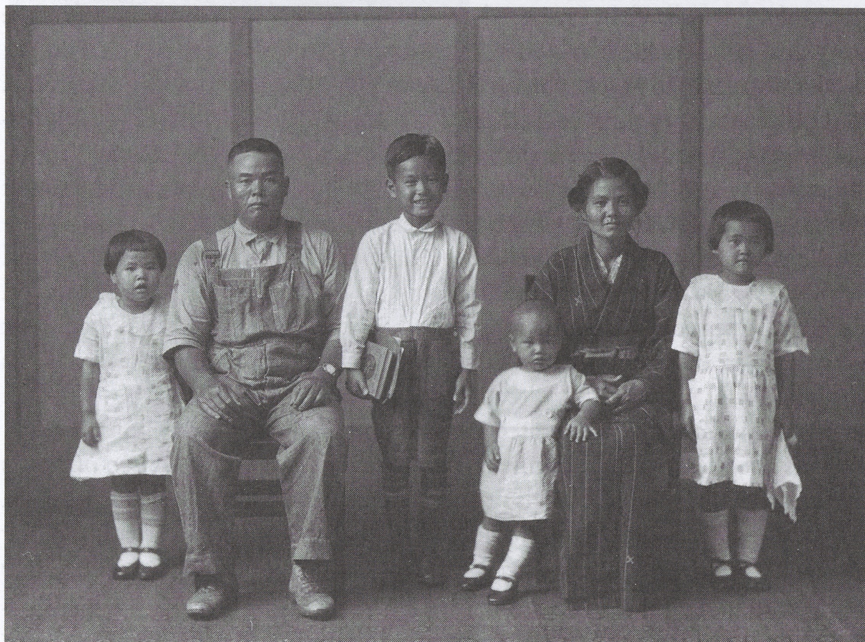
# Japanese Studio Photographers in the Territory of Hawai'i, 1900–1945

Lynn Ann Davis

Japanese photographers (shashinya) dominated the studio photography business in the first decades of the Territory of Hawai'i through to the beginning of World War II. The majority of these photographers had arrived as laborers to work on the sugar plantations. For them photography offered new economic opportunity and social status. They operated studios in every town and plantation throughout the islands and served the Japanese community by making portraits (for picture brides, for weddings, of their growing families) and funeral pictures to send back to Japan. Between 1900 and 1945 there were 473 photo studios in Hawai'i, and 410 were operated by Japanese. In the early years the number of Japanese photographers grew exponentially from 49 (1900–1910) to 87 (1910–1920) (Davis forthcoming; Stephan 2013).

Sixty-five percent of the Japanese photographers (1900–1945) operated studios in plantation communities (Davis forthcoming; Stephan 2013). Having worked on plantations, they understood the potential for success as the Japanese laborers had been ignored by other photographers. Most of these new photographers set up studios in plantation towns, while some worked as itinerant photographers, traveling by horse or automobile from one Japanese laborers' camp to the next to ply their trade (Shimizu 1922). The plantation workers did not have the time or transportation options to travel to nearby towns to have their portraits taken and were always happy to greet the nihon e no otoko (Japanese picture man) when he stopped in their camps (Shimizu 1922).

Immediately after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, martial law was declared



Usaku Teragawachi's studio provided a simple background for this family's portrait: the parents, Nabe and Sada Nakajo, sat upright on chairs; the two girls (Peggy and Nancy) stood on either end and looked uncertainly into the camera; the youngest child (Kunio) leaned into his mother's lap for reassurance. James Nakajo, the eldest son, attended Kuhio School. He exuded confidence as he burst into a smile the moment the plate was exposed, ca. 1930. Photo by Usaku Teragawachi, Bishop Museum Archives.

in Hawai'i, and Lieutenant General Walter C. Short was appointed the military governor of Hawai'i. On December 8, 1941, he issued General Order No. 5, the "policy on alien Japanese." Among other things this policy stated that all Japanese nationals were required to turn in their cameras to their local police station ("Military Orders Issued by Lieut. Gen. Short" 1941). Studio photographers complied immediately and either closed their business or were able to remain open after assigning the ownership of their studios to Nisei wives or children.

