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Japanese in the Northern Territory, 1884–1902

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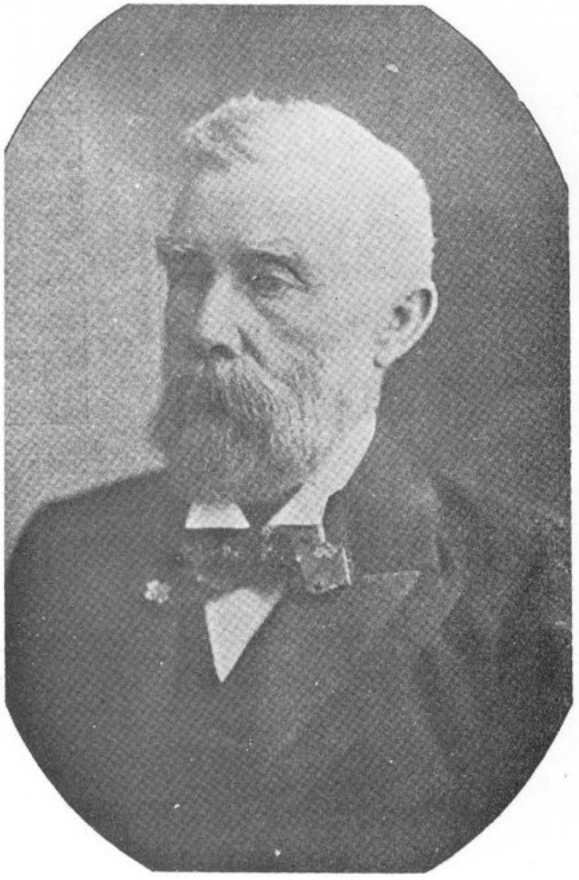

John Langdon Parsons
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JAPANESE IN THE NORTHERN TERRITORY 1884-1902

by D.C.S. Sissons

PEARLING 1884-1887

After several abortive attempts commencing in 1824, the first permanent settlement in the Northern Territory by Caucasians was established in 1869. This was known as Palmerston until 1911 when, on the transfer of the Territory from the South Australian to the Federal government, what had hitherto been the name of the port only, Darwin, was officially adopted as the name of the town.

Although men from the Celebes were not deterred by the white settlers from continuing their annual visits to the coasts of the Territory to fish for trepang and pearl-shell, the few attempts by Caucasians to raise shell in this area in the 70s were not a financial success and were soon abandoned.[1]

It appears that in 1882 several small proprietors independently began pearling operations based on Darwin; but they do not appear to have fished for shell within the harbour. At the end of 1883 some of them attempted to float a company, the North Australian Pearlshell Co. There was an inadequate response from the public until, coincidentally, E. Streeter's schooner, *Sree Pas Sair*, called at Darwin on February 10th (1884) at the end of a cruise in which she had prospected for shell westwards from Admiralty Gulf (W.A.). Within a few days she had raised about 1½ tons of shell from the bed of Darwin harbour. The

Sree Pas Sair carried no diving dresses, and after working over the shallower areas accessible to its 60 swimming divers, moved on. The public, rightly concluding from his discoveries that there would be more shell in the deeper waters of the harbour, now showed more interest in the North Australian Pearlshell Co. (which from the outset had proposed using diving suits) and by February 16th all its shares were taken up. At the first meeting of the Company (which was held on that date) it was announced that it was considering importing Japanese divers from Hong Kong.[2] It must have gone ahead with this; for the *South Australian Register* reports the arrival at Darwin of 12 Japanese divers on S.S. *Keelung* from Hong Kong on June 30th and the arrival of 3 more on S.S. *Catterthun* on July 20th.[3] These men were described by the *Register* as 'steady and industrious'.[4] This apparently marked them off from the majority of divers who, according to the Government Resident, had been 'indulging in a prolonged debauch' and were 'quite unfitted for their work'.[5]

It is possible that these Japanese were recruited by Gibb, Livingstone & Co., a Hong Kong firm which, according to Alexander Marks (the Honorary Japanese Consul in Melbourne), was at about this time procuring Japanese on behalf of the Thursday Is. branch of Burns Philp & Co., using two methods: it combed the Hong Kong boarding-houses patronised by discharged Japanese seamen; it also recruited in Japan using the Kobe firm, Fearon, Low & Co.[6] According to the Passport Registers of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a number of passports were issued during April, May and June 1884, for Hong Kong, to men 'employed by Fearon, Low & Co.' The names of the men are listed in the Registers and several of them became well known in the Japanese community at Thursday Is. But the destination of one of them, Okada (whose passport was issued on May 24th) is known to have been Darwin.[7] It is reasonable to conclude that the other fourteen who

arrived at Darwin at this time were recruited in the same manner. Several Darwin pearlers bought their diving dresses, pumps, etc. from Burns Philps's Thursday Is. branch[8] and it would have been only natural for such pearlers to have sought the assistance of this Company for their labour requirements also.[9]

Undoubtedly it was from Thursday Is. that the N.A. Pearlshell Co. got the idea of using Japanese. Individual Japanese had begun to arrive in Thursday Is. by their own efforts in about 1878 and by the beginning of 1883 these numbered about 15. In November of the latter year the first group of Japanese recruited under contract for the industry were brought to Thursday Is. by the master pearler, Capt. John Miller. There were 37 in this group.[10] Communications between Thursday Is. and Darwin were, as we have seen, well developed and the businessmen of Darwin would have been aware of Miller's venture. Furthermore, they may well have seen the members of Miller's party taking exercise ashore when their steamer called at Darwin en route for Thursday Is. in November 1883.

The men who arrived at Darwin on 30 June 1884 may not have been the first Japanese divers at Darwin. As soon as the news of the *Sree Pas Sair's* success reached Thursday Is. the pearlers there joined in the rush. By early May there were 23 boats from Thursday Is. working at Darwin. Among them were some belonging to Capt. Miller.[11] These could well have had Japanese among their crews.

The first report in the Darwin press of any Japanese casualties among the crews of Darwin-based pearling boats appeared on 30 May 1885, when the *Northern Territory Times & Gazette* reported that Capt. Denis's *Lameroo* (one of the N.A. Pearling Co.'s vessels) had returned to port at the insistence of the Japanese crew who had been disheartened by the deaths of three of their fellows.[12] Additional information

on this point is provided in the official Register of Deaths for the Colony of Western Australia, which shows that on April 30th, at Derby, Capt. Philip Denis notified the death from measles the previous day of Nishimoto, a diver aged 26. Possibly Miyamoto, a seaman aged 20, whose death ('supposed to be dropsy') was registered at Derby one week earlier by 'Francis Ward, publican', was another of Denis's crew. These are the only Japanese deaths recorded in Western Australia between 1883 and 1888.[13] In June 1885 the 'occurrence book'[14] of the police station of the Western Australian pearling town of Cossack (further to the south) records the presence of the Company's pearling schooner, the *Flowerdale*,[15] with one Japanese, Kinosuke, among its crew. This is the first Japanese name to appear in the Cossack occurrence book. These entries suggest that the Japanese may have been first introduced into the Western Australian pearling industry by the Darwin pearlers rather than by the Thursday Is. fleets that moved to there in early 1886[16] or by Western Australian pearlers.

PROSTITUTION

Like former attempts, this attempt to establish at Darwin a pearling industry based on locally raised shell also ended in failure. By 1887, as the beds in Darwin harbour became depleted, most of the pearlers (who were also discouraged by the heavy licence fees demanded by the South Australian Government) moved off to more attractive bases elsewhere.[17] Pearling in Darwin appears to have remained fairly inactive until 1892.[18] Another industry, however, soon attracted some Japanese to Darwin. The Queensland weekly magazine, the *Boomerang*, on 12 May 1888 carried a report on a recent visit to Darwin. The literary style of the writer suggests that he was James Murdoch who, a generation later, achieved fame as the author of the famous three-volume *History of Japan*. He reports that there were then in Darwin five Japanese brothels con-

A Port Darwin "Jap."

From the Queensland weekly magazine, the *Boomerang*, 12 May 1888.

taining 25 Japanese prostitutes and that there were 'branch establishments down the Western Australian coast well nigh as far as Fremantle'.

A letter to Alexander Marks from H. Sato, a local government official from Hokkaido who visited Darwin the following April (1889),[19] puts the number of Japanese prostitutes in Darwin at that time at 19. Sato's report also indicates that despite the downturn in pearling there were several Japanese men in Darwin engaged in other activities; for he mentions that a local Japanese, Fujii, had become impoverished as a result of a fraud perpetrated on him by Takada (one of the principals engaged in the traffic in women) and that two local Japanese carpenters had come to Fujii's assistance and provided him with the money with which to return to Japan. Sato describes the two carpenters as 'ships carpenters'. Possibly, like the first Japanese arrivals at Thursday Is., they had left Japan by joining the crew of a foreign vessel and had eventually taken their discharges in Australia.

