National Park Service
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Manzanar National Historic Site
California

Garden Management Plan

Gardens and Gardeners at Manzanar

Jeffery F. Burton

2015

AUTHENTICATED
U.S. GOVERNMENT
INFORMATION
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Merritt Park (hand-colored photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

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Block 34 Mess Hall Garden.

MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

One of the most significant collections of Japanese gardens in North America, the gardens at Manzanar National Historic Site are important symbols of how the World War II Japanese American internees modified and improved their prison surroundings. Manzanar's Japanese gardens incorporate stylistic concepts and design elements developed over hundreds of years of garden-building tradition, and reflect Japanese history, culture, world-view, religion, and aesthetics. The gardens are character-defining elements of Manzanar's cultural landscape. In addition, they are also important in their own right, meeting all four criteria required for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, and many of the criteria for National Historic Landmarks.

In Manzanar's General Management Plan and subsequent planning documents, the restoration and rehabilitation of gardens was identified as a priority. This Garden Management Plan identifies specific treatments to meet the goals set forth in the General Management Plan. Implementing the Garden Management Plan will provide the public with the opportunity to see the full range of gardens types at Manzanar.

All work will be designed to comply with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for the Treatment of Historic Properties. To meet the Historic Site's sustainability objectives, new planted vegetation will be drought-resistant and non-invasive, and any irrigation and water features installed will utilize water-saving techniques. Gardens will be suitable for accessible interpretation, with barrier-free paths and the potential for different forms of interpretive media.

Three gardens located along the driving tour road would be planted with vegetation and their water features would be recreated:

- Block 33 Arai Fish Pond.
- Block 34 Mess Hall Garden (*San-shi-en)*.
- Merritt Park.

These gardens represent a family barracks garden, a mess hall garden, and the most well-known community park at Manzanar. Because of their proximity to each other and the tour road they could easily be accessed on a single walking tour. Water can be brought to these three gardens relatively easily thanks to a nearby well and orchard irrigation pipeline.

In the administration area, two gardens would be restored and maintained in their original historic condition, to show the differences between the gardens internees built for the Caucasian staff versus for themselves:

- Entrance Garden.
- Administration Circle Garden.

These are dry gardens with rocks, Joshua trees, and cactus. Although they may require occasional hand-watering and periodic plant replacement, no irrigation system is needed.

Manzanar was the only relocation center with an orphanage, so the Children's Village and the adjacent Cherry Park would be partially restored as particularly poignant symbols of the internment. Archeological excavation would be necessary to further identify and document features to be restored.

Kuichiro Nishi at Merritt Park (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

To enhance interpretation in the Demonstration Block, small lawns and gardens in Block 14 would be rehabilitated where there is a replica building to provide the appropriate context and where historic and archeological data provide sufficient information for an accurate replacement. Important character-defining features or attributes at the Hospital garden and the Block 9, 12, and 22 mess hall gardens would be restored. Several other important gardens are known from historic records and oral histories; archeological investigations are necessary to uncover them and assess their condition.

The majority of Manzanar's gardens would be stabilized and maintained as-is. For these gardens, preservation in their state of abandonment will allow the gardens to evoke the dry, harsh conditions of Manzanar when internees arrived, and the inexorable way the desert has reclaimed the site.

Implementation of the Garden Management Plan is dependent upon supplemental project funding, but could be accomplished with current staffing. Stabilization, regular routine maintenance, monitoring, and staff training will be necessary to ensure long-term success.

The impact of implementation of the Garden Management Plan is expected to be significant: visitors who come mainly to see the restored gardens will learn more about the internment; visitors who come mainly to learn about internment will learn more about how internees coped with confinement. The gardens will draw people out into the site itself, to experience a tangible connection to the past. Manzanar's gardens were important in the past and remain so today, as physical manifestations of adaptation, resistance, resilience, and hope. The National Park Service is committed to preserving this vital cultural, educational, aesthetic, and inspirational legacy for future generations.

庭園管理計画
マンザナー国定史跡の庭園とその生みの親たち

マンザナー国定史跡の庭園は、第二次世界対戦時、日系アメリカ人の被抑留者による、収容所の環境修正、及び改善に関する、重要な歴史的象徴です。マンザナーの日本庭園は、スタイリッシュなコンセプトと、何百年を超える庭園づくりの伝統により育まれた要素を混ぜ合わせ、日本の歴史、文化、世界観、宗教、美学を表象しています。ここにある庭園は、マンザナーの文化的風景を特徴付ける存在であり、アメリカ合衆国国家歴史登録財に登録されるための 4 つの要件、さらに、アメリカ合衆国国定歴史建造物として認定されるために必要な条件の多くを満たしているのです。

マンザナー総合管理計画と、それに付随する計画書類において、庭園の保存と復興に重きが置かれました。この庭園管理計画では、総合管理計画で設定された目標を達成すべく、特定の手法が規定されます。庭園管理計画の実施により、あらゆる人が、マンザナーの庭園の全貌を知る機会を得ることでしょう。全ての業務は、内務長官の定める基準や、歴史的財産の取り扱い指針に適うよう手配されます。史跡の持続性を確保するため、新たに育てられる植物は、干ばつに強く、無造作に繁殖することのないものであり、設置される、全ての灌漑やその他の水に関する設備は、水節約の機能を持ったものが選定されます。庭園は、さらに、バリアフリー通路、及び、様々な形態での理解をサポートする媒体により、広く開かれた空間としても存在感を発揮することでしょう。

ツアーロードに沿って位置する三つの庭園には、植物が植えられ、水に関連した設備が設けられます。

- ブロック 33 ―アライ養魚池
- ブロック 34 ―山紫園
- メリット公園

これらの庭園は、マンザナーの、最も知名度の高い地区公園、そして、兵舎公園、軍食堂公園を表しています。それぞれが近くに位置していること、さらにツアーロードがあることで、簡単に徒歩で見て周ることができます。付近には、井戸や、果樹園の灌漑パイプラインが存在するので、ここへ水を引くのは比較的容易だと考えられます。

管理地区内では、被抑留者により、白人のために設計された庭園と、彼ら自身のために製作された庭園、それぞれの違いが観察可能なように、二つの庭園が歴史的状態を鑑み、復元、保護されます。

- 玄関口庭園
- 管理環状庭園

これらは、岩、ヨシュアの木、さぼてんに彩られた、枯山水の庭園です。時折、手作業での水やりや、定期的な植物の植え替えが必要ですが、灌漑設備は必要ありません。

マンザナーは、孤児院の併設された、唯一の強制収容施設であったことから、子供の村と、チェリー公園は、心に訴えかける抑留の象徴として、一部、復元されるべきでしょう。さらに深く、保護の対象を認識し、記録するためには、考古学的発掘が必要となります。

デモンストレーションブロックでの理解を深めるため、ブロック 14 の小さな芝生や庭園を利用し、レプリカの建物を設置することで、文脈を用いた説明を加え、適切な施工の助けともなる歴史的、考古学的な観点からの十分なデータを提供することが可能となります。病院庭園、ブロック 9、12、22 の軍食堂庭園の、重要性の高い独自の機能や特質の復元も考えられます。その他にも、歴史的な記録や、口頭伝承により、様々な庭園が大事な宝として受け継がれてきました。これをより明確にし、さらに状態の評価を行なうためには、考古学的な調査が必須だと言えるでしょう。

マンザナーにある多くの庭園は、そのままの状態を安定して保つことが可能です。そのような庭園の“手つかず状態”を維持することで、被抑留者が足を踏み入れた当時の、マンザナーの乾燥した、過酷な環境、及び、砂漠特有の冷淡の雰囲気を喚起することができるのです。

庭園管理計画の実行は、プロジェクトにおける追加の資金調達に依拠しますが、現在のままの職員態勢で実現することが可能です。安定的保存、日課としてのメンテナンス、モニタリング、職員トレーニングは、長期的成功に欠かせない要素です。

本管理計画の実行により得られる効果は、圧倒的であると予想されます。復元された庭園を楽しみにやってくる訪問者は、抑留についての学びを得ることができるでしょう。また、これについて既に興味を持ち訪れる人々は、より深く、被抑留者の実績を理解するようになるのです。庭園が、人々を、史跡へと導き、過去との物質的な接触点を提供します。マンザナーの庭園は、適応、反抗、回復、希望の印として、過去から現在に至るまで、重要な存在感を放ってきました。アメリカ合衆国国立公園局は、この文化的、教育的に大きな意義を持ち、美学、知的刺激を兼ね備えた遺産を、後の世代へと継承すべく、保全に邁進しています。

Volunteers excavating the
Block 33 Arai Fish Pond in 2011.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The gardens are among the most meaningful, symbolic, iconic, and poignant cultural resources at Manzanar. Whereas fences and guard towers attest to confinement, and latrine slabs and foundation blocks tell of daily life, gardens speak of hope, resistance, and beauty. Although sometimes difficult to interpret, the gardens are easy to comprehend, and have inspired visitors, artists, garden scholars, and even archeologists. This Garden Management Plan has actually been in the making since 1993, when I first saw boulders at Merritt Park and wondered what lay beneath the sands there. Thus, there are many people to thank for their help over the past two decades.

Keith Anderson and George Teague, my supervisors at the now-defunct archeology program at the National Park Service's Western Archeological and Conservation Center in Tucson, first sent me to Manzanar to do an archeological survey in 1993. Keith and George had so much confidence in me that they expected me and my crew to record the entire site in three weeks. Since that first survey, I have returned nearly every year to Manzanar to do additional work.

Rose Ochi, the late Sue Embrey, the late Keith Bright, and other members of the Manzanar Advisory Commission provided early, and crucial, inspiration and encouragement. Manzanar's first superintendent, Ross Hopkins, got me hooked on garden archeology by suggesting I excavate a small pond at Block 2 and then the much larger garden at the Block 34 mess hall. Superintendent Frank Hays, who stuck with me through my three bouts with cancer, encouraged investigations in the administration area which continue to this day. Superintendent Tom Leatherman optimistically (and correctly) decided that excavating Merritt Park was not too big of a project to take on. Superintendent Les Inafuku hired me in my permanent job at Manzanar, which made possible not only continued investigations of the gardens, but also more diligent day-to-day maintenance and repair. Current superintendent Bernadette Johnson ensured the completion of this Garden Management Plan by supporting long-range planning and facilitating public involvement.

I would like to express my very great appreciation to the dozens of former internees who have shared their stories about gardens with me, informally and through formal oral histories. Continued thanks are due to the archeologists, interns, and hundreds of volunteers who have helped uncover the gardens. Many of the volunteers return year after year in spite of the frequent high temperatures and high winds that give a small glimpse into the conditions endured by the internees. I am especially honored to have worked with former internees and their families uncovering the history of Manzanar. Archeologist Laura Ng merits special acknowledgement for her work leading archeological excavations at several gardens, and analyzing artifacts from many more.

For the past 25 years Dick Lord, with his custom-engineered equipment, has taken overhead and "ground-level" photographs to document the changing conditions and visibility of the gardens as they were discovered, excavated, and stabilized. Tom Clayton photographed Ryozo Kado's landscaping work at cemeteries in the Los Angeles area. Ron Beckwith, now with Saguaro National Park, created beautiful maps of the first gardens excavated. I am particularly grateful for the leadership provided by Jim Burton, John Kepford, and Dave Goto, each of whom has headed up major garden restoration projects working with other staff, interns, and volunteers. Eddy Mundy, Gerry Enes, and Paul Hoornbeek each provided expertise in their respective fields.

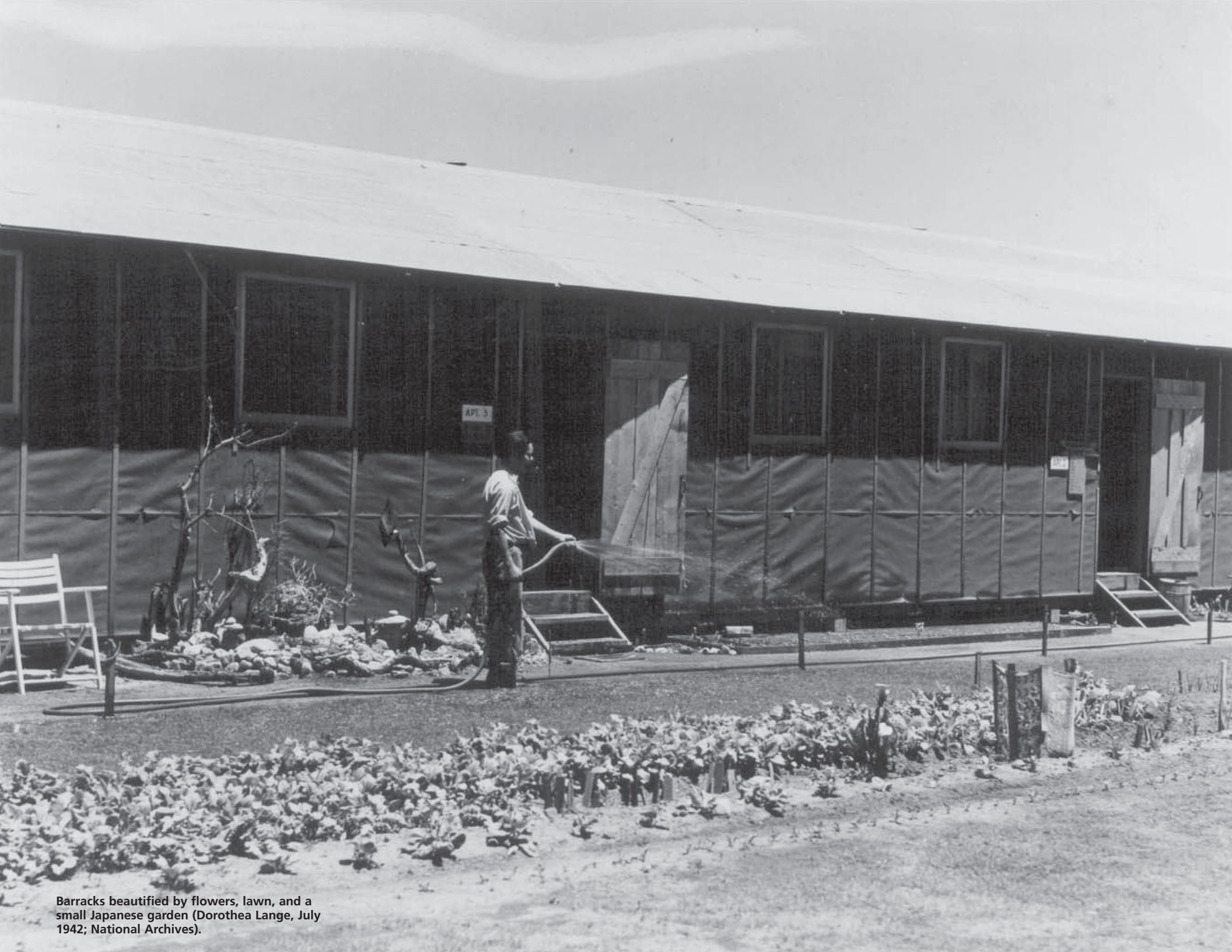
My understanding of Japanese gardens has benefited greatly from my participation in seminars lead by Dr. Seiko Goto (Rutgers University), Dr. Andreas Hamacher (Kosugi Zohen Co. Ltd.), Dr. Wybe Kuitert (Seoul National University), and Dr. David Slawson (Slawson Creations). Scores of Japanese gardeners, Japanese garden experts, and enthusiasts have improved my appreciation for the gardens at Manzanar, but special thanks are due Dr. Kendall Brown of California State University Long Beach, Koichi Kobayashi of Kobayashi International, Ljuin Yo and Eddie Noguchi of Japanese Public Television (NHK), and professional gardeners Yukinori Aida and Motomi Oguchi of Japan.

Yukinori Aida, Kaori Akiyama, Satoshi Kanai, and Kenta Uchida examined Japanese characters in historic photographs to provide translations and interpretations. Rose Masters and Marie Masumoto conducted research to provide additional details and depth to my understanding of Manzanar's gardens. Art Williams offered insight about the gardens of the Caucasian administration area.

Alan Miyatake gave permission to use an inordinate number of Toyo Miyatake's beautiful professional photographs. Danny Hashimoto, Susan Muto Knight, and Edith Nishi Yamamoto allowed the use of their family photographs. The National Archives and the Library of Congress websites are a comprehensive source of Ansel Adams, Dorothea Lange, and other official photographs. Dozens of families have donated their photograph collections to Manzanar, providing an invaluable resource. As evident in the following, many of their photographs are used in this plan. Uncredited photographs and maps are by the author.

The support of my family has been essential to completion of this plan. Dan Burton helped get information into and out of Excel spreadsheets so that it made sense. Mary Farrell has been my research partner for this project and almost every other project I have done over the past 30-plus years. She spent countless hours editing earlier versions of this plan.

Finally, I want to express my deep admiration for Manzanar's original garden builders, who in spite of unjust accusations, difficult circumstances, and limited materials, created unsurpassed beauty behind barbed wire.



Barracks beautified by flowers, lawn, and a small Japanese garden (Dorothea Lange, July 1942; National Archives).

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1 INTRODUCTION

A Legacy of Beauty, Resistance, and Resilience

Manzanar National Historic Site was established by Congress in 1992 to protect and interpret historical and cultural resources associated with the relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II. Appropriately, the National Park Service's dominant storyline at Manzanar focuses on the episode's unnecessary and shameful abrogation of civil rights. Much of the public interpretation is stark and somber: inside the Visitor Center, visitors learn about the racism that led to the internment and the economic, social, and personal losses experienced by the internees. The harsh environment of the Relocation Center is also well-documented in mess hall and barracks exhibits: the crowded conditions, absence of privacy, inadequate housing, shortages of food and supplies, long lines for toilets, showers, and meals, and the heat, cold, wind, and dust. Outside, sentry posts, barbed-wire fences, and a replica guard tower epitomize the incarceration.

However, in spite of the harsh and restricted living conditions (Figure 1.1), the prisoners made many changes to improve their surroundings. Contemporary newspaper accounts, oral histories, historic photographs, and archeological investigations reveal a resurgence of Japanese cultural traditions, including martial arts, calligraphy, flower-arranging, and language (Figure 1.2). Some of the most iconic improvements made by the internees at Manzanar were gardens. "Gardens had sprung up everywhere, in the firebreaks, between the rows of barracks – rock gardens, vegetable gardens, cactus and flower gardens" (Houston and Houston 1973:84). Gardens reduced dust, added beauty, and provided a more normal, less prison-like backdrop for daily activities and special occasions (Figure 1.3).

In many cases, gardens provided a place for families to gather, couples to meet, and children to play, and helped relieve the monotony of waiting in lines at mess halls. Most of these gardens were Japanese gardens, built by and for the internees. But, internees also planted traditional American-style lawns and "Victory Gardens" and completed landscaping in what might be called "American Military" style for the administration and staff areas of camp.

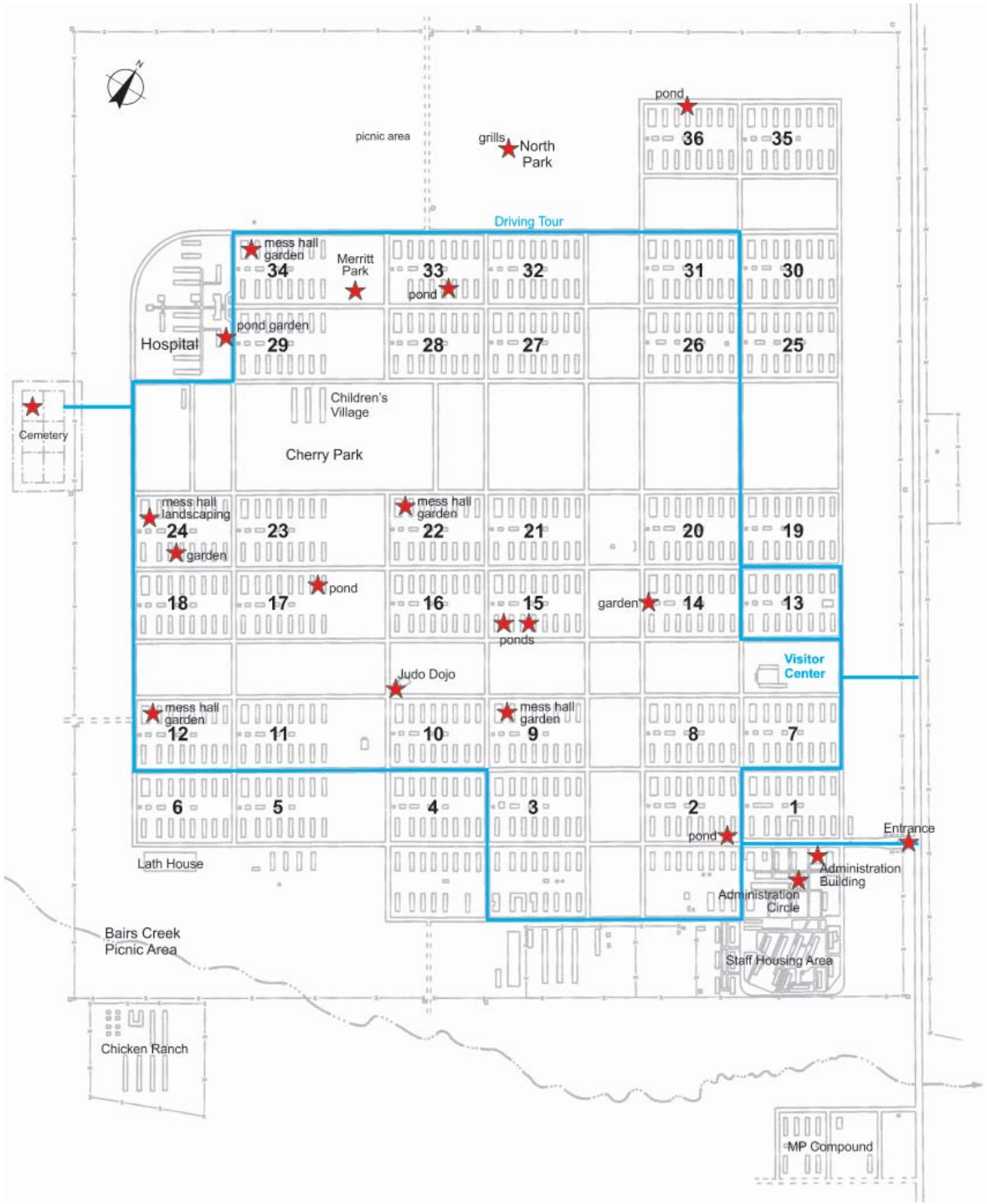
After the relocation center closed, most of the gardens at Manzanar were bulldozed and buried along with other remnants of the camp. Carefully arranged stones and other landscape features were upended and pushed into ponds and other depressions such as basements. Those gardens that survived the dismantling of the camp have been buried by flood- and wind-borne sediments or overgrown with trees and brush. They have fallen into disrepair and some elements have been stolen. During a park-wide archeological survey by the National Park Service in 1993, only a few large gardens were still apparent (Burton 1996a).

Since the 1993 archeological survey, over 20 gardens and landscaping features have been archeologically excavated, including the largest and most elaborate

Figure 1.2. Along with American pastimes, Japanese culture flourished at Manzanar (Nancy Nishi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 1.3. A portrait in beauty (Stan Yogi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

←Figure 1.1. First Impression of Manzanar, June 1942 (Watercolor by Kango Takamura, courtesy of Cornell University Press).



Japanese garden at Manzanar, Merritt Park (Figure 1.4). Most of these have been conserved-as-found, that is, stabilized rather than restored. Former internees have repeatedly stressed the importance of the gardens they, their parents, and their grandparents built to improve their grim surroundings, and Manzanar's General Management Plan (NPS 1996a) identified restoration of the lost gardens as a priority.

The National Park Service is not uncovering and restoring gardens to give a false impression of life at Manzanar as a figurative "summer camp," but to show how the internees improved their surroundings to make Manzanar more livable. The gardens of Manzanar stand out as symbols of beauty and the resilience of the human spirit. The Japanese gardens attest that the internees embraced their Japanese heritage even in the face of persecution, even when the dominant culture had defined "Japanese" as something to be afraid of, and ashamed of. Reflecting the dual heritage of their creators, many of the gardens integrate "American" elements like rectangles of green lawns with "Japanese" elements like naturalistically designed ponds and rocks.

Today, the gardens help visitors connect to Manzanar's past in a gentle, non-confrontational way (Figures 1.5-1.7). People who visit the gardens because they are interested in Japanese gardens as an art form learn about the history of the internment; people interested in the history of internment learn about ways people persevered and even flourished while incarcerated. According to Japanese garden scholar Seiko Goto (personal communication 2015), Japanese gardens originated as an enshrined place for spirits of nature, and so were very symbolic and spiritual; one of the reasons they were created at Manzanar was probably to provide a "space to bless people's life."

Figure 1.4. Excavated and cleared landscape features at Manzanar National Historic Site.

Scope and Outline

This Garden Management Plan provides the National Park Service (NPS) with objectives and guidance for the routine and long-term management of gardens and other landscape features at Manzanar National Historic Site. Below, this Chapter outlines how the Garden Management Plan builds on the direction provided by the Manzanar General Management Plan and subsequent plans, such as the Landscape Stabilization Plan (Bellavia and Pepper 2005) and the Cultural Landscape Report (NPS 2006a). It also describes how the gardens can contribute to the interpretive themes listed in Manzanar's Long-Range Interpretive Plan (NPS 2007) and Foundation Document (NPS 2015), and summarizes the consultation about garden stewardship that has occurred to date.

Chapters 2 and 3 provide a brief historical overview of gardens and gardeners at Manzanar. Chapter 4 describes the original and current physical condition of the gardens, with archeological data supplementing the oral and archival histories. Chapter 5 provides an overview of Japanese gardens in Japan and the United States to show how Manzanar's gardens are authentic Japanese gardens in terms of tradition, form, style, and meaning. Chapter 6 describes the significance of the gardens, both in themselves and in the broader cultural landscape, and how they relate to the NPS's responsibilities to preserve the cultural resources of the National Historic Site. Chapter 7 discusses the objectives for the gardens, designed to meet the goals of the General Management Plan and other planning documents and respond to public input. Also in Chapter 7 is a discussion of how those objectives shape the selection of a treatment approach, per the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties and Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*. Chapter 8 lists ongoing maintenance activities, and Chapter 9 lists specific treatment proposals. Chapter 10 includes recommendations for further research. Management objectives and recommended treatment actions presented herein are consistent with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* (NPS 1996b), *Director's Order 28: Cultural Resource Management Guidelines* (NPS 1997a), and National Park Service Management Policies (NPS 2006b).

As for scope, this Garden Management Plan applies to ornamental gardens and similar landscaping, parks, and picnic areas, and "Victory" or hobby gardens, many of which had flowers as well as vegetables. Management of historic trees and other vegetation is discussed in the Cultural Landscape Report (NPS 2006a) and Orchard Management Plan (NPS 2010).

Figure 1.5. Ranger-led garden tour in 2012 (photograph by Mary M. Farrell).

Figure 1.6. Dr. Kendall Brown leading a garden tour in 2013.

Relationship to Other Management Plans

The gardens at Manzanar are unique historic resources with high interpretative value, and restoration and rehabilitation have been identified as the preferred management options. Because this Garden Management Plan builds on the framework provided by Man-

Figure 1.7. Ranger-led school group tour at Merritt Park in 2009.

Figure 1.8. Landscape Stabilization Plan team at the Wilder Orchard in November 2001.

Figure 1.9. Documenting resource damage, November 2001.

Figure 1.10. Overgrown tamarisk at the Block 12 mess hall garden in 2001.

zanar's General Management Plan (1996) and subsequent studies, key elements in previous management documents related to gardens are outlined below.

General Management Plan

A general management plan outlines the long-term strategies for dealing with resource protection and visitor use. The planning process to produce a general management plan includes extensive public involvement. The implementation of this Garden Management Plan would fulfill part of the vision provided in Manzanar's General Management Plan:

> The site would be managed as a cultural landscape based on the World War II relocation center period. Management as such would require rehabilitation of the gridwork of the camp road system, thinning and clearing of some areas of dense tree growth, reconstruction of the camp's perimeter fence, *and rehabilitation of some of the rock gardens and ponds constructed by the internees.* (emphasis added; NPS 1996a: ii)

The General Management Plan also calls for maintenance of landscape features:

> There are a number of other intact structures on the site, including stone barbecues, stone planters, rock garden structures, etc., and many structural remnants such as walls, steps, etc. A number of these structures and structural remnants, especially those located at interpretive sites throughout the camp area, would be preserved through regular maintenance. Other structural remnants would be protected from theft and vandalism but would not be actively maintained. (NPS 1996a:10)

Landscape Stabilization Plan

The Landscape Stabilization Plan for Manzanar (Bellavia and Pepper 2005; Figure 1.8) addresses the park-wide landscape, including historic gardens. It was prepared to provide interim guidance to prevent the further deterioration of the cultural landscape, in lieu of a treatment plan. At the time of its preparation many of the Historic Site's features were in poor condition (Figure 1.9). However, its emphasis was on orchards and trees. The only garden priorities listed were the Block 12 and Block 34 mess hall gardens and rock work at the judo *dojo*. For the Block 12 mess hall garden the plan called for removing tamarisk (Figure 1.10), reducing the canopies of surrounding trees, patching the concrete pond wall, and resetting large rocks. Problems identified at the Block 34 mess hall garden included boulders loose from their concrete settings, erosion undermining a waterfall fountain, and decaying locust posts. Noted at the judo *dojo* were sidewalks impacted by tree roots and the threat of large tree limbs falling. All of the specific recommendations of the Landscape Stabilization Plan concerning these gardens have been completed. Nevertheless, since the completion of the Landscape Stabilization Plan, additional garden features have been discovered, and the general recommendations of the Landscape Stabilization Plan are applicable to many of the other gardens and ponds at Manzanar.

Cultural Landscape Report

Manzanar's Cultural Landscape Report (NPS 2006a) provides treatment recommendations for the Historic Site as a whole, including its gardens (Figure 1.11). Those recommendations provide a broad framework

for future treatment, and many of the recommendations have been initiated or completed. For example, the Cultural Landscape Report emphasizes stabilization of existing historic material (e.g., plants and garden features); additional research on the gardens; reconstruction of gardens based on additional historical documentation and archeological investigations; protection of historic features and vegetation from the impacts caused by wildlife; and the need for additional cultural resource staffing. Specific maintenance and stabilization recommendations in the Cultural Landscape Report include raking, weeding, and cleaning garden features; removing non-historic vegetation; preserving the historic character of trees; stabilizing eroding features; and the use of soil stabilizers to retain historic grades and stabilize features.

The Cultural Landscape Report was prepared to provide general guidance, while this Garden Management Plan, like the Orchard Management Plan (NPS 2010), contains more specific recommendations needed to implement the Cultural Landscape Report's recommendations. This Garden Management Plan is consistent with the Cultural Landscape Report, but elaborates and refines it in four ways. First, it incorporates information about the history and condition of the Manzanar gardens that was not available at the time of (or not included in) the Cultural Landscape Report. Second, it includes management treatments and recommendations based on this new information. Third, it provides more specific treatment recommendations. Finally, it takes into account changes in the staffing at the Historic Site: when the Cultural Landscape Report was prepared, there was no year-round cultural resources staff at Manzanar. There is now a Cultural Resources Program Manager, a Preservation Specialist position (currently vacant), and an Arborist, as well as term and seasonal staff.

Long-Range Interpretive Plan

According to Manzanar's Long-Range Interpretive Plan (NPS 2007), all interpretive efforts at the Historic Site should relate to at least one of five identified primary themes:

1) Causes of internment,
2) Water history,
3) Disruption of ways of life, and forced displacement and exile,
4) Mosaic of experiences, and
5) Grassroots struggle to preserve the place, stories, and lessons.

The gardens at Manzanar relate to theme 3, in that they are physical manifestations of the way people responded to the Relocation, and to theme 4, in that they reflect different experiences both before the war and in camp. Garden management and stewardship should also help the Historic Site implement some of the specific recommendations in the Long-Range Interpretive Plan, namely:

> One goal [is] ... to encourage people ... to explore the site. Currently, except perhaps for the cemetery, most visitors experience the site from the inside of their vehicle. There are no identified trailheads or other features to compel visitors to get out and walk around. (NPS 2007:7)

> Explore the potential of restoring one of the Japanese ornamental gardens, such as Block 34 …. (NPS 2007:17)

Restoration of gardens would not only draw visitors out into the site, it would help orient visitors in space, and viscerally connect them with the past. The Long-Range Interpretive Plan also calls for more archeological surveys, providing more information to the public, and for the development of self-guiding tours (NPS 2007:27, 31-33).

Figure 1.11. Cultural Landscape Report team at the Block 34 mess hall garden in 2003.

Figure 1.12. Sign on driving tour road.

Figure 1.13. Wayside exhibit at the Block 22 mess hall garden.

The implementation of these recommendations for interpretation of the gardens and landscaping at Manzanar to date has included:

- The driving tour brochure highlights four gardens: the Block 12 mess hall garden, the Block 34 mess hall garden, the Hospital pond garden, and the buried Block 6 mess hall garden. All of these gardens are adjacent to the auto tour road and are signed (Figure 1.12).

- There are also signs along the driving tour indicating parking areas to walk to the Block 9 mess hall garden, the Block 33 Arai family fish pond, and Merritt Park.

- A walking tour map shows the location of most of the excavated and cleared gardens.

- There are wayside exhibits at the Block 22 mess hall garden, the Block 34 mess hall garden, and at Merritt Park (Figure 1.13).

- The gardens closest to the Visitor Center (the excavated Block 9 mess hall garden and two excavated barracks gardens in Block 15) are frequently a part of ranger-led tours.

- In 2014 and 2015 the Arai family fish pond in Block 33 was the site of a special interpretive event during the weekend of the Manzanar Pilgrimage: the pond was filled with water and the daughter of the pond's creator was present to greet visitors, share stories, and answer questions (Figure 1.14).

Given the significance and beauty of the gardens, more interpretation could be done now and when some of the gardens are more fully restored. The gardens could serve as a focal point drawing visitors out into the site to discover them on their own or on ranger-led tours.

Foundation Document

A foundation document provides basic planning and management guidance; it includes descriptions of significance, fundamental resources and values, and interpretive themes. Two of the *Significance Statements* developed for Manzanar relate to the landscape:

> Cultural Resources: Manzanar National Historic Site is one of the best-preserved World War II incarceration camps and protects highly intact cultural landscape resources, including an extensive collection of remnant Japanese gardens. In addition, Manzanar preserves layers of history and artifacts that reveal thousands of years of human life in the Owens Valley.

> Landscape and Scenery: Located in the Owens Valley between the towering Sierra Nevada and Inyo Mountains, Manzanar's dramatic surrounding landscape is remarkably unspoiled. As a result, it powerfully communicates the visual and environmental conditions experienced by Japanese Americans imprisoned at Manzanar during World War II.

The Manzanar gardens may also directly or indirectly relate to other draft Significance Statements, such as those concerning injustice; stories and perspectives; Children's Village; the "Manzanar Riot;" advocacy; and relevance.

Fundamental Resources and Values are those features, systems, processes, experiences, stories, scenes, sounds, smells, or other attributes determined to warrant primary consideration in planning and management decisions because they are essential to achieving the purpose of the Historic Site and maintaining its significance (NPS 2015). Three of the five fundamental resources and values identified for Manzanar include landscape elements:

> **Historic Resources:** Manzanar National Historic Site protects thousands of remnant features that

provide visitors with a tangible connection to the wartime incarceration. Historic structures include an auditorium, two sentry posts, and a cemetery monument. Historic features include, but are not limited to, Japanese gardens and ponds, building foundations, inscriptions in concrete, and orchards and other historic vegetation. Buried historic resources include basements and trash dumps.

Environmental Setting: Defined by two prominent mountain ranges and expansive viewsheds, the dramatic setting of Manzanar National Historic Site and adjacent areas is largely intact. Historic and contemporary water use and land ownership by the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (LADWP) have significantly influenced the landscape and environmental setting, resulting in the incidental preservation of the wide open spaces and undeveloped land that characterize the Owens Valley.

Cultural Traditions: A spectrum of cultural values, practices, and identities influenced the way Japanese Americans and Japanese immigrants experienced incarceration under the U.S. government during World War II. Some values helped people to persevere and endure, while others moved people to protest and resist. In many instances, American and Japanese cultural values and identities blurred and melded into new and distinct cultural values and identities. At Manzanar, both American and Japanese cultural practices like baseball and *judo* and the creation of Japanese gardens left lasting remnants on the landscape. New cultural practices, like the annual Manzanar Pilgrimage, have developed as a result of the World War II incarceration.

Gardens may also be integral to the two other Fundamental Resources and Values that have been identified in the draft: Stories and Collections and Public Engagement. Gardens have elicited stories, can can connect people to the site, have have yielded significant artifacts.

One of the resources and values identified as important, but not fundamental to the purpose of Manzanar, relates to garden building:

Natural Resources: Although impacted by human use, the natural resources of Manzanar National Historic Site provide habitat for wildlife, such as resident and migrating birds, reptiles, and mammals. Riparian areas such as Bairs Creek were important throughout history and were sought out by Japanese Americans in camp for respite from the harsh environment. Japanese Americans used certain natural resources, such as native vegetation and rocks, to construct gardens and art.

The *Interpretive Themes* identified in the draft Foundation Document for the most part mirror the themes of the Long-Range Interpretive Plan, discussed above. However, the draft places more emphasis on the physical setting and the history of the site before World War II, and garden interpretation could be integrated into those themes. For example, as discussed later in this Plan, gardens were adapted to the physical setting, but also played a large role in improving that setting. Gardens could provide an entry point for discussing pre-World War II history, because they incorporated vegetation and landscape elements remaining from the earlier town and ranching occupations. If restored with water and vegetation, the gardens could provide a glimpse of how verdant Owens Valley was prior to the large-scale water export to Los Angeles.

Figure 1.14. Block 33 Arai fish pond with water, April 2014.

Figure 1.15. Author with Japanese gardeners from Japan (photograph by Mary M. Farrell).

Consultation

This document incorporates the ideas of the Japanese American community, landscape architects, archeologists, Japanese garden experts, professional gardeners, and scholars from the United States and Japan.

Figure 1.16. Author leading a garden tour for representatives of the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii (photograph by Mary M. Farrell).

Figure 1.17. Block 34 mess hall garden after a rare snowfall.

During consultations with the Paiute and Shoshone of Owens Valley, one of the ideas tribal members suggested for interpretation and management was to "reconstruct some of the beautiful Japanese American gardens, with waterways and bridges, the design of which became a distinguishing characteristic of Manzanar" (Van Horn 1995:8).

Discussions with former internees, other cultural resources specialists, and Japanese garden experts have been pivotal in developing this treatment plan (Figure 1.15). This collaboration has also informed which gardens are important to uncover and which gardens should be restored. This plan also reflects ideas shared by the public during the author's 20-plus years of experience at Manzanar, excavating and stabilizing gardens, working alongside former internees, their children and grandchildren, and hundreds of other volunteers. In addition, the author has given tours to a wide variety of people (Figure 1.16), presented papers at professional meetings nationally and internationally, and attended Japanese garden workshops and seminars in the United States and Japan.

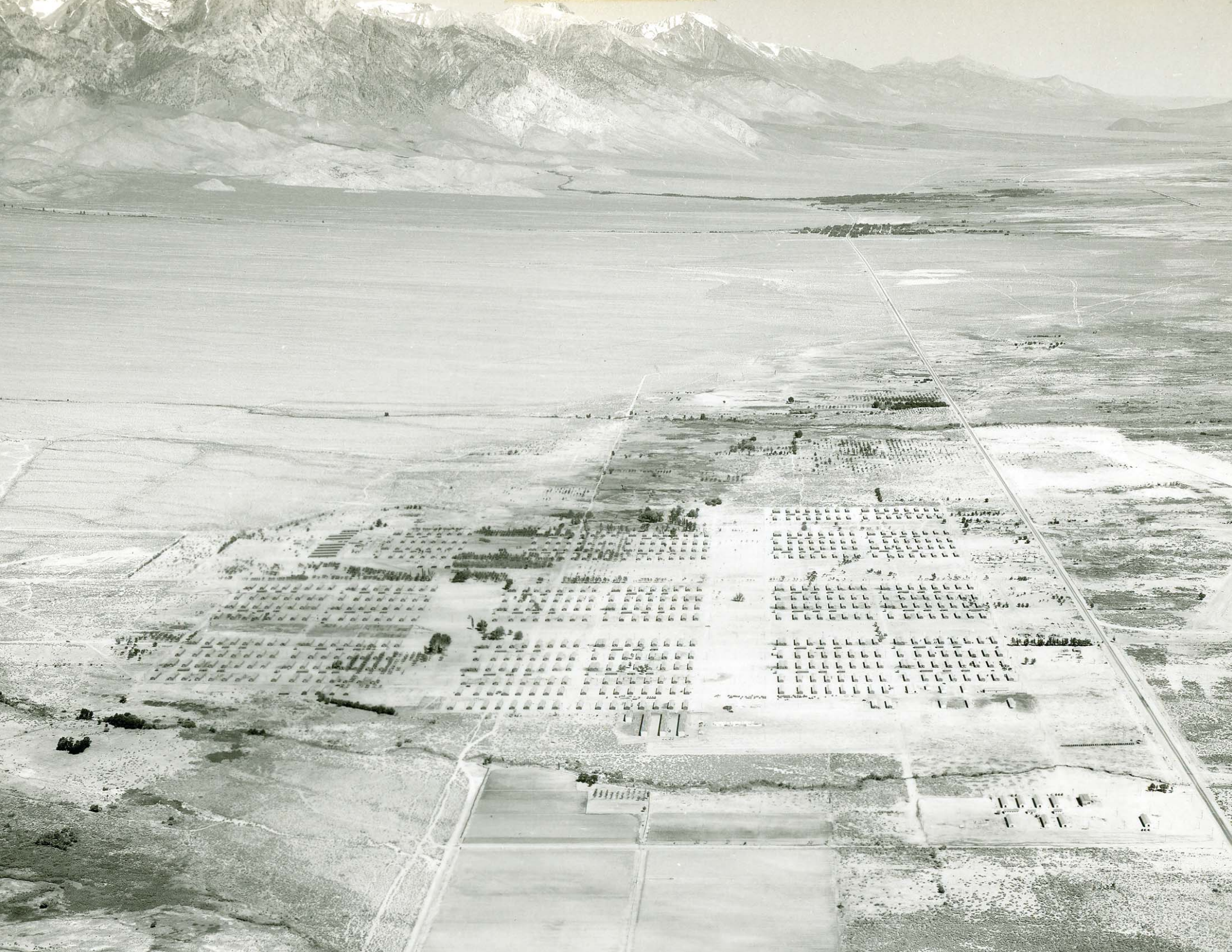
A summary of the Garden Management Plan was presented at public meetings in southern California, the Owens Valley, and Las Vegas. Participants expressed a variety of opinions about how many gardens should be restored or rehabilitated, but the clear majority agreed with the proposed scope of this plan. Most stated that they would like to see a sample of gardens with plants and flowing water. The importance of the Children's Village was also stressed. A final draft of the Garden Management Plan was sent for review and comment to the California State Historic Preservation Office, garden scholars, and other interested parties.

Postscript

As affirmed by the General Management Plan (NPS 1996a), Landscape Stabilization Plan (Bellavia and Pepper 2005), Cultural Landscape Report (NPS 2006a), and draft Foundation Document (NPS 2015), Manzanar's gardens are a unique and irreplaceable resource. The Long-Range Interpretive Plan (NPS 2007) and draft Foundation Document also highlight their interpretive potential. While only some of the garden vegetation planted by the internees has survived Manzanar's harsh climate, abundant traces of gardens remain. The gardens have the potential to draw people not only to the visitor center, but also out into the Historic Site itself. There, beyond the climate-controlled environment of the exhibits, the visitor can feel the cold or heat, the dust and wind, which were so much part of internees' lives (Figure 1.17). By walking where internees walked, and seeing gardens that the internees made, visitors can connect to the experience of those who were imprisoned (Figure 1.18).

World War II would seem an unlikely time for Japanese Americans to assert their Japanese heritage. Yet the Japanese Americans incarcerated at Manzanar left a legacy of beauty, resistance, and resilience in the gardens they built. The physical changes the internees made in their environment were important ways of taking control over their own lives. Schooled in the American values of equality and fairness but imprisoned for their ethnicity, many of the Japanese Americans embraced their Japanese heritage by building gardens. And not just gardens, but in many cases, Japanese gardens. Gardens symbolize normalcy and beauty, and highlight the distinctions between the reality of the incarceration and the dream of freedom and justice. Manzanar's gardens can be seen as manifestations of both the internees' defiance of their present situation and their hope in the future. This hope may be the lasting legacy of the gardens and garden-builders of Manzanar.

Figure 1.18. Jean Watanabe holding a photograph of her mother sitting on the same rock (photograph taken during archeological work at Merritt Park in 2008).



2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

To Beautify Manzanar

Manzanar is located in the Owens Valley of eastern California, a remote, sparsely populated, very dry area with cold winters and hot summers (Figure 2.1). The site selected for the Japanese American relocation center was the former townsite of Manzanar, an orchard community established in the early twentieth century on lands that had been long occupied by the Paiute, and then, for a couple of decades at the end of the nineteenth century, by ranchers. The City of Los Angeles bought out the town for its water rights, and it was completely abandoned and razed by 1936.

Figure 2.2. New arrivals at Manzanar (National Archives).

Figure 2.3. Japanese Americans walking to their new barracks homes, March 21, 1942 (*Time Life Photographic Archives*).

On March 21, 1942, the first Japanese Americans, 61 men and 21 women, made the 235-mile trip by bus from Los Angeles to Manzanar (*Manzanar Free Press* March 20, 1943; Figures 2.2 and 2.3). The next day six more Japanese Americans arrived by private car. Organized by the Maryknoll Japanese Catholic Church in Los Angeles, they had volunteered to go early to help build the camp (*Time* April 6, 1942). The men were mostly plumbers, carpenters, and mechanics. The women were recruited to do office and first aid work (Tateishi 1984:223). More volunteers soon followed. On March 23, 500 Japanese American men in 140 cars and trucks departed under military escort for Manzanar from Pasadena's Rose Bowl. "Some [of these] trucks carried delicately packed boxes of flowers and tomato plants, all ready for replanting" (Silverman 1942:9). Also on March 23, another 500 Japanese Americans, mostly older men, departed from Los Angeles by train for Manzanar via Lone Pine. By the time these volunteers arrived, only 38 buildings had been completed at Manzanar. Water pipes had been laid, but there was no running water or roofs on any of the mess halls.

The first group of forced internees, 227 people from Bainbridge Island, Washington, arrived at Manzanar on March 26. By mid-April, up to 1,000 Japanese Americans were arriving a day (*Los Angeles Examiner* April 19, 1942) and by mid-May Manzanar had a population of over 7,000 (*Time* May 18, 1942). The residential blocks at Manzanar were filled in order as new internees arrived. For example, Bainbridge Islanders were placed in Block 3, and across from them were Terminal Islanders in Block 9. Block 22 was filled with people from West Los Angeles, Block 28 with people from San Fernando Valley, and Block 30 with people from near Stockton in central California. Internees continued to arrive through the summer and fall, and the population of Manzanar did not peak until December. Over 90 percent of the Manzanar population came from the Los Angeles area.

When the former townsite of Manzanar was selected for the internment camp in 1942, an area about a mile square was cleared. Eventually, over 850 buildings were built to serve as barracks, mess halls, latrines, and administrative facilities, all surrounded by barbed wire and guard towers (Figure 2.4). The residential area for the 10,000 internees was divided into thirty six blocks, each with fourteen barracks, a women's latrine, a men's latrine, a laundry, an ironing room, a recreation hall, and a mess hall. Each 20-foot-by-100-foot barracks was divided by wood partitions into four or five "apartments," each housing one or

←Figure 2.1. Aerial view of Manzanar, June 1942 (U.S. Quartermaster Museum).

Figure 2.4. Construction at Manzanar, note the small boulder dug up in trench at left (Clem Albers, National Archives).

Figure 2.5 Making a barracks a home (National Archives).

more families. The wood-frame barracks had no indoor plumbing, but residents could get water from an outdoor faucet at one end of each barracks. Exterior walls and roofs of the barracks had board siding covered with tarpaper. Dust and sand blew in through cracks and knotholes in the walls and floorboards.

The War Relocation Authority (WRA), the federal agency charged with administering the Japanese American internment, initiated some measures to upgrade living conditions. However, the bulk of the efforts to improve Manzanar came from the internees themselves. To make the barracks more habitable, they patched knotholes with tin can lids, fashioned furniture out of scrap lumber, and hung up blankets and curtains to form room dividers to create privacy (Figure 2.5). To serve the community, they set up schools, stores, and canteens. One of the most memorable improvements was the creation of gardens. Although the exterior spaces at Manzanar were originally strictly utilitarian and uniformly drab, internees quickly appropriated the spaces between the barracks as family yards or neighborhood parks. Larger exterior spaces, such as the firebreaks between blocks, were used for community gardens, as well as for sports fields and an outdoor theater.

The first grass lawn at Manzanar was planned and planted by the internees of Block 6, Barracks 12 and 13, as reported in Documentary Report No. 3, June 11, 1942:

> **BLUE GRASS LAWN IS**
> **TWO-BARRACK ENTERPRISE**
> Some one day, shrubbery and trees will dot the lawns of Manzanar, according to landscaping plans. This will do two things: (1) keep down the dust and (2) beautify surroundings. Occupants of barracks 12 and 13 on block 6, however, decided to initiate their own beautification program. Sixty persons live in the eight rooms in these two buildings. Each evening they would gather around, sitting on steep steps, facing each other across the 40 feet separating the barracks. "Let's plant a lawn," suggested a gardener. Next morning, he was down to get permission and instructions for landscaping from administrative office. That was six weeks ago. For 30 days, everyone pitched in: filling hollows, spading the earth, watering, bringing in top soil – all by hand. Three dollars worth of seeds from Sears & Roebuck, ordered by mail from the catalogue, did the job. Today, 11 days after planting, Manzanar has its first green lawn. "We don't have much dust here at all," say the residents of 12-13.

A few days later, Documentary Report No. 5, June 14, 1942, reported more gardening throughout the camp:

> **House-Side Gardens Sprout**
> An average of five out of 14 barracks – or nearly every other apartment building – at Manzanar has some planting around it. Flowers as well as vegetables are laid out by housewives and menfolk alike. Potatoes, onions, Chinese Cabbage and watermelon vie with chrysanthemums, nasturtiums, roses and carnations.

Gardens were created through the internees' own design, planning, expertise, labor, and in most cases, at their own expense (Figures 2.6 and 2.7). Documentary Report No. 12, dated June 24, 1942, stated:

> **HORTICULTURAL NURSERY**
> **LATH HOUSE NOW 'HALF FULL'**
> Over 5000 plants, in individual containers made of halved milk cartons, are now growing in the nursery lath house. Plantings include perennials, annuals, shrubbery and trees. The nursery is now half full, with new additions being planted each day. Manzanar will be landscaped with these plantings. Growing here is in charge of experienced professional nurserymen who maintained successful businesses prior to evacuation: Joe Kishi, former owner and operator, Wilshire Nursery, Los Angeles; Sho Komai, proprietor, Westgate Nursery, West Los Angeles; Henry Nishi, owner of the Pacific Rose Company, located on the grounds of the Veterans Home in West Los Angeles, who, despite private offers of purchase, donated $6000 worth of nursery stock to the government before evacuation. [Underlining in original]

In an oral history recorded in 2009, Henry Nishi clarified that he and his friends were actually the sons of nursery owners, but their fathers were not available because they had been interned elsewhere. In Henry's case, his father, Kuichiro Nichi, had built his nursery on land that he leased from the Veterans' Association. Kuichiro was picked up by the FBI the day Pearl Harbor was attacked, and taken first to Terminal Island and then to Fort Missoula, Montana. Kuichiro did not join his family at Manzanar until June of 1942. When it became apparent that the rest of the family would be forced to leave southern California too, Kuichiro's wife Hiroko decided to donate the nursery to the Veterans' Association rather than sell it at a loss. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, $6,000 in 1942 would be equivalent to over $86,000 in 2015 dollars. In his oral history Henry Nishi also added Frank Fukuhara to the list of young men who started the nursery at Manzanar. They got permission from the administration, requisitioned materials, and built a lath

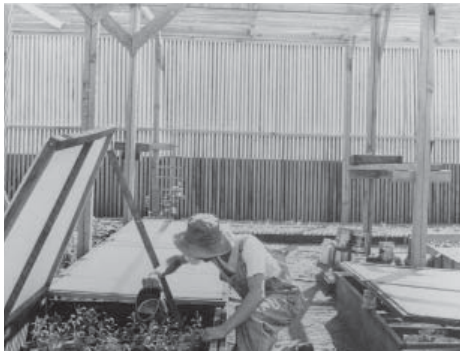


Figure 2.6. Propagating plants in the lath house (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

Figure 2.7. Propagating plants in the lath house (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

Figure 2.8. Roy Nash, Manzanar's first WRA Director (National Archives).

Figure 2.9. Boulders on the Sierra bajada west of Manzanar.

Figure 2.10 Shepherd Creek northwest of Manzanar.

house to protect young seedlings from the summer sun. They had good success with locust trees, Henry recalled, because they were easy to grow from seeds acquired in the vicinity, and they could be transplanted easily (Henry Nishi, Oral History MANZ 1254B).

Landscaping efforts were encouraged by Manzanar's first WRA director, Roy Nash (Figure 2.8), in a notice published in the *Manzanar Free Press* on July 27, 1942:

> **FROM THE PROJECT DIRECTOR ROY NASH**
> When I came to Manzanar in mid-May, everything that is ugly struck the eye – endless rows of tar-paper barracks, dust ankle-deep, paint smeared with blown sand, rigid rectangles where every building met the ground, the architecture of ugliness and monotony surrounded by sage brush and stone. By mid-July, however, a new pattern has emerged. Certainly half of the barracks reveal the impulse toward decoration. Vegetables and flowers make delightful foundation plantings; dead wood has been woven into decorative fence patterns; lawns have made their appearance between barracks; a cactus garden adorns the circle near headquarters. There are changes which every visitor to Manzanar comments upon. Let us go from those beginnings to a campaign of beautification which will make Manzanar a garden spot next spring. Mrs. George Putman, garden editor of the Los Angeles Examiner, has promised us a hundred rose bushes. Our own lath house is full of decorative plants which soon can be transplanted to garden plots; conifers can be transplanted in the fall. Your director is trying to get a light colored paint which can be sprayed on these tar paper walls. Free grass seed is available to all who will plant and tend a lawn. To beautify Manzanar is one campaign in which all can enlist with a will.
> (signed) Roy Nash, Project Director

By early October 1942, there were enough gardens to inspire a contest:

> **Best Garden to be Chosen**
> Which is the best garden in Manzanar? This question will be answered as soon as returns from the "best garden contest" conducted by the Japanese department of the Free Press can be tabulated.
>
> With the abundance of clever and original gardens all through the center, the contest, which began last Saturday, is evoking unprecedented interest among garden lovers. Votes can be cast through ballots printed in the Japanese section in every issue until Oct. 28 when the contest will close.
>
> In announcing the contest, the editors of the Japanese section said, "Six months ago Manzanar was a barren, uninhabited desert. Today, beautiful green lawns, picturesque gardens with miniature mountains, stone lanterns, bridges over ponds where carp play, and other original, decorative ideas attest to the Japanese people's traditional love of nature, and ingenuity in reproducing the beauty of nature in miniature. We hope that through this contest we can publicize the gardens of Manzanar to the residents and to the outside public."
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* October 8, 1942

In his book *Beauty Behind Barbed Wire*, published in 1952, Allen Eaton notes that "[i]t would take several volumes to adequately record and describe the gardens of the ten Relocation Centers" (1952:24). Ansel Adams and Dorothea Lange had taken photographs of Manzanar gardens, and their fame must have elevated awareness of the gardens. Although other Japanese American internment sites had gardens, Manzanar's Japanese gardens are unique for their number, size, and complexity. Three factors appear to have contributed to this abundance: the availability of rocks from the nearby Sierra Nevada, Inyo Mountains (Figure 2.9), and Alabama Hills to incorporate into garden design; the availability of water to divert into ponds and other water features (Figure 2.10); and the

high number of professional gardeners, landscapers, and nursery owners who were incarcerated there.

However, for decades it was not known how much of the physical remains of the few known gardens had survived. After Manzanar closed in 1945, the gardens disappeared, along with most other traces of the 10,000 people who had been confined here. Buildings were removed or demolished, and debris was often pushed into ponds and other depressions, burned, and buried (Figure 2.11). Wind blown and water deposited sands and silts slowly covered much of the site, and vegetation obscured building foundations and landscaping features. Still, enough evidence of the gardens remained so that they were included in the Historic Site's General Management Plan (NPS 1996a), which called for the site to be "managed as a cultural landscape." Compared to most of the other internment sites, Manzanar has retained a relatively good state of preservation: the site has been buried over the years, but there has not been any subsequent farming or other development (see Burton et al. 2002).

Visible portions of gardens were recorded during an archeological survey of the National Historic Site in 1993 (Burton 1996a). Today we know that there are the remains of dozens, if not hundreds, of ornamental gardens at Manzanar, ranging in size from a few square feet to over 5 acres in size, and from simple rock outlines to elaborately landscaped Japanese gardens. To date, over 20 gardens and other landscape features have been excavated, mapped, and stabilized (see Figure 1.4). Some of these were among those first recorded in 1993, while others were new discoveries. Even more gardens are now known from historical sources, and archeological evidence suggests the presence of additional gardens not mentioned in historic documents. It is likely that some gardens lie buried and forgotten.

Figure 2.11. Tearing down Manzanar, November 28, 1942 (*Los Angeles Times*).

The uncovering of the physical remains of gardens at Manzanar has spurred further research and investigations, and led to the recognition of the meaning and significance of these important landscape features. Notable studies include Anna Noah's (1999) consideration of the gardens' archeological potential and Ron Beckwith's (2013) analysis of Japanese design elements in a sample of Manzanar's gardens. Anna Tamura's comparison of the gardens at Minidoka and Manzanar highlights how the gardens reflected culture and tradition, but also carried underlying symbolism that could vary from resistance to patriotism (Tamura 2002, 2004). Recently, Laura Ng (2014) has shown that the creation of ornamental gardens at Manzanar reveals how alterations to the camp environment helped internees strengthen family ties and create community under the stresses of confinement. Discussions of the gardens at Manzanar have been presented to national

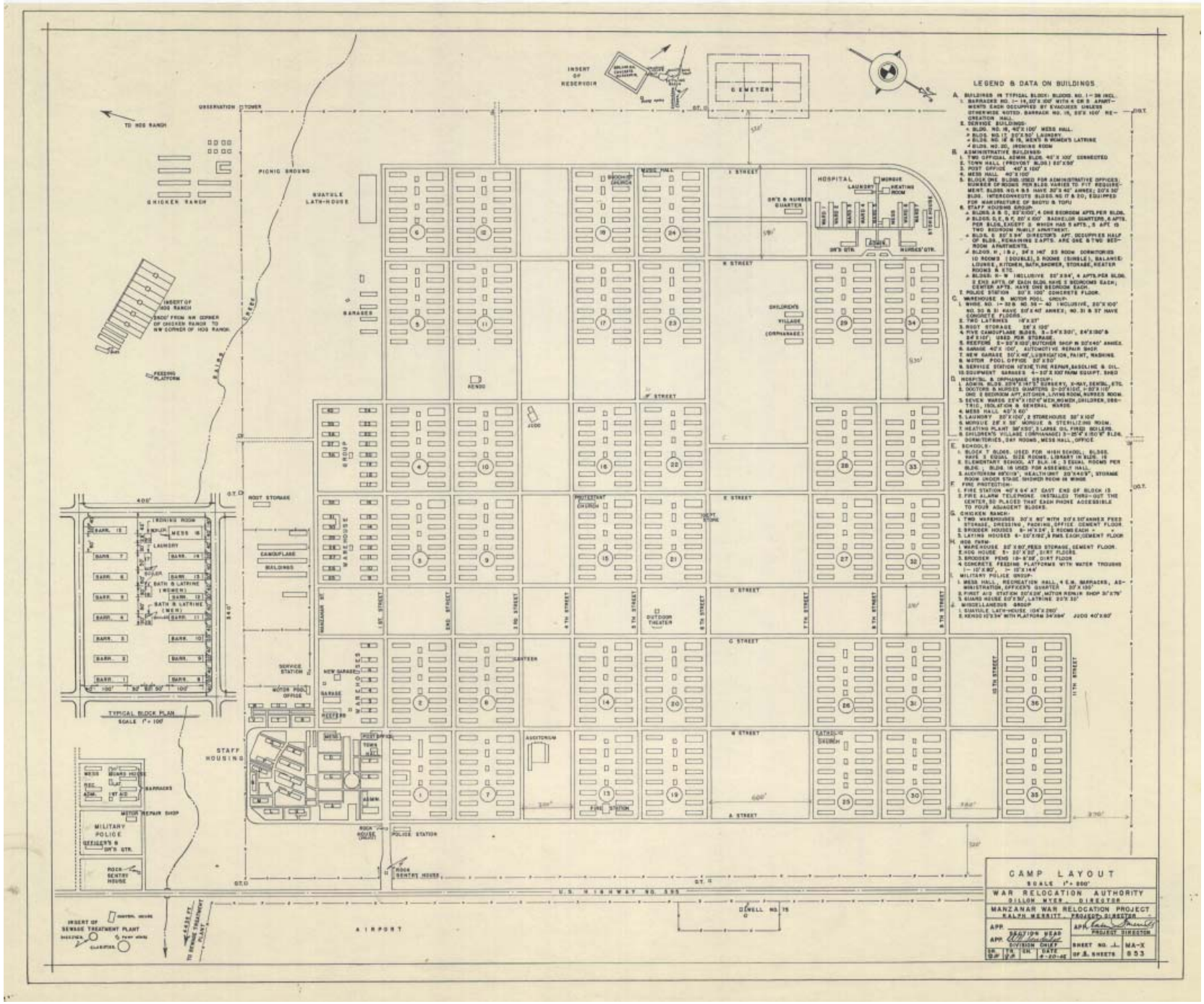


Figure 2.12. Camp layout (WRA, National Archives).

and international audiences, and published in both academic and popular journals (e.g., Beckwith 2008; Burton 1996b, 2008a; Burton and Farrell 2004, 2015; Funk 2006; Helphand 2006; McCarty 2006; Masumoto 2008; Tamura 2004).

The Cultural Landscape Report prepared for Manzanar National Historic Site (NPS 2006), which provides a historical overview as well as broad treatment guidelines, divided the gardens at Manzanar into four types. Most researchers use a similar classification scheme for Manzanar's gardens, comprising:

1. Barracks, Residential, or Family Gardens
2. Mess Hall, Block, or Neighborhood Gardens
3. Community Parks
4. Other Landscape Features, which include landscaping in the administration area, picnic areas, lawns, trees, and Victory gardens.

What follows is a detailed history of the gardens of Manzanar based on historic documentation and oral histories, with special attention to each of these garden types. In addition, Chapter 3 summarizes available historical data about the gardeners themselves, and Chapter 4 provides an extensive review of the current condition of Manzanar's gardens, block by block and area by area.

Internee Residential Block Layout

The way the internee residential blocks were laid out bounded potential garden areas. Manzanar was divided into 36 residential blocks, separated by firebreaks into nine groups of four blocks (Figure 2.12). The blocks were numbered beginning in the southeast corner of the residential area with Block 1, running west so that Block 6 was on the southwest corner of the residential area. The next row of blocks north began with Block 7 on the east, and continued to Block 12 on the west. North of this row was the South Firebreak, which eventually contained an auditorium and Victory gardens. North of the South Firebreak were Blocks 13 through 18, east to west, and north of that row were Blocks 19 through 24. North of these blocks was the North Firebreak, which contained orchards from the early-twentieth-century town of Manzanar, an orphanage, hospital staff housing, baseball fields, and a park. West of the North Firebreak, beyond the barbed wire security fence of the residential area, is the Manzanar Cemetery. North of the North Firebreak were Blocks 25 through 29, east to west, and north of those blocks were Blocks 30 through 34. The Hospital was located west of Blocks 29 and 34. Blocks 35 and 36 are in the northeast corner of the residential area, separated from Blocks 30 through 34 by a firebreak.

Each block contained fourteen 20-by-100-foot barracks set in two rows, with the rows 120 feet apart (Figures 2.13-2.15). Within each row, the barracks were 40 feet apart. Barracks 1 through 7 ran east to west in the south row of each block and Barracks 8 through 14 ran east to west in the north row. The mess hall, twice as wide as a barracks, was located in the northwest corner of each block. The recreation building, the same size as a barracks but not divided into rooms and with entries only on the north and south gable ends, was located across from the mess hall, in the southwest corner of each block. The spacing between the recreation building and Barracks 7 was 60 feet. Between the two rows of barracks, from east to west, were a men's latrine, women's latrine, laundry, ironing room, and fuel oil tank. The open area east of the men's latrine between the rows of barracks was generally used for sports facilities, such as basketball or volleyball courts, or held playground equipment.

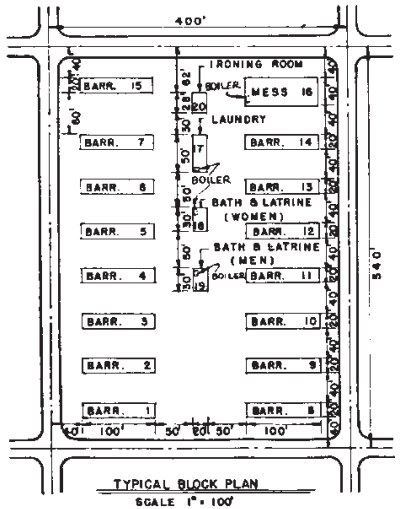


Figure 2.13. Block layout (WRA, National Archives).

Figure 2.14. Manzanar street scene (National Archives).

Figure 2.15. Manzanar barracks (National Archives).

Figure 2.16. First landscape garden at Manzanar (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

Figure 2.17. Katsuki's barracks garden (National Archives).

Barracks were divided into four or five apartments. Entrances to the end apartments were on the gable ends of the barracks buildings. Entrances to the two or three middle apartments were along the west side for most of the odd-numbered barracks and the east side for even-numbered barracks, so that the doors to most middle rooms faced across an open space 40 feet wide to the entry doors of the next barracks. This arrangement created a potential "courtyard" between adjacent barracks, but because each row of barracks in a block had an odd number of barracks, the westernmost barracks in each row had no facing barracks. The entry doors for the middle apartments of Barracks 7 faced west across an empty space 60 feet wide toward the door-less east side of the recreation building. The entry doors for the middle apartments of Barracks 14 faced east, toward the door-less "backside" of Barracks 13.

Throughout the internment, most efforts on landscaping were focused on the entrances and "front" yards, in the 40-foot-wide open area between facing barracks. Areas between barracks with no entrances were treated more like "backyards" and were often used for utilitarian purposes, like clotheslines and vegetable gardens, or left barren. In some historic photographs, one can see small doors that internees made to provide access to these backyards. Typically the largest and most elaborate ornamental garden in a block was located in the 40-by-100-foot area between the mess hall and Barracks 14.

Three of the 36 residential blocks were not used exclusively, or permanently, for internee housing. Block 1 had offices and internee bachelor housing, and later, WRA staff housing. Block 7 included the high school and Caucasian teacher and administrative staff housing. Most of Block 16, originally internee housing, was converted into a grade school.

Barracks Gardens

The most common gardens constructed by internees at Manzanar were small personal gardens that decorated the exterior of their barracks apartments, often focusing on entrances:

> Entry gardens were part of the Japanese tradition of dooryard gardens, linking household to community and function[ing] as entry and marker, displaying the craft and skill of the resident and embellishing both the barracks and the community space.
>
> Helphand 2006:167

The first ornamental barracks garden was begun April

19, 1942, less than a month after the camp opened, by William Katsuki, in front of his barracks in Block 24 (*Manzanar Free Press* June 30, 1942; Figures 2.16 and 2.17). Katsuki, a noted landscaper from southern California, and other internees had been tasked by the camp administration to do landscaping in the administration area. Katsuki probably worked on his own barracks garden in his free time.

On June 30, 1942, while working for the U.S. government, Dorothea Lange took two photographs of Katsuki's garden. The caption of one photograph reads "William Katsuki, former professional landscape gardener for large estates in Southern California, demonstrates his skill and ingenuity in creating from materials close at hand, a desert garden alongside his home in the barracks at this War Relocation Authority center." The other caption reads "A view of the garden strip arranged by William Katsuki, former landscape gardener from Southern California, alongside his home in the barracks at this War Relocation Authority center for internees of Japanese ancestry."

According to the *Manzanar Free Press,* the narrow garden featured a small stream channel edged with rocks that Katsuki had collected by hand, or with a borrowed wheelbarrow or truck, from inside the relocation center. The stream he built meandered along the west side of Barracks 5 from the water faucet at the north end of the building 100 feet down to the south end, with small pools formed along the way.

LANDSCAPER DESIGNS
UNIQUE DESERT GARDEN

Among this center's greatest attractions is the unique garden designed by William Katsuki, former Bel Air landscaper, in front of his home between buildings 5 and 6 in Block 24.

The three large Joshua trees planted between the buildings, the six smaller ones along the west side of Bldg. 5, the four small lakes with numerous miniature bridges and the rock garden all combine to present an attractive sight to the passerby.

Katsuki started to work on his garden on April 19 by carrying home rocks from all round the center. Later he borrowed a wheelbarrow to do the hauling. Then the neighbors helped him in getting a truck. The Joshua trees came from Death Valley, 65 miles away.

Manzanar Free Press June 30, 1942

Figure 2.18. Katsuki's "Ide Hermitage" (Takayanagi 2008).

Figure 2.19. Miniature bridge at Katsuki's garden (National Archives).

Figure 2.20. Faucet running at Katsuki's garden (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

The Death Valley reference is likely an exaggeration; it is actually 100 miles from Manzanar to Death Valley, but before getting there they would have driven past thousands of Joshua trees, the closest to Manzanar being about 45 miles west near the turnoff to Darwin or the same distance south towards Los Angeles just beyond Olancha. The Joshua trees were most likely collected at same time as were some Joshua trees used in landscaping in the administration area.

In addition to Dorothea Lange's photographs, there are now four other known historic photographs of

Figure 2.21. Garden at Barracks 7 in Block 15 (Shiro Nomura Collection, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 2.22. Garden at Barracks 5 in Block 15 (Shiro Nomura Collection, Eastern California Museum).

Katsuki's garden, each taken from different angles and distances by different photographers (Figures 2.18-2.20). Taken together, the photographs show the entire garden, but apparently at different times since there are some minor differences between them. The photographs confirm the description of the garden in the *Manzanar Free Press*. The garden is narrow, set against the wall of Barracks 5, and runs the entire length of the barracks. A watercourse with small ponds starts at the exterior faucet at the north end of the barracks and drains (overflows) at the south end. In addition to the Joshua trees, there are many cotton-top cactus, and a few beavertail, hedgehog, and cholla cactus. There are also decorative logs or stumps, dead brush and branches, two miniature wood bridges, and a short section of *rangui* wall (a palisade-like edging constructed of wood posts set vertically) along the water course.

One of the photographs of Katsuki's garden shows a simple gateway with "idle hermitage" in Japanese characters and a sign next to the door in English that names "Wm. Katsuki, D. Takamatsu, and Fred[?] Hayashi" as the occupants. Only one "Katsuki," a widower, is listed in the Manzanar roster; his first name is listed as Manjiro, so William was likely his American name. Takamatsu and Hayashi were also widowers. According to the roster Katsuki left Manzanar in March 1945, but returned later in 1945 to enlist gardeners for work in Los Angeles:

> **Katsuki Visits Here From Los Angeles**
> ... he is assisting gardeners to get started again. Gardeners with or without tools are taken care of by Katsuki who loans them his own tools and uses his own car to assist those who do not have equipment of their own. ... He is currently taking care of about 12 men ... .
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* August 4, 1945

Two historic photographs that had been donated to

the Eastern California Museum provide clues about two other early garden ponds at Manzanar (Figures 2.21 and 2.22). Notes on the photographs, probably written by museum staff from information provided by the donor, indicates that both were taken "around Memorial Day 1942." If so, these two gardens were also among the first built at Manzanar. After archeological investigation and comparison with other historic photographs, it was determined that both gardens were located in Block 15, one at Barracks 5 and one at Barracks 7.

The historic photograph of the Barracks 5 garden shows a large pond with a concrete edge. In the center of the pond is a rocky island, with two trees just beginning to bud. There is a possible stone lantern next to the pond. The water level looks to be several inches below the pond edge, but a hose is visible; the photograph may have been taken while the pond was being filled. This garden won third prize in the garden contest run by the *Manzanar Free Press*. The garden's creator, Yasaji Nakata, was a gardener from Pasadena, age 62 at that time, who lived with his wife and two adult daughters in Barracks 5, Apartment 2.

The other photographed garden in Block 15, with two rustic Japanese stone lanterns and a concrete bridge, was built by Keichiro Muto and Roy Sugiwara at Barracks 7. Muto and his wife lived with their three adult daughters in Barracks 7, Apartment 3. Muto was 62 years old in 1942. The Sugiwara family lived next door in Apartment 2. The garden appears in other historical photographs and in a few seconds of a color home movie (Figure 2.23), and was mentioned in the August 12, 1942, edition of the *Manzanar Free Press*:

> **Fish Ponds Appear**
> One of the most beautiful fish ponds in the center is found at Block 15 recreation hall. The pond is kidney shaped with a miniature bridge at the narrowest points. Roy Sugiwara, former gardener, and Keichiro Muto, former flower grower, designed and constructed the pond. The public works division, however, discourages the building of more ponds because of cement shortage.

Another early barracks garden was the work of 61-year-old George Saburo Takemura, who lived at Block 23, Barracks 9, Apartment 4 with his wife and five children. There are four historic photographs of Takemura's barracks, two of which were official WRA photographs taken June 17, 1942, and distributed by the Associated Press. The photographs show the north end of Takemura's barracks. The captions read "Manzanar Showplace – George S. Takemura (left), landscape gardener from West Los Angeles, now occupies the showplace of Manzanar, a war relocation authority center for Japanese. He has built a wishing well and other rustic articles for his quarters." In addition to the wishing well, there were "chairs and [an] umbrella … made from remnants, twigs and tree branches" (*Manzanar Free Press* Pictorial Edition, September 10, 1943, page 16; Figures 2.24-2.26).

In July 1942 a "glorified fish pond" was under construction in Block 1 between Barracks 12 and 13 with five sacks of cement received from the engineer's office (*Manzanar Free Press* July 29, 1942). By early August 1942, there were 155 lawns, six fish ponds stocked with carp, several "picturesque rock gardens bordered with local shrubbery," and flourishing Victory gardens (Manzanar Project Report, August 8, 1942). The cement shortage noted August 12 appears to have become more serious a week later:

> **Shortage of Cement**
> There will be no more fish pond building in the center! That was the order issued by Harvey Brown, Senior engineer, to center residents since the construction of 12 fish ponds has already consumed more than 50 sacks of cement.
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* August 19, 1942

Figure 2.23. Bridge and Japanese lanterns at 15-7-2 barracks garden (Francis C. Dieterich film, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 2.24. Takemura's garden well (Francis Stewart, National Archives).

Figure 2.25. Takemura's "Manzanar Showplace" (Francis Stewart, National Archives).

Figure 2.26. Umbrella at Takemura's "Manzanar Showplace" (WRA photograph, UCLA Special Collections).

The senior engineer argued that the relocation center's allotment of cement needed to be saved for the foundations and floors of buildings not yet constructed, like the motor pool garage, garment factory, and bakery. Nevertheless, internees kept building gardens. In the August 26 issue of the *Manzanar Free Press*, the "Canteen Cowboy" noted that:

> Manzanites' individual artistic originality is popping up ... all over the camp ... for instance ... the grass summer house in block 16 ... a figure eight, two island fish pond in block one shows a lot of hard work ... beside the large pond is an abbreviation of the larger one ... Lawns are sprouting up here and there .... [ellipses in original]

The *Manzanar Free Press* garden contest itself likely spurred more garden building: a fish pond in Block 25 between Barracks 5 and 6 was reported to "soon have red carp in it as soon as they arrive from Los Angeles" (*Manzanar Free Press* October 5, 1942). Not all barracks ponds were appreciated: the Block 20 Manager's Report for November 13, 1942, noted that "A complaint was made by one of the residents of this block concerning the unfinished pond nearby 20-15, a nursery school, which he asserts is dangerous to children. Therefore Mr. Nashimoto has decided either to cover up the pond or put a fence around it."

Reports of barracks gardens in the *Manzanar Free Press* and Block Managers' Reports became less frequent as gardens became more commonplace and the content of the *Manzanar Free Press* changed to more national news. However, the following spring a "miniature park" was noted as being built in Block 15 between Barracks 1 and 2 (Block 15 Manager's Report, March 18, 1943).

In spite of the cement shortage, Manzanar's administration must have continued its open or tacit approval of the garden-creation efforts: as discussed below,

larger mess hall gardens were reported being started, under construction, and nearing completion in the summer and fall of 1942 and more would be built in 1943.

Mess Hall Gardens

Three times a day, internees stood in line outside their block's mess hall for meals. The line entered through a double door near the south end of the east side of the mess hall. While a mess hall could seat all of the residents of a block at the same time, with up to 400 people in a block the serving lines were often long and slow-moving. Many former internees vividly remember the heat, cold, wind, or rain that often made the wait even more tedious. Gardens were constructed at many of the 36 mess halls in the 40-foot-wide and 100-foot-long area between the mess hall and the barracks to the east, to give block residents something pleasant to look at while they waited in line.

The first mess hall garden, in Block 22, was conceived by kitchen worker Harry Ueno and finished in August 1942. As Ueno explained in an oral history interview in 2000, he was inspired while waiting in the mess hall line himself:

> Ueno: So first thing I did was I told a friend of mine. He also came from the same place I [was] born and he [was] born in the same place, but he is younger than I – 10 years younger. So I said, "Let's dig the pond next to the mess hall so there won't be too dusty out there." And at that time we open the mess hall is June. The high altitude and the sun is hitting you pretty hot.
>
> So then we started digging and then one middle-aged [man] about 55 or so came over, "What are you doing?" "I am going to dig a big pond over here so there won't be too [much] dust blowing off and cool water." Plenty of water from upstream there, you know the snow melting water is coming and make the big pond over here so people could sit around the pond. There won't be no dust and water is there to feel cool. So he said, "Oh, that is good idea. I will draw the plan for you. I have got experience in making ponds." He is a nurseryman you know. He had a nursery on the outside. So, [I said,] "Oh, please do."
>
> Then he drew the map and then the block people hear that and there are about 20 or 30 people. "Oh, that is good idea. Let's do it." Then first time I build there a big one and bring – borrowed truck and a sled and bring a big rock all around the pond and people could sit around there and water is cool and we get some trout. The farmers bring it in, and some carp. The garbage man bring in some carps. So we had fish in there and that work out very nice. That is the first pond. If you go to Manzanar, you see that is my pond right there.
>
> Japanese American National Museum 2000

Ueno was a pivotal figure in the December 1942 Manzanar Riot and the building of his garden is often cited as being an act of resistance (e.g., Embrey et al. 1986; Tamura 2002, 2004). Ueno's initial pond-digging work had caught the attention of Akira Nishi, who provided the design for the garden. George Takemura made a wishing-well fountain for the pond (Figures 2.27 and 2.28).

According to the *Manzanar Free Press* (October 17, 1942), the Block 22 mess hall garden was leading in the voting for "Best Garden":

> **Kitchen 22 Leads**
> With the Garden Contest by the Japanese section of the Free Press going on, votes are gradually coming in for favorites. "Otoba no Ike," garden by Kitchen 22, is leading with 49 votes, while "San-shi-en." located near Kitchen 34, is second with 30 votes. The contest

Figure 2.27. Garden well at the Block 22 mess hall garden (WRA photograph, UCLA Special Collections).

will end on the 28th of this month and the judges will be both Japanese and Caucasians.

Seven judges were announced on October 24:

JUDGES CHOSEN FOR CONTEST
With the last day to vote looming near for the "best garden in Manzanar," seven judges have accepted to give final judgement according to the Japanese department editors.

Those to serve on the judging committee are: Mrs. Willard Schmidt, wife of the local police commissioner and well known authority on gardening as well as author of many garden articles; Ned Campbell, assistant project director; Dr. Geneviene Carter, superintendent of education; Dr. James Goto, hospital representative; Masao Tanaka, recreation; Genshiro Nakamura, community enterprises; and Koichi Hara, mess halls.

Since votes cast by residents through ballots printed in the Japanese papers will have a great effect on decisions, people are urged to vote for their favorites before the deadline, Oct, 28. Ballots may be put in a box at the Free Press at 1-1.

Figure 2.28. Block 22 mess hall garden covered in snow (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

When the winners were announced (*Manzanar Free Press* November 5, 1942), the Block 22 mess hall garden placed second:

GARDEN CONTEST WON BY B-34
Most appealing to the judges' eyes was the winning garden "San Shien" of Block 34, which boasts generous green slopes and dips, fish pond and different greenery in a garden contest, sponsored by the Japanese department of the Free Press.

Running a close second was the entry "Otoha no ike" from Block 22 with a huge fish pond of interesting design. Placing third was a private garden at 15-5-2.

The results of the popular vote were not announced, and it is tempting to speculate that the Block 22 mess hall garden was slighted because of its association with Harry Ueno. Ueno was an outspoken critic of the administration and had organized a kitchen workers union at Manzanar (Embrey et al. 1986:29 32). The original announcement for the contest (*Manzanar Free Press* October 8, 1942) implied that the decision would be decided by votes:

> . . . as soon as returns from the "best garden contest" conducted by the Japanese department of the Free Press can be tabulated.

> With the abundance of clever and original gardens all through the center, the contest, which began last Saturday, is evoking unprecedented interest among garden lovers. Votes can be cast through ballots printed in the Japanese section in every issue until Oct. 28 when the contest will close.

The announcement that judges would make the final decision coincided with the article that indicated the Block 22 garden was in first place. However, it is not clear how strongly the Block 22 garden was associated with Ueno at the time of the contest: in a 2003 oral history, Edith Nishi Yamamoto recalled that her father, Kuichiro Nishi, took the lead in building the Block 22 mess hall garden, with Ueno providing assistance (Ishizuka et al., Oral History MANZ 1299A).

The garden was referred to as *otaba no Ike* and *Otoha no ike* in the *Manzanar Free Press* articles (October 17 and November 5, 1942), and in an oral history Ueno says the garden name derives from the source of pure and sacred water that flows to the Kiyomizu Buddhist temple in Kyoto, Japan, *otowa-no-taki* (literally "sound of feathers"). It is not known if the *Manzanar Free Press* spellings are typos, translation mistakes, or a deliberate use of a name that refers more to the sound of the falling water, translated as "like the wind in the leaves." Either way, the wishing well constructed by Takemura and visible in historical photographs is certainly evocative of the spring at *otowa-no-taki.*

The Block 22 garden also has another name, "Three Sack Pond." This name, which seems to have originated with Ueno's 1986 oral history interview with Sue Embrey, is based upon the Manzanar administration's rule that each block was allotted only three sacks of cement a month for landscaping projects. According to Harry Ueno's oral history, the creators of "Three Sack Pond" successfully erased and forged paperwork, returning eight times, collecting three sacks each time, to acquire 24 sacks of cement for their mess hall garden. The story is often cast as an example of how the internees could put one over on the administration, and it seems likely that such rule-stretching was common enough at camp.

However, the story may be more apocryphal than factual. First, it is possible that the pond itself was constructed with the block's monthly allotment: calculations of the areal extent, depth, and thickness of the concrete of the pond suggest only 300 pounds of cement, mixed with local sand, would have been needed to make the pond. We do not know the size of the cement bags provided, but 100-pound bags would not have been uncommon at a military facility. Second, the July 31, 1942, Block 22 Manager's Report noted receipt of "three sacks of cement from Warehouse No. 1" and the pond concrete was finished one week later (a date in the concrete indicates it was completed on August 7 [Burton 1996a:280]; Figure 2.29). The August 8, 1942, Block 22 Manager's Report noted: "two sacks of cement" and a date inscribed in the concrete bridge is "8-9-42" (Burton 1996a:280: Figure 2.30). Since construction of the pond and garden spanned two months, the project could have been officially allotted three bags in July and three bags in August. Third, the foreman and workers at the cement warehouse were internees themselves, so if more cement was indeed needed for the garden, it seems likely that a more informal requisition process could have occurred, not requiring the forging of paperwork. However, the administration did claim that a large amount of cement had disappeared during this time period:

> Mr. Harvey Brown, engineer, once mentioned that 700 sacks of cement had been stolen by residents of Manzanar. 700 sacks of cement is almost a load. I for one cannot believe this to be true. I hope that the Caucasians will check all incoming articles and see to it that the correct amount is being hauled in here. Let us not blame the innocent Japanese without any evidence or backing.
>
> Block 24 Manager's Report, August 12, 1942

Figure 2.29. Date in pond made with embedded stones.

Figure 2.30. Inscribed date on bridge at the Block 22 mess hall garden.

Figure 2.31. Block 6 mess hall garden (Katsumi Taniguchi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.32. Block 6 mess hall garden (Katsumi Taniguchi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.33. Detail of Block 6 mess hall garden (Aileen Endo Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Ueno also claimed that his garden won first place the next year (Embrey et al. 1986:30), and continued work on the Block 22 mess hall garden is documented in the newspaper and block manager's reports:

> Busy spading and planting roses in our garden by the mess hall. Finished about 1:30 PM.
>
> Block 22 Manager's Report, March 16, 1943

> **Around the BLOCKS**
> ... Block 22 residents say "Our garden is going to be the number one garden in Manzanar." Who's going to top that?
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* March 24, 1943

> Wednesday morning - Hauled dirt for our mess hall garden.
>
> Block 22 Manager's Report, March 31, 1943

> Working on the mess hall garden (F. Yasuda)
>
> Block 22 Manager's Report, April 8, 1943

> Sat - Worked on the kitchen garden. Sun - Planted lawn in the mess hall garden. Made a wind stop for the chrysanthemum garden. Also planted some iris tubers.
>
> Block 22 Manager's Report, April 19, 1943

> Hauled in truckload of black dirt for kitchen garden.
>
> Block 22 Manager's Report, April 20, 1943

> Made a rock garden at the 22 mess hall.
>
> Block 22 Manager's Report, May 27, 1943

However, no other evidence has been found of a second garden contest, and Ueno himself was removed from Manzanar and taken to the Moab Isolation Center after the Manzanar Riot, so he would not have been present the following year.

Another mess hall garden was being built in the summer of 1942, this one in Block 6. The Block Manager's Daily Report for August 5, 1942, for this block indicates that "a rock garden and pool are being made by the kitchen crew between the kitchen and Building 14."

The "Canteen Cowboy" seems to appreciate both the Block 22 and the Block 6 mess hall gardens:

> **CANTEEN COWBOY Sez:**
> ... The fish pond situated beside the 22 mess hall is a beauty ... wishing well and all ... and the one beside kitchen 6 is also a beaut with a fountain. [Ellipses in original]
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* September 11, 1942

The September 28, 1942, issue of the *Manzanar Free Press* elaborates on the Block 6 garden:

> **Unique Trout's Shangri La Being Completed**
> A home for a turtle, 100 trout and approximately 60 carp is the dream come true pond and garden now being competed between the kitchen and building 14 of Block 6. Under the supervision of R.F. Kado, the kitchen crew is putting in the finishing touches. The trees and plants donated by Messrs. Miyoji Uyematsu, Munejiro Matsuyama and Moiichiro Tachibana include pine, cedar and camellia, while a waterfall, trickling out of sun browned rocks, lends an air of distinction to the scenery. The carp, measuring 16 inches in length, brighten the water with their red color and can be easily distinguished from the other fishes. For the coming winter a pond that can be frozen has been started where water occupants may swim in icy contentment. This coming Saturday, Oct. 3, an open house will be held for block residents with "Mochi tsuki," being the main event. Mr. Harry Oshio is responsible for this rare Japanese treat.

Uyematsu, Matsuyama, and Tachibana were all former nursery operators who lived in Block 6. Ryozo Kado,

a noted stone mason, lived in Block 17. Harry Oshio, first credited only with providing the mochi for the open house, also lived in Block 6, and, along with Kado, was later recognized for his part in the garden creation:

> **CANTEEN COWBOY Sez:**
> ... All credit goes to R.F. Kado, Harry Oshio and the kitchen gang who helped to build the fish pond and garden, ...
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* October 1, 1942

> **CANTEEN COWBOY Sez:**
> ... VERY PROUD of the fish pond and garden is Harry Oshio – he contributed some fishes. ...
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* October 10, 1942

> Token of thanks extended to Mr. Kado for the time devoted in making a wonderful rock garden which Block 6 is proud of.
>
> Block 6 Manager's Report, October 13, 1942

Historical photographs of the Block 6 mess hall garden show a large pond with two rocky islands, many rocks, a small stream, small pine trees, and a wood fence (Figures 2.31-2.34). The south and west areas are mostly grass with rocks; the east and north parts of the garden are mounds with rock and dirt, with trees and shrubs but no grass. Adjacent to the garden is a rock and concrete walkway that would have been located along the side of the mess hall.

Kado also built a mess hall garden in Block 9, where Terminal Islanders lived, later explaining:

> The bitterest group were some fishermen evacuated on 24 hours notice from their homes on Terminal Island in Los Angeles harbor. I was anxious to do something special for these men. Far from the sea, fishermen must suffer more than the rest of us in this heat stricken desert. To beautify their Block's dining room, I made a fish pond and fountain.
>
> This started a rash of requests. Every block wanted a beauty spot. I used free Saturdays and even Sundays to brighten the drab spots. . . ."
>
> Kado n.d.

Figure 2.34. Block 6 mess hall garden (Manzanar NHS).

Two historic photographs of the Block 9 mess hall garden were discovered only after the garden was archeologically excavated in 2007. The photographs show a large pond edged with rocks, a stream lined with rocks emanating from a two-tiered waterfall, many locust trees, and grass, all enclosed by a rustic wood fence (Figures 2.35 and 2.36).

Although the Block 6 mess hall garden and Kado's Block 9 mess hall garden may have been entered in the *Manzanar Free Pres*s garden contest, neither is mentioned in newspaper articles about the contest. The mess hall garden in Block 34 was the first place winner.

Figure 2.35. Amos Hashimoto at the Block 9 mess hall garden (courtesy of Danny Hashimoto).

Figure 2.36. Block 9 mess hall garden (courtesy of Danny Hashimoto).

Construction of the Block 34 mess hall garden is mentioned in the September 23, 1942, Block Manager's Report: "The men in our block are hard at work on building of the fish pond and garden in front of kitchen #34. Mr. Kubota, Mr. Kayahara and Mr. Murakami are more or less supervising the project." The *Manzanar Free Press* reported on October 1, 1942, "Block 34: The men of this block are engaged in putting the finishing touches on the fish pond and garden in front of Kitchen 34. Supervising the project are Mr. Kubota, Mr. Kayahara, and Mr. Murakami." Of the three men, only George Kubota had any previous gardening experience: the 70-year-old Kubota is listed as a gardener in the 1940 U.S. census. Kubota lived in Block 34 at Barracks 2 Apartment 4; the addresses of the other builders are not known.

The Block 34 mess hall garden can be seen in several historical photographs and a home movie (Figures 2.37-2.40). The elaborate garden includes a rocky mound, a concrete-lined pond, two streams, a low rock bridge, rock alignments, and a surrounding fence made of locust poles and barbed wire. The rocks used in the garden are red- and purple-hued metavolcanic rocks, possibly from the north and east slopes of the Alabama Hills, rather than the more commonly used Sierra Nevada granite boulders and cobbles. It was named *san-shi-en*, or "3-4 Garden," for the block number; not coincidentally, the characters also translate as "purple mountain," which could describe the hill created at its northern end.

Two mess hall gardens, in Blocks 4 and 12, were not built until the summer of 1943. On July 2, 1943, a *Manzanar Free Press* notice shows how the gardens were points of interest even for a visiting motion picture star:

> **JOHN PAYNE PAYS SURPRISE VISIT**
> ... From there they toured the center on foot, stopping to *see Block 12's new fishpond* but were immediately swamped by autograph seekers. ... [emphasis added]

The Block 12 Manager's Report for July 15 states "The fish pond in front of the mess hall has finally been completed. The garden too is almost completed." The designer and builders of the garden are not known, but like others at Manzanar the garden was likely the collaboration of several people, including Nisei: the November 30, 1942, *Manzanar Free Press* reported that "Block 12 boasts the largest nisei group with 128 over the age of 16." The mess hall pond was not the first landscaping project in Block 12: on August 10, 1942, the *Manzanar Free Press* noted that "Practically the entire block is covered with lawns."

There are 12 historic photographs and a short clip in a color movie showing the Block 12 mess hall garden

Figure 2.37. Detail of the Block 34 mess hall garden (hand-colored photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.38. Block 34 mess hall garden (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.39. Block 34 mess hall garden (Tami Oda Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.40. Fence at the Block 34 mess hall garden (Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.41. Waterfall and cascade at the Block 12 mess hall garden (WRA photograph, UCLA Special Collections).

Figure 2.42. Detail of "Hill" at the Block 12 mess hall garden (Yoshiko Hosoi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.43. Block 12 mess hall garden (Mary Mizuta Collection, Manzanar NHS).

from several different vantage points (Figures 2.41-2.45). The space between the mess hall and the adjacent barracks is divided into two sections by a concrete sidewalk constructed directly across from the mess hall entrance. The southern one-third consisted of a level grass lawn and a single tree. The northern two-thirds included a hill created with earth and rocks, low earthen mounds, waterfalls and cascades, a split stream, a large pond with protruding rock islands, stepping stones, and other prominent rocks. *Rangui* (wood-post walls) line portions of the stream and pond. Besides grass, plants include iris and locust trees. In some photographs the garden is enclosed by tall flowers and in others it is enclosed by a simple fence made of locust posts and a single smooth wire.

A mess hall garden at Block 4 was mentioned in the June 26, 1943, issue of the *Manzanar Free Press*: "[Mokutaro] Mark Nishimura, under the supervision of Chotaro Nishimura, is making a rock garden between barrack 14 and the mess hall." Chotaro Nishimura lived at Block 4 Barracks 3 Apartment 1; Mark Nishimura, Chotaro's son, lived at Block 4 Barracks 2 Apartment 1. Chotaro Nishimura was a stonemason and Ryozo Kado's father-in-law, and was one of the few at Manzanar formally trained in making Japanese gardens. The last known mess hall garden built, Block 4 may have been a dry garden, since by its June 1943 construction date, the administration had exhorted the internees many times to stop making ponds to save water. However, the Block Manager's Report for October 19, 1943, indicates he helped dig a fish pond all day; he does not specify where the pond was located, but it may well have been in his own block, Block 4. No historic photographs of this garden are known.

It is likely that there are other mess hall gardens at Manzanar still to be discovered. The Block 9 mess hall garden is not mentioned in the *Manzanar Free Press*, Block Manager Reports, or other documents. The Block 9 mess hall garden was found because it

Figure 2.44. Block 12 residents at their mess hall garden (Sumiko Hayamizu Collection, Manzanar NHS).

was visible on the ground surface, and Kado refers to it in his reminiscence, but other mess hall gardens may be completely buried, and not mentioned in oral histories. There are some tantalizing hints of gardens in some of the Block Manager Reports, for example, on August 5, 1942, the Block 16 Manager's Report noted that a "Request [was] sent to Mr. Brown for three sacks of cement for a rock garden in our block." On April 22, 1943, the Block 16 Manager's Report noted that he "Went after some rocks for the garden by the kitchen." Similarly, a project involving rocks and cement took place at Block 11: on March 31, 1943, the Block Manager's Report noted "Went with a small group of block residents to go up on the mountain to gather rocks for the mess hall." On April 11, 1943, the Block 11 Manager's Report noted "Went with the block crew to get rocks for the mess hall." A couple months later, on July 20, 1943, the Block 11 Manager's Report includes "Helped Kitchen's cement work." Of course, the rocks and cement in Block 11 may have been for a mess hall cellar, instead of a garden, but the potential for either construction would be worth investigating.

Another question that bears investigation is if mess hall gardens correlate with intra-block harmony and cooperation. Documentary Report No. 89, dated August 16, 1943, lists Blocks 8, 15, 20, and 35 as the most "contentious" blocks. For example, Block 8 was considered "one of the most turbulent," possibly at least in part because its residents were from diverse locations, and there is neither historical nor archeological evidence of a mess hall garden at Block 8. Nor do we know of gardens at the other "contentious" blocks listed in the report. If such a correlation holds, it might be difficult to attribute it as a cause or a result. That is, harmony might be required to build a mess hall garden, but mess hall gardens might also increase harmony, if the environment where all residents come together three times a day to wait for meals is a pleasant garden rather than a dust-blasted or sunbaked desert. Even a presumed correlation would have be examined closely through different sources, since WRA administrators might be more likely to attribute harmony to a block with a mess hall garden than one without, because of their own biases.

Figure 2.45. Fence post and rock border at the Block 12 mess hall garden (Hidiko Asano Collection, MNHS).

Figure 2.46. Landscaping at the hospital wards (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.47. Overview of the hospital pond garden (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

It is obvious from historic photographs that Manzanar's mess hall gardens were favorite backdrops for photographs, hinting at the pride block residents must have felt for their mess hall gardens. That pride likely spurred informal competition as well as the *Manzanar Free Press* contest. In fact, gardens were continually modified and improved: some garden changes can be seen in historical photographs; block managers often reported continued work; and archeological evidence indicates that a second stream was added to the Block 34 garden after its initial construction.

Community Parks

Competition between blocks was replaced with cooperation as the internees turned to building bigger gardens and parks that would serve the entire camp community. These gardens included Cherry Park (near the orphanage), Merritt Park (in the firebreak between Blocks 33 and 34), and gardens at the hospital (west of Blocks 29 and 34).

Hospital Gardens

The hospital complex included seven patient wards, three doctors' and nurses' quarters, a mess hall, an administration building, a laundry building, a morgue, a heating plant, three warehouses, an incinerator, and a garbage can washing rack. Most of the buildings were connected by enclosed walkways. At the hospital, two distinct Japanese gardens were created, one in front of the wards (Figure 2.46) and one on the east side of the doctors' quarters (Figure 2.47). For the patients, staff, and visitors, the hospital gardens likely served as a refuge: vegetation and a pond would have provided comfort to the senses and its Japanese styl-

ing imparted cultural familiarity and an expression of pride.

The garden in front of the hospital wards is shown in color movie footage and dozens of historic photographs, including a photograph by Ansel Adams (Figures 2.48-2.53). It included a rock retaining wall and steps, a faux-wood concrete bench, and faux-wood concrete tree stumps camouflaging sewer manholes. On the east side of of the doctors' quarters were a pond, stream, and other landscaping. There are only five photographs and a few seconds of color movie footage of the doctors' quarters garden, suggesting more limited public access (Figures 2.54 and 2.55). The street east of the hospital was lined with rocks painted white, similar to the rock-lined streets and paths in the administration area. Lawns can also be seen on the front and sides of the hospital administration building as well as in the areas surrounding the doctors' and nurses' quarters. Flowerbeds were established, and locust, birch, poplar, pine, and pear trees were transplanted to the hospital grounds from other locations in the camp (NPS 2006). All of these landscaped areas are apparent on the 1944 aerial photograph, and in addition, the area between the doctors' quarters and the hospital administration building appears to be landscaped.

On July 31, 1942, the *Manzanar Free Press* reported that Ryozo Kado was at work at the hospital administration area: "… Kado is working in front of the hospital administration building." It seems likely, however, that the gardens were not completed until almost a year later when the May 26, 1943, edition of the *Manzanar Free Press* reported:

> **Hospital Notes**
> Shunzo Shiraki, 14-10-3, foreman of the rock garden landscape crew has been working since July, 1942, at the hospital, supervising the beautifying of the Ground Area.

Figure 2.48. California poppies and petunias at the hospital (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.49. Steps and landscaping at the hospital wards (Mary Ichino Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.50. Faux-wood bench at the hospital (Ansel Adams, Library of Congress).

Figure 2.51. Steps at the hospital wards (Tami Oda Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.52. Faux-wood stump at the hospital (Merritt Collection, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 2.53. Faux-wood stump and bench, stepping stones, and other landscaping at the hospital wards (Merritt Collection, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 2.54. Pond and stream course at the hospital pond garden (Francis C. Dieterich film, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 2.55. Hospital pond garden (Merritt Collection, Eastern California Museum).

> The pond and garden by the Doctor's quarters, rock ledges along the front of the enclosed corridor, the rock arrangement in front of the hospital in the shape of driveways and grass islands all had his supervision and work. Poplar, birch and willow trees were all transplanted and placed throughout the hospital grounds.
>
> At present he is doing special work and arraying rocks and trees in back of the hospital kitchen and boiler plant.
>
> It is largely Shiraki's effort that the hospital area is one of the most beautiful in Manzanar.

A week later the *Manzanar Free Press* (June 2, 1943) acknowledged others' work at the hospital gardens:

> **Landscaping Work Beautifies Hospital**
> ... The rocks were laid and flagstones were constructed under the direction of Ryozo Kado and Bunyeman Wada of the Public Works department in cooperation with Nintaro Ogami, foreman of the hospital ground crew.

The July 24, 1943, *Manzanar Free Press* also praises Kado's work at the hospital "He has had years of experiences on masonry work and has shown his ability on the hospital garden and the guard-house entrance." Nintaro Ogami's son, Arthur Ogami, has provided an oral history about his experience at Manzanar; the younger Ogami did not remember his father building a pond, but he does mention his father working on a rock wall and other garden features at the hospital (Tamura 2002:Appendix A). In his oral history Sus Ioki noted that his father, Toyoshige Ioki, designed the hospital garden (Sus Ioki, Oral History MANZ 1165). Historical photographs corroborate his father's participation.

Cherry Park

Cherry Park was located in the firebreak between Blocks 23 and 29 near the Children's Village, the only orphanage among the ten relocation centers. Sparked by an interned nursery owner's donation of cherry trees, construction of Cherry Park had begun by January 1943 (Figure 2.56). The donor, F. M. Uyematsu, was given special permission to retrieve 1,000 cherry trees and wisteria from his pre-war business, Star Nurseries, in Montebello, California.

> **CHERRY BLOSSOMS FOR MANZANAR**
> Someday Manzanar will vie with Washington D.C. during cherry blossom time as 1000 cherry trees donated by F. Uyematsu of Pomona Assembly Center will be brought up and planted in this center.
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* June 16, 1942

After Uyematsu arrived at Manzanar, the WRA secured a military permit for him to travel to his nursery and bring the trees to Manzanar in his own truck during late 1942 (Unrau 1996:277). The *Manzanar Free Press* (January 13, 1943) reported:

> **'BEAUTY SPOTS'**
> Plenty of dust?
> It's been partially due to the work being done in the firebreak adjacent to the Children's Village.
>
> Roughly the plan calls for a small park with three ponds, each on a different level, with flowing water. The project is under Land Improvement and supervised by [William] Katsuki, a well known landscaper.

While Katsuki is credited with designing the park, Uyematsu supervised the planting and care of the cherry trees and wisteria. He may have had to hand-water the trees, and certainly he pruned them, so perhaps it is not surprising that he urged his fellow internees to preserve them:

Figure 2.56. Cherry trees planted at Cherry Park, Children's Village in background (Nagatomi-Okabe Collection, Manzanar NHS).

> **Residents Requested To Help Preserve Park Cherry Trees**
> Because he holds a personal sentiment for the four hundred cherry trees located in the park area near the vicinity of the children's village, M. Uyematsu, in charge of park construction and the planting of the trees, requests that the residents refrain from breaking these and other trees in the areas. "I have a deep personal sentiment for these trees and I would like to see that they receive proper care and attention," he said. He declared that some residents during the past few months have been unthinkingly destroying some of these trees for their personal uses in making canes and other souvenir articles as well as replanting them near their homes. He wishes that the residents would cooperate to conserve these trees, since, he believes, they will receive more benefit from them later when they bloom and beautify this center.
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* April 3, 1943

Figure 2.57. Wisteria arbor and flowing stream at Cherry Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.58. Earth-covered bridge at Cherry Park (Yoshie Sakamoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

He also noticed when one of the trees went missing: "Mr. Uyematsu of Block 6 who had lost one of his valuable cherry trees had found it planted in front of Block 20-3 garden. Therefore, he promised to bring another plant in exchange for the lost one" (Block 20 Manager's Report, March 25, 1943).

Appearing in several photographs and in the background of photographs taken at the Children's Village, Cherry Park included a stream course, an earth-covered (*dobashi*) bridge, an arched bridge, and two wisteria arbors (Figure 2.57-2.61). Wisteria arbors are a popular design element in Japanese gardens. One of the arbors is on a low grassy mound and the other straddles the stream. None of the photographs shows any rocks or water-filled ponds. In only one of the photographs is any water visible – in others the stream course is dry. According to the WRA's Community Activity Section final report (Nielsen and Fox 1945), there was not enough water to keep the ponds full so they were seeded with grass.

Figure 2.59. Earth-covered bridge and arbor at Cherry Park (Mary Ichino Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.60. Arched wood bridge at Cherry Park (Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.61. Arbor at Cherry Park (Louis Yuki Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Merritt Park

In the firebreak between Blocks 33 and 34 is the largest and most elaborate of Manzanar's gardens, Merritt Park (Figure 2.62). A sanctuary of beauty and nature within the confines of the internment camp, it was one of Manzanar's most photographed places: it was one of the few places in camp where one could be photographed in a beautiful setting without a backdrop of barracks buildings. Merritt Park was even included, along with the mess hall garden in Block 34, in an official visitor tour guide developed by the WRA staff (Burton 1996a:121-122). According to letters he wrote in 1946, camp director Ralph Merritt wanted to keep Merritt Park intact as part of a tourist resort, but when the camp was abandoned, so was Merritt Park.

The park was started in the fall of 1942 as a Western style "Rose Garden" by Kuichiro Nishi, and featured domestic rose buds grafted to wild rose root stock (Figure 2.63). Kuichiro was the older brother of Akira Nishi, who helped design the Block 22 mess hall garden; both were involved with the Nishi family

Figure 2.62. Upper pond and island at Merritt Park (Ansel Adams, Library of Congress).

Figure 2.63. Nishi (left) in the rose garden at Merritt Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.64. Roses at Merritt Park (WRA1946).

Figure 2.65. Rose garden at Merritt Park (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

business, which included a nursery, flower shop, and farms specializing in roses before the war. The origins of Rose Park are described in Manzanar's Final Report (Merritt 1946:820-821):

> The firebreak chosen for the [victory] garden was covered at one end with thousands of wild rosebushes. This led to an offer from an expert in roses, Mr. Kuichiro Nishi, who volunteered to bud and cultivate these wild roses if we would get him some cultivated plants and buds. Thereupon, with the cooperation of the procurement office, four plants each of the following kinds of roses were purchased:

Autumn	Margaret McGrady	Eclipse
Attraction	McGrady's Scarlet	Page Robert
Better Time	McGrady Yellow	Short Silk
Condesa Sastago	Pink Radiance	General McArthur
Crusader	President Hoover	G.A. Van Rossion
Dame Edith Hellen	Queen Alexandria	C.E. Van Rossion
E.P. Thom	Red Radiance	F. J. Looyman
E.G. Hill	Red Talisman	S.P. Dupong
Frau Karl Druschki	Rose Marie	Sister Thurisa
Golden Dawn	Talisman Pink	Evening Star
Hadley	Talisman Yellow	Night
Golden Emblem	Angeles Pernet	Orliance Rose
Hoosier Beauty	Sov. C. Pernet	New Talisman
Hollywood Beauty	C. Armstrong	Will Roger
John N. Hill	Caladonia	Texas Sentonias
Kaisrin Victoria	Cecil Brunner	Red Hoover
Los Angeles	Etoile de Holand	

> After the receipt of these plants and during the following months, Mr. Nishi budded approximately 15,000 wild shoots. The ones not budded were cut up leaving the cultivated shoots in neat rows. Later, in the fall, the budded roses were transplanted to another firebreak which since then has been devoted mainly to the cultivation of roses.

The roses that Mr. Nishi had grafted onto the wild rose plants were later transferred to Rose Park (Merritt 1946:835: Figures 2.64 and 2.65). Kuichiro Nishi worked with Takio Muto to design additions and improvements to the rose garden, with several other gardeners also contributing their expertise. The work group was allowed to collect rocks and plants outside the barbed wire, giving them access to rocks and boulders with distinct colors, shapes, and textures. What they built was a Japanese stroll garden with two large ponds. One of the ponds was reportedly situated over a natural spring that was covered over when

the relocation center was constructed. The *Manzanar Free Press* reported:

> **Lakes, Island, Tearoom**
> **To Beautify Largest Pond**
> Undoubtedly the largest fish pond in the center is now under construction between blocks 33 and 34 under the supervision of Tak Muto of the Community Activities Division. In an area approximately 100 by 160 feet, there will be two miniature lakes, with an island on the upper lake and a waterfall connecting it with the lower one. Overlooking both lakes, a tea-room, constructed of logs, will be built soon, covering an area 16 by 20 feet. There will also be a unique bridge between the island and the teahouse, made of cement and rocks. Muto's crew of four landscaper experts has already dug the lake bed and also planted picturesque pine trees around it. One of the lakes is on the site of a natural spring which was covered up by Army engineers when the center buildings were constructed. Progress of building the novel recreation center is hindered because of lack of sufficient men, Muto stated. In the springtime, he expects to plant perennials and annual flowers abundantly throughout the pond area labeling each variety of flower with botanical and common name as an educational feature. As a showplace of the center, the big pond is expected to attract center residents to spend pleasant hours viewing the greenery there.
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* November 28, 1942

The pond was not universally appreciated at first; the January 28, 1943, Block 33 Manager's Report complained that:

> The rain water which has been piling up in the park pond in the firebreak between Blocks #33 and #34 should not be drained down the street. The reason for the muddy street is because of this draining. Someone has been constantly draining water in the night. The pond, with or without water is a hazard and should be fenced off.

Figure 2.66. Upper pond and arched bridge at Merritt Park (Hisa Hayshida Matsudaira Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.67. Merritt Park (Stan Yogi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Such problems likely abated once construction was completed.

The garden was the backdrop for hundreds of photographs and home movies, including two well-known Ansel Adams photographs. The photographs reflect Merritt Park's importance: internees and camp staff alike came here to enjoy solitude as well as companionship. Mas Okui, 11 years old at the time, recalls going to Merritt Park with his friends to watch young couples on dates make out (personal communication 2007). In the book *Farewell to Manzanar*, Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston remembered Merritt Park as a place of solace within the camp confines. She wrote, "You could face away from the barracks, look past a tiny rapids toward the darkening mountains, and for a while not be a prisoner at all. You could hang suspended in some odd, almost lovely land you could not escape from yet almost didn't want to leave" (Houston and Houston 1973:85).

True to the description in the *Manzanar Free Press*, Merritt Park had two connected ponds (Figures 2.66-2.68), with an island in the upper, larger pond. A waterfall fell into the upper pond from a symbolic mountain constructed of rocks. An immense boulder said to resemble a turtle was placed at the top of

Figure 2.68. Lower pond at Merritt Park (Kiyoko Tanka Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.69. Waterfall at Merritt Park (Mary Ichino Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.70. "Hill" and waterfall at Merritt Park (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

the waterfall; the water flowed over the back of the turtle and the turtle's head divided the stream into two flows (Figures 2.69 and 2.70). Another turtle rock "swims" in the pond below the waterfall (Figure 2.71). One bridge to the island was composed of two large boulders (Figure 2.72), and there was a wide cascade flowing over rocks into the lower pond (Figures 2.73 and 2.74).

Kuichiro Nishi created one of the most iconic features of the garden, a rustic bridge constructed of natural tree branches and limbs. The bridge appears in many of the historical photographs, including one by Ansel Adams (see Figure 2.62; Figures 2.75-2.77). A small open-sided pavilion or gazebo at the edge of the lower pond was also formed of natural rustic materials (Figure 2.78-2.83). Although called a "tea house" in the *Manzanar Free Press,* there are no written or oral records of tea ceremonies being performed at Merritt Park. Rather, the tea house was an attractive feature at Manzanar and appreciated for its aesthetic value. Today, similar structures are called viewing arbors. Within the tea house was a short section of a large-diameter log, set vertically on top of smaller log posts and used as a table.

Other features included a second rustic bridge with a sign in Japanese reading "Manzanar Bridge" (Figures 2.84-2.86), boulders (Figure 2.87), stepping stones on the island (Figure 2.88), boulder- and *rangui*-lined pond edges, fences along pathways, wood benches, and decorative stumps. Plants that can be identified in historic photographs include locust trees, pine trees, elm trees, willows, tamarisk, vines, and a wide variety of flowers, including roses, irises, and petunias. Horsetails grew in the ponds, and grass grew on the island and in lawns surrounding the ponds.

The ponds were stocked with fish:

> **PARENTS GIVEN WARNING**
> "Parents of young children are asked to keep their children from fishing at Merritt Park because this is forbidden," Kuichiro Nishi, caretaker of the park announced, according to Block 34 Manager Robert Munemori. The announcement stated that "there are hardly any fish left in the pond due to this reason."
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* July 11, 1945

With the addition of the Japanese garden, the Rose Garden was renamed Pleasure Park and later Merritt Park in honor of the camp director. Two large vertically set stones were installed as memorial steles at the southwest and southeast corners of the park. The southwest one was painted with Japanese characters that, when pronounced out loud, form a close ap-

Figure 2.71. Turtle rock in upper pond at Merritt Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

proximation to "Merritt Park" (Figures 2.89 and 2.90). A close examination of the Ansel Adams photograph in Figure 2.62 shows a portion of the back of the stele with Japanese characters reading "Constructed by …," but the builders' names are obscured (Figure 2.91). The southeast stele has in Japanese, "memorial stone" and "October 1943" (Figure 2.92). Both steles also have, in English, "Pleasure Park" and "1943," however in later photographs "Pleasure Park" is gone from the "Merritt Park" stele. The writing was done by Keiji Arataka, an Issei born in 1887, who was a former nurseryman and long-time friend of Kuichiro Nishi (Manzanar Relocation Center 1943).

Nishi also designed a memorial stone with Japanese characters dedicating the park "to the memory of

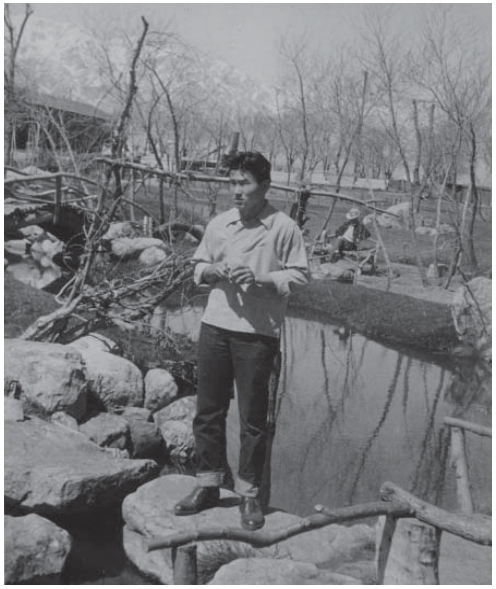


Figure 2.72. Rock bridge at Merritt Park (Kiyoko Tanka Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.73. Lower pond and cascade at Merritt Park (Mary Ichino Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.74. Cascade between ponds at Merritt Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.75. Arched bridge at Merritt Park (Mary Ichino Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.76. Arched bridge at Merritt Park (Stan Yogi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.77. Kuichiro Nishi at his iconic bridge (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.78. Merritt Park tea house (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.81. Merritt Park tea house (Ansel Adams, Library of Congress).

Figure 2.79. Log table at the Merritt Park tea house (Manzanar Committee Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.80. Merritt Park tea house in winter (WRA photograph, UCLA Special Collections).

Figure 2.82. Merritt Park tea house (Rose Maruki Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.83. Tea house and stele at Merritt Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.84. Bridge across lower pond at Merritt Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.85. Bridge across lower pond at Merritt Park (Francis C. Dieterich film, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 2.86. "Manzanar Bridge" at Merritt Park (Thea Arai Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.87. Boulders and vegetation at Merritt Park (Manzanar Committee Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.88. Stepping stones on island in upper pond at Merritt Park (Japanese American National Museum).

Figure 2.89. Tea house and southwest stele with "Pleasure Park" ascription at Merritt Park (Japanese American National Museum).

Figure 2.90. Southwest stele without "Pleasure Park" ascription at Merritt Park (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.91. Back side of southwest stele at Merritt Park with Japanese characters translated as "Made by …" (Ansel Adams, Library of Congress).

Figure 2.92. Southeast stele at Merritt Park (Francis C. Dieterich film, Eastern California Museum).

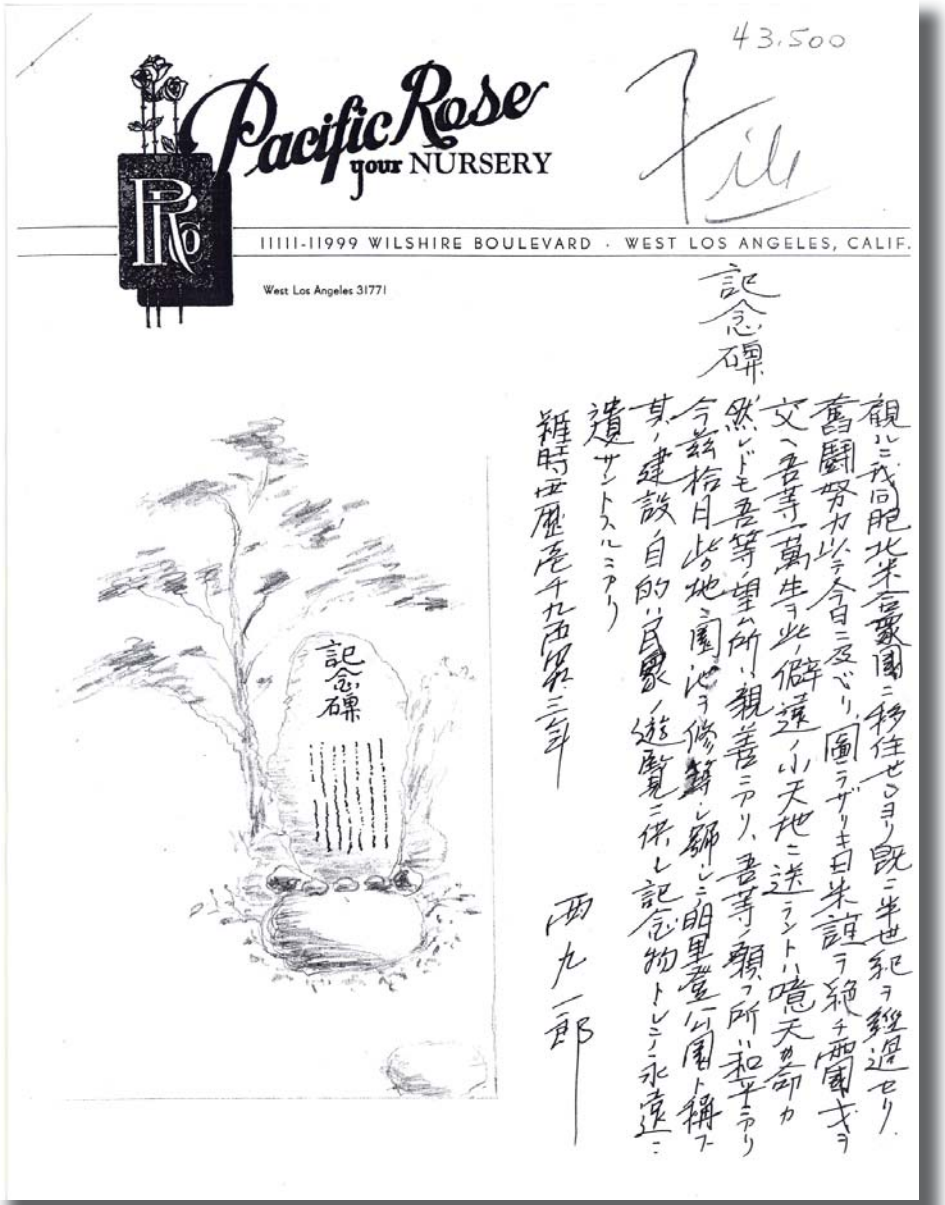


Figure 2.93. Nishi's Merritt Park dedication (National Archives).

