war commemorative spaces of international dimensions are aimed at drawing visitors to former incarceration sites and encouraging contemplation of these difficult histories.

Whereas the war in the Atlantic has invited extensive research on war-related construction and commemoration, animated by the 70th anniversary celebrations of the wars end (2015), histories of the Pacific War are relatively muted. The comparison of these two sites provides examples of the interconnections of war-time architecture, commemoration, and recent global trends in Asia Pacific studies. Typically examined through military records or memoirs, the spatial, material and architectural realities of the 1942-45, Pacific War have been neglected, despite the enormous consequences for defining and spatialising post-war citizenship in Australia and America. National histories have provided limited insights into its lasting impacts and the relatively new interest in linking interests in Asian American, Asian and American studies has directed little space to material and ontological history which has the capability of illuminating lives entangled daily in imperial conflicts. Conceived in the spirit of recent scholarship, on the wartime involvement of architects - most notably *Architecture in Uniform* (Cohen, 2011), on memorialising dissonant heritage – in *Places of Pain and Shame* (Logan & Reeves 2009), and of material and social memories – discussed in *Perilous Memories* (Fujitani et al., 2001), this essay seeks to draw incarceration histories into an already complex global field of Pacific War Studies. Following on from previous global studies such as *Alien Justice* (Saunders & Daniels, 2000) and a volume of *Amerasia* (vol 42:1, 2016) presenting commentaries on contemporary scholarship studying “empires” in the Pacific, this paper proposes a dialogic transnational discourse across Asia, America and Australia by focusing on the incarceration of culturally Japanese subjects.¹

Typologies

Neither site was constructed for displaced persons' evacuation from a natural disaster, flight from war-torn areas or mass migration from economically devastated areas. The sites and shelter produced were part of military development plans and construction for - imprisonment and confinement in the Pacific Rim during World War II. The military created the Manzanar Relocation Center site to hold 'people of Japanese ancestry', civilians of both Japanese and American citizenship residing on the West Coast, Alaska, and parts of Arizona under the authority of a Presidential Executive Order 9066 (E.O. 9066) issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942. Justified as a military necessity, the military identified this category of people by virtue of their racial characteristics as a group of *potential* saboteurs and spies and a threat to national security

with no charges or due process Using the authority delegated to them under E.O. 9066, the military implemented a mass incarceration of whole communities and families.--all civilians. This was not only an abrogation of the American and Japanese rights as citizens, it resulted in the nearly complete disenfranchisement of this population, although they were eventually freed through a Supreme Court habeas corpus decision on 17 December 1944, *Endo vs. U.S.*²

Created under the jurisdiction of the National Security Act of 1939 in accordance with Australia's interpretations of the provisions for prisoners of war under the Geneva Convention, Camp No.12 at Cowra was a military prisoner of war camp, one among eight major prisoner of war (POW) and internment camp complexes (eighteen camps) distributed across Australia's southeastern states, faraway from sensitive areas in the nation's north.³ The nation interned resident and non-resident enemy nationals, in the camps that acted as a far way prison for Britain's POWs and held POWs taken during Pacific battles.⁴ These camps were mechanisms for sorting and understanding the numerous national alliances of imperial competitors from the viewpoint of a nation simultaneously caught up in two theaters of conflict – one of them too remote to be threatening, and the other at its border-- yet with their separate alignments and associated anxieties conjoined in the Australian camp demographic.

Comparison of Physical Sites developed during World War II

The Manzanar Relocation Center

<Fig. 1 Manzanar Layout Plan, May 1945

Like Cowra, the Manzanar Relocation Center (Center) site bears the stamp of military development planned by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (Corps) using schematic standard layout and block plans. The Center was one of ten semi-permanent Relocation Centers or prison cities the military sited in isolated rural areas and built under E.O. 9066 with the full cooperation of numerous New Deal agencies. Development was initiated at Manzanar on March 21, 1942 using all the authority E.O. 9066 delegated to the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army (WDC). They leased 2510 hectares from the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power of which 98 hectares were later dedicated to agricultural production. The Corps gridded 67 blocks onto 210 hectares that served as the organizational social and political units for the prison city designed for a maximum population of 10,800 people. Each block housed approximately 300 people around basic militarized communal facilities--barracks, mess halls, latrines and laundries. The Corps arranged on the perimeter of the prisoners' residential area separate compounds for administration, staff housing, warehouses, military police and maintenance functions.⁵

The WDC assigned the Farm Security Administration to design the community plans, schools and staff housing. Initially, basic urban infrastructure was furnished within the bounds the prison area with hospital facilities, roadways with basic utilities of sewage and water running the length of the blocks' cores with only electrical service to the barracks. Although the War Relocation Authority (WRA) is often given credit for developing community facilities but these were almost all initiated by the prisoners and developed through informal and cooperative building modes.⁶ Encircled by barbed wire and guarded by watchtowers with searchlights, the Center was a racially segregated city as well as an unfree labor pool for the subjugation and cultivation of agricultural land, war related industries, and other possible uses of the imprisoned labor.⁷ The prison city was of a significantly large scale compared to the nearest large town of Bishop with a population of 1490. The Center's lack of visibility or presence, redrawn in its segregated and incarcerated bounds, replays the invisibility of the urban bounds of Japantowns on the west coast, yet, the scale of the project should have made it a prominent landmark.⁸

While views, plot plans, and the other voluminous government documents are important for documenting the process of incarceration, they reveal little about the disheartening and chaotic living conditions within the camp, especially in the first months of occupation: holes in the barracks as green wood shrunk; open sewers before the sewage system was completed; long lines for the nearly inedible food and fierce windstorms. In contrast, the artworks of imprisoned artists such as Mine Okubo, Estelle Ishigo Henry Sugimoto and Chiura Obato have powerfully related much about the misery of these living conditions as well as the emotional, ontological and sensorial conditions at the Relocation Centers as views from within the prison cities.⁹ The prisoners were dealing with their nearly complete material disenfranchisement and the humiliation of imprisonment as they were put to work at a fraction of going wages. Of farm acreage alone, the Farm Security Administration estimated that the "evacuation" had "made available" 227,000 acres of farmland within the military area.¹⁰ Losses in income and property have been estimated between \$203-251 million in 1942, although the calculation of such sudden economic losses has remained truly objectively elusive.¹¹ When released on work furloughs, the WRA direct them to agricultural and service work, even though a significant number had been urban dwellers.

