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Asian Art and Australia: 1830s-1930s

A thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts
Department of Art History, Faculty of Arts
The Australian National University, Canberra.

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own original work.

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Darryl Collins
Canberra
January 1992.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'D Collins', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

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Note on the transliteration of Chinese and Japanese proper names and terminology

Throughout this paper Chinese and Japanese names have been transcribed as originally published for reasons of truth to quoted sources. It is evident, however, that many nineteenth century sources vary considerably in anglicised form with transcriptions which are now considered out-dated and incorrect.

In the body of the text (with the exception of quoted sources), I have adopted the Japanese practice of placing the family name first, followed by the given name i.e. Sakata Haruo.

To facilitate pronunciation of Japanese words in the text, I have utilised the recognised romanised form of macrons to indicate lengthened vowel sounds i.e. 'ô' and 'û'. Exceptions to this are well-known Japanese place names and terms which can be considered to have entered English language usage. These are rendered without macrons i.e. Tokyo and shogun.

I have, where necessary or for ease of reference, transcribed Chinese into Pinyin and Japanese names into standard romanised forms.

Prologue

There is a deliberate intention in this paper to present a compilation of factors pertinent to the cultural interaction of Asia with Australia between the 1830s and the 1930s. Many of these elements are omitted from standard works on the history of art in Australia, or have remained little acknowledged in disparate sources. The reliance on extensively quoted 19th and early 20th century sources is deliberate due to difficulty of access. There is no apology for this structure. The text, quoted references and footnotes are presented to encourage further scholarly investigation and through this, acknowledgement of significant Asian influences in the development of Australian culture.

Abstract

In researching this topic, I have developed chapters on a History of Taste in Australia (as related to Asia), incorporating discussion of the late-nineteenth century art movements of Chinoiserie, Japonisme and Aestheticism (chapters 1 to 3). Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 focus on particular visual and cultural phenomena throughout Australia which are correlated to these movements, and are largely documented from primary sources. As an overview of the growth and content of Asian collections within Australia, chapter 8 presents a national view - from the founding of private colonial collections through to the

establishment and development of state museum collections. The concluding chapter draws together social and cultural themes with particular emphasis on Australia's inter-cultural relationship with Japan. Further investigation into Asian cultural interchange with Australia from the 1930s is mandatory to extend this to the present.

Although references are made to the cultures of China, Japan and Southeast Asia, for a variety of reasons it was Japan which was to play the most important role in shaping cultural exchange with Australia. Australia's geographic position, almost due south of the great land and island masses known as the 'East' induced an access with the possibility of trade, the exchange of persons, and the importation of cultural artefacts.

I gratefully acknowledge select data on museum collections; specific information was provided by a numerically small, but dedicated group of curators responsible for Asian collections throughout Australia. Their assistance has been invaluable in compiling histories of the major state collections.

Asian Art and Australia: 1830s-1930s

1

**Taste and Australia
1770s-1850s**

Taste in its simplest and most accessible meaning is preference. The major implication of Bourdieu's position is that taste is often both a positive, and simultaneously, negative structure¹. It is equally important to account for a preference for what is **not** preferred - with all the implications this has for objects not directly associated with, or belonging to, white culture in Australia.

However, to establish a history of taste for this period in the history of Australia, a complex of contributing factors must be considered before arriving at a model which more accurately represents the concept of taste outlined by Bourdieu.

Australia presents a country with a shifting and developing political entity, firstly as a new and useful extension of England - a colonial dependency; then as a number of separate states and territory; later, with federation, as a nation with self-government. The white population, initially consisting of military governors, soldiers and convicts grew rapidly to incorporate a more egalitarian structure of free-settlers - both those who formed the free labour force and those who directed their attentions to trade and positions of power in forming the government. This influx of outsiders marginalised the indigenous inhabitants, initiating a reaction to colour and race which was to re-emerge with particular emphasis for the peoples of Asia.

¹ "Tastes (i.e., manifested preferences) are the practical application of an inevitable difference. It is no accident that, when they have to be justified, they are asserted purely negatively, by the refusal of other tastes."

Bourdieu, P., *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, (London) 1984, p. 56.

The parameters of taste were to be formed initially by a group of military persons together with convicts, who travelled halfway round the world to forcibly incarcerate their charges in an initially hostile environment, with little but the belongings which could be easily transported without damage. A despatch to the Duke of Portland from Governor Hunter (Sydney, 15 February 1798) contained the observation:

Tales of attempts by convicts (notably those transported from Ireland) to reach China by walking overland from Sydney; and rumours of an elysium somewhere beyond the Blue Mountains, ... were the common subjects of gossip and discussion in and round Sydney during the early years of Australian settlement. Other stories told of an Irish convict who tried to find his way to China, or some other remote place².

Colonial taste was undeniably dependent and coloured by the immediate recollections of late 18th century England, for the few belongings which came with the first settlers were not the only 'baggage' to arrive. Memories and concepts formed through earlier education, exposure to objects in the metropolis of London or other large cities, and access to a civilising, cosmopolitan world must have formed an important reference point for at least some of the population. The Chinese Collection seen in both the United States and England during the mid-nineteenth century exemplified the beginnings of large scale exhibitions of Asian culture in the west [figs 1, 2]³.

² This may have reflected a certain lack of education on the part of the convicts, or sheer determination to escape from a brutal system. It is obvious, however, that there was an inescapable geographical connection in the minds of some prisoners which placed Australia firmly within the realm of Asia.
source: Fearn-Wannan, W., *Australian folklore: A dictionary of lore, legends and popular allusions*, Lansdowne Press, Dee Why West 1970, p. 147.

³ An example of Asian material which could well have been part of the consciousness of Americans or British persons newly arrived in Australia (during the 1850s) is the Chinese Museum or Chinese Collection, exhibited in Philadelphia between 1838 and 1841; and London, 1842-1844. The collection actually included 1,341 works, amassed during Nathan Dunn's visit to China as a tea merchant.

Once in Australia, other more immediate factors came into force. If taste was to be established and maintained by a wealthy upper class, with a heritage and collected assets, symbols of station and position within society, where were these to be found? The society which was in the process of forming, did include those necessary for the production of such objects - artists, architects and craftspersons. The convict group included those transported for crimes such as forgery, which demanded a high degree of technical ability and an acute visual awareness measured against the norms of the time. Were these people to be gainfully employed to create unique contributions, or was the answer to import familiar or rare works from 'home', or indeed elsewhere?

A significant consideration must have been the availability of the materials necessary for the creation of objects of aesthetic and/or monetary value. Initially, great importance was placed on the survival of the infant colony. Artists were firstly employed to record, to map, to accompany those whose direction was to explore. Art works of importance which inevitably depicted the particular environment, plants or animals were often returned to the learned societies in England as visual proof of the existence of such specimens, or alternatively, as curiosities⁴. Further, items of local manufacture were far

see *Illustrated London News*, 6 August 1842, pp. 204-205; for details refer to chapter 5, *Intercolonial, International and Fine Art Exhibitions: Australia and Asia 1850s-1900s* and Registers 2B, 2C.

⁴ "Westall [William Westall (1781-1850)] had seized his opportunity after the wreck of the *Porpoise* to go travelling and sketching in the more romantic lands of China and India, but on his return to England he was commissioned by the Admiralty to complete pictures to illustrate Flinders's *Voyage*." Steven, M., *First impressions: The British discovery of Australia*, British Museum (Natural History), (London) 1988, p. 79.

Many of Westall's works were originally commissioned by and lodged with the Admiralty, and are now housed in the National Maritime Museum, London.

from equivalent in quality to those of non-Australian production. Raw materials, necessity and function being of primary consideration for locally produced works, rather than emphasis on decoration, form or beauty. In other words, the very conditions for preference in non-functional attributes of objects were lacking.

In 1841, intending investors and emigrants to Western Australia, under a scheme known as *Australind*, were being informed in London that:

By a glance at the world's chart, the important mercantile position of Western Australia will be sufficiently obvious. It is situated in proximity to China and the islands of the Indian Archipelago; to the more productive countries of Asia, the Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope⁵.

It was already clear in the minds of many in England and Europe that Australia's geographical location - its relation to Southeast Asia and China, would greatly enhance the possibility of trade with these nations.

There was little, if any (other than the purely scientific and ethnographic interest), in the art, and cultural traditions of the Aboriginal people. It has not been until the late-twentieth century that the white population of Australia has come to terms with the viewing, partial understanding and aesthetics of their traditional forms of expression.

Certainly, it was noted with some alarm by a few concerned individuals in the mid-nineteenth century that this culture was being irretrievably lost - this, however, seemed to reflect concern on a scientific level, rather than that of aesthetics. More importantly, there was no avenue for the indigenous cultures to contribute to the formation of a

⁵ *Western Australia, containing a statement of the condition and prospects of that colony and some account of the Western Australian Company's settlement at Australind*, (London) 1842, pp. 1-2.

structure of taste within the colonial society. Aborigines were considered figures of the grotesque when in contact with settlers - at best they were treated as curiosities to be pitied, or at worst, exterminated. Similar value judgements made concerning white and coloured populations where to have important implications for the attitudes and reactions of the average Australian to Asia and its peoples [fig. 3].

Guide-lines or measures of taste are required to map the cultural attributes within a society. Clearly taste is not homogeneous in all societies, but research to ascertain historical evidence may well support the notion of a predominant sense of taste within a given section of the society at a particular time. Is this necessarily the only valid system to consider? As Eco has pointed out in a chapter on 'The structure of bad taste', 'good' and 'bad' become almost meaningless (under some circumstances, interchangeable) terms in the assessment of taste in a complex society⁶.

In a rapidly emerging colonial society, one which was fluctuating through expansive growth, high emigration, and a rapidly changing social structure is the elite class the only, and the most important guide to developing taste? Australia in the nineteenth century did not incorporate a social structure which readily equated with the British or European model where wealth and taste were acquired through

⁶ "Abandoned to individual moods, particular palates, and value judgements, the critique of taste becomes a sterile game, likely to produce a few pleasant emotions but unable to tell us much about the cultural phenomena of an entire society. Good and bad taste thus become flimsy categories that may be of absolutely no use in defining the complex functionality of a message within a given group or society. Mass society is so rich in determinations and possibilities, that it acquires an immensely elaborate network of mediations and reactions between a culture of discovery, a culture of mere consumption, and a culture of popularization and mediation, none of which can be easily reduced to a simple definition of Beauty or Kitsch."

Eco, U., *The open work*, Hutchinson Radius, (London) 1989, p. 194.

the continuity of status, history, tradition and access to a continuum of artists. Rather, the Australian society reflected the possibility of a variant form:

Alterations in taste are often heralded by the small-scale collector or connoisseur, driven to buying in a new field, sometimes because he is unable to indulge in what would be his first choice, at others in pursuit of some obsessive cult. But alterations in taste can also be registered at a slightly later stage by the speed with which they are reflected in the fashionable collections of the very rich⁷.

Taste, on whichever chosen level, does exhibit certain attributes. There is the difference for example, between what can be called 'perceived taste', and that simply of 'taste'. The former relies on the cognition of individuals such that their understanding of an aesthetic goal is an aspiration to emulate, rather than a complete appreciation of an object's qualities. This could be described as fashion and mannerism, or at worst, pretension or vulgarity; while the latter suggests that such an understanding exists and discernment, or critical appraisal is an integral part of the conscious process. As Johnson pointed out:

Personal prestige is demonstrated by the capacity to acquire objects either through economic transactions or inheritance or personal relationships ... Demand for certain types of objects is linked to taste and fashion ... Ownership of art objects is a mark of personal status demonstrating wealth and discrimination⁸.

The theory of taste in the historical sense is one which is difficult to distance or separate from the reasons for the growth and formation of collections - whether private or public, and ultimately their development into museums. In societies which grew ever-increasingly complex themselves,

⁷ Haskell, F., *Rediscoveries in art: Some aspects of taste, fashion and collecting in England & France*, Phaidon, (Oxford) 1976, pp. 82-83.

⁸ Johnson, R., "Accumulation and collecting: An anthropological perspective", *Art History*, vol. 9, no. 1, March 1986, especially pp. 73-74.

taste can be mapped by the existence and drives of collectors and the development of museums, which in turn indicate deeper and more complex underlying causes for the existence or absence of specific types of objects or collections.

The inter-relation between taste, collections, perceived aesthetic and real commercial values, is difficult. Works may or may not fulfil utilitarian functions, they may serve particular social functions, or simply exist as adornments to spaces. In most cases, however, the possession of such objects serve "as status markers which reflect the owner's wealth and taste"⁹.

In addition, Robert Holden argued in his summation of art collecting and colonial taste in Sydney that:

It is difficult to write about art collectors in colonial Australia without condescension. It is all too easy to deplore their apparently unenlightened existence and depreciate their taste, while envying them their opportunities and laughing at their prejudices. Initially there were scant opportunities for the development of colonial taste and collections and it was only after the significant gold discoveries of the 1850s provided national wealth sufficient to support and maintain an urban 'elite' that private wealth was diverted into significant art patronage and public interest into establishing institutions supportive of the fine arts¹⁰.

By the mid-nineteenth century, institutional reference points for the structure of taste were to be established in Australia. This country did not exist in a total geographic or social vacuum. Through the 1830s tea was imported from China and was eagerly sought by all levels of society. Between 1849 and 1854, the discovery of gold

⁹ Johnson (1986), op. cit., p. 77.

¹⁰ Holden, R., "Fine art exhibitions and collectors in colonial Sydney, 1847-1877", pp. 161-167. *The artist and the patron: Aspects of colonial art in New South Wales*, Patricia R. McDonald and Barry Pearce, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney 1988.

boosted trade. In 1865, Australia's first-recorded export to Japan was a shipment of coal valued at £550, and in 1874 New South Wales first exported wool to Japan. Economic activity brought with it the return of capital, imported goods, and direct contact with Asian and Pacific ports.

As White noted, "Splendid isolation was one response to materialism". He continued, the "... other response, common among the leaders of the colonial bourgeoisie, was to become the evangelists of 'Culture'"¹¹. Also evident at this time were the individual Australian state legislators who began to seriously consider the welfare and education of the individual. In 1852, the oldest of the university libraries, the University of Sydney Library was founded; in 1863, the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery was constructed; and in 1853 the first government-funded institution of its type - the Public Library, Melbourne was established. This rapidly expanded to include a Museum of Art (1861), an Art School, Museum of Natural History and a Museum of Technology. By February 1856, the Melbourne reference library was opened to the public. Not all of the public agreed with the avowed autocratic role of the museum in dictating the boundaries of taste as is evident in the London-based account published within a few years of the foundations of similar institutions in Australia¹².

¹¹ "'Culture' [was defined] as 'the machinery of intellectual and moral improvement', [and the leaders] ... set about constructing the machinery that would improve the democratic populace. ... and ... proceeded to set up mechanics' institutes, public libraries, art galleries and museums, schools, universities and systems of self-improvement."

White, R., *Inventing Australia*, George Allen & Unwin, (Sydney) 1981, p. 60.

¹² "Many people felt, on the contrary, that it was the function of a museum to instruct rather than to inform, to impose Taste rather than to question its foundations. A museum was not, it was often explained, a library: on the contrary, in the words of one particularly virulent controversialist, 'the establishment of a National Gallery is a formal recognition on the part of the government which undertakes it of the powerful influence which the fine arts were intended by Providence to exercise on mankind. The only way by which a Legislature can render this influence effective is by exempting, as far as possible, the principles of sound taste and genuine art from

the caprices and fluctuations of fashion. The selection, therefore of works of art is a question of national importance'."

Morris Moore in a letter to the *Times*, 19 November 1846, republished in Verax, quoted in Haskell, F. (1976), op. cit., pp. 94-95.

2

Australian Taste and Asia: 1850s-1890s

Social mobility was important and necessary for the emerging Australian colonial society. The more structured British model was to some extent discarded for those who actively sought to advance themselves through the numerous activities open to 'new chums'. The immediacy of land acquisition, business opportunity, and associated 'free trade' policies actively encouraged to ensure the colonies' self-sufficiency, assisted in the destruction of a rigidly stratified society. Where formerly there had been the stays of financial control; an attendant power base; and the associated display of taste through possessions, patronage and often conspicuous consumption, there was circa 1850, a partial vacuum¹.

It is sometimes suggested taste can be determined by its simplest form - choice; or, more likely, be determined by the complex inter-related factors of wealth, patronage and accumulation of art works through the drives of particular classes within society. Bourdieu defines class "as much by its *being-perceived* as by its *being*, by its consumption - which need not be conspicuous in order to be symbolic - as much as by its position in the relations of production (even if it is true that the latter governs the former)"².

The reasons for its consumption may be as diverse as education, social mobility, or investment. For this to occur both a range and quantity of works must be readily accessible. This in the first instance, may suggest barter or trade of objects; or in the most complex, a system of

¹ "They [the societies] were new, physically. They had no town walls, castles, ancient churches, Gothic or Roman ruins, or stately old homes, the material evidence of ancient Western civilisation." White, R., *Inventing Australia*, (Sydney), George Allen & Unwin, 1981, p. 48.

² Cited Bourdieu, P., *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, (London) 1984, p. 483.

available works through an art market with attendant dealers, auctions and pricing structure. In other words, a pool of available material possessions which could be aspired to, attained, possessed and collected by sections of Australian society wishing initially to emulate similar levels in Victorian England.

What was the situation in colonial Australia? The long historical sequence of art events in England and the Continent were not necessarily reflected in the early years of this country - and understandably there was a much smaller pool of physical objects to draw upon. The composition of Australian society differed markedly to that of Europe with its 'old wealth', and for most of those who possessed capital there was more concern with the increase of this commodity than with problem of taste³.

Colonial interiors

The series of watercolours made in 1857 by S.T. Gill (1818-1880) are amongst the earliest known visual recordings of Asian decorative arts incorporated into an Australian interior. The scenes (both interiors and exteriors of the house) were commissioned by the French wool merchant Monsieur Noufflard of his residence in Bligh Street, Sydney⁴. Catalogue numbers 5, *The Drawing Room*; 6, *The Bedroom*; and 8, *The Office*, clearly depict a range of Chinese porcelain vases, oriental lacquer cabinets, boxes

³ As is pointed out by Robert Holden in his article contained in the catalogue *The artist and the patron*: "In no sense were these men connoisseurs or even true collectors of paintings; they may have arrived in the colonies with some inherited works, have purchased indifferent paintings at local auctions or exercised a tentative and conservative patronage to record their portraits and properties." (p. 161).

Holden, R., "Fine art exhibitions and collectors in colonial Sydney, 1847-1877", pp. 161-167. *The artist and the patron: Aspects of colonial art in New South Wales*, Patricia R. McDonald and Barry Pearce, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney 1988.

⁴ *Monsieur Noufflard's house: Watercolours by S.T. Gill 1857*, The Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, Sydney 1983.

and a stone Buddhist sculpture. Shar Jones, Curator of the exhibition in 1983, recorded that, "... the oriental pieces almost certainly belonged to Noufflard", who "it would seem ... left Sydney some time in 1862"⁵.

The material and political development of Australia did progress with remarkable speed. It is interesting to note, however, that amongst the collected historical documents covering the period of the 1850s to 1890s, there is little mention of the word 'taste' in the context of evolving art theory. In England, however, "despite the vicissitudes of taste, what remained constant was the prominent place of art in the daily lives of the Victorians"⁶. Throughout the nineteenth century, the words 'art' and 'taste' used in an Australian context, almost exclusively inferred a work which exhibited of a combination of British, European, and Australian components.

It is evident that a great deal of physical energy and capital in early colonial Australia was absorbed by the sheer immensity of the establishment of a civilised white community. The task of this left little time for the studied consideration of the high moral values of art - the almost religious intensity of education for the masses through visual parables or subject painting; connoisseurship; the concept of beauty; or, the role of critical analysis of taste so prevalent in England during the same period.

A suite of four paintings still displayed at the historic homestead *Bedervale* at Braidwood, New South Wales, have a provenance which parallels acquisition of goods in Australia through the China trade. The works, now part of

⁵ Historic Houses Trust (1983), op. cit. [n.p.], 'Monsieur Noufflard'.

⁶ Macleod, D.S., "Art collecting and Victorian middle-class taste", *Art History*, vol. 10, no. 3, September 1987, p. 328.

the collection of the National Trust of Australia (NSW), originally belonged to Captain John Coghill (1785-1835), who settled at Braidwood in 1826 and built *Bedervale* in 1836⁷. As the catalogue notes:

The so-called Treaty Port paintings were purchased for Captain John Coghill by Captain William Carr to whom Coghill sold his ship the *Mangles* in 1826. While Coghill had confined the *Mangles* to the convict run, Carr sought Chinese markets and it was on one of his trading voyages to Canton in the 1830s that Carr bought the paintings⁸.

Substantial quantities of applied and decorative arts were also purchased from the sales following the successive intercolonial and international exhibitions in the major capitals between the 1850s and 1890s⁹; dealers of Japanese and Chinese art and craft wares who operated principally in both Sydney and Melbourne¹⁰; or from events such as the Japanese Village seen during 1886 and 1887¹¹.

⁷ The four works (all are oil on canvas) are:
Sunqua, Chinese (active 1830-1870)
British Fleet at Whampoa Anchorage (1830s)
 45.0 x 58.5 cm
Island Forts - Boca Tigris (1830s)
 44.5 x 58.5 cm
 and, unsigned:
French, American, British and Dutch Hongs at Canton (1830s)
 44.5 x 58.0 cm
Praya Grande, Macao (1830s)
 44.5 x 58.5 cm.

⁸ *Treasures of the National Trust: A Striking Selection of the most Remarkable Pictures Representative of Collections of National Trust Properties of New South Wales including Distinguished Portraits and Picturesque Features of the Landscape Scenery*, National Trust of Australia (NSW), Sydney 1984, especially catalogue numbers 36-39.

⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 May 1877, p. 9.
 "Grand Sale ... the Whole of the Magnificent Exhibits forming the Japanese and Chinese Courts of the present Metropolitan and Intercolonial Exhibition ... Bradley, Newton and Lamb ... with instructions from Mr. Smedley, ... Exhibition Building, Prince Alfred Park, ... 4 May 1877".

¹⁰ "... 100 Large Cases of Goods from Japan ..."; Farmer and Company, Pitt, Market and George Streets, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 August 1888, p. 1.
 "Japanese Fine Art Store"; J. Numashima, 137 Elizabeth Street, *Argus* (Melbourne), 17 December 1889, p. 1.
 "75 Cases Magnificent Japanese Art Manufactures"; *Auctioneer*,

In July 1854, the foundation stones for both the University of Melbourne and the Public Library were laid by the Governor of Victoria. Sir Charles Hotham noted with some paternal concern:

Here, you working men will find comfort and society. You will find a refuge here, you who frequent public-houses and indulge in strong drinks, a refuge where you will meet with better society, where you will be able to associate with the higher and more cultivated classes of society ...¹².

In reply, the commentator in the *Age* rather sardonically commented:

The event may probably not be regarded with much interest by a very large proportion of the citizens of Melbourne, but to those whose tastes incline them to appreciate the full value of the advantages of such an institution, ... In this respect, and to all the appliances of intellectual and social progress, Victoria should not be content to be a single step behind America¹³.

Intellectual and social life in the two largest colonial cities, Melbourne and Sydney, continued through the latter half of the nineteenth century to attract the attention of

Gemmell, Tuckett & Co., 49 Collins Street West, *Argus* (Melbourne), 17 December 1889, p. 3.

In addition there existed a small number of direct Australian-Japanese traders. Kanematsu Fusajirō (1845-1913) had opened the Kanematsu Company, Sakae-machi, Kobe on 15 August 1889 under the sign-board "The Fusajirō Kanematsu Japan-Australia Trading Co.". In 1890 he left Japan for Australia and in return for primary produce from Australia shipped "... such goods as earthen wares [*sic*], lacquer wares, bamboo wares and other oriental sundries ...".

source: "Pioneering in Australian Direct Trade: The life of Fusajiro [*sic*] Kanematsu, 1845-1913", Inoue Tadakatsu, *Kobe Economic & Business Review*, 22nd Annual Report, 1976, pp. 1-15.

¹¹ "The entertainment terminated on the 16th April, and the Japanese curios and articles of interest were sold on the evening of that day. Judging from the interest shown by large and appreciative gatherings, the venture should have been a marked financial success." *Illustrated Sydney News*, 16 May 1887, p. 11.

¹² *Argus* (Melbourne), 4 July 1854.

¹³ *Age* (Melbourne), 12 February 1856.

visiting English and American diarists, historians, critics and writers. Typically there developed a rivalry between the two centres with amenities, buildings, natural beauty and the taste of the inhabitants compared by the essayists. State (most known originally as, 'National') galleries¹⁴ formed an important part of the social and artistic centres of each of the widely-distanced capitals. Collections had been commenced, in some cases, by direct acquisition of large numbers of works from the numerous intercolonial and international exhibitions. The buildings with their collections reinforced the cultural progress of the communities, as these:

... visible symbols of 'Culture' encouraged the immense pride of the colonial bourgeoisie in their own progress. It bolstered their position; they were leaders of a cultured, not a debased, community, and they saw themselves as responsible for its moral improvement. The temples to culture they had built were central to the broad strand of cultural patriotism which reached its peak in the 'Marvellous Melbourne',¹⁵ of the 1880s, and which never ceased to be astonished at its own achievement¹⁶.

¹⁴ In chronological order:

National Gallery of Victoria, founded 1861
 Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, founded 1863
 Art Gallery of South Australia, founded 1881
 Art Gallery of New South Wales, founded 1883
 Art Gallery of Western Australia, founded 1895
 Queensland Art Gallery, founded 1895.

These galleries, sometimes under earlier variant names were often originally housed in one building together with public libraries and museums, so that early historical references to some extent overlap with those of sister institutions.

¹⁵ A term coined in 1885 by George Augustus Sala (1828-1895), a visiting English journalist who lectured and toured Australia in 1885. It is of interest to note that this term was also the title of a highly successful stage drama, *Marvellous Melbourne*, Alexandra Theatre, Melbourne, opened 19 January 1889. Five years earlier (1880), in London Sala wrote: "There is scarcely any department of British Art in which we have not learned valuable lessons from the Japanese ..." [quoted in *The Aesthetic Movement 1869-1890*, edited by Charles Spencer, Academy Editions, London 1973, p. 21].

¹⁶ Cited White (1981), op. cit., p. 62.

In a summation of the forces operative in this period, Richard White pointed to the inter-connected factors which contributed to the formation of Australian thought and society at the end of the nineteenth century. A great deal of similarity can be found in twentieth-century Australia.

... It is clear that in the nineteenth century the Australian colonies had a political and cultural identity that, it was thought, could be distinguished from Britain's. For the most part though, this identity was not considered peculiar to Australia. It was an identity that Australia gained by virtue of the fact that it was a new society, politically democratic, culturally materialistic. In this, it was not creating anything distinctive, but simply following in the footsteps of the archetypal new society, the United States, footsteps which the older societies were also following in the nineteenth century¹⁷.

Victorian and Edwardian interiors 1850-1900s

Interiors were an important preoccupation with Victorian life - the display of possessions ensured appropriately structured social status. Suitable environments functioned as props for entertaining 'at home', so much an integral part of society. Three conveniently close examples in date indicate a cross-section of Asian sensibility as perceived by the press and owners of the day (all are reproduced in *Australians at home*¹⁸) - in 1887, 'A Chinese lady at home in Castlereagh Street' [fig. 4]¹⁹; in the same year, 'Building a la Jap' [fig. 5]²⁰; and circa 1902, 'Drawing-room, Gallop House, Quong Tart at home' [fig. 6]²¹.

¹⁷ White (1981), loc. cit.

¹⁸ *Australians at home: A documentary history of Australian domestic interiors from 1788 to 1914*, Terence Lane and Jessie Serle, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne 1990.

¹⁹ *Sydney Mail*, 15 February 1879, p. 253.

²⁰ "Building a la Jap", *Boomerang* (Brisbane), 24 December 1887, p. 18 'Japanese house at Newtown', (ill.) G.H.M. Addison.

²¹ *The life of Quong Tart: or, How a foreigner succeeded in a British Community*, compiled and edited by Mrs Quong Tart [Margaret Tart], W.M. Maclardy, Sydney 1911, [n.p.], following 'Introduction', two photographic plates 'Quong Tart at home'.

The earliest illustrated the main living room of a Sydney Chinese merchant or craftsman, which has a pronounced Asian appearance. To be noted are the typical details of family altar and furniture, to which was added the comments of the writer, "... Hang some Chinese paintings on the walls, ... and observe that all the furniture but one easy chair is of Chinese manufacture, made of some heavy dark wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and you have a tolerably good idea of a Chinese parlour or drawing-room"²². In this account the importance of authentic Asian accessories in the interior was somewhat slighted by underscoring the fact that the rooms, "are nowhere furnished in an exclusively Chinese fashion" and further, that they "will be found to contain many articles of European manufacture, arranged according to European taste"²³.

The *Brisbane Courier*, in late December 1887, reported that, "Some months ago his Honour Judge Paul took advantage of a well-earned vacation to pay a visit to 'beautiful Japan'"²⁴. The resourceful judge stayed in the port city of Kobe and returned to Australia with something more than the usual souvenir²⁵.

While there he appointed "as his agent an English merchant, who agreed with a Japanese contractor to construct, ship, and erect in Brisbane a house in every respect but one"²⁶

²² Lane and Serle (1990), op. cit.

²³ Lane and Serle (1990), op. cit.

²⁴ *Brisbane Courier*, 21 December 1887, p. 6.

²⁵ Judge G.W. Paul also returned with more usual items, which are detailed in the *Boomerang* report, reflecting the more typical souvenirs: temple gongs, bronze incense burners, a 'grotesque statue', a 'wealth of porcelain' which included examples of the ubiquitous Satsuma ware.

²⁶ The one factor which differed from the traditional Japanese residence was the height of doorways and ceilings which were increased to take into account "the greater stature of Europeans".

the double of the building in which Judge Paul had resided at Kobe, ...". The 'damio's residence'²⁷ which the copy was to emulate dated to some two hundred years earlier [late 17th century] and was of the *shoin-zukuri*²⁸ style. With unbounded confidence, the shipment arrived in Brisbane, and with it "three Japanese carpenters and two plasterers" to reconstruct the house (evidently it had been initially erected in Japan, then shipped as pre-formed entities). A Japanese newspaper noted the departure with the terse:

An Englishman hired five carpenters in Kobe and has gone with them to Brisbane, where he intends building some Japanese houses²⁹.

The whole exercise was not one with predetermined aesthetic considerations, but rather one of extreme practicality. The pragmatic judge wished to prove to himself after being impressed by the comfort of dwellings in Japan, that a Japanese house would be eminently suitable for the Australian climate.

Aesthetic considerations were, however, very much on the mind of the newspaper reporter who noted that the joints were of a quality that would "cause many a European cabinet-maker to blush", and that the partitions in the house "are painted in the highest style of Japanese art". They were further, "executed with a freedom of style which proclaims the skill and even genius of the artist, they are

²⁷ [sic *daimyô* residence]: *daimyô*: lit. 'great name', the residence of a Japanese feudal lord (or later, powerful samurai).

²⁸ *shoin-zukuri*: style of domestic architecture used for upper-class Japanese residences which originated in the 15th. century study-rooms of important Zen monks and incorporated references from ceremonial tea rooms.

²⁹ *Hiogo News* (Kobe), 10 March 1887, [n.p.]
source: D.C.S. Sissons; cited in correspondence, Don Watson to John McPhee, 6 November 1985.

all described as being admirable representations of the scenes intended to be depicted"³⁰.

A second report in the Brisbane *Boomerang* perceptively noted that visitors who had only studied Japanese decoration from imported examples available in "museums or curio shops will be agreeably surprised". This comment immediately suggested a certain lack of quality and absence of contemporary works of importance to be used as measures of excellence. After detailing the features including sliding screens, paintings, general construction of the house and the judge's 'art treasures' brought from Japan, the writer pronounced that the whole is, "... a perfect dream of Mikado-land, where the harmony of decoration and the perfection of colour and outline is as perfect in its way as was that of the Greeks in theirs"³¹.

These allusions to 'skill', 'freedom of style' and extreme attention to detail are hallmarks also selected by critics and commentators to describe Japanese entries in the contemporaneous intercolonial and international exhibitions. The obliging Judge G.W. Paul offered (through the newspaper), to allow "anyone who desires to look over it may do so on obtaining an order ..." with the reporter adding, "... and we can warrant that the visit will be a most interesting one"³².

The article concluded, "It would be difficult to imagine a cooler or more charming dwelling than this Japanese house must be in summer time"³³. In 1962, writing on the same house the architect Carr also concluded, "... I believe the

³⁰ *Brisbane Courier* (21 Dec.) 1887, loc. cit.

³¹ *Boomerang* (24 Dec.) 1887, loc. cit.

³² *Brisbane Courier* (21 Dec.) 1887, loc. cit.

³³ *Boomerang* (24 Dec.) 1887, loc. cit.

house is still the best, climatically, for miles around"³⁴, vindicating the judge's original intention. The original Japanese contractor in the face of Brisbane weather, Queensland white ants, and minor modifications guaranteed the house, "to last for 100 years". It stands today, not on its original site (corner Langshaw Street and Bowen Terrace, New Farm, Brisbane), but in Lynch Street, Ingham after transport and re-assembly in 1962³⁵.

The images of 'Quong Tart at home' represented a rare success in nineteenth century integration of the Chinese with the white Australian community. Guangda through his popularity and business acumen was to greatly influence the white community with regard to racial discrimination. The contrast between the former entry describing the importation of a complete Asian dwelling and that of an interior with an almost consciously suppressed Asian influences is revealing. Unlike the earlier Chinese interior which was presented as unfamiliar and replete with intriguing Confucian images, Guangda's house was almost totally Western with the exception of an elaborately carved arch in the Chinese manner. Similar decorative elements were familiar features to customers of his famous Sydney tea houses.

³⁴ "The Japanese house: New Farm, Brisbane", W.H. Carr, *Architecture in Australia*, December 1964, pp. 98-100.

³⁵ The house suffered a chequered career (there were several owners, following the death of Judge G.W. Paul; in 1947 it was acquired by the Country Women's Association; it was sold in 1962 when the site was to be developed for flats) then bought by Doctors John and Pamela Markwell. The house had prior to this been "offered at its demolition value to the City, to the National Trust, to the University and, finally, to the highest bidder. It was dimly realised that the house had historical value, but no one from a professional body was prepared to commit himself as to what value - an indictment on the lack of scholarship in Eastern matters in Queensland which is a result of the local educational system".
source: Carr (1964), loc. cit.

These three examples are selected to convey a range of interiors and architectural decoration with pronounced Asian content. There were other isolated examples³⁶ - for example the 'Burmese Temple' [fig. 7], in the grounds of *Tarring*, the residence of Henry Henty Esq., Kew, Victoria, who explained to an inquisitive interviewer:

You are looking at that curious structure. I do not know whether you would call it a temple, a pagoda or a summer-house. It is a specimen of Burmese carving, and interests the curious amongst my visitors. I secured it at the Exhibition of 1880³⁷.

In general, however, the material and aesthetic trappings associated with the East were widely accepted in Victorian and Edwardian Australia. Asian fans, furniture and folding screens were imported in abundance and formed focal points in domestic interiors of the wealthier members of the community. The practicality of these wares in hot, sometimes airless and humid environments is not be overlooked. Chinese and Japanese seagrass matting, bamboo furniture, rugs, drapes, fans and screens played important functional roles in rooms which contrived to be fashionably 'artistic'³⁸.

³⁶ The *Japan Weekly Mail* (Tokyo), 1 August 1896, p. 110 noted that the famous Japanese architect Mr Ito Heizayemon [*sic*] of Nagoya was then engaged in "a Japanese dwelling house for Mr. Elliot, Sydney, Australia; ...". To date the location of this residence has not been identified.

My thanks to Aaron M. Cohen for this reference.

³⁷ *Victoria's Representative Men at Home: Punch's illustrated interviews, 'Lauderdale'*, published at 'Punch' Office, Melbourne [n.d.], pp. 110-111.

I am indebted to Dr Miles Lewis for making me aware of this structure. From the extant photographs it appears to have been a *sala*, or pavilion used as a resting place, generally built in temple grounds for the convenience of travellers.

³⁸ "In *The Bedroom and Boudoir*, the volume she contributed to Macmillan's popular 'Art at Home Series', Lady Barker, wife of a future Governor of Western Australia, extolled the virtues of folding screens: 'I like screens immensely ... they ensure privacy, they keep out the light if necessary, and are a great improvement to the look of any room'. ... Lady Barker recommended old Dutch leather screens, and 'beautiful' old Indian or Japan lacquered screens, light, and with very little pattern on them; ...". Cited in Lane and Serle (1990), op. cit.

Instead of acquisition of important works of art, all too often a rather superficial, fashionable understanding prevailed, with elements often radically misunderstood or used for excessive decorative effect. A glance at domestic interiors circa 1880 to 1900 illustrated in Lane and Serle's excellent publication³⁹ or other examples of upper-class rooms [figs 8, 9, 10] is sufficient to convince the reader that pinning fans in profusion over doorways, on ceilings and around works of art does not necessarily indicate a profound appreciation of Japanese art or, by extension, the associated aesthetics. The practice does during this period, however, reinforce the notion of selective (mis-) appropriation of design concepts embodied in 'Eastern' works of art.

³⁹ Lane and Serle (1990), op. cit.

3

Australian Taste and Asia: 1890s-1930s

In Australia a depression which began in 1890, following a 'long boom' period from 1860, brought with it the collapse of banks, drastic falls in prices for primary products (mainly wheat and wool), strikes, and widespread company bankruptcy.

The major cities were increasingly cosmopolitan. Urban Sydney was characterised by Gilbert Parker (who travelled in the colonies between 1888 and 1891) - one of the numerous journalists who contributed feature articles on Australia for British and American periodicals:

In Port Jackson the nations meet. One has seen an English, a German, and a Japanese squadron in these waters at one time, and at others an English, a Russian, and a French squadron. At Circular Quay the Orient and the Occident jostle each other: Cockney and Malay, Teuton and Lascar, Gaul and Mohammedan, Slav and Chinaman, American and Fijian, Briton and the dusky protege of Exeter Hall¹, Australian and the world. The same thing occurs in Melbourne, but the picture is more scattered there, ...².

As ports on the international shipping routes, east-coast Australian cities often hosted good-will visits by vessels from then allied nations [fig. 11]. Japanese artist Ōshita Tōjirō (1870-1912), visited Brisbane, Sydney and Melbourne in 1898 on one such Japanese navy vessel. While in Sydney, he took the opportunity to meet the important Australian artist, Tom Roberts (1856-1931). Several of his Western-style watercolours now held in Japanese collections include: *Brisbane River* (2 versions); *Cape Moreton, Queensland*; *The entrance to Sydney Harbour*; *South Head, Sydney*; *Sydney* (seascape with coast and lighthouse);

¹ This infers 'missionaries' by reference to the London headquarters for missionary activities, Exeter Hall; and presumably, their passage to and from Sydney to Southeast Asia, the Pacific or the 'East'.

² Parker, G., *Round the compass in Australia*, Hutchinson and Co., London 1892, pp. 99-100.

Circular Quay, Sydney; and Port Melbourne. All are watercolour on paper, inscribed with the title, signed 'T. OSHITA', and dated '-1898-'³.

The physical as well as artistic and intellectual growth of the major cities during the 1890s is documented by the writer D.J. Quinn through his comparative view of the artistic development of Sydney: "Twenty-five years ago it was without a local habitation and a name, and such was the public taste that a private citizen who threw open a private collection of art treasures in his possession, found to his disappointment, that its patrons were mostly children, ..." ⁴.

At the first meeting of the New South Wales Academy of Art, 24 April 1871, T.S. Mort had remarked, "... though at first he had been gratified by seeing a considerable number of persons come to look at them - more from curiosity than appreciation he was afraid - yet for several months past his only care had been to put some one in charge of the pictures to keep little children from poking their sticks through the glasses, instead of as formerly being present himself to explain the pictures and exchange opinions about them ..." ⁵.

Quinn continued, "To-day Sydney is the proud possessor of a National Gallery which yearly attracts hundreds of

³ source: "Tôjirô Ôshita", *Mizu-e*, 3 March 1980, no. 900, especially pp. 44-50; 53; 133-134 (in Japanese). I am indebted to John Clark for alerting me to these earliest Australian seascapes by a native Japanese artist.

⁴ "Artists and artistic taste in Australasia: 1. Sydney", D.J. Quinn, *Review of Reviews*, vol. IX, no. 11, 20 November 1896, continued 20 December 1896, p. 511.

The collection mentioned in this quotation is that of Thomas Sutcliffe Mort, which the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 March 1861, p. 5, referred to "rather in the light of a public exhibition than of a private collection".

⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 April 1871, p. 5.

thousands of visitors, ..." ⁶, yet somewhat moderated this apparent enthusiasm with several statements which suggest the citizens of Sydney were not as cosmopolitan in nature, or venturesome as collectors.

Perhaps the greatest drawback to art in Sydney is the indifference of the more wealthy citizens. Unhappily the people who have a taste for art often have not the means to gratify it, and 'vice versa' those who have the means sometimes have not the taste ... There are very few houses that possess a really fine piece of painting, and I don't know of a single collection owned by any private person in Sydney ⁷.

Related problems of taste and capital were noted some thirteen years earlier in 1877 by an eminent visitor to Australia, General Bartolomeo Galletti, who accompanied Madame Ristori and her theatrical company to Australia. The company "... had heard that in Australia a pound was spent 'with the same indifference as five lira are in Italy. This we found to be quite the contrary.' He added that although there were plenty of wealthy people in Australia, 'yet a cultural class has not had time to form itself' " ⁸.

Both Lou Klepac and Hendrik Kolenberg quote from an interestingly candid report written on 11 January 1896 by Joshua Lake ⁹ to J.W. Hackett (later Sir John Hackett),

⁶ Quinn (1896), loc. cit.

⁷ Quinn (1896), op. cit., pp. 511, 517.
Quinn was clearly unaware of the history of earlier collections in Sydney; or alternatively, treated them as relatively unimportant.

⁸ Irvin, E., *Dictionary of the Australian theatre 1788-1914*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney 1985, p. 247.

⁹ Joshua Lake (b.1848, arr. Australia 1875, d.1908)
In 1888-89 he became General Superintendent of Fine Arts for the Victorian government in connection with the Centennial Exhibition in Melbourne. He also advised the Art Gallery of South Australia and the Ballarat Fine Art Gallery on the arrangement of their galleries, and acted as a buyer for the Art Gallery of Western Australia.
source: Klepac (1979), loc. cit.

Member of the Committee of the Perth Museum, relative to proposed purchases for the gallery:

The Pictures selected for a New National Gallery, in a new and at present necessarily not highly artistic, community, should ... in the first place, *give pleasure* to the community, ... add a *refinement to their tastes*, ... lead them to love that which is *beautiful in nature* as well as in art, ... teach them to *perceive beauties* they perhaps have not seen, ... to distinguish *between good and bad art*, to form a *high standard of taste* ...¹⁰.

The text is revealing for several important reasons - the belated date of execution; its obvious citation of Victorian theories of taste; and the paternal, educative role expected of the exemplary museum collection.

It is of interest to compare the differing cultural, political and socio-economic relationship of the United States, Britain and Australia to China and Japan during the closing years of the nineteenth century.

Australia, physically isolated from a mother country with colonial ties not cut, striving for federation of separate colonies, yet without a sense of complete autonomy, viewed with a degree of envy the independence and strength of the developing United States. Both countries exhibited a similar need to invent historical myths, to populate the country with larger-than-life figures which provided a sense of accomplishment, fantasy and diversion. Asia, however, did possess a multiplicity of ancient traditional cultures (although often confused during this period), complete with legends, and material culture [fig. 12]. It was also noted by some in Australia, on a more practical level, that Asia was a viable market for the extension of trade and was, additionally, a source of cheap labour:

¹⁰ "A glance at the history of the Western Australia collection", Lou Klepac, *ART and Australia*, June 1979, p. 329 and: *The first fifteen years: Acquisitions to 1911*, Hendrik Kolenberg, Art Gallery of Western Australia, Perth 1979, p. 3.

In November, 1899, he [the Japanese Consul at Townsville] suggested that the number of Japanese labourers in Queensland should be limited to the number resident in that year (i.e., four to five thousand);

...

and that further,

In 1905 the Commonwealth Government entered into a kind of 'gentleman's agreement' with Japan similar to the one made between Queensland and Japan in the nineties. Under this arrangement Japan issues passports for Australia only to merchants, students, and tourists, or to Japanese of other occupations, such as those employed in pearling, who have obtained prior permission from the Australian Government, and Australia admits Japanese holding passports without the dictation test¹¹.

Significant numbers of Chinese were also employed during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the production of furniture in most Australian cities (in particular Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane) [figs 13, 14]. References to the names, numbers and Australian attitudes to factories and workshops can be obtained in recently researched articles and books, one of which lists directories of Chinese furniture workshops by state, and summarises the effect of legislation enacted by the government in answer to criticism by European cabinetmakers¹². The extent of Chinese workshops can be measured by reviewing numbers of factories in the various states: New South Wales (Sydney and country), some 204 are listed; similarly, Queensland some 48 listed; South

¹¹ Lyng, J., *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on population and progress*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne 1935, pp. 172-173.

¹² "Divided we fall: The Chinese and the Melbourne Furniture Trade Union 1870-1900 *", Andrew Marcus, *Labour History*, no. 26, May 1974, pp. 1-10

* a fully documented version of this article may be consulted in the Australian National University Archives, where the papers of the furniture trade are housed and "Reply to Andrew Marcus", *ibid.*, pp. 11-13

and:

State of Victoria Evidence taken by the Royal Commission appointed to investigate and report on the operation of the factories and shops law of Victoria presented to both Houses of Parliament by His Excellency's Command, Robert S. Brain, Government Printer, Melbourne 1902-03.

Australia some 38 listed; Tasmania some 8 listed; Victoria some 390 listed; and Western Australia some 8 listed¹³.

Politically, in Australia, the *Immigration Restriction Act, 1901* and the *Immigration Restriction Amendment Act, 1905* together with the *Anglo-Japanese Agreement of Alliance, 30 January 1902 (35th year of Meiji)* and the *Agreement between the United Kingdom and Japan, 13 July 1911*, were to form important guides, if not barriers to the free passage of individuals from and, more importantly, framed public attitudes to China and Japan. Trade and commercial agreements were also to play major roles in formulating attitudes. By 1897 "Queensland was the only Australian colony to adhere to the Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty of 1894"¹⁴, and it was also evident "that Australians now preferred Indian and Ceylonese tea to Chinese tea, their preference for the previous 100 years"¹⁵. Further controversy arose in Australia with the outcome of the Russo-Japanese war, with earlier impressions of Japan as, "an idyllic country harshly treated in the past by the great powers"¹⁶, to:

Almost overnight the *Sydney Morning Herald's* thinking changed as it commenced to argue that 'the yellow man has taught the white man a lesson that Australians can

¹³ source: *Nineteenth century Australian furniture*, Kevin Fahey, Christina Simpson, Andrew Simpson, David Ell Press, Sydney 1985; see also: "The Chinese Camperdown chair", Christopher Menz, *The Australian Antique Collector*, January-June 1991, pp. 82-83.

¹⁴ Fraser, B. (devised and edited by), *The Macquarie Book of Events*, Macquarie Library, Sydney 1983, p. 205.

¹⁵ Fraser (1983), loc. cit., see also: Two full page advertisements/discussion (published repeatedly in 1883 and continued to 1886/1887) pro Indian and Ceylon teas, against China teas, following alleged adulteration - for a typical example, see: *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 17 December 1886, pp. 16-17, headed: "'POISON IN THE CUP' ... 'That Indian Tea is Purer than Chinese' ... 'How the So-called China Tea is Manufactured' ... 'Calcutta Tea Association's Pure Indian Teas'".

¹⁶ "Australian nationalism and the imperial connection", C. Grimshaw, *The Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. III, no. 2, University of Queensland Press, May 1958, p. 177.

neglect only at their peril'. The *South Australian Register* and the *Melbourne Age* began to doubt whether the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was an adequate safeguard of Australian interests¹⁷.

Against this background, was the over-riding nationalist fervour of 1901 Federation, with the isolationist *Bulletin* noting that:

The rout of the Russians at Mukden is an event of history more important than any since the fall of Constantinople ... Australia is a lonely outpost on the very borders of Asia.

Bulletin, 18 February 1904 and 25 March 1905¹⁸

Despite this anti-Asian feeling on a political level, many Australian artists and culturally-orientated individuals were firstly influenced by, then totally involved with Asia, with several visiting China and Japan in the later part of the nineteenth and first quarter of the twentieth century:

John Smedley

(b. Sydney 1841 - d. Shanghai [China] 1903)
architect

in Hong Kong 1866-1872; in Japan (Yokohama) 1872-1876; 1878-1880 taught architecture and drawing at the precursor of Tokyo University; 1891-1894 (Yokohama); in China 1894-1903; surveyed the Concessions 1895-1896 (Hankou) practiced as an architect and civil engineer (Shanghai)¹⁹

Dr George Ernest (Chinese) Morrison

(b. Melbourne 1862 - d. Sidmouth [Grt. Bt.] 1920)
political adviser

in China 1897-1920²⁰; correspondent of the *Times*, London in Beijing 1897-1912; political adviser to the Chinese Government 1912-1920; avid book collector

¹⁷ Grimshaw (1958), loc. cit.

¹⁸ Grimshaw (1958), op. cit., p. 178.

¹⁹ source: *M C Herald and S C & C Gazette* (Shanghai), 20 November 1903, pp. 1073-1074. I am indebted to John Clark for this information.

²⁰ sources: *Morrison of Peking*, Cyril Pearl, Angus and Robertson, Sydney 1967; and: "'As my fathers were'", Alastair Morrison, *Hemisphere*, November 1977, pp. 29-32.

Professor Arthur Lindsay Sadler
(b. London 1882 - d. Braintree [Grt. Bt.] 1970)
scholar

in Japan 1909-1921²¹; author and translator of Japanese literature; collector of Japanese swords and prints; appointed companion (5th class) of the Order of the Rising Sun (1919); Professor of Oriental studies, University of Sydney (1922-1948)

Edward William Cole
(b. Tenterden [Grt. Bt.] 1832 - d. Essendon 1918)
author, publisher

in Japan 1903²²; "the most amazing bookseller in the history of Australian publishing", entrepreneur who established Cole's Book Arcade, Melbourne in 1873

Margaret Preston
(b. Adelaide 1875 - d. Mosman 1963)
artist

in Bali, Singapore, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Hong Kong, Macao and the Philippines 1925-1926; in China 1934; in Korea and Japan 1934²³

William Hardy Wilson
(b. Campbelltown 1881 - d. Melbourne 1955)
artist, architect, author

in China 1922²⁴.

It was through these persons, and many others - primarily their writings or art works (in some cases both), that the public of Australia were informed of Asian culture. The concept of large loan exhibitions of international art works had yet to come to the fore - it was not until 1936 that the Art Gallery of New South Wales held the *International Art Exhibition*, organised through the consulates of various countries, in which both China and

²¹ source: Joyce Ackroyd in *Australian dictionary of biography*, Bede Nairn, Geoffrey Serle, Russel Ward (section editors), Melbourne: University Press, Carlton 1974.

²² source: E. Cole Turnley in Nairn, Serle, Ward (1974), op. cit.

²³ source: "There and back in three months: From Sydney to the East with a note on expenses", Margaret Preston, *Home*, 1 October 1926, pp. 31, 92.

²⁴ *William Hardy Wilson: A 20th century colonial*, The National Trust of Australia (NSW), Sydney 1980.

Japan were represented. Information concerning Asian culture was primarily disseminated by those who travelled, taught, and published, while others were the subject of articles in art journals, newspapers and magazines²⁵. A typical entry as a summation of influences in Sydney occurs in the *Home* 1926, with a caricature, 'Sydney S'Amuse: Professor A.L. Sadler shows Japanese prints to Miss Thea Proctor during Ethel Spower's exhibition at Adrian Feint's Grosvenor Galleries', illustrated by Mahdi McCrae [fig. 15]²⁶.

The relationship between the public, politicians, art, and institutions through this period can be generally perceived as highly conservative, reflecting a strong Nationalist element within the country as reflected in the development of an Australian character in the arts. Tom Roberts (1856-1931), one of a group of important painters, criticised the trustees of the Public Library, Melbourne for their perceived non-support of Australian art in the face of purchase of Japanese works. In a section of a report written for a Melbourne newspaper in 1893 he tersely pointed out that:

It would not be right for the writer to mention instances of paintings which they should have purchased, being, as they are, the managers of a national institution, but it is fair to say they have no right as such, to spend sums upon great Japanese bronzes, even if they are going a bargain, and are surmounted by a bird with a most curious articulated head, while such a work as Richardson's 'Fireplace' (No. 332) remains here unasked for²⁷.

²⁵ In particular, the *Home*, Sydney (1920-1942) and *Art in Australia*, Sydney (1916-1942), later *ART and Australia*, Sydney, (1963-continuing).

²⁶ *Home*, (Sydney), 1 July 1926, p. 40.

²⁷ *Argus* (Melbourne), 30 September 1893, p. 14. Helen Topliss, in *Tom Roberts: 1856-1931: A catalogue raisonné*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne 1985, also quotes part of this comment by Roberts. Admittedly his intended aim was to stir the Trustees to action, but Topliss also notes "Such purchases he believed were only fit for a curiosity shop". source: op. cit., p. 11.

The important well-publicised auctions that occurred during the nineteen twenties and thirties kept the public informed of the taste and material possessions of select sectors of society²⁸. It is true that when the records of these sales are examined today, a proportion of the works are of questionable provenance and attribution date. Some would now be classified as 'not of museum quality' with their primary function of the time often correctly designated as decorative, rather than as being significant works in their own right. In a historical context, however, they were important indicators of the taste of the period and did reflect a consciousness of the 'Orient'.

In addition to these auctions, there was in Australia during the 1920s, an explicit link between modernism and the 'East'. A landmark event occurred in 1929 with the *Burdekin House Exhibition*, Macquarie Street, Sydney in which President of the Committee, Sydney Ure Smith stated, "as we have no permanent museum of decorative and applied art, this Exhibition should have a considerable educational influence"²⁹. He continued:

... the modern rooms show definitely what can be done when a group of artists are given the opportunity to design effective interiors. ... If a group of interested people could be found, who would consider acquiring Burdekin House for the State, such Exhibitions could be managed frequently and Sydney would have a much needed Museum of Decorative and

²⁸ The Webster Collection of "Rare and Valuable English and Oriental Art Treasures", auctioned at J.R. Tyrell's Museum of Antiques and Curios, 143 Castlereagh Street, Sydney, 23 April (1929); and in the same year both the Estate of the late Dame Eadith Campbell Walker of Yaralla, James R. Lawson, 236 Castlereagh Street, Sydney and F.E. De Groot, 32 Carrington Street, Wynard Square, 15 February 1938; and that of Captain J.T. Layton's private collection of ancient Chinese pottery and porcelains, Joshua McClelland Print Room, Melbourne, 16 August 1938.

²⁹ *Catalogue the Burdekin House Exhibition: In aid of the Royal Prince Alfred Hospital*, published by the Committee of the Burdekin House Exhibition, Sydney 1929, [n.p.], 'Foreword'.

Applied Art - which undoubtedly would be of greatest benefit in developing taste in the community.³⁰

The exhibition was open between 8 October and 21 December 1929, under the patronage of their Excellencies the Governor-General and Lady Stonehaven, and His Excellency the Governor of New South Wales and Lady de Chair. Other important persons, including Professors Ebdon Gowrie Waterhouse and Arthur Lindsay Sadler, and artists, Roy de Maistre and Thea Proctor were members of the organising committees. Modern Room number 1 and 1a on the third floor, consisting of a European sitting-room "showing Japanese influence" was arranged by Professor Sadler, and consisted of "easy chairs, settee, liqueur cabinet and small table" with a painting by de Maistre. The second section of the room was designed by Professor Sadler and contained a "Japanese standing screen ... by Ogawa Ritsuo - c.1700 ... a Japanese tea-kettle or brazier used in the tea ceremony ... a Japanese clock - probably eighteenth century ... and a Japanese hand-warmer and smoking cabinet - early nineteenth century"³¹.

The newspaper report on the day after the opening noted, "... The whole provides a remarkable lesson in the development of taste in modern times, and reveals that Australia has connoisseurs of rare taste and discernment ...", and that "... The whole plan is symptomatic of the present-day movement towards simplification and towards fresh adventures in the realm of colours. ... Professor Sadler has designed a room largely in Japanese style, ..."³².

³⁰ Committee of the Budekin House Exhibition (1929), [n.p.], 'Foreword', loc. cit.

³¹ Committee of the Budekin House Exhibition (1929) [n.p.], 'MODERN ROOMS (3rd FLOOR)' op. cit.

³² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 October 1929, p. 14.

A year previous to the Burdekin House exhibition, the *Sydney Mail* carried two articles designed to link the exotic with taste in the upper levels of Sydney society through two articles, the first headed:

A Chinese chandelier at Government House: The great chandelier at Government House was recently severed into many parts, and, under the direction of Lady de Chair, made into a number of lanterns and wall-brackets³³.

Lady de Chair had thought enough of the original lantern to have contacted Professor Sadler concerning the translation of five characters discovered on it. Unfortunately the earlier history of its arrival in Australia eluded her being "shrouded in mystery"³⁴ although the writer of the articles, Rosalie Wilson, noted that perhaps the lantern had once been hung in a temple. The second article followed a few weeks later:

Chinese furniture at Government House: Chairs, tables, and an opium stool brought from China, and sold in Australia, are included in the furniture of Government House, Sydney³⁵.

Artists and others interested in re-defining Australia's position on an international scale - specifically with reference to Asia, were in the minority. Despite efforts on their part to interest those in positions of authority, there were significant losses of Asian collections from Australia, or Australian hands.

One such loss, was the purchase in 1917 for £35,000 by Iwasaki Hisaya (1865-1955), of the library of the noted Australian, George Ernest Morrison (1862-1920), to form the basis of the Tôyô Bunko (a library specialising in Oriental studies), Tokyo. The Morrison library was initially formed during his twenty-year stay in Beijing and included some

³³ *Sydney Mail*, 5 September 1928, p. 28.

