

CHAPTER FOUR

‘They don’t know what went on underneath’

Three little-known Filipino/Malay communities of Torres Strait¹

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This chapter introduces three little-known Filipino/Malay ‘outstation’ communities, which arose on islands in Torres Strait between about 1890 and 1942. Smaller and more transient than their home communities on Thursday Island, they existed at a time when Europeans exercised stringent control over the movements, marriages and marine employment of the Asian population of Torres Strait. They have their own intrinsic historical interest, as well as shedding light on the activities of two numerically large and culturally rich, though economically and politically subordinated, Asian groups and the contributions made by their locally born wives and children. They are the only Asian communities that were established independently by their members away from Thursday Island, although they had the tacit official sanction that was essential for their survival. Once that sanction was withdrawn, they could not endure. Self-initiated, self-reliant, self-governing Asian (and Pacific Islander) communities such as these illustrate some of the ways in which immigrants pursued their economic and family interests in prewar Torres Strait. Such communities subverted the control of the dominant European minority and call into question previous assumptions about the apparently passive response to it. Two of them demonstrate intriguing continuities and discontinuities between first- and second-generation residents and thus illustrate the emergence of

a new social identity, predicated less on ethnic origin than on local connections and a common sensibility bred from physical proximity and shared life experiences. This place-based identity eroded ethnic boundaries and promoted inter-group marriages. The result was a new generation, locally born and of mixed descent, which forced policy-makers to multiply 'racial' categories in an increasingly desperate attempt to maintain their control (see also Regina Ganter's Chapter Nine, this volume).²

Despite the light they shed on Asian-Indigenous-European social relations, there is little discussion of these outstation communities in the literature, with the exception of Osborne and Perdon,³ and a few accounts appearing in popular magazines, newspapers and unpublished correspondence and reports.⁴ Because so little has been written about the Filipino/Malay diaspora in Torres Strait, I have sought to clarify some general issues before introducing the communities that are the subject of the chapter.

Community

I define 'community' here as a spatially bounded aggregation of individuals and families, bound by bonds of ethnic origin, social values, kinship and intermarriage, with each member fulfilling a multiplicity of social roles and with some (unspecified) temporal continuity. To qualify for inclusion here, they must also have been self-initiated and acknowledged as predominantly Filipino or 'Malay' in values, outlook, customs and way of life.

Fitting these criteria are three communities: one on Horn Island, one on Badu and one at Port Lihou (see Figure D).⁵ I do not discuss the early polyethnic settlements of the Prince of Wales Group (including Thursday Island), in which no single group predominated, nor, despite the Filipino descent of most of its pioneers, the Roman Catholic mission on Keriri (Hammond Island), which was established with government approval and oversight and where the prevailing ethos was religious rather than overtly socio-cultural. Also excluded from this overview are the families of mixed Filipino/Malay-Indigenous descent, who settled on the outer islands.⁶ These families constituted a spatially scattered 'outsider' minority, dominated numerically and culturally by Torres Strait Islanders. Unlike their 'free' cousins on non-reserve islands, the descendants were designated as 'Aboriginals' and have always identified primarily as Torres Strait Islanders.

'Malay' and 'Filipino' as Problematic Terms

The word 'Malay' in 19th-century northern Australia was an omnibus geographical and racial term, which obscures rather than clarifies geographical origins.⁷ It does not readily translate into contemporary geopolitical realities.

At times it refers to Macassarese and Buginese, and at other times to divers from the Sulu Islands, north of Sarawak; it also refers to Malays from the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, to people from Koepang, Timor, including both those of Portuguese-Malay descent and natives of the islands of Roti, Sawu and Alor, and occasionally also to Javanese and Filipinos, or Manilamen.⁸

For Martinez, 'Malay' was an 'ambiguous colonial construction which was loosely based on notions of 'racial' grouping'.⁹ She notes that in prewar Darwin — like Thursday Island a polyethnic pearling port — the term 'encompassed a number of different ethnic groups including peoples from Singapore, Java, Maluku, Timor and Sulawesi'. In Torres Strait, the term appears to have included not only 'natives of Java and the Straits Settlements', but all the peoples of insular South-East Asia, i.e., of modern-day Borneo, East Timor, Indonesia (Dutch East Indies), Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand (Siam), who were physically characterised as having lighter skin and straighter hair than 'Papuan'. Sometimes different groups are enumerated independently, such as the Javanese and Koepangers. This was not a reflection of Indigenous categories but rather of the nature of the legal treaties signed by Great Britain with other powers, to which the Australian colonies were subject.¹⁰ That is, the men were classified and treated differently under law depending on whether their original islands were colonial possessions of Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Portugal or Spain. This classification had ramifications for those who wished to settle permanently, marry, seek naturalisation and engage in business in the Australian colonies.

The majority of the 'Malays' came from the Dutch East Indies; the 'Manila men' from the Philippines, a Spanish colony before 1898. When the prominent Filipino businessman, Heriberto Zarcal, was naturalised on 17 May, 1897, it was on the grounds of being 'a native born of a European State', i.e., a Spanish subject (see also Reynaldo Iletto's Chapter Five, this volume).¹¹ He had simply to attend before a Magistrate's Bench and take the oath,¹² his lawyer arguing

that the Philippine Islands, the birthplace of Mr Heriverto Zarcal is a Spanish possession and as such might be said to be a portion of a European State, and entitles Mr Zarcal to receive a Certificate of Naturalisation under Section 5 of the Aliens Act of 1867.¹³

Confusing the issue even further is the fact that the term 'Malay' was even more broadly generalised in the popular imagination:

Though we called them Malays they were an assortment of Eastern people, and included men from all over the Malay Archipelago, from Ceylon and

parts of India, and from lands even farther afield [including North Africa]. Most of them had been attracted to North Queensland by the pearl-shell industry at Thursday Island, considerable numbers being employed as crews on the luggers; others found work ashore in that town of varied nationalities.¹⁴

Sometimes, 'Malay' and 'Kanaka' were used interchangeably:

These men [pearl-shell station labourers], who are spoken of under the comprehensive term of 'Kanakas', are for the most part Malays: the remainder being a motley collection of Manila men, Fijians, natives of New Hebrides, and brown-skinned Polynesians from various Pacific Islands.¹⁵

Although 'Malay' and 'Manila men' could be synonyms in the official documents of 19th-century north Queensland, 'Manila men' is less problematic. It generally referred to people from the Philippine islands, the term 'Filipino' being far less common in Torres Strait. The majority of the 'Manila men' came from coastal villages of Cebu, Leyte, Luzon, Masbate, Panay and Samar, but a minority came from the Philippines dependency of the Marianas, including Guam.¹⁶ Once settled in Torres Strait, some married local Indigenous women from the strait and Cape York, some married British immigrants, while others sought wives from the convents of Portuguese Macao and Hong Kong.¹⁷ Few of the wives were Philippines-born. The Europeans of Thursday Island branded them all as 'Manila', but the conflation rankled:

The frequency with which the term 'Manila' is applied erroneous [sic] to many men and women is resented by proper Manila residents of the island. A distinction should be made between Manilas and other Philipinos. There is but one real Manila woman on Thursday Island, Mrs Denas Lampane [Demas Lampano]; the other are either natives of Hong Kong, Macao, or other eastern place, born of Portuguese parents. A term 'Manila' should only be given to those Philipino people who are, properly speaking, natives of Manila city or the provinces of which it is the capital.¹⁸

Beyond the geopolitical and racial distinctions lay a religious dimension. 'Malays' were predominantly Muslim, the 'Manila men' Roman Catholics. On Thursday Island, for the most part, the two groups lived in separate boarding houses, practised different customs and tended to marry within their faiths. There were occasional fights between them, but the grievances may have been more personal than racial.¹⁹ Catholic Filipinos celebrated their (legally recorded) marriages in church;²⁰ Muslims tended to celebrate theirs 'Malay fashion', contracted between families but not officially recorded. As such, they were not recognised by the colonial authorities who viewed them as 'often only legitimised prostitution'.²¹

Yet another complication arises from the local inter-war usage of 'Malay', 'Coloured' and 'Thursday Island half-caste' as synonyms. The terms were used interchangeably to refer to the residents of Thursday Island of mixed heritage (mostly Filipino/Malay/Indigenous), who were technically exempted from control by the Protection Acts and compulsorily evacuated to the mainland, along with Europeans, in 1942.

First Arrivals

It is not known exactly when men from insular South-East Asia began to arrive in Torres Strait. The standard historical works are vague, generally adducing the early 1880s. There is, however, evidence that from 1870, the year that commercial quantities of pearl shell were first discovered, Filipinos and Indonesians were being brought to the strait by European captains to dive for shell and to gather *bêche-de-mer*.²² In 1873, Frank Jardine, Police Magistrate at Somerset, wrote of the possibility of engaging 'three Kanakas or Manilla men' as boat crews for one-third the wages of Whites.²³ The movement of men to the region was facilitated by the commencement of the Singapore mail service to Somerset in 1873,²⁴ and the introduction of diving apparatus in 1874 provided opportunities for 'Malays' to earn high wages as divers and tenders. Payment for divers was rarely less than £200 a year, a vast sum by the standards of the day. Although non-Europeans earned considerably less, they were still better paid than most of their countrymen.

Many get between £6 and £10 per month and a levy of so much per ton on their own catch; one diver at one of the stations gets a fixed sum of £250 a year and no levy; at another station the divers employed get £5 a month and £20 per ton on the amount of shell they get; last year these divers must have taken close on £340 apiece.²⁵

Tumultuous political events at home, such as the Cavite uprising in the Philippines in 1872, the Dutch invasion of Aceh in 1873 and the beginning of British colonisation of the Malay Peninsula in 1874, the new mail service and the rapidly expanding marine industries, brought many men to Torres Strait and there are numerous references to 'Malays' working in various capacities during the mid- to late 1870s.²⁶

Those first individuals made their way independently to Torres Strait during the pearl rush, like the many hundreds of seamen from all over the world. Few immigration controls existed before Federation of the Australian colonies and little documentary evidence remains of their movements. Labour was in short supply across all of northern Australia and, as early as 1846, enterprising sea captains had begun to look to South-East Asia to recruit crews

and general labourers.²⁷ The first documentary evidence of similar enterprises in Torres Strait is when Captain Francis Cadell brought 20 'Malays', probably from either Guam or the Marianas, to work in the fisheries in March 1877.²⁸ He told the local Police Magistrate that he had shipped them 'with the consent of the Spanish Authorities and in the presence of the British Consul'.²⁹ By 1879, 'Malay' indents were being imported from Singapore and islands of the Dutch East Indies, with bonds being entered into to return the men to their port of engagement,³⁰ and, in the next year, 213 'Malays and Asiatics' made up a little more than one-quarter of the workforce of 801 people employed on the 11 pearl stations (the Chinese were enumerated separately).³¹

In 1877, the Somerset settlement was removed to Thursday Island. No 'Malays' were among the official party that accompanied the removal, but at least five 'Malays' were among the 23 striking prisoners transferred across to the new lockup: Juan Francis, Kitchell, Alli Java, Aurelio Rido and Sulliman.³² Individuals also continued to sign on privately in Australian ports for service on the pearling boats and stations. One of them,

Domingo, a Manilla man, signed articles for the lugger *Mamoose* as boat hand in Sydney on 17th August 1881 ... This man was sent to Thursday Island in the N. I. steamer *William McKinnon* to serve in any of the boats or on the station belonging to O'Hagan and Macalister. The *William McKinnon* arrived at Thursday Island on the 27th August 1881.³³

Domingo was accompanied by two countrymen, one of whom had been staying in the same Sydney boarding house. Domingo, like many others, was probably alerted to employment opportunities by a 'Malay' maritime network in Asian and Pacific ports similar to the Pacific Islander network. On Thursday Island, they lived in the boarding houses of Malaytown, owned or run by their countrymen, who lent them money, supplied them with liquor (beer, not spirits for many Muslims) and provided gaming rooms.

By the time of the first Thursday Island census in about 1885, and henceforth in most government reports, 'Malays' and 'Manila men' were formally distinguished.³⁴ Less than a decade after the establishment of the settlement, they were numerically dominant and together outnumbered Europeans: 77 'Malays' (one of whom was a woman) and 49 'Manila men' out of a total of 307, of whom 139 were Europeans. The newly arrived Catholic priest wrote to his superior in 1884 that there were 'about forty Filipinos' living on Thursday Island and 'about four hundred Catholics from Manila scattered amongst the various islands. They were there fishing for pearls'.³⁵

Mass Indenture

The rapid increase in the 'Malay' population was the direct result of systematic mass indenture. For some time it had become apparent that Pacific Islander labour, hitherto the mainstay of the maritime industries, was to be curtailed and the pearlers were desperate to find new and reliable sources of supply. Unlike the previous hit-and-miss system, in which individual firms employed stowaways, crews of passing vessels or men recruited from southern Australian ports, the pearlers began to rely on middlemen to supply their labour requirements from Asian ports, usually Singapore (then also a British colonial possession). Large groups of seamen were collected by an agent and signed a shipping agreement under the supervision of the Shipping Master at Singapore for a fixed term (from 18 months to three years) at a fixed rate of pay. The agreements were subsequently ratified and confirmed by his counterpart on Thursday Island and the men were then allotted to firms as required. At the end of their period of indenture, they were expected to return to their port of origin,³⁶ but some resigned at the end of their term while still on Thursday Island.³⁷

The scheme's antecedents can be traced to the actions of the local Police Magistrate, H. M. Chester. Shortly before the annexation of the outer Torres Strait islands in 1879, he had written to the Colonial Secretary requesting a boat to enable him to supervise and control the fisheries and soon-to-be-annexed islands. To save money, he suggested that he 'should be authorised to get the Malay crew from Singapore by mail steamer, cost about £30'.³⁸ The request was granted and, in June 1879, he 'wrote to Capt Ellis, Master Attendant at Singapore, requesting him to select a suitable crew of Malays who will probably arrive by the down Mail in July'.³⁹

In early 1882, the first consignment destined to be sent to work at various pearling stations was imported by the trading firm, Burns Philp & Co. Ltd. Among them was the Filipino, Lothario, who arrived 'with a batch of other Malays and Manilla men from Singapore' in 1882 and was allotted to a station on Mabuiag.⁴⁰ A second group of 49 men was shipped by the S.S. *Hungarian* in November 1882 and the agreements were ratified on Thursday Island on 22 December, 1882.⁴¹ With one exception, all were either Malay or Filipino.⁴² They signed articles for three years at 7 dollars a month and received three months advance on their wages in Singapore.

