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The Making of Western Dressmaking Culture in the Hawai‘i Nikkei Community before World War II

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INTRODUCTION

In 1939, the *Nippu Jiji*, a Japanese vernacular newspaper in the Territory of Hawai‘i, sponsored an “amateur dressmaking contest” in the Nikkei community.¹ The contestants submitted dresses that they had made, and dressmaking teachers evaluated them and bestowed prizes. The culminating event, to celebrate the prizewinners and share their designs with a large audience, was a fashion show held at a school auditorium. Models presented the prize-winning dresses, including street dresses and evening dresses, on the auditorium stage.² This fashion show was the most spectacular and gorgeous moment of the event.

This event also highlights the degree to which Western dressmaking culture had been cultivated among the Nikkei community in Hawai‘i. Most Japanese immigrants to Hawai‘i initially worked on sugar plantations, and women had to make their own work clothes as well as clothes for their family members. Barbara Kawakami describes how immigrant women made work jackets out of fabric and clothing they had brought with them from Japan, such as clothing made of *kasuri*, an ikat-type fabric.³ Once they became accustomed to plantation life, some women learned to sew work clothing from women of other ethnic groups. For instance, they learned how to make skirt-type clothing from Portuguese and Spanish women. At the

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same time, they also started using American fabric in addition to *kasuri*.⁴ The living and working conditions in Hawai‘i led them to eventually cultivate a rich sewing culture in their community. The foundation of sewing culture encouraged many women to engage in Western dressmaking.

In this article I explore the significance of Western dressmaking in the Nikkei community in Hawai‘i during the years before World War II, paying particular attention to Western dressmaking schools in the community. In the plantation work camps, Japanese immigrants and their children were likely to still wear Japanese clothing, such as the cotton *yukata*, in their daily lives, but sewing shops for Western clothing, based on apprenticeship training, had appeared in Honolulu beginning in the 1890s, and the number of dressmaking schools dramatically increased by the late 1930s.⁵

As the late Yoshitami “Jack” Tasaka, a Kibei-Nisei who recounted prewar life in Hawai‘i, also pointed out in an interview conducted by Kei Suzuki, Japanese sewing schools have received little scholarly attention, although there were many schools in the prewar Nikkei community.⁶ In 1939, sociologist Yukiko Kimura conducted intensive research about Nikkei dressmakers in Honolulu, but this work has not been followed up on.⁷ Even in her collective research on Japanese immigrants, Kimura hardly touches on Nikkei dressmakers.⁸ The role of Western dressmaking schools and Western dressmakers in the Nikkei community has been neglected in the historiography.

In this article I delve into how and why Nikkei women learned Western dressmaking in the prewar years and the significance of the dressmaking contest and fashion show for the Nikkei community at the time. In a 2010 book, Shiho Imai delineates Western dressmaking as a leisure activity in the development of consumer culture among urban Nikkei women.⁹ From an educational perspective, Hiromi Monobe also touches on sewing education, including Japanese kimono sewing and Western dressmaking, in her examination of prewar education for Nisei women in Hawai‘i.¹⁰ Regarding clothing itself in Hawai‘i, Barbara Kawakami elaborately examines what kinds of clothing Nikkei people wore on diverse occasions, such as for work, funerals, and weddings during the prewar years, but she does not necessarily focus on Western dressmaking schools, although her analysis greatly takes advantage of her personal background as a professional dressmaker.¹¹ Based on these preceding studies, I would like to scrutinize the significance of Western dressmaking in the Nikkei community in Hawai‘i before World War II, paying close attention to the role of Western dressmaking schools and dressmaking shops.

THE TRANSFERRING OF WESTERN DRESSMAKING SKILLS

After the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907–8, which resulted in the Japanese government stopping issuing passports to laborers and eventually encouraged Japanese male immigrants to build their families in Hawai'i, many Japanese women immigrated to Hawai'i as picture brides, most of whom began their new life as sugar plantation workers with their husbands. In their newly started married lives, women's burdens included not only laboring on the plantation but engaging in domestic chores such as cooking and laundering. Furthermore, women were also responsible for making and mending clothing.¹²

Since most female Japanese immigrants did not have the opportunity to learn Western dressmaking skills before leaving Japan, they had to acquire them in Hawai'i. Although there were some educational institutions where women could learn Western dressmaking in Japan, the access to such education was still largely limited to women from affluent families who lived in urban areas.¹³ Therefore, almost all immigrant women, who were mostly from rural areas such as Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Kumamoto, and Fukuoka Prefectures, did not know how to use sewing machines or how to make Western dresses, though they were already familiar with how to sew kimono in Japan.¹⁴ For instance, Tei Saito, an immigrant from Fukushima Prefecture, recollected in an interview with Barbara Kawakami that she had not even seen a sewing machine in Japan. Kawakami recounts that "her newfound friends taught her how to use the sewing machine, and she figured out how to sew her children's clothing by borrowing patterns and learning by trial and error."¹⁵ Women had to handle whatever they faced in their new lives, helping each one another and transferring their skills to others.

Susan Mack, who has conducted research on training in dressmaking and millinery from the mid-nineteen century to 1920 in the US mainland and has examined various sites for training, including self-study, apprenticeships, public schools, private schools, colleges, and community education, argues that historically, women had various opportunities to learn dressmaking.¹⁶ In American society, the dominant idea of domesticity prescribed women's roles, and women were expected to make and mend clothing for their families and themselves. As historian Sarah A. Gordon states, indicating the variety of sewing education opportunities for girls, "Despite economic and social changes, however, girls from all backgrounds were encouraged to sew."¹⁷ It was no wonder that Nikkei women were exhorted to sew as well after coming to the United States and Hawai'i.