## Shashinkan: The Photo Studios

The most common way to learn the skills required to become a studio photographer in Hawai'i was apprenticeship. Apprentices worked for two to three

years; they did all of the janitorial work at the studio for no pay in exchange for learning the trade (Senda 1977). After starting out sweeping the studio, apprentices learned to mix chemical solutions needed for processing negatives and prints in the darkroom, and once they could do this accurately and consistently, they would move on to developing the negatives and making prints. Apprentices also learned by watching and listening as the photographer set up the studio lighting, posed the client, and then pressed the shutter on the studio camera to take the picture. Eventually they were able to try their hand with the studio camera and learn how to expose the negative to make a good portrait. After completing their apprenticeship, most new photographers set up studios in other locations on other islands or near sugar plantations (Davis forthcoming).

Yoshio Yamamoto operated a studio on Hotel street from 1900 to 1923. He was a sophisticated and skilled photographer; his elegantly posed portraits were neatly mounted on boards printed with his name and studio location. In his well-appointed studio he trained numerous apprentices, starting a legacy that they continued in their own studios. Two of his apprentices became prominent island photographers: William Shigeki Hayashi, who later acquired Yamamoto's studio, and William Junokichi Senda, who became the leading Kauaʻi photographer (Davis forthcoming).

> In the case of the Japanese photographic studio proprietors, it is certain that they not only employed their own but had numerous apprentices as well. Anyone who knew the photographic technique and visited the Japanese studios of twenty-five years ago [ca. 1914] could not fail to be impressed by the large number of novices attempting to do work in these establishments. (Baker n.d.)

Haole photographers in Honolulu were not interested in mentoring Japanese photographers. Their prejudice against having Japanese work in their studios was recorded by Ray Jerome Baker, a Honolulu photographer, when he interviewed other haole photographers for a paper he wrote for Andrew Lind's sociology class at the University of Hawaiʻi in 1939. Baker found that they complained that "the Japanese would work for a time until they gained some superficial knowledge of the processes, then attempt to start their own business in competition with the former employer" (Baker n.d.).

In fact, the haole and Japanese photographers did not compete for the same clients. There were no haole studio photographers on the other islands in

Yoshio Yamamoto operated a photo studio on the corner of Hotel and Nuuanu for twenty-three years. This stylish city couple sat for their wedding portrait in his studio, ca.1910. Author's collection.

This couple posed for their wedding portrait at the top of the steps of their new home; bags of rice were displayed behind them, ca. 1920. Morito Koga, Bishop Museum Archives.

the first half of the twentieth century. In Honolulu the Japanese studios were clustered in the Chinatown area. Japanese patrons sought out their countrymen, who spoke their language and understood their cultural aesthetic. Haoles were not likely to have their portraits made by a Japanese photographer unless they lived on another island.

> The haole viewpoint in regard to pictures is quite different from Japanese, and they cannot attract their business. It was pointed out that the haole goes in for natural expressions, informal poses, smiling faces, unusual angles, while the Japanese photographers use stiff poses, blank expressions, seriousness, flat lightingM... (Baker n.d.)

Portraits were the core of the day-to-day work for the studio photographers. Studio pictures were taken to send to family in Japan. Photographers were particularly "busy during New Year, whole family, used to go to studio, and family picture taken" (Kanemori 1995). Making a studio portrait was a choreographed event. The clients were ushered into the studio, a stage setting with a painted backdrop and furniture to create ambiance. The large studio camera (5×7″ or 8×10″ negatives) set on a stand dominated the space. After posing the individuals and adjusting reflectors to create the desired lighting, the photographers slipped under a black cloth to look through the ground glass at the back of the camera. They adjusted the focus of the lens and exposed the negative. The portraits radiated the stories of people's lives through their clothing and gestures. The bride and groom looked directly into the camera lens; the groom was always dressed in Western-style clothing and the bride in a kimono with her hair coiffed especially for the event. By the 1930s, more Japanese brides wore a white Western-style wedding dress, but the direct pose was the same.

