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Library Exclusion and the Rise of Japanese Bookstores in Prewar Honolulu

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Abstract

Research on the history of print culture and library service to immigrants in America has almost exclusively focused on European immigration to the East Coast. Such a narrative sidelines the experience of Asian Americans, among others. This article explores how the Library of Hawaii, which was the main public library in prewar Hawai'i, ignored the needs of Japanese immigrants at a time when they made up the largest ethnic group. In 1940, there were 157,905 Japanese Americans in Hawai'i, including the first generation *Issei*, many of whom had limited English proficiency, as well as the Hawai'i-born *Nisei* or second generation. Excluded from the public library, the Issei created their own rich print culture, including at least 41 stores selling Japanese-language books. This paper is based on archival sources and published reports to cover the Library's history. In addition, the forgotten history of Japanese bookstores and reading in Honolulu will be brought to light by mining articles and advertisements that appeared in Honolulu's Japanese American newspapers between the late 1800s and the beginning of World War II, when Japanese bookselling came to an abrupt end. The paper makes advances in terms of research approaches for the study of immigrant print culture and also offers insight for librarians today to reflect on, when they consider the challenge of serving immigrants.

Keywords: Hawai'i; Japanese Americans; library exclusion; library history; print culture

Publication Type: research article

Introduction

American librarians are increasingly embracing the vision of Jaeger et al. (2015) that libraries are social service institutions and human rights advocates. In many communities, a key part of this vision is serving immigrants with world language collections, literacy programs, and other services. Although reasons for extensive library services for and outreach to immigrant communities in the early 20th century could be interpreted differently, it cannot be denied that many libraries acted as missionaries to promote collections, services, and programs targeted at new immigrants, focusing on introducing English and American governance. Some libraries excelled in such efforts, while others did not make immigrant outreach or services a priority. Many of the success stories came from the East Coast and Midwest, where librarians embraced European immigrants. Much less is known about library services to Asian immigrants on the West Coast or Pacific. This article attempts to begin filling this gap by looking at the experience of Japanese immigrants to Hawai'i around a century ago.[1] It focuses on how the Territory's public library was not responsive to the immigrant community's desire to read in their native language, something we now recognize as a fundamental human right.[2] This tacit exclusion led Japanese Americans to develop their own commercial reading sphere that could satisfy their hunger for

books and magazines.

Hawai‘i in 1940 was home to one of the largest Japanese ethnic communities outside of the Japanese Empire. That year's census showed that the Japanese American community grew to 157,905 people, accounting for over 37% of people living in the Territory of Hawai‘i. This Japanese American community created a vibrant cultural landscape and print culture in both English and Japanese, which included at least 41 stores selling Japanese language books and magazines in Honolulu alone between 1896 and 1942. Today, only one bookshop remains.

In this paper, we explore how the Japanese immigrant print culture emerged, and how it served as an antithesis to the relative indifference displayed by the Territory's public library towards Japanese language readers. In order to do so, we will begin by briefly summarizing (1) the history of Japanese immigration to Hawai‘i, (2) library service to immigrants in early 20th-century America, and (3) the history of the Territory's public library, the Library of Hawaii. Along the way we will also introduce our research methods based on ethnographic textual reading of primary historical records. Only a few local Japanese histories offer at least a sketchy description of a few bookstores or readers scattered in such sections as local businesses, culture, or social/pastime activities; however, beyond those few anecdotal stories, this article is the first dedicated to Japanese bookstores and reading in Hawai‘i. In our research, we chiefly rely on Japanese-language newspapers in Honolulu and primary materials housed in the Hawai‘i State Archives and the University of Hawai‘i special collections, triangulating this information using immigrant community histories, yearbooks, histories, unpublished diaries, and census records and other data found at Ancestry.com. This is the first known article uniquely focused on the Japanese print culture and bookstores in Hawai‘i.

A Brief Account of Japanese Immigration to Hawai‘i

Immigration is always a story of forces pushing and pulling within a wider global socio-economic context; how the story is told depends on the chosen vantage point. For Native Hawaiians, or *Kanaka Maoli*, 1778 is a key date—over a century before the arrival of Japanese immigrants—when Captain James Cook "discovered" the Hawaiian Islands. This European contact led to visits by whalers and traders who brought diseases that decimated much of the Kanaka population. The foreigners pillaged the land for sandalwood and other natural resources. Missionaries also came and settled, transforming Kanaka culture and beliefs. The missionaries' children had the most impact. Many became advisers to Hawai‘i's monarchs and used their position to enrich themselves with land, which was later exploited for large sugar and pineapple plantations. These European American settlers initially recruited Chinese laborers to work on plantations, and then later recruited Japanese workers; these Asian settlers had to follow the brutal "Masters and Servants Act" (*Na Haku A Me Na Kauwa*) (Beechert, 1985). Under that system, plantation workers were not called by name, but by their *bango*, or tag number, a practice borrowed from Southern slave plantations (University of Hawai‘i, 2018). This indentured system ended with American annexation, but it obviously determined how European Americans (or *haole*, in local parlance) and Kanaka viewed Asian Americans (Beechert, 1985).

For Japanese workers, the appeal of employment in Hawai‘i came at a time when many were displaced by the disruption of Meiji era industrialization, from peasant farmers and craftsmen to former *samurai* [traditional warriors], thus representing both ends of the class structure.[3] The first group was allowed to leave Japan in 1868. Larger cohorts emigrated to Hawai‘i starting in 1885, which was in the final years of the Hawaiian Kingdom's reign (1795-1893) and continued into Hawai‘i's Republic period (1894-1898) and finally into the first half of the U.S. Territorial

era (1900-1924). The Territorial era lasted until 1959, but the 1924 Immigration Act halted Japanese immigration to Hawai'i.[4] After completing their initial labor contracts, some Japanese stayed on plantations, while others found other work in cities like Honolulu, left for the American continent, or returned to Japan. Many of those *Issei* (first generation) male immigrants later brought wives to Hawai'i and established coffee farms or other small businesses. Thus, these "sojourners" became "settlers."[5] Despite the decision of many Issei to live in Hawai'i, Japanese immigrants were largely forbidden from becoming U.S. citizens until racist legislation was replaced in 1952. However, the Issei's children (the *Nisei*, the second generation) and grandchildren (the *Sansei*) were American citizens by birth.

Haole sugar and pineapple planters tried to recruit laborers from various countries in order to prevent workers from organizing or striking to improve their harsh conditions; however, Japanese American workers did just this in 1909 and 1920. The 1920 labor action was more successful, as they cooperated with Filipino American workers instead of letting planters pit different ethnic groups against each other. The process of organizing led Issei workers towards developing class consciousness and reaching the improved pay and working conditions (Okihiro, 1991).[6] Regardless of whether Japanese American families stayed at or left the plantations, their children went to public schools in Hawai'i. By 1928, Nisei children made up 52% of all public-school students in the Territory (Tamura, 1994, p. 30). Despite their citizen status, Japanese Americans in Hawai'i faced continued discrimination and palpable glass ceilings. In the next sections, after a brief review of the history of American library service for immigrants, we will explore how Hawai'i's public library served (or underserved) Japanese Americans in the prewar times.

Public Library Service to Immigrants in North America

Many people may see libraries as an organic foundation of every American community, but it is important to remember that, like all institutions, they are shaped in response to changing socio-political and economic conditions. Immigration is a core part of the library creation narrative, starting in New England. Established in 1852, the Boston Public Library was the model tax-supported public library, established by elite philanthropists who professed belief in sharing reading materials for the general public in order to promote democracy and prosperity. The Brahmin (Boston's Protestant elites) who founded the library also had other agendas. One of them was their anxiety that Irish Catholic immigrants, who arrived in large numbers following the Great Irish Famine (1845–1852), would soon become Boston's largest ethnic and religious group. These immigrants benefited greatly from Boston's creation of public schools, public hospitals, and the public library. In a controversial article, library historian Michael Harris applied Gramscian analysis[7] to suggest that the library was created as an agent of social control over these immigrants. Harris argued:

> Boston's Brahmins were especially unhappy about the flood of ignorant and rough immigrants into this country. The standing committee of the Boston Public Library noted that the people of Boston spent large sums of money on education each year, and their reasons were quite explicit: "We educate to restrain from vice, as much as to inculcate sentiments of virtue; we educate to enable men to resist the temptation to evil, as well as to encourage and strengthen the incentives to do good." But, the committee continued, these times require special vigilance. (Harris, 1975, p. 6)

Harris explores how the Boston Public Library codified different classes of readers with different reading rooms and collections. Harris' article caused perhaps the most epic debate in the field of library history. Columbia University Library Historian, Phyllis Dain (1978) questioned Harris'

method and argued that he overgeneralized about the nature of libraries by focusing on the Boston Public Library. Dain (1972) shared her own research on the New York Public Library, which was formed out of a merger of several private and ethnic libraries. Their debate was not only printed in specialized historical journals but appeared in the profession's leading trade periodical, *The Library Journal*.

