

## Through Japanese Eyes: Ichiro Kagiya and Australian-Japanese relations in the 1920s and 1930s

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The activities of a little known Japanese photographer working in Sydney, Australia, during the early to mid twentieth century sheds new light on the photographic connections between Australia and Japan. The life and work of Ichirō Kagiya are important catalysts for rethinking dualistic relationships between the ‘West’ and the ‘East’, and developing an approach that allows for more nuance and complexity. Working directly with Australian photographers and tastemakers at a time when the so-called White Australia policy defined Australia as a racially exclusive country, Kagiya challenges expectations about the historical relationships between Australia and Japan. Kagiya’s work also illustrates the interrelationships between diverse forms of photography practice, from art and commercial photography to espionage, as well as close connections between the worlds of art, design, international trade and photography in 1920s and 1930s Sydney. As Kagiya’s photographs resist essentialist readings yet were framed when published by stereotypes of Japanese culture as traditional, feminine and decorative, they help to tease out a certain tension within Australian-Japanese relations in the lead up to the Second World War.

**Keywords:** *Harold Cazneaux (1878–1953), Kiichiro Ishida [Kiichirō Ishida] (1886–1957), Sydney Ure Smith (1887–1949), Ichiro Kagiyaama [Ichirō Kagiyaama] (ca. 1890–1965), Max Dupain (1911–1992), Japan, Australia, Sydney, Japanese-Australian relations, Pictorialism, The Home*

In November 1935, the Japanese photographer Ichiro Kagiyaama published the first of what was to become many Australian photographic spreads in the lifestyle magazine *The Home*.<sup>1</sup> Titled ‘Sydney – seen through Japanese Eyes’, this spread of fourteen crisp, sharply focused black and white photographs is a salute to modern Sydney, its iconic Harbour Bridge, shipping industry and bustling city. Kagiyaama’s photographs are praised in the brief introductory text for capturing the true ‘character of Sydney’.<sup>2</sup> Cars rush through busy streets lined with high-rise buildings, while electric tramlines mirror the sweep of the road overhead. The most dramatic photograph is Kagiyaama’s study of the British Medical Association Building on Macquarie Street, completed in 1930 (figure 1). Kagiyaama accentuates the soaring vertical lines and geometric finishes of the art deco architecture by framing it at a diagonal, which creates the impression of the building surging skywards. A window washer dangles precariously from a rope midway down as though the building is dragging him along for the ride.

Kagiyaama’s photographs were published at a time when the pages of *The Home* were replete with Japanese inspired motifs such as blossoms, fans, kimonos and umbrellas, which appeared in advertisements, artworks, fashion spreads, gardens, interior design and decorative arts. In this context, the headline ‘through Japanese eyes’ would have had significant appeal to readers, who would

have been familiar with the seductive image of Japan as an ancient land of cherry blossoms, temples and geishas propagated in the magazine. However, apart from the spread's attention-grabbing headline, no mention is made of Kagiya's Japanese heritage or its potential impact on his view of Sydney. Instead, Kagiya's photographs are described generally as the result of 'the discriminating eye of the artist and each picture is a perfect little composition'.<sup>3</sup> *The Home* is renowned for commissioning some of Australia's leading photographers, including Harold Cazneaux and Max Dupain,<sup>4</sup> to produce photographs that celebrate the modern, the beautiful and the stylish, and here Kagiya is counted amongst them.<sup>5</sup>

The tension between the broader stereotypes of Japanese culture that framed the reception of Kagiya's work in *The Home*, and his actual photographic practice offers a new perspective on the cultural relationships between Australia and Japan during this period. Kagiya's contributions to *The Home* and his participation in the Sydney photography scene of the 1920s and 1930s suggest that an interest in things Japanese in Australia – facilitated by the trade in Japanese prints and decorative arts – was also informed by often personal, direct relationships between Australians and the Japanese people with whom they lived and worked. Exhibiting in Salons in Australia and Japan, and participating as an active member in the Photographic Society of New South Wales (NSW) alongside Australian photographers while the White Australia policy was testing the Australian government's diplomatic relations with Japan, Kagiya reveals the ways in which individual experiences can challenge larger historical narratives structured around political, military and economic relations.<sup>6</sup>

Kagiyama's photography tells another important story about the productive networks connecting Australian and Japanese merchants, artists, publishers and photographers in 1920s and 1930s Sydney, and the operation of photography across the diverse domains of art, design, trade and espionage. Far from being simply the product of Orientalist fantasies, fashionable conceptions of Japan as an exotic, decorative and ancient land helped Australians to negotiate their increasingly fraught relationships with Japan as the Second World War drew nearer..

To date, very little research has been published on Kagiyama. Unlike his friend and fellow photographer Kiichiro Ishida, whose life and work in Australia and Japan have been made the subject of an international exhibition and catalogue, Kagiyama has proved more elusive.<sup>7</sup> Kagiyama did not leave behind an archive of written documents describing his work, and apart from the examples of his work that remain in *The Home* magazine, an album produced for a private commission and a handful of prints, very little of his work is known to exist today. A short artist's biography is included in Yuri Mitsuda's fascinating study of Ishida, and Kagiyama has been mentioned in several historical articles about Australian-Japanese relations that have stitched together some known fragments of his time in Sydney to propose an outline of his arrival and life in Australia.<sup>8</sup> In these histories, Kagiyama's photographs tend to be treated as transparent historical documents illustrating other narratives about the Japanese trading networks in Sydney, or ignored altogether. This article draws on immigration and personal documents not addressed in these histories, as well as

analyses of Kagiya's photographs and published photo-essays, to offer a fuller account of his life and work as a photographer in Sydney.

### *Coming to Australia*

Contrary to several secondary sources that estimate that Kagiya sailed to Sydney as a teenager in 1906 or 1907,<sup>9</sup> Kagiya recounted to Australian Immigration officials that he first landed on Thursday Island, located off the Cape York Peninsula in Queensland, as an infant with his parents.<sup>10</sup> Kagiya offered this account in an interview with Detective Inspector Maher in 1934 as part of his application under Australia's Immigration Restriction Act to return to Japan for a temporary visit that year. In an accompanying statutory declaration, he wrote that he was born in Gifu Prefecture, Japan in 1890. Kagiya's father Gitaro, who was a tinsmith, took work in the pearlshelling industry around Thursday Island.<sup>11</sup> Japanese people had been engaged in the pearlshelling industry at Thursday Island since the 1870s.<sup>12</sup> Between 1892 and 1893, when Kagiya says he would have been one or two years of age, the industry was expanding and as numbers of indentured labourers grew there was an increase in the Japanese population on the island. One hundred Japanese people arrived on Thursday Island in 1892, and this number more than doubled in 1893 to 264.<sup>13</sup> A report on pearlshell and beche-de-mer fishers noted that forty-six Japanese women and five children were amongst the inhabitants of Thursday Island in 1896.<sup>14</sup>

Kagiya explained that after his father died in 1897 or 1898, when he was around seven years of age, friends of his father took him to Mackay on the

eastern coast of Queensland.<sup>15</sup> At this time, Japanese people were being encouraged to move south from Thursday Island to Queensland's sugar growing regions, including Mackay. The increased numbers of Japanese travelling to Thursday Island eventually led to unemployment, and the Queensland government sought to solve the problem by relocating the unemployed to positions in the sugar industry. Immigration and maritime transport records for indentured labourers during this period are very patchy, but show several Japanese people living in Mackay, including some from Gifu. According to Kagiya, he spent fourteen years in Mackay, before moving to Adelaide for one year, and then Sydney in around 1913 where he was to remain resident until the Second World War forced him to return to Japan in the early 1940s. Although they could find no surviving records of Kagiya's formal registration in Sydney, Australian immigration officials charged with assessing his 1934 application concluded that there was 'no reason to doubt the bonafides of the applicant'.<sup>16</sup> However, it must be noted that there are inconsistencies in some of Kagiya's official documents produced in Australia; some suggest that Kagiya was born significantly earlier in 1882.<sup>17</sup> Current restrictions on accessing family documents in Japan make it impossible to verify which birthdate is correct at this time.

The difference in Kagiya's arrival date and location between that estimated by historians and that described by Kagiya himself in his statutory declaration has significant implications. Between the mid 1890s and 1907 Japanese people were subject to a very different set of immigration laws in Australia. Prior to Australian Federation in 1901, when the six separate self-

governing British colonies formed a single nation, these colonies adopted varying policies on immigration and international relations. Queensland was the only Australian colony to ratify the 1894 Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty. Despite Queensland Premier Hugh Nelson declaring to parliament in 1895 that Queensland should not sign, and despite significant opposition to the Treaty because its conditions would have allowed Japanese nationals rights of entry into the lands of all signatories, Queensland was ultimately lured by the promise of increased trade with Japan.<sup>18</sup> By 1898 there were 3,247 Japanese people living in Queensland.<sup>19</sup> It is telling that when Japan established its first consulate in Australia in March 1896, it chose to locate it in Townsville in northern Queensland – the region favoured by Japanese immigrants and indentured labourers.

The rate of Japanese arrival in Australia dropped dramatically in 1900 when the Queensland and Japanese Governments agreed to impose restrictions that limited the number of Japanese in Queensland to the 1898 level. During this period, anxieties about Japanese control over the pearlshelling industry were growing, and after Japan's successful war with China there was a fear that Thursday Island was in danger of becoming a Japanese colony.<sup>20</sup> Whereas Kagiama's arrival at Thursday Island coincided with a time of relatively relaxed travel requirements, after 1898 no Japanese was permitted to land in Queensland without a passport.

After Australian Federation, new legislation imposed additional restrictions on Japanese immigration. The Immigration Restriction Act 1901, generally known as a foundation for the White Australia policy, was one of the

first bills to pass the newly formed federal government. Written in response to a desire to protect the local labour market, the Act was also undoubtedly informed by racist ideologies. This Act placed restriction on the immigration of ‘coloured races’ to Australia, by requiring non-Anglo-European people to sit a convoluted dictation test in any European language. Restrictions on Japanese immigration were eased somewhat in 1904 when laws were changed to allow tourists, students and merchants from Japan to enter for one year on passports without being subject to the dictation test. Exemptions could be made through the Certificate of Exemption from the Dictation Test (CEDT), which allowed Japanese people to stay in Australia for up to three years. The date and circumstances of Kagiyaama’s arrival in Australia remain a mystery, however, despite the plausibility of his narrative to Australian immigration officials. Anecdotal evidence from Takayama, Kagiyaama’s home town, suggests that the photographer arrived in Australia illegally during his late teens and that this narrative may have been a fabrication to help ensure that he could remain in his new home. If Kagiyaama had arrived in Sydney as a seaman on a merchant vessel around 1907, as has been suggested, it is unlikely that he would have been permitted to stay because he was not a tourist, student or merchant.<sup>21</sup> The Immigration Restriction Act nonetheless significantly affected his movements, as his immigration documents reveal. Kagiyaama’s application to return to Japan in 1934, for example, involved an application for a CEDT and an account of his life, work and social networks in Australia, which today offer valuable insight into his biography.

