Performance in the Wartime Archive: Michio Ito at the Alien Enemy Hearing Board

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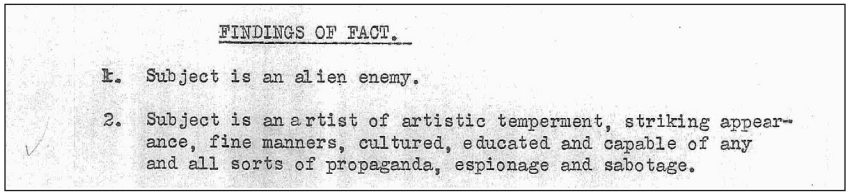


FINDINGS OF FACT.

1. Subject is an alien enemy.

2. Subject is an artist of artistic temperment, striking appearance, fine manners, cultured, educated and capable of any and all sorts of propaganda, espionage and sabotage.

Figure 1: From the Report of the Alien Enemy Hearing Board, February 13, 1942. Courtesy of World War II Japanese Internee Cards, 1941–1947, The National Archives.

The day after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the recently formed Federal Bureau of Investigation ordered the incarceration of 770 Japanese and Japanese American "alien enemies."[1] These arrests came two months before Executive Order 9066, which infamously called for the mass incarceration of 110,000 people of Japanese descent on the West Coast of the United States.[2] Among these initial 770 alien enemies was the modernist dancer and choreographer Michio Ito. In the documents establishing his detention, the Alien Enemy Hearing Board found Ito to be "an artist of artistic temperament, striking appearance, fine manners, cultured, educated and capable of any and all sorts of propaganda, espionage and sabotage."[3] In this essay, I interrogate this sentence's

0026-3079/2017/5504/5601-067$2.50/0 American Studies, 55:4/56:1 (2017): 67–89

central conjunction, the grammatical choreography that links art, culture, and education to propaganda, espionage, and sabotage.

The story of Ito's remarkable career surfaces frequently, if passingly, in the fields of modernism, theatre and dance studies and, most recently, Asian American criticism. But the period of his incarceration has yet to be addressed; it typically is dismissed as an unfortunate interruption to an artistic life.[4] I argue that rather than being an interruption, Ito's incarceration and eventual deportation are the troubling culmination of his always-exceptional critical reception in Europe and the United States. My purpose in restaging Ito's makeshift trial is not to exonerate him—although his fate after the war suggests ambivalence if not innocence—but to examine the shared hermeneutics of law and art to indicate how swiftly a performance of otherness can shift from exotic and interesting to dangerous and in need of discipline. By examining the archival traces of his hearing, I show how the same "artistic temperament" that brings Ito to collaborate with W. B. Yeats and to dance for the Queen of England leads to his incarceration as a threat to American national security. Critics applaud Ito's artistic range and his unique combination of influences, and it is this very ambiguity in performance that troubles the Hearing Board. As the records reflect, Ito inspires juridical anxiety, and he is eventually imprisoned not for his actions but for the elusiveness of his character, that is, for being an artist of artistic temperament.

Ito's story recalls that familiar connection between performance and performativity. He is, after all, a performing artist incarcerated with a clear performative statement, in J. L. Austin's sense: The Hearing Board officially *names* something (Ito as a dangerous alien enemy), and that naming *does* something (formalizes his indefinite incarceration). Despite the seeming ease of this critical billing, neither the frames of theatrical nor linguistic performativity fully account for Ito's work or for his treatment—and neither does the pun that rhetorically connects them. In their 1995 introduction to *Performance and Performativity*, Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick expressed relief that finally these intersecting fields were being treated as "an active question," as "something more than a pun or an unexamined axiom."[5] Yet in light of the widely accepted "performative turn," the rich discursive intersection that Parker and Sedgwick describe now too often retreats to that axiomatic shorthand, to the posture of a passive answer.

To read extraordinary performances and performatives—including those Austin famously discounts as theatrical, "infelicitous," or "*parasitic*"—requires a flexible set of tactics within and across disciplinary frames; it requires keeping open and returning to active questions.[6] Recognizing the principles of a "generalized iterability" and "a pervasive theatricality common to stage and world alike," scholars such as Parker and Sedgwick instructively unpack the productive ways in which identity is constructed and disciplined through isolatable features such as speech, acts, conduct, and perhaps even temperament.[7] Recent scholarship has extended this critical model to examine the interplay of the law, the body, and discourses of performativity in the historical archive.

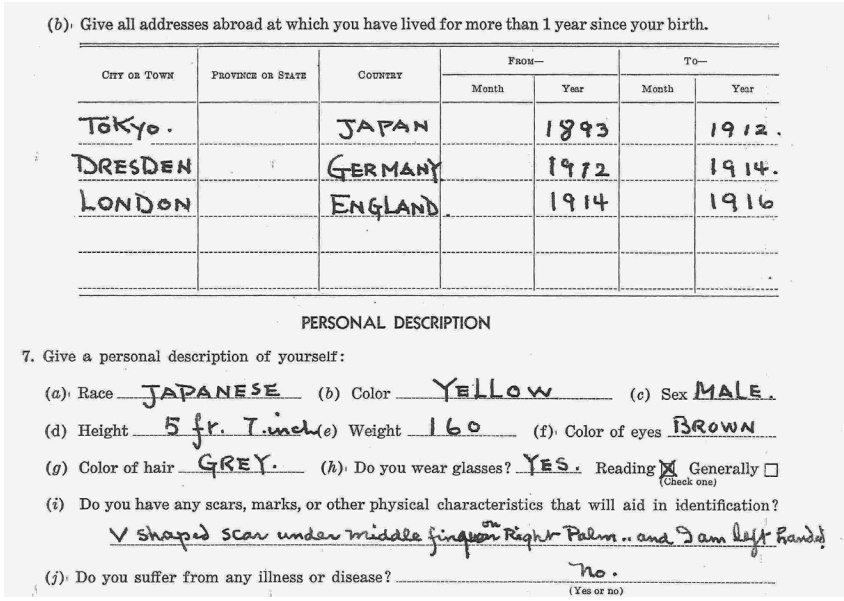
Working with materials from across the American twentieth century, Tony Perucci and Joshua Takano Chambers-Letson in particular have demonstrated how reading the participants' bodies, the spatiotemporal dynamics, and other performance values can challenge our understandings of historical events, how these events were performed *and* how they continue to perform.

In this broader critical conversation, Ito's appearance before the Hearing Board is exemplary in showing how even in the relative absence of documentation the event's dynamics are scored in the archive. These understated features captured in the documents can expand our critical attention beyond the print record, allowing for a thicker, transactional, and affective sense for historical events. In Ito's case, the hearing's unconventional venue, the framing of his spoken testimony, and the dramatic presentation of print evidence—all finding articulation in the files—provide critical stage directions for reassessing both his treatment under the law and his artistic legacy. Ito's case demonstrates how performance values and performativity continue to act, independently and in concert, in the only seemingly static archive.

In what follows, I establish Ito's exceptional career before problematizing how our modes of artistic biography either have ignored his racialized treatment or converted it to a depoliticized, aesthetic trope. Then I turn to the FBI files to examine how the records of his appearance before the Board can contribute to our understandings of Ito's experience under the law and his broader artistic career. By examining the symptoms of performance in the archive and by reading the subtle but "pervasive theatricality" that informs Ito's life and career, I explain how the government board reached its conclusions while also demonstrating how the same documents—according to other interpretative choreographies—could lead elsewhere.