Despite their differences, both Harris and Dain agreed that services for immigrants were central to the library narrative, which was also evident from other works. Echoing Harris, Jones' 1999 classic *Libraries, Immigrants, and the American Experience*, which traced the history of the American Library Association (ALA) Committee on Work with the Foreign Born (operational between 1917 and 1948), also observed that librarians of the time period frequently identified with social workers and other social reformers as missionaries of Americanization. Developing foreign language collections and promotional materials that explained library services in many languages was a key part of the Americanization campaign. Gradually, librarians' attitudes and philosophy with regard to immigrants had changed, as Jones observes, progressing from "angloconformity, [to] melting pot, or cultural pluralism" (1999, p. 2). Based on the facts and arguments advanced by Harris, Dain, and Jones, it would be logical to assume that the Boston Brahmin, who were the missionaries and traders in early Hawai'i, would have wanted their library to follow the Boston model, irrespective of their agenda and reasons for engaging immigrants. However, it was not necessarily the case, as will be shown below.

The Origins of the Library of Hawaii

The Honolulu Library and Reading Room Association (HLRRA) was officially established with a royal charter on June 24, 1879. A write-up in the local annual claimed the HLRRA "is organized on the most broad and liberal basis, the membership being open to all respectable persons of sixteen years old or upwards at an entrance fee of $1.50 per month without any distinction of race, creed nationality or sex or nationality" (Thrum, 1880, pp. 26–28). Despite the egalitarian language, this private library mostly served Honolulu's European American population, although it did welcome both genders. A review of the hundreds of memberships listed in its Register shows that almost all names suggest European descent. The number of Japanese subscribers was small (Honolulu Library and Reading Room Association, n.d.). Tachihata (1981) makes a general observation that "only a few Hawaiians and the exceptional Asian were able to read English," and "even fewer were interested in the use of libraries" (p. 32).[8] It is true that the five Japanese names which appeared in the library's membership were elite among the immigrant community, including a doctor, priests, and a banker, but it is equally interesting to see that their subscriptions did not last for more than a few months. This shows that at least one librarian saw fit to approve their applications; however, this may also suggest that they did not feel welcomed and included, which led them to discontinue their membership. The library subscribed to a number of world language items but never purchased anything in Japanese. This is a pattern that we will see in the publicly funded Library of Hawaii throughout the next half-century, as we will see in the following section (Honolulu Library and Reading Room Association, n.d.).[9]

The HLRRA subscription library's financial state was poor. At the same time, K-12 school teachers in Honolulu clamored for more books for their students. The situation motivated two of Hawai'i's Washington-appointed governors to try securing funding from Andrew Carnegie for a library building (Ramachandran, 1973). After several years of negotiations, it was agreed to have the Territory provide space and the usual 10% of the building budget for library funding in order to meet the eligibility criteria for a Carnegie grant to build what would become the Library of

Hawaii. The HLRRA subscription library agreed to contribute its collection in exchange for a position on the public library's board of trustees. The governor would always allocate another board position to an officer of the Hawaiian Historical Society, which also shared the library space. The board's minutes show the remaining appointments went to Christian clergy and other *haole* elites. Edna Allyn, the HLRRA's librarian became the librarian at the new public library, where she served as a head librarian until her death in 1927.

Library Service to Japanese Americans

It is not surprising that many subscription libraries were akin to elite clubs, but there is an expectation that a public library, funded by taxpayers' money, should provide services to all community members. In reality, though, the Library of Hawaii ignored the reading needs of Japanese immigrants for at least the first three decades of its operation as a public library and improved only slightly at the following stage. By 1910, during the period between the public library's establishment and the completion of the Carnegie Library, there were 191,909 people in the Territory, with Japanese Americans comprising 41.5% of the population (79,675 people); this clearly made them the largest ethnic group in the Territory (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1913, p. 9). This fact notwithstanding, there is no evidence that the Library[10] attempted to serve Japanese Americans for the first few decades.

Librarians wrote in general terms about Americanizing Japanese children in some annual reports, reflecting both the wider Americanization movement discussed above and the local conditions in Hawai'i, where elites now feared that racists in the Congress and media would hinder Hawai'i's chances at statehood on account of their dissatisfaction with the large Asian population on the islands.[11] In a 1920s letter, one librarian lamented that "lack of funds precluded the purchase of Hawaiian and Japanese books requested by patrons in hospitals" (Tachihata, 1981, pp. 135, 164). The Library never seemed to find funds for Japanese books in their general or reference collections either. At the same time, Library annual reports and monthly board statements show the purchase of books in Russian, Greek, French, and Latin. It is true that the Library was underfunded vis-à-vis ALA recommendations for per capita spending; however, this may also indicate that the Library deprioiritized requests for Japanese language collections in its budget, despite the readers' demand. It is not clear if the decision not to acquire Japanese-language materials was made by Ms. Allyn as the librarian or by the Library trustees, but this policy continued throughout the pre-war era.[12]

The policy of deprioritizing materials in Japanese or other Asian languages despite popular demand ran contrary to the trend observed in most American urban libraries, which tried to secure books in languages other than English in order to bring in immigrants and their children: Swedish immigrants in Minnesota; Jewish and Chinese in New York; and Polish immigrants in Cleveland (Novotny, 2003, pp. 342–352; Jones, 1999). Even considering the relative geographic distance from continental urban centers to Hawai'i, it is unlikely that librarians on the islands were not aware of the trends in other libraries. Each year the Library Trustees sent a staff member to attend the ALA Annual Conference. These librarians often took a month or two to make the journey, doing research visits at many public libraries along the way (Hawai'i Department of Education, n.d.) Furthermore, Ms. Allyn herself was a graduate of the Case Western University Library School and later worked at the Cleveland Public Library, which became a national leader in serving immigrants. Beyond that, the Library received annual updates from ALA's Committee for Work with the Foreign Born in the monthly *ALA Bulletin*.

In 1936, nearly a quarter-century after the Library's opening, and nine years after Ms. Allyn's death, the Library finally allowed Japanese books in the collection, although it still did not engage in the systematic acquisition of Japanese books. The change came about when the Japanese community decided to create a Japanese reference collection on its own. The Library of Hawaii trustees allowed what it called the "Oriental Collection" in an alcove on the second floor. It took over a year and a trip to Japan for Japanese community leaders to collect 3,000 books in both Japanese and English (Bazzell, 2002, p. 61). In this way, the Japanese-language collection matched the Library's Daughters of the American Revolution Genealogy Collection, the Hawaiian Historical Society collection, and what would later be called the of Hawai'i and Pacific Collection. While the Library deserves some credit for allocating space for the Oriental Collection, the collection itself could not be attributed to Library efforts or initiatives. In essence, the Library continued disregarding the reading and information needs of Japanese immigrants. Moreover, the Library threatened—twice—to close the Oriental Collection if the Japanese community stopped funding the salary of a custodian who maintained it.

Very little funds were expended on Japanese-language books, although some titles were purchased from the Japanese book distributor Maruzen in 1916 (Library of Hawaii, 1919); aside from this, there is no evidence of active Japanese-language acquisitions. Unlike books in other languages, Japanese-language books did not appear in any annual tables with summaries of the Library's collection, while they showed continuous acquisitions in other languages. For example, the collection in 1922 contained 54,435 items, including the following in world languages: French (411), German (219), Hawaiian (4), Italian (3), Latin (2), and Spanish (41) (Library of Hawaii, 1922). Interestingly, other than Hawaiian and Spanish, these languages were spoken by only a handful of immigrants in the Territory at the time; however, they were likely taught at elite schools and higher education institutions. This could be an indicator of the preferred social strata that the Library catered for. Also, we could speculate that these choices may have reflected the reading tastes of Ms. Allyn, the head librarian, who had a Bachelor of Arts in Latin; these decisions could also be consistent with collection development biases by early librarians and Library trustees.[13]

From this brief overview, it becomes clear that the Library of Hawaii failed to serve the thousands of Japanese-language readers. Because so few primary materials are available, we cannot know for certain why the Library decided to exclude this group. Perhaps, the librarian and trustees believed that Asians were simply transient or not fully capable of Americanization—beliefs that echoed the eugenic, racist thinking of the era (Manganaro, 2012). Or perhaps they believed that the Library should be a beacon of English-language Protestant conformity in a place many *haole* saw as an overseas colony. We can only make assumptions at this point. One thing is clear: most Japanese immigrants were neither illiterate nor uninterested in reading. Despite a certain percentage of low-literate individuals, there was a significant community of highly literate readers, hungry for Japanese printed materials. This is evident by the establishment and development of Japanese bookstores in Honolulu, on which we will concentrate in our subsequent sections, after first describing historical methods and sources that we used to unveil a rich world of Japanese bookstores in Hawai'i.