In the Nikkei community in Hawai‘i, as the example of Tei Saito shows, many immigrant women studied Western dressmaking on their own time, mostly because they were too busy to take any formal lessons. Soto Kimura, an immigrant woman from Yamaguchi Prefecture whom Kawakami also interviewed, similarly recalled that the first time she saw a sewing machine was in Hawai‘i.¹⁸ Her new husband and his friends had bought it for her in advance of their marriage, demonstrating the high expectations placed on her to use the machine in her role as a wife. Kimura managed to sew her work clothes, *kappa* or raincoat, and casual clothing for herself and her family, acquiring some necessary information from other women on the plantation, since her busy life kept her from receiving formal dressmaking training. Kimura finally took sewing lessons after her retirement. She recounts that “the clothes I sewed a long time ago for my children must have looked very funny.”¹⁹

Japanese immigrant women also sewed holoku, Hawaiian-style long dresses (a sort of fancy muumuu with a train). Kimura actually made holoku out of several *kasuri* kimono that she had brought from Japan. She explained that “when I came in 1911, the Issei women were already wearing holoku . . . for home and for special occasions.”²⁰ Nevertheless, not all Japanese immigrants abandoned Japanese clothing. As mentioned earlier, according to Barbara Kawakami, in plantation life, Japanese immigrants tended to continue wearing *yukata* at home and in their neighborhoods. In Japan, *yukata* were casual clothing for summer, but the warm climate in Hawai‘i allowed Nikkei people to wear these garments year round.²¹

Japanese immigrants’ persistence in maintaining a so-called Japanese way of life was of concern to those who actively promoted the Americanization of all Nikkei. As earlier studies show, the Americanization movement surged in Hawai‘i, especially after World War I, following its peak in the US mainland. In the Nikkei community in Hawai‘i, the crusade started in the late 1900s, and Issei leaders, including Takie Okumura, Yemyō Imamura, and Yasutarō Sōga, made strenuous efforts to “Americanize” those who had immigrated from Japan, sometimes collaborating with leaders in Japan, such as the financier Eiichi Shibusawa.²² Japanese immigrants and their children made up more than 40 percent of the total population of Hawai‘i by this time, so white elites, especially those who promoted statehood for Hawai‘i, were apprehensive of the “Japanization” of Hawai‘i, which also incited Issei leaders to “Americanize” the Nikkei community.²³

In the field of education, the enactment of the Smith-Hughes Act in the US mainland in 1917, which promoted public vocational education,

including homemaking courses, started affecting the Territory of Hawai'i in 1924.²⁴ Since women could learn American ways of living through these courses, vocational education was in a sense a project of "Americanizing" immigrant children, although homemaking education was likely to direct the female students toward work as domestic servants.²⁵ Vocational education was closely associated with Americanization in those days.

It was during such an era of Americanization that Nikkei dressmaking teacher Nobuko Ogawa was invited to Hawai'i. Ogawa, who had been a sewing teacher in Tokyo, moved to Chicago in 1910 and became a licensed instructor in a Western dressmaking method called the Keister system.²⁶ The sewing system was invented by J. A. Keister, who founded a school 1891 in Missouri, and through a formal licensing system, he authorized his students to spread his system to other regions. The number of Keister system schools reached five hundred and produced approximately forty thousand graduates by 1915.²⁷ With its popularity, in 1918, Ogawa opened the Southern California Sewing School in the Little Tokyo neighborhood of Los Angeles and taught the Keister system to Nikkei women.²⁸ The school's steady growth—it accepted nearly one hundred students during the 1920s—led Ogawa to become a notable figure in the Nikkei community.²⁹ Then, in 1925, after temporarily visiting Japan, she stayed in Honolulu for a couple of weeks to teach the Keister system to Nikkei women before returning to Los Angeles.³⁰

A newspaper article, meant to encourage Nikkei women to participate in Ogawa's workshop, explained that the "new sewing system" Ogawa would demonstrate was the easiest and the simplest method of Western dressmaking.³¹ The main feature of the Keister system was the use of an original ruler to measure body size, which enabled dressmakers to easily cut fabric and draft patterns.³² Ogawa's two-week workshop in Hawai'i received favorable recognition. According to a newspaper article, approximately forty Nikkei women, including some professional dressmakers, took her lessons and mainly learned how to cut fabric, and some woman even started planning to study more in Los Angeles.³³

The favorable outcome of the first workshop brought about a second one the following year. In 1926, when Ogawa decided to go back to Japan, leaving the operation of the sewing school in Los Angeles to another woman, she stopped over in Hawai'i again.³⁴ This second visit allowed her to stay in Honolulu for about two months. Because of her longer stay and the popularity of the previous workshop, the second one was divided into four courses: one for those who had taken the first workshop, one for

beginners, one for professional dressmakers, and one for busy learners. The newspaper article emphasized the point that people would not need to go to the mainland United States to learn dressmaking skills.³⁵ In other words, information on Western dressmaking was still scarce in the Nikkei community in Hawai'i. Thus, the transferring of Western dressmaking skills from the US mainland was very much appreciated by Nikkei women in Hawai'i.

Although the Japanese immigrants' Hawai'i-born daughters, or Nisei, could usually learn some dressmaking skills at school as a part of their home economics curriculum, it was not easy to systematically and inclusively learn Western dressmaking during the early 1920s. Thus, when women hoped to become professional dressmakers or seamstresses to make a living, their choice was likely to be restricted to serving an apprenticeship, or on-the-job training, in dressmaking shops. Yukiko Kimura, who carried out research about dressmakers in 1939, defines the shops as places where "the major purpose of the trade is to get the orders from the customers but at the same time they teach the girls, charging a monthly fee of \$5 to \$10 for full time students and from \$3 to \$5 for the part time students."³⁶ In this setting, the pace of learning depended on the shop proprietors, since the handling of orders was the first priority for the "teachers."

The success of Ogawa's workshops directly led to a dramatic change in how dressmaking was learned and taught in the Nikkei community, including the founding of the first dressmaking school, Keister System, Hawaii Ladies' Tailoring College, in Honolulu in 1926. Ogawa must have connected Nikkei people in Hawai'i with J. A. Keister, making it possible for them to gain the required license from him and successfully open a Keister school to impart this popular modern sewing system to Nikkei women.³⁷ In August 18, 1926, the new school opened with eleven students.³⁸ The principal was Shigeko Murata, and the vice-principal was Chikayo Kobayashi, both of whom used to be dressmakers at their own dressmaking shops. Their husbands, Ryūichi Murata and Masaichi Kobayashi, also helped to operate the school.³⁹

More significantly, Ogawa's workshops and the subsequent founding of the new dressmaking school were built on the concept of Americanization. On the tenth anniversary of the school's founding, the administrator Ryūichi Murata explained that many Nikkei leaders, including Yemyō Imamura and Kusaka Haga, supported the establishment of the dressmaking school.⁴⁰ He recalled that the Japanese Consul General of Honolulu, Rokurō Moroi, tried to promote the Dress Improvement Movement in 1917 encouraging Nikkei

people to keep their appearance tidy and respectable in order to alleviate anti-Japanese sentiment, which made him think that it would not be possible to Westernize the clothing of Nikkei people in Hawai'i without knowledge of Western dressmaking.⁴¹ As his comment shows, Western dressmaking schools assumed the role of Americanizing people's appearance in the Nikkei community.

