

# The Japanese Photographers of Broome: Photography and Cross-Cultural Encounter

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The remote West Australian town of Broome has a unique photography heritage that sheds new light on the complexities of photography and intercultural relations. During the early twentieth century thriving Japanese communities were established in this region around the lucrative pearling industry. These Japanese communities also helped develop a fascinating photography culture in Broome. Photography was not simply a business opportunity for the Japanese or a means of documenting people and events; it was a medium through which hierarchised social relations were produced, redefined, and challenged. This article examines photographs by these Japanese residents as an important site of cross-cultural communication and interpretation. These photographs of Anglo-Australian, Japanese, and Aboriginal residents of Broome enrich the study of cross-cultural photographic encounters, and emphasise the dynamic and dispersed qualities of Australian photographic practice and history. Here national histories of photography are usefully conceptualised as the products of imbricated social, economic, and cultural relations that operate across regional, national, and international realms.

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At first glance, H. Wada's photograph of the guests at the 'Broome Ball' in 1917 looks like any other photograph of a patriotically inspired social event in Australia during the First World War (figure 1). Two generations of Broome society are gathered in the local Mechanics Institute Hall, built in this town in the Kimberley region of Western Australia (WA) in 1904. The guests are assembled on the floor and stage to maximise visibility of their faces and fashionable dress, while Australian and British flags hang side-by-side overhead. The centrality of these flags reflects Australia's political and historical ties to the United Kingdom, and the desire at the time to define Australia as an Anglo-European nation, as enshrined in the Commonwealth Immigration Restriction Act (1901). Known as the 'White Australia' policy, this Act restricted immigration of 'coloured races' by requiring non-Europeans to sit a convoluted dictation test in any European language.<sup>1</sup>

In Wada's photograph, a man with a bugle poses at the highest, central point in front of a panel decorated with the 'rising sun' badge of the Australian Army, as though calling the crowd to action. A sign bearing the word 'Gallipoli' also hangs from the roof. The fateful Gallipoli campaign occurred two years earlier and although the First World War had not yet ended, the mythologising of this slaughter of thousands of Australian troops in narratives of 'heroism', 'mateship', and 'immortal deeds' had already begun in the Australian press.<sup>2</sup> The legend of the ANZAC (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) spirit forged at Gallipoli has since been cast as the symbolic foundation of Australia's national character.<sup>3</sup> Embodied in the sea of white faces at the Broome Ball, the Anglo-Australian ANZAC myth traditionally excluded the experiences of non-white peoples, including Aboriginal and Asian soldiers.<sup>4</sup> It also obscured Australia's wartime alliances; Australia and Japan were allies during the First

World War, and the Imperial Japanese Navy's ship *Ibuki* accompanied Australian ships travelling to Egypt, en route to Gallipoli.

However, this formal photograph is not as simple as it initially seems. Behind the camera, orchestrating this photographic event, was a Japanese photographer named Hichijiro (Shikyjiro) Wada.<sup>5</sup> As the only non-white person in the hall, he both captures and complicates this celebration of Anglo-Australian patriotism, identity, and community. Not only does his photographic gaze disrupt the racial hierarchies implied by this exclusive gathering, but there are also subtle signs of cross-cultural relations within the image itself. A number of women (and one man) hold Japanese fans – fashionable accessories that highlight the presence of Japanese material culture in Broome at the time. Like the other photographs considered in this article, the content and conditions of production of Wada's image underscore the complexity of photography as a medium for cross-cultural connection.

This article examines the intercultural dynamics at work in photographs produced by Japanese residents of Broome during the first decades of the twentieth century. It shows how photography allowed Japanese people to transcend social lines, and define their own place in relation to Broome's various cultures and social classes. Developed largely in the era of 'White Australia', Broome's unique multicultural heritage makes it an ideal context for understanding photography as a site of cross-cultural encounter. Since the 1980s, cross-cultural relations beyond those of the Aboriginal colonised and Anglo-European coloniser have attracted increasing scholarly attention in Australia. A special issue of *Aboriginal History* published in 1981 focused on 'Aboriginal-Asian Contact', and was followed by the publication of several books such as Regina Ganter's *Asians in Australian History* (1999) and *Mixed*

*Relations* (2006), as well as Christine Choo's *Mission Girls* (2001) and the edited collection *Lost in the Whitewash: Aboriginal-Asian Encounters in Australia, 1901–2001* (2003), which all counter the emphasis upon Anglo-Australian historical perspectives with discussions of intercultural relations.<sup>6</sup> Minoru Hokari argues that the value in studying Aboriginal-Asian interactions lies not only in expanding historical knowledge beyond black-white relations, but in their 'potential for *overhauling our ways of thinking history and of constructing knowledge*'.<sup>7</sup> Rather than viewing them as marginal or minority histories or as supplements to dominant Anglo-centric models, Hokari proposes that histories of Aboriginal-Asian relations could also challenge dominant histories themselves. This article builds on this work by examining how cross-cultural photographic relations may open up histories of Australian photography. It highlights that photography is not simply a means of defining the self in relation to 'others', but a medium through which the intricacies of social relations are produced, performed, and challenged. Despite their power to isolate moments in time and fix them in a static image, photographs play an important role in communicating and transforming meanings as they circulate across cultural, geographical, and temporal contexts. As products and facilitators of cross-cultural encounters, the photographs examined here possess 'a mobility, [and] an instability, which at first one [does] not notice'.<sup>8</sup>

### *The Japanese Residents of Broome*

Relatively little has been published about Japanese photographers in Broome, but their work has informed a growing body of research. Noreen Jones argues that at least six people worked 'as photographers or producers of postcards in Broome', including

Wada, Maeda, Yejiro Yamasaki, Yasukichi Murakami, and his first wife Eki.<sup>9</sup> The comparatively large body of documents about Murakami and his family held in the National Archives of Australia, and his descendants' willingness to speak to researchers, has meant that Murakami has received the most attention. Murakami's life as a storekeeper, photographer, inventor, and entrepreneur has been outlined by Jones, Lorna Kaino, John Bailey, and Mary Bain, and is the subject of a play by Mayu Kanamori titled *Yasukichi Murakami: Through a Distant Lens*.<sup>10</sup> In July 2016, an exhibition of Murakami's family photographs was held at Wakayama University Kishu Economic History and Cultural History Research Centre, curated by Mutsumi Tsuda and accompanied by a modest catalogue. These engaging accounts are part of a larger trend in historical studies whereby the individual experiences of Japanese residents in Australia are examined as a means of countering larger historical narratives structured around political, military, and economic relations.<sup>11</sup> Historians have also focused on Broome as a challenge to dominant Anglo-European perspectives in Australian histories; however, as in histories of Japanese residents in Australia, photographs tend to operate as illustrations of other narratives, rather than a subject of investigation in their own right.<sup>12</sup> By focusing squarely on the photographic practices of Broome's Japanese residents, this article examines what they reveal about photography's role as a medium for cross-cultural encounter that popular histories have neglected.

Before beginning this account of intercultural photographic relations, it is important to briefly sketch out how Japanese people came to have such a strong presence in early twentieth-century Broome. Japanese immigration to Broome was connected to the growing trade in pearl shell, which was abundant in coastal seabeds of this region. The Aboriginal Bardi, Nyul Nyul, Jabirrjar, Gumball and Yawuru people

all have long histories of harvesting the pearl oyster *pinctada maxima*. They traded the shell with Macassan trepangers from the islands now known as Indonesia, who visited the Kimberley at least eighty years before the first Europeans.<sup>13</sup> From the 1860s, Anglo-Australians were attracted to the region by the lustrous, opalescent shell, which was prized in Europe for use in decorative arts and fashionable accessories. Initially, white traders relied on Aboriginal labour to harvest the shell. As demand increased, some pearlers employed brutal and unscrupulous practices including ‘blackbirding’, where Aboriginal people were taken from their country, kept in disgraceful conditions and exploited as slave labour.<sup>14</sup> Ruth Balint notes that: ‘Women divers were especially prized. Repeatedly forced to dive six to eight fathoms, blood would pour out of their noses and ears; deaths were not uncommon from exhaustion, sharks, or crippling diver’s paralysis’.<sup>15</sup>