³⁴ *Sydney Mail* (5 Sept.) 1928, loc. cit.

³⁵ *Sydney Mail*, 19 September 1928, p. 30.

24,000 Western language books on China and other countries, including about 6,000 pamphlets, 500 maps and block prints and more than 120 periodicals. After the second world war, the then Australian Minister for External Affairs, Dr H.V. Evatt, is said to have demanded it for Australia as war reparation (following the conclusion of world war II) and to have been rebuked by General MacArthur for making such an undemocratic proposal.

When asked about the fate of the collection, "'The Library,' he [Morrison] added candidly, 'will remain a kind of monument, not to my learning, for my learning does not amount to a row of pins, but to my instinct as a collector'"³⁶.

In contempt of Morrison's wishes, the Morrison Library no longer exists as an entity. The books have been dispersed through the library of the Tôyô Bunko (the Tokyo Institute of Oriental Studies), Japan³⁷.

Another opportunity was lost in 1938, when the architect William Hardy Wilson (1881-1955) wrote to the then Prime Minister, J.A. Lyons "to suggest the start of a collection of Oriental pictures and other art for Canberra to be housed in a small gallery that he would design. The idea was favourably received but no funds were available and of course, a National Gallery must come first"³⁸.

³⁶ Morrison of Peking, Cyril Pearl, Angus and Robertson, Sydney 1967, pp. 343-344.

³⁷ sources: A guide to the Tôyô Bunko, The Tôyô Bunko Foundation, Tokyo (c.1978), [n.d.], [n.p.]; and: Pearl (1967), loc. cit.

³⁸ William Hardy Wilson: A 20th century colonial, The National Trust of Australia (NSW), Sydney 1980, p. 14. The "National Gallery" did eventuate - but not until 1982, when some forty-four years later the Australian National Gallery officially opened in Canberra. Although some Asian art entered the collection prior to opening, a curator of Asian art was not appointed to the staff until 1988. Nomura Court, 'The New Permanent Gallery for Asian Art' opened in 1991.

Events immediately preceding the second world war saw Australian public attitudes to Asia - in particular Japan, change dramatically. Austerity, due to the Great Depression which began in 1929, followed by the occupation of Manchuria by Japan to form the puppet state of Manchuko in 1932, led to a near-complete rejection in Australia of any Japanese object - from cultural to industrial products; but private collectors and museums within Australia were still to provide a strong link in the continued interest in the arts of Asia.

Public decoration and 'modern' interiors

One of the important inputs to the function of taste in the community at large is the viewing of particular objects and associated with this, their availability on the open market. The first quarter of the twentieth century in Australia saw a remarkable rise in public accessibility to Asian works of art. A number of private collectors made their works available to state institutions through loan, then after by donation. These actions usually resulted in publicity in the society and art journals of the day³⁹. In addition, a number of notable collections were auctioned - collections formed over the closing years of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century often by those who had direct contact with Asia⁴⁰.

³⁹ "Photographs of Chinese architecture", p. 39, Hardy Wilson; "Chinese paintings from the Hardy Wilson collection", p. 51; "Isaac" [purchase of a Chinese Tang horse], pp. 52-55, Hardy Wilson "The red phoenix" [Chinese painting in the Hardy Wilson collection], p. 69 *Art in Australia*, 2nd series, 1 May 1922.

The Hardy Wilson Collection was exhibited at the Art Gallery of New South Wales in 1922. In 1935 he presented fifty drawings to the National Library of Australia, amongst which are those relating to Chinese architecture.

"Sculpture in ivory: The Japanese collection of Mr H.R. Nettheim", Charles F. Laseon, *Art in Australia*, 3rd series, September 1927, pp. 68-71.

⁴⁰ *Catalogue of the Eedy Collection* [Captain G.W. Eedy] (from 11 October 1921; 940 entries, primarily Chinese porcelains). Eedy was a

Auctions of Asian decorative wares and art works were, of course, not exclusively a twentieth century phenomenon. There was an unbroken stream of public auctions dating from the 1830s and 1840s which suggested Australians were willing buyers of this material⁴¹. In May 1889 an advertisement appeared in the *Boomerang* (Brisbane)⁴² which announced an "immense sale by auction" of Japanese curios and silk goods⁴³ which had been, "specially selected by James Murdoch "during his recent tramp of 3000 [sic] miles through the previously unknown parts of Japan"⁴⁴.

Captain from a seafaring family with twenty-five years service with the Union Navigation Company to China and the East.

Catalogue of the Hardy Wilson Collection of works of art (from 3 May 1922; 577 entries, Asian section primarily Chinese ceramics, decorative art). Wilson was an influential architect who visited the China in 1922.

'Under the hammer', *Home*, 1 December 1927, pp. 64, 93, 98, 105. (an auction notice which details purchases from the collection of Dr R.A. Fox by the Art Gallery of New South Wales, the National Gallery of Victoria and the then newly formed New South Wales Applied Arts Trust).

⁴¹ "Chinese oil paintings ..."; *Auctioneer*, T.W. Smart, *Australian* (Sydney), 9 June 1837, p. 2; also: 23 June 1837, p. 4; "Chinese oil paintings, matting, silks, lacquered ware ...", *Auctioneer*, T.W. Smart, *Sydney Gazette*, 13 June 1837, p. 4; "Chinese jewellery", A[lexander] Dick, working jeweller and silversmith, *Sydney Gazette*, 1 July 1837, p. 3.

I am indebted to Margaret Vine for this information.

Nor were the capitals the only places for sale of wares from China - the *Mount Alexander Mail* (Castlemaine), 20 April 1855, listed on p. 1: "Lately Imported from China, Crape Shawls and Scarves; Pongee Handkerchiefs; India ditto; Rich embroidered Vest Pieces; Rich Damask and Glace Silk Dresses, etc. etc."

I am indebted to Janie Gillespie for drawing this to my attention.

⁴² *Boomerang* (Brisbane), 11 May 1889, p. 9

⁴³ The advertisement and accompanying text listed an extraordinary variety of 'ornate' material: Japanese curios, fans, furniture, kimonos, ['30 quaint Japanese'] paintings, pottery, screens and vases.

⁴⁴ In the paper *Sissons* elaborated on the reason Murdoch shipped this huge collection to Australia for immediate sale. To "defray some of his travel costs" in a return from Japan to Australia prior to commencement as a lecturer at the First Higher School in Tokyo, Murdoch used the auction together with commissions from Japanese

As an extension to the spectacle of the theatre, the decoration of public restaurants (particularly if these were seen to be the meeting places of the more receptive sections of society) was of considerable importance. In both Sydney and Melbourne well-patronised establishments of both classes catered for the visual as well as gastronomic needs of the populace. In Sydney there was a series of tearooms, decorated in the 'Eastern' manner owned by the prominent figure Mei Quong Tart [Mei Guangda] (1850-1903)⁴⁵.

The *Loong Shan Tea House*, was opened on the 21 December 1889 with walls of "cool pastel shades, [on which] Quong ordered a stylised Japanese mural which one visitor remembered as 'birds continually on the wing yet which fly not'"⁴⁶. As one journalist who attended wrote:

What a night it was! Outside, hot as Hades; but once within the walls of the Loong Shan Palace all is cool and refreshing. From the scorching pavement of dirt-begrimed King-street into shady walks 'midst ferneries and fountains: from the musty eye-offending throng of Saturday afternoon city crowd, to the pleasing

exporters to report on which "Japanese produce [would be] most likely to suit Australian tastes".

source: "James Murdoch (1856-1921): Historian, teacher and much else besides", David Sissons, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, fourth series, vol. 2, 1987, pp. 1-57; see also: *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 18 April 1889, p. 4, which confirmed Murdoch "tramped some 3000 [sic] miles over the least known portions of the [Japanese] Empire" and added that he had "already mastered the Japanese vernacular, and, except Consul Marks, of Melbourne, is probably the only Australian speaking it."

⁴⁵ Mei Quong Tart [Mei Guangda]
(b.1850, arr. Australia 1859, d.1903)
Merchant and philanthropist, petitioner for the abolition of opium, patron of the Brush Club, appointed mandarin of the fifth degree in 1887, and advanced to the position of mandarin of the fourth degree in 1894 combined with the extra degree of the peacock's feather, by the Emperor Guangxu.
source: E.J. Lea-Scarlett in Nairn, Serle, Ward (1974), op. cit.

⁴⁶ Travers, R., *Australian Mandarin: The life and times of Quong Tart*, Kangaroo Press, Sydney 1981, p. 125.

surroundings of Japanese art; a hand-painted marble reservoir in which golden carp revel; mirrors covered with the artistic work of Te Ch Sala [*sic*], quaint Chinese wood carvings, rockeries, virgin cork, a thousand fans, and trickling water flashing in the electrically-lighted halls, might well lead one to fancy that seas had rolled between ere that scene was reached ...⁴⁷.

The decorations for the *Loong Shan Tea House* were by 'Sada'. T.O. Sada & Company, Japanese Art Painters, were listed as tenants during 1892 in Quong Tart Chambers. An additional listing also records another Japanese as 'R. Yokouchi, artist'⁴⁸, Quong Tart Chambers in 1893⁴⁹. "Messrs. T.O. Sada & Co, Pitt-st." were also responsible for the vestibule decoration, in the form of a "Japanese pavilion" for the musical comedy/opera, *The Geisha: or, A Story of a Tea House*, staged at Her Majesty's Theatre, Sydney which opened on the 9 February 1899⁵⁰.

The Geisha conjured considerable interest in Sydney with advertisements in the program which included, "The Japanese Art Exhibition ... The Wonderful Display of all kinds of Eastern Novelties"; and the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Alliance not to be outclassed, offered solid gold and enamel "Geisha Souvenir Jewellery", in "... our Magnificent 'Geisha Window'- The Attraction of Sydney"⁵¹. Jewellery illustrated in the program was described as the "Latest London Novelty, Just received ex *RMS Oriental*" and

⁴⁷ "Quong Tart - a study in assimilation", part 2, E. J. Lea-Scarlett, *Descent*, vol. 4, part 4, 1970, p. 127.

⁴⁸ David Sissons noted that this artist was a copper-plate engraver, one of four other artists in Sydney at this time. The others were Yamaguchi Kenroku, Suematsu Zenshichi and Kudô Yoshisuke. The latter two were tattooers.

⁴⁹ source: correspondence, Majorie Graham to John McPhee, 25 August 1989.

⁵⁰ Noted in the *Souvenir Programme* for 9 February 1899.

⁵¹ Respectively, T.O. Sada & Co., 197 Pitt Street (near the Strand Arcade); and The Goldsmiths & Silversmiths Alliance, 90 King Street, Sydney.

included: geisha brooches, charms, bangles, links and pins in the shapes of fans, lanterns and discs on bamboo-shaped supports decorated with 'calligraphy' and chrysanthemum sprays.

On the 5 December 1898, Guangda was to embark on the greatest of his business successes - the launch of *The Elite Dining Hall and Tea Rooms* in the newly completed Queen Victoria Markets Building in the heart of Sydney on busy George Street. The following quote indicates the history of his business interests, and the close connection with the theatre-world, although incorrectly dated the opening to circa 1902.

By the time the QVB [*sic* Queen Victoria Building] opened, this prosperous and picturesque figure presided over the city's most popular 'dining saloon' at 137 King Street which stayed open until 11.30 pm for the 'especial convenience' of audiences at the nearby theatres ... Quong Tart also had tearooms in the Royal Arcade and the Sydney Arcade, and in 1899 he opened another in Room 15 of the QVB, facing George Street. This did so well that in 1902 he also rented Room 55 on the York Street side ... He then took ... Rooms 69-76 on the first floor overlooking the central venue of the building and converted this space into the Elite, which he publicised as 'a spacious and elegant hall for banquets, balls, socials, concerts and meetings'⁵².

⁵² Shaw, J. with contemporary photographs by David Moore, *The Queen Victoria Building 1898-1986*, Wellington Lane Press, Sydney 1987, pp. 62, 64.

An 1899 Sydney listing of the tea rooms, in addition to those in the Queen Victoria Building suggested the extent of the business (in chronological order):

The Gem: 15 Royal Arcade
opened 1885

The Central: 29 Sydney Arcade
opened 1885

The Cosy: 50 Sydney Arcade (First Floor)
opened 1885

Han Pan Tea Rooms: Moore Park Zoological Gardens
opened 1885

Tea Rooms: 777 George Street
opened 1886

The Loong Shan Tea House: 137-141 King Street
opened 1889

The Elite Dining Hall and Tea Rooms: Rooms 69-76, Queen Victoria Building
opened 1898

Tea Rooms: Rooms 15 and 55, Queen Victoria Building

A contemporary description of *The Elite* reported that it had "a seating capacity of nearly 600, and is furnished with a broad stage platform, the proscenium to which is a set of magnificently carved Chinese designs"⁵³. Customers were served on Chinese export ware porcelain (c.1900), and sat amidst carved tea house panels⁵⁴.

Daily advertisements in newspapers elaborated on the patrons likely to be found dining at his tables - "members of parliament, judges, lawyers, bankers, journalists, doctors, clergymen, merchants, and, in fact, everybody who is anybody"⁵⁵. A. Downe & Co., also occupied space in Quong Tart Chambers (listed as: "139 King St. over Quong

opened 1898.

⁵³ Cited Lea-Scarlett (1970), op. cit., p. 135.

⁵⁴ The Powerhouse Museum, Sydney has in its collection (and on loan):
Group of Chinese export ware dishes c.1900 Acc. no. L1687-1:4
 porcelain, painted in enamels

from the Quong Tart tea houses which flourished in Sydney at the turn of the century. The dishes monogrammed 'QT' were made to order for Quong Tart, while others may have been a standard pattern. Lent by the Tart family 1984.

Tea set late 1800s Acc. no. A10242-1:9
 porcelain, painted in 'Canton famille-rose' enamels

tea sets such as these were used in the tea rooms and restaurants, invariably painted with a bird, flower and insect design and inscribed with a 'QT' monogram.

and:

Quong Tart tea house panels c.1890 Acc. no. A9882
 Australian red cedar, pierce-carved with decorative Chinese symbols, painted to simulate lacquer, stained-glass inserts to uprights

the panels bear the Quong Tart and Co. shield with *Quong Tart Tea House* written below in Chinese characters. While the location from which these were removed can not be clearly identified, they are similar to other carved panels once found in Quong Tart establishments such as the Elite Dining Hall and Tea Rooms. Given by Mr Maurice Sullivan 1983.

⁵⁵ Cited Shaw (1987), loc. cit.

Tart's Refreshment Rooms, Sydney"), and in an 1890 advertisement noted, "Inspection Invited" of "Japanese and Eastern Showrooms [with] Artistic Novelties"⁵⁶.

The artistic circles in which Guangda moved are best exemplified by his patronage of the Brush Club, founded in Sydney in 1887. The club was initiated by the artist David Henry Souter (1862-1935), for members who were under twenty-six years of age and also associates of the parent organisation, the Royal Art Society of New South Wales.

On several occasions the Loong Shan Tea House was a gaily bedecked exhibition salon where the young colonial Sunday landscapists and impressionists hung their canvases for judgement. Julian Ashton's kindly, if critical eye looked them over as the Aberdonian burrs of David Souter and Quong Tart lent a mingled charm to the happy day⁵⁷.

Impressed by Guangda's rooms and business success in Sydney, Edward William Cole (1832-1918), the great bookseller and publisher and his wife Eliza met him in Sydney during a visit in the mid-1890s. Unable to convince the canny businessman to extend his custom to Melbourne, Cole returned to open his own salon staffed with Chinese waitresses⁵⁸. The venture was assured of success with patronage for the 1895 Melbourne Cup carnival, and a 'celebrity-visit' by the famous American author Mark Twain whilst on a lecture tour of the colonies. In a similar manner to his Sydney counterpart, *Cole's Tea Salon* was decorated in the Eastern manner with a choice of teas

⁵⁶ *The Program* (Sydney), 2 September 1890.

⁵⁷ Cited Travers (1981), loc. cit.
Mrs Alice Simpson, a Scot, was foster-mother to Guangda, during his early years at Bell's Creek near Braidwood NSW. He retained the charming lilt for the rest of his life.

⁵⁸ Guangda had provided Cole with a letter of introduction to "a Melbourne Chinese of charm and imagination: the Rev. Cheok Hong Cheong" to enable him to seek the staff to create the ambience required.

source: *Cole of the Book Arcade: A biography of E.W. Cole*, Cole Turnley, Cole Publications, Hawthorn 1974, p. 114.

served on matching settings with either Indian or Chinese designs. A scenic artist⁵⁹ was employed to paint 'spectacular murals' on which, "Chinese walls depicted the magnificence of Mandarin palaces interspersed with willow-pattern lovers" while opposing walls depicted, "lush forests where there were blazing-eyed tigers, trumpeting elephants, and turbaned and bejewelled rajahs"⁶⁰.

While also in Melbourne, Bontor & Co.'s *Japanese Tea Rooms* opened in 1891⁶¹ and the *Geisha Rooms* hosted the farewell dinner in March 1901 of the prominent Australian painter Emmanuel Phillips Fox (1865-1915) prior to his departure for England. In Adelaide, the *Mikado Tea Rooms* were opened circa 1900 in the basement of Bowman's Arcade, King William Street by two enterprising women, Mabel Brown and Florence Horn⁶².

⁵⁹ A primary example of the close connection of the theatre with environmental design of public spaces. Through the impresario Harry Rickards, Cole invited scenic artist Harry Grist of the Opera House to paint the wall murals. The depictions of India, China, Ceylon and Arabia were designed to correspond to the production locations of tea and coffee served in the rooms.
source: Turnley (1974), loc. cit.

⁶⁰ Turnley (1974), loc. cit.

⁶¹ "I had afternoon tea the other day in the new tea rooms in Fink's Buildings, opened by Messrs. Bontor and Co. These are pretty little rooms, fitted up in Japanese style, with hanging ruche blinds, quaint screens and pretty pictures on the walls ...".
Bohemia (Melbourne), 13 August 1891, p. 20.

⁶² The taste for exotically decorated tea rooms and restaurants continued from the late nineteenth century into the 1920s and '30s with the *Home*, 1 December 1923, p. 106, carrying a note for: "Exotic decoration, the note in Sydney's newest and quite smartest tea-room ... The walls, black just touched with gold. The floors, black and dotted with white furniture fitted here and there with cane stained lacquer red. Pagoda lamp-shades, lacquer red and gold ... gold net curtains a-flutter at the windows ... a few good Chinese prints upon the walls ...", at the *Mary Elizabeth*, 60 King Street, Sydney.

The *Soda Fountain* 'Room' opened in 1927 in David Jones's new store, Market and Elizabeth Streets, Sydney. The room with green table-tops and Chinese red wicker-seated chairs echoed the decoration of the earlier *Mary Elizabeth* in the use of lacquer furniture. The design of the furnishings has on occasions be linked to the artist Thea Proctor (1879-1966).

Chinoiserie, Japonisme, Aestheticism

The three important international art movements of the period with particular reference to Asia were to also exert considerable influence on Australian taste. Chinoiserie, Japonisme and the inter-related movement Aestheticism, were all to influence both artists and the public from factors as important as painting style, to the way paintings should be displayed, or the 'correct' decorative accessories for the interior of the home. It could be argued, the 'home' also included the decoration of the steam yacht *Lucinda* (in the service of the Queensland Government 1885-1921) in which the ladies' anteroom was "gorgeously fitted with wall panels of Japanese tapestry and elaborate furnishings"⁶³.

As several contemporary art historians have written, the public consciousness of these styles, their impact on art and taste of the period, and the Asian source of the material possessions which were required as an integral part of the schemes, was much more widespread than earlier acknowledged by writers of the standard texts on the development of taste and art traditions within Australia.

It should not be necessary to repeat the excellent work by the three authors Eagle, Lane and Galbally, but several points should be summarised as particularly relevant.

In "The Mikado syndrome ..."⁶⁴, Mary Eagle's essential argument while acknowledging the influence of Aestheticism

source: *Grace Cossington Smith*, Bruce James, Craftsman House, Roseville, 1990, pp. 103-104.

⁶³ "The steam yacht *Lucinda*", Roderick McLeod, *The Australian Antique Collector*, January-June 1991, p. 45.
I am indebted to John McPhee for drawing this to my attention.

⁶⁴ "The Mikado syndrome: But was there an Orient in Asia for the Australian 'Impressionist' painters?", Mary Eagle, *Australian Journal of Art*, Art Association of Australia, vol. VI, Art Association of Australia 1987, pp. 45-63.

and Japonisme in Australia, is the lack of direct contact with Japan (and Japanese art) and the consequent filtering of secondary influences through the reservoir of British and French artists and critics. She concluded that while from 1875 in Australia, "Aestheticism flourished", and by the 1880s the "Japanese aesthetic style was accessible at a popular level", that:

[Japan's] influence was indirect, mediated by European art, and barely acknowledged because it was not part of the fine art debate in Australia⁶⁵.

In Australia, Japanese trade goods were "categorised as bric-a-brac rather than fine art"; Aestheticism was thought to be a passing fashion; and displays of Asian material in exhibitions were often market-oriented. These factors (together with the ethnocentric foundations of a 'new' white nation) were seen by the writer to be reasons for the rejection of primary Asian influences in the fine arts. Terence Lane writing in 1984⁶⁶, although focusing on interiors in the state of Victoria, reaffirmed the general acceptance of Aestheticism as a recognisable movement within Australia and tied its public perception to the intercolonial and international exhibitions in Melbourne. He placed the crest of the movement in the 1880s and noted both the "lateness of its arrival [from England] ... the general superficiality of its appearance [in Australia]", and that it was "little understood" being a "sadly, ... debased form".

The third article by Ann Galbally⁶⁷ clearly defined the audience of Aestheticism in Australia which elicited "... a

⁶⁵ Eagle (1987), op. cit., p. 57.

⁶⁶ "A burlesque of a burlesque: Aestheticism and the aesthetic interior of Victoria", Terence Lane, *Historic Environment*, vol. 3, no. 3, Council for the Historic Environment, 1984, pp. 4-21.

⁶⁷ "Aestheticism in Australia", *Australian Art and Architecture: Essays presented to Bernard Smith*, Ann Galbally, Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 124-133.

mass following, a middle-class base and distinct characteristics ...". There was a predilection for the combination of art and music (which was directly available through the theatre), and the necessity of suitable accessories with which to underscore allegiance to the movement, culminating with the statement that this, "... conjunction of the aesthetic and a love of Japan became quite established in the 1880s ...".

Aslin has stated that, "Directly or indirectly Japan was the strongest external design influence in England from the mid-'sixties until the end of the century"⁶⁸. This statement has compelling implications for art in Australia during the same period.

It is evident that there was an important, yet subtle difference between works of art officially collected at this time by the developing museums; the objects and visual stimuli experienced on a daily basis by selected levels of the population in Australia [figs 16, 17]; and the influences exerted on the arts from international sources. In Australia, as in England, there were "provincial exhibitions of Japanese art⁶⁹, Japanese balls⁷⁰, a Japanese village set up briefly in Knightsbridge⁷¹, Japanese furniture⁷², Japanese books⁷³ and, of course, Gilbert and Sullivan's opera *The Mikado* ⁷⁴75.

⁶⁸ *The Aesthetic Movement: Prelude to Art Nouveau*, Elizabeth Aslin, Elek, London 1969, p. 96.

⁶⁹ See chapters 5 and 8 for details of Asian content of exhibitions.

⁷⁰ Refer 'Ball given on board the Japanese Corvette Tsukuba', *Illustrated Australian News* (Melbourne), 8 July 1882, pp. 106-107, p. 104 (ill.).

⁷¹ See chapter 6 for details of the Japanese Village in Australia 1886-1887.

⁷² See chapter 5 on Japanese entries to International Exhibitions throughout Australia.

73 See chapter 4 which details the cross-over of Japanese (and other Asian) publications within the framework of Australian publishing.

74 See chapter 7 which discusses *The Mikado* in Australia.

75 Aslin (1969), loc. cit.

4

Publications: China and Japan in White Australia

Intimately coupled with the development of the movements Japonisme and Aestheticism in Australia, and the effect on both artists and public alike, was the essential availability of illustrated art journals and reference books¹. In the case of Australia, the major source was Britain. Development in the Antipodes of both private libraries and public collections, between the 1850s and 1890s corresponded in time with the myriad art catalogues, illustrated travel journals and books on art theory related to the 'East' published in Britain. Included amongst the publications detailed in Register 1 were a number which were to greatly guide artistic taste within Australia.

Diametrically opposed to Britain in a geographic sense, Japan was already aware of Australia as an emerging nation in the 1860s. The artist Yoshitoshi (1839-1892) produced a woodblock print in 1866 titled 'Picture of [New] South Wales in New Holland' which depicted an imagined street scene in Sydney. Ann Yonemura pointed out in the 1990 exhibition catalogue², that [Australia] "... which in the nineteenth century was scarcely known to the Japanese people" is probably the subject of the print; and further, the image appears to be based on a European plaza illustrated in a Japanese engraving of 1809 by Aôdô Denzen (1748-1822).

The Japanese title correctly identified the name of Australia as 'New Holland' (possibly from a Dutch map) and the image included a three-masted vessel in a distant view

¹ A number of articles on Asian art (particularly that of Japan) appeared between the 1880s and 1890s in the *Art Journal*, (from c.1870), the *Magazine of Art* (from 1878) and the *Studio* (from 1893), all of London. All carried book reviews of then current publications - a number of which concerned Japanese art and culture.

² Yonemura, Ann, *Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington 1990, p. 166.

of an implied harbour or sea, a reference to the siting of Sydney. In the right panel of the triptych, the figure of a Chinese national in characteristic dress is depicted strolling arms behind back, was included as a note of exoticism by the Japanese artist³. Although the buildings may have been adapted from another source as suggested by Yonemura, the simplicity of structure is not uncharacteristic of colonial architecture in Australia, and the clothing worn by the persons depicted in the scene certainly in keeping with the period.

Some twenty years later in 1887, no doubt due to increased trade, and direct participation in several international exhibitions within Australia, the visual accuracy and perception of Australia by the Japanese had extended to include both Sydney and Melbourne amongst 'Famous places in the world'. An unknown Japanese publisher produced an album of twelve woodblock prints by Tankei [Inoue Yasuji (1864-1889)] which placed the two Australian cities on a parity with New York, Washington, San Francisco, Rome, Paris, Shanghai and the subjects of New Zealand, Korea, Mexico, Spain, Arabia, India and the Isthmus of Panama amongst others.

Clearly 'young', developing countries - particularly those positioned on the Pacific rim, held great interest for Japan. The image of Sydney accurately portrayed an elevated view of the harbour with shipping and the city plan (possibly from a photograph or print), while that of Melbourne (probably from similar sources) depicted a steam locomotive on the wharfs of Port Phillip Bay with shipping at anchor. It is significant that eight images in the six prints illustrated⁴ contain shipping as the focus of the

³ John Clark has correctly pointed out that such inclusion of Chinese figures in Japanese pictorial representation was not out of the ordinary - particularly when an 'international' scene populated by 'exotic' figures was to be represented.

⁴ Yonemura (1990), op. cit., pp. 192, 193.

composition. It was through this mode of transport that contact with the west was achieved; most importantly for trade, the transit and exchange of personnel, and participation in international exhibitions. For expanded discussion of Asian (in particular, Japanese) participation in these exhibitions, see chapter 5, *Intercolonial, International and Fine Art Exhibitions: Australia and Asia 1850s-1900s*.

Many of the more lavish nineteenth century British folio publications which dealt with the topic of Asian art (sometimes incorporating prints by Japanese artists; frequently issued with woodblock prints, wood engravings or colour lithographs) were often reprinted within a year or so of publication, in smaller, cheaper formats especially for the Australian colonial market⁵. These could be purchased readily in the colonies by the avid reader within a year or so of release, or made available through a growing network of libraries incorporated in the Mechanics' Institutes and Schools of Arts. Wealthier individuals built substantial libraries ordered directly by subscription.

As a measure of Australian interest in publications related to Asian culture, the arrival of several titles in Australia provides firm evidence of general awareness and direct influence on both artistic circles and the general public alike. In some cases, the publications were noted in the manner of news-worthy fashionable topics; while in others, they were acknowledged in passing as generally accepted, or understood as read - in the manner of a standard reference with a sense of unquestioned

⁵ A typical example was: *Tales of old Japan*, originally printed in two volumes, with illustrations drawn and cut on wood by Japanese artists, Algernon Bertram Freeman-Mitford Redesdale [A. B. Mitford], Macmillan and Co., London 1871. Second and cheaper edition, Macmillan and Co., London 1874; reprinted: London 1876, 1883, 1886, 1890.

familiarity. The selection below is drawn from the period of the 1880s to early 1900s, for many reasons the culmination of Australia's involvement with Asia through the medium of the illustrated book or journal. Inter-related factors which cannot be discounted as coincidental were the input of art movements of the day and the series of world international and centennial exhibitions which focused attention on the geographic position of Australia.

References cited in chronological order:

1881

Le Japon illustré
Japan and the Japanese,
Manners and customs of the Japanese

[alternative titles]

by Aimé Humbert

mentioned in a review of exhibits in the 1880-1881 Melbourne International Exhibition by James Smith⁶
Published in French, Paris 1870; in English, London 1873

Merveilles de la céramique

[with reference to Japanese ceramics]

by Albert Jacquemart

mentioned in a review of exhibits in the 1880-1881 Melbourne International Exhibition by James Smith⁷
Published in French, Paris 1862

1886

Unbeaten tracks in Japan

by Isabella Bird

referred to in connection with the Japanese Village, Sydney by a Lady Visitor⁸
Published: London, 1880

1887

Japanese fairy tale [series]

by various translators and illustrators

noted by a columnist as "the greatest novelty in books"⁹

⁶ *Argus* (Melbourne), 5 March 1881, p. 4.

⁷ *Argus* (5 Mar.) 1881, loc. cit.

⁸ *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 3 May 1886, p. 6.

⁹ *Society and Fashion*, A Lady's Letter from Sydney, Sydney, Dec. 24 [1887] by Mirabel: "... But the greatest novelty in books are the Japanese fairy tales, which are most interesting. There are 13 of these fables printed in as many books, and illustrated in a Japanese manner. The stories are translated into English, but are published in a Japanese form. The printing is only on one side of the paper, the

Published: Tokyo, from 1885

1888

Sketches of life in Japan
Major Henry Knollys, Royal Artillery
reviewed in the *Daily Telegraph*, Sydney¹⁰
Published: London, 1887

Voyage of the 'Sunbeam'...

[as related to Japan]

by Lady Brassey

discussed in the Introduction to the Japanese Court,
Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne¹¹

Published: London, 1878

L'art japonaise

[General History of Japanese Art]

by Louis Gonse

two folio volumes exhibited in Australia at the
Centennial International Exhibition and noted in a
review by James Smith¹²

Published: Paris, 1883

1889-1906

Le Japon artistique

documents d'Art et d'Industrie

Artistic Japan

a monthly illustrated journal of arts and industries
[alternative title]

compiled by Samuel Bing

a complete set of these journals was acquired by the
Art Gallery of South Australia¹³

Published: Paris, 1888-1891; London 1889-1891

1906

leaves being uncut. The tales are quaint, and so different from the ordinary fairy stories, the 'Magic Mirror,' 'The Monkey and the Crab,' 'The Mouses' Wedding,' all being most amusing."
Australasian (Melbourne), 31 December 1887, p. 1291.

¹⁰ *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 17 March 1888, p. 9.

¹¹ *Official Record of the Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888-1889*, published by authority of the Executive Commissioners, Sands & McDougall, Melbourne 1890, p. 479.

¹² *Australasian* (Melbourne), 8 September 1888, p. 561.

¹³ "The Gallery [Art Gallery of South Australia] owns a set of these sold by Cawthorne booksellers who operated in Adelaide from 1886-1906." 'Australia and the East: Fine Arts', *East and West: The meeting of Asian and European Art, The State's collections*, Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide 1985, pp. 47-50.

These "... were available in Adelaide almost contemporaneously". Art Gallery of South Australia (1985), op. cit., p. 48.

The pictorial arts of Japan

by William Anderson

Public Librarian, Melbourne referred the then Director, Lindsay Bernard Hall to this work as a standard reference¹⁴

Published: London, 1886

1917

Kokka

[An illustrated monthly journal of the fine and applied arts of Japan and other eastern countries]

a complete set of these journals was acquired by the Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of Victoria¹⁵

Published: Tokyo, from 1889.

Authorship by Australians of books related to Asian culture was to flourish during the early years of the twentieth century, although a number of important travel articles concerned with both China and Japan, were written by the mysterious 'Vagabond' or 'Julian Thomas'¹⁶ and serialised in the *Argus* (Melbourne) - "Chinese sketches", in nine parts, between September and December 1881¹⁷; and "Notes from Japan", in eight parts between January and February 1882¹⁸. It was this same Melbourne paper which had in

¹⁴ Reply notation from the Public Librarian to Lindsay Bernard Hall, 27 June 1906.

source: correspondence, David Sissons to the author, 9 July 1990.

¹⁵ *The Book of the Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of Victoria, 1906-1931*, Edmund La Touche Armstrong and Robert Douglass Boys, Fraser & Jenkinson Pty Ltd., Melbourne 1932, p. 34.

¹⁶ John Stanley James 'The Vagabond', 'Julian Thomas' (b.1843, arr. Australia 1875, d.1896)
First published in the *Argus* in 1876, under the pseudonym 'A Vagabond' with sketches of high and low life. James travelled to Sydney and Queensland in 1877-1878, thereafter he was mainly occupied in visits to the Pacific, the Orient and Europe with material sent back to be published in the *Argus*. His true identity was not known until 1912.
source: John Barnes in *Australian dictionary of biography*, Bede Nairn, Geoffrey Serle, Russel Ward (section editors), Melbourne University Press, Carlton 1974.

¹⁷ "Chinese sketches", all p. 4
no. I, 17 September 1881; no. II, 8 October 1881; no. III, 29 October 1881; no. IV, 26 November 1881; no. V, 3 December 1881; no. VI, 10 December 1881; no. VII, 17 December 1881; no. VIII, 24 December 1881; no. IX, 31 December 1881.

¹⁸ "Notes from Japan", all p. 4

1867, first published accounts of Japan by J.H. Brooke under the title "Impressions of Japan by an Australian Colonist"¹⁹. In addition two books (also related to travel) were published in London and Sydney in 1879 and 1882 respectively, by authors who were both associated with the *Argus* in Melbourne²⁰.

John Reddie Black (1827-1880), an Australian²¹ who settled in Yokohama, Japan from the early 1860s and had successfully edited the *Japan Herald* (1865), published the *Far East* (1870), and commenced the *Nisshin Shinjishi* (1872) contributed greatly to the history of journalism and newspaper publishing in Japan. In 1876 Black visited Shanghai, and there became editor of the *Shanghai Courier* and later, in 1878 editor of the *Shanghai Mercury*. His

no. I, 7 January 1882; no. II, 14 January 1882; no. III, 21 January 1882; no. IV, 28 January 1882; no. V, 4 February 1882; no. VI, 11 February 1882; no. VII, 18 February 1882; no. VIII, 25 February 1882.

¹⁹ "Impressions of Japan by an Australian Colonist", [J.H. Brooke] in six parts between August and October 1867: no. I, 22 August 1867, p. 6; no. II, 24 August 1867, p. 7; no. III, 29 August 1867, p. 6; no. IV, 10 September 1867, p. 7; no. V, 28 September 1867, p. 6; no. VI, 28 October 1867, p. 6.

John Henry Brooke (b.1826, arr. Melbourne 1852, d.1902)
Son of an English journalist and sometime editor, Brooke emigrated to eventually become president of the Board of Lands and Works and Commissioner of Crown Lands in Victoria 1860-61. He arrived in Yokohama in 1867 and became editor and proprietor of the *Daily Herald*.
source: Michael Migus in Nairn, Serle, Ward (1974), op. cit.

²⁰ *The Australian abroad: Branches from main routes round the world* James Hingston, 'J.H.' of the 'Melbourne Argus', Marston, Searle and Rivington, London 1879.

Occident and Orient: sketches on both sides of the Pacific, first volume, with the sanction of the proprietors, these sketches are partly reprinted from the Melbourne 'Argus' and 'Australasian', with considerable additions and revisions by the author, [John Stanley James, 'Julian Thomas', 'The Vagabond'] George Robertson, Melbourne 1882.

²¹ Although he was born a Scot, he arrived in 1854 on the *Irene* at Port Adelaide, SA, aged 27. In 1858, Henry James Black (one of his sons, who became known in Japan as 'Ishii') was born at North Adelaide. John Reddie was one of a number of early arrivals in Japan, after an unsuccessful attempt to earn a living on the Australian goldfields.

publishing career culminated just prior to his death when in 1879 he commenced the book *Young Japan*. The two volumes were published in 1880 and 1881²².

Walter Dening (1846-1913) born in England, after a short stay in Australia, spent the remainder of his life in Japan. Two books, one in four parts the other in five, were to result from his historical analysis of the feudal and Tokugawa periods. The earlier work was published originally in parts between 1887 and 1888 and primarily examined the life of Miyamoto Musashi and an episode in the life of Tokugawa Iemitsu²³. The later, was also released in parts between 1888 and 1890, and documented the life of the important leader Toyotomi Hideyoshi²⁴. A second edition followed in 1904, with Professor A.L. Sadler (University of Sydney) prompting the third (with Preface, Notes and Appendix) reprinted by his son, M.E. Dening in 1930.

Once a Month: A magazine for Australasia [An illustrated Australasian magazine], during its brief publication period (1884-1886), published several accounts of travellers'

²² *Young Japan: Yokohama and Yedo*, a narrative of the settlement and the city from the signing of the Treaties in 1858 to close of the year 1879 with a glance at the progress of Japan during a period of twenty-five years, vols I, II, John R. Black Trübner & Co., London; Kelly & Co., Yokohama, 1880/1881.

²³ *Japan in days of yore*
 vol. I, human nature in a variety of aspects 1887
 vol. II, wounded pride and how it was healed 1888
 vol. III, the life of Miyamoto Musashi (pt 1) 1888
 vol. IV, the life of Miyamoto Musashi (pt 2) 1888
 Walter Dening, Griffith Farran & Co., London 1888
 also published: Hakubunsha, Tokyo 1887-90; reprinted: Fine Books Ltd., London 1976.

²⁴ *The life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi*
 vols I-V
 Walter Dening, Hakubunsha, Tokyo 1888-90
 also published: Methodist Publishing House, Tokyo 1904; J.L. Thompson & Co. (Retail) Ltd./Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd. Kobe/London 1930; reprinted: AMS Press, New York 1971.

experiences in Japan, China and Southeast Asia [fig. 18]²⁵. Selected articles were illustrated with toned lithographic plates with images titled, 'Japanese vignettes' and 'Fujisan'.

On the occasion of the visit to China and Japan in 1888 by Sir Thomas McIlwraith (1835-1900), then premier of Queensland "undertaken with a view of recruiting his health", a series of articles appeared in the *Boomerang*²⁶ designed to celebrate his progress in 'the Land of the Japs'. As in other illustrated journals of the day, selected articles were accompanied by a selection of illustrations, amongst which was the omnipresent 'A Japanese volcano' while another was a composite produced "from photos collected by Mr T. Finney" [fig. 19]²⁷. The

²⁵ *Once a Month: A magazine for Australasia/ An illustrated Australasian magazine* (Melbourne): 'All over the world' [An Australian's holiday], pt I, "The Eastern world", J.H., 15 December 1884, pp. 422-428.

"The ascent of Fujisan", M.D., 15 January 1885, pp. 49-53.

"Gleanings from a happy holiday - in Japan", M.D., 15 April 1885, pp. 259-267.

²⁶ *Boomerang* (Brisbane), 'Where McIlwraith is going: Sketches from the Land of the Japs', pp. as shown; by the special correspondent of the *Boomerang*, in four parts during December 1888: no. I, "In a volcanic eruption", 1 December 1888, p. 14; no. II, "In a volcanic eruption" (cont.), 8 December 1888, p. 18; no. III, "Life in the Japanese back blocks", 15 December 1888, p. 18; no. IV, "Laid by the heels", 22 December 1888, p. 18 and "What McIlwraith will see in Japan" (ill.), *ibid.*, p. 22; and frontispiece, 'What a jolly New Year we are having!', 29 December 1888. Additional articles appeared 5 and 12 January 1889, 2 and 9 February 1889. This series of articles, together with one other titled "In a Japanese Jail", *Boomerang* (Brisbane), 18 May 1889, p. 7, were contributed by James Murdoch.

²⁷ Mr Thomas Finney was a partner of Finney, Isles and Co., a store and warehouse situated at Edward and Adelaide Streets, Brisbane which throughout the later months of 1888 advertised "Oriental Novelties" all "selected in the Eastern markets by our Mr T. Finney". This "largest assortment ... that has every been brought to Australia" included 'artistic', 'ornamental' and 'useful' goods. Items in some 700 cases included carved ivory, jewellery, silks, fans, 'kimonas' and decorative arts.

Boomerang (Brisbane), 1 September 1888, p. 7 and subsequent issues to December 1888.

cover for 29 December 1888, worthy of the mast-head of the paper²⁸, featured a dream of oriental delights with a caricature of a winking, kilted McIlwraith, seated fan in hand, surrounded by four seductively posed 'Japanese' belles [fig. 20]. The image by Monte Scott titled, 'What a jolly New Year we are having!' was no doubt a pastiche from sources such as *The Mikado* and reinforced the popular notion of the land of Japan as being represented by images of *Fujisan*, fans, blossom and kimono - not to mention, submissive, fawning women. To compare this image with an etching by Roberts [fig. 21] is not possible on an artistic level. However, both images (albeit from reverse points of view) comment upon the status of white-Asian male-female relationships. Of interest is the more subtle, implied comment by Roberts concerning the 'fate' of white women who lived with Chinese in Australia. This subject formed the core of a great deal of critical press levelled at resident Chinese.

The illustrated journals of the day, including the *Illustrated London News*, which also had an Australasian edition (Melbourne, 1888-1891), together with a number of Australian counterparts²⁹, frequently carried illustrations and lead stories which brought the image of Asia to the public at large [fig. 22]³⁰. The images presented, unconsciously (one suspects equally, with full consciousness), political and sociological biases of the day in the depiction of overseas Asian culture. As a comparative mirror-image, Asian immigrants and culture

²⁸ The *Boomerang*: "True to the skilful hand that flings it forth: It flies in whirling circles to its destined mark: A live newspaper - racy of the soil."

²⁹ "Japanese ladies at their toilet", *Illustrated Australian News* (Melbourne), 27 March 1871, p. 69.

³⁰ *Illustrated Sydney News*, "To Japan & back", all p. 30, J.H.W., in eight parts, between May and August 1890: no. 1, 10 May 1890; no. 2, 24 May 1890; no. 3, 7 June 1890; no. 4, 21 June 1890; no. 5, 5 July 1890; no. 6, 19 July 1890; no. 7, 2 August 1890; no. 8, 16 August 1890.

within Australia (particularly the Chinese) were often compared and contrasted with their counterparts in other lands.

By 1892, a series of articles titled, "The Tourist: Notes of a trip to China and Japan" by the Hon. W.J. Trickett, MLC were published in the *Sydney Mail*³¹ in twelve parts (the newspaper series was also published independently as a slim volume)³². In the same year two books directly related to Japan were published by Australian authors³³. Douglas Sladen (1856-1947), one of these two authors contributed a substantial article to the *Australasian Critic* entitled 'Publishing a book in Japan' which was "reprinted by permission of the author from the *New York Sun*"³⁴.

A series of articles which discussed in great detail the relationship of the Australian colonies to trade protectionism, immigration, and newspaper reportage with respect to the implied threat of Japan were published throughout the period 1895 to 1897 by John Plummer, MJS writing in the *Japan Weekly Mail*³⁵. These are of great

³¹ *Sydney Mail*, "The Tourist: Notes of a trip to China and Japan", pp. as shown; Hon W.J. Trickett, MLC, in twelve parts between July and October 1892: no. I, 16 July 1892, p. 132; no. II, 22 July 1892, pp. 198-199; no. III, 30 July 1892, p. 257; no. IV, 6 August 1892, p. 311; no. V, 13 August 1892, p. 366-367, 373 (ill.); no. VI, 20 August 1892, p. 423, 426 (ill.); no. VII, 27 August 1892, p. 481-482; no. VIII, 3 September 1892, p. 535, 539 (ill.); no. X, 10 September 1892, p. 591; no. X, 17 September 1892, pp. 642-643; no. XI, 24 September 1892, p. 701; no. XII, 1 October 1892, p. 755.

³² *Notes of a trip to China and Japan*, Hon. W.J. Trickett John Sands, Sydney 1892.

³³ *The Japs at home: Kodaked with camera and pen*, Douglas Sladen Ward, Lock & Bowden Limited, London 1892; and: *From Australia and Japan*, A.M. [James Murdoch], Walter Scott Ltd., London 1892.

³⁴ *Australasian Critic: A monthly review of literature, science and art* (Melbourne), 1 June 1891, pp. 206-208.

³⁵ *Japan Weekly Mail* (Tokyo), "Australia and Japan", "Australian news", "Australian notes on Japanese topics", "Japan and Australia", "Japanese affairs in Australia", "Japanese topics in Australia",

interest as the writer, a member of the Japan Society, summarised the Australian press of the day. In compiling the lengthy columns he extensively quoted from sources drawn from a range of newspapers and journals with regard to Australia's attitude to Japan in particular, and Asia in general. The lengthy articles were then published in Japan. Several of the headers carry the date and place of execution of the articles - in most instances, the town of Healesville (Victoria), or the city of Sydney (New South Wales).

James Murdoch (1856-1921)³⁶ was an important contributor to scholarship by completing his major work - a three-volume

"Letter from Australia", & etc., John Plummer MJS, in selected articles, between February to December 1895; January to December 1896; and January to July 1897:

1895

2 February, pp. 144-145; 23 February, pp. 234-235; 23 March, p. 333; 30 March, pp. 376-377; 6 April, pp. 409-410; 20 April, p. 459; 27 April, pp. 491 and 492-493; 25 May, p. 587; 13 July, pp. 47-48; 20 July, pp. 75-76; 27 July, pp. 100-101; 3 August, pp. 127-128; 17 August, pp. 180-181; 31 August, p. 236; 28 September, pp. 342-344; 12 October, pp. 394-395; 9 November, pp. 503-504; 23 November, pp. 562-563; 7 December, pp. 622-623

1896

4 January, pp. 17-18; 18 January, pp. 78-79; 15 February, p. 199; 7 March, pp. 280-281; 11 April, pp. 428-429; 2 May, pp. 513-514; 16 May, pp. 562-563; 18 July, pp. 73-74; 15 August, pp. 185-186; 5 September, p. 269; 12 September, pp. 295-296; 10 October, pp. 413-414; 31 October, pp. 495-496; 28 November, pp. 612-613; 19 December, pp. 702-703

1897

2 January, pp. 18-19; 6 February, pp. 123-124; 31 July, pp. 122-123.
I am indebted to Aaron M. Cohen for drawing these to my attention.

³⁶ Murdoch first visited Japan in 1888 in connection with employment with the Queensland newspaper the *Boomerang*. At the conclusion of 1888, he returned briefly to Australia, auctioned a "magnificent collection of Japanese curios" in Brisbane in May 1889, then returned to Yokohama in July 1889. He taught at the First Higher School, Tokyo between 1889 and 1893, left for Paraguay and London 1893-1894; then returned again to Japan in 1894 to teach at Kanazawa and Tokyo (1894-1900). From 1901 to 1917 he taught at the Seventh Higher School, Kagoshima, Kyūshū. He received an offer of a university post in Australia and returned to Sydney to accept a dual appointment at the University of Sydney and the Royal Military College, Duntroon. source: "James Murdoch (1856-1921): Historian, teacher and much else besides", David Sissons, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 4th series, vol. 2, 1987, pp. 1-57.

history of Japan³⁷, in addition to publishing a novel³⁸ and a series of short stories published collectively as *From Australia and Japan*³⁹. Commenting on the *History ...*, Sissons summarised his achievement by quoting "Asakawa's⁴⁰ phrase, 'by far the best' history of Japan written by a foreigner". The volumes remained standard works until supplanted by Sansom's book published between 1958 and 1966. Murdoch also contributed text to a number of the series of folios produced in Japan from 1892 to 1893 by the photographer Ogawa Isshin (1880-1918?)⁴¹. As Sadler's

³⁷ *History of Japan*

vol. I, From the origins to the arrival of the Portuguese in 1542 AD with maps by Yamagata Isoh
 vol. II, During the century of early foreign intercourse 1542-1651 in collaboration with Yamagata Isoh
 vol. III, The Tokugawa epoch 1652-1868
 revised and edited by Joseph H. Longford
The Chronicle, Kobe and Kegan Paul, London 1903/1910/1926 and 1933/1949/1952; reprinted: 1964.

³⁸ *Ayame-san, a Japanese romance of the 23rd year of Meiji (1890)* with illustrations in collotype from photographs by W.K. Burton and plates by Ogawa Isshin, James Murdoch, Kelly and Walsh Limited, Yokohama 1892; also published: Walter Scott Ltd., London 1893 Sampson Low, Marston & Company, London [1893].

³⁹ Refer to Footnote 30, op. cit.

⁴⁰ Asakawa Kan'ichi (1873-1948), Historian and Professor of Philosophy.

⁴¹ *Ogawa's collotype albums of Japanese pictures*

Ogawa Isshin

"The Hakone district" 1892

17 plates, text by J. Murdoch

"Sights and scenes on the Tōkaidō" 1892

21 plates, text by J. Murdoch

"Scenes from the Chūshingura and the Story of the forty-seven rōnin" 1892

17 plates, text by J. Murdoch

"The Nikkō district" 1893

12 plates, text by J. Murdoch

Kelly and Walsh Limited, Yokohama; Kelly and Walsh Limited, Shanghai; Yokohama Printing & Publishing Co., Yokohama and various publishers, Tokyo and London; dates as shown.

Scenes from open-air life in Japan

14 plates photographed by W.K. Burton, plates by Ogawa Isshin text by J. Murdoch, Yokohama, 1893; also published: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, London [c.1893].

immediate predecessor at the University of Sydney, Murdoch was appointed the Professor Oriental studies (1918) and retained the position until his death in 1921.

It is apparent in the more populated centres of the Australian continent that by the period 1880s-1890s the general reader earlier had, and continued to be, well-versed in Asian cultures. The sophistication and excellence of perceived editorial standards of newspapers and journals in the capital cities (even when compared with their counterparts in America, England or Europe) is not to be lightly dismissed⁴². These were important sources of transmitted information for the literate adult population. What then of the emerging younger generation in the closing years of the nineteenth century?

**Select popular children's literature in Australia related to China, Japan and Southeast Asia:
Japanese fairy tales: a case study in influence**

The Hasegawa Japanese fairy tale series, or Japanese fairy tale series (1885-c.1975) is an excellent example of intercultural influence in the print medium [fig. 23]⁴³.

⁴² Refer to the *Japan Weekly Mail* (Tokyo), 3 August 1895, p. 128. "On Australian Journalism ... Of all the achievements of which Australia can justly boast, there is not one which surpasses what she has accomplished in the way of journalism. I do not know in Europe or America any papers which have more serious value than many which are published daily in Victoria and New South Wales; the *Argus* and the *Age* in Melbourne, the *Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph* in Sydney, ...".

⁴³ Japanese Fairy Tale Series

Dates can vary slightly as it is evident there were third editions of some titles. Selected publications were in print between 1885 and 1975. The listing of editor/publisher is not mutually exclusive - the wording was taken directly from each volume. Slight editorial corrections have been made to both English and Japanese titles.

English title	Japanese title & translator
1 <i>Momotaro or Little Peachling</i>	<i>Momotaro</i> Thomson
2 <i>The tongue cut sparrow</i>	<i>Shitakiri suzume</i> Thomson
3 <i>Battle of the monkey and the crab</i>	<i>Saru kani kassen</i> Thomson
4 <i>The old man who made the dead trees blossom</i>	<i>Hanasaki-jiji</i> Thomson

5	<i>Kachi-kachi Mountain</i>	<i>Kachi-kachi yama</i>	Thomson
6	<i>The mouse's wedding</i>	<i>Nedzumi no yomeiri</i>	Thomson
7	<i>The old man and the devils</i>	<i>Kobutori</i>	Hepburn
8	<i>The fisher-boy Urashima</i>	<i>Urashima</i>	Chamberlain
9	<i>The serpent with eight heads</i>	<i>Yamato no orochi</i>	Chamberlain
10	<i>The Matsuyama mirror</i>	<i>Matsuyama kagami</i>	James
11	<i>The hare of Inaba</i>	<i>Inaba no shiro usagi</i>	James
12	<i>The cub's triumph</i>	<i>Kitsune no tegara</i>	James
13	<i>The silly jelly-fish</i>		Chamberlain
14	<i>The Princes Fire-flash and Fire-fade</i>		James
15	<i>My Lord Bag-o'-Rice</i>		Chamberlain
16	<i>The wooden bowl</i>		James
17	<i>Schippeitaro</i>		James
18	<i>The ogre's arm</i>		James
19	<i>The ogres of Oeyama</i>	<i>Oeyama</i>	James
20	<i>The enchanted waterfall</i>		James
21	<i>Three reflections</i>		James
22	<i>The flowers of remembrance and forgetfulness</i>		James
23	<i>The boy who drew cats</i>		Hearn
24	<i>The old lady who lost her dumplings</i>		Hearn
25	<i>Chin chin kobakama</i>		Hearn
16 *	<i>The wonderful tea kettle</i>		James

was substituted for *The wooden bowl* in some listings

other numbers:

The goblin spider Hearn

The fountain of youth Hearn

The 'Hearn' Series

Consisted of 23, *The goblin spider*, 24, 25, *The fountain of youth* - in the 1920s boxed sets of some titles were available; except for *The fountain of youth*, they were re-issued in a smaller format during the 1930s.

Aino Fairy Tale Series

1	<i>The hunter in fairy land</i>	Chamberlain
2	<i>The birds' party</i>	Chamberlain
3	<i>The man who lost his wife</i>	Chamberlain

Second Series

1	<i>The wonderful mallet</i>	James
2	<i>The broken images</i>	[not known]
3	<i>The goblin spider</i>	Hearn

Japanese Fairy Tale Series

Editor/Publisher	Date
1 Kōbunsha	September 1885
2 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	17 August 1885
3 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	27 July 1886
4 Kōbunsha	27 September 1886
5 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	29 September 1886
6 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	1 August 1886
7 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	June 1886
8 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	9 July 1886

The works, ostensibly produced for children were fine Japanese products for the foreign market. Printed on either plain or crepe paper, bound in Japanese fashion and illustrated by original prints with a woodblock-printed text, the majority of small volumes⁴⁴ were published by

9 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	November 1886
10 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	December 1886
11 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	7 December 1886
12 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	January 1887
13 Hasegawa	17 February 1887
14 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	16 July 1887
15 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	28 September 1887
16 Kōbunsha	22 November 1887
16 Hasegawa *	7 June 1896
17 Hasegawa	11 December 1888
18 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	18 August 1889
19 Kōbunsha, Kelly & Walsh Ltd.	28 July 1891
20 Hasegawa	[n.d.]
21 Hasegawa	[n.d.]
22 Hasegawa	[1898] [1925]
23 Hasegawa	[10 August 1898] c.1895
24 Hasegawa	[1902]
25 Hasegawa	[1903]

Aino Fairy Tale Series

1 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	1887
2 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	1887
3 Hasegawa, Kōbunsha	1887
16 *	[1936]
other numbers:	
<i>The goblin spider</i>	[1899]
<i>The fountain of youth</i>	[1922]

Little information could be found on the Aino [*sic*] series.

Second Series

1 Hasegawa	[n.d.]
2 Hasegawa	[n.d.]
3 Hasegawa	[1899]

Extra number: *Princess Splendor, the woodcutter's daughter*

T. Hasegawa, Tokyo 15 May 1889

also published:

Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Limited, London 1889

⁴⁴ The format for volumes 1 to 25 varies after volume 20 - volumes 21 to 25 are larger. Extra numbers are also larger in format. Early editions in small format: 14.9 x 9.2 cm; after world war I, a larger format was used: 19.0 x 13.7 cm. From records in various volumes, the series existed on both plain and crepe paper. Numbers 1 to 20 were available neatly boxed. Numbers 1 to 6, 7 to 12 & 13 to 18 available each in one volume.

Hasegawa [Hasegawa Takejirô, (1853-1936)]. The firm first went under the name *Kobunsha* [sic], and was located at several addresses throughout the period of operation⁴⁵. Published between 1886 and 1887, *The mouse's wedding*, *The serpent with eight heads*, *The Matsuyama mirror* and *The wooden bowl* are representative of the series [figs 24, 25, 26, 27].

The books offer a complex of factors which inter-relate through contemporaneous art movements, the technique of the woodblock print itself, trade goods and the fashion for 'things Japanese' at a popular level. Within two years of release in Tokyo, Japan (1885) thirteen of the series⁴⁶ were reviewed in a Sydney newspaper⁴⁷. From records in various volumes, there were apparently three distinct series with associated titles numbering approximately thirty-five in total - with some being printed in variant editions⁴⁸.

The volumes were truly international for, beside English translations, the series was available in French (*Les Contes du Vieux Japon*); German (*Japanische Märchen*); Dutch and Danish editions⁴⁹. The Australian agents recorded on many volumes was Griffith Farran & Co, London & Sydney NSW.

⁴⁵ Kôbunsha (1885-1889), 10 Hiyoshi-chô, Kyôbashi and 38 Yotsuya Hommura, Tokyo; Hasegawa & Co. (1889-1936), 2 Minami Saegi-chô and Nishinomiya, Tokyo; Hasegawa Inc. (1936-1975), 3 Maruya-chô, Tokyo and finally as (Mr Y. Nishinomiya), 17 Kami-Negeshi, Tokyo.

⁴⁶ Produced between August 1885 and December 1887 these would have been a selection from the titles 1 to 16. The review mentions three in particular by name (refer Footnote 9).

⁴⁷ *Australasian* (31 Dec.) 1887, loc. cit.

⁴⁸ Volumes 1 to 25 (numbered), Japanese fairy tale series; volumes 1 to 3, Aino [sic] fairy tale series; the 'Hearn' series, volumes 1 to 5, in addition to extra numbers.