In a newspaper article celebrating the school's tenth anniversary, many graduates of the school placed advertisements expressing their congratulations. These advertisements clearly show that the graduates had spread throughout Hawai'i from Waiālae, Kakaako, and Waipahu in Oahu to the islands of Maui and Kauai.⁴² Barbara Kawakami was also one of the graduates. She states that she first started learning the Keister system in Waipahu, near her house on a plantation. After she finished the basic course, she continued learning an advanced level of dressmaking skills at Hawaii Ladies' Tailoring College in Honolulu and then became a professional dressmaker.⁴³ The Keister system steadily permeated the Nikkei community in Hawai'i, which meant that the number of Nikkei women who could make Western clothing was gradually increasing.

THE FLOURISHING OF WESTERN DRESSMAKING SCHOOLS

After the establishment of the Hawaii Ladies' Tailoring College, the number of Western dressmaking schools increased in the Nikkei community. Hisayo Fukuda's school was another successful sewing school. Fukuda was born in Fukuoka Prefecture in 1891, and she immigrated to Hawai'i with her mother to join her father in Honolulu when she was eight.⁴⁴ After attending Chūō Gakuin, a Japanese-language school, Fukuda was fortunate to have a chance to go to Kawaiaha'o Female Seminary boarding school, where she was able to acquire Western dressmaking skills as well as other homemaking skills.⁴⁵ She subsequently worked as a nursemaid for a wealthy white family and, after marrying, became a sewing teacher in night classes at high schools, including McKinley High School in Honolulu, which had a large Nikkei student population. Although the Great Depression eventually forced her to leave her teaching job, after working as a sewing instructor at White Sewing Machine Company, Fukuda finally founded her own dressmaking school, called Fukuda Kōtō Saihō Gakuin, or Fashion Academy, in 1935.⁴⁶ Fukuda did not rely on a sewing system from the US mainland, such as Keister's, but she appealed instead to Nikkei women by mentioning that her school adopted the same textbook as the one used in the

homemaking course at Columbia University in New York.⁴⁷ Advertising something from the mainland seemed to be one of the essential factors for dressmaking schools to succeed in the Nikkei community.

In founding the school, Fukuda particularly counted on the increasing number of Nisei girls as a business opportunity, speculating that Issei women would want their daughters to become “good wives.”⁴⁸ Encouraging young women to become “good wives” was an underlying motivation in the promotion of dressmaking schools. The ability to sew was intertwined with the concept of womanhood in the Nikkei community as well as in Japan. In Japan, the *ryōsai kenbo*, or “good wife, wise mother,” ideology exhorted women to cultivate domestic skills, including sewing skills, at school as well as at home.⁴⁹ Since Japanese immigrants usually continued to embrace the concept of “Japanese” womanhood after coming to Hawai‘i, the ideal of “good wife, wise mother” was likely to be transplanted into the Nikkei community in Hawai‘i. In particular, Issei attempted to mold their daughters into “good wives, wise mothers” and thus urged young Nisei women to take sewing lessons. Especially, in the case of dressmaking schools in the community, Nisei women could learn Japanese dressmaking skills as well as Western dressmaking skills, which satisfied Issei women further. Since American society also encouraged women to sew, learning Western dressmaking met both expectations, following the efforts of Americanization and retaining the concept of Japanese womanhood.

Husband and wife Keibei and Misa Hamahata also established a new dressmaking school, recognizing that an enhanced awareness of Western clothing in the Nikkei community and an increased Nisei population reflected “the transition of the times.”⁵⁰ Keibei had found success selling products made by the Nikkei company Oyama Cosmetics based in Sacramento, California, while operating an automobile shop and engaging in literary activity.⁵¹ Keibei had participated in the opening ceremony of the Hawaii Ladies’ Tailoring College, and it is probable that the idea of creating another school occurred to him as a result of this experience.⁵² Furthermore, his wife Misa had owned a dressmaking shop in Honolulu since 1916 after learning the skills from a white dressmaker. Misa had already taught approximately one hundred apprentices, so she had considerable teaching experience.⁵³ These factors made it possible for them to found a new school.

The Hamahatas opened Royal Sewing School in Honolulu in May 1928.⁵⁴ In order to attract many students, they introduced a different sewing system from the Keister one, called the square system, or *sukoa-shiki* in Japanese. As shown in the case of Keister’s school, the Hamahatas also invited a

Nikkei woman, Yasuko Ozaki, from the mainland. Ozaki had administered a dressmaking school in Oakland, California, inventing an original sewing system.⁵⁵ In February 1928, before the opening of the new school, the Hamahatas arranged workshops by Ozaki in Honolulu, announcing that people could learn “the Ozaki system” there. This term, “the Ozaki system,” was employed for a while after the opening of the Royal Sewing School, but it was changed to “the square system” the following year.⁵⁶ It is possible that the name change was made to make it sound more “American” in order to appeal to Nikkei women. By publicizing the square system as the “brand-new method of cutting in the United States,” the Royal Sewing School successfully attracted many Nikkei women (fig. 1).⁵⁷ The school started with fourteen students in 1928, and graduates totaled approximately seven



Figure 1. Royal Sewing School

Source: Rōyaru Dōsōkai, *Rōyaru Dōsōshi, The Royal Class Mates, 1933* (Honolulu: Taishō, 1933).

hundred by 1935.⁵⁸

The “new” methods brought from the US mainland likely appealed to Nikkei women in Hawai‘i. Following the Keister system and the square system, such systems as “the French American system” and “the Blackburn system” were also imported from the mainland.⁵⁹ In 1933, recognizing most of the US sewing systems as theoretical, Misa Hamahata also pointed out that while women in Hawai‘i had not been able to learn any theoretical or rational methods of sewing until several years before, Nikkei women in Hawai‘i were now able to learn theoretical and rational systems such as the square system. Suggesting that even women in Japan were getting to learn theoretical systems, Hamahata insisted that women in Hawai‘i also needed to keep abreast of the times.⁶⁰

White dressmakers in the US mainland were also likely to see Hawai‘i as a site for business opportunities. For instance, Ethel Wolfe, who had administered a school in Los Angeles, opened a costume design school in Honolulu.⁶¹ Although she might not necessarily have targeted Nikkei people, the advertisements of Wolfe’s school were frequently inserted even in both the Japanese section and English of the *Nippu Jiji*.⁶² Since she had already taught many Nikkei women in Los Angeles, Wolfe must have been confident about succeeding in her business in Hawai‘i.⁶³ The introduction of mainland sewing systems and the culture of Western dressmaking flourished among Nikkei women in Hawai‘i, which led to an increase in the number of Nikkei dressmakers.