In efforts to protect Aboriginal women from exploitation and from sexual encounters with the pearlers (regardless of whether they were consensual), several acts of Parliament were passed including the Pearling Acts of 1871, 1873, and 1875, which restricted Aboriginal women’s access to pearling boats (luggers).<sup>16</sup> However, these laws were difficult to enforce in remote areas, and courts rarely convicted those responsible when complaints were made.<sup>17</sup> Balint argues that it was not until pearling operations shifted farther out to sea ‘and skin diving was replaced by hard hats, diving suits, and an indentured labour scheme – that enslaved Aboriginal labour on the boats was largely discontinued’.<sup>18</sup>

The industry came to be serviced by indentured labour from Asia including Koepangers, Malays, Filipinos, and the Japanese, who were particularly valued for their ability to dive ever-greater depths.<sup>19</sup> In June 1875 Streeter and Co., the largest of

the WA pearlers, recruited six divers and an interpreter from Yokohama.<sup>20</sup> The town of Broome was established to help service the harvest from surrounding seabeds, and was officially proclaimed in 1883. Along with Thursday Island it soon became a principal port of the pearling industry in Australia. The population of Asian immigrants in Broome increased significantly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The 1901 census shows 303 Japanese men and 63 women living in Broome, and a total of 576 Japanese in the northwest region of Australia.<sup>21</sup> By 1911, Broome's population comprised approximately 7 percent European, 92 percent Asian (almost half were Japanese) and 1 percent Aboriginal people.<sup>22</sup> So vital was Japanese labour to the pearling industry that it was exempted from the Immigration Restriction Act.<sup>23</sup>

At least seventeen Japanese boarding houses were established in Broome between 1890 and 1921 to house the growing population. Japanese shops, brothels, and gambling houses also opened. One large store belonged to Yejiro Yamasaki who traded in Broome from around 1895 to 1910. Yamasaki advertised his business in the *Broome Chronicle*, promoting its 'new goods from Japan' including silk blouses, kimonos, fabric, and 'dainty afternoon tea sets'.<sup>24</sup> Another store was run by Takazō Nishioka and his wife Eki. Nishioka was a mentor to Murakami, who arrived in Cossack, Western Australia from Tanami-chō, Wakayama Prefecture in August 1897, aged sixteen. Murakami travelled with a young man from the same region, Kumazō Asari, who remained a good friend and business associate in Cossack and later in Broome. After working initially delivering water, Murakami met the Nishiokas and began to work in their Cossack store. The childless Nishiokas adopted Murakami, and as was common in such situations Murakami was addressed locally by his employer's name. The Nishiokas relocated to Broome in 1900 and opened a Japanese emporium.

After Nishioka's death in 1901, Eki ran the business with Murakami's support as manager. Murakami married Eki, who was fifteen years his senior, on 11 May 1906, possibly in an effort to secure the business's future. Photography was a key element of the Nishioka business; the sale of 'picture postcards of Broome' and the Nishioka 'photography department' were advertised prominently between 1908 and 1915.<sup>25</sup> The Nishioka store serviced the community with local views and portraits, and after 1901 (when immigration laws changed) enjoyed a trade in identification photographs for passports and immigration documents.

Like Murakami, Wada travelled to Australia as part of a wave of emigration from Wakayama in the 1890s. The landscape of Wakayama Prefecture is very hilly, with just 10 percent arable land. Consequently, two-thirds of the farming households had to seek other sources of income, including work overseas.<sup>26</sup> Wada was sixteen years old when he arrived in Australia in December 1896.<sup>27</sup> On 7 October 1911, Wada announced the opening of his 'up-to-date photographic studio' by placing an advertisement in the *Broome Chronicle*, noting 'photographic work done in all its branches' and 'outdoor work a specialty'. He later rented a two-room house and studio from Eki Nishioka.<sup>28</sup> Wada produced several portraits of Murakami, his second wife Shigeno Theresa Murata and their children during the early 1920s, suggesting that the two photographers maintained a lengthy relationship. Compared with the seasonal and dangerous work of pearling, photography offered a stable income for Wada, Murakami and other Japanese practitioners, including one named Maeda. Several extant portraits bear the embossed mount of Maeda, but very little is known about him or her. Several residents of Broome used this name including a married woman Ichi Maeda who arrived in Australia in 1895, and a boarding house keeper, Yaokichi Maeda. Patchy

immigration and business records make it impossible to know more about the photographer Maeda at this time.

The growing Japanese community was met with ambivalence locally and nationally. An article in the *Broome Chronicle* in 1908 notes how WA Senator George Pearce and soon-to-be Labor Prime Minister Andrew Fisher commented critically on the ‘large increase of Japanese in Broome’. The article expressed concern ‘that under the pretence of being engaged in pearling, [they] were drifting into the permanent population’.<sup>29</sup> Another article from 1910 described the town as an ‘anomaly’ in ‘White Australia’: ‘Superficially, if not actually, one has left our very English Australia and has already crossed the small patch of sea separating us from Asia’.<sup>30</sup> The reporter initially presents Broome as a colonial idyll:

Sun-browned Europeans in white and khaki suits, and wide spreading head gear, white houses of the bungalow types, wide streets and umbrageous native trees, an occasional glimpse of green palms, the mingling in the streets of white, and yellow, and brown, and black.

However, this romanticised impression is contrasted with the area of Broome known as ‘Japtown’: ‘But down near the creek, [...] is the other Broome, the old Broome, the coloured Broome. [...] Here are Eastern customs and Eastern clothes, Eastern life and – Eastern smells’. Japtown was described as ‘apart and distinct from the other town, for except when white Broome comes down to buy in the shops of coloured Broome, here, as the world over, “East is East, and West is West and never the twain shall meet.”’<sup>31</sup> Such representations of Broome as racially segregated make the photographs

produced by Japanese residents all the more compelling, because they reveal far more fluid and complex patterns of intercultural connection.

### *Photography and Social Hierarchies in Broome*

A hierarchy of race and class is a recurring theme in histories of Broome. Historians typically place the white ruling class at the top, followed by Japanese merchants, Asian divers and labourers, while at the bottom are Aboriginal people who lived in out-of-town camps and worked as seasonal labourers.<sup>32</sup> The white population's authority was assured by their exclusive ownership of the pearling fleets, and occupation of the community's most powerful roles, including bank manager, magistrate, police officers, schoolteachers, postmaster, and editor of the local newspaper. As Ganter observes, within the presumed poles of social hierarchy, there 'was an electrified field peopled by Asians, Aborigines, a few whites, and many mixed descendants making up the bulk of the polyethnic society and ordered by further gradations of ascribed or acquired social worth and wealth'.<sup>33</sup> Broome's hierarchical social structure is reflected in Wada's photograph of the audience at the Sun Picture Theatre (ca. 1920) (figure 2). Master pearler Edmund Harold Hunter owned the theatre, and from its opening night in 1916 seats were allocated according to race. Wada's photograph shows white patrons sitting under cover in cane chairs in the middle of the theatre. Asian merchants, divers, and the mixed race population occupy the deck chairs, with children on folding chairs and benches. Malay, Koepanger, Filipino, and Aboriginal lugger crew sit on the benches in an outdoor area to the side, or on bleachers at the back.

Wada's choice of perspective also speaks to more subtle power relations of display and visibility. To take the picture Wada assumed the position of the screen –

the spectacle that the crowd had come to watch. In creating an image of the town's formal social hierarchies, his presence in front of the crowd also acknowledged the potentially porous nature of those divisions. Photography enabled Japanese practitioners a modest level of mobility in Broome society, allowing them to attend, observe and shape the representation of otherwise exclusive social events. There are a number of extant photographs by Wada of Anglo-Australian events like the Gallipoli Ball, and a children's fancy dress ball. Japanese photographers were in demand amongst the ruling elite. An article published in the *Western Mail* in 1906 describes an 'unusually brilliant function' on board the SS Paroo, photographed by 'local Japanese artist' Nishioka, which likely refers to Murakami. Guests included the Mayor, the manager of the union bank, a ship's captain and local councillors.<sup>34</sup> As well as providing them with an income, photography gave Wada and Murakami a degree of access to this elite world, not available to other Japanese residents.