⁴⁹ The names of the international agents of Hasegawa were: Griffith, Farran & Co.: London & Sydney; Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh: London; Kelly and Walsh Limited: Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Singapore; Sampson Low, Marston & Company: London; Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. Limited: London; The Open Court

The list of translators and Japanese artists employed on the series is also worthy of examination. Amongst the important English authors and translators (in alphabetical order) were: Prof. Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850-1935), in Japan 1873 to 1905; Lafcadio Hearn [Yakumo Koizumi] (1850-1904), in Japan 1890 to 1904 [fig. 28]; Dr James Curtis Hepburn (1815-1911), in Japan 1859 to 1892 and the Australian, Emily Sophia Patton (1831-1912), in Japan circa 1888 to 1912⁵⁰. Selected Japanese illustrators (in alphabetical order) included: Kawabata Gyokushō (1842-1913), Kobayashi Kiyochika (1847-1915), Mizuno Toshitaka (1866-1908), Suzuki Sōtarō [Kason, (Kwasson)] (1860-1919) and Kajita Hanko (1870-1917)⁵¹.

References to the small volumes occur in Chamberlain's *Things Japanese* published in 1890 noted under 'Books on Japan'⁵², while by 1893 sixteen of the titles had been lodged in the library of the Japan Society, London - a gift from the publishers⁵³. In the same year (1893), the titles

Publishing Co.: Chicago; Ernst Bojesens Kunst-Forlag: Copenhagen; C.F. Amelang Verlag: Leipzig.

⁵⁰ Additional authors and translators (in alphabetical order): Jean Jules Adam, Lt Frank M. Bostwick (US Navy), Charles Bowles, Susan M. Bowles, Mae St. John Bramhall, Paul Carus, J. Dautremer, Dr Karl A. Florenz, 'S L G' [Rev. Sidney L. Gulick], 'G J', Mrs T.H. James, Kate James, Kimura Shōtarō, Mary G. Kimura, Mrs Archibald Little (Alicia Helen Neva née Bewicke), Leo Marescaux, E. Rothesay Miller ('Uncle Me'), Okura Koto, Charlotte M.A. Peake, Mrs W.H. Smith, Evaleen Stein, David Thomson, Emile Verhaeren.

⁵¹ Other artists included (in alphabetical order): Arai Shūjirō [Yoshimune], [Baison], Eda Masajirō, [Sadahiko], [Kōhō], [Gessō] and Mishima Yunosuke [Mishima Shōsō].

⁵² "..., while the various illustrated booklets printed on crape [sic] paper at Hasegawa's press form pretty souvenirs." Chamberlain, Basil Hall, *Things Japanese, being notes on various subjects connected with Japan*, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Limited, London/Hakubunsha, Tokyo 1890, p. 69.

⁵³ "Japanese Fairy Tale Series 16 Vols, 12mo., (many Japanese illustrations in colours.) English Edition. Printed on Japanese Crape-paper [sic]. Illustrated covers. Tokyo, 1885, 1886 and 1888.

Japanese jingles, Oyuchasan and the Japanese fairy tales series were being advertised under the publisher Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Queen's Road, Central, Hong Kong⁵⁴. The impact these small books had on generations is best summarised by a direct quote from Wichmann:

The international exhibitions in Europe and North America ensured the dissemination of this genre [representation of creatures] of Japanese art, and its impact was immediately felt in children's books, which began to appear with original Japanese illustrations in them. This was a particularly important development because it meant that the children of the 1880s and 1890s grew up absorbing the elements of Japanese art. The result was an artistic orientation which was taken for granted in the Art Nouveau generation, and a natural receptivity towards the artistic devices of the Far East. London publishers, in particular, seized upon

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- No. 1. Momotaro or Little Peachling
 ,, 2. The Tongue Cut Sparrow
 ,, 3. Battle of the Monkey and the Crab
 ,, 4. The Old Man who made the dead trees blossom
 ,, 5. Kachi-Kachi Mountain
 ,, 6. The Mouse's Wedding
 Nos. 1 to 6 translated by David Thomson
 ,, 7. The Old Man and the Devils
 Translated by Dr. Hepburn *
 ,, 8. Urashima, the Fisher-boy
 ,, 9. The Serpent with Eight Heads
 Nos. 8 and 9 translated by B.H. Chamberlain *
 ,, 10. The Matsuyama Mirror
 ,, 11. The Hare of Inaba
 ,, 12. The Cub's Triumph
 Nos. 10 to 12 translated by Mrs. T.H. James
 ,, 13. The Silly Jelly-Fish
 Translated by B.H. Chamberlain *
 ,, 14. The Princes Fire-flash and Fire-fade
 Translated by Mrs. T.H. James
 ,, 15. My Lord Bag-o'-Rice
 Translated by B.H. Chamberlain *
 ,, 16. The Wooden Bowl
 Translated by Mrs. T.H. James

* Member of the Japan Society

Presented by the Publishers, Griffith, Farran & Co."

'Catalogue of the Library: 31st July 1893' contained in: *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London*, vol. I, 1892, Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. Ltd., London 1893, p. 238.

⁵⁴ A hand-book to Hong Kong; Being a popular guide to the various places of interest in the colony, for the use of tourists, Kelly & Walsh Limited, Shanghai, Yokohama and Singapore 1893, 'Advertisements', p. iv.

the resources of Japanese children's books. Griffith Farrah [sic], Okeden & Welsh, for example, issued a series of books in 1888 with illustrations by Japanese artists, under the general title *Child Life in Japan*⁵⁵. London newspapers, such as *The Times*, the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Daily News* gave this series outstanding notices, and it went into a large number of editions. In the same year a series of volumes on Japanese poetry was published simultaneously in Leipzig and Tokyo. It was distinguished by a style of illustration which can be seen as a precursor of the work produced around 1920 ...

One extremely successful venture was the *Japanese Fairy Tale Series*, launched in Tokyo around 1890⁵⁶ and distributed via London to the United States⁵⁷, where it was bought in huge numbers. The format was that of small block books, illustrated with colour woodcuts and interspersed with English-language texts⁵⁸ in large print, similar to the modern comic strip. The stories told were the fascinating tales of 'The Old Man and the Devils', 'The Matsuyama Mirror' and similar Japanese favourites. The series ran into several hundred titles⁵⁹, and once again the representation of animals and plants was outstanding⁶⁰.

⁵⁵ The full title is *Child-life in Japan, and Japanese child-stories*; the first publication of this title was in 1879 by Griffith and Farran, with the book reprinted in 1888 by Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh, London.

⁵⁶ The release of the first editions in Tokyo was 1885.

⁵⁷ Australia was also a recipient of shipments of the books, refer to Mirabel's column, *Australasian* (31 Dec.) 1887, loc. cit.

⁵⁸ Besides English, the series was also available in French, German, Dutch and Danish editions.

⁵⁹ This is an overstatement on the part of the author - 'The Japanese fairy tale series' ran to approximately 25 titles; the 'Hearn series' to some 5 titles (3 repeated from original fairy tale series); and the 'Aino [sic] fairy tale series', 3 titles - there were also other miscellaneous printed books numbering approximately 40 (available from various publishers); most publications, however, ran to many reprints - often with different publishers, translated into various languages and with slightly variant titles - this may account for the author's assumption.

⁶⁰ Wichmann, Siegfried, *Japonisme: the Japanese influence on Western art in the 19th and 20th centuries* (translated by Mary Whitall, James Ramsay, Helen Watanabe, Cornelius Cardew and Susan Bruni) Park Lane, New York 1985, p. 74.

Clay Lancaster in his book on the Japanese influence in America has a similar outlook on the effect of these publications:

A vivid and sometimes fanciful impression of Japan in the English language has been available to youngsters since the end of the nineteenth century. Some of the earliest sources were soft books of crepe paper with Japanese illustrations in delicate lines and exquisite graded colors [sic], put together with silk thread and sporting little tassels on the front. The *Japanese Fairy Tale* series written by Lafcadio Hearn⁶¹ and published by Hasegawa of Tokyo had twenty booklets in the first series⁶², and a few were issued in a second group^{63, 64}.

The Japanese fairy tale series were perhaps the most celebrated, but not the only publications to utilise the elements of Japanese design and freshness of colour (see Appendices 1, 2). A significant number of other booklets were produced by Hasegawa⁶⁵ and other British and Japanese publishers [figs 29, 30, 31, 32]⁶⁶. The subject range and creativity reflected in the combination of image and text is often little short of breathtaking [figs 33, 34, 35, 36].

What was the effect of these publications in Australia? How did they influence the younger generation growing up in the 1890s, and what possible inspiration did they offer emerging artists in the early 20th century? Were these

⁶¹ Not all the titles were by Hearn - of the twenty-five in the main series mentioned, only five are translated by him. The other titles were translated by a number of writers.

⁶² This is not correct. There were twenty-five titles in the first series - not twenty as stated.

⁶³ Presumably a reference to the 'Hearn series', 'Aino fairy tale series' and the 'Second series'.

⁶⁴ Lancaster, Clay, *The Japanese influence in America*, Abbeville Press, New York 1983, p. 259.

⁶⁵ Refer to Appendix 1.

⁶⁶ Refer to Appendix 2.

small books in any way connected with the upsurge of woodblock printing in the 1920s and '30s, and did they bridge a gap in the incorporation of Japanese pictorial concepts explored by Australian artists? Given the views of both American and German writers quoted above this conclusion would seem more than likely.

The Japanese fairy tale series presented the Australian public with one aspect of the illustrated Asian children's book. What was produced in this country by way of response?

Earlier in 1875, Calvert's published the most novel title of their illustrated 'Australian series of six-penny picture books' - *Little Chinkey Chow Chow, the boy that ran away!*⁶⁷. As Muir explained, "... [the book] had an exotic appearance with its striking full-page black and yellow illustrations ... Melbourne children of the era would have been familiar with the Chinese market gardeners, and the artist seems to have delighted in such a richly decorative subject ..."⁶⁸.

The Cole's Funny Picture Books series⁶⁹ produced, printed and published by the showman-educationalist-philosopher Edward William Cole (1832-1918), were the epitome of mass-appeal for the Victorian and Edwardian child. Crammed with engravings and text, many of the illustrations emphasised the universal brotherhood of man, a number of which portrayed Chinese, Japanese, Southeast Asian and Pacific peoples as role models to be sympathetically compared with

⁶⁷ *Little Chinkey Chow-Chow: The boy that ran away!*, Calvert's illustrated series of Australian story-books, [Printed] in the Exhibition Building, Melbourne (1875).

⁶⁸ *A history of Australian childrens book illustration*, Marcie Muir, Oxford University Press, Melbourne 1982, p. 36.

⁶⁹ *Cole's Funny Picture Book series*, No. 1 - 1870s; No. 2 - 1900s, both E.W. Cole Book Arcade, Melbourne.

their white Australian counterparts. There were pages of 'Asiatic Portraits' designed to introduce the child-reader to the universality of humankind. As indispensable tools for parents, the books formed an important part of childhood visual experience for a large section of the Australian community from the last two decades of the nineteenth through to the first half of the twentieth century.

Cole, through his friendship with the Chinese businessman Mei Guangda (Quong Tart) and his radical population-racial theories abhorred the debate surrounding the introduction of the 'White Australia' policy. He vehemently campaigned against the legislation as it was debated across the country. No doubt due to his moral stand on this important issue, Cole his wife Eliza and daughter, Ivy visited Japan in 1903 at the invitation of the Japanese government⁷⁰. The former whimsical expressions in children's books took on more radical overtones when viewed in combination with a number of pamphlets and small booklets published in answer to the growing tide of conservatism in Australia. Cole published *The White Australia question*⁷¹ (circa 1903) and at approximately the same time, *A White Australia: Opinions of forty eminent Japanese*⁷². Some fifteen years later he produced the *Better side of the Chinese ... character*⁷³ (circa 1918).

⁷⁰ Cole through his earlier writings had met the Japanese Fleet Commander, Captain Iwasaki who visited Melbourne on a goodwill mission in 1902. The invitation was to honour Cole as a guest at the Fifth National Industrial Exhibition, Osaka in 1903.

⁷¹ *The ... White Australia question*, 5th edition, E.W. Cole Book Arcade, Melbourne 1903.

⁷² 'A White Australia' opinions of forty eminent Japanese, from Selected works of E.W. Cole, part III, E.W. Cole Book Arcade, Melbourne 1916.

⁷³ *Better side of the Chinese ... character*, its relation to a White Australia and the development of our tropical Territory, E.W. Cole Book Arcade, Melbourne 1918.

The emergence of Japanese-inspired books for children is best represented by two examples. *Country cousins*⁷⁴ by artist Eirene Mort (1879-1977), was among a number of publications bound in the Japanese manner. The second example owed a considerable debt to Japan which amounted to more than just the unusual method of binding. Geraldine Rede (1874-1943) and Violet Teague (1872-1951) used traditional Japanese woodblock print techniques to illustrate an original children's book with text which echoed the Japanese *haikai* poem. *Night Fall in the Ti-Tree*⁷⁵ with its Japanese-inspired compositions and traditional methods of water-based printing inks was to be the closest approximation by Australian artists to the Japanese fairy tale series [figs 37, 38]⁷⁶.

Illustrated journals, newspapers, reference and children's books were not the only publications the public accessed for interpretations of Asian culture. The explosion of free libraries in institutes, clubs and art schools together with the egalitarian approach to education ensured the novel was enshrined and provided both the worker and casual middle-class reader with 'authoritative' descriptive passages⁷⁷. This, by extension can be seen to incorporate

⁷⁴ *Country cousins*, presented in picture and rhyme by Eirene Mort, G.B. Philip & Son, Sydney (1919).

⁷⁵ *Night Fall in the Ti-Tree* Acc. no. 88.1353
woodcuts by Geraldine Rede and Violet Teague, imprinted now by hand at the Sign of the Rabbit, 89 Collins Street, Melbourne 1905: [London edition] Elkin Mathews, London W. 1906, colour woodblock prints, letterpress
Collection: Australian National Gallery, Canberra
Gift of Mr and Mrs E. Gerahty 1988.

⁷⁶ 'Introduction', *Night Fall in the Ti-Tree*, Roger Butler, (facsimile reprint), Australian National Gallery, Canberra 1988; and: "Australian Printmaker/Illustrator", Ingrid and Robert Holden, *Imprint*, no. 2/1980, [n.p.].

⁷⁷ Three examples are:
Madame Chrysanthème
Pierre Loti [Louis Marie Julien Viaud; Officer, French Navy]
(translated by Laura Ensor, with designs by Rossi and de Myrbach)

the text of the performing arts - the language of the drama or pantomime (for further discussion refer to chapter 7, *Theatre in Australia: Asia "on the boards"*).

The 'East', in addition to the perceived source of manpower and unusual product or souvenir, was (and still is), viewed as an exotic destination for the traveller. Occasionally the visit was motivated by artistic, political or commercial activities and the resultant publication was an invaluable diary of reminiscences, contacts and impressions of rapidly changing cultures⁷⁸. It became fashionable from the late nineteenth through the early years of this century to the 1930s, for Australian tourists to privately publish (profits from the sales often benefiting charities) complete diaries of their visits around the world or to Asia⁷⁹.

Calmann-Levy, Paris 1887; reprinted: 1888, Eduoard Guillaume et Cie, Paris 1889, London 1892;
The yellow wave: A romance of the Asiatic invasion of Australia
 K. Mackay, Bentley, London 1895;
 and:
Madame Izan: A tourist story
 Rosa Caroline Praed (Mrs Campbell-Praed), Chatto & Windus, London 1899.

⁷⁸ One such volume was published in Australia by the wife of the architect John Smedley (1841-1903) who between 1877 and 1880 accompanied her husband to China and Japan: *Nara hodu: Sketches in Japan*, Mrs A.M. S[medley] Fullers's Lightning Printing Works, Sydney & Parramatta, 1884.

⁷⁹ Three selected examples are:

Here and there

Lady E.E.P. Ramsay [sister-in-law to artist Hugh Ramsay], (various recollections dating from 28 March 1910, through to 17 September 1912; 21 April through to 10 August 1934), covering: China, Hong Kong, Japan, Siam (Asian ports only), privately published, [not dated];

Eastern glimpses

being the daily diary of an Australian woman on tour in the Far East, Ethel Jarman [Adelaide socialite], (14 June-18 October 1934), covering: Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Siam, French Indo-China, China, Manchuria, Korea, Japan, Vardon & Sons Ltd., Adelaide 1935;

World ramblings

follow the trail through forty-four countries with impressions and experiences, H.E. Baker [Gowrie Station, Charleville, Queensland], (diary not dated), covering: Dutch East Indies, Singapore, Malaya, Siam, Indo-China, Burma, Philippines, Macao, Hong Kong, China, (Asian ports only), Globe Printing Company Pty. Ltd., Brisbane 1939.

Alternatively, the Orient was the goal for the artist who wished to absorb a culture relevant to the art movements of the day⁸⁰. On return from visits to China, Japan or Southeast Asia, Australian artists produced work directly influenced by these same cultures. Prints and illustrated books produced by artists of the 1920s to 1930s were infused with contemporary art movements, many of which owed a considerable debt to Chinese and Japanese sources. In Australia from the early twentieth century, the technique and popularity of the woodblock print as a mode of expression modified the work of a significant number of important artists⁸¹. The revival of the woodblock in this period can be seen as a direct reference to continued interest in Japan, and was well-suited to book illustration. Artists from the conservative Lionel Lindsay (1874-1961)⁸² to the more radical Margaret Preston (1883-1963) incorporated Japanese compositional devices in their work. The resultant images brought Asia before the general

⁸⁰ Mortimer Menpes (1855-1938), an Australian who settled in London from 1879, first visited Japan in late 1887; sketches of the Japanese people bought him fame in 1888 with an exhibition at Dowdeswell & Dowdeswell's Limited, London. Menpes returned to Japan in 1896, and again enhanced his reputation with the publication of the illustrated book, *Japan: A record in colour* in 1901.
source: *Japanese British-Exchanges in Art 1850s-1930s*, papers and research materials John Clark, bound computer-type manuscript, Canberra 1989, 323 pp.

Margaret Preston (1875-1963), visited Bali, Singapore, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Hong Kong, Macao and the Philippines (December 1925-March 1926); China (June 1934); and Korea and Japan (July 1934); the contact was to greatly influence her work.

⁸¹ For comprehensive discussion of this, refer to *Oriental influences in Australian printmakers from the 1900s to the 1930s*, Lois Patricia Ann George, unpublished Fine Arts IV, Honours Dissertation Thesis, Department of Fine Arts, University of Sydney, 1982.

⁸² Lionel Lindsay experimented with colour woodblock prints and brush strokes of traditional Chinese painting (circa 1907). He studied Chinese calligraphy, collected Japanese prints and was a friend of architect William Hardy Wilson.

public - either through artistic device or by direct reference in critical reviews⁸³ and articles⁸⁴.

Travel to the 'East' from Australia reached unparalleled heights in the 1920s and 30s. Several shipping lines, namely, the N.Y.K. - Nippon Yûsen Kaisha [Japan Mail], the Burns-Philp Mail Line, the P & O Line, the E & A Line and the Dutch K.P.M. - Koninklijke Paketvaart Maatschappij [Royal Packet Navigation Company] brought Southeast Asia, Japan and China within easy reach of the tourist. Direct routes linked Sydney with the ports of Surabaya, Samarang, Batavia (Dutch East Indies) to Singapore - this service continued to include Penang (the Malay Peninsula or Straits Settlements) and Rangoon (Burma); or alternately, Manila (Philippine Islands), Hong Kong, Shanghai, Port Arthur (China) to Nagasaki, Kobe and Yokohama (Japan). From the 30 August 1938 Sydney was linked to Saigon by air via Batavia and Singapore through K.N.I.L.M. [Royal Dutch Air Lines]; with Qantas Empire Airways Flying Boats completing Singapore-Batavia-Surabaya legs, in addition to flights leaving Sydney three times a week, again for Surabaya. Some four years earlier, the company Qantas Empire Airways had been formed to operate the Singapore-Brisbane sector of the England-Australia route.

⁸³ The woodblock print artist Ethleen Palmer was referred to as "An Australian Hokusai", in *Art in Australia*, 3rd series, 15 August 1939. See illustration 'Spendthrift', p. 23 and article pp. 27-29.

⁸⁴ See select articles directly related to Asia contributed by Margaret Preston in the *Art in Australia*, *Home*, and *Manuscripts*: "Wood-blocking as a craft"; *Art in Australia*, 3rd series, October-November 1930, pp. 27-35; "The gentle art of arranging flowers: Discussed by Thea Proctor - and Margaret Preston", *Home*, 1 June 1924, pp. 38-39; "There and back in three months: From Sydney to the East - with a note on expenses", *Home*, 1 October 1926, pp. 31-32; "Peiping and the Great Wall", *Home*, 1 February 1935, pp. 26-27; 75-76; "The puppet show of Osaka, Japan", *Manuscripts*, no. 12, 12 February 1935, pp. 15-16; 'The bad lady puppet' and 'The usurer', p. 17 (ill. woodblock prints).

As if to answer the expressed need for the visitor in Japan, the Board of Tourist Industry, later the Japan Tourist Bureau, Maruzen Company and the Japanese Government Railways began to produce a series of distinctive culture-orientated booklets between 1934-1943, and again, from 1953 to circa 1962 [fig 39]. With the completion of forty volumes in 1934⁸⁵ (a total of one hundred were envisaged), the illustrated series provided visitors on "flying trips" with a "tourist library series" designed to foster appreciation of Japanese lifestyle, culture and art. These

- 85 Titles and names given as published; as listed 1-40:
- Tea cult of Japan*, Y[asunosuke] Hukukita [Fukukita], BA
Japanese Noh plays, Prof. T[oyoichirō] Nogami, DLitt
Sakura (Japanese cherry), M[anabu] Miyoshi, DSc
Japanese gardens, Prof. M[atsunosuke] Tatui [Tatsui]
Hirosige and Japanese landscapes, Prof. Yone Noguti [Noguchi], DLitt
Japanese drama, B[oard] [of] T[ourist] I[ndustry]
Japanese architecture, Prof. H[ideto] Kisida [Kishida], DSc
What is Sinto?, Prof. G[enchi] Katō, DLitt
Castles in Japan, Prof. S[hin] Orui, DLitt & Prof. M[asao] Toba
Hot springs in Japan, Prof. K[ōichi] Huzinami [Fujinami], MD
Floral art in Japan, Issōtei Nisikawa [Nishikawa]
Children's days in Japan, T. Iwadō, MA
Kimono (Japanese dress), Ken-iti [Kenichi] Kawakatu [Kawakatsu]
Japanese food, Prof. Kaneko Tezuka
Japanese music, Katumi [Katsumi] Sunaga
Zyudo (Zyuzyutu), Dr Zigorō [Jigorō] Kanō
Family life in Japan, Syunkiti [Shunkichi] Akimoto
Scenery of Japan, T. Tamura, DSc
Japanese education, Prof. K. Yosida, DLitt & Prof. T. Kaigo
Floral calendar of Japan, T. Makino, DSc & Genzirō [Genjirō] Oka
Japanese Buddhism, Prof. T. D[aisetz] Suzuki, DLitt
Odori (Japanese dance), Kasyō [Kashō] Matida [Machida]
Kabuki drama, Syūtarō [Shūtarō] Miyake
Japanese wood-block prints, Prof. S[hizuya] Huzikake [Fujikake], DLitt
History of Japan, Prof. K. Nakamura, DLitt
Japanese folk-toys, Tekiho Nisizawa [Nishizawa]
Japanese game of 'Go', Hukumensi [Fukumenshi] Mihori
Japanese coiffure, R. Saitō, DLitt
Japanese sculpture, Seiroku Noma
Japanese postage stamps, Yokiti [Yokichi] Yamamoto
Japan's ancient armour, Hatirō [Hachirō] Yamagami
Angling in Japan, Meizi [Meiji] Matuzaki [Matsuzaki]
Japanese proverbs, Otoo [Otō] Huzii [Fujii], DLitt
Sumo (Japanese wrestling), Kōzō Hikoyama
Japanese birds, Prince Nobusuke Takatukasa [Takatsukasa]
Ainu life and legends, Kyōsuke Kindaiti [Kindaichi], DLitt
Japanese family crests, Yuzuru Okada
Japanese industrial arts, Seiiti [Seiichi] Okuda
National character of Japan, Nyozezan Hasegawa
History of Japanese communications, Baron Takaharu Mitui [Mitsui]

were readily available to travellers and formed a reference library compiled by leading Japanese authorities.

William Hardy Wilson (1881-1955) with his predilection for the uniting of east and west was an important focus (particularly in Sydney) for the architect-publisher circle. Wilson visited China for three months in 1922 and returned to complete proposals for many Australian buildings - both private and public, which echoed details and the structure of Chinese models⁸⁶. A prolific writer, he published numerous works⁸⁷ which highlighted the

⁸⁶ In 1924 Wilson added a further structure to *Eryldene* (a house designed in 1913 for Prof. E.G. Waterhouse at 17 McIntosh Street, Gordon, NSW). The addition was a Chinese pavilion, adjacent to the tennis court. In the same year he commenced plans for *Celestion*, a proposed dwelling for himself at Pymble, NSW. In 1934 he visited Canberra (as a young man he had aspired to design the national capital) to inspect the evolving federal city. The following year Wilson presented 50 drawings of Grecian and Chinese architecture to the National Library of Australia. In 1945 he designed *The Monument of Atomic Hope* and in 1948 completed drawings for the visionary city *Celestium* at Kurrajong, NSW. In 1954 Wilson presented 46 drawings for *Celestium* to the National Library of Australia.

⁸⁷ The selected books and works listed have particular reference to Wilson's preoccupation with Asia (in particular China) and do not represent a complete bibliography.

WILSON, W.H.

Yin-Yang

limited edition, 500 copies [privately published]
Flowerdale, Tasmania 1934

Grecian and Chinese architecture

limited edition, 100 copies [privately published]
Queen Street, Melbourne/The Green Press Ltd., Sydney 1937

Eucalyptus

limited edition, 25 copies [privately published]
Wandin, Victoria/The Ruskin Press, Melbourne 1941

Instinct

limited edition, 50 copies [privately published]
Wandin, Victoria/The Ruskin Press, Melbourne 1945

Cultural war [unpublished]

typescript manuscript, 6 pp., 1947
Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney

Chinese and Australian furniture [unpublished book]

Celestion, January 1948
MS. 136, National Library of Australia, Canberra

perceived unity of Australia and China where, through the adaptation of architectural forms, a new, civilisation based on mutual respect and merging of cultures, would rise 'phoenix-like' from the ashes. His writings⁸⁸ emphasised the proximity of Asia to Australia and this country's inability to recognise its geographical relationship with the 'East'. Like many before him, Wilson comprehended the importance of an imaginary triangle which linked Asia, Australia and America - and their material and spiritual cultures. His visionary city of *Celestium* at Kurrajong was a prime example of his desire to unite east and west. Arguably one of the most important material possessions he presented to the National Library of Australia in 1949 was the now-famous Chinese 'treasure' - the rare seventeenth century Verbiest map⁸⁹.

No doubt influenced by Wilson, Raymond McGrath (1903-1977), a student in the 1920s at the Architecture faculty of the University of Sydney, produced a completely hand-rendered thesis for submission in his fourth year of study (1926)

Atomic civilization

limited edition, 100 copies [privately published]

2 Edgecombe Street, Kew, Victoria/The Ruskin Press, Melbourne 1949

Kurrajong Sit-Look-See

limited edition, 50 copies [privately published]

2 Edgecombe Street, Kew, Victoria 1954.

⁸⁸ Refer also to: "Photographs of Chinese architecture", p. 39; "Chinese paintings from the Hardy Wilson collection", p. 51; "Isaac", pp. 52-55; 'The red phoenix', p. 69 [Chinese painting in the Hardy Wilson collection], *Art in Australia*, 2nd series, 1 May 1922. "Architecture in Australia", [n.p.], *Art in Australia*, 3rd series, 1 May 1923. "The ornithologist of Cobbitty", [n.p.], *Art in Australia*, 3rd series, June 1925. "Modern art in Australia", pp. 62-65, *Art in Australia*, 3rd series, June 1926. "The southern loquat tree", [poem] with decoration, by Adrian Feint, p. 20; "Drawings of Grecian and Chinese architecture", pp. 21-26, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41 and 43, *Art in Australia*, 3rd series, 16 November 1936. *Kurrajong Sit-Look-See*, exhibition of drawings, 31 July-5 August 1950, David Jones, Sydney.

⁸⁹ Refer "The ancient Verbiest map", Tina Faulk, *National Library of Australia News*, September 1991, pp. 7-10.

which dealt exclusively with the traditions of architecture in China and Japan⁹⁰.

During the period of the 1920s to 1940s two authors in Sydney, Sadler and Barnett, were to contribute to the increased public awareness and understanding of Japanese culture in erudite (and in the case of Barnett, luxury) publications devoted primarily to literature, the arts, and in particular, the woodblock print. Both authors made extensive use of Japanese illustrations to accompany scholarly texts which covered subjects as diverse as translations of Japanese historical classics, Japanese flower arrangement and tea ceremony to history, architecture and Japanese woodblock prints.

Arthur Lindsay Sadler (1882-1970), Professor of Oriental studies at the University of Sydney⁹¹ between 1922 and 1948 was a prolific author and translator. A universal scholar, Sadler contributed greatly to knowledge of Japan both through his publications and lectures⁹². He was author of many books on Japanese culture published in Australia from 1928 to 1946, many by the highly regarded and accessible publishing house of Angus & Robertson, Sydney⁹³.

⁹⁰ *Architecture of China and its adaption to Japan* Acc. no. 87.775 an account of the classical architecture of the principal provinces of China with some suggestions as to its value in the development of modern architecture particularly on the Australian continent Raymond McGrath, Architecture IV, University of Sydney, January 1926, bound thesis, pp. 78; 41 pp. (text), 35 pp. (ill.)
Collection: Australian National Gallery, Canberra
Gift of Jenny O'Donovan, the artist's daughter 1987.

⁹¹ Prior to this appointment, Sadler had been in Japan from 1909 (lecturer at the Sixth Higher School, Okayama (1909-1918), and at the Peer's College, Tokyo (1918-1921). He was a council member of the Asiatic Society of Japan, and in 1919 was appointed Companion (5th Class) of the Order of the Rising Sun.
source: Joyce Ackroyd in Nairn, Serle, Ward (1974), op. cit.

⁹² Sadler contributed articles to the prestigious *Art in Australia*, refer: June 1924, "The Japanese outlook on Western art", [n.p.] and 1 June 1941, "The Japanese print", pp. 36-39.

⁹³ SADLER, A.L.

Matsudaira Fumai: Lord of the Province of Izumo, 1767-1806
reprinted from the History of Matsudaira Fumai compiled from the
annals of the Matsudaira House edited by Takahashi Hatsuo
[publisher not known], London? 192-?

SADLER, A. L. (translated by)
The ten foot square hut and Tales of the Heike
being two thirteenth century Japanese classics, *The Hôjôki* and
selections from *The Heike Monogatari*
Angus & Robertson Limited, Sydney 1928

SADLER, A.L. (translated by, in collaboration with Hoshino Hikoshiro)
Two literary masterpieces on Japan
part I, *Kocho: A romance by the Emperor Go-Mizuno-in*
part II, *A song on the Accession of H.I.M. the Emperor of Japan* by
Charlotte M. Salvey, MJS
Meiji Japan Society [Zaidan Hojin Meiji Seitoku Kinen Gakkai], Tokyo
1930

SADLER, A.L. (appendix only)
OKAKURA, Kakuzo
The book of tea
a Japanese harmony of art culture and the simple life
Angus & Robertson Limited, Sydney 1932

SADLER, A.L.
The art of flower arrangement in Japan
a sketch of its history and development
dedicated to the artist potter Bernard Leach preface by Lionel Lindsay
Country Life Ltd., London 1933

Cha-no-yu: the Japanese tea ceremony
J.L. Thompson & Co. Ltd., Kobe and Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
Ltd., London 1933; reprinted: Charles E. Tuttle Company Inc., Tokyo
1963

SADLER, A.L. (translated by)
Japanese plays: Nô - Kyôgen - Kabuki
Angus & Robertson Limited, Sydney 1934

SADLER, A.L.
The maker of modern Japan: The life of Tokugawa Ieyasu
George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London 1937; reprinted: AMS Press, New York
1977; Charles E. Tuttle Company Inc., Tokyo 1978

SADLER, A.L. (translated by)
*Saka's Diary of a pilgrim to Ise [The Ise Daijingu Sankeiki; or, Diary
of a Pilgrim to Ise]*
edited by the Meiji Japan Society [Zaidan Hojin Meiji Seitoku Kinen
Gakkai], Tokyo 1940

SADLER, A.L.
A short history of Japanese architecture
Angus & Robertson Limited, Sydney 1941; reprinted: Charles E. Tuttle
Company Inc., Tokyo 1962, 1963

SADLER, A.L. (translated by)

The second author was Percy Neville Barnett (1881-1953)⁹⁴. Barnett was a connoisseur of the craft of book production, an ardent book and book-plate collector, who himself designed and privately published a number of books on Japanese prints⁹⁵.

The Heike Monogatari
Kimiwada Shoten, Tokyo 1941

SADLER, A.L.
The beginner's book of Bushidô: Being a translation of Daidoji Yuzan's Budô Shoshinshû
KBS 2600 anniversary essay series Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai [The Society for International Cultural Relations], Tokyo 1941; reprinted: Charles E. Tuttle Company Inc., Tokyo 1988

Ssu shu
selections from the Confucian texts
Chinese text with English translation
Australasian Medical Publishing Company Limited, Sydney 1942

Selections from modern Japanese writers
English translation
Australasian Medical Publishing Company Limited, Sydney 1942;
reprinted: 1943

Three military classics of China [Sun Tzu, Ssu Ma Jang, Wu Chi]
Australasian Medical Publishing Company Limited, Sydney 1944

A short history of Japan
Angus & Robertson Ltd., Sydney 1946; reprinted: 1962.

⁹⁴ For a more complete biography of Barnett, refer to J.P. Holroyd in Nairn, Serle, Ward, 1974, op. cit.

⁹⁵ BARNETT, P.N.
[Souvenir of] Japanese colour-prints
limited edition, [privately published]
special de luxe edition, 65 copies; standard de luxe edition, 185 copies
Beacon Press, Sydney 1936

Colour-prints of Hiroshige
limited edition, 110 copies [privately published]
Beacon Press, Sydney 1937

Hiroshige
limited edition, 200 copies [privately published]
Beacon Press, Sydney 1938

Nishiki-ye, brocade prints of Japan
limited edition, 15 copies [privately published]
Beacon Press, Sydney 1941

The foundation of the George Ernest Morrison Lecture in Ethnology in May 1932⁹⁶ presented annual contributions to the closer cultural ties between Australia and the then Chinese Republic⁹⁷. Subordinate to the lecture were the annually published records of the lectures⁹⁸. Invited national and international scholars presented papers which

[Souvenir of] Glimpses at Ukiyo-ye, and Nishiki-ye brocade prints of Japan

limited edition, 50 copies [privately published]
T.V. Bennett & Co., Sydney 1942; reprinted: 30 copies 1943

Figure prints of Japan

limited edition, 40 copies [privately published]
standard de luxe edition
Beacon Press, Sydney 1948

Japanese art: a phase in colour prints

Beacon Press, Sydney 1953.

⁹⁶ The series of lectures had the full support of the Chinese consular service (then Dr W.P. Chen); the Chinese community in both Sydney and Melbourne (Mr William Liu, merchant and Mr William Ah Ket, Supreme Court barrister, respectively); and Australians (Mr F.J. Quinlan, Chief Electoral Officer, Commonwealth of Australia and Sir Colin MacKenzie, KB, MD, FRCS, Director, Institute of Anatomy and President of the Royal Society of Australia).

⁹⁷ A number of the lectures encompassed art, or cultural topics. Included in the printed summaries of the events, is a statement which implied the ideal situation: "The objects of the foundation of the Lectureship are to honour for all time the memory of a great Australian who rendered invaluable services to China, and also to stimulate interest in Australia in the art, science and literature of the Chinese Republic. It is the opinion of many Chinese economists that cultural knowledge must accompany trade, if it does not actually precede it. ... We must know more of the art, science, and literature of China; the Chinese must learn more of the political, scientific, and literary history of the Commonwealth of Australia. ...".
source: 'Foundation of the George Ernest Morrison Lecture in Ethnology', *The inaugural George Ernest Morrison Lecture in Ethnology*, Publications of the Australian Institute of Anatomy, Canberra 1932, (p. 2).

⁹⁸ A precis of the content of most lectures, was [and is] however, published. From the time of its inception until 1948 the lecture was associated with the Australian Institute of Anatomy (the building now houses the National Film & Sound Archive and is located on McCoy Circuit, Acton). After this date the lectures were given under the auspices of the Australian National University, Canberra.

were received by a significant audience as was evident on the occasion of the Fourth Morrison Lecture in Canberra, when "the Theatre was crowded, and many were unable to gain admission".

Through this complex appraisal of printed reference sources, it is evident that both the Australian general public (through the medium of mass-circulated newspapers and journals), and the more focused art-orientated public (with access to specialised books) were well-informed with respect to particular aspects of Asian culture. It is undeniable that newspaper reporting exhibited discrimination which ranged from mere bias to rampant distortion and that stereotyped images were often chosen to illustrate aspects of life in Asia which best suited contemporary understanding. Idealised 'unspoilt' Japanese artisans were seen to dwell lovingly on individual expressions of beauty and artistic creation - so unlike the much maligned mass-produced artefacts of western civilisation.

Considerable information on 'Eastern' cultures was relayed directly from China or Japan, or the respective country of origin. Numerous Australian visitors wrote exceptionally descriptive accounts which were widely circulated and read (although often repetitious in subject matter presented). This in direct opposition to the more widely accepted belief that much of the influence in Australia was 'second-hand' and originated from pre-filtered exposure which had as its source the aesthetic legacy of Britain, Europe or America.

In evaluating the influence of this volume of material, it is difficult to dismiss the influence of Asia on Australia as either 'second-hand', or one which originated solely from Europe or Britain through the medium of the 'populist movements' Japonisme and Aestheticism. Undoubtedly, as I

have shown, these movements had a wide and fashionable following, but equally there is indisputable documentation to prove there existed a steady stream of bulletins (many of which were contributed by Australians) which had Asia as their primary source.

There has been a tendency in the documentation of Asian influences or 'interfaces' with nineteenth and early twentieth century Australian art to suggest that artists in this country passively absorbed the imported art movements to the exclusion of primary references. On an empirical basis and subject range of articles mentioned, I believe this to be a gross over-simplification and a denial of the mass of printed material available in this country from the 1850s to the 1930s which dealt directly with Asian (especially Japanese) life, culture and art [figs 40, 41].

**5
Intercolonial, International and Fine Art Exhibitions:
Australia and Asia 1850s-1900s
Public spectacle, ... private pleasures**

The greatest impetus to changing the biased view that art in Australia emanated solely from England or Europe came with the series of Intercolonial and International Exhibitions. These exhibitions were held from 1854 to 1900¹ to provide exhibits which millions of visitors were to see. Most exhibitions incorporated art galleries, and many displayed the applied arts and crafts of near-neighbours to Australia². They included some representation from Southeast Asia³ - and perhaps more importantly, courts devoted to China⁴ and Japan⁵.

¹ Refer to Register 2A: Select Intercolonial and International Exhibitions in Australia.

² There were no known Asian components in the following Australian intercolonial and international exhibitions:

1876	Brisbane
1881	Adelaide
1884-1885	Melbourne
1891-1892	Launceston
1892	Melbourne
1894-1895	Hobart
1897	Brisbane
1900	Adelaide.

³ Southeast Asia was represented in:

1866-1867	at Melbourne by Batavia (the Dutch Indies)
1875	at Melbourne by a Singapore court
1879-1880	at Sydney by a Straits Settlements court
1880-1881	at Melbourne by a Straits Settlements court
1887-1888	at Adelaide by Manila, Singapore, British North Borneo and Johore
1888-1889	at Melbourne by British North Borneo.

⁴ China was represented in:

1866-1867	at Melbourne by Chinese artisans in Australia
1870	at Sydney by Chinese artisans in Australia
1877	at Sydney by a display of paintings and crafts
1879-1880	at Sydney by Chinese artisans in Australia
1880-1881	at Melbourne by a Chinese court
1888-1889	at Melbourne by a Chinese court.

⁵ Japan was represented in:

1875	at Melbourne by a Japanese court
1877	at Sydney by a display of paintings and crafts
1879-1880	at Sydney by a Japanese court
1880-1881	at Melbourne by a Japanese court
1888	at Sydney as part of an Oriental court

Characteristic of the important effect these exhibitions had on the general public can be estimated by the magnitude of an 1869 exhibition in Melbourne, held at the Public Library from 29 March to 30 June:

The artistic activities of the colony reached a climax in 1869, with the historic loan exhibition, 'Works of Art. Ornamental and Decorative Art', ... Acting on a recommendation from the Fine Arts Commission in 1865, the Trustees borrowed 2,489 items from 687 exhibitors, and displayed them for thirteen and a half weeks; ... The moving force behind the exhibition was Barry⁶, whose attempts to involve the Chinese community proved fruitless. Lowe Kong Meng⁷, a prominent merchant, replied to Barry's request for assistance in locating Chinese works of art to exhibit shortly before the opening: 'I regret that I have now to state that my enquiries only confirm my first impression that it would be useless to attempt a Chinese section - as there is nothing in the colony either in Manufactures, Arts, or even Curiosities worthy of a place in your intended Exhibition - certainly nothing that would reflect credit upon or fairly represent the - as you courteously name it - Great nation of China'.⁸

1888-1889 at Melbourne by a Japanese court.

⁶ Sir Redman Barry
(b.1813, arr. Australia 1838, d.1880)
First President of Trustees, National Gallery of Victoria, founded Victorian Museum, Public Library, Museum, and Art Gallery, one of the founders of the University of Melbourne.
source: *Australian dictionary of biography*, Bede Nairn, Geoffrey Serle, Russel Ward (section editors), Melbourne University Press, Carlton 1974.

⁷ Lowe Kong Meng [Liu Guangming]
(b.1831, arr. Australia 1853, d.1888)
Merchant and Chinese community leader, elected by the Victorian government for the Melbourne Exhibitions in 1880 and 1888, conferred title of mandarin of the blue button, civil order by Emperor Tongzhi in 1863.
source: Nairn, Serle, Ward (1974), op. cit.

⁸ Public Record Office, Melbourne, Liu Guangming to Redman Barry, 18 October 1869.
cited: *Victorian vision: 1834 onwards*, images and records from the National Gallery of Victoria and the State Library of Victoria, Christine Downer, Jenifer Phipps, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne 1985.

The exhibition, despite the absence of Chinese works, proved very successful - 64,634 visitors attended through the three month period. It received good press coverage although there was some criticism from the writer, James Smith⁹. These comments were answered by the secretary of the Fine Arts Commission in a letter to the editor of the *Argus* to protest against the:

... pungency and severity of condemnation of some of the Works exhibited, which however just the Trustees would suggest may be esteemed somewhat harsh by those who have lent the pictures not for competition, not with the hope of obtaining prizes, but simply in order to gratify the public and educate their taste.¹⁰

The functions of the international exhibitions were basically twofold. To showcase Australia's products in an international setting; and to expose the public to a range of the latest scientific and artistic developments from overseas. The inherent perception of Asia as the unknown and exotic formed an important component in taste for these events. Exhibition commissioners were appointed to head specific areas and charged with the responsibility for the negotiation of entries. Liu Guangming, a local Chinese importer and businessman, who had first been approached by Barry in 1869, was nominated as Commissioner for Asia, Africa and America for the 1880-1881 Melbourne International Exhibition and again (for a similar task to assist with the Centennial International Exhibition) in 1888¹¹.

⁹ James Smith
(b.1820, arr. Melbourne 1854, d.1910)
Leader writer, art, dramatic and literary critic of the *Argus*, Melbourne, 1856-1896. As a trustee of the Public Library and the National Gallery of Victoria 1880-1910, he exerted considerable influence on the cultural life of Melbourne.
source: Nairn, Serle, Ward (1974), op. cit.

¹⁰ Public Record Office, Melbourne, F. Oakes to the editor of the *Argus* (Melbourne), 30 March 1869.
cited: Downer and Phipps (1985), op. cit.

¹¹ sources: *Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880-1881: Official Record*, Mason, Firth & McCutcheon, 1882, p. xviii; and: Nairn, Serle, Ward (1974), op. cit.

Substantial trading links were the driving force behind much of the interest in the exhibitions, which were viewed as crucial to the rapidly developing Australia. There was in addition, an obvious 'white' notion of European superiority which was measured against the extensive colonisation of 'coloured' homelands, by then clearly understood and acknowledged as carried out for reasons of profit. Asia, both Southeast and the 'Far East', were seen as desirable markets, the source of raw materials and labour¹². Separated by vast distances, their peoples were viewed with a mixture of pity, fear, intrigue, admiration, curiosity and mystery. The selection of the particular descriptive adjective used to qualify these places was almost arbitrary. Often it was dependent on immediate reactions of white European visitors with specific intent who travelled to these countries with the inevitable prejudices of individuals from more 'civilised cultures'.

Australians had a sense of overwhelming inquisitiveness, tinged with racial superiority which spilled over into fear when it was recognised that an emerging nation, such as Japan, possessed capabilities which more than matched those of Russia, which was then one of the most powerful nations.

Words such as 'quaint', 'singular', 'forbidden', 'strange', 'picturesque' and 'curious' became stock-in-trade descriptions used freely in European publications and as descriptions of civilisations, peoples, and wares associated with the countries of China, and in particular, Japan¹³. In the mid- to late-nineteenth century, Asia was

¹² Refer to the background of the participation of Johore in the Adelaide Jubilee Exhibition, Footnotes 88 and 89.

¹³ For discussion of the description of Japan in these terms see: Yokoyama Toshio, *Japan in the Victorian mind: A study of stereotyped images of a nation 1850-80*, Macmillan Press Ltd., Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London 1987. Japan was described as 'a singular country', a 'fairylend' complete with 'tasteful' gardens and 'things Japanese'. Craftsmanship was summed up by words such as

not - nor should ever be, treated as an homogeneous entity. Australians, like other Eurocentric peoples, differentiated by reason of prejudice, direct experience or confrontation. The population easily accepted opinions of the 'informed' who were often widely-travelled individuals that published travel memoirs in books, illustrated journals or newspapers; or were the reporters of tabloids; or were the critics of exhibitions.

Australia with its succession of intercolonial and international exhibitions did not appreciably differ from the European structure of prejudice. My aim is to analyse the Asian content of these exhibitions and discuss this in the context of concurrent international (world) exhibitions, together with comment on overseas entries. The emphasis will be on the cultural documentation rather than the natural products shown which nevertheless formed exhibits of considerable economic importance. It is clear from published records, that the Asian entries in the Australian exhibitions equate with those internationally (with respect to population) - both in number and range of works.

Asian contributions to Australian exhibitions came from Qing China and notably from Imperial Japan, with some material sent from smaller countries and principalities in Southeast Asia.

The overall context and structure in which the other international expositions took place is given in standard sources¹⁴, which generally agree on a common group of

'delicate', 'elaborate', 'perfect' and 'consummate', while the country and inhabitants of 'Old Japan' were often romanticised by direct comparison to models in classical European antiquity.

¹⁴ In alphabetical order by author:
Allwood, John, *The great exhibitions*, Cassell & Collier Macmillan Publishers Ltd., London 1977

social motivations that drove the organisation, attendance and continued existence of these monumental exhibitions¹⁵.

I shall also examine the public reaction to exhibits; press reaction to objects; critical evaluations; and the resultant effect on general taste and fashion. In addition, the donation of objects from exhibitions to public collections, the individuals involved in the selection of objects, the network of consuls and trading companies, and in some cases, the acquisition of objects from exhibitions by private individuals. This will assist in establishing the relative importance of Asian art works as opposed to simple trade objects.

Other visual stimuli which incorporated Asian elements, must be seen in conjunction with these exhibitions - in Australia these included the Japanese Village (discussed in chapter 6), the performing arts (discussed in chapter 7), and the poorly-documented and little appreciated importance of illustrated books and journals (discussed in chapter 4). The exhibitions themselves can be perceived in retrospect

Benedict, Burton with contributions by Majorie M. Dobkin, Gray Brechin, Elizabeth N. Armstrong & George Starr, *The anthropology of world's fairs, San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915*, The Lowie Museum of Anthropology in association with Scolar Press, London & Berkeley 1983

Greenhalgh, Paul, *Ephemeral vistas, the Expositions Universelles, great exhibitions and world's fairs, 1851-1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1988

Holt, Elizabeth Gilmore (selected and edited by), *The art of all nations: 1850-1873, the emerging role of exhibitions and critics*, Anchor Press/Doubleday, Garden City, New York 1981

Mitchell Wolfson Jr. Collection of Decorative and Propaganda Arts, *The great world's fairs and expositions*, Miami-Dade Community College, Miami 1986.

¹⁵ Nineteenth century international exhibitions have four common recognisable features: The display of peoples and culture; Imperial (colonial) produce display; The fine arts; The entertainment domain.

as exercises in the promulgation and continuation of public fantasy, especially in relation to the image Asia.

Lastly, I shall document by relevant data the attendance of the Australian population, and by comparison to other world fairs, weigh the relative contribution of Asia to the exhibitions as a whole.

"For the general good ..."
International and Intercolonial Exhibitions 1850s-1900s

Asian participation during the nineteenth century in Australian exhibitions was not limited to the some seventeen intercolonial and international exhibitions. There were in addition, numerous components of exhibitions, labelled as 'Fine', 'Decorative', 'Ornamental' or 'Applied Art', which were displayed in libraries, museums and societies' rooms throughout the colonies¹⁶. Most works were lent by individuals, rather than consigned by their country of manufacture with many seen as ethnographic objects, a term which became attached due to their supposed 'rarity' as 'curios'; or alternatively, as primary examples of complex manufacturing techniques.

In 1854, at the First Victorian Exhibition, held at the Exhibition Building, William Street, Melbourne¹⁷ under

¹⁶ *Catalogue of Works of Art, exhibited in the Launceston Mechanics' Institute Building, on the occasion of its Opening, 9 April 1860*, listed several Asian objects:

257 Model in ivory of a Chinese Junk

288 Four Chinese Figures

334 Silver Opium Box, taken from a Chinese piratical junk and the:

First Annual Exhibition of the Fine Arts, Parliamentary Buildings, Hobart, February 1887 listed:

Japanese ware, 10 items, Imari, Kiyota [sic] and Minano [sic] wares; Chinese ware, 6 items (unrecorded wares); Indian ware, 2 items (unrecorded wares); Zanzibar ware, 1 item (unrecorded ware).

¹⁷ Exhibited between 17 October and 12 December 1854 with an attendance of approximately 40,000 visitors.

'Section VII - Miscellaneous', the catalogue, amidst others detailed the following Asian entries:

- 336 Graham, Samuel, 39 Swanston St.
Pair of large Chinese jars
- 341 Hughes, George, 145 Elizabeth St.
Pair of Malay lady's slippers;
poisoned Malay Crisse or Kris
- 344 Boehler, Henry, 99 Lonsdale St.-E
Curious specimens of wood from Singapore,
originally found in nearly their present shape
- 356 Barrett, Albert, Bank of Victoria
3 antique Chinese jars; 2 Chinese Flower Vases¹⁸

Some twelve years later in 1866 on the occasion of the first Intercolonial Exhibition of Australasia¹⁹ held at the Exhibition Building erected in conjunction with the Public Library, Melbourne, a Grand Evening Concert was commissioned to celebrate the opening. Although the only official Asian entry²⁰ in the exhibition was from Batavia²¹, a section of the lyric masque was revealing for its summation of attitudes to the then recently arrived Chinese. The triumphal chorus and exhibition marches were suitably titled 'The South-Sea Sisters' which acknowledged Australia's geographic position in relation to adjacent continents and paid tribute to the immigrants who had newly arrived:

Part II

¹⁸ *Official Catalogue of the Melbourne Exhibition, 1854* in connexion [*sic*] with the Paris exhibition, 1855, printed and published for the Commissioners, F. Sinnett and Company, (Melbourne 1854), pp. 33, 34.

¹⁹ Exhibited between 24 October 1866 and 23 February 1867 with an attendance of 268,634 (variant 270,440) visitors.

²⁰ A report in a Melbourne newspaper in March 1867 suggested, however, that there was some representation from local Chinese: "All visitors to the Octagon [*sic*] room of the Intercolonial Exhibition must have noticed the elaborate Chinese carvings which were there on view."
Australian News (Melbourne), 28 March 1867, p. 6.

²¹ 'Batavia', former name (from 1603 to 1945 and again from 1946 to 1949) of the capital of Indonesia. Renamed Djakarta now Jakarta. source: *Encyclopaedia of Asian civilizations*, Louis Frédéric, Publisher, Villecresnes 1977.

Song for the voyages on the Atlantic, Indian, and other great oceans - Arrival of mining adventurers from Europe, America, China, etc ...

No. 4 - March of all Nations with their National Airs

.....
 And the Chinaman starts
 From celestial Hong Kong,
 With crackers and gong,
 And alchemical arts,
 Or industrious picks,
 His kites,
 And his sleights,
 His lanterns and his fans,
 His strange shoes and pans,
 His opium-pipes and his ivory sticks,
 His porcelain, tea, and the Books of Cung Foo,
 And baskets that dance fore and aft his bamboo.²²

With the advent of the second intercolonial exhibition held in Sydney during 1870²³, the *Official Report of the Exhibition* included the following comment on the furniture exhibited by Chinese resident in Australia and the associated furniture trade in New South Wales:

The Chinese in the Colony have found in cabinet-making an outlet for their patient industry. Their work is not as good as that of European artizans [sic], but they put a less price upon their labour, work long hours, and can sell a cheaper article²⁴.

²² Grand Evening Concert, in celebration of the opening: *The South-Sea Sisters Triumphant Chorus Exhibition Marches &c. &c. &c.*, Wilson and Mckinnon, Melbourne (1866), p. 8; and: *The South-Sea Sisters: a lyric masque written for the opening of the Intercolonial Exhibition of Australasia* (Grand Evening Concert), Richard H. Horne, incidental music by Charles Edward Horsley, H.T. Dwight, Melbourne (1866), p. 6.

²³ The Sydney Intercolonial Exhibition exhibited at the Exhibition Building, Prince Alfred Park between 30 August and 30 September 1870 with an attendance of 184,275 visitors.

²⁴ Quoted in: *Nineteenth century Australian furniture*, Kevin Fahey; Christina Simpson; Andrew Simpson, David Ell Press, Sydney 1985, pp. 358-59. Three years earlier a report on 'Chinese artificers in Melbourne' rationalised: "It may be of some slight interest to be informed that portions of these carvings were being executed at the time of our artist's visit; and now that they are cognisant of the extraordinary [physical] attitudes adopted by the Celestial carvers, some of their European competitors may naturally be led to speculate on the superior facility with which they could have performed the work."
Australian News (Melbourne), 28 March 1867, p. 6.

At the third intercolonial exhibition in 1875, held at the Museum Hall and temporary buildings in association with the Public Library, Melbourne²⁵ direct representation from Japan, through official Japanese Commissioners ensured the presence of a Japanese court divided into two chambers [figs 42, 43]. The two Imperial Japanese Commissioners were Sakata Haruo²⁶ and Hashimoto Mat[s]u[o], with Robert Page acting as Secretary. It is also clear that considerable assistance must have been forthcoming from Sir Harry Parkes²⁷, Japan; for he, along with the named commissioners were awarded silver and bronze medals for services rendered. At least three other Japanese were in Melbourne and attached to this delegation. Two officials, Funaki [M.] and Eda [K.], were clearly in Australia for trade purposes²⁸. Wakai Kenzaburō (1834-1908) was also present as a representative with the exhibits from Kiritsu Kōshō Kaisha²⁹.

²⁵ Exhibited between the 2 September and 16 November 1875 with an attendance of 240,000 visitors.

²⁶ "They have both visited Europe, and the former was attached to the Japanese Commission at the Vienna Exhibition of 1873."
source: *Guide to the Victorian Intercolonial Exhibition, 1875 ...*, compiled by Frank W. Fenton, W.H. Williams, Melbourne 1875, p. 54.

²⁷ Sir Harry Smith Parkes (1828-1885)
Diplomatist; went to China in 1841, assisted with first European treaty with Siam, 1855; Consul at Shanghai, appointed Minister to Japan, 1865-1872; GCMG, 1882; gazetted Minister to China, and concluded a treaty with Korea opening the country to British trade, 1883.
source: *The dictionary of national biography*, the concise dictionary, pt 1: from the beginnings to 1900, being an epitome of the main work and its supplement, George Smith (founded by), Oxford University Press, London 1979.

²⁸ "They are accompanied by two other officials, M. Funaki and K. Eda, who are connected with the Agricultural Department of Japan, and whose mission here is to collect information relative to the agricultural pursuits, the process of sheep breeding, and the method of settlement of the lands."
source: Fenton (1875), op. cit., p. 54.

²⁹ source: *Le Japonisme, 'Chronologie'*, pp. 60-123, Ministère de la Culture, Editions de la Réunion des Musées nationaux, Paris 1988.

The Japanese court, divided into two chambers was described in great detail in Fenton's account of the exhibition. Exhibits ranged from Japanese toys and dolls, to fans, lacquer-ware and decorated boxes³⁰. Porcelain, cloisonné, textiles and Japanese armour were displayed in the second chamber of the court³¹. Great emphasis was placed on the 'applied' or decorative arts with only cursory references to painting and the 'fine arts':

Baskets, fans, and a number of paintings on cloth come next; ... Another array of cups and saucers now demand our inspection, over which some interesting specimens of painting and embossing upon silk will be found. ... A book of Japanese paintings is next open for inspection, and will give us some idea of the fine arts in that country³².

It is important to register that the 'fine arts' were hardly represented at all - a sole illustrated book serving this purpose together with some obscure 'paintings'. Clearly the priorities had been established early as to the most appropriate works for display. Prospective trade and not 'fine art' was the key. However, in a review of the court in a Melbourne newspaper, there was an early recognition of Japanese "artistic taste and design" with the admission that the "chastley-designed ornaments have become the fashion in modern *boudoirs* and in the china collections of *cognoscenti*"³³.

