

COLD CREAM, MASCULINITY, AND IMPRISONMENT:
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERNEES AT IDAHO'S
KOOSKIA INTERNMENT CAMP, 1943-1945

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Authorization to Submit Thesis

This thesis of Kyla Fitz-Gerald, submitted for the degree of Master of Arts with a Major in Anthropology, titled “Skincare, Masculinity, and Internment: The Archaeology of Japanese Internees at Idaho’s Kooskia Internment Camp, 1943-1945,” has been reviewed in final form. Permission, as indicated by the signatures and dates below, is now granted to submit final copies to the college of Graduate Studies for approval.

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Abstract

The Kooskia Internment Camp was an all-male Japanese American Internment Camp in Idaho during World War II. Archaeological excavation in 2010 and 2013 of the Kooskia Internment Camp near Lowell, Idaho revealed the presence of cold cream jars at the site. Cold cream is a moisturizing and cleansing cream applied to facial skin that is generally associated with female cosmetic routines. This thesis analyzes cold cream jars within the context of masculinity and of Japanese American internment during World War II. The main research question addressed in this thesis is: why and how were the men of the Kooskia using cold cream? The framework of this research is grounded in theories that utilize holistic approaches to understanding the archaeology of gender and masculinity, and the archaeology of transnationalism. Analysis of the cold cream jar fragments involved research on the use of cold cream, the history of cosmetics, and the practice of Japanese *kabuki* performing arts. Three theories are developed as a result of this research; first, that the men of Kooskia were using cold cream for its intended purpose of cleansing and moisturizing to maintain their complexion; second, the men were using cold cream as a substitution for shaving cream or lather; and third, that the men were using cold cream to remove stage makeup from *kabuki* performances such as *odori* dances.

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Dedication

For Mom, who taught me the art of laughing—a skill without which, this thesis would not exist.

And in memory of my Grandma and Grandpa Weldy, who gave me wanderlust and a desire to learn.

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Glossary of Terms

BP. The United States Bureau of Prisons.

Incarceration camp. Camps run by the war relocation authority during World War II that held Japanese American citizens and non-citizens that were deemed not dangerous.

Internment camp. Camps run by the INS during World War II that held Japanese aliens considered “enemy aliens” by the FBI.

INS. United States Immigration and Naturalization Services

Issei. Japanese aliens, not born in the United States.

Japanese Americans. All people of Japanese heritage living in the United States both Issei and Nisei, citizen and non-citizen. This term is debated among scholars, as referring to all persons of Japanese descent living in America as “Japanese Americans” confuses some over citizen vs. noncitizen status. Issei were barred from becoming citizens, but some felt a bond to the United States and just as much American as the next generation (Nisei). Therefore, out of respect, the term “Japanese Americans” will be used in this thesis.

Nisei. American citizens, the generation born in the United States.

WRA. United States War Relocation Authority formed in 1942 to organize the incarceration of Japanese Americans.

Introduction

The intended purpose of this thesis will be to add to the understanding of the daily life of Japanese internees in INS camps, specifically at the Kooskia Internment Camp. The framework of this research addresses the topic of skin care and beauty practices among the men at Kooskia Internment Camp, located near Kooskia, Idaho, during World War II. Fragments of cold cream jars from the 2010 and 2013 field seasons will be analyzed and synthesized with historical records and cultural studies and histories. The main issue under scrutiny in this thesis will be what cold cream jars can reveal about the daily routine or the life of a Japanese American internee during World War II.



Figure 0.1: Map of Idaho showing the general location of the Kooskia Internment Camp.

During WWII, the Kooskia Internment Camp was a Japanese American internment camp (May 1943 to May 1945) located in North-Central Idaho (Figure 0.1). The Kooskia Internment Camp was a unique feature of Japanese American internment, as it was a work camp. It was an internment camp run by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for the Justice Department. Kooskia held around 265 men (labeled “enemy aliens.” The

term “alien” referred to their status as non-citizens without the rights of a United States citizen) who transferred to Kooskia from other INS camps such as Santa Fe Internment Camp in New Mexico. Some of the men held at Kooskia volunteered to be transferred from these camps to work on U.S. highway 12 for minimal wages. This was similar to its predecessor, a CCC camp that employed federal prisoners to work on the same highway.¹ This research will be limited to the cold cream jars collected from excavations in 2010 and 2013 associated with the Kooskia Internment Camp.

The significance of this research is that it will help us understand skincare practices in internment camps during WWII. Research on this topic has been conducted by Dana Ogo Shew in the form of a master’s thesis about hygienic practices among second-generation (“Nisei”) Japanese American women held in Granada War Relocation Center (more commonly known as Amache) WRA camp during WWII. Shew’s research uses archaeology and oral histories to understand the experience of women at WRA camps. Shew reveals how the nature of identity was fluid for the women held at Amache, and how they were continually “redefining what it meant to be Japanese, American, and a woman.”² My research complements Shew’s study by examining male identities through their use of a skincare product commonly associated with women.

This research also compliments other research pieces on subjects such as skincare culture and practices, masculinity, and Japanese American internment. Little is known about these subjects in combination, and my research is unique in that way. This work is valuable because it adds detail to the story of Japanese American internment and the culture of masculinity within internment, as well as adds to the history of beauty products.

The history of the Kooskia Internment Camp begins with the bombing of Pearl Harbor by Japanese forces on December 7, 1941.³ Japanese resident immigrants (Issei) were taken into captivity by the Justice and War Department that same day, and in the days following the attack.⁴ United States agents arrested German, Italian, and Japanese foreign nationals and a number of American citizens. The Justice and War Department interned 31,275 people, and of them 17,477 were of Japanese heritage.⁵ The total number of people of Japanese heritage who were incarcerated by the United States (including those held by the War Relocation Authority) during World War II is around 110,000. One-third of that number was Issei, and the majority (two-thirds) were Nisei (American-born citizens). The Japanese American incarceration caused personal economic loss and had lasting effects on their identity and family life.⁶ Possessions and ways of making money were taken away. Family traditions were destroyed by the way the camps were set up, and when the Japanese Americans were released for resettlement they had nowhere to go. They also faced loss of community due to fragmented social networks from their previous life.⁷

Before the INS used Kooskia to incarcerate primarily Japanese aliens, it was a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp from June 1933 to October 1933. From August 1935 to May 1943 the site was turned into the Bureau of Prison's Canyon Creek Prison Camp (named for the creek that ran through it) where federal prisoners from Leavenworth, Kansas could work off a sentence constructing the highway. Prior to the land's use for a Civilian Conservation Corps camp, the area (Lolo Trail) was used by the Nez Perce for seasonal travel, and the Lewis and Clark expedition used the trail to get through the Bitterroot Mountains.⁸ The land is now owned by the Clearwater National Forest (CNF) as part of the U.S. Forest Service. In the 1970s the CNF conducted archaeological surveys of the Kooskia Internment Camp. Starting

in 2009, Professor Stacey Camp from the University of Idaho obtained three federal grants under the National Park Service's Japanese American Confinement Sites grant program to conduct archaeological work on the site.⁹ The first field season was held in the summer of 2010. Testing occurred in Zone One (the location of internee barracks) and units were opened in both Zone One and Zone Two (location of the incinerator and trash dump) (Figure 0.2). The second field season was held in the summer of 2013. Surface survey of Zone Two was conducted and additional excavation units were opened in that area.¹⁰

All artifacts used in this research came from the Kooskia materials collected during the 2010 and 2013 field seasons. Comparative artifacts will come from the Asian American Comparative Collection and the Historic Artifact Comparative Collection at the University of Idaho. Special attention will be given to the analysis of milk glass artifacts with diagnostic features. These diagnostic features are the distinctive markings on the jar such as a stamped pattern or a brand name. Historic research and product research took place to best determine the cultural context of the product or item. The cultural contexts considered in this thesis will incorporate the intended consumer, incarceration, and masculinity, and Japanese and Japanese American culture, in general, will also be explored.

The basic question being asked in this thesis is: what can cold cream jars reveal about the Kooskia internees? As Shew has proven in her thesis on femininity and beauty products at Amache, studying bodily practices can shed light on subjects such as gender and life in internment camps. What can skin care products say about the daily life of the incarcerated? Were the Japanese men using cold cream for their intended purpose, or were they modifying them to use in other circumstances? All of the questions will connect back to what they reveal about the masculinity of Japanese internees and Japanese Americans, and the masculinity of

the imprisoned. Masculinity and femininity are systems of characterizing a person's gender, and gender is a cultural construction of imagined sexual differences.¹¹

2010-2013 Kooskia Internment Camp Archaeological Project Site Map Zones 1 & 2

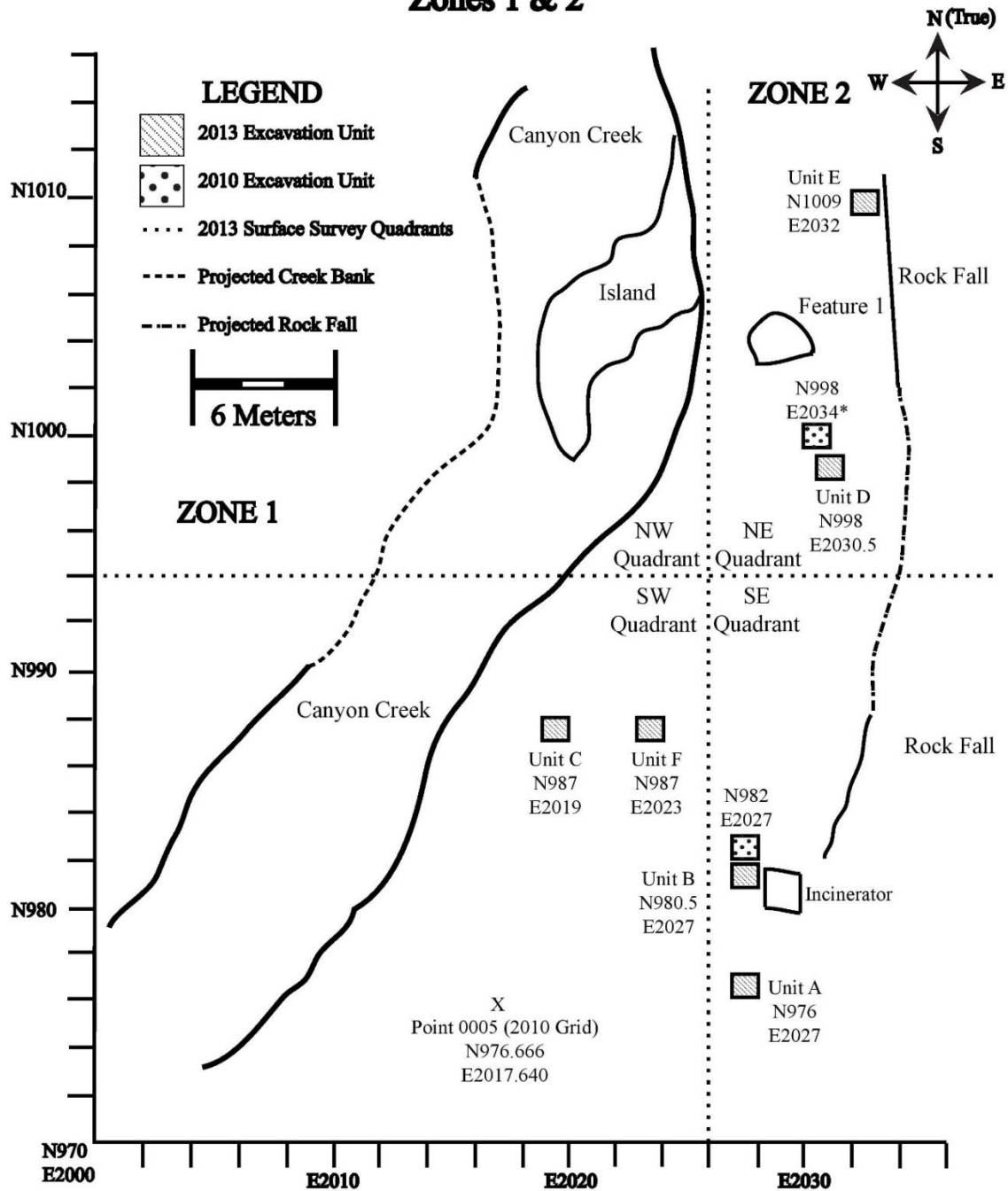


Figure 0.2: Site map for the Kooskia Archaeological Project field seasons 2010 and 2013, showing zones 1 and 2.

Chapter 1: Review of Relevant Literature

Introduction

This thesis draws on many areas of study that are very specific and not particularly popular amongst scholars. In contrast the history of Japanese American internment has a larger variety of works upon which one can draw. However, research on INS camps specifically is sparse as a stand-alone subject. Archaeologist Jeffery Burton has conducted survey and research on Japanese American internment sites (both INS and WRA camps), and his works are listed in the bibliography. In addition, there are only a handful of articles on the archaeology of masculinity, and much of the research for this thesis had to draw upon several other topics such as the archaeology of gender, archaeology of the body, and archaeology of immigrant communities. Within studies about the history of beauty or skin care, cold cream is a limited subject. Because of these scholarly limitations, much of the information in this thesis was pieced together from many different sources.

Historical Literature

Not many archaeological sites have the privilege of having a book written about them prior to excavation. *Imprisoned in Paradise*,¹ by Dr. Priscilla Wegars, is the comprehensive historical account of the Kooskia Internment Camp. Wegars integrates an even amount of official documentation with the stories and oral histories from the internees and administrators. Information presented by Wegars in *Imprisoned in Paradise* offers an understanding of the events that amounted to the camp's creation, information on internment camp life, and the social implications of Japanese internment. Photographs included in the

book offer clues about the presence of cold cream jars in the internees' possession, and also depict the internees participating in traditional Japanese performing arts. *Imprisoned in Paradise* is one of the most helpful works explaining and recording Japanese American internment from the angle of INS camps.

Most general research on Japanese internment focuses on the large relocation (WRA) camps where Japanese American citizens and Japanese immigrants were taken. The book *Prisoners Without Trial* by Roger Daniels does a good job of including information about both the WRA camps and the INS camps. Daniels explains the workings of the hierarchy under which both types of camps fell and how each came about within bureaucracy. Despite the procedural information about the INS and WRA systems, Daniels manages to remain sensitive to the marginalized people represented in his work. He makes it clear that the wartime abuse of the Japanese American community was not a stand-alone incident but was one part of a long history of racism. The Immigration Act of 1924 set a limit on immigration numbers varying for each country of origin. Though the Japanese were included in this quota they were quickly barred from immigration as Congress amended the bill to exclude aliens who were not eligible for immigration.²

This pattern of racial discrimination is visible in general histories of the Japanese internment. These works usually describe the WRA system, but are also helpful for this research. Alice Yang Murray's history on this topic entitled *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* is a comprehensive history of the experience of the Japanese and Japanese Americans during World War II. Murray lends insight into the social and political racial tensions. She also describes the process that the

Japanese and Japanese Americans experienced in the camps and how it affected their communities and families.

The conclusions from Daniels' research on imprisonment imply that the actions taken against the Japanese community during World War II were simply a small section of a long history of racism towards them. This is revealed in more detail in Ronald Takaki's work, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*. Takaki's work helped inform this research through how it portrayed the history of Japanese immigration in America and contributed to a better understanding of the historical background that preceded the events of WWII.

Theoretical Literature

In reviewing the literature on theories related to this research it was quickly discovered that theories on the archaeology of masculinity are minimal within the context of the archaeology of Asian and Asian American communities. One directly related article is Bryn Williams' "Chinese Masculinity and Material Culture," appearing in *Historical Archaeology* in 2008. Williams threads a web of overlapping and multi-voiced theories of archaeology, anthropology, history, and Asian American studies to frame his research on the archaeology of masculinity in Chinese and Chinese American communities in the United States. He explains how his research allowed him to theorize multiple discourses of identity for the Market Street Chinatown in San Jose, California.

Douglas E. Ross' book on immigrant Asian communities, *Archaeology of Asian Transnationalism*, is critical for better understanding the cultural effects of personal connections to a homeland—such as Japan—might have on transplanted people. Ross'

research is similar to Williams' shorter work, but his research purpose is to determine how transnationalist theories can be utilized by archaeologists studying immigrant Asian communities. His theory is asking archaeologists to base research questions and approaches in transnationalism and diasporic perspectives. He discusses the definition of transnationalism extensively, and it can be roughly simplified to: the connection of two countries by a web of social ties, and how that dynamic relationship affects a community. Through this understanding it is clear that the men at Kooskia cannot be defined as Japanese nationalists or only seen as immigrants. They cannot be seen simply as Japanese people living in America, one identity existing within an "other" culture. It would be incorrect to analyze the cold cream jars believing the identities of these men were simple. For example it would be problematic to look at the cold cream use in the camp and say that because the men were Japanese that they must have been using cold cream when they lived in Japan and therefore were duplicating previous practices in their lives in America. It would also be limited and incorrect to view the cold cream jars as evidence of assimilation to the practices of Anglo-American men. Transnational identities are multi-faceted and complex, and while these *conclusions* may be correct, the *reasoning* would not; it could lead to other limited and harmful assumptions that do not do justice to the portrayal and understanding of Japanese American communities.