Once allotted to the shelling stations, the men's agreements could be transferred or terminated by the managers. Some were guaranteed a passage back to their home port on expiry of their contracts but some were not, a source of discontent that often found its way into the local court. The majority were employed as seamen. Abdul Rahman, however, was employed as a general

servant to cook and wash for the clerks at Burns Philp & Co., although he complained to the court that he 'didn't sign to cook and wash'.⁴³ The original consignment details have been lost but we can gauge the success of the enterprise by court details and other primary sources: agreements were signed on 31 November, 1883, 14 July, 1884,⁴⁴ and 15 November, 1884;⁴⁵ 60 'fresh men' arrived in early April 1885, with a further 90 expected later that month;⁴⁶ and 60 arrived on 26 September, 1885.⁴⁷ By the outbreak of World War II, when the practice effectively ceased, many hundreds of 'Malays' had worked as indentured labour in the fisheries of Torres Strait (see Table 2.1). Only a small number, however, settled there permanently.

The fortunes of the Filipino/Malay communities of Torres Strait were ultimately decided not so much by individual decision as by external circumstances: the prosperity of the marine industries on which their livelihoods depended, official tolerance, legal and administrative restrictions and the outbreak of war. The relative numerical strength of the two communities declined abruptly in 1905 as a result of the departure of mainly Malay and Filipino crews to Dutch waters in September of that year, regional economic decline, the restrictions of the White Australia Policy and Aboriginal Protection Acts and the deaths of some older members. Indentured Malay and Filipino labour continued to be imported until the outbreak of World War II,⁴⁸ but it was far outnumbered by Japanese.

Some Characteristics of the Malay/Filipino Immigrants

Unlike the Chinese, Japanese and Sri Lankans, the Malay and Filipino immigrants tended to marry local Indigenous women, although the Filipinos also sought wives from the convents of Portuguese Macao and Goa.⁴⁹ They were encouraged to become naturalised by the Government Resident, Hon. John Douglas, and 16 did so between 1886 and 1900 (see Table 4.1).⁵⁰ For Douglas, naturalisation was reserved for immigrants of any ethnic origin who 'had proved themselves worthy of such a privilege', who were married, of good reputation, 'possessed of means' and able to speak and write English.⁵¹ The importance of naturalisation lay in the fact that, while it was not a precondition for residence or marriage, it was so for property ownership, boat-licensing and leaseholding. Under the terms of the Immigration Restriction Acts, indents could apply each year for their Certificate of Exemption. For long-term residents in work and of good character, this was a mere formality. This situation changed after Federation, however, and particularly stringent restrictions on long-term residence and marriage were in place during the inter-war years. Nevertheless, even during this period, a number of indents managed

to circumvent official disapproval and marry the locally born daughters of the original immigrants. Generally speaking, it was the families of Asian-Indigenous descent who returned to Thursday Island after the war. By then, inter-group marriage had rendered the former ethnic barriers almost meaningless and, with few exceptions — the Malay Club, for example — there was no real push to reconstitute the institutional foundations of the prewar communities.

Table 4.1: Naturalised Malays/Filipinos, 1886–1900

<i>Name and occupation</i>	<i>Place of birth</i>	<i>Date of naturalisation</i>
Batchoo, diver	c.1849 at Macassar	26 June, 1886
Pedro Galora, diver	c.1840 at Cebu, Philippine Islands	10 April, 1889
Anthony Spain (Antonio Puerte), tailor	c.1863 at Cebu, Philippine Islands	16 April, 1889
Raphael Louis Castro, diver	c.1854 at Vigan, Philippine Islands	29 April, 1889
Tayib, diver	c.1862 at Singapore	30 November, 1891
Henrique Elarde, pearl-sheller	c.1863 at Philippine Islands	16 May, 1892
Ambrosio Lucio Artigoza (Alcala), pearl-sheller	c.1867 at Philippine Islands	16 May, 1892
Benito Lanzarote, billiard-room proprietor	c.1865 at Philippine Islands	23 June, 1892
Tolentino Conanan, pearl-sheller	c.1856 at Philippine Islands	23 June, 1892
Matthew Roderick (Matteo Rodriguez), pearl-sheller	c.1862 at Philippine Islands	23 June, 1892
Marcos Peres, diver and boatowner	c.1852 at Philippine Islands	29 June, 1892
Marcelino Rapol, diver	c.1863 at Philippine Islands	7 April, 1894
Nicholas de la Cruz, diver	c.1864 at Philippine Islands	7 April, 1894
Pablo Remedio, pearl-sheller	c.1864 at Philippine Islands	24 January, 1895
Pedro Guivarra, pearl-sheller and diver	c.1869 at Philippine Islands	11 December, 1896
Heriberto Zarcas, jeweller and pearl-sheller	c.1864 at Philippine Islands	17 May, 1897

Source: *Register of aliens naturalised 1876–92*. SCT/CF35-37, QSA.

The occupational range of Filipinos and Malays was more diverse than is generally recognised: *bêche-de-mer* fisher, billiard marker, billiard-room proprietor, boarding-house keeper, carpenter, commission agent, cook, deck

hand, crew, diver, foreman, goldsmith, hairdresser, jeweller, labourer, laundryman, lugger-owner, pearl-sheller, pump hand, sail-maker, servant, shell sorter, shell packer, skipper, store clerk, storekeeper, storeman, tender, waterman, woodcutter. Depending on status and marital circumstances, they were housed in dormitories or cottages on the pearling stations of the Prince of Wales Group adjacent to Thursday Island — Goods, Muralag, Ngarupai, Wai Weer Islands⁵² — or rented small dwellings on Thursday Island, or spent the off-season in boarding houses run by Filipinos and Malays on the eastern end of Thursday Island itself, among the small gambling shops, opium dens, bathhouses and brothels of Malaytown. Here, the police rarely penetrated without provocation. A minority of married Malays and Filipinos, however, established themselves in more secluded communities, close to countrymen and kinfolk, away from the segregation and prejudice of the European-dominated spaces and surveillance by Europeans. It is those communities that are the subject of this chapter.

The Filipino Community of Horn Island (c.1889–1942)

The best-documented and longest-lasting of the three independently established and self-reliant communities was located at Ngarupai (Horn Island), directly south of the township of Thursday Island and easily accessed by boat. It was settled by a small number of naturalised Filipino divers, who had married local Indigenous women and had become marine entrepreneurs. Their main motivation was apparently their desire to raise their families among countrymen of like mind, away from the crowded conditions of Port Kennedy, and to pursue their economic interests without constant oversight.

Horn Island is a large, low island, bounded on three sides by mangroves and mud flats,⁵³ but there is a good beach on the north-west side.⁵⁴ Like others of the Prince of Wales Group, it forms part of Kaurareg traditional territory and Kaurareg births on Horn Island are attested (in later marriage records) from the 1870s. Many of those who survived the early depopulation were removed to other islands by government decree but began to return after World War II. The returning Kaurareg first settled on Galora family land but, in deference to the prior claim, established present-day Wasaga village not far away to the south-west.⁵⁵

In 1894, commercial quantities of alluvial gold were discovered on Horn Island, causing a flurry of excitement and attracting mainly European miners to the field. The island was officially proclaimed a gold field on 31 August, 1894, Mining Homestead Leases were granted on the east side and operations began immediately.⁵⁶ Several mines were established and a small township surveyed in

1896. By 1897, however, the mines were declared unprofitable, the companies were in debt, prospecting was 'pretty well dead' and most of the miners had left.⁵⁷ Some prospecting continued until the turn of the century but, with the exception of a single mine reopened in about 1990,⁵⁸ 'the hills of Horn Island were claimed by Malayans and Filipinos who built houses, grew vegetables, paw paw fruit, bananas and pineapples'.⁵⁹

In fact, at least five years before the discovery of gold in the eastern part of Horn Island, the 'Malayans and Filipinos' had established a small outstation for themselves on the north-west foreshore 'from the location of today's Wongai Hotel along the beach to the site of the present wharf complex'.⁶⁰ In October 1889, a few months after his naturalisation, the Filipino diver, Pedro Galora, known locally as Peter Manila, and his wife, Clara Gonelai from Mabuiag (Jervis Island), were living in their own house on Horn Island.⁶¹ They may even have moved there soon after their marriage in June 1888, on the understanding that Galora's application for a lease would be approved. Thursday Island Courthouse records and the *Somerset Register of Births* attest that also squatting there between 1889 and 1890, when the situation was regularised by the granting of Galora's lease, were four of his countrymen, who formed the nucleus of the community: Raphael Louis Castro (Louis Manila) and Caroline, his Aboriginal wife from Somerset;⁶² Gregorio Leon Fabian (or Pavian) and his wife, Kuruwara Philomena from Gebar (Two Brothers Island), whose third child, Clara, was the first child born to the community in 1889;⁶³ Pablo Remedio and his wife, Caroline from Mer (Murray Island); and Ramon Roas and his wife, Mary Ann Kass (or Kias) from Mua (Banks Island).

On 1 June, 1890, Galora, who became the community's unofficial spokesman and mediator with outsiders, took out Special Lease 415 on three acres of ground on the western side of the island for a fishing station. The lease was granted for 21 years at an annual rental of £4.10 for the first seven years.⁶⁴ In November 1890, the rest of the island was opened for Occupation Licence.⁶⁵ Ellen McNulty, widow of the publican on Thursday Island and an astute businesswoman, took out a lease of 10 acres in December 1892 to run cattle, but it was cancelled in August 1901.⁶⁶ It specifically excluded Galora's lease, which was paid to 31 May, 1896, and written off on 1 February, 1897.⁶⁷ No further leases were granted and, by 1902, there were 'no reservations, occupations, licences or pastoral leases issued for Horn Island, nor are there any been issued for the last twelve months by the Crown'.⁶⁸ Squatters were sighted on the southern shore of Horn Island, perhaps Kaurareg, woodcutters or discharged seamen such as the 'Malay', Charlie Omar, who lived simply on fish he caught illegally in traps.⁶⁹ The island's mangrove stands were a source of timber and firewood for Thursday Islanders and groups of woodcutters would set up

temporary shore camps. Since the island was now Crown land, they needed fuel licences to cut them down: in July 1902, the 'Malays', Dayman, Osen, Bendara, Solomon and Nariga, were charged with cutting timber on Crown lands at Horn Island without licences and Dayman was fined a total of £3.7.4.⁷⁰ He had constructed a 'humpy' on the south-west part of the island and had piled up the wood in front of it. Dayman gave evidence that he had been punting over to Horn Island and cutting firewood for about eight years for his countryman, Thomas Bolan Toulasik. Toulasik, a Timorese storekeeper on Thursday Island, employed him on contract, paying him 14/- a cord for long wood and 7/- a cart-load for short wood.

The island's reversion to Crown land did not affect the Filipino community of Horn Island, which was generally left alone by local authorities. Presumably this was in recognition of the families' long residence and good behaviour and the difficulties of resettling them on Thursday Island, much of which was reserved for military use and where children of Asian-Indigenous descent were becoming an embarrassment to officialdom. The community grew steadily to about 150 in 1895, after which there was a decline to 113 in 1900, 92 in 1902 and 42 in 1903, followed by an increase to 49 the next year and to 73 in 1906.⁷¹ Among its early attested members were Gregorio Aguerre and his wife, Emilia Wanto from Cape Grenville; Pedro Assacruz and his wife, Kodo from Batavia River; Nazario Orbulio (Bullio) and his wife, Maria Inez from Hong Kong; Matteo (Matthew) Canendo and his wife, Katie Wanto from Cape Grenville; Jaspas Cornelius; Thomas Dorales; Florentio Manantan and his wife, Kondia from Batavia River; Mariano; Dorotheo San Miguel and his wife, Lizzie from Batavia River; Sylvestre Laurentino Petro Lima (Leon Sylvestre) and his wife, Maria Migel from Cape Verde. Lucio Jerusalem (Hermida) and his wife, Marsela from Seven Rivers, are recorded as living for a time in Mariano's house. Charles Hodges and his wife, Dinah Walton, who were related by marriage to the Assacruz family of Horn Island, also had a house there for a time. There were almost 70 recorded births on Horn Island between 1889 and 1932 (see Table 4.2), but this is an underestimate, since not all births were recorded and some children, e.g., Henry Victor Hodges and Mary Galora Bowie, were born on Thursday Island to families resident on Horn Island. The list also includes children who did not survive to adulthood and at least one, Jena Ah Boo, who was born at the gold-mining camp, when her father was mining at Horn Island.⁷²

