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Japan in Australia

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1 Japan in Australia, an introduction

David Chapman and Carol Hayes

Introduction

Contemporary Australia's engagement with Japan continues a relationship of some 150 years that has deeply impacted Australia's social, cultural, economic and political landscape. Australia's proximity to Asia has meant it has developed close ties with neighbours in the region, and perhaps its relationship with Japan has become one of the most intimate. Such familiarity has been equally the result of nation-level interactions as it has been of everyday, personal and community contacts. However, this relationship has seen both extremes, and tracing its trajectory provides an example of how history can turn from fear, enmity and misunderstanding through war, foreign encroachment and the legacy of conflict to close and intimate connection that results in cultural enrichment and diversification.

This book incorporates a diverse range of disciplinary approaches to comprehend the countless ways in which Japan has been imagined, represented and experienced in the Australian context. At the same time, this approach furthers our understanding of the contribution from Japan in Australia's course as a nation. As a part of this, the contributors to this book have interrogated definitive notions of Australia and 'Australianness', and Japan and 'Japaneseness', where tensions emerge alongside attempts to place Japan and Australia into definable and distinguishable categories that are often labelled for consumption, representation and reassurance.

The critical approach of this book identifies and underscores a blurring of lines and smearing of borders that emphasise an interconnectedness that is transnational, translingual and transcultural. Moreover, as this interfolded continues, the necessity to rethink what we believe to be Australian and, equally, what we consider to be Japanese becomes more apparent. Even today, the juxtaposition of Japan and Australia often evokes notions of a binary of Oriental and Occidental, Asian and non-Asian and East and West. In this book we ask how we can better understand how dichotomies of Self and Other are challenged and disrupted when we explore the ways in which Japan and Australia intersect and interrelate. In doing so, we confront and unsettle commonly held notions of Japan, Japanese culture and Japanese society through scholarly engagement within diverse settings. This book is the result of the 2016 Japan in Australia conference held at the University of Queensland and generously supported by The Japan Foundation.

Book structure

The book is structured in loose chronological order starting with early contacts between Japan and Australia. The 12 chapters reflect the diverse and dynamic context in which we find Japan's presence in Australia through overarching themes such as early contact, war and rebuilding relations, cultural fusion, identity and intercultural relations, contemporary culture and Japanese language education. The book is topped and tailed by two personal contributions, beginning with University of Queensland Emeritus Professor Alan Rix's reflections on the importance of exploring Japan and Australia's shared cultural relationship and concluding with an afterword from Professor Vera Mackie, a leader in the field of Japanese studies.

Drawing on his long and celebrated academic engagement with Japan in Australia, Rix reflects on a number of pivotal points in the bilateral relationship and argues the importance of recording both the 'people-to-people' contact and the myriad multidimensional ways our two countries are interconnected, from the wool trade to horse racing, from the tragedy of war to shared engagement in peace movements, from technology transfer to community arts. He celebrates this book for the new stories it adds to the narrative of Japan and Australia's shared relationship. Concluding the manuscript, Vera Mackie provides an afterword for the book reflecting on how Japan is imprinted on the very streets of our Australian cities, from high fashion to Muji and Uniqlo-style mass production, from haute cuisine to sushi trains and supermarket sushi, all speaking to the deep interconnectedness between these two cultures.

In this introductory chapter we provide a sketch of Japan in Australia from the earliest contact in the late Tokugawa Period through to the present, touching on the themes of the chapters within the volume. In it we posit that not only will we benefit by understanding more about Japan through this research, we suggest that a greater understanding of Australia is also gained through this work. Japan is well positioned as an important voice both within Asia and globally. Australia, too, stands in an important geopolitical sphere, part of and yet separate to Asia, with strong past links to the United Kingdom and United States but also a country with deep ties to Japan, China and other neighbours in the region. At a time when tensions between different religious, ethnic and other identities have escalated, we offer an example of how greater interaction and involvement can create lasting connectedness. We begin at the first recorded contacts between Australians and Japanese in the nineteenth century.

Early contacts

Contacts between Australia and Japan are as old as the treaties that marked the end of Japan's seclusion.

(Sissons 1972, 193)

It is impossible to discuss Japan and Australia without recognition and reference to the research of Australian historian David Sissons (1925–2006). Serving in the

Australian Army, Sissons learned Japanese through the military from 1944–47 and then studied in Tokyo 1957–60 (Sissons 1998, 40; Stockwin 2016, 1). Much of Sissons's meticulous research on the history between the two nations is stored away in '60 capacious boxes at the National Library of Australia Manuscripts Collection in Canberra' (Stockwin 2016, 3). Thankfully, the public now has greater access to this material with the recent publication of two volumes entitled *Bridging Australia and Japan*. In Volume 1, Sissons (2016, 87) divides nineteenth-century Australian contacts with Japan into three periods: the *sakoku*¹ period (1633–1866), the second period (1867–1891) and the third period (1892–1902). In the *sakoku* period, he focuses on the last years of Japan's seclusion from the West and the influx of foreign residents as well as Japanese travelling abroad. The second period, says Sissons, is characterised by 'unfettered but infrequent and small-scale contact' with important and increasing labour for the pearling industry sourced from Japan, and 'the appearance of the Japanese prostitute', or '*karayuki-san*' throughout much of Australia. The third period was one of increased Japanese emigration to Australia sponsored by large companies that ended with the 1901 introduction of the Immigration Restriction Act excluding non-European migrants and forming the basis of the White Australia Policy (*hakugōshugi*).

Although the first of Sissons's three periods includes the very beginning of the Tokugawa period through the opening up of Japan, not much happened between Japan and Australia before 1859. Therefore, the total length of time between the bookending of Japan's opening up after *sakoku* and Australia's clamping down on immigration of non-whites in 1901 constitutes just over 40 years. This was only a brief period of time, within which both countries interacted on many levels and in multiple ways.