During the picture bride period (1908–1924), Japanese bachelors went to studio to have portraits made (Kawakami 1993). These single men wanted to look their best (and a bit younger). They asked the photographer to retouch their portrait and lighten the dark skin and eliminate wrinkles they had from working in the sun as plantation laborers. When the women arrived from Japan, they did not always recognize their prospective husbands from the photo they had received. Photographer William Shigeki Hayashi's daughter recalled her father's business in his Honolulu studio:

> The Filipino and the Japanese immigrants—used to come from Leeward Oʻāhu [on the train] to his shop to take pictures for picture brides... in

Family portraits were often taken to celebrate the new year. Mr. and Mrs. Kanezuchi Yoshida posed with their daughter near their home. Kawailoa Camp, Waialua Sugar Plantation, ca. 1907. Photographer unknown. Bishop Museum Archives.

> those days they used to retouch and took out all the wrinkles from the negatives. And I think a lot of picture brides that came down the plank were quite disillusioned when they saw their future husbands, because, you know, my father did a lot of that retouching. (Itagaki 2003)

After serving an apprenticeship in Honolulu with Yoshio Yamamoto, William Junokichi Senda moved to Kauaʻi and purchased a photo studio in Kapaia. In 1916, Senda moved one mile to the town of Lihuʻe and opened a studio in the new Tip Top Building. With his family he operated a studio and photo supply business in Lihuʻe for 80 years. He was a good photographer and a good businessman, and his studio became the place where everyone on Kauaʻi (haole, Hawaiian, Japanese, Filipino, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, Korean) had their portraits taken (Davis forthcoming).

> One would hardly expect to find in a town the size of Lihue a photographic outfit such as J. Senda has. He has a portrait lens that is as

> good as money can buy. It is a Zeiss lens, known as one of the best that is manufactured. It is large enough to admit sufficient light to insure practically snap shots, thus enabling the operator to secure good pictures of children, which are usually very difficult because you cannot keep a child still very long at a time, and there are very few lenses which are speedy enough to catch them while they are looking pleasant. ("Fine Photographic Outfit" 1918)

Studio photographers added other skills to remain competitive and to increase their business. Many of the Japanese photographers were skilled at hand-coloring. The key to natural-looking hand-coloring was the translucency of the color that was delicately painted on the photographic print. Honolulu photographer Usaku Teragawachi was acknowledged as the master. His hand-colored photographs of women in kimono were so detailed and precise that it was difficult to tell they were not actual color photographs. Each color was applied separately, and it took him hours to complete a photograph (Teragawachi 1995).

The desire for a commemorative picture of a loved one's funeral was unique to Japanese living abroad. This practice was not common in Japan. The photographs were intended to show that the deceased was highly regarded and appropriately remembered. The photographers' 8×10″ camera with a wide-angle lens was usually adequate to document the event. If a funeral was particularly large, the photographers would make with a panoramic camera that rotated on the tripod capturing a 180-degree view of the gathering. Hilo photographer Raymond Kanemori recalled:

> [The] studio in olden days used to take funeral pictures, in order to prove to folks back home in Japan that he had a beautiful funeral so many people came. We used to take pictures at the temple of those that were at the funeral and also sometimes like in Hilo we used to take pictures by Catholic church when the cars line up to the crematory or the grave yard and show how many car… [We took a] lot of those funeral pictures. (Kanemori 1995)

Many photographers took photographs of their island landscape and sold prints and postcards in their studios or to wholesale them to curio stores. Postcards were collected as souvenirs and mailed to friends and family by tourists and military visiting the islands. For William J. Senda, postcard sales added

Morito Koga drove to neighboring plantation camps in Mountain View and Pahoa to memorialize funerals and weddings. It was common practice to send a photograph of a funeral to family in Japan that the deceased was properly remembered, and many people attended the funeral. Photo by Morito Koga, Bishop Museum Archives.

significantly to his income; he "estimated that he sold 10,000 postcards... and had four hundred negatives of almost every beauty spot on Kauai" ("Senda's Postcards of Kauai Going Out at 10,000 a Year" 1928).