³⁰ There were catalogue entries 4094-4650 for the 'Shippo Company' [*sic*], Japan; and catalogue entries 4651-4892 for the 'Kiritzukosho [*sic*] Company', Japan; each company entered thousands of individual items. These included: lacquer from Aizu (Fukushima); porcelain from Hizen (Saga, Nagasaki), Kaga (Ishikawa), Okari [Owari?] (Aichi) and a multitude of products from Tokyo. Not all the products were contemporary - the catalogue noted that some of the lacquer was "old" or "out of fashion" being from "100 to 500 years old".

³¹ For a review of the Japanese court see, *Illustrated Australian News* (Melbourne), 6 October 1875, p. 154.

³² Fenton (1875), *op. cit.*, pp. 23-25.

³³ *Illustrated Australian News* (6 Oct.) 1875, *loc. cit.*

Southeast Asia was represented by a Singapore court, and planned, but presumably not installed, was a Siamese court which was referred to in passing:

It was believed that His Majesty the King of Siam would contribute an interesting collection, but the exhibits have not arrived.³⁴

Although not directly related to Asian exhibits, parallel to the words penned in 1866 for the 'lyric masque', was the content of one of a series of 'Calvert's Australian series of six-penny picture books printed in colours' which featured 'Little Chinkey Chow-Chow', in a story-book for children. The overt racial stereotype was carried by the title itself and a story-line which described the 'little boy who ran away' in recognisable terms using familiar characters as the 'Great Big Market Gardener' and lines which must have been all too familiar to Australasian readers:

The boys began to jeer at him
For he was very wet,
They pulled his dripping tail and called
Him names that I forget. ...³⁵.

As Marcie Muir has explained, "By the time of the Intercolonial Exhibition in Melbourne in 1875 ... The Calverts' exhibit at the Intercolonial Exhibition included the actual process of printing the books which were on sale"³⁶. Further discussion of the lasting impact of illustrated publications is to be found in chapter 4, *Publications: China and Japan in White Australia*.

An early visitor to Japan from 1869, the Sydney architect John Smedley (1841-1903), organised a section of Japanese

³⁴ Fenton (1875), op. cit., p. 54.

³⁵ *Little Chinkey Chow-Chow: The boy that ran away!*, Calvert's Illustrated series of Australian Story Books, [Printed] in the Exhibition Building, (Melbourne) (1875), [n.p.].

³⁶ *A history of Australian childrens book illustration*, Marcie Muir, Oxford University Press, Melbourne 1982, p. 34-35.

and Chinese paintings and craft goods at the Sydney Metropolitan and Intercolonial Exhibition in 1877³⁷. These were auctioned at the direction of Smedley at the close of the exhibition and some works from the sale acquired for the proposed state gallery³⁸. As a direct result the Asian collection was founded - a pattern repeated on other occasions by state galleries and museums throughout Australia. In the case of Sydney, this was enhanced at the following international exhibition by "the gift in 1879 by the Japanese Government, of a large group of Japanese ceramics and bronzes that had been shown in the International Exhibition that same year"³⁹.

On the occasion of the first Australian International Exhibition⁴⁰ held in Sydney during 1879-1880 [figs 44, 45, 46], a painted allegory of Asia, one of four under the central dome of the Garden Palace⁴¹ greeted visitors, with

³⁷ Clark, John, *Japanese-British Exchanges in Art 1850s-1930s*, papers and research materials, 1989, pp. 142-143; and: *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April 1877, p. 2. Mention is made in the newspaper accounts of a 'Japanese and Chinese Court' which contained (in alphabetical order): bronzes, carpenters' tools, carved ivory, cloisonné, hand-painted books, lacquer, paintings on silk, porcelain, photographs, screens and sculpture.

³⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 May 1877, p. 9.

³⁹ *Asian Collection: Art Gallery of New South Wales Handbook*, Jacqueline Menzies, with an introduction by Edmund Capon, published by the Trustees, Sydney 1990, p. 7.

⁴⁰ Sydney International Exhibition was shown between 17 September 1879 and 20 April 1880 at the 'Garden Palace', inner Domain with an attendance of 1,117,536 visitors from a population of 703,144. The 'Garden Palace' was destroyed by fire on 22 September 1882, in addition to many exhibits and historical records which had been housed or had remained stored in the building.

⁴¹ The "Allegorical representations of Europe, Asia, Africa and America [were] Painted by Mssrs. Anivitti, Montague [sic] Scott, McLeod and Habbe". Assuming the artists are mentioned respectively, Montagu Scott (1835-1907) painted the panel representing Asia. source: *Notes on the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879*, with photo-type illustrations compiled at the Government Printing Office Thomas Richards, Government Printer, Sydney 1880, p. 6 (Richards 1).

Japan's position assured as a leader in the production of all manner of merchandise:

When, a few years ago, a Commission from Japan visited New South Wales to inquire into the rearing of live stock and the production of wool in Australia, the colonists little thought that they would so soon have an opportunity of judging the progress made by the Japanese in the arts and manufactures.

The studiousness and perseverance of the Japanese were well known to Australians before the Exhibition, but till after seeing their exhibits no adequate idea could have been formed of their industrial capacities. Many hundreds of articles shown in this court are so uniformly good, and so different from anything else in the Exhibition, that it is difficult to select the best examples. The collection, therefore, presents much to admire, but little to describe⁴².

As in the immediate past exhibitions, Japan as a nation, Japanese decorative art production and prospective trade with Australia were inextricably linked⁴³. An article in the *Japan Weekly Mail* (Tokyo), in March 1879 presented entries in the International Exhibition, in all their variety, from the 'other' point of view⁴⁴. In this way,

⁴² source: *Official Record of the Sydney International Exhibition 1879*, Thomas Richards, Sydney 1881, p. xi (Richards 2).

⁴³ "A writer in one of the vernacular journals dilates on the rapid progress in the Australian dependencies of Great Britain, their productiveness, and comparative proximity to Japan; and argues thence that they should afford a good outlet for some of the products of this empire. He suggests that, though it will be well, 'for the honour of the country', to make a fair show of objects of art, such as gold lacquer-ware, porcelain, engraved work, etc., yet it is more important that common articles of daily use and moderate price should be most extensively displayed, with a view to the increase of the export trade in them hence."
Japan Weekly Mail (Tokyo), 1 March 1879, pg 250.

⁴⁴ "Then there are numerous articles of every day use and cheap and tasteful adornment which should find an extensive use in the colonies. Fans, lacquer-ware, bronzes, and crockery-ware from Japan 'need but to be known to be appreciated' as the advertisements put it; ... The wealthy proprietors of the large towns would not require much temptation to adorn their residences with curios and art treasures. ... In fact, it must be admitted that they [the individual Australian colonies] have not such a choice of articles to send to Japan as Japan has to send to them."
Japan Weekly Mail (1 Mar.) 1879, loc. cit.

more than one hundred years ago, the stage was to be set for trade and continued cultural contact with Australia⁴⁵.

The particular 'Japanese qualities' of works in the exhibition did, however, engross journalists and catalogue writers alike. Lengthy descriptions utilised words such as: "inimitable", "exquisite", "unrivalled" and "suggestive" to underline attributes which were perceived as markedly different from Western entries:

Nothing more complete than the change in entering into the Japanese Court, from that of the United States can well be imagined, nor could anything be more marked than the contrast presented between the specimens of Japanese art, industry, and their exquisitely and highly finished ornamental objects, and the exhibits of the United States. The Japanese contribution to our Great Show was certainly one of the most interesting and complete, and the arrangement of the exhibits was highly effective⁴⁶.

The list of the Commissioners of Foreign Countries and Colonies, included Sakata Haruo (previously appointed for the 1875 intercolonial exhibition in Sydney) as Imperial Japanese Commissioner [fig. 47], Murukami Yoshin and Watanabe [J.], Secretaries⁴⁷.

The appearance of the Japanese court is reconstructed in this description by the authors in a 1979 publication on the centenary of the exhibition [fig. 48]:

At the northern end of the nave, entered through an ornamental arch, was the Japanese court. The display consisted almost entirely of the traditional arts of Japan - porcelain, cloisonné, silk brocade - as though

⁴⁵ The article concluded with the prophetic prediction: "Let us hope that the Sydney Exhibition will help to establish reciprocal relations on a satisfactory basis, as, we repeat, Australia might be made one of the very best customers of Japan."
Japan Weekly Mail (1 Mar.) 1879, loc cit.
I am indebted to Aaron M. Cohen for these references.

⁴⁶ Richards 2 (1881), op. cit., pp. lxxxiv-lxxxv.

⁴⁷ These three Commissioners were noted as being "Resident at Sydney". Richards 2 (1881), op. cit., p. cxli.

the industrial technology of the west had never reached those distant shores⁴⁸.

As had occurred in the 1870 exhibition, the Japanese court primarily featured decorative arts. The only slight criticism levelled at Japanese artists was the treatment of the human figure, where "... [the Japanese artist] has an imperfect way of treating the human form, and his use of the conventional type of Japanese figure is not at all to be admired". Direct comparison was drawn between west and east with comment which placed the Japanese artist in a slightly inferior position to his European counterpart, "... nevertheless they cannot be considered good imitators of European art", however, their use of light and shade was seen to show "... improvement in these respects". Great stress, however, was accorded to Japanese originality, moderation and integration of ornamentation and harmony of colour and design. Of particular interest was the perceived importance of line:

Nothing can, however, exceed in beauty of outline his delineation of birds, butterflies, fishes, and flowers⁴⁹.

The Official Record of the exhibition noted the reports and awards of judges. A number of companies and individual artists⁵⁰ were successful in gaining 'First degree of

⁴⁸ *Sydney International Exhibition 1879, an exhibition celebrating the Centenary of the Sydney International Exhibition*, Renee Free, Patricia McDonald, Linda Young, John Wade, Trustees of the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, Sydney 1979.

⁴⁹ source: Richards 1 (1880), op. cit., pp. 101-103.

⁵⁰ In alphabetical order (the spelling of Japanese names as given in the Official Record):
 Goto Shozaburo [sic], Yokohama, cloisonné ware
 Hio-Chi-Yen-Sha, Tokio [sic], painted porcelain
 Insatsu Kioku, Government Printing Office, Tokio [sic], papers
 Insatsu Kioku, Government Printing Office, Tokio [sic], engraved work
 Isogaya Risanji, Shidzoka [sic], lacquer ware
 Japanese Collective Exhibit of Bronzes, &c, bronzes, carvings in wood and ivory, &c.
 Keishikioku, Tokio [sic], collection of porcelain
 Koransha, Hizen, [porcelain] flower vases
 Koransha, Hizen, paintings on porcelain

Merit' commendations with the judges making a recommendation for Japan under the 'Department IV - Art' category, Sculpture for the "Collective Exhibit of Moulding and Sculpture of Animal Life, Cast and Chiselled Work, in Bronze, Carving in Wood and Ivory, Modelling in Plastic Materials" with a 1st Award (special)⁵¹.

Mitsui Bussan Kuwaisha, Kiritsu Kosho Kuwaisha, Tokio [sic], china, earthenware
 Mitsui Bussan Kuwaisha, Kiritsu Kosho Kuwaisha, Tokio [sic], screens
 Mitsui Bussan Kuwaisha, Kiritsu Kosho Kuwaisha, Tokio [sic], upholstering silk
 Miyagawa Kozan, Ota [sic], porcelain, faience
 Miyagawa Kozan, Ota [sic], paintings on enamel
 Myagawa Chojiro & Saito Kiuosuke, Tokio [sic], pipes, buttons
 Nakamura Seijiro [sic], Osaka, photographs
 Notomi Kaijiro, Tokio [sic], ornamental porcelain
 Okura & Co., Tokio [sic], bronze ware
 Ori Dono, Kioto [sic], silk handkerchiefs
 Oshima Shosha, Shimotsuke [sic], cocoons, raw silk
 Ota Mankichi, Tokio [sic], wood and lacquered furniture
 Ota Mankichi, Tokio [sic], lacquer ware
 Saito Zenbei, Tokio [sic], bronze ware
 Sasaki, Taketsuna, Nagasaki, needlework
 Seichiro Hayashi, Tokio [sic], tissue paper
 Seimu Kioku, Chemical Laboratory, Kioto [sic], cloisonné ware
 Shinsha (Shin-Shio-Sha), Osaka, silk rug
 Shippo Kuwaisha [sic], Nagoya, ornamental porcelain
 Shippo Kuwaisha [sic], Nagoya, cloisonné ware
 Takeya Seizo, Tokio [sic], tobacco pouches
 Takeya Seizo, Tokio [sic], imitation leather
 Wooyemura Sanjiro, Tokio [sic], enamelled and coloured papers
 Yoshida Yasubei & Murakami Torajiuro, Kioto [sic], bronze ware.

⁵¹ The Official Awards moved the judges to note the following:
 "Japan - ... We consider, however, that it is within our functions to express our opinion of the unrivalled excellence in the moulding and sculpture of natural objects, and particularly of animal life, shown throughout the exhibits of this Court. For cast and chiselled work in bronze, carving in wood and Ivory, and modelling in Plastic materials, we recommend that the highest distinction of the first degree be awarded. We are unable to specify by name the artists of the greatest merit, and, therefore, recommend the award in favour of the Exhibition as a whole.

E. du Faur, Chairman

A. Ballieu

W. Forde

W.J. Stephens

Henry Wise

C.H. Woolcott

W. Wallis

Sydney, 22nd March, 1880."

source: *Official Awards: the Sydney International Exhibition 1879*, Gibbs, Shallard & Co., Sydney (1880), p. 325.

As the co-authors wrote one hundred years later in 1979, "At the end of the Exhibition the entire display of ceramics was presented to the Art Gallery of NSW; some are still to be seen there"⁵². A contemporaneous report by the Executive Commissioner detailed the circumstances of the presentation in 1880:

Among the many interesting events which took place about this time was the presentation of a valuable collection of Japanese exhibits to the Colony by Mr Haruo Sakata, the Imperial Japanese Commissioner. This extremely valuable collection consisted of samples of ceramics-ware of every description, from that in common use to the most rare and costly productions for which Japan is famed; richly carved and inlaid cabinets, &c.; also an interesting collection of seeds of Japanese economic plants. The Colonial Secretary (Sir Henry Parkes, K.C.M.G.) attended in person and accepted the present of this collection, and conveyed the thanks of the Government to the Japanese Commission for these rare and valuable gifts⁵³.

In addition to the Japanese court, there was a Japanese tea house located on the Fig Tree Avenue promenade (now marked by the Cahill Expressway)⁵⁴, while visitors to the court itself were provided with a cup of Japanese tea:

... and last, but not least, the fragrant cup of tea which was provided for the delectation of visitors to this court led to its being a favourite corner with Exhibition visitors⁵⁵.

⁵² The catalogue notes that some of the collection, although presented by the Executive Commissioner to the Art Gallery of New South Wales, was transferred to the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences (now the Powerhouse) in 1924.
source: Free, McDonald, Young, Wade (1979), op. cit., p. 17.

⁵³ 'Report of the Executive Commissioner', *Official Record of the Sydney International Exhibition 1879*, Thomas Richards, Sydney 1881, p. lxxiv.

⁵⁴ Free, McDonald, Young, Wade (1979), loc. cit.

⁵⁵ *Official Record of the Sydney International Exhibition 1879*, Thomas Richards, Sydney 1881, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxv. The custom of promoting attendance at events through the 'fragrant cup of tea' was a tactic used by several entrepreneurs - namely, Mei Guangda (Quong Tart), Sydney importer and tearoom owner and Pemberton W. Willard, manager of the Japanese Village.

The Official Catalogue of the Japanese court was divided into several similar groupings with decorative arts listed under both 'Manufactures' and 'Art'. Sub-departments included groupings in the fields of ceramics, pottery, porcelain, glass, furniture, and items for general domestic and architectural use⁵⁶. In all eighty-eight exhibitors

56 Japan

Department II, pp. 6-16

Manufactures Group - Ceramics, Pottery, Porcelain, &c.

Cat. 6-102 (edited, the spelling of Japanese names as given in the Official Catalogue):

- 6 Mankichi Ota, Tokio
- 7 Rikichi Nakamura, Tokio
- 8 Kozan Miyagawa, Ota near Yokohama
- 9 Yenji Nishi-Wooru, Mino
- 10 Mitsui Bussan Kuwaisha, Kiritsu Kosho Kuwaisha and Okura & Co.
- 11 S. Notomi, Tokio
- 12 Shippo Kuwaisha, Nagoya, Owari
- 13 Nio-Chi-Yen-Sha, Tokio
- 14 Den-Shichi Kanzan, Kioto
- 15 Dohachi Takahashi, Kioto
- 16 Roku-bei Shimiddu, Kioto
- 17 Kitei Waki, Kioto
- 18 Sobei Kinkozan, Kioto
- 19 Yei Zaburo Wooyeno, Kioto
- 20 Sobei Shimada, Osaka
- 21 Toyo Suke Shito, Osaka
- 22 Kitei Fukuda, Tokio
- 23 Koransha, Hizen
- 24a T.T. Sasaki, Nagasaki
- 24b Hoyen Matsumoto, Tokio

included: earthenware, porcelain, table ware, vases, tea and coffee sets, ornamental pieces, pots, jars, basins etc.

Group - Glass and glassware

- 25 Shozaburo Ito, Osaka basins, cups etc.

Group - Furniture and objects of general use and construction of dwellings

- 26 Risanji Issogaya, Suruga
- 27 Kinosuke Saito, Tokio
- 28 Mitsui Bussan Kuwaisha, Kiritsu Kosho Kuwaisha and Okura & Co.
- 29 Kanbei Kubota, Kioto
- 30 Yeizaburo Wooyeno, Kioto
- 31 Torajiro Murakami, Kioto
- 32 Mankichi Ota, Tokio
- 33 Koshichi Hori, Osaka
- 34 Yosaburo Muro, Tokio
- 35 Local government of Nagasaki-ken
- 36 T.T. Sasaki, Nagasaki

were listed⁵⁷ amongst which was the potter Miyagawa Kōzan⁵⁸ and the company Shippō Kaisha⁵⁹.

included: lacquered furniture, cabinets, folding screens, trays, cases, canisters, frames, bamboo ware, embroidery etc. also other groups incorporating: ivory ware, fans, umbrellas, toys, bronze castings, wooden ware

Department IV, pp. 19-20

Art

Cat. 105-116 (edited)

- 105 Zenbei Saito, Tokio; bronze and brass wares
- 106 Shippo Kuwaisha, Owari; carvings in wood and ivory cups, carved and lined with silver
- 107 T.T. Sasaki, Nagasaki; oil painting
- 108 Nobori Nakagawa, Tokio; pictures on plates of copper
- 109 Kinosuke Saito, Tokio; albums of xylographical pictures
- 110 Saijiro Nakamura, Osaka; photographs
- 111 Shippo Kuwaisha, Owari; inlaid work in bamboo and metals

included: cloisonné enamel on brass bowls, with cover &c., collection of old cloisonné enamelled flower vases, jars &c. lacquer work in imitation of cloisonné enamel

- 112 Mitsui Bussan Kuwaisha, Kiritsu Kosho Kuwaisha and Okura & Co.; cloisonné enamel on bronze, flower vases, ash-pans &c.
- 113 Kozan Miyagawa, Ota near Yokohama; decorative porcelain and faience, painted, carved and embossed
- 114 Zenbei Saito, Tokio; inlaid work in bronze, cloisonné enamel on bronze, flower vases and plates
- 115 Shozaburo Goto, Yokohama; cloisonné enamel on bronze - flower vases, plates, tablets and napkin-rings
- 116 T.T. Sasaki, Nagasaki; gold and silver inlaid work in wooden flower vases.

sources: *Sydney International Exhibition 1879*, op. cit.; *Sydney International Exhibition 1879: Official Catalogue of Exhibits, Japanese Court*, John Sands, Sydney 1879.

⁵⁷ *Official Catalogue of Exhibits, Japanese Court, 1879*, op. cit., pp. 1-3.

⁵⁸ Miyagawa Kōzan (1842-1916), "... a significant potter who came from a traditional Kyōto family but lent his principal endeavours to ceramics for export at Yokohama. He received great acclaim at the Philadelphia Fair of 1876 for his sculptured ceramics and pottery in the Satsuma style, and continued to produce important work throughout the Meiji era".

source: *Japanese arts & crafts in the Meiji era*, Centenary Culture Council Series, vol. VIII, Naoteru Uyeno, English adaption by Richard Lane, Pan-Pacific Press, Tokyo 1958.

The judges in Sydney singled out his work as "... the finest collection of porcelain and earthenware in the Japanese Court, ... The designs are new, and very attractive, the decorations being of very high artistic merit, the paintings though odd and bizarre, are executed with great care ... A great many of the ornamental pieces would grace any museum".

Southeast Asia was represented by the Straits Settlement court [fig. 49], with works lent by His Highness the Maharajah of Johore, Inche Mahomed Syed of Singapore and His Highness the Sultan of Selangor, Malaya. These included sarongs, slippers, sandals, bamboo hats; a collection of jewellery in gold and silver worn by Malay women, kris, ornaments, embroidery, boxes and native arms⁶⁰.

In a similar critical analysis of work by resident Chinese in Australia compared with Japanese entries (compare the review of the Sydney Intercolonial Exhibition of 1870 mentioned earlier), *Notes on the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879* provided a summary of the New South Wales furniture exhibits:

... Some cumbersome pieces of cedar furniture consisting of a wardrobe and other articles, are shown by a Chinese maker, but the goods cannot be commended either for elegance or good workmanship⁶¹.

By 1882, a visitor from Australia to Japan had already made enlightened comments on the representation of Japanese exhibitors at the 1879 exhibition. In hindsight, John Stanley James (1843-1896), who published in the *Argus* (Melbourne), under the pseudonym 'The Vagabond', or 'Julian Thomas', was not impressed by what he saw. There was for him a discernible difference between work produced in Japan

⁵⁹ This company was founded in 1868 as Shippô Kuwaisha of Owari, and traded under the new name Cloisonné (Shippô) Company of Nagoya from 1871. The company contributed entries to both the Sydney (1879) and Melbourne (1880) International Exhibitions. source: 'Chronologie', *Le Japonisme* (1988), op. cit., pp. 60-123.

⁶⁰ *Straits Settlement Court International Exhibition Sydney 1879, Official Catalogue of Exhibits*, printed for the Straits Settlement Commission, Foster & Fairfax, Sydney 1879, pp. 10-11.

⁶¹ Kevin Fahey, Christina Simpson, Andrew Simpson (1985), op. cit., p. 217.

(for local or foreign consumption) and that seen exhibited in Australia:

In 'Curio-street' I see the names of many firms who made a display at the Sydney International [Exhibition of 1879], and find out that we were pretty considerably cheated by their representatives there⁶².

and further:

What a distance between these naked savages [at Nagasaki] and the smart young gentlemen who, in lacquered boots and store clothes, every detail of their apparel European, made such a display of themselves and their amiability at late international exhibitions [Sydney 1879 and Melbourne 1880-1881]. Two such extremes as Mr. ____, my Sydney acquaintance, who made such good speeches on public occasions, and these tattooed boatmen, both belonging to the same city, Nagasaki, ...⁶³.

The 1880-1881 Melbourne International Exhibition [fig. 50]⁶⁴ again had direct representation from Japan in the form of eight Imperial Japanese Commissioners⁶⁵ in addition to the services of "A. Marks Esq., Consul for Japan" [figs 51, 52, 53]⁶⁶. Only three of the eight named were present in Melbourne. These were Kawase Hideharu, Commissioner-

⁶² *Argus* (Melbourne), 18 February 1882, p. 4, "Notes from Japan", no. VII.

⁶³ *Argus* (Melbourne), 7 January 1882, p. 4, "Notes from Japan", no. I.

⁶⁴ The Melbourne International Exhibition was shown between 1 October 1880 and 30 April 1881 at the Exhibition Building, Carlton Gardens with an attendance of 1,330,279 (variants 1,309,496; 1,485,896) visitors from a population of 862,346.

⁶⁵ The Japanese Commissioners were: President; His Excellency, Matsukata Masayoshi, Minister of the Home Department; Commissioner-General; Kawase Hideharu, Secretary to the Finance Department and Director of the Board of Trade; Commissioners; Tanaka Yoshio, Hashimoto Masato, Home Department; Suzuki Toshinobu, Yamataka Nobuakira, Tokuda Toshihiko, Finance Department; and Attaché; Kida Torao.
Official Catalogue of Japanese Exhibits for the Melbourne International Exhibition 1880, Mason, Firth & McCutcheon, Melbourne 1880, [n.p.].

⁶⁶ *Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880-1881: Official Record*, Mason, Firth & McCutcheon, Melbourne 1882, p. 13.

General; Tokuda Toshihiko, Commissioner; and Kida Torao, Attaché. David Sissons alluded to further economic ties between the visiting Japanese and the business world in Melbourne:

Another early contact was the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1880-1881, at which a Japanese delegation mounted an exhibit. Two of the members, Akiyama Teiji and Tokuta [sic] Toshihiko, stayed on after the Exhibition to set up business as importers next door to Young & Jackson's Hotel in Melbourne. Their venture unfortunately did not succeed⁶⁷.

The implied bias towards trade rather than that of a display of arts and crafts is borne out by examination of the catalogue entries⁶⁸. The decorative arts reduced to some sixty⁶⁹ of a total of over one hundred and sixty

⁶⁷ *Episodes: A glimpse of Australia-Japan relations 1859-1979*, D.C.S. Sissons, Eric White Associates under the auspices of the Embassy of Japan in Australia, Canberra (1979), p. 6. Akiyama and Tokuda used the trade-name 'Akita' in this enterprise.

⁶⁸ The *Official Catalogue of Japanese Exhibits* (1880) stated on p. 1 for the 'First Group: Works of Art' that there were "(No Exhibits under this Group)" - all entries were placed in the 'Second Group: Education and Instruction: Apparatus and Processes of the Liberal Arts'.

⁶⁹ *Japanese Exhibits*

pp. 571-573 (edited, in alphabetical order, the spelling of Japanese names as given in the Official Catalogue):

Class 20 - Pottery

Akiyama, T., Tokio [sic]; porcelain flower vases, coffee sets, jars
Fukuda, T., Osaka; tea cups

Hiochiyen, Tokio [sic]; porcelain flower vases

Kiriu-Kosho Kuwaisha and Akiyama, T., Tokio [sic]; porcelain flower vases, tea sets, cloisonné enamel on bronze

Kōransha, Yokohama; Arita porcelain bowls, flower vases, plates, cups

Maru, Y., Tokio [sic]; Banco earthenware teapots, censers and saucers

Marunaka, M., Kanazawa; porcelain censers and vases

Miyagawa, K., Yokohama; flower vases

Shippou Kuwaisha, Nagoya; cloisonné enamel on porcelain tea sets,
cloisonné enamel on bronze jars and flower vases

Yedogawa Seitousho, Tokio [sic]; porcelain flower vases, coffee cups,
jars, bowls, jugs

Class 21 - Carpets, Tapestry, and other Stuffs for Furniture

Kiriu-Kosho Kuwaisha and Akiyama, T., Tokio [sic]; cotton carpeting
and matting

Mitani, O., Osaka; cotton carpeting

Mitsui & Co., Tokio [sic]; silk carpeting

Class 22 - Paperhangings

entries - the greater portion of which was focused on natural and manufactured products for consumption and trade⁷⁰. Contemporary accounts dwell on the educative

Government Printing Office, Tokio [*sic*]; paper imitation of leather
Inouye, G., Osaka; printed paperhangings
Kiri-Kosho Kuwaisha and Akiyama, T., Tokio [*sic*]; paperhangings and
artistic papers
Tani, M., Osaka; printed paperhangings

Class 25 - Bronzes and various Art Castings and Repousse Work
Kiri-Kosho Kuwaisha and Akiyama, T., Tokio [*sic*]; copper and bronze
vases, inlaid bronze ware, iron tea kettles and incense burners
Kiri-Kosho Kuwaisha, Tokio [*sic*]; copper and bronze vases, inlaid
with gold and silver
Marunaka, M., Kanazawa; inlaid bronze ware, censers and ornamental
tablets
Okumura, A., Ohmi [*sic*]; bronze ware, tea and water pots
Saito, Z., Tokio [*sic*]; silver cups, embossed iron and bronze ware
Sanseisha, Tokio; embossed bronze ware, flower vases and ornamental
articles
Shoami, Y., Okayama; bronze and silver ware, flower vases and ash pans

Class 27 - Apparatus and process for heating and lighting
Kiri-Kosho Kuwaisha and Akiyama, T., Tokio [*sic*]; Japanese lanterns
and lamps

Class 29 - Leather work, Fancy articles and Basket work
Arai, H., Tokio [*sic*]; lacquered ware, ornamental cabinets and tablets
Imai, K., Osaka; flower vase stands
Kiri-Kosho Kuwaisha, Tokio [*sic*]; lacquered ware, ornamental cabinets
Kiri-Kosho Kuwaisha and Akiyama, T., Tokio [*sic*]; fancy lacquered
ware, articles of wood, ivory, tortoise shell and straw
Minoda, C., Yokohama; lacquered ware, ornamental cabinet, fan
Nakagawa, S., Wakasa; agate studs and handles for walking sticks
Nishiwaki, C., Wakasa; lacquered cigarette cases
Nishimura, T., Ohmi [*sic*]; baskets, cigar cases made from Wisteria
bark
Ohseki, S., Yokohama; lacquered ware, ivory fans, boxes
Ohta, M., Tokio [*sic*]; inlaid ornamental cabinet tablets, lacquered
trays
Seikōsha, Tokio [*sic*]; lacquered ware, ornamental boxes
Shioda, M., Tokio [*sic*]; engraved ornamental boxes and trays
Yanada, W., Osaka; baskets

Class 35 - Shawls
Kiri-Kosho Kuwaisha and Akiyama, T., Tokio [*sic*]; silk shawls
Shiino, S., Yokohama; embroidered silk shawls

Other comparable classes included: cotton and silk textiles, bamboo
blinds, fans, kites, toys and examples of dyeing
source: *Official Catalogue of Japanese Exhibits*.

⁷⁰ Mason, Firth & McCutcheon (1880), op. cit., pp. 1-17.

components of the display and advances in technology which had given rise to perceived 'progress':

Adjoining this court, and on the same side, is the Japanese Court, where the many very curious wares and products of Japan will be found in profusion. The attendants speak English well, and are always courteous and willing to give information, or to point out the special features of their wares.

The Japanese Court contains a large collection of porcelain and silk wares, and has also a number of splendid specimens of educational appliances, and of maps, drawings, and other school work, which show the progress this singular country has made since Europeans and European manners and customs have been introduced⁷¹.

As if to address this imbalance in display, a Mr Singleton lent a collection of Japanese art works for the duration of the exhibition⁷². Incorporated in text which described the court was a direct comparison between Chinese and Japanese artists:

... In all the choicer exhibits to be found in the Japanese court, as well as in the collection displayed by Mr. Singleton, you meet with continual evidences that the art-workman has looked at nature with ingenuous freshness and naivete of feeling, with a simple and unsophisticated admiration of her infinitely various forms and manifestations, ...

The points of difference between the two [Chinese and Japanese ceramics] have been well defined by an American writer on the subject, Miss J.J. Young, who says:- '... While the Chinese degraded the art by degrading the artists, the best and noblest Japanese were themselves artists. ...

The Japanese give us the creations of individual men, who bring their own marvellous industrial skill to the expression of their own ideas.'

Having noticed that the Japanese court in the Exhibition has scarcely received the attention it deserves from visitors, and that many of those who do enter pass over its extremely interesting contents with

⁷¹ *Massina's popular guide to the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1880-1*, Robert P. Whitworth, Melbourne 1880, pp. 110-111.

⁷² This display featured Kyoto porcelain, Banko and Satsuma ware, iron tea kettles, and metal mirrors.

a listless cursory, and somewhat superficial glance, I have selected some of its choicer exhibits for comment and analysis, because I look upon them as possessing a special and exceptional value in connection with art industry and art education⁷³.

According to the *Age*⁷⁴, the "chief object of attraction [in the Japanese court] is the porcelain and earthenware" with further praise lavished on the lacquer and "drawingroom screens [which] are very handsome and are embroidered with silk thread on a beautiful silk ground". In a review of the court, emphasis was placed on both the artistry and taste of the craftspersons who produced the bronzes, ceramics, and lacquer⁷⁵.

Subtle, yet distinctive titles labelled the Japan court as 'Major', while China was listed as the 'Minor Court'⁷⁶. This was not surprising given the state of the waning Qing dynasty with the country wracked by political intrigue and an economy verging on total collapse⁷⁷.

⁷³ 'The Japanese exhibits and Japanese art', J.S. [James Smith]. *Argus* (Melbourne), 5 March 1881, p. 4.

⁷⁴ 'India and the East', *Age* (Melbourne), 1 October 1880, p. 9. Although several of the exhibitions included material from India, it is immediately apparent from articles, reviews and pictorial sources that it was Japan which occupied the attention of the Australian populace. This in spite of Britain's imperial presence in India and obviously strong ties with the Australian colonies.

⁷⁵ See 'The Japanese Court' *Illustrated Australian News* (Melbourne), 19 January 1880, p. 11.

⁷⁶ The 'Introduction to the General Exhibits' gives an alternate argument for the disparity between China and Japan: "The Japanese left the Chinese far behind them in the arts of decoration and design. The Chinese gave a low place to their artists, making the art a purely mechanical one, and dividing the manufacture of the ornament among several workmen. The Japanese loved his art; his position was assured, and he inherited his skill from generations of artistic ancestry." source: *Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880-1881: Official Record*, Mason, Firth & McCutcheon, Melbourne 1882, p. cxxii.

⁷⁷ "The little Chinese Court occupied a space in the northern transept, but the display was very disappointing ... [the Chinese] have not the cosmopolitan spirit of the Japanese, but prefer a monopoly on their arts and industries to progressive competition with foreign nations."

The Straits Settlements [fig. 54, 55] were represented by a "... little court [which] contained some photographs of native groups, as well as views of Malacca, native towns, and Singapore"⁷⁸ in addition to models of trading vessels, Malay houses and a variety of Malay weapons⁷⁹.

A summation in table form clarifies the relative participation of the three Asian contributions:

	Exhibitors	Exhibits
Japan	168	420 ⁸⁰
China	20	50 ⁸¹
Straits Settlements	97	252 ⁸² ⁸³

In addition to the courts there was a wooden Burmese structure erected outside the Exhibition Building in Carlton Gardens which, at the closure of the exhibition was acquired by a private individual, Henry Henty Esq., and transported to the grounds of his residence at Kew. He referred to it when interviewed for a publication which highlighted the residences of the social elite in Victoria some years later⁸⁴.

source: Mason, Firth & McCutcheon (1882), p. cxxiii.

⁷⁸ Mason, Firth & McCutcheon (1882), op. cit., p. xcix.

⁷⁹ See review 'The Melbourne Exhibition: The Straits Settlements Court', *Australasian Sketcher* (Melbourne), 18 December 1880, p. 208. Items detailed included a display of gold ornaments from the Sultan of Selangor, "a good collection of native weapons" exhibited by Mr (later) Sir Frank Athelstane Swettenham, models of shipping craft and miscellaneous natural products.

⁸⁰ Detailed: Mason, Firth & McCutcheon (1882), op. cit., pp. 571-573.

⁸¹ Detailed: Mason, Firth & McCutcheon (1882), op. cit., p. 574.

⁸² Detailed: Mason, Firth & McCutcheon (1882), op. cit., pp. 625-626.

⁸³ Table adapted from Mason, Firth & McCutcheon (1882), op. cit., p. li.

⁸⁴ Henry Henty, Esq., at *Tarring*, Kew, refer Footnote 37, chapter 2, *Australian Taste and Asia: 1850s to 1890s*.

In late 1881, Prince Albert and Prince George (later King George V) visited Japan as midshipmen on HMS *Bacchanate* following a visit to the Australian colonies earlier the same year. The two young royal visitors were disappointed they could not attend the exhibitions in either Melbourne or Adelaide, but were shown the existing exhibition buildings in the respective capitals with some degree of pride and were informed of the important contributions the colonies had made to international trade. After sailing from Sydney and on arrival in Japan, the princes presented the young Meiji Emperor and Empress with a gift which must have promoted consciousness of the colonial country to the south by now recognised, as indeed was Japan, as a developing nation. The entry for Oct. 25th. [1881] read:

... Eddy [Prince Albert to the Empress Haruko] asked her to accept two wallabies⁸⁵ which we had brought in the *Bacchanate* from Australia. ... These, he thought, by their strangeness would amuse her, more especially as they were the first which had ever landed in Japan, and go well with the other tame animals she had in the garden. At this she seemed much pleased ...⁸⁶.

The participation of East Asia decreased in succeeding exhibitions, with entries in the 1887-1888 Adelaide Jubilee

⁸⁵ In another section of volume II the animals are referred to as the "kangaroo[s]" which had been given in Sydney (in July 1881). If this was the case, they remained on board the vessel until presented in Tokyo in late October the same year. According to the diary entries, they became firm favourites of the princes and were given the freedom of the *Bacchanate*.

⁸⁶ *The cruise of Her Majesty's Ship 'Bacchanate' 1879-1882*, vols I, II compiled from the private journals, letters and notebooks of Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales with additions by John N. Dalton, Macmillan and Co., London 1886, [vol. II, pp. 31-32]. The wallabies were later transferred to the Ueno Zoological Gardens, Tokyo then in the process establishing a collection.
source: correspondence, Momota Kazuo to the author, 28 May 1991.

A substantial section of volume II which was titled 'The East', is given to the description of formal engagements and sightseeing by the two young men in Tokio [*sic*], Yokohama, Kamakura, Kyoto [*sic*], Nara, Kobe and later in China, Hong-kong [*sic*], Singapore and the Middle East.

International Exhibition⁸⁷ limited to British North Borneo, Manila, Singapore and Johore⁸⁸. As had occurred in 1880 with the Japanese works in Sydney, the generosity of the Sultan of Johore was evident in the presentation of the entire court to the state at the close of the exhibition⁸⁹.

Writing about the seeming incongruity of the participation of these smaller countries, the co-authors of an article discovered the link between trade, altruism and the reality beneath the surface of this particular display at the Adelaide international exhibition:

Curiosities at the Exhibition were the miniature displays staged by out-of-the-way places east of Suez: the Seychelles, Manila, Fiji, British North Borneo, and Johore. The explanation for the representation of some of these waifs and strays appears to be the energy of their trade representatives. In the case of Johore the reason was a little more complicated. Ostensibly the Sultan of that little princely state in Malaya was demonstrating his benevolent rule and contribution to

⁸⁷ The Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition was shown between 20 June 1887 and 17 January 1888 at the Exhibition Buildings, Frome Road with an attendance of 789,672 (variants 753,592, 766,880 and 767,000) visitors from a population of 309,820.

⁸⁸ The Johore court included: a model of a Malay house and sailing craft, lacquer ware, weapons, musical instruments, brass vessels and textiles in addition to natural products and Malay tools. Works from this court need to be identified within the collection of the South Australian Museum, Adelaide, where inquiries indicate they are still preserved but are unexhibited.

⁸⁹ "The State derived very considerable benefit from the Jubilee Exhibition and the Museum profited greatly. The Sultan of Johore had sent a splendid collection of Malayan products, including a complete series of ethnographical objects. These, through the South Australian Government, were presented to the Museum Committee; 150 pieces were retained and a goodly proportion, consisting mainly of woods and vegetable products were handed to the Botanic Gardens Board for their museum. As a mark of appreciation a specially bound and embossed album of photographs was prepared, after a great deal of bother and discussion, and was sent to the Sultan as a mark of appreciation. [sic repeated text] The photographs included two views of the Malayan Court, and eight of the exhibition as a whole, 14 pictures of Adelaide, 24 of South Australia, seven of the far-north, and 13 of cattle and sheep."

source: "The first hundred years of the South Australian Museum 1856-1956", Hale, Herbert M., *Records of the South Australian Museum*, vol. 12, 1956, p. 64.

progress. In fact, an Australian named Meldrum got the exhibit together in order to procure a platform from which to sell his private schemes for importing Chinese labour to South Australia's Northern Territory. 'Of course', Meldrum argued, 'it is unpalatable to see them competing with European labour[;] but where the European cannot or will not work, their services naturally enough[,] are utilized. God made the Chinese, and we must do something with them'^{90.91}

Sydney during the first half of 1888 staged the Centenary Universal Exhibition⁹² in answer to Melbourne's planned contribution to the centennial year which did not open until August of the same year. Although little acknowledged, the Sydney exhibition was in a sense 'international', incorporating 'Foreign Courts' amongst which, was an 'Oriental Court' which featured "Japanese art productions furnished by C.J.J. Browne and Co."⁹³.

The last great exhibition in the nineteenth century to include Asian entries was the 1888-1889 Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne⁹⁴ and included courts devoted to China, Japan, North Borneo and incorporated a special Chinese Armament court. The government of Japan was not officially represented by indigenous commissioners, but there was a local commissioner appointed, Alexander Marks (1838-1919)⁹⁵, Honorary Consul for Japan in

⁹⁰ *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 14 and 21 June 1887 and *Register* (Adelaide), 1 July 1887, p. 6.

⁹¹ Carmel McKeough, and Norman Etherington, John Playford, (editor), "Jubilee 50", *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia, Incorporated*, number 12, 1984, p. 16.

⁹² The Centenary Universal Exhibition was shown between 14 March 1888 and 14 May 1888 at the Exhibition Building, Prince Alfred Park, Sydney.

⁹³ The 'art productions' included: bronzes, teapots of Cahgo [sic] Kaga[?] (Ishikawa) ware, "ancient dishes" of Satsuma ware, inlaid wooden cabinets and "curios too numerous to mention in detail". source: *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 16 March 1888, p. 4.

⁹⁴ The Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne was shown between 1 August 1888 and 31 January 1889 at the Exhibition Building, Carlton Gardens with an attendance of 2,003,593 visitors.

⁹⁵ Alexander Marks

Melbourne⁹⁶. The 'Introduction to the Japanese Court' commenced with the statement, "Those familiar with the curiosities of the Japanese shops planted in the chief cities of Australia⁹⁷ will be prepared for the general coup d'oeil of the Japanese Court", and continued in a rather patronising tone:

High art was successfully cultivated by the people of Japan thousands of years before the recent adoption by them of a European regime in manufactures, education, and style of living. ...

It is a similar sentiment [seldom seen equalled] that possesses us as we look up and down the Japanese Court. The splendid variety of vases, bronzed and lacquered work, the choice carving of cabinets inlaid with diverse materials, the miniature *jinrikishas* [sic], the mimic rockeries, trees, lakes, gardens, dwelling-houses, and temples; ... the mats, screens, *hibatchis*

(b.1838, arr. Australia 1841, d. 1919)
 Consul-General for Japan in Australasia; 1859 arrived in Yokohama, Japan as a merchant; 1861-1870 General Commission Agent, Yokohama (Auctioneers, Brokers, General Importers); 1872 returned to Melbourne; in November 1879 appointed Honorary Japanese Consul for Victoria, referred to as Consul Marks, 98 Queen Street, Melbourne (1879-1902).
 source: *A biographical register 1788-1939*, notes from the name index of the Australian dictionary of biography, H.J. Gibbney and Ann G. Smith, Australian National University, Canberra 1987.

"This was one of the earliest Japanese consulates in the British Empire, preceded only by Hong Kong (1873), London (1876) and Singapore (1879). Marks also exercised consular jurisdiction over the other Australian colonies as necessary until the appointment of career consuls in Townsville (1896) and Sydney (1897)."
 source: *Sissons* (1979), op. cit., p. 18.

⁹⁶ *Official Record of the Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888-1889*, containing a sketch of the industrial and economic progress of the Australasian colonies during the first century of their existence: and of the exhibition held in Melbourne, Victoria, to commemorate the close of that period: also records of the manner in which the work of the different sections was carried out, the official awards of the Executive Commissioners, the catalogue of exhibits, together with sundry illustrations, &c., &c. published by authority of the Executive Commissioners, Sands & McDougall Limited, Melbourne 1890, p. 13.

⁹⁷ By this date several Japanese import firms were operating in the colonial capitals, one participated in the exhibition itself: "Numashima, Jirobei, 91 Elizabeth-street, Melbourne - General productions of Japan". source: *ibid.* (1890), p. 481. "J. Numashima's Fine Art Exhibition ... Antique & Modern Fine Art Curios. Carved wood art furniture a speciality" of 11 Kitanaka Dori, Yokohama also advertised in Murray's handbook for Japan, 1899.

[sic], and lamps, all combine to make us hope that the native race will follow the eclectic plan of extracting what is good from the science, art, and industries of Western peoples without permitting to fall into decadence their own national ideas of beauty and truth.

...

A true Japanese artist never repeats himself, and consequently, as is the case with Doulton's decorated ware, he never makes an exact pair of any articles. But modern articles, in so-called civilised countries, are too often merely monotonous repetitions of each other, turned out not only in pairs, but by the dozen and the hundred⁹⁸.

Despite the allusion to 'high art', Japan, as on other occasions, was represented in the category of 'Education and Instruction: Apparatus and Processes of the Liberal Arts', and not in the Fine Arts departments. Although art galleries, courts and annexes were an integral part of these international and intercolonial events, the Australian colonies did not include Asian 'fine art' representation in any of the exhibitions discussed. The recommendations given by judges in Sydney on the 22nd March, 1880 came the nearest to acceptance of Japanese entries as art (refer Footnote 51).

Japanese art, however, was not an unknown quantity. In the Melbourne exhibition of 1888-1889, the critic James Smith drew attention to two volumes on Japanese art⁹⁹ which were displayed as examples of technical virtuosity in the craft of book production¹⁰⁰. Writing from Japan in early 1896,

⁹⁸ Executive Commissioners (1890), op. cit., p. 479.

⁹⁹ The volumes were: *L'art japonais*, Louis Gonse, 2 vols, A. Quantin, Paris, 1883 (folio).

¹⁰⁰ "'Luxurious books'... This has also been employed [the heliogravure process] to admirable purpose in the two folio volumes which M. Louis Gonse has dedicated to a General History of Japanese Art, in all its manifestations, namely painting, architecture, sculptures in bronze and wood, lacquer, metal work, ceramics, embroidery, and engraving. Most of the original designs are by Japanese artists, and their exact reproduction imparts a special interest to this brilliant specimen of the typographic art." 'The Sketcher, Gleanings from the Exhibition', J.S. [James Smith], *Australasian* (Melbourne), 8 September 1888, p. 561.

John Plummer made the following observation with regard to Australian access to books on Japan:

All the recently published works on Japan, especially those by Mr. Henry Norman, have enjoyed extensive sale in Sydney, Melbourne, and elsewhere; and at the public libraries all the leading books of Japanese history, travels, etc., are in ceaseless requisition; ...¹⁰¹.

At the Tasmanian International Exhibition, Launceston, 1891-1892¹⁰²; the Tasmanian International Exhibition, Hobart, 1894-1895¹⁰³; and the Queensland International Exhibition, Brisbane, 1897¹⁰⁴ there were no Asian courts. With the world's attention focused on the collapse of China, the rise of Japan's military might, and Australia's own preoccupation with Federation and the problems and responsibilities of nation-hood, the era of the great international exhibition all but closed in Australia.

Unlike European and American international exhibitions and world fairs which did include Asian painting, sculpture and representation in other fine art fields, Australian exhibit organisers and public alike seemed content with decorative accessories for living.

When viewed in comparison with fairs around the world, the Antipodes showed little interest in the inclusion of the fantastic, exotic and the entertaining (as it pertained to Asia) in the amusement sectors of exhibitions. This can be partially attributed to the recognised and acknowledged importance of trade as the primary motivating force. As an

¹⁰¹ "Australia and Japan", John Plummer MJS, *Japan Weekly Mail* (Tokyo), 4 January 1896, p. 18.

¹⁰² Displayed at the Exhibition Building, Tamar Street, between 25 November 1891 and 22 March 1892 with an attendance of 262,059 visitors from a population of 146,667.

¹⁰³ Displayed at the Exhibition Building, Queen's Domain, between 15 November 1894 and 25 May 1895 with an attendance of 290,000 visitors.

¹⁰⁴ Displayed at the Exhibition Building, Bowen Park, between 5 May 1897 and 14 August 1897 with an attendance of 220,814 visitors.

alternative, the visual world of Asia as portrayed by Australian theatre, augmented by visiting Asian troupes, answered some of these needs (discussed in detail in chapters 6 and 7).

Comparisons in content between Australian and international exhibitions over a similar time scale are included in Registers 2B and 2C as they determine a balance in the presentation of a wide range of the visual arts [figs 56, 57, 58, 59, 60]. Architecture, performance and dance, costumed inhabitants of villages, decorated cafés and restaurants, in addition to the more static displays of objects which, as integral and necessary, provided for both the success of the ventures and lasting impressions of visitors.

6
The Japanese Village in Australia: 1886-1887

Advertised as an 'amusement' in the newspapers of the time, but containing an important educative component directly related to the decorative arts of Japan, the Japanese Village toured Australia to every state capital (with the exception of Perth) in addition to several provincial towns in Victoria and New South Wales during the years 1886 and 1887¹. In April 1887 the village moved to Christchurch, New Zealand.

With art galleries and museums in Australia in their formative years and their collections being founded at precisely this time, it is surprising that so little attention has been given to this display of Japanese arts and crafts by writers² on art movements which were, themselves, making use of this very material as an important reference source³.

This exhibition was seen within a few years of several major international exhibitions which were held in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide⁴. In South Australia, the Japanese

¹ Refer to Appendix 3: The Japanese Village in Australia.

² Mary Eagle in "The mikado syndrome: But was there an Orient in Asia for the Australian 'Impressionist' painters?", pp. 45-63 *Australian Journal of Art, Art Association of Australia*, vol. VI, editor: Margaret Plant, Art Association of Australia, Melbourne 1987, does make reference to the Village on p. 49, and Footnotes 19, 20, and 21 (although mistakenly placed the Village in Sydney during 1888). The Village proper had ceased in Sydney by this time, although some selected members of the company were still performing in Coogee in June 1888.

³ Principally, Aestheticism, Japonisme and Art Nouveau. Other art movements (e.g. Arts and Crafts) in the same period also drew partial inspiration from the arts and crafts of Japan.

⁴ In particular, the 1879-1880 Sydney International Exhibition, 17 September 1879-20 April 1880; the 1880-1881 Melbourne International Exhibition, 1 October 1880-30 April 1881; the 1887-1888 Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition, 20 June 1887-17 January 1888 and the Centenary Universal Exhibition, Sydney 14 March-14 May 1888.

Village was concurrent with, but not an integral part of, the Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition. As visitors to these exhibitions, the general public was cognisant of comparable Japanese wares displayed in the national courts and no doubt were predisposed to the material available at the Village. For further documentation and discussion on Asian participation in international and intercolonial exhibitions within Australia refer to chapter 5.

With the impetus of two inter-related art movements - Aestheticism and Japonisme, the wares were viewed as both desirable and fashionable and were marketed on a shop-front basis. The Japanese Village, however, was unique in that visitors could view native Japanese workers producing a range of art and craft objects which were available for direct sale⁵. The event should not be underestimated as an episode in the cultural life of Australia and as a seminal influence on artists. Mary Eagle has noted that according to his biographer, the musician Percy Grainger (1882-1961) clearly remembered the Village and it was this together with forays into the Chinese quarter of Little Bourke Street, Melbourne, which formulated his interest in Asian music⁶.

The Japanese Village in Australia was not an isolated event. Similar villages enjoyed a world-wide vogue during

⁵ This was not the case in London where, as Olive Checkland pointed out: "But the village was a spectacle, the craft-made items were not for sale: 'It has been thought best[, however,] not to make the affair a bazaar'".

source: *Britain's encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868-1912*, Olive Checkland, Macmillan Press Ltd., Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London 1989, p. 164 quoted from the *Times*, (London), 10 January 1885, p. 6. This was the case in the 'original' village, but when it reopened in December 1885, it was clear from advertisements that work was for sale - some being made to order.

⁶ "He [Grainger] also held fond memories of a visit paid to Melbourne by a group of Japanese artists. On this occasion also he found the musical and painting displays unforgettable."

source: *Percy Grainger*, John Bird, Paul Elek, London 1976, p. 13.

the nineteenth century⁷. Villages were often an integral part of universal international exhibitions, and the distinction between exhibition, culture, theatre, entertainment, circus, or curiosity was often blurred - both in the minds of the promoters and the general public alike [figs 61, 62, 63]. Linkage between events on the opposite side of the world to Australia can not be considered as disparate or totally unrelated. The organiser of the San Francisco Japanese Village (1894), George Turner Marsh, was an Australian⁸ who had arrived in San Francisco in 1876; and the promoter and Managing Director, of the London Japanese Village (1885, and again

⁷ Examples of other similar villages within a similar time frame were:

The Japanese Village, London
Humphrey's Hall, Albert Gate, Hyde Park (Knightsbridge Road)
10 January 1885-2 May 1885
Entrepreneur: Tannaker Buhicrosan, Managing Director

reopened in December 1885 as:
Japan in London
Entrepreneur: Otakesan Buhicrosan, Proprietor

[A Veritable] Japanese Village, Madison Square Garden, New York
opened 1885, Entrepreneur: President, Japanese Village Company,
Frederick H. Deakin

[A Veritable] Japanese Village, Horticultural Halls, Boston
opened 1886, Entrepreneur: President, Japanese Village Company,
Frederick H. Deakin

The Japanese Village, California Midwinter Exposition, San Francisco
opened 1894, Entrepreneur: George Turner Marsh

I gratefully acknowledge the references provided by Aaron M. Cohen,
Tokyo in completing this listing.

⁸ George Turner Marsh
(b. Richmond 1855, dep. Australia 1876 arr. San Francisco 1876, d.
United States 1932)
Opened a Japanese art goods emporium in 1876 (the first in the United
States devoted exclusively to the sale of art goods from Japan) in the
"luxurious Palace Hotel"; moved to 214 Post Street (1900); Van Ness
Avenue (1906); and later to corner Polk and California Streets and
later to 522 Sutter Street. Branches were opened in Santa Barbara
(1923) and Monterey (1928).
source: *The Japanese influence in America*, Clay Lancaster, Abbeville
Press, New York 1983.

1885 to 1887), Tannaker [Tanaka?] Buhicro(san)⁹, had been a performer with a troupe of Japanese entertainers in Australia some eighteen years earlier (1867)¹⁰. Australia was an important participant in these early contacts with Japan and Asia at large through the circle of international promoters in the popular and performing arts.

The inclusion of Japanese in acrobatic performances within Australia was not new. Several troupes of Japanese had toured the eastern states from 1867 onward, commencing with the arrival of the 'Tycoon Troupe' in Melbourne¹¹; then, shortly after, in the same month, the 'Great Dragon Troupe'¹²; followed in 1871 by the 'Satsuma Troupe of Imperial Japan'¹³. Although seen mainly in the capital cities, some groups toured extensively covering wide sweeps of country New South Wales and Victoria¹⁴. Japanese

⁹ Olive Checkland, discusses the London Japanese Village but mistakenly attributes the introduction of the Village to "Tannaker and Buhicrosan", instead of a single person Tannaker (Tanaka?) Buhicro[san] as advertised in the *Illustrated London News* of the day. Checkland (1989), op. cit., pp. 164-165.

¹⁰ See Critic, *Empire* (Sydney), 1 January 1868, p. 2, and 4 January 1868, p. 2; and "Little 'All Right'", David Sissons, Department of International Relations, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra [unpublished article, Sissons to Australian National Gallery], 19 September 1989, 6 pp. (Sissons 2).

¹¹ Performed Royal Haymarket Theatre, Melbourne 18 November to 13 December 1867 before embarking on an extensive tour throughout Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia and later New Zealand. source: correspondence, David Sissons to the author, 19 July 1991.

¹² Performed in Australia 26 December 1867 to 3 October 1868. Advertised as: *Lenton and Smith's Great Novelty for the Colonies - The Great Dragon Troupe of Japanese - 12 Wonders from Yeddo* [sic]. source: Sissons 2 (1989), op. cit.

¹³ Performed in Australia 6 February 1871 to 13 May 1871; variant troupe performed 10 June 1871 to 30 September 1871; with some members appearing as late as April 1873. sources: Sissons 2 (1989) and *Spangles & sawdust: The circus in Australia*, Mark St. Leon, Greenhouse Publications Pty Ltd., Richmond 1983.

¹⁴ The geographical extent and speed with which the performers covered distances to perform in country Australia during these years is amazing. Towns as distant from capitals as Singleton and Maitland;

troupes remained a draw in Australian popular performing arts and associated with circus acts throughout the nineteenth century¹⁵. It is probable, as the need arose, that some performers at the constantly evolving Japanese Village were recruited from troupes already in Australia while others left the Village to perform as individual acts.

In examining the Japanese Village in Australia, it is necessary to investigate initial contacts with regard to the Village itself and the reactions recorded in the press of the day. Unfortunately, to date, no primary pictorial or printed records (photographs, handbills or posters¹⁶) have been located within Australian public collections. Possible examples of the art works manufactured and sold in the village need to be identified in public (or private collections). The interpretative drawings¹⁷ in the

as small as Bega and Cobargo; and as distant from each other as Adelaide and Melbourne were visited with economical itineraries.

¹⁵ In 1879, St.Leon's Circus announced "The Only Troupe of Japanese Wonders!" in Wagga Wagga; and in 1881 'Mons Scho', "The Great Tumbling Party ... A Full Troupe of Japanese" in Hobart. On the same opening day (22 September 1879) in Wagga Wagga, Ashton's, a rival circus offered in direct competition to St.Leon's, "La Perch and Bamboo Performances, by Sacaranawa Decenoski and his son, War-Kitchi Decenoski". In 1881, Ashton's Circus billed "The Wonderful Japanese Athletes, Bungaro, Itch, and Cooma Kitchie" in Moruya (also seen at Bodalla, Cobargo and Bega). Ohmey and Mino Kitchie toured with Wirth's Circus during 1889. By the 1890s, the FitzGerald Circus incorporated "Japanese Juggling by the Godayou Troupe ..." in Melbourne and a "Great Village Troup [sic] of Japanese from the Exhibition, Sydney" appeared with Bernard and St.Leon's Circus in Goulburn in 1891. source: St.Leon (1983) and correspondence, David Sissons to the author, 9 September 1991.

