

**Diasporic Markets:**  
*Japanese Print and Migration in São Paulo,  
 1908-1935*

EDWARD MACK

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in addition to expanding its formal empire — which already included the Korean peninsula and the island of Taiwan — the Japanese government sponsored large-scale migration to additional countries, one of which was Brazil. Over the course of the previous century the migrant communities that were established there grew into a sizable, multi-generational ethnic subset of the Brazilian population. Today, Brazil contains the largest population of persons of Japanese descent outside of Japan, at roughly 1.5 million.

The success of these emigration efforts, which began when the *Kasato-maru* arrived in Santos harbor in 1908, created a new set of needs. From the earliest days of migration, local businesses addressed migrants' demands for goods not readily available in the foreign countries. The first of these businesses involved foodstuffs and other essential items: soy sauce, seeds, medicines, Japanese farm tools. Before long, however, demand appeared for print: newspapers, magazines, and books from the homeland.<sup>1</sup>

Print fulfilled many basic needs. For these migrants, the world contained within the texts was everything but new; they were surrounded by a world that was utterly foreign, and they often turned to texts from Japan for precisely that which was familiar, even if sometimes fictive. In many cases the texts they purchased depicted a bygone time filled with greater romance than their often-harsh daily lives. Others depicted the world of 'pure literature,' written by the educated elite of Tokyo, the concerns of which were far removed from both the struggle to adapt to a new home and the hardships many of the migrants had faced even before they left Japan. As communities formed and new generations were born in Brazil, print began to play a new role. It represented not only the culture that parents hoped to instil in their children, but also the very language of those parents, both elements perceived to be essential to Japanese identity, which migrant parents struggled to preserve in their increasingly different Brazil-born children.

For print capital based in Tokyo, these migrant communities presented a market to be exploited, an audience thought to have an insatiable desire for the cultural products of their home. Particularly from the 1930s, Tokyo-based publishing companies and Brazil-based retailers began significant newspaper adver-

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tising campaigns directed at these consumers. Before long, the proportion of advertising space dedicated to print grew to mimic the situation in Japan itself, where pharmaceuticals and print were the two most advertised commodities. Print capital modified its sales strategies for this new world of consumers. Publishers and booksellers soon recognised that they could play to a litany of fears shared by many migrants — fears of falling out of touch, of being insufficiently patriotic, of somehow becoming less-than-fully Japanese — by selling their products as the solution to the alienation of a diasporic existence.

This article is part of a larger project, which focuses on the spread of Tokyo-centred print culture throughout the various peripheries of the nation — from the provinces of the main islands through the formal colonies of Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria, to the informal colonies of Seattle, San Francisco, and São Paulo — during the pre-World War Two (henceforth 'prewar') period. The focus of this project is the powerful centralised publishing industry in Tokyo, and the way in which this Tokyo-based print culture spread as a national/imperial/ethnic culture, solidifying its own centrality as it contributed to the development and perpetuation of a singular Japanese identity. In particular, the project focuses on the dissemination of literary texts, attempting to determine the historical scope of 'Japan' in the formulation 'modern Japanese literature.' This is an attempt to gauge this centralised culture's reach, to recognise its full magnitude and impact as well as its boundaries. It is an attempt to trace this homogenising force even as it recognises the limits of its hegemony.

This article focuses on São Paulo, which was one of the primary destinations of Japanese immigrants in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and thus one of the primary markets for Japanese-language print outside of Japan; its scope is limited to the first decades of migration. Very little has been written on the subject.<sup>2</sup> For this reason the article relies on the most abundant extant primary source available: newspaper advertisements. The first Japanese-language newspaper produced in Brazil began in 1915 but failed within a year.<sup>3</sup> In early 1916, the weekly *Nippaku shinbun* appeared, followed soon after by the *Burajiru jibô* in August 1917.<sup>4</sup> The description that follows is derived from advertisements drawn from these newspapers and is thus incomplete.

As seems to be the standard process for early immigrant communities, the very first readers obtained their books through one of four avenues: they brought them from Japan, they borrowed them from friends, they ordered them directly from the publishers, or they purchased them through general stores (*shôten, zakkaya*).<sup>5</sup> The earliest advertisement for book sales appears to be a general store named Kidô, located in the city of São Paulo, which advertised on 1 February 1918 that it handled books.<sup>6</sup> Needless to say, books were not its main business, which revolved around carpenter tools, medicines, used sacks, and soy sauce.

There were at least two other major general stores that handled books in Brazil during the prewar years: Segi Shōten (Casa Segui) and Nakaya Shōten. Both stores were located in the city of São Paulo. Segi announced its opening in an advertisement in 1919.<sup>7</sup> According to this opening advertisement, the company handled books — along with cosmetics, medicines, hardware, foodstuffs, and seeds — from its inception. Nakaya, Segi's largest competitor, advertised its store opening in 1920.<sup>8</sup> From the amount of advertising space these companies dedicated to books and magazines, it is likely that they committed a large part of their business to print. It is also possible, however, that periodical and new book sales benefited more from advertising than did staples, and were prominent for that reason as well.

