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'By Means of Unanimous Action': Japanese Community Resistance to White Australia

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ABSTRACT

In Australia-Japan histories, Japanese migrants in Australia have often been treated as distinct from the political and diplomatic relationship between these two nations. As Horikawa acutely identifies, Japanese migrants before 1941 enjoyed a special position with minor concessions under the White Australia Policy due to Japan's growing international status and sustained diplomatic pressure on Australia. Notably, concessions were granted under the 1904 Japanese Passport Agreement and in the exemption of the pearl shell industry, which almost exclusively benefited Japanese workers. Extending upon the concept of minor concessions, this article inverts the emphasis on Japan's growing international status to examine the impact and interconnection of northern Australia's Japanese communities on the concessions and exemptions granted under the White Australia Policy. Drawing on records of Japanese and Australian consular correspondence, newspaper articles, and migration records, this article examines how local Japanese communities formed associations that influenced the establishment of formal diplomatic structures. These structures were essential to gaining – and ensuring the fair application of – concessions under the White Australia Policy, as well as a means of resistance to discrimination. This research emphasises the agency and influence of individual migrants in gaining diplomatic power within Australia's history of immigration restriction and discrimination.

KEYWORDS

White Australia policy; Japanese migration; northern Australia; Australian history; racial discrimination; Australia-Japan relations;

Introduction

On a Friday afternoon in February 1904, a middle-aged Japanese man boarded a local train at Ripple Creek near Ingham, a small sugar growing town in north Queensland. He had just finished up his contract as an inspector at a local sugar mill, having been responsible for supervising Japanese sugar cane labourers contracted to work there.[1] The unnamed man was headed for nearby

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Lucinda, from where he would depart on a longer journey to Japan to serve as a naval officer in their war with Russia. The man boarded and made his way towards the front of the train to sit among other 'ordinary passengers,' but a train guard accosted him, ordering him to move to one of the train's rear compartments. The section the man was intending to sit in was reserved for passengers typically of British or European heritage, while all non-European people were relegated to the back carriages of the train. Embarrassed and insulted, the Japanese officer acquiesced but fumed at the indignity.[2]

After disembarking at his destination, word quickly spread of the man's ill treatment. Mr. R. G. Johnson, the acting chairman of the Hinchinbrook Shire Council, likely sensed an impending furore. Johnson personally wired the Japanese officer the following day, extending his sincere apologies for the train official's actions. By then, the news had already reached Japanese Consul Tayui in Townsville, who expressed his extreme displeasure at the mistreatment of a Japanese national. He demanded reassurance that there would be no repeat of this occurrence.

At the time of this incident, open hostilities between Japan and Russia had broken out earlier that same month in Port Arthur, marking the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War. This outbreak of war between an Asian and European nation created a sense of urgency in Australia to maintain Japan's goodwill; Australian fears about its future security in the Pacific hastened concessions that were later granted under the 1904 Passport Agreement with Japan.[3] While Japan's victory against Russia would not arrive until 1905, thereby cementing its status as a rising global political and military power, Australia remained cautious and anxious about Japan's proximity and its nationals resident throughout the tropical north. Against this backdrop, local newspapers were eager to smooth over this diplomatic drama involving the Japanese passenger in Ingham; they reported the incident as a 'misunderstanding of a regrettable nature'. The concerns surrounding this 'provoking mistake' that seemingly demonstrated a lack of 'common courtesy' carried over several months, with the Hinchinbrook Shire Council offering further apologies, the Premier of Queensland addressing the Japanese consul's concerns, and even the Commonwealth Government acknowledging this had been an 'insult to an officer of a friendly power.'[4]

This incident in the far north of Australia is significant for two reasons. Firstly, the attentiveness at all levels of government to the insult of one Japanese national in a small north Queensland town, three years after the passing of the *Immigration Restriction Act* in 1901. This attention is indicative of the political and diplomatic power exercised by the Japanese community and its consular representatives throughout the region at the time, which was inextricably tied to Japan's growing status in global affairs. Secondly, this incident is but one example of the sustained presence and collective power of Japanese migrant communities who formed networks and association-like structures across

northern Australia before 1941. The man at the centre of the event was well-connected to substantial groups of Japanese sugar labourers that had lived in the region since the 1890s, for whom he had the responsibility to represent and ensure their fair and respectful treatment. Of course, the labourers themselves were not reluctant to advocate for their own working conditions.[5] The Japanese officer also had access to the political and cultural capital of Japanese diplomats posted in the region. These inextricable links between Japanese migrants and diplomats were both a cause, and a consequence of, the active and ongoing representation of Japanese migrant communities throughout northern Australia who challenged discrimination under the White Australia Policy. These Associations were a means of resistance against racially exclusive migration policy – including its uneven and prejudicial application – as well as layers of policy that sought to exclude Nikkei Australians from participation in the community. Drawing on archival records such as Japanese and Australian consular correspondence, newspaper articles, and migration records, this article will discuss historical examples where Japanese individuals, their association-like structures, and diplomatic representatives influenced, challenged, and resisted discrimination against Japanese migrants under the White Australia policy.

The concessions granted to Japanese migrants under the *Immigration Restriction Act* have received growing scholarly attention in recent years, albeit upon the foundations of earlier works such as A.T. Yarwood's close treatment of Japanese migrants under this legislation. Yarwood identifies the high level international discussions between Japanese government representatives, and indeed the status of the Consuls, that influenced Australia's concessions.[6] Marilyn Lake & Henry Reynolds' *Drawing the Global Colour Line* adds valuable global dimensions to Australia's concessions to Japanese migrants, tracing Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 as a moment that shaped not just Australian attitudes to Japan, but also catalysed an international assertion of whiteness in the apprehension of imminent loss.[7] As a counterpoint to these high-level negotiations, however, this article will delve into the underlying and interconnected fascia of the Japanese community's advocacy and diplomatic representation in northern Australia before 1941.

The history of Japanese migration to Australia has often been treated as distinct from the history of Japan-Australia diplomatic relationships, including the negotiations surrounding the *Immigration Restriction Act*. Typically, the exemptions and concessions granted to Japanese migrants under the *Immigration Restriction Act* are characterised by the more formal decisions of Australian state and federal authorities. These high-level decisions are illuminated by Australian anxieties about the prophesised decline of 'white men's nations' in the face of an ascendant Asia; the growth of Japanese power throughout the Pacific, especially at the turn of the twentieth century, seemed to cement Australia's fears.[8] It was at this time that Australia took action to shore up its capacity

for self-defence and make bureaucratic attempts to 'soften the implication of Japan's inferiority'.[9] These bureaucratic concessions involved the 1904 Japanese Passport Agreement – enabling any *bona fide* student, tourist, or merchant to gain entry to Australia for a period of three years provided they had a Japanese passport – as well as informal administrative and diplomatic agreements that were subject to ministerial discretion. Furthermore, the concessions granted to workers in the pearl shelling industry of northern Australia were another method by which Asian migrants could gain entry to Australia after 1901. Importantly, the large number of Japanese workers who had significant influence within northern Australia's pearl shell industry were the primary beneficiaries of this policy, which has been examined in detail.[10] As historian Pam Oliver's *Empty North* notes, however, there was an 'untidy' reality to the various concessions and experiences of Japanese migrants to Australia; Tomoko Horikawa adds that Australia's basis for granting these 'minor concessions' were due partly to Japan's growing international status and the Japanese consul's incisive negotiations.[11]