¹⁶ In Hobart, the following quote from the newspaper suggests that lithographed posters were much in evidence: "Japanese Village - On the principal hoardings about the city and its environs are displayed some striking lithographic pictures of the principal feats to be performed at the Japanese Village which the manager, Mr. H.P. Lyons intimates will be opened on Saturday, 15th inst. Judging from these pictures the performance will be of wonderful and exceptional character." *Mercury* (Hobart), 8 January 1887, p. 3.

¹⁷ Artists, Arthur Collingridge [Arthur Collingridge de Tourcey] (1853-1907), Phil May [Philip William May] (1864-1903), and Madame

contemporary illustrated journals and newspapers and detailed accounts contributed by visitors and journalists are the predominant records of this event. Occasionally, these reports incorporated additional commentary other than descriptions of the event itself and focused the readers' attentions on the wider social and political issues which concerned the public of the time. Reporter's comments compared the Chinese and Japanese as possible immigrants to Australia with distinct overtones of the as yet non-formalised White Australia policy, and the relative 'civilised' development of 'our' respective Asian neighbours¹⁸.

The model for the Australian exhibition was unquestionably the Japanese Village which was held in London the previous year (1885) [fig. 64]. This event had been marred by tragedy with the disastrous fire which had destroyed the

Constance Roth (working c.1887-90), contributed drawings to the illustrated newspapers. See:

Illustrated Sydney News, 15 June 1886, p. 4, "An Evening at 'Japan' - Some of the Villagers", (ill.) Arthur Collingridge

Bulletin (Sydney), 1 May 1886, p. 5
 "At the Sydney Japanese Village", "Sketches at the Japs by Phil May"; incorporating: "A Japanese Carpenter; A Knowing Young Jap; A Tea Girl; A Clever Little Jap; A Japanese Head Dress; A Fair Musician; Tasting Tea; Mashine [Missime, Mimshi, Musmee, Musume, see Footnote 23]; A Dancer"
 (ill.) Phil May

Illustrated Sydney News, 16 May 1887, p. 20
 "Sketches at the Japanese Village"
 (ill.) Constance Roth.

¹⁸ See the discussion contained in the article in the *Illustrated Sydney News*, 15 June 1886, p. 3: 'A Japanese Young Man': "... At all events most of us would rather half-a-crown to come and go with their balancing poles and their cardboard houses, than we would, 'free gratis for nothing,' see a whole colony of their near relations, the Chinese settle down in our midst. Japanese nature may be assimilative to ours in a physical sense, but in a thousand different ways the 'Japs' have shown themselves capable of the closest mental alliance. Whilst the Chinese appear many centuries ago to have arrived at a standstill, moral, mental and physical, the Japanese have, during the present generation, evolved more sterling progress than ages of bygone history accords to them."

entire "pretty model of a Japanese village at Kensington" and left one of the woodcarvers, En-nemi dead¹⁹. The "Remodelled and rebuilt on a new and elaborate scale" London Village opened on 2 December 1885 under a banner which also advertised "the new Shebaya built to accommodate fifteen hundred persons". The London version was to exhibit through 1886 into 1887 with almost daily notices on the front page of the *Times*²⁰.

Tannaker [Tanaka?] Buhicro(san), the Managing Director had earlier been in Australia in 1867 as a member of the Tycoon Troupe which had opened at the Royal Haymarket Theatre, Melbourne on the 18 November 1867 and later in Sydney on the 23 December 1867 at the School of Arts²¹. The program had consisted of an assortment of short segments encompassing everything from acrobatics and sword swallowing to concert and dance. A contemporary newspaper review provided a factual description of a relatively unsophisticated performance which when examined contained all the ingredients of the later highly successful villages:

The introductory lecture delivered by Tamaka Buchirosa [sic]²², the interpreter of the Japanese troupe now

¹⁹ *Illustrated London News*, 9 May 1885, pp. 485 and 487 and source: [English translation and adaptation of] *Egakareta Bakumatsu Meiji*, Kanai Madoka, Yūshōdō, Tokyo 1973 (Late Tokugawa and Meiji Japan engraved and described in the *Illustrated London News, 1853-1902*), John Clark, annotated handwritten list of illustrations indexed in chronological order, March 1988, 12 pp. (Clark 1).

The *Times* (London), 15 May 1885, (p. 8), however, reported that Enymi Shellanssuki died in the fire; but earlier (the same newspaper had noted on 8 May 1885, p. 11) that Ename Shekanosuke, 22 years of age, a wood carver and late a native of Yokohama was the victim.

²⁰ The reopening of *Japan in London* is advertised in the *Times* (London), 2 December 1885, p. 1; while on 18 April 1887, p. 1, the advertisement still advertised the 'Theatre Nippon', although the acts by then incorporated a substantial number of white performers.

²¹ The troupe arrived on 14 November 1867 and departed 6 October 1868.
source: *Sissons 2* (1989), op. cit.

²² Tamaka Buchirosa [sic Tannaker (Tanaka?) Buhicro(san)] was the Managing Director of the Japanese Village held in London in 1885 - and

exhibiting at the School of Arts, had reference to the natural resources of that singular empire, and he exhibited several products illustrative of its vegetable economy. This was followed by a drawing-room scene, illustrative of Japanese life and manners, in which, to the accompaniment of one of their national musical instruments, a hybrid guitar and banjo, Missime²³ Otayseman and Missime Querysan gave a dance stately as the old-fashioned minuet of the last century, but distinguished by singularly contortionate, but not inelegant poses to its concluding measures. Tamaka Turischutchi [sic] performed some remarkable feats of tumbling, top-spinning, and balancing, that must be seen to be appreciated. The attendance, considering that play-goers &c., were reserving their forces for the amusements of the morrow, was more than an average one²⁴.

The critic followed a few days later with another report which stressed the educative and family appeal of the venture:

The Tycoon Troupe of Japanese have so far succeeded in pleasing the public that they intend to give a mid-day performance to-day. It is a nice treat, and an opportune time for mama and her little ones, who might not like to be out late at night to witness the evening performances. There is variety and much to astonish as well as delight the young folks, who have not often the chance of seeing Japanese women and men going through a series of their native eccentricities and sword swallowing²⁵.

Tannaker [Tanaka?] Buhicro(san), possibly a Nagasaki Eurasian of Dutch nationality²⁶ was the leader of this first group of Japanese to perform in Australia and years

given his ability to speak English (refer *Empire* (Sydney), 1 January 1868, p. 2), was certainly the same person who had earlier been in Australia during 1867-1868 as a member of the Tycoon Troupe.
source: correspondence, David Sissons to the author, 19 July 1991.

²³ 'Missime, Mimshi, Musmee, Musume' (mis-)anglicised, from the Japanese for 'daughter'. Yokohama port slang for a young prostitute. I am indebted to John Clark for this definition.

²⁴ Critic, *Empire* (1 Jan.) 1868, loc. cit.

²⁵ *Empire* (1 Jan.) 1868, loc. cit.

²⁶ David Sissons wrote: "... it is clear that 'Tannaker' was neither a Japanese national nor a full-blood Japanese. ... Perhaps he was an offspring of a Deshima Dutchman and a Japanese woman?"
source: correspondence, David Sissons to the author, 19 July 1991.

later, advanced to become Managing Director of the London Japanese Village. It is appropriate to compare the opening description of the cosmopolitan event in London with the earlier Australian performance:

A novel exhibition was on Monday opened to the public at Humphrey's Hall, Knightsbridge, by Sir Rutherford Alcock, late Consul-General in Japan. It consists of a miniature but animate, representation of a Japanese art and industrial village. About one hundred natives, male and female, of the 'Land of the Rising Sun,' have been brought to this country, through the enterprise of Mr. Tannaker Buhicrosan, to illustrate in person the manners and customs of their indigenous and industrious race. They represent various trades and professions, and may be seen daily engaged in their different vocations, in native-built shops and houses, as in Japan. Not only their labours, but their recreations are reproduced, one portion of the building having been arranged as a theatre, in which the Orientals appear on the stage in fencing and wrestling matches and other athletic exercises. They also give musical entertainments, after the fashion of their country; and five-o'clock tea is regularly served to visitors. A Buddhist temple is included in the exhibition²⁷.

The London exhibition had prestigious patronage²⁸; incorporated exhibits manned by native Japanese²⁹; theatrical and acrobatic performances; with a model temple and tea served to visitors. This precise pattern was followed in Australia by an Englishman who was the 'Sole Manager and Proprietor', Mr Pemberton W. Willard³⁰. The

²⁷ *Illustrated London News*, 17 January 1885, p. 54.

²⁸ "Under the distinguished Patronage of Her Royal Highness Princess Christian, Her Royal Highness Princess Louise, Marchioness of Lorne, &c. ... Every-day Life as in Japan. Military Band. One Shilling. Wednesdays, Half-a-Crown. Children under Twelve, Six-pence." *Illustrated London News* (17 Jan.) 1885, loc. cit.

²⁹ The Japanese Village, London included: "... the lacquering of wood, pottery making and decoration, *cloisonné* work on a copper foundation, carving of ivory and wood, the inlaying of ivory, mother of pearl and metal, the carving of hardened clay, lantern-making and painting, fan-making and umbrella-making. In addition textile and allied manufacturing, spinning and hand-loom weaving and embroidery, as well as sandal-making, pipe-making, block-making and coopering were demonstrated". source: Checkland, 1989, op. cit., p. 165; adapted from: *The Times* (London), 10 January 1885, p. 6.

³⁰ Pemberton W. Willard had come to Australia from Britain circa 1875 and is recorded as a performing member of 'The Willard Company'

eminently successful Mr Willard was a consummate showman and as pointed out by David Sissons "no purist"³¹. He did not hesitate to incorporate members of other performing troupes, sections of Fryer's Circus, and other non-Japanese performers with the original Village throughout its fifteen-month tour of Australia³².

There are interesting parallels between the opening of the Japanese Village in London (12 January 1885) which preceded by only two months the premiere of *The Mikado* (Savoy Theatre, 14 March 1885), and events in Australia. Yokoyama noted in the introduction to his book that:

Gilbert [W.S. Gilbert (1836-1911)] is said to have spent only six months writing this operetta [*The Mikado*], but to make it as 'authentically Japanese' as possible, he was assisted during rehearsals by some of the Japanese who had been employed at the Knightsbridge exhibition³³.

Whereas in Australia, the reverse order of exposure ensured the Village had a responsive audience with openings in the major cities of Sydney (24 April 1886) and Melbourne (24 July 1886) that followed closely on the premieres of *The*

The Queenslander [Supplement] (Brisbane), 1 July 1875, p. 2; in country South Australia in 'Willard's Wanderings', *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 5 November 1875, p. 1; and in a burlesque in Melbourne, *Age* (Melbourne), 20 November 1875, p. 5.

I am indebted to David Sissons for these references.

³¹ *Episodes: A glimpse of Australia-Japan relations 1859-1979*, D.C.S. Sissons, Eric White Associates under the auspices of the Embassy of Japan in Australia, Canberra (1979), pp. 5-6.

³² The Japanese Village opened in Sydney on 24 April 1886, toured to Melbourne, Hobart, Sydney (return engagement), Brisbane and closed in Adelaide on 23 July 1887. A supplementary tour of regional centres in 1886-1887 included Bendigo, Ballarat, Geelong, Albury and later Wilcannia. Selected performers also appeared at the Coogee Palace Aquarium, Sydney in 1888.

³³ *Japan in the Victorian mind: A study of stereotyped images of a nation 1850-80*, Yokoyama Toshio, Macmillan Press Ltd., Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London 1987: 'Introduction', p. xix. According to Yokoyama, Algernon Bertram Freeman-Mitford (Lord Redesdale) [A.B. Mitford], was also responsible for "'invaluable help' with the production". 'Conclusion', op. cit., p. 173.

Mikado in Sydney (Theatre Royal, 14 November 1885); and Melbourne (Theatre Royal, 20 February 1886). In Bendigo, the two performances coincided with advertisements one below the other on the front page of the local paper³⁴. For further discussion of Asian influences on the performing arts in Australia refer to chapter 7.

Of direct interest is the manufacturing arts and craft component of the Village, the aesthetic appeal of colourful and authentic costumes, and the impact these factors had on artistic circles within Australia. If photographic records of middle to upper-class domestic interiors and artists' studios (post-1886) are examined, it is difficult to dismiss the proliferation of fans, embroideries, screens, ceramics and decorative accessories which, in part, must have originated directly from sales at the Village³⁵.

The arrival of the Japanese Village in Sydney³⁶ was heralded with some informative press announcements which detailed both the content of the Village and the organisational ability - not to mention the audacity of Mr Willard³⁷. Willard was determined to promote "the first

³⁴ *Bendigo Advertiser*, 19 November 1886 advertised on p. 1: *The Mikado*, Royal Princess Theatre, 24 and 25 November 1886 'Japanese Village', Market Square (adjoining Exhibition Building), 17 November 1886 to 3 January 1887.

³⁵ Other sources may well have been through direct import; sales held by the various Japanese and Chinese emporia; and sale of material from the Intercolonial and International Exhibitions.

³⁶ "The Japanese artisans, performers, dancing-girls, &c., who lately arrived by *S.S. Suez* are to form the inhabitants of a Japanese village which is to be established in the Exhibition Building. This novel exhibition will open to public inspection on Saturday, the 24th."
Daily Telegraph (Sydney), 7 April 1886, p. 5.

³⁷ Mr and Mrs Willard, together with "42 Japanese and 22 Chinese" arrived at Sydney 24 March 1886 on the *Suez* ex Kobe, Japan (20 February), via Hong Kong (26 February), Macao (2 March), Brisbane (22 March). It was relatively common at this time for groups of Chinese to arrive on ships from Asia - whether or not they had any part in the village is not recorded.

Japanese village that has left Japan with the sanction of the Japanese Government³⁸, with whom [he] ... has made all his agreements, direct, ...", and had "... been constantly employed for the last three months in getting up the 'show,' ..."39. Performers and artisans had been engaged in Japan from the cities of "Osaka, Arima, Nara, Kobe and Yokohama". The author of the passage offered indirect praise for the consideration of Mr Willard in paying "earnest money" which enabled the socially responsible manager to promise:

The salary of every member of the village has been paid for six months in advance⁴⁰, a certain proportion being placed to their credit in the Japanese Post-office Savings Bank, in the case of their dying, for the benefit of their family, or in the event of their

source: *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Shipping', 25 March 1886, p. 6; correspondence, David Sissons to the author, 19 July 1991.

³⁸ David Sissons gives an alternate view to Mr Willard's statements: "Willard appears to have hoodwinked the Japanese authorities by dividing the company into small occupational groups, drawing up separate contracts for each, and distributing the applications for passports between two ports, Yokohama and Kobe, over a period of some weeks."

sources: Sissons (1979), op. cit., p. 5 and "Australian-Japanese Relations: The First Phase 1859-91", David Sissons, Department of International Relations, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 3 October 1978 [National Library of Australia, Manuscript MS 3092] (Sissons 1).

This is in direct contrast to the situation which arose at the Japanese Village in London, where, "Passports were denied to those Japanese who made up the population of the village, who therefore left Japan unofficially. Neither the Japanese business nor diplomatic community in London wanted to be associated with Japanese street life which they regarded as low and vulgar" and further the Japanese government, "... deplored a demonstration in the British capital of what they judged to be Japanese awkwardness".
source: Checkland (1989), op. cit., p. 164.

³⁹ *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 24 April 1886, p. 5.

⁴⁰ In spite of these 'precautions', David Sissons has noted that: "The Honorary Consul in Melbourne [Consul Alexander Marks] however was less impressed and sent a series of critical despatches to the Japanese Government complaining about the unsatisfactory wages and conditions offered by Willard to his Japanese employees."
source: Sissons (1979), op. cit., pp. 5-6.

becoming distressed in a foreign land for the purpose of securing them a passage home⁴¹.

The arrival of the group in Sydney in 1886 together with "about 300 tons of cargo"⁴² which, "consists almost entirely of raw material, which will be turned into manufactured ware by the artisans of the troupe in Australia, and includes a considerable amount of dry clay, packed in bags, for the manufacture of *Satsuma* ware"⁴³, is a noteworthy event in the history of the development of decorative arts in Australia. The extent of ceramic production and the all-important questions regarding kilns to fire the wares produced; and the ability of the artisans to successfully overcome difficult technical problems associated with the application of lacquer are yet to be explored. Alternatively, it may well have been the case that the ceramic decorators painted on pre-fired blanks and the lacquerers either added surface designs to partially finished articles, or 'japanned' wooden forms. The technical virtuosity of the village inhabitants in heating and fusing cloisonné is yet another field which requires further investigation.

The Japanese "porcelain painters" were not all the craftspersons and artists to arrive - "... ivory carvers, cabinet makers, enamel workers, ... fan, umbrella, basket, lantern and screen makers; silk workers, embroiderers, *kakemono* (wall screens)⁴⁴ and portrait painters"⁴⁵ are all

⁴¹ *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 24 April 1886, p. 5. In fact by the date this had been published, two Japanese had already died of consumption. "Their graves are in Waverley Cemetery [Sydney]" - they were Murakami Toyokichi (died 16 April 1886) and Uesaka Fukumatsu (died 17 April 1886).

source: Sissons 1 (1978), op. cit., p. 23.

⁴² Listed under 'Imports' ex S.S. *Suez* in the Shipping column of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 March 1886, p. 6 were "278 cases curios". I am indebted to David Sissons for confirmation of this date.

⁴³ *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 24 April 1886, p. 5.

⁴⁴ '*Kakemono*' (Jap.) are hanging scrolls; not "wall screens" as stated.

listed to have been among the fifty or so individuals. In the more supportive roles were "also girls to wait on visitors to the tea houses; yakusha or theatrical people who will perform their native dramas, performers who walk on naked swords with bare feet, jugglers, top spinners and acrobats". Amongst the properties to be erected was "a facsimile of the celebrated Daibutz [sic] Temple at Nara, Japan⁴⁶, with a frontage of 30ft. and a depth of 25ft. In this, worship will at intervals be conducted in accordance with the Buddhist religion"⁴⁷.

Even with allowance for the nineteenth century preoccupation with overstatement - particularly in the description of theatrical events, Mr Willard had quite a show on his hands!

On the day of the opening of the Village, the *Bulletin* under the header 'Sundry Shows' ran a short article which dwelt on the rather more enticing attractions - the Japanese waitresses in the tea house, and noted in a roguish way:

The Japanese Village on arrival of the date of this issue will be pretty nearly complete. We went to meet the Japs on arrival and are willing to make our affidavit that none of them say 'begorra,' and that none are native to Woolloomooloo. All sorts of side-shows are appurtenant to the main attraction, and a few of the Jap girls lovely enough to knock the sawdust off

⁴⁵ A summary of work (drawn from a number of Sydney visitors' references and illustrations in contemporary newspapers and journals) [1886] (in alphabetical order) included the techniques of: beadwork; bird-making; carpentry; carving; cloisonné enamelling; doll-dressing; drawing; embroidery; fan-making; fan painting; painting; and wood-carving (fretwork). In [1887] they included: cloisonné; curios; embroidered screens; painting; porcelain painting; statuary and weapons.

⁴⁶ 'Daibutz' (mis-)anglicised, [sic] *Daibutsu* (Jap.), lit. 'Great Buddha', the most famous being those at Tōdai-ji (Nara) and Kōtoku-in (Kamakura). In this newspaper report, the Nara statue is quoted as the reference image.

⁴⁷ *Daily Telegraph* (24 Apr.) 1886, loc. cit.

the average chorus-girl. And, in connection with this, we would warn all and sundry that any person bringing in jokes to this office about 'nice little chaps' - meaning, of course, 'Japs'⁴⁸ - will be promptly brained by order of the correspondence editor⁴⁹.

This interest in the female members of the troupe was an on-going preoccupation with journalists, and as such was possibly exploited by the proprietor and turned to good advantage as an advertising ploy. With the Village in place, lengthy factual reviews and illustrations began to appear which detailed the physical layout of the exhibition in the Old Exhibition Building in Prince Alfred Park, Sydney [figs 66, 67]; the visitors' reactions to both the industry and performance aspects of the show; in addition to the other sensations experienced - the visual presentation overall, and the taste of a strange tea proffered by the costumed inhabitants.

In most cases, the reviews were very positive with "a lady visitor", commenting on virtually all aspects mentioned above⁵⁰. The account is too long to be quoted in full, but

⁴⁸ The first use of the abbreviation 'Japs' to rhyme with 'chaps' is a contentious issue. Douglas Sladen in his work *The Japs at home*, published London 1892, claimed proudly the first use of the word in the title of a book - the usage did spark a debate. Refer "That dreadful word-Jap", Harold S. Williams, *Japan Quarterly*, vol. XI, no. 1, January-March 1964, pp. 83-86. However, the *Argus* (Melbourne), made use of the term as early as 1868 to describe Japanese performers with the Great Dragon Troupe and 'a senior writer' for the same paper, James Hingston, had used it in 1879 for his book *The Australian abroad*. John Clark has pointed out that Mortimer Menpes, an Australian artist, working in London titled one of the works *A little Jap* in an 1888 Fine Art Society exhibition at Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell's Ltd. - possibly an "affectionate diminutive" to rhyme with "a little chap". In this 1886 newspaper 'dialogue' the Australian partiality for rhyming slang with the added punch-line has pre-supposed the readers' knowledge of the term. sources: Williams and *Japanese British-Exchanges in Art 1850s-1930s*, papers and research materials, bound computer-type manuscript, Canberra 1989, 323 pp. (Clark 2), p. 154.

⁴⁹ *Bulletin* (Sydney), 24 April 1886, p. 9.

⁵⁰ Reviewers, throughout the progress of the Japanese Village varied greatly in their emphasis on the various aspects of the exhibition. Some of this can be attributed to the gender of the writer; in other cases the obvious conflict between the sensationalism of live performance and the focused interest of craft production;

sections have been included to underline the general understanding of the day in both the appreciation of Japanese values and knowledge of Japanese culture and comparisons drawn with Australia. This review, as did most, confirmed the Village's "decidedly novel and interesting appearance", drew immediate comparisons with characters in the *The Mikado*, and pronounced the whole experience headed 'An Afternoon in Japan', fascinating.

On the physical layout of the interior:

The compartments in which the artizans [sic] sit at their various trades are representations of real Japanese rooms. In Miss Bird's clever book, entitled 'Unbeaten Tracks in Japan,'⁵¹ she describes those rooms, which would certainly be a trial to anyone accustomed to the privacy and security of an ordinary bed-room⁵².

On the various trades and industries represented:

We watch the wood-carving and screen-painting and carving in bronze and then come upon what seems to English eyes a strange sight. Two men squatting on their heels, each working deftly at some of the gorgeous embroidery for which their country is famous. The silk is stretched on long wooden frames nearly as large as those of a single bedstead and the needle goes in and out swiftly and steadily - the workmen apparently possessed of not the slightest curiosity as to the gaping European crowd who 'want to know, you know.'..... The doll-dressers, bird and feather makers, fan-painters and, above all, the cloisonné enamel workers were all objects of the closest scrutiny and interest. Some of the lovely blue ware was displayed in a manner most tempting to worshippers of the beautiful, and a marvellous specimen of a Japanese cabinet (every panel of which was worked in bronze) was marked at the moderate price of 20 guineas⁵³.

On the musical and acrobatic performance:

while overall, the very nature and content of the show changed from city to city with the editing out of some functions and the incorporation of 'new' attractions.

⁵¹ Published London, 1880.

⁵² *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 3 May 1886, p. 6.

⁵³ *Daily Telegraph* (3 May) 1886, loc. cit.

First, of course, the orchestra in the shape of a Japanese lady beating shumshums⁵⁴ and tomtoms⁵⁵. Monotonous and clanging, but certainly not devoid of rhythm or, indeed, of a rude harmony, but it is wild and shrill and changeless, ... [The performers] are magnificent personages and recall the familiar scenes of 'The Mikado',⁵⁶. Some of the dresses indeed are quite equal to those represented in that most charming of comic operas. One gorgeous being in a petticoat of cloth of silver striped with eau de Nil silk, and what ladies would call a dolman of splendid black silk, embroidered with crimson and gold, ... Then - the music still in full force - came forth a handsome man with an olive skin and small black moustache, clad in a garment of soft silk, which was most artistically shaded from cream into the deepest crimson. His petticoat was of that newest shade of electric blue which appeared on the lawn at Randwick on Cup day. When shall we learn the length and breadth and height of our indebtedness to the color [sic] instincts of this marvellous people. The concluding performances of the troupe consisted of some wonderful feats of dexterity, shown by keeping three tops spinning all at once on top of each other. A glass of colored [sic] water suspended in a hoop was swung round in every direction without spilling a drop. But what excited the greatest interest was the woman walking over a ladder of sharp swords, which, carefully placed in order, looked like edges of the gardener's scythe⁵⁷.

On the set architectural piece:

The Joss House⁵⁸ or Temple contains a high altar, an image, with an aureole surrounding its sacred head, and a brass image of Gautama Buddha, cross-legged and contemplative, as when seated under the Bo-tree he attained to full knowledge and say the illusionary nature of all things. On the walls are suspended masks

⁵⁴ 'Shumshums', 'Sum sheen' (mis-)anglicised, [sic] *shamisen* (Jap.), three-stringed musical instrument played with a large ivory plectrum. Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote in *Japanese things*, that in correspondence between authorities on Japanese music, a certain Mr Ellis was "misled on some important points by his having given too much weight to the performance of an ignorant woman at the 'Japanese Village' in London". This inferred low quality of performance may also well have been the case in Australia.

⁵⁵ Probably *tsuzumi* (Jap.), a small Japanese hand-drum.

⁵⁶ *The Mikado* opened in Sydney at the Theatre Royal on 14 November 1885.

⁵⁷ *Daily Telegraph* (3 May) 1886, loc. cit.

⁵⁸ There was confusion here in the mind of the writer - the term 'Joss House' was reserved in common usage for Chinese temples.

of hideous faces - some adorned with hair and eyebrows and even beards⁵⁹.

On the tea house:

Feeling the need for refreshment, our next visit was to the teahouse, where a bevy of fair damsels, suggestive of nothing so much as the 'three little maids from school'⁶⁰, were evidently discussing some topic of amusing interest, to judge from the smiles upon their faces. ... Very fair and very gentle were these quaint eastern women, whose manners seemed those of ladies of the highest rank, so gentle yet so self-possessed were they. After they had their chat, one fetched a tiny tray of cups of the kind made familiar to us by the exhibition of 1878⁶¹, and filled them from a minute teapot of Satsuma ware. It was a pale, golden liquid without milk or sugar, which she gracefully offered to us. To English palates it was not altogether pleasing, but speaking from experience it proved invigorating in the extreme. In taste it resembled the eucalyptus gum dissolved in warm water⁶².

Parallel to the Sydney public's first experience with the taste of Japanese tea⁶³, not all the reviewers were as kind as the 'lady visitor'. The reporter for the *Australian Town and Country Journal* went one step further than 'wild and shrill and changeless' to describe the musical entertainment as: "the most atrocious 'drubbing,' which I presume is Japanese music (?)"⁶⁴, and the "Japanese temple,

⁵⁹ *Daily Telegraph* (3 May) 1886, loc. cit.

⁶⁰ A direct reference to *The Mikado*, refer Footnote 56.

⁶¹ The commentator gives an incorrect date for the Sydney International Exhibition which opened in 1879, not 1878 as stated - it is interesting to note, however, that the memory of the particular ceramic ware had remained and formed a strong visual link - enough to recall the sight of similar Japanese ware some seven years earlier.

⁶² *Daily Telegraph* (3 May) 1886, loc. cit.

⁶³ The writer in the *Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney), 1 May 1886, p. 914 smugly noted: "Some Japanese ladies were preparing 'the cup that cheers,' and handing it round in miniature cups for the benefit of visitors, but the color [sic] did not look rich enough, so I did not taste it, but contented myself with watching the wry faces of those who did. I hope the expressions of 'bitter' 'ugh' 'stuff,' were unintelligible to the Japanese ladies who prepared the mixture."

⁶⁴ The *Bulletin* (Sydney), 29 May 1886, p. 9, agreed; with the following comment on the instrument: "... there were only two things we longed for - one was the head of Herr Patek's drummer on a pie-

which, unless you have a weakness for studying ugly physiognomy, I advise you not to enter"⁶⁵. While the *Illustrated Sydney News* rather more savagely attacked the quality and magnitude of the venture by comparing it unfavourably with the London exhibition:

One and another of us have seen pretty much of him lately⁶⁶. He comes to us first as a roving son of the ocean. He would fain appear terrible, and he succeeds in provoking a smile. Then, with his cousins and his sisters, and goodness knows who, he comes to entertain us; and though he hires our largest of halls, and making no end of fuss conjures up an ideal Japanese village. His show is absolutely tame - only sufficiently meritorious to indicate how very much better it might have been. The Japanese village exhibited in London a few months ago must have been incomparably superior. Upon that occasion, if we remember correctly, about 500 natives took part in the display⁶⁷, and it was indeed a feast of lanterns. In Sydney at the present time there are not more than 50 Japanese; their architectural specimens are poor; the goods they offer for sale are generally double the price any English shopkeeper would dare ask for the same, and the artistic effect of their show is not comparable with what we saw on the stage of the Theatre Royal during the performance of the 'Mikado'⁶⁸.

The attack was even more barbed by commencing with a physical description of the Japanese couched in a pastiche of art references which would have been recognised as characteristic of Aestheticism - in particular, the Whistlerian palette:

dish, the other an axe wherewith to smash to unnumbered splinters the 'Sum Sheen,' the national musical instrument of Japan, for the monotonousness of its action was only equalled by the drummer. That the latter occasionally managed to drown the music of the Sum Sheen is the only redeeming note in his performance". Refer also to Footnote 54.

⁶⁵ *Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney), 1 May 1886, p. 914.

⁶⁶ A direct reference to the earlier Japanese entertainers and acrobats in Australia.

⁶⁷ This statement was not correct. The *Illustrated London News*, 17 January 1885, p. 54 reported, "About one hundred natives, male and female, ... have been brought to this country" [England].

⁶⁸ Again the reference to *The Mikado*, refer Footnotes 56, 60.

'A Japanese Young Man.'
 Conceive him indeed if you can! Daub the pallet of your imagination with blue, splash it with green, and then by way of contrast rub in a murky mixture of the most jaundiced hues any ordinary paint box affords, and there you have him to order⁶⁹. Shapeless, sad and sallow, but for the rest, interesting enough if you have as much time to watch him ...⁷⁰.

The art manufactures too, did not escape without criticism. Some of the embroidery was thought, "which on account of the 'skimpiness' of the stitches was anything but nice"⁷¹, with the writer of the article, titled 'A Japanese Young Man', concluding that [the illustrations in the newspaper] were, "... faithful sketches according to the hideous fancies of Japanese art"⁷².

In early June 1886, to foster increased attendance, Willard reduced the admission charge from two to one shilling⁷³. By late June 1886, he announced the "last two weeks" of the Village in Sydney with an advertisement which pronounced this "... pre-eminently successful and Brobdignagian [sic] Collection of Industrial and Theatrical Incongruities" which was further, "An undeniable fact of Unprecedented Parallel in the Annals of Australian Amusements", would soon leave the city. There is no doubt that the long run

⁶⁹ This descriptive passage is strongly reminiscent of critics' comments which depreciated the work of James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1834-1903).

⁷⁰ *Illustrated Sydney News*, 15 June 1886, p. 3.

⁷¹ *Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney), 1 May 1886, p. 914.

⁷² *Illustrated Sydney News* (15 Jun.) 1886, loc. cit.

⁷³ "Since the price of admission to the Japanese Village has been reduced to one shilling, there has been a great increase in the numbers of visitors. What between the curious specimens of industry that are to be seen there, the novel spectacle of the artificers themselves employed at their several tasks, and the feats performed by the company of Japanese acrobats, the 'village' is a sight which nobody who has the opportunity of witnessing should miss."
Australian Town and Country Journal (Sydney), 5 June 1886, p. 1178.

at the Exhibition Building, the premier display site in the capital, was interrupted on more than one occasion to accommodate other functions. The promoter offered by way of explanation that, "... As the loss of time and cost of rebuilding are very great, there is not the slightest possibility of The Japanese Village revisiting Sydney ..."⁷⁴. The same advertisement carried the first record of attendance for the relatively short time it had been open in Sydney with the following claim:

Notice - In Nine Weeks 178,425 people paid to witness The Japanese Village⁷⁵.

The figure for an event of this nature is quite staggering, even by today's standards - especially when it is considered that six years earlier the 1879-1880 Sydney International Exhibition, which ran for approximately seven months (17 September 1879 to 20 April 1880), attracted a total attendance of 1,117,536 from an estimated population of 703,144⁷⁶. On the closing day, the manager inserted an advertisement which both hinted at a possible return of the Village and must be close to perfection in its overt emotional appeal and cryptic brevity:

Japanese Village.
Positively Last Night. ... A Tearful Farewell to the Japs. ... Happy to Meet, Sorry to Part. Happy to Meet Again. ...⁷⁷.

Fourteen days later the Japanese Village opened in a specially constructed building⁷⁸ on the corner of Lonsdale

⁷⁴ This statement proved not to be true - the New Japanese Village returned to the same site and re-opened on 19 February 1887. Further, some performers re-appeared in Sydney from April to June 1888 under the auspices of the Coogee Palace Aquarium Company.

⁷⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 June 1886, p. 2.

⁷⁶ Figure cited in: *Official Record of the Sydney International Exhibition, 1879*, Thomas Richards, Government Printer, Sydney 1881.

⁷⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 July 1886, p. 2.

⁷⁸ This building, erected for the Japanese Village, later hosted Fryer & Co's. Circus (from 17 January 1887), upon the closure of the exhibition. The circus and Japanese Village combined for the return to

and Exhibition Streets in the heart of Melbourne⁷⁹. Pemberton W. Willard, the "Sole Proprietor and Director" followed an obvious success in Sydney with advertisements in a Melbourne paper which declared that the exhibition was, "Under the Patronage of the Imperial Government of Japan", and that attractions included:

.....
 The Native Village is Peopled by Japanese Men, Women, and Children⁸⁰, in native costume, who daily illustrate the ART INDUSTRIES OF JAPAN. Spacious Promenades, Magnificent Temples, [R]ockeries, and Cascades, Japanese Tea Houses with Japanese lady attendants, Japanese Gardens, Japanese Theatre.

Performances at 3 and 8. 1000 varieties of lanterns. Full Military Band. Admission, 2s; children, half-price⁸¹.

A day prior to the opening *Table Talk* reported with disarming honesty that:

The Japanese Village is at last completed, and the curious place with its interesting contents will be open to the public at two o'clock to-morrow, Saturday afternoon.... We had a peep behind the scenes before the opening, and judging from what we saw of the performers and their handiwork, we are certain that Mr. Willard is an experienced showman, who knows how to make money rapidly. The Japanese women will be a great attraction. Some of them are of the highest type of Samoyede⁸² [sic] beauty⁸³.

Sydney of the New Japanese Village between 19 February to 16 April 1887, and the Brisbane showing 22 April to 7 May 1887.

⁷⁹ The Japanese Village was seen in Melbourne between 24 July 1886 and 12 January 1887.

⁸⁰ Japanese mentioned in Melbourne:
 Uogawa boy acrobat
 [The Great Little All Right]
 [many unidentified by name].

⁸¹ *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 30 July 1886, p. 15.

⁸² Perhaps a reference to 'samurai (Jap.) beauty'. The term 'Samoyed' with reference to a member of the Ural-Altaiic people dwelling in north-western Siberia may have also been inferred.

The day after the opening (although published six days later), the same journal enthusiastically reviewed the event, taking readers behind the scenes and somewhat naively forecast that, "... as it is to continue for several weeks longer⁸⁴, no doubt its fame will soon have the effect of making it patronised as it deserves"⁸⁵. In early August 1886, the *Bulletin* noted that: "The Japanese Village has caught on in Melbourne, and threatens to become the leading mashing-market⁸⁶ of the city"⁸⁷; and further that, "We studied the habits of this ancient people in the 'Mikado,' and speak with authority"⁸⁸. Approximately one month later the *Australasian* reported in September 1886 that: "At the Japanese Village the interest does not in the least fall off"⁸⁹. While the *Woman's World* in late October 1886 commenced its long column on the Village with: "... A most advantageous opportunity of observing the customs and studying the arts and manufactures of the inhabitants of Japan has been afforded to Melbournites by the establishment of the Japanese Village in Exhibition street"⁹⁰.

⁸³ *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 23 July 1886, p. 12.

⁸⁴ The Japanese Village was shown for approximately six months in Melbourne, although contemporaneous advertisements mention "seven months".

⁸⁵ *Table Talk* (23 July) 1886, loc. cit.

⁸⁶ [*sic* from 'masher'; a person with affected manners who frequented music-halls and fashionable promenades, hence the place to be seen].

⁸⁷ *Bulletin* (Sydney), 7 August 1886, p. 20.

⁸⁸ *Bulletin* (7 Aug.) 1886, loc. cit. *The Mikado* opened in Melbourne at the Theatre Royal on 20 February 1886, almost exactly five months prior to the Japanese Village (24 July 1886).

⁸⁹ *Australasian* (Melbourne), 11 September 1886, p. 507.

⁹⁰ *Woman's World* (Melbourne), 20 October 1886, p. 156.

Again, Willard employed the physical layout of imitating artisans' shops arranged as if a street in Japan; decorated the environment with 'thousands of lanterns'; and set up stalls to readily allow direct purchase of items by the public. He began to utilise the terminology "Art Industries of Japan"⁹¹ and described the company as a "Colony of Art Missionaries"⁹². Together with these more 'artistic' diversions were the more obvious drawcards of "a bevy of Japanese beauties" and Japanese gymnastic feats. Several attractions not mentioned in the Sydney commentaries were added. These included a Japanese "daimoishouse" [sic]⁹³; life-size figures illustrating a "tableaux of domestic life in Japan"⁹⁴; and several extraordinary feats of daring, including two white performers - 'Aeola' who was shot out of an 80 ton gun and 'Ala', her male replacement who was, "... shot up 20 yards into the air, catches hold of a trapeze, and dives headforemost into a net 20 yards below"⁹⁵.

In late August 1886, advertisements carried the text:

⁹¹ Reminiscent of the title of a book by Sir Rutherford Alcock, *Art and art industries in Japan*, J.S. Virtue and Co. Limited, London 1878. 'A Veritable Japanese Village' in New York from 1885, and Boston (1886) organised by the Deakin brothers, also advertised: "Under the Sanction of the Imperial Japanese Government A Colony of Japanese Men, Women and Children In Native Costume Who Daily Illustrate the Art Industries of Japan ...".

⁹² A summary of work (drawn from a number of Melbourne visitors' references in contemporary newspapers and journals) [1886] (in alphabetical order) included the techniques of: bamboo ware; cloisonné; fan-painting; lacquer work; pottery; silk work; and statuary.

⁹³ Presumably a reference to a 'daimyô' (Jap.) house.

⁹⁴ *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 1 October 1886, p. 12. This almost certainly refers to the "Groups of Life-size Figures Made in Kioto [sic], the Sacred City of Dai Nippon, illustrative of Ancient and Modern Japan", which were part of the Village display in Melbourne/Hobart but apparently not in Brisbane or Adelaide.

source: *Mercury* (Hobart), 5 January 1887, p. 3.

⁹⁵ *Bulletin* (Sydney), 9 October 1886, p. 7.

HAVE YOU SEEN THE JAPANESE? THE JAPANESE VILLAGE.
 The Japaneries! - The Japaneries!! ...
 ... Fifty Japanese men, women, and children manufact-
 [sic] curios ... Marvellous Aerial Flight.
 Extraordinary high cross rope equipoise, and the Great
 Little All Right. A Bevy of Japanese Beauties Dispense
 Tea Gratis in the Tea House. ... Military and Native
 Bands. 10,000 Varieties of Lanterns. Temple and
 religious ceremonies daily ... Pagoda umbrellas,
 Japanese arms, and war para phernalia [sic],
 promenades, &c. Curios manufactured in the village now
 on sale ...⁹⁶.

There is evidence that in Melbourne a change occurred in the composition of the troupe. Mr Willard publicly announced in late November 1886 through newspaper advertisements, the arrival of new members of an entertainment group, known as the *New Mikado Troupe*⁹⁷. With the addition of these performers and adaptations to the format of the entertainment (in Geelong it was advertised as the "Japanese Bazaar, formerly Japanese Village")⁹⁸, it is probable that he conceived the tour of the three Victorian and two New South Wales provincial centres of Bendigo, Ballarat, Geelong, Albury and Wilcannia.

The *Ballarat Courier* noted that, "there is much that is of interest to colonials in the life of the Japanese, ..." and proceeded to describe the thirty or so Japanese⁹⁹ and their

⁹⁶ *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 27 August 1886, p. 15.

⁹⁷ *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 26 November 1886, p. 14. "Mr. WILLARD begs to announce that, as he has to return the Villagers to Japan at an early date, their stay here is drawing to a close, and to enable all to witness this COLONY of ART MISSIONARIES, The PRICE of ADMISSION will now be ONE SHILLING. ONE SHILLING. The NEW MIKADO TROUPE."

⁹⁸ Advertisements carried the texts "1001 Japanese Attractions"; "Colony of Art Missionaries"; and "Gigantic Combination of Novelties".

⁹⁹ Japanese mentioned in Ballarat:
 Matchuma juggler
 Kitchi tub performances
 Mino top spinner
 Uogawa boy acrobat
 [The Great Little All Right].

"industries, manufactures, and arts, as well as the most popular amusements of that most wonderful nation"¹⁰⁰. As in the state capitals the hall was decorated with parasols, lanterns and oriental articles, craftsmen pursued "their various callings"¹⁰¹, stalls were set up to sell Japanese goods, and the ubiquitous tea house was staffed with "fascinating Japanese girls" who dispensed cups of tea to the visitors during intervals in the acrobatic performances.

Despite the changed troupe, the Village proved an immense success in Melbourne. The "... veritable Japanese Village. Japan in Australia ..." with tea house, curios, displays of physical skill, music and Japanese drama¹⁰² proved a potent entertainment formula. This combination of factors is best exemplified by the first-hand accounts of visitors.

On the physical layout of the interior:

Last night we paid a visit to the Japanese Village, and were well paid for the trouble of our journey. The band greeted us on entering with strains of enlivening music, and passing on we entered the village, which represents very correctly a street in Japan itself - the various artisans being busy at their respective trades¹⁰³.

On the various trades and industries represented:

¹⁰⁰ *Ballarat Courier*, 6 January 1887, [n.p.] p. [4].

¹⁰¹ A summary of work (drawn from the Ballarat newspaper) [1887] (in alphabetical order) included the techniques of: bird-making (of muslin); copper engraving (cloisonné); embroidery; fan-making; porcelain painting; and stick-carving.
see also: *Bendigo Advertiser* [Exhibition Supplement], 18 November 1886, [n.p.] 'The Japanese Village'.

¹⁰² *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 10 December 1886, p. 12 announced: "The Japanese Village has made another hit. The drama 'The Daimio's [sic] Daughter,' was much applauded, and is a very interesting performance to witness. ...".

¹⁰³ *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 30 July 1886, p. 12.

Those most worthy of mention are the manufacture and painting of fans, screens, &c. ...¹⁰⁴.

Fan painting is a trade much in vogue in the Japanese Village, and one that presents an opening for all those minute qualities which distinguish Japanese art, and certainly for elegance of style and beauty in a lilliputian compass, some of these productions are perfect 'chef d'auvres.' [sic] They frequently exaggerate, and the slenderness of outline and immensity of background is not always to our taste, but still there is always something in the painting, despite its want of perspective, which pleases the eye. Talent with the brush is considered to be hereditary in Japan, and studies are unknown; again, the design, though it embraces every attribute of the human heart, rarely portrays the quality of love. ...

Some of these articles [by the silk workers] are gorgeous. A Tai (or large fish), with an eye formed of one great pearl, a peacock on velvet, rioting in the utmost extravagance of gold and blue, a dazzling gold stork on black satin, embroidered mats with silver cranes ad libitum must be seen to be realised. ...

Passing on we are attracted to the most ancient of all Japanese manufactures, lacquer work. Until recently - so jealously was the secret of its preparation kept - it was not known that the lacquer is a resinous compound obtained from the Ureshinoki¹⁰⁵ tree. The process is tedious and tiresome. ... It therefore follows that good lacquer is expensive, a small writing desk 10in. by 6in. fetching £90.

Pottery is a branch which fascinates the spectator by the splendour of the decorations, one gigantic amphora standing nearly as high as an ordinary person's waist, being decked with frescoes that it took weeks to inlay¹⁰⁶.¹⁰⁷

On the musical and acrobatic performance:

Their magicians and tumblers may certainly be said to have less variety than ours, but for skill and absence

¹⁰⁴ *Table Talk* (30 July) 1886, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁵ 'Ureshinoki' (mis-)anglicised, [sic] *urushi no ki* (Jap.), the lacquer tree (*Rhus verniciflua*).

¹⁰⁶ This reference is more probably related to a large work completed in the cloisonné technique, rather than being inlaid ceramic as suggested by the writer.

¹⁰⁷ *Woman's World* (Melbourne), 20 October 1886, p. 156.

of auxiliary appliances they, in some measure, surpass the majority of our prestidigitators¹⁰⁸.

On the set architectural pieces:

... without mentioning the temple, in which anyone is at liberty to worship without paying a farthing extra¹⁰⁹.

On a pedestal fringed with lotus leaves¹¹⁰, may be noetd [sic] an image of the Goddess Amida¹¹¹ and Benzurisan¹¹². To the latter attaches the curious belief that if any person afflicted with pain rub Benzuri, and then the corresponding part of their own body, they will be immediately relieved¹¹³.

On the tea house:

The young ladies are even more frivolous than they were in Sydney. The drawing-room, boudoir, or kitchen in which four dreams of beauty make tea for the barbarians has been irreverently nicknamed the harem. There is a savour of giddiness about it which has made it the fashionable resort of Melbourne. An idea prevails that the Japanese yarns, which these little darlings always appear to be whispering to one another, would be quite too much for us in an English translation. When they get to the funny parts they glance obliquely at the young men with a 'would-you-like-to-know-all-about-it' expression, which is exceedingly tantalising. This part of the show alone was always worth the two-bob charged for admittance, ...¹¹⁴.

On the sale of Japanese articles:

¹⁰⁸ *Woman's World* (20 Oct.) 1886, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁹ *Bulletin* (Sydney), 7 August 1886, p. 20.

¹¹⁰ This description is incorrect; the base of the statue would represent lotus petals, not "lotus leaves" as stated.

¹¹¹ *Amida-nyorai* is usually represented as male, not female as inferred.

¹¹² 'Benzurisan' (mis-)anglicised, [sic] *Benzai-ten* (Jap.) [Sarasvati], a female goddess who is supposed to grant eloquence in speech, wisdom, longevity, and victory on the battlefield, as well as provide protection from natural disasters.

¹¹³ *Woman's World* (20 Oct.) 1886, loc. cit.

¹¹⁴ *Bulletin* (7 Aug.) 1886, loc. cit.

Mrs. Willard (the energetic managers [sic] wife) and her sisters presided at various stalls for the sale of articles manufactured in the village¹¹⁵.

Apart from the advertised amusements we would recommend all those who have not already visited the Japanese Village to do so, as the artistic work of the Japanese is not only there to be admired, but can be purchased at no great cost. We must congratulate Messrs. Pemberton and U. Villard [sic], the promoters¹¹⁶, for so successfully carrying out this undertaking¹¹⁷.

..., and a large consignment of exquisite bamboo ware has lately been received¹¹⁸.

The Japanese Village, despite the weather, draws large attendances. Although visitors are never pressed to purchase anything, the number of articles of Japanese make, just suited to present requirements - such as fans, chatties¹¹⁹, cool matting, handy picnic baskets, etc. - by their very cheapness tempt to extravagance¹²⁰.

Even the threat of scandal at the Village in Melbourne seemed only to promote interest in the event rather than the reverse, with this report from the *Bulletin*:

Like all other civilised communities, the Japanese Villagers have been luxuriating in a little social scandal. A few nights ago one Jap, chased another Jap through the Melbourne streets with a naked semicar [sic] all on account of a fair, but frisky fellow countrywoman. The rest of the Village came to the rescue and no blood was spilt. Explanations followed, and everybody returned home without a stain on their characters. Nevertheless this little incident has vested the lady Japs. with fresh interest - a kind of

¹¹⁵ *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 30 July 1886, p. 12.

¹¹⁶ The writer has misquoted the name[s] of the promoter. There was only one manager of the Japanese Village - Mr Pemberton W. Willard.

¹¹⁷ *Woman's World* (Melbourne), 15 September 1886, p. 76.

¹¹⁸ *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 1 October 1886, p. 12. This report suggested that not all the wares were manufactured at the Village as was repeatedly claimed by Willard.

¹¹⁹ [sic, earthenware jars; probably, ceramics in general].

¹²⁰ *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 26 November 1886, p. 13.

Lady Colin Campbell charm¹²¹ - and provides visitors with pleasant opportunities for spicy conjecture. The Village keeps up its business in all weathers, and the ala [sic] aerial flight is as popular as a public holiday. But soon the whole show will emigrate to Tasmania, leaving naught but Oriental memories behind¹²².

With the suggestion of departure for Tasmania, the Village closed in Melbourne just over a week-and-a-half later - with the proprietor having achieved considerable attendances in the two major capitals - no doubt enhanced by his generous reduction in admission price (from two shillings to one shilling) which, as a general practice, halved one or two months (or weeks) before closure. *Table Talk* reported two days after that:

The Japanese Village is closed. 335,700 persons have visited this exhibition¹²³, says the smart manager and proprietor, Mr. Pemberton Willard¹²⁴.

In Hobart, the Village opened "Under Patronage and Presence of His Excellency the Administrator Sir Lambert Dobson and Lady Dobson"¹²⁵, with a wealth of detail given in several advertisements placed in the *Hobart Mercury* prior to, and

¹²¹ [Lady Colin Campbell, Gertrude Elizabeth (Blood), died 1911] Published several books, including one on the etiquette of society, and was art critic for a paper in London, in addition to writing catalogue notes for the Fine Art Society. She married Lord Colin Campbell, 8th Duke of Argyll; then obtained a separation from him for cruelty; and was widowed in 1895.

source: *Who was Who*, a cumulated index 1897-1980; and: *Who was Who*, a companion to *Who's Who* containing the biographies of those who died during the period 1897-1915, vol. I 1897-1916, Adam and Charles Black, London 1920, p. 114.

¹²² *Bulletin* (Sydney), 1 January 1887, p. 7.

¹²³ This figure given at the close of the Village in Melbourne, must have inferred the attendance in Sydney of 335,700 (14 January 1887). In other advertisements the gregarious Mr Willard quoted variant attendance figures of 178,425 (in Sydney, 28 June 1886); and 130,000 in Melbourne and Sydney (in Adelaide, 18 June 1887).

¹²⁴ *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 14 January 1887, p. 12.

¹²⁵ The Japanese Village was seen in Hobart between the 15 January and 8 February 1887.

on the opening day. The exhibition promised "The Arts, Manufactures, Amusements and the Idiosyncrasies of Japan"¹²⁶ with "Male and Female Artisans"¹²⁷, In their native costumes, Manufacturing their wares".

Each artisan was housed in "a perfect Japanese house", and major attractions included:

A Japanese Tea-house attended by a bevy of Japanese Beauties and Samsheen Players.

The Kujomidzu Temple¹²⁸ [sic],
In which are the Colossal Idols of Daibutz¹²⁹ [sic],
the Goddess Benton-Fudo¹³⁰, Amida, Senjo Kuwanon¹³¹,
etc.

Temple Bells, Iron Lanterns, Kakemonos etc.
Religious Ceremonies Daily.

¹²⁶ A summary of work (drawn from a number of Hobart visitors' references and advertisements in contemporary newspapers and journals) [1887] (in alphabetical order) included the techniques of: bamboo, vase and stick carving; bamboo work; box-making and cabinet-making; carpentering; cloisonné enamelling; doll-dressing; embroidery; fan and umbrella painting; fan-making; fancy silk work; hair-dressing; ivory-carving; ivory and pearl inlaying; *kakemono* mounting; lacquer work; lantern-making; painting; photography; porcelain-making (Satsuma ware); porcelain painting; screen-making; silk work; and wood carving.

¹²⁷ Japanese mentioned in Hobart (in alphabetical order):

Chesi	balancing, boy acrobat
Kinjow	not specified
Kio	not specified
Kowma	not specified
Ohnosuki	not specified
Omume	walking on bare swords
Skartaro	acrobat, tight rope
Tachibana	conjuror
Takejow	not specified
Techwari	not specified
Tetsono	not specified.

¹²⁸ 'Kujomidzu Temple' (mis-)anglicised, [sic] *Kiyomizu-dera* (Jap.), presumably the display was named after this famous temple complex in Kyoto.

¹²⁹ Refer Footnote 46.

¹³⁰ 'Benton-Fudo' (mis-)anglicised, [sic] *Benten* and *Fudô Myô-ô* (Jap.), two separate and distinct deities, respectively, *Benzai-ten* q.v.; the other [Acala], a wrathful Buddhist esoteric divinity.

¹³¹ 'Senjo Kuwanon' (mis-)anglicised, [sic] *Senju kannon bosatsu* (Jap.), a tantric form of Avalokiteśvara.

Groups of Life-Size Figures, Made in Kioto, the Sacred City of Dai Nippon, illustrative of Ancient and Modern Japan.

Beautiful Cherry and Peach Trees in Full Bloom.
The Great Pagoda Umbrella¹³².

The lead article in the *Mercury* published two days after the opening, testifies to the preparation made by Pemberton W. Willard. Perhaps due to the isolation from the mainland, he for the first time had appointed a manager, Mr H.P. Lyons, who had placed both forward notices in the newspaper and numerous posters around the city¹³³. Mr William Langford had also been secured as 'purveyor' who had a "commodious bar erected, which is nicely decorated with lanterns of various hues"¹³⁴.

In the same article the reporter managed to combine both descriptive passages of the Village contents with comments which firmly placed the event within a Tasmanian framework, especially with regard to international travel and political thought, not to mention criticism of its own restrictive trade practices with regard to import taxes on goods 'exported' from the mainland¹³⁵.

The introductory comments are quoted as they are representative not only of Hobart, but also almost certainly, of visitors' thoughts in each of the other cities visited:

¹³² The "Cherry and Peach Trees in Full Bloom" remain somewhat of a mystery, unless they displayed artificial flowers - for the visit to Tasmania occurred at the height of summer.
Mercury (Hobart), 5 and 15 January 1887, p. 3 (both references).

¹³³ Refer Footnote 16.

¹³⁴ *Mercury* (Hobart), 17 January 1887, p. 3.

¹³⁵ "At the Melbourne Exhibition whence they came, there was a very much larger display of articles of workmanship, but the tariff duties imposed by our paternal Government rendered an extensive importation prohibitive."
Mercury (17 Jan.) 1887, loc. cit.

The Japanese Village, ... has been looked forward to with much expectancy, and a visit to it is most interesting, as it gives an insight into the character and industry of a nation that has only within the decade opened her doors to British industry. It is reserved for a few to visit distant nationalities; the majority have to content themselves with descriptions in books or personal narration from a traveller, and one of the best ways to bring information home to the masses is the institution of such a show as is now on view in the Exhibition-building¹³⁶.

The educational nature of the exhibition was additionally emphasised:

[The Japanese Government] ... has become fully aware of the advantage that must ensue to the country by enlightening Europeans as to its people, manufactures, and products¹³⁷.

As in other capitals, the report detailed the various sections of the exhibition, with a summary of the "Japanese industries, [which] visitors will be able to see ... in 'full swing,'" adding with some sense of vision, "and among their novel handicrafts are some that deserve to take their places among the fine arts"¹³⁸.

On the physical layout of the interior:

... There are, however, many objects of vertie [sic] to be seen and admired, particularly he collection of fine screens, embroidery fans [sic], and wood carvings, and in the other departments an index to the merits of the work can be seen by watching the workers. ...

By gaslight the show with its myriad of Chinese lanterns¹³⁹ formed a striking display, and the large audience seemed much interested in the busy workers in the various stalls. ...¹⁴⁰.

On the various trades and industries represented:

¹³⁶ *Mercury* (17 Jan.) 1887, loc. cit.

¹³⁷ *Mercury* (17 Jan.) 1887, loc. cit.

¹³⁸ *Mercury* (Hobart), 15 January 1887, p. 2.

¹³⁹ The writer was confused - the lanterns were obviously not Chinese, but Japanese.

¹⁴⁰ *Mercury* (17 Jan.) 1887, loc. cit.

At one stall the process of enamelling is in progress, an art which, although not of Japanese origin, has reached perfection in the skilled hands of this nation. Fan making and painting forms an attraction, especially for the ladies. This is an ancient manufacture of the Japanese, and it is now an extensive industry, with a large export trade. ... Wood carving is in operation in an adjoining stall, where a skilled workman is seen at work in wood, while another shop is devoted to ivory carving, a very attractive branch of Japanese art, and the operator shows much skill. The screen making and Kakemono mounting work had always a large number of spectators about who watched the process with interest, and admired the numerous handsome screens on view. ... The young folks present spent much of their time in gazing at the silk workers, who were engaged in turning out cranes with bright white wings. In addition they make many curious articles in silk, pin cushions of fish and fruit, fish, artificial flowers, silk dolls, etc.¹⁴¹.

On the musical and acrobatic performance:

The inspection over a sound of drum and banjo, monotonous and unmusical to the European ear, called the company into the inner division of the building, where preparations had been made for a conjuring and athletic display which will undoubtedly form one of the chief attractions of the exhibition¹⁴².

On the set architectural pieces:

A *fac simile* [*sic*] of an inner Buddhist temple is on view, the original of which is said to be as ancient as 801¹⁴³. There are also a number of Japanese figures, illustrative of ancient and modern Japan, which help to complete the show¹⁴⁴.

On the tea house:

..., a Japanese tea house (purely Oriental in its furnishing), and in which the visitor, if so inclined, can listen to Japanese songs, sung by Japanese ladies, ...¹⁴⁵.

¹⁴¹ Mercury (17 Jan.) 1887, loc. cit.

¹⁴² Mercury (17 Jan.) 1887, loc. cit.

