

SINGAPORE'S EARLY JAPANESE COMMUNITY ON A RARE MAP

A rare Japanese-English street map of Singapore tells the forgotten stories of the Japanese community who left their mark here in the early 20th century.

By Gracie Lee

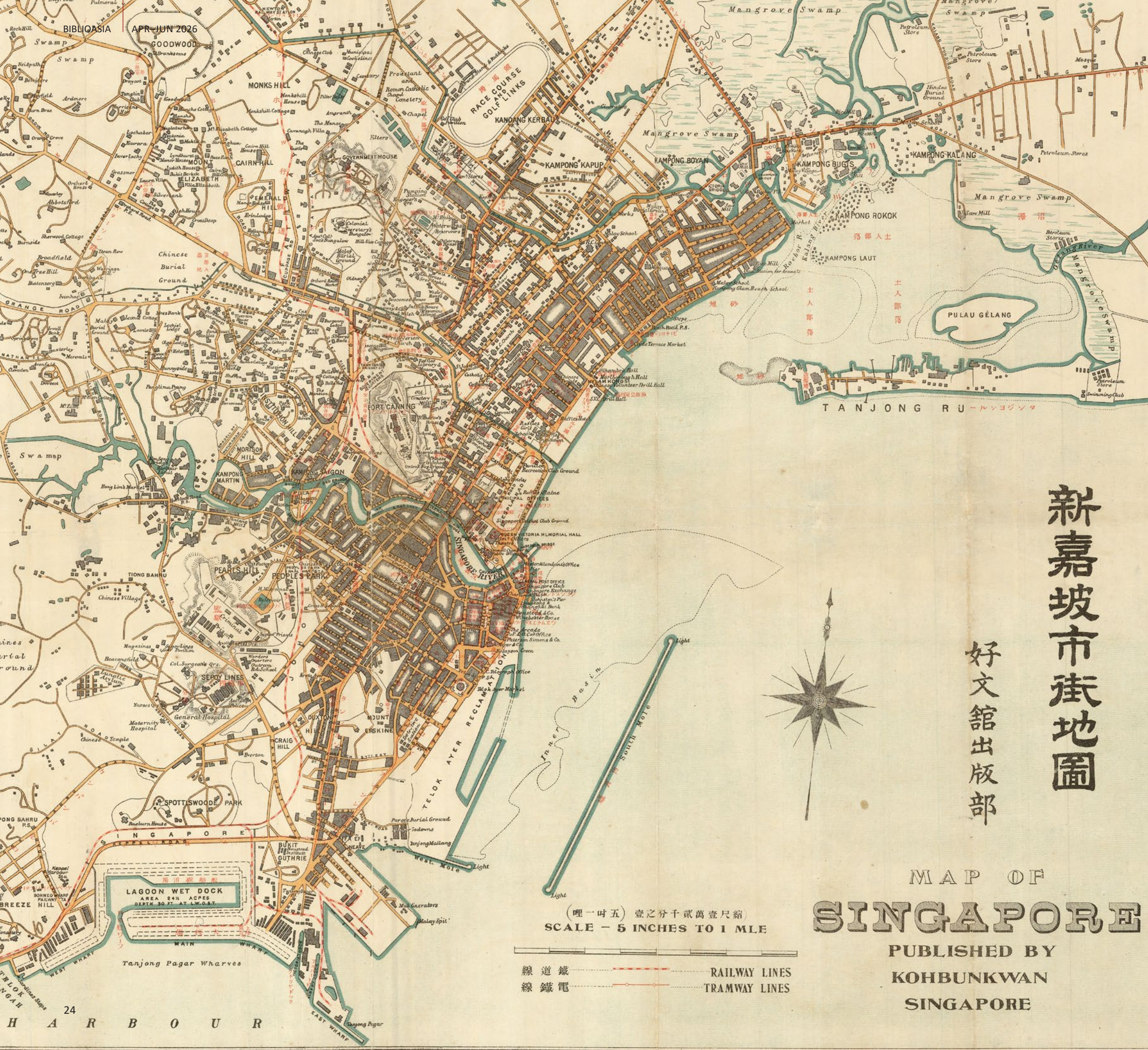
Gracie Lee is a Senior Librarian with the National Library Singapore, where she works with the Rare Collection. She enjoys uncovering and sharing the stories behind Singapore's print heritage.