Methodology

Print culture historians use a variety of sources and tools in order to try to reconstruct the rather quiet act of reading and often undocumented book sale transactions (Zboray & Zboray, 2000). The previous section was based on a variety of sources, found primarily in archives and published

reports. However, researching Japanese bookstores, which were private and have since disappeared, required different sources and approaches, including the very close and creative reading of sources based on our understanding of historical context. By so doing, we tried to decipher a forgotten history. Unfortunately, with the exception of works on Japanese American newspapers and Issei and Nisei writers, there is a dearth of information on Japanese American print culture (Hayashi, 1990; Mizuno, 2000; Srikanth & Song, 2016; Tamura 1986).

Immigrant communities in early 20th-century America were often temporal ones located in low-rent areas, and such institutions as ethnic bookshops are usually more interested in serving immediate community needs and staying solvent rather than documenting their own experience. In the U.S., immigration has often been seen as a "migrant" or "temporary" existence, a transitional state often associated with poverty and other struggles of resettlement that people try to escape and leave behind (e.g., Howe, 1976, p. 614). In this context, it is very difficult to document immigrant bookstores. Immigrant reading is an even harder aspect to record unless one does targeted surveys (e.g., Dali, 2004).

Another complication, specific to locating information on Japanese American history, is the disruptive impact of World War II. Hawai'i differed from the American West Coast in that there was no forced detention of all ethnic Japanese; however, there was perhaps even more stigma in Hawai'i about maintaining anything in Japanese during the long period of Martial Law.[14] Even before the war, local police and the Honolulu Federal Bureau of Investigation office created A, B, and C lists of Issei and Nisei who were seen as possibly disloyal—lists which included Japanese American newspaper editors, printers, language school teachers, Christian, Buddhist, and Shinto clergy, and at least one bookseller. In such an environment, many ethnic Japanese discarded anything written in Japanese (Scheiber & Scheiber, 2016).

To help uncover the world of Japanese bookstores, we have searched Honolulu's Japanese-language newspapers using the Hoover Institution database, a recently launched project to digitize Japanese American newspapers (Wertheimer & Asato, 2018). Specifically, we draw on bookstore advertisements appearing in three vernacular newspapers published in Honolulu, which collectively covered the period under discussion: starting as the *Yamato*, a semi-weekly newspaper published by Shintaro Anno (1895–1896), which later became the *Yamato Shinbun* (1896–1906) and then changed its title to the *Nippu Jiji* (1906–1942). The *Nippu Jiji* under the editorship of Yasutaro Soga had a wide readership among Japanese immigrants in Honolulu and played a key role in shaping community opinions on many social issues (Tamura, 1986). The newspaper collection includes OCR-scanned (optical character recognition) text, so it is possible to search over years, including advertisements. The searches were made for such terms as *shoten* [bookstores], *honya* [bookstores], *shosekiten* [bookstores], *hon* [books], *tosho* [books], s*hoseki* [books], *zasshi* [magazines], *dokusho* [reading], *dokusha* [readers], *dokushokai* [reading club], and *kodoku* [subscription]. Additional searches were made for the names of specific Japanese publications, the names of Japanese bookstores, and merchants in Hawai'i. We then created our own spreadsheet listing each bookshop, proprietor, address, dates of advertisements, and some notes on promoted titles in order to capture the wide range of bookselling during the period of study.

Searching the newspaper produced two types of evidence. One was articles and editorials by the newspaper staff on reading and bookstores. The other type, which proved far more valuable, was advertisements about books and bookstores. These can be reasonably assumed to be reflections of what the local community read, as well as indicators of trends and the reading environment in the ethnic community. Although some articles and advertisements focused on certain genres,

taken as a whole they give insight into the diversity of the Japanese-language reading society. We can read these critically as texts to trace how bookstores selected their stocks from the great output of Japanese publishers and how they curated lists designed to appeal to their current and potential customers. Through these advertisements we were able to see an imprint left of the changing nature and values of the ethnic Japanese readers in Hawai'i.

For biographies of bookstore owners, *Hawai nihonjin nenkan* [Hawai'i Japanese yearbook], *Hawai nihonjin meikan* [Japanese who's who] and *Hawai jitsugyo annai* [Guide to businesses in Hawai'i] were particularly useful resources. Soga's memoir, *Gojuunenkan no Hawai kaiko* [My memoirs of fifty years in Hawai'i] offers additional insights into a wide variety of topics as he had a long career as editor and publisher of the *Nippu Jiji*. Some of these rare publications are available only in print through the University of Hawai'i, Hawaiian and Pacific and Japan Studies collections. The primary materials on the early Library of Hawaii are also only in print housed in the Hawai'i State Archives. This information was triangulated through immigrant community histories, yearbooks, histories, unpublished diaries, and census records and other data found at Ancestry.com. Our research builds on the work of Hibi (2008), Wada (2016), and Wertheimer (2004) that look at Japanese American print cultures, although this is the first known article uniquely focused on the situation in Hawai'i.

Early Japanese Bookstores

On January 27th, 1942, a brief article appeared in the *Nippu Jiji,* one of Honolulu's daily Japanese newspapers, announcing a liquidation sale at Morishige *Shosekiten* or bookstore. According to the article, Matazo Morishige, an immigrant from Hiroshima, had established his bookshop in 1900, the same year Hawai'i became an American Territory. It was located on Beretania Street, one of the city's busiest thoroughfares, and home to many Japanese American stores. The article claimed that the supposedly oldest Japanese bookstore was closing its doors after 40 years. The closure was perhaps inevitable because importing Japanese books became impossible once the war began.

The article was only partially correct, as the history of Japanese bookselling in Hawai'i goes back even further—with roots in the final era of the Hawaiian Kingdom (1795–1893). We have found records of immigrants peddling Japanese books in so called "Japanese quarters" or "Japanese camps" in sugar plantations to fellow Japanese immigrants ("Kojiki bozu," 1909) dating back to at least 1892. Several records mention Sanshichi Ozaki, who hailed from Kanagawa Prefecture, as the first one to portage books. With his load of books over both shoulders, he sold Japanese immigrant workers *ezoshi* [picture books] for 20–30 cents and novels for 70–80 cents. This is how the Ozaki *Shōten*, or general store, began its history. The Ozaki Store and the Iwakami, Takemura, and Mie stores were pioneering shops in Honolulu. The owners brought funds with them from Japan and began their businesses as general merchants, also selling books. However, the majority of Japanese stores were established by people who came to Hawai'i originally as immigrant laborers (Morita, 1919, p. 124).

Japanese bookstores, especially in the early settlement years of Japanese immigration, were one of a few access points for immigrants to consistently receive information from their home country; another one was local Japanese-language newspapers. During this time period, few Issei were fluent enough in English to rely on English-language newspapers. Bookstores also functioned as hubs for the local Japanese culture, information centers for the ethnic group, and a cross-cultural point between their home and host countries. By examining those bookstores, this paper attempts to answer questions, such as who were the Issei and Nisei as readers of Japanese publications; what they read; and how their reading influenced or helped shape their identity in Hawai'i.

Japanese Bookstores in Honolulu before 1900

Several Honolulu stores sold Japanese books during the Republic of Hawaii era (1894–1898). They placed advertisements promoting Japanese books in Honolulu's vernacular newspapers. Table 1 shows some of these stores and selected advertised items before 1900.