¹⁴³ Kiyomizu-dera, a Buddhist temple sited at Higashiyama in Kyoto founded in 780/785, rebuilt in 1633; not "801" as stated. source: *Encyclopaedia of Asian Civilizations*, Louis Frédéric Publisher, Villecresnes 1977.

¹⁴⁴ Mercury (17 Jan.) 1887, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁵ Mercury (15 Jan.) 1887, loc. cit.

On the sale of Japanese articles:

Two [stalls] are furnished with a fine collection of Japanese fancy goods, toys, and curiosities which are on sale, and many purchases were made during the day¹⁴⁶.

As was by now customary, Willard reduced the admission charge on the last night to "Farewell the Japs." the "Wonderful Japs." and generously offered the public (presumably to save the shipping), "Curios. Curios. Curios. Given away to-night"¹⁴⁷.

Table Talk, which seemed greatly preoccupied with the progress of the Village (even when it was no longer in Melbourne), noted in mid-February 1887 that:

The new Japanese Village Company, which now includes the Mikado's own troupe, the Imperial Dragon Troupe, and the old Japanese Company, will open in the Exhibition Building, Alfred Park, Sydney, on Saturday, February 19¹⁴⁸.

The Village by now had transformed itself with the inclusion of other troupes of entertainers including the 'Shebaya' (in Hobart); the 'Imperial Dragon Troupe', the 'New Mikado Troupe' and Fryer's United Circus in Sydney. Advertisements graphically described performances which more firmly bonded the two seemingly disparate elements of the Village - those of acrobatic and athletic skill, with the equally important decorative arts of Japan (and the craftspersons involved) [fig. 67]. Headers from these included:

New Japanese Village, ... A Colony of Art Missionaries and Theatrical Incongruities. ... The Mikado's own Troupe. The Imperial Dragon Troupe and The Old Japanese

¹⁴⁶ *Mercury* (17 Jan.) 1887, loc. cit.

¹⁴⁷ *Mercury* (Hobart), 8 February 1887, p. 3.

¹⁴⁸ *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 11 February 1887, p. 14.

Village Company together with Fryer's Circus ... and Menagerie ...

The Greatest Bamboo Balancer in the World
 The Greatest Rope Walker in the World
 The Greatest Foot Balancer in the World
 The Greatest Japanese Magician in the World
 The Greatest Umbrella Balancer in the World
 The Greatest Japanese Juggler in the World
 The Only Female Sword Walker in the World
 And the Great Little All Right.

The Directorate beg to announce that the interior decorations of the village will be a revelation of Eastern Magnificence. ... 60 Japanese artisans daily illustrate The Art Industries of Japan in perfect Japanese houses, brought from Japan ...¹⁴⁹.

Success Unprecedented of The Japanese Village ... The Imperial Dragon Troupe. The New Mikado Troupe. ... 35,000 Lanterns, a Perfect Blaze of Effulgence. ... Artisans Illustrating the Art Industries. ...¹⁵⁰.

Exhibition Building.

The Great Allied Shows, The Japanese Village and Fryer's Circus ... The Fashionable Resort Par Excellence ... The beautiful Japanese Houses arrived by S.S. Taiwan, and are now on view ...¹⁵¹.

After "monopolising" the Sydney Exhibition building for another two months on a return engagement¹⁵², the ensemble prepared to move to Brisbane. Two weeks before closing, however, advertisements echoed the urgent pleas of the promoter:

Exhibition Building.

Japanese Village, Circus, and Menagerie.
 Last Night. Positively Last Day, April 16th ... As the Japanese Government Contract expires, and the Japanese return to Japan by steamer leaving here April 18th.¹⁵³
 Curios. Curios.

¹⁴⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 February 1887, p. 2.

¹⁵⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 February 1887, p. 2.

¹⁵¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 March 1887, p. 2.

¹⁵² The Japanese Village was seen in Sydney (return engagement) between the 19 February and 16 April 1887.

¹⁵³ This statement was not true - the Japanese Village did leave Sydney, but not for Japan - rather, they opened in Brisbane on the 22 April 1887.

£15,000 must be sold. Any offer taken. Auction Sale commences To-day. and continues every day through the Easter week. No Reserve. Must be Sold. ...¹⁵⁴.

A newspaper carried the summary of the winding up of affairs in Sydney, with an article that more than favourably placed the Village on a par with other famous non-Asian entertainers and musicians who had, over recent years, visited Sydney:

For very many years Sydney has had no lack of enterprising *entrepreneurs*. Almost every form of attraction which interests the public in the old world or new world centres finds its way with considerable promptitude to these shores, under the able guidance of innumerable professional caterers for public relaxation and amusement. From the Kettens¹⁵⁵, Remenyis¹⁵⁶, and Arabella Goddards¹⁵⁷ of musical repute, to the Keans¹⁵⁸ and Ristoris¹⁵⁹ of dramatic fame, and from these again to the Blondins¹⁶⁰ and Wainrattas¹⁶¹ of tight-rope pre-eminence, Sydney has seen a very fair catalogue of competent amusements from time to time. Whatever is stirring, indeed, in the way of novelty, comes here; great and small alike gather in our net. Not one of the

¹⁵⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 April 1887, p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ [Henri Ketten, pianist, visited Sydney 1880-81].

¹⁵⁶ [Edouard Remenyi, violinist, visited Sydney 1884-85].

¹⁵⁷ [Arabella Goddard, pianist, visited Sydney in 1873].

¹⁵⁸ [Mr and Mrs Charles Kean, actors, visited Melbourne and Sydney 1863-64].

¹⁵⁹ [Marchesa del Grillo Ristori and her company, actors, visited Australia in 1875].

¹⁶⁰ [Jean Francois Gravelet (Blondin), aerialist, visited Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane in 1874 and Sydney again in 1875-76].

¹⁶¹ [Walter James Wainwright ('Wainratta', the Wire King), aerialist, visited Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane 1886-87].
sources for Footnotes 150-156: *The drama and music in New South Wales*, F.C. Brewer, published by authority of the New South Wales Commissioners for the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893, Charles Potter, Government Printer, Sydney 1892 and *Australian dictionary of dates and men of the time: containing the history of Australia from 1542 to May 1879*, J.H. Heaton, George Robertson, Sydney 1879; re-published as: *The bedside book of colonial doings*, Cornstalk Publishing (Angus & Robertson Publishers), North Ryde 1984.

least interesting shows was the entertainment of which our artist¹⁶² has furnished a characteristic sketch¹⁶³.

The same article praised the educative and innovative nature of the exhibition in retrospect:

The 'Japanese Village' at the Exhibition Building attracted, from its novelty and from the skill displayed by the troupe, a large amount of attention during the many weeks the proprietors exhibited it. Young and old alike were delighted with what was, in truth, a novel and most legitimate attraction - one unique in many respects, and not a little educative, as tending to show in a popular way the skill and dexterity of the singular race concerned¹⁶⁴.

and approvingly concluded that the whole affair had:

... terminated on the 16th April, and the Japanese curios and articles of interest were sold on the evening of that day. Judging from the interest shown by large and appreciative gatherings, the venture should have been a marked financial success¹⁶⁵.

In mid-April 1887 a 'Preliminary Advertisement' placed by Pemberton W. Willard in the *Brisbane Courier*, announced the intended arrival of the Village "about 19th April", with "The Great Combined Shows, Japanese Village, Mikado Troupe, and Fryer's Circus", and:

... Japanese Artisans - Japanese men, women, and children - working at the various arts and industries of Japan. Real and Beautiful Japanese Houses, and 100 other Novelties. N.B. - This wonderful exhibition has recently had the unprecedented season of seven months in Melbourne and six in Sydney. ...¹⁶⁶.

Two days later an advertisement elaborated further on what was by now a highly successful formula:

¹⁶² Constance Roth, "Sketches at the Japanese Village", *Illustrated Sydney News*, 16 May 1887, p. 20.

¹⁶³ "Japanese Village at the Exhibition Building", *Illustrated Sydney News* (16 May) 1887, op. cit., p. 11.

¹⁶⁴ *Illustrated Sydney News* (16 May) 1887, loc. cit.

¹⁶⁵ *Illustrated Sydney News* (16 May) 1887, loc. cit.

¹⁶⁶ *Brisbane Courier*, 13 April 1887, p. 1.

... Japanese Tea Houses with lady attendants. Japanese Theatre, and 10,001 other attractions. 1000 varieties of Lanterns and Umbrellas. £20,000 worth of Curios on view for sale. ...¹⁶⁷.

Due to some unrecorded technical problem the Village did not open as planned, but rather one day late - even then, the reviewer of the opening night complained that the "village is not in complete working order, and consequently the audience found the earlier part of the evening hang somewhat heavily on their hands"¹⁶⁸. The article continued:

What is known as Mr. Willard's Japanese Village opened last night at the Exhibition building¹⁶⁹, there being from six to seven hundred persons present. ... The main aisle of the building was used for a large display of Japanese lanterns, and of various goods for sale, while the houses of the village were arranged on either side of the cross aisle at the main entrance of the building. The artisans at work so far are those doing enamelling, making the Japanese 'Shippo' or Cloisonne [sic] ware, fan making and painting, wood carving, and embroidery working. ... The display of general articles is very good, and the work of the artisans¹⁷⁰ is really the feature of the village¹⁷¹.

As on at least one previous occasion, the manager placed a misleading notice in the newspaper at the conclusion of the exhibition in Brisbane to spur attendance and sales of the stock of art wares prior to departure to Adelaide:

¹⁶⁷ *Brisbane Courier*, 15 April 1887, p. 1.

¹⁶⁸ *Brisbane Courier*, 23 April 1887, p. 5.

¹⁶⁹ The Japanese Village was seen in Brisbane between the 22 April and 7 May 1887.

¹⁷⁰ Japanese mentioned in Brisbane (in alphabetical order):

Chesi	balancing, boy acrobat
Ohmy	walking on bare swords
Omume	conjurer
Skataro	acrobat
Tachibana	conjurer.

¹⁷¹ *Brisbane Courier* (23 Apr.) 1887, loc. cit.

... Important Notice!!! - In consequence of the departure of the Japanese to their native country¹⁷², and wishing to give everyone an opportunity of visiting This Marvellous Exhibition, The management have decided to Reduce the Price of Admission to One Shilling! ... Unreserved Auction Sale To-Day ... Everything. Remember, Everything for Positive Sale. ... ¹⁷³.

The very complexity of Village movements after it had first opened in Sydney, then moved to Melbourne - later to Hobart; then a return engagement to the former venue in Sydney; and finally to Brisbane and Adelaide, suggests that the tour was well-planned, as inevitably the venue chosen was the respective Exhibition Building in each state capital. The exception was Adelaide where the visit of the Japanese Village coincided, (whether by design of accident), with the 1887-1888 Adelaide Jubilee Exhibition. The last venue of the tour proper throughout Australia was Garner's Rooms¹⁷⁴, King William Street, Adelaide.

An opening advertisement worded to appeal to a colonial audience declared that in the presence of "Sir Wm. C.F. Robinson G.C.M.G., and a host of the Nobility and Gentry" the Japanese Village with "... quiet and clever Japanese [who] can be seen in his Village Home at Work" would open on 18 June 1887¹⁷⁵. A lengthy article in the *Observer* congratulated Willard on bringing the "excellent show" with "... fifteen¹⁷⁶ Japanese who have just come from Victoria,

¹⁷² Again this statement is not true - the Japanese Village did leave Brisbane, but not for Japan - rather, they opened in Adelaide on the 18 June 1887.

¹⁷³ *Brisbane Courier*, 7 May 1887, p. 1.

¹⁷⁴ The 'Rooms' were not exactly small, as detailed: "The stalls and pit, still on the original flat floor, seated 250 and 500 respectively, the dress circle 176, and the gallery or amphitheatre (in this sense, a stepped area without seats) 400 - 1326 in all". source: *Dictionary of the Australian theatre 1788-1914*, Eric Irvin, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney 1985, pp. 21-22.

¹⁷⁵ The Japanese Village was seen in Adelaide between the 18 June and 23 July 1887.

¹⁷⁶ Japanese mentioned in Adelaide (in alphabetical order):
Ahroy carver

..." to the city; noted that the lessee of the venue was a Mr A.L. Cunard who had "gone to considerable trouble to set up the 'Village' and announced rather facetiously that Miss Gardner "who converses in English like a native" was in charge of the stall which sold "fancy goods". She was clearly a member of the so-called 'white race'. All the wares, the writer continued, "... she has have been made in the colonies by the 'Villagers,' who replenish her stock as fast as she decreases it".¹⁷⁷ Mr H.P. Lyons (present in Hobart with the Village) was noted in an advertisement in the *Adelaide Advertiser*¹⁷⁸ as "Originator of the Japanese Village" - a claim which must be disputed.

Adelaide audiences were certainly less familiar with Japanese entertainers as the reporter was moved to comment that the, " ... [interest in the villagers, amounted to that] ... in a people so little known to Australians as the Japanese". There was, however, a subtle distinction between the personages and the products¹⁷⁹, for in the same report it was noted:

Charnie	contortionist
Joe Kichi	manipulator of hoops and glasses
Joe Kitche [Kitchi]	magician
Kodoma	fan-painter
Kotumo [Katomo]	bamboos
Kutomo	slack-rope walker
Masaki	lacquer painter
Mino	bamboos
Okio	teahouse attendant, walking on bare swords
Okmura	fan-maker
Sada	teahouse attendant
[3 unidentified].	

¹⁷⁷ *Observer* (Adelaide), 25 June 1887, p. 23.

¹⁷⁸ *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 24 June 1887, p. 1.

¹⁷⁹ A summary of work (drawn from a number of Adelaide visitors' references and advertisements in contemporary newspapers and journals) [1887] (in alphabetical order) included the techniques of: fan-making; fan painting; ivory carving; lacquer work; painting; porcelain painting; shell carving; and wood carving.

The exquisite fancy articles manufactured in Japan are well known here, but it is a decidedly novel sight to see the artisans actually at work¹⁸⁰.

By coincidence, St. Leon's Circus and Equestrian Pavilion opened in Adelaide on the same night, 18 June 1887 - it was this circus, together with several others in the eastern states, that employed Japanese acrobats and conjurors throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and it is probable that contact was made with the Japanese performers during their respective seasons. In Adelaide, similar to the incorporation of Fryer's Circus in the eastern states, the Japanese acrobats were joined by a white act - the Faust Family.

The graphic description of the room decoration and the content of the Village, by now organised to such an extent that, "Most prominent on the walls, ..., are the long streamers, on which are painted the names of the members of the village"¹⁸¹ was printed in the *Observer* a week after the opening¹⁸².

On the physical layout of the interior:

The Village, which is divided into two parts, present [sic] a strikingly novel appearance. On one side are the workshops where the artisans are preparing articles for ornamentation and other purposes. ... The whole of the hall is gaily decorated. All round the walls are tastefully arranged with fans and kites all gaudily coloured. ... The spectacle in the evening was strikingly appropriate to the name, the whole room being lit with innumerable Chinese lanterns¹⁸³. The lanterns were suspended on string from end to end¹⁸⁴.

On the various trades and industries represented:

¹⁸⁰ *Observer* (25 June) 1887, loc. cit.

¹⁸¹ *Observer* (25 June) 1887, loc. cit.

¹⁸² *Observer* (25 June) 1887, loc. cit.

¹⁸³ Again the writer was confused - refer Footnote 139.

¹⁸⁴ *Observer* (25 June) 1887, loc. cit.

In one compartment Ahroy, in his workman's dress, holds in his hand a piece of shell, or ivory, or wood, which he is carving into all sorts of fanciful and artistic designs. He is very deft, his keen-edged tools cutting away the unnecessary wood, ivory or shell in a way that astonishes Europeans. Next to Ahroy is Masaki¹⁸⁵, a young artist, who does lacquerwork and all kinds of painting. He is now engaged in lacquering a tray. He has done sufficient to show the visitor that he possesses artistic merit of no mean order. Okmura¹⁸⁶, the fanmaker, monopolizes a large share of attention. The young ladies especially delight in watching him making fans out of bamboos and paper. But Kodoma¹⁸⁷, the fanpainter, next door, is equally worth notice. He is as skilful as his neighbours, and rapidly paints designs for the fans with sepia. All kinds of designs are painted by his brush¹⁸⁸.

On the musical and acrobatic performance:

The programme opened with slack-rope walking by a youngster named Kotumo¹⁸⁹, and then Joe Kitche¹⁹⁰ performed several feats with rings whilst lying on his back with a full glass of water standing on his forehead. The Risley performance by the Brothers Ted, Eugene, and Victor Faust was followed by the masher song by little Daisy. Two Japanese, Mino and Katumbo [sic], then appeared and gave a performance, the youngster climbing and acting on a huge bamboo resting on Mino's shoulder. In addition to these performances the 'Mikado's Comedians' were listed as an attraction¹⁹¹.

On the tea house:

Next to Miss Gardner the Misses Sada and Okio¹⁹² conduct a teahouse. The tea is brewed in the place. The young ladies attract attention by playing a peculiar musical instrument, very similar to our violin, and

¹⁸⁵ [Masaaki?].

¹⁸⁶ [Okamura?].

¹⁸⁷ [Kodama?].

¹⁸⁸ *Observer* (25 June) 1887, loc. cit.

¹⁸⁹ [Kotomi?].

¹⁹⁰ [Kichi-?].

¹⁹¹ *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 18 June 1887, p. 1.

¹⁹² [Okiko?].

when they get the visitors around them they distribute tea without sugar in little cups¹⁹³.

On the sale of Japanese articles:

On the opposite side of the room the Village is of a totally different character. There are two shops, both managed by young ladies. In the first every description of fancy goods is disposed of by Miss Gardner ... Her stall at present is overloaded with all kinds of Japanese fancy goods¹⁹⁴.

The city of Adelaide must have registered a powerful combination of factors at this time related to Asia with the population exposed to a series of events which provoked interest and comment, starting with the Village itself which hosted:

The attendance, which was good in the evening also, included the Special Chinese Consul and the two Secretaries of the Chinese Commissioners¹⁹⁵, Mr. Way Lee, and several Chinese merchants of the city¹⁹⁶.

Together with the Japanese Village (opened 18 June 1887); were the Johore Court at the Jubilee International Exhibition (opened 20 June 1887); the Aesthetic play, *The Colonel* (opened 30 June 1887)¹⁹⁷; and the visit of the Chinese Commissioners (in Adelaide from 18 to 27 June 1887)

¹⁹³ *Observer* (25 June) 1887, loc. cit.

¹⁹⁴ *Observer* (25 June) 1887, loc. cit.

¹⁹⁵ The two Chinese Commissioners were General Wong Yung Ho and U Tsing [Wang Yonghe and Wu Jing]. The Commissioners appointed by the Chinese Government travelled throughout Australia to enquire into conditions of resident Chinese.
source: *The New Gold Mountain: The Chinese in Australia 1901-1921*, C.F. Yong, Raphael Arts Pty Ltd., Richmond 1977.

¹⁹⁶ *Observer* (25 June) 1887, loc. cit.

¹⁹⁷ The Aesthetic burlesque was revived at the Theatre Royal, Adelaide, 30 June 1887. Advertisements pronounced it an "Electric Success" with "quaint Aesthetic dresses" and the artist 'Basil Giorgione', who clutched a sunflower and exhibited a "reverence for Japanese teapots and ... bizarre emotions".
sources: *South Australian Advertiser* (Adelaide), 30 June 1887, p. 1 and "Aestheticism in Australia", Ann Galbally, *Australian Art and Architecture: Essays presented to Bernard Smith*, edited by Anthony Bradley & Terry Smith, Oxford University Press, Melbourne 1980, pp. 124-133.

[fig. 68]. The comment published on the parting of the Chinese could just as aptly be used to describe the circumstances of the Japanese Village:

The visit of the Chinese Commissioners to South Australia has come to an end, and they left for Victoria en route to their native land. ... Their presence in Adelaide was a novelty, and coming, as it did, at the time when we were in the midst of our jubilee festivities the novelty had a double charm¹⁹⁸.

In the words of the advertisement placed in the *South Australian Register*, shortly before the Village closed:

One Shilling! One Shilling !! One Shilling !!!
To see the Greatest Novelty in Australia, the Japanese Village, peopled by Japanese Men, Women, and Children, ... Japan brought to your own doors.
Don't miss seeing it¹⁹⁹.

The Village was in many ways unique in Australia, if not by international standards - there had not been before, nor has there been since, such a number of Japanese craftspersons and performers working in Australia at one time. The tour to five colonial capitals (and selected country centres) differed markedly from international counterparts in that firstly, the products were for ready sale; and secondly, the distances travelled within the continent to respective capitals were monumental (international Japanese Villages, were by contrast, usually static).

The Japanese Village when measured against the population of the day and attendance at the popular colonial exhibitions reveals all the characteristics of an extremely successful venture and must have exerted considerable influence on taste - especially in relation to both Australian and Asian decorative arts.

¹⁹⁸ *Observer* (Adelaide), 2 July 1887, p. 25.

¹⁹⁹ *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 11 July 1887, p. 1.

The estimated total white population of Australia in 1887 was 2,881,362²⁰⁰, with the states of New South Wales and Victoria each registering populations of approximately one million persons²⁰¹. The slightly earlier 1880-1881 Melbourne International Exhibition (1 October 1880-30 April 1881) attracted an attendance of 1,330,279 (variant given as 1,309,496) with a state population of 862,346²⁰². While in 1887, the final year of the Japanese Village, the 1887-1888 Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition (20 June 1887-17 January 1888) saw an attendance of 789,672 (variants given as 753,592, 766,880 and 767,000) with a corresponding state population of 309,820²⁰³. Mr Willard's stated attendance figures for Sydney and Melbourne of 335,700²⁰⁴ compared more than favourably with these events which were shown over similar time spans. If the three additional cities of Hobart, Brisbane and Adelaide (and the regional venues) are taken into account, the total attendance for the Village throughout Australia must have been in the vicinity of 500,000 persons²⁰⁵. This

²⁰⁰ source: *Collins Milestones in Australian history: 1788 to the Present*, compiled by Robin Brown, edited by Richard Appleton, foreword by Manning Clark, William Collins Pty Ltd., Sydney 1986.

²⁰¹ source: *Australians: A historical library*, *Australians: historical statistics*, Wray Vamplew (editor), Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Broadway 1987.

²⁰² *Melbourne International Exhibition, 1880-1881: Official Record*, Mason, Firth & McCutcheon, Melbourne 1882.

²⁰³ *Report of the Royal Commission for the Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition of 1887*, printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office by Eyre and Spottiswoode, London 1888.

²⁰⁴ *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 14 January 1887, p. 12.

²⁰⁵ David Sissons stated: "... (if one may believe the advertisements) by upward of 317,000 people".
source: Sissons 1, 1978, op. cit., p. 23.

By comparison, for the 112 days the Japanese Village in London was open, 250,000 persons attended. The exhibition was re-opened (after a tour of Germany) on 2 December 1885 under the name 'Japan in London'.
source: Checkland (1989), op. cit., p. 164.

I am indebted to Aaron M. Cohen, Tokyo for a copy of the catalogue for this revival which is titled *Japan: Past & Present; The manners & customs of the Japanese; Otakesan Buhicrosan*; also a description of

translates to an estimated 1 in 6 of the total Australian population who paid to visit, experience and perhaps procure.

As an extension of the Village, some Japanese performers²⁰⁶ returned to Sydney in April 1888 to perform at the Coogee Palace Aquarium, Sydney²⁰⁷. The Managing Director, Mr Alfred Wyburd, advertised the "First appearance of the members of the late JAPANESE VILLAGE", including "Kotomo and Charlie, the marvellous juvenile performers ..."²⁰⁸. In early May the advertisement promised a "Wondrous Japanese Village" which had through a "sensational transformation" turned the "entire building [into] one vast Japanese Temple resplendent with Oriental Grandeur"²⁰⁹.

the Japanese Native Village, promoted by Tannaker Buhicrosan, Albert Gate, Hyde Park, published by the Proprietors of the Japanese Native Village, London (1885).

²⁰⁶ The group is named in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 May 1888, p. 2, (in alphabetical order):

Japanese workmen:

Kodama Tunataro
Kunicomo Fuchiachimha
Okumura Tatanouske
Yasuda Tomokeeche

Japanese women:

Okumura Osada
Yasuda Oeeshe

Japanese children:

Charley Takanooouche Tooranooske
Kotoma Nacammura Sankeeche.

²⁰⁷ An initial performance was given on the 28 April 1888 to commence the special holiday program, with a grand opening on the 5 May 1888. The village and oriental fair closed at the Coogee Palace Aquarium on 4 June 1888. Katherine Brisbane has written that the site which dominated the beachfront constantly advertised programs designed to appeal to 'fashionable' and 'elite' audiences.

²⁰⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 April 1888, p. 2. The newspaper reported on the same day (p. 14), that, "... the first appearance here of some of the cleverest performers attached to the late Japanese Village. These artists will give an entirely unique entertainment, introducing a few original balancing feats lately imported from Japan".

²⁰⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 May 1888, p. 2. Also noted beside the Japanese performers were: Japanese music; houses; stalls; idols; curios and "... works of art of every description". The newspaper

Two days later, a review mentioned that:

..., a troupe of Japanese, dressed in their peculiar costumes, were seen performing various kinds of work, all of a fancy character, and a couple of Japanese children went through a number of acrobatic feats with remarkable precision and agility. The hall was tastefully decorated with hundreds of ornamentations, which when the building was lighted at night, combined to produce a very pretty effect²¹⁰.

David Sissons has suggested that both before and after this revival some of the performers had already appeared as independent acts, with a few remaining in Australia until the early 1890s²¹¹.

The Japanese Village essentially manifested itself at the level of popular culture rather than the viewing of sophisticated museum or gallery collections. Even if only measured by factors of 'entertainment value', 'curiosity' or 'novelty', visitors certainly formed a perception of Japan and its "art manufactures". This was clearly evident in contemporary press reports. The level of aesthetic judgement and appreciation of these works must, however, be weighed against the dual implications of contemporary Victorian taste and the accessibility of pre-selected material. As a parallel, similar Japanese wares (ceramics, ivory carving, lacquer, cloisonné and bronzes) were seen in profusion during the intercolonial and international exhibitions.

reviewed the 'Aquariums and Rinks' on 12 May 1888, p. 11: "... the wondrous Japanese village, with real 'Japs' at their daily avocations in their curious houses, and surrounded by native idols and interesting works of art of every description familiar to the inhabitants of the once mysterious isle which is under the sway of the Mikado".

²¹⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 May 1888, p. 8.

²¹¹ Goulburn, 14-16 March 1891.

source: correspondence, David Sissons to the author, 19 July 1991 and 9 September 1991.

The one omission on Willard's part - an important impetus when examining the influence of Japan on the West in the nineteenth century, was the exclusion of Japanese prints from the exhibition. There is no mention in any source to date of the display or sale of these easily transportable and significant items.

In combination with other primary visual stimuli associated with the performing arts and exhibitions, the consciousness generated by the Japanese Village in Australia was to greatly influence and ultimately define public reaction to Japanese works of art for the next half century.

7
Theatre in Australia: Asia "on the boards"

Australian intercolonial and international exhibitions¹ of this period were not the only source of public contact with the fine and decorative arts of Asia, there was also the accessible world of the theatre.

For the general public, theatrical performances throughout the early to late nineteenth century were a prime visual source for exposure to Asia. As an alternative to intercolonial or international exhibitions and state museums, audience contact with both real and depicted exotic racial types was often reinforced by direct representation on the stage. Many productions made use of stereotypes, racial humour, exotic costumes, and spectacular effects to deliberately emphasise the blurred, 'distant' image of Asia. Other renditions played on contemporary political events to add fear and drama to the unfamiliar, and by doing so, extended the fantasy and lure of the East.

The Australian manager, James MacMahon, on a visit to America was quoted in the *New York Times*, 9 February 1891, with particular reference to Melbourne:

The reason for this I take to be the general prosperity of the community ... There is no such thing as absolute poverty in the country, and where all enjoy prosperity to a certain extent the theatres are sure to prosper².

In the interval between the years 1845 and 1929 there were some fifty productions, ranging from extravaganza through comic opera to drama, which directly, or in part, related to the 'East'³. Melbourne's Italianate Princess's Theatre

¹ Refer to Register 2A: Select Intercolonial and International Exhibitions in Australia.

² Crowley F., *Documentary history of Australia*, vol. 3, Colonial Australia 1875-1900, Thomas Nelson Pty Ltd., (West Melbourne) 1980, p. 324.

³ Refer to Register 3.

opened in December 1886 with a revival of *The Mikado* - a comic opera which had previously been seen in Sydney (opened Theatre Royal, 14 November 1885, and at the Theatre Royal, Melbourne opened 20 February 1886) - the Sydney season commencing a mere eight months to the day after its premiere in London at the Savoy on 14 March 1885⁴. Many performances through the imaginative direction of costumiers and scenic artists provided direct visual links between Asia, contemporary art movements (particularly Aestheticism and Japonisme), fashion, and the decoration of domestic and public interiors.

A chronological examination of performances in Australia linked in content directly to Asia, reveals an initial interest in China, followed by that in the country and people of Japan. This is not surprising as it paralleled the historical sequence of events in Australia which commenced with the early arrival of the Chinese in search of gold. There followed periods of growing resentment by white Australians which flared to bitter hatred and open hostility with riots on the goldfields and anti-Chinese demonstrations in the capitals. It was, however, Chinese theatre which first played an important role as indigenous entertainment in the Chinese camps of colonial Australia [fig. 69].

Harold Love has documented the various troupes on the Victorian fields between 1858 and 1870 with a procession of colourful managers, companies and characters which

⁴ *Table Talk: A journal for men and women*, (Melbourne), 7 September 1888, p. 14, approximately three years later reported two rather eccentric proposals: "The Mikado is to be translated into Japanese and played in San Francisco with a troupe of Japanese artists. A short time ago it was said that this play was to be played in Japan in that language, but nothing more has been heard of the project."

successfully toured centres in central country Victoria⁵. Although the theatricals were sometimes shunned by the non-Chinese diggers and locals (who often complained of "horrid sounds" and "barbaric taste"), increasingly the 'celestials' found their dramatic offerings reviewed by journalists in newspapers of the day or witnessed by European members in the audience⁶. In most cases, as Love confirmed, the acrobatic performances, dramas or musical events were held in tent theatres erected in the Chinese quarter of the goldfields. Occasionally the troupes presented performances in established city theatres where the essentially white audience attended to experience the unfamiliar as 'amusement' [fig. 70]. Racism, mis-interpretation and a genuine lack of appreciation barred most white members of the audience from an understanding of the performances. There were few who viewed the events with any sympathy - most were reluctant visitors driven by sheer curiosity rather than appreciation of a culture so different from their own.

For the resident Chinese these troupes fulfilled an equally important role to the earliest revered British and American stage personalities who visited the colonies (Love raised the intriguing parallel between immigrant white and Chinese diggers and early theatrical companies that arrived in

⁵ "Chinese theatre on the Victorian goldfields 1858-1870", Harold Love, *Australasian Drama Studies*, vol. 3, no. 2 (correctly, no. 6), April 1985, pp. 47-86.

I am indebted to John McPhee for drawing this article to my attention.

⁶ A reviewer for 'Chinese Theatricals in Melbourne' reported on the physical aspects of one such performance, and concluded: "Many of our European actors might take a lesson with profit from the Celestials, who evidently possess great talent, and are well versed in histrionic art. The properties are truly magnificent, the costumes being composed of the richest brocaded and flowered silks and satins ... A visit to the theatre in the Chinese quarter is exceedingly interesting as the performance altogether gives a higher idea of the manners and customs of the flowery land than a cursory glance at that of Bourke-street."

Illustrated Australian News (Melbourne), 16 July 1872, pp. 144-145; republished, *Illustrated Sydney News*, 23 November 1872, p. 4.

Australia from America). Questions still remain concerning the origins of the performers. Did they come from China (as one contemporary writer suggested)⁷, or from California? It is clear from media coverage that the general public were at least cognisant of their existence. Attendance was restricted by choice which, in most cases, was induced by an understood 'cultural superiority'.

The Chinese companies featured opera, mime, drama, and acrobatics with the costumed actors in traditional make-up. It was usual for the actors to be accompanied by a native orchestra of musicians. As the companies disbanded with the demise of the concentration of Chinese on the fields, their place was taken by Japanese performers in circuses. For a detailed examination of the performers in the Japanese Village and circuses throughout Australia refer to chapter 6, *The Japanese Village in Australia: 1886-1887*.

The partial vacuum formed by the absence of the Chinese was filled by a growth in the awareness of Japan as a source for the exotic in theatrical presentations. This also accorded with a corresponding international shift from the earlier art movement of Chinoiserie⁸ to that of Japonisme⁹. The particular geographical location of Australia; its proximity to Asia, New Zealand, and the United States, did mean that from "... the 1830s onward they [Australian actors] visited China, Japan, and India playing to the

⁷ Refer "What I saw in the Chinese mirror", Robin Goodfellow [pseud.], *Australian Monthly Magazine*, vol. I, September 1865 to February 1866, W.H. Williams, Melbourne 1866, pp. 86-93. The article described a performance of Chinese actors "from Peking" [sic] in a Melbourne theatre by a white member of the audience.

⁸ Chinoiserie: European style of decoration that was based on an imitation of motifs in Chinese art; current especially in the eighteenth century.

⁹ Japonisme: The influence of Japanese art and decoration, especially in France, 1854-1910; a number of French artists were influenced by the simplicity of Japanese design.

English communities in those centres"¹⁰. In 1865 'Professor Bushell' from Australia was in Japan on 7 November 1865, and gave a varied performance of electrical experiments, electro-biology etc."¹¹; by 1872 the Great American Circus which was seen at the Exhibition Building, Sydney was able to advertise that they were "now on their grand tour from the United States of America, having visited California, Japan, the principal ports in China, New Zealand, and Queensland, and now en route to Melbourne"¹².

In Australia, Anglo-American theatre troupes experimented with productions which featured Asian characters in representations of the exotic. A number of these farces directly related in content to the influx of gold-seeking Chinese and to some extent acted as foils to the native Chinese troupes on the fields.

On 20 February 1845, the Royal Victoria Theatre, Sydney, premiered the ballet *The Barber of Peking* [sic] produced by Andrew Torning. The cast included, 'Zing Rang', 'Zam Roo' and the 'Rose of China'. In 1850, Melbourne saw the pantomime *The Goblin of the Gold Coast; or, Harlequina and the Melbournites in California*¹³ with groups of 'Celestials', 'Terrestrials' and 'Infernals' as supporting cast. At Geelong in 1853, the almost unpronounceable exotic pantomime, *T: <Chit.T%Chet Cha-Ra-Cha, Emperor of China* premiered at the Theatre Royal on 21 November. All these productions characterised initial white responses to the growing Chinese population.

¹⁰ *Dictionary of the Australian theatre 1788-1914*, Eric Irvin, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney 1985, p. 37.

¹¹ Cited H.S. Williams Collection, National Library of Australia.

¹² Cited St. Leon (1983), p. 46 (ill.) from *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 December 1872.

¹³ Premiere: Queen's Theatre, Melbourne, 13 May 1850.

Not all the productions relied on the fantastic, although most relied on humour in the form of barb, ridicule, satire and stereotyped behaviour. A London comedy burlesque production *Masks and Faces; or, Before and Behind the Curtain*¹⁴, featured a burlesque of the Chinese. It is of interest to note in an 1892 publication, the notation of a past theatrical event in terms of racial overtones. The burlesque *Masks and Faces...* was performed at the Lyceum Theatre, Sydney from 11 October 1862, and the author, some thirty years later, recorded that:

Younge [Mr Frederick Younge] was unquestionably among the cleverest of burlesque actors ... of the Australian stage: in character sketches he was highly amusing, being a good mimic. His make-up and action as a Chinaman were remarkable; and when he presented 'John' on the stage none laughed at him more heartily than the 'Chinkies' who frequently formed a goodly portion of the audience¹⁵.

Other productions with equal emphasis on the Chinese included the extravaganza, *Pong Wong the Mandarin*¹⁶ in 1857, and the comedy, *A Spec in China* in 1860¹⁷. In 1877, the musical *Bluebeard and the Heathen Chinee, or, Heathen Chinese, or alternatively, The Heathen Chinee; or, Harlequin Bluebeard* was performed at the Academy of Music, Melbourne¹⁸.

¹⁴ Premiere: Haymarket Theatre, London, 20 November 1852: Written by C. Reade and T. Taylor, Australian premiere: Royal Victoria Theatre, Sydney 25 September 1856; revived: Lyceum Theatre, Sydney 11 October 1862.

¹⁵ Brewer, F.C., *The drama and music of New South Wales*, published by authority of the New South Wales Commissioners for the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893, Charles Potter, Government Printer, (Sydney) 1892, p. 25.

¹⁶ Premiere: Theatre Royal, Melbourne, 24 February 1857.

¹⁷ Premiere: Theatre Royal, Melbourne, 24 July 1860. Written by R.H. Horne.

¹⁸ Premiere: 22 January 1877.

With the 1860s came the first of the travelling acrobatic troupes which were to play an important part in the picturesque image Australians were to cultivate of Japan and the Japanese. By 18 November 1867, 'The Tycoon Troupe' with a cast of four¹⁹ in a concert which featured Japanese acrobats, sword swallowing, music and dance had opened at the Royal Haymarket Theatre, Melbourne²⁰.

As has been established in chapter 6, *The Japanese Village in Australia: 1886-1887*, the leader of the troupe, Tannaker [Tanaka?] Buhicro(san) visited Australia to perform in this precursor to the Japanese Village proper seen some seventeen years later in London (1885 and again, 1885-1887). Critical response to the acts was good, with a Sydney reviewer coining the phrase "native eccentricities" to describe the content of the performance²¹.

¹⁹ The cast included (in alphabetical order): Otayseman, dancer, musician; Querysan, dancer, musician; Tamaka Buchirosa, [sic], leader; Tamaka Turischutchi, tumbling, top-spinning and balancing.

²⁰ Royal Haymarket Theatre, Melbourne, 18 November 1867-13 December 1867; Mechanics' Institute, Geelong, 14-18 December 1867; School of Arts, Sydney, 23 December 1867-14 January 1868; Assembly Rooms, Newcastle, 16-20 January 1868; Olympic Theatre, Maitland, 22-27 January 1868; Singleton, 28-29 January 1868; School of Arts, Sydney (return engagement), 5-12 February 1868; School of Arts, Balmain, 13 February 1868; School of Arts, Parramatta, 14-15 February 1868; Assembly Rooms, Newcastle (return engagement), 14-16 March 1868; Dawson's Assembly Rooms, Waratah, 21 March 1868; Old Barrack Square, Newcastle, 23 March 1868; Industrial School, Newcastle, 24 March 1868; Theatre Royal, Christchurch, NZ, 13-18 April 1868; Town Hall, Christchurch, NZ, 20-25 April 1868; Colonists' Hall, Lyttleton, NZ, 27-28 April 1868; Opera House, Wellington, NZ, from 4 May 1868; Hokitika, NZ, 1-c.6 June 1868; White's Assembly Rooms, Adelaide, 22 June-17 July 1868; Port Adelaide, 13 July 1868; Oddfellows' Hall, Gawler, 16 July 1868; Grace's Rooms, Kapunda, 17-18 July 1868; Town Hall, Adelaide, 20 July 1868; Varieties, Melbourne, 1-14 August 1868; Mechanics' Institute, Ballarat, 22-26 August 1868; Lyceum Theatre, Bendigo, 29 August-1 September 1868; Mechanics' Institute, Castlemaine, 4-5 September 1868; Church's Hotel, Guildford, 7 September 1868; Yandoit Hotel, Yandoit, 8 September 1868; Strangways Hotel, Strangways, 9 September 1868; Dunolly, 18 September 1868; Maryborough, 19-21 September 1868; Avoca, 22 September 1868; Talbot, 23 September 1868; Clunes, 24 September 1868; Brighton, 3 October 1868; Prahran, 5 October 1868; St Kilda, 6 October 1868.

²¹ Critic, *Empire* (Sydney), 1 January 1868, p. 2 and *Empire* (Sydney), 4 January 1868, p. 2. Much the same terminology was used to

Between late 1867 and late 1868²², 'Lenton and Smith's Great Dragon Japanese Troupe', "12 performers direct from Jeddo [sic] at an expense of [US]\$15,000 with an assembled audience over the past few weeks [in Melbourne] of 10,000 persons" performed in capitals and country centres throughout Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia.

The cast consisted of (in program order):

Males:

Eso Kitchie, Director of the Dragon Theatre in Jeddo
 Gengero, juggler, top-spinner, &c. from Osaka &c.
 Bungero, pedal and light balancer &c.
 Metaro, acrobat and gymnast &c.
 Sagero, long ladder and heavy tub &c.
 Cho-Nos-Kee, flight of butterflies &c.
 Yaskee, wizard and fire eater
 Che-Oh- Kitchie²³, the boy wonder, gymnast and acrobat

Females:

Cuts-Who-Ge-Vo, slackrope, ascension &c.
 Omato, pointed bamboo walking, Japanese paper &c.
 Oh-Hat-Sue, perch performer &c.
 Onra-Or-Vo, in waiting on performance.

Part of their extensive advertising claimed that, "en route [to Australia] they [had previously] played before their Excellencies the Governors of Hong Kong and Straits Settlements; the Governor-Generals of Manila, and the Island of Java; and the Hon. Lieutenant Governors of Bengal and the Straits Settlements"²⁴.

describe the Japanese Village in Australia between 1886 and 1887. See chapter 6.

²² Princess's Theatre, Melbourne, 26 December 1867-22 January 1868; Theatre Royal, Ballarat, 25 January-15 February 1868; Mechanics' Institute, Geelong, 17-22 February 1868; Lyceum Theatre, Bendigo, 24 February-14 March 1868; Theatre Royal, Castlemaine, 16-21 March 1868; Prince of Wales Theatre, Sydney, 30 March-4 May 1868; Theatre Royal, Hobart, 11-29 May 1868; Launceston, 1-15 June 1868; Theatre Royal, Melbourne, 22 June-18 July 1868; Theatre Royal, Adelaide, 27 July-22 August 1868; Town Hall, Port Adelaide 24 July 1868; Royal Alfred Hall, Ballarat, 29 August-5 September 1868; Mechanics' Institute, Geelong, 7-12 September 1868; Theatre Royal, Castlemaine, 14-19 September 1868; Lyceum Theatre, Bendigo, 21-26 September 1868; Theatre Royal, Melbourne, 28 September-3 October 1868.

²³ [Chiyokichi?].

²⁴ *Argus* (Melbourne), 18 December 1867, p. 8; 27 December 1867, p. 6, 22 January 1868, p. 8; and "Japanese performers in Australia in the

In early 1871 yet another troupe arrived in Melbourne from Japan. 'Evans' Japanese Troupe: The Satsuma Troupe of Imperial Japan' opened at the Royal Princess's Theatre, Melbourne then proceeded to tour covering a similar itinerary to 'The Great Dragon Japanese Troupe'²⁵. As with most of the troupes, individual performers occasionally separated from the group to perform elsewhere under variant stage names²⁶. 'Evans' Satsuma Troupe of Imperial Japanese' [a variation of their stage title] included 'Kami Sami' or 'Kamisama' - the beautiful Japanese girl on the aerial slack-rope and 'Yama-moto' the celebrated conjurer, fireman and fakeer [*sic*] ("Principal paid performer of the Prince of Satsuma"). In addition, 'All Right' [fig. 72] and 'Tiskie Tiskie' the wonderful butterfly fanner were presented in his extraordinary entertainment²⁷.

The cast consisted of (in alphabetical order):

19th century", [unpublished correspondence, 7 May 1990], Sissons to Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales. Manuscripts: photographs: PXA 362⁻⁶ 70, 71, 72 PXA 362⁻¹⁰ 17, 18, 20 (Mitchell Library). "Little 'All Right'", Department of International Relations, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, 19 September 1989.

²⁵ Royal Princess's Theatre, Melbourne, 6-25 February 1871; Theatre Royal, Ballarat, 27 February-11 March 1871; Mechanics' Institute, Geelong, 13-18 March 1871; Adelaide 10-29 April 1871; Opera House, Melbourne, 8-13 May 1871.

²⁶ 'The Imperial Troupe of Japanese' (some original members with a variant troupe also seen at: School of Arts, Brisbane, 10-24 June 1871; Victoria Theatre, Sydney, 22 July-12 August 1871; School of Arts, Newcastle, 14-19 August 1871; Singleton, 21-22 August 1871; Olympic Theatre, Maitland, 23-26 August 1871; School of Arts, Goulburn, 9-16 September 1871; Mechanics' Institute, Yass, 28-30 September 1871; also seen at: Sale, Stratford, Bairnsdale, Maffra, Hayfield, Rosedale, Cowwarr and Walhalla, 17 February-4 March 1872. Also performed as: 'Charles's Unrivalled Troupe of Japanese', School of Arts, Sydney, 23 December 1871. Select members of the troupe also seen as: 'Yamamoto and Kamisama', Theatre Royal, Sydney, 2 December 1872, 10 March 1873 and April 1873.

²⁷ *Gippsland Times* (Sale), 17 February 1872, p. 2, 22 February 1872 and *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 December 1872, p. 2. Sissons to Mitchell Library (1990), op. cit.; Manuscripts: Photographs (Mitchell Library), op. cit.; Sissons 2 (1989), op. cit.

'All Right'²⁸, boy ascensionist, contortionist, tumbler
 Kamisama, rope-walker
 Makai Takai Shingoro²⁹, master of ceremonies
 Matz Noski³⁰, pedal-balancer
 Nagai Natchisama, rope-walker
 Sakujiro, apprentice all-rounder
 Sengari Kato³¹, top-spinner
 Tiskie Tiskie, butterfly fanner
 Yama Moto³², conjuror and balancer

Variant troupe:

'All Right', boy ascensionist, contortionist, tumbler
 Daiksan, juggler
 Denkitchi³³, acrobat
 Hongiri, pedal-balancer
 Matz Noski, pedal-balancer
 Sakusan, top-spinner
 Sakutaroo³⁴, conjuror
 Yoshimatz³⁵, rope-walker

Individual performers and troupes of similar calibre are typified by the 'Sakuragawa Troupe', which, under the leadership of Sakuragawa Rikinosuke, performed between 1871 and 1917³⁶.

With the arrival during 1874 in Melbourne of the great American actor, producer, director and theatrical

²⁸ [Chikazō].

²⁹ [Matsutake?].

³⁰ [Matsunosuke?].

³¹ [Katō Senjirō?].

³² [Yamamoto?].

³³ [Denkichi?].

³⁴ [Sakutarō?].

³⁵ [Yoshimatsu?].

³⁶ Both Williams and Sissons noted, beside acrobatics, this person's claim to fame: "Possibly the first Japanese to settle in Australia was an acrobat named Sakura Rikinosuke, who came out with the Royal Tycoon performing troupe in 1871. ... In the Victorian Registrar-General's Office is the record of his marriage on 20 February 1875 at the age of 29 to Jane Kerr of Bourke Street, Melbourne." cited: H.S. Williams Collection, Canberra. " ... in 1871 an acrobat Sakuragawa Rikinosuke arrived in Sydney, he later married an Australian girl, Jane Kerr", Sissons 1 (1979?), op. cit.

entrepreneur, James Cassius Williamson (1845-1913) and his wife Maggie Moore (1851-1926), the foundations were laid for 'the Firm'. It was the triumvirate of Arthur Garner and George Musgrove together with Williamson which was to influence popular theatre in Australia well into the twentieth century. Soon after arrival in Australia, both Williamson and Moore appeared together in a farce *The Chinese Question*³⁷ at the Theatre Royal, Melbourne [fig. 71]³⁸. Characteristically, the performance included a Chinese song and dance which simulates the Chinese speech rhythms with the occasional inclusion of identifiable place names³⁹.

In 1880, Sydney saw the production of the operetta *Ching Chow Hi; or, A Cracked Piece of China*⁴⁰. "China", particularly of the blue-and-white variety, was a fast-rising symbol in the 1880s for aspirations of the

³⁷ Originally entitled *The Chinese Invasion*, California Theatre, San Francisco, 14 June 1873. Commissioned by J.C. Williamson, written by Clay M. Greene. The script for the farce *The Chinese Question* for the 1883 production is held in the J.C. Williamson Collection, National Library of Australia, Canberra together with the presumably never-produced musical comedy script for *The Sho-gun*.

³⁸ Premiere: Theatre Royal, Melbourne, 23 August 1879; also performed: Her Majesty's Theatre, Sydney, 5 September 1883.

³⁹ *The Chinese Question*, Chinese Song and Dance. Written and composed for Miss Maggie Moore by Charles Schultz.
'E-sau wa-ya tu-lu lun-ga, Sam-si wan-ga ta-hi ton-ga, Oo-long soncaong hin-ga wan-ga, Pinga-linga ching ching chow chow chung. Foo-chow Hongkong yung-chow yungting, Yang-tse ki-ang chinchow quangchang. Vou-ting kintong ning-po whing, Pinga-linga ching ching chow chow chung.

[chorus]

R sau wa ya tu-lu hin-ga, Sara a wan-ga ta-hi ton-ga, Oo-long souchong hing-a wang-a, Pinga linga chinga chinga chow chow chung. Pinga-linga chinga chinga chow chow chung.'

Miniature Song Sheet featuring idealised portraits of J.C. Williamson and Maggie Moore [depicted in Chinese costume], *The Chinese Question*, chromolithograph, printed by Charles Turner, Melbourne (1879).

⁴⁰ Premiere: Gallery of Illustration, London, 14 August 1865. Words by W. Bough and G. Reed, Music by Jacques Offenbach. Australian premiere: Opera House, Sydney, 10 January 1880.

'consummate Aesthete'⁴¹. A series of Aesthetic comedies, comic operas and burlesques were performed in Australia between 1881 and 1885. Most were received with considerable enthusiasm by a public now well-acquainted with events in England and Europe. The series commenced in 1881 with *Patience; or, Bunthorne's Bride*⁴² and culminated with *The Mikado; or, The Town of Titipu* [fig. 73]⁴³, both by the masters of the comic opera, Gilbert and Sullivan. The librettos of these more famous works are now well-known with the authors' obvious debts to Japan underscored. What of performances in Australia of the neglected pieces *The Colonel* and *The King's Dragoons* by other librettists? These too reinforced the connection between the public and its perception of the 'East'.

In *Patience* [fig. 74], Reginald Bunthorne, (a Fleishy Poet) and Archibald Grosvenor, (an Idyllic Poet) are rivals for the love of Patience, (a Dairy Maid). While the Ladies Angela, Saphir, Ella and Jane, (Rapturous Maidens) rebuff the attentions of a chorus of Officers from the Dragoon Guards. For these and other divine personages, Liberty fabrics were extensively used in London productions. Dresses were designed by W.S. Gilbert himself, in *Patience* (1881), in *Iolanthe* (1882) and *The Mikado* (1885). For *The Mikado*, [fig. 75] "... Liberty sent representatives to

⁴¹ In the play *The Colonel*, the principal female lead breathed the immortal words, "There is so much to be learned from a teapot". In *Patience*, the lyrics referred to "A Japanese young man, A blue and white young man ...". While in *The Mikado*, the Chorus of Nobles open with, "If you want to know who we are, We are gentlemen of Japan: On many a vase and jar - On many a screen and fan, ...".

⁴² Premiere: Opéra Comique, London, 23 April 1881. Words by W.S. Gilbert, Music by Arthur Sullivan. Australian premiere: Theatre Royal, Sydney, 26 November 1881; also performed: Theatre Royal, Melbourne, 1 July 1882; revived: Sydney: 1882, 1885, 1889, 1904, 1914; Melbourne: 1904, 1920.

⁴³ Premiere: Savoy Theatre, London, 14 March 1885: Words by W.S. Gilbert, Music by Arthur Sullivan. Australian premiere: Theatre Royal, Sydney, 14 November 1885; also performed: Theatre Royal, Melbourne, 20 February 1886; revived, Sydney: 1886, 1893, 1905, 1914, 1915, 1927; Melbourne: 1886, 1887, 1920, 1926.

Japan to study the native costumes at first hand, and bring back correct materials for both the costumes and stage sets"⁴⁴.

The Australian productions of *The Mikado* by Williamson also claimed 'authentic' costumes and accessories especially purchased in Japan⁴⁵.

Following a premiere in London during 1881, *The Colonel* [fig. 76]⁴⁶, an Aesthetic burlesque by Frank C. Burnand (then editor of the *London Punch*)⁴⁷, opened at the Opera House, Melbourne in 1882. Advertisements in newspapers of the day lauded the production as replete with "Crowded Houses, Brilliant Reception, Thunders of Applause, Intense Enthusiasm, Electric Success", and utilising the 'correct' jargon of the day, "'Intensely' Successful, 'Intensely' Aesthetic, 'Intensely' 'Consummate'". The burlesque, like *Patience*, parodied the 'artistic' foibles of the aspiring Aesthete and included in the cast the archetype artist, 'Basil Giorgione'⁴⁸ and the character 'Lambert Stryke'

⁴⁴ source: Morris (1989), op. cit., p. 118. By 1908, Liberty and Co. were represented in Sydney by the ladies who ran 'The Kosmic Company Ltd.' with the 'Liberty Rooms' on the 7th Floor, Challis House, Martin Place. source: "Australian Craftswomen, No. 2. - Miss M.E. Moss", *Art and Architecture*, vol. V, no. 4, July-August 1908, pp. 126-129.

⁴⁵ A Melbourne reviewer concluded: "The dresses and stage accessories were handsome, and the work was presented in so artistic a manner as to form a decided era in operatic management in Australia." *Illustrated Australian News* (Melbourne), 3 March 1886, p. 42.

⁴⁶ Australian premiere: Opera House, Melbourne, 8 April 1882; revived: Theatre Royal, Adelaide, 30 June 1887.

⁴⁷ *Punch* revelled in the pursuit of the Aesthete with cartoons by George du Maurier, Edward Linley Sambourne (and others) which lampooned the art craze as "cultchah", the 'Cimabue Browns' and the almost legendary 'Mrs Ponsonby de Tomkyns'.

⁴⁸ Other characters in the cast included: Colonel W.W. Woodde, Lambert Streyke, Mr Forrester, Basil Giorgione, Parkes, Romelli, Mrs Blyth, Mrs Forrester, Lady Tompkins and Nelly Goodall.

(played in London) by Beerbohm Tree, that satirised Oscar Wilde.

Portion of this production's success in Australia was the obvious debt to London theatre. The program referred the audience in the colonies to the reception in England:

At present (and for the past 12 months) performed to crowded and fashionable houses at the Prince of Wales Theatre, London, and by specially organised companies in the principal cities throughout Great Britain and America; also, recently by special command before HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN. The Prince and Princess of Wales and Royal Family.

In Adelaide, the costumes were recognised as "Quaint Aesthetic Dresses"⁴⁹. As Morris has noted, *The Colonel* (London premiere, 1881) also used Liberty textiles in a play which satirised the Aesthetes and itself parodied the Gilbert and Sullivan parody *par excellence*, *Patience* (London premiere, 23 April 1881)⁵⁰.

*The King's Dragoons*⁵¹, was another comic opera seen in Melbourne, Adelaide and Sydney during 1882 and 1883⁵². The cast included a specially trained troupe of dancers 'The Aesthetes', who performed *The Aesthetic Quadrille*⁵³. An Adelaide paper described the dance and the costumes:

⁴⁹ 'Amusements', *South Australian Advertiser* (Adelaide), 30 June 1887, p. 1.

⁵⁰ source: Morris (1989), op. cit.

⁵¹ Premiere: Royal Theatre, Manchester, 1 November 1880. Written by John Crook; [Libretto] by J. Wilton Jones.

⁵² Australian premiere: Opera House, Melbourne, 18 November 1882; also performed: Theatre Royal, Adelaide, 14 March 1883; Opera House, Sydney.

⁵³ "One minute they assume, burlesque, tragic, or 'aesthetic' attitudes, the next they whirl about with acrobatic agility, winding up each figure with a 'flop,' which is supposed to be characteristic of the class travestied."
South Australian Register (Adelaide), 15 March 1883, p. 6.

The Aesthetic Quadrille ... The female dancers were attired in Japanese costume and carried large sunflowers, while their partners wore black velvet, and held in their hands lilies and Japanese parasols. At the back of the stage stood the chorus, and simultaneously with the dancers opened and shut enormous fans and parasols⁵⁴.

The dance attracted great attention in the newspapers, with not all critics enraptured with the performance; some called it, a "... most ludicrous dance, which is a skit on the aesthetic tendencies of the day has always created a perfect furore wherever performed, and is one of the most ludicrous and extraordinary performances ever witnessed."⁵⁵ Never the less, the "Aesthetes, who have been specially engaged ... [were] greeted with shouts of laughter and continued applause"⁵⁶.

The Australian premiere of *The Mikado; or, The Town of Titipu*⁵⁷ in 1885 was a culmination of interest in Japan with, "Magnificent Scenery, illustrative of Japan, painted from Authentic Sources"⁵⁸ and "Gorgeous and Characteristic Costumes purchased in Japan and Imported for this Grand Production by Williamson, Garner, and Musgrove"⁵⁹. For Act

⁵⁴ Critic, 'Theatre Royal', *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 15 March 1883, p. 6.

⁵⁵ This notation from the program for the performance at the Opera House, Sydney.

⁵⁶ 'Amusements', *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 14 March 1883, p. 1.

⁵⁷ Cast (edited): The Mikado of Japan; Nanki-Poo, (His Son - disguised as a wandering minstrel, and in love with Yum-Yum); Ko-Ko, (The Lord High Executioner of Titipu); Pooh-Bah, (Lord High Everything Else); Pish-Tush, (a Noble Lord); Yum-Yum, Pitti-Sing, Peep-Bo, (Three Sisters, Wards of Ko-Ko); Katisha, (an elderly Lady, in love with Nanki-Poo) Japanese School Girls, Nobles, Guards and Coolies.

⁵⁸ The 'sources' were most likely to have been photographs or illustrated publications.

