

The Origin and Development of Japanese Settlement in Papua and New Guinea, 1890-1914

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Abstract

Few people know the prewar presence of Japanese settlers in Papua and New Guinea.⁽¹⁾ Only elders of the villages and islands or the descendants of the migrants, can tell the full story. Some Japanese activities were also recorded in official reports or in literature, but only when their presence annoyed the western colonisers or pleased Japanese nationalists. The other exception was the report of a curious western anthropologist who happened to hear about the Japanese from New Guinean villagers. Probably because of the lack of written materials, this small but important settlement did not attract academic interest. It is important because the settlers were different from other Japanese in other South Pacific islands or in Australia. Those in Papua and New Guinea had independent business interests, unlike others who were mostly labourers for European entrepreneurs. Their community was unique because it functioned like a small Japanese colony within the western colonial structure. In my previous article [IWAMOTO, 1994], I attempted to construct an overall framework in the analysis of the settlement which existed from the early 19th century to the outbreak of the Pacific War. I tried to present the reality of the migrants by contrasting the nationalist perceptions of both Australian officials and Japanese *nanshin-ron* advocates. In this article, I shall explain how such a settlement started and developed, analysing its implications in the contexts of Japanese social history and the colonial history of Australia and Papua and New Guinea. I focus on the period from 1890 to 1914 because the settlement was most prosperous in this period, showing sharp contrast to the period after the outbreak of World War Two in which the settlement began to decline.

Key words: Japanese migrants, Papua and New Guinea, Australia, German administration, Komine.

Introduction

From the mid-1880s, European entrepreneurs operating mines and plantations “tapped the long-established Asian labour market” to overcome the shortage of labour supplies from Melanesia (WILLSON, *et al.*, 1990). Among the Asian workers were Japanese, most of whom were brought to mines and plantations as labourers, and some were recruited for shell-fishing in Torres Strait as skilled divers and tenders. The latter are generally known as pearl divers on Thursday Island. In the 1890s they began to dominate the pearl industry and provoked anti-Japanese feeling from their European counterparts (GANTER, 1994). As a result, Australians restricted the Japanese migration. In addition, the exhaustion of shell beds encouraged the Japanese search for an alternative location for shell-fishing and settlement. Meanwhile, an adventurous and energetic Japanese skipper, Isokichi Komine, began to explore the waters of New

Guinea in the 1890s. His exploration took place from the Japanese settlement on Thursday Island. After a series of voyages to new beds and a place to settle, in 1901 Komine, after being squeezed out of Thursday Island and rejected by the British New Guinea administration, knocked on the door of German New Guinea.

The door was opened. He found employment with the German administration and some years later established an independent business for which he recruited about a hundred workers from Japan. Consequently a sizeable Japanese community emerged and enjoyed a brief golden period in the last years of German rule. Meanwhile, in British New Guinea (later Papua), some Japanese traders and divers married Papuan girls and settled down. Because of the small scale of their migration and businesses, the Japanese settlements in both British and German New Guinea attracted little attention from the Japanese government. However, the settlements show the unique pattern of Japanese involvement in the South Seas in the way that their presence was entrenched in European colonies.

1. Origin (1890-1901)

Japanese perceptions of New Guinea

From the 1880s, intellectuals intermittently introduced Japanese readers to both German and British New Guinea and contributed to creating perceptions. However, New Guinea was always an appendix to their central interest in other places such as Micronesia and Australia. Descriptions of New Guinea were mostly brief and some were simply translated from western sources. Probably few people except *nanshin-ron* (southward advancement theory) advocates and the South Seas traders and agents of emigration companies could find it on a map. In general, New Guinea was described as a tropical land of cannibals, that was colonised by western nations.

In the 1880s *nanshin-ron* advocates described the nature and the people of New Guinea mainly to suggest Japanese colonisation. That indicates that New Guinea was already embraced in an overall framework of *nanshin*. For example, Taketsuna Sasaki, a member of Enomoto's Tokyo Geographic Society, emphasised the necessity of acquiring New Guinea:

Life [in New Guinea] is not so difficult, as the climate is of the best kind and there is a sufficient supply of food. The only problem is sometimes we have attacks from natives. The islands [of New Guinea] are located at a distance of only a 10 day-voyage from Japan. It is to our advantage to gain these islands both from a strategic and a commercial point of view. Today is the opportunity to acquire these islands. (SASAKI, 1881)

Tōsaku Yokoo also urged Japanese colonisation of South Seas islands. In 1887, he returned from an exploration voyage on the *Meiji Maru*. He reported that Germany and Spain shrewdly acquired New Guinea and the Philippines respectively, and suggested that Japan should urgently acquire other islands.⁽²⁾

In the same year, Shigetaka Shiga mentioned German New Guinea. He briefly described the “extremely hot climate and violent natives in the Admiralty Islands, New Britain, New Ireland, and the Solomons” (SHIGA, 1887). Although Shiga did not refer to colonisation, he might have aroused public awareness of German New Guinea, as his description was in his best-selling book, *Nan'yō jiji* which “sparked a boom” in public interest in the South Seas (FREI, 1991). He wrote it after a 10 month cruise on a naval training ship, *Tsukuba*, as a civilian passenger cruising the Carolines, Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Samoa and Hawaii.

The statement of Seifuku Tsuneya, a prominent economist and advocate of emigration, is a typical example showing a stereotyped image of New Guineans as an inferior and savage race. Although he never visited New Guinea, he wrote in *Kaigai Shokumin-ron* (Overseas colonisation theory) of 1891:

Natives do not know the way to establish trade relationships and they have a ferocious nature. They like fighting and find the best pleasure in killing enemies and eating the enemy's flesh. (TSUNEYA, 1891)

In the 1890s, the resentment of the *nanshin-ron* advocates that Japan had missed out in acquiring territories subsided, but a realistic assessment of the German monopoly of commerce emerged. Komakichi Tomiyama brought first-hand information about German rule in New Guinea. As a member of the Colonisation Society and of the investigation team to New Caledonia, he was on board a navy training ship, *Hiei*, that visited Kokopo in New Britain for a week in 1891 on the way to New Caledonia and in 1892 on the way back (IRIE, 1943; TOMIYAMA, 1893a). He reported on the colonial administration, the population, and how the New Guinea Company dominated commerce and sold coal to his ship for an extortionate price. He also reported that a German administrator had expressed his concern about the Japanese intention of colonising the South Seas (TOMIYAMA, 1893a; TOMIYAMA, 1893b). Interestingly, he also alluded to the possibility of Japanese migration in New Guinea in ancient days:

According to a scholar who wrote a book about the South Seas, he dug out Japanese swords, bows and arrows in some place in New Guinea and he suggested the Japanese might have migrated there in ancient days. He also found native behaviour similar to that of the Japanese. (TOMIYAMA, 1893a)

Takeo Hirose, a naval Sub-Lieutenant, was on the same ship, and also commented on the high price of coal in *Kōnan shiki* (Personal record of a southern voyage) (HIROSE, 1904).

The Japanese saw British New Guinea as more accessible than German New Guinea because of its proximity to a thriving Japanese community on Thursday Island. They assessed the possibility of migration and mounting a shell-fishing operation from Thursday Island. Katsuki Nakayama, a member of Enomoto's Tokyo Geographic Society, was the first writer who introduced Port Moresby and neighbouring areas in *Nyū ginia no moresubi kō oyobi kinbō no chisei oyobi dojin ni kansuru kiji* (Report on topography and natives of Port Moresby and neighbouring areas in New Guinea) (NAKAYAMA,

1881). Although it was simply a translation into Japanese of Octavius Stone's *A few months in New Guinea* (1880), it was published in the Society's journal. Three years later, Tōru Hattori, a leading *nanshin-ron* advocate, wrote about the possibility of Japanese migration from Queensland to Papua, pointing out the convenience of the already established sea route from Australia to Port Moresby and New Guinea (HATTORI, 1894).

Ken'nosuke Tsuji, an agent of the Yoshisa Emigration Company on Thursday Island and also a member of the Colonisation Society, introduced the economy of British New Guinea in *Toresu kaikyō tanken nikki* (Diary of exploration in Torres Strait), which was published in the Society's journal in 1895 (TSUJI, 1895). Tsuji reported the promising shell-fishing in British New Guinea waters but also warned of the danger of the operation due to rugged beds which caused the death of some Japanese divers. He also pointed to the abundant cane and emphasised the potential for making huge profits in cane work (TSUJI, 1895). Thus, Japanese perceptions of New Guinea developed with territorial desire in the 1880s and with practical assessments of commercial potential in the 1890s.

Australian and German perceptions of the Japanese

Australians perceived the Japanese with fear and racial prejudice. That was manifested in the eruption of strident statements about 'Yellow Peril' in the late 19th century. Although the 'Yellow Peril' had originally referred to Chinese migration in the mid-19th century, it was extended to the Japanese after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5). Although the victory "did not greatly influence Australian thought — Japan was added by some sections of thought to the list of possible threats and excluded by others [and] all Governments cut down the defence expenditures and the press in general concurred" (SISSONS, 1956), the alarm of the 'Yellow Peril' was intensified when the trade union movement in the 1890s "adopted economic racism" (McCONNOCHIE, 1988) to defend the interests of white labourers from the competition of non-whites. In Queensland particularly, anti-Japanese feeling was predominant in public opinion. A local newspaper, *The Settler and South Queensland Pioneer*, reported:

The Japanese are a menace to this colony....The Japanese is [sic] so patriotic that there is no room for European labourer, mechanics, or merchants; he ousts them all....The British Empire is not China; Thursday Island is not Port Arthur.⁽³⁾

There were more sympathetic and realistic views of the Japanese migrants, like that of Noel Burton, a son of the Governor of South Australia, who denied the Japanese were a threat to Australian labourers in north Queensland. He insisted:

There is needless alarm about the Japanese flooding the country. Their numbers are greatly over-estimated. Only about 1100 workers are on the sugar plantations and the Thursday Island Government Resident says that they do not increase....Most of them are doing work which Europeans would not do. Whether in pearl-fishing or sugar work, they are competing with other coloured labour.⁽⁴⁾

However, the fierce competition in the pearl industry due to the increased tempo of Japanese arrivals at Thursday Island and the exhaustion of beds provoked the Queensland Government to pass laws which tightly restricted Japanese influence. The Pearl Shell and Beche-de-Mer Fishery Act (1898) aimed at stopping Japanese domination of the industry by limiting licences to British subjects only. The Aborigines' Protection Act Amendment Act (1899) virtually prohibited Japanese fishing operators from employing local labourers. Moreover, the Sugar Works Guarantee Act Amendment Act (1900) which guaranteed the government's preferential treatment of sugar mills which employed only white labourers prevented the industry from employing non-white labourers (YARWOOD, 1964). Finally the Commonwealth of Australia adopted the 'White Australia Policy' with the enactment of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901. Thus Australian perceptions of Japanese as the 'Yellow Peril' culminated in an exclusive migration policy.