Table 1. Store Advertisement for books in Honolulu before 1900

Store	Selected Advertised Merchandise	Location (Street)	Year of first advertisement
Takemura Shōten	*Bungei Kurabu* [Literary Club], *joruri* [books on Japanese ballad drama], new novels, dictionaries, cookbooks, foods, clothing, tea, cigarettes, etc.	King	1896
Kobayashi Shōten	Books, English Japanese dictionaries, silk, cotton items	Nuuanu & Hotel	1896
Tanaka Shōten	Western cookbooks, English dictionaries, watches, drugs, fishing tools	Beretania	1897
Murakami Shōten	Novels, carpentry tools, foods, pottery, drugs, kimono textiles, lacquerware, vegetables, glass plates for photography, miscellaneous goods	Beretania	1898
Horita Shōten	Novels, foods, miscellaneous goods	Beretania	1898

These *shōten* (or stores) functioned as general merchants, but many Honolulu shops also sold wholesale to retailers on other islands in the Territory. They dealt in almost anything immigrants needed for everyday living: from Japanese foods and clothing and various tools and tableware to drugs and fresh vegetables. Along with these daily goods, Japanese novels and dictionaries were sold as miscellaneous items. Most of the stores in question were located on Beretania Street where many Japanese quarters existed (Haga, 1981; Iida, 2013, p. 171).

Around that time, sales were usually done by credit. The closed ethnic community, whose members were dependent and reliant on each other, made such a trust-based business practice possible. In that era, actual cash payments qualified one for a "discount" price in Murakami and Horita stores. Customers living on other islands requesting books from the Tanaka Store were required to enclose a money order. Presumably, store owners trusted the customers they knew who lived in their neighborhood. This credit system created problems as the number of residents increased and the community kept growing, and a few customers escaped their debts by fleeing to Japan or the Continental U.S. (Hayashi, 1909). In 1908, the Honolulu Japanese Retailers Association resolved that all credit sales should be paid in full by the end of each month (Honolulu kourisho kumiai, 1908). Although these varied stores were not dedicated bookstores, they were visited by enough dedicated Japanese readers who were excited about newly arrived publications from Japan. These advertisements appeared in the local vernacular newspapers, the *Yamato* (1895–1896) and the *Yamato Shinbun* (1896–1906), between July 1896 and May 1898. The

readership was obviously steady for the Takemura Store to announce the arrival of a new issue of the literary monthly magazine, *Bungei Kurabu* [Literature Club] (Ishimaru, n.d.).

In his memoir, Yasutaro Soga, the owner-editor of Honolulu's daily, the *Nippu Jiji*, reminisced about his earlier experience working at a Japanese store in a plantation town on the Island of Hawai'i. He recalled, "these stores were like tiny department stores" (Soga, 1953, p. 19). They carried literally anything one needed for Japanese everyday life, including food, kimono, chinaware, medicine, alcohol, and papers. Reflecting his upbringing and taste, he wrote "since their customers were plantation workers, there were no 'real books,' but such vulgar-taste readings as *kodanbon* [storybooks or oral narratives] were plentiful in the store" (p. 19). The store sent two clerks to the camp two to three times a day to collect orders from hard-working immigrants who had no time to visit the shop. On Saturdays and Sundays, however, he remembered, many workers would come in person. In addition to purchasing items, some customers also asked for help writing letters or consulted on various matters. Stores, continued Soga, supposedly should not have been open on Sundays but customers came in the back door. Store owners in the early plantation communities in rural Oahu had a similar role: "keeping mail and writing letters for people, and working as agents of the Japanese Consulate. . . . The Japanese store on the plantation was an oasis in the community (Odo, & Sinoto, 1985, p. 11). From these descriptions of early stores, we can easily picture Japanese immigrants converging there to shop, socialize, and spend their precious free time. Through this connecting with the world beyond the daily travail of plantation life, stores emerged as a third place to talk with neighbors, receive news, and read newly arrived Japanese books, newspapers, and magazines.[15]

Japanese Bookstores in the 1900s and 1910s

The Japanese population of Honolulu grew as Issei completed their plantation contracts, especially after the 1909 strike when strikers were evicted from their plantation homes. Japanese immigrants found work in other businesses, thus creating an urbanized and a somewhat more middle-class culture and settler marketplace, which eventually included dedicated stores selling books.

As noted in the previous section, books were sold with other merchandise in general stores in Honolulu. Another type of establishment that sold a somewhat greater variety of books and magazines was pharmacies. Tanseido, for example, was founded in 1918 by Ichitaro Tomita and his fellow countryman pharmacist Tsutomu Ota with $10,000 in start-up capital. The following is a reflection on the store's success:

> Pharmacies in America sold much more than medicine and medical equipment, such as cosmetics, stationery, musical instruments, daily necessities, tobacco, cameras, and even soft drinks. They looked like department stores. Generally American stores close around 5:00 or 6:00, but pharmacies remained open throughout the night; so naturally they attract various kinds of customers. . . . The store is located at the intersection of two busy streets, Beretania and River, a perfect location for a retailer, but it is also successful as a wholesaler, as it frequently sends employees to the neighbor islands. (Nippu Jiji Co. Henshukyoku, 1921, 50)

This description of Tanseido explains well why so many Japanese pharmacies existed in Honolulu and why they sold books and magazines. In addition to the local Japanese-language newspapers, and before newsreels and radio broadcasts from Japan came to Hawai'i, publications imported from Japan had been one of a few sources for the Japanese immigrants to learn about the current

state of Japanese politics, cultural trends, technology, and about the news from Japan and around the world. In this era, so far removed from the Internet days, the desire for "up-to-date information" must have had a special status as a commodity, and naturally attracted regulars with the new stock. This also explains why so many stores in the ethnic community carried newly arrived books and magazines regardless of whether they were primarily dry goods shops or a pharmacy. The description of Tanseido rather resembles that of a 24/7 convenience store in Japan today, where customers drop in for a coffee or snack and end up spending an hour browsing magazines. Indeed, two years after opening, Tanseido added a soda fountain, while continuing to sell books, as well as art supplies, toys, and Japanese games *shogi* and *go* (Tanseido, 1920).

As the economy developed and readers became more demanding, some stores started placing more emphasis on an even greater variety of Japanese publications. These new specialized book stores opened on Beretania Street, forming a bookstore neighborhood similar to Kanda-Jimbocho in today's Tokyo. Those stores even imported less profitable specialized and literary magazines to appeal to different types of Japanese readers ("Shimachi no seinen," 1911). As one example, Matsumura Bookstore, was started by Masaho Matsumura who had arrived in Hawai'i in 1906 from Hiroshima when he was 24-years-old (Sogawa, 1927, p. 258). An advertisement from February 26, 1908 announced his store's opening, proudly boasting its "BOOKS" and stationery specialization in large bold type. Matsumura explained that he could provide fast book delivery because he established special contracts with Japan's leading bookstores. His stock included books, magazines, national textbooks, reference books, wall maps, some of Japan's leading local newspapers, and stationery goods. The textbooks and maps must have been most welcome at local Japanese language schools which taught children who came to Hawai'i with their immigrant parents as well as the locally born Nisei (Asato, 2006).

The number of Japanese language schools mushroomed, and by 1915, there were at least 120 in Hawai'i (Ozawa, 1972). That year 13,552 Japanese American pupils attended around 160 public schools in Hawai'i, 90% of whom also attended ethnic afternoon schools learning language, ethics, calligraphy and other subjects (Asato, 2006, p. 11; Hawaii Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1920, p. 74).

In 1908, the newly opened Matsumura bookstore made a dramatic debut by inviting *Nippu Jiji* readers to a *dodoitsu* competition; *dodoitsu* are limericks composed in a 7-7-7-5 syllable pattern. Winners would receive gift certificates for books: $1.50 for the first prize, $1, and 50 cents for the second and third prizes ("Dai nikai kensho," 1908). The following are translations of some of the winning selections which were printed in the newspaper:

> The elegant store display, forever prosper—Matsumura bookstore. ("Obo dodoitsu," 1908d).
>
> Passing rain, showering on the pine tree, inviting me to stop by the bookstore. ("Obo dodoitsu," 1908d).
>
> Ardent love woven into a bookmark, returning a book placed as a suggestive message. ("Obo dodoitsu," 1908b).
>
> Selling mother's keepsake ring for books, study with a great adversity. ("Obo dodoitsu," 1908b).

> What for collecting unnecessary books, enjoy reading in the autumn night. ("Obo dodoitsu," 1908a).
>
> Holding my favorite book, tears come out, again forgot this *kanji*, how to read. ("Obo dodoitsu," 1908a).
>
> Collecting Japanese and Western cookbooks, practicing for a new family. ("Obo dodoitsu," 1908c).
>
> Halt reading and half close a book, what I learned first is the taste of love. ("Obo dodoitsu," 1908c).