⁵⁹ The notations from the programs for the opening of *The Mikado*, Theatre Royal, Sydney, 14 November 1885; and the grand revival of *The Mikado* to celebrate the Fifth Year of the Royal Comic Opera Company, Theatre Royal, Sydney, 13 September 1886, both state: "Gorgeous and

I, the stage directions themselves offered an immediate connection with the suggestion that, "*Japanese nobles [should be] discovered standing and sitting in attitudes suggested by native drawings*" as the curtain opened. Furthermore the original production took artistic direction from the Japanese Village in London (1885) with assistance to Gilbert provided by A.B. Mitford (formerly Second Secretary to the British Legation in Japan 1866-70). A clue to this liaison is to be found in the text itself with a passing reference to 'Japanese abroad' being in London⁶⁰. The site of the original Japanese Village was in fact Humphrey's Hall, Albert Gate, Knightsbridge.

Again the 'East' was viewed, through the medium of the comic opera, as a 'perfect fairy-tale land' peopled by quaint, humorous personages with little regard to reality⁶¹.

The 'Japanese Village Company' (acrobats), 'New Mikado Troupe' (acrobats), *The Daimio's Daughter* (drama) and the 'Imperial Dragon Troupe' (acrobats) were all acts connected with the Japanese Village seen between April 1886 (Sydney) and July 1887 (Adelaide). Their performances are detailed in chapter 6, *The Japanese Village in Australia: 1886-1887*.

Characteristic Costumes purchased in Japan and Imported for this Grand Production by Williamson, Garner, and Musgrove".

⁶⁰ In Act II, Scene Ko-Ko's Garden, the following exchange takes place between the Mikado and Ko-Ko concerning the whereabouts of Nanki-Poo:

Mik. Nanki-Poo.

Ko. It's quite easy. That is it's rather difficult. In point of fact, he's gone abroad!

Mik. Gone abroad! His address.

Ko. Knightsbridge.

⁶¹ "The 'Mikado,' which, it is needless to say, is Sullivan's last all too funny creation, has just begun its run at the Theatre Royal, and already everybody has 'done' or is preparing to 'do' it. ... But the play is purely spectacular, and owes its success entirely to the novel dresses, scenery, and attitudes." *Bulletin* (Sydney), 28 November 1885, p. 16.

Similar Japanese acrobatic troupes featured throughout Australia until the early 1900s⁶².

Coupled with world concern, Australia's reaction to events in China and Japan during the closing years of the nineteenth century, saw a change in attitude to the Asian region as portrayed on the stage. Light-hearted humour, and never-never lands were to be replaced by the darker side of human emotions with characters depicted in countries the audiences could readily identify. A series of nationalist Australian dramas isolated the Asian characters by colour, to be alternately laughed at, or hounded for 'degrading habits' and forcibly excluded from the 'pure white strains'. The enactment of the White Australia policy momentarily off centre stage, was waiting in the wings.

In 1886, the drama *Voices of the Night*⁶³ " ... also included three Chinese from Lower George Street and a cook who turned a cat into rabbit pie ..."⁶⁴. Two years later, the drama *Hue and Cry*⁶⁵ featured Mr Charles Brown as 'Ah Wong' in "a clever impersonation of a typical Chinese vegetable hawker"⁶⁶. While in 1889, the drama *Marvellous*

⁶² As one example: 'Godayu's Japanese Troupe', Gaiety Theatre, Melbourne, 26 December 1891. Cast (edited): K.S. Godayu, Tommi Kitti, Little Matz, Little Take Godayu, Little Kame, Miss Pitti [Minnie] Godayu. Also known as: 'Godayu's Talented Tokio [sic] Troupe'. The following critique appeared in *Bohemia* (Melbourne), 7 January 1892, p. 13: "Tommi Kitti of the Gaiety Japanese troupe, as skittish as a kitten, and, like a cat on a ladder, worth travelling up Bourke-st to see. So are his compatriots."

⁶³ Premiere: Royal Standard Theatre, Sydney, 24 July 1886. Written by Thomas Somers.

⁶⁴ Williams (1983), op. cit., p. 150.

⁶⁵ Premiere: Princess's Theatre, Bendigo, 8 April 1888; also performed: Opera House, Melbourne, 28 November 1891. Written by George Darrell.

⁶⁶ Williams (1983), op. cit., p. 176 and 'Amusements', *Argus* (Melbourne), 28 November 1891, p. 16.

Melbourne⁶⁷ later rewritten and retitled as, *Slaves of Sydney*⁶⁸ depicted:

The scene moves to a Chinese gambling den ... and ... gives opportunity for covering all the attractions of Melbourne, including a Chinese opium den, ...⁶⁹.

Despite the unflattering depiction, racist humour was not far beneath the surface, with one character, "... the Chinese market gardener Hangi Hi: [who proclaimed], 'Look 'ere it's a burnin' shame to let John Chinaman waller in luxury in Australia while the wukkin' man 'as dry bread'. Hang Hi is one of the chief sources of comedy with his speech impediment and disingenuous impudence"⁷⁰.

The latter years of the century also saw the golden age of the spectacular pantomime [figs 77, 78]. *Aladdin*⁷¹, to some extent typified stage productions throughout this period, amiably combining characters from the Middle East, China and Japan in confused settings [fig. 79]. Characters who appeared from the Middle East ('The Grand Vizier's Son') mingled with Chinese ('The Emperor of China') and Japanese ('Tokio [*sic*] Beauties'). Inexplicably, the 'beauties' had recognisably Chinese names⁷². The sets

⁶⁷ Premiere: Alexandra Theatre, Melbourne, 19 January 1889. Written by Thomas Somers.

⁶⁸ Theatre Royal, Sydney, 13 May 1893.

⁶⁹ Williams (1983), op. cit., pp. 150-153.

⁷⁰ Williams (1983), loc. cit.

⁷¹ Premiere: London. Australian premiere: Theatre Royal, Sydney, 26 December 1889; also performed: Theatre Royal, Melbourne, 26 December 1889; revived: Sydney, 1895, and as *Aladdin, Junior*, March 1902. Book by E.W. Royce, adapted in Australia by Toso Taylor; Lyrics by Jay Hickory Wood; Music by Edward Jones.

⁷² Cast (edited): Pekoe, (The Grand Vizier's Son); Cheeke, (A Laundry Maid); Chow Chow, (Policemen); Chop Chop, The Emperor of China; Ting Ting, (His Grand Vizier); So Shy, (Attendant on the Princess); So Shong; Tip Tung, (one of the Big Pots of China); San Hoi, Washee Washee, Tiddli Hi Ti, (Foochow Maids); Tom Mi, Ho Fi, Hi Ling, We Lung, Hi Chung, Lou Chong, (Tokio [*sic*] Beauties); One Lung, Bi Lee, Me We, Tin Sin, Pe Kin, Fo Fi, (Amoy Guards); Chinese and Japanese Fairies, Demons, Dragons, Coolie Boys and Palanquin Bearers.

which represented "The Beautiful Scenery of the Far East [were] designed and painted by Phil Goatcher (c.1852-1931) and W.R. [William Rowland] Coleman, (1864-1932)"⁷³, with "The Magnificent Japanese and Chinese Costumes by Alias, of Paris and London." Critics remarked on the attributes of the sets, drawing particular attention to the striking colour:

The scenery of this production [Sydney] does much credit to Mr. John Brunton ... the airy, light, picturesque marketplace of Peking [sic], and the gorgeous cave of glittering jewels ...; the garden of the emperor's palace ...; and the dainty willow pattern plate scene ... [who] has not accomplished more thoughtful or vivid work than this. ... It is exceptionally good in idea, it shows imagination and the touch of a true artist, and it has admirable colour⁷⁴.

An integral part of the performance was the "... 'Peking Swell' dance in the first act, performed by a dozen girls attired as Chinese 'mashers'". It was described as, "... a neat and attractive dance ... but the 'hit' in this direction is made by a fan ballet in the last act. This ballet is full of grace ..." ⁷⁵.

Fans as stage accessories, played an important part in the spectacle of theatrical performances⁷⁶. It should not be forgotten that these small objects were indispensable

⁷³ Selected settings: Act I, Scene 1: The Market-Place of Peking [sic]; Act II, Scene 2: The Emperor's Ante-Chamber; Act II, Scene 3: Grand Hall in the Emperor's Palace; Act III, Scene 3: Gardens of Abanazar's Retreat in Japan; Act III, Scene 4: The Bamboos.

⁷⁴ Critic, 'Amusements', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 December 1889, p. 6.

⁷⁵ Critic, 'Amusements', *Sydney Morning Herald*, (27 Dec.) 1889, loc. cit.

⁷⁶ "By 1870 fans from Japan were being imported into Australia and most middle-class houses had them. Amateur Japanese theatricals used them and school children performed fan dances along with the maypole and flag drill."
North, Audrey, *Australia's fan heritage*, Boolarong Publications, Brisbane 1985, p. xiii.

outside the theatre and were items of considerable trade importance⁷⁷. Ill-ventilated Victorian and Edwardian interiors prior to air-conditioning demanded the fan as a utilitarian yet fashionable addition to the wardrobe. Illustrated magazines of the period feature fans as one of the accepted methods to cope with Australia's often torrid summers⁷⁸. The fan-shape itself was to be utilised by

⁷⁷ By 1891, Charlotte Salwey was able to confirm [for Britain] that: "Japanese goods have become almost an essential to us. They are to be seen in the most secluded habitation. You may go into the homes of peasants who have spent all their lives in some out-of-the-way extremity of an obscure village, and find a Japanese fan in the ubiquitous corner cupboard. Maybe the mother will tell you with pride her sailor son has sent it to her with other treasures from the port of Yokohama." Further that: "It will be seen what an increase has been going on in the fan trade. In 1888 thirteen countries were included in the list; in 1891 nineteen are quoted, ..."

Exportation of Folding Fans during the 23rd Year of Meiji (1890 AD)

		Yen	Sen
USA	4,471,164	109,784	36
England	1,063,406	39,883	30
Australia	34,018	1,300	32

Exportation of Round Fans during the 23rd Year of Meiji (1890 AD)

		Yen	Sen
USA	979,601	13,971	88
England	898,203	16,059	81
Australia	67,866	680	23

The Total Quantities and Declared Value of Folding and Round Fans Exported during the 24th Year of Meiji (1891 AD)

		Yen	Sen
USA	7,737,698	131,346	37
England	1,449,475	42,352	95
Australia	70,234	1,617	86

Table of the Total Value of Commodities Exported to various Foreign Countries during the 24th Year of Meiji (1891 AD)

	Yen	Sen
USA	29,795,754	84
England	5,633,136	90
Australia	757,101	44

Source: 'Export lists of the Returns of Foreign Trade' published by the Japanese Government. Adapted from *Fans of Japan*, pp. 131, 133, 134, 135, 136. Salwey (née Birch), Charlotte M., with introduction by William Anderson, FRCS, *Fans of Japan*, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., London 1894.

⁷⁸ See full-page illustration in the *Illustrated Australian News* (Melbourne), 25 January 1882, p. 18, 'A hot wind day' which illustrated two women partaking of afternoon tea (from a Japanese or Asian-inspired tea service), one with fan in hand.

artists as a consciously chosen format for works which referred either in content or style to Japan or China.

1895 saw the premiere in Melbourne of the extraordinary pantomime, *Djin-Djin; or, The Japanese Boogie Man!* [figs 80, 81]⁷⁹. With lyrics by Bert Royle (1861-1929) and J.C. Williamson, music by Léon Caron with additional numbers by G.F. Pack, the production was subtitled, '... or, The Great Shogun, Who Lost his Son, and the Little Princess, Who Found Him: A Fairy Tale of Old Japan'⁸⁰. Williamson employed the talents of Royle, and together they fashioned the script, although many sources suggested the sole credit rested with Williamson⁸¹. Programs and newspaper reports credit the libretto to two sources. For the first time in Australian theatre, it was clear that the authors had relied on Japanese material - that of traditional fairy tales (there is no specific mention of book or books⁸²),

⁷⁹ The title 'Djin Djin' was probably adapted from the term 'dijinn' or genie [demon] used by Marcus Clarke in 'Sketches of Melbourne Low Life' in which the author describes Chinatown in Little Bourke Street, Melbourne: "One half of Little Bourke Street is not Melbourne but China. It is as though some 'dijinn' or genie [demon] had taken up a handful of houses from the middle of one of the celestial cities, and flung them down, inhabitants and all, in the antipodes ...".

⁸⁰ Premiere: Princess's Theatre, Melbourne, 26 December 1895; also performed: Lyceum Theatre, Sydney, 28 March 1896 and at the Opera House, Wellington NZ, 27 December 1897; revived: Sydney, 1901.

⁸¹ "Mr. Williamson has completely departed from the recognised canons of pantomime, by the adaption of the idea of an Australian Nobleman, 'Prince Eucalyptus,' whose adventures in Japan constitute the story of the play."
Djin-Djin Souvenir Programme, Marcus & Andrew, Sydney [1896], [n.p.] (p. 1).

⁸² Due to the inclusion of one particular musical number, *Oyuchasan*, it is evident Williamson accessed other production material. *Oyuchasan* (*The Belle of Japan*) was also the title of a song sung by Miss Letty Lind in the Gaiety burlesque, *Cinder-Ellen up too late*, London 1890; and the Theatre Royal, Sydney, 20 October 1891, performed by the Gaiety Burlesque Company. In addition, a song with the same title was featured in the Finale of *Djin Djin*, (Melbourne production 1895), suggesting that J.C. Williamson 'borrowed' from the Gaiety burlesque, which in turn, had adapted the song from a large

intertwined with events from the then current Sino-Japanese conflict⁸³.

The actor-manager's [Bert Royle's and J.C. Williamson's] idea was to leave the beaten track by drawing upon the fairy lore of Old Japan, and an extravaganza on somewhat novel lines has resulted⁸⁴.

and again:

... the silken thread of the story is never lost to sight, and, by delving in the fruitful sources of Japanese fairy-lore, Messrs. Bert Royle and J.C. Williamson have achieved a vivacious and exhilarating ensemble in which there is a welcome show of novelty ... ; whilst the ingenious orchestral colouring savours of Japan and the gorgeous East⁸⁵.

The cast list, beside the more traditional pantomime characters, featured some wonderfully inventive personalities with Australia represented by 'Prince Eucalyptus', and Japan by such notaries as 'Hojo-no-Kami' and 'Oda Nobunaga'⁸⁶.

format illustrated music book, *Oyucha san* by Lt Frank M. Bostwick, published in Tokyo in 1890.

source: [*Souvenir Programme*], Melbourne (1895), p. 77.

⁸³ "... - why should not the piece deal with an up-to-date subject? Why, while the memory of the naval battle of Yalu was still fresh in the public mind, should he [Williamson] not stage a Japanese pantomime?". [The sea-battle at the mouth of the Yalu River was waged in September 1894 between the Chinese navy and the Japanese fleet.] *Souvenir of Djin-Djin*, McCarron, Bird & Co., Melbourne (1895), p. 3.

⁸⁴ 'Amusements', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 March 1896, p. 10.

⁸⁵ 'Amusements', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 March 1896, p. 3.

⁸⁶ Cast (edited): Hojo-no-Kami, (Daimio, a Japanese Feudal Prince); Princess Iris, (The Daimio's Daughter); Cheekee, (The Daimio's Youngest Daughter); Okياما, (The Daimio's Elderly Maiden Sister); Dede, (Maid to the Princess Iris); Gay-Jay, (Grand Vizier to the Daimio); Fli-Qui-Sami, (The Arch Astrologer of Japan); Komo, Nawa, Bungo and Oyes, (The Daimio's Envoys to the Astrologer); Bambou, (An Attendant); Oda Nobunaga, (The Great Shogun and Temporal Ruler of Japan); Prince Omi, (The Shogun's Son turned into a Baboon by the Enchantment of Djin Djin); Hiti, Titi, Yudu and So-So, (Nobles of the Shogun's Court); Gloto, Ifri and Gori, (Members of the Gorogin, or Imperial Councillors); Prince Eucalyptus (A Suitor from the Sunny South, whose yacht is wrecked on the shores of Japan); Chrysantheme, (Fairy Queen of Japan and Good Genius to Princess Iris); Jonquille and Lotus, (Attendant Fairies); Djin-Djin, (The Japanese Bogie Man, Guardian of the stolen Talisman). Mousmees [*SIC*], Flower Fairies, Snow

The scenes presented offer an important insight into the image of Japan appreciated by the audience. The sets "Presenting a beautiful Series of Characteristic Japanese Pictures and Remarkable Transformation Effects", were "Painted by a Combination of Great Artists - Geo. Gordon [George Gordon, (1840-1899)], Phil Goatcher, and W. Spong [William Brookes Spong, (1851-1929)]" and amongst others, included settings for the almost obligatory Fan Ballet, a street scene in Nagasaki, the spectacular Hall of a Thousand Storks and the incredible mechanically contrived Earthquake scene⁸⁷ with the collapse of the temple which "terminat[ed] with the Eruption of Fuji San"⁸⁸.

As with *Aladdin*, the artists' renditions of Japanese scenery drew high praise from critics:

The scenery ... depicting the shrine of the Soothsayer, where priests and priestesses prostrate themselves before the colossal image whose glowing eyes shed sardonic approval of the god upon the ceremonial, the scene changes to a vividly picturesque street in Nagasaki, bright with colour, and crowded with gaily dressed idlers. Then follows ... the palace gardens of Hojo no Kami. The terraced-gardens form the foreground, with an extensive view of the course of a river ... spanned by the quaintest of 'willow-plate' bridges, ..."⁸⁹.

Elves, Japanese Ladies, Samouris [sic], Councillors, Officials, Courtiers, Coolies, Guards, Jinrikshamen, Sprites, Demons, Monkeys &c.

⁸⁷ A two-page spread of reports and drawings which detailed the devastating earthquake in Japan during 1891 had appeared in the *Illustrated Australian News* (Melbourne), 1 January 1892, pp. 17-18.

⁸⁸ The settings for this production are worthy of quoting in full: Act I, Scene 1: The Shrine of the Soothsayer; Act I, Scene 2: A Street in Nagasaki; Act I, Scene 3: Palace Garden of Hojo-no-Kami, GRAND PROCESSION AND FAN BALLETT, BRILLIANT ILLUMINATION OF NAGASAKI. Act II, Scene 1: Courtyard of Diamio's Palace; Act II, Scene 2: Enchanted Bamboo Grove, DANCE OF SNOW ELVES-CHRYSANTHEMUM BALLETT; Act II, Scene 3: The Frozen Forest; Act II, Scene 4: Exterior of the Haunted Temple; Act II, Scene 5: Interior of Temple, THE EARTHQUAKE, A STARTLING MECHANICAL EFFECT, terminating with THE ERUPTION OF FUJI SAN. Act III, Scene 1: Hall of a Thousand Storks, The Shogun's Court; Act III, Scene 2: Street; Act III, Scene 3: Grand Finale-The Golden City.

⁸⁹ 'Amusements', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 March 1896, p. 3.

There still persisted (with due deference to this as a pantomime), the notion of the 'East' as a source of amusement with, "... Mr. William Elton, ... with a concession to Japanese tastes in the use of hanging sleeves, ... [and his] suggestion of readiness to be initiated into the Japanese art of flirting with a fan [a female mannerism] was inexpressively ludicrous"⁹⁰. There is an interesting parallel to be found here between the Japanese Kabuki performers, or *onna-gata* (actors who take female roles) and the traditional reversal of sex roles in western pantomime characters.

Other comic operas and farces which claimed eastern culture as their subject matter were seen in 1896 in both Adelaide and Sydney. *The Mandarin*⁹¹ and *A Trip to Chinatown*⁹², respectively proved the source of popular song sheets.

Two years later (1898), the musical comedy/opera *The Geisha: or, A Story of a Tea House* [fig. 82]⁹³ opened in Melbourne. The production fared well in Australia⁹⁴. An

⁹⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, (30 Mar.) 1896, loc. cit.

⁹¹ Premiere: Herald Square Theatre, New York, 2 November 1895. Australian premiere: Theatre Royal, Adelaide, 19 April 1896. [Libretto], Reginald De Koven.

⁹² Premiere: Madison Square Theatre, New York, 9 November 1891. Australian premiere: Her Majesty's Theatre, Sydney, 1896. Produced by Charles Hoyt[?].

⁹³ Premiere: Daly's Theatre, London, 25 April 1896. Also seen in 1898 at the Theatre de l'Athénée-Comique, Paris. Australian premiere: Princess's Theatre, Melbourne, 17 December 1898; also performed: Her Majesty's Theatre, Sydney, 9 February 1899. Book by Owen Hall, Lyrics by Harry Greenbank, Music by Sydney Jones.

⁹⁴ "Sydney booking for 'The Geisha' exceeded for the first fortnight of the season, that for the same period of the Melbourne run - which is unusual, because the play that is a 'boom' in Melbourne seldom succeeds in Sydney, and because the Princess' (where 'The Geisha' was played) is a powerful attractive theatre. No play-house in Sydney has the distinctive and exceptional fascination that is enjoyed by the pretty Princess'." *Australasian Art Review* (Sydney), vol. 1, no. 1, 1 March 1899, p. 6.

assortment of correctly titled young ladies, with the suffix 'San' acted out a complex plot which carried the implicit message that Japanese women could be utilised as sexual playthings. This theme was common to many productions, and exemplified in the opera *Madame Butterfly*. When *The Geisha...* was staged in New York, photographs of Japanese scenery were used to paint the backcloths, while in England the important Japanophile Arthur Diósy was consulted⁹⁵ in much the same way Mitford and the Japanese Village in London provided assistance to Gilbert and Sullivan for *The Mikado*.

The cast list⁹⁶ indicated a growing consistency in the use of Japanese characters 'Captain Katana' (literally, Captain Sword) and the 'Marquis Imari' (a term associated with Japanese ceramic ware), but still retained 'Wun-Hi' as the comic Chinaman, proprietor of the "tea house"⁹⁷. Two acts set in 'The Tea House of Ten Thousand Joys' and the 'Chrysanthemum Fete in the Palace Gardens' were complemented by a "Gorgeous Japanese wardrobe specially made in London for this Production". In "Time - The Present", the action of the play took "place in Japan, outside the treaty limits". In Sydney, as has been noted in an earlier chapter (refer pp. 39-40), "The Vestibule Decorations, [were] in form of a Japanese Pavilion, by Messrs. T.O. Sada & Co, Pitt-st." and as an early promotion, jewellers in the city marketed 'Geisha' accessories especially imported from London.

⁹⁵ I am indebted to Aaron M. Cohen for this information.

⁹⁶ Cast (edited): O Mimosa San, (Chief Geisha); Nami, (Wave of the Sea); O Hana San, O Kinkoto San, O Kiku San, Komurasaki San, (Geisha); Oyucha San, Kohana San, Nokori San, Bebe San, (Japanese Girls); Lady Constance Wynne, (an English Visitor in Japan, travelling in her yacht); Captain Katana, (Captain of the Guard); Take Mine, (the Governor's Agent); The Marquis Imari, (Chief of Police); Wun-Hi, (Proprietor of Tea House); Molly Seamore.

⁹⁷ A euphemism for "brothel".

In the early years of this century, there followed in rapid succession a number of productions similar in style and content to *The Geisha* and *The Mikado*. These included *Wang*⁹⁸ and *San Toy; or, The Emperor's Own*⁹⁹ in 1901, and in 1902, *A Chinese Honeymoon* [fig. 83]¹⁰⁰. Of more substance in a musical sense, these culminated in 1903 with the now-revered tragedy, *Madame Butterfly*¹⁰¹. It was not until 1910 that Australia witnessed the opera *Madama Butterfly*¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Premiere: Broadway Theatre, New York, 4 May 1891; Australian premiere: Criterion Theatre, Sydney, 9 November 1901. Comic opera. Words by J. Goodwin, Music by W. Morse.

⁹⁹ Premiere: Daly's Theatre, London, 21 October 1899; Australian premiere: Her Majesty's Theatre, Melbourne 21 December 1901. Musical comedy. Words by E. Morton, Music by Sydney Jones. Cast (edited): Li, (A Mandarin); Yen How, (Emperor of China); Sing Hi, (President of the Board of Ceremonies); Fo Hop, (A Chinese Student); Hu Hi, Wai Ho, (Jewellers at Pynka Pong); Li Hi, Li Ho, (Tartar Guards); Old Mandarin; Ko Fan, (of the Emperor's Own); Yung Shi, Me Kou, Siou Shuey, Pin Sing, Li Kiang, Hu Yu, (Six Little Wives of Yen How); San Toy, (Daughter of Yen How). Act I, A Street in Pynka Pong; Act II, Hall in the Emperor's Palace at Peking.

¹⁰⁰ Premiere: Royal Theatre, Hanley, 16 October 1899; Australian premiere: Princess's Theatre, Melbourne, 30 June 1902. Musical comedy. Words by G. Dance, Music by Howard Talbot. Cast (edited): Hang-Chow, (Emperor of Ylang Ylang); Chippee-Chop, (Lord Chancellor); Hi-Lung, (Lord High Admiral); Yen-Yen, Sing-Sing, (Soo-Soo's Maids of Honour); Mi-Mi, (Waitress at Hotel); Princess Soo-Soo, (The Emperor's Niece). Tea Girls, Ladies of the Emperor's Court, Attendants on the Princess, Coolies, Guards of the Palace, Courtiers, Citizens, Priests, Sailors, &c. &c. Act I, The Graden Hotel, Ylang-Ylang; Act II, The Interior of the Emperor's Palace, Ylang-Ylang. *Australasian* (Melbourne), 12 July 1902, p. 86 (ill.).

¹⁰¹ Premiere: Herald Square Theatre, New York, 5 March 1900; Australian premiere: Her Majesty's Theatre, Sydney, 27 July 1903. [Libretto] David Belasco and John Luther Long from a magazine short story by Long of 1898.

¹⁰² Premiere: La Scala, Milan, 17 February 1904; Covent Garden, London, 10 July 1905. Words by Luigi Illica and Guisepppe Giacosa, after Belasco and Long, Music by Giacomo Puccini. Cast (edited): Madam Butterfly or Cho-Cho-San, (A Geisha); Suzuki, (Cho-Cho-San's Servant); Goro, (A Marriage Broker); Prince Yamadori, The Bonze, (Cho-Cho-San's Uncle); The Imperial Commissioner; The Official Registrar; Cho-Cho-San's Mother; Trouble, (Cho-Cho-San's Child); Cho-Cho-San's Relatives, Friends, Geishas, Servants, Coolies &c. Act I, Cho-Cho-San's Villa; Act II, Interior of Cho-Cho-San's Cottage. Evening; Act III, Same as Act II. Next Morning.

in Sydney¹⁰³. There were revivals of this classic in both Melbourne and Sydney during 1913.

In the early 1900s, with the fear of Japan's sustained aggression in China, a series of Australian dramas highlighted the possibility of like events occurring in the far north of this country. The north, facing Asia was, and to this day, is considered 'vulnerable'¹⁰⁴. Used as a structure to gauge public reaction to the politics of Asia and Australia, the theatre offered a surprisingly accurate reflection of the populist fears, models and idealised images of countries which alternated between ally and perceived antagonist.

1905 saw the drama, *Besieged at Port Arthur*¹⁰⁵ which "... played on fears of Australian vulnerability in introducing a war between Japan and Russia ..."¹⁰⁶.

The drama, through both its title and content which best summed up these fears was, *White Australia; or, The Empty North*¹⁰⁷. The production "... explored the parallel possibility of Australia's being invaded through the Northern Territory, the empty north of the title. ... With Japan and China vying for the possession of Australia ...". There was an eerily prophetic (with a historical reversal of fortunes in Darwin on 19 February 1942) "... spirited fight at Chinatown, Port Darwin, ... and the Japanese fleet in the beautiful harbour is sunk with

¹⁰³ Theatre Royal, Sydney, 26 March 1910.

¹⁰⁴ See *The front door: Darwin 1869-1969*, Douglas Lockwood, Rigby, Adelaide 1974.

¹⁰⁵ Premiere: Theatre Royal, Melbourne, 12 August 1905. Written by Bland Holt.

¹⁰⁶ Williams (1983), op. cit., p. 214.

¹⁰⁷ Premiere: King's Theatre, Melbourne, 26 June 1909. Written by Randolph Bedford.

celerity, the curtain falling with the triumphant march of the Australian troops"¹⁰⁸.

Reaping the Whirlwind, subtitled, 'an Australian patriotic drama for Australian people', published by George Darrell but never performed, was according to Williams, "... a surprisingly modern and realistic three-act drama on the same subject [as *White Australia* ...], though published in the same year, was not able to find a manager to take it up"¹⁰⁹.

In 1911, *My Mate*, a drama billed as 'a bush love story' opened in Melbourne¹¹⁰. Williams drew the important distinction between the revised nationalist attitude towards the Aborigines contrasted with that reserved for the Chinese:

... a play with so attractive a portrait of an Aboriginal in Bunney, should also include several xenophobic references to the white Australia policy and the unpatriotic practice of 'upholding the Chinese', ... 'If I had my way, I'd give the coloured races 24 hours to leave Australian shores' - a reference to the Asians rather than the Aborigines, with whom he [Dolf] and Jess cheerfully share their picnic a moment later¹¹¹.

The following year, the drama, *The Girl of the Never Never*¹¹² (again set in the north of Australia) reaffirmed the White Australia policy and cast the Japanese as the villains of the piece. The setting was on the Gulf of Carpentaria, "... where the vulnerability to invasion was felt to be most acute. ...", with characters who pronounced

¹⁰⁸ Williams (1983), op. cit., pp. 237-242.

¹⁰⁹ Williams (1983), op. cit., p. 242.

¹¹⁰ Premiere: King's Theatre, Melbourne, 4 February 1911. Written by Edmund Duggan.

¹¹¹ Williams (1983), op. cit., p. 237.

¹¹² Premiere: King's Theatre, Melbourne, 4 February 1912. Written by Jo Smith.

with some degree of clarity that, "We're going to keep this country and we're going to keep it white." The plot revolved around the "... fear of invasion [which] is confirmed when the villain conscripts a Japanese, Kami, into his service, and their escape across the Strangways River in full flood is the chief sensation." Symbolically, as Williams has noted, the "... set description is for 'a turbulent stream of yellow water rushing towards the footlights' - a powerful but perhaps unintentional visual image of the play's theme"¹¹³.

Not all productions of this period drew on such melodramatic, racist emotions. To offset these there remained a substantial number of fantasies which incorporated a more 'decorative' vision of Asia. With menace less immediate, remoteness and glamour reasserted themselves. Even dramas were set 'in the present' with the characters engaged in 'normal', less threatening pursuits.

In 1907, a comedy *The Blue Moon*¹¹⁴, with a cast which geographically spanned western Asia¹¹⁵ was performed in Melbourne, Adelaide and Sydney¹¹⁶. In Adelaide, the reviewer described the performance:

... with its scenes set in the silken East, bringing with it a breath of flowers and spices and the beauty of Oriental magnificence ..., and there is a plentiful supply of the lovely Burmah [sic] girls, who are described as sitting by the 'old Moulmein pagoda'.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Williams (1983), op. cit., pp. 243-244.

¹¹⁴ Premiere: Lyric Theatre, London, 28 August 1905. Written by Harold Ellis and Percy Greenbank, Music by Howard Talbot and Paul A. Rubens.

¹¹⁵ The cast (edited): Moolraj, Prince Badahur Sanatsinjhi of Kharikar, Chandra Nil, Oma and Burmah girls featured oriental (Burmese, Thai and Indian) costumes.

¹¹⁶ Australian premiere: Princess's Theatre, Melbourne, 22 June 1907. Also performed: Theatre Royal, Adelaide, 2 September 1907 and Her Majesty's Theatre, Sydney, 25 November 1907.

¹¹⁷ 'Amusements', *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 2 September 1907, p. 9.

Adelaide also saw the premiere¹¹⁸ of D.H. Souter's (1862-1935) operetta, *The Grey Kimona*¹¹⁹ with a cast which included the 'Damio [*sic*] of Kissi-Kissi' and 'Kissi-me' (His Daughter). "The original Japanese operetta" with music by F. Wynne-Jones, lyrics by the artist D.H. Souter had been published by William Brooks & Co. Ltd., Sydney in 1902 and was performed by Pollard's Opera Company in Adelaide. The stage setting was "... both artistic and appropriate", with the costuming "... in true Japanese style." The "... backcloth represented a stretch of water, with a pagoda in the distance, while the foreground was rich with cherry blossoms". As to the musical contribution, "... the most popular [lyrics] being ... by Rosie Fitzgerald and her six miniature maids in willow-pattern attire"¹²⁰. 1913 saw *O'Hana San & Co.*, present "... an elaborate scene - 'A Vision of Japan'" at the Tivoli Theatre, Sydney¹²¹. During 1914, the musical comedy, *The Mayor of Tokio*¹²² was presented. *The Willow Tree*¹²³, "a fantasy of Japan in three acts" featured a setting in "A Garden House in the Grounds of Mr Geoffrey Fuller, Merchant, in one of the smaller Cities of Japan" and as, "told by Old Tomotada, who carved her Image", the

¹¹⁸ Theatre Royal, Adelaide, 28 September 1907.

¹¹⁹ The spelling of 'kimona' for *kimono* (Jap.) appears to be of Austro-American derivation. In 1888, 'kimonas' (items of clothing) were offered for sale at Finney, Isles and Co., Brisbane. In the United States, 'Kimona Girl: Japanese March and Two Step' was published in 1904.

¹²⁰ 'Amusements', *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 30 September 1907, p. 9.

¹²¹ Premiere: 17 May 1913.

¹²² Premiere: Hippodrome, New York, 4 December 1905; Australian premiere, Adelphi Theatre, Sydney, 2 May 1914. Written by R. Carle, Music by W. Peters.

¹²³ Premiere: Criterion Theatre, Sydney, 9 February 1918. Also performed: Theatre Royal, Melbourne, 27 April 1918. Cast (edited): Nogo, Kimura, John Charles Goto, Tomotada, The Image, A Bird Seller, A Priest, A Fish Seller and A Street Singer.

Legend of the Princess of the Willow Tree. 1921 saw the Tivoli Theatre, Melbourne stage the extravagant "musical tale of the East", *Chu Chin Chow*¹²⁴ with the main character, 'Chu Chin Chow of China'. The piece was revived at the Theatre Royal, Sydney on the 26 May 1923. The following year Sydney theatre-goers saw *East of Suez*¹²⁵ at the Criterion Theatre and the fantasy *Cairo* at Her Majesty's Theatre¹²⁶. In 1929 *Oriental Impressions*, was presented at the Theatre Royal, Sydney¹²⁷. The ballet incorporated "... three miniature tableaux, based on the traditional dances of Japan and India ...".

Despite this concentration of diversionary pieces, some theatre retained the crueller world of innuendo and racist stereotype. *The Golden Shanty*¹²⁸, a drama from the short story by Dyson related how a group of Chinese steal the *Shamrock* (a goldfields hotel), brick by brick. The Chinese fossickers discovered that the bricks had been made with clay rich in gold. In this piece the Chinese were still portrayed as 'wily Celestials'. While in direct contrast, another drama set in "The present Day", presented scenes in which the "... entire action ... takes place in China, in and near the City of Hong Kong". *Mr Wu*¹²⁹, the program

¹²⁴ Premiere: His Majesty's Theatre, London, 31 August 1916.

¹²⁵ Premiere: His Majesty's Theatre, London, 21 September 1922.

¹²⁶ Premiere: 16 September 1922.

¹²⁷ Premiere: 13 April 1929.

¹²⁸ Premiere, Palace Theatre, Sydney, 30 August 1913. Written by Edward George Dyson.

¹²⁹ Premiere: Adelphi Theatre, Sydney, 11 July 1914. Also performed: Palace Theatre, Sydney, 3 September 1914 and Princess's Theatre, Melbourne, 3 October 1914. Cast (edited): Chinese Clerk, A Coolie, Ah Sing (Mr Wu's Head Servant), Servants in Mr Wu's House, Ah Wong, Wang Ping, Low Loong, Chinese Girls. Chinese Gardeners, Coolies, Water Carriers, Dock Superintendents, Sikh Policemen, Rickshaw Runners etc.

mentioned, dealt "... with life in Hong Kong and Kowloon (China), and is most gorgeously mounted"¹³⁰.

This bifocal image of Asia typified the Australian public's understanding throughout the period evaluated. In this examination the stage has been utilised as a guide to visual awareness with particular reference to the portrayal of the 'Orient'. Prior to comprehensive exposure through art exhibitions, film and the electronic media, the stage provided millions with immediate exposure to versions of Asian cultures which were themselves in the process of radical change. In some cases (particularly in relation to China and Japan), the performances wilfully mis-represented reality. Undue emphasis on comedy, burlesque, satire, fantasy and stereotype in works which depicted Asia and its peoples was the norm rather than the exception. The historical stage depiction of the 'mysterious East' must extend valuable clues and lessons to those Australians who are currently preoccupied in seeking the 'real' Asia.

¹³⁰ Act I, Tableau - The Outer Gates of Mr Wu's House at Kowloon; Scene - The Lotus Garden of Mr Wu's House; Act II, Scene - Manager's Room in the Offices of Gregory Steamship Co., in Hong Kong; Act III, Scene - Room in Mr Wu's House at Kowloon; Tableau - The Outer Gates of Mr Wu's House.

8 Survey of Asian Collections in Australia

With the lack of substantial and important art collections as reference points in the early years of the colonies, what visual models did the population use to measure taste? In Australia, the factors of trade, politics, and the making of wealth radically altered the aesthetic considerations related to taste. These factors in turn affected the manner in which collectors established their priorities [fig. 84]. There were three documented private collections in Sydney which functioned as public galleries with access being granted by the owners prior to the founding of the Art Gallery of New South Wales in 1883. This "meant that in the 1860s the Sydney public could visit three private galleries specialising in, respectively, sculpture, modern watercolours and Old Masters"¹. However, as Robert Holden astutely noted: "All of them charged the standard nineteenth century admission fee of one shilling and certainly raise questions as to just what was being promoted and for whom"².

¹ Holden, R., "Fine art exhibitions and collectors in colonial Sydney, 1847-1877", pp. 161-167. *The artist and the patron: Aspects of colonial art in New South Wales*, Patricia R. McDonald and Barry Pearce, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney 1988, p. 164.

The collections (by alphabetical order of collector):

Joshua Frey Josephson
(b.1815, arr. Australia 1820, d.1892)
businessman, judge
collection opened 1862, *Enmore House*, Newtown, specialised in sculpture

Thomas Sutcliffe Mort
(b.1816, arr. Australia 1838, d.1878)
auctioneer, entrepreneur
collection opened 1861, *Greenoakes* *, Darling Point, specialised in modern watercolours
* the spelling varies, sometimes given as *Greenoaks*

Thomas Ware Smart
(b.1810, d.1881)
auctioneer, businessman, politician
collection opened 1861, *Mona*, Darling Point, specialised in 'Old Masters'.

² Holden (1988), loc. cit.

Pre-dating the formation of museums in Sydney, in both 1847 and 1849 exhibitions were held by the Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Australia, comprising the work of a few living colonial artists, but principally exhibiting loaned 'Old Masters', some of which were criticised by the press of the day for being of dubious quality and attribution³. In 1857, Sydney saw the first Fine Art Exhibition opened on 7 January at the Mechanics' Institute. A few years earlier, in August 1853 a Fine Arts Exhibition was organised by the Fine Arts' Society in the Mechanics' Institute, Melbourne. The exhibition featured some 400 paintings, reflecting the debt to Britain in both subject matter and intent - the "advance of civilisation, so much prized by British colonists in the nineteenth century, and the cultivation of refined tastes ..."⁴. The art critic of the *Argus* (Melbourne), wrote:

Landscape painting is the great forte of the British School of Art, and such capital instances of its successful transfer to these sunny shores of Australia, where the scenery affords such ample scope for its development, gave us unmixed pleasure⁵.

In direct contrast to this white Eurocentric focus, Australia with its geographic proximity to Asia seemed ideally suited to be exposed to, and gain from the neighbouring Asian cultures.

However, if a comparison is drawn between England, the United States and Australia relating to the development of important cultural collections, a different conclusion is reached. Both Britain, with an enormously rich economy and

³ For more detailed examination of the early history of the content, politics and history of the early exhibitions in Sydney, see Holden (1988), Footnote 1, loc. cit.

⁴ *Documentary history of Australia*, vol. 2, Colonial Australia 1841-1874, F. Crowley, Thomas Nelson Pty Ltd., (West Melbourne) 1980, p. 251.

⁵ *Argus* (Melbourne), 26 and 30 August 1853.

colonising attitude; and the United States, with a larger population and faster developing economy, possessed both the ways and means of acquiring significant Asian works of art.

Public collections in England had benefited from Asian works of art which had been acquired by the British Museum. A large collection of Japanese and Chinese paintings was purchased in 1882 from William Anderson (1842-1900), the author of *The pictorial arts of Japan*. In the same year, the museum acquired some 2,000 objects (ceramics, netsuke etc.) from Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-1897). The South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) benefited when in 1880 the Japanese government presented a group of ceramics to the museum for study; and the collections formed by Salting, Tomkinson, Alexander, Hildburgh and others between the 1880s and the 1920s were acquired between 1910 and 1936.

George Salting (1836-1909) was, in fact, an Australian capitalist who made his home in London and his fortune through the export trade in sugar and sheep. He was described in the *Times* obituary notice as, "... the greatest English art collector of his age, perhaps of any age"⁶. After his death in 1909 it is unfortunate that not one item from his collection came to Australia - instead it was divided between the British Museum, National Gallery and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London⁷. Significantly

⁶ Ingram, Terry, *A question of polish*, the antique market in Australia, William Collins Publishers Pty Ltd., Sydney 1979, p. 52.

⁷ Joshua N. McClelland, dealer, writer and adviser to the National Gallery of Victoria, wrote two articles on the Salting Collection which appeared in the *Argus*, (Melbourne) on 30 January and the 20 February 1937; pp. 31 and 30, respectively. In a postscript to another article in the *Argus*, 2 October 1937, p. 33 on the generous gift of Chinese ceramics by H.W. Kent to the state gallery in Melbourne, he commented on the loss to Australia of the Salting Collection: "It was Salting's intention to leave these treasures to Australia, but he was so incensed at the affront from the Government in the State in which he was born [New South Wales] that he bequeathed them to England." In an *Argus* article of 1937 the Salting Collection was conservatively

of the source of collections within each institution¹¹. Printing a similar publication in Australia during this time would have been almost pointless.

Australia, in direct comparison to America, although geographically close to Asia, did not actively seek important works, but rather relied on a more casual acquisition policy - often obtaining less important works either by direct purchase or presentation from the series of international exhibitions. For a detailed analysis of the representation of Asia at these important national and international expositions, see chapter 5, *Intercolonial, International and Fine Art Exhibitions: Australia and Asia 1850s-1900s*.

Sydney and Melbourne were the foci of activity with regard to Asian cultural contacts - this is not surprising, given

Berthold Laufer	Curator, Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago
John Ellerton Lodge	Curator, Department of Asiatic art, Boston; Curator, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington
Benjamin March	Curator of Asiatic art, Detroit Institute of Arts; Honorary curator of Oriental aesthetic arts, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Alan Reed Priest	Curator of Far Eastern art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Tomita Kōjirō	Keeper of Japanese art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Langdon Warner	Field Fellow, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge.

¹¹ March, Benjamin, *China and Japan in our museums: A preliminary report prepared for the third session of the Institute of Pacific Relations to be held in Kyoto, Japan, October 28th to November 9th, 1929*, American Council Institute of Pacific Relations/Rumford Press, New York/New Haven 1929. The book summarised Chinese and Japanese items in forty-three American museums. In an historical sense, the writer also traced the development of American collecting of Chinese and Japanese material. Of particular interest was contact which ran parallel to Australian history - initial naval contact and early travellers; American educators, professionals and collectors; international expositions and politics associated with international foreign relations.

the indices of wealth and the self-evident fact of both as international port cities.

Mention of 'Japanese curiosities' in the *Sydney Morning Herald*¹² in early 1868 sparked an obvious public interest in decorative wares brought back to Australia by two brothers¹³, one of whom would distinguish himself in later life as Honorary Japanese Consul for Victoria¹⁴. The collection was a drawcard for visitors to Sydney during the visit of HRH the Duke of Edinburgh and consisted of:

... fine carvings in ivory, ... some elegant specimens of bowls, of fine bronze, inlaid with mosaic work of various coloured marble; lacquered or japanned trays, boxes, and vessels of varied designs and for various purposes; illustrations of Japanese life, on rice paper and crape [sic]; and a multitude of quaint, grotesque, and beautiful objects, which would well repay a visit¹⁵.

¹² *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1868, p. 4 noted: "... the rare collection of Japanese curiosities to be seen in the store opposite the City bank in King-street. Mr. Marks, whose sons have for the last nine years resided in Japan, has had consigned to him a large variety of goods which illustrate the varied and peculiar industry of the remarkable people of that country." "Mr. Marks" was Abraham Marks, clothier, father of Alexander and Henry, whose business was listed at 83 King Street, Sydney.

source: Sands' Sydney Directory for 1868.

¹³ "In 1872 Alexander Marks returned to Melbourne after his brother and partner Henry was lost at sea [in 1871] on a trading vessel [the *Julia*] between Yokohama and the Marianas".

source: *Episodes : A glimpse of Australia-Japan relations 1859-1979*, David Sissons, Eric White Associates under the auspices of the Embassy of Japan in Australia, Canberra (1979), p. 18.

¹⁴ Alexander Marks (1838-1919), businessman and consul, lived in Hong Kong and Yokohama as a trader (1859-1872). After he returned to Australia he became Honorary Consul for Japan in Melbourne (1879-1902).

source: *A biographical register 1788-1939: Notes from the name index of the 'Australian dictionary of biography'*, compiled and edited by H.J. Gibbney, and Ann G. Smith, Australian National University, Canberra 1987.

¹⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 February 1868, p. 4.

I am indebted to Andrew Sayers for this reference.

The Art Gallery of New South Wales began the Asian collections with "the gift in 1879 by the Japanese Government, of a large group of Japanese ceramics and bronzes that had been shown in the International Exhibition that same year"¹⁶, although as John Clark has noted, "... the Sydney architect John Smedley (1841-1903) had already visited Japan by 1869 and organized a section of Japanese paintings and craft goods at the Sydney Metropolitan and [Inter]Colonial Exhibition in 1877"¹⁷. These were auctioned at the direction of Smedley and some works from the sale acquired by the gallery¹⁸. Kuwahata Hideo (1863-1930), who arrived in Sydney about 1888 brought with him a small but valuable collection of Japanese woodblock prints by important artists. He commenced business as a general merchant and ship providore (c.1890), then opened shops at George Street and at Guildford; took up landscape gardening, and was an importer of Japanese plant material to Australia¹⁹.

Lacking the outstanding purchasing power of Melbourne's Felton Bequest (from 1904), the then National Gallery in Sydney entered a period where few acquisitions in the field of Asian art were made. The return to Sydney of Australia's contingent which had assisted in the quelling of the Boxer uprising in China (1900-01) on 25 April 1901, by the transport vessel *Chingtu* marked another source for Chinese works. The collection benefited in 1905, with the gift made by Captain Francis Hixson, RN²⁰, of a Ming

¹⁶ *Asian Collection: Art Gallery of New South Wales Handbook*, Jacqueline Menzies, with an introduction by Edmund Capon, published by the Trustees, Sydney 1990, p. 7.

¹⁷ "Once again, the East", John Clark, *Art Monthly*, no. 30, p. 2.

¹⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 May 1877, p. 9.

¹⁹ source: Smith and Gibney (1987), op. cit.

²⁰ Captain Francis Hixson was Commander of the New South Wales Naval contingent as far as Hong Kong where he handed over command to Lieutenant (acting Captain Gillespie), and returned to Australia on the S.S. *Airlie*; Lieutenant H. Hixson, one of his sons continued to

dynasty standing temple guardian [fig. 85]. The figure of Weituo, was apparently removed from the ruins of the Palace of Ten Thousand Years (Wanshou Si)²¹ near Beijing by a detachment from the New South Wales Naval contingent²². As Terry Ingram has noted, "The Boxer Rebellion is said to have accounted for many a box of Oriental ceramics finding its way [to Australia]"²³.

Sydney was not the only recipient of art works from this short encounter - an article in 1905 noted the decorative arts collection of Mr George Wynne, Sydney with illustrations of Chinese ceramics and sculpture "collected during a twelve months' sojourn in Peking [*sic*] with the Australian Naval Contingent"²⁴. Other material, mainly in the form of military weaponry and artefacts has entered several Commonwealth collections - namely those of the Australian War Memorial, Canberra; the Powerhouse, Sydney; HMAS Cerebus, Flinders Naval Depot, Westernport, Victoria; Flag Officer Naval Support Command, Darlinghurst, NSW (Spectacle Island) and HMAS Naval Dockyard, Garden Island, Sydney.

Beijing and was installed in the Lhama Temple with a contingent from New South Wales.

source: *Australian Encyclopaedia*, Arthur Wilberforce Jose, and Herbert James Carter (editors), Angus and Robertson, Sydney 1925/1926, 'China Naval Contingent'.

²¹ Buddhist monastery built to the north-west of Beijing by the eunuch Feng Pao, a favourite of the Emperor Wanli in 1577. Rebuilt in 1752 and enlarged by Empress Cixi, destroyed in 1860 by Lord Elgin. source: *Encyclopaedia of Asian civilizations*, Frédéric Publisher, Villecresnes 1977.

²² Catalogue records of the Art Gallery of New South Wales confirm the work was "recovered from the ruins of Palace of Ten Thousand Years, about 15 miles N by W from Peking by a detachment of NSW China Contingent in 1900-1901 under the command of the chief Petty Officer W. Parker". I am indebted to Jackie Menzies for information from the accession register and transcript of a label caption.

²³ Ingram (1979), op. cit., p. 17.

²⁴ "Chinese curios gathered in Peking [*sic*]", *Art and Architecture: The journal of the Institute of Architects of New South Wales*, vol. II, no. 1, January-February 1905, pp. 211-212.

The exhibition of Asian material in the last years of the nineteenth and first quarter of the twentieth century often resulted from the efforts of committed individuals rather than the endeavours of museums. These events, however, were important as they opened private collections of Asian art to the general public - with the works sometimes offered for sale. Access was given to otherwise unfamiliar objects, thus partially fulfilling the role of a public art gallery or museum. Notable examples of this activity were in 1895 (Melbourne), 1916 (Melbourne) and 1922 (Melbourne and Sydney).

One of the earliest in May 1895, was a display of some 1,500 Japanese hand-coloured photographs²⁵ in a gallery within Cole's Book Arcade, Bourke and Collins Streets, Melbourne²⁶. Edward William Cole (1832-1918) with typical enterprise had secured an exhibition which was shown for several months²⁷ and must have drawn a significant

²⁵ This exhibition was by no means the first mention of the display and sale of Japanese photographs - although it may well have been the most comprehensive. Photographs were earlier displayed in 1877 at the Sydney Metropolitan and Intercolonial Exhibition and in September 1884, *Once a Month*, mentioned that: "Japanese industries are now so popular that an account of some photographs recently brought from that country may be interesting. ... The execution is admirable, far excelling the work of our own photographers; the colouring is another striking feature: soft, yet warm, it really enhances the beauty of the photographs, ... They are large size cabinets, and of very low price, 10s. the pair. The agent appointed for their sale is Mrs. Campbell, 180 Dagmar Terrace, Ferrars Street, Albert Park [Victoria]". *Once a Month: A magazine for Australasia* (Melbourne), 15 September 1884, p. 228.

In early 1887, Japanese photographs were listed among the attractions at the Japanese Village in Hobart.

²⁶ The exhibition was in the Collins Street wing of the Book Arcade on an upper floor in a building formerly occupied by the music sellers Messrs Nicholson and Company.

²⁷ The review of 'A Japanese exhibition' was published in the *Argus* (Melbourne), 25 May 1895, p. 8; in the article 'Anecdotal photograph: Mr. E.W. Cole', *Table Talk: A journal for men and women* (Melbourne), 5 July 1895, p. 3, the exhibition is mentioned: "... and in the upper storey an exhibition of large Japanese coloured photographs". Precise

proportion of the 5,000 persons a day estimated to visit his arcade²⁸. The exhibition was seen to cover every facet of Japanese life²⁹ with "sun pictures" coloured by Japanese artists. John Plummer, the Australian correspondent for the *Japan Weekly Mail*, (Tokyo) reported the exhibition on at least two occasions for the English-language newspaper in Japan³⁰.

dates for the exhibition run are difficult to establish - the exhibition opened on, or before, 25 May, and closed after 5 July 1895.

²⁸ "Thirty thousand persons visit Cole's Book Arcade each week - 5,000 a day! A million and a half people call there each year! Since the Bourke-street Arcade was opened, on Cup Day 1884, seventeen millions of human visits have been paid to this famous literarium!" source: *Table Talk* (5 July) 1895, loc. cit.

²⁹ "Apart from their high quality as sun-pictures, they are extremely interesting and instructive as vivid representations of the daily life of the people. This may be studied under every conceivable aspect. Their religious ceremonials; their marriage festivities and funeral rites; their social usages; their public and private recreations; their modes of agriculture; the industries pursued by their artisans; the life of the streets and the occupations of the small traders and itinerating hawkers - all these are graphically illustrated, so that it may be doubted whether any phase of Japanese civilisation has been left unrepresented in this really remarkable collection of photographs. And the beautiful scenery of the country - its mountain gorges and cataracts, its umbrageous forests and highly-cultivated harvest fields - has not been overlooked by the artists, who display, as may be expected a refined sense of what is most picturesque and most effective in the selection of their subjects. Add to these numerous examples of the religious, civic, and domestic architecture of the Japanese, of their sculpture and bronze-casting, and it will be seen that the exhibition is a very comprehensive one, ...".
Argus (25 May) 1895, loc. cit.

³⁰ *Japan Weekly Mail* (Tokyo), 20 July 1895, p. 76, 'Japanese topics in Australia' (entry dated Sydney, 6 June 1895). *Japan Weekly Mail* (Tokyo), 3 August 1895, p. 127, 'Letter from Australia' (entry dated Healesville, 23 June 1895). Plummer concluded the first with the statement: "In the Victorian capital, at least, it is beginning to be recognised that the Japanese have a right to be regarded as one of the most civilised and progressive of modern peoples". The second, with a predictive note: "... that it [the exhibition] possesses a not inconsiderable educational value, especially as it brings us almost into touch with a nation which has just shown that it intends to play a leading part in the history of that portion of the globe wherewith the future of Australia must be intimately identified".

An *Exhibition of classic Chinese & Japanese pictures*, (which were in fact Japanese woodblock reproductions of Japanese and Chinese masterpieces of painting), was staged at the Fine Art Society's Room, Collins Street, Melbourne from the 11 to 26 August 1916. The works were for sale and available in duplicate copies from the 'Shimbi Shoin' company which boasted in the catalogue that "... there is not a prized painting existing in Japan that we have not yet reproduced and published"³¹. The second two exhibitions were selected works from the collection of the artist, architect and author, William Hardy Wilson (1881-1955).

In 1922 Wilson visited China for three months and returned to Sydney with works of art some of which were purchased in his favourite shopping haunt in Beijing, "Liu Li Chang, a street in the Chinese quarter of Peking"³², where 'curio' shops are placed side-by-side for the greater part of a mile"³³. Selections from the collection were exhibited at the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney and during June

³¹ The exhibition was reviewed by A[lexander] Colquhoun (1862-1941), artist and critic for the *Herald* 1914-22. In the *Herald* (Melbourne), 10 August 1916, p. 9, under the heading 'Eastern pictorial art affords many contrasts: New and old methods shown'. The review concluded: "... The majority of the pictures are bright compositions, but the landscapes are well worthy of attention, and it is interesting to compare the Japanese landscape - such as No. 35 [Waterscape under the Moon by Hiroshige] - expressing the last word in simplicity, with the Chinese art of an earlier period which suggest in their more laboured treatment the work of some of the lesser Dutch masters. These reproductions are printed from wood blocks, a method widely different from the zinc block process used in Western printing, and one demanding in addition to extreme carefulness, an individual artistic knowledge on the part of the printer. The prices charged are uniformly moderate". [The prices ranged from 15s.6d. to 63s.0d.].

³² A rather strange statement of self-evident fact made by Wilson. Presumably this was to differentiate this area from the common haunts of the other foreign 'curio-seeking' tourists.

³³ "Isaac", Hardy Wilson, *Art in Australia*, 2nd series, 1 May 1922, pp. 52-55. This issue also featured: "Photographs of Chinese architecture" [by Hardy Wilson], p. 39; "Chinese paintings from the Hardy Wilson collection", p. 51; and 'The red phoenix', p. 69 [a Chinese painting in the Hardy Wilson collection].

1922, at the Fine Art Society's gallery, Exhibition Street, Melbourne³⁴. As another reviewer reported, the works were to be "disposed under instruction from Mr. Hardy Wilson, who recently left Australia to take up residence in London, ..." ³⁵.

It was in Sydney a group of leading citizens took action and formed the New South Wales Applied Art Trust in 1926; the donated works were exhibited in the Exhibition Hall of Farmer & Company Limited, Market Street in May the following year³⁶. In the 'Introduction' to the catalogue

³⁴ The exhibition was reviewed by A. Colquhoun in the *Herald* (Melbourne), 13 June 1922, p. 16 under the heading 'Exhibition of Chinese art: Paintings and ceramics'. The reviewer commented: "... Japanese art, particularly the more modern variety, we have always with us, and it a popular fallacy to regard the art of China as something akin, but less choice, rather than as its fountain head and source of being". The content of the exhibition included: paintings on silk from the Ming and Qing dynasties, ceramics and "... wonderful specimens of antique Eastern dresses and draperies ...". Colquhoun neglected to mention that one month earlier, in Sydney, the auctioneer James R. Lawson had offered the collection for sale at the Gallery Salerooms on 3 May 1922.

³⁵ This un-named critic gave a more graphic description of the exhibition: "The collection comprises mostly Chinese objects of art bought by Mr. Wilson under the supervision of one of the directors of the Imperial Museum, Peking [sic]. Its main feature is a rare Cloisonne vase, ... [other works include] ... Glazed bowls and vases of the Tang, Sung, Yuan, and Ming periods, ... a bronze vase of the Han period, ... a Ming soapstone vase, paintings of Ching and Ming periods, unglazed figures of a camel and other animals of the Tang period, and black and gold lacquers worked during the Chirn [sic] Lung dynasty. Several very handsome Mandarin coats, one of which bears the sign of the five-claw dragon of the Imperial family are included. ...".
Argus (Melbourne), 15 June 1922, p. 11.