In Hilo, photographs of the volcano were in constant demand. Itaro Morihiro, owner of Hilo Photo Works (1916–1926), perfected the technique of hand-coloring the images of swirling lava. In these pictures the lava was always colored red, but Morihiro created greater visual authenticity by adding a light yellow color to create the fiery images. One enthusiastic postcard correspondent noted on her card in 1923: "Look at that lava! It really is that color" (Postcard 1923).

> Hilo Photo Works... used to do lot of coloring volcano pictures, they used to go and take volcano pictures and hand color they had long panoramic pictures of volcano eruption and what not and those are all hand colored.

> Used to sell a lot of those pictures to tourists then wholesale out to different places. (Kanemori 1995)

## Kodak Hawaii

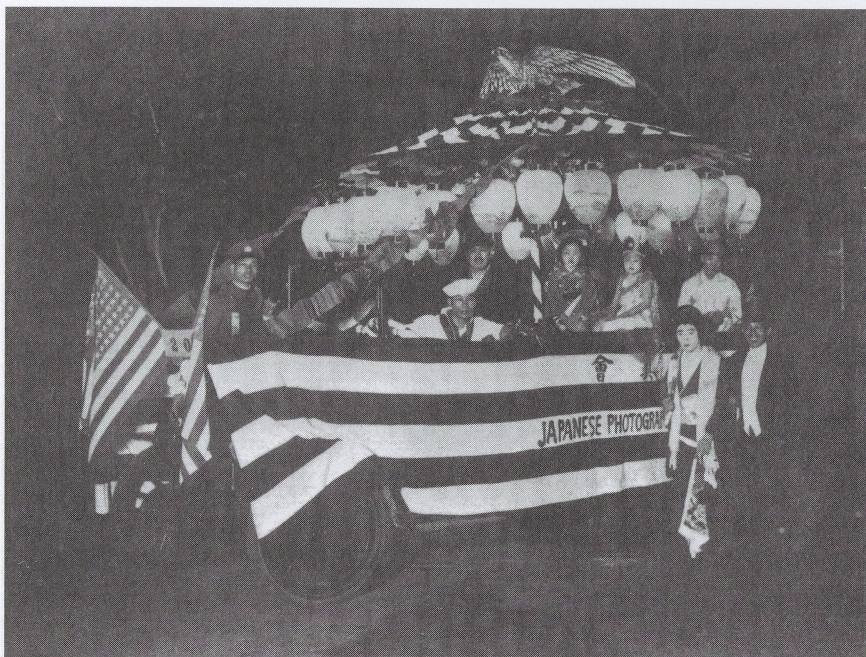
Kodak Hawaii was established in 1928 by Fritz Herman; he was an astute, personable businessman and wooed the Japanese photographers, who had been largely ignored in the past. Herman brought an instructor to Honolulu to conduct the Eastman School of Professional Photography and to demonstrate "all the latest methods and equipment available to the profession..." ("Camera Users Go to School" 1931). Offering the workshop to all photographers, he went a step further to entice the Japanese photographers by having a translator as part of the workshop. Sixty-four of the 87 photographers who attended the workshop in the October 1931 were Japanese (Davis forthcoming). For Kodak, it was an opportunity to nurture brand loyalty and sell supplies and equipment.

This workshop, attended by Japanese photographers from Kaua'i, Maui, and Hawai'i as well as O'ahu, "was the first time that such a large number of professional Japanese photographers have assembled in Hawaii and that they are not only profiting by lectures and demonstrations but by the fellowship among the men of their own profession" ("Banquet to End Photo School Tomorrow Night" 1931). At the conclusion of the sessions, the Honolulu Japanese Photographers' Association hosted the attendees for dinner at a teahouse on 'Ālewa Heights ("Banquet to End Photo School Tomorrow Night" 1931).

## Japanese Photographers' Associations

The Honolulu Japanese Photographers' Association was established in January 1920 ("Photographers Organize" 1920). They held regular meetings in members' studios or homes. They had two primary goals: to improve their skills as photographers and, equally important, to get together and have a good time (Teragawachi 1995).