Within the National Library's Rare Materials Collection lies a cartographic treasure that opens a window into Singapore's multicultural past. The map titled *Map of Singapore* = 新嘉坡市街地圖 (*Shingapōru Shigai Chizu*) tells a story of the thriving Japanese diaspora that once called this bustling port city home.¹

The undated work, measuring 54 cm by 79 cm, was likely published in 1920, making it one of the earliest Japanese street maps of Singapore. Drawn to a scale of 1:5 miles, the map presents a detailed layout of Singapore town, accompanied by an inset map of the island of Singapore. The map appears to be an adaptation of Fraser and Neave's 1913 *Map of Singapore Showing the Principal Residences and Places of Interest*,² with four significant additions: the inset map, Japanese place names as well as railway and tramway lines.

While many place names are simply transliterations of their English names, what makes this Japanese map fascinating are the place names and locations that the map creator had carefully marked out for their special importance to the early Japanese community.

Detail from the map titled *Map of Singapore* = 新嘉坡市街地圖 (*Shingapōru Shigai Chizu*), likely published in 1920. It is one of the earliest Japanese street maps of Singapore. (From National Library Singapore, call no. RRARE912.5957 MAP). Image used with permission.

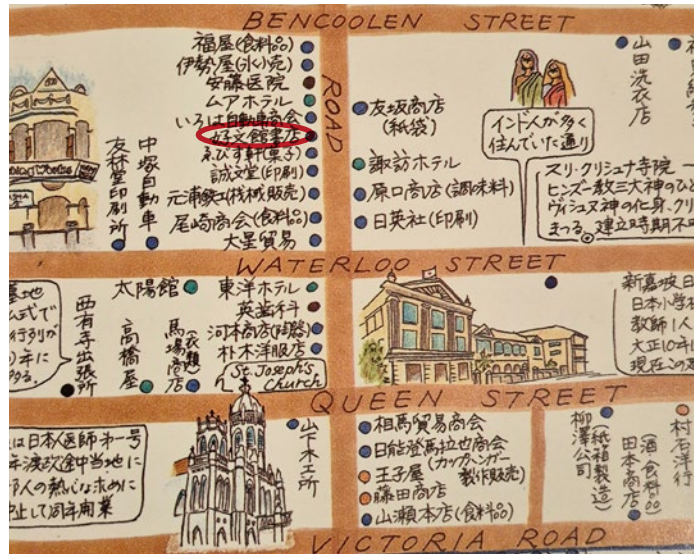




Kobunkan bookstore (2nd shophouse from the right) and Iroha Motor Cars & Co. (extreme right) at 167 and 168 Middle Road respectively, c. 1910s. The handwritten caption behind the photograph reads 英領新架坡 好文館 いろは自動車 山崎・竹井経営 [泰来當舖店] (Eiryō Shingapōru Kōbunkan Iroha Jidōsha Yamasaki • Takei keiei [Tài Lái Dāng Zhidiàn], which translates as “British-governed Singapore / Kobunkan and Iroha Motor Cars / Managed by Yamsaki & Takei / Chop Thai Loy Pawn Shop”. Courtesy of Tanabe Tsukasa.

The map had originally been published in January 1919 to commemorate Singapore’s centenary. This first edition featured a distinctive cartouche (a decorative emblem on a map that contains the title, author, general description, legend, scale bar, etc.) and advertisements from local Japanese businesses printed on the reverse.³ The library’s copy, however, appears to be from a later 1920 printing as it lacks these visual elements.⁴

Location of Kobunkan bookstore (circled in red) on Middle Road. Image reproduced from 戦前シンガポールの日本人社会: 写真と記録 = Prewar Japanese Community in Singapore: Photographs and Records (Senzen Shingapōru no Nihonjin Shakai: Shashin to Kiroku). シンガポール: シンガポール日本人会 (Shingapōru: Shingapōru Nihonjinkai), 2004, 30–31. (From National Library Singapore, call no. RSING 305.895605957 PRE). Courtesy of The Japanese Association Singapore.