Although the time prior to 1859 is like a black hole in Japan's interaction with the West, there are some recorded instances of Australians and Japanese encountering one another. Sissons (2016, 41, 88–89) speculates that the first encounter was with the 1831 landing of the Sydney whaler the *Lady Rowena* in Hamanaka Bay on Hokkaido. The Australian crew, according to a *Sydney Gazette* article, destroyed a village and fired upon its people (The *Sydney Gazette* 1831, 2). On this point, Sissons (2016, 42) playfully declares that, '[i]f this was in fact the first encounter between our two peoples, then the relationship got off to a bad start'. However, it seems that encounters soon after this one on Hachijōjima and with other Japanese junks were amicable and friendly, with the captain of the *Lady Rowena*, Bourne Russell, making purchases of food and supplies on the same trip without incident (Sissons 2016, 89). In fact, the *Lady Rowena* safely returned to Sydney Harbour in July 1832, with 600 barrels of whale oil from Japan (Japan Club of Australia 1998, 25).

Sissons's assertion of this being the first encounter between Australians and Japanese, however, may require revising. There is evidence that a landing on Japanese shores by an Australian vessel took place the year before the *Lady Rowena* in 1830. In 2017, an English teacher in Japan, Nick Russell, came across documents that provide strong evidence of the arrival of the *Cypress* on 16 January 1830 off the town of Mugi on Shikoku Island (Robertson 2017). The crew of the *Cypress*

were escaped convicts who had mutinied in 1829 while on their way from Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) to Macquarie Harbour (The *Sydney Monitor* 1829, 3). Although this event may take precedence, Sissons's claim about early Japanese–Australian relations getting off to a bad start still holds. Initially, the encounter was one of mutual curiosity with some limited interaction, but suspicion took over and the convicts were lucky to escape with their lives, being hastened away under cannon fire from the Japanese.

Interestingly, Japanese accounts record an illustration of a gift offered by the convict crew to the Japanese villagers that looks much like a boomerang. Other details recorded by the Japanese are of one of the crew who produced 'a big glass of what appeared to be an alcoholic beverage and indicated that we (the Japanese) should drink' (Robertson 2017). 'We declined by waving our hands, upon which they passed the glass around themselves, one by one tapping their heads as they drank to indicate the good feeling it brought them, and finished the lot'. Mima, a local commander, suspicious of the ship and its crew, stated, 'The men on the ship do not look hungry at all and in fact they seem to be mocking us by diving off the stern and climbing back onto the ship again, it is very strange that everyone who goes out for a closer look returns feeling very sorry for them. I think they are pirates. We should crush them!' (Robertson 2017). The *Cypress* eventually made its way to Macau and China, where she sunk due to the holes in her hull from Japanese cannon fire (The *Sydney Gazette* and New South Wales Advertiser 1831, 2). The convicts were then recaptured. Two were executed and one, William Swallow, was sent back to Van Diemen's Land, dying four years later.

There was another instance in 1850 in which an Australian vessel, the *Emont*, intruded upon a closed Japan not far from where the *Lady Rowena* had landed 19 years earlier. The crew of the *Emont* remained in custody for four months and were eventually transported to Nagasaki to be sent away aboard a Dutch ship to Batavia. One crewmember, James Higgins, died during a storm at sea and was buried amongst the Dutch graves in the grounds of Goshinji temple. According to Sissons (2016, 90), Higgins was the first Australian to be buried on Japanese soil. During the storm that killed Higgins, the crew saved the life of the Japanese officer who had accompanied them. This officer then gave orders that they be released from confinement, and they were then taken to Matsumai accompanied by 500 Japanese (Geelong Advertiser 1851, 2).

Although the brief landings of the *Cypress*, the *Lady Rowena* and the *Emont* are recorded as the very first encounters between Australians and the Japanese, as Sissons's quote above clearly outlines, sustained interaction only began with the end of *sakoku*. Twenty-nine years after the *Cypress* left Japan's coastline, the country ended its more than two-century seclusion policy and opened selected ports and harbours to trade and foreign residents. The first from Australia² to encounter the newly opened Japan were Alexander Marks (1838–1919)³ and his brother Henry (?–1871), who took up residency in Yokohama and set up a business in 1859. Henry Marks, alongside another brother, Lawrence, died in a typhoon aboard the Schooner *Julie* in 1871. Alexander Marks left Japan and

returned to Australia the following year in 1872. After returning to Melbourne, he became the first Honorary Consul for Japan for the Australian colonies from 1879 to 1896. Marks was appointed by the Japanese government because of increasing court cases concerning the exploitation of Japanese crew by unscrupulous British captains who had recruited the men in Treaty ports in Japan (Sissons 2016, 93). From 1896, Marks went on to become Honorary Consul for Japan in Victoria, a position he held until 1902.

Following Marks, John Reddie Black (1826–1880) was the next from Australia to engage with Japan. Originally a Scotsman, Black arrived in Japan from Australia in 1862, and he remained there for more than 11 years. Black was a singer and newspaper publisher, and also the father of Henry James Black (1858–1923). Australian-born Henry Black lived in Japan from the age of 3 and became famous as a kabuki actor and the first foreign-born *raikugoka*. He performed as *Kairakutei Buraku* (Pleasure Black) and was eventually adopted as a Japanese, changing his name to Ishii Black. He died of a stroke at the age of 64. Not long after Black Senior's arrival in 1867, British-born politician John Henry Brooke (1826–1902) moved from Melbourne to Yokohama. Taking over from Black as proprietor and editor of the *Japan Daily Herald*, he wrote a series of articles for *The Australasian* newspaper in 1867 under the pseudonym 'An Australian Colonist' and remained in Japan until his death on 8 January 1902.⁴

The migration of Japanese to Australia was a little slower and did not begin until after the Sakoku Edict, which restricted travel outside of Japan, was lifted on 23 May 1866. Although some Japanese left Japan without permission or passports before 1866 (Yamamoto 2017, 8), sanctioned travel did not begin until late in 1866, or, in the case of the first Japanese to visit Australia, 1867. These first travellers were acrobats and jugglers, with the very first group of 12 members being part of 'Lenton and Smith's Great Novelty for the Colonies – The Great Dragon Troupe of Japanese – 12 Wonders from Yeddo' (Sissons 2016, 50), who performed at the Princess Theatre in Melbourne. The first naturalised Japanese in Australia was also an acrobat. He was Ewar Dicinoski (likely Sakuragawa Rikinosuke), who performed with the Royal Tycoon Troupe, a group of 13 members that came to Australia in 1871. Dicinoski decided to stay on and, 11 years later, in 1882, naturalised as an Australian (Armstrong 1973, 3; Sissons 2016, 51). His grave can be found in the Toowong Cemetery in Brisbane (see Figure 1.1).

