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Special Issue: Rethinking the Colonial Public Sphere: Print and its Practices

Racializing Print Capitalism in the Transimperial Pacific: "The Printers Fear the Invasion of the Yellow Peril"

Hansun Hsiung *

*Address correspondence to: Hansun Hsiung, Modern Languages & Cultures, Durham University, Elvet Riverside, New Elvet DH1 3JT, UK. Email: hansun.hsiung@durham.ac.uk.

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ABSTRACT

This article uses the Victorian Master Printers' Association of Australia's 1908 protest against Japanese print artifacts as a backdrop against which to rethink print capitalism's relationship to race. First, rather than national imaginaries, I demonstrate that flows of print capital illuminate the formation of racialized class identities across a transimperially contested Pacific. Second, I argue that to better understand print capitalism, historians might direct their attention away from novels and newspapers, and instead toward the political economy of "jobbing"—the production of cards, envelopes, labels, posters, menus, and other non-codex print artifacts. Jobbing's political economy spanned a network of Pacific port towns including Yokohama, Melbourne, and San Francisco. The uneven development of lithographic expertise essential to modern jobbing placed Japan in the position of offering finely printed designs for lower costs, leading American print shop owners to subcontract with Japanese artisans to produce works for Australian markets. It was these artifacts—advertisements, handbooks, placards, and other sales ephemera bearing Australian names and imagery, but made in Japan—that the VMPA protested. These protests crystallized in a "locative demand": that printed artifacts attest to their original location of manufacture, and that this identity be used to regulate print circulation in a manner parallel to restrictions on non-white immigration. In this manner, jobbing in the Pacific thrust race and class into the limelight as mechanisms of reterritorialization that would resolve contradictions posed by the tangled transnational vectors of print capital itself.

In the spring of 1908, amid a broader debate on duties and tariffs, the Victorian Master Printers' Association (VMPA) presented a petition before Australian federal parliament. New tariffs, the petition argued, were necessary, for in recent years, Australian printers had

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found themselves "deprived of a considerable amount of work which, according to all rules of fair trading, should legitimately be theirs."[1] Seemingly analogous complaints had, to be sure, occurred in decades prior. Then, the target had been the crowding of Australian markets by British publishers and their "colonial editions"—especially of popular fiction and school textbooks. Yet in 1908, Australian anxieties were focused on a target decidedly different from Britain. They were also focused on decidedly different kind of print.

"The printers fear the invasion of the yellow peril," the VMPA declared, for should present trends continue, "Australian printers seem likely to be brought into severe competition with Japan."[2] Moreover, this "yellow peril" took form neither as fiction nor as schoolbooks, nor even as books, newspapers, or periodicals in general. Cards, handbills, posters, calendars: the new threat was to be found in these minor printed artifacts of everyday life, products of economies far more intricate and—at least in the minds of Australian printers—far more deceitful. Members of the VMPA who had visited Japan claimed firsthand witness to establishments in Yokohama, managed by "cute Americans," wherein Japanese workers "churn[ed] out lithographic printing" at "one-sixth the wages of printers doing similar work in Melbourne or Sydney."[3] That these Yokohama operations posed a direct danger to the Australian market was allegedly evidenced by a recent revelation regarding the Sydney department store Hordern & Sons. Hordern had contracted a U.S. firm for 20,000 copies of a promotional calendar, "doubtless assum[ing] that the successful tenderer would have the work done in America." Further inquiry revealed, however, that Hordern's American partners had then subcontracted the work to Japan.[4] The VMPA demanded a doubling of the existing tariff on "advertising matter," and a new requirement that "all importations of advertising matter bear the imprint of the printer."[5]

Picking up on Emma Hunter and Leslie James' invocation of "multiple and overlapping publics," the editors of this special issue have set forth the following challenge: to write histories that resist seeing colonial print either as a pure instrument of empire or a simple unifying engine of proto-nationalism.[6] Doing so, per the editors, begins with fine-grained attention to the "materials and practices" of print. The VMPA's "yellow peril," I suggest, urges for precisely such attention. Specifically, it directs our gaze toward what the majority of printers themselves actually practiced—the production of cards, posters, labels, envelopes, menus, calendars, and all the motley miscellany that stood in distinction to books, newspapers, and periodicals—and the manner in which the transnational political economy of these seemingly mundane artifacts interacted with formations of race and class across empires.

Let us begin with the artifacts themselves. Collected under the category of "jobbing," or "job work," these calendars, cards, labels, and so on in fact comprised, in the modern period, "*the* significant amount of bread and butter within the printing trades."[7] This proved particularly true from the closing decades of the nineteenth century onward, when jobbing enjoyed unprecedented growth as a result of greater demands for advertising and packaging materials that took advantage of the attention-grabbing stylistic affordances of new lithographic processes. So sweeping was this transformation that by 1900, printers declared not only that "present day job work . . . cannot be identified with that of fifteen or twenty years ago," but that "the job work section of the Art of Printing is now considered as the most important."[8]

A confluence of transimperial forces intensified the centrality of jobbing to the printing economies of Pacific port towns such as Melbourne, Sydney, and Yokohama. In New South Wales alone from 1906 to 1910, jobbing held primary responsibility for a 50 percent increase in output and 27 percent increase in employment in the printing trade.[9] In Yokohama, where printing and stationery supply had evolved to service the commercial needs of foreign

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merchant communities, job work was branded the most "highly lucrative" area of specialization, "far more so than the newspaper."[10] This facet of specialization consciously distinguished Yokohama from nearby Tokyo, the printing industry of which concentrated around books and newspapers.

Analyzing the political economy of jobbing in the Pacific, I argue, allows us to better perceive how a transimperial print capitalism prompted fractious, fragmented, and polyvocal contestations at the intersection of race and class. In its original formation, Benedict Anderson's print capitalism represented a "restless search for markets" which reduced linguistic diversity, standardized vernaculars, and produced "monoglot mass reading publics" over vast spans of territory.[11] Anderson's view admittedly echoed the book history available to him in the early 1980s—witness his frequent citations of Henri-Jean Martin and Lucien Febvre above all.[12] Yet since then, historians of the book have rejected the deterministic thrust of these narratives, stressing agency, contingency, and variety in the meanings and practices of printers and readers.[13] Furthermore, a thriving field of "new" histories of capitalism has come to embrace the "complex, partial, and flexible" nature of economic systems, placing them on an equal—not privileged—footing with the cultural codes through which meanings are made and experienced.[14] A particularly rich demonstration of the latter approach has been achieved in recent treatments of nineteenth-century U.S. slavery: racialized identities and the institutional violence predicated upon them mutually constituted and conditioned capitalist practices of commodification, rationalization, and speculation.[15] With specific relevance to the geography under consideration here, scholarship regarding British settler colonies has shown that tariff policies coincided with the contestation of cultural meanings of "Britishness" between metropole and colony.[16] Building on such insights, the category of "print capitalism" might find new lease not as an engine for the homogenization of the national imaginary, as was Anderson's claim, but rather as a means for understanding the formation of, and confrontation between, race and class identities within ever more entangled transnational flows of capital.