One of their first activities was to enter a float in a Japanese lantern parade held to celebrate American Independence Day, July 4, 1923. American flags were draped at the front of the automobile, and the sides were covered by a striped banner proudly identifying the float as Japanese Photographers' Association. The members sat under "a large umbrella with changing lights"




Honolulu Japanese Photographers' Association was established in 1920. The members operated photo studios in Honolulu. Their float received an honorable mention in the Lantern parade, July 4, 1923. Standing on the side of the float, Usaku Teragawachi wore a top hat and tails and William Shigeki Hayashi dressed as a geisha. Photo by Torao Shimizu, Bishop Museum Archives.

("Crowds Line Beretania to View Parade" 1923). Those who accompanied the float posed in their costumes for a flash picture: Bunzo Higaki was in a Japanese military uniform and sat at the front of the float; Shoko Tsuha drove the automobile in sailor's uniform; Yoshio Yamamoto (the venerable pioneer photographer) was dressed elegantly in formal wear and a top hat; Wataru Shimizu sat at the back in a white shirt and cap. Standing next to the float, William Shigeki Hayashi was dressed as a woman in a kimono, and Usaku Teragawachi smiled broadly, looking like a ringmaster in his top hat and tails.

Teragawachi was the president of the association for many years and added an upstairs room to his home. His son recalled that the imported tatami mats and shoji doors made the room look like a teahouse (Teragawachi 1995). It was a perfect location to meet and to party. An 8×10″ glass plate negative in the Teragawachi collection at Bishop Museum captured a party of photog-

One of the goals of the Japanese Photographers' Association was to get together to have a good time. The flash photo of Association members was taken in Usaku Teragawachi's tea house style room, ca. 1920. Bishop Museum Archives.

raphers. By the time the camera was set up, the party was in full swing. In the image that was captured when the flash lamp was ignited, the group presented a delightfully chaotic scene. You can almost hear the photographers' toasting: "Banzai!"

Kaua'i Photographers' Association (Kauai Shashinshi Kyokai) was established in 1929 ("Kauai Photographers Form Association" 1929; Stephan 2013) and the Hawai'i Island Japanese Photographers' Association in 1933 ("Photographers on Hawaii Organized" 1933). All the photographers (approximately 15) on Hawai'i island were members (Kanemori 1995). As a founding member of the group, Ralph Kanemori described their goals:

> [Our goal was] to improve our standard of work, so... Eastman Kodak ...used to send somebody from mainland to come over to Honolulu,

> and in turn they used to come to Hilo to give us lessons in photography. Then there is a mutual goodwill, so when we used to go around the island sometime, we would go to Kohala, sometime to Kona, stay overnight, you know all of us and have good time and know each other better. Japanese are sometimes very competitive, and they don't like to show their skill, but by associating with each other we make a better feeling, and they won't be too antagonized with each other about competition in business. That was the main purpose. (Kanemori 1995)

Members of the Honolulu association went on junkets to visit their compatriots on Kaua'i in 1939 ("Photographers Set Kauai Trip" 1939) and Hilo in 1940. These trips were an important opportunity to network with colleagues they had met at the Kodak workshop and of course have a good time. The Honolulu Japanese Photographers' Association liked a bit of theatrics. This was evident when they arrived in Hilo and "all of the men wore African helmets and carried sturdy canes, in the order of real excursionists" (Awl 1940).

## Wartime Experiences

With the onset of World War II, as the word spread of the stipulations of General Order No. 5, photographers relinquished their cameras to their local police stations ("Military Orders Issued by Lieut. Gen. Short" 1941). Like other Japanese nationals in the islands, the photographers burned, hid, or buried anything that could remotely tie them to Japan (Teragawachi 1995). Sixty-four percent of the Japanese studio photographers working in 1941 closed their studios (Davis forthcoming). The remaining photographers were all born in the islands. Although the older generation of Issei no longer worked as photographers, many of them "lived in constant fear of being sent to a concentration camp" (Ariyoshi 2004). The Japanese photographers' groups disbanded, as they could not meet without raising suspicion.