These brief poems allowed the Issei to express their inner passion for reading and how Japanese language books were integral to their practical and emotional existence. If it were not for the bookstore, those amateur writers might have never had a chance to share their art or see their names in print as authors. As a form of art, *dodoitsu* is seen more low-brow compared with the refined form of *haiku*. It was originally performed with *shamisen*, a traditional Japanese three-stringed lute, sometimes at an entertainment theater but more commonly at drinking places. The themes are often feelings, love, cynicism, dry humor, or self-mockery (Kurata, n.d.). Obviously the dodoitsu competition attracted many readers and created an immediate literary circle through the local newspaper. Around that time, the price of a typical Japanese book ranged from 30 cents to $1.50 (Motoshige Shōten Shosekibu, April 5, 1915). The winners were probably proud to take home a winning book or two of their favorite writers. Beyond simply winning a prize, these expressions help us imagine the profound emotional response that Japanese books inspired in the hidden cultural lives of Hawai'i's ethnic Japanese community. They also counteract a stereotypical and erroneous association of Japanese immigration with low levels of literacy and the lack of literary aspirations.

What Books and Magazines Did the Japanese Americans Read?

In the 1910s, if Japanese Americans in Honolulu were to walk into a local Japanese store, what kind of books would they find on the shelves? We tried to answer this question by perusing the list of advertised books. Motoshige Shinjudo was started as a pharmacy on N. King Street in 1897 by Wasuke Motoshige who had left Tokyo for Hawai'i three years earlier (Tanaka shōten, 1897; *Hawai nihonjin nenkan*, 1916, 13, p. 152). He became very successful and later opened two branch stores—one in the Oahu plantation town of Waipahu and the other in Wailua on the island of Kaua'i. These stores developed into a trading company, and Motoshige became one of the most prominent businessmen in the early Japanese American community in Hawai'i. Unlike many general stores, the Motoshige store's opening advertisement did not mention books; however, by 1912–1915, its book department regularly published full page newspaper advertisements, listing over 400 titles at a time (see Figure 1). Judging by the lists, there might be at least 1,000–1,500 books on the shelves on any given day. The advertisement dated August 5, 1912 classified books into nine categories (Motoshige Shōten Shosekibu, August 5, 1912).

Those categories include *Shuyo* [moral, self-improvement]; Cookbooks, Household; Hygiene, Divination, Hypnotism; *Waka*, *Haiku* [Japanese poetry], Western and Japanese musical instruments and instruction; Japanese-English Conversation, Dictionaries, Translated English Books; Japanese Literature; Dictionaries; Math, Accounting, Law; and Miscellaneous. Each book listed the title, author, and price.

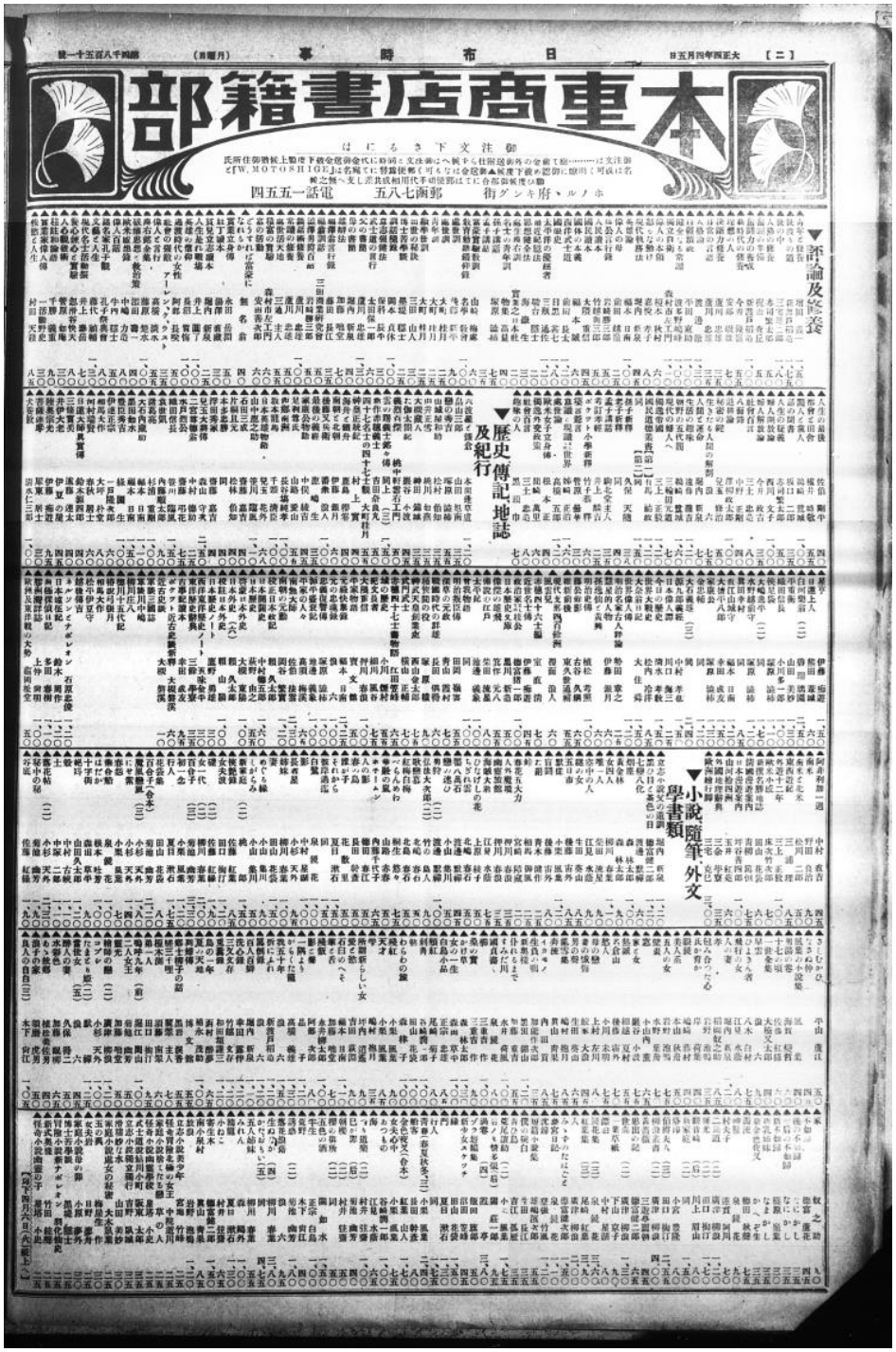

Figure 1. Motoshige Store's Book Advertisement. Adopted from 1915, April 5, Nippu Jiji. Made available through the Japanese Diaspora Initiative, Hoover Institution, Stanford University [Image in the public domain]

The book advertisement of Motoshige Store eloquently speaks to us about the socio-cultural and spiritual state of the Japanese American community. The most salient category to reflect their spiritual needs was "Shuyo" books on self-improvement or morals. Many Issei immigrants packed one or two shuyo books in their *kori* [bamboo basket trunks] as an aspiration to maintain their Japanese spirit and culture even when living abroad.[16] This category includes books on the *samurai* code, old adages, words and inspirational biographies of famous people including Japanese and Western figures. Parallels might be drawn to early American home book collections featuring *Poor Richard's Almanack*, Psalms, or Bibles, which were read intensively for inspiration and guidance, as well as poetic works intended for reading aloud (Brown 2007, p. 164). The category of "Literature" around this time consisted mostly of classical literature rather than popular novels, including anthologies of Japanese and Chinese writers. Waka and haiku are short poems: both have specific literary rules and formulae to follow and are considered more refined poetry forms than popular ones, such as dodoitsu. Waka and haiku are taught at school as part of educating cultural and well-rounded citizens. Therefore, this category also manifests Japanese Americans' spiritual and cultural ties with Japan.

There also are categories of advertised books that may point to readers' willingness to learn and adopt American culture and lifestyle. In the early bookstore advertisements, the most common items were Japanese-English dictionaries, books for learning business English and everyday conversation, and titles such as *A Quick Mastery of English in Six Months*. This is not a unique characteristic of Japanese bookstores alone, but one that is shared with ethnic bookstores established by other American immigrant communities; many ethnic bookstores often had a section of books for English learners. For Japanese, the language mastery was uniquely challenging because of the significant differences between English and Japanese languages. Indeed, linguists in the Modern Language Association and the Foreign Service Institute classify Japanese as being the most distant from English, and thus the most challenging to learn (Foreign Service Institute, n.d.). The language and communication gap created a serious hurdle for many Issei in terms of improving their quality of work and life and building relationships outside of their community. To overcome this hurdle, young Issei men went to night schools or worked as "schoolboys" to learn English (Murakami, 2016, p. 190). This naturally produced many anecdotal stories and incidents with dictionaries and other English learning books ("Tochi yagakko," 1908).