One other general store, however, clearly came to dedicate itself to book and magazines sales: Endō Shōten. The entrepreneur Endō Tsuruhachirō was active in trading Japanese goods in São Paulo from at least as early as 1917.<sup>9</sup> Still operating under his own name, he opened a store in 1920 (Figure 1).<sup>10</sup> At that time, he carried a variety of goods, including candy, medicine, and insecticide sprayers; he handled mail and other official documents; and he lent books. By 1923, the company had been renamed Endō Shōten.<sup>11</sup> Though the company was advertising its other goods, such as seeds, in 1927, by 1928 it was representing itself as "specializing in books."<sup>12</sup> By 1932, in fact, Endō had changed the name of the company slightly but significantly from *shōten* (general store) to *shoten* (bookstore).<sup>13</sup>

店主 遠藤常八郎  
Est. MURRAY CHINA STORE, 11

## 營業課目

御菓子諸雜貨  
賣藥、貸本、  
噴霧器の取次  
郵便物の取次  
領事館の移次  
組合諸願書  
取次

開店廣告

入殖以來多大の御引立を蒙  
 り難有奉深謝候  
 此度ビリグヒ町に開店致す  
 事と相成候間尙一層諸彦の  
 御引立の程祈り上げ候

Fig 1. Burajiru jihō, 13 August 1920.

Booksellers such as Segi, Nakaya, and Endô made a wide variety of Tokyo-based print available to migrants to Brazil. In a December 1919 advertisement, for example, Segi announced the arrival of October issues of various magazines from Japan, including general interest, literary, and women's magazines.<sup>14</sup> Many major Japanese newspapers, from both Tokyo and Osaka, were also available.<sup>15</sup> Finally, the companies advertised books, often with the available titles appearing directly in the advertisement (Figure 2).<sup>16</sup>

Though these three companies were the major advertisers of books and magazines during the 1920s and 1930s, they were not alone. Advertisements appear for a diverse range of stores handling books, including Casa Vermelha, Casa Yanagui, Casa Aoki, and Casa Hase. Of these, Casa Hase seems to have had the most staying power, and appears to have positioned itself as Nakaya Shôten's primary competition.<sup>17</sup> There were even more, in fact. In 1929, the Book and Magazine division of the São Paulo Motherland Goods Importing Association (*Bokokuhin Yunyû Kumiai*) advertised a sale at all of its eighteen member stores in fourteen cities.<sup>18</sup> There were certainly bookstores outside of the state of São Paulo, but as the vast majority of Japanese speakers lived within that state, they were probably of limited scale.<sup>19</sup>

The number of cities possessing bookstores in São Paulo, as attested to by the membership of the Motherland Goods Importing Association, speaks to the distribution of Japanese settlers in the state. Japanese immigrant communities were often widely separated, primarily along the main train lines leading out of the city of São Paulo. Local stores were not necessary, however, for these communities to gain access to printed matter. Consumers were able to order books without visiting the actual establishments. Prior to 1929, when most of the stores handling print were concentrated in the city of São Paulo, advertised prices always included shipping. By 1932, Nakaya and Endô had begun to offer two magazine subscription prices, one including shipping and one not.<sup>20</sup> While the fact that shipping was calculated into most published prices prior to this time might suggest that a majority of the customers lived outside of the city, it might also speak to the limitations of transportation in the city of São Paulo itself.<sup>21</sup>

Customers would have been accustomed to the delays produced by this shipping, particularly given that it would likely have added only a week to ten days to a shipment that had taken more than a month to arrive from Japan. At first, the delays were even longer. A March 1920 Segi advertisement, for example, announced the receipt of New Year's issues, up to three months after their release in Japan.<sup>22</sup> By 1922, Segi had trimmed this delay to roughly two months, announcing the arrival of February issues of certain magazines in March.<sup>23</sup>

A mid-September 1932 Nakaya advertisement, in which many August issues are listed as newly arrived, shows that delays in receiving magazines had not been

lished in A. Luzio & R. Renier, La cultura e le relazioni letterarie di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga, *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, xxxiii, 1899, 1-62.

<sup>51</sup> Petrarch, *Le Familiari*, in Theodor E. Mommsen, "Petrarch's Concept of the Dark Ages," *Speculum*, XVII, (1942), 226 ff.

<sup>52</sup> Letter from Jacopo Tebaldi, agent to the Duke of Ferrara, reproduced in John Walker, *Bellini and Titian at Ferrara: A study of Styles and Taste* (London, Phaidon Press, 1956) 32, n. 44.

<sup>53</sup> Jacques Monfrin, "La connaissance de l'antiquité et le problème de l'humanisme en langue vulgaire dans la France du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle" in *The late middle ages and the dawn of humanism outside Italy; proceedings of the international conference*, (Louvain, May 11-13, 1970). Edited by G. Verbeke and J. IJsewijn. (Leuven : University Press, 1972), 131-170.

