ヒサエ・ヤマモトの「十七文字」に強制収容との関連を読む

メタデータ	言語: Japanese 出版者: 公開日: 2017-10-03 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: 小松, 恭代 メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	http://hdl.handle.net/2297/29492

人間社会環境研究　第22号　2011．9

Multiple Oppressions and Internment Memories in Hisaye Yamamoto's "Seventeen Syllables"

Human and Socio-Environment Studies
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Abstract

"Seventeen Syllables" (1949) by Hisaye Yamamoto, a Nisei writer, is a prewar story of a Japanese-American farming family in Southern California, and ostensibly, it seems to make no reference to the Japanese-American internment during WWII. Yet, by analyzing oppressions permeating the story, we could find some allusions to the internment in it. This paper, through the analysis of multiple oppressions on each of the three members of the family that is, race/gender/sexuality oppression and pressures from family, the Japanese-American community, and American society, will show that the biggest pressure is from American society, that is, racial oppression. The Japanese-American internment is just an extension of anti-Japanese racism, and in a critical situation of war, American people's anti-Japanese sentiment materialized into the exclusion of Japanese-Americans from society and imprisonment in camp. Multiple oppressions, as described in this story, I would argue, are associated with traumatic experience of the internment.

Key Words

multiple oppressions, the Japanese-American internment, traumatic memory

要旨

日系二世作家，ヒサエ・ヤマモトの短編「十七文字」(1949) は戦前の南カリフォルニアで農業を営む日系家族の話であり，表面的には第二次世界大戦中の日系人の強制収容について言及はない。しかし，作品中に充満する抑圧感を分析することで，この作品と強制収容との関連を読み取ることができるのではないかと思われる。本論では，父，母，娘それぞれが抱える多重の抑圧－人種，ジェンダー，セクシュアリティの抑圧や家族，日系コミュニティ，アメリカ社会からの圧力が複雑に絡み合った抑圧状況－を分析し，その中でこの家族を最も苦しめているのはアメリカ社会からの人種抑圧であることを明らかにする。強制収容は戦前からの日系人に対する人種差別の延長線上にあるものであり，戦争という極限状態でその差別意識がアメリカ社会からの日系アメリカ人の集団的な排除という形となって表出されたものである。「十七文字」という日系家族の

物語の背後には，日系人がアメリカ社会で暮らす上で直面しなければならなかった多重の抑圧が描かれており，それは強制収容によるトラウマ体験と関連するものである。

キーワード
多重抑圧，第二次世界大戦中の日系人の強制収容，トラウマ記憶

Introduction

About two months after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066, and forced almost 120,000 Japanese-Americans residing along the West Coast into 10 internment camps, fearing that they would sabotage the American war effort.[1] Of those interned, 62% were U.S. citizens, but they were all treated as enemy aliens. Hisaye Yamamoto, a Nisei writer, who was 21 years old at that time, was interned with her family in Poston, Arizona. "The Legend of Miss Sasagawara," published in 1950, is a story set in Poston, and the twenty-year-old narrator/protagonist talks about Mari Sasagawara who was sent to a sanatorium from the camp as a "Madwoman" by the community.[2] Though it's a story of the Japanese-American community at camp, the narrator/protagonist presents their days there in a cheerful tone, referring to them as "the good old days," which makes us feel that life at camp is pleasant for the internees, except for Miss Sasagawara (30). Ostensibly, the story seems to show that the community and her father drive her to "madness." Her father's obsessive pursuit of reaching Nirvana as a Buddhist priest, paying no attention to her feelings, torments her. The fact that she is a 39-year-old single woman with a brilliant career as a ballerina isolates her from the other community members. Yet, since the story is set in camp, American society controlling the entire Japanese-American community from the outside as the authority lies behind it. In an interview, Yamamoto says that she herself always felt angry at camp.[3] In the story, however, she does not say anything *directly* about American society that forced Japanese-Americans into concentration camps. This is related to the social conditions at that time. It was only five years after the end of the war, when anti-Japanese sentiment was still rampant in society. Moreover, it was in the Cold War era, when America strengthened "Anglo-conformity," that is, assimilation into the values of the white middle class, in order to win the ideological conflict with the Soviet Union.[4] Japanese-Americans in those days, after leaving camp, lived as a "model minority," being silent about the internment issues and trying hard to be accepted by the mainstream for survival. Considering these situations, it could be said that Yamamoto needed rhetorical devices for writing stories that would be acceptable to both the mainstream and the Japanese-American community, even though she feels resentment about the internment.

So does "Seventeen Syllables" (1949), which was published one year before "The Legend of Miss Sasagawara," make no allusions to the internment? It is a prewar story of a Japanese-American farming family in Southern California and seems to make no reference to the internment issue. It has been mostly read in term of the mother-daughter relationship. Stan

Yogi, for instance, argues that this story has double plots of the daughter's story narrated from her viewpoint, and the mother's story buried beneath the surface, and that the mother tells her daughter about her resistance to the system of patriarchy.[5] Kobayashi Fukuko says that this story "relates the lack of a bonding between mother and daughter to the loss of the daughter's ethnic identity as Japanese-American" because she pretends to understand her mother's haiku, though in fact, she doesn't (Kobayashi 167). Takita Keiko, however, points out the possibility of reference to Yamamoto's internment experience in the story, saying that the daughter's reply of "yes, yes" to her mother, which appears twice, at the start and end of the story, would allude to the answers of "yes, yes" to loyalty questions conducted at camp, while reading it as a mother's story told by her daughter (Takita 224).[6] King-Kok Cheung mainly discusses parallel plots in the story: the manifest plot of the family's routine and the daughter's budding romance told by her, and the latent plot of her parents' silent stories. Concerning the ending scene of the father burning the Hiroshige picture, Cheung says that "[it] reminds [her] of the many poignant accounts about Issei who burned everything associated with their country after Pearl Harbor" (Cheung [1996] xxiii). Actually, one of Yamamoto's brothers, Johnny, went into the army after saying "yes, yes" to loyalty questions, and was killed in combat in Italy. Yamamoto's family would have burned everything Japanese to show loyalty to the nation of America, before going to camp. Though "Seventeen Syllables" has not ever been read in relation to the internment, I would argue that Yamamoto weaves her traumatic internment experience into it. In this paper, by analyzing multiple oppressions a Japanese-American family suffers in "Seventeen Syllables," I will discuss the relation between this story and the internment of Japanese-Americans during WWII. Yet, before doing this, I will talk more about multiple oppressions described in "The Legend of Miss Sasagawara" and the prewar environment of the Japanese-American community, because they are important as background for the analysis of "Seventeen Syllables" in this paper.