Rehearsing Ito's Modernist Picaresque

As is common with artistic biography, Ito's story is told and understood less on its own terms than through Ito's points of contact with more recognizable figures. In this way, critics tend to affirm the canon, and its power, while trying to supplement it. The episodes with luminaries such as Yeats and Martha Graham—and further on, Ito's own students such as Lester Horton—authorize his career while recording it in and relegating it to the footnotes of cultural history. His associations with other artists lead to a consistently marginal role, casting him as what Yutian Wong has called an "all-but-forgotten pioneer."[8] Ito is perennially remembered in this near-forgetting. The work on his career glosses over the contextual particularities of his experience, eliding the geopolitical vicissitudes and fraught internationalism of the early twentieth century in favor of stories of his brushes with famous figures. But the persistent play of both privilege and prejudice, understated in both the contemporary and current criticism, becomes starkly pronounced at Ito's 1942 hearing, when he formally goes on trial.



(b) Give all addresses abroad at which you have lived for more than 1 year since your birth.

City or Town	Province or State	Country	From— Month	From— Year	To— Month	To— Year
Tokyo.		JAPAN		1893		1912.
DRESDEN		GERMANY		1912		1914.
LONDON		ENGLAND.		1914		1916

PERSONAL DESCRIPTION

7. Give a personal description of yourself:

(a) Race JAPANESE (b) Color YELLOW (c) Sex MALE.

(d) Height 5 ft. 7 inch (e) Weight 160 (f) Color of eyes BROWN

(g) Color of hair GREY. (h) Do you wear glasses? YES. Reading ☒ Generally ☐ (Check one)

(i) Do you have any scars, marks, or other physical characteristics that will aid in identification?

V shaped scar under middle finger on Right Palm .. and I am left handed

(j) Do you suffer from any illness or disease? no. (Yes or no)

Figure 2: Page 3 of Michio Ito's Alien Enemy Questionnaire. Courtesy of World War II Japanese Internee Cards, 1941–1947, The National Archives.

Ito was born in 1892 to a well-to-do family in Tokyo, and in 1912 he embarked on what would become something of a thirty-year, modernist picaresque. His childhood obsession with imported opera records led him to study in Europe. However, he was disappointed by European opera's narrow focus on the voice. As Ito tells it—with a well-established penchant for bending the truth—he floated through European capitals as something of an exotic *flâneur*, managing to gain entry into various artists' circles. In his 1956 memoir he recalls, with characteristic self-awareness, "At that time an Oriental boy was a rarity in Europe."[9] In this self-conscious pose he would, according to his fanciful (and here likely fictional) recollection, sit for Auguste Rodin, and his acquaintance with Claude Debussy led some to credit him with bringing modern music across the Atlantic.[10]

When Ito saw Isadora Duncan and Vaslav Nijinsky perform, he was inspired, finding in the beginnings of modern dance the total art he had sought in opera. He beseeched Duncan to teach him, but she suggested instead that he attend the Émile Jacques-Dalcroze school in Dresden where eurhythmics—the training of the body through music—was being developed. There, Ito worked with artists from eighteen countries and was exposed to more of the continental avant-garde, including the theatrical designs of Adolph Appia, which he would later incorporate in his own productions in New York City and Los Angeles. Ito relished his time at the Dalcroze school and years on would reflect, "Of all

places on earth, that was my particular heaven."[11] But when the First World War broke out, Japan declared war on Germany, and Ito, along with other Japanese students and artists, fled the continent to London.

Ito did not speak English, and so he gravitated to London's Café Royal, a refuge for artists and expatriates that welcomed the speaking of French and German. The café's patrons included Winston Churchill and, formerly, Oscar Wilde; again, Ito was drawn to influential circles. But Ito's parents disapproved of his continued travels and cut off financial support. Committed to stay in Europe, Ito looked for work that would not require English. In his memoir he recalls applying to be a street cleaner, because "in London the road-cleaners looked unusually well-dressed."[12] Before finding anything suitable, Ito on a whim danced at a party and became an overnight sensation. Billed in the British press as "the Japanese dancer"—instead of the "Oriental boy" of his continental period—Ito would go on to dance for the queen consort and the prime minister, as well as for T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound. He remained mindful of manipulating appearances, "Because I was billed as 'The Japanese Dancer' I had to create a 'Japanese' atmosphere." But in creating that atmosphere, Ito abandoned any kind of Japanese authenticity and instead played to his audience's generalized Orientalist desires: He performed Dalcroze-inspired choreography to French opera while adorned in borrowed Near Eastern costumes—this combination ostensibly suggesting some kind of exotic other.[13]

Around this time, Ezra Pound was living with W. B. Yeats at Stone Cottage and editing Ernest Fenollosa's posthumous translations of Japanese Noh drama. Pound knew no Japanese and little of the theatrical form, and so he approached the Japanese dancer for help, but Ito was uninterested in the classical arts: "as far as I'm concerned there's nothing more boring than Noh."[14] Despite this rebuff, Pound introduced Ito to Yeats, and they would collaborate on *At the Hawk's Well*, the turning point in both of their dramatic careers. Ito's famed 1916 performance as the Guardian of the Well marks his own debut in modernist mythology: exit the Japanese Dancer and enter what Yutian Wong has called the "international artist."[15] This billing, in Wong's argument, allows Ito to maintain exotic prestige but to temporarily avoid the concrete discriminations against Asians in Europe and the United States.

Despite their collaborative success, Yeats urged Ito to leave Europe's politically troubled scene, which Ito did and he never returned..[16] He headed to New York, where his reputation preceded him. In his fifteen years there Ito would become a successful choreographer, director, designer, teacher, and dancer. With Adolph Bohm, Ruth St. Denis, and Martha Graham, Ito would contribute to the founding of modern American dance. In this milieu, Ito developed his own choreographic system with its signature ten essential gestures. Detailed in Helen Caldwell's and Mary-Jean Cowell's work, these poses are characterized by a strong grounding of the legs and by sweeping arm movements. Ito made much of his work using these set poses, combining and animating them in different series. Like many other modernist artists, Ito restricted himself to a limited pal-

Figure 3: Michio Ito in *At the Hawk's Well*, 1916. Courtesy of George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film.

ette, and his dances achieved their effects through variations of sequence and tempo. In an interview in the *New York Tribune*, Ito described the process: "I am a sculptor, for I work, and I work over each pose until it means what I would have it mean. If you cry 'Stop!' in any place in my dance, you will find that it

is a pose that means something."[17] In this description, Ito recognizes the play between stasis and motion, between gesture and dance, between a fixed idea and the movement among several. Each pose is sculpted to mean something, but the sequence proves more elusive to interpretation, both for dance and—as Ito's story proceeds—for justice.

After more than a decade in New York, Ito maintained his westward course in 1929, heading to Hollywood in search of more lucrative opportunities.[18] There he taught dance, appeared in films, and choreographed symphonic dance concerts at the Hollywood and Rose Bowls for crowds of up to 20,000.[19] However, in California the Asian population was much larger, and fears of "yellow peril" were more pronounced. Ito faced greater personal discrimination. In his Hollywood work, his choreography routinely was cut from the pictures' final versions, and in the culture industry writ large he lost the creative control to which he was accustomed in New York. As a film actor he was cast to play racist clichés, as the studios made use of his "generically Oriental body that could be read as East Asian, Pacific Islander, and Inuit."[20] After several films, Ito devoted his attention to teaching and choreographing for other dancers. He absented his own body from performance.[21]

Ito's story, in American criticism, abruptly ends here with his arrest and incarceration; his nearly two-year detention, from December 1941 to November 1943, receives little attention. Caldwell allocates to this period a mere two sentences in her 1977 biography: "Following Pearl Harbor all Japanese were evacuated from the West Coast. After a brief internment Michio Ito returned to Japan on the *Gripsholm*."[22] As a point of comparison, this brief period was about as long as Ito's rise to fame in London, to which Caldwell devotes almost a third of the book.