The category of "Cookbooks, Household" is a mixture of East and West (Motoshige Shōten, August 5, 1912). This category of books reflects the exposure of Japanese women to Western culture and the beginning of women's liberty, independence, and social, cultural establishment in Japan. *Seito*, a literary magazine for women (1911) influenced by Western feminism, created a sensation in Japanese society because of its focus on women's freedom and challenge to old social customs (Ide, n.d.). Although Japanese American women in Honolulu geographically lived in American society, their everyday lives were often confined to the ethnic community, where life followed Japanese language and custom. However, the 1924 Immigration Act spurred a gradual change from Japanese "sojourner spirit" to one of "settlement" as the Americanization Movement intensified in the islands. (Hawai Nihonjin Iminshi, 1964, p. 336). This was in tandem with efforts to Westernize Issei clothing, from kimono to western clothing, which allowed for a more active lifestyle, as well as an emphasis on using English, and increasing contact outside the community (Hawai Nihonjin Iminshi, 1964, p. 336).

Therefore, it is possible that imported publications from Japan, which reflected on the drastic Westernization of Japanese society became a medium of Western culture, helping Issei women in Honolulu learn new customs and facilitating their transition to the host society. In this way, such bookstores as Motoshige became a cultural conduit for adaptation and adjustment.

The final category of advertisements was "Miscellaneous books" and contained true gems. It listed the two books published by the Motoshige Store. Both were written by Acchi Takei, a well-known *benshi* or storyteller, who traveled around Japanese American communities and plantations and wrote about their lives. One was *Hawai no Miyage* [Souvenirs of Hawai'i], a photo sketchbook of the Hawaiian Islands. This $1.50 book was rather pricey but still popular as a gift for relatives in Japan; as a result, it was printed in three editions after selling 8,000 copies. As a publisher, the Motoshige Store wholesaled this bestselling book to other retailers, such as Seiseido Pharmacy (see Figure 2), Shigi Pharmacy, Oshima Pharmacy, Machida Pharmacy, Shigemori Pharmacy and the Nakatsu Store (Motoshige shōten, August 5, 1912). All are medium to large-scale stores, which frequently promoted their own publications in newspaper advertisements.

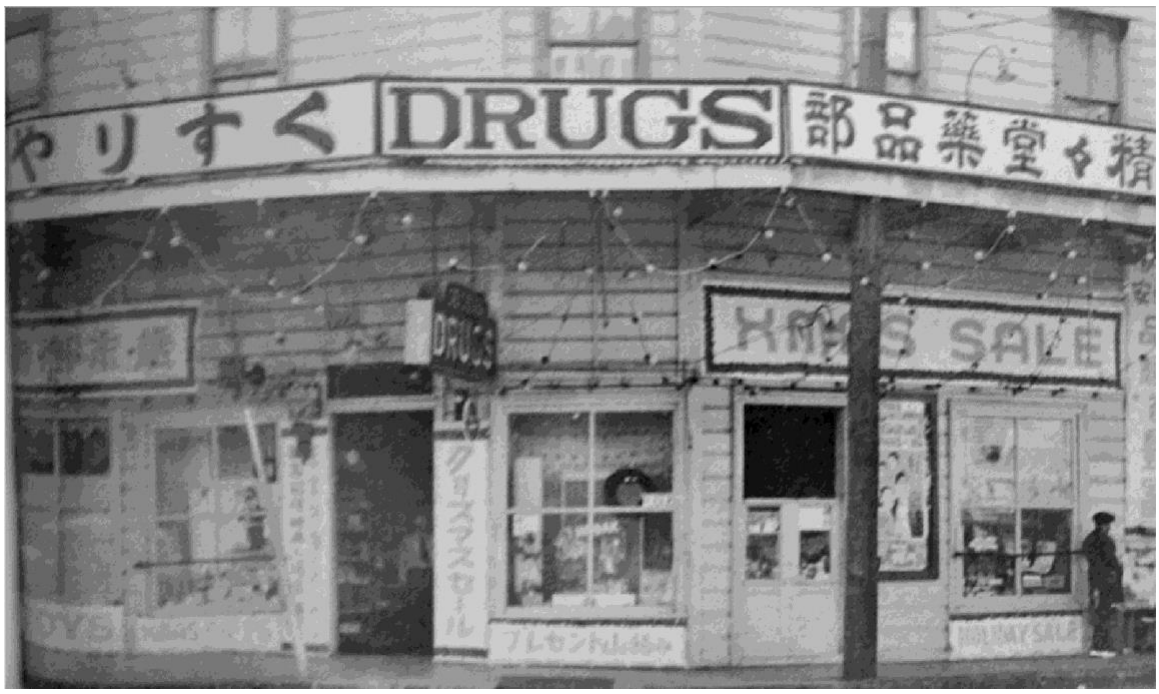

Figure 2. Seiseido Pharmacy. Hawaii Times Photo Archives Foundation. [Reproduced by permission]. Made available through the auspices of the Hawaii Times Photo Archives Foundation.

Other local stores, newspapers, companies, and even individuals also published quite a few books, especially with the focus on Hawai'i. However, with a few exceptions, none of them was a dedicated publisher, and instead they only printed a book or two (Hawai Nihonjin Iminshi Kanko Iinkai, 1964, pp. 302–307). Those bookstores/publishers preserved the ethnic community history which might have otherwise disappeared and dissolved into American history. As a result of their efforts, by the end of the 1910s, a distinct print culture, including publishers, distributors, bookstores, and readers emerged within the Honolulu Japanese American community. It was transnational yet independent and unique, which paradoxically flourished because socio-cultural exclusion promoted self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

The Rise of Magazines from the 1920s to 1941

The Japanese American population marked a significant increase in the 1920s and continued rising even after World War II. In 1920, the number of the Issei was 60,258 while there were 49,016 Nisei with American citizenship. However, by 1929, the size of the two groups reversed: the Nisei now outnumbered the non-citizen Issei: 87,748 and 49,659, respectively (Hawai Nihonjin Iminshi Kanko Iinkai, 1964, p. 316). This shift coincided with a magazine boom in Japan. In Hawai'i this demographic change greatly expanded the impact of the magazine boom among Japanese publications imported to Hawai'i. This was a serious issue for bookstores as most Nisei were far more comfortable with English than Japanese. Even as they became adults, many read in Japanese at the level closer to that of children in Japan, and their reading in Japanese may have been limited to magazines that offered *furigana* [phonetic characters] used alongside difficult *kanji* [Chinese characters]. The main exception was a subset of the Nisei called the *Kibei Nisei* who had spent some time attending school in Japan. Yamashiro (1995) estimates there were 4,000 Kibei-Nisei in Hawai'i by 1940.

In Japan, book and magazine sales had been booming, especially following news of Japan's victory in the (first) Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). The war boosted Japan's economy and energized the publishing world, especially fueling the hunger of readers wanting to see photos and patriotic accounts from the battlefield. In this era, Tokyo's Hakubunkan became the largest publisher, rising to stardom by releasing three popular magazines *Taiyo* [The Sun; a general magazine], *Bungei Kurabu* [Literary Club; a literary magazine], and *Shonen Sekai* [Boy's World; a boys' magazine], which drove the magazine boom in Japan (Hashimoto, 1964, p. 59). Hakubunkan released a series of inexpensive magazines and *tankobon*, paperbacks geared towards the interest of specific groups of readers. Their record sales shattered the previous belief that magazine publishing was not profitable ("Shimachi no seinen," 1911). These popular magazines created new categories of reading, including women's, girls' and boys' reading, as well as popular satire, adventure, war hero novels, and military novels. Needless to say, these new genres produced new groups of readers both domestically and in the diaspora. Specialized readerships also allowed for targeted advertisements, which kept the prices more affordable and fostered modern Japan's consumer culture.