### ***Kagiyama and Ishida in Sydney***

Kagiyama noted that he began his life in Sydney in the eastern suburb of Waverley. While employed as a laundry worker, presser and dyer, advertising his business in the *Sunday Times* under the name K. Yama in 1915, Kagiyama developed his interest in photography. He became a member of the Photographic Society of NSW around 1914, and participated in the group's regular outings to photograph scenic sites around Sydney. Two photographs of these outings, including one taken by Cazneaux, show a young, dapper Kagiyama posing with other members of the Photographic Society on the far left with his hefty camera bag over his shoulder (figure 2). As a regular at the Herbert Small Camera and Photographic Supply store in Sydney, Kagiyama found several friends and supporters in Sydney's photography community.<sup>22</sup> In December 1916, while still living in Cowper Street Waverley and working as a cleaner and presser, Kagiyama married a nineteen-year-old Australian woman named Cicelia Howard Walker in Woollahra, Sydney. The couple had a daughter who died in infancy and then a son, Harno, who was born in 1920. Their marriage ended twelve years later and divorce was finalised in 1934, shortly before Kagiyama's trip to Japan.

Both during and after his marriage, Kagiyama participated actively in the Sydney photography scene. In 1917, he exhibited two photographs at the Exhibition of Australian Pictorial Photography, again using the name K. Yama: *Evening on the Sand* and *Homeward*. Also included in this exhibition were J. E. Paton's *Study Japoneseque* and Cazneaux's *Japanese Blind*, which hinted at the broader interest in Japan and Japanese culture in Sydney at this time, as well as

the availability of Japanese goods, like bamboo blinds and porcelain, in Australian retail stores.

This larger interest in Japan provides important context for Kagiya's participation in the Photographic Society of NSW. From 1911, the popular Sydney-based *Harringtons' Photographic Journal* regularly included illustrated articles on the delights promised by Japan as a destination for the photographer, the latest Japanese photography journals and books, and reproduced Japanese inspired photographs such as Monte Luke's *The Girl in the Kimona* (ca. 1919) and Robert Holcombe's *Japanese Effect* (ca. 1918).<sup>23</sup> Luke's *The Girl in the Kimona* is a full-length portrait of an Anglo-European woman against a plain dark ground, which places her embroidered silk kimono and dramatic pose in stark relief. The *Harringtons' Photographic Journal* editors noted how the model's 'bend of the knees gives the true Japanese effect, and at the same time shows the graceful lines of the figure'.<sup>24</sup> Wearing chrysanthemums in her hair and clutching an arrangement of chrysanthemums and wheat, she embodies contemporary perceptions of Japan as the delicate, feminine and exotic 'Land of the Chrysanthemum', made famous decades earlier in Pierre Loti's book *Madame Chrysanthème* (1888).

Along with Cazneaux, Luke and Holcombe were members of the Sydney Camera Circle – an exclusive group dedicated to the advancement of Australian Pictorialism as an art. Pictorialism was popularised in Europe, the United States and Britain in the 1890s, and soon gained a following in Australia. Motivated by the desire to fulfill the artistic potential of photography, Pictorialists used various control processes including bromoil, carbon pigment, oil prints or gum

bichromate to subdue details, lower or raise tone and strengthen highlights.

Although Pictorialism has now become synonymous with formal qualities such as low-tone and soft focus ‘fuzzy’ effects, in early twentieth century Australia the term referred more broadly to the art of photography. The artistic potential of Australian photography was hotly debated in local journals from the period of Federation through to the 1920s. Figures like the editor of the *Australian Photographic Journal* A. J. Hill Griffiths discussed the possibility of developing a particularly Australian mode of Pictorialism, which reflected the specific ‘conditions under which the Australian photographer does his work’.<sup>25</sup> This interest in a national school of Pictorialism did not prevent practitioners such as Luke and Holcombe from exploring the concurrent fashion for Japanese decorative arts and costumes in their work; the two elements of Australian Pictorialism came together around the desire to develop the artistic potential of photography. Notions of aesthetic Japan and Japan as an artistic representation had been popularised in Australia, Britain and Europe since the 1870s, and as evinced by Luke’s *The Girl in the Kimona*, found a suitable home in Australian Pictorialist photography.<sup>26</sup>

Kagiyama was not the only Japanese photographer to find a place in Australian Pictorialism at this time. In 1919, Kagiyama met Kiichiro Ishida, a Japanese man who had recently transferred to Sydney as an employee of the Okura Trading Company, a subsidiary of Okura-Gumi. Ishida was one of a ‘new breed of company men’ in Japan who travelled around the world dealing with international trade, and were circulated to branch offices in ports in the region.<sup>27</sup> The nature of Ishida’s work meant that he lived in Sydney for a relatively short

period between 1919 and 1923. He brought a camera with him so that he could send snapshots home to his parents, but took up photography seriously after meeting Kagiya and receiving some lessons from his new friend. Kagiya invited Ishida to join the Photographic Society of NSW, and by 1920 Ishida was successfully entering his photographs in national and international competitions, exhibitions and salons including the tenth Tōkyō Shashin Kenkyūkai (Tokyo Photographic Study Group) and the 1920 London Salon.<sup>28</sup>

In return, Ishida provided Kagiya with introductions to Sydney's powerful Japanese trading networks, which proved useful in the coming years. Japanese firms such as Kuwahata, Kanematsu, Nakamura, and Iida all had offices in Sydney, and their senior merchants were well connected with the Japanese Consul and Sydney society.<sup>29</sup> Cremorne and the adjoining north shore suburb of Mosman became popular homes for the Japanese families living in Sydney. The son of one merchant, Kenji Hirodo, recalled his childhood in Sydney:

The Japanese community between the wars was considered a part of the social fabric of Sydney and as a result we played with the neighbourhood kids after school and at weekends without detecting the slightest hint of racism.<sup>30</sup>

The reputation of early-twentieth-century Australia as a xenophobic nation living in fear of the 'yellow peril' to its north, propagated in the pages of nationalist political magazines like *The Bulletin* and *The Lone Hand*, is likewise

not reflected in Kagiya's and Ishida's experiences in Sydney's photography community. Through the Photographic Society of NSW, Kagiya and Ishida came into contact with some of Australia's most well known Pictorialists including Cazneaux, Henri Mallard and James E. Paton. Ishida's work particularly impressed Cazneaux and others, and in April 1921 he was accepted as a member of the Sydney Camera Circle. Ishida was a much-loved member of these groups. President of the Photographic Society of NSW, D. J. Webster, encapsulated Ishida's dramatic rise to prominence when he described him as 'that photographic meteorite from the East that swooped down in our midst with hurricane suddenness'.<sup>31</sup> In another article dedicated to Ishida in *Harringtons' Photographic Journal*, Webster wrote glowingly of the photographer:

I do not know of one who is more versatile or more consistently prolific. [...] Those who know Mr. Ishida find him a polite and courteous gentleman, modest and retiring almost to the point of shyness. He is keen, enthusiastic and receptive, with an aesthetic temperament, that I am sure will carry him even higher up the pictorial ladder.<sup>32</sup>

Kagiya did not enjoy the same degree of critical success as Ishida. Only two months after Ishida gained membership to the Sydney Camera Circle, Kagiya also made an attempt to join by presenting the requisite number of six works for review at the group's meeting on 20 June 1921. However, the members in

attendance concluded that ‘this gentleman’s work was not up to standard’, and he was not invited to join them.<sup>33</sup>

Comparisons between Ishida’s and Kagiyaama’s works reveal some differences in their approach and technique, which may explain their differing levels of recognition. Ishida quickly became a master of the control processes that members of the Sydney Camera Circle admired, especially bromoil. This process is a development of oil printing, and involves bleaching a gelatin silver print, which hardens most in the darkest areas of the print, and remains absorbent in lighter toned areas. After being soaked in water, the softer gelatin in the highlights swells and repels the oily lithographic ink that is applied by brush to the damp print, while the darker zones absorb the ink. Bromoil accordingly allowed the Pictorialist photographers to control their photographs’ tonal range and eliminate detail, leaving a soft, matt surface.

Webster described Ishida as a pupil of Cazneaux, who was a bromoil expert, and noted that Ishida’s skilful handling of this process was a credit to his former teacher.<sup>34</sup> There is a softness and delicacy in Ishida’s bromoils such as *Morning Light* (1921) and *Landscape Penrith* (ca. 1920s) that is not as evident in the surviving examples of Kagiyaama’s work, several of which were in Ishida’s personal collection. Kagiyaama’s bromoil *Sunshine and Shadow* centres on two men sitting on a Sydney city park bench under the dappled light of a tree (figure 3). Their coats suggest that the photograph was taken during the cooler months, and Kagiyaama has used bromoil to accentuate the fresh atmosphere and the gentle sparkle of sunlight on the leaves of the tree above. In comparison to Ishida’s wintry scene of pedestrians on a busy city footpath *The Corner* (1923),

which reveals a light touch and precision work with the brush, Kagiya's work lacks the same degree of subtlety in the treatment of light and texture. Kagiya received a lacklustre critique for the bromoils that he contributed to the 1922 Exhibition of Camera Pictures by the Photographic Society of NSW. Webster was somewhat ambivalent about Kagiya's four bromoils, noting that they are 'all very good, but I have seen better things than any of them by K. Yama'.<sup>35</sup>

Kagiya's photograph *Shadow-Play* nonetheless reveals his interest in experimenting with different forms of composition (figure 4). As in Cazneau's own *Shadow Play* (ca. 1919) and Norman Deck's *Pattern* (ca. 1910–1920), Kagiya allows the ground to constitute well over half of the composition, so that the decorative effects of shadow patterning are key features of the photograph. Unlike these photographs by Cazneau and Deck, which focus on a garden and country road, Kagiya locates his shadow play in an urban driveway and footpath with a car parked in the background. The sharply focused decorative ironwork gate to the left and the shadow striped stony driveway that dominate the photograph contrast with the softly focused car at the centre top. The resultant complexity in Kagiya's composition and the variety of focal points and textures would have been at odds with the simplicity favoured by members of the Sydney Camera Circle.

Both Ishida and Kagiya exhibited their work in Japan as well as Australia during the 1920s, and were included regularly in the Tōkyō Shashin Kenkyūkai and exhibitions of the Japan Photographic Society, as well as having work published in *Asahi Camera*, the monthly report of the Japan Photographic Society. Ishida recommended Kagiya as a Fellow of the Japan Photographic

Society in 1925.<sup>36</sup> While maintaining their connections to Japan, Ishida and Kagiya also exhibited with the Photographic Society of NSW, and in Australian and international salons during the early 1920s.