While high-level diplomatic concerns between Australia and Japan at the turn of the twentieth century – including Britain's interest in a friendly relationship – remain significant in understanding immigration concessions, the Nikkei Australian community's role in these processes require closer attention.[12] For example, Oliver has detailed the important interrelationships between the Sydney Japanese network and the Australian community under the White Australia Policy, but the connections among northern Australia's Nikkei community remain less known.[13] While Horikawa & Rebecca Suter's research amply explores the impacts of the White Australia Policy on Japanese-Australian relations, this chapter seeks to invert this perspective and examine the impact of northern Australia's Japanese communities *on* concessions and exemptions granted under the White Australia Policy.[14] The persistence and strength of Japanese advocacy through Japanese Associations and their close relationship with diplomatic representatives played a significant role in the granting of – and ensuring the fair and procedural application of – concessions under the White Australia Policy, as well as a means of resistance to discrimination within White Australia.

Importantly, the establishment of the Japanese consulate in Townsville in 1896 – the first 'official' Japanese consulate in Australia staffed by Japanese diplomats – demonstrated Japan's active interest in supporting its nationals in northern Australia. While historians Dorothy Gibson-Wilde and Diane Menghetti have researched the history of the Japanese Consulate in Townsville, it is clear there were strong connections between the Consulate and Japanese Associations throughout the north.[15] As Yuriko Nagata discusses, *Nihonjin-kai* (Japanese Associations) were primarily active in the pearling towns throughout northern Australia, and were known to function as a semi-official administrative body and a centre for social and patriotic activities.[16] As this

article will demonstrate, Japanese Associations were far more active throughout northern Australia than Nagata's earlier research suggests. The significance of these Japanese Associations, or 'association-oriented structures' as Takashi Maeyama describes them, have been rarely acknowledged in Australian histories but are recognised as important agents of the Japanese diaspora in places such as the United States and Brazil.[17] In the United States, Yuji Ichioka has written on the formalised entanglement of the three-tiered Japanese Associations – local and centralised – with the Japanese Consulate and the Japanese Foreign Ministry.[18] These Associations worked differently in Brazil, where Japanese government administrators and diplomatic leaders managed the social groups and associations of the Japanese diaspora in a kind of vertical hierarchical structure; when these upper structures disintegrated during the 1930s, so too did the Japanese Brazilian Associations.[19] It appears that, in contrast, there was a reversal of these structures in Australia, where localised Japanese communities formed their own associations – dispersed across a vast network in northern Australia – and influenced the establishment of more formal structures that might better advocate for their interests, particularly within a White Australia.

These collective structures, both formal and informal, underpinned Japanese migrants' challenges to the *Immigration Restriction Act* and the numerous domestic laws that restricted non-Europeans from participating in key aspects of national life.[20] While the White Australia Policy amounted to a rejection of Japan's claims to Western modernity, interlocking structures of Japanese associations and diplomats were able to push back against restrictive legislation in small but concrete ways.[21] Indeed, Nathan Gardner has discussed this type of collective challenge among Asian-Australian communities, framing it as a nexus of change to the White Australia policy during the 1950s through the interplay of Chinese, Japanese and Australian elements; this article seeks to add cohorts to Gardner's pantheon, proposing an earlier tributary in the form of Japanese Associations, including their access to diplomatic power in northern Australia that began to erode the walls of White Australia.[22]

Japanese Associations in Northern Australia

From 1867, disparate groups of 'individual adventurers' from Japan began to arrive on Australian shores; it was another two decades until there was a steady migration of Japanese men – but also some women[23] – most of whom took up contracts to work in the pearl shelling and sugar cane industries of northern Australia.[24] These labourers were among the early groupings of individuals who formed the Japanese Associations throughout northern Australia. Interested in enforcing and securing their working conditions and employment, they became a critical and driving force in handling local and national diplomatic issues. With chapters established in most north

Queensland towns – including Darwin, Broome, Roebourne, Thursday Island, Cairns, Innisfail, Ingham, Townsville, Ayr and the Burdekin, and Mackay – the Japanese Associations were an intermediary between local resident concerns and the diplomatic and political interests of the Japanese Foreign Ministry.[25] During the nineteenth century especially, members in each location were typically focused on their wages and working conditions, and some immediate local concerns, but soon began to advocate on broader issues surrounding the White Australia Policy. Documents seized from the Thursday Island Japanese Association during WWII show the organisations were long-running and had a clear vision:

> [T]o unify general Japanese affairs by means of unanimous action by Japanese residents … the object of the Society is to keep the dignity of Japanese nationals by internally rectifying any evil practices among themselves, to cultivate the mutual friendship amongst our compatriots by externally removing any hindrances, and also to promote our morality of benevolence and mutual help in sickness and difficulties so as to enhance the prestige of the Japanese Empire.[26]

The earliest known mention of any association-oriented structure among Nikkei Australians is in 1891 on Thursday Island, with three hundred and fifty members by 1894, most of them pearl shell workers. Torajiro Satō, a respected local merchant, was elected President and the Association aimed to generate funds for community activities, provide assistance to the needy, and ensure that 'the members become law-abiding, respectful to their superiors (the Europeans) and to live in peace and amity among themselves.'[27] Loyal to its members' interests, the Association's primary concern was advocating on behalf of local pearl shell workers in regards to wages and working conditions.[28] In Broome, an Association began sometime around 1897 and over the next four decades the membership increased to over pearl shell workers, including on-shore workers and seasonal workers. Local business owners and their families were also members.[29] The Broome Association drew up agreements between Japanese workers and the master pearlers, and managed disputes that arose. Members paid fees for the maintenance of the Association; in Broome at least, the fees were commensurate with wages, with some members paying £2 and others up to £20.[30] If the need arose, Association members drew up lists boycotting certain employers.[31]

In 1894, when Japanese pearl shell workers on Thursday Island were facing rising unemployment, the Association there held meetings and conducted negotiation on members' behalf. An Association representative contacted sugar planters around Cairns and Mackay and other businesses in Townsville to facilitate the employment of Japanese labourers. The Association also contacted the 'Foreign Department' in Japan, requesting that no further passports be granted to Japanese men wishing to come to Queensland until the unemployment problem had been resolved.[32] While these examples precede the

passing of the *Immigration Restriction Act* in 1901, they indicate the nature and level of organisation among Japanese migrants that became their most effective method of exerting influence on politics, working conditions, and even foreign policy.[33]

Among the wider Nikkei Australian community, the Japanese Association was persistent in its advocacy well into the 1920s and 30s, often asserted resistance against the constellation of White Australia policy. Association representatives, for example, would frequently write to local newspapers in response to issues surrounding the unfair treatment of Japanese migrants. Secretary of the Cairns Association in 1921, T. Inouye wrote letters to the editors of the *Cairns Post* and the *Northern Herald* protesting the inferiority with which Japanese migrants were treated.[34] He did not mince his words:

> I for one, imbued with the white teaching, ventured to unwelcoming Australia 25 years ago … It will not be long before it is considered a virtue to exterminate colour out of existence by the constitutional law of an ideal white or at least to make a mere tool of their welfare. Because our skin is yellow, our heart is black, and the Asiatic heathen a deadly economic enemy. Does the average fair-minded Australian know that, when the sugar industry was so young, with a scarcity of labor, they brought out cheap contract labor from Japan 30 years ago to do the hard work—for whose advantage I dare not argue—in a forlorn hope of a free hand when their time expired as it was promised, but promised only! … If only 400 or 500 much-questioned Japs, scattered along the productive North of Queensland, can lower the white living, it is due to its own fragile foundation.[35]

The following year, another representative attempted to defend the position of Japanese people in the sugar industry. The author protested against unfair treatment of 'members of our race who are, or have been, residents in this country for that long period of time' and asked 'for fair and reasonable treatment to those of us who are resident here.'[36] In 1930, Tokitaro Iwanaga corresponded as Secretary of the Japanese Association with the *Cairns Post* editor. Tokitaro called out the absurdity of the situation wherein a Japanese migrant was deported from Australia after failing to pass a dictation test in Greek.[37] When the rare public opportunity arose, such as the visit of Prime Minister Billy Hughes to Cairns in 1922, the Association made representations directly; in this instance, the President of the Cairns Association highlighted the need for consideration of long-term Japanese residents of the north who felt they had been driven out of the sugar industry in recent years.[38] In public fora, Japanese Association representatives gave voice to the contributions that Nikkei Australians had made to the north's economic development and the respect due therein.

More than simply writing letters or calling on the Prime Minister of the day, the Associations developed tangible supports for Japanese community members. The Association's 'club house' as it was often termed, was not only a place for meeting and socialising, but also provided services including

assistance with literacy and letter writing, sending money to family in Japan, banking, managing labour contracts, and sending and delivering mail.[39] Indeed, the Association supported wider community causes, including the local ambulance fund.[40] A Japanese doctor was often provided for the local community, particularly in Broome and on Thursday Island.[41] Association members would also deliver translation and interpreting services for other Japanese people in the region. Mitsu Terasita, for example, was the Secretary of the Japanese Association on Thursday Island in 1902 and would often act as a local interpreter for police and customs.[42] In 1930, Momu Mitakara's application for a certificate of exemption from the dictation test was managed by her agent Hidewo Oki, a local store manager and likely the Japanese Association Secretary in Townsville.[43] These and other services were extended to Nikkei Australians living in more isolated areas, with efforts expended to keep these individuals well-informed and connected. As one 1939 report described, 'Japanese [in Queensland] are widely distributed and so have an efficient system of communications so that someone out at Hughenden could be well-posted on national issues.'[44] Other reports indicate that a Japanese man living in Malanda, for example, remained in regular postal contact with the Japanese Association in Cairns.[45]

The Japanese Association was a crucial link in the relationships and connections between individual Japanese migrants in Australia, their governmental representatives, and the larger geopolitical significance of their activities in Australia. Such 'association-oriented structures' not only demonstrated a prominent and interconnected Japanese community throughout Australia, but were also a public presence that challenged the very notion of a White Australia. Before a Japanese Consulate in northern Australia was even established, one hundred and eighty Japanese workers in the Torres Strait put forth their signatures and petitioned the Japanese Foreign Ministry for the establishment of a consulate on Thursday Island. Citing the importance of the Torres Strait for commerce and transportation, they argued that their community's distance from the main centres of government made it difficult to protect their interests. Accompanied by a detailed report of the island and its industries, the petitioners argued that Japanese residents required the protection of their government in matters of business and migration.[46] While a Japanese consulate on Thursday Island never eventuated, it is probable this was the impetus for the establishment of the Townsville consulate in 1896. These interconnected elements of obligation, support, authority, and voice among Nikkei Australians and their Associations were the foundations upon which the Japanese Consulate in northern Australia was established. Furthermore, these systems were instrumental to Nikkei Australians' attainment of minor concessions under the *Immigration Restriction Act*, and also a means of resistance against White Australia.

A Japanese Consulate in Townsville

In 1896, a Japanese Consulate was established in Townsville. This appointment was a significant move for any Asian nation within the British Empire, let alone in northern Australia during the nineteenth century. A nascent colonial settlement, Townsville had been established in 1864 as a critical seaport for the cattle industry that was north of the seasonally flooding Burdekin River.[47] Strategically, Townsville had a well-connected port and direct steamer routes travelling both north and south. The Japanese consul in Townsville could travel north to the sugar cane farms of the mainland, the busy pearl shelling centres of Thursday Island and Darwin, or south to the commercial and political centres of Sydney and Melbourne, and return to Townsville within a month.[48] There had been an earlier appointment of Australian Alexander Marks in 1879 as an Honorary Consul for Japan, marking only the fourth Japanese consulate in the British Empire after Hong Kong in 1873, London in 1876, and Singapore in 1879. The appointment of Japanese diplomats in a critical north Australian town was another matter altogether.[49] Even with the limits on extraterritoriality from the Unequal Treaties in Japan, which were not lifted for European nations until 1899, Japan's diplomatic missions demonstrated its political development mirroring Western European models. As Oliver argued, 'where Japan established consular services and in what order reflects the areas that Japan considered the most important.'[50] Marks' role as a Japanese consul in Australia was a recognition of the important diplomatic and commercial relationship between Australia and Japan.[51] The appointment of the first Japanese *career* consul, Nakagawa Tsunejiro, in Townsville in 1896 however, signalled Japan's strong interests and communities in Australia's northern regions.

The Japanese consulate in Townsville therefore represented a small diplomatic mission in northern Australia, but was nonetheless a significant marker of the region's political and diplomatic importance. There was no such equivalent for any other Asian nation in Australia at the time.[52] The Townsville Japanese consulate was situated in a central position at the top of Stanton Hill, just off the iconic Castle Hill, and overlooked the sea out to Magnetic Island. The position may have even offered consulate staff clear sight of the steamers as they travelled in and out of the port city. The home had been named *Kardinia* before 1896, potentially derived from *kardiniyoo* in Wadawurrung language, which translated to 'morning sun' or 'sunrise'.[53] It was an auspicious name that seemed to acknowledge the Japanese symbol of the rising sun and its recent adoption in Meiji period flag designs, which later became the symbol of Japanese imperial ambitions.[54] *Kardinia* was a dual residence and office, described as a:

> [L]arge and elaborately decorated town villa and, most importantly, occupied a commanding situation looking down over Townsville. On its front lawn was a tall flagpole; from its eminence the Japanese flag flew well above the British flags on the poles below

> in the town. It gave the appearance, in fact, that the Japanese flag flew over Townsville.[55]

Photographs of the house at the turn of the twentieth century make visible the tall white and crimson Japanese flag on a pole outside *Kardinia*, which combined with its location on a hill overlooking Townsville and the coastline, may have asserted an air of diplomatic authority.[56] Gibson-Wilde argues that the first Consul Nakagawa Tsunejiro took great care in selecting the consulate's location, perhaps aiming to suggest Japanese people would not be looked down upon, and even occupied an elevated position in society.[57] It seems more likely that local memories and attitudes towards *Kardinia* and its history have been imbued with these qualities after the fact, but they do seem fitting to the conduct of the Japanese Consulate during its early years.