In contrast, German officials left few records which showed hostility. The German *Annual Reports* recorded frequent appearances of Japanese boats in New Guinea. In 1893 seven Japanese sailing boats (three to Herbertshöhe, one to Matupi, and three to Nusa) were reported (SACK and CLARK, 1979). The Germans were also aware of some Japanese in New Guinea. In the 1891-93 period, although exact numbers are unknown, "twenty-six of Chinese, Japanese or unknown origin with three women and six children" were identified in Kaiser Wilhelmsland (SACK and CLARK, 1979). German accounts showed little anxiety. German indifference was probably due to the fewer number and the much smaller scale of economic activity of the Japanese than their counterparts in Queensland. The Japanese presence in German territory was too inconspicuous for the Germans to form any perceptions.

From Thursday Island to New Guinea

From the mid-1890s, the over-exploitation of shell-fishing became a serious problem to Japanese operators on Thursday Island. A Japanese consul at Townsville reported pessimistically:

The pearl industry — the only industry to collect marine products on Thursday island — has so far lasted for twenty years. As a result, most beds around the Island were fished out and these days divers have to dive in difficult spots as deep as thirty to thirty five fathoms. (SHOKUMIN KYŌKAI, 1898)

Some enterprising Japanese began to search for an alternative location for shell-fishing and settlement in New Guinea. Among them was Isokichi Komine. Komine was born in Shimabara in Kyūshū in 1866, the ninth child of a peasant, Hisazaemon Komine.⁽⁵⁾ At the age of sixteen, Komine went to Korea to be employed by a trade company, Fukushima-ya (Fukushima Company), which sold goods to the Japanese navy stationed there. According to Captain Fukashi Kamiijō, during his employment in Korea, Komine revealed his stout hearted character and was liked by the navy officers (KAMIJŌ, 1941). Although Kamiijō's statement should be treated with caution as his book has a strong tone of wartime propaganda, probably Komine learned about the

South Seas and the high wages of divers on Thursday Island from navy officers.

In September 1890, he arrived at Thursday Island. Initially he was employed by an Englishman and spent two years on his boat. During this period, he went fishing as far as German New Guinea and made a very good catch of shell. Probably the good catch brought him sufficient capital to stimulate his spirit of enterprise. In 1892, he discussed with other Japanese on the islands, Kōichi Matsuoka and Hyakutsuchi Okamura, a plan to establish a trading company to export marine products to Japan. They quickly agreed, and Matsuoka and Okamura returned to Japan to find associates in their venture but in vain. Although the plan was aborted, Komine's spirit did not subside. He learnt how to build a boat and built two shell-fishing boats with Tastuzō Taguchi in 1892 (IRIE, 1943). Then his search for a new paradise began.

Until 1894 he was intermittently exploring the waters of the New Guinea, occasionally returning to Thursday Island (KOMINE, 1896). Later he reported his explorations in *Shokumin Kyōkai Hōkoku*.

I planned this South Seas exploration in 1890. On 14 September I departed Hong Kong and on 27 September arrived at Thursday Island in Australia. On 5 October I was employed by the Mogg Outlet Company owned by an English man and left Thursday Island [for shell-fishing] on 9 October. We sailed to the west, and until 2 January next year we collected shell in the water over an area of about seventy square miles and we caught a huge quantity of shell. From 8 January of the same year we sailed to the northeast and stayed in northern New Guinea for a few weeks for shell fishing and exploring for other marine products. Then, on 2 February we returned to Thursday Island....From 5 to 26 July 1892, I went searching for pearl shell with my employer to Motu Motu Island which is located on the coast of central British New Guinea....From February 1893 I was engaged in shell fishing as well as other various explorations for one year between Thursday Island and New Guinea....In October 1894, we explored the water 130 miles toward Dutch New Guinea from the British New Guinea. However, these waters were so shallow that sailing was not easy. We returned to Thursday Island, but it took us three weeks.

In November 1894 he made another exploration. This time he was with Ken'nosuke Tsuji, a member of the Colonisation Society and an agent of the Yoshisa Emigration Company on Thursday Island (SHOKUMIN KYŌKAI, 1894b). Interestingly, Tsuji joined the Colonisation Society in 1894 with the introduction of Tsuneya who commented on New Guineans in his book (see 'Japanese perceptions of New Guinea') (SHOKUMIN KYŌKAI, 1894a). And more interestingly, just before he came to Thursday island he had met Matsuoka, who was in Japan to find associates for the company that Komine planned to establish. At his encounter with Matsuoka, Tsuji suggested that they establish a deep-sea fishery company together, but the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War caused them to give up the plan. Then Tsuji decided to do something himself and came to Thursday Island (SHOKUMIN KYŌKAI, 1894a).

Tsuji met Komine on the island on 9 November 1894. Only six days later, they went exploring. They sailed to Lebrun, a small island, in the Engineer Group in British New Guinea, and camped there for a week, then returned to Thursday Island (KOMINE, 1896). The following year, they made another expedition to Torres Strait and British New Guinea (TSUJI, 1895). Tsuji was excited by these explorations and reported them

in the journal of the Colonisation Society, in terms which were “thrilling and made the blood boil” (IRIE, 1938). Komine’s encounter with Tsuji was significant because it acquainted Komine with *nanshin-ron* advocates. After the voyage, Komine joined the Association on Tsuji’s introduction in 1895. More significantly, Komine was introduced to Enomoto. Tsuji wrote to Enomoto about Komine.

The owner of the shell-fishing boat, *Shishi*, I got on is from Nagasaki and one of the most competent divers. His name is Isokichi Komine. This person has a nationalistic ideology with a strong interest in fishery and agriculture. He is a promising person for the future. (IRIE, 1943)

It was an unexpected but lucky turning point in Komine’s life. A mere pearl diver from the poor countryside had a chance to be acquainted with Tokyo intellectuals and even with the Foreign Minister. Probably Komine was thrilled to realise that he was practising the ideas of the *nanshin-ron* advocates, and this possibly gave him a sense of national mission in his business venture. Although his piece in the journal was merely an account of the conditions of shell-fishing and his explorations and had no *nanshin-ron*-like statements such as Japan’s need to develop economic links with the South Seas, most likely Komine became aware that his desire to make a fortune in the South Seas was compatible with the ideology of Tokyo-based intellectuals.

After the exploration with Komine, Tsuji showed a strong interest in New Guinea as a possible migration destination and the two decided to establish Nichi-gō Bōeki Kaisha (the Japan-Australia Trade Company) to promote Japanese migration to British New Guinea after the purchase of land and to develop trade between Japan and Australia specialising in marine products from the Torres Strait (SHOKUMIN KYŌKAI, 1896). The two were successful in winning Japanese investors.⁽⁶⁾ Then Tsuji approached the British New Guinea administration over the purchase of land. In December 1895, he managed a half day talk with Governor Sir William MacGregor on the possibility of transferring land to Japanese settlers. However the company did not get off the ground. It is presumed that Tsuji’s request did not get a favourable response from MacGregor, because MacGregor’s major concern in land policy was to protect the interests of Papuans from aliens (JOYCE, 1971) and he adopted the same restrictive migration policy as in Queensland.

Nevertheless the move to acquire land in British New Guinea was continued by Gonsaemon Ogirima, a general manager of the Kōsei Emigration Company. His attempt also failed. On 11 May 1900, Ogirima asked the Japanese Foreign Ministry for permission to expand emigration to New Guinea, saying that the Company’s agent, Torajirō Satō, who was also a leader of the Japanese community on Thursday Island, had discussed the possibility of a shell-fishing venture with a manager of Burns Philp and got an encouraging impression. Satō also met the Lieutenant-Governor George Le Hunt of British New Guinea and got a favourable comment on Japanese emigration.⁽⁷⁾ The matter was discussed between Kametarō Iijima, the consul at Townsville, and Hisakichi Eitaki, the consul-general at Sydney. Eitaki wrote to Iijima after some investigation that he found Le Hunt opposed migration and Burns Philp denied any possibility of in-

volvement, although the premier of Queensland, Robert Philp, gave a rather favourable answer saying that he was considering Japanese migration to British New Guinea but faced opposition from the Labor Party: perhaps about 450 Japanese could be sent to Samarai.⁽⁸⁾ Nevertheless, Iijima supported Ogirima's request and wrote a recommendation to Foreign Minister Shūzo Aoki.⁽⁹⁾ But, at the same time Iijima was concerned about unfavourable aspects. He also wrote to Fukashi Sugimura, the director of the Commerce Bureau, that the company's proposal was promoted mainly by Satō who was trying to retrieve his failure to introduce a batch of settlers to Thursday Island; if emigration became possible the Japanese government should advise the company to warn migrants of the high cost of living in New Guinea; and the government should avoid the scenario that migration would be prohibited due to European jealousy aroused by speculative Japanese migrants.⁽¹⁰⁾ However, Iijima's concerns soon became unnecessary as he found that Satō had made false statements about the favourable responses from Le Hunt and Burns Philp and that the Queensland Government's refusal was based on the judgement that shell-fishing in New Guinea waters was too dangerous even for Japanese divers.⁽¹¹⁾ As a result, Ogirima's plan did not materialise, and the Japanese who were being squeezed out of Queensland found no back-door to British New Guinea. Then Komine knocked on the door of German New Guinea in 1901.

Relevance to Japanese social history

The migration to Thursday Island reflects Japanese social history. The modernisation of Japan started with the Meiji Restoration of 1868 under the banner of *fukoku kyōhei* (enrich the nation, strengthen the army) and the introduction of western capitalism and ideas. It coincided with rapid population growth, from approximately 33 million in 1872 to 45 million in 1900 at an average five-yearly rate of nearly 10 percent (TŌYŌ KEIZAI SHINPŌ-SHA, 1929). However, the government's economic policy impoverished the majority of the growing rural population. In 1873, the government executed the land tax reform (*chisokaisei*) in order "to remove feudalistic restriction for the development of capitalism" (KATŌ, 1992). Masayoshi Matsukata, who took the Finance Minister's office in 1881, rigorously carried out a deflation policy to counter the inflation caused by the over-supply of banknotes in order to supplement the expenses of the Seinan War of 1877. However, those policies only replaced the payment of taxation in kind with payment in cash and substantially increased the tax burden of tenant farmers. Many small farmers sold their land to pay tax (MATSUNAGA, 1976). Combined with poor harvests caused by floods and droughts, the economic conditions of the farmers deteriorated and forced them to make further sales of their land (EMURA and NAKAMURA, 1974). As a result, impoverished farmers, with *ex-samurai* who did not enjoy the benefits from the new government, revolted and initiated a period of social instability from the 1870s to the end of the 1880s. The revolts were strong in rural areas which were largely excluded from the benefits of rapid modernisation that were enjoyed by urban elites in Tokyo and some other major urban centres and by landlords in rural areas.

In addition to this social instability, the economic condition was one of the major

'push' factors to encourage many rural people to migrate to urban centres in Japan and even overseas. The birth places of the Japanese on Thursday Island confirm this background. In 1894, out of 346 Japanese, 254 came from Wakayama, 22 from Nagasaki and 15 from Hiroshima (HATTORI, 1894). Both Wakayama and Nagasaki lack flat land for rice cultivation, limiting the opportunities of farmers to earn an income. A case study on Wakayama's emigration also shows that the rapid population increase, lack of arable land and low income from fishing were main causes of overseas emigration (WAKAYAMA-KEN, 1957). Another but older case study based on intensive interviews with returned migrants reinforces the economic motivation. As Kenkichi Iwasaki concluded the main motivations for emigration were stimulation by neighbours who made fortunes overseas and the tradition of emigration (IWASAKI, 1938), the emigrants sought economic opportunities which would never have been attainable in their impoverished home villages. Their primary motivation was the high wages from shell-fishing on Thursday Island, probably compounded by the uncertainty and social instability of late 19th century Japan.