With the rise in the number of dressmakers, the new Hawaii Dressmakers’ Association played an important role in the dressmaking trade in Hawai‘i. Keibei and Misa Hamahata were among the association’s founding members. Keibei recalls that they had their first meeting on July 24, 1926, at Misa’s shop, Hayashida Sewing Shop, which she ran before the Royal Sewing School opened.⁶⁴ The founding members came from fourteen dressmaking shops as well as Chikayo Kobayashi and Ryūichi Murata, who were about to open Hawaii Ladies’ Tailoring College.⁶⁵ Although most of the members were the owners of dressmaking shops, they likely remained in the association even after opening their schools and closing their own shops. Yukiko Kimura elucidates that the aim of the association was “to cooperate with one another in ways of developing the skill in dressmaking and at the same time in increasing the profit in their trade.”⁶⁶ The association also set an examination to make the dressmaking skills of Nikkei women reach a certain level in order to prevent unskilled dressmakers from entering the dressmaking trade.⁶⁷ They even held a graduation ceremony for those who

passed the exam. They also attempted to construct social networks as well as commercial ties, sometimes holding picnics and providing tours to Japan.⁶⁸ By 1939, there were forty members in the association not only in Oahu but also on Maui and Kauai.⁶⁹ This collaborative alliance backed the flourishing of the dressmaking trade and the cultivation of dressmaking culture in the Nikkei community, which led to the dressmaking contest and fashion show.

DRESSMAKING CONTEST AND FASHION SHOW

The first *Nippu Jiji* dressmaking contest and fashion show was held in 1939 and supported by local stores in Honolulu, the Hawaii Dressmakers' Association, and major Western dressmaking schools.⁷⁰ The dressmaking contest was announced on July 25 with a statement in the newspaper that it would be "Hawaii's first amateur dressmaking contest." Applicants were given until August 31 to submit their pieces, and then eleven dressmaking teachers judged about 150 pieces and announced the results on September 29.⁷¹ The fashion show took place on October 1, accompanied by the singing of traditional Japanese ballads and a koto performance. In the show, sixty models walked on the stage, wearing not only prize-winning dresses but also the designs of dressmaking-school students.⁷²

Although this may have been the first time a dressmaking contest had taken place in Hawai'i, the fashion show format itself was already familiar to the Nikkei community. For instance, in 1933, the Royal Sewing School started holding a fashion show at the end of its graduation ceremony, with graduates modeling the dresses they made.⁷³ An announcement for the event suggested that this was still rare in the Nikkei community.⁷⁴ In the following year, the *Nippu Jiji* included a "style show" with a free "cooking school" event, in collaboration with the Bon Ton department store.⁷⁵ Likewise, the Fashion Academy, Hisayo Fukuda's school, followed suit and held a fashion show at its graduation ceremony.⁷⁶ Thus, the sponsors for the 1939 event were already aware that fashion shows could capture people's attention. Therefore, when the *Nippu Jiji* suggested the idea of holding a fashion show, dressmaking teachers immediately agreed with the proposal.⁷⁷ As a result, the fashion show successfully drew a large audience, so that some potential visitors were even refused entrance due to limited capacity.⁷⁸

According to the *Nippu Jiji*, the goals of the dressmaking contest were to stimulate the dressmaking trade and to spread home sewing to every household in the Nikkei community.⁷⁹ The idea was partly grounded in the fact that many Nikkei women were engaged in the dressmaking trade at the

time. In 1939, the *Nippu Jiji* stated that the profession of Western dressmaking in Hawai'i was now exclusively occupied by Nikkei women "who were skillful with their fingers." They hosted the dressmaking contest and the fashion show in order to promote the development of the dressmaking trade for Nikkei women.⁸⁰ In fact, the number of Nikkei dressmakers had dramatically multiplied. According to human geographer Kōjirō Iida, in 1920 there were only 33 Japanese dressmakers or seamstresses in Honolulu, but by 1930, this number had dramatically increased to 168. During the same period, the number of white female dressmakers dropped from 82 to 55 in 1930, while that of Nikkei dressmakers jumped nearly fivefold.⁸¹ The surge in awareness of Western clothing and the increase in the number of sites for learning dressmaking skills boosted the number of Nikkei dressmakers. In this sense, the dressmaking contest was intended to support a valuable career for Nikkei women. Hisayo Fukuda actually argued for maintaining Nikkei women's position in the dressmaking trade for the next generation, partly because the chance of entering other professions, such as medicine and law, was getting slimmer for Nikkei youth at the time, and partly because the dressmaking trade had begun to be monopolized by Nikkei women.⁸²

At the same time, the aim of spreading home sewing through the Nikkei community casts light on other aspects of dressmaking at the time. While dressmaking teachers and dressmakers regarded their job as a significant option for Nikkei women, Nisei women, especially those who could receive higher education, tried to choose other careers. For instance, many Nisei women became interested in teaching, although it was still hard for them to enter the profession.⁸³ According to a report of Japan's foreign ministry in 1936, the number of Nikkei women learning dressmaking skills in Honolulu reached 2,250, approximately 30 percent of whom were estimated to have started dressmaking businesses.⁸⁴ In other words, many of those who went to dressmaking schools did not always become professional dressmakers. Furthermore, the development of ready-made clothing had made it possible for women to avoid having to sew at home; therefore, if they could afford to, or if they were too busy to find enough time to sew, women, particularly those living in urban areas, were able to rely on ready-made clothing. Dressmaking was not necessarily an indispensable skill for every woman anymore.

This reveals that there were economic disparities and class differences among Nikkei women. While some Nikkei women learned Western dressmaking in order to work as dressmakers for their living or to live

frugally, others, including young Nikkei high school girls and college women, learned it as a kind of leisure activity.⁸⁵ In the case of the latter, many attended dressmaking schools during their summer vacations. Thus, dressmaking schools had to actively recruit women, since the social and economic setting did not easily bring students into dressmaking schools.