From their location in Townsville, each successive consul was readily involved in local matters concerning Japanese residents.[58] According to Menghetti, the original appointment of the official Japanese consul to Townsville was specifically aimed at protecting Japanese workers in northern Australia.[59] The numerous consuls who took up the Townsville appointment over the years would frequently tour the region to visit Japanese labourers and inspect their working and living conditions. Here they met with representatives of the organised association-like structures throughout the north.[60] A report by furnished by Consul Iijima in 1900, for example, shows detailed notes about the operations, locations, and conditions of Japanese cane labourers, as well as the farms and mills where they worked. Consul Iijima also noted facilities available in towns throughout the north, including infrastructure, the organisation of Japanese workers, and details of other industries.[61] The Japanese consuls were prudent and persistent in their correspondence with the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Customs Office, and to the Prime Minister's Department itself in bringing to attention matters that concerned Japanese people living in Australia, most typically that of immigration restrictions and concessions, and ensuring respectful treatment of workers contracted in the sugar cane industry.[62]

Consular advocacy was also extended for individuals who felt they had been unfairly treated, such as one man who was dismissed from his cleaning work at the Mount Morgan Post Office in 1901. Addressing a handwritten letter directly to Prime Minister Edmund Barton, Consul Eitaki expressed concern at the suggestion that 'the man was discharged on account of his color' and asked 'upon what ground the Japanese in question was discharged, and, if on the ground of color, under what Act or Regulation.'[63] In another incident, a Japanese 'professor' in 1919 was detained on arrival in Australia and asked for his fingerprints. News of such circumstances was often passed on via private conversations and in this case, it was concluded that the 'local officer had grossly exceeded his duty.'[64] Atlee Hunt, then Secretary of the Home and

Territories Department, responded by sending a flurry of letters to customs officers around the country. No doubt aware of the fraught conversations occurring at the Paris Peace Conference surrounding Japan's request for a racial equality clause, Hunt emphasised in these letters that the Minister 'is anxious that no unnecessary cause for offence should be given to Japanese subjects.'[65] He also reminded the Collector of Customs in each state of the 'increasing necessity of administering the Act with as much tact and consideration as the circumstances will permit.'[66] In particular, the department highlighted the importance of avoiding any cause for complaint from Japanese subjects in the administration of the *Immigration Restriction Act*.[67]

The consuls also advocated on issues involving racial discrimination against Japanese workers in particular industries. For example, there was a proposal for the *Liquor Act Amendment Act* (QLD) in 1923, under which Asian migrants would be prohibited from employment in any jobs related to the sale of alcohol. This issue was brought to the attention of the Japanese consul after numerous appeals from Japanese Associations in Queensland.[68] The consuls protested to government authorities, aware that in north Queensland there were a number of Japanese migrants working in pubs and hotels who would be negatively impacted by this legislation. Similarly, there were concerns regarding a white labour clause inserted into the *Postal and Telegraphic Bill* in 1901.[69] The Japanese consuls' understanding of the minutiae of Australia's bureaucratic processes, along with their physical proximity to local communities, meant they were often able to lend effective diplomatic support to Japanese residents throughout White Australia.

It is important here to emphasise that from the turn of the twentieth century and up until the end of WWII, Australian politicians invariably harboured concerns about the rising political and military status of Japan. This status leant weight to not just the consuls, but the Japanese Associations that engaged their advocacy. As Neville Meaney acutely identified, Japan assumed a 'quasi great-power status' from the 1902 signing of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and its victory over Russia in 1905 seemed to cement this status.[70] Japan's growing imperial interests in the Pacific during WWI displayed their 'extraordinary strength' in contrast to the British Navy who 'felt incompetent' – much to Australian alarm.[71] While Australia and Japan remained Allies for much for this period, it was an uneasy relationship.[72] Underpopulated and therefore militarily weak, Australia was particularly self-conscious of its 'empty north' and its anxieties were exacerbated by the concentration of Japanese workers in the pearl shelling and sugar cane industries, as well as the scattered but well-connected residents throughout northern Australian.[73] Indeed, the north was an exposed nerve in Australia's anxieties about Japan and elevated fears about causing 'unnecessary' offence to Japanese residents. The proximity of these anxieties to the organised and competent Japanese advocacy in northern Australia generated a surprising level of influence among Japanese

communities that was much greater than might be typically expected for an Asian diaspora in White Australia.

In 1900, the Japanese government still considered northern Australia a significant region, suggesting via the Japanese consul that another consulate or sub-consulate should be established on Thursday Island.[74] In 1904, the President of the Japanese Association on Thursday Island once again put forward a request for a 'branch office' – seemingly referring to a consulate – on the island. He noted that the matter of a Thursday Island consulate had been under investigation in previous years, likely referencing the earlier petition, but expressed a growing need for proximal diplomatic representation due to the increasing number of Japanese immigrants, strategic maritime industries, shipbuilding, and importing businesses.[75] The Thursday Island consulate never eventuated, probably lacking Queensland government support, but was nonetheless a lingering idea.[76]

From the 1920s, the close entanglement of Association and consular officials developed further. Between 1928 and 1941, the Consul-General of Japan in Sydney not only managed the task of finding replacements for the Secretary of the Broome Japanese Association but also coordinated their entry to Australia under immigration procedures. After the retirement of the Broome Association's secretary in 1928, the Consul-General asserted that 'there does not appear to be anyone among the Japanese residents of Broome eligible for the position … the Society is desirous of engaging for the work a Japanese who is at present in Singapore.'[77] After the Minister initially denied the request, Consul-General Tokugawa Iemasa made strong representations; he cited the need for 'intelligent handling' of the six-hundred strong population of Japanese pearl fishing employees in Broome, where the Japanese Assocation is 'instrumental in giving less trouble to the local authorities' and the secretary's 'efforts are helpful not only to the Japanese themselves but also to the local officials.'[78] Importantly, the Consul-General's appointment of the secretary in Broome would also strengthen their diplomatic ties with the Nikkei Australian community located more than three thousand kilometres away. After further warning the Australian Home and Territories Department of the need to avoid 'unnecessary complications' by denying the entry of this new Secretary, and further advice within his own department that it would be 'reasonable & [*sic*] diplomatic' to grant a certificate, the Minister assented the exemption.[79] By May of that year, the appointed secretary – Tsuyoshi Shiromoto[80] – arrived in Broome, and the Consul-General continued to support his extensions to stay in Australia for a number of years. The Broome Japanese Association's secretary, and his 1931 replacement, were thereafter directly recruited and supported in their approval to enter Australia by the Consul-General until 1941.[81]