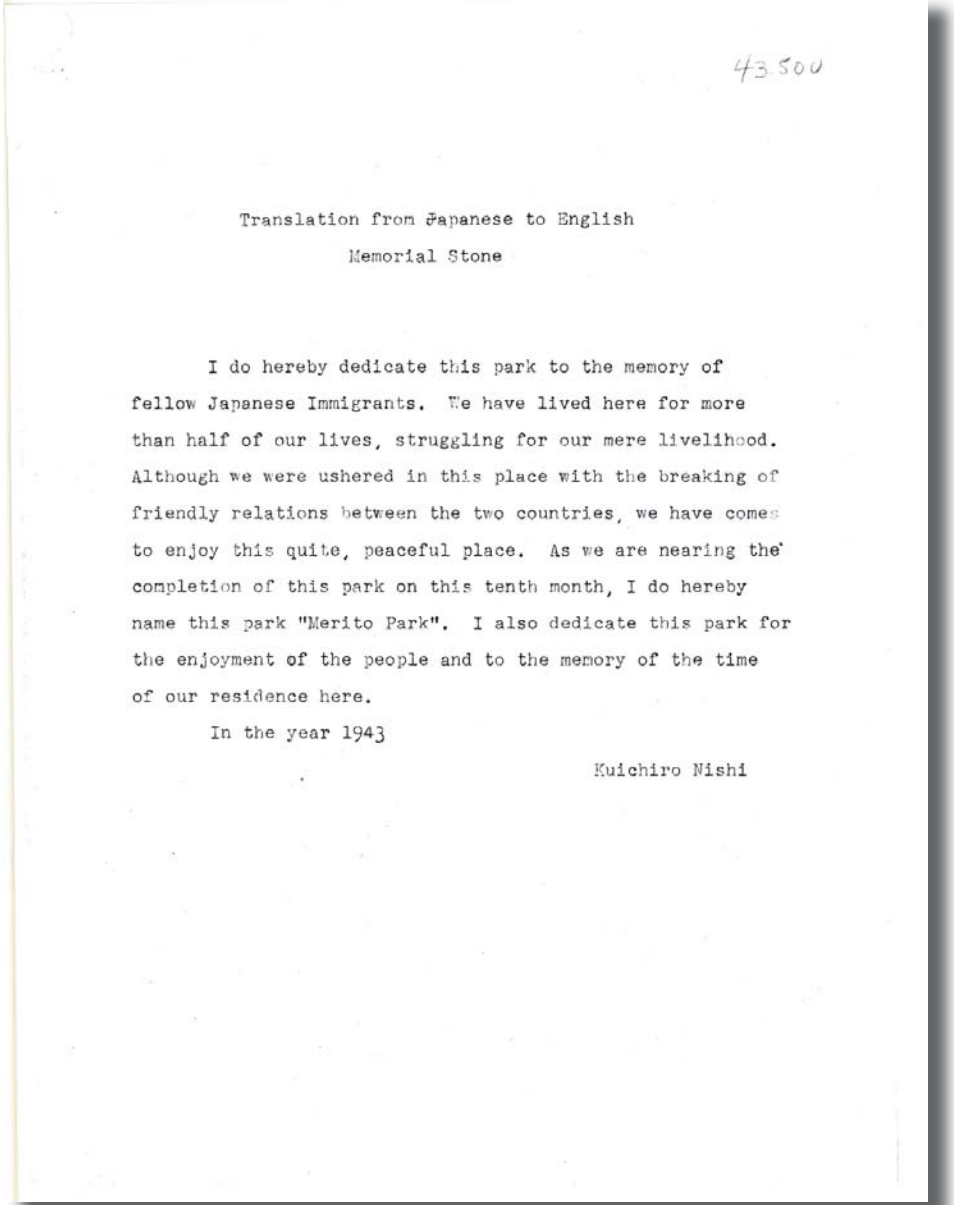


Figure 2.94. Translation of Nishi's Merritt Park dedication (National Archives).

Figure 2.95. Dedication sign inside the Merritt Park tea house (Madelon Arai Yamamoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.96. Southeast stele and dedication sign at Merritt Park, Kuichiro Nishi at far left (courtesy of Edith Nishi Yamamoto).

fellow Japanese Immigrants" who, although ushered to "this place with the breaking of friendly relations between the two countries … have come to enjoy this quiet, peaceful place" and "for the enjoyment of the people and to the memory of the time of our residence here." A drawing on Nishi's nursery stationery indicates he had proposed putting the inscription on one of the two steles at Merritt Park (Figures 2.93 and 2.94). However, Director Merritt questioned the use of a long Japanese inscription on such a prominent stone, believing that it would "not make for friendly understanding" with the people of the Owens Valley, upon whom "we must depend to maintain the park in later years" (Unrau 1996:278).

Although the inscription was not used on a stele, it was apparently inscribed on a small wood sign located inside the teahouse (Figure 2.95). The sign has 12 vertical lines of Japanese characters. Unfortunately the photographs are not of sufficient resolution to read the characters. One photograph shows the same sign moved to the "Memorial Stone" stele for a group photograph that includes Nishi (Figure 2.96). Two native Japanese speakers both independently (and without prior knowledge of Nishi) identified the last three characters in the last column (read right to left) as Kuichiro Nishi's name. Therefore, it seems this sign is how Nishi included his dedication, rather than inscribed on a stone (cf. Goto 2015; Tamura 2004).

In the northwest part of the park was a "Dutch oven," depicted on the Manzanar 1945 "Other Improvements" map and partially visible in the background of historic photographs (Figure 2.97). Most of the feature is obscured but it appears to have had a chimney like an oven at North Park.

Figure 2.97. "Dutch oven" at Merritt Park (Thea Arai Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.98. "Wada and Crew" inscription at the administration circle.

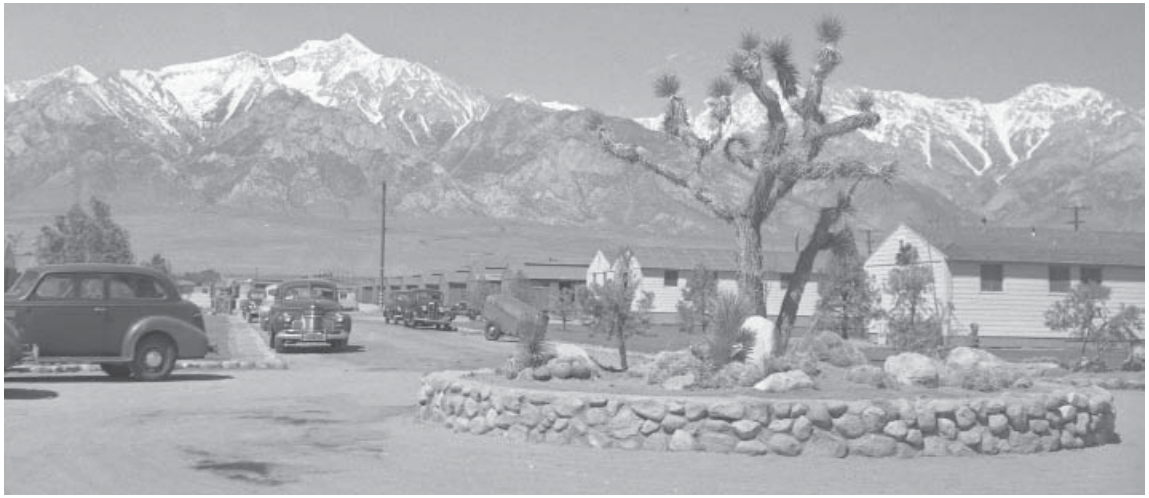


Figure 2.99. Joshua trees and cactus at the administration circle (Katsumi Taniguchi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Other Gardens and Landscape Features

Other landscape features at Manzanar include gardens and other landscaping at the administration area, camp entrance, military police compound, Children's Village orphanage, judo *dojo*, plant nursery lath house, Victory gardens, picnic areas, and cemetery. Nearly every building of importance had landscaping added, with the notable exception of the churches.

Administration Area and Entrance

The main entrance to the relocation center, located near the southeast corner of the fenced part of the camp, included a divided road with rock-outlined parking spots, an entrance sign and garden, two sentry posts, a processing building, and the internal police station. The administration office block, located south of the entrance road, contained an administration building, a town hall, a post office, a mess hall, and five staff apartment buildings. To the south in the staff housing area there were 14 more apartment buildings, three dormitories, and a laundry building. The administration office block is the same size and dimension as all of the other blocks at Manzanar, and was built on a grid following the standard military layout. On the ground, the most notable difference between staff apartments and internee barracks was probably the nicer construction and lack of communal latrines in the staff housing area, since the apartments each had indoor plumbing.

There were several main construction episodes in the administration and staff area. After initial construction in 1942, all construction was done by internees (Williams 2014:53). The first landscaping project in the administration area was the construction of a raised rock and concrete planter in the center of a circular road (Figures 2.98 and 2.99). An inscription in the concrete top of the wall reads: "BUILT BY WADA AND CREW JUNE 10, 1942 A.D." (Burton 1996a:660; Houston and Houston 1973:167). Subsequent efforts to add to the planter were described in several documents:

PLANT JOSHUA TREE IN GARDEN
Outstanding attraction of the rock garden now being constructed under direction of B. Wada [Bunyemon Wada], landscape gardener, is the huge 3/4-ton Joshua tree. The garden is located by the new administration building.... The Joshua tree was hauled to the center from Death Valley, 65 miles away. Many varieties of cactus plants are also being planted in this unique garden.

Manzanar Free Press June 27, 1942

JOSHUA TREES, CACTI, ROCKS, LAWNS TO LANDSCAPE ADMINISTRATION CIRCLE
Directed by foreman B. Wada, a crew of men from the Construction Department is now speeding completion of landscape work in the Administration Circle. "Although we would like to have shrubbery and trees brought here from Los Angeles, we are making out the best we can with native plants and cacti taken from surrounding hills," Wada said. A giant Joshua tree, planted on an upraised, rock walled circle, is the center of attraction. Numerous cactus plants border the road which is yet to be surfaced. Administration buildings are surrounded by green lawns which have already been seeded.

Documentary Report No. 16, July 1, 1942

... a cactus garden adorns the circle near headquarters.

Manzanar Free Press July 27, 1942

This project was not without controversy; on June 26, 1942, an editorial in the *Inyo Independent*, the weekly newspaper of the closest town in Owens valley, suggested that the project was unpatriotic and a sign that Manzanar's prisoners were treated too well:

> And why is it, [Project Director] Mr. Nash, that a truck laden with Japanese, can go almost a hundred miles round trip from Manzanar to near Darwin to secure a Joshua tree for use in adorning a rock garden being built at Manzanar. And here we are joining with the nation in a scrap rubber drive to secure rubber to keep the needed wheels of our nation moving. Maybe it's more worthwhile to get Joshua trees by driving many miles on valuable rubber than it is to conserve rubber.

What might be interpreted today as a petty comment reflects difficulties that civilians experienced on the "home front" – tires were the first items to be rationed during World War II, because Japan's conquests of Malaya and the Dutch East Indies in early 1942 had eliminated over 90 percent of America's usual rubber supply. Civilians were allowed to keep five tires per automobile, and were required to surrender any others. At the time of the *Independent's* editorial, the nation was in the middle of a rubber drive, in which used rubber was collected (Ames Historical Society n.d.; Cohen 1991:100-106; Sundin 2011). However, it seems likely that Manzanar's project director could have easily responded to such criticism, if he had been inclined, since the internees had been forced to give up hundreds of their own private automobiles and trucks when they were sent to Manzanar; those who drove their own vehicles to the camp had them confiscated by the government.

The administration circle was a favorite backdrop for photographs, for both staff and internees (Figures 2.100-2.103). The circle garden included Joshua trees, several varieties of cactus, and, as shown in a couple of photographs, a few small pine trees. In the background of some of the photographs, there appears to be a dry landscape Japanese garden, or at least the closest thing to a Japanese dry landscape that we have evidence for at Manzanar. With large boulders, cactus, and gravel, it was located around the outside perimeter of the circle road.

For the most part all of the landscaping in the administration area was built, planted, and maintained by

Figure 2.100. Administration circle (Rose Maruki Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.101. Administration circle (Yoshiko Hosoi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.102. Administration circle (Merritt Collection, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 2.103. Administration circle (Olive Atwood Collection, Manzanar NHS).

internees, and the administration area appears to have taken priority over the internees' residential blocks: the Block 12 Manager's Report for August 18, 1942, laments: "No lawns planted yet, gardeners seem to be very busy at the new administration building." The Plant Propagation Monthly Report for July 31, 1942, indicates that over half of their stock "15 flats of annuals [1500 plants] were used by Mr. Wada in landscaping the Administration Building."

However the administrative area landscaping was in a vastly different style from what internees constructed in their own residential area. There were expansive grass lawns and rock-lined and unlined gravel pathways (Figures 2.104-2.106). Other than at the administration circle, all of the rock alignments are straight lines and those along roads are painted white. There are some fenced yards, several small lath-shaded patios, and abundant trees, flowers, and other vegetation. Because of its many green lawns and white-painted rocks, some internees referred to this area as "Beverly Hills" (Williams 2014:55).

Although the administration area landscaping was predominantly "Caucasian" or military in style, there was an early plan for a Japanese-style garden there. The May 9, 1942, edition of the *Manzanar Free Press* contained the entry:

> **Rock Garden**
> A noted Southern California landscape architect is busy drawing designs for an original rock garden to be built in the administrative block as soon as plans receive final release by officials here.
>
> Kado, whose exhibits have received numerous prizes at the L.A. County Fair at Pomona, has drawn considerable interest from the officials because he plans to use native rocks and plants in this garden.

The Manzanar Relocation Center June 24, 1942, Documentary Report No. 12 reported:

> **WATER-FALL AND POND TO BEAUTIFY ADMINISTRATION GROUNDS**
> Now under construction and due to be completed within a month is a rock-studded waterfall and pond extending 100 feet in front of the newly-built Administration building. Digging is now being finished by a crew of four young men from the Planning Department. Supervising the project is Ryozo Kado, professional rock garden artist, formerly of Santa Monica where he operated the Kado cactus and rock gardens. The pond has been Mr. Kado's pet ambition since his arrival here. Plans and specifications are his own. He has been a consistent winner of landscape arrangement prizes in the Los Angeles County Fair exhibits.

However, the construction of Kado's garden at the administration building was interrupted:

> **WATERFALL ROCK GARDEN TO BE RELOCATED**
> Plans for completion of the waterfall and rock garden in front of the Administration building were rudely upset in a sudden change of the Engineers' plans to construct a new wing of the building directly over the proposed site. The excavated area was refilled and carefully placed rocks removed last week-end. Rock garden specialist Ryozo Kado indicated that he would "start all over" at an approved site in the new hospital area.
>
> Documentary Report No.16, July 1, 1942

Eventually, however, Kado was able to build two small structures and a few landscape elements with Japanese influence in the Administration area. He led the construction of the military police sentry post and internal police post at the entrance, both with Japanese stylistic elements (Figure 2.107 and 2.108). The military police post includes two decorative faux-wood stumps and two rock-and-concrete wall stubs that form a gateway. Started in the summer of 1942 (Quar-

terly Progress Report, Manzanar Relocation Center July 1 to September 30, 1942), a photograph dated December 7, 1942, shows one of the sentry posts still without a roof. The next summer, Kado created a new entrance sign for Manzanar that incorporated a rock garden (Figures 2.109 and 2.110):

> **Manzanar Receives New Entrance Sign**
> Manzanar now has its sign at the entrance to its "city"! Erected yesterday by R.F. Kado, well-known rock garden specialist and his crew, "Manzanar War Relocation Center" is written on the beautiful 3½ x 6 foot sign with an antiqued background.
>
> The sign is supported by two 12 x 12 inch posts. These ten foot high posts stand in the middle of a little rock and cacti garden constructed by Mr. Kado and his crew.
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* August 4, 1943

Not all of the administration area buildings followed the standard Manzanar grid pattern. In January 1943 additional staff housing was added to the south of the administration block, and most of the new buildings in this phase of construction were set at an angle to the established grid. Designed by the Farm Security Administration (FSA), it included a new larger director's residence. Buildings set at an angle were a typical FSA design feature at the time (Figure 2.111). The FSA design included landscaping by Garrett Eckbo, who would later become a famous American landscape architect notable for his seminal 1950 book *Landscape for Living*. While working for the Farm Security Administration, Eckbo applied his modernist ideas to migrant agricultural worker camps in California, Arizona, and Texas, attempting to improve the workers' living environments.

Eckbo made at least one visit to Manzanar, but it is not clear how much input he had into the final design of the added buildings and landscaping. Of the twelve structures built, only six are where they are shown in Eckbo's plans (Figures 2.112-2.114). According to Professor Marc Treib of the University of California, Berkeley (personal communication 2012), Eckbo was not at all happy to discuss his work at Manzanar, as he was against the entire project. Treib went on to say that "certainly the planning of the camp would not be attributed to him and I do not know how much, if any, of the landscape was his rather than indigenous to the people interned there." Eckbo had also developed a recreation plan for the internee residential area and for then-proposed elementary and high schools that included landscaping (Figure 2.115). However, his plans were never realized; instead, the already-built standard barracks were adapted for use as classrooms. Eckbo's plan for the internee residential area called for curving rows of trees superimposed over the rigid camp grid, but again, there is no evidence this design element was used.

In March 1944 six more staff apartment buildings were constructed in the administration area, but these were laid out on the original camp grid. The buildings were placed in two closely spaced rows to form a courtyard-like common yard between them. Towards the interior there were parallel and connecting pathways, and around the exterior there was automobile parking.

Figure 2.104. Administration building (National Archives).

Figure 2.105. Wisteria at the administration building (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.106. Grass lawn in the staff housing area (Martha Shoaf Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.107. Internal police post (left) and military police post at the camp entrance (Mary Ichino Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.108. Ryozo Kado at the internal police post he built (Ron Izuno Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.109. Entrance sign with rock and cactus garden (Ansel Adams, Library of Congress).

Figure 2.110. Entrance sign with light fixture (Mary Ichino Collection, Manzanar NHS).

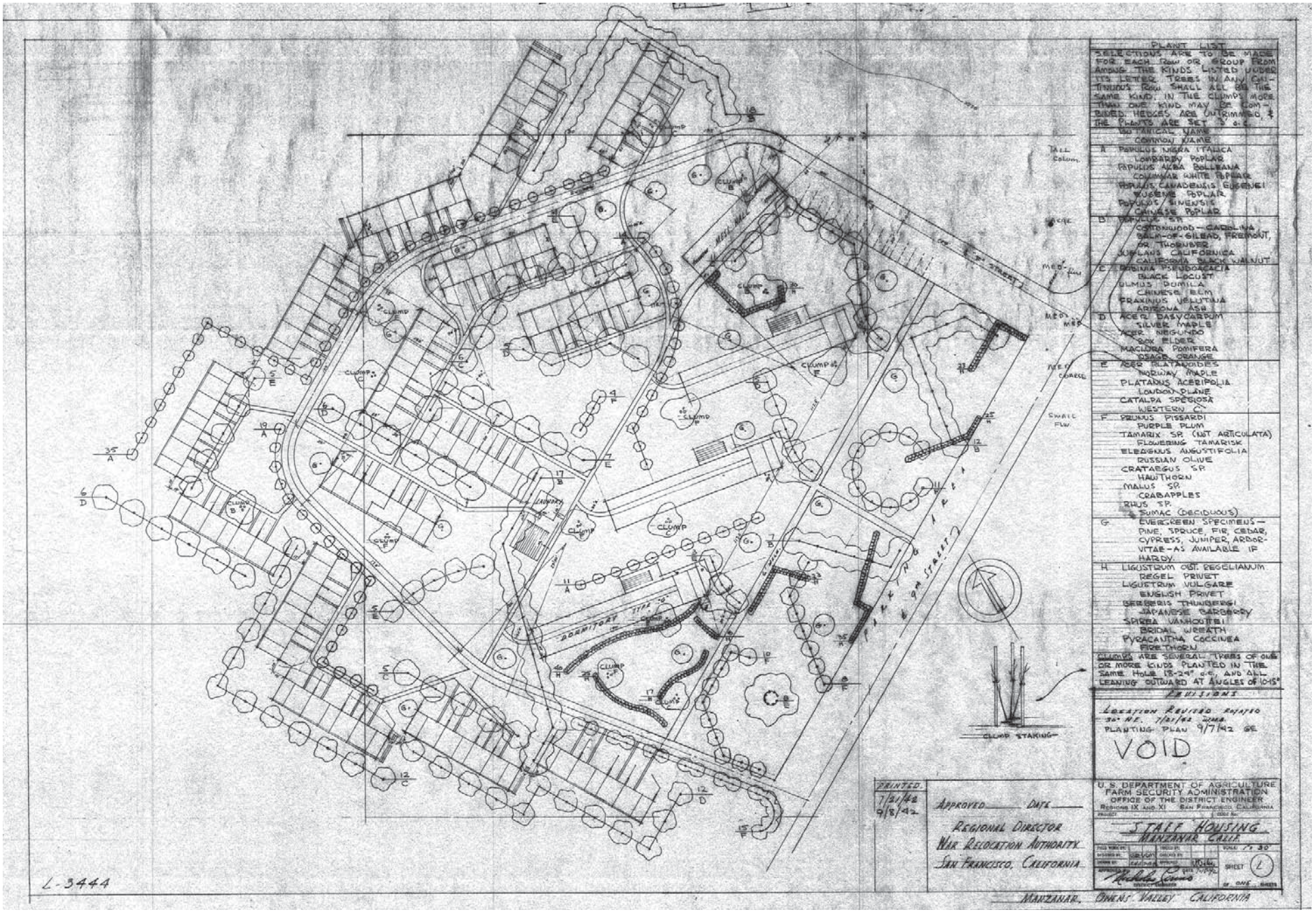


Figure 2.111. Staff housing plan and plant list, Farm Security Administration, September 8, 1942 (Garrett Eckbo Collection, Environmental Design Archives, UC Berkeley).

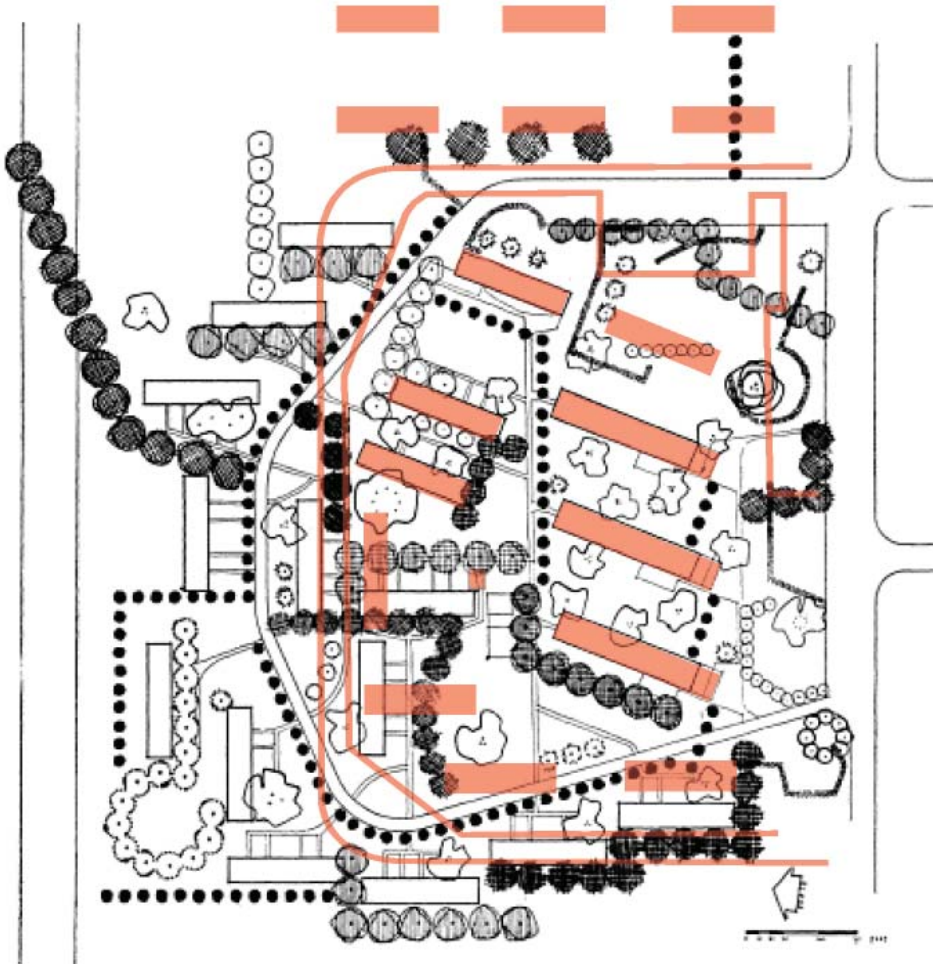


Figure 2.112. Staff housing "as-built" (in orange) superimposed on Farm Security Administration housing plan.

Figure 2.113. Staff housing (Ron Izuno Collection, Manzanar NHS).

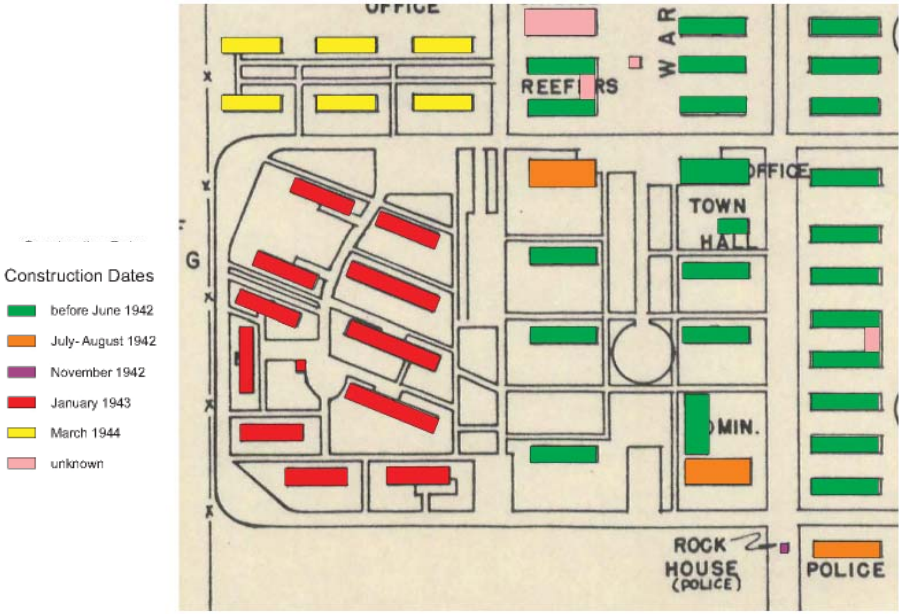


Figure 2.114. Building construction dates for the administration and staff housing areas.

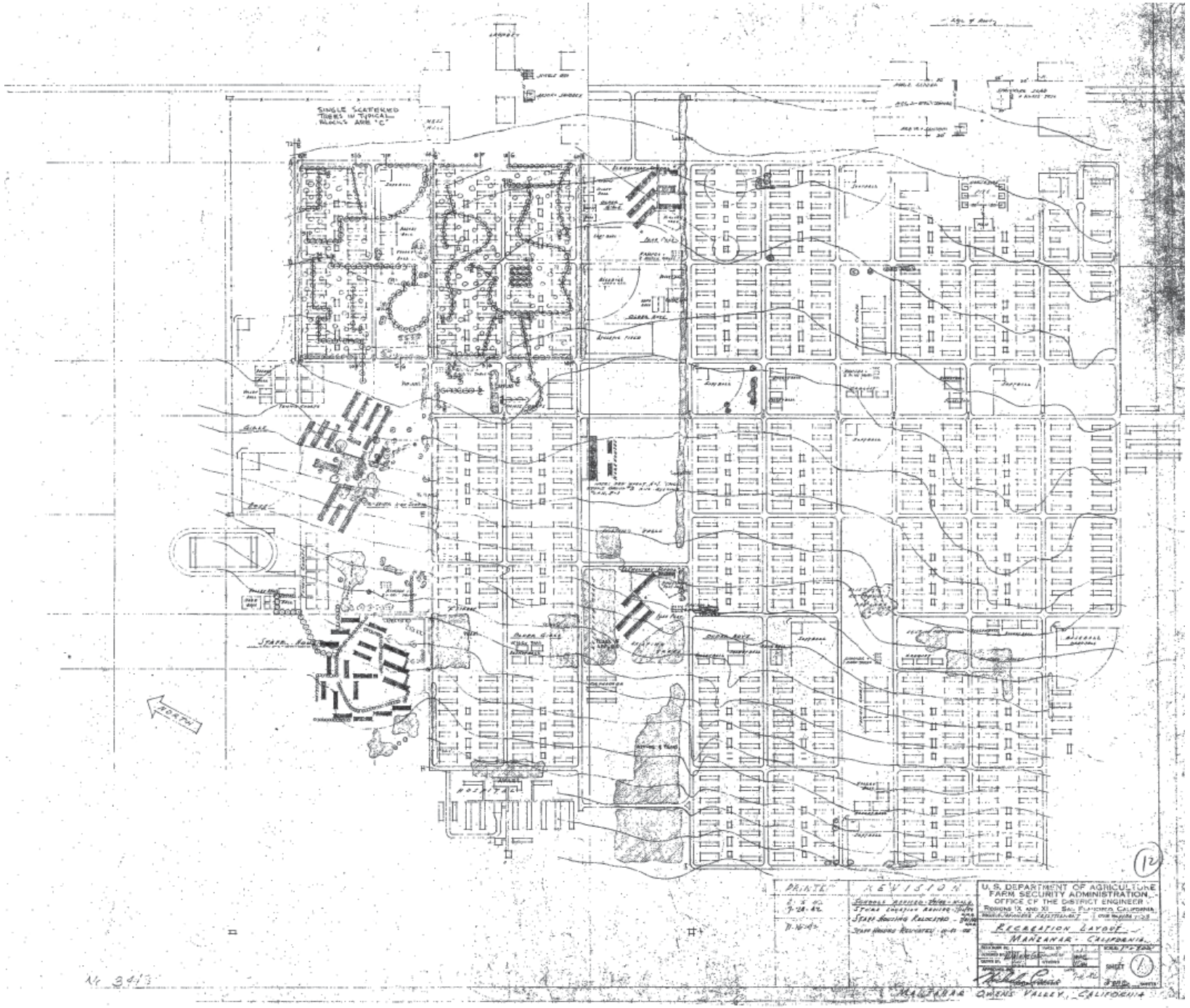


Figure 2.115. Recreation layout, Farm Security Administration, July 10, 1942 (Garrett Eckbo Collection, Environmental Design Archives, UC Berkeley).

Figure 2.116. Rock alignments in the military police compound (Dave Cruse Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.117. Military police with grass lawn in the background (Russell Demo Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.118. Military police soldier with a small patch of grass lawn in background (Russell Demo Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Military Police Compound

The *Manzanar Sentry*, the newspaper for Manzanar's military police that was issued twice monthly, reported on June 16, 1942, that the recently completed military police barracks would be landscaped:

> Trees are being planted and landscaping of the camp proper is being carried out. The entire premises have been graded and leveled and an athletic field laid out. Landmark of the camp is the huge white flagpole. White-washed rocks help decorate the premises, but it is planned to plant shrubs in the shape of a huge star to encircle the flagpole and add to the general attractiveness.

Historic photographs show little of the landscaping at the military police compound (Figures 2.116-2.118). In one a line of boulders can be seen. WRA blueprints indicate that the compound also had a rock sentry post at its entrance. Now gone, it was likely made by Kado.

Auditorium

Used by the high school and for community events, the 12,500-square-foot wood-frame auditorium was located in the firebreak between Block 7 (high school and staff housing) and Block 13. Designed by the Farm Security Administration, construction of the building was begun by internee crews in January 1944. The auditorium was first used in June 1944, but all work was not completed until September 25, 1944. For a detailed history and description of the auditorium see Carper et al. (1999).

At the main entrance on the west side of the auditorium there was a concrete walkway, a flagpole, and two planters within raised concrete curbs. Historic photographs show a changing variety of vegetation in the planters, along the edge of the walkway, and around the building (Figures 2.119 and 2.120). Photographs taken soon after the relocation center closed show a low hedge along the outside edge of the walkway and a small pine tree on each side of the walkway near the building (Figure 2.121).

Figure 2.119. Auditorium with small deciduous trees (Mary Ichino Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.120. Petunias at the auditorium (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

Cemetery

The first person buried at the Manzanar cemetery was Matsunosuke Murakami, a 62-year-old Issei who died May 16, 1942. It was not until a year later that plans to erect a monument at the cemetery were proposed:

> ... At a recent Block Managers' Assembly at Town Hall, two representatives from the Buddhist church were present to reveal plans for the building of a memorial marker for the cemetery in memory of those who have died in Manzanar. The cooperation of all the residents of Manzanar in the undertaking was asked for. Help in getting rocks for this memorial is being planned.
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* May 19, 1943

Ryozo Kado was recruited to supervise the work and each family contributed $0.15 to purchase cement for the memorial (Manzanar Committee 1998:28). Work began in late July:

Construction On Monument Begins

Center of the Manzanar Cemetery has been chosen as the site for the construction of the cemetery monument ... Consenting to Town Hall's request R.F. Kado, manager of the masonry department, will begin construction on the monument. He has had years of experiences on masonry work and has shown his ability on the hospital garden and the guard-house entrance.

Manzanar Free Press July 24, 1943

Monument

Speaking before the block Manager's Assembly on July 23rd, Eizo Masuyama, Block 25 manager, announced that some 50 Young Buddhist Association boys have volunteered to help construct the memorial monument supervised by R.F. Kado. These boys will assist in bringing rocks, sand and other materials for the construction of the monument which will weigh about 100 tons when completed.

Manzanar Free Press July 31, 1943

Figure 2.121. Small pine trees and hedge at auditorium entrance (Merritt Collection, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 2.122. Concrete monument and wood plaque at cemetery (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.123. Cemetery monument (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

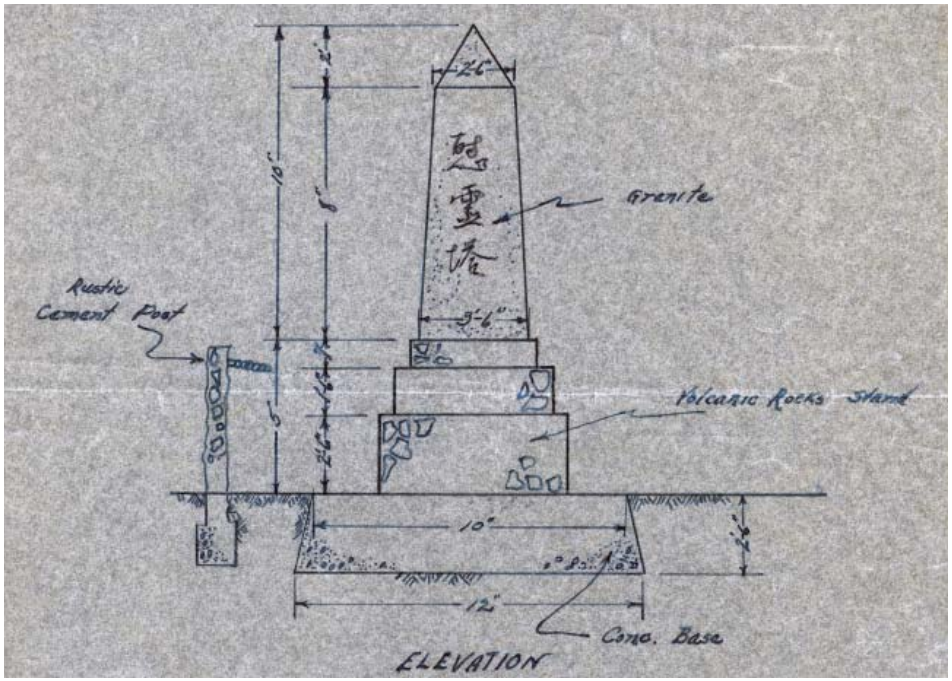


Figure 2.124. Cemetery monument plan (Nagatomi-Okabe Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.125. Monument drawing showing exposed rockwork not present in final design (Ansel Adams, Library of Congress).

Figure 2.126. Fenced grave (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

The monument was dedicated in mid-August 1943 (*Manzanar Free Press* August 18, 1943; Unrau 1996:279). Its final cost was about $1,000 (Wentner and Fox 1945).

The monument is a large concrete obelisk on a stepped base, fronted by a concrete slab and surrounded by nine faux-wood concrete stumps (Figures 2.122-2.125). The monument was painted white, with Japanese characters incised and painted black on the east and west sides. The three characters on the front (east side) of the cemetery monument translate as "soul consoling tower" (*I REI TO*). The back side reads "Erected by the Manzanar Japanese August 1943." The inscriptions were written by Manzanar's Buddhist minister Shinjo Nagatomi.

In addition to the monument, historic photographs show a wood plaque with Japanese characters, a low fence around one of the graves, a rustic fence made of locust poles around the cemetery, a few scattered fruit trees, and a row of locust trees along the west edge (Figure 2.126). The trees were remnants of the abandoned town. The graves have stone markers, wood posts with Japanese characters, or, in the case of one grave, a concrete marker. For more information on the cemetery, see Burton et al. (2001).

Chicken Ranch

Built by the internees in 1943, the chicken ranch is located just outside the southwest corner of the security fence (Figure 2.127). Even though it was a working farm, the 1944 aerial photograph shows that it did include landscaping elements. Lawns or other vegetation are visible around the office/processing building and other areas. A large circle located southwest of the office appears to have vegetation growing within it. At this time, there are no known historic accounts or historic photographs of landscape features at the chicken ranch.

Figure 2.127. Chicken Farm (Manzanar Committee Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.128. Orphans and staff at Children's Village (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

Children's Village

The Children's Village orphanage was located among remnant pear and apple orchards in the firebreak south of Block 29. The facility consisted of three 25-by-120-foot internee-built buildings (Figures 2.128-2.130). One building housed boys and a laundry, one housed girls and a nursery, and one had a caretaker's apartment, social hall, kitchen, and dining room. Sixty-one children from orphanages and foster homes were brought by bus to Manzanar in June 1942; 101 children would eventually pass through Children's Village before it closed in September 1945. The *Manzanar Free Press* July 7, 1942, reported on planned improvements:

> **LANDSCAPING PLANNED**
> Landscaping of grounds around Children's Village is now being planned. Volunteer veteran gardeners will

Figure 2.129. Street side of Children's Village (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.130. Back side of the easternmost building at Children's village (Lillian Matsumoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.131. Vegetation at Children's Village (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.132. Gardeners who built the gazebo and fences and maintained the lawns and flowers at Children's Village (Lillian Matsumoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

> help the older boys of the Village in making the garden. Persons possessing long hoses are requested to loan them to the workers.

The Plant Propagation Monthly Report for July 31, 1942, states that "10 flats of annuals [1000 plants] were used by the gardener of Children's Village."

Historic photographs and color movies show rustic wood fences, gates, and arbors; pathways, some rock-lined and some with small boulders at the corners of crossing pathways; a rustic wood ramada; playground equipment; and trees, shrubs, flowers, and a large grass lawn (Figures 2.131-2.133). For an appendix to the Manzanar Relocation Center Final Report, Margret D'Ille of the Community Welfare Division wrote about the landscaping at the Children's Village:

> In July 1942, the superintendent wrote, "This morning the gardeners have put in seeds for the lawns between the buildings, which will lessen the uncomfortable effect of the dust." Trees, shrubs, and flowers were set out to beautify broad lawns between the buildings and to the rear. A baseball diamond extended west of the buildings to the street, and at the east end of the lawns was built a court for basketball and volleyball. Around the entire grounds was constructed a rustic fence of tree limbs, brought in from the desert. Flowering vines were planted to grow over this low fence. The 21,000 square feet of lawn became a beauty spot of the Center, and one of the most restful to the desert-weary eye. Later a 10-foot square arbor on the back lawn, built to match the rustic fence, made a pleasant retreat for small children and their attendants.
>
> D'Ille 1945:186-187

The reported size of the lawn varies, perhaps indicating the lawn was expanded over time, or that some areas planted with seed were not initially successful. In August of 1942, the *Manzanar Free Press* reported

Figure 2.133. Lawn at Children's Village (Lillian Matsumoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.134. Judo *dojo* (Roy Murakami Collection, Manzanar NHS).

that the Children's Village lawn was the largest at Manzanar, at 10,600 square feet (August 12, 1942). But in "Memories of Manzanar: The Story of the Children's Village" (n.d.), Lillian Matsumoto, who ran the orphanage, remembered the ground around the orphanage as bare until 1943:

> Around the buildings the ground was bare. We thought having a lawn would provide a cooler place for the children to play. In the spring of the second year (1943) we put out a call for gardener help. Several men from the internee population came. We asked them to put in a lawn between the buildings and in the south end where we had a large open space available to us. Not knowing anything about gardening, I wasn't able to communicate our needs much beyond that. One of the gardeners was an experienced landscapist and led the group to a more adventurous view of our lawn project. They just seemed to know what to do and their results were far beyond the simple grass covered ground we had envisioned. The gardeners got permission to go out beyond the camp limits to collect tree trunks and branches. These were used to construct a fence that completely bordered our lawn. Trees and shrubbery were also brought back and replanted in the grassy area and along the fence. They put together a gazebo that was a lacework of tree trunks and large branches. It sat opposite the middle building just inside the fence on the far side of the lawn area. It was thanks to these wonderfully imaginative gardeners that we had a park-like setting, unique to the entire camp, where we could take the infants and children for afternoon play and where staff could find relaxation while watching over them. Our grounds were now a cool place, somewhat free of the desert dust.

Judo *Dojo*

The judo *dojo* (Figure 2.134), built by internees, was sited within a group of large cottonwood trees that remained from the Ed Shepherd House, which had been built at the turn of the century and removed by the City of Los Angeles in 1934 (Burton 1996a:421). The *dojo* and attached storage and dressing room differed from the rest of the camp in that they were angled to true north to match the existing foundations. Large trees, rock-edged concrete walkways, rock alignments, and small lawn areas can be seen in historic photographs (Figures 2.135 and 2.136).

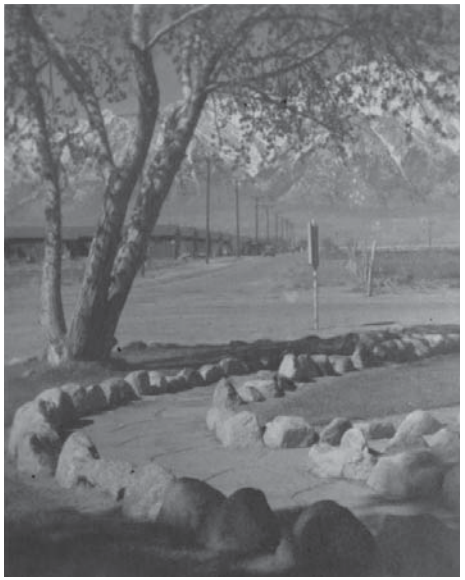


Figure 2.135. Pathway at the Judo *dojo* (Yuri Matsunaga Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.136. Rock border and lawn at the judo *dojo* (Roy Murakami Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.137. Lath house (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

Figure 2.138. Lath house (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

Figure 2.139. Reservoir (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.140. Stacked rocks at Reservoir inlet (Jack Iwata Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Plant Nursery Lath House

Historic photographs show ornamental landscaping along the front of the guayule lath house, facing 1st Street. A rustic fence made of tree trunks and large limbs paralleled 1st Street. In this narrow space, transplanted trees and sculptural tree trunks formed a distinctive garden space. A walkway to the lath house was flanked by railings made of tree limbs and a low lattice-work fence (Figures 2.137 and 2.138).

Reservoir

One of the reasons Manzanar was selected as the site of an internment camp was the availability of water: Shepherd Creek, just north of the site, flows year-round, fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra Nevada. At first the internment camp used the water system that had been developed in 1910 for the town of Manzanar; water was supplied to the relocation center via a pipeline connected to the old town dam. It was soon discovered that a water system adequate for a small farming community was not enough for a dense concentration of people, and more storage capacity was needed.

Designed to provide water for up to 10,000 internees, the reservoir bears witness to the vast scale of the Manzanar Relocation Center. The 800,000-gallon concrete reservoir was built in 1942 by Los Angeles contractors Vinson and Pringle about one-half mile northwest of the Historic Site (Figure 2.139). Water was transported to the reservoir from Shepherd Creek by means of an unlined ditch. Blueprints depict a settling basin, sand trap, chlorine house, and store house at the reservoir. In the winter of 1943, water consumption was 953,745 gallons in a single month, which averages 112 gallons per person for the month, or less than 4 gallons per person per day. Consumption in July 1944 was 1,849,587 gallons or 212 gallons per person per month, the increase likely due to the watering of gardens and lawns. For comparison, in 2010 the average Inyo County resident used over 300 gallons of water in a single day.

In February and March 1943 an internee work crew added a low rock-and-concrete wall to the reservoir and settling basin to raise the water level to a capacity of 900,000 gallons. Later, in November, internees constructed a concrete ditch and other improvements. As part of their work the internees added decorative flourishes such as standing and stacked rocks at wall corners (Figure 2.140). In one historical photograph, faint markings visible on a vertical rock could be painted Japanese characters. Also visible in historic photographs is a stack of five rocks on top of a large boulder, a representation of a Japanese lantern (Figure 2.141).

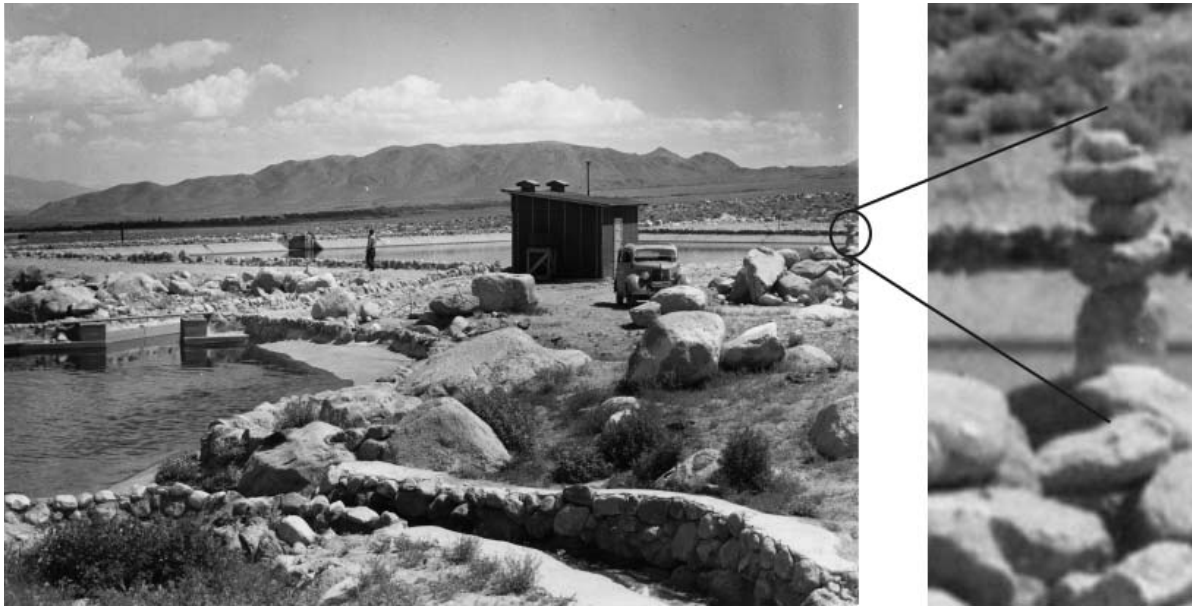


Figure 2.141. Stacked rocks at the reservoir resembling a Japanese lantern (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.142. Bairs Creek (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

Picnic Areas

The internees developed picnic areas within the security fence southwest of the residential area at Bairs Creek and north of the residential area at the former site of the Shepherd Ranch (North Park). After restrictions for leaving the camp were loosened in 1943, a picnic area was also established to the south outside the security fence (South Park or Manzanar Park).

Bairs Creek Picnic Area (Picnic Ground No. 1)

In the early summer of 1942, the military police sentry line was moved south 100 yards, placing Bairs Creek within the area internees were allowed to freely enter. After internees were assured that the area would remain open when the security fence was completed (by the end of 1942), they constructed walkways, bridges, and open-air fireplaces for a picnic area (Figures 2.142 and 2.143). The area became so popular that permits had to be issued (Nielsen and Fox 1945), with the announcement in the newspaper and a statement in a Documentary Report:

> **PICNIC PERMITS**
> ... Open for reservation now is picnic ground No. 1 by the creek near the lath house. ...
> *Manzanar Free Press* June 25, 1942

> **BAIR'S CREEK OPENED AS PICNIC GROUND NUMBER ONE**
> Complete with three resident-constructed barbecue pits (named Angel's Haven, Cupid Pit, Bum's Roost), Bair's Creek park has been opened to Manzanar as Picnic Ground Number One. Average number of visitors on weekdays alone is 800. The creek is located in

Figure 2.143. Bridge at Bairs Creek Picnic Area (Shindo Takeshi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.144. Bairs Creek Picnic Area (Kay Sakai Nakao Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.145. Bairs Creek Picnic Area (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.146. Bairs Creek Picnic Area (Katsumi Taniguchi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.147. Bairs Creek Picnic Area (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

the southwest corner of the Center close to the guayule lath house.

Documentary Report No. 20, July 8, 1942

A picnic in August was attended by 200 (Block Manager's Report, August 24, 1942). Historic photographs show two rustic bridges with railings and spans constructed of tree limbs, other rustic walkway railings, boulder-plating along the stream bank, and fire pits. In the photographs, children and mothers play in the water, and friends, couples, and visiting Japanese American soldiers pose on the bridges (Figures 2.144-2.147).

North Park

North Park was located within the fenced residential area north of Block 32 and west of Block 36, where the pioneer-era Shepherd Ranch house once stood. Picnic grounds on the north side of the internee residential area were mentioned in the June 30, 1942, *Manzanar Free Press*, and Nielsen and Fox (1946) noted that a fireplace was constructed there. Historic photographs show children and adults walking along a tree- and boulder-lined curving roadway, once the ranch house driveway (Figure 2.148). In some of the photographs, internees pose in front of a fireplace, and in others there are two rock fireplaces visible in the background (Figures 2.149 and 2.150).

North Park appears to have been a popular destination: in several of the historic photographs, a large family surrounds a young man in uniform. North Park served other functions, too: some internees apparently considered it a source for wood, since the Block Manager's Report for April 3, 1943, for Block 32 noted the need to write up a notice in the *Manzanar Free Press* about not cutting trees in North Park. In 1944, Easter Sunrise Service was held at the park (*Man-*

zanar Free Press April 5, 1944). North Park may even have included a zoo:

> **Catechism Class Enjoys Picnic**
> **At Center's Park Zoo**
> ... enjoyed at picnic Wednesday, June 13, at the center's park zoo which is situated opposite block 32, ... pigeons, chickens, rabbits, turtle, road runners, hawk, owls, flickers and chipmunks ... .
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* June 23, 1945

North Park could well be the location implied, since Block 32 is just south, across the road. Plans for a zoo developed shortly after Manzanar opened, but at that time, its proposed location was between Blocks 22 and 28, which would have been just east of Cherry Park, two blocks south and a block west of North Park:

> **ZOO MAY BE STARTED**
> Plans for starting a zoo near the trees between lots 22-28 are being considered. Those interested in raising pets are asked to see Mr. A. G. Nielson who will procure the pets.
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* June 11, 1942

Wherever its location, the zoo was shut down as part of plans to close the Relocation Center:

> **Manzanar Zoo Disbanded**
> The Manzanar Zoo is out of existence with the pigeons, chickens, rabbits presented to the Mess Operations Division and the road runners, magpies, chipmunks, owls and other wild life released by the custodian to their natural habitat. Plans are completed for Public Works to dismantle the hutches, pens and cages which have housed the animals and the birds.
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* September 1, 1945

Historic photographs indicate there was another distinct picnic area in a wooded area about 500 feet

Figure 2.148. Road to North Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.149. Rock grill at North Park (Mary Ichino Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.150. Rock grills at North Park (Stan Yogi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.151. Picnic area west of North Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.152. Picnic area west of North Park, note Japanese lantern in background (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.153. Japanese lantern at picnic area west of North Park (Merritt Collection, Eastern California Museum).

west of the North Park fireplaces (Figure 2.151). The location can be identified by correlating a ravine and a building seen in the photographs with a ravine (now deeper) and a building foundation still present. The building is shown on WRA blueprints, but its function is not listed. In the photographs, near several wooden picnic tables, there is a wood Japanese lantern with painted Japanese characters (Figures 2.152 and 2.153). The creek bed is now dry, but appears to have been the course of Shepherd Creek when John Shepherd settled here in the 1860s. Madelon Arai Yamamoto remembers it with flowing water when the camp was in operation (personal communication 2014), perhaps fed by overflow from nearby Victory gardens located to the south and west.

South Park (Manzanar Park)

In 1943 picnic areas were established 1/2 mile and 1 mile south of the security fence; both had large trees and one was crossed by George Creek (Nielsen and Fox 1945). These areas are located outside the current National Historic Site boundary.

There were many restrictions to using South Park: no fires; no wading; no swimming; no digging of trees; no picking of flowers; plants, or fruits; no fishing without a license; no disturbance of birds and animals; no trespassing on farm lands; and one had to stay within the signed area (*Manzanar Free Press* April 17, 1943, June 12, 1943; Figures 2.154-2.158). Nevertheless, the opportunity to go beyond the security fence was "welcomed by all residents after one year's living in the small limited area" (Block 30 Manager's Report, May 31, 1943). The *Manzanar Free Press* (May 29, 1943) reported:

> **Acting Project Director Bob Brown Approves Opening of South Area**
> Approval of the opening of the south area for picnic parties without the use of individual passes has been granted this week... .
>
> **PARK LAWS PASSED**
> Manzanar Park laws already passed by these members

require that residents refrain from harming birds or animals, destroying tree branches, picking fruit or flowers, swimming, fishing, or going near the farming grounds and ask that residents cooperate by obeying limited area signs and by making certain that all fires are out before leaving the area. ... Tentative plans call for the installation of six latrines without chemical barrel, building of six outdoor fireplaces, rubbish disposal, and 12 picnic tables... .

MOUNTED POLICE
Other plans call for the assigning of police officers to patrol the area on horseback ... . Entrance to this two-mile strip will be located between blocks two and three, near warehouse 35 ... .

Even before much of the park infrastructure was complete, Chief of Police Thomas Takeyama reported that South Park had approximately 250 visitors a week, about 200 of them on the weekends. He also said that:

... the parks are being cleaned gradually and remarked that steps will be taken to improve the muddy path leading to the parks. "The area will be graded sufficiently or a ditch will be installed to take care of the overflow water," he disclosed. "If necessary, one may secure fresh drinking water by going a little past the posted areas near park 2," he concluded.

Manzanar Free Press July 31, 1943

Within a year, the *Manzanar Free Press* wrote that South Park was idyllic:

Find 'Haven' Beyond Barbed-Wire Fence
Often referred to by residents as "paradise beyond the fence," Manzanar picnic areas can be reached upon showing one's identification card at the west gate entrance. The trail to the park runs past the southwest corner of the center. Upon walking along the one mile journey, one sees sage brush and willow patches with frightened rabbits popping into view along the way now and then while large groves of willow, locust and

Figure 2.154. South Park boundary sign (Mary Ichino Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.155. Stove at South Park (Yuri Matsunaga Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.156. Stove at South Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.157. Playing in the water at South Park (Yuri Matsunaga Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.158. Mounted police patrol (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

poplar trees can be seen in the park area. Surrounding these areas in the form of boundary lines are George Creek to the south and Baird's [Bairs] Creek on the north. The east and west areas have warning signs posted to mark the boundary lines. Under the shady trees a group of picnickers admire a stone barbeque pit. Nearby an ancient Indian well is being reconstructed. In the distant [sic] youngsters can be seen playing various games while young couples stroll along gravel paths. As the sun sets toward the snow-capped Sierra Nevada ranges the five-o'clock siren sounds and the residents prepare to leave for their respective homes; refreshed and ready to tackle any and all problems confronting them during the week.

Manzanar Free Press April 12, 1944

It appears that the procedure necessary for an internee to visit South Park became a little more complicated within a few months:

Release Ruling On Picnic Ground Area

Rules regarding the use of the picnic and project area were released recently by the Administration according to the Community Management Division. When leaving or entering the center, all persons must check in and out of the gate with the internal security gate guard. The Farm and maintenance crews are permitted leave the center by presenting a red, white or blue badge, which each member holds, and a blanket pass which is held by the foreman of the crew.

Persons going to the picnic area must present a block leader's pass, or, if a group of persons, a pass from Town Hall to the gate guard upon leaving and entering the center. Persons going to the swimming pool may use the north or west gates, but must come and go through the same gate. Motor Pool furnishes transportation of food, small children, and the aged or infirm to the picnic area, but no transportation is

available to the swimming pool. Responsibility for enforcing the above regulations is given to the mounted patrol section or the Internal Police, who are also equipped to apply first aid to the injured. Residents are asked to cooperate with them on this matter.

Manzanar Free Press August 12, 1944

Lawns

While lawns at Manzanar were first initiated by internees at their own expense, the WRA Administration soon began encouraging the planting of lawns to combat the omnipresent dust that had been stirred up during construction (Figures 2.159 and 2.160). The availability of seeds and tools was noted in the newspaper and in block managers' reports:

Lawn Seeds Available
A beautiful green lawn is now yours for the asking – and working. Grass seeds – perennial rye domestic – are now available for distributing to center residents, announced Harvey Brown Jr., Chief of Public Works Division. Those desiring seeds must first spade and work their plots into shape and then obtain requisitions through their block leaders. Spades and rakes may also be borrowed through them.

*Manzanar Free Pres*s July 9, 1942

Each block will be provided with six shovels and 200 lbs. of rye seeds. No need of worrying about water, according to Mr. Brown.

Block 24 Manager's Report, July 11, 1942

As documented in Block Managers' Reports, internees lost no time in taking up the offer:

Ground broken up between buildings 8 and 9 preparatory for planting grass seed.

Block 16 Manager's Report, July 14, 1942

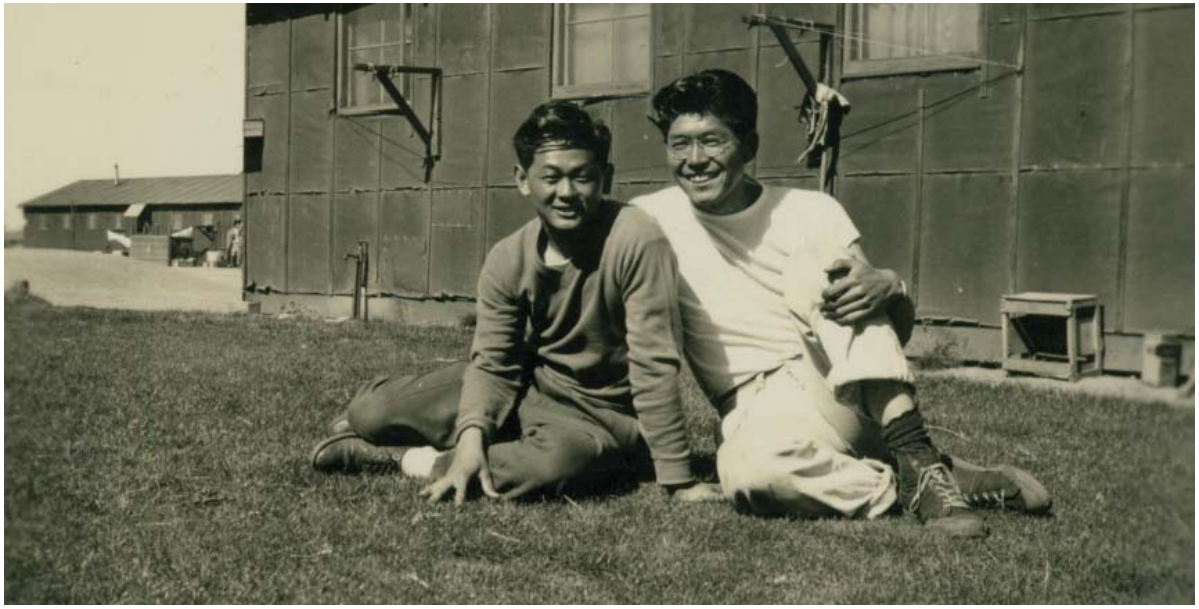


Figure 2.159. Barracks lawn (Kiyoko Tanka Collection, Manzanar NHS).

The residents in this block are starting to make a lawn. One of them is already planted between building 1 and 2.

Block 8 Manager's Report, July 17, 1942

Ground leveling between the barracks was completed and ready now for the planting of grass seed for the lawns.

Block 30 Manager's Report, July 17, 1942

Several young men came to this office for the rakes and shovels. They dug in the ground between barracks 5 and 6 in order to make a lawn.

Block 10 Manager's Report, July 17, 1942

First lawn project to start in the 24 block was between buildings 3 and 4.

Block 24 Manager's Report, July 21, 1942

Figure 2.160. Barracks lawn (Kiyoko Tanka Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.161. Distribution of shared lawn mowers at Manzanar.

Figure 2.162. Cutting grass at Children's Village (Hisako Takamune Collection, Manzanar NHS).

The gardening crew planted the lawn seed between Buildings 10-13, which just about completes the Block with the exception of one lot yet to be planted.

Block 30 Manager's Report, July 24, 1942

Made another lawn today. One more will make it complete in the block between the buildings where there are doors.

Block 12 Manager's Report, August 4, 1942

After supper last night until sundown about 40 volunteers (Block 12 Citizens Organization) girls and boys dug and broke the ground up. We are planning to make a garden and plant grass from the men's latrine to the washroom, last night we did half of it. It's gonna look pretty good.

Block 12 Manager's Report, August 13, 1942

Yesterday some the men got together and put in the lawn around the men and women latrine. Mr. Kubota is putting lawns for other residence who are not able to put in their own.

Block 34 Manager's Report, August 31, 1942

Ground leveling between the barracks 12-13 was completed and ready now for planting of grass seed for the lawn.

Block 36 Manager's Report, September 4, 1942

It did not take long to see results, enough so that the one lawn mower available was quite popular:

Hundreds of sprouting lawns
And one solitary lawn mower
Sure enough, it can happen in Manzanar; amazed residents rubbed their eyes in amazement at the thing which they hadn't seen since evacuation. Bob L. Brown, assistant in charge of project reports, blew into the *Free Press* room last Friday afternoon with the one and only lawn mower on sale in Lone Pine. Now, it has the distinction of being the one and only government lawn mower in Manzanar. Initiation of the mower took place immediately as the newspaper staff and Brown proceeded to the new administration lawn for publicity shots.

Manzanar Free Press August 5, 1942

The August 6, 1942, issue of the *Manzanar Free Press* featured several articles about lawns, and the battle against dust:

LAWNS ... vs. dust
So that Manzanar's dust troubles may become a thing of the past, Manzanites are industriously planting lawns between barracks. In a block-to-block survey conducted by the *Free Press*, it was disclosed that there are now 149 lawns in the center with 15 in the planting stage. Approximately 420,000 square feet of ground is devoted to lawns.

MOST LAWNS IN BLOCK 30
At the time of the survey, the greatest number of lawns was found to be in block 30 which had 12 full-size lawns and a couple of half-size lawns. According to the latest reports, however, Block 19 now has planted a lawn between all its barracks. In spite of the handicap because of lack of equipment, such as hose and sprinklers, the people are helping conquer the dust by increasing the number of lawns day by day.

LAWNS SURVIVE HEAT
Most lawns appear to be surviving the heat although some lawns show excessive brown spots caused by lawn moths. Many lawns are not receiving enough water. They should be watered in the mornings and evenings only. Grass mowing is a problem at the present time. With only one lawn mower, operated jointly by Sam Yoshimura and Sam Masuda, the job of cutting lawns is not progressing fast enough to catch up with the growing grass.

By the following spring, more lawnmowers were available:

Lawnmowers Secured For Residents' Use
A number of lawnmowers has been secured for the use of the residents ... They have been placed in the charge of B. Wada, head of the landscapers, who has distributed them to various blocks ... . A man will be employed and attached to Wada's crew who will service and oil the [14] lawn mowers twice a week, it was disclosed. When more lawns are planted, adjustments of the use of the lawn mowers will be made.

Manzanar Free Press April 14, 1943

Figure 2.161 shows the distribution of the lawnmowers at that time; in some cases one mower was shared by two blocks, in other cases, by four.

Both the *Manzanar Free Press* and Block Managers' Reports documented internees young and old planting lawns in front of barracks, mess halls, and offices. Most of the lawns were planted by the residents of each block, but Bunyemon Wada and his landscaping crew provided assistance where requested (*Manzanar Free Press* May 29, 1943; Figure 2.162). On October 18,

Figure 2.163. Small trees planted between road and barracks (Mae Kageyama Kakehashi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.164. Trees between road and barracks (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.165. Barracks with tamarisk trees (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 2.166. Trees in the staff housing area (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 2.167. 1942 aerial view showing Victory gardens, at right, in the firebreak between Blocks 11 and 17 (Nagatomi-Okabe Collection, Manzanar NHS).

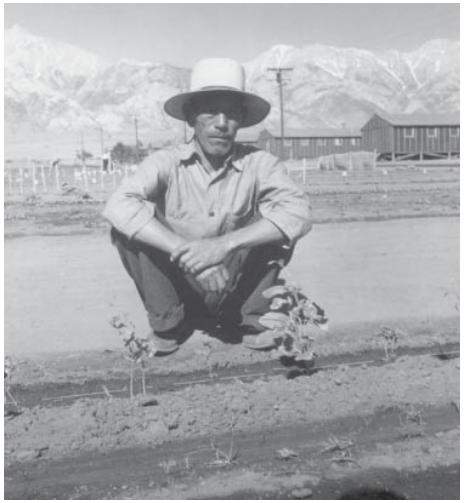


Figure 2.168. Victory garden worker (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

1943, the Block 14 Manager's Report noted that the departure of internees created a need for lawn care assistance, writing "Would like to have some arrangement made for care of lawns and garden of residents who left for Tulelake."

Tree Planting

Hundreds, if not thousands of trees were planted at Manzanar by the internees (Figures 2.163-2.166). Trees were grown from seeds and cuttings in a lath house and gathered from the nearby streams and mountains. Locust, elm, cottonwood, willow, tamarisk, pines, fruit, and other species were used in rows to line streets and encircle buildings, and individual tree specimens decorated specific areas. The widespread transplanting of trees began almost as soon as the lawn-planting efforts, with good effect:

> A Large tree was transplanted to the #24 mess hall ground on Sunday by building 3 and 4 volunteers. The disenchanting #24 mess hall yard had been beautified considerably.
>
> Block 24 Manager's Report, July 21, 1942

Trees being grown by the farm division in 1942 for camp use included (Plant Propagation Monthly Report, July 31, 1942):

Black Pine (2000 in flats)
Catalina Cherry (500 in pots)
Catalpa (1000 in pots)
Cedar
Cottonwood (700 in pots)
Japanese Cheesewood
Cypress
Elm
Monterey Pine (2000 in flats)

By the end of 1943, Block Managers and the *Manzanar Free Press* had reported trees planted in Blocks 5, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 29, 30, 34, and 36. It is almost certain that trees or bushes were planted in other blocks as well. The same Mr. Brown in charge of cement was also in charge of trees (Block 16 Manager's Report, August 6, 1942), but by spring of 1943 internee crews were able to go into the mountains to get trees (Block 20 Manager's Report, March 20, 1943; Block 26 Manager's Report, March 17, 1943; Block 30 Manager's Report, April 1, 1943; *Manzanar Free Press* March 31, 1943). Many of the cooperative efforts to plant trees focused on providing beauty and shade around the mess halls and by the common buildings for each block.

The variety of trees that may have been planted at Manzanar can be imagined from the Farm Security Administration's (1942) suggested plant list for the staff housing area:

Lombardy Popular	Western Catalpa
Columnar White Popular	Purple Plum
Eugene Popular	Flowering Tamarisk
Chinese Popular	(not articulata)
Cottonwood	Russian Olive
Carolina, Balm-of-Gilead,	Hawthorn
Fremont, or Thornber	Crabapples
California Black Walnut	Sumac
Black Locust	Pine, Spruce, Fir, Cedar,
Chinese Elm	Cypress, Juniper, Arbor
Arizona Ash	Vitae (as available if hardy)
Silver Maple	Regal Privet
Box Elder	English Privet
Osage Orange	Japanese Barberry
Norway Maple	Bridal Wreath
London Plane	Firethorn

Victory Gardens

Plans for Victory gardens (also referred to at the time as hobby gardens) were begun shortly after the first internees arrived at Manzanar (Figures 2.167 and 2.168):

> **GREEN GARDENS TO GROW**
> Firebreaks, like the one between blocks 3 and 4, will be converted into fertile vegetable gardens to provide fresh greens for the community kitchens.
> *Manzanar Free Press* April 25, 1942

> **FOR BETTER LIVING: HOBBY GARDENS PLANNED**
> "Grow your own vegetables for vitamins, flowers for morale, gardening for recreation," declared Tak Muto as he completed plans for Hobby gardens in the firebreak between Blocks 11 to 17 and 12 to 18.
> *Manzanar Free Press* May 26, 1942

Mr. Muto put a sizable contribution of his own toward the Victory Gardens: Documentary Report No. 2, dated June 10, 1942, noted that he donated $1,000 worth of seeds to residents for these gardens.

The western part of the south firebreak, between Blocks 11 and 12 and 17 and 18, and an adjacent small portion of the west firebreak just east of Block 11, covers a little over 10 acres. Tak Muto, who lived nearby in Block 15, apparently chose this area because of its black soil. A thicket of wild roses had to be removed; these were dug up and planted elsewhere by rose expert Kuichiro Nishi. Roses that were not removed were left in neat rows. Individual garden plots were 10 by 50 feet and 30 by 50 feet in size with a few larger group plots. There were paths between the plots and a decorative sundial (*Manzanar Free Press* June 9, 1942; Nielsen and Fox 1945). Over 120 internee families worked community gardens (Figures 2.169-2.172).

The administration staff also had their own large-scale Victory garden, which encompassed about 6 acres between the administration area and the security fence to the east (Figure 2.173). A basketball court within this area, visible on the 1944 aerial photograph, was not added until late 1944 (Williams 2014:121). Mostly vegetables were grown in these Victory gardens, but there were also extensive plantings of flowers. Manzanar's Final Report (Nielsen and Fox 1945:60) noted:

> In the first year of Manzanar's existence, paper flowers had to be used for occasions such as funerals, weddings, parties and the like, as fresh flowers were not available in the Owens Valley, and Manzanar was too far from Los Angeles to supply cut flowers. This need was relieved when the CACA [Community

Figure 2.169. Victory garden worker (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

Figure 2.170. Victory gardens workers (WRA photograph, UCLA Special Collections).

Figure 2.171. Victory gardens (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

Figure 2.172. Working in the Victory gardens (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

Figure 2.173. Staff Victory garden (Fredrick Causey Jr. Collection, Manzanar NHS).

> Activities Cooperative Association] cultivated half an acre of land and planted flowers and vegetables therein. Goods were sold at popular prices either at the shed in the garden or through the Consumers' Enterprises canteen.

The Victory gardens are easily visible on the 1944 aerial photograph. In addition to these community Victory gardens, historic photographs and oral histories indicate that many internees planted small vegetable and flower gardens at their barracks. The *Manzanar Free Press* (June 9, 1942) described a smaller vegetable garden in Block 6 as well as the first community Victory garden in the firebreak:

> **GARDENS: Harvest Time to be Here Soon**
>
> "The desert smells as a rose", Not roses perhaps, but certainly other flowers in the hobby garden between firebreaks 11 and 17, are sprouting under the ministrations of director Tak Muto and his volunteer crew. "Turning green with envy" are the vegetables planted between barracks 12 and 13 in block six while a rustic rock garden nearby imparts an artistic aura to the scene.

A notice in the newspaper later that summer suggests there was plenty of water available, since irrigation water flooded nearby blocks:

> **ECONOMIZE ON IRRIGATION WATER**
>
> It has come to our attention that irrigation water on the hobby gardens between Block 11 and 17 overflows into neighboring blocks and many complaints have been made. Owners of these miniature farms are requested to use care in irrigating plants.
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* July 7, 1942

In the same issue, internees were "requested to refrain from touching the fruit trees," because the fruit would be harvested when it was ripe and used in meals:

> **DON'T TOUCH THE GREEN FRUIT TREES**
>
> In about four or five weeks fruit in this center should be ready to eat. These fruit will be used for your meals. However, green fruit is already being picked and often branches broken.
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* July 7, 1942

As reported in the August 28, 1942, issue of the M*anzanar Free Press*, the first harvest was impressive:

> **HARVEST TIME FOR VICTORY GARDENS**
>
> ... composed of three acres in the firebreak, ... With almost a thousand people participating ... The following vegetables have been raised successfully in the garden: radishes, spinach, pumpkins, onions, all kinds of cucumbers, egg plants, turnips, beets, green peas, beans, corn, cabbage, celery, parsley, and melons. About three thousand crates are expected to be harvested from the garden before frost arrives. Kitchen No. 5 alone has already received 60 crates of vegetables from this garden. Flowers are also grown in the Victory Garden. There are about 2,500 wild rose bushes budded already and many more will be budded this fall. These plants will be transplanted later this year in the various areas in Manzanar to help beautify the center. Besides roses there are many other kinds of perennial and annual flower seedlings. Approximately 10,000 flower plants have been given away thus far. It has been found with very few exceptions that all the people growing the gardens are either women or older men who are incapable of holding other jobs, or others working in their spare time.

Although there is no reason to question the harvest bounty, the characterization of many of the Victory gardeners as "older men who are incapable of holding other jobs" must be taken with a grain of salt. As discussed in Chapter 3, because of anti-immigrant and anti-Japanese discrimination before World War II, many Issei turned to gardening when they first arrived in the United States because it was one of very few oc-

cupations open to them. It seems likely that many of the older Issei chose to work in the Victory gardens because that is where their experience, skills, and interests were. Moreover, WRA rules prevented Issei from holding certain jobs in the camps; Issei were not allowed to be block managers, for example. These restrictions prevented the Issei from maintaining their traditional leadership role in the community. As for the women, the flexible schedule and outdoor setting may have made Victory gardening more compatible with caring for children than other occupations.

On September 7, 1942, the newspaper announced that Masao Tanaka would take over as lead for the Victory gardens, and Tak Muto was put "in charge of the Rose Garden as well as experimental work and cross-breeding of various species of flowers and plants."

Interest in Victory gardens grew, perhaps inspired by the successful harvest of 1942 or by the free time that internees had once they had completed some basic improvements in their barracks. In the December 1, 1942, *Manzanar Free Press* there was a notice that "Persons with lots in block 11 and 34 Victory gardens, or would like to have a lot, are requested to hand in their names and address ..." The next month, the *Manzanar Free Press* (January 13, 1943) announced "Tentative plans for additional Victory Gardens are in the making as a plot of ground in firebreak 22-23 has been broken." In the spring of 1943 a new 14-acre area was opened up for gardens: "Land for Hobby Gardens Available ... north of camp opposite blocks 32 and 33 ..." (*Manzanar Free Press* March 6, 1943).

Manzanar's Community Activity Section Final Report notes that internees took on the production of vegetables and flowers themselves: a community cooperative "cultivated half an acre of land and planted flowers and vegetables therein. Goods were sold at popular prices either at the shed in the garden or through the Consumers' Enterprises canteen" (Nielsen and Fox 1945:60; Figures 2.174 and 2.175). A few other community Victory gardens are mentioned in the *Manzanar Free Press*, including a "school plot on the north side of the center" (April 14, 1943) and a garden in the west firebreak, between Blocks 22 and 23. But in addition to the designated garden areas in the firebreaks, internees also began Victory gardens at their own barracks and blocks:

Figure 2.174. Flower gardens (WRA photograph, UCLA Special Collections).

> The residents are taking up Victory gardening in earnest and almost every building has a small patch plowed up.
>
> Block 21 Manager's Report, March 24, 1943

> Since spring is here the residents are busily making their victory garden in front of their apartments and

Figure 2.175. Flower gardens (Shindo 1980).

Figure 2.176. Irrigating the Victory gardens (National Archives).

hurrying and scurrying about borrowing the garden implements.

Block 20 Manager's Report, March 30, 1943

With the coming of warm days our residents are busy with rakes and shovel to make their own small gardens.

Block 25 Manager's Report, April 8, 1943

Dug up ground by block office for victory garden.

Block 31 Manager's Report, April 21, 1943

With onset of warm weather many block residents are busy making lawns and victory gardens on the side of their barracks.

Block 36 Manager's Report, April 21, 1943

Around the BLOCKS

Block 3 ... Bachelors of this block are busily working on their lawns and Victory gardens during these warm days ...They constitute 25 percent of the block residents ....

Manzanar Free Press April 24, 1943

In fact, some considered the Victory gardeners almost too enthusiastic:

Trespassing Again

Twenty-nine blockers have been complaining of persons who are planting victory gardens which obstruct the peoples' premises. Victory gardens are splendid, but there is a limit to everything and they are wishing that these responsible parties would "wise up."

Manzanar Free Press April 28, 1943

By the spring of 1943 it was apparent that there was not an unlimited supply of water. Even though the reservoir had been raised in February 1943, the internees were urged to conserve water to insure there would be enough for fire protection and domestic use. Fire hydrants could not be used for Victory gardens, and the number of "official" community Victory gardens was restricted:

Low Water Pressure Here
Prevents Use of Hydrants

Use of the fire hydrants for victory gardens and irrigation purposes was frowned upon by Frank E. Hon, fire department head. He asks the cooperation of all residents to abide with the law which forbids the public use of fire hydrants.

Manzanar Free Press March 24, 1943

SHEPHERD CREEK

The water supply received from Shepherd Creek is believed to be adequate enough for the Victory gardens and the school plot on the north side of the center and would be available for the three acres of Victory gardens now on the firebreak. Of the total eight acres on the north side, two are to be used for school purposes and six for Victory gardens. These six acres plus three acres on the firebreak is the absolute limit of land allotted for Victory gardens this year. The school and Victory gardens will be irrigated on a water schedule to be determined as the amount of water increases.

... Gardens and evacuees using the firebreak for Victory gardens will be prohibited from using water from the fire hydrants or from garden hose.

Manzanar Free Press April 14, 1943

Nevertheless, internees continued planting smaller hobby or Victory gardens in their blocks:

Planted flowers to improve the scenery.

Block 15 Manager's Report, May 6, 1943

With the setting in hot weather majority of the residents are busy caring for their lawns and victory gardens.

Block 36 Manager's Report, May 24, 1943

People seem to be enjoying more of their surroundings, such as vegetable and flower gardens ... .

Block 14 Manager's Report, June 21, 1943

Since the fire notice has been posted on the bulletin board, people in this block took out the brush fence around the vegetable garden between the barracks.

Block 17 Manager's Report, June 30, 1943

Did a little gardening in front of the block office.

Block 19 Manager's Report, August 21, 1943

By September 1, 1943, water conservation measures were announced in the *Manzanar Free Press* (Figure 2.176):

CONSERVATION OF H2O REQUESTED

Fire Chief Frank E. Hon requested the aid of block managers in curtailing unnecessary waste of water in the center. Meters placed at the inlet tank gauging the flow of water into the camp and a meter gauging the amount of sewage show that over a million gallons of water are being used daily in the camp, he stated. "Beginning Monday morning, August 30 it will be necessary for all center residents to discontinue use of water for lawns, gardens, trees and shrubs and the use of running water for fish ponds, between the hours of 10 a.m. and 6:30 p.m. ...

A year later, the conservation of water was regulated and explained by the Project Director:

REGULATIONS ON WATER USE RELEASED BY MERRITT

Commencing this week irrigation of gardens and the watering of lawns within the center area will be prohibited between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. on weekdays until further notice, an announcement from Project Director Ralph P. Merritt disclosed. Merritt asked that all residents cooperate with this ruling and in addition save as much water as possible where it is necessary to use water for domestic purposes. "Water supply of Manzanar depends upon melting of snow packs in the high Sierra. At this season of the year, the hot afternoons melt the snow in the mountains and the run-off comes down our creeks during the night. The run-off in the daytime at this season of the year is so much reduced that all of the water must be saved for essential purposes." Merritt declared.

Manzanar Free Press August 16, 1944

Victory gardens themselves were likely considered essential, since watering them was prohibited only during seven hours of the day. Nielsen and Fox (1945) report that 120 individuals and families were working in Victory gardens under the WCCA (Wartime Civilian Control Authority; responsible for camp management unitil June 1, 1942) and over 1,000 worked Victory gardens under the WRA. The number of gardens decreased as internees left. In June 1945 there were only 250 gardens (Nielsen and Fox 1945:91) and by August 1945 only 83 remained. At least some of the hobby gardens were maintained almost until Manzanar's last days:

Mr. Ikari who has been raising varieties of beautiful flowers gave cut flowers to all the neighbors who appreciated and benefits his generous thought.

Block 14 Manager's Report, November 26, 1945

Figure 2.177. Military police soldier and internees (National Archives).

Manzanar's Winter of Discontent 1942-1943

Although this chapter focuses on the relatively benign history of gardens at Manzanar, it bears repeating and emphasizing that the Relocation Center was a prison, not a garden paradise (Figures 2.177-2.179). In fact, Manzanar was the site of one of the most serious civil disturbances to occur at the relocation centers,

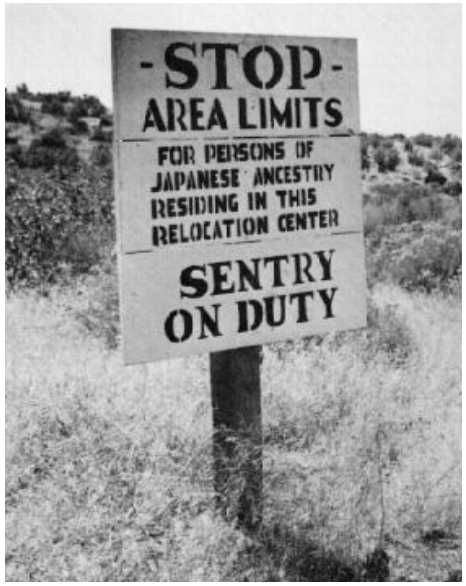


Figure 2.178. Area limits warning sign (National Archives).

Figure 2.179. Guard tower (Yuri Matsunaga Collection, Manzanar NHS).

the "Mananar Riot" or "Manzanar Revolt." More information about the riot can be found in Hansen and Hacker (1974), Hayashi (2004), Kurashige (2001), and Okihiro (1973). Here, suffice to say that the deadly incident reflected increasing tensions related to the difficult conditions at Manzanar, and divisions within the Japanese American community regarding the best way to address those inadequate conditions. Project Director Ralph Merritt had arrived at Manzanar less than two weeks before the riot. In January of 1943, Merritt met with Robert Cozzens, the Assistant Field Director of the WRA, who was stationed in San Francisco, to explain what had happened (WRA 1943:201-202):

> On the afternoon of January 18th, a conference was had with ROBERT COZZENS and RALPH P. MERRITT, Project Director. MERRITT pointed out that Manzanar is different from other relocation centers, for the following reasons:
>
> 1. It is the oldest center.
>
> 2. More mistakes have been made at Manzanar than at other centers.
>
> 3. The buildings constructed are poorer.
>
> 4. Other centers have profited by the mistakes made at Manzanar.
>
> 5. The population at Manzanar is predominantly Issei. If all of those residents under the age of 18 years were omitted, there would remain 52% Issei and 48% Nisei and Kibei. If all those under 24 years were omitted, the ratio would then be 65% Issei to 35% Nisei and Kibei.
>
> 6. The Kibei group at Manzanar is larger than at any other Center. There are approximately 800, of whom 150 to 200 have returned to the United States from Japan since 1936. This latter group is considered by MERRITT to be the most dangerous element in the camp.
>
> 7. The residents have less of a feeling of camp pride. The morale is low, and little effort has been made by the residents to beautify their surroundings.
>
> 8. Manzanar has had more administrators than other centers. It has had two while it was under the control of the WCCA and three since the WRA took over. These administrators were: (a) Mr. TRIGGS; (b) Mr. NASH; (c) NED CAMPBELL (formerly Assistant Project Director); (d) COVERLY (formerly acting Project Director); (e) KIMBALL (formerly acting Project Director); (f) Mr. MERRITT (permanent Project Director since November 24, 1942).
>
> 9. The evacuees have brought with them to Manzanar certain problems, among which were the enmities and differences brought on by the activities of the Japanese American Citizens League on various political conditions existing outside of the Center, and the rumors that certain of the evacuees were on the payroll of the FBI.
>
> 10. The 10,000 evacuees are being kept in an area of one square mile, although the Center area is much larger. Even those who are engaged in agricultural pursuits must obtain permission to go into the fields.
>
> 11. Manzanar does not have an adequate Caucasian police force. The Japanese police cannot be relied upon, and cannot be used to police the Caucasian area. They do not protect anything, and if any trouble starts they disappear. MERRITT pointed out that at the time of the riot on December 6th, only 4 out of the 84 Japanese police made themselves available. MERRITT stressed that, to date, the WRA had established no Intelligence unit in the Center to assist the administration in the internal security of the Center.

In the near future, however, MERRITT intends to set up such an Intelligence unit, so that he may be kept advised as to the development of all trends and movements within the Center.

12. There exists a serious housing problem at Manzanar. Because of the arrangement of the barracks, it has been found necessary, in many cases, to put married couples in the same room with unmarried people. This had tended to create serious moral problems. Attempts are being made to adjust this housing problem by the administration, but because of the limited facilities available, progress in this direction is slow.

MERRITT stated that at the present time the situation at Manzanar is most unsettled, the atmosphere is very tense, and any incident is liable to stir up the residents to a point where another riot or disturbance will occur.

It is difficult to say whether Manzanar was truly different from all the other camps; civil disturbances had erupted at other camps, most notably at Poston (Leighton 1945). But Merritt certainly was not exaggerating the tension in the camp. The WRA administration undermined traditional cultural norms, and many incidents occurred before the riot; several examples of the growing tension between members of the Japanese American Citizens League and more traditional leaders and values are detailed in Hansen and Hacker (1974).

The January 1943 conference record suggests that Merritt equated camp morale and pride with the internees' efforts to beautify their surroundings. Gardens could be seen as a reflection of camp pride or symbols of rebellion, as was the Block 22 mess hall garden (Embrey et al. 1986), but in all cases gardens were intended to improve the surroundings and experience of the camp. In the end gardens could only provide a fleeting refuge from the harsh conditions and monotony of camp life. While living conditions improved as time passed, lives were changed, years were lost (Figure 2.180):

Figure 2.180. A new home (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

Out of the desert's bosom, storm swept with wind and dust,
Out of smiles and curses, of tears and cries forlorn;
Mixed with broken laughter, forced because they must;
Toil, sweat and bleeding wounds, red and raw and torn.
Out on the desert's bosom – a new town is born.

James Shinkai March 1943 (in Embrey 1972:43)

3 THE GARDEN BUILDERS

Seeds in Their Suitcases

As would be expected of any group of 10,000-plus people, Manzanar's internees came from all walks of life. To assist in the recording of the pre-war occupations of the internees, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) provided their staff with definitions to help them distinguish the various job categories (WRA 1942). Gardeners were defined as anyone who

> Keeps flowers, trees, and premises about home in a healthy and attractive condition: plants, transplants, fertilizes, sprays, prunes, and otherwise tends to the cultivation of flowers, bushes, fruit trees, or other shrubbery on premises or in a greenhouse. May perform other duties ...

But the WRA wanted to further differentiate those who could supervise and direct these tasks from those who did them under the supervision of others:

> In order to differentiate those people who have the knowledge and skill necessary to enable them to plan gardens and execute the plans, from those who merely do work as directed, use the GARDENER code for the former (3-40) and the DAY WORKER code for the latter (2-01).

Under their definition, "day workers" could be permanent and skilled employees. Other delineations in the categories seem arbitrary, too: "houseman" and "yardman" were combined, both being considered domestic service, even though a yardman's duties were similar to those of a gardener or day worker: a yardman "works by the day, performing any outdoor duties assigned by employer: mows the lawn and cares for flowers and shrubbery" (WRA 1942).

Therefore, when looking for pre-war occupations most conducive to garden-building, five WRA job categories were examined: gardeners and groundskeepers, day workers, house and yard men, nursery owners and flower growers, and garden and nursery laborers. As WRA records indicate (Final Accountability Rosters of Evacuees at Relocation Centers, 1942-1946; Japanese-American Internee Data File, 1942-1946), Manzanar certainly contained the expertise for garden-building (Tables 3.1 and 3.2; Figures 3.1-3.5). Among the Relocation Centers, only Topaz had a higher number of internees with primary occupations in these five general gardening categories (Table 3.3; Figure 3.6).

Of the 4,072 men at Manzanar whose pre-war occupations were listed, over 40 percent had been in farming or gardening as their primary occupation before they were interned. Farmers and farm laborers comprised 21 percent of the male population of working age, or 858 men. There were 453 in the "Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, Parks, Cemeteries, etc." category, 148 "Nursery Operators and Flower Growers," and 81 "Nursery and Landscaping Laborers." The 85 men listed as day workers and the 58 listed in the category of "Housemen and Yardmen" are also considered to fall within the gardener category.

Of the 1,837 women at Manzanar whose pre-internment occupations were noted, 225 (12 percent) were classified as farmers and farm laborers, and 77 (4 per-

Figure 3.2. Pruning trees at Manzanar. Note boulders dug up in trench (Clem Albers, National Archives).

Figure 3.3. Farmers and work mules at Manzanar (National Archives).

←Figure 3.1. A barracks flower garden (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Table 3.1. Pre-War Occupations of Internee Men at Manzanar.

Occupation	Number	Percent
Farmers and Farm Laborers	858	21%
Gardeners*	825	20%
Retail Occupations	784	19%
Hotel and Restaurant Occupations	349	9%
Fishermen	189	5%
Chauffeurs, Drivers, and Routemen	138	3%
Wholesale Managers, Warehousing, and Related Occupations	85	2%
Salesmen	76	2%
Food Production Occupations	69	2%
Laundry Occupations	59	1%
Clerical Occupations	56	1%
Motor Vehicle Mechanics	51	1%
Managerial Occupations	47	1%
Janitors and Sextons	38	1%
Domestic Workers	37	1%
Medical Occupations	37	1%
Construction Occupations	32	1%
Barbers	30	1%
Purchasing Agents and Buyers	20	nil
50+ Other Occupations	292	7%
	4072	
***Gardeners**	**Number**	
Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, Parks, Cemeteries, etc.	453	
Nursery Operators and Flower Growers	148	
Day Workers	85	
Nursery and Landscaping Laborers	81	
Housemen and Yardmen	58	

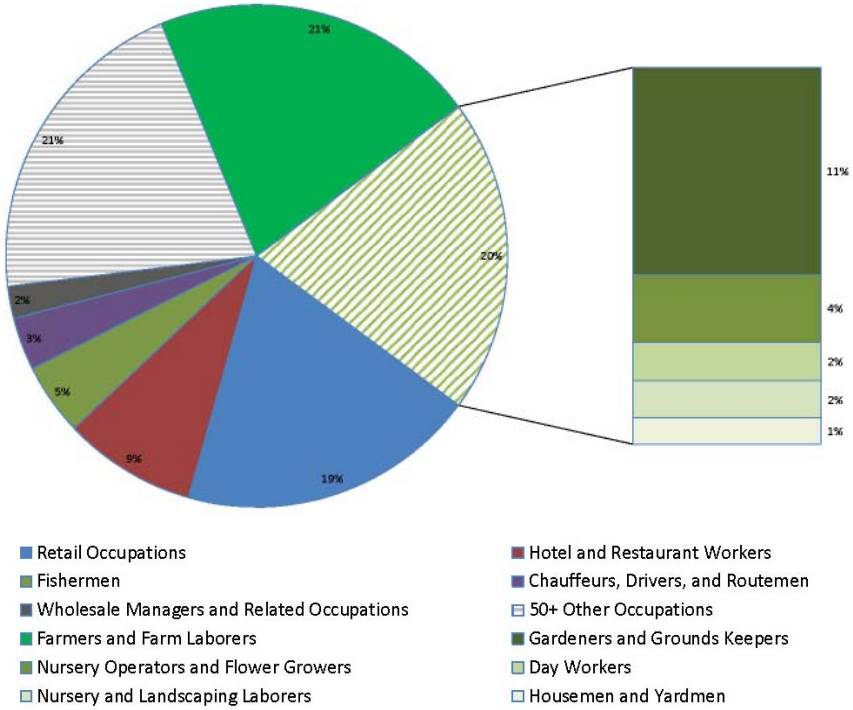


Figure 3.4. Pre-war occupations of internee men at Manzanar.

cent) fell into the five general gardening categories: there were 50 female nursery and landscaping laborers, 22 nursery operators and flower growers, two day workers, two in the housemen and yardmen category, and one in the "Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, Parks, Cemeteries, etc." category.

At Manzanar 274 other persons had one of five general gardening categories listed as a secondary or tertiary occupation. In addition a number of older *Issei* for whom no occupation was listed were likely retired; many of them may have been gardeners or farmers during their careers.

Table 3.2. Pre-War Occupations of Internee Women at Manzanar.

Occupation	Number	Percent
Retail Occupations	292	16%
Farmers and Farm Laborers	225	12%
Domestic Workers	215	12%
Production of Food Products	213	12%
Hotel and Restaurant Occupations	168	9%
Clerical Occupations	125	7%
Bookkeepers and Cashiers	75	4%
Dressmakers, Seamstresses, and Tailors	68	4%
Secretaries, Stenographer, and Typists	67	4%
Beauticians and Manicurists	57	3%
Nursery and Landscaping Laborers	50	3%
Teachers	44	2%
Manufacturing Occupations	40	2%
Medical Occupations	34	2%
Laundry Occupations	27	1%
Nursery Operators and Flower Growers	22	1%
Managerial Occupations	15	1%
Day Workers	2	nil
Housemen and Yardmen	2	nil
Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, Parks, Cemeteries, etc.	1	nil
25+ Other Occupations	95	5%
	1837	

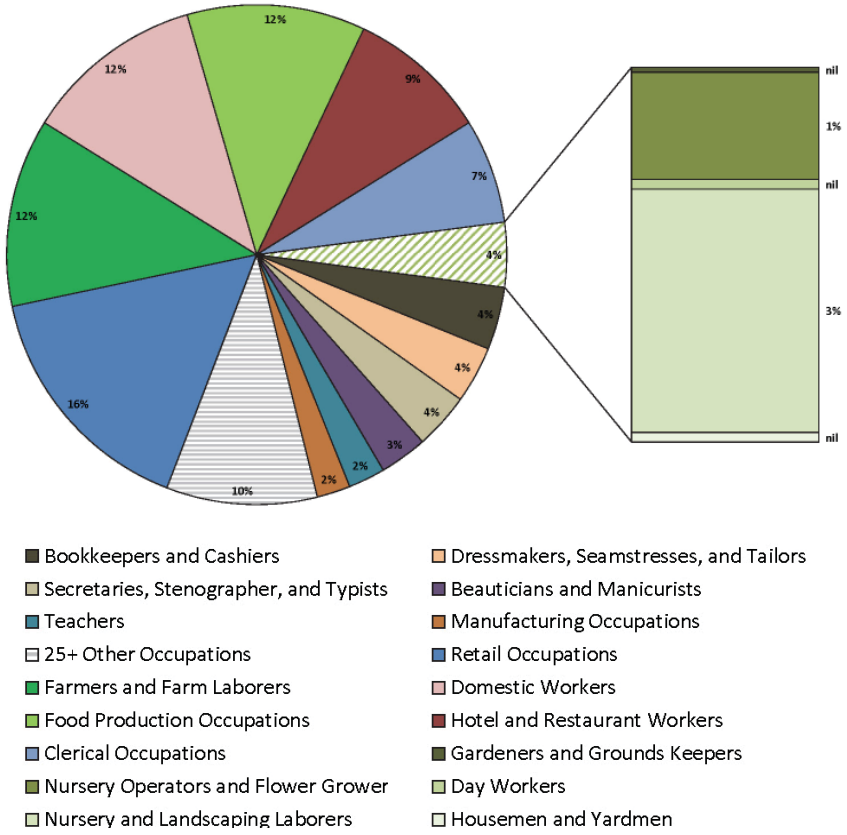


Figure 3.5. Pre-war occupations of internee women at Manzanar.

Gardener Demographics

The WRA collected additional demographic data about the internees at Manzanar which can be used to further characterize the 902 men and women listed in the five general gardener categories. Their mean age in 1942 was 38, but the age distribution indicates three generations of gardeners, including a sizable number of young *Nisei* between the ages of 18 and 30 (Figure 3.7).

Of the 902 total, the WRA noted that 286 were fluent only in Japanese, 19 only in English, 574 could speak, write, or read both languages, and 23 could speak Japanese, English, and another language.

Most of the 902 listed in the gardener categories had been living in southern California when the war started, with 641 removed to Manzanar from Los Angeles

Table 3.3. Pre-War Gardener Occupations Represented at All Relocation Centers.

Relocation Center	Gardeners and Groundskeepers	Nursey Owners and Flower Growers	Nursey and Landscaping Laborers	Day Workers	Housemen and Yardmen	Total
Topaz	303	148	142	227	108	928
Manzanar	454	170	131	87	60	902
Gila River	450	121	142	10	38	761
Heart Mtn	334	93	88	72	87	674
Poston	176	63	73	12	27	351
Tule Lake	118	90	64	14	43	349
Amache	183	44	31	10	26	294
Jerome	137	58	57	8	20	280
Rohwer	104	82	84	1	9	280
Minidoka	76	31	35	25	11	178
Total	2335	900	867	466	429	4997

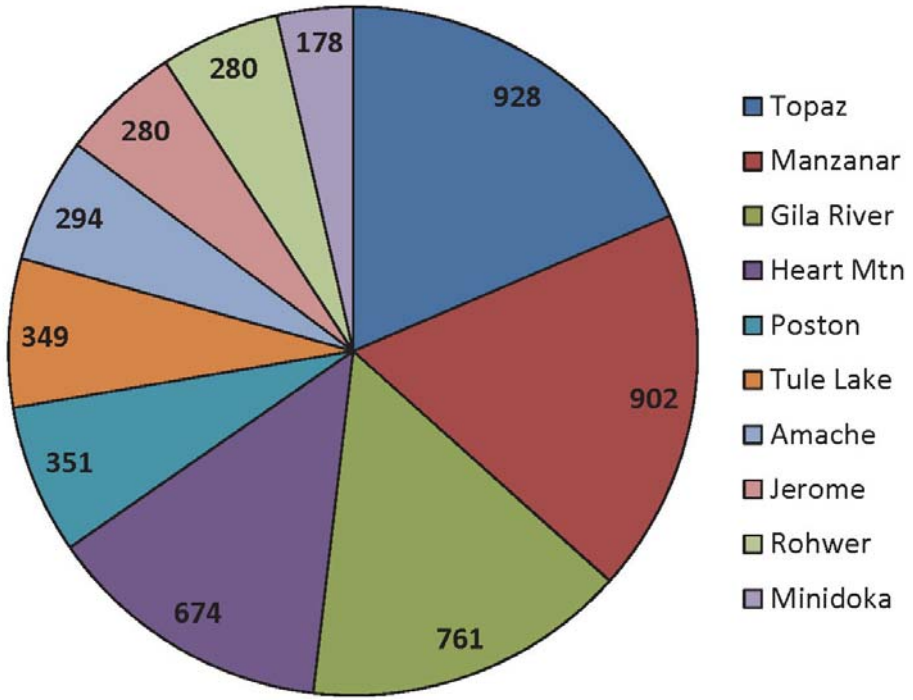


Figure 3.6. Pre-war gardener occupations represented at all relocation centers.

and 212 more from the greater Los Angeles area. Forty came from other California locations, six from Washington, and three from Mason, Nevada.

The majority, 556, were *Issei* born in Japan: 198 from the Southern Division, 151 from Kyushu, 111 from the Central Division, 51 from the Northern Division, 28 from Shikoku, and 17 from the Urban Prefectures of Kyoto, Osaka, and Tokyo (Figure 3.8). Most arrived in the U.S. in the first decade of the twentieth century, before the end of the Meiji Period in 1912 (Figure 3.9). The 346 *Nisei* were born in California (n=272), Hawaii (34), Washington and Oregon (22), other western states (17), and an unspecified U.S. location (1).

For 893 of Manzanar's gardeners, both parents had been born in Japan; six had one parent born in Japan; and for three, both parents had been born in the U.S. Although most of the women listed in the gardener categories were married (59, compared to 6 widowed and 12 never married), there were almost as many single men (404, including 343 never married, 41 widowed, 12 divorced, and 8 separated) as married men (421) in the gardener occupations.

The WRA's data on how much time internees in the gardening occupation categories had spent in Japan might provide clues about how much these internees had been exposed to, or influenced by, gardens in Japan. For *Issei*, the mean age at which they came to the U.S. was 16; the mode was 18 (Figure 3.10). While 122 of the *Nisei* had never visited Japan, the other 224 *Nisei* had made at least one visit to Japan. Twenty-seven of these had gone to Japan for schooling, making them *Kibei*; one *Issei*, who had probably been brought to the U.S. as a child, returned to Japan for schooling. Given the distance and time involved, a surprising number of *Issei* (92) had returned to Japan at least twice, and 31 of the *Nisei* who were not *Kibei* had made at least two trips to Japan. The WRA also tallied up how much time each internee had spent in Japan before the war. Of the 556 *Issei* who had been born in Japan and the 224 *Nisei* who had been to Japan at least once, 30 had spent a total of less than 1 year in Japan, 31 had spent a total of 1 to 5 years there, 47 had spent 5 to 10 years there, 100 had spent 10 to 15 years there, 300 had spent 15 to 20 years there, and 270 had spent a total of over 20 years in Japan.

Among the 902 internees in the gardening categories, nine had a bachelor's degree, and one had a master's degree in agriculture. Five had at least five years of college, 23 had attended college in Japan, and 39 had attended college in the United States. Two hundred sixteen had attended high school in Japan, 187 had attended high school in the United States. Two had gone to high school or college in another country. Twenty had gone to elementary school in the United States, but not continued beyond eighth grade; 394 had gone to elementary school in Japan up to eighth grade. Fifteen were listed as having had no schooling, and for one person, no information was provided. Fifteen of the 902 gardeners had attended Japanese Language School. Six had served in the Japanese military, seven had served in the U.S. military.

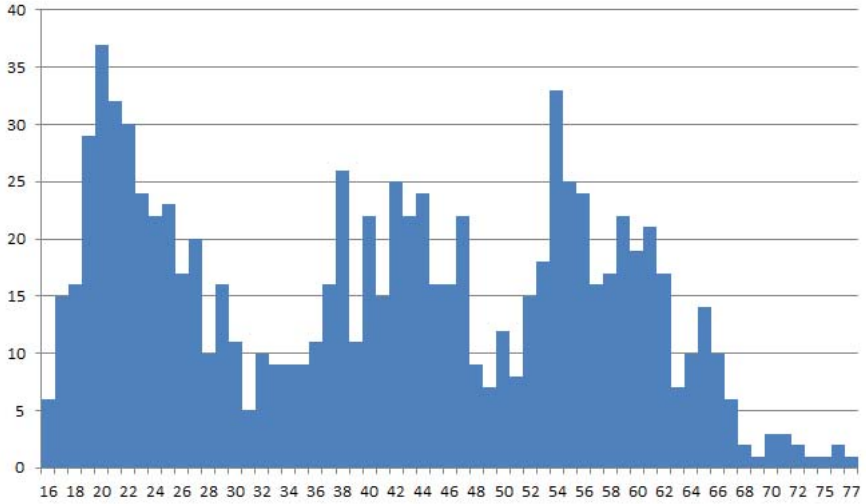


Figure 3.7. Ages of internees in the five general WRA gardener categories at Manzanar.

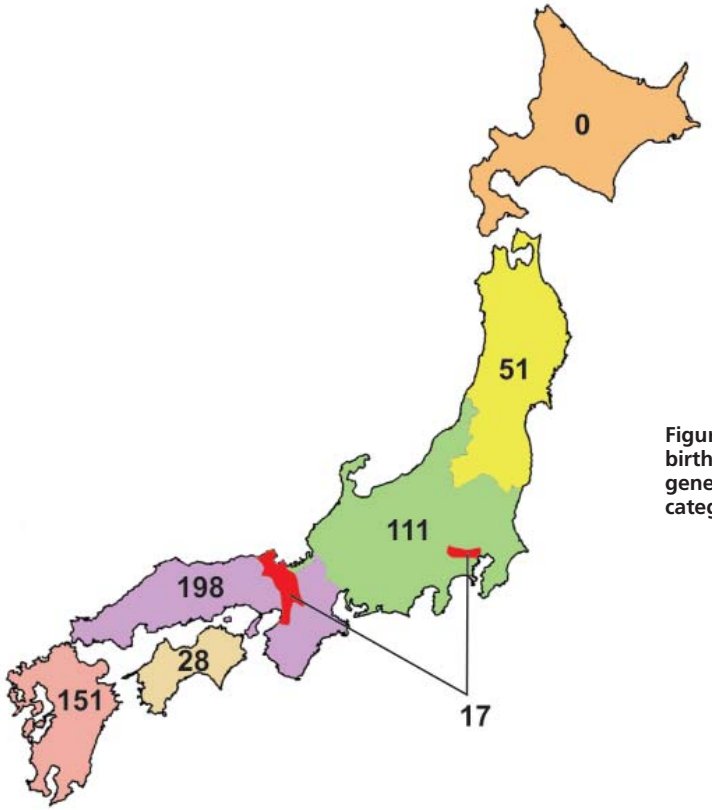


Figure 3.8. Place of birth of *Issei* in the five general WRA gardener categories at Manzanar.

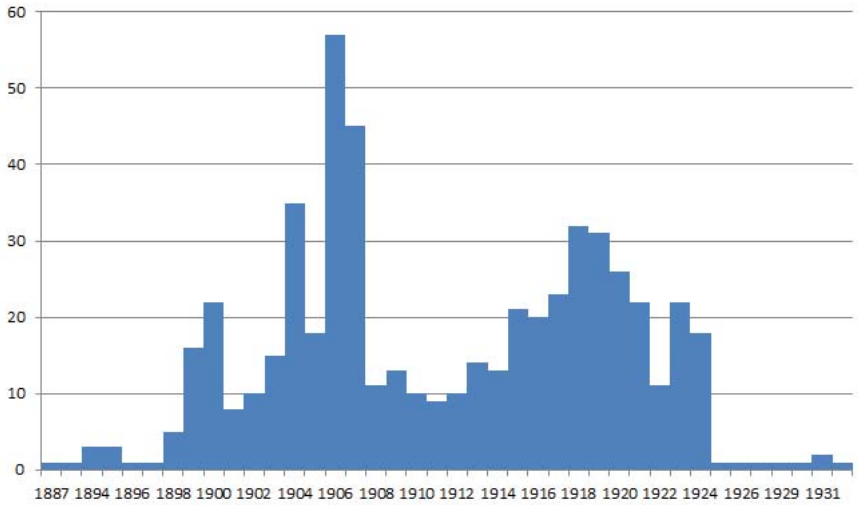


Figure 3.9. Year of entry to the United States for *Issei* in the five general WRA gardener categories at Manzanar.

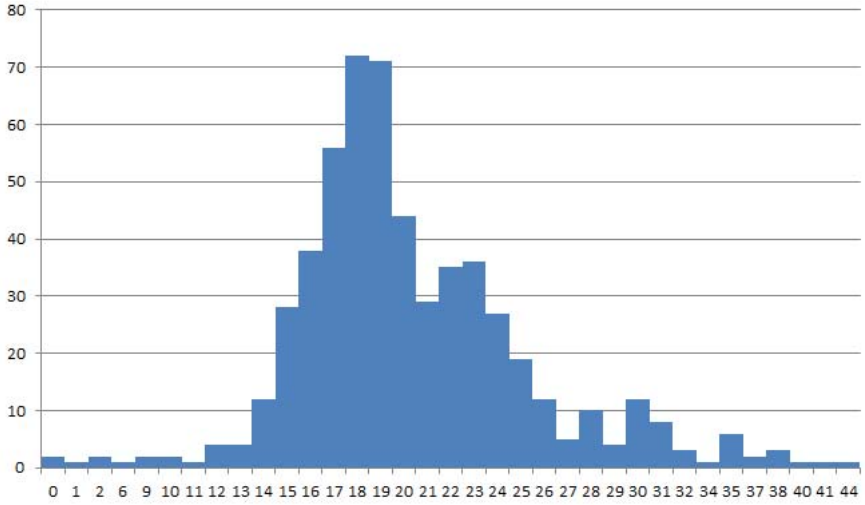


Figure 3.10. Age of entry to the United States for *Issei* in the five general WRA gardener categories at Manzanar.

Compared to the rest of the working population at Manzanar, those in the five gardener occupation categories had made more trips to Japan, but spent less total time there. There is also a slightly higher percentage of internees in the gardener categories who were fluent only in Japanese.

Before the War

The predominance of gardening occupations among the internees at Manzanar is not a coincidence. Many of southern California's Japanese immigrants and their citizen children became gardeners mainly because anti-Japanese racism and discriminatory laws made it difficult or impossible to enter other fields. Discussing the development of Japanese American flower-growing businesses, Hirahara (2004) outlines the increasingly restrictive and racist climate Japanese immigrants encountered in California: in 1913, an alien land law prohibited Japanese immigrants, who were already prohibited from becoming naturalized citizens, from owning land. In 1918, Japanese immigrants were prohibited from owning fishing boats. In 1920, laws were passed to prevent them from leasing land; in 1923, restrictions were expanded so that Japanese immigrants could not even enter into agricultural contracts to farm land.

Legislation pushed Japanese from land ownership and into the laboring class, and racism and exclusion pushed them toward domestic gardening (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2014: 61). In gardening they could make use of their experience with plant nurturing and irrigation, without needing large amounts of capital. Professionals trained in other vocations found limited opportunities in the United States and often turned to gardening. For example Shoji Naguma, who was interned at Heart Mountain in Wyoming, had been a teacher in Japan before becoming the "father of

Southern California gardeners" (Hirahara 2000). Most of the gardening work was "maintenance gardening" of Western-style yards (Tsukashima 2000). In fact, according to Hondagneu-Sotelo (2014:60):

> It was Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans … who invented the occupation of residential gardening. They also developed plant and flower nurseries, cultivating carnations and chrysanthemums for sale and cut flowers, as well as plants for sale to local residents looking to spruce up their yards. For them, the nurseries and gardens became a suburban source of ethnic entrepreneurship and eventually the means for social mobility.

Hondagneu-Sotelo (2014:60-63) argues that Japanese immigrants were able to corner the market on domestic gardening in California, with their numbers increasing just as the number of suburban neighborhoods expanded from the 1890s to 1920s. Having a gardener, especially a Japanese gardener, was a status symbol. Thanks to the popularity of Japanese gardens at early-twentieth-century world fairs, Japanese were stereotyped as natural gardeners, and Japanese immigrants were considered less threatening than other, more numerous, immigrant groups such as the Chinese. By the 1930s all along the West Coast, residential maintenance gardening was institutionalized as a Japanese American man's job, and small crews consisting of brothers, uncles, and cousins prevailed (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2014:60-63).

A notice in the *Manzanar Free Press* (June 6, 1942) provides poignant evidence that some gardeners had been working for their southern California clients for decades:

> **VISIT GARDENER**
> To visit their gardener of the past 30 years, Mr. and Mrs. A. Clark and daughter, Jeane, of Glendale, came to see K. Ishii, Thursday afternoon.

Gardener Kichizaemon Ishii, born in 1877, was 65 years old at the time, and lived at Block 22 Barracks 7 Apartment 1 with a bachelor and a divorced man. Ishii is registered as married, but no family or wife is listed as present at Manzanar. His World War I draft card lists him as a gardener living in Glendale, California, with his closest relative as Mura Ishii in Japan. WRA records list his occupation in the "Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, Parks, Cemeteries, etc." category.

Another field where Japanese immigrants could use their agricultural and business skills was flower growing. Jinnosuke Kobata began the first flower nursery in southern California in 1902, and Shinkichiro Shima established the first flower shop in downtown Los Angeles in 1904 (Hirahara 2004:11). Japanese Americans established the first wholesale flower market, the Southern California Flower Market, in 1912 with 54 *Issei* flower growers as shareholders (Hirahara 2004:12; Figure 3.11). The Japanese organized their produce and flower industries vertically, resulting in a system in which all operations were owned and operated by Japanese, from raising the plants to retail sales (Figure 3.12). Hirahara (2004:112) notes:

> Of all the camps, Manzanar had the most visible presence of flower growers. In addition to the Yokomizos, other San Fernando Valley growers, including the Takeyasus, Mutos, and Imais, were incarcerated in the dry desert of the Owens Valley. [Francis Miyoji (F.M.)] Uyematsu, in fact, being from Montebello, should have gone to Rohwer, Arkansas, but his Star Nursery employee Paul Bannai was politically connected and convinced administrators to send the Uyematsu family to Manzanar instead. This enabled their caretaker, Wally Naphas, to drive the 220 miles up to Manzanar from Montebello and give weekly updates about Star Nursery. Informal meetings among flower growers took place in Manzanar.

Lee McCarthy (2006) provides a slightly different ver-

Figure 3.11. Unloading flowers at the Southern California Flower Market, 1933 (Southern California Flower Market, Inc.).

Figure 3.12. Pre-war Japanese American nursery (Arnold Maeda Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 3.13. F.M. Uyematsu directing cherry tree planting at Griffith Park, 1953 (Uyematsu Family Collection, Pasadena City College).

sion of how Uyematsu and his family came to be at Manzanar: while he was still being held in Pomona Assembly Center, Uyematsu offered to donate 1,000 cherry and wisteria trees to Manzanar and even ship them at his own expense, provided that he and his family would be allowed to move to Manzanar instead of being relocated out of state.

Uyematsu was also one of the leading camellia contractors in the United States. When interned in 1942, "he sold part of his prized inventory of camellias – 300,000 plants – to Manchester Boddy, the well-heeled publisher of the Los Angeles Daily News. Boddy's estate, Rancho del Descanso, soon would come to thrive as a camellia nursery and cut-flower operation" (McCarthy 2006; Mori 2015). Los Angeles County purchased Rancho del Descanso from Boddy in 1953, and now Descanso Gardens is considered a world-class public treasure (McCarthy 2006).

Figure 3.14. Kiichiro Muto (second from left) at the ceremony for the first Griffith Park cherry tree planting, 1933 (Acme 1933).

When Uyematsu left Manzanar in March 1945, he apparently did not take the trees he had planted there with him. McCarthy reports that some were taken by Inyo County residents, who transplanted them to their yards. Uyematsu continued giving away trees after the war (Figure 3.13):

> By 1956, he had donated at least 18 varieties of Japanese cherry trees for planting in Bronson Canyon in Griffith Park. In 1958, Uyematsu had 17 Mt. Fuji cherry trees, grafted on American root stock, planted in Exposition Park's rose garden. A gift of wisteria trees was also made to the parks department during those years.
>
> McCarthy 2006

Donating trees and flowers had, even before World War II, become a Japanese American tradition. To show their desire to assimilate into their adopted homeland, nursery growers often donated trees and other landscaping to community projects. For example, in November 1933 Kiichiro Muto, who later would build a Japanese garden at his barracks at Manzanar, donated trees for the first major event of the City of Los Angeles's beautification program, planting a cherry grove in Griffith Park (Acme 1933; Figure 3.14).

Nursery growers continued to donate their expertise and labor to community projects while they were interned, but Hirahara (2004:110) provides examples of how the forced relocation affected flower growers, for example:

> An even larger loss was abandoning hybridized crops and seeds. Morizo Yokomizo had been the king of the ranunculus … He had each member of his family – wife Chiyoko and four children – carry one or two

packages of seeds in their suitcases en route to the camp in Manzanar, California. The rest of his plants … were left with Manchester Boddy, the publisher of the Daily News and a horticultural enthusiast.

Imprisoned Gardeners

Internees were brought to Manzanar by geographic location, and blocks and barracks were filled in the order internees arrived. Although most of Manzanar's internees were from Los Angeles, Block 3 housed Bainbridge Islanders, and Blocks 9 and 10 held Terminal Islanders. Farmers from central California ended up mostly in Block 30.

Internees in the five WRA gardening categories were distributed throughout the camp (Figures 3.15-3.17). The most in any block was 30 in Block 24, excluding Blocks 1 and 7 which were used for offices and staff housing. The fewest lived in Block 16. The number of internees per block classified as "Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, Parks, Cemeteries, etc." varied from 0 to 18 (Block 24). Nursery owners ranged from 0 to 8 (Blocks 12 and 17).

The distribution of gardeners indicates where labor and expertise would have been available. However, that expertise and experience may not have been as important as other factors in garden creation and distribution. For example, professional gardener Ryozo Kado lived in Block 17, but built gardens throughout camp, most notably for the Terminal Island fisherman in Block 9.

Building gardens was in some cases a paid profession at Manzanar, as noted in a September 19, 1942, article in the *Manzanar Free Press*: "August Payments Get Under Way [for] ... landscape gardeners, ... land improvement staff, ground laborers ... ." The landscapers Kuichiro Nishi and Miyoji (F.M.) Uyematsu, who were on the payroll of the Public Works Section, each had a crew to assist them. In the summer of 1943 Nishi's and Uyematsu's paid crews were reduced to three men each, due to a reported lack of funds (memo by Robert L. Brown, Assistant Project Director, June 24, 1943).

Figure 3.15. Number of internees classified in one of the five WRA general gardener occupations living in each block (darker shade denotes higher number; the residences of all internees is not known).

Figure 3.16. Number of internees classified in the gardeners and groundskeepers occupation living in each block (darker shade denotes higher number; the residences of all internees is not known).

Figure 3.17. Number of internees classied in the nursery owners and flower growers occupation iving in each block (darker shade denotes higher number; the residences of all internees is not known.

The Manzanar Relocation Center Engineering Section Final Report (Sandridge and Sisler 1946:65-68) records that the WRA hired 45 men to plant lawns, trees, and shrubs, and maintain and care for them after they were planted. In addition, a "Grounds and Yard Crew" of 36 men cut and disposed of all weeds, grass, and other combustible material, as well as collected and disposed of all rubbish from the streets and the inside of blocks. This work was not merely for aesthetics or morale: the plantings were intended to address the dust that caused health problems, and weeds were considered a fire hazard. "To overcome the dust condition extensive plantings of lawn, shrubs, and trees were made around the hospital, Children's

Village, administrative offices, staff housing, and other public buildings" (Sandridge and Sisler 1946:67-68).

In Manzanar's Final Report, Director Merritt (1946:880-881) noted:

> During the first and second summer, a number of gardeners were employed by the WRA. These workers beautified the general garden area by planting borders of flowers along the firebreak which was used for the Victory garden. They dug and maintained all irrigation ditches. They made out water schedules and regulated irrigation hours. Furthermore, they supervised gardeners cultivating their own gardens.
>
> Opportunity to work in a garden did much for the older people, for many of the Issei did not know how to enjoy themselves in social activities. On the other hand, these same individuals would derive tremendous pleasure out of being able to raise what they pleased in their little plots. Sometimes the enjoyment of dining on their own harvest would be added to their pleasure, but usually the garden products were donated to the block kitchen.

Merritt's belief that "the *Issei* did not know how to enjoy themselves in social activities" may have been at least partially true: according to the community social analyst's interviews with *Issei* who had been flower growers before the war, their work was so demanding that they had no time for leisure or social activities (Opler 1944).

Manzanar's Garden Builders

The names of 26 who built Japanese gardens at Manzanar are known (Table 3.4; Appendix A); however, not all garden work, and not all garden workers, are identified in the *Manzanar Free Press*, Block Man-

Table 3.4. Identified Builders of Japanese Gardens at Manzanar.

Name	Age in 1942	Age to U.S.	Issei, Nisei, or Kibei	Pre-War Occupation
Jack Hanshiro Arai	43	16	I	Wholesale Manager
Toyoshige Ioki	54	18	I	Nursery Operators and Flower Growers
Ryozo Kado	52	21	I	Nursery Operators and Flower Growers
William Katsuki	60	21	I	Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, etc
Seiichi Kayahara	42	14	I	Retail Manager
Gunsaburo Kono	60	24	I	Truck Farmer
George Goichi Kubota	68	25	I	Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, etc
Munejiro Matsuyama	56	22	I	Nursery Operators and Flower Growers
George Futoshi Murakami	42	19	I	Chauffeurs and Drivers
Kiichiro Muto	62	26	I	Nursery Operators and Flower Growers
Tom Takio Muto	26	-	N	Nursery Operators and Flower Growers
Yasaji Nakata	62	20	I	Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, etc
Akira Nishi	53	17	I	Nursery Operators and Flower Growers
Kuichiro Nishi	56	20	I	Nursery Operators and Flower Growers
Chotaro Nishimura	76	35	I	Nursery Operators and Flower Growers
Mark Mokutaro Nishimura	44	14	I	Nursery Operators and Flower Growers
Nintaro Ogami	55	17	I	Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, etc
Harry Oshio	51	21	I	Managers and Officials, N.E.C.
Shunzo Shiraki	45	19	I	Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, etc
Roy Shinichi Sugawara	44	17	I	Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, etc
Moiichiro Tachibana	58	17	I	Nursery Operators and Flower Growers
George Saburo Takemura	61	23	I	Nursery Operators and Flower Growers
Harry Ueno	35	-	K	Sales Clerk
Miyoji (F.M.) Uyematsu	60	23	I	Nursery Operators and Flower Growers
Bunyemon Wada	54	16	I	Nursery Operators and Flower Growers
Frank Teruo Yasuda	33	-	N	Hotel and Restaurant Manager

ager Reports, and other documents. For example, the work of Toyoshige Ioki is known only because of an oral history by his son, in which Sus Ioki indicated that his father designed the hospital garden and helped to build Merritt Park (Sus Ioki, Oral History MANZ 1165). Historical photographs corroborate his father's participation.