There is one other piece of evidence which confirms that there were some Japanese men, presumably unconnected with prostitution, in Darwin during the period between 1887 and the revival of pearling in 1892. When in 1895 a Royal Commission on the Northern Territory was appointed, one of the witnesses who gave evidence was C. Mann, a railway engineer. He was questioned about matters in the Territory during the period that he was there, i.e. from February 1888 to the beginning of 1890. He spoke of Japanese there as 'very natty little chaps' who 'beat the Chinese into a cocked hat'; they were very ambitious; they were refined in comparison with the Chinese; some were gentlemen.[20]

In 1893 the Japanese Diet voted ¥10,000 to defray the cost of surveys of overseas territories likely to be suitable for Japanese emigration.[21] Of this sum

¥2,000 was allocated to K. Watanabe to visit and report on Australia and some Pacific islands. In his 300-page printed report on Australia, Watanabe gives more detail about the Japanese prostitutes in Darwin and the means by which they were procured. According to Watanabe, there were at that time twelve Japanese women in Darwin all of whom had come there as prostitutes after plying their trade at places like Hong Kong and Singapore. All were from Kyushu - most of them from Nagasaki prefecture. Most were between 24 and 30 years of age; but some were only 17 or 18. Two had married in Darwin. The women were distributed among three brothels, 3 or 4 at each. Watanabe gives a very circumstantial account of the manner in which the traffic was conducted. The procurer would seek out poor families and make an advance of ¥20 - ¥30 to the victims. (The par value of the yen was close to 2/- sterling). He would then make arrangements with the captain of a foreign ship to smuggle them to Hong Kong or Canton at ¥50 - ¥60 per head. They would be put aboard from a fishing boat as soon as they were beyond the radius of surveillance by the water police. At Hong Kong the procurer would sell them for about ¥200 - ¥300 and then return to Japan and repeat the process.[22] The letter from Sato to the Honorary Consul to which we have already referred[23] shows that the traffic was conducted in a similar fashion four years earlier. Writing in 1889 Sato states that Takada had come to Darwin with five young Nagasaki women who had been residing in Hong Kong. Of these he sold one to a Malayan barber for £50 and two to a Chinese at £40 each. One he put to work as a prostitute on his own account. The remaining girl he kept as a concubine. The c.i.f. price of Takada's women at Darwin is sufficiently close to Watanabe's price for Hong Kong to make both fairly credible. Other things being equal, one would expect the price at Darwin to be the higher. There would be a greater outlay on transport. Furthermore, according to the *Japan Weekly Mail*, the average monthly income of a Japanese prostitute was higher in Australia than any-

where else in the world - four times that available at Hong Kong.[24] On the other hand, a girl freshly landed from Japan might be expected to fetch a higher price than one who had been engaged in the trade for some time at Hong Kong. Doubtless, the market also fluctuated in accordance with the supply and demand locally.

At the present stage of our research, not much has been discovered about Japanese prostitution in Darwin after this date. It is possible (but by no means certain) that the Premier (Kingston), when in the course of a debate in Parliament in July 1896 he described Japanese arrivals in Darwin as 'of the worst sort', was using this phrase as a more refined alternative to the word 'prostitutes'.[25] There is also a passing reference to Japanese prostitution in the course of the debate in the South Australia *Immigration Bill* in December 1898. On that occasion one of the Members for the Northern Territory, V.L. Solomon (who incidentally was one of the original promoters of the N.A. Pearlshell Co. in 1883-4), referred to the provision which sought to make prostitutes a specific category of prohibited immigrants. He remarked that many Japanese prostitutes had lately landed in Northern Australia.[26] The term 'Northern Australia', however, is a wide one and he may possibly have had in mind northern Queensland and the north of Western Australia where there were many references to Japanese prostitutes in the newspapers of the day.[27] An article written at this time by the Sydney journalist, John Plummer, however, explicitly places the Northern Territory in the same category as the other two regions in this respect: 'The immigration of Japanese women for immoral purposes is beginning to attract attention in Northern Queensland, the Northern Territory and Western Australia. They are said to filter through Hong Kong and Port Darwin ...'[28] More concrete evidence of their presence emerged from time to time in the local press. On the night of 5 April 1898 Nagatomi, a Japanese diver

employed by a pearler named Trehearne, was found dead in Cavanagh St. At the trial it was established that he had died from knife wounds inflicted by another Japanese, Okamoto, in a Japanese brothel.[29] My guess is that, as elsewhere in northern Australia, Japanese prostitution continued to thrive in Darwin until the federal Immigration Restriction Act in 1902 prevented further recruitment, and that it continued thereafter on a limited scale until, in the 1920s, the girls introduced before 1902 became too old for the business.

That there was at least one Japanese brothel operating in Darwin in March 1901 emerges from the evidence in the trial of a Japanese diver convicted for the attempted murder of a young Japanese woman at the rear of a house in Cavanagh St.[30] The proprietor, a Japanese woman testified that this was a house of ill-fame and that the victim was one of the inmates. The victim had received some £8 or £9 from the diver, who wished to marry her. She had prevaricated and he had eventually become jealous. Armed with a sword and a pistol he had called her outside, upbraided her for 'deceiving him so many times', and shot her in the breast at point-blank range. The diver made off and wrote his suicide's letter in large Japanese characters on the surface of the town's tennis court. His resolution, however, failed him and, a week later, he gave himself up quietly at the police station. Apparently he had lived in Darwin for some time and was given a good character. Before sentence was passed the victim indicated that she did not wish a severe sentence to be imposed. According to the report in the press, the judge (Dashwood) 'after some hesitation agreed to take this into account', whereupon he sentenced him to 7 years hard labour 'and commented in severe terms upon coloured people going about armed'. This case has much in common with several others involving Japanese men and Japanese prostitutes at Thursday Is., Cossack, Boulder and Kanowna. The only unusual features, indeed, are the diver's choice of

writing materials and his failure to make a serious attempt on his own life.

The South Australian census of 31 March 1901[31] shows that there were 39 female 'coloured natives of Japan' in the Colony on that date. It shows 38 of these as located in the Northern Territory and the one remaining as in the category 'shipping'. This probably means afloat on census night. We can therefore say fairly confidently that this Japanese woman was aboard a pearling schooner or lugger based on Darwin.[32]

According to the Census all of these 39 Japanese women were between the ages of 15 and 34; twelve of them were between 15 and 19, seventeen of them were between 20 and 24. Twelve were illiterate in their own language. Twenty-eight were unmarried. Of the 39, nine gave housewife as their occupation. The breakdown of the occupations given by the remainder is as follows: household servants 14, lodgers 7, visitors 3, tailoress/seamstress 3, boarding-house keepers 2, hospital inmate 1. Much more information is available about the Japanese women in Queensland and Western Australia at this time and from that information I have been able to establish that more than half were prostitutes.[33] In the light of this and of the ages, literacy, conjugal condition and stated occupations of the Northern Territory women I should be very surprised if the proportion of prostitutes among them was not very similar. The *Missionary Review* of 12 December 1898 in a report on the 'Moral Atmosphere of Darwin' put the proportion much higher: 'The Japanese women are almost all professional prostitutes, the Malay women are nurse-girls, the Chinese women are mostly patient grudging wives'.[34]

PEARLING 1892-1902

Pearling at Darwin revived in 1892.[35] According to the evidence given by the master pearler, Capt. Edwards, before the Dashwood Commission at Darwin in 1902, this was thanks to the arrival from Western Australia of a diver named 'Charley Japan'.[36] This was only a year before the report by Watanabe to which we have already referred. Fortunately the latter deals with him in some detail.[37]

Watanabe does not appear to have met him; for he does not give his Japanese name, Hamaura,[38] but refers to him only as 'Charley'. According to Watanabe, he was from Nagasaki prefecture and left Japan as one of the crew of a foreign ship in 1880. After three years on the world's sea lanes he took his discharge somewhere in the northern part of Australia and was employed for a long time in the pearling industry at Cossack (W.A.). The seafaring life had, however, made him restless and he moved from place to place in Australia, finally ending up in Darwin in February 1892. Just at that time a Caucasian happened to be setting up in business as a pearler. He employed him as a diver. Hamaura found such a quantity of shell that before the end of 1892 he was able to equip his own boat and summon some of his countrymen from Western Australia to serve as his crew. Other Japanese heard of his success and came to Darwin, bringing the Japanese population of Darwin up to about 30 in 1892. The Government Resident in his annual reports to the South Australian Parliament for the years 1892 and 1893 confirms this overall picture. He notes that with the abolition of the annual licence fee pearling was resumed in 1892, that at the end of the year three boats were shelling in the harbour and that these were 'owned and worked chiefly by Japanese'.[39] Watanabe writes that in 1893 Caucasian owners, attracted by the success of the Japanese, entered the industry using Japanese labour. Watanabe was exultant and used such phrases as 'In the

field of pearling here the Japanese already have the mastery' and 'Here if you say "Japanese" you mean "diver" just as if you say "Chinese" you mean "miner"'. In more restrained language the Harbour-Master in his report for 1893 reached a similar conclusion: 'The divers and crew are principally Japanese - a fine, sturdy and steady lot of men'.[40]

Watanabe noted that at that time (1893) there were 21 Japanese men and 12 Japanese women in Darwin. Of the men 16 came from Wakayama, 3 from Nagasaki, 1 from Fukuoka and 1 from Miyazaki prefectures. All but one of them (a photographer) was engaged in the pearling industry. Three out of the 21 were masters, not employees. This gave him considerable satisfaction. He contrasted California and the State of Washington, where thousands of Japanese were other men's servants, with Darwin and Thursday Is. where Japanese were engaged in independent occupations and could look whites in the face. The Japanese wage-earners, too, he said, were doing well. The ordinary Japanese were getting £3 - £5 per month and the better divers £7 - £8. In all, he concluded that the local Japanese had only one thing to be ashamed of - the prostitutes.[41]

At the end of 1893 only two of the six luggers operating from Darwin were owned by Japanese. The remainder were owned by Caucasians.[42] Nevertheless, on December 28th of that year a deputation of the latter waited on the Government Resident (Dashwood) and urged that no more pearling licences be issued to Asiatics. They claimed to be apprehensive of 'an influx of boats owned by Asiatics from Thursday Is.'[43] Dashwood felt that to restrict licences in this manner would have the effect of confining to its existing size and its present owners an infant industry capable of considerable expansion. Alternatively, the policy would be frustrated as a result of some Caucasians taking out licences and leasing the boats to Asiatics. Instead, he proposed that those of the petitioners who

had recently discovered new areas of shell be given for a period the exclusive right to fish them. The Government adopted this course. In his advice to the Minister, Dashwood spoke highly of the Japanese and their contribution to the industry:

> Those principally engaged in the active part of the work are Japanese. There are six or seven employed in each boat. They spend their money in the place and from all I learn are anything but undesirable Colonists.
>
> Even if it be considered advisable to discontinue issuing licences to Japanese I have no doubt that they will be employed in the fishing operations as they cannot very well be done without; they are undoubtedly the best divers.