In this sense, the dressmaking contest and fashion show was a site to advertise the attractiveness of dressmaking to the Nikkei community and an unparalleled opportunity for dressmaking schools to publicize their schools. In addition to presenting dresses that their students made on the stage of the fashion show, each dressmaking school inserted advertisements containing messages in the program booklet. Some appealed to women's beauty awareness, with such phrases as "female beauty depends on the style of dress," but most of them were based on the Nikkei concept of womanhood. For instance, the advertisement for the Modern Sewing School stated, "The feature of this school is to help students cultivate womanhood appropriately as well as master Western dressmaking skills easily in a homey cozy atmosphere." Kimata Sewing School delivered a more powerful message: "It is disgraceful that a woman is not capable of sewing."⁸⁶ Since, as mentioned earlier, young Nisei women were usually encouraged to take dressmaking lessons by their mothers, many phrases in the advertisements seemed to be intended to appeal to immigrant women or the mothers of Nisei girls and women. For instance, one such advertisement stated, "We recommend you have your daughter learn at least Western dressmaking and acquire a full-fledged skill."⁸⁷ Likewise, the concept of womanhood and the significance of sewing were closely intertwined with each other. These virtues were fostered in the Nikkei community in keeping with the idea of "good wife, wise mother." Dressmaking schools played an active role in passing down the values associated with the ideal of womanhood to the next generation.

While considering how this event benefited the Nikkei community, the *Nippu Jiji* also took the larger audience beyond the community into consideration. The event also functioned as a site to demonstrate the Americanization of Nikkei people. On the fashion show stage, the models, including not only Nikkei but also white women, wore fashionable and sophisticated Western dresses. In addition, the dressmaking contest itself attempted to show Nikkei people's contribution to the Hawaiian economy. According to the contest rules, the applicants had to purchase sewing materials at affiliated stores, such as Liberty House, Fair Department Store, Musashiya, and Morifuji Silk Shop.⁸⁸ The stores were not restricted to local

Nikkei stores. The contest aimed to stimulate consumption and vitalize business in Honolulu at large as well as the Nikkei community during the Depression years.

It is also noteworthy to mention that the fashion show included “dresses made of Japanese materials (Tanmono).”⁸⁹ This segment was actually the product of an initiative of the Hawaii Dressmakers’ Association. In spring 1939, the association arranged a study tour to Japan, a so-called *kengakudan*. During the tour, the Shirakiya department store in Tokyo requested that the members of the association sew Western dresses made of *meisen* silk, a fabric used to make kimono, and the tour members agreed. After returning to Hawai‘i, Nisei dressmakers sewed Western dresses with *meisen* silk and sent them to the department store in Japan, and the pieces were eventually introduced in the Japanese women’s magazine, *Fujin Kōron*.⁹⁰ This experience actually gave them the idea of presenting “Oriental”-flavored Western dresses on the stage of the fashion show. To be sure, one of the reasons might have been that they wanted the Nikkei audience to see designs and styles of Western dresses made out of kimono fabric, but they simultaneously targeted a white audience interested in things “Oriental.”⁹¹ While trying to show their Americanization by demonstrating Western dresses, they also took advantage of their “Oriental” background. Hisayo Fukuda recounted that Western dresses made of kimono fabrics were actually popular among white tourists to Hawai‘i.⁹²

Regarding the fashion show, the *Nippu Jiji* reporter Harry Shiramizu delineated, “Fashion views, reviews and previews spotlighting the latest in women’s autumnal dresses and gowns made of materials, Oriental and non-Oriental, harmonized by beautiful color blends and worn by models, Caucasian and non-Caucasian, featured The Nippu Jiji’s First ‘Fashionade.’”⁹³ This hybrid event, paying attention to the Nikkei community and the larger society, was a resounding success, and it was repeated the following year.⁹⁴ However, the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and the resulting state of emergency led to the temporary closure of dressmaking schools and the discontinuation of the contest and fashion show.⁹⁵

CONCLUSION

Nikkei women’s bodies and dresses were considered an important site of contestation and negotiation in the context of Americanization. With the rise of the Americanization movement in the Territory of Hawai‘i, Japanese

immigrant women were expected to dress themselves in Americanized ways. Western dressmaking became a key factor that supported and promoted Americanization leaders' ardent efforts. In this sense, Western dressmaking schools played a significant role in increasing Western dressmakers in the Nikkei community and Americanizing Nikkei women. Dressmaking contests and fashion shows further served as a site of explicitly demonstrating the outcome of Americanization.

At the same time, dressmaking schools were not simply advocates of Americanization in the Nikkei community. They also showed favorable and sometimes nationalistic sentiments toward Japan. For instance, the Royal Sewing School purchased an advertisement to celebrate the Japanese Imperial Navy's arrival in Hawai'i in a Japanese vernacular newspaper.⁹⁶ The Hawaii Dressmakers' Association also held a fundraising movie party for the purpose of donating to the Imperial Army in Japan.⁹⁷ They even visited a navy hospital for sick and wounded soldiers in Yokosuka, Japan, during their Japanese tour and distributed gifts that they had brought from Hawai'i to patients.⁹⁸ In other words, Western dressmaking circles were also a site for fostering "immigrant nationalism" that Yuji Ichioka and other scholars have referred to.⁹⁹

Furthermore, Western dressmaking circles also recognized the fluidity of the Nikkei community based on the mobility of Nikkei people. Many Nikkei did not necessarily permanently live in Hawai'i and tended to move to other places, ranging from the US mainland to Japan, Taiwan, or Manchuria, seeking a better life and opportunities.¹⁰⁰ Acknowledging the regional or transnational mobility of Nikkei people, Misa Hamahata also stated in the advertisement of her Royal Sewing School that after studying at the school "you could become a dressmaking teacher at schools as well as sewing shops, wherever you are, in other Hawaiian islands or in Japan."¹⁰¹ While they attempted to cultivate the concept of womanhood based on "good wife, wise mother" in the Nikkei community, they encouraged Nikkei women to become autonomous through their acquired skills wherever they were.

On the whole, Nikkei Western dressmaking circles in Hawai'i tried to work for the advancement of their community and the development of an ethnic niche in the dressmaking trade. Seeking ways for survival in Hawai'i, they contributed to fostering Western dressmaking culture in the Nikkei community.

NOTES

¹ In this article, the term "Nikkei" refers to people of Japanese ancestry, such as the "Issei,"

“Nisei,” and “Kibei.” “Kibei” is the term for an American-born person of Japanese ancestry who is sent to be educated in Japan in childhood and then returns to the United States. “Nikkei” also includes those who temporarily lived in the United States and later went back to Japan.