Twenty-three of the 26 known garden builders were *Issei*, three were *Nisei*, and one of the *Nisei* was *Kibei*. Prior to internment almost half (n=12) had been nursery owners or workers, and six had been in gardening and grounds-keeping fields. It is interesting that available archival documents suggest women did the majority of work in the Victory gardens (see, for example, *Manzanar Free Press* August 28, 1942) but no women are credited with creating Japanese gardens (Ng 2014). Since at least 302 women at Manzanar had pre-war experience in farming or garden occupations, their absence in the record of garden builders probably reflects culturally derived gender-based divisions of labor, rather than lack of strength or skill, but it is also possible that women-built ornamental gardens were under-reported to an unknown extent.

Figure 3.18. Jack Hanshiro Arai at Manzanar (Madelon Arai Yamamoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Ng (2014: 69-70) documents that a few of the internees who built ornamental gardens at Manzanar had at least some experience making Japanese gardens, even if only at their own house. However, most of the known garden builders at Manzanar did not have the type of formal training and apprenticeship in Japanese garden construction that would have been common in Japan. The only Manzanar gardener known to have had formal training in Japan was Chotaro Nishimura, who did not arrive in the United States until he was 35 years old. In contrast, of the 22 other *Issei* garden builders, eleven arrived in the United States while they were still teenagers, and eleven arrived in their early- to mid-20s. Although one *Issei*, Toyoshige Ioki, went to Japan for a month when he was about 48 to study Japanese gardens, it seems unlikely that any of these young men would have had any substantial gardening training in Japan. Instead, they were self-taught, using their familiarity with plants to create Japanese gardens inspired by ones they had seen in person or in newspapers and books.

Further, one did not have to be a gardener before World War II to build a Japanese garden during internment, as illustrated by Jack Arai and five others listed in Table 3.4. No doubt Table 3.4 is incomplete: others who built gardens at Manzanar will be identified only through oral histories, historical photographs, and archeological data. For example, there is a good probability that entry gardens would have been constructed by the residents of that particular apartment, and in many cases, gardens are indicated only by archeological remains. The likely builders of an entry garden, then, can be tentatively identified by examining the Manzanar roster to see who lived in that apartment. Although the number of known garden builders at Manzanar is expected to grow, some information is provided alphabetically below about the gardeners identified to date.

Jack Hanshiro Arai (Figure 3.18)

Arai built a large pond and garden between Barracks 3 and 4 in Block 34, next to his own family's Apartment 4 and his brother's family's Apartment 3. Discovered thanks to an oral history provided by his daughter, Madelon Arai Yamamoto, the garden was intended to provide a place for his four children to play and adults to relax, thus helping to keep the family together (Burton and Farrell 2014). Arai followed his older brother, Kakunosuke, to the United States when he was a teenager, and was fluent in both Japanese and English. Before internment, he had built up a successful wholesale business in Los Angeles; during internment he worked first as a carpenter and then as head of the

butchers, where his language skills allowed him to communicate well both with English-speaking meat-delivery personnel and the mostly Japanese-speaking camp butchers. Jack Arai left Manzanar for Los Angeles in July 1945, daughter Madelon followed in August, and the rest of the family followed in October.

Jack Arai never built a pond or garden before internment, but Kakunosuke Arai had a small pond at his home, not far from Jack's. After internment Jack Arai started his own gardening business, since it required little investment, but his daughter attributes his premature death to the extremely hard work involved.

Toyoshige Ioki (Figure 3.19)

Ioki helped build the hospital gardens and Merritt Park. At his own barracks apartment, he created an elegant flower garden bordered by rocks (see Figure 3.1). Born in Japan in 1888, Toyoshige Ioki came to the United States as a young man. He lived in Venice, California, and was operating a nursery at the start of the war. At Manzanar he lived with his wife, three sons, and two daughters in Block 14 Barracks 13 Apartment 1. They returned to Venice in June 1945. Sus Ioki explained that his father was so interested in Japanese gardens before World War II that he took a month off work in 1936 to go to Japan to learn how to create gardens (Sus Ioki, Oral History MANZ 1165). Toyoshige could speak English and speak, read, and write Japanese.

Ryozo Kado (Figure 3.20)

Kado's work is the most prominent and recognizable at Manzanar. He built the sentry posts at the camp entrance and the military police compound, the cemetery monument, and several large gardens. He also helped build the hospital garden. Born in 1890, Kado came to the United States in 1911. He had been interested in gardens in Japan, but was a tea merchant for his first years in the United States. Kado did not become a professional gardener until he became Chotaro Nishimura's apprentice in southern California. Through Nishimura, Kado did receive the kind of years-long apprenticeship required of professional garden designers in Japan. In fact, in a 1961 interview Kado joked that by marrying Nishimura's daughter Hama Mary, he became a "fifth generation rock man – by marriage" (Taylor 1961:36).

In Santa Monica, where he operated the Kado Cactus and Rock Gardens, Kado was known as a professional rock garden artist (Manzanar Relocation Center Documentary Report No. 12, June 24, 1942). Before the war, Kado built some pond gardens, but he specialized in rock shrines and grottoes for Catholic clients, at both private estates and churches (Appendix B). Built in 1939, his "Lourdes of the West" grotto at St. Elizabeth of Hungary Church in Altadena, California, was his thirty-first rock sculpture in Los Angeles (Fundter 2013; Figure 3.21). That grotto shrine is a significant landscape feature of the St. Elizabeth historic property, according to the nomination for listing on the National Register of Historic Places (Fundter 2013).

At Manzanar, Kado lived in Block 17 Barracks 8 Apartment 4, with his wife Hama Mary, son Louis, and daughter Ida. Louis Kado left Manzanar in August of 1943 to attend college in Pennsylvania, and the rest of the family left Manzanar two months later to go to Ossining, New York, where Ryozo did landscaping for the headquarters of the Catholic Maryknoll sisters. The family returned to Los Angeles in 1946, and Kado devoted the rest of his life to landscaping for the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Los Angeles (Taylor 1961:37; Figure 3.22).

Figure 3.19. Toyoshige Ioke at Manzanar (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

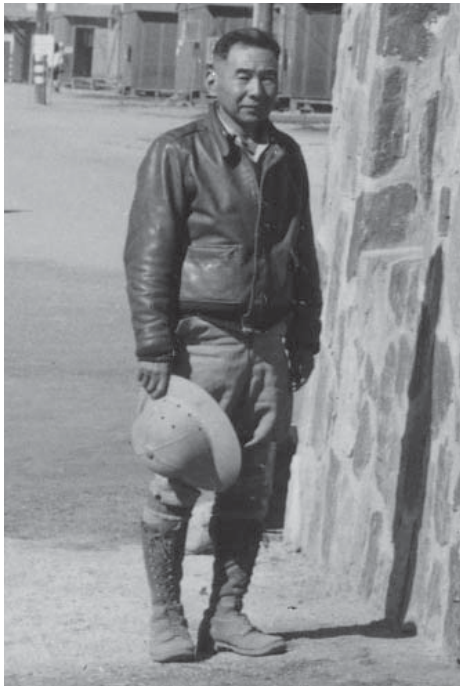


Figure 3.20. Ryozo Kado at Manzanar (Ron Izuno Collection, Manzanar NHS).

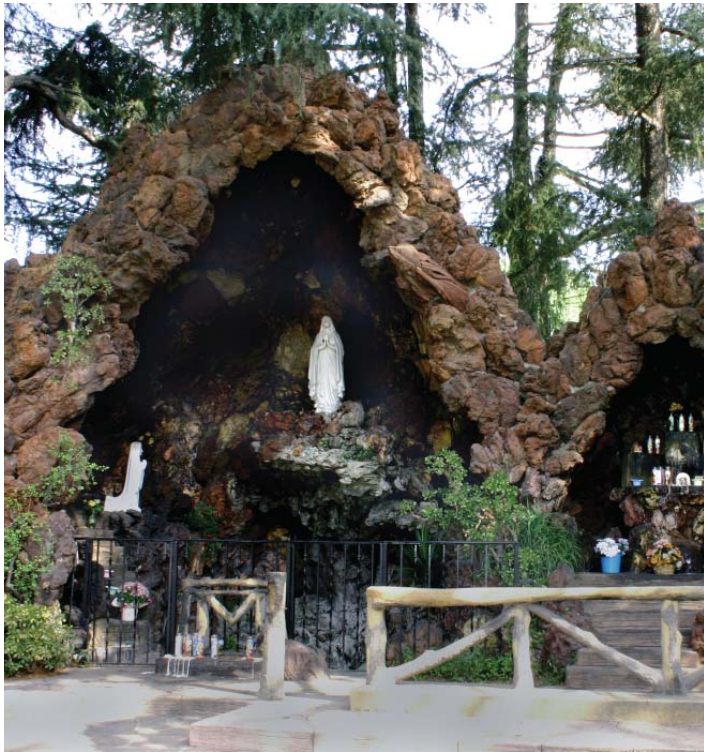


Figure 3.21. "Lourdes of the West" at St. Elizabeth of Hungary Church in Altadena, California (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Figure 3.22. Grotto built by Kado at Holy Cross Cemetery in Culver City, California (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Figure 3.23. Ryozo Kado (kneeling) building a backyard garden in Los Angeles with Amos Hashimoto (Dan Hashimoto Collection, Manzanar NHS.).

The *Saturday Evening Post* published a feature article on Kado in 1961 almost 20 years after the internment. In that article Kado recalled that he started gathering rocks for gardens the day after he arrived at Manzanar, and that he started at once on building a fish pond to revive the morale of the Japanese fishermen from Terminal Island. According to the article, Kado laid out five mess hall gardens and the hospital garden, and planted grass and trees for picnic areas.

Four of Kado's gardens have been uncovered: the Block 9 mess hall garden, the hospital pond garden, the entrance sign garden, and his own barracks garden in Block 17. Other known or suspected Kado gardens at Manzanar include the Block 6 Mess Hall garden (reported in the *Manzanar Free Press*) and a barracks garden in Block 10 (based on visible faux wood, one of Kado's trademarks). If Kado did indeed build five mess hall gardens, this leaves three still to be discovered.

In 1972 Kado built a backyard Japanese garden for the son of a Block 9 resident who had worked with and supported Kado at Manzanar; that garden has since been removed (Marie Masumoto, personal communication 2015; Figure 3.23). Ryozo Kado returned to Manzanar in 1973 to build the rock pedestal for a State Historic Landmark plaque installed at the camp entrance (Figure 3.24).

Figure 3.24. Ryozo Kado installing the California Historical Landmark plaque at the entrance to Manzanar in 1973 (Manzanar Committee Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 3.25. William Katsuki at Manzanar (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

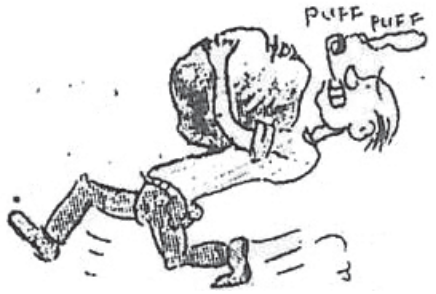


Figure 3.26. William Katsuki as depicted in the *Manzanar Free Press*, June 30, 1942.

William Katsuki (Figure 3.25)

Katsuki was born in 1882 and immigrated to the United States in 1903. A 1916 Glendale, California, city directory lists him under "Gardeners – Landscape and Lawns." The 1930 U.S. census gives his profession as landscape architect, working on his own for the nursery industry, and living in Santa Monica. In 1931 he was one of the builders of the Stoner Park Japanese garden in Sawtelle (West Los Angeles). The Manzanar roster lists him as a widower, living in Block 24 Barracks 5 Apartment 2 with two other widowers. According to a grandson, Katsuki had two married daughters and a widowed sister at Manzanar (Tad Takamatsu, personal communication 2013).

Katsuki constructed the first decorative garden at Manzanar, according to the *Manzanar Free Press* (Figure 3.26), and was employed by the WRA as a landscaper. Katsuki's Block 24 barracks garden has been excavated, but was found to be in very poor condition. What may be Katsuki's greatest achievement at Manzanar, Cherry Park, remains buried. He continued in landscaping and gardening after he left Manzanar in March 1945, as indicated by the *Manzanar Free Press* notice that he returned later in 1945 to recruit gardeners for work in Los Angeles.

Figure 3.27. Builders of the hospital gardens, right to left: Toyoshige Ioki, Nintaro Ogami, Gunsaburo Kono, and possibly Shunzo Shiraki (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Seiichi Kayahara

One of three men who supervised the construction of the Block 34 mess hall garden, Seiichi Kayahara had been born in Japan in 1900, and immigrated to the United States in 1914. He could speak, read, and write both Japanese and English, and worked as a retail manager before internment. He was married to Hideko, who was a U.S. citizen born in 1906, and they had a daughter, Teruyo Janice, born in 1935. Their Manzanar address is not known; the family transferred to the Gila River Relocation Center in April 1943.

Gunsaburo Kono (Figure 3.27)

Kono was identified as a builder of the hospital gardens during interviews for a Japanese language television documentary about Manzanar's gardens. NHK interviewed two daughters of Gunsaburo Kono, Kimiye Margaret and Yoshiko (Yoshida NHK interview 2011). The daughters had been teenagers in camp, and remembered their father was on the grounds crew, and that he worked on the hospital gardens with Ryozo Kado.

Gunsaburo Kono had been born in Japan in 1882; he and his wife Yoriko (born in 1901) had seven children, one old enough (age 19 in 1942) to have come to Manzanar early as part of the voluntary evacuation and one born at Manzanar in 1943. Gunsaburo is listed in WRA records as a truck farmer, who could read and speak Japanese. He lived with his family in Block 6 Barracks 2 Apartment 1. The senior Konos went to Seabrook, New Jersey, in June of 1945, following three of their children who had gone earlier.

Gunsaburo Kono was identified by his daughters in a historic photograph as one of four men posing at the hospital (see Figure 3.27). Two of the other men have been identified: Toyoshige Ioki during an oral history by his son (Sus Ioki, Oral History MANZ 1165) and Nintaro Ogami by comparing the photograph to other known photographs of him. The fourth man is unknown, but there are two likely subjects. The man bears a slight resemblance to known photographs of Ryozo Kado, but he left Manzanar in August 1943. The other men in the photograph stayed at Manzanar until 1945 and the vegetation in the photograph appears more established than it would have been in

1943. The M*anzanar Free Press* reported that work on the garden was still under way in May 1943, with its competition possibly in July 1943, so the photograph was most likely taken after Ryozo Kado left Manzanar. If this photograph documents the hospital gardens' creators it is likely Shunzo Shiraki, but there are no known photographs of him for comparison.

George Goichi Kubota

Listed as a gardener in the 1940 census, Kubota was the only one of the three men credited with supervising the Block 34 mess hall garden construction who had pre-war gardening experience. George Kubota was born in Japan in 1873, and arrived in the United States in 1898. His pre-war occupation was listed in the "Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, Parks, Cemeteries, etc." category. Kubota was married to Matsu, who was born in Japan in 1876; they lived with four other members of their family, presumed to be their son, his wife, and two grandchildren, in Block 34 Barracks 2 Apartment 4. George and Matsu left Manzanar October 11, 1945, returning to Los Angeles. The others had relocated to Cleveland in May 1943.

Munejiro Matsuyama

Born in 1885, Munejiro Matsuyama arrived in the United States in 1907. His pre-internment occupation is listed in the "Nursery Operators and Flower Growers" category, and at Manzanar he donated trees and plants to the Block 6 mess hall garden. Matsuyama and his wife Masano lived with their two adult daughters and one son in Block 6 Barracks 6 Apartment 5. One daughter went to Denver November 20, 1944; the rest of the family relocated to Brighton, Colorado, July 10, 1945.

George Futoshi Murakami

George Murakami is one of three men credited with supervising the Block 34 mess hall garden construction. Murakami was born in 1901 in Japan and arrived in the United States in 1920. He was bilingual, and had had one year of college in the United States. His occupation was listed as chauffeur. He and his wife Helen Hiroko left Manzanar for Freeport, Illinois, in April 1943; their barracks address at Manzanar is unknown.

Kiichiro (Figure 3.28) and Tom Takio Muto (Figure 3.29)

Tak Muto is usually given credit for being the co-builder of Merritt Park with Kuichiro Nishi, but historic documents and photographs indicate that Tak's father Kiichiro Muto also played a role in the park's construction (WRA 1943). Tak built a garden at his barracks and was co-director of the fire-break Victory gardens (*Manzanar Free Press* May 26, 1942). Kiichiro built one of the first six garden ponds at Manzanar at his barracks with the help of his neighbor Roy Sugawara.

Kiichiro Muto was 62 years old in 1942; he had immigrated to the United States in 1908, and his wife Hatsu Goto had followed in 1913. He and Hatsu had nine children, who in 1942 ranged in age from 20 to 36 years old. Not all of his children were at Manzanar, and not all of those at Manzanar lived with him. According to the 1940 U.S. census, Kiichiro Muto was a floriculturist working 60 hours a week, his wife and four sons were unpaid family farm laborers, and two daughters worked 48 hours a week as unpaid family sales ladies. No occupation was listed for the two youngest daughters, who

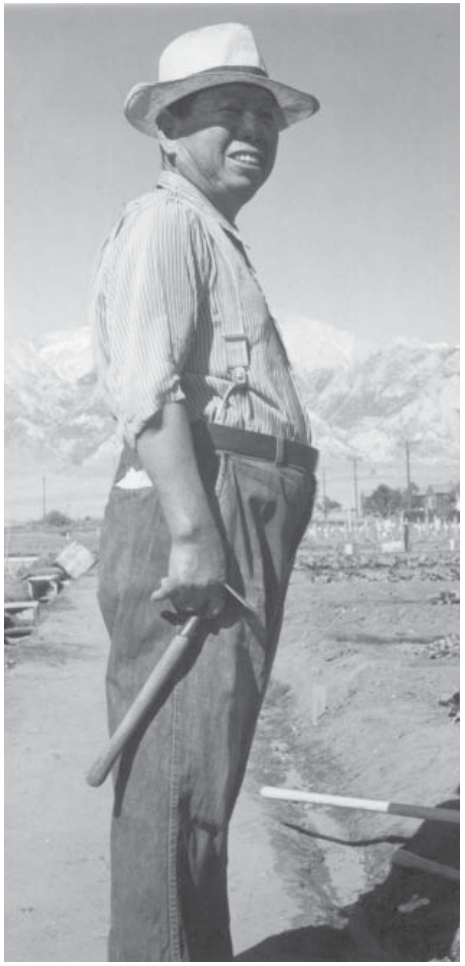


Figure 3.28. Kiichiro Muto at Manzanar (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

Figure 3.29. Tom and Masako Muto, ca. 1945 (coustey of Susan Muto Knight).

Figure 3.30. Tom Muto at his Encinitas home, 1990s (coustey of Susan Muto Knight).

were 18 and 19 years old at the time. One daughter was not living at home, but her husband Kodo Muto worked for the family. One of Kiichiro and Hatsu's sons was in the U.S. military, and was one of the first graduates from the Military Intelligence Language School at Camp Savage, Minnesota.

The Manzanar roster lists Kiichiro's and Hatsu's jobs in the category of "Nursery Operators and Flower Growers," and Kiichiro's World War I draft card list his occupation as "Farmer." Kiichiro could speak, read, and write only Japanese. At Manzanar Kiichiro and Hatsu lived in Block 15 Barracks 7 Apartment 3 with their three youngest daughters, Nobuko, Ayako, and Kuniko. Two of the daughters later married and moved out, Ayako in 1943 and Kuniko in 1944. Kiichiro, Hatsu, and Nobuko left Manzanar for San Fernando on June 5, 1945. In 1943 the family had been notified that their ten-acre San Fernando Valley flower farm had been sold for back taxes six months earlier. While incarcerated at Manzanar, they had no recourse to either pay the taxes or to protest the land sale (Knight 2015). The land was purchased by the Caucasian man they had entrusted their farm to and was never returned (Michelle Warth, personal communication 2015).

Born in 1916, Tom Takio Muto was Kiichiro and Hatsu's youngest son. He married Masako in late 1941 and had a daughter born at Manzanar in September 1942. They lived at Block 15 Barracks 8. The Manzanar roster lists Tom's job in the category of "Nursery Operators and Flower Growers," but according to the Block Manager's Report of July 31, 1942, Tom Takio Muto was also an experimentalist at Ohio State College as well as a well-known San Fernando floriculturist and a specialist in crossbreeding (*Manzanar Free Press* May 26, 1942). Tak could speak, read, and write English and speak Japanese. He and his family left Manzanar for Blackfoot, Idaho, in April 1943, where they lived in a converted pig pen while working on a potato farm. Tom was drafted into the Army July 24, 1945, and was sent to Military Intelligence Language School at Fort Snelling in Minneapolis. Discharged after the war he later rejoined the Army for a brief time before moving to Encinitas, California, to start his own wholesale flower business. Tom built a koi pond and garden in the front yard of his home (Michelle Warth, personal commication 2015). He had left Manzanar well before Merritt Park was completed, but his youngest daughter recalls that he spoke very fondly of the gardens he created at Manzanar (Figure 3.30; Susan Muto Knight, personal communication 2015).

Yasaji Nakata

Builder of the garden that won third place in the *Manzanar Free Press* best garden contest, Yasaji Nakata was a gardener from Pasadena, age 62 in 1942. He was born in Japan in 1880, and came to the United States in 1900; he was fluent in both Japanese and English. At Manzanar, Nakata lived with his wife Kino Josephine and their two adult daughters, Yuriko and Ayako, in Block 15 Barracks 5 Apartment 2. The 1940 U.S. census lists Nakata as a gardener and pond builder. The roster indicates that Yasaji and Kino Nakata did not leave Manzanar until November 14, 1945, making them the last of the Barracks 5 residents to depart (the daughters had left February 26, 1943).

Kuichiro (Figure 3.31) and Akira Nishi (Figure 3.32)

The brothers Kuichiro and Akiri Nishi came to the United States in 1906. Kuichiro was born in 1886, and Akira, in 1889. At Manzanar, both were listed in the "Nursery Operators and Flower Growers" occupa-

Figure 3.31. Kuichiro Nishi at Manzanar (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 3.32. Builders of Merritt Park, from left to right: Kiichiro Muto, Akira Nishi, Kuichiro Nishi, and two persons identified by Nishi family members as former employees of the Nishi's nursery (courtesy of Edith Nishi Yamamoto).

Figure 3.33. Pre-war garden exhibit by Kuichiro Nishi (Hirahara 2004:76).

tion category, and both were married. Kuichiro is listed as able to speak, read, and write Japanese and English; Akira only Japanese. Kuichiro was picked up by the FBI the day the war began, or soon after, probably because of his leadership roles and association with the Japanese Nurseryman's Association, the Buddhist church, the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, and the Japanese language school (Henry Nishi, Oral History MANZ 1254A). The Manzanar roster indicates he came to Manzanar from Ft. Missoula, Montana, on June 17, 1942. The rest of both families had arrived June 1.

Kuichiro lived with his wife Hiroko, son Henry Kenichi, and daughters Barbara Kazuko, Edith Michiko, Mary Satoko, and Midori in Block 22 Barracks 12 Apartment 1. An older daughter, Sutsuko, got married in camp (Ishizuka et al., Oral History MANZ 1299A). Mary and Midori left for college in Lincoln, Nebraska, November 1942, Henry went to Omaha in September 1944, and Barbara went to Los Angeles in September 1945. Kuichiro and Hiroko returned to Los Angeles in late October 1945.

Next door in Apartment 2 was Akira, his wife Yasugiku, sons Soichiro and George Haruo and daughter Yuriko. Soichiro went to Omaha in September 1945, George and Yuriko went to Chicago in March 1945, and Akira and Yasugiku went to Chicago in June 1945.

Kuichiro Nishi, whose work at Manzanar included Rose Park, Merritt Park, and possibly the hospital garden, clearly had experience creating Japanese gardens before internment. In her history of the Southern California flower market, Hirahara (2004:76; Figure 3.33) includes a photograph of a miniature Japanese garden at the 1934 first spring flower show, signed "PACIFIC ROSE CO. / DESIGN BY K. NISHI." Akira also likely had experience building Japanese gardens, too, since Harry Ueno credits him with offering to design the Block 22 mess hall garden. Kuichiro Nishi's legacy at Manzanar has been upheld by his son, Henry, who in 2011 at 92 years of age spearheaded his family's reconstruction of Kuichiro's iconic bridge at Merritt Park.

Chotaro (Figure 3.34) and Mark Nishimura (Figure 3.35)

Chotaro Nishimura and his son Mark Mokutaro Nishimura are two of the few Manzanar internees documented to have made Japanese gardens before internment. Chotaro had worked at the Crown Prince

Figure 3.34. Chotaro Nishimura at Seabrook Farms, ca. 1945 (courtesy of Aileen Ellis).

Figure 3.35. Mark Mokutaro Nishimura after internment (courtesy of Aileen Ellis).

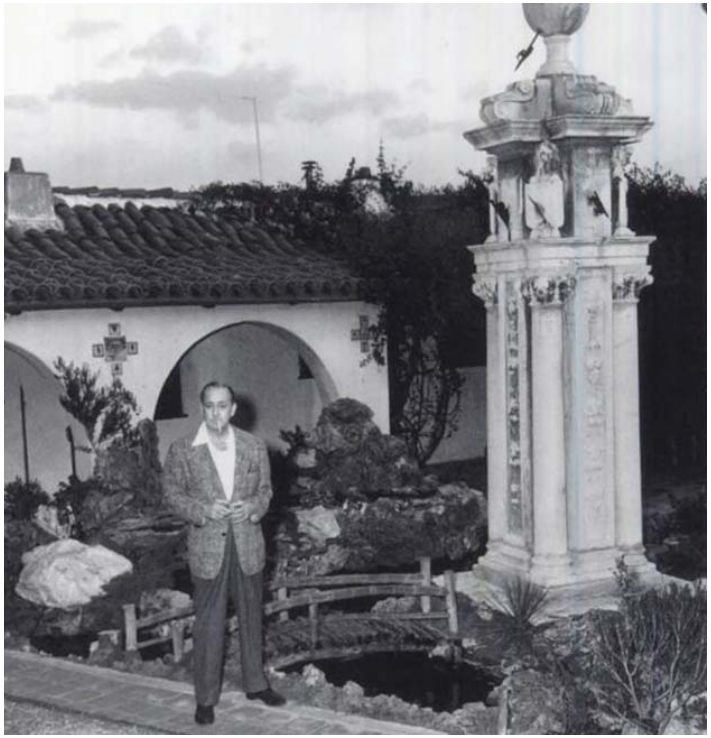


Figure 3.36. John Barrymore at his Japanese garden (*Screen Life Magazine* 1941).

Gardens in Japan and the Presidential Garden in Mexico City before coming to California in the early twentieth century, and he and his son Mokutaro had landscaped John Barrymore's 14-acre Hollywood estate. Chotaro, born in Japan in 1866, arrived in the United States in 1901. Mokutaro, born in 1898, arrived in 1912. In the Manzanar roster, no formal schooling is listed for Chotaro, but it seems likely he served an apprenticeship in gardening. Mokutaro, who had gone to school in Japan, could read, write, and speak in both Japanese and English.

After completing the landscaping project at Barrymore's estate, the Nishimura family moved to Roscoe (near San Fernando), to start a flower business. When this business failed to yield adequate returns for the labor involved, the Nishimura family returned to Los Angeles, where Mokutaro became reacquainted with Mr. Barrymore. The family then moved to Mr. Barrymore's estate where Mokutaro, and presumably Chotaro, worked as live-in gardeners until the family was forced to move to Manzanar. A 1941 photograph shows a Japanese garden at the estate (Figure 3.36). According to the *Manzanar Free Press*, Chotaro Nishimura supervised his son Mokutaro in the building of a mess hall garden in Block 4 in 1943. Chotaro and Mokutaro may have built or helped build other gardens, but to date there is no evidence to indicate so.

In the Manzanar roster, Chotaro is listed as living in Block 4 Barracks 3 Apartment 1. Mokutaro is listed as living in Block 4 Barracks 2 Apartment 1 with his wife Take, born in 1902, and sons Richard Shigeru, born in 1922, Donald Shintaro, born in 1931, and daughters Laura Miyako, born in 1923, Flora Shizuko, born in

Figure 3.37. William Nintaro Ogami prior to internment (NHK 2011).

1925, and Katherine Mitsue, born in 1930. Two others with the same family number as Mokutaro (1142) are listed as living with Chotaro in Block 4 Barracks 3 Apartment 1: Bryce Yoshitani Nishimura, born in 1928, and George Hiroshi Nishimura, born in 1926. If, as the roster indicates, there were nine people in Mokutaro and Take's nuclear family, it would not be surprising if two of their sons stayed with their grandfather. Today, no evidence of gardens can be seen on the ground surface at either Chotaro or Mokutaro's former barracks locations.

Son George Hiroshi Nishimura left Manzanar to go to college in Iowa in June of 1944. Mark Mokutaro and daughters Laura Miyako and Flora Shizuko left Manzanar for Seabrook on April 12, 1945, and Chotaro and Take followed on May 22 with Katherine Mitsue, Donald Shintaro, and a son, Kazuyuki John, born in 1944. Richard Shigeru left to join the military in July 1945, and Bryce Yoshitani left Manzanar to attend college in Pennsylvania the following month.

William Nintaro Ogami (Figure 3.37)

Born in 1887, Nintaro Ogami came to the United States in 1904. In the Manzanar roster, he is listed in the "Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, Parks, Cemeteries, etc." category, and able to read, speak, and write Japanese and speak English. In the roster he is listed as living with his wife, Tane, two sons, Arthur Mitsuro (born in 1922), and Benny Mizuchi (born in 1925), and a daughter, Grace Kiku (born in 1923). The parents went to Tule Lake at the end of 1943; the three younger Ogamis followed in February of 1944. In oral histories, Arthur reported that the family lived in Block 16 at first, and then moved to Block 34 when his mother got a job working at the hospital mess hall (Arthur Ogami, Oral History MANZ 1031A; Tamura 2002, Appendix B). Nintaro Ogami was in charge of the landscaping and grounds crew at the hospital and Arthur remembers him working on a rock wall and other garden features there.

Harry Gen Oshio

Along with Ryozo Kado and others, Oshio is credited with helping build the Block 6 mess hall garden. Oshio also contributed fish to the pond there. Harry Oshio was born 1891, and came to the United States in 1912. He had completed two years of college in Japan, and could read, write, and speak both Japanese and English. His pre-internment occupation is listed as in the "Managers and Officials" category. Harry and his wife Yukari and five children, ranging in age from 10 to 19, lived in Block 6 Barracks 12 Apartment 3. The family returned to Los Angeles in 1945: the first left Manzanar in July and the last in October.

Shunzo Shiraki (see Figure 3.27)

Along with several others, Shunzo Shiraki is credited with building the hospital gardens. Born in 1897 in Japan, he came to the United States in 1916. He completed grade school in Japan and could speak, read, and write only Japanese. His wife, Chiyeno, was born in Japan in 1902 and arrived in the United States in 1915. She could speak, write, and read Japanese and English.

WRA records list Shunzo's primary pre-internment occupation in the "Gardeners and Groundskeepers, Parks, Cemeteries, etc," category and his secondary occupation as "Farm Hands, Fruit." Shunzo Shiraki worked in this field since his earliest years in the U.S., but at different locations. His World War I draft card

lists his occupation as a farmhand working for a Japanese employer in Santa Clara. U.S. Census data put Shiraki in Gilroy in 1930 and 1935, but by 1940 Shiraki lived in Oakland and was a gardener for private homes. He had returned to Japan twice (California Passenger and Crew Lists, 1882-1959).

His first trip back was in 1918 with his brother Harukichi Shiraki, who was born in Japan in 1902 and had come to the U.S. in 1916. Harukichi also lived in Gilroy in 1935, and the 1940 census lists him as a gardener living in Palo Alto. In March 1941 Shunzo Shiraki and his wife and children traveled to Japan. The family apparently had moved to West Los Angeles by early 1942; their oldest daughter Grace married Roy Hajime Masuda in Los Angeles on April 24, 1942. Harukichi, who was married by 1942, stayed in the Bay Area and was sent to Heart Mountain. WRA records list Harukichi's occupation as "House and Yardman."

At Manzanar Shunzo and Chiyeno lived at Block 14 Barracks 10 Apartment 3 with their daughter Michiko (age 17). No Manzanar address is known for his married daughter Grace Atsuho (age 19), but in March 1944 she and her husband relocated to Cleveland, followed by Michiko in 1945. Shunzo and Chiyeno left Manzanar for Los Angeles on October 18, 1945.

Roy Shinichi Sugawara

Roy Shinichi Sugiwara and his family lived in Block 15 Barracks 7 Apartment 2, and Sugiwara helped Kiichiro Muto build the barracks garden at Barracks 7 in Block 15. The 1940 U.S. census shows Shinichi's job as a gardener, and the Manzanar roster lists his job in the category of "Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, Parks, Cemeteries, etc." Shinichi had come to the United States in 1915, when he was 17 years old, and was listed as proficient only in Japanese.

The Sugiwara family included seven individuals: husband Shinichi (age 44 in 1942), wife Sakae (40), widowed Fuyo (60), and four children, Kiichi (21), George (20), Billy (18), and Michiko (16). Kiichi went to Chicago in April 1943, George went to Chicago in Feburary 1944, and Billy joined the Army in October 1944. The rest of the family returned to San Fernando in 1945: Michiko in June, Sakae in July, and Fuyo and Shinichi in September.

Moichiro Tachibana

Born 1883, Moichiro Tachibana came to the United States in 1900. Listed in the "Nursery Operators and Flower Growers" category, Tachibana donated trees to the Block 6 garden. He, his wife Kiyoe, and their four children lived in Block 6; Barracks 7 is listed as the address for three of the family members, and it can be assumed that they all lived in one apartment, though the apartment is not specified. Their oldest son, born in 1920, was sent to Tule Lake in February 1944; the second son, born in 1921, left for Chicago in December of that year. Their 17-year-old daughter Miyoko left for Gardena, where the family lived before internment, in September of 1945; Mr. and Mrs. Tachibana and their youngest daughter left Manzanar for Los Angeles on November 14, 1945.

George Saburo Takemura (Figure 3.38)

Creator of the "Manzanar Showplace" outside his residence in Block 23 Barracks 9 Apartment 4 (Figure 3.39), Takemura was born in 1881, and came to the United States in 1904. He attended three years of college in Japan, and could read, speak, and write in not only Japanese and English, but also another, unspecified language. Takemura's primary occupation was

Figure 3.38. George Saburo Takemura at Manzanar (Francis Stewart, National Archives).

Figure 3.39. Umbrella built by George Saburo Takemura (WRA photograph, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley).

Figure 3.40. Harry Ueno and sons prior to internment (NHK 2011).

Figure 3.41. Francis Miyoji Uyematsu and family in 1935 (Uyematsu Family Collection, Pasadena City College).

listed in the "Nursery Operators and Flower Growers" category, but he also had a secondary occupation listed, that of "Teacher/Instructor." He and his wife Kisei and their five children (ranging in age from 13 to 22 in 1942) were at Manzanar, presumably in the same apartment. Takemura also built a rustic well for the Block 22 mess hall garden. One of his children left Manzanar in the fall of 1942 for college in Iowa, and the rest of the family departed Manzanar at three separate times in 1943 for the Midwest.

Harry Ueno (Figure 3.40)

Ueno, head of the Mess Hall Workers Union, is credited with starting the first mess hall garden at Manzanar, in Block 22. Ueno had been born in Hawaii in 1907, and went to grade school in Japan. He was fluent in both Japanese and English, and his pre-internment occupation was listed as sales clerk. Ueno and his wife Yaso and their three sons, born in 1931, 1932, and 1937, lived in Block 22 (but the barracks and apartment numbers are unknown). It was Ueno's alleged beating of a Japanese American Citizens League official and

Ueno's subsequent arrest that sparked the Manzanar Riot. Soon after the riot, in January 1943, Ueno was transferred to Moab Isolation Center and then the Leupp Isolation Center. He was eventually reunited with his family at the Tule Lake Segregation Center.

Francis Miyoji Uyematsu (Figure 3.41)

Francis Miyoji (F.M.) Uyematsu, whose prized camellias formed the basis of Los Angeles's famed Rancho del Descanso, worked with Kado, Katsuki, and Muto in several landscaping projects at Manzanar. Born in 1881, Uyematsu came to the United States in 1904, and became a very successful nursery operator. Uyematsu owned and operated Star Nursery in Montebello and owned 126 acres in Manhattan Beach. A historic photograph of the Manhattan Beach property shows many small trees, possibly cherry trees, likely being grown for resale (Figure 3.42). His donation of 1,000 cherry and wisteria trees became the principal components of Cherry Park, and other donated vegetation graced the Block 6 mess hall garden. In the Manzanar roster, he is listed as fluent in both Japanese and English. Uyematsu, his wife Kuni, plus Genichiro Francis (born in 1921), Alice Kumiko (born in 1923), Marian Sachiko (born 1927), and Samuel Michiro (born 1933), are listed as living in Block 6 Barracks 10 Apartment 2. Genichiro left Manzanar for college in Lincoln, Nebraska, in October 1943; Francis Miyoji Kuni, and Samuel returned to Sierra Madre in March 1945; Alice went to La Crescenta in April 1945; and Marian went to Sierra Madre in June 1945.

Figure 3.42. Uyematsu family at their Manhattan Beach property in 1941 (Uyematsu Family Collection, Pasadena City College).

Bunyemon Wada

In charge of the landscaping crew at Manzanar, Bunyemon Wada is known to have worked on the administration circle garden and the hospital garden. He was born in Japan in 1888, and came to the United States in 1904. His occupation was listed in the "Nursery Operators and Flower Growers" category, with a secondary occupation as farm manager and foreman, and a tertiary occupation as cook. He could read, write, and speak in Japanese, and knew at least some English. He and his wife Kimiyo (born in Japan in 1900) lived in Block 6 Barracks 4 Apartment 2 with five children: Mary Hatsuko (born in 1920), Roy Fumiwo (born in 1924), George Mitsuhiro (born in 1927), Kikumi Florence (born in 1931), and Richard Osamu (born in 1939). Mary went to Cleveland in May 1944 and George went to Chicago in September 1944. Bunyemon left Manzanar for Los Angeles in January 1945, Roy followed in September, and the rest of the family left Manzanar for Burbank in November.

Frank Teruo Yasuda

Frank was on Kuichiro Nishi's Merritt Park garden-building crew, and according to block manager's reports, he worked on the Block 22 mess hall garden and "Manzanar Park" (this could be a reference to North Park or Merritt Park). He must have served as block manager at some point, since Documentary Report No. 89 (August 16, 1943) noted Yasuda was well liked and his replacement was having a harder time. Yasuda was listed as Secretary of the Block Managers' Town Hall at an informal hearing held in Project Director Merritt's office in October of 1943 (discussed below). Born in California in 1909, Frank Yasuda was fluent in both Japanese and English. In the 1940 U.S. census his occupation was listed as proprietor; at Manzanar, he was listed in the "Hotel and Restaurant Managers" category. Yasuda lived in Block 22 Barracks 8 Apartment 2 with his wife Mitsuye, born in 1916, and children Richard Masao, born in 1934, Grace Sadako, born in 1935, Donald Tadashi, born in 1940, and Joanne Reiko, born in 1944. All left Manzanar in June of 1945.

A Training Ground

Skilled landscapers interned at Manzanar also provided opportunities for others to work with them, sometimes as a trainee:

> **Landscapers wanted**
> Want to help make Manzanar a more attractive town? Landscape Foreman B. Wada desires ten experienced landscapers immediately.
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* July 27, 1942

> **ROCK MASONRY INSTRUCTION**
> An opportunity to learn rock masonry and rock craftsman under the experienced guidance of R. F. Kado, noted Southern California rock garden designer, is extended to ten young men. Kado emphasizes that he is not looking for helpers, but wishes to teach interested young people the full technical and practical details of rock crafts. Apply in the evenings at 17-8-4 or during the daytime at the hospital where Kado is working in front of the hospital administration building.
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* July 31, 1942

In July 1942, Ryozo Kado had four young evacuees working under him to construct gardens in the camp (Unrau 1996:277). In an oral history interview, Raymond Chomori recounted working with Kado to build a pond and garden in Block 17 (Oral History MANZ 1003); this was at Kado's own apartment, so this may not have been paid WRA work. Danny Hashimoto remembered that his father Amos and his uncle Shig helped Kado build gardens in Block 9 and 10 (Masumoto, personal communication 2015).

George Masami Ozamoto, in a very reluctant interview with NHK, described working with William Katsuki at Cherry Park. While he said he did not like doing the garden work at the time, he has come to see it as something meaningful that he was a part of, an important thing that he had done. Still bitter about his incarceration, he asked not to be interviewed again (George Ozamoto, NHK interview 2011). Ozamoto was born in California in 1923, and spent some time attending school in Japan. WRA records indicate he could speak, read, and write both Japanese and English (in his NHK interview he only spoke Japanese). Although he was only 19 in 1942, he was listed as a widower. In October 1943 George was transferred to Tule Lake, and in 1946 to Crystal City. His parents and three siblings were also at Manzanar, but left for Colorado May 28, 1943.

A Gardener's Tale

Although gardeners and landscapers were allowed to go outside the security fence to collect rocks and plants for Manzanar's gardens, a transcript of an informal hearing indicates they were still subject to strict security regulations and could be punished if they did not acquire the proper permits and passes. The transcript, dated October 25, 1943, is the record of a meeting between Project Director Merritt (Figure 3.43), the project attorney, the internal security police chief, two block managers, the chairman of block managers, the secretary of the block managers, and seven internees who had been "picked up out of bounds":

K. Nishi
K. Muto
Minoru Nakashima
Masaji Takenouchi
H. Nakauchi
K. Okano
Keiji Arataka

The seven had been caught by the military police outside of the security fence without a permit. The group had gone 7 or 8 miles west of Manzanar to get a pine tree, which had previously been prepared and boxed for transplanting to Merritt Park. According to the transcript, some on the trip were gardeners working with Nishi at Merritt Park and others had just gone along to help if needed.

In the transcript, Merritt repeats numerous times that to have been found without a permit and the proper military police escort, which they could have obtained if they had asked, was a very serious offense. Merritt's admonitions take up most of the nine-page transcript. Merritt said he was embarrassed personally, especially since the park was named after him, and that such disregard for the rules would cause the military police

Figure 3.43. Camp Director Ralph P. Merritt (Manzanar Committee Collection, Manzanar NHS).

to tighten security for all of Manzanar's internees. For punishment, Merritt decreed that all seven men would be ineligible for passes for the following three months. Because the group was under the leadership of Kuichiro Nishi, Nishi was given the additional punishment of reporting to the Internal Police Station weekly, to convince them he was aware of the regulations and the "serious situation" he caused. Merritt even stated he could have sent them all to jail.

The incident must have been mortifying for the seven internees. Nishi and Muto were very successful and outstanding members of their community before internment. Masaji Takenouchi was the driver of the

Figure 3.44. Large pine tree at Merritt Park transplanted by Kuichiro Nishi. The movie camera was rotated 90 degrees to capture the full height of the tree (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

truck, which had been assigned to the Merritt Park garden crew. Keiji Arataka, long-time friend of Nishi's, had gone along to be of assistance. Arataka was also involved with Merritt Park in that he was the one working on the lettering for the stele. All of the offenders undoubtedly thought they were doing their jobs, for the benefit of the camp. Tellingly, through an interpreter Nishi explained that he thought the rules had been relaxed. There may well have been confusion about where one was allowed to go: at one point in the hearing, Merritt states "I understand that Mr. Nishi and his crew had passes to go out of the Center and into the Area, but had no passes to go outside the Area." The location or boundary of "the Area" is not defined during the hearing, but Merritt clearly thought it should have been apparent to Nishi.

The only unsolicited comment Nishi made during the hearing, other than direct answers to Merritt's questions, was that he was worried about the tree, which the military police had forced them to abandon. Merritt replied that the tree could live or die, he would send someone else to pick it up. Nishi could describe what needed to be done, but he would not be allowed to help. This must have been very difficult for Nishi to hear, since he had spent several trips over the course of months preparing the tree for transplanting.

The transcript does make it clear that even as late as October 1943, internees could not come and go as they pleased, and that Merritt felt he had to placate the military police. The hearing transcript is also important in that it provides the names of other potential gardeners on Nishi's crew. Interestingly, it was Kiichiro Muto with the group and not Tak Muto, who is usually credited as helping Nishi build Merritt Park. Minoru Nakashima (spelled Nakashimo in the Manzanar roster) had been born in 1916, and was

married. His pre-war occupation was listed as in the "Farm Hand, Vegetable" category. Masaji Takenouchi, the driver of the truck, was single, born in 1917, and his pre-war occupation was listed in the "Semiskilled Chauffeurs and Drivers, Bus, Taxi, Truck, and Tractor" category. H. Nakauchi, born in 1904, is listed in the roster as Henry Hidemitsu Nakauchi, and married. He lived in Block 24 Barracks 6 Apartment 4, and his occupation was listed as in the "Nursery Operators and Flower Growers" category. K. Okano is listed in the roster as Kameichi Kay Okano, born in 1889 and separated from his wife. Okano lived in Block 34 Barracks 8 Apartment 2, and his primary occupation is in the "Cooks, Except Private Family" category, with a second occupation as "Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, Parks, Cemeteries, etc." Keiji Arataka is listed as divorced, born in 1887, and in the "Semiprofessional Occupations" category, but in the hearing he characterized himself as a former nurseryman. He was not an official member of the Merritt Park crew at the time, but had offered to help his friend Nishi with the tree.

Of the seven men, three were transferred to Tule Lake in February 1944: Nakashimo, Takenouchi, and Arataka. It is not far-fetched to speculate that these three, who had been willing to go out of their way to improve conditions at Manzanar, were disillusioned by Merritt's reprimand. Nakauchi left Manzanar in 1944 to relocate in the Midwest. Kiichiro Muto left in June 1945. Okano and Nishi left Manzanar in October 1945, less than a month before the camp closed. As for Merritt and Nishi, they were apparently able to put the episode behind them: a color home movie of Merritt Park taken in late 1944 or 1945 either by Director Merritt or his adult son includes Nishi posing at the pine tree, which had been planted at Merritt Park (Figures 3.44 and 3.45).

Figure 3.45. Kuichiro Nishi at the large pine tree (behind the stele) he transplanted to Merritt Park (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

4 EXISTING CONDITIONS

Memories of Gardens Built

This chapter describes the gardens and other landscaping at Manzanar, based on historical documents and photographs, 1944 aerial photographs, oral histories, surface evidence, and archeological investigations. A park-wide archeological survey in 1993 recorded hundreds of remnant landscape features, but all of the gardens were either buried or overgrown with vegetation (Burton 1996a). By the time the General Management Plan (NPS 1996a) was written, only three gardens had been uncovered. When the Cultural Landscape Report was done in 2006, three more gardens had been excavated and recorded, and the Report recommended the archeological investigations continue. Now over 20 gardens and other landscaping features have been excavated, recorded, and stabilized (Appendix C; see Figure 1.4).

Hundreds of historic photographs have been donated to the National Park Service. Some of these photographs include landscape features as the principle subject, but many more show landscape features in the background of group or individual portraits. In addition, some information about landscapes has been derived from oral histories. The oral history project is ongoing, and although it is too late to interview the garden builders themselves, some of the Nisei now being interviewed have memories of gardens their parents built.

Copies of 1944 aerial photographs of Manzanar were received from the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (LADWP) and other sources as early as 1993, but this garden plan benefits greatly from the discovery of the original negatives at the Map and Imagery Laboratory, University of California, Santa Barbara. Using the original negatives allowed for high resolution scans, which show previously unseen details (Appendix D).

Internees focused their landscaping efforts where they lived, so for the residential area, the gardens are discussed block by block. Following the residential blocks, landscaping in the administration block, at important buildings, and at outlying facilities is considered. Finally, the largest gardens, including parks and victory gardens located within firebreaks between blocks, are discussed. First, some general environmental background is provided to outline the terrain, climate, and soil conditions that set the stage for Manzanar's gardens.

Environmental Setting

Manzanar is located in Owens Valley, between the Sierra Nevada range to the west and the Inyo Mountains to the east (Figure 4.1). Just west of the Historic Site, Mount Williamson, the second highest peak in the Sierra Nevada, rises to 14,375 ft. The Sierra Nevada is composed predominantly of granite, but metavolcanic rocks can be found in the Inyo Mountains and in the Alabama Hills to the south (Figures 4.2 and 4.3). The Owens River flows from north to south through

Figure 4.2. Inyo Mountains from Manzanar (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 4.3. Alabama Hills from Manzanar (Ansel Adams, Library of Congress).

←Figure 4.1. Aerial view of Manzanar, July 2005 (Michel Wehrey).

Figure 4.4. Bairs Creek within Manzanar National Historic Site.

the valley, once emptying into Owens Lake. In the last 50 years, however, groundwater pumping and stream water diversions by Los Angeles have lowered the water table and dried out most of the former lakebed.

The Historic Site is located at 3840 ft (1170 m) to 3970 ft (1210 m) elevation. Soils, consisting of sands, gravels, and cobbles, are derived from Holocene and Pleistocene fan deposits, colluvium, and lake sediments. West of Manzanar alluvial fans converge to form a continuous apron or bajada with an average slope of about 6 degrees. The bajada is rocky with numerous large boulders deposited by catastrophic mud flows. Two perennial streams flow east from the Sierra Nevada near the Historic Site: Shepherd Creek is less than 1 mile north, and George Creek is 1¼ miles south. Both streams are now diverted into the Los Angeles Aqueduct just east of the Historic Site. The stream flow of Bairs Creek, which crosses the southwest corner of the Historic Site, is intermittent in the site vicinity (Figure 4.4).

Today's climate is arid, with hot dry summers and cold winters. Owens Valley itself is in the rain shadow formed by the Sierra Nevada (Figure 4.5). Independence has a mean annual precipitation of less than 5 inches (13 cm) and Lone Pine approximately 6 inches (15 cm). There are occasional summer thunderstorms, but the highest precipitation occurs between December and February as a result of Pacific storms. During California's current drought, the amount of precipitation has decreased significantly: in 2014, Lone Pine recorded less than 3½ inches of rain.

However, in spite of the low precipitation in the vicinity, the valley was historically well-watered by Sierran streams, and the area where the Sierran bajada meets the valley floor benefits from a high water table. Surface water from melting snowfields percolated through the coarse sediments of the bajada, then surfaced as springs and seeps when it encountered finer sediments on the more gradual slopes of the valley floor. Previous occupations at Manzanar attest to the favorable conditions: Native American archeological sites within the Historic Site date back thousands of years. In the late nineteenth century the area was

Figure 4.5. Sierra Nevada from Manzanar.

selected by John Shepherd for his ranch, and George Chaffee established his planned orchard community at Manzanar in the early 1900s. Historical accounts mention artesian wells in the north-central part of the Historic Site at the old Shepherd Ranch, and areas of dark soil suggest there were once several springs in the Historic Site.

Temperatures range from over 100 °F in the summer to less than 0 °F in the winter, and the growing season averages 197 days. Manzanar National Historic Site lies within the desert scrub community, with greasewood, shadscale, saltbush, spiny hopsage, and *Ephedra* (Appendix E). However, over 100 years of ranching, agriculture, and groundwater pumping have spurred opportunistic native plants and introduced species (DeDecker 1988). Twenty species of non-native trees have been identified within the Historic Site and extensive fields of rabbitbrush and dry barren areas are common. The trees, mostly black locust, cottonwood, tamarisk, and fruit trees from abandoned ranches, farms, and the relocation center, form a band across the site. Located just below the break in slope, these introduced species have likely survived by tapping into the high water table.

Within a few miles of Manzanar, the great vertical relief of the Owens Valley and adjacent ranges supports diverse flora and fauna. From the Sierra Nevada crest on the west to the Inyo Mountains on the east are several distinct plant communities, in general determined by elevation and the concomitant precipitation and temperature gradients. To the west of the National Historic Site on the rockier Sierran bajada, sagebrush and bitterbrush dominate a diverse assemblage of shrubs, wildflowers, and cactus. There are narrow riparian zones along Shepherd and George Creeks, and the upper portion of Bairs Creek, where willows, water birch, and some cottonwoods grow. Larger riparian zones occur along the Owens River and along lower, slow-moving reaches of its Sierran tributaries. Pinyon and juniper occur between 5,000 and 7,000 ft elevation, while mixed white fir and Jeffrey pine occur between 7,000 and 8,000 ft. In higher areas of the Sierra Nevada red fir, lodgepole, whitebark, and foxtail pine, and even Alpine Tundra species can be found. In

Figure 4.6. Row of barracks (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

Figure 4.7. Communal buildings between barracks (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

the Inyo Mountains there are extensive pinyon juniper woodlands and a subalpine forest of limber pine and bristlecone pine.

Major fauna present in the vicinity of the Historic Site today include tule elk, mule deer, black bear, mountain lion, coyote, and bobcat. Other common animals in the area are black-tailed jackrabbit, cottontail, woodrats, kit fox, skunks, raccoon, ground squirrels, quail and other birds. Tule elk are a subspecies of elk native to central California; they were introduced into the Owens Valley in the 1930s as a refuge.

Manzanar is within a City of Los Angeles well field. Before the Historic Site was established, water was often spread across the bajada to recharge the aquifer. This flooding affected the Historic Site: in some areas tons of sediments were deposited, burying World-War-II-era features and earlier archeological sites. In other areas, the increased water cut gullies that undermine foundations and displace artifacts. The Historic Site is no longer purposefully flooded, and some of the gullies have been filled. However, climate change exposes the site to new threats. California's current prolonged drought has stressed and killed vegetation, leaving soils more susceptible to erosion and redeposition during flash floods. Indeed, heavy rainfall in 2013 and 2014 caused flooding which impacted dozens of historic landscape features (Burton 2013a, 2014a).

Barracks and Mess Hall Gardens

The way the internee residential blocks were laid out defined the exterior space and bounded potential garden areas. Most of Manzanar's 36 residential blocks were bordered by roads. The fourteen barracks in each block were laid out in two rows, 120 feet apart, with the communal latrines, showers, laundry, and ironing room between the two rows of barracks (Figures 4.6 and 4.7). Within each row, barracks were 40 feet apart, leaving a 40-foot-by-100-foot area of dust (or occasionally mud) between the barracks. Most of the entry doors faced across this open area to the entry doors of the next barracks, so there was, in effect, a communal courtyard-type space where the entry doors were located, and a utilitarian area on the "back" or door-less side of each barracks. Adjacent to the mess hall, in the northwest corner of each block,

was another 40-by-100-foot space; between Barracks 7 and the recreation building, the space was 60 feet wide by 100 feet long.

Two main sources provide address information for those interned at Manzanar, but determining who lived where is not always straightforward. Internees in crowded barracks often moved when other apartments became available as people left Manzanar, and some internees were forced to change barracks because their original residence blocks were dedicated to other uses. The "Final Manzanar Roster," which presumably dates to sometime in 1945, includes the names of all Manzanar residents, but no addresses for those that left prior to December 31, 1944. A "Quarterly Census Roster of Residents" dated March 31, 1944, includes names and addresses only for those at Manzanar at that time (over 3,000 had already left Manzanar). No other Quarterly Census Rosters have yet been located. Mentions in the *Manzanar Free Press* (especially birth and marriage announcements) and oral histories provide additional addresses.

Block 1

Originally, the barracks in the south half of this block were used for administrative offices and barracks in the north half housed internee bachelors. The laundry and ironing rooms were connected and used to manufacture *shoyu* and *tofu*. The women's latrine was converted to a laundry. Barracks 1 housed the *Manzanar Free Press*, Barracks 2 Public Works, Barracks 3 Adult Education, Barracks 4 Education, Barracks 5 Personnel and Statistics, Barracks 7 Housing, and Barracks 8 housed Mail Delivery. The bachelors were apparently moved out as more office space and staff housing was needed and as internee barracks space opened up elsewhere. Williams (2014:210-230) lists administration staff residing in Barracks 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, and 13. By the time the Manzanar roster was com-

Figure 4.8. Known gardens and landscaping at Manzanar.

Figure 4.9. Rock and concrete storm drain in Block 1.

Figure 4.10. Rock alignment at men's latrine in Block 1.

Figure 4.11. Brick entry at Block 1 Barracks 11 Apartment 4.

piled, the original Block 1 residents had moved elsewhere, and the only internees listed in this block are Mrs. Haru Tsuda, a widow, and her two adult children in Barracks 7 Apartment 1. Mrs. Tsuda left Manzanar November 21, 1945, which would have made her one of the very last to leave. Her children had left in February and September of 1945.

Historical information indicates there was at least one garden pond in this block. The July 27, 1942, Block 1 Manager's Report states that "Cement was given to the block residents who made a fish pond between building 12 and 13 of Block 1" (see Figure 4.8 for location). Under supplies received, the report indicates "Cement, 5 sacks from the Engineer's Department (on July 25)." A short note in the August 26, 1942, *Manzanar Free Press* may refer to the same pond: "a figure eight, two island fish pond in block one shows a lot of hard work ... beside the large pond is an abbreviation of the larger one ... " [ellipses in original]. Nine months later, more landscaping work was documented:

> **Beautification**
> B. Wada and his landscaping crew is busy planting lawns between the block 1 barracks ... [ellipses in original)]
>
> *Manzanar Free Press* May 29, 1943

Indeed, the 1944 aerial photograph shows lawns between most of the barracks, pathways between barracks with facing doors, and a row of small trees along the north side of 1st Street, which bordered Block 1 on the south. There is no mess hall garden apparent in the aerial photograph. The aerial photograph shows only bare ground between Barracks 12 and 13, suggesting the pond built there was abandoned and most likely buried by then. Williams (2014:210-230) lists administration staff living in Barracks 12 and 13. If the pond was in fact buried by 1944, it is possible that the new residents considered the pond to be too much maintenance work, or the original pond-builders may have removed whatever rocks and plants they had placed there to take to their new barracks.

At least on the surface, only a few archeological features are still in place in Block 1 today. All of the central concrete slabs for the latrines, the laundry room, and the ironing room have been broken up and placed in piles. However, concrete footing blocks remain at the locations of Barracks 4 and an interconnecting building between Barracks 4 and 5. There are two storm drains along 'A' Street east of Barracks 1 constructed of concrete and rock (Figure 4.9), and a rock alignment between them along the road. A scatter of large rocks at the northwest corner of Barracks 6 suggests there may have been a garden there. Other landscape features include well-defined rock alignments east of the men's latrine (Figure 4.10), brick paving at the north end of Barracks 11 (Figure 4.11), and a concrete stoop on the west side of Barracks 12. Block 1 suffered minor damage during a flood in 2013, with some erosion and deposition. However, no new landscape features were exposed, nor were the existing ones buried (Burton 2013a).

Block 2

Block 2 was also reportedly used for bachelor housing (Figure 4.12). Out of the 36 people known to have been living in this block from camp rosters, only three were women (one married, two single). The males included seven widowers, one divorced man, 15 single men, and ten men listed as married, but apparently not living with their wives. However, the roster data are incomplete, especially for those who left Manzanar early.

No information about landscaping improvements in Block 2 has been found yet in the *Manzanar Free*

Press or the block manager's reports, but the 1944 aerial photograph does show landscaping (lawns and trees) evident between most of the facing barracks, except in the communal areas between Barracks 10 and 11. However, a rectangular lawn is visible in the "backyard" area between Barracks 11 and 12. Barracks 14 appears to be encircled by trees and there is a large lawn between Barracks 7 and the recreation hall. No garden is visible between the mess hall and Barracks 14.

A small concrete-lined pond at the southwest corner of Barracks 1 was excavated in 2000 (Figure 4.13; Beckwith 2000). The top of the pond was visible and interpretive staff wanted the pond excavated to better show a typical small garden pond on ranger-led tours. This miniature pond includes many typical Japanese garden elements. Measuring about 3 by 7 feet overall and 20 inches deep, the top edge of the pond is outlined with gray granite, black volcanic, and

Figure 4.12. Barracks 8 (foreground) through 14 in Block 2 (Ansel Adams, Library of Congress).

Figure 4.13. Excavation of Block 2 pond in 2000.

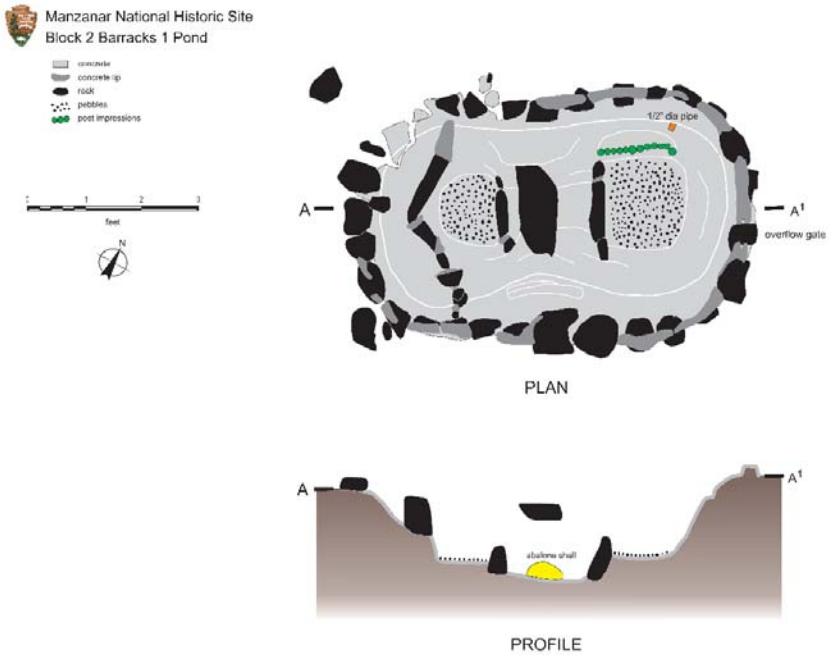


Figure 4.14. Pond at Block 2 Barracks 1 Apartment 4 (adapted from Ron Beckwith in Burton 2001a)

Figure 4.15. Overflow gate at Block 2 pond.

Figure 4.16. Young men at Block 2 Barracks 1 Apartment 4 (Ansel Adams, Library of Congress).

reddish metavolcanic cobbles, along with some concrete shaped into long mounds, perhaps to simulate tree limbs. The concrete lining forms two basins so that below the rim the pond approximates a figure-8 shape (Figure 4.14). A large flat reddish rock was placed across the narrow waist of the pond to form what looks like a bridge, now that the pond is dry, but if the pond were filled to the rim, the "bridge" would have been underwater. It may have functioned as the top of a tunnel to provide shade for fish, or as a shelf for potted water plants. Other rocks within the pond bound what appears to be a planting ledge. There is a row of post impressions in the concrete from a *rangui* post wall. The pond bottom held several inches of water-worn pebbles. The east end of the pond has an overflow gate (Figure 4.15).

Judging by its location, the garden was probably made by internees who lived at the southern end of Barracks 1 or possibly Barracks 2. The residents of Barracks 1 are not known. A historic photograph shows several unidentified young men hanging around the front door of Barracks 1 Apartment 4 (Figure 4.16), the closest to the pond. The March 1944 Quarterly Census Roster lists the residents of Block 2 Barracks 1 Apartment 4 as Jim Y. Amano and Tadamasa Arthur Sekine. Amano was born in 1906 in the U.S., and worked as a chauffeur. Amano was a U.S. citizen, so probably spoke at least some English, even though the roster lists his primary language as Japanese. Sekine is listed as an alien born in 1904, whose pre-war job fell in the Gardens and Groundskeepers category. He could speak, read, and write both Japanese and English. The three listed residents of Block 2 Barracks 2 Apartment 4, the barracks across the "courtyard," were: Einso Yamada, born in Japan in 1881, a widower; Eataro Ishii, born in Japan in 1890 and who had worked as a servant; and Mikiso Ishii, also born in Japan, in 1882.

Figure 4.17. Block 3, June 11, 1944 (Hisa Hayashida Matsudaira Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.18. Rock circle in Block 3.

The Cultural Landscape Report mentions remnant bamboo root clusters on the east side of Barracks 2 (NPS 2006a). Other landscaping features visible today in this block include a concrete sidewalk between Barracks 4 and 5, rock alignments and a concrete sidewalk between Barracks 11 and the men's latrine, a rock alignment between Barracks 8 and 9, rock circles around trees east of Barracks 8, and two other minor rock alignments. Rock concentrations near some of the faucets may have been dry wells, but at some faucets elsewhere at Manzanar these were incorporated into gardens, so that is a possibility here, too. There is one concrete stoop each at Barracks 5, 7, and 14, and an asphalt stoop at Barracks 2. Block 2 suffered very minor damage during a flood in 2013, with some erosion and deposition. However, no new landscape features were exposed and none were buried (Burton 2013a).

Block 3

Bainbridge Islanders (Washington State) lived in this block until February 24, 1943, when they were transferred to the Minidoka Relocation Center. No historic information about landscaping in this block has been found, but the 1944 aerial photograph shows lawns, trees, or other vegetation on both sides of all of the barracks. Vegetation visible in the aerial photograph suggests there may have been a mess hall garden in the northern half of the space between Barracks 14 and the mess hall. A historic photograph shows a lawn and small trees between Barracks 10 and 11 and mature trees between the men's and women's latrine where a town-era home would have been (Figure 4.17).

Landscape features evident within this block today include a circle of rocks around a tree stump between

Figure 4.19. Vertical rock at the Block 4 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.20. Small boulders at Block 4 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.21. Northern portion of Block 4 mess hall garden.

the men's and women's latrines (Figure 4.18), and several rock alignments, located north of Barracks 2, between the north ends of Barracks 10 and 11, and east of the mess hall. On the south side of the men's latrine slab there is a rock-bordered concrete entry slab. Flooding in 2013 and 2014 caused minor erosion and deposition, but did not damage any landscape features (Burton 2013a, 2014a). During tamarisk removal in 2014, a wood post was exposed between Barracks 1 and 2; this may have been part of a fence or other landscaping feature (Burton 2014b).

Block 4

The *Manzanar Free Press* (June 26, 1943) states that "[Mokutaro] Mark Nishimura, under the supervision of Chotaro Nishimura, is making a rock garden between barrack 14 and the mess hall." The last known mess hall garden built, it may have been started as a dry garden, since by its June 1943 construction date, the administration had exhorted the internees many times to stop making ponds to save water. However, a pond may have been added by the following fall: the Block Manager's Daily Report for October 19, 1943, indicates the block manager "helped dig a fish pond all day." The location of the pond is not included in the report, but it seems likely the block manager would have noted if he had been digging in a different block. The garden-builders noted in the newspaper article did live in Block 4: Chotaro Nishimura lived at Barracks 3 Apartment 1 and Mark Nishimura at Barracks 2 Apartment 1. Chotaro Nishimura was one of the few garden builders at Manzanar trained in making Japanese gardens in Japan.

The 1944 aerial photograph shows vegetation around most of the barracks. No water features can be discerned, but the most likely areas for gardens appear to be between Barracks 1 and 2, 3 and 4, and 8 and 9.

Today Block 4 is deeply buried by alluvium. Nevertheless, several large boulders and rock alignments are visible in a small grove of black locust trees between Barracks 14 and the mess hall (Figures 4.19-4.21). The black locust trees, or their progenitors, were likely planted as part of the garden. The boulders are different colors and shapes, and appear to have been chosen and placed for their distinctive characteristics. At least two boulders are set vertically. One grouping of five rocks is similar to a "tiger" present at the Anderson Japanese Gardens in Illinois and one designed by Kyoto master gardener Motomi Oguchi in Lone Pine (Figures 4.22-4.24).

Other landscape features visible today are rock circles on the east and west sides of Barracks 13. The rest of the block is buried by sand at least 1 foot deep, based on the short distance the in-situ faucets extend above the current ground surface. All of the central slabs are buried as well. Flooding in 2013 and 2014 caused minor erosion along 1st Street (Burton 2013a, 2014a).

Block 5

The *Manzanar Free Press* reported on March 31, 1943, that the "residents of Block 5 busily decorated their block and mess hall with trees and bushes which were brought from the hills." Within this block there is a lot of vegetation visible on the 1944 aerial photograph, including north-south rows of orchard trees. The area between Barracks 7 and the recreation hall is barren in the aerial photograph, but a possible mess hall garden is suggested by dense vegetation. The abundance of vegetation in much of this block in the aerial photograph indicates that many landscape gardens are likely.

Today several small rock concentrations are visible within this block, the most intriguing of which is a

Figure 4.22. Rock setting at Block 4 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.23. Rock setting at Anderson Japanese Gardens in Illinois.

Figure 4.24. "Tiger" designed by Motomi Oguchi in Lone Pine, California.

Figure 4.25. Rocks at Block 5 ironing room.

Figure 4.26. Automobile part at Block 5 ironing room.

Figure 4.27. Block 6 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.28. Block 6 mess hall garden.

cluster of rocks adjacent to the ironing building slab (Figure 4.25). A car part (an axle capped with bevel gear) has been set into the ground, apparently as a decorative element or a fence post (Figure 4.26). Other landscaping features may be present but obscured by the dense vegetation, recent alluvium, leaf litter, and duff. Flooding in 2013 and 2014 caused minor erosion along 1st Street (Burton 2013a, 2014a).

Block 6

The residents of Barracks 12 and 13 of Block 6 were the first to plant a lawn at Manzanar, and the Block 6 mess hall garden, built in the summer of 1942, is mentioned in both the *Manzanar Free Press* and a Block Manager's Daily Report. What the *Free Press* called a "Trout Shangri-La" was constructed by the kitchen crew under the supervision of Ryozo Kado, with contributions by Frances Miyoji Uyematsu, Munejiro Matsuyama, Harry Oshio, and Moiichiro Tachibana.

There are four historic photographs of the Block 6 mess hall garden from three different sources (see Figures 2.31-2.34). The photographs indicate that the garden extended the entire length of the mess hall, and included a *nobedon* sidewalk, a rustic wood fence, numerous rocks, several mounds, one large pond and a possible second smaller pond, two rocky islands, a small stream, grass, and pine and black locust trees. There appears to be some faux-wood logs on the pond edge, a hallmark of Ryozo Kado's work. The mess hall garden can be discerned on the 1944 aerial photograph, and vegetation is present around all of the barracks, suggesting the possibility of other gardens.

Today, Block 6 is heavily wooded and covered with deep sand, debris, and leaf litter. Deep flood deposits from the relocation center dump cover the mess hall garden. However, numerous distinctive boulders and cobbles are visible at the garden's location, many of which appear to be in-situ (Figures 4.27-4.29). Some of the rocks are vertically set, and an earthen mound with a concrete fountain may be the location of the original waterfall, now mostly buried (Figure 4.30). In 1993 now-dead bamboo was noted as living (Figure 4.31; Burton 1996a).

Between Barracks 12 and 13, the site of Manzanar's first lawn, are two rows of tree stumps (Figure 4.32). The stumps are about 6 inches high and 6-18 inches in diameter. Spaced 10 feet apart, they are too close together to have been left over from the town of Manzanar's orchards. Likely black locust, the trees were undoubtedly planted by the internees. A post-World-War-II road track recorded in 1993 passes near the stumps, suggesting that the trees had died and were cut for firewood. Other landscape features visible in the block are a rock alignment east of the laundry room slab and numerous rock concentrations. Flooding in 2013 and 2014 caused minor erosion in Block 6, mostly along 1st Street (Burton 2013a, 2014a).

Figure 4.29. Block 6 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.30. Concrete fountain at Block 6 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.31. Bamboo growing at Block 6 mess hall garden in 1993.

Figure 4.32. Rows of stumps between Barracks 12 and13 in Block 6.

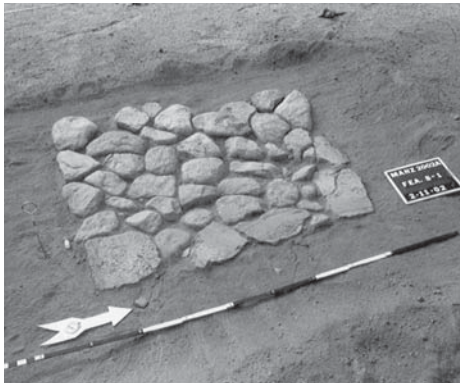


Figure 4.33. *Nobedon* entry at Block 8 Barracks 9 in 2002 (Dick Lord).

Figure 4.34. Excavation of Block 9 mess hall garden in 2007.

Figure 4.35. Removing boulders from the pond at Block 9 mess hall garden (Dick Lord).

Block 7

This block was used for the relocation center high school and staff housing. Williams (2014:210-230) lists Caucasian teachers and staff as living in the seven easternmost barracks (Barracks 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, and 11). In the 1944 aerial photograph, the only landscaping visible in this block are small trees around most of the barracks and a lawn between Barracks 1 and 2.

The north part of this block was included in Inyo County's post-World-War-II road maintenance facility, and a road, fence, and several small buildings (since removed) were installed across the original footprints of Barracks 8 through 14. The only landscaping features apparent in the block today are scattered black locust trees and rock alignments on the east side of Barracks 2.These cobble-sized rocks may have outlined a path adjacent to the barracks, the border of the lawn, or other landscaping feature. The concrete slabs for the men's latrine, the women's latrine, the laundry room, and the ironing room have been removed: all that remains of them is a small pile of concrete rubble and a grease trap at the laundry room.

Block 8

The 1944 aerial photograph indicates lawns and pathways between most facing barracks and even on the back sides of barracks. Some of these areas may have had landscape gardens. There was playground equipment between Barracks 1 and 8 (WRA Other Investments Map 1945). Barracks 14 was used for a canteen and the ironing room was used for a fish market, both run by the Manzanar Co-op. However, there was no mess hall garden in this block, perhaps because it was impossible to reach the consensus necessary for such a group effort:

> This is one of the most turbulent among the 34 blocks. Its residents consist of evacuees from various parts of Southern California; a factor which is said to make for frequent disagreements. The manager is described as an elderly grouch. The residents have split into two groups, but neither faction supports the manager. Both groups are seeking to oust him, but they have no candidates willing to accept the job.
>
> Documentary Report No. 89, August 16, 1943

In 2002 this block was cleared of vegetation, mapped, and diagnostic artifacts found on the surface were collected; limited subsurface testing was also conducted (Burton 2002). Five landscape features were identified: a rock alignment at the north end of Barracks 8, a cobblestone or *nobedon* entry east of Barracks 9 (Figure 4.33), a rock alignment between the south ends of Barracks 10 and 11, and a low wood post near the east side of Barracks 12. Two small boulders are about midway between Barracks 1 and 8, near or at the location of the noted playground equipment. There are remnants of a brick and rock pavement of unknown function beyond the southeast end Barracks 8.

Block 9

Ryozo Kado (n.d.) tells of building a mess hall garden for the Terminal Islanders, who lived in Blocks 9 and 10. There is no mess hall garden apparent at Block 10, so the garden Kado built is likely the Block 9 mess hall garden, which can be seen on the 1944 aerial photograph. The aerial photograph suggests that there may be more landscape features in the block, since there are lawns and other vegetation visible around most of the barracks.

The Block 9 mess hall garden was excavated and stabilized in 2007 (Figures 4.34-4.38; Burton 2007a). Over 20 cubic meters of sediments were removed to expose

Figure 4.36. Block 9 mess hall garden prior to excavation.

Figure 4.37. Block 9 mess hall garden after excavation.

a winding stream course and two large ponds. The removed fill included building debris and left-behind artifacts that were dumped into the pond and burned. This disposal, evidently done with heavy machinery, pushed in many of the rocks of the garden and damaged other features.

The mess hall garden includes abundant rock and extensive rock work, a divided concrete-lined stream, waterfalls and cascades, two large connected ponds, and numerous faux-wood logs created from concrete (Figures 4.39-4.47). The garden also includes a large landscaped mound of dark brown to black soil at its north end, supported by a rock retaining wall. The soil itself is mounded 4 feet high, and a few rocks rise another 2 to 3 feet. The rocks and a large amount of dirt had been removed from the mound before the National Historic Site was established in 1992 (Figures 4.48 and 4.49), and a former internee reported taking some rocks from this garden to use in his garden in southern California.

There are large vertically set rocks at the upper end of the stream, which form the sides of a two-tiered waterfall; the upper waterfall was about 20 inches high, the lower waterfall about 24 inches. From the top waterfalls, the water would have fallen into a small pool. At the lower end of the pool, a dividing rock divides the stream in two. Both streams are bordered by boulders with large accent boulders along the banks. The west stream, 18 feet long, includes small pools. The east stream, 12 feet long, is a series of descending cobbles that underlie cascades. The island between the two streams is 4½ by 9 feet.

Both streams end in waterfalls that fall into a small pool 4½ by 7 feet in plan, and up to 18 inches deep. The waterfall along the west stream is 16 inches high; the waterfall along the east stream has two tiers, 10 and 6 inches high. From the small pool, the water flows over and through cobbles and boulders to a pond that measures, at its maximum, 25 by 9 feet.

From this pond the water would have cascaded over a 3-foot-wide rock dam to an even larger pond, measuring up to 33 by 18 feet in size, with depth ranging from 18 to 30 inches. The two ponds, at the lower end of the garden, are each lined with concrete, and

Figure 4.38. Stream channel at 33 Block 9 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.39. Upper portion of Block 9 mess hall garden.

each contains both shallow and deeper areas. A pipe that runs under the rock dam between the two ponds could have been used to drain the upper pond. The lower pond has an overflow pipe that would have prevented flooding; it drains into the laundry room fat trap.

Five historic black locust trees remain alive at the mess hall garden, and stumps indicate there were more trees at one time. The entire garden appears to have been outlined with a rock border. At the north end and north quarter of the east garden border, the rocks form a retaining wall for the original mound, the "hill" of this hill and pond garden. The rock outline is missing in most of the southern part of the pond. It appears that when the camp was dismantled the rocks that bordered the garden and that formed the edge of the ponds were pushed into the pond basins.

There are two other rock-outlined areas on the east side of the mess hall, one at the north end (Figure 4.50), and one at the south end. Both of these rock outlines encircle black locust trees, and the southern one includes a large flat-topped granitic boulder. An adjacent concrete stoop for a mess hall entry has a simulated wood pattern and color (Figure 4.51).

Stabilization of the Block 9 mess hall garden in 2007 included re-setting a few of the boulders that had been displaced, restoring the earthen mound, and patching concrete. One faux-wood log was repaired. Numerous boulders were removed from the pond and stockpiled for later restoration work. Not until after the archeological work were any photographs of the garden found. Two photographs of the garden were donated to Manzanar by families who had lived in Block 9 (see Figures 2.35 and 2.36). Since these photographs focused on the people in the frames, they only show a small portion of the garden in the background, but numerous rocks, grass, and trees are visible. Many of the trees in the photographs can be matched to still-living black locust trees.

The faux-wood at Block 9 is now known to be a hallmark of Kado's work, both at Manzanar and in his later landscaping projects (Beckwith 2008; see Appendix B). Another characteristic of Kado's work is an unusual abundance of rocks piled to form mountains, reminiscent of a Chinese garden style. As quoted in Chapter 2, above, Kado said he was not building Japanese gardens, but natural gardens. Interestingly, when Japanese master gardener Motomi Oguchi visited the Block 9 garden in 2012, he commented that it was indeed a Japanese garden, at least as evidenced by the high waterfall at the north end of the garden. Oguchi surmised that the waterfall, in his opinion the best feature at the garden, was likely built by a different person than the rest of the rockwork. The waterfall bears a resemblance to the Dragon's Gate waterfall at Tenryu-ji. Perhaps Chotaro Nishimura, Kado's father-in-law and the only gardener at Manzanar known to have been trained in garden-making in Japan, helped arrange the rocks for the waterfall.

At Barracks 3 Apartment 4, seven large stones form a path that leads to a stone landing at the apartment's entrance (Figure 4.52). The stepping stones, which range in color from light gray to dark gray to reddish brown, are set so that a flat surface faces up, but the stones appear to be buried boulders rather than flat slabs.

Two small subrectangular concrete features on the east side of Barracks 6 may have been part of a pond (Figure 4.53). The nearest residents would have been in Apartments 2 and 3 of that barracks: Tomitaro Marumoto, born in Japan in 1899, and his wife Fumi (listed as working in the canning field) and their four children in Barracks 6 Apartment 2, and Wakichi Yada, born in Japan in 1898 and listed as a vegetable farm hand with his wife Mitsuko and their three children in Barracks 6 Apartment 3.

On the north end of the west side of Barracks 6 is a concrete slab with the address "9=6=1" neatly in-

Figure 4.40. Lower portion of Block 9 mess hall garden.

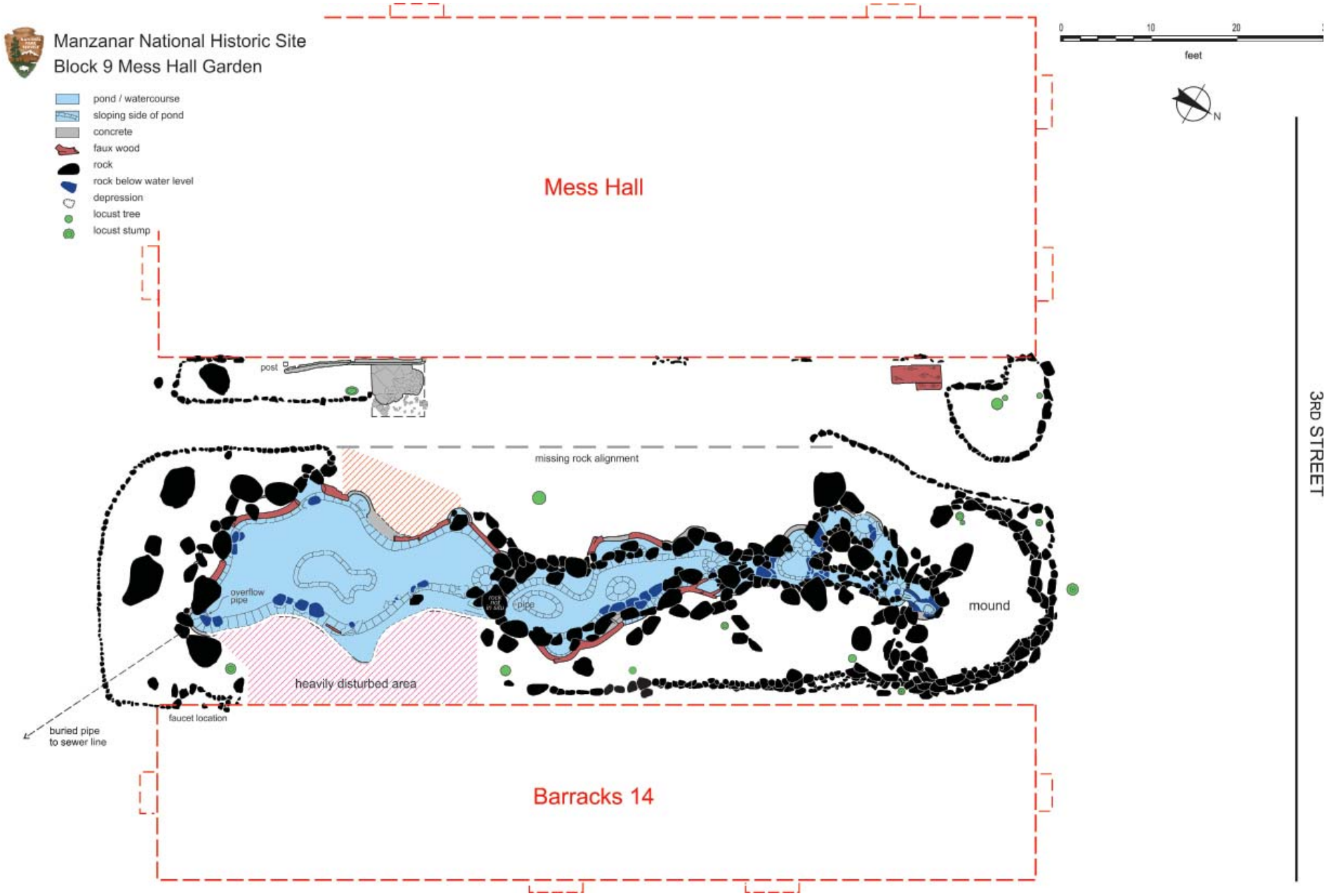


Figure 4.41. Block 9 mess hall garden (adpated from Beckwith 2013).

Figure 4.42. Waterfall at Block 9 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.43. Waterfall modified with mortar and rocks at Block 9 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.44. Faux-wood log at Block 9 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.45. Faux-wood log at Block 9 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.46. Pond at Block 9 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.47. Rock-lined pond at Block 9 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.48. Mound at Block 9 mess hall garden prior to stabilization.

Figure 4.49. Mound at Block 9 mess hall after stablization.

Figure 4.50. Rock-lined pathway at Block 9 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.51. Faux-wood entry at Block 9 mess hall.

Figure 4.52. Stepping stones at Block 9 Barracks 3 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.53. Concrete feature at Block 9 Barracks 6.

Figure 4.54. Entry at Block 9 Barracks 6 Apartment1.

scribed in a diagonal, descending left to right (Figure 4.54). This slab was probably a step landing at the entry to the apartment; its location on the west side of the apartment rather than at the north end indicates the residents moved the original apartment entryway so that it faced the backyard of the barracks rather than the latrines and laundry building.

When the Cultural Landscape Report was written, there were remnant bamboo root clusters at the north end of Barracks 2 (NPS 2006a). Other landscaping features in Block 9 include rock alignments at Barracks 1, 2, 6, 9, 11, and 14. A Kado-style faux-wood concrete stoop recorded in 1993 on the east side of Barracks 2 is now missing (Burton 1996a, 2006). During tamarisk removal in 2014, a concrete entry and an embedded automobile steering linkage that may have been a decorative element were found at the north end of Barracks 3 (Burton 2014a).

Figure 4.55. Block 10 Barracks 13 garden.

Figure 4.56. Faux-wood log at Block 10 Barracks 13 garden.

Block 10

The 1944 aerial photograph indicates that there was no mess hall garden in this block, but lawns and other vegetation at many of the barracks can be discerned, as well as a large garden at the southeast end of Barracks 13. Today that garden is mostly buried and overgrown with brush, but one can see the edges of a concrete-lined pond bordered with a faux-wood log, an earthen mound and possible terracing, and rock alignments (Figures 4.55-4.57). There is a 2-foot-high vertical water pipe in the center of the mound (Figure 4.58). Two large desert olive shrubs, possibly on islands within the pond, may have been purposefully planted. The faux wood has patches of simulated bark, and defines the edge of the pond. Next to the faux wood is a historic black locust tree, and other historic locust trees and stumps occur in the area. The faux wood suggests that Ryozo Kado, who lived in

Figure 4.57. Block 10 Barracks 13 garden.

Figure 4.58. Vertical water pipe at Block 10 Barracks 13 garden.

Figure 4.59. Rock alignment at Block 10 Barracks 6.

Block 17, worked on the garden, but it is not known for whom he built it or why. The residents of the closest barracks apartment, Block 10 Barracks 13 Apartment 1, are not known.

In addition to the Barracks 13 garden, landscaping visible in this block includes rock alignments at the south end of Barracks 6 (Figure 4.59), around a cottonwood tree southwest of Barracks 6, and between Barracks 11 and 12. During flooding in 2013 there was minor erosion and deposition, disturbance to some landscape features, and ponded water against the west side of the Barracks 13 garden (Burton 2013a).

Figure 4.60. Rock alignment at the Block 11 mess hall.

Block 11

Referring to Block 11, the *Manzanar Free Press* (September 18, 1943) indicates "The young boys of this block made a lawn between the kitchen and building 14." The 1944 aerial photograph shows extensive vegetation throughout this block. Today, one can see rock alignments between Barracks 14 and the mess hall (Figure 4.60), at the north end of Barracks 11, and between Barracks 7 and the recreation building. The rock alignments at the mess hall suggest a more elaborate garden than just the lawn mentioned in the *Manzanar Free Press*, but heavy duff and alluvium as well as numerous trees of heaven obscure the historic ground surface here and throughout the block. Flooding in 2013 impacted several landscape features (Burton 2013a).

Block 12

The Block 12 mess hall garden is one of the most frequently visited gardens at Manzanar due to its easily accessible location near the driving tour road and the presence of shade trees. It is also one of the better-preserved gardens at Manzanar, in part because it was not buried until the flood of 2013 (Figure 4.61; Burton 2013a). The 1944 aerial photograph shows the mess hall garden, vegetation around every barracks, and lawns with well-worn trails around and between the men's and women's latrines, on the south side (and possibly north side) of the laundry building, and between the women's latrine and the laundry building.

The Block 12 mess hall garden was one of the later-built gardens at Manzanar. On July 2, 1943, the *Manzanar Free Press* refers to it as "Block 12's new pond" and the Block 12 Manager's Report for July 15, 1943, states "The fish pond in front of the mess hall has finally been completed. The garden too is almost completed." Who built and designed the garden is not known, but like other mess hall gardens at Manzanar it was likely the collaboration of several internees. In fact, it has much in common with the Block 34 mess hall garden and the hospital pond garden.

There are twelve historic photographs and a short clip in a color movie showing the Block 12 mess hall garden (see Figures 2.41-2.45). The garden is divided into two sections outlined with rocks; historic photographs show that there was a fence, composed of wood posts and a single strand of smooth wire, along the rock alignments. There was a gap in the fence along the eastern side, forming an entrance to the pond section. The entrance is flanked by two vertical stones (*nioeki*) which are still in place. One of the historic photographs shows tall, widely spaced flowers along the rock alignments and no fence; presumably this is an earlier photograph taken before the fence was constructed. In some historic photographs iris grows along the stream edge and most of the garden area is covered with grass. There are also a few small trees. Historic photographs and impressions in the concrete indicate that small wood posts were set vertically along the stream and pond edges to form retaining walls (*rangui*).

When first recorded in 1993 the concrete pond was overgrown with tamarisk and damaged. Some repairs evident definitely pre-date the establishment of the Historic Site. Some historic trees are still present, but vastly overgrown. The garden was mapped in 1993 and in 2007 the tamarisk were cut. In the middle of stabilization and restoration work in the summer of 2013, the garden was flooded and buried by flood deposits from an unusually heavy rainstorm. Restoration of the garden was completed in 2014 (Figures 4.62-4.71).

The earthen mound at the north end of the garden is 4 feet high. On top of the mound vertical rocks, 12 to 14 inches high, form a waterfall that drops 18 inches into a cascading stream 16 feet long. The stream drops 19 inches at another waterfall and travels 4 feet more before it splits in two, with the east branch 10 feet long and the west branch 16 feet long. The island created by the two branches measures 7 by 11 feet; a tree on the island is now a stump. Both branches fall directly into a pond that measures 22 by 14 feet overall; the pond width narrows about half-way down its length to 6 feet. Most of the pond is 24 to 28 inches deep, but a basin in the south end reaches 40 inches deep. A vertical overflow pipe in the south end of the pond would have kept the water level about 5 inches below the concrete pond rim.

The garden encompassed most of the area between the mess hall and Barracks 14; it was divided into two sections by a concrete sidewalk constructed directly across from the main mess hall entrance. The larger northernmost section featured many traditional Japanese garden elements, including a water source or fountain (*izumi*), waterfalls (*taki*), cascades (*daki*), a stream separated by a water-dividing stone (*mizuwake ishi*) at the upstream end of an island, a large gourd-shaped pond, and a hill and mounds created with earth and rocks. Concrete lines the stream channel and pond, and was used as mortar to cement rocks in place. Within the concrete are small circular planting holes, and the concrete bottom of the upper portion of the stream course is lined with pebbles to provide a rippling effect.

Within the pond are symbolic crane and tortoise (*tsuru-kame*) islands. The crane rock, composed of two rocks (24 by 13 by 13 inches and 21 by 25 by 5 inches) set vertically on a pedestal constructed of rock and concrete, would have reached 16 inches above the water level (Figure 4.72). The turtle rock (28 by 18 by 13 inches) would have risen about 6 inches above the water. The two vertical rocks that flank the garden entrance on the east side are 20 inches and 24 inches high. The shorter one has a repair likely made when it was originally placed (Figure 4.73). Six stepping stones lead from the entrance to the edge of the pond; from there, four stepping stones parallel the edge of the pond to the north, and nine to the south.

Rocks also border the pond and set back from the southwest edge on the pond there was a low flat viewing stone (*reiseki*, "worship stone" or "reverence rock"). The stone was stolen sometime after 1993. Because of its traditional design, Japanese garden experts consider the Block 12 mess hall garden one of the three best gardens at Manzanar. For more description and interpretation of this garden see Beckwith (2013) and Noah (1999).

Restoration work included removing the flood deposits (Figure 4.74), non-historic stumps and trees, and trees with roots damaging features; excavating and rebuilding a rock retaining wall; uncovering rock features; resetting and replacing rocks; repairing the concrete pond and stream; replacing wood posts to form *rangui* walls; and constructing a replica fence (Figures 4.75-4.81). During this work, a small concrete slab at the back (north) entrance to the mess hall was uncovered. Located adjacent to where the stairs would have been, the slab has a date in the southwest corner, "4-3-43." Following the restoration work a new detailed map of the garden was prepared.

Figure 4.61. Block 12 mess hall garden in 1993.

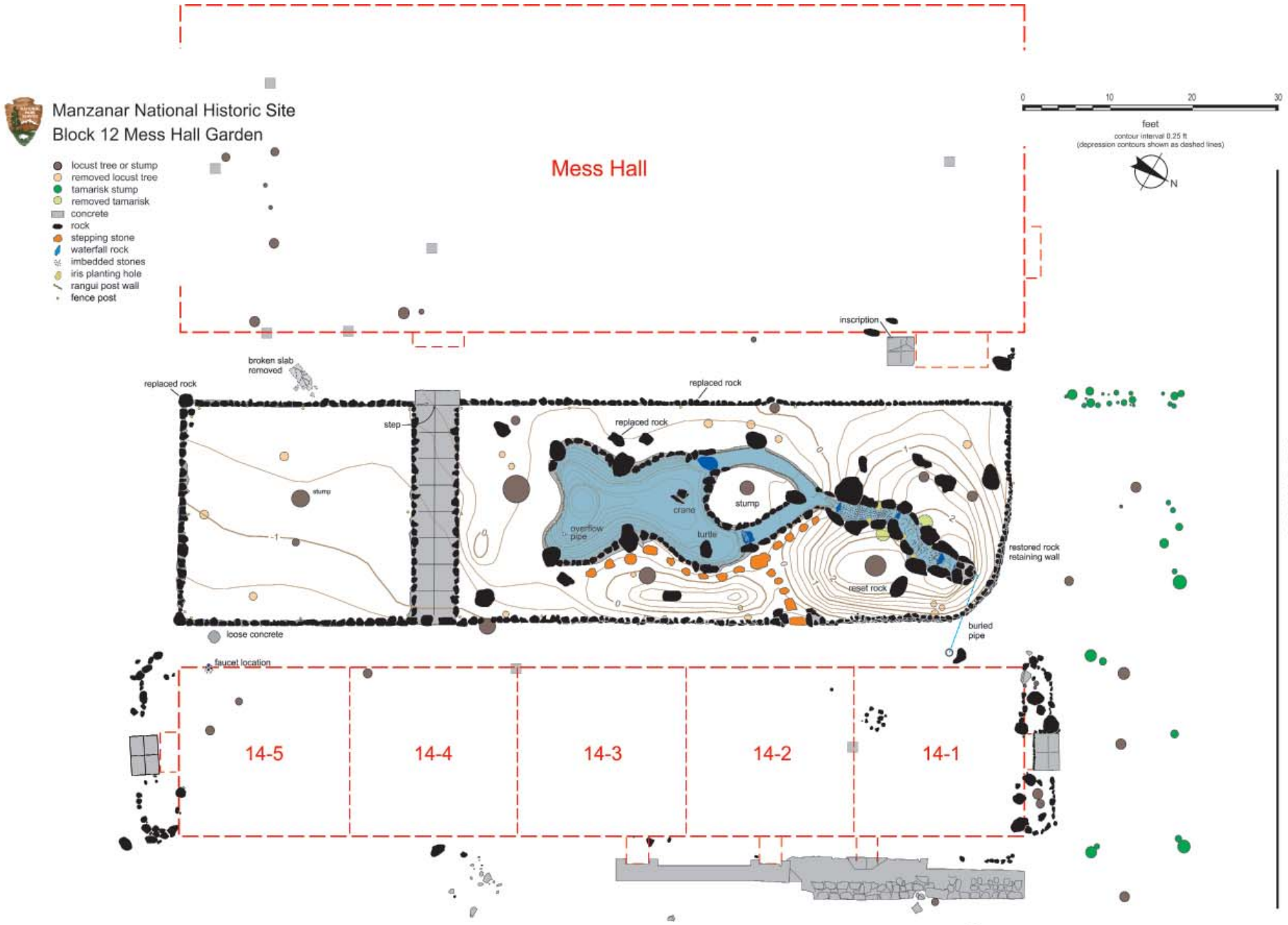


Figure 4.62. Block 12 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.63. South end of Block 12 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.64. North end of Block 12 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.65. East entry to Block 12 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.66. Retaining wall at Block 12 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.67. Block 12 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.68. Divided stream at Block 12 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.69. Stream channel at Block 12 mess hall garden showing planting holes and embedded pebbles.

Figure 4.70. Divided stream at Block 12 mess hall garden showing water-dividing rock and water-turning rock.

Figure 4.71. Cascade at Block 12 mess hall garden.

During the mess hall garden restoration work, small gardens were exposed at each end of Barracks 14. The garden at the north end of Barracks 14 would have been the entry garden for Apartment 4. It includes a concrete landing, a black locust tree on either side of the entry (one is still growing, the other is a stump), and an assortment of cobbles and boulders (Figure 4.82). The garden at the south end of Barracks 14, which would have been the entry for Apartment 1, consists of a small concrete landing and rock borders to either side. Along the north half of the east side of Barracks 14 is a sidewalk; part of this sidewalk is regular poured concrete, and part is composed of pieces of recycled concrete mortared together.

Another barracks entry garden depicted in historic photographs was at Barracks 12 Apartment 1, where 71-year-old Saiki Izuno lived with his 58-year-old wife Mitsu (Figure 4.83). Saiki's occupation is listed as a retail manager; he could speak, read and write Japanese and English. They returned to Los Angeles in July 1945. In the photographs, the garden is on either side of the apartment entry steps; at the barracks edge it is defined with vertically set rocks and trellises or barracks skirting made of small branches, and in the front it is defined with curved branches. The area between the borders looks freshly tilled, with no vegetation yet growing. There is nothing visible at this location now.

Elsewhere in Block 12, part of a concrete entry was exposed at Barracks 7 when a large tamarisk tree was removed (Burton 2007b), and some partially buried rock alignments are visible in watering basins recently constructed around some historic fig trees at the south end of Barracks 8. Other landscaping visible in this heavily wooded block includes a stepping-stone pathway constructed of well-buried flat-topped boulders leading to what would have been the doorway of Barracks 8 Apartment 4 and rock alignments at Barracks 9. One unique vegetation specimen is a catalpa tree, still growing, between the locations of the wom-

Figure 4.72. Turtle and crane rocks at Block 12 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.73. Rock at Block 12 mess hall garden entrance showing past repair likely done by internees.

Figure 4.74. Pond at Block 12 mess hall garden filled with flood deposits.

Figure 4.75. Retaining wall at Block 12 mess hall garden prior to preservation work.

Figure 4.76. Retaining wall at Block 12 mess hall garden after excavation.

Figure 4.77. Retaining wall at Block 12 mess hall garden after restoration.

Figure 4.78. Waterfall at Block 12 mess hall garden prior to restoration.

Figure 4.79. Waterfall at Block 12 mess hall garden after restoration.

Figure 4.81. Restored fence at Block 12 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.80. Restored *rangui* post wall at Block 12 mess hall garden.

en's latrine and the laundry. This tree is not native to the area and must have been planted by the internees. Block 12 is also the only block with fig trees, which were also planted by internees.

During flooding in 2013 most of the north half of this block was impacted; some soil was washed away and much new silt was deposited.

Block 13

The Manzanar Fire Station was located at the east end of this block in a specially-built building between Barracks 1 and 8 (Figure 4.84). In the 1944 aerial photograph, there is no mess hall garden evident, but vegetation is visible around most of the barracks. An Ansel Adams photograph taken from a guard tower shows orchard trees within the block and elaborate front yards at the north ends (Apartment 4) of Barracks 8 and 9 (Figure 4.85).

Landscaping features currently visible in this block include a circular rock alignment in what would have been the area between the mess hall and Barracks 14 (Figure 4.86); this rock alignment, with about 20 rocks, may have been around a tree. At the north end of Barracks 9 there is a *nobedon* and concrete entry flanked by two parallel rock alignments that extend east and west the width of the barracks (Figure 4.87). At the south end of Barracks 13 rock alignments outline rectilinear areas on both sides of an entry path. Other features include cans embedded in concrete surrounding a stump between Barracks 3 and 4; rock alignments on the west, east, and north sides of Barracks 10; rock alignments at the south end of Barracks 13; and a rock alignment at the south end of Barracks 12. A concrete slab covering the entire area between Barracks 13 and 14 cannot be discerned in the 1944 aerial photograph; its function is not clear.

Figure 4.82. Entry garden at Block 12 Barracks 14 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.83. Historic photograph of Block 12 Barracks 11 Apartment 1 (Ron Izuno Collection, Manzanar NHS).

In 2012, a very large tamarisk was cut and all duff removed at the south end of Barracks 8 (Burton 2012b). A concrete entry edged with granite cobbles was exposed, with two postholes on either side of what would have been the entry walkway. The postholes likely held posts for a gate or fence. In addition, alignments of upright wallboard and scattered wallboard outlines an area 11 feet north-south by 22 feet east-west. The wallboard may have been a border for a yard or lawn.

Figure 4.84. Fire station in Block 13 (WRA 1945).

Figure 4.85. View of Block 13 Barracks 8 and 9 from guard tower (Ansel Adams photograph, Library of Congress).

Figure 4.86. Rock circle at Block 13 mess hall.

Figure 4.87. Rock alignments and *nobedon* and concrete entry at Block 13 Barracks 9 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.88. Entry garden at Block 14 Barracks 1 Apartment 4.

Block 14

This block is being reconstructed as a "demonstration block," so visitors can see a typical block layout. To date a World War II-era mess hall has been moved to the block and two new replica barracks have been constructed at the locations of Barracks 1 and 8. Plans call for additional replica buildings to be constructed, with first priority the latrines and then the laundry and ironing room. The basketball court at the east end of the block, between Barracks 1 and 2 and Barracks 8 and 9, was rebuilt in 2015.

The 1944 aerial photographs indicate that there was no mess hall garden, nor discernible vegetation around the mess hall, recreation hall, or Barracks 14. The rest of the barracks have trees, lawns, or other vegetation on all sides. There is a historic photograph of a flower garden at Barracks 14 (see Figure 9.18). An oral history with Mike Shimooka (MANZ 1315), who lived at Barracks 3 Apartment 3, mentions a pond with a bridge between Barracks 6 and 7. However, the area between Barracks 6 and 7 would have been the back side of the barracks, and no apartment entries would have faced that area. Today there is no evidence of a garden or pond visible on the ground surface between Barracks 6 and 7. It seems more likely the garden would have been between Barracks 5 and 6 or 7 and 8, but again there is no evidence of a garden or pond at those areas.

Barracks landscape features in this block were cleared and mapped in 2000 and 2009 (Beckwith 2000; Burton 2009a). At the south end of Barracks 1 is a large landing and walkway extending south from Apart-

ment 4 (Figure 4.88). The landing is formed of rocks set in mortar, like *nobedon*. From the landing extending south are seven stepping stones. Rectangular rock alignments define a large space on either side of the stepping stones. A few years ago there were historic black locust trees within that rock-defined rectangle, but they have since died and been removed.

At the south end of Barracks 2 there was also a rectangular rock alignment defining a yard or garden at the Apartment 4 entrance. At the corner of the rock alignment is a distinctive vertically set rock. At Barracks 4 there is a broken concrete stoop and rock alignments. At the south end of Barracks 7, there are rectangular rock alignments on either side of the walkway that extends straight out south from the entry. The rock alignments also define another walkway that goes east-west across the end of the barracks. Large rocks were vertically set at the corners, and a concrete slab forms a stoop where the entry would have been. There may have been stepping stones along the walkway that extends south from the entry (Figure 4.89).

Barracks 8 has a rock-lined ditch that extended along part of the west side of the building from the southwest corner; the ditch would have been located under the roof's drip line (Burton 2010a). At the north end of Barracks 8 are eight square concrete "stepping stones" extending out from Apartment 4; the one closest to the entry is set parallel to the building; the other seven are set at an angle, so that each is a diamond shape.

At the south end of Barracks 10 there is a possible rock path. On the east (back) side of Barracks 10 about at the middle of the barracks there are five stepping stones in an east-west alignment (Figure 4.90). On the west (front) side of Apartment 3 there are two rectangular rock alignments that enclose yard areas and outline a path to the door. Shiunzo Shiraki, one of the creators of the hospital gardens, lived at Apartment 3.

Figure 4.89. Entry garden at Block 14 Barracks 7 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.90. Stepping stones at Block 14 Barracks 10.

Figure 4.91. Concrete sidewalk at Block 14 Barracks 12 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.92. Peach trees at Block 14 Barracks 13.

Figure 4.93. Entry and rock alignments at Block 14 Barracks 13.

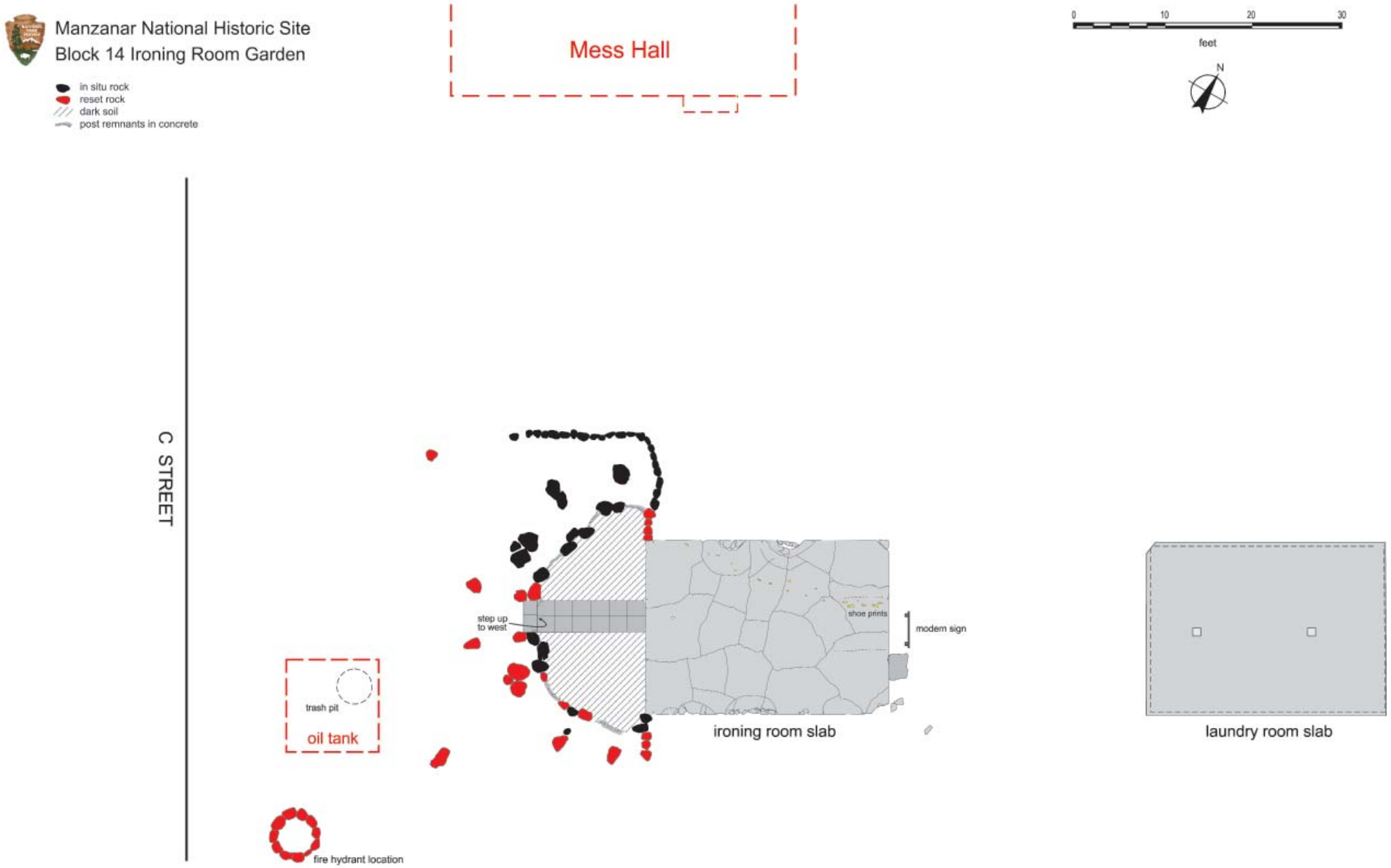


Figure 4.94. Block 14 ironing room garden.

At the south end of Barracks 12 is a T-shaped concrete sidewalk. The top of the T would have been parallel to and adjacent to the end of the barracks, and the "stem" would have extended straight south from the doorway (Figure 4.91). In addition there are numerous scattered rock concentrations nearby.

On the east side of Barracks 13 are two peach trees (Figure 4.92). Too close together and in the wrong location to have been part of the pre-war town orchard, these trees would have been planted by an internee. At the south end of Barracks 13 where the entry to Apartment 1 would have been is a *nobedan* pavement made of cobbles (Figure 4.93). To the west of the entry is a rock alignment that extends straight south from where the corner of the barracks would have been, then curves back to the northwest. Five or six large boulders are adjacent.

In 2010 a pile of displaced boulders and concrete west of the ironing room was investigated (Burton 2010b). Excavation revealed a small garden, with a central concrete sidewalk leading from the ironing room door, artfully placed landscape rocks, and a low *rangui* partition made of short birch posts (Figures 4.94-4.99). The posts were set vertically in the ground in concrete, to create a separate area adjacent to the rock garden. Dark soils in this area indicate it was likely once a grass lawn or flower garden. After excavation some of the garden rocks were reset, as was a section of displaced sidewalk and a concrete step. The Block 14 ironing room was used as an office and residence until January 1944, after which it was used as a classroom. The garden is not apparent on the 1944 aerial photograph.

Other features in Block 14 include a walkway, a stoop, and rock alignment at the south end of the recreation building; an L-shaped rock retaining wall between Barracks 1 and 8; and part of a concrete-lined wading pool discovered east of the men's latrine in 2000.

Figure 4.95. Excavation of Block 14 ironing room garden in 2010.

Figure 4.96. Excavating *rangui* posts at Block 14 ironing room garden.

Figure 4.97. Remains of *rangui* posts at Block 14 ironing room garden.

Figure 4.98. Block 14 ironing room garden after excavation and resetting of rocks.

Figure 4.99. Block 14 ironing room garden.

Figure 4.100. Concrete walkway at Block 15 Barracks 8 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.101. Rock alignment at Block 15 Barracks 8 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.102. Embedded automobile driveline at Block 15 Barracks 8 Apartment 1.

Block 15

Historic documents indicate that this block included at least four notable barracks gardens. There was no surface evidence of two of these gardens prior to their excavation in 2010.

Tak Muto's barracks garden, at the south end of Barracks 8, was the first garden reported in this block. The July 31, 1942, Block Manager's Daily Report states a "rock garden has been completed next to 15-8 by Tak Muto." The early date indicates it was one of the first completed at the relocation center; it is the first residential rock garden mentioned in any of the Block Managers' Daily Reports. Tak and his father Kiichiro would later go on to help build Merritt Park.

Today at the south end of Barracks 8 is a T-shaped concrete sidewalk to the Apartment 1 entry. The top of the T is adjacent to the barracks and extended the whole width of the building (Figure 4.100). The sidewalk that extends out from the entry is straight, and bordered by cobbles set into the concrete, until it reaches rock alignments that extend both to the east and the west to define planting areas. Beyond the rock alignments, the sidewalk expands into a circular pad, where the concrete is inscribed with the date "4/15/43," two days after Tak Muto and his family left Manzanar. From the sidewalk both alignments go beyond the edge of the barracks and then make a right turn to extend north, defining planting areas on the south, east, and west sides of the barracks. The rocks that make up the alignments are large (Figure 4.101). The sidewalk extends to the northeast from what would have been the corner of the barracks, and then angles back east again. Near the turn of the sidewalk a 3-foot-high automobile driveline was set into the ground vertically, as a decorative element (Figure 4.102). Fallen black locust trees occur near the east rock alignment; the trees appear to have been just outside the planting area. A stump on the south side

of the barracks, in the east planting area, may have been a locust.

The date inscribed in the sidewalk extension and the incorporation of large rocks, likely from outside the security fence, indicate that work continued on the garden after its first mention in the Block Manager's Report. Because each barracks room was supposed to house eight people whether they were related or not, Tak Muto and his wife may have shared their apartment with others. For example, the Manzanar Roster lists Toshio Paul Yamamoto and his family as residents of the same apartment. However, it is not known if Toshio lived there while the Mutos were still there, or if he and his new bride moved in after the Mutos had left in April of 1943. Toshio Paul Yamamoto was born in Hawaii in 1915, and prior to internment he was a retail manager in Los Angeles. Toshio could speak, write, and read Japanese and English. He married Miyo Kikuchi (born 1917) at Manzanar on March 21, 1943, a month before the Mutos departed Manzanar. A son, Ronald Tomio Yamamoto, was born in December 1944. The Yamamoto family left Manzanar for the East Coast in May 1945.

The Manzanar Roster also lists Hanzo Morita as a resident of Block 15 Barracks 8 Apartment 1. However, the March 1944 Quarterly census recorded him as living at Block 15 Barracks 14 Apartment 4, indicating that Morita moved to Barracks 8 Apartment 1 after that date. Hanzo Morita, a widower, was born in Japan in 1879. He could speak, write, and read only Japanese and his occupation was listed as "Fruit and Vegetable Graders and Packers." Originally from San Fernando, he left Manzanar November 14, 1945, for Burbank. Although Tak Muto is known to be the builder of the main part of the Barracks 8 Apartment 1 garden, the sidewalk is inscribed April 15, 1943, two days after the Muto family left Manzanar, suggesting Toshio Yamamoto added the sidewalk. The Yamamotos and Morita likely cared for and added to Muto's garden.

Figure 4.103. Inscribed concrete at Block 15 Barracks 8 Apartment 3.

Figure 4.104. Rock alignment at Block 15 Barracks 8 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.105. Rock feature between Barracks 8 and 9 in Block 15.

Figure 4.106. Rock circle between Barracks 1 and 2 in Block 15.

Figure 4.107. Recycled town-era concrete used as a border at Block 15 Barracks 1 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.108. Recycled town-era concrete used as a border at Block 15 Barracks 1 Apartment 4.

Also at Barracks 8, outside of Apartment 3, is a rock alignment that would have been parallel to the barracks, enclosing a planting area outside the entry. The rock alignment also encloses a broken concrete slab that would have served as a landing. The slab is inscribed with names. Because of breakage and partial burial, not all of the names are discernible, but "K. Onishi" and "M. Nakazawa" are visible (Figure 4.103). At the north end of Barracks 8, where the Apartment 4 entry would have been, is a rectangular alignment of rocks vertically set into mortar or concrete (Figure 4.104). A small concrete slab on the west side of the barracks suggests the residents moved their entry way to face the common courtyard. Between the north ends of Barracks 8 and 9 is the remains of a rock feature composed of mortared cobbles. Now collapsed, the feature may have originally been a wall or a raised planter (Figure 4.105).

Another garden was located between Barracks 1 and 2: the March 18, 1943, Block 15 Manager's Report states "A miniature park is being created by residents between building 1 and 2." Today one can see a rock alignment between the south ends of the barracks and a circular rock alignment between them that once formed a planter for a tree, now dead and fallen (Figure 4.106). At the south end of Barracks 1 are a concrete curb, a concrete and cobble walkway, rock alignments, and a *nobedan* pavement of granitic cobbles (Figures 4.107-109). The concrete curb is made of recycled pieces of concrete, laid end to end to form a border. More features likely lie buried below the sand.

A third garden was mentioned in the November 5, 1942, *Manzanar Free Press* announcement of the results of the best pond contest: "placing third was a private garden at 15-5-2." Prior to archeological excavation in 2010, only a couple of rocks were visible on the surface in front of what would have been Barracks 5 Apartment 2 (Figure 4.110). Manzanar records indicate this was the apartment of four members of

the Nakata family: Yasai Nakata, a gardener from Pasadena, age 62 in 1942, his wife Kino, and their two adult daughters, Yuriko and Ayako. The archeological work revealed a large concrete pond, measuring 35 by 20 feet in plan and mostly 16 inches deep, though two deeper basins occur at each end.

The pond was centered between Barracks 5 and 6, and large enough that four apartment doors would have faced on to it (Figures 4.111-4.120). After the garden was uncovered, it was determined that one historic photograph may be of this garden (see Figure 2.22). The photograph is dated Memorial Day 1942,

Figure 4.109. Cobble entry at Block 15 Barracks 1 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.110. Block 15 Barracks 5 garden prior to excavation; rocks to the left of the boulder were uncovered during probing to determine the pond's location.

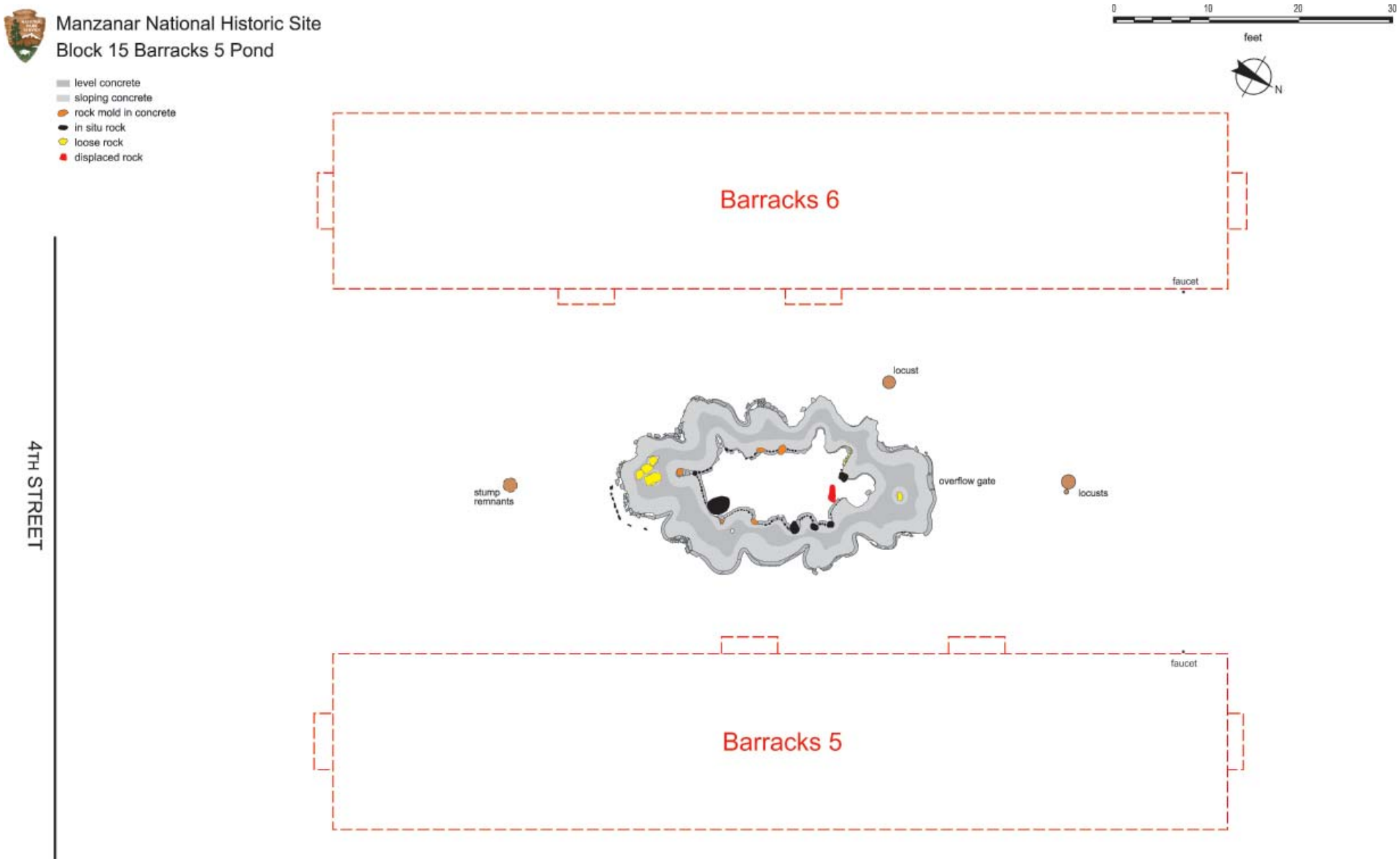


Figure 4.111. Block 15 Barracks 5 garden.

Figure 4.112. Excavation of the Block 15 Barracks 5 pond in 2010.

Figure 4.113. Excavation of the Block 15 Barracks 5 pond in 2010.