In their 1994 essay, Mary-Jean Cowell and Satoru Shimazaki handle the incarceration in a more peculiar fashion: "Quite possibly, the greatest tragedy in Ito's life may not have been his internment and subsequent deportation. Rather it was the general failure of critics and audiences to fully appreciate his effort to integrate East and West."[23] While Cowell and Shimazaki grant his internment the provisional, rhetorical status of tragedy, they bizarrely brush it aside to focus on criticism's own agenda. They reduce his work, and indeed his "life," to integrating the vague, aesthetic notions of East and West. This claim is especially odd because Cowell and Shimazaki elsewhere repeat Ito's provocative addendum to his stated desire to "bring together the East and the West" in his choreography: "My dancing is not Japanese. It is not anything—only myself."[24] In a peculiar set of steps, Ito here posits a correspondence among his *dancing*, *not anything*, and *himself*, but the phrasing, roughly scripted with a period and dash, discourages a determinant relationship among the terms. Each term is a pose that means something, but the syntax complicates those meanings; Ito hopes his work will be associated only with himself. And this "self" is of course subject to interpretation, based on the frames of performance and the shifting objectives of critics and audiences.

All-But-Forgetting Ito

Recently Yutian Wong and Carrie Preston have begun to connect Ito's internment to the rest of his work and life. In her 2009 essay Wong recognizes the gravity of Ito's internment as a manifestation of his status as an "international artist." Reading Ito's story in light of Asian American criticism, Wong shows how the "international" serves "as both an erasure and inscription of race and ethnicity."[25] Rather than repeating the refrains of his "fusing East and West," Wong articulates the precarious indeterminacy of Ito's performed identity in the American context. She recognizes the different types of discrimination involved in his being read as alternately foreign and familiar: "International" serves to straddle or flatten these terms. It domesticates the problematic particularities of the foreign, ignoring Ito's specific experience and nationality, while at the same time maintaining his exotic appeal. The "international" hearkens to an apolitical cosmopolitan network that links places such as Tokyo, London, and New York, but excludes the likes of Missoula, Montana, the site of the 1942 hearing.

Wong effectively complicates Ito's exceptional story, and she is the first to underscore how the internment is not an aberration in Ito's public reception but its troubling conclusion. But from here, her essay proceeds to account for Ito's place in the American dance canon, where he is always remembered in his near-forgetting.[26] In establishing Ito's palimpsestic presence in the story of modern dance, Wong notes the importance of the incarceration but does not pursue its duration, its details, or the traces of Ito's experience within it. His arrest is still the endpoint to a career, a conclusion that lends shape and legibility to what preceded it.

Preston similarly notes the period's importance, while showing how Ito's exceptional treatment has been reproduced in the contemporary dance repertoire. Preston shows how critics and contemporary dance companies tend to focus on Ito's solo pieces, sidestepping the more complex mise-en-scène of the larger productions and their appropriations of cultural material—both European and Asian. As Preston argues, Ito did not somehow transcend his historical moment and often "adopted orientalist tropes and [so troubles] our [contemporary] pieties about 'bad' orientalism and 'good' multiculturalism."[27] Ito's oeuvre includes material that critics are hesitant to recover or address, and this wider artistic practice effectively disrupts his career's placement within the narrower rubrics in which he has been critically assessed. For Preston, this eclectic output is a virtue; like other modernist art, Ito's body of work continues to trouble as well as impress.

In her own reading of his choreography, Preston models moving *with* Ito, accounting for the heterogeneous associations that his work generates without fixing them to a determinant source or tradition. Her reading of his *Pizzicatti* piece, for example, begins with Ito's grounding in *nihon buyo*, but his feet are in second position (in ballet terms). The piece's marionette style draws at once on a connection with the music (eurhythmics), the contemporary fascination

with the puppet (à la Edward Gordon Craig), and an adaptation of the Japanese *bunraku* tradition.[28] Preston keeps open the interpretative possibilities: If Ito's dancing is only himself, that self is many things as it moves.

In describing her approach, Preston self-consciously assumes a "transnational" tack, a "problematic but necessary" maneuver intended to maintain and highlight the unresolvable but productive tensions in Ito's work.[29] While critics may prefer other internationally descriptive terms—such as the cosmopolitan, global, or planetary—the "transnational" importantly recognizes and keeps in play the extant accounts on Ito. His career *is* particularly affected by nationally inflected concerns—their traditions and their treaties—even as it moves across them. As a comparative term, the "transnational" allows us to move *with* Ito among the many influences and venues that inform his career. It scores some of the "misunderstanding and . . . remarkable creativity" in Ito's work and helps to track his exceptional treatment across shifting historical, legal, and cultural landscapes in the specific nations he lived and worked.

Reading Ito transnationally reveals that wherever he went he was treated as an exception, long before his arrest in 1941. Rather than meandering as a kind of artistic emissary, Ito's course was prescribed by geopolitical circumstances as much as by his impressive artistic credentials. To begin, Ito's initial European sojourn was facilitated by his class position and, implicitly, by Japan's comparative imperial wealth. Once in Europe he was embraced by the contemporary *japonisme*, allowing him access to influential circles. He then moved twice because of the First World War: Ito's move to London in 1914 was prompted by the Japanese declaration of war, and his 1916 move to New York was made possible by a diplomatic exception. A decade earlier, the United States and Japan had established the informal Gentleman's Agreement Act, which curtailed Japanese immigration to the States. Despite this arrangement, "Ito was allowed in the country as a 'gentleman'—a category reserved for students, intellectuals, and other 'desirable' professionals."[30] Ito entered the United States as a desirable international artist, a billing that ignored—for the moment—his particular nationality. In 1916, being an artist transcended the restrictions that came with being Japanese; by 1941 the *combination* of these billings would lead to indefinite imprisonment.[31]

After Ito's move to California, he experienced more overt forms of discrimination. By the 1920s it was clear that yellow peril had greater tenacity than *japonisme*, especially on the West Coast.[32] In his book on the period, Roger Daniels insists that the many forms of cultural and legal discrimination against Asians were so well established as to not be seen as racist but simply "American." The United States, Daniels writes, "was then an explicitly racist nation which discriminated in both law and custom against any persons who were not recognized as 'white.'"[33] Japanese living in the United States, including Ito, would have been keenly aware of both (the performed) customs and the (performative) law, and indeed how the two informed one another. In her essay on Ito's time in Hollywood, Mary-Jean Cowell reveals that he postponed

his move to California by nearly a decade because of anti-Japanese sentiment in general and anti-miscegenation laws in particular. In 1921 Ito appeared in his first Hollywood film, but he returned to New York, where he would marry Hazel Wright, his white former student.[34] In California, their marriage would have been illegal.

By the mid-thirties, Japan and the Japanese became the most direct subject of anti-Asian racism on the West Coast. Japan's imperial project, particularly after its military defeats of China and Russia, exacerbated the sense of menace across the Pacific. In this historical moment, Ito's performance of worldliness no longer connoted an appealing fusion as much as dangerous imperial influence. The Alien Enemy Hearing Board would emphasize that Ito had the manners, culture, and education to pass among influential spheres—European, Japanese, and American—and this unpredictable passing led to an acute scrutiny of his business deals, his finances, his personal contacts, and his travels long before Pearl Harbor. Ito's incarceration in military facilities from 1941 to 1943 then was not an unfortunate broad stroke of reactionary policy, nor can it be isolated from the attitudes that frame, and tend to applaud, his artistic career.