Table 4.2: Horn Island births 1889–1932

<i>DOB</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Father's POB</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Mother's POB</i>
10/8/1889	Clara	Leon Gregorio Fabian	Philippines	Philomena	Gebar, TS, Q
5/1/1890	Joseph	Pablo Remedio	Philippines	Caroline Maria Lifu	Mer, TS, Q
20/2/1891	Sebelo	Ramon Roas (Raymond)	Philippines	Mary Ann Kass	Mua, TS, Q
19/11/1891	Ambrosio	Pedro Galora	Philippines	Clara Gonelai	Mabuiag, TS, Q
13/6/1892	Antonia Inez	Nazario Orbulio (Bullio)	Philippines	Maria Inez Francisco	Hong Kong
29/12/1892	John	Ramon Roas (Raymond)	Philippines	Mary Ann Kass	Mua, TS, Q
27/4/1893	Pedro	Dorotheo San Miguel	Philippines	Lizzie	Batavia River, Q
c.1894	Mercedes	Nazario Orbulio (Bullio)	Philippines	Maria Inez Francisco	Hong Kong
14/2/1894	Mathias Victor	Pablo Remedio	Philippines	Caroline Maria Lifu	Mer, TS, Q
23/2/1894	Kitty	Etam	Java	Topsy	Seven Rivers, Q
10/4/1894	Scholastica	Matthew Canendo	Philippines	Kathleen (Katie) Wanto	Cape Grenville, Q
27/1/1895	Bridget	Dorotheo San Miguel	Philippines	Lizzie	Batavia River, Q
10/6/1895	Maria Theresa	Ramon Roas (Raymond)	Philippines	Mary Ann Kass (Kias)	Mua, TS, Q
5/7/1895	Mary Cecelia	Usop	Singapore	Mona	Batavia River, Q
15/12/1895	Maria Theresa	Pedro Assacruz	Philippines	Kodo	Batavia River, Q
4/2/1896	Andreas (Andrew)	Matthew Canendo	Philippines	Kathleen (Katie) Wanto	Cape Grenville, Q
29/6/1896	Mary	Moyden	India	Maggie	Torres Strait, Q
2/6/1898	Marcellino	Matthew Canendo	Philippines	Kathleen (Katie) Wanto	Cape Grenville, Q
c.1899	Catherine Jaira	Solomon Amboyn	Borneo	Saradha	Nagi, TS, Q
13/4/1901	Pattiemmo	Solomon Amboyn	Borneo	Saradha	Nagi, TS, Q
4/3/1902	Casimero	Florentio Manantan	Philippines	Kondia	Batavia River, Q
4/3/1902	Sam (Zitha)	Florentio Manantan	Philippines	Kondia	Batavia River, Q

continued

Table 4.2: continued

<i>DOB</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Father's POB</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Mother's POB</i>
c.1903	Jessie	Jimmy Malay (Goentjoel)	Java	Para	Cape Grenville, Q
4/8/1903	Dominica	Gregorio Aguere	Philippines Q	Emilia Wanto	Cape Grenville,
12/10/1903	Jelany	Solomon Amboyn	Borneo	Saradha	Nagi, TS, Q
14/11/1903	Adolfo	Pedro Assacruz	Philippines	Kodo	Batavia River, Q
26/2/1905	Napsia	Usop	Singapore	Mona	Batavia River, Q
11/8/1905	Milon Henry	Mile Bin Lehou (Botaweer)	Java	Cassamina Seden	Prince of Wales Island, TS, Q
13/11/1905	Magno Stanislaus	Magno Lloren	Philippines	Felicia Pitt	Halfway Island, TS, Q
28/3/1906	Sisto	Pedro Assacruz	Philippines	Kodo	Batavia River, Q
18/5/1906	Catharina	Emilio Pelayo	Hong Kong	Johanna Fabian	Thursday Island, TS, Q
19/6/1906	Ismail	Solomon Amboyn	Borneo	Saradha	Nagi, TS, Q
16/10/1906	Incarnacion	Telesforo Aguilar	Philippines	Minnie Savage	Croydon, Q
7/2/1907	Isabella	Magno Lloren	Philippines	Felicia Pitt	Halfway Island, TS, Q
24/2/1907	Maria Trinidad	Juan Blanco	Philippines	Annie	Cape York, Q
20/6/1907	Esa	Usop	Singapore	Mona	Batavia River, Q
5/4/1908	Lorenzo	Magno Lloren	Philippines	Felicia Pitt	Halfway Island, TS, Q
9/9/1908	Agnes	Felix Mayor	Philippines	Johanna Fabian	Thursday Island, TS, Q
16/11/1908	Jena	Hassan Ah Boo	Singapore	Lass Seden	Thursday Island, TS, Q
17/1/1909	Cyriaca	Lucas MacBire	Philippines	Diana	Seven Rivers, Q
18/5/1909	Celestina	Juan Blanco	Philippines	Annie	Cape York, Q
23/11/1909	Cecilia	Eustachio Sim	Philippines	Maria Eusebia Galora	Thursday Island, TS, Q
12/12/1909	Rosalina	Cornelio Francis Villanova (Garcia)	Puruma, TS, Q	Antonio Bullio	Horn Island, TS, Q
24/12/1909	Gelanie	Massat Solomon	Somerset, Q	Charlotte Hodges	Thursday Island, TS, Q
24/12/1910	Philomena	Juan Blanco	Philippines	Annie	Cape York, Q

continued

Table 4.2: continued

<i>DOB</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Father's POB</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Mother's POB</i>
28/1/1911	Juliana	Lucas MacBire	Philippines	Kondia	Batavia River, Q
14/8/1911	Joseph	Cornelio Francis Villanova (Garcia)	Puruma, TS, Q	Antonio Bullio	Horn Island, TS, Q
8/10/1911	Henry Frederick Solomon (Massat)	Massat Solomon	Somerset, Q	Charlotte Hodges	Thursday Island, TS, Q
3/7/1912	James	Harry Hodges	Burke Island, TS, Q	Ellen Cecelia Edgar	Gregory Downs, Q
8/11/1912	Alphonso			Mercedes Bullio	Horn Island, TS, Q
16/4/1913	Maria	Lucas MacBire	Philippines	Kondia	Batavia River, Q
16/4/1913	Michael	Lucas MacBire	Philippines	Kondia	Batavia River, Q
9/10/1913	Martha	Massat Solomon	Somerset, Q	Charlotte Hodges	Thursday Island, TS, Q
11/7/1914	Jessie Ellen			Marian Moyden	Morecambe Bay, Q
22/7/1914	Mariano Manuel (Celestino)	Cornelio Francis Villanova (Garcia)	Puruma, TS, Q	Antonio Bullio	Horn Island, TS, Q
8/9/1914	Ambrosia			Mercedes Bullio	Horn Island, TS, Q
16/10/1914	Osman	Massat Solomon	Somerset, Q	Charlotte Hodges	Thursday Island, TS, Q
12/11/1914	Gilbert Henry	Harry Hodges	Burke Island, TS, Q	Ellen Cecelia Edgar	Gregory Downs, Q
24/1/1915	Jack	Willie Smoke	Timor	Pattiembo Amboyn	Horn Island, TS, Q
29/7/1915	Horace	John Raymond	Horn Island, TS, Q	Jenon Abrahams	Thursday Island, TS, Q
23/10/1915	James William Hodges	Massat Solomon	Somerset, Q	Charlotte Hodges	Thursday Island, TS, Q
12/11/1915	Unnamed male	Harry Hodges	Burke Island, TS, Q	Ellen Cecelia Edgar	Gregory Downs, Q
20/10/1916	Freddy (James William Massat)	Massat Solomon	Somerset, Q	Charlotte Hodges	Thursday Island, TS, Q
28/4/1918	Emma Emily Massat	Massat Solomon	Somerset, Q	Charlotte Hodges	Thursday Island, TS, Q

continued

Table 4.2: continued

DOB	Name	Father	Father's POB	Mother	Mother's POB
10/1/1920	Charles William Hodges	Joseph Lee	Mabuiag, TS, Q	Charlotte Hodges	Thursday Island, TS, Q
6/1/1922	Dora	Joseph Lee	Mabuiag, TS, Q	Charlotte Hodges	Thursday Island, TS, Q
27/5/1929	Dinah Gertie	Joseph Lee	Mabuiag, TS, Q	Charlotte Hodges	Thursday Island, TS, Q
18/9/1930	Peggy Norina Charlotte Hondo	Joseph Lee	Mabuiag, TS, Q	Charlotte Hodges	Thursday Island, TS, Q
8/1/1932	Pauline (Polly) Alice	Joseph Lee	Mabuiag, TS, Q	Charlotte Hodges	Thursday Island, TS, Q

Sources: *Somerset Register of Births and Marriages*; *Missionaries of the Sacred Heart Register of Baptisms 1884–94*; tombstone inscriptions.

The original nucleus of Filipino settlers shared a number of attributes beyond their geographical origin, deep Catholic beliefs and attachment to the Church. All had left the Spanish colony of the Philippines for the British colony of Queensland before the period of mass indenture, attracted to Torres Strait by employment opportunities, and they received good wages as pearl-shell divers. All continued to work in some capacity in the marine industries, some in small family businesses. All married local Indigenous women, decided to make Torres Strait their permanent home and were naturalised. Their wives were baptised in the church and their locally born children were brought up as Catholics. Prudent men, they had each saved enough money to invest in a small cutter (Galora the *Maria Eusebia*, Fabian the *Rosy* and Remedio the *Joseph*), registering with the Thursday Island Shipping Master as men-in-charge. Some began as pearl-shellers, socially among the most prestigious occupations in the strait, but oscillated as circumstances demanded between the more capital-intensive pearling industry and other niches, working *bêche-de-mer* and trochus along the eastern coast of Cape York with the assistance of their Aboriginal kinship networks. These were family businesses and relied for success on the labour of wives, affinal kin and even children. The women worked on the boats during the *bêche-de-mer* season, cooking, looking after children, gathering wood for the beach smokehouses and preparing the trepang for packing and export to the Chinese market; Aboriginal relatives provided labour in return for food and tobacco; and children dived for trepang and

collected wood from shore. The businesses prospered and were profitable enough to support their owners' and crews' families and maintain their boats and equipment. By 1893, Galora and Ambrosio each owned two boats (Galora's second boat was possibly named *Myrtle*) and gave their occupations as master divers.

The original Horn Island settlers chose to reside there for family and economic reasons: to live lives of privacy and self-sufficiency among countrymen, avoid the crowded conditions of Thursday Island, make gardens and raise fowls at a time when fresh vegetables, fruit and eggs were scarce and expensive, and facilitate the conduct of the men's businesses. Horn was close to Thursday Island but distant enough to allow the men and their families to live quietly among their kin and countrymen away from the prying eyes of the police and non-Filipino neighbours. Some descriptions of their houses and way of life survive in courthouse records and can be reconstituted in part from their descendants' stories. Each family maintained at least one small cutter not only to gather shell, trochus or *bêche-de-mer*, but to enable the family to row across the short passage to Thursday Island to deliver their produce, for entertainment, to attend church on Sundays and to buy provisions. Most of their food, however, except for flour, rice, salt, onions and potatoes, consisted of vegetables grown in the household gardens (tended by the wives), shellfish and crabs gathered near the shoreline by the women and children, fish every day, caught either by line by the women or by the men from their boats, and fruit from the coconut, banana, mango and pawpaw trees planted near their houses for food and privacy. They made the Filipino wine, *tuba*, from coconut blossoms 'and sometimes the village men returned from Vicente's place along the beach in the moonlight, happily intoxicated'.⁷³ They built small houses using the abundant local mangrove wood as supports, with iron roofs, floors of split bamboo in the Filipino fashion, one or perhaps two verandahs, usually no more than one or two bedrooms, an outside kitchen, a water tank, a fowl house and a well dug by the occupants with their neighbours' help. Lucio Jerusalem's house had 'a sort of grass humpy about 5 yards from the corner ... attached to the dwelling and part of the premises' connected to the house by 'a sort of mangrove covering'.⁷⁴ Behind the village there was a large patch of bamboo, planted by Galora, 'which was used to produce all manner of things from fishing spears to building materials'.⁷⁵ There was no electricity — it did not come to Thursday Island until 1932 — and the women cooked damper and scones in a Dutch oven and washed their clothes in the creek or with well water. Written and oral sources reveal complex networks of social and family relationships: Lucio Artigoza rented his house from Pedro Galora; when Lucio built his own house, Mariano lived there; Lucio and Charlie Hodges, brother-in-law of Gregoria Assacruz,

worked together on the boats; adult sons went crayfishing and shared with families who had no grown sons; families visited each other and their children played together.

A minority of the early community residents were Muslim Malays, Horn Island by 1895 having become 'a resort for all the crews of boats'.⁷⁶ Courthouse records attest the following Muslim Malay seamen as living on Horn: Etam from Java and his wife, Topsy from Seven Rivers; Jimmy Malay and his wife, Para from Cape Grenville; Sedora; and Solomon Amboyn from Borneo, who cut firewood for a living and was married to Saratha from Nagi (Mt Ernest Island) — their daughter, Martha, married the diver, Jaffa, from Singapore; their son, Massat, married Charlotte Hodges and Martha and Massat lived there until their deaths. Usop and his wife, Mona from Batavia River, lived in Lucio Artigoza's house for a time and Thomas Dorales, a friend of Lucio's, lived in Usop's house. Whatever the ethnic and religious differences between the Filipinos and Malays, they were transcended by interpersonal and kinship bonds maintained particularly by their Indigenous wives. Some of the Malay descendants married the children of Filipinos and adopted the Catholic faith. According to Monica Walton Gould, Muslims formed no part of the second-generation community she grew up in: by that time, religious attitudes had hardened and 'Catholics didn't mix with Muslims'.⁷⁷ It is significant that no Japanese, Chinese or Sri Lankans lived among them: members of these groups tended to be sojourners, not settlers, and there was some antagonism between them and 'Malays'.