Relevance to colonial history of Australia

The development of a Japanese settlement on Thursday Island and the attempts of some Japanese to move to New Guinea illuminates the beginning of Japanese colonisation in the South Seas and provoked Australia's firm opposition. The Japanese on Thursday Island in the 1890s essentially differed from those who worked for European entrepreneurs as labourers in sugar cane fields or mines in Queensland and on South Seas Islands. Nor were they like traders who were scattered on the islands in Micronesia and Southeast Asia. To some extent they were allowed to have independent businesses. Some owned their own schooners and boats, employed local crews and remitted their profits to Japan. Some Japanese traders also purchased marine products (pearl shell, trochus shell and sea cucumber) and exported them. A typical colonial relationship thus developed. Although their operations were severely restricted by the Queensland government and later by the Commonwealth of Australia, and the scale of their operations was small, their settlement functioned as an 'infant' colony which later developed to a small colony in German New Guinea in the 1910s where the Japanese built independent business interests in trading, fishing and copra planting.

The development of such an 'infant' colony reflects the changing role of Japan in the colonial structure in the Asia-Pacific which had been dominated by western nations. Japan's integration into world capitalism in the late 19th century caused the development of ambivalent roles in emigration; it had a disposition as a colonial power to send emigrants or colonists like other European colonial powers, as well as a disposition as a 'peripheral' nation to supply labour to Western nations (HAYASE, 1989). An example of the former is the emigration to Korea and that of the latter is the movement to Hawaii, Australia and other South Pacific Islands.

The notion of the 'peripheral' nature of Japanese emigration, used by Tsunoyama and Hayase, is based on the world-system model presented by Wallerstein which di-

vides the world into core, semi-periphery and periphery in which the economic development of the core is only possible by the exploitation of the periphery or semi-periphery. In this model, Asian emigration was the response to the reformation of the labour market in the peripheries in the process of colonisation or semi-colonisation by European powers (TSUNOYAMA, 1981). Although Japan was not colonised like other Asian countries, its role as a supplier of labour put it in the category of periphery. However, Japan also began to play a role as a 'core' with the beginning of its colonial control over Korea.

In the case of the Japanese settlement on Thursday Island, the application of this conceptualisation is also possible. The first Japanese migrants were simply a labour force for white entrepreneurs, not different from Kanakas or Chinese on European plantations or in mines. However, the complication of the conceptualisation arises when some Japanese set up their own business using indigenous labourers and functioned as an 'infant' colony. The emergence of the 'infant' colony indicates that the Japanese settlement began to serve two cores — the European (Australian) metropole and the Japanese metropole. Thus, the 'infant' colony developed parasitically within the Australian colonial structure. However, the development was firmly restricted by Australia and the colony existed only within the constraint that it could never encroach on Australian interests.

2. Development (1901-1914)

Japanese perceptions of Papua and New Guinea

Japanese victories in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) distracted attention from the South Seas. The government's main agenda was placed on East Asian issues. As a result, nanshin-ron declined, and less information about Papua and New Guinea was introduced in the 1901-1914 period than in the late 19th century. Japanese perceptions of Papuans and New Guineans did not change from the late 19th century. But a more realistic interest such as the establishment of a trade-link was emphasised, while the reference to territorial ambition disappeared. Ryōzo Kawasaki and Shigeru Maruba,⁽¹²⁾ who travelled to Kaiser Wilhelmsland and the Bismarck Archipelago just before the outbreak of World War I, wrote *Taiheiyō jō no hōko, Doku ryō nan'yō shotō* (The treasury of the Pacific: German South Seas islands). In the first section of the book, they described in diary-style the multi-ethnic atmosphere of Rabaul and the popularity of a Chinese hotel as a drinking spot. About New Guineans, like other early writers, their description maintained stereotypes:

Although these natives have ugly and vicious appearances, they are very obedient, easy to get angry and easy to grieve. Their thinking is very simple as if they were eight to nine year-old Japanese children. (KAWASAKI and MARUBA, 1913)

They also reported on Komine's boat building and copra planting, and the presence of

over ten Japanese migrants as well as a few Japanese prostitutes, stating “we were surprised by the intensity of the development of the Japanese prostitute population overseas” (KAWASAKI and MARUBA, 1913). The rest of their book covers a wide range of topics in German New Guinea and Micronesia about geography, climate, population, race, commerce, trade, imports and exports, transport, industry, and politics. Characteristically, in the sections on German New Guinea, most space is devoted to the economy. First, they pointed out that trading copra would bring huge profits and that tortoise shell, trochus shell, and pearl shell would also be important imports. They claimed that Kaiser Wilhelmsland and the Bismarck Archipelago had treasures of undeveloped natural resources such as fertile soil, thick forests with red sandalwood, ebony, parrots, birds of paradise, gold, silver and nickel. They also predicted conflict between Japan and Germany in the Pacific over competing national interests, warning Japan that Germany was trying to achieve ‘Pan-Germanism’ in the Pacific.

At the official level, the Japanese government kept few records. Official indifference was seen in the ad hoc jurisdiction over German New Guinea. In 1906 the Foreign Ministry let the Japanese consulate at Townsville take charge of affairs of German territories in the South Pacific.⁽¹³⁾ Then, in 1909, the Consulate-General at Sydney took charge of German New Guinea affairs⁽¹⁴⁾ probably because of the incident in which Komine was attacked by the people on Manus. Indifference was also shown in response to the attack. The report of the incident was pre-empted by a non-official source. The *Kobe Herald* reported with a headline ‘The Killing of a Japanese Trader in the South Seas—Identity of the Victim’:

In connection with Reuters’ cable of the 19th inst [sic], reporting that Admiralty Island natives had attacked and killed Captain Komine, a Japanese trader of New Guinea, and two of his native crew, the Nagasaki Press now learns that the victim of the tragedy was Mr. Isokichi Komine, aged 42, of Jukenji, Nagasaki. The deceased originally went to the South Sea Islands some fifteen years ago and engaged in pearl fishing until about 1900, when the beds gave out. Since then he had been in employ of the German Colonial Government service in exploring in the interior, where he is said to have exercised a wonderful influence as an overseer over the natives connected with the expedition, and with whom he was very popular as their “captain”. The report of his death is deeply lamented in Japan, particularly at Nagasaki, as he was a distinct factor in the trade between Japan and the Islands, in addition to being highly popular with compatriot traders and emigrants, to whom he often proved a [sic] willing help and a friend in need.⁽¹⁵⁾

In response to the news, the Foreign Ministry at Tokyo requested all consuls in Southeast Asia and Australia investigate the incident. Quick replies came from the consulates in Hong Kong, Singapore, Sydney and Batavia, who all confirmed that Komine had been attacked but he had escaped and was alive.⁽¹⁶⁾ Similarly, Papua hardly attracted official attention. In 1909, Mitsuo Iwasaki, a consul-general at Sydney, submitted a report to the Foreign Ministry, only four pages long, introducing directory-like information such as administrative divisions, the acreage of land, population, native languages, Papuan life-style, relations between Papuans and the whites, agriculture, forestry, and mining (IWASAKI, 1909).

Japanese in British New Guinea (later Papua)

Some Japanese seamen on Thursday Island found no door closed to them in British New Guinea, despite the fact that the administration prohibited Japanese migration. Some Japanese traders and shellers were operating in the Milne Bay area and adjoining islands even before 1900. We can only speculate whether the administration granted them permission to operate, but it seems that the administration was not as concerned about the Japanese as its Queensland counterpart. Although the Resident Magistrates of the Eastern Division and the South-Eastern Division occasionally presented reports about Japanese activities, they were about the conditions of local labourers employed by the Japanese for shell fishing rather than the Japanese themselves. Probably the administration just acquiesced in the small-scale Japanese presence which never exceeded ten in total number.

The first record of Japanese activities appeared in a simple form in the correspondence of the Lands Department of 1902 — it listed all trade stations in the South-Eastern and the Eastern Divisions. Five Japanese traders were named among other non-indigenous coloured traders (e.g. Manila men, Malays, South Sea Islanders and Chinese). The names and locations of their stations are shown in Table 1. Probably Australian officials gained the names from sounds.⁽¹⁷⁾ The names in Table 1 may be corrected: Tanati to Tanaka, Kimostha to Kinoshita, Mirioka to Migioka, Nekshy to Negishi, and Siganiatu to Shigematsu. Among those traders, Tanaka and Shigematsu can also be identified from Japanese archives and oral histories. Probably the other Japanese were trading only temporarily. Although it is not clear where the five Japanese came from, most likely they came from Thursday Island, because such a movement is noted in the records of the Department of External Affairs, which gave permission to twelve Japanese to land in British New Guinea from Queensland in 1902.⁽¹⁸⁾

As Table 2 shows, the number of Japanese⁽¹⁹⁾ was never above ten and most lived in the Eastern Division which included Milne Bay, Samarai, Normanby Island, Fergusson Island, Goodenough Island and other small islands. The Japanese were a very small

Table 1. Japanese trading stations in the South-eastern Division and the Eastern Division in 1902

name	location
Tanati	Hemenahei island near Joannet (South-eastern Division)
Kimostha	Konaware, Basilaki island (Eastern Division)
Mirioka	Ritai island (Eastern Division)
Nekshy	Boiadi island (Eastern Division)
Siganiatu	Weari, Sanaroa (Eastern Division)

Source: AA Territory, C.P.T.(T.), Set.38 General Correspondence of Lands Department 1889-1942

Table 2. Non-indigenous populations in British New Guinea (later Papua)

year	Japanese				European	Other coloured*
	Eastern	East Central	South-Eastern	total		
1905**	7	n.a.	n.a.	7	170	67
1906**	7	n.a.	n.a.	7	191	162
1907**	7	n.a.	n.a.	7	202	159
1908	7	0	2	9	514	172
1909	7	0	0	7	492	136
1910	6	0	0	6	665	162
1911	7	1	0	8	775	112
1912	7	0	0	7	763	327
1913	7	0	2	9	902	127

* includes Malays, Chinese, Filipinos, Solomon Islanders, Samoans, Fijians, West Indians, Javanese, South Sea Islanders, Rarotongans, and others

** Eastern Division only

n.a.: no data available

Source: [for 1905] BRITISH NEW GUINEA ANNUAL REPORT, 1906. 30pp.; [for 1906] 1907. 30pp.; [for 1907] PAPUA ANNUAL REPORT. 1908. 49pp.; [for 1908] 1909. 25-26; [for 1909] 1910. 25-26; [for 1910] 1911. 40-41; [for 1911] 1912. 49-51; [for 1912] 1913. 56-57; [for 1913] 1914. 60-61

ethnic group among other non-indigenous coloured people; their proportion hardly reached ten percent. In contrast to the European population, which increased gradually, the Japanese population remained static like that of foreigners (except a large inflow of Samoans in 1912)⁽²⁰⁾ before World War I.