Ito's activities leading up to the war—his statements, acts, and conduct (in Parker and Sedgwick's terms)—were not criminal, but they were eclectic, and they began attracting scrutiny in a political milieu in which Japanese were generally regarded with suspicion. As the government's records indicate, Ito was not arrested due to any single act or statement but for an accumulation of suspicions that the Board linked to his character, as defined by his profession. The vagueness and seeming redundancy of "artist of artistic temperament" hints at the government's logic. According to the implied procedure, pedestrian behaviors can be read accumulatively as a "temperament," and this temperament constructed into identity. Within this stammering phrase lie hints of the modern logic—typically associated with Foucault's reading of sexuality—that repeated behaviors come to constitute functionally stable and socially legible identities. Ito's vocation as an artist became convenient shorthand, a way of synthesizing unpredictable behaviors into a counterintuitively predictable, and here dangerous, character type.

Ito at the Alien Enemy Hearing Board

According to the Alien Enemy Act of 1798, any citizen of—as well as anyone born in—a nation that attacks the United States or its holdings is classified as an alien enemy.[35] Legal scholar J. Gregory Sidak explains that the act entitles the standing president sole discretion—without judicial review—to determine the wartime treatment of such alien enemies.[36] Franklin Roosevelt's December 7 Proclamation was a powerful performative statement that placed an unprecedentedly wide range of restrictions on Japanese residing in the United States. Roosevelt declared that these alien enemies were subject to imprisonment and deportation and were barred from traveling, residing near factories, and being

part of any organization. Alien enemies also were prohibited from possessing articles such as firearms, cameras, and radios, as well as "papers, documents or books in which there may be invisible writing"—this last provision ostensibly includes *all* papers, documents, and books.[37] When the law prescribes that even the invisible is a cause for concern, a person's temperament emerges as comparatively sturdy grounds for suspicion.

The Alien Enemy Act does not formally entitle alien enemies to hearings, but during World War II Attorney General Francis Biddle insisted that there be some procedure for the accused. His office organized more than a hundred hearing boards, composed mostly of community volunteers. By the height of the war in Europe and Asia, there would be by definition 900,000 alien enemies living in the United States, and 9,121 would be brought before a board; of those, 4,132 were interned.[38] In this longer view, a small number of alien enemies would be interned (less than 0.5 percent), but the first arrests after Pearl Harbor likely yielded much higher rates, as these suspects were already under government surveillance. As Ito's file and the efficiency of the initial arrests attest, the government had a prepared list of dangerous Japanese.

There are relatively few records of Ito's experience from this time.[39] His appearance before the Hearing Board at Fort Missoula, Montana, on February 13, 1942, becomes the central performance of the period and the attendant paperwork the archival node. The print proceedings from that day collect and condense the earlier suspicions, insinuations, and charges leveled against the artist. These documents also determine, with performative force, his immediate future: "The Board recommends INTERNMENT." The summative document of the hearing, Exhibit A, includes many of the same features as the documentation of historical performances. Like the materials that recall Ito's 1916 *At the Hawk's Well*, for example, Exhibit A registers the dramatic elements, the time and space of the event, the members of the audience, and selected dialogue. Like production notes or reviews, this file offers suggestive clues but ultimately no definitive or complete account of what happened. The critical work, then and now, is in linking fragments, assessing patterns, and evaluating performances.

While Ito's 1916 audiences featured the likes of T. S. Eliot and the queen consort, the records from 1942 suggest a smaller and less renowned crowd. According to Exhibit A, present were representatives of the newly formed Alien Enemy Hearing Board, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Attorney General's Office, and the Immigration Service. This list suggests that the hearing boards immediately after Pearl Harbor were not yet composed of community volunteers—that is, a jury of one's peers—as Attorney General Biddle later described. The names of the Board's two primary representatives are supplemented by handwritten indications of their geographical origins; the typeface identifying Chairman Stephen M. Farrand, for example, is followed by the cursive addition, "of Los Angeles, Calif." The absence of this kind of proper belonging, this *of*-ness, is one of the Board's implicit suspicions about Ito. In addition to the six presiding men were an interpreter (although at this point Ito would not

need one) and a stenographer named Lillian Bourland. For this performance, Ito appeared as in a solo, "The alien appeared without advisor or witness," and only two fragments of his speech are reproduced. He speaks of "cementing friendly relations between the United States and Japan," while professing a belief in the "world brotherhood of man." Much later in his life this same kind of rhetoric would guide Ito's design proposals for the Opening and Closing Ceremonies at the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, but with this audience in 1942 the words seemed an inadequate counter to serious accusations.[40]

The space at Fort Missoula, like Lady Cunard's London drawing room, was not photographically reproduced. For Ito's performance in 1916, Yeats prohibited reporters and photographers; Chairman Farrand and the Hearing Board presumably followed suit. The spaces of historical performances are imagined from the scant records of physical facts and embellished with stock images of the period. Fort Missoula, a nineteenth-century installation to protect white settlers from Native Americans, was repurposed during the war to hold about 1,000 stranded Italian seamen.[41] After Pearl Harbor, Japanese alien enemies joined the Italian mariners at this site on the outskirts of Missoula. Lacking a formal court space, the hearings likely transpired in something of a converted meeting room, with an asymmetrical formation of tables and chairs to isolate the suspect, a stenography machine on one side; perhaps a uniformed guard stood by the door.

The space, of course, matters for performance; the manner in which a stage is set informs the dynamics among participants, and there are comparable conventions for public hearings. In his study of Paul Robeson's testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), Tony Perucci carefully reads the event's performance values. The HUAC was designed as a public spectacle, as theatrical, for both its live audience and its mass media documentation. The scene was set for the "stagecraft of statecraft: with klieg lighting, prepared scripts . . . and staged 'revelations.'"[42] The accumulative effects of the room's theatrical apparatus were likely not lost on the likes of Robeson, Bertolt Brecht, Arthur Miller, or Lillian Hellman, all of whom were called to testify. According to Perucci, Robeson was able to undermine the committee by effectively shifting the suspicions from himself to the state. By savvily engaging with the event's artifice, Robeson's performances were able to disrupt "the theatrical performance of statecraft."[43]

While there is something troubling about the HUAC's deployment of theatrical tactics, these are conventions that would have been understood, more or less, by the participants; and, like Robeson, a participant may have been able to negotiate his or her public representation. Performances and performatives alike rely on the sharing of conventions; Austin requires strictly "ordinary" circumstances that are understood "completely and correctly" by all participants.[44] In Missoula, the circumstances were extraordinary, and much of the procedure appears to have been provisional or improvised. Ito's answers do not match the questions or the expectations of his interlocutors. And even the paperwork

suggests that the conventions were not fixed; the participants' roles, where they hailed from, and even the spoken testimony are all embellished with handwritten supplements on the summative exhibit.

The print documents offer not only a retrospective record, but they seem to have played a dramatic role during the hearing itself. The following numbered documents appear to circulate in the room: Exhibit 1 is the notice of the hearing itself; Exhibit 2 is the FBI report; Exhibit 3 is Ito's Alien Enemy Questionnaire, in his own hand; and Exhibit 4 is a sheet with the contact information of prominent businessmen and officials. These papers are significant for both their symbolic presence—with Ito marshaling no print evidence of his own—and their rhetorical deployment. The last of the documents, the contact sheet, was in Ito's possession at the time of his apprehension, and the names upon it are wielded as accusations in Exhibit A. While Ito's artistic reputation is shaped by the people he knows (Yeats and Graham and the Dalcroze school) this new list of collaborators (Colonels Endo and Nishi and the Pan Pacific Navigation and Trading Company) leads to the Board's ultimate conclusion, expressed as a feeling: "The Board feels that this particular alien is extremely dangerous to the security of the United States."