Multiple oppressions in "The Legend of Miss Sasagawara"

King-Kok Cheung, in her discussion of "The Legend of Miss Sasagawara" in *Articulate Silences*, analyzing "triple occlusion of Miss Sasagawa — as a daughter by her father, as a single woman by the community, and as a member of a persecuted people by the government (Cheung [1993] 69)," argues that this story has a "Chinese-box structure" of triple oppressions (Cheung [1993] 54). As I mentioned before, ostensibly, Miss Sasagawa seems to be driven into insanity, oppressed by her father and the community. Yet, as Cheung points out, she also faces oppression by American society. So every episode or gossip about her should be read in this context. There is a rumor, for example, about an incident that allegedly happened as soon as she and her father arrived in the camp. Mr. Sasaki offers to help clean the barrack to which she and her father are assigned, but she shrieks at him: "What are you trying to do? Spy on me? Get out of here or I'll throw this water on you!" (21). He judges her as a "Madwoman," seeing her behavior deviant, and spreads a rumor that she is crazy in the community (21). As a result, the community's gaze on her is intensified and

her alienation is worsened. This part of the story, Cheung points out, would be associated with the fact that the government turned Japanese-Americans into mutual informers and made them report dubious conducts at camp (Cheung [1993] 67). They thus had to live not only with lack of privacy and under constant surveillance, but also with a risk of being arrested because of reports by their fellow inmates. People in the story, by treating Miss Sasagawara as a crazy woman and excluding her from the community as such, try to use her as a scapegoat for their own internment, which indicates that they are stressed out so badly that they need her as an outlet for their frustration. It is American society that gives them a great sense of oppression. Their attack on Miss Sasagawara by gossip, therefore, should be read as compensatory behavior for their resentment and humiliation caused by the internment. The community's aberrant treatment of Miss Sasagawara is a reflection of the government's insanity demonstrated in the Japanese-American imprisonment.

Also, in what Miss Sasagawara allegedly said to Mr. Sasaki, Yamamoto's criticism of the government can be read. To Mr. Sasaki's offer of help, she replies, "What are you trying to do? Spy on me?" (21). Her supersensitive response would show that she was picked up and interrogated by the FBI before coming to camp. The story says that "[she and her father got] permission to come to this Japanese evacuation camp in Arizona from one further north" (20). Her father, a Buddhist priest, must have been among the first arrested and interrogated by the FBI after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, as a very important person in the Japanese-American community. She is an independent woman with a brilliant career as a ballerina and has traveled "all over the country a couple of times, dancing in the ballet," which differentiates her from other women who mainly work as wives and mothers (21). Because of her unique career, she must have been picked up, suspected of being a spy. She says "Spy on me?" to Mr. Sasaki who appears at the door as soon as she arrived in camp. This indicates that she is very cautious about a stranger because the FBI questioning is a traumatic memory for her. What Yamamoto wants to write would be the governmental violence of the arrest and internment of Japanese-Americans, and the trauma to them it caused. This is the theme of "The Legend of Miss. Sasagawara."

Yamamoto refers to the internment experience as "an episode in our collective life which wounded us more painfully than we realize" (quoted in Cheung [1993] 63), or "traumatic time for most of us, the wholesale uprooting" (Yamamoto [1979] 10), and her traumatic memory of the internment would be projected upon her Japanese-American stories of multiple oppressions. Japanese-Americans followed Executive Order 9066 without resistance, and then for about three years they endured hardships in the concentration camps located in the mountains and deserts, saying, "Shi-ka-ta-ga-nai," or "It cannot be helped." Before going to camp, they had only one week for preparation, which forced them to sell such things as electric appliances, furniture, and agricultural equipment for almost nothing. In the camps "loyalty questions" were administered in order to build an all-Japanese-American-unit. Many Nisei boys, answering, "yes, yes," to the questions, joined the U.S. Armed Forces and devoted their lives to express their loyalty to the nation. On the other hand, "no-no-boys"

who had answered "no" to loyalty questions were despised and criticized as disloyal by the Japanese-American community. After getting out of camp, Japanese-Americans had to start all over again because they lost almost everything that they had had in the prewar period during the internment. Moreover, they tried hard to be assimilated into the mainstream for survival, by being silent about the internment issues. Thus, living in America, they have been exposed to multiple layers of oppression, which can be interpreted as equivalent to their traumatic memories of the internment. I would argue, therefore, that Yamamoto's stories dealing with Japanese-American's oppressed lives reflect her traumatic memory of the camp.

"Seventeen Syllables," from the perspective of a teenage daughter, Rosie, talks about the events happening to her and her parents. The characters are a Japanese-American family, the Mexican family they hire for the tomato harvest, and some Japanese-American people in the community. There are no white characters in the story, and no references to American society. It looks like a story of a Japanese-American family in the community, but it is set in Southern California and so, American society surrounding the Japanese-American community exists as the external environment of the story. Yamamoto, in the introduction dedicated to Toshio Mori's *The Chauvinist and Other Stories*, says that "[in] Toshio Mori's stories, it is the white who is marginal, only incidentally, mentioned if he impinges on our daily lives, but... we are made aware that [the white] has been out there all the time, writing the rules of the game" (Yamamoto [1979] 10). Like in Mori's stories, the dominant society controlling and influencing Japanese-American lives should be taken into consideration in "Seventeen Syllables." I will discuss, in the next section, the relation between American society and the Japanese-American community in the prewar era, in order to analyze this story in relation to the internment.

American society as the external environment

The biggest problem for Japanese-American farming families in California like the Hayashi family in the prewar period was strong anti-Japanese sentiment in American society, which materialized into discriminative laws against the immigrants from Japan. Yuji Ichioka refers to Issei, first-generation Japanese-Americans, as "a racial minority struggling to survive in a hostile land" (Ichioka 1). The anti-Japanese laws concerning naturalization and landownership badly troubled them. The first naturalization act in 1790 restricted the right of naturalization to free white people, and the 1870 act extended it to former slaves. Japanese immigrants were classified as "aliens ineligible to citizenship" (Ichioka 1). It was in 1952 that the racial restriction in the 1790 naturalization law was lifted, making Issei eligible for naturalized citizenship. A large number of Japanese immigrants became farmers, and as some of them became successful, the move toward their exclusion was intensified because their permanent settlement was not welcomed in America. In 1913, the Alien Land Law was established in California, and Japanese immigrants, or "aliens ineligible to citizenship," were denied the ownership of land for good and the lease of agricultural land for over three years. Then, under the 1920 law, they "were not even allowed to lease agricultural land nor to acquire agricultural land under the names of

native-born minors" (Takaki 205). As one of Issei men called the land law "a death sentence for the Japanese," so we can see that the discriminative land law hit them very hard (Takaki 205). An Issei woman farming in El Cajon, San Diego, looking back on that time, recounts as follows:

> At that time Japanese were allowed to buy land. [My husband] bought ten acres of land. Then he planted orange trees. He was an orange grove owner ... Then ... we bought twenty more acres ... Then anti-Japanese problem arose. You don't know how much we suffered...I can never forget this...Hiram Johnson, he was the governor about 50 years ago, oppressed Japanese very, very severely. And together with Hiram Johnson... Hearst... Hearst's Examiner ... They oppressed Japanese so very much. Everywhere there was Examiner, in Fresno or even in Texas, Japanese were treated really harshly. Examiner with his tongue and pen and Hiram Johnson with his power and tongue ... Hiram Johnson was an awful, awful man ... treated Japanese really badly. We owned land in El Cajon then ... under our children's names ... At that time they proposed a bill to confiscate land owned by aliens without citizenship. Land was titled under our three children but my daughter was a baby who was born not too long ago and two of her elder brothers. This land was endangered ... might be confiscated ... When he decided to sell this land the 1930 depression hit us. There was no buyer that we could find. Because if we didn't sell it, it would be confiscated by the government ... we had no choice but to sell it. But we couldn't find a buyer.[7]

In the end, the family was deceived by a banker from Wisconsin into selling their land for nothing. This is just one Japanese immigrant family's experience, but it indicates that under strong pressure by exclusionists such as politicians and newspaper owners, Japanese-American families were driven into very tough situations.

American society also controlled Japanese immigrant's marriage. In 1908 the Gentlemen's Agreement was enacted, and it allowed only the wives and children of Japanese men already in America to immigrate to the country. So many men got married based on photographs, which is called "picture marriage," and summoned their wives from Japan. The population of Japanese-Americans grew rapidly and a community started to be formed. American society was afraid of the settlement of Japanese immigrants, and this facilitated the establishment of the Alien Land Law in 1913. Yet, this law allowed them to own and lease land under the names of their American-born children, which encouraged more picture marriages. Consequently, this marriage practice was attacked fiercely by American society.[8] The California law banned whites from marrying Asians. Issei men themselves wanted to marry Japanese, not whites. They sent their pictures to Japan along with some information about their lives in America, which was used by go-betweens to arrange marriages for them. The Japanese-American community regarded this marriage practice as the same as a conventional arranged marriage, except for one aspect that bridegrooms were physically absent at the wedding ceremony. Yet, in America where "belief in 'romantic love as the only valid basis for marriage' had persisted," picture marriage was not accepted as valid, and when brides

landed at the port, they had to remarry their husbands in the presence of a priest (Cott 153). A senator of California says that"the marriage that is contracted on the other side – the parties are separated by an ocean and merely exchange photographs – is no marriage at all" (Cott 153). Picture brides in kimono who arrived at the port in a group were often reported critically in newspapers, and despised, as Japanese women marrying men whom they had not seen before, only by exchanging pictures, without love. Most of them became farmer's wives, and worked with their husbands in the fields from dawn to dusk, besides doing housework and child rearing. This was a traditional practice for a farmer's wife in Japan, but American society criticized it as abuse of women or as slavery. The San Francisco Labor Council petitioned President Wilson to exclude picture brides, saying that "they were not simply wives but 'in fact laborers'" (Cott 152). Moreover, the petition said that "Japanese couples reproduced faster than whites did, so that picture-bride entry contained the 'germ and growth of a new race question which in time, if unchecked, will become as great and vexatious, well-nigh impossible of solution, as the Negro" (Cott 152). American society thus feared that picture brides would have many children, resulting in the growth of the Japanese-American community.

The Japanese government gave in to pressure from America and decided to stop issuing passports to picture brides after 1920. In 1924, the American government enacted a new immigration law that included "a provision prohibiting the entry of aliens ineligible to citizenship" (Takaki 209). In this law, Congress wrote that the terms 'wife' and 'husband' do not include a wife or husband by reason of a proxy, or picture marriage" (Cott 154). Actually, it aimed at excluding Japanese people from society and so generally, it is called the Anti-Japanese Immigration Law. America saw not only Japanese labor but their reproductive ability as a threat, and tried to prevent the Japanese-American community from growing, by criticizing picture marriage as "immoral" and "undemocratic" (Yanagisako 33). As Takaki says that "[this] law not only determined who could come to the United States but also who could become citizens," it signified complete rejection of the Japanese immigrants (Takaki 14). A Japanese newspaper, the *Rafu Shimpo*, reported that this was a law that "[branded] the Japanese people as inferior, and many Issei felt as if they were treated as "no longer men but dogs" (Takaki 210). By the discriminative laws against the Japanese immigrants, they were marginalized and made powerless in American society.

The influence of anti-Japanese laws on Japanese-Americans can be found in Yamamoto's stories. In "Yoneko's Earthquake" (1951), the area where the Hosoumes live looks like "one vast orange grove" except for their fields in which "blackberries, cabbages, rhubarb, potatoes, cucumbers, onions and cantaloupes" are growing (46). These are all annually-grown-crops, which implies that they cannot plant orange trees which take many years to grow mature enough to be harvested, like white farmers in the area do, because of the Alien Land Law (Hong 292). Actually, Yamamoto's father was a farmer and "Life Among the Oil Fields, A Memoir" (1979), her autobiographical essay, shows that her family had to move from place to place, looking for agricultural lands they could lease, in her childhood.[9] The environment in which they found leased lands was not

always proper for them to live in. As this memoir narrates, they once had to live in a dangerous place where oil derricks and sump holes were around, even if they had small children in the family. In fact, while she was at school and her parents were working in the fields, Jemo, her youngest brother, three or four at that time, "was playing on the earthen embankment of the sump hole ... when he fell in" (93). In addition to living in a dangerous environment, they seem to have gone through financial difficulties. They were using kerosene lamps in the early 1930s, when "[in] rural Japan ... [her mother's] family ... already had electricity running the rice-threshing machinery" (91). Her mother lamented her miserable life, saying "how disillusioned she was to come to America and find such primitive conditions" (91). Another Nisei writer, Wakako Yamauchi, who got to know Yamamoto at Poston and has been a good friend of hers since then, remembers her own mother saying that she was disappointed at the poverty of the Japanese living in America when she immigrated from Japan after marrying her husband.[10]

Yamauchi's father was also a farmer and her family moved a lot. In "Song My Mother Taught Me" (1976), the narrator/protagonist, looking back on her childhood, refers to farming her father did in the harsh natural environment of Imperial Valley as "unrewarding work" and wonders why he kept at it : "Maybe there was nothing else he could do. Maybe he worked in hope that one day that merciful God ... would provide the miracle crop that would lift us to Japan, rich and triumphant" (Yamauchi 32). Even if he did plowing, sowing, and took good care of plants so that he could have a good harvest, he was not allowed to own the land and had to move to another place when the lease expired. Not only was his job of farming "unrewarding," but also his life of hardship and endurance itself was "unrewarding". Accordingly, "unrewarding" can be interpreted as a term symbolizing the predicament in which Japanese-Americans were put in the prewar period. As described in the stories of Yamamoto and Yamauchi, they were forced to live in "economic deprivation, social ostracism, and political discrimination" (Takaki 210). This harsh reality lies behind the story of a Japanese-American family in "Seventeen Syllables."