The administration also recorded six brief reports about the Japanese in the *Papua Annual Report*. Three were in medical reports and the other three were in the context of conditions of native labourers. In 1907, Chief Medical Officer Noel Beaumont reported an insane Japanese, who “was ultimately removed to Thursday Island”, in the section ‘The Native Population’ (PAPUA ANNUAL REPORT, 1907). In 1910 the Resident Magistrate of the Western Division, Charles Higginson, reported that a Japanese suffered from dysentery, in the section on ‘Native Labour’:

It must be remembered that during the year a dysentery epidemic raged through the fleets, and the Japanese suffered very heavily. It is a matter for congratulation that the Papuans proved themselves good patients when attacked, and were in a [sic] marked contrast to the Japanese, who seemed to give way to it at once. (PAPUA ANNUAL REPORT, 1910)

A medical officer, Charles Garrioch, happened to encounter a Japanese trader called ‘Jimmy’ during his visit to Sudest Island on 16 May 1909 and wrote a report about him:

When we cruised round the islands, Mrs. Mahoney kindly allowed one of her employees, a Japanese, to accompany us, as he knew the coast thoroughly and spoke the native language as well. He was also personally acquainted with most of natives we met. His services were consequently invaluable, as his presence gave the natives more confidence in giving information and coming forward for treatment. I respectfully recommend some remuneration be allowed him in consequence.

Garrioch also noted in his diary:

A Japanese, called Jimmy, kindly put at our disposal by Mrs. Mahoney, acted as guide. This man proved invaluable on account of his local knowledge of the coast and his ability to speak the native dialect.(PAPUA ANNUAL REPORT, 1909)

As Garrioch was making a medical report, he did not include much detail about Jimmy, but his knowledge of the waters and local languages show that he had lived there for a long period. His role as agent of Mrs Mahoney, a well-known trader and planter, also suggests an amicable relationship with Australians.

The administration's other accounts were included in the reports on the conditions of indigenous labourers. Lieutenant-Governor Hubert Murray commented on the conditions of labourers employed by the Japanese from Thursday Island:

Since the appointment of a Protector, the condition of these natives has no doubt improved, but as Japanese are in charge of the boats in which Papuans are employed, it is impossible either for the white employer or for the Papuan Government to know exactly what takes place in these boats when they are at sea. For instance, the most ample and varied ration may be, and in fact, is supplied by the European employer, but the share which the Papuan gets of it depends upon the goodwill of the Japanese skipper.(PAPUA ANNUAL REPORT, 1909)

Murray's concerns were repeated two years later, when he suggested the prevention of Japanese from employing local labourers, although he was informed that their conditions were satisfactory:

Those of the Papuans whom I questioned told me that they got plenty of food and that they were well treated by the Japanese, and the Protector, Mr. Curtis, informs me that he thinks this is the case now, as the Japanese recognise that the Papuans have someone at Thursday Island who will take their part. It is, however, impossible to know what goes on in the boats when they are at sea, and it would be indefinitely better, at any rate from the Papuan point of view, if the Japanese element were eliminated.(PAPUA ANNUAL REPORT, 1911)

As a result of these speculations, the employment of Papuans by Japanese was stopped. The Acting Commissioner of the Department of Native Affairs and Control, Leslie Bell, wrote:

The reports received from the Protector from time to time are to the effect that the relations existing between the Japanese and Papuans are on the whole satisfactory. No more natives are now being recruited for the pearl luggers.(PAPUA ANNUAL REPORT, 1911)

The Japanese vice-consul at Townsville, Gorō Miho, also reported to Foreign Minister Jutarō Komura, that about 200 Papuans had been employed by the Japanese but such employment would discontinue due to the prohibition:

From August this year [1911], New Guineans will be returned to New Guinea Island by the order of the government of the island [Papua administration] on the ground that labourers are in short supply on the island.⁽²¹⁾

The above five reports indicate a Japanese presence in the Western Division, an area which covers the coast line facing Torres Strait. Most likely those Japanese were shellers operating from Thursday Island who recruited their crews from the villages in the Western Division, as the Division's population statistics did not record any Japanese residents.

The Papua administration's attitude towards the Japanese shows a contrast to their Australian counterparts in Queensland. Unlike the Queensland government, the Papua administration hardly took any notice of the Japanese monopoly of the shell-fishing industry. That probably indicates the smallness of the Japanese operation which posed little threat to Europeans. It also reflects the thoroughness of Murray's philanthropic policy toward Papuans which extended to monitoring Papuans employed by a small number of the Japanese. Thus, in Papua, the Japanese were an insignificant and marginal group.

Five Japanese settled in Papua before World War I and led humble, quiet lives with Papuan wives, being almost unnoticed by either Australian or Japanese officials. Although the number is small, the memories of the Japanese are still alive among their descendants and elders of villages and islands. At present there are at least 28 mixed-race people in Milne Bay Province who are descended from Japanese fathers — Jimmy Koto, Mabe Tamiya, Heijirō Murakami, Shigematsu Tanaka and Taichirō Tanaka. They all married Papuan women. Whether their marriages were official (registered by European authority) or *de facto* relationships is unknown, but oral evidence suggests that the locals recognised them as marriages.

The intermarriages had significant implications, for the Japanese effectively evaded the administration's restrictions on migration and land sales. They were able to fulfil a dream which Tsuji and Komine had tried unsuccessfully — finding a land to settle in. We can only speculate whether these Japanese married only to achieve such a dream, or they had romances, or they sought both. But the effects of their marriages were that they had a right to live there, and they were able to own land if the wife's clan followed a matrilineal tradition — common in the Eastern Division. Consequently, they did not have to go through formal procedures with the administration on land acquisition and they were able to evade controls over the sales of native land.

Another important factor for their successful settlement was their ability to adapt to local environments. They all learnt local languages, followed local customs and did not force any Japanese traditions or religions on their families. They kept their Japanese identity only in names, but showed no interest in converting to Christianity. They all successfully engaged in business in trading, copra planting and boat building. Probably their zeal to improve their life, having all come from poor rural areas in Japan, was the most fundamental factor in their successful adaptation. Moreover, oral testimonies, which confirm their happy marriages and friendly relationships with Papuans, may suggest that the Japanese simply loved the people and the place, and thereby were accepted comfortably in the adoptive community.

Jimmy Koto was the oldest Japanese resident. His arrival dates to 1889. He came to

the Louisiades as a diver employed on a pearl lugger, and later chose to be a trader. In 1913 he applied for naturalisation in Australia with no success. Presumably before 1900 Koto married a local girl called Maegar from Sabari Island, about twenty kilometres north west of Sudest Island, and had two children named George and Florence.⁽²²⁾ He became familiar with the local waters and some local languages, developed a relationship with islanders to "a much more intimate level than did his European counterparts" (ROE, 1961). He traded from his base at Sudest Island and frequently stopped at Samarai. He spoke English well and used to come to the hotel at Samarai for a drink. At the hotel he once had a fight with an Australian after an argument over the Russo-Japanese War.⁽²³⁾

He established good relations with Australians,⁽²⁴⁾ especially with Elizabeth Mahoney, a wife of John Mahoney (a successful business man in gold mining and copra planting), although the development of the relationship might have owed much to Mrs Mahoney's character as "a modern Lady Bountiful" (ROE, 1961) According to Nelson, some Japanese worked on Mahoney's plantation on Sudest or served in the Cosmopolitan Hotel (NELSON, 1976), which Mrs Mahoney opened on Samarai about the end of 1900 — "a substantial two-storied building with twenty-two bedrooms, capable of accommodating some forty boarders or more" (BRITISH NEW GUINEA ANNUAL REPORT, 1901). Probably Koto was one of those Japanese in Mahoney's employ.

Mabe Tamiya was probably the second Japanese to arrive. Although his descendants use Mabe as a family name, judging from the normal Japanese usage, Tamiya was most likely his family name, and Mabe, possibly Mabei, his first name. His grandchildren were told that Tamiya was from Tokyo or a part of Tokyo. Very likely he came from one of the islands of Izu or Ogasawara which are included in the Tokyo prefecture, as sporadic Japanese migration (mostly fishermen) took place from these islands to New Guinea. Before 1910 he came to Basilaki Island, near Samarai, and married a Basilaki girl, Kalele. His appearance impressed locals, as he had one short arm.⁽²⁵⁾ He was a trader and a boat builder. According to Billy Tetu, his grandson:

Tamiya was a trader operating both in Papua and New Guinea. He was not a boat builder initially, but Tom Tanaka [another Japanese who came to Milne Bay] taught him how to build a boat. He built luggers. He had 3 boats. First boat was named *Maru*. He taught local people how to build boats and he employed local people. He was based at Gogolabia and operated trade business, buying shell and copra to sell them to other Japanese traders. He had no business partner.⁽²⁶⁾

Another grandson, Joseph Tetu, added more detail:

Tamiya was trading copra and shell. Copra was collected from local people. He sold tobacco, rice, biscuits to local people. He dived for trochus shell, pearl, green snail and sea cucumber. He dived as far as to the waters around Misima, and Barrier Reef. He dived only in shallow water, because he did not have diving gear.⁽²⁷⁾

Joseph says Tamiya's shell-fishing operation was small scale. He did not operate like those on Thursday Island who had large crews and sophisticated equipment. Joseph ex-

plained that the marriage was the most important element that made Tamiya settle on Basilaki, because he was able to own land through his marriage:

His wife, Kalele, was a pretty girl and she was a daughter of a big man. She inherited [her] father's land. Kalele also bought customary land in Gogolabia from her father for Tamiya, because Tamiya looked after her well.

Presumably in the 1910s, three boys were born; Tetu, Hagani and Namari. Tamiya apparently named them after Japanese names of metals: Tetu (correct pronunciation 'Tetsu') means iron, Hagani (Hagane) means steel and Namari means lead. All his descendants confirmed that Tamiya followed local customs and did not enforce any Japanese customs on his family.⁽²⁸⁾

Murakami was one of the few Japanese migrants in Papua whose personal file is kept in the Australian Archives, as he was interned in Australia during the Pacific War. According to Murakami's dossier and the interview by the internment officer, he was born in Wakayama on 1 January 1874.⁽²⁹⁾ He also went to Thursday Island around 1894 and worked as a pump tender,⁽³⁰⁾ then around 1900 he came to Milne Bay. Interestingly the internment officer observed that both his arms and chest were heavily tattooed.⁽³¹⁾

According to his only son, Kalo,⁽³²⁾ Murakami came to Samarai with other Japanese men — Mabe [Tamiya], Matoba and Koto. Kalo's story may be partly incorrect, as Koto's arrival was well before 1900. Probably Murakami and Tamiya arrived around the same time and Koto accompanied them only. Today nobody but Kalo remembers the Japanese called Matoba (he was a diver according to Kalo) and no official documents recorded his name. Probably he did not settle in the area and soon returned to Thursday Island or Japan. Murakami married a Papuan girl from Naiwara village (at the end of Milne Bay) and led a humble life with her, operating a small trading business in the Milne Bay area. Kalo stated:

He had a little store and he was trading only within Milne Bay. He was trading by himself. He must have brought some capital from Thursday Island to start his trading business. He did not employ locals. He was trading goods like tobacco, calico, but not many varieties.