Kobunkan: Bookstore and Publisher

The publisher’s name, Kobunkan, appears on the map in both Japanese and English as 好文館出版部 (Kōbunkan Shuppanbu; Kobunkan Publishing Department) and Kohbunkwan Singapore.⁵ Kobunkan was one of Singapore’s pioneering Japanese bookstores and publishers,⁶ with a long-established presence at 167 Middle Road.⁷

The bookstore offered an extensive array of Japanese products ranging from newspapers, magazines, books and maps to stationery and picture postcards. Its customers included the employees of leading Japanese firms in the commercial district of Raffles Place and Collyer Quay as well as small Japanese businesses clustered around Middle Road and North Bridge Road. The latter comprised medical and dental clinics, retail shops, grocery stores, photo studios, barbershops, tailors, hotels, inns and restaurants.

Kobunkan’s bestsellers revealed the community’s continued links with Japan. Major newspapers such as *Asahi Shimbun* (朝日新聞), *Osaka Mainichi* (大阪毎日) and *Tokyo Nichi Nichi* (東京日日) provided vital news from home. Literary and general interest magazines such as *The Sun* (太陽; Taiyō), *The Central Review* (中央公論; Chūō Kōron), *Reform* (改造; Kaizō), and *Japan and the Japanese* (日本及日本人; Nihon oyobi Nihonjin) attracted a steady readership among white-collar workers like employees of trading companies and banks.

But perhaps more unusual was Kobunkan’s largest customer base – the *karayuki-san*.⁸ Sold into prostitution, these Japanese women lived and worked in Japanese brothels located in and around Malay Street, which was within walking distance to the bookstore. They typically favoured lifestyle and women’s magazines such as *Kodan World* (講談世界; Kōdan Sekai), *Women’s World* (婦人世界; Fujin Sekai) and *Friend of the Housewife* (主婦の友; Shufu no Tomo).⁹

Kobunkan’s reach also extended beyond Singapore’s borders, serving Japanese plantation workers in Johor and expatriate communities across British Malaya, the Dutch East Indies and British North Borneo.¹⁰ The bookstore was also the local distributor for Sakura Beer and the Kangaroo brand of canned Japanese fishcakes – *chikuwa* and *kamaboko*.¹¹

From Pearl Diver to Entrepreneur

This curious connection between Japanese fishcakes, kangaroos and Singapore becomes clear when we examine the life of Kobunkan’s founder Yamasaki Eijirō (山崎 榮治郎),¹² whose remarkable journey took him from Japan to Singapore and Australia.¹³

Born in 1871 in Ehime Prefecture, Japan, Yamasaki first arrived in Singapore as a crew member aboard a British ship bound for India. Through a local broker in Singapore, Yamasaki secured work as a pearl diver in Broome, Western Australia, where the global demand for pearl buttons had created a booming industry that attracted many Japanese settlers.¹⁴ Yamasaki’s entrepreneurial drive soon led him to general trading, importing Japanese goods to Broome via shipping agents in Singapore and establishing the commercial network that would later pave his move to Singapore.

Also, while in Australia, Yamasaki made a foray into Malayan rubber. His 300-acre Ehime Rubber Estate (愛媛ゴム園; Ehime Gomu-en), established between 1909 and 1910, was one of the earliest rubber plantation developments along the Johor River.¹⁵

The Move to Singapore

When Yamasaki relocated to Singapore in 1912,¹⁶ the knowledge and experience that he had gained from his Australian ventures stood him in good stead. He initially established his wholesale trading business from Nippon Hotel (日本ホテル; Nippon Hoteru) on Beach Road, selling Australian beef and Kangaroo brand canned food manufactured by his own Sanyu Trading Company Canning Factory (三友商會罐詰製造所; Sanyū Shōkai Kanzume Seizōsho) back in Ehime Prefecture.¹⁷



(Left) Portrait of Yamasaki Eijirō from a postcard of his general store in Broome, Western Australia, c. 1909. Photo by Aussie~mobs. From flickr.



(Right) Two *karayuki-san* seated along a five-footway, c. 1870s–1910s. Image reproduced from Sammlung von 19 original photographien aus Singapur (n.p.: n.p., 1880–1900). (From National Library Singapore, call no. RRARE 779.99595703 SAM).

Recognising the growing demand for Japanese reading materials among Singapore’s expanding Japanese community, he started Yamasaki Bookstore Section (山崎書林部; Yamasaki Shorinbu) in 1912.¹⁸ Yamasaki’s business quickly outgrew the hotel premises, which struggled to accommodate his three business arms: the book retail department, the merchandise department (山崎商品部; Yamasaki Shōhinbu) and the Sanyu Trading Company operations.