Figure 4.118. Block 15 Barracks 5 pond showing scalloped edge (photograph by Dick Lord).

Figure 4.114. Kyoto gardeners and the author at the Block 15 Barracks 5 garden (photograph by Mary M. Farrell).

Figure 4.115. Block 15 Barracks 5 pond showing scalloped edge.

Figure 4.119. Outlet gate at Block 15 Barracks 5 pond.

Figure 4.116. Block 15 Barracks 5 pond showing embedded and missing rocks.

Figure 4.117. Block 15 Barracks 5 pond showing embedded and missing rocks.

Figure 4.120. Block 15 Barracks 5 pond showing damaged concrete edge.

Figure 4.121. Excavation of Block 15 Barracks 7 pond in 2010.

Figure 4.122. Block 15 Barracks 7 pond after restoration.

Figure 4.123. Kyoto gardeners and the author at Block 15 Barracks 7 pond (photograph by Mary M. Farrell).

Figure 4.124. Rock "snow-scene" lantern at Block 15 Barracks 7 pond.

Figure 4.125. Rock "crouching" lantern at Block 15 Barracks 7 pond.

indicating this pond was one of the first six built at Manzanar. It appears that the pond was abandoned and uncared for before Manzanar was closed: it had been filled partially with sand and gravel, rather than building debris. Above the bottom layer of sand was found domestic trash dating to the 1940s, as though the abandoned pond was used as a convenient dump by residents.

There are two black locust trees, one on the northwest edge of the pond and another 15 feet north, and stump remnants 11½ feet to to the south of the pond. Measuring 34 feet north-south by 17 feet east-west, the pond has a scalloped edge formed of concrete. The pond has sloping sides and a flat bottom; in most of the pond the depth varies little, from 1 foot 4 inches to 1 foot 6 inches deep, but there are 2-foot-deep rounded depressions at the north and south ends.

In the center of the pond is a large island, 8 by 20 feet in size. The island edge, which is also scalloped, is bordered by small and large rocks imbedded in concrete, with the large rocks jutting out into pond. The one boulder visible prior to excavation is the largest rock in the pond, measuring 20 by 30 by 10 inches. It had been set in concrete on the southeastern edge of the island. At the south end of the island one scallop or peninsula of concrete has many rocks impressed into it as well as a rock mold where a larger rock would have been. It appears that about 10 other large rocks are missing from the island edge. There is one large displaced rock on the island and six large rocks in the pond, and these may have come from the island edge. However, the rocks in the pond appear to be larger than the rock impressions left in the concrete.

The outer edge of the pond does not appear to have been lined with rocks: the concrete rim, from 3 to 4 inches wide, was troweled flat and smoothly finished. However, on the south end of the pond there is an alignment of about seven or eight small rocks roughly

parallel to and about 12 inches from the pond edge. It may have been part of a path edging or planting bed, but could not be traced farther. Other than some large rocks in the north and south ends of the pond and small rocks of the kind around the edge of the island, very few rocks were found in the pond fill. The north rim of the pond has an overflow notched for a wooden gate.

The pond has suffered some damage to the concrete along the edge, and empty impressions along the perimeter of the island indicate missing rocks, but otherwise the pond is in good condition. It is noteworthy that such a large amount of concrete was used in the construction of the pond, over a month before the *Manzanar Free Press* admonishment in August 1942 not to build ponds because of the shortage of cement.

The fourth known garden in Block 15 is a pond located at Barracks 7. This garden appears in six historic photographs and a few seconds of color movie film, and was described in the August 12, 1942, edition of the *Manzanar Free Press* (see Figures 2.21 and 2.23). Kiichiro Muto built it in front of his barracks entry with the help of his neighbor Roy Sugawara. The photographs and movie show a low arched bridge and two stone lanterns. Although the newspaper article mentioned the pond could be found at the Block 15 recreation hall, the best clues to its location came from photographs of the Protestant church that show the garden in the background. The church was labeled on WRA blueprints, which provided a datum for the location of the pond.

No evidence of the pond or garden was visible when the archeological investigations began in 2010, but excavation found the outline of the pond (Figures 4.121- and 4.132). Many of its border rocks had been pushed into the pond and some of the pond walls were crushed, as though by a bulldozer. The pond also contained burned building debris, reflecting the hurried

Figure 4.126. Stream channel and stacked footers at the Block 15 Barracks 7 pond.

Figure 4.127. Historic photograph showing stacked footers at Block 15 Barracks 7 pond (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 4.128. Block 15 Barracks 7 pond showing copious small rocks used in side walls.

Figure 4.129. Repair of bridge at Block 15 Barracks 7 pond.

Figure 4.130. Detail of bridge at Block 15 Barracks 7 pond showing Japanese inscription in concrete.

Figure 4.131. Small pools at the pond edge and one of two "falling-water" rocks at Block 15 Barracks 7 pond.

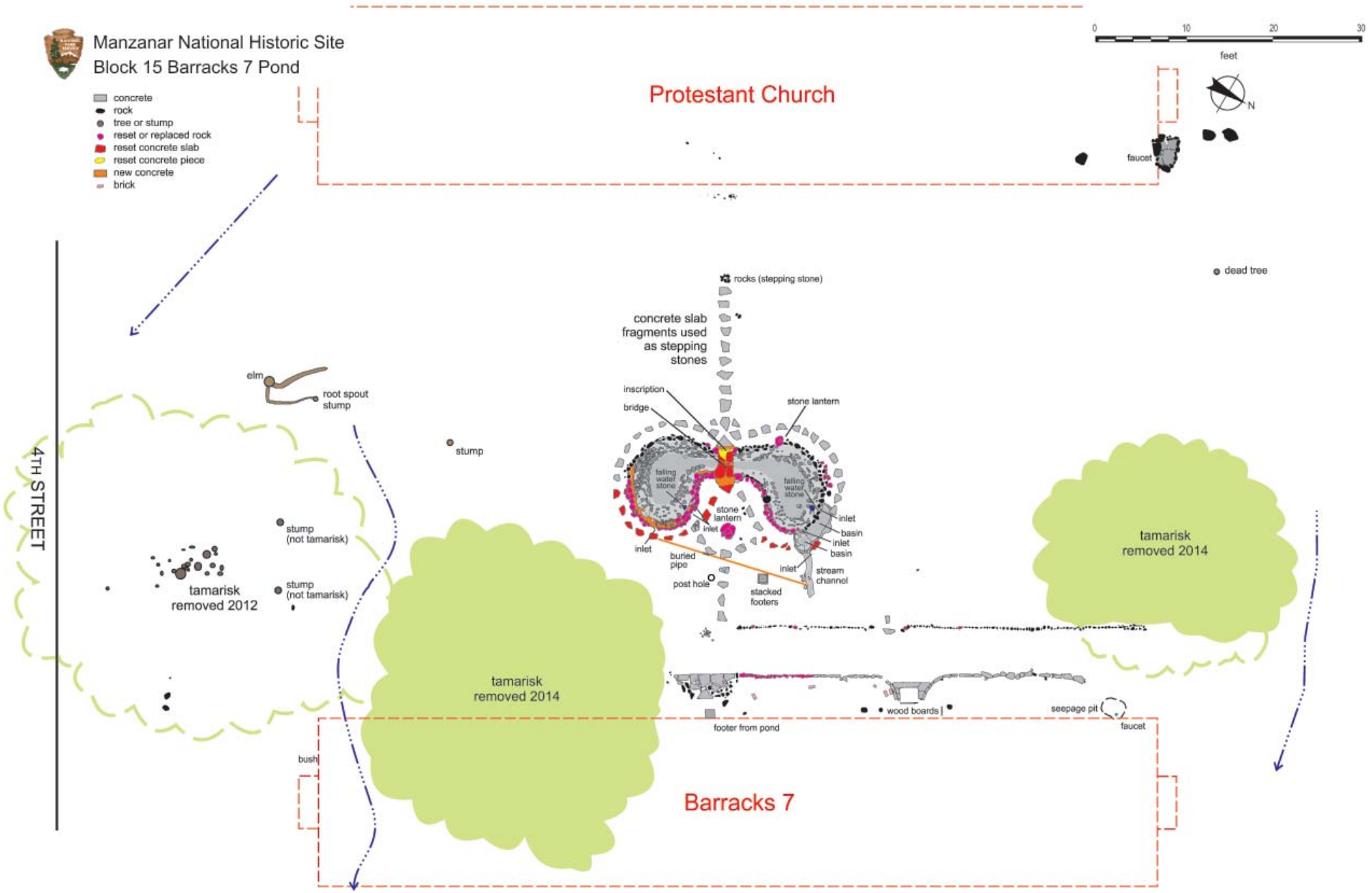


Figure 4.132. Block 15 Barracks 7 pond.

cleanup and dismantling that occurred at the close of the relocation center. The bridge had been broken, probably during camp demolition, but the pieces were still there (Burton 2010b).

The pond measures 23 feet by 12 feet overall, and has roughly a figure-8 shape, with a 30-inch-long and 20-inch-wide bridge across the narrow center. The pond is 24 to 32 inches deep, being the deepest under the bridge. The pond walls contain abundant cobbles, possibly attesting to the scarcity of cement rather than a design element.

The pond was filled via an 8-foot-long stream channel and a series of small basins that overflowed at two points into the northeast edge of the pond. There are impressions of wood gates in the channel and at the overflows. Four inches below one of the overflows there is a protruding rock to break the fall of the water (*rakusui seki,* "falling-water rock"). The stream channel was also connected by a buried pipe to the southeast edge of the pond where there likely were more basins and one or more overflows. This area of the pond was badly damaged, but there is an intact falling-water rock, and broken concrete with wood gate impressions was recovered from the pond.

The bridge was made of recycled concrete slab fragments held in place with new concrete. In the new concrete there is a faint Japanese inscription, the characters possibly translating as "Made by Muto." The pieces of the rock lanterns were also discovered within the pond depression. The pond was surrounded by stepping stones created of more recycled concrete slab fragments, which also created a path from the Muto family's door around the tallest stone lantern, across the bridge, and toward the Protestant church. The last stepping stone in the path toward the church was made of several small cobbles rather than a concrete fragment. The recycled concrete slab fragments most likely came from the abandoned town of Manzanar.

Figure 4.133. Block 15 Barracks 7 pond after excavation.

Figure 4.134. Block 15 Barracks 7 pond after restoration.

Figure 4.135. Rocks and rock alignment at Block 15 Barracks 2 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.136. Rocks and rock alignments at Block 15 Barracks 3 Apartment 1.

As part of the 2010 project, the stone lanterns were reassembled. The taller lantern, 38 inches high, is a three-legged "snow-scene" lantern (*yukimi doro*) made of reddish metamorphic rock. The smaller lantern, 18 inches high, is a "crouching" lantern (*tsukubai doro*) made of granite cobbles; as in this case this type of lantern is typically placed at the edge of a pond. These would have been symbolic lanterns since there was no actual lamp box or hollow in either. However in Japanese gardens lanterns are mostly used as decorations and not as actual lanterns.

The bridge, pond edge, and other features were also repaired in 2010 (Figures 4.133 and 4.134). One unique feature is composed of two concrete footers (likely from a town-era building) which were stacked to make a small tower 18 inches high. The top footer was found in the pond fill; it has a protruding 6½-inch-tall spike that was part of the original footer. The stacked footers, reminiscent of a pagoda, can be seen in historic photographs. Surrounding tamarisk trees were removed in 2013 and 2014 (Burton 2013b, 2014b).

In addition to the barracks gardens, there were other landscaping elements in Block 15. The April 20, 1943, Block Manager's Report noted that residents were "beautifying the block by planting trees," and the May 1, 1943, Block Manager's Report suggested that job was complete: "Planted trees within the block." In the 1944 aerial photograph, all of the barracks and the recreation hall (used as the protestant church) have vegetation around them, and there is elaborate landscaping between Barracks 1 and 2, 5 and 6, 8 and 9, and 12 and 13. There appears to be a lawn between Barracks 10 and 11, and a north-south line of trees centered between the mess hall and Barracks 14 is visible. The pond at Barracks 7 is discernible in the aerial photograph, but the one at Barracks 5 is not, so the aerial photograph is clearly not revealing all ponds. In fact, a historic photograph donated by the son of a former resident of this block may have been taken at

Figure 4.137. Distinctive blue granite rock at Block 15 Barracks 3 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.138. Rocks and concrete feature at Block 15 mess hall.

Figure 4.139. Rocks between Barracks 3 and 4 in Block 16.

another, as yet unidentified, garden pond in Block 15 (see Figure 6.11).

Today several landscape features are visible in this block, in addition to the excavated ponds. There are concrete fragments and mortared rocks at the south end of Barracks 2. At the north end of Barracks 2 rock alignments on either side of the Apartment 1 entry extend outward to define two planting areas (Figures 4.135); however, the eastern rock alignment and planting area have been eroded away by a recent arroyo.

At the north end of Barracks 3, rectangular rock alignments define two large planting areas divided by a walkway (Figure 4.136). Larger rocks, up to small boulder in size, were placed at each corner. The walkway is formed of stones and concrete slab fragments arranged as steppingstones. One rock set into the west planting area appears to have been selected for its unique color and shape (Figure 4.137). Other rocks were added to the planting areas, too. A semi-circular concrete stoop at the entry has the date inscribed: "4-13-43."

At the north end of Barracks 11 there are rock alignments, and between the north end of Barracks 10 and 11 there is a substantial double-course rock alignment. At the south end of Barracks 12 and between Barracks 11 and 12 are concrete sidewalks. There is a concrete stoop at the north end of Barracks 13 that has an address of embedded pebbles ("15-13-4" signifying block, barracks, and apartment number) and a rock alignment that extends from the stoop to Barracks 12. Rock alignments encircle trees north of Barracks 11, northeast of Barracks 12, and west of Barracks 13, and there are numerous other rock concentrations and possible alignments.

At the southeast corner of the Block 15 mess hall there is a short rock alignment, a concrete entry, and a grouping of small boulders (Figure 4.138).

Block 16

This block was at first a typical residential block, and three of the Block Manager's Daily Reports mention landscape gardens. The August 5, 1942, Block Manager's Daily Report documents a request for cement to build a rock garden: "Request sent to Mr. Brown for three sacks of cement for a rock garden in our block."

Figure 4.140. Rocks eroding between Barracks 3 and 4 in Block 16.

Figure 4.141. Rock alignments between Barracks 5 and 6 in Block 16.

Figure 4.142. Reverend Nagatomi at Block 17 Barracks 1 Apartment 4 (Nagatomi-Okabe Collection, Manzanar NHS).

A later Block Manager's Report (April 22, 1943) indicates that the author "went for rocks for garden and kitchen." The third mention of landscaping in a Block 16 Manager's Report (July 9, 1943) states that "new lawns and gardens [are] very successful."

However, all three reports predate Block 16's change in use: by the fall of 1943, the block had been converted into a relocation-center-wide elementary school, and the scattered elementary classrooms were consolidated there. All the Block 16 residents were moved to other blocks.

The 1944 aerial photograph was taken after the block had been converted to a school. In the photograph, there are no lawns, and very little other vegetation. The few large trees visible are likely trees that pre-date the relocation center, but there are also north-south alignments of small trees on the east and west sides of the mess hall. Historic photographs of the Oda family show what appears to be a garden in the background; from the building layout, one can deduce that the garden was between Barracks 3 and 4 (see Figure 10.25). At the location of the garden today there are a few large boulders and numerous smaller rocks, including many that are eroding into a recent arroyo (Figure 4.139 and 4.140).

Currently visible landscape features in this block include rock alignments between Barracks 5 and 6. One of these rock alignments consists of a circular area incorporated into a pathway centered between the barracks (Figure 4.141). Scattered rocks and some alignments between Barracks 14 and the mess hall may indicate a mess hall garden. The location of the mess hall itself is now a dense stand of trees of heaven.

Block 17

Three historic photographs show gardens and landscape features in this block. One photograph, from the Nagatomi family's photograph album and scrapbook, shows the Reverend Nagatomi in front of Apartment 4 at Barracks 1 (Figure 4.142). The steps to the apartment include a small deck or landing outside the apartment door, and a railing with balusters around the deck. While the balusters look like they were constructed of 2-by-2-inch lumber, taller vertical posts at the corner and the edge of the entrance opening appear to be constructed of 2-by-4-inch lumber, suggesting there is a porch roof, out of the photograph frame. Part of a concrete sidewalk with incised decorative intersecting-arc scoring is visible at Reverend Nagatomi's feet; the sidewalk still exists (Figure 4.143). The scoring matches concrete sidewalk fragments at the Block 18 Buddhist temple, where Nagatomi was the minister. The Nagatomi family's concrete sidewalk has a date and initials "5.14.44 SA" (Figure 4.144); the similar design suggests both the Block

Figure 4.143. Concrete walkway at Block 17 Barracks 1 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.144. Inscription in concrete walkway at Block 17 Barracks 1 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.145. Historic photograph of Block 17 Barracks 3 Apartment 4 (WRA photograph, UCLA Special Collections).

Figure 4.146. Concrete walkway and rock alignments at Block 17 Barracks 3 Apartment 4.

17 and the Buddhist temple sidewalks were made by the same person and close in time.

A historic photograph shows a lush garden across the south end of Barracks 3, with a concrete entry sidewalk to Apartment 4 flanked by two short decorative concrete posts and two black locust trees (Figure 4.145). On either side of the sidewalk are rock-outlined flower gardens, with a curving alignment of vertically-set wood posts dividing a front row of shorter flowers from a back row of taller flowers, shrubs, and what looks like an aloe or agave plant. Up against the wall of the barracks on either side of the doorway are trellises, each made of long vertical strings or wires supported by cut branches. Another distinguishing characteristic of this barracks entry visible in the photograph is what looks like wooden clapboard skirting below the tar-paper walls. Today, the sidewalk that led to the Apartment 4 entrance and the curving rock alignments and trees are visible, but the concrete stumps or logs are gone (Figure 4.146).

In the Barracks 3 photograph, three men, a woman, and a girl stand on the steps or in the doorway, all looking toward the camera or toward a fourth man, who stands at the bottom of the steps and holds a clipboard. One sign to the right of the entrance door shows the location as “BLK 17 / BLDG 3”; another sign says “APT 4,” and another lists the residents as H. Akano, S. Ishikawa, S. Kano, and M. Kitahara. Hatszo Akano was a single male born in 1876, who worked as a cook. Shigeto Ishikawa was a divorced male born in 1890, whose pre-internment job was listed in the “houseman/yardman” category (although the 1937 city directory lists him only as “houseman”). Sonojiro Kano was listed as a single male born in 1875

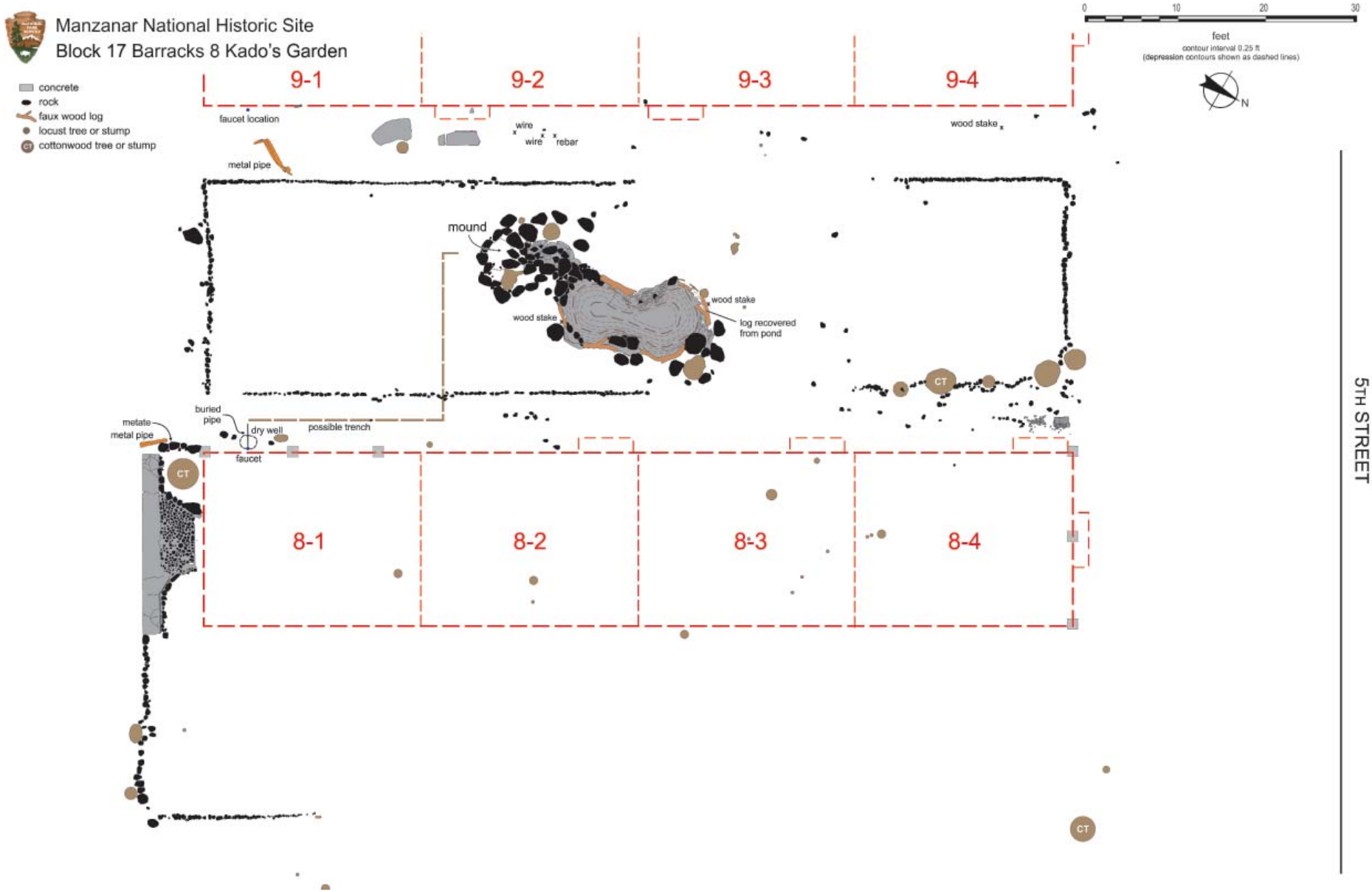


Figure 4.147. Block 17 Barrack 8 garden.

Figure 4.148. Historic photograph of the Block 15 Barracks 8 garden (Ray Chomori Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.149. Block 17 Barracks 8 garden prior to excavation.

Figure 4.150. Excavation of the Block 17 Barracks 8 garden in 2013.

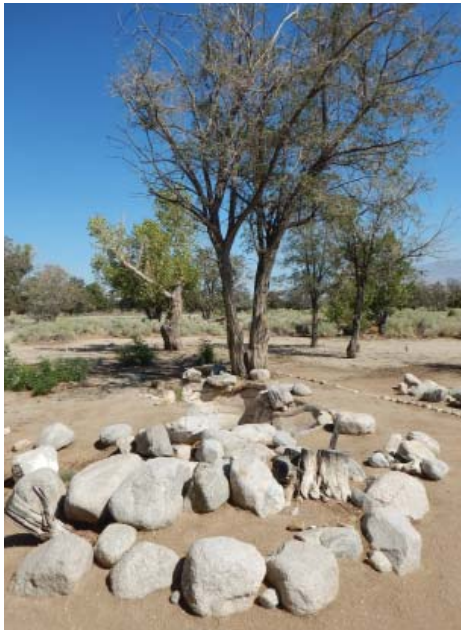


Figure 4.151. Block 17 Barracks 8 garden after excavation.

Figure 4.152. Block 17 Barracks 8 garden pond after excavation.

Figure 4.153. Faux-wood log at Block 17 Barracks 8 garden.

Figure 4.154. Stream channel filled with rocks at Block 17 Barracks 8 garden.

Figure 4.155. Rock borders between Barracks 8 and 9 in Block 17.

who had been a cook. Tom Masataka Kitahara was listed as married, born in 1901, with his occupation within the "Gardeners and Grounds Keepers" category. This seems likely the same Kitahara who appears in the 1940 U.S. census as a gardener living in Venice. He had arrived in Los Angeles in 1927; his wife must have stayed in Japan.

Former internee Ray Chomori donated a photograph of a garden he helped Ryozo Kado build between Barracks 8 and 9. Ryozo Kado lived in Barracks 8 and Ray Chomori lived in Barracks 9. According to Chomori's oral history (MANZ 1003), there were carp in the pond, which was kept filled by a hose. In the photograph the pond is surrounded by a grass lawn and a few shrubs or small trees. Prior to archeological excavation in 2013, only a few large rocks, a rocky mound, and a few rock alignments were visible on the ground surface. Excavation revealed a pond 5 by 10 feet in area and up to 3½ feet deep, with large rocks and faux-wood concrete logs placed alongside (Figures 4.147-4.154). To the south there is a low rocky mound with a short watercourse that ends in a small waterfall that falls into the pond. Also uncovered during the excavation of Kado's pond were rock alignments which defined the lawn area between the two barracks (Figure 4.155). Black locust and cottonwood trees still live in the garden area, but some of the historic trees are represented only by stumps.

In the 1944 aerial photograph, a variety of other landscape features are visible, including vegetation around each barracks; a possible small pond between Barracks 3 and 4; and a possible mess hall garden in the southern portion of the area between the mess hall and Barracks 14.

Landscape features evident today include a terraced rock garden with a beavertail cactus at the south end of the space between Barracks 2 and 3, and what appears to be part of a rock-outlined rectangle between the barracks. The beavertail cactus was thriving up until 2011; it is now much reduced in size and health (Figures 4.156 and 4.157). There are also rock alignments and a stoop on the south end of Barracks 2; rock alignments at Barracks 4, 7, and west of the recreation building; and a possible buried concrete sidewalk north of Barracks 1. Southeast of the mess hall there is a low cement and cobblestone wall 1 foot wide by 8 feet long with two wood posts protruding from the top.

At the south end of Barracks 7, where the entry to Apartment 4 would have been, are curving alignments of mortared rock. Heavy duff and vegetation in the

area likely obscure other features. At the south end of Barracks 8 there is a concrete-and-rock landing for the entry, which connects to a concrete sidewalk that parallels the end wall of the barracks (Figure 4.158). Cobbles outline the landing and the sidewalk, and continue to the east even after the sidewalk ends. The rock alignment turns 90 degrees to the north, where it becomes a low retaining wall to make the space east of Barracks 8 level. A cottonwood tree stump to the west of the entry landing indicates the tree had been part of the entryway garden, and was likely matched by another tree, indicated by decayed wood, on the east side of the landing.

Block 18

The mess hall in this block was used for a Buddhist church starting in May 1944. The 1944 aerial photograph suggests only a lawn between it and Barracks 14. In the aerial photograph all of the other barracks in this block have vegetation on both sides. There appears to be vegetables or flowers growing in rows between Barracks 7 and the recreation building. Historic photographs of the Buddhist church show a stepping stone path leading to the entrance on the south side (Figure 4.159) and trees on the south and west sides. Today the mess hall location is heavily disturbed by erosion and construction of a flood-control ditch and berm and a small settling pond, but one can see sections of a broken-up concrete sidewalk with the same decorative intersecting-arc scoring as the sidewalk found at Block 17 Barracks 1 Apartment 4, where the Buddhist minister Nagatomi lived (Figure 4.160).

Rock alignments circle several dispersed trees, and numerous other rock concentrations occur throughout the block. There is abundant vegetation and duff that may be obscuring many other features. There are rock alignments between Barracks 1 and 2, Barracks 2

Figure 4.156. Rock feature with beavertail cactus between Barracks 2 and 3 in Block 17 in 2006.

Figure 4.157. Beavertail cactus between Barracks 2 and 3 in 2015.

Figure 4.158. Entry garden at Block 17 Barracks 8 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.159. Stepping stones at Block 18 Buddhist church (Nagatomi-Okabe Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.160. Remnant of concrete walkway at Block 18 Buddhist church.

Figure 4.161. Rock alignments at Block 18 Barracks 1 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.162. Rock feature between Barracks 5 and 6 in Block 18.

Figure 4.163. Rock alignments at Block 18 Barracks 6 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.164. Entry garden at Block 18 Barracks 7 Apartment 3.

Figure 4.165. Rock alignments at Block 18 Barracks 7 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.166 Rocks at Block 18 Barracks 9.

and 3, Barracks 3 and 4, and Barracks 5 and 6. At Barracks 1 Apartment 1 there is a rectangular rock alignment surrounding a stump (Figure 4.161) and a circular alignment surrounds another stump. At Barracks 4 Apartment 1 there is a rock alignment, and nearby large rocks are scattered about.

In front of Barracks 5 Apartment 4 is a large scatter of dispersed rocks, apparently disturbed by tree fall. Between Barracks 5 and 6 rock alignments form a large rectangle in the shared space between the barracks, and south of Barracks 5 (Figures 4.162 and 4.163). There is also a broken concrete sidewalk along the east side of Barracks 5.

On the east side of Barracks 7 is a small rock garden that may have flanked an entryway. It includes two unusual rocks, one set vertically, and one horizontally, each with companion smaller rocks (Figure 4.164). Near the small rock garden is a length of recycled riveted pipe that may have carried water to another garden. South of the Barracks 7 location is an L-shaped rock alignment, with some of the rocks mortared together (Figure 4.165). There is a concrete sidewalk and scattered concrete slabs and rock work at the north end of Barracks 7.

Between the north ends of Barracks 8 and 9, and 9 and 10, are straight and U-shaped rock alignments composed of large rocks (Figures 4.166 and 4.167) Rock rings surround trees at the north end of Barracks 8 and the south end of Barracks 10.

Block 19

The *Manzanar Free Press* (August 12, 1942) indicates that "Block 19 has now planted a lawn between all of its barracks." The 1944 aerial photograph shows lawns and other vegetation around nearly all of the barracks in this block. Also on the 1944 aerial photograph, the

space between the mess hall and Barracks 14 is divided by an east-west pathway, suggesting there may be other landscape elements there. The area between the recreation building and Barracks 7 is divided into quarters by pathways. Two Ansel Adams photographs taken from a guard tower show some of the landscaping improvements in Block 19. One of the photographs shows a fenced garden on the east side of Barracks 1, a lawn between Barracks 1 and 2, a clothesline between Barracks 3 and 4, and fenced gardens on the east and north side of Barracks 3 Apartment 1 (Figure 4.168). The second photograph shows fenced and unfenced gardens, clotheslines, pulled stumps, and small trees along the east side of Barracks 8 and an elaborate yard with trees at the north end (Apartment 4) of Barracks 8 (Figure 4.169).

Landscape features evident in this block today consist of concrete or concrete-and-rock stoops and rock alignments at Barracks 1, 3, 4, 5, and 11. At the south end of Barracks 5 there are rock alignments, what may have been a rock and concrete fountain (Figure 4.170), and stumps or posts. In the middle of the east side of Barracks 8 is a concrete curb and two posts connected by wire (Figure 4.171) that can be seen in an Ansel Adams photograph (see Figure 4.169). Other remains include scattered rocks at the north end of Barracks 7, a concrete sidewalk at the northeast corner of Barracks 12, and a double row of stepping stones made of rocks and concrete fragments at the south end of Barracks 6 (Figure 4.172). During tamarisk removal at the north end of Barracks 8, fencing, a wood post, and a metal post were discovered (Burton 2013a).

Block 20

The 1944 aerial photograph shows no mess hall garden, but there are vegetation and pathways between facing barracks and between the back sides of many of the barracks. The Block 20 Manager's Report of

Figure 4.167. Rock alignment at Block 18 Barracks 10.

Figure 4.168. Overview of Block 19 from guard tower, Barracks 1 at left foreground (Ansel Adams photograph, Library of Congress).

November 30, 1942, states that an "unfinished pond near 20-15 [the recreation building, which was used for a pre-school] nursery dangerous to children, will cover up or fence." There is no evidence of a pond in the area now, but it may be hidden by a large tamarisk growing at the north end of Barracks 7. The June 25, 1943, Block 20 Manager's Report notes that "Mr. Sano planted all sorts of plants around the restroom and made the place look nice." Hirokichi Sano lived at Barracks 8. Mr. Sano was 54 in 1942; he was single, and his previous occupation was retail manager. There also must have been a garden at Barracks 3, since as mentioned in Chapter 2, nursery owner F.M. Uyematsu found one of the cherry trees he had donated for Cherry Park planted "in front of Block 20-3 garden" (Block 20 Manager's Report, March 25, 1943). Nothing is visible at that location today.

There is a unique landscaping feature in Block 20 at the north end of the area between Barracks 10 and 11: two standing posts with a cross piece, all wrapped with wire (Figures 4.173-4.178). This still-standing arbor is shown in historic Toyo Miyatake photographs as part of a beautiful rustic gate through a well-trimmed hedge of black locust trees. The gateway's doors appear to be made of thatch, and thatched skirting hides the bottom of the trees, making the hedge look very solid. Another photograph shows the area inside the hedge as adorned with a lawn, locust trees, and flowers; a roped-off walkway along Barracks 10; and entry gardens along the entire length of the barracks with trellises, flowers, vegetables, and shrubs. Awnings provide shade for the doors, windows, and foundation plants.

Figure 4.169. Overview of Block 19 from guard tower, Barracks 8 at left foreground (Ansel Adams photograph, Library of Congress).

Figure 4.170. Possible fountain at Block 19 Barracks 5 Apartment 4; note embedded metal spring.

Figure 4.171. Wood posts with wire at Block 19 Barracks 8.

Figure 4.172. Stepping stones at Block 19 Barracks 6 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.173. Gateway at between Bararcks 10 and 11 in Block 20 (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

The arbor, incorrectly noted as in Block 19 in Unrau (1996:476), is the only one of its kind still standing at Manzanar. The arbor is constructed of three limbs: the two limbs used as vertical posts are forked at the top. The top limb still fits into the two forks, but it has rotated 90 degrees so that it appears flat, rather than arched as in the historic photograph. All three limbs used in the arbor are wrapped with wire formed into trellis netting. Short posts that once supported the thatch skirting are still standing: twelve extend to the east of the arbor gate, and four to the west.

The arbor and hedge enclosed the space between Barracks 10 and 11, and were located at the northern edge of the barracks, which would be adjacent to Apartment 5 in both barracks. Assuming a resident of either barracks in Apartment 5 was likely to have created the feature, the most likely builder would be Sam Isamu Ikebuchi, an Issei born in 1902, whose occupation is listed as in the Gardeners and Groundskeepers category. Mr. Ikebuchi lived in Barracks 10, Apartment 5, with his wife Shizue, daughter Kazuko born in 1937, and son Sumio James Tanimine, born in 1945. Apartment 5 in Barracks 11 was the home of Yonesuke Mike Hochi, his wife Shizuo, and their four children. Born in 1886, his pre-war job is listed in the category of Janitors and Sextons.

One historic photograph depicts the Azeka family at Block 20 Barracks 12 Apartment 1. The photograph shows a concrete sidewalk, a wooden porch deck, a lawn, trees, flowers, and plants in pots on a shelf next to the barracks (Figure 4.179). A low post-and-wire fence defines the front of the lawn, and in front of that is a planter area with tilled soil and low, widely spaced plants. A wood slat “bridge” crosses the planter area, at the end of the sidewalk. Today, at the Azeka family garden location, a couple of small dead trees appear to be in the same place as trees in the photograph (Figure 4.180). The sidewalk and other features are not visible, likely buried by sediments. The Manzanar roster lists the Azeka family as composed of

Jenyemon James Azeka, born in Japan in 1896, his wife Mumeno Mary born in 1901, and children Chikaye (female, born in 1936), Mitsuru (male, born in 1925), Sumiko Lillian (female, born in 1930), and Tomiko (female, born in 1923). Since one daughter is missing from the photograph, it likely dates to after Tomiko left Manzanar for school in Texas in January 1944. It is also interesting to note that the youngest, Chikaye, is holding a cat. Internees were not permitted to bring their own pets to the Relocation Center, but resourceful children and pets were able to find each other. Both the Azeka parents were listed as in the laundry business, and the eldest daughter was listed as a sales clerk.

At the north end of Barracks 4 are rectangular rock alignments defining the entry of Apartment 1. The alignments are disturbed, but one corner still has a tall, vertically set rock (Figure 4.181. There is a vertically set post, about 5 feet tall, still standing between Barracks 2 and 3 (Figure 4.182). With evidence of a missing cross-piece, the post was likely used for a clothesline.

Other landscape features evident in Block 20 today include a concrete sidewalk at the south end of Barracks 2; rock alignments, posts, and edging boards at the north end of Barracks 6; a rock alignment and rock stepping stones at the south end of Barracks 9 (Figure 4.183); rock alignments at the south and north ends of Barracks 10; and rock alignments at Barracks 1, between Barracks 1 and 2, west of Barracks 5, west of Barracks 7 (for a pathway), northwest of Barracks 8, and at the northwest corner of Barracks 14.

At the south end of Barracks 13 there are many large rocks, some in alignments. This rock garden is distinctive in that many of the rocks are reddish metamorphic rocks rather than the granite commonly found in Manzanar's gardens. Some of the rocks are mortared together, and other rocks may form a stepping-stone

Figure 4.174. Gateway and fence at Barracks 10 and 11 in Block 20 (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 4.175. Lawn area between Barracks 10 and 11 in Block 20 (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 4.176. Gateway and fence at Block 20 Barracks 10 and 11 some years after abandonment (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 4.177. Remnants of gateway and fence at Block 20 Barracks 10 and 11 today.

Figure 4.178. Gateway at Block 20 Barracks 10 and 11 today.

Figure 4.179. Historic photograph of Block 20 Barracks 12 Apartment 1 (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 4.180. Entry garden at Block 20 Barracks 12 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.181. Entry garden at Block 20 Barracks 4 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.182. Wood post between Barracks 2 and 3 at Block 20.

Figure 4.183. Entry garden at Block 20 Barracks 9 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.184. Entry garden at Block 20 Barracks 13 Apartment 1.

path and a rock-bordered terrace, but the area has been heavily disturbed (Figure 4.184).

Block 21

The 1944 aerial photograph suggests there is a possible mess hall garden in Block 21. In addition, walkways are visible between and along barracks, and all of the residential barracks have vegetation on all sides. In contrast, the recreation building appears to lack any plantings.

Today there are many small landscape features remaining in this block. At the north end of the mess hall there is a rock semicircle that appears to have connected the northeast and northwest corners of the building. The semicircle is made of numerous small cobbles placed in a curved line so that the arc is a foot or two wide (Figure 4.185). It does not appear to have been a cobblestone path, since the arc and the surrounding area seem to have been mounded up.

Other features in Block 21 include a rock alignment at the south end of Barracks 1; rocks along the east side of Barracks 2; rock alignments between Barracks 3 and 4 and at the northwest corner of Barracks 4; a low mound with some displaced concrete slabs at the northwest corner of Barracks 5; a concrete curb and rock alignments between Barracks 5 and 6; rock alignments at the south end of Barracks 6; and rock concentrations at the north and south ends of Barracks 7. At the north end of Barracks 6 there is a section of a mortared rock alignment that forms a corner, with a large dead tree fallen atop it (Figure 4.186). A recent arroyo may have carried away more of this alignment.

There are a concrete sidewalk and asphalt sidewalks between Barracks 8 and 9; mortared rock alignments at Barracks 10 Apartment 1 (Figure 4.187); U-shaped

rock alignments at Barracks 11 Apartment 4 (Figure 4.188); a concrete sidewalk and rock alignments along the east side of Barracks 10; rock alignments and wood edging between Barracks 10 and 11; rock alignments at the south end of Barracks 12; and a concrete curb and rocks at the north end of Barracks 13. During tamarisk removal in 2014, rocks and a concrete sidewalk were uncovered at the north end of Barracks 10 (Burton 2014b). Between Barracks 10 and 11 are mortared rock alignments that suggest the edge of a buried pond (Figure 4.189). Another water feature is suggested by a concrete curb defining an oblong space with rounded corners, with the long dimension running east-west between Barracks 12 and 13 (Figure 4.190).

Block 22

This block includes the first mess hall garden built at Manzanar (Figures 4.191 and 4.192). Attributed to Harry Ueno, Akira Nishi, and George Saburo Takemura, it was started in July 1942 and completed by August 1942. Ueno and Nishi lived in Block 22, Takemura lived in Block 23. Kitchen worker Harry Ueno first conceived the idea for the mess hall garden and was later joined by Akira Nishi who drew up plans for a Japanese garden. Akira was the brother of Kuichiro Nishi, who led the construction of Merritt Park. Ueno worked with the kitchen workers and other men in the block to obtain the materials and construct the garden. Takemura made a wishing well fountain for the pond. Reportedly, carp and trout were collected in garbage cans for the pond (NPS 2006a:134). The garden was named *otoba no ike (Manzanar Free Press* October 17, 1942).

Three historic photographs show the Block 22 mess hall garden (see Figures 2.27 and 2.28). Two are of the wishing well and show only small portions of the rest

Figure 4.185. Rocks at Block 21 mess hall.

Figure 4.186. Rock feature at Block 21 Barracks 6 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.187. Rock alignment set in concrete at Block 21 Barracks 10 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.188. Entry garden at Block 21 Barracks 11 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.189. Rock alignments at Block 21 Barracks 11 Apartment 2.

Figure 4.190. Concrete curb between Barracks 12 and 13 in Block 21.

Figure 4.191. Winter snow at the Block 22 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.192. Filled pond at the Block 22 mess hall garden after a spring rain.

of the garden. The third photograph shows the garden from a distance covered with snow. A small pine tree and cactus are located near the well, and limb wood forms the railing for the bridge. A wood barrel in the background was not part of the garden; barrels were common throughout Manzanar for emergency fire suppression, and show up in many historic photographs, usually between barracks near the water faucet so they would be easier to fill. Movie footage of the Block 12 mess hall has a similar barrel in the equivalent position, filled with water. The January 23, 1943, *Manzanar Free Press* provides further evidence that water barrels were common:

> **And the RAINS CAME**
> ... Starting Sunday afternoon with a windstorm from the north, sweeping down the icy temperature from the snow mantled Sierra peaks, the thermometer dropped rapidly. Residents awakened shivering Monday morning and encountered over an inch of thick ice *on all the water barrels* and on the fish ponds and some sections of the community found water pipes frozen solid. [emphasis added]

In the Engineering Section final report, Sandridge and Sisler (1946:69) note that six men were employed in the "Water Barrel Crew." Their job was to service and inspect water barrels that were placed in all the blocks and around the hospital, warehouses, and office buildings.

Wells, like the wishing wells built by Takemura, are popular garden elements in Japan (Figure 4.193) and in the first Japanese gardens built in North America in the nineteenth century. Other ornamentation seen in the historic photographs included "found" objects such a wagon wheel, large stumps, and even automobile parts. The use of found materials and ornaments is common in Japanese gardens in Japan as part of the *wabi-sabi* aesthetic (Figure 4.194).

The Block 22 mess hall garden, never completely bur-

ied, was cleared and mapped in 1993 (Figure 4.195; Burton 1996a). The garden is in good condition and no stabilization work has been needed. The garden includes a concrete-lined pond, 20 to 30 inches deep and 45 by 17 feet in plan overall in a figure-8 shape, with a cobble-edged arched concrete bridge about 4 feet wide across the narrowest point (Figures 4.196-4.208). North of the bridge the pond is 14 feet wide, south of the bridge the pond is 17 feet wide, while the narrowest point, at the bridge itself, is about 5 feet wide. Inscribed in the concrete top of the bridge is "AUG. 9, 42" and in the north end of the pond the date "8-7 / 1942" is formed with small stones imbedded in concrete. An island in the south portion of the pond measures about 10 by 4 feet. The largest rock on the island, on the south end, is topped with a small concrete pad, roughly oval in plan, a few inches tall, and flat on top. The concrete pad may have supported a lantern or other ornament. Also on the island is a large decayed uprooted stump.

There are deep areas in the pond and wood-textured (but not colored) concrete resembling logs around the pond edge. A 20-foot-long and 5-foot-wide concrete sidewalk bordered in cobbles leads from the mess hall to the bridge. There is a 1-foot-high rock-outlined mound at the north end of the pond where the wishing well was located; next to

Figure 4.194. Found objects (wagon wheels) in Japanese garden, Odawara, Japan.

Figure 4.1893 Well at Kairakuen, Mito, Japan.

Figure 4.195. Mapping Block 22 mess hall garden in 1993.

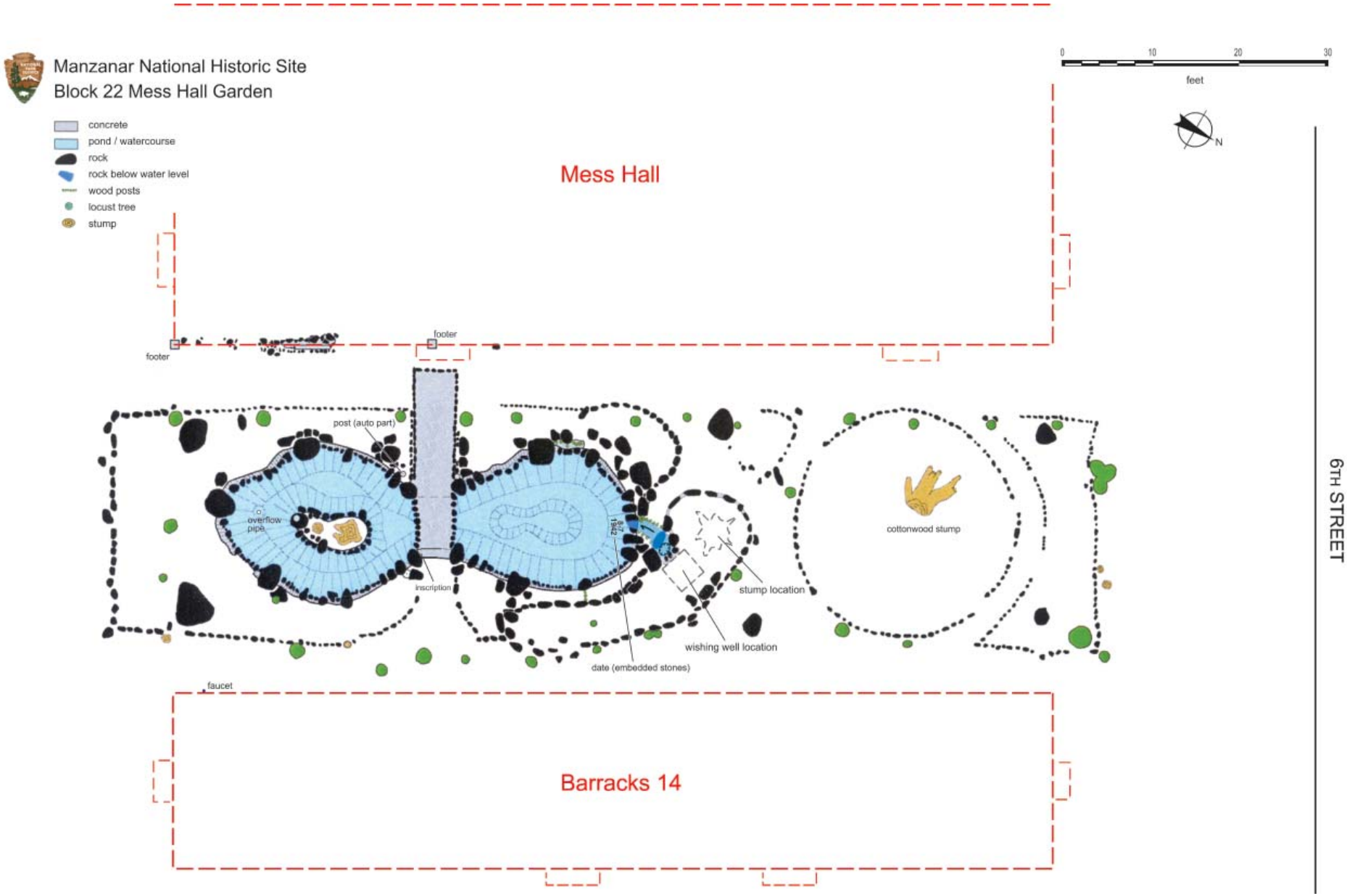


Figure 4.196. Block 22 mess hall garden (adapted from Beckwith 2013).

Figure 4.197. Waterfall at north end of pond at Block 22 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.198. North end of pond at Block 22 mess hall garden showing deeper area.

Figure 4.199. Walkway and bridge at Block 22 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.200. Island and decorative stump in south end of pond at Block 22 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.201. Rock setting at Block 22 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.202. Concrete textured to look like wood at Block 22 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.203. Concrete pool at edge of pond at Block 22 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.204. Concrete pedestal on rock at Block 22 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.205. Embedded automobile steering linkage at Block 22 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.206. Date inscribed in concrete at Block 22 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.207. North end of Block 22 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.208. Decorative stump at Block 22 mess hall garden.

the wishing well was a 42-inch-high rock, still standing. Water from the wishing well splashed into a small concrete pool bordered in rocks before it flowed into the pond. North of the mound is a large rock circle, in the center of which is another large decayed stump (now fallen over) which appears in historic photographs (see Figures 2.27 and 2.28). There are many historic black locust trees in the garden area. A wayside exhibit includes historic photographs of the pond. For more description and interpretation of this garden, see Beckwith (2013).

The mess hall garden is discernible in the 1944 aerial photograph, as are what appear to be other gardens, and all of the buildings in Block 22 are surrounded by vegetation. There appears to be a small pond between the north ends of Barracks 8 and 9. Many landscape features are visible in the block today. At the south end of Barracks 1 there is a *nobedon* path, disturbed by a fallen tree (Figure 4.209). At the north end of Barracks 2, there is a rectangular rock alignment defining an entry garden for Apartment 1 (Figure 4.210). An opening in the alignment would have led to the original entry door. Nearby on the west side of the barracks, there is a large concrete pad, suggesting the residents added a door and landing to their "backyard."

On the east side of Barracks 3, there is a concrete sidewalk and a broken concrete stoop. Along the west side of Barracks 5 are concrete slabs and a sidewalk (Figure 4.211). The south end of Barracks 6 has a rectangular rock outline and some large rocks, but much of the area is buried (Figure 4.212).

Along the west side of Barracks 7 is a post (Figure 4.213), rock alignment, and large trees and stumps. A rock alignment is visible around one of the trees. These features may have been part of a garden created by Kichizaemon Ishii, who had been born in Japan in 1877. Ishii lived in Barracks 7 Apartment 1 with a bachelor and a divorced man. His occupation is listed

Figure 4.209. Entry garden at Block 22 Barracks 1 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.210. Entry garden at Block 22 Barracks 2 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.211. Concrete walkway and rocks at Block 22 Barracks 5.

Figure 4.212. Rocks at Block 22 Barracks 6 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.213. Post at Block 22 Barracks 7.

Figure 4.214. Entry garden at Block 22 Barracks 8 Apartment 8.

Figure 4.215. Rocks at Block 22 Barracks 8.

Figure 4.216. Entry garden at Block 22 Barracks 10 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.218. Painting showing a portion of Nishi's Block 22 Barracks 12 garden (M. Kumano 1944; Nishi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.217. ***Nobedon*** entry at Block 22 Barracks 10 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.219. Garden remnants at Block 22 Barracks 12.

Figure 4.220. Top of concrete pedestal at Block 22 Barracks 12.

Figure 4.221. Garden remnants at Block 22 Barracks 12.

Figure 4.222. Possible boat-shaped rock at Block 22 Barracks 12.

Figure 4.223. Entry garden at Block 22 Barracks 13 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.224. Entry garden at Block 22 Barracks 14 Apartment 1.

as gardener in WRA records.

At the north end of Barracks 8 is a rectangular alignment made of large rocks defining the entry garden of Apartment 4 (Figure 4.214). An opening in the center of the alignment would have led to the doorway. Between Barracks 8 and 9 is a large tree surrounded by a pavement of cobbles, some of which are mortared and some of which are set into the ground (Figure 4.215). Nearby are more scattered cobbles and a rock alignment that probably bordered a walkway. The north end of Barracks 10 has a rectangular rock outline defining a yard area for Apartment 4, but the alignment is disturbed and partially buried (Figure 4.216). *Nobedon* pavement was placed at the doorway (Figure 4.217). Barracks 11 has a short rock alignment at the south end, where Apartment 1 was located.

A 1944 painting signed by M. Kumano indicates there was a garden at the southeast end of Barracks 12 outside Apartment 1 (Figure 4.218). The painting, which was donated to Manzanar by Henry Nishi, shows a rock and concrete pedestal at the corner of a barracks, with a large "22" at a barracks in the background. The barracks with the rock pedestal would have been Barracks 12 Apartment 1. The Manzanar roster says the artist, Masasuke Kumano, lived at Block 23 Barracks 11 Apartment 3, and the residents of Block 22 Barracks 12 Apartment 1 were the Kuichiro Nishi family. In an interview with Anna Tamura, Henry Nishi, son of Kuichiro, was asked if there was an ornamental garden at his barracks. Henry Nishi demurred, calling it "crude landscaping" (Tamura 2002: Appendix C).

One could argue with Henry's characterization as a manifestation of modesty, considering the materials available and the fact that the painting is of the "back side" of a barracks, where there were no entry ways. In the painting, besides the pedestal, Kumano depicts boulders, mounds, leafless trees and bushes, and smaller green plants (possibly agaves or similar succulents). There may be a potted plant atop the pedestal, and there is a small wooden fence, a path, an upended wooden bucket, and some wood (possibly from pallets) between this barracks and the viewer. The leafless trees and snow on the Sierras in the background suggest winter. Today, broken remnants of the pedestal are still present, as well as what looks like the top of a small concrete-lined pond and many seemingly scattered rocks (Figures 4.219-4.221). One rock, 24 by 15 by 13 inches in size, looks to be boat-shaped (*fume ishi*; Figure4.222). Recycled pieces of concrete slab are set vertically into the ground.

At the south end of Barracks 13, there is a concrete sidewalk and rock alignments defining the entry to Apartment 1. Broken pieces of concrete suggest the sidewalk may have been T-shaped, with part of the sidewalk along the end of the barracks and part extending straight out from the entryway (Figure 4.223). The end of the sidewalk was decoratively scored and apparently colored. There are large trees on either side of the sidewalk in the planters defined by the rock alignments.

At the south end of Barracks 14 is a small concrete slab outlined in cobbles (Figure 4.224), similar to the sidewalk at the mess hall. The slab is flanked by two large black locust trees. Additional features in Block 22 include rock alignments between Barracks 3 and 4, on the south sides and between Barracks 5 and 6, at the north end of Barracks 8, between Barracks 8 and 9, at the north end of Barracks 10, along the east and north sides of Barracks 11, and along the south side of Barracks 13. During tamarisk removal in 2014, a wood post and a vertical pipe were uncovered at the south end of Barracks 8 (Burton 2014b).

Block 23

At Barracks 9 Apartment 4 was George S. Takemura's "Manzanar Showplace" depicted in official WRA photographs taken June 17, 1942, and distributed by the Associated Press. The photographs show a wishing well made of logs and limb wood with a square bucket made of dimensional lumber hanging from a rope. There is a shade structure in front of the barracks door entrance, and a rock alignment and limbwood fence outline a garden area.

Today all that remains visible at Takemura's garden location is a small granite boulder, possibly the same large corner rock seen in one of the historic photographs (Figure 4.225, cf. Figures 2.25 and 2.26). More remnants of Takemura's garden may lie buried under recent alluvium and duff. Takemura also built a wishing well for the Block 22 mess hall garden. Adjacent at Barracks 10 Apartment 1 is also a single small boulder (Figure 4.226).

The 1944 aerial photograph shows vegetation around all of the barracks in Block 23 and possible gardens at the mess hall and between Barracks 7 and the recreation building. Landscape features evident today include rock alignments at the south end of Barracks 1 (difficult to discern because of slash and duff); a rock alignment defining an entry garden and a rock ring around a stump at the south end of Barracks 2; and a rock alignment between Barracks 2 and 3 at the south end of the buildings, bordering what would have been their backyards.

At the northwest corner of Barracks 6, near Apartment 1, there is a large stump in a circular rock-and-concrete planter. A similar stump and planter is located on the east side of the barracks, with a rock alignment extending from the planter to a concrete sidewalk that paralleled the east side of the barracks (Figure 4.227-4.230).

Figure 4.225. Small boulder at Block 23 Barracks 9 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.226. Small boulder at Block 23 Barracks 10 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.227. Rock alignment at Block 23 Barracks 6.

Figure 4.228. Sidewalk and rocks at Block 23 Barracks 6.

Figure 4.229. Rock circle at Block 23 Barracks 6.

Figure 4.230. Rock circle at north end of Barracks 6 in Block 23.

Figure 4.231. Entry garden at Block 23 Barracks 14 Apartment 2.

Figure 4.232. Rocks embedded in concrete at Block 23 mess hall.

Figure 4.233. Rock-lined concrete channel at Block 23 mess hall.

There are small boulders at the south end of Barracks 7, and rock alignments along the barracks' west side. There are also rock alignments on the west side of Barracks 8, and between Barracks 10 and 11. At Barracks 13 near the faucet is concrete shaped to look like a rock, possibly to serve as a stepping stone. On the east side of Barracks 14, near the south end, are intersecting curvilinear rock alignments and stumps. A little to the north are large boulders. These features may be related to each other, and remnants of a large garden.

There is a garden on the east side of Barracks 14 outside Apartment 2. Disturbed, it consists of small boulders and two rectangular areas outlined with rocks on either side of an apparent pathway that would have led to the apartment door (Figure 4.231). Each of the outlined areas included two trees; three are now stumps and one is still alive. According to the Manzanar roster, Tokizo Tom Ota lived at this apartment. Ota was a self-employed gardener, born in Japan in 1886, and separated from his wife. He had worked on gardens at private homes before internment (WWI and WWII draft registration, 1940 U.S. census, and WRA records).

There are remains of rock and concrete entries on the south and east sides of the mess hall (Figure 4.232). A rock-lined concrete channel leads away from the southeast corner of the mess hall (Figure 4.233). The channel likely served the same unknown function as similar features at the Block 24 and Block 34 mess halls.

Block 24

There are two notable barracks gardens in this block, and landscaping features at the mess hall. Manzanar's first reported ornamental garden was between Bar-

racks 5 and 6. The *Manzanar Free Press* (June 30, 1942) describes the garden built by William Katsuki as having three large Joshua trees, four small ponds, and miniature bridges. Katsuki started the garden on April 29 gathering rocks from within the camp. The article says the Joshua trees came from Death Valley, 65 miles away. The Death Valley reference is likely an exaggeration; it is actually 100 miles from Manzanar to Death Valley, but before getting there one drives past thousands of Joshua trees, the closest to Manzanar being about 45 miles (near the turnoff to the town of Darwin). They were likely collected at the same time as some Joshua trees used in landscaping the administration area.

On June 30, 1942, Dorothea Lange took two photographs of Katsuki's garden. One photograph caption reads "William Katsuki, former professional landscape gardener for large estates in Southern California, demonstrates his skill and ingenuity in creating from materials close at hand, a desert garden alongside his home in the barracks at this War Relocation Authority center." The other caption reads "A view of the garden strip arranged by William Katsuki, former landscape gardener from Southern California, alongside his home in the barracks at this War Relocation Authority center for internees of Japanese ancestry."

There are four other photographs of Katsuki's garden taken from different angles and distances. Together, the historic photographs show the entire garden, but apparently at different times since there are some differences (see Figures 2.16-2.20). The photographs confirm the description of the garden in the *Manzanar Free Press*. The garden is narrow, set against the wall of Barracks 5, and runs the entire length of the barracks. A watercourse with small ponds starts at the exterior faucet at the north end of the barracks and would have sunk into the sand or overflowed at the south end (Figure 4.234). In addition to the Joshua trees, there are many cottontop cactus, and a few beavertail, hedgehog, and cholla cactus. There are also

Figure 4.234. Historic photograph of Block 24 Barracks 5 garden (WRA photograph, UCLA Special Collections).

Figure 4.235. Excavation of the Block 24 Barracks 5 garden in 2012.

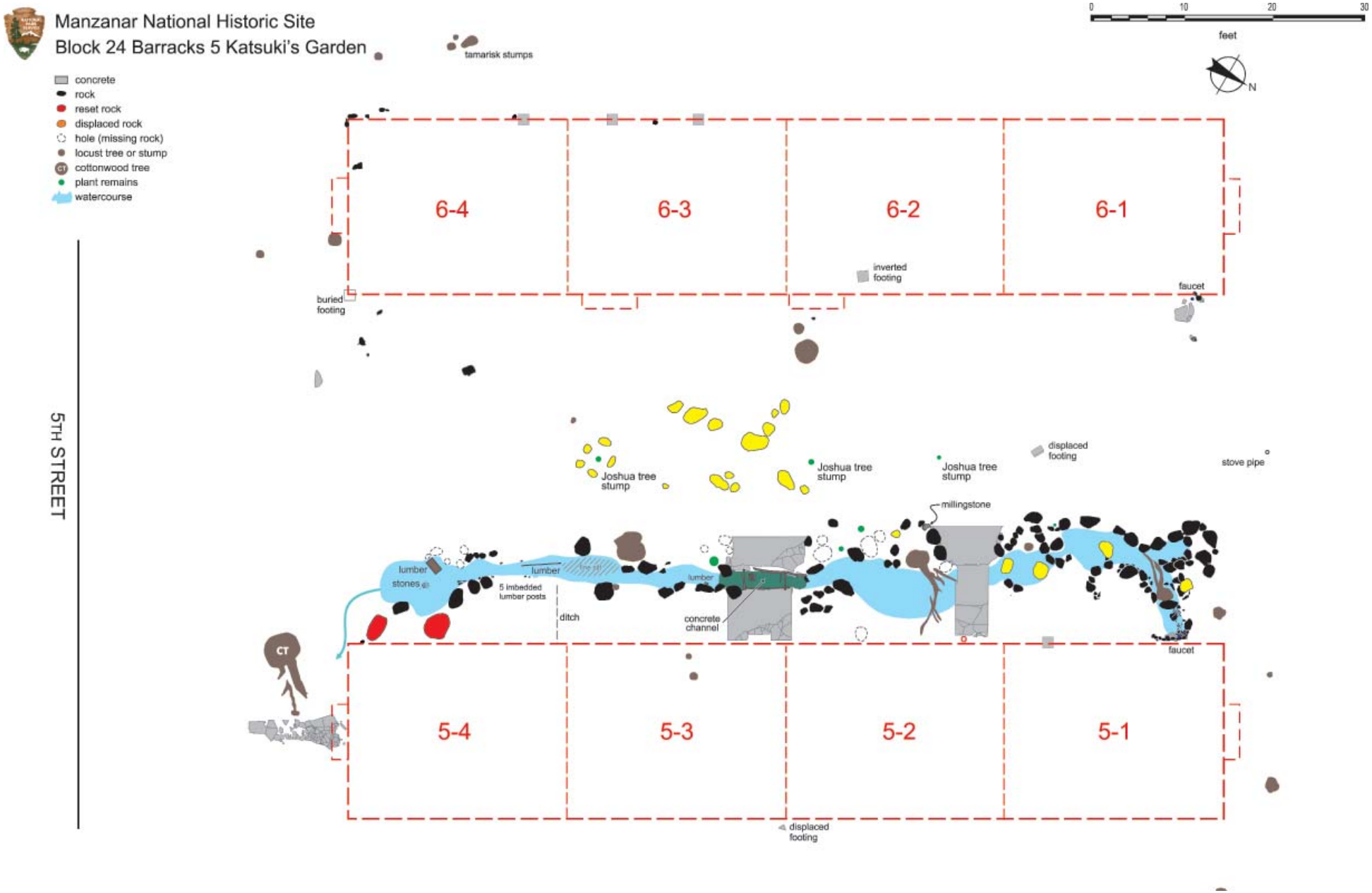


Figure 4.236. Block 24 Barracks 5 garden.

Figure 4.237. Block 24 Barracks 5 garden after excavation.

Figure 4.238. Block 24 Barracks 5 garden after excavation.

Figure 4.239. Block 24 Barracks 5 garden after excavation.

Figure 4.240. Rocks surrounding in situ Joshua tree stump.

Figure 4.241. Broken concrete and wood bridge to Apartment 2 at Block 24 Barracks 5 garden.

Figure 4.242. Concrete bridge to Apartment 3 at Block 24 Barracks 5 garden.

Figure 4.243. Remains of miniature wooden bridge at Block 24 Barracks 5 garden.

Figure 4.2344 Resetting displaced boulder at Block 24 Barracks 5 garden.

decorative logs or stumps, dead brush and branches, a short section of *rangui* wall along the water course, and two little wood bridges. All of the photographs show the watercourse as unlined.

One of the Katsuki garden photographs shows a simple gateway with "idle hermitage" in Japanese and a sign next to the door in English that names Wm. Katsuki, D. Takamatsu, and Fred(?) Hayashi as the occupants. Only one "Katsuki" is listed in the Manzanar roster, who lived at Barracks 5 Apartment 2 with the first name Manjiro, so William was likely his American name. Sixty years old in 1942, he was a widower. Takamatsu and Hayashi were also widowers. Katsuki had two married daughters at Manzanar and a widowed sister (Tad Takamura, personal communication 2013). Katsuki left Manzanar in March 1945, but returned in August to enlist gardeners for work in Los Angeles.

Katsuki's garden was excavated in 2012 (Figures 4.235-4.244). The four ponds mentioned in the *Manzanar Free Press* are wide spots along the stream channel, with the largest 7 feet in width and 12 inches deep. The stream channel had never been lined with concrete, but two concrete bridges crossed it at each of the two apartment entryways on the west side of the barracks. At the south edge of the concrete entry to Apartment 2 is the tallest rock still in situ at 21 inches high. Many of the boulders along the stream course remained in place, but the area near the faucet at the north end of the garden had been badly damaged, likely during barracks demolition. A circular rock alignment planter for one of the Joshua trees in front of the garden was uncovered, along with remnants of the tree itself. Displaced boulders and smashed concrete sidewalks and stream crossings suggest heavy machinery was used to dismantle barracks in this area, but many artifacts were recovered during the archeological work.

The second known barracks garden in Block 24 was on the west side of Barracks 8, where there are a *nobedon* and concrete stoop, concrete curbs, and rock

alignments (Figures 4.245-4.247). Some of the rocks are large and mostly buried nearly flush to the ground. There is also an irregularly shaped concrete slab with post holes, which may be the edge of a small concrete-lined pond. It is not known who lived in Barracks 8. No preservation or stabilization work has been done at this garden.

Besides dense vegetation around Barracks 5, 6, and 8, the 1944 aerial photograph shows lawns and other vegetation between all facing barracks. The space between Barracks 7 and the recreation building is barren, but there is some vegetation between the mess hall and Barracks 14.

There are no known ground-level historic photographs of the mess hall area, but landscape features were visible on the surface, including remnants of two concrete stoops along the east side and a more fragmentary concrete stoop on the west side. The mess hall location was archeologically investigated in 2012 (Figures 4.248-4.254). At the southeast corner of the mess hall there is a small concrete-lined basin with a concrete and rock stream, 30 feet long, leading away from it. Unfortunately, the roots of a huge cottonwood tree are damaging it. The stream course goes under a low concrete bridge that is 4 feet long by 5 feet wide, and arched 6 to 8 inches high. After the stream course passes under the bridge, it becomes a concrete-lined channel that simply drains into a large sandy area. The upper part of the channel appears to have been painted or stained brown.

Because the 2012 excavation at the mess hall showed that there was no pond or other feature at the end of the stream course, a dark area between Barracks 14 and the mess hall on the 1944 aerial photograph is most likely just wet ground and not a garden feature. The concrete basin may be a catch basin for a hand-washing station; a similar basin was found at the Block 34 mess hall.

Figure 4.245. Postholes in concrete and possible garden pond at Block 24 Barracks 8.

Figure 4.246. Entry garden at Block 24 Barracks 8.

Figure 4.247. Stepping stones at Block 24 Barracks 8.

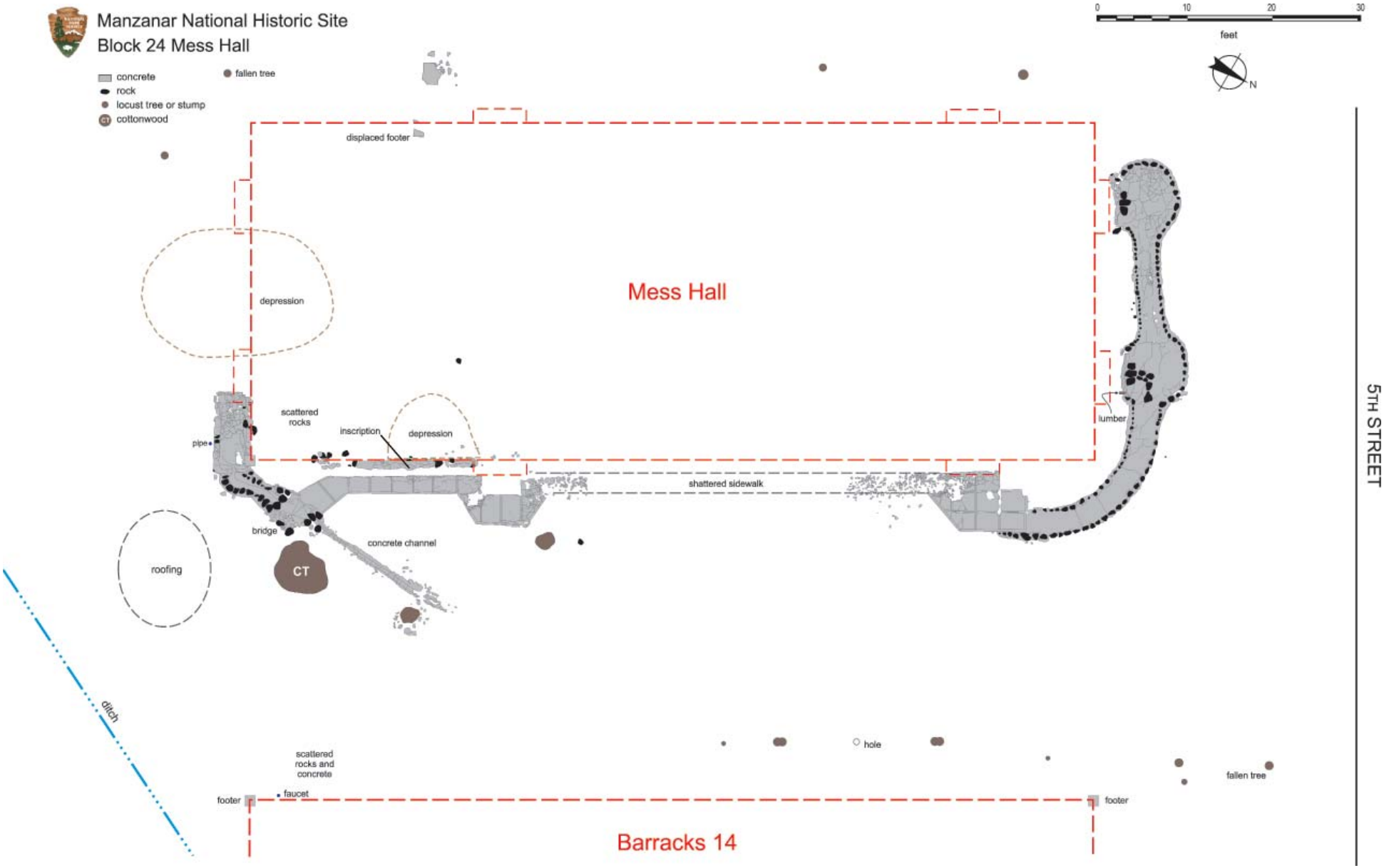


Figure 4.248. Block 24 mess hall.

At the north end of the mess hall there are two concrete stoops. A decorative curving sidewalk of cement bordered with cobbles leads from the north end to the east side. At both of the stoops, the sidewalk incorporates cobbles to make a *nobedan*-like walkway. A 24-inch-wide concrete sidewalk ran along the entire east side of the mess hall, expanded at the entrances; the sidewalk may have been painted or stained brown, at least at its south end. However, the original condition of the sidewalk is difficult to discern, since the area between the two east-side stoops is shattered and partially missing, likely from camp demolition.

Today, there is a row of four trees (two stumps, one dead tree, and one live tree) between the mess hall and Barracks 14. Some of the features at the mess hall may have been constructed by William Katsuki, since he lived in this block.

Other landscape features still visible in this block include a rock alignment on the east side of Barracks 10 and rock alignments north of Barracks 14.

Block 25

There was at least one garden pond in this block: the *Manzanar Free Press* (October 5, 1942) reports that "the fish pond between building 5 and 6 will soon have red carp in it as soon as they arrive from Los Angeles." What may be a figure-8 pond with a bridge can be discerned between these barracks on the 1944 aerial photograph. In 2013, a huge tamarisk thicket growing between Barracks 5 and 6 was cut and treated. Numerous boulders and two broken-off forked posts were exposed during that work, but deep tamarisk duff remains (Burton 2013a). The boulders appear to have formed rings around two removed trees, but they could also have been part of landscaped mounds or islands (Figure 4.255). The pond likely remains bur-

Figure 4.249. Volunteers clearing debris at Block 24 mess hall in 2012 (Hank Umemoto).

Figure 4.250. Concrete basin at Block 24 mess hall.

Figure 4.251. Concrete stream channel and bridge at Block 24 mess hall.

Figure 4.252. Concrete channel at Block 24 mess hall.

Figure 4.253. Rock-lined concrete walkway on north side of Block 24 mess hall.

Figure 4.254. Rocks embedded in concrete at Block 24 mess hall.

Figure 4.255. Boulders around cut tamarisk tree between Barracks 5 and 6 in Block 25.

Figure 4.256. Rock topped with concrete platform between Barracks 5 and 6 in Block 25.

Figure 4.257. Entry garden at Block 25 Barracks 6 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.258. Double rock alignment at Block 25 Barracks 6 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.259. Stepping stones and rock borders at Block 25 Barracks 12 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.260. Wooden border and stepping stones at Block 25 Barracks 12 Apartment 1.

ied, but it may have been damaged by tree roots. One vertically set rock is topped with a concrete platform, possibly for a lantern or other decorative element (Figure 4.256).

The barracks apartment closest to the pond visible on the 1944 aerial photograph was Barracks 6 Apartment 1; the Manzanar roster lists the residents there as Yonemasa John Muramatsu, born in 1913, his wife Kyako Ann (born in 1916), and their twin girls, born April 23, 1942. Muramatsu was listed in the category of nursery operators and flower growers, and the roster notes that he spoke Japanese and could speak, read, and write English.

The 1944 aerial photograph shows no mess hall garden. There is an unusual circle of vegetation between Barracks 12 and 13 and a row of trees along the west side of the recreation building, a lawn and pathway on the east side of the recreation building, and sparse vegetation around most of the barracks.

At the north end of Barracks 6, there are rock alignments defining the entry yard for Apartment 1. Although the shape enclosed is rectangular, as at other end barracks, the rock alignment is double, with two parallel rows of vertically set rocks (Figures 4.257 and 4.258). Small planters were defined in the corners of the rock alignment with a short, curving, single row of cobbles. An opening in the center of the alignment formed the entry to the garden; stepping stones appear to lead to the apartment door. The stepping stones are flanked by two large trees, now fallen. In addition, large rocks are located where the end of the barracks would have been, and may have functioned as skirting for the building.

On the west side of Barracks 7, where the Apartment 2 entry would have been, there is a short path bordered by cobbles. At the south end of Barracks 12 a stepping-stone path bordered with cobbles leads out from the Apartment 1 entry (Figures 4.259-262). An-

other stepping stone path extends west from the entry path, extending about 2 feet beyond the edge of the building. To the east is a *nobedan* path and a stepping-stone path; stepping stones also extend to the north along the east side of the barracks. Some of the rocks at the entry garden appear to have been set in asphalt. Wooden boards set into the ground define a large rectangular garden area, and trees (one fallen, one still standing) were planted in each corner. Several large rocks to the west of where the entry door would have been were likely a landscape feature.

Other visible landscape features in this block today include rock alignments between Barracks 8 and 9 (Figure 4.263; broken concrete and asphalt on the west side of Barracks 9; wooden edging between Barracks 10 and 11; and a lumber border on the west side of the north end of Barracks 12. Flooding in 2013 and 2014 caused minor erosion and deposition, impacting several of the landscape features (Burton 2013a, 2014a).

Figure 4.261. Wooden border at Block 25 Barracks 12 Apartment 1.

Block 26

The 1944 aerial photograph shows vegetation and pathways around nearly all of the barracks in this block, trees between Barracks 14 and the mess hall, and a lawn on the east side of the recreation building. The aerial photograph suggests there was a pond between Barracks 10 and 11, but a known pond between Barracks 13 and 14 cannot be discerned in the photograph.

Visible today in Block 26 at Barracks 1, outside of Apartment 4, is a rock feature composed of a circular rock alignment surrounding boulders and tree stumps (Figures 4.264 and 4.265). In addition, an entry landing was made for Apartment 4 out of concrete and pebbles (Figure 4.266). An extension of the landing, also made of concrete and pebbles but with a raised

Figure 4.262. Rock and wooden borders at Block 25 Barracks 12 faucet.

Figure 4.263. Rock alignments at Block 25 Barracks 9.

Figure 4.264. Entry garden at Block 26 Barracks 1 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.265. Rock circle, boulders, and tree stumps at Block 26 Barracks 1 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.266. Walkway made of concrete and pebbles at Block 26 Barracks 1 Apartment 4.

edge, angles off toward the circular rock feature.

Along the west side of Barracks 4 is a rock alignment that parallels the barracks about 8 or 10 feet out from the barracks wall, with openings for the entries to Apartments 2 and 3 (Figure 4.267). The entry path to Apartment 3 is bordered by rocks, and there is a broken-up concrete stoop at the entrance. Apartment 2's entry path is a concrete sidewalk, now broken. At the south end of Barracks 4 are rectangular rock alignments on either side of the doorway to Apartment 4, but the alignments have been disturbed. The north end of Barracks 5 appears to have similar rectangular rock alignments defining an entry garden for Apartment 1, but the area is partially buried by duff from a large tamarisk that has been removed (Figure 4.268).

Between Barracks 8 and 9 are numerous rocks, two rocky mounds, part of a low concrete wall, mortared rocks, a possible pond, rock alignments and borders, and stumps (Figure 4.269). One feature of this garden is composed of rocks mortared together into a small arch. This arch feature matches one in a historic photograph of an unnamed Japanese American soldier (Figures 4.270 and 4.271). In the photograph, the arch is capped by additional rocks, placed both horizontally and vertically, so that it forms a Japanese rock lantern. A tree is just budding out in the background. Along the west side of Barracks 8 there was a concrete sidewalk, now broken (Figure 4.272). There is no record of who lived in the closest apartment (Apartment 2), but the remains of the lantern and rock alignments indicate they enjoyed a fairly elaborate Japanese garden.

The remains of another elaborate garden are visible between Barracks 13 and 14 (Figures 4.273-4.275). A recent arroyo is eroding the northwest corner of the garden. Flooding in 2013 and 2014 has accelerated the erosion (Burton 2013a, 2014a). The garden includes a large irregularly shaped concrete-lined pond bor-

dered with rocks of several colors. There is a rock mound on the south side of the pond. A raised rectangular feature outlined in cobbles, filled with dirt, and topped with a flat concrete slab (now broken) may have been a shelf or bench. There is also a rectangular rock alignment surrounding the entire garden; part of the alignment is several courses high and forms a retaining wall. Adjacent to the garden at Barracks 14 Apartment 3 is a concrete sidewalk; given the orientation of the mound and pond, this apartment's entry would have been the primary viewing point for the garden. The only recorded residents at Barracks 14 in the Manzanar roster was the Fujimori family in Apartment 3. George Yoshio Fujimori may have been the garden's creator. He and his wife Esther Ritsuko were only 21 years old in 1942, and they had a son born in Manzanar in November 1942. They left Manzanar in the summer of 1944. George's occupation was listed as "Semiskilled Chauffeurs and Drivers, Bus, Taxi, Truck, and Tractor," Esther's job was listed as "Clerical and Kindred Occupations."

Other features visible in Block 26 today include a rock alignment between the north ends of Barracks 3 and 4; a rock and concrete stoop west of Barracks 10; a broken concrete stoop at the south end of Barracks 12; and a concrete stoop on the south side of the mess hall. During 2013 tamarisk removal, an east-west alignment of posts and a wood stake, likely part of a fence, were discovered in the duff at the south end of the open area between Barracks 5 and 6.

Figure 4.267. Entry garden at Block 26 Barracks 4 Apartment 3.

Figure 4.268. Entry garden at Block 26 Barracks 5 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.269. Garden between Barracks 8 and 9 in Block 26.

Block 27

The 1944 aerial photograph shows sparse vegetation in this block, but there are lawns, pathways, and possibly other landscaping features visible between Barracks 1 and 2, Barracks 5 and 6, Barracks 8 and 9, Barracks 10 and 11, and Barracks 11 and 12. There is a

Figure 4.270. Japanese American soldier at Japanese lantern (Mary Ichino Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.271. Lantern leg made of rock and concrete between Barracks 8 and 9 in Block 26.

Figure 4.272. Concrete sidewalk and curb between Barracks 8 and 9 in Block 26.

Figure 4.273. Garden between Barracks 13 and 14 in Block 26.

Figure 4.274. Raised rectangular feature at garden between Barracks 13 and 14 in Block 26

Figure 4.275. Garden pond between Barracks 13 and 14 in Block 26.

Figure 4.276. Block 27 mess hall workers (Yoshiko Hosoi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

divided lawn between Barracks 7 and the recreation building and a north-south row of trees between Barracks 14 and the mess hall. An undated historic photograph of the mess hall shows a small tree stump (possibly re-sprouting) and some flowers (possibly marigolds) within a circular watering basin, but no elaborate garden (Figure 4.276).

Today, at the entry of Barracks 3 Apartment 2, one can see a *nobedon* landing and a 2½-foot-high post with a nail on top (Figure 4.277). There was also apparently a *nobedon* landing next door at Apartment 3, now disturbed.

At the south end of Barracks 5 at Apartment 4, there is a post-and-wire fence defining the entry garden (Figures 4.278-4.280). The wire and posts still remain, with the posts extending less than 18 inches above the ground surface. The posts may have been taller historically and are now partially buried; there has been a lot of sand deposited in the vicinity.

At Barracks 13 Apartment 1 there are rectangular rock alignments on either side of the entry and defining an entry garden (Figure 4.281). Recent flooding has caused both siltation and erosion at this garden (Burton 2013a, 2014a). Other landscape features evident today include a rock stoop on the west side of Barracks 1, a rock and concrete stoop on the east side of Barracks 2, rock alignments on the south end of Barracks 8, and rock alignments on the east side of Barracks 13.

Block 28

The 1944 aerial photograph shows abundant trees around the buildings, including the area between Barracks 7 and the recreation building, but no apparent lawns. There are pathways between Barracks 3 and 4, Barracks 5 and 6, and Barracks 12 and 13. There may be a landscaped mess hall garden. Jeanne Wakatsuki

Figure 4.277. *Nobedon* entry, small boulder, and wood post at Block 27 Barracks 3 Apartment 2.

Figure 4.278. Wood fence posts and cottonwood trees at Block 27 Barracks 5 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.279. Wood post and wire fencing at Block 27 Barracks 5 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.280. Wood posts and wire fencing at Block 27 Barracks 5 Apartment 4.

Houston's father's garden would have been in this block, at Barracks 5 Apartment 3 (Houston and Houston 1973). The only features at Barracks 5 today are rock alignments south and southeast of the barracks, which would have been closest to Apartment 4 (Figure 4.282).

Remains of other landscape features evident in the block today include a *nobedon* pathway and rock alignment at Barracks 3 Apartment 3 (Figure 4.283); scattered rocks likely from disturbed alignments north of Barracks 2 and south of Barracks 3; a rock stoop on the west side of Barracks 10; rocks set in concrete northeast of Barracks 13; and broken concrete west of the mess hall, likely from an entry. However, this block has many trees, and thick duff and alluvium likely obscure more features. Flooding in 2013 and 2014 caused minor erosion and deposition throughout the block (Burton 2013a, 2014a).

Block 29

The 1944 aerial photograph shows abundant vegetation in this block. There are trees and possibly gardens and ponds between each of the facing barracks and at the mess hall, and there are vegetable or flower gardens or a lawn in the space between Barracks 7 and the recreation building. Former internee Wilber Sato (personal communication 2000) remembers there being a pond in this block, possibly at the mess hall.

At the south end of Barracks 10, at Apartment 1, there is a T-shaped sidewalk; it led straight to the entry and then paralleled the end of the barracks (Figure 4.284). On either side of the entry sidewalk are rectangular rock alignments. This garden has been disturbed by trees falling over and flood damage.

At the south end of Barracks 8, a concrete sidewalk led from the entry to the water faucet around the corner. Short wood posts are located on either side of the doorway (Figure 4.285). Rock alignments may have defined the entrance yard; today only the southwest corner of a rock alignment is visible.

Other landscape features evident today include a concrete sidewalk north of Barracks 2; a rock alignment at the south end of Barracks 7; broken concrete and a section of concrete sidewalk south of Barracks 9; a rock walkway and rock alignment at the south end of Barracks 14 (Figure 4.286); and a rock stoop on the east side of the mess hall. West of Barracks 11, located in the "backyard" of Apartment 3, is a 5-foot-tall post with wires still attached, probably a clothesline pole (Figure 4.287). Block 29 was located across from the hospital, and rock alignments with traces of white paint border the road intersections in the northwest and southwest corners of the block.

Flooding in 2013 and 2014 caused erosion and deposition throughout this block and damaged the Barracks 8 and 10 landscape features (Burton 2013a, 2014a).

Block 30

The internees in this block came from the farming community of Florin, near Sacramento. The *Manzanar Free Press* (August 12, 1942) reported that Block 30 has the "... greatest number of lawns in any one block ...." This claim may be substantiated by the 1944 aerial photograph which shows lawns between most of the buildings, the only exceptions being between Barracks 7 and the recreation building, Barracks 13 and 14, and Barracks 14 and the mess hall. There are pathways visible between facing barracks. There is no indication of a mess hall garden.

Figure 4.281. Rock alignment at Block 27 Barracks 13 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.282. Rock alignment at Block 28 Barracks 5.

Figure 4.283. Stone walkway at Block 28 Barracks 3 Apartment 3.

Figure 4.284. Entry garden at Block 29 Barracks 10 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.285. Concrete sidewalk and wood posts at Block 29 Barracks 8 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.286. Entry garden at Block 29 Barracks 14 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.287. Wood post with wire between Barracks 11 and 12 in Block 29.

Figure 4.288. Christmas photograph of Block 31 residents (Julia Hirosawa Tafel Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Today, a few landscape features can be seen in this block. They include a possible rock stoop on the east side of Barracks 1; a rock alignment west of Barracks 13; concrete and rocks at the northeast corner of Barracks 2; rocks at the southeast corner and a possible walkway on the west side of Barracks 8; and a possible asphalt entry on the south side of Barracks 7. Additional features could be buried.

Flooding in 2013 and 2014 caused erosion and deposition throughout much of this block and damaged the rock alignment at Barracks 13 (Burton 2013a, 2014a).

Block 31

In a historic photograph of what may be the entire block population at that time, several gardens are visible at the ends of the barracks, some with rock alignments and trees (Figure 4.288). In the 1944 aerial photograph, there are trees and lawns between facing barracks and also between the back sides of barracks where no doors faced. However, no mess hall garden is visible, and it appears to have been mostly barren ground in the area between Barracks 7 and the recreation building. Barracks 6 and 7 seem to have very little vegetation.

Today, there is a slightly mounded circular rock alignment enclosing some large rocks between the locations of Barracks 4 and 5; this feature is unusual in that it would have been on the back sides on the barracks, rather than in the area where the entry doors were located. Floods in 2013 and 2014 deposited a lot of sediment in this area, almost burying the feature (Figure 4.289; Burton 2013a, 2014a). Also at Barracks 5 is a concrete border for a yard on the west side, near the entry of Apartment 2 (Figure 4.290).

On the east side of Barracks 6 at Apartment 2 are large rocks that probably outlined a yard (Figure 4.291). There may have been a garden or rock-bordered lawn between Barracks 12 and 13; a large area is outlined with rocks and recycled concrete slab fragments mortared together. This feature has been disturbed by a flood-control ditch (Figures 4.292-4.294).

Other landscape features visible in this block today include rocks from a possible stoop on the west side of Barracks 1; a rock alignment on the south end of Barracks 3; a concrete sidewalk, a stone-lined entryway, and rock alignments between Barracks 3 and 4; two concrete stoops on the east side of Barracks 4; rocks at the southeast corner of Barracks 5; a two-course-high rock wall segment on the west side of Barracks 6; rock alignments at the south end of Barracks 7; remains of concrete stoops and rock alignments between Barracks 8 and 9; rock alignments north of Barracks 9; rock alignments on the east side of Barracks 11; a rock alignment between Barracks 11 and 12; a concrete stoop and rock alignments on the north end of Barracks 14; a rock-lined concrete walkway and stoop on the north, south, and east sides of Barracks 14; rock alignments and a stoop at the south end of Barracks 14; and rock alignments at the southeast corner of the mess hall. The rock alignments between Barracks 3 and 4 and at the south end of Barracks 14 were damaged by flooding in 2013 and 2014 (Burton 2013a, 2014a).

Figure 4.289. Rock circle and small boulders between Barracks 4 and 5 in Block 31.

Figure 4.290. Concrete curb Block 31 Barracks 5 Apartment 2.

Figure 4.291. Rock alignment at Block 31 Barracks 6 Apartment 2.

Figure 4.292. Rock alignment between Barracks 12 and 13 in Block 31.

Figure 4.293. Rock alignment cut by diversion ditch at Block 31 Barracks 12.

Figure 4.294. Border of recycled concrete fragments at Block 31 Barracks 12.

Figure 4.295. Entry garden and downed fencing at Block 32 Barracks 11 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.296. Entry garden at Block 32 Barracks 13 Apartment 1.

Figure 4.297. Entry garden at Block 32 Barracks 13 Apartment 2.

Block 32

The 1944 aerial photograph shows no mess hall garden, but there are trees and sparse vegetation in this block, with the most vegetation between Barracks 5 and 6, Barracks 8 and 9, and Barracks 11 and 12. There may be a fenced landscaped garden at the recreation hall, in the south end of the space between the recreation building and Barracks 7.

Today, at the south end of Barracks 8, there are small boulders as well as rectangular rock alignments at the entry to Apartment 1. An unusual feature in Block 32 is the remains of a fence on the north side of Barracks 10, 11, 12, and 13, between the barracks and the road. Still visible are fallen posts and at least three stands of barbed wire as well as square-mesh fencing (Figure 4.295). At the south end of Barracks 13 there are rock alignments creating a yard both south and east of the original entry to Apartment 1 (Figure 4.296). Rock alignments and possible stepping stones at the north end of the east leg of the rock alignment suggest an entry was added on the east side of the barracks. Not too far from this new entry, where the entry to Apartment 2 would have been, there is a steppingstone path and a U-shaped rock alignment that surrounds a historic black locust tree (Figure 4.297).

Other landscape features visible today consist of rock alignments on the west and south sides of Barracks 3, the south side of Barracks 4, the north end of Barracks 5, on the south side of Barracks 6, and the east side of Barracks 7. In addition, there are stoops on the south and north ends of Barracks 9. Tamarisk removal in 2014 revealed a rock alignment and scattered rocks between Barracks 5 and 6 (Burton 2014b).

Flooding in 2013 and 2014 caused minor erosion and deposition along the north and south edges of the block (Burton 2013a, 2014a).

Block 33

A pond built by Jack Hanshiro Arai at Barracks 4 in this block was archeologically excavated in 2011 (Figure 4.298; Burton and Farrell 2014). It had not been identified or referenced in historic documents, but instead was discovered thanks to an oral history and historic photographs donated by Madelon Arai Yamamoto, the daughter of the pond's creator (Figure 4.299). There was little indication of the pond on the ground surface prior to excavation, but the photographs that Mrs. Yamamoto donated indicated the pond's location. With that knowledge, it is possible to discern the pond on the 1944 aerial photograph. After the excavation, a Toyo Miyatake photograph was identified as of this pond (Figure 4.300).

Excavation revealed the pond to be irregular in shape, 22 by 22 feet in size, and up to 2½ feet deep. Bordered with rocks, the concrete-lined pond included three islands, a fish tunnel, and water lily boxes. Other landscaping features in the area between the two barracks were also uncovered, including rock alignments, concrete pads, stepping stones, and a small stream channel (Figures 4.301-4.306). Measuring approximately 22 feet east-west by 22 feet north-south, the pond is one of the largest ponds yet found at Manzanar. Large ponds, such as those in Blocks 9 and 34, were usually associated with block mess halls, and the largest pond of all, in Merritt Park, was built to serve the entire community.

Three earthen mounds in the pond formed islands; the islands and pond walls were lined with concrete. One of the islands features a tunnel, where according to Mrs. Yamamoto fish could hide and scrape their backs. The perimeters of the pond and of the islands were bordered with boulders and cobbles, so that when the pond was filled with water, its edges would have been defined by rock rather than concrete. The deepest part of the pond, between the three islands,

Figure 4.298. Excavation of Block 33 Barracks 4 garden pond in 2011.

Figure 4.299. Block 33 Barracks 4 garden pond (Madelon Arai Yamamoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.300. Block 33 Barracks 4 garden (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

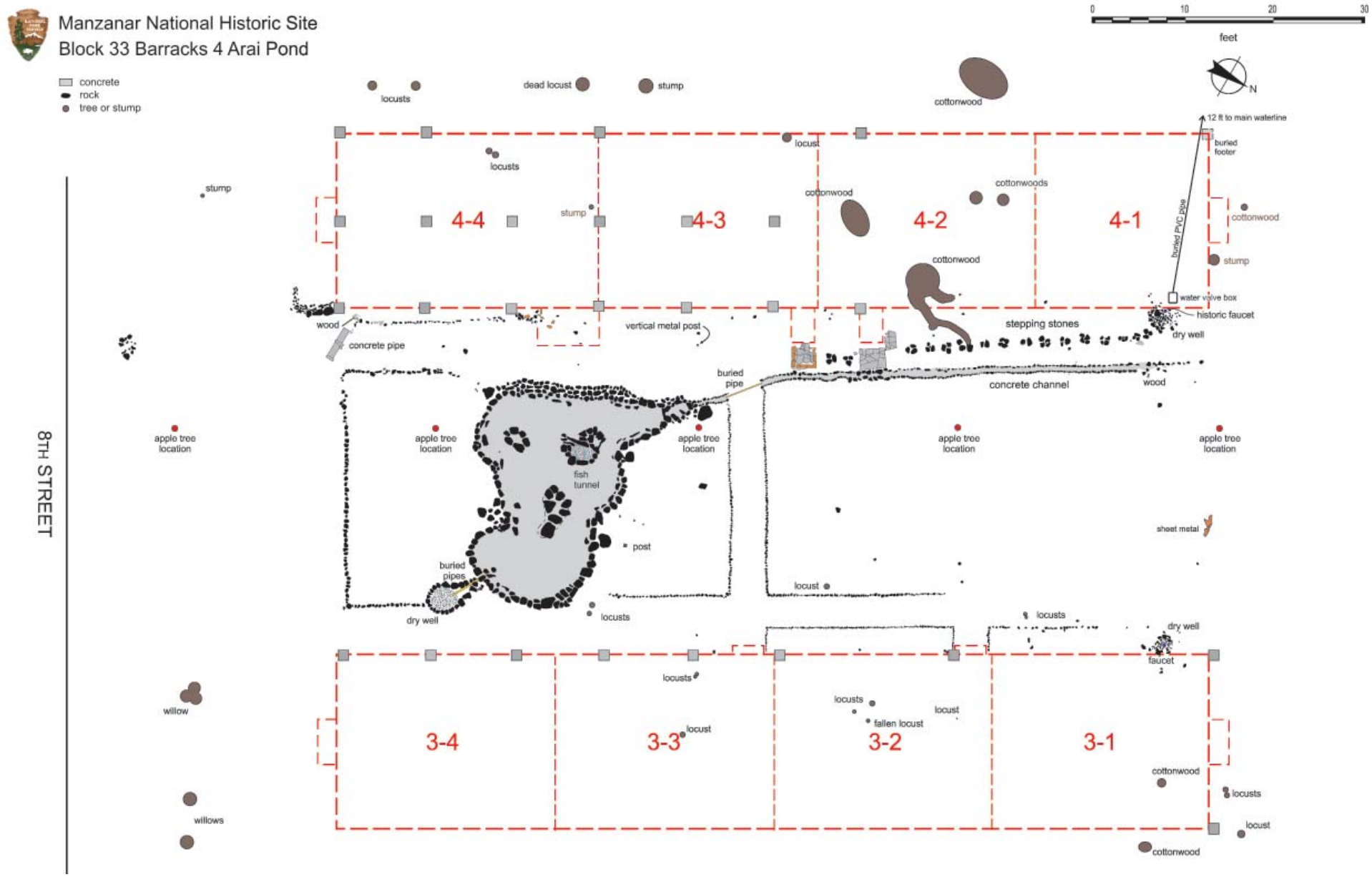


Figure 4.301. Block 33 Barracks 4 garden.

Figure 4.302. Block 33 Barracks 4 pond filled with water.

Figure 4.303. Rock-lined channel at Block 33 Barracks 4 garden with water.

Figure 4.304 Excavation of wood planting boxes at Block 33 Barracks 4 pond.

Figure 4.305. Fish tunnel at Block 33 Barracks 4 garden pond.

Figure 4.306. Water inlet at Block 33 Barracks 4 garden pond.

Figure 4.307. Garden at the Block 33 recreation building location (Yoshiko Hosoi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

is 2 feet 8 inches deep. Most of the pond is broad and shallow, less than 2 feet deep, and on the floor of the pond the wooden remains of four boxes were found; Mrs. Yamamoto identified these as boxes her father used to grow water lilies.

The inlet for water, at the northwest edge of the pond, is a narrow channel bounded by two rocks, slightly larger and taller than the surrounding cobbles. The two rocks would have constricted the flow to little more than an inch wide, increasing the velocity of the water and perhaps evoking a mountain spring. From the narrow channel the water would have flowed over a small waterfall, 8 inches high, dropping into a small concrete-lined pool surrounded by rocks. From the small pool the water flowed over a rock and dropped 1½ inches to the pond. On the east side of the little waterfall at the upper end of the inlet there is a vertically placed rock, 18 inches high. At first a hose was used to fill the pond, but later a narrow stream channel, 3 to 6 inches wide and 2 to 3 inches deep, was constructed of rocks and concrete from the faucet at the northeast end of the barracks to the pond inlet, a distance of 60 feet. Where the stream crossed a pathway, a buried pipe replaced the concrete and rock channel. Buried pipes at the outlet for the pond lead to a dry well; however, in historic photographs, both pipes are below the level of the water.

Flooding in 2013 and 2014 filled the Arai pond with silt and caused erosion and deposition along the southern portion of the block, particularly along the south and west side of Barracks 3 (Burton 2013a, 2014a).

There are likely other significant landscape features in Block 33. The recreation building was damaged by a wind storm in 1943 and removed, however on the 1944 aerial photograph there is a lawn or garden in the space between Barracks 7 and the former location of the recreation building. A historic photograph captioned “9-43 Me (Yoshi) & Bk 33 Park” shows grass and flowers in an area that would have to have been between Barracks 7 and the recreation building (Figure 4.307).

The 1944 aerial photograph shows two rows of trees between the mess hall and Barracks 14, which may indicate a mess hall garden. There is abundant other

Figure 4.308. Entry garden at Block 33 Barracks 12 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.309. Downed fence at Block 33 Barracks 11 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.310. Excavation at Block 33 Barracks 7 Apartment 1 entry garden in 2011.

vegetation in this block, including north-south rows of trees between most barracks and around the mess hall; these trees are apparently pear and apple trees remaining from town-era orchards. There was a pear orchard in the north half of the block (some trees still remain today) and an apple orchard in the south half of the block.

Besides the Arai pond, landscape features visible in Block 33 today consist of rock alignments, a concrete sidewalk, and a rock and cobble stoop at Barracks 1 and 2; rock alignments between Barracks 3 and 4; rock alignments and cemented cobbles at the north end of Barracks 10; and a concrete stoop and rock alignments on the north end of Barracks 9. At the north end of Barracks 12 there are rectangular rock alignments on either side of the entrance to Apartment 4, and stepping stone paths going east and west from where the steps would have been (Figure 4.308).

Also in Block 33 are rock stoops on the east side of Barracks 6; a cobblestone stoop and a concrete stoop on the west side of Barracks 7; a wood post wired to a tree and rocks at the south end of Barracks 8; and a stoop on the east side of the mess hall. One fence post still stands from a fence made of wood posts and four strands of barbed wire along the road north of Barracks 10 and 11 (Figure 4.309).

By removing a few inches of soil, Manzanar volunteer Marie Masumoto uncovered landscaping features at Block 33 Barracks 7 Apartment 1 (Figure 4.310 and 4.311). Marie's grandmother Nobue Saito had lived there along with Marie's aunt Takako Saito (the Manzanar librarian), Marie's father George, and her uncle Henry. The feature is a pathway composed of rock stepping stones, cobble pavement, a concrete slab where the steps to the apartment would have been, and three barracks foundation footers. Buried so that only their tops are exposed, the footers formed low steps to the concrete slab that was the landing for the wood entry steps. The footers likely came from the adjacent recreation building that had been destroyed in a windstorm in 1943.

Figure 4.311. Exposed features at Block 33 Barracks 7 Apartment 1.

Block 34

Figure 4.312. Waterfall at Block 34 mess hall garden in 1993.

The 1944 aerial photograph shows abundant vegetation and landscaping around every building in this block, including the latrines, laundry, and ironing room. Many pathways are visible, as is the mess hall garden, which won first place in the *Manzanar Free Press* best garden contest in November 1942. Given the vegetation in the aerial photograph, other elaborate gardens could be present but obscured by trees in the photograph. Building of the mess hall garden was led by Block 34 resident George Goichi Kubota (Barracks 2) along with Seiichi Kayahara and George Futoshi Murakami (unknown addresses). Nintaro Ogami, one of the builders of the hospital gardens, also lived in this Block at Barracks 7.

Most of Block 34 is covered by recent alluvium. When recorded during the 1993 archeological survey, the mess hall garden was mostly buried. Noted were a low rocky mound (Figure 4.312), some other rocks, and a collapsed barbed-wire fence. Many of the trees associated with this garden had been recently cut and removed by local firewood gatherers (Burton 1996a). The reddish-brown rocks used in the garden are metavolcanic rocks from the Alabama Hills or Inyo Mountains, rather than the more commonly used local granite boulders and cobbles.

There are ten historic photographs and home movie footage of the Block 34 mess hall garden (Figure 4.313; see Figures 2.37-2.40). In one of the historic photographs Japanese characters can be seen painted on one of the garden rocks that form an entry to the gar-

Figure 4.313. Block 34 mess hall garden (Shiro Nomura Collection, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 4.314. Rock with Japanese characters at Block 34 mess hall garden (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 4.315. Block 34 mess hall garden before excavation.

Figure 4.317. Block 34 mess hall garden after excavation.

Figure 4.318. Block 34 mess hall garden before restoration.

Figure 4.316. Excavation of the Block 34 mess hall garden in 1999 (photograph by Charney White).

den along the east side (Figure 4.314). The characters appear to be *san-shi-en*, or "3-4 garden." The Japanese characters for *san-shi* also translate as "purple mountain," which may have influenced the choice of rocks used (Motomi Oguchi, personal communication 2012). Virtually all the internees schooled in the Japanese language would read these characters on the rock as *san-shi-en* (山紫園). Yukinori Aida, a Japanese garden professional from Tokyo, suggests the name may have had additional significance in the Japanese language:

> We Japanese imagine three-four, if we hear *san-shi* (三四)… because numbers three and four are used

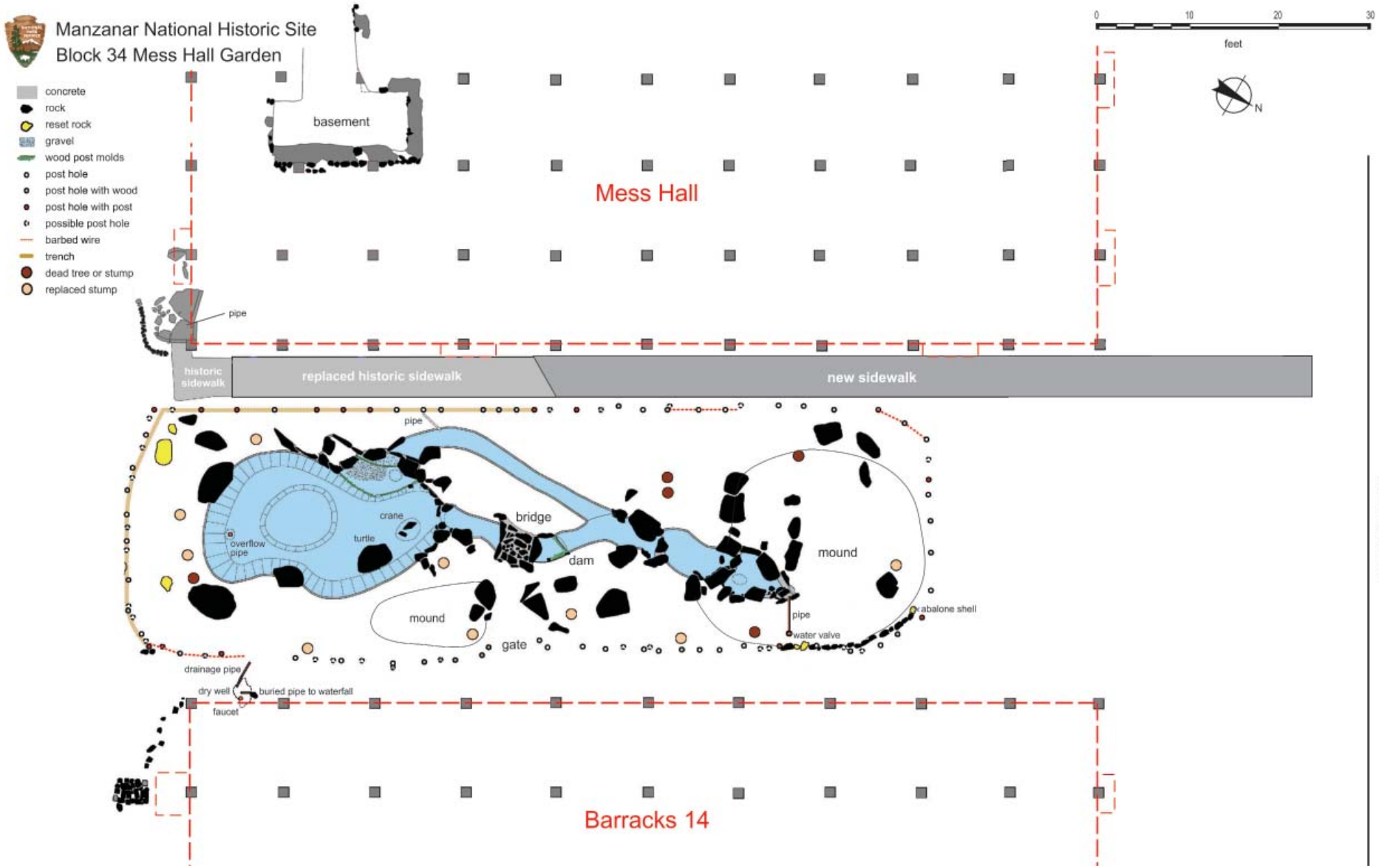


Figure 4.319. Block 34 mess hall garden (adapted from Beckwith 2013).

frequently in our life. But this *san-shi* named by the garden builder would also have another meaning. In Chinese characters, *san-shi* is "Mountain-Purple" (山紫). In fact, *san-shi-sui-mei i*s the original complete phrase. *San-shi-sui-mei* (山紫水明) means "mountain-purple-water-bright" or "superb landscape." This wording is quite common, so we Japanese would imagine this complete phrase if we heard *san-shi*.

Yukinori Aida, personal communication 2014

The garden pond was excavated and mapped in 1999 (Figures 4.315-4.317; Beckwith 1999). In 2007 additional archeological excavation was completed in support of restoration work. Remains of the fence, including post holes, locust post remnants, and barbed wire, were discovered in place, so that the fence could be accurately reconstructed. Soil was brought in to rebuild the low earthen mounds that are visible in the historic photographs (Figure 4.318; Burton 2007c). A wayside exhibit featuring historic photographs was installed in 2009.

The Block 34 mess hall garden includes a large pond, a divided stream, hills, and a waterfall (Figures 4.319-4.331). A buried pipe, with its own valve, brings water to the mounded north end of the garden from the Barracks 14 outdoor water faucet. Jagged stones form a symbolic mountain and frame an 18-inch-high waterfall, which falls into a small pool. From the pool, another waterfall drops 20 inches into the concrete-lined water course. A third waterfall drops 7 inches before the stream divides in two. A seam in the concrete indicates the west watercourse was added after the original construction, but how much later is not known. There is no dividing stone where the stream splits, which is somewhat unusual (Beckwith 2013), but not unheard of in Japanese gardens. Just below the stream split in the east branch there is a concrete and wood dam, 25 inches across and 4 inches high, which was likely constructed to raise the water level to ensure water flowed into the west branch of the stream.

Figure 4.320. Waterfall at Block 34 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.321. Stream, rock bridge, and entry gate at Block 34 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.322. Shelf with post holes and impressions of wood cribbing at Block 34 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.323. Rock bridge at Block 34 mess hall.

Figure 4.324. Waterfall into pond at Block 34 mess hall garden showing mortar and rocks used to spread the flow into a sheet.

Figure 4.325. Divided stream at Block 34 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.326. Restored gate at Block 34 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.327. Mortar and wood dam in stream at Block 34 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.328. Crane and turtle rocks at Block 34 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.329. Restored fence at Block 34 mess hall garden.

Figure 4.330. Block 34 mess hall garden after a winter storm.

Figure 4.331. Pond at Block 34 mess hall garden filled with flood water.

The west branch of the stream course is 25 feet long; the east branch is 20 feet, and is crossed by a low arched stone bridge. The bridge, 54 inches wide, 45 inches across, and 12 inches high, leads to an island 19½ by 5 feet in size created by the two streams. Each stream flows into the large gourd-shaped pond at the south end of the garden; the pond measures 25½ by 16 feet overall, constricted to 13 feet at its narrowest. Pond depth is mostly 16 inches, but a circular basin at the sound end of the pond reaches a depth of 28 inches. Where the west stream enters the pond there is a shallow area outlined with post holes; historic photographs show wood cribbing and bog plants here. Round metal stains in the concrete of the shelf suggest cans were used to hold the plants. When excavated, the shelf was surfaced with rounded gravel.

In the pond are symbolic crane and turtle (*tsuru-kame*) islands. The crane is composed of two rocks vertically set atop a concrete pedestal. The tip of one of the crane rocks has been broken off, and the missing piece was not found during excavation. The unbroken vertical rock measures 32 by 20 by 7 inches; its top would have been about 24 inches out of the water. The broken vertical rock measures 13 by 5 by 10 inches. The turtle rock, 42 by 28 by 24 inches, sits on three rocks on a concrete pedestal.

Rocks become smoother and more horizontal towards the south end of the garden, at the pond. The fence that originally surrounded the garden was reconstructed in 2007 using archeological data and historic photographs; the reconstruction, like the original, is 3 feet high. The two gateway rocks were also uncovered: the one with the *san-shi-en* painted Japanese characters is on the south side of the gateway and is 48 inches high; the other, on the north side of the gateway, is 44 inches high. The reader is referred to Beckwith (2013) for a more detailed analysis of this garden.

Figure 4.332. Concrete feature at the southeast corner of Block 34 mess hall.

Figure 4.333. Rock circle and tree stumps at the block 34 mess hall.

Also uncovered as part of the garden restoration were landscape features at the mess hall itself and at Barracks 14. A concrete sidewalk runs along the east side of the mess hall from the southeast corner 42½ feet north to the mess hall entrance. Most of the sidewalk was replaced when it was extended to the driving tour road in 2007 to improve accessibility to the garden.

Along the south side of the mess hall at the east end there is a shallow concrete basin with a drain pipe (Figure 4.332). The concrete has been broken and somewhat displaced, but the basin is estimated to have measured 4½ by 10 feet; its concrete curb is rounded on top, and about 2 inches high. The basin's curb was butted up against two of the mess hall's foundation blocks, from which the basin extends southward. A short segment of concrete appears to connect the mess hall sidewalk to the basin curb, which may indicate it was purposefully accessible, perhaps for an outdoor washing station. A rock alignment that extends out from that short sidewalk segment and arcs around the south end of the basin may have defined a 2-foot-wide water-overflow area or planting bed. There are tree stumps along the west and south sides of the mess hall, each encircled by rocks (Figure 4.333). The Barracks 14 entry consists of recycled concrete pieces, some painted yellow. Similar concrete pieces also outline a small garden area to the west side of the entry (Figures 4.334 and 4.335).

At the north end of Barracks 5 there is a concrete entry, scattered rocks, a stump, and fallen trees, suggesting a buried entry garden (Figure 4.336). Takashi Kato lived here with his wife Shizuko and three young children. Takashi was 46 in 1942 and is listed as speaking, reading, and writing only Japanese. His primary occupation is listed by the WRA as "Truck Farmer" and his secondary occupation as "Nursery Operator and Flower Grower." He lost his nursery business after he was interned when his family property near the Los Angeles airport was taken over by the military (Kiriyama 2015a, b). The Kato family left Manzanar and returned to West Los Angeles in October 1945. It is possible that Takashi Kato is the "Kato" that built the pre-war Japanese gardens at Italia Mia and the Carson House in Sierra Madre, California (Schoenberger 1994), since no other Kato in the gardening and landscaping businesses could be found in Los Angeles area city directories. However, of the 37 adult males with the last name Kato interned at Manzanar, two others have primary occupations listed as "Gardeners and Grounds Keepers, Parks, Cemeteries, etc.": Kiyotaka Kato, who lived at Block 29 Barrack 13 Apartment 3, and Motaro Kato, whose address is unknown. In addition, Japanese Americans from southern California were also sent to other relocation centers, and the Italia Mia and Carson House garden builder may not even have been at Manzanar.

Figure 4.334. Entry garden at Block 34 Barracks 14 Apartment 1 after excavation.

Figure 4.335. Entry garden at Barracks 14 Apartment 1 showing flood damage.

Figure 4.336. Entry garden at Block 34 Barracks 5 Apartment 1.

Other landscaping features evident in Block 34 today include a concrete stoop with an inscription ("May 8, 1942"), a concrete curb, and a heavily fractured concrete sidewalk at Barracks 2; a concrete stoop on the west side of Barracks 3; scattered rocks and concrete along the west side of Barracks 8; two posts and some rocks at the south end of Barracks 13; and a rock alignment along the edge of the road at the southwest corner of the block.

There is much recent alluvium in this block and a large gully bisects the block, west to east. The western portion of the gully was filled in 2007. The 2013 and 2014 floods caused extensive erosion and deposition, damaging landscape features at the mess hall and Barracks 14.

Block 35

On the 1944 aerial photograph Block 35 has scattered trees and sparse vegetation. The densest vegetation and landscaping visible is around Barracks 8 and on the east side of Barracks 9, followed by Barracks 1, 2, and 3. Several barracks have lawns extending from the barracks to the road. There is no indication of a mess hall garden and no landscaping apparent between Barracks 7 and the recreation hall.

Today the most visible garden remains in Block 35 can be found on the west and north sides of Barracks 8 (Figures 4.337-4.342). North of the barracks there is a yard area for Apartment 4 outlined by rocks set in mortar and a partially standing fence composed of locust posts and square-mesh wire fencing. Within the yard are two 3-foot-high circular rock and concrete planters (one in situ and one overturned and displaced to the west). Rock alignments form quarter-circle planters on both sides of the apartment entry. Along the entire west side of Barracks 8 is a water

Figure 4.337. Rock and concrete planter at Block 35 Barracks 8 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.338. Fence remnants and rock alignments at Block 35 Barracks 8 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.339. Rock alignments at Block 35 Barracks 8 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.340. Concrete bridge and rock alignments at Block 35 Barracks 8 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.341. Concrete stoop and rock alignments at Block 35 Barracks 8 Apartment 2.

Figure 4.342. Concrete bridge and rock alignments at Block 35 Barracks 8 Apartment 3.

Figure 4.343. Beavertail cactus at Block 35.

Figure 4.344. Excavation of garden pond at Block 36 Barracks 12 Apartment 4 in 2013.

course bordered by rocks set in mortar. A concrete bridge, lined with rocks, provides access to the Apartment 4 yard, and concrete bridges also cross the water course at Apartments 2 and 3. At each apartment entry, large rocks form a gateway, and Apartment 3 also has a narrow concrete stoop. Parallel to the watercourse and a few feet to the west is a rock-lined pathway, which would have bordered yards or garden areas along the entire building. Most of the rock alignments have vertical rocks at the corners, but brush and sand deposits likely obscure many more features. The residents of Apartment 4, the most elaborate of the gardens at Barracks 8, were Joe Yoshitaka Nishimura, who was born in Japan in 1908, his wife Kyoko, born in 1913, and son Koichi, who was born in 1938. Nishimura's occupation was listed as in the "Nursery Operators and Flower Growers" category.

Other landscape features in this block include an upright slab and rock alignment at the northwest corner of the laundry room, several boulders and rocks southwest of the ironing room, large boulders at the north end of Barracks 10, and large boulders at the south end of Barracks 6. In addition, there are rock concentrations and possible rock alignments at the mess hall, the recreation building, and nearly every barracks (Barracks 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 13). A beavertail cactus at the south end of Barracks 7 was most likely transplanted there by an internee (Figure 4.343).

Block 36

The 1944 aerial photograph shows no evidence of a mess hall garden and no nearby vegetation. There appears to be one tree between Barracks 7 and the recreation hall. Several barracks have little or no vegetation around them, but there are apparent lawns between Barracks 1 and 2, Barracks 5 and 6, Barracks 8 and 9, Barracks 10 and 11, Barracks 12 and 13, and Barracks 13 and 14. At Barracks 12 and 13, vegetation extends from the ends of the barracks to the road.

Today at the north end of Barracks 12 in the area between the barracks and the road there is an intricate garden that includes a small pond, bridge, water course, and associated rock alignments. At this garden the water would have flowed from west to east, reflecting the natural terrain. The garden was partially excavated in 2013 (Figures 4.344 and 4.345).The water course began at a 2-foot-high mound composed of rock, earth, and concrete fragments at the west end of the garden (Figure 4.346). The mound is covered by a pack rat nest that was not removed during the archeological investigation, so details of construction are inferred from parts that are visible. The concrete fragments have rocks within them, indicating they were most likely scavenged from a broken up town-era building foundation. From the mound a 60-inch-long concrete channel steps down to the east to a clay pipe that carried the water under a concrete bridge (Figure 4.347). The bridge is 35 inches across and 37 inches wide. On the bridge is the faint inscription "36-12-4" (Figure 4.348)

On the east side of the bridge is the concrete-lined pond. Irregular in shape, the pond measures a maximum of 11 by 5 feet and 12 inches deep. Rocks border the pond and parallel rocks form a planter area around the pond. In the southeast corner of the pond there is a metal pipe, apparently a drain. The residents at Apartment 4 listed on the March 1944 Quarterly Census Roster are Kiichi Uyeda, born in 1904 in Japan, with his wife Shizuko, born in 1915, and their three children, one of whom was born in camp (1944). Mr. Uyeda's occupation is listed as a wholesale manager. He left Manzanar for Los Angeles in February 1945, and the rest of the family followed in June.

Northeast of Barracks 14 there is a small garden that in 1993 had a live cholla and beavertail cactus and a

Figure 4.345. Partially excavated garden at Block 36 Barracks 12 Apartment 4.

Figure 4.346. Mound and pack rat nest at Block 36 Barracks 12 Apartment 4 garden.

Figure 4.347. Stepped water course at Block 36 Barracks 12 Apartment 4 garden.

Figure 4.348. Concrete bridge at Block 36 Barracks 12 Apartment 4 garden.

dead barrel cactus. Only the cholla survives today (Figure 4.349). There is a much larger and healthier cholla at the mess hall (Figure 4.350). Rocks are scattered about and a low rocky mound with mortared rocks and a few large boulders is overgrown with brush. The features north and northeast of Barracks 14 may have been created by Hiroshi Sato, who lived in Block 36 Barracks 14 Apartment 4. Mr. Sato was born in 1921, so was only 21 years old in 1942, but the other residents listed inBarracks 14 are even younger, including Roy Ignatius Yamada, born in 1928, and Richard Hiroshi Yamada, born in 1929. The Yamada boys are listed as in Block 36 Barracks 14, but no apartment number is given for them.

South of Barracks 9 and 10 there is an alignment of concrete fragments similar to those used at the Barracks 12 garden. Other landscape features visible in Block 36 today include rock concentrations at nearly every barracks and at the mess hall; a concrete side-

Figure 4.349. Cholla cactus at Block 36 Barracks 14 garden.

Figure 4.350. Cholla cactus at Block 36.

walk east of Barracks 4; rock alignments and a concrete sidewalk at Barracks 9 and 10; and rock alignments at the north end of Barracks 14.