Japan's consular presence in northern Australia quickly expanded south from Townsville after 1896, with a Sydney consulate established in 1897 and

another in Melbourne a few years later.[82] Until 1901, these three consulates held approximately equal power and represented the breadth of Japanese interests in Australia. After 1901, the Sydney consulate was upgraded to consulate-general and the Townsville consulate was closed in 1908. Since Federation, both Australian and Japanese representatives had shared the opinion that the Japanese consulate should be shifted south. Edmund Barton had stated that there should be one central Japanese consulate, rather than three separate offices in Townsville, Sydney, and Melbourne. Consul Tayui was of a similar opinion, requesting the consulate be moved to Brisbane upon seeing the growing importance of trade and commerce within that region.[83] The significance of the Japanese consulate in Townsville has been generally overlooked by Australian historians, but it is highly regarded in Japanese diplomatic history.[84] For example, the Townsville consulate is explicitly recognised as the first Japanese diplomatic mission in Australia by the consulate general of Japan in Sydney and has been frequently upheld as a significant site in the history of Australian-Japanese relations.[85] Indeed, there were fresh discussions in 1919 for the Townsville consulate to be re-established.[86] From these geographic and strategic centres, the Japanese consuls in Australia were positioned to have a persistent and direct influence on trade, migration, and policy as it related to Japan and its citizens in Australia. The combined presence of a Japanese flag flying over one of Australia's far northern towns, as well as an organised and interconnected Japanese presence throughout northern region, were instrumental in Japanese communities' resistance to White Australia policies.

The Nakashibas and White Australia

The *Immigration Restriction Act* and the broader framework of White Australia policy did place limits upon the migration, and residence of, Japanese people in Australia. The interconnected associations and consular officials – particularly those situated in northern Australia – were key to contesting this legislation and gaining minor concessions for Japanese migrants. This section returns us to 1904, the very same year a Japanese naval officer was ordered to the back of the train in far north Queensland, and illuminates another example in which Japanese migrants were historical agents in the early 'fissures' of White Australia. The combined efforts of Japanese Australians, via the associations and consuls, and their relationships with the wider community were a force of resistance to the *Immigration Restriction Act* – by obtaining both individual concessions and those under the Passport Agreement – and the tangled web of White Australia policies that sought to exclude them from fully participating in Australian life.

In September 1904, the Australian government had granted the 'minor concession' under the *Restriction Act* so that any *bona fide* Japanese merchants, tourists, or student travellers in possession of a Japanese passport would be

permitted to enter Australia. If they wished to remain in the Commonwealth for longer than twelve months, Japanese citizens were able to apply for a certificate of exemption to extend this stay.[87] Importantly, responsibility for the management of entry was overseen by Japanese officials rather than Australian customs officers.[88] While the Japanese government was responsible for issuing passports, the practical elements of this procedure rested with recruiting agents who best handled the obtaining of passports alongside work contracts.[89] Any discrepancies or issues upon arrival, however, fell to the Japanese consuls to manage. Not only would the Japanese consuls support applications for passport extensions, but they would also sternly intervene in instances where applications were rejected. The consuls were skilled negotiators, and even aggressive, as John Armstrong argues, in their support for Japanese nationals' entry and residence.[90]

The experience of John Iwamatsu Nakashiba and his brother are particularly illustrative of these patterns of community and diplomatic intervention, even with varying success.[91] In 1907 John applied for his brother, Bunsuke Nakashiba, to come to Australia under the Japanese Passport Agreement. John was a storekeeper in Cairns – he had lived there since 1890 – and wished for his brother to join him; the plan was for Bunsuke to attend an Australian school and technical college, while also learning the ropes at John's store.[92] Bunsuke's application was no doubt within the remit of the passport agreement under provisions for merchants, but John also occupied a position of authority around Cairns that likely made this process smoother. John owned a general store, and was also a partner in both a sugar cane farm on the Mulgrave River and a registered firm of boatbuilders. John's professional endeavours extended to translation services, assisting local Japanese residents' business transactions, and acting as the 'Japanese consular commercial agent in Cairns.[93] The exact nature of John's involvement with the Cairns Japanese Association is unclear, but it is apparent he was well-connected within this local community and respected among authorities.

By nature of his brother John's reputation, Bunsuke was granted entry to Australia in 1907. After his three years were up in 1910, Bunsuke departed for Japan.[94] In 1912, John again approached customs authorities on his brother's behalf. This time, John said that he wished to do business in Japan for three years and was arranging for Bunsuke to take care of the Cairns store in his absence. Aware of Bunsuke's previous residence in Australia and with excellent character references again in hand, authorities approved the application and John's brother arrived in Cairns that same year. John's travel plans fell apart, however, and the Department of External Affairs enforced Bunsuke's swift return to Japan in 1913.[95] This enforced return to Japan illustrates how Japanese migrants enjoyed certain concessions, even leveraged their own reputation for business advantages in John's case, but the Department was still determined to enforce procedural arrangements.

In 1915, aided by his Japanese passport that granted automatic entry to Australia for one year, Bunsuke once *again* travelled to Cairns. He worked in his brother's employ as a storeman for twelve months, but applied to remain longer only after his twelve-month permit had expired. Here local solicitors and the Consul-General of Japan stepped in and supported Bunsuke's renewal of exemption from the dictation test; this intervention was impressively effective, despite the Department's earlier adherence to strict procedures.[96] After this point, rolling extensions were granted to Bunsuke over the next six years, and it is sometime during this decade that advertisements for J.T. Nakashiba's general store begin to advertise under the banner of 'Nakashiba Bros'. Clearly with a strong acumen for business, Bunsuke was credited with the growing success of the Nakashiba Bros. store that amply supplied 'a want in a community which is patronised by so many tourists during the winter season' and boasted itself as 'the largest Japanese emporium in the north.'[97]

In 1921, new problems arose for the Nakashiba brothers. The Consul-General of Japan applied on behalf of Bunsuke for his wife to also come to Australia. After more than a decade of ongoing approval to reside in north Queensland, the Nakashibas and the consul-general probably assumed the application for Bunsuke's wife was little more than a formality. But to their surprise, customs responded with a swift refusal of the application *and* the claim that Bunsuke had been harbouring a prohibited immigrant. The man in question was Wahichi Nakashiba, who was John and Bunsuke's brother-in-law and business partner. Based on these allegations, Bunsuke was ordered to depart Australia within three months. John became embroiled in the affair as an agent taking care of the 'prohibited immigrant's' passport, which customs claimed had been 'tampered with' when John produced it for them.[98]

Waves of arguments and rebuttals roiled between authorities, local community members, the Nakashibas, and their representatives. The Consul-General asserted that customs officials were making Bunsuke the 'victim of misrepresentation,' while a petition of over thirty Cairns merchants – European and non-European alike – defended Bunsuke as an 'esteemed … citizen and business man.'[99] Fred C. Hodel, a prominent businessman in the far north, asserted that if Bunsuke was to be deported for harbouring a prohibited immigrant, then so too should the wealthy British merchants of Thursday Island who were guilty of the same charges. Unimpressed with the contention that they were guilty of impropriety, customs authorities hardened their position. It was decided – Bunsuke departed Australia in 1921 for the Aru Islands and by all accounts did not return.[100]

The Nakashiba affair took place all within the 'great white walls' of Australia and demonstrated that the *Immigration Restriction Act* could be applied flexibly, with outcomes ranging from lenient to severe, depending on individuals' circumstances. The three Nakashibas – John, Bunsuke and Wahichi – with their consistent entry, re-entry, and long-term residence in Australia

serve as a clear example of the legislative limits and loopholes that existed under the complex web of the White Australia policy. Indeed, their circumstances also highlight the role of interconnected Japanese communities and their resistance to exclusion from aspects of Australian life. These minor concessions were not simply the product of decisions 'handed down' or negotiated by officials above, but often involved the active input of local Japanese communities that were strengthened by their 'association-oriented' structures.