In May 1913, Yamasaki relocated his operations to the more spacious 167 Middle Road.¹⁹ The bookstore was renamed Kobunkan (好文館) in 1914 and, by 1915, had undergone significant expansion with the establishment of a publishing division helmed by Kōno Kōhei (河野公平), a seasoned newspaper editor from Ehime.²⁰

Yamasaki’s entrepreneurial ambitions were not confined to general trade and books alone. In 1913, he established Iroha Motor Cars & Co. (いろは自動車商会; Iroha Jidōsha Shōkai),²¹ which employed Malay drivers to provide transportation services tailored specifically to the Japanese community’s needs. These included trips to and from the Japanese cemetery for funerals, visits to the entertainment and red-light districts,²² recreational drives for *karayuki-san* and passenger transfers for European vessels docked at the Singapore harbour. The growth in the business led to its expansion and he leased the adjacent shophouse unit at 168 Middle Road.

The End of an Era

In 1920, Yamasaki and his wife left Singapore, presumably to return permanently to Japan. The local Japanese newspaper carried a farewell notice where he expressed his gratitude to the community for their send-off. His departure marked the beginning of a decline of his businesses. Entrusted to co-manager Takei Kurayoshi (竹井庫敬) and others, these businesses struggled against the economic headwinds of the early 1920s – a slump in rubber prices and the 1920 ban on Japanese prostitution – before finally closing in 1923.²³

Mapping a Community: Main Map

The Japanese Association (日本人會; *Nihonjin-kai*)
and the Japanese Elementary School (日本人小學校; *Nihonjin Shōgakkō*)
Location on map: Short Street

The Japanese Association, established in 1915, and the Japanese School, founded in 1912, were both situated on Short Street. The association operated from Short Street between 1918 and 1920, while the school remained there until 1921. The school was first located on Middle Road before moving to Bencoolen Street, Wilkie Road and then Short Street.²⁴

A cornerstone of the Japanese community, the association managed the Japanese School, maintained the Japanese cemetery from 1917 onward and established the Japanese Club in 1922. The association played a pivotal role in fostering the social and cultural life of the Japanese community in Singapore. The association is located on Adam Road today, while the school has three campuses in Clementi, Changi and West Coast.

Japanese Commercial Museum (日本商品陳列館; *Nihon Shōhin Chinretsu-kan*)
Location on map: 77 Bras Basah Road

The Japanese Commercial Museum was established in 1918 by the South Seas Association (南洋協会; *Nan'yō Kyōkai*) to further Japan's commercial and trade expansion into the South Seas.²⁵ Despite its name, the institution was not a museum in the conventional sense, but rather a showcase for Japanese-made merchandise.²⁶

Route to Japanese Cemetery (日本人墓地形; *Nihonjin Bochi-yuki*)
Location on map: Serangoon Road

Serangoon Road is marked on the map as 日本人墓地形 (Route to the Japanese Cemetery), highlighting its importance as the main thoroughfare connecting Middle Road to the cemetery. The road served as the principal route for cemetery visitors and funeral processions travelling from Middle Road – where most of the early Japanese community lived and worked – to the cemetery in Yio Chu Kang. Notably, the cemetery, where many of Singapore's long-term Japanese residents were buried, was featured as a destination in Japanese guidebooks of the early 20th century.²⁷ The cemetery stopped taking burials in 1973 and became the Japanese Cemetery Park in 1987.²⁸

Japanese Consulate (領事館; *Ryōjikan*)
Location on map: Raffles Chambers, Raffles Place

The Japanese Consulate established its office in Raffles Chambers in 1917, one of several locations it would occupy since its founding in 1879. The consulate's first premises was on North Bridge Road where Hoo Ah Kay (popularly known as Whampoa) served as the first honorary Japanese Consul. Following Hoo's death in 1880, the position was left vacant until Nakagawa Tsunejirō (中川恒次郎) was appointed as the first acting consul in 1889, with his office situated on Sophia Road.²⁹

Mitsubishi Branch Office (三菱出張所; *Mitsubishi Shutchōjo*)
Location on map: Raffles Chambers, Raffles Place

Trading company Mitsubishi established a representative office in Singapore in 1917 after identifying Singapore as its strategic base for expansion into British Malaya, the Dutch East Indies and India. This move was part of a broader trend of Japanese trading companies and merchants setting up operations in Raffles Place and High Street during the late 1910s to capitalise on the growing demand for Japanese goods during and after the First World War (1914–18). Reduced trade between Singapore and Europe during the war had created an opportunity for Japan to increase its commercial presence in Southeast Asia.³⁰