The examination of material sites like Manzanar loosens traditional architectural representations from their analyses of individual buildings, types, structures and material systems to include perspectives of movement through the built environments, less stable environments and uneven power structures.¹² The post-construction occupancy of the Center from 1942 through 1945 is a useful way for understanding the transition between sites, habitation and reuse that tells us more from the prisoners' perspective about their everyday use of space and buildings. The intensive production of scholarly work on this

event provides rich troves for fleshing out the material culture along with oral histories, personal archives, anthropological studies, and the preservation of vast stores of government archives. We, know for example, from a poem written by Jim Yoshihara while incarcerated at Minidoka Relocation Center, that the barbed wire and military security left many feeling trapped, impotent with rage in the glare of searchlights, while the WRA, as the federal agency charged with the management and maintenance of the Relocation Centers, imagined the prison cities more as social experiments and utopian self-governed American cities. In one of Yoshihara's verses, he writes of the boredom and depression:

...With nowhere to go and nothing to do,
We feel terrible, lonesome and blue;
That DAMNED FENCE is driving us crazy,
Destroying our youth and making us lazy¹³

From the time the first residents arrived at the Manzanar Reception Center on March 21, 1942 volunteering to help set up the camp through the closing of the camps, the incarcerated people from a broad spectrum of occupations--store owners, gardeners, landscapers cut-flower growers, shopkeepers, merchants, truck farmers, mechanics, doctors, nurses, etc.-- worked intensely to improve their housing and beautify their living environments, also as a way to combat malaise and boredom. In July 1942 A WRA report noted of the residents' private projects there were some "300 Victory Gardens, 100 lawns greening between tar paper barracks...gardens of rocks, cacti, miniature lakes, restive-decorative porches and tree stumps and roots fashioned into bird, animal and snake caricatures." ¹⁴

<Fig 2. Kango Takemura, "Saturday Afternoon looking south from block 8," May 1943

In an idyllic utopian mode, Kango Takamura's watercolour, *Saturday Afternoon looking south from block 8 May 1943*, provides a prisoners' perspective that may be interpreted to support the WRA vision of a peaceful American city of industrious people at liberty to enjoy their public parks and neatly kept gardens filled with children and leisure activities.¹⁵ Yet, the Yoshihara poem reminds us that the gardens, viewed from within provided pleasure, relief and solace but just a short distance from the guard towers, sentries, barbed wire and other security controls that dominated life in the prison city--the same features barred from Ansel Adam's photographs.¹⁶

By 1947 only a few material remnants remained visible such as the sentry gate, the auditorium and parts of the cemetery including the "I RE I TO" or "Soul Consoling Tower." The War Assets Administration had held auctions in August 1946 for the sale of \$750,000 of used equipment and one million board feet of used lumber.¹⁷ Yet, by focusing on the people moving through them, the artwork, both visual and literary, provides a framework for public belonging visible through representations for the

Japanese American community and ultimately for the larger public, illustrating what Jennifer Johung and Arijit Sen have called landscapes of mobility. In these landscapes, they would foreground "...ongoing moments of interaction, between objects, bodies and sites, in which both spatial and social frameworks for belonging may potentially be revised, and in which such connections remain unfixed and thus possibly able to be realigned..."¹⁸

<Fig 3. Kango Takamura "Untitled winter landscape," no date.¹⁹

Kango Takemura's art may be seen as a document of beautification efforts and the view from within in his nostalgic emotional representations of everyday life that also offer a touchstone to the issues of social justice and national belonging. We may understand diasporic sensibility through such works as his untitled landscape with distinctly separate figures moving through it, as a representation of a landscape of mobility, a nostalgic point in diasporic movement at Manzanar.²⁰ Such images invoke a wider exilic imagination in the affective construction and representation of landscapes that stretches beyond the camp and nation across the Pacific to Japan. Certainly the celebration of such art is one way to commemorate the event that we may imagine links to the Pacific Rim and the imperial ambitions of Japan and United States during World War II resonating with contemporary collaborations among scholars in Asia, Southeast Asia, Pacific Islands, and America.²¹

The Cowra POW site

Camps in Australia continued historic legacies of incarceration as a penal colony, of containing and segregating Aboriginal populations and of alien internment during the First World War. Camps constructed in each of the Australian states, typically related to military camp facilities for 6,890 'enemy aliens' were the direct precedents to the World War Two camps.²² Camps during the Second World War extended this practice to the Pacific region, and rural towns were transformed by wartime recruitment and training, and supply and accommodation of camps. The POW camp at Cowra was attached to a major military camp that trained 80,000 personnel and shaped the town's wartime identity.²³ Australians were more intimately connected with the Pacific War, the military and the Japanese enemy, due to the proportion of the population involved in the conflict – ten per cent – and the direct threat to the continent.²⁴ They fought the Japanese in Malaya, Southeast Asia and New Guinea and over 22,000 Australian servicemen and women were taken captive.²⁵ Australians fought alongside US troops in the Pacific. Air raids on Darwin and a submarine attacked Sydney harbour brought the war to home to Australia in 1942. The POW camp at Cowra represented a microcosm of Australia's colonial alliances and wartime engagements in Europe and Asia.

Unlike the rigid gridded template of the US Relocation Centers, camps in Australia varied according to size, use and diversity of captives, combining different categories of prisoners in separate compounds of the same carceral complex. Their segregation was based on numerous factors such as nationality, language, seniority (for service personnel), family status for civilians and later, following internal skirmishes between fascist and royalist factions, based on political differences within the same nationality. Camp No. 12 incarcerated Italian civilians and POWs, Japanese POWs; Indonesian dissidents from Dutch colonies; and some Formosans (Taiwanese) and Koreans. Its population peaked at 4,600 in 1946, a fair portion of the 25,727 POWs and 7,780 internees who would pass through the Australian camps.²⁶ Some 1,104 of them were Japanese POWs. A comparable site in terms of population size and the incarceration of Japanese POWs would be the POW camp at Honouliuli in Hawaii.

