寄稿論文

Reading Japan in *Walkabout,* 1930s-40s

Anna Johnston

Travelling by nostalgically hyper-modern monorail, I arrived at Suita in Osaka in search of Australian modernity. The 1970 World Exposition site is now a commemorative park, dotted with concrete infrastructure and Metabolist architecture amongst gardens filled with autumnal colour, or spring *sakura*, depending on season. Its entrance is marked by an enormous two-armed primitivist sculpture—*The Tower of the Sun* (1970) by Taro Okamoto—that looms 70 metres above the viewer, with three faces whose lit-up eyes prove a disconcerting sight for night-time arrivals. The Osaka Commemorative Park is also home to the National Museum of Ethnology (known as Minpaku), which houses an extraordinary collection of ethnological artefacts from around the world and a well-stocked anthropology library.

Amongst myriad other holdings, the Minpaku Library contains a full 40-year run of *Walkabout* magazine. This mid-twentieth-century magazine (1934-74) sought to introduce armchair readers to remote Australia and the Pacific, and to encourage Australians, through travel, to develop a sense of belonging and place. Caught between home and abroad, I was finishing a book co-authored between Hobart and Tokyo (with my colleague Dr Mitchell Rolls). Minpaku's concrete bowels provided the venue to finish my writing in comparative isolation and to refresh my sense of the magazine as a whole.[1] Skimming across the pages of *Walkabout*, I felt like one of the magazine's original readers: dipping into issues at random or intrigued by contents pages; finding surprising connections between writers; and reading selected issues cover-to-cover to reveal an astonishing panorama of mid-century concerns and diversions. Like those earlier readers, I was both at home in the world conjured by *Walkabout* and distanced from it. On this particular occasion, I felt the geographical divide between Japan and Australia, but I was intrigued to notice the light but consistent coverage of Japan throughout the magazine: mainly focussing on the pearling industry in north-west Australia, but also incidental articles on Japanese, Aboriginal, and Torres Strait Islander cross-cultural interactions; a 1937 account of climbing Mount Fuji; and stories about post-war reconstruction in the Pacific Islands. This paper focuses on *Walkabout's* coverage of Japan and the Japanese in the region from the mid-1930s to mid-1940s. It maps the ways in which the Asia-Pacific region was imagined into being for Australian readers during this key period by middlebrow cultural forms such as this influential travel and geographical magazine.

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1) The forthcoming book is: Mitchell Rolls and Anna Johnston, *Travelling Home:* Walkabout *Magazine and Mid-Twentieth-Century Australia* (London: Anthem, forthcoming 2016).

Walkabout magazine and the Asia-Pacific region

Walkabout made a significant contribution to Australia's sense of itself, by addressing diverse range of topics: geology; distinctive native flora and fauna; the outback and its people; the Pacific region; and a distinctively Australian modernity. It also formed an integral component of what David Carter has identified as Australia's long overlooked and neglected middlebrow literature.[2] *Walkabout* is an ideal magazine through which to engage with recent scholarship that analyses periodical print culture with the kind of forensic close reading that literature scholars usually undertake with fiction and poetry. Most importantly, such approaches insist that we analyse the magazine as a whole rather than simply mining it for its constituent parts.[3] The magazine also provides important insights into debates about Australian identity, during the mid-twentieth-century, and the ways in which these debates were played out in accessible forms. Key to these debates were settler Australian attachments to place, and *Walkabout*'s middlebrow writing provides insights into the ways in which white Australians negotiated their relationship to landscapes, both literal and emotional, including those marked by Aboriginal occupation and belonging.

Walkabout's managing editor Charles Holmes extolled the virtues of travel in his November 1935 editorial:

> Travel is the most successful of outdoor sports. It conditions the body, informs the mind, inspires the heart, and imparts a grace to our social intercourse. It is a university of experience. It teaches that the bigger drama of life is played in the open—out where ships speak as they pass in the night—where the glory of the mountain, plain, and desert awe us with a mystery that is forever new to the responsive traveller.[4]

Walkabout was the ideal vehicle for promoting travel as a means to perfect the Australian body and mind, in the view of its founders. Charles Lloyd Jones, from the sponsoring organisation Australian National Travel Association (ANTA), declared in the first issue that

> we have embarked on an educational crusade which will enable Australians and the people of other lands to learn more of the romantic Australia that exists beyond the cities and the enchanted South Sea Islands and New Zealand.[5]

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[2] David Carter, "The Mystery of the Missing Middlebrow: Or the C(O)urse of Good Taste," in *Imagining Australia: Literature and Culture in the New New World*, eds. Judith Ryan and Chris Wallace-Crabbe (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2004), 173-201.