The formal social arrangements that Wada and Murakami were employed to photograph did not reflect everyone's lived experience in Broome. There were high levels of anxiety about the emergent polyethnic community amongst the colonial elite, which tried to maintain strictly defined social hierarchies. The 1905 Royal Commission on the Condition of the Natives Report, presented to the WA Parliament, expressed alarm at the growing numbers of 'half-caste' children around Broome. The assumption that 'their future will be one of vagabondism and harlotry' rationalised the Government's removal of these children from their families, placing them in church-run missions where they trained to enter domestic service.<sup>35</sup> The language and thinking of Travelling Protector, James Isdell, will be very confronting to contemporary readers:

Nearly all the coastal half-castes are half-bred Asiatics [...]. About Broome and along the coast there are a number of full-grown half-castes married to Asiatics, and most of them have children. [...] I would not hesitate for one moment to separate any half-caste from its aboriginal mother, no matter how frantic her momentary grief might be at the time. They soon forget their offspring.<sup>36</sup>

Mixed-race mission girls became sought after employees in the white community. Since relationships between these women and indentured labourers threatened that labour supply, efforts were made to limit their interaction. A memorandum from the Sub-Collector of Customs to the Department of the Interior, titled 'Indentured laborers marrying or living with local women', complained that 'It is well known to anyone living in Broome that half caste girls are unobtainable for domestic services during the "lay-up" season'.<sup>37</sup>

The mixing of racial groups challenged the ruling class's authority in various ways. By working for Japanese crews, Aboriginal people could gain a level of independence from colonial authorities, while Japanese entrepreneurs became prosperous and socially powerful.<sup>38</sup> Relationships between Aboriginal and Asian people threatened the sexual access of white men to Aboriginal women. A. O. Neville, Secretary for Immigration (1910–1914) and Chief Protector of Aborigines in WA (1915–36) argued that it was more desirable for unwed Aboriginal women to have 'illegitimate' children to white men, than to legally marry non-Europeans, because the former scenario helped 'absorb' Aboriginal people (biologically and socially) into white society.<sup>39</sup> It was also feared that ongoing relationships would provide reasons for

Asian immigrants to settle permanently in Australia.<sup>40</sup> Suggestions for controlling the interracial population included removing Aboriginal people to ‘outside the town boundary, where they could be given proper supervision, and the Asiatics kept from their locality’.<sup>41</sup> As Aboriginal women used sex to trade with Asian men, or established more lasting personal relationships with them, Aboriginal women’s bodies became a locus for control; the Aborigines Act (1905) prohibited Aboriginal women from visiting boats without the written permission of the protector, or being near creeks frequented by the crews. Non-Aboriginal men were forbidden from travelling or living with Aboriginal women without written permission.<sup>42</sup> A colour-coded map of Broome made by Inspector of Aborigines Ernest Mitchell in 1927 marking the locations of white, ‘Asiatic’, Aboriginal and mixed residences reveals the continued desire to monitor intimate Asian-Aboriginal relations as well as the persistence of these relationships in the face of official concern.<sup>43</sup>

Tensions also emerged within immigrant communities. Life on the luggers demanded co-operation between crew, divers, and the captain, but conflicts occasionally arose over competing economic and political interests. Discord manifested in violent disputes in 1907, 1914, and the December 1920 race riot. The riot was triggered by disagreements between Japanese and other Asian residents, resulting in two Japanese being killed, with five Koepangers and four white men injured.<sup>44</sup> The *Sunday Mirror* framed the incident as a result of Japanese residents seeking to rise above their station:

the Japs were growing bolder and bolder, and had taken to jostling and pushing white folk off the foot paths. It was well known that mean whites

were acting as dummies for Japanese capital [...]. The mean whites did a lot of harm by encouraging Japs to drink with them in public places, and thus admitted them to a position of equal social status. The Oriental mind looks upon this not as a compliment, but is a compromise and confession of the white folk's weakness.<sup>45</sup>

These confronting comments underscore how tensions associated with competing economic interests were exacerbated by deep-rooted racism.

Photography played an important role in this highly charged environment by allowing sitters to define, perform, and symbolically fix their own social position in a lasting image. This photographic construction of a clearly defined racial identity is evident in Wada's wedding portrait of Lydia Morris (née Hanks) and Albert Edward (Ted) Morris (figure 3). Wada's portrait is both a memento of the couple's wedding and an assertion of their rank in Broome society. Dressed in an embroidered, lace-trimmed white European-style dress, Lydia's beauty and gentility signify the couple's social standing. Australia's white population adopted European fashion to reaffirm its connections to the British 'motherland', reflecting a 'conscious desire to emulate a world disassociated from the antipodes'.<sup>46</sup> The painted backdrop behind the couple enhances this effect, locating them imaginatively in a romantic English wood. The thick white drill suit, hat, and shoes worn by Albert, a local pearler and banker, were highly impractical luxuries associated with the pearling masters. Broome's hot, humid atmosphere and ever-present red dust, which discolours fabrics rapidly, meant that these suits required frequent, costly laundering. Broome resident Jean Haynes recalled that pearlmen went through 'seven to nine suits each week'.<sup>47</sup> The white suede shoes

worn by many pearl-ers were equally impractical, and particularly prone to blemishes. Wealthy individuals changed footwear several times a day ‘in an effort to maintain their aura of sartorial elegance and prestige’.<sup>48</sup> Being photographed in pearling whites promised to provide a lasting document of wealth, social status, and the coloniser’s efforts to master their environment.

Although photography was used to affirm Broome’s social hierarchy, for photographers like Wada and Murakami it also facilitated a degree of movement within that structure. Since the 1990s, photography scholars have challenged assumptions about the uneven power relations associated historically with the camera by Susan Sontag and others, where rights and power were assumed to lie with the colonial photographer at the expense of the colonised subject.<sup>49</sup> For example, Jane Lydon’s analysis of photographs from the Coranderrk Reserve and Mission in the state of Victoria argued that photographs of Indigenous peoples can be seen as part of a ‘dynamic and performative’ relationship between photographer and Indigenous subject, rather than a one way relation of power.<sup>50</sup> In a very different context, Ariella Azoulay has explored the unstable power relations that exist between the photographer and the photographed person. She argues that while underlying power relations do persist through acts of photography (especially if those relations are ‘distinctly unequal’), equally persistent are the instabilities and malleability of these relations.<sup>51</sup> Drawing on Azoulay’s work, Christopher Pinney also stresses that the idea of a ‘photographic citizenry’ – of photographers, viewers, and photographed subjects – departs from patterns of ‘communicating prerecognized messages’. Photography initiated a radical new way of regarding the visible, which accounts for the ‘unpredictability of photography in relation to dominant social practices’.<sup>52</sup> This

unpredictability can be examined more deeply with reference to photographs produced by Broome's Japanese residents that celebrated their social standing and economic success. These photographs challenged social boundaries, while reinforcing the power that lies in the ability to visually represent social situations and cultures.

### *Japanese Portraits of Success as Cross-Cultural Encounters*

Photographs of Japanese entrepreneurs posing in front of their businesses and properties formed an especially popular genre in Broome. Despite not being able to formally own shares in pearling operations or businesses like hotels, many Japanese residents enjoyed levels of economic power and success, and used photography to express their ambitions and achievements. Kametarō Yamamoto was one merchant who embraced photography to produce images of prosperity in his adopted home. Yamamoto left his hometown of Mikame, Ehime Prefecture, in 1897. Initially working on a WA pearling lugger, after three years he borrowed money to establish a general store in Broome stocking imported goods from Japan.<sup>53</sup> Yamamoto's success allowed him to build a second store with a new house in the early 1900s that he featured in several photographs celebrating his accomplishments.

One of Yamamoto's photographs forms a striking tableau, with his house serving as a stage for the performance of his success (figure 4). Yamamoto's two-storey home was built in typical Broome style, with a corrugated iron roof, wide verandas, and timber latticework to provide shade and ventilation in the tropical climate. The photograph pictures the rear of the house, and includes Yamamoto, and his partner Tada Tsudada with a child (possibly their nephew). Rather than standing alongside his partner and the child, Yamamoto stands apart and on a slightly higher

level. Two unknown men also appear in the photograph – one standing on the balcony and another seemingly sitting on the edge of the water tank. Unlike Yamamoto and Tsudada, these two men do not look directly at the camera, suggesting they may be employees rather than family. The dispersal of human figures across this space encourages the eye to move across the full expanse of Yamamoto's property. The asymmetrical composition is stylistically reminiscent of seventeenth- to nineteenth-century Japanese woodblocks and paintings known as *ukiyo-e*, in which the human figures and the space they occupy are often held in tension. This technique draws attention to the composition's vertical and horizontal axes, cleverly constructed in this photograph by Yamamoto's house. Even the family cat, perched atop an old tree trunk, plays its part in leading the eye over the scene.