Japanese civilians were not held at Cowra – they were incarcerated at Hay and Holsworthy in New South Wales, Loveday in South Australia and in the Tatura Group in Victoria, their numbers far fewer than that in America due the racialised structural exclusions of the settler colony. The White Australia Policy (1901-1973) had institutionalized the exclusion of non-White immigrants preserving the homogeneity of European and particularly Anglophone culture (while structurally excluding Aboriginal populations) across much of the twentieth century. Although certain industries such as pearl fisheries, sugar cane farming and other service roles exempted small groups of Japanese residents they could not be naturalized.²⁷ Consequently a small locally resident Japanese population of 1,141 persons filtered through northern and northeastern gaols and military camps to southern Internment Camps from 1941 onwards.²⁸ Their numbers were augmented by 3,160 overseas internees – Japanese residents of New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Netherlands East Indies, Solomon Islands and New Zealand.²⁹ Japanese POWs from the Pacific Theatre formed a distinct group of 5,637 persons whose cultural opacity to Australians heightened their group anxieties. Some 4,100 of this number were captured by US forces and handed over for custody.³⁰

Details of the locations and numbers held in camps were withheld from the public for reasons of national security, and only the adjacent townspeople were aware of their presence. At Cowra, for example, the weekly movement of Italian prisoners as farm labourers made their presence known.³¹ No.12 camp's size and design was unusual; it was one of three dodecagon designs – where the military regulation timber framed huts with corrugated iron walls were arranged diagonally as though radiating from the centre in a reversal of the panopticon plan.³² This plan was further quartered by 'Broadway' the main thoroughfare and a firebreak across it – deemed 'No man's land'.³³ There were four separate 17 acre compounds for 1000 persons each: two for Italians, the third for Japanese Officers, Formosans and Koreans and the fourth for Japanese servicemen.

Designed to accommodate forty eight persons, dormitory fashion, the 60x80 foot huts typically used in the POW camps had corrugated iron walls ventilated by an approximately eight inch width run of chicken wire under the eaves.³⁴ The external cladding and roofing were either galvanized iron or corrugated asbestos sheets.

<Fig 4. Cowra POW Camp No. 12, plan, provided by the Cowra Shire Council>

<Fig 5. Cowra POW Camp No.12, Australian War Memorial Negative Number PO3160.002.>

Elsewhere in Australia, varied geometric figures such as rectangles, pentagons and parallelograms were used to accommodate different configurations of prisoners and associated residential, utility and military administrative facilities; fortifications and surveillance structures; temporary structures and landscape features and camp-related agricultural areas and industries. Unlike at Manzanar, their designs were motivated not by the efficacy of a military grid but by the need to control prisoners with the fewest number of guard towers. Three barbed wire fences set 30 feet apart encircled the Cowra camp.³⁵ All of these structures were auctioned by the Commonwealth Disposals Commission in March 1947 after the war and the Department of Agriculture occupied the land in August 1948, leaving only the concrete ablutions block foundations intact.³⁶

Australia's attitude to its prisoners of war was one of deferred responsibility. They were holding the prisoners for Britain and the USA. Their treatment of prisoners was not excessively violent; rations were distributed liberally with due regard to the Geneva Convention. Punishment comprised of everyday austerities, social and economic deprivation, the relentless routine of imprisonment, the remoteness of the geography, and the harshness of the semi-arid climate. And while this did in many respects replicate a state of colonial exile familiar to many Australians, these twentieth century captives were essentially hostages of a global conflict. Consequently, the incident that propelled Cowra into national prominence and prompted the town's quest for post war commemoration was exceptional for Australia, an example of citizens accepting responsibility for an otherwise disregarded history.

A tragic misunderstanding led to an attempted mass breakout of 1,104 Japanese POWs on 5 August 1944. An attack on the Australian guards and retaliatory shooting led to 235 casualties (four guards and 231 Japanese POWs).³⁷ It was the most serious wartime confrontation on Australian soil. The reasons for the breakout were much to do with mutual cultural opacity and wartime prejudices heightened by military propaganda.³⁸ The graves of the deceased POWs were located in an area adjacent to the Cowra general

cemetery. From 1946-47 onward they were tended and cared for by members of the Cowra, sub branch of the Returned Services League.³⁹

Development of the Two Sites since World War II

Manzanar

Preoccupied with the reconstruction of their lives and material well-being, during the post-WWII era, the Nisei repressed the memory of their incarceration along with its humiliation and shame, preferring to remain silent from 1945 through 1970 when the movement to memorialize and redress the event began to gain momentum largely through Sansei or third generation community activism. Encountering the reluctance of their second generation or Nisei parents to talk about their World War II experiences, third generation of Japanese Americans or Sansei initiated the Manzanar Pilgrimage as a way to engage the memory of the mass incarceration. Students involved in setting up Asian American Studies programs decided to literally follow in the footsteps of two Issei or first generation Japanese immigrants and lay Buddhist ministers, Sentoku Maeda and Shoichi Wakahiro, who had made the pilgrimage every year after the closure of the camps to ritually clean the graves, ceremonies known as *ohakamairi*, to honor the two hundred people who had died at Manzanar. Choosing a bitterly cold and windy day, 27 December 1969, the Sansei, coordinated the Pilgrimage which attracted over 150 people to clean the Manzanar Relocation Center cemetery and to repair and paint its obelisk monument, the “Soul Consoling Tower” or “I RE I TO,” built in 1943 by Manzanar’s master stonemason Ryoza Kado. It remains one of the most visible monuments of the prison city where an *ohakamairi* multi-faith ceremony is held as part of the Pilgrimage’s annual program.⁴⁰

<Fig 6. Cleaning the “Soul Consoling Tower” built by Ryoza Kado. Karl Yoneda Collection, UCLA

These commemorative modes and political movements spatially linked the resettled Japanese American Los Angeles community and other former prisoners of Relocation Centers to the isolated Manzanar Relocation Center site of their imprisonment. The Manzanar Committee members efforts to draw attention to the site later merged with the movements for redress, a multi-generational effort to sponsor court cases and legislation to prevent any similar mass incarcerations from taking place. President Ronald Reagan signed the bi-partisan redress bill, the Civil Liberties Act of 1988; the Manzanar National Historic Site was created in 1992, a moment which may be seen as part of the culmination of the redress movement.⁴¹

<Fig 7 Manzanar Pilgrimage (Photo 2016 Horiuchi)