[3] See Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, "The Rise of Periodical Studies," *PMLA* 121, no. 2 (2006).

[4] Charles Holmes, "Editorial," *Walkabout*, March 1935, 9.

[5] Chas. Lloyd Jones, "The Why and Wherefore," *Walkabout*, November 1934, 7.

Walkabout sought to bring about the modern Australian citizen and the modern nation. Travel as a particularly modern practice was posited as a means by which unique Australian subjectivities would emerge: specifically, the idealised modernity of the white settler Australian. This white racial identity was refined not only within the nation, but in its adjacency to both Aboriginal Australians and Asia-Pacific neighbours. *Walkabout* magazine has become well-known as a quintessential source of mid-twentieth-century Australian images and narratives. Yet from its inception, the magazine imagined Australia as part of the Asia-Pacific region. For almost every iconic image of Aborigines and outback locations, *Walkabout* matched these in quantity and quality with Pacific images and stories from the 1930s to the 1960s. Its soft nationalism was aimed at educating Australians (and others) about Australia, particularly the regions that few would visit, and developing a sense of familiarity and belonging.

Christina Klein's excellent study *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (2003) uses Raymond William's "structures of feeling" to analyse the function of cultural hegemony, and challenges to it, in middlebrow US texts about Asia. Drawing evidence from sources including Rodgers and Hammerstein's *The King and I*, James Michener's books and articles, and the American magazines *Saturday Review* and *Reader's Digest*, Klein identifies the unique role played by middlebrow texts that sought to both educate readers and encourage their participation in building a new Cold War social and political orders. Klein argues compellingly for the role of middlebrow intellectuals, texts, and institutions in educating Americans about their evolving relationships with Asia—specifically, by creating both real and symbolic opportunities for their audiences to "participate in the forging of these relationships".[6] Middlebrow culture, Klein argues, translated new geopolitical alliances into personal terms and imbued them with sentiment "so that they became emotionally rich relationships that Americans could inhabit imaginatively in their everyday lives".[7] They do so by using the sentimental mode—not a kitsch emotionalism, but rather tapping into the eighteenth-century tradition by which human connections and bonds are emphasised over the isolated individual, often across a divide of difference, with an emphasis on reciprocity and exchange. These traditions of friendship and sympathy have a long history in Pacific contact zones, as Vanessa Smith and others have shown, yet this emphasis on emotions does not skirt issues of power.[8] As Klein argues, the sentimental is "a politicized discourse" that for Americans carried "both a progressive and an expansionist legacy".[9]

Walkabout operated in the same way for Australian audiences from the 1930s onwards,

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[6] Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: U of California P, 2003), 7.

[7] Ibid., 8.

[8] Vanessa Smith, *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange, and Pacific Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010).

[9] Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 15.

and because it brought together travel writers, journalists, anthropologists, professional adventurers, photographers, and many others, it brought Australian readers towards a rich understanding of their nation, and the region. Like the Cold War politics that Klein identifies in US representations of Asia, Australia's neo-colonial presence in the Pacific underwrites many of the articles about the broader region. Paternalist and assimilationist policies are regularly reflected. But middlebrow representations have regularly been read as one-dimensionally hegemonic, in ways that ignore the complexity of the original material and deny the contemporary reader any sophistication or curiosity. Instead, following Klein's model, I argue that *Walkabout* needs to be read as a highly influential cultural institution that encouraged education and participation with the Pacific region in ways that did not simply reflect government policies. *Walkabout* provided a cultural space in which the ideologies girding those policies could be "at various moments, articulated, endorsed, questioned, softened, and mystified" (9). *Walkabout* magazine, like other cultural institutions, mobilised middlebrow culture to achieve affective alliances between Australians and the Asia-Pacific region.