Conclusions

The collective action and connectedness of these Japanese Associations, interwoven with strategic use of the Japanese Consuls, posed a clear challenge to the aims of White Australia. Local community groups and systems of social organisation, informally and through the Japanese Association, were responsible for the representation and advocacy of Nikkei Australian community concerns from the 1890s until 1941, with the outbreak of the Pacific War. The Japanese Association and its many chapters throughout northern Australia had members who were well-connected within their community as well as with the Japanese government and its diplomatic representatives. Their core responsibilities were to manage and negotiate Japanese migrants' interests, whether this meant assisting with work contracts, speaking publicly on issues of immigration exclusion and racial discrimination, or petitioning for legislative changes. This undercurrent of Japanese Associations' resistance to White Australia policies was instrumental to gaining concessions and navigating discriminatory policies.

From the time that the Japanese consulate operated in Townsville, both *Kardinia* and its diplomatic occupants commanded an influential position in the social, commercial, political, and cultural life of northern Australia. Indeed, as the Consulate shifted south, these connections to northern Australia remained strong. The Japanese consuls and their staff in Townsville, as well as in Sydney and Melbourne, developed friendly relationships with public servants and politicians. The use of these connections often smoothed the way for diplomatic troubles that arose and cleared the path for negotiations of fraught situations relating to Japanese immigration, working conditions, and restrictive legislation. It is in these tensions and negotiations that the broader international context becomes visible, with Japanese diplomats negotiating local concerns that held greater geopolitical significance not only for Australia and Japan, but across the Pacific.

While the Japanese consulate's move to the southern corner of Australia in 1908 marked a similarly southern shift in Japanese diplomatic priorities, their advocacy and negotiation on behalf of Japanese nationals continued for many decades. Even so, the systems of the Japanese Associations remained an important force of resistance to the goals of White Australia. Local diplomatic

concerns, such as the 1904 situation with the Japanese officer on the train, or appeals against the deportation of Japanese migrants, were not simply local concerns; instead, these tensions became matters of international significance and at times, were a major part of the Japan-Australia relationship.

Notes

1. Herbert Bowden, Bowden Brothers & Co., Ltd, to John Douglas, Government Resident Thursday Island, letter, 13 April 1899, "Correspondence re. Japanese immigration into Queensland," ITM861850, Batch and Miscellaneous Subject Files, Chief Secretary's and Premier's Department, S5384, Queensland State Archives. Bowden's letter explains the role of Japanese Inspectors; appointed by emigration companies, the inspector's duty was 'to see that the men faithfully carry out their contracts and that employer fulfills his obligations … [he] has to settle all disputes, and report same to the proper authorities in Japan.'
2. It is unclear how the man responded, however one source reported that he expressed 'indignant remonstrances' while another stated that he complied 'without demur.' Letter from Consul Tayui to Chief Secretary, Brisbane, 10 June 1904, Restrictions on Japanese Immigration to Australia (濠洲ニ於テ本邦移民制限ノ件), Japanese Diplomatic Documents Digital Archive, Volume 37, Part 2 (日本外交文書デジタルアーカイブ 第37巻第2冊), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan.
3. Yarwood, *Asian Migration to Australia*, 86–88. The 1904 Passport Agreement with Japan was made by executive action of the Prime Minister without reference to Parliament. Previous Japanese Consuls had offered to make arrangements to control Japanese immigration to Australia in lieu of the *Immigration Restriction Act*, but it was not until 1904 when confidential discussions occurred between Alfred Deakin and Consul-General Iwasaki (facilitated by John Mildred Creed and Atlee Hunt). This agreement provided for the admission of Japanese merchants, students, and tourists to Australia for twelve months who were in possession of a Japanese passport, with possibility for further extensions of stay. Details of this agreement were made public in September 1904.
4. This incident was narrated in Shepherd, *Herbert River Story, Vol. 2*, 203-204. While there are no known copies of the *Herbert River Express* in which this incident was initially reported, correspondence relating to this incident is contained in: Restrictions on Japanese Immigration to Australia (濠洲ニ於テ本邦移民制限ノ件), 明治37年/1904, Japanese Diplomatic Documents Digital Archive, Volume 37, Part 2 (日本外交文書デジタルアーカイブ 第37巻第2冊), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Local Australian newspapers made similar reports: "Local and General," *Evening Telegraph* (Charters Towers), 4 March 1904, 2; "A Provoking Mistake," *Gympie Times and Mary River Mining Gazette*, 22 March 1904, 3. For other analyses of this incident, see also, Balanzategui, *Herbert River Story*, 122; Horikawa, "Australia's Minor Concessions," 13–14.
5. Dusinberre, *Mooring the Global Archive*, 153.
6. Yarwood, *Asian Migration to Australia*, 85–100.
7. Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, 2.
8. Ibid., 165.
9. Horikawa, "Australia's Minor Concessions," 12–13.
10. See, for example, Ganter, *The Pearl-Shellers of Torres Strait*; Martínez and Vickers, *Pearl Frontier*; Horikawa, "Australia's Minor Concessions."

11. Oliver, *Empty North*; Horikawa, "Australia's Minor Concessions."
12. Nikkei Australian is a term referring to people of the Japanese diaspora, including people who migrated from Japan to Australia, their descendants, and their families. It is an accepted contemporary term in Australia; see, for example, Nagata, "A Nikkei Australian Story: Legacy of the Pacific War," 137; Fukui and Kanamori, "The Creation of Nikkei Australia," 388.
13. Oliver, "Japanese Relationships."
14. Horikawa and Suter, "Why Us Too?"
15. Gibson-Wilde, "The Japanese Consulate at Townsville"; Menghetti, *Sound of Our Summer Seas*, 15–16.
16. Nagata, *Unwanted Aliens*, 20–22; Nagata, "Japanese in Torres Strait," 140.
17. Maeyama, "Secret Societies and Associations," 601.
18. Ichioka, "Japanese Associations and the Japanese Government: A Special Relationship, 1909-1926."
19. Maeyama, "Secret Societies and Associations," 595, 598. Maeyama describes how prewar Japanese Brazilian associations were structured around a central deference to the Japanese Consul-General, but the severance of Japan's diplomatic relations with Brazil in WWII caused a loss of social structure almost overnight.
20. Prince, "Aliens in Their Own Land," 161.
21. Horikawa and Suter, "Why Us Too?," 672.
22. Gardner, "Histories of Chinese and Japanese Residents."
23. Killoran, "Sex, Soap and Silk."
24. Sissons, "First Phase," 50–2.
25. Review of Japanese Population and Activities, Queensland (Report), 20 February 1939, "Japanese Activities in Queensland [including photographs]," C68645, Correspondence Files, Single Number Series with Year Prefix, 1916-1927, and 'C' Prefix, 1927-1953, A367 (hereafter Japanese Activities in Queensland), National Archives of Australia (hereafter NAA); "Northern Territory Times," *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 18 September 1913, 2; Interview with WJ17874 Hama Yasutaro, 25 September 1942, "Japanese Society at Broome," 63/401/593, Secret Correspondence Files, Multiple Number Series with '401' Infix, MP729/6, NAA (hereafter Interview with WJ17874 Hama Yasutaro); "Thanks," *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 7 April 1931, 6. The latter classifieds notice gives thanks to Japanese Society members throughout Townsville, Ingham, Macknade, Innisfail, Cairns, Cloncurry, Richmond, Home Hill, Brisbane and Tolga, indicating the many locations and interconnected community in which the Associations existed.
26. Letter from the Japanese Society, Thursday Island, to the Japanese Consulate-General, Sydney, 2 December 1941, "Japanese Society at Thursday Island," EPJ1609, Correspondence Files, Single Number with EPJ [Enemy Property Japan] Prefix, A1379, NAA.
27. "Country Mail: Northern Districts," *Brisbane Courier*, 10 January 1891, 6; "Country Mails," *Brisbane Courier*, 10 July 1894, 2.
28. Bach, *Pearling Industry*, 158; Menghetti, *Summer Seas*, 27.
29. Interview with WJ17874 Hama Yasutaro.
30. Letter from the Collector of Customs, W.A. to the Senior Inspector, 5 May 1942, Series 24. Japanese in Australia — Internees, Papers of D.C.S. Sissons, MS 3092, National Library of Australia; Interview with WJ17874 Hama Yasutaro.
31. Department of Home Affairs [II], (Central Office), "Broome Japanese Society – Blacklist of Masters etc," 1932/4924, Correspondence Files, Annual Single Number Series, A1, NAA.