In 2016, Bruce Embrey, the chair of the Manzanar Committee responsible for the Manzanar Pilgrimage--an annual commemorative event on the site every year, explained its dual character or multifaceted purpose: the first goal was an educational component to tell the story first to all members of the Japanese American community, particularly the younger generation, and secondly, to create a message of political relevance in moving forward, such as the need to highlight the xenophobia and anti-Muslim racism that is now part of our everyday existence.⁴² Susette Min posed a question in 2006 about the unifying possibilities of Asian American art, whatever its mode--visual, performative, design, etc., that remains relevant: "How can we build a community of singularities where affiliations, attachments and bonds are unmarked, absent of any shared value (of citizenship, say) or experience (for example of oppression)?"⁴³

The National Park Service and its Visiting Center housed in the restored and rehabilitated auditorium is now custodian of the physical landscapes of the Manzanar Relocation Center. Their preservation plans and interpretive programs have been carefully worked out in a series of mandated NPS processes with intensive community input but without the articulation of political goals, one of the latest of which is the *Garden Management Plan: Gardens and Gardeners at Manzanar* by Jeffery Burton.⁴⁴ The comprehensive garden plan proposes to draw in visitors to orient them to the prisoners' residential areas beyond the Visitor Center with the restoration and recreation of three gardens: a family barracks garden, a mess hall garden next to the block public facilities, and a well-known elaborate Japanese community garden, also known as Merritt Park in addition to other.

<Fig 8. Mess Hall Garden 34 (Photo Horiuchi, 2016)

<Fig. 9. Cowra Japanese Garden (Photo. Pieris 2014)

Cowra

An official cemetery was commissioned by the Japanese Government belatedly in 1963, once diplomatic relations had improved between Japan and Australia, and was located side by side with the Australian War Cemetery at Cowra, an area used since the 1950s.⁴⁵ It would gather graves of internees and Japanese servicemen and airmen from other Australian sites. The design by Japanese architect Shigeru Yura formed the nexus for subsequent reconciliatory strategies. The importance of human remains – even of dissident POWs - and of mutual respect within military culture is emphasized at Cowra, but it also touches Australian civilian sensibilities regarding family members lost in overseas conflicts. Such sentiments lie deep in the Australian psyche, a country where a million men and women (from a total population of about seven million) served during the Second World War.⁴⁶ The process of reconciliation had to deal with Japan's coming to terms with its own POW histories, the Australian government's reluctance to address

the history of the breakout, and Australia's own painful memories of internment under the Japanese. The Cowra RSL sub-Branch, Cowra Municipal Council (from 1968) and the Cowra Tourist and Development Corporation chose to confront this history. The reconciliation process developed in phases, related to the creation of the cemetery (1964), the Festival of International Understanding (1965), the Cowra Japanese Garden (1978-79 and 1984-86) and the heritage redevelopment of the POW campsite from 1989, alongside the cultivation of a transnational relationship with a former POW campsite at Naoetsu (where Australians had been incarcerated) that has evolved into a '[Peace and Friendship Agreement](#)' with Joetsu City in Japan.⁴⁷ From among these varied commemorative strategies, the Japanese Garden (Figure 4) arguably an alien cultural tradition welcomed by Cowra has proved pivotal for heritage diplomacy and internationalization and played a leading role in representing the Cowra story.⁴⁸

<Fig. 6. Cowra Japanese Garden (photo Pieris, 2014)>

As explained by Don Kibbler, a builder trained in architectural drawing, who was President of the Cowra Tourism Development Corporation, the idea for a garden was incidental, an effort at creating tourism interest during an economic downturn (as the gardens at No.12 camp had been built by Italian internees and not the Japanese POWs); but once the concept took hold a number of events reinforced it.⁴⁹ A key to its success was the support of a Japanese wool manufacturing company desirous of investing in Cowra during the 1970s. Kibbler describes the efforts he made to garner enthusiasm for his project, carting a model of a Japanese garden in the back of his station wagon until, with the support of the Department of Tourism, the Federal Government and the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry and Keidanren (Japan Business Federation) the first stage was initiated.⁵⁰ Ken Nakajima, a renowned Japanese landscape designer who had built Japanese gardens in Montreal and Moscow was selected by competition. Nakajima conceived the garden as a piece of the Japanese homeland where the souls of deceased soldiers might find release. Its Japanese foliage was complemented by Australian Eucalypts, an invitation to deceased Australian comrades. The narrative of the garden spaces, the mountains and rivers running down to the ocean shore is familiar to designers of Japanese strolling gardens, but was afforded a deeper meaning in relation to the 'breakout'. The garden was conceived as a space for catharsis, for Japanese visitors seeking closure and locals striving to understand their role in that difficult history.

It is important to recognise that POW heritage commemoration at Cowra shares none of the national concerns or considerations raised in Manzanar with respect to culturally Japanese Australians. Political redress was not available to Japanese internees incarcerated in Australia; they were repatriated *en masse*. The lack of a resident Japanese community prompted a different engagement with this wartime carceral heritage internationalising Cowra's response. Cowra became a site for heritage diplomacy by exploring the potency of Prisoner of War narratives for cultivating cultural tolerance in the Pacific region, a region fragmented by divisive national interests and post war

tensions. Although a shire of only 12,000 residents, largely of Anglo-European or Wiradjeri- Aboriginal descent (with few recent immigrants from Asia), the town has a Japanese Garden, a Peace Bell, a heritage site dedicated to the POW Camp, a Japanese War Cemetery and a memorial to camp guards enmeshed in its fabric, and is the most complex Australian site dealing with wartime incarceration histories.

Commemorative Practices

Although POW incarceration is very different from civilian internment, diverse responses to issues of Japanese cultural identity reveal both the limitations of national perspectives and the opportunities for internationalisation that are seized or not – as the case may be. Japanese Americans have led a successful redress movement on the principles of liberal democracy – disassociating their communities from the Japanese militarism that damned them in the prejudiced eyes of wartime governments and publics. Japanese South Americans held at Crystal City continue to seek redress.

The spectre of Japan was an unsettling reality of the post war period, reintroduced through high national casualties as captives of the Japanese Imperial Army.⁵¹ Meanwhile Australia, due to post war repatriation of its internee population was not forced to confront its internal wartime injustices. It had reverted to its historic status as a colonial penal destination in receiving Britain's prisoners and saw Britain as responsible for their incarceration, including the wrongful internment of Jewish families. The Australian government made no apologies and was not challenged by appeals for redress. Moreover, unlike the US, Australia incarcerated around thirty different nationalities associated with the Axis partnership, while continuing to uphold the structural exclusions of colonial politics. Except for the case of Cowra, wartime internment appeared not to have created comparable internal angst.