"Our Pacific neighbours": Neighbourliness and Neo-colonialism

The rhetoric of neighbourliness is a key index of the kind of relationship *Walkabout* advocated. "Our Pacific neighbours" was a common way that the magazine framed Australian engagements with the Pacific Islands, and many chatty, informative surveys of various island cultures informed readers about the way of life in the region. Of course, neighbourliness and curiosity are not politically neutral. Australians shared with many Pacific Islanders a British imperial history: if metaphors of family typified imperial relationships, neighbourliness was perhaps the modern form for imagining "commonwealth" relationships. Australian neo-colonialism or sub-imperialism in the Pacific during the twentieth century was rife: Britain transferred the colony of Papua to Australia in 1902-06; in 1972 Papua New Guinea attained self-government. Nauru gained independence in 1968; Samoa in 1962; Fiji in 1970, though it remained a dominion until 1987; Tonga regained full independence in 1970; and, despite pro-independence movements since the 1970s, Tahiti still remains officially a French overseas territory, with political advocates continuing to seek indigenous self-government. *Walkabout* certainly contributed to the processes of neo-colonialism by enabling public access to information, particularly about the southwest Pacific, which underpinned the extension of colonial administrations, and facilitated the involvement of ordinary Australians in such enterprises.

The representation of Japan and Japanese interests in the Pacific makes clear both the productive potential of the neighbour metaphor, and its limitations. Agnieszka Sobocinska suggests that since at least the 1940s it became common to characterize Asia as Australia's neighbourhood. She argues that the term personalizes international relations, "by inviting ordinary people to draw parallels between their private lives and the sphere of international

relations".[10] It also encouraged Australians to think who else may consider the Pacific as an extension of their national domain. Many *Walkabout* articles in the 1930s discussed Japanese pearl luggers in Northern Australia.[11] The opinions expressed vary considerably (and some are discussed in detail below) but across the spectrum the pearling industry made Australians aware that the Pacific was part of Japan's neighbourhood too. As David Walker demonstrates, although the complaint that Australians knew little of the outside world already existed by the 1930s, there was in fact "a sustained commentary on Asia-Pacific themes, not least the merits of forming closer political, economic and cultural ties with the region". The 1910s and 20s had seen an increased awareness of the Pacific, encouraged by "a trans-Pacific community of writers and intellectuals who charted the commonalities of the region and its many lines of division and potential conflict".[12] Popular magazines like *Walkabout*, and other more scholarly or professional journals about with the Pacific region "invariably promoted the cause of 'understanding' among Pacific nations" (214). The middlebrow educational agenda of *Walkabout*, and its advocacy for travel, was crucial in these social changes.

Travel, both armchair and actual, was central to the way that Australians learnt about Japan and the shared Australian-Japanese interests in the Pacific. The middle decades of the twentieth century saw unprecedented mobility, and travel became an increasingly significant practice through which Australians created impressions of other cultures and peoples, and thus imagined themselves as directly involved informally and personally in their nation's foreign affairs, as Sobocinska suggests.[13] Henry Noel, working for a Japanese newsagency in Tokyo in the 1930s, wrote an article for *Walkabout* that described his ascent of Mount Fuji.[14] Invited to join the junior group of his colleagues, Noel carefully describes the history and meaning of the mountain, as well as the office politics surrounding the group expedition: "climbing Mount Fuji is a pilgrimage for foreigner and Japanese alike".[15] Disappointed by bad weather towards the summit, Noel nonetheless finds the experience meaningful: "There is for us no view of the sun's rays lighting up a great part of Japan at once … but only golden red light flooding an immensity of clouds and sky. We are alone on an island; there are no other shores on this crimson sea" (41). Yet Noel's experience is inspiring rather than isolating. Cheered by descending pilgrims ("*Mo jiki des*'"), he decides the difficulty makes him feel more intimately

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10) Agnieszka Sobocinska, *Visiting the Neighbours: Australians in Asia* (Sydney: NewSouth, 2014), e-book.