Bank of Taiwan Branch (台銀支店; *Taigin Shiten*)
Location on map: 1 Battery Road

The Bank of Taiwan, operating under the Japanese colonial administration in Taiwan, became the first Japanese bank to establish operations in Singapore in 1912.³¹ The bank first opened at 100 Robinson Road before moving to Battery Road in 1916 where it was co-located with Mitsui Bussan Kaisha (三井物産会社), the first Japanese trading company in Singapore.³² The Bank of Taiwan was formed in 1899 to serve as the central bank and development bank of Taiwan. It aimed to expand internationally to support Japan's economic expansion into South China and the South Seas.³³ The Singapore branch primarily handled foreign exchange transactions and loans to Japanese rubber planters and businessmen.³⁴

Bank of Taiwan Company House No. 1 (台銀第一社宅; *Taigin Daiichi Shataku*)
Location on map: Osborne House, 11 Upper Wilkie Road

Known today as Mount Emily Villa, Osborne House served as the residence of the manager of the Bank of Taiwan during the late 1910s and then as the home of Singapore-based Japanese dentist Ikeda Jūkichi (池田重吉) in 1935. It later housed the Japanese Consulate-General between 1939 and 1941. After the Japanese Occupation, the building was used by the Ministry of Social Affairs' Social Welfare Department. In 1969, Mount Emily Girls' Home occupied the space followed by Wilkie Road Children's Home in the 1980s.³⁵ Today, the premises are occupied by The Private Museum.

Japanese Ship Wharf (日本船ワーフ; *Nihon Fune Wāfu*)
Location on map: Tanjong Pagar Wharves

This appears to be the berthing area for arriving Japanese ships.

Kuhara Branch Office (久原出張所; *Kuhara Shutchōjo*)
Location on map: 6 Scotts Road

The Singapore branch of the Kuhara Mining Company (久原鑛業株式會社; *Kuhara Kōgyō Kabushiki Kaisha*) was established in 1916. The company was founded in Japan in 1905 by Kuhara Fusanosuke (久原房之助), a prominent businessman and founder of several prominent Japanese companies, including Hitachi. As part of its overseas expansion plans, the company began conducting various explorations for oil and other mineral resources in the Dutch East Indies and Malaya. By 1920, its Singapore operations had grown to include the Kuhara Trading Company (久原商事株式會社; *Kuhara Shōji Kabushiki Kaisha*).³⁶



Japanese Elementary School, 1910s. *Image reproduced from* 伊藤友治郎 (*Itō Tomojirō*), 南洋群島写真画帖: 附南洋事情 = *Picture Book of the South Sea Islands* (*Nan'yō Guntō Shashin Gachō: Fu Nan'yō Jijō*). 英領ペナン市: 南洋調査会 (*Eiryō Penan-shi: Nan'yō Chōsakai*), 1914, 6. (From *National Library Singapore*, call no. RRARE 959 ITO).



Japanese Commercial Museum. *Image reproduced from* 南洋之産業. 壹之巻 = *Tropical Industry* (*Nan'yō no Sangyō. Ichi no Ken*). 新嘉坡: 新嘉坡商品陳列館 (*Shingapōru: Shingapōru Shōhin Chinretsukan*), 1920, 7. (From *National Library Singapore*, call no. RRARE 338.0595 NAN).



Serangoon Road, the route to the Japanese Cemetery, c. 1911. *Arshak C. Galstaun Collection, courtesy of National Archives of Singapore* (Media - Image no. 19980005502 - 0033).



The Bank of Taiwan on Battery Road, c. 1930. *Courtesy of National Archives of Singapore* (Media - Image no. 19980001448 - 0067).