In the 1860s, alongside the arrival of these first Japanese was an emerging interest in the cultural products of Japan. The earliest encounters with things Japanese were not only the result of interactions with Japanese performers and official delegations, but also came through the accounts of returning travellers and visitors from Europe, where the flood of Japanese exports entering European markets prompted a wave of interest in all things Japanese known as *Japonisme*. Japan's first participation in an international exhibition was not until 1867 in Paris (although fragments of Japanese wares were on display at earlier exhibitions).⁵ This first involvement was prompted by Fukuzawa Yuichi's 1866 explanation (*seijōjijō*) of his visit to the International Exhibition in London in 1862 (Kornicki 1994, 17).

Figure 1.1 Grave of Ewar Dicinoski (likely Sakuragawa Rikinosuke), first naturalised Japanese in Australia. Toowong Cemetery, Brisbane, Queensland

Source: Grave of Ewar Dicinoski (likely Sakuragawa Rikinosuke), first naturalised Japanese in Australia. Toowong Cemetery, Brisbane, Queensland (photograph by David Chapman).

Not only was there interest in many things Japanese in Australia in these early days, there was a reciprocal interest in Australian products by the Japanese. This mutual curiosity prompted the earliest visit to Australia by Japanese official government dignitaries in 1875. It consisted of a small entourage of five representatives, including commissioners Hashimoto Masato and Sakata Haruo, and agriculturalists Funaki and Iida,⁶ who were to make a detailed study of agriculture in the colonies of Australia and to accompany exhibits that were from private interests in Japan destined for display at the Intercolonial Exhibition in Melbourne. Englishman Robert Page was employed by the Japanese government as the secretary of the delegation (Kornicki 1994, 23).

The Japanese presence at the exhibition can be attributed to the President of the Victoria Commissions for the Philadelphia Exhibitions Sir Redmond Barry (1813–1880), a British immigrant and senior judge of the Victorian Supreme Court who had also presided over the trial of Ned Kelly (Kornicki 1994, 19). Barry had approached Sir Harry Parkes, the British Minister Plenipotentiary in Tokyo, making the suggestion that Japan's participation in the exhibition would

make it attractive and 'extend competition beyond the limits of Australia' (Kornicki 1994, 20). At the time, speeches by Barry and Hashimoto demonstrated a very favourable response to the presence of Japan at the exhibitions, where they were met with enthusiastic applause. Barry emphasised the prospect of further cooperation between the two nations and also underscored the plans and wishes by Australia for furthering relations with Japan, which aimed for:

Still more intimate relations of intercourse, and the reciprocal advantages of an expanded trade between the 35,000,000 who inhabit that great Empire [Japan], and the loyal and dutiful subjects of our Queen in Australasia. (Kornicki 1994, 24)

The press at the time was also enthusiastic about the Japanese wares on display and the favourable prices of the goods (Kornicki 1994, 26). For example, *The Age* (1875, 3) exclaimed that, 'No one department in the exhibition will be viewed with greater interest than that in which the industries of Japan are represented' and '[t]he Japanese, in the manufacture of the first-named goods, have reached a degree of perfection never attained by any other nation'. However, motivated by mounting hostility and racism toward the Chinese immigrant community in Victoria, the *Melbourne Punch* was less than enthusiastic and singled out the Japanese exhibit as the only display worthy of criticism. The picture (Figure 1.2) appearing in the *Morning Punch* of a man with a long top knot more resembled a caricature of a Chinese merchant than a Japanese.

But after all said about the Japanese collection, why is it we see nothing of one really useful product of this polished or polishing people – where is the famed blacking of Japan, where are those mighty exhibitors whose bills have been posted on the pyramids and whose bottles have been shied at by the larks of Tartary . . . ?

(Melbourne Punch 1875, 7)

The exhibition and extended stay by Funaki and Iida resulted in a detailed two-volume report on Australia compiled by Hashimoto with the assurance that the activities over 1875–1876 would result in the establishment of a trading relationship of great benefit to Japan (Kornicki 1994, 29). Trade between Japan and Australia emerged in the late 1800s, with some industries flourishing, as evidenced by the number of bales of wool exported by F Kanematsu (Aust) Ltd rising from 200 a year in 1890–91 to 100,000 by 1930 (Sissons 2016, 93–94). The company founder, Fusajiro Kanematsu, had many business interests in Kobe and Osaka, including banking and merchant shipping, and he was the owner and editor-in-chief of the *Osaka Mainichi* newspaper (Sono 1998, 34; Sissons 1983, n.p.). The Japanese Consulate-General in Sydney had been established in 1882 to facilitate trade such as that established by Kanematsu as well as to help with bilateral relations.

THAT HEATHEN JAPEE.

HASHIMOTO WAS HIS NAME,
AND NO ONE CAN DENY
THAT AMBASSADOR JAP
PLAYED A GAME THAT WAS HIGH;
FOR HE GOT A BIG SHOP ON THE CHEAP
FROM SIR REDMOND AND COLLINS LEVY.