11) Arthur Barclay, "With the Japanese Luggers Off North Australia," *Walkabout*, February 1937; John K. Ewers, "The Sea Hath Its Pearls," *Walkabout*, August 1935; Frank Hurley, "The Pearl Divers of Torres Strait," *Walkabout*, August 1939; Ion L. Idriess, "Pearls," *Walkabout*, October 1937; Vance Palmer, "Trochus and the Beche-De-Mer Fishing," *Walkabout*, August 1935.

12) David Walker, *Anxious Nation: Australia and the Rise of Asia, 1850-1939* (St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1999), 12, 210.

13) Sobocinska, *Visiting the Neighbours*.

14) Noel also published a book about his Japanese life, *Karakoro: At Home in Japan* (Hokuseido Press, 1937).

15) Henry Noel, "Climbing Fuji in the Night," *Walkabout*, August 1937: 40.

a common bond of brotherhood, and is determined to climb again, despite citing a Japanese proverb that suggest those who climb twice are fools.

In the post-war period, returned servicemen and women took a particular interest in the region, having experienced both the Pacific and conflict with Japan, and developed strong opinions, ongoing connections, and personal engagement. Thinking about Asia as a neighbour both demystified and domesticated Asia, Sobocinska argues, and it placed "ordinary Australians at the heart of diplomacy. If Australia's foreign relations were predicated on neighbourliness, then individuals could imagine themselves as active participants in the relationship".[16] Travel writing was key to establishing and maintaining this connection between Australia and its region. Many of the best-selling travel writers of the 1930s-50s contributed to *Walkabout*, alongside their other writing commitments, and in so doing changed the way that Australians understood the Asia-Pacific, including Japan.

Pearls and the Pre-war Pacific

John K Ewers (1904-1978) was an important figure in Western Australian literary culture during the mid-century, and his 1935 article for *Walkabout* featured the pearling industry off Roebuck Bay on the coast of the Kimberley region of Western Australia, near Broome. Ewers' cultural expertise was evident in the title of his article: "The Sea Hath Its Pearls." The painting of the same title is a late 1890s depiction of a woman collecting shells on the beach by the English painter William Henry Margetson. Bought from the artist after its first exhibition at the 1897 Royal Academy show, the painting belongs to the Art Gallery of New South Wales.[17] Although Margetson depicts a pearl simply being collected off a beach by a highly aestheticized woman draped in a classical Grecian gown, Ewers's article emphasises the considerable labour required to harvest pearls. The opening vignette personalizes the transaction. This work is done by multi-racial crews: two Koepangers (Timorese, from the town Kupang) and Kagayo, the Japanese diver. Their boss is a white man, who surveys his workers both from shore (through binoculars) and when they land. Pearl shell—the staple of the industry—is prevalent, but pearls are elusive, and whether the white boss can trust Kagayo to disclose the truth is questionable. It has been three years since the boss has seen a pearl:

> He used to go out himself in the early flush of enthusiasm when he bought his first lugger. But conditions on shipboard are far from congenial, and he shirks discomfort. The torpor of the Tropics has eaten into his blood. … So this is what it has come to!

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[16] Sobocinska, *Visiting the Neighbours*.

[17] For a full description of the provenance, see Art Gallery of New South Wales, accessed December 28, 2015, http://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/collection/works/705/?.

> The price of shell has fallen. He cannot afford to pay a white shell-opener, and he will not go himself.[18]

The boss castigates himself as a fool, and his distaste for shipboard life is put down to its loneliness and a "constant feeling of scorn and derision for those he must live with" (12). Ewers deftly sketches the racialized division of labour, and is unsympathetic to the white Australian owner of the vessel. Kagayo is described in stock terms, "with a hint of the inscrutable Oriental" about him (11), but all figures in this vignette are indicative rather than particular. Ewers emphasises the considerable loss of Japanese life that the industry has caused, noting two thousand Japanese graves in the Broome cemetery and the annual feast-day that Japanese residents hold in respect of the dead. Their food offerings are often appropriated by the Aborigines, he claims. The industry is "unsatisfactory": "financed by whites and conducted by the unknowable sons of the Orient and indented natives of the islands nearer to the north-west of Australia" (15). Much as Broome's indigenous residents appropriate the Japanese funerary offerings, the Japanese diving experts are seen to be appropriating Australian shell: Broome's older residents are described as having lost faith in the "Queen City of the North" (15).