It is pertinent that Australian journalists covering the 1922 and 1923 Salons of Photography in London described Ishida as part of the contingent of Australian exhibitors.<sup>37</sup> Webster likewise saw Ishida as ‘one of Australia’s leading pictorialists; [...] and when we consider that Australia has such camera artists as Cazneaux and Smith, of Sydney, Kauffman and Temple Stephens, of Adelaide, this is a great compliment to our little friend from Japan’.<sup>38</sup> Webster’s description of Ishida as ‘our little friend from Japan’ will likely sound patronising to contemporary readers, and suggests the perception of an unequal power relationship between the Australians and Japanese despite the respect and admiration that Ishida had earned. Upon Ishida’s return to Japan, *Harringtons’ Photographic Journal* published a ‘Farewell to Mr K. Ishida’ that referred to him as a ‘valuable friend’ of the Photographic Society of NSW.<sup>39</sup> The Sydney Camera Circle’s annual report for 1923 formally recorded that ‘his loss will be felt by us all’.<sup>40</sup>

Before he left Sydney, Ishida donated ten pounds to the Sydney Camera Circle and asked that in return each of the members give him some prints as a memento. He took twenty-five of their prints back to Japan, and exhibited fifteen of them at the Shiseido Gallery in Ginza in March 1924 alongside thirty-one of his own photographs. The Shiseido Corporation’s first President Shinzō Fukuhara opened this gallery in 1919, and under his leadership the company played a significant role in promoting photography and modern Japanese design

in the early twentieth century.<sup>41</sup> Ishida's exhibition was highly praised, and works by Sydney Camera Circle members were subsequently published in *Asahi Camera* in 1926 and 1927.<sup>42</sup>

### *Australia-Japan Relations in the 1920s and 1930s*

This photographic exchange between Australia and Japan facilitated by Ishida and Kagiya is compelling as it occurred in the context of ongoing diplomatic disputes between the two nations regarding the White Australia policy. A reviewer in *Australasian Photo Review* noted the incongruence between this immigration policy and Ishida's and Kagiya's participation in the 1922 Photographic Society of NSW exhibition:

By way of diversion, the White Australia policy in the dark-room seems to be in danger; I refer to the work of Messrs. K. Ishida and K. Yama. They have eyes to see and things to say, those men. [...] Very thoughtful work, gentlemen.<sup>43</sup>

These comments also reveal that in spite of living in Australia since infancy, Kagiya was viewed in this era of White Australia as legally and culturally Japanese.

Disputes between Australia and Japan over the White Australia policy remained heated throughout the early twentieth century. The historian Henry Frei describes: 'The immigration dispute with Australia from 1897 to 1921 fills nine thick volumes of documents in Japan's diplomatic Record Office'.<sup>44</sup> Hisakichi

Eitaki, the Japanese Consul in Sydney, explained his country's position in a letter to Australia's first Prime Minister in 1901:

The Japanese belong to an Empire whose standard of civilisation is so much higher than that of kanakas, negroes, Pacific Islanders, Indians, or other Eastern peoples, that to refer to them in the same terms cannot but be regarded in the light of a reproach, which is hardly warranted by the fact of the shade of the national complexion.<sup>45</sup>

These comments reveal how the Japanese government took offence at Japan's categorisation as a 'coloured race', but subscribed to the racist hierarchies that it felt underpinned the legislation. Despite the Japanese government's protests, the Australian government insisted upon protecting its labour market through strategies of racial exclusion.

Official relations between Australia and Japan were tested further when Japan continued to assert itself in the Pacific region, enjoying victories over China in 1895, Russia in 1905 and then gaining former German territories in the Pacific during the First World War. The Japanese Navy's defeat of the Russians at Tsushima received extensive attention in the Australian press.<sup>46</sup> This victory repositioned Japan as a mighty naval power, an impression that was reinforced by the visits of a Japanese naval training squadron to Australian ports in 1903 and in 1906, including six hundred officers and men. *The Sydney Morning Herald* published an editorial welcoming 'Our Japanese Guests' and supporting

Japan's emergence as a world power.<sup>47</sup> During the 1906 visit, tens of thousands of Melburnians visited the training ships and crowded into the city to catch a glimpse of officers in the naval parade.<sup>48</sup>

Government responses to Japan's growing naval strength were less enthusiastic. Three weeks after the Battle of Tsushima, soon to be Prime Minister Alfred Deakin expressed his concern that Australia was within 'striking distance of no less than sixteen foreign naval stations', noting that the strongest was Yokohama.<sup>49</sup> The then deputy Prime Minister, Allan McLean, similarly warned: 'We now find one of the great naval and military powers within a very short distance of our shores. That puts us in a very different position from that which we considered we occupied heretofore.'<sup>50</sup>

Such a view was certainly not unanimous, and Australians differed widely on how to respond to Japan's growing strength in the region. While some saw it as a threat, leading to its strategies of racial exclusion, others like Senator Edward Pulsford saw it as an opportunity for trade and other forms of mutually beneficial exchange.<sup>51</sup>

Frei argues that 'Australian Japanophobia rose to a crescendo at the Paris Peace Conference' of 1919 when Prime Minister William 'Billy' Hughes fought to quash the Japanese proposed racial equality clause in the League of Nations preamble, and 'secured the former German island possessions in the Western Pacific south of the Equator as a bulwark against Japan'.<sup>52</sup> Suspicion of Japanese intentions towards Australia caused significant diplomatic tension, so much so that during celebrations for the Emperor's birthday at the Japanese Consulate in

Sydney in 1920 a senior political dignitary, R.W. Caldwell, made an apology to the Japanese audience:

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my deep regret and shame at the recrudescence of anti-Japanese prejudice, which has taken place in Australia since the conclusion of the war. So many of the prognostications of anti-Japanese prophets were disproved by the faithful performance of her treaty obligations by Japan during the great struggle.<sup>53</sup>

The welcome of Kagiya into the Photographic Society of NSW around 1914 and then Ishida in 1919 reaffirm that Australian 'Japanophobia' was certainly not a universal condition. Indeed, the activities of these photographers and the fashion for Japanese inspired imagery co-existed with this sentiment in Australia, and played an important role in mitigating some of the anxiety about Japan's imagined imperialist ambitions.

In order to understand the co-existence of Australia's attraction to representations of Japanese culture and anxieties about growing Japanese strength, it is important to acknowledge Australia's particular historical, cultural and geographical relationship to Japan. There is ample evidence of the circulation of conceptions of Japan as an aesthetic, traditional, feminised 'other' in Australia between the 1860s and 1880s, particularly in response to Japanese exhibits at Sydney's and Melbourne's International exhibitions. *The Argus*

supplement for the 1880 Melbourne International Exhibition, for example, explained to uninitiated readers:

Oriental art takes on invariably the feminine type, whilst European art is essentially masculine. Those delicate porcelain wares in the Japanese court might have been turned out in all their fairy-like perfection by the hands of the dainty ladies who lounge on silken couches, sip fragrant tea from cups as slight as the shells of the seabird's eggs, and when they go abroad ride in Bath chairs of a grotesque Asiatic pattern.<sup>54</sup>

Musical theatre became another important forum for the propagation of stereotypes of Japan as a land of alluring geishas whose traditional virtues were being placed at risk by the penetration of the West.<sup>55</sup> These gendered stereotypes circulated to emphasise Japanese passivity and availability. In his study of representations of China and Japan in Australian theatre, Darryl Collins found that between 1845 and 1929 there were over eighty productions in Australia which directly or in part related to 'the East', including 'The Mikado', 'Madame Butterfly', 'The King's Dragoons' and 'The Geisha', which all involved stereotyped Japanese characters, especially demure yet enticing geishas.<sup>56</sup>

However, historians have commented on how simple dualisms opposing the civilised, modern, implicitly masculine, Western self with the uncivilised, exotic, traditional, feminine, Eastern 'other' are inappropriate when analysing Australia-Japan relationships.<sup>57</sup> Australia's isolated position as a British colony

in the Asia Pacific, Japan's imperialist activities in Asia and Meiji-era embrace of European models of modern industry and infrastructure, the recognition that Japan received from Britain and Australia as a great power, and Japan's attitudes of racial superiority towards other Asian countries, are amongst the many examples cited as evidence of how this binary model fails to reflect the geographic, cultural and political positions of Australia and Japan.<sup>58</sup>

The view that Japan was 'neither fully Oriental nor Occidental, neither Eastern nor Western', has existed alongside conceptions of the exotic East since the late 1870s.<sup>59</sup> Some commentators compared Japan and its cities to European and American ones. In his account of his travels in Japan in the late 1870s, published as *The Australian Abroad*, Melbourne journalist James Hingston described Japan as 'The Great Britain of the East' and Tokyo as 'the London of Japan'.<sup>60</sup> A reviewer of the Japanese exhibition at the 1880 Melbourne International Exhibition, also observed how 'The Japanese of to-day wish to be regarded as an Occidental rather than an Oriental people'.<sup>61</sup> Rather than subscribing to a simplistic self / other, East / West binary model, it is consequently important to develop a more nuanced approach to Australia-Japan relationships that acknowledges their contradictions and ambiguities.

As noted above, by the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Japan came to be recognised by Australians as a more immediate presence (and potential threat) than the picturesque subject of musical theatre. While Japan was described as part of the 'Far East' in Britain, in Australia the 'Near East' was perceived as a threat, actually located to its north. In one of a series of articles that he wrote for *The Japan Daily Mail* between 1895 and 1898

under the title ‘Australian Notes on Japanese Topics’, John Plummer accordingly contrasted British and Australian approaches to Japan in an article about Australia’s response to Japan’s growing military strength:

The United Kingdom, with its densely populated area, and its distance from the East, the possibility of being swamped by the populations of Oriental countries is a remote one – so remote that it need hardly be taken into account. With the vast area of Australian territory, at present barely fringed with settlements, lying over against the teeming populations of Eastern Asia, and in comparative proximity, the case is different. With us it is not a mere matter of sentiment or of racial prejudice, but the grave question of whether we shall preserve our existence as an Anglo-Saxon people [...] <sup>62</sup>

Plummer’s article also reveals how the distinct issues of geographic proximity, immigration and Japan’s military might at times merged in Australian attitudes to Japan.