In April 1895 the Caucasian boat-owners reiterated their request in a petition to the South Australian Parliament, arguing that there was a danger that Asians would monopolise the industry.[44] But the threat, if any, seems to have come not from the Japanese, but from Europe. The Report of the Government Resident for 1894 indicates that at the end of that year the total number of luggers engaged in the industry was 18. The Japanese had increased their number from 2 to 3; the local Caucasians still had 6; but 9 luggers belonging to a United Kingdom company had arrived from the Kai Is.[45] In this situation it is hard to give credence to W. Griffiths, the junior Member for the Northern Territory, when, on July 31st in leading the debate on the petition in the House of Assembly, he asserted that 'very great harm [was] being done to the pearling industry in the Territory owing to the increase of Japanese engaged'. Nor, in the light of the prominent part played by Hamaura in the revival of the industry in 1893, can we accept Griffiths' complaint that the Japanese were profiting from discoveries made possible

by the investment of vast sums by white enterprises.[46] Replying for the Government, the Treasurer (who was concurrently the Minister responsible for the Northern Territory) took the contrary view. He argued that it was the Japanese who were the prospectors and that the present extent of the pearling industry was largely due to their enterprise; it was desirable that the industry should be developed and the Japanese were the most likely people to develop it.[47] One Member, P.M. Glynn, took the argument a step further and suggested that the real purpose of the petitioners was to ensure that the Asiatics had no alternative to working for them at starvation wages.[48]

On September 20th (1895) the *Northern Territory Times* drew attention to the arrival of a Japanese-owned lugger from Thursday Is. to prospect for shell on the Northern Territory coast and to the 'current rumour that a rush of Japanese boats from Thursday Is. to Port Darwin will shortly take place'. It reported a similar rumour on October 4th. On October 5th the South Australian Government abandoned the position that it had maintained during the debate in Parliament in July and, in announcing that the other Australian Colonies had agreed to its proposal for an inter-colonial conference to consider both Asian immigration and the Anglo-Japanese commercial treaty, added that in the meantime it would issue no further pearling licences to Asiatics.[49]

This was a diplomatic way of imposing a ban that was intended to be permanent; for the purpose of Kingston, the South Australian Premier, in calling this conference was to ensure that no Australian colony entered the Treaty and to ensure that all the colonies extended their existing anti-Chinese legislation to prevent the entry of other coloured peoples such as Indians and Japanese. Kingston had for years been committed to Asian exclusion. He was a member of the South Australian Government that provided the initi-

ative for calling the conference in Sydney in 1888 that drafted the uniform legislation to exclude the Chinese. At that conference he was a member of the sub-committee that drafted the uniform legislation. This sub-committee had proposed that the legislation apply to all Asian labourers generally; but the Conference had overridden it on this point and confined the operation of the legislation to Chinese.[50] Kingston had since 1892 been trying to hold an inter-colonial conference to remedy this deficiency, but had been blocked by the resistance of the New South Wales Government. It would appear that he was now taking advantage of the ratification of the Anglo-Japanese treaty on 25 August 1894 (and the provision in it that gave each Australian colony the option, limited to two years, to join it) to secure his basic objective of overall Asian exclusion. Also, faced with the possibility of a greater influx of Japanese boat-owners (and their Japanese crews) from Thursday Is. than in July he had believed likely, he was now provided with a convenient opportunity discreetly to abandon the position that his Government had adopted on that occasion. Accordingly, in a telegram to the Queensland Premier on October 8th he requested the latter to ensure that the Japanese at Thursday Is. were informed that they could not rely on the South Australian Government's issuing them with licences for pearling in the Northern Territory.[51]

At the inter-colonial conference, (which duly met in March 1896) the colonies agreed to introduce legislation excluding all Asian immigrants. The legislation passed by the South Australian Parliament, however, failed to secure Royal Assent. It appears that the number of Japanese employed in the pearling industry continued to rise.

From the following account in the local newspaper of the affray that took place in Darwin's chinatown on the night of 18 December 1895 it is evident that the Japanese community was at that time large enough to

possess a two-storey club house and to field a side of 30 to 40 against a similar array of Malays and Manilamen.

> The trouble was between a crowd of Japanese on one side and an array of Malays and Manilamen on the other, and the fight was very furious until Sgt. Waters and M/C Campbell got in amongst them and scattered the rioters. Sticks and stones were the implements of warfare, and with these heads were cut, bodies bruised, and houses turned into ruins. Rackiman's barber's shop was smothered in broken glass, whilst the two-storied Japanese club house over the way had not a solid pane of glass left above or below. It was truly a willing battle, the upshot of which, if it had not been stopped by the police, would certainly have been murder. It is estimated that the combatants mustered thirty to forty a side .... The only humorous incident of the battle was the landlord of the Japanese club consistently blowing a trumpet while the doors and windows were being smashed all about him ...[52]

The South Australian Government do not appear to have collected statistics which would enable them to know with any accuracy the size of the Japanese population in the Northern Territory in these years.[53] Fortunately, for the years 1896-1900 'the Darwin area' appears as an entry in the census conducted by Japanese consulates annually on December 31st. From these it is possible to compile the following table.

Annual Consular Returns of Japanese Population in the Darwin Area 1896 - 1900[54]

	Public Officials		Students		Trade		Others		Total		Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
31/12/96							130	35	130	35	165
31/12/97					2	2	92	9	94	11	105
31/12/98					6	3	270	18	276	21	297
31/12/99					1	-	237	35	238	35	273
31/12/1900					2	-	183	28	185	28	213

How many of the 'Others' shown in the above Table were in each year engaged in the pearling industry we cannot say with certainty. An undated report by the Consul made some time during 1897 does, however, give a breakdown into occupations at that time. He notes that, since the preceding December the total Japanese population had fallen from 165 to 91 because a number had been attracted by better conditions at Thursday Is. and, to a lesser degree, at Cossack. He notes that, with the exception of 1 doctor and 5 boarding-house keepers, all are engaged in pearling and that about 70% are from Wakayama prefecture.[55] In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we may assume that, at least during the season, a very high proportion of the Japanese were each year engaged in pearling. In March 1896 the employment of 40 Japanese on construction work on the jetty prompted an editorial in the *Northern Territory Times* which conjured up visions of Japanese competition against white labour more serious than the existing competition from Chinese labour.[56] This was, however, during the lay-up period, when storms and dirty water made pearling impossible and the crews were paid off. This period normally extended from December

to March,[57] but in the year in question continued into April.[58] Such employment would have been permitted only when white labour was not available.[59] The South Australian Census of 31 March 1901 demonstrates that a very high proportion of the Japanese men in the Northern Territory at that date were engaged in the pearling industry. Of the 166 male coloured natives of Japan in the Colony it shows 64 as located in the Northern Territory, another 99 in the category 'shipping', and the remaining 3 as located in Adelaide. We can say fairly confidently that the 99 described as 'shipping' were aboard pearling schooners or luggers based on Darwin.[60] The 3 Japanese in Adelaide are not a sufficiently large number to make the census breakdown by occupations for the whole Colony misleading if applied to the Northern Territory only.

S.A. CENSUS OF 31/3/1901 -

COLOURED NATIVES OF JAPAN (MALES)

OCCUPATIONS AND AGES

Occupation	Number so Occupied	Employment Status (All are wage-earners unless otherwise indicated)
Ordinary Seaman	62	
Pearl Diver	36	3 unemployed
Pearl Diver's Tender	28	3 unemployed
Pearl Diver's Yardman	1	
Ship's steward	3	
Miner - gold, quartz	9	
Miner - gold, undefined	7	

Occupation	Number so Occupied	Employment Status (All are wage-earners unless otherwise indicated)
Miner - undefined	1	
Mine Night Watchman	1	
Boarding-House Proprietor	1	self-employed
Boarding-House Cook	1	
Domestic Cook	3	
Domestic Servant	2	
Laundryman	2	both self-employed
Merchant	1	self-employed
Shopkeeper	2	1 employed; 1 self-employed
Storeman	2	
Carter	1	employer
Carpenter	1	
Inmate of Gaol	2	not applicable
TOTAL	166	

It will be observed that of the total of 166, 151 were wage-earners, 6 were unemployed, 6 were self-employed, and 2 were employers. The young predominated. Dividing the total according to age groups we have: 20-24 y.o. 59, 25-29 y.o. 50, 30-39 y.o. 35, 40-49 y.o. 8, 50-54 y.o. 4. The Census also reveals that 160 were unmarried and 81 were illiterate in their own language.

Assuming, as is not unreasonable, that the large majority of the 62 ordinary seamen were crewmen on pearling vessels, we may conclude that close on 130 of the 166 Japanese males in South Australia on 31 March 1901 were engaged in pearling in the Northern Territory. Outside the pearling industry the next largest occupational group among the Japanese were those employed in the mining industry - 18 in all. As in the other two Colonies where mining was carried on extensively (Queensland and Western Australia), Asiatics were ineligible to receive a miner's right on new goldfields. It is therefore not surprising that these 18 were all wage-earners.[61]

The information about employment status suggests that by 1901 none of the Japanese operated pearling luggers; for only two of the Japanese - the carter and one of the shopkeepers - are described as employers. As we have noted, the policy of issuing no new pearling licences to Asiatic aliens was adopted in 1895. At that time Japanese held licences for four luggers: Hamaura - *Cleopatra* and *Black Jack;* Oto Okamura - *Jack;* Haru - *Bulldog.*[62] By February 1898 the figure had declined to one - Hamaura's *Cleopatra*[63] - and this seems to have lapsed during 1899.[64] In 1899 Okamura bought *Garnet* from A.E. Jolly & Co. and was issued with a licence. This, however, was revoked almost immediately on the ground that, although with Hamaura he had been one of the pioneers of the local industry, he nevertheless was not in possession of a current licence at the time he bought *Garnet.* Complaints were made by Caucasian pearlers (sometimes on the basis of information received from their own Japanese crews) that Japanese continued to operate boats by getting European 'dummies', for a consideration, to take out licences for them. (This, as we have already observed, is what Dashwood had predicted). In January 1899 it was alleged that *Electra* and *Daisy*, licensed to A.E. Jolly & Co., were in fact operated by a Japanese syndicate. In March the Sub-Collector of Customs, as a result of

similar suspicions, refused applications for four additional licences for this firm. In April it appears that licences may have been witheld in the case of a lugger or luggers in which two Japanese, Asari and Fujimoto, had an interest.[65] In November regulations were gazetted which made mandatory the denial of licences to Asiatic aliens. (The basis of this policy in the past had been administrative discretion). The new regulations also made the licencee liable to a maximum penalty of £100 and the forfeiture of the vessel if any Asiatic alien leased, chartered or had any direct or indirect interest in it.[66] How effective these regulations were, at the time or in later years, we cannot tell. In Western Australia where similar legislation was enacted, very few charges were ever laid because it was found next to impossible to secure evidence sufficient to sustain a conviction.[67] Possibly it was the same in the Northern Territory.