32. See, for example, "Unemployed Japanese," *Western Champion and General Advertiser for the Central-Western Districts* (Barcaldine), 13 March 1894, 6; "Japanese Labour," *Telegraph* (Brisbane), 2 April 1894, 4.
33. Ganter, *The Pearl-Shellers of Torres Strait*, 109.
34. "Correspondence," *Cairns Post* (hereafter *CP)*, 1 June 1921, 3; "Correspondence," *Northern Herald* (Townsville), 8 June 1921, 32.
35. "Correspondence," *CP*, 1 June 1921, 3.
36. "Japanese in the Sugar Industry," *Brisbane Courier*, 13 May 1922, 9.
37. "Correspondence Deportation Law," *CP*, 28 May 1930, 4.
38. "The Public Meeting," *Week* (Brisbane), 2 June 1922, 23.
39. "Early Japanese Visitors to Queensland," Presentation by Julie Ireland, 19 October 1996, Paul Tonnoir Personal Collection (hereafter Ireland, "Early Japanese Visitors"). There are multiple references to Japanese community representatives providing banking and financial services. See, for example Oliver, "Citizens Without Certificates," 132.
40. Killoran, "Visible Participation," 521.
41. Lamb, *Japanese Doctors in White Australia*, 236.
42. Nobu Ide Statement, 6 September 1910, "Prosecution of Japanese Girls at Thursday Island," 1910/5858, Correspondence Files, Annual Single Number Series, A1, NAA.
43. Memorandum from the Sub-Collector Townsville to the Collector of Customs at Brisbane, 9 May 1930, "Momu Mitakara," 456/1930, Correspondence Files, Annual Single Number Series, J2773, NAA.
44. Japanese Activities in Queensland.
45. Aliens, Information Required of Foreigners Resident in Malanda Police Division, Cairns Police District, 29 June 1939, "General - Aliens [Lists and Information on German, Austrian, French, Italian and Japanese, Italian and Other Aliens in North Queensland, Cloncurry, Bedourie and Mount Isa, Cammooweal, Longreach, Roma," Q30582 PART 2, Correspondence Files Relating to National Security, Single Number Series with Q (Queensland) Prefix, BP242/1, NAA. This report refers to a man in Malanda who remained in contact with the Japanese Association in Cairns via their P.O. Box.
46. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Written Petition for Japanese Consulate Establishment in Queensland, Australia 1894," B15100825100, Government Organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rules and Diplomatic Establishments Abroad, 6.1.2., Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, National Archives of Japan.
47. Gibson-Wilde, *Gateway to a Golden Land*, 16.
48. Ireland, "Early Japanese Visitors"; "Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Japan Mail Steamship Co.)," *Japan Times*, 4 January 1901, 8. This advertisement shows the Australian line of the *Nippon Yusen Kaisha* had two vessels travelling monthly to Melbourne via Moji, Nagasaki, Hongkong, Manila, Thursday Island, Townsville, Brisbane, and Sydney.
49. Kadota, "Japanese Envoys"; Sissons, "The Lady Rowena," 93.
50. Oliver, *Raids on Australia*, 45.
51. Ibid., 33.
52. Pixley, "Consuls in Queensland: Part 1"; Pixley, "Consuls in Queensland: Part 2."
53. Eccles, Corrina. "Kardinia Park Chronicles – Welcome to Djilang," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sx7B__rS7AA, last accessed 7 March 2025; "History," Wadawurrung Traditional Owners Aboriginal Corporation, https://www.wadawurrung.org.au/history, last accessed 7 March 2025; "Northern Social Gossip," *Queenslander* (Brisbane), 18 April 1896, 726.

54. Often referred to as the 'land of the rising sun,' the sun has held symbolic meaning in Japan since at least the Asuka period (538-710 CE). In 1870 the Japanese national flag was adopted, which has a crimson red circle in the centre and symbolises a sun disc. From 1870 to 1945, the rising sun flag that features a red disc surrounded by sixteen rays emanating from the disc, was adopted as the war flag of the Imperial Japanese Army. From 1889 to 1945, a similar flag design with the red disc offset to the left, was used as the naval ensign of the Imperial Japanese Navy. During WWII, the rising sun became a symbol of Japanese imperialism and aggression across East and Southeast Asia.
55. Gibson-Wilde, "The Japanese Consulate at Townsville," 28.
56. Photograph outside *Kardinia* ca. 1902, Paul Tonnoir Personal Collection.
57. Gibson-Wilde, "The Japanese Consulate at Townsville," 28.
58. There were nine individuals who occupied the position of Consul or Acting Consul from March 1896 to October 1908 while the Japanese Consulate was in Townsville.
59. Menghetti, *Summer Seas*, 15–16.
60. Ireland, "Early Japanese Visitors."
61. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Townsville Consulate Report / North Queensland District Circuit Report (Consul Iijima) 1900," B16080742300, Official Trips and Rounds, 6.1.6., Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, National Archives of Japan.
62. Letter from Japanese Consul, Townsville to the Prime Minister, Queensland, 12 June 1900, "Admission of Japanese into Queensland, Ordered by the Legislative Assembly, A.5—1899," Paul Tonnoir Personal Collection (hereafter Admission of Japanese).
63. Letter from Eitaki to Prime Minister Edmund Barton, 20 September 1901, "Request for Information by Consul for Japan re Dismissal of a Japanese Worker," 1901/262/1, Correspondence Files, Folio System, A8, NAA.
64. Letter from Captain A.W. Jose, Department of the Navy to Atlee Hunt, 26 November 1919, "Administration of the Immigration Act to Japanese," 1919/4814, Correspondence Files, Annual Single Number Series, A1, NAA.
65. Letter from Atlee Hunt to Collector of Customs (various), 20 March 1919, "Administration of the Immigration Act to Japanese," 1919/4814, Correspondence Files, Annual Single Number Series, A1, NAA.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Copy of Telegram Received by Prime Minister Stanley Bruce from the Japanese Consul, 4 August 1923, Series 5. Japan, 1918-1923, Papers of E.L. Piesse, MS 882, National Library of Australia.
69. Department of External Affairs [I], Melbourne, "Protest by Japanese Consul on White Labour Clause of Postal and Telegraphic Bill," 1901/101/8, Correspondence Files, Folio System, A8, NAA.
70. Neville Meaney, "The Problem of Nationalism and Race," 19.
71. Ibid., 11.
72. Of course, there were different expressions and responses to these anxieties about Japan throughout this period, ranging from Prime Minister Alfred Deakin's cautious concessions to Billy Hughes' 'rude manner.' For more, see, Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, 293–9.
73. McGregor, *Environment, Race, and Nationhood*, 68–9.
74. Admission of Japanese.
75. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "20. Application from Thursday Island Club President for Branch Office Establishment in Thursday Island February, 1905," B15100826700,