Yamamoto has chosen to wear a white jacket associated with Broome's ruling class for this photograph, while Tsudada wears a long European skirt and white blouse, with voluminous 'leg of mutton' sleeves. Japanese entrepreneurs widely adopted these pearling whites, and were photographed wearing them in many portraits commemorating their business partnerships and networks. The couple's clothing stands in contrast to what they wear in another pair of formal portraits, taken under the Nishioka name. In these portraits, Yamamoto wears a dark three-piece suit and bow tie, while Tsudada dresses in a kimono. European suits were promoted by the Meiji emperor as a sign of Japan's modernity, and were standard dress in much of Australia. Yet in Broome, the pearling masters had established an alternative means of marking their success through fashion. Yamamoto's adoption of the white suit in his other portrait reflects his familiarity with local cultural practices, and desire to incorporate them into his representation of personal accomplishment.

The relationships between Japanese and Anglo-Australian cultural traditions in Yamamoto's photograph are compelling forms of cross-cultural interpretation.

Photographers have long acted as mediators of visual signs and symbols.

Photography's history of reproduction and transnationalisation – through the movement of photographers and the circulation of images, publications, exhibitions, and postcards – reflects how the medium has been used to transpose and translate visual signs into new contexts. Viewing photography as a medium of cross-cultural encounter foregrounds the position of the photographer as cultural mediator. This role involves speaking for or acting for another, and acknowledging the many negotiations, persuasions, codes of behaviours, and power relations that accompany such an act.

Wada's and Murakami's photographs of Broome's elite, in this sense, involve understanding and translating their subjects' cultural preferences, desires, and social values into their photographs, which then circulate amongst the subjects' family and friends (as well as unrelated viewers, over time) to be interpreted in new and unpredictable ways.

These kinds of cross-cultural relations extended across various spheres of culture and leisure in Broome. The Japanese community had certain social hubs, including the Japanese Society clubrooms and the Buddhist School (opened in 1918). Community events introduced Japanese culture and heritage to Broome. One photograph by Wada shows the 'Ehime Club Association' celebrating their tenth anniversary with a sumo tournament on New Year's Day, 1922. Other photographs in the Murakami collection depict Japanese theatrical performances, including one surrounded by a mount embossed with a chrysanthemum design and the Nishioka stamp.<sup>54</sup> Europeans also transplanted cultural institutions and activities to the 'foreign'

environment of Broome. Rules of Victorian etiquette structured the pearling community, which enjoyed various social customs such as afternoon tea parties, games of cards, and horse races.<sup>55</sup> Tennis was another of these highly exclusive activities.<sup>56</sup> It is therefore fascinating to find Wada's photograph of thirty-seven Japanese in suits and tennis whites, complete with racquets, assembled for a formal photograph to celebrate the Japanese community's own tennis club.<sup>57</sup>

These examples of cross-cultural practices highlight how photography is embedded in sociality, as social actors participate in 'exchanges and interactions between and across different contexts'.<sup>58</sup> Importantly, in these transferrals of ideas and values across contexts, meanings inevitably shift and the original source is given an afterlife in which it is irrevocably changed.<sup>59</sup> Japanese residents of Broome were not simply 'aping' the 'original' activities of the white ruling class by adopting the pearling masters' white suits or by playing tennis. By transposing these activities into their own social and cultural systems, the Japanese also drew attention to the contingency and instability of that colonial culture.<sup>60</sup> When worn in Japanese photographs, white suits were transformed from an exclusive symbol of colonial mastery of the land and industry, to one of economic ambition accessible to others. There is a certain non-equivalency in these cross-cultural encounters, which 'implies that contexts are ultimately not bounded or clearly circumscribed. One makes sense of the "other" in one's own context, but one's context does not exist in isolation'.<sup>61</sup> Applying this understanding to photography therefore demands an appreciation of the contexts in which photographs are produced and the interests that they serve.

### *Strategic Photographic Connections*

Although she would not have used these terms, Eki Nishioka was acutely conscious of the contextual implications of photographs, and their value in mediating and producing cross-cultural relations. Historians have suggested that Nishioka was a photographer who taught Murakami the art.<sup>62</sup> However, there is not enough documentary evidence available to support this claim. Of interest here are the surviving portraits of Nishioka, which demonstrate her confidence in front of the camera and her ability to invoke elements of Japanese and European culture strategically when constructing her image. Several of these portraits appear in Australian immigration records because under the Immigration Restriction Act, Nishioka was required to submit photographic identification. In all of these identity photographs, Nishioka presented herself in European clothing, posing compliantly for the camera. The photographs in Nishioka's Certificate of Domicile (figure 5), issued the year after her husband's death, present her as the picture of Victorian feminine modesty. She wears a dark dress trimmed with small frills, billowing sleeves and black gloves befitting of her new status as a widow. Nishioka's performance of British feminine values of passivity and propriety helped her define herself as an unthreatening and familiar member of Australian society.

A formal studio portrait featuring Nishioka and Murakami repositions her as a respectable Japanese wife (figure 6). Nishioka wears an elegant silk kimono and obi, her hair styled up in a looser arrangement, while Murakami is dashing in his pinstriped suit, waistcoat, and tie. The photograph is likely the couple's wedding portrait. Like Wada's portrait of the Morrises, this photograph is more than simply a memento of the happy day. The deliberate way Murakami and Nishioka pose with their left hands pointing towards the camera draws attention to their wedding rings – an instantly recognisable symbol of marriage in Australia's predominantly Christian culture.

Although she stands next to the seated Murakami in a reversal of gender positions seen typically in nineteenth-century Japanese wedding photographs, Nishioka is only marginally taller; at four feet and six inches she was very small in stature. Yet as she leans slightly to her left and rests her elbow on the plinth, Nishioka's stance conveys an impression of relaxed authority. This photograph would have provided important evidence of Nishioka's marital status and social respectability at a time when Japanese women in Broome were often assumed to be prostitutes.

The prevalence of *karayuki-san*, or Japanese prostitutes, in Australia is well documented. Yuriko Nagata has argued that most of the Japanese women counted in the 1901 Australian census worked as prostitutes.<sup>63</sup> The majority of *karayuki-san* working in this region of WA were from Nagasaki, the town where Nishioka was born. These courageous women were often poor and illiterate daughters of farmers and rural labourers. Some were tricked, lured, or kidnapped into prostitution and forced to work for extended periods to pay off the 'debts' incurred from their journey and board.<sup>64</sup> Some *karayuki-san* used their work as an opportunity to save money, later launching their own businesses, and several established lasting relationships with local businessmen.<sup>65</sup> Although many Broome residents tolerated illegal Japanese brothels as a 'necessary evil', at least one visitor publicly lamented that Broome was 'absolutely honeycombed' with these 'sanctuaries of licentiousness'.<sup>66</sup> Brothels tended to operate discreetly under the guise of boarding houses, restaurants, laundries, shops, and tobacconists in efforts to avoid trouble with the police.<sup>67</sup> This discretion may have placed Nishioka, as an unmarried shopkeeper of 'Japtown', under suspicion in the eyes of Broome's Anglo-Australian elite. Interestingly, this wedding portrait was part of the Yamamoto family collection, revealing that it was shared outside of the family with

associates. When shared or perhaps put on display in public areas of the home or business, the wedding portrait would have helped to allay such suspicions, secure Nishioka's reputation as a wife, and safeguard her business interests.

Murakami also used photography to strategically negotiate his position within Broome society. Murakami's longstanding habit of posting photographs to his mother in Japan (along with financial support) has meant that there are many extant photographs that reveal how he wanted to be seen. These photographs represent the largest surviving collection of Murakami's work, as his personal photograph collection was confiscated when he was interned as an 'enemy alien' during the Second World War. In these portraits, Murakami presented himself alternatively as a Japanese resident maintaining cultural traditions, and an émigré who had reinvented himself in his new Australian home. One photograph from 1914 shows Murakami gathered with a group of men in front of the Nishioka store (figure 7). Murakami sits centrally, positioning himself as the person of highest social status in this picture. Sitting behind him in supportive roles are the Anglo-Australians A. W. Johnstone (right) and Tom Evans (left), who was a managing law clerk and former member of the Broome Council. The other Japanese figures are identified by their family names as Katsuno, Suzuki, Yamamoto, Kasashima, and Murakami's long-time friend Asari.