This paper trail effectively becomes a paper trial. The Board has come in with a dossier on Ito, while he, representing himself, only *speaks* in response. His spoken testimony is capriciously recorded and added as an auxiliary component to the file. Ito finds himself effectively in a performance for which he is the only one without a script. The power of print, in the extraordinary circumstances of both this hearing and this historical moment, cannot be overestimated. Joshua Takano Chambers-Letson, in his larger study of law and performance, incisively reveals the power of print for protest during the war. Chambers-Letson recounts the work of activists at Heart Mountain Relocation Center, incidentally where Ito's second wife, Tsuyako, was incarcerated.

Chambers-Letson details how Frank Emi and others used the loyalty questionnaires to publicly challenge the government's procedures. When faced with a hearing, Emi insisted on producing a full transcript of the proceedings. As Chambers-Letson notes, Emi and his associates "had very few illusions about the likelihood of actually receiving procedural justice," but they nonetheless were able to "use the theatricality of courtroom examination to force the administration to at least lay bare the true nature of the camps and to do so on the historical record."[45] By demanding that the script be produced—and he later published it—Emi effectively insisted on taking "control of the representation of his body for history."[46] Ito, without his own print materials, was unable to meaningfully collaborate on or command the script of this performance or his representation for history.

Ito is powerless without recourse to his own documentary evidence, and Exhibit A documents his relegation to a minor role within his own hearing. The document is divided into eighteen "Findings of Fact," and it scripts the hearing's main discussion points, the apparent traffic of the stage. The first finding

states simply, "Subject is an alien enemy;" the second names Ito as the "artist of artistic temperament . . . capable of any and all sorts of propaganda, espionage and sabotage." These numbered findings vary in form and content as they proceed: One is four-words long, another almost 150; a few present evidence, some include excerpted testimony, others state bare conclusions. Most are in a straightforward declarative voice, while others assume the stilted sound of procedural documents, "That the alien also made a statement, the gist of which is that he believes in the 'world brotherhood of man.'"

The inconsistency of the document's language indicates the haste of both justice and paperwork in times of national crisis. But the variety of language also indicates the intersection of different modes of discourse, a conjunction comparable to the diverse elements in an artist's work. These findings of fact are paratactical fragments and—like choreographed poses or photographs in an archive—each may stand for an idea, but their meaningful combination remains the more elusive. It is the task of the judge or the critic to connect the dots, to account, explain, and narrativize. The sum of the elements—which according to a different arithmetic is lauded for pioneering modern dance—here is tabulated to mean "extremely dangerous to the security of the United States."

While the event's documentation reads as a historical performance, Exhibit A also provides a clear performative, in Austin's sense: It names something, and that naming does something. Aside from the findings' internal arrangement, the first and last provide a clean arc: "The subject is an alien enemy" and "The Board recommends INTERNMENT." Suspending the particulars that complicate the case, the Board fulfills its wartime juridical function. But those particulars, those individual findings, problematize both the conditions for Austin's performative and Ito's casting as dangerous. The document's own categorical diction, the "Findings of Fact," underscores the Board's procedure. In this trial, of an artist of artistic temperament, the *findings* become just as revealing as the facts, this plural gerund levering the case open to expose its rehearsals and its designs. While "Findings of Fact" dissembles the same authority as "Facts," the alliterative supplement recalls the procedure of the facts' production, reaching beyond the Exhibit and calling as surprise witnesses the remainders of Ito's file.

To open the facts back up to their finding warns against the hazards of summary and recognizes each element apart from the generalized conclusions (which, when stated first, become its prescriptions). It is equivalent to crying "Stop!" in the archive to isolate a sculpted pose. Suspending the document's simple performative—"he who is named an alien enemy shall be interned"—helps to recognize the complexity of Ito's case as well as that of other historical performances. Doing so revalues difference and takes heterogeneity and pluralism seriously. These methodological suggestions seem reasonable and even standard practice in academic discourse, and it is certainly easy to retrospectively question the workings of an instrumental wartime court. Yet, as the case of Michio Ito is remarkable in indicating, the court's procedure is eerily similar to—and therefore instructive for—the practices of our own cultural criticism.

Initial billings and critical summaries circumscribe the readings of the performances they frame, whether they precede or follow them. Ito's artistic reception consistently has found these parallel facts: "The subject is a Japanese Dancer" and "The Board recommends the canonical margins, the role of the 'all-but-forgotten' pioneer." To read Ito differently requires reanimating the material in the archive and acknowledging different logics of association. It means resisting the allure of definitive or stabilizing claims about an artist's life or work, while still striving to find patterns or coherence without imposing it. For both his critical legacy and his legal treatment, the simpler verdicts propose one way of arranging elements, poses, or facts. In other compositions the same materials produce the facts differently. The historical record always remains an adaptable script, subject to the biases and emphases of each reanimation, each story told. Ito's fuller file can explain how artistic temperament can connote espionage, but it also—according to a different arrangement—can question that connection.

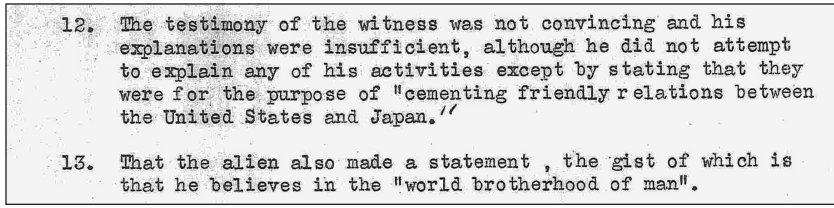
Ito's file is held at the National Archives as part of a series called "World War II Japanese Internee Cards." This series consists of nearly 7,000 files of individuals perceived as potentially dangerous. Ito was not, as early critics suggested, interned and deported solely because of his nationality. He was arrested and held in military detention centers, and his exceptional treatment is clarified by the file. The FBI had been monitoring his activities—that is, finding facts—from as early as 1939. The Bureau's interest was not unusual in and of itself; William J. Mitchell in *F. B. Eyes* has shown the vast breadth and remarkable detail of the FBI's surveillance of artists.[47] This Bureau, composed of G-Men as well as de facto cultural critics, took shape in the mid-1930s under J. Edgar Hoover as the consolidation of existing government agencies. The paper trail on Ito mirrors this consolidation, spanning the letterheads of the local and national offices of the FBI, the attorney general, and later the military. Like many other archives, Ito's file contains uneven correspondence and unmediated notes that contextualize and thicken—while they never quite explain—the events themselves.

The precise origin of the surveillance in 1939 is unclear, but Ito was engaged in several activities, named in Exhibit A, that caught the attention of local and national authorities. In a summative report from after his hearing, there are indications that Ito had been flaunting sudden, unexplained wealth and that his own son apparently spoke out regarding his father's connections to Japan.[48] Regardless of the precise starting point, Ito's business dealings and his private life were hardly clandestine through this period, as he had attained reasonable celebrity by the mid-thirties. His ugly divorce from Hazel Wright in 1936, where she publicly accused him of drinking, neglect, and abuse, was covered not only in the Los Angeles papers but also by the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Daily Tribune*.[49] These accusations, while certainly impugning his character, did not in and of themselves warrant the attention of the FBI. Their interest was piqued by his financial dealings; they followed the money.

Ito maintained the appearance of a fairly lavish lifestyle, but his earnings did not approach the figures he sometimes boasted. His penchant for exaggeration, apparent in his memoir, transferred to his bankbooks. He told his former student and biographer Helen Caldwell that he earned $100,000 in the movies in 1929, but Mary-Jean Cowell has found evidence that the sum was closer to $1,500.[50] On the Alien Enemy Questionnaire he completed in 1941, he would list his salary as nearer that latter sum: he made $100 a week but sheepishly added, "when I am employed." His money troubles garnered official notice when he missed child support payments after the divorce. In a Department of Justice memo, dated November 18, 1941, an official notes, "It is probable that no technical grounds for deportation exist" for missing the $15 weekly payments, but he recommends that the "espionage aspect of this case be developed without delay." The government was looking for something else. The "espionage aspect" came to be associated with Ito's efforts to address his income shortfall. During the Great Depression and into the 1930s, Ito looked for revenue sources beyond his work as a choreographer and dance teacher, and his wide network offered a range of opportunities. The FBI identified Ito's business activities by monitoring his bank account, and Ito sporadically made large deposits. The precise sources of these funds are unknown but there are a few probable suspects.