Leading up to the war, the photographers and their associations had been closely observed by American military and FBI for any indication that they were providing aid to the Japanese military. In 1939, a Honolulu newspaper article reported that the Honolulu Japanese Photographers' Association had entertained members of the Japanese Imperial Navy and that they supported the invasion of China by sending "the silver paper used for wrapping film" and other metal spools or film containers (Rhodes 1939).

Ichiro Deki operated the Blue Mountain Studio in Waipahu; in August

1940, Deki was arrested with a group of friends. They were on the shore of Pearl Harbor with their fishing gear in an unmarked restricted area. The judge sentenced them to two years' probation and recommended that in the future "the navy authorities should post the shore line of Pearl Harbor which is easily accessible, and issue clearer instructions regarding this restrictive area" ("U.S. Judge Suggests Navy Post Restricted P.H. Area" 1940).

In March 1942 a case against Deki was brought before a military provost court. He was accused of "failing to turn in at the police station three cameras and several photographs of vessels and military and naval installations" (Deki 1942–1946). He stated that the cameras found in his studio had been left by a customer who wanted them repaired and that photographs had been processed for another customer who had not picked them up (Stephan 2013). The court made an example of Deki, and he was sentenced to five years of hard labor in Oahu Prison. A newspaper article noted that a military official, Lieutenant Colonel Neal D. Franklin, said that Deki was "very fortunate in not being put before a military commission and getting shot" ("Pictures Get Prison Term for Japanese" 1942). Deki spent just over a year in prison (March 1942–May 1943) before he was sent to Honouliuli internment camp. In December 1943 he was transferred to the West Coast and spent the remainder of the war in an internment facility in Santa Fe, New Mexico (Stephan 2013).

Takeki Aoyama was not arrested until close to the end of the war, in February 1944. Like other Japanese nationals, he had turned in his cameras in December 1941. In his hearing before the military court, he stated the obvious: "I am alien and I cannot handle the camera so I cannot take pictures" (Aoyama 1942–1946). Since he had no way to make money without his cameras, he turned to another skill and retouched negatives for other Honolulu photographers. In the hearing, the Military Board expressed an interest in the activities of the Japanese Photographers' Association (and Aoyama's membership) in supporting the Japanese war effort. Did they help collect comfort kits for Japanese military? Had they entertained visiting Japanese naval personnel and given them images of military sites in Hawai'i? Aoyama had been accused by another Japanese man for expressing "pro Japanese sentiments." Aoyama explained the situation during the hearing:

> Just joking around with one boy all the time. He say "Go buy War Bonds Aoyama," and I said "Sucker;" that's all I said, but this thing coming all the time bigger and bigger and I ashamed like this. (Aoyama 1942–1946)

He was sent to the internment facility on Oahu at Honouliuli in May; he was paroled two months later in July 1944. Chinese photographer Yew Char, who had previously hired Aoyama to retouch his negatives, testified at the hearing and wrote letters in support of Aoyama for his release. When Aoyama was paroled, Char was his sponsor, and he worked for him until the end of the war (Aoyama 1942–1946).

Kenichi Maehara was a highly regarded photographer who had a studio in Hilo for 13 years. In 1931 he was awarded a contract with the US government to operate a photography studio and concession at the Hawai'i National Park. At this concession he sold his photographic postcards of the volcano to tourists. He also worked closely with Hawai'i Volcano Observatory scientist T. A. Jaggar to take photographs of the volcanic activity. When the war broke out, Maehara and his wife were in Honolulu. Due to travel restrictions after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, he was unable to return to Hawai'i Island and therefore unable to turn in items that were banned. A warrant was issued for his arrest in Honolulu on May 6, 1942. While Maehara was in custody, a special agent from the Military Intelligence Division searched his Volcano studio and stated in the hearing that the "subject is known to have taken pictures of military classified matter." In addition, he was also "in possession [of] lewd pictures, one 25-caliber Colt automatic, eight Japanese swords of various sizes, a model of a Japanese warship and a large quantity of photographic equipment" (Maehara 1942–1946).