Since beauty routines and practices relate to the study of the body, works on the archaeology of the body were reviewed as well, and one of the most informative was an article called the "Archaeology of the Body," written by Rosemary A. Joyce. Joyce attempts to resolve and connect the more recent theories of archaeological embodiment and the older assumptions about body and symbolism in archaeology. Archaeological embodiment position sees the body as a social entity, a body of lived experiences, and a physical representation of

agency itself. Older works on archaeology and the body used a static understanding of the body and how it is in itself a symbol for understanding culture at large. A researcher analyzing embodiment through cultural remains would see an individual's agency through the repetition of choices concerning bodily display, care, and alteration.

Repetition of bodily care or display can be seen in the use of cold cream at Kooskia, and the cold cream jars are representative of the internee's agency within an institution as well as within a community. Joyce's work on archaeological embodiment led me to the conclusion that—similarly to Ross's previously mentioned work—a holistic understanding must be used. The cold cream jars do not just represent a body, or the culture of that living body. They are part of a larger scheme of identities at play: economic, gender, bodily, and multi-cultural.

Finally, taking into consideration historical perspectives on Japanese masculinity, the most informative work on this topic was an edited work entitled *Recreating Japanese Men*.³ This work, by Frühstück, examines marginalized masculinities in Japan rather than the archetypical Japanese masculinities. She discusses how male figures and the style, mannerisms, and ways they are legitimized often reify a gender identity within culture. She gives the example of how the *samurai* was idolized, and his character, dress, and physicality was considered the trappings of an ideal masculinity. These ideals made it easy for the *samurai* icon to be replaced by the soldier during the Meiji period.⁴ She recognizes that different gender identities are created over space and time. Bernard Knapp's article "Boys Will be Boys: Masculinist Approaches to a Gendered Archaeology"⁵ uses "masculinism" as a universal approach to understanding men across cultures. He proposes that the ideal characteristics of masculinity vary from culture to culture and theories must acknowledge this.

However, Knapp believes that masculinity as a gender concept is universal, and there are simply different “versions” of masculinity.

Artifact Analysis Literature

Several areas of study were consulted when looking for supporting research on topics of skincare practices in all male internment camps; this included the history of beauty products and skincare, similar archaeological sites, and the culture of beauty. The most helpful work discovered during this research was “Extraordinary Circumstances, Exceptional Practices: Music in Japanese American Concentration Camps,” by Minako Waseda. She discusses the practice and purpose of musical and performance recreational activities within WRA and INS camps. She specifically talks about the kabuki performances put on at the Santa Fe Internment Camp and the Lordsburg Internment Camp in New Mexico. Evidence of other all male internment camps participating heavily in this art form helped to explain the role and usages of the cold cream jars found at the Kooskia Internment Camp. Dana Ogo Shew’s thesis, “Feminine Identity Confined: The Archaeology of Japanese Women at Amache, a WWII Internment Camp,” documents the recovery of similar artifacts at a WRA camp. Knowing that at the least Issei and Nisei women were using cold cream is helpful in understanding why their husbands might have been using cold cream in the INS camps that separated them. However, Shew failed to consider any theory that did not support cold cream jars (or beauty products) being associated with feminine identity. Shew limited her research to comparing practices between Issei and Nisei women, and she did not explore other possible explanations of how cold cream jars and other beauty products were used.

Kathy Peiss's *Hope in a Jar* is a critical history of the development of American beauty culture and its associated products industry. She traces the history of beauty practices in America, the development of an "American beauty culture," and its application to the male and female experience. The section of research in the book about masculinity and beauty practices in America during WWII informed the understanding of Anglo-American men's use of cold cream and other beauty products. Through this work she challenges researchers to consider individual voices and experiences before assuming generalized cultural pressures as the cause of beauty products becoming prevalent in America.

As an archaeologist, this approach to studying bodily practices as a form or representation of culture is commendable, but not practical within archaeology. This is because individual voices are often unintelligible outside of how they collectively form a cultural identity and archaeological signature. In some cases, oral histories are available, or personal historical accounts can add an individual's voice, but taking these voices and applying them to understand the rest of the group is difficult to do. However, archaeologists can consider agency as driving culture, as well as culture driving agency when it comes to beauty practices. These two ideas are not in competition with each other, but rather both concepts make up a complex interaction of culture and individual agency. I can take this perspective and use it to not only further understand the complexities of identity by itself, but also to avoid simple explanations for the uses of cold cream. For example, this approach to studying beauty would lead away from the simple explanation that Japanese men's behavior was shaped *because* cold cream use was a prevalent cultural practice. However, it would support the idea that the men participated in activities or bodily rituals that called for products

that cleansed or moisturized, and that the use of cold cream was influenced by the common cultural practice.

The literature mentioned in this review is a representative sample of the literature available currently on these topics, and also some of the works that contributed greatly to this research.

Chapter 2: Historical Background

Introduction

Japanese internment in the United States is an often forgotten piece of American history. For those detained and arrested, and their descendants, however, it was and still remains a painful historical period in memory. These events were not isolated, and the reasons for which were ingrained within American society much earlier than the attack on Pearl Harbor by Japanese air forces. A look at the history of Japanese and Asian immigration to the United States shows how racialized actions against Asian Americans or Asian immigrants was a continuous cycle throughout their history in the United States. This pattern of discrimination ultimately led to the incarceration of both Japanese immigrants and Japanese American citizens during World War II. The emphasis of historical research on this topic is the incarceration of Japanese American citizens in War Relocation Authority (WRA) camps, and studied to a lesser degree are the Immigration and Naturalization Service's (INS) camps like the Kooskia Internment Camp that held Japanese alien immigrants during World War II.

From Immigration to Executive Order 9066

To understand the history of Japanese immigrants, a brief introduction to Chinese immigration is needed. Chinese immigrants were among the largest group of Asian immigrants to first come to the United States.¹ They came in the 1840's to work on the sugar plantations in Hawaii, in search of gold, and to work on the transcontinental railroad.² Before 1880, a majority of Chinese immigrants returned to China.³ Their initial reception proved to be a pattern that can be seen in the treatment of future Asian immigrants. In May of 1869 the

first Western leg of the transcontinental railroad was finished and nearly ten thousand Chinese railroad workers were laid off and moved to San Francisco. Because of job competition with the Chinese immigrants a collective effort against them began and was organized by an Irish immigrant named Dennis Kearney. Their slogan was “The Chinese Must Go!”⁴ The movement was supported by politicians and led to the passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The act barred further immigration of any Chinese laborers for a decade. When that decade passed they extended the act for another ten years, and in 1902 it was made permanent.⁵ Chinese immigrants also faced discrimination within the legal system. In California, based on their first legal code, any testimony against a white American given by an African American or a Native American was considered invalid. The courts quickly banned Chinese testimonies against Anglo-Americans as well. Essentially, this allowed white criminals to get away with crimes against Chinese workers. Thievery against Chinese miners was particularly an issue. The saying “a Chinaman’s chance,” meant no chance at all.⁶ Despite the discrimination they faced they continued to come to the United States because they could make more money in America than in China.⁷

With the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 came an influx of Japanese immigrants in the 1890’s.⁸ Japanese workers were coming to the United States to pick fruit in Vacaville, California, and were known to work on sugar beet farms.⁹ Initially, there were only 2,000 Japanese workers in the mainland United States. Japanese immigration increased until it was stopped in the 1920’s and by the 1930’s their numbers had reached 138,000.¹⁰ However, the numbers of Japanese immigrants in the United States were so small that from 1900 to 1940 their numbers never reached 0.2% of the total population of the United States.¹¹ During this time Chinese immigration numbers fell from 0.16% to 0.08% by 1940.

The majority of these Japanese immigrants were from farming families back in Japan and were not desperately poor; instead they were young men coming to the States to make their fortunes and then return to Japan.¹² Many became farmers and by 1909 around 6,000 Japanese had established themselves as farmers.¹³ This interest in agriculture was central to the development of a Japanese ethnic economy. This economy formed very quickly and extensively because of their entry into agriculture just as urbanization was leading to higher demands for produce in the cities.¹⁴ Japanese businesses also lent to the growth and development of their ethnic economy. From 1900 to 1909 the number of Japanese business in San Francisco jumped from 90 to 545, and in Los Angeles from 56 to 473. The ratio of businesses to Japanese immigrants in the United States was 1:22.¹⁵ The end of Japanese immigration in the 1920's did not end their growth, and by the 1940's a small but thriving ethnic community had been established, with the second generation Japanese (Nisei) outnumbering the first generation Japanese immigrants (Issei).¹⁶

The movement against this community began quickly after their arrival in the United States. One of the leaders was the same person who had begun the anti-Chinese movement—Dennis Kearney—but because there were too few Japanese Americans in California, the movement did not get off the ground.¹⁷ In 1900, about eight years after Kearney's first attempt, the anti-Japanese movement gained attention and middle-class progressives took a great interest in it.¹⁸ The movement did not have much political impact until 1905, though three different major parties supported it in California.¹⁹ During this time the *San Francisco Chronicle* stated in an article that white women were in danger from Japanese men, and that each person from Japan was a spy.²⁰ From 1908 to 1924 tens of thousands of Japanese women immigrated to the United States as family members of already established Japanese

immigrants. Many established residents married by proxy and had their wives travel to the States to live with them. Many Anglo-Americans believed that this was a conspiracy between Tokyo and Washington to intentionally “flood” the West Coast with Japanese immigrants.²¹ The Immigration Act of 1924 established a limit of immigrants for each nation of origin based on the number of immigrants already living in the United States from that country. The Japanese quota was just one hundred persons per year, but Congress also amended the bill to bar all aliens who were ineligible for citizenship from the United States. All Japanese were ineligible for citizenship, and thus their allowed quota was completely pointless.²²

Discrimination against Japanese Americans and the limitation of their rights was prevalent and widely accepted by white Americans before the Pearl Harbor attack, but after the attack that attitude almost became a tenant of a specifically American nationalistic attitude. The United States fleet in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii was attacked by Japanese air forces on December 7th 1941. The attack came at dawn and destroyed two American battleships while sinking four other battleships, and wrecked one hundred and forty-nine American airplanes.²³ Suspicion of the Japanese living in America ran so strong that monitoring and investigation of the Japanese community started as early as August of 1941.²⁴ In October before the attack, President Roosevelt ordered Curtis B. Munson to investigate Japanese Americans living in the United States, and he returned the report with the response, “There is no Japanese problem.”²⁵ However, this did not satisfy the president and his administration. Weeks before the attack on Pearl Harbor the FBI was doing a thorough intelligence investigation of the Japanese community.²⁶ After the attack rumors in the newspapers and on the radio said that the attack was aided by Japanese Americans in Hawaii. A press report from the secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox on December 12, 1941 stated that there were Japanese

spies operating in Hawai'i in aid of the attack, and unfortunately this report carried a lot of weight with the American public.²⁷ Japanese farmers were thought to have planted their fields to resemble arrows pointing to nearby airfields.²⁸

This racial paranoia caused instantaneous actions to be carried out against the Japanese community, and on December 7, 1941 the FBI arrested around 1,500 Issei individuals. Those arrested on December 7th were considered threats and disloyal to the United States. The FBI made sure to remove the community leaders first. They were not given an explanation for their arrest or what the future held for them.²⁹ Also, before the Executive Order a program called "voluntary resettlement" was employed to move Japanese out of the West Coast and other military zones to other locations in the United States. Around five thousand individuals "voluntarily" migrated East before October 1942. However, many Japanese did not have the money or the time to get everything in order fast enough to move from the West Coast.³⁰

Official discriminatory action was taken against all Japanese Americans and Japanese residents when Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, nearly ten weeks after the Pearl Harbor attack.³¹ Executive Order 9066 gave the Secretary of War the legal power to move people, both citizens and aliens, from certain areas for "security against sabotage or espionage."³² This allowed the mass incarceration of all citizen and non-citizen Japanese within the United States. The justification given by the government for this action was that it was a military necessity against a potential threat to national security posed by all enemy aliens (the United States sees enemy aliens as immigrants that hold citizenship with a country with which they have a conflict, and therefore are subject to detainment or removal). Another reason given by US officials that was widely accepted by Anglo-

Americans was that the evacuations and incarcerations were “protective measures” against vigilante citizens and other anti-Japanese movements.³³ Thus, the United States claimed to be protecting Japanese Americans by putting them in concentration camps.

These reasonings only masked the true cause of the incarceration of hundreds of thousands of Japanese. That cause was the deep seated racial prejudice against the Japanese. This was not even a subconscious reaction, as intelligence reports at the time stated in the conclusions that there was no military necessity for the incarceration.³⁴ The way the Japanese were treated in different areas was reflected in the incarceration. In Hawai’i, where the Japanese constituted a significant portion of the population and where they were ethnically tolerant, only one percent of the Japanese population was evacuated. On the mainland, however, ninety percent of the Japanese population was incarcerated.³⁵

These racial prejudices were not only held by the government, but also by the American population. A poll taken by the National Opinion Research Center revealed that ninety-three percent of those they polled agreed with relocation of Japanese aliens, and sixty percent agreed with relocation of Japanese United States citizens. Sixty percent even went so far as to say that Japanese Americans should not be allowed freedom within the incarceration camps, but be treated as “prisoners of war.”³⁶ The population’s reaction involved putting a military spin on the situation to cover up what was becoming a national trend of hate towards the Japanese. The public was receptive towards images of “treacherous Japs” in the United States, and the newspapers refused to acknowledge that Japanese Americans could be just as patriotic as any other American. The *Bainbridge Review* was the only newspaper on the West Coast that consistently printed articles that supported Japanese American rights.³⁷

The Internment System

As for internment, a basic framework for a system had been established before the Pearl Harbor attack. The framework was made up of the FBI, the Office of Naval Intelligence and the US Army Military Intelligence.³⁸ This allowed the government to move quickly after the Executive Order was given. Before families were ordered to report to evacuation and relocation centers adult men were taken by the FBI, and often families were left without heads of household.³⁹

There were two different branches of internment; if someone was considered a threat they were arrested by the FBI, separated from their families, and taken to an INS camp. Those who were not considered threats and were Japanese American citizens were sent to WRA camps. The Kooskia Internment Camp was a location where “dangerous” internees were incarcerated. As such, the following section will focus more on the actions taken by the FBI against Japanese American’s who were not eligible for citizenship, or considered “dangerous” by the FBI rather than the evacuation and internment of Japanese American citizens in WRA camps. However, it is important to note that another difference between INS and WRA camps was that the INS internees were generally treated better than those held at WRA camps as American citizens did not fall under the provisions of the Geneva Convention and non-citizens held at INS camps did.⁴⁰

Japanese men held in INS camps during WWII were tracked and arrested by the FBI, often taken away in front of family members. The paranoia and mistrust of Japanese men was imprinted on the memories of the families and children. Kay Uno, a Nisei boy who was later held in a WRA camp, remembers that at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack the FBI took away his brother’s model plane plans, which were tacked to the wall, and accused his father

of being a spy who was giving airplane plans to Japan. They also accused his father of teaching Japanese farmers how to create aerial signs, spying on strategic airfields, and poisoning American food because he worked for a pesticide company.⁴¹ Gilbert Sanchez was also a boy during that time and remembers the FBI breaking down the door to his family's house before they had a chance to answer in the middle of the night in search of Japanese families. Marion Kanedmoto recalls that they cut open all the couch cushions to see if her family was hiding anything.⁴²

The History of the Kooskia Internment Camp

Before the camp facilities were used to hold Japanese internees the facilities were set up as Canyon Creek Federal Prison Camp. Canyon Creek held prisoners from Leavenworth, Kansas who worked on the construction of the mountain highway. Canyon Creek Prison Camp ran from 1935 to 1943 when it was shut down along with similar "satellite camps" from Leavenworth. Because the project they were working on was of high military importance, officials wanted to continue roadwork.⁴³ The INS was able to take over the camp with little alteration or construction to the camp facilities already established. When the camp facilities came into the hands of the INS there were already habitable buildings on site. These included:

administration headquarters, with offices, and lodging for single officers; a utility building, housing a laundry, a power house, and a repair garage; a storehouse with a large diesel refrigerator; a kitchen and mess hall; a dormitory, whose four 25x 125 ft. wings could house sixty men each, in double-decked beds; a central bathroom block; and a crafts building.⁴⁴

Employee housing was at Apgar Creek, about half a mile away from the Kooskia camp. Within three months the camp was ready for Japanese American internees.⁴⁵

The terms of the Geneva Convention governed quite a few provisions at the Kooskia Internment Camp. The Santa Fe internment camp was where the list of seventy rules based off of the Geneva Convention on internee treatment was created. Before sending the list out to other INS camps they reduced these seventy rules down to twenty to communicate the “minimum standards of detainee custody.”⁴⁶ These rules were meant to protect the internees’ physical and mental health within confinement and were supposed to prevent internee harm during interrogations or otherwise.⁴⁷ As for sanitation, the internees were required to have access to plenty of hot and cold water and soap.⁴⁸

Finding men to work in the camp proved fairly simple despite the fact that according to the terms of the Geneva Convention they could not be forced or drafted to work at any camp. Instead, Kooskia was full of volunteer road workers.⁴⁹ The internee populations at the Santa Fe, New Mexico and the Fort George G. Meade, Maryland INS detention centers showed significant interest in volunteering, with 116 from Santa Fe, and 79 from Fort George.⁵⁰ Initial names were taken in late April 1943, and by early May 104 men from Santa Fe had committed to transfer to the Kooskia Internment Camp. INS officials were having difficulty arranging a way to keep up with everyday camp operation with the small number of administrative staff they employed. As a solution, twenty-five Japanese men of the one hundred and four volunteers coming from the Santa Fe camp agreed to work in the camp doing jobs that provided for the daily lives of the road workers. These services were jobs such as food preparation and laundry instead of working on highway construction. Road workers were paid ten cents an hour, however camp workers were not paid as much and the road worker internees agreed to use their own pay to even out the wages across the camp so everyone would get paid the same.⁵¹

Access to the camp was limited because of its remote location. The camp itself had twelve trucks and one smaller car, while a train car made the trip to the town of Kooskia daily and a freight train ran two times a week.⁵² The INS received Kooskia as it was, unfenced in the mountains, and it remained so throughout its time as an INS camp. The administration was not worried about internees attempting escape, because of the camp's remote location and the propensity for local residents to own firearms and use them in any doubt of trespassers.