In contrast, Manzanar, an interesting case for demonstrating generational changes in interpretation and activism leading to redress, internal to The US, focused almost completely on the abrogation of American civil rights with the goal of recognizing the right of every American to full citizenship. Greg Robinson one of the pre-eminent chroniclers of E.O.9066 has noted that the fixed spatial and national boundaries of its interpretation remains a troubling problem even as the mass incarceration has remained an important civil liberties case study and the number of sites restored and commemorated has grown as a point of reference for all Asian Americans and diverse groups of Americans – annually remembered on the anniversary of the issuance of E. O. 9066.

Architecture and urban planning are ideal disciplines with inter-disciplinary work from which to explore conditions and movement within the camps to understand the impacts on the people forced to move from military areas and their mass incarceration. Studies in architectural and urban history are now loosening themselves from the formal aesthetic

analyses structured by their professional disciplines to include not only interdisciplinary approaches but also the heterogenous contexts in which city building takes place, but also to understand the builders and inhabitants responses to them as critiques of everyday life as seen in the Manzanar gardens, lawns, and other efforts to bring beauty into the prison cities.

Social justice issues are concomitantly central to the interpretation and commemoration of the sites of mass incarceration raised through the issues of national belonging that are more apparent in documentary, historical or theoretical representations of the mass incarceration. Commemoration continues to be celebrated at the Manzanar National Historic Site through the power of its physical presence and through community participation, the latter principally in the ephemeral annual two-day Manzanar Pilgrimage--an expression and extension of the community activism that successfully lobbied for the preservation the Manzanar Relocation Center as a historic site.

The commemorative task at Cowra was not solely of building internal racial tolerance in a town with a military history but of making a hated enemy into a trading partner and potential ally. These political shifts and regional partnerships underscored post war introspection and informed representations of the past. Efforts made by private townspeople, tourism bodies and RSL members in liaising with Japanese governmental and private organizations were the mainstay of this process.

Today, the Cowra Japanese Garden is neither a museum nor a memorial; these functions have been diverted to other spaces in the township. No physical trace of the breakout story is visible in its fashioning. Its force is its uncanny beauty in the semi-arid rock strewn landscape of Cowra, and its cultural distinction as a gift, in part, from Japan. But this beauty cannot convey the garden's deeper history without interpretive input. Its designation as a peace precinct and its chorus of supporting spaces, identified by staff at the Cowra Visitor Centre, forestall its conflation with other tourism venues. The resilience of this site is largely dependent on whether the nation will come on board to recognise these histories, but at the moment tales of heroism or incarceration in Asia preoccupy Australians.

The discursive incongruities and ethical faultlines in these separate commemorative strategies emerge through comparison of the US with Australia, arguably very similar in their settler composition, attitudes to race and tolerance or intolerance of immigration when compared to the major belligerents of the Second World War – Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union and Japan. While the provocations for establishing the camps are similar, their form, configuration, population and political significance appear radically different for these two contexts. This is also true of how their geopolitics is mobilised for

redress or reconciliation at a national or international level. US scholars are focused on the health of nation while Australians on their survival in the Asia Pacific. Very different deployments of affective materialities in each of these scenarios – most evident in their Japanese garden spaces – clearly reflects their divergence. Comparative analyses, such as this one, force us to recognise how scholarship on this topic is embedded in each nation's respective field of sovereignty, invariably shaped by their separate engagements in the Pacific War. Intellectual convergence across these separate fields expose other gaps and silences in scholarship, legislative and commemorative efforts with mutual benefits.

Abstract

This paper compares two former Pacific War incarceration histories in the USA and Australia, inquiring how their narratives of confinement and redress might be interpreted spatially and materially and how these sensibilities are incorporated into contemporary heritage strategies including, in these examples, through Japanese garden designs. At the Manzanar Historic Site in California, the efforts of several generations advocating for civil rights and preservation of the Manzanar Relocation Center have overlapped with the National Park Service's efforts at striving to fulfil its federal mandates to preserve and restore the historic site. Conversely at Cowra, New South Wales these histories are interwoven with post war commemorative spaces, aimed at drawing visitors to former incarceration sites and encouraging contemplation of these difficult histories. This paper analyses their complex creative processes and interpretive strategies as useful for drawing these isolated national stories into broader global interrogations of their significance.

Keywords

commemoration, Japanese gardens, Japanese American internment, Australia-Japan, Cowra breakout, Manzanar, New Denver, Japanese Canadian internment

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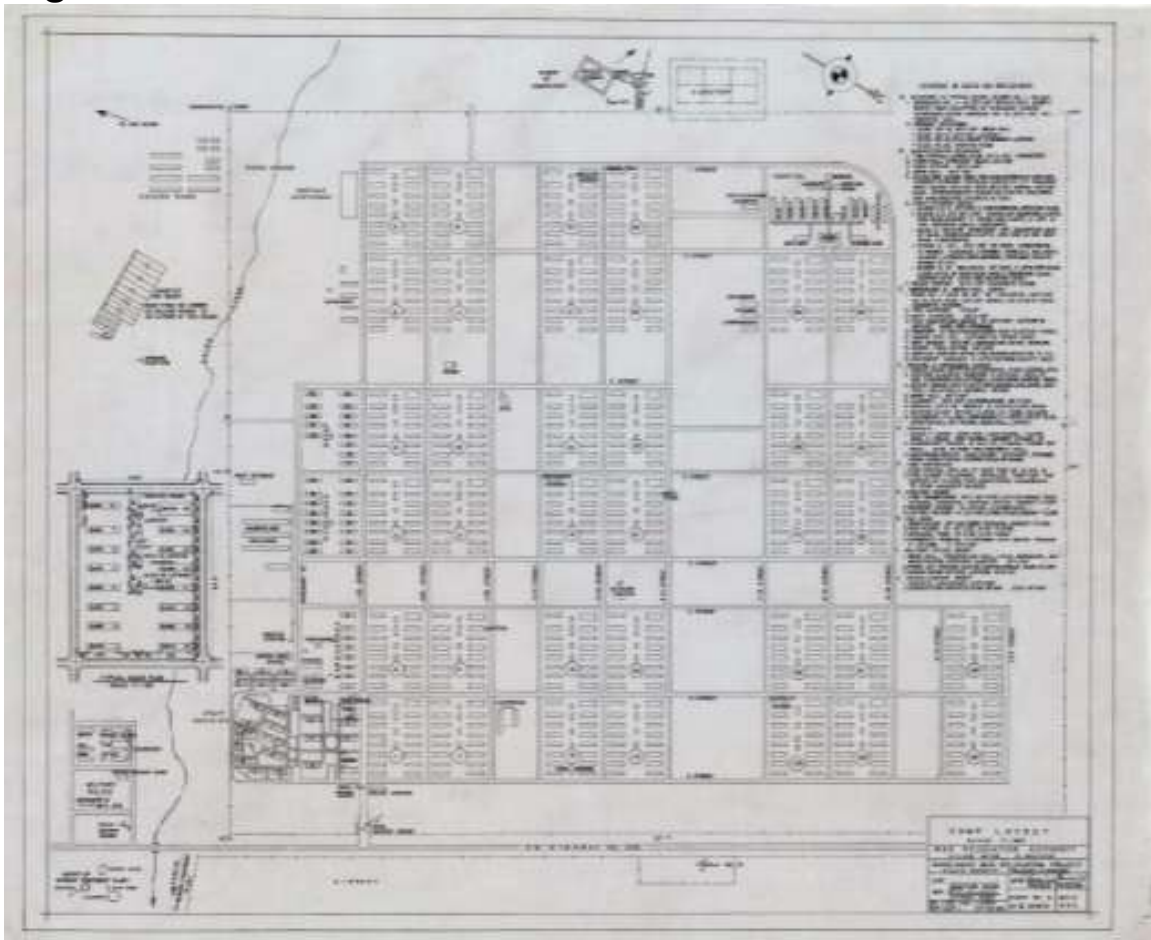
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Figures