Government Organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rules and Diplomatic Establishments Abroad, 6.1.2., Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, National Archives of Japan.

76. Admission of Japanese.
77. Letter from I.M. Tokugawa, Japanese Consul-General, to F.J. Quinlan, Assistant Secretary, Home and Territories Department, 18 January 1928, "Japanese Society, Broome – Executive Secretary," 1940/2/1212, Correspondence Files, Class 2 (Restricted Immigration), A433, NAA (hereafter Japanese Society, Broome).
78. Letter from I.M. Tokugawa, Japanese Consul-General, to F.J. Quinlan, Assistant Secretary, Home and Territories Department, 17 February 1928, Japanese Society, Broome.
79. Marginalia, Letter from I.M. Tokugawa, Japanese Consul-General, to F.J. Quinlan, Assistant Secretary, Home and Territories Department, 17 February 1928, Japanese Society, Broome.
80. Tsuyoshi Shiromoto was also known as Tsuyoshi Kono. The latter name 'Kono' was assumed after he was adopted into a family of the same name, but later renounced and he took on his original name Shiromoto. For more, see, Letter from Acting Consul-General for Japan to Secretar, Department of Home Affairs, 28 May 1929, Japanese Society, Broome.
81. Letter from K. Inoue, Consul-General, to Secretary, Department of Home Affairs, 19 March 1931, Japanese Society, Broome.
82. It is unclear whether there were three separate consuls, with one consul posted at each consulate during this period. From all accounts, it appears that until 1898 there was only the consul at Townsville and the other consulates in Sydney and Melbourne were perhaps staffed by secretaries and other Japanese officials. After 1908, when all consular activities were shifted to Sydney, the role of the consul was upgraded to the singular role of Consul-General.
83. Minute for His Excellency the Governor-General from Edmund Barton, Prime Minister, 3 July 1901, "Papers re Appointment of a Consul General for Australia by Japanese Government," 1901/19/1, Correspondence Files, Folio System, A8, NAA; Ireland, "Early Japanese Visitors."
84. "Kardinia," Queensland Heritage Register, Queensland Government, https://apps.des.qld.gov.au/heritage-register/detail/?id=600938, last accessed 7 March 2025.
85. "Mission & History of the Consulate-General of Japan, Sydney," Consulate-General of Japan in Sydney, https://www.sydney.au.emb-japan.go.jp/itpr_en/about_history.html, last accessed 7 March 2025; "Ambassador's Official Visits to Queensland," Embassy of Japan in Australia, https://www.au.emb-japan.go.jp/itpr_en/bilateral_official_visits_qld_en.html, last accessed 7 March 2025. Ambassador Kusaka visited Queensland in August 2016, including the Japanese Consulate in Townsville, in recognition of the deep cultural and economic ties. The late owners of the house, Paul and June Tonnoir, received numerous visits from Japanese diplomats and have been invited to Japan in honour of *Kardinia*'s significance in Australian-Japanese relations.
86. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "10. Japanese Consulate New Establishment in Townsville, Australia: April, 1919," B15100752100, Government Organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rules and Diplomatic Establishments Abroad, 6.1.2., Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, National Archives of Japan.
87. "Japanese Tourists and Merchants Admitted on Passports," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 September 1904, 6.
88. Oliver, "Japanese Relationships," 5; Horikawa, "Australia's Minor Concessions," 15.

89. Ganter, "Wakayama Triangle," 57.
90. Armstrong, "Aspects of Japanese Immigration," 8.
91. Histories mentioning John Iwamatsu Nakashiba, his immediate family and their descendants have also been covered in works including, Griggs, "Alien Agriculturalists," 146; Trevillian, "Historian as Traveller," 133–36; Oliver, "Citizens Without Certificates," 132; Oliver, *Raids on Australia*, 82–83.
92. Letter from Atlee Hunt, Secretary for External Affairs, to Collector of Customs, Brisbane, 2 January 1907, "B. Nakashiba Ex. Cert. Exemption Certificate," 1921/24449, Correspondence Files, Annual Single Number Series, A1, NAA (hereafter B. Nakashiba Exemption).
93. Department of External Affairs Memorandum, 21 August 1912, B. Nakashiba Exemption; J.R. Craig, Question 7869, "Report of the Royal Commission – Queensland 1908 on Pearl Shell and Beche-de-Mer Industries," 1911/17867, Correspondence Files, Annual Single Number Series, A1, NAA.
94. Memorandum, Department of External Affairs, 21 October 1908, B. Nakashiba Exemption.
95. Memorandum, Department of External Affairs, 21 August 1912 & Memorandum, Department of External Affairs, 16 May 1913, B. Nakashiba Exemption.
96. Letter from Atlee Hunt to Collector of Customs, Brisbane, 18 February 1916, B. Nakashiba Exemption.
97. Letter from Fred C. Hodel to The Minister for External Affairs, 11 January 1921, B. Nakashiba Exemption; 'J.T. Nakashiba' [advertisement], *CP*, 18 December 1911, 4; 'Nakashiba Bros' [advertisement], *CP*, 16 October 1913, 8.
98. Letter from Atlee Hunt to Acting Collector of Customs, 21 January 1921, B. Nakashiba Exemption.
99. Petition to the Minister for External Affairs, Melbourne, 8 February 1921, B. Nakashiba Exemption.
100. Copy of "Japanese: Concern in the North," *Daily Mail* (Brisbane), 11 February 1921; Letter from Acting Consul-General, Japan to Secretary, Home and Territories Department, 29 January 1921; Petition to Minister for External Affairs, 28 January 1921, Letter from Fred C. Hodel to The Minister for External Affairs, 11 January 1921; Minute Paper, Alleged Improper Use of Japanese Indents at Thursday Island, 6 May 1921; Telegram, 24 August 1921, B. Nakashiba Exemption.

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