After an initial period of anxiety about Japan’s growing naval power, Australian officials sought to build closer relations with Japan during the 1920s and 1930s in an attempt to bolster trade. In 1934, a senior government minister, John Latham, headed the ‘Eastern Mission’, which pursued a series of commercial and diplomatic aims with Japan. The Australian press reported on this goodwill mission, and the opportunities that awaited if old prejudices and

misunderstandings could be overcome.<sup>63</sup> Upon returning to Australia, Latham advised parliament that, 'it is inevitable that relations between Australia and the Near East will become closer and more intimate as the years pass'.<sup>64</sup>

### ***The Home and Australian Japonisme***

It was within this context of growing diplomatic and trade relations with Japan, that Kagiya's spread featured in *The Home* under the headline 'Sydney – seen through Japanese eyes'. Produced in Sydney by the artist, publisher and high profile figure in the Australian art world, Sydney Ure Smith,<sup>65</sup> *The Home* was launched in 1920 as a magazine that aimed to raise the tastes of Australians by presenting the best products and people using the best production values.<sup>66</sup> Ure Smith had a long-standing interest in Japan and Japanese culture, and promoted them through his publications. He was a supporter of the Australia-Japan Society, and socialised with Sydney's Japanese merchants, diplomats and Japanophiles.<sup>67</sup> The Japanese Consul in Sydney attended Australian art events at which Ure Smith spoke, such as the Society of Artists annual exhibition in 1922. Ure Smith was the President of that Society. As a guest at Japanese Consul events, including official celebrations of the Emperor's Birthday in 1930, 1931 and 1932, Ure Smith mixed with the Consul-General and senior Japanese merchants of Sydney, as well as figures like Arthur Sadler who was Professor of Oriental Studies at the University of Sydney between 1922 and 1947.<sup>68</sup> In 1935, Ure Smith undertook discussions 'with a Japanese authority' in the hope of leading to an exchange of Japanese and Australian art exhibitions.<sup>69</sup>

Between the 1920s and late 1930s, *The Home* worked actively to present Japan as a culture to be admired rather than a threat. Popular motifs, such as fans, cherry blossoms, umbrellas and kimonos, recurred in *The Home* in advertisements for travel, hosiery, and fashion spreads. The use of these motifs is part of a longer tradition of British and European interpretations of Japan known as *Japonisme*. Intimately linked to the growing availability of Japanese prints, fabrics and decorative arts in Europe during the late nineteenth century, *Japonisme* is a term that describes the interpretation of this Japanese art, fashion and aesthetics in Western culture from the 1860s in which Japan was typically presented as delicate, artistic, decorative, feminine and traditional.<sup>70</sup> A characteristic of British discourses on Japan from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century was the idea that Japan's Meiji-era modernisation belied the 'real' traditional Japan that persisted below the surface. Writing in 1894 in his book *Seas and Lands*, Edwin Arnold accordingly described how: 'Under the thickest lacquer of new ways, the antique manners and primitive Asiatic beliefs survive of this curious and delightful people [...]'.<sup>71</sup>

Japanese decorative arts had been available in Australia throughout much of the second half of the nineteenth century. An advertisement for David Jones and Company in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1861 promoted its sale of Japanese goods from 'Jeddo' (or Edo, now Tokyo) and other 'rare and elegant curiosities'.<sup>72</sup> Japanese importers and retailers like Numashima Jirobei in Melbourne helped to satisfy the market for Japanese goods during the boom years of the 1880s, and Mikado Bazaars opened in Perth and Sydney in the 1890s, with goods imported to the Sydney store by Komai Brothers and Co.

Japanese curios, umbrellas, paper lanterns, silk handkerchiefs, vases and porcelain tea sets began to appear much more frequently in Australian homes during the 1880s. Particularly popular were *sensu* (folding fans) and *uchiwa* (round fans); between 1882 and 1889 approximately 580,000 *sensu* and 480,000 *uchiwa* were imported to Australia.<sup>73</sup> Along with the enthusiastic reception of the Japanese Courts at the Sydney and Melbourne International exhibitions of the 1870s and 1880s, these and other Japanese goods helped to support the first wave of artistic *Japonisme* in Australia, which was evident in Charles Condor's paintings *Bronte Beach* (1888) and *A Holiday at Mentone* (1888), and Tom Roberts's portrait of *Mrs L. A. Abrahams* (1888). The popularity of Japanese imagery and design in *The Home* in the 1920s and 1930s is linked to another wave of *Japonisme*, in which Japan signified Sydney's new international outlook and expanding worldview as a modern trading city supported by direct professional and personal relationships with Japanese people.

Fans and umbrellas were particularly popular in Australia at this time as means of coping with the hot summer climate, and were readily incorporated into Australian scenes in *The Home*. The cover of the first issue of the magazine in 1920 featured a woman holding a Japanese umbrella, and was followed by several cover designs in the coming years inspired by Japanese woodblocks.<sup>74</sup> The cover of the summer 1921 issue, designed by Bertha Sloane, draws on the simplicity, crisp outlines and bright colours of Japanese woodblocks to image a stylishly dressed Australian woman enjoying time at the beach with her children (figure 5). She sits beneath a bamboo framed Japanese umbrella decorated with colourful blossoms that occupies the central focal point of the composition.

Dupain and Spencer Shier photographed Australian society ladies and models wearing kimonos or clutching sprigs of cherry blossom for *The Home*, while other articles promoted the art of Japanese floral arrangement.<sup>75</sup>

Reflecting the links between Australia's international outlook and this wave of Australian *Japonisme*, the prevalence of Japanese motifs in *The Home* was complemented by articles and photographic portraits of Japanese dignitaries, including Madame K. Inoue, the wife of the former Japanese Consul General in Australia, Count Kato, the Prime Minister of Japan, Japan's new princess Shigeko, Teru-no-Miya, and Iemasa Tokugawa, the first Japanese Minister to Canada and his family.<sup>76</sup> Cazneau took a number of jobs for *The Home* in the 1920s and 1930s to photograph the homes of significant figures in Australia-Japan relations. In the late 1920s, he travelled to Mikado Farm, the home of Hideo Kuwahata and a nursery specialising in Japanese plants established in Guildford, NSW. Kuwahata was a shipping providore and merchant, who conducted business in Sydney for over forty years and played host to countless visiting Japanese military and trade figures at Mikado Farm.<sup>77</sup>

Cazneau also photographed 'Rivenhall', the Japanese inspired home and garden of Arthur Sadler in the upper north shore suburb of Warrawee.<sup>78</sup> Sadler was a renowned collector of Japanese art and a writer on Japanese aesthetics, who had lived and worked as a teacher in Japan between 1901 and 1922. He married an Anglo-Japanese woman, Eva Botan Seymour, in 1916. In Japan, he actively participated in the Asiatic Society of Japan as a council member, and was awarded companion (Fifth Class) of the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun in 1919 for his services to teaching. His home in Sydney reflected his love of Japan.

Designed by the architectural firm Stafford Harman Buchanan and built in 1923, Rivenhall combined Tudor, Neo-Georgian, Italianate and Japanese architectural elements, including *Renji mado* (lattice windows). Sadler's home was decorated with Japanese prints and ceramics, and his garden featured a *Sukiya* (outdoor tea room), a lily pond and *Roji* (tea house garden).

Sadler shared his interest in Japanese prints and design enthusiastically, and lectured regularly at the University of Sydney and the Art Gallery of NSW on Japanese society, politics, art, drama, interior decoration, landscape design and religion. He also translated Japanese and Chinese histories, essays, poetry and novels into English, and wrote on Japanese art, architecture and garden design for *The Home* and *Art in Australia*, as well as articles in *The Sydney Morning Herald*.<sup>79</sup> Sadler's collection of Japanese prints was well known in Sydney. Local artists like Lionel Lindsay, Thea Proctor, Ethel Spowers, Paul Haefliger and Roy de Maistre, as well as Ure Smith, socialised with Sadler and were exposed to his collection. In 1923, Sadler loaned twenty-four ukiyo-e prints by Utamaro, Hiroshige and Hokusai to the Tyrell's Gallery *Woodcuts Exhibition*, which presented these Japanese prints alongside the work of European, US and Australian artists including Lindsay, Spowers and Margaret Preston. Readers of *The Home* were also able to witness the impact of Japanese woodcuts on Proctor's fashion illustrations and fan designs, and on Preston's still lifes.<sup>80</sup>

Proctor developed her interest in Japanese art while studying in London during the 1900s under Charles Condor. Preston also studied Japanese prints and Chinese painting in London and in Paris between 1912 and 1913. She visited Japan in 1934, and adapted the lessons learned from Japanese prints about

colour, outline and composition to Australian painting, incorporating Australian flowers and landscapes into her work. Unlike Preston, Spowers did not travel to Japan but integrated elements of composition and colour from Japanese prints into her designs. An issue of *The Home* in 1926 includes a caricature depicting Sadler showing Japanese prints to Proctor at the opening of Spowers's woodcut exhibition at Adrian Feint's Grosvenor Galleries in Sydney.<sup>81</sup>

This pervasive interest in Japan in Sydney during the 1920s and 1930s also affected photographers, and was evident amongst the more diverse work of several practitioners. Japanese umbrellas, weeping wisteria and foliage, blossoms, shoji screens and silhouettes were introduced into photographs such as W. S. White's *The Japanese Umbrella* (ca. 1922), Stanley Eutrope's *Winter's Curtain* (ca. 1928), Cecil Bostock's advertisement for Beau Monde Hosiery in *The Home Annual* (1936), Olive Cotton's *Plum Blossom* (1937), and Dupain's minimal still life with a magnolia and cicada, published in *The Home* in 1936. This catalogue of motifs more closely resembled prevailing European stereotypes of Japan than the work of Japanese photographers during this time. Similarly, the photographs by Japanese-Americans selected for inclusion in the 1928 Australian Salon of Photography by members of the Photographic Society of NSW and Sydney Camera Circle, including Hiromu Kira's *Water Plants Decoration*, Kaye Shimojima's geisha *Whisper*, and F.Y. Ogasawara's still life *Notan*, reflected popular perceptions of Japanese traditional culture, gardens and simplicity in design rather than its contemporary condition. Although these stereotyped modes of representing Japan contrast sharply with Kagiya's photography practice,

they played an important role in framing and delimiting the reception of his work in *The Home*.

### ***Kagiyama and The Home***

Kagiyama's skills and experience as a photographer, his connections with the Photographic Society of NSW and Japanese trading networks, and Ure Smith's interest in Japanese culture led to him being hired as a photographer for *The Home*. Ure Smith had sold the magazine to John Fairfax & Sons Ltd in 1934, but he continued to act as editor until 1938. By the time that Kagiyama was first published in *The Home* in 1935, he had seen his way through the Great Depression, opened his own commercial studio and was making a good living as a professional photographer. His clients included *The Sydney Morning Herald* and the Atlantic Union Oil Company, amongst other firms, and he reported his income as averaging at six pounds per week, which was slightly higher than the contemporary national wage average.<sup>82</sup>

This was also a period in which Kagiyama renewed his ties with Japan. In 1934, the year before he began work with *The Home*, Kagiyama made his first trip back to Japan since arriving in Australia. There he married a woman from Takayama, the town of his birth, named in Australian immigration documents as both Sadako and Sata. Immigration restrictions meant that she was not permitted to accompany her husband back to Australia or to stay indefinitely. Upon Kagiyama's return from this seven month long trip, the Japanese Consul applied on Kagiyama's behalf to have his new wife exempted from the dictation test to allow her entry into Australia, and the request was granted in 1935. Kagiyama

paid a substantial bond of one hundred pounds as part of this process, and thanks to his connections to the Japanese trading networks an unnamed ‘reputable Japanese merchant of Sydney’ accepted surety for that bond.<sup>83</sup> His wife eventually landed in Australia in August 1939.