² “Ryūkō Zuresuten [Fashion show],” *Nippu Jiji*, September 30, 1939; “Fujin Ryūkōten no Seikyō [The success of the fashion show],” *Nippu Jiji*, October 2, 1939; “Fashion Show Attracts Throng,” *Nippu Jiji*, October 2, 1939.

³ Barbara F. Kawakami, *Japanese Immigrant Clothing in Hawaii, 1885–1941* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1993), 92.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 98, 202.

⁵ The advertisements for sewing shops can be found in Japanese-language newspapers during the 1880s. See, e. g., *Yamato Shinbun*, February 4, 1899.

⁶ Shigehiko Shiramizu and Kei Suzuki, *Hawaii Nikkeishakai Monogatari: Aru Kibei Nisei Jānarisuto no Shōgen* [A history of Hawai‘i’s Japanese narrated by a Kibei–Nisei] (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobō, 2016), 36–37.

⁷ Yukiko Kimura, “A Study of the Japanese Dressmakers in Honolulu,” July 1939, in the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL) Collection, Student Papers, series A, box A-3, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.

⁸ Yukiko Kimura, *Issei: Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1992).

⁹ Shiho Imai, *Creating the Nisei Market: Race and Citizenship in Hawai‘i’s Japanese American Consumer Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2010), 95–102.

¹⁰ Hiromi Monobe, “Senkanki Hawaiinokeru Nikkei Nisei Joshi Kyōiku: Nihongo Gakkō kara Ryōrikōshūkai made [From Japanese-language school to cooking classes: Education of Japanese American Nisei women in interwar Hawai‘i],” *Ritsumeikan Studies in Language and Culture* 20, no. 1 (2008): 193, 197–8.

¹¹ Kawakami, *Japanese Immigrant Clothing in Hawaii*. Her 2016 book also clearly shows her viewpoint from the side of a dressmaker. Barbara F. Kawakami, *Picture Bride Stories* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2016).

¹² The Nikkei population in Hawai‘i steadily increased. In 1920, its population reached 109,274, which comprised 42.7 % of the total in Hawai‘i. Then, the number of Nikkei women rose to 46,630, which had more than tripled that in 1900, 13,603, and alleviated the imbalanced sex ratio. Romanzo Adams, “Some Statistics on the Japanese in Hawaii,” *Foreign Affairs* 2, no. 2 (1923): 311–12. See also Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835–1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1983), 122–23; Gail M. Nomura, “Issei Working Women in Hawaii,” in *Making Waves: An Anthology of Writings by and about Asian American Women*, ed. Asian Women United of California (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 135–48; Alice Yun Chai, “Picture Brides: Feminist Analysis of Life Histories of Hawai‘i’s Early Immigrant Women from Japan, Okinawa, and Korea,” in *Seeking Common Ground: Multidisciplinary Studies of Immigrant Women in the United States*, ed. Donna Gabaccia (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992), 125–31; Mei Nakano, *Japanese American Women: Three Generations, 1890–1990* (Berkeley, CA: Mina Press, 1990), 24–29; Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885–1924* (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 164–69; Yujin Yaguchi, *Hawaino Rekishi to Bunka* [History and culture of Hawai‘i] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 2002), 12–54.

¹³ Yoko Yoshimoto, “Hanahiraku Yōsaigakkō [The blossoming of Western dressmaking schools],” in *Yōsai no Jidai* [The era of Western dressmaking], ed. Kazuko Koizumi (Tokyo: OM Shuppan, 2004), 23–29; Yoko Kuromura, “Nōson no Yōfukuka [The spread of Western clothing in agricultural villages],” in Koizumi, *Yōsai no Jidai*, 74; Andrew Gordon, *Fabricating Consumers: The Sewing Machine in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of

California Press, 2012), 21–26, 40–45.

¹⁴ Michiyo Kitawaki, “Nihonjin Imin to Saihō: Iminshakai niokeru Saihō Gakkō wo Chūshin toshite [Japanese immigrant women and sewing: Dressmaking schools in the Japanese American community],” in *Esunikku Amerika wo Tou: “Ta karanaru Hitotsu”eno Takakuteki Apurōchi* [Searching ethnic America: Multiple approaches to “E Pluribus Unum”], ed. Migration and America Research Project (Tokyo: Sairyūsha, 2015), 71–76.

¹⁵ Kawakami, *Picture Bride Stories*, 97.

¹⁶ Susan Mack, “Gifts to be Cultivated: Training in Dressmaking and Millinery, 1860–1920,” (PhD diss., University of St. Thomas, 2011), 8.

¹⁷ Sarah A. Gordon, *“Making It Yourself”: Home Sewing, Gender, and Culture, 1890–1930* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 47.

¹⁸ Kawakami, *Picture Bride Stories*, 62.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 62. Kawakami suggests that Issei women she interviewed were likely to use the terms “holoku” and “muumuu” interchangeably. See Kawakami, *Japanese Immigrant Clothing in Hawaii*, 152.

²¹ Kawakami, *Japanese Immigrant Clothing in Hawaii*, 136–46.

²² Eileen H. Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1994), 45–88; Hiromi Monobe, “Americanizing Hawai‘i’s Japanese: A Transnational Partnership and the Politics of Racial Harmony during the 1920s,” in *Hawai‘i at the Crossroads of the US and Japan before the Pacific War*, ed. Jon Thares Davidann (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 119–45; Noriko Shimada, “Social, Cultural, and Spiritual Struggles of the Japanese in Hawai‘i: The Case of Okumura Takie and Imamura Yemyo and Americanization,” in Davidann, *Hawai‘i at the Crossroads*, 146–70; Mariko Takagi-Kitayama, “In the Strong Wind of the Americanization Movement: The Japanese-Language School Litigation Controversy and Okumura’s Educational Campaign,” in Davidann, *Hawai‘i at the Crossroads*, 217–39.

²³ Tamura, *Nisei Generation*, 56–65.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 135–37.

²⁵ Monobe also points out the aim of “Americanizing” immigrant students lurking in vocational education at the time. See Hiromi Monobe, “Shaping an Ethnic Leadership: Takie Okumura and the ‘Americanization’ of the Nisei in Hawai‘i, 1919–1945,” (PhD diss., University of Hawai‘i, 2004), 140–43.