<sup>54</sup> Letter reproduced in George R. Marek, *The Bed and the Throne, The Life of Isabella d'Este*, (New York, Harper & Row, 1976) 129.

<sup>55</sup> Raphael was better placed to study archaeological finds than most of the other artists mentioned as he was charged by the Pope with the duty of cataloguing Rome's antiquities. He was able to see wall decoration in the *Domus Aurea* or Golden House of Nero, for example.

<sup>56</sup> in Holberton, (1987): n.32.

<sup>57</sup> Twenty-eight relief panels attributed to Antonio Lombardo survive in the collection of the Hermitage, Leningrad (see *Genius of Venice*, R.A. Catalogue, London 1983, cat. no. S7 and National Gallery *Titian*, (2003) cat. No. 13, p. 104). One of them records the date 1508 and three name the patron, Alfonso d'Este.

<sup>58</sup> Classical sources for Arcadia: Theocritus, *Idylls*. Virgil, *Eclogues*. Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 8.1-2, 4.

<sup>59</sup> Titian was not the first Renaissance artist to be hailed as a new Apelles. Andrea Mantegna, who painted pictures for Isabella's *studiolo* was called "a second Apelles" by Lorenzo da Pavia (letter to Isabella d'Este, Venice, October 16, 1506).

<sup>60</sup> Italy was not the only country to claim inheritance of the Ancient Greek civilization; the first illustrated edition of the *Imagines* (Paris, 1614) blatantly proclaims Paris as the new Athens on the frontispiece.

<sup>61</sup> *Allegory of Love*, Garofalo, c. 1530. National Gallery, London.

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**◆新着書籍案内◆**

|     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 同國  | 古中  | 春種  | 同色  | 高本  | 瀨田  | 泉出  | 徳扶  | 大文  | 岡上  |
| 定教  | 田良  | 軒真  | 見春  | 非上  | 濱野  | 田助  | 扶文  | 扶文  | 上青  |
| 利書  | 宗九  | 宗九  | 宗九  | 宗九  | 宗九  | 宗九  | 宗九  | 宗九  | 宗九  |
| 上上書 | 上上書 | 上上書 | 上上書 | 上上書 | 上上書 | 上上書 | 上上書 | 上上書 | 上上書 |

共 計 逐 刊 書

**店 商 木 瀬**  
Y. SEGUI  
Caixa Postal, 1771 - S. Paulo

Fig 2. Burajiru jihō, 6 January 1922.

**婦 女 界**

第 一 冊

著 者 池 田 有 三

編 者 山 本 有 三

刊 行 社 婦 女 界 社

此書は、我が國の女子の地位を向上せしめ、その生活の改善を期すべく、池田有三、山本有三の二人が、長年研究の結果、この書を作りました。内容は、女子の生活の各方面にわたって、具体的な方法を述べ、女子の自立を促すことに努めています。この書は、女子の必読の書として、広く普及することを期して刊行いたします。

刊行年：一九二二年十一月二十五日

刊行所：東京、池田有三、山本有三

刊行社：婦女界社

Fig 3. Burajiru jihō, 25 November 1927.

greatly ameliorated even by that time.<sup>24</sup> Since transport was limited to ships, there was a limit to the speed with which orders could be delivered. The sea crossing was not the only potential delay faced. A Nakaya advertisement later that same year notified subscribers of a shipment delay caused when communication between the two countries was temporarily cut due to political friction.<sup>25</sup>

Shipping and customs costs had a profound effect on the nature of print sales in Brazil, forcing the adoption of a different model from the consignment system (*itaku-sei*) that had become the norm in Japan by this time and had allowed for an explosive growth in the number of bookstores.<sup>26</sup> In principle, it is likely that many of the books and magazines sent to Brazil were sent on consignment. Since the retailer bore the customs and shipping charges of returning them, however, this option was apparently rarely used. Even to this day, Japanese-language bookstore owners in São Paulo think of their stock as having been purchased without the option to return (*kaikiri-sei*).<sup>27</sup> This clearly limited the amount of stock that bookstores carried during the prewar period.

It is possible that some of the earliest general stores carried little stock at all. In Japan, provincial booksellers often circulated catalogues and announcements of new books, soliciting orders from their regular customers. It is likely that a similar system existed during the early years of print sales in Brazil. Stock seems to have been in some cases the exception, rather than the rule. An advertisement from February 1922, for example, announces that extra December and January issues have arrived and are thus available for sale.<sup>28</sup> Quantities were likely to have been limited, though, as the advertisement recommends haste in submitting orders.