Community Parks

Two large Japanese gardens were the pride of Manzanar: Cherry Park and Merritt Park. Merritt Park was the more elaborate of the two and was even included in public tours given by the administration. Implementation of the original design for Cherry Park was hampered by a center-wide shortage of water by the time it was completed. The hospital gardens are also considered community parks, although they were intended to serve the smaller communities of patients and hospital personnel.

Hospital Gardens

The hospital complex included an administration building, three doctors' and nurses' quarters, a mess hall, seven patient wards, three warehouses, a laundry building, a morgue, a heating plant, and a garbage can washing rack (Burton 1996a:226). Most of the buildings were connected by enclosed walkways. The most significant remains there today are landscaping features built by the internees. These include a massive rock and concrete retaining wall and other features located in front (on the east side) of the wards, and a pond garden on the east side of the doctors' quarters. Various sources indicate that the landscaping at the hospital represented the joint efforts of Toyoshige Ioki, Gunsaburo Kono, Ryozo Kado, Nintaro Ogami, Shunzo Shiraki, and Bunyemon Wada.

Figure 4.351. Hospital pond garden in 1993.

Figure 4.352. Hospital pond garden showing fence (hand-colored photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

There are over 50 historic photographs of the hospital grounds, including a couple by Ansel Adams, and color movie footage (see Figures 2.46-2.55). Lawns can also be seen on the front and sides of the administration building as well as in the areas surrounding the doctors' and nurses' quarters. Flowerbeds were established, and black locust, birch, poplar, pine, and pear trees were transplanted to the hospital grounds from other locations in the camp (NPS 2006a). These landscaped areas are apparent on the 1944 aerial photograph, and in addition, the area between the doctors' quarters and the administration building appears to be landscaped. Historic photographs also show that the street east of the hospital was lined with painted white rocks, similar to the rock-lined streets and paths in the camp administration area.

The hospital pond garden located on the east side of the doctors' quarters was cleared and mapped in 1993 (Figure 4.351), and a new map was prepared in 2015. The garden was enclosed by a fence made of lumber posts and square-wire mesh that can be seen in historic photographs (Figure 4.352). One post remains, still standing; it measures 3½ by 4 inches by 2 feet 10 inches high (Figure 4.353). Wire fencing attached to the post is 2 feet 9 inches high. Within this fenced area were the pond, a mound, a stream, and pathways.

The concrete-lined pond was constructed in a gourd shape (NPS 2006a) with a flat bottom and vertical sides; the pond is 24 inches deep and measures 20 feet long by a maximum of 14 feet wide; at its narrowest, the pond is 7 feet wide (Figures 4.354 and 4.355). Rocks were set perpendicular to the sides and extending out over the water, possibly to provide hiding areas for fish (Figure 4.356). *Rangui* posts enclosed shallow areas for iris and other bog plants (Figures 4.357 and 4.358).

The pond was fed by a 28-foot-long stream lined with *rangui* posts and rocks (Figures 4.359 and 4.360). The stream begins at a rocky mound at the north end of

Figure 4.353. Fence remnant at hospital pond garden.

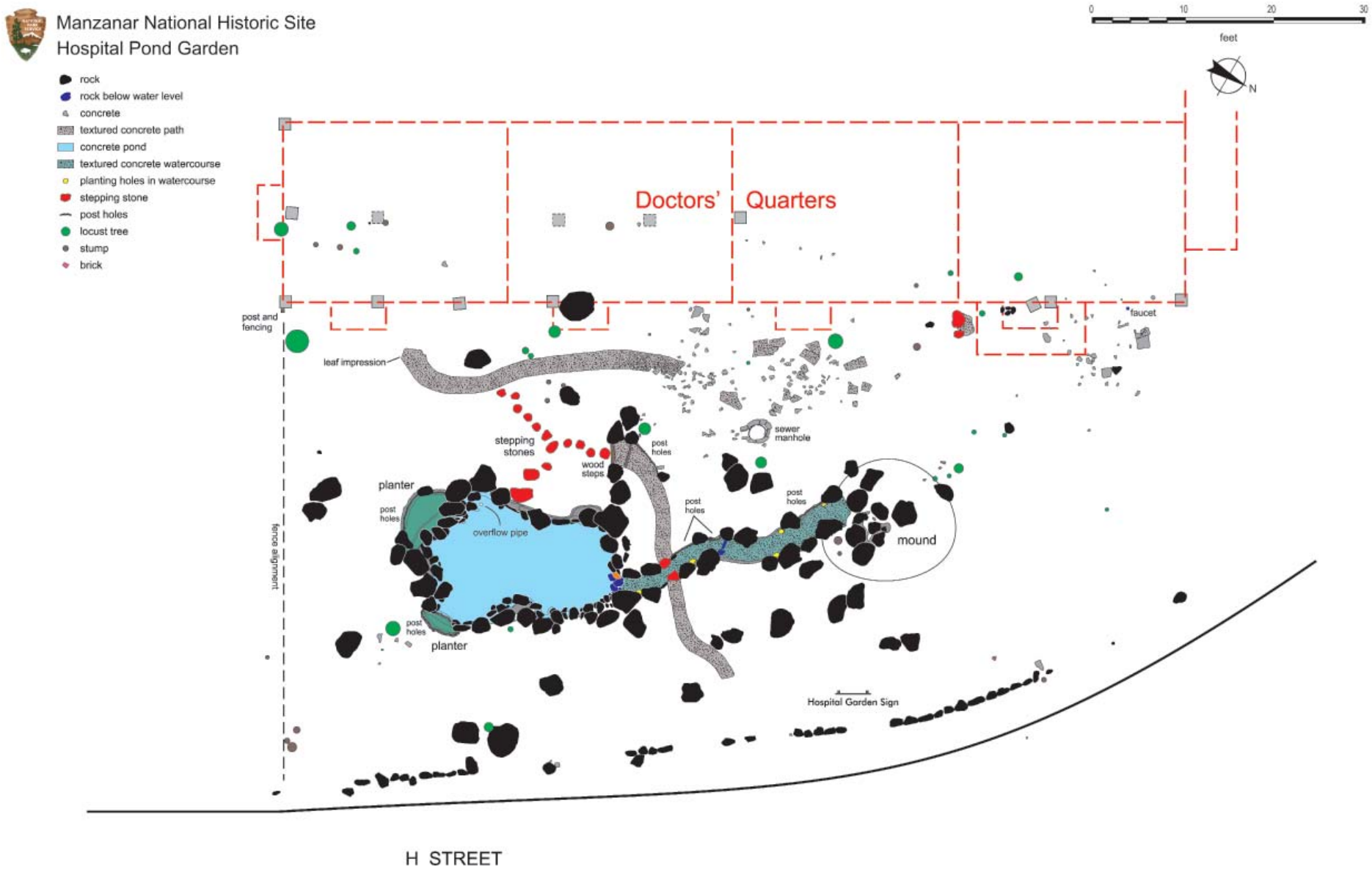


Figure 4.354. Hospital pond garden.

Figure 4.355. Hospital pond garden.

Figure 4.357. *Rangui* post holes at the hospital pond garden.

Figure 4.358. *Rangui* post holes and shallow planting area at hospital pond garden.

Figure 4.356. Rocks at edge of hospital pond.

Figure 4.359. Stream and mound at hospital pond garden.

Figure 4.360. Stream with planting holes at hospital pond garden.

Figure 4.361. Winding pathway at hospital pond garden.

Figure 4.362. Wood steps at hospital pond garden.

Figure 4.363. Stepping-stone stream crossing at hospital pond garden.

Figure 4.364. Stepping stones at hospital pond garden.

the garden, which would have been just east of two of the doctors' apartment entries. The mound is topped by a vertical "mountain summit stone" (*sanchoseki*) 24 by 39 by 36 inches high. There are two waterfalls, one 3 feet from the water source and 20 inches high, and the other, at the end of the stream and falling directly into the pond, 7 inches high. Pebbles are imbedded into the concrete bottom of the stream to enhance both visual and sound effects. Two trees that were shaped to grow across the stream heighten the sense of depth (see Slawson 1987:208); one of these trees recently died and the other is in poor condition. Boulders are set along the stream and elsewhere in the garden, singly and in groups, for decorative effect.

There are two curving concrete pathways with exposed aggregate and beveled edges (Figures 4.361-4.363). One of these paths is 20 inches wide and 30 feet long; it begins at the end of a stepping-stone pathway with two wood-reinforced steps, and continues east to cross the stream course. Where it crosses the stream, there are large flat-topped stones on either

Figure 4.365. Retaining wall at hospital.

Figure 4.366. Boulders, steps, and retaining wall at hospital.

side of the stream to facilitate stepping across. The other curving concrete path is 26 inches wide and at least 34 feet long. Running roughly north-south, it may have connected the four entries of the doctors' quarters, but it is damaged and partially missing, so that its original route and length cannot be determined. A perfect leaf impression at the southern end of this path suggests unusual care in its construction. Eleven stepping stones connect the two concrete paths, and three stones form a path to a viewing stone (*reiseki*, "worship stone") at the pond edge (Figure 4.364). One entry has a concrete slab with exposed aggregate matching the pathways. There is also an entry with *nobedan*, and a large flat-topped rock flush to the ground may have been located at another entry.

On the east side of the hospital wards there is a 3-foot-high rock-and-concrete retaining wall (Figure 4.365). The wall is partially buried, and cut and destroyed in areas by gullies. In 2008 the National Park Service began filling the larger of the two gullies, and this work is ongoing. The wall includes curving steps of rock and concrete to each of the wards (Figures 4.366-4.368). Between Wards 4 and 5, the wall incorporates a concrete bench with a faux-wood finish (Figures 4.369 and 4.370). The bench measures 2 feet wide, 9½ feet long, and is now at most 9 inches above the ground. The Park Service conducted some minimal concrete conservation of the bench in 2001 (Hartzler 2001).

Historic photographs show that a manhole next to the bench was surrounded by a faux-wood stump, and pieces of this decorative manhole remain. It was likely shattered so that the metal manhole ring could be salvaged. A toppled tall faux-wood stump that hid a manhole east of Wards 1 and 2 was reset in 2007 (Figure 4.371; Burton 2007d). Other landscape features at the hospital include concrete slabs, sidewalks to the laundry and morgue, rock circles around trees (now dead) between the wards, a rock circle and a few rock clusters in the hospital administration building area, and a rock-and-concrete retaining wall and steps on the east side of the laundry building (Figure 4.372).

Figure 4.367. Steps at hospital.

Figure 4.368. Boulders and steps at hospital.

Figure 4.369. Faux-wood bench at hospital.

Figure 4.370. Detail of faux-wood bench at hospital.

Cherry Park

Cherry Park was a large landscaped area in the same firebreak as the Children's Village. Construction of the park was supervised by William Katsuki. In 1942, nursery owner F. M. Uyematsu offered to bring 1,000 cherry trees to Manzanar if they would be used in one area as a park. In late 1942 the WRA secured a military permit for Uyematsu to travel to his nursery in Southern California and bring the trees to Manzanar in his

Figure 4.371. Faux-wood stump covering manhole at hospital.

Figure 4.372. Retaining wall at hospital laundry.

own truck. A member of the Manzanar Community Development Committee, Uyematsu himself supervised the planting of the trees (Unrau 1995:277). While Cherry Park was designed to include flowing water and three ponds, due to the lack of water the ponds were eventually seeded with grass (Nielsen and Fox 1945).

In the 1944 aerial photograph the three ponds mentioned in the *Manzanar Free Press* (April 3, 1943) can be discerned even though they would have likely been dry by that time. Also visible are pathways and winding rows of small trees, likely Uyematsu's cherry trees. The relatively few historic photographs that can be identified as Cherry Park show small trees, numerous wood elements, and contoured earthworks, but no rock features (see Figures 2.56-2.61). In the photographs there are two trellises with wisteria, one located over a flowing stream and one located on an island within a dry pond or basin. The combination of wisteria and water is a popular theme in Japanese gardens. There are two photographs of a large earth-covered wood bridge (*dobashi*) and two photographs of a small rustic wood bridge.

In the photographs two large cottonwoods from a former town-era farm are visible, incorporated into the park (Figures 4.373 and 4.374): one was surrounded by a sturdy limb-wood fence and the other had a log bench around its trunk. Small trees, presumably cherry, can be seen in several photographs and there is a basin (dry pond) with an island planted with small trees. It appears that a row of dead trees along 6th Street were cut by the garden's creators and the stumps left to form posts for a fence and gateway. These trees and other remaining town-era orchard trees in the vicinity of Cherry Park can be seen in a June 1942 oblique aerial photograph of the relocation center.

Today, the setting of Cherry Park has changed dramatically, and the trellises, bridges, and other landscaping elements have long since disappeared, along with all of the cherry trees and wisteria plants. Town-era fruit trees within the park have died and fallen over. The area is overgrown with black locust trees (Figure 4.375) and a recent erosion channel bisects the park from west to east. The depressions from the earthen ponds remain: one is overgrown with wild rose and two are overgrown with willows (Figures

Figure 4.373. Large cottonwood trees at Cherry Park (Mary Ichino Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.374. Large cottonwood trees at Cherry Park today.

Figure 4.375. Black locust at Cherry Park.

Figure 4.376. Pond filled with wild rose at Cherry Park.

Figure 4.377. Willow trees in pond at Cherry Park.

Figure 4.378. Wood post at Cherry Park.

Figure 4.379. Mound at Cherry Park.

Figure 4.380. Chinese elm at Cherry Park.

Figure 4.381. Roses at Merritt Park (Merritt Park; Francis C. Dieterich film, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 4.382. Roses and furrows at Merritt Park (Merritt Park; Francis C. Dieterich film, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 4.383. Wild rose at Merritt Park.

4.376 and 4.377). The only rocks currently visible are an occasional boulder and some small boulders eroding out of the sidewalls of the erosion channel. Other features visible include a wood post (Figure 4.378), a low rocky mound, and a small earthen mound (Figure 4.379). One of two Chinese elms at Manzanar, likely planted by internees, is here (Figure 4.380). A windbreak row of historic tamarisk, likely planted along a fence line along 6th Street, angled into the park. When these very overgrown trees were cut in 2012, stumps of other trees along the same alignment were revealed (Burton 2012a).

Merritt Park

Located in the firebreak between Blocks 33 and 34, Merritt Park was predominately a Japanese stroll garden. However, it was started in the fall of 1942 as a Western style "Rose Garden" by Kuichiro Nishi, and featured domestic rose buds grafted to wild rose root stock (Nielsen and Fox 1945). Kuichiro was the older brother of Akira Nishi, who helped design the Block 22 mess hall garden; both were involved with the Nishi family business, which included a nursery, flower shop, and farms specializing in roses before the war. Rows of rose bushes are visible in historic photographs (Figure 4.381 and 4.382); however, no evidence of furrows remains. Roses still grow in the area, but the specialized varieties that had been neatly cultivated by Kuichiro Nishi have been replaced by irregular thickets of wild roses (Figure 4.383).

Kuichiro Nishi worked with Akira Nishi, Kiichiro Muto, Takio Muto, Sus Ioki, and others to design additions and improvements to his rose garden. For this work the group was allowed to collect rocks and plants from outside the barbed-wire fence using a government truck, giving them access to rocks and boulders with distinct colors, shapes, and textures.

Figure 4.384. Takashi Kato family at Merritt Park, March 17, 1945 (Gardena Heritage Commission 2006:38).

Eventually, the garden was expanded to include many species of flowers, pine trees, two large ponds, an island, and a waterfall. One of the ponds was reportedly situated over a natural spring that was covered over when the relocation center was constructed.

The basic outlines of some of the features at Merritt Park can be discerned on the 1944 aerial photographs. The park was the backdrop for hundreds of historic photographs, including two by Ansel Adams, and several color movies (see Figures 2.62-2.92 and 2.95-2.97). The photographs reflect this community park's importance: it was one of the few places where one could be photographed without the backdrop of barracks buildings (Figures 4.384 and 4.385). One of the most iconic and most photographed features of the garden is a rustic bridge constructed of natural tree branches and limbs. Also much photographed was a small open-sided pavilion formed of natural rustic materials. While called a tea house by the internees, it was never used for tea ceremonies.

Figure 4.385. Merritt Park (Kiyoko Tanaka Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.386. Bridge at Merritt Park (Yoshiko Hosoi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

With the addition of the Japanese garden (Figure 4.386), the park was renamed Pleasure Park and later Merritt Park in honor of the camp director. Two large vertically set stones were installed as memorial steles. One was inscribed with Japanese characters that, when pronounced out loud, approximate "Merritt Park." The other stele said, in Japanese, "memorial stone" and "October 1943." Both also had, in English, "Pleasure Park" and "1943." However, a later photograph of the "Merritt Park" stele does not include "Pleasure Park," indicating that the earlier name for the park was subsequently removed, perhaps to avoid confusion over the park's name (see Figures 2.89 and 2.90).

By 1993, the park had been buried by sediments and overgrown with vegetation (Figures 4.387-4.389. Only the two steles, still upright, a low rocky mound, and a few other large rocks could be seen at the location. A hole had been dug exposing a large rock by someone trying to locate the turtle rock shown in one of Ansel Adam's photographs, but the exposed rock was not the turtle rock. The turtle rock turned out to be a different, much more deeply buried boulder.

In anticipation of archeological work, invasive tamarisk trees at Merritt Park were removed in 2007 (Figures 4.390 and 4.391). In 2008 and 2009 an archeological project at Merritt Park removed over 600 cubic yards of sediments (Figures 4.392-4.395; Burton 2008b). Features were found to be surprisingly intact (Figures 4.396 and 4.397), suggesting that the park was left undisturbed when the relocation center was abandoned, in contrast to other ponds excavated at Manzanar which contained abundant building debris. Sands, with some gravels and a lesser amount of silts, had been deposited over the park as flood debris, with most of the deposition occurring during two or three flood events.

The archeological work uncovered landscape boulders, rock walls, stepping stones, post remnants and post holes, waterfalls, the two large ponds, and the remains of the tea house. A rock bridge noted as unique in the *Manzanar Free Press* was discovered still intact and stable. Natural materials were used throughout and very little cement had been used in the pond.

Stabilization work in 2008 and 2009 included resetting a few boulders that had fallen out of place, patching concrete, rebuilding a partially collapsed rock retaining wall, and reconstructing the original *rangui* post walls that edged the upper pond (Figures 4.398-

Figure 4.387. Waterfall at Merritt Park in 1993.

Figure 4.388. Tea house at Merritt Park in 1993.

Figure 4.389. Rocky mound at Merritt Park in 2002.

Figure 4.390. Tamarisk at Merritt Park in 2007.

Figure 4.391. After tamarisk removal at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.392. Excavation of upper pond at Merritt Park in 2008.

Figure 4.393. Excavation of stream at Merritt Park in 2008.

Figure 4.394. Removing tree stumps at Merritt Park tea house in 2008.

Figure 4.395. Excavation at Merritt Park in 2009.

Figure 4.396. Trees (1 and 2) and rock (3) at upper pond at Merritt Park before excavation.

Figure 4.397. Trees (1 and 2) and rock (3) at upper pond at Merritt Park after excavation.

4.400). To stabilize the tea house foundation, border rocks were reset and a new concrete floor was poured to replace the original concrete floor, which had been cracked and shattered by several large black locust trees growing through it. The fronts of the two steles were repainted in 2008 with the help of two Japanese student interns. A stepping stone on the island that disappeared shortly after the excavation was replaced in 2010. In 2011, the iconic rustic bridge created by Kuichiro Nishi was reconstructed by Nishi's son, 91 year-old Henry Nishi, and his family (Figures 4.401 and 4.402). A wayside exhibit featuring historic photographs and internee artwork was installed in 2012.

Altogether, Merritt Park encompasses 1.8 acres, including the rose garden and the Japanese stroll garden (Figure 4.403). The Japanese stroll garden itself, surrounding the two ponds, is about 3/4 acre in size. The upper pond measures about 90 by 53 feet in size (Figure 4.404); the lower pond is sinuous in plan and about 83 feet long by up to 23 feet wide. The water in the ponds would have been 2 to 3 feet deep. Although the ponds were not lined with concrete, they are well-defined, with most of the edges marked by large boulders, *rangui* walls, or distinct soil characteristics such as color and compactness (Figure 4.405). The large boulders were carefully placed to interlock and smaller rocks supported larger boulders in their proper positions (Figure 4.406). That most of these rocks were still in their original position after decades of abandonment and burial testifies to how well they were set. Providing contrast to the rocks, some of the banks were grassy slopes (Figures 4.407 and 4.408). Near the southeast bank of the upper pond is a large flat rock that could have been placed as a viewing stone (Figure 4.409; *reiseki*, "worship stone").

Water entered the upper pond from a rock and earthen mound, 20 by 20 feet in plan and up to 7 feet high, at the northwest end of the upper pond (Figure 4.410). A crane rock (*tsuru-ishi*) atop the mound is formed from a single rock, 30 by 48 by 53 inches high,

with two well-defined points (Figure 4.411). From a pipe at the back of the mound (Figure 4.412), water flowed about 10 feet, mostly over flat rocks, down to a large boulder resembling a turtle. Water then flowed over the back of the turtle and its head divided the stream into two waterfalls which fell directly into the upper pond (Figures 4.413 and 4.414). Mortar and rocks in one of the stream channels would have helped equalize the flows of the two waterfalls (Figure 4.415). Today, the drop is 5 to 5½ feet from the top of the waterfall to the bottom of the pond. There are two more turtle rocks (*kameishi*), each with a rock "head" cemented onto a larger rock "body" (Figures 4.416-4.418). The turtle within the upper pond is 61 by 38 by 22 inches high, and the turtle on the edge of the upper pond is 51 by 38 by 28 inches high. A 48-by-40-by-26-inch boulder in the pond near the waterfall would have risen a few inches above the water level.

In the upper pond is an island that measures 50 by 20 feet in plan. Water would have flowed around both sides of the island, and then merged again before flowing over a cascade made of boulders and smaller rocks to the second, lower, pond, a 2½-foot drop (Figure 4.419). A pipe under the rocks of the cascade would have allowed the upper pond to be completely drained (Figure 4.420). The overflow for the lower pond was a stream channel, 45 feet long and 18 inches wide, bordered by cobbles and including eight small cascades (Figure 4.421 and 4.422). The stream ended in a rock well or sump that measures 3 feet in diameter. There is also a concrete pipe (10 inches across its outer diameter) that leads from the lower pond to the sump, and then likely into the sewer system. The pipe is at the level of the bottom of the pond so it could have been used to drain the pond completely (Figure 4.423).

The tea house floor is a raised concrete slab, supported by dry-laid sloping rock retaining walls to create a level surface adjacent to the south bank of the lower pond (Figure 4.424 and 4.425). The slab, 22 by

Figure 4.398. Rebuilding *rangui* post walls at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.399. Replacing concrete slab at Merritt Park tea house.

Figure 4.400. Resetting rocks at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.401. Henry Nishi rebuilding his father's bridge in 2011.

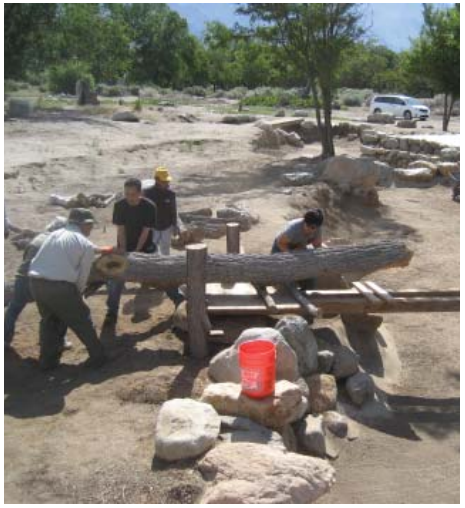


Figure 4.402 Rebuilding bridge at Merritt Park in 2011.

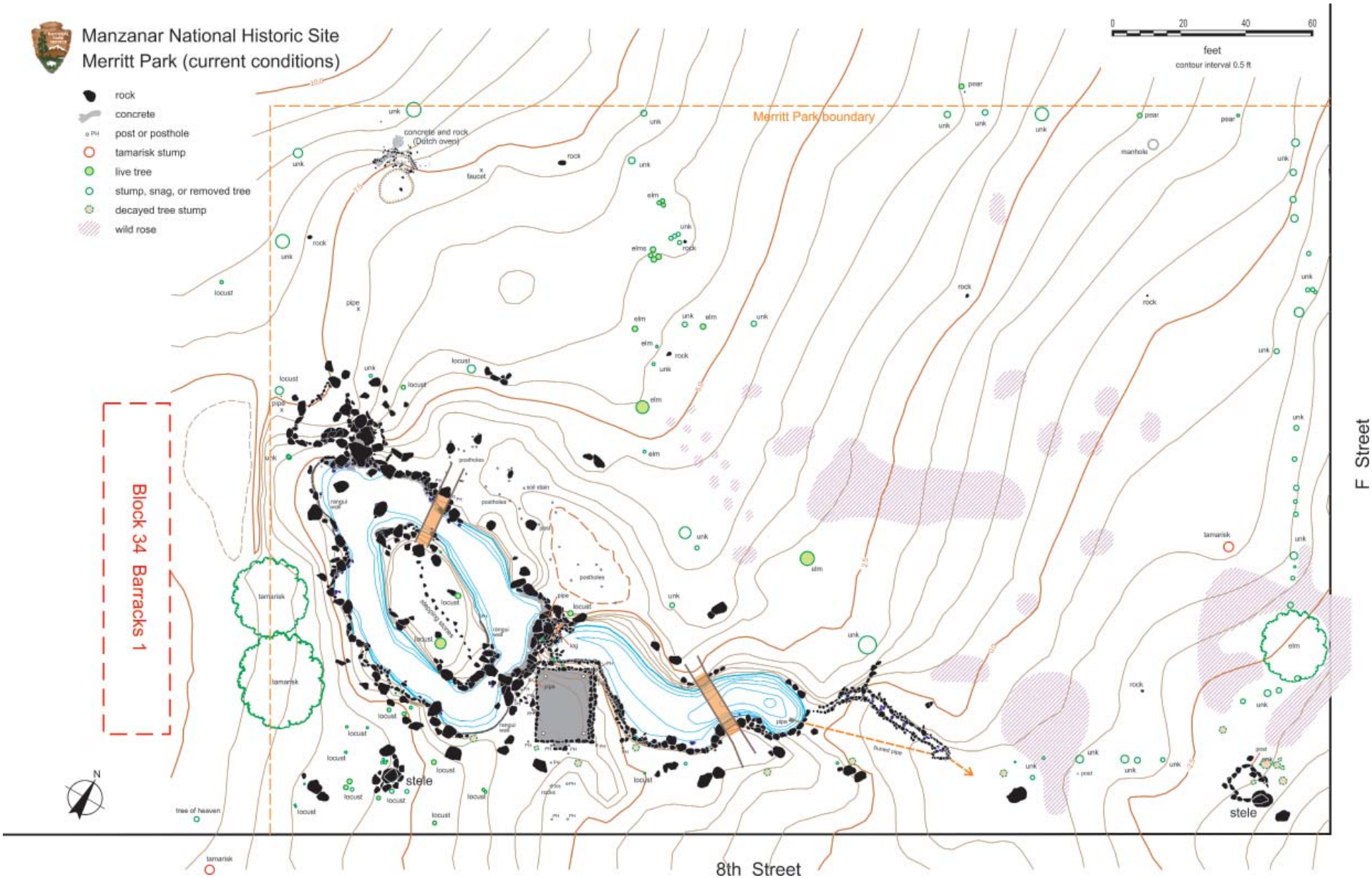


Figure 4.403. Merritt Park.

Figure 4.404. Upper pond and bridge at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.407. Grassy pond slope at Merritt Park (Kiyoko Tanaka Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.410. Waterfall and rocky mound at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.405. Rock edges and *rangui* post wall at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.408. Stabilized slope of upper pond at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.411. Crane rock at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.406. Rocks at pond edge at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.409. Large flat boulder at upper pond edge at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.412. Faucet at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.413. Waterfall at Merritt Park (Kiyoko Tanaka Collection, Manzanar NHS).

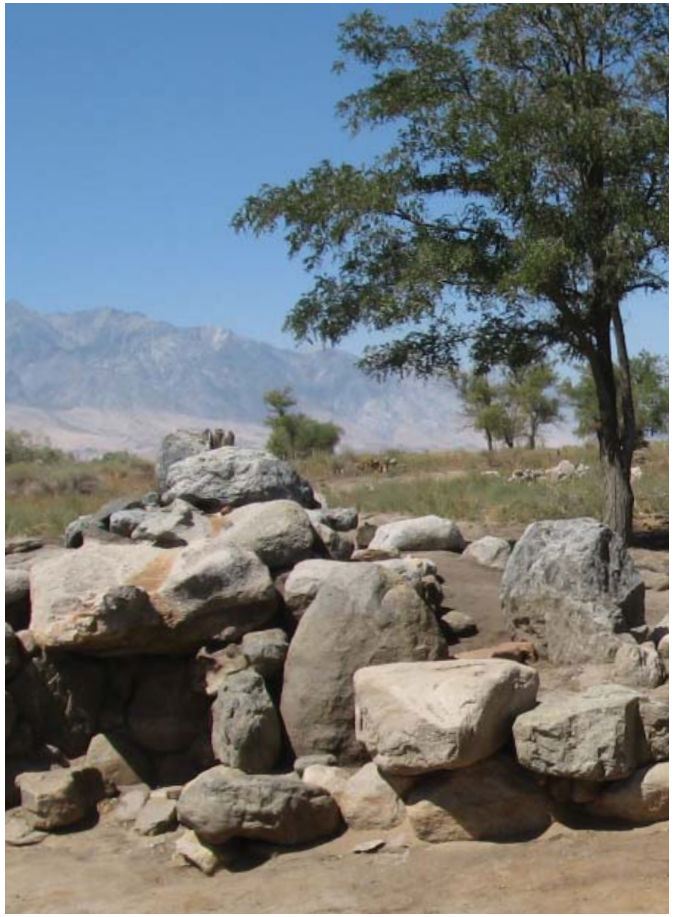


Figure 4.414. Waterfall at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.415. Detail of waterfall at Merritt Park showing added mortar and rocks to equalize water flow.

Figure 4.416. Turtle rock and large boulder in upper pond at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.417. Turtle rock in upper pond at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.418. Turtle rock on edge of upper pond at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.419. Cascade between upper and lower ponds at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.420. Drain between upper and lower pond at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.421. Lower pond overflow stream at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.422. Lower pond overflow stream at Merritt Park.

16½ feet in size, is near the cascades that separate the upper pond from the lower pond. North and east of the tea house the pond banks are 3-foot-high dry-laid rock retaining walls (Figure 4.426). In historic photographs there is a fence surrounding the tea house, with two openings, one at the south end and another on the west side. Stepping stones lead from the tea house to a stone bridge that provides access to the island in the upper pond (Figures 4.427 and 4.428). The stone bridge consists of two large boulders placed to span a narrow section of the pond between the bank and the island (Figures 4.429-4.431). One boulder, 55 by 40 by 10 inches in size, is set into the bank of the island, and the other boulder, 50 by 25 by 12 inches, is set directly across from the first in the bank of the upper pond. Each boulder overhangs the pond, but is so well anchored that both rocks were found stable, decades after the park was abandoned. End to end, the stone bridge spans 7 feet, with a gap of 4 to 10 inches between the boulders. According to Motomi Oguchi (personal communication 2012), the seeming precariousness of the stone bridge is unusual for a Japanese garden. However, Seiko Goto (personal communication 2015) sees the stone bridge as very similar to one in front of the dragon waterfall at Tenryu temple. A 15-inch-high boulder in the pond just south of the bridge may have been added to provide the illusion of support for the bridge boulders, but it is not physically connected. Two other vertical rocks nearby in the pond are 22 inches and 26 inches high.

From the stone bridge, more stepping stones form a path across the island to the rustic bridge created by Kuichiro Nishi (Figure 4.432). This bridge, which connected the island to the north edge of the upper pond, was 16 feet long by 5 feet wide. Hand rails extended beyond the bridge deck 10 feet to the north. Another wooden bridge, which crossed the lower pond, was 16 feet long by 4 feet wide, with hand rails extending to the north another 8 feet and to the south another 12 feet. Postholes from these bridges were found during archeological work, allowing for their accurate reconstruction (Figures 4.433 and 4.434). Archeological investigations were also able to find many of the post holes from fenced pathways visible in historic photographs. These paths ran from 8th Street to

Figure 4.423. Drain pipe at lower pond at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.424. Merritt Park tea house (Tami Oda Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.425. Concrete slab at Merritt Park tea house.

Figure 4.426. Retaining walls at Merritt Park tea house.

Figure 4.427. Stepping stones between tea house and rock bridge at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.428. Stepping stones between tea house and rock bridge at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.429. Rock bridge at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.430. Rock bridge at Merritt Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 4.431. Rock bridge at Merritt Park (photograph by Mary M. Farrell).

Figure 4.432. Stepping stones on island within upper pond at Merritt Park.

the tea house and to the lower pond bridge, along the north side of the ponds to the Nishi bridge, and from the Nishi bridge to a path along the west side of the park.

The two steles are granitic rocks set vertically on 18-inch-high rock pedestals (Figures 4.435 and 4.436). One is located at the southeast corner of Merritt Park and measures a total of 70 inches high; one near the southwest corner measures 67 inches high. Throughout Merritt Park, there are landscape boulders, singly and in groups. Six of these rock groupings are composed of just two rocks. One distinctive boat-shaped rock (*funeishi*), measuring 40 by 25 by up to 20 inches high, is located on the north side of the waterfall mound (Figures 4.337 and 4.338).

Historic vegetation included grass, cottonwood trees, locust trees, tamarisk, elm, and single specimens of pine and maple. Some extant trees could be identified in historic photographs, however what were small saplings in the photographs are now large mature and overgrown trees. Evidence of several now-missing historic trees was found archeologically (Figures 4.339 and 4.340).

A concentration of rock and concrete are likely the remnants of a "Dutch oven" noted on WRA blueprints in the far northeast corner of Merritt Park (Figures 4.341 and 4.342). Although the term "Dutch oven" is more often associated with the cast-iron pot used for camp-fire baking, the term also can be used to denote other types of baking devices. Part of the oven and its chimney can be seen in the background of a few historic photographs. While none of the photographs clearly shows the oven itself, the shape of the chimney suggests it was similar in form to one at North Park.

Merritt Park was damaged by the flooding that occurred after severe summer thunderstorms in 2013. Boulders were displaced, pond walls were eroded,

Figure 4.433. Historic bridge at upper pond of Merritt Park (Shiro Nomura Collection, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 4.434. Reconstructed bridge at upper pond of Merritt Park.

Figure 4.435. Southwest stele at Merritt Park in winter (photograph by Ted White).

Figure 4.437. Boat-shaped rock (1) and other rocks (2-4) at Merritt Park (Tami Oda Collection, Manzanar NHS).

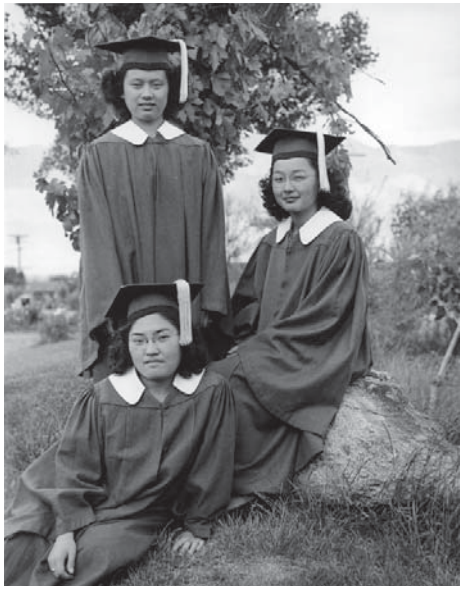


Figure 4.439. Maple tree (in background) and rocks at Merritt Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 4.436. Southeast stele at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.438. Boat-shaped rock (1) and other rocks (2-4) at at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.440. Location of maple tree (x) and rocks at Merritt Park today; the stump of the maple tree was removed during restoration work.

Figure 4.441. Remains of "Dutch oven" at Merritt Park, view to south.

Figure 4.442. Remains of "Dutch oven" at Merritt Park, view to north.

Figure 4.443. Flood damage to upper pond at Merritt Park.

Figure 4.444. Upper pond at Merritt Park after repair of flood damage.

Figure 4.445. Resetting boulders at upper pond of Merritt Park in 2014.

Figure 4.446. Bridge reconstruction at lower pond of Merritt Park in 2014.

and the bottoms of the ponds were filled with over a foot of flood-deposited sediments (Figure 4.443). Repairs to damaged features and further stabilization and restoration work are ongoing (Figures 4.444 and 4.445). For example, the flood deposits were cleaned up, boulders were set back in place, and pond walls were stabilized with colored concrete. A temporary bridge that was damaged in the flood was replaced by a bridge that more closely matches the original in materials, design, feeling, and workmanship (Figures 4.446-4.449). A sign on the bridge in historic photographs with Japanese characters was also replicated. The characters translate as “Manzanar Bridge.”

Other Landscape Features

Beyond gardens and parks, landscaping was added around many other buildings. Extensive lawns and landscaping in the administration and staff areas were made and maintained by the internees. Decorative landscape elements were constructed at the chicken ranch and reservoir.

Administration Area

The entrance to Manzanar, located near the southeast corner of the fenced part of the relocation center, included a divided road with rock-outlined parking spots, an entrance sign and garden, two sentry posts, and the internal police station. The administration block, located south of the entrance road, contained an administration building, a town hall, a post office, a mess hall, and five staff apartment buildings. Further south there were 14 apartment buildings, three dormitories, and a laundry building. The most noticeable difference between staff apartments and internee barracks was the better construction of the buildings and the lack of communal latrines, since the staff apartments had indoor plumbing.

There were several main construction episodes in the administration and staff area. After initial contractor construction in 1942, construction was done by internees (Williams 2014:53). The administration office block is the same dimension as all of the other blocks at Manzanar, and was at first built on a grid following a standard military layout. Additions constructed in January 1943 included the new larger director’s residence and new staff housing set at an angle to

Figure 4.447. "Manzanar Bridge" at lower pond of Merritt Park (Asano Hidiko Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.448. Reconstructed "Manzanar Bridge" at lower pond of Merritt Park.

Figure 4.449. Reconstructed "Manzanar Bridge" at lower pond of Merritt Park.

the road grid. The last six apartment buildings constructed, in March of 1944, formed a common open courtyard area.

Historic photographs, color movies, and the 1944 aerial photograph show expansive grass lawns and rock-lined and unlined pathways (see Figures 2.104-2.106 and 2.113). Other than at the administration circle road, all of the rock alignments are straight lines, and most were painted white. Visible in the historic photographs are some fenced yards, several small lath-shaded patios, and abundant trees, flowers, and other vegetation. For the most part, this landscaping was built, planted, and maintained by internees.

In addition to the many lawns, pathways, and parking lots, there were three notable landscape features in the administration area: a garden at the camp entrance sign; an "administration circle" garden near the center of the administration block; and planters and rock alignments at the administration building. There were also rock walls and rock alignments and other landscape features in other portions of the administration area. Many of these features are still visible, and others are likely present but buried.

The very first landscape restoration project at Manzanar sponsored by the National Park Service was at the historic entrance. In May 1992, under the supervision of staff from Death Valley National Monument (now Death Valley National Park), Boy Scout Troop 99 from West San Fernando Valley cleaned, repaired, and closed off the sentry posts and cleared vegetation from the entrance sign garden, the administration building entrance sidewalk, and the director's residence (Figures 4.450 and 4.451).

In 1993 portions of the administration, staff, and entrance areas were mapped (Burton 1996a). Architectural drawings of the sentry buildings were competed in 1994 (HABS 1994). In 1999 additional mapping and archeological excavations were conducted to determine the location of fence posts at the entrance, and the historic concrete faux-wood stumps were returned to the military police sentry post (Burton 2000). Reconstruction of the historic security fence at the entrance was completed in 2000 (Baird and Burton 2000). At the sentry posts in 2001 graffiti was recorded, exterior graffiti was removed, windows and doors were installed, and the wood roofs were re-shingled (Simpson 2001a, b). Also in 2001 some minor

Figure 4.450. Entrance sign garden cleared by Boy Scout Troop 99 (Death Valley National Park video).

Figure 4.451. Sentry post being cleared of debris by Boy Scout Troop 99 (Death Valley National Park video).

concrete repairs were made to faux-wood features in the administration area (Hartzler 2001).

Restoration work at the entrance sign garden and administration circle garden is described below. Other archeological and restoration projects in the administration area include repaving the historic entrance road (Burton 2003a); brush removal, feature clearing, and surface collection in the administration area (Burton 2005); and removal of brush from all roads and parking lots in the administration and staff area in 2011. Brush clearing and restoration work by the National Park Service staff and volunteer crews is ongoing.

Entrance Sign

There are over 20 historic photographs of the Manzanar entrance sign and garden built by Ryozo Kado, including one by Ansel Adams (see Figures 2.109 and 2.110). The entrance sign also appears in color movie footage. The sign was made of four rustic boards stained dark, with irregular ends, fastened together horizontally to form a backdrop 3½ by 6 feet in size. On the backdrop were affixed four light-colored smaller boards, each with a single word, to form the phrase "Manzanar War Relocation Center" in dark paint. The sign was hung between two large posts with chains attached to each of the four corners. The 9½-inch-square posts, 10 feet tall, were set on the ground, surrounded with concrete, and braced by large rocks that formed the rock and cactus garden. Lumber attached to two sides of the posts extended below ground an unknown depth, but it likely provided little support.

The garden is in the center of 1st Street, the entrance road, 100 feet east of the first sentry post. Measuring about 24 feet east-west by 10 feet north-south, the garden is naturalistic, with an irregular outline and several planting areas at different levels (Figures 4.452 and 4.453). The rocks are mostly reddish-brown metavolcanics, but granitic and conglomerate rocks are also present. The highest rock reaches to about 4 feet high. Later photographs show two lights to illuminate the sign; the electrical conduit for the lights is still present, partially buried.

The entrance sign garden was cleared and partially restored in 2004, and restoration was completed in 2010. The original sign posts have been stabilized and a new sign made. Brush and sand were removed from the rock garden, and rocks were reset, including one returned by a former internee. Cactus was planted, using the historic photographs as a guide for locations and species; all but one were cottontop cactus. A small beavertail cactus visible in an Ansel Adams photograph has not been replanted.

Sentry Posts and Police Station

The entrance included a military police sentry post and internal police post (Figure 4.454). Built by Ryozo Kado, both still stand; they, along with the auditorium, are the only three buildings remaining at the Historic Site from the original relocation center.

The military police sentry post and the internal police post were built in a Japanese style, of reddish-brown metavolcanic rock, likely gathered from the Alabama Hills. The easternmost structure was the military police sentry post; it is 13 by 15 feet in plan, 8 feet 7 inches high to the eave, and 11 feet 6 inches tall overall, including the roof (Figure 4.455). The internal police sentry post was another 200 feet to the west; it is 8 feet by 10 feet in plan, 7 feet 7 inches high to the eave, and 11 feet 10 inches tall overall, including the roof (Figure 4.456). The walls on both buildings slope inward as they rise. Like the entrance sign garden, the buildings are located in the middle of the entrance road, separating the entry and exit lanes. Concrete faux-wood tree stumps at the military police post and

Figure 4.452. Entrance sign.

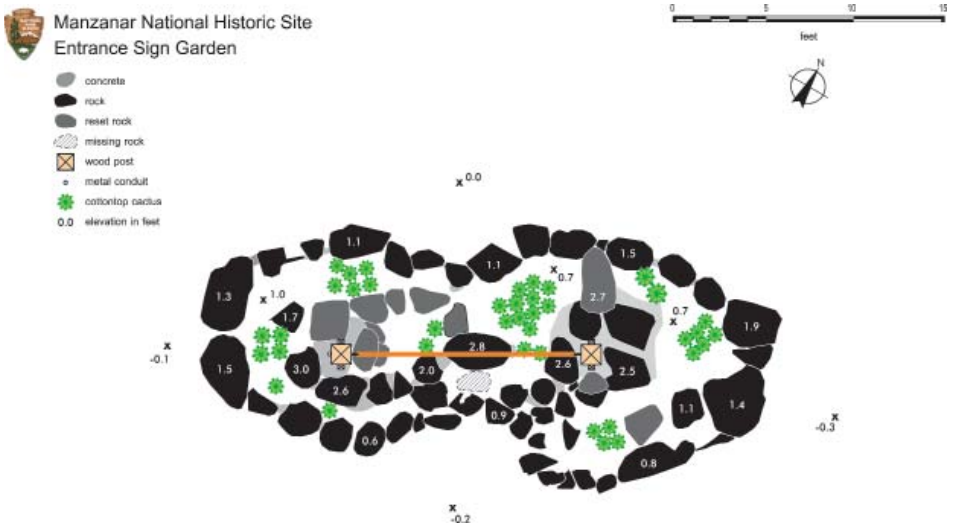


Figure 4.453. Entrance sign garden.

short wall segments on the opposite side of the entry and exit lanes formed gateways that could have been closed with a cable or chain. One photograph shows one of the stumps under construction, with rock and concrete columns covered with chicken wire (Figure 4.457). The stumps were removed, reportedly with much effort, in the 1950s by a local resident. They were returned to the Historic Site and reinstalled in 1999 (Figure 4.458; Burton 2000). The stumps are 18 inches in diameter and 4 feet high. At 4 feet 4 inches high, the wall sections across the entry and exit lanes are about level with the tops of the stumps; the tops of the walls step up, to 5 feet 10 inches high where they meet the security fence.

The police station foundation, a 20-foot-by-100-foot concrete slab, was located north of the entrance road, northwest of the internal police sentry post. Rock alignments at the police station which outlined a lawn between the building and 1st and 'A' Streets, on the south and west sides of the building, have been uncovered and restored. In 2015 other rock alignments on the south end of the police station that had been displaced and disturbed by a diversion ditch were repaired and painted white to match historic photographs (Figure 4.459). Nine rock-outlined parking spaces have also been restored and painted white (Figures 4.460 and 4.461).

Administration Circle

The first internee landscaping project at Manzanar was at the "administration circle." This area is shown in 18 historic photographs and in color movie footage (see Figures 2.99-2.103). Measuring 150 feet in diameter overall, the center of the traffic circle is a 25-foot-diameter rock-and-concrete planter, 18 inches tall.

Figure 4.454. Historic entrance at Manzanar.

Historic photographs show one large and five smaller Joshua trees, boulders, and cactus. Some of the photographs show seedling pines, which apparently did not survive long. Outside the traffic circle are earthen mounds, boulders, and cactus; unlike most of the administration area, these gardens were not planted with grass.

The administration circle road, planter, and surrounding area were cleared in 2004 (Figure 4.462-4.464). A large tamarisk tree, not present in 1973 photographs, was also removed at that time. The center planter is constructed of a mortared stone retaining wall located at the end of the cul-de-sac used as a parking area. There are numerous inscriptions in the concrete top of the wall including: "BUILT BY WADA AND CREW JUNE 10, 1942 A.D." Bunyemon Wada, a former nursery operator, lived with his wife and five children in Block 6. In 2012, five Joshua trees (including one large and four smaller specimens), 14 cottontop cactus clumps, two beavertail cactus, one hedgehog cactus, and one cholla were planted within the circle (Figure 4.465). Rocks around the outside border rocks of the circle road and along the road extending to 'B' Street were painted white (Figure 4.466). In 2015 earthen mounds along the perimeter of the traffic circle were restored and displaced rocks were reset to match historic photographs. Some of the rocks had been displaced when a diversion ditch was dug by the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power before the Historic Site was established. Other rocks had been moved aside when a cutoff road was built from the circle road to 'A' Street, likely by residents of the administration area after the camp closed.

Figure 4.455. Military police sentry post (photograph by Dick Lord).

Figure 4.456. Internal police post (photograph by Dick Lord).

Figure 4.457. Replacing faux-wood stumps at military police sentry post (photograph by Charney White).

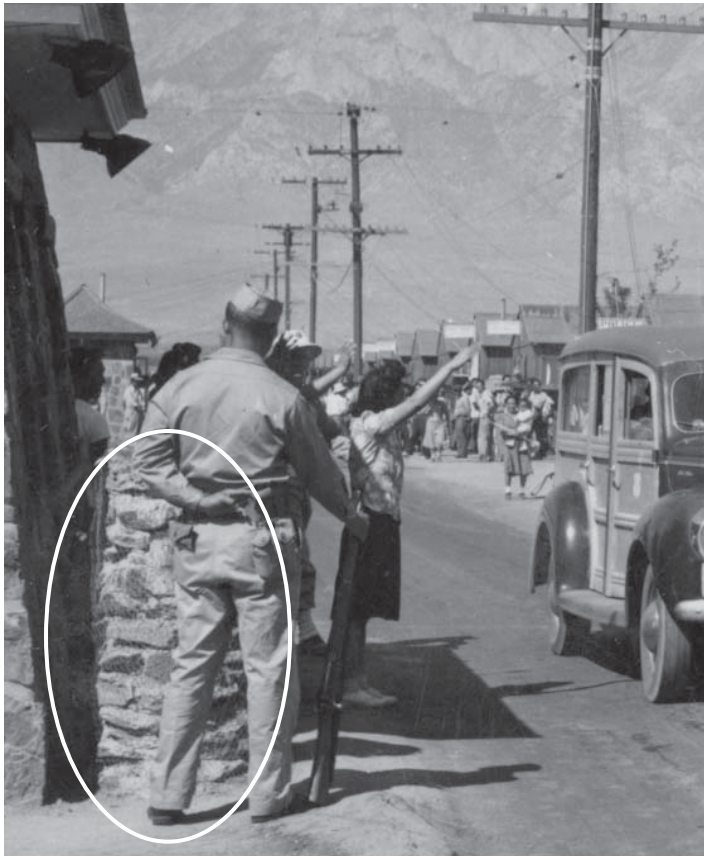


Figure 4.458. Faux-wood stump under construction at military police sentry post (Merritt Collection, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 4.459. Police station with restored and painted rock alignments.

Figure 4.460. Restoring entrance parking area.

Figure 4.461. Restored and painted entrance parking area.

Figure 4.462. Administration circle in 1973 (James Brust Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.463. Administration circle in 1983 (James Brust video, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.464. Administration circle in 2004 (photograph by Dick Lord).

Figure 4.465. Watering Joshua trees at the administration circle.

Administration Building

The administration building area was partially cleared and mapped in 1993 and 2004, and brush clearing was finally completed in 2014 (Burton 1996a, 2004). There are many historic photographs of the administration building; those photographs, combined with archeological features still present, provide fairly complete information about the original landscaping. Within the original footprint of the building there are a few concrete footing blocks and a concrete foundation that once held a safe. On the south side of the building there is a concrete slab at what would have been the back entrance of the building.

The building was L-shaped, surrounded by a rock alignment that formed a planter around the building, where flowers, small bushes, and cypress were planted. A 70-foot-long by 6-foot-wide sidewalk lined with rocks connected the front door of the administration building with 1st Street (the entrance road). The sidewalk widens to 15 feet around a diamond-shaped rock-and-concrete planter, 5½ by 10 feet in plan and 18 inches high. The diamond-shaped planter held a flagpole, the lower portion of which is still present (Figure 4.467). Two 18-inch-high circular rock-and-concrete planters, each 6 feet in diameter, flank the sidewalk, about 20 feet from the building footprint and 10 feet out from the sidewalk (Figure 4.468). Historic photographs indicate these planters held trees. Flowers were planted in two quarter-round or fan-shaped rock alignments, one on each side of the entry sidewalk where it meets 1st Street. Other rock alignments parallel the road and define walkways. Along the walkways were low hedges, flowers, and small Arizona cypress. Wisteria and other trees grew within the lawn. A rock and concrete storm drain northeast of the building at the corner of 1st and 'A' Streets is of

similar construction to two across the road in Block 1. The only trees at the Administration Building now are Arizona cypress and black locust. Rock alignments along 1st and 'A' Streets and adjacent parking areas were restored in 2004 and 2014 and painted white in 2014 and 2015.

Town Hall Building

This building location includes a concrete entry slab with an inscribed design at the north end near the road (Figure 4.469). During clearing in 2004, two 10-foot-long sections of a rock alignment were found parallel to the front of the building, and a 3-foot wide rock-lined gravel path is on the west side. There is also a large granitic boulder present, but it is not set into the ground so its original location is unknown.

Post Office

Remains at the post office location, which was also partially cleared in 2004, include a rock alignment and a concrete sidewalk (Figure 4.470). The concrete sidewalk at the entry is 5 feet wide at the end of the building, where the door was. In its 10½-foot length the sidewalk curves out to 16 feet wide at the road. Rock alignments form planters on either side of the concrete sidewalk. The eastern planter is bounded by a rock-and-concrete retaining wall, 12 feet long by 1 foot 2 inches wide. Level on top, the wall rises 12 inches above the ground on the east side, but only 4 inches on the west (enclosed) side. Traces of white paint indicate the wall was once painted.

Staff Mess Hall

No landscaping is apparent at the mess hall location, but there is a concrete slab at the north end. Internee inscriptions, while undated, indicate the slab was added after the initial contractor construction.

Figure 4.466. Boulders and painted rock alignments at exterior edge of the administration circle road.

Staff Housing

In the Administration Block, staff housing comprised 22 buildings, each designated by a letter from A to W (with the exception of "B," which was not assigned). No archeological work has been done at **Building A's** location. Historic photographs show patios or porches with lath walls along the west side of the building and a fenced yard at the south end (Figure 4.471). Today, the area is largely buried by sediments and overgrown with brush, but a few features are visible (Figures 4.472-4.474). Part of a narrow concrete slab, which would have been the floor of the patio or front porch, is visible, and there are concrete steps at the north end. A concrete curb runs east-west at the south end of the slab and extends west 2 feet more. To the south of the slab there are remnants of stone paving set in concrete, a rock and concrete feature, and two clay pipes set in the ground, possibly for use as a planter. The rock-and-concrete feature is 61 by 38 by 8 inches high, square on three sides and open on the side facing east. The top is broken up, and its original form and function is unknown. It appears to be too low to have functioned as a barbeque grill; the possible planters on either side make it look like a step for

Figure 4.467. Sidewalk, planter, and flagpole at administration building entrance.

Figure 4.468. Rock and concrete planter at administration building.

Figure 4.469. Town hall entrance.

Figure 4.470. Post office entrance.

Figure 4.471. Staff housing Building A after a snow storm (Martha Shoaf Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.472. Stone paving at Staff housing Building A.

Figure 4.473. Rock-and-concrete feature at staff housing Building A.

Figure 4.474. Fence posts at staff housing Building A.

an entryway, but there was no known building at the location. In fact, the feature is located approximately where historic photographs indicate there was a yard enclosed with wire-mesh fencing held by wooden posts. Some standing locust fence posts are still present, as are pieces of wire-mesh fencing, along the eastern alignment of the fence. With 6-inch-mesh, the fencing looks similar to that in historic photographs along the southern alignment of the fence (Figure 4.475). Other fence remnants, consisting of 3-inch-mesh and a single post, were found near the rock-and-concrete feature, but these do not appear to be in situ. Between the rock-and-concrete feature and the east fence alignment is a large granite boulder.

There was no **Building B**; instead, historic photographs indicate there was playground equipment in the area between Buildings A and C (Figure 4.476). The 1944 aerial photograph shows a square barren area within that location, likely the playground. Today, at the barren area in the aerial photograph there is a 40-by-60-inch concrete slab divided into six panels; two panels are inscribed with "KUBOTA," and one with the date "4/1/42." The slab suggests there may have been a small temporary building here, but none is visible in the 1944 aerial photograph, nor the June 11, 1942 oblique aerial photograph (see Figure 2.1).

Historic photographs show that like Building A, **Building C** also had a long porch along its west side partially enclosed with lath walls and a lath roof. The narrow concrete that formed the porch floor and four sets of entry steps is still present. The concrete was cleared and mapped in 2001 (Figures 4.477-4.479; Burton 2001a; Simpson 2001a). Archeological examination indicated that the concrete steps to each apartment door were the first improvement at Building C, and the subsequent modifications occurred in the following order: (1) four short concrete sidewalks were constructed to connect the steps to a gravel north-south pathway (as seen in early photographs); (2) curbing was added at both ends of the porch area;

(3) concrete was added on either side of each sidewalk and step to form small patios; (4) sidewalks were then extended beyond the new concrete of the patios, and rock alignments were added to form a planter or pathway edge.

A concrete and stone pedestal or partial wall between the two southern apartment patios may have been added before or after the porch floor slabs at Building C; the pedestal has a faux-wood concrete top that suggests it was made by Ryozo Kado (Figure 4.480). The pedestal is rectangular in plan and measures 60 by 27 inches overall. At 29 inches tall, the ends are stepped up higher than the 23½-inch center section, so that the pedestal would not have made a good table or bench. The feature can be partially seen in a historic photograph within the lath-enclosed patio (Figure 4.481). Its location at the boundary between two apartment patios suggests it may have simply been a decorative patio divider. The fact that the west (outside) edge of the pedestal is unfaced and rough suggests it was built after the lath wall, and butted up against it. In fact, the lath walls may have been built before the porch floor slabs, since there is no evidence (such as anchor bolts or wood stains) that the walls were on top of the floor. The archeological data do not tell us how much time elapsed between the multiple building episodes, but the fact that these simple improvements were not made all at once suggests the staff may have been restricted in the amount of cement they were allotted, as were the internees. Minor repairs have been completed to stabilize the faux-wood coating of the pedestal (Hartzler 2001).

Building D included the first apartment lived in by the camp director (Williams 2014). Today there is a tall concrete and granite cobble wall enclosing a concrete slab patio at what would have been the building's south end (Figure 4.482). According to Pete Merritt, Jr. (personal communication 1993), the wall, which is stepped to vary from 2½ feet to 5 feet high, was built by internees hired by his father Ralph Merritt, the camp director. There are concrete walkways and rock alignments on its west side. Landscape features were cleared and mapped in 1993, and in 2013 fill was brought in to stabilize part of the wall that had been undercut by the 2013 flood.

No landscaping elements were visible at **Building E** prior to archeological work in 2004, but when the area around the building's location was cleared, several landscaping features were revealed (Figure 4.483). At the north and south ends of the west side of the former building location are 6-inch-wide concrete curbs, extending 8 feet out from, and perpendicular to, the building. Between the curbs are six rock-outlined rectangular planters, each roughly 7 feet by 4½ feet. Two of the rock-outlined planters are complete, four were partially demolished. Remains of tree stumps are evident in two of the planters, and there appears to have been a second row of trees paralleling the building, about 15 feet to the west: two stumps and one live black locust tree are left. Just west of the planters is a gravel path defined by another rock alignment; the rock alignment makes a 90-degree turn about 10 feet beyond the south end of the building, and continues to the east. All of the rock outlines were rebuilt in 2015 (Figure 4.484).

No landscaping elements were visible at **Building F** prior to archeological work in 2004. At Building F's location, sediment clearing revealed several landscaping features similar to those described above for Building E. A concrete curb at the north end of the building, 8 feet long and 6 inches wide, is identical to the curbs at Building E, except that there is a 13½-by-14 inch footing block at the southwest corner, attached to the southern curb. Only one of the six rock-outlined planters is complete, but these planters appear to have been slightly longer than those at Building E, measuring about 8 feet by 4½ feet. Two live trees and at least one stump, possibly two, are located in the planters, and two live trees and two stumps suggest a parallel row of trees about 15 feet to

Figure 4.475. Fence at staff housing Building A (Rose Maruki, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.476. Playground equipment (in background) at the location of Building B, June 1945 (Julie Burns Collection, Manzanar NHS).

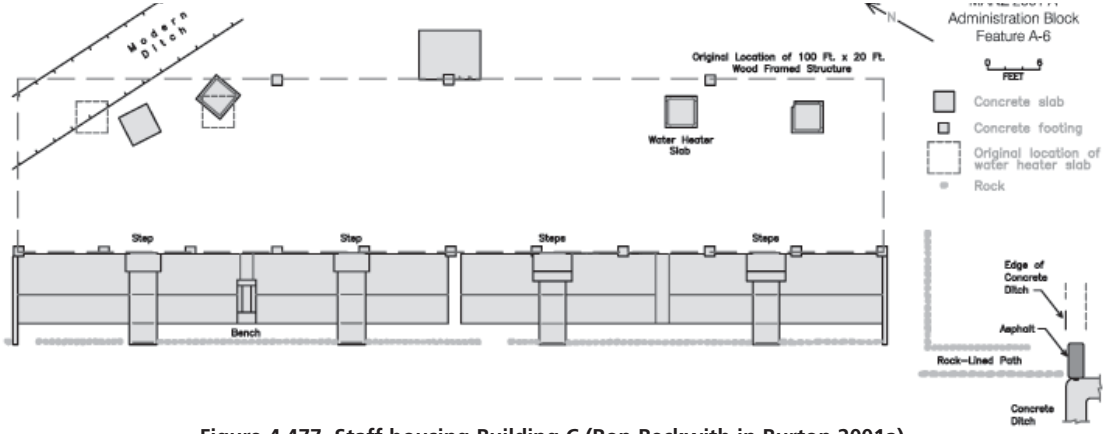


Figure 4.477. Staff housing Building C (Ron Beckwith in Burton 2001a).

Figure 4.478. Clearing and mapping staff housing Building C in 2001.

Figure 4.479. Cleared slab at staff housing Building C.

Figure 4.480. Rock and concrete pedestal with faux-wood at staff housing Building C.

Figure 4.481. Rock and concrete pedestal with faux-wood at staff housing Building C (Martha Shoaf Collection, Manzanar NHS).

the west. The rock-outlined gravel path next to the planters is 32 inches wide. The rock outlines were rebuilt in 2015 (Figure 4.485).

Building G was built in January 1943. The camp director's second residence comprised the northern half of the building, and two smaller apartments were in the southern half. There are three entry sidewalks on the west (front) side of the building (Figures 4.486 and 4.487). The most prominent feature remaining at this location is a concrete and granite cobble wall (Figures 4.488 and 4.489), similar in workmanship to the patio wall at Building D, the camp director's residence until 1943. The wall was built on the back (east) side of the building, and enclosed a backyard area approximately 20 by 40 feet. Six feet tall on the north and south ends, on the east side the wall stepped down from the 6-foot-high corners to 3 feet high along most of its length, but 6-foot-high pillars flanked an opening near the center of the wall. There are light fixtures on top of the wall pillars on either side of the gateway, and wooden gate anchors are still in place. Inside the wall, most of the north half of the yard has a concrete slab floor, measuring 16 by 20 feet. A 25-foot-long concrete sidewalk leads from the patio through the gateway to 'A' Street.

Like the wall at Building D, the patio wall at Building G was built by internees paid by Merritt (Pete Merritt, Jr., personal communication 1993). Williams (2014:179) credits Ryozo Kado for the wall's construction. Pete Merritt, Jr., son of director Ralph Merritt, was married on the patio in 1943; he drove over from Yosemite where he was working, bringing along Ansel Adams to photograph the wedding (personal communication 1993). Features at Building G mapped in 1993 include concrete sidewalks on the west side of the building that led to each doorway (Burton 1996a). As late as 1995 a large elm tree shaded the patio area; the tree was toppled by a wind storm sometime before 2000.

Although the roads in the administration area have

been cleared of brush, the area encompassing Buildings H-W has not yet been cleared or mapped in detail. No doubt many landscaping features are obscured by sediments and vegetation. There are partial rock alignments visible at **Buildings H-K**. At Building K there are also concrete steps and at the north end of the building there is a concrete slab 7 feet 8 inches by 11 feet 6 inches, with a 2-foot-diameter hole in the southeast corner. The size of the hole would match the size of the water heaters at Manzanar, but water heaters are almost always placed on top of a slab, leaving circular rust stains, not holes. East of the north end of Building K there is a broken-off 3¾-inch-square post set in concrete, and 4 feet away there is a post hole of the same size in concrete. At **Buildings L-Q** there are concrete steps, rock alignments, and a concrete ditch. Rocks at Building N could be a stepping stone path, or a widely spaced rock border (Figure 4.490). **Buildings R-W**, the last staff housing built, are grouped closely together as a small compound with roads on three sides and the security fence on the south side. A rock-and-concrete drainage ditch surrounds the compound. There are small bridges made of concrete pipe sections across the ditch and rocks line pathways (Figure 4.491). Another, larger, rock-lined ditch is along the south side of the compound (Figure 4.492).

Military Police Compound

The military police compound, beyond the southeast quarter of the fenced central area, covered about 18 acres south of Bairs Creek and west of U.S. Highway 395. There were 13 buildings in this area, including an administration building, quarters for officers and doctors, a recreation building, a mess hall, four barracks, a guard house, a latrine, a first aid building, a motor repair shop, and a rock sentry post. Although all of the buildings are gone, most of their locations can be

Figure 4.482. Patio wall at staff housing Building D.

Figure 4.483. Clearing landscape features at staff housing Building E in 2004.

Figure 4.484. Restoring rock alignments at staff housing Building E in 2015.

Figure 4.485. Restored rock alignments at staff housing Building F.

Figure 4.486. Director Merritt and family at staff housing Building G (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.487. Entry sidewalk at staff housing Building G.

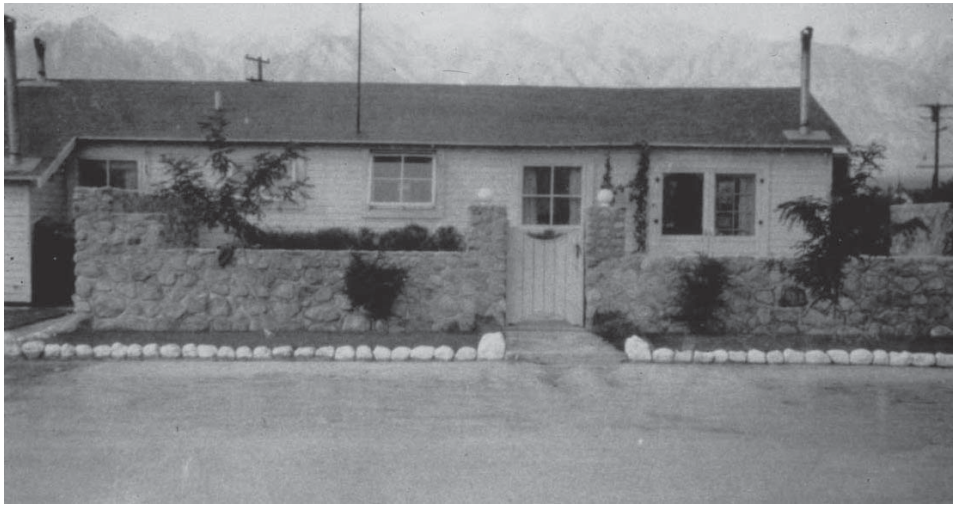


Figure 4.488. Patio wall at staff housing Building G, ca. 1945 (Shiro Nomura Collection, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 4.489. Patio wall at staff housing Building G today.

Figure 4.490. Possible stepping stones at staff housing Building N.

Figure 4.491. Ditch and bridge at staff housing Buildings R-W.

Figure 4.492. Rock-lined ditch south of staff housing buildings R-W.

discerned: for example, barracks are defined by level areas, some with a few concrete footing blocks. The locations of the guard house (military personnel jail), latrine, and first aid buildings can be determined by concentrations of wire nails, concrete chunks, and other structural debris. Most of the sizable rocks at the site have traces of white paint on them.

The rock sentry post was built by Ryozo Kado. The base of the sentry post was found and excavated in 1999 (Figures 4.493 and 4.494; Burton 2000). Measuring 8 by 10 feet, the base had only three sides, and was open to the north, where it faced the entrance road to the military police compound. The base, and presumably the walls, was made of granite boulders rather than the reddish-brown metavolcanic rocks used for the sentry posts Kado built at the camp entrance.

Landscape features in the military police compound include a series of short rock alignments located west of the mess hall, a short rock alignment south (in front) of the westernmost barracks, and rock alignments that outline a walkway and small yard west of the officers' quarters. The flag pole location was likely landscaped; there today are scattered rocks, some with mortar attached, and a small area of possible cobblestone pavement (Figure 4.495). No historic photographs of the flag pole are known, however on the 1944 aerial photograph there is a large white circle visible at the flag pole location.

Auditorium

With its large central hall and wings on the north, south, and west sides, the high school auditorium was the largest building at Manzanar. The main (west) entrance is well-documented in historic photographs and color movies (see Figures 2.119-2.121); it was uncovered and recorded in 2000 (Figures 4.496 and 4.497; Burton 2001b). The entryway consists of three connected concrete features. Adjacent to the auditorium door there is a step 7½-inches high and 2 feet wide along the entire 30½-foot-length of the entrance wing. The landing adjacent to the step is a 30½-by-10 foot concrete slab. The western edge of the slab is rounded, in plan, to meet a narrower concrete slab which extends 48 more feet west. This slab's overall width is 18 feet, but two planters (6 by 18 feet) and a flagpole base divide the slab into two parallel 6-foot-wide walkways. When the entrance was uncovered, the flagpole base had a 3½-inch-diameter metal pole cut flush to the slab. The planter curbing shown in historic photographs was missing, and the concrete sidewalks were badly cracked, with the west end entirely shattered. The step, entryway, sidewalk, and planters were torn out and replaced when the auditorium was restored in 2002.

Historic photographs show two pine trees to the north and south side of the entrance and a changing variety of flowers in the planters and along the edges of the sidewalk. One photograph shows small deciduous trees (possibly cherry trees) planted around the building. Two pine trees, a juniper hedge, and day lilies were planted in 2009. Russian sage was added to the planter in 2014 (Figure 4.498).

Cemetery

The first burial at the Manzanar cemetery occurred on May 16, 1942, but it was not until a year later that plans to erect a cemetery monument were proposed (*Manzanar Free Press* May 19, 1943). Stonemason Ryozo Kado supervised the work and 50 boys from the Young Buddhist Association volunteered to help construct the monument, which was projected to weigh about 100 tons (*Manzanar Free Press* July 31, 1943). The monument was dedicated in August 1943

Figure 4.493. Excavation of the military police compound sentry post in 1999 (photograph by Charney White).

Figure 4.494. Foundation of sentry post at the military police compound.

Figure 4.495. Scattered rocks at the military police compound flagpole location.

Figure 4.496. West side of the auditorium in 1993.

Figure 4.497. West side of the auditorium after excavation in 2000.

Figure 4.498. West side of the auditorium today.

Figure 4.499. Cemetery monument.

Figure 4.500. Restored cemetery graves.

Figure 4.501. Restored cemetery fence.

(*Manzanar Free Press* July 24, 1943).

Measuring 14 feet 5 inches tall overall, the monument is a large concrete obelisk on a three-tiered rectangular stepped base (Figure 4.499). The first base level is 2 feet 3 inches high; the next level, stepped back from the front and sides, is 1 foot 6 inches high; and the third level, stepped back on all sides, is 1 foot high. Three Japanese characters on the front (east side) of the obelisk literally translate as "soul consoling tower" (*i rei to*); the back (west) side reads, in Japanese, "Erected by the Manzanar Japanese August 1943." In front of the monument, on the east side, is a concrete apron with scored arcs, similar to the sidewalk at the Buddhist church (Block 15 Barracks 1 Apartment 4). Nine faux-wood concrete stumps enclose an area around the monument 17 feet 8 inches by 22 feet 6 inches in size, open to the east.

In the past, the monument was painted several times by the Manzanar Committee as part of their yearly pilgrimage. In 2000, Park Service staff scraped, patched, and painted the monument for the first time, and maintenance is now done by staff yearly or as needed. In 2014 extensive repairs were made to the monument: all paint was stripped off and the concrete repaired. Following a request made by the Manzanar Advisory Committee in 2000, several bullet holes on the south side of the monument were not filled.

Modern brown paint has been removed from the faux wood stumps, and some concrete conservation has been conducted (Hartzler 2001). Historic photographs show a rope between the posts. A similar rope was added in 2000 and the rope has been replaced three times since then. Based on historic photographs and archeological investigations, the cemetery was surrounded by a rustic locust wood fence. A replica 3-foot-high fence was installed in 2001 (Figures 4.500 and 4.501; Simpson 2001a). The fence encloses an area 160 feet square, with the monument slightly west and north of its center.

Figure 4.502. Circular rock alignment at the chicken ranch.

Figure 4.503. Rock alignments at the chicken ranch office and processing building.

Figure 4.504. Rock planter at the chicken ranch.

Chicken Ranch

The chicken ranch, located just outside the southwest corner of the security fence, included landscaping elements. The 1944 aerial photograph shows apparent lawns and other vegetation and a large circle that appears to have vegetation within it. The circle measures 27 to 28 feet in diameter, is outlined with rocks, and has a 3-inch-diameter post or stump in the middle (Figure 4.502).

The National Park Service has conducted much stabilization work at the chicken ranch, including clearing brush, cleaning off slabs, repairing collapsed concrete walls, and rebuilding some rock alignments (Burton 2009b, 2012b). Today, one can see rock alignments around the office (Figure 4.503), a raised rock-outlined oval planter west of the office (Figure 4.504), and rock-lined pathways and alignments between the office and an incinerator to the south (Figure 4.505).

The incinerator is a large rock-and-concrete structure with sloping sides measuring a maximum of 62 inches north-south and 70 inches east-west. The main structure is built in three tiers, with the bottom tier, which has an opening into the metal fire box, 40 inches high.

Figure 4.505. Chicken ranch incinerator.

Figure 4.506. Building footers at Children's Village.

Figure 4.507. Black locust at Children's Village.

Figure 4.508. Erosion channel within 7th Street at the north edge of Children's Village.

Figure 4.509. Repair of 7th Street in 2009.

Figure 4.510. 7th Street at the north end of Children's Village after restoration.

Figure 4.511. *Nobedan* entry at Children's Village.

A portion of metal rail, likely scavenged from a mining operation, is incorporated into the fire box. The next level, stepped back from the front, rises about 20 inches higher. What appears to be a third level, when viewed from the front, is a stone and concrete chimney base; it rises from the ground at the back of the incinerator to 83 inches high. A decorative concrete chimney extends 32 inches above the chimney base. With an outer diameter of about 19 inches and inner diameter of 12 inches, the chimney's concrete was scored and colored to emulate stone or bark.

The incinerator looks similar to fireplaces thought to have been built by Kado or his students. It is decorative enough that after the camp closed, local residents assumed the chicken ranch must have included a picnic area. There are no known historic photographs of the incinerator or landscaping at the chicken farm.

An attached trough on the south side of the incinerator measures 10 feet 10 inches by 4 feet, and on the north side are a concrete slab, measuring 80 by 87 inches, a step, and two fireboxes. A buried pipe leads from the grill and trough to a rock-filled dry well.

Children's Village

The Children's Village orphanage consisted of three internee-built buildings, each approximately 25 by 125 feet. In addition, historic photographs and color movies show a large rustic wood ramada; rustic wood fences, gates, and arbors; and pathways, some rock-lined and some with small boulders at the corners of intersecting paths (see Figures 2.128-2.133). In some of the photographs the fences and arbors are covered by vines, flowers, and other plants. Today, the Children's Village area is heavily wooded and covered with recent sediments and duff, and only a few rocks and footing blocks from the buildings are visible (Figures

4.506 and 4.507). A post-camp dirt road crossed over building locations, and 7th Street, which ran east-west just to the north of the buildings, had become a large gully by 1993. Several footers had eroded into the gully. In 2009 the gully was filled and this part of 7th Street was restored (Figures 4.508-4.510; Burton 2009c). Also in 2009, a wayside exhibit featuring an internee's painting of the Children's Village was installed. In 2014, flooding caused much deposition and some erosion. A 72-by-30-inch cobblestone entry, a vertically set rock, and other features were exposed at the north end of the westernmost building (Figure 4.511; Burton 2014a).

Judo *Dojo*

The judo *dojo* was sited within a group of large cottonwood trees that remained from the Ed Shepherd house, constructed at the beginning of the twentieth century. The *dojo* and connected storage room differed from the rest of the camp in that they were angled to true north to match the existing Shepherd house foundations. Large trees and a possible small lawn area can be seen on the 1944 aerial and historic photographs (see Figures 2.134-2.136). The *dojo* area was cleared and mapped in 1993 (Burton 1996a). Some of the original cottonwoods remain today (Figure 4.512). Within these trees, two elaborate concrete and cobblestone paths led to the *dojo* storage and dressing room, which was situated on concrete slabs remaining from the Shepherd house garage (Figures 4.513 and 4.514). Concrete stoops were added to the east and north sides of the slabs. Decorative rock alignments enclose the storage room and the Judo *dojo*, and there is a circle of rocks to the northeast. At the Judo *dojo* itself there are remnants of a concrete edge around its outside perimeter and a 2-foot-by-45-foot concrete slab at its north end.

Figure 4.512. Judo *dojo*.

Figure 4.513. Detail of walkway at Judo *dojo*.

Figure 4.514. Cobblestone and concrete walkway at Judo *dojo*.

Figure 4.515. Location of the plant nursery lath house.

Figure 4.516. Stacked rocks at the reservoir.

Figure 4.517. Vertical rock at reservoir.

Figure 4.518. Reservoir inlet with vertical rocks.

Plant Nursery Lath House

Historic photographs show ornamental landscaping along the front of the guayule lath house facing 1st Street (see Figures 2.137 and 2.138). In this narrow area, transplanted trees and sculptural tree trunks formed a distinctive garden. A rustic fence made of tree trunks and large limbs paralleled 1st Street, and a walkway to the lath house was flanked by railings made of more tree limbs and a low lattice-work fence. The area is heavily overgrown and buried in sediments, and no landscaping is evident today (Figure 4.515). East of the lath house location there are numerous tin cans with holes punched in the bottoms that were apparently used for starting seedlings.

Reservoir

The Manzanar reservoir is located on Bureau of Land Management land about one-half mile northwest of the Historic Site. Water was transported to the res-

Figure 4.519. Rock with possible Japanese characters at reservoir (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 4.520. Vertical rock set in concrete on top of boulder within settling pond at reservoir.

Figure 4.521. "Peace" lantern at reservoir.

ervoir from Shepherd Creek by means of an unlined ditch. The reservoir was initially built by a private contractor, but soon had to be expanded, with the additional construction done by internees. As part of their work the internees inscribed their names and other sentiments in the new concrete (Burton and Farrell 2013) and added decorative flourishes such as standing and stacked rocks at corners (Figures 4.516 and 4.517). In one historic photograph, the stacked rocks at each corner of the inlet ditch appear to have a thin stone or a piece of tin or other thin metal incorporated (see Figure 2.140). Japanese garden professional Yukinori Aida (personal communication 2014) interprets these stacked rocks as stone lanterns that define a symbolic gate (Figures 4.518). In a historical photograph, faint markings visible on one vertical rock could be painted Japanese characters (Figures 4.519 and 4.520).

Today, the ditch from Shepherd Creek is still used by the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power for water-spreading. The different phases of reservoir construction are evident, including the original 800,000 gallon concrete reservoir and the later additions (including a settling basin, a sand trap, and raised reservoir walls) built by internees. In the settling basin there is an upright rock set in concrete on top of a large low boulder that was left in the basin. This rock would have been above the water level.

Just west of the reservoir there is a large boulder with a smear of concrete on its vertical face inscribed with the Japanese characters for "peace." Close inspection of historical photographs show a stack of five rocks on top of the boulder, another representation of a Japanese lantern. The National Park Service completed extensive repairs at the reservoir in 2008 and 2009, including reconstructing the peace lantern and other landscape art (Figure 4.521; see Figure 2.141; Burton 2009d).

Picnic Areas

The internees developed picnic areas within the security fence southwest of the residential area at Bairs Creek and north of the residential area at the former site of the Shepherd Ranch (North Park). After restrictions for leaving the camp were relaxed in 1943, a picnic areas were also established to the south (South Park, also known as Manzanar Park).

Bairs Creek Picnic Area (Picnic Area No. 1)

Historic photographs show two rustic bridges with railings and spans constructed of tree limbs, other rustic walkway railings, boulder-plating along the stream bank, and firepits. Children and mothers play in the water, and friends, couples, and soldiers pose on the bridges (see Figures 2.142-2.147). The only feature evident today that might be related to the picnic area is a crude grill made of 8-inch-wide concrete blocks recycled from town-era structures (Figure 4.522). The grill may be one of the three named fire pits; slightly isolated and over 700 feet from the creek, this could have been "Bum's Roost" or "Cupid Pit." The grill is E-shaped in plan, 40 by 51 inches overall, and open at the front. The back wall, with two courses of block, is 14 inches high; the sides, of one course of block and concrete, are 11 inches high. Bairs Creek is an active creek, flowing seasonally. Occasional flooding may have removed most, or all, traces of the picnic area within the drainage (Figure 4.523). There are also debris piles along the north side of the creek, including concrete steps apparently dumped there during demolition of structures in the administration area (Figure 4.524).

Figure 4.522. Grill near Bairs Creek picnic area.

Figure 4.523. Bairs Creek picnic area.

Figure 4.524. Concrete steps and other debris on the edge of Bairs Creek.

Figure 4.525. Road to North Park.

Figure 4.526. Fireplace with chimney at North Park.

Figure 4.527. Fireplace at North Park.

Figure 4.528. Picnic area northwest of North Park.

North Park

At North Park, where the Shepherd Ranch house once stood, there are two outdoor fireplaces. The structures and a curved road leading toward them appear in historic photographs (Figure 4.520; see Figures 2.147-2.149) One is made of metasedimentary rock and concrete with a chimney, but most of the chimney has been removed (Figure 4.526). The base, with slightly sloping sides, measures 68 by 95 inches at the bottom and 62 by 91 inches at the top. The top grilling surface, at the west end, is 42 inches high, with an opening 34 inches square that has a 1½-inch-wide lip on three sides to hold a grill or cover. Inside the base are four 2-inch-diameter holes 14 inches above the floor, two in each wall to hold a rack or shelf. There are two openings on the west side; the upper opening measures 25½ by 10½ inches and has metal hardware for a door, which would have been hinged to drop forward. The lower opening is 25 inches wide by 13¼ inches tall, flush with the interior floor and a concrete apron that extends to the west. The apron, which would have provided an easy-to-clean floor, measures 56 by 68 inches.

Inside the rock chimney are remnants of concrete

Figure 4.529. Location of South Park today.

Figure 4.530. Internee picnic at South Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

pipe with an inner diameter of 12 inches and outer diameter of 14½ inches. The concrete pipe is the type used in the town of Manzanar's irrigation system; each pipe section was 2 feet long. Based on historic photographs, there were originally three 2-foot-long sections that, combined, reached to a height of about 76 inches. There are inscriptions on the concrete top of the base: "Ray Kobote" on one side, and "August 1943" on the other. No one by that name has been identified in the Manzanar rosters.

The other fireplace is made of granite boulders and concrete, and never had a chimney (Figure 4.527). This structure, too, has gently sloping walls, with the bottom measuring 56 by 75 inches in plan; it is 38 inches high, with the top opening 33 by 61 inches. Unlike the other fireplace base, this one has no lip below the opening, so any grill or cover would have set directly on the top. Like the other oven, it has a concrete apron and concrete floor interior. The apron, on the east side of the oven, measures 55 by 50 inches; the single opening, at the floor on the east side, is 24 inches wide and 16 inches high. In the interior, each side has two 2-inch-diameter holes in the wall 12 inches above the floor to hold a rack or shelf.

Some of the masonry of the fireplaces was stabilized in 2001 (Simpson 2001a). In 2003, rocks, trash, and other debris were removed from the fireboxes and in 2009 the adjacent ground surface was contoured to slope away from them to improve drainage (Burton 2003b, 2009e).

Historic photographs indicate there was another picnic area west of the North Park fireplaces (see Figures 2.151-2.153); the area can be identified by matching the terrain (a deep ravine) with the current topography (Figure 4.528). Confirming the location, a building in the background of the photographs matches the location of a foundation inscribed with a 1944 date (Burton 1996a:311). The building is shown on WRA blueprints, but its function is not listed. Notable in the photographs of the picnic area is a Japanese lantern made of wood. This ravine appears to have been the course of Shepherds Creek when John Shepherd settled here in the 1860s. The ravine is dry now, but Madelon Yamamoto remembers it with flowing water when the camp was in operation (personal communication 2014), perhaps by overflow from Victory gardens located to the south and west.

South Park (Manzanar Park)

South Park is located outside the National Historic Site boundary and encompassed at least two abandoned ranches (Figure 4.524; see Figure 2.153). Cursory archeological survey in 1993 discovered two outdoor fireplaces (Burton 1996a), both within the rock walls of old ranch buildings. One of the fireplaces can be matched to historic photographs. Other historic photographs of internees picnicking under trees cannot be tied to a specific spot, but are likely of South Park (Figures 4.530 and 4.531; see Figure 2.156).

One of the fireplaces is at the former Abernathy Ranch about 1/2 mile southwest of the relocation center's south gate (Figures 4.532 and 4.533). There is a 4-by-6-foot concrete fireplace within a 13-by-18-foot, now roofless, one-room concrete and rock structure. The walls of the building are now 3 to 4½ feet high, but the area is buried by deep alluvium. There is a doorway in the north wall. The fireplace is too large to have been part of the original building, which is from a historical ranch that was in use from around the beginning of the twentieth century until the mid-1930s (Burton 1996a). The main compartment of the fireplace is a rectangular box approximately 3 feet high with an open top and a rectangular front opening (probably for a door). On the north face, the top

Figure 4.531. Sign to toilets at South Park (Kiyoko Tanaka Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 4.532. Rock building with fireplace at Abernathy Ranch (South Park).

Figure 4.533. Fireplace at Abernathy Ranch (South Park).

Figure 4.534. Rock building with fireplace at Albers Ranch (South Park).

Figure 4.536. Kispert Ranch on George Creek (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 4.535. Fireplace at Albers Ranch (South Park).

opening has recessed slots, either for grating or a solid cover. The chimney at the back, approximately 5 feet high, supports a round flue constructed of concrete pipe, now broken off.

The other South Park fireplace is at the former Albers Ranch, 1¼ miles south of the south gate (Figures 4.534 and 4.535; see Figures 2.155 and 2.156). The concrete-and-rock fireplace built by the internees is within the ruin of a two-room adobe-mortared rock building. Each room has a door to the east. The roofless building is 20 by 30 feet in plan, and the walls are 6 to 7 feet high. Larger and more ornate then the one at the Abernathy Ranch, the fireplace is in the southern room, abutted to the central wall. Made of mortared rocks, it measures 5 feet by 7 feet, and the rectangular main compartment is approximately 4 feet high. The chimney at the back, which supports the round concrete pipe flue, is approximately 6 feet high. The flue has been coated with concrete stained a reddish color into which a pattern, designed to mimic rock, was incised. Based on its construction, it was likely made by Kado or one of his students.

Other areas as far south as George Creek were frequented by internees and may have been used as picnic areas. The internee mounted police stabled their horses at Kispert Ranch, 1½ miles south of the original south gate, and Toyo Miyatake photographed some of the abandoned ranch buildings (Figure 4.531). There are some intriguing rock alignments at the Glade homestead along George Creek that may be remnants of a picnic area (see Burton 1996a). Other areas along the creek have not yet been investigated.

Figure 4.537. Fence, ditch, and wood sluice gates at Victory garden north of Block 34.

Figure 4.538. Wood sluice gate in Victory garden.

Figure 4.539. Possible remnants of sundial in Victory garden between Blocks 11 and 17.

Victory Gardens

All of the documented Victory gardens, as well as other undocumented Victory gardens, are visible on the 1944 aerial photograph and in historic photographs (see Figures 2.167-2.172). In addition to these community Victory gardens, historic photographs and oral histories indicate that many internees planted small vegetable and flower gardens at their barracks.

Evidence of these gardens today consists of shallow earthen irrigation ditches, wood sluice gates, wood posts, fencing, scattered lumber, and sections of steel and concrete pipe (Figure 4.537). In the area north of Blocks 32 and 33, terracing and several small wood sluice gates are still evident (Figure 4.538). Boulders, scattered rocks, and a low earthen mound in the firebreak between Blocks 11 and 17 may be remnants of the sundial reported in the June 9, 1942, *Manzanar Free Press* (Figure 4.539).

There is no known documentation of a small garden (less than half an acre in size) visible on the 1944 aerial photograph north of Block 35. It could be the "school plot on the north side of the center" mentioned in the *Manzanar Free Press* (April 14, 1943) or a garden used by nearby residents. Today, there are several short sections of concrete-lined ditch there. Conversely, one planned Victory garden documented in the *Manzanar Free Press* (January 13, 1943) as in the firebreak between Blocks 22 and 23 is not evident on the 1944 aerial photograph or on the ground today. The "tentative plans" reported in the newspaper may not have come to fruition.

At the administration staff's Victory garden (see Figure 2.173), which encompassed about 6 acres between the administration area and the security fence, there are the remains of wooden sluices and shallow ditches and furrows. An elaborate system of dams, pipes, ditches, settling basins, and weirs brought water to the garden from Bairs and George Creeks (Burton 1996).

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5 JAPANESE GARDENS

Nature in Miniature

There are hundreds of gardens at Manzanar and the great majority of them can be classified as "Japanese gardens," but not because they were created by Japanese Americans; after all, the Japanese Americans also made and tended other types of gardens at Manzanar. Some of the most common garden types at Manzanar were Victory gardens, for produce and flowers, and lawns, for family use and dust abatement. Merritt Park included a western-style rose garden, and the rock and cactus gardens in the administration area could be described as a fusion of Japanese and American forms.

So what makes many of Manzanar's gardens Japanese gardens? Outside Japan, Japanese-style gardens are often equated with a few typical (or stereotypical) elements, such as stone lanterns, tea houses, red lacquer bridges, and Buddha statues. For the most part, these elements were not used at Manzanar. But those features are not, in themselves, the defining criteria of Japanese gardens. The stylistic concepts and design elements of Japanese gardens have been developed over hundreds of years of garden-building tradition, and reflect history, culture, world-view, religion, and aesthetics. Even today, Japanese gardens are complex, both aesthetically and functionally (Brown 2013:24; Figure 5.1).

What follows is a brief overview of the historical development of Japanese gardens in Japan and the United States and how Manzanar's gardens fit within that history. Many scholars have traced the evolution of gardens in Japan through the country's historical periods, showing how culture and religion have influenced the characteristics of Japanese gardens in each era (e.g., Goto 2003; Hayakawa 1973; Keane 1996; Kuitert 1988; 2002). Little remains of the earliest gardens in Japan, but clues to their design and construction have been gleaned from archeological studies and historical texts and paintings. Over 280 gardens have been archeologically excavated in Japan since 1930 (Ono and Maler 2013:25).

Japanese Gardens in Japan

Aspects of Japanese gardens can be traced back to Shinto, the indigenous religion of Japan. One of the earliest garden forms in Japan was a sacred place in the midst of nature. In fact, the Japanese word for garden, *niwa*, means literally "the place where *kami* congregate" to indicate a place purified for the worship of gods (Hayakawa 1973:27). In Shinto *kami* are everywhere and in everything. Although the word *kami* is usually translated as gods or spirits, *kami* can be elements of the landscape or forces of nature; the term can refer to the essence of existence which is found in everything, and to particular things which display the essence of existence in an awe-inspiring way (Figures 5.2 and 5.3).

The appreciation of nature is one of the fundamental principles of Shinto, and Shinto shrines include not

Figure 5.2. Plaited rope (*shimenawa*) and strips of white paper (*shime*) to indicate the presence of *kami*, Shimogamo Shrine, Kyoto.

Figure 5.3. Atomic bomb-damaged camphor tree, Sanno Shrine, Nagasaki.

←Figure 5.1. An elaborate Japanese hill garden (Harada 1928).

Figure 5.4. *Torii* gate at entrance to Izumo-Taisha Grand Shrine.

Figure 5.5. *Torii* gate at Hachimangu Shrine, Kamakura.

Figure 5.6. *Torii* gates at Tofuku-ji, Kyoto.

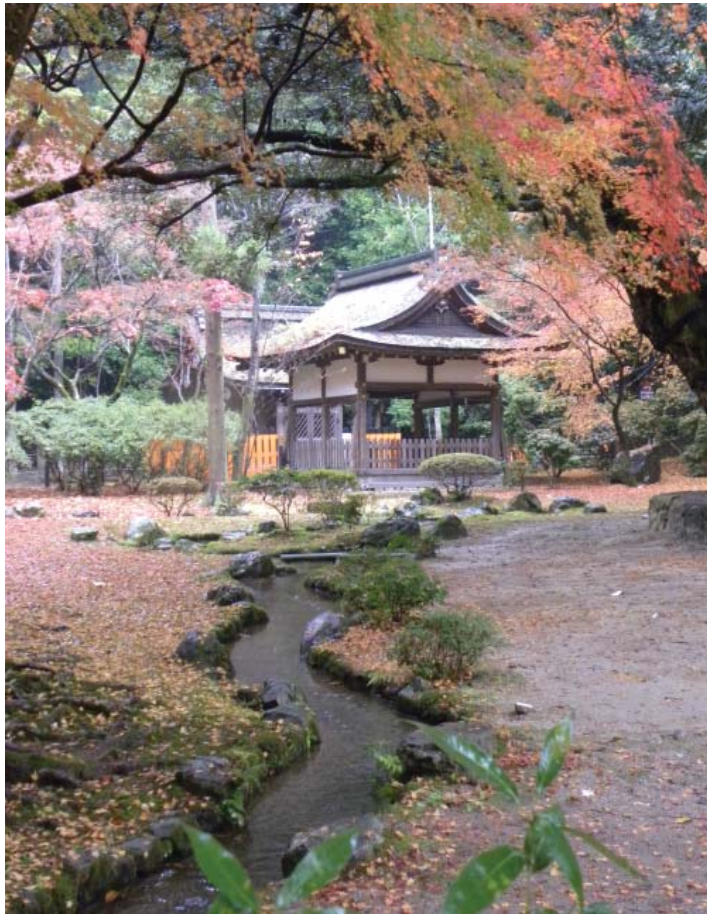


Figure 5.7. Manipulated stream at Kamigamo Shrine, Kyoto.

only a structure or building, but also the surrounding area. In fact, most shrine buildings are not made to be entered and some Shinto shrines do not even have a structure, but rather consist of an enshrined rock or tree. Nature is equated with beauty and purity, and the ritual of purification is very important: humans must wash their hands and rinse their mouths before entering a Shinto shrine. One or more *torii* gates, the boundary between common and sacred space, can mark the entry of a Shinto sanctuary (Figures 5.4-5.6). Shrines do not have to have a *torii*, but traditionally, *torii* gates occur only at shrines. Shinto shrines use, and at most manipulate, existing landscape elements, and do not include built gardens (Figure 5.7). However, Goto (personal communication 2015) notes that "the Shinto reverence for great rocks, lakes, ancient trees, and other 'dignitaries of nature' would exert an enduring influence on Japanese garden design."

Asuka and Nara Periods (AD 593-794)

Beginning in the sixth century, Japanese merchants traveled to China frequently, and brought back to Japan many facets of Chinese culture. Buddhism and Daoism heavily influenced Japanese garden design, and since both Buddhism and Daoism were imports from Korea and China, gardens in Japan at this time were likely influenced by gardens in Korea and China (Keane 1996:11). However, Goto (2003) points out that Japanese gardens of this era have as much in common with Shinto shrines as with Buddhism.

During this period, gardens were built at imperial palaces for the recreation and entertainment of the emperor and aristocrats. These gardens had symbolic gates, featured ponds and streams, contained many Buddhist and Daoist elements, and attempted to reproduce famous landscapes. "With the coming of Buddhism, early Japanese gardens may also have incorporated references to the mythical mountains, islands, and seas of Hindu and Buddhist traditions, or to the Daoist Isles of the Immortals" (Goto, personal communication 2015). Garden ponds were at first rectilinear with straight banks of piled stones, reflecting Chinese and Korean forms. But one excavated example included a meandering watercourse, recreating a more natural setting (Kuitert 1991; Figure 5.8).

An excavated garden at Nara Imperial Palace in the Chinese style featured a paved open space with a square pond surrounded by palace buildings. In the center of the pond was a stone object representing Sumeru Mountain, the central world mountain in Buddhism. Sumeru Mountain, surrounded by seas, connects the earth and the great universe. Korean gardens expressed this image with a symbolic stone, but in Shinto-influenced Japan, the sculptural piece was transformed into a more naturalistic miniaturized mountain. The Sumeru Mountain symbol became a popular element in Japanese gardens. This style of garden became so typical that the word *shima*, meaning island, was also used to mean "garden" for the next hundred years (Bibb 1991).

Travel also helped the Japanese merchants appreciate the rugged coastline of their own country, inspiring early garden-makers to edge the lakes in the gardens of the aristocracy with rocks, pebbles, and sand. These gardens "literally illustrate the Sino- Japanese word for landscape – *sansui* – or, 'mountain-water' " (Nitschke 1993; Figure 5.9).

Figure 5.8. Restored stream garden, Kyusaku-teien, Nara.

Figure 5.9. Restored pond garden, To-in, Nara.

Heian Period (AD 794-1185)

The relatively peaceful Heian Period was a high point in Japanese aristocratic culture; the capital was moved to Kyoto (Heian) where the aristocrats devoted much of their time to the arts. At palaces and villas, aristocrats built large gardens used for elaborate parties and for recreational activities such as boating, fishing, and general enjoyment. Designed with Chinese influence, the gardens featured large ponds and islands connected by arched bridges under which boats could pass. A gravel-covered plaza in front of the building was used for entertainment, while one or more pavilions extended out over the water (Figures 5.10-5.12).

Figure 5.10. Pure Land Buddhist temple, Byodo-in, Uji.

Figure 5.11. Entrance gate at Byodo-in, Uji.

In the late Heian Period, Pure Land Buddhism gained popularity, promising its devotees a spot in the Western Paradise of the Amida Buddha, or Pure Land, if they were able to visualize this paradise at their death (Goto, personal communication 2015). Consequently, gardens were built to resemble that Buddhist paradise. These gardens featured a large pond with lotus flowers and islands, as well as splendid pavilion buildings. Gardens were designed to be seen as a picture one could walk or boat through; music was often played to enhance the representation of paradise.

The layout of the Heian gardens generally followed the Chinese-inspired principles of geomancy (*feng shui*), including the idea that the pond should be created by a stream entering the garden area from the northeast (the realm of the Blue Dragon, the Chinese and Japanese Guardian of the East) and exiting at the southwest (the realm of the White Tiger, Guardian of the West). But as Kuitert (1988) has pointed out, this geomantic prescription actually corresponds to the natural flow of water in the plain on which Kyoto is situated, and so may have been as much practical as symbolic. The pond itself often had one or more islands and peninsulas accessible by bridges built high enough to allow boats to pass under. Fom the inside, the garden could be seen as a panorama; *Shitomido* lifting doors could open up the living space to the garden.

Palace-style buildings and grounds in Nara and Kyoto typically occupied one square block measuring 120 m by 120 m. Residential buildings occupied the northern half of the space. South of, and adjacent to, the buildings was the *niwa* garden of white sand, for formal ceremonies. The space left for the landscaped garden beyond was wide and shallow when viewed from the residence, so these gardens emphasized diagonal and jagged lines to exaggerate their depth. The landscape gardens were used for leisurely occasions such as poem parties, banquets, and boating. Flowering trees, shrubs, and smaller plants were preferred for their seasonal beauty. Ponds in the landscaped gardens were symbolic, representing the ocean separating this world and Buddhist Pure Land; lotus planted in the ponds was a symbol of Buddha, blooming from muddy water. These design elements became the basis for many Pure Land style gardens.

The *Sakuteiki* (literally, "Records of Garden-Making"), the oldest garden manual in the world, dates to the Heian period. It emphasized the careful placement of stones to emulate nature and create visual depth, including: (1) asymmetrical placement, to be more fluid and natural; (2) staggered layout, so that views from the building were diversified; and (3)

diagonal placement, to add false perspective. The *Sakuteiki* instructions are often very precise. For example, the *Sakuteiki* gives specific measurements for the white sand or gravel area between the building and the edge of the pond and also stipulates that at least one island should be large enough to accommodate a group of musicians. But on other topics, the text is vague and even contradictory. For example, the garden should conform to the topographic characteristics of the site, including the natural flow of water, but gardens should also conform to adapted principles of *feng shui*, paying close attention to directional symbolism and the propitious choice and placing of elements. The *Sakuteiki* has played a major role in later interpretations of Japanese gardens, but some researchers caution that the manual should be studied in its historic context, rather than as the key to the meaning and symbolism of all Japanese gardens (Kuitert 1988:59; Takei and Keane 2001).

Figure 5.12. Pure Land garden at Mōtsū-ji Temple, Hiraizumi.

Kamakura Period (AD 1185-1333)

The gardens of this period are similar to those of the preceding Heian period, although they are characterized by a greater number and variety of rocks and more prodigious rock work in general. There was also a shift from boating to walking as the means of appreciating the garden. As the influence of Zen Buddhism increased, there was a gradual trend in employing rock formations, and gardens as a whole, as allegories, metaphors, and symbols. Gardens also began to be built within the comparatively narrow confines of samurai residences and urban Zen temples. A new form of minimalist garden, the *karesansui*, or dry landscape, began in this period, but it saw its greatest development during the following Muromachi period.

Muromachi Period (AD 1333-1573)

The Muromachi period, a time of social and political upheaval, is often considered the golden age of Japanese gardens. Some of the most enduring forms of Japanese culture, such as *Noh* theater, landscape painting, *shoin* architecture, and *karesansui* (dry landscapes) were developed during this era. There was a resurgence of Chinese influence in garden design, and many gardens of this period are transpositions of Chinese landscapes created to be viewed statically as if a painting.

Figure 5.13. Pond garden at Kinkaku-ji, Kyoto.

Power had shifted from the aristocratic court to the military elite, who embraced Zen Buddhism, which exerted a strong influence on garden design. Large pond gardens continued to be made, but the amuse-

Figure 5.14. Dry waterfall (Dragon Gate) at Tenryuji, Kyoto.

Figure 5.15. Waterfall with symbolic carp stone, Ryoan-ji, Kyoto.

Figure 5.16. Pond garden with "borrowed scenery" at Shugakuin Imperial Villa, Kyoto.

ment function of older gardens was abandoned in favor of gardens designed solely for stationary appreciation and meditation (Figure 5.13). Gardens were often built attached to temple buildings to help monks in meditation and religious advancement rather than for recreational purposes. Gardens also became smaller, simpler, and more minimalist, while retaining many of the same elements as before, such as ponds, islands, and bridges. Waterfalls and *shakkei*, the use of "borrowed scenery," became popular (Figures 5.14-5.16).

The most extreme development towards minimalism was the *karesansui* dry landscape garden, unique to Japan. The main elements of *karesansui* are usually rocks and gravel, with the sea symbolized not by water but by gravel raked in patterns that suggest rippling water (Figures 5.17-5.19). Plants are much less important (and sometimes nonexistent) in many *karesansui* gardens. Associated with Zen Buddhism, *karesansui* gardens are often, but not always, meant to be viewed from a single, seated perspective, and are often found in the front or rear gardens at the residences (*houjou*) of Zen monks. The texture, size, color, shape, orientation, and combination of rocks were stressed, reflecting the new aesthetic concept of *yugen*: profound grace and subtlety as the core of beauty and art.

The Muromachi Period had its own garden manual, *Senzui narabi ni yagyo no zu* (Illustrations for Designing Mountain, Water, and Hillside Field Landscapes), which dealt with the small medieval garden that was viewed from a building. *Senzui* follows some of the same principles laid down in the *Sakuteiki*, but it goes beyond that early text in its analysis of individual elements and in the composition of garden views. It includes the concept of main stones as markers to which minor stones are matched (Kuitert 1988:138-139) and stresses the symbolic and geomantic significance of rocks and their placement, giving colorful and evocative names to the various shapes of garden stones. Many later writers on Japanese gardens interpret the "meaning" of various garden elements, particularly rocks, on the basis of this text (for an English translation of *Senzui*, see Slawson 1987).

Azuchi-Momoyama Period (AD 1573-1603)

This period was a major transitional time for Japanese gardens, as the dominance of expansive mansions of gorgeous splendor yielded to a new design aesthetic, *wabi-sabi*. The formal tea ceremony and the garden were brought together under the *wabi-sabi* influence. Characteristics of *wabi-sabi* include asymmetry, asperity (roughness or irregularity), simplicity, economy, austerity, modesty, intimacy, and appreciation of the ingenuous integrity of natural objects and processes (Figure 5.20). Tea gardens (*chaniwa*) had already ap-

Figure 5.17. Dry landscape garden at Ryoan-ji, Kyoto.

Figure 5.18. Dry landscape garden at Korin-in, Kyoto.

Figure 5.19. Dry landscape garden with crane and turtle "islands" at Funda-in, Kyoto.

peared in previous periods for holding the tea ceremony, but they reached the height of their development during the Azuchi-Momoyama period when the contemporary tea masters, most notably Sen Rikyu (1517 1591), refined and perfected their design. Part of Japanese Minimalism, tea gardens became popular with the warrior and merchant classes.

The tea house represents a mountain retreat in the city, with all elements of the tea ceremony designed to express nature (Figure 5.21). The garden attached to the tea-ceremony house is not a full-fledged garden, but rather a narrow path leading up to the tea room. The main elements of the tea garden are a simple entry gate, a waiting bench, a toilet, a stone lantern, a water basin, and stepping stones (Figures 5.22-5.24). The placement of the stepping stones that lead to the main tea room is a hallmark of this garden type. Stone lanterns provide lighting and a decorative element, while the water basin (*tsukubai*) is used for ritual cleansing. The aim is to create a feeling of solitude and detachment from the world, one that matches the aesthetic simplicity of the tea ceremony.

Tea gardens reflect the influence of Zen Buddhism, where minimalism and silent meditation are important ways to achieve enlightenment. Ideally, tea gardens manifest *wabi* and *sabi*, beauty found in transience and imperfection, or beauty that comes with age, authenticity, and simplicity. On a symbolic level,

Figure 5.20. ***Wabi-sabi,*** **Yoshida Residence, Kyoto.**

Figure 5.21. Jo-an tea house, Urakuen, Inuyama.

Figure 5.22. Tea garden gate, Sento Goshen, Kyoto.

Figure 5.23. Stepping stones, Koto-in, Kyoto.

Figure 5.24. Water basin, Funda-in, Kyoto.

tea gardens marked a change from the sea imagery of ponds in earlier gardens to representations of mountains and a mountain path. Tea gardens eventually became secular, and many tea gardens can be found in Japan today, although many of them are incorporated into larger garden designs.

Edo Period (AD 1603-1867)

During the Edo period Japan was characterized by isolationism, economic growth, strict social order, environmental protection policies, and popular enjoyment of arts and culture. Garden design departed

from the minimalism of the Momoyama Period as the ruling class rediscovered its fondness for extravagance and recreation. Construction and maintenance of these gardens was increasingly left to a growing class of professional gardeners.

In Tokyo (Edo), lavish stroll gardens were constructed, derived at least in concept from traditional Heian gardens. *Shakkei*, the borrowing of background vistas, was a popular method of achieving the perception of grandeur. Strolling gardens also employed *meisho*, or famous sights, taken either from real places throughout the country or from literature and art (Figure 5.25). Scenes of China and Mount Fuji in miniature were common *meisho*. Gardens were also used as an educational device to promote harmony between nature and the community, and to reinforce Confucian ideals of social order.

This period saw the synthesis of pond gardens, dry landscapes, and tea gardens. Large strolling gardens were created, with ponds, islands and artificial hills that could be enjoyed from a variety of viewpoints along a circular trail. The *daimyo*, regional feudal lords, constructed strolling gardens, both in their home towns and at their secondary villas, which they were required to maintain in Edo. Gardens often were constructed to exhibit a *daimyo's* power, and big colorful rocks became a status symbol (Figures 5.26-5.28). Because gardens were created for ostentatious show, Goto labels this the period of the baroque garden in Japan (personal communication 2015).

Most of the gardens of the Edo Period were either strolling gardens or *karesansui* gardens, and they were usually much larger than earlier gardens. Some gardens incorporated artificially created hills. *Tsukiyama* gardens typically feature an artificial hill combined with a pond and a stream and various plants, shrubs, and trees. Such gardens can be viewed from various vantage points as you stroll along the garden paths,

Figure 5.25. *Meisho* of Amanohashidate sandbar at Koishikawa Koraku-en, Tokyo.

Figure 5.26. *Daimyo* pond garden, Kiyosumi Teien, Tokyo.

Figure 5.27. *Daimyo* pond garden, Rikugi-en, Tokyo.

Figure 5.28. Large boulder cut, moved as pieces, and reassembled at Koraku-en Garden, Okayama.

Figure 5.29. Hermitage garden at Shisen-do, Kyoto.

Figure 5.30. French formal garden, Shinjuku Gyoen, Tokyo.

Figure 5.31. Grass lawn, Hibiya Park, Tokyo.

Figure 5.32. Japanese garden, Hibiya Park, Tokyo.

Figure 5.33. Sculpture in Japanese garden pond, Hibiya Park, Tokyo.

or appreciated from a particular temple building or house on the grounds. One common type of *tsuki-yama* garden is the tortoise and crane garden, which often shows these fortuitous creatures on two separate islands, together with an isle of eternal youth. In Chinese and Japanese traditions, the turtle and crane are symbols of long life and happiness.

In contrast to the growing ostentation of *daimyo* gardens, Japanese Minimalism also developed further during the Edo period, in which beauty was found in simplicity. The *sukiya zukuri* architectural style, based on the tea house, featured simple ornamentation and natural finishes. Associated gardens represented rustic simplicity and picturesque nature. One other type of garden that saw increasing popularity among retired *daimyo* and samurai was the hermitage retreat, which combined elements of the large stroll gardens, dry landscape gardens, and tea gardens within a domestic scale (Figure 5.29). A peculiarity of these gardens, apart from their isolated locations, is their approaches: they are screened using lengthy, sophisticated pathways with several corners or bends so that the visitor may arrive in a sufficiently meditative mood.

Meiji Period (1868-1912)

In this period Japan entered an age of rapid modernization and Westernization, transforming itself from an isolated feudal society to a modern state. Western-style city parks were built, and many of the formerly private strolling gardens were opened to the public. Some former *daimyo* gardens had Western-style landscapes added (Figure 5.30). The first urban park in Tokyo, Hibiya Park, was built in 1904. It included lawns, a flower garden, fountains, an amphitheater, a library, a Gothic style hall, tennis courts, and a garden that combined traditional Japanese and Western elements (Figures 5.31-5.33). By law in 1871 many gardens attached to estates and some renowned Buddhist temples became public property and were opened for the first time to the public. However, the level of interest in, and knowledge of, existing notable gardens was negligible, and consequently many great gardens fell into disrepair or ruin.

Politicians and industrialists were the force behind the construction of new private strolling gardens which often contained Western elements such as flower beds and open lawns. Although some gardens in Japan kept their Western and Japanese elements separated, others merged Western ideas and plants, such as grass lawns, with traditional styles. *Murin-an*, a private villa garden in Kyoto, is a typical strolling garden of the Meiji period (Figures 5.34 and 5.35). Built between 1894 and 1896, it included a Western-style villa, borrowed landscape, and a small stream. Large parts of the garden are lawn, a first for a Japanese garden, an influence from English landscape gardens. Not only did Japanese gardens in Japan incorporate Western elements, it was during the Meiji period that Japanese gardens were introduced in the United States.

Figure 5.34. Meiji Period stroll garden, Murin-an, Kyoto.

Figure 5.35. Use of found object (mill stone) at Murin-an, Kyoto.

Figure 5.36. Western-style villa and rose garden designed by Josiah Conder, Kyu Furukawa Gardens, Tokyo.

Figure 5.37. Japanese garden at Kyu Furukawa Gardens, Tokyo.

Figure 5.38. Rocks representing the immortal islands (Horai-san) at Hojo Hasso, Kyoto.

Taisho and Early Showa Periods (1912-1941)

Prior to World War II, Western-style gardens and even architecture were the centerpiece of some Japanese estates, with the Japanese garden secondary (Figures 5.36 and 5.37). Japanese gardens continued to be heavily influenced by Western ideas, although they were generally based on traditional archetypes. What sets them apart from previous gardens is the introduction of carved and sculpted rocks, the use of artificial materials, and the ascendancy of a professional class of garden designers. However, most gardens still tended to be faithful reproductions of nature. The development of dry landscape gardens included such innovations as a wide variety of patterns raked into their sands, new principles governing the positioning of rocks, the use of dressed stone, and novel topiary designs Figures 5.38-5.40).

Figure 5.39. Square-cut stone and moss, Hojo Hasso, Kyoto.

Figure 5.40. Dry landscape garden at Komyo-in, Kyoto.

Japanese Gardens in the United States

It was during the Meiji Period that Japanese gardens were introduced to the Western World by four main avenues: World's Fair expositions; private estate Japanese gardens; commercial tea house gardens; and public Japanese gardens at schools and in parks. Kendall Brown (1999, 2013a,b) provides a succinct history of Japanese gardens in the United States, noting that they first became popular at the end of the nineteenth century. From the American viewpoint, Japanese gardens were seen as exotic and beautiful antidotes to industrial blight; from the Japanese perspective, gardens had political and commercial value.

World's Fair Gardens

The first Japanese gardens built outside Japan were sponsored by the Japanese government for World's Fairs and expositions. These gardens were designed and constructed by Japanese using Japanese materials to introduce Japanese culture to the world, and to promote Japan's status (Brown 2008). The first Japanese garden created for a World's Fair, at the 1873 World Exposition in Vienna, put all things Japanese in vogue (Figures 5.41 and 5.42). The Japanese exhibit included a Shinto shrine and a traditional music and dance hall. The Japanese garden featured a white wooden gate, stone lanterns, an arched bridge, a small pond and waterfall, and rocks. A British trading company purchased everything at the end of the exposition.

In 1876 a Japanese garden was built in Philadelphia for the Centennial Exposition (Figure 5.43). A Japanese house and a Japanese bazaar with a small garden were situated at opposite ends of the exposition grounds. The garden was far from being a typical Japanese garden; it featured bamboo fences, a fountain, a stone lantern, bronze storks and pigs, and demonstration flower beds (Lancaster 1983:190). Though most of

Figure 5.41. Japanese model display at 1873 Vienna World Exposition (Tokyo National Museum).

Figure 5.42. Japanese garden at 1873 Vienna World Exposition (Tokyo National Museum).

Figure 5.43. Japanese garden at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia (Centennial Photographic Company).

Figure 5.44. Ho-o-den on Wooded Island at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (detail from postcard).

Figure 5.45. Japanese exhibit at 1894 California Midwinter Exposition in San Francisco (postcard).

the fair buildings were torn down at the close of the Exposition, some of the landscaping remained. A lotus pond garden was added when a Japanese *torii* gate, originally brought to the United States for the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, was installed. The much-changed garden is now part of the Shofuso Japanese House and Garden, open to the public and rated the third-best Japanese garden in the United States by the *Journal of Japanese Gardening*.

For the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, a Japanese temple (Ho-o-den), a tea house, and gardens were created on a naturalistic "Wooded Island" (Figure 5.44). Ho-o-den was modeled after the Phoenix Hall at Byodo-in, and a garden surrounded the temple. At the time, the garden was panned as a "succession of low, smooth grass-covered mounds with a few narrow walks winding about, and a hapless dearth of anything Japanese in planting" (Maloney 2012). Another garden with stone lanterns and bronze cranes flanked the tea house (Brown 1999:16). While the gardens may not have met with universal acclaim, architects Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright visited the exposition, and the architecture and the integration of the buildings and gardens heavily influenced the development of Prairie style architecture (Lancaster 1983).

Unlike most of the World's Fair Japanese gardens, the garden built for the 1894 California Midwinter Exposition in San Francisco was not sponsored by the Japanese government, but by American businessman George Turner Marsh and Japanese immigrant Makoto Hagiwara. A wealthy landscape designer, Hagiwara designed the garden and he and his family became its caretakers after the exposition closed until 1942, when Hagiwara's descendants were sent to Topaz Relocation Center. The garden featured a two-story entry gate, a series of pools and waterfalls, a high-arched "moon" bridge, and a "Japanese village," all decorated with Japanese plants and garden ornaments. A large *torii* gate led to a Japanese bazaar. Japanese women and a few men staffed the village (Figures 5.45 and 5.46; Brown 2013b:43). The garden is now the Japanese Tea Garden at Golden Gate Park.

The first strolling garden and, at two acres, the largest Japanese garden built outside Japan at the time, was constructed for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904. The Japanese compound included six traditional structures and a garden built by native craftsmen in the style of a *daimyo's* garden (Hoshi 1904:114-115). The garden included a pond with an island, an arched bridge, iron and stone lanterns, bronze cranes, a variety of blooming plants, and a small tea house (Figure 5.47 and 5.48; Brown 1999:16). The garden was chosen as the best garden of the exposition.

A three-acre Japanese garden was created for the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. Boulders, gravel, trees, and other plants were brought from Japan. The government of Japan provided staff for a Golden Pavilion (a copy of a Japanese temple) and two tea houses (Figures 5.49 and 5.50). That same year, representatives from the Japanese Tea Association and from the Japanese and Formosan governments erected a pavilion and tea garden for the rival Panama California Exposition in San Diego (Figure 5.51). The San Diego exhibit featured a tea pavilion modeled on an ornate temple in Kyoto by Japanese architect K. Tami. The tea garden included winding paths, a stream with carp, a moon bridge, lanterns, bird sculptures, and plantings of Japanese cedar, wisteria, bamboo, a bonsai tree, and a ginkgo tree (Amero 1990).

For the 1933 Century of Progress Chicago World's Fair, the government of Japan constructed a pavilion with a traditional tea house and garden on Chicago's lakefront. The garden featured streams and arched bridges (Figures 5.52 and 5.53). After the fair

Figure 5.46. Japanese tea garden at 1894 California Midwinter Exposition in San Francisco (postcard).

Figure 5.47. Japanese pavilion at 1904 St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Exposition (postcard).

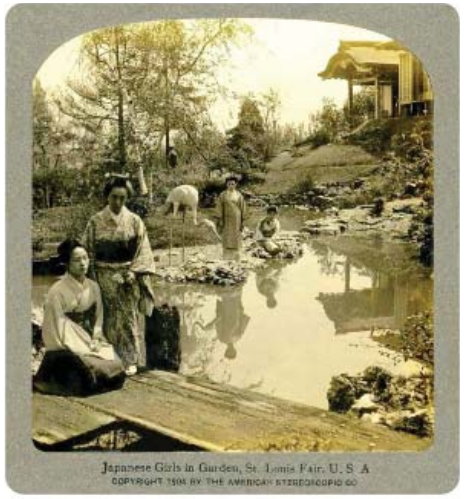


Figure 5.48. Japanese garden at 1904 St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Exposition (American Stereoscopic Company).

closed, the tea house, stone lanterns, and a *torii* gate were donated to the city of Chicago by the Japanese government and moved to the Japanese garden on Wooded Island (Maloney 2012:169-170). The garden was refurbished in 1934 -1935 by Issei Taro Otsuka, a garden builder based in the Midwest. This garden has evolved into the present Osaka Garden.

For the 1939 New York World's Fair, a pavilion modeled after an ancient Shinto shrine was constructed. It was surrounded by a garden adorned with pools, waterfalls, and Japanese trees and shrubs (Figure 5.54). The garden was constructed by Shogo Myaida, who had been building gardens in the New York area since 1922 (Brown 1999:18). Talks on Japanese culture were given by young Japanese women in traditional Japanese costumes.

The Japanese government contributed a garden to the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition held on Treasure Island in San Francisco Bay to celebrate the openings of the San Francisco- Oakland Bay Bridge and the Golden Gate Bridge. The garden included a large pond with stones, lanterns, and an arched bridge (Figures 5.55 and 5.56). A rock garden could be viewed while drinking tea in the tea room (Brown 1999:17). The stone and lanterns for the garden had been brought from Japan. These gardens were likely seen by some of the Japanese Americans who were later sent to Manzanar; internee and noted author Hank Umemoto recalled visiting the Exposition when he was 11 or 12 years old (personal communication 2013), and a token from the 1939 Exposition was found during archeological work at a Manzanar garden in 2013. When the Exposition closed in 1939, the Japanese exhibit was donated to the University of California Botanical Garden at Berkeley on behalf of the Japanese Government. Kaneji Domoto, a prominent landscape architect in the Bay Area, assisted in the garden's design and supervised Japanese workmen as they moved the garden to the UC Berkeley campus in November 1941. Immediately after Pearl Harbor, the stones and lantern were moved to a warehouse for safekeeping and the garden was not completed until after the war ended.

Most of the Japanese gardens created for display at world's fairs and expositions were sponsored by the

Figure 5.49. Japanese pavilion at 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco (postcard).

Figure 5.50. Japanese pavilion at 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco (postcard).

Figure 5.51. Japanese tea house at 1915 Panama-California Exposition, San Diego (postcard).

Figure 5.52. Japanese garden at 1933 Century of Progress World's Fair in Chicago (postcard).

Figure 5.53. Japanese pavilion and garden at 1933 Century of Progress World's Fair in Chicago (postcard).

Figure 5.54. Japanese garden at 1939 New York World's Fair (World's Fair booklet).