<Fig. 1 *California, Manzanar, Camp Layout (Sheet 1 of 6)*, War Relocation Authority, 20 April 1946, National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 210, Cartography, College Park (public record)



<Fig 2. Kango Takamura Saturday Afternoon looking south from block 8 May 1943



<Fig 3. Kango Takamura Untitled winter landscape



<Fig 4. Repainting of the I REI TO or Soul Consoling Tower at the first Manzanar Pilgrimage, 26 December 1969

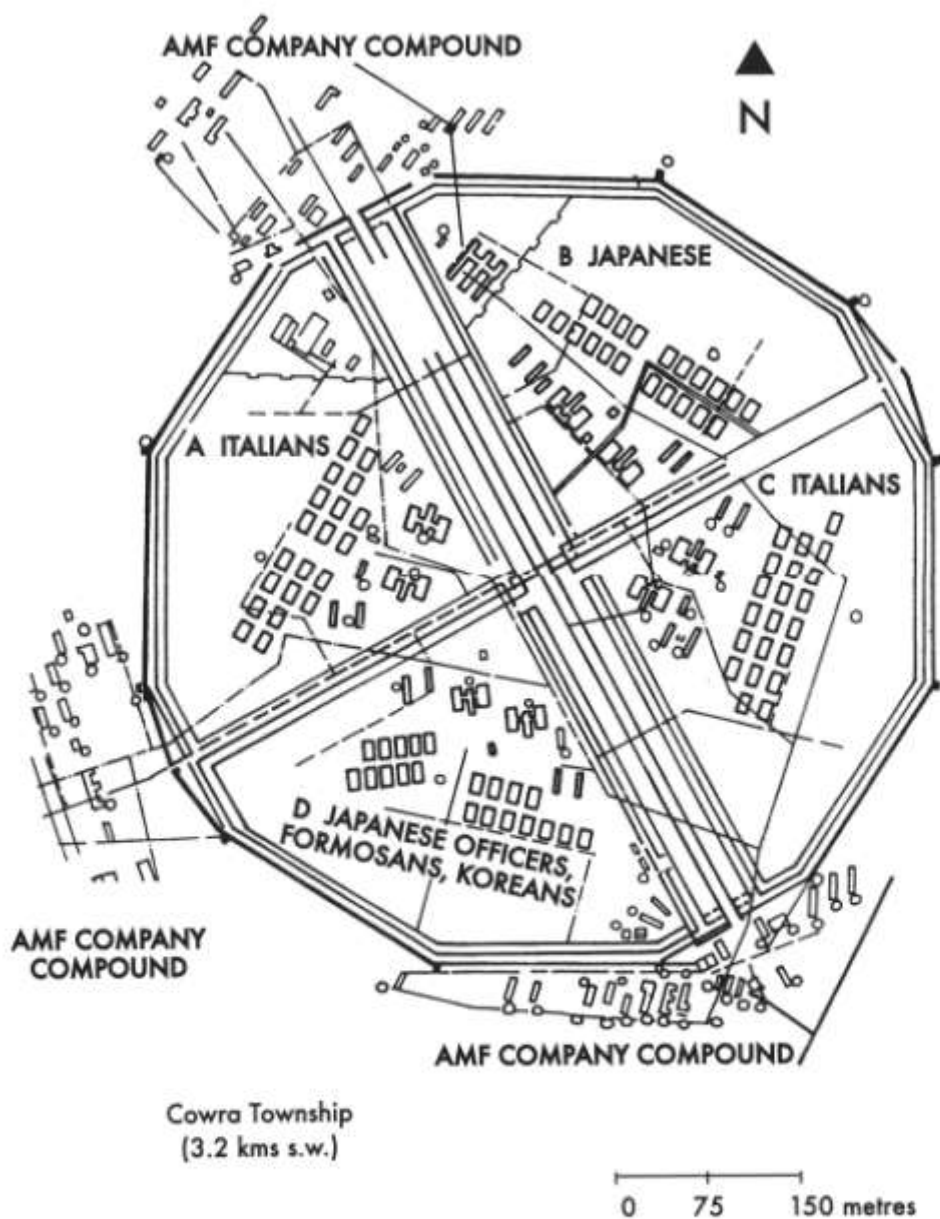
Karl Yoneda Papers, UCLA Collection 1592 Box 13
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<Fig.5. Manzanar Pilgrimage, 2016 (Photo. Horiuchi 2016)



<Fig. 6. The Block 34 Mess Hall Garden (Photo. Horiuchi 2016)



Layout of Cowra Prisoner of War Camp

<Fig. 7. Cowra POW Camp No. 12, plan, provided by the Cowra Shire Council



<Fig. 8 Cowra POW Camp No.12, Australian War Memorial Negative Number PO3160.002.