Arthur Barclay's "With the Japanese Luggers off North Australia" (1937) gave *Walkabout* readers a quite different and nuanced reading of the cross-cultural aspect of the industry. Barclay travelled on the *Koyo Maru No. 2*, a Japanese-owned vessel working the ground near Bathurst Island, north of Darwin. Barclay is particularly impressed with the Japanese model of management, where a skipper is in charge, and gives orders to the divers: "he is a disciplinarian, a seaman, and a navigator with a first mate's certificate. All Japanese skippers hold at least the latter qualification".[19] His account of the team is personal and nuanced: the skipper has a beard that only a Japanese could grow; the divers are tall amongst their countrymen. Barclay provides details of the men's day: when they have meal breaks, what they eat, how they manage the physical dangers of deep diving. In Barclay's account, too, the industry is being dominated by Japanese vessels and workers, but this is credited to professionalism and scientific superiority. The Bathurst beds were discovered by a Japanese resident of Broome, S. Chinaka. Three key factors have resulted in the Australian industry being superceded: more efficient Japanese divers; lower overhead costs; and superior vessels and equipment. Ichthyologists on Japanese research ships are studying both the growth and development of pearl shells, and the environments in which they best thrive: "so scientific has this Japanese exploitation become, it is stated, that Australian-owned luggers are obliged to follow Japanese boats to locate the best pearling beds" (41). In Barclay's account, Japanese dominance is due to simple technical superiority and modern management techniques, rather

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18) Ewers, "The Sea Hath Its Pearls," 12.

19) Arthur Barclay, "With the Japanese Luggers Off North Australia," *Walkabout*, February 1937: 39.

than white enervation and non-white duplicity, as in Ewers' version.

Ion Idriess, whose highly coloured fictional accounts of Aboriginal and Torres Strait figures and frontier colonial cultures thrilled many mid-century readers, also wrote about pearls for *Walkabout*. His 1937 article outlining the history of the industry began with a richly imagined encounter between the "black-bearded giant" Captain Banner and Kebisu, "the greatest fighting chief the Coral Sea had ever known".[20] These two hyper-masculine figures are imagined as forming a strategic alliance: "One saw limitless fortune almost within his grasp; the other sat glowering under the strangest premonition of the end of all things for his people" (13). Idriess depicts a South Sea romance with piratical flourishes, claiming that the "pearl-shell rush" was more exciting than any gold-rush: it "brought a wealth of romance and adventure that would pale into insignificance the most colourful stories of romantic fiction" (14). Idriess is not interested in unpacking the complex racial politics of the labour force: his account notes in passing white Australians' reluctance to endure the hardships of diving, claiming that South Sea Islanders and Torres Strait Islanders were simply better divers, and that the "quiet, painstaking, quick-learning, thoroughly efficient and fatalistic" Japanese soon dominated the industry (15). Idriess is keen to dramatize the rich, multicultural mix of Broome, "seething for years under all manner of fortune and intrigue" (16) and vulnerable to "dreaded racial riots when the coloured seamen went raving mad" (17). It is only in the post-WWI period that Idriess notes the dominance of organized Japanese, who made their own terms with the masters including their right to keep any pearls (17), and industry groups such as the Japanese Club.

These indicative readings of *Walkabout*'s 1930s representations reveal pearling as a site of cross-cultural exchange: a working example of neighbourliness in both its intimacy and challenge. Adjacency, border disputes, different work cultures, and expectations typify these pictures of Australians and Japanese working the pearl-beds for financial gain. "Greed" is an accusation flung at both Australian and Japanese ship owners and skippers. The proper treatment of workers—white Australian, Aboriginal, Japanese, or Timorese—troubles most accounts. In many accounts, Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders play an ambiguous role: Ewers applauds the skill of Aboriginal women divers, noting their prohibition from the industry after 1868 (12). Off Thursday Island north of Cape York in Queensland, Vance Palmer finds pearling crews manned by Torres Strait Islanders, with a Japanese skipper and boatman. He specially notes the existence of boats owned by Badu Islanders and run by locals in collaboration with the government: "A fine system this, designed to strengthen the independence of the natives and give them an interest in the work".[21]

The connection between indigenous Northern Australians, Pacific Islanders, and the Japanese (and Timorese, amongst others) is one that intrigued, and at times troubled,

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[20] Ion L. Idriess, "Pearls," *Walkabout*, October 1937: 13.