Initially, the internees were not given space or time for recreation, but through a collective petition to the administration for not following the terms of the Geneva Convention they were allowed regular recreation. Summer activities ranged from fishing, baseball, swimming, and handball. Indoor facilities allowed them to watch movies, learn, and read in their small library.⁵³ In addition to these typical American recreational activities, the internees recreated traditional Japanese practices within the camp such as musical and theater performances, and New Year's celebrations.⁵⁴ Buddhist Priest and Kooskia internee, Hozen Seki kept a diary that reveals his involvement with performances at the camp, by choreographing a traditional *odori* dance and writing a play to celebrate the recreation hall. Photographs show this dance, and other musical groups that formed in the camp.⁵⁵

During the internees' minimal time for recreation and relaxation they were able to purchase necessities and novelties at the camp's store called the "Canteen" (Figures 2.1, 2.2, 2.3). The canteen was a small establishment across the creek from the main part of camp where internees had access to goods that were approved by the camp officer. The money generated from sales at the canteen was split up among the internees, and often items were given back to the canteen for resale when an internee left the camp.⁵⁶ Not only was the canteen a provision under the Geneva Convention, but what the camp had to supply the

internees there was determined in their terms as well. First, there were toilet items for hygiene such as soap, toothpaste or powder, and shaving supplies. Then there were items for care of clothing and for writing letters, the Geneva Convention also specified that tobacco was to be available.⁵⁷

The Kooskia Internment Camp was in operation from May 1943 to May 1945. When Fort Missoula—the Kooskia Internment Camp’s sponsor INS camp—closed in July, 1944 the Kooskia Internment Camp began the process of closing down and finding a new location to send the internees. It appears that the choice to close down Kooskia came from the dwindling



Figure 2.1: The Kooskia Internment Camp Canteen. From US Border Patrol Museum, El Paso, TX. 88.39.12.



Figure 2.2: The Kooskia Internment Camp Canteen. From U.S. Border Patrol Museum, El Paso, TX. 88.39.20.



Figure 2.3: Bottle of Highlander beer stands on shelf in front of canteen window. Courtesy Scrapbook, PG 103-19-1." Found in Wegars, *Imprisoned in Paradise*, 105.

of the workforce due to large number of internees who had been granted parole, and the cost and trouble of equipment upkeep. When the camp closed in May of 1945 the internees were moved to Santa Fe internment camp, where their internment had originated.⁵⁸

Personal Stories

Due to our separation from these events by time and space it is easy to forget that within these documented events lived real thinking, feeling, breathing men who experienced these events and environments with personal and intimate reactions. To avoid losing grip of this reality, and to keep in mind the purpose of any archaeological study amidst the theory and numbers presented, a short “snap shot” of a few of the Kooskia Internment Camp internees is presented here.

Shohei Arase was a Seattle resident with his wife and six children. He delivered dry cleaning for a living and was taken from his home by three FBI agents while his wife and youngest daughter watched.⁵⁹ Kizaemon Ikken Momii was separated from his family of five as they were put in the WRA Topaz Concentration Camp in Utah, and he was taken by the FBI on Christmas Eve of 1941. Before being arrested Momii worked as both editor and publisher for the *Nanka Times*.⁶⁰ Sokichi Harry Hashimoto and Genji George Yamaguchi were moved to the INS system after being accused to being some of the primary agitators for the Manzanar Riot that occurred on December 1942, when in reality they had been trying to calm the crowd and stop the riot.⁶¹

Hozen Seki's legacy has contributed to this research and a better understanding of the Kooskia Internment Camp. The diary he kept diligently while being incarcerated is used in this thesis as he discusses instances of performance within the camp. Before his arrest in

1942, he was a Buddhist missionary working to establishing the New York Buddhist Church.⁶²

Tom Kito was from Alaska where he worked and lived with his family of Tlingit decent, who were left without a means of income when he was taken by the FBI along with his brother Sam.⁶³ Yoshi Hino and Sokan Ueka were both Buddhist priests and in 1941 were removed from Hawai'i. The mass removal in Hawai'i started with the Japanese being "herded" onto a barge and taken to a deserted Island.⁶⁴ Their trip from the island to the mainland was made under "miserable conditions" and once they did arrive both Hino and Ueka were transferred from one internment camp to the next until they volunteered for the Kooskia camp.⁶⁵

Arturo Shinei Yakabi was a Japanese Latin American living in Panama when he was given up to officials by his boss who was a Japanese alien and afraid of being taken himself. The United States took measures to ensure that the Japanese Latin Americans did not destroy the Panama Canal. They did this by scheming with South American countries to bring Japanese Latin Americans to the United States without issuing them visa's and upon arrival arresting them as illegal immigrants. The United States had similar events happening in Mexico where eleven eventual Kooskia internees were taken.⁶⁶ Otosaburo Sumi was a victim of one of the most brutal incidents recorded in an internment camp at that time. In May 1942 while Sumi was questioned by INS officials for a fifth time, he attempted to express his frustration with being questioned yet again. However, his English was not clear enough and when he asked for help from one of the interpreters present he was grossly misunderstood. His phrase, "Come on," was taken to mean he wanted to fight, but rather he was trying to ask the interpreter for help. In the ensuing blows Sumi had multiple teeth dislodged.⁶⁷

Chapter 3: Theoretical Approaches

Introduction

The research questions posed regarding the cold cream jars found at the Kooskia Internment Camp relate to a desire to understand a small part of the Japanese internees' daily lives, and better understand how archaeological remains cannot be universally gendered. As this research deals with several topics, several theoretical approaches need to be considered. The historical background of this research is of Japanese internment in America, thus theories of transnationalism will be considered. Transnationalism is the complex state of identity that comes from having ties to multiple communities in different nations.¹ With the camp being "all-male," and the use of skin care products marketed towards women as the topic of interest, theories of gender, masculinity, and the archaeology of gender and masculinity will also be considered. Finally, as skin care is a behavior directly affecting the body, and the uses of cold cream relate to beauty products and the public display of the body as a cultural expression, theories will be discussed on approaches to the archaeology of the body, and the histories of Chinese and Japanese views of the body. The addition of the historical Chinese perspective is relevant to Japanese studies because there are some limited, but important historical and cultural overlaps. Chinese science has historically influenced Japanese culture and informed Japanese sciences, and this will be illustrated by their differing but similar views on the human body.² All of these theories will be studied in better understanding the framework for this research.

Theories of Masculinity

Before delving into theories of masculinity, it is important to situate masculinity as a concept in relation to similar concepts such as gender, sexuality, and sex. Though sex can be taken as an action as well as a state of being, sex refers to a biological state composed of hormones, genitalia, and the process of reproduction. As an anthropological term, gender is the “cultural organization of biological sexual differences.”³ Sexuality can be but is not necessarily predetermined by an individual’s sex and gender. A person’s choice in sexual partner is often how people construct a label for a person’s sexual identity. However, Voss and Schmidt suggest that for studying sexuality and gender in archaeology that a definition of sexuality needs to include “sexual practices or meanings contribut[ing] to the construction of personal or group identity.”⁴ Within these terms masculinity falls under gender. It is a western concept that is assumed to be culturally related to a person’s sex and sexuality. However, masculinity is not a sexual identity, or a reference to the differences in genitalia or hormones. It is a socially constructed concept based in characteristics and social roles while having ties to sex and sexuality.⁵

Theorizing masculinity was not and still is not particularly popular among scholars. Men as a sex are rarely directly studied,⁶ and through most of history, men have had primary control of history; as a result, they have not been particularly interested in themselves (men) as a subject to analyze.⁷ Because of the lack of studies on the archaeology of masculinity there is a need for this to be filled. However, as William states, it is not a call that is “advocating for a return to an archaeology of ‘men,’ where a male perspective is seen as the unmarked universal subject.”⁸ Instead, it should be an area of study that promotes knowledge of the diversity and history of masculinities, and questions our cultural norms and ideals of

masculinity.⁹ It is essential to study the correlation between masculinities and other identities to understand gender and multi-gender differences, similarities, and the presence or lack of equality.¹⁰ This area of study is growing, and there are journals devoted to masculinity studies. *Men and Masculinities (JMM)*, *Culture, Society, and Masculinity*, *Psychology of Men and Masculinities*, *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, and *Masculinities and Social Change* are all scholarly journals created for publishing studies on masculinity. Studies of Japanese men and masculinities came primarily from English speaking countries. In the 1980's these studies from Western perspectives were translated from English to Japanese, similar studies coming from Japan increased and outnumbered the studies originating in the Western hemisphere.¹¹

There are several approaches or concepts to be aware of when studying masculinity. First it must be explicitly studied. Research must consider other theories of gender expression such as feminist, gay, and gender research. It must be understood that masculinity in itself is unambiguously gendered and therefore a creation of socio-cultural surroundings and not a genetic or natural part of a person. Characteristics of masculinity fluctuate throughout history and across different regions. Studies must consider and recognize the role of gendered power—a person's power within society is frequently established on the basis of gender. Finally, men's studies must understand the intersection between gender and social stratification.¹²

Taking these things into account, there are two general social gender theories: direct gender hierarchy, and structural inequality.¹³ Direct gender hierarchy perspective is about gender power-status of masculinity, and explains gender discrimination by applying the abuse of male power.¹⁴ Feminist theory has had a huge influence upon the study of gender and

masculinity as well as femininity. Before feminists came along, archaeologists used gender stereotypes to understand archaeological remains. Some of the assumptions made because of this were that heterosexuality was a baseline norm in all cultures, and that the division of labor was clear between men and women. Men dealing with “production and tool making,” and women subject to “reproduction and child rearing.”¹⁵ In most of these theories men have been pegged as sexually assertive and women as objects of men’s sexuality and passive actors when it comes to their own sexuality.¹⁶

According to Benjamin Alberti, there are two categories for understanding masculinity: the first is masculinity being empirical, and the second is masculinity as interpretive. The first relating to an object, and the second as the collection of behaviors and practices.¹⁷ At the heart of the conventionally understood term: masculinity is the idea that there is a one-to-one relationship between behavior, sexual preferences, and gender. In this sense a description of this term ends up being a list of attributes. Common attributes associated with conventional Western masculinity are: “aggression, competitiveness, and emotional detachment.”¹⁸ Alberti asserts that even with different qualities listed for different cultures, through this understanding masculinity becomes an object that can be gained or lost, quantified and examined. The very idea of “masculinity” is not a pervasive idea or category across cultures, and is primarily a Western construction. Alberti questions if masculinity is even a concept worth consideration at all because it does not apply to all cultures.¹⁹ This is something to consider when studying non-Western cultures. However, I believe that it can be used as a category for understanding some of the research questions posed here. This is because the majority of the group that is the focus of this research had been living in the United States for some amount of time leading to the *possibility* that they were incorporating

some aspect of American cultural practices into their lives, and also because Western ideas of masculinity had traveled overseas and influenced Japanese gender identities. For these reasons, in this thesis, masculinity will be considered a category.

The biggest issue with understanding masculinity as either object or practice is that it gives sex and gender a relationship where “sex is a biological constant and gender is the meaning given to each sex by culture.”²⁰ This is problematic since this is viewing cultural practices in a purely Western light. Taking away this relationship of sex and gender in our understanding, it is difficult according to Alberti to examine or study masculinity as it no longer can be seen as part of a binary system alongside femininity.²¹

One method of approaching masculinities that is highly problematic, and an example of this problem of misunderstanding of the relationship between sex, gender, and sexuality, is the essentialist approach to masculinity. In essentialist thought it is possible to name and quantify specific attributes of masculinity without acknowledgement to cultural, historical, or individual backgrounds. This is based in the idea that masculinity is an innate fixture of psychology and a universal practice across time and cultures.²² An essentialist might look at the men of the Kooskia Internment camp, and the presence of cold cream jars and determine that the men were not living up to their masculine ideal. They might hypothesize that the men were cross dressing or highly effeminate, instead of exploring what masculinity meant for these men historically in Japan or for them in America. Because essentialists focus on a set list of masculine attributes, and cold cream was advertised for women (and there were a small number of women working at or living near the camp), and culturally it was not considered “masculine” to use cosmetics or products, they would not consider the evidence pointing towards men using cosmetics and products. In this imagined essentialist analysis of the data in

this thesis, if they were to accept that the men were using cold cream, they might consider it out of the norm and an example of abnormal behavior as a result of abnormal living situations.

According to sociologist Michael Kimmel, masculinity in America during the 1930's was punctuated by an obsession with preventing homosexuality in young boys.²³ They believed that effeminacy at a young age predicted homosexuality in their future. One of the decade's best sellers was a book entitled *The Doctor Looks at Love and Life*, by Joseph Collins (1926). A large portion of the book was dedicated to helping parents discover and prevent homosexuality. *The Doctor Looks at Love and Life* says that the relationship between body and gender was a direct one. Thus, a homosexual man had broad hips, a certain way of walking that included swinging of the hips, a higher pitched voice, and the inability to limit words. He also declared anyone who sewed, knit, devoted too much time to fashion, or "decorated his face" as homosexual.²⁴ This is an historical example of the problems of thinking of sex and gender as one entity, expecting a one-to-one relationship between gender and behavior, or thinking of gender as a fixed, immovable object even within one culture.