According to Father Doyle, a church was built on Horn Island in the 1890s but fell into disrepair.⁷⁸ The Catholic Mission had opened a school for young New Guinea catechists in March 1896 on Thursday Island but transferred it to the more secluded environment of Horn Island a few months later.⁷⁹ The school was closed in November 1897 and the students repatriated after the Governor of New Guinea forbade the emigration of New Guineans. Nothing has survived of the former school or church building⁸⁰ and, until the opening of a new church in 1933, community members rowed over to the church on Thursday Island each Sunday for Mass.

Passage of the *Aboriginals Protection and Restriction of the Sale of Opium Act* in 1897 and its amendments negatively affected the business operations of members of the Horn Island Filipino community and their compatriots, as it was intended to do. Abductions by Filipinos (and others) of Cape York Aboriginal men and women by force or trickery had provoked several well-documented retaliatory attacks and murders and, to stem abuses, the Queensland Government had introduced the *Native Labourers Protection Act* of 1884,⁸¹ a precursor to the 1897 act. Under the latter, the carrying

of 'native' women or minors on boats became illegal and 'coloured men' were targeted by the newly appointed local Protector of Aboriginals.

Lacking alternative primary written sources or contradictory oral narratives, historians have necessarily relied on the official view of the apparently unproblematic matter of abuses.⁸² However, a review of the Protector's correspondence and trial evidence shows that circumstances regarding the presence of women and minors on boats were not always as straightforward as the indignant reports of local officials, missionaries and contemporary newspaper articles suggest. In 1900, for example, the Protector reported finding Galora, Fabian and Remedio in company with others at Hannibal Island. Everything was in order except that the men

had their wives and families with them. I saw the women on shore on the Island, and on the boats. I spoke to the men and pointed out the illegality of what they were doing and told them I would probably have to prosecute them. They all made excuse that the women were their lawful wives (as in fact they are) and that they were afraid to leave them on shore during their long absences. I told them that I would report the matter. Two of the men (Fabian and Remedio) promised to take out occupation licences for shore stations next year and the other (Pedro Galoria [Galora]) said he would probably stay on shore after Xmas and would not, in any case, take his wife with him again. The women are natives of Torres Straits Islands (Mabuiagi [sic] and Murray Islds.).⁸³

The Protector and police launched several successful prosecutions of 'coloured' trepangers in 1904 and 1905 for various offences, including 'harbouring an Aboriginal'. The men were convicted and fined but the trial evidence reveals more complex social relationships between Cape York people and the Horn Island Filipinos than a bare recital of the legal facts. More often than not the women concerned were relatives of the men's wives or wives of their crewmen: for example, Annie from Seven Rivers, who was accused of being harboured by Lucio Jerusalem (Hermida), was his wife's niece, who had come to pay her a visit.⁸⁴ By this time, most abuses were checked by the licensing of boats, the reduction of shipping articles from 12 to six months, more frequent police patrols and the appointment of a local Protector. Writing in 1904, the former Somerset Police Magistrate, Frank Jardine, compared the current situation with the early days of the *bêche-de-mer* industry:

those times, men, and manners are long since past, the spasmodic trade being now carried on by small cutters from Thursday Island, which, owing to the difficulty and restriction placed on procuring native labour, unless for missionary purposes, are manned by two men (usually Manila-men),

and at times by one, or a man and his wife, who sail the boat along the coast and procure local native labour, bound only by some verbal agreement, which is apparently satisfactory to the employee, as he is always ready and willing to 'come again' so long as the work does not take him away from his district; and the people engaged in the trade do not carry firearms, as by so doing they are afraid of putting weapons into the hands of their crew.⁸⁵

From that snapshot of the earliest community, bound by ties of geographical origin, occupation, marriage to Indigenous women and the raising of mixed-descent children, there is little in the historical record until after World War I. In the 1920s and 1930s, a 'second wave' of settlers came after the granting of a lease to Daniel Charles Hodges. Hodges was the son of an English father, Charles Hodges, and a Torres Strait Islander mother, Dinah Walton from Puruma (Coconut Island), who were recorded as having a house on Horn Island and lived there for a time. Daniel Hodges' aunt had married Gregoria (Guria) Assacruz, a member of one of the first families to settle on Horn and he knew and worked with several of the inhabitants. He was born on Haggerston Island in 1894 and served in the AIF in France, where he lost a leg. On 12 January, 1918, six months before his marriage, he applied to the Lands Commissioner on Thursday Island for a lease of 20 acres on Horn Island adjoining Mining Homestead Leases Nos. 3 and 8 'for the purpose of growing vegetables and cocoanuts'.⁸⁶ The land in question was situated on the north-west coast, adjoining Galora's lease. On 27 July, 1918, Daniel Hodges married Henrietta (Etta) Lockett, born on Badu of English-Torres Strait Islander descent. The couple would not at that time have been accepted into White society on Thursday Island, given the prevailing caste system; nor were they 'Aboriginals'. Hodges received official approval for an Informal Lease 412 for 10 years at £1 per annum beginning 1 December, 1918, rent payable in advance.⁸⁷ Like previous settlers, he planted mango, coconut and banana trees and dug a small well.

According to Monica Walton Gould, who moved with her family to Horn Island in the early 1930s, they and other members of Hodges' extended family followed Hodges, who encouraged them to build their houses on his land. By then, the Horn Island community numbered 35 to 40 people: most were Catholic and all were connected to each other and to the surviving first-generation Filipino residents by the dense, multiple bonds of kinship and association characteristic of rural, communally organised societies. It was now large enough to support its own church and, on Ascension Thursday 1933, the community welcomed visitors from Thursday and Hammond Islands to celebrate the opening of a 'picturesque' new Catholic Church, built by the residents, with a bamboo floor, coconut-thatch walls and an iron roof, 'nestled

away under the coconut trees'.⁸⁸ The photograph on p. 80 shows some of the old Filipino pearl divers present at the opening, who 'can tell some very interesting stories of their former fortunes and mishaps. Though their fortunes have long since passed away they still bear some evident signs of their mishaps.' Behind them stands the Hammond Island Mission priest, Fr McDermott, who celebrated Mass.

He came from Hammond Island that morning, bringing with him many of his flock for the opening of the new Church. A good number went from Thursday Island, also, so it was a real gala-day at Horn Island. Crafts of various sizes and descriptions and all of them overloaded were requisitioned for the occasion. You will understand that it added to the day's enjoyment when I was able to baptise six children belonging to one family.⁸⁹

Another glimpse of the 1930s community comes from the account by Pedro Galora's granddaughter⁹⁰ and is confirmed by fellow resident, Monica Walton Gould. By then, the community consisted of the following families: Galora (headed by Pedro's son, Ambrose, and his wife, Jacopita Savage, from Badu), Raymond, Mallie, Hodges, Lee, Walton and Seden. Only a few of the original inhabitants remained, among them the three *tiyos*, 'uncles', Bisenti (Vicente), Dualdo and Thomas, as well as Mariano the hermit, all elderly, single men, who had retired from pearling but who no longer wished to return to the Philippines.⁹¹ *Tiyo* Thomas had a vegetable garden at the back of his house, which was made from bamboo with a 'wooden' (probably bamboo) floor — 'a real Filipino hut, not a shanty'.⁹² He looked the same as the others, remembers Monica Walton Gould: 'Old, thin, short, wiry, with leathery skin after being in the sun all his life, a bald head but a little bit of grey at the sides.' *Tiyo* Dualdo used to sell firewood: 'He had a boat and would put the chopped wood into the dinghy and take it to T. I. to sell. It was blood-red mangrove wood.'⁹³ *Tiyo* Bisenti had made a 'wonderful' garden and kept fowls and ducks.⁹⁴ The men were visited regularly and cared for by the young families, who took cooked meals of fish and rice to share with them, gossiped about old times and listened to their reminiscences and nostalgic songs of lament. *Tiyo* Dualdo lived at the eastern shore boundary of the village, near the Jardines' old wharf; *Tiyo* Bisenti lived 'down behind the mangroves near a creek at the western end of the village';⁹⁵ and *Tiyo* Thomas lived inland towards the airport. Their cottages formed a triangular boundary around the village, the three 'uncles' symbolically enfolding the community in a Filipino embrace.

Despite an official report in January 1938 that the 'rough dwellings' along the beach belonged to 'people squatting on the island',⁹⁶ the children of the Horn Island community, growing up carefree and well fed, remember it as 'a

paradise'. When war broke out, the only official lease was held by C. G. Vidgen of Thursday Island, who ran cattle and pigs to supply meat for the island,⁹⁷ and the community members were possibly unaware of their tenuous legal hold over the land. The village, with its related extended families, was typical of the second-generation Asian-Indigenous communities of Torres Strait, which were destroyed by the war. Ties of homeland and occupation had yielded to connections of friendship and family forged in the strait. The second-generation families were united by kinship and affinal connections rather than Filipino origin: Daniel Hodges was the son of Charles Hodges and Dinah Walton; his wife, Henrietta (Etta) Lockett, was related to Louisa Mallie; Daniel's sister was Charlotte, who married Massat Solomon, the son of Solomon and Saratha Amboyn, and Joseph Lee, a Badu Islander; Dinah's brother was William Walton, husband of Gregoria (Guria) Assacruz. Even when the familial connections were more tenuous, the children called each other 'cousins'. The families lived separately, screened from their neighbours but close by, sharing food and play, constantly visiting and in touch with one another, creating a 'place-based social identity'⁹⁸ based on 'notions of shared blood, food and work as well as through the recognition of a common living area or ancestral place of origin'.⁹⁹

Malaytown on Badu (c.1890–c.1906)

Like the Filipino community of Horn Island, the Muslim Malay community of Badu (Mulgrave Island) was also self-initiated. Badu in the 1880s, like Horn Island, became 'a resort for all the crews of boats', including many Malays who had partnered local Indigenous women. Wishing to live quietly among their countrymen, observe cultural tradition and raise their children away from the crowded dwellings and official oversight of the town, they negotiated with a local clan leader for permission to build on his land. Unlike the Filipino Horn Island community, however, Badu's Malay community lasted less than a generation. Lacking any form of institutional support and removed from its home community on Thursday Island, it could not survive the loss of its economic foundations and changes in official policy and was effectively disbanded in about 1906.

The community was located at Upai at the southern end of Badu and was called 'Malaytown' (after Thursday Island's Malaytown) in recognition of its predominantly Muslim Malay population, although some Pacific Islanders also lived there.¹⁰⁰ Referred to as a 'Malay settlement' or 'village' or 'camp', the place is still called 'Malaytown', although the names of the original settlers are mostly forgotten save by the older inhabitants.¹⁰¹ Some of its residents were single or had wives elsewhere, but the minority whose names are remembered

married or partnered local women and fathered children born at Upai. Those kinship ties continue to be respected to the present day.

Badu is a large western island, 'irregularly shaped ... about 6 miles in diameter and hilly in the centre'.¹⁰² Despite its size, it had only a small Indigenous population at the turn of the 20th century and authorities rarely visited except to deal with a disturbance. The Baduans are said to have brought themselves almost to extinction by prosecuting numerous wars with their neighbours from Mua (Banks Island) and Mabuiag (Jervis Island). Badu was repopulated by Mabuiag Islanders, who were given the northern half of the island in gratitude for their assistance in warfare.¹⁰³ Laade thought that Badu was not settled before about 1800.¹⁰⁴

In 1872, within two years of the beginning of the pearl rush, Captain Gay had established a pearl-shell station on Mua, directly opposite Badu¹⁰⁵ and separated from it by a narrow channel. There may have been another station on Badu itself at that time,¹⁰⁶ but it is more likely that the first attempt to establish a station there in July 1878 was made by Captain Francis Cadell.¹⁰⁷ Members of his advance party were murdered by the Aboriginal crew, who made off with the boat. Whether Cadell or perhaps others continued with the venture, there were 'some shelling stations' on Mua and Badu in September 1878.¹⁰⁸ At the end of 1881, after the opening of 'the Old Ground' nearby,¹⁰⁹ men of every nationality were recorded as working the boats and for years they provided a lucrative market for Thursday Island traders in vegetables and liquor.¹¹⁰ In 1884, Badu had two pearling stations,¹¹¹ perhaps the same two stations mentioned previously, although



Thursday Island Cemetery, 1927.
Courtesy of John Oxley Library, Brisbane
(Item No. 55672).

under different ownership,¹¹² and the Islanders had become dependent on them for food and clothing. In 1874, 'few natives' lived on Badu, too few to support a missionary¹¹³ and there were likewise 'very few' in 1882.¹¹⁴ The population had, however, grown to 124 in 1891¹¹⁵ (enough for a missionary), 130 in 1897,¹¹⁶ about 165 in 1903¹¹⁷ and a little more than 200 in 1908, at that time mostly 'Aboriginals', but also 'a few South Sea Islanders and a few Malays'.¹¹⁸