The Girls’ Home at 11 Upper Wilkie Road managed by the Social Welfare Department of the Ministry of Social Affairs, 1959. *Ministry of Information and the Arts Collection, courtesy of National Archives of Singapore (Media - Image no. 19980001968 - 0017).*



Osaka Shosen Branch (大阪商船支店; Ōsaka Shōsen Shiten)

Location on map: 2 De Souza Street

Osaka Shosen Kaisha was one of Japan’s major shipping companies that operated alongside the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (日本郵船会社) in Singapore. In 1918, the company established its Singapore branch office at 2 De Souza Street,³⁷ increasing its commercial shipping presence in the region. Prior to this expansion, local agent Guthrie and Co. had managed the company’s shipping routes.³⁸

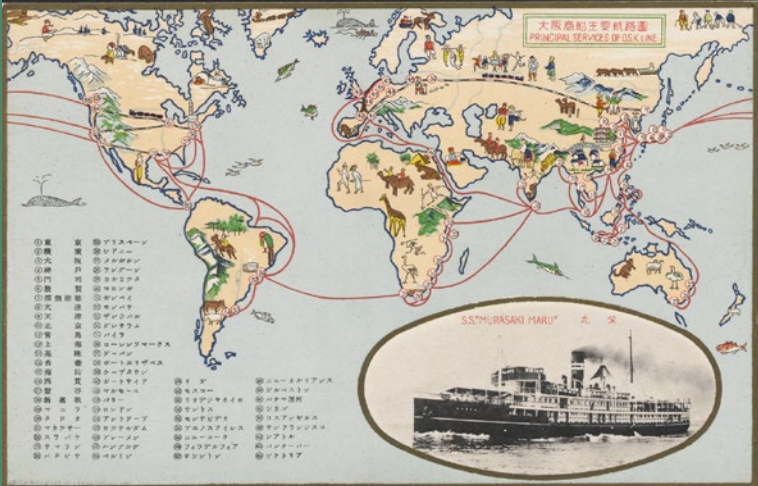
Mitsui Company House No. 1 (三井第一社宅; Mitsui Daiichi Shataku)

Location on map: Draycot, Stevens Road

Draycot was once the residence of the manager of Mitsui Bussan Kaisha (三井物産会社). The property was more than a residential space; it was also a venue for hosting distinguished guests and business networking. Notable visitors included Dr Lim Boon Keng, a leader of the Chinese community in Singapore, and Marquis Saionji, a prominent Japanese statesman who stayed at Draycot while travelling to the 1919 Paris Peace Conference after the First World War.³⁹

As Singapore’s first Japanese trading company, Mitsui Bussan Kaisha began with a modest representative office at 8 Battery Road in 1891, occupying the upper floors of the Dispensary Building. Its initial aim was to secure contracts with European steamship companies to supply coal from Japan’s largest coal mine, the Miike Mine. As business grew, Mitsui diversified into shipping, accounting, communications, insurance brokerage, and the import-export of various goods, including rice, electrical supplies, metals and metallic ores, marine products and textiles. The company’s growing influence in Singapore’s colonial business society earned it a place in the Singapore Chamber of Commerce in 1911.⁴⁰

A postcard showing the shipping routes of Osaka Shosen Kaisha. Singapore appears as point no. 18 on the map. (*From National Library Singapore, call no. RRARE 952.03 LSB-[LSB]. Donated by Lim Shao Bin.*)



Consular Residence (領事官舎; Ryōji-kansha)

Location on map: Kinloss, Lady Hill, Orange Grove

Kinloss was constructed in 1903 as the private residence of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Murray, the colonial engineer and surveyor-general of the Straits Settlements.⁴¹ Following Murray’s departure from Singapore in 1906, the house became the residence of the Japanese Consul from 1909 to the 1920s.⁴² During this period, Kinloss hosted several significant diplomatic events, including local celebrations of the Japanese Emperor’s birthday and the coronation of Emperor Taishō in 1915. The residence also welcomed prominent guests, notably Prince Asaka Yasuhiko (朝香宮鳩彦王; Asaka-no-miya Yasuhiko-ō) during his stopover in Singapore in 1922 while en route to France for military studies.⁴³ ◆

The author thanks Tanabe Tsukasa, the great-grandson of Yamasaki Eijiro, for sharing information about his family; Takako Iino from Friends of the Museum in Singapore; and Senior Librarians Goh Yu Mei and Janice Loo from the National Library Singapore for their assistance in translating and highlighting relevant Japanese and pictorial sources.

Scan the QR code to find out details of the inset map. Discover more about the prewar Japanese community in and around Middle Road from Curiosity (<https://curiocity.nlb.gov.sg/mapping-middle-road-prewar-japanese-community-in-singapore/>), and explore Japanese street maps of Singapore in the collections of the National Library Singapore and National Archives of Singapore.