Multiple oppressions in "Seventeen Syllables"

The Japanese-American community faced political, social, and economic pressures from American society. So isn't there any allusion to this hardship Japanese-Americans experienced in the story of "Seventeen Syllables"? Rosie, a daughter of the Hayashi family, on the way back home with her parents from a visit to the Hayanos, fantasizes "the green pick-up crumpled in the dark against one of the mighty eucalyptus trees," leaving "three contorted, bleeding bodies" there (12). Eucalyptus trees grow everywhere in Southern California, so "the mighty eucalyptus trees" would indicate American society as the external environment of the Japanese-American community, dominating and controlling it. "[The] green pick-up crumpled" and "three contorted, bleeding bodies" could be interpreted as a symbolical representation of Japanese-Americans who are on the brink of collapse living in an antagonistic American society.

Actually, this is Rosie's fantasy, and "the three contorted, bleeding bodies" indicate the three members of the Hayashi family (12). At

the Hayano family's home, Mr. Hayano and Mrs. Hayashi had started talking about haiku, but Mr. Hayashi, a "non-literary" man (9), could not join the intellectual conversation and "looks through a copy of *Life*, the new picture magazine" (11). Abruptly, he says to his daughter that they are leaving because they have to get up at 5:30 to work, and goes out the front door. Mrs. Hayashi apologizes to Mr. and Mrs. Hayano for her husband's rudeness, and gets in the car with her daughter. She says, "I'm sorry," to her husband, explaining that she forgets what time it is when it comes to haiku, but "he only grunted" (11-12). They remain silent in the car, and Rosie "[feels] a rush of hate for both—for her mother for begging, for her father for denying her mother" (12). Then, in her anger, she wishes that the car would crash and the above accident scene comes to her mind. This part of the story shows that each of the three family members has his/her pent-up anger that is about to blow up, suffering multiple oppressions. Mr. Hayashi, for example, is irritated, feeling a sense of inferiority and powerlessness caused by his inability to understand haiku, and by making an abrupt decision to go home he tries to assert his authority as the head of the family. Mrs. Hayashi wants to develop her creative self through haiku, but her husband is not happy about it. Rosie is worried about the friction between her parents, wishing that "[her] father would laugh" (12). At the end of the story their bottled-up frustration culminates in a real act of violence by his father in which they feel badly crushed, becoming "three contorted, bleeding bodies," as in Rosie's fantasy (12). Mr. Hayashi burns the Hiroshige picture that his wife won as first prize in the haiku contest. This family can be considered to be multiply-oppressed: racial oppression from American society, and gender/sexuality oppression in both Japan and America. In order to think about the relation between this story and the internment, I will discuss oppressions imposed on each of the three family members in the next section.

Issei Father's oppression story

According to Yanagisako, gender domains were clearly separated in the Japanese-American family in the prewar period, and everything inside the house is the responsibility of the wife, and everything outside it the responsibility of the husband (98-99). One farmer's wife says that "[her] husband was a Meiji man; he didn't even glance at the house work or child care. No matter how busy [she] was, he would never change a diaper" (Takaki 191). The husband had authority as the head of the family, bearing "the ultimate responsibility for the security and reputation of the household" (Yanagisako 98). However, in American society it was white men who had authority, and Japanese-American men were placed in a subordinate position. In terms of masculinity, they were located far away from the hegemonic masculinity, which belonged to white men in power.

The subordinate position of Japanese-American men is demonstrated in Yamamoto's "Life Among the Oil Fields, A Memoir," which talks about her childhood memories. One day, one of her younger brothers, Jemo, became the victim of a hit-and-run accident by a white couple. In order to make the couple accept blame for the accident, her father asked a ***hakujin*** neighbor or a Japanese-American lawyer to negotiate with the couple about it, but they "refused to

accept any responsibility for Jemo's injuries" (94). Her father was neither seen nor treated as their equal. Infuriated with their "coldness of heart," Yamamoto thought: "Were we Japanese in a category with animals then, to be run over and left beside the road to die?" (94-95). Her father, however, couldn't respond to her angry voice against their cruel, inhuman treatment of her family. He couldn't go to see them in person to protest, probably because he didn't speak English well, and couldn't resort to legal action because he was without citizenship. All he could do was to endure, swallowing his anger and humiliation in the same way as Yamamoto. He is a powerless father who cannot fulfill his responsibility of protecting his family as the head because of his lowered status in American society.

Joy Kogawa's *Obasan* describes political and social differences between white men and Japanese-American men, from a child's viewpoint. When Naomi, a child, sees her father talking with a white man, a neighbor, in her house, she felt that "Father is not here" and that "he seems more powerful than Father, larger and more at home even though this is our house" (Kogawa 82). Noticing that her father, the head of her family, doesn't have much of a presence in his own house before the white man, she recognizes the power relationship between the white man and her father. Kogawa, by demonstrating Japanese-American men's invisibility and powerlessness in white-dominated society through the eyes of a child, shows how far away their status is from white men's hegemonic masculinity.

Ostensibly, "Seventeen Syllables" doesn't describe Mr. Hayashi's masculine anxiety caused by white men's dominance. Yet, since Japanese immigrants were put in a position far away from hegemonic masculinity, in other words, in a "feminized position," it can be assumed that he is as powerless as Yamamoto's father in "Life Among the Oil Fields, A Memoir" in the face of white people (Lowe 11).[11]

His wife's hobby, haiku, also destabilizes Mr. Hayashi's masculinity. On the visit to the Hayano family, he seems to feel a sense of inferiority and humiliation, excluded from a conversation about haiku between his wife and Mr. Hayano. His abrupt departure shows that his masculinity is at risk. Likewise, Mr. Hayashi's masculine anxiety increases when Mrs. Hayashi's sister and her husband visit them. Rosie sees three people except her father talking about a haiku competition in the parlor. She meets her father coming out of the bathhouse and finds him badly irritated. He went toward the house without saying anything to her, and she yelled after him, "What have I done now?" (14). Though her father should take responsibility for entertaining the guests as the head of the family, he avoids it because he cannot be with them in the conversation about haiku. When his authoritative position at home is threatened, his fear of losing masculinity grows, which makes him angry and irritated. Haiku gives him a sense of powerlessness and inferiority. It can be said that Japanese-American men try to recover from wounded masculinity due to white dominance in American society through asserting their authority at home, but in Mr. Hayashi's case, his wife's haiku stresses him out. Accordingly, he is considered to be doubly oppressed, in both American society and in his home (haiku).