Taichirō Tanaka was known as Tom Tanaka among the locals. According to his nephew in Japan, Noboru Tanaka, he was born in a small fishing village, Obama, in Minami-takaki-gun in Nagasaki on 17 October 1875. His family had been merchants for generations. Around 1902 he went to New Guinea with Isokichi Komine and Taichi Nagahama. He boarded a steamer from Nagasaki as a cook and took 80 days to arrive at New Guinea via Singapore.⁽³³⁾ Probably he separated from Komine and Nagahama in German New Guinea and came to Samarai, where he acted as a diver, a boat builder and a trader. His daughter, Mary Tanaka, recalls:

My father was a diver. He was collecting trochus shell and green turban [a kind of shell]. He had 6 luggers. He dived with locals but he was the only one who actually dived. He dived in the water as far as Barrier Reef near Tagula Island. He had a business partnership with Shigematsu Tanaka. Tom

was a nickname. He was not a Christian.⁽³⁴⁾

Joseph Bam, an elder of Yaloga in Walalaia village about 10 kilometres west from East Cape, also remembers Tanaka:

Tom based at Mohiwa and dived for trochus shell. He was also building boats. He employed villagers. He went diving as far as Misima. He was a very wealthy man. He built many boats (sailing boats). He was also trading. He went as far as Misima and Sudest.⁽³⁵⁾

Bam recalls Tanaka as very friendly towards Papuans and he married a local girl, Didi-loiloi, from Mohiwa (a village near East Cape on the Goodenough Bay side), a daughter of an ordinary villager. In 1906 the couple had a daughter, Mary. The family lived in Mohiwa which became Tanaka's base for business. According to Mary, he also had a good relationship with Europeans and was respected by the local people.

Shigematsu Tanaka was called by his first name so that he could be distinguished from Taichirō Tanaka. The local pronunciation is 'Sigemata'. Both Tanakas were born in Minami-takaki-gun in Nagasaki. Shigematsu's daughter presumes they were related.⁽³⁶⁾ According to *kaigai ryoken kafu hyō* (the list of overseas passport issues) of 1901 of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, Shigematsu was the firstborn son of Jūkichi from a small coastal village, Ariie, in Minami-takaki-gun in Nagasaki, the same village where Komine was born. He was thirty three years old when he came to Samarai on business.⁽³⁷⁾ Another record in *kaigai ryoken kafu hyō* of 1914 listed the purpose of his revisit to Papua as agriculture and fishery, indicating that he was a planter and sheller. His daughter, Honor Isikini, recalls:

Shigematsu was a trader and had a small copra plantation at Modewa [a village near East Cape in Milne Bay], and had a couple of schooners. He had a store, selling tobacco, rice, biscuits, and tinned fish. He was very successful in his business because he was a hard worker, working non-stop. He was also careful about his money: he used to put hair on the door of his safe so that he could check if somebody opened it while he was away.⁽³⁸⁾

He married a local girl, Lily, before 1912. Honor continues:

Shigematsu's wife was a local girl called Lily. Her real local name was Garunaidi. It was her second marriage. Her first husband was a trader from Samoa or Tonga. Shigematsu had four children—Paul, Shino Margaret, Honor, Shigeto. I was born in 1912.

Japanese in German New Guinea

The Japanese population, which the German administration included in the European population, is shown in Table 3. Due to inconsistency in statistical computation by the administration (some statistics included the whole German territory including German Micronesia and New Guinea while some included only the Bismarck Archipelago, and some counted only non-officials), the statistics give only an approximate idea to around 1910. The Japanese population increased rapidly around 1910, but

its proportion in the total non-indigenous population remained small. Compared to 578 Germans and 555 Chinese, the Japanese numbered only 20 in 1910 (Table 3).

Table 3. Non-indigenous populations of German New Guinea by nationality 1894-1913

year	Japanese	Germans	Chinese	Other	total
1894	2*	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1895	2*	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1897	1*	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1906	2	417	404	268	1,091
1910	20	578	555	357	1,510
1914	21**	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

*Bismarck Archipelago only

** Admiralty district only

n.a.: no data available

Source: [for 1894] ANNUAL REPORT. 1895. 41pp., Kokopo; [for 1895] 1896. 41pp.; [for 1897] 1898. 51pp.; [for 1906] SACK and CLARK, 1979; [for 1910] SACK and CLARK, 1979; [for 1914] SACK and CLARK, 1980a; WU, 1982

The scanty information can be supplemented from Japanese sources. According to a naval officer who visited Rabaul in 1919, the number of the Japanese in 1914 was 109.⁽³⁹⁾ The Japanese Foreign Ministry's records of passports issued for migrants bound for German New Guinea also provide information. In 1912 passports were issued to 50 Japanese, in 1913 to 22, and in 1914 to 33.⁽⁴⁰⁾ The sum of the passports coincides with the naval officer's report. From these records it can be estimated that the Japanese population had increased to about 100 by 1914. Comparison with the total population in Rabaul including Namanula and Matupi, which was 3,271 in 1914 (266 whites, 452 Chinese, 79 Malays, 27 Micronesians and 2,447 Melanesians) (SACK and CLARK, 1980a), shows that the Japanese had grown to a recognisable group. The increase is also significant in that the Japanese population of German New Guinea overtook that of German Micronesia. The number of the Japanese in the whole German territories, which reached 172 (SACK and CLARK, 1980a) containing about 100 Japanese in German New Guinea, shows that those Japanese in New Guinea exceeded those in Micronesia by about 20.

The materials related to the Japanese in the German administration's *Annual Reports* show that the administration's concern about Japanese did not greatly differ from that of the Australians in Papua. German reports are also brief and do not extend beyond one paragraph. Judging only from the amount and contents of those reports, the German administration did not seem to be greatly concerned.

Leniency in legal status and caution in granting land rights were the main characteristics of German attitudes towards the Japanese. The Germans granted the Japanese European status around 1905. Until then the Japanese had no legal status (THRELFALL, 1988). Granting European status was not confined to the Germans, as the Dutch

granted the same status in the East Indies in 1899 (FURNIVALL, 1967). Threlfall argues that Komine's usefulness to the administration as well as the effect of the emergence of Japan in international politics after its victory in the Russo-Japanese War facilitated the granting of European status.

The German administration recognised Komine's usefulness in his encounter with Albert Hahl, the Vice-Governor and Governor from 1896 to 1914. The encounter happened almost accidentally. According to Hahl's diary, in 1902 Komine reached Herbertshöhe from Torres Strait when Hahl had been facing a serious shortage of government vessels to perform administrative tasks. The appearance of Komine solved this problem:

A chance incident helped to solve my dilemma. One fine morning there was a small schooner flying the Japanese flag to be seen riding at anchor in the Herbertshöhe Harbour. The skipper, Isokide [sic] Komine, told me that his water and provisions had run out on his voyage from Torres Strait, where he had been engaged in pearl-fishing. He had no money to purchase supplies and asked me to employ him. I inspected his little ship, found it suitable for my purpose, and chartered the vessel. (SACK and CLARK, 1980b)

Komine capitalised on this chance, and Hahl used his schooner for later trips around the Bismarck Archipelago (SACK and CLARK, 1980b).

However, Komine later wrote a different story about the encounter. According to his petition for financial assistance to the Consul-General in Sydney in 1916, he reached Rabaul in October 1901 and accidentally met Governor Hahl, who had been under siege from 'little barbarians':

I left Japan at a young age, and explored Korea, north China and Hong Kong. Then I advanced to Australia. After my investigation, Australia proved to be promising for trading and I decided to stay. However, in the last ten years, anti-Japanese fever took place and I got suspicious about my future in Australia. Then I decided to purchase two schooners — Zapura and Hafua — and explored the New Guinea main island and Dutch islands, taking risks and hardships which were beyond description. Nearly at the end of my exploration I anchored at Rabaul in October 1901. At that time the place was German territory and the natives were strongly resisting German rule. The punitive expeditions were suffering failures. When I arrived there, Governor Hahl and his staff had narrowly escaped the tight siege of the little barbarians and they were holding this small place. Their vessels, which were their only resort, were wrecked on the reef. They tried all measures unsuccessfully and were just waiting to be slaughtered. However, when they found my accidental arrival, they were overjoyed as if my arrival was God's will and begged me for the charter of my ship. My righteous heart was heating up, seeing their hopeless situation, and I willingly agreed to their request. At the same time I joined their punitive forces. Sharing uncountable hardships with them and applying various tactics all successfully, we finally conquered and pacified the little barbarians.⁽⁴¹⁾

Apparently Komine dramatised the encounter in order to win assistance from the Japanese government, for there was no such incident either at Herbertshöhe or at Rabaul. Nonetheless Komine's description verifies two facts: the administration was suffering from a lack of seaworthy vessels; and he accompanied Hahl on his trips to other places. Indeed, Hahl found Komine very useful. Hahl continued in his diary:

Both parties benefited. To begin with, I was now able to repatriate the labourers and soldiers whose contracts had expired and who had been waiting for a long time for a passage home, and to arrange for new men to be recruited. The Japanese skipper proved to be very adept at this. From one of his trips to central Neu Mecklenburg Komine brought back coal which he had found at the mouth of a small stream in the Umudu district. This coal looked quite good, but seemed to be a type of brown coal. The schooner also brought some natives who complained of heavy attacks on their villages by inland tribes, against whom they were unable to defend themselves because their own young men were away working for Europeans. (SACK and CLARK, 1980b)

Thus Komine started working for the administration. Then he established a relationship with Germans, which contributed to practical and mutual benefits — Komine's search for a place to settle and Hahl's need of a vessel. The men's characters might also have contributed to some extent. Komine's agile nature which had been cultivated from his experiences in Korea in his late teens and Thursday Island in most of his 20s might have appealed to Hahl who "was interested in individuals as individuals" of any race (SACK and CLARK, 1980b). Thus the usefulness of Komine and the development of his personal relationship with Hahl was probably an important reason for granting European status to the Japanese.

However, the European status was merely nominal. When court cases involving the Japanese arose, they were not heard in the European courts but in a separate court constituted only for the Japanese (THRELFALL, 1988). Similarly, the Germans were cautious about giving commercial advantage. The administration did not grant the right to purchase freehold to the Japanese. Indeed, the administration introduced a discriminatory law to restrict non-indigenous coloured people to acquire land: "Land could not be purchased from the government by natives or by persons who had not equal rights with Europeans; and land could neither be bought nor leased by persons unable to read and write a European language" (REPORT ON TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA, 1922). Therefore the Japanese, who could not pass a European language test, were not equal to Europeans in respect of land acquisition. In addition, the Germans limited the land rights of the Japanese, and of the Chinese, to leases only for a term not exceeding 30 years.

This reluctance to concede equal land rights to the Japanese was manifested in the timing and location of a lease granted to Komine. It was in 1910 that Komine acquired a 1,000 hectare lease on Pityilu Island, Papitelai, Sou, Kali Bay, and Rambutyo Island in the Admiralty Islands.⁽⁴²⁾ Eight years had passed since his arrival. It was a late acquisition, considering that the Japanese had enjoyed European status since 1905.