[21] Vance Palmer, "Trochus and the Beche-De-Mer Fishing," *Walkabout*, August 1935: 44.

Walkabout's contributors. Palmer noted the "queer mixture of types" he found among the Torres Strait crews: "One will have the high cheek-bones and slanting eyes of the Malay, another a touch of the Papuan, another the soft features of Polynesia, still another the wide mouth and full lips of the mainland black. Yet they are all Torres Islanders, proud of their traditions as seamen, proud of their particular territory, a little contemptuous of the aborigines and even the half-castes" (44). This is a polyglot community that does not fit neatly into the assimiliation policies of the 1930s and 40s that imagined a clear distinction between Aborigines capable of being incorporated into white society, and those who would conveniently die out.

War, *Walkabout*, and "Australia's Unknown Islands"

Increasingly, attention to Australia's north and the Asia-Pacific region during the war showed that communities were adaptive and multi-racial, even if at times violent. Writers such as Charles Barrett (an important mid-century natural history writer) "rediscovered" the far North for *Walkabout*'s readers in articles such as "Australia's Unknown Islands" (1940), travelling the Wessel Island group with the head of the Methodist Missions in North Australia. Here, Barrett discussed Arnhem Land as "forbidden territory" for white men—because it was part of an Aboriginal reserve established in 1931, which required formal permission to enter—and also as "a forbidden coast" for Japanese. Doubting the effectiveness of the prohibition, Barrett provides eye-witness accounts of overseas luggers near the islands, noting that the locals call a particular watercourse "Japanese Creek," and including an exquisitely detailed Aboriginal rock drawing of a Japanese lugger from caves "that provide abundant evidence of Japanese contacts with aborigines".[22] Although Barrett's account is factual and non-accusatory, governmental concern about these cross-cultural engagements in the far north resulted in the forced removal of some Aboriginal people during the war,[23] alongside the internment of Japanese (and Italian and German) Australians, and the co-option of Yolngu men into military forces.

While some commentators were suspicious that northern Aborigines may be complicit with Japanese interests during the Pacific War, the pre-war period had proved that relationships between Yolngu and Japanese were not necessarily amicable. The murder of two fishermen by a group of Yolngu at Caledon Bay in 1932 created complex issues: a police expedition was sent to investigate, but this resulted in the spearing of Police Constable Albert Stuart McColl. Yolngu believed they had the right to continue traditional law and punishment practices, and eventually a missionary expedition travelled to Arnhem Land to convince both the killers of

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22) Charles Barrett, "Australia's Unknown Islands," *Walkabout*, March 1940: 32, 33.

23) For example, the Guugu Yimidhirr people of far north Queensland were living on a German-run mission: during the war, they were suspected of disloyalty and moved to Palm Island and Woorabinda, near Rockhampton. Those who survived (at least 60 died) returned home to Cape Bedford to a new mission site called Hope Vale after the end of the war.

the Japanese and Dhakiyarr, who had speared the policeman, to stand trial in Darwin. The anthropologist Donald Thomson—a regular contributor to *Walkabout*—then travelled to Arnhem Land on two expeditions between 1935-37.[24] Thomson studied Yolngu culture and sought to bring about peaceful relations among whites, Yolngu, and Japanese.[25] Numerous allied Air Force bases were established across the Arnhem region during World War II and, during the war, Thomson lead a special Reconnaissance Unit composed of predominantly Yolngu men to monitor the Arnhem Land coast for Japanese intrusions.