The size of the Japanese population as given in the Consular return for 31 December 1900 (v. *supra* p.18) is sufficiently close to the Census figure for 31 March 1901 for us to regard the Consular returns as reasonably accurate. We may therefore accept that, as shown in the Consular returns, there was a decline in the Japanese population after 1898. Whether there was any reason for this other than fluctuations in the requirements of the pearling industry is not known. On 20 July 1898 a Proclamation was issued by the South Australian Executive Council directing all Customs officers 'subject to the approval of the Honourable the Treasurer ... to refuse and prevent admission into South Australia of any alien not entitled by treaty to enter South Australia ...' Some two months later, in the course of the debate in Parliament on the abortive Immigration Restriction Bill, Kingston explained the function of this Proclamation.[68] He said that while, in the absence of a statute such as that under discussion, there was no power to prevent the entry of *British subjects* (e.g. Indians or Hong Kong Chinese),

the decision given by the Privy Council in *Chung Toy v. Musgrove*[69] in 1891 established that *aliens* had 'no legal right, enforceable by action, to enter British territory' and that, accordingly, they could be excluded by executive act. In answer to a question by another Member, he elaborated on this and stated that, in the case of the Japanese, the Government had two strings to its bow; the first was the dictation test in English provided in the Bill; but in the case of a Japanese who was proficient in English they could rely on the Proclamation. The latter continued to be published regularly in the Northern Territory official *Gazette* until the federal Immigration Restriction Act came into effect in 1902. Shortly after the Proclamation was issued in 1898 the South Australian Government also warned the shipping companies trading between Darwin and the Far East that steps were being taken to prevent the introduction of Asiatics into the Northern Territory.[70] Whether, like this warning to shipping companies, the Proclamation was used merely as a deterrent, or whether it was ever invoked to prevent the entry of Japanese into the Territory, is not known. In my opinion it would have been surprising if at this time the South Australian Government prevented the entry of Japanese employees under contract to Caucasian pearlers. It appears that some may have been admitted in the months following the March 1901 census - either by the South Australian Government or, after December 1901, by the Federal Government; for the *Dashwood Report* published in 1902 shows a slight increase over the census figures in the number of Japanese engaged in pearling at Darwin (37 divers and 99 crewmen as against 36 divers and 94 crewmen).[71] It is, however, possible that the difference could have been the result of movement from Thursday Is. or Western Australia.

SIZE OF JAPANESE POPULATION AT DARWIN COMPARED WITH THURSDAY IS. AND BROOME

It should be borne in mind that, as the following table indicates, just as the total take of shell at

Darwin was small in comparison with that at Thursday Is. and Western Australia, the number of Japanese at Darwin was small in comparison with those places.

	Take of Mother-of-Pearl Shell (tons)[72]			Japanese Population[73]		
	Northern Territory	Queensland	Western Australia	Darwin Area	Thursday Is. Area	Broome Area
1896	189	1089	362	165	618	
1897	137	1223	366	105	1044	
1898	193	1061	538	297	1416	
1899	211	1200	610	273	1138	
1900	174	1060	607	213	994	362

This remained the case throughout the history of the industry. The maximum take in the Northern Territory was 804 tons in 1937 (cf. 1131 tons in Queensland and 919 tons in W.A. for that year). The maximum take in Queensland was 1,429 tons in 1929 (cf. 750 tons in the Northern Territory for that year). The maximum take in Western Australia was 2007 tons in 1917 (cf. 30 tons in Northern Territory for that year).[74]

Pearl shelling off the Northern Territory coast by Japanese-owned vessels on the Japanese registry is a phenomenon belonging to a later era - 1931-1941. Some unconfirmed figures for the numbers of Japanese luggers operating there in that period are 1934 16, 1936 74, 1937 120-145.[75]

JAPANESE GRAVES AT DARWIN

In contrast to the large number of Japanese graves at Broome and Thursday Is., there are few surviving Japanese graves in Darwin cemeteries. In October 1973 at the old ("Palmerston") cemetery[76] I counted 7 Japanese headstones commemorating 16 deaths. Of these one was undated, the others ranged from 1913 to 1931. In the newer ('Gardens Rd.') cemetery[77] I counted 21 Japanese headstones commemorating 27 deaths. All of these were dated. They ranged from 1924 to 1938.

ABORTIVE PLANS TO DEVELOP AGRICULTURE IN N.T. USING JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS

It is apparent from the 1901 Census that none of the Japanese in the Northern Territory at that time were engaged in the agricultural or pastoral industries. This shows a situation quite different from that in Queensland, where the Census taken on the same date indicates that out of the total of 2,072 Japanese males no less than 947 were engaged in these industries, distributed as follows: sugar plantations 817, sugar-mills/refineries 63, farm servant/agricultural labourer 32, firewood cutter/chopper 18, market gardener 9, fruit grower/orchardist 8.

It appears that at least three attempts were made to introduce Japanese immigrants into these industries in the Northern Territory. Each was abortive.

Wilton Hack's Venture 1876-77

In 1924 S.H. Roberts published his account of a plan in 1876-77, supported by the South Australian Government, to attract Japanese immigrants to the Northern Territory.[78] His discovery that such a plan existed has added an interesting and unexpected fact to the history of Australian-Japanese relations and

his most important conclusion - that the South Australian Government of the day was not opposed to immigration from Japan - is correct. There is, however, much that is incorrect in Roberts's account and, since its inaccuracies are still finding their way into print fifty years later despite the publication of a more accurate interpretation by another scholar, J. Cross, in 1960,[79] it is appropriate that they be corrected.

Roberts's account is as follows:

> The apex of this activity came in 1876 with a scheme, which, had it come to fruition, would have changed the whole nature of the Northern Territory's history and the social and economic development of all of Australia. This, the most important single scheme ever propounded for Australian development, was no less than a plan to transplant portion of Japan *in toto* to northern Australia. There cannot be the slightest doubt as to the implications of the plan, for the documents still exist in manuscript in the Home and Territories Department, Melbourne; nor can there be any doubt as to its aims, for Blyth made it a special point to secure the signature of *each* individual Minister in his Cabinet - probably in case anything went wrong.
>
> Japanese labourers, Japanese farmers, Japanese aristocrats - all were included in the scheme - and it was declared again and again that their position was *not* to be that of the Chinese coolies. They were not to be mere mine-workers or servants on the stations, but were to have their own land in fee-simple, and were to enjoy the rights which they had in their native-land, plus the privileges ordinarily assigned in law to Australian citizens. For example, the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Yokohama was informed

"that this proposition is not intended to bring about the emigration of a labouring class only, to be hired out to foreigners, but that those who emigrate should settle upon land of their own selecting, and be in this way their own masters - free to depart from Australia the moment they are disposed to do so".

A special land clause was drafted for the settlers; copies of the regulations were translated and broadcast among the peasantry of Japan; a free passage was promised to all emigrants; a bonus was to be given to sugar producers; and arrangements were made for a reproduction of Japanese social conditions. To expedite all of these, the Government appointed a special paid Agent - Wilton Hack - an ex-missionary of a leading South Australian family. Incidentally, this man was the first diplomat appointed by a colony to negotiate directly, and without the consent of Britain, with a foreign power.

After special Cabinet meetings, Hack was directed to proceed to Tokio "and to lay before the authorities and the public there full particulars respecting the terms on which settlement may take place in the Territory, and the nature of the country". He was given letters as the paid and accredited Agent of the Government, with authority to deal officially with the matter. At first, he was successful, for, early in February, 1877, the Japanese Foreign Office agreed to the general principle. "I was assured," reported Hack, "that no obstacle would be placed in the way of Japanese emigrating". The arrangements for shipping "some three or four hundred" Japanese had practically been completed; the Government had considered such details as the actual *site* of the proposed settlement; and satisfaction had been expressed with the idea that a bonus of

24,000 dollars made it possible for Japanese middlemen to join the venture; when the whole plan was ruined.

At this point, Australian history links on to Japanese feudalism, for, just a fortnight before Hack's appearance in Japan, there had commenced a revolt against the abolition of the last relics of feudalism. This was the first organized attempt to overthrow the "Heiji" or enlightened rule. Therefore, when the popular hero, Saigo Takamori, called out the Satsuma swordsmen of the West, the very existence of the Kyoto Government was threatened. Europeanization in Japan was on its trial; and news of the western upheaval had just reached the Imperial Court in the very week of Hack's negotiations. Surely the chronological coincidence could not be clearer. As tidings of the formidable nature of the rebellion filtered through to Kyoto, and when it was seen that this was no mere local disorder, the Government inevitably turned away from foreign ventures, such as that proposed by Hack.