The location of the lease in Admiralty Islands also suggests the administration's unwillingness to transfer safe and profitable land. The Admiralty Islands were a frontier about 600 kilometres from Rabaul, where resistance to German rule was still strong and where few Germans were keen to settle. Indeed, Komine was attacked by islanders one year before he acquired the lease at Kali Bay, at the western end of Manus Island. The 1910-11 *Annual Report* reported the attack and unsuccessful punitive

expeditions:

The natives had attacked a station on Kali Bay belonging to a Japanese called Komine and manned by seven native labourers. They had killed all the labourers and eaten some of them, and gained possession of two Mauser guns and forty cartridges. Unfortunately the expedition did not succeed either in retrieving these firearms or in finding the guilty parties. The punitive expeditions against the mountain people who had taken part in the previous year's attack were unfortunately also ineffective. (SACK and CLARK, 1980a)

Kali Bay remained an uncontrolled area until 1914 (SACK and CLARK, 1980a). Although it is possible to speculate that the adventurous Komine spontaneously sought this pioneering role, he was after all acting for the benefit of the administration which was happy to send settlers to undeveloped frontiers (FIRTH, 1973).

But Komine also capitalised on this chance. In 1911, he won a concession for pearl-fishing (SACK and CLARK, 1979). In the same year he expanded his business in Rabaul and in 1912 he established a trading company. From 1912 onwards he was able to get permission to bring in Japanese employees for his expanding business in boat-building, trading, and coconut planting. Suddenly a relatively large number began to arrive. The administration raised no objection as far as they were labourers or artisans (REPORT ON TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA, 1922). The administration welcomed the Japanese because they alleviated the shortage of labour for the administration's public work. Some Japanese were even employed on road construction on mainland New Guinea. The sub-district naval officer at Thursday Island reported:

I hear the German authorities are using Japanese assisted by Chinese to construct roads to outlying posts and especially one long road which is opening up their territory towards the N.E. border of Papua. The Japanese are on a 2 year indent.⁽⁴³⁾

The Australian naval officer probably referred to road construction in the Morobe District which bordered north-east Papua. The 1913-14 German *Annual Report* also reported:

In the Morobe District, in addition to the existing inland road from Morobe to Piowaria, work has been started on a second inland road starting from the village of Mayama and running via Garaina to Ono at the foot of the Central Range....The construction of this road has proved very difficult because it passes in some places through uninhabited country and as the male population of the villages on and near the coast has been greatly reduced by labour recruitment, they could supply very little requisitioned labour. (SACK and CLARK, 1980a)

Although no Japanese or Chinese labourers were mentioned in the German report, the location of the road construction is identical to that in the Australian report. It is very likely that the Japanese and Chinese were used to make up for the lack of local labour.

Thus, unlike their counterparts in Australia, the Japanese were accepted in the German colony. Komine's ability to seize the chance to serve German interests in order to entrench his own, was probably the main contributing factor. Fortunately, his desire

was consistent with the administration's urgent task to ameliorate the "unceasing demands for labour" (HEMPENSTALL, 1978) to develop its territory.

In the early 1910s, the Australian government was nervously monitoring Komine's activity in the Admiralty Islands for fear of any Japanese expansion in the South Pacific. The Australian fear was instigated by a newspaper article which warned about Japanese expansion in the central Pacific:

It was from Hawaii that the Japanese first began to enter California in large numbers and it appears likely that they will use the same island as a starting point for their trade with South American ports and with the islands of the Pacific....Already a new steamship service has been started from Hilo to trade with the South America coast....and a Japanese syndicate obtained control of the Admiralty Islands.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Responding to the article, the Governor-General requested the Prime Minister to investigate the matter, which was passed to the Defence Department and finally to the sub-district naval officer on Thursday Island.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The naval officer revealed Komine's presence in the Admiralty Islands in his third report:

Several Japanese who went over to the Admiralty Islands from Thursday island did remain there. A Japanese named Komini [sic] went in for trading and as far as I can ascertain is there now. I have recently heard rumours that the Japanese are encouraged to go to German New Guinea but can get no further information as to any concession having been granted to a Japanese Company in the Admiralty Islands.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Faster than the naval officer, the British Ambassador in Tokyo carried out an investigation. His report confirmed the operation of a small Japanese enterprise, the Nanyō Kōgyō Kaisha (the South Seas Industry Company) in the Admiralty Islands. He also noted the smallness of the company's operation and its weak connection to the Japanese government:

The Nanyo Kogyo Kaisha is a very small concern, newly started, with a capital of only £5,000 and one schooner....It is true that the ventures referred to above appear to be more in the nature of private enterprises than of Government undertakings, but it seems as if the Japanese, finding themselves more and more excluded from the well favoured countries already in the possession of white people, were casting about for outlets for over-population in climates congenial to their physical conditions....As regards German possessions, I am assured although it is true that there are a number of Japanese labourers employed in New Guinea, yet it seems tolerably certain that no Japanese control has been secured of any place either in the Admiralty Islands or in the Bismarck Archipelago.⁽⁴⁷⁾

However, the ambassador also stressed the growing Japanese interests in the South Seas quoting an ambitious statement by Naval Commander Hosaka, the captain of a cruiser, despatched to the South Pacific by the government to search of suitable places for emigration.

Commander, Hosaka, of the Imperial Navy, who recently completed a tour of some of the South Seas Islands, has reported to his Government that they are most suitable for settlement, and have great resources still unexploited....In the islands under British control the aggression of a Japanese or

a Chinese population is not permitted, but in those under French, German, and Dutch authorities Asiatic immigration is encouraged as the demand for labour increases.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Hosaka did not represent the policy of the Japanese government, for no government officials or influential intellectuals showed much interest in the South Seas in this period. And Australian investigations hardly substantiated the existence of systematic Japanese expansion. However, the Australian government, having a traditional fear of invasion from the north, picked up every tiny matter which seemed to be connected to Japanese expansion. Australians, relieved by squeezing out the Japanese on Thursday Island, continued to be annoyed by the same Japanese in the German territory.

There are several episodes of Komine known both from written and oral sources. Most recount his heroic feats of fighting against New Guineans and of reconciling tribal disputes to assist the administration's punitive expeditions. The report of Yoshinobu Tatsue, the directing manager of an emigration company, the Kaigai Kōgyō Kabushiki Kaisha (the Overseas Industry Company Co. Ltd.), indicates that Komine was actively involved in fighting rather than merely providing his vessel. Based on Komine's story as told to him, Tatsue wrote about Komine's fighting against islanders at Tahara village near Namatanai in New Ireland in the early 1900s:

The house of Tancornan [a chieftain of Tahara village] was well fortified with a sheer mountain at its back and with many fences at the front. When Komine subjugated the village, he sneaked up to the top of the mountain bypassing the forest and from there he started shooting his rifle. This surprise attack scattered many villagers. But Tancornan did not run away and was looking around trying to find the enemy. In the moment he paused to stare, he was shot and fell down, but he rose up furiously and tried to fight with his spear. But he was shot again and he was killed with his daughter. (TATSUE, 1925)

Komine's actions on behalf of German punitive expeditions were also recorded by an anthropologist, Francis Bell. During his field research, Bell discovered the story of Komine's peace-making among the people in Boieng, an island about 70 kilometres west-north-west of Namatanai:

About twenty years ago the island of Boieng was visited by a Japanese trader named Komini [sic]. Apparently on behalf of the German Administration, for he assembled all men of the island at a place named Angfara, and there held a huge peacemaking feast. The ovens, which were specially made for this feast, can still be seen, and the coconut palms which he induced the leaders of the rival clans to plant still flourish today. The main feature connected with the feast was the destruction of all fighting weapons. I am assured by men who were present that thousands of spears and clubs were destroyed on this occasion. (BELL, 1935)

This feat probably owed much to Komine's competence in languages: he could speak eight languages—English, German, Spanish, Pidgin and several indigenous languages.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Most likely this ability as well as navigation skill proved useful to punitive expeditions, which encouraged the pragmatic Hahl to use him.

Not only his practical skills but also his strong character contributed to establishing relations with Germans. Komine was extremely disciplined and industrious. He used to sleep only three hours a night, studied and checked all his premises before breakfast. His obsessiveness is shown by the following episode:

When my father, Mantoku [Mantoku Komine, Isokichi's nephew], went to Rabaul to help with Uncle Isokichi's business, my father was scolded because he went to the toilet before breakfast. To Uncle Isokichi from the time of getting out of bed, people should do something productive. Going to the toilet before doing something was a sign of laziness. My father told me Uncle Isokichi used to tell my father, "If you remembered one word of a foreign language a day, you would be pretty fluent in one language in one year."⁽⁵⁰⁾

Hahl also might have acquired some fondness for the Japanese after his holiday trip to Japan in 1910. He wrote in his diary: "In Japan we spent our time in Nara and Kyoto, as these beautiful centres of ancient Japanese art and religion held far more appeal for us than the hurry and bustle in the port" (SACK and CLARK, 1980a). Coincidentally, Komine's acquisition of a lease in the Admiralty Islands occurred in the same year.

Until 1910, Komine seems to have been not only employed by the administration on various duties but also acting as an agent for German companies. In 1907 he acted for Hershheim and Co to start a plantation on Ponam Island, in the north of the Admiralty Groups.⁽⁵¹⁾ Then in 1910 the administration granted him a 1,000 hectare lease on the Admiralty Islands, where he began operating a copra plantation with more than ten Japanese foremen supervising several hundred native labourers. In the same year he set up a ship building yard on Manus and employed more than ten Japanese shipwrights. In 1911, he expanded his ship building business to Rabaul on a one hectare waterfront lease. This business prospered. He received many orders for building ships from the administration and recruited more Japanese shipwrights. His yard produced two large sailing ships with full fittings every three months and the annual profit exceeded 50,000 yen. In the same year he also started trading. In 1912, he invested the profits from ship building and trade in copra plantations and completed planting trees on all his 1,000 hectares on Manus.⁽⁵²⁾

In 1912 he established the Nanyo Kōgyō Kaisha after he gained further concessions from the administration — a 500 hectare lease (location unknown), rights to fish and collect marine products, and the Company's permission to bring in Japanese employees with the condition that he comply with the administration's law on labour contracts, living standards, health, payment of wages, return to home country, protection and so on.⁽⁵³⁾ The company's headquarters were at Kobe in Japan where he bought materials for ship building and sent his shell and copra from New Guinea (KAMIJŌ, 1941).