The Malays were attracted to Badu by the employment opportunities afforded by the stations. Following traditional protocol, they sought permission to settle at Upai from the clan leader, Sagigi of Wakaid. According to Tanu Nona, Sagigi agreed so as to increase the size of his clan and thereby his own importance at the expense of the other two clans, Argan and Badu.¹¹⁹ By 1891, Rev. James Chalmers was complaining to John Douglas about the prevalence of marriages with 'foreign natives': 'the South Sea Islanders and Malays are able to give very large prices for the girls and the girls can have anything they want afterwards.'¹²⁰ By 1898, there were seven recorded marriages between Malay men and women from Badu and Mabuiag.¹²¹ Walter Nona, the oldest resident on Badu, recalled six families who had once resided at Badu's Malaytown: Ahwang, Binawel,¹²² Binjuda, Bowie, Jia and Ketchell. Other Malays he remembered were Jimmy Sander, who is buried at Dhadhalaig, a small island near Waral, and Jimmy Coconut, buried at Graz on Badu.¹²³ Also attested as living at Badu for some time were Charlie Ahmat from Singapore and his wife, Flora Geata from Mua; Mahomet Abdurraman from Borneo and his wife, Kassia from Thursday Island; Pablo Ahmat from Singapore, whose Mabuiag wife, Jane Hankin, remained with her family at Mabuiag; and Ah Mat Poontiana (Ahmat Abin Abdoela or Ali Ahmat) from Borneo, who met his Badu-born wife, Anima Ahwang, on Badu. The *Somerset Register of Births and Marriages*, although not comprehensive, records 24 children born on Badu to Malay-headed families from about 1891 to about 1906 and 15 from 1907 to 1921, 12 of the latter belonging to the Bowie and Ketchell families (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Children born on Badu to Malay fathers, c.1891–1921

DOB	Name	Father	Father's POB	Mother	Mother's POB
c.1891	Anima	Jaffa Ahwang	Singapore	Annie Savage	Badu, TS, Q
c.1892	Abusman	Jaffa Ahwang	Singapore	Annie Savage	Badu, TS, Q
c.1893	Jenap Esther Waahape Jia	Makassar	Serai Mabua		Badu, TS, Q
c.1893	Mariam	Moy	South-East Asia	Maria	Boigu, TS, Q
c.1895	Saptu	Jaffa Ahwang	Singapore	Annie Savage	Badu, TS, Q
c.1897	Solomon	Waahape Jia	Makassar	Serai Mabua	Badu, TS, Q
3/5/1898	Atima	Jaffa Ahwang	Singapore	Annie Savage	Badu, TS, Q
c.1899	Unnamed female	Albert Bowie	Makassar	Baimat Getawan	Badu, TS, Q
c.1900	John	Waahape Jia	Makassar	Serai Mabua	Badu, TS, Q
5/8/1901	Jaffa	Jaffa Ahwang	Singapore	Annie Savage	Badu, TS, Q
c.1902	Osman Bin Japa	Mahomet Abdurraman	Borneo	Kassia	Thursday Island, TS, Q
c.1903	Doseena	Waahape Jia	Makassar	Serai Mabua	Badu, TS, Q
3/2/1903	Aaron	Chee Ketchell	Singapore	Aigarie Gainab	Badu, TS, Q
17/4/1904	Aaron	Chee Ketchell	Singapore	Aigarie Gainab	Badu, TS, Q
3/5/1904	Osman Bin Ali	Mahomet Abdurraman	Borneo	Kassia	Thursday Island, TS, Q
30/8/1904	Nelam	Jaffa Ahwang	Singapore	Annie Savage	Badu, TS, Q
12/9/1904	Jelany	Long Sambar	Singapore	Patima Abduraman	Thursday Island, TS, Q
c.1905	Drummond (Dick)	Waahape Jia	Makassar	Serai Mabua	Badu, TS, Q
25/2/1905	Patima Norma	Charlie Ahmat	Singapore	Flora Savage	Mua, TS, Q
15/11/1905	Leah	Chee Ketchell	Singapore	Aigarie Gainab	Badu, TS, Q
c.1906	Possa	Ah Mat Usop	Singapore	Maria	Boigu, TS, Q
23/2/1906	Aramina Lillian Jumula	Charlie Ahmat	Singapore	Flora Savage	Mua, TS, Q
9/6/1906	Matilda	Albert Bowie	Makassar	Baimat Getawan	Badu, TS, Q
15/8/1906	Noranee (Rocky)	Jaffa Ahwang	Singapore	Annie Savage	Badu, TS, Q
29/4/1907	Dijohn	Mahomet Abdurraman	Borneo	Kassia	Thursday Island, TS, Q
17/6/1908	Massassan	Charlie Ahmat	Singapore	Flora Savage	Mua, TS, Q
17/8/1908	Albert	Albert Bowie	Makassar	Baimat Getawan	Badu, TS, Q
17/9/1908	Alia	Chee Ketchell	Singapore	Aigarie Gainab	Badu, TS, Q
23/5/1909	Saia	Jaffa Ahwang	Singapore	Annie Savage	Badu, TS, Q

continued

Table 4.3: continued

DOB	Name	Father	Father's POB	Mother	Mother's POB
15/6/1910	Bertha	Albert Bowie	Makassar	Baimat Getawan	Badu, TS, Q
16/12/1911	Marsat	Chee Ketchell	Singapore	Aigarie Gainab	Badu, TS, Q
5/5/1913	May	Albert Bowie	Makassar	Baimat Getawan	Badu, TS, Q
25/1/1914	Samat	Chee Ketchell	Singapore	Aigarie Gainab	Badu, TS, Q
4/9/1915	Jack	Albert Bowie	Makassar	Baimat Getawan	Badu, TS, Q
23/2/1916	Ruth	Chee Ketchell	Singapore	Aigarie Gainab	Badu, TS, Q
23/1/1918	Dulcie	Albert Bowie	Makassar	Baimat Getawan	Badu, TS, Q
19/10/1918	Jane	Chee Ketchell	Singapore	Aigarie Gainab	Badu, TS, Q
24/2/1921	Nauma	Chee Ketchell	Singapore	Aigarie Gainab	Badu, TS, Q
29/7/1921	Edward	Albert Bowie	Makassar	Baimat Getawan	Badu, TS, Q

Sources: *Somerset Register of Births and Marriages*; tombstone inscriptions; information from 'Condy' Canuto, Mary Bowie Eseli, Nauma Ketchell, Walter Nona; Chief Protector of Aborigines correspondence in QSA.

There are few contemporary references to Badu's Malay population. In one of them, the newly arrived schoolteacher wrote an enthusiastic letter to the Under Secretary, Education Department, on 12 April 1906, giving her impressions of the people of Badu and contrasting their 'well-shaped heads' and slender build with the stolidness of the local Malays. There were some Malays living on Badu, she wrote, 'but they are heavily built with big, round, bullet heads'.¹²⁴

Shortly after this letter was sent, the Malays began to leave Badu. There is no record of their departure and the exact dates are unknown. Scattered references in official correspondence¹²⁵ and subsequent births on Thursday Island suggest that most of the families left towards the end of 1905 or the beginning of 1906, although some stayed on for another year or two. By about 1909, however, only the Bowies and Ketchells remained. Albert Bowie, of Dutch-Malay heritage, was born at Makassar in Sulawesi, then part of the Dutch East Indies; Chee Ketchell (Kitchel Mahomed) came from the British colony of Singapore and worked with pearling fleets at Broome, Port Darwin and Thursday Island before his marriage.¹²⁶ Both men were originally divers, married Badu women and lived almost all their married lives on Badu, where all their children were born and raised;¹²⁷ both were fully incorporated into Badu social networks, sharing their knowledge of European ways with their relatives.



PIL buildings, Badu, western Torres Strait, 1916.
Courtesy of John Oxley Library, Brisbane (Item No. 58234).

A combination of economic, environmental and ideological motives appears to have brought about the abandonment of Badu's Malaytown. The year 1906 was a momentous one for Badu and ushered in significant changes. With the collapse of the price of pearl shell, most of the pearling fleets and their predominantly Malay crews had departed for Aru in September 1905. Shell prices continued their decline and the four pearling stations on Badu and Mabuiag, which provided most of the paid employment, became bankrupt and ceased operations in January/February 1906, putting 115 men out of work.¹²⁸ This economic devastation was exacerbated by a region-wide drought in late 1905, with subsequent crop failures and widespread food shortages in 1906.¹²⁹ Yopelli Panuel's understanding was that the economic imperative was the most significant factor: the 'Malay people came here and made a village on the southside called Upai. When the station went away, these divers belong to station shift to Thursday Island.'¹³⁰ At the same time, Queensland policy was becoming more protectionist and segregationist. Badu and the other remote islands were to become reserves in which the Islanders, now recast as 'Aboriginals', could be 'protected' from outsiders. Asian-Indigenous families were being pressured to move to Thursday Island away from their 'Aboriginal' kinfolk on the outer islands. Ted Loban stressed the ideological factor, saying that the Malay-headed families moved from Badu and Mabuiag at the urging of their wives and this was a direct result of anxieties about the future.¹³¹ According to

Loban, it was the wives who were most in favour of the move, citing more freedom, better job opportunities and a better education for their children.

It was a combination of these same economic, environmental and ideological conditions that provided the impetus for the bureaucracy to attempt a radical economic and social experiment. If successful, it could provide a model for the rest of the strait and possibly the mainland.¹³² The death of John Douglas in mid-1904 had provided the long-sought opportunity for the policy-makers to segregate the Torres Strait Islanders from Asians and Europeans and control their labour and wages; the proposed partnership with Pacific Industries Ltd (PIL), a newly formed Christian industrial organisation with links to the London Missionary Society (LMS), provided the means. Departmental authorities had been in negotiations for some time with the former LMS missionary, Frederick William Walker, the managing director of PIL. In January 1906, the local Protector suggested that, in view of the urgency of the situation, Walker might advance the money to purchase boats for the Badu Islanders.¹³³ His department had already assisted some islands to buy boats to be worked collectively, but what it wanted, and what Walker undertook to provide, was an alternative to the previous labour system, which had integrated Islanders into the broader regional workforce. In February 1906, PIL and the department agreed to work together to provide a viable, self-contained economic base for local development under the ultimate control of the local Protector:

With a view to helping the natives to help themselves and so fulfilling one of the primary objects of the Company, 15 small second-hand luggers and cutters have been purchased by the Company. These vessels are either let out to natives under an arrangement by which the proceeds are divided into three parts — one-third going to the Company, one-third to the men, and one-third for working expenses, stores and insurance; or have been sold to natives, and are being paid for by instalments out of the money they are able to earn by diving for Pearls and pearl-shell, and collecting Turtle-shell, Beche-de-mer and other produce of the Sea. Employment is thus found for a considerable number of men.¹³⁴

In 1906, PIL, with Queensland Government support, acquired 'a freehold of 406 acres of excellent land on Badu for the Headquarters of the Company' for the construction of a number of buildings and a copra plantation.¹³⁵ The land chosen was in a sheltered shore position at Dogai, immediately opposite Mua and the site of the present village. In late October or early November, the company's stores, building and supplies arrived, to be followed on 16 November by the European staff:



Boat-building at PIL, Badu, western Torres Strait, 1916.
Courtesy of John Oxley Library, Brisbane (Item No. 58172).

Building began in December 1906: a retail store and a bulk store with a covered way between the two, and a back warehouse for produce, kerosene, coke, merchandise, stores, and other similar goods; a living house with six rooms, including a kitchen; a rough work-shed on the beach, for repairing boats; a short jetty, for landing goods; a tramway for conveying them to the stores; and an adequate water supply.¹³⁶

The labour and trading opportunities provided by the company were to change the nature of Badu society. Having resisted missionary efforts to move from their clan lands to settle near the church,¹³⁷ they now began to shift to this new economic centre. Preference in hiring was naturally given to Christian Torres Strait Islanders (and Pacific Islanders who had settled permanently in the strait). The free Muslim Malays of Malaytown were less favoured under the new conditions. Only Bowie and Ketchell found long-term employment with PIL, but by then they were living permanently on Badu with their Christian 'Aboriginal' families. Most Malays, however, had already made the choice to leave.

‘Malay Village’ on Port Lihou (1939–42)

The case of the third of the communities under discussion, the small Malay community of Port Lihou, again illustrates how members of a marginalised Asian minority in Torres Strait attempted to create an independent and economically self-reliant space for themselves and their families away from Thursday Island. It began shortly before the outbreak of World War II as the continuation of a Pacific Islander community and became a temporary makeshift refuge for the residents’ extended families when they were threatened with evacuation. The Pacific Islander connections have been largely forgotten: a long-time European resident explained to me a few years ago that Port Lihou is now referred to as ‘Malay Village’, because ‘a lot of Malays lived there early [last] century’.¹³⁸ In the event, this Malay community proved to be even more transient than Malaytown on Badu and, like the Filipino community on nearby Horn Island, ended abruptly with the evacuation of its members in 1942.

Port Lihou, which, along with Muralag (Prince of Wales Island), Horn Island and Thursday Island, forms part of traditional Kaurareg land, is physically separated from Muralag by a narrow channel. About 1922, three decades after the removal of the Kaurareg to Hammond Island, it was settled by ni-Vanuatu retirees from the marine industries, who made superb gardens in the scrub above the beach and cut firewood to fuel the homes and businesses of Thursday Island.¹³⁹

A number of Muslim Malays also held fuel licences during the 1920s and 1930s and cut wood on the surrounding islands. Among them were Assan Ah Boo (Abu Assan) from Malaysia, Doela Banda from Bolton Island, Timsir Cassina, Mahomet Drummond from Borneo, Batcho Mingo from Makassar, Sariman from Java, Assan Bin Rassip from Singapore and Assan Singapore from Java.¹⁴⁰ They did not live in the Port Lihou community, but all the woodcutters knew one another and marriages occurred between the locally born descendants of Malays and Pacific Islanders during the inter-war years, when ethnic origin became a less important factor for ‘Coloured’ people in the choice of a spouse.

The Malays who initiated their own community at Port Lihou had, like their countrymen, been drawn to Torres Strait by employment in the marine industries. Once there, they married local women of mixed descent and became aware of an opportunity for economic self-sufficiency in agricultural rather than marine activities by taking over the gardens made by the Pacific Islanders. They shared the latter’s desire to ‘reside where they were their own agents and did not come under the control of the Aboriginal department’.¹⁴¹ The Pacific men did not want Europeans living nearby, but raised no objections to the Malays, with whom they had established good relations over the years.¹⁴² Family bonds were created between the two groups when, in 1920, the step-daughter of one of the

original Pacific Islander settlers married Saptu Ahwang, born on Badu to a Malay father. The couple briefly resided at Port Lihou in the mid-1920s.