Novel and hazardous schemes of emigration could not be considered when a return to feudalism was imminent. Accordingly, after more negotiations, Tshibashi [sic] of the Foreign Office informed Hack that, "as to the question of Japanese emigration to South Australia, it is a matter which the Japanese Government is not disposed to encourage or aid *under present circumstances*". This was quite unexpected by South Australia's envoy, for, on the morning of February 16th, 1877, he had considered matters so far clinched that his attitude was quite dogmatic on small points, while, by that evening, the plan had been decisively rejected, and his attitude was that of a suppliant. The Japanese Government's attitude can easily be explained, for they realized that the feudal

revolt was a watershed in the history of Japan, and they knew how serious it was. The revolt actually meant seven months of hard fighting before Saigo's head fell, and by that time, of course, there were problems of reconstruction. Reporting in September, Hack wrote "the continuance of the insurrection in Japan continues and increases the complicated relationship which exists between Japanese and foreigners, and I am afraid some time must elapse before there is much hope of facilities being put into the way of would-be emigrants from Japan".

Thus the proceedings are fairly complete. The South Australian Government *did* formulate plans for a systematic colonization of the Northern Territory by all classes of Japanese, and, in defiance of their constitutional position, *did* appoint an Agent to deal directly with a foreign power. For its part, the Japanese Government, newly awakened from medievalism, *did* consider the scheme and *did* receive and recognize an accredited Agent of one of the Australian colonies. No other Australian Government has ever promulgated a scheme of such magnitude and so far-reaching implications as did Blyth's Cabinet of 1876-1877; and that they desired to push this scheme to its utmost is evident, for, even when receiving Hack's final report, the last word of the Cabinet was in "regretting that your negotiations were not more successful".

The following corrections are suggested as a result of an examination of the collection of papers now in the South Australian Archives from which Roberts' account was solely derived.[80]

In the first place, the Ministry in office throughout the whole episode was the Colton Ministry (consisting of J. Colton, Sir H. Ayers, J.C. Bray, R.D. Ross,

J. Carr, E. Ward), not the Blyth Ministry. Secondly, from Roberts's account one gets the impression that the Government drew up a fairly elaborate scheme and then selected Hack to carry it out. Roberts definitely claims that there were special Cabinet meetings and that the 'plan' was accepted by Cabinet, with the Premier (in rather sinister fashion) ensuring that each individual Minister put his signature to it. This picture is not supported by the evidence in the documents.

Hack was born in South Australia in 1843. A Baptist layman, he went to Nagasaki as a missionary in 1873.[81] This was very early in the history of Protestant missions in Japan; for, although under the treaties of 1859 the freedom of foreign missionaries within the Concessions in the Treaty Ports was guaranteed, up to 1873 to be a Christian remained a criminal offence for a Japanese. Up to 1872 there were only 28 Protestant missionaries in Japan and they had baptised only 10 Japanese. In 1873 the old 'Edict Boards' proscribing Christianity were removed and another 29 Protestant missionaries arrived.[82] Hack, no doubt, was one of these 29. How long he remained in Nagasaki is not clear; for in a Japanese Ministry of Education's list of foreign missionaries in its employment Hack appears as a teacher of English at a school in Hiroshima (some 200 miles from Nagasaki) from June 1874 to May 1875.[83] According to Cross, Hack's teaching appointment was terminated by the Japanese Government because of his missionary zeal and, deprived of his source of income, he found it necessary to return to South Australia in 1876 to appeal for funds for his missionary work. It was during this visit that Hack raised with the South Australian Government the possibility of securing Japanese immigrants for the Northern Territory. On July 29th he wrote to the Commissioner of Crown Lands drawing his attention to the excellent qualities of the Japanese as cultivators and offering to take up the

question with the Japanese Government. Cabinet on August 14th approved his 'visiting the Northern Territory and obtaining what information he can with a view to his disseminating the same in Japan, particularly among Japanese who have been accustomed to gold mining operations'. On September 5th it approved the grant of £50 to cover Hack's expenses, plus an additional £100 if he found it necessary to visit the Northern Territory. Hack in turn undertook 'to lay before the Government of Japan the particulars relative to this matter'.[84] The extent of these 'particulars' is indicated by the Minister of Education and Agriculture's minute on Hack's offer. 'He would ... lay before the authorities and the public there full particulars respecting the terms on which settlement may take place in the Territory and the character of the country'.[85] There is nothing in the documents to suggest that these terms differed from the normal terms available to any settler in the Territory. Nor is there anything to suggest that these two Cabinet meetings were anything more than ordinary meetings at which Hack's proposal was a minor item on the agenda. Roberts's view that all ministers were required to sign the decisions can only arise from a misinterpretation of the two groups of initials, H.A. and C.S., appearing each time after 'Approved in Cabinet'. These, however, merely indicate that the writer was 'H. Ayers (Chief Secretary)'.[86] The only indication that the project was ever again before Cabinet was the minute, 'Forwarded to the Hon. Chief Secretary for information of Cabinet', which appears on Hack's later letter announcing the failure of his negotiations with the Japanese Government.[87]

The elaborate plan which, one gathers from Roberts, was before Cabinet, was in fact never before them. Its details Roberts derived from letters from Hack, seen for the first time by the Minister of Agriculture and Education *after* the failure of Hack's negotiations in Japan. There is nothing to suggest

that even at that date Cabinet would have seen them. Some of the details, such as assisted passages, Roberts derives from an advertisement Hack drew up *in Japan* for subsequent approval by the South Australian Government.[88] As Cross points out, Hack had no authority to offer assisted passages and it is most unlikely that the South Australian Government would have sanctioned this.[89] Roberts's mistaken conception of the plan arises also from his misunderstanding of passages in one of Hack's letters to the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs.[90] In this letter Hack referred to his enclosure of 'a copy of the land act of South Australia, with the special clause annexed, that has direct reference to the proposed occupancy of Australian lands by Japanese'. It was from this presumably that Roberts concluded that 'a special land clause was drafted for the settlers'. Although an *Act to Amend the N.T. Land Act 1872* (No. 48 of 1876) received assent on October 27, 1876, it is obvious from its contents and from the debate on it in Parliament[91] that it had no relevance to the proposed Japanese immigration. The act which Hack forwarded was without doubt the principal act dealing with selection in the Northern Territory, the *Northern Territory Land Act 1872* (No. 28 of 1872), and the clause which he marked was Sect. 81, the particular provisions of which are exactly paraphrased in the advertisement Hack intended to publish - 'every settler has the right to select for himself a tract of fertile land varying from a few acres to more than a thousand. For this ground he pays to Government 12 cents per annum for each acre as rent. At the end of 5 years if one half of the ground selected is under cultivation, and the whole surrounded by a fence, the whole lot or selection will be handed over to the selector without further charge'.[92] Similarly Roberts is mistaken when he implies that a bonus on sugar production was arranged for the Japanese. The bonus Hack refers to dated from 1870.[93]

Roberts's final conclusion is also disputable - 'that they [the Cabinet] desired to push this scheme to its utmost is evident, for, even when receiving Hack's final report, the last word of the Cabinet was "regretting that your negotiations were not more successful"'. In the first place this view, attributed to Cabinet, is merely that of the Minister of Agriculture and Education.[94] This sentence is in fact that Minister's cold and effective reply to Hack's plaintive suggestion 'Should you be pleased or satisfied with the way in which I conducted the negotiations in Japan is it too much to ask that you so express yourself in writing'.[95] (Previous to this, in the letter in which he announced the failure of his negotiations, Hack had sought Government employment in the Northern Territory.[96] The Minister's answer had been that he was 'at present ... unable to offer ... any appointment'.[97])

The picture that emerges from the documents is not sensational. It is that the Cabinet were certainly prepared to accept Japanese migrants and to offer them the terms generally available to all settlers. To this end they were prepared to defray the modest travelling expenses of an enthusiastic missionary who, as events turned out, was also somewhat lacking in judgment. As Cross points out, Hack's position was no different from that of other temporary publicity agents with whom the South Australian Government was in contact in Mauritius, Hong Kong and Malaya: there was no suggestion of granting him diplomatic or consular powers. Roberts also lays too much stress on the 'South-Western Revolt' as a factor underlying the Japanese Government's rejection of Hack's scheme. For some years past the Japanese Government had been opposed to emigration. This was largely the result of their experience of having to repatriate Japanese subjects who, in the face of the disapproval of their Government, had been beguiled overseas by unscrupulous foreigners who then failed to carry out their undertakings.[98] Capt. Miller's engagement of the 37 Japan-

ese for pearling at Thursday Is. in October 1873 was in fact the first occasion for more than a decade on which this standing policy was relaxed.[99]

One can of course agree with Roberts that had Japanese immigration to the Northern Territory then taken place (and it was through no fault of the South Australian Government that it did not), and had that immigration been successful, then it might have 'changed the whole nature of the social and economic development of Australia'.

The failure of his negotiations with the Japanese Government apparently left Hack in straitened circumstances; for his return with his family to Australia became possible only when the British Consul at Nagasaki in April 1877 opened a subscription list for this purpose among local British residents.[100]

Enquiry through Harrold Bros., Adelaide in 1891

In July 1891 a local firm of general merchants and shipping agents, Harrold Bros. wrote to the South Australian Treasurer that 'with a view to a direct Mail Line Service being established between Japan and the Colonies' it had been asked to enquire whether the Government had any objection to the introduction of Japanese immigrants into South Australia and the Northern Territory and whether the restrictive legislation enacted against the Chinese would apply to them. In the course of this letter they wrote: 'We need hardly point out that the Japanese have an excellent reputation for being a steady and industrious people'.

Some months later Harrolds were appointed Adelaide agents for Japan's largest shipping Company, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (N.Y.K.).[101] This Company transported most of the Japanese contract labourers to the Queensland canefields and in December of that year its President founded the Yoshisa Emigration Co., the firm that

recruited most of the Japanese immigrants who came to Australia. My guess is that the enquiries made by Harrold Bros. were on the N.Y.K.'s behalf. The emigration trade was an important source of revenue to it in the early years when it sought to break in on the routes in which powerful foreign lines like P. & O. were well entrenched.[102]

Cabinet considered the matter on September 7th and authorised the Treasurer to reply to the effect that the legislation restricting the immigration of Chinese did not apply to Japanese, but that 'in the event of any large number of the latter being likely to come the Government might feel it their duty to bring the matter before Parliament.'[103] Apparently, for Harrolds' principals this was a sufficient answer; for nothing more was ever heard of the matter.