Japanese government, built by well-known Japanese designers, and most used the best plants and building materials from Japan. However, these exhibits were not truly representative of gardens and architecture in Japan. Many different styles were often squeezed into one small exhibition space, giving a false impression of how Japanese gardens were created and used. In some cases, Japanese architectural styles were conflated to meet the needs and expectations of fair-going crowds, such as when an ornate temple in Kyoto was used as the model for the tea pavilion at the 1915-1916 Exposition in San Diego. This elaborate structure bore little resemblance to the traditional small rustic Japanese tea houses. The Japanese Tea Garden at Golden Gate Park features Shinto and Buddhist gates built untraditionally next to each other. Partly because of its presentation at this garden, Shinto *torii* gates became associated with Japan as a whole and not just with a Japanese religion.

Meanwhile, scholars and enthusiasts attempted to explain the principles of Japanese garden design to English-speaking audiences. In 1893 Josiah Conder published the first English book on the principles of Japanese gardens, *Landscape Gardening in Japan*. A British architect working as an advisor to the Meiji government, Conder taught at Imperial College in Tokyo. His book translated and adapted authentic Japanese texts about gardens; he concluded that the principles were universal and could be applied anywhere. Other books in English about Japanese gardens include *Japanese Gardens*, by Mrs. Basil Taylor (Harriett Osgood) which came out in 1912; Loraine Kuck's *One Hundred Kyoto Gardens* (1937); and Samuel Newsom's 1939 *Japanese Garden Construction*, printed in Tokyo. Kuck's book included the first English-language interpretation of the *Ryōan-ji* garden, but only after World War II were *karesansui* gardens widely recognized outside of Japan (Kuitert 1988:153).

Figure 5.55. Detail of Japanese garden at 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition (postcard).

Public and Private Gardens

Popularized by the World's Fairs and Expositions, Japanese gardens became fashionable in North America. The great accumulation of personal wealth in the late nineteenth century allowed the elite to build extensive public and private gardens. Private estates included collections of garden types, Japanese being just one, especially prized for being "exotic." Faced with discrimination and exclusion from most occupations, Japanese immigrants were able to take advantage of the craze, and the stereotypes that went with it:

> The association of Japan with gardens led some wealthy North Americans to assume that their Japanese servants could create a garden – an assumption that led to a few strange gardens but, more often, to a network of Issei who could provide requisite knowledge and labor. By the 1900s, these human networks were paralleled by commercial networks of importers that sold Japanese garden supplies from shops and via mail order.
>
> Brown 2013b:13

Japanese Americans also built Japanese gardens in their own communities to retain and honor traditions

Figure 5.56. Japanese pavilion at 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition (postcard).

Figure 5.57. Marsh's Coronado Japanese garden (postcard).

of their homeland, and created Japanese gardens in public places as a symbol of goodwill, to combat antagonism against Japanese immigrants and their children.

Some notable examples of public and private Japanese gardens in the United States are discussed below, with an emphasis on Southern California, where Japanese gardens were very popular (see Lancaster [1983:192-215] for a discussion focusing on East Coast gardens).

George Turner Marsh Tea Gardens, San Diego (1901, 1905) and Pasadena (1903) – About 1872, George Turner Marsh was a 15-year-old boy moving from Australia to the United States with his family when they stopped in Japan. He liked Japan so much he convinced his parents to let him stay there, and his father found him a position at a tea import-export business and auction house. In 1876 Marsh rejoined his family in San Francisco, where he started an import business. As discussed above, Marsh and Makoto Hagiwara created a Japanese garden at the 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition in San Francisco. The development of this garden and others around the state earned Marsh the title "King of the Commercial Tea Garden" (Clifford 2002).

In 1901 Marsh had built a tea garden in San Diego for John D. Spreckels, in part as a recreational and relaxation outlet for guests of the Hotel Del Coronado. The popular garden included Japanese-style buildings, winding rock-lined paths, and stone lanterns (Figure 5.57). The garden was destroyed by a storm in 1905, but Marsh and Spreckels rebuilt it in a safer location, behind the Spreckels Mansion (Linder 2013). This second garden was more ostentatious with ponds, arched wood bridges, stone bridges, and even a Japanese well (Figure 5.58).

Figure 5.58. Tea house at Marsh's Coronado Japanese garden (postcard).

In 1903 Marsh built a tea garden in Pasadena around a Japanese house he had built to sell Asian art. Surrounded by a 6-foot-high fence, the garden included a large pond, a low arched bridge, a "crooked" bridge, a miniature mountain and low hills, stones and lanterns, a wisteria arbor, a viewing arbor, an open pavilion, a red shrine, a gong, and a collection of idols from Tokyo temples (Figure 5.59). A newspaper adver-

Figure 5.59. Marsh's Pasadena Japanese tea garden (Brown 2013b:45).

Figure 5.60. Japanese tea house and pond at Sonnenberg estate (courtesy of Seiko Goto).

tisement indicates it was built by A.Y. Okita, who was a "Contractor and Builder of Japanese Tea Houses and Gardens" (Brown 2013b:44-46). The garden was not a commercial success, however, and in 1911 Marsh sold the entire garden, including the Japanese house and plants, to Henry E. Huntington for relocation to Huntington's San Marino estate.

Sonnenberg Gardens, Canandaigua, New York (1906, 1915) – Goto et al. (2014) credits a Japanese garden designed by Kikujiro Wadamori in 1906 for the Sonnenberg estate as possibly the first private Japanese garden in the United States. One of several different types of gardens at the estate, Wadamori's two-acre garden featured Japanese elements such as a pond, natural stone, and stone lanterns, but the garden's "tea house" had Japanese and Chinese elements, and Chinese and European influences are

Figure 5.61. Waterfall at Sonnenberg estate Japanese garden (courtesy of Seiko Goto).

Figure 5.62. Buddha statue at Sonnenberg Japanese garden (Sonnenberg Gardens and Mansion Historic Park).

detectable in bridges and other features (Figures 5.60 and 5.61). As far as is known, Wadamori had no garden experience, nor built any other gardens. He was the author of the memory method book *Mnemonics*, gave lectures on his memory-cultivation method, patented a method of wood preservation, and started

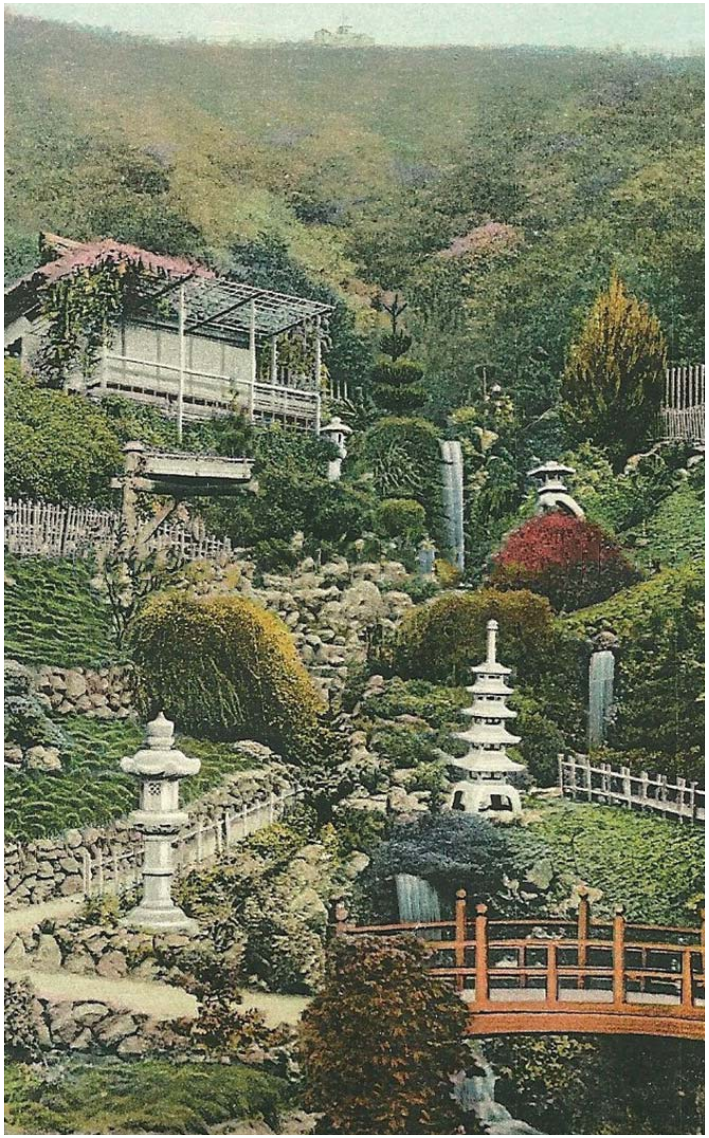


Figure 5.63. Japanese garden at Wattles Estate (postcard).

a construction company. In 1915 the garden was enlarged by John Handrahan, who added a small pond, a waterfall with a massive stone wall and narrow cascade, two English-style grottos, and an Italian temple. Instead of the traditional lotus, Handrahan used water lilies in the ponds, likely assuming the plants were common in Japanese gardens. This was a common assumption, possibly due to Monet's bridge and water lilies paintings, which were well known in the United States. Handrahan also added a bronze Buddha statue and a ceramic priest statue purchased in Paris, and installed a *torii* gate (Figure 5.62).

Wattles Estate, Hollywood, California (1911) – Added to the Gurdon Wattles winter home estate in 1911, the Japanese garden was one of the first of its kind in Southern California. Gurdon Wattles hired a Japanese landscape designer named Fugio and purchased materials and services from George Turner Marsh, the Yokohama Nursery Company, and many others. Wattles had seen gardens in Japan, and bought a tea house, shrines and lanterns from Japan for use in the garden, as well as all of the shrubs and other vegetation. His Japanese garden included a tea house, a waterfall, a bridge, a well, a series of ponds, bamboo fences, lush plantings, stone walls, statuary, a thatch-roofed pavilion, and a shrine (Figure 5.63). The garden could be reached via a series of paths leading from other gardens at the estate. With its waterfall, ponds, and bridges, Wattles' Japanese garden had the characteristics of an Edo-period *tsukiyama-sansui,* or hill and water garden, a popular type at the time and one featured in Conder's *Landscape Gardening in Japan*. Soon after completion, various views of the Japanese garden were reproduced on color postcards. The American and Japanese gardens of the Wattles estate were opened to the public perhaps as early as 1912, and the site became a popular Hollywood tourist destination. During World War II, Gurdon Wattles's son served in the U.S. Navy as a Japanese-language officer.

Huntington Estate, San Marino, California (1912) – The famous Huntington Japanese Garden, in San Marino, California, began as the commercial tea garden in Pasadena started by George T. Marsh in 1903. It was purchased and moved to Henry Huntington's private estate less than ten years later. Huntington acquired from Marsh a two-story Japanese

Figure 5.64. Japanese garden at Huntington estate (Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens).

Figure 5.65. Moon bridge at Huntington estate Japanese garden in the 1930s (Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens).

Figure 5.66. *Torii* gate at Huntington estate Japanese garden (Brown 2013b:55).

Figure 5.67. Waterfall and grotto at Huntington estate Japanese garden (Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens).

Figure 5.68. Japanese garden on hillside at Bernheimer estate (Yamashiro Hollywood).

Figure 5.69. Miniature Japanese village at Bernheimer estate (postcard).

house, fence, arbors, bell tower, stone lanterns, statues, stones, and plants. These were placed around two newly-constructed ponds and a stream. Other new elements were added including a "moon bridge," a *torii* gate, a concrete faux-rock bridge, and a concrete rockery and grotto with a 10-foot-high waterfall (Figures 5.64-5.66; Brown 2013b). Huntington hired the Goto family, who had worked for Marsh, to maintain the garden and live in a small house built behind the Japanese House.

Bernheimer Estate, Hollywood, California (1912) – In 1912, Asian goods importers Adolph and Eugene Bernheimer purchased land atop a small hill in Hollywood and constructed an exotic 22-room Japanese mansion and grounds, called "Yama Shiro," or large house on the hill. The brothers imported a 600-year-old pagoda to decorate the eight-acre grounds, along with decorative urns, lamps, figures, waterfalls, arches, and stones (Figures 5.68 and 5.69). The home became an immediate sensation for its dramatic appearance, with the November 15, 1914, edition of the *Los Angeles Times* stating that "…it looms upon the view like a vision from the skies of the celestial kingdom itself …" By the 1930s, it operated as the Hollywood Scenic Gardens and Oriental Palace, opened to the public, with a brochure touting "It is estimated that two million dollars have been spent to make it one of the finest showplaces in America" (Figure 5.70).

Brooklyn Botanic Garden, New York (1915) – The first Japanese garden in a public park in the United States, this garden was designed by Takeo Shiota (1881-1943) using local Italian workers. In the hill-and-water style, the garden featured a red *torii* gate in a pond with a shrine behind it; local stones and plants were used (Figure 5.71). The waterfall has been compared to a European garden grotto, and the bridge appears to have Chinese design elements.

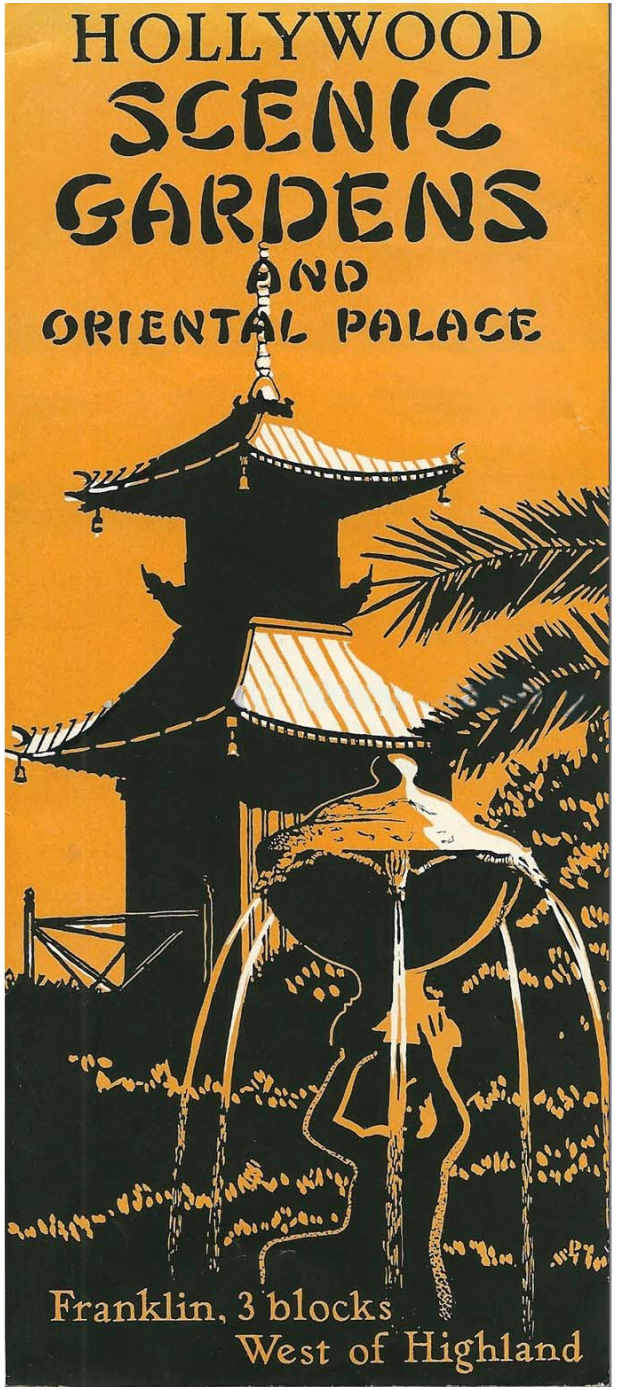


Figure 5.70. Hollywood Scenic Gardens brochure cover (ca. 1940).

Figure 5.71. Japanese garden at Brooklyn Botanic Garden in 1915 (Louis Buhle, Brooklyn Botanic Garden).

Italia Mia, Sierra Madre, California (1916) – Purportedly, this is the oldest Japanese garden in Southern California still in private ownership. Now located behind a single-family home, it was once part of the large estate of Thomasella Graham. Graham built an Italian-villa-style mansion with a conventional flower garden, a marble fountain imported from Florence, and a Japanese garden.

The Japanese garden has the characteristics of an Edo-period *tsukiyama-sansui* (hill and water) garden and may have been based in part on Josiah Conder's book, *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (Brown quoted in Schoenberger 1994). The garden includes four rock-lined ponds, concrete bridges (including a zig-zag bridge), a stream, waterfalls, and a viewing arbor. A lantern is on an island in the main pond, next to a large rock sticking out of the water in the shape of a turtle. The hillside behind the ponds has pine trees, sago palms, and irises (Figure 5.72).

An inscription in the concrete pond provides evidence of the pond's builder: "KATO" is written in block letters beneath the date "1916," and above the initials "THG" (most likely Thomasella H. Graham) and "EGO" (an unknown individual; Schoenberger 1994). A person named T. Kato is listed as a gardener living in Los Angeles in the 1920 U.S. census, and the 1938 Santa Monica City Directory lists "Tom T. Kato, gardener." No other Katos were found in the city directories. Seven Katos with landscaping or nursery experience were interned at Manzanar, Takashi (Tom?) Kato lived in Block 34 Barracks 13 Apartment 1 with his wife and two children.

Figure 5.72. Japanese garden at Italia Mia (postcard).

Figure 5.73. Early-twentieth-century view of Hakone (Hakone Estate and Gardens).

Figure 5.74. Japanese garden at East San Pedro School under construction (courtesy of Marie Masumoto).

Figure 5.75. Japanese garden at East San Pedro School under construction (courtesy of Marie Masumoto).

Figure 5.76. Red lacquer bridge at East San Pedro School Japanese garden (Shelton 2006).

J. Gamble Carson House, Sierra Madre, California (c. 1917) – On the grounds of a mansion built in 1914 or 1918 (City of Sierra Madre 2012) are the remnants of a Japanese garden reportedly built in 1917. The original owner of the mansion, J. Gamble Carson, disappeared in the early 1920s, shortly after being accused of murdering his wife. According to the owners in 1947, "a Mr. Kato" from Japan had meditated on the terrain for one month before laying out an exquisite three-tiered Japanese hill and water garden, with streams, waterfalls, bridges, and ponds. All that remains is the middle tier with an empty pond, a concrete lantern, and bridge. A metal railing has been added along a zigzagging hillside stroll path. Only a few original trees, including a conspicuous sago palm, remain. The rockwork, bridge, and concrete lanterns bear a strong resemblance to the Italia Mia garden (Schoenberger 1994).

Hakone Estate, Saratoga, California (1918) – Hakone was designed by Nobuharu Aihara and Tanso Ishihara for Isabel Longdon Stine beginning in 1918. With a variety of waterfalls, hillside and strolling gardens, ponds and other elements, the garden is considered a replica of a Japanese *daimyo* or shogun's estate garden, although Stine's immediate inspiration may have been the gardens at a hotel in Hakone, Japan (Brown 2013:41). Using Japanese materials and techniques, architect Tsunematsu Shintani and other artisans designed and constructed a "Moon Viewing" (Upper) House, a Lower House, and a koi pond (Figure 5.73). Stine hosted a performance by the San Francisco Opera of Madame Butterfly in the garden in 1923.

Kotani-En Japanese Garden, Los Gatos, California (1918-1924) – Though closed to the public, this privately owned Japanese garden is a California Registered Historical Landmark. A prominent example of Japanese landscape architecture in the United States, Kotani-En is a classical Japanese residence in the for-

mal style of a 13th-century estate with tile-roofed walls surrounding a tea house, shrine, gardens and ponds. Constructed for Max M. Cohen in 1918-1924 by master artisan Takashima and eleven craftsmen from Japan, "Kotani-En represents a harmonious union of art and nature in a two-acre rustic environment" (Landmark Plaque 1984).

East San Pedro Elementary School (1924) – One of the several Japanese gardens built at schools solely for the enjoyment and education of the students, this garden was created in 1924 by Issei fishermen who lived on Terminal Island (Hirahara 2015:208-209). "Each plant in the garden was chosen for a particular location… a pond, stocked with bright colored carp, is near the center of the garden with a curving, red-lacquered bridge spanning the pond. An ornamental red gate, *torii*, stands at the entryway. Concrete lanterns are arranged amongst the plants and on special occasions a large porcelain swan is placed in the garden" (Figures 5.74-5.76; Shelton 2007:10). Three hundred cherry trees were planted on the playground in 1931 (Shelton 2007:123).

Kubota Garden, Seattle (1927) – The Kubota Garden was started in 1927 by Fujitaro Kubota. Today, it is maintained as a public park by the Seattle Department of Parks and Recreation and the Kubota Garden Foundation. Kubota (1879-1973) had immigrated to Washington from Japan. He moved to Seattle where he managed hotels and apartment buildings in the International District. In the recession following World War I, Kubota lost his buildings, except for the apartment building on Alder Street where he and his family lived. Although not formally trained, Kubota became a professional gardener, founding the Kubota Gardening Company in 1923. In 1965 he described his efforts to learn the secrets of Japanese gardening:

> I returned to Japan three times to study gardening which wasn't easy. In Kyoto, I visited professional gardeners and asked many questions, but they wouldn't give me the most important part of their know-how. It was like the art of the tea ceremony and traditional dance in Japan which are taught in the rigid old family system.
>
> Wilma 2011, citing Parmeter 1966

Kubota's business grew, and he bought five acres of logged swamp land, using a friend's name to get around laws that then precluded Japanese immigrants from owning property in Washington. He and his family developed the garden there, using Japanese garden concepts and native Northwest plants (Figures 5.77 and 5.78). Kubota acquired adjacent lots to increase the garden's size to 20 acres. The family was confined at the Minidoka Relocation Center in Idaho during World War II but returned in 1945 to restore and continue developing the garden. Acquired by the City of Seattle as a public park in 1987, the Seattle Parks and Recreation website describe the gardens as "a spectacular setting of hills and valleys, interlaced with streams, waterfalls, ponds, bridges, and rock outcroppings with a rich array of plant material."

Stoner Park, West Los Angeles (1931) – This Japanese garden was created by local Japanese American residents in a neighborhood park (Figure 5.79). A plaque at the garden reads:

> This Garden presented by the Japanese People of Sawtelle to the public for the promotion of better understanding. 1931
>
> Kyoson Kwai
> S. Nobori, President
> R. Kanda, K. Ikanda, Vice Presidents
> K. Saito, T. Takaka, Treasurers
> S. Mizuguchi, Y. Fujisawa, Auditors
> M. Katsuki, T. Nakagawa, T. Nishikawa, Directors
> K. Yahata, Secretary Stoner Park

The original appearance of the garden is not known.

Figure 5.77. Oldest portion of Kubota Garden today.

Figure 5.78. Historic bridge at Kubota Garden today.

Figure 5.79. Japanese garden at Stoner Park today.

Figure 5.80. Japanese garden at Sierra Madre School (NHK 2011).

Figure 5.81. Japanese garden at Sierra Madre School today.

Figure 5.82. Japanese garden at Theodore Roosevelt High School today.

It was re-designed in 1989 by Dr. Koichi Kawana, a naturalized citizen who received his Master of Fine Arts from UCLA. Today it consists of a path, shaped and pruned pines, cherry trees, raked gravel that outlines boulders, a Japanese lantern, and three monument stones, one of which is in commemoration of Dr. Kawana. The *Discover Nikkei* website not only describes the current garden but also discusses the fusion of Japanese and local elements, citing Kendall Brown:

> According to Kendall Brown in *Japanese Style Gardens of the Pacific West Coast*, "Kawana adapts elements from Japan's famous Edo Period (1615-1868) stroll gardens to fit the Southern California climate and inescapably modern context of the garden."

Sierra Madre Middle School (1931) – The history of this garden was described in a *Los Angeles Times* article:

> The Issei fathers of the two dozen Japanese-American children who attended the school in the 1920s built a small garden there as a gesture of good will to celebrate the completion of a new building in 1930. It had a tiny fish pond, a miniature bridge, a bonsai pine tree and a stone lantern. But amid the anti-Japanese passions of the war, schoolchildren vandalized the garden. All that remains are a few stones buried in the dirt, an overgrown pine, a skinny sago and the bridge, signed by cement man Roy Kaya, March 1931.
>
> Schoenberger 1994

According to the 1920 U.S. census Roy Kaya was listed as a mason living in Pasadena, but his World War I draft card lists his occupation as "gardener," suggesting that Kaya had been combining both professions for at least a decade before the Sierra Madre Middle School garden was built. The concrete bridge built by Kaya replicated the look of wood. The "stone" lantern appears to be made of concrete (Figures 5.80 and 5.81); its design matches lanterns at Italia Mia and the Carson Mansion suggesting that the aforementioned Kato may have had a part in building the garden. The school garden was restored by students in 1995 (Miller 2010).

Theodore Roosevelt High School (1935) – A student, Shigeo Takayama, led fellow students and par-

Figure 5.83. Storrier-Stearns Japanese garden (Storrier-Stearns Japanese Garden).

ents in the creation of a Japanese garden at Theodore Roosevelt High in 1935 (Figure 5.82; Anon. 2010). The original design of the garden is not known; it was vandalized during World War II and rebuilt in the 1990s. Reconstruction of the Roosevelt High School garden, in fact, was funded by Shigeo Takayama, the former student who had started the garden. Takayama was born in the U.S. in 1916, was educated for some time in Japan, but graduated from Theodore Roosevelt High. His father took the family back to Japan shortly before World War II, where Takayama was drafted into the Japanese military. Takayama became a successful businessman in Japan. He came to Theodore Roosevelt High School for the rededication (Mori 2007).

Storrier Stearns Japanese Garden, Pasadena (1935-1942) – This garden was designed and built between 1935 and 1942 for Charles and Ellamae Storrier Stearns by Kinzuchi Fujii, a landscape designer and craftsman from Japan (Figure 5.83; Hobart 2013a; Horton 2007). At nearly two acres, the Storrier Stearns Japanese Garden contains many of the much-admired design features found in the most lavish of Japanese-style gardens of its era, including four bridges, a traditional cedar log waiting house, two interconnected irregularly shaped ponds, a 25-foot-high hill with a cascading waterfall, a winding dry riverbed shaded by spreading sycamores and old oaks, tons of rocks, granite statuary, and stone lanterns. The original tea

Figure 5.84. Nature in miniature, Kinkaku-ji, Kyoto.

Figure 5.85. Winter snowfall at Kenroku-en, Kanazawa.

Figure 5.86. Fall colors at Shusuitei, Kyoto.

house was built in Japan to Kinzuchi Fujii's specifications, then disassembled and shipped to Pasadena for reassembly in the garden. Work on the garden was interrupted when Fujii was interned at the Gila River Relocation Center in Arizona.

Japanese Gardens – A Definition

Although scholars outline the same basic history of Japanese gardens in Japan and in the United States, they do not always agree on the basic definition of a "Japanese garden." Some researchers argue that, by definition, true Japanese gardens only exist in Japan. For example, discussing many of the Japanese gardens built in North America for wealthy clients or world's fairs, Kendall Brown says "I call them 'Japanese-*style*' gardens [rather than Japanese gardens] because my central belief is that they tell us more about how Americans have wanted to see Japan or how Japanese have wanted their culture perceived in America" (emphasis added; Hobart 2013b).

Seiko Goto concurs that because of different climate, topography, and culture, Japanese gardens outside of Japan are very different from those in Japan. However, she points out that even within Japan, the definition of a Japanese garden has changed through time, and Japanese gardens have undergone influences from many different sources: Shinto, Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism, and beginning in the Meiji period, even Western concepts. What was first a nobleman's pursuit became the domain of religious monks and then gardening professionals. Japanese gardens have been transformed to fit the culture at each period, but the style of Japanese gardens has been cumulative, with subsequent eras incorporating and preserving old styles (Goto 2003:197). For example, she points

Figure 5.87. Arched bridge at Imperial Palace, Kyoto.

out that one can see the features of the palace style garden, the small temple garden, the tea garden, and the Momoyama garden in the *daimyo* gardens of the Edo period. Because Japanese gardens use local materials, gardens in the north of Japan use different plants than those in the south. Rocks can be granite or basalt, depending on what is locally available. Even the *Sakuteiki* states it is important to keep in mind the local climate and the lay of the land when designing a garden (Hiromasa 1999:4).

Complicating the definition of Japanese gardens outside of Japan, Goto (personal communication 2015) notes that different styles have been popular at different times. The Japanese *daimyo* garden of the Edo period was the first celebrated garden style outside of Japan; minimalist gardens were largely ignored by Western scholars and dry gardens did not become well-known to Americans until the United States military occupied Japan after World War II (Kuitert 1988:153). Further, Japanese gardens outside Japan often have many different elements in a single garden: today it is common for a large pond stroll garden to also have a tea garden, a dry landscape garden, an area of cherry trees, and so on.

To help answer the question, "What is a Japanese garden" Koichi Kobayashi (2015) defines some enduring characteristics of Japanese gardens (Figures 5.84-5.87). They:

- Depict nature in miniature (other natural gardens, such as English and Chinese, are actual size, which is why the Chinese do not prune trees like the Japanese).
- Are designed to appreciate the change in seasons.
- Use natural materials.
- Feature rocks, water (even if only symbolically), and plants.
- Illustrate both an "appreciation of nature" and "acceptance of nature as is."
- Are naturalistic in space, form, and texture.
- Are curvilinear in form and shape, and asymmetrical.
- Can be loaded with symbolic meaning, recalling the natural scenery of famous locations, or the religious teachings of Shintoism, Buddhism, and the tea ceremony.

According to Kobayashi (2015) other common characteristics include (Figures 5.88-5.90):

- White gravel can symbolize the sea.
- There can be a direct connection of house and garden.
- One view of the garden does not reveal the whole.
- Rocks are never stacked; one rock can symbolize one mountain.
- Traditional/historical garden structures and ornaments are used, such as lanterns and bridges (In Japan only stone lanterns and stone pagodas are used;

Figure 5.88. Turtle island, crane island, and Horai-san at Ryugen-in, Kyoto.

Figure 5.89. White gravel "sea" at Shokoku-ji, Kyoto.

Figure 5.90. Integration of interior and exterior space, Nishimura-tei, Kyoto.

Figure 5.91. A single rock used as symbolic mountain water source, Block 33 Arai pond.

Figure 5.92. Turtle and crane rocks, Block 12 mess hall garden.

Buddha statues are only used in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Japanese gardens built in United States).

Goto offers a summary that would make the definition of Japanese garden even more inclusive: "the fundamental philosophy of Japanese garden is to depict the beauty of the given landscape," and "the beauty of the Japanese garden is its transformation of its form to fit to the given culture, which is what a good Japanese garden outside Japan is" (personal communication 2015). Although Goto's terminology may differ, her view of the complex evolution and adaptation of Japanese gardens in America is consistent with Kendall Brown's statement that

> . . . North American Japanese gardens are not merely translations, they are transformations calibrated to their time and place and interpreted through social systems that add complex layers of meaning.
>
> Brown 2013:17

Figure 5.93. Two vertical stones flanking the entrance to Block 12 mess hall garden.

Japanese Gardens at Manzanar

Japanese gardens have three essential elements: rocks, water, and plants, and are characteristically asymmetrical. Mori (1962:54) defines the unique attribute of Japanese gardens as the "ingenious artistry and symbolism which turn miniature landscapes into something more profound and eternal." Goto (cited by Kobayashi 2015) states the "Japanese garden is the space to symbolize bigger nature by depicting beauty from its elements." Manzanar's Japanese gardens certainly meet these definitions of a Japanese garden, in that they depict nature in miniature (Figure 5.91), and are composed of rocks, water, and plants, with rock placement following traditional techniques. The larger gardens are asymmetrical, and even many of the smaller gardens that were constrained by their location at barracks entries include asymmetrical elements. Most of the gardens feature many traditional Japanese garden elements such as stepping stones, lanterns, ponds, islands, streams, and hills. Most tellingly, they lack many of the elements commonly added to American "Japanese-style" gardens, such as red lacquer bridges, *torii* gates, Buddha statues, and grottos. Even Ryozo Kado, known for building religious grotto shrines, did not build them at Manzanar, and instead built Japanese gardens there.

Although it is impossible to be certain what the garden-makers were thinking, many of the gardens at Manzanar appear to exhibit the symbolism characteristic of Japanese gardens. Several have obvious representations of turtles and cranes, with vertical jagged rocks to represent the crane and low, horizontal, smoother rocks to represent the turtle (Figure 5.92). Noah (1999:16, 21-22) suggests that two vertical stones flanking the entrance to the Block 12 mess hall garden are *nioseki* (stones of the two deities), who have immense strength to keep evil spirits away (Figure 5.93). The two deities have opposite but complementary powers: "*in*" is negative and "*yo*" is positive.

Manzanar is in Inyo County and the Inyo Mountains are to the east. "Inyo" is a Paiute Indian word, but Manzanar's garden-builders may have recognized this coincidence and added another layer of meaning with the symbolism. The entrance to the Block 34 mess hall garden is also flanked by two upright rocks.

A "boat-shaped" rock at Merritt Park is similar to a famous example at Daisen-in, Kyoto (Figures 5.94 and 5.95). According to Goto (personal communication 2015), the island in the Merritt Park pond may represent Mount Shumisen, the immortal island. Two gardens (the Block 22 mess hall garden and Takemura's Block 23 barracks garden) have garden well features. At the Block 22 mess hall garden the concept of *wabi-sabi* appears to be represented by the incorporation of found objects, such as a wagon wheel, decorative tree logs and limbs, and even car parts. Recycled town-era concrete slabs are used at several gardens, and form stepping stones at the Block 15 Barracks 7 garden.

A famous place, Otowa waterfall at Kiyomizudera Temple, is evoked by the name for the Block 22 mess hall garden. The garden well built by the internees is reminiscent of the spring there, itself symbolic of hope and longevity (Figures 5.96 and 5.97). The Block 34 mess hall garden's name, *san-shi-en*, has multiple symbolic meanings as discussed in Chapter 4, including one only obvious to a Japanese gardener, "superb landscape." Goto considers the stone bridge in Merritt Park reminiscent of similar bridges in Japan, most notably one in front of the Dragon Gate falls in Tenryu temple (Goto, personal communication 2015; see Figure 5.14).

The most basic symbolism of the Japanese gardens at Manzanar is that of identity and culture: the garden-makers are clearly stating "we are Japanese," who will continue to honor their traditions in spite of persecution and prejudice. Cultural identity was also expressed at Manzanar in the cherry trees and wisteria

Figure 5.94. Boat-shaped stone at Daisen-in, Kyoto.

Figure 5.95. Boat-shaped stone at Merritt Park.

Figure 5.96. Otowa waterfall at Kiyomizudera Temple, Kyoto.

Figure 5.97. Garden well at Block 22 mess hall garden (Jack Iwata Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 5.98. Courtyard garden, Yoshida Residence, Kyoto.

Figure 5.99. Home entrance garden, Nikko.

Figure 5.100. Barracks entrance garden, Manzanar (Yoshiko Hosoi Collection, Manzanar NHS.).

brought up from southern California, in the internee-constructed Japanese-style military sentry posts at the camp entrance, and in the Japanese inscriptions used at the cemetery and Merritt Park.

Given the diverse styles of Japanese gardens, can those at Manzanar be categorized as a specific type? Although Manzanar's gardens often feature a north-south orientation as was recommended in the *Saku-teiki* of the Heian period, at Manzanar this alignment would have been dictated not by geomancy but by the orientation of the space between the buildings and topography. Many of Manzanar's mess hall gardens have characteristics of the *tsukiyama*, or hill and pond garden, of the Edo period, with crane and tortoise representations, but because they were meant to be viewed and not entered they functioned more like the small temple gardens of the Muromachi period. Merritt Park might be considered similar to an Edo-period stroll garden, in that it encouraged leisure and socialization, with paths and bridges that allowed strolling around the pond. Merritt Park also exhibits characteristics of the Meiji period, when many gardens were opened to the general public. Some of the barracks gardens, without water features, are similar to *tsubo-niwa*, courtyard gardens squeezed into the gaps between buildings (Figure 5.98; Hirosama 1999:12-16). *Tsubo-niwa* were derived from Momoyama-period tea gardens. According to Helphand, "Entry gardens were part of the Japanese tradition of dooryard gardens, linking household to community and function[ing] as entry and marker, displaying the craft and skill of the resident and embellishing both the barracks and the community space" (Figures 5.99 and 5.100; Helphand 2006:167). However, because each Japanese garden style incorporated styles developed in the previous eras, attempts to ascribe the gardens to a particular style are only academic. Given when they were built, Goto believes that they are best characterized as Showa-period Japanese gardens built in North America (personal communication 2015).

Figure 5.101. Wybe Kuitert lecturing at Konchi-in, Kyoto.

Figure 5.102. "… and for a while not be a prisoner at all" (Merritt Park; Francis C. Dieterich film, Eastern California Museum).

The term "Japanese-style" is sometimes interpreted to indicate a superficial imitation. "Many of the so-called [Japanese] gardens now in existence in Western Countries [exhibit] … cheap exoticism …. Abuses of stones on end, white sands, glaringly red bridges, grotesque dwarfed pine-trees, out of place stone lanterns, and *torii* gates are all too common in these gardens" (Mori 1962:56). In contrast, Manzanar's gardeners built true Japanese gardens, not Japanese-style gardens (Wybe Kuitert, personal communication 2009 [Figure 5.101]; Motomi Oguchi, personal communication 2012). Calling them "Japanese-style gardens" fails to acknowledge their true lineage, legacy, and heritage. The gardens were created with "local materials using traditional Japanese techniques to represent the landscape of Japan and the promise of longevity" (Goto 2015:70). Built not as museum pieces or exhibits but for everyday use (Figure 5.102), Manzanar's gardens are arguably the most authentic Japanese gardens in the United States.

6 HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Garden Art of a Very High Order

The gardens at Manzanar are significant cultural landscapes by virtue of their location within a National Historic Site (Figure 6.1), but the gardens are also significant in their own right. As stated in the Secretary of Interior's *Standards and Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (Birnbaum 1996):

> In order for the landscape to be considered significant, character-defining features that convey its significance in history must not only be present, but they also must possess historic integrity. Location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling and association should be considered in determining whether a landscape and its character-defining features possess historic integrity.

By describing how the gardens contribute to the overall significance of the National Historic Site, it can be determined which elements need to be considered and treated appropriately in day-to-day management and long-term stewardship. This chapter describes the significance, character-defining elements, and integrity of the gardens at Manzanar.

Site Significance

The national significance of Manzanar and other sites associated with the Japanese American internment during World War II is well-recognized (Wyatt 2012; Figures 6.2 and 6.3). The site was designated a California Historic Landmark in 1972, and a Los Angeles Historic Cultural Monument in 1976 (in fact, it is still the only designated L.A. Historic Cultural Monument outside the city). The site was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1976, even before it met the normal 50-years-old age requirement, which means that it was determined to be of "exceptional importance." In 1985, Manzanar was designated a National Historic Landmark, and it was declared a National Historic Site by an Act of Congress in 1992. The land was transferred to the National Park Service from the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power in 1997. The Visitor Center opened in 2004.

The statement of significance in the National Historic Landmark nomination, approved February 4, 1985, provides a concise history of the site:

> On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, authorizing the Secretary of War to exclude citizens and aliens from certain designated areas as a security measure against sabotage and espionage. As a result, 110,000 persons of Japanese descent, most of them American citizens, were forcibly removed from their homes in California, Oregon, Washington, and Alaska, and transported to permanent camps far from the Pacific Coast. Manzanar was the first of these camps. Here, in the desert of the Owens Valley, 10,000 people were herded into barracks without being accused of any crime or given any hearing or trial. The camp closed on November 21, 1945 (Thompson 1984:8.1).

WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION
Presidio of San Francisco, California
April 1, 1942

INSTRUCTIONS
TO ALL PERSONS OF
JAPANESE
ANCESTRY
Living in the Following Area:

All Japanese persons, both alien and non-alien, will be excluded from the above designated area by 12:00 o'clock noon Tuesday, April 7, 1942.

No Japanese person will be permitted to enter or leave the above described area after 8:00 a. m., Thursday, April 2, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the Provost Marshal at the Civil Control Station located at:

1701 Van Ness Avenue
San Francisco, California

The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.
2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, including: real estate, business and professional equipment, livestock, household goods, boats, automobiles, livestock, etc.
3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence, as specified below.

The Following Instructions Must Be Observed:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 a. m. and 5:00 p. m., Thursday, April 2, 1942, or between 8:00 a. m. and 5:00 p. m., Friday, April 3, 1942.
2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Reception Center, the following property:
   (a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
   (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
   (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
   (d) Sufficient knives, forks, spoons, plates, bowls and cups for each member of the family;
   (e) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

   All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions received at the Civil Control Station.

   The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.

   No contraband items as described in paragraph 8, Public Proclamation No. 3, Headquarters Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, dated March 24, 1942, will be carried.
3. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage at the sole risk of the owner of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.
4. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Reception Center. Private means of transportation will not be utilized. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station at 1701 Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco, California, between 8:00 a. m. and 5:00 p. m., Thursday, April 2, 1942, or between 8:00 a. m. and 5:00 p. m., Friday, April 3, 1942, to receive further instructions.

J. L. DeWITT
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding

Figure 6.2. Exclusion poster (Oakland Museum of California).

Figure 6.3. Child awaiting transport to internment camp (Clem Albers, National Archives).

←Figure 6.1. Merritt Park in the snow.

Figure 6.4. Stele at Merritt Park in 1993.

Figure 6.5. Military police post in 1973 (James Brust Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 6.6. Flagpole at administration building in 1983 (James Brust video, Manzanar NHS).

Manzanar is considered to be the best-preserved of the ten World War II Japanese American relocation centers, and the gardens at Manzanar are among the site's most important historic resources. The 1984 National Historic Landmark nomination included the gardens among the significant features of the site (Figures 6.4-6.6):

> Within several of the blocks, traces of former rock gardens survive. North of Block 23, near the orphanage site, are traces of the largest Japanese-style garden, Merritt Park, in the camp (Thompson 1984:7.1).
>
> [In the] Administrative area ... several rock walls and concrete slabs stand. Also, rock-lined flower circles and rock-lined paths are more prevalent than in the camp generally. One rock-lined circle marks the site of the camp flagstaff (Thompson 1984: 7.1).
>
> Trees scattered along intermittent Bairs Creek in the southwest area offer some shade. Camp residents once had a picnic area here (Thompson 1984:7.2).

All of these landscape features at Manzanar are considered to be contributing elements to the site's significance. However, the several nominations and historic designations do not elaborate further on important landscape elements, and no formal evaluation of individual features has been made. This is, at least in part, because the significance of the site as a whole was recognized even before individual features were fully documented. A park-wide archeological survey (Burton 1996a) and subsequent archeological reports (e.g., Burton 2002, 2005, 2006; Burton et al. 2001) describe dozens of additional landscape features. The Manzanar Cultural Landscape Report (NPS 2006a) describes many of the larger gardens that had been archeologically excavated up to that point. Now, the National Park Service has enough information to better evaluate the significance of the gardens themselves as contributing elements to the significance of the National Historic Site.

The Significance of Manzanar's Gardens

The National Historic Landmark description was based on the statement of significance provided in the 1976 National Register nomination. Neither description goes into detail about how Manzanar meets the National Register or National Historic Landmark criteria, but we can look at those criteria to see how the gardens contribute to the National Historic Site's significance. The National Register criteria are listed in Title 36 of the Code of Federal Regulations, Part 60.4, and discussed in numerous National Park Service publications:

> The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:
>
> A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
>
> B. That are associated with the lives of significant persons in our past; or
>
> C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
>
> D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.

National Historic Landmark criteria, outlined in 36 CFR 65.4(a), are similar, but require a higher level of national significance:

Specific Criteria of National Significance: The quality of national significance is ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering and culture and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association, and:

(1) That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained; or

(2) That are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States; or

(3) That represent some great idea or ideal of the American people; or

(4) That embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

(5) That are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or

(6) That have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree.

The criteria most relevant to the gardens at Manzanar under both the National Register and National Historic Landmark program are discussed below.

Association with Significant Events

By virtue of being an integral part of Manzanar National Historic Site, the gardens are contributing elements under National Register criterion A and National Historic Landmark criterion (1). Manzanar's collection of gardens would not exist but for the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II. The gardens are outstanding physical manifestations of the way internees adapted to their imprisonment, and represent the diverse backgrounds of the internees and their creative use of limited materials.

More symbolically, the gardens exemplify conditions of, and responses to, the incarceration. There were diverse motives for garden creation: to beautify the stark surroundings; to reduce blowing dust and sand; to provide a sense of normalcy (Figure 6.7); to feel productive and stave off boredom; to serve fellow internees (including the orphans of the Children's Village); to appropriate some personal space (Figure 6.8); and to demonstrate defiance. Conditions of the incarceration are manifest, too: early gardens relied on materials scrounged from inside the barbed wire fence; as security restrictions eased, later gardens incorporated rocks and plants from outside the fence. Cultural differences are symbolized in the gardens, with Japanese-style asymmetrical and naturalistic designs where the prisoners lived versus the geometric designs for the administration area, staff housing, and

Figure 6.7. A young woman's friendship photograph taken at Merritt Park belies her incarceration (Stan Yogi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 6.8. Appropriated space for lawns and gardens (Dorothea Lange, National Archives).

military police compound.

In his book *Defiant Gardens*, Kenneth Helphand (2006:189) provides evidence that the gardens of Manzanar were not just coincidentally, or superficially, associated with the internment:

> All of these gardens, grand and small, were acts of resistance, directed toward the maintenance of cultural integrity and self-respect. They were tangible symbols of hope that helped people survive their internment, fostered their mental and physical health, and were a demonstration of psychological and also political defiance. The gardens further offered an assertion of cultural identity that contrasted dramatically with the conditions of internment and the withholding of basic American freedoms. In a sense the gardens were the anticamp, a subversive response to internment, where individual and collective gestures were a way of denying the camp administration and environment.

Dusselier (2008:51-87) argues that all forms of landscaping and gardening within the camps were a means of "re-territorializing" space; that is, a way to "[draw] on the physical landscape to reshape understandings of power and generate new ideas that better ensured their survival" (2008:51). If, as Helphand and Dusselier argue, the gardens are symbols of the "anticamp" or "re-territorialized" space created by the internees, they are as closely associated with the Japanese American relocation as the barbed-wire security fence, sentry posts, and guard towers.

Association with Significant Persons

Dr. Arthur Hansen, Professor Emeritus of History and Asian American Studies at California State University, Fullerton, elaborates on the important association of the gardens with Manzanar's history. Dr. Hansen has published extensively on the history of the relocation, and collaborated on a book about Harry Ueno, a key figure in the December 1942 Manzanar riot (Figure 6.9). In an interview conducted for an NHK documentary about Manzanar's gardens, Dr. Hansen said:

> Harry [Ueno] always talked about [the Block 22 mess hall garden in] every interview...

> And so maybe these ponds all have some relationship to that. Certainly Harry had in mind to ease their burden by making something, for instance, the sound of the water going over the rocks was probably something he thought would help. And then the aesthetic beauty of it, when here you were in a godforsaken [place].
>
> NHK interview 2011

The Block 22 mess hall garden, which Ueno initiated, was the backdrop for at least some of the political discussions and meetings related to the December riot (Tamura 2002, 2004). For its association with Ueno, this garden would be a contributing element to the site significance under National Register criterion B and National Historic Landmark criterion (2).

Other gardens, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, are associated with renowned professional gardeners such as Ryozo Kado, William Katsuki, Chotaro Nishimura, Miyoji Uyematsu, and Kuichiro Nishi. Some of these men achieved prominence before or after internment, but for others, their most significant work might be at Manzanar. As an example of the former, nurseryman Miyoji Uyematsu, associated with the Block 6 mess hall garden and Cherry Park, was one of the leading camellia contractors in the United States. His camellias formed the basis for Descanso Park in La Cañada Flintridge, an International Camellia Garden of Excellence and the largest camellia collection in North America. Uyematsu also contributed cherry trees to Griffith Park and Exposition Park in Los Angeles. Likely in the latter group is Kuichiro Nishi. Although he is known to have made Japanese gardens before internment, Nishi was inspired to make Manzanar better for his fellow internees, and Merritt Park may be his most ambitious creation. Some of the Manzanar gardens may meet criterion B of the National Register and criterion (2) for a National Historic Landmark for their association with these prominent individuals.

If the concept of "significant persons" can be extended to a group of people, all of the gardens would also be significant for their association with the Japanese Americans incarcerated at Manzanar. Considering an entire group of people as important historically may not be as far-fetched as it seems: the Japanese American community as a whole was treated as a single undifferentiated entity during World War II, and the community has become a vociferous defender of civil rights, precisely because of that injustice.

However, more extensive information would be needed to compare these gardens with related properties beyond Manzanar, as required for criterion B or criterion (2) (NPS 1997b). Although such a far-reaching analysis is beyond the scope of this garden management plan, the gardens should be treated as contributing elements under these criteria. That is, gardens that are associated with important persons should be preserved, and whatever garden elements the important persons were responsible for should be maintained.

Figure 6.9. Harry Ueno (lower right) at the Leupp Isolation Center (Drinnon 1987).

Embodiment of the Distinctive Characteristics of a Type

The Japanese gardens of Manzanar meet National Register criterion C, in that they embody, and indeed define, the distinctive characteristics of World-War-II-era Japanese gardens in America (Figures 6.10 and 6.11). In fact, Dr. Seiko Goto, noted expert in the history of Japanese gardens and professor of landscape architecture at Rutgers University, has commented that "Manzanar Japanese gardens are the most authentic Japanese gardens in the United States" (personal communication 2015).

The other garden types at Manzanar, too, are characteristic of a type, period, or method of construction:

Figure 6.10. Pond, island, and waterfall at Merritt Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 6.11. Unidentified barracks pond possibly in Block 15 (courtesy of Art Nomura).

straight lines of painted rocks in the administration area and military police compound embody regimented military landscaping; Victory gardens throughout the site represent a vital "home front" development during the war. The gardens also meet National Register criterion (4), in that the gardens are especially valuable for the study of American Japanese gardens and styles in the United States, in the mid-twentieth century, and of gardens created under incarceration. Dr. Kendall Brown, a professor of Asian Art at California State University Long Beach and a renowned expert on Japanese gardens in North America, remarked:

> Manzanar gardens are really some of the best Japanese gardens built outside Japan. During a time, World War II, when Japan and America are at war, and we would think that nothing Japanese is built in North America, Japan is the enemy, it is remarkable that any Japanese gardens are built. And it is even more surprising, really unbelievable that so many high-quality gardens are built. . . .
>
> And so it is really amazing to me as a garden historian to see such variety. And that one can almost see that each new garden is a little better than the one before [with a] deeper pond, more sophisticated stonework. Or even in the hospital garden that the streambed has pebbles to create a more beautiful look and slower flow and maybe a more beautiful sound. So there is really this incredible sense, sensitivity to the art of making Japanese gardens. These gardens are really better than most of the gardens built in American until this time, because they are being built, I think, really with love. Not for a client, not for some American city park or restaurant, or some rich person, [like] Rockefeller. But they are being built for Issei and Nisei themselves as part of their identity. And so they have time, they have materials, they have cooperation and they have the right kind of spirit of competition and history…. So the Manzanar gardens are really some of the best Japanese gardens built in America at that time or really even since.
>
> I think it is not a coincidence that the only thing that survives are the things in which they put the most time and energy and that really were the ultimate expressions of the camp, which were the gardens.
>
> The gardens of Manzanar are not only of high quality. . . . they are also really important in the history of Japanese gardens in North America. That might be an accident but let me explain. Before the war in the early twentieth century most Japanese gardens in America emphasize water, ponds, and plants and architecture. *Torii* gate, Japanese teahouse, pavilion, that kind of azumaya and exotic plants, cherry, plum, wisteria. After the war in the 1960s and 1970s Americans discover *karasansui*, a dry garden, what they call a "Zen garden." It is very sculptural, it looks like

> modern architecture. In that historical context maybe these camp gardens are a kind of transition. They are certainly not about architecture for the most part. They are not a kind of exotic Japanese architecture. They are not really about Japanese plant specimens, but they are about stones and a kind of sensitivity to stone arrangement. And so that really sort of points to what will happen after the war. Post-war American gardens are much more stone gardens and they're much more emphasizing quality workmanship and the subtle aesthetics. So in that way these camp gardens really are an important transition from a pre-war into a post-war [garden aesthetic].
>
> NHK interview 2011

Even more remarkable, Dr. Brown said, is that "this is garden art of a very high order … I think arguably this is the most interesting, compelling collection of Japanese gardens in America" (personal communication 2011).

Helphand (2006: 188) also discusses how the Relocation Center gardens are unique:

> As artistic and cultural expressions, the internment camp gardens were rich in meaning. They combined aspects of classic Japanese garden practice, the Japanese American garden traditions that had evolved in the prewar West Coast, with responses to the conditions at each camp…. At Manzanar and all the camps, a language of design that had developed in another landscape was both constrained and liberated by the necessity to employ local plants and rocks.

NHK film director Yo Ijuin, who has made award-winning documentaries about Japanese gardens in Japan in addition to a Japanese language film about Manzanar's gardens (Figure 6.12), commented that based on its gardens alone, Manzanar could be nominated as a World Heritage Site (personal communication 2011).

More recently, the Society for History in the Federal Government presented the John Wesley Powell Prize for Outstanding Historic Preservation to Manzanar National Historic Site for the restoration of the Japanese garden at the Block 12 mess hall (Figure 6.13). The project entailed uncovering and restoring the Japanese garden's pond, stream, rock pathways, hills, waterfall, fencing, and other landscaping features. The award stated that the Manzanar restoration project was:

> an excellent example of preservation and interpretation of cultural resources associated with the relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II. Through a combination of archeological survey, historic photograph analysis, oral history, and historical document research, Manzanar's staff and volunteers restored a symbol of resilience, beauty, and peace within a larger landscape of racial prejudice.
>
> Society for History in the Federal Government 2014

Figure 6.12. Documentary film director Yo Ijuin (right) at Manzanar.

Potential to Yield Information Important in History

As demonstrated in previous archeological work (e.g., Burton and Farrell 2014), the gardens at Manzanar have yielded information important in history sufficient to meet criterion D of the National Register. The importance of this information appears to rise to the level of National Historic Landmark criterion (6), since Manzanar's gardens have figured prominently in scholarly studies of internment as well as studies of the role of gardens in society. For example, several nationally renowned scholars have used the gardens as evidence to challenge ideas about how the Japanese American communities accepted incarceration with a *shikata ga nai* (that is, "it cannot be helped" or "there is nothing to be done") passivity. For a discussion of the cultural biases that led to this inaccurate charac-

Figure 6.13. Archeologist Laura Ng accepts Powell Award on behalf of Manzanar National Historic Site (Society for History in the Federal Government).

Figure 6.14. Block 34 mess hall garden.

terization of Japanese Americans, see Embrey (2009).

Gardens can be strong symbols of cultural cohesion, resistance, and defiance within incarcerated communities. Tamura (2002, 2004) outlines some of this work, including: Patricia Limerick's study of the internment landscapes and gardens as representations of cultural ethics; Gary Okihiro's characterization of Japanese-style gardens as resistance to the War Relocation Authority's "Americanization" goals; Kenneth Helphand's recognition of the gardens as symbols and manifestations of defiance; and Lynne Horiuchi's categorization of the gardens as community-building traditions, in resistance to the militaristic mode of the camps. Tamura's own work and that of Embrey (2009) and Ng (2014) provide insight into the function of gardens as evidence of personal agency, patriotism, resistance, cultural cohesion, and community competition. The gardens and other material culture of Manzanar have figured into theories of institutional confinement (Casella 2007), cultural and artistic expression and defiance (Helphand 2006), and physical manifestations of hope (Burton 2013c; Helphand 2006). For the *Academic Society of Japanese Gardens* journal, Seiko Goto has also examined the gardens in Manzanar as manifestations of cultural influences and human agency under difficult conditions (Goto 2010).

The Gardens as Character-Defining Elements

The Secretary of the Interior's *Standards and Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (Birnbaum 1996:15) states that "landscape features should always be assessed as they relate to the property as a whole." Physically and symbolically associated with an important, if shameful, event in U.S. history, Manzanar's gardens and other landscaping are character-defining features of the National Historic Site. As part of a cultural landscape, the gardens have characteristics of the overlapping categories "historic vernacular landscapes," "historic sites," and "ethnographic landscapes" as outlined in the *Standards*:

> Cultural landscape – a geographic area (including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein), associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values. There are four general types of cultural landscapes, not mutually exclusive: historic sites, historic designed landscapes, historic vernacular landscapes, and ethnographic landscapes.
>
> Ethnographic landscape – a landscape containing a variety of natural and cultural resources that associat-

ed people define as heritage resources. Examples are contemporary settlements, sacred religious sites, and massive geological structures. Small plant communities, animals, subsistence and ceremonial grounds are often components.

Historic vernacular landscape – a landscape that evolved through use by the people whose activities or occupancy shaped it. Through social or cultural attitudes of an individual, a family, or a community, the landscape reflects the physical, biological, and cultural character of everyday lives. Function plays a significant role in vernacular landscapes. This can be a farm complex or a district of historic farmsteads along a river valley. Examples include rural historic districts and agricultural landscapes.

Historic site – a landscape significant for its association with a historic event, activity or person. Examples include battlefields and presidential homes and properties.

In the *Standards*, a "character-defining feature" is "a prominent or distinctive aspect, quality, or characteristic of a cultural landscape that contributes significantly to its physical character. Land use patterns, vegetation, furnishings, decorative details and materials may be such features." By this definition, "character-defining features" at Manzanar would include all of the constructed landscape elements, including the gardens described in Chapter 4 and those that are currently buried and yet to be discovered.

As defined in the *Standards*, landscapes can be subdivided into "component landscapes" ("a discrete portion of the landscape which can be further subdivided into individual features") and "features" ("the smallest element[s] of a landscape that contributes to the significance and that can be the subject of a treatment intervention"). At Manzanar, each garden could be considered a "component landscape" (Figure 6.14). Examples of "features" would include the waterfall at Merritt Park, or the stone lanterns at the Block 15 barracks garden (Figures 6.15 and 6.16). "Character-defining" qualities include "the sum of all visual aspects, features, materials, and spaces associated with a cultural landscape's history, i.e., the original configuration together with losses and later changes." The original configuration of Manzanar's gardens and their current conditions are outlined in Chapters 2 and 4; the high degree of integrity of Manzanar's gardens, as argued below, indicates that the gardens and landscaping as a whole, and as component landscapes, should be considered "character-defining."

Integrity

As a whole the gardens at Manzanar appear to retain high degrees of integrity: while all but three of the hundreds of buildings constructed at Manzanar were purposefully dismantled or destroyed, the gardens were, for the most part, left to nature and time. Although most have been obscured by vegetation and buried by flood- and wind-borne sediments, archeologically excavated gardens retain six of the seven qualities of integrity listed in the National Register and National Historic Landmark criteria: workmanship, design, location, association, feeling, and materials.

That is, the gardens are in their original *locations*, and in some cases even define the locations of the now-demolished buildings (Figures 6.17 and 6.18). The *association* of the gardens and landscapes with the internment experience is clear in their prominence in oral histories and scholarly studies. *Workmanship* and *design* are evident in the placement and selection of rocks, the construction of water features, and the associated landscaping elements. Even where rocks have been displaced or *rangui* wood posts have deteriorated, impressions in the concrete provide accurate data about their original placement. Post holes

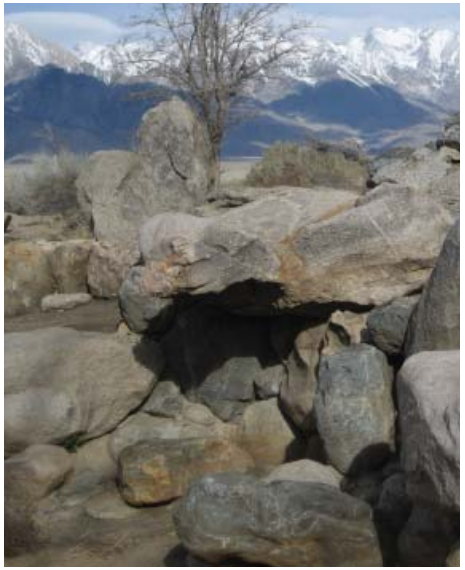


Figure 6.15. Waterfall at Merritt Park.

Figure 6.16. Rustic stone lantern at Block 15 Barracks 7 garden.

Figure 6.17. Waiting in line at the Block 12 mess hall garden (Yoshiko Hosoi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 6.18. Block 12 mess hall footings (right) and garden (left).

and post molds are intact, corroborating the design of fences and other features seen in historic photographs, and in some cases plant remnants attest to the original vegetation species.

Once excavated, the gardens evoke the *feeling* of the original landscaping sufficiently to inspire admiration and revive memories. Integrity of *materials* is manifest in the construction materials, such as concrete (a subject of contention and conservation), rocks (proof, in most cases, of trips outside the camp), and remnants of wood features. The only material elements not well preserved at the gardens are the vegetation and water. As evident in archival documents and historic photographs, lawns were prevalent in all blocks, and vegetables, flowers, shrubs, and trees were planted in the gardens. In some cases trees are still present, but vegetation dependent upon human care is mostly gone. Ponds and watercourses were a key element of many gardens, historically, and remain critical to maintaining the integrity of feeling and to public interpretation today.

Only one of the National Register's aspects of integrity has changed substantially: the original *setting* of the gardens was a prison camp, not a historic site; tar-paper-sided barracks were the backdrops for the gardens, not open space and views of the mountains. However, the absence of the barracks today elevates the relative integrity and significance of the gardens,

Figure 6.19. Block 33 Arai pond demarcating the space between barracks in the absence of buildings.

Figure 6.20. Hope and defiance manifested at Merritt Park (Grace Maruki Wertz Collection, Manzanar NHS).

and highlights their role in helping to delineate and define the former locations of barracks, mess halls, and other buildings (Figure 6.19).

It is important to note that most of these aspects of integrity are only evident after the gardens have been archeologically excavated. Buried and hidden gardens maintain their integrity of location but do not convey their historic association or feeling. Careful, controlled excavation is necessary to ensure the preservation of the materials, design, and workmanship. Further, the significance of Manzanar's landscaping, as discussed above, can be realized only if the gardens are made visible.

In summary, the gardens and landscaping are prominent and distinctive characteristics of the Manzanar National Historic Site and contribute significantly to its physical character. Representing reactions against incarceration and racism, the gardens manifest both defiance and hope (Figure 6.20). Illuminating complex reactions to a very un-American denial of civil liberties, the gardens have figured prominently in academic discussions and theory-building. For the public, the gardens provide a more nuanced understanding of the Japanese American Relocation during World War II.

7 OBJECTIVES AND APPROACH

Tools to Experience the Landscape

This chapter recounts the process used to determine the best practices for day-to-day management and long-term stewardship of Manzanar's gardens and landscaping. First, the broad objectives for the Historic Site are examined, as outlined in the General Management Plan (NPS 1996a), the Cultural Landscape Report (NPS 2006a), and the Long-Term Interpretive Plan (NPS 2007). Then, garden and landscaping management objectives are developed to help meet the overall objectives identified in those planning documents. Once objectives for gardens and landscaping are identified, the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (Birnbaum 1996:15) are used to determine which treatment approach would best balance the significance and integrity of the Historic Site's resources, the existing conditions, interpretive goals, visitor use, and operational constraints (Figures 7.1-7.4).

Management Objectives

The General Management Plan outlines the objectives and recommendations for landscaping and garden treatment at Manzanar National Historic Site (NPS 1996a):

- Manage the site as a cultural landscape based on the World War II relocation center period.
- Rehabilitate some of the gardens and ponds constructed by the internees.
- Maintain landscape features, including stone barbecues, stone planters, rock garden structures, walls, and steps.
- Restore the original road grid.
- Remove damaging vegetation.
- Repair landscape features.
- Preserve and propagate historic plant specimens at interpretive sites.
- Provide irrigation as needed.

Manzanar's Cultural Landscape Report (NPS 2006a) provides treatment recommendations for the Historic Site as a whole, including:

- Stabilize existing historic material (e.g., plants and garden features).
- Conduct additional research on the gardens.
- Reconstruct gardens based on historical documentation and archeological investigations.
- Address the impact of wildlife on historic features and vegetation.

Figure 7.2. Gardens for contemplation.

Figure 7.3. Gardens for education.

Figure 7.4. Gardens as a focal point for tours.

←Figure 7.1. Waterfall at the Block 9 mess hall garden.

Figure 7.5. Preservation: military police sentry post (photograph by Dick Lord).

- Remove non-historic vegetation.
- Preserve the historic character of trees.
- Stabilize eroding features.
- Retain historic grades and stabilize features.

The Long-Term Interpretive Plan (NPS 2007) includes goals and recommendations that pertain to gardens, as discussed in Chapter 1:

- Encourage people to explore the site.
- Explore the potential of restoring a Japanese garden.
- Complete more archeological surveys.
- Provide more information to the public.
- Develop self-guided tours.

To these goals, objectives, and recommendations can be added the requirements and standards for all National Park Service projects:

- Provide accessibility.
- Ensure public safety.
- Plan for sustainability.

Applying the Standards and Guidelines to Garden Treatment

The four potential types of treatment for historic cultural landscapes are defined by the Secretary of Interior's *Standards and Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (Figures 7.5-7.8):

Preservation is the act or process of applying measures to sustain the existing form, integrity, and materials of a historic property. Work, including preliminary measures to protect and stabilize the property, generally focuses on ongoing maintenance and repair of historic materials and features rather than extensive replacement and new construction.

Rehabilitation is defined as the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its cultural valves.

Restoration is defined as the act or process of accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared during the period of significance by means of the removal of features from other

Figure 7.6. Rehabilitation: auditorium visitor center (photograph by Dick Lord).

periods in its history and reconstruction of missing features.

Reconstruction is defined as the act or process of depicting, by means of new construction, the form, features, and detailing of a non-surviving site, landscape, building, structure, or object for the purpose of replicating its appearance at a specific period of time and in its historic location. A cultural landscape's characteristics and historic features are protected and maintained as they are in preservation and restoration, but due to a greater amount of deterioration of historic features or number of missing or non-historic features, repair and replacement is required. This treatment allows for the replacement of deteriorated, missing, or incompatible features with traditional or compatible substitute materials.

Of these four options, only *Rehabilitation* would meet the management objectives.

Preservation, while meeting the mandated resource protection objectives, does not even begin to meet public expectations for the Historic Site, and would not facilitate interpretation of garden and landscape features. The Manzanar General Management Plan calls for one or more gardens to be rehabilitated. In conversations with members of the Japanese American community and a wide range of other experts and stakeholders, "rehabilitation" in this case includes bringing back water, vegetation, and other features, not just clearing and stabilizing a garden. At the Historic Site the gardens have the potential to provide visitors with a more complete and nuanced Manzanar experience, but can only realize that potential if the gardens are made visible, through excavation, and safe and accessible for visitors, through signage and accessible paths.

Restoration, as defined by the *Standards and Guidelines*, would meet some of the management and interpretive objectives, but falls short on others. For example, cultural landscape restoration typically includes replanting of the same species present historically. In many cases, the current drought and lowered water table would reduce the viability of historic species. In other cases, neither the documentary nor the archeological record provides sufficient information about species for their accurate restoration. Further, in many instances restoration would not be practical or sustainable. For example, historically many of the water features in the gardens were fed with a continuous stream of fresh water from the barracks faucets or irrigation devices. Given California's current water shortage and the many demands on Owens Valley water, an accurate restoration of historic water use is not practical or sustainable.

Reconstruction was the treatment chosen to rebuild replica barracks (and other buildings) in Block 14. As noted in the General Management Plan, "NPS policy on reconstruction (or relocation of historic structures) is generally restrictive, requiring a demonstra-

Figure 7.7. Restoration: Lydston Orchard.

tion that reconstruction (or relocation) is essential for public understanding . . .” That high bar was met for the reconstruction of Block 14 buildings (Figure 7.9). In contrast, reconstruction of gardens is not appropriate at Manzanar, because so many of the garden and landscaping features have survived with good integrity of location, association, materials, design, workmanship, and feeling, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Rehabilitation would allow for the preservation of the features of the gardens and other landscaping that are intact, but it would also allow repairs and alterations where necessary to meet the new use of public interpretation. “Of the four treatments, only Rehabilitation includes an opportunity to make possible an efficient contemporary use through alterations and additions.” For example, vegetation may be planted to replicate the forms, colors, and growth patterns of vegetation seen in historic photographs, but with species selected for drought tolerance, or to minimize invasive root damage. Waterfalls or streams may be recreated with circulating pumps rather than the continuous fresh flow used historically. Sufficient data exist for sensitive retention of original fabric and the accurate replacement of missing elements so that the historic character is retained. Rehabilitation would encourage more visitors to experience the site, rather than just the Visitor Center. Rehabilitation will provide visitors with a more accurate and complete interpretive experience while insuring safety and sustainability (Figure 7.10).

Figure 7.8. Reconstruction: Guard tower.

The way the *Standards and Guidelines* distinguish and define the four treatments can be confusing, especially when considering a historic landscape, where changes over time are inevitable. In practice the treatments overlap. Although Rehabilitation (for safe, effective, and sustainable visitor interpretation) is the overall treatment, the actions selected for individual gardens and landscaping elements will seem, at least in common parlance, more similar to preservation or restoration. In fact, Webster’s dictionary definitions of “rehabilitation” include the word “restore”: “to restore to a former capacity” and “to restore to a former state (as of efficiency, good management, or solvency).” The treatment of Rehabilitation will meet the goals that have been identified by the public and included in Manzanar’s planning documents for “restored” gardens.

This approach is explained further in the Preservation Brief 36, “Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment, and Management of Historic Landscapes” (Birnbaum 1994):

> Landscape interpretation is the process of providing the visitor with tools to experience the landscape as it existed during its period of significance, or as it evolved to its present state. These tools may vary widely, from a focus on existing features to the addition of interpretive elements. These could include exhibits, self-guided brochures, or a new representation of a lost feature. The nature of the cultural landscape, especially its level of significance, integrity, and the type of visitation anticipated may frame the

interpretive approach. Landscape interpretation may be closely linked to the integrity and condition of the landscape, and therefore, its ability to convey the historic character and character-defining features of the past. If a landscape has high integrity, the interpretive approach may be to direct visitors to surviving historic features without introducing obtrusive interpretive devices, such as free-standing signs. For landscapes with a diminished integrity, where limited or no fabric remains, the interpretive emphasis may be on using extant features and visual aids (e.g., markers, photographs, etc.) to help visitors visualize the resource as it existed in the past. The primary goal in these situations is to educate the visitor about the landscape's historic themes, associations and lost character-defining features or broader historical, social and physical landscape contexts.

To implement the approach appropriately, we turn to the *Standards*. The *Standards* are general principles that provide an overview of how a property and its historic character should be looked at and maintained under the chosen treatment. The *Standards* for Rehabilitation are the same for landscapes as for other historic properties (Birnbaum 1996:49):

1. A property will be used as it was historically or be given a new use that requires minimal change to its distinctive materials, features, spaces, and spatial relationships.

2. The historic character of a property will be retained and preserved. The removal of distinctive materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize a property will be avoided.

3. Each property will be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features or elements from other historic properties, will not be undertaken.

4. Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right shall be retained and preserved.

5. Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property will be preserved.

6. Deteriorated historic features will be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature will match the old in design, color, texture, and, where possible, materials. Replacement of missing features will be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence.

7. Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, will be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials will not be used.

8. Archeological resources will be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures will be undertaken.

9. New additions, exterior alterations, or related new

Figure 7.9. Film crew at reconstructed barracks.

construction will not destroy historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize the property. The new work will be differentiated from the old and will be compatible with the historic materials, features, size, scale and proportion, and massing to protect the integrity of the property and its environment.

10. New additions and adjacent or related new construction will be undertaken in such a manner that, if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired.

The *Guidelines* for rehabilitation of historic landscapes are lengthier and more specific than the *Standards* (Birnbaum 1996:50-53). The relevant *Guidelines* for rehabilitation of Manzanar's gardens and landscaping features are summarized here because they form an integral part of this garden Management Plan:

• Identify, Retain, and Preserve Historic Materials and Features – Like Preservation, guidance for Rehabilitation begins with recommendations to identify those landscape features and materials important to the landscape's historic character and which must be retained.

• Protect and Maintain Historic Features and Materials – Protection generally involves the least degree of intervention and is preparatory to other work; it may be accomplished through permanent or temporary measures. For example, protection includes restricting access to fragile earthworks or cabling a tree to protect against breakage. Maintenance includes daily, seasonal, and cyclical tasks, and the techniques, methods and materials used to implement them.

• Repair Historic Features and Materials – Rehabilitation guidance for the repair of historic features and materials, such as brick pavements, masonry walls, and wire fencing, begins with the least degree of intervention possible. Such work could include regrading a section of a silted swale, aerating soil, or reclaiming a segment of meadow edge. Repairing also includes the limited replacement in kind of extensively deteriorated materials or parts of features, or replacement in kind of materials or parts of features lost due to seasonal change. Using material which matches the historic in design, color, and texture is always the preferred option; however, substitute material is acceptable if the material conveys the same visual appearance as the historic period.

• Replace Deteriorated Historic Materials and Features – Like the guidance for Repair, the preferred option is always replacement of the feature in kind. Because this approach may not always be technically, economically, or environmentally feasible, the use of compatible substitute materials can be considered. Whatever level of replacement takes place, the historic features and materials should serve as a guide to the work.

• Design for the Replacement of Missing Historic Features – Where an important feature is missing, its replacement is always recommended in the Rehabilitation guidelines as the first or preferred, course of action.

• Alterations/Additions for New Use – When alterations to a cultural landscape are needed to assure its continued use, it is most important that such alterations do not radically change, obscure, or destroy character-defining spatial organization and land patterns or features and materials.

Figure 7.10. Accessible bridge at Merritt Park.

Rehabilitation Priorities

Chapter 4 of this document provides the baseline documentation, and Chapter 6 discusses how the gardens are character-defining elements of Manzanar

National Historic Site that must be retained, as part of the first step of the Rehabilitation approach. With the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards and Guidelines* in mind, the following Rehabilitation priorities best meet the objectives discussed in this chapter. For these landscape components, adequate historic photographs are available to guide the work.

To show the public a sample of the different types of internee-built Japanese gardens at Manzanar, three gardens located along the driving tour road would be planted with vegetation and their water features would be recreated (Figure 7.11):

- Block 33 Arai Fish Pond.
- Block 34 Mess Hall Garden.
- Merritt Park.

These gardens represent a family barracks garden, a mess hall garden, and the most well-known community park at Manzanar. Importantly, these gardens do not have any major rehabilitation challenges. Because of their proximity to each other and the tour road they could easily be accessed on a single walking tour. Thanks to a nearby well and orchard irrigation pipeline, water could be brought to these three gardens relatively easily. In contrast, rehabilitation at other excavated community and mess hall gardens would be hindered by the lack of historic photographs or by the presence of mature vegetation that would compete with new plantings and potentially damage water features.

In the administration area, two gardens would be restored and maintained in their original historic condition, to show the difference between the gardens internees built for the staff versus for themselves (Figures 7.12 and 7.13):

- Entrance Sign Rock Garden.
- Administration Circle Garden.

Restoration of the entrance sign garden was recommended in the Cultural Landscape Report (NPS 2006a). Restoration of both these gardens is nearly complete. These are dry gardens with rocks, Joshua trees, and cactus. Although they may require occasional hand-watering and periodic plant replacement, no irrigation system is needed.

Both the Cultural Landscape Report (NPS 2006a) and the Orchard Management Plan (NPS 2010) called for the restoration of the cemetery. The monument, graves, and fence have been restored, but six peach trees and a row of locust trees are yet to be planted.

As part of the Block 14 Demonstration Block, one or more small lawns and flower gardens should be restored. To meet the goals of the Demonstration Block exhibits and provide an appropriate context, these gardens should only be placed where there is a replica building to form a backdrop and existing historic and archeological data provide sufficient information for an accurate replacement. Currently, sufficient information exists for the Ironing Room garden and Toyo-

Figure 7.11. Map detail from Historic Site brochure showing driving tour road and garden locations.

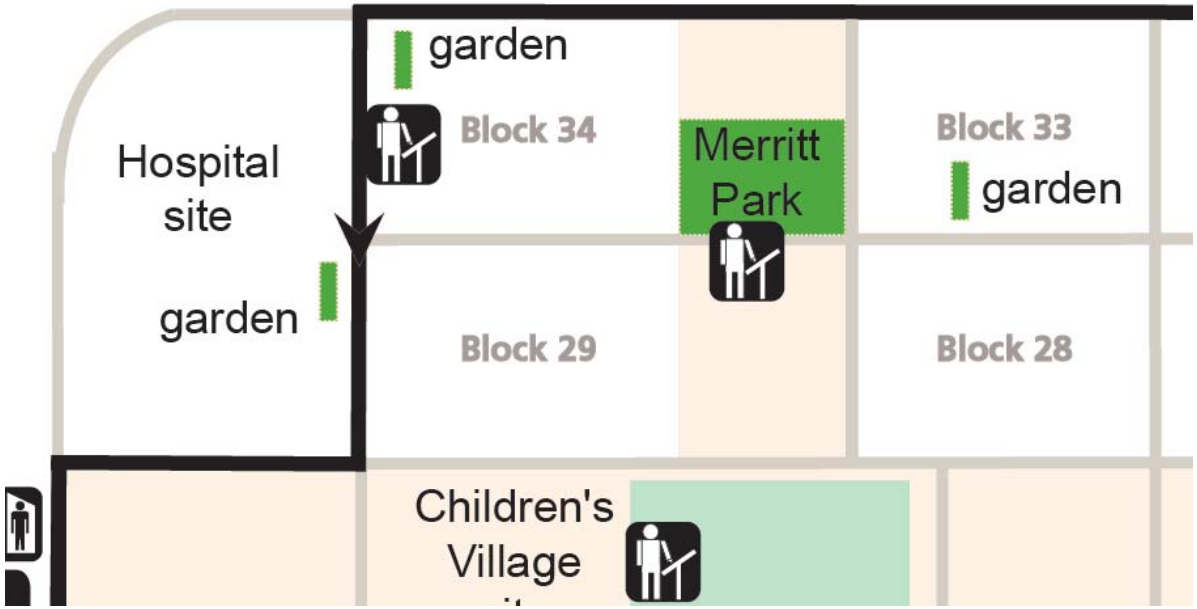


Figure 7.12. Entrance sign.

Figure 7.13. Administration circle garden.

shige Ioki's Barracks 13 flower garden, but the associated buildings have not yet been reconstructed. The wading pool and some lawns and other flower beds could also be investigated and restored after historical and archeological research is completed, and the associated buildings reconstructed.

In the Cultural Landscape Report (NPS 2006a), the creation of a mess hall garden in Block 14 was recommended. However, there never was a mess hall garden in Block 14, and many authentic mess hall gardens exist elsewhere in the Historic Site. Several along the driving tour road would be even more accessible. Therefore, a simulated mess hall garden would not be constructed in Block 14.

The following garden and landscape elements have been partially restored, and would remain preserved and maintained, but without water and with only limited new plantings:

- Block 9 Mess Hall Garden.
- Block 12 Mess Hall Garden.
- Block 14 Barracks Gardens.
- Block 15 Garden Ponds at Barracks 5 and 7.
- Block 17 Barracks 8 Garden.
- Block 22 Mess Hall Garden.
- Hospital Pond Garden.
- Other priorities, as uncovered.

Important character-defining features or attributes at the Blocks 9 and 22 mess hall gardens would be restored. Beyond these recommendations, no further restoration work at mess hall gardens is recommended at this time.

Manzanar was the only relocation center with an orphanage, so the Children's Village is a particularly important and poignant symbol of the internment (NPS 2015). Cherry Park, constructed adjacent to the Children's Village, also has high interpretive value, as it resulted from the donation of plants by a successful businessman and nursery owner interned at Manzanar. Both gardens would be partially restored:

- Children's Village.
- Cherry Park.

Archeological excavation would be an integral part of restoration, to further identify and document features, and to confirm the locations of features noted in historic documents and photographs.

The following gardens and landscape features would be preserved as-is with repairs as needed:

- North Park.
- Bairs Creek Picnic Area.
- Victory Gardens.
- Judo *Dojo*.
- Chicken Ranch.
- Other priorities, as uncovered.

No treatment action is necessary at this time for these areas, but these gardens and features would be monitored regularly, to ensure their long-term preservation.

General Treatments

Because of the great number of gardens and landscape features at Manzanar, and because of their high potential to enhance visitor education and experience, the above treatments are expected to take 5 to 10 years to fully implement, depending on funding and staffing. The proposed schedule is provided in Table 7.1. There are PMIS (Project Management Information System

tracking tool) statements for eight projects that require capital investment. Only one has been approved for funding at this time. Smaller projects such as the excavation of barracks gardens can be done by park staff incrementally and with volunteers. For example, brush clearing and restoration work in the administration area is ongoing.

Some of the proposed rehabilitation work can proceed at any time, but the rehabilitation of features requiring water and plant replacement must wait until an elk-proof boundary fence is completed. Tule elk are a serious pest at Manzanar because they trample features; feed on bark, shoots, and leaves; girdle trees; and break limbs. Elk-proof fencing is consistent with the Orchard Management Plan (Figure 7.14; NPS 2010).

As shown by severe floods in the summer of 2013 and 2014, there is a potential for flood damage at any garden (Figure 7.15; Burton 2013a, 2014a). The best method to avoid or reduce flood damage would be a park-wide diversion (see Burton 2014a). Alternatively, shallow ditches and berms could be created to route flood water around significant features. Ditches and berms need to be located where they will not impact cultural deposits. Due to low rainfall and a dropping water table, most new vegetation will require irrigation.

It should be noted that all of the recommended treatments are reversible. That is, if future conditions change so that the gardens cannot be maintained and water features sustained, the use of water could be curtailed and plantings could be phased out.

The following *Guidelines* of the Rehabilitation approach are generally relevant across the Historic Site (Birnbaum 1996:99-126):

Topography

• Identifying, retaining and preserving the existing topography. Documenting topographic variation prior to project work, including shape, slope, elevation, aspect, and contour. For example, preparing a topographic survey of a particular garden area.

• Evaluating and understanding the evolution of a landscape's topography over time. Using archival resources such as plans and aerial photographs or, in their absence, archeological analysis techniques to understand the historic topography.

• Repairing declining topographic features.

• Using existing physical evidence of the form and composition to reproduce a deteriorated topographic feature. If using the same kind of material is not technically, economically, or environmentally feasible, then a compatible substitute material may be considered.

• Designing and installing new topographic features when the historic feature is completely missing. It may be an accurate restoration using historical, pictorial and physical documentation or a new design that is compatible with the shape, slope, elevation and contour of the historic topography.

• Designing new topographic features when required by the new use so that they are as unobtrusive as possible and assure the preservation of the historic landscape. For example, designing and installing drainage systems to protect historic topographic features.

Vegetation

• Identifying, retaining and preserving the existing historic vegetation prior to project work.

Figure 7.14. Tule elk entering Historic Site through access gate (the opening has since been closed).

Figure 7.15. Flooding at Merritt Park in 2013.

Table 7.1 Timeline of Major Restoration and Rehabilitation Projects.

Year	Project	PMIS No.	Status
2016	Clear Children's Village and Cherry Park	174225	Not Funded
2016	Modify Boundary Fence for Resource Protection	174402	Not Funded
2017	Install Drip Irrigation Systems for Landscape Restoration	211435	Funded
2017	Excavation of Block 4 Mess Hall Garden	215180	Pending
2018	Rehabilitation of Historic Wilder North Orchard	215159	Pending
2018	Construct Accessible Trail at Merritt Park	215168	Pending
2018	Excavation of Block 6 Mess Hall Garden	215181	Pending
2019	Restoration of Entrance and Blocks 12, 33, and 34 Gardens	215179A	Pending
2020	Restoration and Rehabilitation of Merritt Park	215179B	Pending

• Using physical evidence of composition, form, and habit to replace a deteriorated, or declining, vegetation feature. If using the same kind of material is not technically, economically, or environmentally feasible, then a compatible substitute material may be considered.

• Designing and installing new vegetation features when the historic feature is completely missing. It may be an accurate restoration using historical, pictorial and physical documentation; or be a new design that is compatible with the habit, form, color, texture, bloom, fruit, fragrance, scale and context of the historic vegetation.

Circulation Systems (Paths)

• Identifying, retaining, and preserving the existing circulation systems prior to project work.

• Protecting and maintaining circulation systems by use of non-destructive methods in daily, seasonal and cyclical tasks. This may include hand-raking, top-dressing, or rolling surface materials.

• Utilizing maintenance practices which respect infrastructure. For example, cleaning out debris from drainage systems.

• Repairing surface treatment, materials and edges, when repair is possible.

• Using physical evidence of form, detailing and alignment to reproduce a deteriorated circulation feature. If using the same kind of material is not technically, economically or environmentally feasible, then a compatible substitute material may be considered.

• Designing and installing new circulation features when the historic feature is completely missing. It may be an accurate restoration using historical, pictorial and physical documentation; or be a new design that is compatible with the historic character of the landscape.

• Designing and installing compatible new circulation features when required by the new use to assure the preservation of historic character of the landscape.

Water Features

• Identifying, retaining and preserving existing water features prior to beginning project work. Documenting the shape, edge and bottom condition/material; water level, sound and reflective qualities; and associated plant and animal life.

• Evaluating the condition, and, where applicable, the evolution of water features over time.

• Protecting and maintaining water features by use of non-destructive methods in daily, seasonal and cyclical tasks. For example, cleaning leaf litter or mineral deposits from drainage inlets or outlets.

• Using existing physical evidence of form, depth and detailing to reproduce a deteriorated water feature. If using the same kind of material is not technically, eco-

nomically, or environmentally feasible, then a compatible substitute material may be considered.

• Designing and installing a new water feature when the historic feature is completely missing. It may be an accurate restoration using historical, pictorial and physical documentation; or be a new design that is compatible with the historic character of the landscape. For example, replacing a lost irrigation feature using materials that convey the same visual appearance.

Structures, Furnishings, and Objects

• Identifying, retaining and preserving existing buildings, structures, furnishings and objects prior to beginning project work.

• Protecting and maintaining buildings, structures, furnishings and objects by use of non-destructive methods and daily, cyclical and seasonal tasks. This may include rust or limited paint removal, and reapplication of protective coating systems. For example, painting metal wrought iron fences or repointing masonry to match original mortar material, color and profiles.

• Using existing physical evidence of form, material and detailing to reproduce a deteriorated structure, furnishing or object. If using the same kind of material is not technically, economically, or environmentally feasible, then a compatible substitute material may be considered.

• Designing and installing new structures, furnishings and objects when the historic features are missing. It may be an accurate restoration using historical, pictorial and physical documentation; or be a new design that is compatible with the historic character of the landscape. For example, replacing a picnic shelter with one of a new compatible design.

• Designing and installing a new structure, furnishing or object when required by the new use, which is compatible with the preservation of the historic character of the landscape. For example, constructing a new farm outbuilding utilizing traditional building materials or installing appropriately scaled and detailed signage.

Accessibility

• Complying with barrier-free access requirements, in such a way that character-defining features, materials, and finishes are preserved.

• Providing barrier-free access that promotes independence for the disabled person to the highest degree practicable, while preserving character-defining landscape features, materials, and finishes.

Sustainability

• Improving energy efficiency of existing features through non-destructive means. For example, utilizing a recirculating system in a fountain rather than uncontrolled discharge to a storm system.

Together, the Historic Site objectives, the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards and Guidelines for Rehabilitation*, and the priorities listed above help identify on-going management practices, outlined in Chapter 8, and specific treatment proposals, as discussed in Chapter 9. Further research needed to identify and document additional gardens at Manzanar is outlined in Chapter 10.

8 GARDEN MANAGEMENT

Caring For and Fostering a Garden

The rehabilitation treatment approach that would meet management objectives calls for the preservation of significant garden and landscape elements that are intact, therefore this chapter focuses on maintenance, stabilization, and training. Maintenance work is expected to occur on a regular basis, while stabilization work, identified for specific features, entails fairly minor repairs that would likely last several years, if not decades. Maintenance and monitoring will ensure that the effectiveness of repairs can be assessed, and modifications made as necessary (Figure 8.1).

Routine Maintenance

On-going routine maintenance entails keeping exposed garden features clean and reducing potential risks posed by vegetation, pests, or fire. It includes four types of activities: Cleaning, Inspection, Preventive Maintenance and Repairs, and Tamarisk Removal.

Cleaning

Excavated ponds and gardens in Blocks 9, 12, 15, 22, 27, 33, and at the hospital and Merritt Park should be cleaned at least three times a year, preferably in the spring before the annual Manzanar Pilgrimage, before the summer rains, and in the late fall after all leaves have fallen. Cleaning may be necessary at other times, too, if required by unusual weather events or staff and visitor needs. This work would include (Figures 8.2 and 8.3):

- Removing litter, tumbleweeds, leaves, and dead and downed limbs from gardens and ponds.
- Diligent weeding to prevent "one year's seeding, seven years' weeding" (Goulty 1993:84).
- Removing of new brush growth.
- Removing wind-blown sand accumulations.

Over the past several years completing this routine work has averaged 5 to 10 person days a year. Cleaning can be done by cultural resources or maintenance staff, or, with minimal supervision, by interns or volunteers.

Inspection

Cleared ponds and gardens should be inspected yearly to determine which landscape components might need stabilization or specialized maintenance. Inspections of uncleared landscape features, of which there are hundreds, should be conducted formally as part of scheduled List of Classified Structures (LCS) and Archeological Sites Management Information System (ASMIS) condition assessments and informally as opportunities arise, for example, during tamarisk removal, since a member of the cultural resources staff will be present to monitor that work.

Figure 8.2. Removing leaves at Block 33 Arai pond (photograph by John Kepford).

Figure 8.3. Removing Russian thistle at Block 14 (photograph by Carrie Andresen).

←Figure 8.1. Internee pruning tree at Manzanar (Clem Albers, National Archives).

Figure 8.4. Resetting fallen rock at Merritt Park in 2014.

Figure 8.5. Cutting tamarisk at Block 12 mess hall garden in 2007.

Preventive Maintenance and Repairs

As determined by inspections, preventive maintenance and repair work could include (Figure 8.4):

- Rebuilding earthen mounds.
- Resetting loose rocks.
- Replacing decayed or termite-damaged wood features in kind.
- Implementing pest control measures if digging rodents start to undermine features or damage historic vegetation.
- Pruning trees to remove dead leaders and lighten load.
- Pruning trees associated with internee-designed block and barracks gardens to maintain historic appearance.
- Removing non-historic trees and shrubs with a priority on those that undermine historic structures, damage archeological resources, impact historic vegetation, are invasive, or confuse the original design of the landscape feature.

Tree pruning would require the expertise of a trained arborist, in consultation with the cultural resources manager or a specialist familiar with Japanese and American garden styles who can recommend strategies to restore the appropriate tree form. Tree and brush removal should be monitored by an archeologist.

Tamarisk Removal

Tamarisk trees would continue to be removed and managed at all landscape features in accordance with the Tamarisk Management Plan (Figure 8.5; Burton et al. 2012). Cutting and chemical treatments would be done by a specialized tamarisk removal crew, under the direction of the cultural resources program manager or historic preservation specialist. Stumps and duff would only be removed under the supervision of an archeologist.

Stabilization

Specific stabilization needs at cleared garden features that have been identified to date are listed below. All stabilization work shall use in-kind materials and will be based on the best available evidence, as derived from archeological and historical data (photographs and other documentation) or reliable information from oral interviews. Historic photographs and archeological evidence should guide replacement of rocks and other features. None of the work listed below is considered urgent at this time. However, regular monitoring may determine that additional stabilization work is urgent or critical for long-term preservation. Stabilization work needs to be supervised by members of the Cultural Resources staff who have training in the specific work to be done (see Training below).

Block 2 Barracks Pond

- Remove small brush (Figure 8.6).
- Repair broken concrete.
- Replace missing wood posts.

Figure 8.6. Small garden pond at Block 2 Barracks 1.

Block 9 Mess Hall Garden

- Remove large boulder between the upper and lower pond to match historic photographs (Figure 8.7).
- Repair broken concrete pond edges.
- Reset any displaced rocks that can be matched to impressions in concrete or historic photographs (Figure 8.8).

Block 14 Ironing Room Garden

- Replace missing wood posts.

Figure 8.7. Large boulder to be moved at Block 9 mess hall garden.

Figure 8.8. Rocks removed from pond at Block 9 mess hall garden.

Figure 8.9. Faux-wood log recovered from pond at Block 17 Barracks 8.

Block 15 Barracks 5 Pond

- Repair broken concrete edges.
- Reset displaced rocks that can be matched to impressions in concrete or historic photographs.

Block 17 Barracks 8 Garden

- Remove locust stumps and resprouts of trees cut in 2013.
- Reset rock alignments.
- Repair broken concrete edges.
- Repair and reset faux-wood logs (Figure 8.9).
- Reset rocks based on historic photographs.
- Repair stream channel and mound.

Block 20 Barracks 10 Garden Arbor

- Remove surrounding dead vegetation to reduce fire hazard.
- Keep nearby tamarisk to screen the direct view from the tour road to reduce the possibility of vandalism.
- Install termite bait stations to prevent termite damage.
- Investigate the use of wood preservative to prolong the life of this unique garden structure, which is the last of its kind remaining at Manzanar.

Block 24 Barracks 5 Garden

- Repair concrete bridge (Figure 8.10).
- Reset displaced rocks based on historic photographs.

Figure 8.10. Broken concrete bridge at Block 24 Barracks 5.

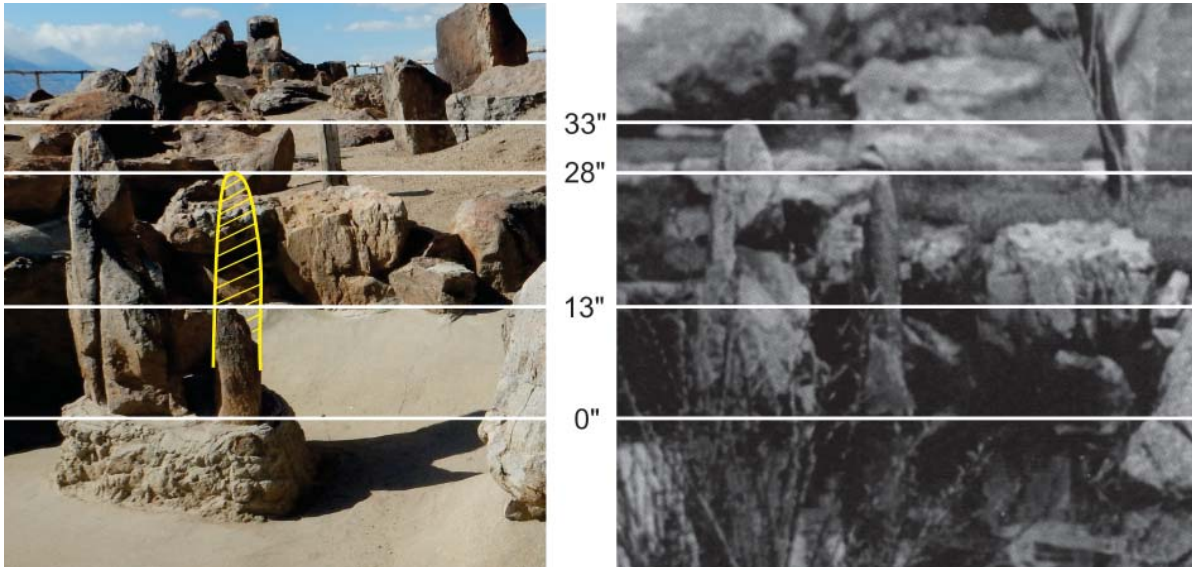


Figure 8.12. Historic and contemporary photographs showing missing portion of crane rock at Block 34 mess hall garden.

Figure 8.11. Broken concrete pond edge at Block 34 mess hall garden.

- Conduct subsurface testing in the surrounding area to locate missing landscape rocks that may be buried.

Block 34 Mess Hall Garden

- Repair minor cracks and spalling in concrete (Figure 8.11).
- Repair broken crane rock with tinted mortar to match existing (missing portion is approx. 5 by 10 by 15 inches; Figure 8.12).

Hospital Pond Garden

- Bring in fill dirt to restore waterfall mound and support undercut boulders.

Merritt Park

- Bring in fill dirt to restore waterfall mound and support undercut boulders.
- Bring in fill dirt to raise north bank of the upper pond to match historic photographs.
- Repair broken turtle rock on edge of upper pond.

Administration Area

- Clear brush.
- Expose rock alignments and reset rocks where necessary.

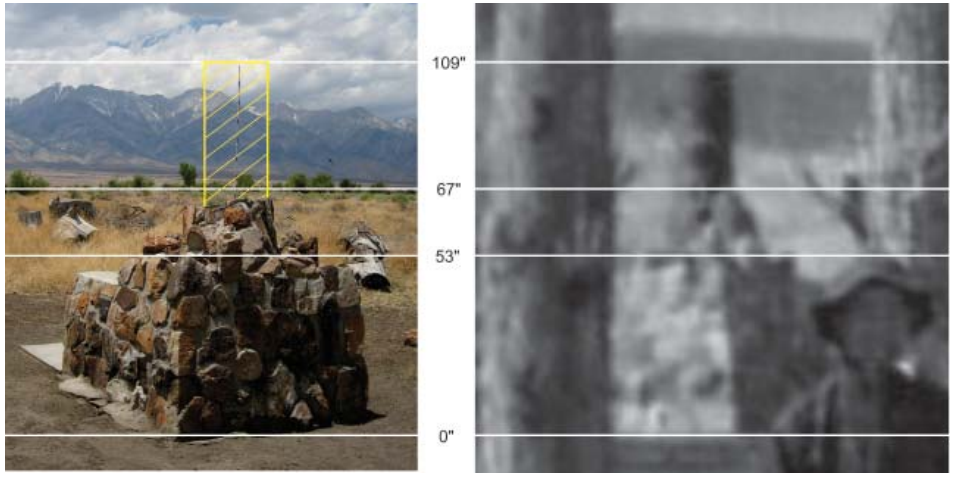


Figure 8.13. Historic and contemporary photographs of oven at North Park showing size of missing chimney made of concrete pipe.

Figure 8.14. Moving rocks with tripod and roller. Hands-on workshop, Sixth International Symposium of Japanese Gardens, San Diego Japanese Friendship Garden, 2010.

Auditorium

- Aggressively trim back overgrown junipers along main (west) entry sidewalk or replace with a species more compatible with its historic appearance.

North Park

- Repair oven chimney using tinted textured concrete over concrete pipe to match historic photographs (three 18-inch-long pipe sections, 12-inch inside diameter and 14½-inch outside diameter (Figure 8.13).

- Cut and remove invasive willows and other vegetation to return area to its historic open park-like appearance.

Training

Staff supervising garden stabilization work need to be familiar with the Secretary of Interior's *Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties and Guidelines for the Rehabilitation of Cultural Landscape*. These four courses, or their equivalent, would fulfill that need. The first is offered by the National Park Service; the other three are offered by the National Preservation Institute:

Secretary Standards and Section 106: A Practical Application (3 days)
This course includes in-depth application of the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*. Participants learn about the four treatment approaches including preservation, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction and how they apply to a wide variety of resource types. Using methods and tools learned in the class – including how to factor in significance and integrity – participants will be able to identify the appropriate treatment method in a variety of situations, in order to make informed

decisions in accordance with the *Standards* and Section 106.

Landscape Preservation: An Introduction (2 days)

In this introduction to the basics of cultural landscapes, participants learn about designed, vernacular, and ethnographic landscapes, and historic sites; review applicable laws and regulations; and discuss how to identify and inventory character-defining features of a landscape. Students also explore the concepts of preservation planning and documentation, and the development of the cultural landscape report for use in managing historic and cultural landscapes. Case studies illustrate realistic approaches to effective landscape management and preservation.

Landscape Preservation: Advanced Tools for Managing Change (1 day)

This advanced landscape preservation seminar explores the sometimes conflicting issues that direct the process of change and decision-making for challenging landscapes. Participants will (1) review the practice and discuss the implications of inventorying, evaluating, treating, and maintaining landscape resources; (2) identify tools and techniques for managing change when difficult issues affect the process; and (3) understand the philosophical foundations for making sound, educated decisions about the preservation and long-term management of historic and cultural landscapes.

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards: Treatment Considerations (2 days)

The Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* form the basis for historic property rehabilitation for all federal projects. Participants will explore the *Standards* in detail with particular attention to the preservation of historic fabric, sustainability, green rehabilitation, and the use of renewable materials. Participants have the opportunity to discuss the application of the *Standards* to their projects.

Specific training in the design and maintenance of Japanese gardens is also recommended for cultural resources staff. This training can be acquired by taking online courses, attending Japanese garden workshops, or by inviting garden experts to Manzanar. It is recommended that at least one person on the cultural resources staff take advantage of training offered by the North American Japanese Garden Association and by public Japanese gardens in California, such as the San Diego Japanese Friendship Garden and the Hakone Estate and Gardens (Figures 8.14-8.16). For those staff members interested in gaining a deeper appreciation, the International Institute for Japanese Garden Arts at the Portland Japanese Garden is developing a comprehensive education program for Japanese garden professionals working outside of Japan. Participation in this training would not only help Manzanar staff develop technical skills and an understanding of the gardens' cultural context, it would promote public awareness of Manzanar's unique cultural resources. The program is expected to include a 2-week introductory seminar, a 2-week garden-building workshop, and a mentoring program.

To ensure continuity in Manzanar's garden management, ideally there would be at least two staff members with in-depth training in Japanese garden construction, so that when one transfers or retires, the other can take care of the gardens and train new employees. Tomoki Kato, an 8th-generation head of a garden design company in Kyoto, makes a compelling argument that it takes 200 years to learn Japanese garden stewardship (Kato et al. 2014). Since gardens are meant to outlast the lifetime of one individual, techniques of caring for and fostering a garden must be passed down from person to person: "The '200 Years Theory of Garden Craftsman' tells us that human living years may not be enough to acquire all to become a true gardener but we can at least obtain understanding and knowledge from fellow teammates."

Figure 8.15. Japanese gardener's tools. Workshop at Sixth International Symposium of Japanese Gardens, San Diego Japanese Friendship Garden, 2010.

Figure 8.16. Setting rocks with Dr. David Slawson (center). Workshop, Evoking Native Landscape Using Japanese Garden Principles, San Diego Japanese Friendship Garden, 2011.

K.Uetsuzi
1943.

9 GARDEN TREATMENTS

Involve All The Senses

Garden treatments are dictated by their importance in the history of Manzanar, their significance in the history of Japanese gardens in the United States, and their meaning to former internees, their families, and other stakeholders (Figure 9.1). Chapter 7 described the objectives for long-term stewardship of Manzanar's gardens and landscaping, and outlined the process that determined that "Rehabilitation" is the best approach to meet those objectives and which gardens should be rehabilitated. This chapter provides details about the specific treatments recommended to meet the objectives using the rehabilitation approach. These treatments can be accomplished with existing staffing.

Although full restoration of all of Manzanar's significant gardens is not practical, the rehabilitation of Merritt Park, two Japanese gardens in the internee residential area, and two gardens in the administration area will provide visitors with the opportunity to see the range of gardens that were present historically: barracks gardens, mess hall gardens, community parks, and administration area gardens. Three would be fully restored with plants and water: Merritt Park, the Block 33 Arai fish pond, and the Block 34 mess hall garden (Figures 9.2-9.4). Several other gardens are recommended for only partial restoration as part of the Rehabilitation treatment. Although not meeting the popular or technical definition of "restoration," additional rehabilitation work at these gardens will provide excellent visitor information and interpretation opportunities with a high benefit-to-cost ratio.

According to the criteria in the Code of Federal Regulations Title 36 Section 800.5, the treatments outlined below would have "no adverse effect" on Manzanar National Historic Site. No part of a property would be destroyed; all repairs, stabilization, and restoration will be consistent with the Secretary's *Standards and Guidelines*. The project would involve no change in the character of the property's use, and would not introduce visual, atmospheric, or audible elements that would diminish the property's historic significance.

General Treatments for Rehabilitated Gardens

Rehabilitation of Manzanar's gardens and landscaping for safe, effective, and sustainable visitor interpretation incorporate some key principles across the board:

- To protect and preserve cultural resources while enhancing visitor experience, rehabilitation will follow the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (Birnbaum 1996:15). The *Standards* are discussed in Chapter 7, but any questions or issues that arise during implementation of this plan will be addressed through reference to the complete *Standards* and consultation with the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO).

Figure 9.2. Block 33 Arai pond (Madelon Arai Yamamoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 9.3. Block 34 mess hall garden (Tami Oda Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 9.4. Lower pond at Merritt Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

←Figure 9.1. Merritt Park (K. Uetsuzi 1945; Henry Nishi Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 9.5. Lower pond at Merritt Park filled with flood water in 2013.

transition from stabilization to rehabilitation to maintenance of garden features, so that the overall daily workload does not increase.

Further, reconstruction of water features and replanting of vegetation necessary for rehabilitation will occur only after the non-native elk have been effectively excluded from the Historic Site as a whole, or around the gardens themselves. Any new water use should be delayed until the current California drought has ended.

Short-term capital investments will be needed for some of the rehabilitation work, but the garden-specific recommendations count on no increase in base salaries and staff positions. Once rehabilitation work is completed, Japanese gardens the size of those at Block 33 and 34 are each estimated to require 20 minutes a day for routine maintenance (Roth 2015:15). Volunteers, now recruited for short-term projects, may be able to provide long-term maintenance, if individuals or garden clubs adopt a garden or portions thereof, such as the rose garden at Merritt Park.

- To address the needs of diverse visitors, including an aging population and parents with baby strollers, rehabilitated gardens will be accessible.

- Because of the possibility of more frequent or prolonged drought conditions, plantings and water feature rehabilitation will be designed to minimize water use, and any irrigation systems will use the best water- and labor-saving technology.

- Recognizing constraints in funding and staffing levels, only a sample of gardens will be rehabilitated. Further, rehabilitation work should proceed at a sustainable pace, and not depend on additional cultural resources staffing. That is, existing staff would

Ponds and Water

For the rehabilitation, water would be reintroduced to Merritt Park, the Block 33 Arai fish pond, and the Block 34 mess hall garden (Figure 9.5). The ponds and streams in Manzanar's Japanese gardens were originally kept full by constant or continual filling, or, in the case of Merritt Park, possibly by the historic high water table. Waterfalls were fed by pipes, small ditches, or hoses connected to the camp's domestic water supply. Overflow water was directed into the camp sewage system or into rock-filled sumps.

For the rehabilitation, to minimize water use, water would be recirculated, using small pumps powered

by solar panels. There are two standard technologies to keep recirculating pond water clean: filtration and aeration. Aeration systems, as described by Chu (2015), have several advantages, such as requiring smaller initial investment and less ongoing maintenance. Ponds should have no fish, and minimal water plants, to facilitate maintenance. Ultra-sonic methods, rather than chemicals, would be used if additional algae control is needed.

The concrete ponds at Blocks 33 and 34 will need to be sealed to prevent water loss through small cracks. The ponds at Merritt Park were not originally concrete-lined, but without a lining the ponds would require constant filling. It is recommended that the Merritt Park ponds be lined with asphalt, which was used for lining ponds at Anderson Gardens, located in Illinois and one of the two top Japanese gardens in the United States. Naturally dark, asphalt would have the additional benefit of providing the illusion of greater water depth. Historically, the Merritt Park ponds were approximately a foot deeper than they are now. Compared to concrete, asphalt is cheaper to install and easier to patch and maintain (Gruner 2015). Like concrete, asphalt is also non-toxic.

Once ponds are filled, water use to replenish that lost to evaporation is less than that used to maintain a traditional lawn of the same size (Stevens 2014). To provide further water savings, ponds could be filled only seasonally, or for special occasions such as Pilgrimage weekend or annual garden tours.

Water Use

Full implementation of the Garden Management Plan would entail the use of up to 5.5 acre-feet of water per year. Ponds and vegetation at the Block 33 Arai pond and the Block 34 mess hall garden would require up to 1 acre-foot of water per year. Merritt Park, with about 0.75 acre of ponds, grass, and other vegetation, would use up to 4.5 acre foot of water per year. Water use would be less as new plants become established. Given California's current drought and the continuing negative effects of climate change, it is important to examine how this use would fit into current water use at Manzanar and surrounding areas of Owens Valley.

Like most human endeavors, the National Historic Site could not operate without water, and water was provided for in the land exchange with the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (LADWP) that established the Historic Site. The land exchange agreement authorized the use 10,000,000 gallons, or 30.7 acre feet, per year, from wells within the Historic Site. The General Management Plan, which included an environmental analysis, considered the proper allocation of this water, and determined it appropriate to use for visitors, orchards, and landscaped areas (NPS 1996a:47).

Water use at the Visitor Center, which serves both the public and the National Park Service staff, is approximately 1 acre-foot per year, used mainly for the restrooms. This estimate is based on water use in 2014, when 77,633 visitors were recorded. No substantial additional water use is projected for the Visitor Center: visitation increased about 8 percent a year after the visitor center opened in 2004 to a high of 89,190 in 2009. Since 2009, the number of annual visitors has never been over 80,000.

The Orchard Management Plan (NPS 2010) calls for the care and cultivation of a select sample of the trees present at the time of the Relocation Center and the earlier Town of Manzanar, to provide examples for visitor interpretation. Two orchards would be restored and three would be rehabilitated. Other original orchards and trees would not be watered. Irrigation of the orchards and other trees currently uses 2 acre-feet per year. When the Orchard Management Plan is fully

Figure 9.6. Historic black locust trees at Block 22 mess hall garden.

Figure 9.7. Cottonwood trees within barracks footprint at Block 33 Arai pond.

implemented, irrigation use is expected to be approximately 3 acre-feet per year.

Cumulatively, then, if the Garden Management Plan is fully implemented, total annual water use at the Historic Site would be about 9.5 acre-feet, well below the 30.7 acre feet allocated by LADWP. Even if annual visitation doubled, total water use would likely be less than 10 acre-feet per year. To put this in context, in 2014 LADWP's groundwater pumping in Owens Valley totaled 70,000 acre-feet. A 185-acre dust-mitigation alfalfa field just north of Manzanar is estimated to use over 850 acre-feet of water per year. Water use at Merritt Park would be the same as 1 acre of alfalfa.

Another factor that must be discussed when considering Manzanar's water use is the effect of another management action, that is, the removal of tamarisk. As outlined in the Tamarisk Management Plan (Burton et al. 2012), tamarisk are aggressive non-native trees that obscure the historic landscape, and their roots damage historic features. Since 2007, over 145 large tamarisk trees have been removed from the Historic Site, and the removal of at least 38 more tamarisk trees is planned (Burton 2014a).

Removal of tamarisk has a direct effect on reducing groundwater use at the Historic Site: one large tamarisk can use 200 gallons of water a day (Hoddenbach 1989). The removal of 145 large trees, then, could result in a savings of up to 29,000 gallons of groundwater per day during the growing season. Assuming a 6-month growing season, this would total an annual water savings of 32.5 acre-feet. Another way to calculate groundwater savings is by acre; the Colorado Weed Management Association (2015) has compiled statistics that indicate one acre of tamarisk uses an average of 7.7 acre-feet of water a year. At Manzanar, 10.67 acres of tamarisk were removed between 2007 and 2014; using the acreage water-use figures, this has resulted in groundwater savings of over 82 acre-feet per year.

In summary, even with full implementation of the Garden Management Plan and Orchard Management Plan, the Historic Site would be using less than a third of its annual water allotment. Thanks to the implementation of the Tamarisk Management Plan, the National Park Servicer is effectively conserving between 3 and 8 times the amount of groundwater in the aquifer than is withdrawn for use. No other additional substantial water use is projected for the Historic Site. Further, implementation of the Garden Management Plan would not require additional carbon-based fuel since the well to be used is solar-powered.

Vegetation

The vegetation planted in rehabilitated gardens must:

- Reflect historic shapes and growth patterns.
- Be drought tolerant or require minimal watering.
- Have low maintenance requirements.
- Not be invasive, so that they have low potential to damage historic features or propagate beyond the planted areas.

In some cases the historic species used meet these criteria, but in other cases substitutions are recommended, as discussed below.

Trees

Some of the original tree species are appropriate for use in rehabilitated gardens, but some species require too much water or become invasive and destructive. In general, trees planted to replace those internees planted should be dwarf or semi-dwarf, to match the period of significance. Non-dwarf varieties could be used, but would require more pruning, necessitating more staff time and expertise. Based on historic

photographs and extant specimens, the following tree species were used in gardens at Manzanar. Included in each description are recommendations to continue use or substitute a different species.

Black Locust – The most common tree at Manzanar, locust still exist at most gardens and have spread naturally throughout the site (Figure 9.6). Several historic locust trees remain at Merritt Park. Save one pine, all trees at the Block 34 mess hall garden were locust, and there are some still extant at Manzanar's historic entrance. Because this species is hardy and drought tolerant, it should be replaced in kind, either with a modern equivalent or the original variety transplanted from other areas of the site or propagated from locally collected seeds or cuttings. The latter would be akin to what Manzanar's gardeners did.

Cottonwood – Identifiable in historic photographs, cottonwoods have died out in Merritt Park, with only a few stumps left. Large cottonwoods now grow where barracks once stood in Block 33, at the Arai fish pond (Figure 9.7). Because the species is invasive and a heavy water user, new plantings should substitute similarly shaped drought-tolerant and less invasive tree such as Shademaster honeylocust. The honeylocust is hardy, native to North America, and grows to a large size, but is rated as requiring low maintenance because it is thornless and seedless and requires less water than similarly shaped species. It is especially appropriate where grass will be planted, because the canopy lets partial sun through.

Siberian Elm – Although hardy, Siberian elm is disease-prone and messy, releasing tens of thousands of seed pods in the spring. There are still some historic elms at Merritt Park, but new plantings should substitute American Sentry Linden, which grows to a similar size and shape, provides fall color, and is hardy, but not invasive.

Tamarisk – Visible in historic photographs as small wispy shrub-like trees, tamarisk is still present at Manzanar, now grown into massive trees and thickets (Figure 9.8). Tamarisk is considered a noxious invasive that can damage cultural resources with its aggressive roots, outcompete other plants, and soak up ground water. Manzanar's Tamarisk Treatment Plan (Burton et al. 2012) calls for removing new stands and specimens and retaining only those historic trees that are not damaging cultural resources. Of the gardens to be rehabilitated, only Merritt Park had tamarisk. New plantings should substitute a similarly shaped shrub, such as Russian or Mexican sage, to match the appearance of young tamarisk during the period of significance.

Willow – Visible in historic photographs of Merritt Park as shrub-sized plants, willow is invasive and a heavy water user (Figure 9.9). Replantings should substitute a similarly shaped shrub such as desert olive.

Maple – One maple tree has been identified in photographs at Merritt Park; a modern hybrid maple would be suitable for its replacement.

Pine – One large pine tree can be identified in photographs at Merritt Park, and one small pine is visible in photographs of the Block 34 mess hall garden. Neither tree has been identified to species, and neither is still present. Both missing trees should be replaced with a drought-tolerant species of pine. The Block 34 specimen should be a dwarf species to match the period of significance. Several small pines are present in some of the historic photographs of the administration circle cactus garden. These trees apparently died well before the camp closed and will not be replaced.

Apple – Historically there were five apple trees at the Block 33 Arai fish pond. They should be replanted using a currently available equivalent.

Tree of Heaven –Although none of this invasive species has been identified at gardens to be rehabilitated, some are adjacent to Merritt Park. Since they are inva-

Figure 9.8. Tamarisk tree at barracks garden at Block 19 Barracks 8 (removed in 2012).

Figure 9.9. Willow tree growing within 8th Street at Merritt Park (removed in 2008).

Figure 9.10. Tree-of-Heaven at Block 11 in 2015.

Figure 9.11. Grass at Wilder Orchard in 2015.

Figure 9.13. Wild rose at Merritt Park in 2012.

Figure 9.14. Silver lupine (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Figure 9.12. Grass at Block 33 Arai pond in 2015.

sive they should not be encouraged or replanted when they die (Figure 9.10).

Grasses

The one lawn species identified to date in historic records is perennial rye grass. However, to be more sustainable, a drought-tolerant or drought-resistant species should be used in the rehabilitation, watered by an automatic underground sprinkler system. Three warm-season grasses and two cool-season grasses have been grown successfully in areas with similar climatic conditions to Manzanar; it is recommended that these first be tried out on a small scale to determine the best option. Most require mowing only every 2-3 weeks. Native grasses and forbs should be seeded or encouraged in all restored areas (Figures 9.11 and 9.12). For example, Indian rice grass is growing at the Block 9 mess hall garden and a type of bermudagrass is growing at the Block 33 Arai pond and elsewhere.

Bermudagrass – Today Bermudagrass grows in many areas of the site, including Block 33 and Merritt Park. It is considered drought-tolerant, but in well-watered areas such as around irrigated trees in the orchard, it can form a mat-like lawn. It is a medium to fine-textured warm-season turfgrass that becomes dormant and turns brown in the winter, but this is not a major disadvantage at Manzanar, since most visitation is in the spring and summer months. In areas where it is growing, Bermudagrass should be encouraged and possibly reseeded.

Zoysia – A warm-season, perennial, turf-type grass, also known as Korean grass. It is planted by seed, or sod in larger areas. Zoysia is even more drought-tolerant than Bermudagrass, but harder to start.

Buffalograss – UC Verde buffalograss was developed by University of California researchers as a lower water-use alternative to traditional cool- and warm-season grasses. It is a warm-season grass native to the North American plains. It goes fully dormant in the winter. It can be planted from plugs spaced 12 inches apart in the warm season. It spreads by rhizomes and is very competitive with weeds once established. Buffalograss requires 50- to 75-percent less water than a fescue lawn.

Native Bentgrass – *Agrostis pallens* is a cool-season California native bentgrass. It requires full sun, withstands foot traffic, and has a good wear recovery due to self-repairing rhizomes. Bentgrass has to be mowed frequently, but requires about half the water of a traditional cool-season grass and stays green throughout the year. Starting a native bentgrass lawn from seed can be a challenge, but it has recently been made available as sod with degradable netting. The cost of Native bentgrass sod is more than that of traditional blue, rye, or fescue sods.

Fineleaf Fescue – Fineleaf fescues can form an aesthetically pleasing no-mow grassy groundcover. They are cool-season grasses that can be either seeded or

sodded. They typically require about 85 percent of the water needed to keep a typical lawn green in the summer and they can withstand more severe irrigation deficit and dormancy with the ability to come back the following year. However, fineleaf fescues are not suitable for areas where pedestrian traffic is common.

Shrubs and Other Plants

Historic documents and archeological data indicate there were roses at Merritt Park, irises at Merritt Park and Block 34, cattails at Block 33, and water lilies at Block 33. Irises, cattails, and water lilies would be replaced in kind. Roses at Merritt Park should be replaced with varieties grown there historically. Wild roses now growing at Merritt Park should be encouraged (Figure 9.13). As a demonstration, some modern stock could be budded onto them as it was historically. Other shrubs and flowers visible in historic photographs of the gardens have not been identified to species, so local native shrubs and wildflowers would be acceptable substitutes (Figure 9.14). Shrubs grown by the farm division in 1942 for camp use included C*otoneaster, Fraxinus* (olive and lilac family), *Ligustrum* (privet), *Pyracantha, Prunus*, and *Wisteria* (Plant Propagation Monthly Report, July 31, 1942).

Specific Treatments for Garden Rehabilitation

For rehabilitation of selected gardens, there is adequate documentation of the original conditions so that rehabilitation can include accurate restoration and reconstruction of missing features. Nevertheless, all rehabilitation work will be fully reversible, and will not impact extant historic features.

Block 9 Mess Hall Garden

This garden is important not only because it was built by Ryozo Kado, but also because of the reason he built it, as he discussed in his own writings. Visited mostly during ranger-led tours, it provides a physical place for interpreters to talk about the special conditions faced by the internees from Terminal Island. To improve the visitor experience and protect the garden, the wood fence seen in historic photographs would be replicated (Figure 9.15). Wood used for the fence would be gathered locally. Other treatments include:

- Displaced boulders would be reset based on historic photographs and archeological evidence, if available.

- When existing black locust trees die they should be replaced with transplants from overgrown areas of the Historic Site. Transplanted locust trees should be as large as practical so that they are close in size to the other existing trees.

Figure 9.15. Detail of fence at Block 9 mess hall garden. (courtesy of Danny Hashimoto).

Block 12 Mess Hall Garden

Much work has already been completed at this garden as part of an award-winning restoration project. Located adjacent to the driving tour road, the garden's interpretive potential would be enhanced with several tasks:

- Reconstruct the gravel pathways on the west and east sides of the garden to better define the garden area. Archeological evidence indicates round stream-worn gravel was used for the pathways; a like material should be used if it can be installed to meet accessibility requirements. Otherwise, a compatible material can be used.

- Investigate the durability, sustainability, and visual

Figure 9.16. Block 12 mess hall garden showing lush grass and other vegetation (WRA photograph, UCLA Special Collections).

Figure 9.17. Block 14 Barracks 8 in 1945 (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 9.18. Flower garden at Block 14 Barracks 13 (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

aesthetics of placing artificial grass within the fenced garden area. Green lush grass was a character-defining element of the garden (Figure 9.16), but restoration of the lawn would require an irrigation system. At this time irrigation would be cost-prohibitive, and potentially damaging to the long-term preservation of the constructed features. The many historic trees within the garden would compete with the grass for water, and added water would encourage potentially invasive and damaging tree roots. Artificial grass is used at public gardens in England where heavy visitor traffic makes grass problematic, to allow visitors to experience gardens as they were originally designed (Calnan 2014:18-19).