In mid-1939, Willem Olie Dewis from Timor, Thomas Loban (Simeon Sadir) from Indonesia and Bora Bin Juda from Makassar took over the informal leases originally held by Pacific Islanders, who had either died or grown too infirm to garden. The original leases were renumbered as IL 2230 (Dewis), IL 2234 (Loban) and IL 2260 (Bin Juda), the latter not taken up until 1940.¹⁴³ Dewis was a 'free Malay' and a Christian. His wife, Noressa (Nodi), was the daughter of Ah Mat and Maria Usop, once residents of Badu's Malaytown. Tom Loban was also a 'free man', whose wife, Gertie Summers of White Australian-Mabuiag descent, was locally born, as was Bin Juda's wife, Mareja Doolah, three of whose grandparents were Malay.

The deaths of the old Pacific men and the handing over of their leases effectively signalled the end of the Pacific Islander community and the beginning of its short-lived Malay successor. Jianna Seden Richardson recalls how she and her family used to visit their cousins, the Bin Judas, on weekends and during school holidays — her mother and Bin Juda's wife were sisters:¹⁴⁴ 'We had our own section, we and the Dewises were in the end section. The people were all related.'¹⁴⁵ Other visitors to Port Lihou included the Rassip and Barba families, whose Malay-Boigu Islander mothers were sisters of Mrs Dewis.

The Malay community of Port Lihou did not endure for more than a few years. In late 1941, after the internment of the Japanese, a number of Malay-descended families from Thursday Island fled to Port Lihou to stay with one of the families in their weekend shack, hoping to hide from the authorities for the duration of the war:

They thought: 'Oh well, we'll be safe [here]. There's lots of food. We won't be in danger.' More TI families followed. Some had inboard motors on their clinker dinghies; others rowed down Boat Channel to Endeavour Strait, taking advantage of the wind by fixing sheeting between upright oars attached to the sides of the boats.¹⁴⁶

Jianna Seden Richardson and her mother stayed with the Bin Juda family. Jianna remembers that the Dewis family were there but not the Lobans, who had already been evacuated. Also present were the Ahwangs and Ahmats and the Barba family, all staying with the Bin Judas, along with Lassmintan Seden Cowley and Sogi Baruna Messa, wife of Roy Messa, the son of one of the original Pacific Islander settlers.¹⁴⁷ The existing dwellings became too crowded and the families constructed makeshift 'grass houses'. They managed to evade detection for some months and became among the last evacuees from Thursday Island the next year.¹⁴⁸ Jianna Richardson recalls being there when an army

boat came with orders for their evacuation, telling the families that they had only 24–36 hours to get to Thursday Island to be sent south.

The short-lived Malay community of Port Lihou also demonstrates the characteristics that typify the communities under discussion. Like them, it was established by South-East Asian immigrants married to local Indigenous women, who wished to live peacefully and independently with their wives and children among like-minded countrymen away from the racism of Thursday Island and the constant scrutiny of local officials. The beach at Port Lihou is secluded and the bay is protected from the tides of Endeavour Strait. It was close enough to Thursday Island to reach by launch or rowboat, yet sheltered from view behind a rocky headland. The settlement had few amenities but the physical needs of the residents were met by ‘plenty of “lovely, sweet” water in wells and running creeks just beyond the beach’,¹⁴⁹ fish from the nearby reefs, fruit from the banana, coconut, mango, pawpaw and pineapple trees planted by the Pacific men, and garden produce: cassava, pumpkin, sugar cane, sweet potato, taro and yam. The families also kept fowls. Their crude dwellings, dismissed in a report as ‘rough shacks ... of little value’,¹⁵⁰ were constructed from local materials and hidden from immediate view among lush vegetation. The members were bound together through actual and imagined kinship ties, they lived separately but maintained daily contact. For adults and children, surrounded by their extended families, it was a secure and happy place.

Conclusion

The three autonomous, self-sufficient Filipino and Malay ‘outstation’ communities of Torres Strait demonstrate the adaptations made by economically and politically subordinated South-East Asian immigrants and their locally born families, whose individual life paths and collective history were profoundly influenced by social and political events. These little-known communities are interesting in themselves and as examples of the ways marginalised people have always sought to counter power through solidarity. Finding their choices restricted by official policies of segregation, some Filipinos and Malays took matters into their own hands and established communities in which they could pursue their own economic and family interests, freely express aspects of their personal and group identity and find refuge from the racism and restriction that blighted interpersonal relations between Whites and non-Whites on Thursday Island. They were shielded from direct surveillance by authorities, with whom they always cooperated when circumstances demanded, although the authorities knew little about ‘what went on underneath’.

All the communities discussed in this chapter were self-organising and self-reliant, materially poor but socially and culturally rich and diverse. Although initiated by the people themselves, they depended for survival on the vagaries of the marine industries and the good will of government or clan authorities. And, while each community arose independently and had a different composition, there are intriguing interconnections, continuities and discontinuities among these more transient communities and between them and the larger and more ethnically self-conscious Filipino and Malay 'home' communities of Thursday Island, on which the outstations depended for the provision of services and the celebration of culturally and religiously significant events.

It is significant that only the Filipinos and Malays established such 'outstation' communities. A motivating factor in their creation was the desire of their members, almost all of whom had married local Indigenous women with ancestral ties to land and sea, to raise their locally born children in safe, healthy communities as far as possible from the racism and crowding of Thursday Island. This motivation was not shared to the same degree by members of the other Asian communities, who tended to be sojourners rather than settlers and who, for various legal, administrative and cultural reasons, contracted few marriages with local Indigenous women.

In the process of creating their new communities, the immigrants and their children also created a rich and unique hybrid culture, much of which was destroyed by the upheavals of World War II. The children were to create a new place-based social identity — as 'Thursday Islanders' or 'Thursday Island half-castes' — the focus shifting from place of origin to a shared ethos that privileged community and fellowship and the reciprocal responsibilities of family and friends above ethnic and religious differences. In time, the interpersonal relationships they forged through the multiple connections of daily life were to bind the families of Asian descent to each other and to a majority of Torres Strait families through marriage, descent and adoption, bequeathing a lasting pan-Asian/Indigenous cultural legacy to all Torres Strait Islanders.

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Footnotes

- 1 'They write from the top. They don't know what went on underneath.' Comment by an anonymous Palm Island woman about an academic account of Palm Island events. Interview dated 1982, OHC 182/1, Oral History Collection of James Cook University of North Queensland.
- 2 The reference term 'Thursday Islander' and its synonyms 'Thursday Island half-caste' and 'Malay' were coined during the inter-war years and demonstrate the recognition of a new category of individual and the impossibility of working within the racial guidelines and classifications that underpinned Queensland legislation at that time. They indicate the emergence in Torres Strait of a new 'placed-based social identity' (for discussion, see Schug, D. M. 1995. 'The marine realm and a sense of place among Papua New Guinean communities of Torres Strait.' PhD thesis, University of Hawai'i. p. 7).
- 3 Osborne, E. 1997. *Torres Strait Islander Women and the Pacific War*. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press. Perdon, R. 1998. *Brown Americans of Asia*. Sydney: Manila Prints.
- 4 Information on the Horn Island community can be found in Bowie, M. and J. Singe, 'The Galora family of Horn Island', *Torres News*, 14–20 May, 1993. p. 12. And Doyle, F. J. 'Thursday Island' *Annals of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart*. 1 September, 1933. p. 569. However, as unofficial, independent settlements, whose residents were exempt from the Queensland Aboriginal Protection Acts, they do not appear in the annual reports of the Government Resident of Thursday Island, Northern Protector of Aboriginals, Queensland Native Affairs Department, Queensland Department of Public Lands, or the *Queensland Government Gazette*.
- 5 When quoting primary sources, I have kept the original spelling; the modern spelling is 'Manila'.
- 6 These include the sole occupants of smaller islands, such as the Dorante family of Nipin, the Francis family of Auridh and the Salam/Mingo family of Wednesday Island; as well as residents of more populated islands, such as the Ahmat, Carabello, Guivarra, Jardine and Kanak families of Erub, the Cloudy family of Ugar, the Doolah family of Mer, the Ahmat, Ahwang, Bowie, Jia and Ketchell families of Badu, the Ahmat family of Mabuig and the Sabatino and Cadauas families of Yam.
- 7 Nor is it necessarily possible to tell an individual's origins from his name, e.g., William Andrew and William Francis, 'native[s] of Manilla', in 'Charlie vs Joe Reis and Francis, 17 February 1885', and Thomas Larkins, 'native of Borneo', in 'Longley vs Ah Mat, 31 December 1885', CPS13D/P1, Queensland State Archives (hereafter QSA). Others, such as Anthony Spain (Antonio Puerte) and Matthew Rodericks (Matteo Rodriguez), two long-term Filipino residents of Thursday Island, anglicised their names.
- 8 Manderson, L. 1988. 'Malays.' In J. Jupp (ed.), *The Australian people: an encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origins*. North Ryde: Angus and Robertson. pp. 691–3, at pp. 691–2.
- 9 Martinez, J. 1999. 'The "Malay" community in pre-war Darwin.' In R. Ganter (ed.), *Asians in Australian history*, *Queensland Review*, Vol. 6, No. 2. pp. 44–57, at p. 45.
- 10 Before Federation, Great Britain had responsibility for the external affairs of the Australian colonies.
- 11 'Chambers Bruce McNab to Under Secretary, Home Secretary's Department, 17 May 1897.' HOM/A30, QSA.
- 12 Writing to his son on 28 September, 1897, Thursday Island's Government Resident, Hon. John Douglas, expressed surprise at Zarcal's naturalisation, when the equally successful and prominent Japanese businessmen, Torajiro Sato and Kametsu Taguchi, were refused: 'Zarkal [sic] has been nationalised, how I don't know, for he is not legally qualified for naturalisation, not being married, while Satow [sic] and Taguchi have been refused being qualified. Great indignation is proposed, but like most of our agitations it is a storm in a teacup and will soon blow over.' John Douglas to Edward Douglas, OM89-3/B/2(2)/15, John Oxley Library (hereafter JOL). My thanks to Jeremy Hodes for making his transcription of the Douglas letters available to me. Zarcal married Emma Esther Beach, the daughter of the Thursday Island postmaster, on 12 May, 1900, on Thursday Island. For the business implications of Zarcal's naturalisation see Reynaldo Iletto's Chapter Five, this volume, and Perdon, R., *Brown Americans of Asia*, pp. 126–7.

- 13 'Chambers Bruce McNab to Under Secretary, Home Secretary's Department, 10 May 1897.' HOM/A30, QSA.
- 14 Ellis, A. F. 1936. *Adventuring in Coral Seas*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson. p. 76. Later, visiting Mornington Island, he writes on p. 118 that '[t]he leading Malay with me was known as "Big Alik"; a native of one of the North African countries and fine type of fellow'.
- 15 Coppinger, R. W. 1885. *Cruise of the 'Alert': four years in Patagonian, Polynesian, and Mascarene waters (1878–82)*. London: Swan Sonnenschein. p. 196.
- 16 Shnukal, A. 1995. "'Manilamen": the first Filipino migrants in Australia.' *Australia New Zealand Provincial Bulletin (Society of the Sacred Heart)*, No. 27, May. pp. 11–14.
- 17 *Annual Report of the Government Resident of Thursday Island for 1902*: 'Of the Filipinos also a few are married women, for it is the custom of the Manila man, when he is sufficiently well off, to order a wife from the conventual schools at Mecaó [sic]. In addition to these there are a few aboriginal women who are married, chiefly to Manila men.'
- 18 *Torres Straits Pilot*, 14 December, 1901. p. 1. My thanks to Karl Neuenfeldt for providing this reference.
- 19 See, for example, 'Charlie vs Joe Reis and Francis [Manila men], 17 February 1885.' CPS13D/P1, QSA.
- 20 The first was between Pedro de la Cruz and Eliza Hinkley on 26 July, 1887.
- 21 Comment by Chief Protector of Aboriginals, 19 June, 1914, at bottom of telegram from 'Riley, Thursday Island, to Home Secretary, 17 June 1914.' A/58761 (Restricted), QSA.
- 22 The brig, *Freak* (master William Walton), which was wrecked in Torres Strait on 27 November, 1870, carried among its sailors three Filipinos, Peter Minas, Domingo Rossa and Salvador Glass; and two Malays, Simon and Cassim. 'Department of Ports and Harbours, Brisbane, to Marquis of Normanby, 28 November 1871.' GOV/A4, p. 419, QSA. They were given passage to Sydney, arriving on 19 January, 1871. *Colonial Secretary In-letters, Somerset 1871*, Margaret Lawrie Collection, MLC 1791-37/2, JOL.
- 23 'Police Magistrate, Somerset, to Port Master, Brisbane, 26 May 1873.' *Records of Somerset, Cape York 1872–77*, MS.Q 589, Mitchell Library (hereafter ML). See also 'Portmaster, Department of Ports and Harbours, Brisbane, to the Colonial Treasurer re. the shipment of Polynesians and Asiatics in NSW to the marine industries in northern Queensland, 29 August 1877.' The writer complains that there has been no satisfactory result of letters written by the Marine Board dated 19 March and 12 May, 1873, and communications with the Government of NSW. He continues: 'The imposition practised upon these Islanders and Asiatics by the practice in vogue in Sydney of allowing them to be shipped elsewhere than at the shipping office and independently of and without the supervision of the Shipping Master is a matter which should not be allowed to continue. For although these practices originate in NSW the discredit attached to them practically falls on this colony.' TRE/A18/1883, QSA.
- 24 In the early 1790s, sugar from the Philippines was shipped to the new settlement at Sydney, part of a triangular pattern of trade between Sydney, Canton and Manila. Coal was sent from Newcastle to Manila from 1871 to 1923 and from Melbourne to Manila between 1874 and 1895; sugar was brought from Manila for Queensland refineries from 1875. For an overview of early Australian-Philippine trade links, see Battersby, P. 1993. 'Influential circles: the Philippines in Australian trade and tourism, 1840 to 1926.' In R. C. Iletto and R. Sullivan (eds), *Discovering Australasia: essays on Philippine-Australian interactions*, Townsville: James Cook University, Department of History and Politics. pp. 47–69. And Perdon, R., *Brown Americans of Asia*, pp. 105–12.
- 25 'T. De Hoghton, Lieutenant-Commanding HMS *Beagle*, Thursday Island, to Commodore J. C. Wilson, RN, HMS *Wolverine*, Sydney, 22 September 1879.' p. 3. Reporting on the Pearl-Shell Fisheries of Torres Straits, *Queensland Votes and Proceedings* (hereafter QVP), 1880.
- 26 See Perdon's reference to Filipino divers in 1874 in Perdon, R., *Brown Americans of Asia*, p. 115, and Sissons' remarks that, by 1876, there were already several Malays and Filipinos engaged in