An unsettled space between empires, the Pacific at the dawn of the twentieth century functions aptly as a space for exploring the racialized parameters of print capitalism. There and then, cross-imperial frictions were explicitly articulated in terms of racial alliances and enmities.[17] Britain's contemporary and former settler colony spheres notoriously fostered aggressive forms of white nationalism in dialogue with one another, forming a "global color line" that tied South Africa to the United States, Canada, and Australasia.[18] A newly federated Australia, anxious over British naval withdrawal from the region and Japan's rise as a major imperial power, sought in America's expanding Pacific influence a means to promote "the interests of the white races" against "the Oriental invasion."[19] Japan, in return, not only countered aggression with aggression, but instituted its own racial hierarchies. Proclaiming that "the task of Asia to-day" was to "protec[t] and restor[e] Asiatic modes" from its sufferings at the hands of a "white disaster," Japan promoted the Japanese as a distinct race at the "moral and civilizational" apex of Asian peoples, while simultaneously asking that they "be considered not as Asiatic but as Western."[20] The movement of print capital across the region in ways that were perceived to undermine desired solidarities of whiteness, yellowness, and not-quite-yellow Japaneseness therefore sparked tensions that were only further exacerbated by the everyday penetration and reach of the printed artifacts at stake.

The first part of my article offers a brief history of how and why jobbing became a pronounced site for Pacific frictions. Treating Japan and Australia, respectively, my overarching goal in this section is to decenter genres of the newspaper, periodical, and novel, and argue

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for the necessary inclusion of those disposably ephemeral print products of consumer life—price lists, sales catalogues, gratuitous promotional materials such as cards and calendars—in the study of book history. As alluded to above, the cultural and economic importance of jobbing was in one large part a matter of broader transimperial forces operative in Pacific port towns. But, much as Lisa Gitelman has shown, understanding the development of jobbing also requires medium-specific attention to the differences between multiple technologies of reproduction hidden under the umbrella of the word "print."[21] In the era under analysis, this above all means attention to the development of lithographic processes. Accordingly, a focus on the comparative development of lithography in Australia and Japan reveals how the political economy of jobbing had, by 1908, formed a markedly uneven geography in the Pacific. Within this uneven geography, Japan was not simply a "low-wage" country, as the VMPA first argued, but also a leading regional producer of fine designs.

It was this contradictory duality—Japan as both producer of high-end printed artifacts and source of competitive cheap labor—that set the stage for the entanglement of race and class politics in the VMPA's discussion of a printing "yellow peril." The second section of this article turns to an exploration of those race and class politics. Here, I offer two principal contentions. First, I highlight the ways in which printed artifacts contained within them a special ambivalence that provoked anxieties parallel to those found in immigration debates. On the one hand, print was celebrated for its circulatory potential—its ability to spread and disseminate national culture. On the other hand, at a moment when fears of "Asiatic hordes" raged, print's own mobility teased the threat of foreign movement unchecked. As a result, the particular intersection of race and class in VMPA debates crystallized around what I call a *locative demand*.

Where are you really from? This *whence*-interrogative, in all its broader connotations, stood at the essence of the locative demand. Locative demands thus differed from *who*-questions of writerly identity that characterized the republican public sphere's debates over the "impersonality" of discourse.[22] They differed also from concerns over geographical origin within practices of censorship and literary property.[23] Rather than these earlier historical legacies of print, the VMPA's locative demand instead drew active inspiration from two modes of legislation endemic to the era: the industrial regulation of "place of origin" labeling, and the targeted restriction of immigration. As scholars such as Sally Barnes, David Higgins, and Erika Rappaport have shown, "place of origin" labeling emerged in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as a means to grapple with ever more complex flows of global free trade, functioning as a form of soft protectionism. In place of aggressive tariffs, control over the influx of foreign manufactures would be exercised by the cultivation of "patriotic consumers" who opted for products based on visible attestations of national and racial "purity."[24] Similarly, faced with print capital that had migrated into transnational production networks, locative demands sought to reterritorialize consumption by legislating that all printed artifacts outwardly mark (through more printing, no less) their place of manufacture. Labels the like of "Printed in Yokohama," "Printed in Melbourne," "Printed in San Francisco," and so on, came to define the identity of a printed artifact as much as—and in some cases more than—the words and images represented by its content. Through this geographical link between manufacture origin and identity, locative demands simultaneously enabled a regime of border control whereby criteria of desirability concerning the race and class identity of non-white migrants to "White Australia" could be mapped onto printed artifacts. Japanese print exemplifying "good Oriental" features could be allowed passage into Australia; Japanese print perceived as threatening Australian labor should not. I thus conclude my

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article with a brief meditation on how the VMPA's locative demand demonstrates that contradictions internal to processes of capitalist globalization transformed printing into a site for the articulation of transnational racial imaginaries.

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PACIFIC ECONOMIES OF JOBBING

When, in January 1908, VMPA Secretary J.C. Stephens raised before assembled members the theme of "Japanese competition," he presented to them not just any pieces of print, but two objects in particular: a "litho[graphed] calendar" and an "illustrated booklet," both produced in Yokohama.[25] As inquiry into the matter blossomed into a parliamentary investigation, three more offending specimens were allegedly discovered: an illustrated sales catalogue, a handbill, a placard.[26] The specificity of these artifacts is important in what it reveals to us about the genres and geographies that induced talk of a "yellow peril" of print. Why were all the artifacts singled out promotional materials of commerce, often laden with lithographed illustrations? And why did Yokohama stand out rather than Tokyo, the better-known economic and political center of Japan? Answering these questions, I propose, allows us to trace the emergence of a transnational economy of jobbing across the Pacific.

Although the VMPA had only one year prior, in 1907, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary, its nature had by that point fundamentally changed from a quarter century ago. The Master Printers' Association of Melbourne, as it was called in its foundational year of 1882, had addressed a trade built primarily around the production of local newspapers, and artisans who primarily defined themselves as manual compositors.[27] Those very manual compositors would face crisis, and for the most part extinction, in the subsequent decade. The invention of Linotype in 1886, followed by similar devices capable of mechanical typesetting, took the world of print, especially newsprint, by storm, reaching Australia by the early 1890s. Combined with general economic depression, mechanization led to staggering unemployment in the field of composition—an estimated 75 percent of compositors in Melbourne were fired from newspaper offices.[28] In response, mid-1890s Australian colonies witnessed mass labor organization and protests across the printing trade.[29] Some compositors, it appears, opted for exodus. By mid-1896 printing journals reported on an influx of émigrés from Australian entering the printing trade in South Africa.[30]

Amid this crisis, however, the following was noted: "The jobbing branch is so far free from mechanical attacks."[31] Indeed, although space remained for the employment of trained Linotype operators, job work would prove to be the saving grace for Australian printing, allowing the printing sector to recover back to 1891 levels by 1906, whereupon it continued to expand.[32] The importance of jobbing as a growth field lay in two factors. Together, these factors transformed jobbing into "a field for the exercise of genius," demonstrating against mechanization the continued need for skilled workers in arranging and executing complex polychromatic designs.[33]

First were the affordances offered by new technologies and techniques of graphical printing. Lithographic processes here took central stage. Since its discovery in the 1790s, lithography had enabled the direct reproduction of the artist or writer's free hand in a manner that bypassed the need for transfer—and translation—into cuts, engravings, or etchings, much less moveable type. By the 1830s, it had been complemented by chromolithographic techniques for producing lavish multicolor prints. This proved advantageous in the case of heavily graphic works, from artistic compositions to maps, technical diagrams, and musical scores. It also proved advantageous for non-alphabetic scripts and scripts that demanded connective

ligatures.[34] Even more decisive, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, were the possibilities provided by photolithographic and zincolithographic processes. Photolithography enabled cheap graphical printing with greater ease and richer tonality. The substitution of zinc plates for Bavarian limestone further lowered material costs of production, and also allowed printing to adapt to a variety of shapes and materials, including curved shapes, such as cans, and non-traditional materials, such as fabrics and metal foils.[35] From flat, two-dimensional pages and sheets, the lithographic studio entered a broader world of diverse artifacts bearing substantial printed designs.