²⁶ Michiyo Kitawaki, “Senzen no Josei no Ekkyō to Yōsai Gijutsu no Iten: Nichibei de Yōsai wo Oshieta Ogawa Nobuko no Jireikara [Women’s transnational mobility and the transfer of Western dressmaking skills before World War II: Nobuko Ogawa and her teaching experience in the US and Japan],” *Journal of the Japanese Overseas Migration Museum, JICA Yokohama* 13 (2019): 33–37; “Shinshiki Yōfuku no Saihō Kōshūkai [Sewing workshop on new Western dressmaking],” *Nippu Jiji*, October 20, 1925.

²⁷ “Women May Learn Dressmaking by Easy Method,” *Salt Lake Telegram*, August 19, 1915.

²⁸ “Kaimei Kōkoku [Advertisement for a change of name],” *Nichibei*, November 1, 1918.

²⁹ Kitawaki, “Women’s Transnational Mobility,” 36.

³⁰ *Nippu Jiji*, October 20, 1925.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Salt Lake Telegram*, August 19, 1915. The textbook that Nobuko Ogawa published in Japan also shows what the Keister system is. See Nobuko Ogawa, *Saishin Kīsutā-shiki Fujin Kodomo Yōfuku no Tachikata* [The Keister system cutting method for women’s and children’s clothing] (Tokyo: Tokyo Kasei Senshugakko, 1927).

³³ “Ogawajoshi Saihō Owari Kibe [Mrs. Ogawa returns to US mainland],” *Nippu Jiji*, November 10, 1925.

³⁴ Kitawaki, “Women’s Transnational Mobility,” 37–38.

³⁵ “Kisutā Saihō Kōshūkai [Keister Sewing Workshop],” *Nippu Jiji*, June 14, 1926.

³⁶ Kimura, “Japanese Dressmakers in Honolulu,” 7.

³⁷ Ryūichi Murata, “Hawai niokeru Nihonjin no Yōsō [Western dress styles of Japanese in Hawaii],” *Nippu Jiji*, August 19, 1936.

³⁸ “Kisutā Saihō Gakkō Kaikō [The inauguration of Keister’s Sewing School],” *Nippu Jiji*, August 18, 1926.

³⁹ Advertisements show that Murata mainly handled baby clothing. See *Nippu Jiji*, March 9, 1926.

⁴⁰ Murata, *Nippu Jiji*, August 19, 1936; Ryūichi Murata, “Jūnen no Kaiko [Recollections of the decade],” *Hawaii Hōchi*, August 18, 1936.

⁴¹ Murata, *Nippu Jiji*, August 19, 1936; Murata, *Hawaii Hōchi*, August 18, 1936. Moroi actively tried to improve the appearance of Nikkei people in the late 1910s. See *Nippu Jiji*, November 17, 1917; November 20, 1917; and November 22, 1917.

⁴² Advertisements, *Nippu Jiji*, August 19, 1936; and *Hawaii Hōchi*, August 18, 1936.

⁴³ Barbara Kawakami, interview with the author, February 28, 2019. See also Kawakami, *Picture Bride Stories*, xiv.

⁴⁴ Hisayo Fukuda, “Autobiography,” in Collection of Tokioka Heritage Resource Center, Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai‘i, 1. Fukuda wrote this autobiography when she was eighty-five.

⁴⁵ Fukuda, “Autobiography,” 3–15. Kawaiaha‘o Female Seminary was a girls’ missionary boarding school that promoted industrial education such as dressmaking, ironing, washing, and nursing. See Carl Kalani Beyer, “Female Seminaries in America and Hawai‘i during the 19th Century,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 37 (2007): 106–9.

⁴⁶ Fukuda explained that the reason why she left the job lay in her status as an alien. Fukuda, “Autobiography,” 33.

⁴⁷ Advertisement, *Hawai Hōchi*, June 1, 1938.

⁴⁸ Fukuda, “Autobiography,” 34.

⁴⁹ Shizuko Koyama, *Ryōsai Kenbo toiu Kihan* [The ideology of Ryōsai Kenbo] (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 1991), 41–92.

⁵⁰ Mr. and Mrs. K. Hamahata, *Royal Square System of Cutting* (Tokyo: Herald Press, 1935), 51.

⁵¹ Kenkichi Hamahata, *Bokkemon Hashiru* [Bokkemon runs] (Tokyo: Nihon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, 1995), 150–58. This book is a biography of Keibe Hamahata written by his son.

⁵² “Hawaiini Hajimeteno Saihōsenmon Jogakkō [The first dressmaking school in Hawai‘i],” *Nippu Jiji*, August 30, 1926.

⁵³ Rōyaru Dōsōkai, *Rōyaru Dōsōshi, The Royal Class Mates, 1933* [Royal sewing school alumni bulletin] (Honolulu: Taishō, 1933), 33.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁵⁵ Advertisement, *Nichibei*, November 8, 1924.

⁵⁶ Advertisements, *Hawai Hōchi*, February 5, 1928; and *Hawai Hōchi*, February 15, 1929.

⁵⁷ Advertisement, *Jitsugyo no Hawaii*, September 1, 1932.

⁵⁸ Hamahata, *Royal Square System*, preface.

⁵⁹ “Aratani Saihōgakkō Setsuritsu [New dressmaking school will be founded],” *Nippu Jiji*, March 29, 1927.

⁶⁰ Rōyaru Dōsōkai, *Rōyaru Dōsōshi, The Royal Class Mates*, 20–21.

⁶¹ “Worufu Ishōgakkō Fōtōgai ni Hirakaru [Wolfe’s School will start at Fort Street],” *Nippu Jiji*, May 28, 1937; “Wolfe School to Open Officially on Monday,” *Nippu Jiji*, June 17, 1937.

⁶² “Worufjoshi Keiei no Ishōzuangakkō [“Wolfe’s School of Professional Costume Design”], *Nippu Jiji*, August 26, 1937; “Wolfe School of Costume Design,” *Nippu Jiji*, March 22, 1939.

⁶³ Some Nikkei women in Los Angeles opened dressmaking schools after learning from Wolfe. See “Kinkoku [Announcement],” *Rafu Shimpo*, April 8, 1927.

⁶⁴ Hayashida was Misa’s maiden name. Hamahata, *Bokkemon Hashiru*, 159; “Zuresumēkā Kumiai Soshiki [The organizing of the Dressmakers’ Association],” *Nippu Jiji*, July 21, 1926.

⁶⁵ “Kinkoku [Announcement],” *Nippu Jiji*, July 26, 1926.