Another advertisement from 1922 shows that larger retailers, such as Segi Shōten, had already begun to carry a limited amount of stock.<sup>29</sup> After announcing the magazine titles that are now available, the advertisement cautions consumers, "should an issue be sold out, the money can be applied to the next month's issue"; it recommends payment in advance to insure availability. The situation had changed dramatically by 1935, when Endō Shoten placed a full-page advertisement containing a large stock of books available in the store.<sup>30</sup>

It was around 1930 that Tokyo publishing houses began to invest significantly in developing a Brazilian readership. Advertisements produced by publishers for specific magazines appeared as early as November 1929, when an advertisement for the women's magazine *Fujokai* appeared addressing foreign emigrants directly (Figure 3).<sup>31</sup> Interestingly, that advertisement provided the Tokyo address and a postal money order account number (*furikae bangō*) of the publisher, and lists the price in yen, suggesting that *Fujokai*-sha anticipated direct postal sales. By the time the publishing company *Kōdansha*'s advertisements appeared, at least as early as 1930, mention was being made of availability at local bookstores.<sup>32</sup> The



majority of magazine advertisements in the first half of the 1930s were for Kôdansha magazines.<sup>33</sup>

Although advertisements from the late 1920s and early 1930s suggest that a retail sales system dominated the book trade at that time, early book advertisements reveal reliance on a more complex sales system. In 1918, the Kidô general store announced that it both lent books and bought used books.<sup>34</sup> In addition to clarifying that they had begun lending books and handling used books, either for resale or for their lending library, this advertisement also suggests that Kidô believed there were enough books in circulation to warrant committing valuable advertising space to these announcements.<sup>35</sup> Book lending was a common practice in Japan into the first decades of the twentieth century, when public libraries and low book prices reduced its desirability. Kidô was not the only retailer to mention the practice in Brazil. Endô Shôten mentions it in a 1920 advertisement, and a 1924 advertisement, which informs customers that a new selection of books has been added to its lending collection, reveals that it saw some success with the practice.<sup>36</sup>

Some of the booksellers seem to have sold older issues of magazines (*tsuki-okure*) at a discount. Again, this practice, which provided popular magazines at significant discounts some time after their release, became common around this time in Japan as well. In 1926, Nakaya advertised a series of magazine titles for sale, some of which were at least four months old.<sup>37</sup> In most cases specific months were not mentioned, with prices differing based on the size of the issue. This suggests that multiple months were available, and thus also perhaps suggests that Nakaya, unlike Segi, was importing magazines without extensive advanced orders, thus leaving a significant stock of back issues.

Several ventures other than retail sales are mentioned in the advertisements, many of which echo similar undertakings in Japan.<sup>38</sup> In most cases these seem to be short-lived, just as were their Japanese counterparts. Some of these alternative ventures were commercial and were undertaken by the same retail operations that have already been described. In 1926, for example, Endô announced a travelling (*junkai*) reading group for its customers in the provinces.<sup>39</sup> Other ventures, however, seem to have operated on a non-profit or semi-profit basis.

The Rikkôkai, a group founded in Japan in 1897, seems to have been one of the first charitable organisations to try to encourage reading through facilitating the distribution of books in Brazil.<sup>40</sup> Two articles described the group's undertakings. The first, which appeared in 1921, announced that the books for the Rikkôkai's traveling library had cleared customs.<sup>41</sup> Moriya Hokichi, the member who brought the books from Japan, solicited requests from groups that wished to receive books. Although the books were free to groups deemed suitable, shipping costs were to

be paid upon receipt by the recipient. A subsequent article from 1922 explained the group's activities in more detail.<sup>42</sup> The article described how two years earlier, the president of the Rikkōkai, Nagata Shigeshi, had returned to Japan with recommendations to improve the lives of Japanese in North and South America.<sup>43</sup> The first plan was to establish overseas libraries, an idea he presented to the Foreign Ministry in February 1921. The Ministry provided 'secret funding' (*kimitsu-hi*) and then donations were received from a variety of sources amounting to a total of 1000 yen. Moriya then travelled around the country collecting donations of books. In the end, he had collected 18,000 volumes. Roughly half of these he sent to Mexico, Cuba, Panama, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and other countries. The other half he took to Brazil. Although the original plan was to send a box of books to migrant communities and then have representatives there circulate them, people suggested otherwise. Instead, they were lent to Japanese associations (*Nihonjin-kai*) and youth groups for a term, with those groups making them available to people in their area.<sup>44</sup> The article reported that one hundred ten requests were received from all over the country. Some of the recipients said that they had not held a book since arriving in Brazil years earlier; it was as if, the article states, people were "starving for books."

A 1934 article/advertisement describes another organisation, the Goseikai, "one year after it was founded."<sup>45</sup> Apparently in August 1933 a Dr. Takaoka founded the group in São Paulo as a "department store of social projects." One year after its founding, the group claimed four thousand members and six divisions: hygiene, publishing, information, education, consultation, and book retailing. It apparently considered the proliferation of Japanese-language magazines to be a worthy social project; the article claimed that the group was selling magazines nearly at cost.<sup>46</sup> The Goseikai believed that the magazines would help second-generation Japanese learn characters (*kanji*) and thus avoid the inevitable weakening of their minds in Brazil, where education and books were insufficient. To this end, it offered subscriptions to any magazine for 50,000 Reais for a year and 25,000 Reais for six months. The group also claimed that it had minimised shipping delays: September issues, for example, were arriving in mid-September. Unlike the activities of the Rikkōkai, this group seemed to have been working on a semi-profit basis, in conjunction with a company named Tōyō Shoin.<sup>47</sup>

The fear that the migrants would gradually lose touch with Japan and that, perhaps more importantly, the succeeding generations of Japanese descendants might lose their language abilities not only motivated organisations such as the Rikkōkai; this fear also became a useful marketing tool for print capitalism. While the migrants' fundamental identification as Japanese citizens was rarely questioned, their insecurity about that identity was regularly exploited. At the same

time as they took advantage of these fears, publishers also manipulated the patriotism of their patrons.