By approaching Murakami's photograph as a product of cross-cultural encounters, it becomes far more than simply a document of his business partnerships. As well as acknowledging the content of this image, this approach demands consideration of the conditions in which it was made and circulated, and the interests that it serves. The photograph's significance becomes more apparent when considering the limits imposed on Japanese entrepreneurs in Broome. As so-called 'aliens',

Japanese were not legally permitted to own land or enterprises.<sup>68</sup> Cross-cultural business connections were nonetheless formed through practices of ‘dummying’, where white men nominally held ownership of a business to cover a Japanese financial interest.<sup>69</sup> Murakami had such a relationship with pearling master Captain Ancell Gregory, allowing him to effectively enjoy a fifty per cent share in the Dampier Hotel from around 1915.<sup>70</sup>

The push and pull of competing Japanese and Anglo-Australian interests was made apparent at a dinner hosted by the Japanese Club in 1910. The dinner celebrated Mayor Archie Male’s appointment as Honorary Consul for Japan. Around forty guests attended, including several master pearlers, and Male and his wife. The Japanese Club exerted significant control over the supply of divers to the luggers by acting as a kind of union, safeguarding workers’ rights and brokering employment conditions. Despite a speech from Gregory calling for the Japanese and the Pearlers’ Association to ‘unite and become a strong body’, the pearlers resisted giving up their exclusive claims and refused to allow the Japanese to join their Association.<sup>71</sup> Some officials and pearlers perceived a Japanese conspiracy against their interests. The Officer Commanding the Australian Intelligence Corps of WA submitted a report to the Department of External Affairs in 1911 that referred specifically to storekeepers Yamasaki, Nishioka (Murakami) and Yamamoto in this way: ‘They are leaders in the Japanese Society locally known as the Club. [...] The Japanese, as against those of other races, are united. It is the Japanese clique against the world’. The report also claimed that Japanese crew were widely distrusted: ‘On the pearling lugger the slop chest must be kept locked, the pantry kept under observation, nothing movable left about as long as a Japanese is about’.<sup>72</sup>

Murakami's photograph as a successful businessman working alongside Japanese and Anglo-Australians bears no trace of these tensions or economic limitations. Yet when viewed in terms of cross-cultural interlocution, the invisible relationships integral to the photograph's production are brought into play. At the time that this photograph was made, Murakami was in the process of expanding Nishioka business interests. Nishioka's inheritance from her husband's estate included stock and houses valued at £1,200, which Murakami invested in the business. The business initially grew under Murakami's management; he leased property in 1909 and 1910 from pearlery Alexander Birnie and Frank Biddles, and used Nishioka's capital to build houses and shops that she rented to fellow Japanese.<sup>73</sup> The signage that has been carefully included in the photograph of Murakami and his associates advertises some of their diverse interests, from 'drapery and fancy goods' to a motor garage. A smaller Japanese sign on the right-hand column promotes the store as an agent for Taihei (or Pacific) Life Insurance, a business likely to appeal to Japanese divers in the dangerous pearling industry. Murakami also acted as a makeshift bank, holding the earnings of Japanese clients in the shop's safe. Murakami explained how Japanese labourers often sought his advice:

I know the European customs, I have been here 20 years. The low class Japanese labourers are all very ignorant, they do not know what the bank is for or what writing is for, they know nothing at all. They know people like me in Broome and they come and ask everything, not only money but everything.<sup>74</sup>

These comments reveal Murakami's pride in his knowledge of European customs, which he felt distinguished him from the Japanese labour class. Anglo-Australians similarly held the Japanese 'storekeeper class' in relatively high regard. A Broome customs document from 1921 describes storekeepers as 'possessed with the most courteous manners. [...] They are decidedly of a better class of Japanese than the majority of their nationality'.<sup>75</sup>

Despite his ambitions, Murakami experienced increasing financial woes during the 1910s. From 1912 he struggled to repay his debtors, and a further decline in business during the First World War led to insolvency in 1915.<sup>76</sup> By 1914 Murakami estimated that he held the savings of around one hundred Japanese labourers, but he did not keep detailed records. When the war broke out many requested the return of their money; having invested these funds in the business Murakami was unable to pay these men back.<sup>77</sup> Murakami also lost £600 of Nishioka's money during this difficult period.<sup>78</sup> With failing health, Nishioka gathered her savings from the rents that she had collected over the previous three or four years, reclaimed £500 owed to the Nishioka store, and returned to Japan in 1918, where she passed away shortly afterwards.

Unaware of how much money Nishioka was taking to Japan, Murakami contributed £50 passage money for her trip. He was declared bankrupt two months after Nishioka left. Murakami testified in the bankruptcy hearings that he approved of Nishioka collecting and keeping the rents, even though the properties were in his name, because 'She started to growl at me. I took her money to start [the] business, and I could not pay it back'.<sup>79</sup> Murakami's comments capture some of the extreme personal, legal, social, and financial pressures he experienced at this time. Yet throughout this stressful period, Murakami continued to send reassuring photographs to his mother. When his

assets were sold as part of his bankruptcy estate, Wada took the opportunity to enhance his own photography business by purchasing Murakami's photographic back screens, enlarging camera, burnisher, and glass photo frame.<sup>80</sup>

### *Japanese-Aboriginal Photographic Relations*

Murakami did not just send photographs of himself and his Australian family to his mother and sister in Japan. A group of photographs in the family collection focus on Aboriginal people in and around Broome and Darwin. These photographs are significant, as there are very few publicly available photographs showing Japanese-Aboriginal photographic relations of this period. Some drawings based on photographs of Aboriginal people appear in Watanabe Kanjūrō's report for the Japanese Foreign Ministry *Gōshū Tanken Hōkokuso* (Report on the Exploration of Australia).<sup>81</sup>

Watanabe travelled extensively across Australia between August and December 1893, and the following year published this detailed account of Australia's history, geography, trade, international relations, industry, mining, agriculture, pearling industry, and fisheries, as well as the conditions of Aboriginal people. One illustration of an Aboriginal camp in a sparse environment includes men standing with long spears near some shelters made of bark and tree branches. Another shows two groups of people, arranged by gender with four women standing separately from four men and three boys. They are all posing for the camera, standing front-on and shot in full length to highlight their clothing, bare chests, and the scarification on their skin. Neither caption identifies the people by name, their community, or the location in which they were photographed. Disregarding the diversity of Aboriginal cultures across the country, these people are presented as metonyms for all of Australia's Indigenous

people. The Japanese term used to describe them is now considered derogatory and archaic, but was commonly used during the Meiji era to contrast Japan's supposed advancement and development with the position of what was perceived as more 'primitive' peoples. These photographs consequently operate in a very different social and political context to Murakami's more personal photographic encounters with Aboriginal people in and around Broome. Whereas Murakami's subjects were part of his own polyethnic community, the Aboriginal people in Watanabe's images are presented as objects of study to be documented as part of his survey for the Meiji government.

Murakami's photographs have important implications for understanding photography's operation as a medium of cross-cultural encounter in the colonial context. One postcard written and posted around 1908 pictures three Aboriginal women seated on a cane lounge chair (figure 8). The placement of the chair in the middle of the street or lane behind a row of buildings creates the impression of a somewhat furtive photographic encounter, perhaps informed by official anxieties about Japanese men mixing with Aboriginal women. Murakami's name appears in Japanese on the front of the image, to the left of the women, suggesting that he was the photographer. To the right, the photograph is labelled in Japanese 'Australian aborigines. Three women'. As Murakami's personal message on the back makes no other mention of these unnamed women, it is impossible to know his own interpretation of the image or confirm his relationship to these subjects. However, the women's impassive expressions suggest that they were likely asked to pose for the photographer, rather than customers or personal friends.

Barefoot yet dressed in European clothes and their hair trimmed according to contemporary European fashion, the women in this photograph highlight how the meanings of dress, like photography, are intricately bound to context. Whereas Broome's Japanese entrepreneurs used European dress to assert their success and further aspirations, Aboriginal people's appropriation of European clothing is bound up with their relationships to Broome's colonial culture, colonial values of propriety in dress, and its links to the acceptance of Aboriginal presence in the town. Murakami's photograph shows how these women were active cultural mediators, interpreting and adapting colonial culture as part of their daily lives.