NOTES

- 1 新嘉坡市街地圖 = Map of Singapore (Shingapōru Shigai Chizu). 新嘉坡: 好文館出版部 (Shingapōru: Kōbunkan Shuppanbu, 1920). (From National Library Singapore, call no. RRARE 912.5957 MAP).
- 2 Fraser and Neave Limited, *Map of Singapore Showing the Principal Residences and Places of Interests*, 1913, map. (From National Archives of Singapore, accession no. SP006064)
- 3 The cartouche reads: 開港百周年記念出版 (Kaikō Hyakushūnen Kinen Shuppan) [Port Centenary Commemorative Publication], 1 January 1919, map. Printed on the back of the map are advertisements from local Japanese businesses such as Miyako Hotel (都ホテル; Miyako Hōteru) and Hakuai Pharmacy (博愛薬房; Hakuai Yakubō) under the header 新嘉坡開港百周年記念合廣告 (Shingapōru Kaikō Hyakushūnen Kinen Gōkōkoku) [Singapore Port Centenary Commemorative Joint Advertisement]. See 文生書院 (Bunsei Shoin Booksellers, Co., Ltd.) 文生書院目録 2018 年: 中国・満州・朝鮮・台湾・樺太・南洋 (Bunsei Shoin Mokuroku 2018–nen: Chūgoku · Manshū · Chōsen · Taiwan · Karafuto · Nan'yō), 77, <https://www.bunsei.co.jp/old-book/moku/moku201809/>.
- 4 南洋日日新聞 (*Nan'yō Nichinichi Shinbun*), 16 November 1920, 2, Hoover Institution Library & Archives, <https://hojishinbun.hoover.org/en/newspapers/nos19201116-01.1.2>.
- 5 The English name was spelt according to the Japanese romanisation conventions of that period.
- 6 河野公平, 好文館出版部 (Kōno Kōhei and Kōbunkan Shuppanbu), 南洋總覽 (*Nan'yō Sōran*). シンガポール: 好文館 (Shingapōru: Kōbunkan, 1920), 172–74, NUS Libraries, <https://digitalgems.nus.edu.sg/view/347109>. A 1916 survey of Japanese residents and their occupations recorded two bookstores operating in Singapore. In 1920, Kobunkan's own publication, 南洋總覽 (*Nan'yō Sōran*), recorded just two book retailers although the printing industry had grown to 11 by that time.
- 7 This address corresponds to the site presently occupied by the Nanyang Academy of Fine Arts Campus 1 and the headquarters of the Singapore Council of Women's Organisations.
- 8 *Karayuki-san* (唐行きさん), meaning “those who have gone to China”, was a euphemism used to refer to Japanese sex workers.
- 9 松本博之. 鎌田真弓. 村上雄一 (Matsumoto Hiroyuki, Kamata Mayumi and Murakami Yūichi), eds., ブルームにおける日本人商店主のライフストーリー-山本亀太郎・三瀬豊三郎を中心に (*Burūmu ni okeru Nihonjin Shōten-shu no Raifu-sutōri Yamamoto Kametarō, Mise Toyosaburō o Chūshin ni*), 48–59, Nagoya University of Commerce & Business, <https://www.nucba.ac.jp/archives/189/202504/NUCB-K-25101.pdf>; 南洋新報 (*Nan'yō Shinpō*), 30 October 1912, 10, Hoover Institution Library & Archives, <https://hojishinbun.hoover.org/en/newspapers/nao19121030-01.1.10>; 南洋日日新聞 (*Nan'yō Nichinichi Shinbun*), 14 January 1922, Hoover Institution Library & Archives, <https://hojishinbun.hoover.org/en/newspapers/nos19220114-01.1.2>.
- 10 Matsumoto, Kamata and Murakami, *Burūmu ni okeru Nihonjin Shōten-shu no Raifu-sutōri Yamamoto Kametarō, Mise Toyosaburō o Chūshin ni*, 48–59.
- 11 Kōno and Kōbunkan Shuppanbu, *Nan'yō Sōran*, 605.
- 12 Yamasaki's name appears as 山崎 榮次郎 in historical Japanese sources and as 山崎 荣治郎 in modern Japanese sources. In English-language publications of the time, his name was often romanised as Yejiro Yamasaki.
- 13 Matsumoto, Kamata and Murakami, *Burūmu ni okeru Nihonjin Shōten-shu no Raifu-sutōri Yamamoto Kametarō, Mise Toyosaburō o Chūshin ni*, 48–59; 田部司 (Tanabe Tsukasa), 南洋を駆け抜けた夢～山崎栄治郎 (Nan'yō o Kakenuketa Yume ~ Yamasaki Eijirō), 27 January 2014, <https://tanabeshouwa.wordpress.com/2014/01/27>.