Figure 1.2 The Heathen Japee
Source: *Melbourne Punch* 16 September 1875, 368

including 150 women, living in Australia, of whom 92% were born in Japan. By the 1933 census, the total number of Japanese had decreased by more than half to 1,218 (76 women), the declining trend increasing as the war years approached (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1940, 554). For example, in the 1920s there were as many as 2,000 Japanese living on Thursday Island, although by 1936 only 350 or so, mostly divers, remained there (Jotani 1998, 18). According to the October 1940 census, there were 178 Japanese living in rural Queensland, generally engaged in the sugar industry (Murakami 1998, 30–31).

Someone who managed to negotiate his way around these restrictive conditions was businessman Takasuka Jo, who, having represented Ehime Prefecture in the Japanese House of Representatives from 1898 to 1902, arrived in Melbourne in 1905 and was given a 12-month exception from the dictation test. He established the Takasuka, Dight & Co export-import business to serve as a business gateway to Japan (Matsudaira 2018). Moving from business to land lease and farming, Takasuka battled the Australian elements, to a large extent unsuccessfully, to produce the first rice in Victoria, although by 1927 he abandoned his attempts to grow rice and tried other vegetable crops, which again met with little success, and in 1939 he returned to import-export. Takasuka died in 1940 in Matsuyama only a year after he had returned to Japan to set up a Kobe office as Australia Barter Trade & Co., leaving behind his wife Ichiko, his daughter Aiko and two sons, Shō and Mario, who had by this time become successful tomato farmers and orchardists in Fosterville, Victoria (Sissons 1990). Interestingly, his younger son Mario was Australian born and so served in both Crete and New Guinea in the 2/3 Australian LAA Regiment, while the older Shō was interned in 1941 in the Tatura camp, although happily he was soon released after enormous support from his neighbours (Whitley 2018; Sissons 1998, 38–40).

The other areas of commercial activity involving Japanese in Australia were, as mentioned above, mostly pearling, cane farming and prostitution. The first Japanese pearl divers were seamen, starting with Nonami Kojiro in 1876. These Japanese men became well regarded for their abilities as divers, with many being recruited in the early 1880s through to the 1890s working in Torres Strait, Thursday Island and Western Australia. The first Japanese diplomatic mission in Australia,¹² no doubt due to the influx of Japanese cane workers, was established in Townsville, QLD, in 1896 (it closed in 1908), with Nakagawa Tsunejiro as the first consul. The Sydney Consulate was established the following year in 1897 and Nakagawa moved from Townsville to take up the role of Sydney Consul. In 1901 the Sydney Consulate was upgraded to a Consulate-General (Consulate-General of Japan 2012).

The closeness of the bilateral relationship shared by Australia and Japan in the late 1800s and early 1900s is further demonstrated by the fact that during World War I, as a result of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation signed by the United Kingdom and Japan on 16 July 1894, the Japanese navy shared some of the responsibility for patrolling the Australian coastline and participating in the transport of military personnel from both Australia and New Zealand to the European front (Miyaji-Lawrence 1998, 341–342).

diving community in the Torres Strait and the Broome area, the cane farmers in North Queensland and diplomats and businessmen in Melbourne and Sydney. Fifty contracted Japanese cane workers arrived in 1892,⁷ mostly on three-year contracts, and demands for Japanese workers led to an increase of a further 520 men the following year in 1893 (Bryce 1998, 42–43).⁸ Working with cane was hard work, with grueling 10-hour days for the equivalent wage of 10 yen per month. However, with three meals a day and accommodation provided, it was an attractive option, as farm workers in Japan received as little as 20 zen per day.⁹ Interestingly, the contract for the Japanese workers, in addition to the import of Japanese products such as tea, soy sauce and pickles, also included a clause about the provision of a Japanese-style bath, and in one instance when the bath water had not been heated for the end of the day, the Japanese workers went on strike (Murakami 1998, 31). By 1896, Townsville and surrounding areas were home to 952 Japanese (including 20 women) as compared to 618 Japanese (35 women) in the diving communities around Thursday Island. The numbers of Japanese in Queensland peaked in 1898 with 1,865, including 117 women, the majority of whom were ‘*karayuki-san*’ prostitutes.¹⁰ Prior to 1900 and federation, as many as 3,247 Japanese had at some time resided in Queensland,¹¹ with the Japanese government supportive of contract labour rather than an immigration agreement.

The population of Japanese in Australia in the 1890s was small and remained so because of the introduction of restrictive legislation on immigration between 1893 and 1901. In 1888, the mainland colonies of the United Kingdom signed the ‘Memorandum on Chinese Immigration’ prohibiting immigration of Chinese citizens and naturalisation of Chinese residents. These restrictions on Chinese citizens led to a refocus on all North East Asian entry, including the Japanese, who were beginning to dominate the pearl-diving industry in Northern Australia and the indentured cane labour in Queensland (Meaney 1999, 17–18). Under pressure from the British government, which in 1894 entered a commercial treaty with Japan, some colonies in the late 1890s removed from their immigration restriction legislation the designation of any particular race. Instead, an education test, modelled on that used for some years by the colony of Natal, was to be administered by a customs officer in ways dependent on the discretion of that officer. This was represented by Britain as more tactful, but the same discriminative outcome was ensured. In 1901, a version of the Natal test was established under the Commonwealth Immigration Restriction Act (Willard 1923, 108–118; see also Clark and Ely 1888). Immigrants could be prohibited if ‘when asked to do so by an officer fails to write out at dictation and sign in the presence of the officer a passage of fifty words in length in a European language directed by the officer’ (Commonwealth of Australia 1901, 1). As with the pearl divers, the promulgation of the Act and its European language dictation test, targeting both guest workers and immigrants of colour, resulted in very few Japanese workers remaining in the sugar industry (Murakami 1998, 30–31).