Another approach is through social construction which is much more flexible and ambiguous than essentialism. Social constructivists argue that gender and sex are not necessarily related, and that gender is solely a construction of one's culture "rather than existing within the body."²⁵ According to Alberti, the problem with this theory is that though it is more accepting of variations on the idea of "male" it still recognizes the category and therefore is limited to Western conceptualization.²⁶

Tom Pendergast conducted a study of "men's" magazines in America from 1915-1935, through this research he presents a clearer picture of how the norms for desired

masculinity were changing during that time. This time period saw a change in normative masculinity from the Victorian “cult of character” to the “cult of personality.” The Victorians valued character in men, character that for some could be described as a list of attributes such as: courage, honesty, independence, and autonomy.²⁷ The cult of personality valued youth, optimism, financial success, and the idea of being uninhibited. The expectation of masculinity was on outward appearances, first impressions, visible achievement (disregarding ethical costs), and perceived success. Personality and self-creation were a huge part of this new concept of masculinity as well. The cult of personality was largely based on consumerism and the availability of goods to create a pleasing image of oneself as a man. Marketers and advertisers grabbed onto this changing idea of masculinity as mass production and corporatism influenced what was valued in men.²⁸ What were new views on masculinity at the time are very similar to what prevails in America now. Attention is put on appearances, behaviors, and body language. According to Roberta Gilchrist, a common view of gender pervasive in America is that gender (such as masculinity or femininity) is fixed and a universal element of human nature or that is calculable— fundamentally this is essentialist thought. An example of this is how American culture tends to believe that identity is shown through physicality, body language, dress and outward appearances. This approach boils gender down to a list of set characteristics, ties it directly to the body, and sets up two cultural ideals: “men are active, ardent, dominant, aggressive or violent; in contrast to an essential female who is passive, maternal, gentle and tender.”²⁹

Theories of Asian Masculinity

Western masculinity has almost always been determined by the “value system of rugged, confrontational individualism.”³⁰ The iconic cowboys, explorers, and adventurers came from an obsession with American heroes and Australian trekkers as the ideal form of masculinity.³¹ However, in early modern Japan the iconic male was the *samurai* even though they culturally celebrated the characteristics of a merchant for his masculinity. During the Meiji period that *samurai* icon was replaced by the soldier as a figure of masculinity.³² Going back to premodern Japanese history, as a country Japan was always fortified against invasions. It was a peaceful country for about two thousand years which preserved their teachings, cultural values, and behaviors from cross cultural influences. Confucianism particularly influenced their values. It taught, “loyalty, piety, and respect for superiors and authority.”³³ These beliefs reinforced the dominance of men over women and it contributed to the development of a patriarchal culture. The gender distinctions were not as clear as Western idea of masculinity and femininity. Women in Japan were expected to exhibit ‘masculine’ traits of bravery and loyalty, while men—even warriors—were held to a high standard in knowledge of literature and the arts.³⁴ Men were also not considered ‘less masculine’ for exhibiting homosexual behavior or a gentler demeanor. During premodern times there was much diversity in masculine traits between different classes and geographic locations.³⁵ For example, the ruling class was highly influenced by Confucianism and was divided by public and domestic space—men in the public, and women in the domestic. Men led and women followed.³⁶

Along with Confucianism, masculinity was balanced between two concepts: *wen* and *wu*: *wen* being the mental space, or the ideals of the man and *wu* was the physical outward

display of martial strength. The strongest and most powerful form of masculinity was found with a perfect balance and visibility of both of these ideas. These concepts were held within Chinese culture as well, and *wen* was thought to be of higher value than *wu*, while *wen* was associated with femininity. Therefore, the idea of perfect masculinity held both characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity.³⁷

Another difference between Japanese masculinity (perceived as encompassing Asian masculinity) and Western masculinity perceptions was in their sexuality. In Japan there was a tolerance for homosexual relationships, and before the 20th century there was no division based on sexual preference, rather bisexuality was the norm.³⁸ Not only was bisexuality tolerated, but it was celebrated and encouraged to the point that by the twelfth century, it was a distinct and consistent characteristic of the samurai class. The catalyst for this was the emphasis on the production of a male heir, which was possible if one was bisexual rather than homosexual. There was a concept that homosexuality (*nanshoku*) made the man stronger, and that he was weakened by heterosexuality (*joshoku*).³⁹ With modernization came negative attitudes towards homosexuality and bisexuality. Influenced by industrialization, militarization, Christianity, and Western scientific ideas Japan followed in the way of the West.⁴⁰ This was when views on homosexuality turned from being celebrated to being associated with criminal activity or pathology.⁴¹

In this new industrial world Japanese culture adapted Confucian views to encourage a strong work ethic and economic prosperity which led to an altered gendered division. Women took care of the domestic, while the men were separated from family spheres by public jobs.⁴² Though these distinctions existed between the genders, the Western view of Asian masculinity was based in “Oriental” stereotypes or what were considered “feminine” traits.

This perception of masculinity is referred to as “orientalist masculinity” by Williams in “Chinese Masculinities and Material Culture,”⁴³ which is a term influenced by Edward Said’s canonical research on Western perceptions of the “East.” In *Orientalism* (1978) Said uses “orientalism” as a term to explain the same idea (but in a broader sense): the patronizing stereotypes perpetuated through Western views of cultures in the Middle East, Asia, and North Africa.⁴⁴ Asian men were seen as effeminate and this was perpetuated in Western cultures through media in their depictions of Asian dress, bodies, jobs, and trappings such as the long braid (called a *queue*) many Chinese men wore. The comparison between Chinese men and young girls was frequently and overtly made even through the turn of the century. In 1883 author William Henry Bishop wrote of the queue as being, “like the hair of women.”⁴⁵ At the turn of the century Chinese populations in the United States were composed of men and these men happened to gain jobs doing work often associated in the West as women’s work. An example were those who worked in laundries, and during protests against Chinese labor a commonly used catch phrase was, “Women’s Rights and No More Chinese Chambermaids.”⁴⁶ Even the Asian men who were not employed in the work of “women’s domain”—those working on the railroad or in the mines—suffered this stereotype.⁴⁷

The turn of the century, saw the beginnings of change within gender roles in the United States. There were still significant distinctions, but the division of spheres was just beginning to becoming blurry. As this was happening in the United States, the way the Japanese were viewing alternate gender identities was changing. They saw anything that was not culturally associated with a person’s sex as a sign of being a criminal or deviant. At that time the Japanese view of feminine traits were small stature, delicate bone structure, and symmetry.⁴⁸ Japan’s minister of war, General Ugaki Kazuhige stated that indistinct gender

divisions was a roadblock to national achievement and progress.⁴⁹ Leaders were complaining that the “progress” made through industrialization and education brought in by the Western world was the reason for the decline of the Japanese male aesthetic. They began using “Healthy Soldier, Healthy Citizen” as a way to propagate proper male characteristics in their recruits.⁵⁰

Japanese American Experiences during World War II

When considering theories or perspectives on the Japanese internment experience during World War II, the perspective from Japanese American veterans can be considered as well. The experience of Japanese American soldiers during World War II was significantly different from the Japanese Americans who were sent to a concentration camp, an INS camp or a work camp such as the Kooskia Camp. Some of the differences in their experience were that Japanese American veterans were free, uninhibited by physical boundaries, and not experiencing altered family structures. But similarly to the Japanese Americans who were held against their will, the veterans still dealt with discrimination, even as war heroes. The discrimination they faced is revealing about the concept of “body” and “other” can be used to assert hegemony over a group of people. It is also important in analyzing data that directly relates to body practices, to understand how concepts of the body have distorted perceptions of Chinese and Japanese American communities. Mire Koikari discusses Japanese American masculinity among WWII veterans and believes that because they were nearly indistinguishable from the Japanese enemy, Anglo-Americans viewed them as nearly similar if not identical to “the enemy.”⁵¹ They were still seen as a “violent, fanatical, and savage enemy.”⁵² They were also seen as gender contradictions, “too effeminate and too masculine,

too submissive and too violent.”⁵³ “Gender contradictions” were a symptom of a bigger issue: a group of people who were physically inferior, dishonest in their portrayal of “self”, and psychologically prone to scheming.⁵⁴

Japanese American veterans along with those in internment camps were racialized as ‘others’ and it shows in the discrimination enacted against these veterans during their service. David Eng says that gender politics has a huge part to play in Asian American otherness, as they have always been seen as emasculated and feminine.⁵⁵ An example of the identity of a Japanese American man being complex and “gender” balanced, but perceived as contradictory is in the oral history of Richard Sakakaida who was a Japanese American soldier from Hawaii. Sakakaida was the only Japanese American POW during WWII. In the oral history he gave, Sakakaida talks about how the Japanese concept of *yamato damashii* (The spirit of the Japanese people: described as brave, dauntless, and honorable.) was the reason why he was able to become a true and “fitting” American soldier. The perceived contradiction to simplistic models of transnationalism here is that Japanese tradition was central to finding his American identity as a soldier.⁵⁶ Limiting identities, such as those of Japanese Americans and Japanese American veterans to “one or the other” and universal is encouraging models of acculturation that are inefficient and in some ways offensive.⁵⁷ Daniel Inouye lost his right arm while stationed on the European front, and his dismemberment has served as nothing less than a ticket into the membership of the “national political elite.”⁵⁸ The sacrifice that Inouye made for the United States was something that almost erased his “otherness” and ignored the complexity of his identity to label him a purely “American hero.” However, through oral histories Japanese American veterans proudly attributed their identities as American heroes to their adherence to Japanese values such as *yamato damashii*.⁵⁹

The idea of the body is central to Japanese American's identity as a masculine soldier, but because they shared a physique with the enemy the military used them for training practices. A veteran Yoshiaki Fujitani remembers seeing Japanese American soldier being used to "simulate the enemy" in training procedures. After seeing this, Fujitani wondered at the other activities the military was asking their American soldiers to do.⁶⁰ They were also being used to train military dogs as "dog bait."⁶¹ The Japanese American soldiers had to place their arms over their throats as the dog wrestled with them and attacked their throats as they waited for the trainer to give either the command to stop or kill.⁶² Not only were these Japanese Americans exploited because of their bodies, they also could not receive recognition as soldiers unless they were in the presence of an Anglo-American military personnel. For example, when deployed overseas, if Japanese American soldiers wanted to take leave they had to be escorted by a Caucasian military policeman "for their protection."⁶³ This image of a husky, blonde, white American protecting an Asian American is symbolic of Americans showing dominance over Asian communities. It also shows how Japanese Americans had to be associated with an Anglo-American soldier for them to receive recognition.⁶⁴

Archaeology of the Body

According to Rosemary Joyce there are generally two ways of thinking of the body as it can be studied through archaeology: "as a scene of display and the body as artifact."⁶⁵ Before 1990, the articles on the archaeology of the body were few and far between and averaged one per year. After this date, they increased to nearly six per year, and this might be because of the reaction to post-processual archaeology that noted the lack of consideration for agency, gender, and identity that often lead to a discussion of the body.⁶⁶ Interest in the

archaeology of gender and sex as portrayed through dress and body modification is one of the main reasons for a rise in articles about the body. In recent studies the most obvious trend is how much the conclusions are being based in social theory.⁶⁷ The view of the body as a social entity of lived experience, and the physical display of agency, has largely replaced the idea of the body as a static object that can be a legible surface.⁶⁸ In the past the body has been discussed within an archaeological context, however it was rarely explicit.⁶⁹ So why is an archaeological approach important to the study of the body? What can it add to the understanding of embodiment? Joyce believes that because behaviors affecting the body are often repetitious and because archaeology stresses repetition over time it can easily outline the history of how embodiment was performed, and transformed.⁷⁰

The use of cold cream is a practice involving the body. The purpose of cold cream is to alter the skin either in appearance (to smooth and moisturize) or to remove makeup and revert back to an unaltered state. For some purposes, using cold cream is repetitious. As Joyce reminds us, this representation of repetition is a valid set of data to studying in archaeology. Similar to the ideas surrounding Ross's work on transnationalism, a holistic approach to understanding this data is necessary. The identities of the Kooskia Internment Camp internees revealed through embodiment are not only understood through the viewpoint of "body," but also with an understanding of gender, community, and transnationalism among others.

Defining "body" can be difficult when using it for studying the body in a social capacity. The easiest way to define "body" is to describe it as a surface that serves as a physical boundary between the internal person, and external society. However, this is problematic because it defines the body as the public surface used to interact with society, when the body is both the "medium and product of social action."⁷¹ The cold cream jars help

us understand the culturally constructed body of the internees, and how it interacts and is influenced by the cultural environment. However, by themselves, the cold cream jars do not *represent* the body of the internees.

In historical archaeology the use of media can be an aid to interpreting the history of the body. Forms of media such as text, photographs, drawings, and advertising must be carefully thought of as more than echoes of cultural ideas of the body. Media must also be recognized as one of the venues for the adoption of cultural concepts.⁷² For example, advertisements for cold cream in the 1930's and 1940's always highlighted an idealized femininity. This would have made the male use of cold cream in opposition to idealized American masculinity and culturally unacceptable. These ads served as encouragement for men to keep their use of product a secret, and influenced and perpetuated men's use of product as taboo. However, at the Kooskia camp, procuring cold cream was a public act. The men would have purchased it through the Canteen, and the Canteen's acquirement would have been processed by INS officials and camp administrators. The actual use of the cold cream would have been difficult to maintain as a secret since the men lived in barracks (shared living spaces). In this case, analyzing historical media is a way of theorizing how the male use of cold cream might have been viewed by American culture, and that reaction may have perpetuated orientalist perspectives in American culture.

Two assumptions are common when using archaeology as an understanding of the body. One is that cultural values of the body were "created, ordered and perpetuated in respect to associations with material culture."⁷³ The second assumption is that the "body" in archaeology is a reference to femininity. Research often overlooks the body in its different sexes, and its many gendered forms and assumes that the subject is the female body. Lynn

Meskel l urges scholars to balance these studies out with consideration for masculinity as well as femininity. Traditionally archaeology uses the male body as a point of comparison or as a primary influence upon the female experience; however it is rarely used to theorize masculinity directly.⁷⁴

Meskel l also views the concept of body as artifact as a small representation of the larger cultural institutions and how they play out their roles. She theorizes that the idea that bodies are passive within the archaeological context is giving power to our relationship with our environment and our physical spatial experiences, almost like monuments.⁷⁵ Meskel l concludes from these understandings that archaeology needs to start studying how the concept of self is formed and that it would consider embodiment without being confined by that being the point of the study.⁷⁶

Elizabeth Grosz offers two ways of body discourse in current social theory. One being “inscriptive,” and the other being “phenomenological.”⁷⁷ Inscriptive means that the body is viewed as a blank static space upon which are visibly inscribed “social laws, morality, and cultural values.”⁷⁸ Phenomenology can be thought of as the “lived experience of the body.”⁷⁹ Inscriptive studies lead to conclusions about the internal or less obvious cultural influences. The difference between these two is largely public, versus imaginary anatomy.⁸⁰

According to Roberta Gilchrist archaeological approaches to the body have historically solidified the body physically within time and space as an object to be made over, written on, and given social meaning. When thinking of bodies depicted in art, scholars tend to look for intrinsic meaning within the display of the bodies to represent something about that culture. She states that there is a common assumption within these types of studies that “analysis of anatomical sex, bodily gestures, and archaeological context” can reveal truth

about a particular culture.⁸¹ The problem with these studies, as noted by Gilchrist, is that they tend to directly associate gender with sex, giving a one-to-one relationship. In archaeology a one-to-one relationship between sex and gender begins with giving objects a gender or associating activities with a gender and by nature the objects associated with that activity. Then using these “gendered” material remains to determine the activities, spheres, and presence of a particular sex. If a researcher were to make this assumption with the cold cream jars found at the Kooskia Internment Camp, they might not ever consider the possibility that the jars are associated with the male presence at the camp. They might use it as definitive proof that the domestic trash from the administrative houses at Apgar Creek was regularly taken to the Kooskia Internment Camp facilities for disposal. This approach to the archaeology of gender is limited and attempting at quantifying something fluid and complex. According to Gilchrist, gender is “experienced as an identity that is personal and mutable, rather than externally inscribed and fixed.”⁸²

One more way to view the body within archaeology and culture is considering the factor of dominant versus dominated group. For the assertion of hegemony inferiority must be produced and one such way it can be produced is through defining the body as an object without soul or connection to the social group. The inferior group are marked and “imprisoned in an undesirable body.”⁸³ In contrast, the superior body of the dominant group is seen as neutral, unmarked, and the universal norm for body/gender expectations.⁸⁴ In the examples mentioned previously, particularly the use of Japanese American soldiers for training purpose simply due to their appearances, this concept is clearly one at play in the scenario of Japanese American internment. The expectation of masculinity was set by Anglo-American standards, and therefore Japanese American men’s perceived feminine qualities

were their mark of inferiority. This distinct “otherness,” and association with a national enemy gave the dominant American group the ability to assert dominance to the point of illegal internment.

Archaeology of Masculinity

Given that social theory on masculinity is a significantly smaller body of work than feminist theories, it is no surprise that there is even less written on the archaeology of masculinity and how it can be studied within the archaeological record. Williams’ discusses the visibility of masculinity in the archaeological record in the way all variations of gender are present in material remains. He uses the phrase “process of articulation,”⁸⁵ and is drawing upon Judith Butler’s work that points to gender as an action, or “a kind of performance.”⁸⁶ Butler’s groundbreaking ideas were applied primarily to feminine practices, but Williams uses Butler’s ideas to describe how he believes the articulation of hegemonic masculinities are the “movement, expressions, thoughts, and adornments of daily life.”⁸⁷ These practices leave behind physical remains such as ceramic sherds, or even landscapes.⁸⁸ Hegemonic masculinities are not necessarily a dynamic at play at the Kooskia Internment Camp since hegemonic masculinity has more to do with the interaction and the separation of masculine and feminine. However, this idea that gender practices and behaviors leave physical traces behind can be applied to the Kooskia camp. The remains studied in this research are the cold cream jars, which remain ungendered in and of themselves. The movements, expression, and adornments (et cetera) are the theories of their use discussed later on. There is more contextual evidence pointing towards the men using the cold cream, and in this context the jars are physical remains of male or masculine activities. The discomfort with the dry climate,

and the previous use of cold cream—since no other similar products were marketed towards men—may be the thought that ultimately created this particular material record. In addition, it might have been the desire to shave—a “masculine” activity, combined with the discomfort of the climate. However, it might have been movements requiring adornment (*kabuki* performance arts) that created this record, and is part of the heritage of men of Japanese descent.