- the pearling industry in Sissons, D. C. S., 1979, 'The Japanese in the Australian pearling industry', *Queensland Heritage*, Vol. 3, No. 10. pp. 8–27, at p. 8. One of these was Maximo Gomez, designated as both 'Manilla man' and 'Malay', who was responsible for the death in 1879 of the young Londoner, William Clarke, and was subsequently hanged. See Perdon, op. cit. and *Somerset Register of Deaths* entry for 26 December, 1879.
- 27 'Mr Bissex, Master of the *Sri Singapura*, applied for a piece of land [at the settlement of Victoria, Port Essington, northern Australia] and then went to China to get labourers and two small ships to start up an enterprise for trepang fishing. He also hoped to grow cotton on his piece of land.' 'McArthur to Colonial Secretary, Despatch of 27 March 1846', quoted in Spillett, P. G. 1972. *Forsaken settlement: an illustrated history of the settlement of Victoria, Port Essington, North Australia 1838–1849*. Melbourne: Lansdowne. p. 129. There had already been several attempts to persuade the visiting Macassans to settle permanently at the settlement and, in 1845, the British Government decided 'to encourage the immigration of a limited number of Chinese and Malays who may feel disposed to adventure there'. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
- 28 On 26 November, 1879, Sanie, Julius Conception and Aboo successfully sued W. R. Mogg, manager for Francis Cadell, for unpaid wages. CPS13D/P1, QSA.
- 29 'Police Magistrate, Thursday Island, to Colonial Secretary, 2 June 1879.' *Somerset Letterbooks* 84–79, ML.
- 30 T. De Hoghton, Reporting on the Pearl-Shell Fisheries, p. 3.
- 31 'Report on Pearl Fisheries by H. M. Chester to Colonial Secretary, 4 June 1880.' COL/A295/3587, QSA.
- 32 The charge was 'continued wilful disobedience to the lawful commands of William Summers, master of the cutter *Sylph* 17 & 18 Vic. S.104.' 11 September, 1877, CPS13D/P1, QSA.
- 33 'W. R. Mogg vs Joseph Tucker for wilfully harboring a seaman who has neglected to join his ship, 18 October 1881.' CPS13D/P1, QSA.
- 34 This practice was continued by the first annual report of the Government Resident for 1885, which also enumerated the Javanese as a separate category.
- 35 Dupeyrat, A. 1935. *Papouasie: histoire de la mission (1885–1935)*. Paris: Dillen. p. 68.
- 36 In some instances, the pearlery refused to pay for their repatriation and were sued in the Thursday Island court. See, e.g., 'John Francis, Sambo Amadu and Charley Johnny vs William Thomas Kirkpatrick, master and owner of the lugger *Viking*, 28 September 1883.' CPS13D/P1. The men, whose period of service was 18 months from 30 August, 1883, said they were promised that the master would pay their passages to Sydney when their time was finished. This was denied by Kirkpatrick: 'The articles state that "any port in Queensland or Sydney shall be the final port of discharge".' See also 'George Pearson vs Abdul Japar, Nani, Mahomet Alli, Warsema Omar for wilful disobedience of lawful commands, 10 August 1885.' CPS13D/P1, QSA.
- 37 Much later, when extremely stringent regulations governed indenture, individual permits to remain could still be extended at the discretion of local customs officials. 'Protector of Aboriginals, Thursday Island, to Chief Protector of Aboriginals, 20 February 1922.' A/58771, QSA.
- 38 'Police Magistrate, Thursday Island, to Colonial Secretary, 3 March 1879.' COL A/272/932, QSA.
- 39 'Police Magistrate, Thursday Island, to Colonial Secretary, 4 June 1879.' COL/A284/3725, QSA.
- 40 Although of unsound mind and discharged after a month, his countrymen kept him for almost two years, finally asking the court whether he could be treated in a hospital.
- 41 'Thomas vs Walton as Agent for W. Walton for claim for £20 wages as hired servant, 5 February 1885.' CPS13D/P1, QSA.
- 42 The exception was John Thomas, an Englishman, who, on his release from prison for deserting his ship at Singapore, took the place of one of the men.
- 43 'Bowden vs Abdel Rahman for refusing to fulfil his hired service, 5 June 1883.' CPS13D/P1, QSA.
- 44 'Police vs Rahmoon (Manilla) for having no lawful visible means of support and suspected to be of unsound mind, 20 September 1884.' CPS13D/P1, QSA.
- 45 'George Pearson vs Abdul Japar, Nani, Mahomet Alli, Warsema Omar for wilful disobedience of lawful commands, 10 August 1885.' CPS13D/P1, QSA.

- 46 'Anticipated riots at Thursday Island.' *The Queensland Figaro*, 25 April, 1885. p. 515.
- 47 'The Torres Straits Pearl Shell Fishers Association vs Ah Mat for refusing to perform work after obtaining an advance of wages, 2 October 1885.' CPS13D/P1, QSA.
- 48 *Annual Report of Department of Harbours and Marine for 1934–35.*
- 49 Between 1887 and 1914, 35 marriages between Filipino men and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander women were celebrated in the Thursday Island Catholic church. Women generally married young, and there was often a considerable age difference between husband and wife, so that from the turn of the century the brides were themselves almost all the daughters of Filipino or other foreign seamen.
- 50 The Queensland Government, aware of planned legislation, refused all applications for naturalisation shortly before Federation.
- 51 'Report of the Government Resident at Thursday Island for 1896 and 1897.' p. 4, QVP, 1898.
- 52 Thomas Eykyn, the Church of England priest who visited the islands of the Prince of Wales Group between 1885 and 1895 as part of his parish, noted that 'these islands, grouped closely together, are covered with low wooded hills, with clusters of houses near the beach in every direction. These are the homes of the pearl-shellers; for the industry of the place is diving for mother-of-pearl shells; and fleets of shelling-boats are seen everywhere.' Eykyn, T. 1896. *Parts of the Pacific*. London: Swan Sonnenschein. p. 96.
- 53 'E. McKeown, National Parks Ranger, Forests Office, Tully, to Forestry Sub-Department of the Queensland Department of Public Lands, re Islands along the Coast, Cape York Peninsular [sic] and in the vicinity of Thursday Island (225/38), 4 January 1938.' TR1817/1, Box 16, IL 598, QSA.
- 54 Today, Horn Island is the site of the regional airport, and is the first island encountered by visitors arriving by air. Its 'Horned Hill', which gave the island its English name, rises to about 102 metres.
- 55 Bowie and Singe, who have written the fullest account of the Horn Island Filipino community, state that Kaurareg from Kubin began to arrive in the late 1950s, some of them camping on Galora land. Pedro Galora's son, Ambrose, wrote to them on 14 November, 1960, 'pointing out that they were on his land without permission and had no right to build houses there. Consequently these Kubin families moved further back to the present village site where land was provided for them by the Queensland Government.'
- 56 *Annual Report of Under Secretary for Mines for 1901.*
- 57 *Torres Straits Daily Pilot*, 3 April, 1897.
- 58 According to Babbage, R., 1990, *The Strategic Significance of Torres Strait*, Canberra: Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, p. 21, this mine during its short life was producing gold, silver and lead-zinc worth about \$20 million annually.
- 59 Burchill, E. 1972. *Thursday Island Nurse*. Adelaide: Rigby. p. 29.
- 60 Bowie, M. and J. Singe, 'The Galora family of Horn Island'.
- 61 'Charles Savage vs Thomas F. McEwen for neglect of duty as a Police Constable, Police Court, Port Kennedy, 29 July 1889.' A/40083/AF/1254, QSA.
- 62 'Police vs Lasses for drunkenness, 2 October 1889.' CPS 13D/P2, QSA.
- 63 *Register of Thursday Island Baptisms, Marriages, Burials*, October 1884–January 1894, Box 0566, Order of the Sacred Heart Archives, Kensington, NSW.
- 64 *Register of Special Leases*, July 1887–January 1898, Nos. 349–548, Queensland Department of Public Lands (hereafter QDPL), LAN/U3, QSA. The lease was written off on 1 February, 1897, but Galora continued to live there until he moved to Bloomfield, where he died in 1920. Anne Gray, pers. comm., July 2000.
- 65 'Horn Island c.18 sq.m. (exclusive of 3 acres on western side under lease [to Galora]) opened for Occupation Licence, under Par V. of *The Crown Lands Act of 1884*, at Thursday Island Land Office, on and after 22 December 1890 at annual rental of £1 per square mile.' *Government Gazette*, 22 November, 1890.
- 66 *Register of Special Leases*, July 1887–January 1898, Nos. 349–548, QDPL, LAN/U3, QSA.

- 67 Ibid. By 1932, it had become Gold Mining Lease No. 3 and was held by Ambrose Galora, Pedro's son. After Ambrose's death in 1961, his daughter, Mary Galora Bowie, inherited the land, which in 1984 was converted from Miners' Homestead Lease to freehold. TR1818/1/595, OL46: Horn Island, QSA, and Bowie, M. and J. Singe, 'The Galora family of Horn Island'.
- 68 Anthony Jenkins, Clerk of the Court of Petty Sessions on Thursday Island, producing the *Register of Timber Licenses* as evidence in the case of 'Police vs Dayman, Osen, Bendara, Solomon, Nariga, 19 July 1902.' CPS 13D/S2, QSA.
- 69 'Police vs Charley Omar for having no visible lawful means of support, 14 March 1904.' CPS13D/P11, QSA.
- 70 'Police vs Dayman, Osen, Bendara, Solomon, Nariga, 19 July 1902.' CPS 13D/S2, QSA.
- 71 *Annual Reports of the Government Resident of Thursday Island for 1894–95 to 1906.*
- 72 Betty Ah Boo Foster, pers. comm., May 2003.
- 73 Bowie, M. and J. Singe, 'The Galora family of Horn Island'.
- 74 'Police vs Lucio Jerusalem, 6 May 1904.' CPS 13D/P11, QSA.
- 75 Mary Galora Bowie, pers. comm., May 2003; Bowie, M. and J. Singe, 'The Galora family of Horn Island'.
- 76 Evidence from Malcolm Smith, Coxswain, Water Police, in 'Police vs Horatio Sammayer for vagrancy, 19 April 1895.' CPS13D/P6, QSA.
- 77 Monica Walton Gould, pers. comm., March 2003. Relations were apparently closer during the first generation. Judging from the names and birthplaces of many of the Cape York Aboriginal wives, many of these men were affines.
- 78 Doyle, F. J., 'Thursday Island'.
- 79 Dupeyrat, A., *Papouasie*, pp. 434–5.
- 80 Doyle, F. J., 'Thursday Island'.
- 81 Loos, N. A. 1980. 'Queensland's kidnapping act: The Native Labourers Protection Act of 1884.' *Aboriginal History*, Vol. 4, No. 2. pp. 150–73.
- 82 See, for example: Bolton, G. C. 1963. *A Thousand Miles Away: a history of north Queensland to 1920.* Brisbane: Jacaranda Press. Loos, N. A. 1982. *Invasion and Resistance: Aboriginal–European relations on the North Queensland frontier 1861–1897.* Canberra: Australian National University Press. Evans, R., K. Saunders and K. Cronin. 1988. *Race Relations in Colonial Queensland: a history of exclusion, exploitation and extermination.* St Lucia: University of Queensland Press. The anthropologist, Chase, is more even-handed, citing the accommodations made between the Asian trepanners and Aboriginal people of the mainland and their long period of mutual interdependence. See Chase, A. K. 1981. 'All kind of nation: Aborigines and Asians in Cape York Peninsula.' *Aboriginal History*, Vol. 1, No. 5. pp. 6–15.
- 83 'Protector of Aborigines, Thursday Island, to Northern Protector of Aborigines, 27 November 1900.' A/69491, QSA.
- 84 'Lucio Jerusalem for harbouring an Aboriginal to wit "Annie", 20 April 1904.' CPS13D/P11, QSA.
- 85 Jardine, F. L. 1904. 'The nutmeg (Torres Strait) pigeon.' *Emu*, Vol. 3, No. 7. pp. 181–5, at p. 183.
- 86 Correspondence regarding Informal Lease 412, TR1817/1, Box 12, QSA.
- 87 *Register of Informal Leases* Nos. 294–574, IL 412, QDPL, LAN/67, QSA.
- 88 Doyle, F. J., 'Thursday Island'. The church was located just in front of the present hotel on Horn Island, says Mary Galora Bowie, pers. comm., May 2003.
- 89 Doyle, F. J., 'Thursday Island'.
- 90 Bowie, M. and J. Singe, 'The Galora family of Horn Island'. Mary Galora Bowie was the only prewar resident to return to live on Horn Island after the war.
- 91 Rey Iletto, pers. comm., May 2003, suspects that Dualdo is a short form of Clodualdo, a common Filipino personal name in the past. I have been unable to identify these men with certainty, although Tiyo Bisenti was probably Vicente Camposano. According to Mary Galora Bowie, pers. comm., May 2003, Bisenti and Dualdo died before the war and were buried in the Horn Island cemetery; Mariano also died on Horn Island; Thomas was the last one to die — he was sent to Mapoon during the war but returned afterwards, stayed with the Galora family for a while, then got sick and went to hospital, where he died. *Tiyo* Thomas is therefore not Thomas Dorales, who died in 1902.