These lithographic affordances worked alongside a second factor, namely the emergence of packaging and advertising industries that would accommodate a nascent mass consumer culture.[36] In Australia, the first decade of federation saw a substantial growth in the domestic manufacture of everyday goods which in turn stimulated demand for wrappers, boxes, and cans with printed designs. Consider the case of cigarettes: national cigarette production in Australia increased three-fold from 1901 to 1913, and cigarette packs featured color illustrations as well as, at this point, collectible cards. A similar growth held true for domestic tinned goods.[37] Surrounding these and other products was more print in the form of advertisements. Although advertisements had already stood as one common fixture of newspapers since the early colonial period, the new lithographic world contrasted markedly with typographic styles of advertising. The latter were a textual affair, largely comprising sales notices and price lists that utilized typeface variation or else a small number of wood engravings to arouse consumer interest and desire. These were displaced, in the early twentieth century, by the rise of lavishly illustrated sales brochures and catalogues (Figure 1) boasting far more elaborate polychromatic images of items for sale, and supervised by an emerging profession of "advertising managers."[38]

The purpose of these new catalogues was not simply to capture attention. Vivid visual depictions of products consciously served the aims of long-distance retail. Australian department stores had begun sending aforementioned price lists to potential consumers as of the 1880s, but these stood as invitations to on-site shopping in towns.[39] It was only in the late 1890s when dedicated mail-order procurements began to emerge, eventually coming to occupy a central share of retail business. At the forefront of this movement was Anthony Hordern & Sons—the same department store that would later contract with Japan. Despite renown surrounding its marbled "Palace Emporium" in Sydney, towering six stories over the city's central Haymarket district, Hordern & Sons achieved the bulk of its sales through mail order.[40]

For this, printing served as a crucial instrument. In 1892, Hordern's established its own in-house printing works dedicated to producing advertising materials, most famously its massive *General Catalogue*, an annual publication of over 1200 pages touted by Hordern's as "an indispensable encyclopedia" for "farmers, settlers, squatters, missionaries, and all sorts . . . from Darwin to the Leeuwin."[41] Parallel to the general catalogue were smaller seasonal booklets and leaflets, targeted in particular at female consumers.[42] As seen in the rich chromolithographs of Figure 1, these latter works necessitated close attention to printing quality, in part to entice, but primarily to offer verisimilitude for customers unable to view the items in person.[43] Coming into use at the very end of the century, chromolithographs such as these replaced the more laborious and expensive cut-and-paste process of sending out small scraps of fabrics on inquiry to serve as sample color patterns, with the request that consumers later return these fabric samples when finished [see Figure 2].

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Figure 1. Chromolithographs of women's apparel from an 1898 Hordern's mail-order catalogue. *Autumn and Winter 1898 Fashion Plates* (Sydney: Hordern Brothers, 1898). Courtesy of Caroline Simpson Library, Museums of History NSW.

Yet vivid though new polychromatic illustrations might be, they prompted anxieties over matches between catalog image and product received, leading to a practice wherein consumers would themselves cut and paste in an effort to guarantee the accuracy of orders at a distance. Hordern's, in their autumn 1898 *Fashion Plates*, placed a large notice on the booklet's first page: "When ordering a Costume, it is not necessary to cut the plate from the book, but quote the name of the Costume only." To further assuage fears, the same booklet's back cover stated in bold emphasis, "Country orders receive our **PERSONAL** [sic] attention."[44]

These changes in the jobbing sector wrought by advertising's rise played out in Australia across the first decade of the twentieth century. A modest lithographic industry had admittedly begun to plant domestic roots since the 1860s. But this industry, reliant on the expertise of German Lutheran migrants, long remained concentrated in the hands of select firms, such as that of Charles Troedel & Co. and Schuhkraffts, and further contended with the expense of importing sedimentary limestone from Bavaria.[45] More generally, it has been noted that during the economic depression of the 1890s, fewer than ten printing houses in Sydney and Melbourne continued to make use of lithographic apparatuses, favoring cheaper processes of letterpress, woodcut, and wood engraving.[46] Partly for such reasons, illustrations in Hordern's promotional material prior to 1898 centered around monochrome wood engravings.[47] The true emergence of lithography in the Australian printing industry was overwhelmingly a new product of the introduction of zincolithography and offset printing from abroad over the first decade of the twentieth century, rather than the accumulated outcome of long-term growth over the nineteenth.[48]

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Figure 2. Fabric scraps sent upon request to accompany an 1892-3 Hordern's catalogue of women's fashions. *Spring and Summer 1892-93 Fashion Plates* (Sydney: Hordern Brothers, 1898). Courtesy of Caroline Simpson Library, Museums of History NSW.

From this perspective, the status of Australian jobbing formed a sharp contrast with that of Japan's. The history of modern Japanese printing appears in most secondary sources as a history of catch-up vis-à-vis Western moveable type, an underdog success narrative supported by both the Meiji (1868–1912) state and pro-modernization elites.[49] And yet, viewed from the standpoint of lithography, a different tale emerges. Treating the case of late Qing China, Christopher Reed has called lithography a "compromise technology" positioned between xylography and moveable type. As a compromise technology, lithography facilitated China's economic and aesthetic transition into modern print capitalism.[50] Due to state subsidies for type founding and moveable type printing since the early 1870s, Japan relied less than China on widespread use of lithography in building its modern printing industry. However, lithography still played a distinct role in modern Japanese printing in ways that reveal how Yokohama specifically came to be entangled in broader Pacific geographies of jobbing.

Although an iron lithographic handpress and several Bavarian limestones had been present in Edo (Tokyo) since 1860, gifted to shogun Tokugawa Iemochi (1846–66) by the Prussian diplomatic mission which arrived that year, there is no evidence that these were ever substantially used.[51] It was instead in Yokohama where commercial lithographic

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printing first emerged in Japan. Approximately a day's journey south from Tokyo by horse, Yokohama had been founded expressly for the purpose of trade with Western powers. Fearing disruption were Tokyo to be opened to international commerce, the Tokugawa shogunate, over the course of negotiations with the U.S. from 1854–58, proposed compromise on an alternate port that would reduce direct foreign contact with existing population centers. The chosen port would be developed by filling in paddies and coastal swampland next to the small fishing village of Honmura. Early descriptions of Yokohama upon its opening in 1859 offer little to flatter: a "shingle beach backed by low rice fields and swamps"; a "dismal" landscape with "no living being in sight," and only a collection of "shanties" visible in the distance.[52] Today, Yokohama is the second largest city in Japan.