The establishment of the company elevated Komine to a higher social status, as he won the support of San'nosuke Samejima, who was a descendent of the samurai of Satsuma and more importantly an acquaintance of Admiral Hikonojō Kamimura.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Thus, although indirectly, Komine was acquainted with the Admiral. Like Enomoto, Kamimura was enthusiastic about Japan's *nanshin* and inspired Samejima, saying:

New Guinea is an important point in the Pacific. To establish a Japanese fort in New Guinea is a necessity for the defence of Japan. Your company is not merely a profit-seeking company. Your company is serving our nation. (KAMIJŌ, 1941; ŌNO, 1942)

It is quite conceivable that the words of encouragement from the Admiral stimulated Komine's patriotism. Probably it was also around this time that Komine's patriotism began to be manifested, as in the following episode:

One night Uncle Isokichi was invited to dinner with the German Governor. During the dinner, the Governor remarked, "the Japanese are poor, because you use wooden chopsticks to eat food, but Germans use silver cutlery". After the dinner, Uncle Isokichi came home, indignant, and at once ordered thousands of chopsticks from Japan. Then at the next dinner with the Governor, Uncle Isokichi said, "Germans use the same cutlery every time, but we use chopsticks only once and throw them away to make sure we use new ones all the time."⁽⁵⁵⁾

In the last year of German rule, Komine began to make his way to becoming a business tycoon. In 1913, he returned to Japan to arrange for further expansion of his business. He successfully approached leading Japanese businessmen — Baron Shinji Tsuji, Lord Kōshirō Matsukata (an owner of Kawasaki Ship Building Company), Lord Gentarō Shimura, Yoshihei Murai (a president of the Imperial Hotel), Kihachirō Ōkura (a member of the Japan Trade Association) and Namizō Fukushima (auditor of the Asahi Life Insurance Company).⁽⁵⁶⁾ Unfortunately, the outbreak of World War I wrecked the plan. However, during his visit, he also met Admiral Kamimura. It was a memorable meeting to Komine, and a photograph was taken, showing Komine in a smart western coat standing with Kamimura in uniform with many medals. It was symbolic of Komine's success. A former pearl diver was now standing with an Admiral like equal partners.⁽⁵⁷⁾

New Guineans also remember Komine. Several stories have been handed down from generation to generation. The elders on Ponam Island tell the story of when Komine's schooner 'Zabra' was stranded on the reef of their island in 1907. The story was also mentioned in the correspondence from the German Consul-General.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The islanders relate:

Komine's boat was wrecked on the reef near the island, but he and his crew were frightened to land on the island because they thought we would kill him. They collected stones, laid them on the reef, built a hut and stayed there for two months. Finally the *luluai* of the island invited them to the island, then Komine agreed to settle on the island. After his boat was repaired, he went back to Pityilu where his plantation was. Komine was a big man and we thought he was an administrator at Rabaul. Komine was respected like a *kiap*. He was a hard man, too. When he got sick in Rabaul, he asked Ponam people to catch a turtle so that he can drink its blood. He told his employees to keep good relationships with the locals, otherwise they were dismissed and sent back to Japan.⁽⁵⁹⁾

The story tends to confirm that Komine was working for the administration or at least had some close association with it as he was thought to be an administrator. Although the story also suggests that he had a plantation on Pityilu Island (near Lorengau in the

Admiralty Islands), it could be that the memory of islanders about the time is incorrect, or that Komine was working for other planters on the island, because the administration had not yet given him a lease at this time. Komine's footprint also remains in the name of an island. In Kali Bay, Komine named a small island 'Nihon Island' ('Nihon' means Japan in Japanese) and the island still retains that name.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Komine's Japanese wife, Chō, was also assisting in his business. The issue of her passport for New Guinea was recorded from 1908 and the second was issued in 1910 with the stated purpose of commerce.⁽⁶¹⁾ She was born in Jūzenji-chō in Nagasaki City in 1871. She was a beautiful and elegant lady and, like Komine, very diligent and particularly fussy about the way money was spent.⁽⁶²⁾ The couple was exceptionally outgoing for Japanese. Their formal appearance at Government functions, Chō in traditional *kimono* and *obi*, attracted the curious eyes of other white residents in Rabaul (THRELFALL, 1988). A flamboyant and dedicated wife was a perfect match for a tough and determined businessman and her presence made him more eminent in the social life of cosmopolitan Rabaul.

Komine's memory overshadows other Japanese, as most were his employees and their activities were under his business operations. As a result, information about other Japanese in official records and oral sources are relatively scarce. However, records were kept on four Japanese who remained in New Guinea until the outbreak of the Pacific War. They are Eikichi Izumi, Shigetarō Endō, Hikota Hagiwara, and Tokuyoshi Ikesaki. Significantly they all married New Guinean girls in the later period.

Izumi was born in Goryō village, Amakusa, Kumamoto prefecture in 1894. He came to Rabaul in 1913 as a boat builder,⁽⁶³⁾ with his younger brother, Torakaku, who was a carpenter.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Eikichi's nephew, Takashi, also came to New Guinea in 1937.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Endō was born in Tokushima prefecture in 1892. He came to Rabaul on 5 April 1914 to work for Komine as a boat builder.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Hagiwara was born in Teno village, Amakusa, Kumamoto prefecture in 1892.⁽⁶⁷⁾ He came as a sawmill hand to work in the Admiralty Islands.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Ikesaki was born in Goryō village, Amakusa, Kumamoto prefecture in 1895.⁽⁶⁹⁾ He came as a boat builder but worked on a plantation in the Admiralty Islands.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Tokuyoshi came with three other relatives of the Ikesaki clan — Yūtarō, Tsunekuma, and Masashichi — from the same village.⁽⁷¹⁾

Relevance to Japanese social history

As the analyses in the previous section show, migration in this period also reflected Japanese social history. Migrants kept on coming from the rural south-west where underdevelopment continued as industrialisation was entrenched in urban centres. The underdevelopment intensified, particularly after the Russo-Japanese War, when industrialisation gained momentum with the rapid growth of the export-oriented industries such as silk and cotton. The major impact on rural areas was the destruction of self-sufficiency as agricultural production was integrated into the development of export commodities (KATŌ, 1992). As a result, rural-urban inequality increased, which further

enhanced the tempo of the emigration of the rural people to urban centres and overseas. The statistics verify this. In only ten years from 1904 to 1914, the number of overseas emigrants increased nearly threefold — from 138,591 in 1904 to 358,711 in 1914 (ISHIKAWA, 1972). The same tendency was seen in migration to Papua and New Guinea. The number increased from a mere 2 in 1906 to 109 in 1914 (see above) and most came from Kyūhū: 33 from Kumamoto, 28 from Nagasaki, and 8 from Saga.⁽⁷²⁾

Most migrants were *dekasegi-sha* (literally 'people leaving to earn money') on three year contracts,⁽⁷³⁾ the same type of people seen in urban factories. The largest occupational group were artisans: 41 shipwrights, 18 carpenters and 13 sawyers. Many of them were from Goryō village and Oniike village in Amakusa. These villages were famous for boat building from the Edo era, but in about 1907 many shipwrights lost their jobs due to the recession in the shipping industry (MOTODA, 1926). Eleven fishermen were another significant group. They came from fishing villages such as Isahaya-chō (Kitatake-gun, Nagasaki prefecture) and Jōgashima (Misaki-chō, Miura-gun, Kanagawa prefecture). The general trend in fishing villages in this period was also a loss of jobs due to the development of modern capital-intensive fisheries and thereby the decline of small fishermen (SHIMIZU and KONUMA, 1949). Thus, the migrants' employment situation constituted a 'push' factor for emigration. Inevitably, like the migration to Thursday Island, the high wages in New Guinea became a major 'pull' factor.

In addition, the German administration's different treatment of the Japanese relative to other Asians possibly became a 'pull' factor. The granting of European status delighted the Japanese who had been rejected in Australia because they were Asians. The migrants very likely felt that the Germans recognised their national identity as subjects of an emerging empire which was, the migrants perhaps thought, distinctive from other Asian countries. Although in reality the migrants were the victims of empire-building which increased the poverty of rural Japan, the improvement of their status from poor rustics to 'Europeans' satisfied their pride. Of course, such a pride was merely an illusion which would vanish as soon as they returned to their impoverished villages, but it was a sweet illusion that attracted the migrants to the land of '*dojin*'.⁽⁷⁴⁾

Relevance to colonial history of New Guinea

Within the German colony where people were strictly governed according to race, the Japanese presence was anomalous. The Japanese community developed into a small colony. The Japanese were colonial masters in their relationships with New Guineans. Like their German counterparts, they were traders, boat builders, shell collectors and planters, recruiting and employing islanders as crew and labourers. Yet their economic activities were largely independent of their German counterparts. Mainly through Komine's Nan'yō Sangyō Kaisha, the Japanese exported copra, shell and marine products to Japan and imported miscellaneous goods from Japan. Thus the Japanese developed a colonial relation between Japan and New Guinea in that Japan extracted primary products by means of a cheap indigenous labour force and provided light manufactured goods in exchange.

The development of the colony can be ascribed to the German acceptance of the Japanese as having a place among the rulers in their colonial apparatus. The Germans had two reasons. First, the Japanese alleviated the labour shortage. Second, they assisted in maintaining and reinforcing the colonial structure. In helping contain New Guineans' challenges to the colonial structure, the Japanese were useful, particularly Komine who was willing to assist in punitive expeditions. It is even possible that the administration granted the Japanese European status partly to reinforce the colonial apparatus. That may also show how their national identity (as subjects of an expanding empire) facilitated the entry of migrants to the ruling group, considering that the Chinese were excluded and largely remained in an intermediate position between the whites and New Guineans. Thus the Japanese colony functioned to consolidate German rule, although that was, of course, on condition that the Japanese posed no threat to German interests.

The emergence of the Japanese community at Rabaul also contributed to the development of its landscape. Rabaul expanded rapidly after the administration decided to shift its capital from Herbertshöhe in 1910. Buildings, roads and wharves were constructed for a well-planned township (McCARTHY, 1972). New arrivals from Japan also increased the demand for new dwellings. The 1912-13 *Annual Report* reported the extension of Komine's boat-building yard by the construction of a number of dwelling-houses for his new employees (SACK and CLARK, 1979). However, as in the case of land rights, although Europeans in legal status, the Japanese were not accepted in the European residential areas. Some Japanese lived on Komine's waterfront lease while others lived in Malaytown and Chinatown. As those towns were for non-Europeans, the Japanese European status was in reality nominal (THRELFALL, 1988).

The emergence of a sizeable Japanese population was even accompanied by a Japanese brothel (KAWASAKI and MARUBA, 1913). Generally, as Yano argues from his analysis on the patterns of Japanese business expansion in Southeast Asia, particularly at Singapore, the presence of *karayuki-san* can be considered a barometer of Japanese prosperity (YANO, 1975). However, their presence at Rabaul shows a different pattern. In Southeast Asia, *karayuki-san* spearheaded Japanese business expansion, and they were followed by traders who mainly sold sundries to them. In contrast, in New Guinea, Komine was the first Japanese to arrive and to initiate business activity, and independent of Komine, the *karayuki-san* arrived. Indeed, it was Ah Tam in 1904, a wealthy and successful Chinese businessman at Rabaul, who brought the first *karayuki-san* to make them serve "the need of Chinese and European men" (WU, 1982). Later Japanese migrants, mostly artisans employed in Komine's business, were also different from those traders in Southeast Asia. Thus, the presence of *karayuki-san* in New Guinea does not conform to the Southeast Asian pattern, but demonstrates Ah Tam's entrepreneurship.

According to Threlfall, in the social life of Rabaul, the Japanese largely remained an isolated group except for the formal appearance of Komine and his wife at administration functions (THRELFALL, 1988). He also emphasises their religious alienation and sec-

retiveness: "Unlike the Chinese, the Japanese remained totally unreceptive to Christianity, but the practice of their Shintō religion, like their own forms of entertainment, was a private matter which outsiders were not invited to witness." His observation is probably correct but does not explain why the Japanese distanced themselves from the wider social life. As most Japanese were from rural areas where very little western culture was introduced, Rabaul was the first place of contact with the West for most of them. As a result, it is likely that difficulties in language and manners, in addition to their transient nature, caused them to distance themselves and encouraged them to form their own 'alienated' group. However, as Threlfall observes, the white population saw this situation as a sign of Japanese secrecy. This view was possibly reinforced, especially after seeing the Chinese practice of noisy New Year celebrations which were obvious to every resident of Rabaul.