Japanese-American men with whom Mrs. Hayashi interacts through haiku give Mr. Hayashi a great deal of pressure. Mr. Hayano is portrayed as a "handsome, tall and strong"

man from Rosie's point of view, and he makes Mr. Hayashi feel inferior and jealous in terms of intellect and appearance (10). Also, he is charming enough to let Mrs. Hayashi "[forget] what time it is," which shows that he is a threat to Mr. Hayashi's sexuality (12). Regarding finances, Mr. Hayashi would be in bad condition due to systematic exploitation of Japanese-Americans in the prewar period. He says to his daughter, "We have to get up at five-thirty," and this indicates that he works from dawn till late at night as Japanese-American farmers did at that time (11). For Mr. Hayashi, who assumes responsibility for feeding his family, the harvest of agricultural products is his first priority. Moreover, he has to think about the economic stability of his family in a society filled with anti-Japanese sentiment. His wife's haiku irritates him, not only because it gives him a sense of inferiority, but also because writing haiku in an economically unstable environment would look luxurious to him.

Mr. Hayashi's pent-up frustration caused by multiple oppressions explodes "like the cork of a bottle popping" at the end of the story (17). Here is the scene in which he wrecks with an ax the Hiroshige print, the prize she has won in the haiku contest, and burns it:

> Soon Mr. Kuroda came out alone ... Next her father emerged, also alone, something in his arms (it was the picture, she realized), and, going over to the bathhouse woodpile, he threw the picture on the ground and picked up the axe. Smashing the picture, glass and all (she heard the explosion faintly), he reached over for the kerosene that was used to encourage the bath fire and poured it over the wreckage. I am dreaming, Rosie said to herself, I am dreaming, but her father, having made sure that his act of cremation was irrevocable, was even then returning to the fields. (18)

Mr. Kuroda, the haiku editor of the *Mainichi Shimbun*, a Japanese-American newspaper, is "a good-looking man" who speaks "in a more elegant Japanese than [Rosie] was used to" and drives "a very presentable black car" (16). He came all the way from San Francisco to bring Mrs. Hayashi the first prize she had won in the haiku competition, to extend her his "great admiration of her considerable talent" (16). In this scene, Mr. Hayashi's manhood would have been badly injured by Mr. Kuroda with an urbane and sophisticated atmosphere and his wife's first prize in the haiku contest. Though he should treat Mr. Kuroda, an important visitor from San Francisco to the Hayashi family, with respect and hospitality as the head of the family, he remains silent. This indicates that he is overwhelmed by the impact this visit has had on him. Since he is a "non-literary" man, he is not able to understand either haiku or the Hiroshige picture, and not able to speak Japanese in an elegant way. It is his wife who is the right person to entertain such a sophisticated man as Mr. Kuroda, as the phrase that "she said, falling easily into his style" illustrates (16). She invites Mr. Kuroda for a cup of tea, and is alone in the house with him, talking. Because of her doing this, her husband says to Rosie, "Ha, your mother's crazy!" (17). His wife's conduct is aberration from her gender boundary, which threatens his authority at home and his sexuality, as well.

The scene of burning the picture also demonstrates the economic insecurity Mr. Hayashi faces in the hostile land. This day, he has been concerned about the tomato harvest

since he turned up at Japanese school to pick Rosie up:

> Her father came after her at noon, bringing her sandwiches of minced ham and two nectarines to eat while she rode, so that she could pitch right into the sorting when they got home. The lugs were piling up, he said, and the ripe tomatoes in them would probably have to be taken to the cannery tomorrow if they were not ready for the produce haulers tonight. "This heat's not doing them any good. And we've got no time for a break today." (15)

The Hayashi family work like "a flawless machine" on "the hottest day of the year" (15-16). At first, Mrs. Hayashi is also concerned about the tomatoes, working with her husband, but when Mr. Kuroda comes, she gets preoccupied with haiku, forgetting about them. Mr. Hayashi lets Rosie go to the house to remind her mother of the tomatoes, but she doesn't return to work, and this indicates that she is not as conscious about the emergency of the tomato harvest as he is. The difference in concern about the tomatoes between the couple would have something to do with his responsibilities as the head of the family. As Cheung states that "[male] immigrants were ... the ones who had to interact with white society, which often demanded deference from them and spurned their foreignness," the husband's burden to bear for his family's survival in hostile American society is extremely heavy (Cheung [1993] 10). If the heat lowers the quality of the tomatoes, they will be taken to the cannery, not to the market, which means a large income drop for him.

In the end, Mr. Hayashi's anger blows up at his wife who is immersed in a talk with the editor, leading to the violent act of wrecking and burning the Hiroshige picture. Ostensibly, the burning seems to be caused by his indignation at his wife, but in fact, it is related to multiple pressures on him from American society, the Japanese-American community (his fellow Japanese-American men), and his family (haiku). Among them, the biggest factor is American society, which puts him in a lowered position, legally and racially, and destabilizes his authority and masculinity in his domestic sphere. If he were treated equally to white men, he would be able to secure stability, financially and mentally, and show his understanding of his wife's haiku.

Issei Mother's oppression story

Mrs. Hayashi suffers racial oppression from American society and gender/sexuality oppression by patriarchy. As stated, the burning of the Hiroshige picture by her husband is caused by his sense of oppression from American society, the Japanese-American community, and the family, especially the oppression from American society increased by the emergency of the tomato harvest. When masculine anxiety of Japanese-American men, whose status is far from hegemonic masculinity, increases, they try to ease their anxiety by oppressing their wives more badly, resulting in more terrible suffering of wives. In other words, the husband's violence against the wife indicates how terribly he suffers in American society. Also, in the visit to the Hayano family, Mr. Hayashi is irritated by the fact that his wife talks with the host absorbedly about haiku, and he makes an abrupt decision to go home. In this case, by releasing his anger on her and giving mental

burdens to her, he tries to mend his injured masculinity, in other words, to overcome his sense of powerlessness, inferiority, and jealousy caused by his inability to join intellectual conversation about haiku. Also, he tries to maintain his authority by showing that he is the one who has the right to decide to make the conversation stop halfway and go home. His wife apologizes to Mr. and Mrs. Hayano for her husband's rude behavior and also does to her husband, which illustrates that she is made to pay a price for mending her husband's wounded manhood. To her apology, he remains silent, which indicates his absolute authority over his family.