The nature of Yokohama as a site engineered for the containment of foreign trade fundamentally directed the growth of its printing sector toward jobbing. Unlike Tokyo, long seat to a thriving xylographic print culture, printing in Yokohama developed to address the everyday commercial needs of international capital, in particular American merchants. Lithographic presses thus began operating there by 1862, imported by the San Francisco auctioneer Raphael Showyer (1800–65) to print handbills for his auction rooms. These handbills soon expanded into a full-fledged lithographic newspaper, the *Japan Express*.[53] Similar European-language newspapers, mixing commercial intelligence with advertising, blossomed in Yokohama across the 1860 s—the *Japan Herald* (1861), the *Japan Commercial News* (1863), the *Japan Times* (1865), the *Japan Gazette* (1867), and *L'Écho du Japon* (1868)—providing a training ground for Japanese artisans eager to learn Western printing techniques.[54] Showyer himself notably offered lessons in lithography, photography, and photolithography to the painter Shimooka Renjō (1823–1914), who subsequently achieved fame for his lithographic portraits of the shogun. Shimooka's disciple, Yokoyama Matasaburō (1838–84), would go on to establish the first Japanese-run lithographic studio.[55] Yokohama's resident Chinese population also functioned as a source of expertise in new arts of the book. Holding prior experience in the printing houses of treaty ports such as Canton, Hong Kong, and Shanghai, Chinese migrants appear in directories of the era experts in Western-style binding and presswork.[56]

Only after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 did Yokohama's privileged relationship to new printing techniques from abroad begin to shift. State interest was one factor. The nascent Meiji government established a printing bureau in 1872, which after a series of reshufflings fell under the control, in 1875, of the Ministry of Finance's Banknote Office.[57] Behind the scenes, Yokohama's foreign merchants acted as brokers. In particular, the government printing bureau began its activities by importing a lithographic press, a Washington press, a four-horsepower steam press, and a stop-cylinder press through Holmes Samuel Chipman (1850–1941). Chipman had previously been employed as head clerk at Hubert Howe Bancroft's (1832–1918) San Francisco printing and publishing firm before being sent to Japan in 1871 for the purpose of "introducing American school, scientific, medical, and law books."[58] Along with another Bancroft employee, James Rolland Morse (1848–1921), Chipman established himself in Yokohama as a dealer in "stationery of all kinds."[59] With Chipman's equipment, the government printing bureau began their own experiments in lithography, having in mind not only the printing of currency, but the dissemination of national imagery. The first public works to come from this press, a series of lithographic prints depicting native flora (see Figure 3), were displayed at the Domestic Industrial Exhibition of 1877. Then, beginning in 1879, the Banknote Office embarked on a three-year project to document artifacts, artwork, and manuscripts held by Japan's major shrines and temples. Full-

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Figure 3. The *Gyokudō fuki*, one of a series of chromolithographs produced by the Ministry of Finance's Banknote Office and shown at the Domestic Industrial Exhibition of 1877. Depicted are white magnolias, aronias, and Japanese tree peonies. Courtesy of TOPPAN Holdings Inc. Printing Museum, Tokyo.

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color photolithographic reproductions (see Figure 4) of select materials surveyed—in total, 510 different items—were compiled and published in three volumes from 1881 as the *Glories of the Nation* (*Kokka yohō*).[60]

Parallel with state interest was private investment that sought to outfit Tokyo with new printing technologies once the province of Yokohama. Tokyo itself opened to foreign settlement, centered on the Tsukiji district, at the start of 1869, and soon thereafter, in 1872,

Figure 4. Photolithographs in the *Glories of the Nation* (1881). The top image depicts the outer and inner design of a decorative wrapping cloth for sutras from Tōdaiji temple in Nara. The lower image comprises fragments of votive calligraphy allegedly in the hand of historical emperors held by various temples, including Daikakuji (Kyoto) and Hōryūji (Nara). Courtesy of the National Diet Library of Japan.

Tsukiji became the home of Japan's first type foundry, which also served as a printing house.[61] Underlying these changes was again a significant transfer of capital in the form of both of expertise and of machinery from Yokohama. The case of the printing house

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Figure 5. (Left) Advertisement poster for Murai Bros. Peacock cigarettes in 1900; (right) Murai cigarette package with collectible playing card (ca. 1902). Courtesy of the Tobacco and Salt Museum, Tokyo, Japan.

Shūeisha is instructive. Ranking today as one of Japan's two largest printing companies, Shūeisha was founded in Tokyo by Sakuma Teiichi (1848–98) in October of 1876 with the overt intention of creating an enterprise which would rival British printing: the character's *shū* and *ei* meant, respectively, "surpass" and "England."[62] Shūeisha's early years proved financially rocky. Working still with woodblock, the company's primary source of income came from printing the short-lived *Kanayomi shinbun* (1887–80) newspaper. Shūeisha's fortunes instead began to turn in December of 1879, when a Yokohama newspaper—the *Yokohama manichi shinbun*—was purchased by a Tokyo firm, becoming the *Tōkyō mainichi shinbun*. Sakuma entered a successful bid to become the printer for the paper, and with this, Shūeisha received an influx of moveable type and lithographic equipment relocated from Yokohama. In the years that followed, Shūeisha became the printers for multiple new periodicals in Tokyo, including the *Tōkyō keizai shinbun*, the *Kokumin shinbun*, and the illustrated *E-iri jiyū shinbun*.[63]

With his company's fortunes rising, Sakuma then turned his attention to professionalization. After several aborted attempts in the 1880s, he succeeded in establishing, in December of 1890, the Tokyo Association of Printers and Allied Trades. The Association inaugurated its foundation in its associated journal—the *Insatsu zasshi*, edited by Sakuma—with a set of elaborate multicolor prints produced by Shūeisha's dedicated department for zincolithography.[64] In his editorial preamble, Sakuma reiterated again his desire for Japan to "not leave printing a domain of Europe and America," and further boasted of how the journal itself would stand as an equal in a network which included the *British and Colonial Printer and Stationer*, the *Inland Printer* (United States), and the *Intermédiare des imprimeurs* (France).[65]

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Through the transfer of equipment and expertise from Yokohama, as well as the consolidation of that expertise into formal professional communities, Tokyo once again appeared to stand at the center of printing's vanguard. Less than two years after its founding, Sakuma's Association already boasted ninety-six members who identified their primary specialty as lithography.[66] Yokohama's share, in contrast, seemed to dwindle, with only twelve lithographic printers listed by 1898. Furthermore, at least one of these—the former Yokohama Stationery Company—had recently been purchased by the Tokyo Printing Company and transformed into the latter's subsidiary.[67]

However, a closer look suggests an interplay of forces more complex than any zero-sum narrative of Tokyo's rise and Yokohama's decline. Instead, a geographical division of labor according to genre was underway. The same 1898 listings indicated that Yokohama lithographers concentrated their activities in the following: account books, stamps, notebooks, commercial art, and European-language printing. A look at a 1901 union register indicates that half of Yokohama's printers had declared specialties in lithographic and offset technologies.[68] In short, while no longer the economic center of new Western printing techniques, Yokohama had become ever more a specialized site for the jobbing needs of the foreign merchant community, producing ledgers, catalogs, advertisements, and product labels adapted specifically to transnational commerce. Notably, export product labels produced in Yokohama proved a persistent source of diplomatic consternation well into the first decade of the twentieth century, with high incidences of counterfeits and trademark infringement littering consular correspondence.[69] While Tokyo housed national print capitalism in the form of books and periodicals, Yokohama remained a key Japanese hub of transnational print production in the form of jobbing.