The outbreak of the Pacific War caused many Australians to rethink their knowledge of and experience in the region. Joan E. Gerstad lived on a copra plantation on the north coast of British New Guinea. She wrote a sketch of her life there for *Walkabout* in 1944, describing the local people and their culture, the "vagaries of the Kanaka mind", and the life of the few Europeans there, including the Patrol Officer.[26] Gerstad's article passes comfortably over the contested European control of the islands—remnants of the "deadly scourge" of German administration are noted (33)—and Papuans are mostly affable, slightly foolish caricatures playing out colonial scenes. Even the (Australian) Patrol Officer's house is itself "very weird and so very old that it had octogenarian palsy" (33). This is an unquestioning, fond, and nostalgic account of a colonial outpost, but its conclusion reveals the author's bafflement about shifting regimes of power: "Are the rank and file of the Japanese army stationed there at Potsdam now? Are they sleeping and eating in the rooms that I knew so well for twelve long months? It seems fantastic" (33). Despite her ready acknowledgement that British (and Australian) administrators filled the same buildings and functioned among the same native communities that had endured under German administration, the Japanese occupation seemed unimaginable.

For others, the immediate post-war period provided an opportunity to travel the Asia-Pacific in quite a different mode, but with similar nostalgia. Norman Wallis wrote two articles for *Walkabout* describing his tour of the post-war Pacific on the HMS Moresby. His article "Peace comes to Dilli" attempts to restore order to Timor, and is blunt in its exculpatory

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[24] Thomson wrote about his work regularly for *Walkabout*, beginning in its first year: Donald F Thomson, "Across Cape York Peninsula with a Pack Team: A Thousand-Mile Trek in Search of Unknown Native Tribes," *Walkabout*, December 1934. From the late 1940s, Thomson was a regular contributor, including a "Nature Diary" column in 1950.

[25] For diverse interpretations of this history, see Robert Hall *The Black Diggers: Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in the Second World War* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1989); Kay Saunders, 'Inequalities of Sacrifice: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Labour in Northern Australia During the Second World War', *Labour History*, no. 69 (November 1995): 131-48; Geoffrey Gray, 'The Army requires anthropologists: Australian anthropologists at War, 1939-1946', *Australian Historical Studies*, 37, no. 127 (2006): 156-80; Noah Riseman, "Defending Whose Country? Yolngu and the Northern Territory Special Reconnaissance Unit in the Second World War," *Limina* 13 (2007): 80-91.

[26] Joan E. Gerstad, "A Section of the New Guinea," *Walkabout*, February 1944: 33. This and another *Walkabout* article in 1944 probably formed the impetus for her later book *The Jungle was Our Home* (1957).

account of the damage the island suffered: “Necessary bombings by the R.A.A.F. destroyed but a part of it; wanton vandalism by the Japanese did the rest”.[27] The arrival of the Australian naval fleet is pictured as a celebratory revitalisation: “Speeches were made in English and replied to in Portuguese by the Governor, wreaths were laid at the base of the flagstff, bugles rang out. It was witnessed by a sadly shrunken European and an augmented native population. But it meant that the yellow plague was over and that Dilli, poor battered Dilli, was free” (29). The island had indeed been battered by shifting winds of power throughout the war: Portugal and its colonies remained neutral in WWII, but the Allies saw Timor as vulnerable and so insisted on a Dutch and Australian presence in 1941 after the bombing of Pearl Harbour. Depending on interpretation, the 1942 occupation of Timor by 20,000 Japanese troops either vindicated, or was caused by, the Allies’ concerns. Regardless, the long and bloody history of struggle in Timor for independence since WWII demonstrates that Dili was anything but free, despite Wallis’ determined optimism. Wallis’ article for *Walkabout* heavy-handedly emphasises that the end of Japanese occupation has restored Dili to place of tropical romance. He is charmed by the Portuguese Controller Dr Kok and especially his lovely Javanese wife: Madame Kok “was exceedingly handsome and *soignée* to her finger-tips … She would have graced any ballroom in the world” (30). So too Wallis is delighted by the English-speaking Portuguese-Malay choir mistress Jeanette Villanueva and her teenaged girls’ choir. Their performance for the visitors is richly evoked. Dressed in “crisp white European clothes”, the girls sing the Dutch national anthem and God Save the King: “It was an ever-to-be-remembered scene: the dark girls in their cool dresses; the press of natives surrounding the square; Chinese ‘pyjama’ suits; Javanese sarong and jacket; European ‘whites’; straw hats, turbans, shawls; the scent of nutmeg, the blooms of hibiscus and frangipanni [sic] in the offing; and, through the palms beyond, *Gympie*, lying white and still on the blue waters of Reede Naira” (30). In Wallis’ rendering, Dili becomes a haven of post-war exoticism. Order is restored not only by the expulsion of the Japanese, but by the island becoming available for Western romanticism and exotic travel. When his ship leaves the harbour, Wallis finds two beautiful pearls left by Jeanette as a memento mori.