According to Voss, archaeologists generally stay within three perspectives when studying sexual identities in archaeology: “sexology, the sex/gender system, and gender performance theory.”⁸⁹ She critiques archaeology for limiting itself to these three because they were all created to address more recent issues in Western cultures. As such, these views may be more helpful in gaining a current self-awareness of our own sexualities, rather than successfully applying them to past cultures.⁹⁰ Voss describes the effect of the sex/gender system on archaeology in that it caused archaeologists to study the different gender roles across cultures. Archaeology, has the opportunity in the study of sexuality and gender, to help in creating a new more flexible method of studying sexuality that allows for a full range of identities.⁹¹ Another issue that archaeologists face with studying sexuality is that it is often viewed as central, or as “a distinct aspect of social relations.”⁹² Voss speculates that the idea of a person’s sexuality being central to their social identity has its origins in modern Western thought, and that this concept was not prominent historically or cross culturally.⁹³

In Benjamin Alberti’s article “Archaeology, Men, and Masculinities,” he proposes that gender archaeology is occupied with feminist theory and revealing women within the archaeological record to alter historical interpretations. Men have been visible in the historical and archaeological records, however as the dominant group they are unmarked, neutral, and

standard identities. Because they have been visible their identities have been assumed, and this is reflected in how we generally use a “genderless” man as a representation of our society.⁹⁴ Alberti believes that archaeological studies on masculinity can be more revealing than other disciplines. He points to recent studies that reveal how gender and sexuality are not as simple as a one-to-one relationship, and the “existence of a plurality of masculinities and forms of masculine identity formation.”⁹⁵ He suggests that through feminist theories of embodiment, archaeologists can study sexualities and gender without returning to the categories of Western thought: Masculine, or male.⁹⁶

The benefits of a social construction approach archaeology of gender is that it lets men and women have a dynamic relationship.⁹⁷ Alberti cites the drawbacks of using social construction for archaeology as perpetuating a person’s individual gender as “static and normative.”⁹⁸ Studies of gender and archaeology need to allow for the inevitable fluidity of identities throughout a lifetime.⁹⁹

Initially in archaeology, masculinity meant the “actions and values habitually associated with males in a given culture.”¹⁰⁰ As this is an *association* with sex rather than a static identity, it could be applied to people other than men. The objects or non-male subjects are just that: not male, yet they can be given the characteristic of masculinity, and these characteristics always pointed back to men. Masculinity, in this sense could be considered an object that can be studied and measured.¹⁰¹ Psychoanalysis from the 1950’s and 1960’s has contributed the idea of gender identity being a “feeling of being a man or woman.”¹⁰² To archaeologists, material can be given a gender context, assigning it to a sex, and therefore treating gender identities as internal and stable and the material product being the external way that identity is produced.¹⁰³ Shew’s thesis analyzing the feminine presence at Amache

essentially assigns the artifacts studied in her thesis as female, and discusses how these female artifacts are evidence of a feminine identity. One of Shew's main points is that the feminine identity shown externally through the archaeological record illustrates that Japanese American women were attempting to change their perceived femininity to coincide with Anglo-American femininity. She acknowledges that *feminine* gender identity was in fluctuation based upon their age cohorts. Nevertheless, she fails to follow that if female gender identities are flexible, then so are cross cultural gender identities. In this way Shew does not take an approach that contests traditional gendering of artifacts based on simplistic models that draw from Western dominated stereotypes.

Because of the Western context of the term "masculinity," gender categories need to be deconstructed; this helps archaeologists in that it has facilitated discussions regarding the context, history, and background of the sexes and how material culture is dynamically entangled in it.¹⁰⁴ Throughout Alberti's discussion of different views of gender archaeology he has two main points: "that bodies can escape simple sexed dichotomies, and second, that sexual difference is not always central to identity."¹⁰⁵ Archaeologists can prevent reifying of gender categories by acknowledging that there are biases in what they want to extract from material culture and the limitations of the material.¹⁰⁶

Archaeology of Transnationalism

Douglas E. Ross put together one of the first attempts at a comprehensive study of the archaeology of transnationalism.¹⁰⁷ In *An Archaeology of Asian Transnationalism*, Ross discusses overseas Asian communities, specifically of the cultural remains of overseas Asian communities such as those at Don Island, and Market Street Chinatown. Don Island is located

on the Fraser River in Richmond, British Columbia and was the site of a cannery where Chinese and Japanese immigrant men were hired from 1901 to 1930. The Japanese fishing camp was excavated on Don Island in 2005, 2006, and 2013. Market Street Chinatown in San Jose, California, is a collection from the mid 1800's excavated in the 1980's, and the site of one of San Jose's Chinatowns. The main body of his work strives to understand transnationalism, the fluidity and complexity of the identity of migrant people, and how to apply the range of theories to archaeological research.

Transnationalism is a difficult concept to lay out, as by nature it is used to help understand the complexities of identity. The basics start with understanding that the culture of a transnational is the norm in the "homeland" where it almost seems invisible. However when placed abroad that culture may appear outlined and highly visible because of its contrast to the prevalent culture. Migration cannot be thought of as a simple one way trip, having a beginning a middle and an end. Rather, it is a "web of multiple, simultaneous social, cultural and political relationships and transformations that result."¹⁰⁸ As for Chinese ethnicity, the decade's more recent research has shown that it is fluid and dynamic according to contexts and materials. Ross believes that material culture plays a specific role in creating overseas identities. Migrant communities cannot be seen as a holistic culture, but are rather "internally diverse."¹⁰⁹

Ross defines transnationalism and diaspora utilizing Butler's simple definition of diaspora: it is the movement of people from an origin location thought of as a homeland. He adds that there are three other characteristics of diaspora that many researchers agree on: "the existence of two or more destinations; a relationship with an actual or imagined homeland; and maintenance of a distinct, self-conscious identity with respect to the host society."¹¹⁰

Transnationalism could be described as the act of linking two countries together (origin and destination) through a created “social field.”¹¹¹ “These relationships form a ‘triadic connection’ linking transmigrants to one another and with the places to and from which they migrate.”¹¹² Diaspora could be thought of as a byproduct of transmigrant behaviors, a uniquely human byproduct “lived and experienced.”¹¹³ The beauty of diaspora is that it gives researchers a way to understand transnationalism that gets away from nationalist single minded identities or biased national identities.¹¹⁴ Some older ways of viewing diaspora tried to box it in as a quantifiable object that lacks the viewpoint of the individual. It was not important to researchers to determine whether the portrayals were accurate to how the subject viewed themselves. Thus, migration and diaspora was seen as a way to calculate a person’s identity using analysis of the homeland and the destination.¹¹⁵ Older perspectives tended to describe migrant experiences as being comprised of one of two static experiences: either migrants assimilated to the culture to which they had migrated or they kept to themselves and refused the acculturation process in favor of their homeland culture.

When examining the cultural remains of transnationalism it is very important to be aware of the dangers of assuming that the most “exotic” collections are the most valuable in their assumed transnational authenticity. Exotic does not mean the most ethnically representative. “Ethnicity is not exclusively the product of tradition, and migrants are no less members of a distinct group simply because they adopt elements of the host culture.”¹¹⁶ Ross discovered through the data found on Don Island and Market Street Chinatown that transnationals were using their connections to the “homeland” to keep up with the dynamic reality of the traditions. In this sense they were not viewing the homeland as alienated, but rather as a component of their new identities.¹¹⁷ Important to note for archaeologists, Ross

found that consumer habits of transnationals often come from traditions of their homeland, but do not portray a nationalist viewpoint. “Homeland traditions are streamlined and transformed in response to the migration process and to opportunities and pressures in the host society.”¹¹⁸ There are many factors that affect the characteristics of a transmigrant, such as traditions shared by each country, unique traditions of each country, and each country’s political status internationally.¹¹⁹

According to a similar study on transnationalism by Voss the most common research angle on Chinese transnationalism has been the “persistence” of nationalism in overseas communities and the presentation of Western acculturation as oppressive.¹²⁰ The biggest issue with this is that researchers assume that Asian cultures move instinctively towards their traditions and do not want contact with outsiders. They even go as far as to theorize that this was because they were planning to return home so saw no point in attempting to take on Western traditions, or because it was their reaction to the malicious racism of the turn of the century.¹²¹ Voss suggests in the face of these assumptions and preferred research questions that archaeologists should begin to ask questions about transnationalism and how “cultural practices participate in the ongoing production of identities and communities and, in doing so, to understand ethnicity as historically constituted, sustained and transformed.”¹²²

Traditional Chinese and Japanese Views of “The Body”

In this section both Chinese and Japanese cultural understandings of the body are presented and explained. It should be noted that there is a distinction between Chinese and Japanese cultures, and both are separate entities. It is common in the Western world to conflate both of these cultures and other Asian cultures as all similar or the same. Using

examples from Chinese history is limited and this is acknowledged here. The reasoning behind including them in this research is that historically China had a cultural influence on Japan. Japan adopted Chinese characters as they did not have a system for writing, and over time both systems have become unique to each other. Japan also adopted Chinese bureaucracy, architecture, and even clothing. Therefore, these ideas will be presented for a better understanding.

In traditional China the human body is not valued for its physique as it was in classical Greek society. Artist depictions of Chinese bodies are nothing like the glorified physical displays of Greek statues.¹²³ To Western tastes in imagining the body, Chinese depictions come across as malnourished, weak, and deficient.¹²⁴ In Chinese tradition there are two ways to think of the body:

Considered from the outside, the Chinese body (*Shen*) is a peg-doll whose role is to be a carrier of corporeal and/or sartorial attributes. The corporeal attributes may be the expression of the heart-mind or *xin*, a concept that can be interpreted as the psychological field of force that is attempting to control the body, and which reveals itself in physical structure and posture, or they may be more superficial properties like beauty in the sense of ‘prettiness.’ The sartorial attributes are clothes, and items like clothes, such as auras. They basically express social and, to some extent, moral status.¹²⁵

Clothing or adornment was used to express a person’s status and attitude. For example, an artist might show a general in barbarous looking armor to point to the general’s “martial rage and inner tensions.”¹²⁶ Using a traditional Chinese tale Elvin determines that the workings of the psyche and the soul (heart-mind) had a physical display that was unmistakable and could not be plagiarized. Defective minds or characters were shown through physical impediments. In traditional Chinese tales, fisherfolk who become too greedy are given long arms, and self-absorbed people grow swollen heads.¹²⁷

Starting around 100 BC (The Han Dynasty) *Shen* was translated as “body-person” and this concept was later heavily influenced by Confucianism. For example: parents were seen as gifting a child their body. This created a sense of personal care that transcended medical, or selfish reasons, and encouraged reproduction. Daoism, however, explained the purpose of the physical form as a means to reaching immortality through good deeds and mystical foods.¹²⁸ According to Elvin, “late-traditional” Chinese were hypochondriacs who obsessed over food, health, and natural medicine.¹²⁹ As for physical attractiveness, the most commonly known physical alteration or enhancement was the binding of feet. Elvin insinuates that physical attractiveness was not so much a priority to traditional Chinese cultures as health and virtue were displayed by a ‘normal’ body.¹³⁰

As for traditional Japanese views of the body, they were influenced largely by Buddhism and Chinese medicine.¹³¹ Historically, the Western world assumed that Japanese concepts of the body were either holistic, or influenced by Western medicine in practice and theory. However, this would mean that the Japanese took on Western ideas of the mind/body relationship and viewed illness as physiological. This was not the case as “this opposition was expressed as that between soul and body or, in Descartes’s formula, between ghost and machine.”¹³² In modern Western thought, the seat of the soul has been thought of as the brain. “Nevertheless, the success of psychoanalysis and religious healing shows that the psychological and moral determination of bodily states is a human need, and medical pluralism a necessity.”¹³³ One idea of the East Asian concept of health, mind, and body, is that health is spiritual. It is also organic as similarly portrayed by the Chinese concept of virtue and mind directly linked to the state of the body’s health and form. For the Japanese holistic bodies meant that “All aspects or parts of a person’s body are thought to be

interrelated, and the body in turn is itself only one element in a universe of interrelated entities.”¹³⁴ Chinese and Sino-Japanese holism is an expressed relationship between the tangible universe, society, and the human body.¹³⁵

These concepts need to be taken into account when studying artifacts that are connected to bodily practices. Whether these concepts had a distinct or ambiguous influence upon the practice of using cold cream, it is important to note them. It is also important to realize that the idea of the body as an outward display of the spiritual and mental health of a person was probably something ingrained in Issei. Care and grooming as well as fitness and diet would have been important as a display of inner character. It is possible from this information to theorize that the use of the cold cream was part of a complete expression of character and inner health.

Chapter 4: Artifact Analysis

Introduction

Using the historical and theoretical background information previously explained in this thesis, analysis of the cold cream jars can be illustrated. Various topics need to be taken into account to fully understand the three possible interpretations proposed at the end of this chapter. The archaeological site background gives us a physical landscape and context for the jars. Methodology will explain how and what jars were chosen for analysis, and what was taken into consideration when determining diagnostic features of the glass fragments. To understand the intended purpose and the cultural perceptions of cold cream, a history of cosmetics and a detailed history of cold cream is laid out. Men and cosmetics, their use and attitudes towards it, are discussed historically as well as theoretically. A very brief history of Japanese performing arts are given as well as a basic understanding of the role of *kabuki* in Japanese culture and history as well as in internment camps. From this information three theories are proposed: first that the men of the Kooskia Internment Camp were using cold cream for its intended purpose (maintaining complexion and moisturizing) because of past use of cold cream due to its accessibility from their wives: second, that the men of the Kooskia camp were using cold cream to shave because of its moisturizing properties: third, that the men of the Kooskia camp were using cold cream to remove performance makeup used for *kabuki* arts such as plays and *odori* dances.

Archaeological Site Background

Before the INS used Kooskia to incarcerate primarily Japanese aliens, it was a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) camp from June 1933 to October 1933. From August 1935 to May 1943 the site was turned into the Bureau of Prison's Canyon Creek Prison Camp. Previous to the land's use for a CCC camp, the area (Lolo Trail) was used by the Nez Perce for seasonal travel, and the Lewis and Clark expedition used the trail to get through the Bitterroot Mountains.¹

After the INS camp's closure in 1944, the facilities were not transformed for any other use. Currently the buildings, bridges, and other traces of the camp are gone except for a few structures: the concrete surface for the tennis courts, the water tower, the incinerator, and foundations possibly from the camp official's houses. The land is now owned by the Clearwater National Forest as part of the U.S. Forest Service. In the 1970's CNF conducted archaeological surveys of the Kooskia camp. In 2010 Professor Stacey Camp from the University of Idaho obtained a federal grant under the National Park Service's Japanese American Confinement Sites grant program to conduct archaeological work on the site.² The first field season was held in the summer of 2010. Testing occurred in Zone One (location of internee housing) and units were opened in both Zone One and Zone Two (location of the incinerator and trash dump). The second field season was held in the summer of 2013. Surface survey of Zone Two was conducted and excavation units were opened in that area.³

Artifacts found include material culture associated with the camp's occupation as a prison camp in the 1930's and a few, limited artifacts associated with the Nez Perce occupation. It was discovered that highway construction debris had been dumped on the site's barracks area and compromised the context of those internment era remains. The site of the

incinerator was not disturbed by construction activities.⁴ The cold cream jars date to the internment era, and the association of artifacts found are predominantly internment era. Artifacts found in Zone 2 (the incinerator) were found to be more likely associated with the internment camp era (the site's final era of occupation). There is also evidence that the artifacts from the federal prison camp were reused during the internment period.

Methodology

In spring of 2013 in Dr. Stacey Camp's ANTH 532: Historic Artifact Analysis taken at the University of Idaho, I conducted a project on three types of cold cream jars from the Kooskia collection. The brands represented were Jergen's, Woodbury, and Pond's. Two of the jars were identified from small fragments with diagnostic features using the Historic Artifact Comparative Collection in the Alfred W. Bowers Laboratory of Anthropology at the University of Idaho. This research yielded information about the use of cold cream by American men during World War II without consideration for Japanese masculinity or transnationalism.

In the fall of 2013, I chose to continue with this work and turned this research into the basis for a thesis. I originally chose to research hygiene related artifacts in the Kooskia collection. This proved to be too large of an undertaking and too broad of a research topic. Very quickly my attention turned to the cold cream jars themselves and why the men of the Kooskia camp would have used them. By knowing that most cold cream was contained in milk glass jars (the exception is tin containers) I employed the help of work study students to look through the Kooskia collection catalog sheets and mark any entries associated with milk glass. It was not feasible to go through the metal in the collection within the timeframe and

scope of this research, given that the metal was still in the process of being cataloged and the large quantity of metal to look through. The search for milk glass turned up sixty-seven catalog entries.

I then went through the artifacts and sorted them based on diagnostic and non-diagnostic features. Nine artifacts had markings or other significant diagnostic properties such as designs or distinct shapes. Of the non-diagnostic artifacts, twenty were selected for possibly being cold cream jars and for having enough points of comparison to possibly match with jars pulled from the comparative collection or the diagnostic artifacts from the Kooskia collection.

Initially, I created an artifact table that contained twelve possible values for each artifact: Catalog number, material, description, markings, brand, dates, thickness of the sides of the jar, thickness of the base, height of the rim, diameter, shape, and other comments. Two shapes of cold cream jars bases were found in the collection, circular and vesica piscis (Figure 4.1). A vesica piscis is a two dimensional shape which is created by overlapping two circles, and is similar to the three dimensional prolate spheroid (football shape).