- When existing black locust trees die they should be replaced with transplants from overgrown areas of the Historic Site. Transplanted locust trees should be as large as practical so that they are close in size to the other existing trees

Block 14 Barracks Gardens

As part of the Block 14 Demonstration Block, one or more small lawns and flower gardens would be reestablished (Figures 9.17 and 9.18). To provide context, these planted gardens would only be placed where there is a replica building as a backdrop. For example, the ironing room garden would only be restored after a replica ironing room has been built. Most restoration work will focus on the area around replica Barracks 8. In keeping with its interpretive theme, no vegetation would be planted around Barracks 1, depicting how a barracks would have looked in 1942 when the internees arrived. Only the rock alignments and pathway at the south end of Barracks 1, mostly intact anyway, would be restored. Some actions, already approved and concurred with by State Historic Preservation Office (see Burton 2012c), can be implemented when funding and expertise are available, including:

• Clear sediments from all internee-constructed landscape features, such as rock alignments and entryways, to better define former barracks locations.

• Restore rock alignments and other landscaping elements at Barracks 8 based on historic photographs and archeological evidence.

• Replant black locust trees around Barracks 8 based on historic photographs and stump locations to match the 1945 barracks appearance.

• Plant a grass lawn (or a portion thereof) on the west side of Barracks 8, where one was present historically. Grass species will be chosen based on the results of plantings in other areas. Irrigation would make use of a hose and sprinkler as it was done historically, but timers would be used to conserve water.

• Restore rock alignments and other landscape features at other barracks and communal buildings.

• Plant a representative flower garden.

Block 22 Mess Hall Garden

The numerous mature historic trees preclude adding water to the pond or planting new trees or other vegetation, as discussed above for Block 12. However, one task would greatly enhance the Block 22 mess hall garden's interpretive potential: replicating the well seen in historic photographs (Figure 9.19). As the water source for the pond, it is an important character-defining element, not only distinguishing Block 22's mess hall garden from others at Manzanar, but also highlighting the symbolism of the garden's Japanese name, *Otoba no Ike*, and its intended homage to Kiyomizu temple in Kyoto, Japan. Construction should use locally gathered materials. Additional treatments include:

• The wood rails on the bridge should be replicated using locally gathered materials.

• When existing black locust trees die they should be replaced with transplants from overgrown areas of the Historic Site. Transplanted locust trees should be as large as practical so that they are close in size to the other existing trees.

Block 33 Arai Fish Pond

This will be the fully-restored representative barracks garden. Much of the preservation, stabilization, and restoration work at the Arai fish pond has been completed (Burton and Farrell 2014), so only a few treatments are necessary to make this pond look very much like it did during World War II:

• Aggressively cut back or, if necessary, remove nearby invasive non-historic cottonwood trees that are causing damage to the pond and that would compete with new plantings.

• Replant five apple trees. The apple trees should be standard size to match the period of significance.

• Add a lawn and install an automatic watering system tied to the nearby orchard waterline. Try encouraging the grass already growing, or leave it and seed with other grasses and see which takes over.

• Patch cracks and seal the concrete pond lining and stream channel.

• Add water, using the faucet installed in 2014 so that water flows down the concrete stream channel to the pond. Install a hidden float mechanism in the fish tunnel to keep the pond filled. In addition, a motion sensor could be placed along the access trail to the pond to temporarily turn on the water flow for visitors.

Figure 9.19. Garden well at Block 22 mess hall garden (WRA photograph, UCLA Special Collections).

Figure 9.20. Japanese characters to be painted in black at Block 34 mess hall garden.

• Add water lilies in planting boxes. The plants could be artificial, to reduce maintenance.

Block 34 Mess Hall Garden

This will be the fully-restored representative mess hall garden. Much of the work needed for rehabilitation was completed in 2007 as part of documentation, excavation, stabilization, and maintenance (Burton 2007c). This garden already has an accessible sidewalk from the driving tour road and is already fenced. The fencing provides resource protection and visitor safety; the fencing would also provide protection from elk damage, allowing for rehabilitation work to proceed before the park-wide elk-proof fence is completed.

Figure 9.21. Block 34 mess hall garden showing wood cribbing and vegetation (Francis C. Dieterich film, Eastern California Museum).

Additional treatments needed for the rehabilitation include:

• Repaint in black the original calligraphy as it was historically, on a vertical rock still present (山紫園, *San-shi-en*, "3-4 garden"; Figure 9.20).

• Replace missing posts, wood cribbing, and a cobble/pebble planting area within the pond (Figure 9.21).

• Restore wood *rangui* post edging along the stream channel.

• Remove stumps and replant trees based on historic photographs, to include one pine and 13 black locust trees. Most of the "stumps" are actually log rounds that were placed during stabilization work in 2007 to mark tree locations based on historic photographs. The garden now has no historic vegetation to protect or maintain. Dwarf or semi-dwarf varieties (or heavy pruning) should be used to keep the garden looking as much as possible as it did during the period of significance.

• Seed approximately 3,500 square feet of the garden with grass, where historic evidence indicates, using a mix of cool- and warm-season seeds so the grass would be green during the annual Manzanar Pilgrimage, in late April.

• Patch cracks in the pond lining: the concrete pond is stable and in good condition, but minor repairs will be necessary to seal it.

• Tie this garden to the orchard irrigation system to provide water, and recirculate water with a solar-powered pump.

• Replant irises and other plants in the pond and garden as seen in historic photographs.

Hospital Gardens

The hospital gardens have outstanding interpretive potential. Not only were they created through a collaboration of some of Manzanar's most prominent gardeners, there are many historic photographs of the gardens being used by hospital staff, patients, and others. A short snippet of a color home movie even shows a Caucasian boy swimming in the pond. Because the hospital gardens are located adjacent to the driving tour road, rehabilitation work should provide accessible interpretive opportunities. Tasks include:

- Reestablish the original hospital administration building road pullout for use as a visitor parking area.
- Restore the roadside rock alignments and paint the rocks white as they were historically to define the road edge and parking area.
- Stabilize and fill erosion channels for visitor safety.
- Seed restored areas with annual species.
- Repair the collapsed rock and concrete retaining wall along the east side of the hospital wards and mess hall (Figure 9.22).
- Fully uncover the faux-wood bench incorporated into the retaining wall (Figure 9.23).
- Uncover and repair the faux-wood stump sewer manhole near the faux-wood bench (Figure 9.24).
- Uncover stepping stones near the faux-wood bench visible in historic photographs.
- Replicate the historic fence at the hospital pond.
- Replant two black locust trees at the hospital pond at an angle across the stream.

Figure 9.22. Breached rock retaining wall at hospital.

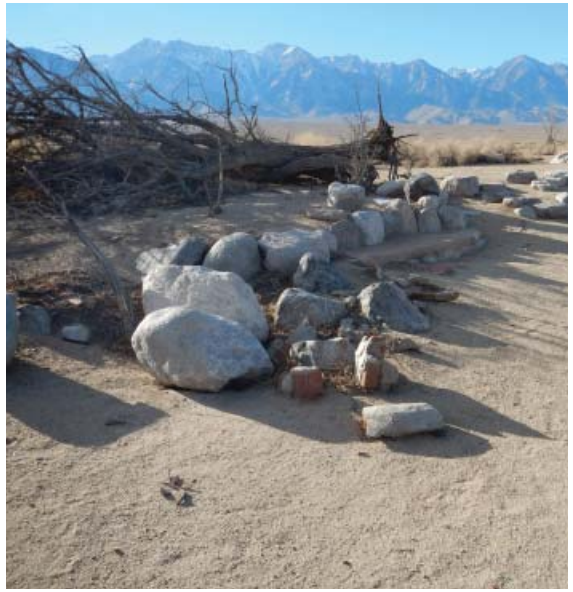


Figure 9.23. Sewer manhole (foreground) and faux-wood bench at hospital.

Cherry Park and Children's Village

The Children's Village at Manzanar was the only orphanage in all ten Relocation Centers. The public has identified restoration and rehabilitation work there as a priority. Work at the adjacent Cherry Park has the potential to highlight not only this important community garden, but also some of the notable gardenmakers at Manzanar.

Cherry Park was a collaboration between F.M. Uyematsu and William Katsuki. F.M. Uyematsu, who also worked with Kado at Block 6, was a successful nursery owner before the war. Uyematsu donated trees and other vegetation to Cherry Park and the Block 6 mess hall garden. Katsuki built the first decorative barracks garden at Manzanar and before he was interned the Stoner Park Japanese garden in West Los Angeles. Katsuki's Block 24 barracks garden has been excavated, but was found to be in poor condition.

Figure 9.24. Broken faux-wood piece from sewer manhole at hospital.

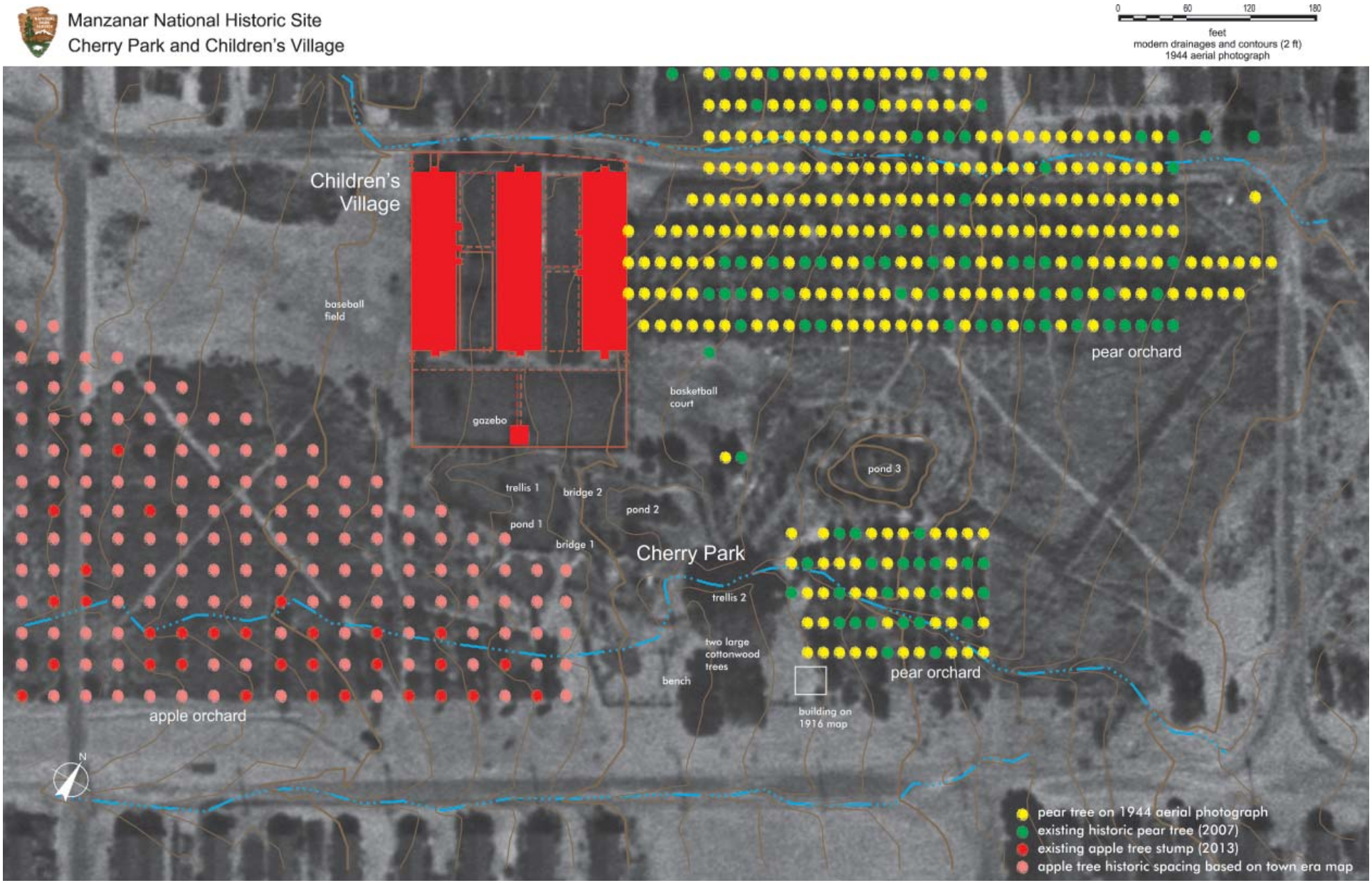


Figure 9.25. Children's Village and Cherry Park (1944 aerial photograph).

Landscaping features uncovered at the Block 24 mess hall, possibly his creation since he lived in that block, are limited. Specific tasks include (Figure 9.25):

- Clear brush and debris.
- Find feature locations, using historic photographs to guide archeological investigations.
- Remove non-historic trees from the building footprints and landscape features.
- Mark building locations with replica concrete footers, if necessary.
- Rebuild fences, arbors, and other garden features at Children's Village.
- Rebuild gazebo at Children's Village (Figure 9.26).
- Plant a sample of cherry trees at Cherry Park, tied to the orchard irrigation system.
- Rebuild one of the wisteria arbors at Cherry Park.
- Rebuild bridges at Cherry Park.
- Establish pathway(s) based on historic routes.

Wood construction should use locally gathered materials. Based on what is found during archeological work, additional restoration of features may be warranted.

Merritt Park

Merritt Park, the most well-known and iconic landscape feature at Manzanar, would be fully-rehabilitated. The park contains two main components, a Japanese pond stroll garden ("Pleasure Park") and a Western-style rose garden. Prior to 2007 most of the Japanese garden and the surrounding area was buried by alluvium and overgrown with tamarisk, but it is now uncovered and stabilized. Projects completed to date include the replacement of all *rangui* posts at the upper pond by a volunteer and the reconstruction of the rustic bridge at the upper pond by Henry Nishi, the son of the original builder, and his family. The bridge at the lower pond has been rebuilt based on historic photographs, but the decking was modified to make it accessible. The concrete floor of the teahouse has been replaced in kind and the calligraphy on two monumental steles has been repainted to match historic photographs.

The recommended rehabilitation of Merritt Park is based on historic photographs, the 1944 aerial photograph, and archeological evidence (Figure 9.27). The recommendations reflect a composite of the garden over time: the planted trees and other vegetation grew and the park became lusher, and then became overgrown as the gardeners left camp. Some plants may have died and were not replaced. Some areas were photographed more than others. In many of the photographs tree species could be identified. Based on photographs and existing specimens, black locust was the most common, and some remain today. The original cottonwood trees are now gone; because they are very water-intensive, invasive, and destructive, similarly shaped drought-tolerant and less-invasive trees, such as honeylocust or linden, should be planted in their place. Likewise, similarly shaped trees or shrubs should be substituted for tamarisk and willow. One identified maple and one pine tree should be replanted in kind, using drought-tolerant varieties if available. An irrigation system will need to be installed to water trees and grass.

Because of its size, rehabilitation work at Merritt Park will likely take place over several years and could proceed in three phases, as outlined below.

Figure 9.26. Gazebo at Children's Village (Merritt Collection, Eastern California Museum).

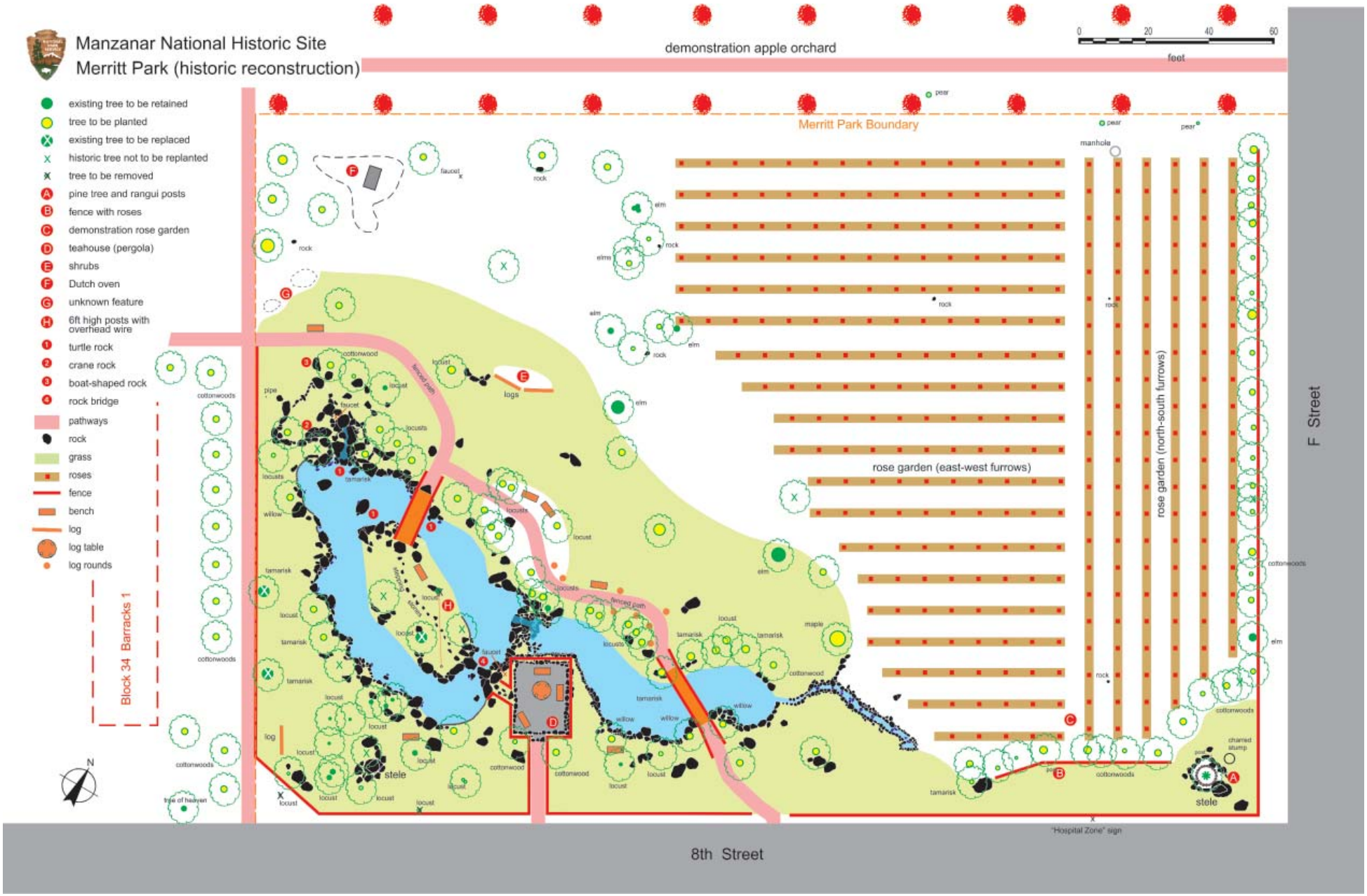


Figure 9.27. Merritt Park based on historic photographs and archeological evidence (for rehabilitation some original plant species would be replaced with drought-tolerant species, as described in the text).

Merritt Park Rehabilitation Phase 1

This work that can begin immediately, even before an elk-proof fence is built, and would improve access so visitors can more easily and safely see the restoration work that has already occurred, without causing resource damage:

- Replicate Nishi's dedication plaque based on historic photographs and other documentation. More information is still needed: the number of Japanese characters in Nishi's letter (see Figure 2.93) is about 40 characters more than that seen in historic photographs of the plaque (Figure 9.28).

- Remove the overgrown historic tamarisk along the west side of park (Figure 9.29) and two non-historic black locust trees, one along the fence line and the other outside the fence line in the southwest corner of the park. These trees are along the route of the park perimeter fence and historic pathways, and would be in the way of restoration and rehabilitation work.

- Replicate park perimeter fence using locally gathered materials (Figure 9.30).

- Mark trails with trailside fences and other barriers as they were historically. The fences and barriers will also provide resource protection.

- Construct an accessible trail, following historic walking routes, to channel foot traffic and protect the resource. The trail should start at the driving tour road parking area, head to the north side of the upper pond, head east and cross the lower pond bridge, loop around the south and west sides of the upper pond, and return to the parking area. The trail should be made of earth-colored asphalt or concrete. On the south side of the park the trail should incorporate 8th Street. This road and 'F' Street on the east side of the park should be paved with asphalt as the roads were originally along their full historic width as part of the accessible trail, and to allow restricted vehicle access for visitors that cannot use the accessible trail.

- Plant a sample of rose bushes in the rose garden area, using the same varieties as those planted historically (see list in Chapter 2). Roses are very drought-tolerant once established, so much of the original rose garden could be replanted. Roses could be donated and planted by family members and others in memory of former internees.

Merritt Park Rehabilitation Phase 2

This work would continue the restoration and protection work that has begun, improve the visitor experience, and enhance interpretation:

- Line the pond bottoms with a thin layer of colored soil cement to make it easier to keep them clean, but not necessarily water-tight. Flooding in 2013 deposited about 1 foot of sediment in the ponds (Burton 2013a). This sediment should be left in place and capped to form a shallower pond, which will convey the feeling of the original pond but be safer and ecologically viable. Merritt Park is now protected from flooding by a diversion ditch (Burton 2014a).

- Replace a historic black locust tree north of the pond that blew over in a windstorm in 2012 (Figure 9.31).

- Remove the large deteriorated historic black locust tree on the island within the upper pond (Figure 9.32). Although it is original, this tree is overgrown from its historic size and shape and is causing damage to the pond embankments. Both continued growth and falling limbs could result in damage to adjacent pond features. It should be replaced with a new tree, possibly one grown from a cutting from the historic tree. After the new tree is established the island's other black locust tree, which is not historic, should be removed.

- At the southeast stele, restore the *rangui* post enclosure and plant a pine tree (Figure 9.33). In historic photographs, this is the largest pine tree identified at

Figure 9.28. Dedication plaque at Merritt Park, 1943 (courtesy of Edith Nishi Yamamoto).

Figure 9.29. Overgrown tamarisk to be removed at Merritt Park.

Figure 9.30. Detail of perimeter fence at Merritt Park (Merritt Collection, Eastern California Museum).

Figure 9.31. Fallen black locust tree at Merritt Park, December 2012.

Figure 9.33. *Rangui* post enclosure at southeast stele (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 9.32. Large black locust tree on island at Merritt Park to be replaced.

Figure 9.34. Detail of faux-wood arbor at the Huntington Japanese garden.

Manzanar and the only pine tree identified at Merritt Park, and is therefore certainly the tree Nishi and the gardeners were getting when they were caught "out of bounds" by the Military Police. A replanted pine would provide an opportunity to interpret this powerful and poignant episode. The pine tree planted could be smaller than the tree in historic photographs since it will grow into its historic size.

- Add a charred tree trunk at the southeast stele to match historic photographs.

- Replicate the rustic teahouse using wood or faux-wood concrete (Figure 9.34). Wood construction should use locally gathered materials.

- Replicate the wood fence around the teahouse using locally gathered materials (Figure 9.35).

- Replicate the log round table at the teahouse using locally gathered materials (Figure 9.36).

- Replicate a post and wire feature seen in historic photographs on the island. Wood construction should use locally gathered materials (Figure 9.37).

- Replicate one or more rustic benches, visible in historic photographs. Wood construction should use locally gathered materials. Modern benches should only be used outside the park proper.

- Archeologically investigate and restore the "Dutch" oven partially visible in historic photographs.

Merritt Park Rehabilitation Phase 3

This phase, which will meet visitor and stakeholder expectations for a "restored" Merritt Park, should be begun only after elk-proof fencing has been installed and proven effective. Tasks include:

- Install a water system connected to the current orchard irrigation system to supply water for ponds and vegetation.

• Completely line and seal ponds with colored concrete or asphalt.

• Reactivate the upper waterfall with recirculating water. With a small catchment basin or hidden sump, the waterfall could run year-round.

• Seasonally, fill both ponds, ensuring water conservation with a recirculating pump.

• Rehabilitate the orchard to the north, between Merritt Park and the driving tour road, per the Orchard Management Plan (NPS 2010). Although primarily done to meet Orchard Management Plan objectives, this will provide a vegetative backdrop for Merritt Park, replicating the historic setting.

• Add a windbreak of 40 trees along 8th and 'D' streets and Block 34 Barracks 1. Historically these included cottonwood, but for water conservation, other non-aggressive trees of similar form should be used.

• Plant additional trees as indicated in historic photographs. Original species identified include 24 black locust, seven tamarisk, five cottonwoods, four willows, one elm, and one maple. Eighteen additional trees are either cottonwood, elm, or maple. Keep the 12 existing locust (including some that are non-historic) and five existing elm trees, but replace missing cottonwood, willow, and tamarisk with more water-conservative species. Some trees visible in some historic photographs would not be replanted because of crowding, distance from main features, or their absence in later photographs.

• A charred stump next to the southwest stele would not be replanted even through it is from a historic tree, because it is compatible with a charred stump used as a decorative element at the southeast stele.

• Add lawns around the upper pond and on the island, and extend to other areas if feasible. Grass could be Zoysia, a warm season perennial, or other types based on the results of plantings at other gardens.

Figure 9.35. Fence with rope and two strands of barbed wire at Merritt Park tea house (Merritt Collection, Eastern California Museum).

• Plant shrubs and other vegetation based on historic photographs to be representative of what was at the park historically. Restoring all of the vegetation at Merritt Park, especially as it was when the camp closed, would be prohibitive in terms of water use and maintenance. Priority will be irises around the ponds, small shrubs around rocks and other landscape features, and climbing rose and other plants at a fence west of the southeast stele. Whenever possible and conducive to water conservation, native plants with the same shape and form should be substituted for historically-used species.

• Low-maintenance native wildflowers should be used to replace historic flowers. Local garden clubs or other volunteers could plant and care for the historically used species.

Administration Area Landscaping

The Manzanar Cultural Landscape Report calls for the repair and restoration of several features in the administration and entrance areas, to allow visitors to more easily imagine the layout of the camp and to provide comparisons with the layout in the internee

Figure 9.36. Log table at Merritt Park tea house (Robert Fujioka Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 9.37. Wire strung between posts on island at Merritt Park (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 9.38. Bevertail cactus at entrance sign garden (Ansel Adams, Library of Congress).

area (NPS 2006a). The Cultural Landscape Report also recommends the replanting of important trees and other vegetation. Rehabilitation of the entrance garden is almost complete. Rehabilitation work in other parts of the administration area is ongoing. Additional work is outlined below and in a Determination of No Adverse Effect prepared for archeological work in the administration area (Burton 2012d). All work will be based on archeological data and historical documentation. Remaining projects include:

Entrance Sign Garden

Much of the rehabilitation work needed for this garden has already been completed: the original entrance sign has been replaced, deteriorated sign posts have been stabilized, the rocks around the entrance sign have been reset, and all but one cactus have been replanted to match the original species. Two tasks remain:

- Replant small beavertail cactus at entrance sign garden (Figure 9.38).

- Replant a line of black locust trees at 10-foot intervals along the south side of 1st Street from the entrance west 270 feet, for a total of 28 trees (incorporating into the allée the three historic trees remaining; Figure 9.39).

The three historic trees in this area are now hand-watered using a water trailer, but a drip irrigation system is being installed to provide water more efficiently.

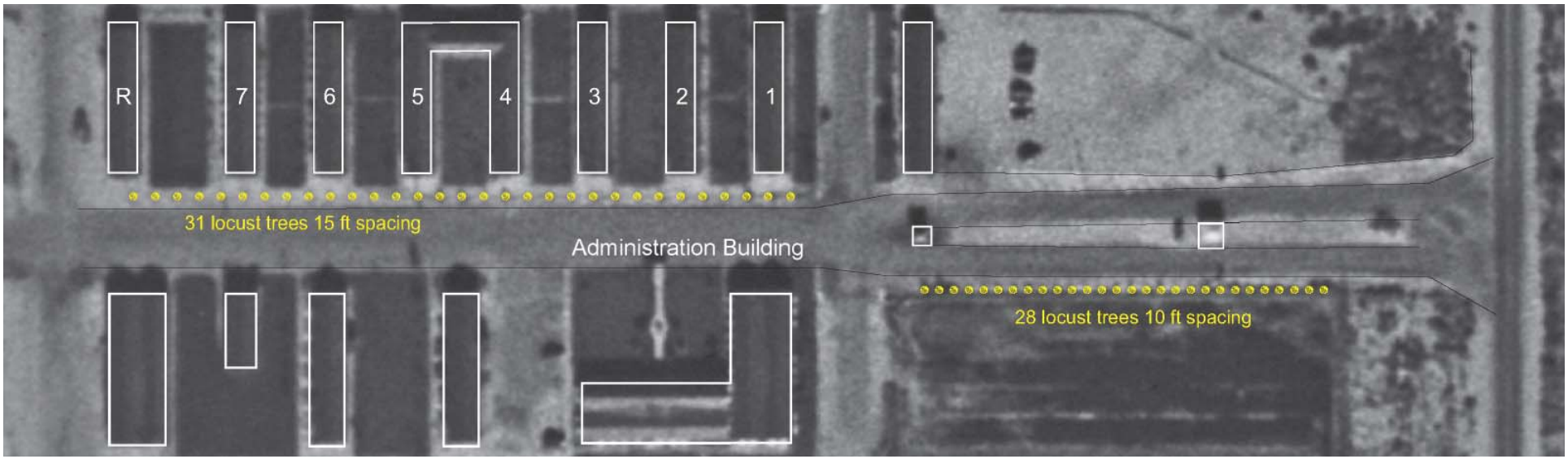
Administration Circle Garden

Rehabilitation of this garden is nearly done: the original rock alignments have been exposed, cleared, repaired, and painted, as they were historically; the ground has been contoured to match historic photographs; drought-tolerant cactus and Joshua trees have been planted within the round planter in the center of the circle to match historic species. Remaining tasks include:

- Replant a silver cholla within the round center planter. Two small pine trees within the round planter present in some of the historic photographs will not be replanted.

- Replant cactus around the outside of the road around the administration circle in locations determined from historic photographs. These plants

Figure 9.39. Trees to be planted at camp entrance (1944 aerial photograph).



should include 41 cottontop cactus clumps of various sizes, three barrel cactus, three beavertail cactus, and two hedgehog cactus (Figures 9.40-9.42). An unidentified species of tree seen in one photograph will not be replanted.

• Bring in in decomposing granite from off-site sand traps to cover the restored garden around the outside of the circle road to control dust and weeds and distingush it from the surrounding area.

• Reestablish pathways on historic alignments.

• Replace missing manhole cover within the administration circle road.

• Patch the road asphalt at the administration circle and the road leading from the circle to the west, towards 'B' Street.

Figure 9.40. Rocks and cactus around exterior of administration circle (Merritt Collection, Eastern California Museum).

The administration circle garden is adjacent to a historic parking area just off the entrance road and the nearby entrance garden is within and adjacent to the historic entrance road. Both gardens are visible from the current driving tour road and are easily accessible to visitors. To fully meet the goals of the rehabilitation, however, both will need to be included in visitor interpretation.

Other Administration Area Landscape Features

Other work to be done in the administration area includes:

• At the administration building sow native wildflower seeds in the raised rock planters and within the rock-outlined quarter circles along 1st Street (water sparingly, as needed).

• Remove invasive brush, beginning with the area between the entrance road (1st Street) and the traffic circle road and working south.

• Remove wind-blown sand from all rock alignments.

• Fill and level modern ditches through the administration block and along the north side of the entrance road, to match the surrounding ground surface contours, using fill dirt procured off-site.

• Restore rock alignments throughout the administration area. To help demarcate building locations, rock alignments along walkways and other areas will be restored to match historic photographs. Rocks, if needed, will be procured off-site.

• Paint roadside rock alignments white as in historic photographs to highlight the difference between "Western" (or military) and "Japanese" use of landscaping rocks.

• Reset overturned concrete steps (Figure 9.43) and return concrete steps from a debris pile at Bairs Creek to their original locations to mark staff building locations.

• Replant tree allées along 1st Street, which includes a line of black locust trees at 15-foot intervals along the north side of 1st Street (the south edge of Block 1). Incorporate the few remaining original trees for a total of 31 trees.

Figure 9.41. Rocks and cactus around exterior of administration circle (Rosie Maruki Collection, Manzanar NHS).

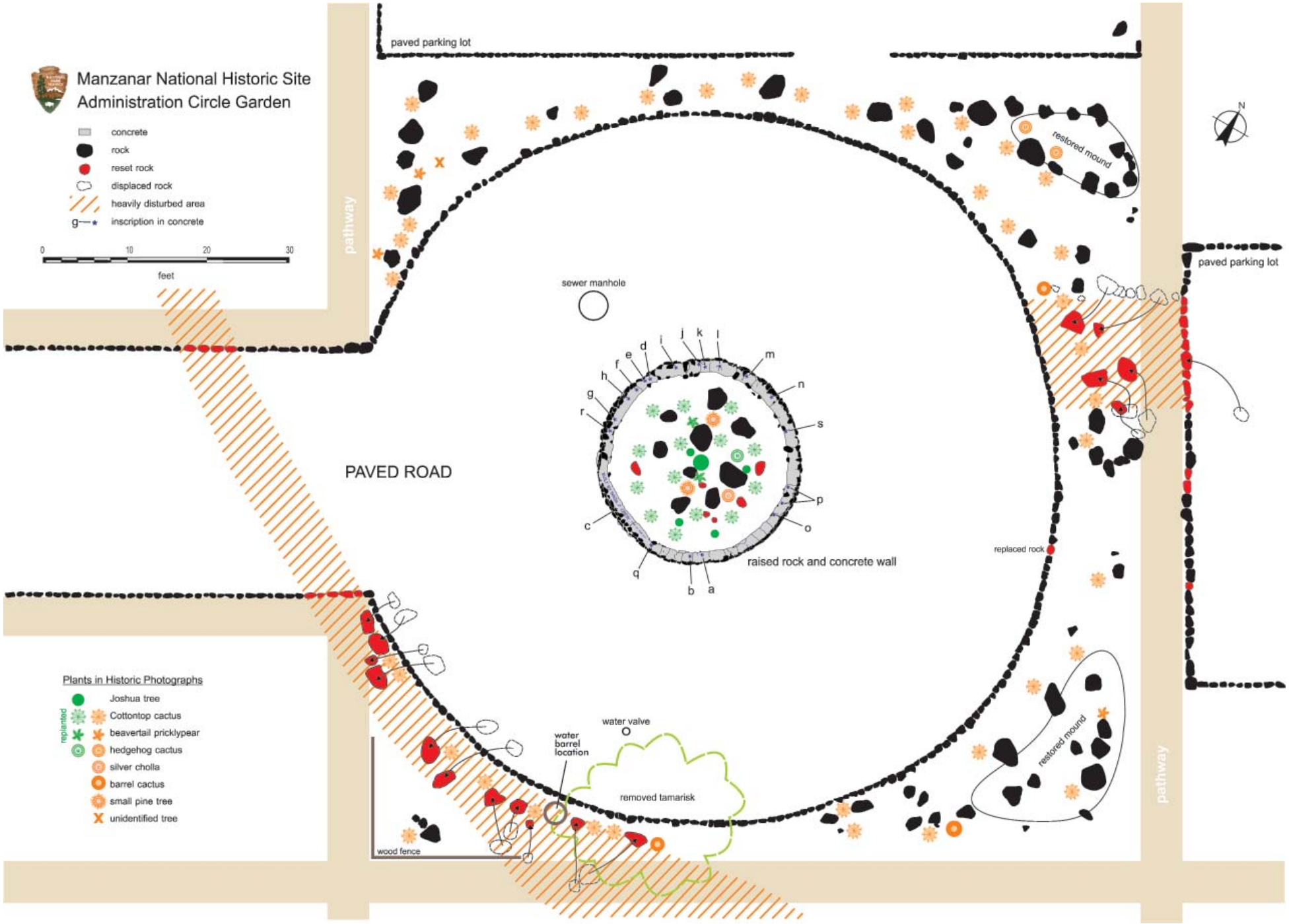


Figure 9.42. Administration circle garden.

Figure 9.43. Overturned steps in administration area at Building L.

Figure 9.44. Patio wall and elm tree at camp director's residence in 1993 (photograph by Dick Lord).

- Replace an Arizona cypress tree that recently died at the administration building.

- Replace an elm tree at the director's residence (Figure 9.44). Alive in 1993, it fell over or was blown over sometime between 1998 and 2001.

- Restore the administration building flagpole (Figure 9.45).

Interpretation

Public interpretation at Manzanar is designed, directed, and implemented by the interpretive staff, and so is outside the purview of this management plan. However, the following recommendations are suggested for their consideration. Interpretation should include both the historic use and current significance of the gardens. From a cultural resources standpoint, it is important to identify rehabilitation work as a contemporary re-creation.

Develop media at specific garden locations:

- As typically the first garden seen by visitors along the driving tour route, the Block 33 Arai fish pond should have a wayside exhibit explaining it and its relationship to other garden types at Manzanar. It would be greatly enhanced with audio excerpts from Madelon Arai Yamamoto's oral history interviews (Figure 9.46). Replicas of the water lily boxes used by Jack Arai could augment the wayside exhibit (see Figure 4.299).

- A wayside sign at the hospital bench could feature historic photographs (Figure 9.47) and highlight recent research on the healing power of Japanese gardens (Blum 2005; Goto 2010b; Roth 2007).

- Once a few cherry trees are reestablished at Cherry Park, a wayside exhibit could explain the full historic extent of landscaping there, and put the few cherry trees within their broader context.

Figure 9.45. Flagpole and planter at administration building.

Figure 9.46. Madelon Arai Yamamoto leading a tour at her father's pond in Block 33 (photograph by Mary M. Farrell).

Figure 9.47. Gardens for healing (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

- The need for wayside exhibits at other gardens should be assessed as archeological and restoration work proceeds.

- Brochure dispensers at gardens could provide additional detailed information and be less obtrusive than a wayside exhibit.

Develop short garden walking tours:

- A loop tour starting at the driving tour road and including Block 33, Block 34, and Merritt Park. The hospital gardens could be added as an optional extension.

- A loop tour from the Visitor Center to visit gardens in Blocks 2, 9, 14, and 15.

- A tour of landscaping of the administration area.

- After the rehabilitation work is completed, a tour of Cherry Park, Children's Village, the Orchards, and optionally, Kado's Block 17 barracks garden and the Block 22 mess hall garden.

Develop park-wide garden tours:

- Develop a garden walking tour and brochure for the Historic Site as a whole.

- Develop brochures for individual gardeners such as Kado, Katsuki, Nishi, and Uyematsu.

- Additional ponds could have water added for special occasions such as the Manzanar Pilgrimage, an annual "garden week," or for special walking tours.

Figure 9.48. Gardens to connect to the past (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

Figure 9.49. Gardens for all the senses (Block 9 mess hall garden with flowing water).

One possible tie-in could be National Public Gardens Day which takes place each year the Friday before Mother's Day.

Value of Rehabilitation

Gardens "involve all the senses – sound, smell, taste, touch – as well as vision and that indefinable sense of place that can arise in a variety of ways" (Sales 2014:23). Manzanar's gardens stimulate memories for former internees, and, with interpretation, help today's visitors connect to the past (Figures 9.48 and 9.49). Gardens, especially Japanese gardens, are of great popular interest, as evidenced by the high visitation at historic and contemporary gardens in the United States and worldwide (Benfield 2013). The rehabilitation of Manzanar's gardens for interpretation will bring new visitors who would learn about the internment while seeking out the gardens. Even with some of the gardens rehabilitated, the majority of gardens at Manzanar will be maintained as ruins, evoking the decades when the site was abandoned.

Rehabilitated gardens can also lure visitors out of the climate-controlled visitor center (and out of their cars) onto the site itself, where they can experience the heat, cold, wind, and dust the internees endured. Manzanar's gardens are a still-visible demonstration of how internees improved their surroundings and asserted their Japanese heritage. They still serve as symbols of hope, and places of contemplation.

THIS PROJECT OFFICIALLY CLOSED
NOVEMBER 21-1945
NO ADMITTANCE
EXCEPT ON BUSINESS

10 FURTHER REASEARCH

Lives Made More Tolerable

In the closing words of his final report, Project Director Ralph Merritt noted that he expected Manzanar's legacy would be "the way of tolerance, understanding and peace" practiced by the interned Japanese Americans and War Relocation Authority (WRA) staff for the 3½ years of the camp's existence (Figure 10.1). As for the site itself, he expected that "Manzanar will return to the desert and be forgotten," in spite of those achievements (Merritt 1946:64). Merritt himself would presumably be gratified to know that Manzanar has not been forgotten. Manzanar was made a unit of the National Park Service to preserve the site and to educate the public about the Japanese American internment, and the intolerance, prejudice, and wartime hysteria that led to it.

Manzanar National Historic Site also celebrates the accomplishments of the internees both in camp, to make life more tolerable, and afterwards, to fight for justice. Thanks to the efforts of the Japanese American community and civil rights activists like Warren Furutani, Sue Embrey, Rose Ochi, and the other members of the Manzanar Committee, Manzanar will not be forgotten. Instead, Manzanar serves as a vivid reminder of how a country founded on principles of freedom, equality, and justice can fail to live up to those principles. In many ways, Merritt's prediction that Manzanar would "return to the desert" did come true, in that most of its buildings and structures are now represented only by archeological deposits and buried features. However, archeology is reclaiming the gardens, the site, and memories from the desert (Figures 10.2-10.4).

When Manzanar National Historic Site was established in 1992, very few gardens were visible. But, their historic and interpretive importance was identified by former internees, and preservation of gardens was specified in the General Management Plan (NPS 1996a). At that time, the integrity of the gardens was unknown, and most gardens were almost completely buried. Former internees were unable to find gardens they had lived next to or visited every day during their internment. Madelon Arai Yamamoto had twice tried to find the pond her father built, but it was obscured by vegetation and sediments (Burton and Farrell 2014). Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston tried to find her father's rock garden:

> I was poking around brush clumps and foundation chunks looking for something else. One more sign. Anything. I found another collection of stones, off by themselves, but so arranged that they could not have been accidental. Nearby an edge showed through the sand. I uncovered a single steppingstone, slightly worn, that led nowhere, yet lay as a suitable appendage to the small rock garden. One of these had lain outside our barracks door … It could be ours. Perhaps not. … But this one would serve. I could call it the rock garden Papa put there. Almost the sign I wanted. Not quite. Not quite enough.
>
> Houston and Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar* 1973:170-171

Figure 10.2. Archeological excavation at Block 9 mess hall garden in 2007 (photograph by Dick Lord).

Figure 10.3. Archeological excavation at Merritt Park in 2008.

Figure 10.4. Archeological excavation at Block 17 Barracks 8 garden in 2013.

←Figure 10.1. Director Merritt seeing off the last internees to leave Manzanar (Pete Merritt film, Manzanar NHS).

Figure 10.5. Waterfall at Merritt Park prior to excavation.

Figure 10.6. Waterfall at Merritt Park after excavation and before stabilization (2008).

When Dr. Kendall Brown first learned about Manzanar's gardens, he went to look for them, but was not very impressed (Figures 10.5 and 10.6):

> I saw the Ansel Adams photographs of Merritt Park. So next time I was at Manzanar I went to look for it, I could not find anything. I saw a few strange stones and I thought what a bizarre and even ugly garden. Once the National Park Service started to do archeology and uncover these gardens, we really learned how many there are, how good they are, and how meaningful they were to the people who built them.
>
> NHK interview 2011

Dr. Art Hansen notes that before excavation and restoration, the gardens were practically invisible:

> …. And I of course looked at Block 22 because I was writing this article on the Manzanar riot and Harry Ueno so I looked at it but you could not tell [there had been a garden there]. There were some rocks there that were on the surface, that is all you could see. As the years went on however more and more interest started to be directed at those ponds and especially when Jeff Burton started to do all of the excavation of things with a team of archeologists, not only at Manzanar but at other [camps] too. To find out what was there.
>
> And so we went there and talked about it but by that time everything was dug out, the bridge was there and it was absolutely beautiful and we looked at the pond. Then you could really appreciate what it was that had won a prize and that had been such a wonderful thing.
>
> NHK interview 2011

It is the Japanese gardens built by internees at Manzanar that have inspired the most public and academic interest. Former Manzanar internee Hank Umemoto has volunteered on many archeological projects at Manzanar, and in his book *Manzanar to*

Mount Whitney he describes his first garden excavation, which took place in 2006 (Figure 10.7):

> This was just one among the many gardens and ponds excavated in recent years, and there are many more still to be discovered. With each excavation, we are reaffirming the resilience of Manzanar's residents – people who turned their prison into a productive community, where they worked and played and patiently dreamt of better days to come amid the serenity and beauty of gardens and ponds with cascading waterfalls and carp whirling in the waters under black locust trees.
>
> Umemoto 2013:191-192

Although many of the iconic gardens and landscape features at Manzanar have been excavated, the number and extent of buried gardens is unknown. The existence of several important gardens based on documentary evidence is suspected, but some of the most important gardens, from a research perspective, will be the gardens that are not well-documented. These landscape components merit further investigation, archeological excavation, documentation, and interpretation:

> We are really just starting, but this new archeological evidence [of Manzanar's gardens] is like a revolution for mid 20th century Japanese gardens in America. …. Now we have to follow up and take the next step.
>
> Kendall Brown, NHK Interview 2011

Archeological excavations are conducted not just to reveal the original form and materials of the gardens: gardens can also contain important archeological deposits. Toys and other small items were sometimes lost in ponds; after their abandonment, ponds often functioned as convenient places to dump small amounts of refuse. During camp demolition, left-behind items were often pushed into low-lying areas like garden ponds, along with unrecycled building materials. Ponds, therefore, function as time capsules: most of the artifacts found in a pond at Manzanar were deposited in a relatively short period of time, that is, 1942 to 1945 (Figures 10.8-10.12).

Further, artifacts recovered from barracks gardens can often be tied to a small group of people or even a single family. There are dozens of known "family" ponds, and by combining excavation data with historical records and oral histories, artifact assemblages may be linked with specific families, as was possible at the Arai Family Pond (Burton and Farrell 2014). Such precision could allow a much finer-grained understanding of the ways families adapted to internment and modified their surroundings to make Manzanar more habitable. For example, a comparison of the artifacts from the Arai pond with those from other family ponds might shed light on whether all internees had equal access to goods and building materials. One caveat should be noted: there will be few clues to the first months at Manzanar, which by all accounts were the hardest for the internees, in late-abandoned ponds.

Barracks Gardens

While seven barracks gardens at Manzanar have been excavated to date, that is a small sample considering the number of barracks gardens that are suspected to have been built. Archeological investigation of the following barracks gardens is recommended, in order of priority:

> **Block 26 Barracks 8 Apartment 2 –** There is a historic photograph of a Japanese American soldier posing at a rustic stone lantern at this garden. Overt Japanese elements such as lanterns are rare at Manzanar. The garden's location adjacent to the tour road makes this garden an excellent interpretive opportunity. A tamarisk tree growing there is damaging the garden,

Figure 10.7. Former internee Hank Umemoto excavating at Manzanar in 2011.

Figure 10.8. Compact and lipstick tube recovered during excavation at Merritt Park.

Figure 10.9. Toy fire truck recovered during excavation at Merritt Park.

Figure 10.10. Sprinkler, marbles, hair pin, pencil, and poker chip (top to bottom) recovered during excavation of Block 15 garden ponds.

Figure 10.11. Ear pick, 1939 California Exposition souvenir token, and tuna fishing hook (top to bottom) recovered during excavation of Block 17 Barracks 8 garden.

Figure 10.12. Milk bottle recovered during excavation of Block 9 mess hall garden.

so its excavation is a high priority from a preservation standpoint, as well.

Block 25 between Barracks 5 and 6 (Red Carp Pond) – This early-built pond was reportedly stocked with red carp brought from Los Angeles. A large tamarisk clump has been recently cut and treated in this area. The tree roots likely have damaged the pond. The pond should be exposed, evaluated, and stabilized as soon as possible, to prevent further deterioration.

Block 26 Barracks 14 Apartment 3 – Surface evidence indicates this was an elaborate garden with a pond. Issei gardener Tokizo Tom Ota was the last resident of Apartment 3 and the garden was almost certainly his creation. Excavation of the garden could reveal more about the little-known Ota, and about a large garden built through individual effort. In addition, an erosion channel encroaching on the garden needs to be stabilized.

Block 1 between Barracks 12 and 13 – Excavation of this feature, an early-built and also early-abandoned pond mentioned in the Block Manager's Report, would reveal a documented example of a pond built with the WRA-authorized five sacks of cement. The pond was likely filled in when the internee barracks in this block were converted to Caucasian staff housing.

Block 22 Barracks 12 Apartments 1 and 2 – At least one garden is present here, built by Kuichiro Nishi and his brother Akira. Kuichiro, one of the most prominent gardeners at Manzanar, helped design and build Merritt Park. Akira is credited with the design of the mess hall garden in Block 22. Excavation would reveal how the barracks garden they built for themselves compares to the larger gardens they designed for the community.

Block 15 Barracks 8 Apartment 1 – Tak Muto, one the creators of Merritt Park, built this documented early garden. A 1943 date inscribed in an adjacent sidewalk indicates the garden was improved after its initial construction. Excavation at Muto's barracks garden could help identify his contributions at Merritt Park.

Block 28 Barracks 5 Apartment 3 – Although there is nothing visible at this location now, excavation could reveal the rock garden created by Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston's father and described in *Farewell to Manzanar* (Houston and Houston 1973). This important book is the first introduction to the internment story for many, and the Wakatsuki family's barracks location is often sought out by school groups and other visitors. Uncovering the rock garden would provide a physical tie to the barracks and the book.

Block 35 Barracks 8 Apartment 4, and Block 36 Barracks 12 Apartment 4 – The Manzanar roster identifies only one family at each of these apartments, so each garden could be tied to a specific family. Located at the far northeast corner of the residential area, both gardens were out of the way, and not likely to be seen by anyone but the immediate barracks residents. Excavation might reveal design differences between these gardens and gardens more centrally located and therefore more public (Figure 10.13).

Block 10 between Barracks 12 and 13 – This elaborate Kado-built barracks garden is less of a priority than others on this list because several examples of Ryozo Kado's work have already been investigated. However, exposure of this garden would be relatively easy from the archeological perspective, because it would require mostly brush clearing. It would also rise in priority if the expertise for aesthetic pruning of desert olive shrubs becomes available (Figure 10.14).

Block 17 Barracks 2 Apartment 1 and Block 23 Barracks 4 Apartment 4 – Another theme that has yet to be explored is whether gardens were created by any of the 32 adult internees of non-Japanese, or half-Japanese, heritage. Most of the non-Japanese internees had accompanied their spouses of Japanese ancestry, and included males and females of varied

Table 10.1. Non-Japanese Internees at Manzanar (race as listed in WRA records).

Name	Sex	Race	Notes
Verina Arita	Female	Caucasian	Left with husband June 1945, lived in Block 11
Adeline Asai	Female	Caucasian	Divorced, left with children July 1943
John Dearing	Male	Caucasian	Left August 1942, family left November 1942
Apronian Eder	Female	Other	Born in Philippines, left with family April 1943
Emily Fujikawa	Female	Caucasian	Left with family May 1943
Arita Ikegami	Female	Caucasian	Left July 1942
Dorothy Kazumura	Female	Other	Born in Washington, Japanese-speaking only, sent to Tule Lake with family February 1944
Chester Klingspore	Male	Caucasian	Left with wife July 1942
Ralph Lazo	Male	Other	Hispanic, 16 years old in 1942, first lived with *Issei* bachelors, drafted August 1944
Ethel Maruyama	Female	Caucasian	Left with children July 1942
Helen Okada	Female	Caucasian	Left with husband June 1943
Mary Okie	Female	Other	Born in Mexico, left with husband April 1945, lived at Block 17 Barracks 2 Apartment 1
Anna Sawahata	Female	Caucasian	Born in Germany, left with children August 1942
Stella Sowka	Female	Caucasian	Separated, born in Poland, left with children August 1942
Rose Yoneda	Female	Caucasian	Left with family December 1942
John Young	Male	Other	Chinese, left with family May 1943, lived at Block 23 Barracks 4 Apartment 4

Figure 10.13. Bridge and broken planter at Block 35 Barracks 8 Apartment 1.

Figure 10.14. Desert olive (dark green vegetation) growing at Block 10 Barracks 13 garden.

Figure 10.15. Block 6 mess hall garden today.

Figure 10.16. Mounds and depressions at Cherry Park today.

Figure 10.17. Belgium film crew at hospital garden.

ethnicities (Chinese, Filipino, Hispanic, and White; Table 10.1). Many left Manzanar early and the barracks addresses of only two are currently known: Mary Okie lived in Block 17 Barracks 2 Apartment 1, and John Young lived in Block 23 Barracks 4 Apartment 4. Not much is visible on the surface at either location, but both apartment entryways should be investigated further.

Excavation of entry gardens could provide information about specific individuals or families:

Block 18 Barracks 7 Apartment 3, Block 25 Barracks 12 Apartment 1, and Block 26 Barracks 1 Apartment 4 – With more physical remains, including a greater quantity and variety of rocks, these gardens appear to have been more elaborate than most entry gardens. Archeological investigations could provide insights about how Japanese garden elements were incorporated into confined rectilinear spaces.

Block 12 Barracks 11 Apartment 1 and Block 20 Barracks 12 Apartment 1 – There is now no surface evidence at these locations of the entry gardens in historic photographs (see Figures 4.83 and 4.174). Investigations could provide information about formation processes that may be extrapolated to other areas of the Historic Site.

Block 34 Barracks 5 Apartment 1 – Excavation of Takashi Kato's entry garden may provide clues as to whether this Kato is the same Kato who created gardens in the Los Angeles area; he may have created distinctive features here, similar to those in Sierra Madre.

Other gardens may be identified as priorities for archeological excavation as new information is discovered. For example, the Block 33 Arai pond and the Block 17 Kado garden were only known from oral histories. In addition, it would be interesting to investigate the personal or barracks gardens of those who helped build larger mess hall and community gardens.

Mess Hall Gardens

Symbols of block pride and unity as well as a favorite backdrop for photographs, mess hall gardens are important for both research and restoration. Priorities for excavation include:

Block 4 – Likely the last of the mess hall gardens built at Manzanar, this garden may be a large dry landscape garden, unusual at Manzanar. Built by Chotaro and Mokutaro Nishimura, it was also the only mess hall garden known to be associated with someone who had been formally trained in garden building in Japan.

Block 6 – This "Trout Shangri-La" was a massive undertaking to build and would likely be a massive undertaking to uncover. It has been buried by deep sediments washed in from the camp dump, so investigations would yield abundant artifacts for analysis (Figure 10.15). The garden's association with Kado, Uyematsu, and other important figures at Manzanar and its location adjacent to the tour road enhances its interpretive potential.

Finally, it is also recommended that archeological investigations be conducted at mess halls with no documentary evidence of a garden to determine if there are any buried landscape features.

Community Parks

Two community parks within the Historic Site have important, and potentially unique, stories to tell and should be investigated further:

Cherry Park and Children's Village – As the only orphanage among the ten relocation centers, the story of Children's Village is especially poignant and important. Adjacent Cherry Park illustrates not only

internees' efforts to improve conditions for the orphans and other internees, but also the civic-mindedness of F.M. Uyematsu, who donated hundreds of trees for the garden here. Uncovering physical features of this area would highlight these stories. Recommendations are to clear brush and debris; locate and protect wood features; determine building locations; and determine the location of ponds, mounds, and other landscape features (Figure 10.16).

Hospital Gardens – The hospital garden is located along the auto tour road, so both interpretive potential and conservation needs make stabilization work a priority. Many garden features are now partially buried and obscured by vegetation, and are susceptible to damage by soil and roots. The long rock retaining wall should be cleared and stabilized, the faux-wood concrete bench should be maintained, and other features like the sewer manhole near the bench disguised as a tree stump should be stabilized.

Additional archeological investigations at community parks could focus on finding the location of the wooden Japanese lantern at North Park, and working with the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power to conducted archeological investigations at South Park. As picnic areas away from the barracks, these parks may have a different artifact assemblage than the gardens excavated to date. South Park, located outside of the fenced residential area, would be especially interesting in this respect.

Archeological Techniques

The archeological study of gardens is burgeoning all over the world, and, in many cases, revising and expanding histories derived from documentary evidence (Currie 2005; Harney 2014; Malek 2013; Taylor 1983). Garden archeology incorporates standard archeological techniques and analyses adapted to the specific situation. A few practices have been particularly useful in past archeological investigations at Manzanar, and are recommended for future inventory and documentation of Manzanar's gardens and landscape features:

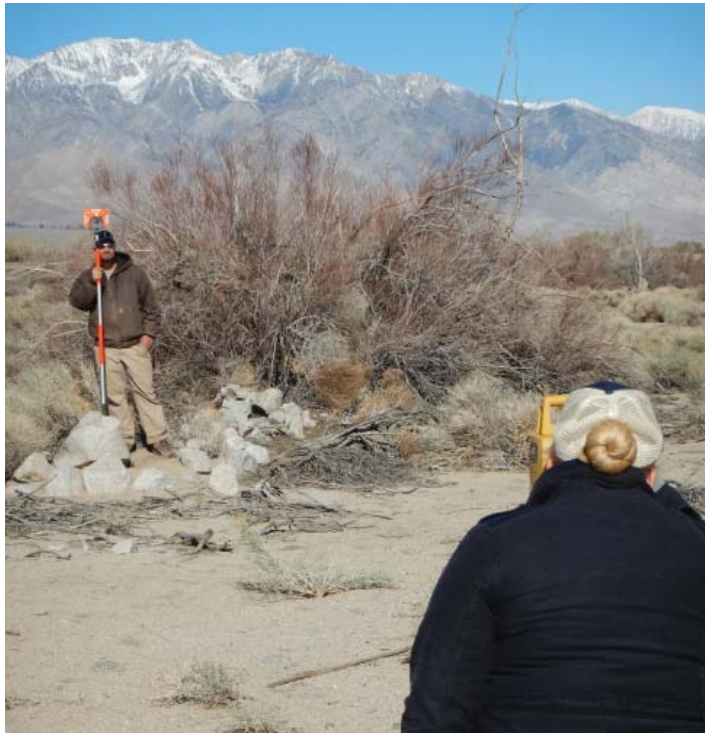


Figure 10.18. Total station mapping at Block 26 Barracks 8 garden.

- Analysis of historic photographs, documents, blueprints, and maps to determine the location and character of gardens.
- Topographic mapping before and after excavation (Figure 10.18).
- Overhead photography, documenting garden areas both before and after excavation (Figure 10.19).
- Use of probes to determine the presence and extent of subsurface features.
- Controlled surface scrapes to locate buried features (Figure 10.20).

Figure 10.19. Overhead photography at Block 15 Barracks 7 garden.

Figure 10.20. Excavation of surface scrape units at Block 17 Barracks 8 garden.

Figure 10.21. Screening sediments at Block 33 Arai pond.

Figure 10.22. Fish vertebra recovered during excavation of Block 15 Barracks 5 pond.

- Stratigraphic excavation of feature fill.
- Screening of cultural deposits through 1/4-inch or smaller mesh (Figure 10.21).
- Shovel broadcasting of non-cultural deposits.

Although the above are recommended for most, if not all, garden archeology projects at Manzanar, the following techniques may also be appropriate, to be determined on a case-by-case basis.

Faunal Analysis

Any bone recovered should be collected and identified; such faunal analysis could confirm what species of fish were stocked in the ponds. Fish bones encountered to date have been identified by Dr. Ken Gobalet, one of the foremost experts on fish osteology. So far, only saltwater species have been identified, representing food debris rather than fish living in the ponds (Figure 10.22).

Floral and Pollen Analyses

None of the gardens excavated to date have provided a suitable context for pollen or flotation analyses. Because of the high potential for contamination from pre-war and natural plant sources, and because pollen is adversely affected by alkaline soils such as are found at Manzanar, pollen samples collected from garden contexts are not likely to be representative of purposefully planted garden species (see Grüger 2013). Likewise, for the most part Manzanar lacks the microenvironments where plant macroremains recoverable through flotation would be preserved and useful for garden studies (see Horrocks 2013). However, if appropriate contexts are encountered, analysis of pollen or macrobotanical remains should be considered.

Soil Analysis

Soil color and morphology descriptions have been found useful to characterize past deposition events. For example, loose, sandy, and virtually artifact-free soils excavated from the Merritt Park ponds indicated they had been buried rapidly and relatively recently. Similarly, soil stratigraphy in pond fill can provide clues about the timing and nature of abandonment. Color and texture of soil can indicate the former presence of vegetation, even when the plants have decayed. Soil analysis could also be useful in the area of the first Victory gardens in the firebreak between Blocks 11 and 17 and 12 and 18. Historic accounts indicate this area was selected for the quality of its soil, which may have resulted from relic springs or pre-war agricultural practices.

Geophysical Prospecting

Magnetics, resistivity survey, and ground-penetrating radar would require brush removal, but entails much less ground disturbance than excavation. Geophysical prospecting would be well-suited to buried areas where the presence of subsurface remains is not known but is suspected. The resistivity technique would be particularly suitable for locating high-resistance features such as concrete-lined ponds and large landscaping rocks. Some high-potential areas for geophysical prospecting are:

Block 1 between Barracks 12 and 13 – A pond is mentioned at this location in Block Manager's Reports and the *Manzanar Free Press*, but nothing is ap-

parent on the surface now (Figure 10.23).

Block 4 north end of Barracks 2 and 3 – There may have been garden features outside Chotaro or Mokutaro Nishimura's apartments, but the area is deeply buried now (Figure 10.24).

Block 14 between Barracks 6 and 7 – A pond is mentioned in an oral history at this location (Mike Shimaoka, Oral History MANZ 1315), but there is no evidence of a pond there now.

Block 16 between Barracks 3 and 4 – In the background of historic photographs, there appear to be large rocks at this location, which could indicate a garden (Figure 10.25). Only a few scattered rocks are visible there now.

Block 22 between Barracks 8 and 9 – The 1944 aerial photograph indicates there may have been a small pond between the north ends of these bararcks.

Mess halls – Geophysical prospecting could help determine if there are buried gardens at mess halls where no substantial garden remains are visible, including mess halls with no documentary evidence of a garden.

Figure 10.23. Today, at the location of a pond mentioned by *Manzanar Free Press* and Block Manager's reports in Block 1 between Barracks 12 and 13.

Figure 10.24. Faucet at Block 4 Barracks 3 showing at least 1 foot of sediment.

Figure 10.25. Possible Japanese garden in Block 16 between Barracks 3 and 4 (Tami Oda Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Logistics and Recruitment of Labor

Archeology is labor-intensive and time-consuming, and volunteers have proven to be crucial to archeological work at Manzanar. Supervised by cultural resources staff, volunteers have provided most of the labor for the excavations, and a significant portion of the artifact-processing. Volunteers bring their own expertise and enthusiasm to physically demanding work, and serve as ambassadors for Manzanar both on-site when visitors stop by and when they return home. Volunteers also provide specialized services, for example for the past 20 years Dick Lord has come to Manzanar to do overhead photography and artifact photography. Other volunteers have helped in restoration work, resetting rocks, repairing concrete, and rebuilding *rangui* post walls. Henry Nishi, son of Kuichiro, has brought several members of his family to Manzanar to restore the iconic bridge his father built at Merritt Park.

Figure 10.26. Block 15 Barrack 7 pond in the background of a funeral photograph (Shiro Nomura Collection, Eastern California Museum).

Table 10.2. Professional Photographers Interned at Manzanar.

Name	Address	Notes
George Fukasawa	unknown	Left by March 1944
Jack Masaki Iwata	unknown	To Tule Lake Oct 1943
Tokuma Kitaoka	26-5-1	Left Oct 1945
Tetsugo Kurui	2-11-4	Left Oct 1945
Toyo Miyatake	20-12-4	Left Nov 1945
Takazo Shimoda	5-5-5	To Tule Lake Feb 1944

Interns have also facilitated archeological work; one intern in particular, Laura Ng, assisted in excavations and artifact analyses at Manzanar and went on to study Manzanar's gardens as part of her Master's thesis (Ng 2014). Other highly qualified and interested student interns might be recruited through archeology professors who specialize in the study of ethnicity and civil rights.

Fieldwork and analysis could occur with minimal expenditure of National Park Service funds if Manzanar hosted a field school, such as those run by the University of Denver at the Amache Relocation Center, the University of Hawai'i West O'ahu at the Honouliuli Internment and POW Camp, and the University of Idaho at the Kooskia Internment Camp.

Historic Photographs

Close examination of historic photographs of gardens has been invaluable for archeological investigations as well as stabilization, repair, and rehabilitation work. Therefore, another priority "method" should be to acquire as many historic photographs taken at Manzanar as possible. The collection of Toyo Miyatake, the most famous of Manzanar's internee photographers, is well documented. However, other professional photographers were also interned at Manzanar (Table 10.2). Relatives of these professional photographers should be sought out to see if they have photographs taken at Manzanar. Such contacts are expected to be most fruitful for the relatives of Fukasawa, Kitaoka, and Kurui, because of their longer residence at Manzanar. However, past experience has shown that anyone could potentially have useful photographs, especially since evidence of landscaping features often occurs in the background of individual, family, and group portraits (Figure 10.26).

Oral Histories

Important information can be elicited about gardens and gardeners during oral histories: the Arai pond in Block 33 was discovered through an oral history, and even a garden in Block 17 built by someone as famous as Ryozo Kado was unknown until it was mentioned in an oral history. However, because human memories are affected by individual perceptions, personal and political beliefs, and intervening events, information acquired through oral histories should be verified through independent sources. For example, historical photographs support Sus Ioki's claim that his father Toyoshige Ioki helped build the hospital gardens and Merritt Park. Details of the Arai family fish pond mentioned by Mrs. Yamamoto in her oral history

were verified by archeological excavation.

Other methods of verifying oral history include multiple attestation or "multiple independent sources"; that is, the more independent witnesses that report an event, the better. Another test of oral history would be whether the account serves a vested interest of the teller. For example, Harry Ueno would have had nothing to gain by crediting Akira Nishi with designing the Block 22 Mess Hall garden. Further, he brought up his involvement in the Block 22 garden on his own, rather than responding to leading questions from interviewers. However, Ueno's statement that the Block 22 garden won the Best Garden Contest its second year has not yet been verified, since there is no evidence of a second contest in the documentary record. If such documentation surfaces, it would meet the criterion of "multiple independent sources." An independent source for Ueno's claim would be important in this case, because he was removed from Manzanar in January 1943 and would not have been present for a second contest.

Some accounts retold in oral histories and even in documentary sources do not meet the "multiple independent sources" criterion, nor do they seem plausible. For example, in his memoir Kado noted that his "biggest project was a huge natural rock archway to give our Center an impressive entrance" (Kado n.d.:19). There is no photographic or other documentation of a rock archway at Manzanar's entrance, or anywhere at the site. Armor and Wright (1988:115) claim that trees, lumber, and stone for Merritt Park came from Yosemite; there are innumerable closer sources for garden materials, and there is no evidence that materials were obtained from Yosemite. The *Manzanar Free Press* article (June 27, 1942) that says internees went all the way to Death Valley for a Joshua tree is likewise suspect: Joshua trees occur much closer to Manzanar.

Figure 10.27. Entrance garden at Block 24 Barracks 7 Apartment 4.

Afterword

Manzanar's gardens are an important link to the past, and their investigation, documentation, preservation, and interpretation will leave an enduring legacy (Figure 10.27):

> It is so characteristically Japanese, the way lives were made more tolerable by gathering loose desert stones and forming with them something enduringly human. These rock gardens had outlived the barracks and the [guard]towers and would surely outlive the asphalt road and rusted pipes and shattered slabs of concrete. Each stone was a mouth, speaking for a family, for some man who had beautified his doorstep.
>
> Houston and Houston, *Farewell to Manzanar* 1973:166

The Handa family's entry garden (photograph by Toyo Miyatake, reproduced with permission © Toyo Miyatake Studios).

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APPENDIX A

Documented Garden Builders
Manzanar Relocation Center

Block 4 Mess Hall Garden
Chotaro and Mokutaro Nishimura

Block 6 Mess Hall Garden
Ryozo Kado and Harry Oshio with plants donated by Munejiro Matsuyama, Moiichiro Tachibana, and Frances Miyoji Uyematsu

Block 9 Mess Hall Garden
Ryozo Kado

Block 10 Barracks 11
Ryozo Kado (based on faux-wood)

Block 15 Barracks 5
Yasai Nakata

Block 15 Barracks 7
Kiichiro Muto and Roy Sugiwara

Block 15 Barracks 8
Takio Muto

Block 17 Barracks 8
Ryozo Kado with Raymond Chomori

Block 22 Mess Hall Garden
Akira Nishi, Saburo Takemura, and Harry Ueno with "wishing well" constructed by George S. Takemura

Block 22 Barracks 12
Akira Nishi and Kuichiro Nishi

Block 24 Barracks 5
William Katsuki

Block 33 Barracks 4
Jack Hanshiro Arai

Block 34 Mess Hall Garden
Goichi Kubota, Seiichi Kayahara , and George Murakami

Hospital Gardens
Toyoshige Ioki, Ryozo Kado, Gunsaburo Kono, Nintaro Ogami, Shunzo Shiraki, and Bunyemon Wada

Cherry Park
William Katsuki and Frances Miyoji Uyematsu

Merritt Park
Kuichiro Nishi, Akira Nishi, Kiichiro Muto, Takio Muto, and Toyoshige Ioki

Administration Circle
William Katsuki and Bunyemon Wada

Entrance Sign Garden
Ryozo Kado

Kado working on a residential garden in Gardena (Dan Hashimoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

APPENDIX B

Ryozo Kado Portfolio
Pre- and Post-War Work

Carmelite Monastery
Alhambra, California (post-war)

Holy Cross Cemetery
Culver City, California (post-war)

Maryknoll Sisters' Motherhouse
Ossining, New York (1944-1968)

Residential Garden
Gardena, California (1970s)

Resurrection Cemetery
Rosemead, California (post-war)

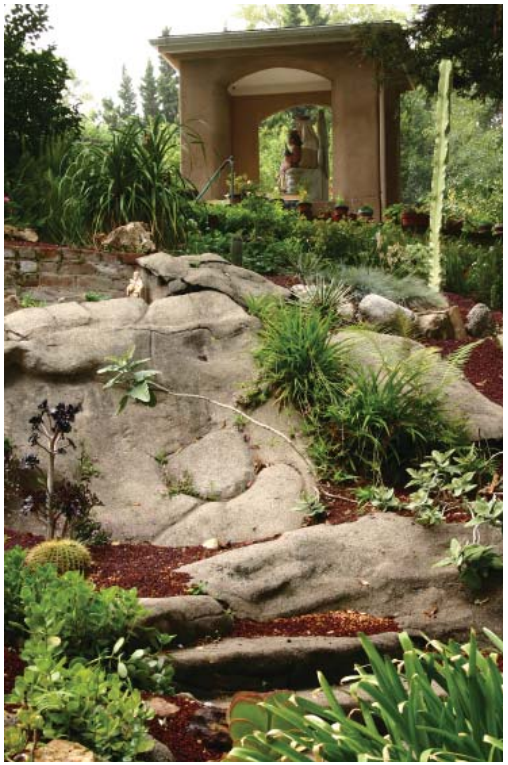
St. Elizabeth of Hungary
Altadena, California (1931)

St. John's Seminary
Camarillo, California (post-war)

Carmelite Monastery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Carmelite Monastery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Carmelite Monastery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

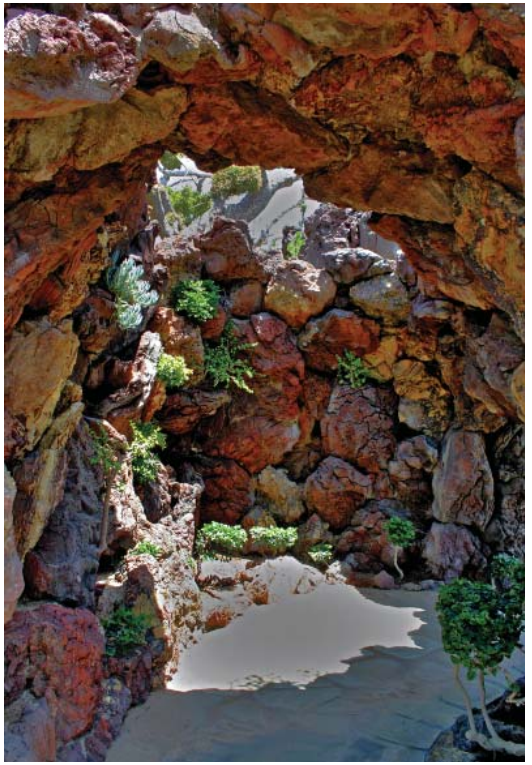


Carmelite Monastery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Carmelite Monastery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Grotto, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

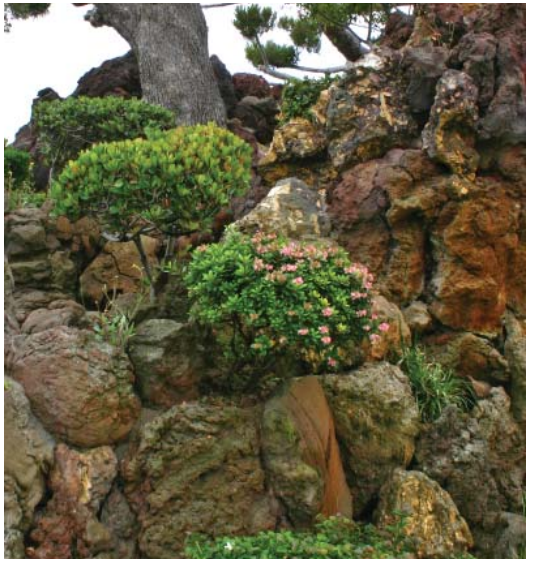
Grotto, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).



Grotto, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Grotto, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Grotto, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).



Grotto, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

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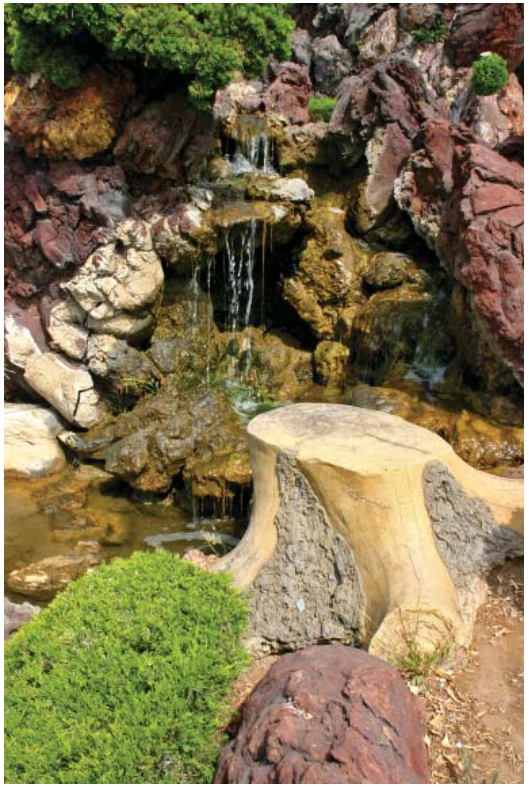


Grotto, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Grotto, Holy Cross Cemetery.

Grotto, Holy Cross Cemetery.

Grotto, Holy Cross Cemetery.

Grotto, Holy Cross Cemetery.

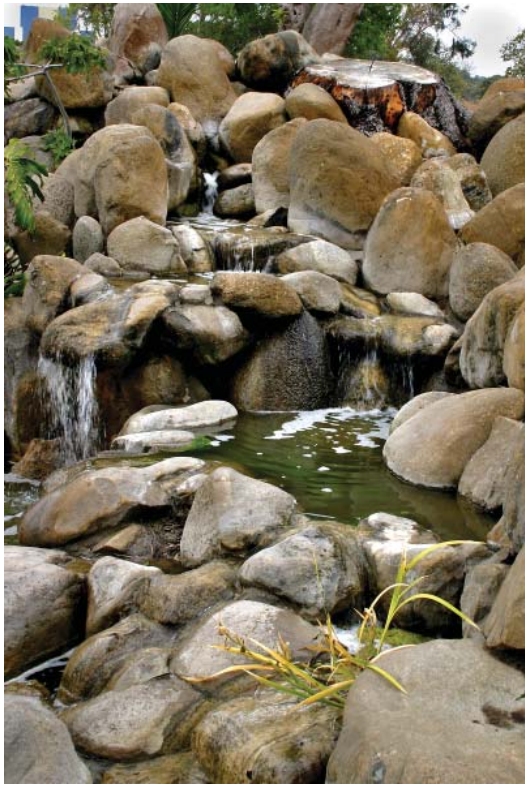
Grotto, Holy Cross Cemetery.

Grotto, Holy Cross Cemetery.

Kado grave, Holy Cross Cemetery.

Pond garden, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Pond garden, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).



Pond garden, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Pond garden, Holy Cross Cemetery.

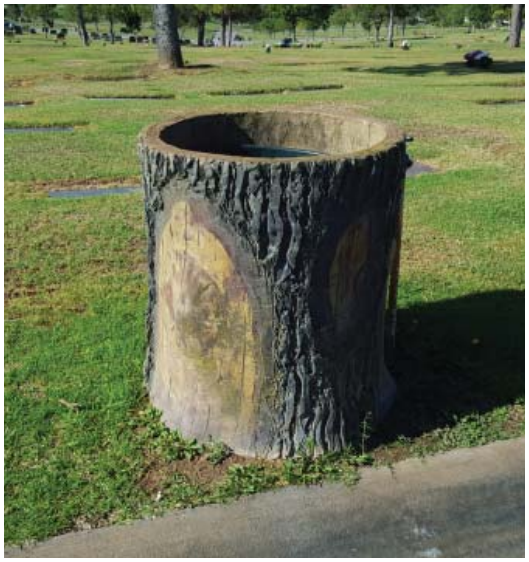
Pond garden, Holy Cross Cemetery.

Pond garden, Holy Cross Cemetery.

Pond garden, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Pond garden, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Pond garden, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).



Holy Cross Cemetery.

Pond garden, Holy Cross Cemetery.

Pond garden, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

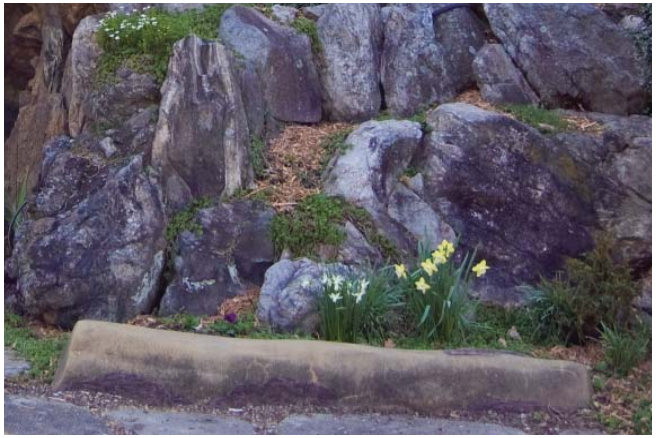
Holy Cross Cemetery.

Pond garden, Holy Cross Cemetery.

Pond garden, Holy Cross Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Holy Cross Cemetery.

Grotto built in 1944, Maryknoll (photograph by Alice Wengrzynek).

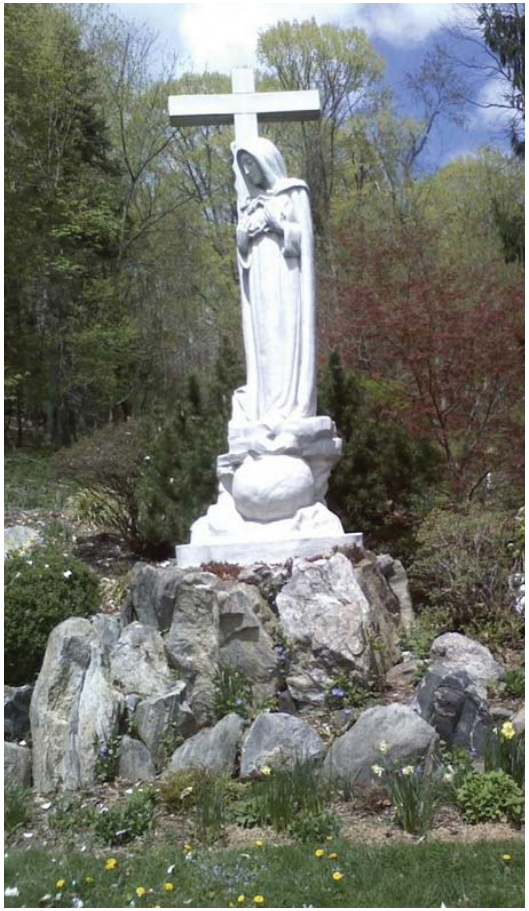


Grotto, Maryknoll (Maryknoll Sisters).

Grotto, Maryknoll (Maryknoll Sisters).

Good Shepherd shrine built in 1946, Maryknoll (photograph by Alice Wengrzynek).

Japanese shrine built in 1968, Maryknoll (photograph by Alice Wengrzynek).



Maryknoll Sisters Cemetery (Maryknoll Sisters).

Rock garden built in 1968, Maryknoll (photograph by Alice Wengrzynek).

Maryknoll Mission (Maryknoll Sisters).

Residential Garden, Gardena (Dan Hashimoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Residential Garden, Gardena (Dan Hashimoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Residential Garden, Gardena (Dan Hashimoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Residential Garden, Gardena (Dan Hashimoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

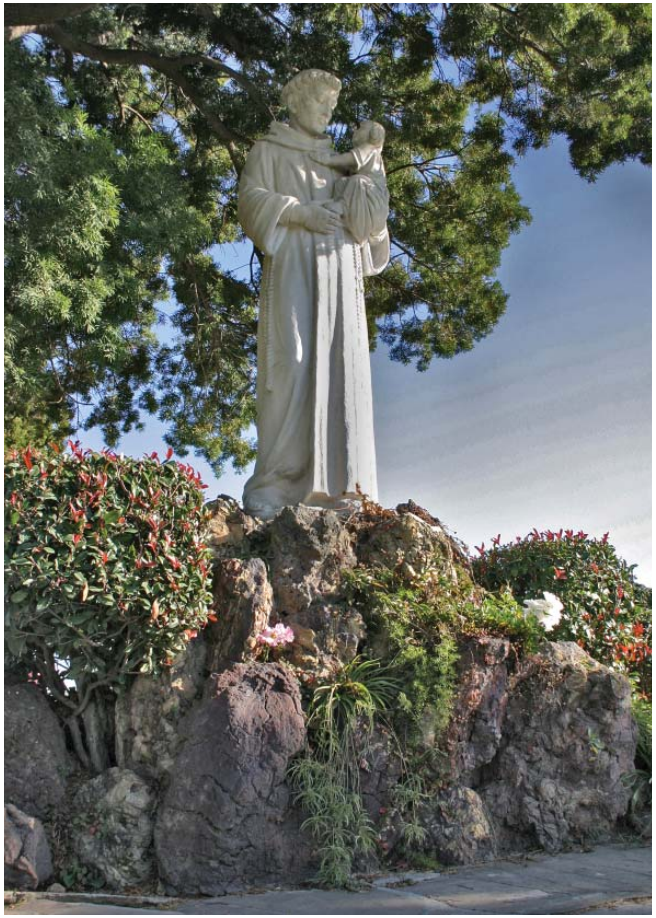
Residential Garden, Gardena (Dan Hashimoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Residential Garden, Gardena (Dan Hashimoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

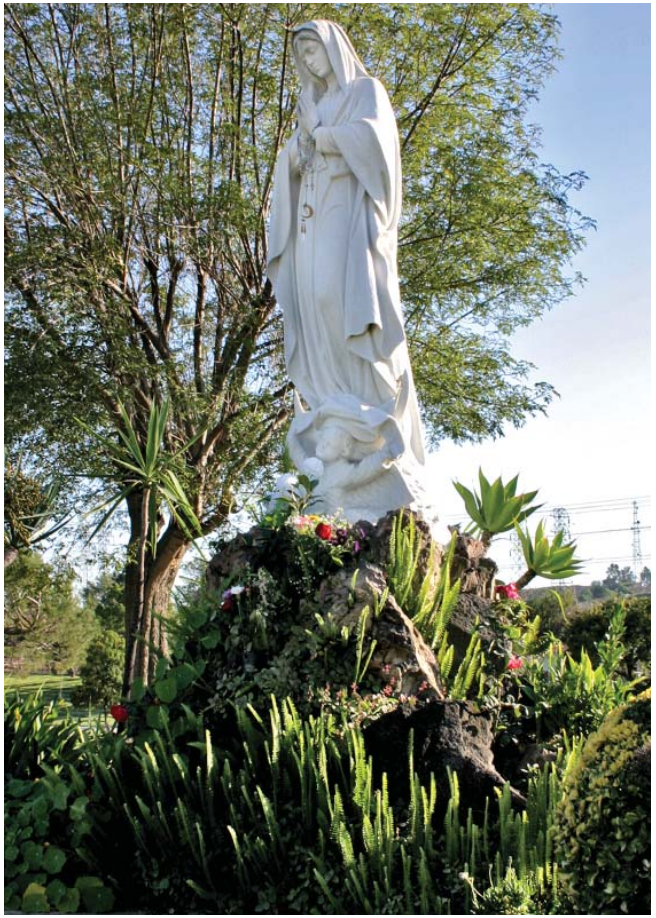
Residential Garden, Gardena, (Dan Hashimoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Residential Garden, Gardena (Dan Hashimoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).

Residential Garden, Gardena (Dan Hashimoto Collection, Manzanar NHS).



Resurrection Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).



Resurrection Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Resurrection Cemetery
(photograph by Tom Clayton).

Resurrection Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Resurrection Cemetery (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Resurrection Cemetery
(photograph by Tom Clayton).

Grotto, St. Elizabeth of Hungary (photograph by Tom Clayton).

Grotto, St. Elizabeth of Hungary (photograph by Tom Clayton).

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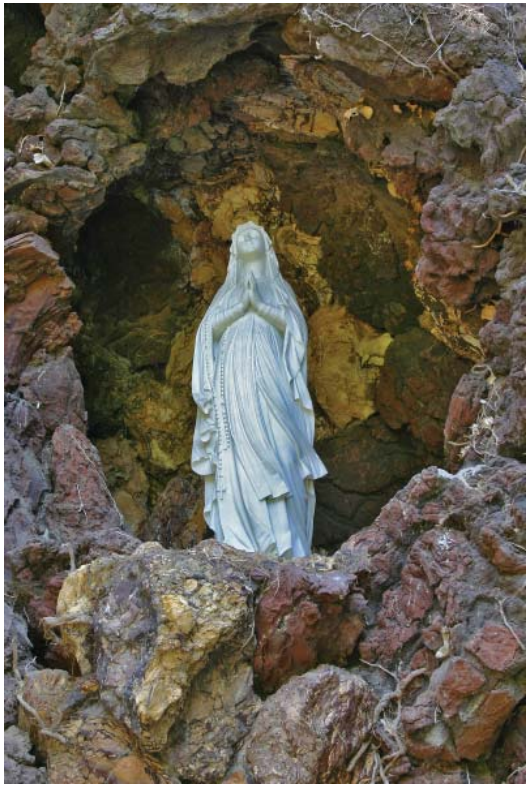
Grotto, St. Elizabeth of Hungary (photograph by Tom Clayton).

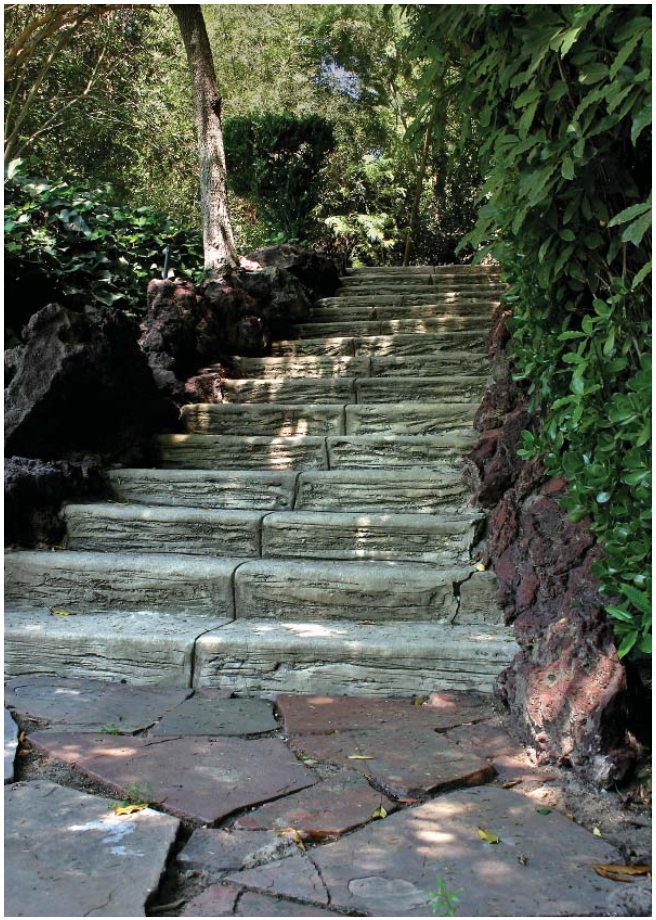
Grotto, St. Elizabeth of Hungary (photograph by Tom Clayton).

St. John's Seminary (photograph by Tom Clayton).

St. John's Seminary (photograph by Tom Clayton).



St. John's Seminary (photograph by Tom Clayton).



St. John's Seminary (photograph by Tom Clayton).

St. John's Seminary (photograph by Tom Clayton).

St. John's Seminary (photograph by Tom Clayton).

St. John's Seminary (photograph by Tom Clayton).

APPENDIX C

Archeological and Preservation Work at Landscape Features Manzanar National Historic Site

Block 2 Barracks 1 Apartment 4 Pond
2000: excavation, mapping, and overhead photography

Block 4 Mess Hall Garden
2015: brush clearing and overhead photography

Block 8
2002: excavation of landscape features and mapping

Block 9 Mess Hall Garden
2007: excavation, stabilization, mapping, and overhead photography

Block 12 Mess Hall Garden
1993: partial excavation and mapping
2007: removal of tamarisk
2012: stabilization of two pond rocks
2013-2014: stabilization, restoration, mapping, and overhead photography

Block 14 Ironing Room Garden
2010: excavation, restoration, mapping, and overhead photography

Block 14
2000: excavation of landscape features and mapping
2009: construction monitoring, mapping, and overhead photography
2010: restoration of west fire hydrant rock ring
2012: replacement of missing barracks faucet pipes
2014: restoration and painting of east fire hydrant rock ring
2015: reconstruction of basketball court

Block 15 Barracks 5 Garden
2010: excavation, mapping, and overhead photography

Block 15 Barracks 7 Garden
2010: excavation, stabilization, mapping, and overhead photography

Block 17 Barracks 3 Apartment 4 Garden
2014: brush clearing

Block 17 Barracks 8 Garden
2013: excavation, mapping, and overhead photography

Block 22 Mess Hall Garden
1993: brush clearing and mapping
2015: overhead photography

Block 24 Mess Hall Landscaping
2012: excavation, mapping, and overhead photography

Block 24 Barracks 5 Garden
2012: excavation, mapping, and overhead photography

Block 33 Barracks 4 Garden
2011: excavation, mapping, and overhead photography
2013-2014: stabilization and restoration

Block 34 Mess Hall Garden
1999: excavation and mapping
2007: excavation, stabilization, restoration, and overhead photography

Block 36 Barracks 12 Apartment 4 Garden
2013: partial excavation and overhead photography

Hospital Gardens
1993: excavation and mapping of garden pond
2000: repair of faux-wood bench
2007: faux-wood sewer manhole reset
2015: flood repairs, mapping, mapping, and overhead photography

Merritt Park
2007: removal of tamarisk
2008: excavation, stabilization, mapping, and overhead photography
2009: excavation, stabilization, and overhead photography
2011: restoration of bridge at upper pond
2014-2015: flood damage repairs, rehabilitation of bridge at lower pond, and overhead photography

Administration Area
1993: mapping at Buildings D and G
2000: repairs to faux-wood pedestal, mapping, and overhead photography at Building C
2004: brush clearing, excavation, mapping, and overhead photography at Town Hall, Post Office, Mess Hall, and Buildings E and F
2011: brush clearing
2014: brush clearing and restoration
2015: brush clearing and restoration

Administration Building
1993: mapping
2004: brush clearing
2014: flood damage repairs, brush clearing, and restoration and painting of rock alignments

Administration Circle
2004: brush clearing and mapping
2011: overhead photography
2012: planting of Joshua trees and cactus and painting of rock alignments
2014-2015: restoration and overhead photography

Auditorium
2001: recording and replacement of west sidewalk
2009: planting of vegetation on west side

Cemetery
1994: HABS documentation
1999: excavation and restoration of graves
2000: restoration of fence
2014: restoration of monument

Chicken Ranch
2000: clearing of a few concrete slabs
2009: brush clearing and stabilization
2012-2013: brush clearing, excavation, stabilization, restoration, mapping, and overhead photography

Entrance and Police Station
1993: mapping
1994: HABS documentation of sentry posts
1998: concrete faux-wood stumps returned
1999: excavation and mapping of security fence
2000: restoration of security fence, reroofing of sentry posts, and moving state historic marker away from sentry post
2001: installation of replica entrance sign
2004: clearing, restoration, and planting of cactus at entrance sign garden
2010: restoration, planting of cactus, and overhead photography at entrance sign garden
2014: relocation of modern historic markers from entrance to visitor center and guard tower
2015: excavation, restoration, and painting of rock alignments

Judo *Dojo*
1993: brush clearing and mapping

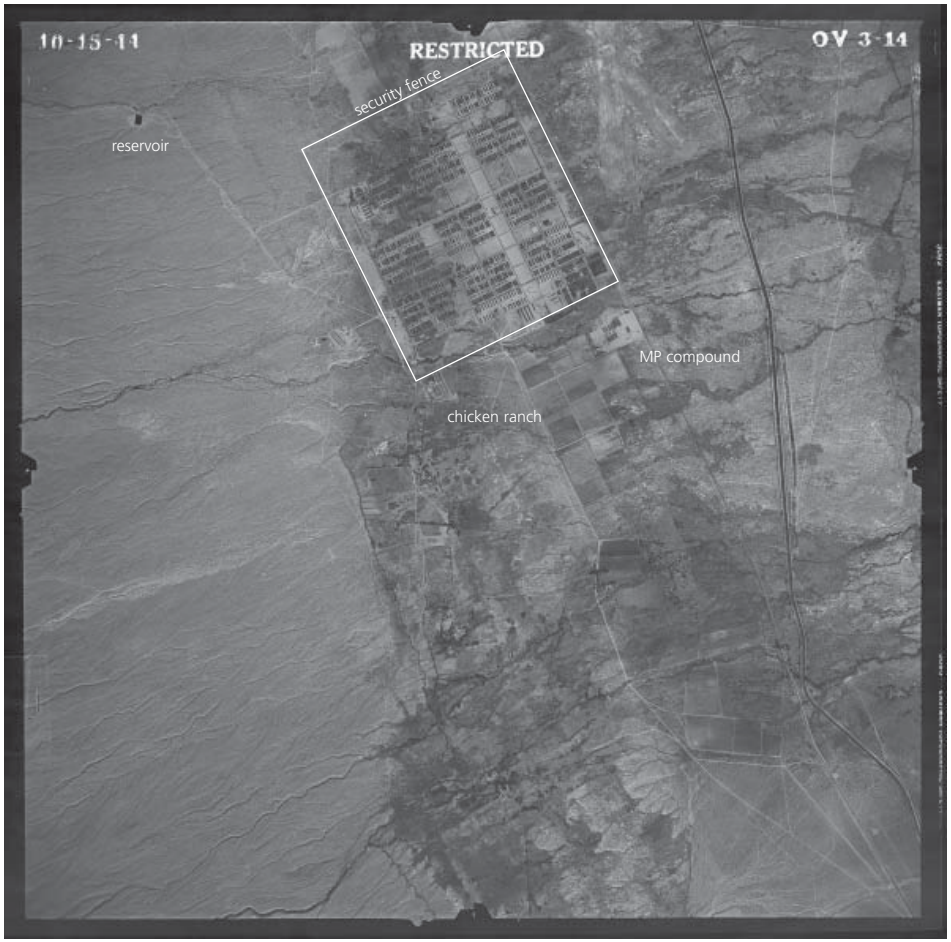
North Park Picnic Area
2003: removal of debris and trash from fireplaces
2009: recontouring of ground surface away from fireplaces

Reservoir
1994: HABS documentation
2008: brush clearing, repairs, and restoration

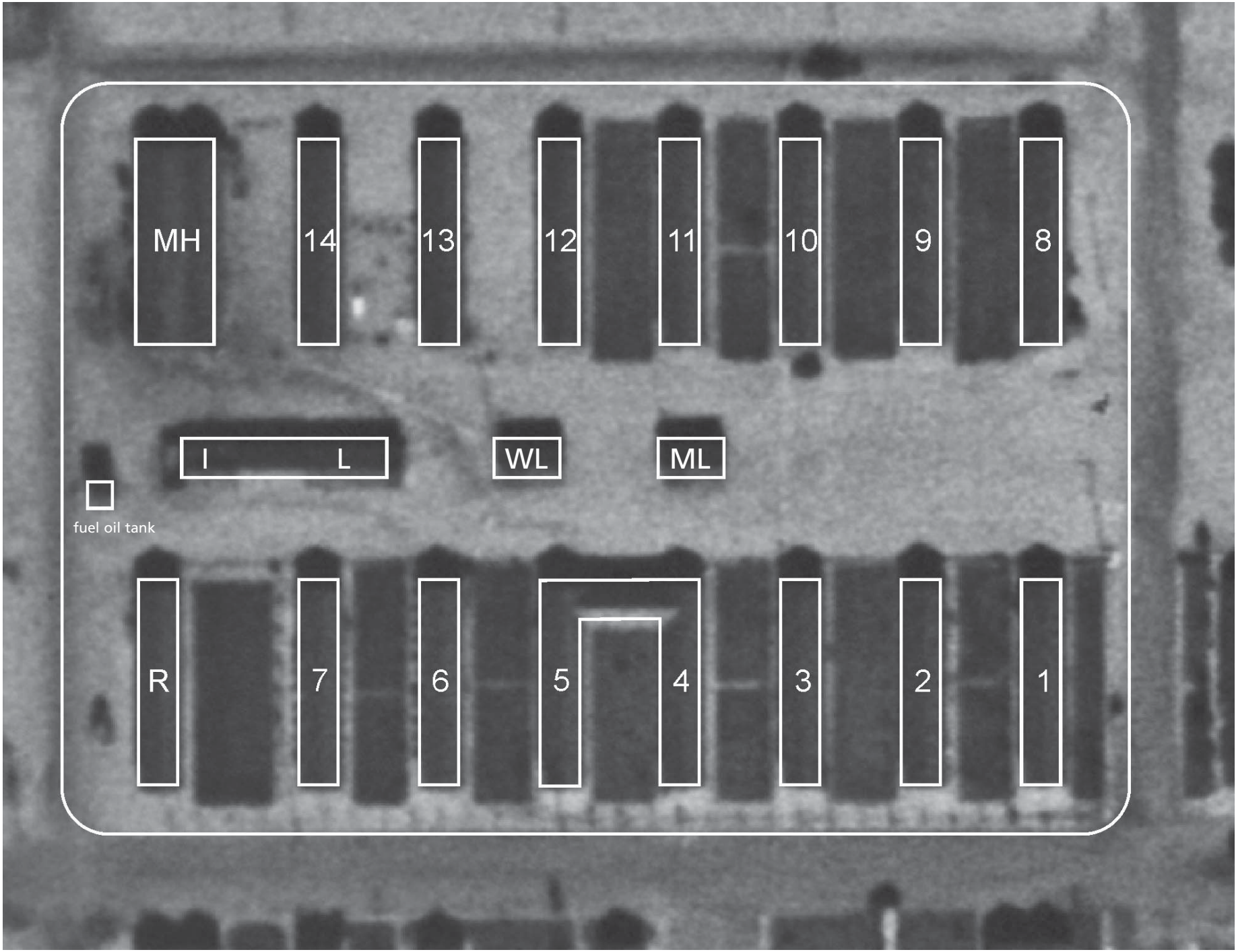
APPENDIX D

1944 Aerial Photographs
Manzanar Relocation Center

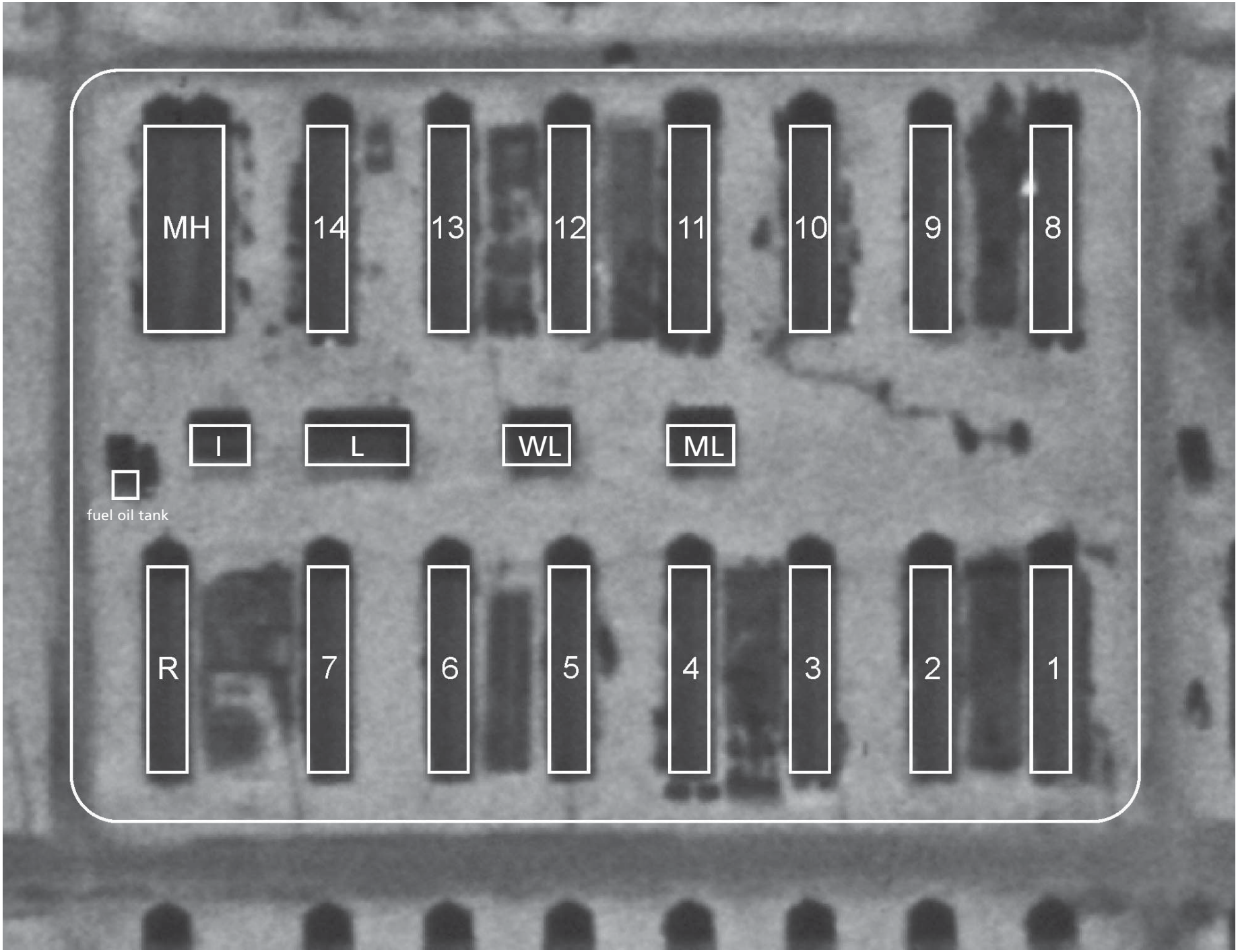
Owens Valley Aerial Photograph 3-13, October 15, 1944 (Map and Imagery Laboratory, University of California, Santa Barbara).



Owens Valley Aerial Photograph 3-14, October 15, 1944 (Map and Imagery Laboratory, University of California, Santa Barbara).

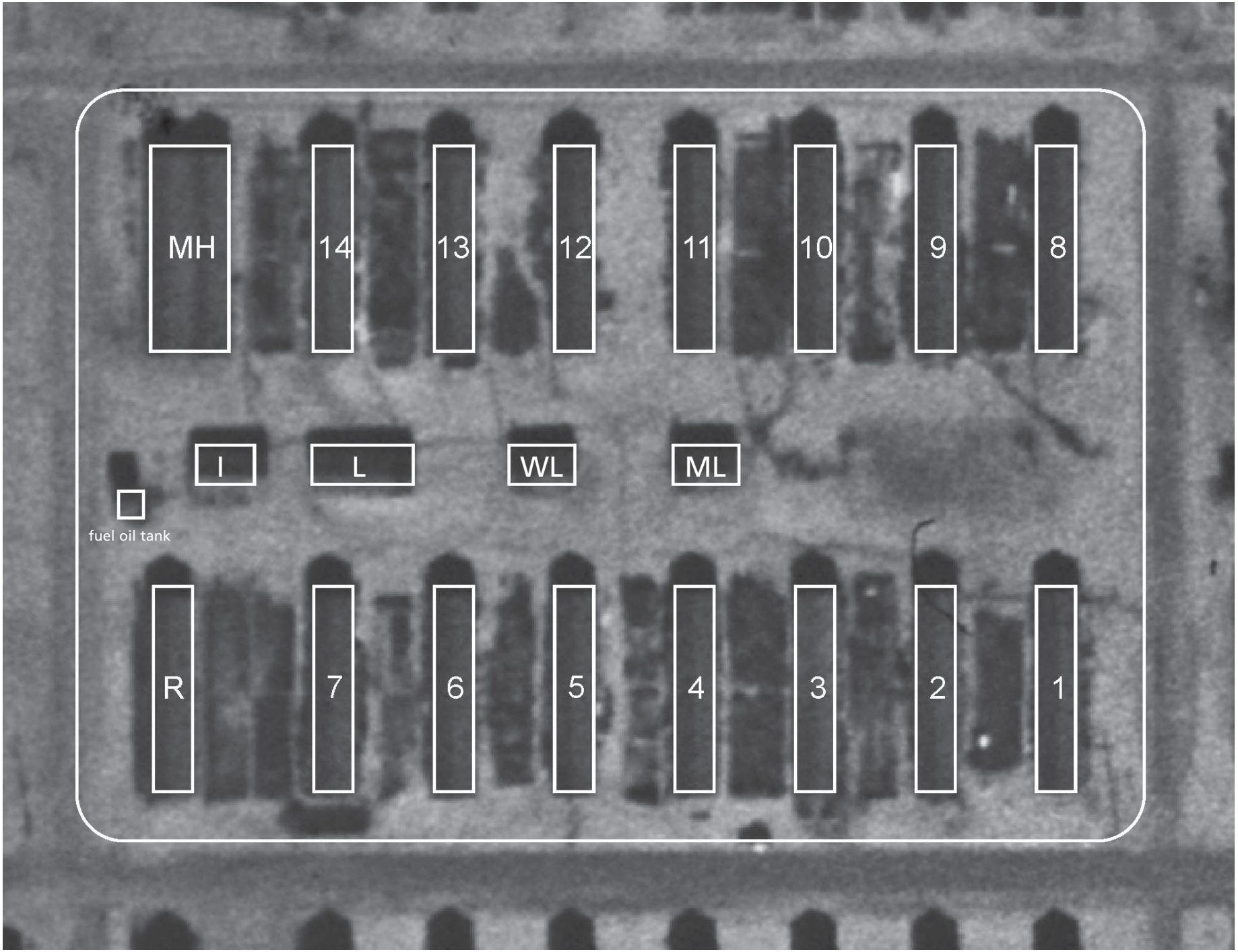


Residential Block 1 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).

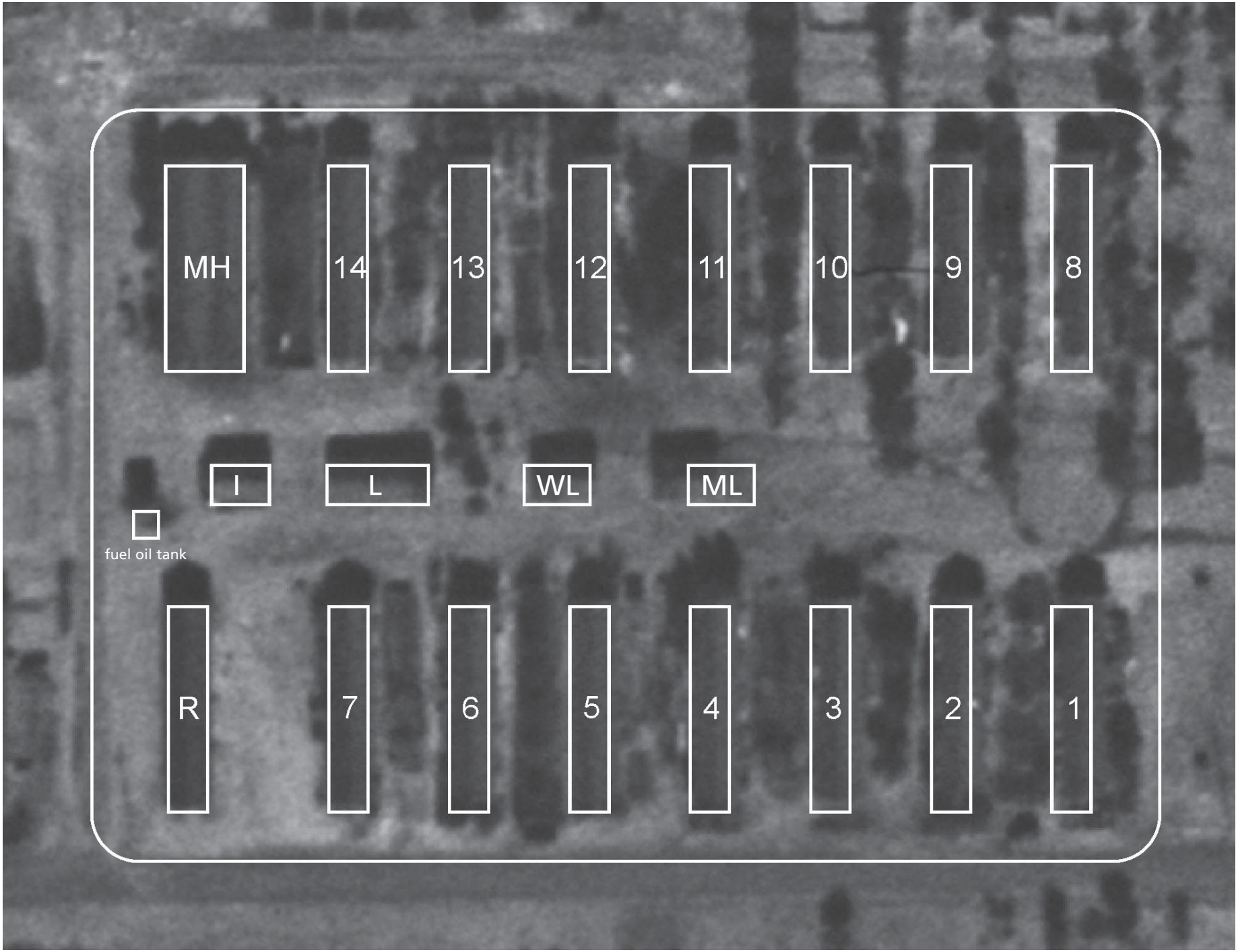


Residential Block 2 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).