The Immigration Restriction Act eventually saw the Japanese population decrease dramatically. The 1921 census records a total of 2,639 Japanese nationals,

Around this time in 1888, Scottish-born James Murdoch (1856–1921), the first Australian scholar of Japanese history, made his way to Japan to work as a teacher and journalist. While in Japan he became a professor at Tokyo First High School and taught the famous Japanese novelist Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916). It was during his time in Japan that Murdoch began researching and scribing the first comprehensive history of Japan to be written in English. In 1917, Murdoch returned from Japan and took up concurrent positions at the Royal Military College, Duntroon and the University of Sydney (Sissons 1982, n.p.).

Early recorded contacts between Japan and Australia can also be found in the field of horse racing. An Australian horse named 'Sydney' was reported as winning a race in Japan in 1867 (The Argus 1867, 7), the year before the Meiji Restoration began. Further, in Harold Williams's book (Williams 1958, 179) on the earliest foreign settlements in Japan, there is mention of 'fast racehorses and crooked jockeys' imported from Australia into Japan. At the turn of the twentieth century, the *Maitland Weekly Mercury* (1905, 13) published an article about a Mr Masuda (Matsuda), a Japanese horse buyer, who was in Australia to purchase horses for breeding purposes. The well-travelled Matsuda considered Australian horses superior to any others he had encountered. He believed the abundance of grass feed and the climate to be advantageous, but he remarked on how the wildness of Australian horses was a drawback. Matsuda's intentions were to purchase Australian horses for breeding with Japanese horses, which he believed to be the 'best in the world for the improvement of the Japanese horse'. From these early days of interest in Australian horses and horse racing, there has been a steady bilateral engagement in this industry, with Japanese horses racing in important Australian events and vice versa, and with Japanese buyers prominent in the Australian market, like Queensland's Magic Million yearlings sale (Bartley 2018).

As discussed above, interest in things Japanese began to expand in Australia in the late 1800s in parallel with increasing global interest. The influence on the art scene in Australia is worthy of note. Penny Bailey's chapter in this book explores the historical context of Australian artists such as Lionel Lindsay (1874–1961) and Violet Teague (1872–1951) who experimented with *Japonisme* as a platform for expressive experimentation. She also writes about how Margaret Preston (1875–1963) was drawn to the aesthetic conventions and techniques employed in Japanese woodblock prints for their radical departure from the Western methods of pictorial representation championed by the Academy. Bailey argues that Preston was unusual amongst these Australian artists because of her sustained reference to the Japanese pictorial modes (repetitive patterning, flat areas of colour and strong black outlines) that ultimately became synonymous with her hallmark style. Preston, she explains, secured her place as a champion of Australia's modern visual culture by incorporating Japanese pictorial conventions into her aesthetic practice throughout her career.

Further into the twentieth century, trade between Japan and Australia hit a rough patch. In 1936 a trade dispute erupted with Japan over Australia's decision to increase tariffs on imported goods with the hope of increasing the Australian manufacturing sector. Japan retaliated by looking for alternative sources for

such primary goods as wool and wheat. Although resolved by the end of 1936, this dispute marked Australia's increasing concern with Japan's progressively aggressive 'southward advance policy' that was later seen as a prelude to war (Parliament of Australia 2000). It was the following year that Tsurumi Yūsuke, a member of the Japanese Diet, visited Australia with his two children. In this volume, Tomoko Aoyama provides a glimpse of the impact this visit had on Tsurumi's two children. After his visit to Australia, Yūsuke continued to get to know Australia better and eventually published a book on Australian nature and society. Further, Aoyama uses resources from a number of archives to illustrate how Tsurumi's daughter Kazuko, 19 at the time and gifted in traditional dance and poetry, appeared in the Australian media and continued to contribute to the relationship between Australia and Japan after the visit. Tsurumi's son Shunsuke, on the other hand, was more challenged by his experiences. While in Adelaide, he was shown an English translation of the *Kojiki*. The fact that this translated version of the famous anthology of Japanese origin myths presented a different interpretation of the work, challenging the imperialist interpretations widely accepted in Japan, influenced Shunsuke's thinking and led him to complete a collection of critical essays, *Ame no Uzume Den* (Tsurumi 1991). Sociologist Kazuko's poetry and dance and Shunsuke's writings, both as a scholar and a philosopher, were equally highly influenced by their visit to Australia.

War and rebuilding relationships

From 1940 relations between Australia and Japan cooled rapidly, with the 1941 economic sanctions against Japan leading to the freezing of Japanese assets that required all Japanese residents in Australia to return to Japan or face internment. With the outbreak of war, 4,300 Japanese residents in Australia, including Australians of Japanese heritage and some who were arrested outside of Australia, were declared 'enemy aliens' and interned in five of the eight main internment camps. Allocation to these camps was determined by where they had resided in Australia, their social status and their gender – in Hay NSW (1940–46), Cowra NSW (1941–47) and Enoggera (Gaythorne) Queensland (1914–15 and 1940–46), Holsworthy (Liverpool) NSW (1939–46), Tatura (Rushworth) VIC (1940–47) and Loveday SA camp (1941–46) (National Archives of Australia; also see Nagata 1996). Most returned to Japan after the war, losing their assets in Australia with no compensation provided even after hostilities ceased.

However, some, like Tomitaro Fujii, were able to return to their previous lives. Known as the last Japanese diver on Thursday Island, Fujii had arrived from Kobe in 1923 when he was only 17 years old. Working as a diver, he married into a wealthy Chinese merchant family, until war broke out and he was interned in Hay NSW. After the war, he returned to Thursday Island, and while working for a Japanese pearl company, he toiled to re-establish the Japanese cemetery, placing as many as 200 grave markers on broken or unmarked graves (Mogi 1998, 22).