The diameter was determined by comparing the radius of the curvature to a predetermined guide. The measurements of the thickness of the glass from different points of the jar was thought to be helpful as the glassmaking process during the 1930's and 1940's was

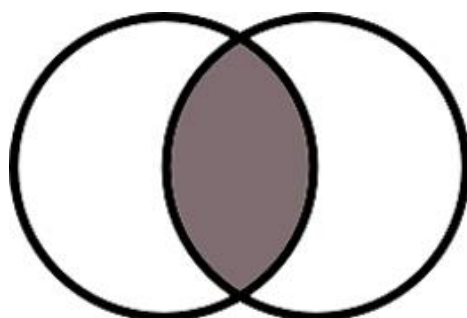


Figure 4.1: Vesica piscis shape created by overlapping two circles. The shape of the cold cream jar *base*.

uniform enough to make this a feasible point of reference for comparison. Measurements of thickness and the height of the rim (or threads) were taken from multiple points using digital calipers. When taking measurements for the jar base, they were taken from points without embossing or stamps. For the vesica piscis shaped jar fragments, measurements for the sides of the jar were taken at the thinner point (before the thickness increases near the two ends of the vesica piscis). Shape of vessel refers to the footprint of the jar, and two shapes were represented within this sampling: circular and vesica piscis (football shaped). Three brands of cold cream jars were represented in the collection: Pond's, Woodbury, and Jergen's, with the majority easily being Pond's.

When comparing non-diagnostic fragments to diagnostic artifacts similarities between these categories were considered: glass thickness, rim height, diameter, and shape. If at least two of these values matched they were visually compared for matching shapes, glass seams, or glass color (shades of white). The average measurements for a vesica piscis (football) shaped Pond's jar were collected from the five known Pond's jars (one of which came from the comparative collection). Using the vesica piscis shaped Woodbury jar from the Alfred W. Bowers Laboratory of Anthropology's comparative collection and from the diagnostic fragments of one vessel, measurements for Woodbury were taken as well. Both of these were vesica piscis shapes so diameter was not determined. The values are shown in figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Pond's and Woodbury Cold Cream Jar Average Measurements

Brand	Side Thickness	Base Thickness	Rim Height
Ponds	.25"	.23"	.37"
Woodbury	.27"	.25"	.41"

Figure 4.3: Diagnostic cold cream jars in the Kooskia Internment Camp Archaeological Collection.

Collection	Zone	Feature	Strat	PP#	TS#	Catalog#
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	Feature 1 West Half	1			10-2-2023
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	SC		135G	2141	10-2-2109
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	Feature 1 West Half	1			10-2-2158
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	Feature 1	1			10-2-2223
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	N 998 E 2034	1			10-2-2224
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	N 998 E 2034	1			10-2-2225
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	Feature 1 West Half	2			10-2-2496
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	Feature 1 West Half	1			10-2-2655
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	SC		145H	2151	10-2-3008
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	SC		119G	2125	10-2-3009
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	SC		4D		10-2-3062
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	SC		4D		10-2-3063
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	N 982 E 2027	1			10-2-3100
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	SC		135G	2141	10-2-1207
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	Feature 1 West Half	1			10-2-1235
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	Feature 1 West Half	1			10-2-1372
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	SC		169D	2175	10-2-1471
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	SC		117G	2123	10-2-1819
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	SC		158B	2164	10-2-325
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	SC		143	2149	10-2-327
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	SC		147B	2153	10-2-328
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	SC		128J	2134	10-2-329
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	SC		168A	2174	10-2-946
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	Feature 1 West Half	2			10-2-975
CNF KIC 2010	Incinerator	SC		161D	2170	10-2-976

Through measurement and visual comparison, I determined that there were ten Pond's jars, two fragments of a Woodbury jar possibly from two different jars, one Jergen's sample jar, eleven artifacts that are cold cream jars of unknown brands, and one artifact that was determined as a non-cold cream vessel (Figure 4.3). It should be noted that most other products sold in milk glass jars had very distinct shapes and sizes that differed greatly from the size and shape of cold cream jars. Depending on the time period, Vaseline was sold in clear, cobalt, or amber jars with the product name and brand stamped into the glass, and with the jar being much smaller than a cold cream jar. The cold cream jars of unknown brands fit

the size and shape of cold cream jars, but did not have enough points of reference to compare with diagnostic artifacts.

The collection identifier “CNF KIC 2010” stands for Clearwater National Forest, Kooskia Internment Camp, and the year of the excavation (2010). The zone “incinerator” was alternately recorded as Zone Two in excavation records and on artifact bags. In the value “Feature” refers to the location within the zone such as surface collection (SC). If the feature given is “1” this is referring to an excavated unit and a strata is given for where the artifact was recovered. “PP” stands for point provenience, and TS is noted as ST in the cataloging manual and stands for shovel test pit. It should be noted that all bags from a shovel test pit have “TS” written on them and not “ST”. The catalog numbering system was developed by using the year the artifact was collected (10), then the zone where the artifact was collected on site (Zone 2), and finally the artifact number beginning with one (the first artifact cataloged from that zone) and progressing.

A Brief History of Cosmetics

During the Bronze Age (ca. 4000 BCE) in Eurasia, a new cultural practice was forming. A routine of cosmetics--now consisting of baths, facials, manicures, hairstyling, and costuming—was beginning to emerge at both ends of Eurasia.⁵ The site of a 2500 BCE temple courtyard revealed the extent of cosmetic use in the Indus Valley. Excavations uncovered kohl pots, rouge pots, lipsticks, razors, and mirrors in the remains of an ancient water tank.⁶ Despite the ancient practice of cosmetics they have often been viewed as the tools of foolish and self-absorbed women. To improve their looks women have been known to

eat arsenic, smear hormones on their faces, or purchase devices to send electric shock to their wrinkles.⁷

Historically, the word “cosmetic” in America has meant substances such as creams, lotions, and skin-related correction or protection.⁸ Only during the mid-nineteenth century in America did “cosmetic” start to include powders, paints, and visible additions to the appearance. Paint was harder for cosmetic producers and marketers to label as cosmetic for some time, as it was still associated with women who were considered as morally corrupt or sexually active. Marketers wanted to blur the lines between something that would improve the skin and something that would mask it so makeup would appeal to more women.⁹

Before the second half of the nineteenth century, cosmetics were purchased from a druggist, or made in the home. Once railroads became a viable mode of transportation, distribution of both products and ads through magazines and catalogs was easier.¹⁰ Even with these provisions the cosmetics industry took a while to establish itself. Throughout the nineteenth century there was no significant sector of the economy dedicated to cosmetics.¹¹ In larger cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, or Boston, a person might be able to purchase cosmetics or toiletries at a specialty store. Peddlers or traders carried cosmetics in cheaper brands, which allowed farming and some frontier communities access to these products.¹² By the 1920’s brand name cosmetics were more accessible to smaller cities. Topeka and Columbus, Ohio, saw housewives start to use skin creams by the 1920’s.¹³ During this time rural communities still had difficulty acquiring products such as Pond’s, as general stores did not carry beauty products. Isolated towns of less than one thousand people were almost guaranteed to not have these items.¹⁴

By World War I, marketers were not afraid to make a case for the daily use of cosmetics, and were touting their success at creating a new market for skin care products. The two biggest sources of cosmetics by the start of WWI were French exporters and the large American manufacturers. The small domestic companies were not able to get major national ads out until after 1918. By 1920 cosmetics were the third most advertised class of products in all magazines. In women's magazines they were the second most advertised, and in newspapers they were the fifth-most advertised products.¹⁵ With the introduction of the household radio, cosmetic advertisement moved into sponsored programs. From 1927 to 1930, the investment in radio commercial spots shot from \$300,000 to \$3.2 million annually.¹⁶

World War I had a large effect on appearances specifically for women. The ideal image for women's physiques went from being large breasted and hour glass figured to flat chested slim hipped flapper girls of the 1920's. Historian Fenja Gunn theorizes that this was due to the need for youthful energetic women to take over for those men lost in battle. Cosmetic companies began pandering towards this new obsession with youth and youthful images.¹⁷

During the Great Depression, cosmetics suffered a hit as many industries did, however, they remained surprisingly strong during this time. The indulgence in a new lipstick came from women who could not afford new clothes or other luxury items. In 1931 households were spending two percent of their income on cosmetics. This added up to \$750 million in national outlay.¹⁸ Within thirty or forty years advertisers had gone from struggling to get people to think of cosmetics as a routinely needed product to it being considered a basic

necessity for daily life. By the European declaration of war in 1939, sales for cosmetics had reached \$40 million in the United States annually.¹⁹

A History of Cold Cream

Cold cream has been an object of human use since the Roman physician Galen invented it in 2nd century Greece.²⁰ Beginning in the eighteenth century until the early twentieth century, cold cream was made with spermaceti which comes from whales. It had a large part to play in widespread whale hunting and whales' status as an endangered species. Spermaceti was also the reason cold cream had to be kept on ice to prevent it from spoiling.²¹ Although some claim that the reason for the name "cold cream" came from the cooling feeling of the water evaporating on the skin, the methods to prevent spoiling may also have been a reason it was called this.²² By the 1800's cold creams were more available to the general public and were made to cleanse and soften the skin using oils and waxes.²³

Harriet Hubbard Ayers is labeled as the first beauty cream entrepreneur. She began as an in-home cold cream brewer and moved into mass distribution in the late nineteenth century. Her legacy in the cosmetic industry was marked by her method of marketing her product to women. She created stories of cosmetics using women who succeeded in attaining engagements and marriages because of their skin care routines.²⁴ By WWI women were using vanishing cream as a foundation base and the use of face powder increased greatly which also caused an upswing in the use of cleansing creams. Vanishing and cleansing creams were the two best-selling cosmetic products at the time and even to this day.²⁵

While Harriet Hubbard Ayers was the first entrepreneur of cold cream, Pond's was the first nationally distributed cold cream in America.²⁶ It started with the chemist, Theron T.

Pond from Utica, New York who in 1846 used the hazel shrub bark extract to treat nosebleeds, female complaints, and heal sunburned skin and use as a general healing ointment. He called it Pond's extract and started distilling it as an elixir out behind his apothecary.²⁷ From 1882 to 1907, the extract was said to work as an aftershave, a toothpaste, a sore throat remedy, and for female contraceptive.²⁸

Before the well-known Pond's cold cream, was a vanishing cream (another name for a cold cream that disappears on the skin rather than sitting on top of it) that was developed in 1904. It was advertised as a way to prevent damage to skin caused by the sun.²⁹

Pond's cold cream was created shortly after, and the biggest innovation that Pond's made in cold creams was that their formula did not go rancid because they did not use animal products as a base; instead, they used a mineral oil that lasted much longer.³⁰ Sale of Pond's vanishing cream struggled until 1907. Up until this point the ads looked as though Pond's was for addled old men (Figure 4.4). It was also at this time that women began to believe that the low cost of Pond's made it less effective than the more expensive brands. Pond's countered this by using endorsements by pampered rich women such as American heiresses or even European royals (Figure 4.5). These ad campaigns were highly successful.³¹ The next change in Pond's advertising scheme was pushing their vanishing cream and cold cream as a system that had best results when used together. Their ads touted that, "Every normal skin needs two creams" (Figure 4.6). This ad began running in 1916 and between that time and 1920 sales tripled for both Pond's vanishing and cold cream.³² Though there were other competitors to Pond's the other large producer of cold cream was the John H. Woodbury Company. The company has its beginnings in 1870 in Albany, New York. The main product of the company was soap, as the company had been established by a dermatologist. Woodbury didn't move

away from soap until after they were bought out by the Andrew Jergen's company in 1901. Jergen's had their own cold cream that in the future would sell nearly as well as Woodbury and Pond's. It wasn't until after Jergen's purchased Woodbury (at the time, primarily a soap company) that a cold cream was also produced under the Woodbury brand. Their advertisements also used the idea that cold cream would lead to a successful romance. Woodbury soap was the first product to be sold by using a nude woman in advertisements.³³

De-e-lightful for Burns

POND'S EXTRACT

Promptly relieves the burning pain and promotes rapid healing of the wound. An antiseptic dressing for burns, cuts, scratches, bruises, ivy poisoning, etc. Takes the smart out of insect stings and prevents infection.

Ask your druggist for POND'S EXTRACT. Sold only in sealed bottles—never sold in bulk. Refuse all substitutes.

POND'S EXTRACT
COMPANY'S
VANISHING CREAM

is an ideal, non-oily toilet cream of great purity and exquisite Jacque Rose fragrance. "Vanishing Cream" effectively promotes that fineness of skin texture so requisite to a clear and beautiful complexion.

Free Sample on request, or send 4c. in stamps for large trial tube.

POND'S EXTRACT CO.
Dept. 26 78 Hudson St. New York

Figure 4.4: Example of "boring" Pond's ad for vanishing cream (and extract), 1907. vintageadbrowser.com

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT TO LADIES.

How All Women May Avoid the Discomforts of the Sun and Wind and Create a Delicate Complexion Which No Weather Will Harm.

SPECIAL OFFER OF FREE TRIAL SUPPLIES TO ALL "DAILY MIRROR" READERS.

Now that the weather is so uncertain there come to every woman feelings of anxiety as to the damage which her complexion may sustain. It is an open question as to which sooner works havoc with the delicate tone of a fair complexion out of the three things—wind, rain, or sun. Wind that at times may be severe and biting will dry up the natural nutriment of the skin and so cause disfiguring red patches to appear; rain may have an equally serious effect, but it is the sun burning down on a hot summer's day that will take from the pores of the skin all the natural feeding oils, and, in addition to discolouring the skin, cause such troubles to arise as freckles, eczema, and actual destruction of what is called the cuticle. In such circumstances it is necessary for every woman to secure for herself, on the occa-

Their latest success is their Vanishing Cream, the toilet specific to which reference has been made, and of which special trial supplies are offered to "Daily Mirror" readers.

To those who enjoy the privileges of attending large social functions, or who go to the theatre or dine out continuously, Pond's Vanishing Cream will prove a real blessing. It should be applied immediately before visiting theatre, ballroom, or dining-room. It must be understood that, although the atmosphere may be excessively heated, no sign of the previous application of Vanishing Cream will be noticed.

To the athletic girl, to the woman who enjoys a constant round of social functions, or to the woman whose life is passed principally in the confines of her own home, Vanishing Cream will prove of wondrous value. It is not burdened with an excessive odour, and its general effect, apart from creating Beauty Complexion, is to give a delightful, cool, and healthy sensation to the skin.

Already Vanishing Cream has met with a cordial reception. A host of members of social and artistic circles have written expressing their appreciation of the new preparation. We reproduce here the photograph of Miss Constance Collier, one of the many well-known personages who have found in Vanishing Cream a toilet specific long awaited. Miss Collier, in a short note to the proprietors of Vanishing Cream, says:—

"I find your Pond's Extract Vanishing Cream perfectly splendid for the skin. I shall always use it—Yours, Constance Collier."

The Proprietors wishing to yet further introduce their preparation have, as stated, decided to send a special trial tube of their delightful Vanishing Cream to every lady who sends her name and address, together with a 4c. stamp for postage, to the Pond's

Figure 4.5: A Pond's ad from 1907 endorsement by Constance Collier (Film actress). vintageadbrowser.com



Figure 4.6: A Pond's ad from 1917 claiming both vanishing and cold creams as a system.
vintageadbrowser.com

Purpose and Use of Cold Creams

Each brand of cold cream claimed that it was the superior cold cream, but the reality was that these cold creams were more alike than they were different, and the companies did not bother trying to claim any copyrighted difference in formula or ingredients.³⁴ Cold cream, since its invention, has essentially been the same formula containing water, beeswax and oil of some kind (with the greatest difference being whether this was animal or plant based oil) along with a fragrance (often rose petals). The most crucial element of the mixture was water, as the cooling feeling from cold cream came from the water evaporating on the skin.³⁵ The feeling that cold cream has upon the skin is determined by the melting point. A low melting point causes the cold cream to be greasy upon the skin, and a high melting point will not be greasy. Pond's vanishing cream does just that because it has a high melting point and appears

to disappear after application. In truth, vanishing cream does not actually vanish, rather it replaces lost water from the skin with oil. Oil can help the skin lose water at a slower rate, but it does not actually add moisture to the skin. It also gives the skin a smooth soft glow, and can significantly improve appearance if it is not as actually effective as advertised.³⁶

As for a cleansing cold cream, the purpose is not necessarily to gain moisture in the skin, but to remove dirt, makeup, and oil. Originally, cold cream was a perfect substance to remove face powder, rouge, and lipsticks. When eye makeup became popular newer cleansers had to be created to specifically remove these types of makeup.³⁷ Cleansing cream can be moisturizing as vanishing cream, but for a different reason. A properly formulated cleansing cream will leave a “residual film” on the face that protects dry skin.³⁸

From the perspective of cold cream formulators in the 1940’s, a good cold cream was smooth and shiny looking. It didn’t separate within the container, or have specks in it. The perfect cold cream was formulated for the region in which it would be used: a softer cream for cooler climates, and a firmer cream for warmer climates. They also intended cleansing creams to be softer than vanishing creams.³⁹ At the time they described the creation of a cold cream as:

Essentially neutralization of beeswax fatty acid, producing a soap within the oily mass and simultaneously emulsifying the fats in the water present. The resulting emulsion is of the oil-in-water type, as can be proven by phase testing immediately after emulsification takes place. At this point, further water can be added producing a more liquid preparation.⁴⁰

Men and Cosmetics

Throughout history men have used cosmetics, and at times more so than women.