Book and magazine retailers in Brazil used nationalistic rhetoric to lend their business greater gravity from early on. This advertisement from 1922 is one example:

With the conclusion of the agreement to reduce military forces, the age of military might has ended and a new age of intellectual competition has begun. To that end, it is natural for each and every one of us to cultivate and expand our knowledge, so that we may stand at the forefront of society. For that reason, our company has decided to redouble both the speed and the breadth of our book and magazine distribution operations, as new publications from the homeland are the source of that knowledge.<sup>48</sup>

The companies also took advantage of concerns shared by many of the migrants that they were being left behind as Japan moved forward without them. This advertisement from 1924 not only uses the nationalistic rhetoric, it also plays to these fears while claiming a greater social mission:

With each passing day, with each passing month, your motherland's culture is advancing. Aren't all of you falling behind? It is for this reason that we consider the importation of new books in particular to be a service to society.<sup>49</sup>

Companies based in Tokyo were also aware of the effectiveness of this rhetoric in stirring both nationalism and insecurity. This advertisement from 1929 stresses the positive capacity of women's magazines, rather than the fear of their absence:

To all of our readers overseas! Aren't you thrilled to hear news from the homeland? It is magazines from the homeland that allow you to forget the despair of solitude and feel the peace and consolation you would feel if you were there. Women's magazines in particular are the singular sustenance of the soul for all of you overseas.<sup>50</sup>

As Japanese militarism increased, the rhetoric escalated commensurately. This advertisement from 1932 taps nationalism, alienation, fear, and pride all at once:

The nation's greatest blessing is its serious and vigorous spirit. Now, through the efforts of this patriotic Japanese spirit that unites its 70 million brethren and which has been keenly strengthened as the homeland once again faces an unprecedented national crisis, the nation's prestige has grown to the point that its brilliant light shines throughout the world. This is not an autumn through which you, alone here in a foreign land, will remain uninvolved. We know that you want to partake of that new Japanese spirit, devise means to further en-

hance it, and display it to the people of these foreign lands as a man of the world. For some time now, we have dedicated all of our energies to the advancement of the national spirit through a spirit of enterprise focused on patriotic service. We believe that the regular reading of magazines from the homeland is the greatest means to cultivate the Japanese spirit here in this foreign land. With this in mind, we ... have begun soliciting subscriptions for the coming year at prices that sacrifice our margin even as we offer valuable prizes for subscribers. We strongly hope that our loyal readers will continue to elevate Japan's national prestige.<sup>51</sup>

Print capitalism rapidly adapted to the specific psychology of its immigrant consumers to market products as effectively as possible.

Despite the growing scale of domestic print retailers and the increasing attention paid to the migrant communities by Tokyo publishers, the market was small in the prewar period. Roughly 19,000 Japanese had migrated to Brazil by 1917, when the *Burajiru jihō* began publication. By 1933, the total number of migrants had surged to more than 140,000.<sup>52</sup> These numbers do not include the generations born to these migrants in Brazil. Nonetheless, Japanese-language newspaper circulation was small. In 1933, *Nippaku's* circulation was 7000 and *Burajiru jihō's* (which had gone bi-weekly in October 1931) was 8200.<sup>53</sup> The demand was considered sufficient, however, for *Burajiru jihō* to become a daily in July of that year.<sup>54</sup> These dailies lasted until 1941, when the Brazilian government banned non-Portuguese language newspapers.

In 1935, when the total number of migrants to Brazil had surpassed 170,000, a single article gives us a glimpse into the magnitude of the Japanese-language magazine market.<sup>55</sup> According to this article, August 1935 marked the first month in which more than 10,000 Japanese-language magazines were imported into Brazil.<sup>56</sup> The most commonly read magazine was *Kingu*, the first Japanese magazine to have a circulation in excess of one million, which held 35% of the total, or 3500 copies. The next was *Shufu no tomo*, one of the most popular women's magazines in Japan, with 1200 copies.<sup>57</sup>

In 1939, an almanac produced by the publisher of the *Nippaku shinbun* included a survey of reading habits of the approximately 11,500 households located in the Bauru region, along the major train lines (Northwest and Paulista) in São Paulo. The survey found that of these households, 1078 purchased children's magazines, 1908 purchased women's magazines, 5967 purchased men's magazines, and 10,154 purchased newspapers.<sup>58</sup> The survey notes that it was very unusual for families to read newspapers from Japan. At the same time, however, the author of the section expressed his dismay over the rarity of Portuguese-language newspapers and magazines, especially given that the families surveyed averaged eleven years in Brazil.