Mrs. Hayashi's apology to her husband also shows the price she paid for her deviation from gender role. Haiku is the thing that liberates her from gender domain and at the same time, enforces her gender oppression. Yamamoto describes her as a woman of a separate personality; Tome Hayashi who stays in gender boundary, and Ume Hanazono who tries to seek self-realization through creative activity of writing haiku:

> So Rosie and her father lived for awhile with two women, her mother and Ume Hanazono. Her mother (Tome Hayashi by name) kept house, cooked, washed, and, along with her husband and the Carrascos, the Mexican family hired for the harvest, did her ample share of picking tomatoes out in the sweltering fields and boxing them in tidy strata in the cool packing shed. Ume Hanazono, who came to life after the dinner dishes were done, was an earnest, muttering stranger who often neglected speaking when spoken to and stayed busy at the parlor table as late as midnight scribbling with pencil on scratch paper or carefully copying characters on good paper with her fat, pale green Parker. (9)

Though Mrs. Hayashi does what her gender role requires her to do in the domestic domain, she cannot control her desire to express her creative self. In the daytime she works in the fields with her husband and their Mexican hired hands, and after doing the dinner dishes, in other words, after doing the fieldwork and housework she is expected to do, she starts writing haiku. According to Takaki, in those days a farmer's wife had triple duties–field work, housework, and childcare. One Issei woman said: "I prepared breakfast, awakened the children ... I watered the plants in the greenhouses, taking the children along with me... we had dinner and put the children to bed ... I sorted the tomatoes" (191). Mrs. Hayashi's daughter is a teenage girl, so she wouldn't need much time to take care of her. No matter how hard her fieldwork and housework may be, she is not satisfied with such a monotonous life confined to the fields and home, so she is described also as Ume Hanazono, a separate self from Tome Hayashi. Ume Hanazono, who is in the creative space beyond gender boundary, is quite different from Tome Hayashi, and seems like a "stranger" to her husband and daughter (9). Yet, her career as a poet ended on the day when Mr. Hayashi wrecked the Hiroshige picture and burned it: "Ume Hanazono's life span, even for a poet's, was very brief–perhaps three months at most" (9). Ume Hanazono is burned to death together with the picture because she is the one who goes beyond gender boundary and threatens her husband's manhood.

In this story, haiku is a sign of deviation not

only from gender role, but also from the sexual norm. Seventeen in the title of "Seventeen syllables" represents the number of letters in a haiku poem, and also the age that Mrs. Hayashi's stillborn son would have been if he had lived: "[He] would be seventeen" (18). At eighteen she fell in love with the eldest son of a well-to-do family and she got pregnant, but she could not marry her lover because of their unequal social status and "an excellent match had already been arranged for her lover" (18). Her pregnancy out of wedlock was deviation from Japan's social norm that sexuality should be within marriage, and so she was "despised by her family" (18). It ends up as a premature birth to a stillborn son, but she cannot erase the fact that she is deviant from the sexual norm: "Her family did not turn her out, but she could no longer project herself in any direction without refreshing in them the memory of her indiscretion" (18). Then, she writes a letter to her sister living in America, saying that she has only two choices; suicide or picture marriage. It seems that she voluntarily asks her sister to arrange a marriage with a man living in America to escape from the predicament, but it is Japan's patriarchal society that forces her to choose either suicide or picture marriage. On the other hand, her lover gets married to a woman from a good family at the same social status, which shows the asymmetry of sexuality, or double standard for sexuality. In "No Name Woman" of Maxine Hong Kingston's ***Woman Warrior***, one of the protagonist's aunts gets pregnant while her husband is in America and gives birth to a child. Then, she is brought to suicide for breaking the sexual norm of the community. Mrs. Hayashi marries Mr. Hayashi as alternative to suicide. Both women are so powerless that they cannot control their own lives. Mrs. Hayashi's escape into marriage demonstrates how much she suffered gender and sexual oppression by her family and the community under patriarchy.

After immigrating to America, not getting away from her suffering, she is still forced to carry a burden of breaking the sexual norm, like Hester Prynne in *The Scarlet Letter*. Mrs. Hayashi conceals her stillborn son from her husband and it is at the end of the story that she reveals a half-brother to Rosie. This indicates that Mrs. Hayashi herself internalizes the sexual norm and feels guilty for having broken it. Also, it means that sexuality outside marriage is not permitted in America too, and thus, the tale of her past makes a caution about the sexual norm that oppresses women in or out of wedlock for her daughter at puberty. It is narrated that "[the] story was told perfectly ... as though her mother had memorized it by heart, reciting it to herself so many times," which shows that Mrs. Hayashi has endured her son's being stillborn as a punishment for her deviation from the norm, in other words, that she has been suffering from sexual oppression for seventeen years (19).

Mrs. Hayashi's sexuality is not only contained by her internalization of the norm, but also exposed to surveillance from her husband (family), the Japanese-American community, and American society. Mr. Hayano and Mr. Kuroda who talk with her about Haiku are portrayed as "handsome," "tall," "strong," and through these expressions Yamamoto stresses their physical attraction and masculinity. Mrs. Hayashi enjoys a conversation with them so much that she forgets what time it is or the emergency of the tomato harvest. This is not only because haiku is the topic of their

conversation, but because the men are very attractive to her. Her husband is jealous of them, caused by his recognition of her being fascinated by them. Though their marriage is miserable enough to make their daughter worried, the wife continues to stay there. According to Ichioka, some picture brides deserted their husbands and eloped with their lovers, which was called *kakeochi* among the Japanese immigrants. *Kakeochi* stories appeared in the Japanese-American newspaper under their own names and some husbands put their wives' *kakeochi* notices in the paper, seeking information, in order to bring them back. Ichioka says that "the publication of *Kakeochi* stories and notices by the immigrant press was ... a means of social control," because the woman who deserted her husband was branded as "adulteress" and ostracized (Ichioka 170). Besides, *kakeochi* couples had no other place to go except another Japanese-American community, so through the network of the Japanese associations they were caught before long. Since picture marriage practice was criticized as immoral and picture brides were despised by American society, the Japanese-American community had to conceal the fact of *kakeochi* from American society, for it was one of the things that would prove picture brides' immorality. As Mrs. Hosoume, in "Yoneko's Earthquake," is made to abort a child with her Filipino lover by her husband, wife's child with another man must have been dealt with inside marriage and hidden from the outside. It can be said that Japanese-American women's sexuality was placed under watchful eyes of families and the community, because their adultery damaged not only their husbands' manhood, but also the reputation of the Japanese-American community in American society.