In the late thirties, Ito had become involved with the Pan Pacific Navigation and Trading Company, a business venture seeking, among other things, to sell oil to Japan. This activity was not illegal but was politically dubious—Washington was taking very careful steps to restrict trade with Japan, while still technically maintaining diplomatic neutrality. In any event, Ito's role in Pan Pacific seems to have been very minor; lacking any real knowledge of international business, his actions were limited to providing introductions during his travels. His primary associate with Pan Pacific was Frank McLaughlin, the former Director of Public Welfare in San Francisco. McLaughlin, while much more involved in Pan Pacific than Ito, was not as easily typecast as an alien enemy. In his own testimony, McLaughlin corroborates the insignificance of Ito's role: "ITO was obviously a well-educated man but . . . He had no knowledge of business matters and he apparently had no interest in Pan-Pacific." In a seized letter from before the war, Ito was enthusiastic about the company's prospects and offered to put McLaughlin in touch with an unnamed "associate." But in this letter, Ito makes explicit to McLaughlin that he was not in "any manner an agent or representative of the Japanese government." Neither McLaughlin's nor Ito's disavowal appears in the summative Exhibit A, though they now are part of the same file.

Regardless of the extent of his involvement, Ito was naïve about how this affiliation would be read. When questioned on February 13, it was to these accusations that Ito responded that he was seeking to "'cement friendly relations between this country and Japan.'" This remark is part of Finding 4. In Finding 12, the statement is repeated differently: Ito's quoted purpose shifts



12. The testimony of the witness was not convincing and his explanations were insufficient, although he did not attempt to explain any of his activities except by stating that they were for the purpose of "cementing friendly relations between the United States and Japan."

13. That the alien also made a statement , the gist of which is that he believes in the "world brotherhood of man".

Figure 4: From the Report of the Alien Enemy Hearing Board, February 13, 1942.(Courtesy of World War II Japanese Internee Cards, 1941–1947, The National Archives.

to "'*cementing* friendly relations between *the United States* and Japan'" (my emphasis). And the document adjudicates the statement's meaning *before* repeating it (in)correctly: "The testimony of the witness was not convincing and his explanations were insufficient." The record reveals the slippage of transcription—the handwritten close quote becomes especially telling—and indicates the treatment of speech in the hearing itself. Ito's spoken responses are brushed aside, treated as diversions from the script, while the bravado of the prescribed conclusions persists.

In this unconvincing spirit of friendly relations, Ito sought to produce art that would reconcile the two countries' differences. He may have received arts funding from Japan, and his involvement in such projects was viewed as propagandism. In the FBI files there is a report suggesting that Ito considered making a film to improve the perception of the Japanese American community. He was horrified by the newsreels of the bombing of Shanghai in 1937 and became concerned, with good reason, that the event would be unfairly linked with Japanese Americans in the public imagination. This project never materialized.

Ito was, however, in regular contact with the Japanese Embassy and made several trips to Tokyo. In 1940, an FBI agent became suspicious when he had "no information as to ITO's reasons for returning to Japan," although some of Ito's activities were well documented in the press. During this mysterious trip, for example, Ito and his siblings mounted the first Japanese production of *At the Hawk's Well* for the occasion of their parents' fiftieth anniversary. The English-language newspaper, the *Japan Times*, ran two articles praising the production, but these reviews apparently escaped American surveillance.[51] By the time of his hearing, Ito's many personal and professional reasons for his trips were reduced to one: "alien visited Japan and attended the 2600th celebration of the founding of the Japanese empire."

Beyond this file and the hearing, there are records that suggest that Ito wrote blatant propaganda against the United States after he returned to Japan, as James R. Brandon reveals in *Kabuki's Forgotten War*. In an article published a year after his return, Ito lambasts American race relations and popular culture before concluding: "'Americans are ignorant of any spirit of sacrifice (*gisei*) or forbearance (*nintai*),' and therefore, 'their barbaric culture must be

destroyed.'"[52] But this document was published after Ito's two-year internment, and to read it as a *cause* for his treatment would be anachronistic; indeed, it quite plausibly could be read as the *result*. The document does provide a glimpse of Ito's reintegration to a Japan at war after being abroad for thirty years, and it indicates that he immediately assumed a role as a public figure. But it does not necessarily reflect back on the Ito of 1941, on the character performed in Missoula.[53]

While the hearing documents call Ito an alien enemy and an artist, these billings mostly serve as general characterizations of the more specific suspicions: the list of contacts, the Pan Pacific, his mysterious cash flow, the trips to Japan. None of these associations indicates an immediate threat to national security, but their combination suggests a questionable character worthy of scrutiny. Roger Daniels writes that during this period the U.S. "government acted largely on the theory of guilt by association," and in this light, what joins Ito to the other suspects is his public visibility.[54] Guilty by association, the problem was not in any one of Ito's acts, statements, or poses, but in the artist's ability to shift among so many, so fluidly, and often before large and influential audiences. Ito's "artistic temperament" emerges as the vaguely worded but crucial logic of suspicion, linking certain poses to other possible poses and, in their accumulation, to a probabilistic kind of guilt. Indeed, nine months before Pearl Harbor, Ito's file reveals that he had been officially cast as dangerous, but they needed a war to arrest him. In March 1941, J. Edgar Hoover specifically recommended Ito's detention, "in the event of a national emergency." The existence of this memo—and presumably hundreds like it—explains the efficient wave of apprehensions after Pearl Harbor. The FBI was ready for a national emergency and had a list of potentially dangerous Japanese. When the war presented itself, a case had already been made against Michio Ito, and it bore a powerful signature.

At the hearing, up against documentary evidence that he is formally unable to counter, Ito's performance falters. Presented with the suspicious if inconclusive charges, Ito has trouble denying a certain shiftiness, what the Board might call his temperament. Ito was naïve, and, in his defense he "made a statement, the gist of which is that he believes in the 'world brotherhood of man.'" For the record, his statement is not reproduced, and its phrasing is lost. Just its gist remains, ghosted as a quotation that might be a paraphrase or a stenographer's transcription of tired disbelief.

The range of Ito's castings—as an Oriental boy, a Japanese dancer, an international artist, a naïve businessman, and a bad husband—suggest that he could be "an artist of artistic temperament," and according to the Board's grammar that unequivocally means he is "capable of any and all sorts of propaganda, espionage, and sabotage." The Hearing Board does not try Ito for what he has done, for who he is, or even for what he represents, but rather for his *capability*, for all of the things he could do or represent. His ability to pose is its own dangerous pose. He is accused of potential actions, of being many things during a war, and this leads to juridical discomfort, indefinite detention, and eventual deportation.