The potential of these transnational connections began to materialize after 1895, when the world of Japanese printing experienced a sudden acceleration that attracted the attention of professional printers worldwide. Rather than existing primarily as an object of antiquarian interest for its traditional woodblock techniques, Japanese printing in subsequent years came to be regarded increasingly for its success with modern processes. Specialist journals dedicated to such fields as lithography, electrotyping, and photoengraving spoke of Japan's rising "technical skill and artistic superiority," and prophesied imminent rise to "industrial preeminence."[70] From the illustrations in catalogues, advertisements, and complimentary New Year's gift cards, down to designs on wallpaper, printed works in Japan were "find[ing] their way into nearly all markets of the world," and there deemed "equal to the very best done by American workmen."[71]

Occasion for this change had its broader roots in geopolitical circumstances. Japan's spectacular defeat of the Qing Empire in the First Sino-Japanese War (July 1894–April 1895) catapulted Japan into the international spotlight, leading to the coinage of the "Yellow Peril." For the printing industry, Japanese victory had two principal consequences. First, war was an impetus for the proliferation of visual media. The desire to see the course of battle unfold before one's eyes spurred the widespread adoption of a host of graphical techniques. Much has been made in prior scholarship of the explosion of woodblock prints that accompanied war's outbreak.[72] Yet in fact, that same period in fact marked the beginning of xylography's decline, the rush to bring sensational pictorial news to audiences driving a switch to photoengraving, photolithographic, and collotype processes.[73] The power of photomechanical techniques was on full display in publisher Hakubunkan's *Real Chronicle of the Sino-Japanese War* (*Nisshin sensō jikki*), a limited series illustrated periodical that appeared three times monthly from August 1894 until April 1895. Even more prolific was the *Record of the Sino-*

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Japanese Conflict (*Nisshin kōsen roku*), another illustrated periodical issued twice weekly since September 1894 for the duration of the war.[74]

Second, victory over the Qing also ushered in a new phase of Japanese capital expansion into overseas markets, particularly those on the Chinese mainland. Indeed, aiming to drive American tobacco leaf imports from the region and replace these with Japanese tobacco, the Murai Bros. cigarette company imported the first aluminum rotary presses into Japan in 1899, using these to drive an extensive advertising campaign that featured posters, collectible cards, and even board games (see Figure 3).[75] Meanwhile, Japanese lithographic expertise began to travel abroad. By 1896, Japanese lithographic firms were making inroads into print markets in India.[76] By 1904, Japanese lithographers were supervising work in major Shanghai printing houses such as Wenming Books and the Commercial Press, the latter having merged that year with the Japanese publisher Kinkōdō.[77] In the years that followed, American observers of Japan's rise would lament their own lack of presence in the Chinese printing market.[78]

In this sense, the dilemma with which the VMPA found itself confronted in 1908 was neither mere coincidence, nor a simple outcome of wage differentials. At work instead was an uneven and differential geography of the jobbing industry. Unlike Australia, Japan had emerged in the early twentieth century as a major provider of lithographic printing in the Pacific, stretching from East through South Asia and over to the western coast of North America. Yokohama was in particular well-positioned as a hub of European-language jobbing and commercial networks. Confronted with a significantly more developed Japanese industry, Australian printers had to adapt and retool an existing rhetoric of threats from "low-wage" Asian competitors. And they did so by redefining the racial politics of print in relation to class consumption. It is to this process that the next section turns.

CONTROLLING PRINT THROUGH LOCATIVE DEMANDS

The First Sino-Japanese War may have been a boon to Japan's lithographic printing industry. But new stature on the world stage also brought with it a gradual concentration and intensification of anti-Japanese sentiment in the Pacific. Much work on the Yellow Peril more broadly has discussed how Japan's rise as a major naval power during this rough decade provoked fears of Western decline while catalyzing non-white anticolonial imaginaries.[79] In this section, I instead begin by turning my attention to another factor that proved particularly pivotal in shaping the VMPA's "yellow peril" discourse: the expansion of Japanese emigration throughout the Pacific. From there, I investigate the ways in which migration came to be bound up in discussions about jobbing. Flows of capital and labor, I argue, interacted with ideas of race to produce, in Australia, a regime that would align controls over the movement of foreign commodities with those over foreign bodies. This crystallized in the form of what I call a locative demand. Analogizing the circulation of printed artifacts to specters of invasive immigration, the VMPA insisted that artifacts of jobbing must clearly indicate their place of origin, which in turn would allow for Australia to selectively import high-end Japanese consumer goods while barring others.

To be sure, demonstration of naval strength from 1894–95 did set a general tone for Australian thinking about Japan. With the Treaty of Shimonoseki freshly signed only half a year ago, John Langdon Parsons (1837–1903) arrived in Tokyo as trade commissioner for Southern Australia, bringing with him the following message which Japan's most popular monthly journal, *Taiyō*, then reported widely: "Japan must abandon any foolish notions of

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conquest."[80] Just how rampant rumors of conquest had become was signaled a few years later in the account of an 1898 Japanese naval training mission that had docked overnight in Brisbane. Cadets coming offshore reported needing to routinely dispel among locals a belief in Japan's "invasive desire to eventually make Australia a [Japanese] colony."[81]

Japan's real concerns regarding Australia, however, lay not in invasion, but in restricting its own emigration to distinguish itself from the Qing empire. Chinese migration, starting with the mid-century gold rushes, had functioned as the locus of global anti-Asianism. Backlash against Chinese prospectors and the communities they built depicted "coolies," ready to accept indentured servitude and low wages, as inherently predisposed toward modes of servility and unfreedom, naturalizing an "Asiatic standard of living" as a permanent "racial condition."[82] Of special importance for Australia was Victorian minister of education Charles Pearson's (1830–94) *National Life and Character* (1893), which built on fears of overpopulated Chinese hordes to forecast a day when a world which once seemed "destined to belong to the Aryan races" would instead fall into the hands of a "black and yellow belt" girdling the globe.[83] Pearson argued that his view from Australia rendered him specially fit to prophesize, for it made him firsthand witness to the tide of Chinese migration.