Mrs. Hayashi's haiku can be interpreted as a place both for escape from gender/sexuality oppression and for realization of her creative self, but at the same time, it marks a place of her deviation from gender domain. Since it thus symbolizes a place of her husband's injured masculinity, it is doomed to be lost from her life. As the burning of the Hiroshige picture is expressed as "cremation," this violent act signifies the death of Ume Hanazono, the creative self of Mrs. Hayashi, and indicates the hardship Japanese-American farmers faced in the hostile land (18). Mr. Hayashi's stress caused by the pressure from American society is directed at his wife and turned into enforced gender oppression on her, resulting in multiple oppressions on her. So, multi-layered oppressions Japanese-American women endure are systematically constructed in American society. Mrs. Hayashi cannot write haiku any longer and will be confined in her gender role. This image of a woman can be seen in the representation of Mrs. Hayano. She is a mother of four girls, but she doesn't seem to be in good shape: "Mrs. Hayano, reputed to have been the belle of her native village, making her way about a room, stooped, slowly shuffling, violently trembling" (10). Though she was healthy and brilliant enough to be called "the belle" in her youth in Japan, she is now physically impaired. Living in America, her duties of being wife, mother, and laborer on a farm would make her that way. When she receives a call from the Hayashi family, she sits "all evening in the rocker, as motionless and unobtrusive as it [is] possible for her to be" (10). When Mr. Hayashi who is sitting nearby occasionally speaks to her, he does this loudly "as though he thought someone such as she must surely be at least a

trifle deaf also" (11). During their visit, she doesn't say a word. In this scene, Mrs. Hayano is confined to the rocker, a small, closed place, and she is thus represented as physically disabled and hearing impaired. This image symbolically describes Japanese-American women multiply-oppressed in American society. At the end of the story, Mrs. Hayashi begs her daughter to "promise [her she] will never marry," and this phrase from mother to daughter shows her resistance against multiple oppressions on Japanese-American women caused by living in America, as well as against patriarchy.

Nisei Daughter's oppression story

The oppressions Mrs. Hayashi suffers are multiply-compounded by gender/sexuality oppression in Japan and gender/sexuality/race oppression in America. To the picture marriage that she chooses to escape from gender/sexuality oppression in Japan and survive in America, racial oppression is added, and consequently, gender/sexuality oppression on her is intensified, leading her to misery and desperation. Her request for her daughter never to marry shows that marriage symbolizes a place of multiple oppressions to her, and in addition to the request, the tale of her past romance and pregnancy in Japan indicates that she tries to pass down to her daughter her legacy of multiple oppressions she has experienced both in Japan and America. Since Rosie feels "a rush of hate ... for her mother for begging, for her father for denying her mother," on the way back home from visiting the Hayano family, we know that she realizes that her parents are not happily married (12). Accordingly, when she notices her father infuriated at her mother who doesn't return to work, she gets worried that some incident which would determine the breakup of her parents' marriage might take place: "[She] stood, frightened and vacillating" (18). Seeing him smashing the Hiroshige picture with an ax and pouring kerosene over it, she says to herself twice, "I am dreaming" (18). Her fear has become a reality. It is the moment when she witnesses her father's violent act against her mother caused by his multiple oppressions from American society, the Japanese-American community, and the family (haiku), and also the symbol of her mother's multiple oppressions in Japan and America. Among the oppressions, the strongest is the one from white-dominated American society, that is, racism against Japanese-Americans. This is the cause of the violence. She is overwhelmed by the impact of racism on her parents, but at the same time, she realizes how powerless she is against racism, which means that she is also a victim of it. "[The] three contorted, bleeding bodies" she fantasizes before this incident would indicate the three victims of racism symbolized in the burning. She reminds herself twice that she is dreaming, which implies that the reality of racism Japanese-Americans face daily is too overwhelming for her to look at straight.

On the other hand, "[her] mother [is] very calm" and tells Rosie why she got married to her father. Looking at the dying fire together and listening to her mother's story about Japan, she receives a legacy of multiple oppressions that her mother has suffered, along with anger, sorrow, humiliation, and desperation hidden at the bottom of her mother's silence (18). Pointing out that this story has double plots: mother's plot and daughter's plot, Stan Yogi states that in this scene the two stories are linked and "Rosie

receives a complex legacy of subordination and thwarted pursuits, of resistance and containment" (149). Yamamoto, by paralleling the budding romance between Rosie and Jesus to her mother's romance before marriage, emphasizes that Japanese-American women's experiences of oppressions are passed down between generations. Her mother's story told to her, while watching the burning, is connected with her memory that she "fell ... entirely victim to a helplessness" when she was kissed by Jesus, and will be engraved in her mind as a story of multiple oppressions (14).

Rosie answers, "yes, yes," to her mother's request never to marry, but it is a "glib agreement," a reply she makes to please her mother, for at the same time, she remembers "how [Jesus' hand touched] her and where," though she is shocked more by her mother's request than her tale (19). In an interview, Yamamoto says that she was often told by her parents that children in Japan would never talk back to their parents and that even if she answered, "yes, yes," to her parents, in fact, she felt differently.[12] The contradiction and uncertainty contained in the reply she pointed to here is reflected in Rosie's double affirmative answer to her mother, as she says that "it [is] so much easier to say yes, yes, even when one meant no, no" (8). Thus, it could be considered that it is stressful for her to grow up in the environment where she is required to follow Japanese culture and values that her parents brought with them from Japan, living in America. That she is a Nisei who lives in the two cultures is symbolically described in the scene where she performs mimicry of American entertainers at recess at Japanese school. This day, despite the emergency of the tomato harvest, she is at Japanese school and her father picks her up there, which indicates she is expected by her parents to acquire Japanese. Her study of the language, however, doesn't go as expected. When she is asked for her opinion about a haiku her mother writes, she pretends to understand it, saying, "Yes, yes ... How utterly lovely," in order not to hurt her feelings (8). Even if she has read haiku written in English and wants to share them with her mother, she gives up, finding the job of translation burdensome. It could be said that she doesn't share cultural foundations with her parents. Her fantasy of "the three contorted, bleeding bodies" might be interpreted as representation of the communication gap between her parents and herself (12).