During the Victorian era in Europe, due to the prevalence of Protestant values, men’s use of

cosmetics was frowned upon and considered effeminate. Male film stars had a difficult time being convinced to wear makeup for productions until they saw how washed out they looked on screen.⁴¹ Even to be associated with cosmetics was difficult for men around the turn of the century. Cosmetics salesmen had to constantly reassure each other of their manhood and “spoke gung-ho, hail fellow language that filled cosmetic trade journals.”⁴² Just as women had to deal with the stereotype of being a “painted hussy,” men who wanted to beautify or even simply sell beauty products had to face assumptions about their sexuality, mental strength, and character.⁴³

Though using cosmetics was decidedly determined as emasculating, men used cosmetics throughout the turn of the century and on through World War II. If not using products marketed towards men, they would often borrow their wives’ products instead. The evidence of this comes from historic testimonials from mothers or wives, outlined in works such as Kathy Piess’ *Hope in a Jar*. At the turn of the century, men’s cosmetics were limited to hair products and shaving aids. Aftershave or cologne often portrayed a man as well to do, and sophisticated.⁴⁴ Beauty and care establishments catered to men in the same way as they would a woman, but barbershops somehow made men feel less effeminate.⁴⁵

According to Peiss, it was not uncommon for men to use their wives’ skin creams in the morning to shave, to use a vanishing cream to stop shiny skin, or to hide blemishes using their wives’ makeup. All without mention to anyone else, of course. One middle class mother spoke of how her son preferred Pond’s for his black-heads, but shoved it down in his drawer so no one would notice.⁴⁶ Salesmen were urged to keep makeup with them as well as apply eye liner to emphasize their expressions, and that these would help them be successful “HE-MAN” salesmen.⁴⁷

Shaving was the activity men used cosmetics for the most, and when self-shaving became the norm for many men, shaving products began to flood the market. This was the beginning of a men's cosmetics market in the West. The safety razor was marketed as a hygienic and cheap way to shave in privacy. Gillette began to attach self-shaving with self-reliance, initiative, and logic. They glorified baseball players, soldiers, and businessmen who claimed to self-shave. One of their ads in 1910 read, "The Gillette is typical of the American spirit" (Figure 4.7).⁴⁸ Marketing and attitudes such as these were part of the shift from the cult of character to the cult of personality, where one made their own references through good appearances attained by proper grooming and care.⁴⁹ Though shaving practices created a new path for men's toiletries, it did not completely open up the market. As a result, other male beauty products had extreme difficulty getting off their feet. Pompeian cream attempted to sell their product to men as something that would gain them success, but Pompeian was advertising that the same formula would enhance a woman's beauty. Male Pompeian cream thus failed, despite the desire from men for grooming products. Despite an interest, the few companies who tried to meet this demand failed at successfully launching male products. Most of the time, when men were demanding a product companies would often ignore them. In 1918 Cutex was selling self-manicure products. When taking a poll for audience appeal, ten percent came from men. However, Cutex discarded the notion and never tried to market towards men.⁵⁰

DONOVAN of Detroit CHANCE of Chicago KLING of Chicago WAGNER of Pittsburg JENNINGS of Detroit

The men who uphold the standards of American sport today are clean men—clean of action and clean of face. Your baseball star takes thought of his personal appearance—it's a part of his team ethics. He starts the day with a clean shave—and, like all self-reliant men, he shaves himself. Wagner, Jennings, Kling, Donovan, Chance—each of the headliners owns a Gillette Safety Razor *and uses it*. The Gillette is typical of the American spirit. It is used by capitalists, professional men, business men—by men of action all over this country—*three million of them*.

Its use starts habits of energy—of initiative. And men who *do* for themselves are men who *think* for themselves. Be master of your own time. Buy a Gillette and use it. You can shave with it the first time you try. The one perfectly *safe* razor and the only safety razor that shaves on the correct hollow ground shaving principle. No stropping, no honing.

Send your name on a post card for our new Baseball book—Schedule of all League games—batting records—24 pages of interesting facts and figures. Every fan should have it. It is free.

King Gillette

GILLETTE SALES COMPANY, 22 W. Second Street, Boston
New York, Times Building Chicago, Stock Exchange Building Gillette Safety Razor, Ltd., London
Eastern Office, Shanghai, China Canadian Office, 63 St. Alexander Street, Montreal

GILLETTE SALES COMPANY, 22 W. Second Street, Boston
Factories: Boston, Montreal, Leicester, Berlin, Paris

Figure 4.7: Gillette ad from 1910 depicting baseball players and stating: "The Gillette is typical of the American Spirit." gillettehistory.files.wordpress.com

In the 1920's and 30's the cosmetic industry chose not to ignore male interest in products and attempted to market "male only" products. They worked on wording ads in "men's language", studied consumer habits, removed "feminine" labels, and created spaces where men felt safe purchasing cosmetics. Ads ran as, "Toiletries Effeminate?—Ask the Navy!"⁵¹ Even magazines pushing for a male cosmetic industry failed to help and often undermined those very efforts through their content.

Though these efforts were largely unsuccessful, in 1929 Cark Weeks attempted to develop a male cosmetic line that included the products men were using under the table, such

as face cream, powder, and moisturizer. He saw what had become the cult of personality, as a way for men to begin embracing good grooming and appearances. His work drew much skepticism, but he continued working on the line believing that men were recognizing the feeling of success they received from having a neat and clean appearance and how that translated to the outside world as success.⁵² Though it took a decade, by the beginning of World War II men were using cosmetics more than ever before. American cosmetic companies advertised to families of soldier's stations abroad to send their soldiers care packages that would include toiletries.⁵³ Despite the pride a well groomed soldier experienced, post war attitudes saw a backlash against men using cosmetics and a return to the adage that "no *real* man" would use cosmetics.⁵⁴

Gender Theory and Historic Attitudes towards Cosmetics

American attitudes towards cosmetic use was often presented as a question of the morality of masking or altering natural features. For women who wanted to use cosmetics, this meant raising questions about their social role as well as their femininity. Historically, certain cosmetics were seen as feminine, but they were also seen as either a privilege of the upper-class, or the mark of the unmentionable lower classes.⁵⁵ In Europe, the use of cosmetics was normal in both sexes as a way of creating the best version of self. America broke away from this ideal during the American Revolution when both men and women were expected to support the Revolution by expunging any hint of aristocracy within American society. The biggest change in appearance during this time was seen in American men who stopped using luxurious fabrics, scented waters, or other embellishments or personal decorations and rejected them as effeminate in an attempt to set themselves apart from the society of the

government they were rejecting.⁵⁶ A prominent example of this revolution in American appearance was in Benjamin Franklin, who refused to wear his periwig for a more subtle appearance. The wig was a substantial symbol of the English monarchy, and by rejecting it Franklin was speaking more to his personal loyalties rather than revealing what “true manhood” meant. However, these choices were changing the American vision of manhood, and a new form of masculinity: the American Man.

This image slowly gained a moral and ethical social backing. “Men need not display their authority, since their virtue was inherent.”⁵⁷ This idea of representation of self was further enforced when in 1840 a congressman made attacks upon President Martin Van Buren’s masculinity by mocking the grooming tools and products seen upon his dressing room table. The term dandy became a derogatory way to describe an effeminate man who used any specialized items for grooming. These men were treated with pure contempt by society at large, though each man continued to pay attention to his reflection and barber’s continued to supply them with their toilet needs.⁵⁸ By the nineteenth century a “cult of manliness” had formed to reify the ideal of the “American Man.” He was tough, he was young and exuberant. He enjoyed sports such as football and boxing. He was a soldier or a cowboy. Cartoons depicted strong successful men being pandered to by dainty and weak men obsessed with their appearances and often using makeup.⁵⁹

Historian, John Kasson argues that the changes in ideal American masculinity leading up through the turn of the century can be seen in public figures such as Eugen Sandow (A strongman), Harry Houdini (escape artist), and Edgar Rice Burroughs (Author of *Tarzan of the Apes*).⁶⁰ These three men were visible figures of the changing masculinity, but also influenced by masculine figures of the day such as Theodore Roosevelt.⁶¹ Kasson also cites

the industrial revolution as a cause of altered perceptions of masculinity. When the majority of American men were farmers the value was placed on independence and self-sufficiency, but when the populations shifted to a majority working for corporate entities in big cities masculinity had to be “recast in a tightly integrated economy of national and international markets.”⁶² Masculinity had to fit within the confines of the new employed man, and self-sufficiency and independence were not traits desired of a corporate man. With changes in working life, so came changes in recreation and leisure. The age of the “spectacle” was ushered in through acts like Houdini and Sandow, and works of literature like Burroughs’s Tarzan. Because of their wide appeal, they served as a way to calm the tensions between class divisions created through industry and corporations.⁶³ Kasson says that the popularity of photography gave men like Houdini, and Sandow the status of celebrities and reinforced social constructed gender roles.

Men viewed women who used cosmetics as silly and frivolous. In the 1920’s advertisers began using the argument that using cosmetics would help a woman gain a husband. Culturally this was not the case. Make up played a larger role in how women viewed each other rather than how men viewed women. In some regards reactions to cosmetic use were part of the dichotomy dictating women’s identity in the late nineteenth century. On one hand you had women were beginning to claim their own identity as part of the suffrage movement. On the other there were reactions against this, for women to remain modest and reserved. At times, men would approve the results of a “makeover,” but more often than not up to the beginning of the twentieth century women admitted to hiding cosmetic use from their spouses or significant others because of the condemnation they would receive.⁶⁴ Books were published to discourage women from using cosmetics and proclaiming them as unsafe

and deceptive. *Skin Deep: The Truth About Beauty Aids* (1934) discussed cold (and vanishing) creams and claimed that “In our opinion, no vanishing creams are to be recommended.”⁶⁵ The volume dealt with revealing the marketing of cosmetic companies and unveiling their lies and schemes to get women to purchase their “harmful” products.⁶⁶

Currently, the biggest opposition to women’s use of cosmetics are women themselves. Feminists, beginning in the 1960’s, viewed makeup as a male-dominated industry that they use to assert dominance over women. Advertiser’s images of ideal beauty are seen as controlling a woman’s conscious. Feminists view the routine of beautifying as a subtle way of controlling women’s behaviors and making it look as though women are making their own choices about their bodies.⁶⁷ According to Peiss, this theory is incredibly wrong. At this stage, the industry has been dominated and even built by women. Even during its formative years women were behind the organization of beauty culture.⁶⁸

Peiss offers a way to understand women’s purpose and use of cosmetics and makeup without forming those theories around predetermined views of oppression. She urges researchers to listen to the voices of women themselves and understand the role that beautifying plays in each individual’s life. This careful consideration of individual use and identity can be applied not only to women, but to men as well and all other gender identities. The rise of the cosmetic industry cannot be chalked up to a big greedy businessman seeing his opportunity in weak-minded women and altering her own self-image, but rather it played a part in the way women perceived their own identities during a time of massive upheaval and change.⁶⁹

Peiss’s theory of beauty culture can be described as a “system of meaning” rather than a “type of commerce.”⁷⁰ The evidence Peiss gives of this is in the way makeup was used

during World War II. Despite books such as *Skin Deep*, which were very popular and well-read during the years leading up to WWII, the American government used makeup as a “morale booster” for both men and women alike.⁷¹ Women who worked in the factories took pride in keeping their appearances “feminine,” while society began to see lipstick as a distinctly American symbol: to be more specific, a symbol of American victory. Not only was it propaganda about the financial status of the country, it was also a way that the government showed the enemy that through the trials of war American women could still take pride in themselves.⁷²

Finally, not only did cosmetics mark men as lacking masculinity, and certain women as loose or immoral, but they also attempted to standardize beauty to a specific race (with some exceptions that pushed against this). Travelers, writers, revolutionaries, and anthropologists recognized that different cultures viewed beauty as a different entity, but continued to glorify white racial beauty. Influential European and American’s claimed certain complexions as ugly when compared with the “perfect” attributes of white Anglo-Saxon skin. These notions of ugly or abnormal reinforced the Anglo-Americans and white Europeans as the dominant race in a time of colonial expansion and domination.⁷³

Alternate Cosmetic Expression: Kabuki Theater and Japanese Performing Arts

One way that makeup was used in Japan by men historically, and also simultaneously during the period of American history that condemned the use of makeup, was traditional Japanese performing arts. The word “kabuki” is represented by three Chinese characters: *ka* (song), *bu* (dance), and *ki* (skill/art), but this was a more modern translation and the original meaning came from a verb that meant “to lean” and also “something off-beat or deviating

from the main path.”⁷⁴ Therefore, *kabuki* originally meant an off-beat performance. Not only did arts such as *kabuki* theater or *odori* dance demand the use of makeup, but also the full transformation of men into female likenesses. *Kabuki* is a four hundred year old Japanese professional art where men perform characters of either male or female. At its beginnings, both men and women performed, but through a ruling under the Tokugawa shogunate in 1629 women were no longer allowed to practice *kabuki*.⁷⁵ *Kabuki* was founded by a woman in the early seventeenth century, but when women were banned from performing young men took over the female gender roles within the theater. These young men would often specialize their performances to one gender role. Those who specialized in male gender roles were called *tachiuaku* and those who specialized in female gender roles were called *onnagata*.⁷⁶ *Onnagata* soon became a spectacular art of creating stylized gender acts, and the formulations became more and more creative through costume, body language, and makeup.⁷⁷

Japanese society during the Edo period was not based on Christianity, but rather it was where powerful men use rules to dictate behavior, adapted Confucian models that integrated with complex structure of Buddhist and Shinto beliefs and practices.⁷⁸ Heterosexuality was favored, but society did not frown upon homosexuality. Japanese history shows homosexuality as having a history of going in and out of favor as a practice depending on the political state and the sexuality of the leaders.⁷⁹ It is important to note that the sexuality of the *onnagata* performers was probably not central to their public identity.

Onnagata was based off of a “female-likeness” of the time (1603-1867), and was representative of what the governing body laid down as the ideal female body and behavior. Women of the Edo period would mimic the likeness created by *onnagata*.⁸⁰ In modern times *kabuki onnagata* acts out a representation of an idealized fictional past.⁸¹ Today women do not

perform *onnagata* for kabuki; there are a few theories for this, one being that *onnagata* is hyper-feminine and a real woman could not portray it accurately.⁸²

The art of kabuki is centered around a specific stylization. This is described as “at once flamboyant and wildly sensual, as well as subtly ‘natural’ and painstakingly controlled.”⁸³ Each component of the performance *must* be beautiful, and this is accomplished through a precise system of “physical and vocal acts.”⁸⁴ In this way, the most mundane tasks become a meticulously styled movement within a space according to the stylized system set down for kabuki.

The material culture of *onnagata* is created with several items. The kimono and the waist sash called the *obi* were two main components. The waist sash was wound around the body to hold in the kimono and give it shape. The only body parts visible are the face, hands or tips of the fingers, the back of the neck and upper back, and on occasion the bare feet. The face was pulled taut by hair, and painted to represent ideal feminine attributes. All other flesh is painted white and powdered, with the exceptions of roles depicting the lower class.⁸⁵

Odori dance is a sector of kabuki, and some would not consider a *kabuki* program without an *odori* dance. An *odori* dancer uses his entire body, head, shoulders, eyes, face, arms, hands, and fingers; all of these body parts must all be expressive of the central idea. “Pantomime is first cousin to *odori* and rhythm and song next of kin.”⁸⁶ The most principle object used in *odori* was the fan. It is the “chief” mode of expression for dancers and has been for thousands of years. *Odori* dancers also wear white paint and powder as well as makeup during their performances.⁸⁷

From the Edo period through the early Showa period (1926-1930) Japan saw much turmoil and transformation in politics and culture. By the beginning of the Showa era *kabuki*

was considered an official form of Japanese theatre. Before this period, *kabuki* performers were not considered citizens. However, *onnagata* was not included in this transformation. Instead of being a normalized portion of an official classical performance art, it was criticized by officials and *onnagata* had to alter the way it was portrayed.⁸⁸ It is known from historical records and personal accounts that revived forms of *kabuki* were being performed in American internment camps during WWII, such as in the Santa Fe Internment Camp and the Lordsburg Internment Camp. There is no archaeological data from these camps to compare cold cream remains to those found at the Kooskia Internment camp, however there are other Japanese American internment sites that have cold cream in their archaeological record.

Similar Archaeological Sites with Cold Cream

Similar archaeological sites have recovered cold cream jars as well. Manzanar Relocation Center was a WRA camp where Japanese American citizens and Japanese immigrants were taken during World War II. It is now a National Historic Site in Owen's Valley, California.⁸⁹ In Manzanar's site report cold cream jars are categorized as "other" types of artifacts and the number of artifacts that make up the category "other" represents fourteen percent of the entire collection.⁹⁰ The total of non-diagnostic milk glass container fragments from Manzanar's relocation center context is 26.⁹¹ There are four cold cream jars identified in the collection; two are Woodbury jars, one is a Daggett & Ramsdell jar, and the fourth is of an unknown brand (Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8: Table of cold cream artifacts recovered at Manzanar.