The Japanese Government had abandoned the negative attitude to emigration that guided its policy at the time of Hack's proposals. When Marks, the Honorary Consul, informed the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Harrolds' enquiry he was instructed that:

> The Government's policy towards emigrants at present is not to restrain labour by severe legislation from going overseas. If our labourers are able to make proper contracts for working overseas it places no obstacles in their way. The spirit is to facilitate this as best we can. You should, therefore, when there are any requests like the present one, examine the contract in detail, find out what kind of work is involved and how many labourers are required and report to us accordingly.[104]

The importance which the Japanese Government now attached to emigration as a national interest should not, however, be overemphasized. For example, when

in 1893 a private Member in the South Australian House of Assembly introduced a Bill to extend the Chinese Immigration Restriction Act to cover all Asiatic races, Marks was instructed not to make a formal protest against it.

> If the Act referred to positively points out and excludes the subjects of this Empire, there are strong reasons for protesting against such an action, but when it relates to 'persons of Asiatic origin' in a general way and by this designation Japanese subjects are included therein only as a natural consequence, it will be very inexpedient to place ourselves in a situation to make a positive protest against the Act, for, I fear, it will be difficult to obtain any practical result ...

He was told, instead, to content himself with explaining to the authorities at a favourable opportunity that the Japanese Government's policy was to dissuade from emigrating all but those who were respectable and had definite objects in view. He was also to get influential persons in the Northern Territory to lobby so that the Japanese would be left outside the ambit of the Bill.[105]

The Bill was, in fact, withdrawn after the Second Reading, at the request of Kingston who, while applauding its objective, argued that this could be achieved only by coordinated action by each Colony.

Attempted Sale of N.T. Land by J.L. Parsons, 1898

A test of the Japanese Government's attitude came in 1898 in connection with an attempt by J.L. Parsons, an Adelaide merchant, to arrange the sale of freehold land in the Northern Territory to Japanese capitalists.

Parsons had had a long and intimate Association with the Territory - as the cabinet minister responsible for its affairs from 1881 to 1884, as Government Resident at Darwin from 1884 to 1890, and as one of its elected representatives in the Lower House of the South Australian Parliament from 1890 to 1893.

The facts of this incident were in dispute at the time and the intervening years have failed to provide any fresh material on it.

Parsons arrived at Yokohama on 14 April 1898 and remained in Japan until about June 26th.[107] It was not his first visit to Japan. In 1895 he had been sent by the South Australian Government to China and Japan to promote a market for South Australian products. Following that visit the Japanese Government had in 1896 appointed him Honorary Consul at Adelaide, a position that he held until his death in 1903. His 1898 visit to Japan, however, appears to have been unconnected with his consular duties.

On 4 May 1898 the British Minister in Tokyo, Sir Ernest Satow, wrote officially to the Governor of South Australia as follows:

> I have the honour to report that the Hon. J. Parsons, Japanese Consul at Adelaide, is at present in Tokio endeavouring to negotiate with Japanese capitalists the sale of lands situated on the banks of the Victoria River, in the Northern Territory ... and to induce them to send thither a large body of Japanese settlers. I have not yet heard that his efforts have met with success ...[108]

When this dispatch was later published in the *Register*, Parsons promptly wrote to Satow claiming that it contained two serious errors: (1) He had shown Satow two plans which showed certain areas of

freehold land in the Northern Territory which he was authorized by the purchasers from the Crown to offer for sale; but neither plan contained the Victoria River; nor had he mentioned Victoria River during the interview. (2) The total area of land that he was empowered to offer 'was not large enough to carry what can properly be designated a large body of Japanese settlers'.[109]

The first of these questions, the location of the land, is one of fact. There appears to be no particular reason why an attempt to sell land on the Victoria River should be more discreditable to Parsons' reputation than an attempt to sell land elsewhere in the Territory. Furthermore it would be quite easy for Satow, who no doubt had never been to the Territory, to have become confused over the name in question. As the largest river there, he is more likely in the course of his life to have heard of the Victoria River than of any other river there. We therefore may conclude that the land in question was *not* on the Victoria River. We may, however, be fairly sure that the land was on some watercourse; for Parsons did show him the maps and even a most inexperienced map-reader could hardly confuse a watercourse with another type of natural feature or with a boundary.

I think it quite likely that the land in question was on the Adelaide River. Satow was more likely to confuse the names of two queens, Adelaide and Victoria, than, say, Daly, Roper or Alligator and Victoria. There were large areas of freehold along its banks.[110] For land in this area Parsons would have been a most suitable salesman. It had been opened in 1880 for selection by persons desiring to establish sugar plantations. Following failures among the original selectors, Parsons had himself as Government Resident done a reconnaissance of the area with some technical experts in 1884. They described it as fine agricultural land.[111] Although all attempts at agriculture

were soon abandoned, Parsons remained confident of its suitability for sugar. In 1895, as a witness before the Royal Commission on the Northern Territory, he had reiterated his view that 'the land on the banks of the Adelaide River corresponds almost identically with the best sugar land of British Guiana'.[112]

The second point in dispute between Parsons and Satow, the amount of labour likely to be used by the prospective purchaser in making use of the land, is one of degree - or rather, of words. In an interview with a reporter from the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 25 July (two days after his arrival from Japan in S.S. *Tsinan*) Parsons indicated that the land was purchased from the Crown after the enactment of the Act to Encourage the Introduction of Indian Native Immigrants (1882) and that the calculations of the purchasers about its viability, on the basis of which they acquired it from the Crown, were premised on coloured labour being available to work it under that Act. Parsons pointed out that, since successive Governments had failed to appoint the Immigration Agent provided in that Act, the owners had been unable to make use of the land and were accordingly eager to dispose of it.[113] This was indeed one of Parsons' favourite themes. He had made the same point to the Royal Commission in 1895. Indeed on that occasion Parsons revealed that he too had bought land in the Territory on these premises.[114] Whether Parsons still owned such land in 1898, and if so whether it was among the parcels that he was trying to sell in Japan, is unknown. Parsons refused to divulge the names of the owners. In my opinion, the logic of Parsons' remarks to the *Sydney Morning Herald* is that the land would be an economic proposition to a Japanese purchaser only if he contemplated using Japanese labour. Accordingly there seems little merit in Parsons' contention that 'a large body of Japanese settlers' was not involved.

Parsons had, for many years, been an enthusiast for development of the Northern Territory using coloured labour. His views on this subject were expressed in some detail in his Reports as Government Resident from 1884 onwards and in his evidence to the Royal Commission (1895). Underlying his concept of Northern Territory development were three basic premises: (1) Caucasians were incapable of physical labour in the tropics for a prolonged period. Healthy acclimatization was impossible.[115] (2) Only by the use of cheap coloured labour could the Territory produce tropical and semi-tropical agricultural commodities that could compete on domestic and overseas markets.[116] (3) The employment of coloured labour for field work was the only way in which tropical agriculture could provide employment for a considerable number of Caucasians. These would be the overseers.[117]

Parsons' first preference was at all times Indians indentured under the auspices of the Indian Government.[118] But he would not confine himself solely to these. In one of his Reports in 1885 he wrote that:

> If suitable soil were set aside in the Territory some Chinese cultivators would come and settle down, those with money paying their passages, and in some cases, bringing their wives and children ... It is not thought that any large number of women would come to Australia. Those Chinese who brought their wives would return to China as soon as they had made a competency.[119]

The presence of a certain number of these Asian *cultivators* was an exception to his general principle that the Asian *labourer*, either in agriculture or mining, must at the end of his period of indenture be either repatriated or reengaged. This exception remained part of his concept throughout. In 1895 he told the Royal Commission that, although he would prevent Asians acquiring freehold tenure, he 'would permit them to

take up agricultural leases ... It would not be a disadvantage if we did anchor a certain population [sc. of Asiatics] in the Territory'.[120]

As he gained more experience of them, Parsons became less convinced of the suitability of the Chinese in his scheme of agriculture. To quote his evidence to the Royal Commission: 'I do not like Chinese labour. They are a dangerous population. They are not content to continue as laborers'.[121] Since even at this early date Australians, like the rest of the world, saw the typical Japanese as a person intent on bettering himself, Parsons in 1898 must have realised that in selling the land to Japanese he was taking some liberties with his basic concept. He may, however, have been confident that the South Australian Government would insist on repatriation on the completion of the period of indenture. In 1895 he saw the Javanese as, next to the Indians, the most suitable.[122] Although he did not like the Chinese, Parsons saw now alternative to them for mining; for the Indian Government would not permit the indenture of its subjects except on plantations or in Government employment.[123]

Parsons saw the land boundaries of the Territory as a kind of Mason-Dixon line. When one of the minority on the Commission who were opposed to coloured labour suggested that it was not in South Australia's interest to convulse the whole of Australia with the coloured labour question, Parsons replied:

> How does it touch South Australia when it is 2000 miles away? What does it matter to working men of South Australia, who are working in fields 2000 miles away on the north coast of Australia? It does not interfere with their labour .... you can confine it to the Northern Territory, you would have nothing but plantations there. You can get Indian coolies only for the

> planters there, and they would not be allowed off the plantations. If any escaped the planter would be responsible.[124]

Parsons' views were endorsed by the 1895 Royal Commission in its majority report.[125] The report, however, was not followed by the Government, which since the conversion of Playford in 1892[126] had been committed to a White Australia.