The generation gap between Rosie and her parents would influence her identity formation as she grows up as an American. Borrowing Maeda Kazuhira's phrase, she will become "a Japanese-American without example or model racially" (Maeda 45). Yet, even though she is American legally, understands English better than Japanese, and knows American pop culture more than that of Japan, she would be treated in the same way as her parents by white-dominated American society because she is a member of a Japanese immigrant family. She would be moving from place to place with her parents every three years or so, because of the Alien Land Law. The story shows that she works with her parents in the fields after school or when she has no school, which would indicate that she has a different life style from white girls her age. She is forced to live on the margin of American society because she is Japanese-American, not just American. She not only inherits a legacy of race/gender/sexuality oppression from her mother, but also she will experience another form of oppression which is

caused by her status of being Japanese-American, that is, hyphenated American. American racism requires that Japanese-Americans prove that they are not "Japanese" but "Americans." Also, the ideology of Anglo-conformity forces them to repudiate any Japanese physical, cultural affiliation and assimilate unquestioningly into America's dominant culture and values. They have to abandon the word/label "Japanese," which is a symbol of Japanese affiliation, out of "Japanese-American" in order to be accepted as "American." Rosie, as Ichiro in John Okada's *No-No Boy* does, will encounter this problem and suffer, for it is impossible to eliminate "Japanese" out of "Japanese-American." Though she has a cultural gap with her parents who represent Japan, she cannot abandon them and things related to them, including her mother's legacy of multiple oppressions, because they are an integral part of her identity. American racism thus requires Japanese-Americans to do the impossible. Her self-image of "contorted" and "bleeding" bodies" in her fantasy might allude to suffering and hardship that she will face to become "American." Also, the contradiction and uncertainty she displays in her replies to her mother's question about haiku and request about marriage would be related to her ambiguous status of being Japanese-American. She will try to assimilate to the mainstream for survival, saying, "yes, yes," to American society's request, while feeling negatively about it. Thus, it could be said that she is doomed to suffer multiple oppressions in her adulthood because she is Japanese-American, that is, hyphenated American.

For realization of multi-cultural society

This paper, by analyzing oppressions of a Japanese-American family in "Seventeen Syllables," tries to discuss the story in relation to the Japanese-American internment during WWII. They suffer from pressures from family, the Japanese-American community, and American society, and race/gender/sexuality oppression. Yet, the biggest pressure is from American society, that is, racial oppression. The Japanese-American internment is just an extension of anti-Japanese racism that is clearly represented in legal restrictions on immigration, citizenship, and landowning. In a critical situation of war, American people's anti-Japanese sentiment materialized into the exclusion of Japanese-Americans from society and imprisonment in concentration camp. Multiple oppressions they have suffered, living in America, as described in this story, I would argue, are associated with traumatic experience of the internment.

Yamamoto, through writing a story about a Japanese-American farming family in Southern California in the prewar period, tries to document the history and memories of Issei, memories which were abandoned and forgotten through the internment and postwar assimilation into the mainstream. Actually, she says that this is her mother's story (Cheung [1994] 86). Yamamoto feels pride and respect for Issei, who survived in the antagonistic environment of American society, enduring multi-layered oppressions. Also, this story would be dedicated to Nisei boys who went into the army after answering "yes, yes" to loyalty questions even if they felt differently, believing that "participation in the defense of their country was the best way to express their loyalty," and sacrificed their lives for their

families and friends who were incarcerated in camp (Takaki 400). Yamamoto's younger brother, Johnny, is one of them.[13]

Since Yamamoto went through the internment, or racial discrimination by the country against Japanese-Americans, what she wishes the country to be like should be a multi-cultural society, where the ideology of liberty, equality, and democracy that it is supposed to be founded on is actually realized. The romantic relationship between Jesus and Rosie, a Nisei like Yamamoto, would indicate a small step forward toward such an ideal society. Jesus is a son of the Mexican family hired by Mr. Hayashi for the Tomato harvest, and is different from Rosie in terms of race and class. As interracial marriage between Asians and whites was banned in American society, it was taboo in the prewar Japanese-American community. In "Yoneko's Earthquake," prejudice against the Filipino in the community is written, and "In Brown House" (1951), Mr. Hattori refers to a black man as "kurombo," a derogatory term (42).[14] Accordingly, the romance of Rosie and Jesus, which goes beyond race/class boundaries, would be a key to open up cooperative relations among minorities. Her double affirmative answer to her mother's request, during her reverie about him, at the end of the story, could be considered to represent Yamamoto's hope for the realization of a multi-cultural society.

*An earlier version of this paper was presented in the sixty-second ELSJ Cyubu Branch Meeting held at Kanazawa University on 16-17 October 2010.

Notes

1) I refer to both Japanese nationals and Japanese-Americans who settled in America at that time as Japanese-Americans.

2) Yamamoto, ***Seventeen Syllables and Other Stories: Revised and Expanded Edition*** (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 2001) 21. All quotations from her stories are from this edition. Subsequent quotations will be followed by parenthetical page numbers.

3) The interview with Hisaye Yamamoto in "Imin Issei no sekai." *Shiso no kagaku.*

4) Milton M. Gordon defines "Anglo-conformity" as the theory demanding "the complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture in favor of the behavior and value of the Anglo-Saxon core group" (85).

5) Stan Yogi. "Legacy Revealed: Uncovering Buried Plots in the Stories of Hisaye Yamamoto."

6) The U.S. government incarcerated Japanese-Americans as enemy aliens, while the army developed a plan for forming combat teams of all second-generation Japanese Americans. President Roosevelt authorized the enlistment of Nisei, and in order to register Nisei for the draft the government required all internees to answer 33 questions in 1943, out of which questions 27 and 28 are called "loyalty questions." Question 27 asked draft-age males: Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?" Question 28 asked all internees: "Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power or organization?" (Takaki 397). For loyalty questions and the historical details about Nisei enlistment or participation in the U.S. army, see Takaki, 396-405.

7) I found this material in the file of "Picture Bride" at Japanese American Historical Society of San Diego.

8) For more information on picture marriage, see Yanagisawa's "Nijyu no henken," and Ichioka, 164-175.

9) In King-kok Cheung's interview, Yamamoto says: "Our family ... moved quite frequently. The Alien Land Law prohibited Japanese from owing land, so most of the families would lease acreage for a couple of years and then move on" (Cheung [1994] 77).

10) Yamauchi's mother was from a merchant family in Shizuoka, whose business was packaging tea. For information about Yamauchi, see Hihara Mie, "Wakako Yamauchi," in *Reading Japanese American Literature: The Legacy of Three Generations*.

11) Lisa Lowe argues, concerning the status of Chinese male immigrants in American society before WWII, that it could be said that they occupied a "feminized position" in relation to white male citizens," because the laws restricted Chinese female immigration and prevented the formation of families among Chinese immigrants, and most of them had "feminized" jobs such as laundry, restaurants, and other service-sector jobs (11). Japanese male immigrants were legally treated in the same way as Chinese males in terms of marriage and immigration, and many of them worked as domestic servants for white families, as described in Yoshiko Uchida's "Picture Bride." So I apply Lowe's argument about the status of Chinese male immigrants, "feminized position," to that of Japanese male immigrants.

12) The interview with Hisaye Yamamoto in "Imin Issei no sekai." *Shiso no kagaku*. September, 1987. 15.

13) In "Life Among the Oil Fields, A Memoir," she talks about one of her memories of him when he was small: "My mother has given me four pennies to take to school. Two cents are for me to spend, but the other two cents are for candy for my little brother Johnny at home" (86).

14) In Cheung's interview, Yamamoto says: "Interracial relationships were on the whole frowned upon, but here and there such linkage did occur" (Cheung [1994] 78).

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