Two large fingerprints mark the image at the centre front, acting as reminders of this postcard's role as an object of exchange between Australia and Japan – an object that has been held and interpreted differently by its producer, writer, recipient, their descendants and historians. Other postcards and photographs that Murakami sent to his family in Japan centre on Aboriginal people living outside of town, dancing, hunting, and taking part in large gatherings. It is interesting to consider why Murakami chose to post these photographs of Aboriginal people to his family. Despite efforts to remove Aboriginal populations from the town, Aboriginal cultures were sources of fascination to Broome's Anglo-Australians. The *Broome Chronicle* describes a party in 1910 in which guests were treated to a 'novel entertainment by a large number of natives on the lawn'.<sup>82</sup> Another article published the following month encourages readers to attend a forthcoming Aboriginal ceremony that marks a boy's entry into manhood. Showing a complete disregard for cultural restrictions around sacred knowledge or the deeply personal qualities of this ceremony, the writer urges readers to uncover the ceremony's secret location by pressuring their 'native employees': 'The

location is not yet disclosed, the natives being very reticent in regard to the whole ceremony, and those who are at all anxious to be present could no doubt extract the locality from their native employees, who will probably evince a special desire to get off for a walk-about'.<sup>83</sup> The proprietorial attitude expressed in this article is another manifestation of the colonial paternalism that shaped the social and legal governance of Aboriginal people at this time.

Although Broome's Asian population had very different relationships with Aboriginal people, the colonial implications of Murakami's images cannot be overlooked, nor can the use of loaded and out-dated language. Murakami's notes written on the postcard of the three Broome women and on the back of another photograph of an Aboriginal man skinning a kangaroo refer to the people using the same now derogatory term used in the captions to Watanabe's illustrations. Murakami's language is a reminder of the position of Broome's Japanese residents in relation to Aboriginal people. While Japanese people suffered discrimination from white elites, they also acted as colonial agents by exploiting Aboriginal land and sea resources. Japanese merchants profited from the pearling industry in ways denied to Aboriginal people, reinforcing social and economic imbalances. Hokari consequently argues that in Asian-Aboriginal relations, 'there was not a single racism at work but a hierarchy of racisms'.<sup>84</sup> These racisms are evident in the offensive perceptions of Aboriginal people expressed by Japanese divers, reproduced in Taira Ogawa's book *Arafura Kai no Shinju* (Pearls in Arafura Sea) (1976). In a section titled 'primitive race bushmen', Ogawa offers stories of Japanese divers being attacked and eaten by 'bushmen', and reports from Japanese ex-divers that Aboriginal women 'had the rut'. Ogawa also praises Aboriginal people's hunting abilities by likening them to animals:

‘their sense of smell and sight demonstrate extraordinary superhuman-like talent, which is almost akin to animals’.<sup>85</sup> Although not as explicitly offensive as these comments, there is an uncomfortable sense that some of Murakami’s photographs objectify their subjects, putting them on display for the viewing pleasure of an external, ‘foreign’ audience.

However, Murakami’s photographs cannot be reduced to a purely exploitative or voyeuristic relationship; they can also be seen as products of personal relations with Aboriginal people that go beyond these frameworks. On the back of the aforementioned photograph, Murakami claims that he was the one who caught the kangaroo and that he traded it for Aboriginal guidance through the area. The text suggests that Murakami was interested in Aboriginal knowledge and that his photographs were part of a system of exchange. Murakami’s connections to Aboriginal communities developed over the course of his second marriage to Theresa, whom he met in Cossack in 1914 and married in 1920. Theresa had their first of nine children in 1914 in Singapore, lived in Murakami’s family home for much of the First World War, and came to Broome to live with Murakami in 1919. Being Catholic, Theresa sent their children to St Mary’s Catholic Convent School in Broome, where they were educated alongside Aboriginal students. The Murakami family collection holds several photographs of Theresa posing with female Aboriginal students and nuns, which suggest that photography remained an important medium for performing and cementing a sense of commonality or shared religious endeavour.

In several of Murakami’s photographs taken outside of town, the Aboriginal subjects appear to perform for his camera. One photograph captures a moment in which the central male figure addresses the camera directly while performing a dance

with other men (figure 9). As his gaze meets the photographer's and he gestures towards the camera with his dance totem, known to the Bardi people as an *ilma*, the man clearly exerts his own agency in determining how to pose and what to show this photographer. The meeting of the dancer's and photographer's gazes suggests a tangible relationship, removed from simplistic assumptions about an active photographer and passive subject. Here photography is a dynamic process of connection and communication, whereby the photographer and his subjects translate their cultural and social positions for each other in a manner that likely involves selections, omissions, and lacunae. This photograph highlights that in acts of cross-cultural photographic connection, meanings and significances escape even the 'original' encounter.

In another photograph, an unidentified Aboriginal man presents two dead magpie geese to Murakami's camera (figure 10). The photographer's shadow is also visible, placing Murakami's social exchange with this man squarely within the camera's frame. Although undated, the silhouette of Murakami's camera and his action of holding it up to his eye (rather than in front of him) suggests that the photograph was likely taken in the 1930s.<sup>86</sup> While the motivations or effects of this cross-cultural encounter cannot be known, photography has enabled a space of communication between cultures where meaning and significance are not predetermined. Azoulay has accordingly argued that '[e]very photograph of others bears the traces of the meeting between the photographed persons and the photographer, neither of whom can, on their own, determine how this meeting will be inscribed'.<sup>87</sup> Photographs thereby refute assumptions of unique ownership or a monopoly of meaning. The plurality of interpretation means that each photograph is continually engaged in processes of

‘constructing the social relations that allowed its production’.<sup>88</sup> As evinced by Murakami’s portraits of Aboriginal and Japanese people, the subjects are active participants in this photographic construction of social relations.

The ongoing character of this process of inscription is evident in Murakami’s photographs of Mary Barbara Lynott (figure 11), and the significance that they hold in her family’s history. Lynott was from the Jaru tribe from the East Kimberley, but having a Scottish father meant that colonial authorities defined her as a ‘half-caste’ and forcibly removed her from her family. Lynott was subsequently educated by nuns at the Beagle Bay Catholic Mission, and trained to enter domestic service.<sup>89</sup> Viewing Broome’s Asian population as a corrupting force that could lure their students into prostitution, the nuns gave Lynott and other female students ‘strict instructions [...] not to make eye contact with the heathen Asiatics’. Lynott told stories of her walks to China Town (known before the Second World War as ‘Japtown’) after Mass every Sunday. Her daughter Pearl Hamaguchi recalls these stories:

We’d pass Murakami’s photography shop. And he’d be waiting for mum.  
[...] Mother’s very good friend Aunty Eva was beautiful woman as well.  
And can you imagine them in the finery in the 1930s. [...] He would look out for these convent girls, you know. Barbara, please sit for me. I want to take your portrait. [...] Oh, I said. What did he look like? Oh, she said, he was very good-looking. [...] She said I think he had a crush on me.<sup>90</sup>

Murakami’s portrait of Lynott presents her in three quarter profile, which highlights her elegant bone structure and the sweep of her fashionable hairstyle, as well as her

pretty white summer dress. The Hamaguchi collection held by the Sisters of St John of God, Broome, holds scans of several Murakami studio portraits of young convent women including Lynott, Lucy Brumby, and Laura Watkins. Despite the nuns' advice, Lynott later partnered with Jimmy Chi (Pearl's father) – the eldest son of John Chi and Yae Yamamoto. With a Scottish grandfather, a Chinese grandfather, and grandmothers who were Japanese and Aboriginal, Hamaguchi's own heritage testifies to the happy and productive social relations that existed across racial groups. Hamaguchi also reveals that her mother maintained friendships with members of the Japanese community, including Murakami's wife Theresa.<sup>91</sup> As evinced by the success of the *Bran Nue Dae* stage musical (1990) and film (2009) created by Jimmy Chi (Pearl Hamaguchi's half brother), 'Broome creole' is a celebrated part of contemporary culture. Murakami's portrait of Lynott captures some of the history of these social relations, but it also exceeds the initial photographic event. It translates the meaning and context of the original encounter in a process that also constructs new social relations and new significances, not only for the subject's direct descendants, but for anyone who subsequently comes to view the photograph.

### *Conclusion*

Like Wada's photographs of the Sun Theatre and the Gallipoli Ball, Yamamoto's family photographs, and Nishioka's identification pictures, Murakami's work shows how photography was used to both formalise and challenge social hierarchies and to construct visions of the self. Some of these photographs offered reassuring imagery of success, certainty, and prosperity in a fraught historical and social context. Yet photography also provided opportunities to transgress such restrictions, facilitating

more complex patterns of cross-cultural encounter. The polyethnic context of early twentieth-century Broome provides a multifaceted backdrop to photographic practices that challenged social boundaries at the time, and continue to contest hierarchised cultural histories. Hamaguchi's proud discussion of her mother's portrait in light of her own multicultural heritage, highlights the ongoing character of cross-cultural encounters and its extension beyond the photographed moment.