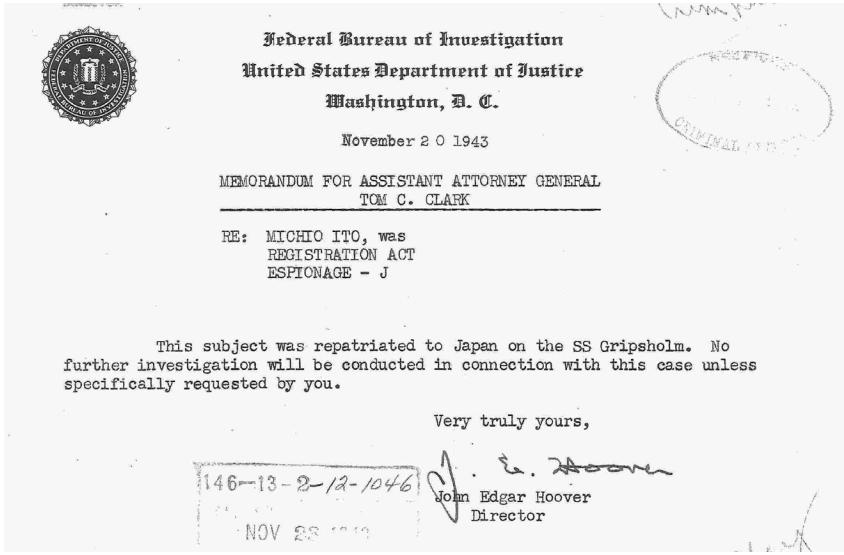
ESPIONAGE - J

After his hearing the United States did not quite know what to do with Michio Ito. In 23 months, Ito's course veered off of modernism's—and even the so-called internment's—usual maps. Ito was not held in any of the ten War Relocation Authority camps like the other 110,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans. These camps, such as Manzanar, Topaz, and Tule Lake, are those more commonly represented in stories of the internment, by authors and artists such as Jeanne Watatsuki, Miné Okubo, and Dorothea Lange. Ito was separated from his wife, Tsuyako, who was held at Heart Mountain, and he moved between at least four Justice Department and Army detention centers, camps that included European prisoners in addition to Japanese. Even Ito's internment was international.

After the hearing in Missoula, Ito was moved to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in April 1942, and then to Camp Livingston, Louisiana. From Camp Livingston there is a single, nearly indecipherable document, a review of a kind, of Ito's camp behavior: He received good marks for his physical and mental condition, but his "General attitude and cooperativeness with Camp authorities" were deemed "Unfavorable." After nearly two years in the camps, Ito agreed to repatriation and finally moved on to Santa Fe, New Mexico, where he was reunited with his wife, in preparation for their departure. On November 20, 1943, J. Edgar Hoover personally concluded the case of Michio Ito, sending a two-line memo to the assistant attorney general. This memo, with the subject line "ESPIONAGE - J," indicates that Michio Ito had been sent back to Japan on the SS *Gripsholm*, an ocean liner on the Swedish American line, conscripted for the war. The memo's subject line passes a further condensed verdict on Ito's prewar activities; it is the most efficient review of the period.

However, back in Tokyo after the war and after nearly thirty years abroad, Ito was employed by the American government. He was hired as the head choreographer at the army-run Ernie Pyle Theatre and charged with entertaining the Occupation troops.[57] In the new postwar context, Ito's status as an international artist was again read differently. The American government shifted its interpretative choreography, and Ito's time in Europe and the United States now bolstered his professional credentials in postwar Japan. He eventually would open an influential school and direct popular theater and dance productions. Upon his return, Ito became a cultural emissary to his own country of origin—strangely—a native informant with the culture, fine manners, education, and artistic temperament to produce international art in his hometown, paid for by the Occupation government. This late career stage does not override or contradict the wartime suspicions about Ito, but it does stress the inconsistency of the government's reading. It does provide a last, forceful reminder of the heterogeneous composition of the archive, of any artist's career, and indeed of any person's character.

The interpretative ambiguity Ito inspires, his capricious *capability*, is what makes his artistic output challenging, inspiring, and provocative, wherever it traveled. In one pose, Ito's "genius of movement" helped invent a new form of



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

November 2 0 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL
TOM C. CLARK

RE: MICHIO ITO, was
REGISTRATION ACT
ESPIONAGE - J

This subject was repatriated to Japan on the SS Gripsholm. No further investigation will be conducted in connection with this case unless specifically requested by you.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

146-13-2-12-1046

NOV

Figure 5: Memo from J. Edgar Hoover to the Assistant Attorney General, from November 20, 1943. Courtesy of World War II Japanese Internee Cards, 1941–1947, The National Archives.

drama; in another, he may have introduced modern European stage design and Japanese classical theater to the United States; and near the end of his life, he would be called on to choreograph on the world stage for the Tokyo Olympic Games.[58] His career might be characterized by his "desire to bring together East and West" or it might be "not anything—only [himself]."[59] The point, as performance and performativity have long instructed, is that identity—legal, artistic, or otherwise—is neither fixed nor essential but emerges through its continued iteration. This process is conventional and contingent on the ongoing actions of the participants, including scholars. The procedures of an extraordinary historical moment, rather than being dismissed as aberrational or infelicitous, instead should be marshaled to illuminate the subtle, conventional logics of the seemingly routine. Peculiar cases such as Ito's serve as a caution for our own complicities in the critical equivalents of casting and characterization, highlighting the stakes of what it means—within our own shifting poses—to write about the work of a Japanese dancer, a modernist, or a forgotten and remembered pioneer.

Notes

I would like to acknowledge the generous contributions and suggestions of the anonymous readers, as well as those of Carrie Preston, Julia Faisst, Nao Nomura, Kay Miyoshi, Nick Hengen Fox, Josh Garrett-Davis, Josephine Lee, Dan Farbman, Werner Sollors, Cheryl Julia Lee, Justin Ian Chia, and Sarah Siow Daud.

1. After an American declaration of war, any citizen of the enemy nation residing in the United States is officially an "enemy alien," or "alien enemy," and therefore subject to arrest.

2. There has been significant discussion over the terminology used to describe the experience of Japanese and Japanese Americans during World War II. The War Relocation Authority referred to its camps as "relocation centers," while President Roosevelt famously preferred "concentration camps"—a term that cannot escape its later associations with Nazism. Common parlance has adopted "internment," which is historically inaccurate: As Roger Daniels indicates, "internment" describes the detention of foreign nationals during wartime, and most of the 110,000 evacuees (another contested term) were American citizens. Daniels therefore prefers "incarceration" to describe the experience of the populations displaced by Executive Order 9066, and I follow this usage. Ito then, is technically "interned," though its colloquial use complicates the term's use as a way of distinguishing his more unusual experience. See Roger Daniels, "Words Do Matter: A Note on Inappropriate Terminology and the Incarceration of the Japanese Americans," in *Nikkei in the Pacific Northwest: Japanese Americans and Japanese Canadians in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Louis Fiset and Gail Nomura (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 190–214.

3. The government documents cited throughout this article are held in the "World War II Japanese Internee Cards, 1941–1947" collection at the National Archives at College Park in College Park, Maryland.

4. Notably, and perhaps understandably, Ito does not revisit this period in his own memoir.

5. Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Introduction: Performativity and Performance," in *Performativity and Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 8.

6. J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 16, 22.

7. Parker and Sedgwick, "Introduction," 4. These principles largely emerge from Jacques Derrida's influential of reading of Austin. See Derrida, "Signature, Event, Context." *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

8. Yutian Wong, "Artistic Utopias: Michio Ito and the Trope of the International," in *Worlding Dance*, ed. Susan Leigh Foster (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 149. Wong pulls this phrase from reviews of recent Ito revivals.

9. Ian Carruthers, "A Translation of Fifteen Pages of Ito Michio's Autobiography 'Utsukushiku naru Kyōshito,'" *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 2, no. 1 (1976): 33.

10. Ibid., 40. While the facts of Ito's story are rich in their own right, he culled a personal mythology and was prone to exaggerations and blatant lies: In his biography, for example, he invents a six-month spiritual and professional pilgrimage to Egypt that never happened. Mary-Jean Cowell and Satoru Shimazaki verify its fabrication in their essay "East and West in the Work of Michio Ito," *Dance Research Journal* 26, no. 2 (1994): 19–20. Some of the episodes from the Europe period, before Ito was a public figure, similarly may be embellished or invented.