Rather than bristle in solidarity with other "yellow" races, Japan aimed for separation—"leaving Asia," in the words of prominent Meiji-era (1868–1912) intellectual Fukuzawa Yukichi, in order to enter a privileged white world. Up through approximately 1890, Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (hereafter MoFA) closely monitored cases of emigration involving contracted labor, attempting to secure wages, terms of service, and fields of activity that would prevent Japanese from appearing "unfree."[84] This, in practice, entailed de facto emigration bans for artisanal and laboring classes, although how actively patrolled such regulations were remains questionable: the geographer-turned-journalist Shiga Shigetaka (1863–1927), visiting Sydney in 1886, scolded the MoFA for letting some of "Japan's lowest social class"—for Shiga, "vaudeville actors, tea girls, and impoverished geishas"—slip into Australia.[85] Japanese emigration promoted by the MoFA during period from approximately 1868–90 deliberately focused on "gentlemanly" classes—a carefully curated image of "civilization" broadcast on the world stage.

This curation began to unravel as Japanese capital, particularly shipping capital allied with print capital, turned to emigration as a means to wrest control of commercial shipping in the Pacific from Britain and America's Peninsular & Oriental and Pacific Mail Steamship companies, respectively. Faced with P&O and PMSC dominance over the movement of goods, the Nippon Yūsen Kaisha (NYK) instead proposed carving out a niche over the movement of bodies. In December 1891, NYK president Yoshikawa Taijirō (1852–1895) brought his plan to none other than Sakuma Teiichi, aforementioned founder of Shūeisha and force behind the formation of the Tokyo Association of Printers and Allied Trades. With Sakuma's investment, the duo established the Yoshisa Emigration Company. The company began by brokering mass immigration of Japanese laborers to Hawaiian plantations and New Caledonia's nickel mines—shipped, no less, on NYK vessels. They next turned their attention to Australia, focusing on sugarcane labor in Queensland from 1896 onward.[86] Their success in these ventures spawned, over the next decade, a slew of imitators, with fifty-one Japanese emigration companies in operation by 1907.[87]

Federated Australia remained comparatively more insulated from this migration in comparison to the United States and Canada, where tensions exploded earlier. Playing to the paradoxical mix of progressivism and racism which defined "White Australia," the Japanese government promised in 1904 that it would restrict migration that might undercut

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Australian workers' wages, receiving in return continued freedom of movement for Japanese commercial and scientific elites as well as tourists of adequate social distinction. Yet although the MoFA attempted to maintain an image of low-quota genteel migration, keeping an apprehensive eye over the number of Japanese in Australia relative to other "colored races" (*yūshoku jinshu*)—in their case, specifically, categories of "Chinese, Indian, and Malay"—they were unable to fully stem the tide of migration brokered by private corporations such as Yoshisa.[88] Unsurprisingly, discourse in Australia began to transform, compounded after Japan's 1905 defeat of Russia with even more acute fears of armed invasion. In Japan, according to the Adelaide *Evening Journal*, Australia faced an empire with the might of a "European Power" combined with "an Asiatic rate of pay."[89] In the months prior to the emergence of the VMPA's parliamentary appeal, it was in particular the specter of low-wage Japan that dominated the Australian press. At times, this manifested itself in racial condescension with a humanitarian face, writers expressing patronizing compassion for the "harrowing poverty" experienced by the "underpaid subjects of the Mikado" as contrasted to "white people enjoying moderate incomes."[90] Others, such as the Australian Workers' Union, were more direct. In January 1908, the AWU's official mouthpiece, *The Worker*, ran a series of articles purporting to expose the extent of the Japanese threat. Taking their cue from the San Francisco riots of the year before, they chose as their example agricultural labor in California. "Gangs of Japs," in their words, were taking over the California countryside, some towns having been "totally monopolized by Japs, who have their own bank, and carry on all the business." Blame in part lay at the feet of "white fruit growers" themselves, so eager to capitalize off cheap labor that they might hire anyone "with black head closely cropped, and wee black eyes somewhat on the slant." The ultimate problem, however, was clear: "the Jap is content to take the very lowest wages."[91]

Word breaking at the end of January 1908 that Hordern & Sons' promotional calendars had been produced in Japan and, moreover, that it had been Americans who covertly brokered the contract, brought new gravity to these concerns. If the prospect of "the Japanese invading Australian markets" had at first only been a "probability" portended by California, then the Hordern calendar was now tangible proof that "the danger is a present one, and calls for immediate action."[92] Special weight was lent to the incident by three features. First, there was the matter of Hordern & Sons itself. Hordern's had prided itself on encouraging Australian manufactures. Along with their in-house printing works discussed in the previous section, they had also established over the 1890s affiliated clothing and furniture factories, as well as a metalworks, in Sydney.[93] That, despite this, their calendar production had been outsourced to Japan seemed at best incompetence, and at worst betrayal. Potential betrayal stung all the more given Hordern's status as Australia's oldest surviving department store, growth of which came to stand for a dogged colonial perseverance synonymous with Australian national character. Hordern's story allegedly represented how "ordinary, hard-working citizens"—citizens, sure enough, "of the British race"—could become the "universal providers to the Commonwealth."[94]

Next came an unease which carried beyond the nation and into desired international racial alliances. Following the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 and Japan's 1905 victory over Russia, worries in Australia mounted over Britain's eventual regional decline. In place of Britain arose "the opportunity of joining hands with America" as a means of "preventing the flooding of the territories now belonging to the white races in the Pacific."[95] Indicatively, in August 1908, Western Australia's *Evening Courier* featured a cartoon wherein a Japanese soldier looked on apprehensively while the United States and Australia shook hands in the

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foreground.[96] Amid these overtures for solidarity towards a white Pacific, including the invitation of American battleships to Australia in summer 1908, news that American merchants had been outsourcing contracts to the Japanese enemy threw into jeopardy broader geopolitical hopes. Could the U.S. indeed be counted upon to keep the Pacific white?

Yet the Hordern incident also stung at a third level far deeper these concerns, touching on a perceived intrinsic relation between printed artifacts and identity. The calendar in question in the VMPA's complaints primarily comprised multicolor lithographs of Australian flora, and commentary repeatedly invoked the symbolism of "native flowers" in laying out its case for a Japanese threat. Above all, instances of Japanese-lithographed watarah flowers were singled out, the watarah being part of the emblem of New South Wales, and even strong contender for Australian national emblem less than a decade before.[97] At stake was an issue of weighted significance both for the Australian lithographic industry more narrowly and settler colonial identity more broadly. The earliest lithographic printing in Australia, pursued under the auspices of the New South Wales government in the 1820 s, had centered around landscapes depicting native fauna and flora as part of a campaign to encourage settlement through an appeal to natural beauty.[98] Labeled an "artistic triumph" by those who inspected them, the "very fine" and "richly embellished" Japanese illustrations of the watarah and other "native flowers," by disturbing the proprietary Australianness of national iconography, also challenged the historical link between lithography and settler identity.[99] In short, in Hordern's 1908 calendar, the geography of *printing* as a set of labor relations and the geography of the *printed* as a set of representations collided antagonistically.

The nature of print exacerbated this disturbance. Proliferating innocuously throughout everyday life, printed artifacts now revealed themselves as concealing a hidden foreignness—a surreptitious invasion already begun. The rhetoric invoked was not entirely new. Precisely because jobbing had become a focal point of the printing industry in ways previously described, it had served as material for friction in prior moments of trade competition. When, one decade ago, segments of the British press began opining against a rising tide of German-made imports, printed artifacts had been employed evocatively to transform the reader's quotidian lifeworld into a scene of horror. "Take observations, Gentle Reader, in your own surroundings," Ernest Williams urged in *Made in Germany* (1896).