Japanese-language Magazines for Women

Back in Hawai'i, Oshima Pharmacy on Beretania Street operated by Kisaburo Oshima from Yamaguchi, published an advertisement appealing to women readers with a list of popular magazines; *Fujin Sekai* [Women's World]; *Fujo Kai* [Ladies' World]; *Fujin Kurabu* [Women's Club]; *Fujin Koron* [Women's Review]; and *Fujin Gaho* [Women's Pictorial Magazine] (Hayashi, 1909, p. 207; Oshima Yakuho Shosekibu, 1926). It also promoted the leading monthly magazine the *Shufu no Tomo* [The Housewife's Friend] (1917–2008), which launched a women's magazine boom and had a record readership of 220,000 by the late 1920s in Japan. The editor refocused the original target audience of women's magazines from the minority of upper class, well-educated women to the popular market of housewives, signaling the change by offering "everyday wisdom" and information on how to "improve" their lives. For example, in addition to many short stories and serialized novels, the December issue of 1930 contained such articles as "A wife's effort to create a happy married life"; "How to quickly change your husband's bad mood"; "Secrets of finding a good husband for your daughter"; and "Secrets of putting on makeup" (see Figure 3). The 80-cent issue offered an extra-gift booklet on "the secret of how to perform divination for luck" and also a prize contest for 1,000 rings with a lucky stone (Shufu no Tomosha, 1930). Because of these magazines' popularity, many bookstores advertised the impending arrival of forthcoming

issues, warning potential readers that the "last month's issue quickly sold out, so secure your copy right now!" Every month more than 20,000 copies of various magazines were imported and sold in Hawai'i. Amazingly, those magazines were displayed in Honolulu stores at almost the same time as in bookstores in Japan ("Risoteki na shogyo," 1939).

Figure 3. Advertisement for the Shufu no Tomo. Adopted from 1930, December 29, Nippu Jiji. Made available through the Japanese Diaspora Initiative, Hoover Institution, Stanford University [Image in the public domain].

Women as Readers

A November 1922 advertisement for the aforementioned Morishige Bookstore—one of Hawai'i's oldest Japanese bookstores (1900–1942)—also focused on serving women readers (Morishige Shosekiten, November 19, 1922). The piece titled "Women and Reading" explained that "recently women's desire for reading is rising," and encouraged readers to look at the 50 books

selected for women in the store by Tokyo's *Jiji Shinpo* Dissemination of Reading Society. Their list included books on home psychology, theory of life, and Western music; biographies of successful women; an anthology of poetry by modern women poets; lectures on women's culture; and a young ladies' life of thought. Books by prominent women writers, such as feminist poet Akiko Yosano, and some English books in Japanese translation were also on the recommended list. This selection of 50 readings for women reflects a cultural elitism, signifying Japan's modern education system introduced in the 1870s, which places a great emphasis on literacy and reading as a pathway to modern nationhood. Around the late 1910s and 1920s, Japan was caught in the *Kyoyoshugi* [self-cultivationism] fever, whereby reading was valued much higher than writing or speaking. It was seen as a vital communication skill to understand the national essence. Reading was considered a core educational tool to instill state-sanctioned social and political values in citizens. For this, works of philosophy were central. The followers argued that acquiring a good understanding of philosophy through reading is essential to maintaining the national ethos. This "philosophy boom" began in 1922 and brought philosophy into school curricula in Japan (Kamei-Dyche, 2017).

The aforementioned titles suggest that the targeted readers of these books were rather intelligent and receptive to Western ideas, perhaps reflecting the mood of the somewhat more democratic Taisho era (1912–1926) which had just ended (Okubo, n.d.). The intended female readership was more likely to be situated in the upper middle-class and consisted of women who could afford $1.50–$6.00 books, which were significantly more expensive than most popular books of the time (Morishige Shosekiten, November 19, 1922). This image of women dramatically contrasts with the image of female readers who read the popular women's magazines described earlier. Whether or not there was a significant overlap between these two female readerships requires further investigation.

An interesting question that comes to mind is how the Issei and Nisei women in Hawai'i read the women's magazines and books and what aspects of those publications appealed to them. On the one hand, the publications in question codified old Japanese customs, in which women's roles were defined by traditional values, tasks, skills, and expectation. On the other hand, the magazines put forth some Western concepts, including new values, lifestyles, and, most clearly, high expectations for modernization. One explanation could be that these Japanese-language materials helped Issei women adapt to American society, even more so than they helped men. Many Issei women could not read English-language publications and had limited exposure outside the ethnic community; under these circumstances, learning Western lifestyles, social norms, culture, and values through Japanese-language publications was the only viable option. If this is indeed the case, in a paradoxical way, Japanese printed materials, a physical token of their attachment to Japan's old culture and customs, may have actually aided their acculturation in the new country. Whatever the case may be, the publishing industry in Japan did an excellent job of cultivating women as a new group of readers and of establishing unique genres for women readers. By 1939, the industry had grown so strong that women's paperbacks alone sold six million copies; this constituted a 20% increase from the previous year. Reflecting the national thinking of Japan, already at war, the most significant sales increases were in women's publications and works related to patriotism and the war ("Yoshi tosei," 1939).

Social Role of Japanese Bookstores

Beyond selling books and magazines, Japanese bookstores in Hawai'i continued to offer additional services. For example, the aforementioned Morishige Bookstore's November 1922 advertisement

also solicited new year magazine subscriptions. It offered a 20% discount on the advance payment for subscriptions and promised that magazines would be delivered quickly by store clerks directly to Honolulu addresses. The bookstore also offered a readers' advisory service: "Because there are so many magazines to select from . . . we will be happy to listen to your needs and select one for your convenience." The advertisement also noted: "Various *kogiroku* or lecture notes are also available" (Morishige Shosekiten, November 12, 1922). This genre was frequently found in Honolulu bookstores' advertisements starting the 1910s. Japanese Americans purchased them to study various academic subjects on their own using prestigious Japanese universities' course lecture notes. The advertisement proudly boasted about a young man who studied using their kogiroku to become a newspaper reporter. However, as in Japan, most readers studied with kogiroku not for the purpose of formal education but for their own self-improvement. The kogiroku was developed in the spirit of public education by some instructors, somewhat resembling today's MOOCs and other public scholarship (Sekimoto, 2014). Upon a customer's request, the bookstore also provided bibliographies of books, similar to those that American libraries compiled for their patrons.

These bookstores not only provided their readers with books and magazines but, like public libraries today, also offered spaces for such entertainment opportunities as sponsored movies, acrobatic theater, and dodoitsu competitions. They hosted celebrations of both American and Japanese holidays in the ethnic community. However, this all came to an end shortly after the last shipment from Japan was unloaded from the Asama in August 1941. The boycott and Pacific War forced all of these stores close ("Toketsurei ga motarashita," 1941). Although the US joined World War II in 1941, Japan had already been embroiled in war in China for several years, and the government placed increasingly tight controls on what were acceptable themes for all types of publications (Garon, 1998). Following the end of the war and martial rule, only a few bookstores would try to resume.[17]

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper portrayed the rich reading lives of Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i by focusing on Japanese-language bookstores in the diaspora. Their funds were scarce and earned by hard work in the fields, but their spiritual life was bolstered by Japanese-language books and magazines. These early Japanese readers in America consumed books for many reasons: escape, relationship building, maintaining national identity, hunger for information, search for joy and leisure, coping with homesickness, alienation, and nostalgia, economic advancement, artistic expression, and lifelong learning in a fast-changing modern age. This article demonstrates that Japanese language books and magazines played countless roles in serving as a life connection between the home and the host country.

Unfortunately, as we have also shown, the Library of Hawaii did not take much interest in responding to information and reading needs of Japanese-language readers of the time. Outside of Hawai'i, American libraries were slowly developing their services towards more democratic and equal services, a concept that would eventually be codified in the 1939 Library Bill of Rights:

> Books and other reading matter selected for purchase books and other reading matter selected for purchase from public funds should be chosen for value and interest to people of the community, and in no case should the selection be influenced by the race or nationality or the political or religious views of the writers. (ALA Office for Intellectual Freedom, 1974, p. 4)

Although the reasons for active services and outreach to immigrant communities in other states may or may not have been motivated by the considerations of social justice and equity, these services nonetheless existed on a fairly extensive scale. This contrasts with the lack of services and collections to and, likely, interest in Japanese-speaking patrons in Hawai'i.

As our research clarifies, in Hawai'i's Territorial Library, books were not selected with community needs in mind, unless the Library limited the definition of community to the minority population of *haole* native English speakers. By the same token, race, nationality, religion, and language were obvious determining factors in designating books as worthy of purchase. Although there were no legal restrictions on the use of libraries by Japanese immigrants or their offspring, the Library collection certain sent a message that the Issei presence was not welcomed. In this way the Library of Hawaii remained a colonial missionary outpost with what was, in essence, a policy that valued mostly European languages.