The practices of Japanese photographers in Broome are consequently valuable not simply for illustrating Australia's neglected multicultural histories; they are instrumental in constructing, translating, and understanding social relations, particularly in terms of the multiple levels of agency that photography enables. While photographs always operate within specific contexts, they are not reducible to those contexts. Photographs invariably transfer and transform meaning across cultural and temporal realms, giving the 'original' source an afterlife that is subject to ongoing change. Within the context of Australian history, cross-cultural photography practices also offer complex and nuanced views of interracial relations, opening up new spaces for analysis.

### **Captions**

Figure 1. Hichijiro (Shikyjiro) Wada, *Untitled* (Broome Ball), silver gelatin print, 1917. Morris Collection; Broome Historical Society, accession no. 2007.482.

Figure 2. Hichijiro (Shikyjiro) Wada, *Untitled* (Sun Theatre), silver gelatin print, ca. 1920. Courtesy of the J. S. Battye Library of West Australian History, State Library of Western Australia, Perth.

Figure 3. Hichijiro (Shikyjiro) Wada, *Untitled* (Wedding Portrait of Lydia and Albert Morris), silver gelatin print, 1917. Morris Collection; Broome Historical Society, accession no. 2003.1459.

Figure 4. Photographer unknown, *Yamamoto Kametarō's House*, silver gelatin print, ca. 1902–10. Courtesy Noreen Jones's Yamamoto collection.

Figure 5. Certificate of Domicile for Eki Nishioka, 1902. National Archives of Australia K1145 1902-178.

Figure 6. Photographer unknown, *Portrait of Yasukichi Murakami and Eki Nishioka*, silver gelatin print, ca. 1906. Courtesy Noreen Jones's Yamamoto collection.

Figure 7. Photographer unknown, *Murakami and Colleagues in Front of the Nishioka Store*, silver gelatin print, 1914. Courtesy of the Yasuko Murakami – Minami Collection.

Figure 8. Y. Murakami, *Untitled*, postcard, 1907. Courtesy of the Yasuko Murakami –

Minami Collection.

Figure 9. Y. Murakami, *Untitled*, postcard, ca. 1910–30s. Courtesy of the Yasuko Murakami – Minami Collection.

Figure 10. Y. Murakami, *Untitled (Indigenous Man holding Two Magpie Geese)*, postcard, ca. 1930s. Courtesy of the Yasuko Murakami – Minami Collection.

Figure 11. Y. Murakami, *Portrait of Mary Barbara Lynott*, silver gelatin print, ca. 1925–35. Courtesy of Pearl Hamaguchi.

## Notes

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1 – Alfred Deakin, ‘Second Reading Speech: Immigration Restriction Bill’, ‘Debates, House of Representatives’, 12 September 1901, 4804; ‘Immigration Restriction Act 1901’, section 3a.

2 – Examples from the West Australian press include: ‘Gallipoli’, *Sunday Times* (23 January 1916), 14; ‘Heroism Rewarded’, *West Australian* (1 April 1916), 7; and ‘The Story of Gallipoli’, *Western Mail* (28 April 1916), 2.

3 – Hank Nelson, ‘Gallipoli, Kokoda and the Making of National Identity’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 21:53 (January 1997), 160–62; Peter Stanley, ‘The Gallipoli Campaign: History and Memory, Myth and Legend’, in *Making Australian History: Perspectives on the Past Since 1788*, ed. Daborah Gare and David Ritter, South Melbourne: Thomson 2008, 311.

4 – Philippa Scarlett, ‘Aboriginal Service in the First World War: Identity, Recognition and the Problem of Mateship’, *Aboriginal History*, 39 (2015), 173–76; Morag Loh, *Dinky-Di: The Contributions of Chinese Immigrants and Australian of Chinese Descent to Australia’s Defence Forces and War Efforts 1889–1988*, Canberra: Australian Govt. Pub. Service 1989, xi–xii.

5 – In this article, Japanese names appear as they were written by these people in Australia, with family name after given name, rather than the Japanese convention of family name first.

6 – ‘Aboriginal-Asian Contact’, ed. Diane Barwick and James Urry, *Aboriginal History*, 5:1/2 (1981): 1–178; Regina Ganter, *Mixed Relations: Asian-Aboriginal Contact in North Australia*, Crawley: University of Western Australia Press 2006; *Asians in Australian History*, ed. Regina Ganter, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press 1999; Christine Choo, *Mission Girls: Aboriginal Women on Catholic Missions in the Kimberley, Western Australia, 1900–1950*, Crawley: University of Western Australia Press 2001; and *Lost in the Whitewash: Aboriginal-Asian Encounters in Australia, 1901–2001*, ed. Penny Edwards and Shen Yuanfang, Canberra: Australian National University 2003.

7 – Minoru Hokari ‘Anti-minority History: Perspectives on Aboriginal-Asian Relations’, in *Lost in the Whitewash*, ed. Edwards and Yuanfang, 89. Italics in original.

8 – Paul de Man, “‘Conclusions’ Walter Benjamin’s “‘The Task of the Translator’”, *Yale French Studies*, 69 (1985), 35.

9 – Noreen Jones, *Number 2 Home: A Story of Japanese Pioneers in Australia*, Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press 2002, 135; and Noreen Jones, interview with the author, 10 March 2015.

10 – Jones, *Number 2 Home*, 133–42; Lorna Kaino, ‘On-Board “Train Australia”’: Some Contexts of the Works of Kanamori and Murakami’, *Zeitschrift für Australienstudien [Journal of Australian Studies]*, 27 (2013), 105–25; John Bailey, *The White Divers of Broome*, Sydney: Pan Macmillan 2001, 148–51; and Mary Albertus Bain, *Full Fathom Five*, Perth: Artlook Books 1982, 301–02.

11 – See Paul Jones and Vera Mackie, ‘Introduction: Relationships, 1870s–1950s’, in *Relationships: Australia and Japan, 1870s–1950s*, ed. Paul Jones and Vera Mackie, Parkville: History Department, University of Melbourne 2001, 1–13; *Changing*

*Histories: Australia and Japan*, ed. Paul Jones and Pam Oliver, Clayton: Monash Asia Institute 2001; and *Unexpected Encounters: Neglected Histories Behind the Australia-Japan Relationship*, ed. Michael Ackland and Pam Oliver, Clayton: Monash Asia Institute 2007.

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13 – Ruth Balint, ‘Aboriginal Women and Asian Men: A Maritime History of Color in White Australia’, *Signs*, 37:3 (Spring 2012), 546; and Lois Anderson, ‘The Role of Aboriginal and Asian Labour in the Origin and Development of the Pearlring Industry, Broome, Western Australia 1862–1940’, Honours thesis, Murdoch University 1978, 4.

14 – Bain, *Full Fathom Five*, 20.

15 – Balint, ‘Aboriginal Women and Asian Men’, 547.

16 – For more on Aboriginal women’s active participation in this economy, see Balint, ‘Aboriginal Women and Asian Men’, 247–48; Yu, ‘Broome Creole’, 63; and Choo, *Mission Girls*, 6.

17 – Bain, *Full Fathom Five*, 21.

18 – Balint, ‘Aboriginal Women and Asian Men’, 547.

19 – Koepanger refers to anyone from the islands of Timor, Alor or Solor, or anyone recruited through Dutch colonial offices in Koepang.

20 – Bain, *Full Fathom Five*, 92.

21 – Oliver, ‘Japanese and Broome’, 117.

22 – Joanna Sassoon, ‘E. L. Mitchell and the Imaginary Broome’, *History of Photography*, 23:2 (Summer 1999), 149.

23 – J. P. S. Bach, ‘The Pearlshelling Industry and the “White Australia” Policy’, *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand*, 10:38 (May 1962), 205.

24 – *Broome Chronicle* (21 November 1908), n.p.

25 – *Broome Chronicle* (19 December 1908), n.p.; *Nor-West Echo* (29 August 1914), 4; and *Nor-West Echo* (24 July 1915), 6.

26 – Other popular destinations included Brazil and North America. D. C. S. Sissons, ‘The Japanese in the Australian Pearling Industry’, *Queensland Heritage*, 3:10 (May 1979), 10.

27 – National Archives of Australia (NAA), PP14/3 Japanese/Wada H.

28 – National Archives of Australia (NAA), PP92/1 1918/10 Yasukichi Murakami [bankruptcy], 615, 673.