> Your investigations will work out somewhat in this fashion. You will find that the material of some of your own clothes was probably woven in Germany. Still more probably is it that one of your wife's garments are German importations . . . The toys, and the dolls, and the fairy books which your children maltreat in the nursery are made in Germany; nay, the material of your favourite (patriotic) newspaper had the same birthplace as like as not. Roam the house over, and the fateful mark will greet you at every turn, from the piano in your drawing-room to the mug on your kitchen dresser, blazoned though it be with the legend, *A Present from Margate* . . .. You pick out of the grate the paper wrappings from a book consignment, and they also are "Made in Germany." You stuff them into the fire, and reflect that the poker in your hand was forged in Germany. As you rise from your hearth-rug you knock over an ornament on your mantle piece; picking up the pieces you read, on the bit that formed the base, "Manufactured in Germany." And you jot your dismal reflections down with a pencil that was made in Germany . . . . You go to bed, and glare wrathfully at a text on the wall; it is illuminated with an English village church, and it was "Printed in Germany."[100]

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In our closets, our kitchens, our parlors, our most intimate and private domestic spaces: the uncanny dislocation conjured by Williams' scenario was achieved through the suggestion that those trivial objects holding together the fabric of the everyday had, unbeknownst to their consumers, been insidiously penetrated by the foreign. Printed artifacts, whether fairy books, newspapers, mugs, wrappings, or wall decorations, were prominent among these everyday objects, and Williams' choice of examples drew on existing debates within the British print industry on German dominance of the chromolithographic market.[101] Citing German trade statistics, Williams pointed to a 112 percent growth in color prints (*Farbendruckbilder*) exported to Britain from 1895 to 1905.[102] More importantly, printed artifacts were invoked not simply because of their ability to achieve widespread circulation throughout quotidian settings, but because consumers habitually mistook the geography of printed content for the geography of its printing labor. An inscription on a mug that reads "Margate," an illustration of an English village church—even, as Williams later explained, a journal filled with "anti-German politics"—might well, to the "shock" of the "patriotic Englishman," have been printed in Germany.

Made in. Such labels, like an identity card, functioned as the sole hope by which to remain vigilant against external threat. In Williams' case, the Merchandise Marks Act of 1887 had rendered compulsory the labeling of country of manufacture on all imports into Britain. Defense was thus to be had by paying attention to this paratext, rather than to printed content. Here again, however, printing mischievously subverted attempts to maintain guard. Where did a printed artifact begin and end? Customs agents, tasked with enforcing the Merchandise Marks Act, struggled to decide. In the *Pall Mall Gazette*, a "head of one of the representative lithographic firms in London" related practices whereby booklets had been placed in an envelope on which was printed a lavish title and the words "Made in Germany." Customs approved the import. Thereafter, the envelopes were removed and discarded, and the booklets distributed: "on the face of them," the London lithographer moaned, "printed in the country [Britain], for there was no tell-tale mark to the contrary."[103]

While focused on Germany, Williams in the mid-1890s was wary of a newly industrializing threat from the East. Debates over labeling of country of manufacture had already expressed worry that Japan in particular would be likely to violate the law by printing false origins on products.[104] Even more troubling, however, was Japan's rapid industrialization and growth as a modern imperial power. Williams warned of the consequences if a fully industrialized Japan were then to help arm and equip countries like China. This act would decisively shift the balance of world power. "Disaster is preparing," Williams warned, "in industrial China and Japan."[105]

Japanese "disaster" was, for the VMPA, exactly the matter at hand. The doubling of tariffs was one axis of protection. But in the fashion of the British Merchandise Marks Act, Victorian printers in 1908 proceeded to press for the imposition of strict labeling requirements for country of manufacture, as well as stricter surveillance by customs officials and harsher penalties for firms which failed to comply. Again pointing to the offending Hordern calendar, the VMPA stressed to Parliament that the object "contained no imprint" regarding its origins. "That fact in itself," they underlined, "is very significant," and it would be unwise "to discount the importance of the 'printed in Japan' idea."[106] It was this regulation of origins, even more than tariffs, that was brought to the attention of readers in the VMPA's later year-end report: "The Customs authorities having been asked to see that all such importations bear the imprint of the printers and the words 'printed in Japan,' will probably act as a check on competition in the future."[107] As Deana Heath has argued, the Commonwealth

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Customs Department functioned in tandem with White Australia's restrictions on the migration of bodies, becoming the prime organ for "protecting" against imports that might jeopardize the country's "racial strength and purity."[108] Japanese-made printed artifacts, in the VMPA's reasoning, should be counted as one amongst these impurities.

But to say "Japanese" is misleading. British-German friction slightly over a decade before had been discussed by printers as a matter of superior craftsmanship. The printing manager of the *Illustrated London News*, asked in 1895 about the outsourcing of chromolithographic work, replied that "the art of mixing colours seems to be much better understood abroad," and that British works thus "lack[ed] that delicacy of finish and general charm so characteristic of foreign works."[109] Williams, too, declared that "as a matter of fact, many German manufactures, notably those in which artistic finish is needed, are undeniably superior to those produced in British houses."[110] He explicitly rejected wage differentials as an explanation for the rise of German manufactures, and opposed the levying of protectionist tariffs. Instead, he urged Britain to emulate German state sponsorship of trade, including investment in better equipment, workspaces, and technical schools.[111]

On the surface, the VMPA debate seemed quite the opposite. Their complaints appeared to stress low wages as a marker of racial inferiority, demanding tariff protection and a system of labeling and inspecting imports to prevent undesired Japanese infiltration. From this perspective, VMPA demands might appear merely as an extension to foreign print of preexisting domestic policies active in sectors such as furniture manufacture. In response to complaints that department stores—including Hordern's—had been "surreptitiously" selling furniture made by lower-wage Chinese factories in Melbourne, Victoria had in 1896 amended its Factories and Shops Act to demand that furniture be stamped with indications of "European labour only" or "Chinese labour," the latter changed after 1905 to a general label of "Asiatic labor." This labeling requirement was accompanied by legislation that enforced on Chinese factories harsher regulations regarding wage levels as well as hours and days of work.[112]

Yet the case of print reveals a more complex relationship than that of "cheap labor." The state of Japan's lithographic industry was, as discussed earlier, by most benchmarks more advanced than Australia's. And, as we have also seen, commentators in Australia expressed admiration for Japanese craftsmanship. Indeed, although it did not later feature in the text of their parliamentary appeal, the VMPA internally held Japanese printing in high esteem, with member Sydney Day noting how, in comparison, Yokohama printing offices all seemed "thoroughly equipped" with "machines of the latest make."[113] Parliamentary proceedings surrounding the incident further acknowledged the testimony of master printers who had noted that the "work is well done" and "in a style which would not discredit any Australian printery," going so far as to deem the work "expert." It would thus be unwise to affect a wholesale "importation of printed matter from Japan" as a "rule of thumb."[114] In the end, not all things "Japanese" were to be rejected. Rather, the racialization of printed artifacts filtered categories of appropriate and inappropriate importation through practices of class-based consumption.