He opined:

Even though children are being educated in Brazilian schools, the result of not giving them even a little bit of Portuguese reading material and not speaking Portuguese in the home can only be to distance them from Brazilian society. Should this happen, then not only will the child fail to become the type of Japanese his first-generation father desires him or her to become, but also the adult produced will be neither here nor there. What is education? What are its goals? If we do not take a step back and reflect on this, but instead continue on this course, no one can guarantee that we will be able to avoid disaster.<sup>59</sup>

History has shown that the author's concerns, while reasonable, were misplaced. Later generations of Japanese-Brazilians gravitated away from the Japanese-language texts of their parents' toward the language of their home, Brazil. To this extent, the market described here was something of a temporary phenomenon, rather than a steadily growing component of Japanese-Brazilian society as this survey of 1917-1935 suggests. Today, books, magazines, and newspapers are available through a relatively small number of stores in São Paulo. Rather than serving an ever-growing immigrant population, however, these stores now serve an aging first-generation population and, on occasion, their self-motivated descendants, some of whom are preparing to reverse their parent's journey, migrating to Japan for the same reason many of their ancestors had come to Brazil: work.

*University of Washington, Seattle, Washington*

## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> This demand presumes literacy. One source of literacy statistics on 33,000 newly-arrived immigrants' (fifteen years of age and older) level of education upon arrival (between the years 1908-1941) has 0.3% illiterate, 0.2% with basic literacy but no formal education, 74.2% with a primary school education, 22.5% with a secondary school education, and 2.8% with a higher school education. Suzuki Teijirô, ed., *Burajiru no Nihon imin: Shiryô-ben* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan-bu, 1964), 382-83. On the complexity of determining literacy, see Richard Rubinger, "Who Can't Read and Write? Illiteracy in Meiji Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 55:2 (2000), 163-98, and P.F. Kornicki, "Literacy Revisited: Some Reflections on Richard Rubinger's Findings," *Monumenta Nipponica* 56:3 (2001), 381-95.

<sup>2</sup> The role of literature in the colonies is an understandably small part of most studies of Japanese-Brazilian communities. When studies have been done, the sole focus has been on literary texts produced in Brazil. Though the relative dominance of Brazil-produced and Japan-produced literature may as yet be unclear, it seems likely that the works comprising our current conception of modern Japanese literature — prose fiction written by the Tokyo literary establishment (*bundan*) — were not a central component of most migrants' lives.

<sup>3</sup> The *Nanbei shûbô*, a simple mimeographed newspaper.

<sup>4</sup> For more on the *Burajiru jibô* and the *Nippaku shinbun*, see Kon'no Toshihiko and Fujisaki Yasuo, eds., *Imin-shi I: Nanbei-ben* (Tokyo: Shinsen-sha, 1994), 149-54. As a point of comparison for prices, on 7 September 1917 the subscription price for the *Burajiru jibô* was listed as 10,000 Reais for a year, 1000 Reais for a month, and 300 Reais for a week.

<sup>5</sup> A 7 April 1922 *Burajiru jibô* advertisement for Notícias do Brasil, the publisher of the newspaper, gives us an idea of how book sales were undertaken during the first decade of migration. The directions for subscribing to magazines are as follows: prices, listed in Japanese yen, were to be converted at a rate of 80 Reais per 1 sen of the fixed price (*teika*) for the magazine; thus a 50 sen magazine would be 4000 Reais. One full year's subscription had to be paid in advance. For books, the conversion rate was the same: 8000 Reais per one yen. Again, the price had to be paid in advance. Books and magazines were to be ordered from Notícias, which would then contact an agent in Japan. When Notícias received the book or magazine, it was then sent by registered mail (or other reliable method) to the purchaser. The distributor absorbed all postage, customs, and other charges. Apparently customers could also order directly from an agent (*tokuyaku shoten*) or the publisher directly, in which case the price was reduced by 20% but customs and other charges were to be borne by the customer. Customers were responsible for any unexpected problems arising within the postal system. Notícias also accepted orders for books and magazines not listed in their catalog as long as they were not 'injurious to public morals.'

<sup>6</sup> *Burajiru jibô*. The advertisement from the previous issue, dated 25 January 1918, did not mention books, raising the possibility that the 1 February advertisement marked the beginning of a new service.

<sup>7</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 31 August 1919.

<sup>8</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 13 February 1920. Despite advertising its store opening, the advertisement copy suggests that Nakaya Kumatarô was already in business before this time. The company was origi-

nally the Nippaku Bussan Benri-gumi, but announced its new name on 10 June 1921.

<sup>9</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 7 September 1917.

<sup>10</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 13 August 1920.

<sup>11</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 7 September 1923.

<sup>12</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 4 March 1927 and 30 August 1928.

<sup>13</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 19 May 1932. Endô seems to have wanted to obscure the shift; the first appearance I have found of the name change is part of an advertisement celebrating the business' tenth anniversary.