Satow's despatch of 4 May 1898 was passed by the Governor of South Australia to his Ministers on June 15th. It was considered by Cabinet on June 17th and, as a result, a cable was despatched to London the same day requesting that the Foreign Office convey to the Japanese Government the hint that any action along the lines of Parsons' Tokyo proposals might result in the 'Natal' type of immigration restriction legislation (due to be introduced in the South Australian Parliament the following week) being withdrawn in favour of similar legislation couched in terms that gave less consideration to Japan's *amour propre*.[127]

This information was conveyed to the press and by the time it had passed through the hands of the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* to a protest meeting of Darwin citizens on June 25th, Parsons' scheme had become an agreement entered into between the British and the Japanese Governments without consulting the South Australian Government to lease 4000 square miles of country on the Victoria River to the Japanese on condition that 5 Japanese to the square mile were settled on the land within a specified period![128] After 'a crisp and in places, unnecessarily personal debate' the meeting of Darwin citizens by a show of hands of some 40 to 50 'emphatically declared itself opposed to the scheme, and declined to hearken to the voice of the pro-Asiatic tempter'. But long before the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, a weekly newspaper, was able, in its next edition, to inform the world of this vital decision, the Japanese Foreign Minister had acted.

The British Foreign Office on June 23rd had passed to the Japanese Legation the message from the South Australian Government. The Legation had cabled this to the Foreign Ministry in Tokyo describing the matter as negotiations by Parsons 'with Japanese capitalists to introduce a large number of Japanese emigrants to South Australia'. This cable was received at the Foreign Ministry on June 28th,[129] by which date Parsons appears to have already left Tokyo on his journey back to Australia. On June 30th the Foreign Minister replied to the Legation in London by cable as follows:

> It is true that the scheme was proposed by the Honorary Consul while he was in Tokyo but he has abandoned it through my advice and further every restriction is being enforced against Japanese emigration to Australia generally. You may inform Marquis of Salisbury accordingly. 130

From the text of this cable two things emerge. First, the Foreign Minister did not challenge the Legation's description of the scheme. Therefore when Parsons discussed the matter with him the Foreign Minister, like Satow, must have been given the impression that a *large* number of Japanese immigrants would be involved. We may therefore reject Parsons' subsequent denials on this point. The other thing that emerges from this cable is that the Foreign Minister had squashed the scheme, from considerations of Japan's own interests and policies, before any indications of Australian attitudes had been received.

ENDNOTES

1 Sister Mary Albertus O.P. (Santa Sabina, Scarborough, Western Australia), 'The Story of Port Darwin' (typescript, 17 pp., 1974, unpubl.).

2 *ibid.* citing *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* (hereafter referred to as *NTT*) 26/8/82, 9/2/84, 23/2/84.
J.P.S. Bach, *The Pearling Industry of Australia: An Account of its Social and Economic Development* (Canberra, Department of Commerce and Agriculture, 1956) [Australian Archives, Canberra Office, CDS33], pp.20-23.
See also *South Australian Register* (hereafter referred to as *Register*) 8/5/84 (supplement).

3 *Register*, 1/7/84, 21/7/84.

4 Letter from Sr. Mary Albertus 3/2/74 citing *NTT* 5/7/84.

5 *Register* 14/8/84 (supplement).

6 Honorary Consul, Melbourne to Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, No. 1, 24/2/1885, *Nihon Gaiko Bunsho - 1885* (Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs), p.527.

7 Wakayamaken, *Wakayamaken Iminshi* (Wakayama: Prefectural Government, 1957), pp.190-91, 297-98.

8 *Register*, 19/6/84 (supplement).

9 Sr. Mary Albertus has also drawn my attention to an item in *NTT* 1/3/84 in which Burns, Philp's Thursday Island branch congratulates a member of the NA Pearlshell Co. for discovering shell and offers its services to supply '*divers*, pumping gear, etc.' (D.C.S.S. italics).

10 See D.C.S. Sissons, 'Immigration in Australian-Japanese Relations 1871-1971' in J.A.A. Stockwin (ed.) *Japan and Australia in the Seventies* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1972), p.195.

11 *Register*, 5/6/84 (supplement).

12 Letter from Sr. Mary Albertus 3/2/74 elaborating on reference to *NTT* 30/5/85 in Bach, *op.cit.*, p.23.

13 I am indebted to the Registrar-General, Mr C.A. Ockerby, for access to the Registers of Deaths for this period.

14 Cossack Police Occurrence Book (Manuscript A/366, Battye Library, Perth, W.A.).

15 The ownership of the *Flowerdale* has been identified by Sr. Mary Albertus in 'The story of Port Darwin' from a reference to it in the *NTT* 7/10/82.

16 The date of the exodus of the Thursday Island pearlers to Western Australia can be established from *North Australian* 12/3/86 cited by Sr. Mary Albertus in her letter of 3/2/74 and from *NTT* 24/4/86 cited in Bach, *op.cit.*, p.23.

17 *Government Resident's Report on the Northern Territory for the Year 1892* (South Australia, *Proceedings of Parliament*, 1893, vol.3, no.158).

18 Pearling from Darwin does not, however, appear to have been completely abandoned during this period. *Northern Territory Times Almanac and Directory for 1890* at pp.115-16 lists pearling among the activities of a schooner and 4 luggers, each owned by Caucasians.

19 Archives of Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs: file MT 3.4.48.
20 *Report of the Northern Territory Commission together with Minutes of Evidence* (SA, *Proceedings of Parliament*, 1895, vol.2, no.19), p.98.
21 *Shimpo* 12/1/94 reproduced in *Shimbun Shusei: Meiji Hennenshi*, 9.12.
22 K. Watanabe, *Goshu Tanken Hokokusho* (Gaimusho Tsushokyoku, 1894), p.281. (Australian National University, Menzies Library OS 3950/3354).
23 *vide supra*, footnote 19.
24 *Japan Weekly Mail*, 30/5/96.
25 South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly*, 1896, p.136.
26 *ibid.*, 1898-99, p.1003.
27 See pp.27-36 of my paper on 'The Japanese in Australia, 1871-1946' presented to Section 26 of the 45th Congress of the Australia and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science at Perth on 14 August 1973 (Australian National Library, Ms 3092).
28 Contribution dated Sydney 6/8/98 published in *Japan Weekly Mail* 10/9/98.
29 *NTT*, 8/4/98, 3/10/98. Further details of this case are not available. The press reports were very sketchy. Nor does the judge's notebook appear to have survived in the registries of the courts in Adelaide or Darwin.
30 *NTT*, 29/3/01, 5/4/01, 18/10/01.
31 *SA Census of 1901 - Part 7: Birthplace of the People* (SA, *Proceedings of Parliament*, vol.3, no.74).
32 The *NTT* 5/4/01 and the *Register* 30/3/01 and 5/4/01 show that there were no Japanese ships in South Australian ports on census night and that the only ship in port bound to or from Asian ports, the *Offenbach*, had no Japanese among its passengers.
33 *vide supra*, footnote 27.
34 Cited in *NTT* 20/1/99.
35 *vide supra*, footnote 17.
36 *Pearl-Shelling Industry in Port Darwin and Northern Territory - Report by His Honour, Judge Dashwood* (Australia, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1901-02, vol.2), p.32.
37 Watanabe, *op.cit.*, p.280.
38 South Australian State Archives (hereafter referred to as *SAA*), Group 1374 (N.T. Govt. Resident's Incoming Correspondence 1870-1911), 1899/8737 (H. Clark to Sub-Collector of Customs, 31 January 1899). Hamaura is the most likely of the various ways in which from time to time, it is spelt in the local press and official correspondence.
39 *vide supra*, footnote 17.
40 South Australia, *Proceedings of Parliament*, 1894, vol.2, no.53.
41 Watanabe, *op.cit.* pp.266-67, 281. In the light of the figures that he cites for the prevailing wages of Caucasian and Chinese labour in the Territory it is a little surprising that he found so satisfactory the wages received by the Japanese in such a dangerous occupation as diving.

Caucasian Labour

Operating mine machinery	£6 per week
Mine foreman	£3 " "
Groom or cowherd	£2-£4 " "
Agricultural overseer	£10-£15 per month
Manager of a shop	£30-£50 " "
Shop assistant	up to £10 " "

Chinese Labour

Domestic service	£5 per month (all found)
Carpenter or mechanic	10/- per day
Agricultural overseer	£4-£6 per month (all found)
Mine worker, underground	12/- per day
" " surface	6/- per day
Other	5/--10/- " "

42 *SAA*, Group 790 (Minister Controlling the N.T. - In-coming Correspondence) 1893/468 (Telegram from Dashwood to Minister, 4 January 1894).

43 On 6 March 1894 John Douglas, the senior Queensland official at Thursday Is., was to write:

> ...Two years ago there were not twenty boats owned [sic] and manned by Japanese. Now there are upwards of seventy, and of these 38 are owned by Japanese. This is a matter which merits the serious attention of Parliament.
>
> Partly from this cause and partly from a belief that the industry is overdone, there has been a good deal of talk among the pearl-shellers about clearing out for [elsewhere]....

As there were 253 boats operating from Thursday Is. at that time, 38 does not, in absolute terms, appear an excessive number. The rate of increase, however, as Douglas points out, was rapid. Furthermore, it is possible that some of the other 32 boats manned by Japanese were in process of being bought by them on time payment. *(Report of the Government Resident at Thursday Is. for 1892-3)*, p.3.

44 *Petition Against Licensing Asiatics for Pearl Shelling* (South Australia, *Proceedings of Parliament*, 1895, vol.3, no.43).

45 *Government Resident's Report on the Northern Territory for the Year 1894* (South Australia, *Proceedings of Parliament*, 1895, vol.2, no.24), pp.9, 20.

46 South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1895, p.749.

47 *ibid.*, p.750.

48 *ibid.*, p.756.

49 *NTT*, 11/10/95.

50 South Australia, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1893, vol. 2, pp.2807, 2814, 4 October 1893, Mr. Kingston.

51 South Australia, *Proceedings of Parliament*, 1895, vol.3, no. 103A.

52 *NTT* 20/2/95. See also *ibid.*, 27/12/95.

53 From passenger returns it was able to deduce a nett increase of 61 in the three years 1/7/93 to 30/6/96. This information, however, was of limited use since it had no figure for the Japanese population at the earlier date. (*SAA*, Group 790, 1896/280).