Like his first contribution to *The Home*, Kagiyaama’s published photographs of Sydney and its suburbs, the Australian bush, and the properties of well-known graziers did not conform to the essentialist way of seeing by which they were initially introduced to readers. By this stage the soft Pictorialism seen in Kagiyaama’s work from the 1920s had been replaced with crisp, clear photographs of Sydney and its people, reflecting the modern photographic aesthetic favoured in *The Home*. In several photo-essays Kagiyaama contributed to the popular representation of well-known national Australian myths including the landscape tradition. Kagiyaama published a series of four gum tree studies in *The Home* in April 1937 titled ‘Gum-Arabesque’. Unlike the photographs of statuesque, monumental gums made famous by Cazneaux, John Kauffmann, Eutrope and John B. Eaton where large isolated trees are framed in full from a distance, two of Kagiyaama’s photographs look up into the swirling, twisted branches of the tree canopy. Another pair of photographs, titled ‘Gog and Magog’ after the mythological giants, were taken while Kagiyaama was standing close to the base of the enormous trees. Emphasis is on the variation in colour and tone in the trunk, accentuated by the heightened contrast and dappled light coming through the branches. Another issue includes Kagiyaama’s photographs of the Australia day parade in a spread titled ‘The March to Nationhood’.<sup>84</sup> Kagiyaama’s photographs centre on a surf life saving float topped with a

mythological sea monster and lined with rows of bronzed life-savers – icons of masculine, Sydney-centric Anglo-Australian nationhood in the 1930s.

Looking through the pages of *The Home*, one gains the impression of Kagiyaama as a roving photographer, wandering through the streets of Sydney and capturing its busy atmosphere. A survey of sixteen of Kagiyaama's photographs of Sydney's new apartment buildings features in 'Modernity in Flats', and reveals Kagiyaama's interest in working with framing devices and modes of composition associated with European modernist photography such as unusual viewpoints, cropping and different angles.<sup>85</sup> His photographs of Hampton Court Flats in Darlinghurst, Arderham Hall in Elizabeth Bay and Kingsley Hall in Darlinghurst are shot from ground level looking up and at oblique angles to create a sense of dynamism and monumentality. Night time photography is Kagiyaama's subject in 'The Night Falls on King's Cross Sydney', where he uses car headlights snaking along wide city streets lined with neon signs, and the glow emanating from art deco shop fronts, bars and cafes to create the impression of an exciting, vibrant capital.<sup>86</sup>

A double page spread of fifteen of Kagiyaama's photographs published in December 1937 is a particularly potent case study that speaks to the relationships between Kagiyaama's work, *The Home's Japonisme*, and the limits of Japanese representation in the magazine. The photographs published in 'Sydney to Scone by Car' were taken during a car trip through the Northern District of NSW, and featured the 'Belltrees' estate near Scone belonging to pastoralist Henry White, White's children, country roads, and views of Newcastle Harbour. The spread is a celebration of the Anglo-Australian pastoral tradition, industry and the freedom

promised by the car. During the interwar years, developments in modern transport and expanding road networks facilitated the urge to escape the ‘noise and city bustle’ and enjoy ‘the joy and freedom of a car-trip’.<sup>87</sup> Four of Kagiyaama’s photographs on the first page centre on the car and the road. Most effective are the two photographs taken from inside the car, so that the distant receding road, car bonnet and hood ornament of the Packard sedan structure the composition.

In one photograph, a flag in the style of the Union Jack is mounted behind the hood ornament, as cows cross the road in front moving from one fenced pasture to the next (figure 6). This photograph constructs an image of the triumph of British colonialism in Australia, where implicitly white British land ownership, mastery of the rugged landscape through agriculture, mechanical knowhow, and freedom meet self-assured style. There are also conventional landscape views looking out towards distant hills and structured by snaking rivers in this spread, and pastoral scenes of flocks of sheep being driven across a paddock by men on horseback. Other photographs, like one captioned ‘Impression of West Maitland’, are more experimental (figure 7). This photograph uses the bold diagonals of bridge ironwork as a structuring device for the composition that interrupts the distant view, and introduces an abstract element into the otherwise conventional landscape.

The most compelling aspect of this spread is what has been excluded in order to create this confident Anglo-centric vision. This series of photographs was produced as part of a private commission by Shigeyoshi Hirodo, the Japanese Managing Director of the trading firm K. Kanematsu (Aust.) Pty Ltd.

Hirodo hired Kagiya to accompany him on a journey to the places in NSW made meaningful to him during his thirty years living in Australia. As part of the commission, Kagiya produced a souvenir album of forty-seven gelatin silver prints, complete with captions, as a memento that Hirodo took back to Japan when he returned in January 1938. Whereas the album includes nine photographs of Hirodo and his Japanese companion often posing with his Australian friends and colleagues, there are no references to these Japanese connections in the spread in *The Home*.

In the photograph captioned 'At Newcastle' in the album, Hirodo and his Japanese colleague are dressed immaculately in three-piece suits and hats, and are photographed from a low vantage point to reinforce an impression of strength, self-assured confidence and power (figure 8). Hirodo looks towards the camera with his hand in his pocket while his companion stares masterfully into the distance. Their Anglo-Australian driver is in the background, and their luxury car is positioned in the lower right corner so that the classic Packard winged goddess hood ornament gleams in profile. The exclusion of this and other photographs of Hirodo and his Japanese companion from *The Home* may have been the result of Kagiya's desire to protect his client's privacy as much as an editorial decision, but the effect was to foreclose on a controversial subject regarding Australian-Japanese relations during the 1930s in order to maintain the Anglo-centric pastoral mythology and penchant for stereotyped conceptions of passive, feminine and decorative Japan propagated in *The Home* more broadly.<sup>88</sup>

The wool trade in which Hirodo participated as a highly successful merchant formed a key part of Australian-Japanese relations in the early

twentieth century, and had important historical implications that may also explain this exclusion. Closely connected to Japan's imperialist ambitions in Asia as well as changes in Japanese Meiji era fashions, the wool trade developed significantly during the period of the First Sino-Japanese War, which created an enormous demand for wool uniforms, blankets and coats. Victorian and NSW wool exports to Japan increased by over 1,500% between 1893 and 1895.<sup>89</sup> Over the coming years, the Japanese government experimented with wool production in order to lesson their dependence on imported wool. Japanese military officials visited Australian wool farms and several lines of sheep were bought from Australia, but the sheep failed to thrive and produce high quality fleece in either Japan or Japanese territories in northeast China.

In response to Japan's growing desire for increased knowledge of the wool industry, Hirodo arrived in Sydney in 1908 at the age of twenty-four to begin a wool-classing course at Sydney Technical College. He was the first Japanese person to enrol in this course. As part of his studies, Hirodo was required to complete a period of work experience on a sheep station. Although this was not a problem for his fellow Anglo-Australian students, the College had trouble finding a placement for a Japanese man so soon after Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War had generated anxiety in Australia about its imperialist ambitions in the Pacific.<sup>90</sup> Graham Eccles describes this difficulty in his account of Hirodo's life: 'Mindful of the prevailing white Australia sentiment in the bush and the violent clashes a decade earlier with the pioneering shearers' union, station owners wanted no trouble in their shearing sheds'.<sup>91</sup> After seeking help from Toranosuke Kitamura, the manager of Kanematsu and the leading buyer of

Australian wool, Hirodo found a placement at Belltrees, a 220,000 acre property run by Henry Luke White and his three brothers. The White family had some existing connections with Japan. It had previously exported hundreds of sheep as well as several thoroughbred mares to Japan, and following a trip to Japan Arthur White and his wife built a home at Belltrees and named it 'Kioto' [*sic*].<sup>92</sup> Years after his successful placement, Hirodo told his family that he owed his career to Mr Kitamura and Henry Luke White.<sup>93</sup> A portrait of the late Henry White appears on the first page of Kagiya's photo album. Kagiya's photographs of Belltrees and Hirodo posing with White's sons and their children suggest that Hirodo had maintained contact with this farming family during his three decades in Australia.

After completing his course, Hirodo gained employment at Kanematsu as a clerk in the wool department. By the time the First World War broke out in 1914, Hirodo had earned the status of wool buyer and by 1923 he was the firm's chief buyer. This position came with immense responsibility. For the year ending 1923, Kanematsu traded in 60,288 bales of wool valued at £1.16 million. Its wool trade reached 245,538 bales in 1936, worth £4.14 million.<sup>94</sup> In 1934, Hirodo was called back to Japan for six months to participate in talks with his firm and the Japanese government, which sought his comments on the flocks of sheep that had been established by the Japanese on farms in Manchukuo, northern China.

To appreciate the significance of the exclusion of Hirodo from Kagiya's spread in *The Home*, it is crucial to acknowledge that publication occurred between two key historical events: the Australian-Japanese wool trade

dispute and the Second Sino-Japanese War. The first event began in 1936 when, in response to pressure from Britain, the Australian government introduced a Trade Diversion policy aimed at protecting Britain's textile industry from Japanese competition in the British Empire. The Japanese were unwilling to agree to Australia's request to reduce its exports of cotton goods to Australia, and in response the Australian government imposed very steep duties of sixty-eight to eight-five per cent on Japanese cotton textiles and forty per cent on its rayons. The Japanese government reacted by imposing import restrictions on Australian beef, wheat and dairy products, and Japanese buyers boycotted the Australian wool sales for six months.<sup>95</sup> The wool dispute was resolved in 1937, but after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War that year, anti-Japanese sentiment in Australia began to rise further.