Another such example is Furusawa Hajime, who served as the secretary to Mr Alexander Marks, Honorary Consul for Japan in Victoria mentioned above.

born in Uwajima in Ehime in 1868, Furusawa took up a position with the Japanese Department of Foreign Affairs in 1891 and was sent to serve as Marks's secretary in the Melbourne Consulate established in 1879, travelling on the *Sagami Maru* together with the 520 guest cane workers. Furusawa married the daughter to Japanese artist Kagami Godaiyu, and remained in Australia until his death in 1936. His whole family, including three daughters and his father-in-law, all rest in St. Kilda cemetery in Melbourne (Bryce 1998, 42).

These older Japanese graves scattered across the country make up an important part of the Japan in Australia story and are recognised in both Australia and Japan. In 2017, Japanese Ambassador Kusaka celebrated Cowra as a symbol of Japan and Australia's strong relationship. Kusaka noted that the Japanese War Cemetery, made up of 522 graves of Japanese nationals who passed away during WWII, is now jointly maintained by the Japanese government, through their embassy in Canberra, the City of Cowra and the Australian government, while the Japanese gardens and cherry-blossom-lined street in Cowra are kept in order by the commitment of the local community, serving as a good example of the closeness and depth of the bilateral relationship rising above the horrors of war.

The post-WWII period required the rebuilding of the relationship between Australia and Japan. Following the Japanese surrender on 2 September 1945, Australia played an important role in the 37,000-strong British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF) stationed in occupied Japan from 21 February 1946 until the end of occupation in April 1952 (Wood 1998, 32). From the early 1950s, the racial-nationalism of the White Australia ideology was increasingly contested and stood at odds with Australia's desire to strengthen ties with Asia, particularly in terms of trade. Under the newly elected liberal government of Robert Menzies, which defeated the Chifley government in 1949, Immigration Minister Harold Holt developed a scheme to gradually approve entry and eventual assimilation of Japanese war brides, and on 27 March 1952, the Australian Cabinet approved the 'admission of Japanese wives of Australian servicemen and ex-servicemen' into Australia, provided they were approved by the Australian embassy in Japan, creating a new group of Japanese Australians, Japanese war brides and their children (ANZAC Day Commemoration Committee). The legalisation of Japanese war bride immigration was an important step towards reconciliation and forgiveness, serving to break down the restrictions on Japanese immigration and weaken the White Australia Policy (for a personal story on this topic, see De Matos and Huggett 2010).

As many as 650 new brides would emigrate to Australia throughout the 1950s (Tamura 2011, xi). Mrs Teruko Blair was one such war bride. Born in Hiroshima in 1925, Teruko experienced the horrors of the Hiroshima atomic bomb, and later, working as a waitress in the Officers Mess in Kure, where the British Commonwealth Occupation Force were stationed, she met her future husband William Dickson Blair. Living together in secret for two years, they were not able to formally marry until after the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1952, and in December 1953, Teruko arrived in Australia with their eldest son Billy a babe in arms (Blair 1991, 10). Through her research into the lives of these war brides and

their families, historian Keiko Tamura argues the importance of their individual narratives to the Japan in Australia story (Tamura 2011, xii).

With reports of the war trials and the increasing awareness of the atrocities of the Pacific War, there was still a great deal of hatred and fear of Japanese nationals; however, as the 1950s progressed, attitudes began to change. Gwenda Tavan (2005, 3) emphasises that from the early 1900s there was a general assumption among the Australia populace that 'whiteness, Britishness and Australianness, were crucial elements of Australian nationhood' and that these characteristics should determine entry into and membership of the Australian community, and the war did little to change this. However, the legalisation of Japanese war bride immigration opened the door to understanding and forgiveness, becoming an important step on the path to reconciliation, as Walker and Sobocinska note in *Australia's Asia*: 'Individual encounters [with Japan] precipitated a broader awareness, and the postwar period saw a growing interest in and enthusiasm for what was being seen as Australia's "neighborhood"' (Walker and Sobocinska 2012, 15).

As the twentieth century developed, the Australia-Japan relationship moved into a new phase of trade and mutual diplomatic relations. From the 1950s, the horror of the war ceased to be the dominant narrative in Australia's engagement with Japan. The Australian embassy was re-established in Tokyo in 1952, with the embassy of Japan in Canberra following a year later. Morris Low and Ai Kobayashi both examine the role of sport in re-establishing relations postwar and the role played by the 1956 Melbourne Olympics and the 1954 Baseball Tour of Australia by the Yomiuri Giants in helping to promote a positive connection between Australia and Japan.

Kobayashi examines the Yomiuri Giants' 1954 baseball tour, the first Japanese sporting team to visit Australia after the cessation of WWII hostilities. Kobayashi sets the responses of the individual players against the backdrop of Australian governmental and public responses. Not without problems, this tour was an important step in the lead-up to Japan's involvement in the Melbourne Olympics, which is the focus of Low's chapter. Only four years after the end of the Allied Occupation of Japan, Low argues that the Melbourne Olympics made an important contribution to Australia-Japan relations by reshaping the negative attitudes that had hung on since the end of the war. Through this important sporting event, he examines Australia's changing attitudes towards Japan, just as Japan was struggling to redefine itself on the international stage as an economic success story and repositioning itself as a nation of peace and strength.

Cultural fusion

This section of the book examines Japan in Australia through the lens of cultural fusion, exploring the changing cultural landscape of Australia as more Japanese culture began to filter into the Australian consciousness. While the experience of the war with Japan continued to colour some Australian perceptions of the Japanese people, as memories of the war receded, it again became possible to talk about Japan's long history and traditions.