11. Carruthers, "A Translation of Fifteen Pages," 33.

12. Ibid., 36.

13. At these parties, the Oriental aesthetic was provided for Ito: The host would provide a box of costumes, "magnificent sheiks' costumes—not the imitations that one wears on a stage either—the gold thread glistened beautifully" (37). As with the well-dressed street cleaners, Ito maintains a sensitivity for appearances and to performances that happen offstage. He appreciates the garments' details, registering the authenticity of his inauthentic performance, clothed in the materials of another imperial wealth.

14. Ibid., 39.

15. Wong, "Artistic Utopias,"150.

16. Ito's departure would stunt Yeats's subsequent dramatic work. Yeats claimed that *At the Hawk's Well* was made possible by Ito, and his absence made Yeats's playwrighting, for a time, impossible. As Richard Taylor writes, Ito was not only crucial at the inception but through the after-life of their collaboration: "Yeats had lost Ito Michio . . . and the subsequent plays for dancers remained largely unproduced because of difficulty in finding trained performers adequate to the conception." See Taylor, *The Drama of W. B. Yeats: Irish Myth and the Japanese No* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), 167.

17. Harriette Underhill, "Michio Itow," *New York Tribune*, August 19, 1917, Section 4.

18. Mary-Jean Cowell, "Michio Ito in Hollywood: Modes and Ironies of Ethnicity." *Dance Chronicle* 3, no. 24 (2001): 276. Critics offer different reasons for the California move, but it was likely motivated by money. As his internment file later testifies, despite attention to high-class appearances Ito had longstanding financial woes. In light of his relative poverty Ito pursued more commercial work in California, and consequently his control of his self-representation diminished, especially on film.

19. Helen Caldwell, *Michio Ito: The Dancer and His Dances* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 95. Ito's symphonic dances, which often featured more than a hundred dancers, certainly drew large crowds; 20,000, a figure Caldwell takes from a review, is higher than most other sources' figures, which typically put it closer to 5,000; see, for example, Naima Prevots, *Dancing*

in the Sun: Hollywood Choreographers, 1915–1937 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1987), 184. Perhaps the reviewer shared Ito's own penchant for exaggeration.

20. Wong, "Artistic Utopias," 154.

21. Caldwell, *Michio Ito*, 85. Caldwell notes that even before the move to California Ito had stopped composing pieces for himself.

22. Ibid., 105.

23. Mary-Jean Cowell and Satoru Shimazaki, "East and West in the Work of Michio Ito," *Dance Research Journal* 26, no. 2 (1994): 19–20.

24. Underhill, "Michio Itow." This quotation has become something of a refrain in Ito criticism. It appears in both of Cowell's essays and serves to conclude the Hollywood essay.

25. Wong, "Artistic Utopias," 145.

26. In parallel to the erasure-inscription formulation, Wong indicates how his legacy is a memory-near-forgetting, with a "melancholic aura."

27. Carrie Preston, "Michio Ito's Shadow: Searching for the Transnational in Solo Dance," in *On Stage Alone: Soloists and the Modern Dance Canon*, ed. Claudia Gitelman and Barbara Palfy (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2012), 9.

28. Preston, "Modernism's Dancing Marionettes: Oskar Schlemmer, Michel Fokine, and Ito Michio," *Modernist Cultures* 9, no. 1 (2014): 128.

29. Preston, "Michio Ito's Shadow," 9.

30. Wong, "Artistic Utopias," 146.

31. In the intervening years, U.S. immigration laws continued to change, both in general and for immigrants of particular backgrounds. The major legal shifts occurred around the Immigration Act of 1924, which was specifically designed to limit immigration from eastern and southern Europe; see Roger Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill and Wang), 15. While the Japanese government negotiated special consideration for its citizens, an amendment to the bill effectively foreclosed the opportunity for any Japanese nationals to attain American citizenship.

32. Midori Takeishi, *Japanese Elements in Michio Ito's Early Period (1915–1924): Meetings of East and West in the Collaborative Work*, ed. David Pacum (Tokyo: Gendaisho, 2006), 69.

33. Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial*, 4. Daniels begins his study of Japanese Americans in World War II much earlier, in 1850, to show how 1941–1945 was "merely a link in a chain of racism that stretched back to the earliest contacts between Asians and whites on American soil" (3).

34. Cowell, "Michio Ito in Hollywood," 279. Cowell notes that the source material for this film, *Dawn of the East* (of which no print survives), features "appalling yellow peril imagery and rhetoric," corroborating Ito's seeming unease with Hollywood (277).

35. The Alien Enemy Act includes a provision to require "a legal determination of who is a 'native' or 'citizen.'" In subsequent cases it turned out that "nativity trumps citizenship as a determinant" of an alien enemy's status—so anyone born in the relevant country is subject to the act. See J. Gregory Sidak, "War, Liberty, and Enemy Aliens," *New York University Law Review* 67 (1992): 1423.

36. The Alien Enemy Act was designed together with the more infamous Alien and Sedition Acts; see ibid., 1406. Unlike the other two acts, the Alien Enemy Act remains on the books and was exercised during the War of 1812 and the First and Second World Wars.

37. "Alien Enemies—Japanese; A Proclamation," 6 *Federal Register* 239 (December 10, 1941), 6323.

38. Sidak, "War, Liberty, and Enemy Aliens," 1417.

39. Tara Rodman has discovered some of the few materials from this period in Japanese archives. See her "Modernist Moves: Itō Michio and Transnational Modern Dance" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, forthcoming).

40. Mary-Jean Cowell, "Biography," Michio Ito Foundation, accessed September 7, 2015, http://www.michioito.org/#!about/cjg9.

41. Tetsuden Kashima, *Judgment without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004), 109. Most of the Japanese Alien Enemies had hearings at Fort Missoula, before being forwarded on to different relocation centers or military bases. The Italian population was held separately, and there was little interaction between the two groups; Kashima does note, however, that the two groups occasionally did play softball together.

42. Tony Perucci, *Paul Robeson and the Cold War Performance Complex: Race, Madness, Activism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 35.

43. Ibid., 42.

44. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, 22, 15.

45. Joshua Takano Chambers-Letson, *A Race So Different: Performance and Law in Asian America* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), 126.

46. Ibid., 125.

47. William J. Maxwell, *F.B. Eyes: How J. Edgar Hoover's Ghostreaders Framed African American Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015). Maxwell shows how the FBI

effectively produced an expansive body of literary criticism on African American literature across the twentieth century.

48. In her new book Carrie Preston relays the Ito family's version of these events. Apparently Jerry Ito boasted to a friend that "his father was an important representative of the Japanese government, and the boy's mother, Margaret Easley, contacted the FBI"; see *Learning to Kneel: Noh, Modernism, and Journeys in Teaching* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 104.

49. Wong, "Artistic Utopias," 145.

50. Cowell, "Michio Ito in Hollywood," 281.

51. Caldwell, *Michio Ito*, 165.

52. James R. Brandon, *Kabuki's Forgotten War: 1931–1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), 293.

53. Rodman has found evidence of Ito's exposure to and engagement with extremist political discourse during his internment with other alien enemies; the extent to which he adopted these ideas as his own is less clear.

54. Daniels, *Prisoners without Trial*, 26.

55. W. B. Yeats, "Certain Noble Plays of Japan," *Essays and Introductions* (New York: Collier, 1961), 236.

56. Underhill, "Michio Itow."

57. Cowell, "Michio Ito in Hollywood," 263.

58. Yeats, W. B., "Certain Noble Plays of Japan," *Essays and Introductions* (New York: Collier, 1961), 236. Ito's designs for the Olympics remained unrealized as he passed away in 1961.

59. Underhill, "Michio Itow."