Torao Wakamatsu, the Consul General of Japan who arrived in Australia in February 1937 to help finalise the details of the Japan-Australia Trade Arrangement, discussed his disappointment at Australia's reaction to 'the unfortunate China Incident', and what he described as propaganda, false reports and misunderstandings propagated in the Australian press including notorious photographs reportedly showing Japanese soldiers using Chinese prisoners for bayonet practice. In his farewell speech to the Japan-Australia Society, Wakamatsu was critical of how this coverage resulted in 'public movements to boycott Japanese goods, in refusals by wharf labourers to load Japanese ships, and in other forms that threatened to disturb the friendship between the two countries'.<sup>96</sup>

The absence of Hirodo from Kagiya's photographs in *The Home* ensured that any reference to these conflicts and anti-Japanese sentiment would also be excluded. Direct references to Japan and Japanese culture in this issue were limited to descriptions of 'the simplicity of the Japanese style' by a US interior designer, and praise for its role in informing modern art.<sup>97</sup> Although references to contemporary Japan and Australian-Japanese political and economic relations were largely excluded from the magazine at this time, much less politically loaded images of ancient, traditional Japan continued to feature. An earlier issue in 1937 included a portrait attributed to Dupain of Torao Wakamatsu's wife, which differed significantly from *The Home's* other portraits of Japanese dignitaries and their families (figure 9). Rather than being dressed in fashionable Western style clothing, Wakamatsu was photographed in a kimono, crouching or sitting on a low stool so that a spray of wisteria on the screen behind her provided a decorative backdrop. In contrast to the accompanying portrait of the Belgian Consul's wife, who smiles directly into the camera, Wakamatsu's gaze is turned modestly downward and to the right. A small, delicate kimono-clad figurine, likewise looking to the right amid weeping wisteria flowers, was reproduced as an inset image. Together, these photographs reinscribe classic conventions of European *Japonisme* in which the image of the doll-like woman in a kimono acted as a metonym for traditional, feminised, artistic Japan that could be readily adopted and consumed by Western women.<sup>98</sup>

The consumption of Japan as style was repeatedly encouraged in *The Home* during this period. The cover of the June 1937 issue centres on a dramatic Japanese inspired hair style, while inside, portraits of young Australian society

women posing with wisteria and cherry blossom invoke Japanese motifs to enhance the impression of their gentle, feminine beauty. Safely contained as a traditional, feminised and artistic culture, Japan posed no threat in *The Home*. After news reports of Japanese atrocities in Nanking spread throughout Australia in December 1937, there was a notable reduction in Japanese imagery in *The Home*. Kagiya continued to make his innocuous, Sydney-centric contributions until mid 1938 – the same year that Ure Smith ended his connection with the magazine.

### ***Photography and the fear of Japanese espionage***

*The Home*'s innocence of contemporary politics is at times startling. Some of Kagiya's photographs reproduced in this journal focused on sites that were later to become especially sensitive, including the Port at Newcastle, Fort Denison, Bradley's Head, and the Sydney navy base at Garden Island – the site where the HMAS Kuttabul was sunk by a Japanese submarine in May 1942. Although there is no evidence that Kagiya's photographic activities were used for espionage, it is unusual that the reproduction of these photographs of sensitive sites in *The Home* did not attract the attention of authorities.

Photographers had long caught the eye of those concerned about Japanese intentions towards Australia. One Japanese diplomat commented on the suspicion with which Japanese photographers were treated in Australia in the early twentieth century: 'If they see our tourists taking photographs in the streets, they immediately think that they are spies. They fear Japan in the way you fear a bogeyman in the dark'.<sup>99</sup> During the 1920s and late 1930s, the Australian

Department of Defence kept a close eye on Japanese activities in Australia, and photographers were placed under particular scrutiny. Captain Longfield Lloyd, a member of Australian Army Intelligence, commented on what he described in 1920 as ‘an epidemic of photography by the officers of Japanese vessels in Sydney’ at the end of the First World War. These officers were typically placed under surveillance, and if they were seen photographing within the Port of Sydney, the War Precautions Act was invoked to seize their cameras, destroy their negatives and forward the empty cameras to the Japanese Consul-General with a written reprimand for the Captain and crew. Longfield Lloyd was concerned that ‘with constant photography on the part of almost every Japanese officer who comes to the port, some negative at least would be valuable to an Intelligence Bureau engaged in building up a complete system of local knowledge’.<sup>100</sup>

Captain E. L. Piesse, who headed the Pacific Bureau of the Prime Minister’s Department when it formed in the early 1920s, felt that Longfield Lloyd was over-reacting. Piesse’s memorandum to the Secretary of the Prime Minister's Department, written on 31 August 1920, asserts that Japanese photographers were no threat:

In their fondness for Kodaks, Japanese abroad are not behind American tourists, and everywhere they show an alert interest in anything that is new to them. These qualities would have sufficed, without any ulterior purpose to gain for them the reputation for espionage which they now enjoy throughout the East [...]. Accepting

the presumption that espionage is being carried on, what is its significance?

Piesse concluded that although Japan may be collecting information about strategic Australian sites, 'it does not follow that she is getting it for use in a plan of aggressive attack against us'.<sup>101</sup> Australian fears of attack, according to Piesse in 1920, were based on a misconception that the Japanese were an aggressive people with designs on Australia. However, Piesse changed his view by the mid 1930s when the international situation had changed so dramatically. Then, Piesse warned that 'a newly militarized Japan had indeed become a direct threat to Australian security'.<sup>102</sup> Reflecting this anxiety, the Australian press featured many articles about 'spy mad' Japan during the 1930s, escalating in the later 1930s to stories of Japanese spy networks in Russia, China and the USA, and sketchy reports about Japanese spies operating in Australia.<sup>103</sup>

This atmosphere of paranoia also enveloped Kagiya. Drawing on the recollections of three of Kagiya's elderly Japanese friends, Mitsuda writes that, 'As a photographer, he [Kagiya] had been approached by the Japanese army to work as a spy and this he did'.<sup>104</sup> There is little available evidence to either confirm or refute this assertion. Kagiya was placed under surveillance by Australian security authorities in 1938, but not because of his photography. A neighbour who operated a tobacco kiosk under Kagiya's King's Cross flat reported his suspicious behaviour. The witness said that between October and December 1938, Kagiya would leave a parcel on his doorstep between 8 and 8.10am each morning. The parcel was then collected by another Japanese man

between 8.45 and 9am the same day. Containing wax cylinders for sound recordings, reportedly of radio broadcasts from Tokyo, the contents were deemed to be cause for no further action. The relevant Australian security report conceded that there was a possibility that coded messages were being exchanged through the cylinders but they were powerless to prevent it.<sup>105</sup>

As the Pacific War grew nearer, many Japanese merchants and diplomats returned home, leaving those Japanese that remained to be interned. Kagiya left Australia with his new wife on 15 August 1941 on board the Japanese repatriation ship the *Kasima Maru*, to live initially in Yokohama before opening a photography studio in Takayama in the 1950s. Had they remained in Australia, they would have been arrested and interned in one of several wartime internment camps where those classified as ‘enemy aliens’, including people of Japanese, German and Italian origin, were kept until the end of the War. Thousands of men, women and children were interned, with little regard for the length of their previous residency in Australia or the contribution that they may have made to Australia prior to the war.<sup>106</sup>

Kagiya’s contributions to Australian photography – along with the interest in Japan evident in the Photographic Society of NSW and *The Home* – highlight the crucial importance of rethinking myths of early-twentieth-century Australian visual culture as the product of Anglo-European practitioners and influences. The complexity of Kagiya’s photography, which operated across multiple fields including the worlds of art, design, commerce and trade, also underscores the particular significance of photography as a means of mediating personal, political, social and cultural relationships between Australia and Japan

between the world wars. Building on interpretive approaches to *Japonisme*, this article has revealed that stereotypes of a decorative, feminine and traditional Japanese culture were not simply the product of whimsical imaginings about a distant, exotic land, but were a means of reconciling more complex, direct, personal relationships between Australian and Japanese people with the often tense political and historical contexts in which they lived and worked. Such an appreciation of photography's intricate connections to social, cultural and political life not only promises to enrich the history of Australian visual culture, but provides an effective model for analysing the complexities of intercultural visual relations more broadly.

### **Illustration Captions**

Figure 1. Ichiro Kagiya, *B.M.A. Macquarie St*, ca. 1935, from 'Sydney through Japanese Eyes', *The Home* (November 1935), 38–39.

Figure 2. Harold Cazneaux, *Photographic Society New South Wales members*, sepia photograph, 1915. National Gallery of Australia, Canberra. Gift of Cazneaux family 1984.

Figure 3. Ichiro Kagiya, *Sunshine and Shadow*, bromoil print, 1926. The Shoto Museum of Art, Tokyo.

Figure 4. Ichiro Kagiya, *Shadow-Play*, gelatin silver print, 1926. The Shoto Museum of Art, Tokyo.

Figure 5. Bertha Sloane, designer, cover design for *The Home* (December 1921).  
Monash University Library.

Figure 6. Ichiro Kagiya, *Along the Maitland Road*, silver gelatin print, from an *Album of photographs of Belltrees and surrounds, with the family of A. H. White*, ca. 1937. State Library of NSW, Sydney, a9831038. Reproduced as Ichiro Kagiya, *Along the Maitland Road*, from 'Sydney to Scone by Car', *The Home* (December 1937), 52.

Figure 7. Ichiro Kagiya, *View of West Maitland*, silver gelatin print, from an *Album of photographs of Belltrees and surrounds, with the family of A. H. White*, ca. 1937. State Library of NSW, Sydney, a9831034. Reproduced as Ichiro Kagiya, *Impression of West Maitland*, from 'Sydney to Scone by Car', *The Home* (December 1937), 53

Figure 8. Ichiro Kagiya, *At Newcastle*, silver gelatin print, from an *Album of photographs of Belltrees and surrounds, with the family of A. H. White*, ca. 1937. State Library of NSW, Sydney, a9831040.

Figure 9. Max Dupain, *Mrs. T. Wakamatsu, wife of the Consul General of Japan*, 1937, published in 'Consul's Wives', *The Home* (October 1937), 58.

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1 – In this article, Japanese names are presented with the family name last to reflect how they were used in Australia, rather than according to Japanese conventions of placing the family name first. Other than first usage, macrons have also not been used to reflect usage in the Australian context.

2 – ‘Sydney – Seen through Japanese Eyes’, *The Home* (1 November 1935), 38–39.

3 – *Ibid.*, 38.

4 – For studies of these Australian interwar photographers see Helen Ennis, *Cazneaux: The Quiet Observer*, Canberra: National Library of Australia 1994; *Harold Cazneaux: Artist in Photography*, ed. Natasha Bullock, Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales 2008; Gael Newton, *Max Dupain*, Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales 1980; Helen Ennis, *Max Dupain: Photographs*, Canberra: Australian National Gallery 1992.

5 – An advertisement for *The Home* in *Art in Australia* (March 1929) proclaimed ‘Modernism has reached Australia’. This advertisement defined the magazine’s brand of modernism in terms of contemporary Australian lifestyle, rather than the political interests evident in some aspects of European modernist avant-garde art and photography: ‘The wave of modernism which has flooded the intellectual centres of civilised countries has penetrated Australia. It is already perceptible in

its art, its music, its architecture, its household furniture and decoration, its literature, its photography and its landscape gardening’.