Conclusion

Walkabout’s coverage of the Asia-Pacific region in the 1930s and 40s shows the complex and shifting ways in which Australians engaged with and learnt about the region in which they lived. Of course, the magazine formed only one vector of its readers’ interests. They would have situated their magazine reading within other cultural practices and the kinds of diverse personal experience that typified mid-century Australian’s engagement with the

[27] Norman K. Wallis, “Peace Comes to Dilli,” *Walkabout*, February 1946: 29.

Asia-Pacific region (church or missionary affiliations, for example; personal service within overseas locations; or family members who worked and resided in the region). *Walkabout*'s articles encouraged their readers to feel intensely about other people: here, about their Pacific neighbours. Australian readers learned about the world beyond their local circumstances by emotionally engaging in a world both foreign—and sometimes strangely familiar—to their own.

Although some *Walkabout* articles reinforced hegemonic, white Australian ideologies about their nation and its relationship to the region, others provided more challenging information. Henrietta Drake-Brockman, writing about Broome and "its tragic yesterday" in 1946, lamented that the port town had been "dismembered by war".[28] This was in part because of the destruction wrought by "the grimmest episode on the Australian home-front" (38, the bombing by Japanese aircraft of Dutch evacuees in flying ships moored in Roebuck Bay in March 1942). But the post-war restoration is not applauded by Drake-Brockman. The "half-naked young R.A.A.F personnel" roaring up the roads in military trucks are not seen as liberators or restorers of order: "they fitted into no pattern either of the future or the past—they were part of the unpleasing present" (35). Significantly, they are unpleasing because they have replaced the rich, multicultural "polyglot come-and-go of human traffic" that used to characterise Broome (35). It is this that the war has destroyed, in Drake-Brockman's lament for the town's past. She is clear in her critique of government policy: "Broome is unique in this: its immediate interests clash with the White Australia policy" (42). This facilitates, in part, a call by pearlers for indentured labour, but in Drake-Brockman's terms the most important point is that the war destroyed the effective and energetic multicultural town and its pearling industry that had driven both Broome's economic success and inspired some of the most interesting Australian literature. Broome had been, she reflected, one of the distinctively exotic places in Australia, and as a consequence the most charming.

Walkabout's vision of pre- and post-war northern Australia and its proximity to diverse Asia-Pacific cultures and people makes clear the ways in which the 1930s and 40s were crucial to Australia's emerging modernity. This modernity was embedded in new technologies, new transport systems, and new forms of mobility that opened up the country and its region to travel, trade, and industry. But importantly, it was a modernity formed in relation to new media forms and modes of representation, and in this the middlebrow cultural formations typified by *Walkabout* were crucial. So too were the emergent systems of anthropological and ethnographic knowledge gathered either incidentally or professionally by many of the magazine's contributors (and by its readers). Minpaku's holding of the magazine's print run in its anthropology museum and library is apt, for this was knowledge formed in conjunction with material culture, collections of artefacts and ideas, brought together by curious and adventurous people who travelled across national borders in order to expand their knowledge

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[28] H. Drake-Brockman, "Broome and Its Tragic Yesterday," *Walkabout*, September 1946: 35.

and subsequently to share that with their readers. Like other Australian cultural critics, more broadly, I suggest we see *Walkabout*, its writers, and its readers at the forefront of the modern condition, forged in complex colonial conditions but informing the sophisticated metropolitan debates that fundamentally changed Western culture and globalisation in the mid-twentieth-century.[29)]

[29)] Similar arguments are made by Robert Dixon, *Photography, Early Cinema, and Colonial Modernity: Frank Hurley's Synchronized Lecture Entertainments* (London: Anthem P, 2011); David Carter, *Always Almost Modern: Australian Print Cultures and Modernity* (North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2013).