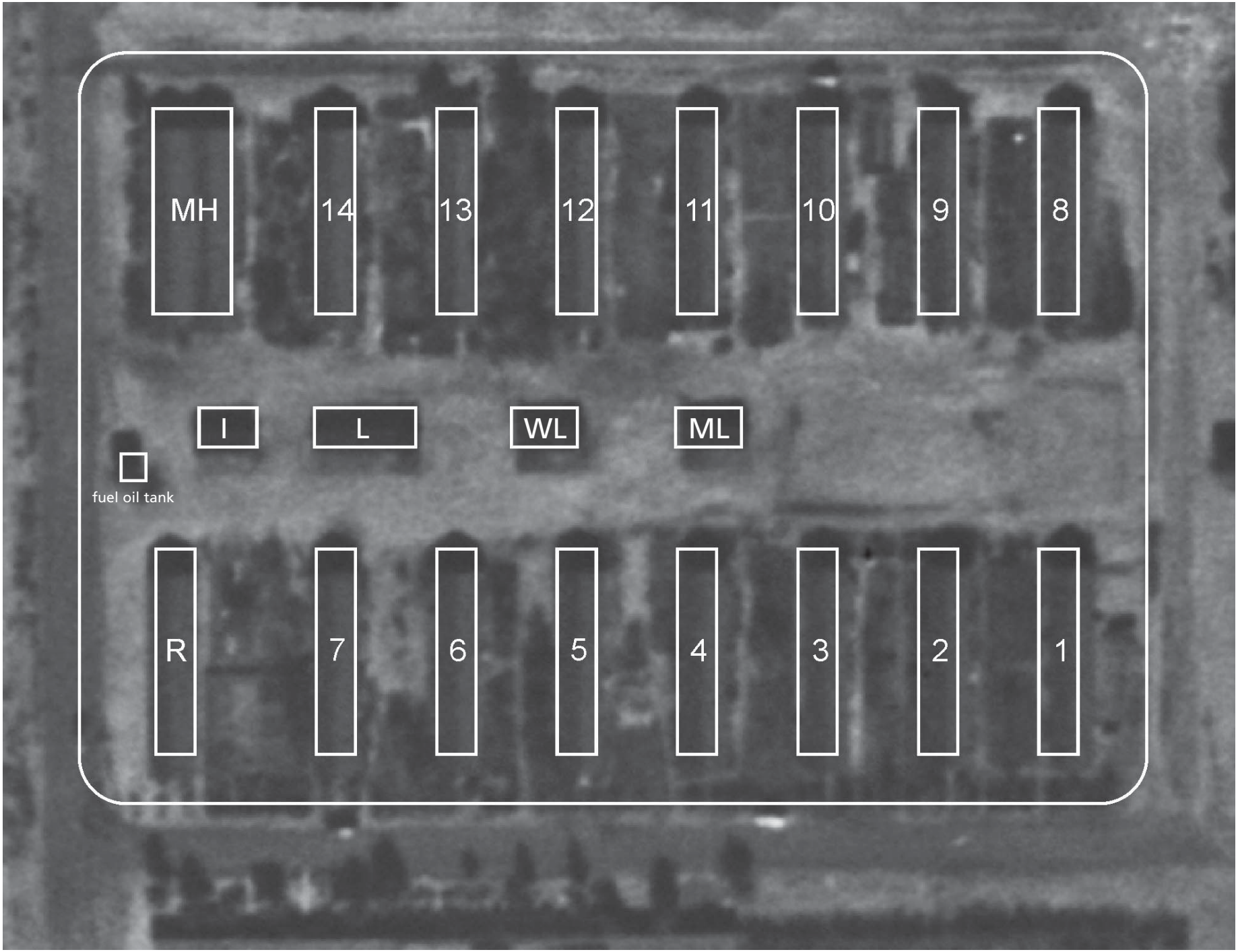
Residential Block 3 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



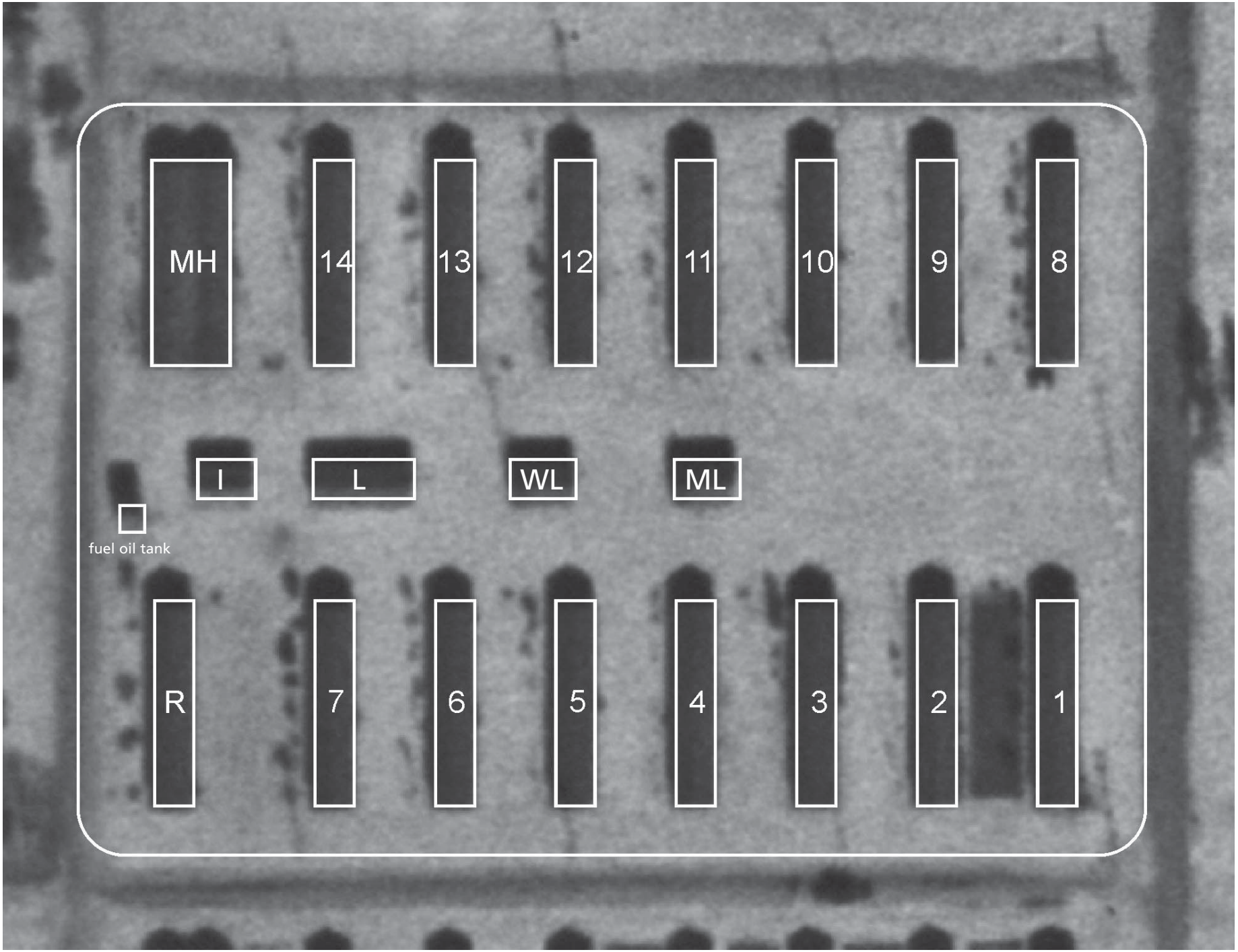
Residential Block 4 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



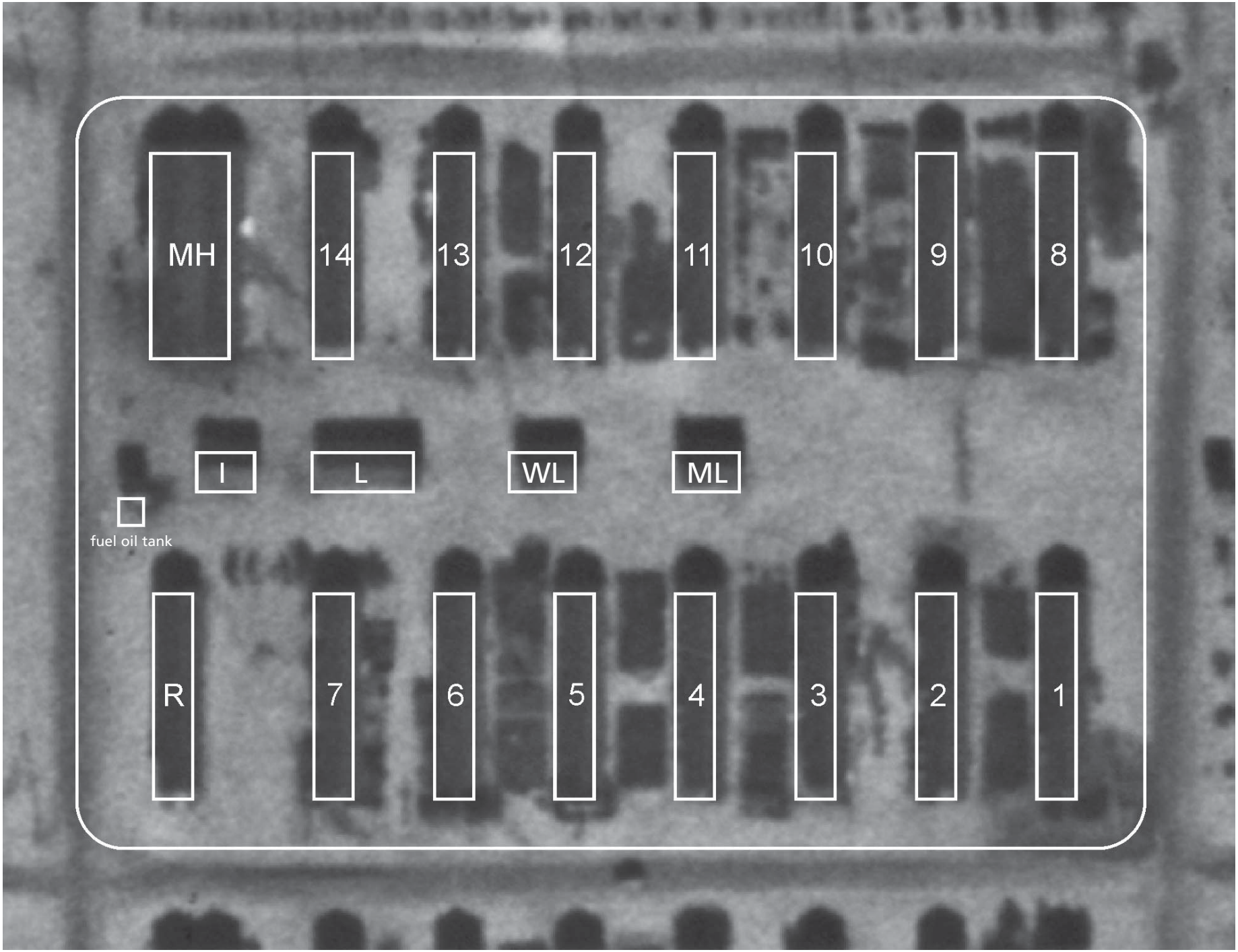
Residential Block 5 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



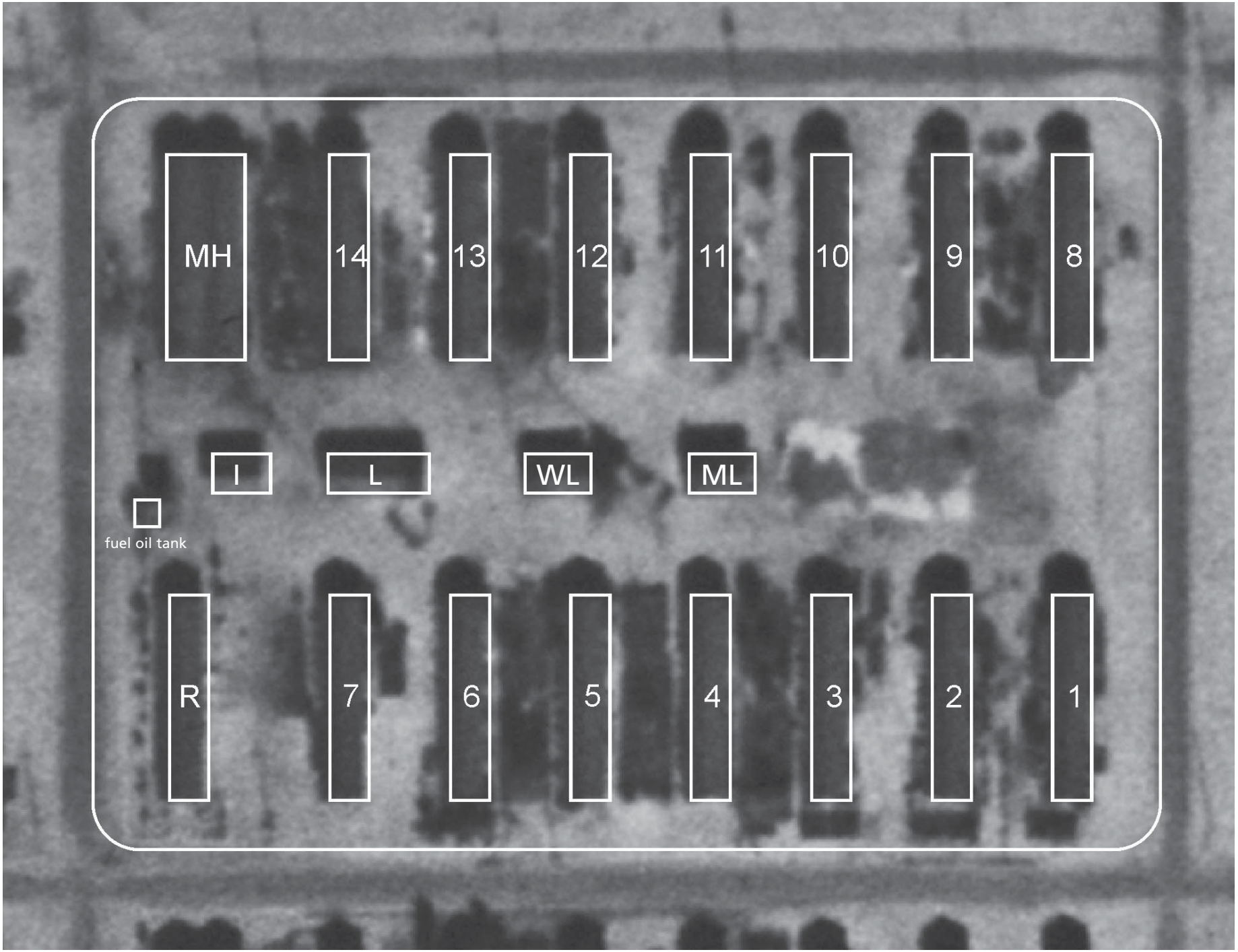
Residential Block 6 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



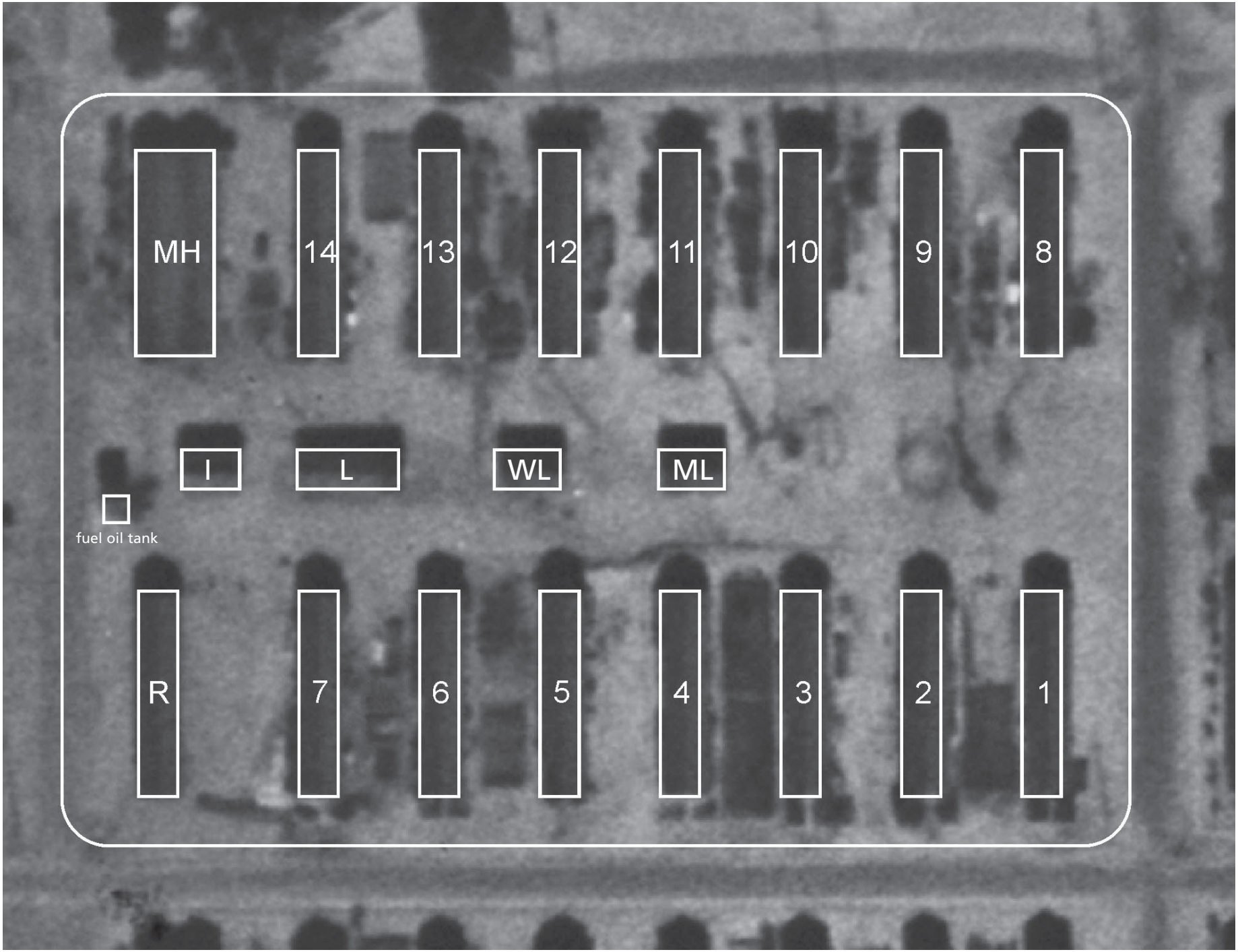
Residential Block 7 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



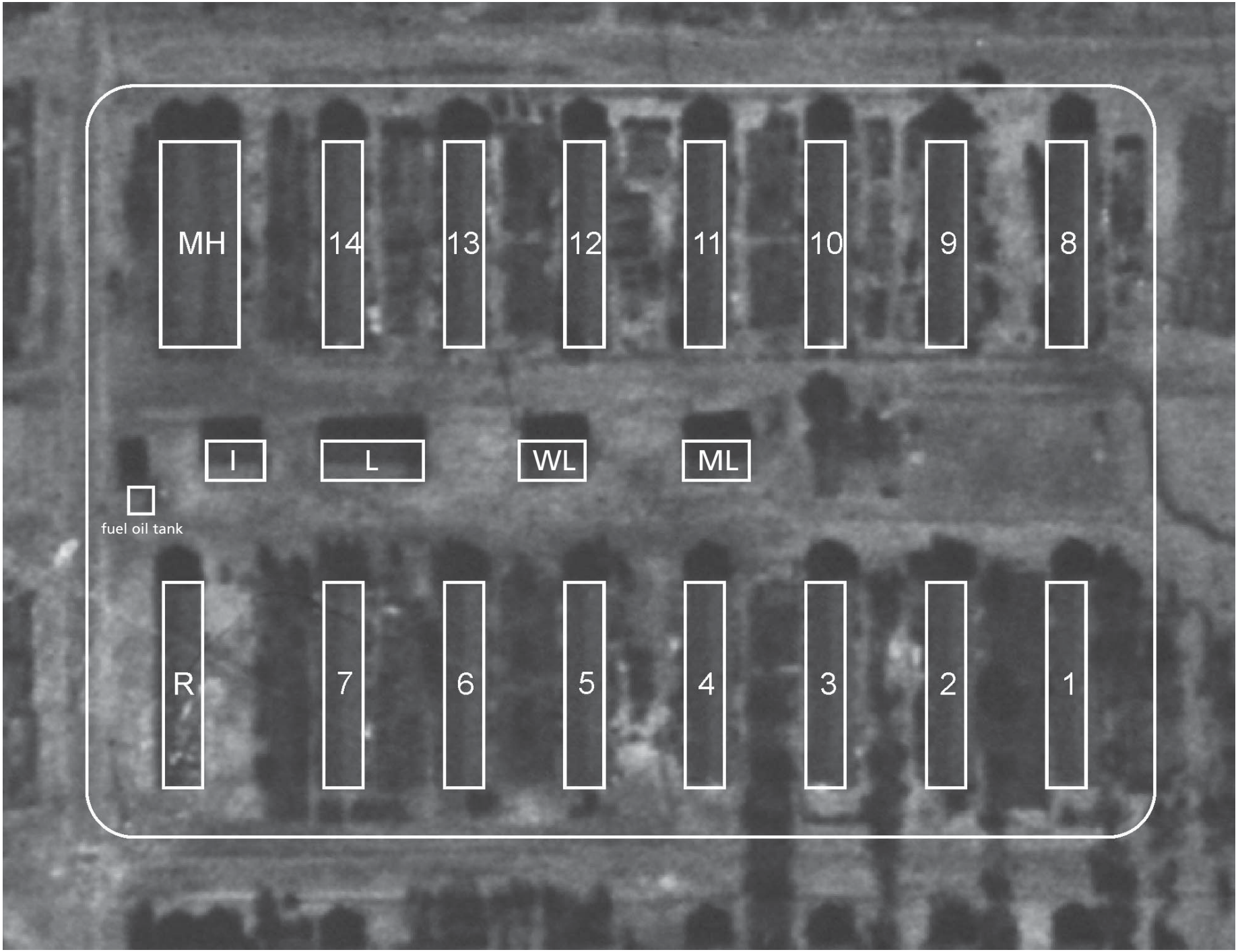
Residential Block 8 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



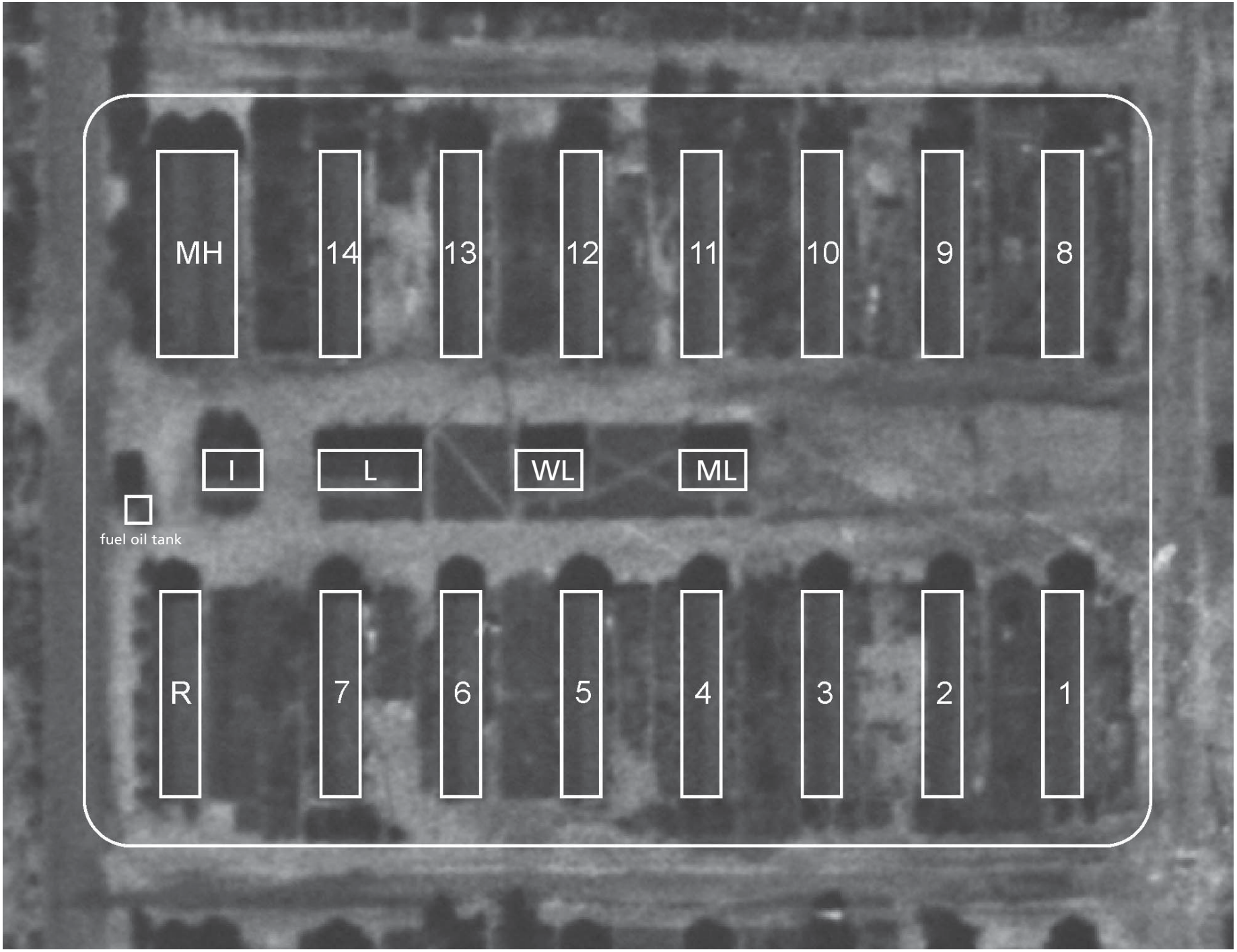
Residential Block 9. (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine)



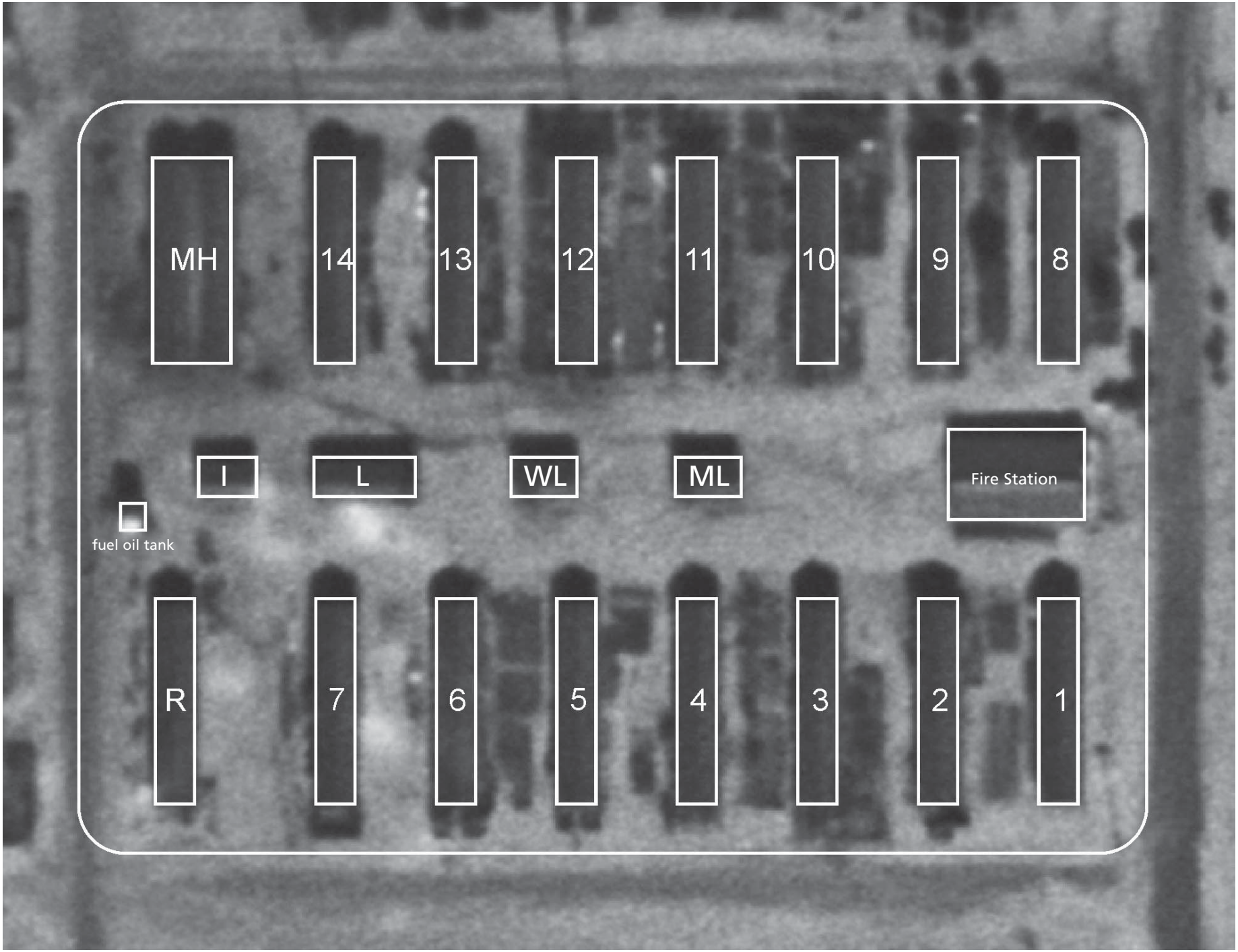
Residential Block 10 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



Residential Block 11 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



Residential Block 12 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



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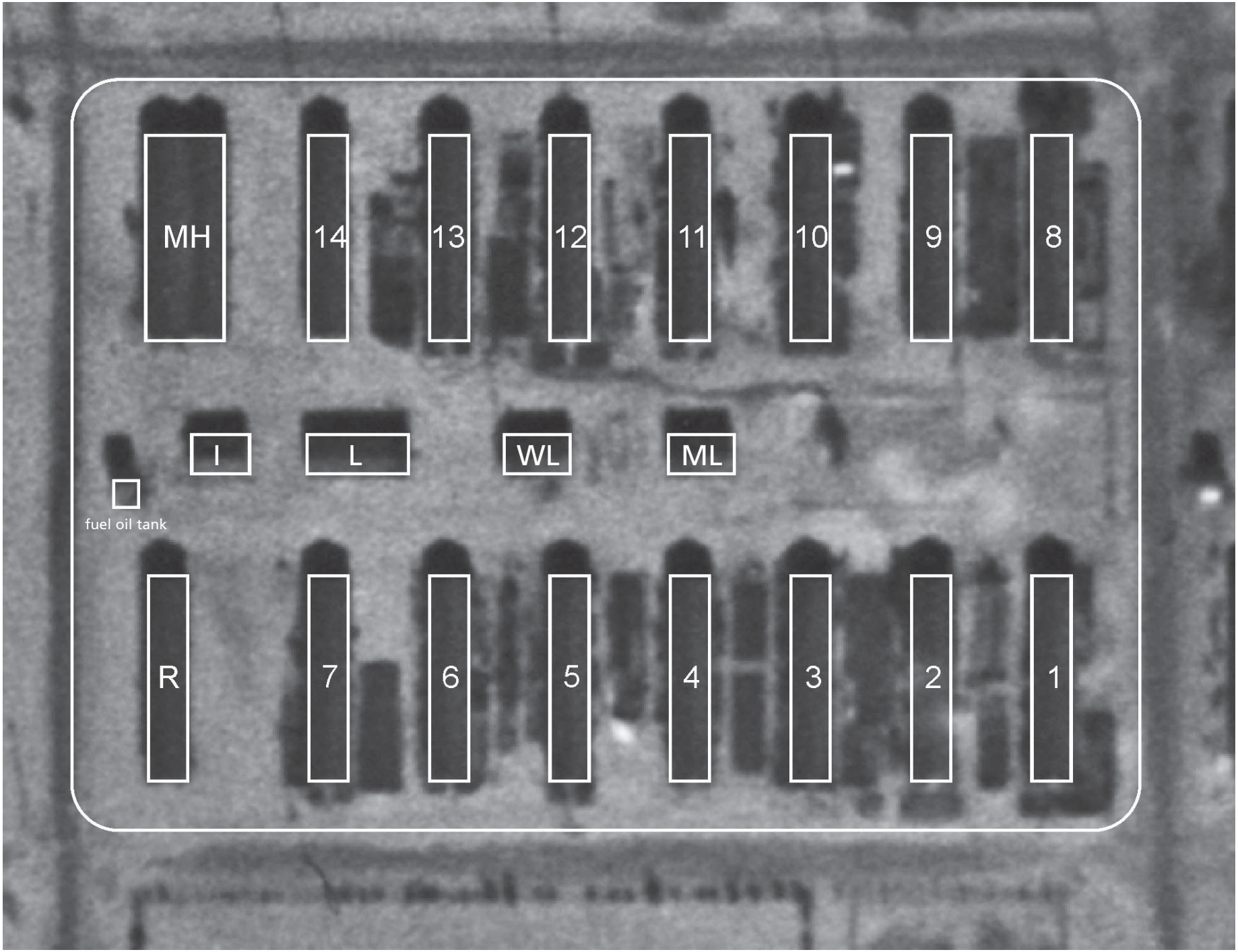
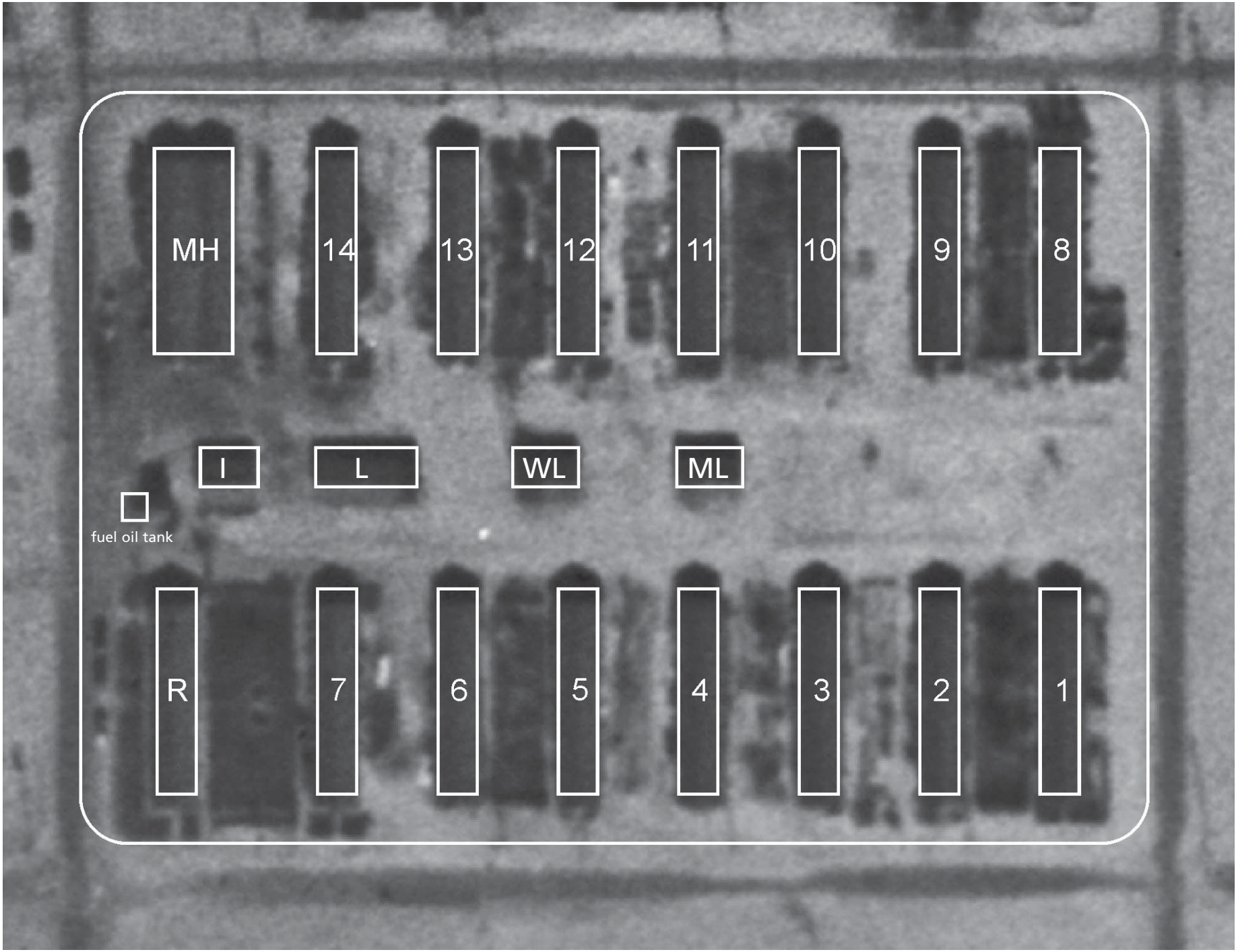
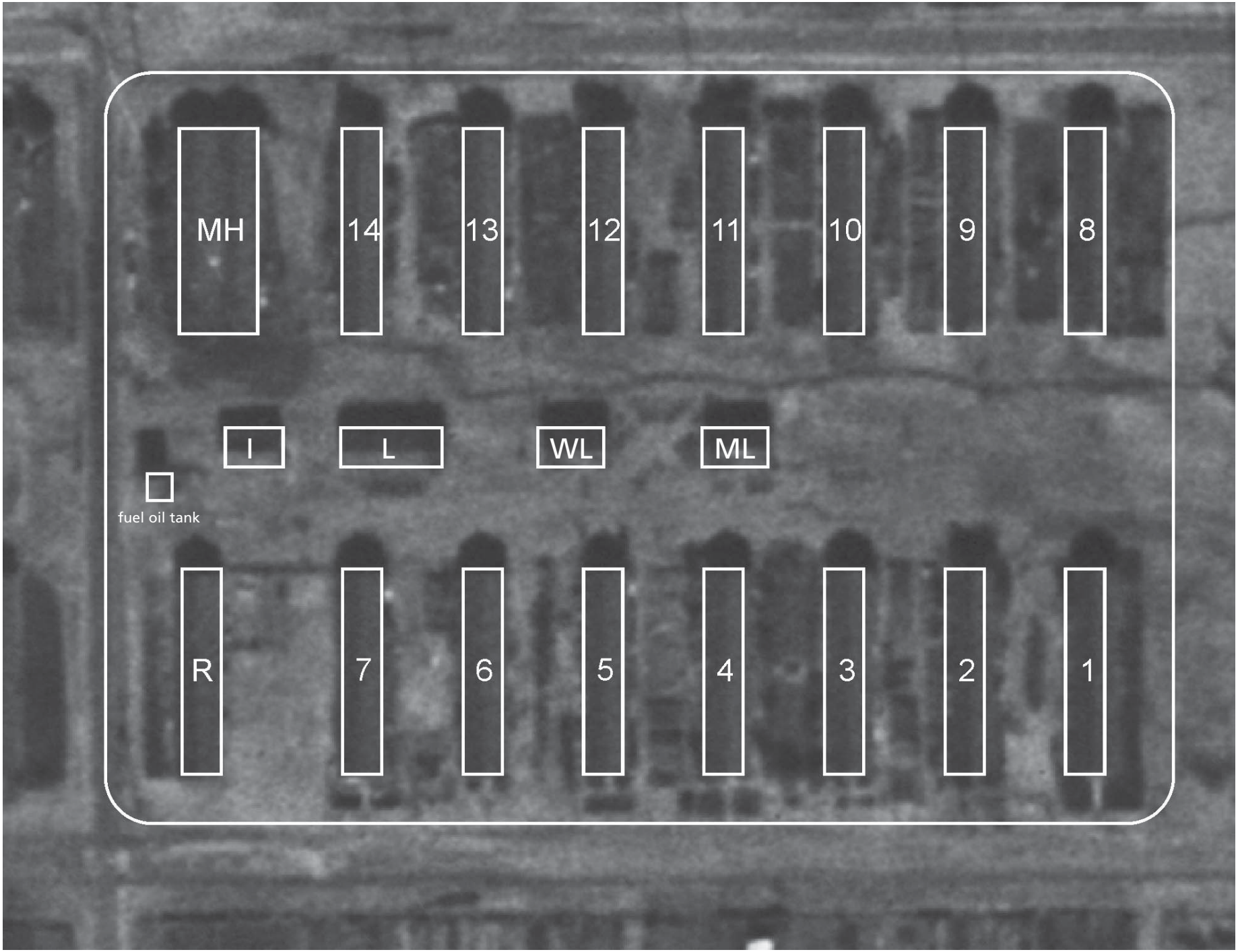


Residential Block 14 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



Residential Block 15 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).

Residential Block 16 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



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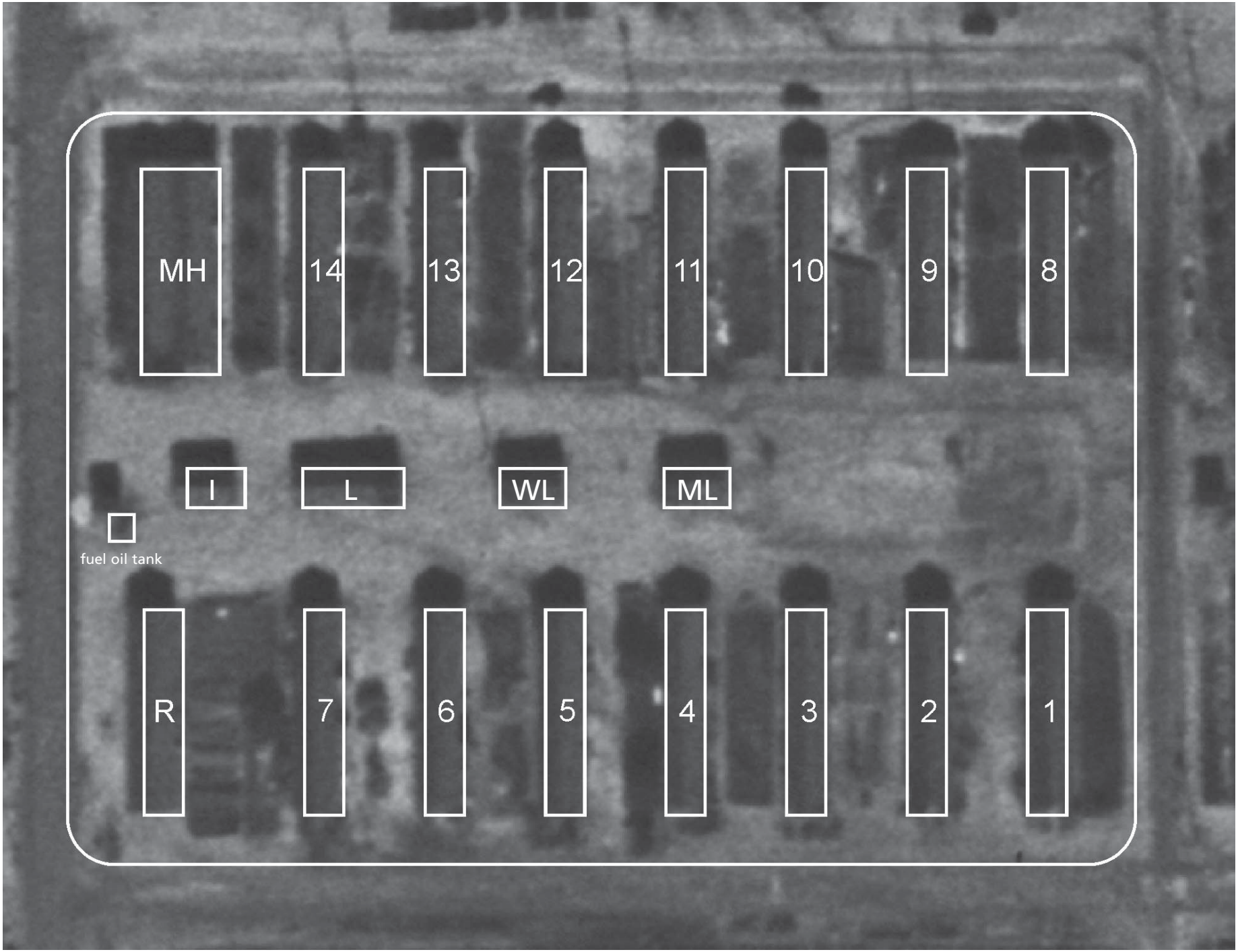

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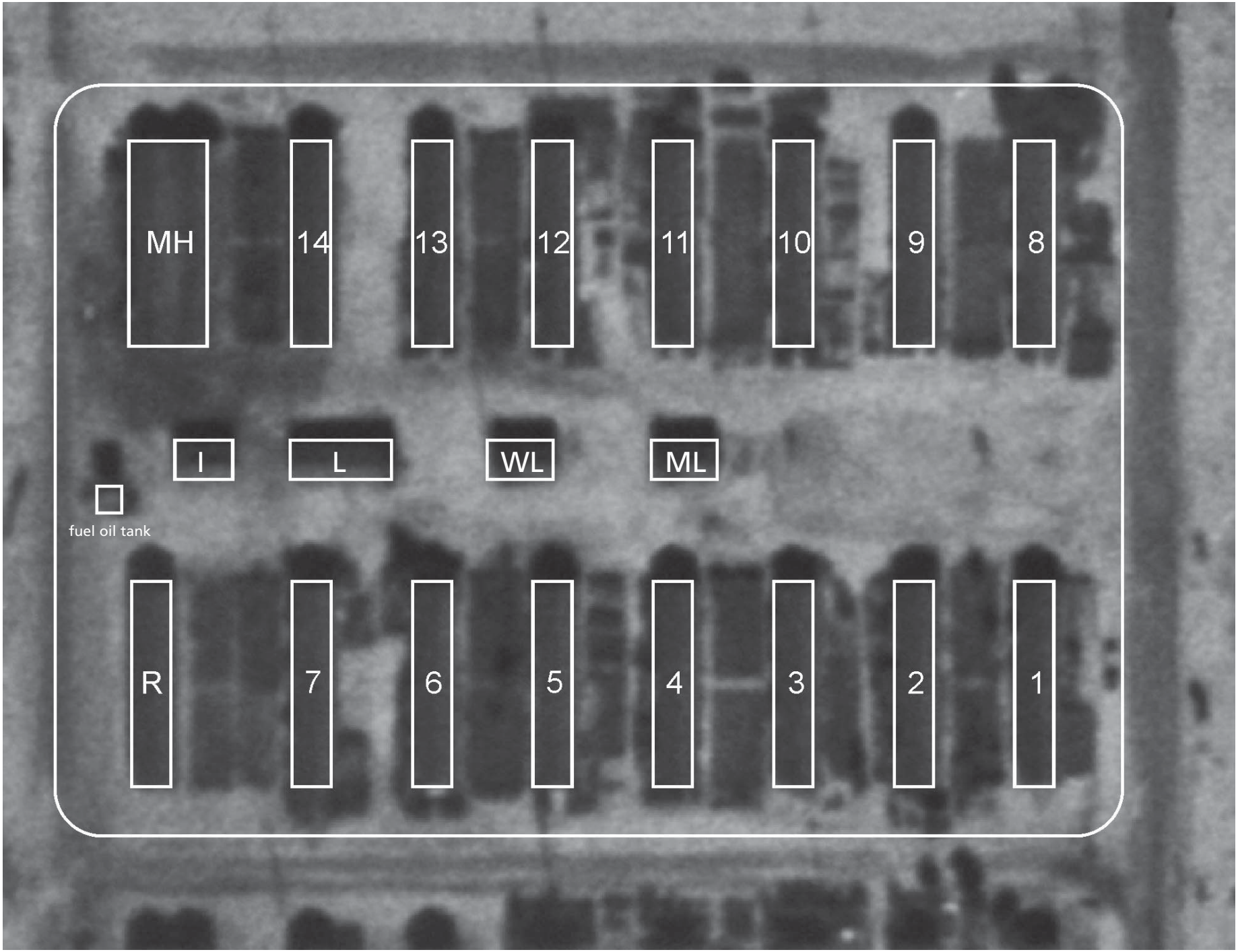

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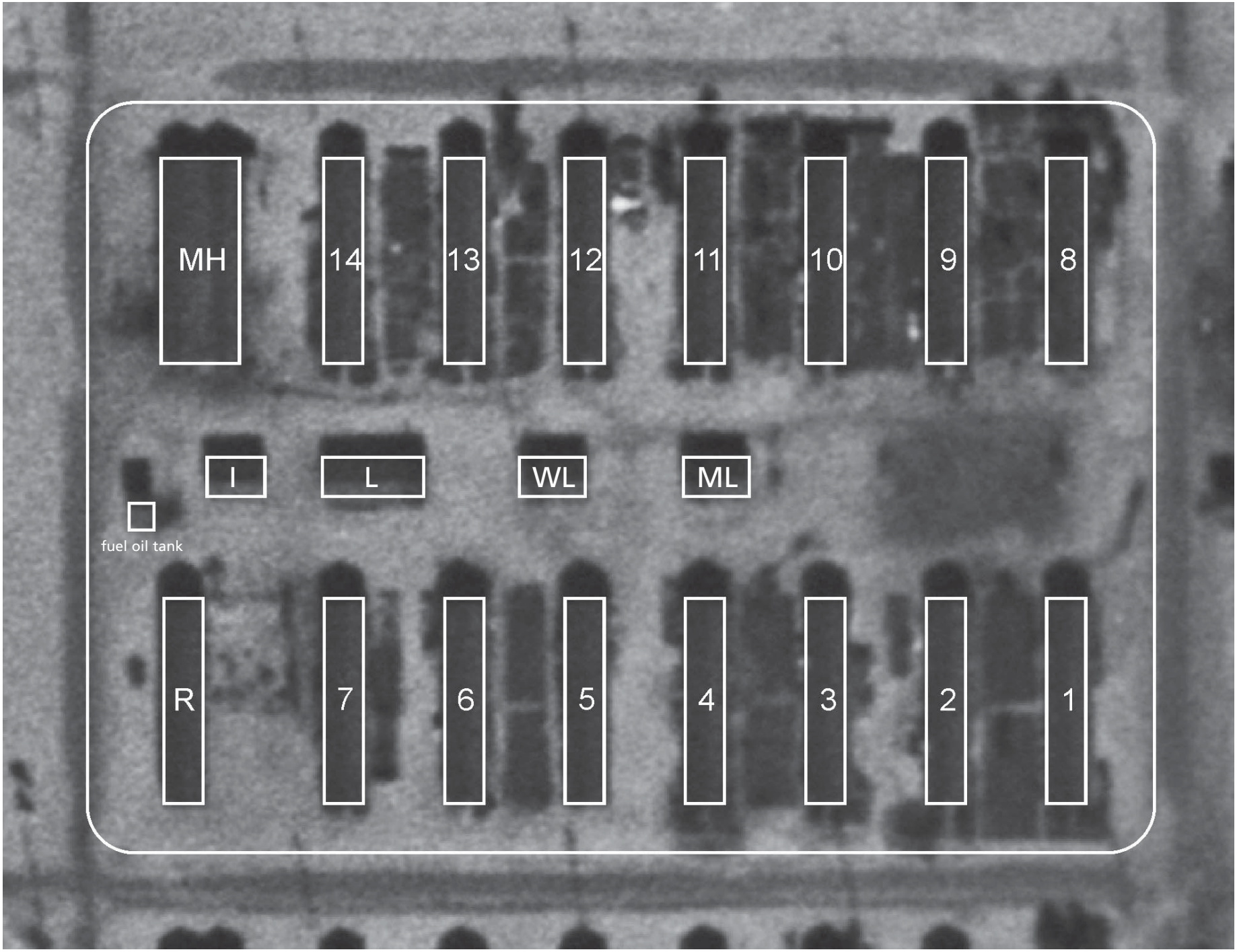

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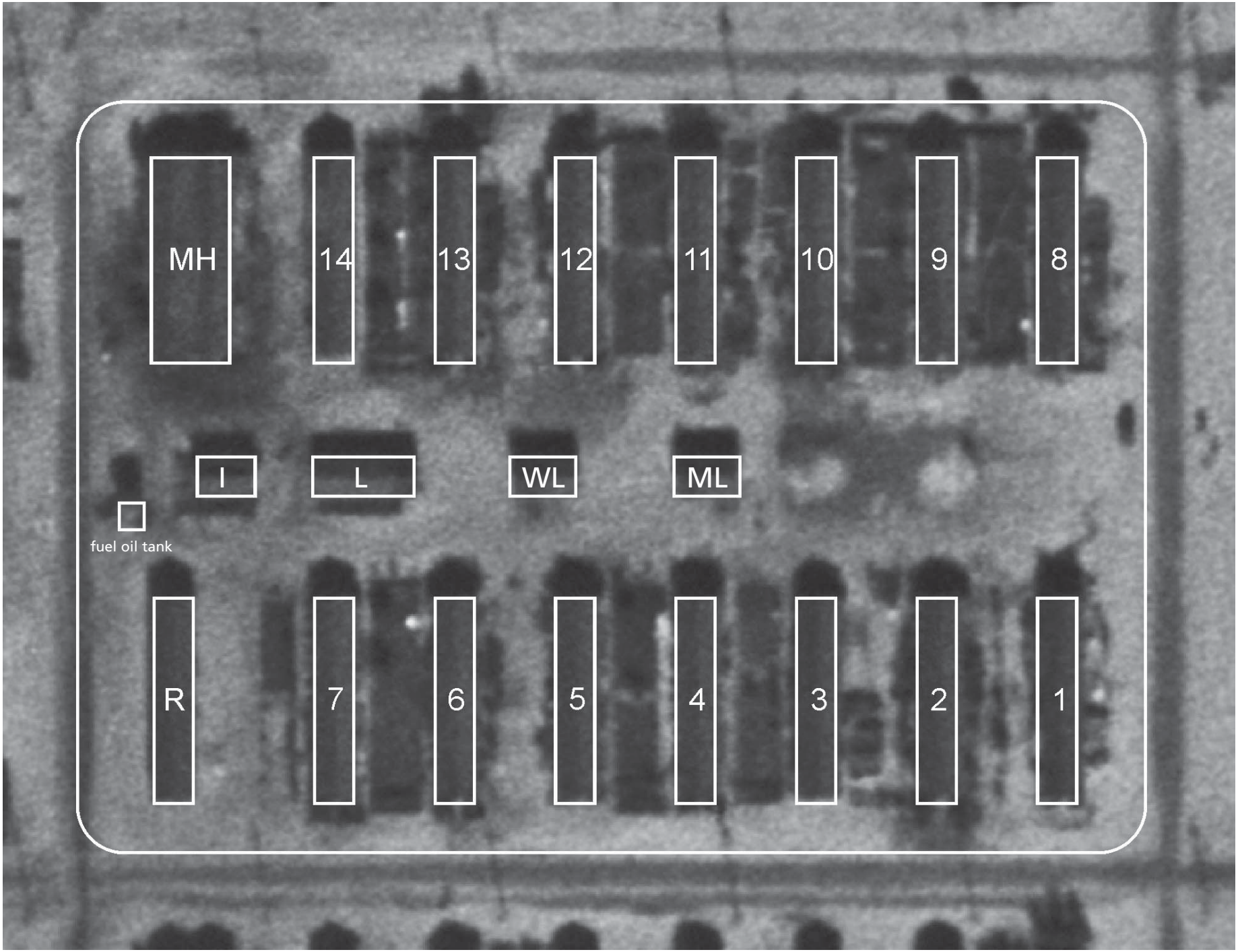
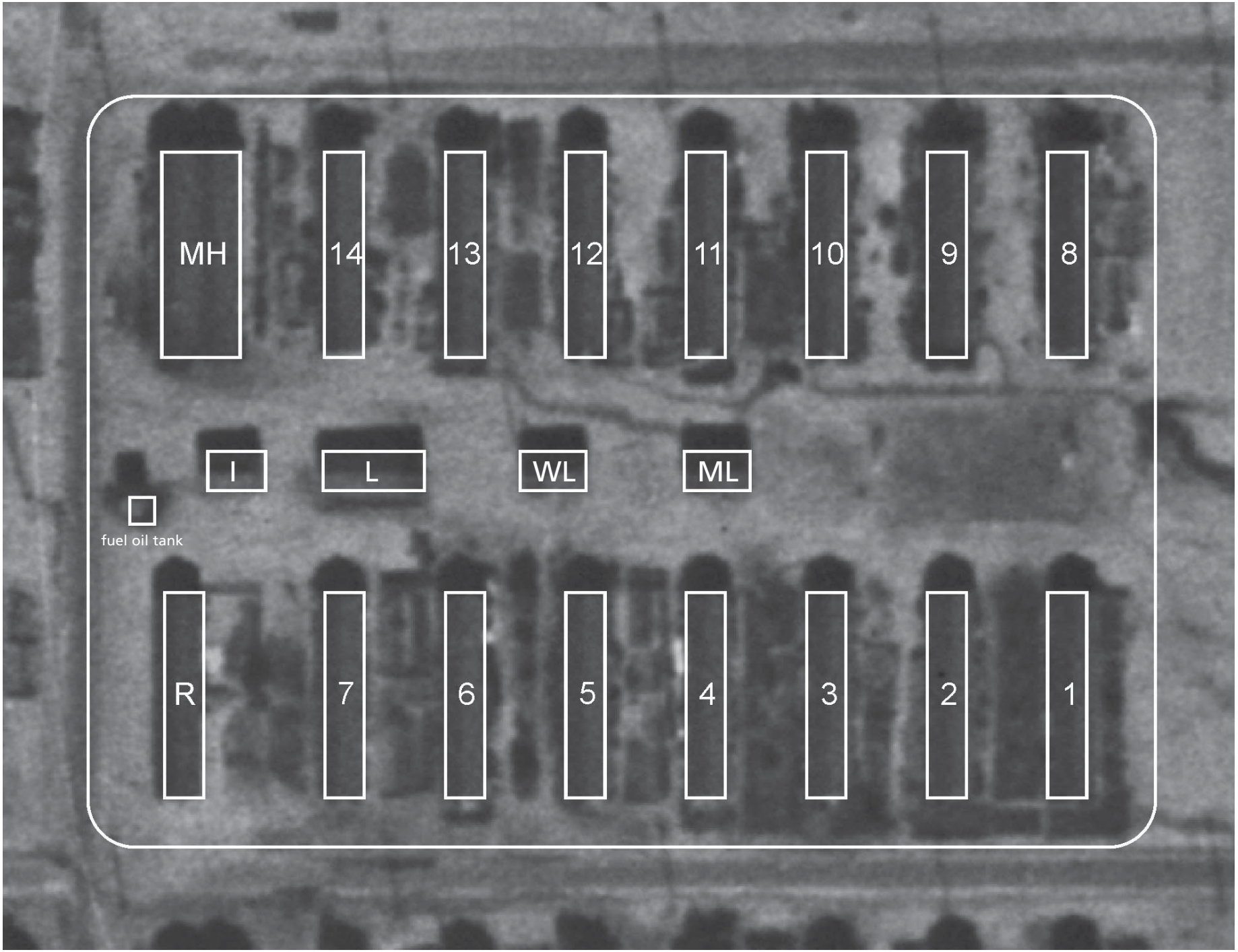


Residential Block 21 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).

Residential Block 22 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



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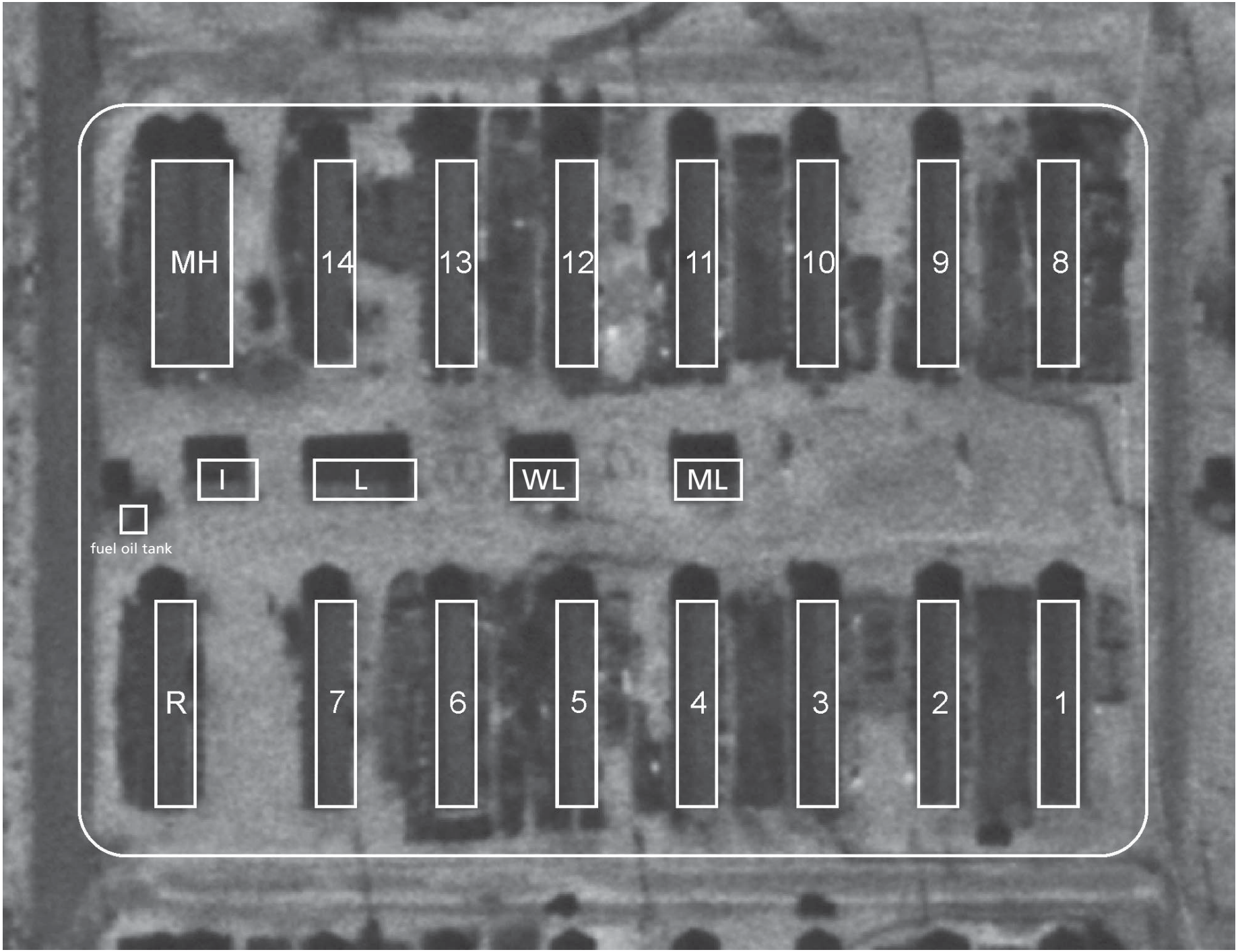

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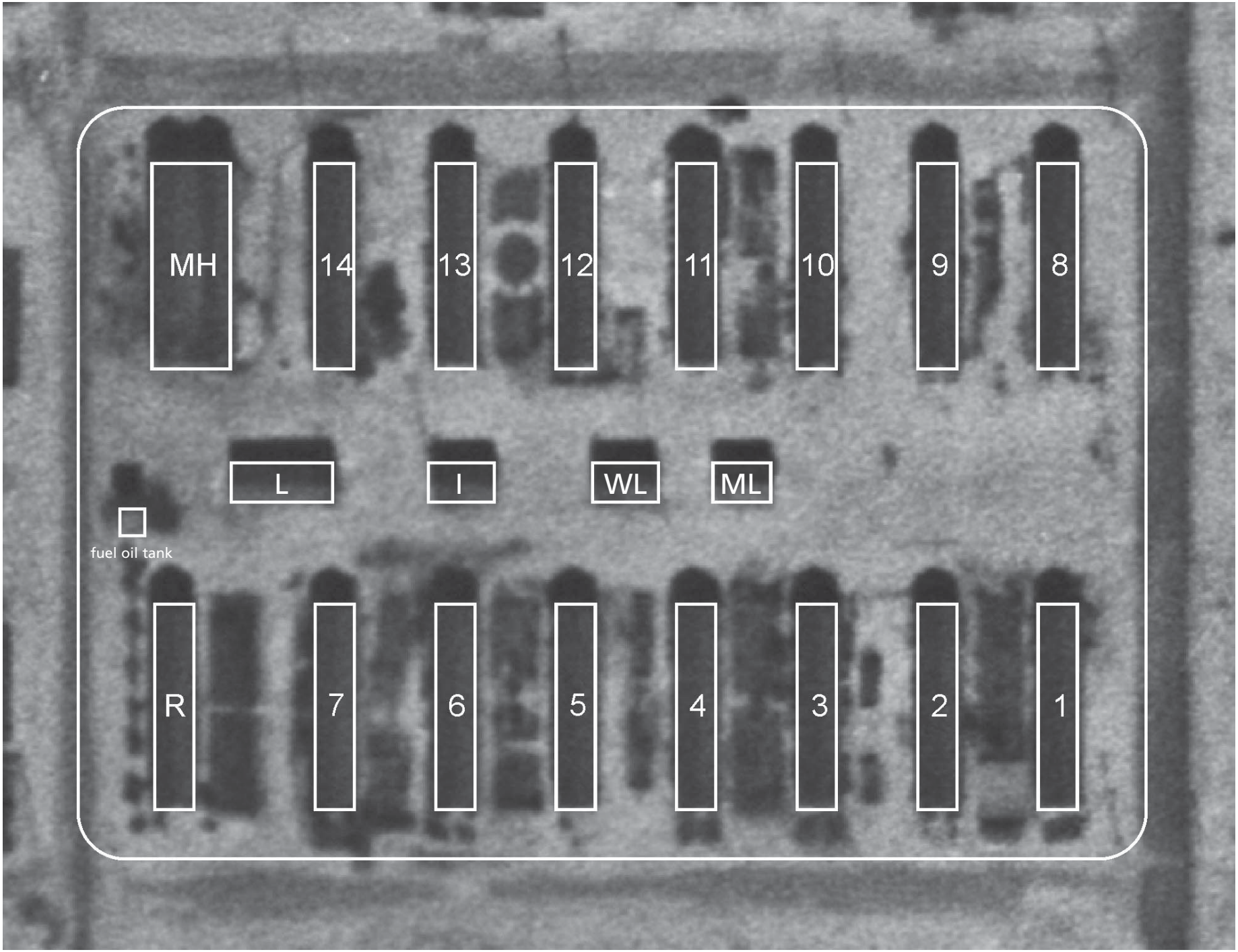

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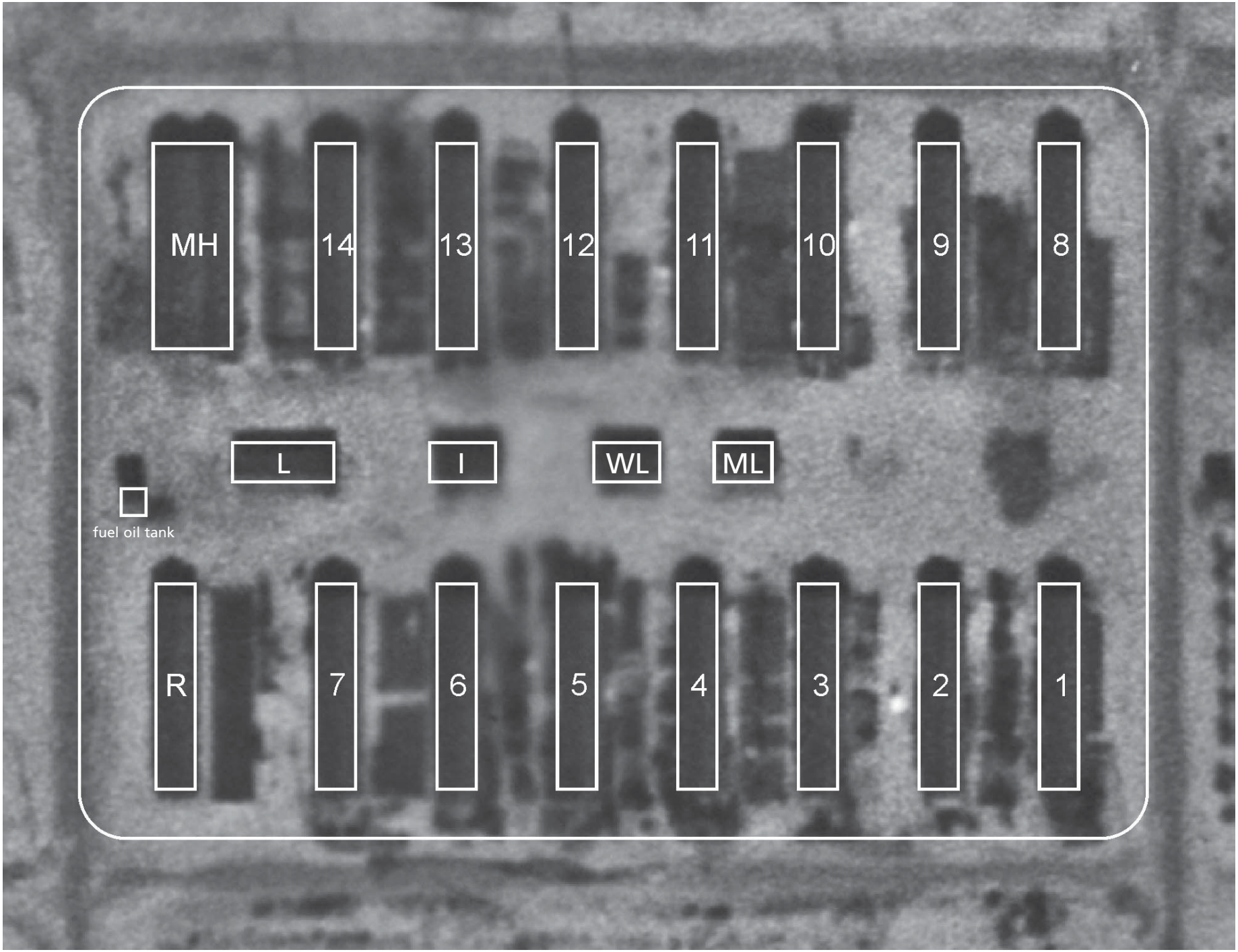
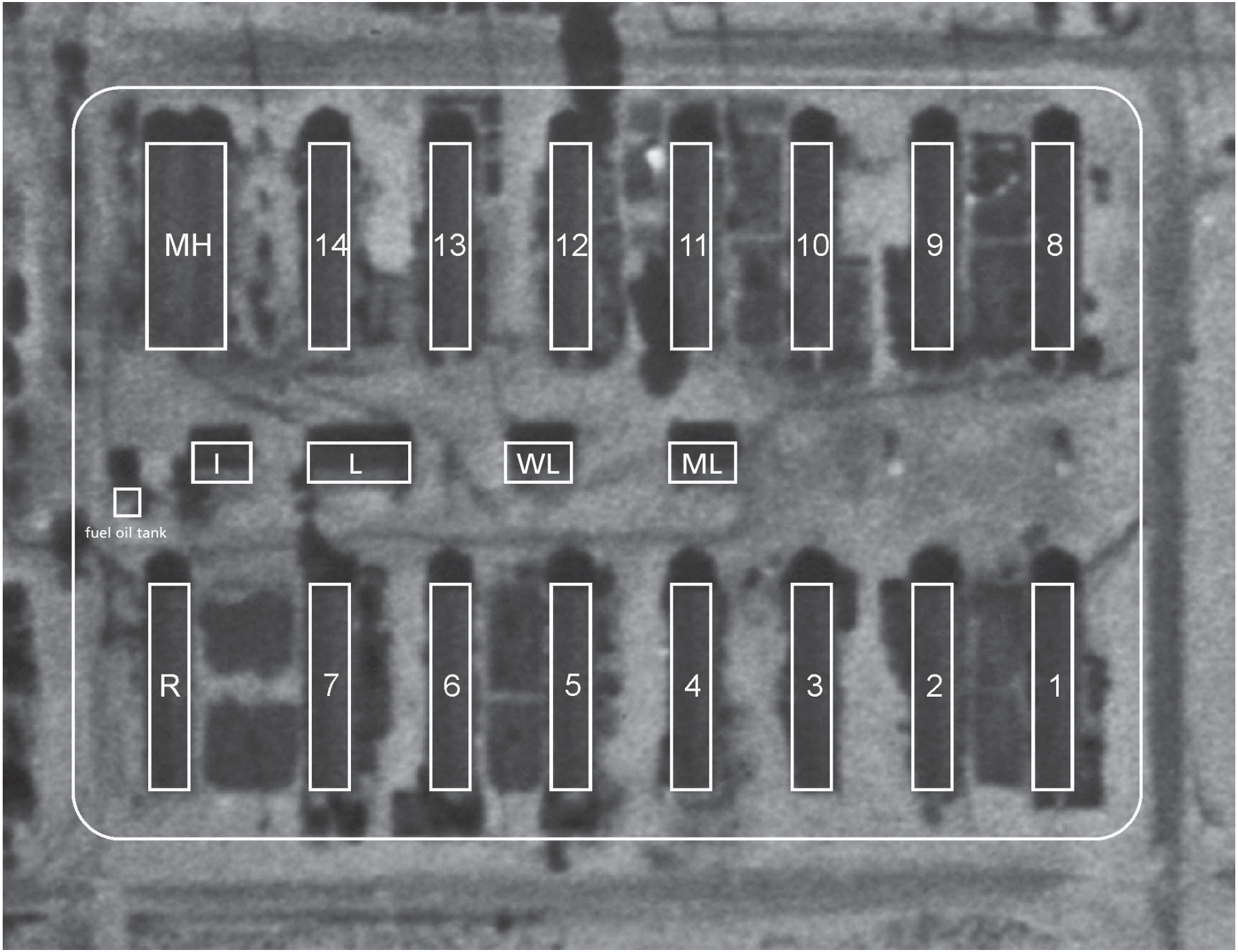


Residential Block 26 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



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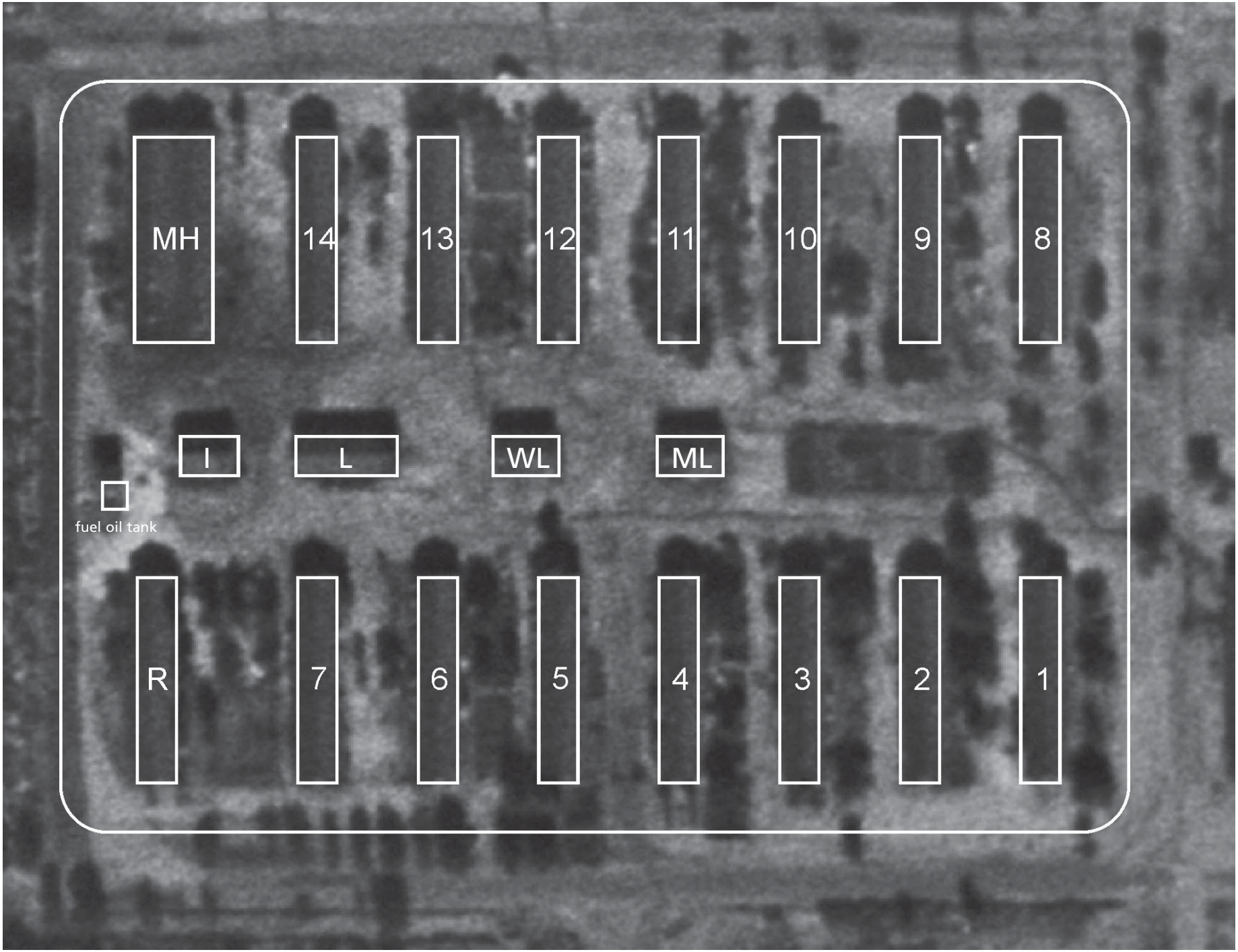

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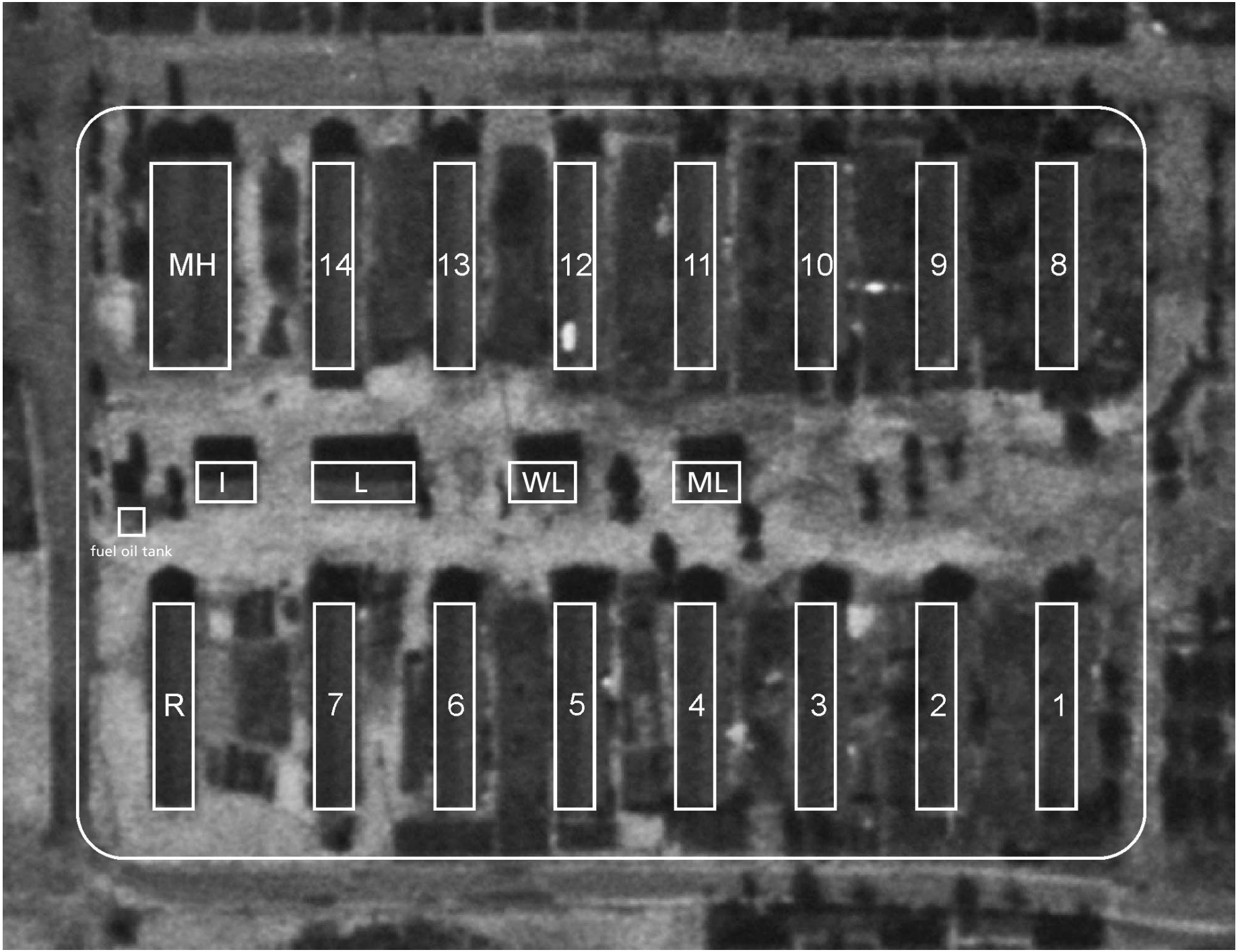

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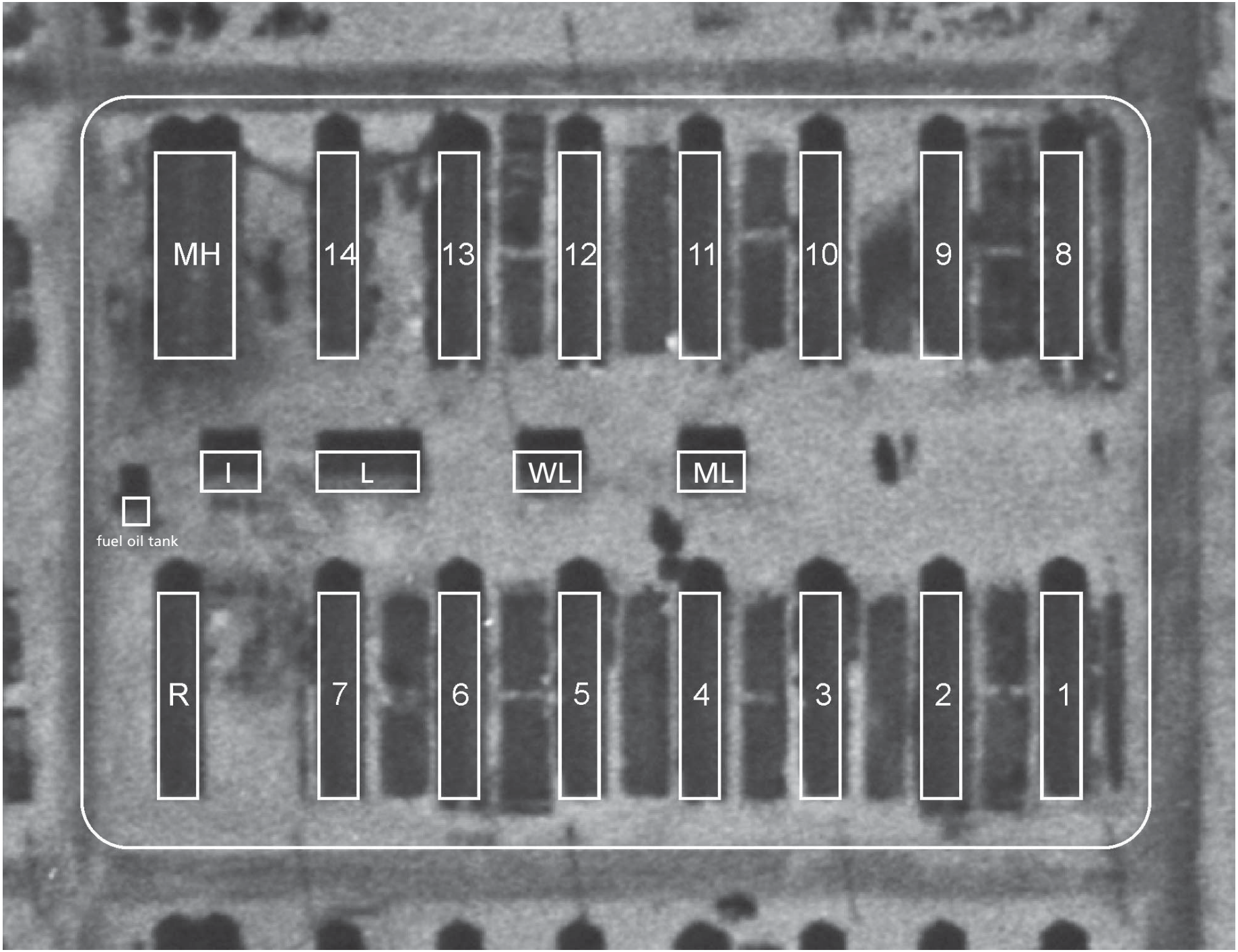
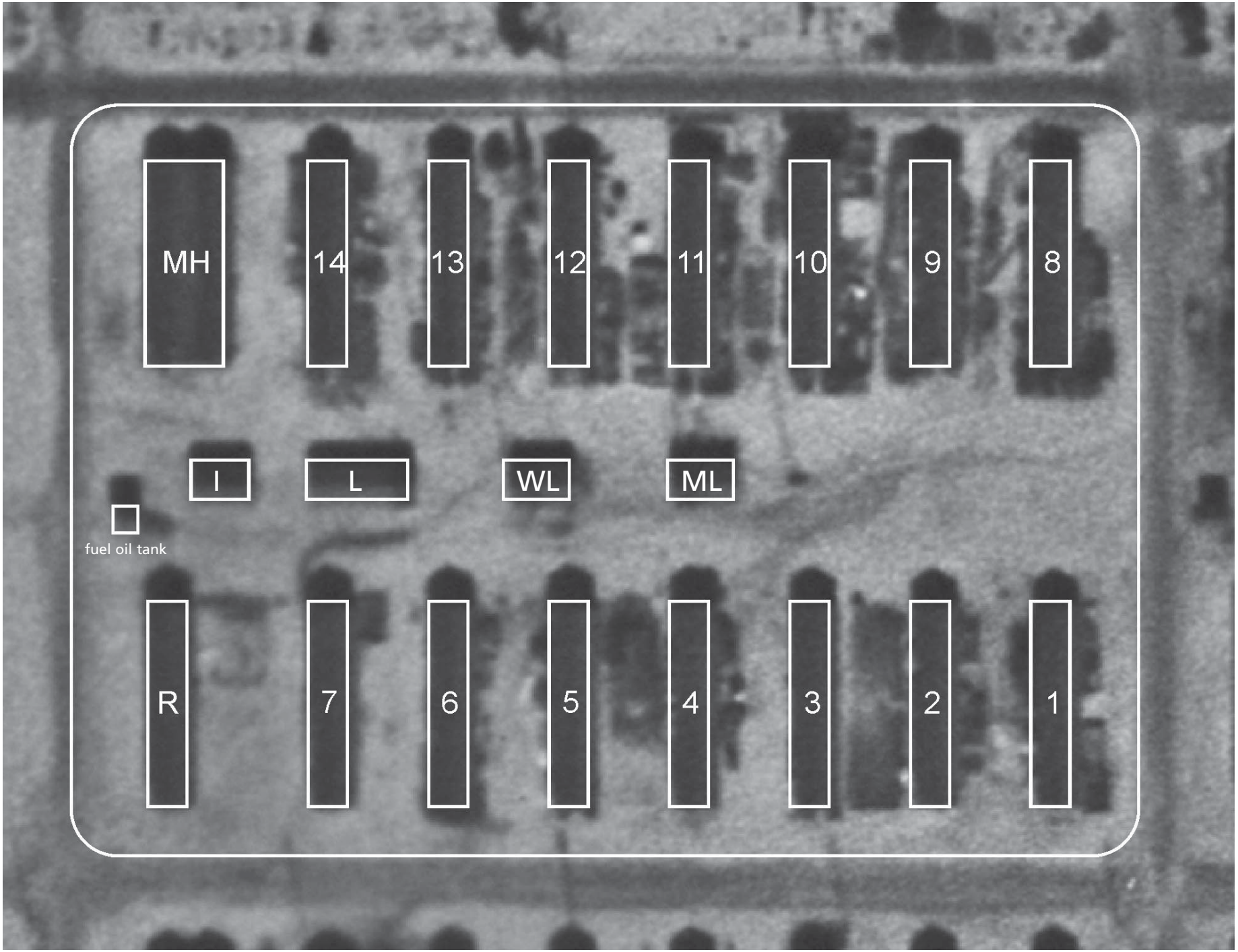
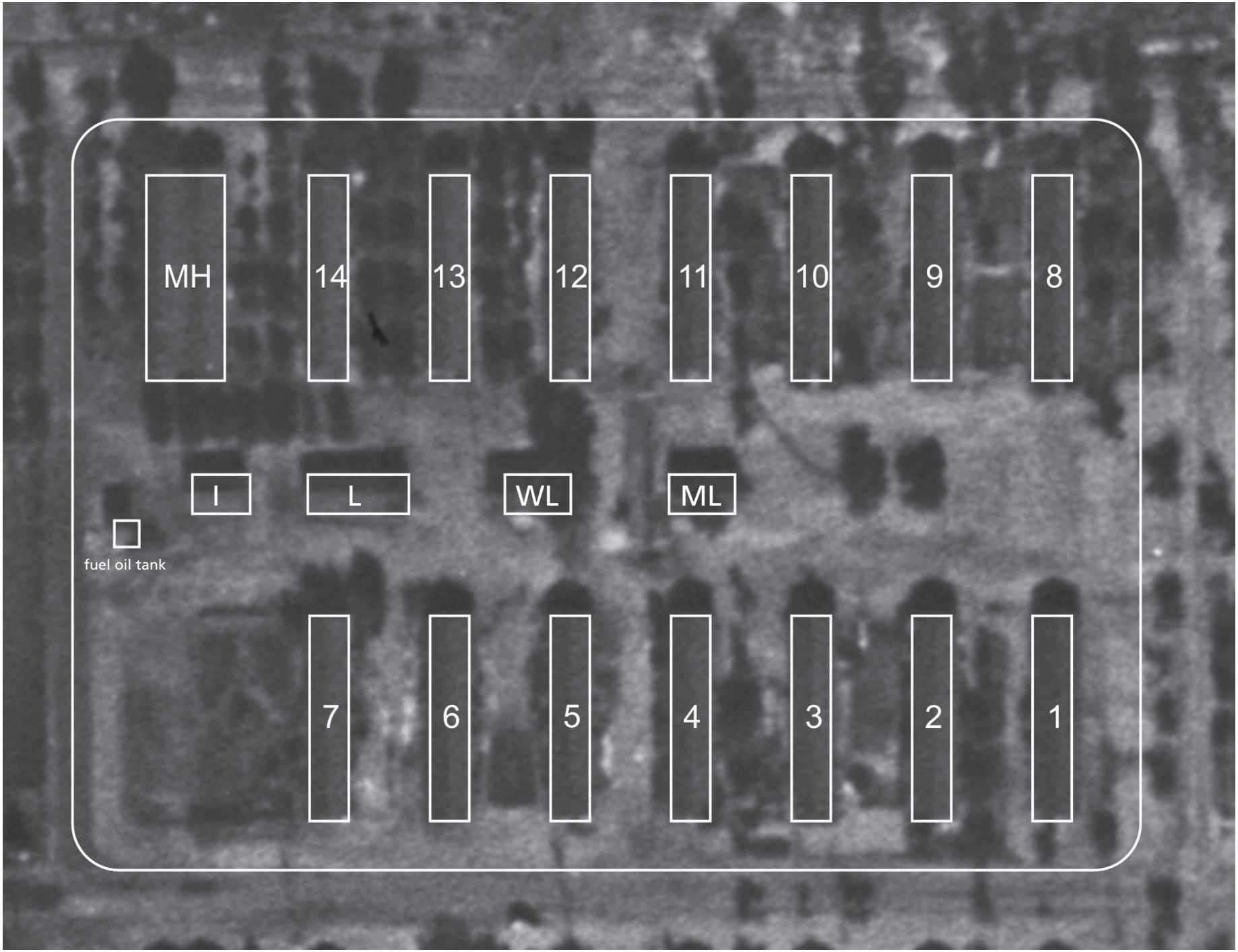


Residential Block 30 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).

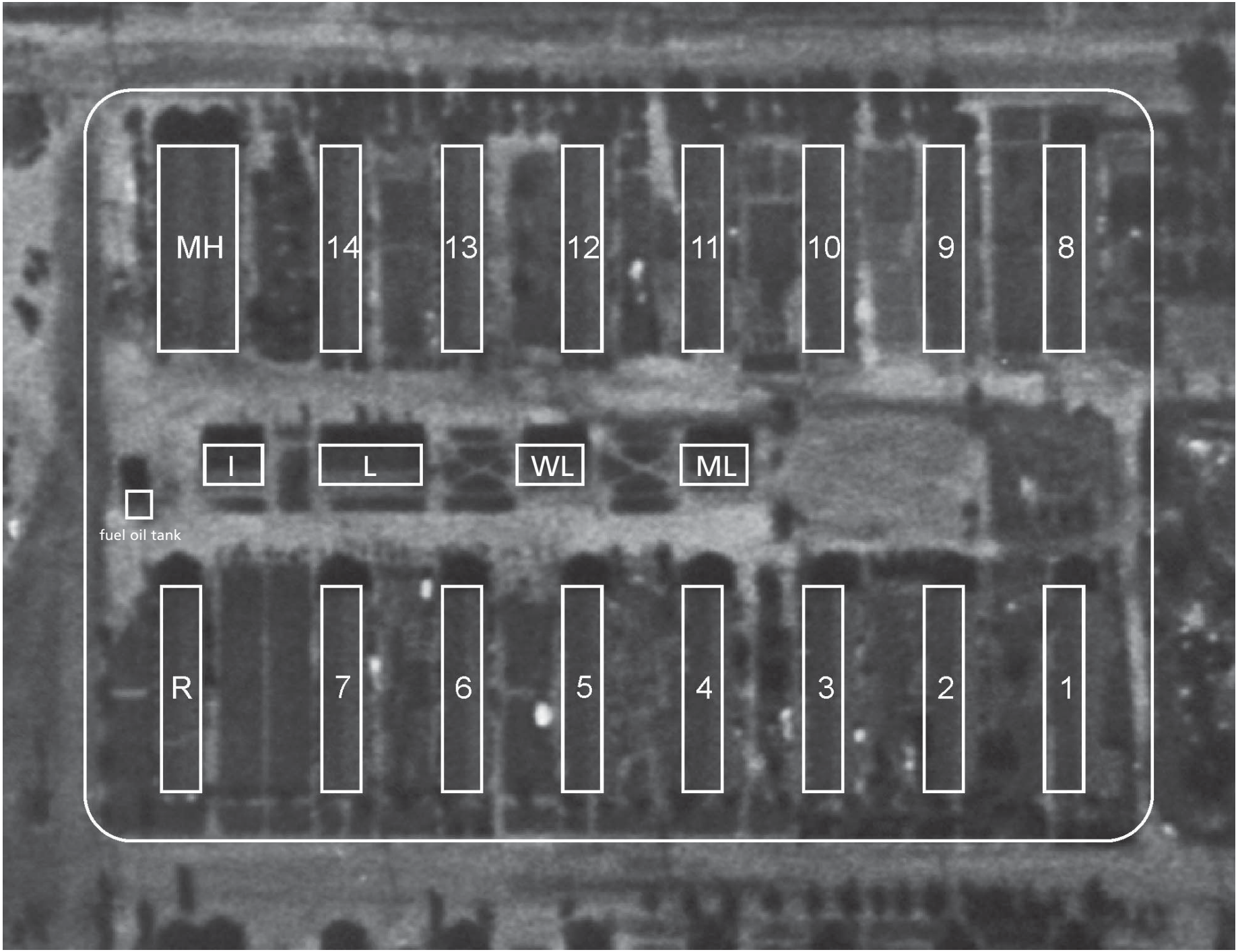


Residential Block 31 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).

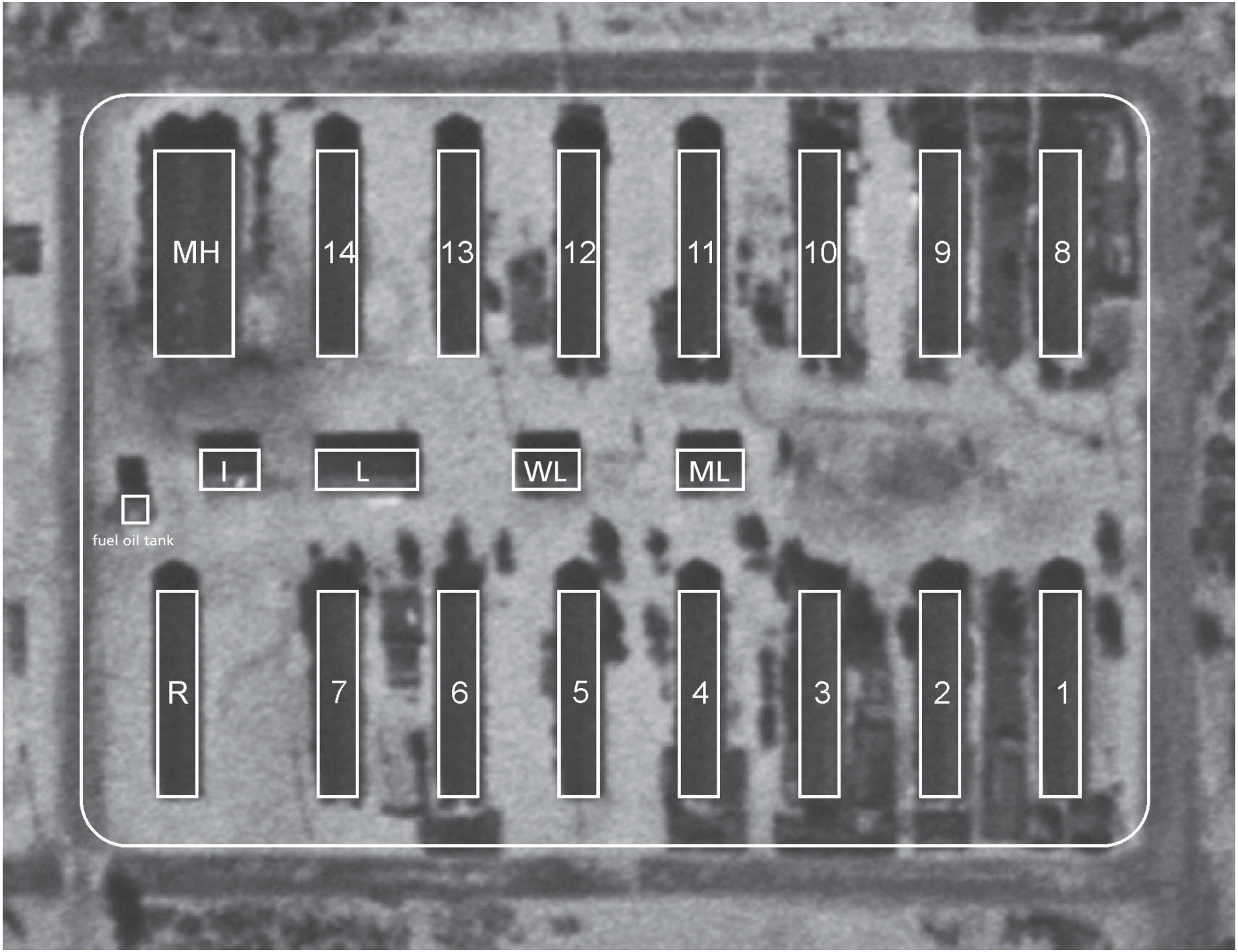
Residential Block 32 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



Residential Block 33 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



Residential Block 34 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).



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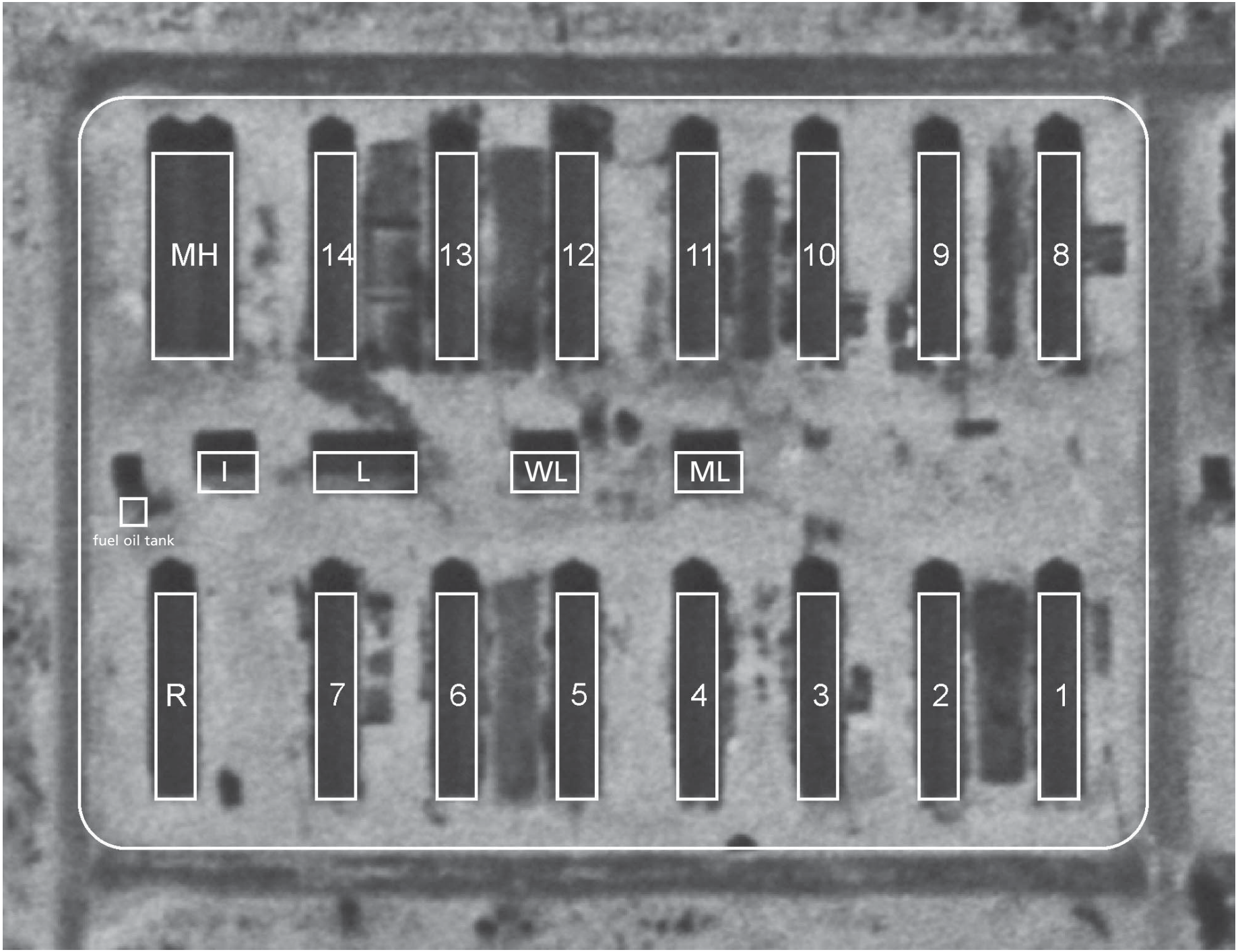
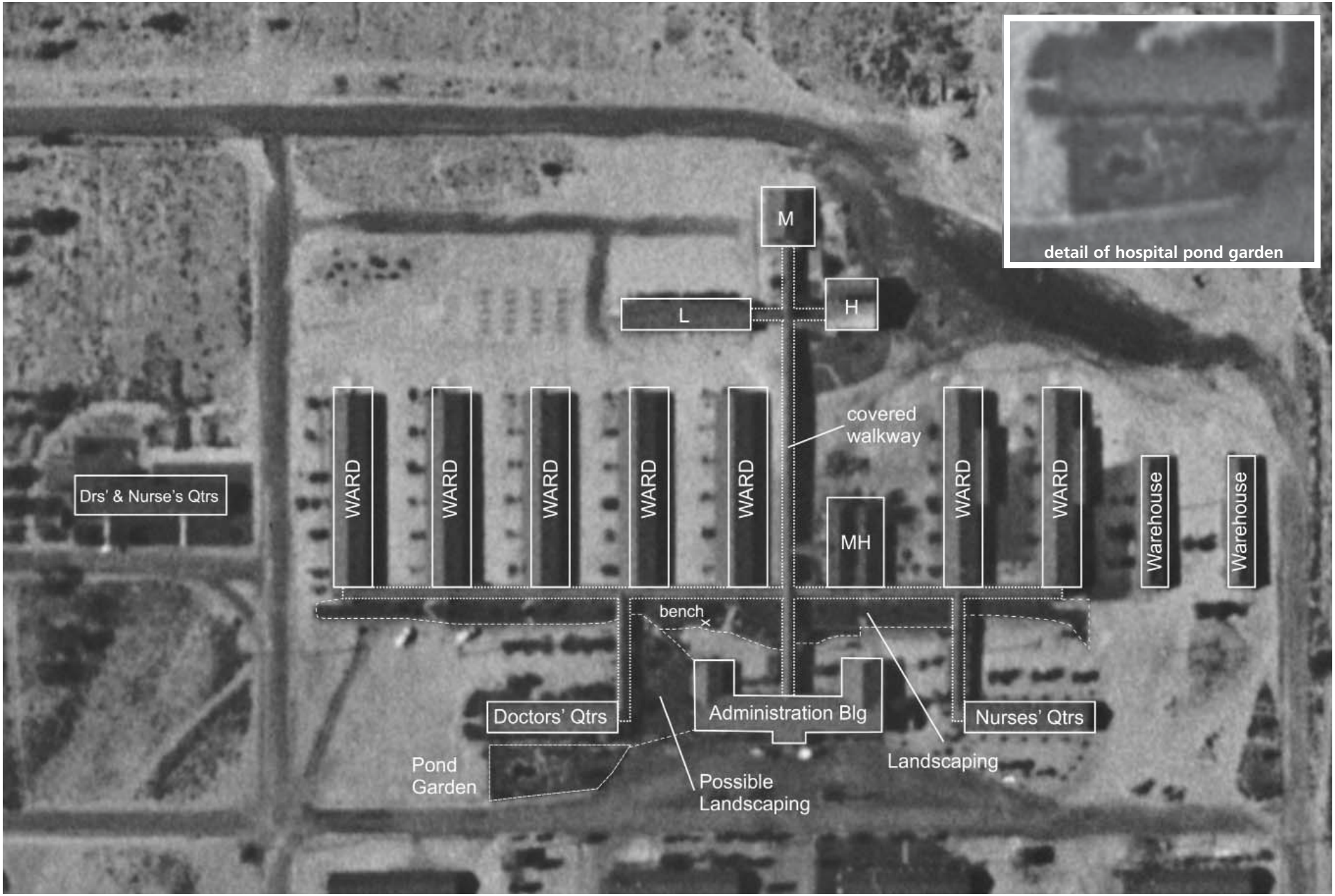


Residential Block 36 (1-14 - internee barracks, I -ironing room, L- laundry, MH - mess hall, ML - men's latrine, R - recreation building, WL - women's latrine).

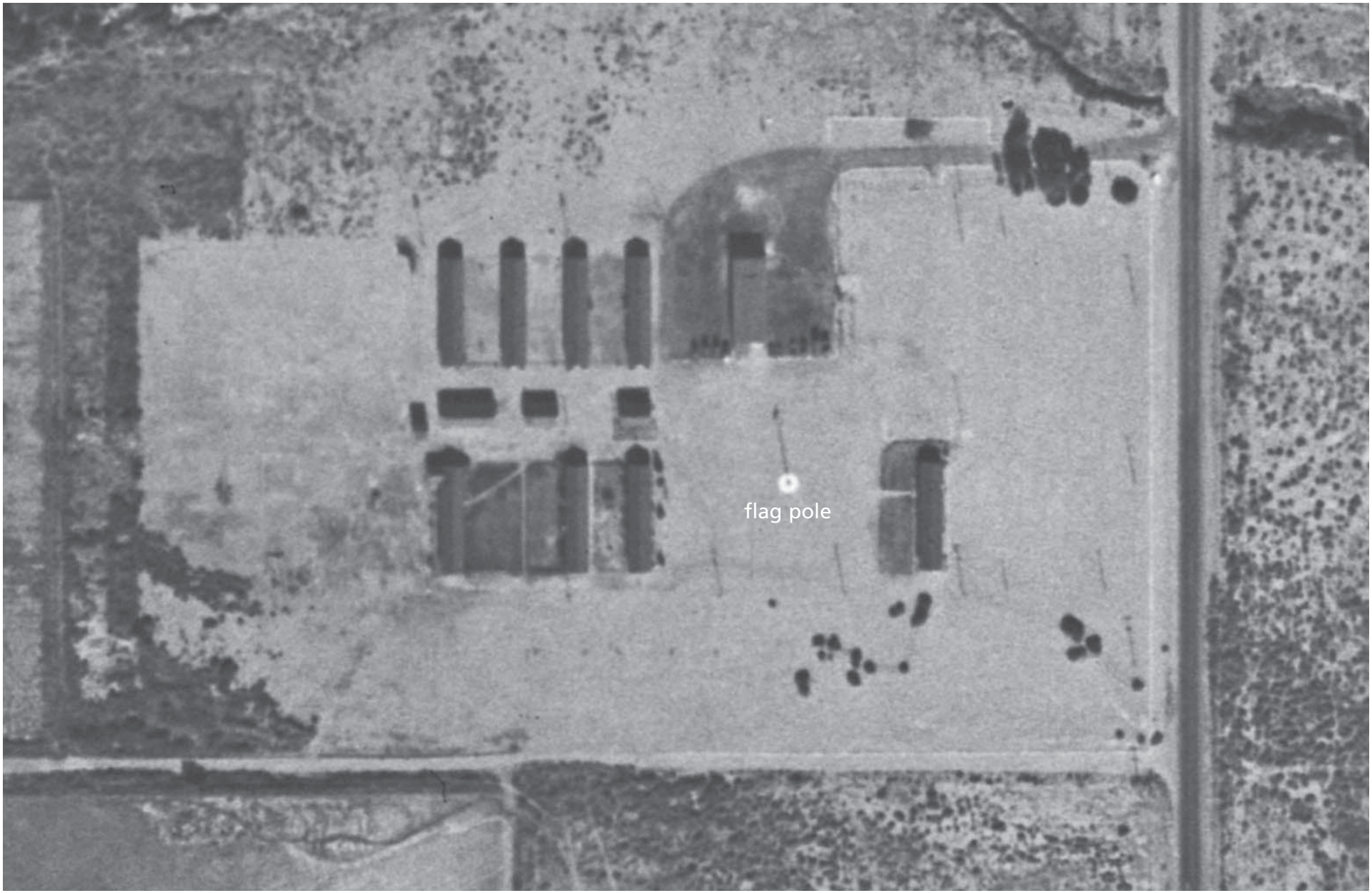


Hospital (L - laundry, M - morgue, MH - mess hall, H - heating plant).

Cherry Park and Children's Village.

Merritt Park.

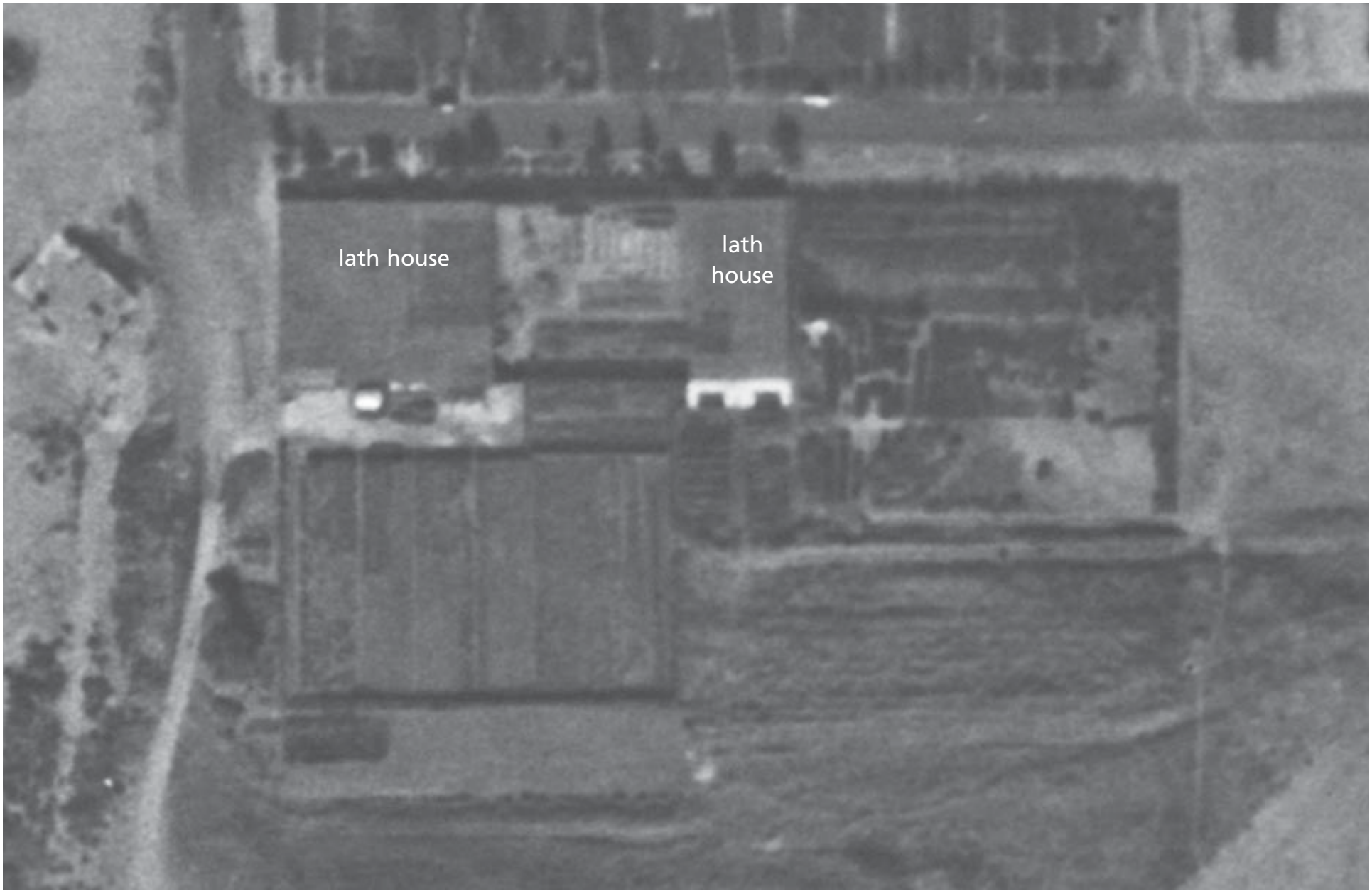
Administration, Staff Housing, and Entrance (A-W - staff apartments, MH - mess hall, PO - post office, TH - town hall).



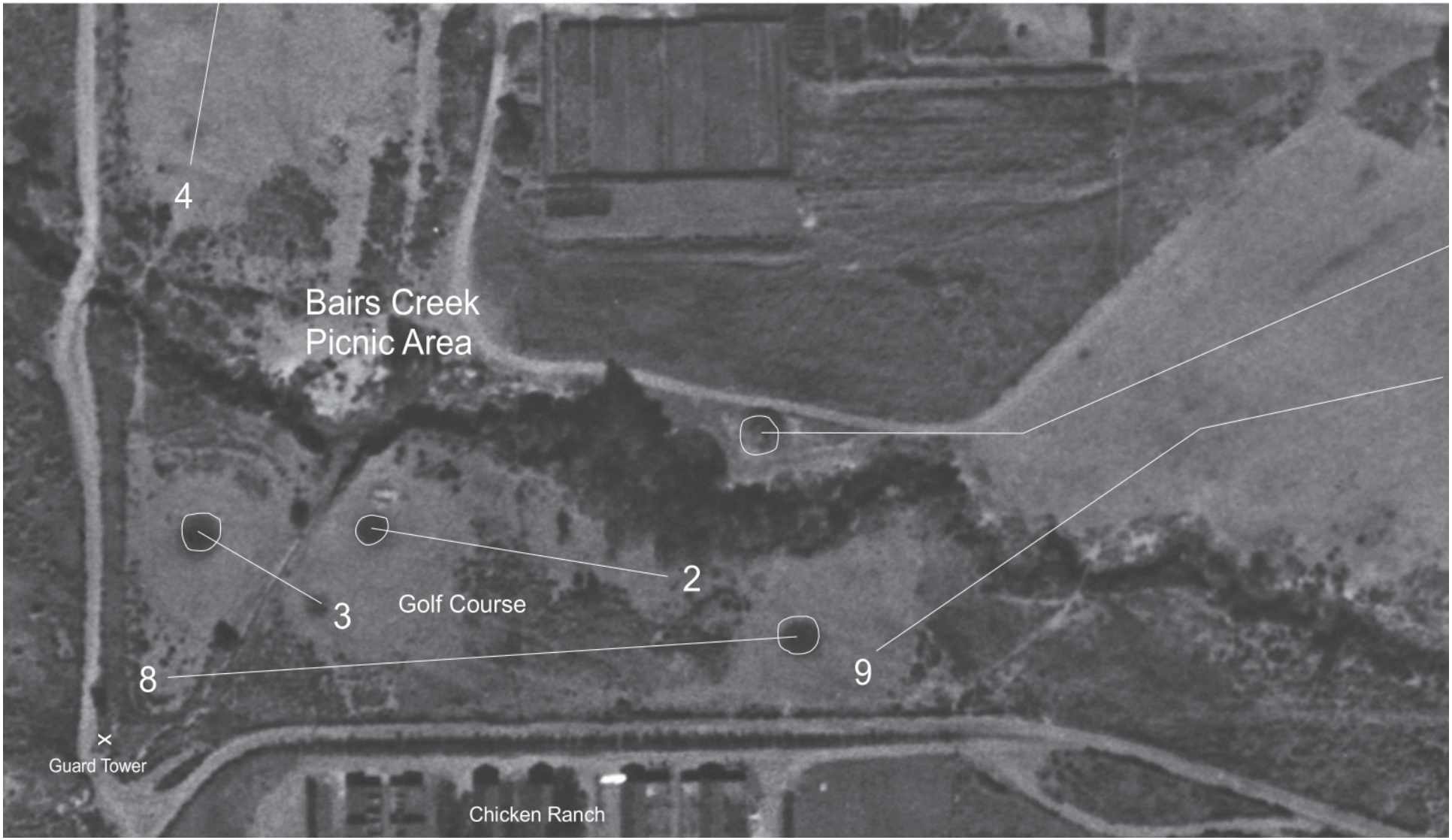
Military Police Compound.

Chicken Ranch.

Judo *Dojo*.

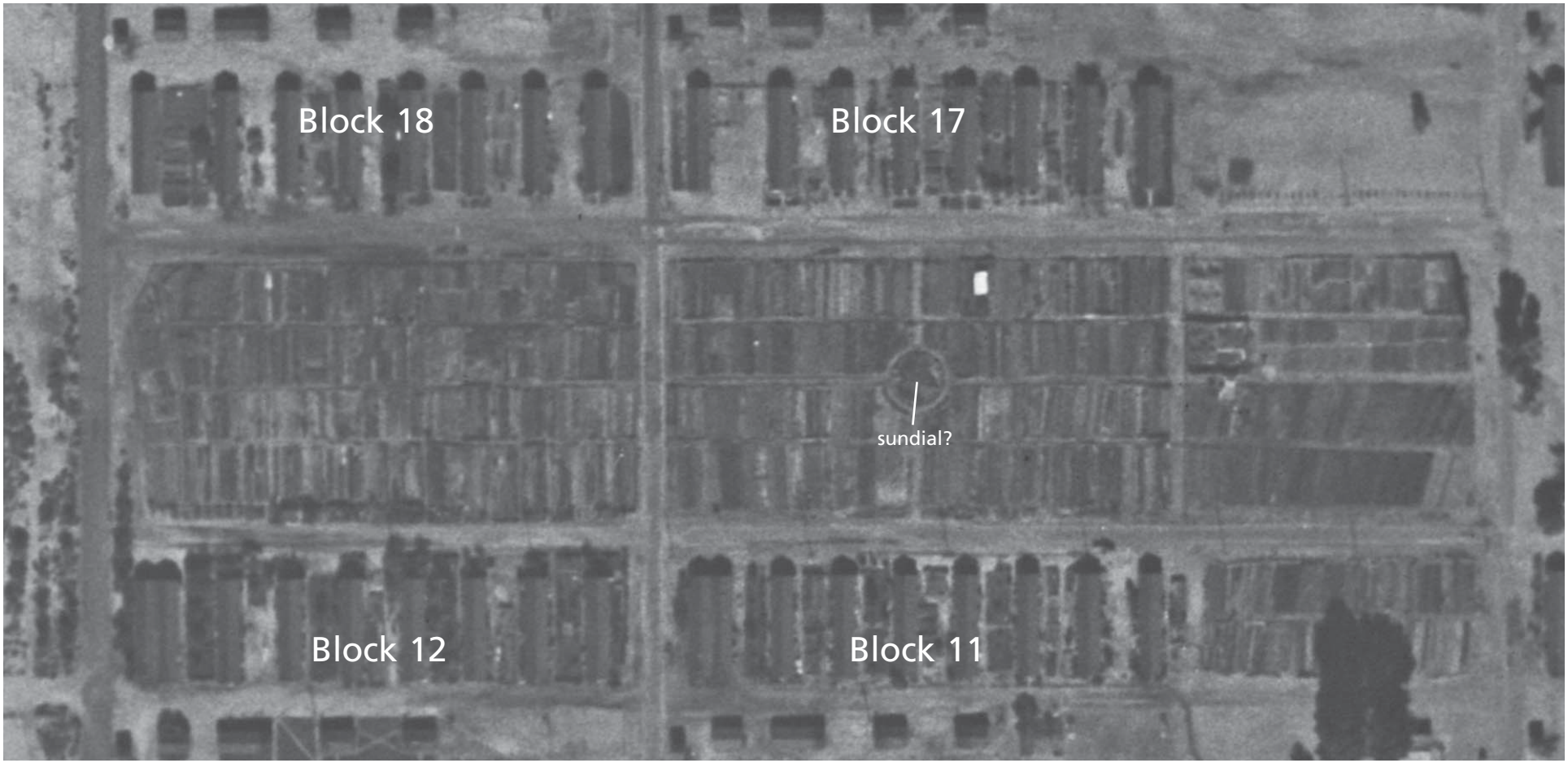


Plant Nursery Lath House.



Bairs Creek Picnic Area.

North Park and Victory Gardens North of Blocks 33 and 34.



Victory Gardens Between Blocks 11 and 17 and 12 and 18.

APPENDIX E

Vegetation List
Manzanar National Historic Site

TREES (Native)

Salix exigua	Narrowleaf willow, coyote willow
Salix laevigata	Red willow
Salix lasiandra	Pacific willow, western black willow
Salix lasiolepis	Arroyo willow

TREES (Non-Native)

Acer saccharinum	Silver maple
Ailanthus altissima	Tree of heaven
Catalpa bigonioides	Southern catalpa
Cupressus glabra	Smooth barked Arizona cypress
Ficus carica	Edible fig
Fraxinus velutina	Velvet ash
Juglans nigra	Black walnut
Malus domestica	Apple
Morus alba	Mulberry
Populus fremontii	Fremont cottonwood
Populus nigra "Italica"	Lombardy poplar
Prunus armeniaca	Apricot
Prunus persica	Peach
Pyrus communis	Pear
Pyrus pyrifolia "Nakai"	Asian pear
Robinia pseudoacacia	Black locust
Tamarix chinensis	Salt cedar, tamarisk
Tamarix parviflora	Smallflower tamarisk
Tamarix ramosissima	Saltcedar
Ulmus parvifolia	Chinese elm
Ulmus pumila	Siberian elm

SHRUBS (Native)

Artemisia ludoviciana	white sagebrush
Artemisia tridentata	basin big sagebrush
Atriplex canescens	fourwing saltbush
Atriplex confertifolia	Shadscale
Atriplex polycarpa	Allscale saltbush
Atriplex polycarpa	cattle saltbush
Atriplex serenana	bractscale
Atriplex torreyi	Torrey's saltbush
Ceratoides lanata	Winter fat
Chrysothamnus nauseosus	Golden rabbitbrush
Chrysothmanus paniculatus	Sticky rabbitbrush
Encelia farinose	Brittlebrush
Encelia virginensis	Virgin River brittlebush
Ephedera nevadensis	Mormon tea, Nevada jointfir
Ericameria nauseosa	Rubber rabbitbrush
Forestiera pubescens	Desert Olive
Forestiera pubescens	Stretchberry
Grayia spinosa	Spiny hopsage
Hymenoclea salsola	Burrobrush
Lupinus albifrons	Silver lupine
Lycium andersonii	Box thorn
Lycium cooperi	Peach thorn
Penstemon incertus	Mojave beardtongue
Prunus andersonii	Desert peach
Purshia tridentata	Bitterbrush
Rosa woodsii	Wild rose
Sarcobatus vermiculatus	greasewood

SHRUBS (Non-Native)

Cotoneaster franchetti	Franchet cotoneaster
Phyllostachys bambusoides	Bamboo

FORBS (Native)

Ambrosia acanthicarpa	Flatspine burr ragweed
Ambrosia psilostachya	Western ragweed
Amsinckia tessellate	Bristly fiddleneck
Anemopsis californica	Yerba mansa
Anisocoma acaulis	Scale bud

Apocynum cannabinum	Indian hemp
Apocynum spp.	Dogbane
Asclepias fascicularis	Mexican whorled milkweed
Asclepius speciosa	Milkweed
Calystegia longipes	Paiute false bindweed
Camissonia boothii	Desert suncup
Camissonia claviformis	Browneyes
Castilleja spp.	Indian paintbrush
Chaenactis douglasii	Douglas pincushion
Cryptantha nevadensis	White forget-me-not
Datura meteloides	Sacred datura, jimson weed
Datura wrightii	Sacred thorn-apple
Descurainia pinnata	Western tansy mustard
Eriastrum wilcoxii	Wilcox's woollystar
Eriogonum brachyanthum	Shortflower buckwheat
Eriogonum deflexum	Skeleton weed
Eriogonum inflatum	Desert trumpet
Eriogonum maculatum	Spotted buckwheat
Eriophyllum pringlei	Pringle's woolly sunflower
Eriophyllum wallacei	Desert wooly
Gilia brecciarum	Gilia
Gilia cana	Showy gilia
Gilia filiformis	Yellow gilia
Gilia latifolia	Gilia
Glycyrrhiza lepidota	Wild licorice
Layia glandulosa	White tidy-tips
Lepidium flavum	Yellow pepperweed
Lepidium fremontii	Desert pepperweed
Lepidium lasiocarpum	Shaggyfruit pepperweed
Linanthus Parryae	Sand blossom
Linum Lewissii	Blue flax
Loeseliastrum matthewsii	Desert calico
Loeseliastrum schottii	Schott's calico
Lupinus excubitus	Grape soda lupine
Malacothrix glabrata	Desert dandelion
Mentzelia albicaulis	Whitestem blazingstar
Mentzelia nitens	Blazing star
Nemacladus glanduliferus	Glandular threadplant
Oenothera brevipes	Evening primrose
Pectocarya peninsularis	Peninsular pectocarya
Pectocarya spp.	Combseed
Phacelia distans	Wild heliotrope
Phacelia fremontii	Fremont's phacelia
Rumex salicifolius	Willow dock
Stephanomeria pauciflora	Brownplume wirelettuce
Suaeda moquinii	Mojave seablite
Tiquilia nuttallii	Nuttall's crinklemat
Tiquilia plicata	Fanleaf crinklemat
Veronica americana	American speedwell
Xanthium strumarium	Common cocklebur
Xylorhiza tortifolia	Mojave aster

FORBS (Non-Native)

Asparagus spp.	Asparagus
Asperugo spp.	German-madwort
Cardaria draba	Hoary cress
Chenopodium album	Common lambsquarters
Descurainia sophia	Herb Sophia
Erodium cicutarium	Redstem stork's bill
Erodium texanum	Heron bill, filaree
Limonium sp.	Statice
Melilotus indicus	Annual yellow sweetclover
Rumex crispus	Curly dock
Salsola tragus	Prickly Russian thistle
Sisymbrium altissimum	Tall tumblemustard
Verbascum thapsus	Common mullein

GRASSES (Native)

Achnatherum speciosum	Desert needlegrass
Bromus anomalus	Nodding brome
Bromus carinatus	California brome
Carex douglasii	Sedge
Caulanthus pilosus	Hairy wild cabbage
Chorizanthe brevicornu	Brittle spineflower
Cleomella obtusifolia	Mojave cleomella
Cryptantha circumscissa	Cushion cryptantha
Cryptantha micrantha	Redroot cryptantha
Cryptantha pterocarya	Wingnut cryptantha
Cyperus esculentus	Yellow nut grass, taboose, tupu-si
Deschampsia cespitosa	Tufted hairgrass
Distichlis spicata	Inland saltgrass
Hordeum jubatum	Foxtail barley
Hordeum murinum	Hare barley
Juncus balticus	Baltic rush

Juncus spp	Wire grass
Laennecia coulteri	Coulter's horseweed
Leymus cinereus	Giant wild rye
Muhlenbergia asperifolia	Scratchgrass
Muhlenbergia rigens	Deergrass
Oryzopsis hymenoides	Indian ricegrass
Phragmites australis	Common reed
Poa secunda	Sandberg bluegrass

GRASSES (Non-Native)

Cynodon dactylon	Bermudagrass
Bromus catharticus	Rescuegrass
Bromus madritensis	Compact brome
Schismus barbatus	Common Mediterranean grass

CACTUS (Native)

Ferocactus acanthodes	Barrel cactus
Opuntia echinocarpa	Silver cholla, golden cholla
Opuntia whitneyana	Beavertail

PARASTIC PLANTS AND FUNGI (Native)

Cuscuta denticulata	Desert dodder
Cusuta salina	Nevada dodder
Tulostoma poculatum	Stalked puffball

Front Cover: Merritt Park (WRA 1946).

Back Cover: Block 34 mess hall garden (WRA 1946).

Barracks entry garden (WRA 1946).

Barracks entry garden (WRA 1946).

National Park Service
U.S. Department of Interior

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