Artifact Type	Diagnostics	Recovery Location	Date Association
Milk Glass	Embossed with "...MA..."	Excavation of Unit 21, Surface.	Pre Relocation Center
Milk Glass	Embossed with "d and /r... DELL. NEW YORK"	Excavation of Unit 21, 10-20 cm.	Pre Relocation Center
Milk Glass	Jar rim with Woodbury embossed design.	Excavation of Unit 20, surface.	Relocation Center
Milk Glass	Jar embossed with "WOODBURY/ (stamp for Hazel-Atlas Glass Co.)	Excavation of Unit 25, 50-75 cm.	Relocation Center

Cold cream jars were also recovered at Amache in Southeastern Colorado. The information on beauty products at Amache is found in Dana Shew's thesis where she explains the presence of cold cream as a method of coping with the dry climate. Shew explains the excavations at Amache:

During surface survey 10 fragments of milk glass cold cream jars were discovered. Evidence of cold cream use was found in all residential blocks except for Block 6G and the half surveyed, Block 10E. Two of the cold cream jars were identified as Ponds brand cold cream jars while the remaining 8 had no diagnostic characteristics.⁹²

Shew does not clarify how she determined that the eight remaining vessels were cold cream jars and not a salve or other makeup jars. Of this surface survey, seventy-two percent of the category "grooming" was composed of cold cream jars, and this was evidence of the prioritization of skin care over other beauty routines.⁹³ Shew drew from many sources (historical records, articles, and oral histories), and says that the most valuable was her use of mail order catalog to identify artifacts found at Amache. The data used for her analysis was composed of three categories that she called, "domestic roles," "beauty and appearance," and "gardening."⁹⁴ According to Shew, the high quantity of Pond's brand cold cream recovered

could be explained through the popularity of the brand with Japanese and Japanese American women. It was also thought of as the cheapest brand of cold cream, though the price difference was nearly the same as Jergen's or Woodbury.⁹⁵

She determined that the artifacts found at Amache were proof that Japanese American women were mimicking the idealized American woman through beauty practices.⁹⁶ Shew fails to incorporate other associations for the cold cream (or other beauty products), and assumes a one-to-one link between these products and the women at the camp. Shew presents a framework for her thesis shows her bias towards showing how women and femininity are visible in the archaeological record without considering men and masculinity. She looks to theorists such as Suzanne Spencer-Wood, Laura Wilkie, and Lu Ann De Cunzo who mention how archaeological research generally ignores the feminine presence in its record. Shew states that she is using gender theory explicitly to focus on women at Amache, and does not show an intention to explore the visibility of women at Amache in contrast to the visibility of men. She also fails to talk about the limitations of gendering artifacts.⁹⁷ She also does consider that the items she assumed to be "feminine" might have had other purposes, or identities linked to them.

Interpretations from Analysis

As there were a couple women working at the Kooskia Internment Camp, the cold cream jars could be associated with their presence. The women who worked at Kooskia lived half a mile away at Apgar Creek, and that is where they would have been using cold cream. Cold cream was not something a woman applied in public or at work. If the cold cream recovered at the site of the Kooskia Internment Camp was used by women its presence there

might be explained by the collection of garbage from the administration housing at Apgar Creek and being taken to the incinerator at the camp to dispose of. However, preliminary surveys recorded household debris at the location of the administrative housing. This indicated they were dumping some of their garbage there at the Apgar Creek site, and oral histories suggest that trash was also taken to the town of Kooskia for disposal.⁹⁸ With a rough understanding of the types of artifacts collected near the incinerator along with the cold cream jar fragments it is difficult to see a stereotypical female presence represented in the collection. This does not completely rule out the cold cream jars' association with the women of Apgar Creek, and the small quantity of vessels recovered may be partial evidence for this. With this in mind, there appears to be more evidence pointing towards the jars being associated with the men living within the camp.

One theory for the men's use of the cold cream is that they were using it for shaving in place of a shaving cream or lather. This was not common, but not unheard of amongst Anglo-American men of the time, and because of the dry mountain air of the area, the extra moisturizing properties of the cold cream might have helped the men maintain smooth skin. There was a barber and barbershop documented as at the Kooskia camp. His name was James Denkichi Urabe and he had worked as a chef before being taken from his Pennsylvania home.

There is no documentation of any prior experience as a barber or training related to the skill other than a letter from him asking about canteen credits he had received from "giving haircuts to fellow internees."⁹⁹ Wegars offers the theory that he might have learned the skill from another detainee. Despite the strict rules on contraband items in detention centers, he gained enough trust to be given a pair of barber's scissors. Urabe was able to make money as a barber at Kooskia to support his wife, Hattie.¹⁰⁰ A photograph of the barbershop in the



Figure 4.9: Internees at the Kooskia camp barbershop. Courtesy Scrapbook, PG 103-28-2. Found in Wegars, *Imprisoned in Paradise*, 68.

Kooskia Internment Camp show an internee sitting in the chair and another (not Urabe) standing behind him (Figure 4.9). In the background of the photo is a shelf with containers on top of it. One short white jar with a metal lid has a narrow dark colored label. The image is blurry and the jar is difficult to make out, it may be a jar of cold cream, though it is impossible to tell with certainty. If it were a jar of cold cream the dark coloring, size, and shape of the label is fairly consistent with Woodbury jars of that time. It is possible that the

men were using it for self-shaving, and/or that Urabe used it in his barbershop. The reasons for using cold cream over other products might have been preference from before being detained, such as the convenience of using their wife's cold cream. It was clear from Shew's research that Japanese and Japanese American women used Pond's before and during the war, so it is likely Japanese men were used to stealing a dab or two on occasion for a variety of needs. A cost comparison of Barbasol shaving cream to Pond's cold cream from various advertisements and newspapers from the 1940's shows that Pond's appears cheaper, with prices for increasing sizes as: 25 cents, 35 cents, 45 cents, and 65 cents. Barbasol shaving cream is shown as 25 cents, 50 cents, and 75 cents for the largest tube. However, it is unclear how much of the products the containers held, and then how much one would need to use of either one to shave.



Figure 4.10: "Dance performance to celebrate opening of new recreation building." Courtesy Scrapbook, PG 103-24-1. Found in Wegars, *Imprisoned in Paradise*, 106.



Figure 4.11: Internees at the Kooskia camp performing Hozen Seki's play. Courtesy Scrapbook, PG 103-24-2. Found in Wegars, *Imprisoned in Paradise*, 106.

The second theory relates to the use of cold cream to remove makeup from traditional Japanese performance arts that required makeup. Kabuki has never been mentioned in the Kooskia Internment Camp's documentation, but Hozen Seki's diary mentions performances and dances put on by the internees (Figures 4.10 and 4.11). Specifically he talks about a celebrative performance of a play and a dance for the newly built recreation hall. In September he wrote that he had written a play in celebration of the new hall, and that they prepared and practiced it for nine days.¹⁰¹

They also performed an *odori* dance (specifically Osaka *odori*) during that celebration. There are two photographs of the internees performing both the play and the dance. Though it is clear in the photograph of the dance that they are not in full white paint and powder, it is not completely clear if they are wearing minimal makeup. Hozen Seki continues to write

about plays and musical groups that are practiced and performed at the Kooskia Internment Camp.

Initially, the lack of photographs of internees wearing theatrical makeup or mentions of kabuki at Kooskia do not support this theory. Yet, there were a lot of events and specifics of Kooskia that are not well documented (Figures 4.12 and 4.13). The Santa Fe internment camp in New Mexico, which was where the internees at Kooskia had originated from before volunteering, was known to have had internee run recreation and music departments that brought back old traditional Japanese performance arts and dances.¹⁰² Once detainees became (more or less) established within the camps, Issei worked to make kabuki a regular and popular activity in the camps.¹⁰³ At the Santa Fe and Lordsburg (New Mexico) INS internment camps, large groups of men would collaborate to create “satisfactory” performances. They delegated production roles for “acting, music, narrating, stage production, dance instruction and scriptwriting.”¹⁰⁴ At Lordsburg, a troupe was formed called Hinomoto, and it was made up of Japanese internees from Hawai’i and the mainland. The troupe was organized by a man who had a background in theater and drama in Hawai’i. He took care of many details of kabuki ranging from “choreography and costumes to the *shamisen* musical accompaniment and makeup.”¹⁰⁵ The theater groups were so large that a single play had eighteen actors including onnagata, thirty crew members, a director, choreographer, costumers, musicians, and stage hands.¹⁰⁶



Figure 4.12: "Cast and Crew of a Japanese play at Santa Fe Internment Camp, 1945." *Souvenir Pictorial* (1946), courtesy of Jack Y. Tasaka. Found in Waseda, "Extraordinary Circumstances Exceptional Practices," 185.



Figure 4.13: "Bon dance participants at Santa Fe Internment Camp, 1944" *Souvenir Pictorial* (1946), courtesy of Jack Y. Tasaka. Found in Waseda, "Extraordinary Circumstances Exceptional Practices," 190.

The material culture of the kabuki theater at Santa Fe and Lordsburg included props,

costumes, and wigs. Some of these were sent from Hawai'i, but the majority had to be manufactured with materials available to the internees. "They used bamboo rings attached to soy sauce barrels sent from Japan as the base for wigs."¹⁰⁷ They worked manila rope until the fibers were separated and dyed it for hair to attach to the wigs.¹⁰⁸ At the Santa Fe camp they made *shakuhachi* (Japanese flute) from hickory trees, and at the Fort Livingston camp in Louisiana they improvised *shakuhachi* from water pipes.¹⁰⁹

Camp administrators saw theater and musical groups as a way to control the internees, by giving them something to turn their thoughts from ideas of protest or riot. The internees knew that control was a motive for allowing their performance groups. They also consciously recognized that this decision had contributed to "warm" and "calm" feelings within the camp. When administrators saw how recreational and performance activities improved men's attitudes and behaviors, they tried to create more ways for the internees to participate in recreation.¹¹⁰ The kabuki performances at internment camps also played a part in reviving the old art form. For overseas Japanese communities kabuki was not a particularly popular pastime, but with the revival of kabuki within the camps it regained some popularity. This may have been because Japanese movies were not allowed in the camps, and Japanese movies were seen as an alternative to kabuki storytelling.¹¹¹

With kabuki being such a popular activity at other INS camps, it is possible that internees at the Kooskia Internment Camp were performing kabuki as well, or at least in some altered form. Kooskia internees were in a slightly different situation than other INS camps where they had work to occupy them throughout the day, while other INS camps were not volunteer work camps like the Kooskia camp. The administration might have not seen a need to encourage performances to distract internees in the degree they did at the Santa Fe and

Lordsburg camps. However, it is clear that the internees at Kooskia did participate in performances in their part time. One of the traditional arts that we know they continued to practice at Kooskia was *odori* dance and the cold cream jars may have been used to remove the performance makeup.

Chapter 5: Summary and Conclusions

Through careful extrapolation, this thesis has proposed several possible theories to explain the presence of cold cream jars at the Kooskia Internment Camp. The possibility of the women of the administration using cold cream is considered, but additional analysis is required and will hopefully address this issue as the project moves towards final analysis in the coming years. However, the research questions utilized contextual evidence, leading me to believe the jars' contents were used by the internees. Therefore, the research questions sought to answer why Japanese men were using cold cream as well as to use that information to better understand the experience of internment, how the experience of internment was shaped by the men, and how the lives of these men were shaped by internment.

Through research on theories of archaeology and the body, archaeology and gender, and archaeology and masculinity it was determined that cold cream jars have a contested gender association and that further historical and cultural analysis needed to take place before determining with whom the jars could be associated. By using approaches that allow flexibility of sex/gender relationships across space and time, we are able to better understand how masculinity is constructed within specific historical contexts and cultures. In this thesis, the Japanese men were transmigrants, and bodily care practices were informed through their traditional values and ties to their homeland as well as their experiences here in the United States.

Based on historical research of the culture of beauty products, it was discovered that it was not unheard of for American men to dip into their wives' stash of cold cream. From Shew's research at Amache it was determined that the wives of many of the Kooskia internees

used cold cream and it is theorized that Japanese internees might have been used to purchasing or borrowing some of their wives' stash of cold cream for shaving, blemishes, or general skin care routines. If the photograph of the barbershop at the Kooskia camp shows a jar of cold cream in the background then it supports the theory that the men may have used it for shaving and its moisturizing properties, though the direct evidence for this is thin.

The other well-supported theory for the cold cream jars is found in Japanese American internees' recreational and entertainment practices. The theater art form of *kabuki* was popular among the *Issei*, but had lost its footing amongst overseas communities. *Kabuki* and its many sub-forms, such as *odori* dances, were practiced in other INS internment camps such as the Santa Fe and the Lordsburg internment camps in New Mexico. These productions were put together by large groups of men, and had full costume, props, sets, music, and makeup. The evidence of this found at Kooskia is limited. Because the internees were volunteer workers, they did not have as much free time to coordinate productions. However, there is evidence that they were performing plays, putting on *odori* dances and had formed musical and theater groups. Though there are photographs of the internees participating in these activities, they are not clear enough to see traces of makeup. In the case of the internees using makeup for their productions, they could have been using the cold cream product to remove the stage makeup.

This thesis is limited in that portions of the Kooskia archaeological collection, especially the 2013 field season data, is still being cataloged and processed. The data has yet to be made available in a digitized, searchable format, though this will take place in 2015 and 2016. To look through the rest of the collection to analyze metal or other types of glass for cold cream containers other than milk glass would be a huge undertaking and was not within

the timeframe allowed for this research. In addition, the primary context of artifacts has been lost because of Canyon Creek's regular flooding, the disturbance of the matrix because of roadwork, and because of the location of one incinerator for the entire camp's refuse disposal. The documentation of this site is extensive, though the voices of the internees themselves are limited on this topic as oral histories with descendants was not attempted in conducting this research.

Future research could search for evidence of stage makeup, or other *kabuki* and *odori* material remains. Once the collection is within a searchable database a basic analysis could help determine if the camp officials and administration living at Apgar Creek were dumping their refuse at the Kooskia camp incinerator, as would further archaeological research and excavation of the Apgar Creek site. To support or disprove the theory of cold cream as a shaving product, an analysis of elimination could be conducted. Men's shaving products came in various containers such as metal tubes, clear and cobalt blue jars, and soap cakes. If a search of the collection reveals a scarcity of these artifacts it may support the claim that the men were using cold cream with which to shave. Cross analysis of material remains of other INS camps as well as WRA camps could help determine what cold creams were popular, and if other all-male camps even show evidence of cold cream usage. This work could likewise be extended to other sites associated with POWs during WWII. Camps that could be helpful for a comparison work would be Camp Hood and North Camp Hood in Fort Hood, Texas (a camp that held German POWs), Camp Monticello in Monticello, Arkansas (a camp that held Italian POWs), and the Whitewater POW camp in Riding Mountain National Park, Manitoba, Canada (a Canadian POW camp holding Germans). Other sites may have a more undisturbed context to better understand how spaces and individuals became associated with the cold

cream jars and other beauty products. Researching this topic more in depth could help historians and scholars to better understand transnationalism within Japanese internment camps and Japanese masculinity during this time of drastic change and persecution.

Endnotes

Introduction

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² Dana Ogo Shew, "Feminine Identity Confined: The Archaeology of Japanese Women at Amache, A WWII Internment Camp," (Master's Thesis, University of Denver, 2010), 134.

³ Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 22.

⁴ Tetsuden Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment During World War II* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2003), 3.

⁵ Ibid: 4.

⁶ Stephen S. Fugita, and Marilyn Fernandez. *Altered Lives, Enduring Community: Japanese Americans Remember their World War II Incarceration*. (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2004), 3.

⁷ Ibid: 108-109.

⁸ Ibid: xxii.

⁹ Wegars, *Imprisoned in Paradise*, 183.

¹⁰ Stacey Camp, "Preliminary Report on the University of Idaho's 2010 Archaeological Field School at Idaho's Kooskia Internment Camp (May 1943-May 1945)," (Moscow, ID: University of Idaho, 2010), 3.

Chapter One

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³ Sabine Frühstück, and Anne Walthall editors. *Recreating Japanese Men*. (Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press, 2011).

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⁵ Bernard Knapp, A., "Boys Will Be Boys: Masculinist Approaches to a Gendered Archaeology." (Read in *Archaeological Theory: Post-Processual and Cognitive Approaches*, edited by David S. Whitley).

Chapter Two

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- ² Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*. (New York: Back Bay Books, 1998), 22-23.
- ³ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, 5.
- ⁴ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, 7.
- ⁵ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, 7.
- ⁶ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, 6.
- ⁷ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, 7.
- ⁸ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 42.
- ⁹ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 29.
- ¹⁰ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 180.
- ¹¹ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, 8.
- ¹² Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 45-46.
- ¹³ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 188.
- ¹⁴ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 189.
- ¹⁵ Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 186.
- ¹⁶ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, 16.
- ¹⁷ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, 9.
- ¹⁸ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, 9.
- ¹⁹ Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial*, 10.
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Chapter Four

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