During the hearing, the military governor's review board presented their case against him. The photographs of classified military content were made in 1936 during an eruption of Mauna Loa. The military had attempted to divert the flow of lava by bombing the flow. Dr. Jagger was keenly interested in this project, and he requested Maehara to make photographs of "the airplanes that were doing the bombing to show all the racks underneath." At the time Maehara was taking photographs of the eruption and assigned this task to his assistant. Although Maehara stated that he had only given prints to Jaggar, the negatives were still in his studio. They had also investigated how in his role as the president of a Hawai'i Island Japanese Photographers' Association he had collected about 50 comfort kits (care packages for Japanese soldiers fighting in Manchuria) and that the organization also raised about $15 toward the purchase of an airplane for the Japanese Navy. Maehara had also organized a sightseeing party for the group of officers of the Japanese Imperial Navy when they visited Hilo. This was considered suspicious because it was an opportunity

to easily pass on classified information. The committee found that Maehara was "loyal to Japan only" (Maehara 1942–1946), and in 1942 he was sent to the US on the third ship of internees (Stephan 2013).

Fourteen Japanese photographers were incarcerated in internment camps during the war: 12 were studio photographers, one was a newspaper photographer, and one was the owner of a photo supply company (Davis forthcoming; Stephan 2013). After the end of the war, only four of the studio photographers who had been sent to internment camps reopened photo studios. Their cameras had been sold or destroyed, and most were simply too old to start over again.

## Nisei Operated Japanese Studios during the War

Issei photographers with Hawai'i-born family members immediately transferred ownership within a few weeks following December 7. William Junokichi Senda's son George was still in high school when he took over the family business in Līhu'e with his sister Aiko (TenBruggencate 1996). William Shigeki Hayashi's daughter, Helen, postponed attending the University of Hawai'i to manage the family's Wahiawā photo studio (Ariyoshi 2004). More than half of the Nisei photographers who operated studios during World War II took over the businesses from family members who were Japanese nationals. This new generation had grown up in the photo studio. They had access to a wide array of photography magazines that showcased the latest equipment and explained how they could use lighting to create the latest fashions in portraiture. Their glamorous portraits incorporated a "Hollywood lighting style," making them popular with the young soldiers and sailors who desired portraits to send home (Morishige ca.1940; Teragawachi 1995).

In Honolulu, Usaku Teragawachi's son Raymond, who had just returned from studying photography at the New York Institute of Photography ("Teragawachi Back from Photo Studies" 1941), stepped in to operate his father's Art Photo Studio during the war. He recalled that servicemen were lined up in front of the Hotel Street studio by nine a.m. to have their portraits made. All photographers made money during the war. Raymond Teragawachi made enough money in ten months in 1942 to pay cash for a home in Nu'uanu, a suburb of Honolulu (Teragawachi 1995). The Hayashis' photo studio was also in a prime location near O'ahu's largest army base.

In Wahiawā, 19-year-old Helen Hayashi operated the photo studio for her father:

> Military personnel began pouring into Hawaii. Wahiawā, being next to Wheeler Air Force Base and Schofield Barracks, suddenly became a boom town. Soldiers were afraid they would never make it back from the war in the Pacific, stood in line in front of my father's studio to have their pictures taken to send home to parents and sweethearts. (Ariyoshi 2004)

The military had training and recuperation areas on all islands. There was an Army base on Maui, and Pāi'a photographer George Hajimi Ichiru recalled his experience: "The building was a simple wooden structure, the studio was located above a bar. During the war it was real noisy but took lots of pictures of servicemen" (Ichiru 1998).

## Conclusion

From 1900 to 1945, Japanese photo studios (shashikan) were found in every town and plantation community throughout the islands. The explosion of new studios in remote towns was a result of apprenticeships. The accomplished Issei photographers' willingness to train apprentices broke through the barrier budding photographers had faced from the prejudice the haole photographers had against Japanese working in their studios.