<sup>14</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 5 December 1919. These included *Taiyô*, *Chiô kôron*, *Bunshô sekai*, *Waseda bungaku*, *Shinshôsetsu*, *Bungei kurabu*, *Fujin no tomo*, and *Fujin sekai*.

<sup>15</sup> Segi's 16 April 1920 advertisement in *Burajiru jibô* showed that central Japanese newspapers were available at least by 1920, though it is interesting to note how they were advertised: as single copies, though there was a discount for anyone who subscribed for six months or more. The newspapers, which cost 200-300 Reais each, were: the *Ôsaka mainichi*, the *Taishô nichinichi* (a short-lived Osaka newspaper), *Yorozu chôbô*, and the *Hôchi shinbun*. Prices included shipping.

<sup>16</sup> Although earlier Segi ads suggest that they carried books, a 6 January 1922 *Burajiru jibô* advertisement was the first to list specific titles with prices. This suggests that they had imported sufficient quantity to reasonably guarantee availability. Literary titles included Tokuda Shûsei's *Tadan* (1913), Izumi Kyôka's *Kôya hijiri* (1900), and Kunikida Doppo's *Gyûmiku to bareisho* (1901).

<sup>17</sup> Casa Hase announced its opening in a 17 October 1929 *Burajiru jibô* advertisement. Its 16 June 1932 *Burajiru jibô* advertisement mimics that of rival Nakaya in the *Burajiru jibô* on 26 May 1932, offering many of the same titles and beating many of its subscription prices by roughly 4%.

<sup>18</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 30 May 1929. The bookstores in São Paulo were Nakaya Shôten, Endô Shôten, Nippaku Bussan-gaisha; in Lins, Aoki Shôten; in Penna, Fukushima Shôten; in Promissão, Iida Shôten; in Guaçara, Casa Diaz and Honda Shôten; in Guarantã, Ishikawa Kawamoto Shôten and Murakami Shôten; in Penápolis, Yoda Shôten; in Birigúí, Miyazaki Shôten; in Araçatuba, Ideriha Shôten; in Bauru, Okiyama Ryôkan and Sawao Ryôkan; in Duartina, Oki Shôten; in Alto Cafezal, Okazaki, Ogawa Shôten; in Nova Europa, Higuchi Shôten; in Registro, Hirata Shôten.

<sup>19</sup> According to a 22 June 1928 *Burajiru jibô* article, the original 793 immigrants who arrived in Brazil in 1908 had increased to an estimated 85,290 by October 1927. The São Paulo, Bauru, and Riberão Preto consulates reported Japanese populations of similar size (17,421-21,303), followed by a smaller population in Santos (6272) and a very small population in Rio (314).

<sup>20</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 26 May 1932 and 19 May 1932, respectively.

<sup>21</sup> A 25 November 1927 advertisement in *Burajiru jibô* for Segi Shôten began with the heading "Reading and the Farmer's Free Time," suggesting that at least this São Paulo-based company presumed the former.

<sup>22</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 12 March 1920.

<sup>23</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 10 March 1922. These magazines were *Bungei kurabu*, *Kôdan zasshi*, and *Katei zasshi*. It seems likely that Kôdansha issued their magazines earlier than most other publishers did; on 5 May 1922, Segi advertised the April issues of Kôdansha magazines even as it offered the February and March issues of other magazines.

<sup>24</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 12 September 1932.

<sup>25</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 28 November 1932.

<sup>26</sup> See my chapter, "Binding 'Pure' Literature: Modern Japanese Literature and the Book," in the forthcoming volume from the Harvard-Yenching Institute, edited by Wilt Idema, *Books in Numbers*.

<sup>27</sup> Personal communication with Taikyû Takano, owner of Livraria Takano (Takano Shoten).

<sup>28</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 3 February 1922. The advertisement is for the newspaper publisher itself.

<sup>29</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 5 May 1922.

<sup>30</sup> *Nippaku shinbun*, 18 December 1935.

<sup>31</sup> *Burajiru jibô*, 28 November 1929.

<sup>32</sup>A 20 February 1930 *Burajiru jibô* advertisement for Fuji, also addressing the colonies, lists the convenient ways one could buy the magazine: "Should your nearest bookstore be sold out, or should you live far from a bookstore, please order directly from us, the publisher; we will send the magazine right away. It's even better if you subscribe for six months or a year; six months costs 3.84 yen and one year costs 7.44 yen, shipping included. Buyers can also send some amount — say, five or ten yen — and the publisher will do the calculations and send the appropriate number of issues." Though this advertisement was tailored for overseas consumers, not all of the advertisements seem to have been tailored for use in the colonies.

<sup>33</sup>This comes as no surprise, given the pre-eminence of Kôdansha in the Japanese domestic magazine market at the time.

<sup>34</sup>*Burajiru jibô*, 8 March 1918. "Furuhon kai-ire nami ni gofuyô-hin kai-ireru beki môshi sôrô" and "Kashihon tsukamatsuru beku sôrô."

<sup>35</sup>It is difficult to gauge if either of these ventures was successful, as Kidô does not seem to have gone on to be a major bookseller.