The 'director' referred to was almost certainly "Mr. Kungpah King, who is director of the Chinese National Museums in Peking, and who arranged portion of the collections therein for the Chinese Government. He is generally accepted as one of the best authorities on Chinese Art In Northern China". Quoted from the sale *Catalogue of the Hardy Wilson Collection of Works of Art, Sydney 1922*. The exhibition in Melbourne was shown at the Fine Art Society's gallery, 100 Exhibition Street, between the 13 and 28 June 1922.

³⁶ Laseron, Charles F., *The first exhibition of the New South Wales Collection of Applied Art, Exhibition Hall, Farmer & Company Limited, Sydney; 2-14 May 1927; opened by the Minister for Public Instruction, the Hon. T.D. Mutch.*

by Charles F. Laseron³⁷, the reasons for the formation of the trust were explained, with considerable emphasis on works of art from Asia³⁸:

Almost alone among great cities there is no National Collection of objects of Applied Art of any importance, nor any Institution whose function is to improve the taste and culture of the people. ... To the craftsman of Australia, continual access to the masterpieces of Chinese ceramic [sic] art, the bronzes of Italy and Japan, the furniture of Sheraton, Chippendale or Adams, and examples of a hundred other crafts must be an increasing source of inspiration and example³⁹.

The "movement started publicly with an article in the *Sydney Evening News* on May 4th, 1926"; and accelerated with a public meeting organised by the Collectors' and

³⁷ Charles Francis Laseron (b.1887, arr. Sydney 1891, d.1959) Naturalist and connoisseur. In 1906 he joined the staff of the Technological Museum, Sydney as a collector. After the first world war he returned to the museum to promote the collections of applied arts - writing guides to the collections of ceramics e.g. *Descriptive guide to the Pottery and Porcelain collection in the Sydney Technological Museum*, and other neglected areas of the collection. In 1926, he set up the New South Wales Applied Art Trust, but, frustrated by attitudes within the museum, resigned in 1929.
source: Nairn, Serle, Ward (1974), op. cit.

³⁸ The catalogue lists 178 entries, divided into several categories, of which there are the following numbers of Asian material:

Eastern work in metals:	54
Other Eastern silver and gold:	5
Damascene ware:	5
Eastern bronze, brass and iron:	5
Lacquer:	3
Carvings in jade:	2
Chinese pottery and porcelain	
Celadon:	6
Coloured glazes:	14
White wares:	9
Blue and white:	5
Enamels over the glaze:	7
Japanese pottery and porcelain	
Satsuma:	4
Other Japanese wares:	2

Total 121 works.

³⁹ Laseron, Charles F., *The first exhibition of the New South Wales Collection of Applied Art*, [n.p.], 'Introduction'.

Connoisseurs' Society⁴⁰ held in the hall of the Royal Society on 7 July 1926. At this meeting "six trustees"⁴¹ were elected and the Constitution of the founding trust drawn up. The eventual housing of the collection was seen as a goal to be accomplished with the building of a new art museum, but measures were taken to ensure the collection was publicly available by placing it on temporary loan to the Trustees of the Technological Museum⁴². The collection, although drawn almost exclusively from donors in New South Wales, was seen very much as 'national', and appeals for further donations were couched in terms of 'patriotism' for the development of a 'National Collection' "which it is hoped will be the pride and glory of the citizens to come"⁴³.

Primary donors of the Asian works from the catalogue were: Francis James Benton (Malay silver⁴⁴, jade and Chinese ceramics); Sir Samuel Hordern (Damascene ware); Charles F. Laseron (metalwork, Chinese and Japanese ceramics); Charles Lloyd Jones (jade); and Ernest Watt, Professor Ebdon Gowrie

⁴⁰ Collectors' and Connoisseurs' Society of New South Wales flourished 1922-25. Established in Sydney to develop appreciation in the fine arts. President: Francis J. Benson; Hon Secretary: Charles F. Laseron.

sources: *Encyclopedia of Australian art*, Alan McCulloch, Hutchinson Group Pty Ltd., Richmond 1968 and *The story of Australian art*, from the earliest known art of the continent to the art of to-day, William Moore, Angus & Robertson, Sydney 1934.

⁴¹ Trustees of the New South Wales Applied Art Trust as noted in the catalogue, numbered eleven, in addition to Honorary Solicitors, Messrs Allen, Allen & Hemsley: Francis James Benton, Sir Benjamin Fuller, Hon. Justice Ferguson, Charles F. Laseron, E.A. McDonald, Hon. J. Lane Mullins, Sydney Ure Smith, Sir John Sulman, Ernest Watt, the Chief Justice of NSW and the Minister for Education.

⁴² Now the Powerhouse Museum, Darling Harbour, Sydney.

⁴³ Laseron, Charles F., *The first exhibition of the New South Wales Collection of Applied Art*, [n.p.], 'Introduction'.

⁴⁴ The Francis J. Benton collection of Malay silver is no longer part of the collection of the Powerhouse Museum. It was stolen in August 1930. The overnight loss of the two hundred pieces of silver was estimated at the time to be approximately £2,000.
source: Ingram (1979), op. cit.

Waterhouse, Dr Oscar Paul (Chinese ceramics). Charles F. Laseron being the outstanding donor in presenting some thirty-two pieces overall⁴⁵.

By 1928, the collection "numbering some two hundred and fifty-five items, is at present housed on loan with the Technological Museum, Ultimo, until a building can be erected as Applied Art Museum". As reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in June, donors were still coming forward with pieces that were being seen by overseas visitors and thought enough of by them to the extent that, "he [Lord Burnham] would have liked it for the Victoria and Albert Museum, Kensington". The piece was referred to in the article as a, "Valuable piece of pottery ... Ming porcelain ... the gift of Mr. W. McConochie to the state", and was one of a pair donated - the other he kept for himself⁴⁶.

The civilised intentions of the donors and committee were never completely realised - the collection remains at the Powerhouse with the original wish of the trust for a new, separate museum of applied arts partially unfulfilled.

The other major collection in Sydney which in many respects complements that of the Art Gallery of New South Wales is that housed now at the Powerhouse⁴⁷. The collections began almost simultaneously with gifts to the collections - particularly in the case of decorative arts, occasionally being divided between the two institutions. In 1882 a selection of Japanese exhibits was acquired from the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879. Then in 1884, the museum

⁴⁵ See 'Art treasures: Sir Samuel Hordern's gift', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 March 1927, p. 12. This review also included details of other major donors.

⁴⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 June 1928, p. 11.

⁴⁷ Now the Powerhouse Museum; formerly Technological, Industrial and Sanitary Museum; the Technological Museum; later the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences.

purchased Chinese artefacts 'made from natural materials' from local Chinatown traders, Messrs. Sue Hing Long & Co. and On Chong & Co.⁴⁸. Two suits of Japanese armour were purchased from Blunden and Shaw in 1886.

Between 1887 and 1888 Japanese decorative arts were purchased by Archibald Liversidge (1846-1927), one of the museum's founders⁴⁹ and Professor of Geology and Mineralogy at Sydney University between 1882 and 1907. While on a trip to Europe via Java and Japan in 1887, two cases of 'curios' including, "Some of the things sent to the museum I selected for myself, especially the netzukes [sic], so that on my return I may require them, meanwhile they can be exhibited"⁵⁰, were shipped to Sydney on behalf of Liversidge by his friend William Gowland, Master of the Imperial Mint at Osaka. Acquisitions included ceramics (purchased from Rottman Strome and Company, Yokohama); decorative metalwork; costume⁵¹; embroidered articles; swatch-books and a collection of sixty-eight carpenters' tools.

In 1890 two large collections of Japanese artefacts were purchased in Japan for the museum by a missionary - the Reverend Tenison-Woods. These included decorative arts and specimens of mineral, vegetable and animal material.

⁴⁸ Respectively, Fancy goods importers, 16-18 George Street, Sydney; and merchants, 223 George Street, Sydney.
source: correspondence, Claire Roberts to the author, December 1990.

⁴⁹ The others were Sir Alfred Roberts (1823-1898), surgeon and Robert Hunt (1830-1892), Mint official, Sydney.

⁵⁰ Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences Archives, Sydney, Inward correspondence, Liversidge to Maiden, 18 March 1887.
source: correspondence, Claire Roberts to the author, December 1990.

⁵¹ One of the pieces, a silk *furisode*, Osaka, 1880s, is illustrated in *Decorative arts and design from the Powerhouse Museum*, Trustees of the Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, Sydney 1991.

Following the founding of the Collectors' and Connoisseurs' Society (1922) and the subsequent New South Wales Applied Art Trust (1926) - both involving Laseron, the museum acquired the New South Wales Applied Art Trust Collection which by late 1927 included: the Laseron Collection; the Benson Collection; and some items purchased from the auction of the Dr R.A. Fox Collection⁵²; and the Captain W.B. Davey Collection. In 1936, further acquisitions of Japanese metalwork were made from the collection of Sir Philip Charley.

In Melbourne, the National Gallery of Victoria as a state institution both influenced and reflected an increased public interest in the arts of Asia. The first acquisition of Chinese art works was made in 1867. Forty pounds sterling was spent on Chinese bronzes, enamels and jades⁵³.

In 1906 Takatsuka Jô (1865-1940) who had arrived in Melbourne a year earlier from Japan⁵⁴, wrote to the Public Librarian offering a painting of Rakan "painted by Cho Densu [*sic* Minchô (1352-1431)], who lived 1352 to 1427 [*sic*]" to the gallery⁵⁵. The *kakemono* or hanging scroll,

⁵² See 'Sale of art collection', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 October 1927, p. 18.

⁵³ "Chinese art at the National Gallery of Victoria", Mae Anna Pang, *Hemisphere*, vol. 27, no. 2, September/October 1982, pp. 78-86.

⁵⁴ Arrived in Melbourne on the S.S. *Empire*, 13 March 1905. "His first eighteen months in Australia were spent in Melbourne where he operated under the name, 'Takasuka, Dight and Co. - Japanese Importers', 136 Queen Street, [Melbourne] ... and 20 Boyd Street ..., Richmond".
source: "A selector and his family", D.C.S. Sissons, *Hemisphere*, vol. 25, no. 3, November/December 1980, pp. 168-174.

⁵⁵ Public Record Office, Victoria, VPRS 10276 Box 187, file 06/744 Takasuka Jô to the Public Librarian, 21 June 1906; reply notation the Public Librarian to Lindsay Bernard Hall, 27 June 1906; noted by L.B. Hall, 28 June 1906; reply conveyed by letter of 30 June 1906.
source: correspondence, David Sissons to the author, 9 July 1990. I am greatly indebted to David Sissons for drawing this exchange to my attention.

he explained was one of a set sold in Tokyo by the authorities of a Kamakura temple eight years previously (circa 1898). The remaining fifteen were already in both French and Japanese private collections. Stating that the works had sold for sums "averaging £350 each", he was "prepared to accept the sum of £100 for it", alluding to the fact that the British Museum had also secured works by this master and referred the Trustees to an extract from Anderson's *The pictorial arts of Japan*⁵⁶.

The replies to his offer are revealing - both in expertise available at this time and the reference tool used. The Chief Librarian⁵⁷ rather honestly noted, "I know nothing about the ancient art of Japan - or how this stands with regard to the art of this period. [to Lindsay Bernard Hall, Director] I have left Andersons Arts of Japan [*sic*] open at the page illustrating one of these sixteen saints. It seems more interesting than the one offered. [deleted text] There is no assurance that this is by Meicho [*sic*] or Cho Densu" [underlined text]⁵⁸.

In reply to this note, L. Bernard Hall added, "It does not appear to be worth buying, but it could be shown in the Verdon Gallery for a time"⁵⁹. The offer was declined by the gallery the same day and two days later on the 30 June 1906 a letter was sent to the owner who collected "my Japanese picture" duly receipted out of the Public Library on 6 July 1906.

⁵⁶ Page 42 (text), plates 8: Arhat, British Museum Collection (chromolithograph), and 9: Arhats (from line engravings).

⁵⁷ Mr Edmund La Touche Armstrong (1864-1946), Chief Librarian, Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of Victoria (1896-1925).

⁵⁸ Public Record Office (27 June) 1906, op. cit.

⁵⁹ L.B. Hall (28 June) 1906, op. cit.

On various occasions between 1906 and 1941, another Japanese immigrant, Inagaki Mōshi advised the gallery on the purchase of Japanese works in addition to selling works on a commission basis⁶⁰. By 1908 Inagaki was a student at the National Gallery School, and through attendance at the school, gained access to staff at the parent institution⁶¹. In 1922, "Mr Mowsey [sic] Inagaki catalogued the collection of Japanese works in the Verdon Gallery"⁶².

The gallery was fortunate in acquiring a number of gifts and bequests through the 1920s and 1930s in addition to direct purchases made with funds available from the Felton Bequest⁶³. First purchases of Asian art with monies from

⁶⁰ Inagaki Mōshi (1880-1948?), arrived Thursday Island (as a stowaway) c.1903, taught Japanese in Melbourne in 1904, then enrolled in the National Gallery School some four years later. In *The Felton Bequests: An historical record 1904-1933*, compiled by Basil Burdett, published by the Felton Bequests Committee, Melbourne 1934, p. 39, the author noted, "Latterly, Mr. M. Inagaki has also reported on Oriental art". Inagaki also taught Japanese to Harold S. Williams pre-1919. It was this initial contact which was to result in Williams's first visit to Japan in the same year. The Harold S. Williams Collection, a valuable research resource for Japan, is now housed in the National Library of Australia, Canberra.

⁶¹ Australian Archives, Victorian Regional Office, MP529/3
Testimony of State Librarian, E.R. Pitt before the Aliens Tribunal No. 4, 5 March 1942.
sources: correspondence, David Sissons to the author, 9 July 1990; and: "Is it a crime to marry a foreigner?", pp. 335-343, Ailsa G. Thomson Zainu'ddin, published in *DOUBLE TIME: Women in Victoria - 150 years*, Marilyn Lake and Farley Kelly, Penguin Books, Melbourne 1985.

⁶² *The Book of the Public Library, Museums, and National Gallery of Victoria, 1906-1931*, Edmund La Touche Armstrong and Robert Douglass Boys, Fraser & Jenkinson Pty Ltd., Melbourne 1932, p. 50.

⁶³ Alfred Felton (b.1831, arr. Melbourne 1853, d.1904)
Philanthropist whose bequest in 1904 to the National Gallery of Victoria raised the gallery's purchasing power to rival international museums. In addition the bequest also made provision for half-yearly charitable distributions. The estate initially amounted to a net value of £378,033. The will provided for the constitution of a committee which met for the first time on 5 May 1904 and was charged with the responsibility of deciding, "that in its opinion each article it selects, or of which it authorises the purchase, has an artistic and educational value, and is calculated to raise or improve public taste".
sources: *Historical record of the Felton Bequests from their inception to 31st December 1922*, Felton Bequests Committee, Melbourne (1923);

the Felton Bequest were made in 1904 with the acquisition of several Japanese ivories. Significant purchases occurred in 1909, with the purchase of over a hundred Japanese prints. In the years 1916, 1921 (amongst the purchases were some forty-four Chinese ceramics and decorative arts from the Eedy Collection [figs 86, 87], auctioned in Sydney during October of the same year⁶⁴). 1922, 1923, 1924, 1926 and 1927 saw additional works (including seventy-six pieces of Chinese, Japanese and Persian porcelain, pottery and weapons and other works from the collection of Dr R.A. Fox (auctioned in Sydney during October 1927⁶⁵). The acquisitions for these years, ensured large numbers of Chinese, Japanese, Korean ceramics, bronzes, decorative arts and weapons from these countries and some works from Tibet and Southeast Asia entered the collection. Further purchases of note occurred in the years 1931 to 1933 and 1939 - again mainly in the fields of ceramics and metalwork⁶⁶.

Historical record of the Felton Bequests January 1st 1923-December 31st 1926, supplement no. 1, compiled by Dr Charles Bage, Felton Bequests Committee, Melbourne (1927) and McCulloch (1968), op. cit.

⁶⁴ Catalogue of the The Eedy Collection, 11 October 1921
source: *The auctioneers: Lawsons - The first 100 years*, Carl Ruhen, Ayres & James Heritage Books in association with James R. Lawson Pty Limited, Sydney 1984.

⁶⁵ Catalogue of the Dr R.A. Fox Collection, 6 and 7 October 1927
source: Ruhen (1984), op. cit.

⁶⁶ Throughout this collecting period, notably in the years 1934-1936, immediately preceding the Kent gift, Joshua N. McClelland private dealer and on occasions adviser to the National Gallery of Victoria wrote a number of articles published in the *Argus* (Melbourne). Under the banner 'Treasures of the National Gallery', several of these featured Asian works from the collection (dates as given): "No. 11 - A Tang pottery horse", 28 July 1934, p. 6; "No. 16 - A Chinese jade incense burner", 1 September 1934, p. 8; "No. 17 - A red lacquer dish", 8 September 1934, p. 7; "A Kang Hsi cloisonne [sic] vase", 23 March 1935, p. 7; "A Ming celadon vase", 4 January 1936, p. 8; "Yung Cheng ginger jar", 1 February 1936, p. 8; "A covered jade vase Chien Lung (1736-95)", 29 February 1936, p. 10 and "'Blanc de Chine' Kuan Yin (K'ang Hsi, 1662-1722)", 4 July 1936, p. 10.

It was significant that in the entry for 'Art Galleries' in the *Australian Encyclopaedia* of 1925, the National Gallery of Victoria has the only entry which mentions the arts of Asia with the terminal notation, "...; and a valuable collection of Chinese ceramic ware and bronzes"⁶⁷.

Chief among the donations to the gallery during the 1920s to 1930s were the Dr George Ernest (Chinese) Morrison Bequest (1921 and 1922); the James Thompson Hackett gift (1924); and a significant collection of Chinese ceramics from the Herbert Wade Kent Collection (1937)⁶⁸. In 1938, partly in recognition of his generous gift, H.W. Kent was made the first Honorary Curator of Oriental Art and concurrently, a Trustee of the National Gallery of Victoria. Other gifts to the gallery, although not essentially Asian in character, often contained considerable numbers of Chinese or Japanese works. Examples include the Connell Collection (Mr John H. Connell) presented in 1913 with the catalogue of the collection stating, "that the objects comprised in the Collection were acquired by him almost wholly in Australia"⁶⁹; and the Howard Spensley Collection, bequeathed by the donor from *Westoning Manor*, Bedfordshire in 1938⁷⁰.

⁶⁷ source: Jose and Carter (1925/1926), op. cit., p. 81.

⁶⁸ Refer to a number of articles by Joshua N. McClelland in the *Argus* (Melbourne), dates as given, for summaries of the content of this important gift. Under the general header, 'Loan collection of Chinese art': "Chinese treasures in Melbourne: Mr. W.H. Kent's Collection", 4 September 1937, p. 32; "Notes on the Han and T'ang wares", 11 September 1937, p. 33; "Notes on Sung and Yuan wares", 18 September 1937, p. 35; "Notes on the Ming wares", 25 September 1937, p. 36 and "Notes on the Ch'ing (Manchu) wares", 2 October 1937, p. 33.

⁶⁹ *Catalogue of the Connell Collection*, 2nd edition, printed for the Trustees of the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne 1937, [n.p.], 'Preface'. The collection was not opened to the public until 10 September 1914.

⁷⁰ *Catalogue of the Howard Spensley Collection*, printed for the Trustees of the Public Library, Museums and National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne [n.d.].

The basic influences on taste during this period can be viewed not only through the representative works and museum collections themselves, but also through the personalities, knowledge and writings of a range of professional museum staff, which included directors, curators and a number of commissioned international advisers and buyers, some of whom were directly responsible for the acquisition of Asian art⁷¹.

In 1906 a seventeenth century Japanese screen [fig. 88] was acquired under the terms of the Felton Bequest for the National Gallery of Victoria by Monsieur J.J. Marquet de Vasselot, ("of the Louvre, Paris") who was appointed in 1906 on the recommendation of Lindsay Bernard Hall, Director. The screen, (formerly Sieboldt Collection, Berlin) from the studio of the important *rimpa* artist Sôtatsu Nonomura (1576-1643), reached Melbourne in 1907⁷². In 1909 one hundred and three Japanese woodblock prints, selected with the assistance of Mr Edward F. Strange were acquired; and in 1910, twenty Japanese woodblock prints were purchased on the advice of Messrs. Frank W. Gibson and Edward F. Strange. The years 1921 and 1922 saw Mr W.A. Sicklen of Katoomba, an 'expert' in Chinese art employed as an occasional adviser at Bernard Hall's request. Sicklen consulted in connection with art sales in Sydney, including those of the Eedy and Stafford Cox collections. The Webster Collection of 'Rare and Valuable English and Oriental Art Treasures', auctioned at J.R. Tyrell's Museum of Antiques and Curios, Sydney, during April 1929 released further works onto the market [figs 89, 90]. The Director, himself, advised on acquisitions of Asian works on several occasions between 1909 and his death in 1935.

⁷¹ source: Bage (1923), op. cit.

⁷² This important Japanese screen is shortly to be sent to Japan for conservation treatment (verbal communication, staff of the National Gallery of Victoria to author, November 1991).

Significant art events in far-off Britain still occupied the attention of both the Australian art-orientated public and museum professional alike. Considerable interest focused on Chinese art in the period 1935-1936 with two related events in London - the Burlington House exhibition and the purchase of the Eumorfopoulos Collection by the nation for £100,000⁷³. The catalogue⁷⁴ of the *International Exhibition of Chinese Art 1935-6* listed an incredible 3,080 works drawn from collections all over the world, over 800 of which came from Chinese national collections⁷⁵. An article in the Sydney-based *Art in Australia* by Alleyne Zander introduced the Australian public to the exhibition⁷⁶, and articles which urged a similar (necessarily more modest) display in the National Gallery, Melbourne contributed to the *Argus* by Joshua N. McClelland⁷⁷.

In an extraordinary way some exhibitions of Asian art literally 'sailed past' Australia. A selected exhibition

⁷³ Contemporary valuations attributed to the collection placed its true market value in the vicinity of £2,000,000 - especially after the inclusion of a considerable number of works in the 1935-1936 International Exhibition of Chinese Art, London. Refer 'Fine Chinese porcelain', *Argus* (Melbourne), 14 July 1937, p. 13. See also 'Chinese art: Eumorfopoulos Collection: A bargain at £100,000', J.R.W. Taylor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 February 1935, p. 8.

⁷⁴ *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese art 1935-6*, Royal Academy of Arts London, William Clowes and Sons, Limited, London (3rd edition) [n.d.]. The exhibition was open between 28 November 1935 and 7 March 1936.

⁷⁵ 'Peking treasure: Art beyond price: Unique London exhibition', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 August 1935, p. 14.

⁷⁶ "International exhibition of Chinese art in London", Alleyne Zander, *Art in Australia*, 3rd series, 15 February 1936, pp. 50-57.

⁷⁷ *Argus* (Melbourne), 24 January 1936, p. 12, 'Art and antiques: Chinese display proposed'. The idea lapsed and was revived again in the *Argus* 12 June 1936, p. 8, 'Chinese art treasures: Display in Melbourne suggested'.

from a collection of some 3,000 Japanese woodblock prints⁷⁸ visited the Australian ports of Sydney and Melbourne during 1933 and 1934 aboard the Japanese liners *Kamo Maru* and *Atsuta Maru*⁷⁹. The captain of the vessels, Takahata [T.] was reputed to have one of "the finest collection of Japanese prints in existence"⁸⁰ and made the personal collection available for public inspections whilst the ships were at berth⁸¹. The prints were valued in the vicinity of £10,000 - at the time this sum had been offered for the collection, but refused. The astute captain (and his two children aboard) were reported to "spend most of their time searching the antique and curio shops of the cities [they visited] for more woodcut prints", and that

⁷⁸ In the accounts of the Sydney July and the Brisbane October 1934 visits, the collection was reported to total over 11,000 prints.

⁷⁹ The initial visit of the *Kamo Maru* with the exhibition aboard was reported in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 August 1933, p. 6. The liner arrived on the 22 August 1933 from Melbourne, the exhibition was displayed on the 23 August on the "promenade deck of both sides of the vessel", and the ship departed on 26 August 1933 for Yokohama. The captain returned to Brisbane and Sydney in 1934 for subsequent visits as master of another vessel - the *Atsuta Maru*. The prints were displayed on this vessel in Brisbane on 10 July; by the 12 July 1934 the liner had docked in Sydney; it departed the following day for Melbourne, then returned to Sydney on 26 July 1934. It left Sydney on 28 July 1934 bound for Yokohama. In an interview on 13 July 1934 Takahata said, "... he considered it a pleasure to display this form of Japanese art to anyone who was interested, ...". There was an additional visit to Brisbane on 10 October 1934. sources: *Courier-Mail* (Brisbane), 11 July 1934, p. 10; *Courier-Mail* (Brisbane), 11 October 1934, p. 18; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 July 1934, p. 12; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 'Shipping Notices' August 1933 and July 1934.

⁸⁰ From contemporary descriptions, the collection consisted of a large number of prints with the Kabuki theatre as the principle subject matter from the "great period" 1742 to 1858, although one review made special mention of the work by the then contemporary artist Itô Shinsui (1898-1972) as being an excellent example of the unbroken tradition of craftsmanship in print-making.

⁸¹ The *Kamo Maru* arrived in Melbourne on 19 February 1934, the exhibition opened 22 February 1934 in the "ship's lounge and smoke-room", and the ship departed for Yokohama 24 February 1934. The report confirmed that the "unusual and beautiful collection" had previously been seen in Sydney. *Argus* (Melbourne), 21 February 1934, p. 6, and *Argus* 'Shipping Notices' February 1934.

the captain "never misses an opportunity to wander through strange, out-of-the-way places, ever in the hope that he may add one more valuable print to his collection"⁸². The epic of the foreign curio hunter in nineteenth-century Japan had come the full circle with a 'modern' Japanese seeker of works of art relentlessly pursuing his own exported culture in foreign waters!

Collections were formed at museums in other capital cities throughout Australia, with notable early acquisition of Asian material in the Art Gallery of Western Australia which was initiated in 1902-1903. The basis of the Asian collection was formed by a special exchange with the Imperial Museum of Tokyo and included an initial presentation of thirty-one woodblock prints⁸³ and a collection of decorative arts from several locations in Japan - among which, beside the capital Tokyo; Kyoto, Seto and Arita were particularly mentioned⁸⁴. James W.R. Linton (1869-1947), Perth artist, craftsman and teacher visited China in late 1936 spurred by his own appreciation of Chinese porcelain and friendship with his teacher and collector James Orrock (1829-1913). He purchased "a selection of Chinese porcelain to sell in Australia along with his own work". As Gray established, although his own silverwork sold well, "the Western Australian public was unresponsive to the oriental objects"⁸⁵.

⁸² *Argus* (21 Feb.) 1934, 'Rare Japanese prints', "Exhibition on Kamo Maru."

⁸³ Artists included Kunichika Toyohara (1835-1900); Kunisada Tsunoda (1786-1864); Kunitaru Utagawa (1801-1876); Kuniyoshi Utagawa (1797-1861); Sadahide Utagawa (1807-1873); Toyokuni II [Utagawa] (1777-1835); and Toyokuni Utagawa (1769-1825).

⁸⁴ For a summarised list of the decorative arts and the woodblock prints (not listed in detail) refer: *The Western Australian Museum and Art Gallery: Guide to the arts, and arts and crafts*, printed by order of the Committee, Perth 1904, p. 68.

⁸⁵ Gray, A., *Light, line and shadow; James W.R. Linton: Painter, craftsman, teacher*, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle 1986, p. 67.

The Art Gallery of South Australia acquired the first Asian ceramic wares through the agency of S.I. Kepple of Bristol in 1904. European and Asian wares were acquired in London, the selection being modelled on existing collections of the then South Kensington Museum. The Asian component consisted primarily of Ming and Qing wares of high quality together with a group of "indifferent" Japanese wares. In 1916 the gallery increased its holdings of Asian decorative arts with the bequest of thirty-one tsuba (sword guards), Japanese armour and a number of netsuke from the Rt Hon. Sir Samuel Way, Bart. Again in 1925, through a bequest of netsuke from Miss Sarah Crabb, the earlier Way collection was enlarged still further. Important Asian works were also acquired with funds made available from the Morgan Thomas Bequest (from 1904) and the David Murray Bequest (from 1908).

Although there is ample evidence of activity with regard to acquisition of Asian art works for both private and public collections throughout Australia in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and first quarter of the twentieth, the quality of some of the material needs to be more fully investigated. Pieces remain in storage of state museums because they are deemed unsuitable for display by today's standards. Dick Richards, writing in 1981 on the Asian collections at the Art Gallery of South Australia explained:

... but most of nineteenth-century Chinese wares, which were much admired for the first half of this century, have not been exhibited for the past thirty years due to changes of taste, and are only now undergoing reappraisal⁸⁶.

In the past, some state institutions disposed of designated sections of their Asian collections on the stated grounds

⁸⁶ "The Asian Collections", Dick Richards, *Art Gallery of South Australia 1881-1981*, Art Gallery Board of South Australia, Adelaide 1981, p. 83.

of duplication, or, of the pieces being replicas - in the case of the Melbourne sale, the catalogued explained, "For the collector of Chinese and Japanese art there are numerous examples of value and importance in these sections. Were it not that the Gallery collection already contains duplicates comparable to and finer than these, the opportunity would not occur to acquire such pieces"⁸⁷.

By the conclusion of the 1930s, museums were the repositories of growing Asian collections with acquisition of significant private collections and Australian artists were visiting Asia [fig. 91]. The appointment of expert staff was, however, another matter. Only one institution in Australia (the National Gallery of Victoria), had appointed an 'Honorary Curator of Oriental Art' (1938), and it would not be until the 1960s and 1970s that other state institutions formed clearly recognisable specialist departments of Asian Art. Not everyone agreed with the notion that the 'arts of Asia' were represented with any measurable significance.

McClelland who contributed to the debate by his unsuccessful proposal⁸⁸ for an exhibition of Chinese art drawn from state and private collections in Victoria, noted in 1936 that:

Knowledge of Chinese art in Australia has advanced little beyond the fal-lals and pottery of the gift shop. The National Gallery in Melbourne contains many interesting and rare examples of pottery, porcelain, jade, and bronze. ... Many of the rare and beautiful

⁸⁷ *Porcelain and objects of art: Comprising over 750 surplus museum items from the National Collection: To be sold at auction by order of the Trustees, 16 and 17 November 1943, in the Lecture Hall of the National Gallery of Victoria, Leonard Joel Pty Ltd., Auctioneer; Catalogue compiled by Joshua N. McClelland on behalf of the Trustees. (Second day's sale: Oriental; Chinese porcelain, pottery, cloisonnes [sic] and jades; Japanese bronze, cloisonne, pottery and ivory etc; Chinese and Japanese furniture; Miscellaneous), p. 19.*

⁸⁸ This was partially answered by the initial loan of the W.H. Kent Collection, and then later by the official gift in 1937.

examples in private collections in Melbourne could be classified and place with the Gallery collection to form a loan exhibition of Chinese art. An exhibition of this kind would stimulate public interest and enhance appreciation for the national treasures and those of the exhibitions^{89, 90}

While Professor A.L. Sadler who wrote for *Australia and the Far East*⁹¹ in 1936 summed up the apparent apathy and commented that, sadly [with respect to Japan], to "intelligent people ... Edo culture is only known through colour-prints and Japanese craft and the pages of Lafcadio Hearn, to the rest not at all"⁹². He further deplored the fact that "... our museums and galleries are almost entirely devoid of specimens of Japanese art and craft, textiles, pottery and design". He conceded (by way of explanation on behalf of these same Australian institutions) that European galleries had tended to acquire the bulk of available works making purchase of important pieces difficult, but concluded that:

This, ... hardly applies so much to Japanese work, where cheapness and beauty are still combined⁹³.

There is no question that a contemporary reader (in the latter half of the 1930s) would have understood these statements as an unflattering yet accurate summation of the general acceptance of the arts of Asia - China and Japan in

⁸⁹ An exhibition exactly fitting this description was finally installed at the National Gallery of Victoria in 1974 - nearly forty years later. *Chinese ceramics from private collections* opened at the gallery on 22 May 1974 and was curated by Chew Wai-tong, Leslie Hawkins, Michael Hiscock, Mae Anna Pang, Department of Asian Art, National Gallery of Victoria.

⁹⁰ *Argus* (Melbourne), 24 January 1936, p. 12, 'Art and antiques', "Chinese display proposed."

⁹¹ *Australia and the Far East: Diplomatic and trade relations*, S. H. Roberts, E. Ronald Walker, Margot Hentze, I. Clunies Ross, Sir Robert Garran, J.G. Crawford, A.L. Sadler, H.D. Black, Angus & Robertson Limited in conjunction with the Australian Institute of International Affairs (New South Wales Branch), Sydney 1936, pp. 101-119.

⁹² Roberts, S.H., et al. (1936), op. cit., p. 117.

⁹³ Roberts, S.H., et al. (1936), loc. cit.

particular, and by extension, the state of public collections of Asian works within Australia.

9

Conclusions

My intention has been to chronicle the cultural contact between Asia and Australia from the 1830s to the 1930s. The primary sources have been included to both quantify, and open for further discussion, marginalised material which must impinge on current understanding of Asian cultures in relation to this country. Omissions are to be accepted as my own. My aim has been to collate a national rather than state-orientated cultural summary which relies not only on transmitted influences related to the art movements Japonisme and Aestheticism, but also on sources which suggest a more extensive direct contact between the respective countries. Parallel to Japan's development, many other Asian governments grew to internationally recognised nation-hood within a similar time-frame as the emerging federation of Australia.

Early contacts with Asia¹, some factual with others remaining wreathed in mystery, unproved, postulated or

¹ For discussion of the first Chinese emigrants, early maps and Chinese exploration refer to Needham, *China and Australia*, voyages of Zheng He and the discovery of a Chinese Daoist figurine at Port Darwin in 1879; the Aboriginal and Macassan contacts in the north of Australia; or the brig *Cyprus* with mutineer convicts and their journey from Australia to Japan, China, Taiwan and the Philippines between 1829 and 1830. There is also the suggested visit of the first Japanese, Yamada Nagamasa (1578-1633), who c.1615 journeyed from Osaka to Taiwan, then c.1620, to Siam (in 1628 he sent *ema* (Jap.) [votive tablets] to the Sengen Shrine, Suruga) from Thailand.

"There are traditions in Japan dating back to the early part of the 17th century which indicate that a sea-rover named Yamada Nagamasa, operating principally from a base in what is now Thailand, knew intimately all the seas beyond the East Indies. *Some records* state that on one voyage he sailed to the Torres Straits in search of pearls, and landed on various parts of Northern Australia, including the tip of the peninsula now known as Cape York. It was only some dozen years ago that fragments of ancient Siamese pottery were found in this area; however, there are no other signs of this early Japanese visit to Australia - if indeed it actually took place."
Source: Peter Temm, Consul (Information), Australian Consulate General, Osaka, 19 December [1973] contained in a letter from Rowland T. Hill, First Secretary (Information) to H.S. Williams, Tokyo, 26 April 1979.

dismissed due to inconclusive evidence, led to an early recognition of the location of Australia within the Asia-Pacific basin (the physical proximity was on many occasions viewed with considerable concern by the white population). By the 1880s this imagined 'triangle' which connected Australia at the inverted apex with China and Japan (at one corner) and the United States at the other, incorporating Southeast Asia, was spoken of with increasing frequency. Australian writers from George Ernest Morrison and William Hardy Wilson, to artist Margaret Preston and the British author, George Orwell recognised the possible links associated with Australia's geographic location and the likelihood of a beneficial fusion of the cultures of east and west. Of greater importance during the nineteenth century with the limitations of transport, was the location of Australia as a 'bridge to the East'. The ports of Sydney and Melbourne were useful staging points on the long voyages from the heart of the Empire to the 'Orient'.

Experience of Asia for the Australian public can be defined as emanating from three primary sources. Firstly, (and perhaps the most immediate) was the contact with persons of Asian nationality within this country². This can be summarised by early contacts between the Aborigines and Indonesian traders to the north; the Chinese on the goldfields [fig. 92]; the Chinese, Japanese and other minority groups who were employed as general labourers (often for particular skills at specific localities throughout the colonies)³; and those who fulfilled roles as

² In 'Our Chinamen', the writer explained: "The general type of the emigrant Chinaman is well known to every one who has been living in this country for any length of time, whether in the bush, the goldfields, or the metropolis. ... We have nearly all of us our own personal recollections of John Chinaman in the varied experiences which most of us can claim of life in Victoria." *Australasian Sketcher* (Melbourne), 21 February 1874, p. 22.

³ Examples include: Chinese hawkers, vegetable sellers and furniture makers (principally in the densely populated urban environments); Chinese topsawyers (in the vicinity of Cairns); Japanese, Malay and Indonesian pearlers (in the vicinity of Broome);

primary producers [fig. 93] or were involved in business activities⁴.

Secondly, the media reportage and published books related to the subject. In the period from the 1830s to the 1930s, newspapers and journals elicited a potent response from the general public. The overt racist reaction to the Chinese, in particular, was explored to the point of near hysteria by the Australian press [fig. 94]. There were exceptions. The colourful costumed processions in goldfield cities offered illustrators more picturesque subject matter [fig. 95]. Alternatively, a considerable proportion of published material was couched in terminology closely related to feelings in the 'motherland' (if not published in Britain), then re-exported to Australia. As a point of moderation, a surprising number of Australians throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century visited Asia on a temporary basis, or remained to act as authors, editors or contributors to the print media.

Thirdly, the importation into Australia of goods, materials or works of art from Asia. These were usually seen as 'curios' or 'artistic novelties', utilised as a note of 'the exotic' and considered essential for the expression of a particular sense in taste for the unfamiliar. The importance of photographs as readily transportable images should not be forgotten. Photographs were often converted to postcards, reformatted into pictorial images in books or converted by the requirements of the printing process to

Japanese cane-cutters (in the vicinity of Cairns and Townsville);
Javanese sugar labourers (in the vicinity of Cairns).

⁴ Concerning the 'Hawker' and the 'Merchant', the reporter noted: that the former made presents to his 'regulars' - "a fan to this one, a basket to that, a teapot here and a jar of ginger there"; the latter, looked "upon a cargo of fans as being as necessary to the requirements of civilization as an American importer does a consignment of clothes-pegs. He can supply shops with Chinese porcelain for all possible uses."
Australasian Sketcher (21 Feb.) 1874, op. cit., p. 23.

lithographs and wood-engravings. The immediacy of a readily accessible image of Asian peoples performing daily tasks or participating in the production of handicrafts fascinated Australians as it did their counterparts in England, America and Europe.

It must be acknowledged that the populist sense of familiarity with Asia was also fed by wide attendance at international exhibitions and the ever-present depiction of Asia on the stage. The concentration of these events in the major cities of the east coast (as centres of population), by definition limited access of *all* Australians to cultural interchange. This did not prevent, however, the shipping by 'art warehouses' of "drayloads of Japanese fans", screens and other Asian manufactures to the far-flung country residences of the wealthier rural communities.

The 'tyranny of distance', an oft-quoted phrase is also relevant within the confines of this country. Evidence strongly suggests that during this period those individuals with attitudes and proposals which favoured cultural ties with Asia were in the minority, and although interstate contacts and support existed, were relatively isolated by government and popular approval. Individuals who sought understanding and acceptance by a majority, often ended their quest in disillusionment and defeat.

The 'White Australia' policy, with its place in our immigration history firmly established by numerous writers⁵

⁵ Select references (alphabetically listed by author):
Cronin, Kathryn, *Colonial casualties: Chinese in early Victoria*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton 1982

Gittins, Jean, *The diggers from China: The story of the Chinese on the goldfields*, Quartet Books, Melbourne 1981

Gizen-no-teki ['The Enemy of Hypocrisy'], (Edward William Foxall), *Colorphobia*, an exposure of the 'White Australia' fallacy, R.T. Kelly, Sydney 1903

is relatively well-documented [fig. 96]. However, the cumulative effect these exclusionist policies had on 'White Australian' culture demand constructive revision. In the self-effacing cleansing attached to the abolition of this policy, cultural events which were not considered mainstream by contemporary writers on art and culture have been marginalised, if not ignored completely. Matters of positive cultural or artistic concern (with regard to Asia), have been forgotten or neglected and remain little acknowledged.

Traditionally regionalised foci in museums were centred on sensibilities inherent in individual guiding personalities. Occasionally directors enhanced collections by acquisition of Asian works of art, but more often the reverse occurred. Divergent nationalist pressures precluded involvement with Asia and its cultures and enshrined a generally poor response to the growth of state and later, national museum collections. Greatly under-estimated rivalries of firstly the colonies, then states ensured isolationist collecting policies with east-coast cities building on acquired specialist collections.

Markus, Andrew, *Fear & Hatred, purifying Australia & California 1850-1901*, Hale & Iremonger Pty Limited, Sydney 1979

Pulsford, Edward [Senator], *The British Empire and the relations of Asia and Australasia: Immigration restrictions in Australasia*, William Brooks & Company Ltd., Sydney 1905

Stargardt, A.W., *Australia's Asian policies the history of a debate 1839-1972*, The Institute of Asian Affairs in Hamburg, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1977

Vandenbosch, Amry & Mary Belle, *Australia faces Southeast Asia: The emergence of a foreign policy*, University of Kentucky Press, Lexington 1967

Yarwood, A.T., *Asian migration to Australia the background to exclusion 1896-1923*, Melbourne University Press, Parkville 1964

Yarwood, A.T., *Attitudes to Non-European Immigration, problems in Australian history*, Cassell Australia Ltd., Melbourne 1968.

In Sydney for example, Japanese prints and the debt to oriental architecture formed recognisable loci, while in Melbourne, Japanese prints and Chinese ceramics formed the basis of collections. As collectors died, or left Australia permanently for overseas (often, to return to their homelands), works were dispersed, sold or lost to Australia by being absorbed into collections outside this country. An historical lack of vision within Australian public institutions in coherent collecting policies for Asian art has been partially tempered by the field of Japanese prints. Conveniently absorbed, this category has traditionally been under the care of a print curator. Sizeable collections grew steadily as select areas of the print cabinets in state museums acquired works on paper which were accessible, relatively inexpensive and well-documented. The dearth of expertise in alternative Asian art fields (painting, sculpture and the decorative arts) has resulted in many museum collections initially being represented largely by donated works from specialist private collectors.

Coupled with the lapse of museum involvement with the arts of Asia, has been the now-acknowledged lack of formal government recognition of the need, or requirement for Australian students to study Asian cultures and languages. It was not until 1980⁶ that a policy was formulated by the Asian Studies Association in an effort to motivate the government to action. Instead of a 'clever country' well-

⁶ Refer to the three volume report: *Asia in Australian Education: Report of the Committee on Asian Studies to the Asian Studies Association of Australia, August 1980*, vol. 1, Discussion and Recommendations; 2, Data on Asian Studies in Australia and Appendices; 3, Resolutions of the Association (adopted at the Third National Conference of the ASAA, Griffith University, Brisbane. Resolutions included those related to a national approach to Asia-orientated course structure, but of interest to this paper were those related to 'Education beyond Institutions'- specifically the appointment of curators of Asian art; to negotiate a viable interchange of exhibitions with Asia; and the development of representative study collections of Asian art in each major city.

versed in the cultures of our neighbours, Australia maintained a structure of ignorance which is only now beginning to disappear.

Australia has traditionally viewed Asia as a trading market, with political and economic considerations tailored to meet the world trade situation coupled with minimal cultural involvement. In direct opposition to the sentiments expressed in 1932¹ in relation to Australian-Chinese bilateral understanding, the emphasis to date has been very much the reverse. Australia has in the past been guilty of ignoring Asian cultures whilst at the same time promoting the necessities of trade coupled with the convenience of geographic location. All too frequent was the ready acceptance of superficial cultural images or gross over-simplifications which acted as the norm in the representation of Asian art in Australia. Historically, Australians have maintained the facade of white 'supremacy' over what were regarded as 'inferior' cultures. The very fact that the sophistication of many of these pre-date white culture in all its complexity was often mysteriously forgotten. Trade, economics and political expediency remained foremost in the minds of the politicians and business leaders. The consideration of culture was relegated to a poor second.

¹ On the occasion of the inaugural George Ernest Morrison Lecture in Ethnology on 10 May 1932 in Canberra (and subsequently in the printed precis of the goals of the lectureship), considerable emphasis was placed on the importance of appreciation of Chinese culture by the Australian community prior to, or at least concurrent with, the establishment of trading links. The two were viewed as mutually beneficial and inter-dependent. From the Address: "It is known that [Australian] citizens are keenly desirous of cultivating trading relationships with China. It is none the less important that the cultural relationship with that great country should receive equal encouragement, especially at this time, when so much thought is being directed to the Chinese people." Later (in 1934), on the foundation of the lecture series: "It is the opinion of many Chinese economists that cultural knowledge must accompany trade, if it does not actually precede it".

A procession of negative experiences in the Antipodes with the Chinese (1850s to 1900s); the Japanese (1890s, then the 1930s, and again in the 1940s); Korea (1950s); Malaysia (1950s); Vietnam (1960s-70s); Cambodia (1970s-80s) and most recently, China (1989) has taken its toll on public recognition of the peoples and cultures of these countries. Many of the confrontations cited occurred as a result of open hostility outside this country. Asian peoples tended to be viewed by the greater proportion of the Australian population in terms of aggressors, labelled with unbecoming names⁸, or spoken of as poverty-stricken refugees. Not surprisingly, the images were hardly those which promoted positive cultural understanding or ready acceptance.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century a few British writers on Japanese art began to note with some alarm that traditional works of art were no longer being produced⁹. Representative arts and crafts which found their way through commissioners to international exhibitions were already produced with a view to trade prospects and were understood by some to be tainted with western aesthetic principles. The sources of Asian works of art were either seen to be 'corrupted' by the west, or alternatively, deliberately restricted by the governments of the emerging Asian nations themselves. These very governments, anxious

⁸ The formation of Australian slang, with the language most often used as an expression of cultural rejection - rarely approval, underscores racist attitudes to Asian peoples. The most frequently heard date from the nineteenth century, with many still used today: [for Chinese] 'Celestials', the 'Celestial Empire', 'Chinaman', 'Chinaman's luck', 'Chinatown', 'Chink', 'Chinkie' 'Chow', 'John Chinaman', 'Mongols', 'Paddy Chinaman', 'Slants', 'Slopes' or 'Tartar hordes'; and [for Japanese] 'Jap' or 'Nip'. Most recently, the racial slur of 'Asians Out!'.

⁹ See Marcus B. Huish, "Is Japanese art extinct?", *The Nineteenth Century: A monthly review*, edited by James Knowles, vol. XXIII, January-June 1888, Kegan, Paul, Trench and Co., London 1888, pp. 354-369; and "England's appreciation of Japanese art", *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London*, vol. VII, the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Sessions, 1905-1907, Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. Limited, London 1908, pp. 120-139.

to appear modern and sympathetic to the adoption of western ways, actively sought to inhibit the production of traditional arts which lacked a contemporary sense and were viewed as backward or inferior. With almost perverse intensity, the west sought to actively collect, and catalogue these fugitive traditional works.

By the turn of the century, art or curios from Asia purchased by western representatives were not traded without a sense of wry humour. The two quoted verses point to a sophisticated sub-stratum of understanding by Japanese dealers. This without a doubt reflected many similar dealings for items of artistic interest throughout Asia:

For Curio and bric-a-brac
Japan is world renowned,
The trusting tourist always buys
In every store in town.
If in a native shop he sees
A thing worth forty sen,
Of course we're not a bit surprised
If they want twenty yen.¹⁰

and:

The Globe-Trotter at Kamakura
Air: 'Yankee Doodle'

Doodle San will leave Japan
With several tons of cargo;
Folk will stare, when all his ware
Is poured into Chicago.

There's silk, cut velvet, old brocade,
And everything, that's 'jôtô'¹¹,
And ancient bronzes, newly made
For dealers in Kyoto.

His tones entice with accent nice:
'Ikoorah?'¹² and 'Ikutsu?'¹³
A million dollars is the price

¹⁰ *My Japanese*, words and music by 'S L G' [Rev. Sidney L. Gulick], Kelly & Walsh, Tokyo 1895, [n.p.] (p. 8).

¹¹ 'jôtô', (Jap.), first-rate.

¹² 'Ikoorah', (mis-)anglicised, sic *ikura* (Jap.), how much.

¹³ 'Ikutsu', (Jap.), how many.

For mammoth *Daibutsu*.¹⁴
 Doodle san will leave Japan,
 A happier man, though poorer;
 Unpurchased yet, the god, you bet,
 Will stay at Kamakura.¹⁵

From the nineteenth century select Australians on an individual basis gave collective lifetimes to the further understanding and appreciation of Asian cultures and actively participated in the progress of these same countries into the early twentieth century. Both in economic and political terms, several Asian homelands are now leaders in world affairs. Asian contribution to the material and cultural development of Australia was (and is) considerable [fig. 97]¹⁶. During the nineteenth century, Japan in particular, was favoured by Australia over all other Asian countries (initially due to the perceived non-threatening numbers of immigrants as compared to the Chinese). This affair with the 'East' was moderated by the threat of attack associated with the Sino-Japanese war of 1895-96, and was terminated abruptly with the declaration of war with Japan in 1941. The Australian-Japanese relationship dramatically altered with a subsequent recovery of this status over a relatively short span of time to one of 'sister-state' and 'sister-city' relationships with desired and workable cultural exchanges, the movements of artists and the proposed construction of a multifunction (metro)polis. The documentation of these more recent exhibitions, events and exchanges, often with the active assistance of the Department of Foreign Affairs

¹⁴ The *Daibutsu* (Jap.) lit. 'Great Buddha' is one of two well-known bronze images of the Buddha in Japan. Situated at Kōtoku-in, Kamakura it was erected in 1252.

¹⁵ *Residential rhymes*, Osman Edwards, [n.p.], Tokyo 1900, cited and illustrated in Barr, *The Deer Cry Pavilion*, pp. 171, 193.

¹⁶ See *Harvest of Endurance*, A history of the Chinese in Australia 1788-1988, a 50 metre scroll painted in traditional *gongbi* style by artists Mo Xiangyi and Wang Jingwen, Australia-China Friendship Society, 1988. The scroll was commissioned by the Society as a Bicentennial project. Following completion, the scroll toured Australia, and in 1992 was displayed in China to celebrate two decades of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

[now 'and Trade'] is a topic which requires additional investigation. Asian-Australian relations (from the 1930s to the 1990s) with their complex diversity, is a topic which deserves closer scrutiny in the immediate future.

In the period reviewed, did Australia squander opportunities for closer cultural ties with Asia? Was the relationship based on a mere 'marriage of convenience'? Did the structure of conservatism within the white population (fuelled by geographic and cultural isolation with fear of decimation through attack) suppress a more constructive cultural liaison? With the benefit of hindsight the conclusion is one which must be moderated by actions in the immediate past which have seen a radical change in the structure of Australia's approach to Asia. From the 'sixties, private collectors, galleries and government have united to pursue a more positive response to the arts of Asia. The current striving for strengthened cultural bonds between Australia and Asia suggests a developing unity in this geographic region. Surely an empathic understanding of the diversity of Asian cultures carried into the next century by most Australians (and vice versa) is preferable to the partial ignorance of the past.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Issued by Hasegawa:

Poetical greetings from the Far East: Japanese poems
1896

also published in German: *Dichtergrüsse aus dem Osten; Japanische Dichtungen*, from the German adaption of Dr Karl A. Florenz by Arthur Lloyd

White aster, a Japanese epic together with other poems,
[1897]

also published in German: *Japanische Dichtungen; Weissaster; Ein romantisches Epos, nebst anderen Gedichten*, from the German adaption of Dr Karl A. Florenz by Arthur Lloyd

Japanese drama

[n.d.]

also published in German: *Japanische Dramen; Terakoya und Asagao*, Dr Karl A. Florenz

Large format illustrated music books:

Oyucha san the Belle of Japan, sung to the air of 'Rosalie'
1890

Lt Frank M. Bostwick music by Launce Knight

Japanese jingles, being a few little verses which have appeared before in the 'Japan Gazette'

2 March 1891

Mae St. John Bramhall

Kohana san, the prettiest girl in Kobe sung to the air of 'Ballyhooly'

1892

with musical notes Lt Frank M. Bostwick music by Robert Martin

My Japanese, a topical song of Japan

1895

words and music by 'S L G' [Rev. Sidney L. Gulick] Kelly and Walsh Limited, Yokohama

Calendars plain and crepe paper:

Various c.1899-1920

Miscellaneous large format story books:

The rat's plaint

[n.d.], 2 editions

Mrs Archibald Little

A day with Mitsu

[n.d.]

Mary G. Kimura

The fairy foxes: A Chinese legend
1890, 3 editions
Mrs Archibald Little

The children's Japan
1 August 1892, 2nd edition 1895
Mrs W.H. Smith

King Coodles the faithful
The story of Coodles, the only Coodles
[alternative title]
November 1893
Charles & Susan M. Bowles

Karma: A story of early Buddhism
c.1894, 3 editions, 2nd edition 1896
Paul Carus

Nirvana: A story of Buddhist philosophy
... /*Buddhist psychology* [alternative title]
c.1896
Paul Carus

Japanese topseyturveydom
[1896]
Emily S. Patton

Japanese pictures of Japanese life
19-?, vols I, II
[author unknown]

Japanese story-tellers
19-?
from the French of Jean Jules Adam by Osman Edwards

The flowers of remembrance and forgetfulness
1925
Mrs T.H. James

Unusual booklets:

A Nile voyage of recovery ... Cairo, Tokyo
[1897]
Charles and Susan M. Bowles

The Russo-Japanese War
[n.d.]
Koto Okura

Life scenes of Japan
[n.d.]
Leo Marescaux and Y. Nishinomiya

List of books published by Hasegawa, Tokyo
1900 (crepe)

Sword and blossom; poems from the Japanese
 vol. I, 20 November 1907; vol. II, 10 August 1908; vol.
 III, 30 October 1910
 Kimura Shōtarō, Charlotte M.A. Peake

Advertising brochure for H.B. Kendrick & Co., Los Angeles
 (crepe), c.1910

Advertising brochure for A.A. Vantine & Co., New York
 (crepe), c.1910?

Hasegawa publications found in plain (non-creped) state
 only:

The dragons of the gate and other stories for children
 [n.d.]
 [author unknown]

Glimpses of Japan
 [n.d.]
 [author unknown]

Scenes du théâtre japonais
 [n.d.]
 [author unknown]

Little songs of shade and sunshine
 1896
 'G J'

Images japonaises
 1896
 Emile Verhaeren

Little poems from Japanese anthologies
 1925
 Evaleen Stein.

Appendix 2

Issued by other Japanese and British publishers:Griffith and Farran or Griffith, Farran, Okeden & Welsh:

Child-life in Japan, and Japanese child-stories
1879/1888
Mrs Matilda (Chaplin) Ayrton

Japanese publishers:issued by A. Akiyami:

Floral Japan
[n.d.]
[author unknown]

Ceremonial Japan
[n.d.]
Miss Dolly Belle [pseud.]

Rokkasen, the illustrated poems by the six poetical geniuses
[n.d.]
[author unknown]

Musical Japan
1897?
Miss Dulcie Harmony [pseud.]

issued by Jiujiya & Company:

Tale of old Japan [The ghost of Sakura]
1884
A.B. Mitford

issued by Kōbunsha:

The Japanese months
[n.d.]
[author unknown]

Japanese customs from ancient till modern times
vols I, II
[n.d.]
[author unknown]

The story of Hana sakashi-jiji
[similar to no. 4, Japanese fairy tale series Hanasaki-jiji]
[n.d.]
[author unknown]

Pocket guide for the Land of the Rising Sun
[n.d.]
[author unknown]

issued by Matsuishiya [also published by Shoeidô]:

The tale of forty seven ronins

c.1890 [1892]

A.B. Mitford

The loves of Gompachi and Komurasaki

c.1890 [1892]

A.B. Mitford

issued by Tôyôdô:

Japanese children

1895

Okada Matsuu.

Appendix 3: The Japanese Village in Australia

[Old] Exhibition Building, Prince Alfred Park, Sydney
24 April 1886-10 July 1886
Entrepreneur: Sole Proprietor and Director, Pemberton W. Willard

and:

Japanese Village building, corner of Lonsdale and
Exhibition Streets (opposite Wesley Church), Melbourne
24 July 1886-12 January 1887
Entrepreneur: Sole Proprietor and Director, Pemberton W. Willard

versions of the exhibition seen also:

Market Square (adjoining Exhibition Building), Bendigo
17 November 1886-3 January 1887
Entrepreneur: Sole Director, Pemberton W. Willard

Alfred Hall, Ballarat
5 January-18 January 1887
Entrepreneur: Pemberton W. Willard

[Japanese Bazaar, formerly Japanese Village]
Exhibition Theatre, Geelong 20 January-26 January 1887
Entrepreneur: Sole Director, Pemberton W. Willard

Mechanics' Institute, Albury
28 January-2 February 1887
Entrepreneur: Sole Proprietor, Pemberton W. Willard

Exhibition Building, Queen's Domain, Hobart
15 January 1887-8 February 1887
Entrepreneur: Sole Director, Pemberton W. Willard;
Business Manager: Mr H.P. Lyons

[New Japanese Village]
[Old] Exhibition Building, Prince Alfred Park, Sydney
19 February 1887-16 April 1887 (return engagement)
Entrepreneur: Sole Director, Pemberton W. Willard

Exhibition Building, Bowen Park, Brisbane
22 April 1887-7 May 1887
Entrepreneur: Sole Proprietor and Director, Pemberton W. Willard

Garner's Rooms, King William Street, Adelaide
18 June 1887-23 July 1887
Entrepreneur: Pemberton W. Willard;
Lessee of Rooms: Mr A.L. Cunard

Kennedy's West End Assembly Hall, Wilcannia
24 December 1887-"and following nights"
Entrepreneur: Sole Proprietor, Mr Kodama; Interpreter and
Stage Manager: Mr J. Ketchie; Business Manager: Mr R.J. Dix

selected performers also appeared at:

Coogee Palace Aquarium, Sydney

28 April-2 June 1888

Managing Director: Mr Alfred Wyburd