These newly minted photographers were passionate about photography and eager to learn more. They converged on Honolulu to attend the Eastman Kodak School for Professional Photographers in 1931. Arriving from every island, the photographers left their studios to spend a week to learn about the latest developments in studio photography.

Lectures and informal training were generally part of the regular meetings of the Japanese photographers' associations in Honolulu, Kauai, and Hawai'i Island. Their other goal, having a good time, was a skill that the members didn't need any coaching to carry out. The Honolulu Japanese Photographers' Association conducted their extracurricular activities with a particularly upbeat and creative spirit.

The experience of Japanese photographers during World War II varied based on their citizenship. Martial law was established, and General Order No. 5 required Issei to turn in their cameras and close their studios. At least 12 studio photographers were questioned by the military courts and incarcerated in internment camps. Photographers with family born in Hawai'i who could carry on the studio business were able to transfer their ownership so the studio could remain open.

Photographing children was always challenging; to ensure a good image Morito Koga made two exposures on one plate. The photographer's wife, Tori Kai Koga, accompanied him as unpaid assistant; she can barely be seen bracing the baby from behind to make sure he sat up and did not spoil the image by moving, ca. 1920. Photo by Morito Koga, Bishop Museum Archives.

## Photographers Cited and Dates Active (Davis forthcoming; Stephan 2013)

| Photographer | Active |
|---|---|
| Takeo Aoyama (1907 [Japan]–1961 [Hawai'i]) | Waipahu 1930–1937<br>Honolulu 1937–1944 |
| Ray Jerome Baker (1907 [US]–1961 [Hawai'i]) | Honolulu 1910–1912<br>Waikīkī 1913–1960 |
| Yew Char (1893–1982 [Hawai'i]) | Honolulu 1916–1946 |
| Ichero Deki (1897–1984 [Japan]) | Honolulu 1929–1936<br>Waipahu 1937–1941 |
| Bunzo Higaki (1907 [Japan]–1961 [Hawai'i]) | Honolulu 1914–1954 |
| George Hajimi Ichiru (1905–1986 [Hawai'i]) | Pāi'a, Maui 1932–1967 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Helen Hayashi (b. 1923 [Hawaiʻi]) | Wahiawā 1940–1945 |
| William Shigeki Hayashi (1896 [Japan]–1954 [Hawaiʻi]) | Honolulu 1918–1929<br>Wahiawā 1929–1941 |
| Ralph Takeshi Kanemori (1911–2002 [Hawaiʻi]) | Hilo 1928–1988 |
| Morito Koga (1863 [Japan]–1941 [Hawaiʻi]) | Ōlaʻa, Hawaiʻi 1908–1938 |
| Kenichi Maehara (1880–ca. 1962 [Japan]) | Hilo 1918–1940<br>Hawaiʻi Volcanoes National Park 1931–1941 |
| Itaro Morihiro (1889–1945 [Japan]) | Hilo 1915–1926 |
| George H. Senda (1925–1996 [Hawaiʻi]) | Līhuʻe 1940–1996 |
| William Junokichi Senda (1889 [Japan]–1884 [Hawaiʻi]) | Honolulu 1910–1913<br>Kapaia, Kauai 1913–1916<br>Līhuʻe 1916–1941 |
| Ochiro Tagami (b. 1874 [Japan]) | Makawao, Maui 1900<br>Honolulu 1900–1920 |
| Raymond Masao Teragawachi (1921–2011 [Hawaiʻi]) | Honolulu 1940–1945<br>Honolulu 1948– |
| Usaku Teragawachi (1889 [Japan]–1974 [Hawaiʻi]) | Ōlaʻa, Hawaiʻi 1908–1910<br>Honolulu 1911–1941<br>Honolulu 1945–ca. 1964 |
| Shoko Tsuha (1898 [Okinawa]–1938 [Hawaiʻi]) | Waipahu 1918–1920<br>Honolulu 1921–1925<br>Honolulu 1933–1938 |
| Yoshio Yamamoto (b. 1874 [Japan]) | 1900–1923 Honolulu |

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