<sup>36</sup>*Burajiru jibô*, 13 August 1920 and 19 December 1924.

<sup>37</sup>*Burajiru jibô*, 10 September 1926.

<sup>38</sup>For more on these ventures, see Nagamine Shigetoshi, *Dokusho kokumin no tanjô* (Tokyo: Nihon Editô Sukûru Shuppanbu, 2004).

<sup>39</sup>*Burajiru jibô*, 30 April 1926. This is also the last mention of the travelling reading group that I was able to find, suggesting that it may have failed soon after its inception.

<sup>40</sup>The organisation's own description of the events can be found in Nihon Rikkôkai, ed., *Rikkô 50 nen* (Tokyo: Nihon Rikkôkai, 1946), 108-12. According to this source, Sawayanagi Masatarô (Head of the Teikoku Kyôiku-kai), Tsuboya Zenshirô (of the Ôhashi Library), Baron Sakatani Yoshio (Former Finance Minister), and Imazawa Jikai (Head of the Tokyo Hibiya Library.)

<sup>41</sup>*Burajiru jibô*, 2 December 1921.

<sup>42</sup>*Burajiru jibô*, 13 January 1922.

<sup>43</sup>Nagata wrote, "Although there are many things that the people of the homeland must do to preserve the close spiritual and cultural bond we share with our brethren abroad and to demonstrate our ethnic spirit to peoples, I believe that the best is to advertise our culture through printed matter." Rikkôkai, 110.

<sup>44</sup>The article explains that Nagata claimed to have tried to distribute the books as fairly as possible, choosing one recipient from an area if it had multiple requests; not sending books to groups that refused to make them publicly available; and sometimes responding to requests from groups comprising as few as two families, if the requests were 'earnest' enough.

<sup>45</sup>*Nippaku shinbun*, 5 September 1934.

<sup>46</sup>They were selling 50-sen magazines, for example, for 4000 Reais (700 Reais shipping.)

<sup>47</sup>The merger of Tōyô Shoin with the Goseikai was announced in the *Nippaku shinbun* on 11 April 1934. Tōyô Shoin, a commercial enterprise, which had been in operation since at least 11 April 1932, had been one of its special retail agents (*tokuyaku-ten*).

<sup>48</sup>Advertisement for Noticias do Brasil. *Burajiru jibô*, 7 April 1922.

<sup>49</sup>Advertisement for Endô Shôten. *Burajiru jibô*, 19 December 1924.

<sup>50</sup>Advertisement for Fujokai-sha. *Burajiru jibô*, 28 November 1929.

<sup>51</sup>Advertisement for Nakaya Shôten. *Burajiru jibô*, 26 May 1932.

<sup>52</sup>Population statistics are taken from Kon'no, 360-61. Statistics available in Saitô Hiroshi, ed., *Burajiru Nihon imin-shi 70 nen-shi* (São Paulo: Sociedade Brasileira de Cultura Japonesa, 1981), 15, are nearly identical. A 1939 almanac (*nenkan*) published by Nippaku Shinbun-sha stated the 1933 population of Japanese (*hōjin*) in São Paulo to have been roughly 57,000. Wako Shungorô, ed., *Bauru kan'uai no hōjin* (São Paulo: Nippaku Shinbun-sha, 1939), 12. Reprinted as volume 25 of the Ishikawa Tomonori, ed., *Nikkei imin shiryô-shū* (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Sentâ, 1999).

<sup>53</sup>Kôyama Rokurô, *Imin 40 nen-shi* (São Paulo: Kôyama Rokurô, 1949), 409. Three other newspapers started in the 1920s and 1930s. The next largest paper was the *Seisbû shinpô*, with a circulation



of 5300; it had started in 1921 outside of São Paulo, but moved there in 1935.

<sup>54</sup> *Seishū* was the first to become a daily, in May 1938.

<sup>55</sup> *Nippaku shinbun*, 18 September 1935.

<sup>56</sup> The São Paulo central post office's foreign books division's survey of August 1935 showed that roughly 10,000 issues were imported, with a tax of 1000 Reais per issue paid.

<sup>57</sup> These were followed by popular magazines such as *Hinode*, *Fuji*, and *Kōdan kurabu*, with 450 copies each. The children's magazines *Shōnen*, *Shōjo*, and *Yōmei kurabu* had between 300-400 copies each. Quantities of some of the more intellectual journals, such as *Bungei shunju* (100), *Kaizō* (80), and *Chūō kōron* (70), were less prominent.

<sup>58</sup> Wako, 18. In terms of children's magazines, *Shōjo kurabu* and *Shōnen kurabu* were the most commonly read, followed by Burajiru Jihō's *Kodomo no sono*. As for women's magazines, *Fujin kurabu* was first, followed by *Shufu no tomo*. As for men's magazines, *Kingu* accounted for the majority, followed by various other Kōdansha magazines. In terms of newspapers, *Nippaku* was first, followed by *Seishū shinpō*, *Burajiru jibō*, and *Nihon*.

<sup>59</sup> Wako, 19.