Conclusion

From 1890 to 1901, the Japanese, responding to growing demand for cheap labour in European plantations and mines, migrated to the South Seas to improve their economic conditions. The social instability and impoverished rural areas following modernisation in the late 19th century also encouraged migration. However, their arrivals were individual ventures, because the Japanese government had no policies towards the South Seas and its main concern was its national prestige rather than economic or territorial expansion. Only some intellectuals showed a strong interest in Japan's involvement in the South Seas, and they mostly claimed that such involvement should be achieved peacefully, reflecting Japan's subordinate position in the western-led world. However, the Australian reaction to Japanese migration was entirely negative due to the 'Yellow Peril' syndrome and rising unionism. As a result, Australians stopped further expansion of the Japanese settlement on Thursday Island. Both Japan and Australia were struggling to survive as new-born modern nations. Ironically it was the Australians themselves who facilitated the birth of the colony in German territory (which Australians later feared) by squeezing the Japanese on the Island too hard.

From 1901 to 1914, Japanese migration to both Papua and New Guinea started from the settlement on Thursday Island, but their development differed greatly. In Papua the Japanese had almost no relations with Japan and they were outside the concerns of the Australian administration. By contrast, the Japanese in New Guinea interacted both with the German administration and with Japan. Meanwhile, the overall presence of the Japanese in Papua and New Guinea shows a sharp difference from other migrants in other South Pacific Islands (Fiji, New Caledonia and Makatea), in that they were not indentured labourers. The Japanese in Papua and New Guinea were independent businessmen and their employees. Particularly in German New Guinea they developed a settlement which came to be a colony. Its growth owed much to Komine's personality and endeavours. The social situation in rural Japan and the German admi-

nistration's acceptance of the Japanese in order to reinforce their colonial apparatus were important factors influencing the nature of the migration and the consequent community in New Guinea.

Notes

- (1) I have used the names—'Papua' and 'New Guinea'—in the title and abstract, because they are commonly known now. However, the official name for 'Papua' was 'British New Guinea' from 1884 to 1906 and 'Papua' from 1906, while 'New Guinea' was generally called 'German New Guinea'. In the article, I follow those original names.
- (2) *Asano shimbun* [Asano Newspaper], 23 November 1887, 'Yokoo Tōsaku nan'yō tanken kara kikou' [Tōsaku Yokoo. Return from exploration of the South Seas]
- (3) *The Settler and South Queensland Pioneer*, 15 May 1897, 'The Japanese Invasion'
- (4) *Townsville Bulletin*, 8 October 1896, 'The Japanese in Queensland'
- (5) Interview by the author with Yachiyo Satō (a daughter of a nephew of Isokichi Komine), 1 July 1993, Nagasaki, Japan
- (6) Iijima to Aoki, 5 May 1900, Japanese Diplomatic Record (hereafter JDR), 6.1.5.6-32, Kakkoku chūzai teikoku ryōji ninmen zakken Taunzubiru no bu [Miscellaneous matters on appointment of consular postings in various countries, section of Townsville]
- (7) Ogirima to Aoki, 11 May 1900, JDR, 3.8.2.67, Kōsei imin kaisha gyōmu kankei zakken [Miscellaneous matters related to operation of the Kōsei Emigration Company], Vol.2
- (8) Eitaki to Iijima, 30 August 1900, Ibid.
- (9) Iijima to Aoki, 3 September 1900, Ibid.
- (10) Iijima to Sugimura, 4 September 1900, Ibid.
- (11) Iijima to Katō, 29 October 1900, Ibid.
- (12) Neither Kawasaki or Maruba were well-known writers, but the contents of the book and the name of the publisher 'Nan'yō dōshi kai' (The Society of South Seas Comrades) made them look like *nanshin-ron* advocates.
- (13) Appointment of Consul Narita, 2 March 1906, JDR, 6.1.5.6.-32, Kakkoku chūzai teikoku ryōji ninmen zakken taunzubiru no bu [Miscellaneous matters on appointment of consular postings in various countries, section of Townsville]
- (14) Kakkoku chūzai ryōji ninmen zakken shidonī no bu [Miscellaneous matters on the appointment of consuls in overseas countries, the section of Sydney], 1909, JDR, 6.1.5.6-38
- (15) *Kobe Herald*, 28 April 1909, 'The Killing of a Japanese Trader in the South Seas — Identity of the Victim'
- (16) Komine Isokichi doku ryō nyū giniya adomiraruchī tō ni oite sōnan no ken [Report about the accident of Komine Isokichi on the Admiralty Islands in German

New Guinea], 1909, JDR, 4.2.5-240

- (17) The Japanese may not have known the English spellings.
- (18) Department of External Affairs to the Collector of Customs at Brisbane, 13 May 1902, Australian Archives (hereafter AA), A8/1-02/116/194
- (19) The administration's official record on the Japanese population was not available until 1905.
- (20) They were mission workers.
- (21) Miho to Komura, 2 March 1913, JDR, 3.8.2.33, Gōshū ni oite honpō imin seigen ikken dai ikkan [A matter on Australian migration restriction, vol.1]
- (22) Interview by the author with Jessie Koto (a grand daughter of Jimmy Koto), 4 January 1994, Misima Island, Milne Bay, Papua New Guinea (hereafter PNG)
- (23) Interview by the author with Kalo Murakami (a son of Heijirō Murakami), 4 January 1994, Misima Island, Milne Bay, PNG
- (24) Interview with Jessie Koto, op.cit.
- (25) Interview by the author with Joseph Tetu [a grandson of Mabe Tamiya], 24 December 1993, Kanadamada Village, Basilaki Island, Milne Bay, PNG
- (26) Interview by the author with Billy Tetu [a grandson of Mabe Tamiya], 25 December 1993, Gogolabia Village, Basilaki Island, Milne Bay, PNG
- (27) Interview with Joseph Tetu, op.cit.
- (28) Ibid.
- (29) "Dossier for MJ18500, internee, MURAKAMI, Heijiro" and "Interview with Japanese internees at Camp No.4, Taura, On 22.7.46, Case No.67, MURAKAMI Heijiro", AA, A367 C72588, MURAKAMI Heijiro
- (30) Interview with Kalo Murakami, op.cit.
- (31) The author speculates that he could have been an outlaw-type if he had been tattooed in Japan, as such a practice is common mainly among *yakuza* (Japanese gangs).
- (32) Interview with Kalo Murakami, op.cit.
- (33) Interview by the author with Noboru Tanaka (a nephew of Taichirō Tanaka), 1 July 1993, Tomitsu-chō, Shimabara, Nagasaki, Japan
- (34) Interview by the author with Mary and Arthur Tanaka [a daughter and grandson of Taichirō Tanaka], 22 December 1993, Samarai, Milne Bay, PNG
- (35) Interview by the author with Joseph Bam, 6 January 1994, Walalaia Village, Milne Bay, PNG
- (36) Interview by the author with Honor and Fred Isikini (a daughter and grandson of Shigematsu Tanaka), 21 December 1993, Nigila Village, Milne Bay, PNG
- (37) January to March 1901, JDR, 3.8.5.8, 1892-1939, Kaigai ryoken kafu hyō [The list of overseas passport issues]
- (38) Interview with Honor and Fred Isikini, op.cit.
- (39) A telegram to Vice-Admiral Takenaka, 8 July 1919, JDR, 7.1.5-10, Zaigai naigai-jin no koguchi chōsa zakken dai-yon-kan [Miscellaneous matters on the survey of overseas Japanese households, Vol.4]

- (40) Kaigai ryoken kafu hyō, 1912-14, JDR, 3.8.5.8
- (41) Komine to Shimizu, 19 May 1916, JDR, 3.4.6.3, Nan'yō ni okeru hōjin kigyō kankei zakken [Miscellaneous matters concerning Japanese enterprises in the South Seas], vol.1
- (42) Komine to Shimizu, 19 May 1916, JDR, 3.4.6.3, ibid.
- (43) Sub-district naval officer at Thursday Island to the Naval Secretary of Navy Office, 17 November 1913, AA, MP1049/1 1913/0326, Japanese in German New Guinea, 1913
- (44) *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 May 1913, 'Problems of the Pacific'
- (45) Memorandum from the Governor-General to the Prime Minister, 10 July 1913; Prime Minister to the Secretary of the Defence Department, 22 July 1913; Sub-district naval officer at Thursday Island to the Naval Secretary, 27/ July 1913, AA, MP1049/1, Japanese enterprises in South Seas
- (46) Sub-district naval officer at Thursday Island to the Naval Secretary, 10 September 1913, AA, MP1049/1, ibid.
- (47) Report by Conyngham Greene, 8 July 1913, AA, MP1049/1, ibid.
- (48) *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 October 1913, 'The Islands. Japanese Aggression. Menace to Australia'
- (49) Interview with Satō, op.cit.
- (50) Ibid.
- (51) German Consul-General at Singapore, R. Kiliani to Japanese Consul at Singapore, E. Suzuki, 5 August 1909, JDR, 4.2.5-240, Komine Isokichi doku ryō nyū giniya adomiraruchi tō ni oite sōnan no ken [Report about the accident of Komine Isokichi on Admiralty Island of German New Guinea]
- (52) Komine to Shimizu, 19 May 1916, JDR, 3.4.6.3, op.cit.
- (53) Concessions of the German administration with Japanese translation, 18 May 1913, JDR, 3.5.2.201, Nan'yō sanbutsu chōsa ikken [Report of the investigation on South Seas products]
- (54) Kaigai ryoken kafu-hyō, January to March 1914, JDR 3.8.5.8
- (55) Interview with Satō, op.cit.
- (56) Komine to Shimizu, 19 May 1916, JDR 3.4.6.3, op.cit.
- (57) The photograph is possessed by Shigenori Komine, a grandson of Komine's nephew, Nagasaki-shi, Nagasaki, Japan
- (58) German Consul-General at Singapore, R. Kiliani to Japanese Consul at Singapore, E. Suzuki, 5 August 1909, JDR, 4.2.5-240, op.cit.
- (59) Interview by the author with elders (Alphonse Kawei Sohau and Pious Pweleheu Mohak), 11 February 1994, Ponam Island, Manus, PNG
- (60) Interview by the author to Michael Posman (a local from Kali Bay), 12 February 1994, Lorengau, Manus, PNG
- (61) Kaigai ryoken kafu hyō, July 1908 & April 1910, JDR, 3.8.5.8
- (62) Interview with Satō, op.cit.
- (63) Interview with Japanese Internees at No.4 camp, Taura, Case No.88, 23 July

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- (64) Kaigai ryoken kafu hyō, January to March 1913, JDR, 3.8.5.8
- (65) Kaigai ryoken kafu hyō, July to September, 1937, JDR, 3.8.5.8
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- (72) Data from the information Kaigai ryoken kafu hyō, 1912-1914, JDR 3.8.5.8
- (73) A correspondence of German ambassador at Kobe, 25 September 1912, G2 Item V.II, folio 66, AA German Microfilm
- (74) The Japanese term which literally means indigenous people and often used with contempt.

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