6 – For other examples of this approach, see Paul Jones and Vera Mackie, ‘Introduction: Relationships, 1870s–1950s’, in *Relationships: Australia and Japan, 1870s–1950s*, ed. Paul Jones and Vera Mackie, Melbourne: University of Melbourne and RMIT Publishing 2001, 1–13; *Changing Histories: Australia and Japan*, ed. Paul Jones and Pam Oliver, Clayton: Monash Asia Institute 2001; *Unexpected Encounters: Neglected Histories Behind the Australia-Japan Relationship*, ed. Michael Ackland and Pam Oliver, Clayton: Monash Asia Institute 2007; Noreen Jones, *Number 2 Home: A Story of Japanese Pioneers in Australia*, Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press 2002.

7 – Yuri Mitsuda, *Modernism / Japonism in Photography 1920s–40s: Kiichiro Ishida and Sydney Camera Circle*, Tokyo: Shoto Museum of Art 2002. Born in Masuda, Japan, in 1886, Kiichiro Ishida worked for the Okura-Gumi Trading Company in Tokyo from 1910. He was transferred to Sydney in 1919 where he began to learn more about photography and participate actively in Sydney’s photography community. He returned to Japan in 1942, and lived in China between 1938 and 1942 where he worked as Northern China director of Okura-Gumi Company. Throughout this time he continued to produce new photographs, exhibiting them in Japanese and international exhibitions. After returning to his home town of Masuda in 1945, he was elected Mayor in 1952 and remained in that role until his death in 1957.

8 – Ibid., 198; Graham Eccles, *Hirodo: The Hirodo Family’s Century of Involvement in Japanese-Australian Wool-Buying History*, Melbourne: Snap

2009; Pam Oliver, 'Japanese Relationships in White Australia', *History of Australia*, 4:1 (2007), 5.1–5.20; Pam Oliver, *Raids on Australia: 1942 and Japan's Plans for Australia*, North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing 2010, 88, 93, 169–70.

9 – Oliver, 'Japanese Relationships in White Australia', 5.6; Eccles, *Hirodo*, 43; Mitsuda, *Modernism / Japonism in Photography*, 21 and 198–99; Beth Hise and Pam Oliver, 'Kiichiro Ishida', *Insites* (Summer 2003), 4.

10 – New South Wales Branch Department of Immigration, 'Ichiro Kagiya [Applicant for Exemption from the Dictation Test under the Immigration Act and for Admission of His Wife into the Commonwealth], 1934–5', National Archives of Australia, SP42/1 C1934/4618.

11 – Ibid.

12 – See Regina Ganter, 'The Wakayama Triangle: Japanese Heritage of North Australia', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 23:61 (1999), 55–63; J. P. S. Bach, 'The Pearlshelling Industry and the "White Australia" Policy', *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand*, 10:38 (1962), 203–213; J. Armstrong, 'Aspects of Japanese Immigration to Queensland before 1900', *Queensland Heritage*, 2:9 (1979), 3–9; D. C. S. Sissons, 'The Japanese in the Australian Pearling Industry', *Queensland Heritage*, 3:10 (1979), 8–27; Yuichi Murakami, 'Civilised Asian: Images of Japan and the Japanese as Viewed by Australians from the Early Nineteenth Century to 1901', PhD thesis, University of Queensland 1999, 115.

13 – D. C. S. Sissons, 'Australian-Japanese Relation – the First Phase 1859–91', (Department of International Relations: Australian National University [1980]),

18; 'Pearlshell and Beche-De-Mer. Report on the Fishers', *The Brisbane Courier* (24 November 1897), 5; Murakami, 'Civilised Asian', 166.

14 – 'Pearlshell and Beche-De-Mer', 5.

15 – Department of Immigration, SP42/1 C1934/4618.

16 – Ibid.

17 – Kagiya's marriage certificate lists him as being thirty-four years of age in 1916, and the birth certificate of his son lists him as thirty-eight years of age in 1920. These documents also contain several misspellings: Kagiya's name is spelled Ichivo and Ichiro, his home town is listed as Kakayama instead of Takayama, and his mother's name is spelled both as Jaka Iccara and Taka Ievara in the marriage certificate and the official registration of the marriage.

18 – Luke Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press 1994, 161; Armstrong, 'Aspects of Japanese Immigration', 6.

19 – Armstrong, 'Aspects of Japanese Immigration', 4.

20 – 'Pearlshell and Beche-De-Mer', 5; Henry Frei, *Japan's Southward Advance and Australia*, Carlton: Melbourne University Press 1991, 80–81.

21 – Hise and Oliver, 'Kiichiro Ishida', 4. Oliver proposes that despite these restrictions, Kagiya would have been able to stay in Sydney if he was well connected with Sydney trading firms and the Japanese Consulate. Oliver, *Raids on Australia*, 88. However, according to Kagiya's own statutory declaration, he was still living in Queensland in 1907.

22 – The manager of Herbert Small acted as a referee for Kagiya in his application for a CEDT in 1934, noting that Kagiya had been a regular customer at the store for eighteen years.

23 – See, for example, ‘From all Quarters’, *Harringtons’ Photographic Journal* (22 February 1911), 59; Rita Broughton, ‘Snapshots in Japan’, *Harringtons’ Photographic Journal* (22 April 1911), 110; Neville A. Tooth, ‘A Camera in Japan’, *Harringtons’ Photographic Journal* (22 December 1911), 380–81; ‘New Books’, *Harringtons’ Photographic Journal* (22 August 1919), 258; C. Taylor, ‘Snapshots on Japan’, *Harringtons’ Photographic Journal* (22 April 1914), 119 and 132; ‘Our Illustrations’, *Harringtons’ Photographic Journal* (20 August 1919), 242 and 249.

24 – ‘Our Illustrations’, 242.

25 – A. J. Hill Griffiths, ‘A Letter from Australia’, *Photograms of the Year 1901*, London: Dawbarn & Ward 1902, 29. For more on Australian Pictorialism see Gael Newton, *Silver and Grey: Fifty Years of Australian Photography 1900–1950*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson 1980; Francis Ebury, ‘Illuminating the Subject: Towards a Distinctive Australian Pictorial Photography’, *History of Photography*, 26:1 (2002), 34–41; Melissa Miles, *The Language of Light and Dark: Light and Place in the History of Australian Photography*, Montreal: McGill Queen’s University Press 2015.

26 – ‘The Artistic Jap’, *The Advertiser* (23 January 1902), 6; Lionel Lambourne, *Japonisme: Cultural Crossings between Japan and the West*, London and New York: Phaidon 2005, 109. Miya Mizuta argues that the Japanese government strategically cultivated the impression of Japan as an artistic, feminised nation at

the 1904 Saint Louis Fair as a façade that the imperialist nation could hide behind as it advanced militarily into other parts of Asia. Miya Mizuta, “‘Fair Japan’: On Art and War at the Saint Louis World’s Fair, 1904’, *Discourse*, 28:1 (2006), 28–52.

27 – Frei, *Japan’s Southward Advance and Australia*, 118.

28 – Mitsuda, *Modernism / Japonism in Photography 1920s–40s*, 192–195.

29 – Pam Oliver, ‘Interpreting “Japanese Activities” in Australia, 1888–1945’, *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, 36 (May 2002), available at <https://www.awm.gov.au/journal/j36/oliver.asp>; accessed 12 January 2014.

30 – Graham Eccles, ‘The Hirodo Story: A Three Generational Family Case Study of Bi-Cultural Living’, in *Unexpected Encounters*, ed. Ackland and Oliver, 139.

31 – D. J. Webster, ‘Photographic Society of New South Wales’, *Harringtons’ Photographic Journal* (1 November 1922), 14.

32 – D. J. Webster, ‘Mr K. Ishida’, *Harringtons’ Photographic Journal* (1 September 1922), 23.

33 – In 1921, the Sydney Camera Circle had only fourteen members including Ishida. Those in attendance at the meeting with Kagiya were Ishida, Henri Mallard, W. S. White, James Paton, Monte Luke, Edgar Poole, Stanley Eutrope, Arthur Ford and D. J. Webster. Sydney Camera Circle meeting minutes, 20 June 1921. ‘Minute books 1921–1978’, *Papers of the Sydney Camera Circle*, Art Gallery of NSW Library, MS 1977.1.

34 – Webster, ‘Mr K. Ishida’, 23.

35 – Webster, ‘Photographic Society of New South Wales’ 15.

36 – For more on Ishida’s and Kagiya’s participation in Japanese photography exhibitions, see Mitsuda, *Modernism / Japonism in Photography*, 194–95 and 198.

37 – ‘Salon of Photography’, *Examiner* (10 September 1923), 4; ‘General Cable News’, *The West Australian* (10 September 1923), 7; ‘Salon of Photography’, *Northern Star* (10 September 1923), 5; ‘Photography. Australians’ Good Work’, *Daily Herald* (16 September 1922), 5.

38 – Webster, ‘Photographic Society of New South Wales’, 14.

39 – ‘Farewell to Mr K. Ishida’, *Harringtons’ Photographic Journal* (1 October 1923), 27.

40 – Sydney Camera Circle, ‘Annual Report for 1923’, *Papers of the Sydney Camera Circle*, Art Gallery of NSW Library, MS 1977.1.

41 – Shinzō Fukuhara was also a well-known photographer, and together with his brother Rosō established the Shashin Geijitsu-sha in 1921. See Yoshiharu Fukuhara, Kotaro Sugiyama, Kotaro Iizawa and Noriyoshi Sawamoto, *The Light with Its Harmony*, Tokyo: The Watari Museum of Contemporary Art 1992; Gennifer Weisenfeld, ‘Selling Shiseido: Cosmetics Advertising and Design in Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Japan’, MIT Visualizing Cultures, 2010, [http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/shiseido\\_01/sh\\_essay01.html](http://ocw.mit.edu/ans7870/21f/21f.027/shiseido_01/sh_essay01.html); accessed 2 September 2014.

42 – Mitsuda, *Modernism / Japonism in Photography*, 25.

43 – Alek Sass, ‘Old Friends and New: A Ramble through the Exhibition of Camera Pictures by the Photographic Society of New South Wales’, *Australasian Photo Review*, 29:11 (15 November 1922), 553–56.

44 – Frei, *Japan's Southward Advance and Australia*, 83.

45 – This letter was published in H. Eitaki, 'Japanese Invasion: View of the Consul', *The Brisbane Courier* (3 July 1901), 7. For more on the Japanese response to the White Australia policy see Yuichi Murakami, 'Australia's Immigration Legislation, 1893–1901: The Japanese Response', in *Relationships: Australia and Japan*, ed. Jones and Mackie, 45–70; Alison Broinowski, 'About Face: Asian Representations of Australia', PhD thesis, The Australian National University 2001.