54 These figures are taken from the table 'Kaigai Zairyu Hompojin' appearing annually in the *Nihon Teikoku Tokei Nenkan* [tr. 'Japan Statistical Yearbook'] published by the Bureau of Statistics in the Japanese Cabinet Office.
55 Report of the Japanese Consul, Townsville, published in *Shokumin Kyokai Hokokusho*, no.63 (1897).
56 *NTT*, 6/3/96.
57 Dashwood Commission (*vide supra* footnote 36) pp.30,31,34,35,37.
58 *NTT*, 3/4/96.
59 For evidence that the Government was forced to apply a policy of preference to white labour in Government employment in the Northern Territory see SA, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1894, p.2580 (28/11/94); 1895, p.1136 (28/8/95), p.1754 (10/10/95) and SA *Parliamentary Debates: House of Assembly*, 1898, p.300 (17/8/98).
60 *vide supra* footnote 32.
61 S.A. - *Gold Mining Act Amendment Act*, No. 353 of 1885, Sect.3. For an example of the kind of jobs performed by Japanese on the goldfields see *SAA*, Group 1374, 1901/10521, a report on injuries sustained by a Japanese operating a stone-crusher at Yam Ck. battery.
62 *Northern Territory Almanac 1896* (Palmerston: NT Times & Gazette, 1896), 'List of Vessels Employed in Harbour and Coasting Trade ...'
63 *SAA*, Group 1374, 1898/8071.
64 *Northern Territory Times Year Book 1899*, pp.29-30. This shows *Cleopatra* as engaged in pearling during 1899 but indicates that its 'Official Number' was 'cancelled' - presumably during the year. The *Government Resident's Report for the Northern Territory 1899* at p.18 also states that 'all the pearl fishing boats are owned by local people'. At all events, Hamaura's licence had lapsed by 1902; for in that year the report of the Dashwood Commission (*vide supra* footnote 36) states at p.4 that all 9 employers or owners were Europeans.
65 *SAA*, Group 1374, 1899/8737, 8951, 8972. *NTT*, 27/1/99. See also Bach, *op.cit.*, p.90.
66 SA, *Government Gazette*, No.48 (9 November 1899), p.1070.
67 West Australian State Archives: Premier's 381/21; Fisheries 11/24.
Australian Archives, Canberra Office: A1 25/16390.
68 SA, *Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly*, 1898-99, p.632-33, 6 October 1898.
69 *Chung Toy v. Musgrove*, [1891] A.C. 272.
70 SA, *Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly*, 1898-99, p.216, 27 July 1898, Mr Kingston.
71 *vide supra* footnote 36.
72 Northern Australian Development Committee, *Pearl-Shell, Beche-de-Mer and Trochus Industry of Northern Australia*. (Melbourne 1946), pp.44-6.
73 *vide supra* footnote 54.
74 *vide supra* footnote 72.
75 Bach, *op.cit.*, pp.224-37.
76 Situated between the Stuart Highway, Goyder Road and Stokes Street in the suburb of Parap, 1½ miles from Darwin P.O.

77 Situated westward of Gardens Road and eastward of Gilruth Street.
78 S.H. Roberts, 'Northern Territory Colonization Schemes', *Report of the 17th Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science (Adelaide Meeting, August 1924)*, pp.422-4. This material was also incorporated into S.H. Roberts, *History of Australian Land Settlement* (Melbourne, 1924) at pp.358-63.
79 J. Cross, 'Wilton Hack and Japanese Immigration into North Australia', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (South Australian Branch)*, vol.61 (1960), pp.55-9.
80 *SAA*, Minister for Northern Territory (Gps. 790 and 793): Out letter-books 1876-77; Incoming dockets 286, 357, 368, 376 and 392 of 1876; Incoming dockets 260, 369, 489 and 508 of 1877.
81 Cross, *op.cit.*, pp.55-6.
82 H. Ritter, *A History of Protestant Missions in Japan* (Tokyo, Methodist Publishing House, 1898), pp.39, 45.
83 Reproduced in T. Shigehisa, *Oyatoi Gaikokujin (5): Kyoiku Shukyo* (Kajima Kenkyujo, 1968), p.73. The school at which Hack taught was the Hiroshima Eigo Gakko [tr. 'Hiroshima English Language School'] and his salary was 200 yen per month.
84 Minutes on Hack to Commissioner of Crown Lands, 29/7/76.
85 Minute on Hack to Minister for Agriculture and Education, 4/9/76.
86 This and Roberts' error about the Ministry in office was brought to my attention by Mr J. McLellan, late State Archivist of South Australia.
87 Minute on Hack to Minister for Agriculture and Education, 15/3/77.
88 Hack to Minister for Agriculture and Education 26/10/77. Roberts evidently misinterpreted the phrase, 'with the sanction of your Government' appearing in the sentence, 'I have also the Japanese translation of regulations proposed by myself, and which, *with the sanction of your Government* [D.C.S.S. emphasis], I had intended to have submitted to the intending settlers'. (Hack to Minister for Agriculture and Education 25/9/77). Roberts takes this to mean that Hack had already received such sanction. That this, however, was not the meaning is evident from his next letter (26/10/77), in which he wrote 'I have found a copy of the "statement" I had translated into Japanese, and which, had the emigration of Japanese been possible, *I should have submitted* [D.C.S.S. emphasis] to you for approval'.
89 Cross, *op.cit.*, p.57.
90 Hack to Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, 16/2/77.
91 SA, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1876, p.1549.
92 Hack to Minister for Agriculture and Education, 26/10/77.
93 SA, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1870, p.831.
94 Secretary to the Minister for Agriculture and Education to Hack 25/10/77.
95 Hack to Minister for Agriculture and Education, 25/9/77.
96 Hack to Minister for Agriculture and Education, 15/3/77.
97 Secretary to the Minister for Agriculture and Education to Hack 25/7/77.

98 For the details of notable ventures of this nature that ended in failure (in Hawaii and Guam in 1869 and in California in 1870) see T. Irie, *Hojin Kaigai Hattenshi* (Ida Shobo, 1942), vol.1, pp.25-6.

99 Until this occasion the Foreign Ministry had argued that projects of this nature contravened Law No.295 of 1872 (which prohibited contracts of service exceeding one year's duration, on the ground that such were tantamount to slavery).

100 H.S. Williams, *Foreigners in Mikadoland* (Tokyo: Tuttle, 1963), p.182 on the authority of *Japan Daily Herald* 26/6/77 and the records of the British Consulate at Nagasaki.

101 *Advertiser* (Adelaide) 16/12/91.

102 For further details of the activities of the NYK and the Yoshisa Emigration Co. at this time see pp.23-5 of my paper, 'The Immigration Question in Australian Diplomatic Relations with Japan', presented at the 43rd Congress of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science held at Brisbane in May 1971. (A copy is deposited in the Australian National Library).

103 *SAA*, Premier's Department 1891/925.

104 Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs to Hon. Consul Melbourne, 11 November 1891, *Nihon Gaiko Bunsho - 1891*, p.442.

105 Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs to Hon. Consul Melbourne, 7 December 1893, *Nihon Gaiko Bunsho - 1893*, pp.748-50.

106 SA, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1893, vol.2, pp.2813-14, 15 November 1893, Mr Kingston.

107 The *Japan Times* 15/4/98 shows him on the passenger list of the *Empress of China* which arrived from 'Hong Kong and ports' the previous day. He appears on the daily lists of guests at the Imperial Hotel, Tokyo published in the same newspaper on the following dates: 19-23 April, 1-27 May, 9-26 June. According to the *Argus* 26/7/98 he arrived back in Sydney on the *Tsinan* on July 23. As the *Tsinan* left Yokohama on June 19th Parsons presumably joined it at Kobe.

108 Reproduced in *Correspondence re Introduction of Japanese Settlers into the Northern Territory* (Australia, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1901-02, vol.2, no.A15).

109 Reproduced in *Introduction of Japanese into Northern Territory - Further Correspondence Respecting* (Australia, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1901-02, vol.2, no.33).

110 *Report of the Northern Territory Commission together with Minutes of Evidence* (SA, *Proceedings of Parliament*, 1895, vol.2, no.19, p.70). Hereafter referred to as *NT Commission*.

111 *Government Resident's Quarterly Report on the Northern Territory, 12 August 1884* (SA, *Proceedings of Parliament*, 1884, vol.3, no. 53A).

112 *NT Commission*, p.68.

113 *Sydney Morning Herald* 26/7/98.

114 *NT Commission*, p.42.

115 *NT Commission*, p.38.

116 *ibid.*, p.42. *Government Resident's Quarterly Report on the Northern Territory, 31 March 1885* (SA, *Proceedings of Parliament*, 1885, vol.3, no.54), p.5.

117 *NT Commission*, p.41. Parsons calculated that probably one third of the amount spent in wages would go to the Caucasian overseers.

118 For the role of the Indians in Parsons' concept of colonization see the debate on the private members bill that he introduced (but failed to carry) in the S.A. House of Assembly in 1891. Its object was to guarantee to N.T. landowners for 21 years the right to use Indian indentured labour (S.A., *Parliamentary Debates*, 1891, pp.2539-46).

119 *Government Resident's Quarterly Report on the Northern Territory, 31 March 1885*, p.6.

120 *NT Commission*, p.46.

121 *ibid.*, p.49.

122 *ibid.*, p.49.

123 *ibid.*, p.67.

124 *ibid.*, p.69.

125 *ibid.*, p.211.

126 *Notes of a Visit to India and the Northern Territory - for Information of Ministers - by the Hon. T. Playford* (SA, *Proceedings of Parliament*, 1892, vol.3, no.97).

127 *vide supra* footnote 108. This is my own very free paraphrase of the South Australian Government's message.

128 *NTT*, 1/7/98.

129 Cable no.73 from Minister, London to Minister for Foreign Affairs, despatched 25 June 1898 (The text and transmission details are available in the U.S. Library of Congress microfilm series of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives 1868-1945, Telegrams, Reel 20).

130 Cable no.561 from Minister for Foreign Affairs to Minister, London, despatched 30 June 1898 (Telegrams, Reel 21).

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Japanese in the Northern Territory, 1884–1902

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