Japanese media was beginning to participate in the Australia broadcasting landscape, and both at state and national levels, Japan-Australia societies were springing up around the country. Originally established in 1909 with 23 members, the Japan Society of Sydney was reconvened in December 1957, and the first meeting of Australia-Japan Societies was held in Canberra in 1975 (Japanese Society of Sydney Inc 1997, 122). These early postwar interactions were in a context of closer ties between Australia and Japan. A variety of Japan-Australia associations and foundations also grew up in the 1960s, feeding into the boom years of the 1970s. The earliest group was the Australia Japan Society – Victoria Inc established in 1963, with SA in 1967, NSW and Tasmania following suit in 1968; Australia Japan Society of NSW established in 1968 and Canberra in 1972. There are now as many as 16 state and city societies which are members of the Federation of Australia Japan Societies. Although the Federation was not official until 2011, a national meeting of the various Australia-Japan Societies was held as early as 1975 in Canberra with the aim of developing better connections between the groups (National Federation of Australia Japan Societies). There are as many as 108 sister city/state relationships shared between Australia and Japan, the oldest established between Lismore and Yamatotakada city in Nara Prefecture in 1963 (Australian Embassy Tokyo Japan n.d., 38).

The Basic Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Australia and Japan was signed by both nations on 22 June 1976 with the express purpose of broadening the bilateral relationship beyond trade and economics, declaring that 'the basis of relations between Australia and Japan shall be enduring peace and friendship between the two countries and their peoples' (Australia Japan Business Cooperation Committee n.d., 38). The Australian government established the Australia-Japan Foundation in 1976 to facilitate this by providing grants for people-to-people and institutional exchange in arts and culture, sport, science, media and education (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2015, n.p.). The world of media also connected with Japan. Radio Australia commenced Japanese broadcasts from 1960, which proved increasingly popular through the 1970s but ceased in 1990 partly due to increased diversity in broadcasting technologies and the availability of Japanese media through the internet (Taguchi 1998, 122–123). The Sydney-based Nichigo Press first began publication in October 1977 and continues to service the Japanese community in Australia today (Nichigo Press 2017, 45).

Rebecca Hausler focuses on the impact of the Japanese television juggernaut *Monkey*, based on Wu Cheng'en's sixteenth-century Chinese novel *Journey to the West*, which achieved cult status in both Australia and the United Kingdom. Unlike culturally bland shows such as *Asiro Boy* and *Kimba the White Lion*, *Monkey*, with its badly dubbed, kung-fu laden, mythological character-filled imagery and catchy theme song, allowed producers to capitalise on both Japanese and Chinese elements.

Lucy Fraser also explores cultural fusion through the literary landscape. Fraser focuses on intertextuality and how Nobel Prize winner Kawabata Yasunari's work has been referenced in the works of two Australian authors, Venero Armano and Lulia Leigh. Fraser unpicks how Armano and Leigh engage with Japanese

imagery and orientalist stereotypes to question what these works may tell us about the role of Japanese literature in Australia and the place of both cultures in an international creative scene.

In this theme, Laura Emily Clark address the Japan in Australia's literary landscape with a focus on the work of Murakami Haruki. Clark also engages with Murakami Haruki's work through a discussion of his reception in Australia and the role of translated fiction within the Australian literary scene. She examines the tension between this overhyped global marketing and the role of the exotic Japanese 'other' in Australia's popular imagination.

Identity and intercultural relations contacts

Tim Steains provides a fascinating first-hand exploration of experiences transcending the borders of Japan and Australia and their place at the intersections of these borders. He argues that Nikkei identity is uniquely placed to query what it means to work between Japanese and Australian studies and how this relates to, and raises, questions of identity. Steains pays particular attention to the work of Mayu Kanamori and her experiences as a Nikkei artist in Australia. He explores the meaning and significance of notions of white Australian, Asian Australian, Japanese Australian and mixed-race Japanese Australian engagements with Japan and Japanese Australian history.

Koichi Iwabuchi also explores issues of identity and intercultural relations through an examination of academic engagement with trans-Asia approaches. He argues that academic discourse focused on the impact of the globalisation that engenders cross-border flows and connections of capital, people and media culture presumes a dynamic interconnectedness. Iwabuchi proposes an alternative Asia/trans-Asia approach that de-Westernises, de-nationalises and de-compartmentalises analysis of culture flows and connections. He argues for the importance of a Trans-Asia approach to generate more effective cross-border dialogue and reflection on life, society and culture within the Japan in Australia context.

Japanese language education

The development of Japanese language programs at both the secondary and tertiary level began in Sydney and Melbourne in the early 1900s, only to be restricted during the war years to the education of military specialists. Senkichi Inagaki taught Japanese language at Melbourne University from 1919 to 1941. Programs were re-established in the 1950s, which laid the groundwork for the Japanese language boom in of the 1980s (Hayakawa 1990).

Ikuo Kawakami's chapter focuses on the mobility of families in the twenty-first century and how children crossing numerous borders have been impacted and, in turn, how they impact the world around them. Kawakami particularly demonstrates this through an interesting analysis of memory and the way in which children recall their experiences, crossing the many borders they do, and how this influences their lives and the lives of those around them.

Chihiro Thompson focuses on the important topic of Japanese language education in Australia, which she argues has shifted from more policy-driven, instrumentally motivated endeavours to individual consumption of the entertainment aspect of learning Japanese. Thompson expertly guides us through the history of Japanese language education in Australia. She begins with the early days in the context of Japanese imperialism and the White Australia Policy when Japanese language learning was utilitarian in dealing with a nation that was basically seen as a threat to Australian interests. Next, Thompson explores the years of multiculturalism and the very different approach to learning Japanese when the language became the most widely studied foreign language in Australia. Then, on the basis of surveys of tertiary students, she updates us on the motivation behind the Japanese language's continued popularity. Thompson argues that a new type of learner of Japanese has emerged, which she calls 'consumer-learners'. These learners do not fit the traditional mould of 'students of Japanese' but rather often come to Japanese courses not to pursue a committed language learning career at university, but to enjoy socialising in classrooms and absorb some Japan 'cool'. Thompson examines a new perspective of framing Japanese language education that is inclusive of consumer-learners, as opposed to the traditional notion of language learning as future investment.

Conclusion

This edited book aims to bring together diverse perspectives on the impact and influence of Japan on Australia's social, historical and cultural landscape. Moreover, by examining Japan's interwoven presence in the fabric of Australia and moving away from essentialised notions of Japan and Australia, we present a distinct context of intercultural and transcultural connection through a variety of settings, historical periods and circumstances.