46 – See, for example, 'The Battle of Tsushima', *Morning Bulletin* (30 June 1905), 3; 'Togo's Tsu-shima Triumph', *The Mercury* (24 June 1905), 11; 'Tsushima and its Lessons', *The Brisbane Courier* (1 June 1905), 4.

47 – David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia, 1850–1939*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press 1999, 86.

48 – *Ibid.*, 87. The naval visits were repeated over several decades between 1878 and 1935. See Alan Davidson and Sachiko Noguchi, 'Melbourne Friends of the Mikado's Navy', in *Relationships: Australia and Japan*, ed. Jones and Mackie, 15–44.

49 – 'Important Statement by Mr Deakin. A Call to Action', *Daily Telegraph* (15 June 1905), 5. .

50 – 'Mr McLean's View. Old Sense of Security. It Exists No Longer. In Serious Situation', *Herald* (13 June 1905), 3.

51 – Edward Pulsford, *The British Empire and the Relations of Asia and Australasia*, Sydney: William Brooks and Company 1905.

52 – Frei, *Japan's Southward Advance and Australia*, 109–10.

- 53 – ‘Japan. The Emperor’s Birthday. Relations with Britain’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, (1 November 1920), 8, quoted in *ibid.*, 105.
- 54 – ‘Melbourne International Exhibition’ supplement, *The Argus* (11 October 1880), 21.
- 55 – John Sander, *The Geisha Souvenir, Princess Theatre, Melbourne. Presented by Williamson & Musgrove*, Melbourne: Troedel & Co. [1896–1900].
- 56 – Darryl Collins, ‘Emperors and Musume: China and Japan “on the Boards” in Australia, 1850s–1920s’, *East Asian History*, 7 (June 1994), 69.
- 57 – Mark Lincicome, ‘Centering the Periphery: National Identity and the Problem of Asian Regionalism in Australia and Japan’, in *Outside Asia: Japanese and Australian Identities and Encounters in Flux*, ed. Stephen Alomes, Clayton: Japanese Study Centre 2011, 26; Yoko Harada, ‘Floating Between the Orient and the Occident: Japan, Australia and Their Inferiority Complex’, PhD thesis, University of Wollongong 2009.
- 58 – Daisuke Nishihara, ‘Said, Orientalism, and Japan’, *Journal of Comparative Poetics*, 25 (2005), 245; Harada, ‘Floating Between the Orient and the Occident’, 7–8, 27–28, 90, 158–60; P. L. Pham, ‘On the Edge of the Orient: English Representations of Japan, Circa 1895–1910’, *Japanese Studies*, 19:2 (1999), 163 and 179.
- 59 – Pham, ‘On the Edge of the Orient’, 163.
- 60 – James Hingston, *The Australian Abroad: Branches from the Main Routes Round the World*, London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington 1879, 3.

- 61 – ‘Melbourne International Exhibition’, *The Argus* (2 October 1880), 4. Such views were also propagated by Japanese officials. In a speech addressed to Americans in 1914, the Japanese bureaucrat, politician and educator Ōkuma Shigenobu noted: ‘We Japanese, standing at a point where the Eastern and Western, civilizations meet, are given facilities to serve as interpreters of the Orient, and to represent the former before the Occidentals. Therefore, to harmonize the East and West and contribute to the unification of the world, is an ideal part to be played by Japan’. Ōkuma Shigenobu, ‘Our National Mission’, in *Japan’s Message to America: A Symposium of Representative Japanese on Japan and American-Japanese Relations*, ed. Naoichi Masaoka, New York: G.P. Putman’s Sons 1914, 4, quoted in Mark Lincicome ‘Centering the Periphery’, 31.
- 62 – John Plummer, ‘Australian Notes on Japanese Topics’, *The Japan Daily Mail* (20 February 1895), *Australia and Japan: contributions to the Japan Daily Mail, 1895-8. Album containing press cuttings of columns by John Plummer for the Japan Daily Mail*, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, [Z/Q327.99/P](#), unpaginated.
- 63 – ‘Mr Latham’s Mission’, *The Argus* (12 May 1935), 21. See also ‘Trade Relations with Australia. Goodwill Mission’, *The Advertiser* (19 April 1935), 9..
- 64 – Latham in Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, 6 July 1934, 327-8 in Paul Jones, “‘Racial Character’” and Australia and Japan in the 1930s’, in *Changing Histories*, ed. Jones and Oliver, 34.
- 65 – The London-born Sydney Ure Smith arrived in Australia with his family at the age of two. He began five years of study at Julian Ashton’s art classes (known as the Sydney Art School from 1906) in 1902, where he specialised in

pen and pencil drawing. In 1916 he launched the magazine *Art in Australia*, which became an important forum for the discussion and publication of Australian art. After establishing the publishing company Art in Australia Ltd in 1920, he launched *The Home* magazine. Ure Smith sold his publishing company to John Fairfax and Sons in 1934 and ended his association with the magazines in 1938. Under his new publishing company Ure Smith Pty Ltd, he published scores of books, several including photography. Ure Smith also made a substantial contribution to the Australian art world as president of the Society of Artists (1921–48), a trustee of the National Art Gallery of NSW (1927–47, vice-president 1943–47), amongst many other administrative roles.

66 – Sydney Ure Smith, ‘The Story of the Home’, *The Home* (March 1930), 60.

67 – ‘Relations with Japan. New Society Formed’, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (26 October 1928), 12.

68 – ‘Reception by the Japanese Consul’, *Sunday Times* (4 May 1930), 16;

‘Emperor of Japan’, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (30 April 1932), 14.

69 – ‘National Art Gallery’, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (24 September 1935), 4.

70 – For more on *Japonisme*, see Toshio Watanabe, *High Victorian Japonisme*, Bern and New York: P. Lang 1991; Lambourne, *Japonisme*.

71 – Edwin Arnold, *Seas and Lands*, London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1894, 171, quoted in Pham, ‘On the Edge of the Orient’, 167.

72 – David Jones and Co advertisement, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (28 May 1861), 8.

73 – Murakami, ‘Civilised Asian’, 82.

- 74 – For Japanese inspired covers, see *The Home* (February 1920), (December 1921), (December 1922), and (January 1932).
- 75 – *The Home* (February 1926), (July 1935), (April 1937), and (May 1932).
- 76 – *The Home* (August 1922), (May 1926), (June 1926) and (November 1931).
- 77 – ‘Lakes for the Window Ledge’, *The Home* (February 1928), 33.
- 78 – Cazneaux’s photographs of Sadler and his wife in their Japanese home and garden appeared in the February 1928 and July 1932 issues.
- 79 – Arthur Sadler, ‘The Japanese Outlook on Western Art’, *Art in Australia*, 3:8 (June 1924), unpaginated; Arthur Sadler, ‘The Way of Tea’, *The Home* (April 1932), 32–36 and 68.
- 80 – See *The Home* (March 1923), (June 1934) and (December 1934).
- 81 – *The Home* (July 1926). For more on the relationship between Japanese and Australian prints see Emma Colton, ‘In the Japanese Manner: Australian Prints 1900–1940’, *Artonview*, 62 (Winter 2010), 22–25.
- 82 – Department of Immigration, SP42/1 C1934/4618. ‘Real Wages. Increase During Depression Despite Normal Decline’, *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6 March 1935), 13.
- 83 – Department of Immigration, SP42/1 C1934/4618.
- 84 – *The Home* (March 1938), 33 and 36.
- 85 – ‘Modernity in Flats’, *The Home* (February 1936), 22–25.
- 86 – ‘The Night Falls on King’s Cross Sydney’, *The Home* (August 1936), 37–40.
- 87 – ‘Sydney to Scone by Car’, *The Home* (December 1937), 52–53.

88 – See also, for example, *The Home Annual*, Sydney: Fairfax 1936,, which was largely dedicated to the landscape.

89 – D. C. S. Sissons, ‘Japan and the Australian Wool Industry’, Papers of D. C. S. Sissons, unpublished manuscript, 1978, National Library of Australia MS 3092, Series 1, Subseries 1.2, Folder 20, 6. For the impact of changing fashions on the growing demand for wool, see Keiichiro Nakagawa and Henry Rosovsky, ‘The Case of the Dying Kimono: The Influence of Changing Fashion on the Development of the Japanese Woolen Industry’, *Business History Review*, 37 (1963), 59–80.

90 – Louis Esson, ‘The Asiatic Menace: Japanese Imperialism’, *The Lone Hand* (1 October 1908), 617–19; Louis Esson, ‘The Asiatic Menace: Japan the Gamester’, *The Lone Hand* (1 September 1908), 514–17.

91 – Eccles, ‘The Hirodo Story’, 137.

92 – Eccles, *Hirodo*, 9.

93 – Eccles, ‘The Hirodo Story’, 138.

94 – *Ibid.*, 139–40.

95 – Kosmas Tsokhas, ‘The Wool Industry and the 1936 Trade Diversion Dispute between Australia and Japan’, *Australian Historical Studies*, 23:93 (1989), 442.

96 – Torao Wakamatsu, *Farewell Message to Australian People*, Sydney: New Century Press [1938], 2.

97 – Molly Grey, ‘Paul T. Frankl’, *The Home* (December 1937), 32.

- 98 – Alison Broinowski, *The Yellow Lady: Australian Impressions of Asia*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press 1992; Pham, ‘On the Edge of the Orient’, 178.
- 99 – D. C. S. Sissons, ‘Australian Fears of Japan as a Defence Threat 1895–1971’, Papers of D. C. S. Sissons, National Library of Australia MS 3092, Series 1, Box I, Folder 2.
- 100 – Longfield Lloyd, in ‘Japan Espionage – General’, Department of External Affairs records, National Archives of Australia A981/1, JAP 55, 137–39.
- 101 – Captain E. L. Piesse, in ‘Japan Espionage – General’, Department of External Affairs records, National Archives of Australia A981/1, JAP 55, 129–132.
- 102 – Walker, *Anxious Nation*, 174.
- 103 – ‘Spy Fever in Japan’, *The West Australian* (9 September 1935), 16; ‘Spy Mania Grips Japan’, *Examiner* (18 May 1937), 7; ‘Spy Scare Rages over Japan’, *Examiner* (11 July 1936), 3S; ‘Spy Network. Japan and Soviet’, *Cairns Post* (24 April 1936), 7; ‘Alleged Japanese Spy Activities’, *Advocate* (1 April 1937), 1; ‘Japanese Spy System. Reported Discovery in Australia’, *The Courier-Mail* (29 January 1938), 15; ‘Jap Spies Found in Australia’, *The Daily News* (28 January 1938), 5; ‘Japanese Spies in Dutch Indies’, *The Courier-Mail* (4 March 1939), 4.
- 104 – Mitsuda, *Modernism / Japonism in Photography*, 31.
- 105 – Department of Immigration, SP42/1 C1934/4618.
- 106 – See Yuriko Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens: Japanese Internment in Australia*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press 1996.