Commodity desire for Japanese imports had been a feature of consumer life since the early colonial era, their availability often remarked upon as a sign of pride. Touting Sydney's growth in 1828, an article in *The Australian* pointed to "shops that would do credit to London itself; where, if you had but the money, you may procure anything." To demonstrate, the article continued on to marvel at Sydney stores offering "the exquisite manufactures of Japan."[115] That very adjective—"exquisite"—would come to define a framework for

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the consumption of Japanese goods throughout the Anglophone world as the century wore on.[116] This consumption intensified primarily from the mid-1880s onward, following the formalization of bilateral trade relations centered on the Japanese import of Australian wool. Rice and tea were expected as two key areas of export. But alongside these, Australian interest converged notably on bamboo, lacquer, porcelain, and silk wares, as well as cloisonné and paper, including Japanese paper curtains that entered into Australian vogue beginning in the late 1870s.[117] By the early twentieth centuries, department stores like Hordern's were prominently advertising their stock of Japanese baskets, bamboo screens, dolls, fans, lanterns, paper, silk handkerchiefs, silk scarves, tableware, tea sets, umbrellas, vases, and more.[118] Fine Japanese paper, they further noted, was bound by them into "leather back and corners" with "cloth sides" to offer the highest quality of "letter copying books."[119] The majority of these items fell under the customs category of "fancy goods," and in 1907, with special strengths in silk and bamboo manufactures, Japan became the fourth largest source of fancy goods imports into Australia coming only after the UK, Germany, and the United States.[120] These fancy goods notably featured printing, "ornamented with birds, flowers, &c. in gold and colors."[121]

Fancy goods with printed designs from Japan could circulate in Australia; a free calendar with monthly lithographs of Australian flora printed in Japan should not. "It is unreasonable," the VMPA maintained, "that advertisements . . . intended for use in this country should be printed in foreign lands."[122] And in this sense, we see that the VMPA's approach to foreign-printed artifacts tied racial representations to class consumption as a means to reterritorialize print capital. Printed manufactures of Japanese make might be allowed into the country so long as they were luxury items, decorated and ornamented according to expectations of "fancy" Japaneseness—as the Hordern's catalogue itself put it, works featuring "good Oriental designs."[123] Put differently, to be accepted, print artifacts from Japan had to represent a distinct racial identity fit for high-end consumer tastes in a manner that would distinguish them from threats to domestic labor.

This new regulatory order for print—a product of the VMPA's petition to Parliament—paralleled a regime of immigration which, while appearing to stand against all "Asian" immigrants, made habitual exceptions for those who exhibited belonging to categories of recognized "sociability and affluence": the "high-class, educated, respectable" rather than those who posed labor competition.[124] Such exceptions were the very ones implied in Japan's own earlier attempt to negotiate with White Australia border policy, agreeing to restrict wage laborers in order to secure allowances for commercial, political, and scientific elites. While Watanabe Kanjūrō, posing as a migrant laborer, felt more "rejected" in Australia than anywhere in the world, the evolutionary biologist and Tokyo Imperial University professor Ishikawa Chiyomatsu (1860–1935) could enjoy a pleasant tour of Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane in the spring of 1906. Visiting botanical gardens, natural history museums, and zoos where he spoke on Japan's native flora and fauna and discussed exchange of specimens, Ishikawa was in return wined and dined at multiple gentlemen's clubs and even Melbourne University—an event that saw him "greeted with vociferous applause" and a student chorus singing "For he's a jolly good fellow." Ishikawa left enthusiastic and impressed with all matters Australian.[125]

ANOTHER PRINT CAPITALISM

How the uneven geographies produced by transnational flows of capital generate racial friction is not a question endemic to print, much less to jobbing. But in the heightened space of

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inter-imperial competition—particularly competition which included a non-white empire—that was the Pacific at the dawn of the twentieth century, jobbing came to be part of an alleged "yellow peril." The case at hand thus offers us an opportunity to rethink how the well-established category of print capitalism can be used to think through intersections of race and class across transnational entanglements.

The VMPA's "yellow peril" presents a case wherein print capitalism, rather than constituting a national imaginary, worked to jeopardize the Australian national imaginary's integrity. Hordern's had positioned itself as a monument to "Australian Industry and fair conditions of labor," in the process helping build, through its advertising, the nation's jobbing industry. Yet the political economy of job work was simultaneously expanding far beyond the nation, with Japan's lithographic industry growing rapidly after 1895, and Yokohama in particular boasting longstanding transnational networks of commercial printing. When Hordern's calendar, in 1908, was revealed as the product of hands which "had never been nearer Australia than Yokohama," national claims were undermined. Far from being incidental, the artifacts of jobbing here exacerbated the dimensions of betrayal. The cards, calendars, catalogs, handbills, posters, and more that comprised one significant chunk of job printing were everyday artifacts that symbolized the local. Suddenly, behind the veil of this pervasive local everydayness, a foreign threat was revealed. The VMPA in response cast itself as the defender of the "white workers of Australia [who] built [it] into magnificent proportion," and more broadly as defenders of Australia as a "white working man's paradise."[126] Race was summoned as a means to reterritorialize print capital that had migrated into transnational networks of jobbing.

This reterritorialization drew from prior legislation of place-of-origin labeling and merged these labels with controls on immigration in the form of a locative demand—an interrogation that asked, "Where are you *really* from?" Not all printed artifacts from Japan were to be barred from Australia. But their origin had to be known through "Made in" labels in order to place them firmly within a system of control premised on race and class identity. Just as White Australia immigration was configured in practice to permit certain classes of Japanese to pass freely while denying others, so too were "fancy goods" from Japan, the designs printed on them appropriately "Japanese," safe for entry.

The role of locative demands in the world of printing should suggest to us two points. First, it suggests that in examining how print constitutes the borders of different publics, we must pay attention not only to who speaks, what is represented, and where printed artifacts circulate, but also where a printed artifact is made. VMPA debates highlighted geographic origin as a criterion for determining whether certain printed artifacts might be included or excluded from participation in Australian life. That geographic origin in turn determined acceptable boundaries of representational content: acceptable printed artifacts would need to demonstrate high-end Japaneseness differential from, and 'other' to, Australianness. In short, publics may in certain instances be constituted just as much by the ways in which they map and make meaning out of print production's commodity chains, as they are by maps of print circulation and consumption.

More fundamentally, the rise of locative demands as a means to situate and stabilize print identity amid increasingly transnational production chains suggests that print capitalism contains within it an ambivalence relative to the nation. Capitalism's deterritorializing tendencies trouble national consciousness as much as they construct it. In this sense, our understanding of print capitalism must simultaneously take into account corresponding forces of print *protectionism* that seek to contain capital flows through race and class

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imaginaries. An Australian gazing at a lithographed print of a waratah flower might first imagine national space. But should her eye catch the "Made in Japan" label, she might feel that the integrity of that national space had been infiltrated. Print capitalism's nation was already impure—and on account of the tangled transnational vectors of capitalism itself.

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