Another advantage of this publication is to present Japanese studies in Australia as a field that offers a viewpoint distinct from those in America and Europe. By examining the impact of Japanese culture and society, we can better reflect on the cultural fusion that is contemporary Australia and build the narrative of our shared relationship. This book, although multidisciplinary and contextually varied, is constrained by the usual restrictions of the publication process and the limited size of the research community. It is the work of present and future scholars to add to what will hopefully be a growing body of research in the area of Japan in Australia. There is still much work to be done in this context, and no volume on this topic could claim to be complete. This version is an addition to an endless list of ongoing engagement among people, places and events.

Notes

- 1 *Sakoku* is the term used for this period and represents Japan's choice to cut itself off from most of the Western world. The concept of *sakoku* is a disputed term, with some, like Toby, arguing that it is in large part a myth; see Ronald Toby, 'Reopening the Question of Sakoku: Diplomacy in the Legitimation of the Tokugawa Bakufu'.

- 2 Despite living in Australia before coming to Japan, both of the brothers were still US citizens at this time. Alexander Marks naturalised as Australian after returning from Japan to Australia on 9 August 1876.
- 3 Marks was born in the United States, but he lived in Australia from the age of 6 and, apart from his years in Japan and a brief period in the Philippines, remained in Australia until his death in 1919.
- 4 For more detail, see McArthur (2013).
- 5 Although there were some Japanese products (*Japanned Wares*) (Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations 1851, 120) at the 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, these were random and likely collected from merchants at the Treaty Ports in China who had access to Nagasaki in the 1840s (Kornicki 1994, 16). At the International Exhibition of 1862, a greater variety of goods were on display, collected by Sir Rutherford Alcock. Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan (Illustrated London News 1862, 318).
- 6 Funaki and Iida stayed on until the end of March 1876, leaving with several breeding pairs and breeds of sheep to introduce sheep farming into Japan (Kornicki 1994, 23). Their first names have not been recorded in any documentation recovered so far.
- 7 In 1892 (Meiji 25), with Barnes and Phillip acting as the agent (intermediary), Yoshisa Imin-gaisha sent 50 Japanese workers to Queensland's cane fields. (1896 archival photo exists in Sisson's archive; Murakami 1998, 30–31). From 1885, a law prohibiting Melanesian workers (referred to as 'Kanakas') was enacted. This led to an increased demand for migrant workers. In 1888 Chinese immigrant workers were similarly banned, which allowed for more Japanese workers to enter, particularly because their reputation as good workers in the Hawaii cane fields preceded them. Yoshisa Imin-gaisha had already sent many workers from Hiroshima prefecture to Hawaii.
- 8 Also see newspaper *Table Talk* (1893) for a report that the liner *Sagami Maru* stopped at four Queensland ports, Cairns, Townsville, Mackey and Dungeness, to unload these workers.
- 9 In 1905, 6 zenì would buy you a bowl of curry rice and 20 would get you a ticket into the cinema in Japan ('Mukashi no 1 en wa Ima no nanzen?').
- 10 In 1887 Japanese Consul for Australia Alexander Marks, mentioned above, expressed concern to Tokyo regarding the introduction of Japanese women of 'bad character into Australia' (Mihalopoulos 2011, 43).
- 11 In 1896 the total population of Queensland was recorded at 57,859, rising to 70,432 by 1901. (Queensland Past and Present: 100 Years of Statistics 1896–1996, 67).
- 12 Although Alexander Marks, mentioned above, was honorary Consul for Japan, the Townsville mission involved Japanese nationals as representatives.

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2 Youthful first impressions

Tsurumi Kazuko and Shunsuke in Australia, 1937

Tomoko Aoyama

In the beginning there was Ame no Uzume (*den*)

Sociologist Tsurumi Kazuko (1918–2006) and her brother, philosopher Tsurumi Shunsuke (1922–2015), are without doubt two of the most important and influential liberal thinkers in postwar Japan. Each has produced a vast and varied corpus in multiple fields and disciplines.¹ Some of their publications, such as Kazuko's *Social Change and the Individual: Japan Before and After Defeat in World War II* ([1970] 2015) and Shunsuke's *An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan* ([1986] 2010) and *A Cultural History of Postwar Japan 1945–1980* (1987), became essential references in many fields of Japanese studies and other disciplines. Both studied at prestigious universities in North America from 1938 to 1942. Kazuko completed a master's degree in philosophy at Vassar College and planned to continue her postgraduate studies at Columbia University. After spending a year at the Middlesex School in Concord, Massachusetts, Shunsuke was admitted to Harvard University in 1939 at age 17, and managed to complete his dissertation while in the custody of the Immigration Service in East Boston.² After the breakout of the Pacific War, the siblings returned to Japan in 1942 on the exchange and repatriation ship *MS Gripsholm*.³

In 1946 the pair teamed up with five other scholars, including Maruyama Masao, to establish a research association and its journal, *Shisō no kagaku* [Science of thought], published continually until 1996.⁴ Kazuko returned to the United States in 1962 to study at Princeton University and in 1966 obtained a PhD. She pursued a successful academic career and taught at universities such as Sophia (Jōchi), Toronto and British Columbia. A collection of her essays written in English between 1975 and 1995 was published in 2014 (Tsurumi 2014). Shunsuke, too, had teaching and research positions at Kyōto University, Tokyo Institute of Technology and Dōshisha University, although his academic career was repeatedly interrupted by severe depression and his political opposition to the US–Japan Security Treaty, the Vietnam War and other issues. After he resigned from Dōshisha in 1970 in protest against the university's decision to bring in the riot police to suppress the student movement, Shunsuke never held another full-time academic post at a Japanese university, and instead concentrated on writing, editing, publishing and other intellectual and sociopolitical activities. Although

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