- 92 Monica Walton Gould, pers. comm., March 2003.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 Betty Ah Boo Foster and Mary Galora Bowie, pers. comm., May 2003.
- 95 Bowie, M. and J. Singe, 'The Galora family of Horn Island'.
- 96 'E. McKeown, National Parks Ranger, Forests Office, Tully, to Forestry Sub-Department of QDPL, re Islands along the Coast, Cape York Peninsular [sic] and in the vicinity of Thursday Island (225/38), 4 January 1938.' TR1817/1, Box 16, IL 598, QSA.
- 97 Vidgen had taken over Occupation Lease 46 from A. T. Sullivan in December 1938 and it was written off in December 1942. Occupation licences: Torres 11–86, QDPL, A/47743, QSA. The only other non-mining lease recorded on prewar Horn Island was Informal Lease 430 over an acre of land on the northern foreshore, granted to E. J. Hennessey in August 1919, cancelled in August 1937. *Register of Informal Leases* Nos. 294–574, QDPL, LAN/66, QSA.
- 98 Schug, D. M., 'The marine realm and a sense of place among Papua New Guinean communities of Torres Strait', p. 7.
- 99 These are the ways that the Mandok, a coastal New Guinea community, reckon kinship, according to Pomponio, cited by Schug, D. M., *ibid.*, p. 87.
- 100 Yopelli Panuel, pers. comm., June 1982. Walter Nona, pers. comm., February 2001. John Scott, pers. comm., September 2002.
- 101 Vic McGrath, pers. comm., May 2003, adds that there is now a crayfish factory there owned by William Bowie, but Jack Ahmat has just taken over the lease.
- 102 Haddon, A. C. 1890. 'The ethnography of the western tribe of Torres Straits.' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 19, No. 3. pp. 297–440, at p. 407.
- 103 Lawrie, M. 1970. *Myths and legends of Torres Strait*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press. p. 79: 'The people of Badu showed their gratitude to the people of Mabuiaig for their help in avenging Pitai by giving them half of their island. From that day, all the land on Badu north of a line drawn from Kulkai on the east coast to Wam on the west coast belonged to Mabuiaig.'
- 104 Laade, W. 1968. 'The Torres Strait Islanders own traditions on their origins.' *Ethnos*, No. 33. pp. 141–58, at pp. 148–9.
- 105 'A. W. Murray, Letter to Rev Dr Mullens, 9 December 1872.' London Missionary Society (hereafter LMS), *Papuan Letters 1872*, LMS Reel M91, State Library of Queensland (hereafter SLQ).
- 106 'Police Magistrate, Somerset, to The Port Master, Brisbane, 6 October 1872.' *Somerset Letterbooks* 66–72, ML.
- 107 Cadell sent out an advance party consisting of 'Mr James Price in Charge, with one Manilla Man, one South Sea Islander, one Chinaman as Gardener, nine Northern Territory Aboriginals' and their wives. 'Pro Sub-Collector of Customs, Thursday Island, to Colonial Secretary, 1 August 1878.' COL/A262/2974, QSA.
- 108 Letter from Samuel White to his wife headed, 'Somerset, September 25, 1878', quoted in White, S. A. 1920. *The life of Samuel White: soldier, naturalist, sailor*. Adelaide: W. K. Thomas. p. 30.
- 109 'A very extensive patch of shell has been lately found about 15 miles to leeward of Mulgrave Island which is likely to double the annual produce of the fishery. Boats which last year only averaged about 4 tons for the whole year are now getting 3 tons per month! It can only be worked, however, during fine weather.' 'Police Magistrate Chester to Colonial Secretary, 13 January 1882.' COL A/330/307, QSA.
- 110 'Police vs Doolah Mustapha, 12 October 1904'; 'Police vs Florence Ming Lee, 13 October 1904.' CPS13D/P12, QSA.
- 111 Beckett, J. R. 1987. *Torres Strait Islanders: custom and colonialism*. Cambridge University Press. p. 152.
- 112 Ibid.
- 113 'S. McFarlane, Report of the sixth voyage of the *Ellengowan*, 10 May 1875.' LMS *Papuan Letters 1875*, LMS Reel M91, SLQ.
- 114 'C. Pennefather, Report re duties performed since arrival of *Pearl* in Torres Straits, 31 October 1882.' Attached to COL/A348/5560, QSA.

- 115 'J. Chalmers, Report from Motumotu, 28 November 1891.' *LMS Papuan Letters 1891*, SLQ.
- 116 *Annual Report of the Government Resident of Thursday Island for 1897*.
- 117 *London Missionary Society Chronicle*, 1904, p. 16.
- 118 'Frederick William Walker, Managing Director of PIL, Badu, to Royal Pearl-shell and Bêche-de-mer Commission, 23 June 1908.' *Queensland Parliamentary Papers*, 1908. p. 206.
- 119 'Tanu Nona to Margaret Lawrie.' *Notebook II*, 1 December 1973, p. 12, MLC 1791–277, JOL.
- 120 'J. Chalmers, Report from Motumotu, 28 November 1891.' *LMS Papuan Letters 1891*, SLQ.
- 121 W. H. R. Rivers recorded three marriages between Malays and Mabuiag women: Mary Gonelai to Ahmat Singapore (Table 1), Aigiwak to Peter (Table 2), Buku to Ketchell (Table 2); and four with Badu women: Annie Savage to Jaffa Ahwang (Table 3A), Serai Mabua to Waahape Jia (Table 8), Baimad Gainab to Albert Bowie (Table 9), Maythaway Baut to Sedin Amber (Table 11). See Haddon, A. C. 1904. 'Reports of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Strait.' *Sociology, magic and religion of the Western Islanders*, Vol. 5. Cambridge University Press.
- 122 Hassan Binawel from Ambon married Saia Ahwang from Badu. The couple may have visited Badu, but they made their home on Thursday Island, where all their children were born.
- 123 These are Jimmy Sander, born c.1889 on Burke Island, Torres Strait, to a Malay father and Torres Strait Islander or Aboriginal mother, husband of Luna Maikuik from Badu; and George Coconut, born c.1872 in the Malay Straits, died 1922 on Badu, husband of Maima from Dauan (Cornwallis Island). *Somerset Registers of Marriages and Deaths*.
- 124 'L. C. Weston to Under Secretary, Education Department, 12 April 1906.' A/15993, QSA.
- 125 Various official correspondence during the 1920s puts the approximate years as 1904–05. See, for example, 'Protector of Aboriginals, Thursday Island, to Chief Protector of Aboriginals, 24 June 1921', A/58761; 'Protector of Aboriginals, Thursday Island, on the status of Noalum Ah Wong, 1923', A/58761/23/5899; 'Protector of Aboriginals, Thursday Island, to Chief Protector of Aboriginals, 20 July 1925', A/58773, QSA.
- 126 Nauma Ketchell, pers. comm., June 1997.
- 127 These are respectively the 'Macassan' and 'Malay' referred to by Beckett, J. R., *Torres Strait Islanders*, p. 153. And Ganter, R. 1994. *The pearlshellers of Torres Strait*. Melbourne University Press. p. 65. Beckett implies that the two men were attracted to Badu by the opportunity for employment with PIL, but both had already settled there permanently — Bowie about 1887, Ketchell about 1902.
- 128 'Protector of Aboriginals, Thursday Island, to Chief Protector of Aboriginals, 25 January 1906.' A/58755, QSA. See also 'B. Butcher, Report from Daru, 7 December 1908.' *LMS Papuan Letters*, p. 2, SLQ.
- 129 'Protector of Aboriginals, Thursday Island, to Chief Protector of Aboriginals, 25 January 1906 and 29 March 1906.' A/58755, QSA. See also 'H. M. Dauncey, Report from Delena, 28 March 1906.' *LMS Papuan Letters*, p. 7, SLQ.
- 130 Yopelli Panuel, pers. comm., June 1982.
- 131 Ted Loban, pers. comm., October 1981: 'Thursday Island was the base for mixed married couples. For example, my parents couldn't live on Mabuiag, it was against the law. Mabuiag was a reserve for indentured labour and their families. There was also work on Thursday Island.'
- 132 Several years later, on 2 May, 1911, the Governor of Queensland paid a visit to Badu and praised the PIL's 'interesting experiment'. Walker, he wrote, 'has established a central station that is a model in every way'.
- 133 'Protector of Aboriginals, Thursday Island, to Chief Protector of Aboriginals, 25 January 1906.' A/58755, QSA.
- 134 Walker, F. W. *Industrial Missions: The Papuan Industries Limited: its progress and aims*. pp. 11–12. A/58755, QSA.
- 135 This was in addition to the two acres acquired as leasehold (SL 956) on 1 June, 1906, by the LMS for its mission station. The lease was surrendered in 1912 to the Australian Board of Missions on behalf of the Church of England, to which the LMS was about to cede responsibility for the evangelisation and spiritual care of the Torres Strait Islanders. *Register of Special Leases*, July 1902–January 1907, Nos. 748–983, QPDL, LAN/U5, QSA.

¹³⁶ Plans for the undertaking were revealed to the public in February 1904 and, in the pamphlet that sets out the goals of the company, it is implied that Badu, although not named, had already been selected as the Torres Strait headquarters. See 'A new departure in missionary enterprise: "Papuan Industries, Ltd." Interview with Rev F. W. Walker, reprinted by permission from *Examiner* of 11 February, 1904.' This and the following material, which is found in A/58755, QSA, strongly implies that the Queensland Government had given a commitment in principle to the enterprise and its location.

The company was registered in November 1904 with the aim of encouraging local industry through agriculture and trade and more than £21,000 of capital was raised in the next two months. See Walker, F. W. 1908. *Industrial missions: The Papuan Industries Limited: its progress and aims*. pp. 4–6. According to Walker, who had resigned from the LMS in 1903 to found the company, 'The idea of our enterprise originated in a transaction ... some ten years ago when with the hearty co-operation of the late Hon. John Douglas I secured a boat for the natives of Mabuig, from which most satisfactory results were obtained.' 'F. W. Walker, Managing Director, PIL, to Chief Protector of Aborigines, 2 February 1906.' This may be the source for Beckett's incorrect assertion that PIL began its activities on Badu in the late 1890s. See Beckett, J. R., *Torres Strait Islanders*, p. 152.

Towards the end of January 1906, the local Protector, with the support of his department, approached PIL to consider financially assisting the purchase of boats for the people of Badu and Darnley Islands. Walker accepted on behalf of the company, stating that 'if the Government will find half the money required we shall be pleased to find the other half, all payments from the natives in reduction of the liability for the boats to be equally divided between the Government and the Company'. 'F. W. Walker, Managing Director, PIL, to Chief Protector of Aborigines, 2 February 1906.' For various reasons, the venture ultimately proved financially unsuccessful. It was bought by the Queensland Government in 1929 and, in 1930, was renamed Aboriginal Industries.

¹³⁷ 'S. McFarlane, Report of a missionary voyage in the *Ellengowan* amongst the islands in Torres Straits made in October 1874, 26 October 1874.' LMS *Papuan Letters*, SLQ.

¹³⁸ Hubert Hofer, pers. comm., April 1995.

¹³⁹ For an account of the Pacific Islanders at Port Lihou, see Shnukal, A. 2001. 'The interwar Pacific Islander community at Port Lihou, Torres Strait.' *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, Vol. 17, No. 10. pp. 433–60.

¹⁴⁰ *Thursday Island Courthouse Cash Record Books* 1924–29, 1929–32, 1932–36, 1936–41. Notes were taken at Thursday Island Courthouse, July–August 1996, and the books sent to QSA.

¹⁴¹ 'Bishop of Carpentaria to the Acting Land Agent, Thursday Island, 8 September 1947.' File on Prince of Wales Island, Batch 895/21, QDPL.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Informal Lease Register Sheets 2201–2500, QDPL, A/50851, QSA.

¹⁴⁴ Jianna Seden Richardson, pers. comm., July 1999.

¹⁴⁵ Jianna Seden Richardson, pers. comm., March 2003.

¹⁴⁶ Osborne, E., *Torres Strait Islander Women and the Pacific War*, p. 19.

¹⁴⁷ Jianna Seden Richardson, pers. comm., July 1999.

¹⁴⁸ Osborne, E., *Torres Strait Islander Women and the Pacific War*, p. 22.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁰ 'E. McKeown, National Parks Ranger, Forests Office, Tully, to Forestry Sub-Department of QDPL, re Islands along the Coast, Cape York Peninsular [sic] and in the vicinity of Thursday Island (225/38), 4 January 1938.' TR1817/1, Box 16, IL 598, QSA.



Thursday Island boat slips, 1908.
Courtesy of John Oxley Library, Brisbane (Item No. 177595).

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