29 – ‘Indentured Asiatics’, *Broome Chronicle* (3 October 1908), 3.

30 – ‘Broome and its Pearls’, *Broome Chronicle* (6 August 1910), n.p.

31 – Ibid. Here the author is quoting Rudyard Kipling’s poem ‘The Ballad of East and West’ (1889). See Rudyard Kipling, *The Collected Poems of Rudyard Kipling*, Ware: Wordsworth, 1994, 245.

32 – Ganter, *Mixed Relations*, 146; Michael Schaper, ‘The Broome Race Riots of 1920’, *Studies in Western Australian History*, 16 (1995), 114–15; and Sassoon, ‘Mitchell and the Imaginary Broome’, 149.

33 – Ganter, *Mixed Relations*, 146.

34 – ‘Luncheon at Broome’, *Western Mail* (1 December 1906), 41.

35 – Walter Edmund Roth, *Royal Commission on the Condition of the Natives Report*, Perth: WA Parliament 1905, 25.

36 – C. F. Gale, ‘Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for the Year Ending 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1909’, Perth 1909, 9.

37 – Correspondence relating to indentured labourers marrying or living with local women. ‘Indentured Laborers Marrying or Living with Local Women’, Broome, NAA, E682, 1.

38 – Yu, ‘Broome Creole’, 64; Peta Stephenson, ‘New Cultural Scripts: Exploring the Dialogue Between Indigenous and “Asian” Australians’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 27:77 (March 2003), 59.

39 – A. O. Neville, *Australia’s Coloured Minority: Its Place in the Community*, Sydney: Currawong 1947, 59–60.

40 – Stephenson, ‘New Cultural Scripts’, 59.

41 – Gale, ‘Report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines for the Year Ending 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1909’, 4, 7, 10.

42 – ‘The Aborigines Act (1905)’, West Australian Parliament, Perth, sections 19, 40, 43.

43 – State Records Office of Western Australia, series 2030, Cons. 993, item 1927/0248.

- 44 – Schaper, ‘Broome Race Riots’, 112–32. When violence broke out between Japanese and Malay crewmen in 1907, Murakami helped restore peace between the two groups.
- 45 – ‘The Broome Brush’, *Sunday Mirror* (26 December 1920), 1.
- 46 – Amanda Taylor, ‘A Fashionable Production: Advertising and Consumer Culture on the Australian Stage’, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 23:63 (December 1999), 125.
- 47 – Mrs. Jean Haynes, ‘Verbatim transcript of an interview’, J. S. Battye Library of West Australian History, Oral History Program 1977, 12.
- 48 – Anderson, ‘Aboriginal and Asian Labour’, 33.
- 49 – See, for example, Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux 1977, 14.
- 50 – Jane Lydon, *Eye Contact: Photographing Indigenous Australians*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press 2005, xii.
- 51 – Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography*, trans. Relä Mazali and Ruvik Danieli, New York: Zone Books 2008, 398.
- 52 – Christopher Pinney, ‘The Civil Contract of Photography in India’, at ‘Delhi Photo Festival’, 29 September 2013, at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8KGP44XA9M8> (accessed 19 July 2016). The embedded plurality within the ‘photographic citizenry’ means that photography always includes aspects of ‘new beginnings’ and ‘unpredictable’ endings. Azoulay, *Civil Contract*, 96.
- 53 – Jones, *Number 2 Home*, 126.
- 54 – The legacies of these cultural translations remain evident in Broome today, particularly through the annual *Shinju Matsuri*, ‘Festival of the Pearl’, which originated

from three cultural festivals: Japanese Obon Matsuri, Malaysian Hari Merdeka (Independence Day from British rule in 1957), and Chinese Hang Seng.

55 – Bain, *Full Fathom Five*, 235.

56 – Peter Dalton, ‘Broome: A Multiracial Community’, PhD thesis, University of Western Australia 1964, 209; and Pearl Hamaguchi, oral history interview with Colin Davis, 1 January 2006, NLA.oh-5661-0008-0001.

57 – Jones, *Number 2 Home*, 71 and 84.

58 – Martin Fuchs, ‘Nobody Exists in One Context Only: Society as Translation’, *Translation Studies*, 2:1 (January 2009), 27.

59 – See de Man, “‘Conclusions’”, 25–46; and Jacques Derrida, ‘What Is a “Relevant” Translation?’, *Critical Inquiry*, 27:2 (Winter 2001), 174–201.

60 – Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London: Routledge 1994, 34.

61 – Fuchs, ‘One Context Only’, 26.

62 – Bain, *Full Fathom Five*, 301; and Jones, *Number 2 Home*, 134.

63 – Yuriko Nagata, ‘Gendering Australia-Japan Relations: Prostitutes and the Japanese Diaspora in Australia’, *Ritsumeikan Journal of Asia Pacific Studies*, 11 (March 2003), 71–84.

64 – Bain, *Full Fathom Five*, 91; and D. C. S. Sissons, ‘Karayuki-San: Japanese Prostitutes in Australia, 1887–1916—II’, *Historical Studies*, 17:69 (October 1977), 474–88.

65 – Jones, *Number 2 Home*, 126–27.

66 – ‘A Sojourner at Broome’, ‘Broome Bacchanal: Monte Carlo in the Nor-west’, *West Australian Sunday Times* (10 June 1900), 8.

67 – Sachiko Sone, ‘Japanese Pioneer Women Before 1901 with Special Attention to Prostitutes’, in *An Enduring Friendship: Western Australia and Japan – Past, Present, and Future*, ed. David Black and Sachiko Sone, Crawley: Westerly Centre 2009, 31–32.

68 – Jones, *Number 2 Home*, 137.

69 – Schaper, ‘Broome Race Riots’, 115.

70 – NAA PP92/1 1918/10 Yasukichi Murakami [bankruptcy], 520–21, 585, 638–40.

71 – ‘Hon Consul for Japan’, *Broome Chronicle* (4 June 1910), n.p.

72 – ‘Report on Japanese at Broome by OC AIC West Aust’, NAA MP84/1 1877/3/8.

There was, however, dissension within the Japanese community around the Club’s control of business opportunities. A second, more inclusive Japanese Club named Dobo Hakusaikai (Bretheren Club) opened under the Presidency of Y. Yamasaki in 1911, with reportedly four hundred members. Its formation followed a disturbance on New Year’s Eve at the original Japanese Club, when intruders broke partitions and chairs, pulled down the ‘Japanese Society’ sign, and wrote on it: ‘Japanese Club for all Japanese’. ‘A New Year Greeting’, *Broome Chronicle* (7 January 1911), n.p.

73 – NAA PP92/1 1918/10 Yasukichi Murakami [bankruptcy], 615.

74 – Ibid., 653–54.

75 – ‘Undesirable Japanese in Broome’, NAA A1 1921/15156.

76 – NAA PP92/1 1918/10 Yasukichi Murakami [bankruptcy], 725.

77 – Ibid., 656.

78 – Ibid., 822.

79 – Ibid., 823.

80 – Ibid., 126.

- 81 – Watanabe Kanjūrō, *Gōshū Tanken Hōkokuso*, Tokyo: Gaimusho Tsushokkyoku 1894.
- 82 – ‘Social. Mr and Miss Davis “at Home”’, *Broome Chronicle* (16 July 1910), n.p.
- 83 – ‘The Native Ceremony of “Make em man”’, *Broome Chronicle* (6 August 1910), n.p.
- 84 – Minoru Hokari, ‘Globalising Aboriginal Reconciliation: Indigenous Australians and Asian (Japanese) Migrants’, *Cultural Studies Review*, 9:2 (November 2003), 93.
- 85 – Taira Ogawa, *Arafura-Kai No Shinju*, Tokyo: Tōkyō Ayumi Shuppan 1976, 193. See also Hokari, ‘Globalising Aboriginal Reconciliation’, 91.
- 86 – Murakami moved to Darwin in 1936, establishing a photographic business. It is uncertain whether this photograph was taken near Darwin or Broome. Magpie geese are found in areas around both towns.
- 87 – Azoulay, *Civil Contract*, 11.
- 88 – *Ibid.*, 12.
- 89 – Pearl Hamaguchi oral history, NLA.oh-5661-0008-0001.
- 90 – Pearl Hamaguchi in Mayu Kanamori, ‘About Murakami’ <https://aboutmurakami.wordpress.com/tag/asian-australian/> (accessed 29 August 2016).
- 91 – Pearl Hamaguchi oral history, NLA.oh-5661-0008-0001.