<Fig. 9. Cowra Japanese Garden (Photo. Pieris 2014)

¹ For a review of a conversation of interests among historians of the American West, Hawai'i and the Pacific Islands, of Asian Americans, and of the Japanese and American empires, see Jordan Sand, "Reconfiguring Pacific History: Reflections from the Pacific Empires Working Group," *Amerasia Journal* 42:3 (2016), 1-41

² Greg Robinson, *Tragedy of Democracy* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001) 35, 55. See Also Greg Robinson and Toni Robinson, "'Korematsu' and Beyond: Japanese Americans and the Origins of Strict Scrutiny," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 68:2 2005, 29-55; Patrick O. Gudridge, "Remember Endo?" *Harvard Law Review*, 116 (2003) 1933-70.

³ Australian Government, Federal Register of Legislation, National Security Act 1939, available online at: <https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C1939A00015>. Camps were established at Cowra, Hay and Holsworthy in New South Wales; at Enoggera in Queensland, Harvey and Rottnest Island in Western Australia, Loveday in South Australia and Tatura in Victoria.

⁴ Britain requested that Commonwealth Countries receive up to 50,000 prisoners and Australia agreed on 3 July 1940. War Cabinet Agendum 157/1940, supplement No. 1. This was later reduced to 12,000.

⁵ See Jeffrey F. Burton, J. M. Farrell, F. Lord and R. Lord. *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (Tucson: The Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, 1999) 40-45, 160-202. . See also, Lynne Horiuchi, "Dislocations: The Built Environments of Japanese American Internment" in *Guilt by Association*, ed. Mike Mackey. (Powell, Wyoming: Western History Publications, 2000) 255-276.

⁶ Burton, Jeffery F., and Site Manzanar National Historic, *Garden Management Plan: Gardens and Gardeners at Manzanar*, (Manzanar National Historic Site, California, 2015). 12.

⁷ Suggested Resettlement or Work Projects," April 1942, Box 1, Records of the Bureau of Agriculture Economics, Record Group 83, National Archives and Records Administration- San Bruno. See also Colleen Lye, *America's*

Asia: Racial Form and American Literature, 1893-1945 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 141-203.

⁸ Michel Laguerre, *The Global Ethnopolis : Chinatown, Japantown, and Manilatown in American Society* (Hampshire; New York: Macmillan Press ; St. Martin's Press, 2000) 62-70; Lynne Horiuchi, "Object Lessons in Homebuilding: Racialized Real Estate Marketing in San Francisco," ed. Dianne Harris in *Landscape Journal*, 26:1(Spring 2007): 65-67.. See also Arthur A. Hansen and Betty Kulberg Mitson eds., "They Don't Learn From History: An Interview with Anna T. Kelley," in *Voices Long Silent : An Oral Inquiry into the Japanese American Evacuation*. (Fullerton: Japanese American Project, California State University, Fullerton Oral History Program, 1974) 151-155

⁹ Karin M., Higa, Museum Japanese American National, and S. Wight Art Gallery Frederick. *The View from Within: Japanese American Art from the Internment Camps, 1942-1945* [in English]. [Los Angeles, Calif.]; Seattle, WA: Japanese American National Museum ; Distributed by University of Washington Press, 1994. There are also numerous notable volumes published on these artists.

¹⁰ Lye, 166.

¹¹ Roger Daniels, ""The Effects of Incarceration Analyzed," "Evacuation and Economic Loss: Questions and Perspectives" by Sandra C. Taylor, and "The Concentration Camps and Japanese Economic Losses in California Agriculture, 1900-1942 by Gary Y. Okihiro and David Drummond in *Japanese Americans, from Relocation to Redress*, Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano, eds. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991). 148-149.

¹² See Arijit Sen and Jennifer Johung. "Introduction..." *Landscapes of Mobility : Culture, Politics, and Placemaking*, (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2013) 1-17 for theoretical framing for this concept.

¹³ Jim Yoshihara, "DAMNED FENCE," Yoshihara collection, Densho c. 1942, ddr-densho-126-1.

¹⁴ "Summary Report on Center Requested by Dr. Carter, 24 July 1942, Japanese Evacuation and Resettlement Study report ? from Bancroft Library , Drawer Manz I, Folder "Official Documents", Eastern California Museum, Independence Museum.

¹⁵ Kango Takamura, "Saturday Afternoon looking south from block 8," May 1943, UCLA Special Collections, Collection 433, Box 1 Manzanar, F.16.

¹⁶ Alinder, Jasmine. *Moving Images : fot Photography and the Japanese American Incarceration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 48. See also David Kishiyama, John Armour and Peter Wright, *Picturing Manzanar*, photographs by Ansel Adams, commentary by John Hersey (Los Angeles, *Los Angeles*, 1989) 6.

¹⁷ "Manzanar Being Dismantled..." *The Desert Magazine*, January 1947, 10:3. And "Conditions Outline for Manzanar Site Sale; \$750,000 in Surplus Items Listed," *Inyo Register*, 21 June 1946, Vol. 62, 1.

¹⁸ Arijit Sen and Jennifer Johung , 8.

¹⁹ Kango Takamura, "Untitled winter landscape." May 1943, UCLA Special Collections, Collection 433, Box 3, Manzanar, F.2.

²⁰ For theoretical readings linking diasporic movement and Asian American art through both historic and contemporary lenses in addition to Sen and Johung, see Alexandra. Chang, *Envisioning Diaspora: Asian American Visual Arts Collectives from Godzilla, Godzookie to the Barnstormers* (Beijing: Timezone 8 Editions, 2009) and Machida, Margo. *Unsettled Visions: Contemporary Asian American Artists and the Social Imaginary* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

²¹ Recognizing the instability of spatial embodiment across multiple types of boundaries is a shared converging interest across art and architecture as Sen and Johung elaborate, and across multiple areas of Pacific Rim study as Jordan Sand has noted. The volume, *Perilous Memories : The Asia-Pacific War(S)*, edited by Takashi Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001) extends this focus on the instability of the politics of embodiment and memory by focusing on commemoration, particularly of Japanese participation in World War II. In the volume, they illuminate the challenges of remembering and forgetting of difficult heritages: "Critical memories are...constantly imperiled by the reactionary responses of conservative political forces, especially those seeking to preserve various kinds of nationalist nostalgia." Keith Camacho's volume, *Culture s of Commemoration: The Politics of War, Memory, and History in the Mariana Islands*, provides an in-depth case history of this type of exploration of national commemoration and the dynamism of remembering. Alexandra Chang, Margo Machida and Susette Min all explore the diasporic unsettling of Asian American identity in art that relates to the explorations of gardens of Manzanar and Cowra to Australian diasporic movement and war.