⁶⁶ Kimura, “Japanese Dressmakers in Honolulu,” 7.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 7–8.

⁶⁸ “Pikunikku Kōkoku [Advertisement for picnic],” *Nippu Jiji*, August 14, 1937; “Nihon Kankō Kengakudan [Sightseeing tour to Japan],” *Nippu Jiji*, January 1, 1939.

⁶⁹ Kimura, “Japanese Dressmakers in Honolulu,” 1.

⁷⁰ “Dressmaking Contest: Open to All Women and Girls of Honolulu and Rural Oahu,” *Nippu Jiji*, July 25, 1939.

⁷¹ The judges included Hisayo Fukuda, Misa Hamahata, and Chikayo Kobayashi, whom this article has touched on. See “Kinou Shinsa wo Shūryō [The judging was completed yesterday],” *Nippu Jiji*, September 11, 1939; “60 Models to Feature Nippu Jiji Fashion Show Tomorrow,” *Nippu Jiji*, September 30, 1939.

⁷² “60 Models,” *Nippu Jiji*, September 30, 1939.

⁷³ Rōyaru Dōsōkai, *Rōyaru Dōsōshi*, *The Royal Class Mates*, 32–33; “Sukoa-shiki Roiyaru Saihōgakkō Sotsugyō-shiki [Square system graduation ceremony at Royal Sewing School],” *Nippu Jiji*, August 17, 1933.

⁷⁴ “Fasshon-shō wo Kaisai [The holding of fashion shows],” *Nippu Jiji*, August 17, 1933. The follow-up article refers to the fashion show as the first one in the Nikkei community. See “Dairokkai Sotsugyō-shiki Daiseikyō [The big success of sixth graduation ceremony],” *Nippu Jiji*, August 21, 1933.

⁷⁵ “Cooking School Crowded Again,” *Nippu Jiji*, June 22, 1934.

⁷⁶ “Fukuda Saihōgakuin Ryūkōten Myōban Kaisaisu [Fashion show by Fashion Academy will take place tomorrow evening],” *Nippu Jiji*, May 28, 1937; “Fukuda Yōsaigakuin Ryūkōten Daiseikō [The big success of fashion show by Fashion Academy],” *Nippu Jiji*, May 31, 1937.

⁷⁷ “Yōsai Zadankai (3) [A roundtable on Western dressmaking (3)],” *Nippu Jiji*, August 21, 1939.

⁷⁸ “Sukecchi [Sketch],” *Nippu Jiji*, October 2, 1939.

⁷⁹ *Nippu Jiji*, *Fashion Review 1940* (Honolulu: Nippu Jiji, 1940), 1.

⁸⁰ “Yōsai Zadankai (1) [A roundtable on Western dressmaking (1)],” *Nippu Jiji*, August 18, 1939.

⁸¹ Kōjirō Iida, *Honoruru Nikkeijin no Rekishichiri* [Historical geography in the Honolulu Nikkei community] (Tokyo: Nakanishiya, 2013), 10–17. Of white dressmakers, Portuguese were the majority. According to research conducted by Jane Dranga, there were thirty Portuguese female dressmakers, while there were twenty-five “other Caucasians” in 1930. See Jane Dranga, “Racial Facts in the Employment of Women,” *Social Process in Hawaii 2* (May 1936): 14.

⁸² “Yōsai Zadankai (5) [A roundtable on Western dressmaking (5)],” *Nippu Jiji*, August 23, 1939.

⁸³ Tamura, *Nisei Generation*, 211–34.

⁸⁴ *Hokubei Nikkei Shimin Gaikyō* [Overview of Japanese Americans in North America] (Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Bureau of America, First Section, 1936), 98–101.

⁸⁵ Historian Shiho Imai points out that, during the Depression years, young people were encouraged to engage in hobbies partly because it was likely to prevent juvenile delinquency. Dressmaking was considered as a hobby or a healthy pastime. See Imai, *Nisei Market*, 95–102.

⁸⁶ Nippu Jiji, *Fashion Review 1940* (Honolulu: Nippu Jiji, 1940), 11, 15, 24.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁸⁸ “Dressmaking Contest,” *Nippu Jiji*, July 25, 1939.

⁸⁹ “Fashion Show Attracts Throng,” *Nippu Jiji*, October 2, 1939.

⁹⁰ “Fujin Kōron ni Shōkaino Hawai no Zuresu [Western dresses introduced in *Fujin Koron*],” *Nippu Jiji*, March 2, 1939.

⁹¹ They seemed to use other kimono fabric than *meisen* silk, because the designs of *meisen* obtained in Hawai‘i were not good for the price. See “Yōsai Zadankai (4) [A roundtable on Western dressmaking (4)],” *Nippu Jiji*, August 22, 1939.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Harry Shiramizu, “Nippu Jiji’s ‘Fahionade’ of Models, Materials and Dresses Attracts Admirers,” *Nippu Jiji*, October 2, 1939.

⁹⁴ *Nippu Jiji*, December 2, 1940.

⁹⁵ Dressmaking schools reopened afterward. For instance, the Fashion Academy resumed on October 1, 1942. See “Seito Boshū [New students invited],” *Nippu Jiji*, September 30, 1942.

⁹⁶ Advertisements, *Nippu Jiji*, June 13, 1933.

⁹⁷ Advertisement, *Hawaii Hochi*, July 2, 1940.

⁹⁸ “Yokosuka Kaigunbyōin Hakui Yūshi Kansha [Soldiers at Yokosuka Navy Hospital express their appreciation],” *Nippu Jiji*, April 24, 1939.

⁹⁹ Yuji Ichioka, “Japanese Immigrant Nationalism: The Issei and the Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1941,” *California History* 69, no. 3 (1990): 260–75, 310–11; Azuma Eiichiro, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnational in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 163–86; Fuminori Minamikawa, “Nikkei Amerikajin” no *Rekishishakaigaku: Esunishiti, Jinshu, Nashonarizumu* [The historical sociology of “Japanese Americans”: Ethnicity, race, and nationalism] (Tokyo, Sairyūsha, 2007), 133–64.

¹⁰⁰ In his 2019 book, Azuma elaborates the history of these transmigrants. Eiichiro Azuma, *In Search of Our Frontier: Japanese America and Settler Colonialism in the Construction of Japan’s Borderless Empire* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019).

¹⁰¹ Advertisement, *Hawaii Hochi*, April 10, 1933.