The deficiency of services and resources on the part of the Library of Hawaii prompted the community to find solutions of their own and bolstered the development of ethic publishing, bookselling, and cultural institutions. We can see this as acts of resistance, consumption, or adoption, depending immigrants chose to read. It was also an act of cultural survival, akin to building and maintaining temples, shrines, and churches that met spiritual needs, or language schools where the Issei tried to pass on their language and culture to their children and grandchildren. Whatever the case may be, creating their own bookstores was a way of meeting basic communal and individual needs.

This paper only begins to scratch the surface of this rich immigrant print culture. There is a need for more research on topics like Kibei reading, Japanese library collections, locally published works of fiction and nonfiction, and literary circles; there is also a need for comparative studies between Japanese American print culture and the print culture experiences of other Asian Pacific Americans, especially Native Hawaiians, as well as with other Japanese diasporas. Another worthwhile research project could focus on comparing the Library of Hawaii with libraries in Puerto Rico or American Samoa, the other sites of libraries in American territories where English was not the dominant language. The early 20th-century American influence also extended to Cuba and the Philippines, which might also provide an interesting research angle. Such an approach could make possible a comparison of libraries under American imperialism with Coleman's (2008) study of British colonial libraries within the very different frame of American imperialism (Kinzer, 2006; Hopkins, 2018.) Another line of future research could extend to American public libraries in the states, territories, and Native American reservations with multilingual minorities or majorities. For those interested in libraries of today, our study provides much ground for reflection on the role of library services for immigrants, especially in communities with restrictions on using tax support for undocumented immigrants. It is our sincere hope that the portrayal of the Japanese cultural resilience and prosperity in the conditions of disregard by the local public library will encourage librarians to strive to truly meet the ideals set by the Library Bill of Rights.

Endnotes

[1] There are three spellings of Hawai'i in this article. We usually use it with the diacritics, as it is written and pronounced in Hawaiian and in official usage today. Before statehood, the Territory did not adopt diacritics, so we maintained the old spelling for the Library of Hawaii and Territory of Hawaii. When citing something in Japanese we used the Japanese transliteration, which is written as Hawai with only one "i" without diacritics. By "Territory," we refer to: the Territory of Hawaii, which was established by the Hawaiian Organic Act of 1900, following the 1898 annexation by the U.S. In 1959, the Territorial era ended when Congress passed the Admission Act, making it the 50th state.

[2] The right to read in any language is protected under Articles 2, 18, 20, 26, 27, and especially 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) as well as other UN and UNESCO covenants. In the U.S., it is guaranteed by the Equal Protection and Due Process clauses of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

[3] Japan's Meiji era (1868-1912) saw the return of power to the Emperor, an intense industrial revolution in order to support national defense and international trade. It also marked the beginning of Japanese emigration (Keene, 2005).

[4] Japanese immigration to other parts of the U.S. were largely halted by the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907-1908. See Daniels (1988).

[5] Some scholars now call Asian Americans in Hawai'i "Asian Settler colonialists" although 'settler' predates this discourse. See Fujikane and Okamura (2008). The term settler here parallels the transformation European immigrants would signify by applying for American citizenship—something forbidden to Japanese immigrants.

[6] Issei plantation workers organized a Federation of Labor, having realized that they had more in common with Filipino plantation workers than with Issei elites. Takaki (1983) notes, "To be successful, the labor movement in Hawaii and its strike actions would have to be based on interethnic working class unity" (p. 164).

[7] For those unfamiliar, Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) was an Italian social theorist and Marxist politician. He is most well known for his extensive *Prison Notebooks*, which explored many ideas, including the concept of "Cultural hegemony." Gramsci pointed out how schools and other state organs function to normatize capitalist power structures. For more, see Mayo (2008).

[8] Some recent studies (e.g., Laimana, 2011), may dispute this finding; we are also conducting additional research on Issei English and Japanese literacy.

[9] Readers interested in the Library's history would benefit from Tachihata's dissertation (1981) or the brief work by historian Loomis (1979), published by the Friends of the Library. Loomis wrote on early missionary history as a historian and great-granddaughter of the first printer in Hawai'i, missionary Elisha Loomis.

[10] All capitalized instances of "Library" refer to the Library of Hawaii.

[11] Hawai'i's Territorial Legislature passed countless bills calling for Statehood, but U.S. Congressmen from the West Coast and South united to opposed to statehood, primarily because they were opposed to the idea of enfranchising the Territory's Asian Americans. See Reinecke (1979), Daws (1968, pp. 333, 389), Hirobe (2001).

[12] Few of the Library's internal records survive, but the Minutes of the Library of Hawaii Trustees (in an unprocessed collection at the State Archives) were reviewed; they offered little insight.

[13] For insight into the biases of librarians and library education, see Wayne Wiegand's (1996) critical biography of Melvil Dewey, who played an active role in founding the ALA, *The Library Journal*, and the first library school.

[14] During World War II, racism against Japanese Americans and wartime hysteria following the Pearl Harbor attack led the federal government to incarcerate all 120,000 Japanese Americans from their homes on the West Coast regardless of citizenship. Officials and community leaders in Hawai'i were able to placate calls for mass incarceration. They claimed they arrested the most disloyal. In the end, almost 2,000 of Hawai'i's roughly 158,000 Japanese Americans were detained. Another reason Hawai'i Japanese Americans did not suffer the same "internment" was that the Territory was under Martial law for most of the war (Scheiber & Scheiber, 2016).

[15] The concept of third place comes from sociology, where a third space is an alternative to home (first place) and work (second place). In an interesting twist, Pozzi (2013) makes the case for how libraries and bookstores helped create an Italian immigrant space in Newark, New Jersey.

[16] See O, H. (2010) for an overview of Shuyo books that inspired many Meiji era immigrants.

[17] The Territory of Hawaii was placed under military rule, with the civilian government pushed aside for the first three years of the war. Many civil rights, such as the writ of habeas corpus, were swept aside. It was the longest period of martial rule in the U.S. (Scheiber & Scheiber, 2016).

Appendix A

Glossary

The editor suggested the following glossary of terms used in our article would help readers. All terms are translations from Japanese unless otherwise indicated.

Bango Japanese word for number, but in Hawai'i of the 1890s it referred to the tag plantation workers wore and used to receive payment.

Benshi Storyteller. During the early immigration period, a benshi would narrate Japanese silent films.

Brahmin In American history, this refers to the Protestant European American elite families who ran Boston.

Dodoitsu Japanese light poem or limerick, composed in a 7-7-7-5 syllable pattern.

Dokusha	Readers
Dokusho	Reading
Dokushokai	Reading club
Ezoshi	A genre of pictorial book published primarily during the Edo-era (1603–1868)
Furigana	Phonetic Japanese characters, used alongside difficult kanji, or Chinese ideographs to aid in pronunciation.
Go	An ancient board game somewhat like chess. Originally from China.
Haiku	Japanese poetic short form using 17 syllables in 5-7-5 syllabic arrangement. It is influenced by Buddhist philosophy, and is considered a refined form of expression.
Haole	Hawaiian language term for foreigners, but currently used to refer to European Americans
Hon	Book(s)
Honya	Bookstore(s)
Issei	First generation (Japanese immigrant).
Kanaka Maoli	Hawaiian language term for Native Hawaiian person or people (also Kanaka).
Kanji	Chinese character system used in Japanese writing
Kibei Nisei	Second generation Japanese Americans who were at least partially educated in Japan
Kodanbon	Storybooks or oral narratives.
Kodoku	Subscription
Kogiroku	Book genre with college lecture notes.
Kori	Bamboo basket trunks used by immigrants.
Kyoyoshugi	Self-cultivationism, a 20th-century Japanese liberal intellectual movement, influenced by the German concept of *Bildung*.
Nisei	Second generation Japanese American(s)
Samurai	Japanese elite warriors from the feudal era. By the pre-modern era, many were middle level bureaucrats serving local lords.
Sansei	Third generation Japanese American(s)
Shamisen	A traditional Japanese three-stringed lute.

Shogi	A Japanese traditional board game like chess.
Shoseki	Book(s)
Shosekiten	Bookstore(s)
Shoten	Bookstore(s)
Shōten	General Store(s)
Shuyo	Concept of cultivating the mind and personal morality
Tankobon	Paperback
Tosho	Book(s)
Waka	A Japanese form of poetry using 31 syllables, popular among early aristocrats
Zasshi	Magazine(s)

Appendix B

Selected Chronologies

Hawaiian Eras

Hawaiian Kingdom	1795–1893
Republic period	1894–1898
U.S. Territory	1900–1959 (including 1941–1943 under Martial Rule)
U.S. State	1959–

Japanese Eras

Meiji era	1868–1912
Taisho era	1912–1926

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