- 14 “Pearling Time,” Western Australian Museum, accessed 21 December 2025, <https://museum.wa.gov.au/explore/lustre-online-text-panels/pearling-timeline>.
- 15 “Japanese Rubber Estates in Malaya and Sarawak,” *Malaya Tribune*, 16 May 1914, 4; Far Eastern Geographical Establishment, *The New Atlas and Commercial Gazetteer of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States* (Singapore: Kelly & Walsh, 1917), 78. (From National Library Singapore, call no. RRARE 330.95951 SHA-[JSB]); Kōno and Kōbunkan Shuppanbu, *Nan'yō Sōran*, 99; 佃光治 (Tsukuda Mitsuharu), 馬來に於ける邦人活動の現況 (*Marai ni okeru Hōjin Katsudō no Genkyō*). 新嘉坡: 南洋及日本人社 (Shingapōru Nan'yō oyobi Nihonjinsha), 1917, appendix, 6. (From National Library Singapore, call no. RRARE 305.89560595 TSU-[LSB]); Yuen Choy Leng, “Japanese Rubber and Iron Investments in Malaya, 1900–1941,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 5, no. 1 (March 1974): 35. (From JSTOR via NLB's eResources website); “General News: A Japanese Send-Off,” *Broome Chronicle and Nor'West Advertiser*, 4 February 1911, 2, Trove, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article260021507>.
- 16 “For Sale—A Bargain,” *Nor-West Echo*, 30 November 1912, 3, Trove, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article257628059>; “The Licensing Act, 1911 (Eighth Schedule): Notice of Application to Remove License to Other Premises,” *Nor-West Echo*, 13 December 1913, 3, Trove, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article257687982>; 南洋新報 (*Nan'yō Shinpō*), 22 June 1912, 7, Hoover Institution Library & Archives, <https://hojishinbun.hoover.org/en/newspapers/nao19120622-01.1.7>.
- 17 南洋新報 (*Nan'yō Shinpō*), 22 June 1912; 南洋新報 (*Nan'yō Shinpō*), 29 June 1912, 5, Hoover Institution Library & Archives, <https://hojishinbun.hoover.org/en/newspapers/nao19120629-01.1.5>.
- 18 南洋新報 (*Nan'yō Shinpō*), 30 October 1912, 10, Hoover Institution Library & Archives, <https://hojishinbun.hoover.org/en/newspapers/nao19121030-01.1.10>; 伊藤友治郎 (Itō Tomojirō), ed., 南洋年鑑 (*Nan'yō Nenkan*), vol. 4. 東京: 日南公司南洋調査部 (Tōkyō: Nichinan Kōshi Nan'yō Chōsabu), 1920, 98, National Diet Library Digital Collections, <https://dl.ndl.go.jp/en/pid/950490/1/66>.
- 19 南洋新報 (*Nan'yō Shinpō*), 14 May 1913, 10, Hoover Institution Library & Archives, <https://hojishinbun.hoover.org/en/newspapers/nao19130514-01.1.10>.
- 20 南洋新報 (*Nan'yō Shinpō*), 1 April 1914, 3, Hoover Institution Library & Archives, <https://hojishinbun.hoover.org/en/newspapers/nao19140401-01.1.3>; Ehime Prefectural Lifelong Learning Center, データベース『えひめの記憶』(*Detabēsu “Ehime no Kioku”*), <https://www.i-manabi.jp/system/regionals/regionals/ecode:2/57/view/7503>; Kōno and Kōbunkan Shuppanbu, *Nan'yō Sōran*, 868.
- 21 Itō, *Nan'yō Nenkan*, vol. 4, 98; 南洋新報 (*Nan'yō Shinpō*), 21 May 1913, 10, Hoover Institution Library & Archives, <https://hojishinbun.hoover.org/en/newspapers/nao19130521-01.1.10>.
- 22 From the 1870s to 1920s, Japanese brothels were primarily concentrated around Malay Street, Malabar Street and Hylam Street—an area that now forms part of Bugis Junction shopping mall.

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