²² National Archives of Australia, "Wartime internment camps in Australia" and World War 1 internee, alien and POW record held in Adelaide – Fact sheet 106,

<http://naa.gov.au/collection/snapshots/internment-camps/index.aspx#section1> and <http://naa.gov.au/collection/fact-sheets/fs106.aspx>.

²³ Graham Apthorpe, *A Town at War: stories from Cowra in World War II* (Cowra, N.S.W.: G. Apthorpe, 2008), 232.

²⁴ Australian War Memorial (hereafter AWM), Enlistment Statistics, Second World War, <https://www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/enlistment/ww2/>.

²⁵ AWM, Prisoners of the Japanese, <https://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/stoloneyears/ww2/japan/>.

²⁶ History of the Directorate of Prisoners of War, part 2, 106. See also Apthorpe, *A Town at War*, 16-18; Joyce Hammond, *Walls of Wire: Tatura, Rushworth, Murchison* (Tatura: Joyce Hammond, 1990), 9, following the National Security (Aliens Control) Regulations of 1939. History of the Directorate of Prisoners of War, 91.

²⁷ In Australia, several acts aimed at restricting labour competition with Chinese and Pacific Islanders were introduced in 1901 and would become the basis for the White Australia policy which restricted non-White immigration until 1973. A number of policies incrementally revised this stance.

²⁸ Immigration from Japan was banned until the accommodation of war brides in 1949. See Yuriko Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1996), 298, Appendix A, based on History of the Directorate of Prisoners of War and Internees (Australian Army Headquarters, Directorate of Prisoners of War and Internees), 1939-1951 ORMF0024 (Official Record), 91.

²⁹ Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens*, 298.

³⁰ History of the Directorate of Prisoners of War, part 2, 106.

³¹ Apthorpe, *A Town at War*, 16.

³² Other formal arrangements included rectangles, parallelograms and rhomboidal figures.

³³ *An Archaeological Assessment of the Site of Prisoner of War Camp 12, Cowra, NSW*, October 2003 (Canberra: Heritage Archaeology, 2003), 29-30.

³⁴ NSW Office of Environment and Heritage, Cowra Prisoner of War Camp Site, <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5045173>.

³⁵ NSW Office of Environment and Heritage, Cowra Prisoner of War Camp Site, <http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5045173>.

³⁶ *An Archaeological Assessment of Camp 12*, 32.

³⁷ Steven Bullard, *Blankets on the Wire: The Cowra Breakout and its Aftermath* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial 2006).

³⁸ Rumours that the rank and file might be relocated to another camp at Hay, New South Wales prompted a group vote for a mass breakout. Some 334 escapees were apprehended in the following week.

³⁹ William Appleton, *Rikai Means Understanding: A Guide to the Japanese War Cemetery* (Cowra, N.S.W. and Canberra, A.C.T.: W.W. Appleton, 1998), 8-9.

⁴⁰ Manzanar Committee, *Reflections in Three Self-Guided Tours of Manzanar* (Los Angeles: The Manzanar Committee, 1998) 28. Harlan D. Unrau and the National Park Service, *The Evacuation and Relocation of Persons of Japanese Ancestry During World War II: A Historical Study of the Manzanar War Relocation Center* (Manzanar National Historic Site, California National Park Service, 1996) 279-280. Jeffery F. Burton, Mary M. Farrell and the National Park Service, *Garden Management Plan: Gardens and Gardeners at Manzanar* (Washington: National Park Service 2015) 57-59. http://www.manzanarcommittee.org/The_Manzanar_Committee/About_Us.html, accessed 2 December 2016. The Manzanar Buddhist Association sponsored the obelisk's construction, soliciting contributions of fifteen cents each to pay for its construction, and fifty Young Buddhist Association members volunteered to help construct it. See also, Wendi Yamashita, "The Colonial and the Carceral: Building Relationships Between Japanese Americans and Indigenous Groups in the Owens Valley", *Carceral States* issue Karen J. Leong and Myla Vicenti Carpio eds., *Amerasia Journal*, 42:1. 2016, 121-138.

⁴¹ Roger Daniels, *The Japanese American Cases: The Rule of Law in Time of War*, (Lawrence: the University of Kansas Press, 2013) 159, 193.

⁴² Interview, (Unedited unreviewed), "University of Melbourne Focus Group, 16 May 2016 3-4. We thank Bruce Embrey and the Manzanar National Historic Site for the use of this interview.

⁴³ Susette Min, "The Last Asian American Exhibition in the Whole Entire World," in *One Way or Another: Asian American Art Now* (New Haven: Asia Society in association with Yale University Press, 2006) 39.

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- ⁴⁴ Jeffery F., Burton and Manzanar *National Historic Site. Garden Management Plan*, 2015. 4-9.
- ⁴⁵ Ai Kobayashi and Bart Ziino, "Cowra Japanese War Cemetery", in *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with Difficult Heritage*, ed. William Logan and Keir Reeves, (Abingdon; New York: Routledge 2009), 100-112.
- ⁴⁶ "Second World War, 1939-45", Australian War Memorial, <https://www.awm.gov.au/atwar/ww2/>
- ⁴⁷ Joetsu City was founded in 1971 by the merger of Takada and Naoetsu.
- ⁴⁸ The site was listed in the state heritage register in 1999.
- ⁴⁹ Based on an interview with Don Kibbler and Tony Mooney on 19 November 2016 at Cowra.
- ⁵⁰ "Cowra-Japan Conversations", Australia-Japan Research Project, 27 February 2003, accessed December 6, 2016, <http://ajrp.awm.gov.au/ajrp/ajrp2.nsf/trans/3D3B83F45CF2C4B0CA256D56001F25E1?openDocument>.
- ⁵¹ Australian War Memorial, Stolen Years, <https://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/stolenyears/ww2/japan/>. some 22,000 captured and 8,000 deaths during captivity for Australia. NARA: World War II Prisoners of the Japanese File, 2007 Update, ca. 1941 - ca. 1945, ADBC Card Project, around 29,813 captured for the US, <https://aad.archives.gov/aad/series-description.jsp?s=4277>.